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PURA BESAKIH

A Study of Balinese Religion and Society

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A thesis submitted for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy of
The Australian National University
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work is the result of research carried
out by the author.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "D. J. Stuart-Fox". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned centrally below the disclaimer text.

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ABSTRACT

Pura Besakih is the paramount Hindu temple on the island of Bali, Indonesia. Its location on the slopes of the volcano Mt. Agung, the highest mountain on the island, reflects a tradition of regarding the mountain as a major locus of divinity. In Bali, the Lord of Mt. Agung is associated with Siwa (Mahadewa).

Pura Besakih is the name given to a large complex of public temples located in the village of Besakih. Through a comparison of villages throughout the west Karangasem region (Besakih is one of the region's old core villages), the regional system of two main communal temples provides a framework for analyzing the system of dual classification underlying Besakih's public temples. However, other systems of symbolic classification group together certain other sets of temples. Data from written sources indicate that the five-part classification system is relatively recent in Besakih's history and marks the introduction of brahmanic ritual.

An analysis of the rituals held in the public temples develops the concepts of the hierarchy of ritual elaboration and the idiom of ritual. The relationship between levels of ritual elaboration and ritual cycles indicates the pre-eminence of rituals held according to the lunar cycle. Further analysis examines the relationship between levels of elaboration of rituals and their sources of funding. Rituals of the greatest elaboration are the responsibility of the state.

Being the paramount Hindu temple on Bali, Pura Besakih has been involved with the island's political authority, at least since the 15th century. The nature of the relationship between temple and state

has changed as the nature of the state in Bali has itself changed from the traditional courts of pre-colonial Bali to the island's incorporation into the Dutch colonial empire, and finally to its present status as a province within the Republic of Indonesia.

The hierarchy of political authority, temple status and ritual elaboration come together in the enactment at Besakih of the great purificatory rituals of Panca Walikrama and Ekadasa Rudra. These great rituals have contributed to the present status of Pura Besakih as the Hindu sanctuary of national prominence.

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INTRODUCTION

When in 1969 I went to Besakih to see its great annual festival, I little knew that in years to come the temple would occupy so much of my attention. In 1969 I was a visitor on my first trip to Bali, travelling around the island trying to see as much as possible. I knew only that Besakih was the largest temple on the island, the 'mother temple', as the travel literature likes to call it. I thought the annual festival would be worth seeing, so I went.

I have been to Besakih many times since, but I never tire of its magnificent setting. At 3000 feet on the slopes of a ten-thousand foot volcano, it lies hard up against the mountain on one side, and on the other it looks out over the whole of south Bali, west to Mt. Batukaru, south to Sanur and the Hotel Bali Beach. As one walks up to the main temple, Mt. Agung looms above, its crater summit still bare from the ravages of the 1963 eruption. The temple is grand and expansive, and the rituals I saw that day in 1969 were in keeping with that grandeur.

I returned to Bali in 1971 for what was to be a long stay. At first I was a student at the provincial university, then a translator with the provincial office of the Department of Religion. The head of that office, Drs. I Gusti Agung Gde Putra, was much involved with Pura Besakih, while his wife, Nyonya I Gusti Agung Mas Putra, was the ritual expert of what might be called the temple's management authority. By 1977 it was almost certain that Besakih's hundred-year festival, called Ekadasa Rudra, would be held in 1979. With the encouragement of the Putra's, I decided to document the annual festival of 1977 so as to better understand the complexities of the

ten-yearly Panca Walikrama in 1978, followed the next year by Ekadasa Rudra.

Ekadasa Rudra is the greatest ceremony known to Balinese Hinduism. It can only be held at Besakih. Visually it was stunning. Erected outside the temple was a huge enclosure full of high altars and pavilions, decorated with colourful cloth banners and flags. Inside both the enclosure and the temple were an amazing array of offerings, some of them metres high and of beautiful design. High priests performed rituals and during the two months that the festival lasted, crowds of worshippers streamed to the temple to honour the gods in residence. It was the visual spectacle that dominated the book 'Once a Century' that I (and friends) made about the festival.

In choosing a subject for my doctoral dissertation, Pura Besakih seemed an obvious choice. I already knew something about it, and that was enough for me to realize that the topic deserved a full study. A major religious sanctuary of any people provides a unique vantage point from which to view their culture and religion. Pura Besakih, Bali's paramount Hindu sanctuary, provides such a point of entry into the intricacies of Balinese society and religion. Its location reflects symbolism of direction. Its layout and shrines show religious architecture in its fullest development. The range of rituals enacted there elucidates the meaning and structure of ritual as a whole. Relationships between sanctuary and the society that supports it, especially with the ruler and the state, lead to an examination of the history of society and political authority.

I conducted fieldwork at Besakih from October 1982 to April 1984. For most of this period I lived at Besakih. I made a point of attending all rituals at the public temples, no matter how small they

were, for I needed a full description of the ritual cycles and of the temples where rituals were held. I made a study of the organization of the local village community. The temples's relationships with many villages of the region, with the former courts, and with government, took me all over the island. Between ceremonies at Besakih, I made many trips to trace some piece of information, mostly within the west Karangasem region where Besakih lies, or to Denpasar, the provincial capital.

From the outset of my research, I was intent on combining a study of textual and historical sources with the fieldwork methods of the anthropologist. For many aspects of Balinese life, such an approach brings fruitful results. The combined use of texts and fieldwork tends to be a hallmark of much recent scholarship on Bali (dissertations by Guermonprez, Lovric, Schulte Nordholt, Vickers). My study of Besakih in the Balinese written tradition (the palm leaf books are called lontar) concentrated on one key group of texts, the so-called Raja Purana Pura Besakih (Appendix C). There are two main versions of this work. Both must have been compiled no later than the first or second quarter of the 19th century. As a source of data on Besakih, the Raja Purana is of the utmost significance. Together with two 15th century inscriptions still kept at the temple, the Raja Purana provides crucial evidence through which the temple's historical development can be glimpsed.

Another part of my textual studies was to search out relevant lontar at Besakih itself, and to try to understand the extent and the role of literacy in the community. No lontar from Besakih had been recorded or had entered public collections, but in the course of my research I came across quite a large number. Often they were

blackened from being stored in the roof above the fireplace. These lontar, many of them descent group charters, provided useful additional information.

In this study of Pura Besakih, history is not relegated to an introductory chapter or two but instead permeates the whole work, although with greater prominence in some parts than in others. The subject virtually demands this approach. A significant characteristic of a great sanctuary, and one that contributes to its sanctity and importance, is its antiquity. There is a counterplay between the sanctuary's past and present. The past still moulds the present while the present reinterprets the past. Such is even more the case with Pura Besakih, which possesses its own sacred text that is still referred to in making decisions affecting the sanctuary and its rituals and organization.

At times, for lack of satisfactory data, historical reconstructions can become rather speculative. Overdone historical speculation becomes counter-productive, but when the analysis is based on relevant data, it has powerful explanatory value. Historical origin is very often not recoverable -- it certainly is not for the sanctuary that forms the subject of this study -- but historical explanation gives direction to the process of changing function.

Although the historical perspective is pervasive in this study, it is not used in contrast but rather in conjunction with other techniques of analysis. I have tried to use data from many sources in a unified framework that constantly draws into its interpretation various kinds of explanation. The complexity of such interpretations gives depth to the overall analysis and provides a better understanding of the whole.

The structure of this study begins with the temple's village and regional relationships and ends with the temple's relationships with political authority from the time of the pre-colonial courts to the present day. Within this progression, however, this study may be divided into four parts.

In the first part (Chapters 2 and 3), I develop the concept of 'region' with regard to Bali. Within the west Karangasem region that I delimit for the purposes of this study, I examine Besakih as an adat or customary village in comparison with other villages. Such a regional comparative study illuminates the nature of the variation that is a hallmark of Balinese villages. Despite variation in such matters as communal temples, social organization and leadership, or in the nature of land tenures, certain patterns and similarities occur. From this data, I develop an historical and sociological hypothesis about the development of adat villages within the region, in which I characterize Besakih as one of the region's old core villages. Ritual networks among villages, centred upon particular temples, are an important aspect of inter-village relationships. The most important of these is the ritual network, centred on Pura Besakih, among a set of villages known as the Prangunung Besakih.

In certain respects my approach is reminiscent of the work of V.E.Korn and other Dutch scholars, but whereas they devised an evolutionary theory of Balinese social development with Bali-wide application using data from villages scattered over Bali, I put forward an hypothesis applicable only to a single region and using data from all villages within that region. Methodologically, the regional perspective, rather than focussing on a single village or on Bali as a whole, has several advantages. It does not presume

island-wide applicability, yet at the same time does not preclude the possibility that conclusions based on the regional study may have wider applicability, if further regional studies point in that direction.

Importantly, a regional study puts the individual village into a wider context, thus throwing into relief its unique features and those that are typical of the region. Comparative data also frequently help clarify problems encountered in the study of a single village. Furthermore, such a study draws out the inter-village relationships and regional networks that are essential elements of Balinese society.

Ritual networks among groups of villages and the role of the regional temple leads me into the second part of this study (Chapters 4 to 6) which deals with the temples of Besakih. I begin, in Chapter 4, with a discussion of temple hierarchy in Bali. Temples mark levels in the hierarchical structure of territory, descent groups, and irrigation organization. Starting from the adat village as the basic unit of territory, I discuss the regional temple as marking an intermediate level and the Balinese world temples as marking the highest level of the hierarchy of territory. Besakih, as the paramount temple of the realm, is at the pinnacle of this hierarchy.

In Chapter 5, after briefly classifying the 86 temples located in the area of the adat village of Besakih, I turn to an analysis of Besakih's public temples and the sets of relationships that link them. Rather as time in Bali is structured by interlocking cycles of varying duration (lunar months and weeks of different numbers of days), so is the Balinese world structured by number-based symbolic classification systems of varying magnitude. These systems, the important ones being those based on 2, 3, 4-5, 8-9-11, are themselves linked and

ultimately are reducible to a unity or centre. Besakih's public temples are grouped in various ways according to these systems. Relationships derived from the dual system, I suggest, are comparable to those that underlie the temple structure of the region's adat village. Not only do I argue that these symbolic systems cohere, but I put forward a case for what might be termed the historical development of symbolic paradigms. In the case of Besakih, the five-part classification system is a more recent development associated with the introduction of brahmanic rituals.

Chapter 6 deals with the second major group of Besakih temples, those associated with descent groups. Balinese descent groups are hierarchical in structure. Each level is marked by a temple honouring ancestors at varying genealogical depth, the greater the depth the larger the worship group of descendants. At Besakih there are temples at all levels: the house temples of the villagers, the dadia temples of local descent groups, and the padharman temples of island-wide maximal descent groups. Through a study of these temples and their worship groups, I discuss the dynamics of Balinese descent group formation.

In my analysis of ritual at Besakih, which forms the third part of this study (Chapters 7 to 9), I begin with some ideas of Frits Staal, and develop a three-part analytical structure: the hierarchy of ritual elaboration, the idiom of ritual and the purpose of ritual. The first of these is a formal analysis of the building blocks or elements of ritual, which demonstrates the manner in which small rituals are fashioned into large rituals by addition and elaboration. By idiom of ritual I mean the sequence of ritual words and actions that together comprise a ritual, and which underlies ritual no matter

what level of ritual elaboration is enacted. In discussing the purpose of ritual I examine the calendrical cycles and associated mythologies of place and additional ritual features that give 'meaning' to ritual.

The fourth part of the study (Chapters 10 to 12) deals with the relationship between the temple and the society that supports and maintains it. This part is essentially historical and sociological. In Chapter 10 I discuss the present-day organization and financing of the enactment of ritual, concentrating on the relationship among rituals, their levels of elaboration and their sources of funding and labour. These sources of support include the local village, the special regional group of villages called Prangunung Besakih, land-holdings, voluntary contributions, and the state. It is this state support that makes Besakih a 'state temple'. The important relationship between the temple and the 'state' has a long history, and in Chapters 11 and 12 I examine the way this relationship has changed as the nature of the 'state' in Bali has changed from the traditional court to the modern colonial and post-colonial state.

My final chapter discusses the two great purificatory rituals of Panca Walikrama and Ekadasa Rudra, in which the hierarchical structures of ritual elaboration, temple organization, and political authority culminate in grand ritual. These rituals reflect Besakih's status as the paramount Hindu temple both of Bali and of Indonesia.

By examining Pura Besakih from a multitude of viewpoints and by using a variety of methods of analysis, I have endeavoured to develop interpretations that reflect the complexities of this great temple complex, and ultimately, I hope, provide a deeper understanding of the importance of Bali's paramount sanctuary.



Pl. 1 Pura Besakih at the time of the eruption of Mt. Agung
in 1963 (Boberg n.d.:118)

CHAPTER 1

THE SETTING: MOUNTAIN, REGION, VILLAGE

Mt. Agung, the Great Mountain

In Java and Bali, myths of origin of the volcanos that dominate the land are often charters of Hinduization. The summits of the mountains are sacred, the dwelling place of the high guardians of life and land, and of the spirits of the ancestors, who grant prosperity to mankind, or withdraw it and in their anger bring death and destruction. These myths of Hinduization identify the local mountains with Hinduism's cosmic mountain, Mt. Mahameru, and relate how it was carried from India to Java and Bali. Some myths were written down centuries ago (e.g. Tantu Pagelaran). Some have been reworked in recent times to suit the needs and reflect the intellectual horizons of the time. The myth of origin of Mt. Agung, as told in the Babad Pasek, is a recent retelling, perhaps no earlier than the beginning of this century.

In ancient times, the islands of Bali and Lombok were still in an unstable state, rocked like boats on the waters. At that time [on Bali] there were the mountains Lempuyang in the east, Andakasa in the south, Watukaru in the west, and Mangu or Bratan in the north. It was easy for Hyang Haribhawana to rock the island.

Because of this, Bhatara Pasupati felt sorry on seeing the state that Bali was in and gave permission for the gods to uproot parts of the slope of Mt. Mahameru and carry them to Bali and Lombok, Si Badawangnala [the cosmic turtle] being ordered to support the base of the mountain, [the cosmic serpents] Sang Anantaboga and Naga Basuki to be the rope holding the mountain, while Naga Taksaka carried it through the air. One part was deposited on Bali on the day Wrespati-Kliwon of the week Merakih, the day of the new moon of the tenth month in the Saka year 11.<1>

Some years later (.... in the Saka year 27) Bali was

devastated. Torrential rain fell, accompanied by fierce winds and continuous lightning, and finally an earthquake and sounds like explosions. After two months of rain Mt. Agung/Tolangkir erupted, producing salodaka water.<2>

A few years later (.... in the Saka year 31), Mt. Agung again erupted, and there came forth Bhatara Hyang Putranjaya (together with his younger sister Bhatari Dewi Danu) who descended to Besakih and took up residence in the sanctuary there, and was called Hyang Mahadewa. Bhatari Dewi Danu took up residence in the sanctuary of Ulun Danu (Batur) and Bhatara Hyang Genijaya in the sanctuary at Mt. Lempuyang. This is the account from ancient days when the gods left for Bali, sent there by Hyang Pasupati.

[Some time later], at the time Hyang Mahadewa and Hyang Genijaya were performing yoga on Mt. Agung, Mt. Agung erupted, sending forth a flood of fire from its crater, the result of Hyang Genijaya's spiritual power. (Sugriwa 1957:1-3)<3>

In this myth, Mt. Agung is a broken-off piece of Mt. Mahameru, and in this genealogical metaphor the god of Mt. Agung is the son of the god of Mt. Mahameru, the high god Pasupati. One name of the god of Mt. Agung, Putrajaya (or Putranjaya, Victorious Son or Son of Victory), clearly expresses this filial relationship, while his other name Mahadewa, the 'Great God', here an epithet of Siwa, expresses his paramount status in Balinese Hinduism. The greater the mountain, the greater the god, and the greater the sanctuary wherein the god is worshipped. Since Mt. Agung is Bali's highest mountain, Pura Besakih high on its slopes is the island's paramount temple of the realm.

