

THE SOCIAL STRUGGLE OF PRACTICES CONTEMPORARY RAJAH PANYENGER IN BALI

I Made Gede Anadhi¹, I Nyoman Suarka², I Nyoman Sukiada³, I Nyoman Wijaya⁴

¹ Denpasar Darma Hindu Institute, ^{2,3,4} Cultural Studies Study Program, Faculty of Arts,
Udayana University

email: ¹anadhi_jay@yahoo.com, ²nyoman_suarka@unud.ac.id,
³nyomansukiada@yahoo.com, ⁴nyoman_wijaya@unud.ac.id

Received Date : 11-12-2019
Accepted Date : 22-01-2019
Published Date : 29-02-2020

ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyze why there are practitioners today who still interpret *Rajah Panyenger* (mystical script) as a means of obtaining understanding, safety. Yet in reality they also practice Hindu religious rituals with the same purpose. The answers to these questions are sought in the arena of social struggle of practitioners *Rajah Panyenger*. In relation to their desire to emerge victorious in the arena of social and social struggle, they felt the need to convert capital so that they would not lose against their colleagues, fellow practitioners. The size of a practitioner's cultural capital is very dependent on his habitus. Therefore the answers to the research questions will be sought in the formation of the habitus of *Rajah Panyenger* practitioners. How the habitus forms the mystical cultural capital of practitioners regarding *Rajah Panyenger*, then places it in the arena of social struggle of the Balinese people today. Thus the focus of this study is directed at the meeting between the arenas of practitioners' internal social struggle with the users of *Rajah Panyenger*. Generative structural theory is used as a basis for thinking to understand and explain these problems. The conclusion of this study, that to emerge victorious in the arena of social struggle, practitioners fulfill the wishes of patients who want to get *Rajah Panyenger*. In the arena of social struggle like that, practitioners *Rajah Panyenger* do capital conversion. Thus this phenomenon illustrates the increasing arena of social struggle for practitioners of *Rajah Panyenger* today, not to search for positivistic origins or their backgrounds to interpret *Rajah Panyenger*.

Keywords: *Rajah Panyenger*, social struggle, practitioners

INTRODUCTION

Habitus of practitioners and users of *Rajah Panyenger* is very dependent on his family background. Practitioners who live in the midst of their family's belief in the objects of fortune from the past will produce cultural capital that is different from those who get the

knowledge of *Rajah Panyengker* through the process of learning some *lontar*. In the first typology, the existence of ejection less influential to be used as a reference in shaping the spiritual (metaphysical) knowledge of practitioners, because they rely more on the mystical luck of the relics of the past. On the other hand, in the second typology, objects in the lighting period received less attention than ejection (interview with Ida Rsi Agung Bang Pinatih, March 17, 2019).

In accordance with his experience, practitioners in the first typology can rely on their belief in the legacy of physical relics in the form of temples, especially Dalem temples, and sacred statues. They are also vary dependent on the grace of the manifestations of *Bhatara* or holy spirits which each one worships. In addition, no less important are ancestral weapons (heirlooms) which are believed to still be lucky 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 the second typology, mastery of the science of *Rajah Panyengker* can be done by self-taught and using a teacher, which means it must refer to the ejector with the most appropriate material. If you want to answer a problem of illness and non-medical illness due to *pangleakan* or black magic through *Rajah Panyengker* for example, then what is considered the most appropriate is Kanda Pat ejection. Kanda Pat is the four protective energy that humans carry from birth. Studying Kanda Pat's knowledge was not absolutely necessary to master the Balinese script, but rather by using palm-leaf copies. So it's not the script that plays an important role, but the pronunciation and language.

In the language they found the world for themselves, a place which he considered to be sturdy enough to be used as a foundation to free Kanda Pat from the confines of the script and master it. When they believe in the concept of Kanda Pat without this script as they believe in the truth of the concept, they master all of it and feel more special than the followers of Kanda Pat. At such times they truly believe Kanda Pat's language encapsulates all knowledge about the healing world in Balinese style. They are so proud of themselves, because through language, words (not letters) they feel they can explain their perfect knowledge of Kanda Pat (developed from Nietzsche in Foucault, 1997: 7-8). The facts mentioned above show the increasing importance of questioning why there are practitioners today who still interpret *Rajah Panyengker* or mystical paintings as a means of obtaining understanding or safety.

