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Aesthetic Transformations of *Ogoh-Ogoh*: From Conventional Giant Figures to Hybrid Myth-Popular Culture Characters

I Wayan Suardana¹, I Nyoman Laba^{2*}, Surasak Jamnongsarn³, Institut Seni Indonesia Bali, Indonesia

3 Srinakharinwirot University, Thailand
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Abstract: Thousands of *Ogoh-Ogoh* (towering giant effigies) are paraded across Bali to welcome the arrival of the Saka New Year (Nyepi Day), which falls every March or April. This article examines the evolving aesthetics of these processions, tracing their shift from ritualistic giant figures meant to repel the destructive power of *bhuta kala* to contemporary hybrid mythic–popular forms that incorporate global pop-cultural icons and local socio-political characters. Employing qualitative methods such as visual ethnography, observation, and semiotic analysis, this study explores *Ogoh-Ogoh* production across Bali, where creative experimentation is especially vibrant. The findings reveal a significant aesthetic transformation driven by environmental regulations, competitive youth creativity, and the changing visual preferences of younger generations. Material innovations, including the use of LED lighting, have further intensified a performative orientation emphasizing spectacle and technical sophistication. Despite these shifts, ritual continuity endures, demonstrating that *ogoh-ogoh* remains a living, adaptive tradition in contemporary Balinese society.

Keywords: *ogoh-ogoh*; aesthetic transformation; hybrid myth–popular culture; ritual continuity; Balinese tradition

1. Introduction

Ever since their appearance in the 1980s, the *Ogoh-Ogoh* parade adds a Creative twist to Bali's *Nyepi* (the Balinese Day of Silence) celebrations (Mutiarasari, 2022; Saphira et al., 2022; Suharta, 2019). As an island already rich in culture, the artistic expression of the *Ogoh-Ogoh* comes in various forms, depicting mythological scenes and beings. Aligned with the theme of the *Nyepi* celebrations, most of these papier-mâché effigies take the form of the *Bhuta Kala*. Part of the larger Hindu cosmology, these entities symbolize the unfathomable

^{*} Corresponding author's email: nyomanlaba@isi-dps.ac.id Submitted: 14 July 2025; Accepted: 25 November 2025; Published: 5 December 2025



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forces of nature $(bh\bar{u})$ and time $(k\bar{a}la)$. These *Bhuta Kala* are portrayed as towering and terrifying beings, often in the form of giants with grotesque faces shaped by exaggerated and absurd features, long fangs, and massive bodies. They embody the unruly forces of chaos and disorder (Bali-island.com, 2025; Telusur Bali, 2025).

Characterised by grotesque and terrifying visages, *Ogoh-Ogohs* are prominently featured in the ritual of *pengerupukan*, the ceremonial phase that precedes *Nyepi*, the Balinese Day of Silence. Far from being mere visual spectacles, they serve multiple roles as ritual objects, artistic expressions, and symbols of spiritual purification. The deliberately terrifying aesthetic of *Ogoh-Ogoh*, which is manifested through grotesquely exaggerated facial features and monstrous bodily proportions, functions as a powerful visual metaphor for chaos and disorder, embodying the very forces of imbalance that Balinese ritual practice seeks to neutralize and restore into cosmic harmony (Diatmika, 2019; Muamalah et al., 2023; Sudiarthi & Soper, 2019). In Balinese Hindu belief, the *Bhuta Kala* symbolizes the destructive and negative forces that exist within both the macrocosm (*Bhuwana Agung*) and the microcosm (*Bhuwana Alit*), often interpreted as projections of the darker aspects of human nature (Prianta & Sulistyawati, 2024).

Constructed collectively by youth groups at the *Bale Banjar* community hall or in other available public space, *Ogoh-Ogohs* are brought to life through a process of communal creativity and performative engagement. They are paraded through the streets in dramatic processions accompanied by the *baleganjur* gamelan and the energetic cheers of the local community. These public displays not only activate the symbolic function of the *Ogoh-Ogoh* as embodiments of negative forces but also reaffirm communal identity, intergenerational knowledge transmission, and artistic innovation.

Ogoh-Ogoh tradition, which first emerged in Denpasar in 1980 under the term Onggokan, has its roots in agrarian practices and local rituals such as lelakut (scarecrows), pelebon effigies (funerary statues for royal cremations), and Barong Landung (Ditha, 2011; Eka et al., 2024; H. Geertz, 1994; Lansing, 1987, 1995). According to Cahyadi (2025), the term onggokan, used around 1984, literally means 'something that is lifted or hoisted' (di-onggok in Balinese), referring to the early, rudimentary form of Ogoh-Ogoh that functioned primarily as a ritual representation before later evolving into more complex aesthetic creations. Officially named in 1984, the tradition is also understood as a form of public celebration following the declaration of Nyepi Day as a national holiday by Presidential Decree No. 3/1983 (Cahyadi, 2025; Dinas Kebudayaan Kota Denpasar, 2011). Since then, Ogoh-Ogoh has become an integral part of the Tawur Kesanga ritual, symbolizing the cosmic purification of Bhuta Kala before Nyepi.

During the 1990s, *Ogoh-Ogoh* shifted from mythological depictions of giants to a medium of social critique and satirical portrayals of public figures,

reflecting contemporary socio-political dynamics. According to I Komang Indra Wirawan (46), a conceptor of the Ogoh-Ogoh festival in Denpasar, by the 2000s the tradition had further evolved into a competitive art form supported by local government funding, with production costs reaching IDR 7–10 million per effigy, thereby contributing significantly to Bali's creative economy (interview, 4 April 2025). Policy responses across Bali reveal distinct strategies for sustaining the tradition. In Denpasar institutionalized annual competitions from the mid-2010s, providing grants of approximately IDR 10 million per nominee, reinforced by Mayoral Regulation No. 29/2020 to safeguard the practice during the COVID-19 pandemic (Astajaya, 2019; Cahyadi, 2025; Suyatra, 2018; Tabelak, 2020; Yuda, 2019). Badung adopted a more expansive fiscal approach, escalating allocations from IDR 15 million per *Sekaa Teruna* in 2017 to IDR 40 million in 2020 across 563 Sekaa Teruna groups (Aryanta & Putri, 2020; Badungkab.go.id, 2024; Fajarbali. com, 2020; Parwata, 2021). In contrast, Gianyar emphasized community selfreliance and mutual cooperation, providing sporadic support through village funds (APBDes) or regency-level incentives, as exemplified by the Singakerta Village parade in 2019 (Astajaya, 2019; Astana, 2020; Rastana, 2022; Suar, 2019). These variations underscore three models of policy orientation, namely Denpasar's regulatory-competitive framework, Badung's centralized fiscal escalation, and Gianyar's decentralized community-based strategy.

The 2010s witnessed a marked escalation in the use of styrofoam for constructing *Ogoh-Ogoh*, as widely reported by national media. The preference for this material reflects the pragmatic orientation of community artisans, driven by ease of manipulation and cost efficiency. Since 2015, however, rising concerns over the ecological consequences of styrofoam have prompted stronger policy responses, ranging from municipal-level bans to tighter regulations on plastic waste management, ultimately encouraging the resurgence of environmentally sustainable materials. This policy shift not only indicates evolving regulatory dynamics but also signals the emergence of a localized moral ecology that gradually reshapes creative practices surrounding *Ogoh-Ogoh* production.

