

The Balinese Palaces in Gianyar: Representing Authority Power and Creating Territorial Identity

I Dewa Gede Agung Diasana Putra^a, Ida Bagus Gde Wirawibawa^b,
^{a,b}*Department of Architecture, Udayana University, Bukit Jimbaran, Indonesia,*
Email: ^adiasanaputra@unud.ac.id, ^bIb_wirawibawa@unud.ac.id

Architectural productions have been important records of civilisation history as they demonstrate the identity of the present socio-cultural, economic and political circumstances. Via symbolic functions, built forms and the interrelationship between social changes of everyday life, the translation can be seen as a connection between political agenda and architectural production, including the long history of political agenda in Gianyar, especially in the 17th - 18th centuries. Over the 17th - 18th centuries, Gianyar played an important role in the history of Bali. An area with many palaces, known as *puris*, Gianyar had a variety of architectural styles of *puri*, including its traditional gate called *kori agung* that was uniquely different from those of other regions. The *kori agungs* were chosen in this paper since the *kori agung* is the main entrance and first image of the Balinese palaces. In order to study these characteristics, this paper explores the *kori agung* of many palaces in Gianyar and analyses their historical architectural production. The character and historical process have been necessary to investigate the diversity and character of architectural styles under the Gianyar region's political authorities.

Keywords: *Style, Authority Power, Architecture, Identity*

Introduction

Architectural productions have been essential records of the history of civilisation as they show the identity of a region influenced by socio-cultural, economic and political conditions. Greater competitiveness and regional growth policies have led to the growing popularity of regional innovation systems' ideas to create an identity (Cooke, 2001; Cooke et al., 2003; Wolfe, 2003). Losing the identity to a region means losing its uniqueness and value. In this term, collective



identity, which characterises group membership (Rao et al., 2003; Weber et al., 2008), can be interpreted as a collection of features regarded as intrinsic and a group of actors sharing a particular goal and similar outcomes (Wry et al., 2011). Developing a unified sense of identity is a vital and daunting challenge for those who are facing, especially complicated cultural loyalties (Erikson, 1968).

Human beings' ability to create symbols that connect, move and communicate their practices affected these collective identities. These identities also illustrate how authority is legitimised (Monnet, 2011). An authority has always tried to create an identity to express its authority's limits and advantages. Political authority is often accompanied by majestic structures, palaces and monuments, followed by grand celebrations and spectacular ceremonies (Al-Kawakibi, 2011). In this case, architectural monuments have been the useful archives of civilisation history since monuments, under a political authority, can demonstrate the identification of present social-cultural, economic and political statuses (Kraft, 2013). An authority's power can be read by observing components of architectural practices, including shape, scale, style, detail and ornamentation (Alice Sabrina Ismail, 2014; Alice Sabrina Ismail & Alice, 2008). In this case, a political institution representing "the moral rightness or superiority of an institution" has influenced the creation of new traditions in order to demonstrate its power (Shils, 1981, p.136), including the architectural production of traditional gates called *kori agungs* in many palaces called *puri* in Bali.

After being conquered by Majapahit, the only Gelgel state ruled Bali, and others were listed as secondary independent palaces, such as Badung, Bangli, Tabanan, Karangasem and Gianyar (Geertz, 1980). However, as Gelgel was unable to mediate conflicts between secondary independent palaces, the secondary palaces were given more power to manage their territory. In their territory, the secondary palaces tried to create their own identity in order to express their boundary and superiority with traditions, cultural activities and architectural styles that are different from others. Architectural work is one of the key components that express the distinctive identity of a society in a given region.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, Gianyar was one of Bali's major kingdoms and a centre of cultural and ritual activities. Gianyar's important role in the past has resulted in various cultural works, including architecture (Agung, 1991). Cultural and ceremonial works, including the architectural work of palaces and the ceremonies during the architectural productions, were a way of communicating the power and distinct culture of a palace in Bali (Geertz, 1980; Nordholt, 1986). The identities have demonstrated the political and social context of authority and territory and the relationship between authority and individuals (Milne, 1981). The role of authority is an exemplary centre and a patron of culture (Geertz, 1980), including the palace buildings in its territory. The royal family houses in Gianyar as the highest result of Balinese cultural and ritual works were



selected as the study case. Some royal family houses called *puri* are considered heritage buildings that can be studied as a reference for the typical Gianyar architectural practices. Therefore, this paper argues that the edifices' construction, including palaces by Balinese authorities, can demonstrate their territory's identity. In this case, as the main architectural component of Balinese *puri*, main entrances called *kori agung* can demonstrate the identity of architectural styles and forms. This paper also states that the effort to create boundaries and distinctions with other authorities has created a diversity of architectural forms of palaces that can be represented by the architectural identity of Gianyar.