RESEARCH METHODS

It should be emphasized that the research questions raised in this study are not intended to seek positive truth about their origins or their backgrounds to interpret the *Rajah Penyengker*. Without affirmation, this study might be trapped in the approach of Modern Marxism and Phenomenology, two things that are avoided or rejected by Bourdieu. He rejects Modern Marxism, because it understands too much pressure on economic factors as structures that shape people and ignores human subjectivity as agents. Bourdieu rejects Phenomenology, because he disagrees with propositions that want to make the truth of the primary experience of the social world a reality and that discourages questions about the conditions of its own possibility. According to Bourdieu, phenomenology tends to place humans as determinants with their awareness and underestimate the influence of social relations that appear as objective structures. The objective structure is displayed in social space, while the subjective structure is in the form of disposition within the individual. The objective structure is a trace of the influence of Marxism, while the subjective structure is a trace of phenomenology (Harker, 2009: xvi-xvii).

Phenomenology study is one of ethnographic approaches to get research data or information. In phenomenology, human experience is examined through a detailed picture of the person being studied. Understanding "life experience" marks phenomenology as a philosophy and also as a research method. As a method, the procedure involves studying a small number of subjects extensively and over a long period of time to develop patterns and relationships of meaning. Through this process the researcher "collects" his experience regularly to understand the experiences of the informants (Silalahi, 2012: 86).

An ethnographic approach is a design in which the researcher studies a complete cultural group in its natural environment over a long period of time by collecting, especially observational data. The research process is flexible and develops contextually according to the realities encountered in the field which are studied through grounded theory. In this case the researcher tries to obtain a theory by using the double stages of data collection and improvement and the interrelationship of information categories (Silalahi, 2012: 86; Neuman 2017: 115-122)

In order not to get caught up in the approach of Modern Marxism and Phenomenology, Bourdieu explained how the relationship between the Agency and Structure was not linear, Bourdieu used the concept of habitus and the realm (field). Habitus is the result of learning through parenting, play activities, and also community education in the broadest sense.

Learning occurs smoothly, unconsciously, and appears as a natural thing, so as if something natural, as if given by nature or already from there. Habitus can also be said to be unconscious-cultural, that is, historical influences that are unconsciously considered natural. This means that the historical product after humans are born and interact with society in a certain time and space. In short, habitus is neither natural, nor natural innate which complements humans, both psychologically and biologically (Harker, et al, 2009: 13; Barker, 2018: 25)

In addition to individuals, collective habitus also needs to be studied by watching Balinese practice or shape their body by carrying out the traditions and customs of the community that enable them to become individuals who are trained in placing themselves as consumers, users of *Rajah Panyengker*. In order to have unity with Foucault's theory, the practice of body formation will be learned through discourses that develop in society, both in the form of text and context. The assumption, since childhood Balinese have been involved or involved in various mystical and mystical cultural activities ranging from the environment of the house, the hamlet, and village contained in ritual ceremonies, dance, painting, and so forth.

The meeting point between practitioners' habitus and users of *Panyengker's rajah* eventually helped shape their knowledge connotations lies in the ways of interpreting *Rajah Panyengker*, among others, looking for understanding, trust in leakage, and noise.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Looking for Timber

The habit of looking for timber, safety that has been taught since childhood helped shape the cultural and mystical culture of Balinese people about *Rajah Panyengker*. This element becomes very important, not only for those who have been able to focus their thoughts on God, but also who have not been able to. For those who are able, especially the *Sulinggih* or highest priest enough to worship God using a mantra; *Puspam, Palam, Toyan (Nyurya Sewana)*, while those who have not reached such a level, it is enough to be diligent in offering prayers. The problem is, in the midst of conditions and conditions that are full of competition, which in Bourdieu is called distinction, so many state officials such as regents, governors, and even ministers, who come to the traditional Balinese healers to look for Malaysians. The meaning of the literature is very broad, but due to the code of ethics *Kasulinggihan* or being a priest, then whatever they get from a healer should not be explained

in detail in this study, he explained, all of it was part of an effort to obtain trust and safety (interview with Ida Rsi Agung Bang Pinatih, March 17, 2019).

