

## Mass Ngaben Ceremony Deconstruction in Nusasari Melaya Village Jembrana

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### Abstract

*Ngaben for the Balinese people is a form of final respect for those who have died. In practice, many Balinese people complain because it costs a lot. For those who are poor, this Ngaben ceremony is a burden. So, the solution given is by mass cremation, which is a ceremony that is carried out together. By doing it together, costs can be reduced because the costs can be shared together. However, even so, this is also sometimes not free from expensive costs, because, even though they are together, nevertheless, each person who has sawa (dead body) often makes the ceremony excessive, resulting in a contestation. This work descriptively describes the deconstruction strategy that was carried out, namely the implementation was carried out by traditional villages. The money is collected by the traditional village and then the implementation is also carried out by the traditional village. Both the rich and the poor will be treated equally so that the implementation looks uniform. This is of course very beneficial because there are many implications such as togetherness, traditional villages have money and others.*

**Keywords:** *deconstruction, mass cremation ceremony, Nusasari Village.*

### I. Introduction

The Ngaben ceremony in Bali is one of the ceremonies connoted as a complicated ceremony, requires a large amount of money, and requires quite a long time. So that when people are going to carry out the Ngaben ceremony, they must really prepare themselves. Compared to other ceremonies, the Ngaben ceremony is seen by the community as the biggest ceremony or the pinnacle for humans. This ceremony is believed to have religious ethical meaning as a form of respect for the last devotional service to the deceased (parents) and is believed to influence the quality of development of family life. Thus, not a few people try to show their devotion to the maximum by carrying out a large and luxurious Ngaben ceremony. On the other hand, the cremation ceremony also contains a high social status value in the sense that it is seen as being able to elevate the dignity of the person carrying out the cremation ceremony.

On the basis of this assumption, most people think that the cremation ritual can only be carried out by people who have enough money. Besides that, there are still many areas or villages, such as what happened in Nusasari Village, Melaya District, Jembrana Regency, which are trapped by traditions and customary village rules that are absolutely binding

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and force them to maintain traditions from previous generations. The tradition that thrives and thrives in the traditional village means that the traditional village residents do not have many choices, because one bond established in the village *awig-awig* also emphasizes that a cremation ceremony must be carried out for burying a dead person for the next three years. The community feels that all of this is burdensome, especially for residents who have limited economic capital.

Referring to his opinion Derrida in a deconstruction theory related to the implementation of the mass cremation ceremony is a term "construction", the reality of the mass cremation ceremony in Nusasari Village, Melaya District, Jembrana Regency is a new reality construction as a result of the previous reality construction which was then deconstructed by people as actors who have influence both in appointed positions in the village structure and also individually as people who are distinguished because they have certain abilities.

Derrida's opinion is in line with Ardana's statement (interview, 7 May 2022) so that members of the public who have a limited economy can carry out the cremation ceremony, then spontaneously several residents gather themselves to carry out the cremation ceremony together by jointly taking place at the house of one of the members . The series of Ngaben ceremonies are running as usual by involving the community. The process of this ceremony seems to have given rise to an idea among several community leaders of Nusasari Village, Melaya Subdistrict, Jembrana Regency for the next to other residents who have not been able to carry out the cremation ceremony.

Nandra Yasa (interview, 15 May 2022) explained that the implementation of the Ngaben ceremony which was carried out by several people in one group then brought up ideas or ideas from figures in the community structure of the Nusasari Traditional Village to manage on behalf of and responsibility for the traditional village with the assistance of several community leaders starting holding a joint meeting. The results of the meeting decided that within the agreed time, a mass cremation ceremony would soon be carried out using the village field as a place for the procession besides the *setra* (cemetery). The agreement resulting from the leaders' meeting was then disseminated to the community level, finally receiving appreciation and approval accompanied by several reasons.

## **II. Method**

This study aims to describe the mass cremation ceremony in Nusasari Village, Melaya District, Jembrana Regency, and specifically to find out and analyze ideology, the form of deconstruction of practices that occur, and the implications of the mass cremation ceremony for society. Furthermore, the theoretical benefits are expected to enrich the body of knowledge, and are practically useful as a stimulus in exploring various socio-religious aspects. So that the research does not deviate from the problem, it is framed with some appropriate previous research results and with concepts based on the variables specified in the research title. Problems are dissected with theory in an eclectic manner using deconstruction theory, hegemonic practice theory, and hyperreality theory. This study uses a qualitative approach, which is sourced from primary data and secondary data. Data were collected by techniques: observation, interviews, and document study. Furthermore, it was analyzed by means of descriptive qualitative and interpretive then the final stage was carried out by presenting the results of the research.

