PUJUNG, AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE FOUNDATIONS OF BALINESE CULTURE

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EX BIBL UN V. EDINBURGEN

I hereby declare that the following text is entirely my own work.

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SUMMARY

The study is a holistic account of the culture which focuses predominantly on the collective representations of the Balinese people. I argue that Balinese thought is founded on a pervasive dualism the asymmetrical nature of which has allowed them to structure many traditionally important institutions in a hierarchical form. The dominant features of this diarchy, almost irrespective of context, are that male is considered categorically superior to female, spirituality to materiality and movement to stagnation.

Everything which has 'life' in Bali is conceived to be structured in the same fundamental manner. Thus rice fields, the house, the human body, the cosmos, duration and even descent groups are thought to be articulated structures through the connecting points of which (corners, body joints and orifices, presence of evil spirits and so forth) a spiritual force flows in a regulated and regular way. The absence of internodes or their blockage (marked by even numbers, presence of evil spirits and so forth) entails illness, sterility, death and the inability of the soul to pass through the ranked levels of the universe (and therefore the impossibility of it reincarnating in a patrilineal descendant - a process which is fundamental to the creation of new life). The conceptual distinction between the body, whether material (the house) or immaterial (duration) and the spiritual force which animates it is a more abstract and basic contrast than the spirituality/materiality dichotomy which determines the configuration of the universe.

Hierarchy is the dominant mode of social organization. In the villages local administration conforms to the Indonesian pattern of a conceptual contrast of spiritual authority and temporal power, the latter being subordinate to the former. Hierarchy also informs the Balinese version of the caste system and structures the system of person definition.

Social aggregates, whatever their composition, are conceptualised as 'individualistic' in the sense that they stand by themselves and not in opposition to other, like aggregates. The prototype of this encapsulated individualism is the human being himself who is, culturally speaking, a fully integrated entity, structurally equivalent to the cosmos. Both are, in fact, constituted by the same components and the same substances.

Marriage is endogamous but the endogamous group may not always be determined by rules of descent. Whatever the case the ideal is to marry people 'like oneself' and those who are alike are automatically members of one's own group however this is constituted. Members of other groups are deemed to be fundamentally different types of people and certain types of marriage between members of different groups produce 'hybrid' progeny. Endogamous marriages retain the integrity and spiritual quality of the group, and since souls reincarnate into the same group endogamy preserves the same reservoir of souls. Production of new life depends on the successful movement of the soul through life and the after-life. If this passage is in any way obstructed the closed cycle along which life flows is interrupted and the existence of the descent group is threatened. This explains the fastidiousness of the Balinese for the correct performance of all life-crisis rituals and all death and cremation ceremonies as well as their noted preoccupation with siring children, the sole means by which the continuation of the group can be secured, for only with their appearance may the souls of the ancestors reincarnate and thus close the cycle.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Bali is an island located about half way along the Indonesian archipelago and eight degrees south of the equator. It has a population of over two million the great majority of which are peasants cultivating two rice crops every year on volcanically fertile, irrigated land.

With its beautiful dancing, its boisterous drama, its elegant music and its typically oriental architecture, Bali has been the focus of attention for scholars of every description. The modern day student has at his disposal a wealth of information on all forms of Balinese arts and crafts. But, perhaps as a result of the emphasis placed on the study of the arts, it is often suggested that the rest of the culture is similarly well studied even to the extent that "... observers had detailed the particulars of every religious ritual" (Boon 1977:58). In fact this is a gross misrepresentation of the state of studies concerning Balinese culture. Indeed this investigation is predicated on the awareness that most of the ritual life of the Balinese is, for most intents and purposes, a closed book.[1] I can say therefore

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1. This is a rather cynical choice of metaphor since over 100 years ago van Eck and Liefrinck wrote to the effect that within a few years Bali would be "een gelezen boek" (1867: 162).

that much of the ethnography to be found herein is original, and that the study represents something of a break with traditional methods of reportage of Balinese society. Thus the reader will find no long disquisitions on the Balinese arts; for these he must look elsewhere. It is not that I think the arts are unimportant but rather that they offer the most difficult and perilous route to a fuller understanding of the culture. Moreover, unlike the majority of previous anthropologists, this work is based on a protracted stay in a remote village rather than a number of short visits to several low lying and modern towns and large villages.

The enterprise is an holistic investigation into the traditional culture and therefore the people's collective representations form a proper object of study. It is assumed that the culture, at least in its major presuppositions, exhibits an integrated appearance. By this I mean no more that that there exist a number of ideas, for the most part probably abstract, which permeate and inform a wide variety of beliefs, values and institutions. The main task then is to delineate the rules of order embedded in what the Balinese themselves consider to be the most important aspects of their life. The categories of Balinese thought, not being isolated, encapsulated or independent of one another can be adequately described only in the context of a wide-ranging and discursive study. The collection of the evidence which is required to reconstitute Balinese culture on a level that is satisfying to modern anthropological and philosophical tradition entails a procedure that attempts to trace, through a study of indigenous categories and concepts, the interconnexions that are therein made whenever it seems appropriate to do so.

In view of the nature of the study it will perhaps be thought helpful if I say something about the arrangement of the material. In the first chapter I have documented the mythical history of Pujung, so far as I know it, since this will become important in interpreting marriage practices (chapter 15). In Chapter 2 I have strived to indicate the enormous significance of rice and water in the life of the Balinese and to give some of the background to the performance of typical ceremonies as well as some preliminary information on rice cultivation. The following three chapters, on spatial orientation, the rules

concerning the construction of buildings and conceptions of duration, extract and describe a series of prominent categories of thought which, as it were, form the infrastructure of the culture and without the prior analysis of which it would be difficult to proceed in a systematic manner. Following this I go on to discuss the traditional structure of authority and the village administrative apparatus (chapter 6) as this is the most convenient way of introducting the complex and ramified notion of hierarchy. From there it seems a logical step to describe the structural framework of the Balinese universe which is also hierarchically conceived and which parallels at a grand level the conceptual oppositions discussed in previous chapters. Chapter 8 analyses Balinese hierarchy as exhibited in the separation and interaction of social groups and offers, at a rather formal leverl, a comparison with the Indian caste system. The ninth chapter elucidates the Balinese system of person definition, the holistic and hierarchical nature of which is made apparent. The series of rites de passage which is described in chapters 10 through 12 indicates in a more concrete manner how many of the collective representations already adduced are put into practice. The subsequent chapter adumbrates the very complex Balinese ideas concerning the soul and illness while the final two chapters discuss the nature of Balinese groups, the relationship terminology, endogamy, marriage and a number of related topics.

There is no doubt that the serial ordering of the chapters is in some ways arbitrary if only because it has been imposed on the data from the outside and hence does not reflect a real division of material. However I would insist that the order I have selected is not without merit since, to a considerable degree, it does facilitate the exposition. I can assure the reader that it would be well-nigh impossible to discuss the intricacies of Balinsese rites de passage without a prior analysis of spatial orientation, concepts of hierarchy and the system of person definition, just as it would prove equally difficult to interpret marriage practices without a knowledge

of what constitutes a Balinese group and in turn this subject can only be profitably pursued in the context of notions of hierarchy.

Moreover I am presenting the material in this way because this is, to a large extent, the order in which I obtained it. I do not doubt, however, that some other order would be similarly illuminating, but after all in an investigation which proposes an holistic analysis this is how it should be.

1. Previous Work

For well over a hundred years Bali has been a centre for scholarly research into all aspects of its culture. This was, of course, mostly conducted by the Dutch both in their capacities as colonial officers and also as professionally trained investigators. An assessment of this accumulated work cannot, for reasons of space, form an integral part of the present study. Fortunately Boon (1977) has already provided a competent survey and I can do no more than direct the interested reader to that work. The amount and range of the literature devoted to Bali since the first Europeans set foot on the island in 1597 will gradually become evident as the study progresses. I will resort to evaluation and criticism of individual works only where this seems necessary for the proper understanding of some point of fact or interpretation.

As with an historical survey of the ethnographic literature concerning Bali so also with an historical sketch of the island's culture and polity. Paradoxically Bali's history is both well researched and little understood.[2] Its early history is inextricably intertwined with neighbouring Java whilst the study of its later history is impeded by a grave deficiency of material. I am referring here to material concerning the conditions in, and the parochial culture of, the Balinese

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2. For a general introduction to historical problems concerning Bali see the following works : Baum (1973), Berg (1932, 1927), Boon (1977), Bosch (1961), Hall (1968), Hanna (1976), Stutterheim (1956), Swellengrebel (1960), Worsley (1972).

villages rather than to the court centres about which a fair deal may be gathered and of which there is no lack of interpretive documentation. But this generally ignores the problem of how extensive is the correspondence between the culture of court centres and that of the outlying villages. I cannot pursue this theme here except indirectly in as much as the present study is a contribution to the knowledge of village life.

Rather than spend time on these general topics, which could only receive very superficial treatment and which would be far more profitably discussed in separate and independent works I shall, in a later section of this chapter, enter into some detail concerning the particular history of the village in which I lived.

2. Language

By far the most interesting feature of the Balinese language is that about 5% - 10% of its vocabulary consists of more than one lexical form and the choice of words depends on the status of the people talking and of the subject matter of the conversation. As this is such an important aspect of the language however, and since it is intimately related to notions of hierarchy it will be more appropriate to deal with it in chapter 8.

Balinese is an admixture of corrupt Sanskrit words, Old Javanese (also known as Jawa Kuno or Kawi), old and modern Malay and of course the indigenous language. Apart from one or two loan words, mostly technical, Dutch has had no appreciable effect on Balinese (cf, van Eck 1864:2-7).

Balinese is considered to be a member of the sub-group of Indonesian languages which also includes Sasak (the language of the people of Lombok), and the language of the people of western Sumbawa (van Eck 1874, Swellengrebel 1960:8, Gonda 1973:41). Balinese is also related to Javanese in many of its vocabulary items but syntactically it is more cognate with languages found on islands to the east than islands to the west. This in itself should indicate that

comparative material might just as easily be found in the other islands of the Lesser Sunda group as it is in Java which, strange as it may seem, is a rather novel position to adopt.

To do good ethnographic work on Bali it is essential to learn Balinese as well as possible, since it is almost an axiom of modern anthropology that the culture, in great part, is embedded in the indigenous language. That means that the attempt to carry out a cultural investigation without the aid of the primary language is unlikely to meet with much success. No matter how well one tries to learn modern Indonesiam, which is relatively easy, a great deal will inevitably be lost if no effort is made to master Balinese, since so much of the conceptual structure of the culture is reflected in that of the language.

I learnt Indonesian first because it was possible to do so before actually going there, although my knowledge of the language was still rudimentary by the time I arrived in Bali. Learning Indonesian moreover is the best method of introducing oneself to Balinese as the two languages are so related that when one is using simple grammatical constructions it is necessary merely to substitute the appropriate words. As my competence grew I gradually began speaking to more and more people in Balinese so that at the end of my stay I was using the indigenous language with almost everyone in the village.

There are other good reasons for learning Balinese. One is that the people themselves genuinely prefer to speak their own tongue rather than the now official language of the Republic, Bahasa Indonesia. Indonesian is therefore not used to the same extent as in some other islands and this has resulted in the Balinese often having a poor command of it, even to the extent that in Java the Balinese are held up as good examples of how not to speak Indonesian. Another reason, possibly a consequence of the above, is that many old people, especially those who live in the villages, can only speak Balinese. This is also true of many of the women of

all ages. To restrict oneself to Indonesian is to limit the number of people that will be drawn into the study, and in effect to cut off the whole of the senior generation and most of the female sex, precisely those people who often have the most interesting information. As far as women are concerned though, I cannot say that I was very successful in eliciting information from them, but this was not always my fault. Certainly virtually all the data I possess concerning offerings comes from old women, usually the wives of priests, although I had to turn to men for any kind of exegesis of these, since the women generally professed complete ignorance of meanings. I also found that women were, if I may say it like this, not allowed to have much knowledge. Even my young landlord, a well educated and self confessed feminist, would interrupt his uneducated village wife as she tried to describe a ceremony that took place in her native village with some such derogatory remark as "Oh, she doesn't know. Look its like this", and proceed to give his version.

The spelling and pronunciation of Indonesian words is in accordance with the revised version of the Indonesian alphabet as announced by the ministry of education in 1972 and which can be found in a condensed form in 'An English - Indonesian Dictionary' (Echols and Shadily, 1975).

The spelling of Balinese words poses something of a problem in that in the Balinese script there exists for many words a long and a short way of writing them. For instance the Balinese word for 'silver' is <u>selaka</u> but this can also be written, quite correctly, as <u>slaka</u>. The pronunciation hovers somewhere inbetween these two spellings, that is to say the 'e' is almost lost. Apart from this there is also some disagreement as to how to spell certain prefixes. The prefixes which change a root word into a verb, <u>nga</u>, <u>ma</u>, <u>ka</u>, <u>pa</u> are generally spelt with an 'a' but pronounced 'me' 'ke' with heavy nasalisation (<u>anunasika</u>, <u>anusuara</u>). The Balinese themselves seem to use both although the use of the 'a' is more consistent with other rules of Balinese spelling.

In this book then I shall spell the prefixes in the traditional way even if this contradicts the spelling to be found in the new Balinese - Indonesian dictionary compiled by the Ministry of Education in Bali during the years 1973-1977 (Warna 1978). The spelling of other words is in accordance with this dictionary. I have decided to use this new dictionary as a guide to spelling rather than use the old dictionaries of van der Tuuk (1897-1912) and van Eck (1876) as it is more faithful to present day pronunciation.

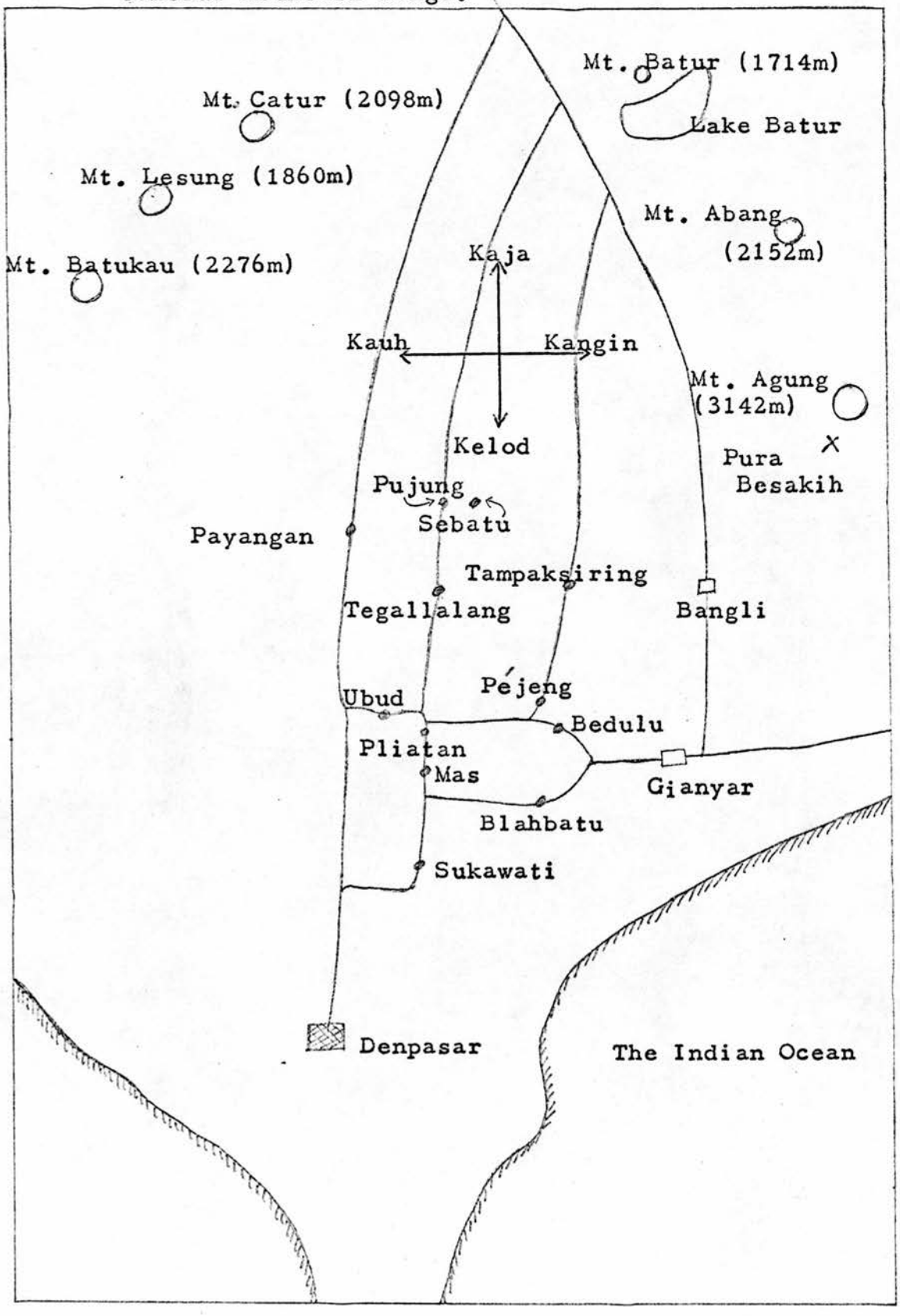
Indonesian words in the text will be followed by the abbreviation Ind.

3. The Village

The village in which I chose to do my fieldwork is called Pujung Kaja. It is part of the perbekelan (Ind.) of Sebatu which takes its name from the largest of the nine independent villages which make up this unit of government administration. The perbekelan (Ind.) is one of several in the kecamatan (Ind.) (the next highest level in the bureaucratic hierarchy) which is centred on the large village of Tegallalang some five kilometres to the south of Pujung and which is itself one of the units that form the modern kebupaten (Ind.) of Gianyar. Gianyar was one of the eight old kingdoms into which Bali was formerly divided before the Dutch colonial government took over (see Map 1.)

Gianyar is in the south central part of the island often considered to be the cultural heartland of Bali. The village itself is situated in the northern section of Gianyar at 500 metres above sea level. Villages south of Pujung class it as being a mountain village and therefore somewhat uncouth. The inhabitants of Pujung do not see themselves quite like this although they will admit that their knowledge of the higher forms of the language, a reliable index of sophistication, is not as good as it should be. Indeed I was once told that high Balinese was virtually unknown some fifty

Map 1 A map of south-central Bali indicating the position of Pujung in relation to other major villages and the central mountain range.



years ago. Whether this is true or not I simply cannot say. Certainly villages even further into the mountains use the more polite forms of Balinese much less often than is usual in areas further south.

It is also said by villagers and others that at about this altitude one starts to find villages which have strange and wonderful rituals during their temple ceremonies. It is indeed true that both Pujung and Sebatu celebrate some very entertaining rituals that are found nowhere else but these are generally comprehensible when the history of the village is known, as will become clear later.

The name Pujung can probably be derived from the prefix pa- and the word ujung. The former usually designates a location whilst ujung has the meaning of 'tip', 'edge'. Pujung therefore means 'on the edge of', that is to say at one time the village was on the edge of a kingdom, or, perhaps more accurately, at the periphery of political influence centred on the court at Gianyar. This helps us to understand why Pujung missed a great deal (at least I did not find much evidence that it once existed) of the political skulduggery that went on in the interminable petty wars of the Balinese raja during the previous centuries. Distance from the court centres in old Balinese culture usually went hand in hand with an inferior position in the status hierarchy (Geertz and Geertz 1975:124). It should come as no surprise then that there is no local puri[3] and no high-caste Balinese living in the village. This is in fact one of the reasons why I chose it. With no high-caste people present the pressure to speak high Balinese is greatly attenuated. I was therefore able to learn the ordinary, everyday language of the people around me, something which has often been denied

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3. A puri was the home of the local ruler in former times. He would be a member of one of the three highest castes and probably the highest ranking person in the village. The puri would usually be found immediately to the north-east of the village crossroads itself generally located at the village centre.

to researchers in Bali. However I feel obliged to say in retrospect that the importance which I attached to this point now seems overrated. Many of the most significant words, from an analytical point of view, are largely neutral with respect to the various levels in the Balinese language and it probably would not make a great deal of difference which level was the one most thoroughly mastered. It must be stated here that the difference is only one of vocabulary and probably attaches to about 1500 everyday words, and so one inevitably learns all levels to one extent or another.

This being the case I might be accused of making a misjudgement in selecting Pujung since it may be argued that the absence of high-caste Balinese precluded the study of Balinese notions of hierarchy in their full-blown form. This is justifiable to only a small degree as it fails to take into account the fact that hierarchy is also present in the make-up of many of the groups that together are classified as sudra.[4] It is a criticism that also fails to recognise that hierarchy is an idea that is present not only in the field of social relations but in fact permeates most aspects of Balinese society. Indeed the core of this book is concerned with illuminating, directly or indirectly, the various ways this idea is applied in the culture.

Language was not the only consideration in choosing Pujung. More important was the fact that it is still considered to be a highly traditional village (75% traditional and 25% modern as one local man put it) even for the surrounding area. Its ritual life is thought to be the 'thickest' (paling tebela)for miles around and its

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4. There are four so-called warna in Bali, the brahmana, satria, wesia and sudra, the first three being collectively entitled the triwangsa. A full discussion of these will be found in chapter 8.

agricultural ceremonial cycle appears to be completely intact, although it has been adjusted to the needs of fast-growing strains of rice.

A number of other advantages were the excellent water supply shared between Pujung and Sebatu, the fact that Pujung is a market village (see plate 1) and that there is a modern medical clinic situated between Pujung and Tegallalang. The water supply is located in the valley which separates Pujung from Sebatu. It is thought that the water comes from the famous lake Batur high in the mountains, runs under the ground and surfaces in this valley in hugh quantities. Sometime in the past a temple together with a number of bathing areas was built on the site. The whole complex is known as Gunung Kawi and the water is considered to have certain purifying properties akin to that of its more famous namesake at Tampaksiring a few miles to the south-east.

I also found Pujung to be an extremely active village in its artistic life and, over the years, it has produced a number of all-Balinese champions in dance and poetry singing (makakawin). It boasts two gamelans ('orchestra'), gambang and saron, which are rarely encountered elsewhere and its thirty-five strong troupe of wayang wong dancers toured Europe for three months in 1975. Lastly Pujung is one of Bali's wood carving centres.

I shall now record a number of myths and stories concerning the foundation of Pujung and its relationship to some neighbouring villages. I shall do this in some detail since there is nothing comparable in the whole ethnographic record. Although the information which is to be presented is not immediately relevant to the discussion, the background that it supplies will be vital to a full understanding of hierarchy and marriage customs in Pujung. But aside from that the material has an interest and importance all of its own.

a. **The story of the foundation of Telepud**

First of all it must be explained that Telepud is the name of one section, but the most important, of the dés̀a (village) of Pujung. For all practical and mundane matters, Telepud is simply one of the four administrative areas of Pujung which are called tém̀pék̀. However on ritually significant occasions Telepud becomes the pre-eminent section and the whole village becomes known as dés̀a Telepud. The wayang wong troupe, drawn from all over the village, is in fact known as the Telepud Wayang Wong. The reason for all this is the fundamental importance of a particular temple, the jurisdiction of which is traditionally accorded to Telepud because the founding of Telepud and the construction of this temple, the pura Balé Bang (the 'temple of the red balé'), are inextricably bound together.

In olden times when very little about anything was known on the isle of Bali, the Hindu religion first arrived, brought by the great sage (rsi, empu) Markandeya, whose home was in India (other tellers of the tale say that he was the grandchild of Pasupati whose seat is the holy mountain Mahameru). The rsi settled on the slopes of the mountain Demalung in Java and proceeded to meditate. However he was disturbed by a group of evil spirits and had to move to mount Raung further west. Because of the power of his concentration his prayers were answered and the world was made tranquil. A few nights later a bright light in the east appeared and the sage was very concerned to determine the origin of this light. He therefore set off with his followers. After a long jounrey (at this time there was no strait between Bali and Java) they reached a spot covered by a great forest. Here Markandeya decided to stop. His followers began to erect tents and to clear away the land. However they were fated to meet disaster and many people were killed by wild animals and diseases. It became obvious to the sage that this was sacred (tenget) land inhabited by spirits who had become angry because of the desecration. Therefore they all returned to the west and Markandeya began

to meditate once again. The strange voice of God spoke to him and gave him advice. This strengthened his convictions and he once again set out on his journey. When they arrived at the sacred place he was asked by his followers to perform a caru ceremony to exorcise any malevolent forces by the saying of mantra. When this had been done, the clearing of the forest was continued. The first place where they cut down trees is now the site of the village Puakan (nguak = to open up). The clearing of the land proceeded in an easterly direction. Finally the group reached the slopes of mount Agung. Here Markandeya erected a place of worship called pura Hyang. In a slightly different version this temple is the famous Besakih[5] although its original name is given as Basuki which means 'peace', 'safety'. This changed to Basukih (at the site of the temple is a cave inhabited by a dragon (naga) called Basukih) and finally to Besakih. Here Markandeya is said to have prayed for peace and prosperity for his subjects to the god of the mountain. In order to pray he had to build a proper shrine. Underneath the earth where the temple was to be erected the sage buried the panca datu. This is a small parcel of metals (tumbal)consisting of gold (emas), silver (slaka), copper (temaga),iron (wesi) and tin (timah). Sometimes nowadays jewels (sasocan) are used instead of the tin. It is in fact a traditional Balinese custom to bury the panca datu under all religiously important buildings. The reason given for this in the story is that the metals have the power to keep away the buta-kala which are a class of evil spirits.

Markandeya also beseeched the god to be allowed to build villages at a place near to the present village of Taro (considered by many Balinese to be the oldest village in Bali). This was granted and Markandeya instructed his followers to go and build dwellings in rows and call them banjar. I was

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5. For information of a general nature concerning this temple see Goris (1969a,1969b) and Warta Hindu Dharma No.140 (1979) (see also plate 2).

once told that the word banjar was derived from the term 'in rows', majéjér, but the derivation seems rather doubtful. Markandeya himself built an asrama which eventually became the village of Taro.

The people who were left behind on the slopes of the Great Mountain (Gunung Agung) prospered and many new villages were constructed. However one year the mountain, which is volcanic, erupted and caused devastation. The survivors left the area and in small groups headed westwards. One of these, consisting of twelve families, arrived at what they thought was a very beautiful and fertile region and they decided to stop. They called this place Telepud (te = he, they; pud = arrived). Some others carried on going across the river Wos and they settled the village of Ked (ked = neked = 'arrived', 'reached').

That essentially ends the first part of the story which, up to the volcanic eruption, is pretty standard all over Bali. The sequel I will give now is unique to Pujung and this is one of the main reasons that I wish to record it.

There is some confusion as to who the people were who settled in Telepud. One account does not mention status titles at all and the assumption made is that all the twelve families were of equal status. A second and more complete version was accompanied by a partial enumeration of the families. The leader of the group was called Sri Dalem Jangkus (a very high title). Among the families were people of the following sudra descent groups: kubayan, dangka, salayin, bendésa. All the families were said to be rsi as well. This is interesting since the rsi of Bali is a sort of priest taught by the high-caste brahman padanda priest although the former belongs to a lower caste. These rsi may also be known as rsi bhujangga (Hooykaas 1964b) and in Pujung there is in fact a dadia temple, nowadays called simply pura Panti Kangin (kangin = east), which is supposed to be dedicated to the veneration of a bhujangga and indeed while I was in the field the priests were making new pralingga[6] for the gods of this temple and the most important

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6. These pralingga come in all sorts of shapes: animals,

of these was a model of a bhujangga priest. This temple is also described as a pasek gélgél shrine. The pasek are a huge pan-Bali sudra ancestor group which is internally divided into a large number of smaller groups one of which is the gélgél, so-called because of its connexion to the one time capital, Gélgél, near the modern-day town of Klungkung. Strangely enough it is a man from the pasek batuan group who is now the priest of this Pujung temple.

There is in fact a third version which is recorded on a palm-leaf manuscript (lontar cakepan) kept in a village some distance from Pujung. No one seems to know the history of the document and although there are some differences between it and the village oral records these are not very important. The single significant variation is the name of the leader. The manuscript gives I Nengah Bedil which is a sudra name.

Given these differences it was gratifying to learn that the rest of the story did not seem to vary very much whoever told it, and the most important detail to remember is that, notwithstanding the fact that the original families were probably of different status, when they arrived in Telepud it was decided that these distinctions had to be suppressed.

Everyone in the village, no matter how rich or poor, emphasises this aspect of life in Pujung. They say "we are all equal" (onyangan patuh), "we are all of the same group" (tunggal sumbah = 'of one source'; manyama = 'of one family'). I later found that this was a rather simplified picture of the situation, and that present day political manoevering and status competition, while not rife, are certainly evident.

6.(continued) mythical beasts, boxes, etc. and they are used as containers for the relics (pratima)of the temple (see plate 3). The pralingga are simply the 'seats' for the relics and are not in themselves sacred to any great extent. The pratima,on the other hand, are gifts (panugrahan)from the gods which have come into the hands of mortals. They are usually stones, coins, pieces of metal, swords, palm leaf books etc. but typically all of ordinary appearance. Generally I found very few anecdotes concerning the origin of particular pratima. The only interesting one involves those of the Balé Bang. The pralingga are made by men, the pratima are simply 'found'.

However this must be viewed in the light of the overriding egalitarianism of the villagers which surfaces in a number of forms with all of which I will eventually deal.

This is then what everybody agrees to at the time of the founding of Telepud, that all were essentially equal. They also agree that it is this equality and unity which is the most important element of the story.

Since the twelve families knew only the temple of Besakih at the Gunung Agung, it was necessary to build a temporary shrine in their new village so that the god could visit. Such shrines are called panyawangan (from sawang = 'to concentrate thoughts'). After a few years one of their number died. In order for the soul of the deceased to reach its destination it was the custom of those people to obtain a certain sort of holy water which would be sprinkled over the body. This could not be requested at their temporary shrine so it was decided that a messenger should be sent to Besakih. Once there the messenger, through meditation, spoke to the god and asked for the water. But the god simply bade him return home saying it was a long way to come and there was no need for him to journey to Gunung Agung again. The god himself would send something through which the villagers could request the appropriate water to complete their ceremonies (mragatang yadnya). Thus the god spoke : "Please go home now and if on your way you see an object in the middle of the road or on a rock in the river, take it home and use it to ask for holy water". On his return journey the messenger did in fact find a small wooden box on a rock in the river but when he arrived home no one was able to obtain holy water with it. It was therefore decided to send the messenger back to Besakih for advice concerning the mysterious box. Before the messenger reached Besakih, however, he had to cross a wide plain. At the opposite edge of this plain stood a priest, variously called Ida Padanda Sakti Waurauh or Ida Padanda Sakti Manuaba.[7] This brahman

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7. There is some discrepancy concerning the spelling of padanda. I prefer pa- danda (rather than pedanda) as this means 'staff bearer' (a padanda traditionally carries a staff) (Friederich 1959:106; van Eck 1876:82). Hooykaas (1973a:13) derives it from the word pada ('foot'). If he was right the correct pronunciation would be padanda (with the first 'a' pronounced as the 'a' in 'pad' or 'cat'. In fact padanda is pronounced with heavy nasalization on the first syllable indicating that it is the prefix pa - (Kersten 1970:37).

priest was building a dam and the water behind it had already reached such a depth that it had become impassable. The following conversation took place:

Messenger: Sir, I have been sent by the leaders of my village to ask for holy water at Besakih. I humbly ask permission to cross the river to the eastern side so that I may continue my journey.

Padanda : For what reason do you need holy water?

Messenger: The water is necessary for without it we cannot complete our death ceremonies and the souls of the dead will be angry and disturb us.

Padanda : Now look, you needn't bother going all the way to Besakih. You can ask for water here. Just take some water from the edge of the river on your side and I will consecrate it from here.

The messenger stooped down and filled his bottle with water but noticed that the water was exceptionally dirty. He asked the padanda if this mattered and the latter replied that it did not. So the messenger took the consecrated water and set off home. On his way though he became more and more convinced that the water could not be the real thing seeing that it was so filthy. He therefore poured it onto the ground whereupon, and to his great astonishment, it burst into flame. Quickly he found some clear spring water and filled his bottle with this. When it was sprinkled on the body of the deceased, however, it was found impossible to set it alight. This caused great consternation and the messenger was sent back to the padanda.

Padanda : So you have returned to ask for more holy water. I already know that you poured away the first lot because it was so dirty and then substituted clear spring water. Now you must ask for the water at the place where you threw it away. There you must also build a temple and in the middle of it house the box given to you by the god at Besakih. It will be enough for you and your fellow villagers to ask for all the necessary kinds of holy water at this temple. You will never need to go anywhere else.

These were the words of the priest. A temple was built on the site of the spilled water and there the box was housed. The holy water asked for there was found to be efficacious for all the village ceremonies.

The temple is called the pura Balé Bang since the ground on which it was built was red (bang)as a result of the fire. It is also and more generally known as the pura Tengah (tengah = middle,inside) since it is now in the middle of a temple complex that includes the pura puseh,[8] pura balé agung[8] and the pura Panti Kangin. This temple complex is located at the northern end of Telepud (see map 2 and plate 4).

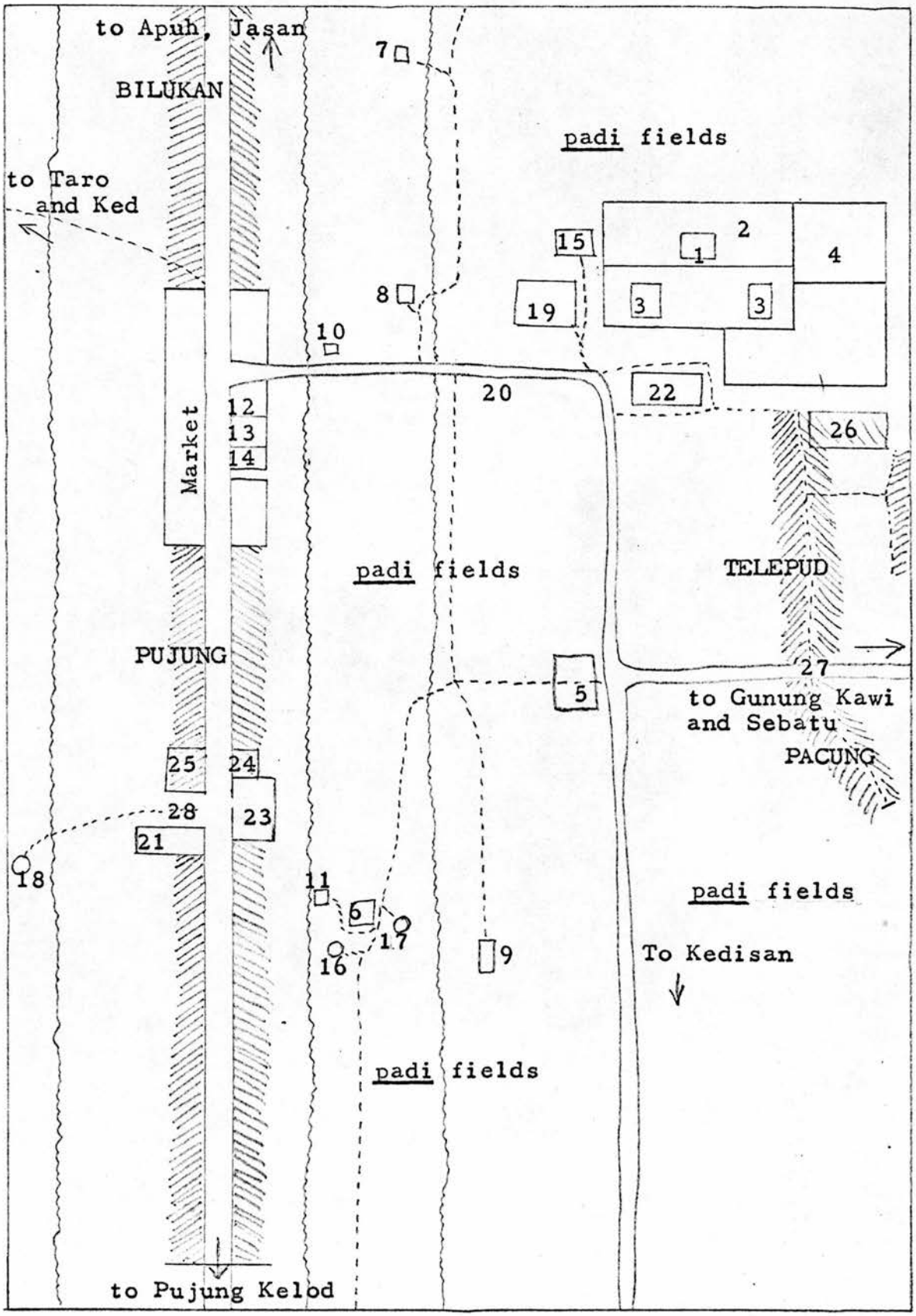
The box which is kept in the temple is thought to contain five wayang figures made of metal. However I could never find out very much about this box as the priests were reluctant to talk about its contents. It is without doubt the most sacred object in the village and I think this is why the priests were so reticent. They implied both that they themselves were frightened to investigate it too closely and also that too much talking about it was provocative anyway. I found that other sacred objects (pratima) of this temple were also venerated to an exaggerated degree although when questioned the villagers denied this and said all pratima were equally venerated.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the temple is that it allows the ordinary villagers to obtain holy water, in their own village, of the kind that can usually only be provided by a padanda. The nearest village to Pujung that has a resident padanda is Tampaksiring some six km. to the south-east. The temple's members (krama) own all the prerequisites of a padanda (siwa karana) and these are taken out every time that holy water has to be made. Thus it is true to say that the temple is itself a padanda. What the villagers actually say is that there is, in the village, a padanda niskala (an 'abstract' padanda).

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8. See Goris (1960a,1960b) and Geertz (1959,1967) for information on these very important village temples. These, two together with a third, the pura dalem, are collectively designated the kahyangan tiga (see chapter 6 for an extended discussion).

Map 2 A map of Pujung Kaja indicating all the temples and the most important buildings and houses. An index to the map may be found on the following page.



Index to map 2.

1. Pura Balé Bang
2. Pura puseh
3. Pura balé agung
4. Pura Panti Kangin
5. Pura Pamengkang (associated with the Bale Bang)
6. Pura dalem
7. Pura dugul kaja (also called ulun suwi)
8. Pura Gunung Sari (incorporating the bale Sakenan)
9. Pura dugul kelod (also called Sanghyang Klakah)
10. Pura Taman Bali
11. Shrine for washing the gods of the pura dalem
12. Pura Pujung Sari
13. Pura Panti Pandé
14. Pura Melanting
15. Pura Makemit
16. Telepud graveyard
17. Children's graveyard
18. Pujung Graveyard
19. Rice threshing factor
20. Perbekel's office and local clinic
21. Primary school
22. Wantilan (meeting place and cock-fighting pavillion)
23. Balé banjar
24. Bendésa's house
25. House of Nyarikan Panti Kangin
26. Kubayan's house
27. Cross roads, Telepud.
28. Cross roads, Pujung