One thing that can be said is that the more people come to traditional Balinese healers, the more distinction in the arena of Balinese social struggle. Distinction is part of the field or arena of struggle which is also understood as a field of strength which is a place of struggle between individuals and between groups. People usually do not deliberately enter the game because being born has become part of the game. There are those who lose or win in the game. The arena of social struggle is the result of a long and long process of automatization, so it is a game in itself. People enter the game (competition with each other) usually not with an act of mindfulness, because individuals have been born in the game and with the game (developed from the thought of Bourdieu (Haryatmoko, 2016: 50).

The field or arena of social struggle is understood as a network or configuration of objective relations between various positions. These positions are limited by their existence and the forced determination of those who occupy them, whether actors or institutions, the actual situation, and their potential in the distribution of power or capital structures. Ownership of power that relies on capital determines access to certain benefits that are at stake in the battle. The terrain or arena of social struggle is similar to the market. That is, there are producers and consumers. Producers are those who have certain opposing capitals (developed from Haryatmoko, 2016: 50).

Not everyone can emerge victorious in the arena of social struggle. Someone wins or loses in the field of social struggle can be seen in social practices that can be understood as a person's current position in the midst of society. The concept of the arena of struggle becomes very decisive because in all societies there are masters and masters. In this distinction lies the basic principle of social organization. This dominance is very dependent on the situation, resources and strategies of the actors (developed from Haryatmoko, 2016: 51-52).

In Balinese habitus, distinction is mystically resolved, using metaphysical means, so that as a way out people become victims of the irrational forces. They will go to their healers whether it is *sulinggih*, stakeholders, and *balian* or indigenous physician. They have their own rules, which generally meet at a point that on Easter Day, which is repeated every three days, in accordance with the conception of the three-day cycle of considerations in the Balinese calendar, they do not want to accept or serve patients.

On this special day, traditional Balinese healers can use their time for personal gain, such as receiving visits from friends or colleagues, so they can talk freely. But the next day and the day after tomorrow, during the *Beteng* and *Kajeng* days, which also recur every three days that freedom may be obtained again, because they have been preoccupied by their respective patients.

The traditional Balinese healers, whatever their profession, both *sulinggih*, stakeholders, and *balian* who already have a name, its efficacy is already known by the wider community. They can serve patients an average of 200-400 people each day, with working hours starting at 11:00 until 03.00 in the morning. Healers with such qualifications are usually not to advertise themselves. Some of them try to introduce themselves through social activities, for example, by doing free medical treatment, and even that is merely to provide more services. Diseases suffered by patients, both *skala* and *niskala*, because they are generally difficult to distinguish between medical (*sekala*) and non-medical (*niskala*). In terms of class, there are curers who have patients from the lower classes to intellectual groups, and even paramedics and doctors. In terms of the area of residence, there are healers whose patients are not only Balinese, but also from America with a variety of professions, including doctors, with various complaints as well, for example, paralyzed, internalized, and nervous (Interview with Ida Rsi Agung Bang Pinatih, March 17, 2019).

2. Belief in God

There are also healers who have other meanings about the *skala* and *niskala*. In their understanding, especially from the *balaks* of the taxon there is no real, tangible disease. Almost all diseases are caused by noetic form, not real. This belief is closely related to the image of *Dewi Dhurga* who came to earth to cause havoc. *Dewi Dhurga* is the embodiment of Dewi Uma, who has been cursed by her husband, Dewa Shiva, for being considered too cruel to her son named Sang Hyang Kumara. Lord Shiva was very angry with his wife, then condemned him to be a giant, and had to live in the grave of humanity, not in heaven anymore (interview with Nyoman Arnaya, pinandita Prajapati Temple on August 5, 2017)

Not all practitioners of Balinese science interpret *Dhurga* as a creepy creature. The level of their interpretation of *Dhurga* is very much determined by their habitus. His habitus is the result of his skills being a practical action (not necessarily always being realized) which is then translated into an ability that seems natural and develops in the social environment of the Balinese people. They are no longer aware of the style they have integrated into

themselves. What is believed to be creative freedom is actually the result of the limitation of structures. So, habitus becomes a source of action, thought, and representation (Bourdieu in Haryatmoko, 2016: 41).