## **III. Discussion**

Death is a sacred or holy process in which each religion has its own ways to pay its last respects to the deceased. Dying is a natural process in the circle of human life which in Hindu philosophy is called *Tri Kona* namely *Uttpeti* (born), *Stiti* (life), and *Pralina*

(death). Death is unpredictable, planned and wanted. The purpose of the Ngaben ceremony is so that Raga Sarira can return to his origin more quickly, namely the five elements of Maha Butha in nature and the hope that the Atma of the person who has died can go to the Pitra realm. Hinduism in India shows that it has implemented a ritual process identical to the cremation ceremony since long ago as contained in the Mahabharata. The Yudhistira burned the heroes who fell on the battlefield in Medan Kuruksetra, by means of chess wija, and did not wait long after the death occurred. Hinduism in Bali also in principle follows these ways. It's just that it can be done according to belief waiting for a day that is considered good.

Likewise according to the traditions and beliefs of the deceased to be buried first while preparing to collect sufficient funds, and until it is possible for all families to gather at the ceremony. In general, the form, type and series of rituals for the mass cremation ceremony in Nusasari Village, Melaya District, Jember Regency are the same as the series of cremation ceremonies in general. Only in a mass cremation ceremony the costs incurred are carried out jointly according to the situation at the time of implementation.

### 3.1 Reasons for the Deconstruction of the Mass Ngaben Ceremony in Nusasari Village

The changes experienced by the people of Nusasari Village, Melaya District, Jember Regency are in line with the opinion of Lubis (2006: 24) recognizing that religion or cultural practices that are religious in essence are a form of desire to change, either changing the people of its followers from misguided humans to become good human beings, right or returning those who are lost to become righteous human beings and invites people to achieve salvation. This phenomenon is referred to as adaptive culture, meaning that portions of non-material culture (norms, values and beliefs) can encourage change and adapt to material innovation in an intelligent and constructive way.

#### Strengthening Social Integration

Abdullah (2006: 162) states that in every life of a society, humans always experience a change. Changes in people's lives are natural social phenomena because every human being has unlimited interests. Changes will appear after the social order and social life of the old community can be compared with the new order of social life. Societal elements that experience change usually relate to social values, social norms, patterns of behavior, social organization, social institutions, social stratification, power, responsibility, leadership, and so on.

All forms of changes made certainly have a purpose and purpose both in the communal and individual settings. Changes in a particular form may have implications for changes in other forms. As happened in Nusasari Village, Melaya District, Jember Regency which was explained by Agus Santiawan (interview, 26 June 2022) that there has been a change in behavior which also has implications for the implementation of the ceremony, especially the Ngaben ceremony. Previously, the Ngaben ceremony was carried out by members of the community individually, but in line with the times, it was then carried out in groups gathered by one of the people who had a kinship relationship. This phenomenon eventually gave rise to an idea among community leaders to institutionally manage the Ngaben ceremony with the ideology of maintaining a sense of unity as members of the community and strengthening beliefs as Hindus.

The social meaning contained in the implementation of the mass cremation ceremony in Nusasari Village, Melaya District, Jember Regency led to the strengthening of the social ties of the community members. Strengthening social integration is related to the formation of increasingly strong social relations between families who carry out the Ngaben ceremony and with community members who help mutually by interacting with each other. Social interaction is formed by activities that are carried out together in order to complete the ceremony. As explained by Culture (interview 3 July 2022) that in carrying out the mass cremation, the attitude of togetherness is manifested by the

community, especially when they jointly work on all the required facilities. Through the implementation of the mass cremation ceremony, a stronger social bond is formed among the community members.

All the needs for the offerings are borne by the traditional village, so that the community interacts together to prepare and make except for the making of the offerings/buying containers elsewhere because no one in the community can make them yet, in that process all male and female residents are required to do *ngayah* until the ceremony is completed. All residents who are members of the traditional village when the cremation ceremony is held are required to come to assist with activities for the completion of the cremation ceremony. So that those present feel responsible for completing the ceremony in accordance with their respective duties determined by the chairman of the committee.

#### Reduce Costs

Many parties have tried to overcome it so that Balinese Hindus can carry out religious ceremonies, especially cremation, with a sense of security, comfort, and at the same time not be economically burdensome but their social-religious needs and goals can be achieved. Meanwhile, internally the problems faced are quite complex and complicated. Ngaben in Bali is seen as complicated and causing problems so that most people think that the cremation ritual can only be carried out by wealthy people in terms of wealth. As time went on, the idea of a mass cremation finally emerged which gave fresh air to Hindus in Bali. Ngaben costs, which were originally hundreds of millions of rupiah, can now be saved and can be allocated to meet other needs.

Economically, the dynamics of the *Pitra Yadnya* (mass cremation) ceremony, especially in Nusasari Village, Melaya District, Jembrana Regency, is mainly related to aspects of financing efficiency. If in carrying out the cremation each family performs it separately it requires a lot of money, whereas if it is carried out in a mass way the cost can be reduced. This of course will be able to ease the burden on families who carry out the Ngaben ceremony. It is realized that it is a common phenomenon that carrying out a cremation ceremony requires a relatively large amount of money so that those who will carry out the ceremony need to wait for the right time to be able to carry out this obligation.