////// Compounds

~~~~~ Streams

------- Footpath

_____ Main road

═══ Minor road
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At this juncture I should like to conclude the discussion of the pura Balé Bang and continue the story of the founding of Telepud.

b. The arrival of the first pandé

Soon after the arrival of the twelve families it was decided to build a temple to represent Besakih. However no one in the village was an iron smith (pandé wesi) and so some of the vital skills needed were unavailable. Therefore the leader of the group performed meditation and asked God to send them a pandé. Just at that time a famous pandé from the village of Serokadan in Bangli decided to go wandering and find work in the mountains. God directed the pandé to Telepud where he was well received. The leader explained that groups of people divided into castes were unknown in his village and that it was therefore unnecessary to use high Balinese (basa Bali alus). The pandé agreed to this and also to the condition that the number of roofs on his cremation tower should be reduced from the normal seven to five as a sign of his good faith. What this means is that the pandé concurred in the reduction of the status of all pandé in Telepud so as to attenuate status rivalry in the village. Pandé, because they work with metals (which is considered dangerous as metals are thought to be magically powerful) are rendered a position of very high status within the sudra class (Goris 1960d). Whereas the ordinary sudra is allowed only one roof to his cremation tower (wadah,badé) the pandé is traditionally permitted to have seven, the same number as wesia groups.

Soon after the smith and his family had settled in he was asked to make a gun (bedil). It is, of course, possible that I Nengah Bedil was named after this gun.

There are different versions of this story as there were of the last, but again the variations do not concern important aspects. The main theme is always that the pandé were directed to Telepud by God and that they agreed in the effective lowering of their status. I should emphasize that this tale was substantiated by the pandé themselves.

The original village of the pandé is commemorated in a shrine in the pura Panti Pandé. The shrine is called the pasimpangan pandé Taman Bali ('visiting place for the smiths of Taman Bali'), Taman Bali referring to the temple in the village from where the smith first came.

c. The robbery

The following story is very interesting in the emphasis which it gives to the ideology of egalitarianism. It takes place some time after the founding of Telepud and the construction of the pura Balé Bang.

After the great volcanic eruption of Gunung Agung, many groups of people wandered around the countryside for years before they found a safe place to settle. One such group, of five people, strayed into the area of Telepud and decided to camp overnight. Each member of the group was carrying a special object. During the night a second group of five men stumbled into the area. These were without any possessions at all. When they saw the first group seated around a fire they were envious and made a plan to rob them. They waited until they were all asleep and then set upon them. Quickly they snatched all the things and ran off down the road. The first group were so bewildered that all they could do was sit on the floor bemoaning their great loss. The robbers meanwhile, feeling they were safe, stopped to examine the spoils.

The first group, having overcome the initial shock, set out to track their assailants. At this point they wandered into Telepud and, thinking that the thieves must have come from that village, went to find the village klian (lit. 'elder') to report. The klian strenuously denied any responsibility for the crime and offered his help in finding the real culprits. Thus they started to trace the whereabouts of the robbers. The latter, due to their euphoria, did not realise thier victims were following and quite suddenly the two groups were confronting eachother. The first group forgot their sadness and became very angry at seeing their attackers. Just as they were about to leap forward with drawn swords the klian stepped in between them and called a halt to the fight. He ordered each faction to be seated and and asked them if they were willing to answer some questions.

Having obtained their agreement he proceeded to ask each one in turn where they had come from and what they had been carrying on their journey. The replies were as follows :-

Those robbed (sang kabégal)	The robbers (sang mégal)
1. Came from Batukaru carrying livestock	Came from Batukang carrying the same
2. Came from Sunari Terus carrying a blowpipe	Came from Sunari Bungkah carrying the same
3. Came from Sri Merta carrying rice and wine (tuak)	Came from Sri Kentel carrying the same
4. Came from Alas Mataun carrying a staff	Came from Alas Angker carrying the same
5. Came from Sukadana carrying heirlooms, gold and silver	Came from Sukaluwih carrying the same

The upshot of the questioning was that both groups protested that they were the rightful owners of the various objects. Even when those robbed described in great detail their possessions the robbers failed to admit any guilt, saying that they themselves had brought these things from their own villages. The klian was hopelessly confused and decided to ask advice from the god of the village pura puseh. They all went to the temple and when all was ready the priest beseeched the god to adjudicate. The god then began to enquire, through the entranced priest, the same questions that the klian had previously asked. The god was given exactly the same information but at once noticed that the members of the two groups were related to each other. Thus the man from Batukaru was really the lost brother of the man from Batukang. Once the god had told them this the parties to the conflict began to discuss histories and distinguishing marks and soon discovered the truth of what the god had said. Finally the god announced that since such was the case the objects were not the sole property of the one group or the other and therefore those things that could be shared should be divided up whilst those that could not should be held as heirlooms in the temple. Before the god withdrew he advised that all the ten people should remain in the village in order to cement their renewed relationships. All concurred with the god's proposals and the rice and tuak were passed around to celebrate the agreement.

I think there is no doubt that this story reinforces the notions of equality that have already been discovered in the earlier history. The fact that the members in the two groups are related to each other and that they are all willing to share rice from the same plate (saling carik) means, unambiguously, that they are all of the same status.

This story is in fact enacted once a year in the seven-day long festival called ngapitu which is held when the rice has reached a particular stage in its growth cycle. The ritual is called mabégal-bégalan and it is played out during the night. Many of the young village lads turn out to participate in what is a very boisterous performance of the robbery and the subsequent questioning. It is an extraordinary spectacle. When villagers want to explain why egalitarianism is a characteristic feature of Pujung life they often point to this ceremony.

d. The foundation of Pujung

Some time after the settlement of Telepud had been founded a man by the name of Pasek Bendésa Mas arrived. I have already said something about the meaning of pasek. Bendésa is a shortened form of banda désa. Banda means 'tied' and of course désa means 'village' so that bandésa (this is the spelling in van Eck 1876:194) refers to the man who 'pulls the village along'. He is, in fact, the man who leads the people, who live within the désa land, in the performance of all the necessary village ceremonies.

According to the story the man had been sent by Pasek Kepakisan, the ruler in Gélgél, to open the area and bring it under his jurisdiction. At that time the region was covered with forest. When the Pasek began to look for a water source he disturbed a large serpent (naga). No one in the Pasek's entourage was brave enough to try to kill the snake and so he went to Telepud to seek help. He promised to cede to Telepud half of the village land of Pujung should anyone be able to slay the naga. A team from Telepud soon accomplished this task and so the northern part of Pujung was transferred to the people of Telepud. Ever since that time Telepud has been the pre-eminent section of the village and its ritual name. Adjacent to Pujung Kaja now stands the small village of Pujung Kelod (South Pujung).

The customs of the two villages differ in a number of respects since it is said that Pujung Kaja 'looks to the north' whilst Pujung Kelod 'looks to the south'.

e. The kubayan and the bendesa

In this section I shall not discuss the offices of these two titles since that will be done in chapter 6. Rather I wish instead to recount a story which tells us how the two office holders, once unrelated, became eventually members of the same family. I have already established that the title of kubayan came with the first settlers of Telepud while the bendesa title (they should both ideally descend through the male line and therefore remain within the same house)arrived with the founding of Pujung. At that time then the two houses were unconnected and the holders unrelated. From then to a period about 100 years ago nothing is known.

According to both the present kubayan and bandesa, last century there was some trouble between the three brothers who lived in the kubayan's house and the raja of Gianyar. The men were arrested and spent some time in the puri at Gianyar. Meanwhile the two women who were left in the house were taken in marriage, one by a man from Sebatu and the other by a Gianyar man, both of whom went to live in Telepud, where kubayan's house is situated. Since the title of kubayan remains with the house it was lost to the original holders. When the men were released, apparently on good terms again, they were unable to return to their own house. The raja therefore gave them some land just north-east of the cross-roads in Pujung and some rice land. On the village land the three brothers built a house which eventually became the bendesa's house. This happened in a rather obscure manner and all I ever got to know was that the brothers assumed the title on the authority of the raja in Gianyar although why it was taken away from the previous holder remains shrouded in mystery. In time one of the male descendants of the bendesa opened up a new compound in the quarter of Pujung known as Bilukan. From that house a son married into the kubayan's house in Telepud. The son of that in-marrying male is the present kubayan who, when he was telling me all this, rounded off the story by pointing out how the title had returned,

although in a rather circuitous manner, to its rightful owners. The upshot is that today the bendésa and the kubayan are second cousins through males and therefore the two offices are held in the same title group, pasek gélgél, which is, understandably, centred on these two houses.

4. The Problem of Generalization

Cultural variation in Bali has always been something of a bugbear to researchers. It has sometimes seemed to reach such alarming proportions that all generalization appeared doomed from the outset; somewhere in Bali a village could be found that would display the exception to any perceived pattern. There is no denying the existence of this variation; the difficulty lies in ascertaining its nature. Here I shall simply introduce the problem by indicating the direction in which I think it may be solved, or rather dissolved.

There are two mottos which the Balinese use to characterise the diversity which they themselves not only recognise but positively approve of. The first is désa, kala, patra which basically means to act in accordance with the place (désa) and time (kala) in which you find yourself. Patra has the more specific meaning of rendering offerings only in direct relation to what you can afford. The second motto, désa mawa cara ('the village has power over its customs') simply indicates that each désa decides independently the form of its own culture. Such novelty from one village to the next then is a conscious feature of Balinese life. It is, in that sense, not an impediment to research. It constitutes a fact, like any other, to be accounted for and interpreted in the light of other facts. Ethnographers have occasionally talked as if the differences were anomalous, as something extraneous to the culture, and therefore as something to be explained away. This view of the matter, associated with its accompanying 'search for the typical', was severely criticised by Geertz (1961) whose own work (1959) explicitly attacked, not unsuccessfully, the problem of the nature of this cultural variation.

Most researchers have indeed acknowledged the 'Balineseness' of the culture as it exists all over the island and therefore it would seem paradoxical to label this as variation of the

culture. I would suggest that the variation is simply a variation in the rules by which the categories of thought are implemented and in the subsequent behaviour this inevitably produces. Just as it would be incorrect to attempt to slice away this variation in order to locate the 'typical' so it is impossibleto faithfully document the extent of it. But by paying attention to Balinese categories of thought I think it will become apparent that the diversity is a largely superficial matter. Inter-village cultural variation is culturally ordained and as such should not prevent efforts at generalization. Difference is insisted upon only so long as this is founded on an overarching conformity . In chapter 14 I will try to show that this diversity should be located in a Balinese notion of 'individuality' which subsumes not only individuals but also all social aggregates including the 'village'.

5 India and Bali

There can be no doubt that Hindu civilization played a substantial part in the development of Balinese culture. How extensive this influence was though and precisely which aspects of the society were affected are still largely intractable problems. Certainly there are many corrupt Sanskrit words in the language and much of the Balinese brahmanic ritual seems to be based on the corresponding Hindu rites (Goris 1926, Hooykaas 1966). There is also much else which either originated in India or has been critically modified as a result of contact. But whether 'Hindu' is an appropriate epithet for the culture, as is still thought to be the case by the popular press, is another matter.

Attitudes concerning the degree of Hindu influence have changed over the years (de Casparis 1961). At the outset Indonesian society, especially in Java, was seen as being little more than a product of Hinduism. This extreme, even perverse, position attenuated greatly on the publication of such classic works as Bosch (1961), van Leur (1967) and, for Bali, Korn (1932). Korn, for example, thought the term 'Hindu-Bali' was deceitful and that the foundation of Balinese culture was essentially pagan (1932:62).

Unfortunately, and for reasons I am unable to fathom, some ethnographers still persist in treating Bali as something other

than a primarily Indonesian culture. The most recent example of this tendency is Boon (1977:1) who, while correctly realizing that Bali "... lies in the very heart of the Indonesian archipelago...", still insists on describing its culture as Indo-Pacific. But if Korn, writing some 50 years ago, felt the term 'Hindu-Bali' to be objectionable, because it failed to emphasise the Indonesian dimensions, what are we to think of Boon's new offer? If the Dutch reached the wholly reasonable position of considering Bali as first and foremost an Indonesian culture, it is surely a retrograde, and very regrettable, step for Boon to tell us we are likely to find better comparative material in the middle of the Pacific Ocean rather than in, for instance, Lombok, Sumba of Kalimantan.

The problem is a very simple and obvious one. It is incumbent on the ethnographer to accord importance, in regard to cultural similarity, to areas geographically adjacent to his place of research. This is not, however, an exhortation to exclude more distant regions from consideration. Far from eschewing comparisons with India, or even Hawaii, I have no doubt that they will prove illuminating. However comparisons between distant areas pose formidable factual and theoretical problems and one must tread very warily. It should not be forgotten that it was only in 1946 that Bosch (1961) gave us the first fairly accurate picture of how Hindu influence ever reached the shores of Indonesia and this must surely be the easiest of the questions that are likely to present themselves.

CHAPTER II

WATER

There is no doubt that water (yéh) has a very great hold on the Balinese imagination although later on it will become clear that this word yéh demands a wider reference than simply 'water'. Many of the basic ideas which inform Balinese culture recall this fact. It is not strictly water itself, however, which is highly conceptualised but rather its flow or lack of flow. Even this will not prove to be a precise description of Balinese representations since in the final analysis it will be the opposition between 'substances' and the structured bodies through which these flow, thereby creating and/or sustaining life, which will impress itself as one of the fundamental presuppositions of the culture.

In order to introduce these ideas in the same sort of order with which they appeared to me it will be expedient to devote this chapter to a fairly simplistic and factual discussion of the various uses of water in the everyday life of the Balinese.

1. The Landscape

Bali is an island shaped something like a diamond with the four corners pointing to the cardinal points. Population is most dense in the eastern side of the island where there is now no jungle whatsoever. The two largest towns, Denpasar and Singaraja, are on the south and north coasts and are separated by a central arc of mountains running from Batukau (2276m), Lesung (1860m) and Catur (2098m) on the western rim to Penulisan (1745m), Batur (1717m), Abang (2152m) and Agung (3142m) on the eastern rim. These mountains provide the central drainage divide and all water south of the mountains flows to the south coast and all water north flows to the northern coast.

Among the mountains there are a number of lakes the biggest being Lake Batur, just south-east of Mt.Batur, which is about 6km. long and is thought to be the source of many of the streams which provide the irrigation water for fields many miles to the south and south-west. An interesting feature of the culture is

the conceptual distinction between mountains and lakes the former being the home of male gods whilst the gods of the lakes are always feminine (J.Hooykaas 1961a:11-12, Belo 1970a:36). This is marked in language by the fact that male gods are denoted as dewa and batara whilst goddesses are dewi and batari. This, of course, accords with the opposition between 'above' and 'below', and the general superiority of man to woman, whether this is viewed in religious, political or economic terms.

Narrow ridges, deep rocky ravines and innumerable streams radiate out from the high centre to the coastal, relatively flat, plains. Roads follow these ridges and so travel in a north-south direction has always been comparatively easy. In order to move east or west though one must either trek up and down the steep sides of the valleys on usually wet and slippery paths, or remain on the roads and go far out of one's way. This particular feature of Balinese geography has always played an important part in the island's turbulent and bellicose history.

Just as the roads keep to the ridges so too do the villages. These are to be found, one after the other, straddling the winding road with often less than a mile between them. Since the terraced rice fields are also regularly to be found on the tops and the sides of the ridges water has to be tapped some way upstream and channelled to the plots. This means that a village generally has a stream or two running right through the middle of it which, because everyone throws rubbish into them, act as efficient disposal systems. They also function as the traditional means of sewage removal.

The climate, as Covarrubias described it in 1937, is hot all year round although nights are cool during part of the dry season (masan endang) which lasts from April/May to October. The rainy season (masan ujan), ushered in by the north-west monsoon winds, begins slowly and reaches a peak in January. In February the infamous angin baret starts and for a period of about two weeks the wind becomes so strong that coconut trees are uprooted and houses lose their roofs. This 'fast wind' is the only violent wind of the year. It is also called angin kaulu because it arrives in the eighth month (sasih kaulu) of the

Balinese solar year (taun). Whilst I was in the field this division into dry and west seasons had become very blurred and one of my most vivid memories is of a period of four days of solid rain in the middle of the so-called dry season (about July and August). It had become so bad during the last few years that many villagers, especially the women, had no idea which season we were supposed to be in. One neighbour even asked my landlord (one of the few government employees in the village) if there had been any uncommon event, such as the birth of opposite sex twins, or some other cosmic disaster, which could explain the confusion.

As far as Pujung is concerned, the village has an excellent water supply with three different streams running through it at various points, and the added advantage of the bathing place known as Gunung Kawi[1] situated in the valley betwen Pujung and Sebatu. The latter has a magnificent setting, located as it is at the very head of the valley with high cliffs directly behind. From these sprout an array of vines, bushes and flowers many of which overhang the temple shrines which have been built around the spring. A vast quantity of water, which was constant all the time I was there, is directed into bathing areas through decorated spouts. These bathing areas are about fifteen metres long and ten metres wide and the water is about one metre deep. There are two of these, the eastern and right-hand one for the men and the western and left-hand one for the women. Two smaller areas are to be found just to the west of these but they are used mostly for washing clothes since in these there is no pool for the water to accumulate. It should be noted that again the left-hand section is for the women and the other for the men. From these four areas the water drains off to a stream and this continues on down the valley to be used as irrigation water by villagers further south.

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1. I should add that the term Gunung Kawi is a fairly general term for bathing areas of this type. Indeed there are a number of other such areas, the most famous being at Tampaksiring where the legend is that Indra plunged his trident into the ground and created the holy waters of tirta empul after the previous spring had been polluted by the evil Maya Danawa.

The major temples of Gunung Kawi are the responsibility of Sebatu and indeed it is here that the gods of many Sebatu village temples are brought during their temple festivals (odalan) for the rite of makiis or melasti, the bathing of the gods. There is one small temple for which Pujung claims jurisdiction but this has no odalan of its own. Pujung's village temple gods never come to Gunung Kawi for mekiis. The only time there is a procession to this water from Pujung is when the symbols of the deceased are brought for ritual bathing during the rites of cremation.

2. Water and Food

As elsewhere in the world the Balinese use water for a multitude of everyday purposes. One of these is the irrigation of their rice fields about which I shall have something to say in the following section. At the moment I want to draw attention to some of the properties which are shared by the Balinese concepts yéh and nasi. Yéh is the ordinary word for water and nasi the word for cooked rice (unhusked rice is padi and threshed rice is baas - these words will be used in the text from now on as it is usually important to distinguish betwen the three forms). However yéh also denotes all sorts of other liquids such as yéh nyuh (coconut milk/water), yéh nyonyo (breast milk), yéh mata (tears), yéh nyom (the amniotic fluid). Yéh is also used for the juice of fruits, for tea and other drinks of a weak taste (yéh tabah), and sperm (which is also sometimes called yéh misi sad rasa - 'water containing the six tastes'), and in the phrase panca tirta (the five waters) it stands for blood, water, arak (rice wine), berem (wine made from fermented black rice) and tuak (palm wine), which are used at various points during ceremonies in order to placate evil spirits. I think it is fairly clear that yéh is a concept which more nearly translates 'fluid' or 'liquid' rather than simply 'water'. The use of yéh to signify a wide variety of liquids in Bali is paralleled by Rotinese oe which has a similar semantic field (Fox 1975:112).

Similarly the Balinese word for cooked rice, nasi can also denote the whole category of food in the sense that 'nasi' is

often used to refer to a whole meal (rice + meat and/or vegetables). This is perhaps more easily seen with the high-Balinese word ajengan which always means food as well as cooked rice. I suppose the reason for the pre-eminence of this word rests in the fact that rice is the staple diet which they eat twice a day everyday (about one kilo per person per day). All other kinds of food, which of course have their own names, are thought of simply as extras, to give taste, and are by no means essential. In fact many poor villagers will eat only nasi with some coconut oil and a few chillis.

The cultivation of rice, its storage, selling and eating are invested with numerous beliefs many of which will be adduced in later chapters. Here though I want to document some evidence which will support the assertions I have made above. Part of this concerns greetings formulae. It is exceedingly rude to neglect asking a visitor (male or female, adult or child) whether he has eaten and to neglect inviting him to eat if he has not yet done so. It should be added that unless the visit is a formal one, which generally includes the offer of food anyway, a visitor, even if he has not yet eaten, will always aver that he has. Further more how many times a day one eats, at what times, how much, whether one has finished cooking the rice for the day, what one eats with it etc. are all questions which form an integral part of day to day neighbourly interaction. What this demonstrates, apart from the pressure to conform to all aspects of everyday life in a small village community, is the fundamental importance of rice as the quintessence of food. It is an extraordinarily deeply held conviction the significance of which will only emerge gradually. To anticipate a little though I will point to stories concerning the origin of rice which tell us that in the age before the Balinese knew of padi all they had to eat was sugar cane (tebu). When the padi was given to them by the gods, or grew out of the dead body of Déwi Sri (the goddess of rice), it was always accompanied, implicitly or explicitly, by all sorts of other kinds of food. So just as yéh stands for all fluids, nasi is the prototype of all food (cf.Hobart 1979:190,193).

In this context it seems singularly important that the cultivation of rice is achieved by means of irrigation. The rice cannot grow, or rather its life or essence (sari), which originally comes from heaven, cannot be sustained and therefore reach maturity without the constant and controlled flow of water through the rice field. Similarly a human being, whose soul also comes from heaven, is only able to continue living if there is a controlled flow of food (nasi) through the body. These two processes whereby a structured body, which is animated in the first place by a soul (jiwa, atma) or essence (sari) from heaven, is kept alive by the regular passage of substances through it finds parallels in many other aspects of Balinese culture.[2] This conjunction of water and rice in the maintenance of life leads naturally into the next section.

3. Rice and Water

I have already mentioned the great importance and significance of rice and water. In rice cultivation these two come together in a sort of symbiotic relationship such that rice of a good quality cannot be obtained without a sophisticated use of a controlled flow of water through the fields in which the rice is grown. It is no wonder then that the Balinese (and most other rice growers of Asia) betoken the significance of the crop and its cultivation by an intricate series of rites. At the moment though I wish to concentrate on practical matters; the ceremonies will be dealt with in chapter 5.

To simply allow water to flood through a rice field is not the ideal method of obtaining a good harvest. There is no doubt that an abundance of water is sometimes as bad as a shortage since it can not only knock over the young, and therefore still short plants, but also on occasion uproot them altogether.

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2. The two cases are not precisely analogous. The growing of rice is slightly more complicated since both the rice and the field itself have to be sustained. In later chapters we will see how the field is considered 'pregnant' when the rice is first transplanted and is therefore in some sense an animated female being called Dewi Uma. The more general term for the earth is Ibu Pretiwi - Mother Earth. But whatever the differences the similarity is striking and will become more difficult to deny as further evidence is adduced.

But even this is only part of the problem. Too much water entering the rice field will cause the entrance to quickly silt up due to the rate of inflow. To prevent this many farmers build a small dam across the front of the entrance to slow down thewater. Any silt that is carried in will be deposited here and can easily be periodically removed. But if there are sudden, heavy rains, as is common in the region at certain times of the year, the major danger is that the water will carry away the soil. Each field has two drainage holes, one on the top of the field wall (pundukan) called the paluan which is used to allow excess water out of the field and into the field behind it; this is the normal exit for the water. The second is placed well below the level of the earth and is used to completely drain the field some time after transplanting so that eventually, when the field is dry, a new and clean supply can be allowed in. This drainage hole is called the panguugan and during heavy rains one will always meet farmers dashing off to their fields to ngempetin panguugan ('to fill up the holes'). If this is neglected a great deal of the undersoil will disappear and the rice will not grow properly.

Much time and energy is, furthermore, devoted to the reparation of river walls and conduits so that a sudden storm and the consequent swelling of the streams can be contained. Unfortunately, because of the lack of effective materials and money (see Hobart 1978b), such reparations are more realistically termed 'patch-up jobs' which may only last for one season before they collapse again and allow whole fields to be flooded. During my stay in Pujung one river wall was continually falling apart under the strain of excess water after a downpour. As a result a number of the fields immediately down stream belonging to the désa (village) were submerged.

Just as too much water is harmful to the crop so is, of course, too little but for different reasons. The rice cannot grow year after year in the same fields unless there is sufficient water to bring in the soil nutrients. Thus a lack of water will destroy the rice in a two-fold process, firstly the rice will simply dry out and the panicle will not swell and

secondly, over a longer period of time, the field will become nutritionally exhausted. There is a third problem which is that if there is too little water what there is will not flow very well, or even stagnate, in parts of the field that are not level. This is why farmers take special care in their ploughing and why it is a good idea to dig a ditch around the inside of the walls. Such procedures enable even small amounts of water to circulate and drain away into the next field.

It may be said that what the farmer wants is a nice, even and controlled flow of water through his fields. Anything other than this will likely bring about a diminished harvest. Now although I shall not adduce evidence at this point I should like to draw the reader's attention to this image of a controlled flow of substance, in this case water, channeled through a structured body, the rice field. The rice field is structured in the sense that although it may be of any shape whatsoever it consists of walls (pundukan) and corners (bucu-bucu) and openings paluan. That is to say it is an articulated structure which has solid walls connected together by corners/joints and access to it is obtained via various entrances and exits. I shall attempt to show, as this study progresses, that many other objects, such as the house, the human body, duration, the cosmos etc. are similarly conceptualized. I do not wish to suggest that the rice field with the water coursing through it is the archetype of the idea and that it has subsequently been transferred to other domains. This may be true but I do not see how one could go about collecting the evidence that would be needed to establish such a proposition.

As a short divagation it is interesting to note how the apparently necessary properties of a rice field can be invested with major ideational meanings. But it must be pointed out that such a physical object comprises a very large number of properties and although some of these may seem to present themselves to perception as more relevent than others, this relevancy must be decided a posteriori, after the collection of the facts and not a priori. That is to say,

relevancy and therefore knowledge, is socially determined.

To finish off this section it will be appropriate to give a short description of the association of rice growers (subak) and some information concerning its regulation of water use.

As is by now well known the seka subak is the group of people who all draw their irrigation water from the same single source. In many parts of Bali this means that the members of a subak come from a number of villages. This is true in Pujung to only a small extent in that the vast majority of people who own rice land in and around the village also live there. However this does not alter the general tenor of the argument and in Pujung as elsewhere the affairs of the subak are treated independently, at least at an ideal level (cf Hobart 1979: chap.5), to the affairs of other associations such as the désa and banjar and temple congregations. Furthermore all those members of the Pujung subak who do not live in Pujung do not have to attend meetings and generally do not work the fields, this being done by day-labourers from Pujung who also are usually responsible for bringing the necessary offerings. This means that the monthly meetings of the group are attended by Pujung villagers only and this enables the meetings of the subak and the banjar to be held on the same day and in the same place. This cooperation between associations, undertaken to ease problems of allotting time and resources equitably, does not in any way undermine the ideology of independence.

The Pujung subak does not consist of everyone who draws water from the subak's primary source. There are some farmers who own small amounts of land (20 are and less, although there is no fixed limit) who often do not join the subak. Such people are said to ngoot or nyawinih. The first word means 'to help' in the sense of helping someone raise or lower a load to or from someone's head. This is a very common chore in a society in which women carry every load, light or heavy, on the head (men usually carry across the shoulder using a pole, negen). The second word refers to the tax, sawinih, which is paid by everyone who uses water, whether a member or not, in strict accordance with the relative quantity of water used. Such contributions

are used for the maintenance of dams and conduits, purchase of equipment and fertilisers and repair work at the main temples of the subak. These contributions are also used for the upkeep of two other temples not in Pujung. These are the pura Pamuus at Apuh, at the site of the source of water for the Pujung subak and fourteen others, and the great temple at Batur. Those who ngoot do not pay the contributions, paturunan, levied on each member equally without regard to the amount of water used, which are necessary for the financing of ceremonies celebrated by the subak. In this case those who ngoot only bring offerings, maturan, and do not take part in the initial preparations (mébat, 'cooking' and nampah celeng,'slaughtering the pig') nor do they have to bring bamboo or vegetables (pesu-pesuan) as the full members are obliged to. Naturally at the end of temple ceremonies the remains are divided between the full members (ané nyubak) only.

As I have said Pujung is one of fifteen subak which takes its water from the source at Apuh. The subak leaders, pakaséh , meet on a regular basis to discuss problems concerning all the subak such as new government regulations, pests and their control, temple affairs for the temples at Apuh and Batur, coordination of planting and so on. Once a year deputations go to the temple festival at the pura Pamuus at Apuh to take part in the proceedings. As part of the celebrations most subak take a dangsil which resembles closely the cremation tower and whose number of roofs, always odd, indicates the relative quantity (to other subak) of water taken from the source. These are carried to the temple and at the appointed time borne around the walls three times in a clockwise circumambulation (mapada) (see plate 5).

The coordination of planting did not pose too much of a problem in previous years as there has generally always been sufficient water at this height (Pujung is at 500 metres) for the subak in the Pujung area to all plant at the same time. And even if one subak deviated somewhat because of unforeseen circumstances (Pujung's planting had to be put forward once because of the vast preparations required for a huge ceremony celebrated about once every twenty years) it could always get

back into line again within a few seasons. Today though there is a new problem which is likely to assume drastic proportions unless something serious is done about it. The problem concerns a conflict between the desire to coordinate planting across the subak and the difficulty of doing this due to the lack of available water.

Whilst I was in the field I quite often asked, even in the rainy season, whether there was enough water and I was always told there was not. There are at least two major reaons for this deficiency. The first is the change from the old type of rice, planted some twenty years ago of which only one crop was grown a year, to the new type which is planted twice a year to get two crops in twelve months. The Balinese prefer this because it means they obtain more rice and therefore do not have to mix it with sweet potato. On the other hand two crops need more water than one. The second reason is the gradually expanding population and the consequent pressure on the farmers to open up new plots of land. With the quantity of water remaining constant there is now less water per unit area than twenty years ago. This is one of the reasons why many farmers are buying fertilisers from the government, a rare event previously, in the hope that these will supply the nutrients that a smaller volume of water cannot.

As a result of the scarcity of water some regions of Bali opt for staggered planting because this evens out the amount of water used at any one time, since different stages of the growth cycle require considerably different quantities of water. For example harrowing the fields can only be done when they are very wet, whereas some two to three weeks after transplanting no water is allowed into the fields until they have dried off (nganyatin). When they are quite dry a new supply is let in. However such staggered planting has never been practised in the Pujung area unless there has been some other, non-agricultural, reason for it. If it is at all possible the subak in the area will try to plant within seven days of each other. The best solution would be to all plant on the same day but because of practical problems and different dewasa ('good and bad days') this is rarely achieved.

Coordinated planting is called materap masa ('to arrange the season') whereas staggered planting is known as madukan ('to be mixed','to be disturbed'; aduk is also used to mean 'annoy', 'stir'). I was told that even in periods of deficiency of water these subak would endeavour to plant at the same time although this might mean some fields from each subak being planted with corn or tobacco instead of rice. What is definitely despised, as the term madukan indicates, is uncoordinated planting, and it is unheard of for members of the same subak to plant at different times.

Areas further south have gone in for staggered transplanting and north and south of Ubud one can see large stretches of land with rice at all different stages of the cycle: some fields being ploughed, some where the rice has been planted in seed beds, some where it has just been transplanted and yet others where harvesting has started or finished. This would be fine but it entails many difficulties, some social and some agricultural. Socially it presages the breakdown of subak organisation since rice ceremonies are performed out of phase with the stage of growth of the rice and because the farmer follows an individual line performing his tasks by himself without regard to what his neighbour is doing. Agriculturally the problem involves the control of pests which are present in Bali to a greater degree each year. These pests make staggered planting a very hazardous affair since when one lot of fields has been harvested the pests simply migrate to an adjacent one which has not. In this way they travel through all the fields and are virtually impossible to eradicate. So although a staggering of the transplanting allows a more efficient use of water it also leads to a situation of chronic pest invasion.

One way of controlling the pests is with the use of pesticides but these are not proving very effective. One of the reasons for this is that spraying is usually done when the rice is already tall and the pests well established at the base of the stalks. At this point the pesticide cannot penetrate in large enough quantities to kill them off. Only a small amount gets to the bottom and sometimes this has an immuni.z ing effect

the pests being resistant. Certainly a number of farmers complained to me that after spraying there seemed to be more of the pests than before.

A second method is to burn off the stalks (somi) after harvest instead of allowing them to rot and be turned over in the digging (numbeg). This is in fact what members of the Pujung subak are beginning to do even though it goes against traditional beliefs. Burning the somi is considered to make the ground hot, panes, which is thought to adversely affect the next crop. Such practices are common in low lying areas and will probably become the way of life in Pujung before too long. Anyway it is possible to ask for (nunas) a particular kind of holy water, tirta panyeeban (from seeb = to extinguish) which will make the fields cool, etis, again. This is in fact done these days as a matter of course by everyone who owns rice land whether or not they have burned off their somi. This would seem to suggest that the burning of one field causes all the fields to become 'hot'. The holy water is poured into the first inlet of a person's fields so that it will eventually flow through all of them.

I have already said that contributions, sawinih, are paid in proportion to the amount of water one uses. There has, therefore, to be a good method of measuring water. The system which is used does not measure the absolute quantity but assesses each farmer in relation to all the others in the same subak.

According to van der Heyden (1924:269) in the province of Badung the farmers measured land in units of pecarakan (one pecarakan = 500 squares using the depa agung as side, the distance between the fingers of the two hands when the arms are fully outstretched) and the allocation of water was based on that. He also noted that in the former kingdoms of Tabanan and Mengwi the division of water was performed in terms of the size, in tenah, of the different irrigation plots and a tenah was the area from which a specified number of sheaves could be picked at a normal harvest.

Happé (1918, 1919) supplied more data when he showed how the tenah, originally a land measurement - the area of land which

could be planted by one tenah of padi (this being a sheaf of fixed size) - gradually turned into a water measure, tektek, this being the amount of water needed to properly irrigate one tenah of land area. After that, he goes on to say, it was the quantity of water which was taken as the basis for assessing taxes. Should one ask for more water it would be tantamount to admitting possession of a larger area of land and so the tax increased. It is this happy fact which Happé feels led to an efficient use of water. Whether Happé is correct is open to doubt since it seems to be quite common in Pujung to use more water than is strictly necessary. When I asked why this was so I was told either that the land was of poor quality (land is divided into three classes I, II, III, according to its productivity and so the total area of land is a bad guide to a family's wealth if it is not known what sort of land it is) and therefore needed a lot of water, or that it was better to have too much than too little. I would suggest that the optimum amount cannot be so easily determined and probably varies within wide limits.

Whatever the true account there is an indissoluble link between land and water measures (and also measures of padi) which seems to parallel the relationship between water and rice at a more crude level. Just as the cultivation of rice depends on land and water to an equal extent so measurement is conceived in such a way as to emphasize this fact. Since both land and water are scarce resources the system in one drainage area allows everybody to benefit, at least ideally, to the same degree. Finally I should add that a tektek is not a stable quantity of water since it is based on a ratio of the total volume of available water to the total area of land that has to be irrigated by that water. Thus a tektek in one area will not denote the same quantity of water as a tektek in another area.

Having discussed several aspects of subak affairs I should now like to say a few words concerning the regulation of water within the subak as there seems to be some disagreement in the literature.

According to both Grader (1960:270) and Happe (1918:48) the water of one farmer can never be used by another. For Happé

this is self-evident since the method of water division ensures that all farmers obtain the right amount for the land they own and therefore never need to borrow and never have an excess to lend. However I have already reported that Pujung farmers often say they have more water than they really need. They feel this is advantageous because they think it ensures a bigger yield. To make matters worse Liefrinck notes (1969:64) that since the builders of a conduit acquire full rights to the water flowing through it they may sell or hire the right of access to a proportion of that water. The discrepancies may well simply be occasioned by the different areas the authors wrote about. But this itself may be due to variation in the availability of water. In Pujung for instance I have been told that there have not been any subak- organised spy teams (regun patelik), which would patrol the fields at night to prevent water theft, since the eruption of Gunung Agung in 1963 when water supplies became critically short and crops were ruined. In Tengahpadang however (Hobart, 1978b:79) these patrols were a regular feature as late as 1972. Pujung is some six km. directly north of Tengahpadang and may enjoy a better water supply. This is not to say that water theft never occurs, indeed it does, but it has not yet assumed the sort of proportions that would galvanise the subak into instituting the spy teams.

I would like to suggest then that where the water supply is, on the whole, adequate for most purposes, there will be regulations such that water can be lent and borrowed or hired and rented. This is certainly the case in Pujung where a person may allow someone else to tap his water for a fixed length of time. This may be done on either a reciprocal or cash basis. Whatever system is used it is considered to be a business matter between the two owners and the pekáseh who must, of course, be notified of the arrangement. An example of this kind of cooperation came when it was time to flood, metengin, the fields. In one small section of the subak it was decided to direct the total flow of water from one side conduit (jelingjing) to each field in turn. The reason for this was obscure since it seemed to create rather a lot of unnecessary labour. It is worth noting also that there is a period called makerta when water may be borrowed.

All in all it would appear that there are differences between subaks in the traditional rice growing areas of Bali which affect how land and water are measured and how the water is controlled and used. Despite this variation there is no doubt that the literature concerning the subak presents a fairly uniform picture. Whether the differences suggest an ability to adapt flexibly to local conditions of land and water or whether they indicate that at bottom there is some other type of cause, political or economic (Hobart 1978b), I am not in a position to say.

A great deal more information on the subak may be gleaned from the surveys of Korn (1932:251-286) and Groothoff (1918) and from the more recent works of Geertz (1972) and Hobart)1978b,1979). The earlier Dutch writers (Liefrinck,Korn, Grader, van der Heyden etc.) paid little or no attention to the ceremonial activity accompanying the cultivation of rice. This is not so surprising since, being government officers, they were mainly interested in subak affairs in so far as they affected the efficient running of the colonial administration. Fortunately this separation of subak affairs between the practical and the ceremonial is not entirely spurious. The Balinese themselves remarkson the disjunction in terms of the following aphorism : makarya kadulurin antuk canang which translates as 'work is accompanied by offerings'. There is, of course, no total distinction between work (karya)[3] and offerings (canang; usually banten); the Balinese, I think, are merely indicating that they consider only a combination of physical effort and the provision of gifts to the gods will result in a bountiful harvest. Moreover it points to the fact that responsibility for a good crop is shared.

4. Holy water

In the past Balinese religion was known by the title Agama Tirta, (Religion of Holy Water) (Hooykaas 1964a:148, 1966:9). These days the name has been changed to Agama Hindu Bali in a

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3. Karya refers to both work and to the performance of temple ceremonies.

conscious effort to demonstrate that the Balinese religion is in fact a world faith and thereby fulfills the conditions of Indonesia's Department of Religious Affairs which, although committed to the cause of religious freedom, permits the recognition of only official world religions.

But whatever the name there is no doubt as to the pervasiveness of the use of holy water. The words for holy water are toya and tirta, these being the middle and high, respectively, of the common Balinese word yéh. The three forms of the concept, unlike most others which exhibit several lexical forms, thus denote ideas which have different contents. Whereas toya and tirta may be used to refer to ordinary water during conversations with strangers or people of higher caste yéh, on the contrary, can never denote holy water which, since it has been consecrated and is consequently pure (suci), may only be designated by an appropriately 'pure' word.

Tirta always refers to holy water of one kind or another and the phrase toya tirta may be used to denote the general concept of holy water. Hooykaas alludes to the genuine possibility that tirta is derived, or at least is cognate with, the Sanskrit amrita (amerta in Balinese) (1966:9) which is the nectar of the gods in India and the water of life (not immortality, but rather 'long life') in Bali (cf Upadeca 1968:78; and J.Hooykaas 1961a:17 where she records a mantra one of the lines of which reads 'tirta merta, sari tirta'). Tirta, however, is not simply synonymous with amrita although they share certain significant features; the partial equivalence though is of great interest and I shall return to it in a later chapter.

For the rest of this chapter I should like to draw together some of the scattered information concerning holy water in order to give the reader an idea of its central importance to Balinese culture.

a. The preparation of holy water

The two main categories of priests in Bali are the padanda, who belongs to the brahmana caste, and the pamangku who mostly comes from the sudra caste although there are pamangku from wesia and satria castes as well. They prepare holy water in

rather different ways. The padanda, in his daily ritual, surya sevana, attempts to bring down the god Siwa into his own body. Once the unification has taken place it is the god who directs the priest's hands and consecrates the water (Hooykaas 1966:9). The pamangku, on the other hand, denies that he is ever possessed by the gods (leaving aside trance). He also invites the gods to descend though they sit (malinggih) on the rantasan (a pile of unused, sukla, clothes) which forms part of the panganteban, the necessary prerequisites for the performance of ceremonies (nganteb means 'to present offerings').[4] The reason for this difference may lie in the much lower innate purity of the pamangku compared to the padanda which prohibits the fusion of a god with the former, except under special conditions such as trance (pangluh), but permits it with the latter since in the hierarchy of persons and gods the padanda is but one step away from divinity and the disjunction between the god and padanda is not nearly so great as that between god and pamangku. A more prosaic explanation is simply that the padanda's rite is a borrowing from south Indian brahmanic ritual.

There is also a difference in the power of the holy waters as made by these practitioners. That of the padanda is considered far more potent and its use is vital to the proper completion (muput Karya) of all major ceremonies. But apart from collective ceremonies such as mass cremations and temple festivals, the padanda is supplicated daily by his individual clients for the holy water that he prepares every morning before eating. The ritual of the padanda, surya sevana, cannot be described here because of the details involved, the obscurity of meaning and the tenebrous complexity of the language. However the method of the pamangku and the padanda, albeit different in the ways described, are in many other respects similar. I shall therefore concentrate on the pamangku, especially as I had much more opportunity to observe and study him. Padanda are not allowed to live in Pujung and the presence of the pura Balé Bang precludes their need.[5]

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4. Curiously anteb (the root of nganteb) also means 'heavy', and tangentially can even signify 'pregnant'; whether these are merely homonyms or part of the same concept I do not know.

5. See also chap.6 for more information on the padanda and the pamangku.

The simplest way of preparing holy water is to place a bowl full of water taken from a reasonably pure source, like a spring, high up on a shrine in the temple and say a few prayers over it. By the morning the god will have consecrated it (Hooykaas 1977:51). Other reports seem to agree with this. Belo (1952:24) says that all that is needed is a very small offering, the essence of which is wafted towards the shrine, together with some prayers and ordinary water immediately becomes holy, though not of a very great potency. The Upadeca (1968:78) gives the simplest procedure as raising an appropriate vessel containing water and flowers, above one's head whilst in a temple and saying the correct mantra (which includes praising God and the holy rivers of India). In Pujung I was told that the easiest method was to fetch water from Gunung Kawi, take it to the priest in the temple and ask him to prepare holy water of such and such a kind for so and so. The bowl of water is placed above the priest's head and the correct mantra recited. Once this has been done the water is holy and must be carried on the head, so as to prevent it from descending below any part of the body which would render it useless.

According to Belo (1952:24) this procedure is just a greatly simplified version of what the padanda does everyday and what the padanda does on a daily basis is a reduced format of what he goes through on special days such as the full moon. Crudely speaking the ability of the water to remove impurity from people and places depends on the effort that has gone in to making it. The longer the mantra said, the greater the level of offerings used, the higher the innate purity of the priest, and the larger the fee, the greater will be the potency of the holy water. As a corollary to this it can be seen that the purity of the tirta is a function of the purity of the person who has made it. This is why water which has been consecrated by a sudra pamangku can only be used by sudra and not by higher castes whereas the tirta as made by a padanda can be used by virtually everyone and is capable of removing greater impurity.

One special and very frequently used type of holy water is that made during temple festivals (odalan) and employed for the cleansing of the congregation. The odalan reaches its focal

point with the main ceremony, ngaturang piodalan (in Pujung colloquially called gedéna from gedé meaning 'big'). Once this has finished and the praying, mabakti or muspa, is over the priests go amongst the crowds distributing tirta which is wiped on the face and hair and drunk, each three times (see plate 6). Generally no self-respecting Balinese villager would willfully miss the opportunity to request this holy water (nunas tirta). The water is prepared on the morning of the ceremony as follows. A new earthernware pot (payuk) is filled with water from the spouts (pancoran) at Gunung Kawi. Some burning sandal wood (canana), brown Balinese sugar (gula Bali) and flowers (bunga) are added, the top is put on and the whole thing wrapped up in new, white cloth (kasa) and placed high up on a shrine. During ngaturang piodalan the priest chants the required mantra and the water becomes tirta amerta sanjiwani which is supposed to confer health and long life.

b. Types of holy water

In the previous section I described the barest essentials of the ways in which holy water is prepared. In this section I would like to ennumerate some of the more important types of holy water.

The padanda makes two types of water every morning, toya pabersihan and toya panglukatan. The former purifies or makes clean what is already in a fairly clean (bersih; this word is also used in a mundane sense) state whereas the latter has exorcising properties and removes "intolerable impurities" (Hooykaas, 1973a:7). The toya pabersihan, for example, would be used to clean offerings which are to be given to the gods. The materials from which these offerings are made (leaves, food, flowers money etc.) are not impure, but simply not pure enough (they have been handled by ordinary mortals) to be rendered up without first being further purified. Panglukatan however is designed to get rid of pollution which for some reason has accrued to a person or object. It is therefore always used in ceremonies for people who have had bad accidents or who have been involved in altercations since such events are thought to be caused most immediately by the possession by evil spirits of the

person's body and will. It is also the water that must be used to remove a curse inflicted on a person by a god or simply by reason of him having been born on a certain day (Hooykaas 1973b).

There are many other sorts of holy water the most important of which can be briefly mentioned in the context of death rites. Apart from tirta pabersihan and panglukatan which are used extensively in rites of cremation, the following waters will probably all be used at some point in the proceedings: tirta pamanahan, tirta pangentas, tirta panglepas, tirta panémbag, tirta panyeeb, and holy waters from all the village temples. Tirta pamanahan is made by shooting an arrow (panah) into water gushing from a spout. Whilst I was in the village I could never get a coherent explanation for it and it always seemed to me that no one knew what it did. Hooykaas, who lists all these waters in his various disquisitions on the topic (1973a, 1967-68, n.d.) never attempts to explain the use of this particular kind. The only idea that I can advance is that the operation rests on a pun, in that the word manah is the high Balinese for 'thoughts' and also the verb form of panah, 'to shoot a bow'. Since all death rites in one way or another are supposed to cleanse the soul and release it from its material body, this might be one method in which the purification of the soul (in this particular case the thoughts, manah) is, as it were, physicalised and made tangible to the still living. Tirta pangentas is holy water which will 'transport' (entas) the soul to heaven whereupon it will be 'free' (lepas). Panémbag is holy water which is employed to bathe the corpse, of its material symbol, before cremation. Panyeeb is a holy water which I have already mentioned in connection with the burning of the stalks after the rice harvest. As I said its usual meaning is 'to douse' or 'extinguish'.

Two other types of water that may also be used are tirta panyuda mala (from suda mala which means 'to clean the sins') and tirta pamutus which would be sprinkled on the corpse in order to break off the relationship (putus = 'finished', 'already clean', 'snapped') between the living and the dead.

I think from the various examples that I have provided it can be seen that the function or purpose of the water is stated in its name. There is no great difference in the way these waters are made. The priest simply asks for the particular kind of water that is required. This was strikingly brought home to me during the preparations for the gigantic Eka Desa Rudra exorcistic ceremony (Hooykaas, 1973c) held at Besakih in 1979. For months before all the corpses of Balinese who followed the official Balinese religion had to be cremated so that the land would be pure in time for the descent of the gods. There was a dead-line for these cremations and people who died after that date were buried only. The problem was how to circumscribe the pollution emanating from these graves. This was solved by the use of a special type of holy water called tirta panyengker. Sengker means 'limit', 'surround', 'wall' (van Eck, 1876:142). The water effectively restricted the influence of the pollution to the immediate location, it 'threw up a wall' around it.

There is involved here a ritual mechanism based on language. It involves the use of puns (Hobart 1978b) and the translation of abstract names into objects with physical properties, Tirta panyengker is water like any other but its peculiar characteristics lie in the prayers said over it, and its physical properties depend on, and are created by, the name only. Words in this context have a performative value (Austin, 1962), the mere saying of them achieves something tangible. Later on I will draw attention to other aspects of this phenomenon and provide many more examples.

c. Properties of holy water

In the previous sections I adumbrated a number of the major properties of holy water. Most importantly I mentioned that the action of the water is determined by its name and there is, if I may so put it, no intervening variable between these. That is to say the action proceeds directly from the name.

Given the above characteristic of holy waters it is perhaps incorrect to say that all holy water acts to purify. There are many types of water, some of which were listed in the last section, which have more prosaic functions. Thus tirta pangentas (entas means 'cross over') is used to help the soul cross over

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into heaven from the land of the living; it has in itself no purifying action. Similarly with tirta panyengker which does not remove the pollution inherent in a dead body but merely acts to restrict it to a small area. It might be that all holy waters have a basic 'cleansing' property over and above their specific attributes but I never heard this and I did not think to ask.

Whatever the case the significant point is the specificity of action of holy water. It is rare indeed for a person to go to a priest to ask for holy water; one always asks for holy water of such and such a kind and for a certain person or persons or a certain purpose.

However lustration is probably the most frequent action of holy water, since there are so many occasions on which a Balinese has to purify someone or something. The disparate kinds of conditions of dirtiness/pollution and cleanliness/purity will be discussed in other sections of this thesis, but whatever the condition there is a ceremony and a type of holy water which will raise a person from defilement to his usual state (determined by the caste to which he belongs) or from his usual state to a temporarily or permanently higher one.

I have already mentioned the differential power of holy water according to who makes it and the length of ceremony used etc. There are also a number of other interesting properties of holy water which as far as I know have never been mentioned in the literature. One of these concerns how long holy water lasts. Some people say that it is of use only on the day on which it has been made, others that it lasts three days, others still that its purity diminishes gradually over time, and one person said it lasted as long as one wanted it to last. Holy water can be diluted to make more (ngantunin) but the potency is not diminished.

Finally if one has some holy water left it must not be thrown away downwards. As the water is holy it must, in conformity with Balinese notions of hierarchy, in the first instance be flung upwards. After that it does not matter where the water falls as due respect has been paid. The reader should not think that this is a mere logical extension of hierarchical

rules which few people bother to obey; in that case he would seriously fail to understand the importance of these ideas on the Balinese imagination which finds the action of throwing away holy water upwards as natural as throwing away rubbish and filth downwards.

d. Holy water sprinklers

Generally lustration is performed by sprinkling water with a flower. At major ceremonies however a much more elaborate article is used, the lis (actually elis, but the first 'e' of disyllabic words is not usually pronounced in Balinese), which is constructed out of plaited coconut leaves. It consists of over forty pieces and has been commendably described, in both pictures and words, by Jacoba Hooykaas (1961a; see also Swellengrebel 1947). Although the lis, as made in Pujung, differs in some respects from that sketched by Hooykaas the meaning does not. As she says the lis is a representation of the deity as well as of the various trees which have the power to ward off evil. It also acts to connect the world of mortals with that of the gods (1961a:15). The mantra and other prayers (saa, sasonténg) intoned over it indicate its action, which may be described as sweeping away all manner of illnesses and sin (lara-pataka), defilements (sebel-kandel), defilement and obstacles (mala-wigna), pollution (leteh), mud (putek-latek), the ten impurities (dasa mala) and so on. It does all this in concert with the holy water which 'carries away downstream' the filth : angilir-ilirana sakwéhing dasa mala (1961a:20).

The lis is also described as a tree the leaf of which is transformed to fine raiment, the fruit to pearls and precious stones and the trunk to flawless gold (J.Hooykaas 1961a:20, C.Hooykaas 1977:70). This allusion to a tree of wealth was the only evidence of its existence in Balinese thought that I found, except for the kayon or gunungan (kayu = wood, gunung = mountain), one of the most interesting pieces in the set of Javanese and Balinese shadow theatre (wayang kulit) puppets, which has been equated with the 'tree of heaven', 'wishing tree' and the holy Mount Meru by Rassers (1959:175). The myth of the tree of wealth is to be found in many areas of Indonesia (Barnes 1974:107; Tobing 1956). Later on we shall see that wealth and

valuables are equated conceptually with rice (food) and that both are conceived as life-sustaining substances. It seems, then, appropriate to consider the lis as a divine, golden tree which can remove, in the most efficient way, all sorts of pollution which, in turn, is thought to debilitate the life process.

There are two other holy water sprinklers the basang-basang (basang = stomach) and the babuu. Both of these are much smaller the latter being the smallest of the three, but their functions and meanings are the same. As with holy water, the bigger the sprinkler the more powerful it is.

These three items by no means complete the repertoire of pollution removers. The list of these is very large and here I have room to mention but a few of them. One of the most widely used and well known is tepung tawah which is a mixture of uncooked rice (baas), the yellow root kunyit (curcuma domestica) and the chopped leaves of the dadap tree(erythrina lithoperma). This substance is mentioned by both Belo (1953:23 passim) and J.Hooykaas (1961a:5). In my experience it is used in many ceremonies by strewing it over the offerings to the gods whilst reciting various prayers which describe what the mixture does, namely, destroy all impurity. How it does this has been suggested by Endicott (1970:136) who surmises that it is a 'boundary weakener' and is used amongst the Malays to extract an 'essence' out of a patient's body. However in Malaya tepung tawah is made of water and flour and therefore has a quite different consistency to the Balinese version. There the substance is thought to weaken boundaries because it cannot itself sustain them. In Bali the same mechanism may be at work but if so it is through language. Tepung is flour whilst tawah means 'tasteless', 'insipid'. Its name then, rather than its composition, indicates a certain indefinability and amorphousness.

Tepung tawah is in fact one of four mixtures which are used in a similar fashion. They are put, one in each of the four compartments of a ritual instrument, made of plaited coconut leaves, called pabuatan. The other three are nasi aon (a concoction of nasi and ashes, aon, from the hearth), tatebus sasedep (a red cempaka flower and a length of white thread)

and finally wija/sasarik (a mixture of finely chopped rice of various colours). During the course of a ceremony all of these will be strewn over the offerings which are being proffered to the gods.

I think Endicott is right in his analysis of tepung tawah and by extension of other substances used here. It may be that they act to remove pollution from the objects and this is then carried away by the holy water. In the chapter on the life-crisis rites I will be able to offer more evidence in favour of this interpretation, especially as regards tatebus sasedep.

However, whether or not Endicott is correct on this score, most ritual technique does not depend on this notion of boundaries but rather turns on the multiple uses of language, many of which will be documented as the study progresses.

CHAPTER III

SPATIAL ORIENTATION IN BALI

Having discussed some of the various uses of water in the previous chapter the next step is indicated by the nature of the Balinese conceptual structure itself. Indigenous reasoning dictates that a major orientational axis is represented by the downward flow of water. As was noted streams originate in the mountainous centre of the island and flow down to the coastal plains. The direction in which the water flows is kelod and that from which it has come is kaja. Since the main water divide is found in the central mountains, streams in the north of the island travel in a northerly direction and so kaja can be in part glossed as 'south'. However in the southern part of the island the streams run approximately in a southerly direction and so kaja is 'north'. This reversal does not generally affect the Balinese unduly since once they know where kaja is everything falls into place. Indeed if one travels with a group of Balinese to an area they do not know one of the first questions to be asked on arrival is 'where is kaja?' (dija paling kajana?).[1]

This method of defining direction indicators has often been reported in the ethnographic literature (Covarrubias 1937:40,267; Goris 1969c:114; Grader 1937a:46-7, 1969:135) and it is one of the few features of Balinese culture about which there is little controversy. Swellengrebel (1960:37-8) has summed up the evidence and pointed to comparative material from the Macassarese, Torajas and Buginese all of Sulawesi. The Ngaju Dayak also seem to have a similar method of indicating direction (Schärer 1963:66).

Kaja, then, means 'towards the interior' and kelod 'towards the sea'. The latter is interpreted by Swellengrebel as being derived from ka - (the Balinese and Indonesian prefix for 'motion towards') and -lod ('sea'; the Indonesian word is laut). This derivation was the one given to me in the field by a number of Balinese. Kaja is somewhat more problematical. Both

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1. From here on whenever I use the words 'north' or 'south' I merely mean these as substitutes for kaja and kelod respectively, and not as definitive translations which they are not.

Swellengrebel (1960:37) and van der Tuuk (1899,II,307) give the root as aja (ka-aja) but supply no meaning for this, simply comparing it to the Buginese word aja which plays a similar role in that culture. Goris (1960a:377,n.16) gives the same derivation as the others for kelod but notes that -ja is cognate with dya, darat and raja which all mean 'landwards'. In large part I think these etymologies are correct.[2] However I was given a derivation for kaja which, while I do not think it is right, is nevertheless worth presenting. I was told that kaja was formed from ka- and -aja and that the meaning of aja was 'born' on analogy with andaja (creatures born from eggs) and suédaja (creatures born in water). These are words which have Sanskrit origins and that is why I tend to think that the etymology is wrong. Nonetheless it was thought very apposite by my friend since it implied that the mountains were the locus of the origin of life. This ties in with the Balinese notion that the gods live on the mountain tops and that it is from them that human souls come down to earth.

There is no doubt that the mountains and the lakes (as the homes of the gods) are considered to be a region of purity and therefore superior to all that is below. It is this which accounts for the Balinese methods of removing pollution whereby it is either a) thrown into the streams to be carried down to the sea, as with the remains of a person's ashes after cremation, or b) expunged by the sprinkling of holy water (toya tirta) which both absorbs pollution and represents flowing water. In both cases the representation is basically the same, namely that water removes pollution from kaja to kelod (see Hobart 1978a:13).

The conceptual distinction between kaja and kelod has been documented by many observers of Balinese culture and it has led to any number of variations on the theme that everything which is 'good' comes from the direction of the mountains and everything

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2. Dayak and dyak are also supposed to signify 'in land' for the Iban (Jensen 1974:15, Howell and Bailey 1900:34) and Ambonese ria also means 'landwards' (Jansen 1977:III). It is just possible that there is a linguistic relation between -ja and -dya as noted by Goris and I shall refer to this again in another chapter.

which is 'bad' originates in the sea and other low lying places (Swellengrebel 1960:38; Grader 1937a:46; Covarrubias 1937:260; Hobart 1978a:6). I do not wish to argue with this and indeed later on I shall try to demonstrate just how pervasive it all is. For the moment it is merely necessary to point out that kaja and kelod have both horizontal and vertical applications although the vertical dimension is all but eclipsed (in language anyway) by the dyad duur/betén. That which is higher is said to be duuran and that which is lower is said to be beténan. Kaja/kelod can be joined to duur/betén so that an object nearer the mountains and higher is said to be duur dajan[3] relative to an object nearer the sea and lower down which is then described as betén delod. Although kaja cannot be used by itself to denote the relationship 'higher than' it is nevertheless assimilated to duur and these two are opposed to kelod/betén which may be said to form a unified category. This is relatively easy to see since those ancestors which have been purified and hence have become spirits to be worshipped (in fact the ancestors gradually become gods, or rather as they lose their individuality as particular ancestors they begin to coalesce into an amorphous and annonymous divinity) are called laluur (from the root duur). Moreover the white cloth which is hung from the undersides of roofs to represent the sky is also called laluur. It is interesting also to note that Grader (1937a:47) and Swellengrebel (1948a:41) both refer to two types of supplication : pabaktian ka luur ('prayer to the above') and pabaktian ka tebén ('prayer directed downstream'). Finally another name for the ancestors is lalangitan whose root, langit, means 'sky'. At the opposite end of the continuum are the patala ('under the earth'), the souls of the recently dead, which are highly polluting (the sapta patala are the seven layers under the earth). Many Dutch writers have also observed that the

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3. Dajan and delod are the relations 'more to the interior than' and 'more to the sea than'. Ngelodang means 'to travel to kelod' and ngajanang means 'to travel to kaja'.

uncremated dead are known as pirata whilst those already cremated are pitara, a seemingly significant inversion (cf Goris 1960a:84). I did not, in fact, meet with this meaning of pirata in Pujung. Pirata only designated a particular offering to the spirits of the uncremated dead but not the dead themselves.

There is yet a third conceptual opposition which fits into this framework. It is one which in many ways overlaps with the kaja/kelod distinction and perhaps for that reason has received scant attention in the literature. Luan means 'upstream' and tebén (note the similarity to betén) means 'downstream'. Since they both represent, though in different ways, the idea of 'downstream' kelod and tebén can sometimes be used interchangeably as can kaja and luan. During temple ceremonies, for example, one regularly overhears the guru pada (wives of the priests) issuing orders in stentorian voices to move a certain offering a little bit further upstream/ downstream (kisidang luanan/ tebénan) (in general a hierarchy is observed in the positioning of offerings with those dedicated to the highest gods being placed most kaja and those to the malevolent spirits being placed kelod and on the ground, betén)

Before I finish with this section of the evidence concerning spatial orientation I must first mention the concept ulu which in Balinese means 'head', 'principal', 'leader' (ulun désa = village officials), 'inside' (ulun ati = pit of the stomach); bes ulu means 'too early', kadulu means 'upstream' and finally uluan means 'before' or 'above' (van Eck 1876:21; Warna 1978:624). There is no doubt that we have here a concept of great provocative power.[4] Barnes notes that ulu is a Proto-Austronesian root signifying 'head' and 'beginning' and which shares many of its referents with mata (eye, source, origin) (Barnes 1977:310). I do not have any direct evidence from

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4. In Howell and Bailey's dictionary of Land Dayak (1900) ulu means 'upriver', 'sword handle' and 'knife edge'; for the Toba Batak Vergouwen (1964:89) has ulu = 'head'; Tammu and van der Veen (1972:685) give the Toraja meaning of ulu as 'head', 'upper end', 'handle'; for the Manggarai Verheijen (1967:723) provides 'head', 'upper end'; finally for the Rotinese Fox translates dulu as 'head' and 'east' and uluk as 'first born' (1973:357, 1975:114).

Balinese sources which allow me to equate ulu with luan but the identity of these two concepts appears extremely probable, They seem to have the same range of meanings and to be related to the same linguistic root. Whatever the case I think it is fairly clear that the interior of the island, the mountainous region, is seen as the source of things and that that which precedes is considered to emanate from the above and to travel downhill. At the end of this chapter I shall return to this point and in future chapters ideas developed here will be extensively elaborated. I shall, in fact, demonstrate that the essence and source of life, souls, comes from the heavens and that the march of the generations is conceptually linked to the downward flow of water.

The ideas documented above provide the Balinese with a centre to periphery axis which at the same time presents the first image of their conceptions of hierachy.[5] The following series of distinctions would seem to have been clearly established : kaja,duur,luan/kelod,betén,tebén :: pure (suci)/ impure (sebel etc.): : gods (déwa), ancestors (laluur)/malevolent spirits (buta-kala etc.),souls of the uncremated dead (patala). In each case the left-hand term is superior to the right-hand term or, perhaps what is more accurate, Balinese notions of superiority are defined by these asymmetrical and complementary oppositions and therefore constitute part of the framework of hierarchy.

A supplementary axis is obtained by incorporating the largely invariant path along which the sun moves from east to west. For villages in south central Bali this triple axial system is in certain respects analogous to our north/south, up/down and east/ west and the ethnographer has no difficulty in accustoming himself to its use. In fact it furnishes a more efficient grid for the location of objects in space than our rather ham-fisted employment of right and left.

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5. This notion of an opposition between centre and periphery is widespread in Indonesia (as it is in Asia as a whole, cf. Heine Geldern 1956, Tambiah 1976) and it is not, seemingly, confined to those islands heavily influenced by Hinduism. See Seloesoemardjan (1962:23), van Ossenbruggen (1918) and Anderson (1972) for Java; Josselin de Jonge (1952) for Minangkabau and Schulte Nordholté (1971:229) for Timor.

The east-west (kangin-kauh)axis is associated with ideas of life and death in that the rising of the sun in the east and its setting in the west is explicitly related to the course of aging of a human being as can be seen from the fact that the word for 'old people' and 'afternoon' is the same, lingsir. Moreover the high Balinese word lampus means ' to die' and in Indonesian it means ' to go west' (Echols and Shadily 1961:212). During life a person should always orient himself so that his head is either to kaja or kangin when reclining but on death the corpse is propped to face west (Hobart 1978a:16). Similarly a person should never allow his feet to be higher than his head. Much of this evidence indicates that the east is conceptually linked to the notion of 'beginning' and the fact that the eastern horizon may be referred to as malunan ('in front', 'earlier') and the western horizon as being durinan ('at the back', 'later'), servesto reinforce this impression. However the most important information comes from observations of the ceremonies for the cultivation of rice.

Many of the rice cycle rites have to be carried out first thing in the morning either before the sun has risen or while it is in the process of rising. Typically these rites are associated with starting the cycle and with initiating new parts of the cycle. Thus ngendagin (from the root endag which usually means 'to rise' of the sun) is the ritual opening of the ground at the very beginning of the cycle. In this ceremony the farmers must go to their fields early in the morning to make the initial dig which officially starts the new cycle.

After the seed bed (pamulihan) has been readied the first planting of the padi (the best of the crop from the previous cycle) is carried out. This also has to be done first thing in the morning. Furthermore it is essential that the rice (bulih) be laid down (nyasahang, mamulih) with its 'head' (in this case the stalk) in the east and the 'feet' (the ears) in the west in direct correspondence with the rules for humans.

Later on I will present convincing evidence that the rice is conceived to be analogous to children once it has been transplanted to the large fields from the pamulihan. This entails that the same kinds of food are given to both and at the same

times. Thus there are a series of rites called mubuhin(from the root bubuh = 'rice pudding') held fifteen days apart. Bubuhis the first solid food given to children and so it is also provided for Dewi Sri as the goddess of rice. It is always taken to the fields very early because it is realised that little children are always hungry when they wake up and will cry if they are not fed quickly.

Finally I shall mention the ceremony of biukukung when the first ears of the padi begin to appear. Just before this the padi is said to be 'pregnant' (beling) and the rite, performed by individual owners in their own fields, is carried out just before sunrise and its stated aim is to 'deliver' (nglekadang) the padi.

Thus east with its connotations of 'source' and 'beginning' is articulated to the concepts of 'above' and 'interior', and so east becomes superior to west and kaja-kangin,(which combines all the proptitious qualities,) is the most auspicious direction in Bali. For south central Bali, the heartland of the culture , the tallest, most imposing and most sacred mountain (gunung Agung) is situated in precisely this location.

My friends in the village always assured me that there was never any problem in the application of these direction indicators since everyone who lived in Buléléng, in the northern part of the island, interpreted kaja and kelod as 'south' and 'north' respectively whilst everywhere else people treated kaja as we would 'north' and kelod as 'south'. Thus at the eastern tip of the island, they promised me, kaja was still 'north' even though the mountains are due west from that point. In fact this is not true and problems and confusions do arise, especially at the eastern point, since there kaja and kangin are opposed to one another. Hobart has already discussed this (1978a:22, n.4) and has reached the conclusion that the system" ... by inversion, reduplication or suppression, ... can be made to work" (1978a:7).

There is also some confusion concerning which of the mountains the direction kaja refers to. Some people said that this was Gunung Agung which from Pujung lies almost due east.

However most others informed me that it was oriented to Gunung Batur far away to the north and only visible from good vantage points on clear days in contrast to Agung which dominates the eastern horizon. Certainly the use of kaja that I became accustomed to during my stay was oriented to Batur and was virtually identical to our north. What I think must be said though is that kaja and the other three major directions should not be conceived of as being oriented to any particular point in space as this would imply a rigidity which simply is not present. Kaja may be considered a range of directions spanning north-north-west to north-east and as such it would take in much of the mountainous centre of the island. I do not mean to be unduly analytical here but it is worth emphasising the difference. Our north is fixed to a particular point and can be determined with great accuracy. The reader would be quite wrong were he to assume that kaja and kelod are similarly determined. Kangin and kauh also vary considerably to register the fact that the sun moves northwards and southwards between its solstices.

As I said earlier the three axes, when conjoined, completely define the location of objects in space. Strangely Hobart (1978a:13) tends to think that the vertical axis duur/betén is "shadowy". I must say it seemed clear and explicit enough to me and the system would be incomplete without it. One usually uses duur/betén when referring to objects which are close to eachother. To go far to the north (which entails going upwards) is to go ngajanang (to kaja) and not ka duur or nuurang (to duur). In this sense, as Hobart points out kaja/kelod is an oblique axis. Nevertheless one would equally never refer to an object directly above another as dajan ('more to kaja than') the lower one but always as duuran ('higher than').

The two axes kaja/kelod and kangin/kauh are combined to form what is known as the panca dewata ('five gods') classification. There is a second, expanded, version of this called the nawa sangga ('nine, nine') which includes the four

intermediate points as well as the four primary cardinal directions.[6]

These schemes serve to classify a variety of objects such as numbers, trees, colours, days, metals, months and so forth. The classifications so obtained can be used in all manner of ways some of which will be discussed in later sections of this study. One of the main uses is in the positioning of offerings for the class of ceremonies known as caru. There are several varieties of this rite, their difference being determined by the quantity and types of animals slaughtered to make the requisite offerings. The smallest is called nasi manca warna and involves an offering of boiled rice in five directions (kaja, kelod, kangin, kauh and centre) in five different colours (black, red, white, yellow, multicoloured). The largest type, reputedly held only once every hundred years, is the extravagant Eka Dasa Rudra (Hooykaas 1973c, Bagus 1974). The mechanics of these ceremonies will be dealt with elsewhere.

It will be appreciated that the panca dewata and the nawa sanga give prominence to the centre point which is usually conceived of as being both in opposition to, and as subsuming, the outer points (see note 4 of this chapter). On the surface this appears to contradict the idea that kaja-kangin is the most sacred direction. But the two should not be viewed in such a manner. It is quite clear that the two conceptions both refer to the pre-eminence of the centre (tengah, kaja) in opposition to the periphery (kelod).

Earlier in this chapter I noted how the mountainous centre of the island should be interpreted as a point of origin. Not only does the analysis of the word ulu suggest this but the fact that most irrigation water comes from the mountain lakes should perhaps lead us to expect that the high centre might be viewed as a life-giving source. I want to follow this up from a rather different track now.

In many of the villages of Gianyar that have irrigated rice land there are temples in which the members of the subak

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6. See van Eerde (1911), Pott (1966:134-5) and Swellengrebel (1947:22-3) for various examples of this system.

periodically dedicate offerings to the goddess of rice, Dewi Sri. These temples are generally situated at the northern and southern limits of the subak's land and are called (be)dugul kaja and (be)dugul kelod respectively. The northern one of these temples is also often known as the pura ulun suwi. The thing that struck me most about the dugul temples in Pujung was that the shrines inside the temple walls housed a motley collection of what looked like ordinary river stones (batu). They were of all shapes and sizes and in dugul kelod there appeared to be hundreds in the main shrine. Although I asked many questions about the nature and origin of these stones I could discover relatively little. The stones were called arca and the priests felt they were equivalent to the sacred objects of the other village temples called pratima. At temple festivals the stones are symbolically washed just as the pratima are and the water used is considered holy and greatly desired by the congregation. The priests were also of the opinion that the temples were built around and for the stones.

As far as I could make out none of the other temples in Pujung had such stones as holy objects. However I did find that a number of the shrines in the pura puseh and pura subak of Sebatu had moss covered stones scattered all over them. I was assured by friends from Sebatu that these stones were sacred and that it was forbidden to clean them (it is generally permissible to scrape the moss off shrines to keep them clean.

Whatever their true significance it seems certain that stones are of cultural importance. There is not too much information in the literature concerning stones, batu, but it is noteworthy however that Korn (1960b:303) describes the existence of some square piles of stones at the entrance to the village of Pasedahan, which were called bedugul, and which were the general place of worship for the villagers. Now Bali is not the only place in Indonesia that credits stones with religious importance. The Kedangese use stones as altars (Barnes 1974:55, index) and Vergouwen (1964:404) reports that the Toba-Batak have an oath stone (batu somong) at which oaths

are sworn and which is considered to be the dwelling place of the spirits of the ancestors.

Endicott (1979:42-8) discusses the beliefs of the Batek Dé and other Negrito peoples concerning stone (batu)pillars. One of these is thought to form the centre of the world and it shares many features with the notion of the tree of life/wealth found all over Asia and Indonesia (see Barnes 1974:107; Tobing 1956:60-1). This notion of stone pillars brings to mind the Javanese-Balinese kayon already mentioned in the last chapter. The kayon (from kayu=tree; it is also called gunungan = mountain) is flourished at the beginning of the play and according to Macphee (1970:153) it symbolises 'beginning'. He also says that the true Balinese kayon is a "...pure, conventionalized tree, with a mountain symbol for base..." (1970:194).[7] So far then stone (batu), mountains and trees (that is, those conceived as sacred and which stretch from the earth into the heavens, Endicott,1979:42) seem to be conceptually related to the ideas of 'core', 'origin' and 'source'. Such reasoning would seem to be justified by the evidence which can be obtained from the Ngaju Dayak people of Borneo. Schärer reports a myth in which 'stone bones' and 'stone breath' were to be used to animate two (male and female) earthen facsimiles of human beings before people existed. This method was rejected since it was thought the people would become immortal as a result of the use of stones. Later on Schärer tells that it is the spirit which is made of stone (batu) and the body of wood (1963:22,148). It could be that the opposition between stone and wood is a metaphorical indication of the relative permanence of spiritual and material substances. From Bali Belo (1970a:38) reports how a Klungkung cokorda once told her that a padanda, due to his long penitence, begat from a stone a son called Sri Kresna Kapakisan. Some final evidence comes from the fact that the Ngaju use stones to symbolise the primeval mountain (Schärer 1963:24) whilst Jensen recounts how the Iban use stones (batu ilau) to locate the spiritual essence of sick people (1974:107).

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7. See also J.Hooykaas (1957b) who relates the nagasari tree (as the 'tree of life') to serpents and stones for areas of Indonesia including Java and Bali.

I should now like to turn to some linguistic evidence. Balinese batu covers a fairly wide range of meanings ; stone, kernal, pip, testicles (van Eck 1876:202); seed, stone (Warna 1978:76); seed, pip, testicles, semi-precious stone (van der Tuuk 1912, IV,935). For Lombok, Goris (1938:43) gives: stone, testicles, clitoris. Batu seems to be as common throughout Indonesia as are mata and ulu with which it appears to share a degree of meaning.[8] The semantic field of batu, moreover, is no more limited to 'stone' than mata is restricted to 'eye'. Not only does batu refer to the testicles and therefore to a source of life[9] but it also seems to signify the notion of mountain as it does amongst the Malay Negritoes and the Dayaks. In Bali batu/watu is often used in the same contexts as gunung (mountain) as in e.g. Watu Gunung, a mythical hero, and Gunung Batu Kau, the 'mountain of the stone coconut shell'.

Mountains are a source of life in eastern Indonesian cultures. Barnes (1974:34) relates that the original men of Kédang emerged out of the vent in the top of the mountain. There are stories extant in Bali in which it is told that the first people smashed their way out of the base of a mountain (I shall supply these in chapter 7). At least it should now be evident why stones can be venerated in Balinese temples.

The accumulated evidence allows the interpretation that the origin of life in Bali is conceptually related to the mountainous interior of the island, with the above rather than the below, and with such ideas as kaja, batu, ulu and their categorical associates.

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8. For the Rotinese batu = stone and it seems to be a significant category, although in the light of Fox's published material it is difficult to determine the role it plays (1971c:252, 1975:112). For the Toraja Tammu and van der Veen record that batu is related to 'jewel' as in such phrases as batu paré ('magic jewel of padi') 1972:85). Finally amongst the Manggarai a watu waré is an altar stone (1967:739) and batu is translated as 'descendant', 'generation' (turunan Ind.) (1967:32).

9. The Balinese are aware of the function of semen in procreation.

CHAPTER IV

THE RULES OF HOUSE CONSTRUCTION

1. Introduction

A Balinese house is quite unlike a western house in that, instead of being a single structure, it consists of a variable number of buildings enclosed by a high wall on three sides. The fourth side leads out to a back-garden (teba). There is only one entrance to the compound and this is located along the wall which borders the street outside. In addition to the family temple, which is always to be found in the north-east section, the compound invariably comprises three other buildings and these have their appropriate positions. There is a closed building on the northern side, an open balé on the eastern side and a second closed construction opposite this on the western side. Other subsidiary buildings include a kitchen and granary. There may well be extra buildings but these are optional.

Within this compound a nuclear family resides. This consists of parents, married sons and their children, unmarried daughters and, if they are still alive, the father's parents. In other words virilocal marriage is the norm. The picture is complicated because non-inheriting sons may also move out if they do not get on well with the son (usually the youngest) who does inherit. These sons can either build themselves a new compound, if there is any village land available, or they may marry uxorilocally. Finally if a set of brothers does remain, then in time the compound will contain a group of nuclear families. In this case each will have its own kitchen and sleeping quarters. The main buildings though, and also the temple, are the responsibility of the inheriting son. He also gets to use the main granary and the main kitchen.

It is now considered an essential task for the ethnographer to conduct a detailed examination of the rules of construction of the buildings inhabitated by the people which he studies. Concerning Indonesia there are already a number of excellent descriptions (see Cunningham 1964; Schulte Nordholt 1971:428-432;

Barnes 1974:65-77) which relate the rules to the general symbolic order. Investigation of the Balinese living area leads similarly to a discovery of ideas which penetrate into virtually all aspects of their life. Although research into the way the Balinese house is contructed poses no insurmountable problems, since the rules by which they are built are known to most carpenters, of which there are always a goodly number in the village, there is no extant work which records even a few of these rules let alone provides a comprehensive list. So far as I know no one has ever researched the matter in the required depth. That the buildings within the compound are positioned according to the spatial rules as set out in the last chapter and moreover that the area of the compound can itself be sectioned in conformity with the nawa sanga (which was also described in the previous chapter) has been known for a long time and has indeed been a favourite topic in the literature. And as far as this goes there seems to be general agreement as to the location and purpose of the various constructions (cf. Covarrubias 1937:90-I; van der Kaaden 1937: Tan 1967; Geertz and Geertz 1975:49-52; Hobart 1978a:9). But such knowledge only allows a superficial grasp of the principles involved. I hope to demonstrate in this chapter that an exposition of the unexplored rules accompanied by an analysis and exegesis leads at once to the very heart of the culture. Ignorance of these rules, on the other hand, greatly vitiates any attempt at an holistic account.

The first fact to report, and one whose omission in the literature is quite remarkable, is that all buildings are considered to be 'alive'. All temples, houses, meeting places, shops, offices, factories and indeed all important constructions are 'brought to life'. It is not, however, a simple matter to describe what is entailed in 'bringing to life' a building. It is obviously of a different phenomenological order to human and animal life as the Balinese readily admit, but just what the difference amounts to is not easy to discover. The Balinese themselves cannot say what it means; their explanation takes the form of a description of the procedures whereby actual buildings

are in fact animated and this will have to be the strategy adopted here. The word used in these contexts is urip (the high Balinese form of idup) and translates English 'life'. To 'bring to life' a building is nguripang wawangunan, so at least at this conceptual level the life (idup/urip) of people and animals is related to that of constructions. The rest of this chapter may be considered as an endeavour to describe the various distinct ways a building is 'brought to life'. In order to do this effectively it will facilitate presentation if the building rules are grouped into four categories. Although this places an analytical distinction on the data that is, strictly speaking, foreign to it, it does enable me to show that each category of rules brings the building to life in its own special way. The four categories are as follows: a)(i) the buildings within the compound are set out in accordance with a cosmological scheme, the nawa sanga, (ii) the house, as a unit, is constituted of parts each of which is analogically related to a part of the human body; b) the limbs of the body of the owner are used to derive the standard measurements employed in determining the dimensions of the parts of the buildings; c) when the size of any particular part has been so determined a small additional amount, known as the jiwa ukuran ('the soul of the measure'), is tacked on to the end; d) a series of ceremonies designed to clean, sanctify and animate the constructions is performed at various points throughout the building process.[1]

2. The Compound

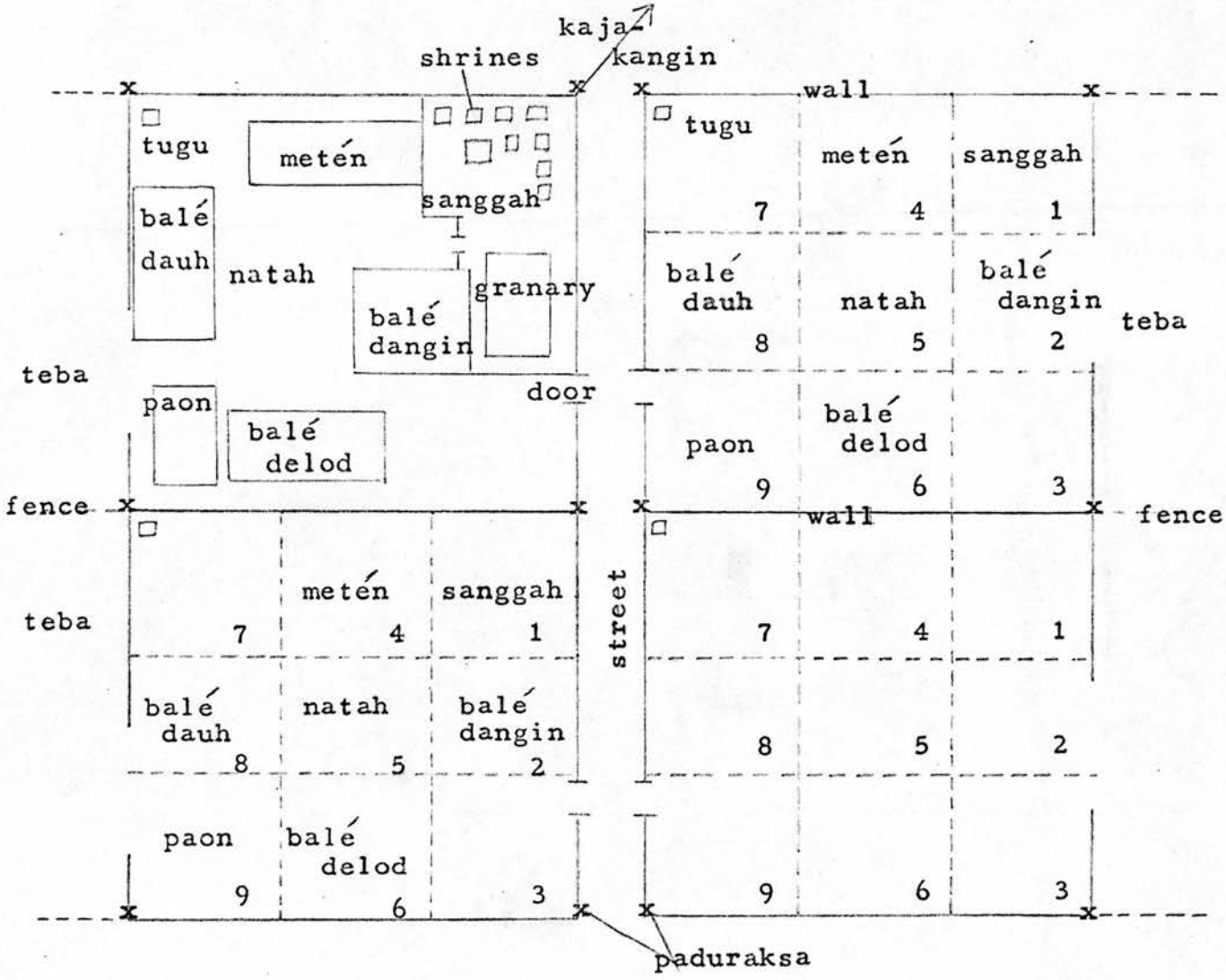
The Balinese compound (pakarangan) as I have already mentioned, consists of a variable number of buildings enclosed by walls on three sides. These buildings are located as in figure 1 below.

As can be seen from the figure the lay-out of the compound's constituent buildings remains the same whether the compound is on the eastern or western side of the street, The correspondence

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1. In this chapter I shall deal only with compounds and not with temples or other types of buildings. The rules are the same in essence even if their specific applications may vary from one kind of construction to another.

Fig. 1 A block of four Balinese compounds straddling a street and indicating the location of the buildings within the living area. The continuous lines represent the solid walls whilst the broken lines represent the internal sections (which of course have no tangible reality).



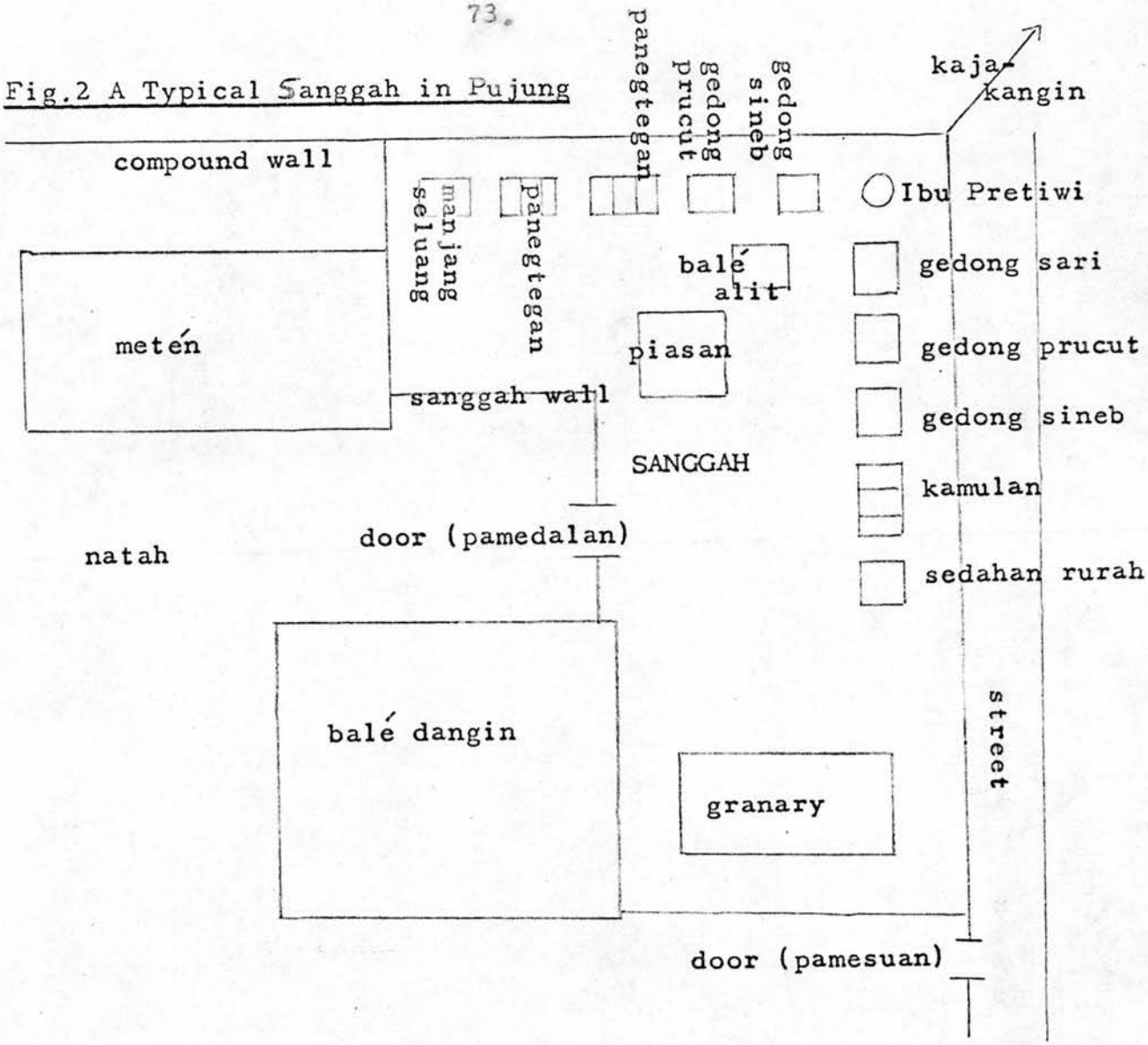
between the location of the various constructions and the nine-point system of the nawa-sanga is not perfect. The sanggah occupies much of section 2 though all the shrines are in section 1, and the balé dangin straddles sections 2 and 5. However, in general, the congruence between the buildings and the appropriate sections is very good. In Pujung there are 93 compounds and every single one conforms to the plan of fig.1.

Before describing the various buildings and their uses, I should perhaps point out that the kitchen (paon) may just as well be erected in section 6, and in fact may on occasion be put up in section 7, although in that case it is usually a second, and additional, kitchen. The balé delod ('the balé in the south') is not a required building and is absent in some compounds. The granary (glebeg) is something of an exception to traditional rules and common practice. In the Astha Kosala Kosali Gumi (the palm-leaf manuscript which lists many of the rules) the granary should be positioned in sections 8 or 9 adjacent to, and facing, the kitchen. Hobart (1978a) has it located in section 3 (for the village of Tengahpadang which is quite near Pujung) which, along with section 7, may be used for a variety of different purposes as these two areas are considered ritually neutral, partaking as they do of both auspicious (kaja or kangin) and inauspicious (kelod or kauh) directions simultaneously. In Pujung however I invariably found the main granary within the confines of the family temple (sanggah) as shown in fig.1. I tend to think that this positioning reflects the tremendous emphasis placed on the rice cult in this area. If the granary is in the sanggah it means that one cannot use it without first taking a bath and dressing properly (as one would have to do to enter any temple). The result is that it is given a religious significance not normally found elsewhere.

a. The sanggah

The sanggah is the family temple and it is situated in the most sacred space in the compound (section 1, in the direction kaja-kangin) being nearest to both the mountains and the eastern horizon. The floor of this part is higher than that of the general living quarters and it is walled off from the rest of the compound; entrance is via a narrow opening situated between the metén and the balé dangin. The temple is filled with a number of shrines (see fig.2 and plates 7,8.and 9). The more important the shrine the more kaja-kangin it is placed. The most significant ones are dedicated to the family's ancestors (kamulan); to Mother Earth (Ibu Pretiwi); to the great mountain,

Fig.2 A Typical Sanggah in Pujung



Gunung Agung (gedong sari); to Sedahan Rurah (who protects the sanggah and acts as a sort of secretary to the gods); to the holy men from Majapahit (manjangan seluang): to the gods Sri (of food) Rambut Sedana (of wealth) and Saraswati (of knowledge) in the shrine called panegtegan.[2] The family temples rarely have a shrine (padmasana) to the sun god (Surya)

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2. This shrine also has something to do with marriage since if a non-inheriting son marries and remains in his father's compound it is likely that a second panegtegan will be built. Tegteg means 'stable', 'permanent', 'fixed' and it might refer to the hoped-for permanence of the couple's supply of food and wealth, a recurrent theme in Balinese culture.

but if there does happen to be one (and the vast majority of public temples should have one) it must be located in the north-east corner (kaja-kangin, in south Bali) to match its religious pre-eminence. In that case the Ibu Pretiwi, which normally takes this position is built to the left (in this case the west). The padmasana, dedicated to the sun conceived as male, is always taller than the Ibu and so the relation betwen these two shrines demonstrates at one go the three asymmetrical, complementary oppositions, male/female :: right/left :: above/below. As the study progresses these three conceptual distinctions will receive repeated attention.

b. The metén

The word metén (see plate 8) is derived from the root metu which means 'to come out', 'to be born'. The building is rectangular in shape with four solid walls, no windows and only one door in the middle of the wall facing out onto the natah. It is the traditional place for giving birth and in respect of that it may sometimes be called the paibon (pa-ibu-an = 'place of the mother'). It is also the usual room for periods of restriction (kekeb) before certain life-crisis rites such as first menstruation and tooth-filing. It seems evident that the metén is a symbolic womb.

The building is used on an everyday basis as a sleeping place for the old couple or for their heir (sentana) if they have already begun to pass on their duties. I was further told that this room is the calling place for the spirits known as hyang ibu but these are rather obscure and I do not know anything else about them. Finally it is the repository for all valuables such as gold ornaments, brand new clothes (the only type which may be used in ceremonies), silver dishes, the family kris (short dagger), and so forth.[3]

c. Balé dangin

Balé is a pan-Indonesian word which refers to an open, wooden

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3. Covarrubias reports that the family's capital is often buried in the earthern floor under the bed (1937:93).

construction raised off the ground and used for a multitude of tasks. The balé dangin (see plate 9) in a Balinese compound is an elaborate structure erected on the eastern (dangin) side of the enclosure. It has a raised stereobate and a roof supported by a variable number of posts (adegan). It is open on only three sides since the eastern side shares a wall with the sanggah. It is the site of all life-crisis rites from the age of three months (Balinese months of 35 days) to death.

Hobart (1978a:14) mentions that the balé dangin is associated with 'life', as might be expected from its eastern location. He notes how old people are often bedded there to prolong their life. This is also done in Pujung and it is my impression that the balé dangin should always be occupied at night if possible.

The partly purified ancestral spirits called hyang guru (I think these include the hyang ibu, the difference in name simply indicating the different location ~~to~~ which they visit) descend onto an offerings' platform erected high up on the north-eastern post and also onto platforms in the eaves of the roof. Once these spirits have been completely purified they descend to the kamulan shrine in the sanggah.

Hobart (1978a:14) also reports that in Tengahpadang the stereobate of the metén is higher than that of the balé dangin due to its greater hallowness. I did not find this to be so in Pujung where there seemed to be genuine disagreement as to which should be the highest. There were good arguments on both sides and physical inspection of a number of buildings only revealed that they were very often of nearly the same height. However there was no disagreement about the fact that the stereobates of the metén and the balé dangin should always be higher than those of all the other buildings in the compound such as the balé dauh and the kitchen.

d. Natah

This is simply a fairly large open space and is the centre reference point. Ritually speaking it is of little importance. The fact that nothing happens there seems to highlight its emptiness. It appears to serve as an orientational marker so

that areas to the north and east are separated from those to the south and west.

e. Balé dauh

This is the balé situated on the west (dauh) side of the compound and is used by non-inheriting sons or daughters, or visitors. Ritually it is insignificant in Pujung. Elsewhere the corpse is laid in the balé dauh after it has been washed ceremonially on the natah. In Pujung, however, a dead body is relaid on the balé dangin (in which place a person should ideally die) which in some ways seems even more logical. After the washing (mandusin) with various types of holy waters it is considered that some of the death pollution (sebel)has already been removed and so to move it further west (i.e. in a direction of greater impurity) is thought to be incongruous. Since the body is in a purer state than when first it died it can sustain a move back to the east. Again it seems as though the rules implementing Balinese categories may be validly interpreted in more than one way.

f. Paon

The word paon (kitchen) is etymologically derived from the root aon which denotes the ashes from the hearth fire. According to Hobart, in the same article, (1978a:17) the hearth is the site of the three-day ceremony called ngalepas aon ('to remove the ashes') held for the new born child.[4] A child on birth suffers severe pollution (kumel) which takes 105 days and a series of rituals to expunge. Because of this pollution the child cannot be taken to religiously important places such as the village and family temples (for 105 days) and the balé dangin and the metén (for 3 days). The site of the inital ceremonies then is selected in accordance with the attendant pollution and therefore the location should be kelod (i.e. towards the sea, the direction to which pollution is removed by flowing water) as it is in Tengahpadang, the hearth being located in the south-west corner

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4. I think that the naming of this ceremony is based on a pun (bladbadan) on the words aon and kaon the latter meaning 'evil', 'filth'.

(kelod-kauh). However this is not the case in Pujung where the child undergoes ngalepas aon in its mother's room (though not in the metén; usually the balé dauh) but with its head in the south and its feet in the north. Once this ceremony is completed the child is turned around and can, for the first time, be oriented in the normal way with the head to north or east and the feet to south or west. Thus the categories of Balinese thought have been properly implemented though the manner of application is quite different. In my opinion it is considerations such as these which will always militate against any sort of behaviourist or transactional approach in anthropology. It is quite clear in the cases of dispute and difference that I have documented above that it is the category which is logically prior whilst the rules which implement them and the behaviour patterns which they subsequently produce are derivative.

g. Teba

The teba is the area at the back of the compound which is used for the growing of a large variety of useful trees (banana, coffee, bamboo, other fruit trees). It is also the usual location for the pig sty and the traditional place for defecation if the river is not used.

h. Tugu

The tugu is a shrine dedicated to a rather vague spirit which is neither benevolent (its shrine is not in the sanggah) nor malevolent (unless it is grossly neglected). The spirit has no name and is called by the epithet ané nuénang karang ('who owns the compound'). It is then simply a guardian spirit for the compound. Similar shrines are also found at various places in the village such as the crossroads and village boundaries which are generally thought to be magically dangerous.

i. The glebeg

I have already discussed the positioning of this building. It is used to store the family's rice. Its door must always be on the west or south side so that the direction of removal of padi from the inside is always from north or east to south or west.

It can be seen that the buildings are laid out with reference to a nine-point system (nawa sangga) and in that sense I suppose one could argue that the compound is a representation of the cosmos. However I have never heard a Balinese speak of it in this way and I rather think it is merely an example of conformity to the spatial necessities of life in Bali and that their thought goes no further than that. It is of course an idea potentially available to them should they require it.

The sanggah is said to be the head, the living quarters the body, and the teba the legs and anus of the house. Thus one prays in the sanggah, lives in the buildings around the natah and throws rubbish into the teba.[5] It is also said that the roofs (raab) represent the heavens (sorga), because this is the part visited by the gods, that the space between the roof and the floor is for the use of people and represents the world of mortals (mercapada), and that finally the floors symbolise hell (neraka) and are inhabited by the buta-kala spirits. In the sense that the compound is considered to be an analogue of a human being and of the cosmos it can then, to some extent, be said to be alive. However I do not attach too much significance to this aspect of house construction as the Balinese do not explicity state that such positioning directly confers life on the buildings.

The information that I have so far supplied is little more than has generally been available in the literature, it amounts to nothing more than conformity to spatial considerations. I now want to move on to more important aspects concerning house construction.

3. Rules of construction

In this section I shall describe in detail some of the specific rules which have to be complied with when building a compound. First of all I should stress that by no means all buildings today

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5. Covarrubias supplies a more elaborate analogy (1937:88)

are constructed according to these rules. It is only the traditionally important ones - temples, meeting houses and the metén, balé dangin and granary of a compound - that must be built with reference to the rules. This does not mean, however that modern buildings are not 'brought to life'. As I said at the outset a building may be animated in different ways. Traditional buildings are constructed in conformity to all the rules whereas shops and offices and other ritually unimportant buildings are erected without reference to these and merely have to undergo the final rite of malaspasin. For such buildings this is considered sufficient to safeguard the occupiers from inhabitting what would otherwise be a 'dead' (mati) construction.

Once the area on which the compound is going to be built has been chosen the first rule that comes into effect concerns the lengths of the enclosing walls. The unit of measurement for these is the depa which is the distance between the finger tips of the two hands when the arms are fully outstretched to the sides of the body. The rule states that the length of the two adjacent sides must add up to an odd number and that the difference be only one unit.Once the ground has been thus marked out two ceremonies are performed within the compound area. One of these is at the northern side, facing north and called suci daksina peras ajuman panyeneng. This name is merely a list of five different types of offering which are generally dedicated to the gods. Suci means 'holy', daksina acts as a 'seat' for the gods, peras is short for perasida and if this offering is not included it is said 'tan perasida'('will not succeed'), ajuman is from the root ajum meaning 'praise', panyeneng is from the root jeneng[6] ('life'). It is perfectly evident from this that the ritual has the purpose of supplicating the gods, and indeed this was also the native exegesis. The second ceremony, performed at the southern edge of the compound and facing south is a caru, and like all caru ceremonies this

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6. Jeneng is just another form for idup and urip and so far as I know does not denote a different idea (cf.Warna 1979:249)

one is supposed to placate the buta-kala spirits and purify the locale.[7] Thus of these two ceremonies one brings in the gods whilst the other expels the malevolent spirits.

If there has been a mistake in measuring the walls such that their lengths add up to an even number or that the difference between them is an even number then the compound is said to be embet ('closed up', 'blocked'), mati (dead) and 'not to have doors' (tusing ada pamesuan). It is also said to be like a body without a soul (awak ané sing majiwa). Conversley a properly measured compound is said to be 'alive' (idup). A compound which is embet, which 'has no doors', cannot be brought to life because, conceptually speaking, the gods cannot enter and the buta-kala cannot be expelled. Such a compound cannot support life within it since it is, itself, dead. It is therefore worth noting that in previous times, just before a cremation, the corpse was not allowed to be taken out through the doors but instead had to be carried over the wall or through a hole smashed in the wall (Covarrubias 1937:373:378). Friederich (1959:86) also records that a bridge is built on each side of the wall for the conveyance of the body. Even today, amongst high-caste circles, the body is often taken over the walls via a bridge which leads up to its resting place high in the wadah, the pagoda-like tower which is used to transport the body to the burning ground. This seems entirely reasonable since a death in the compound entails that something may have gone wrong during its construction resulting in the ideological consideration that 'there are no doors'.