As a source of action, thought, and representation, the habitus of *Rajah Panyenger* practitioners in such a way, means that Shiva has the characteristics of being immanent, *nirgunam*, and *sagunam*. So Shiva, who is the only Deity, is depicted into two symbols, namely the symbol of spirit and material symbol. The spirit symbol is the *linggam*, the material is the form. Other gods do not have that symbol. The Balinese worship Shiva from one side only, of which *Dhurga* is the witness. This is because the teacher who first taught to Bali about the Hindu concept was a teacher who was from the Shiva sect, the first time. It was only in teaching that Shiva had magic, *Dhurga*. But before that teaching, people did not know that *Dhurga* was Shiva's spirit, which was destructive. Therefore, in order to avoid the influence of *Dhurga*, people are told to worship Shiva. In fact, *Dhurga* is not as scary as most people eat. *Dhurga* is beautiful. (interview with Ida Pandita Hamlet Acharya Dhaksa on June 2, 2018; developed from the results of Bourdieu's thoughts in Haryatmoko, 2016: 41)

While in general view, the story of *Dhurga* as a creepy creature continues. The collective habitus of Balinese people in such a way is their interpretation framework for understanding and evaluating reality and at the same time producing life practices that are compatible with objective structures in the social space, in which *Dhurga* is always interpreted as illness and death. Framework for interpretation to understand and assess reality cannot be separated. Habitus becomes the basis of individual personality. The formation and function of habitus greatly takes into account the results of regularity of behavior. The modality of practice relies on improvisation and not on obedience to rules. So, there are two reciprocal motions, first the objective structure that is normalized; second, subjective motion (perception, grouping, and evaluation) which reveals the results of *pembatinan* which are usually in the form of values (Developed from Bourdieu's thought in Haryatmoko, 2016: 41)

The objective structure of the body and the two subjective movements (perception, grouping, evaluation) in Balinese society gives birth to meaning, in which Dewi Uma is said to be unable to prevent the curse. Because of this, his body flew down to earth. At the same time, her face which was originally beautiful, when floating in the air turned into a giant that is very scary and scary. After arriving at the cemetery, with a breech position, head down and feet above, he changed into *Bhatari Dhurga*. Here she meets a relaxation person named

Sang Kalika Maya, also a former angel who was cursed by her husband for having an affair (interview with Nyoman Arnaya, pinandita Pura Prajapati on 5 August 2017).

Both have almost the same face and body, so they are called *Dewi Dhurga*, who must live off a newly buried corpse. One time they lacked food, along with the increasing number of people dying, as a result of the emergence of human awareness of the worship of Sang Hyang Widhi. Unable to face this suffering, they then confronted Lord Brahma, as the God of Birth (*utpati*) and also as a God receiving spirit. The aim is to ask for supernatural powers to enjoy the bodies continuously. The request was fulfilled, with the condition that he must be willing to stay at Pura *Dalem* (interview with Nyoman Arnaya, pinandita Pura Prajapati on 5 August 2017)

Lord Brahma issued manic features which contained the teachings of *pangiwa*, a black magic also called *aji ugig padengenan*. The specialty can be used to create a disaster. With this supernatural power they are able to master the *Bhutans*, can turn people into leaks, and spread all kinds of diseases in all directions. However, these miracles can only be used at certain times, especially for people who do not like praying to the Creator (interview with Nyoman Arnaya, pinandita Pura Prajapati on 5 August 2017).