Entering the 2020s, *Ogoh-Ogoh* has undergone a far more complex phase of visual transformation. By 2025, technical and aesthetic innovations have advanced significantly: the integration of hydraulic mechanisms, LED illumination, animatronics, and remote-control systems demonstrate a convergence between traditional ritual practices and high-tech artistic logics. These developments have generated a new aesthetic paradigm in which *Ogoh-Ogoh* retains its sacred function while simultaneously assuming the form of a large-scale public spectacle—ritual art that now operates within a contemporary landscape emphasizing sustainability, creativity, and communal solidarity.

Mutiarasari's (2022) report in *Detik News* highlights a fundamental shift in the role of *Ogoh-Ogoh*, from a medium of youth expression or artistic competition to a vehicle for articulating cultural and regional identity. Meanwhile, Suartini (2025) in Trans SumSel underscores how younger generations increasingly mobilize Ogoh-Ogoh to address contemporary issues such as ecological crises, social change, inequality, and political discourse. Together, these accounts demonstrate that ritual-based visual traditions are not static; they continually renegotiate the relationship between cultural heritage and modern demands, reflecting the intertwined dynamics of politics, technology, and socio-cultural transformation. Moreover, these developments affirm the position of Ogoh-Ogoh as a medium of intergenerational dialogue and a platform for articulating global issues that transcend geographical and epistemic boundaries. In its ongoing visual evolution, the representation of Bhuta Kala now intersects with popular cultural figures, including anime characters, celebrities, and cinematic monsters. This convergence marks an intensified interaction between contemporary cultural imaginaries and ritual traditions, resulting in an increasingly fluid, experimental, and political aesthetic. Azmi (2023), writing for Gema Sulawesi, observes that Ogoh-Ogoh's aesthetic explorations have become more pronounced through the use of animatronics, LED effects, and satirical or socio-political themes. These shifts configure Ogoh-Ogoh as a discursive arena—a site where religious values, aesthetic practices, and public interests intersect and mutually shape one another.

These transformations raise several critical research questions. First, how do the visual and technological innovations of *Ogoh-Ogoh* alter its ritual functions and symbolic status within Balinese cosmology? Second, in what ways do aesthetic innovations and environmental policy frameworks shape public perceptions of cultural value and communal identity? Third, to what extent do contemporary creative practices negotiate the boundaries between tradition, modernity, and sustainability politics at both local and global scales?

To address these questions, this study employs an integrative theoretical framework comprising three contemporary approaches. Arthur Danto's artworld theory provides a conceptual lens through which the redefinition of art enables the transition of *Ogoh-Ogoh* from a ritual object to an expanded aesthetic entity. Jacques Rancière's notion of the distribution of the sensible illuminates how *Ogoh-Ogoh* functions as a cultural-political space that regulates what can be shown, perceived, and negotiated in the public sphere. Allsopp's theory of community art further elucidates the participatory processes that shape identity formation, social cohesion, and cultural performativity in *Ogoh-Ogoh* production. The combination of these approaches strengthens a multidimensional analysis of the ongoing aesthetic, social, and political transformations.

Existing scholarly work on *Ogoh-Ogoh* as an aesthetic entity remains notably limited. The available literature (Dana & Adnyana, 2025; Gunawan & Surya Buana, 2016; Hanna & Hannigan, 2016; Kembarawan, 2020; Rhismawati, 2024; Watra, 2005; Winatha, 2020) primarily concentrates on historical aspects, ritual functions, social roles, or their association with cultural tourism. This body of research leaves a substantial gap, as few studies critically examine the aesthetic transformation, material shifts, and symbolic evolution of *Ogoh-Ogoh* within the broader contexts of globalization, digital technology, inter-*banjar* competition, and post-2015 environmental policy changes, as summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. The Development of the Ogoh- Ogoh Tradition

No.	Periode	Development
1	1980s	1. Start of the use of Ogoh-Ogohs for the Nyepi celebrations in
		Denpasar.
		2. The Balinese government supports the creation of the <i>Ogoh</i> -
		Ogohs as creative cultural expression.
2	1990- 2000s	1. Some of these <i>Ogoh-Ogohs</i> start to feature characters from
		popular culture, including public figures.
		2. The government begins to censor them to ensure they do not
		cause any political tensions.
		3. Ogoh-Ogoh competitions are held in various regions to
		encourage widespread participation.
3	2010s	1. The use of styrofoam begins to rise, popular for its ease of use,
		despite attempts to ban it due to environmental concerns.
		2. Technology is applied, including the use of hydraulics to give
		the <i>Ogoh-Ogoh</i> mobility and a competitive edge.
4	2020s	1. 2020-2021: Pandemic Disruption: The COVID-19 pandemic led
		to the cancellation of the <i>Ogoh-Ogoh</i> parades in both years.
		2. 2023: Parade Resumption: The parade recommenced with
		direct government support, marking a revival of public cultural celebrations.
		3. 2024: Government Support and Competition: Denpasar
		allocated IDR 3.6 billion to support 360 Sekaa Teruna youth
		groups and organized the Ogoh-Ogoh competition within the
		Kesanga Festival.
		4. 2025: Regional Festivals and Funding: Tabanan launched the
		Singasana II Festival with IDR 440 million in funding and prizes
		up to IDR 40 million, while Badung increased its creativity
		fund to IDR 25 million per Sekaa Teruna.
		5. 2025: Innovation and Regulation: Denpasar showcased 16
		Ogoh-Ogoh works, held children's parades, promoted mini
		Ogoh-Ogoh, and expanded to TMII Jakarta, while introducing
		restrictions on the number of Ogoh-Ogoh at Catur Muka Square.

Source: Literature data processing (2025)

Most previous analyses remain anchored in ritualistic, sociocultural, or tourism-oriented frameworks. For instance, Gunawan and Surya Buana (2016) emphasize collective values embedded in the creative process, while Prianta and Sulistyawati (2024) focus on the repositioning of *Ogoh-Ogoh* as a cultural attraction for tourism. Although these perspectives are informative, they do not address the increasingly complex visual, material, and ideological developments that characterize contemporary *Ogoh-Ogoh* production. Specifically, they overlook how the integration of animatronics, LED technologies, hydraulic systems, and global popular culture has reshaped its aesthetic identity and expanded its representational capacity.

This oversight becomes more critical given that *Ogoh-Ogoh* is no longer confined to its traditional role as a representation of *Bhuta Kala*. It has evolved into a dynamic artistic medium that articulates environmental concerns, sociopolitical critique, and global cultural references, while simultaneously mediating communal identity and spiritual symbolism. To date, no comprehensive study has mapped how these aesthetic transformations reconfigure the ritual function, symbolic status, and public cultural role of *Ogoh-Ogoh* within contemporary Balinese society.