Materials and Methods

To explore the architectural identity of *kori agung*, this study uses field study methods through measuring existing buildings, especially buildings that are still original or which have undergone restoration with appropriate conservation methods. Field studies are complemented by interviews to explore the existence of the object under study. Interviews and observations were appropriate ways to collect qualitative data such as socio-cultural and political spaces and activities, including their changes over time. Historical dynamic political agendas and activities over time could be collected by interviewing the owners of the palaces and literature review, including historical books and the traditional chronicles of Bali called *babad*. These investigations were a way to contextualise the political agenda and activities in the 17th – 18th centuries to understand the way of the authority to express their identity and power.

Architecture, Identity and Political Power

Architectural principles continue to focus on a mixture of shapes and colours as basic techniques chosen by designers to build and combat their criticisms (Gauldie, 1969). In the early days, people built simply for shelter. However, since people's changes demand and the people have improved their building skill, architecture productions have become the language of form communicating a message. Architecture has provided local communities with inspiration and identification. Since architecture cannot frame its identity, it needs to be translated into tangible or concrete types. It can be seen as a link between culture and architecture defined by symbolic roles, constructed forms, and the interrelationships between social changes in daily life (Firzal, 2020). Forms of architecture can be used to mediate social interactions and solve social problems in order to establish social relationships and render new realities (Dovey, 2009).

The form of architectural identity consists of decorations, construction proportions, as well as construction materials. Through traditional Balinese palace buildings, these components reflect the otherness. In this term, an identity, including architectural styles, can be seen as an image that is understood by outsiders (Seramasara & Trisnawati, 2019). Badung Kingdom's architectural style, called *bebadungan*, which uses brick for all parts of the building, is different from that of

Gianyar style called *gegianyaran*, which uses a combination of brick and sandstone as building materials (Figure 1) (Putra et al., 2013, 2019). In general, the shape of the building is similar, but there are some differences in the ornaments and some of the building forms due to the character of the construction materials. This character is designed to show an identity and to make others distinct. This character is conveyed over centuries and held as their group masterpiece (Shils, 1981). An identity is a clear definition of group homogeneity, which means that it has high status (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000).



a. *Beadungan* style that uses brick



b. *Gegianyaran* style that uses a combination of brick and sandstone

Figure 1 Building materials can show the distinctiveness between *bebadungan* and *gegianyaran* style in Bali

An identity frequently shifts over time as a cultural phenomenon. It is transformed by interaction both internally and externally and is therefore seen as an ongoing process involving not only the socio-cultural conditions of a community but also the influence of external forces (Logan, 1994). Identity is never complete and represents the community (Hall, 1990; Lim, 2009). The use of many pictures of other cultures such as *patra cina* and even contemporary vehicles (Figure 2) as ornaments shows the adoption of new ideas by Balinese communities for enhanced culture. The ornaments are added in the building through a method of adoption, in which the craftsmen or

architects freely produce and improvise during the construction process.



Figure 2 A modern vehicle becomes an ornament in Jagaraga temple in Buleleng

The political and power circumstances influenced the construction process in establishing a cultural identity. A political authority tried to present their identity by constructing a monument, a palace, and a religious building in the unique shape development. In this case, a monument represented the place's political and social history and demonstrated the relationship between authority and society (Coaldrake, 1996; Milne, 1981). This relationship can be seen by exploring many components of architectural products such as architectural styles, scale, form, and ornaments (Alice Sabrina Ismail, 2014; Alice Sabrina Ismail & Alice, 2008). The relationship can also be understood as the excess of architecture, luxurious palaces, and monuments, often accompanied by political tyrannies and magnificent festivities and ceremonies (Al-Kawakibi, 2011). The size of monuments represents the government's strength, where memorial structures can only be built with power and authority in which they would be as large as the state force. As a part of the power relationship in a territory, the audience's emotions and actions will be influenced by a memorial architecture (Alberti, 1988; Coaldrake, 1996). The memorial architecture can communicate political authority and practices (Rapoport, 1990), encourage political philosophies (Vale, 2014), organise and patron a prestigious manifestation (Alice S Ismail, 2008; Sonne, 2003; Sudjic, 2011), and contribute to improving their political influence (Coaldrake, 1996).

Architectural productions, produced by a high power authority that are static and dominant, reflect authority for power and prohibition (Hollier, 1989, p. 47 and 53). The successful redistribution of cultural capital gave the authorities the power to territorialize the space and provide an ontology for political artifacts and events (Sarna, 2008). This condition allows the authorities to build their own strong identity that would keep society together, making use of the available symbolic resources being the simplest way to start building a new society. A monument built by an authority could represent the reconstruction of past models of power and subordination (Krivolap, 2008, p.

376). Architecture can be representations of the territory filled with new definitions and display correct ways to handle land representations (Krivolap, 2008, p. 384; Shirokanova, 2010). When an authority collapsed, the old sculpture and architecture reflected the empty manifestations of old-fashioned values that called for the "future of the past" to create an identity (Cope, 2008, p. 520).