Related to the efficiency of financing, according to Wirya (interview, 17 July 2022) revealed that the emergence of holding a mass cremation ceremony in Nusasari Village, Melaya District, Jembrana Regency greatly reduced costs, especially for families who had limited funds. If the Ngaben ceremony is carried out separately, the cost can be said to be very large, approximately in the range of seventy-five million rupiahs to over one hundred million rupiahs. However, after it was carried out by means of a mass cremation, as has been done three times by the people here, it ended up costing not too much.

According to Nandrayasa (interview, 17 July 2022) explained that the amount of fees charged to residents who take part in carrying out the Ngaben ceremony is determined from the chosen level. The committee carried out a mass cremation ceremony with two levels, namely the *sawa prateka* level and the *sawa pranawa* level. Those who choose the *sawa prateka* level at this year's ceremony will be charged 8 million rupiah, while the *sawa pranawa* level will be charged 6 million rupiah. The special feature that distinguishes the level of *sawa prateka* is that in the process of the ceremony it is carried out using *menek tumpang salu*, it is given to make their own *petulangan/bade* as desired, while the *pranawa* is not. *Menek tumpang salu* and using the *bade* prepared by the committee.

As an indicator that the mass cremation movement carried out by the Hindu community in Nusasari Village, Melaya District, Jembrana Regency has an economic meaning in reducing the burden of far from carrying out independently with costs of up to hundreds of millions. In line with that, the opinion of the people who have assumed that the

implementation of the Ngaben ceremony is synonymous with large costs is not always true.

In line with the structural functional theory that society as a system is functionally integrated in an equilibrium form. This shows that every human being will definitely relate to other human beings, be it in the family, in work, education, and other environments. To be able to relate, it takes the role or function of each. It is from each function that in an environment raises tasks that must be completed (Koentjaraningrat, 1992: 78).

Regarding the structural functional theory above, it was implemented in the people of Nusasari Village, Melaya District, Jembrana Regency when holding a mass cremation ceremony as explained by Jro Mangku Tirtha (interview, 17 July 2022) stating that it is related to the existence of community obligations that are bound to traditional social organizational units traditional village, namely *sekaa suka-duka*, continues to run which also contributes to reducing costs, because of all needs starting from the initial preparation process to the procession and the end of the cremation ceremony, the community works together to help with no honorarium in return according to their respective skills. For the community, men and women carry out all ceremonial needs (*banten*) by mutual cooperation in the place that has been prepared by the committee.

The implementation of the mass cremation system in the Hindu community in Nusasari Village, Melaya District, Jembrana Regency economically means cost efficiency because there is a considerable reduction in costs when compared to the cremation ceremony being carried out separately by each family as was done before. Furthermore, Jro Mangku Tirtha explained that he felt very grateful because from the beginning the idea of this mass cremation ceremony was sparked by challenges, especially from those who did not agree, but after walking three times for the mass cremation the community felt that there was relief in terms of financing so that in its current implementation there are no community members who do not carry out the cremation ceremony for more than four years due to the reason that they do not have the funds.

#### Nusasari Traditional Village Needs Financial Input

According to Nandra Yasa (interview, 24 July 2022) explained that achieving the development target for the Nusasari Traditional Village cannot be relied on from government assistance, the amount of which is very situational. Apart from going through a long and convoluted process, it is thick with political hegemonic overtones. Government contributions are also very incidental when providing assistance, and must begin with the application process. Even if an application is made, the administrative process is very bureaucratic.

Over time and in accordance with Regional Regulation No. 03, 2001 the point is to improve the welfare of all citizens. Nusasari Village, Melaya District, Jembrana Regency as one of the traditional villages finally agreed to empower the existing potential. Starting around 2010, the Nusasari Traditional Village, Melaya District, Jembrana Regency deconstructed the *Pitra Yadnya* ceremony with a mass cremation which was previously carried out independently and also in groups from several families on the initiative and agreement of the group concerned.

Bourdieu (2010) explains that the deconstruction of cultural practices associated with livelihoods, religious traditions, customs, or architecture for an interest shows that there has been a synthesis of an economic order with symbolic power. Nusasari Village, Melaya District, Jembrana Regency in its symbolic development has full power over its cultural capital. However, in practice, cultural capital cannot be separated from economic-based hegemonic power relations.