This research therefore positions itself to fill that gap by moving decisively beyond ritual- or tourism-centered interpretations that dominate existing scholarship. Through a multidimensional analytical framework that interweaves aesthetic theory, ritual studies, technological development, and socio-cultural transformation, this study critically examines the evolving visual form, symbolic logic, and cultural agency of *Ogoh-Ogoh*. By doing so, it offers a significant conceptual and practical contribution to cultural arts scholarship, illuminating how *Ogoh-Ogoh* operates at the intersection of tradition, modernity, and global cultural dynamics in an era marked by rapid technological and ecological change.

2. Literature Review

The study of *Ogoh-Ogoh* as a cultural artifact has evolved across multiple disciplinary perspectives, including anthropology, performance studies, and cultural tourism. Aristrawati (2018) emphasizes that *Ogoh-Ogoh*, as an iconic cultural event, plays a pivotal role in promoting Bali's cultural image, particularly within the framework of culture-based tourism strategies. However, scholarly attention to the visual aesthetics and the transformation of *Ogoh-Ogoh* as a contemporary art form remains limited. This study, therefore, focuses on the aesthetic evolution of *Ogoh-Ogoh*, tracing its development from sacred representations of *Bhuta Kala* to more expressive forms that engage with modern visual art and popular culture.

Within the framework of ritual art aesthetics, beauty is not solely determined by formal visual attributes but also by symbolic depth and embedded spiritual values, which form the core of cultural systems and underlie various ritual expressions. Harsana (2018) and Triandini et al. (2024) highlight that visual and thematic innovations in *Ogoh-Ogoh* enrich aesthetic diversity while reinforcing cultural continuity amidst modernization and globalization. The transformation from *Bhuta Kala* to contemporary creative expression allows *Ogoh-Ogoh* to reflect social, political, and environmental concerns, while simultaneously serving as a vehicle for cultural education, community solidarity, and intergenerational dialogue. Consequently, *Ogoh-Ogoh* can be understood as a living cultural practice that integrates aesthetic sensibilities, social identity, and contemporary creativity within Bali's cultural heritage.

The aesthetics of Ogoh-Ogoh are manifested through vivid colours, aggressive postures, theatrical gestures, and the percussive rhythms of the baleganjur gongs, together forming a collective and sacred aesthetic experience that resonates across the streets of Bali. This study draws on Bruce Allsopp's theory of aesthetics, which situates aesthetic experience as a subjective phenomenon shaped by individual perception, cultural context, and social conditions (Wibawa, 2025). Allsopp (1970) asserts that aesthetic appreciation cannot be detached from the social context in which the artwork is received. For Allsopp, aesthetic value is determined not merely by the form of the artwork, but by the relationship between form, symbolic meaning, and the emotional resonance it generates within a specific cultural environment. In the case of Ogoh-Ogoh, the shift toward more spectacular, cartoonish, or futuristic visual forms is not simply a transformation of appearance, but reflects an evolving aesthetic perception among contemporary Balinese society in response to social change and tourist expectations. Therefore, an aesthetic analysis of the Ogoh-Ogoh must also attend to the social context in which it is created and performed, in line with Allsopp's view that aesthetic appreciation is a dialogical process between the artwork and the cultural community that engages with it. This underscores the significance of contemporary studies such as this one, which seek to reinforce and expand the academic understanding of the phenomenon.

Suda and Indiani (2018) draw attention to the tendency of *Ogoh-Ogohs* to align with market tastes and popular aesthetics, generating friction between sacred values and visually attractive styles. Prianta and Sulistyawati (2024) demonstrate how they have transformed into an icon of cultural commodification within the contexts of competition and tourism. Meanwhile, Budiwanti (2018) interprets them as a symbol of identity and religious-political expression in a multicultural public space. By integrating contemporary aesthetic approaches, such as those of Arthur C. Danto and Jacques Rancière (Ekosiwi, 2017; Tanke,

2011), visual semiotics by Roland Barthes and Charles Sanders Peirce (Aiello, 2020; Curtin, 2009), as well as theories of cultural commodification from Jean Baudrillard (Kellner, 2003; Sholahudin, 2020; Widiastini, 2013), this research positions Allsopp's (1970) framework as a reflective foundation (Atika, 2021; Wibawa, 2025). The study seeks to understand *Ogoh-Ogoh* not merely as a work of art, but as a living visual text that continually transforms through its dialogical relationship with the society that produces and engages with it.

The scholarship on *Ogoh-Ogoh* as a cultural artifact has evolved across three major thematic clusters. First, anthropological and ritual studies emphasize the role of *Ogoh-Ogoh* within the *Nyepi* ceremony, particularly its function in representing *Bhuta Kala*, articulating cosmological principles, and enacting ritual purification. Studies such as Harsana (2018) and Aristrawati (2018) highlight the significance of *Ogoh-Ogoh* in fostering communal solidarity, reinforcing Hindu Balinese cosmology, and maintaining ritual continuity. In this body of work, aesthetic aspects are generally treated as subordinate to ritual functions.

Second, the cultural tourism literature examines how *Ogoh-Ogoh* has evolved into a public spectacle shaped by creative-economy dynamics, local competitions, and regional branding strategies. Prianta and Sulistyawati (2024) demonstrate that the tourism industry has intensified the commodification of *Ogoh-Ogoh*, resulting in increasingly elaborate and market-responsive visual forms. Suda and Indiani (2018) further observe that popular aesthetics influence artistic decisions, creating tension between sacred values and entertainment-oriented visual styles. These studies underscore the interplay between contemporary creativity and the economic pressures of cultural tourism.

Third, research on identity and cultural politics interprets *Ogoh-Ogoh* as a medium of social expression within Bali's multicultural public sphere. Budiwanti's (2018) ethnographic work illustrates how *Ogoh-Ogoh* often conveys political critique, social commentary, and expressions of communal identity. This cluster emphasizes *Ogoh-Ogoh* as a contested cultural text shaped by negotiation of meaning, public discourse, and shifting social dynamics. Despite these significant contributions, existing scholarship has paid insufficient attention to the aesthetic evolution of *Ogoh-Ogoh* as a dynamic historical and cultural process. The transformation from traditional Bhuta Kala iconography to creative, futuristic, satirical, or cartoon-like contemporary forms has not been examined through the lens of modern aesthetic theory. This reveals a conceptual gap concerning the ways technological innovation, shifting visual sensibilities, social change, and the influence of popular culture inform the contemporary aesthetic character of *Ogoh-Ogoh*.

To address this gap, the present study adopts an integrated aesthetic framework. Bruce Allsopp's contextual aesthetics (Allsopp, 1970) emphasizes that aesthetic experience arises from a dialogic relation between artwork, cultural perception, and social context, underscoring the need to understand *Ogoh-Ogoh*'s aesthetic shifts as responses to broader social transformations. Arthur C. Danto's theory of the artworld (1997) complements this by arguing that artworks acquire meaning within conceptual and institutional frameworks—an insight relevant to *Ogoh-Ogoh*'s transition from ritual object to contemporary artistic artifact. Jacques Rancière's concept of the distribution of the sensible (Rancière, 2006) further contributes a political dimension, explaining how aesthetic regimes shape the ways visual forms are perceived, interpreted, and negotiated in the public sphere.