Architecture has become a communication tool (Broadbent et al., 1980; Jencks & Kropf, 1997; Moustafa, 1988). By witnessing its visual components such as ornament, materials, details (Coaldrake, 1996; Crinson, 2017; Ismail, 2014) and plan arrangement, people can predict or explore the purpose of the building (Dovey, 2014; Sudjic, 2011).

The Power Relations in Gianyar

Geographically, the Gianyar region has been experiencing a contestation force for centuries. Based on archaeological evidence found in Gianyar, it can be presumed that the Gianyar community emerged 6,000 years ago. This argument relates to the discovery of some tools from stone, a bronze drum called *nekara pejeng* in Pejeng, and reliefs depicting life in temples or caves along the Pakerisan River (Sutaba, 1980). Inscriptions on stones or metals reinforced the assumption that the Warmadewa dynasty site called Puri Singamandawa is in Bedulu, Gianyar, until the invasion of Majapahit Kingdom from Java.

After Gajah Mada from Java (Majapahit) could conquer Bali, the Majapahit troops' headquarters in Samprangan was used as the palace called *puri* of the new Balinese Kingdom. The *puri* is the government Centre led by Kresna Kepakisan, a Java high priest's son (1350-1380) (Wirawan, 2010). Three decades later, his son (Ida Dalem Ketut Ngulesir) moved the *puri* to Gelgel in Klungkung regency and became Bali 's king (Ardika et al., 2013). Five kings of Ida Dalem Kresna Kepakisan descendants ruled Gelgel, namely: Ida Dalem Ketut Ngulesir (1380-1460), Ida Dalem Waturenggong (1460-1550), Ida Dalem Bekung (1550-1580), Ida Dalem Segening (1580-1630) and Ida Dalem Dimade (1630-1651). However, there were many rebellions in the last king's period where the mutiny carried out by I Gusti Agung Maruti succeeded in seizing Gelgel's control. The last king and his family fled to Guliang village (Bangli) (Warna et al., 1986).

The political situation in Gelgel split and led to the emergence of several independent kingdoms such as Den Bukit, Mengwi, Badung, Tabanan, Bangli, Payangan, and Gianyar (Wirawan, 2010). Gelgel's political condition and situation also affected the situation of *puris* in Gianyar. Dalem Segening's descendants from Gelgel were the ruler (king) who became ruling of the kingdom that well known as Gianyar (Mahaudiana, 1968). Meantime, two power centres arose also in the same period, I Gusti Ngurah Jelantik in Blahbatuh and I Gusti Agung Maruti in Keramas, which both came from the decline of the Arya Kepakisan.

The Gelgel period ended with the return of one of the last descendants of the king (Ida Dalem

Dimade), I Dewa Agung Jambe, to the royal throne and then moved the central palace of his government to Klungkung, which was named Puri Semarapura. Meanwhile, Ida Dalem Dimade's other son named Ida I Dewa Agung Pelayun (the 1640s) with his sons constructed central power palaces in Tampaksiring, Pejeng and Tegelalang (Wirawan, 2010). Meanwhile, one of the sons of Ida I Dewa Agung Jambe (the king of Klungkung) named Ida I Dewa Agung Anom emerged as a forerunner to the dynasty of the ruling kings in Sukawati (1711-1771) which subsequently developed into Peliatan and Ubud. Since the Kingdom of Gianyar became more powerful and its territories expanded, the abovementioned kingdoms, including Tampaksiring, Pejeng, Tegelalang, Sukawati, Peliatan, and Ubud, were then subordinated and integrated as a part of Gianyar (Wirawan, 2010).

The emergence of various kingdoms in Gianyar experienced alternating, tidal, and struggles to reach the peak of royal power, both by force and peacefully. The dynamics of the struggle between traditional elites from generation to generation has proceeded. At a certain moment, one of them was the builder of the palace's city, which became the centre of the royal government called puri Gianyar (Mahaudiana, 1968). The descendants of Dewa Manggis Kuning later established several *puris* around Gianyar, such as Puri Tulikup, Puri Serongga, Puri Kelodan Abianbase, Puri Kawan Abianbase, Puri Bitera, Puri Bedulu, Puri Batubulan and Puri Batuan (Agung, 1991; Mahaudiana, 1968). The heyday of the sovereign kingdom of Gianyar took part in filling the history sheet of the kingdom in Bali, which consisted of nine kingdoms namely Karangasem, Buleleng, Mengwi, Bangli, Payangan, Badung, Tabanan and Gianyar.

The struggle for power among the nine important kingdoms in Bali also affected the existence of palaces in the Gianyar region such as the decline of Sukawati's prestige as the successor to the Klungkung power in the Gianyar region and the collapse of the Puri Negari which increased the prestige of *Puri Ubud* in the political arena in Gianyar (Sirikan, 1956). Every *puri* in Gianyar presented their power by performing prestigious ceremonies or cultural activities and also by constructing monumental architectural production including the traditional gate called *kori agung* of their *puri*. *Kori agung* becomes the first and foremost monumental building in the most prestigious architectural production in a kingdom in Bali.