Embellishments called paduraksa are generally built at the corners of the walls for house compounds and they are obligatory for temple walls. Padu means 'corner', 'meeting point' and raksa means 'guardian', 'keeper' (Warna 1978:405,466). Paduraksa was translated into Indonesian for me as penguat which means 'impellant'. When I inquired as to what the paduraksa guarded

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7. Such caru rites always precede a conversion of forest (alas) or shrub land (bet), both of which are thought to be inhabitated by buta-kala spirits, into living space (karang désa) or rice land (uma).

against I was told that they prevent bad feelings from getting in or out of the compound. It is Balinese custom to make every effort to keep quarrels within the compound if the parties to the dispute live in the same house and to stop them spreading to the disputants' compounds should they live in different houses. Therefore the paduraksa impede bad feelings from leaving the house if they originate from within and prevent them from entering should they arise without.[8] It must also be noted in this context that during temple ceremonies small stands (sanggah cerukcuk) with offerings are placed just inside the walls at all the corners with the explicit purpose of warding off the buta-kala.

What this seems to suggest is that mystical influence enters the compound at the corners (bucu-bucu). I am not referring to physical openings here but to the fact that a being which has 'life' must have a specific structure. From the evidence adduced above it would appear that the compound is a 'living' body and that what gives it life is a regular passage of divine spirit through the corners, that is to say, at the points at which the structure is articulated. So far then it may be said that the complementary oppositions odd/even (gasal/genep) and life/death (idup/mati) are intimately related, and that the odd numbers mark the presence of points of transition in and out of structured bodies. I might also add that the opposition open/closed seems significant, leaving it until later to present additional evidence.

Before I move on I would like to note in passing that the word for corner is bucu-bucu whilst that for joint (of the body for example) is buku-buku, a slight sound shift. I suggest that sound shifts of this nature often convey a similarity of meaning and furthermore that it is this which partly accounts for the remarkable prevalence of punning in Balinese culture.

According to the Astha Kosala Kosali Gumi each size of compound has a particular name and, theoretically, only certain classes of people are permitted to live in certain sizes of compound. I have reproduced this information in table 1 for

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8. In chapter 9 I will demonstrate the conceptual equivalence between disvalued emotions, such as the feelings displayed in quarrels and fights, and the buta-kala spirits.

interest's sake only. The compounds in Pujung do vary in size but not appreciably, and only a few priests have any idea of the names of them let alone that there are rules pertaining to the proper type of occupant.

Table 1. Sikut Pakarangan (Measurements of the compound walls)

Length of house walls in depa	Name of compound	Classes of people theoretically allowed to live in it
15 by 14	Gajah	Priests and brahmana caste
14 by 13	Dwaja	Dewa perhyangan
13 by 12	Singa	Satria, wesia, farmer
12 by 11	Wreksa	Prabali, prebekel, farmer
11 by 10	Lembu	Brahman, tax collector
10 by 9	Dwaja	All types of people
9 by 8	Wreksa	All people who have no fixed way of life
8 by 7	?	Désa officials
7 by 6	Kumbha	Pot-makers, merchants
6 by 5	Mapasaran	Merchants

As I said very few villagers are cognizant of the information in table 1. All that is known is that the lengths of the adjacent sides of the compound walls have to total an odd number of depa and that the difference between the lengths has to be one depa.

Once the walls have been built it is necessary to erect some temporary shrines in the space where the sanggah will eventually be placed. These should be the kamulan for the ancestors, the panegtegan and a balé piasan through which the village gods may be contacted.[9]

The first of the buildings in the living quarters to be constructed is the metén. Once this has been put up there are regulations concerning the positioning of other buildings in the compound in relation to the metén. The balé dangin should lie to the south of the metén . Its exact position on the east-west axis is not regulated except that, at least, it has to be east of the metén. The significant measurement is the distance

9. When there is a death in the village the entire population becomes polluted and it is forbidden then to use the piasan shrine as this will render the village gods unclean . Should it be necessary to use the sanggah one must use the kamulan.

of the balé from the metén on the north-south axis. The unit used to measure this is the tampak batis which is the length of the foot. Since the distance is measured along the floor only the foot, an appropriately inferior limb with respect to the rest of the body, may be employed. The distance between the two raised stereobates of the buildings determines the mystical quality of the balé dangin. This distance has to be a whole number of tampak batis. Now unlike in the West where each unit in a length is qualitatively the same as any other, in Bali this is not always the case. Each Individual unit in the total distance has its own special characteristic and the quality of the distance, and therefore of the building, is derived from the specific attribute of the last unit of the series which makes up this length. The first tampak batis measured out from the metén is called the ~~meten is called~~ balé banyu, the second sanggar waringin and the last (seventh) is gedong punggul (see fig.3). Should the owner wish to make the distance longer (as is common) the series simply repeats itself so that the eighth unit is again balé banyu. The complete classification may be found in table 2.

Fig. 3 Schematic diagram describing the manner in which the balé dangin and the balé dauh are located in the compound.

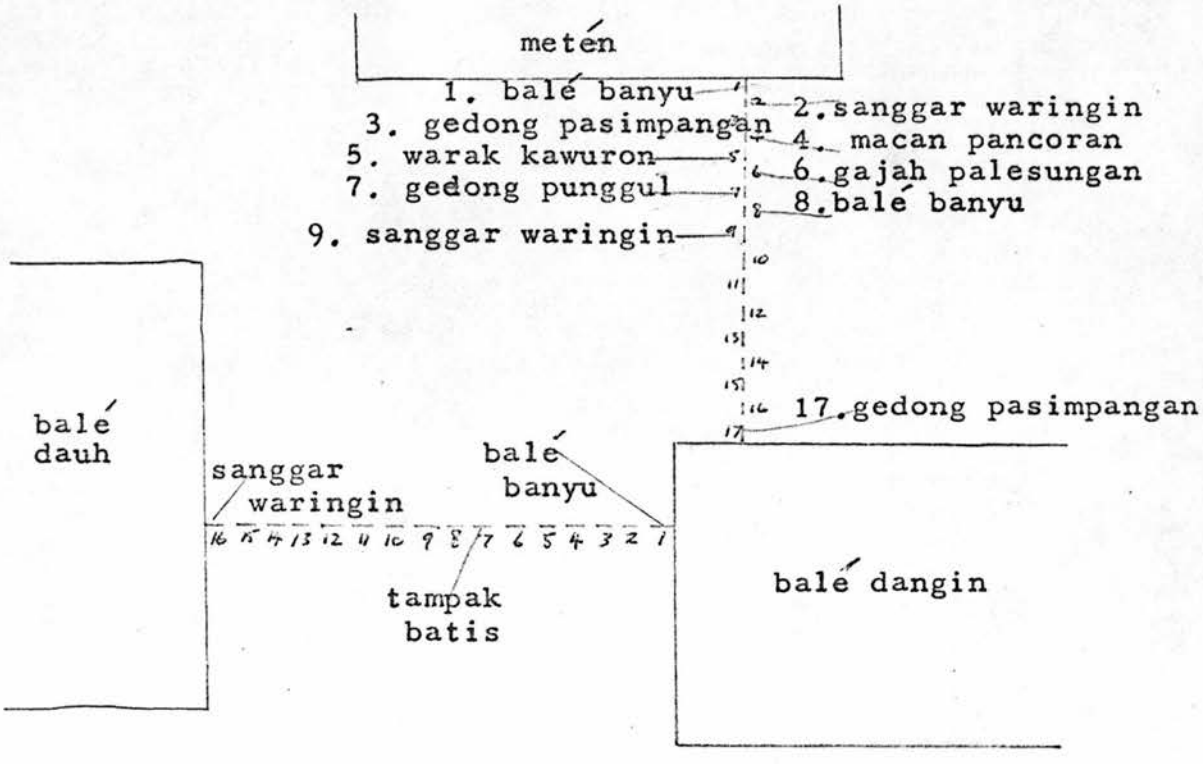


Table 2. Sikut Natar. Measurements within the compound between the buildings. All measurements are in terms of tampak batis and always between the bottoms of the stereobates of the buildings concerned.

Position in the series	Distance between the two buildings	Title of this distance and of the building	Comments
1	1,8,15,22,..	Balé banyu	'The balé of water'. If the balé dangin is placed at 1, 8 or 15 units from the metén then it will have this name and it will be susceptible to the mystical characteristic associated with this name. In this case the attribute is not auspicious and it would be a foolish man who placed his balé at any of these distances.
2	2,9,16,...	Sanggar waringin	'The temple sheltered by a waringin tree'. A distance that ends with this unit provides an auspicious lenght and therefore a safe balé. 16 units is, in fact, regularly chosen as the distance of the balé dauh from the balé dangin in which case the former becomes 'sanggar waringin'.
3	3,10,17,...	Gedong Pasimpangan	'The visitor's building'. 3 units is of course far too short a distance to be used but 17 or 24 are often chosen to place the balé dangin with respect to the metén. This unit (and therefore the total length and the balé itself) has a propitious quality.
4	4,11,18,...	Macan Pancoran	'Tiger spout'. This unit, and therefore any distance which terminates with it is dangerous and never chosen.
5	5,12,19,...	Warak Kawuron	? This unit is never selected as it would result in frequent illnesses.
6	6,13,20,...	Gajah Palesungan	? This is also never chosen as it will create quarrels between the occupants.
7	7,14,21,...	Gedong Punggul	'The broken Building'. Any length which terminates with this unit will not be chosen for obvious reasons.

The selection of the particular unit to be used, as it were, seals the fate of the building and its inhabitants but it has still to be brought to life. I said earlier that the distance had to be a whole number of units. This is not really true since once the whole length has been chosen and measured out an additionalhalf tampak batis has to be tacked on to the end. It is this additional increment which is called the jiwa ukuran ('the soul of the measure'). It may also be called the pangurip - 'life'. A measure which has been increased in this fashion is sikut and maurip 'a measure with life'. Failure to add this extra bit entails that the building is embet. According to the villagers the main measure is like the body of a person (which, since the units are taken from the human body, is exactly what it is) and that this can only come to life by the infusion of a soul, which in this case is the jiwa ukuran.

All the buildings of the compound are located in a similar fashion although the series of qualities is not always the same. One list which may be used to position such constructions as the kitchen and the granary is as in table 3 below.

Table 3 Sikut Wawangunan (Measurements for the location of buildings within the compound, in tampak batis).

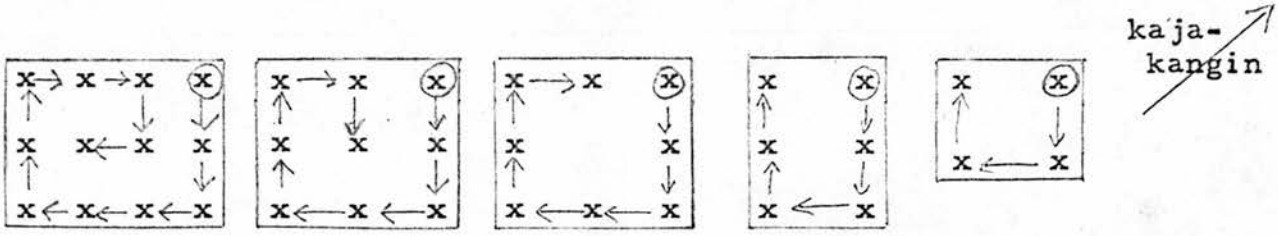
Position in the series	Distance between the buildings	Title	Building to be placed
1	1,9,17,....	Sri	Any of these distances may be used to locate the granary from the bale dangin.
2	2,10,18,...	Indra	The sanggah from metém.
3	3,11,19,...	Guru	The piasan shrine in the sanggah.
4	4,12,20,...	Yama	Aling-aling (a wall built just inside the door to prevent spirits entering.
5	5,13,21,...	Ludra	Corral for the pig.
6	6,14,22,...	Brahma	The kitchen.
7	7,15,23,...	Kala	The walls.
8	8,16,24,...	Uma	The piasan shrine

The names of these shrines are the eight gods whose names are also those of the eight-day week (asta-wara). The unit of measurement is again, the tampak batis and the jiwa ukuran must be added to bring the building to life. The measurements are

taken from the appropriate building. Thus, for example, the granary is placed, say, 9 units (1+8) east of the balé dangin and the piasan 11 (3+8) or 19 (3+8+8) units east of the metén.

Having discussed the location of the buildings in the compound it is time to turn to an examination of how the posts are measured, the decorations on them and several related matters. I shall do this with reference to the balé dangin since all balé are made in much the same way but this one is the most easily available to inspection.

So far as I know a balé can have 12,9,8,6 or 4 posts (adegan) and they are arranged in the manner indicated in fig.4 below.



Balé gedé | Balé tiang sanga[10] | Balé tiang kutus | Balé sakenem | Balé sakepat

Fig.4 Schematic diagram indicating the arrangement of posts for five different sizes of balé. The arrows show the order in which the posts are erected (the one encircled represents the first post to be erected). Gedé = big, tiang = house post; sanga = 9; kutus = 8; sakenem refers to '6' and sakepat to '4'.

Whether or not the size of the balé dangin, in terms of the number of posts, is determined by caste status I cannot really say. I will simply record that in Pujung I came across all five types even though the village population is entirely made up of sudra, the lowest of the four major divisions.

On no account must the posts be erected upside down. This means that the post must retain the orientation of the tree from which it was cut. This sort of rule is found all over Indonesia. The first adegan to be put up is the one which stands in the

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10. It is perhaps worth noting that although the usual word for house-post is adegan (adeg = stand) tiang may be used. Whether this is merely a homonym of tiang (the first person singular pronoun) I am not sure but I rather doubt it.

north-east corner. Near the top of this post is attached an offerings platform for the spirits hyang guru. Barnes (1974:75) notes how such posts are often associated with the ancestors in eastern Indonesia (cf Cunningham 1964:42). The order for the erection of the rest of the posts is determined by following the rule to 'go to the right' (ka 'ngawan) which in Bali is clockwise. If there is a centre post I was told that this is usually inserted last although it may be erected after the first one.

Because of the elaborate way the house posts are cut it is impossible to describe them with words alone; I have therefore supplied a figure (see fig. 5 below).

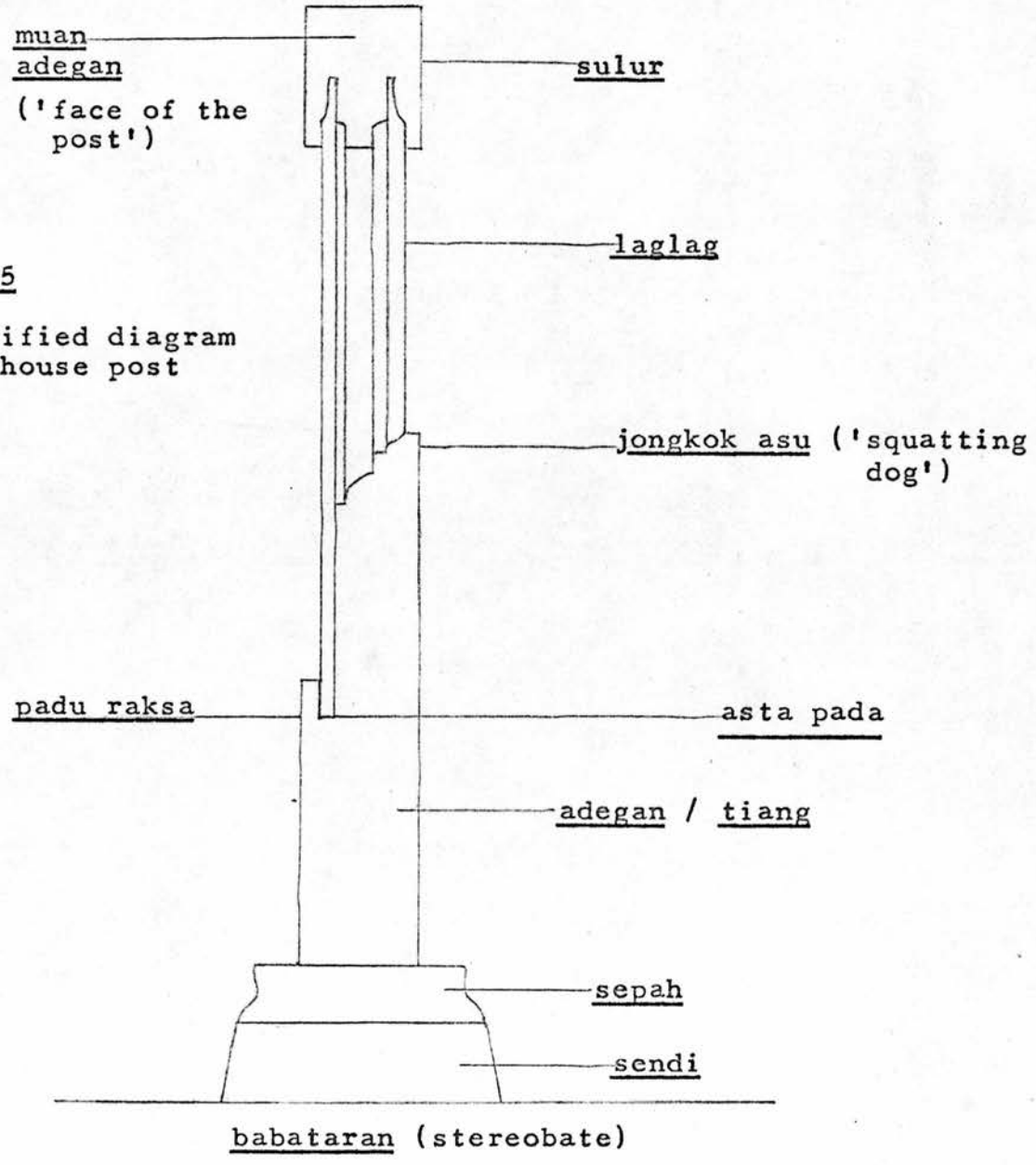


Fig. 5

Simplified diagram of a house post

The sulur ('stamen', 'shoot') is not a particularly significant part of the post. It is given that name because of the ornate floral pattern which is carved on to it. The part which goes by the name jongkok asu ('squatting dog') is thought to guard the compound. In this context it is also interesting to note that adegan are supplied with paduraksa which, as we have seen, are the 'impellants' on the corners of the compound walls.

The length of the posts is measured by the unit called rai which is the distance between the end of the life-line (between the base of the thumb and base of the index finger) and the tip of the index finger.[11] This series of measurements can be found in table 4.

Table 4. Sikut adegan (Measurements for the height of the house posts. One rai is about four inches)

Length of post in rai	Title	Comments
25 rai (brought to life by the addition of the width of the little finger - nyari kacing)	Prabhu murti jinem	Good results
22 rai (animated by addition of width of index finger -nyari tujuh	Sanghyang tri Purusa	Good results
21 rai + guli lenjong (distance between second and third joints of middle finger)	Prabhu masang lunguh	Good results
23 rai + nyari kacing	Sanghyang trigegana	Good results
21 rai + guli tujuh (distance between second and third joints of index finger)	Sanghyang rwagegana	Good results
20 rai + guli lenjong	Kesuma maha dewi	Good results
19 rai + caping ($\frac{1}{4}$ rai) + celuk (distance from base of index finger to top of same)	Sanghyang nawa gana	Good results

Although this is not a complete list it should be clear that the method involved here is not quite the same as in previous series.

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11. It is of course the right hand that has to be used, and the hand is employed because it is the only part of the body which can mediate between floor and ceiling.

In this one the variable quality is provided by the different type of pangurip. These are all taken from different parts of the hand. If the post does not have the pangurip added the balé will be embet and the hyang guru spirits will be prevented from descending to the offerings' platforms. Here again the pangurip confers 'life' on the house posts which in turn permits them to be used as points of access for the partly purified ancestors.

A rather unusual feature of the series is that no matter which height is selected the results are always favourable. According to the Balinese, since the tops of the posts are considered to be in the heavenly regions, analogically speaking, only gods can properly descend on to them, and therefore the consequences have to be auspicious.

One last point to mention about posts and other wooden parts of the buildings is that the type of wood used has to be chosen in accordance with its position in a hierarchy. At the summit of this ranking is sandal wood; some other trees in the hierarchy are nangka (jackfruit, artocarpus integra) and jati (tectona grandis). Some woods and grasses can be used anywhere and at any height, e.g. ambengan (imperata cylindrica), tiing (bamboo) nyuh (coconut), and buah (areca catechu). The ranking is said to based on the relative purity of the woods and those which are less pure cannot be used on parts of the building which are above other parts built with purer woods. How the hierarchy was originally established and what the criteria arewhich determine the relative status of the woods no one could tell me. I might say here that there is very little the Balinese do not classify in one way or another, and as often as not the basis for the scheme is extremely obscure. In many cases I have felt that it is simply the fact of classification that is important to them and the method by which this is achieved largely irrelevant.

The spars of bamboo which form the underside of the roof of a balé and to which the bunches of ambengan grass are tied are called the ribs iga-iga. The total number of these is determined by the type of building according to the following series (see table 5).

Table 5. Pawilangan iga-iga (The number of spars)

Number	Name	Comments
1,5,9,...	Sri	Any number in this series can be used for the spars of the granary
2,6,10,...	Werdhi	This is the series used for the metén, balé dangin and balé dauh
3,7,11,...	Naga	Used for the door. The snake or serpent(naga) is conceived of as a guardian all over Indonesia. It may also be used for the granary and indeed many rice sheds have a naga carved on the doors.
4,8,12,...	Hyang	Sanggah, kitchen

I will close the description of the mechanics of house building at this point although many more details could be added. The presentation of these would, however, not alter or advance our understanding of the principles involved.

4. The Ceremonies

It is a simply impossible task to record even a fraction of the details of offerings and prayers which constitute the series of rites that are necessary for a proper completion of a building. It is even difficult to decide on what constitutes an entire series of rites since their performance often depends on the religious importance of the building, the wealth of the owners and the region of Bali in which it is constructed. However I shall endeavour to provide what I think would be a complete series for a temple building in the Pujung area.

The first rite has already been described at the beginning of this chapter and it deals with the expulsion of the buta-kala and the admission of the gods.

A small ceremony carried out just before work begins is called simply banten pejati and it consists of offerings to Begawan Wiswakarma who is said to be the teacher of all carpenters and the architect of heaven. Whilst the building is in progress these offerings must always be present. The tools of the builders must be provided with a segehan offering everyday so that the kala spirits which 'reside' in them do not become restless and cause an accident.

Sometime before the actual building is started the measurements have to be obtained from the body of the owner of the building-to-be.

These measurements have to be made by someone who is well versed in the rules of the Astha Kosala Kosali Gumi and related manuscripts. It is believed that if a mistake is made in taking these measurements then the occupants of the building will suffer (illness, quarrels, sterilty, premature death etc.). Therefore offerings of bantem pejati (jati means 'sincerely', 'truly') accompany this event.

Another obligatory part of the proceedings is the choice of an auspicious day (ngalih dewasa) on which to start. In Pujung one merely goes to a local ritual expert in these matters. Elsewhere it might be necessary to take offerings to a padanda for the same information.

The next rite is the cutting down of the trees with which to make the house posts and cross beams. An auspicious day must be chosen for this as well. When a tree is cut down it is believed that its 'soul' returns to Ibu Pretiwi (the earth) and therefore the tree is dead. Later on it is vital to return the life to the wood. This belief applies to all flora which, for one reason or another, has to be detached from the earth which sustains it.

Once the construction has started nothing else is done (in Pujung at least) until the ceremony of malaspasin which is by far the longest and most important of all rites carried out for buildings. The form of this ceremony in Pujung may differ from that in other areas. Malaspasin, in fact, is composed of five separate sections each of which has its own raison d'etre. The first part is called nemakuh seluwiré. Nemakuh is from the root word bakuh and may be glossed 'firm', 'resolute', 'immovable'. Nemakuh seluwiré thus means 'to stiffen everything', to produce in the building an enduring firmness of structure. The second section is known as nemakuh seluwiring malakar tanah and concerns the bringing to life of all the materials (lakar) from the earth (tanah) which were broken or cut or hit by the tools of the builders. Moreover the materials are freed from (luputa) illnesses (lara roga) as are all the people who have been involved with the building. The third stage is called pangoles muang pangurip lan pasupatin panemakuhan. This is designed to bring to life by restoring the life-substances of the dead materials and it is accomplished in a most interesting manner. Three substances are used, chicken blood (getih) to represent the

sap (getah) of the trees, charcoal (areng) to symbolise the innermost wood (les) and lime (apuh) to represent the wood (kubal) between the les and the bark (kulit). These three substances are smeared (oles) with the three middle fingers of the right hand, with the index finger uppermost, onto the four corners of the building going in a clockwise direction (to the right, ka 'ngawan) While this is being done the priest is asking for the life to return (teka urip) to the materials and for any curses to be removed (pasupatin). The three substances may in fact be called the panguripurip. From this evidence the following may be highlighted:- a) things which have being contain life-substances but these are distinct from the soul; perhaps a better term for them might be life-sustainers.[12] I do not think it is necessary to specify what these substances are since they are represented differently in different contexts. On this occasion blood and sap are obviously involved and the similarity in their spelling and pronunciation is, I suggest, no coincidence;[13] b) There are three of these substances and they are wiped onto the corners. This, I insist, has to be taken as a case of the use of odd numbers associated with points of access (corners) enabling the life-substances to penetrate the building; c) The use of the colours red (blood), white (lime) and black (charcoal) is meant to symbolise the three major adopted Indian gods Brahma, Siwa and Wisnu (these are the Balinese spellings) which in Balinese thought are conceived as a three-in-one unity of creation, maintenance and destruction. In fact it is customary to paint the walls of one's house with these three colours.

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12. There is no doubt that these life-substances are different from the soul as far as human beings are concerned. However with plants the distinction begins to break down since although large and important trees may be said to have a soul, small insignificant ones do not and neither do grasses and bushes. These latter though are still 'alive'.

13. In Rotinese blood and sap are conceptually equivalent at a linguistic level as they are both denoted by the same word dak (Fox 1971b:240).

The fourth stage of the ceremony is entitled simply pamalaspas[14] and its function is to get rid of filth and defilement (nyapsap tai), literally 'purify faeces') which has inevitably accrued to the building during the construction process. The final stage is called pangurip muang pasupatin wawangunan the aim of which is again to restore life and destroy curses. The only difference between this section and stage three is that this final stage concerns the building as a totality rather than as a congeries of separate bits and pieces.

If malaspasin and its associated rites are not performed the building is dead (mati). Such a house is also called umah kawatangan which can be translated as 'house through which a corpse has been carried' (watang = corpse).

Malaspasin is usually followed directly by the ceremony called mapulang padagingan although this only concerns temple buildings generally. The rite consists in burying under the building the panca datu (the five metals: gold, silver, iron, copper, jewels) together with some chinese cash (kéténg, pipis bolong), herbs (basa) and a set of offerings (daksina, ajuman, panca pala, segehan, tepung tawah). All of this goes by the name pendeman (from the root pendem, to bury) The same materials excluding the offerings are inserted just under the roof of the building and in this case are called pripihan.

Some of the more important buildings of a temple have additional items included. For example a padmasana shrine (to the sun) has buried underneath it tiny golden replicas of a fish, crab, bedawang nala[15] and naga, whilst a small golden padma (lotus) is hidden at the top. There are numerous rules for this and they can be found in the lontar cakepan (palm leaf manuscripts) Dewatatwa and Widhi Sastra. Ordinary buildings do not receive this treatment, but instead miniature iron replicas of the tools, used in the construction process, are buried.

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14. The meaning of the root plaspas is somewhat obscure. It may be related to the word lepas which means 'to separate'; in Bali to purify often entails a procedure whereby the 'good' is 'separated' from the 'bad'

15. Bedawang nala is the mythical turtle which supports the world (see chapter 7).

One explanation that I was given for such action interprets them as a means by which the gods descend to the shrines, and in so far as this means that it is part of the procedure of animating the building I think it is correct. I was also told that the herbs were included because they are regularly used as medicaments by balian (curers) and therefore would help in sustaining the life of the building. One of the most opaque replies that I received was that the panca datu were 'the very best type of earth' (tanah ané paling luunga). I did not understand this at the time and it was not until I had become acquainted with a number of stories associating the earth, treasure and food that the significance of the panca datu became fully apparent. I cannot pursue these themes in this chapter suffice it to say that wealth in all its forms is conceptually related to food (note that Sri and Sedana, the gods of food and wealth respectively, are represented as either brother and sister or as husband and wife) so that the panca datu are also life-substainers.

The series of ceremonies that I have described above pertains to buildings which have been made from scratch on virgin territory. For reparations a smaller number of rites is needed. The first one, after having decided on a favourable day to initiate the required work, is called ngingsirang ('to move' in high Balinese) in which whatever spirits or gods are inhabitating the building or shrine (I should not really say inhabit since gods only descend to shrines at certain times, they are never permanently resident) are moved to a temporary resting place at the side of the working area. If this is in a temple the site is usually the pangaruman ('meeting place'). It is a small rite and once it has been completed the work can start. When the repair work has been finished malaspasin is carried out, followed immediately by malinggih, the relocation of the spirits. If the building concerned is very small or unimportant malaspasin need not be performed. Instead the smaller and less costly ngulapin may be used. There are in fact three different types of ngulapin (ulap = summon) and they will be described in chapter 13 as one of these, ngulapin anak ('to summon the soul of a person'), is of great importance in aiding us to comprehend the Balinese conception of the soul.

5. Conclusion

I have provided above what can only be described as a brief and succinct introduction to a vast topic. In this work it is not possible to do justice to the wealth of details that a full description would properly have to report. In this respect it is to be hoped that someone will attempt a translation of some of the more important *lontar* concerning building rules (see Soebadio 1975). What I have furnished though should be enough to establish the principal points pertaining to the way in which the house is 'brought to life' and the significance of the dyadic pairs odd/even and open/closed with reference to the 'life' or 'death' of the house and its points of articulation.

A mistake under any of the four categories of rules can lead to disaster for the inhabitants. For example the inability of a couple to have children is sometimes attributed to the possibility that something untoward happened during the construction of the compound or one of the buildings it occupies. Here again the 'death' (*embet*) of a compound is inextricably related to the incapacity (impotence or sterility) to produce new life. Later on I will try to demonstrate that the concept of *embet* is associated with the prevalence of certain types of emotional feelings and vices, overdue births, *buta-kala*, witches (*léyak*) and illness. Meanwhile I shall turn, in the next chapter, to describe Balinese notions of duration and we will see that ideas very similar to the ones identified with respect to house construction are also evident in the way the Balinese structure durational cycles. Just as the 'life' of a building depends on its articulated structure through the corners of which passes a spiritual force, so too duration is conceived as consisting of segments and joints.

CHAPTER V

ASPECTS OF THE BALINESE NOTIONS OF DURATION

1. Introduction

By way of introducing this chapter I should like to record a few of the words which the Balinese use and which would be rendered into English with the word 'time'. Leach has done this for the Kachin and thereby demonstrated how our verbal concept bears very little resemblance to anything the Kachin possess. A collocation of Balinese words, all of which would be translated by 'time', appears below and is based on Leach (1961:124):

A long time	makelo, lawas
A long time ago	makelo, lawas, i maluan
At the time that	di, dugas
At that time	dugas, kala
What time is it?	kali
This time tomorrow	kali
I have no time	sela ('free', 'unoccupied')
The 'rainy' time	masa ('season)
In ten days time	buin ('more')
The present time	kali, jani ('now')

As can be seen this is a fairly heterogenous group of words and no Balinese, I think, would ever aver that they denote a single, unified concept. Instead of proceeding in the same direction as Leach though I would instead prefer to see what can be made of these words. For what it is worth I will suggest that the set may be divided into two groups which refer to 'interval' and 'point' time, these corresponding to profane and sacred respectively in Hubert and Mauss' terms (1909). Those words which denote a length of time (makelo, lawas, masa)are quite different to those which designate instants of time (di,dugas, kala,kali). Although the evidence for a distinction of this

nature is rather thin it will become apparent as this chapter progresses that the contention is not wholly unreasonable. For the moment I shall merely refer to the facts that lawas also has the meaning of a section of bamboo between two adjacent nodes, and that Balinese space may be conceived of as a number of different kinds of environments the boundaries of some of which are often considered to be magically dangerous.

Pursuing this latter theme further the Balinese landscape consists of village land (tanah désa) and padi fields (uma) which have been ceremonially converted from forest (alas)and shrub land (bet). Other indigenous categories are the mountains (gunung) and the sea (pasih). Points of danger, in that they are thought to be dominated by evil spirits, are places such as the sea shore, the limits of the village, cross roads, forks and turns in a road, ravines, streams and bridges, etc. (Hooykaas 1973a:2; McPhee 1970:191). Thus the points of junction between environments which are inhabited by humans and those which are still wild are fraught with danger.[1]

In the last chapter it was found that the compound is an articulated structure through the corners of which passes a divine spiritual influence. I think it is possible to say that space, considered in this fashion, is also articulated in that it consists of large tracts of particular types of environment linked together, and it is at the points of junction that magical forces (the buta-kala) penetrate. If duration is conceived by the Balinese as consisting of 'lengths' and 'points' of time then we might well expect the latter to have properties similar to those attributed to spatial boundaries.

2. The Day

Before discussing the different ways in which the day is represented it is necessary to expose an absurdity in a recent argument of Bloch (1977:282) who thinks that anthropology is concerned with the perception of time and not with the

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1. This conceptual division into definite types of environment is by no means restricted to the Balinese. Endicott reports it for the Malays (1970) and Lind for the Javanese (1975). Covarrubias makes explicit reference to such notions in a number of places (1937 :10,25,276,339) and Belo mentions the fact that the coastline is under the influence of Jero Gedé Mecaling, a fanged giant (1960:15)

multifarious methods by which duration is divided up or metaphorically represented. Perhaps Bloch is implying that we should concern ourselves with the philosopical issue as to what is the nature of Time. Leach seems to think that this problem is, however, distinct from anthropology (1961:124), and anyway Durkheim long ago showed that it was hardly possible to think about time "... without the processes by which we divide it, measure it or express it with objective signs ..." (1915:10), a view which is also supported by Hubert and Mauss (1909). Moreover Leach says "We talk of measuring time, as if it were a concrete thing waiting to be measured; but in fact we create time by creating intervals in social life. Until we have done this there is no time to be measured" (1961:135, his italics). It seems to me that Bloch has confused the issue by fragmenting what is in fact a coherent problem. A study of the way a people perceives duration can only be accomplished by determining the ways that they reckon the passage of time, the systems by which the units are counted, how the units themselves are conceptualised, how these units are in fact created in the first place, and what images and metaphors are used. This is the approach used so profitably by Barnes in his study of Kédang (1974) and it will be the method adopted here.

The Balinese perceive the day both as a unitary whole and also as consisting of parts. They are therefore in a position to count days with reference to twenty-four hour periods or in terms of the pars pro toto method. Dina is the word which designates the period from one morning to the next and is also used as a means of pointing to a particular day as in kayang dina Sukra, 'on the day Sukra'. A dina may be divided into the following portions : wai and lemah as the hours of daylight and lemeng and peteng as the hours of darkness. Curiously of these only wai and lemeng are ever used to count intervals.[2]

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2. Some of the other meanings of these words are of interest: matan ai ('the eye of the day') is the sun: dadinan is a 'birthday'; lemah is a metaphor for the 'real, tangible world' batara ring lemah = god of the earth = raja); peteng kenehé means 'confused' (dark thoughts), peteng matané = to go beserk ('eyes are dark'), pepeteng is the poison of a spider-like insect: peteng pitu are the seven desires (for riches, fame, beauty etc.) that will cause one's thoughts 'to become dark'.

In effect the Balinese name days much as we do in the west only they do it on a much more extravagant scale. Each Balinese day forms a constituent unit in ten different and concurrently running weeks (wara) whose lengths are from one through to ten days. Thus each day has ten distinct names attached to it, one from each of the ten weeks. I shall refer to these weeks and days again in the context of the 'good and bad day' system. At the moment though I wish to recall what Geertz has to say concerning this uku calendar. According to Geertz

> Details aside, the nature of the time reckoning this sort of calendar facilitates is clearly not durational but punctual. That is, it is not used (and could only with much awkwardness and the addition of some ancillary devices be used) to measure the rate at which time passes, the amount which has passed since the occurrence of some event, or the amount which remains within which to complete some project: it is adapted to and used for distinguishing and classifying discrete, self-subsistent particles of time - "days" (1973b:393).

Geertz also says that the cycles composed by these days are uncountable and do not accumulate. I think this is true to a certain extent but that does not mean that the days (dina) are uncountable. I have already remarked that the Balinese do count dina and they are forever referring to the past and future as so many dina ago or yet to come. In fact it is this calendar which enables them to compute exactly the number of days off a particular event is. Galungan is one of the pan-Bali ceremonies which is eagerly awaited for every 210 days and people start talking and preparing for it well in advance. The question 'how many days to Galungan?' (Galungné buin kudang dina?) is received with no excitement and there ensues much mumbling (when certain of the significant days such as Buda, Kliwon, Anggara etc. are heard and which are always used as anchor points to plot long intervals of time) and use of fingers and after not too long comes the answer e.g. eighty days from the next Kliwon. Without the calendar it is difficult to see how they could possibly solve these problems. Thus although Geertz is correct when he says

that the Balinese days describe 'punctual' or 'particulate' time, he is clearly at fault in insinuating that this is the only way they can be used. The particulate nature of the days does not indicate a non-durational concept of time. It simply registers the fact that each day in a cycle (wara)has different properties to all the others in that cycle but this does not exclude their being numerable. I have already described a striking parallel to this in the way the distances between buildings in the compound are determined. In the last chapter I showed that even though each unit had its specific mystical quality the units were nonetheless countable and indeed were they not numerable this would vitiate the whole process. The elementary mistake Geertz makes is that of attributing to the class the same properties that are attributable to its members. The days of the five-day week (panca wara)are Umanis, Paing,Pon, Wagé and Kliwon. They all have different properties and qualities important in deciding on whether to proceed or not in some project, such as building a house. But they are also instances of the concept dina and as such exhibit the property of countability. Certainly the Balinese never (at least I have never heard them) count Paings or Pons (though logically there is no reason whey they should not) but then we rarely count Mondays or Tuesdays.

The day (dina)then is a clearly bounded and discrete unit which can, nevertheless, be broken down into its constituent parts which are then perceived as recurrent parts of a cycle. The cyclical character of the day though can be more easily detected with reference to a system which as far as I know has no name. It is the sort of classification prevalent in many technologically underdeveloped societies whereby the day is subdivided into a number of intervals the limits of which are fixed in a particular, invariant sequence and which occur every day without fail. The periods are as follows:

Table 6. The sub-divisions of the day

Galang kangin:	dawn('first light on the eastern horizon')
Tuun siap :	'chickens descend from their tree perches'
Endag surya :	sunrise
Singit kangin :	the early morning ('the sun is rising in eastern sky')
Tajeg surya :	midday ('the sun is vertical')
Tengai :	midday ('middle of the day')
Kali tepet :	midday ('the time is exact')
Singit kauh :	just after midday ('the sun is descending into the west')
Lingsir/sanja :	afternoon (lingsir = 'old people')
Selid :	late afternoon (also means 'early')
Engseb surya :	sunset
Sandi kala :	dusk ('the joint of time')
Sandi kaon :	dusk ('the joint of evil')
Kali sanja :	dusk ('the afternoon time')
Sirepan rare :	early evening ('the children go to sleep')
Tengah lemeng :	'middle of the night'
Das lemah :	'the ground is almost visible'

The interesting parts of this list are the periods of transition such as the early morning, when night is turning into day, midday, dusk and midnight. Of these four instants only morning is not fraught with danger, and this is presumably because a new day is starting and the fears of the night can be left behind. Now kali and kala are possibly the nearest the Balinese have to our word 'time'. However these two words (male -a and female -i suffixes are added) also connote a class of evil spirits. Thus both midday and dusk are intervals when these spirits are most active.[3] It is also worthy of note that midday and dusk are given prominence in the sequence by the very fact that they are referred to by so many different phrases. Moreover there is a whole range of proscriptions about what can and cannot be done at these times. One should not bathe or work at midday

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3. J.Hooykaas (1961b:27) remarks that the god Kala is the personification of the sun at noontide.

and children of a tender age should not be permitted to sleep through dusk, and children of all ages should be off the streets before it is dark. Midnight is particularly dangerous because of the increased activity of the léyak, the most feared of Balinese creatures, and it is considered quite stupid to leave the compound by oneself at this time of night.

Now the point sandi kala can literally be translated as 'the joint of time' (sandi suara = 'fusion of voices'= choir) and of course it refers to the transition from day to night. The implication it seems to me is that in this context duration is conceived as segmented and the joints are the short intervals when forces of one kind or another can enter into the flow of time (and in Balinese one can actually say that time flows, kala membah, on analogy with water flowing yéh membah).[4] The reason why these are always malevolent forces is probably due to the fact that time (kala) is itself seen as a wholly negative conception, but evidence for this will have to be adduced later. One point that might be recorded here though is that the kala spirits, as their name implies, are those that temporarily possess people making them angry or jealous. So that here again kala seems to refer to a short period of time. To be possessed by a kala (or indeed by a buta) is thought of as something transient, a deviant sort of condition which will not last long.

Before I leave this aspect of Balinese notions of time it ought to be stressed that there is nothing about duration as a physical phenomenon which forces us to think of it as articulated, as consisting of joints and segments. This is a purely cultural creation and it is therefore contingent. It so happens that this conceptual opposition is fundamental to Balinese culture (as it is to other Indonesian cultues cf. Barnes 1974) and finds expression in the most divers array of beliefs and institutions. As such we may say that their culture is founded on a convention, a concept which has at once been thought out and lived by. It

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4. I will ask the reader to recall the meanings of the word lawas given earlier in the chapter.

is quite arbitary, has nothing to do with 'reality' - but for all that it is really there. It is not a construct of my imagination but rather a creation of theirs, and truth and falsity are not legitimately applicable.

From what I have already said it is evident that the Balinese represent the day as a series of events which happen at roughly the same time every day and occur in a fixed order. Such a gloss is almost word for word the definition given in most dictionaries for the word 'cycle' and it would seem perverse in the extreme to deny the usefulness (as does Leach 1961b:126) of this concept.[5] Cyclicity seems to be inherent in the system I have just described. But such cyclicity does not entail non-durational time as is asserted by Geertz (1973b), Bloch (1977) and Bourdillon (1978) since the stages succeed one another in a fixed, invariant linear order and telling time, which implies the recognition that time passes, is achieved hy reference to the relative place of a particular stage within the series. Because each cycle is like every other one, within limits, they can, and indeed are, when there is some reason to do so, added up. The accumulation of these cycles is however usually of far less interest than the co-ordination of events within the cycle

The series of stages into which the day is divided that I have just described is not the only system available although it is the most frequently used for everyday purposes. When, however, it is necessary to determine what part of the day (here referring to the period of day-light only) is propitious for some event, such as the beginning of transplanting, then a different system is employed. The one used in Pujung is called panca dauh. The day from sunrise to sunset is divided into five (panca) equal periods (dauh) of about two and a half hours each. Each of these periods exhibits a quality which is determined for a particular day by the total obtained by adding together the two numbers which are attached to that day as a function of its position in the seven-and five-day week. These days are as follows:- seven day week: Redite (5), Soma (4), Anggara (3), Buda (7), Wrespati (8), Sukra (6), Saniscara (9); five day week Umanis (5), Paing (9) Pon (7), Wagé (4), Kliwon (8). Thus the

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5. See the discussion in Barnes (1974:140-142).

day Buda Kliwon has the number 15 (7+8) whilst Sukra Wage has 10 (6+4). The smallest number which can be obtained in this way is 7 and the largest is 18 and there are therefore twelve different numbers which any specific day can take. In the first period (dauh pisan) of the day (up to about 8.30 a.m.) the qualities attached to these numbers are as in table 7.

Table 7. Part of the panca dauh system

7	Pati	13	Sunia
8	Sunia	14	Ketara
9	Ketara	15	Sunia
10	Kerta	16	Pati
11	Peta	17	Kerta
12	Kerta	18	Sunia

As can be seen there are five different characteristics, pati, sunia, ketara, kerta, peta.[6] If the day is 7 then during dauh pisan pati is the dominant influence and it is unwise to start out on important journeys. If the day is 8 then sunia takes over and it is not a good idea to go searching for friends since you are unlikely to find them. Should the number of the day be 9 then ketara is in the ascendancy and one should refrain from hiding things. When the day is 10 kerta is the dominant quality and it is a propitious period to begin all kinds of work. Finally when the day is 11 it is peta and one ought to be aware of joining in conversations as one is likely to be the victim of evil words.

The full name for this system is panca dauh manut urip saptawara muang pancawara ('panca dauh according to the number of the seven-and five-day weeks'). The interesting point to note in the name is the use of the word urip to refer to the number of the day. Urip usually means 'life'. One might well wonder if duration is conceived of as a being with similar properties to other beings which have 'life', such as the house. I have already tried to show that duration is characterised by an articulated structure, a property which seems to be a prerequisite for all objects which are 'alive' (idup, urip).

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6. Pati is untranslatable since it has a vast range of referents; sunia means 'quiet' in the sense of 'not busy'; ketara means 'visible'; kerta means 'peaceful', 'safe'; peta means 'talk'.

After all there is no need to use the word urip to designate these numbers since the language has perfectly adequate alternatives (wilangan, angka).

3. The Month

In this section I propose to discuss the month which in Bali, as elsewhere in Indonesia, is called bulan. However this word also describes another 'month' which is formed by the conjunction of the seven-and five-day weeks and therefore consists of thirty-five days. This 'month' has absolutely nothing to do with the moon or any other heavenly body. The month associated with the moon contains 29 or 30 solar days but there are always 30 lunar days so that adjustment has to occur every 63 days when two lunar days fall on one solar day (cf.Goris 1960c:115).

The waxing moon (tanggal) and the waning moon (panglong)each consist of 15 lunar days. The structure is cyclical with the full moon (purnama)associated with the head of a person and coming in the middle of the cycle and the new moon (tilem) associated with the feet and marking the end of the cycle (Weck 1976:127).[7] Each of the 30 days is given a number; in fact there are two series each of 15 days for the two phases. The first day after the new moon is the first day of the cycle and is called tanggal apisan ('the first day of the waxing moon'). The days of this phase are then numbered from one to 15 so that the full moon always falls on day 15. The following day, the first of the waning phase, is panglong apisan. The days of this phase are also numbered from one to 15 so that tilem falls on the last day of the cycle, panglong 15.[8]

One of the many ways in which this numeracy is employed is in ascertaining whether or not it will be auspicious to travel in a certain direction on a particular day.[9] This, of course,

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7.This opposition between new and full moon is highlighted in the fact that a Galungan which falls during the waxing moon is called nadi ('to become') or nyit ('alight') whereas a Galungan which falls in the waning moon is called mati ('dead') or raksasa ('evil giant') (Goris 1960c:125).

8. As can be seen this 'month' pays lip service only to the actual movements of the moon and purnama and tilem may not even occur on the days when the moon is full or new.

9. See Geertz (1960:31) for the Javanese version of a similar system.

only refers to important journeys such as a visit to a medium who lives in another village and not to movements within the village The table of directions can be found in table 8.

Table 8. The 'days' of the month and their associated directions

Tanggal	Sri Gati	Kala Mertya	Panglong	Sri Gati	Kala Mertya
1	W	SE	1	E	NW
2	NW	E	2	SE	NW
3	N	S	3	SKY	EARTH
4	NE	NE	4	SW	SW
5	S	N	5	EARTH	S
6	E	NW	6	W	SE
7	SE	W	7	NW	E
8	SKY	SKY	8	N	SKY
9	EARTH	EARTH	9	NE	NE
10	SKY	S	10	SKY	N
11	W	SE	11	E	NW
12	NW	E	12	SE	W
13	N	SKY	13	S	EARTH
14	NE	NE	14	SW	SW
15	-	-	15	EARTH	S

W = west(kauh), E = east (kangin), N = north (kaja), S = south (kelod). Sri Gati represents the goddess of rice and is unreservedly auspicious; Kala Mertya is the complementary opposite (pests, plagues etc.) (cf. Lind 1975).

The table reads simply : on the first day of the waxing moon (tanggal 1) it is propitious to travel in a general westerly direction but most inadvisable to journey in a south-easterly direction. 'Sky' pertains to such activities as climbing trees, whilst 'earth' refers to the sinking of wells or the digging of tunnels. The reason it is both auspicious and inauspicious to travel in one and the same direction on the same day is merely a mechanical result of the workings of the system.

Apart from a few discrepancies it is reasonably clear that 'good' time goes in a clockwise direction from west to northwest to north and so on, whilst 'bad' time goes in the opposite way.

For the Balinese going clockwise is travelling to the right (ka 'ngawan) and in my experience is always favourable. We have already seen that house posts must be erected according to this rule; giving, taking and eating are limited to the right hand whereas the left is used for love making and for cleaning oneself after defecation. Indeed the words for left (kébot) and for filth, faeces and evil (kebot) are virtually identical. 'White' magic is called panengen (tengen is high Balinese for 'right') whilst 'black' magic is pangiwa (kiwa = left). When rice is planted from the seedbed to the main fields each stalk must be inserted into the mud going from the left to the right and the planting must be carried out with the right hand. Finally all processions are oriented to the right and this is conceived as equivalent to ascending a mountain (menék gunung). Thus to go to the right is in many contexts conceptually associated with going upwards, and this has already been shown to be highly auspicious.[10]

The system connecting direction to time described above is not the only one which exhibits these properties. The twelve months of the year can themselves be arranged in terms of their associated colours and directions as in table 9 below.

Table 9. Months of the year and their associated colours and directions

Sasih (month)	Colour	Direction
1	white	east
2, 3, 4,	red	south
5, 6, 7,	yellow	west
8, 9, 10,	black	north
11, 12,	white	east

Here again it is evident that the succession of the months from sasih 1 through to sasih 12 is associated with movement in a clockwise direction 'to the right'. It does seem difficult to deny that something culturally significant is being stated in these classification systems. It is vital to impress on the reader that such systems are not mere fun and games, nor are they lightly neglected. On the contray they are highly relevant in numerous contexts and to ignore them would be extreme folly.

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10. The word oté in Kedangése means both 'to go to the right' and 'to go upwards' (Barnes 1974:86).

So far then it has been demonstrated that duration in Bali exhibits the features of articulation (and under certain circumstances it may be said to be 'alive' - urip), cyclicity (and circularity), orientation and repetition. The discussion of the rice cycle (that is, of the most important set of events associated with the yearly round) which follows should enable us to understand these points the better.

4. The Rice Cycle

Rice in its various forms is the single most important object in Balinese society. Much of the culture revolves around its cultivation and the attendant ceremonies. Indeed many villages are literally surrounded by padi fields. I have already recorded that nasi (boiled rice) is the word for 'food' and in its form of amerta may be said to be the quintessence of food.

There are numerous beliefs about rice which tend to mark it off from other plants and food for which there is very little ritual. The goddess of rice (and indeed of all food) is Dewi Sri and it is said that rice is her 'seat', that is, she comes down and alights on to the rice at certain times. The day Kajeng (of the three-day week) Umanis (of the five-day week) is her special day when it is thought that she descends to the rice fields, and it is therefore considered an appropriate time to perform ceremonies.

Rice should never be thrown away as this is an insult to Sri; left over rice may be given to animals. It is forbidden to take padi out of the granary, to buy it or sell it or even pound it on certain days. All of these days are periods when it is thought the gods have some other business to attend to.

Theoretically mantra should be said when padi is tied into bundles, when it is untied, whenever it is removed from the granary to be dried and threshed, when it is measured, when it is pounded etc. The priest who told me this admitted, however, that few people recited the necessary prayers these days.

Apart from the beliefs I have documented above and which are encountered all over Bali, there are some local beliefs concerning the rice grown in Pujung. Pujung rice is considered to contain a greater concentration of essence (sari) than rice grown in other areas. Consequently one does not need to eat as much in order to obtain the same benefit. I had always thought

this was conceit on the part of the villagers until one day I met some people from a nearby village who spontaneously told me they enjoyed eating rice in Pujung because of its superior content (gisi) When I asked them what they thought caused the rice to have this quality I was told it was due to the care and attention that the villagers pay to properly fulfilling all their obligations in respect of Dewi Sri. That is to say, they are punctilious in carrying out all the necessary rites for rice. My friends confided in me that people in other villages do not do this to the same extent and therefore, although they might own more rice land, their harvests are not as good and what they do get does not last as long. For the villagers of Pujung it is clear that their rice crop, though smaller in bulk to that of other villages, goes much further. Certainly the number of ceremonies which compose the agricultural cycle are more numerous than in surrounding villages, and I was told that the traditional adat practices concerning rice are very much intact save for an adjustment of the timing of the ceremonies necessitated by the introduction of faster growing strains. It is to this problem that I now turn.

a. The old cycle

The strain of rice which is now grown in Pujung is called padi cicih or padi Bali to distinguish it from recently introduced strains from Java which are generally despised in Pujung for their lack of taste. However padi cicih is itself a fairly new strain and was apparently brought in by the government some twenty-five years ago to replace the previous strain known as padi del. From what I was told by people who still remember there was a great deal of resistance to the substitution. The same kind of resistance is occurring now over the new Javanese strains although it is true to say that pests seem to cause far more damage to these than to the padi cicih, so there are good grounds for rejecting it. They are also thought to yield a smaller harvest per unit area.

The rationale for change is the hope that more rice can be produced. Padi del was planted only once a year (del means to grow slowly and is used with reference to a family whose children are widely spaced out in age) while two crops each twelve months can be achieved with padi cicih (cicih means to

grow quickly and I was told that it could be used to describe children of one family close together in age i.e. produced rapidly). The new Javanese strains, which are much shorter in height, come to fruition three times in thirteen months.

In the days when padi del was grown it seems that one crop a year was not sufficient to enable the villagers to eat only rice; most people had to mix it with sweet potato which today is a stigma of poverty. Nowadays, with two crops, those same people generally no longer need to do this. Nevertheless padi del is remembered with great affection and many people seem still to have some at the bottom of their granaries. I am assured on good authority that this must be rock hard by now. The old cycle began in the first month of the year (sasih kasa) with the rising of the Pleiades (bintang Kartika) early in the morning. There seemed to be some confusion over this as I received a variety of answers from old farmers ranging from sasih kasa (July) to sasih kapat (October). However all the priests associated with the subak gave me sasih kasa and this was the most popular reply in general. This is important since Geertz reports that subak nearer the mountain initiate the new cycle in December (sasih kenem) (1972L32). Boon (1977:107), who depends for his information on Geertz, implies that December is one of the drier months whilst April is one of the wetter. This is, of course, the reverse of what is actually the case.

Geertz was writing for the Klungkung area (for the period 1957-8) whereas Pujung is in Gianyar. However the rising of the Pleiades in July (in fact it begins to rise in June) is usually the signal to start a new cycle in many parts of the archipelago (Andree 1893, Freeman 1970:171, Jensen 1974:156, Barnes 1974:117) and it would be strange if Klungkung was an exception to this rule. Nevertheless there are exceptions in other areas of Bali (Liefrinck 1969:63) and we must therefore accept Geertz' findings.

In early June the Pleiades begins to appear low on the eastern horizon just before sunrise. As the days go by it rises earlier and earlier until December when it is setting as the sun is rising. It then begins to rise in the evening just as the sun is setting. At this time the sun is opposite in the sky to Pleiades which is therefore visible all night long. It then

rises earlier and sets earlier until about May when it is in conjunction with the sun and so cannot be seen at all for about twenty days. It then begins to reappear early in the morning just before sunrise.

The reason usually given for planting at this time is that the rice received temperate weather and was ready for harvesting in the dry season. In fact planting could be carried out at any time from the first rising of Pleiades to the time it reached the zenith and this may account for the variety of answers I received about timing. A more complicated system was offered to me by one priest who said it was forbidden to plant until Orion (Tenggala) had also risen and again during the priod when these two constellations straddled the zenith with Pleiades on the western side and Orion on the eastern. No one else ever asserted this and the priest could not tell me the reason for it.

The best rice from the previous year was laid out in the seed bed (pamulihan) in sasih kasa. When the padi had reached the stage called magémbal jaran (after about 30 days, thus in the second month, sasih karo) the ceremony of ngapat was held. Ngapat, however, refers to the fourth month (sasih kapat) and I had great difficulty in finding out why a rite entitled kapat was held in sasih karo. I was finally given the explanation that sasih kapat was the last month in which the ceremony could be held. If for some reason the temples could not be used then it was possible to postpone the ceremony until the next full moon came round. This could only be done twice making kapat the last available month. A similar explanation was proferred for the ceremony of ngapitu (which refers to the seven month, kapitu) usually held in sasih kapat (fourth) or kalima (fifth). That this is not an unusual method of arranging matters is shown by the fact that Grader reports a similar adjustment from the village of Madénan (1937b:91).

According to the farmers the seedlings were in the pamulihan for between 50 and 65 days depending on the weather and the selection of an auspicious day for the transplanting to the main fields. The period from the transplanting to the harvest

varied between four and five and a half months for the same reasons (and of course, due to the size and variable quality of the subak land and the fact that some of it is shaded, there is an appreciable difference in time between the ripening of the first and last padi). Thus the total time for one complete cycle was anywhere between six and eight months. The four or five months after harvest were devoted to a number of dry field crops such as tobacco, beans, garlic, onions, peanuts, tomatoes, corn etc. These were harvested about June and the new padi cycle initiated soon after.

That then is the bare outline of the old padi cycle. With the introduction of two harvests of padi cicih each year the cycle has been compressed down to six months (amost exactly: three consecutive harvests occurred on 20.5.78, 20.11.78, 24.5.79). In order not to overtax the village resources by celebrating the major ceremonies twice a year instead of only once as previously, it was decided that ngapat, ngapitu, ngadasa, ngusaba nini and nyacain were to be performed every other cycle. In the cycle which did not include one or the other of these, a minor rite, called madatengan ('already arrived'), would be celebrated instead at the appropriate stage in order to mark the fact that the major rite would normally have been performed at that time.

It is evident then that the changes wrought by the introduction of a new strain have not significantly altered the main features of the agricultural cycle. It is to this that I now want to turn in more detail.

b. The new cycle

In describing the series of ceremonies I shall not be referring to many other published works since very little exists which contains the required detail; I shall rely almost entirely on my own notes. See table 10 for a summary of the cycle.

The cycle is initiated with the rites of ngendagin and buat emping. Previously absolutely no work was allowed in the fields for the new cycle until all the rites of the old one had been completed. This is not now possible as there is no four month gap between successive cycles. Nowadays buat emping is regularly celebrated before mantenin of the preceding cycle

and work on the fields (hoeing and ploughing) have often begun. There is a saying in the village however which refers to people who begin ploughing before buat emping and which can be translated as 'practising the cows' (ngurukang sampi).

Ngendagin, as I have already explained, is held first thing in the morning. Each farmer goes to that part of his own fields which is called panuwasén (from the root duwasa/dewasa meaning 'auspicious day'). It is a small area (about three square metres) at the corner edge of his top field. It is here also that later on in the cycle the farmer will erect a small shrine (sanggah). In the panuwasén is grown the 'sacred' rice to which all the ceremonial activity is directed. Each farmer takes his hoe and hoes a specific number of times according to the 'number' of the day and in a specific direction determined by the month (sasih). Associated with this direction is a particular plant the significant feature of which is its colour. If the direction is west the plant must be yellow or be associated with yellow in some way. Thus a branch of the tree kayu mas is chosen because mas means 'gold'. This plant, which is stuck in the gound, is termed the panyegjeg. The root of this is jegjeg which means vertical, upright. The expectation is that the rice will grow straight and true. But this is not all there is to it; I was also told that the root word might just as well be jugjug which refers to measuring a depth. In this second respect the plant is associated with the hope that the roots of the rice will go deep.

In planting the branch the farmer, especially if he is a priest, might well say a short prayer. The one that I have recorded goes like this : 'Om jagat raya, teka sunia, kala-buta piak, matemahan dewa, yoni om poma, poma, poma.' This can be roughly translated as '.... come silence and peace, kala-buta are banished, they change into gods ...'

Later on in the day the rite of buat emping ('make emping') is celebrated in the village's pura puseh. There are two main sections to this rite. One of these is the making of the emping for which ketan, a glutinous rice, is used. This is dry cooked (nyanyah) with brown sugar, grated coconut and salt until a hard sticky mass is obtained. At the end of the

Table 10. Summary of the Padi Cycle

Stage	Ceremony	Timing
	Buat Emping; Ngendagin	Full moon
	Banten bulih	Variable
	Panca pala	3 days later
Magémbal jaran	Kapat	Full moon
	Nuasén	Kajeng 'Manis
	Banten Bulih	Variable
	Mubuhin I	Kajeng 'Manis
Majukut	Mubuhin 2	Kajeng 'Manis
	Mubuhin 3	Kajeng 'Manis
Napakin	Ngapitu	Full moon
Beling	Nyungsung	Kajeng 'Manis
	Mapinunasan 1&2	Variable
	Mapinunasan 3	Variable
Maluspusin	Biukukung	Kajeng 'Manis
Serab		
Maikut lasan Inyang	Ngadasa	Full moon
	Nyeetin; Banten Manyi	Variable
Ukut		
	Menékang padi	Variable
	Negtegang	Variable
	Nguasaba Nini	Full moon
	Mantenin	Kajeng 'Manis
	Nyacain	Variable

proceedings the *emping* is divided between all the members of the *subak* who then take it to the *panuwasén* and leave it there in its container, *tulung urip* ('help life'). What is behind the making of this *emping* remains obscure. No one in the village could tell me why such a mixture was made for this rite and Hobart (1978b) reports no native exegesis. There is nothing to be learnt from the word itself and the dictionaries provide no relevent information. The second main feature of *buat empingis* a subsidiary rite called *nyaksiang* ('to witness'). It is at this ceremony that all the materials which will be used in the subsequent year's rituals (not just those for rice) are 'witnessed' (endorsed) by the gods. The materials include the pig, which is a prerequisite of most temple festivals, firewood, coconuts, leaves of the coconut tree, spices, herbs, roots, vegetables, bananas and leaves of the banana tree, all types of rice, and so forth. It is thought necessary to show Déwi Sri (the goddess of food and of everything which grows in the ground) all the fruits of the earth that, in a sense, will be offered back to her. Moreover the materials are purified so that in later ceremonies it will not need to be done. Thus *buat empingnot* only starts off the rice cycle but there are grounds for thinking that it starts the year in general.

After this ritual opening of the ground and water comes the ceremony *banten bulih*. In this a number of bunches of *padi* that have been selected for their quality from the previous harvest are set down on the floor of the *natah* just in front of the *metén*. On top of the *padi* are placed the following items: three roots, *gadung* (yam), *kunyit* (tumeric) and *keladi* (taro), are put in a small tray on which is also a bowl of water which will be converted into *toya panglukatan*. Next to the water is a sprinkler made up from a shoot of the *dadap* branch (that part that would itself soon grow into a branch) and a closed, red *pucuk* flower (which overnight will open out). The harvest knife (*anggapan*)and the half-coconut shell used for laddling rice (*patan*) are also laid down by the *padi*. Once the *toya* has been made it is sprinkled over the *padi* to purify it, and

then the three roots are grated so that the bits fall on top of the rice. The grater (kikian) is banged on a large round stone to remove all the bits. Finally the essence of the mantra[11] which have been spoken is wafted towards the padi using the anggapan and the patan.

In order to explain the use of the roots I was given the following adage: kadung maklenyit nglantas dadi. Roughly translated this means 'once started it will sprout and grow'. As Hobart has already noted (1978b:65) this ritual mechanism is based on punning (gadung-kadung, kunyit-maklenyit, keladi-dadi). There is a second sentence similar to the one just given which goes like this : aluh maklenyit nglantas dadi. In this 'aluh' (easy) is substituted for 'kadung'. Those who use this formula must replace the gadung root with an egg (taluh). These puns translate the ephemerality of the words into the tangibility of physical objects enabling the Balinese to apply the verbal concepts in a more positive and forceful manner. Such devices are called bladbadan, but these are not restricted to linguistic examples only. The use of the dadap shoot (which will grow) and the pucuk flower (which will blossom) can also be included in the category of bladbadan, as can the use of the stone (batu) since batu means both 'stone' and 'grain' and so the hope that the rice grain will grow to the size of a stone is, as it were, concretised into a physical object. Not only is the ritual supposed to create the conditions for vigorous growth but it is also a time when Déwi Sri is beseeched to descend into the rice.

This is achieved with the anggapan and the patan and again with the aid of puns. I was told that anggap could mean 'already present' and that nepatin (from tepat) means 'truly' 'exactly'. The implication being that Sri was present in the rice.

Once banten bulih has been compkted the bunches of padi are taken to the rice fields and left over night to soak in the

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11. These are not really mantra, since this word is restricted to prayers in Kawi and archipelago Sanskrit. Prayers in the Balinese language are known as saa (very high Balinese) and sasonténg (high Balinese).

water. The following morning the padi is laid out in the pamulihan in the manner explained in chapter 3 i.e. with its 'head' in the east (see plate 10).

Three days later a small ceremony called panca pala is performed when early in the morning the women take an offering consisting of at least five different varieties of fruit to the rice. The idea behind this is associated with the fact that women shortly before giving birth have a craving (idam) for fruit. The Balinese feel that just after the rice has been laid out to germinate Sri gives off an unusual amount of power and she must therefore be feeling much like a pregnant woman.

When the rice has germinated and grown to a height of about five or six inches it is called bulih magémbal jaran on analogy with a horse's mane. At this stage of the cycle the ceremony of kapat should be held.

Until kapat has been performed the seedlings cannot be transplanted into the main fields. If the full festival is celebrated it is necessary to wait for the full moon. If, on the other hand, a madatengan is held any ritually auspicious day in the waxing phase of the moon is suitable. Kapat consists of three successive odalan in the temples pura puseh, pura Panti Kangin and pura Pujung Sari. Holy water, tirta pangapatan, is requested and taken to the rice fields.

Sometime before transplanting tirta panyeeban is poured into the inlet at the highest field of each farmer's holdings so that the 'heat' from the burning of the stalks after harvest will be 'cooled'.

Between buat emping and transplanting, while the seedlings are growing in the pamulihan, the farmers are in the fields almost every day. After the first hoeing to turn over the soil (numbeg) the fields are flooded (meténgin) and left to soak awhile. Then comes the first harrowing nglampit. A farmer may harrow twice or three times the final one called malasah ('to make level'). Other work involves tidying up the dykes (pundukan) by cutting away (nabasin) the grass that has grown on their sides. By the time the fields are ready, the seedlings have been in the pamulihan for about forty days.

The rite of transplanting is called nuasén and the act mamula (from pula 'plant', 'origin', 'source'). If it is at all possible nuasén should take place on the day Kajeng 'Manis as this is the day on which Déwi Sri descends to earth. If however the seedlings are already tall then transplanting should proceed without delay as they will begin to die for lack of nutrients in the soil of the seedbed. In that event a lesser ritual day may be chosen.

Even today it is forbidden for a farmer to begin transplanting his own seedlings before nuasén has been performed. This does not seem to be the case in Tengahpadang where nuasén is often celebrated after mamula (Hobart 1978b:69). The time of day for the performance of nuasén is determined with reference to the panca dauh system. If this throws up an afternoon time farmers will begin to transplant early in the day, but only rarely before this day.[12]

The rite of nuasén consists of the planting of a predetermined number of seedlings in the panuasén part of the field. The number of seedlings is the same as the urip of the day (according to the five-and seven-day weeks) chosen. These seedlings are pressed into the mud using the right hand and going from left to right. Each seedling is accompanied by an offering of cau petik and cau panak (petik means 'to pick', panak means 'child'). Once the seedlings have been planted a bunch of young plants complete with roots (so just like the transplanted padi) is also impressed into the mud. Three of these are gadung, kunyit and keladi and their meanings have already been discussed. Three more are selasih (ocimum bassilicum; slisi = to help), glagah (a weed which even in large quantities will not adversely affect the growth of the rice, and if this grows it means other weeds cannot) and plidpid (this is a plant with a strong central stem and many leaves like a palm tree; plidpid also means 'hedge' and so the padi will be 'guarded' from pests). Moreover a

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12. I did encounter people transplanting before the day of nuasén on three or four occasions. No fine is called for since it is thought the farmer will reap a poor harvest. That such action is disapproved is demonstrated by the fact that it is called ngamaling ('stealing').

panyegjeg woven from palm leaf, is planted into the mud expressing the idea that the rice will be strong, erect and deep-rooted. Finally offerings of panca pala and tulung urip are placed by the sides of the plants (see plate 11).

Just before the seedlings are planted a prayer may be said if the farmer is a priest and one that I recorded was as follows ; Om Sanghyang Naga Raja who comes out of the earth and grows quickly (mentik mumbul), who contains goodness (jelih = filled out), the padi will be long like the tail of a horse (lambih maikut jaran), come fullness (teka belbel). It is worth noting at this point that a major theme of many Balinese stories[13] is that of a large snake (naga) which lives in a cave or a hole in the ground and which emerges to bestow a gold ring or some other type of treasure upon a deserving person. The fact that a naga is also invoked in prayers and indeed is equated with growing plants (I have already reported that a carving of a naga is found on the outside of the doors to a granary and is thought to protect the padi within) will prove to be a very important piece of evidence in chapter 7 when I discuss the relationship between food, wealth and the Balinese conception of life.

Once nuasén has been completed mamula can commence. First the seedlings are uprooted and tied in bunches. The top two or three inches are cut off the seedlings. I was told this was done for the same reason that a child's hair is cut on his birthdays, namely that it removes pollution (leteh). It is also done so that the padi will stand upright in the wind.

The actual transplanting may only be performed by men since it is considered that the fields are being impregnated with the seedlings. Since this is the case it is forbidden for the planters to cut their hair for a period of 42 days after mamula. The only other occasion when this proscription comes into force is when a man finds out that his wife is pregnant. He is then obliged to go without a haircut for the duration of gestation. I was told that the prohibition was meant to remind the man of his responsibilities to his wife/rice. If he cut his hair his thoughts would wander to going out and having a good time in

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13. For example see those recorded by J.Hooykaas (1956a)

which case his duties would inevitably be neglected. Just before mamula then all the planters have a quick haircut. For the twelve days following nuasén no one is allowed to enter the fields (it is permitted to walk on the dykes though) since the newly transplanted padi is conceived to be like new born children which, of course, need a great deal of rest.

The notion that the ground is made pregnant at various points of the rice cycle has now been mentioned on more than one occasion and perhaps this is a good place to draw some of this evidence together to develop a more coherent picture. The sky and indeed the upper world in general is known by the title Aji Akasa (Father Sky) and the earth by Ibu Pretiwi (Mother Earth). Accordingly plants can only grow if the sky impregnates the earth. This can be done with rain (ujan) or light rays (a method used in a number of stories concerning the Half-One (see C. Hooykaas 1948) in which his mother conceives while bending over working in the fields with her vagina pointing to the sky). Water (yéh) and the earth are brought together 'in marriage' if the report by Naerssen is accurate (1918:34). This should not be thought too surprising if it is recalled that yéh connotes sperm as well as other fluids. Thus in one story I was told (and fully recounted in chapter 8) a girl became pregnant after having drunk the water from a coconut. I shall refrain from drawing any conclusions until more of the relevant information has been presented in later chapters. What has been given here should suffice to orient our thoughts in the right direction.

Sometime between nuasén and the first mubuhin rite there is a small ceremony called banten mulan when tasty cakes (jaja) are taken out to the fields. For this a temporary sanggah made of bamboo is inserted into the panuasén. The cakes which are Balinese delicacies, are deposited on the sanggah for Dewi Uma who is now supposed to be caring for the padi.

Fifteen days after nuasén, therefore on the next Kajeng 'Manis, the first of three rites, all called mubuhin, is held. In fact all three should ideally be (and in practice are) performed in a series the interval of which is fifteen days.

Mubuhin means 'to give rice pudding'; rice pudding is thought to be the food most suitable for very young children, for old people near death and indeed for all persons whose continuing existence is considered to be threatened. The offerings given at these three rites vary from one to the next. At the first one the offering is tipat (rice boiled in palm-leaf containers) wrapped in dadap leaves which is called bubuh tabah ('tasteless' or 'insipid' rice pudding).[14]

The second rite consists of offerings of bubuh mixed with salt (uyah), onions (bawang) and a small amount of soot from the kitchen hearth (areng). A panyegjeg is generally implanted in the panuasén for the second and third mubuhin. The third rite, which takes place 45 days after nuasén, involves the giving of bubuh mixed with salt and grated coconut (nyuh), on leaves of the coconut tree.

Even today tipat is given to very young babies; it is thought desirable to start a child with solid foods as soon as possible. When the children are a little older salt and then grated coconut and even crushed nuts are added. As far as I could tell the mother's milk is not thought sufficient, it ought to be supplemented with rice. It is evident then that the transplanted rice is treated on analogy with young babies.

It must be mentioned here that bubuh is used in this manner, namely as the most effective guarantee against the premature loss of life, because it is thought that bubuh, more than steamed rice, contains a larger concentration of amerta, the essence of life. When the padi is ripe, I was told, it is packed full with the amerta and if this is given in the form of tipat or bubuh it is almost like giving pure amerta.[15]

During the period taken up by these three rites the men can relax for awhile since weeding the fields (ngikis) is usually done by the women. Many of the young weeds and grasses which

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14. An offering of bubuh tabah is always put into large holes left in the earth after the uprooting of posts occasioned by the demolition of a building. It is to prevent Ibu Pretiwi from being 'hurt'.

15. For the Indian meanings of this word see Gonda (1973:index), Dowson (1972:12) and Bosch (1960:62-64).

thrive in the padi fields at this time can be used as vegetables (jukut) and hence the stage is generally known as majukut. This is also about the right time to drain the fields. When they are dry fresh, clean water may be allowed in.

Some three weeks later when the padi is all about the same height and a dark green in colour the stage is called napakin ('level'). It is at this point that the great festival of ngapitu is held. If the full ceremony is to be celebrated the days around the full moon must be chosen. Since I have already described the main features of this festival in chapter 1 I shall simply draw attention to two subsidiary rites which have the most significance for the rice. One of these is called nunas bubuh or nunas amerta, thus indicating the direct equivalence of bubuh and amerta. What happens is that the god of the temple is asked for the amerta and this is given in the form of bubuh (simply rice and water, no other additives). It is divided up and passed out on plates of dadap leaves to the assembled priests and their wives who, in such cases, represent the entire village. Some is eaten and some taken to the fields to give to the maturing rice in order to ensure that it will be full of amerta when it ripens.

The second ceremony is the distribution of the tulung. These are palm-leaf containers with some rice inside them which are made during ngapitu by the seka teruna and the seka daa (the young boys' and girls' associations). The tulung are made from a variety of palm leaves but it is the method of construction which is of most interest. Each leaf, of no matter what tree, has an inside or 'stomach' (basang) and an outside or 'back' (tundun). For the vast majority of offerings the two basang must be laid together. It is an explicit reference to the normal position for sexual intercourse which has the man on top and woman underneath. Each offering is, in a sense, brought to life by this means. Near the end of ngapitu these tulung ('helpers') are handed out to all those people who own padi fields. These then take them to the panuasén and push them deep into the mud; they will 'help' the rice to grow properly.

The next rite of the cycle is nyungsung which, as Hobart says, should be held when the panicle swells (1978b:68). This stage

is known as beling because the padi is 'pregnant'. In Pujung it is always held on Kajeng 'Manis thirty days after the third mubuhin, or 45 days after if something prevents it being held at the usual time. Nyungsung means 'to carry on the head' and refers to the notion that people 'carry a temple/padanda/raja on their heads', this being a metaphor for loyal support. At nyungsung the members pay their respects to Dewi Sri in the subak temples, dugul kaja and dugul kelod, and beseech her to make the padi grow well at this flowering stage. After the ceremonies in the temples offerings of panca pala, ajengan ('food') and tulung are taken to the panuasén.

Between nyungsung and biu kukung fifteen days later, mapinunasan is given three times. The first two are held on the same date in the pura puseh at two different shrines whilst the third is held in the pura Gunung Sari on a different date. Mapinunasan ('to ask') is the name of a general type of ceremony in which the gods are requested to protect something or other. In this case Dewi Sri is asked to render protection to the rice by safeguarding it from invasion by pests (merana). A number of offerings are taken to the fields, some of which are very interesting. A palm-leaf plate full of ashes (aon) from the kitchen is thrown into the water of the panuasén. The beneficial use of this is achieved by a pun since the words kaon (evil) and aon both become ngaonang (the meaning of which is 'to defeat') when made into transitive verbs. I was told then that the ashes 'defeat' the merana. Secondly, some garlic, a leaf of the jangu bush (?) and a piece of mesui (?) are chewed up and spat (masimbuh) over the sacred rice. This is a general means to ward off evil spirits and witches which are thought to be attracted by the strong smell (amis) of these things and therefore leave the prospective victim alone.[16] Thirdly there is included an offering called tipat kelanan. This is always used at caru ceremonies and is the offering that

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16. Every fifteen days on Kajeng Kliwon at the time of day sandi kala someone goes around the compound with a lighted torch and spits this mixture over parts of the buildings and the heads of the family members to protect them from the buta-kala, which are thought to be at their most active on this day and at this time.

all villages must provide for the annual nangluk merana held at the coast in Gianyar to prevent evil spirits from coming to Bali from the sea (van der Kaaden 1936). Finally a takilan is used to get rid of the evil spirits (buta-kala). The takilan consists of a small amount of nasi mixed with the yellow of an egg and wrapped up. This is tied to a tip of a dadap plant and three lidi (the central stem of the coconut leaf; lidi are used to make excellent stiff brushes) on each of which is threaded one kéténg (Chinese cash). The takilan is waved up and down (ngamputang) three times and then stuck in the ground. Instead of being waved up and down it may be waved in a circle going to the left three times if the pests have already struck the padi.

The day following mapinunasan is called nyépi (sépi = silence). It is forbidden anyone to enter the rice fields, inclusive of dykes etc., up to midday and it is hoped people will perform tapa (also called brata, abstention from work, food, drink, sleep and so on). Such periods of silence are often associated with coming into being and so it is not surprising that this silence is demanded just before the padi brings forth its fruit. Nyépi is also the name of the first day of the new Saka year when all activity (working, eating, social and sexual intercourse etc) is forbidden in the village.

One of the major rites of the cycle is celebrated after mapinunasan on the first Kajeng 'Manis after nyungsung. At this point the padi is said to have reached the stage known as maluspusin. The fruit has just appeared and when pressed the juice exudes. Biu kukung is a rite which accomplishes many things but perhaps the most important is that it safely 'delivers' the padi. Nyungsung saw the padi 'pregnant' and at biu kukung it must be brought into the world. One of the main offerings then, called linggih-linggihan or gedong-gedong, contains in miniature all the paraphernalia normally used at a real delivery, such as a bamboo knife (ngad) for cutting the cord, thread for tying it and herbs used to rub on to the child's body. Also included are some things for the mother ; ampo (an edible earth licked especially by pregnant women), rujak (a sharp-tasting

Balinese speciality which pregnant women crave) etc. As in Tengahpadang (Hobart 1978b:71) so in Pujung also, a range of tipat are taken to the panuasén along with the gedong-gedong. The tipat have a variety of purposes. Some are offerings to Déwi Sri, others for her followers, some for the buta-kala and still others for the birds and animals which are in the category merana. But even this does not complete the list. I should like to note a few of the names of these tipat to indicate the complexity and variety of thought in Balinese ritual. Tipat bekel is 'supplies', 'provisions' for the gods, tipat bagia means 'happiness' ('we are happy when the rice is in'), tipat batu (= stone, 'we hope the grains will be as heavy as stones'), tipat kukur for the wood pidgeon (kukur) so it will not eat the rice, tipat kesuna (the 'garlic' tipat) which is used to keep the léyak at bay, tipat Sri mumbul (so that the rice will grow quickly), tipat pangi (pangi is a fruit the inside of which is usually very full), tipat purnama (the full moon symbolises light and success), tipat pahan bébék (the thigh of the duck (bébék)is supposed to be the tastiest part of the fowl and it is hoped the rice will be as tasty). Along with the tipat is an offering called palem which contains a mixture of the crushed animals to be found in the padi fields (shrimp, eel, snail, crab, various fresh water fish etc). One last offering is called the pangoakan (from the root goak = crow). This offering of rice and small pieces of chicken is left in the field when the ceremony is over. Traditionally young boys of the village go round and take the food. As its name implies the offering is for the crow so that it will not eat the rice.

Biu kukung was described to me once by using the word ramped which was glossed as 'mixture' in the sense of taking a mouthful of rice, vegetables and meat at one go rather than separately. At the time of biu kukung a number of ceremonies are celebrated in very truncated form and I am afraid I did not notice they occurred at all until very late on. I should say these other rites are only alluded to by the use of certain offerings. Thus one of the offerings is a jerimpen panyambut

which is always used during life-crisis rites for children whilst they are still young. There was also a penyor (bamboo pole) of the kind used at the ceremony majang colongin for children at three months (this will be described later). In other words the rice is 'delivered' and simultaneously undergoes two other rites which are normally only performed for growing children. In other areas, I was told, majang colongin could be held at the (be)dugul temple at a different time. The conclusion which forces itself upon the data is that the cycle of rites for the rice parallels quite closely the series of life-crisis rites for human beings. That this is the correct, and indeed the only possible, way to interpret the rites without making unwarranted assumptions will receive further support in a later chapter when I discuss the structural similarity between the movements of the human soul and that of the essence of rice.[17]

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17. I disagree with Hobart's contention (1978b) that the function of the series of rites is to deflect attention away from the problems in the subak, caused by its particular structure, by investing responsibility for a successful crop in distant, divine forces. He arrives at this position largely because of his observation that the agricultural rites in Tengahpadang rarely if ever occurred at the 'proper' time. Although it is true that a rite was sometimes late or even early in Pujung in relation to the stage of growth I did find that, in general, the ceremonies often happened at or about the required time. Moreover I was told that so long as a ceremony was not way off target it did not matter and that, anyway, dates could be shifted (mageseh) if necessary. This is in fact the reason why the three mapinunasan rites are held in the interval between nyungsung and biu kukung. If the former ceremonies were held on Kajeng 'Manis, which is a ritually more auspicious time, as they are in Tengahpadang, then it is simply impossible to get biukukung to fall at the stage called maluspusin. If on the other hand these rites are compressed into the period before biu kukung, as they are in Pujung, then the latter will occur near the appropriate point. Discrepancies between the actual occurrence of a rite and its corresponding stage are difficult to estimate accurately since it may take up to two weeks for all the padi in one subak to reach a specified stage of growth. This means there is always a long interval (three weeks) within which the rite may properly be performed for it to correspond with the appropriate growth stage.

After maluspusin the padi is said to be serab which indicates the period when almost all the fruit has appeared and it is standing upright. When the stalks of padi begin to bend over and droop under the weight of the hardening grains the stage of maikut lasan ('to have the tail of a lasan', a lasan being a type of lizard) has been reached. Shortly after this when the padi is all yellow and almost ripe the stage is called inyang and the ceremony of ngadasa is held. Like kapat and ngapitu this must be celebrated on a full moon unless a madatengan is held in which case an uku date such as Kajeng 'Manis or Kajeng Kliwon may be used. This means that if the padi reaches the stage of inyang at the end of a month ngadasa will be two weeks late (possibly after harvest). But from what I could gather from the priests it was much the lesser of two evils for ngadasa to be late rather than hold it on a date other than the full moon. Ngadasa is a two-day odalan of the pura Balé Bang although the gods of the temple do not medal ('come out'). At the end of the ceremony holy water, tirta pangadasan, and some ordinary offerings (panca pala, ajengan etc.) are taken to the fields.

Generally speaking harvest should not begin until the harvest ritual nyeetin has been performed. In Pujung though if the padi has passed the stage inyang and reached ukut (when it is hanging very low and already old) then people will begin to harvest whether or not nyeetin has been carried out. During my stay I witnessed nyeetin three times. On the first occasion it was performed four days before harvest began in earnest and on the latter two occasions it was held just after harvest had begun but before the majority of the padi was properly ripe.

The first part of nyeetin involves a short ceremony held in pura dugul kelod called ngulapin padi in which the main offering is called tegteg. All ngulapin (ulap = 'to summon') ceremonies 'summon' something (the soul of a startled person, the 'life' of a newly built house etc). In this case it is a matter of summoning Déwi Sri to the sacred rice in the panuasen. It is also said that Sri is asked to wake up (matangi) and compose

herself as it is time for the sacred rice to be tied (nyeetin). Immediately after the ceremony in dugul kelod the women (this is invariably done by women) go to their rice fields and it is absolutely forbidden for them to say anything to anyone until they have finished tying the padi and have got home. I was given two reasons for this silence. The first one involves paying attention to one of the myths concerning the origin of rice. In this, rice is first obtained by a human who steals it from the gods. The silence is then due to the idea that the people are about 'to steal' the rice from Dewi Sri and must be quiet in order to avoid detection. The second reason is that after ngulapin padi Sri begins to perform yoga (tapa,brata) in the fields and therefore the people must be quiet so as not to disturb the god. During nyeetin and harvesting in general I did not come across the use of a special ritual language of the kind Hunger reports for some mountain villages (1936,1937).

Once they have arrived at the panuasén the tegteg ('fixed', 'constant') is placed on the floor. First of all a hand full of padi, known as jemutan, is cut to be taken home. Next a good armful of padi (see plate 12) is drawn together and tied with a panyeetan and the sri-srian. Thus it appears that Sri is coaxed into the sacred rice which is then tied to prevent its contents (gisi-gisi) from escaping. Finally an offering of panca pala is balanced on top of this rice. The tegteg offering serves to ensure that the quality and quantity of the padi will remain constant.

The sri-srian is a palm-leaf cut-out which has a crude face. It is a symbol, as its name makes clear, of Dewi Sri. The panyeetan is interesting since it consists of a number of plants some of which are used because of the associations which their names give rise to. There must be eleven of these as this is the most auspicious number. The list is as follows:-

TABLE 11 Plants forming the panyeetan

Plant	Comments
Dinding ai	dinding = wall, ai = day; to tie the padi using a 'wall'.
Ata kedis	a plant often used as string.
Bun tebel-tebel	tebel = thick; expresses the hope that there will be plenty of rice; (Dioscurea).
Bun ubi	bun is the class name for vines and climbing plants many of which are used as string (Dioscorea).
Padang belulang	padang = grass, belulang = skin (of animals only); skin 'encloses'.
Tali duk	string made from the black fibre, duk, of the jack fruit tree (Artocarpus integra).
Tali tiing	string made from thin strips of bamboo.
naga sari	a sacred tree; (Mesua ferra).
Basé selasih	basé is another vine; slisi = to help (Michelia montana).
Pulé	Alstonia scholaris
Sembung	also often used as string; (Blumea balsamifera).

The comments are those the villagers were able to give me concerning the use of these plants.

The padi which has been tied up is called the nini which means both 'grandmother' and 'god of rice'. The nini is only cut and taken home once all the rice has been harvested.

The jemutan is threshed as soon as the women get home and the rice is boiled to make two kinds of tipat. Tipat sari on dadap leaves is put out as offerings at various shrines in the sanggah and on the granary, whilst tipat bekel is placed at various points within the compound. When this has been done the women return to the fields with banten manyi, the harvest offerings, which include tipat sari and tipat bekel. Once the offerings have been presented at the panuasén a sheaf of padi is cut from the sacred rice and this officially starts the harvest (nyumunin manyi). Everyday that someone harvests in the field an offering of ajengan (food) must be presented to the nini.

When all the rice has been harvested the nini can be brought home (nuduk déwa). The nini is cut and the rest of the rice in the panuasén is cut and tied in a bundle. This second lot is called the 'followers' (iringan) of Sri. The nini and her 'followers' are tied to one of the northern posts of the balé dangin. These are left there until the ceremony of ngusaba nini when they will be placed inside the granary.

When the newly harvested rice is dry it has to be put into the granary (menékang padi). This is a simple ceremony and one of the few that is held by the villagers at different times. One of the prayers that may be said here indicates that Sri is beseeched to go home to the granary (Om Sri munggah, Sri mulih maring lumbung agung. Om Sri bek). This may be translated : Om Sri rise up, Sri go home to the great granary. Om Sri full.

Soon after this the ceremony of negtegang is held, the timing again being left to the individual's discretion. The purpose of this rite is to ensure that the quality and quantity of the padi remains constant (tegteg)

The next major ceremony is ngusaba nini which is held in the pura Balé Bang one cycle (at full moon) and in one's own house the next (on an uku date). The festival may also be called ngantukang nini ('to take home the nini'). In this the nini, which has been tied to the house posts, is sumptiously decorated with new (sukla) cloths and a wooden image of the goddess is attached. The whole lot is then seated in a silver bowl. Sometime during the day it is ceremonially carried into the granary. No matter how short of money or rice a family is the padi which is used for the nini must never be eaten.

When the festival takes place in the Balé Bang there is a curious ceremony, conducted at about 3 a.m., called nyinah (from the root sinah meaning 'light', 'clear'). At this the god of wealth, Rambut Sedana, and the goddess of food, Déwi Sri, are married off to each other or at least that is what the priest told me. It is basically a recognition of the Balinese belief that the world and its contents is produced by the unification of the male and female principles (purusa-pradana in brahmanic philosophy).

The last rite of the cycle is mantenin if it is a cycle in which nyacain is not performed. This latter festival is the only one that is held once every two cycles i.e. it has no madatengan. Before mantenin ('to give offerings') no rice from the new crop may be used or sold.[18] This is the reason why many poor families celebrate mantenin before the better-off ones. Rice from the new crop cannot be disposed of before mantenin because it is forbidden for human beings (jalma) to consume the essence (sari) of food. After the first rice was stolen from the gods and brought down to earth, Sri followed to find out what had happened to it. When she saw that the thief was well-intentioned and had planted the rice so as to be able to teach his fellow men how to cultivate it, Sri relented and allowed him to carry on, with the proviso that a series of ceremonies had to be performed. She also stipulated that the rice could not be eaten until the essence of it had been offered back to the gods since, in reality, it was forbidden for men to eat padi.

The offerings used at mantenin have been extensively discussed by Hobart (1978b:60-62). He draws attention to the group of plants which are attached to the side of the granary and notes that these are seen '... as homonyms or assonants of terms referring to the attributes of proper, or ideal, agricultural production which it is intended to induce'.

The villagers of Pujung use a similar selection to the villagers of Tengahpadang. For example one of the plants is kayu mas (the 'golden tree') and refers to the fact that rice is gold coloured and also that food and wealth are in many circumstances equivalent. Another one is inih-inih which means 'thrifty'. With this is registered the desire that the padi will be sparingly used and therefore last longer.

During the description of ngusaba nini I mentioned the Balinese belief in the fusion of the male and the female principles. This may be observed during mantenin as well in the form of a palm-leaf construction called ubag-abig. This

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18. Ecklund reports that the Sasak of Lombok prohibit the selling of rice before a ceremony which she calls "washing away the rice chaff" (1977:56).

effigy contains both a penis (celak) and testicles (butuh) and also breasts (nyonyo) making it an hermaphrodite figure (banci) which recalls the Indian ardhanari concept (cf Dowson 1972:21; Pott 1966).

Nyacain (caca means 'one by one') is a spectacular ceremony since there is an element of friendly competition involved. The central offering consists of cooked (lebeng), ripe (tasak) and raw (matah) foods (cakes, fruits, meat nasi, baas, padi etc.) slung from the two ends of a pole (tegenan) made from a branch of the dadap tree. This pole is carried on the shoulder (negen) from one temple to the next until all the village temples have been visited. Since there is no fixed order in which one should call at the temples the village is alive with people criss-crossing paths, joking and laughing and discussing who is carrying the largest and most extravagant tegenan (see plate 13). The significance of nyacain is somewhat obscure. It may also be called jumun sari and this was translated as 'when we start (jumu) to return the essence (sari) to the gods'. This is, of course, the stated purpose of mantenin as well. All I can say is that repetition and reduplication is a major characteristic of Balinese ritual.

This completes the description of the fixed and immutable series of rites that form the padi cycle. There are, however, one or two rites which are not part of the series but which nevertheless occur virtually every cycle. The most important of these is the visit to the village of Apuh at the time of the annual odalan of the pura Pamuus. It is here that the source of the water for the Pujung subak is located. I have in fact already mentioned this ceremony in a previous chapter.

At various times throughout the cycle the head of the subak (pékaseh) with some helpers will visit important temples such as pura Danu Batur and pura Besakih to ask for holy water. This is then distributed to subak members who perform a caru ceremony in the rice fields. This is usually a simple manca warna offering for the buta-kala combined with offerings of bubuh tabah at the corners (bucu-bucu) of the main field. The holy water is called panolak merana ('to reject pests') the use of which, it is hoped, will prevent pests from destroying the crop.

5. Summary

So far I have discussed three major cycles, the day, the month and the year (the padi cycle), and later on I shall describe the cycle of rites which plots the course of life, death and eventual rebirth. For the moment, though, I want to make explicit some of the important properties of these cycles.

In the padi cycle[19] it goes without saying that the practical activities have to proceed in a fixed order. This is equally true of the ceremonial cycle. Each subsequent ceremony may not be performed until all the previous ones of that series have been successfully completed. It is proscribed to celebrate the rites outside of their proper position in the cycle. Thus not only are these series cyclical they are also oriented in a particular direction. This orientation and serial order cannot be modified without precipitating disaster. The cycles are based on an endless recurrence of events and activities which all have their specific position in the set. These events appear but once in any cycle and cannot reoccur until the full cycle, proceeding through all its stages in the correct order, has finished and a new one begun.

I have already called attention to the fact that to go round in a circle to the right is auspicious and that to go to the left is unfavourable. Although I do not wish to insist that Balinese time in general is thought to travel to the right it is certainly oriented in one direction and to reverse this order or to juxtapose sections from different parts of the cycle is to court calamity. It is in the context of these representations that we can more clearly understand the necessity for a multitude of rules which regulate contact between men and gods. The point to remember is that both are part of the same massive cycle since gods are simply deified ancestors. Contact may only be sanctioned in special places such as temples, at special times such as the annual temple festivals and under special circumstances. Wherever the gods descend the area must be marked off in some manner and one may only enter after having undertaken to conform to all the required formalities such as bathing, dressing properly and refusing to be intimidated by evil thoughts.

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19. In Balinese one may well translate padi not only as 'rice' but also as 'rice cycle' since one may say 'this padi', 'two padi ago'. The word panyian (from manyi = to harvest) may be similarly used.

Thus contact must be organised in a way that retains the integrity of the categorical differentiality of the various participants. As it is inappropriate for the gods to degrade their own position the burden of decorum lies with those who seek contact. Therefore there are numerous rules which define correct behaviour within the precincts of a temple. It would, of course, be most improper to conduct such encounters outside of these sanctified ports of entry since the contact would be presumptious and uncontrolled. It would, in effect, be tantamount to a disruption of the entire cycle because two very dissimilar sections of the series would be placed in temporal conjunction. Such an occurrence would result in severe pollution for the superior and castigation for the inferior. It is for these sorts of reasons that souls of the dead are prevented from returning, via the performance of the rite of ngirim (to dispatch) along the path which they have just traversed. This is accomplished by inscribing a line, with a sacred staff (the property of the Balé Bang), across the ground thereby separating the area where the cremation took place and that occupied by the still living. There is a famous story which relates that the origin of the strait between Java and Bali was created in the same manner and for the same general purpose, that of preventing someone from returning, in this case, to Java.

This prohibition on reversal of direction is also explicit in the use of the right hand to give and receive. Processions, moreover, which take place outside of a temple, should ideally return to their starting point via a route different to the one on which they set out.

These notions, in my opinion, make it appropriate to designate Balinese representations of duration as exhibiting features of both cyclicity and linearity. Both Bloch (1977) and Bourdillon (1978) contend that time is either linear (durational) or cyclical (non-durational). This seems to be misconceived and the confusion may stem from Leach who tends to dichotomise the irreversible and cyclical (repetitive) characteristics of time asserting that the West emphasizes the former and primitive societies the latter (1961:125).

I would suggest that duration is a physical fact which all peoples must come to terms with in much the same way that they

must handle problems resulting on the inevitability of death. Duration, the succession of events, is something that all societies must experience although they represent it differently and, of course, this is the force of the remarks of Durkheim and Leach, given earlier, to the effect that we can only study time by reference to the manner in which it is divided. In that sense duration is a concept of a different logical order and must not be equated with linearity. It is obvious from the evidence that I have presented that Balinese cycles last, they endure, and there is no reason why a section of a cycle cannot be represented as linear.

It is occasionally contended that cyclical or static time is inconceivable because the start and end of a cycle are said to be at the same point (Bloch 1979:166). But, and the Balinese would be the first to admit it, when a cycle ends it does not return to the same temporal point, which really would be absurd, it returns however, and this is a very different thing, to the same logical point.

The difference between linear and cyclical duration may simply be one of emphasis. Societies like Bali tend to accentuate the present cycle since it is their position in that which is of most importance to them in ordering their lives. They are largely uninterested in what happened in previous cycles because, in a time sense, these cannot furnish the kind of information that would be relevant for adjusting the present cycle. It is the succession of stages in the present cycle which enables them to plot the position of other types of events.

Both Leach (1961:125) and Barnes (1974:126) have drawn attention to the fact that our Western sense of time is very much bound up with the mechanical instruments we use to measure time and this would appear to presuppose, or at least coincide with, a notion of time which is more specific and which carries less incertitude. We often need to know the time on a particular day and in a particular year, and the fact that Spring is just around the corner is largely superfluous information. But it is the latter that is much more in tune with the Balinese ways of perceiving the passage of time. Accuracy in matters of time is alien and indeed anathema to them. The fact that many Balinese now wear watches is more a comment on their love of jewellry;

watches, if they work, give wildly inaccurate readings. Duration which emphasizes the linear aspect pays attention to the accumulation of cycles one on top of another so that time can be measured and history finely divided. The Balinese rarely need to do this but should they want to recall and place incidents in the distant past they have recourse to a string of miscellaneous events such as the eruption of volcanoes, earthquakes, the performance of infrequently held ceremonies, the planting of trees, changes in the strain of rice grown and so on. What is important here is that duration is neither wholly cyclical nor wholly linear since these words simply label the extremes of what is probably the same concept. After all a cyclical representation of time must involve some linear aspects if only in the sense that the stages of a cycle are presented in a more or less linear and irreversible order. Conversely a linear representation of duration must involve a notion of cyclicity or repetition since the points which divide time into intervals are derived from repetitive events as Leach astutely recognizes (1961:125). It is open to a society to emphasize or attenuate these characteristics according to its special requirements. There is little doubt that the Balinese accentuate the cyclical aspect of duration at the expense of the linear but this does not mean that they have a static concept of time any more than it means they repudiate the passage of time altogether.

6. Ala-Ayuning Dewasa

Before ending the dicussion of time I should like to draw attention to one more dimension of its many-sided nature. The Balinese word for 'accident' is spelled either sangkala (van Eck 1876:143) or sengkala (Warna 1978:518). It is possible that the first form has changed into the second. Whatever the etymology there is good reason to think that the word is made up of sang/seng and kala. Sang is an honorific applied to gods and elevated personages whilst seng does not appear to mean anything in isolation. Kala, as I have already said, is one of the Balinese words for 'time' but it also designates a class of malevolent spirits. Thus sangkala could be literally translated as 'honourable time' or 'honourable spirit'.

I have already remarked that because of the multiple meanings of the word kala it is reasonable to suppose that the Balinese represent time as essentially inimical, as inherently destructive.[20] What sangkala seems to indicate is that any unforeseen misfortune is not perceived as a mere product of the chance coincidence of events but rather as something partly prearranged in advance. I do not wish to imply that the Balinese are incorrigible fatalists since the opposite would be nearer the truth. Or, to state it more accurately, their fate is determined but in a very vague and largely unknowable manner; that this is the case does not prevent them from always trying to make the best out of any situation. Moreover they have a system of 'good' (ayu) and 'bad' (ala) days (dewasa) which enables a Balinese to avoid catastrophe. If he is prudent enough to consult his local expert to decide on an auspicious day on which to embark on an important project he need have nothing to fear. Before I discuss this classificatory system, however, I should like to pursue for a moment the implications of the word sangkala.

There seems to be an intimation that 'time' (kala) itself can act as a causal agent even to the extent that time is collectively represented as an evil creature. Kala (with a capital) is, in fact, the name of a very powerful demon which was created from the spilt semen (kama salah) of the supreme god Guru during one of his periodical sexual expeditions.[21] On this particular outing Guru was attempting to force his consort Uma into having sexual congress. Due to her ingenuity, however, his lascivious advances were repulsed and Guru, no longer able to contain his exuberance, ejaculated onto the ground. At this point the other gods arrived having realised that some quite uncommon occurrence was about to unfold. It was soon decided that the semen could only have problematic consequences so the gods began to shoot their weapons at it in the vain hope that this might somehow remove the offending substance. But the opposite happened: where each weapon struck there grew a limb until a towering monster had come into being. It demanded to know its

20. It would seem that the Balinese have united under the concept kala what the Hindus divided into two concepts, kala (time) and kali (evil spirit) (see Dowson 1972: 140, 141).

21. This story is called Murwakala ('the origin of Kala'). The full version may be found in Lind (1975:appendix). Other stories concerning Kala have been gathered together by C.Hooykaas (1973b: 159-266). One of the earliest versions to be recorded may be found in Maijer (1906).

name, its father and what food it would be offered. Guru admitted paternity, christened him Kala and allowed him to devour all human beings walking on the roads at midday.[22]

It is clear that Kala is an imperfect creature, having originated from the fecund fluid of the male only.[23] As such he cannot be allowed to remain in heaven and he is indeed a marginal creature of awesome power. As his name implies he is the personification of one aspect of Balinese time. In this sense at least time is represented as an animated being with causal characteristics and as something which can hardly be restrained. It would therefore seem necessary to conclude that an accident is influenced or even caused by the instant of time (kala) in which it takes place. Whereas in the West time is a passive construct - events happen in time - in Bali the reverse is the case - time appears to cause things to happen. It is therefore no wonder that the Balinese are extremely fastidious about seeking a favourable time at which to begin an important undertaking. Anything begun on a 'bad' day will end badly, and it is the instant of time, and nothing else, which determines this result.

The determination of a day being favourable or not in respect of acertain type of activity is determined by the balance of 13 different indices, These are:- the days of the ten different weeks, the month (sasih), the day of the month (tanggal or panglong) and the seven-day week (sapta wara). This is probably confusing so I will explain it in more detail. Each day has ten different names attached to it according to its position in the ten different weeks which run concurrently.[24] Most of these weeks are relatively unimportant but the five-, six-, and seven-day weeks are combined to form an interval which is called the oton. It repeats itself every 210 (5x6x7) days. It is used to measure the age of children whilst they are still small and to determine the dates of festivals (odalan) of many temples which occur once every oton. This 210 days consists of 30 seven-day weeks which all have names (Sinta, Landep,...). None

22. See Leach (1961:129-130).

23. I am indebted to Lind (1975:119) for this observation.

24. The names of the days and a description of the calendar in general may be found in Nieuwenkamp (1914,1915) and Goris (1960c).

of the other types of weeks have names.

Moreover each day is part of the monthly cycle and therefore has a number from 1 to 15 as explained earlier. Thus any day shares itself across 13 different cycles (the ten weeks, the seven-day week, the sasih, and the number in the sasih). For example 1st. January 1979 was Tegeh (three-day week), Umanis (five-day), Aryang (six-day), Soma (seven-day), Uma (eight-day), in the seven-day week called Sadbala, in the month sasih kapitu (seventh month) and tanggal 12 within that month. I have not bothered to mention the other five weeks because they are much less important. Each of these 13 indices carries a characteristic which must be taken into account.

In general the most inclusive cycle is examined first. Thus sasih kasa (the first month) is favourable to begin buildings. But then it is a good idea to find which of the seven-day weeks within that month is also auspicious and after that which day in the seven-day week. The latter part of this process is the most complicated because the predictions of different indices might well conflict. It is indeed very rare to find a day which has 13 favourable indices. These do occur occasionally and then the village erupts in an orgy of delayed ceremonies (marriage, teeth-filing, malaspasin, ngulapin etc) making the anthropologist's task a nightmare. Normally it only needs seven or eight of the indices to be favourable for most people to proceed but this depends on the importance of the project and the character of the person involved.