As Besakih crowns the temple structure of Bali, so the mountain itself dominates the physical landscape, especially in the eastern part of the island. So commanding is it from a distance that early European travellers called it the Peak of Bali or sometimes named it the mountain of Karangasem from the princely domain in which it lay. Besides its common name Mt. Agung, the Great Mountain, the lontar tradition and early inscriptions also call it Bukit Tolangkir or Tulangkir.<4>

This great volcano has erupted time and again throughout the millenia. Deep road cuttings (up to 20 metres) near Besakih show clearly layer upon layer of various coloured ash and volcanic debris. Although some of these layers of volcanic effluvia resulted from eruptions of neighbouring volcanos (Batur, Rinjani, Tambora), there is no doubt that Mt. Agung has erupted frequently. Early eruptions set in mythic time stress the relationship between mountain and divinity and the belief that a volcanic eruption is a show of divine power. In the popular beliefs of later centuries, volcanic eruptions and other natural disasters are linked to events involving earthly rulers.

Historically, nothing is known of the mountain's activities until lontar texts mention eruptions in the years 1543, 1615/1616, and 1684. The dates in these Balinese texts may be unreliable, but local traditions confirm that at least one eruption took place during the 17th century.<5>

In 1808 Mt. Agung erupted again. Assey, in his account of the 1815 eruption of Tambora quoted by Raffles in his History of Java, says that

...an eruption took place from the volcano of Karang Asem in Bali, about seven years ago, and it was first supposed that this mountain Tambora was the seat of the eruption. The Balinese on Java attributed the event to a recent dispute between the two Rajahs of Bali Baliling [Buleleng] which terminated in the death of the younger Rajah by order of his brother. (Raffles 1817, I:25n)<6>

Unproven sources speak of activity in 1821, but the next confirmed eruption took place in 1843. "After having been dormant for a long time," wrote Zollinger (1845:43), "the mountain began to be active again this year. In the first days of the activity earthquake shocks were felt which were followed by the emission of ash, sand and stones". A lava flow spilled down the northern slope to the sea.

Another report says the mountain erupted on 25 September 1843, and was accompanied by a tidal wave that did serious damage at Ujung (Karangasem); people considered this as divine punishment for the Raja of Karangasem's refusal to accept gifts from Mataram (Lombok).^{<7>} The volcano then lay dormant for more than a century, save for observations of solfataric activity in 1908, 1915 and 1917.

In 1963 Mt. Agung again erupted, devastatingly.^{<8>} Nuees ardentes, burning clouds of vapours, rushed down the slopes. Water-borne lahar swept down the river valleys, to the sea in places, destroying ricefields and villages in its path. Ashes covered vast parts of the island, reaching even to Java. Earthquakes rocked the island. Published figures of death and destruction vary, but at least 1200 people died, thousands of animals were killed, 17 villages were wiped out and many others suffered damage, more than 50,000 hectares of arable land were rendered unusable, and some 350,000 hectares were affected one way or another. During the volcano's preliminary activities leading up to the first paroxysmal eruption of 17 March 1963, Ekadasa Rudra, the greatest ceremony of Balinese Hinduism, was taking place at Pura Besakih, the first time it had been held in centuries. To Balinese, this was no mere coincidence; there was widespread belief that the eruption signalled the anger of the god of Mt. Agung.^{<9>}

Pura Besakih was severely damaged by earthquakes in May, and was covered in ashes, but although only 7.5 kilometers from the crater, it was untouched by either nuees ardentes or lahar. Walking through the countryside around Besakih, one sees none of the large boulders stranded amidst gardens that are the telltale marks of former lahar flows. Besakih was protected by a high section of the crater rim

whereas no such protection was afforded the slopes immediately south of the crater. Besakih's sheltered position in relation to the crater may partly account for the mountain's main sanctuary being where it is, though other factors accounting for this location include its proximity and orientation to the island's more heavily populated southern heartland.

Ridge and River (Munduk and Tukad)

Mt. Agung is the dominant physical feature of eastern Bali, as the volcanic complexes of Batur (still active), Bratan (long extinct) and Batukaru are in central and western parts of the island. The volcanos have given the land that steady slope that is so distinctive -- few extensive flat areas exist anywhere. Heavy tropical rains feed the innumerable rivers that have cut deep ravines in the soft volcanic soil, forming a landscape of alternating ravines and ridges as one traverses any section of slope. This salient topographical feature of alternating streams (tukad) and ridges (munduk) stretching from the mountain to the sea has played a role of critical significance in the development of Balinese culture during the course of its history. Ravines have acted as boundaries between villages and between states; ridges have determined the network of paths and roads and influenced social contacts and relationships.

The rivers and ridges are the matrix by which Balinese orient themselves in the world of space. The directions kaja and kelod, with their important sacred connotations and values, lie at the very heart of Balinese culture. It is sometimes said that kaja is the direction towards Mt. Agung, but this is not so. Frequently kaja is said to be the direction 'towards the mountain(s)' and kelod the direction

'towards the sea', but one can be more precise than this: kaja is 'upridge', kelod is 'downridge'. In terms of compass directions ridges are variously orientated, and so too are kaja and kelod. Every settlement has its own kaja and kelod but since neighbouring ridges are roughly parallel, kaja and kelod of neighbouring villages are generally all but identical. But in certain locations where mountain massifs meet, kaja and kelod of neighbouring villages can be very different. Prime examples occur in the group of villages lying between Mt. Agung and Mt. Batur, and the group of villages lying around Lake Batur.<10> The reference of kaja and kelod to a settlement's own ridge explains all such seemingly exceptional cases. Balinese concepts of orientation and the value-laden complementary dual relationship linking mountain and sea orders the life of Balinese wherever they have settled. Such ideas are not uniquely Balinese, but are the local manifestation of concepts common among many Austronesian peoples.<11>

At three points on the circumference of Mt. Agung, which lies wholly within the kabupaten (regency) of Karangasem, the succession of streams and ridges is broken by ranges that emerge like spokes and divide the slopes of the mountain into three fairly distinct geographical regions. These regions may be called west, east and north Karangasem. From the southern slopes there emerges a range of high hills stretching from Yeh Kori down to Gumang, whose highest point is known as Bukit Penyu (Turtle Hill). Bukit Penyu is a natural boundary, and at times it has had political significance.<12> East of the range, Daging Bukit Penyu, is the heartland of the former state of Karangasem, consisting now of the kecamatan of Karangasem, Bebandem and Abang. The area west of the range, Dauh Bukit Penyu, comprises

the west Karangasem region, and consists of the kecamatan (district) of Selat and Rendang together with kecamatan Sidemen which lies to the south in the valley of the river Telaga Waja. North Karangasem stretches from the hilly region of Abang, which separates it from east Karangasem, and circles round to the west of Mt. Agung, where it becomes confined to a narrowing valley between Mt. Agung and Mt. Abang. Another natural boundary, a ridge or escarpment that runs between Mt. Abang and Bukit Tapis (which abuts Mt. Agung), separates this northern area from the west Karangasem region.

Besakih lies in the west Karangasem region, its main settlement lying at about 900 metres above sea level.

The Region

Previous studies either tend to deal with Bali as a whole on the basis of a few villages in various parts of the island, or restrict themselves to one particular village. Although the degree of variation between villages in Bali has often been remarked upon and efforts made to discover underlying forms (Geertz 1959), I begin with an hypothesis that it is inherently unlikely that such variation is wholly random. It is clear that villages within a region -- or at least some among them -- do show many similarities. The question, then, is to find out the nature of the pattern or structure of variation among villages, as well as the structure of supra-village relationships and networks. This can best be answered by making comparisons among villages of a particular region.

In this study, the region that I take as my field of study is what I call the west Karangasem region. Although there remains an element of arbitrariness in delimiting a region, such important

factors as ecology, physical geography, administrative structures, historical background and ritual networks, contribute towards this end. <13>

The first and most obvious of these criteria, already touched upon, is that of physical geography, for in this part of Bali (more so than in most parts) topographical features of the landscape themselves suggest certain boundaries. The southwest quadrant of Mt. Agung's slopes from Bukit Tapis in the west to Bukit Penyuh in the south forms a fairly distinct geographical unity, at least to the north and east. To the south, the hill complexes of Dewangga and Jambul mark off areas on either side of the valley of the river Telaga Waja, and in the valley itself, for historical, administrative and ritual reasons, I have taken the Sidemen area as the region's southern limit. To the west the deep ravine of Tukad Jinah serves to a certain extent as a natural boundary.

Secondly, historical and administrative considerations, which are themselves linked, set similar limits to this west Karangasem region. The geographical region delimited above is precisely the region formed by the three kecamatans of Selat, Rendang and Sidemen. The present-day administrative boundaries themselves coincide with the western limits of the former state of Karangasem since about the 18th century, its neighbours being the state of Klungkung to the south of Sidemen and Bukit Jambul, and Bangli to the west of Tukad Jinah (Karangasem controlled territory west of Tukad Jinah only for one brief period). Furthermore, prior to the period of Karangasem's western expansion, west Karangasem formed a political entity in its own right, with Sidemen as its centre.

Thirdly, Besakih has special ritual relationships with a number

of villages which are collectively known as 'Pragunung Besakih' (from gunung, 'mountain'). Lontar texts as well as present-day custom link Besakih with yet other villages outside the pragunung area, the most important being Muncan, Selat and Sidemen. All these villages lie within a few hours walk of one another. The west Karangasem region includes these villages, although the Pragunung Besakih is not the only set of ritual relationships within this region.

Comparative data on Besakih will be drawn almost exclusively from the west Karangasem region, rarely from further afield. Practical considerations, however, have forced me to be selective in my use of comparative data, for in the three kecamatans that comprise this region there are 15 administrative villages and at least 60 adat villages. Since the Sidemen area, lying at a lower altitude than the rest of the region, may be regarded as a sub-region in its own right, I decided to leave this area out of my survey, though at times I refer to the adat village of Tabola (Sidemen) and give due consideration to the role of Sidemen in the history of the region. Thus for comparative purposes I restrict myself to the area covered by the kecamatans of Selat and Rendang (see Map 1). One point to keep in mind is that the focus of this study is not the region as such, but the region in relationship to Besakih and its great temple.

Administration

The Indonesian government has imposed a national system of administration based on a hierarchy of five levels. The terminology of the three higher levels, propinsi/province (I), kabupaten/regency (II) and kecamatan/district (III), has remained constant, but that of the lower two levels, which I translate as 'administrative village'

and 'administrative hamlet', have been changed more than once, most recently in 1979. A kecamatan is divided into a number of administrative villages (variously known as desa dinas or kelurahan) which in turn are divided into administrative hamlets (dusun). Before 1979, local terminology was often used; in Bali, for instance, administrative village and hamlet were formerly called perbekelan and banjar dinas respectively. In many parts of Indonesia, the two lower levels of the administrative hierarchy often do not mesh with traditional village organization, and this can cause confusion and conflict. In Bali, the distinction between administrative village/hamlet and customary (adat) village/hamlet is very important indeed. <14>

Bali, which became a separate province only in 1958, is divided into eight kabupaten, a division which goes back to the pre-colonial states of Bali. Kabupaten Karangasem, in whose territory Mt. Agung wholly lies, is divided into eight kecamatan. In west Karangasem administrative boundaries have been adjusted several times this century. About 1913 a major reorganization reduced the number of districts in west Karangasem from four districts (Sidemen, Muncan, Selat, Rendang) to the present-day three (Sidemen, Selat, Rendang) and there have been various adjustments in the boundaries of administrative villages within these districts. The region I have taken as my field of study comprises the districts or kecamatan of Selat and Rendang.

Kecamatan Selat consists of six administrative villages (Duda Timur, Duda Barat, Duda Utara, Selat, Sebudi and Muncan) while kecamatan Rendang consists of five administrative villages (Rendang, Nongan, Menanga, Besakih and Pempatan). The number of adat villages

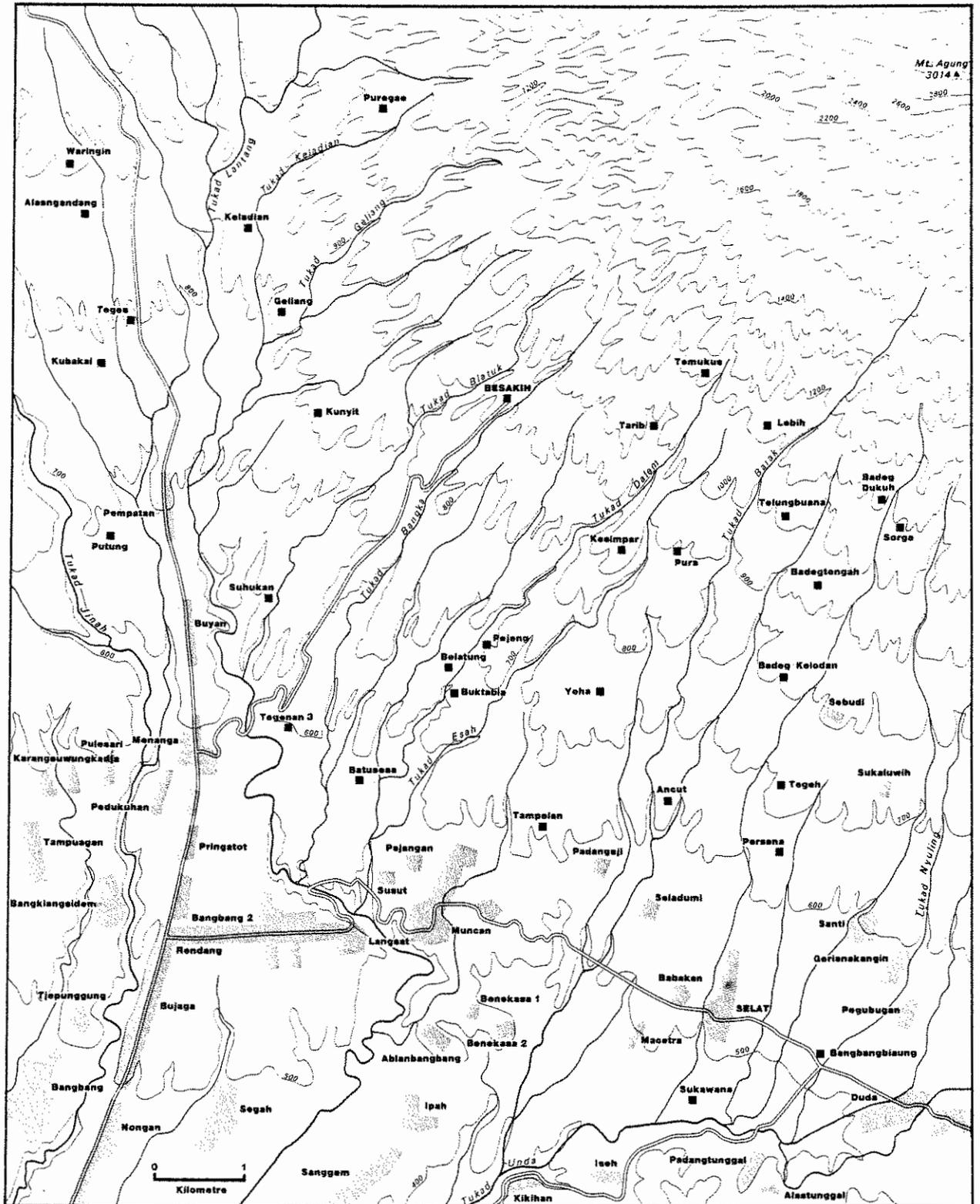
is far larger, at least 21 in Selat district and at least 22 in Rendang district (Fig. 1.1).