The Kori Agung in the Royal Houses in Gianyar: Power Relation and Architectural Identity

As a part of architectural production, a *kori agung* is the first impression of a palace before people enter inside. As a public image, these components influence the visual landscape of the area. Every ruler has tried to create a preferential design of their palace to present their identity. However, the creations still are within the framework of their traditions, or, as suggested by Shils (1971), entail attachments of past time representing the high quality of the past. Therefore, creations can be accepted by their society and can be legitimated by a system or traditional institutions such as a

village and palace.

New models that are seen and new activities experienced by the people in their daily life are resources of the new ideas. This presents that Balinese architectural identity was influenced by other cultures and the Balinese adjusted and used it to become a component of their buildings. Advanced building materials and technologies are also adopted as a part of the traditional architecture. In this context, the traditional architecture undergoes a continuous evolution (Vale, 2014) where the use of images of modernity is shown through new materials and shape express a new identity (Rapoport, 1983).

This transformation process is called an architectural hybrid related to the use of modern architectural aspects in the traditional Balinese architecture or vice versa (Wijaya, 2013). Taman Ujung Karangasem (Figure 3) and *bale bandung/ loji/kantor* (Figure 4) show that the traditional Balinese architectural hybrid adopts other cultures as a part of the traditional Balinese architectural identity.



Figure 3 Taman Ujung Karangasem, the recreation place for royal family of Karangasem



Figure 4 *Bale Bandung/ Kantor* in Kerambitan Palace (Left) and in Sukawati Palace (Middle) and *Kori Agung* in Sukawai Palace (right)

As a part of architectural identity, the architectural styles of *puris* in Gianyar vary and are different from the architectural style in Klungkung even though historically, *puris* in Gianyar have closed relationships with *puris* in Klungkung. While the *kori agung* of *puris* in Klungkung (Figure 5) using dominant *bentala* at the top (Satria & Putra, 2020), many *puris* in Gianyar use a small one and, sometimes, use *mudra* as the ornament on the top (Figure 6). The descendants of Gianyar's kings have created new architecture styles to present their identity and power. This demonstrates that political power has influenced the selection of the architectural style. The political appeal is that architecture should make structures suitable to dynasties' significance and power, making these dynasties seem strong and enduring and state something about the world concept in its symbolism and expression (Milne, 1981). Architectural works cannot only satisfy the fundamental needs of human activity within the resulting spatial limits but are also capable of transmitting meaning. Architectural works such as a palace called *puri* can easily be used to express a ruler's political message. Some historical evidence indicates that the ruler has designed monumental buildings and public spaces to construct an environment of prestige, power and excitement.



Figure 5. *Kori Agung*s in Klungkung.

There is an attempt to escape and a desire to forget the influence of Klungkung's power, creating a different model of *kori agung* in Gianyar (Figure 6). A new authority tried to forget the confines of past forces that are influenced by various kinds of cultural and political motivations (Gandhi, 2019). In principle, this desire to forget is a symptom of an impetus for creating history itself or the need to start a new beginning, to erase memories as secondary domains. With various threats and influences from Klungkung's power, Gianyar tries to lead its region with a new image as a binding and creation of its own identity. At the same time, a new image built through architecture shows how this new area is capable of making something big and something monumental. In this case, architecture is used to create big ideas about nationality, even about the great nation itself.



Figure 6. *Kori Agung* in Gianyar.

In general, the form of *kori agung* consists of three parts. The first part is “the head,” “the body” as the middle part, and “the legs” as the lowest part. *Kori agung* of royal houses in Gianyar also consist of three parts. The head consists of three levels and a small *bentala* or a *mudra* at the top; the body consists of one main structure and one or more *lelengen* on each side, and the legs as the lowest part. The body part is equipped with doors and curves of carved wood, where the ceremony offerings go in and out. The legs that are the base of the *Kori Agung* are equipped with steps made of brick. However, there are variations in the model of the gates. Some using the model of *kori agung*, others are like the *angkul-angkul* (the traditional gate) in the traditional house (see Figure 7). This differential is the way for the royal family to create a cultural identity (Derek & Japha, 1991; Hall, 1990; Proshansky et al., 1983). This identity expresses cultural similarities between the members and differences with non-members (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). In this tradition, the royal houses can be seen as an intersection of the inheritance of property and traditions. This intersection is a phenomenon of the vernacular houses in many cultures (Lozanovska, 2011, p. 467).

