Puppet Show as Popular Culture in Bali: The Revitalization of Puppet Performing Arts through the Rhetoric Originality of *Wayang Cenk Blonk*

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Abstract: The contemporary history of Balinese performing arts is characterized by the inception of the renowned puppeteer Wayan Nardayana's monumental puppet show, popularly known as puppet or *wayang Cenk Blonk*, derived from the name of their *punakawan* characters (servants to the main hero) who are comical, intelligent, critical, and possessed of a broad range of social knowledge. The emergence of the Cenk Blonk puppeteer since the early 1990s has led to a significant expansion of the *wayang* performance in Bali, from rural older adult to urban youth audiences. This article examines the popularity of puppeteer Nardayana, focusing on his ability to incorporate rhetoric into his performances. The data was taken from the dialogue texts of his performances and examined with rhetoric theory. The study demonstrates that puppeteer Nardayana's popularity is attributed to his ability to present stories in a refreshing, original, critical, and entertaining style without sacrificing the traditional puppetry principles. This study contributes to appreciating the revitalization of traditional art in a globalized era.

Keywords: puppet show; punawakan characters Cenk Blonk; popular culture; Bali

1. Introduction

Over the last four decades, starting in the early 1990s, puppetry in Bali has experienced unprecedented popularity. *Wayang* (puppet) performances, favored initially by a limited number of older adults in the village and regarded as old-fashioned, are now receiving tremendous attention from the young generation in the village and the city. The reason for the exponential growth in the popularity of shadow puppetry is that several modern elements have evolved and transformed, yet the traditional way of puppetry has been

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Copyright © 2024 by the author (s). This article is published by Jurnal Kajian Bali (Journal of Bali Studies), University of Udayana, Bali, Indonesia, under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/). preserved (Sedana, & Foley 2016; Wilimantara et al., 2015; Hendro & Marajaya (2021). Previously, wayang performances utilized a relatively narrow screen and coconut oil to illuminate the shadows on the screen (Kingham, 2010). A broader screen and electric lights produce attractive lighting effects that appeal to contemporary preferences. Adopting a broad screen allows puppets performing at night to be spectated by a significant audience from a considerable distance, such as 100-200 meters. A powerful sound system enables the puppets to be performed with clarity and quality. The traditional orchestral *gamelan* that accompanies the puppets is usually only four *gender* (traditional metallophone), replaced by using a complete *gamelan batel* (traditional percussion group) that is more festive. Conventional wayang performances for ritual purposes during the day continue to adhere to simple principles, while the nighttime wayang performances present captivating, entertaining, and informative performances, following the characters of the Mahabharata epic being performed (Kingham, 2010; Wilimantara et al., 2015; Sedana & Foley, 2016; Marajaya, 2019).

The transforming popularity of wayang from old fashion to popular performance art that many people adore is the fruit of an exceptional breakthrough and achievement by 'only' one puppeteer, Wayan Nardayana (born 1966), known as *dalang* (puppeteer) Cenk Blonk. The popular name Cenk Blonk is an acronym derived from the names of two of Nardayana's puppet creations, Kelecenk and Ceblonk. Cenk Blonk is a comical, wise, and critical figure who comments on social phenomena through satirical and ironic remarks. Through these two characters, the puppeteer Nardayana rhetorically delivers social criticism, explains stories and presents humor with a style and tone that is creative, refreshing, and authentic. The success of the puppeteer Cenk Blonk is demonstrated through the immense interest of the public in responding to his performances and the enthusiasm of the public to watch.

Every significant festival event in Bali, such as the Bali Arts Festival, Puputan Badung celebrations, and regency/provincial anniversaries, has been without a Cenk Blonk performance for the past four decades (Photo 1). However, the price of one performance for about 2.5 - 3 hours has escalated from 8 million to around 20 million rupiah. Despite the high cost, the interest in inviting the puppeteer to perform remains constant. His performance style, which incorporates modern features, is also being emulated by other puppeteers, such as Joblar, I Ketut Kodi, and Dewa Ketut Wicaksana, boosting the popularity of wayang. Finding vacant time to invite Cenk Blonk at the peak of his success was challenging, as schedules are packed. As a puppeteer, Nardayana is legendary, and over a long period, he managed to retain his popularity and elevate the image of wayang. Many of Cenk Blonk's wayang video recordings are also available on YouTube and uploaded by their recorder company, the Bali Record, or the general public. Puppet Show as Popular Culture in Bali: The Revitalization of Puppet...



Photo 1. Flyer of puppet Cenk Blonk and the puppeteer Nardayana performed in Batubulan sponsored by state television TVRI Bali and Election Monitoring Body (Photo: Author Document)

Nardayana's innovation has not been limited to live performances. He has proactively embraced advances in internet technology, creating podcasts inspired by the puppet character Cenk Blonk under the YouTube account Wayan Cenk Blonk. As of early January 2024, the Cenk Blonk YouTube channel has amassed two hundred and seventy-two thousand subscribers and has posted 125 podcast series. The viewership is also impressive, with the 125th series, *"Kontrak dengan Tuhan,"* uploaded in December 2023, attracting one hundred and eighty thousand viewers within four months. Many of these podcasts are downloaded and circulated through social media such as WhatsApp, indicating a potentially significant viewership compared to those recorded on his YouTube account (Laba, Semara & Tunjungsari, 2018).