Fig. 1.1 Administrative and Adat Villages in Kecamatan Rendang and Kecamatan Selat

administrative village	administrative hamlet	adat village
Kecamatan Rendang:		
Besakih	Besakih Kangin, Besakih Kawan Kesimpar Temukus	Besakih Kesimpar Temukus
Pempatan	Keladian, Puregae Alasngandang Geliang Kubakal Pempatan Pemuteran Pule Putung Teges Waringin	(Besakih) Alasngandang Geliang Kubakal Pempatan Pemuteran Pule Putung Teges Waringin
Menanga	Batusesa, Belatung Buyan Menanga Kangin/Kawan Pejeng Suhukan Tegenan	Batusesa Buyan Menanga Pejeng Suhukan Tegenan
Nongan	(14 admin. hamlets) (4 admin. hamlets)	Nongan-Segah Pesaban
Rendang	Pedukuhan Tengah, Rendang Kelod, Dangin Pasar, Baler Pasar, Bangbang Kangin/Kawan/Pande, Bencingah, Pringalot, Geria, Muku, Singarata Langsat	Pedukuhan Rendang (Muncan)

Kecamatan Selat:

Muncan	(10 admin. hamlets)	Muncan
Sebudi	Ancut Badeg Dukuh, Badeg Tengah Badeg Kelodan Lebih Pura Sebudi Sorga Telungbuana Yeha	Ancut Badeg Tengah Badeg Kelodan Lebih Pura Sebudi Sorga Telungbuana Yeha
Selat	Padangaji Kangin/Tengah/Kawan Selat Kelod/Kaja, Uma, Telengis, Sukewana, Abiantiyang, Muntig, Lusuh Kangin/Kauh, Babakan Santi Tegeh Sukaluwih Taman Darma Umasari Kangin/Kauh, Seledumi	Padangaji Selat Santi Tegeh Sukaluwih Taman Darma Umasari (Macetra)
Duda (Barat) (Timur) (Utara)	Duda, Alastunggal, Dalem, Jangu, Bangbang Biaung, Pegubugan, Wates Tengah/Kangin/Kaja, Pesangkan, Pesangkan Anyar, Batu Gede, Geriana Kangin Tukad Sabuh Padang Tunggal Kangin/Kauh Pateh Putung Geriana Kauh Perangsari Tengah/Kaja/Kelod	Duda Padang Tunggal Pateh Putung Geriana Kauh Perangsari



Map 1. The west Karangasem region

In the pre-colonial period there was just the one kind of village, that now known as the adat village. Traditionally, administration was not based on a territorial bureaucratic system, but on a system that emphasized control over manpower. At the lowest level of this system was the perbekel who was responsible to his punggawa who in turn reported to the ruler or raja. During the colonial period the Dutch reorganized village administration. Sometimes adat and administrative villages were coterminous, but often a number of adat villages were combined into one administrative village, or occasionally a large adat village was split between administrative villages (Hunger 1932).

During the Dutch period the district of Rendang was divided into three administrative villages (perbekelan): Nongan, Pringalot (Rendang), and Besakih. Although an administrative village was named after Besakih, successive chiefs of village (perbekel) lived first at Tegenan and then at Menanga. Because of its role as the local market centre and because the perbekel also lived there, in 1945 Menanga replaced Besakih as the name of the administrative village. In 1955, in the first of two government restructurings, the district of Rendang was divided into four administrative villages, Nongan, Rendang, Menanga and Pempatan, the last named being newly created from territory carved out of the older Rendang and Menanga. The adat village of Besakih became part of Pempatan.

A second restructuring followed soon afterwards in 1962/63 with the creation of a fifth administrative village, Besakih, with a territory far smaller than the earlier administrative village of the same name. The new Besakih did not, however, coincide with or even include the whole adat village of Besakih, for the western settlements

of Puregae and Keladian remained part of Pempatan. Until the present day the district of Rendang still consists of five administrative villages, though in the 1970s the district's centre of government was moved from Pringalot to Menanga where the camat's office, police and military posts as well as the market are all located.<15>

The administrative village of Besakih is headed by a perbekel, assisted by a secretary (sekretaris desa). The present (1986) perbekel is a military man who lives in his home village in Bangli some 20 kilometers away and comes to his office during the day. This arrangement, surprisingly authorized by the kabupaten government, has been less than satisfactory. The secretary is a local Besakih man from the dominant Arya Bang Sidemen kin group. Assisting the perbekel, especially in matters involving government development programs, such as school and office construction, is a body called Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa (LKMD) that government regulation requires all villages to have. The chairman (ketua) is a member of the small though influential Pande kin group. Security operations at the village level include civil guard (Hansip) groups, and a local police post that is staffed daily from the police resort at Menanga. A member of the 'tourist police' assists in enforcing tourist regulations and also collects parking and entrance charges; he reports back monthly to the kabupaten office in Amlapura. Various youth and sport associations also operate under the aegis of the administrative village.

The administrative village of Besakih consists of four localized administrative hamlets called dusun (formerly banjar dinas): Besakih Kangin, Besakih Kawan, Temukus and Kesimpar. Each dusun is headed by a klihan dusun, always a local man. Large dusun are broken down

further into tempek: Besakih Kangin has seven (Bangun Sakti, Batu Madeg, Kiduling Kreteg, Batang, Angsoka, Palak, and Kedungdung), and Besakih Kawan has two (Patikala and Kunyit). Each tempek holds a meeting (sangkepan) every 35 days with varying levels of attendance, depending on business. Matters are brought to the attention of the klihan who in turn passes on instructions from the perbekel. Some tempek organizations run savings and loans groups. One of the responsibilities of the klihan dusun is to keep records of all residents within his area, noting births, deaths, marriages, and migration. Although tempek is an old adat term in some parts of Bali, at Besakih it is a recent introduction for administrative purposes and plays no role in adat affairs.

In terms of boundaries, the territory of the administrative village of Besakih stretches from Tukad Esah in the east (Sebudi border) to Tukad Keladian in the west (Pempatan border), north to the summit of the mountain, and south as far as Batusesa, Tegenan and Suukan (Menanga border). The area of the administrative village is 2123 hectares, of which 632 hectares are state forest.<16>

Ecology, Demography, and Settlement Distribution

The topography of this area of Mt. Agung's slopes consists of a series of major and minor ridges separated from one another by the ravines of streams that often cut deep into the soft volcanic soil. These streams comprise the drainage area of a single major river system, that of Tukad Telaga Waja, which in turn flows into Tukad Unda and thence to the sea. Besides being a prominent topographical feature of the area, Tukad Telaga Waja traditionally had important political connotations as well.<17>

Three separate ecological zones characterize the west Karangasem region: the sawah (wet ricefield), dryfield, and forest zones. Height above sea-level is the determining factor in their demarcation. The sawah zone of west Karangasem, which lies between about 400 and 600 metres above sea-level, is intensively cultivated and supports a high population density of 700-800 people per square kilometre. The population is concentrated in five large villages (from east to west: Duda, Selat, Muncan, Rendang and Nongan) and a number of smaller ones, mostly at the upper limits of the zone or straddling the dividing line. The dryfield zone between 600 and 1100 metres supports a lower population density of no more than 300 people per square kilometre. Settlement there is dispersed, the only large village in this zone being Besakih. Since the 1963 eruption this zone has experienced a fairly radical change in agriculture. Dryland rice was completely abandoned owing to thick deposits of volcanic ash, while other subsistence crops, primarily corn, sweet potato, and cassava, are more and more being replaced by orcharding, citrus and cloves almost exclusively. The forest zone, all state land, stretches from about 1100 metres up to the bare summit of the volcano. Agriculture is forbidden by the government.

Besakih territory, which from east to west is a three-hour walk, encompasses the higher reaches of about ten streams and the upper parts of the intervening ridges. Its lower limits lie at an altitude of about 700 meters above sea level. The extensive cultivated portion of Besakih territory (up to 1100 metres) is divided into groups of fields, each group having its own field name. The names change as one ascends a ridge.<18> Field names are continually referred to in daily conversation. Homesteads are now spread widely throughout the area

and if one asks someone where he lives, he will answer by giving the name of the field where his house is located: 'I live at Guwaji' or 'I live at Putung'.

Although in both area and population Besakih is by far the largest village in the dryland zone of west Karangasem, in terms of population density it is typical of the dryland zone, with about 300 people per square kilometre. The great temple complex undoubtedly exerted a powerful centripetal force that could command such an extensive territory, but equally importantly this extensive territory is also due to Besakih's being one of the region's old core villages. Besakih's relatively large population is clear from the earliest available population estimates dating from 1913, when it was said to have 1708 inhabitants, to which should be added a further 133 inhabitants listed under 'Besukihan'.^{<19>} Data probably derived from the 1930 census give Besakih's population as 3523.^{<20>} The problem with these figures is that the boundaries of the census area are not clearly delimited, but they do seem to indicate a marked increase in this short period from 1913 to 1930.^{<21>} The population of the administrative village of Besakih was put at 3973 in 1979/80, 4309 in 1983, and 4599 in 1985.^{<22>}

Although statistics concerning adat villages are not kept by the government, it is possible to make an estimate of the population of the adat village of Besakih. The adat village is divided into eight banjar and the head (klihan) of each banjar keeps a list of members. The total membership is 1010 families. However the banjar lists are not up to date in all cases, so the population is slightly higher than this figure. Since the adat village is roughly co-extensive with the four dusun of Besakih Kangin (496 families/2157 inhabitants), Besakih

Kawan (249/1283), Keladian (203/1029), and Puregae (114/583), the total of 1062 families or 5052 inhabitants gives a rough estimate of the adat population. However this figure is slightly too high, for recent immigrant families, listed in dusun records, are not (or not yet) members of the adat village. A further estimate can also be derived from totalling the memberships of Besakih kin groups which gives a figure of 1051 families. One can not hope to arrive at neat correlations between these sets of figures which are continually changing, but an estimate of Besakih's adat population is about 1030 families or 4900 people.<23>

The villagers live in homesteads dispersed throughout the cultivated lands of the village territory, averaging 289 people (just over 60 families) per square kilometer. In places, homesteads are dispersed randomly, in others they tend to keep close to major paths; some are homes of single families, others form clusters of homes belonging to closely related families. At these chilly altitudes sleeping dwellings and kitchens were frequently one and the same building, with plaited bamboo walls and high steep roofs of bamboo tiles. Occasionally a row of these were placed side by side with a long common courtyard. But the traditional house is vanishing, and now people prefer 'modern' brick and plaster homes roofed with earthenware tiles. Only around the main temples do clusters of homesteads become nucleated settlements (Besakih Tengah, Batu Madeg, and Kiduling Kreteg) with a higher density of population.

Population density and settlement pattern have undergone noteworthy changes during this century. A comparison of earlier population estimates in relation to the land area of the current administrative village indicates that the population density rose from

about 115 persons/km² in 1913, to 236 in 1930, and to 289 today, the slowing of the rate of change being largely due to the considerable outward migration after the 1963 eruption. Changes in settlement pattern have occurred throughout this century. In 1926/1927 Dutch authorities, for reasons of conservation, declared the upper slopes of the mountains above about 1100 meters as state forest, whereas formerly cultivation and homesteads reached to about 1200 meters.<24> Some people simply moved downridge a short distance; in the 1930's others were resettled far to the west at Asahduren (families from Temukus, Kesimpar and Lebih, besides Besakih) and Candi Kuning (families from Batusesa, Pempatan and Bukit Catu/Pule). During the 1930s population pressure at the main settlement of Besakih Tengah led to farmers moving to outlying areas. This was given further impetus during the Japanese occupation; anyone not working his own land (which meant living there) or involved in farming as a fulltime sharecropper was liable to romusha service in the outer islands, from which few survived. From Besakih Tengah many families moved to outlying areas such as Keladian, Cebulik, Puregae, Asah, and Latah. Prior to this, outlying field huts (kubu) were just temporary homes during work periods.

Until 1961 the main Besakih Tengah settlement lay upridge from where it is now. Houses surrounded the lower end of Pura Penataran Agung and stretched downridge, past Pura Basukihan and Pura Banua, to the areas called Pande and Tulak Tanggul, just below Pura Ulun Kulkul. In 1962, in preparation for the great Ekadasa Rudra festival the following year, the provincial government created an area free of houses between Pura Penataran Agung and Pura Ulun Kulkul, and in the immediate vicinity of other public temples outside this area. This

involved the re-allocation of some hundred families. Even pemangku who had always lived beside the temples in their charge had to move. Most families moved to the area between Pura Ulun Kulkul and Pura Manik Mas, which was then for the most part cultivated fields. Others moved to the smaller Batu Madeg and Kiduling Kreteg settlements, while others moved even further afield, especially to Kedungdung and Palak.

Early in 1963 Mt. Agung erupted, and Besakih was almost entirely evacuated. Gradually people began trickling back, some after a few months, some after a year or two, some only after many years away in other parts of Indonesia. Scores of families, especially from Puregae which was devastated by thick ash, elected to transmigrate permanently, most of them to Lampung (Sumatra).

Admittedly, Besakih may have had a more chequered and disruptive history than most villages in Bali. Further study is needed on changes in settlement patterns, but it seems that in villages in the dryfield zone there has been a tendency to change from nucleated settlement to dispersed homesteads. Improved communications such as the building of small access roads have supported this tendency, at the same time leading to an improvement in the local economy.

Agriculture and Economy

All arable land at Besakih is cultivated by dry-farming methods. There are no irrigated rice fields at these altitudes; the closest sawah are located at Tegenan and Batusesa to the south. A total of 613.8 ha. (30%) of the administrative territory of 2123 ha. is state forest, but of the remaining 1491.2 ha., 1263.585 ha. (84.7% of this sub-total or 60% of the total) are cultivated dry fields. Although in area land is extensively farmed, the level of intensification remains

relatively low. Until the 1963 eruption, the mainstay of Besakih's economy was subsistence agriculture centered on dryland rice (gaga), together with corn, sweet potatoes, cassava, black pea (undis) and other minor crops. Field preparation for the rice began around June, planting took place around August and the crop was harvested in late December and early January, the growing season of dryland rice being longer than its irrigated cousins. The eruption changed all this. It covered the land with ash to a depth of half a meter and more; owing to the prevalent winds at the time, to an even greater depth in the western part of the village territory (Puregae, etc). Dryland rice would not grow at all in this ashy soil. Villagers were forced to rely on the minor staples of corn and tubers, buying rice with the meagre returns from the sale of tubers, firewood, or a cow. Circumstances resulting from the eruption led to a radical change towards cash crops, almost exclusively fruit growing.

Coffee, Besakih's first cash crop, was introduced during the 1920s and 1930s, but remained of little significance. A few experimental orchards of citrus fruits were tried by the Dutch, but never developed. In the late 1960s a few progressive farmers again began planting orchards of citrus, for the most part a kind of orange (jeruk peres) suitable for making juice. Only wealthier farmers, mostly from the Arya Bang Sidemen kin group, could cover production costs of seedlings and fertilizer, afford to wait the three or four years till the trees began to produce. The change to fruit growing began at Besakih Tengah, mainly because it was served by a road. The financial returns were impressive, and by 1975 more farmers began planting citrus, though mandarins (semaga) had largely replaced oranges. Indeed, Besakih mandarins gained a good name in the trade,

even as far away as Jakarta. Unfortunately statistics are very unreliable.<25> Now, a majority of farmers have at least some 20 to 30 citrus trees which they tend themselves, and orchards of 50 to 75 trees are not uncommon. The largest orchards are said to reach 500 trees, and require paid labour to look after them. Most farmers sell their crop, usually when it is still on the trees, to local middlemen. During harvest in April and May half a dozen big middlemen sell directly to major trading companies with branches in Bali and Jakarta, where most of the crop is trucked. Small traders and individual farmers supply local outlets in Denpasar. Citrus prices vary with grade and seasonal demand.<26>

However citrus is not the farmers' only cash crop. Although an early effort around 1970 to introduce cloves failed, a few years later in 1976/77, with prices high, cloves became popular, and most farmers, in addition to their citrus trees, planted a similar number of clove trees, while still using part of their land for food crops like corn and tubers. Cloves have the advantage of being very easy to transport and to store, enabling the farmer to withhold his harvest in the hope of better prices, but have the disadvantage of being sensitive to variation in rainfall. However, with the rapid increase in clove production nationally, prices began to drop and in 1983 reached only about Rp.6000 per kilogram, down from a high of Rp.10,000. The most recent cash crop to be tried at Besakih is vanilla. This requires intensive care at times, and although it can yield high profits, it remains to be seen how well it establishes itself.