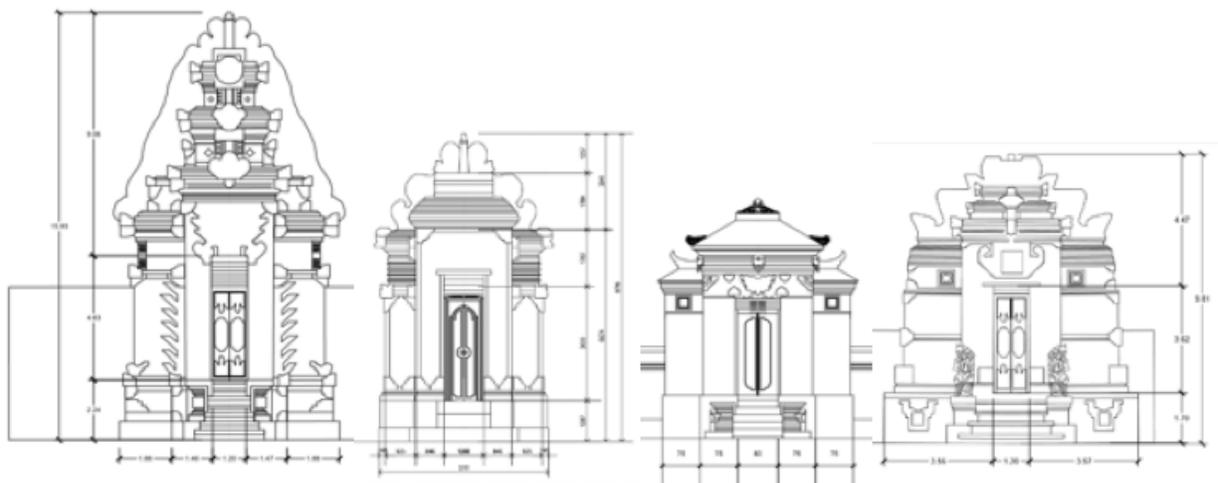


Figure 7. The Variation of *Kori Agung* of Royal Family House in Gianyar

As a royal family house, the gates are made of a combination of red brick and sandstone. In general, bricks are the main structure, while the ornament is generally made from sandstone (Dwijendra & Suyoga, 2020). The sandstones are attached to brick and carved in detail with plant and animal motifs as ornaments. Ornament is a Latin word, *onare*, meaning decoration. The concept initially encompasses elements and decorations that are adapted from natural leaves and created from them. They are organic, in which these elements have stems, leaves, flowers, while the geometric elements are inorganic. In architecture, elements adapted to ornaments include geometric patterns, natural leaves, artificial objects, and figures of humans and animals in various settings or forms (Meyer, 1974).

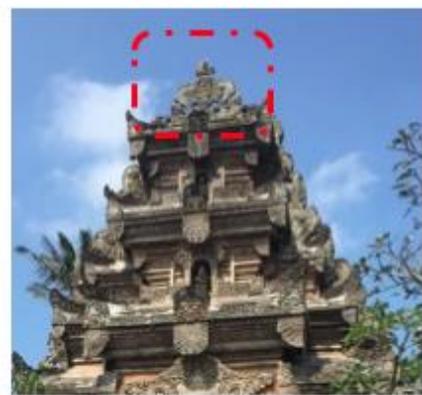
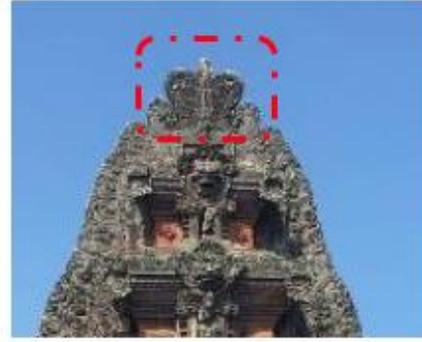
There are three types of the motif used in this *kori agung*: the fauna, flora, and meander or geometric motifs. The fauna motifs are called *kekarangan*. The one that can be found at the top of the head is *karang mudra* or *bentala*. The motif on the top of the door is *karang boma* (*the head of a giant*). This ornament is a giant head completed with flora ornament, crowns and hand. The other ornaments on the door are *karang tapel* (*mask*) and *karang goak* (*the head of a crow*). The one as the base is *karang asti* (*the head of an elephant*). The other dominant motifs used in this *kori agung* are the form of flora motifs which are often called *patra*, which means leaves (Sudara, 1983). They are *tunjungan* (*water lily*), *bungan tuwung* (*eggplant flower*) and *punggel*. *Patra punggel* is the mixture of natural components such as *don paku* (*young leaves that are still circular on the stalk of *diplazium esculentum**), *batun poh* (*mango seeds*), *pepusuhan* (*new shoots*), *jengger siap* (*crown of roosters*), jack fruit pulp, *kuping guling* (*the roasted suckling pig's ears*), and *util* (*the scorpion's tail*) (Gelebet, 1998; Satria & Putra, 2020).

Judging from its understanding, the ornaments can be said as main function to add aesthetic value. However, in its application to Balinese architecture, ornamentation is not only a decoration

element or a mere decoration. The form and arrangement have a strong 'principle' and have been carried out for generations. Moreover, ornaments in Balinese architecture are associated with nature, social and religious life. This gives a different meaning than an ornament as a decorator in western architecture. The presence of an ornament is not merely to fill in the empty and meaningless part, and it is more so in past ornamental works (Sunaryo, 2009). Various forms of ornaments have several functions: aesthetic, symbolic and constructive functions.