Departing from Bourdieu's theory above, that the Ngaben ceremony as a tradition and cultural capital of the community's customary order in Nusasari Village, Melaya District,

Jembrana Regency was then managed institutionally through the Traditional Village to become a mass cremation. As explained by Ardana (interview, interview, 17 July 2022) that the Ngaben ceremony was previously carried out by a group of people with the term group cremation and emphasized more on family relationships in the social stratification structure (clan). Apart from that, the implementation process is clearly visible as well as to reduce costs, but there are signs that it is being used as an opportunity to gain profit for personal gain. Then on the initiative of several figures who have influence in the village and are supported by the community, the Ngaben ceremony is managed by the traditional village. One of the reasons is that the remaining proceeds from the management of the collected funds will be used for the common good in supporting infrastructure development, especially the maintenance and construction of holy places. Until now, from several times holding mass cremation ceremonies, we have been able to repair, rehabilitate, and add several facilities needed for the construction of the Dalem Temple. Efficiency of funds from the 2022 activities in July, approximately 50 million rupiah was collected, this was able to be collected because all the needs of the offerings for the Ngaben ceremony were carried out jointly by the community members without wages.

### Religious Stability

The religious meaning contained in the dynamics of carrying out the mass cremation ceremony for the Hindu community in Nusasari Village, Melaya District, Jembrana Regency is related to the belief system regarding matters related to *niskala* powers (powers that are invisible to the eye), whether these powers come from ancestors as well as the power of the *bhatara-bhatari*. This aspect of belief is related to its influence on human life and its family. In this case those who do not carry out the cremation ceremony are believed to be the spirits of the deceased who will roam and can interfere with human life. This belief is based on the belief that if the spirits of the deceased have not carried out the cremation ceremony for a long time, then according to the beliefs of the local community, it may interfere with their lives. Prior to the enactment of the mass cremation ceremony in Nusasari Village, Melaya District, Jembrana Regency, many people who died for several years did not have the cremation ceremony carried out by their families, citing insufficient funds.

Observing the above phenomenon, by holding a mass cremation ceremony, families who have people who have patents (died) will be assisted in carrying out their obligations, as revealed by Jro Mangku Wayan Tirtha (interview, 17 July 2022) that the mass cremation ceremony has helped the community in Nusasari Village, Melaya District, Jembrana Regency in order to carry out their obligations, namely to carry out the cremation ceremony for their families who have not been cremated for a long time. This is due to financing problems, especially among economically disadvantaged families. Many residents did not perform the cremation ceremony in the past due to economic difficulties, so their bodies were not cremated for years. In the past, several families had more than one deceased relative who had been buried for some time and could not be burned because of financial difficulties. Thankfully, finally with the mass cremation program for residents whose families are still buried, they can finally carry out the cremation ceremony. This also means that they can carry out according to what is taught by Hindu religious teachings.

This also shows that from the religious aspect, the Hindu community, which is still said to be economically weak, feels helped to carry out their religious obligations. Based on the teachings of Hinduism, especially the implementation of Hindu religious traditions in Bali, the cremation ceremony is a must in order to return the five *maha bhuta* elements of people who died back to their respective places of origin. Those who are in weak economic conditions can complete their obligations or debts to their parents by carrying out the mass form of the *Pitra Yadnya*. In line with the description above, in the implementation of the mass cremation ceremony carried out by the people of Nusasari Village, Melaya District, Jembrana Regency as a manifestation of religious aspects. If a

body that has been buried for too long does not get the completion of the pengabenan ceremony according to belief, then it is believed that its spirit is wandering.

Philosophically the cremation ceremony for Hinduism is carried out that the human body consists of three layers, namely: Stula Sarira, Suksma Sarira, and Antakkarana Sarira. When a human dies, the soul sarira with the atma will leave the body, because the body cannot function anymore, because some of its parts have been damaged so that the atma is not fit to occupy it. To prevent the atma from leaving for too long, it is necessary to carry out a ritual for the gross body of the deceased to speed up the process of returning to its original source in nature, namely the five mahabhuta. Likewise, the atma needs to have a ceremony made to go to the realm of nature and break its attachment to the gross body. This process is called cremation. If the cremation ceremony is not carried out for a long enough time, the gross body will become a germ of disease, which is called bhuta cuwil, and the atma will get hell, as explained in Lontar Tattwa Loka Kretti (appendix 5a):

“yan wwang mati mapendhem ring prathiwi salawasya tan kinenan widhi-widhana, byakta matemahan rogha ning bhuana, haro-haro gering mrana ring rat, atemahan gadgad”

Translation:

"If a dead person is planted in the ground, the ceremony is not performed forever, it will actually become a disease of the earth, chaotic, sick and miserable in the world, becoming a gadgad (body)"

The soul as a subtle body is called psyche. The soul is not visible but that does not mean the soul does not exist but the soul still exists, seen from the causality that appears in the gross body, namely thinking, speaking and acting. If the subtle body leaves the gross body then the human will die. The gross human body is called a corpse, corpse or sawa.