An essential, or certainly desirable, element in dryland agriculture is the breeding of cattle which provide both traction power and manure. The sale of a cow is also an important source of

income. Whereas most farmers own a cow or two, pigs are of less importance and many farmers do not raise them at all. Everyone keeps chickens.<27>

Besides agriculture, orcharding and animal husbandry, tourism is an important source of income to many families who live in close proximity to the temples. Besakih has been a tourist attraction ever since the road was built in 1931. Before that it took a hardy traveller to walk or ride on horseback up to the temples, and so there are very few early accounts of Besakih. When tourism began picking up in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Besakih again became a tour destination. In the 1980s the number of tourists, foreign and domestic, averaged around 40,000 per year.<28>

The entrepreneurial efforts of the villagers have been stifled to some extent by administrative confusion concerning officially designated parking and kiosk areas.<29> On an average day at the main kiosk area at Manik Mas, there are 15-20 girls and women selling fruit, 10-12 drink and food stalls, and 3-4 kiosks selling clothing, these last being owned by better-off families. The fruit vendors sell local citrus fruit in season, but their staple is the famous Balinese salak which they buy at Sibetan. Along the approachway up to the main temple, some families have built brick and plaster shops or warung on private land, but these serve the locals as much as they do visitors. Tourists provide opportunities not only for vendors. Against regulations, young men on motorbikes carry visitors, for a price, from the carpark up to the temple; some sell their services as local guides; others collect official parking and entrance fees, keeping a fixed amount for themselves. Children sell bananas or provide umbrellas when it rains. A number of men are employed by the

kabupaten government to keep the public areas clean.

Conclusion

As the lower levels of national administrative hierarchy, the administrative village and its constituent hamlets and organizations provide the framework by which government policies and directives are implemented. However, neither the administrative village nor the higher level kecamatan or kabupaten play a significant role in the affairs of Pura Besakih. The heads of government at these levels -- bupati, camat, and perbekel -- have no direct authority in temple affairs. Although some holders of these offices in the past have devoted much time and energy to Pura Besakih, that is not the case in recent years. These levels of national administration are bypassed when temple affairs are concerned. For reasons of historical development, the provincial government, which does involve itself with the temple, deals directly with the adat village of Besakih.

Over the decades the administrative village has gradually taken over certain functions (e.g. village security) that formerly lay within the purview of the customary or adat village. As the role of the adat village in people's lives became confined to matters of a ritual and religious nature, there was a perceived danger that the existence of the adat village might be threatened. However after the 1979 law on village government, Balinese leaders, both religious and civil, began to give more attention to the adat village. They argued that the new law was not in conflict with the continuing existence of the adat village which, they realized, was essential if Bali was to retain its individual character. Furthermore, it lay at the very heart of the continuing existence of Hinduism in Bali; without the

adat village, Bali's temple system would crumble and Hinduism with it. The nature or structure of the adat village forms the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2

THE ADAT VILLAGE

Introduction

The history of change in village organization in Bali, in particular the 20th century development of parallel systems of administrative and adat villages and hamlets, has greatly complicated our understanding of the adat village. Conflation of these systems at certain points (e.g. where administrative and adat hamlets have the same membership and leadership) has tended to even further obscure the structure of village organization. The term adat village arose to distinguish it from the administrative village introduced by the Dutch; prior to that a village was simply called desa.^{<1>} One must be cautious, however, in assuming that Balinese adat villages are some timeless entity; they, too, has their history, even though little is known about it.

There have been several attempts to understand just what the Balinese village community really is and what its role is in political, economic and religious affairs.^{<2>} Dutch scholars, with an eye to colonial administration, conceived it as a legal community with clearly defined rights and powers, essentially autonomous -- hence the idea of the 'village republic'. Variation in the nature of village communities in Bali and the fact that not all villages seemed to have the desa/banjar structure, was interpreted in a speculative historical evolutionary framework, derived from the 'original community' concept.

These Dutch concepts were criticized in the works of C. and H.

Geertz. C.Geertz (1959) developed the concept of seven 'planes of organization' which he considered as essentially separate systems, a position that neglected certain important relationships between and among these planes. H. and C.Geertz (1975) later introduced the concept of 'primary community' into their discussion of the essentially political role of hamlet (banjar) and corporate descent group (dadia) in village affairs.

In a recent critique of studies dealing with Balinese village society, Guermonprez (forthcoming) introduces the concept of 'elementary hierarchical structure'. The main aim of this concept is to unite the desa and the banjar into a single village system having separate levels hierarchically related in the Dumontian sense of relations based on value. Whereas the desa is concerned with vertical relations between man and the invisible world, the banjar is concerned with horizontal relations among men. Thus the desa is of a ritual nature whereas the banjar is seen as civic in nature. In Guermonprez's construct, the ritual level encompasses or is higher in value than the civic.

Besides these concepts of western scholarship concerning Balinese village society, modern Balinese writers have developed their own approach to the adat village, based on the concept tri hita karana, 'three sources of well-being'. The term, which is not found in classic Hindu writings despite its Sanskrit name, first appeared only in 1966, but has since become of great importance and is enshrined in modern village regulations (awig-awig). Starting from a basic trilogy of Divinity-humankind-natural world (Sanghyang Widhi - manusia-alam), analogous trilogies are found in other aspects of Balinese culture, such as village, family, irrigation society, market, even school.<3>

In the case of the adat village, the analogous trilogy is temple-members-territory (kahyangan desa-krama desa-palemahan desa), which may be glossed as the religious component, the social component and the spatial component of the adat village. Hindu-based interpretation emphasizes the religious nature of the adat village. In the words of one high religious official:

"Religion (agama) is the spirit that gives life to the adat village (desa adat); as the spirit is to the body, so religion is to the adat village, two aspects that cannot be separated, two aspects that give life to each other, two aspects whose relationship is so intimately intertwined that religion permeates and invigorates every activity of the adat village" (Putra n.d.:102).

Such a religious-oriented view is not mere modern reinterpretation but reflects the encompassing role of religion in the structure of the adat village. A crucial function of the adat village is to mediate between its human members and the unseen world of gods, spirits and ancestors, and to ensure that the relationship is one of harmony and balance. In such a religious view of life, harmony between divine and human realms is the absolute prerequisite for the prosperity and well-being of human society, a view foreign to modern western society. The importance of village temples and rituals and the often religious rather than political nature of the authority of village elders stems from this religious basis of the adat village. The hierarchical relations between man and the gods and between man and underworldly powers of the earth are of central importance to the structure of the adat village.

While it is important to emphasize this religious-based hierarchical structure, the more utilitarian aspects of village organization cannot be neglected. Without regulations, property and finances, the village simply could not function. A glance at the mass

of legalistic inscriptions, charters, regulations, and even inter-state agreements demonstrate Balinese attention to such matters throughout their history.

The three aspects of the adat village emphasized in the tri hita karana concept -- religious component, social component, and spatial component -- provides a convenient framework in which to discuss the adat village. I am concerned here not so much with the unchanging essence of village society in its totality but with historically contingent aspects of the village. In other words, I am less interested in the basic structure that might underly village variation, but in how and why villages are different. Also, these aspects interpenetrate, giving rise to a complex of relationships among them, and it is indeed relationships that are the real object of study. Through a comparative study of these aspects or relationships in villages throughout the region, I try to locate variation in village structure within a sociological and historical framework.

Temples and Rituals of the Adat Village

The adat village is often characterized as a religious community possessing the three communal temples called tiga kahyangan, the 'three sanctuaries' -- pura puseh, pura desa or pura bale agung, and pura dalem.^{<4>} Brahmanic tradition in Bali links the 'three sanctuaries' with the Hindu trinity: the pura puseh is the sanctuary of Brahma, the Creator; the pura desa/bale agung that of Wisnu, the Preserver; and the pura dalem that of Siwa, the Destroyer. In village tradition, however, the gods are generally thought of as local

deities, addressed simply by title: Ratu Puseh or Ratu Dalem, qualified if necessary by the name of the village. Their powers too were conceived as only local in extent.

Pura puseh, 'temple of origin' (puseh, navel), commemorates the founding of the village as the origin-point of a territorial entity, and is associated with the collectivity of deified village founders. Pura desa, 'temple of the village community', or pura bale agung, 'temple of the meeting hall', commemorates the living community which sees to the material and spiritual well-being of its members. Pura dalem, 'temple of the mighty one', commemorates the god of death, the god of magic power, who is likened to Siwa and especially to his spouse Durga, to whose realm the dead of the village must pass.

Besides links to Hindu triads, the 'three sanctuaries' are linked to other important triads, such as ulu-tengah-teben, 'upper end-center-lower end', itself closely linked to the anatomical triad of head-body-legs and to the directions kaja and kelod. In keeping with this the temples are located within the village as follows: pura puseh at the upper (kaja) end, pura desa/bale agung at the center of the village, and pura dalem at the lower (kelod) end.

A great many villages do have three separate sanctuaries, but not the villages of west Karangasem. There the core village temples are two in number: pura puseh and pura dalem. The widespread occurrence of the 'two sanctuaries' can hardly be considered a series of mere exceptions. The 'two sanctuaries' system may be an older system, or perhaps a regional variation. Since a bale agung is generally found within the pura puseh, this temple is not infrequently called pura puseh bale agung. So even when there are physically only two temples, the concept of the 'three sanctuaries' can still be made to fit.

In west Karangasem the general rule is that a village has one pura puseh and at least one pura dalem. In the framework of Balinese thought, it is easy to fit the 'two sanctuaries' into the wide-ranging dual classification system, especially with such pairs as sky-earth and male-female. For the region as a whole I will examine these two temples in turn.

Pura Puseh

The pura puseh, located at the top or kaja end of the village, is orientated either kaja-ke lod or kangin-kauh, and consists of either one or two courtyards. Besides the entrance-ways, either in the form of kori or candi bentar, there are two main groups of buildings -- the shrines and the pavilions. The pavilions include, in most cases, a bale agung (sometimes two) which serves as the meeting hall for village members, a bale gong for the orchestra, a bale pasamuhan or bale paruman which is the meeting hall of the temple's deities at times of ceremony, and various lesser structures.

Shrines are arranged in two rows, one across the top end of the temple and one down the eastern side, meeting at the kaja-kangin corner. The main shrine, generally oriented in accordance with that of the temple, is dedicated to Ratu Gede Puseh. This building is either a three-roofed meru or a kehen. The latter, a particularly interesting kind of building found almost exclusively in west Karangasem, is rectangular in plan and has six main posts and three roofs; a meru, to which it is so similar, is square in plan, built on four posts. A structure of the kehen type, oriented to the east, serves as the main shrine of a number of pura puseh in west Karangasem: Duda, Selat, Macetra, Muncan, Sangkan Gunung.<5> A

similar structure is also found in Besakih's Pura Penataran Agung. These west Karangasem villages are either definitely or very likely old villages (pre-14th century). The presence of a kehen seems to indicate such antiquity.

Besides the main shrine dedicated to Ratu Gede Puseh, certain other shrines are common to most pura puseh of the region while others are local in nature. Temple priests and adat leaders can name the deities enshrined, but the average villager generally knows only more important ones. Among shrines of widespread distribution are the sanggar agung, a high stone seat honouring the god of Mt. Agung, and a low open seat or altar (bebaturan) dedicated to Ratu Dasar ('Base, Foundation'), a deity associated with the earth or underworld.<6> Their proximity to one another in the kaja-kangin corner expresses the important duality of upperworld and lowerworld, the sky and the earth. Among shrines of the upridge row are shrines to Dewi Sri, goddess of rice, and Rambut Sadana, lord of wealth and money, as well as the manjangan seluang, the shrine with the deer head or antlers.<7> These shrines honour deities that are common to Bali as a whole, 'general' deities as it were. Others honour regional or local gods.

Other shrines in a pura puseh honour deities that are specific to a particular village or that have a wider regional distribution, suggesting an adat relationship of some kind or other. The existence of regional deities might signify expansion from a point of common origin or the introduction of the worship of a deity by a higher political or religious authority. The pura puseh of Suhukan provides a good example: the founders of the village originated from Blatung (Batusesa) and so in their new temple set up shrines honouring their ancestor Dukuh Blatung. Other examples are deities enshrined in the

pura bale agung of Pengotan in upland Bangli, who are related to deities of the Pemuteran area, and the deity called Ratu Ayu Mas Maolet who appears to be a local deity of the upper Ban area between Gunung Agung and Gunung Batur.<8>

Although the village founders are honoured collectively at the main shrine of the pura puseh, it occasionally happens that a particular named ancestor is the chief deity. At Kubakal the main shrine of the pura puseh, in this case a seven-roofed meru, is dedicated to Ratu Ngurah Kubakal (a five-roofed meru honours his wife), who is considered the ancestor of the descent group called Pasek Kubakal.<9> No Pasek Kubakal members live at Kubakal now. Although the village community is responsible for the pura puseh's main yearly festival, Pasek Kubakal families as well as people from neighbouring villages attend and bring offerings. The temple has a dual function: pura puseh for the village, pura kawitan (ancestral kin group temple) for the kin group. Another example of this arrangement is at nearby Waringin where the problem of whether the village or the kin group owns the pura puseh has led to dispute and litigation. Recently the kin group (Kyayi Parembu branch of the Arya Kuta Waringin kin group) gained control; a memoranda on lontar leaf mentions a very similar dispute as long ago as 1813.<10>

Besides kinds of temple shrines and identities of deities the rituals held at the pura puseh tell us a great deal about adat relationships among villages. These are expressed primarily at the temple's main yearly festival, the usaba, which falls in almost all cases on the full moon of the fourth or fifth lunar month. On these occasions members or representatives of neighbouring villages having special relationships with the core village attend the ritual and

bring offerings, and sometimes their gods also. The ceremonies at Besakih involving the pragunung villages of Besakih is a case in point. Such ceremonies are an important source of information for understanding the historical development of adat villages.

In this regard it is necessary to distinguish between pura puseh and pura panti. Pura panti is a rather confusing term, as it has different connotations in different regions. <11> In Karangasem, and perhaps elsewhere, a pura panti develop in settlements that have quasi-autonomy from their core village. Since the members of such settlements still recognize origin from the core village by retaining ritual ties to its pura puseh, they honour their own founders in their pura panti, which at the same time signifies a distinct locality. Within Besakih territory there are several settlements possessing pura panti that have not developed into separate adat villages.

Pura Dalem

Balinese intellectuals, in characterizing the adat village, maintain that a pura dalem and its accompanying cemetery (setra or sema) is a minimum requirement. Although this is indeed the case, not infrequently an adat village possesses more than one pura dalem. For example, Batusesa and Blatung are separate hamlets, the former with a pura puseh, the latter with a pura panti, but they have a common pura dalem setra and consider themselves a single adat village. In contrast to this, one finds rare examples of two villages sharing a pura dalem. Menanga and Buyan, each of which has its own pura puseh, have a pura dalem setra in common, and yet each considers itself a separate adat village.