In the architectural Balinese ornaments and all decorative elements are known as decorative elements. Based on its basic form, this ornament is classified into four motifs: flora, fauna, nature, and religion. The elements that belong to the flora are all elements that take the form of plants. The fauna motif takes the form of animals, such as *karang asti*, *karang goak*, *karang boma*, and various other animal statues, while those belonging to nature are those that take the forms and elements in the universe, such as fire, water, mountains, rocks, and others. The rest are classified into religious motives, including *murda*, *bentala*, *gegodeg*, and others.

In order to create otherness with the Klungkung architecture, the ornament of the *kori agung* in Gianyar tried to avoid the use of dominant *bentala* on the top that is different with those in Klungkung (Figure 8). The *bentala* in Gianyar is small and is not a dominant part of the *kori agung*. This initiative is how their authority shows that they can territorialise space and provide an ontology for political objects (Kraft, 2013; Sarna, 2008). The royal families in Gianyar as a nation have attempted to create an identity to reflect the advantages of their authority. The creation of a new application of traditional ornament on the top of the *kori agung* in palaces, as state by Al-kawakebi (2011) demonstrates their identity under their political authority.



Bentala on the top in kori
agung in Klungkung

Bentala on the top in kori
agung in Gianyar

Figure 8. The *Bentala* in Klungkung and Gianyar

Kori agungs of puris in Gianyar have become historical buildings and have become great architectural works of art deriving from their role as deep structural symbols of an institution's power and not only as aesthetic buildings. Nevertheless, this combination must not neglect architectural art's structural basis, since it essentially depends on its emblematic and iconographic power. After a thorough understanding of this relationship and the possibility of a real political philosophy of architecture, architecture's political position is better appreciated (Milne, 1981). Each palace became the exemplary centre and a patron of culture in their territories, so the rituals and arts thrived in a palace and surrounding villages. In order to express their superiority, palaces also performed state rituals in their territories to express their status differences (Geertz, 1980; Nordholt, 1986). In their territory, the palaces tried to create their own identity to express their boundaries and superiority. They expressed themselves and created boundaries with others.

The affirmation of architectural politics is clear enough. Architecture productions have extraordinary power to indicate stability and power. They also have demonstrated the self-confident patrons of great architecture (Milne, 1981). The power of subordinated communities that



have been chosen by intellectual leadership, spiritual, and political leadership is to increase and maintain active respect (Gramsci, 2011; Pabottinggi, 1986). Power legitimacy has become the government's confidence, legitimacy, and universal recognition. The legitimation and power of the ruler to build architectural productions has been framed in the community's political situation when they were built.

Conclusions

The political system and power can be seen to have a relationship with architectural expressions and styles. Power is seen as the dominant factor determining socio-cultural processes and transactions between the state's roles on the one hand and the participation of the people on the others. Based on their identification in the present socio-cultural, economic and political conditions, architectural creations became important historical instruments. The translation can be considered as links between the political agenda and the architectural development, particularly of Gianyar in the 17th-18th centuries, through the symbolic functions, the model constructed and the interrelation among social changes in everyday life.

As other forms of *kori agung* in Bali, the *kori agungs in Gianyar* also consist of three parts: the head as the upper part, the body as the middle part, and the legs as the base. Each part has ornaments that are the combination of meander or geometric motifs, flora motif called *pepatran*, and fauna motif called *kekarangan*. The material used as these carved ornaments is *sandstone*, while the *kori agung's main structure* is made of brick. In order to create identity, the creation of a new style of *kori agung*, by avoiding the domination of *bentala* on the top of *kori agung* in Gianyar is an escape attempt and an urge to forget about Klungkung 's presence. The authorities in Gianyar tried to forget the past forces' limits, influenced by different cultural and political motives. This impulse to forget is, in fact, a symptom of an urge to create memory itself or to begin a new beginning to eradicate memories as subordinate territories.

Kori agungs of puris in Gianyar have turned into historical buildings and great architectural artworks extracted from their function as profound structural symbols for an entity's strength rather than just aesthetic buildings. Nevertheless, architectural art's conceptual foundation should not be ignored because it relies in essence on its emblematic and iconographic strength.

Acknowledgements

This paper was made possible by the grant from the Minister of Education and Culture of Indonesia. The findings achieved herein are solely the responsibility of the authors.