Together, these theoretical perspectives—Allsopp, Danto, and Rancière—provide a robust conceptual foundation for understanding *Ogoh-Ogoh* as a living visual text that continually transforms through the interplay of tradition, contemporary creativity, market forces, and sociopolitical dynamics. This systematic literature review demonstrates that previous studies have not addressed these dimensions holistically, thereby positioning the present research to make a substantive contribution to the understanding of the aesthetic evolution of *Ogoh-Ogoh* in contemporary Balinese cultural contexts.

3. Methodology and Theoretical Framework

This study employs an interpretative qualitative approach (Eatough & Smith, 2017; Hasiara, 2018) to examine the aesthetic meaning and visual transformation of the Ogoh-Ogoh as a form of living cultural art within Balinese society. This approach is selected to gain a deep understanding of the symbolic meanings and evolving forms of Ogoh-Ogoh in their social, cultural, and religious contexts, rather than to generalize findings statistically. This research was conducted in three regions renowned for their Ogoh-Ogoh competitions: Denpasar, Gianyar, and Badung, which collectively illustrate the interplay between traditional identity and contemporary creativity. In Gianyar, villagelevel parades feature Bhuta Kala and socially or environmentally themed figures accompanied by baleganjur and traditional dance. Denpasar organizes the Kesanga Festival, where dozens of Sekaa Teruna present both traditional and innovative works that address social, political, and environmental issues, alongside miniature, sketch, and baleganjur competitions supported by municipal funding. In Badung, the focus lies on visual and aesthetic innovation through youth creativity funds, mini competitions, and children's parades. Together, these regional practices demonstrate how Ogoh-Ogoh functions as a dynamic medium for creative expression, cultural education, and intergenerational community engagement, reflecting both continuity and adaptability within Bali's ritual and cultural heritage.

Data collection was conducted using four primary approaches. Depth interviews were carried out with four key informants. They are community leaders from Denpasar with extensive knowledge of *Ogoh-Ogoh* history, and *Ogoh-Ogoh* makers from Tampaksiring, Gianyar, and Desa Penarungan, Badung, aimed at eliciting personal narratives, symbolic interpretations, and insights into the creative processes involved in *Ogoh-Ogoh* production. Then, participatory observation was implemented at the research sites during both the creation and parade events to directly document visual and contextual aspects. Furthermore, visual documentation through photography and videography was employed to capture aesthetic elements and track design evolution. Some literature emphasized the use of credible local sources as secondary data, particularly Bali Post as a trusted media outlet, to gather historical records, news coverage, and cultural discourse relevant to *Ogoh-Ogoh* practices.

The collected data were analysed through an interpretative qualitative framework organised into three interconnected stages: first, tracing the aesthetic transformation of *Ogoh-Ogoh* from traditional to contemporary forms; second, examining public perceptions of these visual shifts; and third, interpreting their symbolic meanings and aesthetic functions in contemporary contexts. Findings are presented narratively to provide rich, contextualised insights that illuminate both the cultural depth and the evolving identity of the *Ogoh-Ogoh* tradition in Bali. To reinforce the analysis, the study draws on Arthur C. Danto's and Jacques Rancière's perspectives on contemporary aesthetics (Danto, 1997; Rancière, 2006), Roland Barthes' and Charles Sanders Peirce's visual semiotics (Aiello, 2020; Barthes, 1977; Curtin, 2009), and Jean Baudrillard's notion of cultural commodification (Kellner, 2003; Sholahudin, 2020; Widiastini, 2013). Furthermore, Allsopp's reflective foundation (Atika, 2021; Wibawa, 2025) provides a philosophical basis for approaching *Ogoh-Ogoh* not merely as artistic objects but as dynamic visual texts that continuously evolve in dialogue with society.

4. Result and Discussion

4.1 Form and Symbolism of Traditional Ogoh-Ogohs

The aesthetic transformation of *Ogoh-Ogoh* in Bali exhibits a dynamic trajectory, evolving from traditional representations of *Bhuta Kala* toward more layered and complex forms of contemporary expression. This study frames its analysis around three primary focuses. First, the visual and stylistic evolution of *Ogoh-Ogoh*, highlighting the shift from sacred iconography to innovative representations influenced by social, political, and environmental themes; second, the community's responses, particularly those of younger generations, to

these transformations, revealing a dialectic between the preservation of tradition and the pursuit of creative expression; and third, the interpretation of *Ogoh-Ogoh's* symbolic meanings and aesthetic functions within the contemporary cultural landscape, emphasizing its role not only as an artistic medium but also as a vehicle for education, social critique, and the reinforcement of Bali's collective identity. As explained by I Nyoman Manuaba (64), one of the earliest *Ogoh-Ogoh* makers in Kesiman Village, Denpasar, the early development of traditional *Ogoh-Ogoh*—particularly between 1978 and 1990—was grounded in communal solidarity and spiritual devotion. During this period, *Ogoh-Ogoh* were crafted manually using natural materials such as *somi* (rice straw), *akar canging* (creeping roots), *pongpongan* (coconut fibre), bamboo, and repurposed cement sacks (Figure 1).



Figure 1. The construction process using bamboo and cement sacks (left), the single *Bhuta Kala Ogoh-Ogoh* (middle), and *Ogoh-Ogoh* in the 1980s in Denpasar (right) (Source: Bayu Pramana).

These materials were selected not only for their availability in the local environment but also for their symbolic significance within the context of the *Bhuta Yajña* rituals, ceremonies done to neutralize the negative impacts of the *Bhuta Kala* realms (Interview with I Nyoman Manuaba, Saturday, 5 April 2025). This finding underscores that *Ogoh-Ogoh* are not merely visual artworks but are spiritual representations that reinforce the sacred values of *Pengrupukan*, the ritual purification of malevolent spirits conducted the night before *Nyepi*. Through participation in this ritual, cultural values are internalised both performatively and affectively, constituting what Clifford Geertz (1980) describes as deep play, an experience rich in symbolic intensity. The contemporary revitalisation of *Nyepi* can thus be seen as an inclusive and adaptive cultural strategy rooted in collective consciousness and aimed at preserving tradition as a form of living heritage that continues to evolve and remain relevant in modern society (Hardianta, 2024).

From the perspective of visual semiotics as articulated by Peirce (1935), traditional Ogoh-Ogoh operate across three interrelated semiotic planes, each contributing to its multilayered communicative function. As an icon, the Ogoh-Ogoh provides a direct visual representation of the Bhuta Kala, wherein every formal detail, ranging from facial expression and bodily posture to proportion and ornamentation, conveys an immediate aesthetic and emotional impact, making the supernatural figure perceptible to viewers while simultaneously reinforcing cultural and ritual identity. In its capacity as an index, the Ogoh-Ogoh functions as a tangible manifestation of the creators' intentionality and communal dedication. The meticulous craftsmanship, adherence to traditional techniques, and alignment with the ethical and spiritual values of the Bhuta Yajña ritual render the artwork a reliable indicator of collective devotion and ritual sincerity, demonstrating how material processes encode social and moral dimensions. Finally, as a symbol, the Ogoh-Ogoh communicates connotative meanings that transcend the immediate visual and performative experience, signaling moral and spiritual imperatives concerning the management of $negative\ forces\ through\ collective\ self-discipline.\ This\ symbolic\ function\ situates$ the Ogoh-Ogoh as an educative and ethically resonant medium, wherein the integration of iconographic, indexical, and symbolic layers produces a complex visual text. Such a configuration underscores that Ogoh-Ogoh are not merely objects of entertainment or spectacle; rather, they embody profound ethical, spiritual, and social discourses, articulating a dynamic interplay between tradition, communal values, and contemporary cultural consciousness (Aiello, 2020; Budiman, 2005; Curtin, 2009).