Ngaben not only ashes (turns into ashes) the gross bodies, according to Hinduism it purifies and returns the five elements that make up the gross body or stula sarira which are called Panca Maha Bhuta (soil, water, fire, air and ether) to their origin, namely the universe. (Jyoti, 2012). If the gross body returns to the Panca Maha Bhuta, then the subtle body, namely atman, goes to the middle realm, bwah loka or pitara loka (Jyoti, 2010). This achievement is not yet complete, because there is still a more noble spirit realm that is more idealized by the Balinese, namely swah loka, god loka or the upper realm. The spirit inhabiting swah loka or heaven is called Dewa Pitara or Dewa Hyang (Jyoti, 2010). In order to arrive at that nature, after the cremation ceremony, it must be followed by the memukur ceremony.

According to Jyoti (2010:17) the word memukur is a verb that comes from the root word "bukur" which means "gate of heaven". So, memukur is a ritual aimed at delivering the spirit or subtle body to the heavenly realms, swah loka, god loka or the divine realm. Atman in swah loka or heaven is called Dewa Pitara or Dewa Hyang Pitara. Thus cremation, which is focused on purifying and returning the gross body to the Panca Maha Bhuta, has not been able to deliver atman to heaven as a realm of glory for him. Likewise, Atman has not yet received the highest title, namely Dewa Pitara. So that the cremation ceremony for the subtle body is only at the intermediate terminal, namely under the loka so that it has not yet reached the more noble terminal, namely Dewa Loka complete with his honorary sacred title, namely Dewa Pitara.

The memukur ceremony is a necessity of a series of cremation ceremonies to deliver the subtle body to a more noble realm, namely swah loka or heaven and a more noble title namely Dewa Pitara, Hyang Dewa Pitara or gods. In this regard, there is a fundamental difference between cremation and memukur. Ngaben is a ceremony to return the raw materials of the gross body (air, fire, water, earth and akasa) to their origin, namely the Five Maha Bhutas in the universe. On the other hand, memukur is the ritualization of the

atma or spirit so that it returns to its origin, namely Paramatma (Hyang Widhi). That's why *memukur* is also called *atma wedana* or spiritualization of the spirit or *atma*. *Memukur* is also known as *ngerorasin*, *maligya* or *ngaluhur* (Sarad Magazine, 2011: 8).

Wiana (1998: 2) explains that a person is not only taught to worship God, but also to respect or worship ancestors. In Balinese-Hindu tradition, father and mother are called *guru rupaka*. Apart from the *Rupaka guru*, there is also the *guru swadyaya*, namely God. While recitation teachers are teachers who provide knowledge, and *guru wisesa* are the government. *Rupaka gurus* are parents who make a human child exist in the world, starting from the womb, being born, nurturing and educating so that he can become a good, useful and devoted child who is called a *suputra*.

Kajeng (1978: 158) in the book *Sarasamuscaya sloka 228* explains the meaning of a child as follows: "Those who are considered children are people who are protectors, people who need help and to help relatives who are in tribulation, for the purpose of giving charity, for all the results of their efforts. , the use of cooking to provide food for the poor, such a person is a true son's name.

All religions and human cultures teach that children can respect and serve their parents. In the teachings of Hinduism there is a belief that humans who are born into this world are bound by three moral debts (*tri rna*). One of them is *pitra rna*, which is a moral debt owed to deceased parents and relatives that must be paid in order to be free from debt so that one can become a better human being. There are various ways that a child can do and show to pay debts to his parents or ancestors. According to Wiana (2004:4), paying debts to parents (ancestors) can be done by carrying out the *manusa yajna* and *pitra yajna* ceremonies.

The Ngaben ceremony as a symbol of paying debts to the ancestors is full of values, norms and social ethics and is religious in nature and is a representation of the attitude of a child who is respectful, devoted and has love for his ancestors. The Ngaben ceremony is also a manifestation of the *sradha* and devotion of a child to his parents and ancestors. Bordieu (2006: 57, in *Kebayantini*) explains that the Ngaben ceremony is "the structures that form and the structures that form. On the one hand, the Ngaben ceremony acts as a structure that forms the social life of individual humans. On the other hand, the Ngaben ceremony is seen as a structure formed by human social life (Balinese-Hindu). The Hindu community (Balinese) considers the cremation ceremony as a way or way to be able to respect and serve their ancestors. A child's respect and devotion to his parents is not only shown when his parents are still alive. But it is also shown when his parents died.