Although Batusesa has only the one pura dalem setra, in the

hamlet of Blatung there is another temple which is also called a pura dalem or pura dalem suci to distinguish it from the pura dalem setra. A pura dalem suci is not associated with a cemetery nor with rites for the dead, but instead is associated with the earth, fertility, and agriculture. There is a relationship between these two kinds of pura dalem, for the deities of death and of fertility, Durga and Pretiwi, are in one sense aspects of a single female principle. In west Karangasem, Tegenan and Padangaji, for example, also have both kinds of pura dalem. Pura dalem exist in many villages in Bali (Gelgel, Tabola/Sidemen, Tonja etc.) that are not associated with cemeteries and never have been.

On the other hand there are several adat villages with more than one pura dalem setra. Temukus, a complex little village, has two pura dalem, each supported by its own portion of the village community (Temukus Kajanan and Temukus Kelodan). If one includes Tarib in Temukus, there are three pura dalem setra, each temple with its own cemetery. In the Selat area, Macetra also has two pura dalem setra, one at Macetra itself, the other at its offshoot settlement of Seledumi; both settlements support the one pura puseh at Macetra. The complex problem of Besakih's pura dalem, of which there are several, is also associated with the distinction between pura dalem setra and pura dalem suci.

Unlike the pura puseh, the shrines of a pura dalem setra are virtually the same everywhere, essentially a single large brick gedong, a couple of subsidiary shrines and a couple of pavilions. The main shrine, the gedong, is dedicated to Ratu Bhatara Dalem who is identified with Bhatari Durga. In west Karangasem most pura dalem setra have ceremonies in both calendrical cycles, an usaba every lunar

year and an odalan or patirtayan every wuku year of 210 days. A surprising number of odalan fall on the day Wednesday-Wage of the week Kelau, for reasons unknown to me. The usaba is the bigger ceremony and a particularly important one in most villages. Sometimes, as at Besakih and elsewhere, it is associated with a series of other rituals emphasizing fertility and agriculture.

In summary, an adat village normally has one pura puseh and at least one pura dalem setra, and very often a number of other communal temples such as pura panti and pura dalem suci. In this region, there are settlements that are not adat villages but which have a pura panti and a pura dalem suci, even a pura dalem setra.

Often associated with these two main communal temples is an important distinction of ritual responsibilities, especially when there exists differentiated categories of membership in the village. As a general rule, all members have a responsibility for the enactment of ritual at the pura dalem and of the village purification sacrifice, whereas only core members are responsible for the enactment of rituals at the pura puseh. Thus, the sacred dimension of the hierarchy of differentiated categories of membership culminating in the body of village elders is directed towards the deity of the pura puseh. In contrast to this, the nature of the relationship between all village members and the pura dalem is egalitarian rather than hierarchical. Towards the divine source of village origin, relative proximity is reckoned through hierarchy. Towards the realm of death, all are equal and all responsible. To understand this distinction of ritual responsibility it is necessary first to examine the social component of the adat village.

Social Organization of the Adat Village

Krama Desa

The members of an adat village are collectively called the krama desa. As a rule, the married couple is the essential unit of membership. Particular tasks and duties are assigned to the couple, according to a clear division of labour and responsibility. Membership in the krama desa may be differentiated according to one or both of two different systems. One is differentiation into categories of membership, the other into banjar (a virtually untranslatable term most often glossed as 'hamlet'). The relationships between the parts and the whole is both complex and open to considerable variation from village to village such that the presumed essential structure has been variously interpreted.

Taking categories of membership first, one can say that in all villages, probably without exception, members of the krama desa are differentiated into at least two categories -- active members and retired members. Retirement from active membership may result from rules of membership (e.g. a couple retires when their youngest son marries and becomes a member), from physical incapacity, occasionally from dire poverty, or from the death of a spouse.

Concerning active members, in some villages no further differentiation occurs. All members enjoy equal rights and responsibilities. In many villages, however, active members are further differentiated into core members (krama pangarep, sometimes krama bulangkep) and subsidiary members (various terms, among them krama pangele, krama sampingan). In such villages, the core members are generally the present owners/users of land over which the village

exercises certain rights, such as communally-owned residential land (karang desa) or agricultural land (tanah ayahan).^{<12>} When such land rights are the determining feature of core membership, the number of core members is fixed, equivalent to the number of karang desa compounds or plots of tanah ayahan. As a general rule, villages which distinguish categories of active members have karang desa or tanah ayahan lands, though the reverse is not always true. Although core members often tend to be, or are considered as, descendants of original settlers, such is not always so, as the case of Selat demonstrates, where tanah ayahan is the determining factor.

Being a core member brings with it certain rights and duties. It grants the member the right to sit in the bale agung at village meetings and ceremonies, and to be eligible, in course of time, to certain village leadership positions. Obligations, stemming from the use or ownership of communal lands, are primarily the enactment of rituals at certain village temples, notably the pura puseh. Indeed, the existence of differentiated categories of membership in a village is generally associated with a distinction of ritual responsibilities with regard the two main village temples.

The rights and obligations of the categories of members of the krama desa are laid down in village regulations called awig-awig which are either written documents or entirely oral bodies of customary law. The oldest pre-date the coming of the Dutch. Despite the conservative nature of customary law, changes do occur over time; in written awig-awig one finds additional regulations supplementing or replacing earlier ones.^{<13>}

Regulations on all manner of administrative, social and religious matters are generally accompanied by penalties, usually fines, for

breaking the rules. Against recalcitrant members sanctions of increasing weight can be applied, from multiple fining to social ostracism, and in extreme cases expulsion. One important right whose withdrawal can be used as a powerful sanction is the right of burial and cremation at the village cemetery. In some recent adat disputes in Bali the village's refusal to allow burial was enforced by physical means, and outside 'mediation' by government and religious authorities became necessary. All categories of members enjoy the right of burial in the village cemetery, including of course retired members soon to use that right. Whereas ritual responsibility towards the pura puseh may be restricted to core members, the ceremonies at the pura dalem are the responsibility of all members. Formerly at Besakih the yearly purificatory sacrifices (caru) at the two main cemeteries were the responsibility solely of the retired members. Apart from that they were free of other obligations.

The members (krama desa) of an adat village discuss matters of common interest and upcoming events at meetings which may or may not be held at regularly intervals. It depends a lot on the size of the village. If a large village comprises a number of banjars, more commonly, as at Besakih, affairs of the adat village are looked after by officials of the adat village, leaders of banjars, and temple priests, without calling meetings of all members. At Besakih a meeting of all members has not been held for a long time.

Banjar

The distinction between adat and administrative village is paralleled by a similar distinction with regard to the banjar. In some parts of Bali the distinction between adat and administrative

banjar was not of major significance, especially when the two aspects were fused (Warren, forthcoming). The distinction, however, is very important at Besakih where the term banjar is generally used in its adat sense.

In trying to understand the relationship between village and banjar, it is first of all necessary to be quite clear about the period under discussion, pre-colonial or post-traditional. After Dutch reforms led to the adat-administration distinction, the banjar dinas was a sub-division of the administrative village, with a clear chain of command. In the adat village the relationship between banjar and village is not so easily characterized. Guermonprez (forthcoming) has recently argued that they are linked through a hierarchy of value, with the corollary that the banjar is a necessary element in the structure of the adat village. If this is so, and future research will show whether it is or not, one should talk of 'one-banjar' villages rather than say that villages are not divided into banjar. In Bali there are hundreds of adat villages of the one-banjar kind, mainly, it would seem, because of size of population, though other factors also play a role.

Of the some 52 adat villages in west Karangasem, 39 are one-banjar villages, seven comprise either two or three banjars, and only six have more than three. With the exception of Besakih, villages with more than three banjars are all located in the upper sawah zone, while one-banjar villages are mostly located in the dryland zone. In this region one-banjar villages, such as Sukaluwih or Yeh Aa, have populations up to 100 families and more. Badeg Tengah, however, with only some 65 families, comprises two banjars owing to the physical separation of settlements.

The leadership structure of the banjar is of the klihan type: in charge, and responsible to the members who chose him, is the klihan banjar, assisted by a secretary and treasurer, or by just a single assistant. The banjar is a corporate body with its own membership (krama banjar), its own body of regulations (awig-awig banjar, which are rarely written), and financial autonomy. At Besakih, its members are ipso facto members of the adat village. There is, however, no differentiation into core and subsidiary members. The banjar is generally localized, the exceptions arising when membership is based on kin group status (e.g. banjar triwangsa) or, in a special case like Besakih, on temple affiliation.

The function of the Besakih banjar is almost exclusively as a temple-support organization, which in other parts of Bali is frequently called pemaksan. Outsiders involved in Besakih affairs have recently introduced this term, but I shall continue to use the older term banjar. This throws into clearer relief the distinctive characteristics of the banjar at Besakih in comparison with the banjar of other Balinese villages.

The adat village of Besakih is divided into eight banjar: Penataran Kanginan, Penataran Kawan, Banua Kanginan, Banua Kawan, Batu Madeg, Kiduling Kreteg, Basukihan, and Ulun Kulkul. Textual evidence indicates that although the number of banjar has not changed, some names have and so presumably have some aspects of organization. <14> Now, the banjars at Besakih, unlike those in most parts of Bali, are not localized or territorial entities. Their members are spread, in varying degree, throughout the village territory, though there is a tendency for the members of a banjar to be concentrated in two or three neighbouring residential localities (tempek). In the past fifty

or so years there has been so much movement of people within the village territory that it is impossible to determine whether the banjars were once localized entities. Dispersal of banjar members may be a recent phenomenon, but this is not certain.

There is also a tendency for members of a dadia to be members of one banjar, or at least to be concentrated in one banjar. Indeed two banjar, Banua Kanginan and Banua Kawan, are made up entirely of members of dadia Pasek Pejengan and Pasek Gaduh respectively. <15> Banjar Ulun Kulkul comprises all members of Arya Bang Sidemen kin group, together with most of dadia Pande, besides a handful of newcomers. The other five banjar include members from seven to eleven different dadia. However, since the residences of members of a dadia themselves have a tendency to be concentrated in a particular locality, as do banjar, it follows that dadia members tend to be concentrated in one banjar. <16>

There are two kinds of banjar membership: krama banjar and penyada. In general in Bali, soon after a man marries he is required to become a member of a banjar, and that at least in theory is what happens at Besakih as well. Each banjar has its own enrolment day for new banjar members (e.g. the holy day Kuningan). An exception is sometimes made for a newly married younger/youngest son who is still living at his father's residence, if his father is still a full banjar member. At Besakih where banjar are not localized, a man almost always enters the same banjar as his father. However it is possible, though very rare, for a man to change his banjar affiliation, should his residence be distant from those of any group of banjar members. Newcomers to the village or former members returning after a long absence must make special application to the village governing body

before being assigned banjar affiliation.

A penyada is a retired member of a banjar who is exempt from nearly all banjar duties. This status comes about in two ways: a couple advanced in age or suffering ill-health become penyada, or, after the death of either spouse, the surviving spouse becomes penyada, particularly if he or she is elderly. A widow or widower, still strong and healthy and having his or her own house, often will combine with a grown but unmarried son or daughter (or occasionally with some other co-resident close relative) and remain as a full member. A penyada is exempt from cash contributions for ceremonies for which the banjar is responsible, with the one exception, the yearly cemetery purification sacrifice (caru ulun setra), a demonic cleansing ceremony rather than a mortuary ritual. Formerly, since it was thought a penyada would before long be laid to rest in the cemetery, the purification sacrifices at both Besakih cemeteries were financed entirely by the penyada from the eight banjar, but this was thought too burdensome, and instead two banjar are now given the responsibility; penyada from these two banjar do still contribute, but not those from the other banjar.

Banjar officials are chosen from amongst the full members, the krama banjar, and are either two or three in number. The titles of the officials are parallel to those of the village officials: klihan banjar, wakil klihan banjar who acts as secretary, and in those banjar that do not have a third official treasurer, as treasurer also. These officials are assisted by a number of saya; each saya is in charge of a group of members who live close to one another. These groups vary in number from as few as three to as many as thirteen. Instructions from banjar officials are given to the saya who pass them on to their

members. Unlike many banjar in Bali, the saya at Besakih are not regularly rotated, but are relatively permanent positions.

A banjar should hold a regular meeting (sangkepan) every 35 days, and some banjar do (e.g. Banua Kanginan, Banua Kawan, Batu Madeg), but others (e.g. Kiduling Kreteg) have not held banjar meetings in many months, even more than a year. The reason for this laxity is connected with the role of the banjar in temple management. In contrast to most banjar in Bali, those at Besakih are not involved in mortuary rituals which have always been the concern of the kin group.<17> Formerly, however, the banjar did have other activities. Until the late 1960s banjar were responsible for the cleanliness of public temples in their charge, this task being done at the time of routine banjar meetings which formerly were all held on the same day, Saturday-Kliwon (Tumpek). Written memoranda dating from the turn of the century indicate that banjar were involved in a greater range of both ritual and secular activities than at present. Now at Besakih, banjar activities are restricted to the enactment of particular rituals for which the banjar is responsible (Chapter 9).

Village Leadership

Throughout the island two basic forms of formal village leadership exist, which I shall call the dulun desa ('body of elders') type and the 'klihan' type. These two types tend to have sacred and civic functions respectively. Frequently they co-exist.

It is in connection with pura puseh and bale agung that the body of village elders or dulun desa play a leading role. The priestly functions of these elders express most clearly the sacred values attached to the adat village. In villages where differentiated

categories of members culminate in a body of village elders, one might even regard this body of elders as itself a special category, in which case a hierarchical relationship among categories appears to be an essential element in its structure. This is so no matter by what mechanism the elders are determined, whether the positions are hereditary, elected or chosen, or the result of duration of membership. Indeed the village elders are themselves hierarchically ranked through their seating positions in the bale agung and/or through other mechanisms.

Dutch scholars considered the existence of a body of elders as a hallmark of the ancient Balinese village. Using a wider range of data throughout a single region, in west Karangasem this does seem the case. The two villages in west Karangasem of proven antiquity -- Selat and Pemuteran -- both have bodies of elders, while other presumed old villages like Muncan do also.

The body of elders at Selat are six in number: Jero Pasek assisted by two Jero Panyarikan, Jero Kabayan, Jero Juru and Jero Ngukuhin. <18> As a group they are called Para Empu, and each has a fixed seat in the bale agung. The task of Jero Pasek is largely administrative, especially with regard to village and temple lands (tanah ayahan etc), and it is his stewardship over land that traditionally made him a key official in the administration of Pura Besakih. Jero Ngukuhin, considered his younger brother, is caretaker of temple possessions and organizer of ceremonies. The tasks of Jero Kabayan and Jero Juru, likewise considered a pair of brothers, relate more to ritual, and in keeping with this fact they are chosen by temple medium, rather than being hereditary like the pasek and ngukuhin. The actual performance of ritual and the presentation of

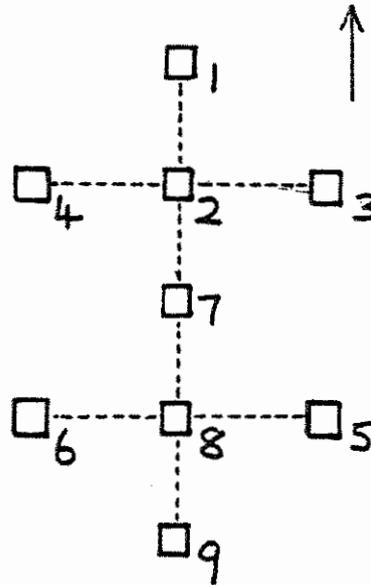
offerings is carried out by the sedahan desa who is equivalent to a village pemangku.