It should also be pointed out that there are auspicious days for performing foul and vile acts. Thus the new moon, tilem, is a good time for a person to practice pangiwa ('magic of the left-hand path'). Kajeng Kliwon is likewise the best time to propitiate the buta-kala and to slaughter black dogs (the warm blood of which is highly prized by certain villagers). Conversely the full moon, purnama, is the best time to supplicate the gods. This sort of thing is common knowledge in the village. When however someone wants to find a favourable day for a particular undertaking he will almost certainly have to visit a person who owns a manual. It is not just priests who are experts in this lore. Ordinary villagers, who perhaps have a

more analytic turn of mind, who are literate and generally interested in these matters often become experts. One does not need to undergo any sort of initiation to take up this branch of Balinese scholarship.

I cannot pursue the intricacies of the ala-ayuning dewasa any further since it would involve the presentation of a large amount of technical detail that would not advance to any great extent our understanding of Balinese culture.

The collective representations which have been investigated in this chapter have not exhausted the domain of Balinese notions of time and duration but the examination of further evidence will have to be postponed until chapter 9 where I shall discuss the buta-kala in detail. In the meantime I shall turn to a description of village administration and local village officials. This may serve as a short interlude and also an introduction to the complex and elaborate Balinese ideas concerning the structure of the universe and the concomitant conceptions of hierarchy.

CHAPTER VI

OFFICIALS AND VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION

1. Introduction

In this chapter I hope to demonstrate that the structure of village administration is consonant with the general form of Balinese culture. Specifically all I want to show is that there is a disjunction between spiritual authority and temporal power. The evidence from Pujung is clear enough and there is little doubt in my own mind that this separation exists. However the ethnographic record is so varied , confusing and contradictory that scepticism may well be justified in those with no direct experience of Bali,

Coomaraswamy (1942) was one of the first writers to draw attention to this fundamental opposition in the Indian theory of government and Dumézil (1948) demonstrated its Indo-European context; Dumont (1962, 1972) later made this disjunction the defining principle of caste.

For Indonesia there is now much evidence that establishes the existence of similar ideas. In his pioneering survey of types of social structures in eastern Indonesia van Wouden showed that in many societies religious authority was separated from, and superior to, secular power (1968: 29-30, 63-65, 133-34). More recently Schulte Nordholt (1971: 371-4), Fox (1971a: 40-41, 48) and Barnes (1974:89,92) have reached comparable conclusions. It should,therefore, be no great surprise to find these notions to be part and parcel of Balinese collective representations. Unfortunately the problem is not as simple as may at first seem since the writers who first concerned themselves with the study of village officials were also under the strong influence of the

ideas of Rassers (1922, 1959). Although a dualistic pattern of village administration was regularly reported by the Dutch during the 1930's (Goris 1960a: Grader 1937a, 1937b; Korn 1932, 1933; Boekian 1936) this was always conceived as a survival of a more pervasive dualism, which had partly disintegrated under the impact of Hindu civilization, and based on a marriage system of 'sister' exchange itself determined bya putative phratry social organization, the very type of system posited by Rassers for ancient Java.

When some of these writings were eventually translated into English in 1960 the criticism which they incurred was severe (see Geertz 1961; Needham 1960; Johns 1964). The general opinion was that if there was anything worthwhile in these papers it was largely lost to sight behind an opaque wall of spurious conjectural histories and supposed original conditions. The result was a virtual total loss of interest in the kinds of themes pursued by the Dutch and the denigration of their methods. However, notwithstanding that these early Dutch ethnographers made mistakes, they pointed to a clearly important feature of Balinese society and noted correctly that this was based on complementary opposition. That they failed to locate the real locus of this diarchy (which is of course one of the main topics of the present work) may have been a result of their ignorance of eastern Indonesian systems coupled with their enthusiasm for Javanese studies.

2. Village Organization

According to Geertz the structural organization of a particular village is determined by the specific pattern obtained in the arrangement of seven fundamental and independent 'planes of organization' dealing with temple membership, residence, *subak* membership, status group membership, kin group, voluntary association group affiliations and modern political group membership. The variation found in village organization is attributed to the differential importance attached to these 'planes' in different areas (Geertz 1957, 1967). Thus in one village status group concerns may be paramount eclipsing the significance of, say, residential and *subak* matters. I do not believe this

to be an entirely erroneous formulation. Indeed in some ways it is an apt description of the case especially if Boon's particular recension (1973:109) is taken into account. On the other hand, though, it is by no means the full story. In chapter 14 I shall attempt to throw some light on the nature of social groups in Bali especially concerning their monolithic character. There I will suggest that the independence of social groups one from another, no matter how they are constituted, is a fundamental feature of all Balinese aggregates including the 'individual' and the'village'. At the moment though I want to concentrate on village organization as it is embedded in the desa and the banjar associations.

In the vast majority of Balinese villages there exists a desa group (krama desa) and one or more banjar associations (krama banjar). Sometimes the members of the desa are thought to be the actual descendants of the original founders of the village and so in this case the membership total is kept fixed. Elsewhere the desa is formed by one man from each of the compounds in the desa territory (tanah desa) so that when all that part of the tanah desa which is set aside for living space (karang desa)is used up the krama desa is deemed full and no new members may be admitted. Pujung is a village which exhibits this latter structure and its desa group is now full. There are some villages where the krama desa is constituted by one man from every compound so long as he is also a member of the subak, this being the case in Sebatu and Jasan two villages close to Pujung. Finally within this variation one may find that a desa recruits its members from two or more distinct locales in which case the desa is not a territorially localised group of people (Geertz and Geertz 1975: 41).

Even though the constitution of the desa may vary somewhat from place to place the deviations are usually not very significant and the Balinese enjoy discussing the merits of the types they know. The point is that it is never difficult to recognise a desa group . This is equally true of the krama banjar. No matter how the members are recruited the variations seem slight and quickly grasped. A general rule would be that all married men who live on the desa land, whether or not this total is divided into smaller and hence more manageable units, are obliged to

join the banjar. This group includes all the krama désa but excludes their heirs since the latter will assume the responsibilities of their benefactors in due course. Moreover it is thought to be extremely bad form for an heir to wish to become a member of the banjar while his father is still an active member. Sometimes the banjar may be restricted to all married men with children or to all married men who have their own kitchen. This latter method would exclude one of two brothers who share a kitchen but such sharing is very rare and greatly disliked as it causes so much trouble between the respective families.

The full name of the banjar group is the banjar patus. Patus refers to the contribution of coconut leaves, rice, firewood, bamboo etc. that must be provided by every member of the banjar when there is a death in the village. It was often pointed out to me that the banjarshould be a group with a strong communal spirit. However over the years, so the villagers say, this spirit has gradually faded so that now only at death does the banjar act as it really should. I have a strong suspicion that this is a rather spurious argument and that the banjar ideology has probably always contained strong competitive dimensions (Hobart 1975).

Those members of the banjar who are not also members of the of the krama désa are called pangempian. This includes all the people who reside in the compounds but do not have any authority (ngelah patut, ngodag). In Pujung the banjar is so large (225 members) that occasionally the members decide to initiate a system whereby those who want can pay a sum of money in order to be able to abstain from communal work undertaken by the banjar for a period of six months.

Ideally (and in reality almost always) it is a couple, kuren, which joins the désa and the banjar. This is usually man and wife (kuren = spouse) though it can be father and daughter, mother and son, brother and sister and so on. Whatever the composition of the kuren it is the male member, the one who attends the meetings and votes, who seems to make the decisions and take the dominant role in the partnership.

Should a banjar become very large it may split into two banjar but I have the impression that the Balinese, at least those among whom I lived, are not too happy about this. The village of Sebatu has a banjar membership of over three hundred and still resists division.

In the area north of Pujung the most frequent arrangement is villages consisting of one désa and one banjar.[1]

My aim in most of the rest of this chapter is to show that it is the désa that is associated with spiritual authority and the banjar with temporal power. In order to do this it will be necessary to describe their functions, their officials and their place in the community. The best way to proceed is to highlight the opposition between the désa and the banjar with reference to a number of important but complementary differences. But before I embark on this I should perhaps remark that although the Dutch often reported the existence of such a division in Balinese village administration they were unaware of its comparative significance both with respect to the rest of Indonesia and indeed to Asia in general. As I said earlier they were too preoccupied with the ideas of Rassers and this led them to lay emphasis on a different opposition, namely that within the désa group in the old mountain villages. It was often noticed that this group was divided into right and left, or east and west, or old and young sections and that hand in hand with this there was regularly two of each type of official (see Grader 1937b; Goris 1960a; Korn 1933, 1960b). Unfortunately little was ever written concerning the contexts of these oppositions and how the officials complemented eachother with respect to their duties and functions. Indeed the mere existence of the division was thought sufficient to establish the validity of the putative original ur-society. Since the Dutch failed to provide any detailed information and because Pujung and the surrounding villages do not exhibit anything remotely similar I am in no position to discuss these matters.

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1. For examples of variation of village structure see Geertz (1957, 1967) and Geertz and Geertz (1975:41-44); and for a closer look at divisions within the banjar and the désa see Korn (1932: 179-244), Grader (1937b) and Hobart (1979:82-85, 486ff).

In Pujung one man from each compound becomes a member of the désa. This man is considered to have the power of disposal over everything which grows in the compound although he cannot alienate the land itself as this is said to be owned by the gods and administered by the désa. The désa is therefore both a group of people and an area of land. As an association I would contend that the désa is an institution analogous to the office of 'Lord of the Land' found in many parts of eastern Indonesia. This should become clearer as the chapter progresses.

Each compound is inhabited by one or more nuclear families. If there is more than one this is usually because brothers have remained at home after marriage and share the compound with their father's heir who may be the eldest but is much more likely to be the youngest son. The heir automatically becomes a member of the désa and banjar on his father's retirement and he has the 'right' (ngelah patut) within the compound above his brothers and remaining uncles. He is said to act as an umbrella to his to his dependents, to protect them (nguubang). He may use or sell, at his own discretion, anything found growing in his compound whereas others only have the right of usufruct and may not sell the produce unless permission has been obtained. This rather rigid arrangement works more smoothly in practice, however, because if there is a number of mature men in the compound they will almost certainly alternate (maganti-ganti) désa membership and duties each year.

Previously, before the désa land was used up, a new compound could be built on virgin désa land after a successful application to the désa. Nowadays, with no more of this land available in Pujung, people have to build new houses on private ground and in consequence cannot become members of the désa. Thus désa membership is obtained by virtue of being responsible for part of the consecrated désa land. All other land within the limits of the village is owned privately or is the property of another organization such as the banjar or the subak. The banjar is obliged to maintain the roads and the public buildings and utilities. In contradistinction to the désa, ~~the~~ banjar membership is secured by fulfillment of a largely profane criterion, namely marriage. Thus all married men with the exception of those heirs

whose benefactors are still active and have not yet transferred their duties, are members of the banjar.

Apart from village compound land the désa has the custodianship of most temple land and indeed the désa is most concerned with temple ceremonies and maintenance. The only temples in Pujung not under the jurisdiction of the désa are the subak temples and the pura-s Balé Bang, Panti Pandé and Panti Kangin these last three being run by independent congregations called pamaksan whose membership is not restricted to those living in Pujung. Structurally speaking though the pamaksan may be said to be analogous to the désa in that their activities, though greatly circumscribed, are similar to those of the désa. The only temple run by the banjar is the small dilapidated market temple (pura Melanting). This temple, dedicated as it is to the profit-making success of the market women has a marked profane character. The désa and groups like it are thus responsible for the preservation of the temples and the religious objects within them whereas the banjar is required to maintain the public secular buildings.

It is up to the désa members to decide how and when to restore damaged temples and it is they who pay for it and do the work. Contributions (paturunan) are levied and collected by the bendésa or his deputy, these being the sole désa officials. As the Pujung désa is always repairing one or another temple (a source of grievance for many of the poorer villagers) meetings of the désa occur at the end of each work period when arrangements for the next are made. This means that désa decisions are taken independently of the banjar.

Three of the temples run by the désa are the so-called kahyangan tiga ('the three sites for the hyang'), the three temples concerned with the village gods and ancestors (pretty much the same thing as the ancestors gradually become deified through successive purification rites). A good description of these temples may be found in Goris (1960b). They consist of the pura-s puseh, balé agung and dalem. The pura puseh (the 'navel' temple) is, I think rightly, said to commemorate the purified souls of the village members' ancestors. In the Pujung pura puseh there is a shrine kamulan which is specifically for the worship of the ancestors (kamulan comes from the root pula which means 'beginning', 'origin', 'root' and 'plant') and at the completion of the series of death rites symbols of the soul are in fact buried in the outermost section of the temple (jaba)

as well as behind the kamulan shrines in the sanggah of the bereaved families. The puseh, because it deals with purified souls, is always positioned to the northeast of the village living area, the most auspicious place for it. The pura dalem on the other hand is concerned with the souls of the dead which are still impure and this is the reason it is placed well to the south of the living area and often outside of the village limits altogether. The balé agung, which consists of two very long balé, is the temple at which the désa holds its monthly formal and religious meetings; it is the place where the désa as a whole comes into contact with the deified village ancestors and as such is most often found in the middle of the village.

However the picture is not quite so straightforward since although the dalem is one of the kahyangan tiga and therefore comes under the jurisdiction of the krama désa, it is also heavily associated with the krama banjar, an association which the other two temples seem to lack completely. The reason for this centres on the fact that the dalem is concerned with the passage of the soul into the afterlife. This is also one of the major preoccupations of the banjar which is mobilised for all the initial rites of the pitra yadnya cycle (this category includes all those ceremonies from the time of death to the final re-establishment of the souls in their family's kamulan shrines) up to and including cremation. The banjar can in fact be called a cremation group. I have already mentioned that the full title of the banjar is the banjar patus which emphsizes the role it plays during the death rites. Also at death the members of the banjar are morally obliged to visit the dead person's house for three nights after the death and again for three nights after the cremation.

The banjar is the body which maintains and repairs the dalem and at ceremonies there it is rice from the banjar granary that is used. But the dalem, being a temple, is also a place at which gods are invoked although these are gods in their demonic form. The point is that the dalem has an ambiguous relation with respect to both the désa and the banjar.

Broadly speaking the désa temples are concerned with rites in the category déwa yadnya (Hooykaas 1975) that is to say

rites whose main object is the dedication of offerings to the gods (dewa). But since the village gods are merely deified ancestors, i.e. completely purified souls of the dead, the latter stages of the pitra yadnya cycle of ceremonies can also be held within the outer courts of the pura puseh something which is absolutely forbidden for the earlier rites of this cycle. Thus the pitra yadnya cycle, being associated with the transition from life to death and from impure souls to pure ancestors, is tainted with the ambiguity characteristic of the pura dalem. Finally it has to be added that all the ceremonies in the category manusa yadnya (life-crisis rites for humans - manusa) may only be performed outside the temple system and it is officials of the banjar who preside over them.

A short digression may help in understanding all this. In Pujung there are two types of priest within the catgory pamangku. The first is the 'mangkun pura who is associated with a particular temple and he conducts all the ceremonies there. The second type is the 'mangkun banjar and he is forbidden to perform rites in a temple although he may assist. Now the temple priests are elected by divine will in one manner or another and because they are chosen to do God's work they are limited to the celebration of temple ceremonies and those rites outside a temple which are nevertheless dedicated to the gods (such as mantenin). The banjar priest, on the contrary, is nominated by the banjar and only those who have been exemplary members during their life can expect to be rendered this honour. It is therefore a grave insult for a nominee to refuse. This banjar priest specialises in life-crisis rites which the temple priests cannot undertake if they are to remain free of the pollution incurred at these events. The banjar priest is also the one who conducts all the death rites except those after cremation when the souls of the dead are thought to be sufficiently purified for the temple priests to take over. For a temple priest even to be present at life-crisis rites and death ceremonies is polluting. Of course the banjar priests become polluted (sebel) as well but this is not so serious because they are not constantly in contact with the gods. In that sense the temple priests have a higher level of natural purity than the banjar priests and this is indicated in a number of ways

not least that the former may speak 'low' Balinese to the latter who, however, must reply in 'high' Balinese, Furthermore temple priests must undergo a more rigorous initiation ceremony (mawinten) which raises their inherent purity to a greater level than does the corresponding rite (mawinten also, but a lesser version, i.e. one with fewer offerings) for the banjar priest.

Temple and banjar priests are distinguished by the colour of their attire. The former are obliged to wear either white or yellow or a combination (but if the latter the white must be on the upper part of the body and the yellow on the lower). The banjar priests, however,may wear white if they wish but black is thought to be the most apppopriate colour. That this is not a mere coincidence may be seen from the clothes worn by the temple priest's assistant, the nyarikan. Although a fully-fledged priest and considered superior to the banjar priest (he undergoes the same level of mawinten as do the temple priests) he may, and often does, wear a black outfit with a white jacket. The reason for this, I think, may be ascertained from an examination of his duties. Generally speaking it is he who is burdened with the day to day running of the temple, its business side, dealing with member's subscriptions, arranging necessary purchases and so forth. The nyarikan thus fulfills the secular side of temple affairs as the banjar priest conducts the secular side of village religious business and leaves the more spiritual side to the temple priest.

A final piece of evidence comes from a consideration of the leaders of the désa and the banjar. The head of the former, the bendésa, may also be known as the bendésa adat, a title which alludes to his pre-eminent position in the direction of the traditional culture (adat). His office is an hereditary post and usually remains within one family or status group. The head of the banjar, however, is democratically elected and anyone in the village may stand as candidate. Interestingly the head of the banjar (klian banjar), if he decides to, may undergo mawinten,but this can only be carried out in the pura dalem. Temple priests, on the other hand, have mawinteh performed in the Balé Bang as do their banjar equivalents and also the bendésa, for whom mawinten is obligatory.

From the evidence adduced above it would seem reasonable to conclude that the banjar is concerned with the secular affairs of the village and the désa with the spiritual side. Death ceremonies and the pura dalem mediate this opposition since they exhibit features of both characteristics, marking as they do the transition from life to death.

Turning now to the formal meetings of the banjar and the désa. These meetings take place in the wantilan and the balé agung respectively. The banjar thus meets outside of the temple and the désa within. The former has its meeting every thirty-five days on the day Buda Kliwon whilst the désa meets every full moon. Only minor odalan and madatengan rites are held on favourable days of the uku (this is the name of the calendar formed by the combination of the ten concurrently running weeks which I described in the previous chapter) calendar, whilst major odalan are timed according to the solar year to fall around the full moon. This then is yet another asymmetrical opposition defining the relation between the désa and the banjar.

The banjar meeting is one at which topical issues are raised and discussed. A list of the subjects talked about at one meeting will give a fair indication of the usual stuff:- announcements concerning various state institutions present in all Indonesian villages these days; announcement of new government regulations concerning marriage and the necessary documentation; a discussion on the reprehensible modern development of children who gamble at cards; whether or not the 'mangkun dalem would be fined if he failed to attend the next banjar meeting (he was staying at another village at the time helping to build a new temple shrine); a very long and repetitive discussion on whether or not a certain villager had the right to be allowed to join the banjar; a subak announcement to the effect that the pekaséh had already purchased a crop sprayer with subak funds; a reminder to all members that they were supposed to attend dressed in tradional garb; finally an announcement from the pandé temple priest that a malaspasin for a new pralingga would take place five days hence.[2]

2. Hobart (1975) provides an excellent description of these meetings from Tengahpadang. The Pujung meetings appear to be much less formal than those in the village where Hobart lived, and indeed the political situation as a whole appears less complex.

The *désa* meetings are not at all like this and none of the *désa* affairs are discussed, except rather casually and in small groups while the members wait for the priests to dedicate the offerings and ask for a blessing. Once the preliminary ceremonies are over the members simply take their rice meal, placed on the *balé agung* previously, and go home. In olden times it was the custom that the *désa* should sit on the *balé agung* and eat their rice there and then. The whole point is that at full moon the gods are thought to attend in person and so the meal (the essence, *sari*, of which is offered to the gods) is a shared one, a sort of Balinese holy communion.

Whereas the *désa* is not a political arena the *banjar* obviously is, as Hobart (1975) makes abundantly clear. This separation of spirituality from worldly matters parallels the Balinese conceptions of aging which I shall discuss in a later chapter. But to anticipate a little here it is the case that when a person first joins the *banjar* association (at his marriage or soon thereafter) he is at the furthest remove from the gods. A child just born is still a god (*nu déwa*) and remains an innocent child for a few years. Similarly an old couple who have stopped indulging in sexual intercourse begin to get slowly more and more pure as they turn their thoughts to their approaching death. Marriage and the consequent initiation into sexual matters marks the nadir of normal purity.[3] This membership of the *banjar* coincides with that period of life most heavily concerned with affairs of this world. It is significant then that a member is only made a *banjar* priest near the termination of his active participation in the village's secular life. One may regularly see very young temple priests but all the *banjar* priests are old.

Involvement in *banjar* business provides a legitimate outlet to people's worldly desires for power and wealth and it is no coincidence that this is associated with sexual desire.[4]

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3. Most people will, of course, experience temporary moments of much greater impurity at such times as they are involved in other's births and deaths, if they are involved in a fight, or if they are crudely insulted and so forth.

4. In the Javanese-Balinese cosmological system sexual prowess is a sign of the possession of power (*sakti*). It is also true to say that wealth and power are related in the sense that it is in the essence of the ruler to accumulate wealth in order to redistribute it in state ceremonies (see Geertz 1973a; Anderson 1972:18; Worsley 1972:48; Hobart 1979:457).

It is possibly in this context that one should understand the absolute prohibition on sexual congress within the precincts of a temple. The transgression of this proscription is supposed to result in the temple being torn down and hurled into the sea. Sexual intercourse is therefore seen as the absolute contrary to the gods outside of becoming a léyak (witch). It is the most egotistical indulgence which a Balinese can contemplate since it recognizes only one's own desires to the exclusion of all others'. That this is not mere speculation may perhaps be conceded if I adduce some further evidence. To begin with uncastrated animals (unless they are very young) cannot be slaughtered in the temple and chickens cannot be used as offerings once they have had chicks. Similarly an adult cow (sapi) is far more polluting if eaten than a calf (godel). But probably the most interesting evidence is that sexual intercourse is regarded as a matter of lust and is openly talked about in that way. There is no word in Balinese for 'love' as it is known in the West. For this they must resort to the Indonesian word cinta (Ind)(Hobart 1979:395 n.13). All other Balinese words either connote the actual act of love making (masangama, mademenan, masaki, makatukan, ngaungin, in order of increasing vulgarity) or express the sort of devotion children have for their parents and subjects for their lord (tresna).

The desire for self-aggrandizement, in no matter what form, is, in the context of darma (duty), a repudiation of the gods. Nevertheless material pleasure and political aspiration are acknowledged aspects of life on earth and thought to be most appropriate for those in the prime of life. Power, wealth and sexual desire, all conceptually related as egotistical, are therefore properly the object of ambition in those people who are firmly embedded in temporal concerns which is precisely the field dominated by the banjar. Now although temporal power is subordinate to spiritual authority it is also in some measure opposed to it, since the possession and use of power is partly autonomous (Dumont 1962:75-76) and amoral (i.e. antithetical to darma, see Anderson 1972:17), and being relatively autonomous has generated political and economic concepts not dissimilar to those found in the West where religion and politics are,

ideologically speaking anyway, completely independent of one another; and it is at this point that a notion of force as distinct from power may intrude. Once one has power it can be used in a variety of ways; but it must be realised that since power in this sense is temporal power it may be legitimately used for one's own benefit (to accumulate more power and wealth if so desired). It should also be clear that the avenues through which power can be made to work are largely unstructured and the traditional culture is therefore, in that degree, silent. This does not mean that theft and murder etc. are condoned (although the pre-colonial raja were sometimes a law unto themselves and indulged in the worst excesses) but it does mean that the options are many and varied before one comes up against the traditional law. Thus Hobart's idea that the use of power in Bali cannot be explained by only one model may not be correct. It is his contention that aside from the ideal theory which relates that power should be exercised under the guidance of darma, there is a second, implicit and alternative, indigenous model whereby power is wielded without much regard for darma (1979: chap.8). But this, as I have already tried to explain, is really an integral part of the complex opposition between spiritual authority and temporal power. The idea that power can be employed to one's own advantage is in fact subsumed within this distinction and recalls the opposition between darma and artha (together with kama) as found in the Indian tradition (Dumont 1960, 1962).[5] In short, the general ideology of universal moral duty and transcendent spiritual authority as exemplified in the désa and the padanda, to use Dumont's term (1966) encompasses the opposed, relatively autonomous and historical particularity of political and economic endeavour.

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5. There is an inherent contradiction in the Indian theory of darma since there is a conflict between absolute duty which proscribes actions such as murder and rape for all, and relative duty which enjoins certain actions for certain classes of people. Thus it is the relative duty of demons to perpetrate murder and other venal acts (O'Flaherty 1978). If such demons disregard their relative darma then the subsequent existence of the world and hence the relative darma of other classes of creature is rendered chaotic. In general one may say that it is the relative duty of kings to subscribe to artha but their absolute darma forbids it. And indeed according to Wilhelm (1978) some ancient Hindu treatises concerning artha and kama (such as the Kamasutra) were occasionally suppressed. In Bali one may say that it is the

As I said above the Balinese are allowed a great deal of freedom within their culture to pursue selfish aspirations. Indeed it would be a very hard society that refused to provide categorical support to this kind of thing and in fact we are now finding that many Asian cultures that were once thought to be 'pther-worldly' in their orientation are very much anchored to the mundane affairs of this world (see Tambiah 1970, 1976). But there is a limit to this and the limits are enshrined in written codes known as awig-awig.[6] Perhaps the most significant aspect of these codes for present purposes is that there are awig-awig désa but, as far as I know no awig-awig banjar. In Pujung at least the code of laws of the désa is used for the banjar as well. The laws that are found in these codes are thus derived from the spiritual sphere and delicts are considered as crimes against the gods and the spiritual welfare of the village.Thus reparation has to be made to the victim and also to the désa. A criminal, (so I was told - there were no major crimes in the village while I was resident) often has to pay for a caru ceremony to remove the buta-kala that have invaded the area where the crime took place. In chapter 9 I will explain why buta-kala always seem to be involved on such occasions. Moreover should a person be accused of something for which there is no incontrovertible

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relative duty of married man who are members of the banjar to engage in political, economic and sexual activity but there is behind all this the notion that to go too far, especially in an overt manner, will bring one squarely up against traditional law and absolute darma. As far as I can tell the contradiction is not mediated, possibly because the conflict becomes more and more ~~and more~~ acute the lower the status of the person or creature involved. Witches and demons suffer most since it is their duty to kill and not to kill simultaneously. At the other end of the scale the relative and absolute darma of the brahmana coincide. Thus for the creatures of least worth the conflict of values achieves its most virulent form and the anguish caused by the impossibility of skirting the horrendous psychological and social dilemma may be considered just reward for past actions. In India the predicament may be solved most appropriately by following one's relative duty as this will mean that eventually one will reincarnate into a higher form of life through the process of samsara (the cycle of death and rebirth). But in Bali this appearsto be precluded since the village conception concerning rebirth is that one is always born into the same title-group and there is no upward and downward movement of souls according to past actions although the quality of one's present life is so determined, in part at least.

6. Examples of awig-awig can be found in Geertz and Geertz (1975: 182-202), van Eck and Liefrinck (1876) and Hobart (1979: appendices 1 & 2).

evidence and to which he refuses to admit the only recourse is to make him swear an oath inside the temple. If he lies he and seven generations of his descendants will be cursed.

There is then no doubt that Balinese temporal power is subordinated to spiritual authority and that the former can only be possessed legitimately in terms which conform to the latter. However I have also shown that the terms of this conformity are extremely wide and unstructured leaving much room for personal choice and indeed innovation.

I said at the outset that the ethnographic evidence was confusing. I hope now that I have provided enough information concerning the désa/banjar opposition to convince the reader that it is a fundamental feature of the culture in Pujung. I am reasonably sure that the same disjunction occurs all over Bali though I cannot supply the evidence. However let the reader contemplate, in the light of what I said in the previous chapter concerning the irreversibility of cycles, what it would mean if the désa/banjar distinction was absent and the affairs of men and gods commingled indiscriminately.

3. Village Officials and Priests

In the previous section I had cause to describe a number of village officials and functionaries. All that remains to be done is to draw this information together in summary form.

The banjar, as I said, elects the klian and he holds office for a maximum of five years. He is allowed to employ assistants but these must be remunerated from his own pocket. The klian subak, more generally known as the pekaséh, is likewise elected, by the members of the subak, again for a term of five years. They may both stand for re-election should they so desire. Unlike the klian banjar, the pekaséh and the bendésa do not obtain payment from the government. They do, however, get a return in kind for their work, the bendésa from the offerings used in the temples and the pekaséh from offerings used in subak rites. These two are also exempt from the payment of contributions (paturunan).

Neither the klian, the pekaséh nor the bendésa actually run their groups; they are not superior officers who give orders. They are more accurately described as channels of communication

the focal points through which discussion takes place. The secular officials are therefore selected because of their ability to read and write, their capacity to speak well, their honesty and supposed impartiality and so forth. A klian who berates the banjar, browbeating them into accepting an unpopular proposal, will not last long. At meetings they are not supposed to take any side in the debate but to explain the problem and summarise the conflicting opinions in an easily graspable form. Once this has been accomplished the banjar may vote on the issue.[7]

I now want to move on to a comparison of the two main types of priest found in Bali, the pamangku and the padanda. There are indeed other types of priest but these are few in number and of little relevance for the the present work.[8]

The major differences between the pamangku and the padanda are as follows. The former is a member of the sudra group, although there are pamangku in the wesia groups addressed as Jero Gusti 'Mangku who act as temple priests in villagers where a significant number of wesia live. The padanda however come from the brahman groups and are not attached to temples at all but rather have a clientele scattered over a number of villages. Just as a congregation supports (nyungsung = 'to carry on the head') a temple so the padanda's clients support him. A third fact which distinguishes the two kinds of priest is that whereas the padanda performs a daily ritual, surya sevana (see Hooykaas 1966, 1973a) during which he is possessed by Siwa, the pamangku conducts periodic ceremonies within his temple during which he calls down the temple gods but in general is not entered by them. In temple ceremonies the gods are 'seated' (malinggih) on various ritual appurtenances (such as the pratima) and only occasionally do people become possessed and go into trance (nadi) (cf Belo 1953, 1960; Hooykaas 1977). Fourthly a pamangku is resident in a village and performs all his ceremonies in that village unless there are special circumstances which require him to conduct rites elsewhere. In contrast the padanda is

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7. I should at once say that this is a simplified sketch and the interested reader is directed to the work of Hobart (1975, 1978b, 1979) and Geertz (1959,1967) for a fuller appraisal.

8. For information on these other types of priest Hooykaas (1964b, 1964c, 1973a, 1973b, 1973c, 1974) may be usefully consulted.

continually having to travel to the villages of his clients to perform tooth-filings, weddings, malaspasin, cremations etc. Finally I should like to draw attention to a significant difference which I do not fully understand. This concerns the fact that it is highly polluting for a temple priest to be present at death and life-crisis rites but not so for a padanda. The reason for this, so I was told, is that during his recitation (mawéda) of the mantra he is possessed by Siwa and, as it were, finds himself in a sort of island of purity amidst a sea of pollution Before Siwa enters him he must go through an elaborate ritual to purify himself. Once Siwa has entered (through the fontanel) this achieved purity cannot be dispelled by outside events. The pamangku on the other hand cannot claim such protection and is therefore contaminated.

Other differences are less divisive. Holy water made by a padanda is, in general, much more potent than that produced by a pamangku and this is the reason many people pay for a padanda to come and prepare the necessary holy water at important rites. Whether a padanda or a pamangku makes this water is thought by Swellengrebel (1948:55) to be immaterial since he is of the opinion that in no sphere is the service of a padanda indispensable. I must say I think he is quite wrong on this point. Certainly holy water from a pamangku will do to complete most ceremonies but in many cases it has to be that prepared by a padanda. Even in Pujung, where real padanda are traditionally forbidden to practice, there is still an 'abstract' padanda enshrined in the Balé Bang from which holy water is obtained. One must also take account of the fact that a Balinese will not use holy water prepared by a priest whose status is lower than his own. This is why in many villages the triwangsa will have nothing to do with the kahyangan tiga temples which are mostly run by sudra pamangku. This means that people of very high status such as cokorda and dewa agung (titles within the satriaclass) can only obtain holy water from a padanda these being the only priests of a sufficiently high status. The general rule is that one can only be purified by holy water made by a person whose natural state of purity is higher than one's own.

Both types of priest must undergo an initiation ceremony. The

one for the pamangku, mawinten, is only a constituent part of that for the padanda, which has a variety of names (Korn 1960a 139). Both are clearly rites de passage (van Gennep 1960) although that for the padanda is the more obvious of the two since during part of the performance he is treated as a corpse (Korn 1960a: 144). The mawinten ceremony is very interesting as it consists of the initial purification of the person with various types of offerings in conjunction with the use of a white chicken and a white duck. Both of these are encouraged to peck food from, and scratch with their feet, the initiate's head. The rationale is that these birds are able to successfully separate food from chaff (metaphorically speaking, the good from the bad). Thus in pecking food from the novice's head they symbolically remove pollution. These two birds are also slung from a dadap branch which is carried (negen) at the very front of processions. This salaran, as it is called, is considered to have the capacity of selecting a 'safe' path for the procession to take. In general many of the ceremonies for both priests are concerned with the removal of impurity and the consequent increase in their natural (or normal) level of purity.

Mawinten also consists in the bestowal, as J.Hooykaas calls it, of the'speech jewel' (1959:177-178), the manik sakucap, which gives the holder the power to physically affect things: "...the power that makes all words effective, their power immediately realised" (J.Hooykaas 1959:177). This manik is bestowed by honey dripped onto the tongue using a flower. In actual fact the presiding priest should inscribe mystical letters (ngrajah) onto the tongue with the honey. Once the initiate has been consecrated in this fashion his prayers have a 'performative' dimension. Before I leave this section I think it is worth reminding the reader of the emphasis which the Balinese lay on the spoken word and its ability to make things happen of its own accord at least in the context of ritual. It would seem that the logical extension of this notion is the development of linguistic features such as the bladbadan, which was discussed in the last chapter with reference to the rice cycle, in which the words, by means of puns and assonance, are provided with tangible properties they otherwise lack.

Once a man has become a pamangku he is expected to conform to a number of prohibitions, mostly to do with food. Basically it is considered polluting to eat the meat of certain animals, beef being by far the worst and even many ordinary people refrain saying it makes their skin itch. Priests should also forego the imbibing of alcoholic drinks although most make an exception for tuak (palm-wine) which is only mildly intoxicating. Gambling at cock-fights and at cards is not proscribed but it is frowned upon.

Broadly speaking the proscriptions heeded by a padanda are heavier than those which a pamangku undertakes. These prohibitions, however, cannot really be said to mark off the priests from the rest of the population since anyone may obey them should they wish to remain 'pure' (suci). On the other hand if an ordinary sudra took upon himself the burdens of a padanda not only would he be thought presumptious but no doubt would be considered mad and ridiculed accordingly. In effect one might say that the higher one's inherent state of purity, the greater one should strive to refrain from actions that will decrease, albeit temporarily, this level. Thus it is a sliding scale of prohibitions : the greater the purity, the wider the range of things that will cause pollution.

Whereas the pamangku only begins to learn his trade after his ordination the padanda commences from an early age since whether or not he becomes a high priest is determined early in his life. Generally it is the eldest son of a priest's chief wife who succeeds him and once the decision has been taken the boy spends most of his time preparing for his future office. This entails a great deal of reading in the esoteric Balinese literature (which is well described by Korn 1960a). Once a padanda it is no surprise that he is considered an expert in these matters and, with his high status, the brahmana priest has been the traditional adviser to the kings. They have also dominated the Balinese law courts (the kerta) (see Swellengrebel 1960:64; Hobart 1979: 411-12). If this is combined with the fact that it is the padanda who performs all the ceremonies for a king including his consecration, we return neatly to the distinction between authority and power.

Whether the priests can be said to have a monopoly on the possession of esoteric knowledge, and by virtue of that wield considerable power, is open to doubt. For a start anyone who so desires may acquaint himself with this literature and it is not very difficult to obtain. Almost every village has someone who owns a good collection of manuscripts and they are borrowed and often read or sung in groups. Similarly it is by no means only the padanda or even the pamangku who are the sole possessors of the lore concerning the 'good and bad day' system as I have already mentioned.

I am also not convinced that knowledge of Kawi, the language of many of the texts, is as limited as has generally been thought. Certainly in Pujung there are a substantial number of people who have some command of it. This includes almost all the temple priests and a sizable group of men who regularly gather to sing the Ramayana, the language of which is universally thought to be the most beautiful. In such sessions one person sings the original Kawi and another translates it into ordinary Balinese whilst the rest, usually under the guidance of an expert, discuss the merits and the demerits of the translation. All in all I tend to think that the average Balinese is not as ignorant about these things as is usually considered. One must also take into account the endearing modesty of the Balinese (or at least most of them) who seem to have a horror of confessing to the possession of such esoteric knowledge.

Finally there is a major difference between the pamangku and the padanda in the degree to which they are integrated into the community in a purely social sense. The padanda, because of his exalted status, is something of a marginal character. Nothing but the highest Balinese may be used in conversation with him and in the presence of inferiors he must sit at a greatly elevated position.

The pamangku, on the otner hand, is simply a well respected member of the village, but for all that he is a farmer who tills his fields and plants his rice like the rest. He sits at the coffee stalls to pass the time of day and gossips as avidly as anyone and, in Pujung, no one but the most fastidious and punctilious bothers with the polite forms of the language, especially if the priest is not dressed in his priestly garb.

CHAPTER VII

THE STRUCTURE OF THE BALINESE UNIVERSE

In the discussion of spatial orientation in chapter 3 it was reported that the Balinese gods are thought to live in the upper regions (heaven, mountain tops etc) above the world of mortals and that in fact this vertical dimension forms part of the definition of spiritual superiority. The notion was expanded in the previous chapter when it was clearly established that spiritual authority, deriving from the gods, is considered to be paramount with respect to temporal power. In the first part of this chapter I would like to develop this theme and thereby elaborate the framework in which the complex Balinese ideas of hierarchy are embedded. In the next chapter I shall be able to deal with the hierarchy of groups of people and in chapter 9 I will attempt to demonstrate how these conceptions are employed in the foundation of a hierarchical system of person definition the heart of which is a Balinese theory of the passions. Only at the end of this will we be in a position to understand fully the extraordinary series of rites which mark the passage through life and death of the Balinese people.

1. The Creation

Balinese creation myths are as esoteric as they could be and their details are not common knowledge although the vast majority of pamangku, I am sure, would be able to provide a decent rendering should it prove necessary since many of the stories are contained in their prayers. The following account is a synthesis obtained from conversations with the village priests and from various

published sources (especially Hooykaas 1974:60-77, 1977:24-25; Lind 1975:134-136; Covarrubias 1937:6-7). There are some other, more prosaic, tales which are known to most ordinary people but I shall not supply these until later in the chapter.

In the beginning there was a void (windu) which was 'empty but full' (suung bek misi). Then yoga was performed and out of this Sang Hyang (S.H) Taya was created. He is the creator of all things. He is unsurpassably small but also unsurpassably big. He is the origin of all the gods and the immateriality of them. He is pure (suci, nirmala) and abstract (niskala). S.H. Taya created S.H. Tunggal and merged with him and thereupon S.H. Guru came into existence. Guru created the heavenly bodies, the nine directions (nawa sanga) and the five gods Kosika, Garga, Maitri, Kurusya and Pratanjala.

Next Guru created the goddess Uma from his ankles (Hooykaas 1974:60; Lind 1975:135 says from the left side). According to Lind this goddess was not perfect but possessed both male and female genitalia. Guru ripped off the penis and tried to make love to her. When she refused he became very angry and broke her arm. By force of concentration he created her shadow and transferred the defect to it whereupon the shadow became Uma's evil form, Durga. Lind also describes the origin of Kala (the demonic form of Guru) from Guru's spilt semen. Thus the demonic forms of the gods are imperfect and incomplete. Hooykaas does not mention this aspect of the creation story. He relates that once the upper world had been created the five gods together with Uma were sent down to create the world. The goddess concentrated and, within the universe, started to create the world. The sea was produced from her sweat and the earth came from her body (metu lemah saking awak). Once Uma had done this she looked at herself and turned into her foul form of Durga. Guru saw this, descended himself and changed into Kala. I shall present the evidence later but I should like to state here that once a god metamorphosizes into its demonic form it necessarily leaves heaven and comes down to the earth so that the benign form of the god can only exist in the upper world.

This completes the story of the creation which, I think, exhibits several important features. Substantial creation is

produced from an essential emptiness. That which is produced is progressively more concrete, less inclusive, more dispersed, more imperfect and incomplete, lower down and more worldly than that which produces. Moreover femininity is associated with the left side, with the lower parts of the body and with the creation of the earth as opposed to masculinity which is related to the creation of the upper world, the right side and the upper parts of the body. Finally the male principle is primary, perfect and creating whilst the female is secondary, imperfect and created. Concomitant with this is the fact that the benign forms of the gods are the controlled aspects whilst the demonic forms are unrestrained. In summary the process of creation advances in the following broad directions :-

from	abstract	to	concrete
	essence		substance
	immateriality		materiality
	spirituality		temporality
	all-inclusion		least-inclusion
	integration		dispersion / differentiation
	unity		multiplicity / fragmentation
	perfection		imperfection
	completion		incompletion
	restraint		immoderation
	above		below
	male		female
	gods		demons

Many of these distinctions (which form part of the definition of Balinese hierarchy) will be exampled in this and succeeding chapters. For the moment though it is simply necessary to point out that many of the terms listed above have the same denotation in the Balinese language. Thus the Balinese concept niskala includes the meanings 'abstract', 'immaterial' and 'spiritual' while its contrary sakala connotes 'concrete', 'material' and 'temporal'. Genep means 'integrated' and 'complete' but has no real opposite; 'incomplete' is simply sing genep (not genep) which might in itself register the fact that the concept genep is logically prior to its contrary.

Essence/substance is designated in Balinese by a number of concepts. Possibly the most important one is sari/surudan in which sari is the essence of the food and offerings and that part which is taken by the gods while surudan is the material remains which can be eaten by mortals and inferiors. Sari ~~has~~ has a complex conceptual structure since it has as referents 'flower', 'core', 'germinating power' (van der Tuuk 1901,3,52). Its meanings are displayed in such phrases as sarin taluh (the yoke of an egg) and daa sari (virgin girl). In these senses of the word it is related to the concepts manik and scca which will be dealt with later in this chapter. The contrast between essence and substance may also be denoted by the pair jiwa/raga that is, as soul to body.

There are two other distinctions of importance which I have not adduced here because of the complexities of their ramifications. The first is the dichotomy of alus (refined, smooth) and kasar (coarse, rough) whilst the second is that between purity (kasucian) and its various contraries. Both of these will be discussed in the following chapter.

2. The Ranked Structure of the Cosmos

The cosmos consists of a ranked series of worlds above and below the earth which can be described in two slightly different versions, one being elaborate, esoteric and not well known and the other simple and well known. The differences though are not structurally important.

The complex version states that the universe (buwana agung = 'the great world') contains seven levels above and an equal number below the earth. Those above the earth, the sapta loka, are the abodes of the gods whereas those below, the sapta patala, are the regions of the spirits in their malevolent forms. In Balinese brahmanic philosophy these levels find their counterparts in the human body, the 'little world' (buwana alit), in which the centre point is the navel. A derivative of this scheme consists of seven tiers only as follows:-

1.	S.H.Widi/Guru/S.H.Tunggal	
2.	Brahma	
3.	Wisnu	These three are considered to be at the same level; they may be called
4.	Siwa	heaven (sorga loka)
5.	Dewa loka	(This is the level of the lesser gods)
6.	Manusa	(This is the earth, the abode of mankind)
7.	Neraka	(Hell)

In this the seven levels of the underworld are collected together as neraka and form the lowest of the seven tiers. One notion of the destination of the souls after death has it tthat those without sins go up to the dewa loka whilst those without descend to neraka. In this context I should note that the name for the soul just after death is simply patala, which clearly indicates its very lowly status at this point of its cycle.

According to numerous stories and also to informants the foundation of the universe is formed by the serpent Anantaboga, who rules the sapta patala and lies coiled around the giant turtle Bedawang Nala.

One reason proferred to account for earthquakes is the occasional movement of the turtle. In some stories (see Covarrubias 1937:7) there are two snakes which control the turtle and they are named differently but the point is nevertheless that the base of the universe is supported by a serpent and the turtle. Later on we shall see that whereas the turtle is not very important, the serpent (naga) is a very significant creature in Balinese mythology.

The serpent and the turtle are to be found carved at the bottom of the shrine known as the padmasana in temples and also at the base of cremation towers (wadah, badé).

Whilst I am on the subject of shrines it is very important to record that the meru which represent both the mountains and the tiered universe always consist of an odd number of roofs (from one to eleven) (see plate 2). This is equally true of cremation towers and dangsil towers. In essence each roof is supposed to represent a level of the upper world and it is thought that the soul, after death, must pass successively through these levels. This then is another example of the use of odd numbers to mark the passage of spirit (cf. Barnes 1974:104).

The village beliefs concerning the structure of the cosmos indicate that it has only three levels, the heavens (akasa), the middle world of mortals (madiapada, mercapada) and hell (neraka) (cf Swellengrebel 1960:42-46). Some people render this particular structure in a slightly different manner viz. sky (akasa), air (embang) and earth (pretiwi). Even this has its counterpart in the buwana alit since it is said that the head is analogous to the heavens, the body to the mercapada and the feet to neraka.

This triad of worlds contains within it a conceptual opposition of the greatest import, a proper understanding of which is vital if the structure of Balinese culture as a whole is to be grasped. The sky (Aji Akasa = 'Father Sky') and the earth (Ibu Pretiwi = 'Mother Earth') are, in virtually all contexts, in complementary opposition to each other and it was their initial separation which enabled life to exist. This separation is referred to in a number of stories which I shall now document.

3. The Separation of Sky and Earth

Batara Indra was performing yoga and through this begat a female child. When she had grown up she was ordered to go and fetch some ferns from the forest so they could be cooked for vegetables. After a while she became thirsty and drank some water from a coconut. Some days later she realised she had become pregnant. (It should be remembered that yéh includes water and sperm in its meanings). When her term was up she produced a son who became progressively more importunate, constantly demanding milk from her. Eventually the son was responsible in this way for his mother's death. Later the child heard a voice from above telling him to bury his mother in the earth and that thenceforth her name would be Pretiwi ('Earth'). The voice also said that should anything be planted in the ground it would be Pretiwi who would provide the sustenance (ngamertanin). When he had finished burying his mother he realised that there was now no one to give him milk. Gradually he became thin and died. He then changed into smoke and rose up to the sky. There he was given the name Langlang Buwana ('Panorama of the World'). He became the sun in the sky and it is said that when he gets angry he dries out

the earth, just as he dried out his mother when he was a child.

It is possible that the continual nagging of the child for milk from his mother is a veiled reference to incest but I cannot be sure. Whatever the case it is certain that the close proximity of sky (sun) and earth results in death whereas their separation is the precondition for life. This story also alludes to the fact that if the gods are responsible for the initial creation of life it is the earth which must sustain it.

A second story recalls that S.H.Tunggal was meditating and out of his body produced five substances (panca maha buta = water, fire, earth, air and light). Because of the heat of the fire the other substances fled. The fire gathered into itself all other fires and began to revolve. Then there came a voice from the air saying : "now there is sky and earth, day and night". It was only after this that the god performed yoga again and created two humans, the birds and the animals.

Finally I would like to relate the story of Watu Gunung. In the village Waringin Sungsan ('inverted banyan tree') there lived a raja who married the two sisters Sinta and Landep (these are the names of the first two seven-day weeks, Watu Gunung being the name of the thirtieth). By his marriage to Sinta the raja had a son called Watu Gunung. When the child was still a young boy he pestered his mother for food but, as the rice was still only half cooked, she became very angry and hit him over the head so hard that he was badly wounded. Watu Gunung then ran away from home and did not return. Some years later a giant started to lay waste the land and the raja was killed. His wives offered themselves to anyone who could slay the giant. By chance Watu Gunung heard of this and was able to defeat it. He then married his mother and aunt not realising who they were because it had been so long since he had seen them. (In Balinese estimation mother-son incest is the worst). From the marriage of Watu Gunung to Sinta twenty-seven children were born (the other twenty-seven weeks of the uku calendar).

One day Sinta was looking for lice in Watu Gunung's hair when she saw the scar of an old wound and immediately recognised it. Because of her terrible shame she was unable to confide in Watu Gunung and instead advised him it was about time he took another wife, preferably a heavenly nymph (widiadari). Accordingly he went to heaven and there fell into a fight with the gods. Siwa, in the guise of the turtle Bedawang Nala, was alone able to defeat Watu Gunung. As soon as he had lost he asked the gods to give him the shelter of the sun if he fell into the water and that of the cooling rain if he fell onto the parched earth. When he did fall to earth Sinta asked that his life be restored to him and this was granted.

Now the first day (Sunday) of the week Watu Gunung is called pamelas tali ('broken string') and refers to the fact that when Watu Gunung fell to earth the connection between heaven and earth was broken. Three days later is the day known as urip ('life') and this is the day Watu Gunung came back to life.

In this story then it is explicit that the conjunction of sky and earth is associated with incest while their separation is conceptually related to the coming into being of life.

4. The Sky and the Earth

From the previous section it is clear that life can exist only by virtue of the separation and co-operation of the sky and the earth. This is not the first time that this theme has been mentioned. In chapter 5 I noted how in agricultural ceremonial the sky is conceived to impregnate the earth and in some myths women may be made pregnant by the light rays of the sun. In fact I was once told that a soul is a shaft of light from the gods which enters the womb at the moment of conception.[1] This suggests that the essence of life comes from the gods and obtains its material existence on earth. This way of looking at the problem is in conformity with what I had to say concerning the process of creation. The Balinese say that the soul is the presupposition for life and this is obvious because death in Bali

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1. See J.Hooykaas (1961b:268) for information on analogous ideas for other areas of Indonesia

is defined by the absence of a soul (yén sing ngelah jiwa, ja mati). After death the soul goes back to the gods from whence it came. Moreover they say that the soul is invisible (niskala)and intangible (niskala; sing dadi ngusudin jiwa). The soul is the essence of life but since it is an essence it must leave the world of the gods in order to take on a substance viz. a body, which is, by itself, dead. The beauty of the structure is apparent in the notion of the spirituality of the male in opposition to the temporality and materiality of the female in which the latter sustains (gives a substantial existence to) and is brought to life by (created) the former in its manifestation as soul. I should like to demonstrate these points by an analysis of myths concerning the origin of rice.

The following three myths which I collected in the field are well known all over Bali yet save for the third[2] they have never been published before.

A. One day two inhabitants, I Gudug Basur and I Bawi Serenggi,[3] of dewa loka heard that there was an extraordinarily beautiful goddess called Sri living in sorga loka (which is higher than dewa loka). Because both wanted to go and bid for her hand they decided there and then to fight it out until one died. After some time however they realised that neither could win seeing that they were equally strong. They therefore decided instead to split up and proceed to Sorga loka in different directions, Basur to the northeast and Serenggi to the northwest. On his way Basur met Siwa who informed him that Sri, accompanied by her elder brother Rambut Sedana, had descended to take charge of the world. Basur took his leave and followed Sri.

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2. See Cokorda Gedé Raka (1924). In truth the first myth which I give has also been published but only in a weekly magazine, a most recondite source for anyone who will never visit Bali (see Warta Hundu Dharma no. 129, 1979).

3. That Bawi Serenggi might well be a form of Kala is proposed by Jacoba Hooykaas (1961c).

Meanwhile a raja on earth was dreaming that Sri had already descended and was somewhere in his realm. He mobilised his people to look for her. Sri by this time found herself on the borders of this man's land and at once noticed the people heading in her direction. She and her brother immediately entered the forest and after awhile took rest under a shady tree. It was at this moment that Basur arrived and, driven by his desire, discourteously declared his love and his wish to marry her. Rambut Sedana was mortified by such revolting conduct and refused to hand over his sister. Basur therefore attacked him. Again the fight was inconclusive until a voice told Sedana that the only way he could win was to drag Basur to the shore and throw him into the sea. Once this had been done Basur shouted from the water: "You think you can kill me in this fashion? It is not certain yet. Remember well that my ambition remains unfulfilled; I shall continue to fight until I have succeeded in marrying Sri".

Sedana returned to find Sri and told her that it was time to go to the place Medang Kamulan. He asked her to change her appearance into that of a small yellow worm (lulut) whilst he changed into a white lulut.

Now the raja of Medang Kemulan was called I Gusti Makokowan and at that time he was organising a large ceremony one of the requirements of which was the digging of a hole near the location of the rite. Some time later a clump of padi grew in the hole. This was a most unexpected occurrence and made everybody happy (this story does not say so but one is led to assume that a) this is the first padi ever to grow on earth and b) that it has grown from the yellow lulut).

Bawi Serenggi meanwhile only encountered a clump of bamboo and without thinking he began to break it up by smashing the branches. Whilst he was doing this he heard a voice which seemed to come from within the bamboo. The voice told Serenggi that he should go to the northeast as there he would find Sri. So off he went as fast as he could. However Sri had had a warning of his pending arrival and before he could do anything

Sri cursed him and he turned into a pig (bawi = pig). The wild pig then began to rush around so madly that finally Makokowan came and tried to cage it. This developed into a fight which Makokowan only won after obtaining advice from a voice out of the air to the effect he must use a pointed bamboo pole. With this he succeeded in wounding the pig whose blood spilled out over the ground. Before the pig died he vowed to keep fighting until his ambition to marry Sri had been fulfilled. After this the various parts of the body of the pig turned into pests and crop diseases (candang).

Apart from the details of the myth to which I shall draw attention later the story is interesting in the connection made between a hypogamous marriage and the destruction of the crops. The abode of Sri is higher than that of her pursuers and so marriage with either is out of the question and should it take place (in the sense of the pests attacking the rice) a famine would be the inevitable result.

B. A second myth which I was given bears some similarity to the first but contains important details which that one lacks.

Jaya Negara (Makokowan from the previous story) lived on earth but once he made a journey to sorga loka where he met a heavenly nymph who was drying padi. When Negara asked what this padi was the nymph replied that it was a most excellent food with an exquisite taste but, unfortunately, restricted to the gods. The nymph told him that there existed 150 bulih (strands) and that each bulih contained 1000 grains (biji). One grain was sufficient for all the gods for a whole day. (This is then the essence of rice, amerta). Negara, when he was not being supervised, stole one grain, hid it in his blowpipe and went back to earth where he planted it in the ground. Sometime later the theft was discovered and Wisnu ordered Sri to go and redeem the lost grain. But by the time she found Negara the seed had been planted and had already begun to bear ffuit. Negara confessed the theft but pleaded that he had done it for philanthropic reasons viz. to give it to his fellow men so that at last they would have something good to eat. Sri then sanctioned its earthly cultivation so

long as the essence (*sari*)was returned to the gods. She also stipulated a series of ceremonies which had to accompany the growing of the rice.

Meanwhile the story has it that Gudug Basur was enarmoured of Dewi Sri and wanted to marry her. In his search for her he met Wisnu who told him that she had gone to earth. When Basur later found Sri talking to Negara he yelled at her. She took fright and ran off into the middle of the *padi* field. Basur followed and this infuriated Negara and a fight ensued. Sri changed herself into a yellow *lulut* and made her escape. At that point Rambut Sedana appeared and turned into a white *lulut*. Finally Basur lost the fight, died and reincarnated as a black *lulut*.

C. A third story concerning the origin of rice is presented below: During the reign of *raja* Pretu humans only had sugar cane to eat. Since Pretu was a good king he wanted to improve the lot of his people and therefore set about trying to find a new food. He first went to Ibu Pretiwi who said he must go and ask Dewa Indra. Pretu found Indra and asked him for his help in an insulting manner. Because of this Indra attacked him and a fight started which Indra could not win since in reality Pretu was an incarnation of Wisnu. Indra fled to Wisnu *loka* and found Sri who told him that Wisnu had gone down to earth and that she was just about to follow.

Meanwhile Brahma heard the awful noise of the fight and became worried. In order to prevent disaster he decided to send some seeds to Pretu, These seeds (four of them, black, white, yellow and red) he gave to four birds (*dara*, *kuteh*, *sugem*, *titiran*). During their flight they encountered an evil *gandarwa* who wanted to rob them of their seeds. In the ensuing skirmish the *sugem* bird dropped its yellow seed. The four birds returned to Brahma to report the loss of the yellow seed. Brahma was very angry and cursed the seed so that in future it would not produce food but only the colour and even today there is no yellow rice. (During ceremonies white rice is coloured with the yellow *kunyit* root). The three remaining birds carried on with their mission

and this time they met Sri. The birds asked Sri to enter the seeds in order to protect them from danger and Sri duly obliged. When the white and black seeds were planted by Pretu they produced padi and injin rice respectively. The red seed had to be planted in dry fields and gave padi gaga.

In each case these myths exhibit the belief that the essence of rice originates in the heavens with the gods but that its material being can only be manifested on the earth. But to put this on a sound factual basis it will be necessary to extract these and other themes one by one. In this manner it should be possible to draw together a wide range of ideas which, at first sight, might seem unconnected.

5. The Theft of the Rice

That rice is initially stolen from heaven is not an idea unique to Bali. It is reported for the Iban by Jensen (1974:78) and occurs in a myth from Sulawesi (Tjerita Rakjat 1973,1,no.7). In the Sulawesi myth once the rice has been stolen and planted on earth, the ability to grow rice in heaven vanishes. In the Balinese story Déwi Sri extracts a promise that the essence of the rice must be returned to the gods and I would suggest that this enables the Balinese gods to continue to cultivate rice in heaven.

That it is the essence of rice that is at stake is confirmed by the fact that one grain (biji/wiji)is enough for all of the gods for one day. In a story from Banjumas in Java, Guru calls the gods together to divide the wiji widayat but a great commotion occurs when a single grain slips out of the hand of a clumsy god and falls down to the nether regions ruled by Anantaboga. The gods are ordered to retrieve this grain without fail.

After the main praying (mabakti) during a Balinese odalan, the congregation is given holy water and grains of rice (wija) are stuck to the temples. Moreover I have already described the rite of nunas amerta (also called nunas bubuh) in the ceremony of ngapitu. This amerta is pure rice pudding, the best food for children and sick people. In other contexts amerta is the water of life (Warna 1978:38, Weck 1976:40; see also chap.2) and there is a holy water called amerta sanjiwani

given to the new born child on behalf of Ibu Pretiwi which is thought to confer a long life

According to Weck the amerta is located in the brain and the heart and a balian may bring it out of his body as spittle and use it as medicine (1976:30,33, 48-9).

A final piece of evidence is constituted by a very famous story which is told in many parts of Indonesia and seems to be a favorite on Bali judging by how frequently one meets with it. The myth recounts how a hunter (or anyway a man who is often in the forest) comes across a beautiful lake. While he is watching a group of seven heavenly nymphs (widiadari) come down, undress and take a bath. The hunter hides one set of clothes so that when the nymphs decide to return to heaven one is left behind because it is her jacket (ananta kusuma) which gives her the power of flight. In every version the nymph marries the man and remains on earth. Each day she cooks for her husband who is astonished that his rice stock does not diminish. One day, and against the strict warning of his wife, he lifts the lid of the cooking pot and there he finds only one grain of rice. When the nymph finds out what has happened she is angry because now the secret is out she will have to pound rice everyday. Eventually all the rice from the granary is used up and there at the bottom she finds her jacket. She returns to heaven promising to watch over her husband as long as he lives. The grain of rice in this story can be nothing other than the essence of rice and once it is discovered by a mortal it loses its power (for versions of this delightful story see J.Hooykaas 1956a:no.14; Tjerita Rakjat 1963,1,nos.8,9,10,14; Satua Bali 1975,3a,No.5).

6. The Rice must be Planted in the Earth

Once the rice has been stolen from heaven it has to be planted in the earth before it will grow. We have already seen that the earth is conceptually female it being called Ibu Pretiwi (Mother Earth). The rice field is uma and Guru's wife is Dewi Uma who is thought in some legends to be the mother of Dewi Sri and Dewa Sedana. Thus the rice soul, as it were, impregnates the fertile earth and comes to fruition, just as

does the human soul grow into a material being inside its mother's womb.

Now in the myth from Banjumas which I mentioned in the last section, the seed which fell from heaven is swallowed by Anantaboga. The gods then take him up to heaven where he is commanded to vomit up the grain. After a few moments he regurgitates but the grain does not appear. Instead he produces two babies who become Sri and Sedana. This vomiting is an obvious allusion to parturition and at the same time indicates the relation between food (Sri) and wealth (Sedana). In a story from west Java (Tjerita Rakjat 1963,1,no.5) Sri and Sedana are born from a single egg itself formed from the tears of Anantaboga, whilst two other eggs, inadvertently dropped, break open and release two wild pigs called Sang Kalabuat and Sang Budug Basu.

A second and very important theme involved with the notion of planting the rice grain is one which conceptually equates planting with burial. In the Indonesian language the word tanam can mean both 'to plant' and 'to bury'. The Balinese word tanem has a similar semantic range. Usually however one uses tanam for 'to plant' and kubur for 'to bury' in Indonesian. In Balinese the more common words are pula andpendem for 'to plant' and 'to bury'. Nevertheless the similarity of idea is present as can be seen from a number of stories in which padi and various other foods grow from the dead body of Dewi Sri which has been buried in the earth (Tjerita Rakjat 1963,I, nos.1,4,5; myth A given earlier in this chapter in which it is implied that the padi grows from the lulut). This conceptual equivalence of birth and death was first noticed by Josselin de Jong (1965: 284,287) for Java and Sunda. It has also been reported for the Iban by Jensen (1974:75) and by Barnes for the Kedangese (1974:74).

7. Sri and Sedana

So far I have noted that Sri and Sedana are invariably found together. Either they are man and wife or they are brother and sister. In the myths already given they are either born from a single egg and are raised (nursed) by Dewi Uma or they are regurgitated from the stomach of Anantaboga. Moreover in

earlier chapters I remarked how these two gods are married off to each other during the ceremony ngusaba nini and how they each have a compartment in the shrine panegtegan which is thought to protect the food and wealth of the family.

Sri is the goddess of food and Sedana the god of wealth. Since they are so closely related it would not be surprising if food and wealth were also conceptually related in various ways. It is to this problem that I shall now turn. To start I can do no better than to relate a story that was given to me in Pujung. In a certain village lived an old man who was near to death. He had only one son but he was very lazy. One day the old man called his son and told him that he had buried a huge treasure of gold and other precious metals under his fields. If the son dug carefully, not too deep, he would be sure to find it. As soon as the old man died the son crept out of the house and made for the field. He began to dig it up but made a tremendous mess and found no gold. In the morning his mother advised him that if he tended the field well and planted food in it he would be sure to find the treasure one day. The boy thought this ridiculous and stomped off. His mother then planted crops and after two harvests the boy began to understand what his father and mother had meant, since he realised that the abundant food could be exchanged at the market for money.

In many stories from all over Indonesia rice and gold are associated with each other. Thus Josselin de Jong reports a story from Sumatra in which two widows find that their padi has golden grains, silver leaves and stems of gold alloy (1965:285). In the Sulawesi story that I have already given the rice in heaven is first mistaken for gold. Finally J. Hooykaas (1957c:189) quotes a story in which gold, rice and other foods are conceptually related.

In this context it is worth reporting the lust that the Balinese have for gold. On most festive occasions women wear stupendous amounts of gold jewellry (rings, necklace, earrings, armbands etc.) and from what I saw many will spend all they can

in purchasing it. Three other important items of evidence concerning the link between gold and the earth are a) the fact that the panca datu (the five metals put underneath a new temple building) were called 'the best type of earth', b) the custom, which Covarrubias reports (1937:93), that the Balinese like to keep their money under the earthen floor of the metén, c) that it is not until a child is three months old that he may touch the ground and this coincides with the first time he is allowed to come into contact with gold ornaments.

A further interesting piece of information is obtained by an examination of the function of the pura Manik Mas ('the temple of the essence of gold') which is situated just inside the split gateway (candi bentar) which marks the entrance to the whole Besakih complex. This temple is said to be the kahyangan (place of descent) for Pretiwi and S.H.Giriputri (otherwise known as Uma). One should always pray here before going to the main temple, the pura Panataran Agung, and this is just as it should be since at the beginning of all temple ceremonies one should 'notify' (matur piuning) Ibu Pretiwi first. Finally the pura Manik Mas is said to guard the treasures (arta brana) of the gods.

While I am on the subject of temples at Besakih I should mention two others. One is called pura Basukihan (Basukih is another name for the serpent Anantaboga) and it commemorates the burying of the panca datu by Rsi Markandeya which story I recounted in chapter I. The second temple is pura Goa ('the cave temple'). The god of this temple is also Basukih and the temple is thought to mark the opening of a cave which goes all the way down to the famous bat cave (Goa Lawah) by the coast. The import of this is that in Balinese thought serpents (naga)are clearly related to the underworld. There is a very famous story in Bali which demonstrates both this and the association of serpents with treasure. The story starts by relating that near to the temple Besakih there is a cave which is the abode of the naga Basukih who is a friend of a Javanese padanda called Empu Sidhimantra. This holy man was in the habit of visiting the serpent every full moon and taking him an

offering of butter, honey and milk. One day however the priest fell ill and asked his son Ida Manik Angkeran to go in his stead Now the latter was an inveterate gambler who was always losing his father's money. Just before he set off he stole his father's bell (genta). When he got to the cave he began to recite mantra while ringing the bell. Basukih heard the noise and came up from the underworld (patala) to see who was calling him. In some versions of the story it is told that Ida Manik Angkeran saw a massive gold ring on the end of the serpent's tail. Overcome by greed he cut off the tail and stole the ring. In other variants this event is preceded by Sidhimantra asking the naga for gold from the latter's hoard of treasure to pay his son's gambling debts.

With the ring in his hand Ida ran off but not fast enough to foil the serpent who blasted a stream of fire and burned him to ashes. At that moment Sidhimantra arrived looking for his bell. The naga Basukih told him what had happened. Sidhimantra restored the piece of tail and because of that the serpent allowed the priest to bring Ida back to life which he did by spitting on the ashes.

The theme of a serpent under the ground with a gold ring or a hoard of treasure is encountered in numerous stories (see for example J.Hooykaas 1956a : nos.6,8,30,51: Tjerita Rakjat 1963,2,no.16; Covarrubias 1937:55; Friederich 1959:88). In some of these the ring is handed over to someone (usually poor and destitute) who is assured that it will always provide a meal of rice when asked.

Thus we see from the evidence accumulated in this section that wealth in the form of gold and other precious metals is conceptually related to food and that these two are associated with the inside of the earth, serpents and the ability to restore life.

8. Serpents

In the preceding section I established the connection between serpents, food and wealth. Indeed the meaning of Anantaboga is 'abundance of food'. All this makes it perfectly reasonable

that Anantaboga is the creature that brings forth Dewi Sri and Dewa Sedana as told in some of the stories already given in this chapter.

Now although Anantaboga lives in the underworld, he is nonetheless a god and may therefore travel to heaven. In fact the naga is conceived as a means of travelling to heaven. It is this fact which enables me to confirm the tentative conclusion of J.Hooykaas that the flying jacket, ananta kusuma, of the heavenly nymphs, is nothing other than the skin of the serpent (1956c:313), for there is a myth in which a person puts on his naga skin in order to go to heaven in exactly the same sense in which the nymphs must dress themselves to get back to the upperworld. In short this story explains how a woman gave birth to a naga which then went to perform yoga in the mountains until his skin dropped off and he became a handsome young man. But he then put his skin back on and ascended to heaven (see manuscript No.1948 of the Liefrinck-van der Tuuk collection, Singaradja, Bali).

It was J.Hooykaas who also first spotted the connection between serpents, rainbows and bulls as all being means of getting from earth to heaven (1956c; also see Barnes' discussion 1974:104-7; Pleyte 1894).

One of the Balinese beliefs concerning rainbows is that they are caused by the anger of the gods in heaven which consequently becomes hot. The gods thus reach out to the sea as a rainbow (the rainbow is the 'body' and the place where it enters the water is the 'head'), drink up the water and emit the excess as rain. Occasionally the ends of the rainbow are described as cow's heads and J.Hooykaas recounts a story in which the mount of Siwa (the white bull Andini) turns into a rainbow (Hooykaas 1956c:303,305). In the same article she notes how the rainbow itself is considered as a serpent's body. Of course both the rainbow (Tjerita Rakjat 1963,I, nos.7,9) and the bull (J.Hooykaas 1956a:no.9) are common mythical means of mounting the 'stairs' to heaven. Finally I

should add that in Balinese cremation rites the string which is used to lead the tower to the cremation ground is conceived of as representing a naga which will lead the soul to heaven. In fact for the cremation of high satria dead this string may well be substituted by long cloth in the form of a serpent (Covarrubias 1937:55,374,387).

So far then we are in a position to conclude that the souls or essences of all living things are created in heaven and must eventually return there. What seems to be the case is that the sky is the primary source of life, but for this life to develop it has to be brought down to a material realm where the essence can assume a bodily and visible form. The question that must now be addressed is how this temporary substantial embodiment is maintained. The answer to this, I submit, lies in the notion of life fluids and their location in the earth (see Barnes 1974;104-7). This theme was first introduced in chapter 4 in connection with the rite of malaspasin and it has been under discussion in this chapter as well in relation to the association between food, wealth and the earth.

The point to be made here is that although heaven is conceived as the original and distant source of life it is the earth and its produce that is seen as the close and immediate source and as the provider of life-sustaining substances. Should further evidence be required to establish this relation beyond doubt then the following two short stories should suffice. The first concerns the initial creation of human beings from the earth. There are various versions of this (cf. Covarrubias 1937:289) but I will relate the one I collected myself. One day a god came down to earth and began making replicas of people by moulding lumps of earth. When a second god arrived and saw this he ridiculed the effort and promised to eat excrement (tai) if the first god could bring them to life. The maker then supplicated Siwa who entered the models and thereupon brought them to life. The other god was stunned and beseeched Brahma to come to his aid. Brahma then fashioned a dog from the earth and brought this to life so that it might eat the excrement. And this is why it is today that dogs clear up after people.

The second story is quite different in tone but the same principles are at work. Under the mountain called Jambuldwipa in a cave (goa) there lived people (jalma) and Ibu Pretiwi looked after them. When these people were adult (suba wayah) the cave wall broke and the people came out of the mountain. After this Aji Akasa ('Father Sky') came down and gave them amerta and teachings concerning their surroundings.

9. Manik and Life Fluids

Manik is one of the most interesting concepts in Balinese culture and a study of its meanings and usages should prove very enlightening. We have, in fact, already met the term twice. In the last chapter I drew attention to the manik sakucap which J.Hooykaas translated as 'magic kernel of all words spoken' (1959:177). In this chapter I mentioned one of the temples which forms part of the Besakih complex. It is called pura Manik Mas ('the temple of the essence of gold'). Manik thus appears to mean 'essence', 'kernel'. By way of introduction and to substantiate what I have already said I will recount a story given to me by one of my friends in Pujung.

In a désa there lived a family which had a very beautiful daughter. While she was still young Timun Mas (Golden Cucumber) used to like to catch dragonflies (a passion with Balinese children at certain times of the year). One day she saw a particularly beautiful golden dragonfly (capung mas) and set off to catch it. In her desire to possess it she did not realise that she had moved a long way from the village and then suddenly there arose a strong wind which carried her deep into a forest. There she was caught by a monkey whose daily occupation was to steal bananas from the garden of a raksasa (giant, monster). One day the monkey was caught and the raksasa only let him go when he promised to bring him the girl when she was fully grown. A long time passed and the girl grew up. The monkey remembered his promise and took Timun Mas to the ogre. At first the giant wanted to eat her but she stalled him by saying she would cook for him. While living with the raksasa she noticed some bottles on a shelf and asked what they were. The giant explained that they were manik angin ('the manik of wind'), manik tiing ('the manik of bamboo'), manik yéh

('the manik of water'), and that should they be thrown then wind, bamboo and water in huge quantities would burst out of the bottles. And so, one day when the giant was out Timun Mas grabbed the bottles and made her escape. The raksasa tried to catch her but just as he was about to put his arm around her she threw one of the bottles and the giant suddenly found himself locked in a great clump of bamboo. After having extricated himself from that he again was on the point of catching Timun Mas when she threw the second bottle and the giant was knocked over by a sudden furious wind. Finally the giant caught her again and this time she threw the manik yéh and the raksasa drowned in the deluge.[4]

Let us turn now to what the dictionaries have to say concerning manik. Van der Tuuk (1912, 4, 502) reports that manik is the part of the grain or fruit in which the vital force is to be found; it is the essence of semen; the embryo of a chicken in the egg; one prays for a manik majalan (a walking manik) to the gods if one has no children; it is a fabulous gem; finally it is the word used for 'voice' when speaking of a person of high status. Goris gives this last entry as the meaning of manik amongst the Sasak (1938:186). Van Eck gives 'precious stone' for manik and tells us that manik galih is also a name for the goddess of rice (1876:168). Lastly Warna records that manik means 'gem', 'ovary', and that manik majalan is a child (1978:368).

In this wide range of meanings the associations between essence, jewel, source of life (embryo) and voice can be clearly detected. Manik galih ('the manik of a grain of rice') is the name of Déwi Sri, and we already know that Sri is simply the embodiment of the essence of rice. The intriguing connection, however, is that between manik as 'essence' and manik as 'jewel'. J.Hooykaas (1959:177) thinks that in Bali manik has lost much of its original meaning of an actual jewel

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4. Similar stories may be found in J.Hooykaas (1956a:no.11) in which are used the manik of 'mud', 'tall grass', 'fire' and 'death of the giant', and in Satua Bali (1975, 2b,no.2) in which one finds the manik of 'fire', 'water' and 'wind'.

and certainly Gonda (1973:93) gives 'precious stone' as the only rendering of Sanskritic manik, although the most up-to-date dictionary still supplies 'gem' and 'ovary' as the two main meanings of manik (see Warna above). Clearly also the manik sakucap is related to gems in some way since the name of the ceremony in which this manik is bestowed is mawinten the root word of which is inten (diamond).

I must now introduce another word, soca, which seems to be intimately related to manik since they share a number of meanings. For example soca means 'precious stone', 'knot of wood', 'the eye of vegetables from which the new shoots grow', 'mesh of a net' (van der Tuuk 1901, 3, 49). Both van Eck (1876:120) and Warna (1978:538) supply the information that soca means 'jewel' and 'knot in wood' (especially of bamboo). When I asked about the meaning of the terms involved here I was told that soca is the eye (mata) by the joint (buku-buku) on the bamboo from out of which new shoots (ancang) grow (see Barnes 1974:231). Mata itself has some of the same connotations as soca since it can in fact substitute for the latter as in matan bungkung = soca = the stone in a ring, matan tiing = knot in bamboo = soca. Mata also occurs in such phrases as matan lima ('eye of the hand' = wrist), matan batis ('eye of the leg' = ankle) and matan busul ('eye of the boil' = core) etc.

The range of meanings of mata is not as great as in Kédang (Barnes 1974:229-233) or even as in other Indonesian islands (Barnes 1977). One reason for this is perhaps that it is not the usual word for the eyes of people (which is paningalan). It is in fact a rather rude Balinese word and can generally only be used for the eyes of animals. Thus even though the sun is matan ai ('eye of the day') it is rarely called this; instead the more respectful term surya is used, this also being the word for the eyes of a padanda.

Whatever the case though with mata it is evident that manik-soca - mata forms an articulated conceptual structure of great importance for Balinese culture since it is concerned with the coming into being of life. So far I have already demonstrated

that the house and duration are structured in terms of nodes and segments and that it is through the joints (buku-buku) that mystical influence flows. In the present section I have tried to show that it is at these joints that new life is created, new life which is conceived of as both human life but also as treasure in the form of jewels and this brings us back to the ideas discussed earlier in the chapter in sections 5 through 8.

In order to advance the argument further I must digress a little and relate yet another story which will associate what I have just been saying with various liquids, especially spittle, (which we have already seen to have the property of restoring life in the myth of Ida Manik Angkeran), blood and water.

In a village there lived a young woman who worked very hard all day long in the fields. She was wont to work throughout the day and did not even stop at midday (kali tepet). Always when she worked she did so bent over with her back side to the sun (nunggingin jitné) so as not to get sun burnt. The sun god (Surya) became enraptured by her and his desire grew day by day (pakayunidané nyangetang) until one day he could no longer control his ardour and allowed his light (téja, sinar) to penetrate her vagina (kok). When the girl realised she was pregnant (beling) she cursed her own body (mamisuh dewekné). When the child was born she was horrified to see that it was only a half (asibak) (i.e. only one half of the child existed - one eye, one ear, half a nose, one arm, one leg etc.). His mother called him I Sigaran after his form. He explained to his mother that he was born like this because of the evil words of his mother. He said the only way to become complete was to find his father. In order to do that, his mother replied, he would have to go to heaven. After a long journey I Sigaran arrived in heaven and obtained audience with Surya who treated him by smearing his vacant half with spittle (paes). He also told him that he should go home and become a balian (curer) since he would develop great healing powers. I Sigaran went home but because he was so ashamed of his incompleteness he never left

the kitchen and simply passed out his own saliva (as medicine) to people waiting outside. His mother encouraged him to go and live in the forest so as to be able to collect plants to use as medicine. This the boy did and after a few years Surya became sorry for I Sigaran and made a stone model of his other half and set it down in the forest near where the boy was living. The following day I Sigaran found it and after having examined it very carefully he coalesced with it and became complete.

In this story saliva is the means by which Sigaran is initiated (see J.Hooykaas 1961b where the initiating fluid is the milk of a virginal black cow) and his own saliva then becomes an efficacious medecine. In other stories of the Half-One the boy is given a form of mawinten in which saliva instead of honey is used to write (ngrajah) the magic syllables on his tongue (J.Hooykaas 1959:178).[5]

That this is not simply the kind of thing that is recounted in stories but is, in fact, a living reality in Bali is shown by the fact that spittle is often used to tend wounds, especially lumps on the head. If a child bangs his head a woman will spit on the ends of her hair and apply this to the wound. Saliva is also thought to revive animals and in general to make them more healthy so owners of dogs, birds, cocks and cats quite regularly spit into their mouths, especially if they are looking lethargic. At cockfights a dying cock will be treated in this way to try and get it to fight on. Similarly wind can be used in which case the owner of the cock blows furiously into the cocks face or down its throat in the hope that this will restore its flagging energies.

Spittle is also used in the concoction known as bangket (also called idu bang = 'red saliva'). Three days after a ngotonin (a life-crisis rite held every oton for young children)

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5. In yet other stories (see C.Hooykaas 1948) the agent of initiation is the god's bathing place (i.e. water), the vomit of a god and the milk of a gigantic black fly (in reality a bull).

the child's mother goes to the house of the 'mangkun banjar who performed the ceremony in order to get the bangket (nunas bangket). She hands over to the priest the ingredients for chewing betel nut and the priest begins to chew. Once he has obtained enough juice he spits this onto a banana leaf and the woman takes it home where it is applied to the child's forehead between the eyebrows. It is considered the bangket will protect the child. Now the bangket is 'red saliva', that is, saliva mixed with the betel which turns red on chewing. Red and white are the colours of the female and male fecund fluids respectively and when these are not called yéh (water) they are referred to as kama bang and kama putih (Kama is the god of love; bang = red, putih = white). In other words I would suggest that the bangket is perhaps symbolic of these fecund fluids. Now according to van Eck (1876:213) bangket can be used on wounds and it is also the word for 'rice' in some parts of Bali. I can also add that bangket is the Sasak word for 'rice field' and for 'rice' as well, and indeed grains of rice (in this case called wija) can be stuck to the bangket when this is applied to the forehead or temples.

Now blood (getih) itself is drunk raw by the Balinese. At the beginning of every major temple ceremony a large, castrated pig is slaughtered. This is done by slitting its throat (ngorok) and collecting the blood. It is later used to make the great delicacy lawar which is chopped (lawar) boiled vegetables mixed with various spices, water and the raw blood. But this is not the only blood the Balinese like to drink. Indeed the blood of a black dog killed on a Kajeng Kliwon is considered extremely powerful, so much so that those who drink it raw boast that although they wear no clothes they remain hot (kebus) all night long despite the cold air. It is also said that to drink dog's blood too often can result in madness.

I will finally just recall the concepts yéh which, as I have said, not only means 'water' but also connotes milk and sperm and indeed other liquids as well, getah ('sap') which was said to be a life fluid in the context of the malaspasin rite, and honey (madu) which is another great delicacy but relatively hard to obtain. These are all conceptually related as fluids

of life which maintain, and even on occasion restore, life. As such they are connected to amerta, the veritable essence of life, to sari the quintessence of food, and so to metals (panca datu) and other forms of wealth. These in turn are associated with the notions of manik and soca (jewels, sperm) and so to points of transition (buku-buku, odd numbers) which are themselves related to the sources (mata, soca) from which springs new life (manik). Beings which have life then are defined by an articulated structure which is animated by a soul and sustained by a regular flow of fluids through the nodes.

10. Conclusion

In closing this chapter I think it apposite to call attention to the findings of Endicott (1970:176-179) who found that the complementary opposition of essence to body was fundamental to Malay culture and of Barnes (1974:307) who argued that "... the most irreducible conceptual distinction to be found (in Kédang) is one ... in which the form or structure of being, whether material or not, is contrasted to [the] spiritual essence which moves through it".

Bali, lying geographically somewhere between these two places, appears to exhibit both oppositions. This must surely constitute a very important piece of evidence in the consideration of the extent of Hindu influence on Balinese culture. If, as seems likely, Balinese, Malay and Kédangese culture show remarkable similarities even to the extent that they might display variations of a common Indonesian cultural pattern, then the question of the superficiality of Hindu influence must be raised in earnest. It may be that we will find that Indian culture insinuated itself into Balinese society in only certain areas, one of these being hierarchy. It is the presence of highly developed notions of hierarchy that prevents the Balinese ideas concerning the source of life from emulating the conceptions of the people of Kédang. In Kédang the earth is the only source of life and the conceptual distinction between essence and body does not occur. But in Bali how could the earth be considered as the primary source of life when hierarchy dictates that whatever is below is inferior to what is above?

CHAPTER VIII

HIERARCHY

1. Introduction

In a sense Hobart (1978a:19) is correct to maintain that the existence of caste in Bali is a definitional problem. This does not release us, however, from the responsibility of comparing hierarchy in Bali with the prototype of the system as it is found in India. Certainly Indian caste as it appears, for example, in the writings of Mayer (1960) and Mandelbaum (1970) bears slight resemblance to daily life in Bali and so comparison, to be fruitful, must be executed at a more formal level. This, I fear, involves a certain artificiality, since in order not to impede the discussion I must ignore most of the theoretical and substantive problems which are at the moment besetting Indianists in their search for a realistic model of caste and Hindu religion which reflects the complexity and profundity of the material at their disposal. This being the case I can do little more than contrast Balinese notions of hierarchy with those of India as interpreted and systematised by Dumont.[1]

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1. I select Dumont's version for anumber of reasons. Firstly it is the most comprehensive theory to date and still dominates the field of Indian sociology. Secondly it appears to coincide with Balinese ideas more readily than do some recent works which have criticised Dumont's approach as being, in some aspects at least, too simplistic and partial. So apart from Marriott's transactional theory (1968, 1976), Das (1977) bases Hinduism within a framework of relations (of equivalence, opposition, parallelism) between four major categories, Brahman, King, Sanyasi (renouncer) and a residual category of 'householders' (people-in-the-world). The relations between these categories are not determined solely by an opposition between purity and pollution, which is what Dumont avers, but rather by this opposition in conjunction with the notions of rank and separation seen as being independent of one another. However Burghart (1978) censures Das for also producing

Before embarking on this comparison, however, the dictates of scholarship insist that some space must be allowed for a brief summary of what other writers have had to say about caste and hierarchy in Bali. The first serious work came from the pen of Lekkerkerker (1926) but his treatment was defective in a variety of ways and it would serve no purpose to review it here. Similarly the massive works of Korn (1932), Liefrinck (1927) and Swellengrebel (1948) although containing interesting details do not advance our understanding of the principles involved. Of modern offerings Geertz and Geertz (1975:20-23) note that Balinese culture exhibits the distinction between status and power but they do not, for all that, refer to the importance of the opposition in defining Indian caste. Moreover they note correctly that there is no division of labour based on membership of different title groups but incorrectly that there are very few restrictions on commensality between holders of different titles.

Boon explicitily compares Balinese caste with that of India and comes to the conclusion that there are similarities (presence of the status/power disjunction and hierarchy) and

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an incomplete model in which she insists that a coherent system is undoubtedly available for study. In contrast to Das and Dumont, Burghart atomises Hinduisim into three incongruent systems personified by Brahman, King, and Ascetic based on three independently and differentially coded hierarchies which are in turn embedded in three dissimilar domains of action. In line with the growing complexity of studies of the Indian caste system and its relation to Hinduism the recent compelling essays by Fuller (1979) and Parry (1980) also place doubt on the Dumontian version by providing data on the relation of priests to gods and priests to sin and pollution respectively which tend to subvert the clearly bounded categories which Dumont has perceived. However much of this new information does not appear to be entirely relevant to the Balinese case in which the role of the ascetic is attenuated, the place of the priest more clearly ascertained and the relation between priest and gods (and indeed people and gods) founded in part on the same criteria as the relation between people in different castes. I will be able to expatiate in more detail on these matters in the next chapter.

differences (absence of jajmani system, no separation of castes) (1977:148). I must say I think Boon is wrong in his estimation that title groups (castes) are not separated with respect to marriage and other transactions (e.g. food).

Finally Hobart (1979:chap.8) goes furthest in asserting that caste exists in Bali, even to the extent of professing the applicability of Marriott's transactional model (1976) to the Balinese case. I do not think I am exaggerating if I characterise Hobart's position by saying that according to him about the only feature missing from Balinese society is a strict division of labour. Even though I feel he slightly overstates the case I am inclined to agree that it is perhaps more worthwhile to evaluate Balinese title groups as castes than to refuse them this recognition.

2. Balinese Title Groups.

It is quite obvious that I cannot proceed to the comparison of caste in India and Bali until I have described what the social units are which are supposed to be the Balinese castes. It is to that task that I now turn.

In India the numberous castes are subsumed under four major groupings known as the varna. This classification is also found in Bali where the modern spellings for these classes are, in descending order, brahman, satria, wesia and sudra. The word varna is known in Bali in the form warna which means 'colour' and 'shape' or 'form'. Usually though in conversation one refers to the varna as bangsa (or wangsa) and the four groups are collectively designated by the term catur wangsa ('the four wangsa') Wangsa has the general signification of 'race', 'family', 'consanguinity'. The groups are classes of people who share common birth from a putative male ancestor (this gloss will have to be qualified later on). Wangsa also means 'species' or 'genus' so that people, birds and animals are all different bangsa. This is important since differences between different kinds (bangsa) of animals, for example pigs and chickens, are analogous to differences between different

classes (bangsa) of people.[2]

In Bali these four bangsa are gathered into two major sub-groupings which are denoted by various epithets. First of all the foremost three classes (brahman, satria, wesia) are collectively entitled the triwangsa ('the three bangsa'). The triwangsa are also referred to as anak ménak ('noble people', which Geertz translated as 'gentry') and anak dalem ('insiders') as opposed to the sudra who are jaba ('outsiders'). The Balinese, and those who have written about them, all agree that the dichotomy of triwangsa and sudra is the most culturally significant.[3]

According to Hindu religious texts there is a duty to act in a particular way for the members of each varna. This is one's darma. This translation of darma as duty has been recently criticised by Inden (1976:18) who prefers 'code for conduct' For the Bengalis darma is conceived of as a congeries of interconnected attributes, powers and potential actions which are thought of as inherent in the things to which they belong. That is to say the darma of a thing (animate or inanimate) resides in its 'bodily substance' (Inden 1976:10) and it is the possession of this monolithic attribute which distinguishes different beings. This also appears to be Hobart's view of the matter since according to him in Bali people and things are evaluated by their differential possession of purity which is usually understood as being a property or substance with moral connotation (1979:400).

Thus it is the darma of the brahman to study, of the satria to rule and protect the people, of the wesia to engage in trade and agriculture (and in certain areas of Bali, notably Tabanan and Badung, to rule as well) and of the sudra to serve and farm. There is a certain correspondence between the ideal and practice

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2. J. de Vroom says they are also called catur jalema (the four peoples' - jalema = human being) (1872:311).

3. See Hobart (1979:407-9) for further ways in which the catur wangsa are subdivided.

but these days many brahman and other triwangsa are ordinary farmers indistinguisable from their sudra compatriots whilst many sudra study and seek office and merchant employment.

In chapter 6 attention was called to the existence of a conflict in India between absolute darma and relative darma which became more acute the lower the position in the hierarchy. Linguistically this distinction, so far as I could tell, does not occur in Bali but clearly the evidence provided makes it difficult to deny the presence of such a contrast. In India so long as one continually follows one's relative darma, no matter how repugnant this may seem to be, one will eventually, through the process of death and rebirth into a higher category due to one's past actions (karma), rise to a position where absolute and relative darma coincide. As I said, such a solution is not available in Bali because the doctrine of rebirth into a different caste according to merit is not one which is known to the ordinary villager, although it may well be current amongst the high priests. For the typical villager rebirth is always into the same title group, so that once a sudra always a sudra. I never noticed that this resulted in a conflict of values for the Balinese even when pamangku priests were very active in local village politics. My own opinion is that, for human beings at any rate, relative darma does not conflict to any great extent with absolute darma except in the ways described in chapter 6.[4]

Because Pujung is a village which contains only sudra I could get relatively little direct information on how the villagers thought about the triwangsa so that for the moment

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4. I do not feel it is worthwhile to pursue this problem any further since I do not have the necessary detailed information from villagers concerning their thoughts on these matters; I hope to be able to return to Bali to study this aspect of their culture more thoroughly. One final comment though is in order and that is that the Balinese pay very little attention to notions of nirvana and moksa (release from the cycle of death and rebirth), there are very few if any who become wandering ascetics (sanyasin) and preoccupation with previous lives and the next life is at a minimum.

I will only say that what I did see and what I was told tends to confirm Hobart's data. Later in this chapter I will present information concerning certain families in Pujung which were considered far above the ordinary villagers and for analytical purposes may well be viewed as the local satria representatives. This is not too far-fetched as will become evident.[5]

The triwangsa account for about 6% to 10% of the total population, the rest being made up by sudra and a smattering of Chinese, Muslims and Westerners. These four wangsa are internally divided into numerous groups distinguished one from another by the proud possession of a title, though as the Geertzes say (1975:22) some commoners (i.e. sudra) deny they hold a title at all and this was confirmed for me in Pujung where, even at the end of my field trip, many villagers still asserted they never had one, had forgotten it, or refused to divulge it despite my persistent importuning. As far as Pujung is concerned though, I feel sure that the main reason for this is its unique origin myth inculcating its ideal of a strict egalitarian ideology. However we shall see that there is a fairly significant difference between those who claim a title and those who do not, But to anticipate that discussion I will say now that those claiming a title try to marry their children endogamously within the title whilst those who do not claim a title try instead to simply marry kin and within the village. But this area is a minefield of problems as it is possible to impute a title to those who do not claim one on the basis that they are agnatically related to people who do claim a title. But more about that later.

The number of groups within each varna or bangsa is small in the case of the triwangsa but very large in the case of the sudra. For the brahman bangsa there are five ranked descent groups kemenuh, manuaba, keniten, mas and antapan. The provenance of these title groups is, of course, highly

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5. One should note Boon's discussion (1977:152-158) where he shows that the gusti (wesia) appeared to the sudra as satria if these latter were absent, but that if satria were present the gusti were considered by them as little better than ordinary sudra.

problematical but indigenous theory states that they were created by the mixed marriages of brahman men with women from all the other bangsa. Thus although it is true to say, as I did earlier, that recruitment to a title group is primarily accomplished by descent this must be qualified to take account of the fact that a child ideally only obtains the same title as his father if his mother is of equal, or very nearly equal, status to the father. In high-caste circles one attempts to marry a first wife (padmi) from the same title group and secondary wives (penawing) from less highly ranked groups.

Amongst the satria the titles are cokorda (cokor I dewa = 'foot of the god' (Hobart 1979), anak agung ('great one'), dewa agung ('great god'), dewa gede ('great god'), dewa ('god'), pradewa ('official of the god').

The wesia group poses some problems with which I am not competent to deal, suffice it to say that they are possibly the least important and least structured (but see Boon 1977 chapters 8 and 9 for a lively discussion). Their titles are usually prefixed with gusti often in combination with ngurah, lurah, nglurah (all possibly from rurah = 'to destroy' and indicating the fact that in large areas of Bali they are the local rulers).

The title groups within the sudra bangsa are too numerous to record, and anyway many are territorially restricted to certain areas of Bali. In Pujung the only titles I came across were pasek gelgel, pasek batuan and pande wesi with the bendesa and kubayan considered as offices within the pasek gelgel group. Other titles from this bangsa found elsewhere are kayuselem, pulosari, manikan, kebun tubuh, pande mas etc.

These groups are known in the literature as title groups but the Balinese words used to designate these groups would belie such a translation and instead point in a different direction. The words used are soroh (occasionally sorot) and bangsa. Bangsa has already been discussed and soroh has an almost identical set of referents. Thus according to the main dictionaries and my own field notes soroh means 'classification',

'species', 'race', 'type', 'a group based on consanguineal ties' (Warna 1978; van Eck 1876; van der Tuuk 1901,3,60). According to Warna soroh also means 'complete' as in the phrase banten suci asoroh ('the offering called suci in its entirety'). It is not only the title groups which can be designated in this manner; one may collect all thieves together as soroh maling, all demons as soroh raksasa. Soroh like bangsa can also be used to classify plants and animals into species and genus. This is startling really because the Hindu word for caste, jat or jati, has precisely the same range of referents (Mayer 1960:152, Dumont 1972:80, Inden 1976:10-16). In this sense at least Balinese title groups are similar to Indian castes but the most important conclusion to draw here is that the soroh are separated from each other in a qualitative way rather than a quantitative way; soroh pasek gélgél are in some sense different kinds of people to soroh pandé just as soroh siap (chickens) are different from soroh bébék (ducks). According to Inden (1976) and Inden and Nicholas (1977) jati differ one from another in terms of their bodily substance in which inheres their particular darma and Hobart appears to assert that this is also the case for the Balinese since he contends that their innate and ineluctable differences stem from the fact that they are ranked (at least in theory) in terms of their relative ritual purity combined to a particular darma. What I have said up to now will suffice for present purposes; I shall resume this part of the investigation in chapter 15 in the context of endogamous marriage.