Field observations reveal that *Ogoh-Ogohs* made without connection to the *Bhuta Yajña* lack relevance and essence. As I Nyoman Manuaba (64) said:

"If *Ogoh-Ogoh* is created in connection with the *Bhuta Yajña* ritual, it is more readily imbued with *taksu* (spiritual potency). Otherwise, *Ogoh-Ogoh* produced without association to the *pecaruan* ceremony are significantly less likely to acquire such spiritual efficacy" (Interview, 22 April 2025).

This statement articulates a crucial epistemological insight within Balinese culture: the *taksu*, or spiritual charisma of an artwork, emerges from its alignment with sacred ritual and cosmological balance. Within the framework of *Tri Hita Karana*, the *Bhuta Yajña* represents the harmonious relationship between humans (*pawongan*) and the natural–spiritual realm (*palemahan* and *parahyangan*) (Sukarma, 2016; Yusuf & Azisi, 2020). When this ritual linkage is severed, the *Ogoh-Ogoh* loses its ontological purpose as a mediator of balance within the dualistic principle of *Rwa Bhineda*—the coexistence of good and evil

forces. Therefore, the spiritual efficacy of *Ogoh-Ogoh* is not merely aesthetic but cosmological, contingent upon its role in sustaining equilibrium between human intent, ritual obligation, and cosmic order (Sunarya, 2020).

According to the theoretical framework of Arthur C. Danto (as cited in İsmet, 2014), an object attains the status of "art" not solely through its physical form but through the contextual frameworks that imbue it with aesthetic and cultural significance. Accordingly, the aesthetic value of such objects does not exist independently; rather, it is intrinsically embedded within a broader cultural structure of meaning and ritual function. This perspective aligns with semiotic analysis (Barthes, 1977), which interprets the *Bhuta Kala* forms in *Ogoh-Ogoh* not merely as denotative markers of fearsome entities but as connotative symbols articulating the necessity of regulating negative energies. This interpretation is further reinforced by Wahidiyat's (2019) study, which demonstrates how figures such as barongan and other *ondel-ondel* forms acquire mythic and cultural resonance through discourse and narrative circulation. Collectively, these analyses underscore that the study of *Ogoh-Ogoh* affirms traditional Balinese art as inseparable from the spiritual, ethical, and communal values that constitute the sociocultural fabric of Balinese society.

This study affirms that traditional *Ogoh-Ogoh* functions as a culturally meaningful form of visual communication. Its role as a medium for conveying moral and spiritual messages strengthens its position within the Balinese system of values and social organisation. These findings support previous research that recognises them as an effective tool for cultural and spiritual education, where the process of creation and public performance becomes a meaningful way to transmit ethical values to younger generations in a collective and experiential manner (Rahmadani & Prasetyo, 2024; Wulandari, 2025).

The key academic implication is that efforts to preserve *Ogoh-Ogoh* must go beyond conserving its physical form, extending to the symbolic meanings, moral messages, and ritual contexts in which it is embedded. These elements are essential to ensure that *Ogoh-Ogoh* continue to function as a form of living heritage that educates, unites, and empowers the community (Nole, 2024; Suharta, 2019; Wulandari, 2025). However, as they become increasingly integrated into tourism (Aristrawati, 2018; Dana & Adnyana, 2025; Prianta & Sulistyawati, 2024) there is growing concern that their spiritual significance is being displaced by commercial and economic interests. This shift risks diminishing its ritual value and reducing it to a spectacle for external consumption.

The study therefore argues for a preservation strategy rooted in cultural education and the revitalisation of *Bhuta Yajña* values, so that *Ogoh-Ogoh* remains a meaningful ritual expression rather than a commodified object. Traditional *Ogoh-Ogohs* must be recognised not only as a legacy of visual art,

but also as intangible heritage that encapsulates the philosophical worldview of the Balinese.

In the context of cultural preservation, this research makes an important academic contribution by highlighting the urgency of comprehensively understanding traditional art through a holistic approach that integrates aesthetic form, social function, and cultural meaning. The findings of this study strengthen the theoretical foundations of visual anthropology and cultural aesthetics, both of which position social context as a key element in understanding and sustaining traditional artistic practices (see Fig. 2a & 2b). This research further argues that traditional art can only be fully understood and preserved when examined within the cultural and communal environments in which it develops, is practiced, and transmitted. Within this framework, traditional art functions as a dynamic medium—one that not only reflects but also transmits ideological values of past societies through rich forms, symbols, and narratives.





Figure 2. *Ogoh-Ogohs* entitled *Bibi Anu* in Denpasar (left) and *Kukang Çiwa* (right) at Badung, in the shape of *Bhuta Kala* that embody the ritual but is expressed in contemporary styles (Source: Wayan Suardana, 2025).

Through the symbols, themes, and stories embedded within traditional art, various ideologies—religious, political, and social—are expressed, sustained, and continually reinterpreted across time. Furthermore, rituals and cultural celebrations associated with traditional art play a crucial role as

vehicles for transmitting values and ideologies across generations, ensuring the continuity of tradition amid the intensifying forces of globalization (Sudirga et al., 2024). In this context, cultural preservation through the *Ogoh-Ogoh* tradition serves as an effective means of embedding cultural values in younger generations, enabling them to remain rooted in local identity while navigating global pressures. As Yudarta et al. (2025) emphasizes, Indonesian society—particularly in Bali—faces the significant challenge of remaining vigilant and committed to preserving national identity so that it is not gradually eroded by external cultural influences.

Ogoh-Ogoh Bibi Anu, created by Sekaa Teruna Cantigraha, Banjar Tengah Sesetan (Denpasar), represents a harmonious integration of cultural aesthetics, visual anthropology, and the social context of the Balinese (Abdurohman, 2025; Tca, 2025). This work not only highlights visual beauty through the symbolism of a pregnant woman surrounded by mystical creatures, but also reflects collective creativity by incorporating eco-friendly materials and technological innovations such as a knockdown design and mechanical components, all while conveying the Hindu-Balinese philosophical values of Satyam Śivam Sundaram (truth, auspiciousness, beauty). From a visual anthropological perspective, this Ogoh-Ogoh serves as a medium for communicating social values, ritual purification, and the strengthening of communal identity. It demonstrates that the preservation of traditional Balinese art must account for social dynamics, community participation, and cultural adaptation to contemporary life.