At Pemuteran the body of elders is also six in number: pasek, mucuk, kabayan, mangku, catu and panyarikan. These six men together with ten penyangki sit in the bale agung. Core members of the village own the 80 plots of tanah ayahan.<19>

The body of elders at Muncan, which I consider one of the old core villages, is called collectively the Sapta Bhujangga, the 'seven learned men': kabayan, bandesa, taki, ngukuhin, salahin, dangka and pangikut (or pangitut). These are all hereditary positions, divided among three kin groups. When a ceremony requires the sacrifice of a buffalo, each official receives a specific portion of the beast, a custom which indicates the ranks of each official.<20>

At Besakih, the equivalent of the body of elders found at other old villages is the group of nine official pemangku, each having a special title. During the yearly Bhatara Turun Kabeh at Pura Penataran Agung and at certain other ceremonies, the nine pemangku perform their distinctive ajang (or kawas) ritual, for which they seat themselves in prescribed positions, according to title (Fig. 2.1).<21> Traditionally, each title was handed down within a particular descent group, but during this century some changes have occurred in this system.<22> The spatial structure of these nine positions appears to be based on the shape of a (splayed-out) buffalo, five positions down the centre from head to tail, the four others on the sides as limbs. This example, together with that of Muncan, suggests that the symbolism of the buffalo is common to such groups of elders, though expressed in different ways.<23>

Fig. 2.1 Besakih's Official Pemangku: Sitting Positions, Titles, and Descent Groups.



Title	Kin Group	<u>Urip</u>	
1. I Gusti Mangku Sidemen	Arya Bang Sidemen	11	(9)
2. I Gusti Ngurah Kabayan	Arya Bang Sidemen	9	(9)
3. Mangku Tincap	Pasek Gelgel (I)	7/8	(8)
4. Mangku Tinggi	Pasek Tangkeban	7/8	(8)
5. Mangku Patuh	Pasek Brejo	7	(7)
6. Mangku Pageh	Pasek Kayu Selem (I)	7	(7)
7. Mangku Dangka	Bali Mula	5	(5)
8. Mangku Gaduh	Pasek Gaduh	3	(3)
9. Mangku Pejengan	Pasek Pejengan	1	(1)

Note 1: The kin groups (second column) are discussed further in Chapter 5.

Note 2: The term urip (third column) refers to a mystical number associated with each pemangku. In the ajang ritual, each pemangku receives a specific number of portions of different kinds of meat, the number corresponding to the pemangku's urip. The word itself means 'life'. It is an important concept in Balinese thought and ritual. The left column of numbers are based on observation (note variation in two instances). The right column of numbers in brackets are derived from a textual source ('Taur Ekadasa Rudra', Balai Bahasa Singaraja: 44.14-45.8)

Besides this structural relationship between bodies of elders, some of the Besakih pemangku titles are found among the names of elders elsewhere. The kabayan is common throughout Bali, tinggi is found in a number of villages, dangka is known at nearby Muncan, pageh and patuh are mentioned in old village regulations from Batusesa; indeed pageh and gaduh (or their verbal derivatives) are often used in the sense of 'upholding' village regulations and authority.<24> Other titles seem to be unique to Besakih.

Nowhere in the Raja Purana texts is the structure of Besakih's leadership succinctly described -- these texts are not treatises but collections of memoranda -- but in passing they mentions several times the two leading pemangku, known either as Anglurah Mangku and Anglurah Kabayan or as Mangku ring Lor and Mangku Kidul respectively. The latter titles reflect the dualistic structure of the complex (Chapter 6). Of their assistants, there is an interesting passage in one text (RPII:1.14): "Ki Pageh, Ki Patuh, Ki Pincat [Tincap], pinih tua ring Gunung Agung", where pinih tua may mean the 'oldest' in terms of origin or the 'most senior' in terms of hierarchy. Ki Pejengan is also mentioned, but not the others.<25>

In west Karangasem, villages with elaborate groups of elders are few in number, and would all seem to be old core villages. In place of a body of elders, several other villages have just one or two officials, who generally bear the title kabayan, with a similar sort of sacred function.<26> In those remaining villages which do not have such officials, sacred functions are in the hands of the temple pemangku. Civic aspects of leadership in almost all adat villages in west Karangasem is in the hands of the official called klihan desa or klihan adat, which may be either an elected or hereditary position,

depending on the village. Often an assistant or wakil klihan adat is appointed, who may in fact be the de facto wielder of power in adat matters. Assisting the klihan is a village secretary, the panyarikan (from carik, 'write') often these days called sekretaris, and generally a treasurer or bendahara, these last two terms showing the influence of modern Indonesian organizational structures. The klihan type of village leadership appears to be no older than the Gelgel period (post-1400), although it does not necessarily mean that a village with such leadership is no older than that.

At Besakih, the chief village official, the klihan desa or klihan adat, is assisted by a deputy (wakil klihan desa), a secretary (sekretaris) and a treasurer (bendahara). At present (1984), klihan and wakil klihan, who are cousins, and the secretary are all from the Arya Bang Sidemen kin group. Traditionally, it would seem, this kin group, the only one of high caste (triwangsa) status at Besakih, was dominant in village administration, and members of the group were klihan in the early decades of this century.<27> From about 1930 through to the 1960s, providing continuity during a period of great changes, the position was held by I Nengah Intaran from a Pasek kin group (Pasek Gelgel II), then, under his aegis, by his nephew I Nengah Subrata (with two brief interludes of acting klihan from the Dukuh Seganing kin group). The present klihan, I Gusti Ngurah, was elected in 1974. The present wakil klihan, I Gusti Ngurah Arjawa, although subordinate in theory, is in fact the more influential of the two men, and the more knowledgable.

At Besakih, village affairs are for the most part conducted by a special governing body which does not have its own name; I call it, for convenience, the village's 'adat council'. It holds a meeting

(sangkepan) every 35 days on the day Wednesday-Wage, under the chairmanship of the klihan desa. The membership of this council consists of the following groups of people:

- 1) officials of the adat village -- klihan desa, wakil klihan desa, secretary and treasurer;
- 2) banjar officials, either two or three men from each of the eight banjar;
- 3) official pemangku of the public temples, including deputy pemangku of the three big temples;
- 4) representatives of the four special catur lawa temples;
- 5) officials of the administrative village -- perbekel and klihan dinas (in practice, the present perbekel never attends, and of the four klihan dinas only one sometimes attends).

In all, the council is reckoned at 40 members, but this is not a fixed number honoured by long tradition.<28> Attendance at most meetings varies between 20 and 30 people. After a brief opening ritual, financial affairs are first dealt with, then the meeting turns to the main item of business which invariably involves the organization of ceremonies at the public temples, particularly those which are the responsibility of the adat village alone.<29> Sometimes other matters come up for deliberation at these meetings. At one meeting a number of men requested to become full members of the adat village and banjar; in this case it was decided that official letters of residence from a klihan dusun were required before adat membership could be considered. Anyone with a particular problem may come and put his case to the meeting, as happened one time in a dispute over title to land used as part of the village cemetery. The meeting passed this thorny problem over to the perbekel on the grounds that

land disputes were essentially a government matter. Very occasionally a representative from Parisada Hindu Dharma Pusat or the Prawartaka Pura Besakih attends a meeting when certain matters must be discussed with village officials. Besides attending routine village meetings, the klihan or wakil klihan desa have certain other responsibilities, such as attending special oath-taking rituals and authorizing burials.<30>

Village as Territorial or Spatial Entity

Administrative villages have territories with clearly defined boundaries. Adat villages, on the other hand, are not so easily defined in this regard, yet their spatial or territorial aspect and the relationship to land are important. The relationship between (members of the) adat village and land or territory is partly jural and partly ritual in nature. Although boundaries are not always exactly demarcated but tend to shade off into those of neighbouring villages, an adat village may be regarded as a territorial entity. A man living too far away from his home village normally will become a member of the village where he then resides. It is only along the boundaries that there tends to be an overlap of membership in different villages.

In ancient times, boundaries seem to have been of undoubted significance. Old inscriptions up until the end of the 14th century always clearly demarcate village boundaries, the boundary directions being given in either the Balinese system (kadya/kaja, kelod, kanjin, kawuh/karuh) or the Old Javanese system (wetan, kidul, kulon/kulwan,

lor).^{<31>} Boundaries are usually geographical features, especially rivers and hills, as well as named locations. For example, the edict of Kanuruhan (Selat) declares that "the boundaries of the village in the four directions are fixed (as follows): in the east as far as Air Anipi, in the south as far as Air Patal, in the west as far as Air Langgrung, and in the north as far as Bukit Tulangkir" (PB 625:VIIa.1-2).

In the case of Pemuteran, its boundaries are mentioned in documents from three periods of its history: first, in considerable detail in a 12th century edict, then in shortened form but essentially unchanged in the edict of Abang (1384), and again in an undated lontar charter which details the division of the territory into two parts, Panguteran or Pemuteran in the west and Gragah in the east.^{<32>}

In traditional village regulations (awiq-awiq), the term wewengkon gumi or just gumi refers to village territory.^{<33>} The territory of at least some adat villages is clearly demarcated and may also be marked out through ritual.^{<34>} However, I do not want to over-emphasize this matter of boundaries, for at the present day they do not appear to be of great significance. Furthermore, village territory is often defined in terms of the centre rather than the periphery, in particular with reference to the bale agung (asengker bale agung) or meeting pavilion of village members.^{<35>} This emphasizes the relationship between the spatial and human components of the adat village. Territory in this sense was clearly susceptible to change over a timespan of centuries, depending on population expansion, natural events and the decisions of political authorities.^{<36>} On this basis of settlement distribution, the territory of the adat village of Besakih extends from Tukad Dalem in

the east to Tukad Lantang in the west, thus inclusive of Keladian and Puregae which are outside the boundaries of the administrative village of Besakih.

In terms of rights over land, different categories of land tenure each has specific rights and obligations pertaining to it, over which the village community exercises varying degrees of control.

Tanah kasuqihan

This, the largest of the land categories in terms of area, is privately-owned land, and forms the most important component of a person's wealth (kasuqihan). Such land is inherited by the heirs of the owner. Depending on the village, owners of tanah kasuqihan may pay contributions to certain communal rituals (e.g. caru kasanga), and sometimes support minor non-communal temples located in the vicinity of their land, but this land is otherwise free of adat obligations to the village.

Karang desa

Karang desa ('village compound') land is residential land owned by the village community which exercises rights of disposal and eviction over it. This land cannot be bought and sold. In some villages, occupancy of karang desa is granted only to the village's core members whose rights and obligations are fully detailed in village charters (awiq-awiq). Obligations are generally ritual in nature, such as responsibility for the enactment of particular rituals. Karang desa in those villages that have it consists of a fixed number of residential plots. Present occupancy of karang desa need not necessarily reflect kingroup affiliation of the original

founding settlers, for if a family dies out and a compound becomes empty the community can grant occupancy rights to whomever it wishes, in theory at least. In many cases, however, it probably does reflect that affiliation.

An interesting case of karang desa is that of Batusesa, a village contiguous to Besakih, which owns 33 compound plots, now divided among members of ten descent groups (dadia). The obligations imposed on the occupants of these compounds are paid not to a village temple, as is usually the case, but to Pura Besakih; men of Batusesa carry the palanquin of Bhatara Lingsir (Ratu Maspahit) when the gods of Besakih go for their ritual bathing (malasti). Formerly Besakih also possessed karang desa, but in 1962 the residential area of the village was moved away from its original location around the lower end of the main temple, and the old karang desa land became public land. Compounds of present residences are all privately owned.

Tanah ayahan

Tanah ayahan is agricultural land associated with specific rights and obligations, called ayahan or service. The obligation is due either to the village or to the specific temple that has these special rights over it. Although this land is privately-owned in that it can be bought and sold, the obligation levied on it is transferred to the new buyer. In government land registers such land is listed as privately-owned, the ayahan obligation being a matter of custom, not of law. Tanah ayahan, which as a percentage of total village land area varies considerably, is divided into a number of ayahan plots, each plot requiring one unit of service. If a single ayahan plot is now owned by two or more owners, they either take turns in providing

that service or come to some other arrangement among themselves. In west Karangasem most villages have tanah ayahan.^{<37>}

A village with extensive tanah ayahan is Selat where in all there are 227 plots.^{<38>} As elsewhere, the plots may be bought and sold, and one plot may have more than one owner. At Selat, ownership of tanah ayahan determines the membership of the adat community, and the location of each plot determines that member's sitting position in the meeting pavilion (bale agung) which is situated in the pura puseh. Although a man sits in the bale agung of Selat, he can still remain a member of another adat village, e.g. there are members of the adat village of Duda who own tanah ayahan at Selat. This unusual, and perhaps unique, situation appears to give rise to a sort of quasi-dual village membership in which the one man is attached to two jurally separate adat communities.

Tegenan, immediately south of Besakih, also has extensive tanah ayahan (some 50 ha.). The village has rights over this land that requires that anyone purchasing it not only must perform service but must also become a member of the adat community. The situation is complex at Tegenan, for there are a number of separate areas of tanah ayahan: 12 plots of sawah which are believed to be the earliest group; 33 plots mostly of residential land known as tanah ayahan pecatu whose service is due not to the village but to Pura Besakih; 50 plots of dryland whose service is due to the pura puseh (tanah ayahan puseh); and three other areas with service due to one of three kin groups, Pasek Gelgel, Pasek Kayu Selem, or Dukuh Seganing, probably the kin groups of the founding settlers.

Tegenan's tanah ayahan pecatu is very similar to Batusesa's karang desa, which has a bearing on the relationship between these two

villages and Besakih. At Batusesa there is also tanah ayahan with service due the pura puseh or to Pura Panti Blatung. The former consists of 18 plots, each about one hectare, whose owners are responsible for the financing and preparations of the temple's main ceremony; other villagers attend but are only expected to bring their own family offerings.

At Besakih there are only two small areas of tanah ayahan, whose obligations in both cases are due to a non-public temple. At Nangka, in the southwest part of Besakih territory, lies a little temple called Pura Dalem Nangka, a kind of pura dalem suci with no cemetery attached. There are 32 ayahan plots, some of which are now divided among four or five owners. The official in charge (klihan pamaksan) keeps lontar records of the 32 plots of land whose owners form the temple group which is responsible for the upkeep of the temple and for its ceremonies.<39>

Straddling the Besakih-Batusesa boundary is a temple called Pura Gumawang, associated with the famous test of magical power between Ida Manik Angkeran and Dukuh Blatung (Chapter 10). Tanah ayahan with obligations due to this temple is now owned by people from both villages, but the movement of Besakih people into this area is quite recent.<40>

Tanah desa

Besides karang desa and tanah ayahan, a village may also own other pieces of land which are not associated with any obligations. If this is agricultural land, it may be leased out on a share-cropping arrangement. Tanah desa is small in area and of minor significance.

Tanah laba pura.

Another category of land, tanah laba pura, is temple-owned land, the rights to which are held by the temple congregation. It is usually leased out to a group-member and rarely sold. In government land records such land is specifically entered under this category and is not subject to government land tax (Ipeda). The temple's share of the harvest goes towards financing upkeep and ceremonies at the temple. Often the temple priest is appointed sharecropper as recompense for his services. Tanah laba pura is usually situated within the territory of the village where the temple is located, but this is not always the case, especially with regards to high-status temples. Tanah laba pura belonging to Besakih's public temples is scattered over several kabupaten (Chapter 9).

Tanah druwe pura

Differing from tanah laba pura only in that it is subject to government land tax, is land listed in government land records under the rubric tanah druwe pura. Eight parcels of such land, totalling 26.015 hectares, lies within the area covered by the official Lands Office map of Besakih which is slightly larger than the adat territory. Most of this land, three parcels totalling 21.885 ha., belongs to the pura puseh of Geliang which formerly was part of Besakih. The remaining 4.13 ha. belong to public temples at Besakih. Of this, 2.195 ha. located at Guwaji and belonging to Pura Batu Madeg is used specially to offset costs of the nadianq ceremony at the shrine honouring Ida Manik Angkeran.<41>

I cannot offer a quantitative distribution of land categories in

west Karangasem, save that in most villages land is overwhelmingly privately-owned. Such figures are not readily available in government records which do not distinguish all the adat land categories mentioned above. At Besakih, I estimate that some 95% of land is privately-owned, whereas at nearby Tegenan, for instance, most of it is tanah ayahan.