In regular performances, Cenk Blonk uses Balinese. The Youtube Channel predominantly uses Balinese. Indonesian subtitles are incorporated to facilitate listening. Cenk Blonk's appearance on the YouTube channel has raised the popularity of Cenk Blonk and wayang performances and their existence simultaneously. On September 7, 2003, UNESCO certified wayang as Indonesia's intangible cultural heritage. Through the intervention of Cenk Blonk, the popularity of wayang in Bali has contributed to UNESCO's decision that the cultural heritage of wayang is vibrant. In the early 2000s, Cenk Blonk's popularity remained at its peak.

The primary reason for Cenk Blonk's popularity, apart from its innovations in staging wayang (electric lights, a widescreen with a mobile stage on a truck, a more festive music arrangement with more musicians), is also its ability to deliver stories concisely with refreshing, contemporary, and digestible humour for young urban teenage audiences while remaining contextual to the story (the epic Mahabharata) and reality (the chaotic local and national socio-political life). For his critics, puppeteer Nardayana often prioritizes humour instead of communicating the noble teachings of wayang art inspired by the Mahabharata and Ramayana epics (Kertonegoro, 2009).

This article explores Cenk Blonk's ability to construct rhetoric in his puppetry performances, enabling him to captivate audiences. This exploration contributes to the linguistic study of wayang performance discourse which is under research, apart from Saputra, Mbete & Muliana (2022) who worked on humour elements of Cnk Blonk performance. Also, it reveals the best knowledge of the secret of Cenk Blonk's success as a legendary puppeteer who has survived for more than four decades, a remarkable length of time for a typical performance artist, especially compared to the world of popular culture, which is usually characterized by the law of "famous fast but quickly forgotten."

2. Literature Review

Wayang is an attractive performing art to watch, simultaneously a form and practice of culture subject to study. In their studies, Mulyono (1989) and Pringadi (2004) note that many Western scholars are particularly keen to study wayang, such as Brandes, Rassers, Hazeu, and Kern. Likewise, anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1983) scrutinizes wayang in the context of Javanese culture. Further, Mazeda from the University of Tokyo describes the art of shadow puppetry as a high-quality work containing significant educational contributions to human life (in Pringadi, 2004).

The global interest in puppetry is leveraging. Puppeteering, gamelan music, and singing have become subjects at these universities (Mulyono, 1989, p.12). Rabindranath Tagore, during his visit to Java and Bali in 1927, points out

that the art of shadow puppetry is not familiar in India, except for characters such as Arjuna and Krishna. The Nobel Prize-winning poet from India comments that Javanese and Balinese are accomplished in realizing Hindu stories as dramatic art, exceeding Indians themselves (Pringadi, 2004). Tagore would have been even more astonished if he could have witnessed Cenk Blonk's lively wayang performances to convey the teachings of the Mahabharata and Ramayana epics and comment on current social issues with straightforward and witty rhetoric.

In Indonesia, several art scholars are interested in studying puppetry from the perspective of language, literature, and contemporary culture, including Laksamana Putra and Gumana Putra (2023), Senopati and Wicaksandita (2023), and Suryanata and Marhaeni (2023). The findings of these three studies are published in the *Jurnal Damar*, published by the Department of Puppetry, Faculty of Performing Arts, ISI Denpasar. Their studies of the language aspects of wayang performance are relevant to this study.

Laksamana and Gumana Putra (2023), in an article entitled "The Referential and Metalinguistic Functions of Language Code Mixture in Wayang Cenk Blonk Title Ludra Murthi Performance," argue puppeteers at any time and frequently mix language codes. In using Balinese as the primary language, English elements are slipped in when pronounced, such as the phrase "once again." However, in Balinese, an existing term is equivalent to the phrase, which is "*malih pisan*." The puppeteers do not use the phrase "*malih pisan*" and replace it with the English version "once again" to generate humour. Puppeteer Nardayana has succeeded; when the phrase is uttered, the audience laughs. Accordingly, the puppeteer's goal is accomplished. It is what is meant by the poetic function of language code-mixing. In this situation, the audience would feel that the puppeteer is a master of language. Consequently, the use of foreign words can lead to various impressions of "intellectual," "intellectual pretentiousness," or the impression of "wow" (Sudjiman, 1993, p. 27).

In the article "Balinese Wayang and Social Activism: A Case Study of Rhetoric and Recycled Waste Puppets in Rahayu Gumine's Cinematographic Theater" (2023), Senopati and Wicaksandita find that the cinematographic production creates a powerful audiovisual experience that conveys relevant messages regarding environmental conservation. Wayang Bali is imperative in reinforcing the film's narrative, combining traditional culture with contemporary issues. The article also elaborates on the creative implications of combining wayang with cinematography.

Suryanata and Marhaeni perform a study, "The Role of Balinese Literature in the Realization of Cultural Values in Pewayangan Stories" (2023). According to Suryanata and Marhaeni, literature is an indispensable component in performance as the two are interrelated. A performing artist should know the existing literary works. To enrich themselves as puppeteers, it is advised that literary teachings be incorporated as humour to avoid a lack of material on the stage. An artist, especially a puppeteer, must know the ins and outs of the literary works that will be performed. The artist's soul connection to literature is also meaningful in getting the *taksu* (spiritual strength) that moves the audience. To create this connection, the puppeteer delivers it through movement, language, and sound.

Budiasa (2002; 2007; 2011) investigates the art of wayang by making three puppeteers the focus of his studies, i.e., Cenk Blonk, puppeteer Ida Bagus Amitaba, and puppeteer Dewa Made Rai Mesi. Besides the linguistic review, Budiasa is ex in wayang to preserve the traditional art as a noble value of the nation's culture. The success or failure of a shadow puppet show depends on innovation, creativity, and the ability of the puppeteer to perform the puppets, deliver the story, and mix the conversation to represent the era. The storytelling and mixing of the conversation must be conveyed through language (Budiasa, 2011).