Similarly, *Ogoh-Ogoh Kungkang Çiwa*, created by *Sekaa Teruna* Tunas Remaja Penarungan (Badung), is a powerful representation of visual anthropology and cultural aesthetics that centres on social context (Tca, 2025). The work combines the mythological symbolism of *Arja Godogan* and the figure of Lord *Çiwa/Śiva* with technical innovations such as motorised masks and simple mechanical devices, producing a strong visual impact while maintaining traditional and ecological values. Socially, this *Ogoh-Ogoh* functions as a platform for collaboration, the expression of communal identity, and the dynamics of inter-*banjar* competition. It affirms that the preservation of Balinese traditional art must be based on the integration of aesthetic value, social engagement, and technological adaptation.

4.2 Aesthetic Innovation in Contemporary Ogoh-Ogohs

Field analysis of the characteristics of *Ogoh-Ogoh* in the three main regions—Denpasar, Badung, and Gianyar—reveals a diversity of aesthetic developments that reflect the ongoing continuity between tradition and contemporary innovation. The influence of contemporary art has become increasingly embedded, serving as an important source of inspiration for Balinese artists in expanding their creative expression. Accordingly, *Ogoh-Ogoh* artists are

expected to uphold traditional values as the foundation for developing modern artistic innovation. In line with Karja and Felman's view (2024), contemporary art that becomes detached from its traditional roots will inevitably lose both its conceptual grounding and its aesthetic strength. In Badung, *Ogoh-Ogohs* were characterized by a theatrical and dramatic style, often portrayed through dynamic poses and aggressive facial expressions. Details such as muscular anatomy, fangs, and striking body positions emphasized power and ferocity. Strong and contrasting colors, including red, black, and gold, dominated the visual composition, while the large scale of the figures reinforced a sense of dominance. Although traditional *Bhuta Kala* figures remained central, in recent years *Ogoh-Ogohs* in Badung increasingly incorporated modern themes related to politics, social issues, and popular culture, illustrating thematic adaptation without abandoning traditional aesthetics (Prianta & Sulistyawati, 2024; Putra et al., 2021).

In Gianyar, *Ogoh-Ogohs* displayed a refined and artistic approach, emphasizing aestheticsophistication overfear. These worksoften drewins piration from Hindu mythology and wayang characters, which were expressed through detailed anatomical precision and intricate decorative elements. Carving and coloring techniques were executed with high craftsmanship, creating elegant and symbolic figures. Most were single-character structures rich in symbolic meaning, highlighting the technical ability of local artisans while positioning *Ogoh-Ogoh* as an artistic rather than terrifying cultural medium (Suharta, 2019; Wulandari, 2025).

In Denpasar, *Ogoh-Ogohs* demonstrated the most progressive innovations in both aesthetics and technology. Communities frequently combine tradition with modernity, producing a wide variety of visual expressions across different banjar. Artistic works often integrate kinetic art technologies such as robotic mechanisms, Bluetooth or smartphone-controlled movement, hydraulic systems, and LED lighting to create dramatic visual effects and interactive dimensions (Ardana & Sudita, 2022; Putra et al., 2021). Additionally, recent practices emphasized environmental awareness, replacing styrofoam with organic and biodegradable materials such as bamboo, recycled paper, and jackfruit bark (Widyasari, 2025). The themes often expanded into contemporary issues, including environmental crises, social criticism, and satirical portrayals of public figures, marking a significant departure from the exclusive focus on Bhuta Kala representations. The findings indicated that aesthetic innovation in contemporary Ogoh-Ogohs evolved differently in each region. Badung remained focused on theatrical power and dramatic expression, Gianyar prioritized artistic refinement and symbolic depth, and Denpasar emerged as the center of creative experimentation through technological integration and ecological awareness.

The evolution of *Ogoh-Ogohs* in the 1990s and 2000s marked a major shift from its roots in ritual art toward more performative and entertainment-oriented expressions. Innovations in form and materials became increasingly varied, with the introduction of styrofoam, wire, metal frames, and technologies such as LED lighting and hydraulic structures (Suharta 2019; Ganika and Suardana 2019). *Ogoh-Ogoh* figures began to depict characters far beyond the traditional image of *Bhuta Kala*, including political figures, celebrities, cartoon characters, and anime icons. These developments show that contemporary *Ogoh-Ogoh* has become a space for visual experimentation, influenced by popular taste and the growing demand for public spectacle (Prianta & Sulistyawati, 2024).









Figure 3. Contemporary *Ogoh-Ogohs* depicting cartoon characters (A & B). Upin-Ipin (C), Doraemon, and a corrupt political figures (D) (Source: picastech.blogspot.com, March 15, 2010: Wayan Aris Susila, 2023; Youtube: <u>nez bali channel</u> [February 22, 2025], and Agung Prameswara, 2025).

Viewed through the lens of visual anthropology and cultural aesthetics, *Ogoh-Ogoh* reflects the creative evolution of Balinese society in engaging with tradition. Widarti (2010) highlights the emergence of *Ogoh-Ogoh* depicting popular TV characters such as *Ipin and Upin* as an expansion of collective visual expression that still maintains the ritual resonance of *Nyepi* (see Fig. 3A & B). The video "*Ogoh Ogoh Doraemon*" (Kreativitas Bali, 2017; O2C, 2020a; Widrayani, 2025) (see Figure 3C) shows how global figures are reimagined as tools for social communication and visual entertainment within contemporary Balinese communities. Similarly, "*Ogoh Ogoh Paling Cantik yang Mirip Artis*" (Mediator Bali, 2020; O2C, 2020b; Sundari, 2017) (see Figure 4) illustrates a form of cultural aesthetics that resonates with modern visual aspirations, using celebrity imagery to attract attention while remaining accountable within the framework of public ritual.



Figure 4. Female *Ogoh-Ogohs* bearing visual resemblance to popular celebrities (Source: Instagram: @budalrek and balisoulmate March 28, 2025, and I Wayan Suardana, 2023).

Fieldwork indicates that contemporary *Ogoh-Ogohs* fall within the domain of contemporary aesthetics, as articulated by Danto and Rancière (Ekosiwi, 2017; Tanke, 2011). Their form is no longer confined by ritual boundaries but opens new space for interpretation and formal freedom. This is supported by the statement of I Komang Indra Wirawan (45), who noted that contemporary *Ogoh-Ogohs* are designed primarily for the entertainment of children and younger generations, rather than solely for the ritual purposes of *Bhuta Yajña* (Prabandari & Sonder, 2021). This shift illustrates how *Ogoh-Ogoh* has moved from a sacred medium to a form of public entertainment infused with visual contestation (Aristrawati, 2018).

In the context of Rancière's theory (Rockhill & Watts, 2009), contemporary *Ogoh-Ogohs* represent a clear example of the redistribution of the sensible, where the boundaries between high art, ritual, spectacle, and mass consumption become blurred. *Ogoh-Ogoh* visuals now convey not only moral or spiritual messages but also elements of entertainment, humour, and social critique (Suda & Indiani, 2018). This phenomenon reflects a broader shift in the aesthetic paradigm of Balinese society, where art is no longer confined to sacred spaces but emerges in the public sphere as a spectacular performance (Budiwanti, 2018).