The occurrence of certain land categories but not others in a particular village does not seem to follow any system. At best, some sub-regional tendencies are occasionally apparent (e.g. karang desa in almost all villages of the Sidemen and Ban areas). There is also a tendency for dryland villages to possess some tanah ayahan. The random nature of the distribution of land categories makes it impossible to postulate that a certain category is earlier or later in time.

Historical Development of Adat Villages in West Karangasem

Rather than examine the religious, social and spatial aspects of the adat village in an attempt to understand variation through a model of the essential structure of village organization, I take a different, though not necessarily conflicting, direction and examine variation through an historical model of the development of adat villages within west Karangasem.

It is a truism of course that every village has its own history. Yet since historical data at the village level in Bali are scant and scattered, previous studies have tended to neglect village histories altogether. Scant though they may be, the utilization of what data there are does lead to at least some understanding of the historical

development of settlement patterns and how this has affected the present variation. It is possible in many cases to suggest the relative antiquity of villages; villages are not all equally old.<42>

Old bronze-plate inscriptions are the main source for the earliest period. These inscriptions are edicts issued by a series of rulers from 894 up until the end of the 14th century. All edicts refer to a particular village (occasionally to more than one) and many of them, the majority in fact, are still kept in the village mentioned in the edict. In some cases, the village of the edict, or at least its name, no longer survives, though geographical data in the edicts, especially village boundaries, allow its location to be determined reasonably accurately, usually close to the village where it is now kept.<43> Seven inscriptions deal with villages in west Karangasem. Five kept at Pengotan and one at Abang deal with the Pemuteran area on the slopes of Mt. Abang; the seventh deals with Kanuruhan, the old name for Selat where it is still kept.

In later centuries the babad literature is an important source of information, particularly those of the noble kin groups that controlled the region, the Arya Bang Sidemen and Arya Dauh, but occasional information is scattered throughout much of this literature.<44> Kin group charters called prasasti and administrative and legal documents (pangeling-eling etc) are also valuable. For Besakih and the region as a whole, the temple charter, the Raja Purana Pura Besakih, is of special importance. Customs still practised which express ritual relationships, the organization of village government and leadership, and oral tradition generally, all comment on the relationships between villages, especially of offshoot villages in relation to their village of origin. The impact of the main

ecological zones should also continually be borne in mind. Evidence for the history of the region's villages can thus be drawn from a combination of sources.

An analysis of these varied data leads, by necessity, to a dense and detailed discussion which is of particular interest perhaps only to the Bali specialist, although the methodology has application elsewhere. The full discussion may be consulted in Appendix A. Here I just want to indicate some conclusions of a more general nature.

In terms of settlement processes, I distinguish within this region essentially three categories of adat villages. Firstly, there are what I call the 'old core villages', about whose origins nothing is known. These villages already existed (or are postulated to have existed) at a very early period. In this category I include Selat, Muncan, Besakih and Pemuteran, while Duda and Macetra are less certain examples. The evidence suggest that the villages on the slopes of Mt. Agung formerly possessed territories that stretched from the sawah zone up to the high slopes or summit of the mountain. Besakih, for instance, probably once stretched down to the valley of the river Telaga Waja and included the sawah areas of Tegenan and Batusesa.

Secondly, there are the off-shoot villages that have broken away from old core villages at some time in the past but which generally retain certain ritual links with the core village. A large number of villages, particularly in the dryland zone, are of this category. In the case of Besakih, Temukus, Tegenan, Batusesa, Suhukan and Geliang appear to be offshoot villages that are now separate adat villages.

Thirdly, there are in-migration villages whose inhabitants originated from outside the immediate area of settlement. Padangaji, Taman Darma, and Buyan are examples of this category. Some

settlements formed by in-migration maintained autonomy, mainly, it seems, because the dominant descent group are of high caste. Other settlements became associated with a core village as the original owner of the land.

The two processes at work in the growth of new settlements -- out-growth from a core village and in-migration from an external source -- often took place together, with some groups in a new village tracing origin from the local core village, others from further field.

Whereas the old core villages have long histories, many settlements in the dryland zone have had a tendency to be less permanent, more susceptible to the vagaries of history. Some settlements have survived for a thousand years while many others have vanished from the scene. Of several old settlements in the Pemuteran area, only Pemuteran itself still exists as a village. Others (such as Silihan/Air Lipet, Kundungan/Basanghara, Udanapatya) are known now only as the names of localities higher up the slope of Mt. Abang. Former settlements at Glagah, Tanah Mel, Puregae, Cebulik, Geliang, Lebih, Payasan, Singarata, Sikuhan, Pranasih, Sangkan Kuasa, and perhaps others, have all been abandoned or moved to new localities. There are a number of explanations for the impermanence of dryland settlements: natural catastrophe (volcanic eruptions, drying up of springs, possibly epidemics), soil exhaustion, warfare and political events, and at least in recent times government decrees.

The effects of a volcanic eruption can be seen in the changes brought about by the 1963 eruption. The village of Lebih was rebuilt a short distance downridge from its former location. The settlement of Sangkan Kuasa was abandoned. Daya, though not abandoned, suffered when a major spring ceased to flow (earthquakes can also cause this).

Other settlements had to be largely rebuilt. Hundreds of families whose land was affected by the eruption transmigrated. Although we know other eruptions took place in the past, the destruction they caused has not been recorded.

In this region the prime example of the impact of warfare on village permanency is the military campaign waged by 'Panji Sakti', lord of Buleleng. That is the only identification the widespread oral tradition tells us and since the campaign is not mentioned in the Babad Buleleng or any other text, we cannot be sure which ruler of the Panji dynasty is meant, nor when the campaign took place, but probably in the late 17th or 18th centuries. The impact of the campaign, however, cannot be doubted. Panji Sakti advanced up the valley lying between Gunung Agung and Gunung Batur, sacked such villages as Asti, Darmaji, and others in the area, moved up the defile through Daya and over the pass at Bubung, threatening villages south of the pass. As the army advanced the villagers fled for their lives. Some at least of the inhabitants of the villages of upland Bangli claim origin from villages north of the pass, for Bangli was the former overlord and that is where they fled for safety. From Pemuteran and Glagah people fled to Pengotan. Settlements at Tanah Mel, Puregae/Swarung, Gintungan/Cebulik, Keladian and Geliang, all in the Besakih area, are said to have been abandoned at this time, either permanently or temporarily. According to one tradition, Panji Sakti turned back just short of Pura Besakih.<45>

A third factor influencing high altitude villages of the region was a Dutch colonial government forestry regulation of about 1930. Formerly dryland farming had been practised up to about 1200 meters, but as a conservation measure, the authorities declared the slopes

above about 1100 meters to be state forest. Whole settlements and many homesteads were affected. Geliang was rebuilt downridge from its original location, and Bukit Catu, the settlement at Glagah, was abandoned, its down-ridge successor village being Pule. Of the hundreds of people displaced, some moved to nearby land not affected, whereas many others migrated to distant parts of Bali, mostly to Asahduren and Candi Kuning.

The historical development of adat villages in west Karangasem provides a means of understanding more fully the nature of the region's largest and most important network of ritual relationships, the Pragunung Besakih.

Pragunung Besakih

Throughout the region, the pattern of inter-village adat relations marks a hierarchy of social relations that are manifested above all through ritual means. The focus of such ritual ties is the temple, particularly pura puseh of core villages. This hierarchically organized association of communities does not always have a name, probably because there is no corporate social body corresponding to this association of communities, nothing comparable to the krama desa of the adat village. One term, however, that at least sometimes does imply such a hierarchical relationship among villages is pragunung. The term is used in conjunction with certain core villages to refer to the collectivity of mountain (gunung) settlements that have adat relations with the core village. The settlements of Pragunung Sibetan, on the east side of Bukit Peny, are still part of that adat village. Those of Pragunung Selat formerly were part of the village but have since become separate adat villages, although ritual ties

remain. The relationship between the villages of Pragunung Besakih and the adat village of Besakih is rather more complex, however.

At the present time, Pragunung Besakih is a group of 12 adat villages which have specific ritual obligations towards Pura Besakih (Chapter 9). From east to west, these village are as follows (Map 1):

Badeg Tengah	}	within administrative village of Sebudi
Telungbuana		
Pura		
Lebih	}	within administrative village of Besakih
Kesimpar		
Temukus		
Batusesa	}	within administrative village of Menanga
Tegenan		
Suhukan		
Geliang	}	within administrative village of Pempatan
Pempatan-Pule		
Alasngandang		

Unlike the villages of Pragunung Selat, only some of the villages comprising Pragunung Besakih can be considered offshoots from a former adat village of Besakih of more extensive territory. Probable offshoot villages of Besakih include Temukus, Batusesa, Tegenan, Suhukan and Geliang. Whether Badeg Tengah, Telungbuana, and Pura are offshoot villages from Muncan or perhaps Macetra is not known for certain. Lebih and Kesimpar have adat relationships with Muncan. Pempatan-Pule seems to be related to the old core village of Pemuteran, while Alasngandang is an in-migration village. This evidence indicates that the relationship between Pragunung Besakih and Pura Besakih is not based wholly on a hierarchical relationship between core village and offshoot villages. Furthermore, the group of villages having such ritual ties with Pura Besakih has not remained constant over the centuries.

At the time the Raja Purana texts were compiled (certainly by the early 19th century), adat villages with communal obligations towards Pura Besakih were more numerous and covered a far wider area than

those now grouped as the Pragunung Besakih. These texts mention Tusan in Klungkung, Daya and other villages in the Ban area north of the pass (Dajan Bukit), Panida and Nyanggelan in eastern Bangli, and within west Karangasem several villages such as Kubakal, Selat, Sukaluwih, Sorga, Bukit Galah, which are not now included within the Pragunung.<46> Of the present-day Pragunung villages the texts mention only five: Badeg, Lebih (Sarilewih), Batusesa (Selajaya), Tegenan (Tikulan) and Temukus. According to dates in the texts, at least Badeg and Sarilewih have had ritual relations with Besakih since the 15th century.<47>

With the exception of Selat, only villages numbered among the Pragunung still retain obligations of some kind or another. The fact that a number of Pragunung villages are not mentioned in the texts indicates that the Pragunung Besakih must have reached its present form relatively recently, since the time the Raja Purana was compiled. More recent texts show that villages (e.g. Suhukan and Geliang) have been added to the Pragunung Besakih in relatively recent times.

The relationship between Pragunung Besakih and Pura Besakih is a unique relationship of support for a regional temple, that was at least in part built upon adat relationships of long standing, but that also was influenced by the temple's special relations with regional and state political authority (Chapter 10). Such relationships are vulnerable to the contingencies of history.<48> The importance of the regional temple and of temple hierarchy in Bali generally, and the position of Pura Besakih within that hierarchy, forms the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

TEMPLE HIERARCHY IN BALI: REGIONAL TEMPLES AND TEMPLES OF THE REALM

Introduction

Temples mark structures based on three important forms of social organization: those based on locality, on descent, and on irrigation. Temples do not constitute another aspect of social organization over and above these forms.<1>

These three forms can be considered as separate and autonomous, yet they exert influence on one another. Each of these three forms is organized hierarchically, with temples corresponding to levels within each hierarchical system. For example, levels of the hierarchy based on locality are marked by temples of the adat village, by temples of regional status,, and by temples of island-wide status (the so-called 'world temples' or temples of the realm). The hierarchical structure of the organization of irrigation is marked by temples of the individual subak and by temples supported by groups of subak. Temples marking upper levels of the system based on irrigation tend to coalesce with those marking territory, in that the world temples include irrigation among their several functions. In social organization based on descent, despite variation in the number of levels of a particular descent group (family or families of a single houseyard, sub-dadia, dadia, sub-warga, warga) and the names of the corresponding temples (sanggah, sanggah gede, pura dadia, pura panti, pura kawitan or pura padharman) the hierarchical structure is a

salient characteristic. The temples of Besakih are particularly significant in the way they mark hierarchical levels of social organization.

In structuring of social organization based on locality, the adat village, I have argued, is the basic unit. Although there are smaller units, the adat village marks out on the landscape a stretch of territory of particular social significance, its essential temples being pura puseh and pura dalem setra, together with pura desa where the 'three sanctuaries' system is applicable. The banjar, though usually localized, is not necessarily so (e.g. banjar triwangsa in many villages); furthermore banjar temples are generally quite small, often just a shrine or two. But no village in Bali is an isolated community. A variety of networks tie the village into its region and ultimately into the island-wide community of Balinese. Besides economic and political ties, ritual ties are important.

Beginning with the adat village, the higher levels in this territorial hierarchy are represented by the region and by the island of Bali as a whole. Whereas the adat village is located in relation to its communal temples and possesses a corporate social body, the higher levels of territorial organization, although located in reference to a regional or world temple, have no corresponding corporate social bodies. The traditional state was not organized according to principles comparable to those underlying the adat village.

Here I am concerned only with the role of the temple as a focus of identity at various levels of territorial extent, ranging from sub-region to region to the island as a whole. Regional temples, in a general sense, are those whose worship groups are drawn from a number

of adat villages. They serve as foci of regional identity, for which reason they are often associated with regional courts. 'World' temples, and especially Pura Besakih, the paramount temple of the realm, act as foci of all-embracing Balinese and Hindu identity. Temples included in the category 'world' temple are discussed in traditional lontar texts according to systems of number-based symbolic classification. Here I examine the regional temple in relation to Pura Besakih and the west Karangasem region generally. Finally, I examine the paramount role of Pura Besakih in the system of Balinese world temples.

Regional Temples

It is important to distinguish different kinds of relationships existing between regional temples and their worship-groups.<2> A key distinction is that between pangamong ('support') relationships and maturan relationships. A 'support' relationship entails full responsibility for the enactment of ritual.<3> Members of the supporting congregation, whatever its basis of membership, must pay a due (uran), produce certain raw materials, and provide labour. Such people are said to ngayah. A maturan relationship, on the other hand, involves no such obligations, but is voluntary in nature. Maturan, in a religious sense, means the presentation of offerings to a spiritual being, whether god, ancestor or demon. Even if a family is part of a community or pemaksan responsible for a ceremony, it will, over and above this, present its own family offerings, which vary according to wealth and circumstance.<4> One hallmark of the regional temple is that large numbers of people drawn from several communities outside the support group attend major festivals and present family offerings.

In some cases this maturan may be a village or group responsibility, but generally it is on an individual basis. Some maturan relationships seem to have long traditions.

'Support' relationships are of various kinds. One kind of relationship, that between a core village and its offshoot villages, is expressed most commonly in the main rituals of the core village's pura puseh, both at yearly festivals and at special ones held at longer intervals. These temples, although still essentially village temples, do have a 'regional' function. Besides temples of this kind, support may be provided by a single adat village, jointly by more than one adat village, by a special pemaksan based on land holdings, by a group of subak, or by a court. Not infrequently support is provided by a combination of two or more of these.

Although the summit of Gunung Agung has always been considered sacred, as far as we know, a temple, even a tiny one, has never been built there. Instead, offerings are thrown into the crater itself. Since the summit of Mt. Agung is reached only after a strenuous four to five hour climb, temples honouring the mountain have been built on its middle slopes at a number of locations. On its southeast slopes, for example, Pura Laga (Datah) draws enormous crowds of worshippers from quite distant villages, and was also supported by the princely house of Karangasem. On its southern slopes Pura Pasar Agung is the main temple honouring the mountain, on its southwest slopes Pura Besakih, on its western slopes Pura Madia, and there are probably others.