References

- Agung, I. A. A. G. (1991). *Bali in the 19th Century*. Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- Al-Kawakibi, A. (2011). *Tyranny's Natures and Slavery Wrestler (tabayiealaistibdadwamasariealaistiebad)*. Egyptian General Book Authority.
- Alberti, L. B. (1988). *On the art of building in ten books*. MIT Press.
- Ardika, I. W., Parimarta, I. G., & Wirawan, A. A. B. (2013). *Sejarah Bali: dari prasejarah hingga modern*. Udayana University Press.
- Broadbent, G., Bunt, R., & Jencks, C. (1980). *Signs, symbols, and architecture*. Wiley New York.
- Brubaker, R., & Cooper, F. (2000). Beyond "identity". *Theory and Society*, 29(1), 1–47.
- Coaldrake, W. H. (1996). *Architecture and authority in Japan*. Psychology Press.
- Cooke, P. (2001). From technopoles to regional innovation systems: the evolution of localised technology development policy. *Canadian Journal of Regional Science*, 24(1), 21–40.
- Cooke, P., Roper, S., & Wylie, P. (2003). "The Golden Thread of Innovation" and Northern Ireland's Evolving Regional Innovation System." *Regional Studies*, 37(4), 365–379. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0034340032000074406>
- Cope, B. (2008). Prizraki Marksa: brodya po Minsky po sledu Deriida [Specters of Marx: Walking through Minsk in the Footsteps of Derrida]. In Almira Ousmanova (Ed.), *Belarusian Format: Invisible Reality* (pp. 498–521). EHU.
- Crinson, M. (2017). *Modern architecture and the end of empire*. Routledge.
- Derek, & Japha, V. (1991). Identity through detail: an architecture and cultural aspiration in Montagu, South Africa, 1850-1915. *TDSR, II*, 17–33.
- Dovey, K. (2009). *Becoming places: urbanism/architecture/identity/power*. Routledge.
- Dovey, K. (2014). *Framing places: Mediating power in built form*. Routledge.
- Dwijendra, N. K. A., & Suyoga, I. P. G. (2020). Analysis of symbolic violence practices in balinese vernacular architecture: A case study in Bali, Indonesia. *International Journal of Innovation, Creativity and Change*, 13(5), 184–194.
- Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis* (Issue 7). WW Norton & company.
- Firzal, Y. (2020). Redefining urban architecture in the decentralisation era. *AIP Conference Proceedings*, 2230(1), 40004.
- Gandhi, L. (2019). *Postcolonial theory: A critical introduction*. Columbia University Press.
- Gauldie, S. (1969). *Architecture: The of Appreciation of the Arts*. Oxford University Press.



- Geertz, C. (1980). *Negara*. Princeton University Press.
- Gelebet, I. N. (1998). *Arsitektur Tradisional Bali (Balinese Traditional Architecture)*. Bappeda Bali.
- Gramsci, A. (2011). *Prison Notebooks Volume 2 (Vol. 2)*. Columbia University Press.
- Hall, S. (1990). *Cultural identity and diaspora*. na.
- Hollier, D. (1989). *Against architecture: the writings of Georges Bataille*. mit Press.
- Ismail, Alice S. (2008). *The influence of Islamic political ideology on the design of state mosques in West Malaysia (1957-2003)*. Queensland University of Technology.
- Ismail, Alice Sabrina. (2014). Architecture as an Expression of Political Ideology. *Faculty of Built Environment, Universiti Teknologi Malaysia, Malaysia*.
- Ismail, Alice Sabrina, & Alice, D. (2008). Discourse of Democratic Architecture in Malaysia: An Analysis of Putrajaya Government Building in Comparison to Parliament Building. *Engaging Malaysia Modernity*, 50.
- Jencks, C., & Kropf, K. (1997). *Theories and manifestoes of contemporary architecture (Vol. 312)*. Academy Editions Chichester.
- Kraft, S. (2013). "Architecture is the mirror of every historical moment, we can see our time reflex on the buildings of our cities." | INTERVIEW with Daniele del Nero. DECONARCH.COM. <http://www.deconarch.com/architecture-is-the-mirror-of-every-historical-moment-we-can-see-our-time-reflex-on-the-buildings-of-our-cities-interview-daniele-del-nero/>
- Krivolap, A. (2008). Parad oznachayushikh: beloruskiy opyt vizualisatsii Dnya nezavisimosti [A Parade of Signifiers: The Belarusian Experience of the Visualisation of Independence Day]. In Almira Ousmanova (Ed.), *Belarusian Format: Invisible Reality* (pp. 368–396). EHU.
- Lim, W. S. W. (2009). Architecture, Art, Identity in Singapore: Is There Life After Tabula Rasa? *Constructing Identity in Contemporary Architecture: Case Studies from the South*, 12, 233.
- Logan, W. S. (1994). Hanoi townscape: symbolic imagery in Vietnam's capital. In *Cultural identity and urban change in Southeast Asia: interpretative essays* (pp. 43–69).
- Lozanovska, M. (2011). Holy days after migration. *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Intangible Heritage: Sharing Cultures*, 459–469.
- Mahaudiana. (1968). *Babad Manggis Gianayr*. A.A. Gde Thaman.
- Meyer, F. S. (1974). *A handbook of ornament*. РИПОЛ КЛАСИК.
- Milne, D. (1981). Architecture, Politics and the Public Realm. *Architecture, Politics and the Public Realm*, 5, 131–146.