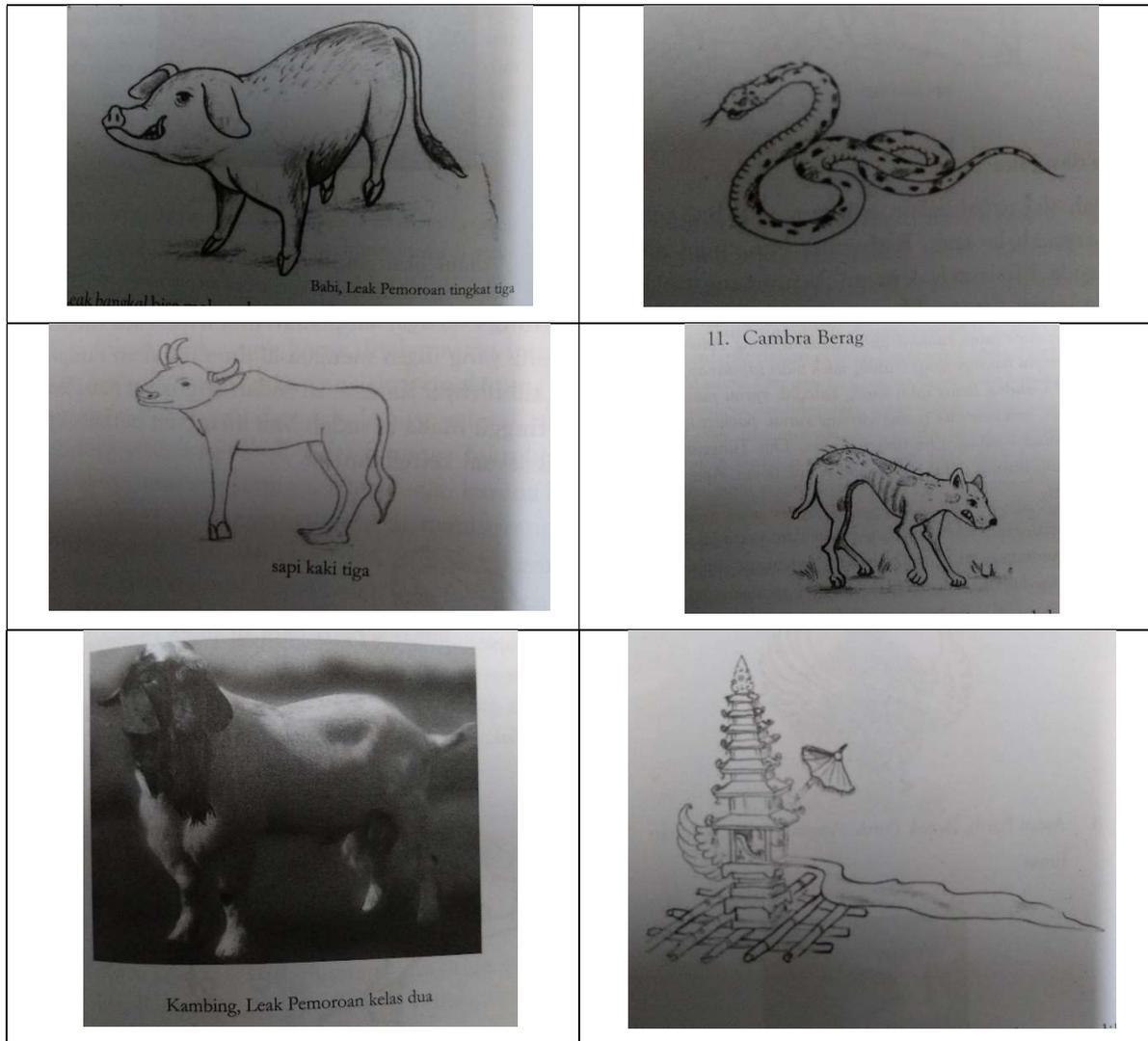
Bhuta-Bhuti is a subordinate of *Bhatari Dhurga*, while the leak is a figure of the human body that looks like *Bhuta-Bhuti*, because it has received *Pangeleakan Pamoroan* knowledge from *Dhurga Dewi* and Kalika Maya. To counter them, Lord Brahma followed the knowledge called *Pangeleakan Sari*, who had a good character, had the ability to put all evil beings to sleep so that they could not do the action (interview with Nyoman Arnaya, pinandita Prajapati Temple on August 5, 2017).