It is on this basis that in carrying out the Ngaben ceremony, the Hindu community tends to be hyper-realistic or carry out ceremonies on a large scale. In his opinion Piliang (1997: 194) states that various aspects of religious ritual activities are essentially no longer related to the model exemplified by the arguments outlined, so what develops is hyper-reality of ritual (hyper-reality of ritual) or hyper-ritual ( hyper-ritual), namely the reality of religious rituals that have gone beyond the essence of the ritual itself. What develops are various forms of artificial ritual realities, which various material cultures and lifestyles themselves serve as a space for purifying the soul. This statement is applied as a reality in Nusasari Village, Melaya District, Jembrana Regency as explained by Jro Mangku Tirtha (interview, 17 July 2022) who stated:

“dumun sedereng wenten pelaksanaan upacara ngaben massal masyarakat drika jarang ngelaksanayang upacara ngaben, ryantukan nelasang jinah akeh tur ngangge galah makelo pisan sawetara kirang langkung duang dase dina. Warga sane ngelaksanayang upacara ngaben padidi, masyarakat lan nyama braya sang maduwe karya lemah peteng matulung mekarya sarana upacara. Sapengerauh nyane pastika sampun sang meduwe karya sayage ring inum-inuman lan ngajeng”.



Jro Mangku Tirtha's explanation above shows that the cremation ceremony is one of the implementations of *yadnya* besides being a form of individual social life which is interpreted as an absolute obligation to show devotion to the deceased's family, but also contains social values in society as an opportunity to show social status so that society gives value more appreciation for the family. Finally, people carry out the Ngaben ceremony in a position of ritual hyperreality by going beyond the boundaries of the essence of the ritual itself.

It was further explained that when the Ngaben ceremony was carried out, the phenomenon of ritual hyperreality still occurred. As explained by Nirka (interview, 17 July 2022) with the opportunity given by the committee to each participant to make an adventure, each of them tried to offer their last devotion by buying the best adventure according to him, almost all participants did not use the common adventure that provided by the committee. So that when the mass cremation ceremony was held in Nusasari Village, Melaya District, Jembrana Regency, it was dominated by many adventures.

Another statement by a participant from Nusasari Village but currently living in Kalimantan, namely Culture (interview, 17 July 2022) explained that the reason he joined in carrying out the Ngaben ceremony in Bali was absolutely because of the religiosity factor which was based on a sense of inner satisfaction (*atmanastusti*). His admission from the economic factor he has no problem if holding mass cremation ceremonies in Bali. Apart from that, in accordance with the stages of the cremation ceremony procession, it is very complete, he can participate because in accordance with the common ancestral tradition, there is a series of rituals of *nyegara gunung* with fanaticism through Pura Dalem Puri, Pura Besakih, Pura Padharman, and Pura Segara (Pura Goa Lawah). He wants to follow this stage directly (*nyucuk*) and not away from the area where he lives now in Kalimantan. Apart from that, because he is still attached to his family in Bali, especially in Nusasari Village, the holy spirit of his family, who was abducted, had crossed paths with the Sanggah Merajan family before being led to Kalimantan.

### 3.2 Implications of Deconstruction of the Mass Ngaben Ceremony in Nusasari Village

The word implication in this study is an important basis for knowing the final consequences of the impact or consequences of deconstructing the practice of mass cremation ceremonies for the people in Nusasari Village, Melaya District, Jembrana Regency. This research focuses on the occurrence of impacts on several aspects that show symptoms of changes in both individual and collective status.

#### Infrastructure Development

According to Nandra Yasa (interview, 24 July 2022) explained that while the cremation ceremony was carried out by each resident independently and was also managed by people who aimed to gain personal benefits, it was very heavy for the community to charge fees to build public facilities. Then after the cremation ceremony was deconstructed into a mass cremation ceremony and managed by the traditional village, the construction of public facilities, especially the construction of temples, could be completed step by step. The mass cremation ceremony is able to reduce the costs incurred by each resident who sacrifices his family because all the equipment is worked on jointly by the members of the traditional village. Then the efficiency of these activities is collected into the property of the customary village and is used to build the Kahyangan Dalem Temple.

In addition to supporting the construction of public facilities, the implementation of the mass cremation ceremony also has an impact on the efficiency of the means of social interaction in the form of *patus*. As explained by Bagi Artawan (interview, 24 July 2022) explaining that in a series of cremation ceremonies there are *patus* as a mandatory basic item in the form of rice and also equipped with other facilities such as cloth and incense

for female residents. Meanwhile, men are required to bring a coconut and a coconut leaf (*kelangsah*). All of this is an obligation for each citizen as a union of traditional village karmic organizations (*sekaa joy and sorrow*) to the family who died (the person who carried out the cremation ceremony). Especially for men's *patus*, they feel relieved because of the dozens or even hundreds of people who carry out the Ngaben ceremony, that number should each issue a *patus*. However, after the mass cremation ceremony was implemented, each only issued one for all, because the facility was managed for the common good. Meanwhile, the *patus* for women, which is mainly in the form of rice, continues to operate for everyone who performs the Ngaben ceremony, because besides being a form of organizational obligation, it is also a symbol showing the existence of family ties. This *patus* tradition is one of the characteristics of the Hindu community (Bali) which is carried out in almost all traditional villages in Bali, although now it has shown a change in form, the activity is still stable.