Considering the observations of these researchers, the language element is essential. Accordingly, it requires further study. Drawing from the authors' observation, the puppeteer Cenk Blonk is prominent in rhetoric (language). The puppeteer plays the language of selecting the right words (diction), connotative and imaginative with current topics. Through rhetoric, this puppet show can attract the audience, making it popular with the people in Bali. Based on the results of previous studies, wayang studies from a pop culture perspective are lacking. Further, the language element is understudied in wayang literature. The element of language is influential as capital for the development of popular culture.

3. Method and Theoretical Framework

3.1 Method

The object of the study was the text of the VCD recording of Cenk Blonk shadow puppetry with the play "Diah Ratna Takesi" produced by Bali Record in 1998. The digital puppet show can be downloaded on YouTube under the title Diah Ratna Takesi Series 1, 2, and 3. This play was chosen because it was the first recorded on VCD, following other Wayang Cenk Blonk plays. This first recording attracted audiences, and the public bought the cassette. In this postmodern era, texts are not limited to writing but also texts produced by information technology (Suaka, 2013). This study was a descriptive qualitative type using words, phrases, and sentences as the unit of analysis. The words and sentences were in the form of dialog, monologue, and narration by the puppeteer. The data collection techniques were listening and note-taking from the VCD.

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Furthermore, the data in the Balinese language is translated (transliteration) into English. Data was also collected from Cenk Blonk's Youtube account, where there were many comments on contemporary theme podcasts. Interviews were also conducted with puppeteer Nardayana and several audience members to obtain their comments on Cenk Blonk.

A literature study was performed to investigate the studies of previous researchers, and a literature review was conducted from related sources. The reading identified and classified data to be recorded as material for analysis. This study was interpretative because it involved oral and written discourse or text (Bungin, 2003, p. 171). The data were described and interpreted using the hermeneutic method. Data in words, sentences, dialog, and puppeteer monologues were quoted to support and emphasize statements. Further, it was analyzed using the content analysis method (Ratna, 2004, p. 45).

Zamsuri (2012) explains that this content analysis was aligned with puppet shows' communicative nature. The primary content of these shows was the communication of puppeteers who bring puppet characters to life. It corresponded with the puppeteer's goal of conveying a message to the audience or the public. As both audience members and authors, our method involved quoting various puppeteer utterances related to the topic of discussion to emphasize statements that the puppeteers substantiated. The data analysis was descriptive inductive, starting with data presentation, followed by interpretation and argumentation. Interpretation and argumentation were enriched by conducting intertextual studies, i.e., exploring issues that arise in public discourse, further enhancing our understanding of the play's communicative power.

3.2 Theoretical Framework

The linkage between language and popular culture has received attention from the initiators of cultural studies, comparable to debates about power, identity, marginalization, commercialization, and industrialization. Barker (2005) and John Fiske (2011) discuss language and power in popular culture. Barker centralizes the ideological aspects of power, while Fiske looks at the linkage between language and popular culture where language and popular culture are dilemmatic (Fiske, 2011, p. 121). Popular culture is often criticized for misusing language. In the book *Understanding of Popular Culture* (2011), Fiske questions why using language in popular culture generates numerous offenses and raises concerns from many parties. There is considerable misuse of language. Fiske discusses the arbitrary and undisciplined use of language in the book, such as the language of print media, spoken language, literacy, advertisements, and song lyrics. Ultimately, Fiske sees the use of language in popular culture as a play on words (2011, pp. 122-123). Academically, this wordplay is labelled by Fiske as a representation of cultural transformation.

In Stuart Hall's cultural circuit model, language is a medium involving signs and symbols (Ida, 2014). These signs, words, or electronically produced visual images convey concepts, ideas, and feelings to others. Representation, as Hall (in Ida, 2014) posits, is the key that connects meaning and language to culture. The representation systems through language are fundamental to the process of meaning production. This system includes objects, people, and events associated with a set of concepts, which, without the concept, cannot interpret the world meaningfully (Hall in Ida 2014, pp. 50-51). The immense popularity of Wayang Cenk Blonk, a form of puppetry, is partly due to the unique representation of language itself. These representations involve the intentions, ideas, and feelings of the puppeteer.

In the study of mass culture or media culture, popular culture theory, as initiated by Sardar and Loon (2001), Storey (1996), Barker (2005), and Bourton (2008), is often intersected. According to Sardar and Loon (2001), the characteristics of cultural studies assess various cultures and cultural practices concerning power. Cultural studies aim to deconstruct (dismantle/break) conventional scientific rules. Barker (2014) frames the concept of popular culture politically as a battleground for meaning, where cultural hegemony is gained or challenged. In this context, Wayang Cenk Blonk, a form of puppetry, strives to deconstruct the hegemony of conventional puppetry in Bali. 'Representation' in this context refers to the unique way in which puppetry, as a form of popular culture, challenges and reinterprets conventional cultural practices.

Relating to Fiske's (2011) language game and Hall's (2014) cultural circuit model, puppetry is the art of language, speech, or rhetoric. According to Satoto (2012: p. 38), rhetoric is a discipline of science that emphasizes explicitly speech and speech activities. In the development of modern aesthetics, the term rhetoric emerges in different versions. Based on Hudson (in Satoto, 2012, p. 39), rhetoric loses its good meaning. The first meaning, rhetoric, is a form of "flowery speech." Second, rhetoric is the science of "sugarcoating or equivocating." In this study, the author appreciates the first meaning, i.e., language style (flowery language).