Ogoh-Ogoh has also undergone material transformations, with the introduction of new materials such as styrofoam and iron allowing for more dynamic and complex constructions (Ganika & Suardana, 2019; Suharta, 2019). These innovations enable them to feature spectacular effects, such as appearing to fly or emitting light. However, this shift also carries implications. The visual form of *Ogoh-Ogoh* has become increasingly focused on performance and public entertainment rather than spiritual meaning (Kembarawan, 2020; Prianta

& Sulistyawati, 2024). As noted by Komang Tri Warmayana (26), the aim of creating *Ogoh-Ogoh* is no longer solely to win competitions, but to satisfy public expectations through symbolically rich visual aesthetics that narrate the journey of birth, life, and death. This confirms a shift in values, where they transform from a ritual medium to an object of mass visual consumption (Prabandari & Sonder, 2021).

The production of *Ogoh-Ogohs* were typically budgeted at approximately Rp. 7 million each, with about three months of work required, considering the complex anatomical detailing and accessories. They would typically be around three meters high, and weigh at least a hundred kilograms (Inside Lombok, 2023; Radar Bali, 2018). Enthusiasm to participate at competitions rose as did government budgeting for it; in 2024 Denpasar allocated approximately Rp. 3.6 billion for 360 competing groups, and 12 works were selected for the Kesanga Festival with Rp30 million in additional funding (Pemerintah Kota Denpasar, 2024; Bali Post, 2024); meanwhile Badung, in the same year, allocated Rp. 20 million per group, shared to 580 communities, an increase of Rp. 5 million from the previous year (Sekretariat Daerah Kabupaten Badung, 2024; Pemerintah Kabupaten Badung, 2024). We now see technology being involved not just in construction, but to add aesthetic appeal. With effigies, made of eco-friendly materials, geared with hydraulics and bluetooth-activated lasers, moving limbs and smoke machines (DwiPaNews, 2016; NusaBali, 2024a, 2024b; Suara.com, 2024; DetikBali, 2024).

Applying the theories of both the Baudrillardian frame and Ritzer's analyses of cultural production, contemporary *Ogoh-Ogohs* are best read as a simulacra. Sacred legends are now reinterpreted into popular iconography for festival display and public consumption. Rather than functioning as direct embodiments of negative forces to be ritually controlled, they have been commodified, heritage has been converted into visual products optimized for markets, competition, and spectacle (Aristrawati, 2018; Prianta & Sulistyawati, 2024). The empirical dynamics detailed above, budgeting and subsidies, calculable scales and prizes, standardized yet biodegradable materials, and techno-aesthetic upgrades are precisely the traits Ritzer associates with cultural production under efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control, reinforcing how the *Ogoh-Ogoh* has been reorganized as consumable, competitive sign-forms that circulate beyond their original ritual referent (Ritzer, 2015; Ritzer & Goodman, 2004; Ritzer & Ryan, 2003).

The academic implication of this study is the need for critical awareness in observing the transformation of *Ogoh-Ogoh* as an art form. This shift from the sacred to the spectacular not only alters their visual form, but also the meaning and function of *Ogoh-Ogoh* in Balinese society. Traditional art that

loses its ritual context risks becoming devoid of meaning. Therefore, efforts are needed to reintegrate or reconcile innovative aesthetics with ritual values to ensure cultural sustainability (Prabandari & Sonder, 2021). This research also contributes to broader discussions on the relationship between art, culture, and mass consumption in the context of globalisation (Budiwanti, 2018; Kembarawan, 2020).



Figure 5. Contemporary *Ogoh-Ogohs* entitled *Batan Merem* (left), *Tulak Tunggul* (middle), and *Bregan Pering* (right) in Tampaksiring Gianyar 2025 (Source: I Wayan Suardana, 2025).

In this way, contemporary *Ogoh-Ogoh* reflects the complex cultural dynamics of Bali (see Figure 5). On one hand, it is innovative and responsive to changing times. On the other hand, it faces challenges in maintaining its sacred essence. These findings support theories in visual culture and contemporary aesthetics, which argue that traditional arts drawn into the realm of mass consumption require context-based preservation strategies, not merely the conservation of form. This study of *Ogoh-Ogoh* development in Bali offers valuable contributions to the fields of aesthetics, visual culture, and the anthropology of art, particularly in understanding the transformation of ritual art into public spectacle in the modern era.

The *Batan Merem*, *Tulak Tunggul*, and *Bregan Pering Ogoh-Ogohs*, as shown in Figure 5 above, stand at the intersection of innovation and tradition. They reflect responsiveness to current social dynamics through visually and narratively relevant approaches. Yet such transformations present challenges in preserving the sacred dimension of *Ogoh-Ogoh* as part of spiritual practice and religious ritual. Thus, these two *Ogoh-Ogoh* serve not only as mediums of artistic expression but also as symbols of the human journey in nurturing cultural identity, upholding traditional values, and bridging perspectives amidst the currents of globalisation.

4.3 Shifts in Meaning and Function

In the modern era, *Ogoh-Ogoh* has undergone a significant shift in function compared to its original role. Initially, it was an integral part of *Nyepi*, specifically within the *Pengrupukan* procession (Suharta, 2019). However, findings from this study indicate that they now play a more prominent role as a platform for youth social expression, a symbol of communal pride, and a means of constructing new forms of collective identity (Kembarawan, 2020; Prabandari & Sonder, 2021). This suggests that *Ogoh-Ogohs* no longer serve solely as a ritual medium, but also functions as a tool for fostering social cohesion amid the changing dynamics of Balinese society (Budiwanti, 2018).





Figure 6. Contemporary despicable figures *Ogoh-Ogohs* Amrozi bin Nurhasymi (left), and *Ogoh-Ogoh* a woman corrupt political figure AS (right) (Source: liputan6.com March 30, 2003; tribunnews.com, March 22, 2012).

The interpretive transformation of *Ogoh-Ogohs* shows a shift from an early focus on *Bhuta Kala* to a vehicle for social and political critique. Contemporary despicable figures such as the terrorist Amrozi bin Nurhasymi, corrupt politicians like MN and AS (see Figure 6), GT, and AU (Figure 7) were paraded and then burned as symbols of the eradication of vice, the new incarnations of the *Bhuta Kala*.

The historical development of *Ogoh-Ogoh* follows a trajectory from its origins as a ritual element, to its adaptation into public performance, and finally to its establishment as a large-scale festival. Early signs of this transformation appeared in the 1980s, with the first recorded use of the *Ogoh-Ogoh* in 1984. In the years that followed, parades became formally organised and institutionalised at the city and regency levels. This institutionalisation occurred in parallel with the rise of the creative economy and increasing local government involvement, as seen in growing participation supported by BKK funds and grants in Denpasar and Badung. Communities themselves also invested heavily, often contributing Rp7–10 million or more for the creation of a single work. Technological advances also transformed *Ogoh-Ogoh* aesthetics. Movement evolved from simple manual

"shaking" to sophisticated mechanical and hydraulic systems, and eventually to smartphone or Bluetooth-linked controls, each innovation influencing form, motion, and production cost.