3. Pangeleakan

The discourse regarding pangeleakan permeated the majority of Balinese that leakage was born from the science of *pangiwa*. They believe that the aspirants of *pangiwa* require sacrifice by finding fault with others to become potential victims. For the sake of obtaining trust, they went to the practitioners of Balinese knowledge and wanted to get *Rajah Panyengker*, as a means that was considered the easiest and most effective. The existence of this request, is one of the factors that determine why there are practitioners today who still interpret *Rajah Panyengker* as a means to get understanding. Many of them just follow consumer demand, without ever asking the question why should *Rajah Panyengker*, not other

means. What's wrong with Rajah *Panyenger*, so that he gets such a special position in the line of means to get wealth (interview with Wayan Turun, 3 July 2019)

The answer to that question, in Foucault's language, must be sought in habitus, daily habits that have been passed down for generations in Balinese. When looking for prey, people who can move are able to change themselves in various forms, according to the level of knowledge. The first level is a person who can turn himself into an ape, goat, male pig, big pig (*bangkal*) female pig (*bangkung*), a type of bull (*gegendu*), and the tower bearer (*bade*) (interview with I Nyoman Suardika, 60 years in Denpasar, April 14, 2017).



Some illustrations of the manifestation of a *leak*
Source: I Made Subagia, 2015: 193-199

On that basis, older people, usually like to scare him, which in the grave, under a banyan tree, often seen Leak, can be *celuluk*, *rangda*, monkeys, and stretch of gauze. There are also leaks in the form of chickens, dogs, banana trees, motorcycles, cars, docks, and bicycle dipper. Even if you can talk about mystical things like that, enough people who have never seen it directly. They only know from scenes of folk art performances. In everyday life, people only know of leakage by word of mouth, that Person A or Person B is learning to speak (interview with I Nyoman Suardika, 60 years in Denpasar, April 14, 2017).

That said, the efficacy of the knowledge of people who can move depends on the offering of human lives for *Batari Dhurga*. If someone is able to offer a loved one, husband or wife, then he can rise to a higher level. If they want to master higher knowledge, they must be able to offer human lives, especially their own children. A boy's life is higher in value than a girl's. Some even sacrifice their son-in-law and grandchildren (interview with I Nyoman Suardika, 60 years old in Denpasar, April 14, 2017).

Thus the confidence in the leak also determines why there are practitioners today who still interpret *Rajah Panyenger* as a means of obtaining trust. Trust in leakage passes from period to period, a person born in the 1970s can already be said to have knowledge of connections about leakage in the 1980s, whose maturity differs from one another according to their esoteric experiences with each other.

Those born in the 1980s, got that maturity in the 2000s.

Belief in leakage is often one of the factors that determine a person who holds a grudge against the accused who is said to be the main culprit behind someone's illness, one of the family members, whether it is the father's mother or siblings. The accused party is usually anonymous, referred to by *Balian Dasaran* as *layah-gigi* or tongue and teeth, which means the closest person, for example grandparents or uncles themselves. Next, how someone responds to that information. It turns out that the response is very diverse, many people just believe, so there is hostility in their own families. There are also those who are curious, so they feel the need to investigate first to prove the truth.

Those who choose the second path, first ask themselves, want to prove how and who the person who hurt his relatives is. This question led him to carry out a kind of experiment between praying, walking to many temples. For the sake of getting magical experiences, some even end up staying overnight, sleeping in temples and in graves. People who dare to go that far, usually will get a mystical clue, that he must learn a lot to be able to find and prove

his own answers to the questions he asked, so as not to accuse innocent people (Jro Mangku Nyoman Aryanta Sutama Pasemetonan Bayu Wisesa Founder Segara Gni, June 10, 2019).

4. Means of Murder

In order to have the highest knowledge of circumvention, there are also those who understand that they must be able to kill people from the quarterly group (Brahmins, Kshatriya and *Wesia*). It's not easy to do, unless there is an opportunity to kill him through picks, poisons that cannot be proven legally. *Cetik* is not an ordinary poison, but a noetic poison, which is only able to be detected and known by those whose knowledge is higher than the perpetrators who installed it, because it cannot be seen, smelled and felt (interview with I Nyoman Suardika, 60 years in Denpasar, April 14 2017).