Fundamentally, almost all language styles are based on comparison (Ratna, 2007, p. 253). Language style as the aesthetic locus of literary and cultural works is embodied in metaphor. Therefore, some familiar language can be classified as metaphor or metaphorically comprehended. The nature of the work determines language style, whether it is epic or lyric, oral or written, what the work means, and who the audience is (Sujiman 1993, p. 15). In this study, the language used by puppeteers is spoken language to convey themselves.

Puppeteers utilize language to communicate with the puppet audience, adapt to it, and exercise social control. It corresponds to the opinion of Keraf (1997, p. 3) that the function of language is to present self-expression, communication tools, integration, social adaptation, and social control (Suaka 2021; Hasanuddin 2002). Starting from these two opinions, the study emphasizes the language or rhetorical aspects of the puppeteer. The rhetoric encompasses diction, sentences, metaphors, and figures of speech used by Nardayana puppeteers in their performances. Puppeteers can impose advice, social criticism, and realistic humour through the choice of words, sentences, and narratives.

4. Results and Discussions

To introduce the study of puppeteer Nardayana's rhetoric in popular culture products, we provided the profile of Wayang Cenk Blonk.

4.1 Brief Profile of The Puppeteer

Puppeteer I Wayan Nardayana was born on July 5, 1966, as the first of two children. He began to pursue puppetry in the 5th grade of elementary school, then continued his secondary education and was listed as a graduate of ISI Denpasar, Department of Puppetry. In the past, there were three puppetry groups in his village: Batan Nyuh Village, Marga District, and Tabanan Regency (30 kilometres from the capital of Bali Province, Denpasar). However, the one that survived was the puppet group he founded with his peers. Unfortunately, his parents burned his cardboard puppets when he was in the 6th grade. His father was enraged because his school report was always marked red because he had never studied. Nardayana was too preoccupied with puppetry. He was determined that someday, he wanted to return to the world of puppetry.

Nardayana founded the Wayang Cenk Blonk group on April 11, 1992, with the initial name Wayang Gita Loka (the song of nature). In 1997, Wayang Gita Loka was changed to Wayang Cenk Blonk. The name Wayang Cenk Blonk was given by the audience when performing in Banjar Jumpayah, Mengwi Village, Badung Regency. The puppeteer was resting in the car while waiting for the team to prepare the screen and stage settings. Overheard the audience's conversation, one asked: "What puppet will be performing now?" and was answered, "The Cenk Blonk puppet." Hearing this conversation, the puppeteer was inspired to name his puppet wayang Cenk Blonk.

Generally, all wayang stories have four servant characters (*punakawan*): two for the right group (Panca Pandawa), i.e., father and son named Tualen and Merdah; two for the left group (Hundred Korawa), i.e., brothers named Delem and Sangut. The four *punawakan* are tasked with translating the king's ideas and are also utilized as a medium by the puppeteers to convey humor, social criticism, or satire. For Nardayana, these four *punawakan* were not enough; hence, he added two additional names named Cenk and Blonk, which eventually became the identity of Nardayana puppets (Photo 2).



Photo 2. Images of *punakawan* characters of puppet Cenk Blonk (above and below on the right) printed from the puppeteer's podcast (Photo: Authors Documents).

Wayang Cenk Blonk's first performance on social media in 2019, the podcast was titled "Nang Eblonk were Surrounded by LPD Officers," (LPD stands for Lembaga Perkreditan Desa or the Village Credit and Saving Institution). The title sounded forced because it did not contain epic elements but a widespread problem associated with debts. However, it was understandable because it was produced for a YouTube channel. Then, it proceeded to the next series until it reached the 104th series entitled "Delem Shocked the Heaven." Until 2024, Cenk Blonk has uploaded 125 podcast series.

Presently, the group has launched dozens of recordings in digital media, such as DVD, VCD, and CD cassettes. Nearly all Wayang Cenk Blonk recordings are also accessible digitally through the Cenk Blonk Channel on YouTube. Due to his success, he is often invited to give *dharma wacana* (religious lectures) to companies or employees of government offices. His speech strength led him to perform successfully in *dharma wacana*. His lectures are familiar yet as compelling as when he plays puppets. Cenk Blonk's trademark is a powerful one. Although Cenk Blonk is famous as a preacher, his identity as a puppeteer remains strong. In his 60s, his performance activities have been limited, but his appearances on YouTube and WhatsApp groups remain robust. Cenk Blonk's

puppets and podcasts have brought puppetry up to the same level as other popular cultures in social media.

4.2 Rhetoric Aspect

As researchers and enthusiasts note, the most impressive feature of Cenk Blonk's wayang performances is the refreshing, innovative, straightforward, intelligent, and authentic language style. The phrases used are also powerful, especially regarding social issues in public discourse, including politics, economics, and culture. The rhetorical aspects (language style) of Cenk Blonk's puppetry are found in dialog, monologue, and narration.

The performance, Diah Ratna Takesi (DRT), narrates a love story between Abimanyu and Diah Ratna Takesi in the Suyudana Kingdom. King Mayangkara (Takeshi's father) rejected an arranged marriage and, instead, married Takesi to Laksamana Kumara, the son of King Duryadana of Astinapura. Takesi refused his father's wishes. Takesi resisted because the power and hegemony of the kingdom forcibly arranged the marriage. As a result of the relationship, Takesi became pregnant. The incident caused chaos for the people in the Suyudana Kingdom. This disturbance is responded to by the characters of the punakawan, a servant named Luh Koncreng, and the puppeteer. Forced marriages are a thing of the past, as the puppeteer narrates in Data 1.