Figure 7. Contemporary despicable figures *Ogoh-Ogohs* GT (left), and *Ogoh-Ogoh* AU (Source: antarafoto.com February 26, 2011, and news.republika. co.id March 03, 2013).

The transformation of the *Ogoh-Ogoh*'s function has also been influenced by environmental regulations, such as the ban on styrofoam use in Denpasar since 2012. Interestingly, this policy has spurred new forms of creativity, with youth engaging in intensive collaboration and developing skills in using environmentally friendly materials (Ganika & Suardana, 2019). Interviews with local customary leaders affirm that *Ogoh-Ogoh* innovation has become increasingly collective. I Komang Indra Wirawan (46), remarks how the *Ogoh-Ogoh*, especially its creation process, now serves as a medium for creativity, community bonding, and the preservation of cultural identity amid the challenges of globalisation. *Ogoh-Ogoh* creations are seen as communal assets and reflections of shared values such as mutual cooperation, rather than merely being expressions of individual pride (Prianta & Sulistyawati, 2024). Ultimately, *Ogoh-Ogohs* came to function as a public stage for addressing themes ranging from fear and corruption to nuclear threat and other contemporary issues, yet still concluded with the ritual burning. In doing so, it bridged the sacred and

the profane, uniting religious rite and popular spectacle within a single arena of collective expression.



Figure 8. Collectively creating the *Ogoh-Ogoh* in village *Banjar* community halls (Source: I Wayan Gading Tatto, 2025).

The meaning of contemporary *Ogoh-Ogoh* has shifted from the sacred to the profane, from a ritual object for warding off misfortune to a form of public spectacle. Within Peirce's semiotic framework, *Ogoh-Ogoh* now serves as an index of changing social structures and shifting values in Balinese society. Its forms have become increasingly diverse, presenting social critique, parody, and even narratives of sorrow, such as in the concept of *Batan Merem* in Sebatu, which visualises the grief of *Ibu Pertiwi* (Mother Earth). This phenomenon positions *Ogoh-Ogoh* as a space for cultural dialogue, where visual symbols are reinterpreted to express collective anxieties, aspirations, and entertainment (Budiwanti, 2018; Kembarawan, 2020).

From the perspective of Ritzer's theory of commodification, *Ogoh-Ogoh* has entered the realm of consumer culture. Its visual presence functions as a public aesthetic product that is no longer necessarily bound to its original sacred meaning. However, this study also finds that communal values continue to be preserved within the commodification process. The collaborative effort among residents in constructing *Ogoh-Ogoh* remains a means of strengthening social ties and sustaining collective tradition (Prabandari & Sonder, 2021; Suharta, 2019).

Reflections from artists and cultural figures, as emphasised by Allsopp (Atika, 2021; Wibawa, 2025), highlight the importance of preserving *Ogoh-Ogoh* as a space for spiritual dialogue rather than reducing it to a mere festival product. Visual splendour and modern technological enhancements do not guarantee the presence of *taksu*, or spiritual energy. Sincere intention and heartfelt involvement remain essential for *Ogoh-Ogoh* to carry sacred value, a message that must be passed on to younger generations so that innovation remains rooted in local wisdom.

The aesthetic transformation of *Ogoh-Ogoh* carries significant academic implications for the study of visual culture and the preservation of Balinese tradition. The shift from a sacred symbol to a public symbol reflects how local culture adapts to the pressures of modernity, commodification, and environmental regulation (Prabandari & Sonder, 2021; Prianta & Sulistyawati, 2024). This study affirms the urgency of adopting a holistic approach to cultural preservation, one that maintains not only visual form but also the accompanying meanings, functions, and social values.

Ogoh-Ogoh can be read as a living visual text that continually engages with the social, political, and spiritual realities of Balinese society. Its shifting meanings and functions reflect the complexities of cultural dynamics and therefore require value-based preservation strategies to ensure that *Ogoh-Ogoh* remains a space for cultural and spiritual dialogue, rather than becoming merely a commodified spectacle. This research contributes to the broader discourse on cultural preservation in Bali amid globalisation and mass consumer culture.

5. Conclusion

Ogoh-Ogoh has undergone a profound transformation in meaning, function, and form. Once a ritual medium for neutralizing Bhuta Kala, it has now become a dynamic platform for social expression, banjar pride, and collective identity. This evolution varies regionally: in Denpasar, Ogoh-Ogoh emphasizes artistic competition and urban creativity; in Badung, it manifests as a fusion of ritual significance and tourism-driven spectacle; while in Gianyar, it tends to retain stronger ritual and philosophical depth rooted in traditional aesthetics. These regional distinctions demonstrate how local contexts shape the balance between ritual authenticity and contemporary reinterpretation.

Anchored in Allsopp's theory of performative cultural practice, *Ogoh-Ogoh* may be understood as a living art form in which meaning emerges through collective participation and embodied performance. Simultaneously, following Rancière's notion of the "distribution of the sensible," its visual and performative dimensions redefine how communities perceive and negotiate cultural power, identity, and belonging in public space.

The findings emphasize that preserving *Ogoh-Ogoh* requires a holistic approach that safeguards not only its visual form but also its symbolic, functional, and communal dimensions. Sustainable preservation should balance innovation with tradition—encouraging creative experimentation that aligns with local wisdom and ethical responsibility. By fostering critical awareness among youth and supporting eco-conscious materials and participatory education, *Ogoh-Ogoh* can continue to evolve as an adaptive and sustainable form of intangible heritage without losing its sacred and cultural foundations. Future research

should further investigate how commodification and globalization influence the spiritual perceptions and aesthetic values embedded within *Ogoh-Ogoh* practices.

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Authors' Profiles

I Wayan Suardana (Petulu, 31 December 1963) earned his Doctorate in Artistic Creation from ISI Yogyakarta and has taught at ISI Bali since 1992. He is active in creating artworks exhibited locally, nationally, and internationally, working primarily with teak, frangipani, and trembesi wood. He has received multiple national research grants, including DRPTM (2015–2018) and PDIS (2024). His publications appear in reputable national journals and internationally indexed outlets, including a Scopus Q2 journal. Email: wynsuardana@isi-dps.ac.id

I Nyoman Laba (Karangasem, 1983) earned his BFA from ISI Denpasar (2006), MFA from ISI Yogyakarta (2008), and Doctorate in Art from ISI Bali (2025). Since 2009, he has served as a lecturer in the Craft Study Program at ISI Bali. His academic work spans visual art and craft research funded by Ditlitabmas-Dikti and ISI Bali, with publications in reputable journals. Since 2010, he has focused on ceramic media and has exhibited widely at local, national, and international levels. Email: Nyomanlaba@isi-dps.ac.id

Surasak Jamnongsarn is a Thai ethnomusicologist and Assistant Professor at Srinakharinwirot University, Bangkok. He earned his PhD from ISI Yogyakarta in 2017 and has taught at the university since 1999, where he now directs the Graduate Program in Ethnomusicology. His research focuses on Thai music, ethnomusicology, Thai political studies, and Gramscian theory. He has published scholarly works, served on journal editorial boards, and contributed studies on cultural diplomacy, intercultural music exchange, and Thai–Indonesian musical transculturation. Email: Surasakja@g.swu.ac.th