For some title groups and especially those of the triwangsa each specific title confers a distinctive mark of relative ritual purity (kasucian)and so groups are hierarchically ranked in terms of this criterion. As Geertz and Geertz remark (1975:21) the main contexts in which title becomes important are etiquette (broadly defined) and marriage. Endogamy has always been of great significance to the Balinese although hypergamy is sanctioned. Hypogamy, the union of a man with a superior woman, is however traditionally considered so reprehensible that the couple were either banished or condemned

to death. Hypergamy when combined with polygamous marriage results in the possibility of a set of serially ranked children. In court circles both in Bali and Java much political intrigue seems to have been caused by dispute concerning the relative ranks of the *râja's* children by his numerous wives. Sometimes a child will be granted the title of the father irrespective of the mother's standing, but there are many cases (see Boon 1977) when new titles are created to take account of children conceived from lesser women. In this there is no overall and eternal ranking to which recourse may be had when a controversy arises, nor do the rules seem to be stable from one area or period to the next. Hypergamy though is one way for women to change their status upwards since if the woman becomes a primary wife she can and often does take the title of her husband and subsequently worships the gods of his group. This however entails that she can no longer pray at the shrines of her original family temple for fear of being irreparably polluted, nor can she pay last respects to her dead parents for the same reasons.

One's relative purity, although generally speaking not one's title, may be permanently augmented by becoming a priest or other semi-religious functionary such as a *balian* (curer) or *dalang* (shadow puppeteer) and so undergoing the ceremony of *mawinten*. The innate pollution, present from birth, is partially removed by offerings and by the pecking action of the duck and chicken as described in chapter 6. I am inclined to suppose that this indicates, as Hobart thinks, that purity is in some sense a material substance even if its materiality is abstract and invisible.

All in all recruitment to title groups is primarily by patrilineal descent and in this sense the title groups may be considered as patrilineal descent groups. Marriage into the group is permitted as is adoption although one looks inside the group to agnatic relations first of all before adopting from elsewhere. However this is, in most cases, merely an ideology

of common patrilineal descent from an apical ancestor and even on a local basis members of the same title group do not engage in corporate action except when they build a dadia temple (specifically for a title group) and worship their ancestral forebears (as gods) as a 'crystallised' association called pamaksan (cf Geertz and Geertz 1975). Title groups are then not solidary except in rare circumstances (the pandé for example, as described by the Geertzes 1975) and might be better conceptualised as collecations of individuals of the same fundmental kind.

Now according to Hobart (1979:409) a change of status necessitates the mobility of the whole group (in one area of course). But the Geertzes document one example whereby a teacher without a title 'rediscovered' that he was in fact a pasek gélgél (1975:78-9). In Pujung there seems to have been taking place an incohate movement of one family to raise themselves to satria level if what some villagers say can be relied upon. The family in question is that of the kubayan who lives in Telepud. In chapter 1 I related the history of the kubayan and the bendésa. This was done only briefly and I should like to expand some of the details here. The father of the present kubayan married into the compound in what is called a nyeburin marriage. Marriage is ideally virilocal and when a man marries uxorilocally he marries 'like a woman' and subsequently he has the rights of a woman. His children in fact assume the title of their mother who is, for these purposes, considered a man (mawak muani = to have the body of a man). The household at that time was quite poor and the kubayan of the day (the maternal grandfather of the present day kubayan) was, by all accounts, an excellent fellow and not at all arrogant. He was addressed as either 'kubayan' or as kaki ('grandfather' in low Balinese). The office of kubayan by-passed his brother's son and went straight to his daughter's son who also claimed pasek gélgél status. This is a source of worry for some who live in the area because no such claim was made when the grandfather was still alive. However it is not very rare for an in-marrying male to carry his title with him in Pujung and I recorded a number of examples; but this

inevitably leads to mutterings concerning the authenticity of such titles. Anyway suffice it to say that non-aligned villagers demur about the kubayan's claim to the pasek gélgél title which his father brought with him from the bendésa's house, which everyone agrees is pasek gélgél. Since then the kubayan has become extremely rich (he owns a great deal of land, a busy rice threshing factory, three lorries, a new house in the capital, Denpasar, and has risen to a high post in the Gianyar bureaucracy) and has made for himself, his sister and his daughter strategic marriages which have linked his family to the most important families in Sebatu and Pujung Kelod.

His opulence is matched to munificence and when his daughter had her teeth filed and was married the celebrations were said to rival those of an anak agung (a satria title), Along with this wealth (and one or two questioned its provenance drawing attention to the pervasive corruption in Indonesia and leaving me to draw the obvious conclusions) has come political dominance and those who disagree with him accuse him of leading the banjar like 'one leads an obedient cow'; certainly when his foremost 'orator' died most unexpectedly he himself came to the following banjar meeting and berated the gathered assemblage on every matter on the agenda. His detractors point to the obsequiousness of his clients who are said to 'have no thoughts of their own' and bemoan the fact that his plans to improve the village cause hardship to the poorer inhabitants to whom he is thought to pay no heed. For this he is described as momo (conceited and avaricious). Moreover he now expects to be addressed as bapa (middle Balinese for 'father' instead of nang which is the low Balinese word) or pekak (high for 'grandfather') or as jero (usually considered too polite in Pujung) rather than raga (used to translate 'you'). He rarely if ever sits at a coffee stall to chat with other villagers (although this is partly a result of his being a high status priest) and is generally thought to be aloof and vainglorious especially as he claims to be the foremost authority on all religous, artistic and traditional matters. On the other hand he is an immensely talented man with an almost superhuman ability to achieve excellence in whatever he undertakes and I have the impression that his own business success has been the

touchstone for the economic boom in Pujung over the last twenty years or so. In private conversations with him he has admitted to wanting to raise Pujung from being an unknown and backwater mountain village, and he was forever comparing the material affluence of Europe (which he visited with the wayang wong dancers from Pujung in 1975) to the poverty of Bali. He is then a complex man and the various descriptions of him from the other villagers pay tribute to this complexity and also to the confusion of feelings which he inspires in people. The fact is though that a number of the villagers who regret his domineering manner state that his whole purpose is to get himself recognized as an anak agung or some other similarly elevated status. They indicate the enormous celebrations he performs for his family and his cultivation of links with influential high-caste families in Gianyar and elsewhere. Nothing crucial happened whilst I was resident in the village and if he is able to promote himself it may well be a long time yet before he succeeds. What is important though is that the villagers realise, somewhat cynically, that such processes can and do take place.

3. Caste in India and Bali

Having provided a summary account of the units of analysis I can now proceed to a relatively brief examination of the similarities and differences between these units and the castes found in India. This will be effected with reference to seven, rather arbitrarily chosen, aspects of caste as it is found in India.

a. Hierarchy

According to both Dumont (1972) and Tambiah (1973) hierarchy in the Indian caste system at the level of the four varna is 'pure', that is to say, it is based on a series of dichotomies with the superordinate unit encompassing the subordinate ones. This is also true for the Balinese bangsa so far as the brahman and satria groups are concerned and also in respect of the disjunction between triwangsa and sudra although the opposition between 'once-born' and 'twice born' is largely unheard of. Such comparability is what one would ideally expect since when a cultural system is exported to a new environment it is always likely to be the bare outlines, the abstract qualities, rather

than the concrete and specific details which will be absorbed. It is generally accepted nowadays that caste came to Bali early in the Christian era and was brought from south India mostly by brahman who subsequently lived in and around the court circles - they may even have been instrumental in creating these (Bosch 1961). In such circumstances it is not at all surprising that the overarching varna scheme took root without much resistance.

However when one considers the title groups there are significant differences which will be discussed in succeeding sections. As far as hierarchy is concerned though, ranking at this level seems to be more aptly described as a serial order of one above the other. Such linear ranking is clear at the extremes of the Indian caste system where agreement is substantial, but in Bali it is mostly at the top, amongst the ruling satria and wesia groups, that ranking is a preoccupation. In India one may say that all castes are interested in their relative position viz à viz other castes and that controversy rages in the middle zones. In Bali however title groups in the sudra category, apart from the sensitive smiths (pandé) and the pasek, whom most agree are near the summit, pay relatively little attention to ranking at all (Hobart 1979:120).

b. The opposition of the pure and the impure

Ignoring Dumont's critics, Indian castes are thought to be ranked in terms of their purity which is practically established by the types of interactions that the jati will engage in with other jati. So for Dumont Bouglé's three defining characteristics of the caste system, hierarchy, separation and the division of labour, are all derivative of the purity-pollution opposition. It is a 'fundamental' opposition which should not be atomised (Dumont 1972:81).

In Bali the notion of purity (kasucian) is doubtless extraordinarily important but it is problematical to what extent the title groups are ranked according to this criterion. The reason I say this is that there is a second opposition which must not be thought of as simply a derivative of notions of purity. This is the concept of alus (refined, smooth, calm,

graceful, beautiful etc.) together with its contrary kasar (rough, coarse, agitated, ugly, rude, vulgar, rustic etc.) (cf. Geertz 1960 for the operation of the alus/kasar contrast in central Java). This opposition appears to be peculiarly Indonesian in provenance and there is little in Javano-Balinese culture, whether it be dress, speech, manner, work. art, deportment, character, life-style etc., which does not come within its all-embracing ambit. In this sense grading in respect of refinement is more wide-ranging than that by purity as there is absolutely no precedent for ranking, say, deportment or personality in terms of the latter. It is customary in Bali to describe the upper strata of the population as being more refined than the commoners and the dichotomy is also applicable to gods and spirits so that gods are refined to such an extent that they are effaced in almost complete annonymity.

Ranking by purity and refinement will yield isomorphic hierarchies but my impression is that purity is a more artificial way to rank groups. For example villagers more often said that a man of higher caste was 'higher' (tegehan) rather than 'purer' (sucian). Nevertheless should a low caste man touch the head of a cokorda ruler or man of equally high status then the latter is polluted. However one of the most important ways of recognising differential social status is by the kind of language that is used and the levels of the Balinese language are discussed in terms of their relative refinement (alus) and generally not with reference to their inherent purity. On the other hand alus speech is due to 'pure' beings such as priests and gods, and to use kasar speech to someone deserving alus is highly polluting to the latter and may entail the perpetrator paying a fine. All of these concepts hang together and may occasionally be used interchangeably but there are contexts when one is appropriate whilst another is not, and it is the collocation of these situations which poses the difficulties. I shall not say anymore about this now but take up the discussion later in the chapter.

c. Varna

There is little to say under this rubric without repeating the discussion found at section a. However I think it is pertinent to remark that although ranking of castes is important at both varna and jati level in India this is not so true of Bali where title groups in the sudra bangsa pay slight heed to this. But perhaps more significant is that in India rules of interaction whether in terms of food, touch, or intermarriage, take place between jati rather than varna whereas in Bali, very roughly speaking, it is at the level of the bangsa. Perhaps one reason for this is that, at least in southern India, jati pay little attention to their varna category (Dumont 1972:112) whereas in Bali there is generally no doubt as to which major grouping a title group belongs to. The plethora of rules pertaining to commensality amongst the service (sudra)castes of India are unknown to the relations between sudra groups in Bali with the possible exception of the pandé who exchange very little anyway (cf Hobart 1979:454). On the other hand a number of these rules come into force when relations between groups of different warna are concerned.

d. Caste

I have already drawn attention to the identity of meaning of the Hindi word jati and the Balinese word soroh both of which indicate a fundamental difference in quality between people of different groups and indeed Hobart (1979:440) provides an illuminating example. He notes that the progeny of hypergamous marriages are known as bengkiwa which is also "... the name of the hybrid produced from mating two different species of duck ..." He adds that such hybrids are thought to have bad characters, to become easily dissolute and be good-for-nothing.

One of Bougle's three defining principles of caste was that the units were separated. Even though in Bali there is no pervasive division of labour the soroh are clearly separated as beings of different kinds within the overall classification of jalema (human being). On one count at least Balinese groups might be said to be more exclusive than Indian jati. For Hindus there is always the possibility of raising one's caste through

performing one's darma and so being reborn to a higher status. Village ideology in Bali does not recognise this belief and most everybody submits to the doctrine that people are reborn into their title group whatever their karma may be. Karma, the rewards for previous actions, is played out in terms of the quality of life one has within the restricted sphere of title-group membership. Karma may be adduced to explain the existence of rich and poor sudra but never for the existence of satria overlords and sudra subjects.

e. From varna to caste

Tambiah (1973) adumbrates the ancient theory as found in the texts which describes how the multitude of jati evolved out of mixed unions between men and women of different varna. As far as I know no such theory exists in the vast Balinese lontar literature. Babad, histories of particular groups, relate the mythological past of the title group and many claim original descent from a holy man, rsi or empu, who was of Javanese birth. Many are the reasons advanced to account for the present, subjacent status position, for example that an ancestor performed a despicable action of one sort or another. However there is no overall notion of depressed status through mixed marriage to explain the present ranking of title groups.

f. Division of labour

A categorical division of labour both at the level of varna and jati is one of the most distinctive features of the Indian caste system (see Dumont 1972:108 and chap.4). Such a division of labour is not found in Bali except theoretically at the varna level (Geertz and Geertz 1975:21; Boon 1977:148). There villagers will reiterate that brahman supply the high priests, padanda, who perform the ceremonies for kings, satria are destined to rule and fight, wesia to engage in trade and sundra to serve and farm. They will also add on further questioning that pandé are the only smiths and that it is in the nature of pasek to become désa officials. But it is at this point that persistent questioning brings to light a pleasing ambiguity in Balinese notions concerning the relation between title group and occupation. In Pujung according to informed opinion all the people of Bali were originally of the same high status.

Whence then come all the lower groups? This is answered by inversion of the normal argument in which one does according to what one is. Thus brahman study the weda, satria govern, wesia trade and farm and sudra serve; and so a person who governs is by definition a satria. In this version of the theory a person's pedigree is of no relevance since what one is is determined by what one does. This theory also has the merit of accounting for the evolution of numerous other groups since it only requires a brahmana to begin farming and he is automatically demoted to the level of a sudra.[6]

It will not have escaped the reader that such a notion is tailor made for someone who desires to raise his status and this argument was most vehemently stated by the local kubayan. However it must be added that most Balinese will continue to treat a person as belonging to the group of his father irrespective of how much his present occupation deviates from what the varna theory states it should be. Nevertheless in Pujung one pandé, at least, refused to acknowledge that he was a pandé simply because he did not work as a pandé.

One friend told me that the reason why people continue to pay respect to members of higher castes who make their living by farming of by wage labour is that it is not in the power of human beings to authorise the demotion which should ideally take place. He said that only the ancestors could curse (pastu) their descendants and thereby reduce their status. But, so that the picture is not left too neat, I will add that a number of the villagers all affirmed that they would refuse to use high Balinese to someone of high caste if he had committed some major crime such as theft or rape. Whether they would have acted according to their statements I cannot say.

The issue becomes even more confusing when it is recalled that a person's darma is fixed by his bangsa. Thus if a sudra eschews farming in order to engage solely in trade he is, from one point of view, contravening his darma but from a different angle he is doing what a wesia is traditionally supposed to do and may therefore be considered a member of that group. Whether or not in such a case his darma changes I did

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6. This ambiguity between ascription and attainment has also been noted by Hobart (1979:40,46-47).

not seek to find out but I have the distinct feeling that the Balinese would treat this particular enquiry as being rather scholastic.

Hobart notes that a person may be recognised as a satria if he displays the characteristics thought to be the natural prerogative of satria such as bravery, honesty, fearlessness etc. (1979:46) and certainly this is a dominating theme in the selection of a king in Javano-Balinese culture.[7] But this also raises problems concerning the 'logic' of the Balinese conceptual structure (which are not unlike those discussed almost ad nauseam by the contributors to Wilson 1974). Unfortunately I am unable to pursue the matter due to a lack of relevant information occasioned by the absence of high-caste Balinese in Pujung,

It is impossible to arrive at any definite conclusion but I might summarize the discussion by saying that the vast majority of Balinese would repudiate someone's claim to higher title based simply on what he did or what sort of character he possessed. Those people who now administer the country's bureaucracy, teach or have someother prestigious position but who are nevertheless classed as sudra, do not suddenly or even gradually, with a few exceptions (the kubayan, who has a lot going for him, may provide such a case), become members of the satria or brahman bangsa. On the other hand they will command exaggerated respect for being part of the modern elite and, if paid well, might eventually be able to assume a life style indicative of such rank.

g. Marriage

One cannot realistically compare marriage practices because of the enormous range of variation which is to be found on the Indian subcontinent. In terms of the general characteristics of the two social systems both display endogamous marriage at some level. In India this tends to be within the subcaste whilst in Bali the question is so complicated that I shall

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7. Notions of kingship in Java and Bali have been a traditional field of research for many scholars, see Schrieke (1957), Anderson (1972), Worsley (1972) and Ricklefs (1974).

postpone all discussion until chapter 15. At the moment all I wish to note is that the existence of exogamous clans in Bali or indeed any sort of exogamous group within the endogamous group is highly problematic. Hobart has labelled certain descent groups as lineages and clans although they are not corporate nor are they exogamous (1979:330). This, it seems to me, is a major difference between the two types of hierarchy. Nonetheless it may not be important in determining the degree of fit of the two structures since it is generally accepted that marriage relations are to some extent independent of, and contingent to, the caste system. This I think is indicated by the preferential marriage practices of the Hindus of central India (Mayer 1960) and the very different prescriptive system of the Dravidians of southern India (Dumont 1957a,1957b).

Hypergamy is present in both Bali and India but whereas in India such marriages are largely confined to within the varna in Bali hypergamy seems to be recognised only when it takes place between the varna if one excludes the brahmana and satria groups. Because sudra groups pay very little attention to their relative ranking marriages involving members from different groups are not classified as hypergamous. Amongst the triwangsa hypergamous liasons are acknowledged when they are consummated by people from different title groups within the same bangsa, for example between anak agung and pradéwa which is more reminiscent of the Indian case. But even here one must be careful since in India hypergamy often only takes place between the differentially ranked exogamous clans of the same subcaste. It is really only the rather gross facts of endogamy and permissible hypergamy (and correspondingly, forbidden hypogamy) which, in the sphere of marriage, link India and Bali.

This completes the comparison of the social structures of India and Bali. In summary I think one is more likely to appreciate the case for designating Bali as a caste system once one has lived there since the ethnographic record up to the time of Geertz is rather irrelevant for deciding the issue one way or the other. Perhaps the most pertinent remark to be made

on the question now is simply to note how Indianists are seriously beginning to grapple with the multifarious problems thrown up by a consideration of how the caste system is related to the Hindu religion. If it turns out, as it well might, that Hinduism and caste are only contingently related then the question as to whether Bali has or has not a caste structure becomes academic because the mere fact that it exhibits such a system would imply very little about the rest of the culture.

4. Interaction between title groups

Hobart (1979:422-447) has already done an excellent job of detailing the ethnography of inter-caste relations in a Balinese village and it would be superfluous for me to repeat it, especially as his information is richer than my own in this area.[8] I agree with his contention that such interaction becomes significant in the spheres of language, food, sex and marriage, and to a lesser extent, ritual.

To accept the remains (surudan) of food offered to the gods or that left over (lungsuran) by a human being is to acknowledge inferior religious status. Equality is indicated by sharing food from the same plate (saling carik, marid kaparid) and in general this is the situation in Pujung where it is customary for all those who are not guru (priests and village officials who have undergone some form of the mawinten ceremony) to take rice, with the right hand, from the same basket irrespective of whether they are pandé, pasek or confess to no title at all. This, I might add, also applies to women who, at cremations, will eat with the men from the same rice baskets.

In the house hold only children will eat the remains of their parents' meals and the wife of her husband's although this is a rather academic rule since it is rare for someone to leave anything (which is, in any case, an insult to Déwi Sri) and even if one has something left it is usually given to the pig or the compound dog, the latter living in a perpetual state of malnutrition.

Rules concerning food are in essence isomorphic with those pertaining to holy water. Persons of high caste will not accept holy water from priests of lower caste and equally they

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8. See also, for a short early review, Beets (1924)

will never pray to the gods of temples supported by people of lower caste for fear of permanently polluting themselves. In Pujung these rules are well known and I was informed about them on a number of occasions, simply in order to demonstrate how egalitarian the citizens of Pujung really are. I have the impression that they are proud (especially those who had nothing to lose by it) of the fact that there is not one priest in Pujung who would refuse to perform a ceremony in any compound temple (sanggah). That is to say pandé priests are quite happy to conduct ceremonies in the sanggah of non-pandé even though traditionally pandé rank considerably higher than all other sudra groups. This equality of course reflects the content of the origin myth of Pujung and the only time that I detected any difference between the pandé and non-pandé families was at cremations when the pandé are allowed five roofs to their cremation towers to one for everyone else.

In the context of this discussion it is worth pointing out that the hierarchy of human beings is apparently replicated after death in heaven. If it is forbidden for high castes to pray at the shrines of low castes then this means that the hierarchy extends into the afterlife. This is supported by the fact that reincarnation (patitis) is restricted to the same title group. It is also demonstrated by the differential number of roofs on the cremation tower. Each group has a traditional number of these roofs which are supposed to represent the ranked heavens of the universe. The soul of the dead person is thought to pass through these roofs and to reside in the heaven represented by the highest roof. Thus an anak agung, with his nine roofs, ascends to a much higher heaven than a sudra (leaving aside the pandé) who may only claim a single roof.

Rules concerning the regulation of physical contact are also fairly lax in Pujung and indeed are mainly enforced in respect of women and men. Basically it is absolutely forbidden for a woman to place herself directly above a man and as a result they will always stoop when passing a seated man, or ask him to stand up. This also goes for clothes and even in Pujung a person would consider himself seriously polluted should

his head come into contact with the clothes a woman wears below the waist. Thus when drying clothes those of a woman are conspicuously close to the ground.

The notion of language levels has been extensively written about (see Geertz 1960:248-260, Poedjosoedarmo 1968, Keeler 1975 for Java and de Vroom 1872, van Eck 1874, Kersten 1970, Hobart 1979 for Bali) and I can do no more here than to echo Hobart's findings. Pujung is generally considered to be somewhat unsophisticated in its inhabitant's ability to use the various levels of the language with subtlety and many women confessed to almost total ignorance of the high form (basa alus) and became nervous if they were required to use it. Between the villagers the ordinary basa biasa, mixed with various items from the even lower basa kasar (the vocabulary normally used to refer to animals), is used even with certain of the priests, most notably the banjar priests.

One point that Hobart does not mention concerns the identification of the level used by the lexeme chosen for the first and third personal pronouns. Thus basa alus is often referred to in Pujung as basa titiyang whilst basa biasa (itself regularly denoted as basa kasar) is referred to as basa cang (titiyang and cang being the first person pronoun in high and low Balinese respectively). Lower levels are indicated by the use of such coarse forms as awaké (which literally means 'my body').[9] In fact I was often told that when outside the village it would be enough to use tiang (the intermediate form between titiyang and cang) and a few other carefully selected items. Such a level is often referred to as basa pasar ('the language of the market') since it is at the market where restraint and politeness are required and where the topics of conversation are limited and of short duration.

One aspect of this is the use of the first person pronoun

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9. The four main versions of the first person pronoun then are, in decreasing order of refinement, titiyang, tiang, cang and awaké. Cang is pronounced 'chang' and when said quickly does not sound very different from tiang. It may be totally spurious but titiyang may be seen as composed of two words titi and yang. The first word also refers to the wobbly bridge over which souls of the dead must cross to heaven and yang denotes the ancestors. Thus titiyang seems to reflect the notion of immateriality. Awaké, on the other hand, as I have already said, means 'body' and if one uses this pronoun one is essentially equating one's being with one's material nature as represented by the body, which is most apt if one is using crude forms of the language.

from Indonesian, saya, which some people employed with me because they were unable to choose a suitable level. Geertz (1966) tends to think that the Balinese eschew the use of these pronouns altogether because they have a 'depersonalised' notion of personhood. I found, on the contrary, that the pronouns were used with monotonous regularity in the village and indeed the traditional reply to someone who calls out one's name is simply 'tiang'(I, me). If there is a certain reticence over using pronouns between people of different status then this is probably a reflection of the difficulty in fixing an appropriate level between people whose respective positions are not well known or disputable.

Broadly speaking those of low status render respect and recognition of superior purity to those of higher caste by using basa alus whilst the latter in return reply with the much less 'pure' basa biasa. This 'ordinary' level carries a degree of pollution when used towards or about someone who normally requires a higher level. Thus to use low Balinese in conversation with a priest or member of high caste pollutes the recipient and the perpetrator may be fined, or beaten, or ordered to pay the cost of the necessary purification ceremony, the extent of the punishment depending on the disparity between the words used and those that should have been used. Because it is more important to be circumspect about certain classes of words (such as those pertaining to the body, thoughts and actions of people), and because the capacity to enforce conformity to the rules may depend on the relative power of the speakers there is tremendous scope, as Hobart notes (1979:431), for the manipulation of status distinctions. But the situation is also complicated by the intrusion of an ambiguity in the sort of level that should ideally be used by higher castes. Priests, especially padanda, are noted for their moderation (Hobart 1979:433) in the use of the coarse vocabularies and it appears to be a widespread conviction that esteem (even though coupled with a degree of mockery and ridicule) attaches to someone who always uses high Balinese. Certainly I was occasionally admonished that it would be more 'alus' for me to always use the higher forms even if I was addressed in low Balinese. In that case shame (lek)

would rebound on the latter. Thus there would appear to be a developed notion that the purity of the words used affects not only the recipient but also the speaker, that is to say, the quality of alusness redounds to him who performs actions considered to be intrinsically alus. For the ordinary villager though such behaviour would be thought of as presumptious and overbearing. Similarly the cokorda who addressed his subjects in high Balinese would be a laughing stock but the priest, who serves the gods, is fully entitled to preserve his purity by all possible means.[10]

Ritual interaction between the castes is restricted to low castes helping the local high-caste families (cokorda; in the case of Pujung, the kubayan and the bendésa) in the preparations required for the staging of vastly expensive life-crisis rites. Status distinctions are also registered in the kind and amount of offerings used and the sort of accessory ritual paraphernalia employed. This is most conspicuously the case at the time of cremations when the number of roofs on the tower (wadah) and the type of animal sarcophagus selected are caste linked, the prerogatives being jealously guarded.

I shall say nothing here about interaction as reflected in marriage between castes as this will be discussed in chapter 15.

5. Conclusion

The hierarchy of title groups in Bali is reminiscent of the Indian caste system with which it shares a number of remarkable similarities but with which it also deviates in some significant aspects, most notably in the absence of a fully integrated division of labour and an ideology of ranking within the sudra bangsa; the fact that there are no ranked exogamous clans within

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10. Hobart explains the reticence of the padanda's use of low Balinese in terms of Marriott's (1976) transactional model developed to account for Indian data (Hobart 1979:451). Whereas this appears to succeed, at least in part (although I do not entirely agree that the smiths control the exchange of personal names anymore than other groups do. What the smiths do is simply to use teknonyms rather than birth-order names (fratronyms) or kin terms, and in so doing they, like most everyone else, reject the use of personal names - at least this is the case for adults; I shall be discussing the matter at greater length in chapter 14), I am not sure that the model does anything more than arrange the information in a novel way.

the title groups would strike an Indianist as also constituting an important distinguishing feature. Nevertheless the Balinese system does embody the disjunction between status and power at both the theoretical and practical levels and it is this contrast which Dumont affirms as the criterion of the presence of caste.

The title groups of the triwangsa (though not of the sudra) and the four bangsa themselves are graded in terms of a set of concepts which includes purity (kasucian),[11] refinement (alus), immateriality and spatial locations (in terms of relative head height). The rankings produced by these criteria are for the most part coincident and the concepts are also employed to grade a wide variety of other objects such as colours, trees, metals, houses, occupations, personalities, language levels, interpersonal interaction and so forth.

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11. Hobart argues that the concept of purity is only coherent at the linguistic level (1979:461) and that at the level of action there are different notions of purity, such as that it may be considered as a substance or property of objects, that it is a criterion used to evaluate objects as good or bad and also that it designates a full member of a bounded class. He also says that the concept kasucian is unlikely to designate a discrimminable body of knowledge since there are at least twelve different terms to denote its opposite.

While I agree in principle with this sort of analysis I think it is fair to say that some of the evidence has been neglected. For a start suci is by no means the only concept which connotes purity or cleanliness. Sukla (virgin', 'unused'), bersih ('clean, 'pure', 'holy'), kedas, tedas ('clean', 'neat', 'beautiful', 'pure'), ening ('clear', 'pure'), anyar 'unused', similar connotations to sukla), putus ('perfect', 'holy', 'complete') are words used on an everyday basis. Certainly some of these may be used as synonyms for suci whereas the words denoting pollution such as leteh, sebel kumel, resem and so on cannot be readily interchanged. Nonetheless it tends to vitiate the analysis if these concepts are ignored. But anyway even if Hobart's argument could not be criticised from that angle one might wish to say that this is as it should be anyway. From the evidence which I supplied at the beginning of chapter 7 concerning the structure of the Balinese universe one might well expect that a concept which alludes to the origin of the universe (purity is analogous to all those concepts such as unity, spirituality etc. listed at that place in the text) should lack categorical differentiation, whilse its contraries ought to be narrower, derived (pollution is the absence of purity), parasitic on the concept of purity, and deal in gross materiality.

This chapter expounded the rather formal analysis of hierarchy in Bali for which I do not claim much merit but which constitutes a necessary part of the whole. The following chapter will return to the ethnography and an examination of the Balinese system of person definition which will also be perceived as hierarchical and as based on the same concepts as the ranking of the title groups. But a new and fascinating aspect of this hierarchy is the role played by the opposition between eternality and transience and the implied contrast of the perduring and changeless sphere of the gods to the evanescent and constantly changing world of mortal beings.

Another difficulty with Hobart's analysis of purity and its relation to power is that not all objects which are full members of bounded classes are pure and not only those which are interstitial display attributes of power. After all all human beings are members of their title groups but are graded in terms of their relative purity whilst one of the strongest and most legitimate forms of power is that which devolves on the class of satria rulers. Hobart attempts to delineate an alternative model based on power to explain the 'way the world is' in contrast to the 'way the world ought to be' which is founded ideally on the hierarchy as ranked in terms of purity and darma. But I have already (in chapter 6) indicated the solution to this problem, a solution which has the merit of retaining power (and even force) within the traditional system rather than as introducing it, in a somewhat ad hoc manner, as an alien and conflicting conceptual structure which 'explains' the reality of everyday events in a way that can never be achieved if attention is given only to the 'ideal theory'. Similarly Hobart attempts to treat power as emanating from the boundaries and margins (even though he admits that this cannot account for all manifestations of power 1979:469), most notably in the context of witchcraft (pangiwa). In the next chapter though I will try to demonstrate that witches may be most profitably understood in terms of the relations between the different types of creature which inhabit the Balinese world and that in fact they are not marginal personages at all.

CHAPTER IX

GODS, PEOPLE, SPIRITS AND WITCHES

1. Introduction

If one lives in a Balinese village for any length of time it is inevitable that one will eventually become acquainted with a wide spectrum of creatures of a kind that one does not normally meet in Europe. For a start there are the divers kinds of people be they pasek, pandé or cokorda. Of course at the level of the genus these 'species' (soroh)are all the same in that they are members of the class of human beings (jalma) and as such they are categorically opposed to other groups. In Bali four other major divisions may be unambiguously distinguished. These are the gods (batara, dewa),malevolent spirits (buta-kala), witches (léyak) and animals (buron). Within each of these classes further distinctions are indeed apparent and where possible I will supply detailed information. However I should point out, such is the profusion of beliefs and forms, especially in the category léyak, that many particulars will have to be omitted.

As I said in the previous chapter these different genera are hierarchically ranked although the relative position of animals and witches is, in the nature of things (witches often choose to do their work in the form of certain animals) impossible to determine. The ranking, not only of the broad categories themselves, but also of the members within each category is a result of the operation of a series of dichotomies such as purity/pollution and alus/kasar, but it is also founded

on an indigenous theory concerning the moral evaluation of the passions.[1]

2. The Gods

I do not think that it is feasible to argue that the Balinese have a single coherent conception of divinity if only because they have absorbed, over the years, a number of Hindu gods into their own pantheon. These Hindu deities, Siwa, Brahma and Wisnu being the most famous, might be termed the superordinate gods since they stand just below the very pinnacle of the hierarchy and also because they exhibit characteristics which the other Balinese gods do not. At the summit of the ranking stands the supreme Sanghyand Widi (otherwise known as Sanghyang Tunggal, Sanghyang Tintaya and Batara Guru or Siwa). Widi, according to Swellengrebel (1960:71), receives more attention these days than in previous eras. In the myths of creation Widi is the transcendant spiritual unity out of which the material existence of man gradually differentiates. As such this god is remote and exceedingly abstract; the type of god the Balinese, in his village religion which emphasises a very close relationship to a particular though anonymous god, would not understand. I have repeatedly mentioned in the course of this essay that the traditional gods of the Balinese are their deified ancestors and even if no one cay say which specific ancestors are the gods at any one time, they are ancestors nevertheless and thus 'creatures of the same kind'. Widi can never fulfil this type of role and so, in company with all the Hindu gods, there are no temples especially dedicated to his worship. This is not to say that there are no shrines through which they may be supplicated. Indeed the kamulan (see chapter 4) found in every family temple has three compartments supposedly representing Brahma, Siwa and Wisnu. However in this instance they are conceived, I think, as a sort of abstract divinity with which the ancestors, as they become more and more remote from the present day, gradually coalesce. In other words the world of mankind is formed by a

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1. I use this word to include emotions, feelings, thoughts and virtues and vices.

slow and progressive differentiation of Widi and this process is reversed as ancestors gradually relinquish all ties to the living and fuse with the creating principle in which all distinctions are again obliterated.[2]

Whether or not one classes these Hindu gods with the Balinese gods (dewa, batara) is not a question of paramount significance to the Balinese. The former are the deities which appear in the myths and tales (dongéngan) and stories (satua) and play a part in the 'good and bad day' system. However the ordinary villager knows very little about these Hindu gods apart from their names and that they are the 'god of such and such'. Thus, for example, Sri is the goddess of rice and she is female; Brahma is the 'creator', Wisnu the 'sustainer' and Siwa the 'destroyer'; Baruna is the god of the ocean and Bayu the god of the wind. But the name and the function of the god in question exhausts the knowledge of all but the most erudite and analytical. In this sense all gods, be they of Indian or Balinese origin, are pretty much alike - they are nondescript.

Their anonymity is the most interesting characteristic of the gods. Thus the god of the Balé Bang temple in Pujung is entitled Ida Batara ring pura Balé Bang which simply reiterates the description ('Most Respectful God of the Balé Bang temple'). The god has no other name nor can anyone list a set of features which might distinguish this god from the god of another temple. This is, however, not the same thing as saying the god is remote in the same way that Widi is. When Ida Batara descends he does so onto a pratima and is then carried about on the head of a priest's wife. At the annual temple festival the gods are bathed, nourished and entertained; they are in very close propinquity with their congregation and it is at this time that members beseech the god for favours by making vows (masangi, masaudan). In this sense at least there is an intimate and substantial relation; it cannot by any stretch of the imagination

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2. The fact that village tradition also has it that ancestors are reborn into their own descent groups does not seem to pose any problems, and I will not try to rationalise it or attempt to introduce a logic which does not exist for the Balinese.

be said to be merely formal. It is this aspect of the relationship between the Balinese and their gods which Geertz tends to neglect even if on the other hand he apprehends exactly the abstract nature of these figures (1973b:387-8). Such a nature may be described as faceless and conventionalised, as spiritual and therefore disembodied, as transcendental and therefore eternal. The gods in fact live in the realm that the Balinese call niskala (literally 'no kala' and this may be glossed as either 'no time' or 'no malevolent spirits') whilst mortals survive in the tangible world, sakala (this is impossible to translate, but it may be said to refer to the world of transient events, an historical realm in which noxious spirits are always present) (Friederich 1959:78).

There are certain features of the gods which Geertz does not mention, because, I think, he makes no effort to discriminate between the gods of temples and the Hindu deities. It is these latter only which appear as occasionally rapacious; thus Guru is often portrayed as hardly able to contain his immoderate salacity. Ordinary temple deities are considered pure and perfect and there are no stories of this kind at all concerning them. Moreover in those recensions of Hindu epics which describe such indecorous scenes, the god never fails to metamorphosize into a huge ogre, but more about that later. The point is that notwithstanding that certain gods (Hindu gods) go off the rails occasionally, gods in general are conceived of as pure and restrained. In short they are the epitome of all that may be classed as alus. In respect of this we may conclude that the gods as a class are simply an extension of the category of human beings (jalma), and that the same relations apply between gods and men as between high and low castes.

Fuller (1979) has recently questioned such a view in the context of Hinduism by pointing out that the congruence is not precise since the gods will accept boiled rice from the supplicants who are much less pure, something that is unthinkable among men. In Bali the gods are pure and cannot be polluted as Fuller says of the Hindu gods of southern India.[3]

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3. This is perhaps overstated: it might be more accurate to say that a situation is very unlikely to arise in which a god could become polluted short of someone running amok in a temple and desecratingthe 'seats' (pratima) of the gods whilst they are reposing (malinggih) on them. Suffice it to say with Fuller that purity is the idiom in which contact between men and gods is arranged and it is the places, objects, offerings and the people themselves which must be purified before the encounter can be condoned.

But just as in India, Balinese gods will accept cooked rice, and indeed any food, from anyone. Fuller solves this part of the problem by noting that the relation between gods and men is not isomorphic with that between high and low castes but is parallel with that between a man and his wife. In Bali other considerations must first of all be taken into account. First it must be remembered that the gods only partake of the essence of the offering, which by definition is pure, just as is the soul in the body, and moreover this essence rightly belongs to the gods. Secondly no offering however small is presented to a god without prior purification with holy water. This process expunges any pollution which may have accrued by virtue of a part having been dropped on the floor, or stolen or used elsewhere previously (in theory an offering should consist of items which are sukla, unused). In fact it is of course only the left overs (surudan) which are consumed by the people and this connotes subordination to that god. Furthermore high castes refuse to bring offerings (maturan) to, and a forteriori eat the remains of offerings from, gods of inferior status as this will result in permanent decasting to the level of the deity (Hobart 1979:424). Thus a brahmana in Bali considers himself purer than any sudra ancestor god. All in all the problem does not seem to constitute itself in the same terms in Bali as it does in India.

In the same article Fuller also avers that the crucial attribute of the Hindu gods is power (1979:469) and I suppose this is how it has to be for it would seem ludicrous to beseech impotent gods.

Certainly Balinese gods are powerful and they have the capacity to foster success or cause failure, promote health or inflict sickness. But of course in Bali the gods are credited with spiritual authority as was explained in chapter 6 and so the crude implementation of power would at first sight, appear somewhat anomalous. In fact as the Balinese in Pujung eventually informed me, the gods never themselves interfere. If someone is ill and this is attributed by a medium to the anger of the ancestors, this does not entail that the ancestors

directly caused the illness. The illness would be a result of attack by spirits acting as the agents of the ancestor. In other words punishment (success is usually dependent upon good karma and spirit inaction) is meted out by spirits which stand very low in the hierarchy. Gods, viewed as the distant instigators, have the prerogative to employ these spirits whose inferior position in the hierarchy is commensurate with the implementation of gross power, as the immediate agents. In this manner the opposition between the spiritual authority of the gods and the temporal power of lesser creatues is wholly maintained. Power to effect illness or misfortune is only possessed by embodied spirits in the world of substance.

According to Geertz (1973b:388-9) these gods represent

> ... the purest expression of the Balinese concept of personhood. They are also confronting the image of what they consider themselves at bottom to be; an image which the biological, psychological, and sociological concomitants of being alive, the mere materialities of historical time, tend only to obscure from sight.

I cannot agree with this since it only tells half the story. Rather than the gods representing what the Balinese fundamentally feel themselves to be I would instead suggest that the gods simply personify all those aspects of character which the Balinese find most meritorious. The actions, thoughts and emotions which the Balinese place great value in are precisely those which the gods and the higher castes are supposed to embody to the greatest extent. Such actions may be designated alus (highly refined, stylized, smooth), and language as circumlocutory and discursive. The emotions may be characterised as tranquil and dignified, and personages in this category strive to cultivate an ability to remain unruffled and unsurprised. Emotions such as anger, jealousy, envy and hate should as far as possible be eschewed. The highest gods of course are thought to be in a permanent state of beatitude. They are disposed to these states by definition. That is to say a god is a representation of these dispositions and the more elevated the god the more he is conceived to display such characteristics. In a sense the Balinese immortalize a

certain temperament, a certain quality of mind and therefore place it in the empyrean realm of the eternal and immutable. These gods are then not an image of what the Balinese consider themselves to be but only a representation of what they perceive to be their most commendable traits.

Earlier in the chapter I mentioned that the spirit world is hierarchically structured. At the very top is Sanghyang Widi closely followed by the Indian *trimurti* of Brahma, Wisnu and Siwa. Under these are the Balinese gods of temples, the *batara* and *déwa*, and just below these appear the ancestors (*hyang*). At the bottom are the followers (*iringan*) most notably the heavenly nymphs (*widiadari*) and such officials as the 'secretary' (*sedahan rurah*). According to most writers the upper echelons of the Balinese caste system merge into the lower regions of the divine hierarchy.

3. People

That there is continuity between the mortal and divine realms is first of all indicated by the fact that the gods, eventually, are nothing other than deified human beings (*jalma*). Moreover one of the words used in reference to the death of members of the high castes is *néwata* - literally 'to become a god'. The central figures of the high castes are, as I have already said, supposed to exhibit those characteristics, although in a rather attenuated fashion, which are most properly displayed by the gods, and the higher one is on the hierarchy the greater should be the coincidence. Finally even the names, or rather titles, of the high castes demonstrate that they are only a step away from divinity. Thus *brahmana* are addressed by the same honorific as gods, *ida*. Within the *satria* caste elevated titles are *déwa agung*, *déwa gedé* ('great god'), *anak agung* ('great man'), *pradéwa* ('official of the god').[4]

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4. Titles like this indicate the presence of the institution of divine kingship. In fact this institution is present but effectively only at the level of the state (cf Swellengrebel 1947). In the village the local rulers, usually of the *satria* caste, are as secularised as they could be notwithstanding their titles which, anyway, are sometimes ambiguous. For example *cokorda* is a shortened form of *cokor I déwa* ('feet of the god') which clearly implies an executive rather than a legislative office.

The nearer one is, in the context of the title system, to divinity, the closer should one's behaviour and inner condition approximate to that of the gods. The hierarchy of emotions and dispositions is equally based on the dichotomy of alus/kasar so that that sort of action which is termed alus (e.g. refusing to strike back in a fight) is applauded whilst that which is kasar (e.g. initiating a fight) is condemned. But this does not mean that the only model on which action can be based is that of the higher castes. Indeed it is considered presumptious and somewhat ridiculous for a sudra farmer to aspire to exquisite forms of alus behaviour. Perhaps this is better stated as that it is permissible for all to aspire to the ideals manifested by the gods but the higher the ritual status the more appropriate is the imitation considered to be. For those low in the hierarchy action of a more brutish nature is to some degree more acceptable. Men of a dynamic nature can hardly expect to be praised for their reserve so that such people, if they become active in the village, may be termed gemes (cruel) or katos (hard). But this is not always a completely negative assessment. One man who beat his wife (in fact he had two and spent alternate weeks with each in their separate dwellings) was respected as a man who could get things done, a man who spoke clearly and to the point at banjar meetings. It should also be remembered that men in the prime of life, that is, those who are married and who are members of the banjar, are perfectly entitled to indulge in brash activities. There are also plenty of other standardised caricatures on which action may be based. Thus erotic love as embodied in Semara Ratih finds its context in Balinese life in the very sexually oriented joged dance in which the young, nubile girl dancers invite men from the

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Moreover even at the state level the notion of the divine king is attenuated since priests are required to consecrate the king and perform all the ceremonies. Thus the Buddhist conception (and one should not be surprised that elements of the Buddhist world view are to be found in Bali; the great age of Indian influence occurred at a time, 300 BC - 300 AD, when Buddhism flourished on the sub-continent) lives on in a milieu in which the priest is still superior to the king although this is a reversal of the Buddhist tradition (but one which is nevertheless in line with Hinduism). We may speculate that the idea of divine kingship was very attractive to the rulers of the time and that it was easy to absorb because of its isomorphism with the opposition between centre and periphery which was probably already present.

audience to accompany them. The general ambition of the man, however, seems to be to embarrass the girl by making rapier-like thrusts to her genital area before she can extricate herself. A clever male dancer can reduce a girl to tears in seconds while the audience hoot with ecstatic laughter. Energetic, action-packed behaviour finds its champion in Bima one of most beloved characters of the shadow puppet theatre (wayang kulit). In fact the shadow theatre supplies an almost endless variety of models. The clowns Tualén and Murda give a certain license to stupidity and slapstick, but they are also allowed to openly criticise their betters. Finally one of the most noble protagonists in the war between the Pandawa and Korawa, which is the eternal theme of the shadow theatre, is Judisthira but even he is flawed by his passionate attachment to gambling which eventually brings temporary disaster to his family.

In this sense the Balinese are allowed all manner of modes of behaviour and their conception of action is correspondingly complicated and cannot simply be characterised by appeal to a unidimensional theory which sees all Balinese as rather inadequate approximations of the gods. If I am correct in suggesting that all those dispositions, emotions and characteristics which the Balinese consider most creditable are represented and embodied in their gods so that, in effect, the gods are nothing more than reified entities personifying these dispositions, then equally we should expect to find other creatures which embody those traits of personality, emotions and dispositions which are despised, which are thought to be antithetical to social and moral harmony.[5] In fact we do not have to seek very far for the creatures which fit the bill, they are none other than the buta-kala spirits.

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5. Evans-Pritchard (1956) is doubtless correct when he contends that religion should not be treated as a mere extension of the social order, that it always displays a content which cannot be exhaustively analysed in this way. In this and the last three chapters I hope I have succeeded in elucidating the marvellous complexity of Balinese hierarchical notions. My implicit aim all along has been to demonstrate that hierarchy is a 'total social phenomenon' (Mauss 1970:1) which, all at once, expresses social, religious, political and economic institutions.

4. The Buta-Kala

The Balinese conceptually equate outward appearance with inner condition so that *alus* connotes both a relaxed inner tranquility and external beauty whilst *kasar* refers both to an inward agitation and also to an ill-favoured physiognomy. Thus according to Hobart girls of ~~the~~ high caste are generally thought to be more beautiful than those of low castes (1979:439), and in previous times a girl would deform herself if she thought it likely that the local *raja* would have her carried off to his harem. Girls with such defects (*mala*) are considered as unfit consorts for a king and conversley an unrighteous monarch was conceived as afflicted with a deformity (Moertono 1968:39). It is clearly notions such as these which provide the exegetical context for a proper understanding of certain events portrayed in Javano-Balinese literature. I am here referring to the motif in which various gods, most frequently Siwa and Uma, metamorphose into their antithetical forms and appear as huge and uncontrollable ogres whose physical aspect and venal motives are equally loathsome.[6] Such ogres (*raksasa*, *kala*, *buta*) are only temporary deviations from their

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6. There is no shortage of examples and the interested reader is recommended to consult Pigeaud (1924:170), Poerbatjaraka (1931:170), van Stein Callenfels (1925:84), Swellengrebel (1934:103,137), Covarrubias (1937:340-1), Hooykaas (1972:135). In Hooykaas (1974:64-5) Uma, having become Durga, is described in the following manner:

> The Goddess then looked on Her Self
> and full of wrath She then became.
> Her urge was then to eat mankind;
> She screamed and like a lion roared.
>
> Her teeth were long and sharp, like tusks,
> Her mouth an abyss in between,
> Her eyes shone, they were like twin suns.
> Her nostrils, deep and cavernous.
>
> Her ears stood like two thighs, straight up,
> Matted and twisted was Her hair;
> Her body was misshapen, huge,
> There was nothing that broke its height.
>
> It pierced The Egg of the Universe,
> Reached to the centre of the Sky.
> Such then, was the Goddess Durga,
> That was the name She then bore.

normal and benign forms as gods which they assume as a result of being overwhelmed by base feelings. This transformation is always accompanied by a transition from heaven to the world of mortals and often to such marginal areas as the crossroads, ravines or the graveyard. The ogre retains its normal form on the abatement of his odious proclivities and the performance of some sort of purification ceremony (lukat). Another important characteristic of these creatures is their egotism which stands in stark contrast to the altruism of the gods. As such they are restrained by nothing and their action is determined by their iniquitous lusts. Physically these demons embody every trait the Balinese despise. They are ugly to a grotesque extent with round eyes, swollen noses, pointed teeth, hairy bodies, foul-smelling breath and a stupid and ludicrous gait. Their behaviour is completely obnoxious; they eat and drink anything and are perpetually drunk - which might account for the widely held belief that they are unable to turn corners with any degree of success. Indeed they are the epitome of brutishness and inelegance.

Because of the characteristics which these creatures exhibit they are perceived to be like animals in the sense that animals are grossly self-indulgent desiring only to satiate their bodily appetites, and this accounts for the detestation the Balinese have for any type of behaviour which smacks of animality. Specific animal-like behaviour is expressly forbidden and Geertz (1973c:419-20) even remarks that the revulsion against such behaviour can hardly be overstressed. Belo relates that children are not allowed to crawl since only animals walk on all fours (1970b:90), and indeed this proscription was in evidence in Pujung whilst I lived there.

A story which is recounted by de Kat Angelino (1921:215-6) seems to indicate that the main difference between men and animals is conceived in terms of the possession of culture and specifically in respect of Man's ability to fashion metal, speak and dance and also in the fact that men and women do not mate indiscriminately. In other words men distinguish themselves from animals and all other non-humans (except the gods of course) in that they live by rules and conventions and

thus have to restrain their natural impulses in order to create social harmony. To commit rape, adultery or incest is essentially to deny these rules and confuse the divisions so such actions are heavily punished. Bestiality is the most obscene violation of the distinction between man and non-man. Such a crime is said to make the country 'hot' (panes) which in turn leads to droughts, loss of crops, epidemics, natural disasters etc., and if Covarrubias is correct, in former times both animal and offender were thrown into the ocean (1937:145). Incest is punished by forcing the couple to crawl on their hands and knees to a pig's trough where they must drink the water provided for the pigs (Belo 1970b:90). Similarly twin births, especially if these are of opposite sex, and even more so if the girl comes out first (in which case she is considered older) are perceived as replicating the multiple births of animals and this is compounded by the belief that the children have committed incest whilst in the womb. In such cases the family is banished from the village for 42 days.

As should already be evident it is not simply animal behaviour which is abominated but anything which approaches to a rejection of the rules and customs by which the Balinese live. Thus Covarrubias records that it is tabooed to have sexual relations with albinoes, idiots, lepers (Korn:1922), and the sick and deformed in general (1937:144).

Suffering of this nature is thought to be caused by a curse inflicted by an ancestor or other spirit. In other words such unfortunates already inhabit the marginal world between the realms of men and animals and relations with them should be avoided. In the case of lepers relations are terminated altogether since they are banished from the village.

It is possibly in the light of these ideas that inter-caste (at least inter-varna) relations should be viewed. Although all human beings are at one level the same at a less inclusive level they are creatures of a different kind and interaction between them is bound to reflect this. Thus hypogamy, and even hypergamy, are to some extent equivocal because they both entail the fusion of fundamentally different classes. Perhaps I might

even be allowed to speculate that extravagant notions of pollution and purity only arise in societies, like Bali and India, in which the world is considered to be peopled by basically different categories of creatures.

If a condition bordering on the bestial is thought reprehensible then to some extent so is illness and other forms of physical and mental distress. For Java H.Geertz (1961) records that mothers attempt to preserve the well-being of their babies so that they do not cry. She further notes that people who have not learned the necessary forms of respect and etiquette (e.g. children) and those who are unable to control themselves emotionally (e.g. the insane) are considered to be not properly Javanese (1961:111). Accordingly the socialization of children is, in large part, concerned with the inculcation of such ideas and it is the correct apperception of them that marks a person as truly Javanese (1961:110). Much the same can be said for Bali where child-rearing practices are very similar. The other side of the coin is that emotional turmoil is thought to be a cause of sickness and even death (H.Geertz 1961:134,137 ; C. Geertz 1960:47,97). The point I wish to elaborate here, and I shall be returning to conceptions of illness in a later chapter, is that when a person is overcome by emotional distress or by any disvalued feeling he is often said to have been invaded (susup) by a spirit in the buta-kala class. It may also be said that a person who is emotionally distressed is more likely to fall victim to attack by a malevolent spirit and hence to a display of violent feelings such as anger and recrimination. This means that certain types of illness, emotional disturbances of all kinds and reprobate inclinations in general, animality, deformity and repudiation of the norms and values of Balinese society are all interrelated. Moreover this set of articulated concepts is associated with the abode of mankind, transience, and gross materiality and the buta-kala.

Having reached this stage of the investigation it is time to turn to a more detailed examination of the buta-kala spirits. First of all it will prove invaluable to record some of their names since unlike the anonymous gods the spirits are named in a most specific fastion.

To begin with I will enumerate some of the names of this class of spirit which appear in Balinese literature, in this case the litany of the sengguhu priest (Hooykaas 1974:69-70): kala nundang (lurer), buta sayah (poverty), kala graheng (snatcher), buta nandang (enticer), kala duleg (mistrust), buta nelik (spy), kala mukti (gorger), buta nelep (peeping Tom), kala ninte (peeper), kala nintip (nosey), buta mansa (flesh eater), buta edan (lust), buta wuru (drunkard), buta simuh (worry), buta ngoncang (noise), buta ngadu (attacker), buta lepek (scared). Elsewhere Hooykaas records 'kala serious bewilderment' and 'kala sensual pleasure' (1977:77). It can easily be seen that most of these spirits are named after vices, anti-social acts, and worthless and despised dispositions. I should, however, point out that in the litany there are one or two which, from the perspective adopted here, are rather anomalous. For example there is a buta suci (pure), a buta asih (love) and a buta nembah (respect). Quite frankly I cannot explain the existence of these but I will iterate that in all the time I was resident in Bali I never heard anything that led me to believe that these spirits were other than inimical. In the litany many buta and kala are said to live in marginal places such as gates, the graveyard, cross roads, slopes, hollows, in walls, wells, boundary marks (wates) ravines, roads, meeting places, and so forth, as well as in places such as sleeping bunks and pillows, where people may be possessed as they sleep (a state conceptually linked to death).

I myself recorded a number of these names and also some rather different ones: kala rau and kala peteng (confusion), kala catur muka (crossroads) kala ngadang semaya (fate), kala ngadang pati (death), kala dengen and kala dangastra (anger), kala kilang-kilung (bewildered). Moreover if someone is very angry for no apparent reason he is said to kasusupan kala (to be entered by a kala) or kalanan (in the state of kala). Finally I will ask the reader to recall that kala spirits are at their most active at transitional points of the day, such as midday (kali tepet) and dusk (sandi kala), that Kala is the imperfect demon progeny formed from the spilt semen of the god Guru who attacks and devours people, and most especially those

who find themselves in transitional places and times, 'Kala' is also a word which is used to denote point-time rather than interval-time.(it is used in phrases such as 'at that time', 'this time tomorrow', 'what time is it?' etc.), and it also translates 'during' and 'while'. In other words kala peteng is the evil spirit which causes 'darkness' (peteng) and 'confusion', but it may also be translated as 'the time when one is dark inside'. Similarly 'kala serious bewilderment' is the reification of an abstract concept, 'the time when one is overcome by serious bewilderment', into an external and concrete entity which has an independent and causal existence.

Now it has already been shown that the defining criteria of gods are their spirituality, rejection of self-gratification and anonymity. However all gods have the potentiality to change into their opposite and antithetical forms and so, for a short while, become a buta or kala. This transmogrification occurs when the god is overtaken by a feeling or thought contrary to the divine state. During this temporary and deviant condition the god is totally consumed by his own selfish desires, and self-indulgence is the only motive for action. Thus the transient mood of the god as a kala or buta spirit is concordant with the notion that disvalued emotions such as anger are transitory states of the human condition. It is also congruent with the conception that the buta-kala are beings marked by their symbiotic relation to transitional times and places. These ideas are, of course, embedded in the overarching opposition between niskala and sakala mentioned earlier in this chapter. When a god metamorphosizes into a kala it enters the time-filled world of suffering humanity, remains for a brief period and then re-enters the eternal world of the gods, just as, similarly, the kala only enters a person for a short while, the duration of the emotion.

I must now say a few words concerning the buta spirits, if only because their name does not signify anything to do with time. Buta in fact means 'blind' in both a literal and metaphorical sense. In the context of the spirits a buta is a bumbling, malicious creature that knows no shame. A person who stands naked without covering his genitals, someone who

displays his emotions too readily, who shouts and criticizes too quickly, someone who too swiftly resorts to physical violence, in short someone who is blind to shame, is thought to have been possessed by a buta. Thus if, for example, two people suddenly explode into anger and start to fight, it is said that spirits have entered them causing them to become 'blind' (buta) whilst their minds become 'confused' and 'dark' (peteng) preventing them from realising what they are doing. In this way the buta have properties virtually identical to the kala and indeed people generally talk of them in the same breath and consider them as belonging to one coherent class.

If the gods are personifications of all those emotions which the Balinese most highly prize, then the buta-kala are concretised, physicalised representations of personality characteristics which they most despise.

There is a belief, though I cannot say how widespread it is, that the kala and buta spirits emanate from the material aspect of the soul on death whilst the ancestor, hyang, originates from the spiritual side of the soul. This means then that the malevolent spirits are somewhat ambiguous since, having at sometime participated in someone's soul they are creatures deserving of respect, albeit grudgingly. This might explain why it is that the Balinese actually pray to the buta-kala (although with the hands held at the waist and pointing to the ground; one prays to the gods with the hands pointing to the sky and placed on the head), and why it is that offerings to them must first of all be purified. On the other hand no one would ever eat the remains of offerings to these spirits (they are almost invariably consumed by dogs or ants) although offerings to a dead soul at cremation are thought acceptable (though not, of course, for priests).

Apart from irregular offerings to the buta-kala about which I shall have something to say in a moment, periodical offerings are also provided. These are put out every day before anyone has eaten. They consist of small amounts of any type of food that has been cooked that morning and they are placed at various points all over the compound in order to placate the spirits.[7]

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7. These offerings are called jot or saiban (saib in fact means 'to protect').

Every fifteenth day on the day called Kajeng Kliwon a small caru ceremony is carried out in each compound at dusk. Offerings[8] are put on the floor in the family temple, in the middle of the compound floor (natah) and out in the street. Generally also a lighted torch (fire is thought to remove spirits) is carried through the compound and a mixture of crushed garlic and the leaf of the jangu (?) plant (both have the property to ward off spirits and witches) is spat into the rooms and on to the heads of the members of the family.

There are many ways in which the buta-kala spirits can be brought under control but perhaps the most frequently used method is the caru ceremony. This is a class of rituals of which the smallest is the segehan (or nasi manca warna, 'rice in five colours/forms') and the largest is the so-called Eka-daca-Rudra ('the Eleven Rudras', a rudra being the demonic form of a god). Although the physical appearance and size of these ceremonies differ enormously the aim and mechanics remain identical. Each caru has two main purposes, the first being to purify the area which has been polluted by the appearance of the buta-kala and the second being to facilitate the reversion of the spirit to its divine form. Thus, for example, if a woman is found to have menstruated in a temple, whether intentionally or not, the caru known as malik sumpah ('to reverse the curse') must be performed. Offerings in the right numbers and colours are arranged in the symmetrical pattern of the panca dewata or the nawa sanga (explained in chapter 3). Then the buta-kala of the east are requested to eat and drink their fill of the offerings provided and return to their abode in the east. This is then done for the spirits of the south, west, north and centre. It is considered that these spirits are the demonic forms of the guardian gods (Iswara-east, Brahma-south, Mahadewa-west, Wisnu-north and Siwa-centre) and that once they have been regaled in sumptuous fashion (for these spirits this means rice, dog meat or chicken, blood and alcoholic drinks) they will calm down and so change back to their

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8. These offerings are a segehan which contains rice of five colours set out in the corresponding directions (east-white, south-red, west-yellow, north-black, centre-multicoloured).

divine forms. They became angry in the first place because of the desecration of the temple brought about, not so much by the blood, although this is the concrete form of pollution, but by the sheer lack of concern for a holy place. Having returned to their normal states the spirit/god then participates in a constructive, rather than a destructive way, in the rest of the proceedings. The reversion to the benign form is termed pàyupatin which may be translated as 'payment for sins'.

A special type of caru ceremony is performed just before the beginning of temple festivals (odalan). This particular caru is called mabia kaon ('to pay off the evil') and unless it is celebrated the temple will be unfit for the subsequent descent of the gods which is the centre piece of the odalan. The caru is designed to expel the buta-kala from the temple and thereby symbolically to spiritually clean all the participants of evil thoughts and intentions. In this sense one might say that the rules for action in the presence of gods seem to be based on the simple principle of the avoidance of unconscionable desires. This does not mean that a temple ceremony is carried on in an atmosphere of awesome reverence; it would be closer to the truth to describe it as cheerful exuberance. What is strictly circum scribed is the occurrence of fights and quarrels and the use of coarse language since it is precisely action of this sort which entails the appearance of the buta-kala. The performance of the caru just before the odalan gets under way is insurance against this eventuality.

There is a series of days in the calendar when this process becomes strikingly evident. It is at the time of the pan- Bali festival known as Galungan. On the first day of the week Dungulan, the demon Kala Wisesa is said to come to earth to devour people. The day is also called panyekèban from the root sekeb meaning 'shut off' or 'close up'. On this day people are supposed to put bananas in the panyekèban (a large earthen ware container) so that, with the aid of a smouldering fire on the top of the container, the fruit ripens more quickly. But it was also explained to me as simply a sort of mnemonic for

reminding the people to 'close up' their bad thoughts. The following day is known as panyajaan from the root jaja (cakes) and this is the day one should begin to make the offerings cakes. But there is a pun involved here since the root word might just as well be saja which means 'seriously' and indicates that one should approach the coming ceremonies with a sincere and serious attitude, that is, to turn one's thoughts to the gods rather than to preoccupy oneself with personal matters. On the day preceding Galungan itself, villagers slaughter animals and the day is called panampahan from the root tampah 'to slaughter'. But this may also be construed as a pun on the word tampa which describes a humble manner of receiving things from superiors.

Along the same line of thought, offerings themselves are ideally efficacious only if they are made with a sincere (sujati) heart using materials previously unused (sukla), obtained in an honest manner, and presented to the gods with a sincere attitude. Indeed one can purify oneself in two ways which are really only superficially different. One may purify oneself with offerings (suci baan banten) but one may also purify oneself through the purity of one's thoughts (suci baan kenehé) (cf Hobart 1979:463) and since the purity and power of the offerings depend, in the last analysis, on the purity of the thoughts of the person who made them, the two processes amount to much the same thing.

In the same context should be included yogic practice (tapa, brata). This should be performed by the whole village on the day nyépi ('to make silent') which follows the last day of the old year on which all the evil spirits are chased out of the village to the accompaniment of a great deal of noise and fire. On nyépi all should refrain from food, work, sexual and social intercourse and the lighting of fires. Those who want may spend the day in meditation. The intention is to concentrate one's thoughts and direct them to the contemplation of divine subjects and in this fashion to banish the presence of the buta-kala.

Entertainment is often used to assuage the violent passions of this class of spirits. At cremations the buta-kala are pacified by the soft (alus) tones of the gamelan (percussion orchestra) gambang and gamelan gendér and once they have

reverted to their normal forms are said to watch over the successful completion of the rest of the undertaking.

Finally I should just like to mention the use of the barong in the pacification of the buta-kala. The barong is a fantastic mythical monster which closely resembles the Chinese dragon with which it may be related (cf de Zoete and Spies 1973:86-116). The barong is animated by two men one at the front and one at the back. After the festival of Galungan the barong of a village travels to surrounding villages to visit (malancaran). Ideally the monster should walk slowly through the village stopping at every door (nglawang) to dance a little and clack his wooden jaws. I was told that such entertainment mollifies the buta-kala with the result that their particularly aggressive qualities are restrained. The barong should also walk through the streets of its own village every Kajeng Kliwon at dusk for the six weeks succeeding Galungan.

Before moving on to a discussion of Balinese witches I should perhaps comment on that now famous characteristic of Balinese behaviour first observed by Bateson (1970) and Bateson and Mead (1942). According to these writers Balinese music, drama and indeed all art forms typically lack any sort of climax and the avoidance of climax in interpersonal relationships is said to be very striking. I must say I did not witness the kinds of behaviour patterns that Bateson describes (1970:388-9), indeed I quite regularly saw children of very young ages teased to such an extent that they ended up crying uncontrollably. It seems to me that it is not so much an absence of climax that is the proper object of study, since the problem largely dissolves when the evidence is viewed from the wider perspective adopted in this work. On the contrary climactic emotion is a feature of some of the drama performances and anyone who has been to a good cock fight cannot fail to be impressed by the climax which the betting eventually reaches. But perhaps most significant of all is the programme of events for a Balinese temple festival. Geertz, following the line created by Bateson before him, described the festival as consisting largely of "... getting ready and cleaning up" (1973b:403). According to Geertz the

major part of the ceremony, the supplication of the gods"... is deliberately muted to the point where it sometimes seems almost an afterthought, ..." (1973b:403). I have to say that my experience is altogether different.

At this stage of the festival everyone is dressed in their finest waiting to pray and receive holy water (see plate 14). The village is almost deserted if it is a major odalan, and the rite of ngaturang piodalan (the supplication of the gods) is the focus of attention. Many of the women present sing poems (makidung) and a group of men sing a different class of literature (kakawin). A number of priests will be in attendance for a large ceremony always requires the services of assistants, for example to carry holy water around to the various shrines in the temple so that they may be purified. In short I would assert that most Balinese would be genuinely shocked at the lack of sensitivity in Geertz' description.

The sequential programme for an important festival is extremely interesting since it indicates without doubt that the Balinese conceive of the ceremony as reaching a climax. In Pujung the programme is as follows: a) medal (the gods descend) b) munggah canang (decoration of shrines with offerings), c) gedéna (the main rite ngaturang piodalan; gedéna may be translated as 'biggest' from the root gedé 'big'; this part may also be called pucak meaning 'summit'), d) nglayud or nglayu ('withered' of flowers; indeed the analogy of the course of the ceremony with the blooming and withering of a flower was made explicit to me), e) nyuung ('empty'), f) munggah canang for a second time, g) gedéna for a second time, h) nglayud once again, i) nyimpen ('to keep', the gods are put away). It really would be difficult to present a more telling example of the way in which events are culturally recognised as reaching a climax.

What Bateson and Mead and subsequent writers characterised as an absence of climax I would prefer to conceptualise as an avoidance of certain types of abhorred emotions, namely those thoughts, feelings and dispositions associated with the appearance of the buta-kala spirits and largely indicative of

social discord.[9] Quarrels, in truth, do not build, they are left to simmer and there is even an institutionalised silence (puik) to take account of these contingencies. Moreoever if fights do erupt, as from time to time they must, then it is considered as exceedingly brutish behaviour. On the other hand mirth, merriment, joviality, sportiveness and other actions conducive to social harmony, are all allowed to be expressed without any restraint whatsoever.

5. Witches

In this final section it is possible to provide only a very general account of Balinese witches (léyak) since the topic is a vast and confusing one not least because it is rarely available for explicit investigation, people in general being reticent in their talk about it. The léyak is to the Balinese extraordinarily obnoxious and virulently malevolent. Even to mention the name of a suspected witch is likely to bring disaster about one's head. Therefore witchcraft accusations are rarely made and mostly confined to indirect and hushed gossip. This sort of situation poses formidable problems for any type of sociological or functional interpretation since the kind of evidence which is the mainstay of these analyses, namely the accusations, is largely absent. These theories being virtual non-starters we must endeavour to furnish a cultural solution.

Balinese knowledge and action may be seen as partitioned into two broad groups, that which goes to the 'right' (tengen, the high Balinese form of (te)ngawan) and that which goes to the 'left' (kiwa). That is to say magic is of two forms, panengen (from tengen) and pangiwa (from kiwa). The first designates the right-hand path and is said to lead to a complete understanding of oneself and one's proper relation to god, other people and nature in general. The study of

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9. And of course the contraries of these, nobility, modesty, integrity, indifference, sincerity etc, (i.e. action in the category alus) are in the nature of things restrained and unexciting.

panengen provides for a full and satisfying consciousness of one's darma and of the darma of all other creatures and things. The second form indicates the left-hand path and it is, of course, the opposite of panengen. Those who devote their life to the study of pangiwa are totally absorbed in themselves and their own self-aggrandizement. They wish merely to enrich themselves at the expense of others and their behaviour is motivated by greed, envy, hate and selfishness. The ability to perform pangiwa supplies a means whereby they can inflict illness and even death on people they do not like and those who impede their machinations. It is said that those who have studied pangiwa find the study of panengen pointless and indeed stupid.

I was once told that the Balinese gods are fully cognisant of the right-hand path whereas animals, in the nature of things, and without it in any way being their fault, are completely unaware of this path. People come somewhere inbetween and have the potential to become either like gods or like animals, this being determined by their inclinations (itself a product of many causes; past actions, day or birth, upbringing etc.) and by what they study. Certainly most people exhibit characteristics of both during their lives since they do not actively study either panengen or pangiwa.

To study panengen it is not sufficient to simply pray at the right times, follow the village regulations and observe one's darma.. On the contrary one must actively study the religious literature in order to comprehend why it is right to act in that way. Once a person has accomplished this, admittedly very difficult, task he himself becomes something like a god and his feelings and thoughts are bathed in celestial light (that is to say he becomes 'pure through his thoughts', suci baan kenehné). Similarly to become properly a witch it is necessary to study pangiwa (in many cases the actual documents are identical but the knowledge and the understanding of that knowledge is very differently applied). In this way one reduces one's awareness of the type of behaviour the Balinese consider essential for social harmony. Since the principles of pangiwa are the obverse of those of panengen, a

person studying the former distances himself from the gods and approaches the sphere of animals. It should occasion no surprise then that witches are often thought to perpetrate their disgusting doings in the guise of animals (notably pigs and monkeys) and that in fact the léyak are classified in that group of despised creatures known as gumitap-gumitip (also gumitat-gumitit) whose other members include mosquitoes (legu, nyinyik), leech (lintah), a type of ant (babucung)poisonous snakes (lelipi) and many others. Because of this it cannot be decided whether léyak are hierarchically superior or inferior to animals since the léyak is an animal and one of the lowest forms at that; indeed the Balinese consider that the class gumitap-gumitip is absolutely useless and created merely to make life unpleasant (see plate 15).

Moreover léyak are creatures of the night. Since they study pangiwa and reject the teachings of the right-hand path, they are unaware of the proper way to live, they are in fact, literally and metaphorically 'in the dark.' Indeed I was told that léyak exist only at night (and midnight, tengah lemeng, is when they are most active) and that during the daylight hours they are like everybody else. For example if someone sees a fine healthy child in the daytime he will think nothing of it, But come the night, if he is a léyak, his thoughts will automatically turn to that child and he will plan its death.

In all respects the léyak stand in conceptual opposition to the way of the gods and of righteous people. In myth they are portrayed as dancing upside down in the graveyard at midnight. For food they enjoy everything that the ordinary Balinese finds revolting: human flesh, excrement and decaying corpses constitute veritable delicacies for léyak. The most fabulous powers are ascribed to léyak: they can fly through the air, change (nglekas) into animals, emit fire balls and shoot them through the air, say spells (nglekas; this word means a) to attack using pangiwa,b) to change into animal form and c) to say spells to activate one's knowledge of pangiwa) that can kill a man at a distance, use an aborted foetus (babai) as an agent of destruction and so on.

In the general category of pangléyakan (also known as desti) there are a number of subsidiary classes recorded by Weck (1976: 194-95). Those witches who assume an animal form are known as

pamoroan. Those who remain in human form however are designated as tuju teluh and are described as having swollen faces and staring eyes. He also lists the class teranjana which become invisible and attempt to strangle their victims. Although people in Pujung had heard of teranjana they could not tell me how they differed from other manifestations of léyak, whilst pamoroan and tuju teluh were classed in terms of the types of illness they were supposed to cause, the former a genital disease and the latter rheumatic fever and other like illnesses.

Instead of acting himself the léyak may use indirect means to inflict illness and suffering. These again take numerous forms and only some of them can be mentioned. First of all there is the belief that an aborted foetus (babai), if obtained by the léyak without the knowledge of its mother and if it has performed for it all the necessary life-crisis rites up to the first birthday at 210 days, will be able to walk and cause all types of illnesses. A second major method is the employment of various sorts of poisons (cetik) which are surreptitiously inserted into the prospective victim's food. Many people suffering from recurrent pains which modern medécine has been unable to cure usually attribute these to the action of poison. This is generally the reason why people are reticent about eating in other villages unless they have very good friends there. A very important category is that known as papasangan in which an object of some sort (almost anything small may serve), to which is attached a mantra including the victim's name and inscribed on palm leaf, is inserted in the compound, either in the wall or buried in the ground. When the victim goes near this the magic will 'hit' (kena) him.[10] A fourth, and I think rare type, is called

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10. People hit with papasangan can go to a balian who will attempt to remove the offending substance from the body. In one case that I know of the balian was reputed to have removed, with the aid of a short dagger, two small stones, a large silver coin, and a blunt pin without the skin being damaged in any way. Unfortunately he was still ill after that (see chapter 13).

bangkret or bangkruk in which it is said the léyak can make insects come out of his body (ngumik).

In general it is said the léyak disturbs and annoys (nguig, megigin) other people by virtue of his parasitic nature.

A person becomes a witch through the study of the literature.[11] But a passive knowledge is the least of what is required. The novice must attempt all manner of tasks, he must be able to teach himself to imagine the almost unimaginable. For example he should shut off all outside influences and concentrate on his inner body and its functions. He should strive to imagine what it would feel like if the 'water' and 'fire' in his body mixed together (in the medical treatises in Bali the body is conceived of as a set of organs, arteries and veins at the base of which is 'fire' or 'water'; the proper balance of fire and water confers health while an imbalance means that whereas one part of the body will be hot (panes) another part will be cold (nyem) resulting in illness) (for further details on this see Weck 1976).

Because of the power of the teachings some people go mad in the process of learning, or so I was told. Such people absorb the lessons much like a tyre is blown up with air, and if they are unable to withstand the pressure their minds snap and they end up as babbling lunatics spewing out (ngumik) all they have learnt in a totally incoherent stream. There was one old man in the village reputed to be a witch (though I was told he never actually attacked anyone in Pujung) who some years previously had gone mad. During his illness he suffered from an horrendous attack of constipation (embet) followed after some weeks by an equally horrendous bout of dysentry (mising). When I left the field he had just recovered from yet another illness and was beginning to get about again.

If the apprentice survives intact his next step will be to go to the graveyard, invoke the goddess Durga (the demonic form of Uma who is in turn the consort of Siwa), the personification

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11. People may be said to be léyak without actually studying. They may purchase from balian the necessary objects (sarana) and mantra with which to injure people but their power is of a distinctly inferior sort.

of evil and Bali's chief léyak. It is theoretically only with her permission that one may practice pangiwa and such action will only prove successful if the supreme god allows it (Hooykaas 1978:9).

It is believed that one who only learns the left-hand path will finally end up in a hell on earth. He is doomed to live to an extraordinary age but be afflicted with loss of sight, paralysis and all manner of other ailments. If however he comes to some realization of the evil of his ways and subsequently studies panengen he may well become what Weck calls a léyak sari (1976:201), or a balian and use his knowledge of pangiwa to combat léyak.

Now the notion of what constitutes a witch is variable and whereas certain members of the population, most notably women, believe implicitly in the existence of them and their capacity to cause destruction, others interpret them in different terms. I will illustrate what I mean by the beliefs concerning the ability of léyak to change form. To undertake this the witch goes to the graveyard, pulls all his hair down in front of his face and dances around on one leg. During this he is supposed to recite mantra which will change him into an animal. According to a number of sophisticated Balinese this witch would be seen by a stupid man as an animal whilst to them he would be perceived as exactly what he is, a dishevelled man standing on one leg. In other words in the view of the man who understands the right-hand path, it is the mantra which deceive the stupid man into thinking he sees an animal. The knowledgeable man is less susceptible to the effect of the mantra and sees clearly. Therefore the ability to change form is a function of the variable power of the mantra[12] to effect a change in the viewer's perception of the event. Thus those who have studied the right-hand path believe in the existence of léyak but the content of their belief is different to those who are ignorant. For the former the witch is an evil person intent on inflicting pain

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12. Again we see it is the power of words which effects a modification in the world just as it is the power of words which is the foundation of much ritual action.

and suffering on his fellow men and the belief that a witch can transform himself into an animal is simply a function of the belief that the characteristics of evil people are much the same as those of animals.

In conclusion we must decide how the witch fits into the wider framework containing all the other types of creature. To begin with the witch is at the opposite end of the spectrum to the gods. The léyak symbolises all those characteristics which are anathema to the gods. Moreover witches exhibit certain properties which are also displayed by the buta-kala and animals. Earlier in this chapter it was shown that a buta or kala was a symbolic concretization of disvalued emotions and thoughts but only on a temporary basis. Witches embody this principle in a far more permanent way. A léyak is someone who is chronically disposed to be greedy, jealous, angry etc. It is recognised by the villagers that all Balinese will erupt in violent emotion sometimes but this is only a transient state. It is also well understood that some people manifest these reprehensible qualities most of the time and in my limited experience it is these who are most likely to be labelled as léyak. Finally I will add here (and I shall return to this problem in chapter 13) that witches are usually thought to be the cause of chronic illnesses, those ailments which have proved resistant to both Balinese and western medical practice.

Just as the transient buta-kala inflict temporary confusion so it is the more permanent figure of the léyak which causes chronic and debilitating suffering. In sum the final scheme of person definition in Balinese culture appears as in table 12 below.

Table 12 The hierarchical system of beings in the Balinese pantheon.

BATARA) DÉWA)	GODS	External representations of highly valued thoughts feelings and dispositions. The gods are abstract, eternal, anonymous and refined.
JELMA	PEOPLE	The centre of the system, People are a mixture of good and bad and have the potential to become any of the other types of creature in the pantheon.
BUTA-KALA	EVIL SPIRITS	These are representations of disvalued emotions feelings and thoughts. They can cause minor and temporary ailments.They are concrete, in time (as opposed to the gods who are, as it were, outside of the flow of time), and unintentional casual agents.
LÉYAK	WITCHES	Physical manifestations of the disvalued chronic dispositions. They can cause chronic and even fatal illnesses; they are in time (night time) and they are malevolently intentional.
BURON	ANIMALS	Unintentional embodiment of base emotions and dispositions. This class of creature is related to the léyak in that the latter are conceived to be no better than animals in which form they are often thought to go about their affairs.

6. Conclusion

In this chapter I have attempted to analyse within a single framework, and on the basis of the same set of cultural principles, all the beings which inhabit the Balinese world. I have strived to express their interrelationships in terms of the systematic resemblances and differences which they exhibit and in this way to demonstrate that, as a set, they constitute a totality.

In the following three chapters many of the rituals and ceremonies which mark important events in a person's passage through this world and the hereafter will be discussed. We will see in fact that the 'way of becoming a human being' (tingkah dadi jelma) in Bali in many cases revolves around the gradual removal of characteristics, both divine and animal-like, from the infant culminating in tooth-filing, in which the six upper teeth are filed down level so that they no longer resemble the pointed fangs associated with spirits, witches and animals.

CHAPTER X

MARRIAGE, PREGNANCY AND BIRTH

Balinese rites de passage, whose complexity and frequency on first acquaintance astounds the ethnographer, will be the subject for this and the following two chapters. I cannot hope to do justice to the wealth of details with which I was constantly confronted during my stay in Pujung, nor to the intricacy of the villager's own interpretations of the rituals, which in the vast majority of cases were far more appealing and, in the end, far more relevant than anything I could conjure up at the time.

From the rites of pregnancy through those of birth and the first few years of childhood to the major events of teeth-filing and marriage, the series is collectively known as manusa yadnya ('ceremonies for people'). From death to the final purification of the soul the series is known as pitra yadnya ('ceremonies for the soul'). Since, as I have already mentioned on a couple of occasions, the soul reincarnates into a direct lineal descendant, these two series are complementary sections of a single cycle. This cycle, it will become apparent (although I shall not explicitly draw attention to the parallels), displays many of the properties of the cycles discussed in chapter 5 namely, serial order, irreversibility, repetition, segmentation and so on.

The series of rites from birth to teeth-filing is also known as tingkah dadi jelma ('the way of becoming a human being') (J.Hooykaas 1960:425) and it is this series which will occupy our attention in the next chapter. Here I want first of all

to describe the ceremonies of marriage. Marriage is chosen as a starting point because its ritualistic content is less concerned with the joining of two separate individuals into a unit than in preparing the couple to have children. The rites of marriage seek to purify the couple by means of removing from their person the buta-kala. This is a prior and necessary requirement for successful procreation. In other words, the buta-kala spirits are inimical to the coming into being of new life just as their presence in the compound precludes the entry of the gods and entails that the house is 'dead' (mati) and 'blocked' (embet).

1. Marriage

To a European relationships between males and females in Bali and, I am assured, other areas in Indonesia and Asia generally, must seem highly attenuated. For some time I was totally at a loss in coordinating the men to their wives, even those who lived close by, because they were rarely ever seen together and in public never so much as looked at one another. On many occasions I was disconcerted by the way the friend and I happened to be with would totally ignore his wife as we passed her on the street. Apart from a few jobs the division of labour between men and women is heavily pronounced; it is exceedingly rare to see men and women working together. Women look after the children and the home, they make all the offerings, they are responsible for gathering firewood, fetching water and doing the shopping. Their daily life is tied very strongly to the compound since one of the major tasks is cooking for the rest of the family. Men on the contrary are builders, farmers, wood carvers, and generally only return to their house at midday, for a quick meal, and then again at dusk. One intriguing inversion is that during temple festivals it is the men who perform all the tasks concerning food preparation and cooking.

It is, then, thought highly embarrassing for a person to have any social intercourse with his spouse in public and this is even the case during the marriage ceremony. The main event takes place on the street outside of the groom's house

(in Pujung at least). The couple sit amongst their friends (who are naturally segregated into men and women) trying to look as inconspicuous as possible. It is by no means the great occasion it is in the west. Only when the couple get up, because they have to actually do something, does the bemused anthropologist find out who is about to get married. The couple have their ordinary clothes on since as soon as the ceremony is over the man will return to the fields and the wife will go to fetch a bucket of water as a first contribution to her new household. In fact the marriage rite serves merely to illuminate the chasm which divides men from women in public life.

Having exaggerated above I shall now redress the balance somewhat. Men of course do talk to women outside of the privacy of their compounds and indeed much gossip goes on at roadside coffee stalls where men will congregate to while away the hot afternoon hours if they have little else to do. Women also buy snacks at these stalls which are in fact usually run by women. But whereas men sit outside and crack jokes as people pass by, the women invariably gather within the shop and only remain as long as it takes to eat their plate of cheap and very spicy boiled rice (tipat). If these stalls are run by young girls the talk will often degenerate to sexual matters about which the Balinese are disturbingly frank. It is at such times that a boy might begin to make a play for a girl he fancies. Otherwise contact between the sexes is difficult during the day-light hours and is restricted to eye movements and facial expressions. These, so my friends assured me, were the means whereby a boy would know whether the girl he had taken a liking to was amenable to further advances which, in the event, would take place under the cover of darkness, either at the time of a festival, or on an ordinary night when the boy, if he was really determined, would brave a visit to her compound. Initially they would simply talk but later they might even graduate to sleeping together with the consent of the girl's parents. If this does not result in the girl becoming pregnant (beling), then no committment to marry is entailed and I knew of a few cases where a couple had been sleeping together but

subsequently got tired of eachother. Should the girl conceive marriage is inevitable irrespective of whether the couple want it or not. One case occurred in Pujung in which the boy persistently refused to marry the girl and he was backed by his parents who did not much care for her. However, overwhelming pressure was brought to bear on the lad from all sides and he was eventually threatened with ostracism. He gave way and married the girl. Three months later though he sent her home and kept the child (which is normal practice). A child which is born before the ceremony of marriage is called rare-dia-diu. Such a child will not respect his parents or listen to their advice and he will not heed Balinese religious teachings. This was explained to me as due to the fact that the child was born whilst his parents were impure and therefore under the influence of the buta-kala. Usually if a couple sleep together and the girl becomes pregnant they get married without any difficulty. I shall now briefly describe this ceremony.

The marriage rite is known as masakapan but this term is not confined solely to designating this ceremony. It is a generic term for rites performed by parents for their children, the function of the rites being to 'pay for the sins' of the child which have been causing illness. The root, sakap, also has the mundane sense of working someone else's land or taking on oneself someone else's task.

As I said earlier the marriage rite is designed to purify the couple so that their future children will also be pure in thought and deed. From the previous chapter we saw that such purity depends on the absence of the buta-kala spirits. It should occasion no surprise then that masakapan entails the presentation of numerous offerings to these spirits. Once the offerings have been accepted it is considered that the couple are pure and may start a family.

In Pujung the main offering is called the banten pasakapan and is explicitly dedicated to the evil spirits. Elsewhere, and in official literature, it may be known as banten padengen-dengenan, kala dengen being a particularly obnoxious spirit,

or banten pakala-kalaan. The prayers which accompany the presentation of this offering enumerate a formidable list of spirits. These are requested to leave the body of the couple and to revert to their divine forms, then to bring peace and to protect them through their long life.[1] The offerings are laid out on a wooden structure in the street and those present squat on the floor whilst the priest, standing, recites the prayers. Once he has finished the couple rise and are purified with the offering known as bia kaon[2] which means 'to pay off the evil'. During this the couple are sprinkled with holy water, cleansed with a lis (which is 'swept' along their fronts and backs three times), and with a variety of other pollution-removing agents (see chapter 2 section 4d).

Following on this the couple begin to circumambulate the table of offerings going 'to the right'; as usual they go round three times. Tied to one of the legs of the makeshift table are two small black chicks. These, so I was told, represent kala sepetan and the couple kick the chicks each time they pass by. Also on the floor is an earthenware pot covered with a lid. Inside the pot is a raw egg, some water and some sweet smelling herbs. As the couple goes round the girl removes the lid of the pot and the man stirs the contents either with his hand or with a stick; all this is accompanied by ribald jokes, a great deal of laughter and knowing glances, much to the deep embarrassment of the couple who cannot wait to sit down again.

However their tortures are not yet over. During the circumambulation the girl carries a basket on her head which contains rice (baas), herbs and the roots kunyit, keladi and the leaf andong. After circling the preseribed three times the couple squat on the floor and the girl takes these things out of her basket while the young man replaces them. This episode was explained to me as representing the woman's role as a market sellerand indeed the basket is called sok padagangan ('merchant's basket) and the rite id generally known as adep-beli

1. The actual offering consists of a whole array of food and drink which it is thought the spirits enjoy.
2. This is the same offering used at the beginning of a temple festival (see chapter 9, section 4).

('sell-buy'). The presence of the roots recalls the ceremony of banten bulih described in chapter 5. There it was explained that the roots were used as puns to invoke the required expectations of the rice grain soon to be planted, namely, to germinate, swell and grow. In this case the meaning is no different. Sometimes to add spice to the proceedings an older woman will circle the offerings with the bridal couple and sing the following ditty:

luas ka peken meli kunyit, keladi, andong
go to the market buy kunyit, keladi, andong

Everybody knows of course that this is a bladbadan (a punning rhyme) which evokes the sentence:

maklenyit lantas nadi maglendong
(begins to grow) (then) (becomes) (swollen/pregnant)
(cf. Hobart 1978a:65).

So just as the farmer hopes his rice will sprout quickly and go on to produce a bountiful harvest, at marriage it is expected that the couple, now spiritually pure, will be successful in producing children.[3] Following this it is quite usual, though it is sometimes forgotten, for the groom to throw the earthenware pot over his shoulder, and the girl the egg over hers, so that they both break on the road. Breaking part of the ritual paraphernalia at the end of a ceremony is quite common in Bali and seems to mark the end of the transitional period. Thus when the malaspasin rite for a completed building has been performed the bamboo lengths used as measuring units are broken in half.

The penultimate rite takes place as they attempt to enter the boy's house. Across the threshold is a white thread (papegatan, pegat = to break) which the couple must break and this symbolises, so I was told, that the couple have left behind them their bachelor days and now embark on a new phase of their life. Simultaneously they are liberally sprinkled with holy water. The final part of masakapan is a bath and a change of clothes.

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3. Although it does not happen in Pujung elsewhere, it is said, the couple plant the roots and the leaf behind the kamulan shrine in the family temple of the house in which they will live. It will be remembered that this shrine is dedicated to the immediate ancestors of that family from whom the future children's souls will come.

However this does not end the events. Later, after they have bathed and eaten they will both sit on the balé dangin and waft the essence (natab) of the offering to the buta-kala towards themselves. The rationale of this is to 'feed' the buta-kala inside them so that they will leave their bodies. It is thought that various organs of the body (liver, heart, kidney, spleen, etc) are 'seats' for the gods. The 'food' which is offered in this rite is given to them whilst in their demonic form, so that they will revert to their divine form.

To recapitulate, the marriage ceremony which I have just adumbrated is a ritual performance the main objective of which is the thorough purification of the bridal couple from the buta-kala that inevitably attach to them. It can hardly be overemphasized how much the Balinese are preoccupied with the exorcism of unconscionable intentions, feelings and thoughts and the marriage rite is one of the events in a person's life when this fastidiousness reaches grand proportions. Every type of ritual cleansing process is employed in an effort to create two spiritually pure people. Their state of religious cleanliness vitally affects conception, pregnancy, birth and the personality of the child.

But before I leave marriage and turn to these other topics it will be useful to describe a more exalted performance of the marriage ceremony. Whilst I was in Bali I only witnessed marriages in Pujung and Sebatu, but I enquired about high-caste marriage rites from two men who had both spent a number of years at the main puri in the town of Gianyar, the foremost house in the province of Gianyar. From their accounts three major differences came to light. The first one was simply the sheer enormity of the offerings. These included a full scale caru, offerings to the god and goddess of love (Semara and Ratih; for the textual background to this see J.Hooykaas (1957)) and an offering known as banten pangliwetan with which the couple are said to cook rice pudding together. The second concerned the fact that at the puri the bride was wrapped up completely in white cloth (just as a dead person is) and carried to a palanquin where she was laid to rest for awhile.

Next she was picked up and carried horizontally into a closed room where she spent the night. This isolation is known as ngekeb ('to close up') and is characteristic of a number of life-crisis ceremonies among high castes (though less so these days). The following day the groom entered the room and supposedly copulated with the bride for the first time. Soon after that the couple emerged to the accompaniment of loud noise from the beating of drums and the firing of guns. Noise, which is the third distinguishing feature marking off high-caste ceremonies from low-caste ones is also a prominent characteristic of other rites de passage as we will see later. As soon as they had emerged they underwent the masakapan ceremony.

I should perhaps qualify what I have just said. The difference between high and low caste ceremonies is simply one of degree and not one of kind. Thus rich low-caste families will endeavour to celebrate life-crisis rites at the highest level. In Pujung, for example, the rite of ngekeb at tooth-filing and marriage is only included by three families whereas the use of guns to create noise is included by none. But this is not to say that noise is only a part of high-caste ceremonies.

2. Conception

When I asked a priest a question during a festival that was taking place at the time I received the answer that if men and women did not exist then nothing else would either. But this was not meant literally as the subsequent discussion made clear to me. The Balinese explicitly recognise that their universe is underpinned by the complementary interrelationship of the male and female principles. Thus the meeting of Father Sky and Mother Earth is conceptually related to, and follows the same structural rules of, the performance of sexual intercourse between a man and a woman and indeed I have already (in chapters 5 and 7) drawn attention to this fundamental principle in their collective thought.

The Balinese are well aware of the function of semen in the creation of a foetus. Semen may be commonly referred to as water (yéh) or, more unusually, as 'water containing the six tastes' (yéh misi sarining sad rasa). These tastes are

bitter (pait), sweet (manis), salty (pakeh), spicey hot (lalah), sour (masem), acidic/sour (sepet). If the fecund fluid of the male is 'water' then that of the female is 'blood' (getih). This explains why these may also be designated, most notably in polite conversation and in literature, as kama putih ('white kama') and kama bang ('red kama'; Kama is the god of love). In connection with this I might recount a tale I obtained in the village which Weck has also recorded (1967:107 n.40). Long ago when there was only one man and one woman, the seed of the woman was white whereas that of the man was red. These two lived together but felt no desire for each other. Because of this the gods changed the seeds round so that the man had the white seed and the woman the red whereupon sexual desire was created.