Data 1	
Text in Balinese (mixed with Indonesian)	Translation
"Cinta politik adane to. Ada sesuatu di	"It's called political love. There is
balik perkawinanne, pang ci nawangjani,	something behind marriage. Just so
sekarang kan bukan zaman Sitti Nurbaya,	you know, now is not the time of
artinya kawin pakse." (DRT).	Sitti Nurbaya, which means forced
	marriage."

The term 'political love' (*cinta politik*) is a new diction in the art world. It connotes the desire behind Takesi's marriage to Laksamana Putra. A common expression with almost the same meaning is frequently referred to in proverbs, "There is a prawn behind the rock," hidden intention behind someone's attitude. Puppeteer Nardayana does not utilize such a classic expression but a new word, "political love." The diction conveys an originality aptly associated with the world of politics. Politics is the art of strategy to seize power. There is a term in politics, and there are no eternal friends and foes; what is infinite is the desire for power. The meaning behind "political love" conveyed by the puppeteer is that marriage is not founded on love but on the lust for power.

The puppeteer illustrates that the romance of relationships is like the world of escorts in night spots. Consider the dialog between Ceblonk and

Translation
Cenk: "Padang Galak."
Cenk: "Any powerful shaman there?"
Blonk: "There are shamans lined up there,
and they can be chosen anyway, but my
illness is different. As long as I take it there,
it will heal, but when I return home, it will
strike again; most likely, this illness of mine
wants to stay there."

Klencenk as described in Data 2.

The meaning of the Data 2 dialog is related to the life of escorts. For a masher, his illness can be cured if he visits an escort's place. However, when he goes home, his illness recurs. This dialogue made the audience laugh, especially at the end of the dialogue, when Ceblonk mentioned that his illness wanted to stay there (hyperbole). The hyperbole can be considered a peculiar utterance. The peculiarity amazed the audience, men, and women, young and old, with a laughing smile. The use of hyperbole style, as mentioned by Zaidan (2009, p. 44) to create metaphor and irony (satirizing or ridiculing). The puppeteer figuratively and sarcastically can express both types of language styles. The satire can be seen in Data 2, i.e., "... most likely, this illness of mine wants to stay there." That is, living in an escort's house.

Puppeteer Nardayana, in the DRT play, introduces a new female character, Luh Koncreng. Drawing from Data 2, emphasized in Luh Koncreng's narration in Data 3, relates to places such as Padang Galak and others.

Data 3	
Text in Balinese	Translation
Padang Galak, malih ring Sumabawung. Malih ring Blanjong, malih ring Pesiapan.	"A lord is not necessarily a lord. It is in Padang Galak again, then Sumabawung, Blanjong, and Pesiapan. I am pronounced new goods old stock."

Following the context of the sentence in Data 2, *balian* (shaman) does not have a denotative meaning but a connotative (figurative) meaning. The shaman

in this context is used to refer to escort. This interpretation is supported by Data 3, where Padang Galak and Blanjong (Denpasar), Sumabawung (Gianyar), and Pesiapan (Tabanan) are locations of nightspots. The puppeteer is not fabricating the names of the places since it has become common knowledge in Bali that there are night spots in four locations. Luh Koncreng's statement, "I was declared new stock," contains a paradoxical language style. The paradox is that she is "new old stock" for her profession as a prostitute.

Many puppeteers present the marriage play theme, a sensual topic presented in Data 4.

Data 4	
Text in Balinese	Translation
"Dong dugas ngae belingane ten nyambat	"When you got pregnant, did you tell
	me? Answer me! You are enjoying
ditu. Dong tekane subo beling, si aku bareng	yourself there. Once someone's
breret – breret ci, nib o cai care katak dalam	daughter is pregnant, I am expected to
tempurung. Tonde nawang galang, tomben	take responsibility, like a frog under a
nawang galang nawang leb paukudan caine,	shell. You are inexperienced. Be dazzled
ulap teken ka jegegan I Ratna Takesi. I	by Ratna Takesi's beauty. Who is Ratna
Ratna Takesi nak isteri kenken to, nak luh	Takesi? What does that woman do? Ah,
pangengkenan ne to. Ah Nak Luh ji keteng,	what is she? A lowly woman? What did
ji telu? Apo janjing ci I Ratna Takeshi	you promise Ratna Takeshi? What is the
	reality at home so that you can screw
maglur awakn." (DRT)."	her?"

The sentence in Data 4, "What does that woman do? Ah, what is she? A lowly woman? What is the reality at home so that you can screw her?" The word "what" appears repeated three times. Puppeteer Nardayana demonstrates the repetition language style. Repetition is the recurrence of a word that is considered crucial (Keraf 1997, p. 42). It emphasizes the doubts about a woman's identity to convince the audience. According to the puppeteer, a prospective wife needs to be traced, and her origin and status must be known. People who do not know the issues related to a prospective wife, the puppeteer said, are like frogs under the shell (personification style).

Puppeteer Nardayana also briefly mentioned the development of art in Bali in the DRT play, especially the art of *joged bumbung* (flirtatious dance). The appearance of this art supports the theme of forced marriage. Many joged performances have received protests from the public because they have turned into erotic and pornographic dance, as illustrated in Data 5.

Data 5	
Text in Balinese	Translation
"Nu keto-keto abo ci ke masyarakat, nak	"You bring such a <i>joged</i> (flirtatious
mebalih, nak cenik nak lingsir, mangku pade	dancer) to the society. We are seen
mebalih. Ci benehne mengembangkan seni	by children, adults, and priests. You
budaya, ci mebalik menghancurkan seni	are supposed to preserve cultural arts
budaya. Joged tai abo ci nu keto." (DRT)	but are ruining it by presenting this
	dirty joged."