If there is no opportunity to use *celetik*, killing can also be done by using other means such as remembrance and hospitality. *Papasangan* is an object that is filled with magical or magical power, and is planted in the ground or hidden secretly in a certain place to cause disaster, which has various forms, such as bones, animal fangs, animal teeth, *rontal* leaves that have been colonized, hair, paper face, cloth that has been given a magical painting (interview with I Nyoman Suardika, 60 years in Denpasar, April 14, 2017).

Knowledge of the mystical world is usually passed on through everyday stories to children and grandchildren, so that it always lives from generation to generation with different variations. Internalization of knowledge connainsance is one of the reasons why there are practitioners today who still interpret *Rajah Panyengker* as a means to gain understanding. Because to say now a lot of Balinese people who are looking for healers, both *sulinggih*, stakeholders, and *balian* to get intercession by relying on *Rajah Panyengker*. For Balinese, *sulinggih* and stakeholders are not only saints who are in charge of leading and perfecting a ceremony, but are also able to provide services to make *Rajah Panyengker*. They are distinguished in authority, including *Sulinggih* whose position, knowledge, obligations are above the stakeholders may make a *tirta pangentas*, something that is not owned by the stakeholders. There are also *sulinggih* and intruders who are willing to provide healing and protection services through *Rajah Panyengker* (interview with Nyoman Arnaya, pinandita Prajapati Temple on August 5, 2017).

Balian is a person who really needs help as an alternative healer for non-medical pain. There are so many types of diseases, including an enlarged abdomen, swollen legs, but can survive several months ago died. Often there are medical illnesses that have not been cured,

associated with *pangeleakan*, especially when the doctors have not been able to cure it, after several times of doing treatment. The existence of this confusion resulted in a large number of people from various corners of the village and even the city seeking treatment of traditional healers who were considered appropriate, suitable, especially in *balian*. During treatment, patients are usually delivered by relatives, including young children, because no one takes care of them if left at home (interview with I Nyoman Suardika, 60 years in Denpasar, April 14, 2017).

At such times the process of increasing habitus begins to take place unnoticed. This socialization process is more intense in those who live close to a *balian's* house. Thus, often they can see people coming in to get their ties. Some even come to the *balian* house to play around and can indirectly see how the *balian* deal with their patients. There are many methods used by *balian* to do medicine, among others using heirlooms, which can be called *paica* which is obtained by magic or through strange experiences. A thing that is known, felt, and understood by itself. Many people also get experiences like that and then become stakeholders and eventually increase to *sulinggih* (Interview with Nyoman Arnaya, pinandita Pura Prajapati on 5 August 2017)

People who get *paica*, then become a healer called *balian Kapican*, as has been widely discussed in the previous chapter. *Paica* can be in the form of small Kris, gemstones, bones, teeth, iron or other metals, shiny teeth (stone axes) or other oddly shaped objects. The power of *paica* is not eternal, it depends on morality. Sometimes due to moral decline, the luck is reduced so that it is easily defeated by the enemy, which is believed to originate from the source of the disease. There are also those who died from losing the "war," while competing supernatural powers against another, who felt unhappy about his presence (interview with I Nyoman Suardika, 60 years in Denpasar, April 14, 2017).

In the Balinese belief, being a *balian* is very hard work, because he is not only dealing with the illnesses suffered by his patients, but also those who hurt him, usually *balian* who at the same time can be referred to as *pangiwa balian*. This *balian* profile is different from *panegen balian*. They tend to accept orders to harm or hurt others, while the *panegen balian* devoted his special knowledge as a healer, not willing to hurt patients. But if the knowledge (supernatural) possessed by *Panian* is less than his enemy, then the risk is he could die. Many *pangiwa balian* who are not happy to see how the treatment, which often directly accuses people who are believed to have been nosy to their patients (interview with Nyoman Arnaya, pinandita Prajapati Temple on August 5, 2017)

5. Kanda Pat

Learning can be done by self-taught and using a teacher, which means it must refer to the ejection and can be selected the most appropriate material. If you want to answer a problem regarding misallocation, then what is considered the most appropriate is ejection Kanda Pat. Studying Kanda Pat apparently did not need to master the Balinese script, as has been discussed in previous chapters, but rather just using palm-leaf copies of Kanda Pat. So it's not the script that plays an important role, but the pronunciation of the language.