This does not exhaust the terms used to designate the procreative fluids. Both that of the male and that of the female may be called manik and as we saw in chapter 7 manik denotes a source of life and also refers to a 'jewel'. No doubt related to this is the fact that the womb is known as the cupu manik (cupu more usually is a 'cup'), although in everyday parlance it is simply the tongos beling ('the place of pregnancy').

In the field I came across more than one theory concerning the relative importance of the male and female fluids. The divergence of opinion, however, is by no means limited to Pujung since the ethnographic literature also reflects diversity. Most people I asked said that both the man and the woman contributed in equal amounts to the child and no one ventured the opinion that the male fluid was responsible for the bone and the female for the flesh or any other such theory of qualitatively differential action. This is basically what Covarrubias recorded as well. According to his informants the man's seed joins that of the woman's and then turns into blood in the womb forming a ball which is in turn fed by the mother's own supply of blood (1937:123). Hobart makes a rather ambiguous statement as to the relative contributions : "... it is generally thought that the male semen alone is responsible for the child; it is held that each contributes a

jewel (manik) the male's being stronger ..." (1979:60 n.11). Here even though both provide a manik the woman's is completely effaced by the man's. I hesitate to judge this as illogical but it seems odd that the woman contributes a functionless manik. Anyway long ago Belo recorded that it was only the woman who contributed a manik which resided in her womb. The manik grows into a child as it is repeatedly 'hit' by the man during sexual intercourse. After the birth of this child the woman acquires a new manik. Finally Weck (1967: 106-7) tells us that the Balinese believe conception occurs by the mixing of the two fluids, 'water' and 'blood'. Furthermore he says that whichever of these two is the greater in quantity that one determines the sex of the child. If the amounts are the same this will result in either a hermaphrodite (bañci), or a person who, whilst having the appropriate genitalia, behaves like a person of the other sex, or the foetus will abort. One way of determining the status of these notions is to investigate how the Balinese perceive similarities between parents and children. Unfortunately I have virtually no evidence on this subject.

If the beliefs pertaining to the relative contributions of the male and female to the production of new life are confusing and even contradictory so also are the beliefs relating to when the soul first enters the foetus. Weck, who is a reliable source in the context of the Balinese esoteric literature but less so with reference to village traditions, informs us that the soul (atma) is prepared in heaven by the gods. This soul descends to earth and positions itself between the couple. If the couple reach a climax then the soul animates the embryo. In other words the soul appears at the very moment of conception (1976:108). Covarrubias appears to agree with this as he reports that the life-giving spirit comes down to earth as dew which is inadvertently eaten by the parents (1937:123). I also obtained information of this nature in Pujung. One friend explained that the soul came down like a shaft of light and was immediately encased by the fluids. However others in the village felt the soul probably arrived after about two months,

the time it takes for a woman to be reasonably sure she is pregnant, whilst still others (supported by an informant's report in Weck 1976:111) believed the soul entered the body of the baby as it drew its first breath at the point of birth. In fact van Eck (1876:216) gives the meaning of bayu as 'breath', 'life', 'soul' and 'wind' and this would indeed tie up with the beliefs we noted in chapter 7 (section 9) in which 'wind' is used to revive animals. Finally I will just mention here, and expand in the next chapter, the ritual fact that the soul is officially welcomed into the body of the child at the time of its three-month ceremony.

In this area of Balinese culture there appears to be genuine disagreement and I can see no criteria for determining the validity of one of these beliefs over the others. If this indefiniteness does not unduly embarrass the Balinese then we too should accept it in the same spirit.

3. Pregnancy

Menstruation, unlike in many other areas of Indonesia, is not euphemistically called after the 'coming of the moon'; rather it is simply known as sebel ('polluted'). When in this condition the woman is prohibited from entering any temple and she may have nothing to do with preparations for any temple ceremony, that is to say, she may not make offerings. Three days after the onset she must go to the bathing area to bathe, wash her hair and her stained sarong. This effectively terminates her state of sebel. It is well known that a woman who has never experienced menstruation (kedi) cannot conceive.

The following signs are recognised as indications that a woman is pregnant ; absence of periods, enlarged breasts on which the veins begin to show, blackish-blue circles around the eyes, a fatter waist, a pale face, nausea and an excess of saliva.

A woman who is pregnant is not restricted and she is not considered as polluted. However since the foetus is thought to be semi-divine she may not attend ceremonies in the categories manusa yadnya (life-crisis rites) and pitra yadnya (rites for the soul) as these will pollute the child. One friend even told me that if the woman does attend one of these

rites she will give birth to twins, itself a traditionally highly polluting event, at least amongst the low castes. Similarly she may not look at, or pay respects to, a corpse or even visit a house where a person has recently died; nor may she carry the holy water tirta pangentas since this is heavily associated with death ceremonies.

There are a number of other prohibitions a pregnant woman should observe. She should not help at the birth of another woman's child lest she herself deliver prematurely. Moreover she ought not to look at blood and the taboo on eating food containing raw blood (lawar) may well be part of the same belief. No one ventured a reason for this but it may simply be that to eat raw blood (which is in fact a delicacy in Bali) would bring on a discharge and hence an abortion. Other foods which are restricted are those from which the 'essence' has already been removed (i.e. surudan and lungsuran). Hot and spicey foods should be left alone and here one enters an area bordering on ideas of physical health since many illnesses are attributed to eating very spicey food. However there are some foods, the prohibition on the eating of which are difficult to understand. Two types of banana biu mas ('gold banana') and biu saba (saba = meeting place) are taboo. I have no explanation for the latter. It is possible, in the case of the former, that it is proscribed because of its name: a child may touch gold ornaments only after its three-month ceremony has been celebrated.

Finally there are several prohibitions which affect the father as much if not more than the mother of the future child. No buildings may be erected in their compound, neither husband nor wife are allowed to cut their hair (traditionally a woman never cuts her hair anyway), neither are allowed to gamble (it is in fact very rare to see women gamble at all) and indeed all entertainment is ideally forbidden, though no one I knew took this seriously. Each of these restrictions has the same rationale and it is the one which was explained in chapter 5 in connection with the prohibition on cutting one's hair after transplanting the rice. The Balinese say that should one cut one's hair, gamble or undertake any important activity one will lose interest in the welfare of the foetus which will therefore

suffer correspondingly. Lastly there is a prohibition for the prospective mother on using insulting words to her husband and especially her parents-in-law, the reason for which will shortly become apparent.

The everyday life of a pregnant woman hardly differs from that of any other woman. Only when she has almost reached full term will she take any respite from her normal duties and even then she might be accused of being lazy by her mother-in-law. Indeed for an event to which so much cultural importance attaches little attention is paid to the onset of pregnancy, little is done to encourage the future mother, or to help her, and in fact the whole thing is so low key that in fact many women do not even inform their families until they are so far advanced it is visually obvious that they are pregnant.

If the child lies on the right hand side it will be a boy and if on the left it will be a girl. There is also a belief that if the couple want a boy the man should lie on the right before they have sexual relations and on the left if they want a girl. Although women knew of these and other similar ideas they felt them to be of decidedly little use in predicting the sex of the child since, as they rightly pointed out, the foetus moves about alot. There is also a profusion of beliefs concerning the proper care of the pregnant woman. She should, for example, never be woken up from sleep lest this disturb the gods who are aiding the development of the foetus.

Balinese women are as notorious for their cravings (idam-idaman) as are western women. They tend to like bitter things (masem-maseman) such as rujak (sliced unripe fruit with a sour source) and ampo (a sort of edible clay). This latter is a real favorite apparently and it will be remembered that both of these are part of the ritual paraphernalia used during the ceremony of biu kukung (see chapter 5) when the 'pregnant' rice delivers its grain. Even sleep is categorised as a craving as it is said that some pregnant women, not unreasonably, seem to want to sleep all day long.[4]

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4. See Barnes (1974:146) who questions Lévi-Strauss' (1966:78-9) view that food cravings do not have a natural basis.

One of the curious features of pregnancy in Bali is that although the gestatory period is counted in months and is in fact talked about in terms of 'following' the months, these are not lunar months but 35-day months made up from the combination of the five-and seven-day weeks. I asked a considerable number of people questions concerning the normal length of pregnancy and most came up with eight months which is exactly forty weeks, the term used by doctors in the west. Some people said boys take a few days longer but this is just paying lip service to the belief that males are superior to women (in this context that they are older when they are born). It does not seem then that the Balinese use the heavens, especially the moon, to represent changes in development as Barnes (1974:109-112, 144-5) has reported for the Kédangese. However since the 'month' is used and the Balinese word is ambiguous, as it designates two very different ideas, I will simply record the following sayings pertaining to pregnancy. When full term has been reached it is said suba tutug ulanan belingané ('already reached the months of the pregnancy'); an overdue pregnancy is ulanan kebo or ulanan sampi (kebo = water buffalo, sampi = cow) whereas a premature delivery is ulanan kedis ('the months for the bird'). Although linguistically it appears as though the Balinese regulate events according to the moon (ulan, bulan, wulan) this is semantically deceptive because the word refers not to the moon in the sky but to a rather arbitrary length of time the determination of which has no relation to heavenly bodies.

After the eight months the child is said to be wayah (ripe). If however it is born prematurely it is too young (bes nguda) and too small (bes cenik). In that case a ceremony may be performed to 'ripen' (apang wayahan) the child. In this the conical basket in which rice is steamed is supposedly placed over the baby for a moment in order to 'cook' it (ngukusin). Should however the birth be delayed overlong a quite different ceremony is called for. In such a case it is thought that the womb is blocked and that furthermore this is caused by the presence of buta-kala spirits. Accordingly the only way to

'open' the womb is to expel the spirits. Thus it is necessary for the pregnant woman to prostrate herself on the floor of the natah whilst her mother-in-law places her foot on her head (ngenjekin - to tread on). This humiliating performance in which the daughter-in-law submits to the authority of the latter is supposed to expunge the evil thoughts and feelings (and therefore also the buta-kala) harboured by the young girl thereby facilitating delivery.

Some two to three months before the birth the only major ceremony of pregnancy is performed and even this will be ignored for subsequent children. The rite is called pagedong-gedongan and its stated objective is the successful and timely birth of the child. In Pujung it simply consists of a few offerings. Elsewhere I was told that the husband might have to burst a 'bag', made from banana leaves and containing water and a fish, held by his wife. The symbolism is obvious. But if the meaning of the ritual articles is pedantic, the prayers recited by the priest are much more interesting. First he calls on Ibu Pretiwi (Mother Earth) and other gods to come and feast on the offerings that have been prepared for them. He then beseeches a favour from them; "Do not allow the buta-kala to enter the womb (gedong - hence the name of the rite) or to lock it (angancinging) or to cause trouble (anyangkalen); permit the doors to open (uwakakena lawangira), let them open slowly; may the child be blessed with health, beauty and long life". This ceremony then is an almost perfect analogue to that performed at the commencement of house building. In chapter 4 I showed how a compound was brought to life by the introduction of the gods and the expulsion of the buta-kala. In the rite of pagedong-gedongan new life can only come into being by keeping a clear passage open from the womb and this depends on controlling the buta-kala.

I said in the previous chapter that many of the rites of passage could not be properly understood until the structure of the collective representations surrounding buta-kala and other beings had been sorted out. On a number of occasions now we have seen that the buta-kala have been responsible for a blockage of the passage of life from one stage to another,

or one state to another. Such obstruction is usually associated with closed areas and immobility or stagnation regularly marked by even numbers. Contrarily the continuation of life, or the creation of new life, consists essentially in movement, indicated by the presence of articulated structures the nodes of which are marked by odd numbers.

4. Birth

The foetus in the womb does not develop by itself. It is said that it is helped by its 'four siblings' (catur sanak) or its four relatives (nyama catur; also known as the kandapat). These are the amniotic fluid (yéh nyom), the blood (getih), the placenta (ari-ari) and the vernix caseosa (lamas or lamad). Before birth these 'siblings' are also known as babu or ibu ('mothers'). Unfortunately this neat idea is confused by the existence of certain other beings known as the bajang. There are alot of these - some people say 108. Bajang means 'unmarried' and the implication is that the bajang are, as it were, assistants to the four siblings. Official literature has it that they represent various processes involved in the growth of the foetus. Whatever the case both categories of creatures assist in the development of the foetus and its successful birth. After birth however the bajangan have no further use and at three months (in Pujung at least) they must be got rid of. The catur Sanak, however, cannot so easily be disposed of. On the contrary they remain with one all through life and even aid the soul in its journey to the after-life. During a person's life these mystical alteregos are addressed as beli ('elder brothers') notwithstanding the fact that ari (ari-ari = placenta) means 'younger brother'. If they are treated well they will be a constant source of succour and will be able to protect their host in all manner of dangerous situations. Before every meal one should drop some of the food on the floor for them; a baby's mother must always express some milk on to the floor for her child's catur sanak;at every life-crisis rite offerings should be provided for them. If they are neglected the siblings will metamorphose into buta-kala and cause illness, arguments, confusion etc. In fact later on we will see that the catur sanak

are the main agents of illness for the gods and ancestors. If these latter are not given the required attention they will recruit the catur sanak of the guilty party to precipitate troubles of various sorts.

But perhaps the most interesting feature of the catur sanak is that they change their names, forms and functions in accordance with the stage of life reached by their partner. Thus Hooykaas (1974L98-99) reports that they are called babu Sugian, babu Lembana, babu Kakere and babu Abra while the foetus is still in the womb. In this form they are not inimical. After birth and by the time the child has become aware of the world their names are buta Kakava, buta Salivah, buta Ari and buta Rudira. Here they have become buta. After puberty they are called Angapati, Mrajapati, Banaspati and Banaspati Raja. So once the person has entered that stage of life most distant from divinity (see chapter 6) his catur sanak are conceived as kala-buta of the strongest kind (the last mentioned names all refer to creatures with kala heads i.e. with large round eyes, sharp-pointed teeth, lolling tongue etc.). Once this stage has been passed and a person begins to move towards death and the gods, his catur sanak take on a benevolent form and are called sang Marg-sih, sang Suksma-sih, sang Lulut-sih, sang Dana-sih (asih = love). I think it is fairly clear that the changes in mood of the catur sanak describe in bare outline, the changes in disposition and personality of the person to whom they are inextricably related, as the latter passes through his life from birth to death.

Hooykaas also provides a classification (1974:105) part of which I should like to reproduce here (table 13) since it shows that the initial forms of the catur sanak (the amniotic fluid etc) are conceptually related to other forms such as witches, buta-kala and gods.

TABLE 13 The Catur -sanak in relation to other beings

	Léyak	Place/seat	Buta-Kala	God
Yéh nyom (amniotic fluid)	yellow	kidneys	kakava	Mahadewa
Lamas (vernix caseosa)	white	lungs	pila-pilu	Iswara
ari-ari (placenta)	black	bile	salivah	Wisnu
getih (blood)	red	liver/ heart	ludira	Brahma

From this classification it would appear that the catur sanak can undergo transformations which allow them to take on all forms to be found in the Balinese pantheon. Moreover this classification, in itself, provides startling support for the analysis presented in chapter 9.

Ideally birth should take place in the metén (metu/wetu = to come out, to be born). These days, though, the mother gives birth in whichever building in the compound she and her husband occupy. The soul of the child is conceived as coming from the kamulan shrine in the family temple. This means that it travels west to the metén and also downwards (since the raised floor of the temple is higher than the metén). In other words the movement of the soul is commensurate with its less pure and more material existence, it now being encased in a substantial body (see Hobart 1978a:16).

The pregnant woman should sit on the floor of her room with someone supporting her from behind. This may be her husband or another, experienced woman. There are no restrictions on who may attend a birth. Only if the birth is likely to prove very difficult will a specialist (balian manak) be called in.[5] If the woman is having problems she may well be told to go and sit outside on the earthern floor (these days Balinese houses usually have concrete floors)in order to absorb the strength

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5. A child which comes out feet first is called lekad ngadeg ('to come out standing'). Although I never witnessed it I was told that the balian manak, with firm massage (ngapunang) is able to successfully turn the child in the womb.

of Mother Earth. After the birth Agerbeek (1916:2) reports that the mother should lie on the bare earth so as to infuse her body with its coolness.

Once the baby has been born the umbilical cord is tied with thread or strands of the mother's hair about two inches from the navel (pungsed). After that the cord (banah, udel) has to be cut. This operation is facilitated by rubbing the cord with a mixture of salt, kitchen ashes and kunyit all of which has been ground (ngulig) to a pulp. As soon as this has been smeared on to the cord and gently massaged in it is cut using a very sharp bamboo knife. This is called a ngad ulakan or ngad pabungbungan. Both ulakan and pabungbungan refer to a hollow, cylindrical tube, and so it may mean 'the knife which cuts the tubular cord'. A metal knife may never be employed for this task. This prohibition on a metal knife may reflect the fact that in Malay culture metals are used to seal off boundaries (cf Endicott 1970). The Balinese though, I think, would prefer the explanation that metals may not touch the child until it is three months old, the time at which the child is first allowed to touch the ground, the ground being intimately associated with metals. I will return to this theme in the next chapter.

Immediately after the cord has been tied and cut the small piece remaining is treated with a mixture of ground candalnut (tingkih) and salt (uyah). It is thought that both of these are 'cool' ('tis) and that the mixture encourages it to fall off more quickly. Later it is washed with coconut oil and onion after which a cloth is wrapped tightly around the child's midriff. Generally the baby is also washed with water in which kunyit has been soaking so that the slime can be removed.

The mother should try to wash herself if she is able to stand up and she usually should sit for awhile so that all the afterbirth comes out properly. To facilitate that she will bind her waist very tightly with a long cloth which also seems to have the function of helping her retain her shape. The placenta with its cord is collected along with some of the blood and amniotic fluid as these must be buried with due ceremony in the compound, to the right in front of the metén

for a boy and to the left for a girl (looking into the natah from the metén). For this purpose a large coconut is broken in two and the water thrown away. The placenta is put inside along with some thorns (dui) and 11 coins (pis bolong). The thorns are thought to repel spirits (and witches) from eating the placenta. Once it has been buried some bamboo sections are inserted around the area and a large stone is put on top of the hole so that dogs and other animals will not disturb it. For the next six months offerings must be given to the placenta at every life-crisis rite for the child. Furthermore when the daily saiban are put out this site must not be excluded.

When the placenta is buried the following prayer may be recited if it is known : Ong Ibu Pretiwi infuse the bayu (wind/energy/power) into the body, provide it with amerta, amerta which is called sanjiwani ('that which gives life'); cause the child to live to an old age, make him have a long life.

This basically is the only ceremony for birth. The child is officially welcomed (mapag raré) with an offering called dapetan jit kuskusan (cf Agerbeek 1916:1). Although in Pujung, I was told, it rarely happens, elsewhere birth is met with some sort of percussive noise, either the banging of the village kulkul (wooden split gong) or the firing of rifles as amongst some high-caste families.

The child is susceptible in the first few days to a number of malevolent influences. One of these is the wind. It is thought that the wind will enter through the navel cord and into the stomach or through the open fontanel unless these are closed off. This is the reason why the navel is covered with a tight cloth. The fontanel is covered with a blob of a mixture made by grinding together uncooked rice (baas), onion (bawang), cloves (cengkéh) and aniseed (adas) with some water. The resulting compound is a sticky mass which gradually dries and hardens.[6]

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6. Much of this information is also recorded by Mershon (1971:56,67), Agerbeek (1916) and Weck (1976:119-20).

When the cord finally drops off the navel can be treated with saliva from chewing the basé leaf and covered with onion skin (the saliva is paes basé and is the same as the idu bang (red saliva) discussed in chapter 7 section 9).

A much bigger threat though is attack from witches who are said to be very partial to babies. In order to repel these creatures the child is provided with a blunt (so that it does not cut itself) knife and a twig of the orange tree which has long thorns on it. Onto the thorns are stuck an onion, a piece of garlic and a leaf of the jangu bush (acurus kalamus) All of these are pasikepan (amulets). The léyak are said to like the strong smell (amis) of them, so that they consume the spices and leave the child. These protective objects are left either until the cord drops off or for twelve days whichever is the shorter. Whatever the cultural logic of all this one cannot but find it amusing to see a woman with her new born child walking around carrying a knife with an onion stuck on the point.

It is generally considered that the mother's milk is insufficiently nutritious for the baby. In Pujung the women give the child pre-masticated banana and soft boiled rice (tipat) with no spices. Weck (1976:120) reports that the soft pulp from very young coconuts (kuud) may be used mixed with mashed banana and tipat. Agerbeek records the same (1916:2) as does Covarrubias who calls such a mixture bubuh (1937:125). (This should remind the reader of the mubuhin rites of the rice cycle described in chapter 5 in which tipat is offered to the newly transplanted rice). Whereas all of these writers tend to imply that such food is given to the baby immediately, in Pujung it is after three days that the child is said to 'start eating' (nyumunin madaar). At the same time a child may begin to have herbs rubbed onto its body (nyumunin maboréh).

The only topic that remains to be discussed is the pollution, kumel, suffered on the birth of a child. This pollution is distinguished from death pollution which is called sebel.[7]

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7. However van der Tuuk reports that birth pollution can also be referred to as sebel.

The dictionaries are of little help in discovering the meaning and etymology of this word. Van der Tuuk (1899, 2, 343) gives 'unclean' and 'grubby' and compares it to Malay kumal which means 'rumpled' and 'dishevelled'. A person also becomes kumel if his head is touched by another's sarung or if he is the victim of foul and obscene language. In both these cases the perpetrator should pay the cost of the offerings required to remove the pollution.

At birth the following periods of kumel pollution are suffered : a) the child for 105 days (3 months of 35 days each), b) the mother for 42 days, c) the father for 12 days, d) everyone else who lives in that compound for 3 days or until the navel cord falls off. In the latter case there is a great deal of confusion. Three days is a very plausible duration as the use of the odd number marks a transition - in fact a trinity, whether of circumambulations during a procession, or knocks on a grave before the bones are dug up to be cremated, or knocks on a puppeteer's box before he removes the lid to take out his puppets, or days of enclosure before a major transition of life for high castes and so on, is so commonplace in Bali that it constitutes an obvious starting point for any holistic analysis of the culture. However the navel cord is likely to fall off either three or four days after the birth and one can easily imagine that the Balinese might well think this event useful for indicating the termination of the transitional state. So when it happened one day that a woman gave birth in the compound in which we resided I had great trouble in finding out when our period of kumel finished. This was important at the time since there was a major temple ceremony going on and being kumel I could not enter the temple. Eventually it was decided that I was to wait until the cord fell off since this would satisfy everybody as it very rarely falls off before three days have passed. During the period in which a person is unclean with kumel pollution (or any other kind of pollution for that matter) he may not enter into any place of worship, including his family temple nor may that person help in any preparations of offerings.

There are also other prohibitions, specific to the mother and her child. The mother is very much restricted to the room in which she gave birth. She may not go to the balé dangin or to the kitchen and some people even say she should not leave the compound, all for three days or until the navel cord falls off, She is forbidden to go to the balé dangin because it is a relatively pure place, and the child is not allowed on it until he is 105 days old. As for the kitchen this seems to be a restriction to which few pay attention although most follow the prohibition that they must not cook for three days. The basis of the prohibition on cooking escapes me as it did all of the people I asked.

There is one other prohibition for the mother only: she is not supposed to eat meat with blood in it for three days. The reasoning behind this seems to be similar to that when people are discouraged from eating watery vegetables if suffering from a nasal cold. It is thought that nasal excretion will only be exacerbated if one eats fruit and vegetables (cucumber, cabbage, grapefruit) containing alot of juice. However it is possible to provide a different explanation for this prohibition. Some people say that it is a form of asceticism. This makes good sense since other major points of transition are marked by silence and abstinence (the first day of the new year, nyépi the harvest rite, and the two rites of mapinunasan celebrated just before the fruit appears on the rice).

CHAPTER XI

FROM BIRTH TO DEATH

In this chapter the ceremonies which an ordinary Balinese undergoes during his life will be discussed. The series that I recorded in Pujung was extremely stable over the two years I was there and according to a number of friends this was how it had been for as far back as anyone could remember. This does not mean to say that the cycle is repeated all over Bali in the same way. On the contrary there are many variations. In certain areas the ceremony of majang colongin is performed for the child at 42 days after birth whereas in Pujung it is always celebrated at 105 days. It might also be the case that the child is given a name at the 12-day ceremony, but elsewhere this may take place at the 105-day rite. However all of these variations, one soon realises, are kept within strict limits. Thus majang colongin must be performed at 105 days at the latest. Teeth-filing may be suffered at an early age but most people wait until just before marriage although it may be put off indefinitely if one cannot afford the outlay. The most general rule for its timing is that it must be carried out before the body is cremated. Apart from these considerations it ought to be said that the ceremonies follow an inviolable order so that nyambutin (an integral part of the 105-day ceremony cannot be performed before majang colongin which in turn is never celebrated before the 42-day rite. Similarly teeth-filing must postdate puberty rites (if these are held at all) but precede cremation. Within these general rules there is scope for individual choice. The series known as tingkah

dadi jelma ('the way of becoming a human being'), begins when the navel cord falls off. For a summary of this series see table 14.

1. Kepus Pungsed

Because the navel cord is part of (or rather an extension of) the placenta and acts as a means of passage into the body, it must be treated with some circumspection. It has to be protected with certain substances (red saliva and onions, a cloth bound around the waist), since being severed from the placenta it affords an entry for other, less benevolent, forces, the wind and witches being the most significant. Moreover the small piece of remaining navel cord is the last physical link with one's catur sanak and its falling off is therefore considered an event of importance.

The piece of the cord is put into a woven palmleaf container (tipat) together with a selection of herbs and either attached to the underside of the child's sleeping place or buried shallowly in the kitchen floor (Mershon 1971:56; Agerbeek 1916:3). In Pujung it is thought that usual medecine will be ineffective for the child for the first six months of its life and that if the child is ill or if it cries a great deal then the best remedy is to make it drink some water in which the navel cord has been left to soak. This seems to corroborate the view of the Balinese that the child's catur sanak still have a strong hold over him and can affect his existence for good as well as bad.

In other areas of Bali the navel cord is put into a small bamboo container and attached to the wrist (Agerbeek 1916:3). At three momths this may be substituted for a silver or gold box usually tied around the neck. Such an object is a protective amulet (pasikepan) or 'guardian' (pangijeng) - In Pujung although the neck amulet is given to the child at the three-month (105 days) rite it does not usually contain the navel cord but rather a small piece of lontar palm-leaf with a number of magic letters inscribed on it.

Offerings presented at the time of kepus pungsed consist of those given to the catur sanak at the place where the placenta

Table 14. The sequence of manusa yadnya (rites for people)

Ceremony	Timing	Comments
Conception	-	
Pagedong-gedongan	- 5 - 7 months after conception	Ceremony held to remove buta-kala and thus ensure safe passage for the child from the womb
Birth	-	Onset of birth pollution (kumel) for everyone in the compound
Kepus pungsed	- 3 - 4 days after birth	Celebrated when the navel cord falls off. Kumel finishes for all except child and parents. Child begins to eat (nyumunin madaar) and to have herbs rubbed into its body (nyumunin maboréh). Black thread with two coins attached to each wrist.
Ngalepas aon	- after 12 days	Father's kumel ends. Child receives its first purification with holy water. It is reoriented so that its head is now to kaja and its feet to kelod.
Tutug kambuhan	- after 42 days	Termination of the mother's period of birth pollution.
Nelubulanin	- after 3 months	A series of rites involved here. Majang colongin to get rid of the useless bajang. Makakulam to remove kumel pollution from the child (it may now enter temples). Child is for the first time allowed to touch the earth and to come into contact with gold and other metals. Black threads with their two coins exchanged for white threads with one coin and then these for the permanent metal bracelets. During nyambutin the soul is officially welcomed into the child's body.
Ngotonin	- after 1 oton (210 days)	Repeats nyambutin rite of the 3-month ceremony.
Nelu otonin	- after 3 oton	Nyambutin is performed every oton until the offering of bia kaon replaces it after maketus. At this particulat ceremony the child gets its first haircut

Table 14. (continued)

Ceremony	Timing	Comments
Ngempugin		First teeth begin to appear. This event is not marked by any ceremony in Pujung.
Maketus	6 years (approx)	The falling out of the baby teeth. The child may no longer waft the essence of the panyambut offering towards himself. This is replaced by the offering bia kaon so that the buta-kala may be removed. The child is no longer 'still a god' and if it dies the body must be cremated with all due ceremonies. The child has begun to learn the difference between right and wrong - hence the inevitable presence of the buta-kala.
Menék daa/ teruna	Puberty	Puberty rites at first menstruation. A person's inherent purity, which has already diminished some at 3 months and maketus, decreases still further.
Tooth-filing	Before cremation	Removal of animal characteristics represented by the pointed canine teeth. These must be filed down straight.
Marriage		At this point one reaches the nadir of ritual purity due to the commencement of sexual activity and participation in the secular affairs of the village symbolised by membership of the banjar
Menopause		Termination of all sexual activity and the beginning of an increase in one's inherent purity.
Death		

is buried, those to the god Kumara who in mythology is eternally young and whose function is to guard young children, offerings of meat and fish for the mother since she may start to eat these things again, and finally purificatory offerings to begin the process of removing birth pollution from the affected parts of the compound. One important aspect of the rite of kepus pungsed is that to the wrists of the child are tied two Chinese coins (pis bolong) using black thread. The explanation for this will however have to wait until the three-month ceremony is described.

After the navel cord has fallen off the mother is allowed to step up onto the balé dangin once again and she will also start to cook and eat normally. This also marks the end of the period of kumel pollution for co-residents who are not immediate members of the nuclear family. Moreover the mother will begin to leave the house with her child and probably go to bathe at Gunung Kawi. The mother and father though are still polluted and cannot therefore enter temples, but this is their only restriction. The child however is not only forbidden to enter these places of worship but he may not touch the ground from birth to three months. According to the Balinese a new born child is still very close to the gods since that is the realm from which he has just arrived. Because of that he must be carried everywhere; contact with the earth would be demeaning and even polluting. Children, being 'still gods' (nu déwa), are also not allowed to go to ceremonies for the dead. This divinity diminishes gradually and comes finally to an end when the first teeth begin to fall out after which children are said to commence knowing the difference between what is right and what is wrong. It is this absence of culpability which probably accounts for the reticence many Balinese parents have for punishing children under the age of about five years. This is not to say that children never get beaten - they often do - but there is an overriding feeling that it is all rather pointless as the child will not understand; physical punishment will only harm the child's tender sensibilities.

2. Nglepas Aon.[1]

Whereas the semantics of the term kepus pungsed poses no problems (it simply means 'pull off the navel cord') the meaning of nglepas aon is more complex. Aon refers to the kitchen ashes which are said to be useless. Thus the ceremony is designed to rid (nglepas = to separate) the child of 'rubbish' (aon). But aon is also used here as a pun for kaon (evil) and in this case I think that the 'evil' refers to the possible consequences of neglecting one's catur sanak. In this respect nglepas aon is a repeat of kepus pungsed and indeed a number of villagers saw it in this light.

It is at this ceremony, conducted by a banjar priest in the baby's house, that the child undergoes its first purification with holy water (in this instances tirta panglukatan). Agerbeek (1916:2) is of the opinion that such spiritual cleansing is necessary to purify the child from the sins which still attach to the soul of the ancestor which has reincarnated in the child. There was no one in Pujung who told me this since offerings for the sins of the child's ancestor are usually given later on, although some people even denied that such sins could ever be paid off with offerings; rather they had to be expunged with right action. So whether the purification concerns the sins of the reincarnating soul or the first attack on the birth pollution is as yet an unsolved problem. One point which must be mentioned here is that until this ceremony has taken place the child, whilst asleep, is always oriented with its head to kelod and its feet to kaja (the obverse of the normal rule), but again I was not able to find out whether this rule pertained to the fact that the child is polluted because of the transition of birth or because of the sins of the soul.

This seems to be as good a place as any to relate what happens when a family goes to a medium (dasaran) to determine

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1. This rite is also called ngrorasin (from the root roras = twelve) as it takes place twelve days after birth.

which ancestor has in fact reincarnated (numitis, numadi) into the baby. Such a visit can take place any time between birth and the three-month ceremony and possibly even after, though in Pujung it is usually undertaken around the time or the 12-day rite. In this case the child was born to the wife of my landlord, although it was not the mother who went since she was still polluted. I accompanied the child's father's sister and her mother-in-law to a medium in a village about five km.away. When we arrived at the priest's house he bade us wait in the temple for which he was the priest. He came a few moments later and a general conversation ensued. Soon after though he got down to business. He had a bowl of water over which he said some prayers and then began to look very hard at the surface since it is said that the message becomes visible (ngenah). Other mediums use rice, thumb nails etc. instead of water. He began by informing us that the child was a girl when in fact it was a boy but this did not seem to cause undue concern in the two women. Anyway in the end he said that the ancestor was a lineal ascendant through males (uli purusa) five generations (undag) back and he even gave us a name, I Durat, which I had to write down because the two women kept forgetting it (by the time we had reached home they could not recall the name at all and when I told the child's grandmother she promptly forgot and had to ask me again when the child's father eventually came home from work. I am absolutely certain that within a few days no one could remember the name, except me, and indeed no one cared. When I asked other people for names of the ancestors that had reincarnated into their children they hardly ever were able to supply one). Often the medium will not give a name saying merely that it is a relative of such and such degree. What my companions found much more interesting was that he said the child was ill. He advised treatment with certain herbal medécines and ordered some offerings to be prepared and presented to the ancestors.

Nglepas aon marks the end of the father's period of pollution. The following day he takes a bath and then may work for the banjar and the désa and enter temples once again.

In other areas the twelve-day ceremony is also the time at which the child obtains its name.

3. Tutug Kambuhan

In Pujung this ceremony is held at 42 days after the birth of the child. Tutug means 'reached' and the usual meaning of kambuh is 'relapse' especially of an illness. In this case though I suggest the implication is that the mother is returned to her normal state since the most important part of the rite is her purification from kumel pollution. All the usual purificatory offerings (bia kaon, prayascita, and tirta panglukatan etc.) are prepared and administered to the mother. On the following day and after a bath she may enter temples and prepare offerings once again.

4. Nelubulanin

Nelubulanin is the name of the collection of rites performed for the child when he reaches three months (telu bulan), these months being of 35 days duration. There are four major rites and I will describe them in turn.

a. Majang colongin

In section 4 of the previous chapter I mentioned that it is Balinese belief that the embryo is helped in its development by the bajang. After birth these have no further function and they must be removed. The bajang colong is translated by J.Hooykaas (1960:426) as 'changling' and indeed all extant accounts of this ceremony agree that evil spirits are fooled into believing that an effigy, made from the butt-end of a palm-tree branch or from a purple banana flower, is the real child.

I only witnessed this particular ritual in Pujung on three separate occasions as it is only performed for first, and not subsequent, children. It takes place at the mother's usual bathing place. She, along with members of her family and maybe some neighbours, go to the stream with the priest and the offerings. The child is not allowed to take part and he is left at home. Apart from the effigies of the child which are laid in baskets there is a very interesting item called a penyor. This is a bamboo pole stuck in the ground. About five feet up the pole a bamboo cylinder is tied horizontally and just below

that is hung a miniature swing (ayunan - the kind in which young babies are rocked). After the priest has purified and dedicated the offerings the mother enters the flowing stream and sits down in the middle facing downstream (tebén) (see plate 16). On her lap she clutches a tray on which is yet another effigy of the child formed from white rice called nasi raré (child of rice) or wong wongan (wong = 'person' and the duplication indicates a more fanciful meaning). The 'rice child' is sprinkled with holy water and emptied into the stream to flow gently away. As soon as this has been done a small black chick is pushed through the bamboo cylinder on the penyor three times from east to west. The chick is then put in the swing for a moment. Finally the mother is purified with the usual offerings and the effigies of the child are thrown away into the river. There seems to be little doubt that the episode with the chick is a symbolic birth of the child, effigies of which are then thrown away in the hope that the bajang will follow. In other words the bajang are encouraged to leave the child's body and, by a trick, to pursue the empty representation of that child.

b. Makakulan

After the ceremony by the stream they all return to the mother's house and the priest takes up position on the south-western (kelod-kauh) edge of the balé dangin on a raised table and facing south (kelod). In front of him have been placed numerous offerings, only the most important of which can be described. Firstly there is a large earthernware pot (paso) the contents of which are as follows: a) thorns from various trees to ward off the witches, b) small palm-leaf models of creatures usually found in the padi fields and in streams (crab, shrimp, snail, small fish) - the pot is supposed to be a representation of a bathing place (taman, see J.Hooykaas 1960: 427-8), c) two white cotton bracelets each threaded with one Chinese coin, d) numberous gold ornaments (rings, bracelets, earrings etc.), e) Metal wrist and ankle bracelets prepared for the child beforehand.

After the child has been purified from his kumel pollution

using a lis and tirta panglukatan, the black cotton bracelets containing the two coins are removed and the white ones with their one coin are substituted. But as soon as this has been done the latter are immediately taken off again. Finally the child's permanent wrist and ankle bracelets are pushed on. He will wear these until he is at least three oton (630 days) old; they are supposed to be protective amulets. The child's clothes are taken off and he is put into the pot and taken out again. Then he is dressed in clean new clothes and bedecked with the gold ornaments, this being the first time he is allowed to come into contact with such metals.

The second part of this section and the one from which the name is derived entails the use of the banten pakakulan. This consists of eleven palm-leaf trays shaped in triangles each containing bits of food (cakes, meat, banana etc.) and one snail (kakul). These trays are stroked on the child's limbs in the hope, so I was told, that he does not get the disease kakulan the symptoms of which are boils on the head. Associated with this part of the rite is the offering known as pakékéhan named from the sound, kékéh, made by chickens as they scratch around for food. It is said that such animals know what to eat and therefore leave all the rubbish they encounter in their foraging. As offerings (and the reader might wish to recall the ceremony of mawinten described in chapter 6) they are considered to separate the 'rubbish' from the child and leave what is good. In fact from the report of J.Hooykaas (1960:431) it seems that among high-caste circles chickens and ducks are used, instead of the simple offering, to peck away the impurities from the child just as they are used at mawinten.

At the end of this part all the offerings are thrown away, usually into the street where there is generally a hole for this purpose by the side of each compound's entrance. The child is now clean (kedas) and may enter temples. Moreover at this point the child is lowered to the ground for the first time. Elsewhere this is done with more pomp and ceremony but in Pujung one is likely to miss it altogether unless one knows before-hand at what stage of the rite it is performed.

It is no coincidence that the first contact with the earth is associated with the first time the child is allowed to wear

gold and other metal ornaments since as we found out from our investigations in chapter 7 gold is, conceptually speaking, the very essence of the earth. But what about the use of the white cotton bracelets worn for just a few seconds? It would appear difficult to deny that there is a complementary opposition between black and white and even and odd numbers associated with the development of the child. Soon after birth the child is given black bracelets with two coins on each and at three months these are changed for white ones.

We already know that the odd/even contrast marks the complementary opposition between life and death and soul and body, so that it would not be unexpected if these latter distinctions were here somehow involved. In fact the third section of the three-month ceremony is called nyambutin (from sambut = to welcome) and it is explicitly recognised as the time at which the soul is officially welcomed into the body. It seems to be thought that the soul ought not to be received whilst the child is still polluted even though, and at the same time, it is considered to be still semi-divine. Once the kumel pollution has been expunged the child is introduced to metals and to the earth both of which are the first important steps in the long process of reducing the divine status of the person. In this sense it must be emphasized that the series of rites known as 'the way of becoming a human being' is directed not just to the removal of characteristics reminiscent of spirits and animals but also to the eradication of divine attributes. Only in this way can the child become a complete human being, one who is equally distant from both gods and spirits.

c. Nyambutin

The transition from the unborn foetus to a 'complete' individual takes at least three months since only after this period of time is the birth pollution removed and the soul received into the body. Later in this chapter we shall see that the transition to the state of 'human being' (jalma) in fact takes much longer and in an important sense may not be said to have been completely attained until the person has married and begotten his first child.

The site of the performance of this part of the ceremony is the floor of the natah in front of the meten and facing north

(kaja) that is to say, towards the door of the metén. The main offering is the banten panyambut which consists of a winnowing tray (ngiyu) as the base. On it and in the form of the nawa sanga (eight points around the centre) are various types of tulung ('help') offerings the centre one being tulung urip ('help life'). Other utensils present are the coconut shell for ladeling rice (patan), the harvesting knife (anggapan), an ordinary knife (tiuk) and the stone for crushing herbs (batu boréhan). Once the offerings have been blessed by the priest the child is brought forward and held by the ngiyu tray. From the tray the priest takes a red flower and a length of white cotton thread. These two items are together known as tatebus sasedep. Using his right hand the priest revolves the flower and thread above the child's fontanel three times and to the right and then leaves it there. Taking more flowers and thread he repeats the process at all the major body joints (shoulders, elbows, wrists, knees and ankles) collectively called sabuku-buku.

Before we proceed I should point out that the fontanel is called the 'Siwa door' (Siwa dwara) and is thought to be the main passage for the soul. The use of the tatebus sasedep on the body joints is very similar to the employment of the pangurip-urip on the corners of buildings during the rite of malaspasin (see chapter 4 section 4), and we may assume that the reason for its use is the same. Moreover the meaning of the words (sedep = 'good', sasedep is an instrument for blackening the eyebrows, tebus = 'to redeem') indicates that those Balinese who say the sins of the soul can be paid for with offerings may be correct; on the other hand the referents are so obscure that I would not like to force the issue.

The priest continues by placing a few grains of rice on the earthern floor by his side which he crushes with the stone. He scoops up the rice, together with some earth, using the knife (tiuk) and puts it on two dadap leaves (this leaf is considered to be very 'cool'). The leaves are tied up and put into the tray. It would be premature to explain this action here. Suffice it to say that such a rite is an integral part of all ngulapin ceremonies for people who are startled and have temporarily 'lost' their souls (I shall deal with the subject in chapter 13).

Finally the priest takes the coconut-shell rice ladle and the harvest knife and wafts the essence of the panyambut offering (now containing the dadap leaves with their contents of rice and earth) towards the baby. At this point the priest mentions in his prayers the bayu (energy), sabda (words) and idep (thoughts) which, in a sense, represent the soul. After one ceremony that I witnessed the priest turned round to me and, somewhat cryptically, said "jani anggapan suba malinggih" ('now the harvest knife is already enthroned'). The use here of the high Balinese word malinggih entails that the word anggapan does not really refer to the harvest knife but, more likely, to the soul. This interpretation is supported if it is remembered that in the ceremony of banten bulih (described in chapter 5 section 4b) the same objects (rice ladle and harvest knife) were also used to seat the god of rice, Dewi Sri, in the padi selected for planting.

So just as considerations of spatial orientation, duration and the rules for building houses led to the notion that living beings were characterised by a segmented structure through the nodes of which passed spiritual forces (either benevolent or malevolent), so also detailed analysis of the ceremony of nelubulanin yields the very same collective representations. Passage in and out of the body is effected via such body openings as the fontanel and the articulated joints. On other occasions other orifices such as the mouth, ears, eyes, nose and genital openings are given prominence.

d. Matataban

This is the final section of the three-month ceremony and now that the baby has been properly cleansed it may be taken onto the balé dangin and allowed to face east and also to sit on the more sacred parts of the balé in the east and north. The priest dedicates offerings to the gods Kumara and Kumari and also to Dumada and Dumadi (from the root dadi 'to become', 'to reincarnate' and the passive inflix 'um'). The ritual treatment with the tatebus sasedep is repeated and the child is made to waft the essence of the offering (i.e. his father or mother moves his arms for him) towards his own body (a very frequent ritual act in Bali called natab). Such essence is

said to sustain the body and bring peace (rahayu) and safety to the child. As I said before the organs of the body are conceived to be 'seats' for various spirits and, like all Balinese spirits, their immediate action (which, of course, is of a highly moralistic kind since it reinforces the norms of Balinese society) is determined by the type of treatment they receive. If they are neglected they become buta-kala whereas if they obtain their dues they exhibit divine attributes.

Three days after nelubulanin the mother of the child goes to the priest's house to ask for the bangket (this was described in chapter 7, section 9).

5. Ngotonin

After the three-month ceremony the child is allowed into all the village temples but still kept away from most of the rites forming the pitra yadnya cycle (death ceremonies). The child is still considered to be a god although the intensity of this diminishes over time and vanishes when the child's first teeth begin to fall out. Moreover while the child cannot stand or walk there is a definite tendency (in conversation this attains the status of a prescriptive rule) to prevent it from crawling on all fours as such locomotion is too reminiscent of how animals move around (Belo 1970b:90).

However before the first teeth begin to fall out at about six years of age the ngotonin ceremony is held every 210 days (one oton, this is derived from the combination of the five -, six-and seven-day weeks in which case the same combination of day names repeats itself every 210 days). This is the period which many temples use to space their recurrent festivals, odalan, and indeed odal and oton have the same meaning. In other words temple festivals and 'birthdays' of children are conceptually related and on these days the relevant deities are 'activated' (this is Geertz' term), that is to say, they 'come out' a phrase which translates odal, oton and metu.

There is no need to describe a ngotonin ceremony since it merely repeats the latter two sections (nyambutin and matataban) of the three-month rite. The main interest however occurs at the third oton, when the child is 630 days old, for on this

occasion the hair is shaved off for the first time. This appendage to the ngotonin rite takes place at the end of the ceremony when the father shaves the child's head. The cutting is known as magundul or as ngutangin bok ('to throw away the hair').[2] This second title is somewhat misleading since although hair is normally thrown away after a hair cut this is not the case on this particular occasion. In fact in Pujung to throw away the child's hair is thought to be 'hot' (panes). The hair is gathered up off the floor and deposited into a pat of cow dung. It is said that such an action is magically 'cool' (tis). The person who does it is supposed to say : silurin goak apang nyak selem ('exchange for the crow so as to become black'). Moreover if someone asks where the child's hair has gone (dija boké wayan) the standard answer should be 'the crow has taken it' (goaké suba nyuang). All this is to do with the fact that the Balinese believe that the blacker the hair the better, so they exchange the hair of the child for the blackness of the crow. Black hair is as much admired as is dark skin although feelings about the latter are sometimes ambivalent. The truth of the matter is that whereas hair should be very black skin should be dark and smooth but not black. I shall return to colour symbolism later in this chapter.

Hair is ambiguous in its qualities. To cut the hair is in some sense a purificatory act (as it is in India, Dumont 1972:89) since the hair carries the gods (mundut déwa) but only, as it were, their negative characteristics. But hair is also on the top of the head and so relatively pure. Thus it can only be cut on specially auspicious days and priests and women should ideally never cut their hair (if a priest does he must ask for holy water). Hair is tis ('cool') and used in conjunction with saliva, to prevent swellings. It is also used to sweep the initial clod of earth into the hole dug below shrines in which the pendeman are buried (see chapter 4 section 4). This is done as a sign of respect to the ancestors.

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2. The tuft of hair (jambot) which covers the fontanel is not left uncut in Pujung as it is in other areas of Bali. The jambot is said to protect the fontanel from wind entering.

6. Maketus

The falling out of the upper middle teeth is not marked by any ceremony in Pujung yet for all that it is an extremely important transition. The pre-eminent social fact is that at this stage of life the child is considered to begin learning the difference between right and wrong; he therefore becomes culpable. Being responsible for his own actions he inevitably commits indiscretions of one sort or another. These 'sins' must be periodically expiated and from maketus onwards it is prohibited for the person to natab the offering panyambut. Instead he must natab the offering bia kaon which is directed to the buta-kala. Thus the ngotonin ceremonies for older people, if they are held at all, are quite different to those held for 'innocent' children.

This introduction into the realities of life entails other changes. Before the teeth have fallen out a child accumulates no sin and so may not be cremated - his soul is said to go straight back to the gods without the help of man, it simply does not need the cremation rites. After maketus the child, on death, must undergo all the usual ceremonies. In other words breaking the attachment to the world (in the sense that the soul is inextricably involved with the needs of the body) is the overall raison d'être for cremation. Since the child's soul is not yet really shackled to the world it is also not joined to the body in a permanent way. On death then the child's body is buried with but the most perfuctory ritual, the soul already having reached heaven. This, of course, explains why the child is 'still a god' (nu déwa) before his teeth have fallen out. After this point a child is never again described as such even though he is still somewhat purer than an adult.

At this age girls begin to take on household duties whilst the boys may begin to learn to perform various tasks for their fathers such as gathering feed for the family's cow, taking the cow for his bath, in Pujung learning to paint wooden statues etc. Thus even though maketus is not a rite de passage in van Gennep's sense it is obviously a transitional marker of great significance. After maketus a boy is not likely to

experience any personal ceremony until he has his teeth filed. A girl however may be given a ceremony on the occasion of her first menstruation. This is usually confined to high castes and unfortunately I never saw such a rite. However I can relate what I was told in the village by those who had been eyewitnesses to high-caste puberty rites.

7. Menék Daa[3]

Up until puberty the child is guarded by the god Kumara-Kumari. But at the ceremony of menék daa ('to become a maiden') the god of love/desire, Semara-Ratih, takes over and creates the attraction between male and female.

Apparently in times past, and still occasionally today, the girl is cloistered in the metén for a period of either one or three days, the latter being more usual. This is called ngekeb ('to close up') and is properly a rite of transition.[4] When the period is up the girl is brought out on the shoulders of two men who carry her to the large balé. There various offerings are blessed the most important being the one called sasayut sabuh rah (sasayut is the generic term for a class of offerings used to ask for a blessing; sabuh means 'rain', 'sprinkle' and 'full', rah means 'blood'). The offering contains numberous ingredients many of which are coloured red. At the end of this the kulkul is sounded and guns may be fired.

The first blood may be said to be bodo ('bad') and the woman is sebel ('polluted') for three days.

Puberty marks another step in the gradual diminution of normal purity. Whereas children before puberty are allowed a certain license within the temple, namely they may climb onto some of the shrines, after puberty this is not really possible, and for married adults (unless they are priests or have undergone mawinten) it constitutes a very serious sacrilege. On the other hand young men and women may join the seka daa of the seka truna. In Pujung these voluntary organisations are

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3. For boys the corresponding stage is called menék teruna ('to become a young man') and it is marked by the deepening of the voice (ngembakin)

4. The initial rite of separation involves purification with bia kaon and prayascita offerings and the removal of everyday clothes.

limited to twenty girls and twenty boys. At the times of major temple festivals they are purified in the temple using the bia kaon offering and after that they are not allowed to sleep outside the temple for the duration of the ceremony. They may plait various types of offerings and they are permitted to climb up shrines to place offerings there. All sexual activities within the precincts of the temple are absolutely forbidden. Once a member gets married he or she must leave the association.

Puberty then indicates another stage in the progressive attenuation of purity and the increasing attachment to affairs of this world. The more that materialism takes over the greater is the spiritual distance from the Balinese gods.

8. Masangih

Teeth-filing cannot take place before puberty and often occurs in conjunction with marriage although it is possible to postpone it indefinitely. It must, however, be completed before cremation. The rationale of the ceremony, in which everyone I talked to concurred, is the symbolic removal of characteristics usually associated with animals and raksasa (ogres, buta-kala). As we noted in chapter 9 these creatures are described as possessing long, sharp teeth. The ritual of masangih (from the root sangih = 'sharpen', 'file') requires the services of an iron smith (pandé wesi) who files down the upper six middle teeth until they are straight and no longer reminiscent of fangs. The priests go somewhat further in their interpretations since they are apt to consider the six teeth as representing the 'six enemies' (sad ripu, or less literally, the 'six vices') viz. lust, greed, drunkeness, anger, jealousy and deceit. Whether this is traditional Balinese belief or modern teaching based on esoteric Hindu texts popularised by the department of religious affairs I cannot say for sure, though I imagine the latter is nearer the truth irrespective of how well the doctrine merges with village notions.

As with puberty rites the person (or persons; quite often a set of siblings undertake the ceremony together to reduce costs) concerned is shut up in the metén for one or three days (at least among the high castes - in Pujung this separation is only included by three families) and dressed in ceremonial

clothes. At the end of this period he is carried on someone's shoulders to the balé dangin where he lies down with his head to the north. Over the body from neck to feet is placed a new (sukla) cloth called rurub ('to close'). Chunks of the branch of the dadap tree are inserted into the mouth between the back molars so as to keep the mouth open whilst the teeth are being filed and, I suspect, so that the victim has something to bite on (see plate 17). The priest begins the filing on each tooth, but very lightly, since he is probably not experienced enough. He soon hands over to the pandé who occasionally weighs in with a vengence. The severity with which teeth are filed varies enormously. Some smiths seem very heavy handed and appear to cause considerable pain, whereas others are light and do the job relatively painlessly. Moreover a brave initiate might well ask the pandé to stop every now and again so that he can examine the work in a mirror and suggest where improvements can be made. Others simply grin and bear it without uttering a word.

As with marriage and puberty rites, the termination of teeth-filing may be indicated by the use of some sort of percussive noise such as the beating of the wooden slit gong (kulkul) or the firing of guns. There are other occasions when noise is deemed necessary. One of these is the last day of the old year when the evil spirits are chased out of the village using fire crackers, tin drums and anything that will make a loud noise. Another recurrent event in which noise is a prerequisite takes place at the end of major temple festivals when the gods are being 'sent home' (nyimpen, masineb). As the pratima (the 'seats' on to which the gods descend) are put away in their shrines the whole congregation is supposed to cheer (masuryak) while the gong orchestras play a fast rhythmic melody. If noise then is associated with the termination of a transition silence is related to the beginning of it. This is true in the case of certain of the transitional rites for people in the form of a period of isolation (ngekeb) in the metén. Silence also marks the first day of the new year (nyépi = 'to make silent') and the days after the mapinunasan rites (described in chapter 5) held just before new padi bears fruit (these days also being called nyépi). Staying with the padi cycle we should recall that no one is allowed to speak during the short period immediately preceding harvest. Later on I

will describe the ceremony of ngirim when the soul finally begins its ascent to heaven and which is again marked by an absence of noise.

Silence is explicitly associated with asceticism and a concentration of power. I venture to suggest that such power is a vital ingredient in the successful accomplishment of transitions which the soul (whether of people or rice) undertakes. Completion of the transition and the dispersal of this power is logically indicated by noise.

9. Teeth Blackening, Colours and Numbers

Covarrubias, writing 35 years ago, mentions that even at that time the cosmetic practice of teeth blackening (terusi) was quickly disappearing (1937:135). When I asked about it I received the most contradictory reports. Nowadays very few people blacken their teeth and I in fact never saw it performed. All those I asked agreed on how it was done, namely, by using the thick liquid that oozed from a smoked coconut shell. However to questions concerning who, when and why the replies were as various as they could be. Some said only women did it, others both men and women, some said it was done after marriage, some after the first child, some said before marriage in conjunction with teeth-filing, and some even said before teeth-filing. Most people agreed that it was a matter of choice and not a prescription and I could uncover no prohibitions of any kind associated with it. There was also disagreement over which teeth were blackened. Some said only the top middle four, others the top middle and bottom middle four and so forth. As to why it was done this was usually answered with a laconic 'don't know', whilst those who ventured a reply always suggested it was done for purely cosmetic reasons. All in all it would be hazardous to even speculate on the basis of this kind of evidence.

The blackening of teeth is a widespread custom in Indonesia and Barnes (1974:160) provides a suggestive interpretation. He notes that in Kédang there are a number of cases in which various utensils undergo a process which blackens them before they may be used. This was apparently true in Bali also. For example all new earthenware pots were smoked until they were

black. The reason given was that such smoking made the pot stronger and removed from it the characteristic smell ngid which was found disagreeable.

Before we proceed it will be necessary to recall various points of evidence. To begin with it was noted that temple priests were obliged to wear white garments whilst banjar priests could wear black if they so wished. In this chapter we saw that just after birth black cotton bracelets were attached to the baby's wrists and that these were exchanged for white ones at the three-month ceremony concerned with the official reception of the soul. This opposition of black and white was reinforced by that between even and odd numbers as reference to the number of coins on the bracelets made obvious. At many points in this essay odd numbers have been associated with transitional zones and the passage of the soul from one stage to another, whereas even numbers have been shown to be conceptually related to stagnation and death. Furthermore the white cloth used to line the undersides of roofs represents the ancestors and is in fact called lalulmur ('ancestors') and whilst a black cloth covers the genital area of a corpse (the genitals being pre-eminent symbols of 'this world') the body is wrapped up completely in white material. Swellengrebel, possibly misunderstanding the significance of this, says that white is the colour of death and yellow the colour of life (1947:5). This is patently incorrect since in all cases white is associated with the passage of the soul and the soul is the one thing in Balinese culture that is eternally and unambiguously alive.

White and the number 'one' are in fact linguistically related in the following manner: the usual word for white is putih but sa, the low Balinese word for 'one', also designates a completely white chicken. Moreover sa is a prefix with the following meanings: 'all', 'every', 'all kinds of', 'each' etc. (van der Tuuk 1901, 3,1). In other words white (and in the Javano-Balinese cosmologies white is considered as the synthesis of all other colours) and 'one' are conceptually identical and both refer to a categorically undifferentiated unity characteristic

of Balinese ideas of spirituality and the initial creation of the universe. Balinese culture displays a complementary opposition between body and essence which is expressed and made manifest by the more tangible contrasts of black to white and even to odd. In many instances the essence/body distinction surfaces in terms of the movement of the spiritual essence through its articulated and material body and here again the points of transition are marked by the contrasts of white and black and odd and even. I suppose it is here that we might with to conclude that both these complementary oppositions (and that of silence to noise should be added) are associated with the notion of 'coming into being'.

Just to round off this discussion, white is not only opposed to black. The former colour is also related to red in the context of sexuality and is opposed to yellow when associated with the distinction between east and west and male and female . Finally white is in complementary opposition to all the other colours in the context of the configurations nawa sanga and panca dewata (see chapter 3). In chapter 13 I will present evidence which categorically associates black (selem) with certain types of illness (gelem).

10. Marriage and After

The marriage rite and its significance was discussed in the previous chapter whilst the cultural background to marriage and sexual relations was explained in chapter 6. Here I should merely like to reiterate that the commencement of sexual activity coupled with the wholehearted commitment to mundane village affairs (on marriage one must join the banjar) marks the lowest point to which a person's ritual purity sinks. This purity does not begin to increase until the married couple cease sleeping together. This of course varies a great deal from person to person but one sign of termination of sexual intercourse is the woman's menopause (baki). This point coincides, very broadly, with a decrease in one's status in the banjar since one's children are becoming active members and superseding their fathers.

The Balinese relationship terminology supplies some circumstantial evidence concerning these points. The terminology

is very definitely generational and great grandparents and great grandchildren reciprocally address one another (if they are fortunate enough to be alive at the same time) by the same undifferentiated term, kumpi. Thus at the beginning and end of life no difference in sex is recognised. This is, in fact, far less marked for children who can be distinguished by gender in other ways. But perhaps this is as it should be since children have their life still before them and incipient differences need expression, whilst grandparents have come to the end and life lies behind them. Indeed categorical differentiation is more apparent in all those areas of Balinese culture which pertain to affairs of this world. Thus men and women are terminologically contrasted only where they fulfill complementary roles such as father and mother. Moreover the terms for male and females are contrasted at just those points where the man and wife are heavily involved in the banjar.

Finally, four generations is considered a complete cycle so that ideally a great grandparent should reincarnate into his great grandchild. This indicates that at least at a conceptual level death and birth are linked together as but two sides of the same coin. Considerations of this sort explain why the Balinese conceive a good death to be one in which the person has survived to an old age, therefore having completed all his life stages. Old age in Bali, however, is a concept which is not simply restricted to people with grey hair. A person who is old in years but unmarried is not 'old' (tua) - he is described as 'nu anak bajang'('still a bachelor') or as 'bajang wayah' ('a mature bachelor'). On the other hand someone married at fifteen can properly be called 'old' (tua) and the joke question: "what is the medecine for not getting old (tua)?"is answered with "don't take a wife". Unmarried men are not much respected and rarely play an important role in village affairs. The only one I knew was liked but he cut a rather pathetic figure. Married men without children are not stigmatised to the same extent and in fact one such man, who had married four times without being blessed with children, had held posts as klian banjar and pekaséh. For couples without

children adoption is always a way out and such incorporation is a widespread custom in Bali since children are essential for performing the vital death ceremonies for their parents. Unmarried men can also adopt but they find it much harder to find anyone willing to release a child. Some of these points will be taken up again in later chapters, but now it is time to turn our attention to death and the rites of cremation.

CHAPTER XII

DEATH, BURIAL AND CREMATION

If death in Bali entailed nothing other than the speedy disposal of the body then we would have no right to expect the enormous material symbolism which surrounds this event. Indeed the brute facts that a person has stopped breathing, that his body has grown cold and that it has gone rigid are deemed so inconsequential by the Balinese that there is no room left for doubt that death is conceived, not as just an abrupt termination of a human life, but as an affair of the greatest importance. Death, since Hertz' (1960) perceptive study, is best seen as a transitional stage and this is nowhere more true than in Bali. Already I have drawn attention, on a number of occasions, to the fact that a soul reincarnates into a direct lineal descendant, and in the ideal case this should be one's great grandchild. In other words birth and death are but two of the major events which articulate the eternal cycle of existance, a cycle which, as we have seen, is emulated by rice which comes to life from the dead body of Dewi Sri. But the complexity of the rites and the length of time from the first to the last would imply that the transition from life to death is not smooth and uninterrupted. On the contrary it appears that transition in this case comprises a series of changes each one dealing with a different aspect of the overall transition.

Birth and the coming into being of a new life entails the gradual embodiment of the soul within an encasing outer material. Only in this fashion can a soul achieve a viable existence on earth. Similarly then, and eminently logically, death ceremonies in Bali necessitate the progressive removal of these substantial integuments until the soul is freed and can return to the heavens. But this final journey is also a transition and one that is marked by many obstacles.

I could discover no easily specifiable relationship between the soul and the body. What the Balinese had to say about it and what transpired from observation of their actions was often confusing. However in the following chapter I shall endeavour to describe what I found out. If I therefore speak somewhat cavalierly of the soul and the body in this chapter it is only because the topic is so important that it deserves to be treated separately and in detail. Let me repeat here, so as to orient the reader before he gets lost in the flood of facts to follow, that in my opinion the main raison d'être of all death rites is simply, if crudely, the separation of the soul from the body and its successful journey to the afterlife. There are, of course, many subsidiary themes involved and these will be discussed as and when necessary.

1. Death and Burial

Most forms of death in Bali are acceptable and are treated in the same way. The best death of all is one where the person dies from old age (Hooykaas n.d.47). He has completed his life and fulfilled his duties to his progeny who will now reciprocate by taking on the responsibility of performing all the necessary death rituals. There are difficulties involved. The family may be poor and cremation is always expensive. Therefore the body may lie underground for a long time and eventually be burnt in a mass cremation which considerably reduces the financial outlay. However if the deceased is a priest he may not be buried at all as this is considered too polluting. The body must therefore be cremated at once. In this case the family may even sell off much needed rice land to raise the cash. Moreover some villages are more noted for

cremating quickly whilst others have a poor reputation in this respect. Pujung for instance cremates once a year and there are usually no more than ten corpses. But wealthy villagers are often cremated after a short burial as this is felt to be best; the least time underground the better. Sebatu, however, cremates once every three years and often there are forty to fifty bodies.

Deaths which are 'bad' fall into two main categories which I shall discuss later. They involve death from suicide and violent deaths. The treatment of these is usually the same as for normal deaths except that the period of burial is often of twelve or more years. I never heard in Pujung that a person would never be cremated. No matter how he died, at some future point, he would receive the benefit of cremation, thus releasing his soul from purgatory. All dead people eventually undergo the necessary ceremonies, and as far as I could find out these do not differ, in anything other than the timing, according to the type of death suffered.

Variations in the typical procedure are numerous and frequent. Thus if someone dies during a makeker (when death should be kept a secret so that a temple festival may continue) the body is buried without further ado. When the makeker has finished the corpse is 'washed' whilst it is still in the grave. For this purpose a hollow bamboo tube is left in the grave to provide a connection between the corpse and the outside so that the waters may be poured down. Another variation is termed makingsan di gni ('to leave in the charge of the fire'). In this the body is burnt almost immediately (that is after three days) and only the bones are buried, usually in a bucket. Forty-two days later these are dug up and the official cremation takes place. I will add one more example. Often it is felt a good idea to speed up the process and so the ceremony of rorasin (performed twelve days after cremation) is carried out on the same day as cremation in which case the whole episode is called ngabén nglanus (nglanus = to do something without a break).

Death entails severe ritual pollution (sebel) for the whole village and no one but temple priests may enter any temple,

including the family shrines, for various periods of time. The longest period is suffered by the immediate family of the deceased, who are sebelfor 12 days after burial. The villagers though are sebel for three days only. If the corpse is then buried for a long time pollution officially recommences three days before the beginning of the series of cremation rites, starting with atur piuning ('to announce' that there will be a cremation) in the pura dalem, of which the centre piece is the actual cremation, and continues for the villagers until three days after ngirim, the last of the series. For those members of the deceased's family though, pollution is incurred until the rite of rorasin 12 days after cremation. The periods themselves are not so significant the rule being that the closer the person to the dead man the longer the period of sebel.

In a very important sense the rites of death and cremation may be seen from the point of view of the gradual purification of the soul. On death the soul is so polluted that the only fit place for it is the graveyard to the south of the village. The soul achieves purification progressively and to the extent that it relinquishes its attachment to worldly things represented by its material body. Thus the gradual de-substantialisation of the soul parallels its increasing purity and its typical location in the village. When the body is first buried the soul is thought to hover around the graveyard and is called a patala (literally 'underground'). As the connection with the body is broken the soul achieves temporary resting place first in the balé dangin, then in the kamulan shrine in the family temple and finally within the village origin temple, the pura puseh. Each of these transitions is from kelod to kaja and from kauh (west) to kangin (east) in conformity with the rules of ritual movement, themselves to be understood in terms of the purity of the object concerned, (see Hobart 1978a).

Many old people die on the balé dangin since that is the usual resting place for senescent Balinese. It is, though, something of a puzzle why dead people, if they have died elsewhere are carried to the balé dangin. This balé, as I have said elsewhere, is the balé of life and old people stay

there in an attempt to delay death (cf Hobart 1978a:16). Anyway this is what happens. Immediately a death is discovered the village slit-gong is sounded and all the village banjar members should congregate at the house. The temples are closed forthwith and a condition of sebel begins.

The body should lie with the head in the east and the feet in the west, The first task is to strip the cadaver and wash it in ordinary water. The genital area must always be covered with someone's hand whilst this is being done. Once finished the body is dressed in clean (preferably new) traditional garb, including the head dress (udeng) and the outer waist cloth (saput) essential for entering a temple. Usually the balé is stripped bare and bamboo fences erected around the bottom of the corpse's resting place to prevent dogs from consuming the juices that exude from the body.

The women of the household begin to plait offerings and the men make a stand called, in Pujung, papaga on which the body will be ritually washed. The rest of the banjar members usually sit around and discuss the death, decide on what must be done (this is often different on each occasion) and try to keep the women from crying. Crying, it is said, encourages the buta-kala to mischief and prevents, or at the very least, hinders, the soul on its journey to heaven - so here is yet another piece of evidence that associates the buta-kala with immobility.

The washing of the corpse takes place in the centre of the compound after midday. The body is carried over to the papaga and laid down with the head again to the east but, as Hobart so astutely noticed, the face is propped up to face the west and this, I agree, constitutes a reversal of the normal orientation. The body is stripped and the genital area is covered with a black cloth (angkeb prana or panekep)- even in death it is shameful to expose the sexual organs. The washing (mandusin = 'to bathe', mersihin = 'to wash', 'to clean') now commences. The first act is to liberally sprinkle the corpse with clean but ordinary water. After this it is groomed, its hair oiled, its teeth cleaned, its body rubbed with herbs, its head massaged. All of the items used for this are taken from a tray held by someone standing to the east of the body

and they are passed over it from east to west. The thumbs and the toes are tied together with white cotton, two pieces of mirror are placed on the eyes, two flower buds are inserted into the nasal passages, bees honey is put into the ears (so that the ears of the person in whom the soul reincarnates will be free from wax), pieces of iron are placed on the teeth (so that in the next life they will be strong), the blade of a harvest knife is put on the midriff to strengthen the ribs, a jewel is placed in the mouth so that the words will be valuable, and so on (Covarrubias 1037:364; Crucq 1923:62). Finally various types of holy water are thrown over the body from east to west and the containers are dropped on the floor on the western side and broken. The waters come from all the village temples and there is also tirta panglukatan, tirta pabersihan and tirta pangentas (see chapter 2).

The description I have given hardly does justice to what actually happens. The scene is often bedlam with relatives and friends crowding round the corpse straining to touch it and help with the washing. Older children are not kept away but on the contrary encouraged to participate. Meanwhile the officials and priests at the eastern, or head, end watch over the proceedings with a benevolent eye and those who are capable sing a kakawin appropriate to the event. Some women who cannot control themselves breakdown weeping but there is always someone to admonish them in a brusque fashion; others stand around and crack jokes. To a westerner it is both moving and sacrilegious.

After the washing the corpse is again dressed in new clothes and wrapped successively in a white cloth, a woven mat, a bamboo trellis and a second white cloth (see plate 18). The cadaver is lifted to head height whilst all the relatives (younger than the deceased and generationally inferior but excluding any one in the category kumpi (great grandchild), and friends if they wish, pass underneath (masulub) to show respect (nyumbah) and to take their leave (mapamit). This is done three times. The body is returned to the balé dangin and placed in a hollowed out tree trunk. The papaga and the remnants of the ceremonial paraphernalia are taken outside to the street and thrown away.

The body now lies for three days on the balé. Each night the members of the banjar congregate apang ramé ('so as to be boisterous and noisy', a much liked atmosphere; it is also done, I was told, to help the family to forget their sorrow). At these get-togethers the big attraction are gambling games which go on till quite late. Singers stay up all night and recite texts (makakawin). The visiting is called magebagan ('guarding') and it appears to be common practice in Indonesia and elsewhere in the world, and associated with the passage of the spirit from one stage to the next (see Barnes 1974:204).

Before the body can be buried the deceased's ancestors must be informed. This is done from the entrance to the family shrine since no one is allowed to enter it, and also from the balé dangin. The gods of the local pura dalem have to be told as well and this is done by the temple priest. In fact the only functions the temple priests have during the rites of burial and cremation are to inform the gods of their respective temples and to prepare holy water. Everything else is performed by the banjar priests.

The corpse is carried to the graveyard (sema) in a long procession headed by someone carrying a lighted torch. The fire is supposed to scare the evil spirits thereby permitting the body an unmolested passage. Behind the bearers come a line of women carrying the requisite offerings, one of which is known as sok bekel. It is a basket (sok) which contains various items the dead person was particularly attached to, for example an old pair of shoes, a walking stick, eye glasses, a knife etc.

At the graveyard three short ceremonies have to be performed. The first is dedicated to Prajapati whom I would describe as the representative of the god of the pura dalem. Every graveyard has a small square shrine in honour of this figure and he must always be informed of a burial or burning. The second ceremony, this time by the actual grave is to sedahan sema, the guardian of the graveyard. After this the body is lowered into the already dug grave. The grave is oriented kaja-kelod and the head is placed to kaja (north). The third and final ceremony is offered to the departed

and during this the sok bekel with an offering of suci ('pure) is thrown into the grave. The grave is covered over and the following offerings are laid out on top : bubuh pirata (rice pudding), nasi angkeb (boiled rice), sagi (rice and food, of the kind given to guests) and pangadang-adangan (souvenirs to ransom the soul from beings that obstruct its passage). A branch of the dadap tree is stuck into the grave to 'cool' it and sometimes a bamboo fence is erected around the grave to prevent dogs digging at it. Offerings of 'food' (punjung) are brought by the family to the site periodically until the corpse is dug up and cremated.

Before moving on to the cremation I should just like to explain a few points. First, all Balinese ritual is extremely repetitive and just because the body is washed in the rite of mandusin does not mean that it has been purified. Washing the corpse removes only slight impurities and is simply the beginning of the process . Moreover at that time tirta pangentas is used and it may also be used a second time at the graveyard. This water, it will be recalled, assists the soul in making its way to heaven (entas = to cross). However the soul is still very much attached to the body and has hardly begun its journey. The offering of 'souvenirs' is also repeated during cremation, as are so many of the others used at the rites of death and burial. Second the tying of the thumbs and the toes is usually explained as an attempt to unite the soul, conceived as diffused throughout the body, so that it may concentrate on the task ahead.

On death the soul is thought to leave the body through one of its apertures, usually the mouth, However through force of habit (Covarrubias 1937:360) the soul can only wander a short distance and finds it impossible to break away completely. In this the soul needs a great deal of help. After burial the soul is called a patala and it is said to hover over the grave or reside in a nearby tree. The longer the corpse remains uncremated the greater is the suffering of the soul and the greater becomes its mounting anger at being neglected. For the first three years Prajapati is able to keep these souls

in check but after that he encourages them to start creating trouble. They are believed to have the capacity to cause quarrels and illness and one sign of their presence is the appearance of numbers of dogs at temple festivals. The souls are said to become buta (especially buta cuil, cuil = dirty). In Pujung, in fact, there are rumours that sometimes one can hear the baleful weeping of the souls of men and women murdered during the massacres of communists and others in the middle sixties and whose bodies were never cremated.

It does not seem to be death itself which determines the presence of pollution even though this may be an attractive idea. After all one might expect something traumatic in connection with the fact that a soul is attached inextricably to a useless carcass. In that sense pollution would decrease with the gradual separation of the soul from the body and the final elimination of the latter. Such an explanation could also just about accommodate birth pollution (which, van der Tuuk says, can also be termed sebel as well as the more usual kumel 1901,3, 389) since that also is associated with the presence of unwanted and useless material, namely the bajang. However it would not explain the fact that anyone undergoing a ritual transition is a victim of pollution (sebel). This applies to puberty, teeth-filing, marriage and birthdays. At the end of all of these a bath is necessary to remove the pollution. Moreover it is common practice that on a person's birthday he may not enter the temple to pray unless he undertakes to submit himself to the bia kaon purification offering. In other words a person becomes automatically polluted every birthday by being possessed by buta-kala. These facts indicate that the cycle of existence is structurally concordant with those durational cycles I described in chapter 5 where it was shown that transitional points such as midday and dusk were dominated by these inimical spirits. Thus I would conclude that pollution states are associated not with any substantial event but rather with the transitional zones which are being negotiated. The fact that the same kind of pollution is experienced no matter what the transition seemingly eliminates any other type of interpretation. This

Table 15. Summary of rites for the soul (pitra yadnya).

Rite	Timing	Comments
Death	-	Corpse washed on the balé dangin and dressed in traditional garb. Villagers meet to decide what course of action to take. Onset of death pollution (sebel).
Mandusin	- Day of death	Ritual washing of the corpse on a stand placed on the natah. Returned to the balé dangin to rest for three days during which time villagers visit the house to guard (magebagan) the corpse.
Burial	- 3 days after death	Soul now known as patala. It is thought to hover somewhere near the grave.
	- 3 days after burial	Pollution ends for all the villagers except the immediate family of the deceased.
	- 12 days after burial	Pollution terminates for the immediate family.

Now commences a period of from 42 days to 3 years before the series of cremation rites begins. During this time offerings should be taken to the grave site on regular occasions.

Pangabénan (rites of cremation)	- 3 days before the rites of atur piuning	Condition of sebel re-commences for the whole village. Preparations are in full swing.
Nguntap pitra Atur piuning	- 2 days before cremation	Announcement to the gods of the pura dalem of the impending cremation. Formal invitation to the souls of the dead.
Ngeplokin	- "	Awakening the soul at the graveyard
Ngulapin	- "	'Calling the soul'. Activation of the jemek mati as representation of the body.
Mandusin	- "	Ritual washing of the jemek mati after which it is laid on the balé dangin.

Table 15 (cont.)

Rite	Timing	Comments
Pangutangan (day of cremation)	-	
Ngagah	- Day of	Disinterrment of bones.
Ka béji	- Cremation	Activation of jemek idup and procession to the bathing area (béji) for ritual washing of same.
Mapegat	- "	Major ceremonies in compound of deceased to pay last respects to the dead and finalise the break.
Pangabénan		The burning at the graveyard.
Ngirim	- "	The soul begins its journey now freed from the encumbrance of its material body which has been destroyed by the action of fire and water. Soul becomes hyang (partly purified ancestor).
Nyagiang	- The following day	Ashes 'fed' with delicacies and then inserted into a puspa
Anyud	- "	Remains (ashes and offerings) thrown into the river.
Rorasin	- 12 days later	For many villages this is the final purification and the soul becomes a full laluur (purified ancestor) and returns to the kamulan shrine in the family temple.
Nyekah	- 42 days after cremation	A superior form of rorasin carried out every 20 years or so in Pujung.
Nguntap pitra	- Variable	Invitation to the pitra (generic term for 'soul') to finish their journeys to heaven if they have not already done so. The panuntunan (symbols for the soul) are buried behind the kamulan shrines of the family temples.
Numitis (Reincarnation)		Soul reincarnates into a lineal ancestor.

then reinforces our view that the life cycle of the soul is not conceptually distinct from other cycles already discussed. (see table 15 for a summary of the ceremonies).

2. Cremation

The Balinese human being is a very complex unit. One system of description is not necessarily compatible with another and may even appear contradictory but it will prove useful in what follows to describe this unit in some detail. To begin with one can say that it consists of a soul and a body. The soul is generally conceived to be diffused throughout the body but can leave through various openings and cause the body's death. In this sense the soul may be described as 'breath' (bayu) and we can recall that some people think the soul enters the new born baby as it takes its first breath. Moreover it is the breath, or rather its absence, which marks death and not the absence of the pulse. In fact the first person to find someone dead should say a short prayer for the safety and peace of the soul and this is called pegat angkihan ('sever the breath'). However this interpretation is complicated by the fact that the bayu, sabda, idep ('actions, words, thoughts') are said to be the 'legs' of the soul (batis atma) which enable the latter to do its work. In this version bayu refers to action and it agrees closely with its everyday usage as meaning 'confident' and 'strong'. But there is also the phrase dasa bayu ('the ten bayu') which are supposed to get mixed up when someone is badly startled (kasiab). The ten bayu reside in the body using the organs such as liver, kidney, spleen, heart, etc. as their resting places. In order to restore the balance in the body the ceremony ngulapin anak is essential. But in this the soul is said to be coaxed back into the body from its temporary position at the sea shore (I will be discussing this in more detail in the following chapter). Whether the soul can be equated with the bayu, with the bayu, sabda, idep or with the dasa bayu cannot be finally answered because different equations are made in different contexts. To confuse matters even more the thoughts and feelings may be described as the panca tan matra ('the invisible five'). But the panca tan matra

are also supposed to be the invisible essences of the panca maha buta which are in turn the gross substances of which the body is composed (earth, fire, water, air and light see Weck 1976:62-80). This is enough to be getting along with; as far as cremation is concerned all we need to know is that the soul is encased in two layers, the first being the panca tan matra which in this case is the thoughts and feelings, and the second the panca maha buta which is the gross bodily substance. The more peripheral the material the less spiritual it is. Death ceremonies proceed by removing the outermost layers first until nothing but the soul remains, after which time it can be released to make its way to heaven.

To use a chemical analogy, removal of these layers consists in decomposing the mixture into its component elements and then depositing these where they belong. In other words any particular part of the body consists of a compound of the five gross substances. Burial and fire (and water) are used to separate these and return them to their 'origins' - earth to earth, fire to fire, water to water and so forth. Once this has been successfully completed the same can be done with the panca tan matra. Only after this is the soul freed from material encumbrance.

a. Preparations

Work officially begins some ten days before the burning. The wadah, the tower which will transport the body to the graveyard, has to be built and decorated as has also the patulangan, the sarcophagus in which the body will be burnt (patulangan = 'place for the bones'). Pigs must be bought for the feasts which latter entail a great deal of preparation. Each member of the banjar must contribute the patus consisting of a measure of rice, banana leaves, an amount of bamboo, and so on. The offerings have to be made and this means that the deceased's house is almost overflowing with women for long periods of each day. There are no rules about who should help on these occasions, but generally neighbours and very close relatives do a lot of the work. The wives of priests, no matter what relation they are nor where they live, take a very active part in the making of offerings since they are the acknowledged

experts in this. As for the men, either the whole village takes part if it is a mass cremation or the dead man was important, or only the quarter of the village in which the deceased lived. In either case each man contributes the same and does the same amount of work as all the others. Death and cremation are pre-eminently banjar occasions and all other affiliations are ignored.

If it is a mass cremation then the families involved have to decide at what level they wish to have the ceremony performed. There are always three grades utama (excellent), madia (middle), nista (low). Depending on the grade chosen, the body will or will not be dug up, there will or will not be certain types of offering, the wadah will or will not be shared and so forth. In one particular case in Pujung five people were cremated One of these was a pandé. Her body was dug up and it had a wadah all to itself. Also her family used a number of offerings the others did not. The other four all shared the same wadah although they had separate patulangan and in only one case were the bones dug up. In the other cases it was considered sufficient to take some earth from the top of the grave. I should add that only those of equal status may share a wadah.

The condition of pollution, sebel, officially begins with the day ngoreng. On this day the families having bodies to cremate begin to fry (ngoreng) the cakes (jaja) needed for the offerings. In concert with this there is a negtegang ceremony to preserve the quantity and the quality of all the materials subsequently to be used in the cremation. Three days later all the preparations should be nearing completion.

b. Awakening the soul

First thing in the morning the priest of the local pura dalem temple informs the gods (matur piuning) that a cremation is about to take place. He also invites by name the presence of all the souls concerned (nguntap pitra).

A little later the families involved congregate at the gravesides to awaken the souls. With a signal from the banjar priest the families bang three times on the grave (ngeplokin) so as to wake (nundun) the soul. Next three scoops of earth from the top of the grave are put into a dadap leaf using a

knife and, with much wafting of hands to entice the soul out of its lethargy, the dadap leaf is inserted into a figure called the jemek mati. Essentially this is a representation of the body. It is dolllike and consists of a piece of palm-leaf on which a crude face has been etched and underneath that the name of the deceased. This is then wrapped in white cloth to give a conçical shape. As soon as the dadap leaf containing the earth has been attached to the jemek mati ('the dead jemek', I can find no translation for jemek) the figurine is quickly established in a silver bowl placed on a younger relative's head and shaded by a parasol. At this stage what is happening is not clear. After questioning numerous people over a prolonged period of time I have come to the conclusion that the earth is supposed to represent either the body (panca maha buta) of the thoughts (panca tan matra). It is given an honoured place on the top of someone's head because the soul is conceived to follow the body and therefore must be hovering close by. Let us leave it at that for the time being.

When everybody is ready the group walks back to the village (i.e. going to the north-east and upwards). Once inside the village limits each jemek mati is met by a series of offerings laid out on the ground at the Pujung crossroads. It is at this point that the ceremony of ngulapin is carried out. In this the soul is called (ulap) to the figure. Again I do not know whether this is merely repetition or something entirely new. During the ngulapin earth is again taken from the ground, wrapped in a dadap leaf and attached to the jemek mati. No one could confidently distinguish for me the difference, if any, between what happened at the gravesite and what at the site of the ngulapin ritual. Suffice it to say that the jemek mati, as its name suggests, can be nothing other than a material symbol of the gross substances which compose the body and the senses. I think that any further analytic reduction is out of the question. Moreover what appears confusing after witnessing one cremation becomes less so after seeing several, especially when these take place in different areas. Thus a cremation in Sebatu proceeds with ngulapin before the people go to the

graveyard. One final consideration is that if the first act consists in retrieving the soul the ngulapin is still an essential requirement even if this involves inevitable repetition.

With ngulapin over the jemek mati are carried to their respective houses, something which is absolutely forbidden for the actual bones. On entering the bearer goes straight to the natah were a temporary construction has already been erected. The jemek mati is placed on this with its 'head' to the north. The jemek is 'given' food which is eaten by a younger relative. Once rested awhile it is picked up and carried east to a small version of a papaga where it undergoes the whole ceremony of mandusin. Everything that was done to the body before burial is now done to the jemek mati. This having finished it is raised high and members of the family walk underneath as before. Finally it is placed on a miniature bamboo bed (tumpang salu) which is laid on the balé dangin. In terms of the ritual movement experienced by the jemek mati it has gone from underground and south of the village to an already quite exalted position on the balé dangin, there to wait until just before the burning two days hence.

c. Pangutangan

The day of the burning is known as pangutangan from the root kutang ('to throw away'), whilst the actual burning is termed pangabénan for lower castes and palebon (from lebu = ashes) for higher.

This day starts very early for a feast is the first item on the agenda. The banjar rises about 3,00 a.m. and a number of pigs are slaughtered. The meat is converted into various dishes and saté (meat on a skewer) all of which are required ingredients for many of the offerings.

At dawn a contingent of men return to the graveyard to exhume the bones (ngagah). Once the grave has been opened up all the bones left are lifted out (ngangkid), placed on a mat and washed thoroughly with ordinary water to remove all the earth. Even after a year surprisingly little is left; what remains is wrapped up and left in a temporary shrine (asagan) which has been erected by the grave. Finally a beheaded black

chick together with a number of offerings, to satisfy the guardian of the cemetary, are thrown into the grave and it is quickly filled in (ngurugin).

After the feast is over it is the turn of the jemek idup to be cleansed. This jemek ('the live jemek') is almost identical to the jemek mati but there are some significant differences. Whilst the palm leaf for the latter may be incomplete that for the former must be whole (tileh). Moreover that for the jemek mati is not crossed whilst that for the jemek idup is required to be crossed (that is to say folded over on itself) - quite what this indicates I am not certain but I was assured that was how it must be (see plate 19). As should be clear the jemek idup is a material emblem of the soul. It is taken in procession down to the bathing place (kabéji) at Gunung Kawi to be cleansed with the purifying water and with a lis. During its absence a whole series of offerings are transferred to the balé dangin where the jemek mati still waits, and this is as good a place as any to describe some of them.

Perhaps the most interesting is the pangadang-adangan which I have already mentioned. It is an extraordinarily complex offering, but to simplify it contains presents of rice and cakes for a number of creatures the soul will meet on its journey to heaven. The story goes that the soul encounters creatures of tremendous size and in order to pass safely it must hand out these gifts. Thus it will meet a huge bird, an enormous water buffalo, a stupendous dog, it will also come across a shepherd boy, gigantic ants, a barong, a heavenly nymph, a clown and much else besides. Once these have been mollified by the gifts of rice they will no longer obstruct (adang) but rather assist the soul in its passage.

There is also a pair of offerings, again very complicated, which are worth recording. These are the adegan for the soul and the tatukon for the body (adegan = to stand, house post; tuku = to buy, tatukon = a purchase). Although the former has a few more items than the latter they generally contain the same articles, these being representations of all the parts of the body; head (coconut), hair (black cotton), eyeball (egg), iris (candlenut), lips (passion fruit), teeth (20 garlic),

face (jack fruit), skin (white silk), adam's apple (nutmeg), and many many more.

Finally I will mention the offering panjang ilang matah/ panjang ilang rateng. This consists of cooked (rateng) and raw (matah) gifts to the buta-kala so that they will not interfere with the burning.

When the jemek idup returns from the bathing area to the compound it is placed alongside the jemek mati and a little to the north of it. After this the main ceremony takes place. This is in fact a congeries of rites which lasts for up to an hour and a half, and to describe it completely would take just as long.

The ceremonies take place on the natah facing the family temple. Behind the assembled people a wayang lemah (a day-time performance of the shadow theatre) is acted out and a group plays the gamelan gambangwhich may only be used at cremations. When the banjar priest has dedicated all the offerings a young relative (son or daughter) takes the jemek idup and this is sprinkled with holy water using a lis. There follows a number of rather strange actions which I do not altogether understand. To begin a small amount of rice is offered to the relative who must not consume it until the third occasion on which it is offered. Next his nose is pinched three times with a miniature pair of tweezers. I was told that this symbolises the fact that the descendants of the deceased are willing to take on the responsibilities left to them (the departed's belongings, his unfulfilled promises and vows, his unpaid debts etc.). Following this a small hollow bamboo tube is held up to the relative's eye and a sowing needle moved about at the other end. The young lad is asked whether he can see the point. If he can this means the soul has already begun its journey. This needle is then pinned to a white cloth which acts as the sail to a small model boat, the means of transport for the soul. Next the bamboo cylinder is broken with a coconut which itself has to be broken in the process. Bits from these are placed on the backs of the hands of various relatives and the presiding priest and tossed over their backs (nampok). All these rituals go by the name mapegator maputus

and refer to the breach between the living and the dead. Finally everyone prays to Surya (the sun), to the god of the pura dalem, to Prajapati and to all the souls (pitra).

The person holding the jemek idup now rushes out of the compound and into the street where the wadah is waiting with a number of gong orchestras and a large group of young people. It is said the jemek idup must leave first because the soul is already on its way. At the wadah a group of youngsters begin to help the jemek idup up the steps to the resting place half way up the wadah, but simultaneously another group seems hell-bent on preventing them from achieving their aim. While this is happening outside, inside the compound all the offerings are being picked up and carried outside, to wait for the wadah to start. There is usually a similar fight over the jemek mati. Eventually both jemek find their way on to the wadah. The tower is then picked up to the accompaniment of great noise which is thought to attract all the strange forces lurking roundabouts and recruit it to aid the bearers. The wadah is then revolved three times to confuse the soul so that it will not know how to return, and finally sets off down the road to the graveyard, followed by the patulangan and the women carrying all the offerings on their heads (see plate 20). At each corner the wadah must be revolved three times (Mcphee 1970:191). At the graveyard the patulangan is placed on the raised area where the cremation takes place (pamuunan) and the wadah circulates this three times going to the right. When it stops the two jemek are transferred to the patulangan and the bones are fetched from the asagan by the grave. All the offerings, the pangadang-adangan, the adegan and tatukon etc. are placed directly under the sarcophagus. Now the priest steps up and says the final prayers and administers the final set of holy waters (panglukatan, patémbak, pamutus, pangentas and panyuda mala; see chapter 2). Eventually all is ready and the patulangan can be set on fire.

If only bones are being burnt people stand and simply watch. On the other hand, if a corpse is cremated a number of young men prod and poke it to make it burn better. The release of heated gases which often cause small explosions is greeted with great

laughter, and bits of the flesh that will not burn well are dragged out of the fire, chopped fine and thrown back in.

Sometime during the burning and most usually right at the beginning a dove is released (see Crucq 1928:80) which represents the liberated soul. All over Indonesia the bird is an intermediary between men and the gods and in Balinese myth it is a group of birds which brings the first rice seeds. A bird then is the most perfect symbol for the soul, or if this terminology is objectionable, a tangible representation of the fact that the soul has been properly set free (cf Crucq 1928:80).

The soul is enabled to ascend to heaven through the roofs of the wadah which in fact are themselves representations of the tiered structure of the cosmos. Thus sudra, with only one roof on their tower can only reach the lowest heaven, whilst cokorda, who warrant eleven, reach a correspondingly higher heaven. However in the latter case the ceremonies are more extensive and expensive. Much else in the way of ritual accessories are caste-linked but I have already explained that in chapter 8.

After the cremation has finished the bones (if any are left) and ashes are collected and placed on a white cloth. The ground is cleared of everything else and four dadap branches are inserted vertically into the ground so that they form a square. Between these are slung white 'curtains' in order to protect the ashes. Everyone is now obliged to leave the graveyard.

A few hours later (about 5 p.m. - it should be recalled that a cremation may only be performed after the sun has passed the zenith) the priest and a small group of people make their way back to the cemetary. However they stop before they get there. In Pujung the graveyard is reached by descending a steep slope and the burning site can thus be seen from some way off. This is the point at which the rite of ngirim is performed. The offerings are laid out on the ground and the priest mumbles his prayers. During this ceremony no one is allowed to speak, as that which is left at the burning site is now considered purified and the soul properly on its way. This is made explicit by what the priest has to say, viz. that the destruction has finished and the gods will now assist the soul

in crossing to heaven. Finally he takes the sacred staff (the property of the pura Balé Bang) and inscribes three times a line in the ground so that the soul is prevented from returning along that path.

At the compounds of families which have just cremated relatives offerings for the newly purified souls (now called hyang) are put out in the balé dangin. The souls are still not completely purified.

This ends the day of burning[1] and it would perhaps be useful to recapitulate the essentials of what has happened. First the unit is recomposed to become again a body, thoughts and feelings, and a soul. In the forms of the jemek mati and the jemek idup the body and soul are systematically purified using a whole series of holy waters and pollution removers. The action of the fire in the actual cremation then acts to decompose the unit back into its constituent elements leaving the soul free to begin its journey. Lastly it should be evident by now that the cycle constituted by the rites of life and those of death is a continuous one which exhibits many, if not all, the features displayed by those cycles discussed in chapter 5.

3. Nyagiang - the following day

Nyangiang (from sagi) means 'to provide food' and this is in fact what is done. On the morning after the burning the families again congregate at the graveyard. While the priest is performing a ceremony at the shrine for Prajapati, the relatives of the deceased sit by the ashes. Using three dadap leaves held in the left hand these ashes are moulded into a human shape. First the head is made in the south, then the torso. This is followed by the right hand, the left hand and finally the right and left legs which are then in the north. The orientation of this reconstituted body is therefore the obverse of that for a living person, with the exception of a child whose navel cord has as yet not fallen off. The ashes are in fact still considered polluted and this is why, so I

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1. For the three nights following the burning it is customary for the banjar members to visit the house of the deceased (Magebagan).