The puppeteer's rhetoric in the data above again uses a contradictory (paradoxical) comparative language style between "preserve" and "ruin." It is also a message to preserve, develop, and not ruin the existing art. According to Zaidan (2009, p.5), the paradox is strongly related to irony, although not all paradoxes produce irony. The paradoxical language used by the puppeteers in Data 3 and Data 5 still generates an aesthetic impression.

The rhetoric of personification and repetition appears in Data 6.

Data 6	
Text in Balinese	Translation
"I Ratu tulya kadi kumuda tan pabanyu,	"The lord's face appears like a flower
kadi tunjung kirangan toya layu-layu dudus	without water, like a lotus lacking water,
katon sikian ratu. Menawi wenten pikobet	very wrinkled. Perhaps something is
ring sajeroning pikayun, manawi wenten	lingering in the heart or troubling the
sungsut sajeroning adnyana."(DRT).	mind."

The characteristics of the personification language style generally use words, e.g., "*seperti*," "*ibarat*," "*bak*," "*bagaikan*," and "*umpama*," which all are variations of the word "like." Hasanudin (2002, p.135) and Thobroni (2013, p. 89) mention that personification is a language style depicting inanimate objects as having human characteristics. Data 6 has a personification style: "The lord's face appears like a flower without water, like a lotus lacking water, very wrinkled." Then, the cause is asked in a repetitive style; maybe something is confusing or bothering the minds (the word "something" is repeated). This variety of language styles in just one short paragraph proves that the puppeteer is meticulous with rhetoric.

The characterization of a servant, i.e., the characters Tualen and Merdah, are portrayed as remarkably faithful to the Pandavas, regardless of their joys and sorrows. The loyalty of Tualen and Merdah is depicted in the subsequent quote.

In Data 7, the servant character, Tualen, is condescending by saying he is an old fool. The phrase is said several times, emphasizing the litotes style. This language style states something less than the actual situation. The purpose is to humble oneself to the interlocutor (Keraf, 1988, p. 132). Tualen is known in puppetry as a wise old man who is broad-minded, often gives advice, can overcome problems, and is patient. However, he calls himself a foolish old man.

The concept of loyalty is also reflected in the relationship between husband and wife, Ceblonk and Tugek. Tugek formed a household based on true love; even though he knew Ceblonk was not handsome, Tugek still preferred him as a husband. The depiction of loyalty can be seen in the following statement.

Data 8	
Text in Balinese	Translation
"To tiang kos umah beli, de beli nak iju-iju	"Am I considering boarding at your
mutusan wicara! Apa buin lakar papineh	house. Do not buy hastily deciding the
beline pelih ila-ila dahat. Tegarang kenehang	problem! Moreover, saying the wrong
ayah tiang ne malu ken beli, kenken? Tiang	statement is dangerous. Think about my
bani ngutang sanggah kemulan, bani	past service to you, how was it? I dared
ngutang rerama luh muani, nyagjagin beli	to leave the Kemulan center (shrine), I
sangkanin apa. Sangkanin tiang demen	dared to leave my parents, and I dared
teken beli. Cara batun baluanne, nunggil	to look for you, for what reason? Because
tresnan tiange, yadiastun jeneng beline cara	I love you so much. Like rambutan seed
lubak." (DRT)	[only one], I love only you, even though
	your face looks like a civet."

......

Tugek's character as a wife navigates the household, which is full of twists and turns. Her choice to find a husband and her loyalty to her husband have been conveyed through the expression like a rambutan with only one seed, signifying her love is only for Ceblonk, her husband. Although her husband's face is 'like a civet,' Tugek's loyalty never ceases. In Data 8, the puppeteer again expresses the personification with "rambutan," leading this personification to affect the audience's imagination. Further, the face, likened to a "civet," is classified as sarcastic. This language style is a harsher mockery than irony and cynicism because it contains bitterness and bitter reproach (Keraf, 1988, p. 143). A face like a civet is a word intended to hurt Ceblonk's feelings. The puppeteer Nardayana's skill is well-tested in his rhetorical ability, between loyalty, affection, and sometimes mockery, representing married life.

The language styles used by the puppeteers in the Data 8 include hyperbole, personification, paradox, repetition, litotes, and sarcasm. The puppeteer's utterances are refreshing and comical, inviting excitement and adding to the audience's imagination. The puppeteer's rhetoric contains metaphors, is figurative (connotative), and uses appropriate diction. Nardayana's narrative is inspired by actual reality in society, including political love, rejected love, the existence of escorts, *joged* bumbung erotic dance, and married life.

4.3 Rhetoric as the Capital of Popular Culture

The impact of puppeteer Nardayana's "flowery" rhetoric is positive because it strengthens Cenk Blonk's position in the mass of contemporary Balinese culture. It was perceived as a trendy form of art and entertainment (Yuga, 2008, p. 23). Performances are almost all over Bali, and audiences are always packed. In VCD disks, recordings are also freely traded in the market. Nardayana has also been featured on YouTube as Cenk Blonk Mania since 2011. Its subscribers have now reached forty-two thousand. In addition to puppeteering, Nardayana performs on YouTube as a motivator, giving *dharma wacana* regarding Balinese customs, religion, and culture. In this regard, Benyamin (in Strinati, 2007, pp. 4-5) mentions that culture can be almost infinitely produced due to the development of industrial production techniques, which have led to issues regarding traditional ideas about the role of culture and art in society.