#### Hyperreality of the Yadnya Ceremony

As Baudrillard (1970: 47) argues that in a consumer society, consumption as a system of meaning is no longer governed by the need or desire for enjoyment, but by a set of desires to gain respect, prestige, status and identity through a marking mechanism. According to him, today's culture is a representation of a simulated world, namely a world formed from random relationships of various signs and codes, without clear relational references. This relationship involves real signs (facts) that are created through the production process, as well as pseudo signs (images) that are created through the process of reproduction. In simulation culture, the two signs overlap and intertwine to form a single unit. It can no longer be recognized which one is genuine, which is real, and which one is fake, which is pseudo. In a consumer society, consumption as a system of meaning is no longer governed by the need or desire for enjoyment, but by a set of desires for honor, prestige, status and identity through a marking mechanism.

The consumer society that is currently developing is a society that carries out the social logic of consumption, where utility and service are not the ultimate motive for consumption, but rather the production and manipulation of social markers. Individuals also receive their identity in relation to others not from who and what they do, but from the signs and meanings they consume, possess and display in social interaction. In a consumer society, signs are the most convincing reflection of an individual's self-actualization. The phenomenon of hyperreality of the Hindu community in Nusasari Village, Melaya District, Jembrana Regency in the implementation of the mass cremation ceremony is very clear from the appearance of the many facilities in the form of adventures / containers during the ceremonial procession, numbering tens or even over a hundred. Because each participant tries to present the best by buying a high price. If interpreted from the connotation and purpose of carrying out the mass cremation ceremony so that there is cost efficiency, the committee provides a general adventure for all participants, but almost all participants do not want to take advantage of it.

According to Ardana (interview, 6 August 2022) explained that he really appreciates the policy of the organizing committee which gives personal freedom to provide adventures (containers) for his family at the ceremony. Because he was able to show his last devotion to the deceased who had cared for him throughout his life so that he could succeed as he is today. On that basis, he feels indebted that he must repay to the fullest. What he is offering now, he still feels, is not comparable to all the sacrifices the deceased made for him both physically and spiritually. In order not to be felt as a moral burden and a teacher's *alpaca* for that he tries to repay as best he can and sincerely. He also firmly believes that his obligations will affect his development in living life in this world.

Meanwhile, according to Culture (interview, 24 July 2022) stated that besides being felt as satisfaction in showing devotion to the deceased which was carried out sincerely according to ability, it was also seen as an opportunity to show his dignity in social status.

He also wants to get a positive response from the public that he is a successful and successful person. Trying to show the achievements that are owned among the participants and witnessed by many people, so that the ceremonial procession looks very lively.

According to Ardana (interview, 6 August 2022) explained that the excitement and excitement shown with maximum economic value is indeed not a rah-rah thing, but rather a form of devotion (prostrating with a pure heart) for families and members of the public for those who have died. and to Ida Sang Hyang Widhi. They believe that if the devotional community performs the yadnya, then Dewa Pitara (ancestor) and Sang Hyang Widhi will also bestow safety, fortune, and prosperity on them.

When viewed from the point of view of consumers who buy commodities for the ceremony, they cannot be separated from market ideology so that consumers and producers are only bound in terms of economic value alone or economic pragmatism. Such a condition is a relationship of power and money that exists between the two. According to (Atmaja, 2009: 20) that contemporary Balinese society and even the Indonesian nation in general have been trapped in a shallow nation state. The characteristic of a shallow nation is that they tend to measure anything with money and turn everything into money. The money earned is not for productive purposes, but for consumptive purposes.

According to Tri Guna (2004: 170) the character of the Balinese has changed significantly. The Balinese are no longer identified as innocent, patient, friendly, and honest people as Bateson once described. Likewise, the Balinese cannot be categorized as an inclusive community, but outsiders perceive the Balinese as temperamental, egotistical, sensitive, and tend to be economic human beings. Changes in the character of the Balinese are also influenced by monetization (Triguna, 1990). Money is an economic tool, but when it is used in society it is understood as a sociological phenomenon, it tends to lose its basic material because it becomes a means of interaction. In most Balinese, besides being more a tool of economic activity, money has also entered a wider cultural area.

Monetaryization has affected mental changes at the individual level and created several intellectual cultures at the social level. The subjective culture changes and becomes objective. Because money itself is a value and is pursued by humans, it tends to change its function from a tool to an end (Turner, 1987). By using a religious analogy, Simmel (Turner, 1987) says that social monetization is basically the same as "the growth of the spiritualization of money" or according to Karl Marx's term "commodity fetishism". Its qualitative difference from commodities is frozen into the form of money so that money is considered as something radical, which has the capacity to differentiate everything in quantity. The opinion above has become a phenomenon for several individual communities in Nusasari Village, Melaya District, Jembrana Regency by trying to use their economic capital to the fullest for the sake of dignity and social status.