- Monnet, J. (2011). The symbolism of place: A geography of relationships between space, power and identity. *Cybergeo: European Journal of Geography*.
- Moustafa, A. A. (1988). *Architectural representation and meaning: towards a theory of interpretation*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Nordholt, H. G. C. S. (1986). *Bali: Colonial conceptions and political change 1700-1940. From shifting hierarchies to 'fixed' order*.
- Pabottinggi, M. (1986). Tentang Visi, Tradisi dan Hegemoni Bukan Muslim: Sebuah Analisis. *Islam: Antara Visi, Tradisi, Dan Hegemoni Bukan-Muslim*, Ed. Mochtar Pabottinggi. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor, 187–252.
- Proshansky, H. M., Fabian, A. K., & Kaminoff, R. (1983). Place-identity: Physical world socialisation of the self. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*.
- Putra, I. D. G. A. D., Lozanovska, M., & Fuller, R. (2013). The Transformation of the Traditional Balinese House for Tourist Facilities: Managing a Home-Based Enterprise and Maintaining an Architectural Identity. *Asia Pacific Management and Business Application*, 2(2). <https://doi.org/10.21776/ub.apmba.2013.002.02.4>
- Putra, I. D. G. A. D., Lozanovska, M., & Fuller, R. (2019). From spiritualistic toward more pragmatic pattern: Re-ordering Balinese houses and viability of the household traditions in tourism economy. *Journal of Architecture and Urbanism*, 43(1). <https://doi.org/10.3846/jau.2019.3692>
- Rao, H., Monin, P., & Durand, R. (2003). Institutional change in Toque Ville: Nouvelle cuisine as an identity movement in French gastronomy. *American Journal of Sociology*, 108(4), 795–843.
- Rapoport, A. (1983). Development, culture change and supportive design. *Habitat International*, 7(5–6), 249–268.
- Rapoport, A. (1990). *The meaning of the built environment: A nonverbal communication approach*. University of Arizona Press.
- Sarna, A. (2008). Politika i simbol. Strategii politicheskogo marketinga v Belarusi 2004-2006 gg. [Politics and Symbol: Strategies of Political Marketing in Belarus 2004-2006]. *Belarusian Format: Invisible Reality*. Almira Ousmanova, Ed, 232–264.
- Satria, M. W., & Putra, I. D. G. A. D. (2020). The Kori Agung Character of Heritage Temples: The Architectural References of Klungkung Identity. *Journal of Social and Political Sciences*, 3(1).
- Seramasara, I. G. N., & Trisnawati, I. A. (2019). Bali's cultural arts and the contest of identity during the tourism era of Bali. *International Journal of Innovation, Creativity and Change*,



9(4), 109–120.

Shils, E. (1981). *Tradition*. University of Chicago Press.

Shirokanova, A. (2010). Making Sense of the Post-Soviet Capital: Politics of Identity in the City of Minsk. *Anthropology of East Europe Review*, 28(1), 355–387. <http://scholarworks.dlib.indiana.edu/journals/index.php/aeer/article/download/666/759>

Sirikan, G. (1956). *Sejarah Bali*. CV Masa Baru.

Sonne, W. (2003). *Representing the state: Capital city planning in the early twentieth century*. Prestel Publishing.

Sudara, I. G. N. (1983). *Ornamen Bali (Kumpulan Ragam Hias)*. Penerbit: Sekolah menengah Seni Rupa Denpasar: Denpasar Bali.

Sudjic, D. (2011). *The edifice complex: The architecture of power*. Penguin UK.

Sunaryo, A. (2009). *Ornamen Nusantara: kajian khusus tentang ornamen Indonesia*. Dahara Prize.

Sutaba, I. M. (1980). *Prasejarah Bali*. BU Yayasan Purbakala Bali.

Vale, L. (2014). *Architecture, power and national identity*. Routledge.

Warna, I. W., Murdha, I. B. G., Catra, D. G., Maka, I. B., & Sunu, I. B. (1986). Babad Dalem: Teks dan Terjemahan. *Dinas Pendidikan Dan Kebudayaan Propinsi Daerah Tingkat I Bali, Denpasar*, 78–82.

Weber, K., Heinze, K. L., & DeSoucey, M. (2008). Forage for thought: Mobilizing codes in the movement for grass-fed meat and dairy products. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 53(3), 529–567.

Wijaya, M. (2013). *Architecture of Bali: A source book of traditional and modern forms*.

Wirawan, A. A. B. (2010). Gianyar Kota Budaya: Dari Kota Keraton sampai Kota Seni, 1771-1980-an. *Kota Dan Pengembangan Wilayah*, 831.

Wolfe, D. (2003). *Clusters old and new: the transition to a knowledge economy in Canada's regions* (Vol. 3). Carleton University Press.

Wry, T., Lounsbury, M., & Glynn, M. A. (2011). Legitimizing nascent collective identities: Coordinating cultural entrepreneurship. *Organisation Science*, 22(2), 449–463.