Besides being skilled in rhetoric, Cenk Blonk puppeteers innovate in performance elements such as lighting, sound system, gamelan, and song accompaniment. According to puppeteer Nardayana (Suaka, 2021), innovation is implemented because the audience becomes complacent and is inclined to desire newness. In its socialization to the public, this shadow puppet clearly describes itself as the innovative Cenk Blonk shadow puppet. It is also a unique

attraction in the community, corresponding to the millennial generation. The innovations made by puppeteer Nardayana resulted in a new discourse or paradigm in shadow puppetry. The substantial and technical expression forms provide a new, contemporary style in the vortex of popular culture. All types of media can be penetrated, leading to popularity. It benefits the puppeteer and also pop culture activists economically. He has moved from the noble (*adiluhung*) culture, as an institution of high-quality puppetry, to the centre of pop culture. However, some of the older generation often label pop culture as low-quality.

Cultural researchers often make a dichotomy between high culture and popular culture. Sublime culture is identified with the teachings of divinity, philosophy, and religion that make up the puppetry tradition. However, Nardayana has challenged the hegemony of Balinese shadow puppetry. The values of wayang that contain ethical, moral, and spiritual teachings that are highly glorified in the hands of Cenk Blonk puppeteers are synergized with humour, criticism, and relevant advice to the audience. This performance is consistent with Storey's (1996, pp. 6-10) opinion that popular culture that many people favour is not high but mass culture and comes from the grassroots itself. There are two opposites in this view. High culture is glorified, especially by the older generation, while the younger generation upholds the presence of Cenk Blonk as part of pop culture. Widnyana (2007, p. 9) mentions that serious art (*balih-balihan matelek*) is scarce, replaced by entertainment (popular) art.

Referring to the criteria of pop culture, the Cenk Blonk puppet show can be classified as a popular show. However, it is wrapped in innovative or creative *wayang kulit*. It is evident in the performance promotion or on the front cover of the Cenk Blonk VCD cassette. Puppeteer Sija and dancer Miroto, as quoted by Soeradjianto (2003), argue that each age demands its art. Today is an age that demands art full of commotion (goro-goro), a world that is rumbling. Strange cultural behaviours are practised, unique, exciting, and sensational. Pop art is vibrant, while classical art is fading away. Puppeteer Nardayana does not act bizarrely but performs innovatively, showing sensationalism that can shock the Balinese community.

Strinati (2007, p. 2) asserts that the significance of popular culture can be identified through mass culture. The emergence of mass media and the increasing commercialization of culture and entertainment have led to various problems, interests, and debates that remain today. Through the authors' observation of wayang audiences, the high culture of puppetry is considered indigestible because it involves a higher level of thinking. Accordingly, it is natural for the younger generation to look for light, entertaining, and realistic shows relevant to everyday life. Conversely, the older generation views pop culture as a second-rate culture that disrupts the existing wayang principles. There is too much humour, which causes the audience to get stomach aches and mouth aches from excessive laughter.



Photo 3. The community packed to watch Wayang Cenk Blonk in celebration of the 76th Bhayangkara Day on July 1, 2022 (*https://www.google.com/ search?q=wayang+cenk+blonk&sca_esv=596078167&tbm*)

Humor is performed by the *punakawan* characters Tualen-Merdah, Sangut-Delem, and Ceblonk-Klenceng. Their dialogues critically criticize societal inequality, including lifestyle, corruption, law, and politics. It is what Cenk Blonk's puppetry excels. Using the intriguing vernacular of these characters, the puppeteer can delight the audience (Photo 3). The arrival of the popular wayang Cenk Blonk is perceived to have shifted away from the sacred aspects of puppetry. Putu Brata also performs transformation with electronic wayang performances that use audiovisuals. Wayang D'Karbit, according to Marajaya (2017a; 2017b), made innovations, including a widescreen, *blencong* (coconut oilfueled lighting) lamps replaced with electric lights, using LCD (Laser Compact Disk) to provide background atmosphere in specific scenes, and a sound system to adjust the volume of sound. In 1988, Ketut Kodi and Dewa Ketut Wicaksana worked on a revolutionary form called *Pakeliran Layar Berkembang* (Developing Screen), taking the title *Arjuna Tapa* (Arjuna Ascetic) (Widnyana, 2007, p. 154).

The recent creativity of puppeteers in Bali has also manifested itself in Java. An article written by Trianto (*Bende*, February 10, 2004) reports that a young puppeteer, Ki Enthus Sasmono, presented a Cow Boy-style puppet show. The spectacle attracted the audience's attention, especially the young generation. His style is extreme expressionism, breaking the static puppetry, becoming

flexible, fluid, accessible, and dynamic, which is adjusted to the stirring spirit of the young generation. Similarly, Mukti (2009) points out that puppetry nowadays runs almost with a different aesthetic. They start from music, sound, puppet movements, and even money, positions, and women. Consequently, it is unsurprising that many scholars have forbidden and condemned it. Such criticisms include a poem in Javanese by Murtiyoso (in Mukti, 2009) that has been transcribed into English:

"My puppet is no longer a guide to life My puppet has lost its spirit My puppet has been used to indulge in lust My puppet is only deceived by the will My puppet has no direction."

Unlike the controversial changes in Java, the puppeteer Cenk Blonk in Bali stays true to Balinese artistic aesthetics' demands. His work is deeply rooted in the Javanese aesthetic of Indonesian puppetry, *bangesgresem*. The bangesgresem theory, as reported by Damono (2009, p. 342), is derived from the four elements of Surakarta's *gragag* puppetry aesthetics, i.e., *banyol* (humorous), *nges* (impressive), *greget* (enthusiasm), and *sem* (romantic). This phrase is considered the aesthetic theory of Javanese literature (Suroso and Santoso, 2009, p. 26). Bangesgresem is an acronym for *banyol*, *nges*, *greget*, *sem*, and it serves as a testament to the preservation of cultural heritage in Indonesian puppetry.