#### Tradition Transformation

Tradition is interpreted as the transmission of habits and beliefs from one generation to another. Looking at the changes in the Hindu community in Bali, one must start by looking at the existence of their traditions and social structure. Tradition is the repetition of social practices that can be traced historically. Thus, the social traditions of the Balinese people are closely tied to social practices that are closely related to Hinduism. In fact, the traditional Hindu community (Bali) can be divided into two, namely traditional villages and traditional banjars. The social attachment of the Balinese people can be seen in the two regions, each of which has its own character. Understanding the concept of *kampung* in Bali must begin with understanding the various institutions associated with it such as *sekeha*, namely associations or organizations formed by a group of individuals

and plural collectivities, banjars, traditional villages, awig-awig, temples, bale kulkul, and religious rituals.

Hindu Balinese, as Margaret Mead said or Gregory Bateson researched, do everything in groups. Even though in the group the members do not have expertise in doing something, they will still participate in the group. The number of people involved makes the atmosphere lively. This crowd was later called by Clifford Geertz the ducks (similar to the sound of a duck, noise). In the midst of that crowd, not only did the work become lively but the conversation was also so. Miguel Cavorubbias (1936) noted that more than 90 percent of the people in Bali embrace Hinduism. It is this society that most influences the social existence and social structure of the Balinese people.

The social existence of the Balinese people is composed by various institutions attached to society, the implementation of rituals, and the social relations that occur between them. Changes to the composition and structure of these institutions as well as changes to practices, both in the form of completeness of ritual facilities and models of social interaction will show the level of quality of these changes. The Balinese people are known as a very strong society with their submission to tradition. Bellah (1983) mentions that it is very difficult for traditional societies to criticize the traditions they have adhered to.

The traditional identity of the Balinese people can be seen in the institutional arrangements that complement their daily social life, such as traditional villages, Khayangan Tiga Temple, Pakraman Village, banjar, and castes. Within these institutions there are institutions and other institutions that have specific functions. Among these institutions are sekehe, which are functional groups formed both internally and across group boundaries. Awig-awig is a legal institution owned by a customary institution which in practice appears to have the greatest influence on people's daily practices. Ceremonial is a characteristic of every implementation of religion. Every society has certain habits and standards in its implementation. But the implementation of rituals and ceremonies, has the possibility of changing in the course of time. Therefore, seeing changes in Bali can also be seen from changes in the implementation of ceremonial rituals. Regarding the implementation of the mass cremation ceremony which was attended by several residents from outside Nusasari Village, Melaya District, Jembrana Regency, if viewed from the perspective of each participating area or the implementation of the cremation ceremony independently, of course, shows a change in several ceremonial parts, but the essence remains do not change.

As explained by Bagiartawan (interview, 17 July 2022) regarding the ceremonial implementation of the mass cremation ceremony using public facilities belonging to the traditional village, namely a sports activity field where a ward was made. After the ngulapin/ngangkid ceremony, all sekah were led to the wards in the field, each of which was given a sign (name of the deceased). Unlike the case with individual cremation, the sekah is carried directly to each other's homes and processed according to custom according to the clan/ soroh. Soroh in the social stratification of society (Balinese) is still strong showing differences in birth lines which are often interpreted as being lower and higher and influencing the ethical order in social interaction. It also often shows that there are differences, especially at the Ngaben ceremony, there are differences in ceremonials, facilities, and the Priest who presides over the ceremony according to instructions from his predecessor. However, the mass cremation ceremony shows a change, that all needs and equipment use the facilities provided by the committee. It's just that each participant is allowed to create their own adventure/ container according to their wishes, so that the number can be tens or even hundreds according to the number of participants.

#### IV. Conclusion

The deconstruction of the practice of the mass cremation ceremony in Nusasari Village shows an ideology of strengthening social integration, reducing costs, the need for finance from traditional villages and giving a sense of stability to the implementation of activities. This principle is an understanding of modernity in society which is implemented through the implementation of mass cremation ceremonies which do not deviate from the teachings of Hinduism. The form of deconstruction lies in a structured implementation by following village institutional rules and the management is carried out jointly. In the implementation process, it begins with the formation of a committee and then the process of making ceremonies is carried out. Once complete, then proceed with the procession of the mass cremation ceremony. The sequence is ngalapin, mandusang, ngajum kajang, ngaskara, mameras, papegatan, pakiriman ngutang, ngeseng, and nganyud. Next, the mamukur, nyegara gunung and maajar-ajar ceremonies are performed. The implications of this mass cremation deconstruction can be seen in the development of infrastructure, the hyperreality of ceremonies, and the transformation of traditions.

From the description above, it can be suggested to all Hindu communities to maintain and maintain the continuity of the mass cremation ceremony based on the Tri Hita Karana philosophy. Community leaders and related institutions should always provide guidance, especially among the younger generation so that they can continue to live together in harmony. Researchers should be able to conduct deeper research so as to produce the main reference for generations so that they consciously want to care for ancestral heritage.

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