Language became important in the development of Kanda Pat because in it the followers of this kind of flow or learning found in it a world for itself, a place which he considered to be sturdy enough to be the foundation when they freed Kanda Pat from the confines of the alphabet and mastered it. When they believe in the concept of Kanda Pat without this script as they believe in the truth of the concept, they master it all and feel more special than the followers of Kanda Pat. At such times they truly believe Kanda Pat's language encapsulates knowledge of the healing world in Balinese style. The creator of Kanda Pat without the script was so proud of himself that they didn't just give the name to Pat Kanda. Through language, their words (not letters) explain their perfect knowledge of Kanda Pat, and make Kanda Pat illiterate as the first stage in the search for *Rajah Panyengker* without letters (developed from Nietzsche's thought in Michel Foucault, 1997: 7-8; Eiseman, 2000: 105-107)

The language in the Kanda Pat ejection is very necessary to be matched with esoteric experiences, which are obtained while spending the night in the area of temples, graves and other places that have a mystical aura Not everyone is brave and willing to take the path of learning Kanda Pat in this way. Usually those who follow these methods are those who genetically have a lineage of a *balian* who still continues in the present. Those who are genetically descendants of *balian* will find it easier to find mystical clues. Clues like this should not be interpreted obtained through dreams or hearing magical sounds. Such statements are one of the mistakes of the aspirants, who often believe the instructions they hear through whispers in the ear. Even though when referring to literature, isn't Atman who is a Brahman spark with *stana* in the body, heart (*linggih* Shiva *Lingga*), not in the head, so the collegiate of *ati* is the right one. So, do not believe in what is heard in the ear, must be sure of what your own heart says. That is what is called conscience, *Kleteg ati* (Jro Mangku Nyoman Aryanta Sutama, founder of Pasemetonan Bayu Wisesa Segara Gni, 10 June 2019).

CONCLUSION

By using Bourdieu's generative structural theory as a basis for thinking, this study is able to explain why there are practitioners today who still interpret *Rajah Panyengker* (mystical script) as a means of obtaining understanding, salvation. The use of the theory makes this study not to slip on the approach of Modern Marxism and Phenomenology. Thus this study is not trapped in the desire to seek positive truth about the origin or background of practitioners interpreting *Rajah Penyengker*. The final result obtained from this study is a knowledge of the arena of social struggle of *Rajah Panyengker* practitioners today, so that it can be seen that the needs of *Rajah Penyengker* users have fostered practitioners' enthusiasm for capital conversion. Through capital conversion they hope to emerge victorious in the arena of social struggle. The size of the level of capital ownership that is the result of habitus that has undergone an internalization process will determine the chances of victory in the arena of struggle of today's *Rajah Panyengker* practitioners.

REFERENCES

- Barker, Chris. 2018. *Kamus Kajian Budaya* (Trj.Hendar Putranto). Yogyakarta: PT Kanisius.
- Eiseman JR., Fred B. 2000. *Bali Sekala and Niskala Volume 1: Essay on Religion, Ritual, and Art*. Singapore : Periplus Editions (HK) Ltd.
- Foucault, Michel. 1997. *Sejarah Seksualitas : Seks dan Kekuasaan*. (Terj. Rahayu. S. Hidayat). Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Harker, Richard, et al. 2009. *(Habitus x Modal) + Ranah = Praktik: Pengantar Paling Komprehensif kepada Pemikiran Piere Bourdieu*. (terj. Pipit Maizier). Yogyakarta: Jalasutra.
- Haryatmoko.2016. *Membongkar Rezim Kepastian*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.
- Neuman, W. Lawrence. 2017. *Metodologi Penelitian Sosial: Pendekatan Kualitatif dan Kuantitatif*. (terj. Edina T. Sofia). Jakarta: PT Indek Permata Puri Media.
- Silalahi, Ulber. 2012. *Metode Penelitian Sosial*. Bandung: Refika Aditama.
- Subagia, I Made. 2015. *Menyingkap Tabir Leak*. Denpasar : Pustaka Manikgeni.