Furthermore, Santoso (2000) argues that these four elements are intricately connected to the audience's emotions. The audience's emotions are successfully elicited by the puppeteer Nardayana. The reason is the puppeteer's ability to use rhetoric with refreshing, beautiful, humorous, and understandable words. The audience is predominantly grounded in the aesthetics of modern puppetry. They assume that a truly superior and qualified puppeteer is a puppeteer who can produce humour. The audience feels amused or smiles because there is something comical, humorous, and witty (*banyol*). Likewise, the puppeteer can generate tension that evokes the audience's emotions with anger and indignation when in an annoying atmosphere (*greget*). Puppeteer is also able to stimulate the erotic sensibilities of the reader (*sem*), leading to romance.

These aesthetic elements constitute one whole performance presented by the Cenk Blonk puppeteer. This puppeteer is not producing sparring but a pairing culture in traditional puppetry. Through packaging popular culture, Nardayana revitalises wayang as the nation's noble cultural art. This fusion of cultures is a hybrid culture, drawing on elements of the fine arts of the past and present eras. Prominent popularity is apparent in the art of puppeteer rhetoric with a dominant metaphorical style. Nardayana, who studied puppetry at Indonesian Arts College (ISI) Denpasar, is a metaphorical rhetorical puppeteer. This ability promotes the development of both the pop culture and the noble culture of puppetry in Bali. Audience responses on YouTube (https://www. youtube.com/@CenkBlonk) are diverse and praiseful.

This sophisticated technological media, as a tool of human equipment, as Bungin (2017) states, develops into a tool of human satisfaction to produce meaning. Most comments on the link strongly agree, are satisfied, and appreciate the Cenk Blonk performance as a medium for preserving traditional Balinese culture. The audience, Putu Wawan, conveys gratitude and sincerity while living life, following the puppeteer's messages. Another comment, "Hilarious and there is always wisdom," expressed Ni Putu Wendri while wishing the puppeteer was healthy. "Cenk Blonk always inspires me," mentioned Ita Distriana Dewi. Watching Cenk Blonk puppets made Ekayasa impatient for the continuation of the story. He considered Cenk Blonk's puppets to be powerful.

Praise for the puppeteer was also delivered by Nyoman Artana, Agus Adnyana, Yogajekicen, Saipul Gondrong, and Panji Gunawan, who rated puppeteer Nardayana as excellent. They felt entertained and wished the puppeteer would maintain his work. Some audiences give different reactions. Luffyjunior asked, "Dear, puppeteer. I want to ask the puppeteer what the function of the vibrating sound behind the puppet dialog is. I am sorry that I am quite annoyed by the frequent sound." The question has yet to be answered by the puppeteer as of the writing of this article. Another audience member, Wayan Bisma Anggara, criticized that one of Cenk Blonk's performances was not particularly funny. It is just a lot of advice. The show that is watched results from collaboration with several agencies regarding preventing the COVID-19 pandemic. In this regard, the puppeteer's improvisation is confined by the sponsor's messages as a public service advertisement.

Cenk Blonk's twelve to fifteen minute podcasts attract a large audience. They are also extensively shared on social media, seemingly endlessly, allowing Cenk Blonk's wayang to live on and, simultaneously, the art of wayang to grow in popularity and strengthen Balinese cultural identity based on performing and visual arts (Putra, 2008; Putra, 2014; Verheijen & Putra, 2020). The magnetism of the Cenk Blonk podcast lies primarily in its articulation and rhetoric: clear, articulate, intelligent, witty, poignant, refreshing, and authentic (Saputra, Mbete & Muliana, 2022). The rhetoric is composed through the dialog of the *punakawan* Delem-Sangut, Tualen-Merdah, and Cenk-Blonk, delivered in Balinese with Indonesian subtitles. It is a selection consistent with pop culture's humorous, critical, entertaining, and inspirational characters. Consequently, Nardayana's metaphorical rhetorical skills are instrumental to Balinese popular culture.

5. Conclusion

Nardayana's success as a puppeteer has spanned an extended period, from the 1990s to the 2020s. The success is attributed to his ability to communicate stories in a straightforward, comical, and engaging style that is effortless for the audience to comprehend. Puppeteer Nardayana is exceptionally skilled in metaphorical rhetoric. These metaphors incorporate repetition, personification, hyperbole, paradox, and sarcasm, which are aesthetically pleasing. Cenk Blonk puppeteer can be dubbed as a metaphorical rhetorical puppeteer. Nardayana's language skills are powered by language aesthetics presented in humour (*banyol*), social criticism, satire, and enlightening advice to the audience. The social criticism is realistic concerning lifestyle, politics, household, and socioculture.

Consequently, the rhetoric led to the Cenk Blonk puppet's capability to transform culturally into digitalization and become a pop culture product. The performances fill art events in the community. The audience can conveniently connect to these shadow puppets through YouTube, Google, Facebook, and other social media platforms. Thus, puppeteers Nardayana can synergize (juxtapose) contemporary puppet art with the past. Cenk Blonk puppet products are a pairing culture, not a sparring culture. The innovation is intended to attract as many puppet audiences as possible. It is because if they still retain the traditional puppetry, the public will abandon puppets. Wayang Cenk Blonk is yet adequately labelled as an innovative shadow puppet. However, through this analysis, Cenk Blonk is pronounced a famous shadow puppet in Bali. Besides the rhetorical aspects, there are many significant issues of Cenk Blonk's existence or popularity, including narrative structure, discourse structure, and ritual aspects of wayang that are worthy of further studies.

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