was told by a budding 'village structuralist', the left hand had to be used. The figure is then decorated with various objects to emphasize even more the head and limbs; thus, for example, chopped flowers are sprinkled on the head, and strips of young coconut fronds placed along the limbs. This is then covered with new cloths amd a flat,round piece of wood, with a face (pererai) etched on it, is put on the head. Next it is sprinkled with holy water and finally presented with an assortment of delicacies (panca dadaaran = 'the five foods'). The essence of these foods is wafted towards the replica and then laid down on the floor. This completed, the cloths are taken off and the ashes placed on a stand using bamboo tongs. Some holy water is poured on to the ashes and then they are crushed into a homogenous mass using a wooden pestle. This is scraped into a hollowed out coconut shell which itself forms the basis of what is called a puspa (high Balinese for 'flower'). This is a conically shaped doll representing the body of the deceased (see plate 21). The puspa is carried on the head of a child of the deceased and everyone goes in procession to a spot in Pujung known as the suda mala ('to clean impurity'). This is at the bottom of a steep ravine on the western side of the village and marks a spot where a spring spews out water northwards into a fast flowing stream a few feet below it. No one in the village was ever able to explain why such a strange ('unnatural' occurrence (water flowing from kelod to kaja) was used as the spot to throw polluted things into the river (anyud). Once there a short ceremony is conducted and then the puspa and all the offerings are thrown away into the river to be carried down to the sea.

4. Rorasin and Nyekah

Both these ceremonies have the same function but they differ in their size and status. Rorasin (from roras meaning 'twelve') is performed twelve days after cremation and is supposed to transport the soul to its final destination, this being materially represented by the burying of a puspa, at the end of a ceremony, underneath and behind the kamulan shrine in the family sanggah.

It will be recalled that after the rite of ngirim offerings for the soul (at that stage called hyang)are placed in the balé dangin. This means that cremation has removed so much impurity that it can be allowed back into the compound. The balé dangin is, of course, the site at which one contacts one's incompletely purified ancestors. Rorasin is designed to remove any remaining impurity from the soul, and some even say that if the soul is separated from its material body (panca maha buta) during cremation, then at rorasin it is finally detached from the thoughts and feelings (the panca tan matra). Only at this juncture can the soul be said to be entirely composed of spiritual essence and so deserve a resting place in a temple.

The main event at rorasin is the burning of a puspa the ashes of which are thrown away into the river at the spot known as the suda mala. In Sebatu the ashes of the first puspa are inserted into the base of a second puspa which is then buried behind the kamulan shrine. At this point the soul has come full circle. At birth it is thought to come from the family temple to incarnate in the new born baby, whilst after rorasin the soul, now no longer called hyang but instead laluur (from the root duur = above), is transported back to the temple ready to be reincarnated once again into a lineal descendant (Hobart 1978a).

Nyekah is simply a sort of super-rorasin which is held very infrequently (in Pujung at least). Anyone who has cremated a relative since the previous nyekah takes part in the subsequent one. Each family is provided with two puspa all of which are made by the priests. The day before the main event the puspa are activated with a ngulapin ceremony and taken into the outermost courtyard (jaba) of the pura puseh (a graphic illustration of how the death ceremonies merge into ceremonies dedicated to gods). Being partially impure still they are not allowed to penetrate any further into the temple previncts. On the following day the puspa are , one by one, ceremonially burnt on a pyre,in the form of a pagoda, which has five receding roofs. So, irrespective of status all the puspa are burnt on the same pyre. The ashes are collected, inserted into the base of the second puspa and then buried by the wall

dividing the jaba from the inner sanctuaries of the temple.

5. Nguntap Pitra

Generally speaking rorasin is the final rite of the pitra yadnya cycle for sudra groups. For triwangsa the rite of mukur must be performed, and for kings there is also maligia. These are designed to usher the souls into the highest heavens.

Nyekah is not strictly necessary but it appears some villages are more fastidious than others and like to leave no stone unturned when the peace of their departed ones is at stake. The problem is that mistakes are inevitably made during the ceremonies and as this is so well recognised there are even offerings to redeem these. Errors may be made by the priest in reciting the very complicated and little understood mantra, or by the women who make the almost equally complicated offerings. Ingredients may be left out or placed in the wrong position. But even if everything is done correctly it is still not certain that the soul, having sins to expiate, will reach its final destination. The less the amount of sin the easier is the passage. The soul may have been waylaid in its journey by one of those enormous creatures I described in an earlier section. Or it may still be clinging to ideas of the material world which retards its progress.

Whatever the case the performance of cremation and rorasin does not constitute an inevitable and complete transference to heaven. This, then, is the reason why sometime after rorasin the souls (pitra) are invited (nguntap) to resume their journey, if they have not already arrived, with the help of various gods. The main ritual items required are a pair of puspa, only on this occasion they are not called puspa but rather panuntunan (from the root tuntun = lead, guide) which act to'guide' the soul to its rightful place.

On an auspicious day everyone sets off for the complex of temples at Besakih some 50 miles(by road) away. The first port of call is the pura Manik Mas at the entrance to the complex. Here the priests simply ask permission and assistance for their task. After that the group descends a valley to a place known as titi gonggang, titi ugal-agil, or marga masepak. Titi is a narrow bridge over small water channels; it is also a feature

of some temples where it marks the passage from an outer court to an inner one (Goris 1960a:86). Both the terms gonggang and ugal-agil mean 'shaky' and a titi gonggang is the mythological bridge over which the dead must walk to reach heaven (J.Hooykaas 1955a:246). If they have too many sins the bridge wobbles and they fall off. Marga masepak is a 'street with branches' i.e. a crossroads. This area is in fact a sort of crossroads as two valleys intersect. Here the group stops to pray for the wandering souls. From here it is a short walk to the temple pura Dalem Puri which might be described as the pura dalem (death temple) for all-Bali. It is the temple of the dead for the Besakih complex and all souls must come here at some time if they wish to enter the caste-linked temples of the inner sanctuaries of Besakih.

Once at Dalem Puri a major ceremony is conducted. The panuntunan are 'brought alive' with a ngulapin rite and these are taken on a circumambulation around the inside of the temple going to the right. It is thought that the panuntunan lead the souls on this journey which I likened, in an earlier chapter, to an ascent up the mountain.

Following this the group treks back through the crossroads and makes its way to the title-group temples which surround the main Besakih sanctuary. The pandé go to the pura pandé whilst all the others from Pujung go to the pura Warga Pasek Sanak Pitu being as they are all supposed to be pasek of one sort or another. The final call is at the pura Panataran Agung which might be thought of as the pura puseh for all-Bali. By this time the priests have enlisted all the relevant deities and coaxed the meandering souls along the correct path. All that remains is to take the panuntunan home and bury them underneath, and at the back of, the kamulan shrine of the family temple. At this point the family can say that it has done everything possible in its power to make sure that its deceased ascendants have finally reached their final destination The souls are now full laluur, hardly distinguisable from gods, and are completely purified.

6. The Soul's Journey

The movements of the soul after death can be plotted in a number of different ways according to the geographical frame of reference chosen. Hobart (1978a) has already described the path of the soul in the context of the family compound. In this case the soul, on death, is banished to the graveyard where it remains until the body has been cremated. The burning removes the material body and so partly purifies the soul, which can thus be propitiated in the compound once again, but only from the balé dangin. Once rorasin or nyekah has been performed the soul can finally be supplicated in the family temple at the kamulan shrine. When a child is born in the compound the soul is conceived as coming from the temple. In other words the soul completes a spatial cycle the sections of which are marked off by the frequent rites of passage recorded inearlier parts of the thesis.

Analagpusly the same sort of cyclical movement can be detected with reference to the village as a whole. In Pujung the village pura puseh contains a kamulan shrine at which the village ancestors may be propitiated. These souls are thought to reincarnate into village folk. After death the souls hover around the graveyard until cremation has been performed and they can be ushered back into the village. Some however are said to be impeded through ritual mistakes or excessive sins and get no further than the pura dalem. Once nyekah has been celebrated though the puspa may be buried just outside of the pura puseh. This rather obscure cycle also seems to be repeated at the level of the island. During nguntap pitra the souls are guided through the all-Bali temple of the dead to the all-Bali 'origin' temple (the pura Panataran Agung) via the titi gonggang ('wobbly bridge'). All these paths it seems to me are structurally identical and they all take place within the confines of the mercapada (the world of mortals) and its temple sites.

The soul's journey, however, can also be traced through the cosmos and this in two ways. Firstly it passes progressively through the ranked layers of the universe represented by the receding roofs of the cremation tower. The greater the number of roofs on the tower the higher and purer the final heaven

reached. The souls reincarnate into children of the same title and the path is therefore again cyclical. Secondly the soul's progress can be described vividly by the directions it takes, the creatures it meets and the events which befall it. In many stories (see J.Hooykaas 1955a, 1955b, 1956b; and C.Hooykaas n.d.:46) the soul sets off in a north-easterly course and climbing up a steep mountain slope. First of all the soul meets an old man (Siwa in disguise) at the junction of three roads. After taking one of these the soul usually encounters Jogor Manik, a black giant, who ushers it angrily on its way. It is after this that the soul comes to the titi gonggang. The strategy to be used to successfully cross this perilous obstacle is to jump directly onto the centre of it. Some way further on the soul finds Panjirang (J.Hooykaas 1955b) which is another crossroads. One way goes to heaven and another to Yamaloka where the sins are paid for in a kind of Balinese purgatory. In between all this the soul is assailed by all those enormous creatures I described with referenec to the offering pangadang-adangan.

Given all this complex mythology deviations are to be expected, but on no account can the cyclical nature of the soul's passage be denied.[2]

7. Good and Bad Deaths

I have left this subject to the end since a description of the rules concerning the treatment of bad deaths is not an essential prerquisite to the understanding of the care of normal deaths. In general, although bad deaths are linguistically differentiated from 'good' deaths, they do appear to form a continuum with the latter and it is often difficult to decide in borderline cases.

A death from old age is the most appropriate since it is considered that a person has completed his allotted span and it is proper for him to die. A person who dies young has died prematurely no matter what the cause of death. This is not a

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2. Appropriately enough the path of the rice soul is also properly cyclical since once it has come down to earth it alternates between the fields and the granary which, in Pujung, is situated in the family temple. Additionally, before the rice may be eaten its essence must be returned to heaven from whence it originally came.

bad death however but rather an unfortunate one, and it is not treated in any way different to a normal death from old age. And it must not be forgotten that children who die before their baby teeth have fallen out are buried in a separate (usually raised) graveyard and given no cremation - their souls go straight back to the gods.

The victims of bad deaths can be buried in the village cemetaries but just as often they are interred on the slopes of a valley to the south of the graveyard. Belo (1970a:10) describes how in one village everybody is buried in the same place but children at the north (upstream) end, ordinary deaths in the middle and bad deaths at the southern (downstream) end. This physical continuum seems to match the conceptual continuum, and a search for decisive boundaries between the different types of death will not be rewarded.

There are two major categories of bad death (mati ala). The first is intentional suicide (ulah pati), whilst the second comprises deaths from accidents and deaths as a result of violence (salah pati). In this second category the usual types of death enumerated by the villagers are as follows: death from being struck or stabbed, from poison, from being savaged by a wild beast or bitten by a snake, from being struck by lightening, from a fall from a tree or precipice. Most villagers agree that such deaths are 'wrong' (salah) but that the bodies may nevertheless be buried in the graveyard. However the families must wait 12 years to cremate the body. For certain other deaths, such as death from leprosy, the corpse must be buried on the slope of a valley and cannot be cremated until 25 years have passed. Thus there are different regulations within the categories and no hard and fast rules can be laid down without distorting the data. The circumstances in which the death occurs must always be taken into account. Whilst I was in Bali a high Balinese official was killed in a helicopter crash and this was classed by many as a bad death. However the government and the padanda decreed that since he died in the pursuit of his duties he died the death of a true satria (on the 'battle field of politics'?)

In Pujung things are done somewhat differently. The site of the bad death is considered polluted (leteh) for 42 days. At the

end of this period a major purification ceremony, malik sumpah ('to overturn the curse') is performed. Although the victim's body cannot be taken home it is buried in the normal way. Some villagers even assured me that if the malik sumpah was performed properly there was no reason why the body should not be cremated in the ordinary way. However since no one in the village had died a bad death in many years I could not clear up this point. Those who were killed in the massacres of the middle sixties have not been cremated but then no malik sumpah was performed either.

It seems to be thought in Bali that to take one's own life, which by all accounts is extremely rare, is supreme presumption. God gives life because the soul is a manifestation of God and therefore to take life and especially to terminate one's own is tantamount to arrogating to oneself the responsibility that is alone properly God's.

Death by accidental violence is again viewed as premature but in this case as a result of a curse or great sin. It is in this class of deaths that the distinction between good and bad deaths is the hardest to draw. Deaths from road accidents do not seem to be treated as bad deaths; sudden death during sleep is, in Pujung, treated normally even though certain manuscripts consider such a death as mati ala. Murder is problematical to a large degree since it involves something of a contradiction. On the one hand it is thought that only people who have sins die prematurely (a righteous man is invulnerable to murderers and witches) whilst on the other the theme of the innocent victim looms large in Balinese culture. The contradiction may be overcome by noting that no one is without sin and that the soul of the victim will avenge itself on the murderer and his family (Hooykaas 1958:9-10).

There is then no unified and coherent set of criteria which can be used to distinguish various types of death. Each death must be looked at in its own right to determine the correct course of action to take. This is in fact what is usually done shortly after any death has been discovered. The banjar mambers congregate and the details, as far as they are known, disseminated. From there an agreed procedure for this particular death is

decided upon and if there are complications then the village experts may be consulted, if they are not already present.

Since no one died a bad death in the village whilst I was resident I did not have the opportunity to witness any differences in procedure. Suffice it to say that the main distinction seems to consist in the fact that a bad death involves the usual sebel pollution but also carries with it the type of pollution known as leteh. Leteh (which can also mean 'dregs', 'marshy') seems to have the connotation of 'disrespectful', 'indecent' as, for example, when a person of low caste speaks to one of high caste using vocabulary items from the kasar levels, in which case the recipient is made leteh. Quarrelling or fighting in a temple renders it leteh, as does a woman's menstrual blood. In other words a bad death is conceptually linked to other types of insult to the gods. It is therefore likely that similar action would be used to rectify the situation, and this is indeed the case. A temple is purified from leteh by the performance of a major caru rite, most usually malik sumpah the very type of ceremony used to remove the leteh caused by the occurrence of a bad death.

8. Conclusion

The subject of Balinese cremation has been a favourite topic with ethnographers and colonial officers for many years as the published record shows. Much of this interest was fired in the first place because the burning of bodies was the most obvious of Hindu importations. But when Crucq (1928) wrote his study of Balinese death practices by translating lontar and collating information from earlier sources he finished with a short comparison of the way cremation was performed in Bali and India. He concluded that they coincided on only a few points such as, for example, the casting of the ashes into a river or the sea. According to Covarrubias (1937:360) cremation rites were introduced into Bali around the thirteenth century so the custom has had a long time to adjust itself to new surroundings. The rites of cremation will not be any the better understood, it seems to me, by turning to India for clues to interpretation. Indeed I suggest that a complete analysis would merely have to extend the one already presented and that in no wise depended on Indian data for its inspiration.

The treatment of death is most appropriately comprehended as a reversal of the treatment of birth and the relationship between the child and its soul. Conceptually speaking the child comes into the world without a soul and is therefore incomplete. Three months later this soul is officially welcomed into the body at the rite of nyambutin. At death the soul is attached to a dead and useless body, again a sort of incompleteness. After cremation the attendant pollution is removed and the soul is freed from its resticting carcass. This constitutes a reversal of process and forms the driving force behind all the material ceremony. Death and cremation, which are extremely complex at the level of offerings and ceremonial activity, reduce themselves,at the level of concept and category,to a nice symmetric simplicity.

In the following chapter I again take up the discussion of the of the soul which leads inescapably to a conceptual inquiry concerning indigenous notions of illness.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SOUL AND ILLNESS

1. The Soul

In a number of places I have already discussed various properties and features of the Balinese conception of the soul. I have explained that the soul comes from the kamulan shrine of the family temple and enters the new borm child who is ideally a diect lineal descendant. The soul is welcomed into the body at the nyambutin ceremony where it is said to enter the body through the fontanel. The fontanel is ceremonially known as the'Siwa door', that is to say, the opening through which Siwa enters. The padanda priest, during his daily ritual, surya sevana, is also thought to be possessed by Siwa entering via the fontanel. In short the soul is a manifestation of divinity. There is other evidence for this idea. First the soul is an ancestor, and since ancestors are simply inferior gods we must conclude that the soul is the essentially spiritual representation of God within man. Secondly the soul may be depicted in drawings in the form of the god Sang Hyang Taya. This latter piece of information also reinforces what I said earlier concerning the soul as diffused throughout the body. Although this is the dominant conception there are those who consider that the 'seat' of the soul is in the head or that it is there that the soul achieves its greatest concentration. Moreover the soul is said to enter and leave the body by means of the appertures in the head (most notably the mouth) and Weck (1976:40) even records that reflections of people seen in the eyes are really pictures

of that person's ancestors.

In the previous chapter I described how the soul could be considered as either a unitary concept or as a complex whole. In the latter case it is identified with the bayu, sabda, idep ('actions, thoughts, words'). But the latter are also known as the 'legs of the soul' (batis atman). The soul may also be equated with the dasa bayu ('the ten bayu'). I do not believe there is a contradiction involved here just a sensitivity of the Balinese to the kinds of situations in which the soul has to be invoked. At the most abstract level the soul is in complementary opposition to the body it inhabits and it does not need to be defined or reduced to a more analytical level. On death the soul escapes through the mouth and in theory death is indicated by the absence of the soul. Incidentally it is this which accounts for the rather esoteric notion that the soul is the only living thing in the Balinese pantheon. At more concrete levels the soul is thought to comprise a number of components which have different functions. I should now like to pursue some of these themes a little further by examining the content of the rite known as ngulapin.

It is said that death is caused by the soul quitting the body. But during my stay in Bali I often heard that people could lose their souls temporarily and thus become ill. The remedy for such illness is the performance of the rite of ngulapin anak (from the root ulap = to summon) in which the soul is encouraged to return to the body. The general reason for a banjar priest to conduct such a rite is that someone has been'startled' (makesiab). A person can be startled in an ordinary way by being shocked suddenly, but a condition of kesiab also designates severe shock caused as a result of an injury, or a bad fall. Even people who faint may be described as 'startled'. So all minor traumas and injuries necessitate the performance of ngulapin. But any serious injury also occasions the need for this ceremony whatever future rites are performed. One view of these episodes is that when a person is badly startled he loses his soul which goes down to the sea (or sea shore) and is held there by Baruna the god of the sea. According to this version the priest has to call (ulap) the

soul from the sea god and re-establish it in the patient's body for him to recover. This interpretation is however strenuously denied by most in favour of a more metaphorical explanation. Adherents of this latter view point out convincingly that if the soul were to leave the body the person would die. Instead, they say, the soul becomes confused and it is as if the soul had left. The fact that it is described as held by the sea god is explained as a metaphor for the 'low' and 'depressed' state of the soul which can no longer function properly. They also note that the ngulapin ceremony is much more concerned with the dasa bayu than with the soul (atma, jiwa, pitra) as such. In this sense then the soul is represented by its action component and the loss of the bayu renders the patient immobile. Someone who is startled is usually bed-ridden for a few days but is nevertheless still capable of speaking and thinking. This approach seems to have the edge in the debate and the contrast in the two arguments seems to resemble the difference in native exegesis which was discovered with reference to the status of witches, namely, whether witches can really transform themselves into animals or merely persuade people that they can. According to the sophisticated view a 'startled' person suffers from a disalignment of his dasa bayu causing his bodily symptoms to malfunction . Balinese will say such a person is pusing (confused), that his thoughts are peteng (dark) and that his body is uug (broken). Whilst in such a state a person is much more susceptible to attacks by witches and other malevolent creatures.

The ceremony itself consists of two main parts. The first takes place out in the street where the priest, facing the sea, asks for the return of the dasa bayu from Baruna. At the end he taps the earth three times with a knife and then scoops some earth, again three times, and deposits it on a double dadap leaf. This is folded and inserted into a takilan. This instrument is made using three twigs of the central stem of a palm frond and a shoot of the dadap tree. Two coins are threaded on to the twigs and a parcel of rice and some boiled egg is tied to it. In a story recounted by J.Hooykaas (1956a:221) such an article has the power to restore life to people who have been killed. The second part of the rite is performed on the balé

dangin. The priest prays for the dasa bayu to come home to the body of the patient. Each time he mentions one of the bayu by name (Sang Bayu Bang, Sang Bayu Jinar, etc.) he strokes the body with the takilan and instructs the bayu to 'go home' (mulih), each time stipulating a particular organ of the body (liver, spleen, etc.) which is the seat of a specific bayu. Once this has been done the patient is fed ~~with~~ a penny's worth of rice and meat, which has to be bought from outside of his compound (as a symbol that the bayu have left and now returned), and with the rice and egg from the takilan.

2. Illness

Illness to the Balinese does not appear to constitute a single unified idea but rather involves a series of overlapping concepts pertaining to the causes of illness, the responses to it, types of illness and the images and metaphors in which illness is couched. When I say that there are different types of illness I mean there are different concepts of aetiology. In modern medical theory illness may be caused only by natural events if this is taken to mean that psychological factors are included as natural. But in recent years the trend has been to remove many psychological disorders from the categories of illness and disease as it is thought that such institutionalised labels merely exacerbate the problems. In Bali, though, stress, mental disorder, persistent quarrelling, family disputes, fights, emotional upset, etc. all appear to participate in the same set of articulated concepts in which we also discover the more usual categories of illness and disease. Therefore in what follows I can do no more than adumbrate the domain in which these ideas fall; a thorough study would require a much more extensive treatment than is possible at the moment. I shall begin with a fairly detailed examination of the causes of illness and then pass on to types of illness and the responses to it. Finally I shall look at the way illness is represented and conclude that, for the most part, illness in Bali conforms to the notions that have already been elucidated for other aspects of the culture.

3. Causes of Illness

In the following sections I am going to discuss illness in conjunction with states of being which the Balinese find

disagreeable but which we would not necessarily classify as illness. Unfortunately there is no simple way of determining whether the Balinese discriminate between these various states as being examples of one category or another. Village tradition does not provide readily usable linguistic evidence with which to distinguish different illnesses in terms of their causes. Thus the same symptoms may be a result of very dissimilar causes, in which case it is obvious that the language of illness is not going to tell us very much about aetiology.

a. Natural causes

In many ways this is the most difficult and most complex area of Balinese ideas on illness because at the back of it is an awe-inspiring model of the human body and the way it functions. Linked to this is an even more luxuriant system of herbal and plant cures which seems to find useful almost every type of plant to be found on Bali. Because of the complexities of the system and the scope of knowledge that some people acquire I was only able to penetrate its outer layers and I can make no promises that the details I give hold up in all areas of the island. In fact even in Pujung I found a great deal of disagreement concerning the use of particular plants even if the principles on which their use was based were largely invariant.

One of the reasons I do not wish to carve up the field into different categories in accordance with western tradition is that the 'medical men' of Bali are all called by the term balian (followed by a qualifying term to describe their speciality). Thus a balian who treats broken bones is a balian elung whilst one who specialises in massage (for sprains, muscular injury) is a balian apun or balian uat. If, however, one is ill and there is no apparent natural cause then one should seek out a dasaran (also called balian tatakson) who can reveal any mystical agency involved. Finally even the priests may be called balian nganteb (nganteb means to carry out a ceremony). In other words, in a general linguistic way, all these experts are conceptually linked together and by extension so are the areas of their speciality. It therefore seems imprudent to categorise balian into different groups as, for example, Weck has done in his pioneering work on Balinese medical practices (1976:12).

The balian which deal mostly with bodily ailments, cuts, swellings, infections and so forth are the balian apun and the balian elung (whose specialities I have already given), the balian kusta (skin infections) and the balian usada or wisada (one who specialises in the written treatises which contain numerous descriptions of symptoms and the appropriate treatments). In general people go first to one of these if they are ill. This does not mean however that the cause of the ailment is natural. Thus, for example, one may fall over and sprain an ankle which can be successfully treated by a balian apun. But the person may have fallen over as a result of having committed an unintentional sacrilege in which case the fall is swift divine retribution. On the other hand the same injury may be considered a result of sheer clumsiness. For the moment though let us leave aside all those illnesses and injuries which can be traced to mystical causes and concentrate on ailments caused naturally.

The main principle involved here, and one that is very familiar to many who have done research in Indonesia, is a distinction between 'hot' and 'cold'. In Bali there are, in fact, four terms which make the complete set. These are: panes (hot), tis (cool), nyem (cold) and dumalada (balanced , sufficient). In my experience the latter is not much used and it is tis which connotes the desirable state and panes and nyem the undesirable states. Literally these words can be used to describe the weather and the actual temperature of things. But they may also be used in all manner of other contexts some of which I shall provide below.

To begin with I should like to suggest that nyem has connotations of social disjunction. The Balinese are by nature a very gregarious people and anyone who shuns the company of his fellow villagers is described as anak nyem ('a cold person') and this is a very derisory epithet. Panes on the other hand designates social disruption as caused, for example, by a fight or violent quarrel.

Panes also refers to conditions of drought, and a padi field with insufficient water, or in which the water cannot circulate properly, is panes. This seems to me to be conceptually linked to the belief that constipation (puntedan, embet) is a panes condition whilst excessive excretions (especially during a cold) are nyem. In the latter case one should not eat nyem foods such as cabbage, cucumber and juicy fruits as these aggravate the problem. Before I describe some more typical cases of 'hotness' and 'coldness' I think it is well to point out that both of these concepts indicate a condition in which the normal 'flow' of things, whether this be social or physical, is upset. Either the passage is excessive or it becomes stagnant. A state of tis is one in which the 'flow of life' runs smoothly.

Most foods are clasified as either panes or nyem or tis. The rules, however, concerning which are which are obscure and tend to vary. Moreover any food which is eaten to excess becomes 'hot' whereas moderation generally connotes a state of tis. Foods which are invariably classed as tis are green leafy vegetables. Rice pudding is understandably tis since it symbolises the essence of food. Very spicey food can be termed panes if eaten to excess since the Balinese are aware that it can lead to a number of painful stomach and intesinal illnesses. Usually though spiciness is termed lalah; tasty food is jaen but tasteless food is nyem.

'Hot' foods include the full range of polluted meats: beef, dog, goat, monkey etc. Immoderation in eating these meats will lead to stomach problems, skin infections, constipation and so forth. They are said to make the body feel hot and can cause eccentric and even violent behaviour, as well as forgetfullness and sometimes even madness. A number of fruits are characterised as panes and the reason for this is that they are supposed to cause an itchy skin. The list usually comprises the following: pinapple, jackfruit and mangosteen. It may be that these are thought to cause skin irritation by virtue of the fact that the fruits themselves have integuments which resemble infected skin. This might also explain why the Balinese have a horror of touching frogs.

Other dimensions to the hot/cold contrast are to be found in the field of marriage , where for instance, a first-cousin marriage is 'hot' whilst a second-cousin marriage is 'cool' (see chapter 15), in certain types of very hard work such as rice harvesting, and as general characterisations for types of people depending on the success of their ventures. Thus a farmer who obtains good harvests from poor land is said to be tis whereas the one who reaps a bad harvest from good land is said to be panes. People who suffer chronically from different illnesses are said to lead a 'hot' life (idup panes) as are sometimes those who are forever poor.

The principle on which cures are based for complaints which are categorised as hot or cold is simply the application of a 'cooling' medicament to a heated part of the body or a 'heating' substance to a cold part. This idea is so much a part of life for the Balinese (and Javanese) that even doctors and dentists who have been trained in western medécine still inquire whether the kind of pain one is experiencing is either 'hot' or 'cold', and the fact that the western patient finds it impossible to decide demonstrates that it is a cultural notion not dependent on physical experience.

It is not quite as simple as I have made out since an imbalance in body 'temperature' means that one part of the body is 'hot' and another is 'cold' and the art of the cure seems to lie in deciding on the most appropriate blend of medicines for any particular ailment. The problem here is the Balinese terminology used to describe the anatomy and the physiology of the body. The Balinese know full well what the insides of a body look like and they are described in some detail in lontar dealing with the subject. However conceptions of illness do not appear to be based on this knowledge alone but rather are they founded on a more obscure and abstract theory of the structure of the body which owes more to indigenous philosophy than to anatomical investigation. The human body (buwana alit) is thought to be a miniature replica of the cosmos (buwana agung) The blood vessels are the rivers, the organs the mountains, each god and demon has a'seat' in the body just as it has a 'place' in the cosmos, and just as the great world is a compound

of earth, fire, air, water and light (the panca maha buta) so also is the 'little world' of the body. It seems to be the case that the most basic principle on which illness is thought to depend is a turbulence in the correct balance of these primary components. If one of these substances 'leaves' its rightful place and moves to another then illness arises (Weck 1976:139,150). The most usual sort of imbalance is a movement of 'heat' or a movement of 'cold'. It is said that the heat can enclose the cold and vice versa so producing fevers, fits of shivering and so on.

Remedies for minor complaints usually involve crushing a plant with water until it is a pulp and then smearing this on the hot area. There are indeed many plants which are supposed to have cooling properties but the most effective is the dadap (Erythrine lithoperma) which is a very soft wood with a thick milky sap. A very general type of cure for a 'hot' illness is to have someone chew some dadap leaves with candle nut and spit this through the finger tips (masimbuh)on to the affected area.

Although the dadap leaf is the most widely used coolant certain ailments require certain plants. Thus a sore throat ideally reacts best to leaves of the tree kayu manis (Cinamomum zeylanicum), but if this cannot be found then leaves of the waru tree (Hibiscus tileceus) may be used. For someone who has difficulty urinating or whose urine is unusually hot one should use dadap . If this is not available then the fern paku raja (?) may be used instead and if this cannot be found recourse may be had to the plant bakung (Crinum Asiaticum). I was never able to find anyone who could explain the bases for these hierarchies of plant cures, and anyway there was a great deal of disagreement as to what the hierarchies should be.

Women often cover themselves with crushed spices on a cold morning. Some men also use these, but in my experience only when they feel rather ill. The spices are sold in the local shops in small packets and called boréh. They include all the hot spices, such as pepper corns, cloves, chilis, nutmeg and so forth. These are crushed on the batu boréh (no house is without one) with a small amount of water. The mixture is then smeared over the legs, arms, neck and face and two large dollops are

attached to the temples using lemon juice to make them stick. By all accounts the effect is rather like a strong liniment. The heat from the spices suffuses through the body alleviating stiffness and rheumatic aches. This kind of treatment is also used for headaches (penggeng) which are thought of as a nyem condition.

Itches are neither panes nor nyem and may be treated with leaves from the chili bush, lime and the root kunyit (Curcuma domestica). Bites and stings may be medicated with a mixture of lime and spittle whilst small open wounds can be doctored using a compound of tobacco leaves and lime.

With all of these indigenous remedies it is next to impossible to explain the use of any particular herb or plant for a specific complaint. In many cases I can attest to their effectiveness and this would appear to imply that their use is based on observation and trial and error. But this would only explain the use of some of the materials and it certainly tells us nothing about why the Balinese talk of illness in terms of 'hot' and 'cold'. The problems mount when more serious and hence more unusual complaints are considered. In such cases the sufferer goes to an expert, probably to a balian usada, who has learned his trade over a number of years by immersing himself in the indigenous medical literature recorded in the lontar manuscripts. Much of the content of these consists in the listing of the materials and prayers for a whole range of illnesses the symptoms of which are described. According to Kleiweg de Zwaan and Lekkerkerker (1923:311) certain of the cures are based on assonance between the name of the material used and the state it is hoped to induce. But this probably accounts for only a fraction of the total. We are therefore left with a large gap in our understanding of the principles on which selection of plant and herbal remedies is based, and it is a gap which I am unable to fill. A complete explanation of each individual item will certainly never be achieved as the density of the available material rivals that pertaining to Balinese material offerings, which has for years posed an insurmountable analytical problem to researchers. One can only hope to survey the field and attempt to elucidate the major categorical distinctions which provide the overall system with its particular

appearance. In this case there is no doubt whatsoever that the basic principle for conceptualising and treating illnesses precipitated by natural causes is the pan-Indonesian notion of the distinction between 'hot' and 'cold'.

b. Gods as the cause of illness

In an earlier chapter it was explained that the Balinese world is populated by a number of different classes of being. Any of these may be seen as the immediate source of illness but the incapacities caused by the gods, ancestors, buta-kala and witches are the ones on which I wish to concentrate here. These beings are however responsible in different ways. In general all illness and misfortune, which is not accidental or natural, is brought about by the gods and the ancestors. But these are only the distant instigators; they recruit, as agents, the services of the buta-kala, the witches, and the catur sanak as well as others. As they stand at the summit of the hierarchy it is the god's prerogative to employ, as the immediate and direct cause of illness, spirits which stand at a lower rank. Thus if someone is ill and it is revealed that his ancestors are to blame this can never be taken to mean that the ancestor has invaded the body of the victim. As was shown in chapter 5 gods can only legitimately descend to earth at certain times and places. They may only come down in this controlled manner if they are to remain gods. To enter a human body to cause illness outside of these special points of entry would result in categorical confusion. Gods only possess people at the appropriate times and places. Moreover the Balinese say that to be possessed by a god is a very moving and beautiful experience, and generally speaking the privilege is confined to old people and to those who have dedicated themselves to temple duties, such as the priests and their wives. The distinction is, in fact, marked in language. To be entered by a god or ancestor is termed kapangluh whereas to be possessed by a malevolent spirit is known as susup. Therefore if someone says of another 'Ia aduka tekén laluur' (he has been disturbed by his ancestors) this must be interpreted to mean that his ancestors have become angry and have enlisted the services of a lesser spirit to

promulgate an illness or some other type of misfortune. There is a slightly different way of looking at the matter but which in Balinese collective thought is not essentially dissimilar. In this the ancestor, because of his anger, metamorphoses into his demonic form and subsequently possesses the victim. The ideas on which this is based were also explained in chapter 9.

Gods and ancestors then only cause illness via the agency of other classes of spirit. One of the most frequently cited of these is the catur sanak, the four 'elder siblings' of a person which accompany him through life. To neglect the catur sanak is to neglect the gods since the former are a manifestation of the gods in their role as providers of assistance to the developing foetus. Some Balinese say that the catur sanak are the same as the buta kala and in fact, as we saw in chapter 10, their names change according to the role they play in the life of their host. If they enter a body to cause trouble then indeed they exhibit all the properties of the buta-kala. It is generally the catur sanak that are recruited by higher spirits when the latter feel they have, in some way, been slighted.

As we have already seen the kind of trouble and illness which the buta-kala inflict is always temporary. On the other hand that wrought by witches is often of chronic duration and far less specific. Someone who is diagnosed as suffering from some sort of witchcraft cannot cure himself with offerings to the gods but must strive to find an expert who is stronger than the attacking witch and get him to attempt a cure. Witches are also credited with the ability to cause misfortune on a massive scale such as the death of large numbers of people in outbreaks of epidemic diseases. Nevertheless all spirits such as these, including the arch witch of Balinese mythology, Rangda, are answerable to the supreme gods. Rangda, who is none other than Batari Durga (the demonic form of Uma) only practices witchcraft with the permission of Brahma who indeed gives her the power she has (Weck 1976:131). In short there is no cause of illness and strife other than the gods, at least at the theoretical level. Droughts and epidemics, like those described in the epic story of Ranga (Poerbatjaraka 1926) are, in the final analysis, allowed to take place by the gods. Without the passive acquiescence of

the gods these disasters could not occur, and this is why it makes sense for the population to do something extraordinary during such epidemics, such as reactivate a delapidated temple, perform a massive caru, take the village gods to the sea for a thorough cleansing and so on. Such actions are not designed to defend against the witches but to curry favour with the gods in the hope that they will terminate the depredations of the former.

In chapter 9 I suggested that the buta-kala precipitate short, sharp emotional disturbances or cause minor illnesses which can be cured fairly quickly. I also contended that witches are collective representations of chronic, evil dispositions and that they are the cause of serious and even fatal illnesses. I think we can see this more clearly now. Given that the witches have a greater power and a less restricted sphere of action, they are bound to create more serious tribulation than the buta-kala spirits which are much more under the control of the gods. Thus, when stricken by trouble in the family, it is always more likely to be as a result of buta-kala if that trouble does not appear too serious. Such attacks are temporary and can be relatively easily remedied by a visit to a medium who can reveal the cause and the necessary offerings required to placate the instigator. Such a procedure is almost impossible where the attack is thought to be perpetrated by a witch. To begin with it is desperately difficult to succeed in deciding what sort of witchcraft is being used, who the witch is and what action to take. Sometimes the balian may be able to 'extract' the magic from the body. One of the surest ways, but also one of the most difficult, is to find out who the witch is and persuade him to take back the witchcraft. An other way is to obtain the services of a balian who was once a witch himself and hope that his power is greater than that of the attacking witch. If it is witchcraft that is the trouble it might be that any and all of these methods will be tried.

c. Other causes

There are three other minor causes of illness and misfortune, two of which can be remedied. The third, and the one I shall mention first, concerns the belief that present circumstances

are in part determined by past actions. This is the belief in karma pala (this is the Balinese spelling), and of course there is no possibility of changing one's past actions and therefore one's present situation although there is the potential to improve one's future karma by accruing merit in the present life. Strangely enough the doctrine of karma pala is hardly, if ever, mentioned in the ethnographic record and one wonders whether it is, in fact, a fairly recent introduction into the culture. Whatever its status I did not get the impression that the Balinese are unduly perturbed about their past lives and indeed I met only one person who spoke about his remembrance of a previous existence in an unsolicited manner.

The other two causes are, firstly the name one is given and, secondly, the day of the 35-day month on which one is born. If a child suffers inordinately from numerous minor complaints then his name can be changed as the first one is likely to be considered inauspicious. Some people take several names during their life so as to shake off a string of misfortunes.

The same set of events though, especially if accompanied by a more serious accident, might lead to an elaborate ceremony which comprises a set of offerings differing in content according to the day of the 35-day month. It is said by some that these offerings pay off the sins of the soul which have caused the accident to happen.

4. Types of Illness

Apart from the very general criteria, that the disease is 'hot' or 'cold', or that it is caused by natural means or by the gods, the Balinese do not have a developed typology with which to classify illnesses. But in many respects this is all that is needed, since to know the cause is often to know the remedy. Symptoms are used as clues to begin with, but an undue reliance on the treatment of symptoms can lead to a neglect of the real cause since there is no one-to-one correspondence between types of illness and the causes and cures. What in one case is diagnosed as an ailment created by a particular god might in another case be revealed as an attack by immediate ancestors. It might even be an illness caused naturally. The response to the symptoms will therefore have to vary accordingly.

If the complaint is thought not to be a result of some natural cause then eventually the invalid, or someone representing him, goes to see a balian tatakson (more usually called a dasaran in Pujung) who claims to have a 'spirit helper' (taksu). He hopes to receive there a revelation concerning the agent of the illness, the reasons for it and the remedy. If one goes to a dasaran then one has already discarded the idea that that it might be caused naturally. The afflicted person may well have tried traditional and western medécine at the outset and found them to be ineffective. But there are also all sorts of emotional troubles caused by interpersonal conflict for which the only recourse is a visit to a dasaran. It is fairly clear then that the dasaran has a good idea of the kinds of problems that are brought to him. As far as my experience goes these mediums never reveal a natural cause, although they may on occasion prescribe herbal medécines to alleviate symptoms. Normally though they order a set of offerings to be put out at certain times and dedicated to a specific god or ancestor revealed as the primary cause of the trouble. The dasaran seeks also to determine the reason why the god is angry so that what ever is wrong can be corrected once and for all..

From what I witnessed dasaran tend to provide a fairly stereotypical answer and set of offerings. In one afternoon the same medium gave four out of six callers almost identical revelations. This led to a discussion about certain dasaran and how they seemed to prefer certain types of cause and certain sorts of offerings as a means to recovery. One, for example, seemed to reveal an inordinate number of angry immediate ancestors who could only be pacified with increased offerings at the time of the full and new moon.

One very interesting facet of the process is that it is rare to get a revelation at the first visit that one is being attacked by witches. The most usual statement, as I have said, is one concerning ancestors who are angry but who can be placated relatively easily. But the Balinese are well aware that a dasaran's revelations may be incorrect or deceptive. In such a case the remedy will prove to be ineffective and a return visit will be necessary. The whole process of diagnosis and treatment

is therefore skewed so that only if illnesses persist, in which case the first statements of the dasaran are likely to have been incorrect, is attack by witches a possible diagnosis. Witchcraft then is a sort of residual category for any prolonged chronic ailment. I know of a number of cases in Pujung in which people have been to see western doctors, balian usada, and dasaran because they have been suffering from a debiliting illness. When all this has failed witchcraft is all that is left, and people begin to relate instances from the past when the victim may have been struck.

This does not mean to say that some illnesses are not immediately suspected of being caused by witchcraft but the confirmation will often be some time coming, and public acknowledgement may be even longer delayed. One curious aspect of this sphere of Balinese thought and action is that it is common practice to leave the village to go to a dasaran somewhere else so that he cannot know one's condition before hand. In this case one might well ask how witchcraft ever gets diagnosed. The answer, it would seem, is that some dasaran have a reputation for revealing certain types of witchcraft and people do not go to them to begin with - they appear to leave them as a last resort.

5. Responses to Illness

A visit to a dasaran is called mabaas pipis ('to have rice and money' - these being the necessary gifts to the dasaran for his help) or mamasar ('to go to the market' - to exchange rice for information). Dasaran often work from their own homes in which case they either supplicate their spirit helper from their family temple or from some other room in the compound. The visitors must always treat the dasaran as they would a priest. This means one must dress properly and employ the alus form of the language. The petitioner simply asks for a revelation (nunas kuuban) concerning a particular person or state of affairs and the medium goes into trance. He may speak whilst in trance or wait until he has the complete message before relating it himself in a normal voice. In either case the message will take the form of a short history of the case, as often as not incorrect, a statement as to which god or ancestor is causing the problems and a list of the offerings that need to be presented to obtain

peace. If there is no revelation, as occurs at least a quarter of the time, then no money is paid. One simply has to come back another day or try a different medium.

Rather than reiterate what I said in the previous section I think it best to document a number of cases from my notebooks to indicate the variety of problems taken to a dasaran.

1. In one compound there was constant friction between the daughter-in-law and her mother-in-law. This sort of situation is quite common in Bali. On occasion the trouble would explode and a veritable cascade of violent abuse would rend the peaceful evening. Following such outbreaks the two would studiously ignore one another. The two husbands were in the middle and complained of confused thoughts and tiredness, especially the son who was on the verge of sending his wife home. In fact it got to such a pass that she pre-empted him and ran off to her parent's house in another village. At that time the girl's behaviour defied explanation and the gossip was that she was evil (jelé) and he best rid of her. Unfortunately the mother would have had to work harder than ever if her son divorced the girl, and this was one of her original complaints (that the girl was indolent and left all the work to her mother-in-law). Over time things calmed down a little, the girl came back and life resumed an almost normal appearance. Nevertheless it was decided that the family should go to a dasaran it being thought wise to determine the cause of it all. The medium revealed that the rows were the result of the neglect of the family's ancestors and that it was necessary to provide offerings every 15 days in the compound temple, the natah and in the street. Most of these offerings were dedicated to the buta-kala considered as the immediate instigators of the turmoil.

2. A woman's son suffered a series of illnesses whilst he was young and when she eventually went to a medium it was revealed that her immediate ancestors were angry because the offerings she provided were not sufficient. She was instructed to put special offerings out at full and new moon. Soon after this, I was told, the illnesses stopped and the lad is now strong and healthy. The old lady still provides the offerings even though she could stop if she wanted too. She probably thinks it a guarantee to continue.

3. Two brothers, who had a history of bitter conflict, finally came to blows in the padi fields one day and one of them was badly cut over the eye which, in fact, he subsequently lost. A trip to a dasaran revealed the cause as the anger of the family's gods brought about by an evasion of duties. During the killings in 1966 the communist father of the two brothers had committed suicide. All the proper ceremonies were carried out, including the malik sumpah for the victim of a bad death, and the corpse had been properly buried. However it transpired that a small ceremony which should normally have been performed after the burial had been inadvertently omitted. This meant that the family temple remained impure and could not be used by the ancestors. They thus became angry and enlisted the assistance of the catur sanak to cause trouble. The two brothers continually argued and finally fell into a fight. When I left the field the family was busy preparing the offerings for the required ceremony. I should point out here that the performance of this rite would not automatically engender feelings of mutual love between the two brothers. Indeed there was a great deal of speculation and planning as to the best way to keep the brothers apart, and for the first week after the injured one had returned from hospital a number of guards watched over the house at night so that the fight would not erupt once more. It was pointed out that although the gods would now be satisfied, one brother had lost an eye and it would be difficult for him to forgive and forget.

4. An unusual example is that of a young man who for some years suffered from acute pains in his stomach. After two operations at the hospital in Denpasar he was little better and just before I arrived in the village he had again become very ill. Visits to dasaran proved ineffective in determining the cause. The story goes that he took himself down to the village graveyard to die in peace but his father found him and carried him home. A few days later he attempted the same thing. Once at the cemetary he lay down. In his delirium he heard a voice from the air above him (a notable feature of many tales) which ordered him to go home, dress properly and then proceed to the pura dalem. When he eventually arrived there, in the middle of the night, he prayed fervently to god and after some time he began to feel better. He now seems to be completely recovered and is considered

by many of the village people to be the most magically powerful (sakti)person in the area. His cure is based on a gift from God who is now thought to protect him. He in turn, as we shall see in the next case, is able to guard others.

5. My final example is perhaps the most instructive since it epitomises the whole process. It involves a village official about 25 years old. A few years before he had been the klian banjar but was not much liked because of his rather volatile temper. He gave up the post after a short while and became a government employee collecting taxes levied on the rice fields. Quite suddenly he began to complain of violent headaches, sleeplessness and a variety of other symptoms. Over a period of weeks he attended the hospital for a battery of tests including x-rays but in the end the doctors could only prescribe a course of vitamins. When these did not relieve his suffering he began to visit dasaran. The first two could tell him nothing; they were dark (peteng) inside and no revelation was forthcoming. It was at about this time that people began to start gossiping about the possibility of him having been struck by witchcraft. Although his condition did not deteriorate further he was hardly able to function at all. On the several occasions I called on him he was always lying down on the balé dangin, where he had taken to sleeping with the man from the previous case. Sometime later he went to see a notorious balian in the district of Tabanan some 60 miles away. This medium was supposed to have been the recipient of a gift (a short dagger) from God which could perform miraculous deeds. On this occasion I was told (and the informant, who was an eye witness, was the area representative to the provincial parliament in Gianyar and had a law degree) the dasaran aimed the dagger at the patient's body and automatically the weapon began to rove over the skin. Wherever it stopped it pressed the skin, without apparently breaking it, and drew out of the flesh a bloody object. Altogether the dasaran extracted two small stones, a large silver coin and a blunt pin. This was pangiwa of the type known as papasangan.

Unfortunately the symptoms persisted. He improved somewhat and could get around but the aches, pains and lethargy were still present. Later he went to another dasaran who confirmed the

diagnosis of witchcraft (pangiwa) and he has not been to another since.

These case histories tend to confirm the analysis provided in this chapter. Temporary illnesses, emotional turmoil and family bickering are usually put down to the anger of the ancestors and gods, whereas attacks by witches tend to provoke chronic illnesses with diffuse symptoms for which even western medecine has difficulty prescribing.[1]

6. Images of Illness

There are three major verbal concepts which the Balinese use to describe illness. These are sakit, gelem and uon. Sakit is also found in other Indonesian languages and etymologically there is little to be discovered. It refers to a whole range of illnesses but, I think, mostly to sharp pains, soreness, toothache, headache and so forth. It tends to translate our words 'hurt' and 'pain'. Moreover it may even refer to serious illness such as, for example, leprosy euphemistically known as sakit gedé ('the great illness'). However gelem seems to be more apposite when one feels ill. From an etymological perspective the word is exceedingly interesting since it shares the same root (-lem) with a number of other lexemes and it is the concatenation of ideas encompassed by this set of related notions that allows an interpretation of the Balinese concept of illness as signified by the term gelem.

I should now like to list this set of words (which is not exhaustive) and document their varied meanings:— gelem (ill), tilem (new moon), selem (black), silem (to dive into water), kelem (drown), gulem (cloudy), dalem (deep, inside), padalem (shame, pity), kolem (stay overnight, sleep), pelem (fat, greasy, dirty), balem (calm, quiet, still), malem (bees wax), palem (mixture of crushed fish), alem (to spoil), elem (dark), olem (blackish), ulem (dark of colour). Apart from malem and palem

1. Hobart (1979:600) reports that he detected that whereas ancestors caused mild illness, witches were thought responsible for serious cases. He also mentions that witches induced body illnesses and ancestors head complaints, a distinction I did not encounter.

the others would appear to convey a similarity of idea. The new moon (tilem) is opposed to the full moon and has negative characteristics as its association with witchcraft makes clear. A number of other words directly signify darkness (which is of course also associated with witchcraft) or imply the same thing, viz. tilem, selem (black), gulem (cloudy), dalem (deep, inside), and elem, olem and ulem (all of which refer to darkness). A further set carry the implication of descent : silem (to dive), kelem (drown), dalem (deep). Yet another set suggests death : gelem (ill), kelem (drown), kolem (sleep - which is associated with death in Balinese thought). There is also a group which evokes the idea of being closed up, blocked, surrounded and even stagnant : silem (dive), balem (still, calm), dalem (deep, inside) and kelem (drown). I would contend that these concepts participate in one another so that illness (gelem) is conceptually linked to all the other ideas expressed by their signs just as, for example, tilem participates in, and is conceptually related to black (selem), sleep (kolem) and others of the set.[2]

This information suggests that the Balinese represent illness as being a state of 'darkness', of 'immobility', of 'stagnation' and as a 'descent' (it should be recalled that to ascend the mountains is to approach the gods). These are of course simply metaphors for illness but for all that they are extremely evocative and enable us to understand the way the Balinese think about illness in a manner that would be virtually inconceivable were such evidence to be ignored.

The analysis could stop at this point but it is worthwhile noting the connection between the ideas presented above and the concept embet which we have met on a number of occasions already. In chapter 4 it was described how a house was embet ('blocked') and mati ('dead') if the lengths of the walls of the compound totalled an even number of units. In chapter 10 I explained how overdue births were interpreted as caused by the presence of buta-kala and a blocked womb. In general it has been emphasized that life is conceptualised as existing by virtue of

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2. I am indebted to Goris for the initial idea. He was the first to draw attention to the fact that words sharing this root have similar meanings (1960a:377,n.14). More generally though it is lexemes with the root -em that are involved : berem (alcoholic drink), karem (gloomy), kerem (to soak), perem (sleep), tanem (bury, plant), pendem (bury), pedem (sleep), nyem (cold) etc.

the passage of spiritual force through the nodes of an articulated structure. This holds good whether one is speaking of the house, of duration, of the cosmos, or of the human body itself. It is now time to turn our attention to the several other meanings of this crucial concept embet. These are as follows: severe constipation, inability to urinate; a swollen corpse; a 'dead' card in an indigenous card game; a counter in a traditional game that can no longer be moved; a padi field in which there is far too much water (see van der Tuuk 1897,1,423 and Warna 1978:166). Moreover ngembetin means to take medécine to stop a bout of diarrhoea, The general idea, it would seem, is that of the inability of a substance to flow properly through an object.

Interestingly enough embet is one of a set of words which all share the common root -bet, and as above the words tend to display a similarity of idea. A partial list is as follows: embet (blocked), ngambet (stagnant), ubet (closed), kabet (narrow, difficult), sebet (sad), kobet (trouble, worry), kebet (throb, of pain), ebet (shrub land - habitat of evil spirits). In sum it would appear that the archetypal image of illness is one in which the flow through the body is out of control. And indeed such a view is supported by the fact that in Balinese collective representations flowing water is regarded as tis and therefore propitious, whilst stagnant water is considered to be panes and undesirable. A spectacular illustration of this is the smearing of crushed dadap leaves (which are tis) around the nipple of the breast of a feeding mother. This is said to increase the flow of milk.

A different conception of illness is provided by the notion uon. The idea expressed in this seems to be a condition of utter fatigue. People complain of being uon after a very hard day's work. It also though describes a feeling of heavy sadness and of lethargic weakness incurred as a result of illness; uon tiang, bayuné telah (I'm tired, no energy left). There are also a number of other words with the same root as uon which supply clues to interpretation. The first of these is aon which means 'ashes' and 'rubbish'. The intimation is that when one is uon one's energies (bayu) have been totally expended and one is left, temporarily, an empty shell, for the moment good for nothing.

The second word is kaon which means 'evil' and at least in this case the association does not need illuminating further.

7. Conclusion

From the evidence presented in this chapter it is clear that the Balinese do not have a simple idea of illness. The causes of (whether natuaral or supernatural) and the responses to, illness are many and varied, but, generally speaking, they are all structured in terms of the same basic principles. The beings which cause illness do so only in accordance with the rules elucidated with referenee to the system of person definition described in chapter 9, and the images and metaphors in which notions of illness are embedded, irrespective of the ways such illness is caused, appear to coincide very closely to those already discovered with respect to other domains of the culture. Even though there are numerous causes of illness (gods, ancestors, witches, natural causes, the'loss'of the dasa bayu etc.) which are not necessarily intimately related at any level, and several typical responses (visit to a balian, visit to a dasaran, the ngulapin anak ceremony etc.),which again do not necessarily form a coherent set, there are nevertheless some fundamental principles (the contrast 'hot'/'cold', the ramified notion of embet, the rules of the system of person definition) which bind it all together,and this is what I meant at the outset when I stated that illness does not constitute a single unified idea but rather a series of overlapping concepts.

In the following chapter I shall embark on an investigation concerning the Balinese notion of individuality and the manner in which such an idea helps us to understand the nature of Balinese social groups. This in turn will guide our examination of Balinese marriage practices in the final chapter.

CHAPTER XIV

THE NAMING SYSTEM AND THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIAL GROUPS

1. The Naming System

The main point I wish to make in this chapter is one which stands in contradistinction to the view proposed by Geertz in his study 'Person, Time and Conduct in Bali' (1973b:368-370). According to Geertz the personal naming system works so as to mute the biographical and idiosyncratic nature of the individual while emphasising the typical, conventionalised and enduring aspects. In short this system is said to 'de-personalise' the individual. Geertz associates this notion with what he calls the de-temporalisation of time and the ceremoniousness of conduct both of which he thinks are characteristic of Balinese life. However it has already been shown that, in the wider framework adopted in this investigation, the latter two of Geertz' so-called 'triangle of forces' are open to grave doubts and that my own interpretations have differed considerably. What is at stake here is whether or not the Balinese have a culturally recognised concept of individuality. In order to debate the issue properly I shall first present the evidence Geertz advances to support his contentions and then show how this can be used to argue the opposite case, and secondly I shall provide information concerning the personal naming system as it is found in Pujung.

Personal names among the commoners, so Geertz says (1973b: 369), are "arbitrarily coined nonsense syllables". The duplication of these names within the banjar is "studiously avoided" and they do not indicate any familial connection or membership of any group. These three items of information taken together with the fact that the use of personal names of older people constitutes an insult and a sacrilege, compel Geertz to conclude that the role of the personal naming system in ordering Balinese social relations is largely residual. As he says "One's name is what remains to one when all the other much more salient cultural labels attached to one's person are removed" (1973b:370). But we might want to speculate what would be the case if there was no ban on the use of these names. In that situation the names would not signify a de-personalisation at all. On the contrary the employment of nonsense syallables would seem to highlight the individuality of each person and the ban on duplication would accentuate this even further. We must then ask what the reason for the ban on the use of these names is? Geertz does not supply one, his only comment being to the effect that such a prohibition acts to attenuate the individuality of a Balinese, but this surely begs the question. The point is that Geertz has committed a petitio principii. He tries to explain the presence of the ban as due to a notion of de-personalisation at the same time that he interprets the existence of the former as a concomitant of the latter. The reason for this is that Geertz appears to assume that the ban on names is somehow linked indissolubly to the idea of de-personalisation. However it may be that there is a proscription on the use of personal names for other reasons.

In many areas of Indonesia it is thought that to know the name of someone is to have some sort of power over him (Endicott 1970:131; Lind 1975:68). In Bali the only thing that differentiates one victim from another in witchcraft spells is the personal name; the name must be inscribed on the magic item (papasangan) for it to be of any use. Moreover we saw in the last chapter that a child's name could be changed if it suffered excessively from illness. This again seems to demonstrate that the name is much more than just a formal and nominal property of the person

to whom it attaches. I would contend, in fact, and on the basis of the same evidence available to Geertz, That the ascription of personal names provides each Balinese with a sacrosanct individuality, something that should not be tampered with. It is indeed something which is extremely personal but this does not mean that it is also not a cultural device to stress, at some level at least, that each Balinese is a monad, an indivisible whole. After all a non-used, nonsense syallable is a most appropriate way to emphasize the inherent separateness of individuals. The fact that the nonsense syllable has no meaning indicates, I would have thought, that it can refer only to the individual to whom it is given and to nothing else whatever. If at the same time there exists an injunction not to duplicate these names then surely this can only be interpreted as endorsing this view. Finally I should just like to mention that Balinese ritual in general is partly founded on the rule that to forbid the use of something is to celebrate it. Thus in the Balinese uku calendar (of 210 days) there are six dates (every 35 days) called tumpek on which it is customary to have an odalan for certain important objects (Göris 1960c). Thus on Tumpek Landep weapons and machines (including, these days, cars motor cycles etc.) are presented with offerings and it is forbidden to use them. Tumpek Kandang is dedicated to animals and Tumpek Ringgit to musical instruments. On these days it is forbidden to use whatever is the focus of the celebration. In short the arguments of Geertz are not nearly so decisive as they might at first seem and in fact the opposite case can be put more cogently. Later in this chapter we shall see that a concept of individuality (perhaps 'individualism' might be more appropriate) encompasses far more than just the personal naming system.

It is now time to turn to the evidence from Pujung. This, I am afraid is rather different to that obtained by Geertz in the smith village of Tihingan. First of all let us look at the assertion that personal names are meaningless nonsense syllables. Geertz, disappointingly, does not supply any examples from 'Person, Time and Conduct in Bali' to support his contentions

and so I rely on those names which appear on page 88 of the book 'Kinship in Bali' (Geertz and Geertz 1975). There one can find the following Balinese names (I have added the meanings in parentheses) : Rangkan (?), Rajeg (blackish-red), Suda (clean), Loh (a classificatory term which simply means 'woman'), Sudaya (su = 'good', and is these days an extremely common prefix; some Balinese say that its extensive use dates from the period after the killings in 1966. Daya means 'plan', 'scheme'), Debot (?), Siasih (asih means 'love', 'devotion'), Widia ('science', 'knowledge'), Kumba (pot, vase) and so forth. So it cannot be true that all the names collected by Geertz are meaningless. A list of names I obtained from one family in Pujung is as follows, with meanings again in parentheses : Sendok (spoon), Cenik (little), Gading (yellow), Misi (contents), Daging (meat), Suba (already), Turun (descend), Lacur (poor), Roti (biscuit), Podol (?), Tami (heir) etc. I could repeat similar lists from most compounds in Pujung. In my experience, and that of others,[1] personal names, far from being arbitrarily coined nonsense syallables, are often ordinary everyday words with the most mundane of meanings.

According to Geertz duplication of names is studiously avoided. In Pujung this does not appear to be a rule and in fact duplication occurs so frequently that it created some problems in collecting genealogies. There were at least five people called Selem (black), and these included both sexes, a few names which cropped up four times and a whole host that occurred three times.

Thirdly Geertz reports that names in Tihingan do not indicate familial connection or membership of any group. This is also true to a large extent in Pujung, although I have to add some qualifying remarks. Names of a set of siblings are quite often very similar, differing in one vowel only thus : Asa, Asi, Asu; Rebet, Rebit, Rebut; Menker, Menkir, Menkur etc. Moreover a child's name can be formed from a parent's name by using part of the latter in the child's although this is quite unimportant and relatively rare. Certainly there is no continuing link between the generations with respect to the names, as occurs in other areas of Indonesia.

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1. Mark Hobart, personal communication.

Geertz asserts there is a proscription on the use of personal names in Tihingan. This is certainly present in Pujung but it is difficult to gauge the strength of it. Older people are least inclined to divulge their names or the names of their dead relatives, On the other hand I did meet some old people who blurted their names out without any qualms at all, which was disconcerting since I usually broached such matters most circumspectly. On the whole the impression I received was that the use of personal names should be kept to a minimum. Moreover it is much more important to protect the names of old people than of youngsters. One interesting curiosity is that most old people wanted to know what I was going to do with their names. This, I think, shows that names really are objects which can be manipulated.

Villagers differ a great deal with respect to their inhabitant's use of personal names. Sebatu, only ten minutes walk away, has an unenviable reputation for coarseness. Not only are the villagers accused of being unnecessarily vulgar in their choice of vocabulary, but they are also renowned for their use of personal names. Thus a person may be addressed as pak[2] ('father') followed by his own name (the usual form is to use pak and the name of the eldest child, thus a teknonym). Unmarried men are simply addressed by personal name only. The trouble is that the people of Pujung feel insulted if they are so addressed by their friends from Sebatu.

Even within the one village though the extent of the use of personal names varies accoring to age and status. In Pujung there are three main status groupings, the pandé (smiths), the mekel (which includes all those who have a pasek title), and all those who are neither pandé or mekel and who are called jaba ('outsiders'). Generally speaking (and I shall discuss the situation in depth in the next chapter) the smiths and mekel share a status which is higher than that enjoyed by the jaba. The latter call their children 'weg (coweg = 'little girl') and 'cong (locong = 'little boy') until they are quite old, thus eschewing the use of personal names. There is no prohibition on names but they are rarely used; I sometimes felt that the Balinese think children are not quite worthy of names until they

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2. Pak is the abbreviated form of bapak and is the Indonesian form for 'father'. It is much used today because of its status neutrality - anybody can be addressed as pak without insult.

are somewhat older. When these children reach marrying age they may still be addressed by those much older than themselves as 'weg or 'cong, but names are heard more. They are called beli ('elder brother') and embok ('elder sister') by their age inferiors (irrespective of any blood relationship). After marriage and the appearance of children they are called 'nang 'weg and 'mén 'weg (father (nanang)-of-coweg, mother (méme)-of-coweg), or 'nang 'cong and 'mén 'cong (father-of-locong, mother-of-locong). Later on the teknonym changes to 'nang and 'mén followed by the actual name of the child. From then on the couple is addressed like this by almost everyone including those older than themselves. When their own children grow up and marry they will begin to be addressed as kak' (kaki = grandfather) and 'dong (dadong = grandmother) followed by their grandchild's name(see Geertz and Geertz 1964, 1975:85-94). Teknonyms are thus widely used amongst the jaba and personal names only find a use when a person is a teenager.

Those who are mekel, however, insist on a different system. Their children are not called 'weg and 'cong but are addressed by birth-order terms. The first child to be born is called wayan (wayahan = older), the second is known as madé (madia = middle) the third as nyoman (anom = young) and the fourth as ketut (etut = to follow). The fifth child to be born is again called wayan and so the cycle repeats itself. If confusion arises as to which wayan of nyoman is meant this is overcome by using the personal name in conjunction with the birth-order term, as wayan Geret for example. These birth order terms may be used by jaba but rarely are; they are confined to the mekel and the pandé. Once these children grow up, get married and have children they are addressed with the aid of teknonyms as are those of jaba status. However the terms themselves differ in accordance with the language level commensurate with their status. Thus mekel and pandé are called bapan wayan and mémén wayan (bapa = father, it is a higher form than nanang; méme = mother for both jaba and mekel). When they have grandchildren the terms change to 'kak (pekak, this is a higher form than kaki) and 'dong (dadong, again there is no change in the female term which is common to both levels). In other words the main difference

between the jaba on the one hand and the mekel and the pandé on the other is that whereas the former uses coweg and locong for the children and nanang and kaki for 'father' and 'grandfather', the latter use birth-order terms for children and bapa and pekak for the ascendant generations. The form of address then is recognised as a good indication of status.

There are some incongruities in this pattern. There is, for example one pandé family the head of which becomes angry if he hears himself addressed as bapa; he much prefers to be called 'nang. Moreover many of the pandé are addressed with their title followed by their personal name, thus pandé Surung, pandé Bagia.

The differences between Pujung and Tihingan in the naming systems are that in Pujung the personal names are not meaningless and they are duplicated. The similarities are that teknonyms are widely used by all and that there is a strong dislike concerning the use of personal names, especially those of old people.

Given that there is this divergence in the naming systems what can account for it? One possible difference between the two villages which could supply the basis of an explanation is that while Pujung has an egalitarian ideology (notwithstanding that there are indeed status rivalries) Tihingan is portrayed by the Geertzes as a seething pit of status conflict. I would suggest that there might well be a connection between the egalitarian political stance of Pujung and a certain de-emphasis on individualism as indicated by the seeming laxity in the naming system (the names do have meaning and they are replicated). I am well aware that such an explanation is not likely to be found convincing, especially when I have already cast doubt about the validity of the claims Geertz makes for the nature of the personal names as found in Tihingan.

My own view of the matter is that it is the ban on the use of personal names which constitutes the most important cultural fact here and that this ban, when interpreted in the light of similar injunctions, serves to accentuate rather than attenuate the sanctity of these names. A name in Bali is much more than simply a label. We have seen on many occasions how words can be endowed with magic power, how they can be manipulated . It is thought that one can do things with words and since names are

merely words, one can also do things with names and it is this, in my opinion, which inevitably leads to the prohibition on their use.

I have gone someway from my main argument which concerned the existence of a Balinese concept of individuality. So far I have tried to demonstrate that the prohibition on names may just as well emphasize as suppress individuality. I now want to concentrate on some other evidence which affords support for this position, evidence which also provides a very convenient way of approaching the problem of the nature and characteritics of Balinese social groups.

2. Individuality and the nature of social groups

Perhaps the most striking fact, culturally speaking, concerning the status of a concept of individuality in Balinese society is the notion that an individual human being is a'cosmos' in his own right. The universe and all its contents (colloquially known as gumine tekén isinné) is the buwana agung ('the great world') whilst the individual is the buwana alit ('the small world'). The structure of the the former as depicted by the nawa sanga (the nine-point system which classifies various natural and cultural sets with respect to the nine directions of the universe) is considered to be replicated within the latter. Whatever is to be found in the one may also be located in the other. The skin is the earth, the body hair the grass, the bones the trees, the blood vessels the rivers, the mouth the caves, the head hair the clouds, the breath the wind and so forth (Weck 1976:238). The five elements of the panca maha buta which are the buildings blocks of the 'great world' are equally those of the 'small world'. When the individual is healthy and the cosmos in balance then the two 'worlds' are in harmony (cocok) and they may be described as mirror images of one another.

From this perspective the individual is conceptualised as a total representation of the universe. Each Balinese is, in this respect, an isolated and encapsulated version of the 'great world'. He does not stand in opposition to other individuals since, culturally speaking, he is sufficient unto himself. He absorbs into himself all the complementary distinctions that have been found to be significant for the buwana agung ('the great world').

He stands alone and unencumbered, independent of all other living creations, a fully integrated system which duplicates, in the small, the cosmos.

Other domains of the culture also appear to display these properties of isolation, separation and independence. One of these is the classification of animals and plants. I did not do a great deal of work on this topic due to a lack of technical expertise and the necessary equipment for collecting and preserving specimens. However I obtained simple village classifications from independent informants and, in the main, these agreed quite well. The most striking aspect of both systems is the lack of hierarchical depth to them. In effect the flora can be arranged on a single continuum in accordance with the amount of 'woodiness' as in figure 6 (p.355).

It is true, of course, that there are numerous different types of grasses and many varieties of banana for example, but I do not think that this alters the main feature of the system which is that the plants are not grouped in terms of opposition of distinctive markers. Vines, for instance, are not placed in a class of their own because of a property they exhibit which other plants do not but simply because they fall into the category of plants which contain a small amount of wood. Of course at a linguistic level vines are lexically distinguished from other types of flora in several ways but these contrasting markers are not used in the overall classification. This principle is well demonstrated by the disagreement in the classification of the dadap tree. It is a small tree with a narrow trunk the wood of which contains alot of sap and hence is very soft. Some informants claim it should be in the class 'plants with a small amount of wood' (ané makayu cenik) rather than in the class 'plants with a lot of wood' (ané makayu gedé). As far as the village classification goes then there is only the one criterion involved this being the relative amount of 'woodiness' of the plant or tree. Apart from this all plants, as it were, stand by themselves. They do not appear to be interdependent at this formal level but rather exist as isolated groups (which are by the way known as soroh or bangsa). Other than their relative woodiness there is nothing which connects

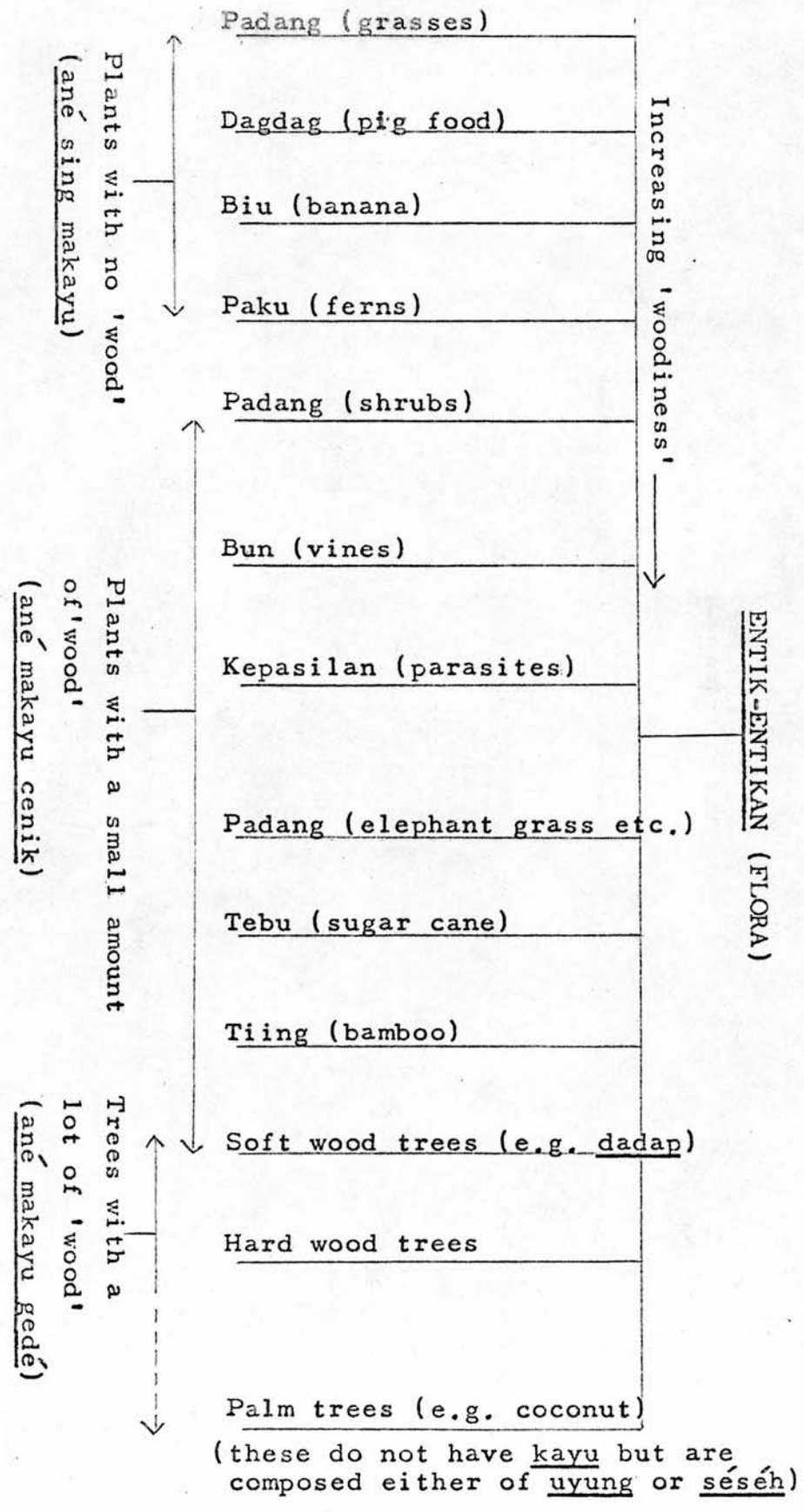


Figure 6. Primitive classificatory scheme for flora in Bali

one class of plants with another. One informant in fact gave me a classification which was not even based on relative 'woodiness' but consisted seemingly of a congeries of independent species as follows : bamboo (all varieties) including other plants which have regular nodes (sugar cane, elephant grass); palm trees (palm trees do not have 'wood' (kayu) but are composed rather of a substance called séséh (the coconut palm for example) or uyung(arrenga pinnata)); banana trees; trees which flower; ferns; vines and creepers; trees which have thorns; plants used only as food for domestic pigs; grasses; trees which have'wood' (i.e. large trees). As can be seen there is little system in this; it resembles far more an assemblage of discrete ad hoc categories. Moreover the domains are not mutually exclusive since some of the items appear in more than one class. I think I should also add that whilst collecting these classifications some villagers seemed totally bemused by my questions and were unable to answer. I had the impression that there was no systematic classification to be had. This of course renders problematical the classifications I did obtain. These are so simple that they could well have been made up on the spot. But if they were then this lends even more power to the notion that plants 'stand by themselves'.

I had much the same experience when attempting to get data on animal classifications. I did however receive two competing schemes. One is a simple three-way grouping of creatures born from eggs, creatures born in water and creatures born with a placenta. The first group is subdivided according to the number of legs the animal has (none, two, four, six, eight, many). The second group is undivided,and simply comprises a massive list of fresh water and sea creatures,as is the third group which classifies man together with all other mammals. I obtained more than one version of this type of classification. Sometimes the informant scattered these groups across three types of environment water, land and air,but the scheme boiled down to the same thing, it still being based on the manner of birth of the creature. The second type of classification differs considerably since it uses the various habitats the creatures use as the only criterion for categorisation. It breaks down as follows:-

a) animals kept for profit in the compound (pig, chickens, cow,etc.),

b) animals kept in the compound for other reasons (dog, cat, song birds etc.), c) all birds, d) creatures found in the fields, e) creatures of the forest, f) vermin and pests, g) insects. Neither of these two types is overly systematic and the classes are by no means mutually exclusive. Hierarchy in both schemes is at a minimum with one superordinate group ('animals') subdivided into a variable number of subsidiary groups which, in many cases, form the terminal classes.

Whether the evidence on these classifications is really suggestive I should not like to say. It may be that a more rigorous investigation would detect groupings and classes that I missed. If it does not and if these findings are duplicated then I think there is every reason to conclude that plant and animal classificatory schemes are, in principle, formally concordant with a cultural notion of 'individuality', a concept which stresses isolation, independence and self sufficiency.

I should like to move on now to discuss social groupings. The first aggregate which displays the same features is the village. In chapter 1 and elsewhere in this study I have drawn attention to the fact that village units (whether these are désa, banjar or some other type of unit), generally speaking, consider themselves as units and perceive themselves as different to other units of the same level. This avidity for village egoism is striking and no researcher should feel happy if he cannot offer an explanation for it. There are indeed two expressions (désa, kala, patra and désa mawa cara) which emphasize the individuality of villages, and both of these evoke the notion that villages are independent entities (irrespective of how they may be connected to other villages in terms of economic, political and marriage relationships) which apprehend themselves as encapsulated units having their own distinctive 'personalities'. For example, when I first arrived in Pujung I used to be told how fastidious the residents were in offering to their gods and how the people of Sebatu were lax on this score. Those from Sebatu, however, ridiculed the punctiliousness of the Pujungese. They pointed out also that although their own offerings were presented less frequently they were nevertheless much larger in size. There is truth in these accusations but the interesting

thing is that the contrasts are exaggerated almost to the point of hyperbole. There are many other characteristics which separate the two villages: the degree of coarseness or refinement of speech; the extent of the use of personal names; the degree to which the two villages have succumbed to Western influence; the extent to which they retain tradition; the different way they organise their rituals, the divergent way they construct their offerings and so forth. Each village, it is needless to say, claims that the way it does things is superior.

In short just as the human population of Bali consists of a composite of independent entities which may be called 'individuals' (buwana alit), so it also comprises a collocation of social aggregates called désa, banjar, village etc. This I hope demonstrates that cultural variation in Bali should not be viewed as an impediment to generalisation nor should it be taken to mean that the culture is heterogenous at the level of category. On the contrary that there is rivalry of this kind between the various units acknowledges the fact that the underlying fundamentals are shared; competition only makes sense if the participants conform to the same set of rules.

According to Geertz the Balinese term for any organised group is seka which he glosses as "to be as one" (1959:999). Hobart suggests that the term, which he renders as sekaha, may be derived from the prefix se-(indicating unity) and the Sanskrit root eka (meaning 'one') (1979:306,n.3). In Pujung the word is always pronounced 'seka' and I shall therefore follow Geertz rather than Hobart in the spelling of it.

In any village there are all sorts of seka as Geertz notes. There are firstly the seka banjar, the seka subak, the seka Balé Bang, etc. in which case seka means the same as krama (i.e. 'member'). However the use of seka carries the connotation of unity and so, for example, the seka subak is conceived as a unitary group which gathers together to administer subak affairs. The seka I have already mentioned are the more formal groups of which membership is virtually obligatory (Geertz 1959:999; Hobart 1979:260). But there are a great many more such seka the membership of which is generally voluntary and temporary. In Pujung, for example, the following seka existed whilst I was

resident there:- seka wayang wong (dance troupe), gambang, angklung, gong, semar pagulingan (four different types of gong orchestra), seka makakawin, seka makidung (traditional singing), seka semal (group formed to kill coconut squirrels), seka manyi (for communal harvesting) etc. All of these groups are functionally specific (Geertz and Geertz 1975:30). Each seka works on only one task and when that is completed the group disbands. Customarily seka formed for one purpose refrain from all other activity. The Balinese rarely if ever employ a pre-existing seka for the performance of new jobs; they simply form a new one.

The type of organisation found within these groups is a simplified version of that within the banjar. The 'leader' is more of a channel for discussion and a focus of the debate. All members, irrespective of wealth, have the same rights and privileges; the groups are essentially democratic in nature. This is a view which is disputed somewhat by Hobart who notes that some seka may be used for ulterior motives, often of a political nature, and that policy making is usually in the hands of powerful elite groups whose views are submitted to the group through 'orators' (Hobart 1979:294, 1975). This argument is valid enough as far as the banjar is concerned but even Hobart has himself written that the very democratic nature of the subak (one man, one vote) has impeded greater investment in modern techniques and equipment for use in the rice fields (1978a:75-80). In other words it would seem that most types of seka perform in a way which accords well with their more formal characteristics as described by the villagers.

3. Conclusion

In this chapter I have tried to show that the features which characterise individuals, namely independence, isolation and separation also faithfully specify, at a formal level, the properties of social groups, some classificatory schemes and even population aggregates such as the 'village'. This concordance of ideas which draws together such dissimilar objects is one of the most striking aspects of Balinese culture. But what is very significant is that the group of people which comes together to worship at the shrine of their collective ancestors, a group of

people which is really or fictitiously related by blood and which is called, amongst other terms, the dadia, is also an association which exemplifies the same features. When we have determined what the purpose is, to the Balinese, of the dadia we will have gone a long way towards our goal of understanding the culture as a whole.

CHAPTER XV

MARRIAGE AND THE FLOW OF LIFE

1. Introduction

In chapter 8 the concept of Balinese title groups was introduced. Such groups (they should really be called aggregates as they are hardly ever corporate), known as soroh ('type', 'kind'), possess a hereditary title, in theory at least are hierarchically ranked, and form the constituent units for the general classification into the four great warna: brahmana, satria, wesia and sudra, the first three of which are collectively called the triwangsa and account for only some 10% of the population. From chapter 8 it should also be recalled that the sudra category comprises a large number of title groups among which hierarchy is confused and limited, and marriages between people from different groups rarely considered as hypergamous. It is usually marriages between the warna that are considered hypergamous although amongst the high ranking triwangsa marriages between people of different title groups within the same warna may also be reckoned so. But whatever the case the important implication is that members of particular soroh are qualitatively different to members of other soroh. It appears that the members perceive themselves as sharing some property or 'substance' which sets them off from other groups as beings of a dissimilar kind. This is a view which Hobart advocates (1979:400) and one which Inden (1976:10) advances for the Bengalis of India. Such a separatist view of these descent groups is concordant with the notion of 'individuality' elucidated in the previous chapter.

The possession of shared substance or property encourages endogamous marriage since it brings together what is alike and eschews the union of divergent entities. In Bali then endogamy is positively enjoined. In India on the contrary, according to Dumont, endogamy is treated as a consequenceof the separation of castes, itself resulting from the logic of hierarchy (1972:166).

In order to advance the argument from this point it will be necessary to present more detailed information. To begin with the differences and similarities between members of different title groups must be recorded. The first thing to note is that at the most general level all members are seen as being alike to some degree since they are all human beings, jalma, and as such share certain attributes which mark them off from other types of being such as gods and spirits, witches and animals. People of different descent groups are also alike in another way. In this the groups are all ranked in one classification according to the same criteria, relative purity, relative refinement and so on. This means that members of different groups differ in degree only and thus share the propensity to be described and characterised in a similar fashion. I would suggest that these similarities allow intergroup marriage to take place. But since the differences between members of different groups are apprehended (in general) as being more significant and more apposite than the similarities, title-group endogamy prevails over exogamy, at least at the level of villager's statements.

There are a number of ways the Balinese conceptualise the essential unity of the members of a group. The two most obvious methods are the possession of a jealously guarded title and the obligation to conform to a particular darma. The second is by far the less significant of the two since most title groups do not have a readily marked darma other than their varna darma (such as 'serving' for the sudra, ruling for the satria). Amongst the sudra title groups only the pandé have an occupation recognised as their prerogative by all other groups.

The other means by which the group stresses the sameness of its members are less clear but at the same time more interesting. Hobart repotts that all people traced through males from an

apical ancestor are alike in that they are described as magetih abungbung ('of a single measure of blood') (1979:389; van der Tuuk 1912, 4, 1085). This does not necessarily entail an actual qualitative difference between the blood of people of different groups. It is a metaphysical concept which emphasizes unity amonst the people sharing a title. Similarly when I asked questions concerning the function and purpose of the dadia (a semi-corporate descent group which has built a temple to mark its public status) I received the following reply: apang ngamanggehang nyama sumbah. This may be translated as 'so as to strengthen the relations between those people worshipping at the same ancestor shrine'. Manggeh means the same as tegteg ('stable', 'permanent') and nyama sumbah refers to people who share the same ancestors through males. So this phrase also evokes a rather abstract notion of quintessential sameness, an idea which highlights the importance of preserving the integrity of the group, itself perhaps perceived in terms of a notion of conserving the group's 'substance' from contamination by outsiders.[1] Such contamination (chemical metaphors seem most apt but they may be misleading) arises from the union of men and women from different groups. Quite what it involves I cannot really say, all I can do is offer one or two very speculative remarks. In chaper 10 (section 2) I reported the various beliefs concerning the relative contributions of male and female to the conception of a child. It was noted that conflicting ideas were evident in the ethnographic record. Only Hobart reported that the child is created from the male fluid only; all other evidence pointed to the conclusion that either both parents contribute or only the mother. In the latter case it is said that the mother contributes a manik which is moulded into shape by the man's penis during subsequent intercourse. Now we already know that this manik does not refer to the soul but must rather be considered as the essence of the

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1. Boon may be suitably quoted on this point: "Indigenous religious views of marriage say it must strengthen descent (turunan), so to fulfill duty (dharma) to the enshrined ancestors who are in a line with the gods. As we shall see, the way to gain this strength of descent is by 'family marriage'" (1977:130).
   By the way other informants gave other reasons for the existence of the dadia. One of these was 'so as to be as one' (apang gilik saguluk), and another was 'so as not to disintegrate' (apang sing uug).

substantial body and therefore, culturally speaking, should ideally come from the mother. If the mother is of the same group as the man, then presumably the soul (which I will later show is provided by the man, or rather by his title group, and thus descends through male lines only) and the body are compatible. But if the woman is an outsider then the substantial embodiment for the soul is, to some extent, unsuitable. If the preceding argument seems academic and overly conjectural all I can say is that I do not place too much store in it myself. However the Balinese themselves are very vague about these matters and I am merely trying to envisage how their thinking might go if it could be elicited more coherently. Since it is one of the most obscure areas of Balinese collective representations I feel it is a legitimate, if somewhat pointless, digression. Before I go on to speak of these mixed unions at greater length in the following section I should like to round off the introduction by noting some of the problems involved in the identification of the endogamous group, these problems also being taken up again in later sections.

The Balinese will always say that it is best to marry someone from one's own group rather than someone from a different group. They will say it is wise to marry someone from the same village rather than from another village, from the same descent group (tunggal sumbah) rather than a different descent group, from one's immediate patrilateral relatives rather than from other kin (although this last is more complicated). In general it is preferable to marry someone who is alike (patuh = same) rather than someone who is different (lén), someone who is related (manyama = related, but not necessarily in a genealogical sense) rather than someone who is just a person (anak; someone who is unrelated, sing makenken). From even this terminological perspective 'who is alike' is not always determined by descent.

Now just about everyone who has carried out research in Bali has reported the Balinese predilection for marrying endogamously. Hobart, however, has produced some rather startling evidence which indicates that marriage in Tengahpadang is guided more by considerations of wealth than by group membership. He reports, in fact, that marriage within the title group is only 23% for

low castes (60% for high castes) and that half the marriages for which he has information contained no kin ties at all (1979:358-59). In marriages in which there was some tie between the man and the woman these were cognatic just as often as they were agnatic. In conclusion Hobart interprets Balinese marriage patterns in Tengahpadang in terms of a model which stresses cognation and parity of wealth.

This information poses the problem of Balinese marriage patterns in a very clear light : is Balinese marriage endogamous or not? A major corollary to this question and one which I believe offers the way to a possible, if still partially speculative, solution, is: what do the Balinese mean when they speak of marrying people like themselves? I shall argue in this chapter that Balinese 'endogamy' must be very broadly interpreted, that it is not always easy to determine what the endogamous group is in any particular place (especially as people disagree as to who is in it and who is not), and that in fact a number of endogamous groups may be operating simultaneously. In the final analysis I will try to show that the Balinese simply prefer to marry 'people like themselves' but that the content of this similarity differs from village to village and that in any one village the 'sameness' may be constituted by divergent ideas according to, amongst other things, status considerations. Thus in Tengahpadang endogamy is title-group endogamy for the high castes (60% is a considerable degree of in-marriage) but for the low castes 'marrying people like oneself' is translated into action by taking a wife from a family considered roughly equally as rich or as poor (measured usually in terms of the amount of rice land owned). This economic endogamy is not what is generally accredited as true endogamy but of course that is beside the point. The task here is to elucidate as precisely as possible what the limits are to the Balinese notion of 'marrying those who are alike' and not to impose an alien concept on recalcitrant data.

Pujung villagers do not appear to organize their marriages according to economic considerations, and when I asked bluntly whether wealth was the major criterion I always received a negative reply. Pujung, although very close to Tengahpadang,

is a quite different village in many ways. Notwithstanding that its residents are considered rustic and coarse by the Tengahpadang villagers, the former are considerably better off. Economically speaking Pujung is far more differentiated than Tengahpadang and the bases of wealth are correspondingly more numerous and diverse. Thus it is not unusual to find houses which own little rice land but are still very wealthy and vice versa. In terms of land ownership marriages in Pujung do not display a pattern. I recorded many marriages in which the discrepancy in wealth of the two houses was substantial. And anyway in a village where the differences in wealth of the majority are not great it is difficult to see what criterion could be used (other than a verbal statement) to determine what is and what is not a significant disparity in wealth. This is not to say that relative wealth, however constituted, was never a deciding factor. In some marriages it certainly was, but it was hardly ever the only factor and only on rare occasions does it seem to have been the predominant criterion. The point I wish to make is that although parity of wealth may be a significant consideration in some places it is unlikely to be so everywhere. Just as villages like to differentiate themselves in terms of language, ritual and other customs so also they seem to want to distinguish themselves with respect to marriage practices. This is of course one of the reasons why villages themselves are generally endogamous units (at least this is true for low castes). It always creates problems when a woman marries into another village as she must often learn to do things in new ways - and Balinese mothers-in-law are not the most tolerant of people.

Before returning to the discussion of endogamous marriage, which is really the main topic of this chapter, I shall have to devote some space to various other, related considerations. Firstly exogamous marriage will be treated and after that a number of side issues such as the different forms of marriage arrangement, residence patterns and questions of succession and inheritance, polygamy and divorce.

2. Exogamy

In conformity with the rather unique marriage practices of the Balinese I have to use the word 'exogamy' to refer to any union which is not between people who consider themselves to be 'alike'. That is to say an exogamous marriage in Bali is one between people who are dissimilar and since informants disagree about the membership of endogamous groups they also, of course, disagree over what constitutes an exogamous marriage. When one is not talking of descent groups, where endogamy and exogamy are relatively easy to identify, this procedure is rather unnerving since it forces one into presenting circular arguments. The major problem is that in Bali endogamy and exogamy do not always refer to descent groups and when they do not the criteria demarcating the groups are vague and occasionally ad hoc. Thus in Tengahpadang amongst the low castes, marrying someone of greatly differing wealth is marrying someone who is dissimilar and so we are faced with the question of whether or not such a marriage is exogamous. Since there are no cultural rules for pin-pointing particular dimensions of similarity and dissimilarity we cannot raise such marriage norms to jural status.

In many ways then what appears in this chapter is highly conjectural and I dare say the evidence could be interpreted in different ways. The only claim I make is that the general tenor of the overall argument is such that it renders Balinese marriage practices congruent with the rules and principles of the culture as elucidated in the rest of the study. It will also become increasingly obvious as this chapter progresses that statistics will be of little help to us since we have no way of deciding how to characterise particular marriages if informants disagree on their designations. Thus, for example, core members of a descent group may consider a marriage with members from the periphery as inappropriate whereas the latter may well feel it is highly suitable. No amount of statistical expertise will enable us to classify such a union unambiguously.

Viewing the problem from a slightly different perspective, any Balinese may define those who are alike, and consequently those who are different, in different ways. As a sudra he may feel all other sudra are alike, but as a pasek gélgél or a

pandé he may feel only other pasek or pandé are similar. As a villager (especially in places like Pujung) he may consider that all his co-villagers are alike, and as a member of the species jalma (human beings) he may feel this is sufficient grounds to include all other human beings in the group of similar people. I doubt if this latter possibilty exists yet but there is no reason why it should not develop in the future, especially now that status concerns are felt to be debilitating to the economic progress of the country. The point is that there are systematic resemblances and differences at a cultural level, and these may be manipulated in all sorts of ways none of which would necessarily violate other Balinese categories. What one group uses as criteria for defining sameness and differentness may be eschewed in favour of other criteria by another group and by virtue of these latter criteria the second group may perceive the first as similar but be themselves considered different by the first. Just such a case exists in Pujung. All those who are jaba (those who do not confess to a status title) tend to see the village as the endogamous group and there is much to support them in this view. However high status pasek do not always relish these opinions and sometimes consider marriage with jaba as being unions with 'people' (anak) who are different (lén). Other pasek however tend to circumvent this difficulty by averring that everyone in the village is a pasek.

Even though it cannot really be shown statistically that Balinese marry endogamously (here considering marriages other than those defined by principles of descent), because it is impossible to state the criteria in an unambiguous way, there is a great deal of qualitative evidence that indicates this is in fact what they do. The overriding rule states that one should marry a person (in some way) like oneself and, in this thesis at least, this is the definiton of endogamy to be kept in mind.

These problems introduced it will now prove useful to discuss certain types of exogamous marriage. I shall, however, confine the discussion to marriages between people of different descent groups. These will include all hypergamous and hypogamous unions and all those other inter-title group marriages in which status considerations are minimal or non-existent.

First of all it must be recalled that conceptions of hypergamy vary according to whether the contracting parties are sudra or triwangsa. If the former, marriages between people of different descent/title groups are not generally characterised as hypergamous or hypogamous since ranking between these groups is not of crucial importance. This is not to say that such marriages are always devoid of status considerations. Indeed Geertz contends that any title-group exogamous marriage has hypergamous implications and that the group from which the woman comes will be viewed as lower in status than her spouse's group (1967:225). Geertz goes on to assert that in order to attenuate such status loss the girl's group generally repudiates (for form's sake) the union. Furthermore he contends that such marriages are usually carried out with the preliminary 'capture' of the girl (ngrorod). Boon disputes this argument by noting that in many areas of Bali such inter-group marriages involve no loss of face for the girl's descent group (1977:124). Hobart's position is broadly similar to Geertz's in that he claims that elopement will occur where there is some significant difference between the families such that the parents will not easily agree to the match. In this case the stealing (ngamaling) of women (with their consent) can take place in marriages between people within the same group and indeed Hobart reports this as quite common in Tengahpadang. In other words where the parents perceive an important difference between themselves and the spouse's family (whether this be in terms of status, wealth, propinquity, descent or otherwise) the marriage is likely to be initiated clandestinely by the ostensible capture of the girl. In cases like this the marriage is quickly consummated and it is considered gross bad form for the parents to interfere to annul the marriage. They are of course allowed formal ostentatious disapproval but should this continue too long they will lose respect. There are exceptions, for example when a family feels itself to have been irrevocably insulted. One of the few really disapproved marriages which have occurred in Pujung in living memory involved the daughter of the then bendésa being captured bya man of jaba status. She went to live in his house in Telepud but for weeks her father was furious with her for having married beneath her status. Most villagers, however, said he overreacted and made himself ridiculous. As far as I could

determine this was the only marriage which was vehemently disapproved on the grounds of status alone. For the sudra groups then, hypergamy (and its obverse hypogamy) is not of especial importance.

It is altogether different for the higher castes and especially those high status satria such as cokorda, anak agung, déwa agung, etc. Within these endogamy is highly prized whilst marriage outside the group is fraught with status implications. Even within the descent group there are ranked lines and marriage is therefore a delicate affair. I cannot produce numerical evidence from Pujung concerning such marriages because there was a total absence of high caste Balinese and as a result no hypergamous marriages to observe. However I did enquire about beliefs and attitudes and the information I received was very like that which Hobart has recorded for Tengahpadang.

Hypergamous unions in Tengahpadang were only those between triwangsa and jaba and between title groups within the triwangsa such as between cokorda and anak agung. Whereas he recorded 52 hypergamous marriages (in which the woman is from an inferior group) he only managed to discover 12 hypogamous unions (in which the man is from an inferior group). Hobart asserts that hypergamous marriages tend to reinforce the system whereas hypogamous ones can be used to issue a challenge to it (1979: 442-446). Certainly from a formal point of view hypergamy follows the rules of Balinese hierarchy in all its contexts. For example it is considered appropriate for the man to be older than his wife but for them to be of the same generation. Cross-generation marriages are tolerated so long as it is the man who is generationally the senior. One case in Pujung which made most people blush concerned a marriage between a divorced woman of about 25 and a young lad of around 18 who was her classificatory grandson. Those who knew about this were genuinely shocked and thought no good would come of it but apparently there was not too much protest at the time of the marriage. One extenuating fact was that the man went to live in his wife's compound so that he became the jural female and she the jural male. In such nyeburin ('to jump in') marriages it is exceedingly difficult to determine whether

the genealogical tie is also considered as reversed. The Balinese are very confusing on this score and I made virtually no headway in solving this intractable problem. If the role reversal is carried through she becomes his classificatory grandfather and the union does not violate any rules. I shall refer to this question again later. Leaving aside this case though I recorded a number of cross-generation marriages in which, although the woman was probably younger than the man, she was his generational senior. However by far the vast majority of marriages I recorded (over 80%) were between people of the same generation and in which the male was (probably) older than the female. It seems that all cross-generational marriages (pasiku paa = elbow thigh) are inauspicious (panes) and, a fortoriori, those in which the female is the senior. One lontar that came into my possession, called Gamyagamana, records a number of rules pertaining to such unions. It says that if anyone is caught making love to a guru ('teacher'), an older person, an in-law of a senior generation, then his genitals should be burnt off. It carries on by denouncing any union with a widow of an elder relative since in such cases the earth will become polluted (ngletehin nagara). Other marriages of a similar kind (such as with an uncle's widow, stepmother, classificatory grandmother and so on) are described vividly as pretiwiang langkar sanggar which was translated for me as 'to take earth from the teba(the back garden) and put it into the family temple' an act which would be polluting. Moreover such marriages are supposed to make the country 'hot' and to cause drought and poor harvests. I would suggest then that all cross-generational marriages in which the woman is from a senior generation are structurally equivalent to hypogamous unions and that cross-generational marriages in which the man is the senior are structurally equivalent to hypergamous unions. This leaves us with the interesting proposition that same-generation marriages are structurally equivalent to title-group endogamy. Just as most Balinese aver that such endogamy is highly prized so they also recommend most strongly generation endogamy.[2]

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2. It is also worthy of note that just as all inter-generational marriages are considered 'hot' (panes) and magically dangerous so too are all inter-caste marriages. As Hobart points out, hypergamous unions are less dangerous than hypogamous ones and all endogamous marriages are 'cool' (tis) and propitious (1979:440). See also Boon (1977:138) who also suggests these structural equivalences.

This view of the matter coincides well with Boon's assertion that the primary cultural rules for endogamous marriages are firstly to marry a generational peer and secondly to marry within one's ancestor group (1977:128).

It is relatively easy to see why hypogamous unions and marriages with a senior generation woman are inauspicious but the reasons for discriminating against hypergamous ones are less clear cut though for all that they are still powerful. I shall deal with hypogamy first. Hypogamy is known as nyerod bangsa ('to drop caste') and in general only applies to unions between triwangsa women and sudra men and within the triwangsa when the woman comes from a clearly superior group. There may of course be all sorts of disputed cases due to disagreement over the status ascriptions of the descent groups involved.

Hypogamy is contrary to virtually every Balinese categorical directive. As Hobart points out sexual intercourse with a woman of higher caste is interpreted as involving a reversal of the normal direction of the flow of semen. Just as water cannot flow uphill so semen (which is conceptually equivalent to water) cannot flow'up caste' (1978a:21). In this sense I think Hobart is well justified in seeing recent hypogamous marriages in Tengahpadang as politically motivated and directed as an explicit and highly powerful challenge to traditional authority as vested in the higher castes (1979:442-446). To my mind also hypogamy may be seen as an attack on the traditional culture even if the actors might not themselves perceive it as such. Whereas witchcraft in Bali must always be apprehended as playing its full role as an integral part of the cultural definition of persons, hypogamy could be forgotten without this having the slightest effect on customary behaviour. In other words marriages such as these, although they are inherently detrimental to the stability of the traditional culture, are an in-built possibility (just waiting to be exploited) and act as foci to precipitate change when new social conditions arise. It is then to such areas of the culture that one might wish to look in the hope of providing examples of endogenous social change. This must not be taken to imply a sort of Marxist dialectic since it entails no notion of historical necessity. I simply

wish to indicate that any culture which prescribes certain forms of action inevitably proscribes certain others and in doing that draws attention to them. Whether in future they will be considered as possible forms of action is an entirely contingent matter and each case must be investigated in its own terms.

A woman who marries hypogamously is in a most unenviable position. She is usually 'thrown away' (makutang) by her family and in previous times the couple could have been put to death (Geertz and Geertz 1975: 137). Since the girl marries someone of lower status and goes to live in his house she automatically 'drops caste' (to the level of her husband) and can no longer eat with her agnatic relatives as this would render them polluted, sometimes irrevocably so. Moreover, as Hobart notes (1979:438), on death she cannot be prayed to by her natal family nor receive the holy water vital to ensure a safe passage to heaven for her soul. This means that the soul is destined to remain in purgatory and Hobart recounts a number of beliefs concerning the tortures which she and her husband undergo in the afterlife. The offspring of hypogamous marriages take the title and status of their father and according to Hobart are treated as ordinary commoners (1979:440). Thus once the heinous act has been perpetrated and the female discarded, the couple live a normal life; there is,therefore,no ambiguity in her subsequent position. The case of the hypergamous wife is somewhat different.

Hypergamous women generally tend to be secondary wives (penawing) to the first or main wife (padmi) who is usually of the same status as her husband. This in itself tends to corroborate the notion that endogamy is thought to be superior to exogamy. Moreover if the woman has children all researchers have reported that these have a lower status than the children of the same-status wives. ~~These children have a similarly ambiguous character~~. Since hypergamy is institutionally recognised as legitimate, but considered inauspicious, it is reasonable to expect that there will be a plethora of beliefs pertaining to the consequences. Many of these apply to the children of such unions. Hobart records that such children are known as bengkiwa, which is the name of a hybrid duck

obtained by crossing two different species. The product of the union appears to the Balinese as absurd and ungainly. "Like illegitimate children (bebinjat) they are thought to have bad characters, to become easily dissolute and good-for-nothing" (Hobart 1979:440). The reason children of hypergamous marriages are marked in this way whilst those of hypogamous ones are considered as normal might be that the ambiguity of the mother's position transfers itself to that of the children in the former case but not in the latter. The consequences of hypergamous unions persist over succeeding generations whilst those of hypogamous unions terminate after the marriage and the de-casting of the woman.

There are many problems for the parents of the hypergamous marrying girl for their daughter attains to a higher status and must be addressed accordingly. Geertz and Geertz (1975:135-36) and Hobart (1979:437) both note that these girls are called mekel, are usually addressed as jero ('insider'), and should be spoken to in a more polite manner. Moreover the girl can no longer pray at her parent's family temple or receive holy water prepared there and she cannot pray to her parents on their death. According to Hobart these disadvantages induce villagers to persuade their daughters to "'marry their own kind'" (1979:437).

3. Marriage, Incest, Residence and Succession

a. Forms of marriage arrangement

Only Hobart (1979:364), so far as I know, has provided a comprehensive register of the numerous types of marriage possible in Bali. However, in this day and age and amongst the sudra groups with which I have the most experience, two forms of marriage predominate. Both of these take most seriously the wishes of the children whilst those other forms of marriage, which involve force and which might never have been very common, are now tending to obscurity. The two main variants are known as mapadik and ngrorod. The first designates an arranged union between two families whilst the second is that famous Balinese institution in which the bride-to-be is 'kidnaped' by her suitor and a gang of his friends. The girl is usually taken to the house of a friend in another village where the couple spend at least one night so as to consummate the marriage. Sometime

later, on an auspicious day, the masakapan ceremony is held.

The form of the mapadik marriage has been well described by Boon (1977:124) who reports that it consists of a series of visits by the male's kin to his intended's house to exchange gifts, reserve the girl, decide on the items she will bring, ascertain her future status and so on. In Pujung the gifts are very small and are no more than a token. If everyone agrees to the request of the man's parents an auspicious day for the ceremony is chosen. It may well be that just before the masakapan ceremony the boy will nevertheless 'steal' his fiance, as a marriage which lacks this escapade is these days considered staid and unexciting.

As I implied earlier such prearranged marriages take place when all the parties are in agreement. This does not mean that they are title-group, endogamous as the Geertzes assert (1975:110). What it does mean is that, as Hobart emphasizes, there is no disagreement about anything, whether this be descent, group affiliations, wealth, character and so forth. Similarly elopement (or 'mock capture' as the Geertzes call it) does not necessarily entail that the marriage is title-group exogamous. In such cases the likelihood is that there is some difference of opinion between the two families such that they cannot reach an amicable settlement. What is at the bottom of the conflict will have to be empirically determined in each case - and that is no easy matter. Because of the custom in Pujung of eloping anyway, it was difficult to get figures on the frequency of arranged marriages. Another problem was that the vast majority of marriages for which I have information were said to be approved by all concerned (pada-pada luung) so that it was impossible to correlate the form of marriage with the incidence of agreement or conflict between the parties involved. The reasons I was given for the few disapproved unions I did record were various and surprising. Some simply said they did not want their daughters to go too far away (and to go from Pujung to Telepud was thought of as 'far'); others felt the children were still too young; yet others said that they could not afford to allow their daughter to leave as they were so busy. Apart from such practical considerations some

marriages were only reluctantly allowed because one set of parents had reservations concerning the character of the boy or girl. It was very rare that I was told that a marriage was disapproved because it violated the family's status or because the other family was too poor. This seems to me to be a result of the generally small differences in status and wealth between most families in Pujung.

The other types of marriage all involve force on behalf of one or the other party to the match. So atepang rerama ('joined by the parents') is a marriage between non-consenting children forced by the two sets of parents. This I suppose can be seen as a variation of the mapadik form. Two other types of marriage may be viewed as variations of elopement. One known as ngambis ('to tear up'), describes an abduction in which the girl is unwilling but her parents approve. The other, melegandang, is a forceful abduction in which neither the girl nor her parents approve (Hobart 1979:364).

Generally speaking the villagers commend the mapadik form of marriage because it entails no conflict between the parties. But it is true that the youngsters themselves prefer to add some dash to the rather solemn proceedings of arranged marriages and consequently elopement is very common and highly prized. A further argument for mock capture of the bride is the apparent lack of expense that it involves.

I do not want to leave the reader with a picture that is too clear cut. In my opinion, based on what evidence I have, elopement tends to be a feature of marriages in which there is likely to be disagreement between the families concerned although such conflict is not necessarily culturally institutionalized and may be merely a matter of individual differences. If this is the case then it will always prove to be a utopian task to systematize the evidence in such a way that there are no rough edges to it. Balinese marriage patterns, by the very nature of their complexity, seem to incorporate a degree of randomness and uncertainty. Boon acknowledges this by interpreting all elopement marriages as examples of "love winning out" and as determined by "individual preference" (1977:122-23).

b. Incest and marriage restrictions

In section 2 of this chapter I discussed, albeit inadequately, exogamous marriage in the contexts of hypergamy, hypogamy and other inter-title group marriage. In this section I wish to describe certain other forbidden unions. If endogamy is preferred, hypergamy allowed but disliked, and hypogamy forbidden and abominated, then there are two types of marriage which are forbidden but not necessarily abhorred. But before I discuss these I ought to say a few words about incest. Most Balinese with whom I discussed this topic ~~with~~ had difficulty thinking of a word to designate forbidden unions. The phrase salah timpal occurred on one or two occasions and seems to mean 'to do wrong to a 'friend'' (timpal = friend). It is possible that there is no word to translate our 'incest' and the reason for this might lie in the fact that the types of forbidden unions vary according to caste. So although sexual relations between full siblings is forbidden to sudra it is not so to kings. In general, and I shall address the subject in more detail later on, incest prohibitions tend to get narrower as status rises. Moreover other forms of incest such as mother-son and father-daughter are dealt with under the rules for cross-generational marriages.

Concerning now the two types of forbidden marriage, the Geertzes (1975:200) only refer to one of these, and then only in passing, while Hobart does not mention them at all. Korn alludes to one (1932:151) but only Boon has really tried to do something with them and, as he says, they are encountered in all areas of Bali (1977:234). The first one is called kebo nglipetin bada ('the water buffalo returns to its corral') (see fig 7a). It designates a marriage in which the daughter returns to her mother's natal home. In genealogical terms this is a FZD union and the prohibition has the effect of preserving the unidirectional flow of women. The second forbidden arrangement is known as makedengan ngad (see fig. 7b). A ngad is a very sharp strip of bamboo and it is used to cut the umbilical cord. The phrase evokes the image of two people holding the ngad and pulling against one another so that whoever wins the hand of the other is inevitably cut. The union it prevents is sister exchange between brothers (and some say terminological brothers as well) and again it acts to channel the exchange of

women in one direction only. Boon accounts for these prohibitions by noting that they enable a wife-providing group to rationalise its possible inferior possition (viz à viz the receiving group) by citing the rules as the reason it cannot accept wives back in return, an eventuality which would, of course, negate hypergamous implications between the two groups (1977:130-31). However Boon commits precisely the mistake for which he castigates the Geertzes. In the same chapter he draws attention to the fact that many inter-group marriages take place without any hypergamous overtones at all (1977:124). In such cases then there is no need for 'actor rationalizations' of this kind. It seems to me far more preferable to explain such proscriptions as simply thrown up by the penetration, into the sphere of marriage, of all those ideas and collective representations which structure all Balinese action in an irreversible direction.

Figure 7a

Kebo nglipetin bada

Here if A marries into family X her daughter cannot then marry back into her family Y. According to Boon if X and Y are different title groups the rule still holds good at this macrolevel. Thus if X receives women from Y it should not return them

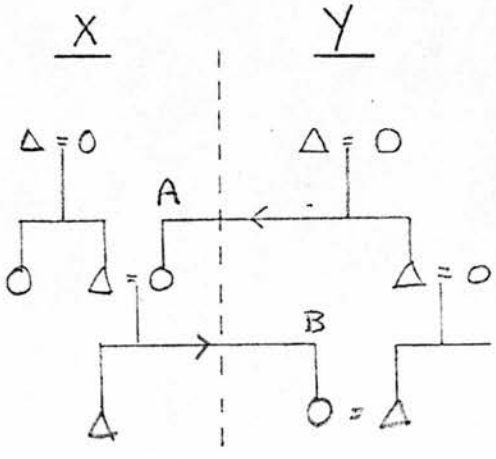
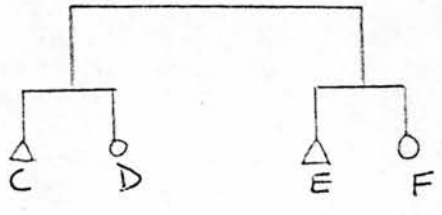


Figure 7b

Makedengan ngad

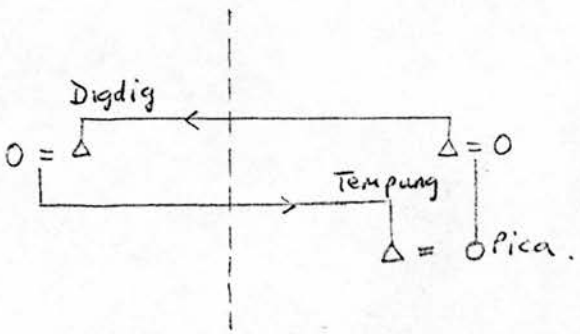
In this case if C and F marry then it is subsequently prohibited for D and E to wed. As Boon points out such a proscription disallows certain FBD marriages which are otherwise preferred (1977:131).



I recorded a number of these marriages in Pujung and although most people seemed to realise that they were culturally disapproved there was little embarrassment when they were pointed out. The actual extent of such unions is, however, very difficult to gauge because of the presence of the nyeburin type of marriage. As I have already said this is one in which the man moves in with his wife and he is said to 'have the body of a woman' (mawak loh) and to be considered jurally as a woman. An actual case of kebonglipetin bada combined with nyeburin may be found diagrammed in fig. 8 below.

Figure 8.
Kebo nglipetin bada combined with nyeburin marriage

Digdig married nyeburin and his son, Tempung, also married nyeburin when he wed Pica and in doing so returned to his father's home. Their marriage may then be considered jurally as kebo nglipetin bada (but see text).



In the marriage of Tempung and Pica (fig.8) some people saw that it could be viewed as kebo nglipetin bada but others denied such a description pointing out that all Tempung had done was marry back into his father's house about which there are no restrictions. Similarly, genealogically speaking, the marriage is FBD but jurally it may be construed as FZD since Pica is a jural male and Digdig and Tempung jural females. Opinions on the suitability of such marriages varied enormously. Some felt they fulfilled all the conditions of kebo nglipetin bada whilst others could find nothing wrong at all and still others took a middle line saying that the prohibition ideally applies only to women returning to the place of origin of their mother, and that a union such as that between Tempung and Pica is not quite the same and certainly not as dangerous.

c. Residence patterns

Ideally marriage is virilocal in which case the girl goes to live in the compound of her husband and she moves in straight after the marriage ceremony. 88% of all recorded marriages were of this type. If the marriage is title-endogamous there is not likely to be any problems with the in-laws (warang) since the girl is perfectly entitled to go back to her natal compound to take part in ceremonies, to pray in the family temple and to receive holy water prepared there. Even if there is no traceable genealogical tie the ancestors are all considered to have descended from a single apical progenitor and so at the level of the soroh all are equal and patrilineally related. This situation is complicated where status concerns are of greater significance (for example in high caste circles and the 'smith' village where the Geertzes lived) and the internal structure of the title group hierarchically organized.

Geertz and Geertz have called this the'principle of sinking status' and it "... operates by the simple device of ascribing a lowered rank to any brother who moves out of the core houseyard relative to the one brother who can remain in it and inherit the father's core position" (1975:124). What this means is that the direct lineal descendants of the apical ancestor retain the highest status whereas collateral lines are reduced in rank and the further back in time the fission occurred the lower the status of that line. Where this is the case it may be that even marriages within the title group are hypergamous and in consequence wives may not be allowed to pray at the shrines in their natal home for fear of being polluted. This principle of sinking status does appear to have a slight role in the two pasek title groups in Pujung especially the pasek batuan which is less solidary and larger than the pasek gélgél. In this particular group the core houseyard is very impressive and the family is much respected and accorded a higher status than all other pasek batuan families in the village. Other families in the group call themselves tadtadan which means that they 'carry' (support) the core family in the same way that a temple congregation 'carries' its gods. These families, agnatically related to the core yard, are of lower status. There is also considerable status rivalry between these

families, albeit mooted only in private. Inhabitants of one compound will regularly say in confidence "dini gedénan tekén ditu" (literally 'here is bigger than there' meaning 'we are superior to them'). However in Pujung these status complications do not affect the right of women to return to their parental homes to pray, irrespective of whom they married. In this respect Pujung is extremely lenient but as we shall see this tolerance is not a mere idiosyncracy but rather a highly significant structural relation the relevance of which will be examined in the context of village endogamy.

As Hobart says the ideal which the Balinese advance is that brothers should reside in their house of birth (1979:323). If they all do this then all marriages will be virilocal. Unfortunately the ideal of commom residence is tainted by the realization that,generally speaking, brothers do not get on very well. If a set of brothers does reside in the parental home each will build a kitchen as he gets married. It is a sure-fire certainty that sisters-in-law will quarrel if forced to share a kitchen and such quarrels have a habit of spreading. Unmarried brothers and sisters and the parents generally take rice from the kitchen of the son who is designated as the heir (sentana). This is the main kitchen and it should be the biggest and best equipped (although in Bali this does not mean too much). If the heir is unmarried this kitchen will then still be the responsibility of his mother and sisters. With his marriage his wife also assumes responsibilities in that kitchem and this often becomes a locus of personality clashes.

As regards brothers arguments may flair up over many issues. One perennial problem is the accusation of laziness. The produce obtained from communal labour should be shared equally so the indolence of one brother creates feelings of grievance in the other. Such difficulties often arise in connection with the rice fields. It is considered imprudent to divide the actual fields between the children. In the vast majority of cases the fields are instead worked as a unit and the produce shared between the brothers. Here then conflict inevitably occurs over the amount and quality of the work performed.

So although the ideal is for all of a set of brothers to live in their parent's compound this happens in only a few cases. Non-inheritors tend to move out, and if they do they have three choices. The first is to build a new compound of their own on *désa* land if there is any left. If a brother does this he becomes a new member of the *désa*. The temple that he builds in his compound is, in Pujung at least, called a *pondok sanggah* and contains fewer shrines than, and is subordinate to, the temple in his compound of birth which becomes known as the *sanggah gedé* (the 'big' *sanggah*) and the *kawitan* ('origin'). At major ceremonies at the *kawitan* the brother is duty bound to attend and provide materials and work.[3] If the new compound thrives children may leave in their turn to build compounds and so their compound of origin becomes a *kawitan* as well but they will still recognise the temple of their grandfather's house as the main *kawitan*. The agnatically related families which are symbolised by the linkages between the various family temples and which are given a spurious corporateness by their allegiance to the principle *kawitan* is given the label 'lineage' by Hobart (1979:330). The Geertzes note rightly that the members of this 'lineage' ('houseyard cluster') can be referred to as *nyama* ('relatives') or as *sameton* ('all those descended from the same mother'). Such a cluster is not territorially localised but may well be spread out all over the village. Finally it is not in any real sense a corporate group unless it becomes large and wealthy when it may, if it so desires (and with the permission of the *banjar*), build a temple on village land to represent its unity as a descent group. Such a temple is most usually known as a *dadia* or *panti*.

The second choice which faces a brother who moves out of his natal compound is to build a house of his own on private land. In this case he cannot become a member of the *désa* but only of the *banjar*. However such a situation is often preferable to remaining in a crowded houseyard.

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3. There is no stipulation that members of the core compound should help out at ceremonies at the temples in their *pondok* and this would never happen when the actual ties between *kawitan* and *pondok* had been forgotten. This in itself demonstrates the difference in status between *kawitan* and *pondok*.

The third choice and these days by far the most frequent is to 'marry like a woman' into someone else's compound. This is the form of marriage which is known as nyeburin ('to jump in'), because the man 'jumps into' another person's compound. In effect he has the rights of a woman while his wife has the rights of a man. He takes her title if she has one and the children should ideally remain in the compound if there is a divorce in which case the man must leave. In theory he attends banjar meetings as his wife's representative although in practice if the man is on good terms with his wife's father he will probably be indistinguishable from men who have married virilocally and as far as I could see there is no stigma attached to such unions. In fact some people expressed the opinion that a nyeburin marriage was, in certain cases, preferable to remaining at home. They pointed to the fact that there would be little chance of quarrels developing in the kitchen since mothers and daughters tend to get on very well and there would be no greater chance of conflict with the father-in-law than with a brother and perhaps less so. However there are problems associated with such marriages. One of these is the impossibility of contracting a second marriage, the seeming unfulfilled ambition of many men. In virilocal marriages the man, if he so wishes, can take more than one wife even if his first disapproves. Such a course of action for the man who marries uxorilocally is unthinkable.

This pattern is not immutable and I have a number of cases on record in which the in-marrying male brought his title with him and, as it were, imposed it on the household. Such men come from relatively powerful families which are usually wealthy and this gives the lie to the assertion that all men who marry in this way do so because they cannot get anything better and so tend to come from the poorest households of the village. In the main a nyeburin marriage will be avoided by high status mekel in Pujung but, as I said, one occasionally finds high ranking men marrying into lowly compounds so no hard and fast rules can be made about such marriages. On the other hand these apparently anomalous cases may simply be a feature of the egalitarian attitudes of the Pujung villagers and one

of course can never discount the role of personality characteristics in the making of decisions concerning a marriage partner.

The final comment concerning nyeburin marriages is its inevitability. If a family only has daughters then one of these becomes the heir and a husband must be found for her. On no account can the parents be left without children to continue the line (I shall return to this in due course). In fact if an only child decides to leave her natal compound and marry elsewhere it is said 'kacang ninggal tungguhan' which refers to the notion that she leaves behind her the vital support of her family (literally 'the runner bean vine leaves its support pole').

In nyeburin marriages the man may stay on in the compound if his wife dies first. Should relations between the man and his parents-in-law be very good he may even be allowed to take a new wife. In a case such as this the man for all intents and purposes has become the heir although in actual fact it is his children by his first wife who are the real heirs whilst he acts as guardian. Children by a second marriage are inferior to those from the first marriage and cannot expect to inherit the main share. In this sense then the in-marrying male has a relatively secure position.

There is however a version of nyeburin in which the status of the in-marrying male is even lower than normal. This particular type of union is termed paid bangkung ('pulled by the sow'). In this the man is more or less a sort of male concubine. He has virtually no rights at all in his wife's compound. If she divorces him he must leave immediately and the children stay in the compound, and if the wife dies first he is not allowed to remain. This is indeed a stigmatised form of marriage and no self-respecting villager would ever contemplate it.

d. Succession and inheritance

Inheritance rules in Bali vary from village to village but those prevailing in Pujung seem to correspond more with the data provided by the Geertzes (1975:53) than with the information supplied by Hobart for Tengahpadang. In Pujung the heir is usually the youngest son[4] but there are many exceptions and I even recorded one case in which the only son married out and left

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4. In high-caste circles the rule is primogeniture.

a daughter to become the heir. There is always an unambiguous heir irrespective of whether a set of brothers remains at home. If only one son remains he inherits everything including all the obligations to provide a proper cremation for his dead parents. Should some of his brothers decide to live with him the division of property is more complex. According to Hobart (1979:324) the heir gets twice what his brothers receive. This is not the case in Pujung. Wealth is divided into shares equal to the number of inheritors plus one. This extra share is used for work in the compound such as reparation of the buildings and for the performance of all the death ceremonies of the parents. If this share does not meet the costs then each brother contributes equally to make up the deficiency. The heir, however, also acquires the use of the metén as his sleeping quarters, the main kitchen and the main granary. In some poor houses this means that the remaining brothers have to sleep in their kitchen and store their padi wherever they find some space.[5]

Ideally the heir becomes the head of the compound and it is he who joins the désa while his brothers join only the banjar. Such a scheme only finds rare application in Pujung where désa membership is generally shared on a rota basis so that each adult male living in the compound, irrespective of his place of origin, holds the désa membership for two oton (420 days).

e. Divorce and polygamy

Divorce is a relatively simple procedure but not necessarily lightly undertaken. These days all marriages have to be registered with the local government officials and so too do the divorces. More recently there has been legislation to prevent husbands from unilaterally divorcing their wives. Previously all a husband had to do was order his wife out of the house and this constituted a divorce. Nowadays a legal divorce requires the consent of both parties.

In my opinion divorce is not common and it is usually instigated for particular (non-trivial)reasons. The birth of children, of either sex, greatly strengthens a marriage whereas their lack is

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5. If a non-inheriting son wishes to erect a building within the compound for his own use then this must be financed with his own money; the communal share may not be used.

the single most important cause of separation. Some men have married up to five or six times to get children. Incidentally it should be pointed out that the Balinese seem to be well aware that failure to obtain children may be due to either the man or the woman (sterility is bekung and applies to men and women) indicating that both are responsible for procreation.

There are other reasons given for a divorce. Boredom seems as common a cause as any other. The desire for a change, especially for a couple with no children to hold them together, is quite frequently given as a reason.

In ordinary village marriages the woman does not bring with her any property although she may well bring valuables such as gold and jewellry. These possessions remain hers and hers alone and on divorce she takes them with her. She also retains a full half-share of all property earned jointly with her husband and she may claim this if the husband divorces her.

Children remain in the compound in which they were born if their parents divorce and one leaves. This holds whether the one to leave is the father or the mother. In one case a woman had a child by her husband who had married in. They divorced and she subsequently went to live in another compound with her second husband. Her child, however, remained in her compound of birth and was raised by her mother's sister and mother. Children, culturally speaking, since their souls come from the kamulan shrine of the family temple, owe allegiance not to their parents but to the ancestors and gods of that temple, since it is from them that they derive their life.

Polygyny in villages in central Bali is not marked. No more than a handful of men in Pujung had more than one wife and those that did only had two; no one had more than that. One really has to be quite wealthy to support two wives since they almost always dislike eachother and therefore require to be lodged in separate accommodation. Most women I talked to about it thought that polygyny was abhorrent and they said they despised women who became second wives (madu). The men, on the other hand all felt that it would be nice to have a second wife but admitted that it invariably caused more headaches than it gave pleasure. In geheral polygamy within low castes is of little significance and is tending to become even rarer these days.

4. Endogamy and the Dadia

Notwithstanding the fact that the endogamous unit may be constituted in terms other than descent it is this criterion which has generally been considered the most significant -and rightly so - and therefore it will be accorded a greater prominence in this study. However we shall see that descent may also be conceived in Pujung in a way which treats all the villagers as members of a single kind and village endogamy may be viewed as a counterpoint to title-group endogamy.

a. The dadia

The Balinese endogamous group based on common descent and symbolised by the construction of a temple on public land is most usually known as a dadia and it is to an examination of this concept that I now turn. As I have already said the inhabitants of a village may be divided into their respective title groups and preferential endogamy may be based on these groups. If this descent/title group wishes it may consolidate its identity by constucting a temple in which the ancestors of the group may be supplicated on a regular basis. In this way the title group becomesmore solidary. The Geertzes were the first anthropologists to carry out systematic research into descent groups and the structure of the dadia, and it will prove useful to summarise their findings. But before I do this, however, some preliminary remarks will have to be made.

Hobart has made an important contribution to the debate in many ways but one of the most significant, I think, is his comment that the title group is an aggregate of people which may be apprehended from two clearly divergent points of view. The first he calls the soroh model and its main characteristic is that all the members are considered as equal, emphasis being placed on the distinction between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' (1979:314). However such a descent group, no matter at what level, is always attached to an origin point (kawitan) and the members may be differentiated internally in much the same way that Geertz explained in his concept of 'sinking status' described earlier in the chapter. In this 'kawitan model', as Hobart calls it (1979:314), the members are viewed as being

distinguished by 'degrees of proximity' - it is a similarity of origin rather than of substance that is given prominence. Where the group is structured internally in this hierarchical manner endogamous marriage may have hypergamous implications as I have already suggested. However this is by no means certain as the title groups in Pujung demonstrate. The pasek batuan group is internally ranked to some extent but this only affects ritual action and forms of superficial etiquette. It has little bearing on marriage except in one interesting sense which will be discussed in section 4c. My own impression is that internal ranking only has relevance for marriage amongst the high castes and rarely amongst sudra descent groups.

I have already explained that an origin point in Bali is represented by a temple which commemorates the ancestors of the group. At the lowest level the kamulan shrine in the family temple is the kawitan ('origin', wit also means 'tree') for that group of people which worships there (in this case simply an extended family). If this family has a number of subordinate temples (pondok) headed by agnatic relatives then the principle temple becomes a more inclusive kawitan. At this level the village may consist of a number of loose patrilineal descent groups the material symbols of which are the various sanggah gedé ('big temples'). The memberships of these descent lines can in theory be traced at those times of the year when people take offerings to their kawitan. Kawitan which have many subordinate temples have a large net intake of offerings and the odalan ceremonies (performed usually every 210 days) are on the grand scale. Conversely the subordinate temples are attended at such times probably only by the family that lives in the compound and the ceremony is short and perfunctory. These houseyard clusters, as the Geertzes call them (Hobart's lineage), are not corporate groups but merely congregate to substantiate their common descent. It will be noticed as well though that Hobart's kawitan model is on view at such times, since the attendance of people from subordinate temples at the principle kawitan at the time of its yearly festival is not reciprocated by people from superior temples at the time of the ceremony in inferior compounds. Small offerings will however

be taken to the pondok sanggah. The rule is that one takes large offerings and attends the ceremonies at one's kawitan but only sends a small offering to the family temples derived from that kawitan.

Such a house yard cluster may eventually decide to build a new temple on village land for the members of that group to collectively worship their divine forebears. Such a temple is most often known as a pura dadia. The Geertzes note that the emergence of such a group is not necessarily entailed by any particular characteristic or cluster of characteristics. Certainly wealth, power, status, and a good birth rate all help but no set of circumstances actually presages the building of an elaborate temple and a defined descent group (1975:60-62). The appearance of such a group is therefore contingent and moreover it does not emerge in opposition to other groups. Thus the dadia exhibits properties structurally identical to those displayed by other aggregates, namely, isolation, separation and independence. In fact the dadia is just another seka (see previous chapter) albeit a very significant type (cf. Geertz and Geertz 1975:65).

Before moving on it will prove profitable to pinpoint the semantic field of the term dadia. Undoubtedly the root of the word is dadi ('to become', 'to grow') and it is cognate with a number of words from other Indonesian languages, such as Javanese dadi, Sumbanese dadi and Ngaju jari, all of which carry the meaning 'become' as Needham (1976) has already pointed out. The Geertzes suggested, prior to Needham's remarks, that Balinese dadia is linguistically related to daja (the relational form of kaja = 'mountainwards') (1975:199). Needham subsequently disputed this derivation in his review (1976) and it was also roundly condemned by Hooykaas (1976:243) who protested that the two concepts (prounounced quite differently) were not in any way cognate. C.Geertz replied to the effect that the derivation had in fact been first suggested by a student of his and then confirmed by a Balinese linguist (1977:223). My own thoughts on the matter are more circumspect and analytical. First of all it was as long ago as 1935 that Goris (1960a: 377 n.16), a notable scholar of the Balinese language, advanced the idea that the root -ja of kaja was related to dya, darat and raja all of which mean 'landwards'. As far as I can find out Goris has escaped opprobrium for his temerity in proposing such an

idea. At least one respected Dutch scholar then felt that dadia and kaja might be conceivably related. But even if they are not etymologically cognate there is little doubt in my mind that Geertz has the moral victory since the two verbal concepts are connected substantively. The reader will recall that in chapter 3 I attempted to demonstrate that the notion of 'becoming' (the origin of new life, the locus of the gods and therefore of the souls) is inextricably involved with the central mountains of the island whose direction, from anywhere in the island, is designated by the term kaja. In this sense at least kaja and dadia appear to be articulated.

I should now like to complete the information concerning the terminology used to denote the dadia. It can indeed be referred to by a variety of terms of which dadia is probably the most common. In Pujung the two dadia temples were also regularly called panti the meaning of which is obscure. Such temples may also be known as pura ibu (Liefrinck 1927:208) and paibon (Geertz and Geertz 1975:66). In these cases the temples are named for women (paibon = pa-ibu-an and ibu = mother; moreover the paibon is another name for the metén). This principle of naming descent groups after women is common in Bali. For example all the children born from the same mother are distinguished by the term nyama tugelan ('relatives of the cord'), and all people descended from the same womb may be termed the sameton (which word comes from the same root as metén, namely, metu which means 'to come out', 'to be born'). There is then a clearly indicated notion of descent groups originating at points marked by women. This is not at all surprising since it is the status of women which differentiates the offspring of one man, especially in high-caste circles when the latter has a number of wives. Women are the points at which the descent group segments into lines of superior and inferior status denoted by titles, language use and the ways the children are addressed. In other words women are of paramount importance for the tracing of descent and in providing one of the main principles for the naming of these groups. Modification of descent lines may be achieved by women and they are therefore considered as the origin points of new lines and new titles.

Returning to the Geertzes findings concerning the dadia and endogamy, we may summarise them quickly as follows. Dadia groups are extremely important in many aspects of village life not least marriage. Most of the residents in their fieldwork area in Klungkung belong to one or another dadia and those that do not are politically insignificant (a correlation Hobart has not been able to duplicate in Tengahpadang). Endogamy is very high within the title group and even higher if this has crystallised into a dadia. They report a correlation indicating that the greater the importance of the dadia in the village the higher the rate of dadia endogamy(1975:99-101).

For the Geertzes then endogamy is squarely based on the descent group whether it be the dadia or the title group. If the former, which is simply the title group emphasized and materially symbolised by a public temple, then endogamy will be higher. That is to say if the title group changes into a dadia there will exist a greater pressure to marry endogamously. Hobart, it seems to me, also perceives endogamy only in terms of descent groups traced through ties of kinship. Such an approach leads to problems. One of these is that we are left wondering what to do with village endogamy. Both the Geertzes and Hobart seem to treat it like a residual category which needs no comment. It seems to me that if we feel impelled to interpret title-group endogamy then we must also embrace all other forms of endogamy in our explanation. If we do not we are not faithfully describing or translating Balinese categories of thought and, what is even worse, we are imposing alien conceptual distinctions on the data. Endogamy, as I have already implied, is not a Balinese concept but is rather one that has been foisted on to them from outside. With respect it is a false operation and one that can only entangle us in pseudo problems. Until the notion of Balinese endogamy is liberated from its shackles of kinship Balinese marriage patterns will remain difficult to interpret. If we adhere closely to what the Balinese do and say we should not go far wrong. I cannot do this for Tihingan where the Geertzes worked nor for Tengahpadang. I must therefore supply the information from Pujung in order to see how these villagers conceive of

the similarities and the differences between themselves and in this way arrive at the aggregates within which endogamy takes place. The point is that endogamy in Bali is not necessarily based on kinship-recruited groups, although such groups will of course remain important.

b. The evidence from Pujung

When first I arrived in Pujung one of the first tasks I set myself was the discovery of all the different titles to be found in the village. I was therefore somewhat surprised when, to my rather ineptly put questions, I received a large proportion of negative replies. Most of my neighbours denied possession of a title and some tried to discourage me from enquiring any further. They said people in Pujung were unaccustomed to confessing to such titles as it tended to have a debilitating effect on village harmony. Others were less cautious but were still unable to answer. They professed ignorance concerning titles and declared their indifference to them. They implied that to talk about titles was to talk about politics and hence to be divisive. Such topics were best left to those who lived in villages further south where greed and general iniquity was thought to be far more prevalent. Pujung, they insisted, was based on equality of status, although they entered the caveat that some families deserved more respect than some others, these families, I later found out, being the core lines of prominent title groups. However such respect, they also said, was due to these families because they were headed by priests.

This view of the structure of Pujung society was in large part supported by everyone in the village. It was a view that was given to me by the lowest 'outsider' (jaba) and by members of the most respected families in Pujung, including the kubayan and the bendesa. It is the ideology of egalitarianism which I outlined in chapter 1. This ideology, as I mentioned in that place, is founded on the notion that everyone in the village is equal (onyangan patuh) and that all the villagers are of the same group (tunggal sumbah). Before I document further evidence which pertains to these notions though, the various title groups which exist in Pujung ought first to be described as they will play a part in the exposition.

After I had been some time in the village I found that there were three major aggregates recognised by all the villagers, apart from the village itself. The first group is the pandé (the metal smiths), the second the pasek batuan and the third the pasek gélgél. The latter two groups may be lumped together and called the mekel. Mekel families in Pujung are said to be those who are descended from people who held office in the 19th century feudal kingdoms.

There are eight compounds of pandé families, of which six are located in Pujung and only one in Telepud (the eighth is in Bilukan). As there are 93 compounds in all the pandé make up only a small proportion of the total population and this is given as the reason that they are not a powerful group. However, the pandé have a dadia temple situated opposite the market in the very centre of the village. It is this temple which commemorates the first arrival of the pandé from Bangli (the story was recounted in chapter1). Pandé are usually fiercely proud of their status and in theory are allowed seven roofs to their cremation towers. In Pujung they restrain their pretentions to high status and are only permitted five roofs. However even this unusual fact pales into significance beside certain others. Firstly the pandé dadia temple is open to anyone who wants to join irrespective of title and it has in fact a congregation which comprises most of the pasek families and most of the jaba (those who have no title) as well. Secondly the vast majority of pandé families are themselves members of the pasek dadia temple even though theoretically this means they pray to gods who are inferior to themselves. Thirdly all the pandé priests (there are three) are perfectly willing to perform ceremonies in anyone's houseyard temple be they pandé, pasek or jaba. For a place like Bali this is an astonishing state of affairs. Generally speaking no Balinese will pray in, or accept holy water from, a temple which is considered to be of a clearly inferior status. The only conclusion to be drawn from this is that the pandé feel themselves to be of the same status as everyone else in the village and, whats more, they must at some level, perceive the gods of the different temples to be related to eachother, so that all the villagers do derive from the same set of ancestors.

The pandé are not unaware of this unique situation and other villagers also point to facts like these (very proudly I may say) as a testament to the sagacity of the way life is conducted in Pujung. On the other hand it was occasionally remarked that if the pandé were more numerous they might attempt to assert, and thus isolate, themselves, a situation nobody, including the pandé, really wanted to envisage. So although there are differences between the pandé and other people in Pujung (offerings and cremation tower[6]; mode of address and reference) this is outweighed by their acquiescence in, and obedience to, Pujung's egalitarian principles.

As I said earlier the mekel aggregate is divided between the pasek gélgél title group and the pasek batuan group. The provenance of the former is more obscure than the latter. The gélgél group comprises only seven compounds of which four are in Telepud, two in Bilukan and one in Pujung (this being the bendésa's house). I could speculate that the gélgél group arrived either at the time of Pasek Bendésa Mas, who seceded half of Pujung to Telepud (see chapter 1, section 3d), or when the three brothers from the kubayan's house returned from the court at Gianyar and were given the plot of land on which the bendésa's house was built (chapter 1, section 3e).

Concerning the arrival of the second pasek group, the pasek batuan, there is fortunately an informative, semi-mythical tale available to us. According to most versions I received there was once a Balinese raja in Klungkung (a province in eastern Bali) called Meruti who for some inexplicable reason prohibited his subjects from holding the rank of gusti (a wesia title). Anyone daring to ignore the injunction was put to death. The proscription caused great consternation and many gusti decided to leave. A large number apparently went west and arrived in Gianyar. One such group of four brothers found themselves ~~themselves~~ in the puri in Gianyar town and got taken

6. There are differences in the scale of offerings at cremation between pandé, mekel and jaba. The major differences are however, in the sarcophagus and the wadah used.

	wadah	sarcophagus
pandé	5 roofs	singa (lion-shaped)
mekel	1 roof	macan (tiger)
jaba	1 roof	gajamina (half elephant, half fish)

into service by the raja. Because of their loyalty and bravery in a war with the raja of Bangli they were rewarded with estates of their own. One of the brothers, Kayuan, went to settle in Sebatu. Another, Meranggi, went to Jasan and later his descendants moved to Pujung Kelod. The third, Batuan, and his followers and descendants settled in the villages Teges, Sapat and Pujung Kaja. Batuan is reputed to have been the youngest and the cleverest and he became the perbekel for the Pujung region. He was given a kris (short ceremonial sword) and this is now held as an heirloom by I Wayan Seraya the head of the core household for the pasek batuan group. His very large house is opposite that of the bendésa's just north of the Pujung crossroads. He is also the assistant priest of the pura Panti Kangin (there is no full priest at the moment). It will be remembered that in chapter1 it was noted that this temple was supposedly a pasek gélgél temple, so here again we find that a man of one title is perfectly willing to submit himself to the gods of another group. In this case the discrepancy is not so great.

In fact as a rule we may say that in Pujung no one refuses to pray in any temple, whether public or private, or to receive holy water there, as a direct consequence of status considerations. The only reason a person does not join the pandé or gélgél temples is that he is already a member of so many others he has neither the time nor the resources to take on further responsibilities. Most of the village population is, however, adamant that membership of these dadia temples though not pbligatory, is highly desirable. The fact that most of the congregation is neither pandé nor gélgél does not seem to overly bother them. In Pujung temple membership has nothing to do with the title one holds.

I should like to return to the political angle for a moment in order to emphasize that the irrelevance of title to temple membership is largely a function of the egalitarian ideology. It was intimated to me in confidence by a few villagers, who are not in sympathy with the way the kubayan runs the village, that should he try a status drive to become an anak agung as some believed he wanted there might well be an eruption of

status rivalry. I was told that if the kubayan tried to up his status there would be nothing preventing members of the batuan group from claiming the title of gusti. In such an atmosphere village unity would certainly be lost and kubayan's power would suffer. Thus some of the more astute villagers feel kubayan dare not go too far in his manipulation of the village banjar (these days sometimes known as the banjar belog, 'the banjar of fools') because to do so will undermine his own power base. In conclusion there appears to be a finely balanced conflict between the egalitarian principles, which had always had the upper hand, and the possibility of a status drive by certain powerful members of the village, which would, of course, destroy the old consensus.[7]

Going back to the title groups themselves it will be worth spending a moment describing their internal divisions so far as they exist. The pandé and the pasek gélgél are not really divided at all. All pandé are considered virtually equal although the head of one family refuses to be addressed as bapa, as is his right, preferring the lower nang ('father'). The priests in the two core houseyards are however accorded a higher status but this is only a matter of etiquette and language. The gélgél group is also not formally divided and all gélgél expect to be addressed as bapa. Again one can detect that the kubayan and the bendésa, being the two pivots for this group, are rendered greater respect than the heads of the other five houses claiming gélgél status. On the other hand this exaggerated respect is most likely due to their exalted offices.

The batuan group is the only one which is divided in a more obvious manner. The core house is that of Seraya, the priest of the Panti Kangin. The batuan group consists of only nine compounds but some of these are quite large. The group may be split into the centre house and the 'supporters' (tadtadan). But within these other eight compounds only five insist on the use of bapa.

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7. In order to consolidate his power the kubayan has made a number of strategic marriages for himself and his family. First he himself married the sister of the bendésa from Pujung Kelod who is pasek meranggi. Later he married his only daughter to the son of the head of the batuan group in Sebatu in a nyeburin marriage. Finally he married his sister to the brother of the Sebatu bendésa who is head of the gélgél group there. He therefore has affinal connections with all the important families in the surrounding villages.

The inhabitants of the three remaining compounds (including one extremely wealthy man) prefer the use of nang rather than bapa and call their children coweg (for girls) and locong (for boys). These three compounds then are on the borderline between mekel and jaba.

Aside from this complication as to the limits of extension of the batuan group, one other compound professes to be mekel but does not know whether it is gélgél or batuan and yet another asserts it is batuan but each year goes to the all gélgél temple near Klungkung to pray there (this is the origin temple for all Balinese gélgél title holders). So even at this level the descent groups are confused at the peripheries and it is therefore difficult to decide what their marriages signify. This is in fact the next problem which must be tackled.

c. Descent group endogamous marriage in Pujung

Endogamous marriage, as the reader should now be aware, is not necessarily confined to the traditional descent groups. Conversely certain aggregates of people may be treated as fictive descent groups for marriage purposes. This, I suggest, is the case with the village of Pujung which is itself an endogamous group based on ideas of common descent from an apical ancestor. I have already drawn attention to evidence which attests to this. First there is the fact that everyone joins the village temples irrespective of title. Second all village priests are willing to perform ceremonies in all temples including the dadia temples and those of the lowest jaba. Thirdly the villagers speak of themselves as one large family and as all emanating from one source and that they are all one kind of people. One further piece of information that is of great importance came to the surface during the infrequently held ceremony nyekah (see chapter 12, section 4). In that the puspa (symbols of the souls) were all burned on the same pyre irrespective of title. There is no doubt that this was considered highly significant by the villagers since they hardly stopped talking about it whenever I raised questions concerning status and political matters. They would say "See everyone was burnt on the same pyre. Everyone in the banjar is the same. We're

all one family". Finally I should mention that the pura puseh (the congregation of which is the head of every house in the village) has a kamulan shrine in it and this is dedicated to the founding ancestors of the village. The fact that all the village prays at this shrine again testifies to an idea of common descent. In this respect then I contend that the village is an endogamous unit based on an ideology of fictive descent.

This argument losses some force as it is generally advanced by members of the jaba who might be thought to have everything to gain by asserting the similarity of all. However enough of the mekel and pandé put forward the same points to support the same contentions to make me think it is a view which, if not held universally, is widely accepted in the village.

Village endogamy is very high indeed. Out of a total of 399[8] marriages for which I have reliable information 82% were village endogamous. Of the 72 marriages contracted outside the village 34 were into the nearby villages of Ked and Bonjaka, and both of these are thought to be offshoots of Pujung (Bonjaka indeed is, since it was settled within living memory by people from Pujung). There is therefore good reason to include these as endogamous marriages in which case the total goes up to 90.5%.

The significance of the rate of title-group endogamy within the village (the dadia temple congregations do not perceive themselves as endogamous units and even if they did they would be indistinguishable from the village unit since the congregations consist of most of the villagers anyway) is peculiarly difficult to ascertain. Such marriages are already endogamous from a different point of view (village endogamous) and so title-group endogamy does not so much conflict with village endogamy but rather takes place within its embrace. I know of no single case in which a mekel or pandé looked for a mate outside of the village of the same status because one could not be found in the village. In other words village endogamy is prior (malunan) to title group endogamy which comes 'behind' (durinan) and again this is attested to by title holders as well as by jaba. Secondly the title groups are too small to permit substantial endogamy. This point is worth explaining in detail. In Pujung there are 93 compounds eight of which,

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8. This figure excludes all nyeburin marriages

for example, are pandé. If the pandé were an exogamous group then in the extreme case they could choose partners from 85 other compounds. But with an endogamous system the number of compounds in which a wife can be found is reduced ten-fold. Thus even a low percentage of endogamy might well be significant. In prescriptive systems total exogamy is a possibility and therefore a standard against which the actual frequency may be validly compared. But in an endogamous system there is no base figure which one can stipulate ~~to use~~ as a bench-mark for comparing observed rates.

The following endogamous rates for the title groups must be viewed in the light of the preceding statements. Of 41 marriages in which a pandé was involved 37 (90%) were village endogamous (the four marriages out of the village were all to non-pandé). Of these 37 unions ten (27%) were pandé endogamous. Of the non-endogamous marriages contracted within the village 24 were with jaba and only three with mekel.

Turning now to the mekel aggregate, of 135 marriages in which a mekel was involved 116 or 86% were within the village, and of these 39 (35%) were with other mekel, only eighth of which were between batuan and gélgél people. The mekel figures breakdown as follows. For the batuan there were 80 unions of which 71 were within the village and of these 25 (35%) were title endogamous. Of the 55 gélgél marriages 45 were village endogamous but of these only six were endogamous to the descent group. For the jaba, of 327 marriages in which at least one person was of jaba status 278 were within the village and of these 174 were jaba endogamous. See table 16 for a summary of these figures.

First of all these figures indicate that village endogamy is constant across the village irrespective of whether a villager holds a title or not. Endogamy within the village is also comparable between the different title groups. The title endogamy practiced by the gélgél group is significantly lower than that shown by the other two title groups. I can account for this in terms of the greater empasis the gélgél group place in making strong village exogamous marriages (not only does the kubayan believe in this but so too does the bendésa).

Table 16. Rates of village endogamy and title-group endogamy in Pujung.

	Village endogamy		Title endogamy	
	number of unions	%	number of unions	%
Pandé	37/41	90	10/37	27
Batuan	71/80	89	25/80	35
Gélgél	45/55	82	6/45	13
TOTAL	153/176	87	41/153	27
Mekel	116/135	86	39/116	35
Jaba	278/327	85	174/278	63

I have also included figures for the jaba although I am not sure whether this is appropriate as they do not see themselves as a marriage group in any way. The village endogamy of the jaba is no different to that of the smaller title groups and this, I think, tends to bear out what the villagers say, namely, that a marriage within the village is more important to all than one with a person from another village. But whereas for the jaba village endogamy is the main and indeed only marriage ideology, for the title groups village endogamy is more of a prerequisite. One might say that they first make the decision to marry within the village and then, in what I consider to be a significant number of cases (at least for the pandé and batuan groups), they attempt to marry within their own title. The batuan group achieved 35% endogamy from only 71 marriages and the pandé 27% from 37 unions. In the

village of Tihingan Geertz reported figures of 52% and 44% for dadia endogamy (which is usually greater than title endogamy) for dadia of comparable size (25 households) to the batuan title group (9 compounds in which are 22 households) (Geertz and Geertz 1975:99). It should also be pointed out that political rivalry in Tihingan between the dadia was intense and village endogamy was not a pre-eminent marriage stategy although it played its part. I would contend that although the title endogamy in Pujung is less than the dadia endogamy recorded by the Geertzes (but higher than that reported by Hobart for Tengahpadang 1979:358) it is nevertheless a substantial amount and indicates the predilection title holders have for marrying within the title group. Thus although members of title groups first and foremost choose a village mate they also try, in a significant number of cases, to marry a villager who possesses the same title. For the jaba this second consideration does not apply and virtually any villager is acceptable. Moreover as even title holders view village marriage as welcome there are few unions disapproved due to reasons of status. All in all the marriage practices at this level tend to confirm marriage ideology as stated by the villagers. We must now turn our attention to the kinds of marriage villagers contract within these larger categories.

For a long time now it has been known that not only do the Balinese prefer to marry endogamously but they also like to marry very close relatives. According to Korn (1932:472) marriages with the first cousin (misan) are approved by many Balinese. Others, he says, disapprove of this type of marriage, except if one is of high caste, but approve of unions with the second cousin (mindon). Marriages between children of mindon (called ming tiga) are also disapproved. Belo notes that marriages between first and second cousins are frequent and that no special distinction is made between types of misan or mindon (that is between misan of FBD, MBD,FZD,and MZD) (1970c: 368). However Bateson and Mead have reported (1942:257) that the Balinese in the plains area prefer marriage with the FBD, whilst in the mountain villagers in which they worked such a marriage was considered incestuous and the preferred marriage

was with the patriparallel second cousin (FFBSD, mindon uli muani, 'mindon through males'). Geertz did not draw attention to this complexity and confusion in the literature and merely reported that the preferred marriage amongst the commomer Balinese was the FBD and that if this could not be contracted then it should be with the FFBSD and if not that then any marriage within the sub-dadia, and failing that any marriage within the dadia (all of which, of course, are patrilateral marriages through men whether real or fictive) (Geertz and Geertz 1975:95). Moreover he states definitely that cousin marriages through the male (FBD,FFBSD, etc) are preferred to those other cousin marriages, still within the dadia, which go through the mother of the grandmother. These must, of course, have been original members of the dadia in which case such marriages can also be traced through males but at a greater genealogical distance from ego. In other words two people connected as MZD, for example, and holding the same title must theoretically have a genealogical relationship which is traceable entirely through males (FFBSD, FFFBSSD, etc.). Therefore first cousins through females are conceived as further away (johan) genealogically than first cousins through males.

There is then within the endogamous range conflicting notions as to the preferred type of marriage. Some reports indicate that any cousin marriage is preferred regardless of the lineality involved. In this case FBD is no different to MBD and MZD (FZD is of course prohibited anyway) and no distinction is made between FFBSD and all other mindon through women, excluding derivatives of FZD. Here the only distinction is between first and second cousin. Unfortunately there is no universal agreement as to which of these is preferred although now it is generally reported (Boon 1977:132; Hobart 1979:350; see Bateson and Mead above) that misan is panes ('hot') and mindon is tis ('cool'), at least for the sudra groups. Hobart also reports that in Tengahpadang it is also considered that third cousins are 'hot' whilst fourth cousins are again 'cool'. In Pujung it is agreed by most that misan marriage is dangerous (panes) and mindon favourable. No one ever told me that third cousins were especially undesirable and as for fourth cousins these were never mentioned in any context.

It is true, however, that what Hobart records is also to be found in Korn (1932:472) and in the indigenous lontar literature. Nevertheless I do not feel it ought to be accorded too much significance in the Pujung case because it was difficult enough trying to trace the exact genealogical links between second cousins leave alone more distant ones, and in collecting genealogies most families treated relations further away than second cousins as simply 'banjar relations' (nyama banjar), that is, if they were not title holders. These latter talked of unrelated people as anak lén (different people), if they were not in the title group, and as ' tunggal sumbah' ('of the same source') if they were in the title group but had no traceable link. In only very rare cases did I manage to trace genealogical ties between third cousins and even then it was usually me who had to supply the appropriate terminology to describe such cousins. But the doubt remains that such evidence must have some meaning if only in theory. Unfortunately I can see no way to accommodate it in the framework of the present study.

The second locus of uncertainty and disagreement surrounds the distinction between patrilateral cousins and cousins traced through females (misan uli loh). As I have said the Geertzes report that the FBD is preferred over the others. Boon's discussion of the topic is interesting but sometimes confusing since he does not always distinguish between the patrilateral cousin and the others and this partly vitiates his argument. However the general tenor of what he says is clear enough and I have much sympathy with it. His views may be summarised quickly as follows (1977:132-144). Balinese marriage theory is based on the notion that the higher one's status the genealogically closer should one's marriage partner be. Gods are said to be properly incestuous; kings may marry their full sisters ("... so that the royal blood would pass undiluted to his successor" Korn 1932:471); high castes are allowed to marry their first cousins through males and their twin sisters (Belo 1970a); low castes are only supposed to marry second cousins and for these to give birth to twins of the opposite sex is a heinous crime and an affront to the gods and the triwangsa. In this last case the birth of opposite-sex twins

to members of the high castes is an auspicious event since it is said that the children marry in the womb and that to be born with a wife is to be born like a god (Belo 1970:26). High castes, being of greater religious merit and purity, can sustain this approximation to divinity. But low castes, distant from the gods (in terms of their inherent ritual purity) bring disaster about their heads for their effrontery. According to Boon first-cousin marriage "... confirms the sanctity of the parties involved and is thought to please the ancestors" (1977:133). However such unions are risky and one should be of "...exceptional merit to attempt it" (1977:133). He even reports, following Belo, that eldest sons might practice patri-parallel cousin polygyny "... which, if fruitful, concentrates ancestral power (sakti) and manpower in the most prestigious genealogical space" (1977:133). Ordinary sudra groups do not have this religious merit and it becomes dangerous (panes)for them to attempt something so ritually potent as marrying a sister or a first cousin through males (which is the next best thing to a sister). Thus preferred marriage for the sudra groups is second-cousin marriage, which is not too close to be presumptious or dangerous but close enough to be acceptable to the ancestors. Before I continue to investigate this argument in more detail I will say that it seems to me to be the right sort of solution since it treats marriage practices as being on a sliding scale of preferences, which is reminiscent of much else in the culture. Moreover it has the merit of bringing a considereable degree of order to what has generally been a chaotic area of study.

Hobart's evidence does not support Boon's interpretation. For a start he reports (1979:328) that in Tengahpadang ties through males are considered panes whilst those through females are said to be tis. No one else, so far as I known, has ever been given this information and I did not encounter it in Pujung. Secondly he points out that marriage in his place of fieldwork is largely a matter of finding either a cognatic relation or someone in the same wealth bracket (1979:361). He notes rightly that the kinship terminology is generational and does not distinguish lineality, and furthermore he reports that the villagers identify descendants in one line as seturunan and descendants through the mother and the father (i.e.cognatically) with the term keturunan (1979:346). Other evidence which he

provides in support of his arguments are that only 1.4% of marriages were with the jural patrilateral parallel cousin (1979:350); that where there is a preference it is for kin rather than agnates (1979:353); that adoption is just as likely to take place with children related through females as through males (1979:344). As against this he records that the high castes practice title-group endogamy much more conscientiously (60%) than the sudra groups (23%) and that they adopt children related through males more than through females. In conclusion he suggests that marriage practices in Tengahpadang break down into three distinct patterns. The first he terms the kawitan model in which patriparallel cousin marriage is emphasized. The second is called the soroh model which stresses any marriage with agnates. The third pattern approves cognatic marriages and is termed the panyamaan model (since nyama, 'relations' is usually used to designate cognates rather than agnates). This disintegration and fragmentation of the problem however does not really advance our understanding of the totality of Balinese marriage practices. To begin with Hobart fails to explain the difference he himself reports between ties through males ('hot') and those through females ('cool'). He also neglects to discuss the distinction between first and third cousins ('hot') amd second and fourth cousins('cool'). And the mere facts that in a patrilineal society the terminology does not distinguish lineality and that there are terms in the language to describe cognatic clusters is by no means exceptional. In many societies it is impossible to infer the social forms from the relationship terminology since to a large extent the connection between these is usually contingent. Moreover in cultures which trace descent lineally there are generally ways to trace descent (or inheritance, succession etc.) through the other line as well even if this is not emphasized in the terminology.

The data from Pujung are not unequivocal but I think that they can help us to view the problems in a clearer light. In Pujung all the jaba make the distinction between misan and and mindon saying that the first cousin is 'hot' and the second cousin 'cool' when it comes to choosing a marriage partner. It is said that marriage with the misan will result

in early divorse, quarrelling, madness for at least one, and perhaps even premature death. Misan through the male is thought of as slightly more dangerous than the other types of misan because it is 'closer' (paekan). Here of course it should be noted that the FBD is terminologically distinguished from the other misan as misan uli muani (cousin through all males)to misan uli loh (misan through at least one woman). This might account for the evidence which Hobart supplies that ties through the males are 'hot' as compared to those through the females. In Boon's terms this is logically entailed since a closer genealogical tie is always 'hotter' than the one a little further away and relations through males are always considered as closer than relations through females. I would also take this as circumstantial evidence that a patrilineal ideology is at work. In Pujung there was not this contrast between mindon through all males and all the other mindon (mindon uli loh, 'mindon through at least one woman'). The reason for this might be that by the time the mindon has been reached the relation is, comparatively speaking, already genealogically quite distant and in that respect sufficiently'cool' (even for low castes). There is perhaps then no pressing need to differentiate between ties through males and through females at this distance.

Most misan marriages, especially of the FBD variety, that I recorded had been arranged by the parents and this is explicitly recognised. It is indeed said that although everyone knows first-cousin marriage may result in disaster parents still like to try it for their children. When I asked why this was so the replies were usually to the effect that such a marriage could turn out well. It is strange how the Balinese seem to echo the confusion in the literature. They say all in one breath that FBD marriage is 'hot' (panes), that it is 'good' (luung), that it is 'good but ..' (luung kewala ..), and that it is worth giving it a bash (tegarang acepok, 'try it once').

Cousin marriage figurs for the jaba may be found in table 17 below.

Table 17. Cousin marriages which involve at least one jaba

(This is out of a total of 278 marriages contracted by jaba)

FBD	FFBSD	Other misan	Other mindon	Other related	Total
12	14	22 (MZD 10, MBD 5, FZD 7)	57	9	114

From the figures presented above it can be seen that the FBD is chosen hardly more frequently than other types of misan. On the other hand the FFBSD is chosen 14 times out of a total of 71 mindon marriages when by chance it should be expected to be selected no more than once in 16 marriages (there being 16 different types of second cousin). What these figures suggest is that the jaba marry the misan quite often and prefer the mindon through males rather than through females. This does not quite square with what they say which is that they prefer marriage with kin of any sort and that the mindon is more auspicious than the misan (which is what Hobart reports the Tengahpadangese say). The figures, on the other hand, tend to support Boon.

I must also note that marriages between related jaba account for a little over 40% of all marriages involving jaba and moreover that it is jaba ideology to treat any village marriage as a union with a relative (nyama) which relatives may well be viewed as constituting a fictive patrilineal descent group based on the pura puseh. In such a case then all their marriages could be viewed as patrilateral cousin unions, although I think this is stretching it too far. Anyway such considerations may account for the preference which the jaba give to FBD and FFBSD marriage over other cousins. This preference for the patriparallel cousin is much more marked among the title holders to a consideration of whom I must now turn.

The picture amongst title holders is more complicated at first sight because the terms misan and mindon take on new meanings. The two pasek groups along with the pandé have a marriage rule which bears some resemblance to a prescription. The rule is sing dadi pegat mamisan and may be translated as 'it is forbidden to break the tie with the misan'. The word misan here has multiple meanings. First it refers to the misan through males (all intra-title group marriages which are between cousins can at some level be traced through males only). Secondly the term refers to all relatives traceable through only males and therefore includes all mindon through males and indeed all other holders (irrespective of their precise genealogical specification) of the same title. Such people are also designated as tunggal sumbah and tunggal dadia ('people of the same source'). What happens in practice is that if an endogamous marriage is contracted between two members of the batuan group, for example, their relation is said to be misan even though their genealogical connection may be much further apart or indeed non-existent. The difference between a real misan and a categorial misan is denoted by the use of the term sodet (womb). Thus a misan sodet is a real misan whereas a 'misan' is simply any other group member. Occasionally the rule is phrased as sing dadi pegat mamindon ('it is forbidden to break the tie with the mindon'). In this case of course it is the mindon which is being emphasized rather than the misan but otherwise the two versions are identical (a real mindon is mindon sodet). Interestingly enough the mindonvariant of the rule is often used by peripheral members of the title holders rather than the core members who always phrase it in terms of the misan. The figures for endogamous marriages within the title groups may be found in table 18 below.

From the table it is clear that every endogamous marriage between title holders of the same group is conceived of as a marriage between misan through males or mindon through males though the latter is the rarer of the two. Amongst title holders

Table 18. Misan and mindon marriages amongst title holders.

	FBD misan sodet	FFBSD mindon sodet	Tunggal sumbah 'misan'	Tunggal sumbah 'mindon'	Total
Pandé	3	2	4	1	10
Batuan	6	3	11	5	25
Gélgél	2	-	4	-	6
Total	11	5	19	6	41

then the preferred marriage is with any agnate who is then conceived as a misan or a mindon through males and the preference becomes a prescription at the level of the villagers statements. Within the range of agnates the FBD is preferred to the FFBSD and the rule including the misan is given far more often than that including the mindon. I would suggest then that for title holders any marriage with an agnate (of the same generation of course) is desirable but one with the misan is culturally emphasized to a greater degree. In Pujung this is the closest union which may be legally contracted; sexual relations with one's full sister are incestuous and marriage with this relative therefore out of the question.

In conclusion it would seem that the higher one's status in Pujung the closer should be the genealogical tie between the couple such that title holders marry categorical misan by prescription and the real misan by preference, and the base line for these groups is to marry within the village. Thus there is a sliding scale of approved marriages with the real misan at the summit and reserved for core members followed by the categorical misan and the categorical mindon (simply agnates) which the peripheral members seem to prefer. There

is thus a prescription to marry in (which cannot be properly complied with much of the time because of demographical details) and a series of approved insider marriages which allow choice and preference to operate and which in turn permit status distinctions to be made between types of marriage. Jaba, being of lower status than title holders but still members of a fictive descent group ('the village'),also practice agnatic marriage but to a lesser extent and there is no analogous prescriptive rule,unless one takes village endogamy to reflect such a rule but the villagers never said this to me.

One can compare these results to Hobart's data by noting the similarity between Pujung's title holders and the high castes in Tengahpadang who also marry endogamously. In other words Hobart's soroh model equates with the preseriptive rule to marry an agnate amongst Pujung's title holders while his kawitan model compares with the notion held by title-group members in Pujung that the nearer to the core of the group the closer ideally should be the genealogical tie between marriage partners. Moreover his panyamaan model seems to hold for the Pujung jaba if it is ignored that they have a limited preference for marrying patriparallel second cousins.

But,when taken all at once, the data seem to provide supportive evidence for Boon as well since Pujung's marriage patterns show quite well that the higher one's status the closer should be the tie between the couple marrying. Whereas FBD marriage is occasionally practiced by jaba (12 out of 278 marriages) it is more frequent amongst title holders (11 out of 153 marriages).On the other hand FFBSD is slightly more frequent amongst jaba (14 out of 278 = 5%) than it is for title holders (5 out of 153 = 3.3%). Moreover there is a categorical prescription for title holders to marry agnates but no such rule for the jaba amongst whom the stated preference is with kin who, by everyone's definition, are further removed than agnates. The difference between the two views may be merely one of degree but I would contend that the perspective adopted here, and the one which Boon advocates, is more coherent and less fragmented than that to be found in Hobart (1979), and

I would suggest that it explains more of the evidence.[9]

d. The relationship terminology

The relationship terminology cannot tell us very much concerning marriage but it nevertheless displays several interesting features which are worth elucidating. First and foremost the terminology is markedly generational and cognatic and its terms have a wide range of reference. Thus kaki is used as a term of address and reference for all low status males of the grandparental generation in the village irrespective of whether they are kin or not. This also applies to dadong for women of the grandparental generation. Males and females in the generation senior to this, if any are still alive, are indiscriminately referred to as kumpi which is also the term for great grandchildren. In other words the terms for ascendant and descendant generations above and below the second are exactly the same and this remarkable congruence extends for nine generations in both directions (see table 21). The term nanang (bapa for title holders) can be used for all men of the parental generation but it is usually used in conjunction with the name of the person's child, thus as a teknonym rather than as a relationship term; this is also the case for méme (women of the parental generation).

Table 19 summarises the relationship terminology and table 20 presents the main terms in such a way as to stress the generational structure which is further extended in table 21.

Very little can be said about the etymologies of the terms. None of them have references outside of the meanings already supplied. Beli does mean 'to buy' but I am fairly certain that this is a proper homonym, and warang can denote a joint bet at a cockfight in which case the analogy with the relation between the two sets of in-laws (warang) is clear.

The terminology shows no difference in the terms for male and female ego. There is absolutely no distinction between lines

9. That I am in general sympathy with Boon's views as regards endogamous marriage in Bali does not mean that I agree with all that he has to say about other aspects of marriage (or about Balinese culture in general). Specifically I would like to register my profound disagreement concerning his statements on alliance theory and how this applies to the Balinese case.

Table 19. Relationship terminology for male and female ego (including both terms of reference and address)

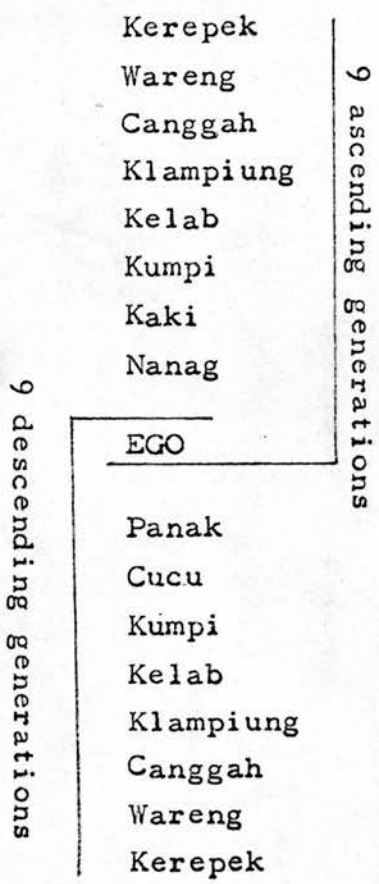
Term(reference)	Term(address)	Some genealogical specifications
Kelab	-	PPPP, CCCC
Kumpi	Kumpi	PPP, CCC
Kaki (Pekak)*	Kak	FF,MF,FFB,MFB,MMB,WFF,WMF,HFF,HMF
Dadong	Dong	FM,MM,FMZ,FFZ,MFZ,MMZ,WFM,WMM HFM,HMM
Nanang (Bapa)	Nang (Bapa)	F,FB,MB,(WF),(HF),FZH,MZH, all men of parental generation
Méme (Ibu)	Méme (Bu)	M,MZ,FZ,(WM),(HM),FBW,MBW, all women of the parental generation
Beli	Beli	eB, all men older than ego of the same generation, H
Embok	Mok	eZ, all women of the same generation older than ego; beli and mok are extensively used for non-kin to show respect.
Kurenan	H = beli W = adi	Spouse
Adi	-	ySib, cousins (PsibC,PPSibCC) younger than ego, W
Misan	-	PsibC, PPsibCC, ...
Mindon	-	PPsibCC, PPPsibCCC
Matua	Iwa (also nang and méme)	Spouse's parents
Ipah	Beli, Mok	ZH,BW,HB,HZ,WB,WZ
Warang	-	CSpP
Panak	-	Child
Keponakan	-	SibC, PsibCC
Cucu	-	CC

* The terms in parentheses are for title holders and certain others in Pujung; they are used for high status sudra such as pandé and pasek titles.

Table 20. The generational structure of the relationship terminology.

Kelab		
Kumpi		
Kaki	Dadong	
Nanag	Meme	
Beli (misan) Adi	EGO	Embok (misan) Adi
Keponakan	Panak	Keponakan
Cucu		
Kumpi		
Kelab		

Table 21. The complete set of generations



and it is in fact a good example of a cognatic terminology which emphasizes generations. The fact that the terminology is cognatic whilst descent is traced through males for purposes of succession and inheritance as well as for title-group membership is not, though, surprising. It is perhaps worth recalling that the title groups are theoretically monolithic in structure, like all Balinese aggregates. Ideally one should marry within the endogamous group and so one's spouse is necessarily (though probably fictively) related entirely through males. In that case so also are those of one's maternal relations who are in the same group. There is therefore no real need to distinguish terminologically between the two lines; in the ideal case all members of the descent group are descendants from an apical ancestor through males and so, for example, all men of the parental generation are 'father' whether through males or females. Indeed a cognatic terminology is perhaps appropriate since within a descent group, which purports to represent, in the small, the whole universe (a title group, soroh, is isolated from other groups and so in this sense may be said to be sufficient to itself; it is therefore an analogue of the cosmos), a distinction between lines seems purposeless. In the ideal case in which a title group achieves total endogamy it becomes the same whether descent is checked through males or females. It seems to be this fact which is reflected in the terminology. In practice,of course, total endogamy cannot be achieved and so an ideology of patrilineal descent for group membership, inheritance, residence and succession, skews the institutional forms in one direction whilst the terminological classifications and categories remain unmodified. In short a cognatic terminology is by no means incompatible with endogamous institutions such as the Balinese possess.

But by far the most significant feature of the terminology is its cyclical and generational structure. The cyclical nature of the classification is obvious and it is concordant with the rest of the culture in this respect. As I have said on repeated occasions the soul of a deceased reincarnates, in the ideal case, in one's kumpi who is therefore equivalent to the deceased and so is not allowed to pray to him. But even more

important is that the structure of the generations (undag = step, level) is identical to the structure of the ranked universe. Both consist of an odd number of tiers above and below the pivotal point (earth/ego) and both are perceived in terms of the cyclical journey of the soul. In other words the terminology is a structurally articulated system (marked by the presence of odd numbers) which allows the passage of the soul from one generation to the next. Significantly such a passage requires the soul to descend through males (that is to say, within the descent group) and be nurtured by women who ideally also originate within the group.

5. The Flow of Life

For the people of Kédang in eastern Indonesia Barnes has reported that a system of asymmetric prescriptive marriage is practiced. There are two classes of prestation, the one goes from the wife-takers to the wife-givers and comprises substantial but non-consumable goods, whilst the other moves from the wife-givers to the wife-takers and consists in the spiritual value of life, that is to say, the procreative power of the woman given (1974:294). Thus in Kédang the gift of life comes from a group distinct from one's own. Such a solution is not open to the Balinese who conceive of other groups as fundamentally different. Life cannot be acquired from such other groups since souls remain locked within the descent group. Women coming from outside are felt to be in some sense incompatible with the soul they will have to nurture and so the life that develops in these women is inferior and marked by deformity, physical or mental. The origin of new life (and this never comes from women), which replicates perfectly the old can only be acquired within the group. In Bali the wife-givers are members of one's own group and they are not considered as providers of the source of life. This duty falls to the male ascendants traced patrilineally. Thus whereas in Kédang the life source is derived through the maternal relations in Bali all life comes through the paternal side.

In contradistinction to alliance systems Balinese title groups (the uncrystallized dadia) are independent and sufficient to themselves. They do not require to be serviced by other groups. In a fundamental sense the source of life , in the form of souls, can never be in another group and never therefore represented in the female principle. This latter must be perceived as the means by which potential being is translated into actual being by provision of the substantial embodiment for the intangible soul which comes from the ancestors. There is then no real need to distinguish between one's own group and others in anything but a gross way. Members are tunggal sumbah ('of the same source') and patuh ('the same') whereas others are just anak ('people') or lén ('different'). A woman who marries out is lost for good and so she is 'thrown away' (makutang); there can never be an equivalent return for her for outside of that group her equal does not exist.

New life comes from the ancestors, by the reincarnation of souls into direct lineal descendants (or at least into people sharing the same title). In this way souls continually cycle through the generations of the same title group. As generations (undag = step) are seen as appearing from beneath and disappearing above (ancestors become the group's gods and hence travel upwards to the mountains), and because the souls reincarnate into descendants, then the soul is conceived as moving in a cycle and its movements accord with the rules of spatial orientation. New life flows down the generations in repeated cycles just as water flows downhill. This indicates why so many marriage prohibitions are couched in terms of the inversion of water flow. In a more positive sense the high Balinese term warih includes in its referents 'water', 'urine', and 'descendants'. Moreover in the oath taken by a suspected criminal the following words may be found: 'If my actions were wrong, then like flowing water, let me be cursed so as to meet misfortune' and it is explicitly stated by the Balinese that the 'flowing water' refers to a man's descendants for seven generations. Thus generations also 'go downhill' and it is the souls of previous generations which provide the life essence for these new ones. In this way the title group is assured of

an undiminishing supply of souls.

If the perpetuation of the group and its spiritual quality is ensured by the reincarnation of the group's ancestors' souls, the group is nevertheless threatened when a married couple, for one reason or another, fails to produce children. This is a catastrophe for the Balinese and they will resort to all sorts of means to obtain children. The commonest is simply daily prayer and the making of a vow (masaudan). An interesting method is the use of a relative's child to act as a stimulus (ngidih panak anggon panuntun, 'to ask for a child to use as a stimulus'). The most usual way, of course, is simply to adopt another's child. In Pujung, as most everywhere else in Bali one adopts ideally a child of one's paternal relatives. If no such child is available one may adopt the child of a maternal relative but this is considered decidedly second best. Just as death indicates that a compound is 'blocked' (embet) so also sterility (bekung) is similarly conceived and it may well be that the reason given for a couple being childless is that there was some mistake made during the construction of the compound. With no children available the cycle is broken at the crucial point and the parents are doomed to spend an eternity in purgatory since there is no one to perform the essential death rites which alone can purify their souls and speed them on to heaven. There is moreover a plethora of beliefs concerning the mystical consequences (always bad) of childless women, adulterers, fornicators, bachelors and spinsters, and so on. It is plain, then, that the flow of life in Bali is associated with the successful negotiation of points of transition. Thus it is that illness is conceived as a condition in which the body's nodes are closed and the life-sustaining substances cannot penetrate; that death is related conceptually to a 'blocked' compound; and finally that sterility indicates a disruption in the movement of the soul in its continuing cycle through the articulated system of generations. A marriage blessed with children entails that the souls of the group 'flow' down from ascendant to descendant, constantly penetrating new generations and so creating new life.

In conclusion it should be pointed out that although there may be confusion in the evidence concerning what the man and the woman differentially contribute to the successful creation of new life, it should by now be clear that the woman is perceived as nurturing the child, by giving the soul a body, while the essence of that life descends through the male line. In other words it is the male side which is responsible for the movement of souls, their transition from stage to stage and from generation to generation and the female side for their earthly development.

CHAPTER XVI

CONCLUSION

Balinese culture is founded on three fundamental principles. The first and most obviously apparent is that of hierarchy. It really would be difficult to talk about Balinese society without making any reference to the immense significance of this concept and its role in ordering Balinese social relations. There is hardly any phase of the culture into which this ramified notion does not penetrate. Not only have I demonstrated that hierarchy is the dominant mode of organisation for village administration and authority but I have also shown that it structures the interactions between groups, the system of person definition and the configuration of the cosmos. Hierarchy is first and foremost represented by the irreversible downward flow of water from the mountainous centre of the island to the peripheral coastal regions. The flow of water is also the most direct image of the contrast between purity and pollution as it is flowing water which acts as the most efficient remover of pollution. Hence the intimate relation connecting purity to hierarchy. But the organising power of hierarchy goes much deeper since it renders Balinese diarchy into a pervasive system of asymmetric complementary opposition. The most basic conceptual distinction in this diarchy is the contrast of essence to body and we may think of this as the second of the three principles.

The essence of things is hierarchically superior, and gives life, to the body or structure in which it resides. In keeping with this view of the world the Balinese place the source of life in the sky and associate it with masculinity, the gods and the right hand. Because the sky is conceived as a spiritual abode and as the resting place of intangible souls life only becomes a viable proposition once the life source has been brought down to earth. But the earth, being in complementary opposition to the sky, is temporal and material and hence the soul, to exist, has to be enveloped in a corporeal body. This body is associated with femininity, malevolent spirits and the left hand.

If the sky is the distant and the primary source of life and the earth the immediate but secondary source providing the substantial embodiment for the soul, then this latter must itself be sustained. The life-sustaining substances (rice, jewels, gold, spittle, blood, wind) which perform this task may themselves be considered as the tangible image of the essence of life. Manik, for example, means both 'jewel' and 'essence'; spittle both sustains and restores life; gold appears to be associated with the essence of rice which is itself intimately connected to the germ of life (amerta).

The distinction between essence and body, however, has also a more abstract existence which thus allows it to be applied to many other aspects of the culture. In this form it is represented as a contrast between an articulated structure (the house, human body, durational cycle, the ranked universe, the set of generations and so forth) and the spiritual essence, whether this is good or bad, which flows through the internodes in a regulated and even manner. Disturbance or blockage of this controlled passage precipitates illness, death and the stagnation of the flow of life. Only those objects which possess a segmented structure have the capacity to entertain life. Potential being actualises itself when an essence or soul inhabits such an articulated conformation. This life enters and leaves through the joints (buku-buku, soca) themselves conceived as sources of new life (manik, mata) or at the least as the locus at which new life is created.

The flow of life in Bali is structured in cycles. These display the properties of irreversibility, orientation and segmentation. When a cycle is disrupted and categorical confusion arises, pollution of one sort or another is experienced. To re-establish normalcy the locale affected must be thoroughly cleaned with holy water and the evil spirits returned to their points of origin. These are, in fact, conceived of as the divine forms of the spirits. The demonic mood is conceptualised as a transient phenomenon which can only materialise on earth. Thus the Balinese perceive the world of mortals as an impermanent, historical arena for the fulfillment of human egoistic aspirations and heaven as a changeless, enduring sphere of spiritual beatitude.

The third of the fundamental presuppositions on which Balinese culture is ultimately founded is the notion of the essential separateness and individuality of species whether these be human beings, social aggregates, animals, plants or other such classes. The isolation of these units reasonably entails their inward-looking attitude and endogamous marriage is, of course, the ideal (so long as it is granted that endogamy must be broadly interpreted). Since the source of life is not located in other 'species' (soroh) it has to be sought in one's own. New life originates from above in the reincarnating souls of the group's ascendants which flow down through the generations themselves linked together by patrilineal descent into closed cycles. As the souls become embodied on the earth through the process of being born from the womb of one of the group's women they achieve a transitory, material existence before the body collapses and the soul returns to heaven. Herein all the fundamental aspects of the culture culminate in a total and developed representation. In this vivid image the culture is laid bare and its essential workings may be apprehended in their full complexity.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bali, Studies	Bali, Studies in Life, Thought and Ritual. The Hague: W.van Hoeve. 1960
Bali, Further Studies	Bali, Further Studies in Life, Thought and Ritual. The Hague: W. van Hoeve. 1969
B.K.I.	Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde The Hague: Nijhoff.
T.B.C.	Traditional Balinese Culture. J.Belo (ed) New York and London: Columbia Univ. Press, 1970.
T.B.G.	Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van het Bataviaasch Genootschap, Batavia.
V.K.N.A.W.	Verhandelingen van het Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen. Afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Amsterdam.

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GLOSSARY OF THE MORE IMPORTANT BALINESE WORDS USED IN THE TEXT

adat Customary law; traditional culture; customs etc.

adegan House post

agung (H)* Big, great.

ajengan (H) Boiled rice; food

aji (H) Father; classificatory 'father'

akasa Sky; the 'above'

ala (H) Evil, bad

alas Forest

alit (H) Small

aluh Easy

alus Refined, smooth, beautiful

amis A very strong, fishy smell which purpotedly attracts witches

ampo Edible clay (much liked by pregnant women)

anak Person; people; man

Anak Agung High satria title group

anggapan The harvest knife

angin Wind, air

aon Ashes

arak Alcoholic drink

arca Temple relic

areng Charcoal

awak Body, torso; first-person singular pronoun in low Balinese

awig-awig Written code of village law

ayu(H) Good, beautiful

baas Threshed padi

badé (H) Cremation tower

balé Multi-purpose, open, wooden construction, raised off the groud on four legs.

* = High Balinese

balian — Category of people who are expert in one or another form of traditional village lore, including 'doctors', priests and mediums

bang (H) — Red

bangsa — Species, kind, type

banjar — Association of villagers, recruited differently in different villages, which deals in the secular side of village life

banten — Offering

bapa (H) — 'Father'

barong — Mythical beast, resembling Chinese dragon, which has the power to ward off evil

basa — Language, speech; spices

batara/i — Male and female gods

batis — Leg, foot

batu — Stone, pip, testicle, mountain etc.

bawang — Onion

bayu — Breath, wind, soul, 'action component of soul'

bébék — Duck

(be)dugul — Subak temples

béji — Bathing area

bekel — Supplies; substance

beli — Elder brother

beling — Pregnant

bendésa — Office within the pasek title-group; leader of the desa association

bersih — Clean

bet — Shrub land

beten — Below

bia kaon — Purificatory ceremony to remove malevolent spirits

biji — Seed, grain of rice

biu kukung — Rice-cycle ceremony

bladbadan — A pun; the use of a ritual object to induce or represent a desired future state

brahmana — Highest of the four major classications in which the Balinese are divided

brata — Meditation, ascesis

buat emping — Agricultural ceremony which initiates the new cycle

bubuh Rice pudding; can represent amerta, the essence of rice

bucu-bucu Corner

buku-buku Joint

bulan Moon; month (of lunar period and also of 35 days)

bulih A strand of padi

bunga Flower

buron Animals

buta-kala Class of malevolent spirits

buwana 'World'

buwana agung The great world
buwana alit The small world

canana Sandal wood

caru A category of rite used to exorcise evil spirits (notably the buta-kala

catur Four
catur sanak One's four 'elder siblings'; spirits which accompany one through life

cetik Poison

cokorda Very high satria rank, title-group of that name

'cong See locong

coweg Name used for address and reference for female children of jaba status (in Pujung anyway)

daa Bachelor girl

dadap Soft wood tree much used by balian

dadia Name of both the temple and the ancestor group which supports it

dadong Grandmother

dalang Puppeteer of the shadow (wayang) theatre

dalem Inside, deep; honorific title

dangsil Pagoda-like tower with an odd number of roofs

darma Traditional duty according to station in life

dasa Ten

dasaran A medium who uses a 'spirit helper' to determine the cause of misfortune of his clients

dauh West of

désa 'Village'; association of all those who 'own' compounds. This is the group, in opposition to the banjar, which deals in religious affairs

dewa/i Male and female gods (of lesser rank than batara)
dewa agung 'Great god', title of highest ranking satria title group
dewasa Ritual day
ala-ayuning dewasa The good and bad day system
dina The 24-hour day
dui Thorn
durinan At the back of; behind; later
duur Above

embet Blocked, swollen, dead
endag To rise (of the sun)
entas To cross over

Galungan Pan-Bali festival celebrated every 210 days
gamelan Percussion orchestra (gongs, drums, xylophone)
gasal The series of odd numbers
gede Big, great
gedong Building (of the enclosed variety only)
gelem Ill
genep The series of even numbers; complete
getah Sap
getih Blood
glebeg Granary
goa Cave
gunung Mountain
guru 'Teacher', mentor, priest
guru pada Wives of the priests
gusti Common title for those in the wesia class of Balinese

hyang Partly purified ancestral spirits

Ibu Pretiwi Mother Earth
Ida Title for men in the brahman category
idam Pregnancy craving
idep (H) Thoughts
idu (H) Spittle
idup Life, alive
inten Diamond

jaba — Outside; category of low status people (in Pujung those who confess to no title)

jaja — Rice cakes

jalma (jelma, jadma) — Human beings

jan — Ladder

jemek idup — Symbol of the soul used at cremation

jemek mati — Symbol of the body used at cremation

jero — Honorific title used for low status people (to sudra priests for example); inside

jiwa — The soul

kahyangan tiga — The three main temples in the village (puseh, dalem and balé agung)

kaja — Towards the mountains

kaki — Grandfather

kala/i — Evil spirit; time

kamulan — Shrine in the family temple dedicated to the immediate ancestors

kangin — East

Kaon (H) — Evil

Karma — Retribution for past actions

kasar — Crude, coarse, rough

kauh — West

Kawitan — Origin point; central family temple

kayu — Wood

kekeb — To close up; period of restriction before certain rituals

kelod — Towars the sea

kepus pungsed — Life-crisis rite held when the navel cord falls off

kesiab — Startled

kiwa (H) — Left

klian — 'Elder'; village official

krama — Association of people supporting the desa, banjar, temple etc.

kubayan — Office in the pasek group

kumel — Birth pollution

kumpi — Great grandfather and great grandchild

kuud — Young coconut used for obtaining holy water

laluur — Ancestors which are completely purified

langit — Sky

lek — Shame

lepas Separated, free, released

leteh A type of pollution

léyak Witch

lima Hand; five

lis Pollution remover made from fronds of the coconut tree

locong Name given to male children of jaba status in Pujung

loh Woman, girl

lontar Palm-leaf manuscript

luan Upstream

lulut A type of worm

lungsuran Remains of an offering after the essence has been taken out

mabakti To pray

madu The second wife; honey

madatengan Small rite as a substitute for a major ceremony

majang colongin Life-crisis rite held at 3 months

maketus The falling out of the baby teeth

makutang To throw away

mala Polluted because of a physical deformity

malaspasin Final rite to 'animate' a building

malik sumpah A large caru ceremony usually used to purify a temple

malunan In front of, earlier

mamula To transplant the padi

mamulih To lay down the best padi in the pamulihan

mandusin The ritual washing of the corpse after death

manik Essence, source

mantenin Rice-cycle ceremony after harvest

mantra Prayer in the Sanskrit language

manyi To harvest

mapadik To arrange a marriage

marep To face (in a particular direction)

mas Gold

masakapan The marriage rite

masa A period

masan endang The dry season

masan ujan The wet season

masangih The ceremony of tooth-filing

masaudan To make a vow

mata Eye, source, joint

mati Dead

mawinten An initiation ceremony (to increase innate purity) for priests

mekel High status title holders in Pujung; sudra women who marry hypergamously

méme Mother

merana Pests

mercapada The world of mortals

metén Northern building in the compound

meténgin To flood the rice fields

mindon 'Second cousin'

misan 'First cousin)

muani Male, man

mubuhin Series of three rites in the agricultural cycle (to give rice pudding)

nadi Trance possession by a god

naga Serpent

nanang 'Father'

nasi Boiled rice

natab Ceremony in which the essence of offerings are wafted towards one's own body

natah Empty courtyard in the middle of the compound

nawa sang Nine-point classificatory system

negtegang Ceremony to stabilise the quantity and quality of some object

nelubulanin Life-crisis rite held at 3 months

neraka 'Hell'

ngabén To cremate

ngad Thin strip of bamboo used as a knife

ngalih To fetch, obtain

ngamaling To steal

ngapat Major odalan and ceremony in the rice cycle

ngapitu Major odalan and ceremony in the rice cycle, held after ngapat

'ngawan Right

ka 'ngawan To the right

ngendagin See endag

ngirim To send; To dispatch the soul after cremation

ngotonin Ceremony to mark the passage of the child's birthday

ngrajah To inscibe letters of a mystical nature on to an object

ngrorod — Form of marriage in which the girl is abducted by agreement

Ngulapin — Category of ceremony designed to recall the 'life' of an object

nguntap pitra — Ceremony conducted to usher the souls to their final resting place.

ngusaba nini — Rice-cycle rite performed after harvest

nini — A clump of padi used as a material symbol of the rice goddess

niskala — Invisible, abstract

nuasén — Rice-cycle ceremony which accompanies the transplantation

numadi — To reincarnate

nunas — To ask for

nyama sumbah — All those people related through males to an apical ancestor

nyambutin — Life-crisis ceremony 'to welcome' the soul at 3 months

nyeburin — A form of marriage in which the man lives in his wife's compound and has the rights of a woman

nyeetin — The harvest rite, 'tying the nini'

nyekah — Major ceremony held 12 or 42 days after cremation

nyépi — 'To make silent'; the first day of the new solar year

nyonyo — Breast

nyuh — Coconut

nyumunin — To start

nyungsung — Rice-cycle ceremony held when the padi is 'pregnant'

odalan — Temple festival held once each 210 days or each solar year depending on which calendar the temple uses

oton — A period of 210 days obtained by the combination of the 5-, 6- and 7-day weeks in which case the same day recurs every 210 days

padanda — Brahman priest

padmi — Senior wife of same status

paes — Spittle

paibon — Alternative name for the metén and for the dadia temple

pakarangan — Compound

pamaksan — Congregation of a dadia temple

pamangku — Sudra priest

pamulihan — The seed bed in which the rice first germinates

panca datu — The five metals: gold, copper, silver, iron and tin

pandé — Sudra title-group; metal smith

panegtegan — Shrine in the family temple
panes — Hot; magically dangerous
pangiwa — Witchcraft
panglong — Waning moon
pangluh — Possession by a god
panglukatan — A type of holy water
pangutangan — The day of the cremation
pamuasén — Area of the top rice field where the sacred rice is planted
pamuntun — 'Leader'; symbol of the soul in the rite of nguntap pitra
paon — Kitchen
papasangan — A form of 'black magic'
pasar (H) — Market
pasek — Sudra title-group of relatively high status
patala — Under the ground; name for the soul just after death
patuh — Same, equal
patulangan — Sarcophagus and pyre
pegat — Broken, finished
pekaseh — Subak leader
penawing — Secondary wife
pendeman — The metals and herbs buried beneath buildings
peteng — Night, dark
pitara — A name for the soul during the cremation rites
pisan — First
pradana — The female principle
pralingga — Container for the temple relics
pratima — Temple relic
pula — To plant
pura — Temple
puri — House of the local raja
purnama — Full moon
purusa — The male principle
puseh — Navel, centre
puspa (H) — Flower; material symbol of the soul
putih — White

raga — Body
raksasa — Ogre
rasa — Taste, feeling
rorasin — 12-day ceremony after birth and after cremation

rsi Sage, holy man

rujak Spicey and bitter fruit drink

saa Prayers in the Balinese language

sabda (H) Words, speech

sad (H) Six

sada (H) Tenth

saiban Small offerings to evil spirits put out daily all over the compound

sakala Visible, tangible, 'of this world'

sakti Magical power

saling carik To eat communally from the same plate

sanggah The family temple

sangkala Accident

sapta Seven

sari Essence

sasih (H) Month of the solar year

satria Major grouping of Balinese below the brahmana

sebel Death pollution, and pollution suffered at life-crisis rites

segehan A type of caru ceremony

seka Association of people

selem Black

sema Graveyard

sentana Heir

sepi Silent

sing No, not

slaka Silver

soca Jewel, source, joint

sorga Heaven

soroh Type, kind, sort

Sri Goddess of rice

subak Association of rice growers

suci Holy

suda To clean

sudra Lowest of the four divisions into which the Balinese are divided

sukla Pure, unused

surya The sun

surudan Remains of offering after the essence has been taken

tabah Tasteless

tali String

taluh Egg

tampak batis Length of the foot

tanah Earth

tanem To plant, bury

tanggal The waxing moon

taun Solar year

tawah Tasteless

tebe Area behind the compound

tebu Sugar cane

tegenan Carrying pole

tegteg Stable, fixed, permanent

teka To come

témpék Quarter of village

temaga Copper

tengah Centre

tengen (H) Right

tenget Sacred

tepet Exact

teruna Bachelor boy

tiang First person singular pronoun; house post

tiga (H) Three

tiing Bamboo

tilem New moon

tipat Rice boiled in a plaited palm-leaf container

tis Cool, propitious

titi Small bamboo bridge

tongked Staff

toya Holy water

triwangsa The three highest divisions: brahmana, satria and wesia

tulung Help; an offering often used in rice-cycle ceremonies

tundun Back

tutug kambuhan Ceremony to remove mother's pollution 42 days after birth of her baby

ujan Rain

ujung Tip, edge

uku Calendar based on the ten concurrently running 'weeks'

ukuran Measure

ulap To call, summon

uli From, through

ulu Head, uppermost, upstream

undag Step, generation

uon Fatigued, depressed

urip (H) Life

uyah Salt

uug Broken, destroyed

varna See warna

wadah Cremation tower

wangsa See bangsa

wantilan Meeting house and cockfighting pavillion

wara 'Week' in the uku calendar

warna Colour, form, shape

catur warna The four divisions into which the Balinese are divided: brahmana, satria, wesia and sudra

wayang Shadow

'weg See coweg

wesi Iron

wesia Third highest division of the catur warna

widiadara/i Heavenly nymph

wija Rice grain, essence of rice

yadnya Cycle of ceremonies

dewa yadnya Rites dedicated to the gods

pitra yadnya Rites for the soul

manusa yadnya Rites directed to human beings

buta yadnya Exorcistic rites

yéh Water, liquid, fluid

PLATES



Plate 1. A view of the market area in Pujung. Temples on the left; shops and stalls of the right.



Plate 2. A view of the inner sanctuaries of Besakih. The pagoda-like meru towers all have an odd number of roofs (see plate 5 also).



Plate 3. Three pralingga of the pura Balé Bang being carried on the heads of wives of priests. Inside the pralingga are kept the sacred relics of the temple, the pratima.



Plate 4. The pura Balé Bang decorated for a ceremony. (A view from the south).



Plate 5. Circumambulation around the temple at Apuh carrying the dangsil towers. The one in the centre (9 roofs) is from Pujung and the one behind (11 roofs) is from Sebatu. Notive the clockwise motion of travel.



Plate 6. Asking for holy water during a temple ceremony. Notice the right hand is always placed above the left hand.



Plate 7. Some shrines in a family temple (seen from behind the northern wall of the compound).



Plate 8. Woman carrying temple offering. Behind her is the metén (notice the high stereobate) and to the east (right) is the temple wall and some shrines.



Plate 9. An elaborate nine-post balé dangin (again remark the high stereobate). In the background is the family temple the surrounding wall of which is beautifully carved.



Plate 10.
Newly laid padi in the seed bed (pamulihan).



Plate 11.
Offerings at the rite of nuasén. The tallest item is the panyegjeg and the green plant on its right is the plidpid branch. The seedlings have already been transplanted in this field.



Plate 12.
Tying the nini during the harvest rite. On the right of the plate is the rice field temple for the presentation of offerings to Dewi Sri



Plate 13.
The offering called tegenan at the ceremony of nyacain.



Plate 14.
Priests en masse at the ceremony of ngaturang piodalan, the main rite of an odalan (temple festival).
Notice the loud-hailer which indicates a large congregation.



Plate 15.
Rangda the arch witch. Notice the bulbous eyes and nose, the fanged teeth and the pendulous breasts.



Plate 16.
Mother sitting in stream facing south (kelod) clutching a tray in which the nasi rare has been placed. This occurs during the rite of majang colongin.



Plate 17.
Teeth-filing



Plate 18.
Wrapping up the corpse after the ritual washing

Plate 19.

The jemek idup



Plate 20. (below)
The patulangan of a high caste man from Ubud. The wadah (7 roofs) is in the background.



Plate 21.
A puspa. Notice the face etched on the sandal wood. The name of the deceased is written in Balinese script on a piece of lontar palm.