Pura Madia is an example of the first kind of support relationship, that provided by a single adat village. Responsibility for the temple and its rituals lies with Pucang, one of several small

adat villages in the Ban area, but people from villages throughout the area (Bunga, Daya, Cegi, Pangalusan, Perasan, Belong, Temakung, Kayuaya) come there to maturan. Like these other villages, Pucang also has its own pura puseh.<5>

A second kind of support relationship of a regional temple is that which ties together adat villages in joint ritual undertakings, in which there appears to be no status differentiation among the villages. The pair of temples on the twin summits of Gunung Abang (also called Gunung Tulukbyu) can serve as illustration. Pura Pucak Sari (or Pujung Sari) is located on the lower eastern peak, commonly called Pucak Sari, which overlooks the Ban area. The villages -- Bunga, Daya, Jatituhu, Darmaji, Menekaji, and Asti -- that support this temple lie on ridges radiating out from Pucak Sari. For the temple's main ceremony (full moon of fourth month) different villages provide different animals (goat, goose, duck, chicken) which are 'set free' after the rituals. Formerly a buffalo was required, a mark of the importance of this little temple, which Bunga used to provide -- thus giving the name 'buffalo ridge' to the ridge leading up from Bunga.<6>

Pura Tulukbyu is situated on the western and slightly higher peak which overlooks the Pempatan area of west Karangasem and upland Bangli. This temple is now supported jointly by the three villages of Pemuteran, Pengotan and Landih.<7> Being an important regional mountain temple, shrines honouring Ida Bhatara Tulukbyu are present in temples, including pura puseh, in many surrounding villages. All the villages mentioned above have their own pura puseh, besides responsibility towards the regional temple.

A third kind of support relationship is that in which

responsibility lies with a pemaksan group whose membership is based on possession of tanah ayahan lands. In the case of Pura Pasar Agung, lying upridge from Sebudi and Sogra, the pamaksan responsible for the rituals consist of the owners of the temple's 40 hectare of tanah ayahan, comprising dry fields in the neighbourhood of Sebun. Although the pemaksan provides the means of holding the rituals, ultimate responsibility lay, traditionally, with the lord of Selat, originally from the Arya Bang Sidemen house, but later from the Arya Dauh house. Even the raja of Karangasem took an interest in the temple. People from surrounding villages bring offerings (maturan). Pura Pasar Agung has such an intimate relationship with Pura Besakih that it is sometimes included within the group of Besakih's public temples.<8>

In a fourth kind of support relationship, responsibility lies with a group of subak. For convenience, I have included such temples as a special type of regional temple, although they mark higher levels of the hierarchy of irrigation organization. A subak or irrigation society, of which there are some 1243 according to one recent account, is headed by a klihan subak or pekaseh. A group of subak (no generic term) is headed by a sedahan, and the groups of subaks within a kabupaten are headed by a sedahan agung. Irrigation organization, it should be remembered, has undergone considerable change since colonial times. Each subak has its own pura subak, but until further study has been carried out, it remains to be seen whether all more-inclusive levels of subak groupings under sedahan and sedahan agung do in fact have temples of corresponding structural relationship. However, many important temples, or at least major ceremonies within those temples, are supported by groupings of subak. Such temples include Pura Majapahit (Baluk, Jembrana), Pura Sri Jong (Tabanan), Pura Luhur

Pakendungan (Kediri, Tabanan), Pura Ulun Suwi (Jimbaran, Badung), Pura Er Jeruk (Sukawati, Gianyar), Pura Kentel Gumi (Banjarangkan, Klungkung), and Pura Watu Klotok (Tojan-Gelgel, Klungkung). The highest level of hierarchy of irrigation organization is not marked by exclusive and separate temples; instead the Balinese world temples include irrigation within their several functions. Pura Batur is of particular importance in this regard.

Two regional subak temples related to Pura Besakih are Pura Watu Klotok on the coast south of Gelgel and Pura Kentel Gumi at Banjarangkan. Pura Watu Klotok is an important sea temple, near the beach where the gods of Besakih, on special occasions, undergo their bathing ritual (malasti), while in connection with every Bhatara Turun Kabeh festival, holy water, the symbol of the God of the Sea (Ida Bhatara Tirtha ring Sagara), is obtained from the sacred well within the temple's precincts. The temple's main yearly ceremony (usaba) which falls in the fifth month is the responsibility of the subak Toya Jinah, Bajing, and Tegallinggah, under the direction of a committee headed by the Sedahan Agung of Klungkung.<9> A similar sort of organization was responsible for Pura Kentel Gumi until 1983 when a permanent committee was formed to take charge of the main yearly ceremony. The cost of the ceremony is borne largely by eleven subak under the control of the Sedahan Langit Bubuh, supplemented by government support. The temple's significant regional function is apparent, too, in the custom of carrying the gods of eleven neighbouring temples (mostly in Tusan) to Pura Kentel Gumi during its main ceremony. At one time long ago, it appears that the gods of Besakih used to visit the temple.<10>

The fifth kind of support relationship is where responsibility

lies with a court. These are the so-called 'state temples' (Grader 1960). However, few, if any, regional temples were supported solely by a court; instead the court worked together with the traditional support group, providing additional finance and help at special major ceremonies or for restoration projects. Often a court played an important co-ordinating role. Although the evidence is often incomplete, it seems that many important regional temples predate the Gelgel period, and certainly predate the breaking up of the unitary Gelgel state and the rise of the small regional states that survived into this century. Thus, state temples were not founded by the states that later helped support them, with a few exceptions -- Pura Taman Ayun (Mengwi) is probably a case in point -- which were apparently founded by the state concerned. In some cases, for example Pura Bukit (Karangasem), a court enlarged and reorganized a temple, and allotted responsibilities to particular villages or groups of retainers. In still other cases, the princely family was not directly involved in the care of a temple, but would at times attend ceremonies and provide a contribution (for example, Pura Linjong, Muncan). Sometimes responsibility was handed over to a minor court, or rights over certain lands (or over taxes on certain lands) were granted in exchange for service to a particular temple. In short, the concept of state temple involves a variety of support mechanisms. Nowadays, although certain princely houses still retain traditional ties with their former state temples, responsibility for such regional temples is in the hands of the government of the kabupaten in which it lies, in conjunction with the temple's traditional support group.

At the top of this hierarchy based on locality are the Balinese 'world temples', the kahyangan jagat Bali, the great sanctuaries of

the realm, which are revered by Hindus throughout Bali. The Balinese 'world temples' are the responsibility of the provincial government.

The Balinese World Temples -- Kahyangan Jagat Bali

Number-based classification systems -- the links between the elements of each system being based on analogy -- are expressed repeatedly in Balinese thought and ritual, and constitute one of the basic structures of Balinese Hinduism. Such classification systems based on number and analogy are equally central to the structure of Indic thought from the earliest, Vedic, times. Although Indic influence on its culture represents one source of influence, number-based classification systems seem also to constitute the structure of autochthonous Balinese thought. The Indic and Balinese strands have merged to such a degree that it is difficult, and often pointless, to try to disentangle them. Balinese often apply these system to various aspects of their culture, but sometimes, through the nature of texts, it is possible to determine whether such speculation is derived from the brahmanic tradition.

These number-based classification systems are based on a series of combinatorial sets, of which the dual, three-part, five-part, nine-part, and eleven-part systems are all important. The four-part and eight-part systems are closely related to the five-part (four around the center) and nine-part (eight around the center) systems, while the seven-part system is also known. In Bali, no one system is in a clearly predominant position. A particularly important element in all these systems is the corresponding spatial structure. Not only does each system have its own autonomy and its own series of elements

linked by analogy, but there is also a process that links the different systems, a process with both centralizing and multiplying aspects. This centralizing process is found in both meditational and ritual practices, the most common being a reduction, by stages, from nine to five to three to two and finally to one, that is, a reduction to unity/centre.<11>

The Balinese world temples have been the subject of much speculation derived from these this system of number-based classification. Although Pura Besakih is the most important sanctuary in Bali, in the different classificatory sets of world temples, it is not always in the central position. The different sets of world temples are the result, it would seem, of individual, largely brahmanic, speculation concerning the application of number-based classification. This is speculation 'after the fact', for the temples were not built as physical expressions of systems of classification but arose independently and only later became grouped into classificatory sets. Nor does the geography of Bali make such speculations any easier; Besakih, which at least since Gelgel times has been the most important temple, is situated, geographically, on one side of the island. Perhaps this is why center-focussed classifications (sets of three, five and nine) were not favoured, and such speculation as there is on these is inconsistent. Thus, Besakih is sometimes located at the center, sometimes on the periphery. More favoured, it would seem, were classifications that are not center-focussed, particularly the dual relationship between Besakih and Batur, or the six-part classification linking the temples of the Sadkahyangan, the 'Six Sanctuaries'. Since six-part classification has, structurally, no central position and no status differentiation

among its components, substitutions are easily made, and so in the textual tradition, the sets of temples comprising the 'six sanctuaries' are many and varied.<12>

Dual Classification: Pura Besakih and Pura Batur

The dual relationship between Pura Besakih and Pura Batur is expressed clearly in a passage from the myth of Sang Kulputih contained in the Usana Bali.<13> Bhatara Pasupati, the High God residing on Mt. Mahameru, decides to send his two children, Bhatara Putrajaya and his sister Dewi Danu, to Bali to become the focus of worship and homage by the rulers of the island. They arrive first in the form of sheaths of a palm tree and the wife of the holy man, thinking they were mere rubbish, sweeps them up. The two deities only later reveal their identity and receive the homage of Sang Kulputih. Thereupon Bhatara Pasupati, on returning to his abode on Mt. Mahameru, breaks open the summit of the mountain and divides it into two parts, one in each hand, and sends them to Bali. The part in his right hand becomes Gunung Agung where Bhatara Putrajaya, alias Bhatara Mahadewa, takes up residence. The part in his left hand, placed beside a body of water lying kaja-kauh from Gunung Agung, becomes Gunung Batur where Dewi Danu takes up her residence.<14>

This myth expresses a polarity between several paired sets:

left	-- right
female	-- male
(younger) sister	-- (older) brother
lake/water	-- mountain
Gunung Batur	-- Gunung Agung

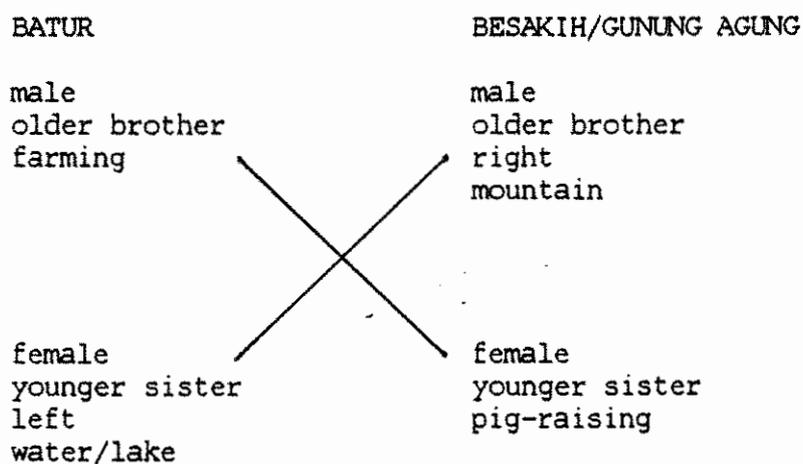
The polarity expressed here is undoubtedly in Bali the most widely known dual relationship linking Pura Besakih and Pura Batur. Certainly it is the water/lake aspect of Pura Batur that is stressed.

However, it is not the only one.

In a myth on the origin of plague and pests of the fields, the polarity between Besakih and Batur is the reverse of that cited above.<15> The myth tells the story of three gods who are siblings. The eldest is Bhatara ring Tengahing Sagara, residing at Gunung Andakasa, who looks after the creatures of the sea. The middle child is called Ida Bhatara ring Gunung Lebah, residing at Batur, who farms dry fields for his livelihood. The youngest child simply called Ida Bhatara, is female, and resides at Gunung Agung where she raises pigs. It is not necessary here to go into the details of the conflict between the god of Batur and the goddess of Gunung Agung. The god of Gunung Andakasa plays a minor role in the myth, so there is an essential polarity, as follows:

male	-- female
(older) brother	-- (younger) sister
farming	-- pig-raising
Gunung Batur	-- Gunung Agung

Combining these two myths results in an interesting chiasmic relationship:



These mythic relationships suggest that a symbolic dualism underlies the structure of Pura Batur as it does that of Pura Besakih.<16> Since Pura Besakih is a group of public temples

associated with one adat village, it is a comparable group of communal temples that should be sought at Batur. Unlike the term Pura Besakih, the term Pura Batur is not used for all the dozen or so communal temples supported by the adat village of Batur, but refers, in a more restricted sense, to the main sanctuary of a complex of contiguous temples that also include the village's Pura Puseh and Pura Bale Agung as well as a Pasimpangan Pura Jati and others. This temple, which I will refer to as Pura Agung Batur, receives homage from a great number of neighbouring mountain villages and subak throughout south central Bali. The important shrines of the temple are a series of meru, one with eleven roofs dedicated to Ida Ratu Dewi Danu, two with nine roofs dedicated to Ida Ratu Maduwe Jagat and Ida Ratu Sakti Gunung Agung, and one each with seven, five and three roofs. Before being moved to its present location after the eruption of Gunung Batur in 1926, Pura Agung Batur lay at the foot of the mountain (not right by the lake) and was oriented towards the mountain. Whereas in the system of symbolic dualism, mountain is generally paired with male and water with female, at Batur the main deity of a mountain-oriented temple is a goddess of the lake. This seemingly anomolous position may help explain a curious feature of this temple: the main deity sometimes takes female form (Ratu Dewi Danu) and sometimes male form (Ratu Maduwe Jagat), each aspect of the deity having its own pemangku.

The relationship between this temple and the lake involves a discussion of Batur's other village temples and of a group of temples called pura ulun danu known in several lakeside villages, among them an important one at Songan. Batur's equivalent lake temple is called Pura Jati, located near the lake and oriented towards it. The ceremony pakelem di danu, 'drowning ritual at the lake', is held here.

In its most elaborate form every five years, this ritual requires a buffalo. Subak from a wide area also support this ceremony. For the first time in living memory, in 1984, based on a reading of sacred texts, 'drowning' rituals were held both at the lake and at the mountain.<17> As the myths suggest symbolic dualism does underly various relationships between Batur's temples. It is a uniquely structured dualism in which the female aspect is uppermost.

Six-part Classification: The Sadkahyangan

The Sadkahyangan, 'the six sanctuaries', pose a number of problems difficult to answer with any certainty (IHD 1980). Even the meaning of the term is not absolutely clear, for although sad does mean 'six', it has been suggested that it might mean 'essential' or 'core' (from Sanskrit sat, 'being, existing'). Textual references to the sadkahyangan are numerous, but hardly any two texts list the same six temples.<18> It is possible that the writers of the texts tended to list at least one or two major temples in their particular regions, but since texts are nearly always anonymous, undated, and lack provenance, there is no way of knowing. Leaving this matter aside for the moment, the obvious question remains: why six?

A recent officially sanctioned study came forward with an answer based on passages in a couple of brahmanic texts. The Dewa Purana Bangsul (No.60/Perp/IHD:17-20) states that six sons of the deity were told to build a sanctuary each "as the place of the sad darsana (six doctrines/schools of philosophy) and the sad krttiloka (six kinds of world rituals)". Further on, this text draws a correlation between the Sadkahyangan and sadwinayaka which the text identifies as Surya, Wulan, Bhesawarna, Kala, Gana, and Kumara. The same correlation

between Sadkahyangan and sadwinayaka is also mentioned in the Padma Bhuwana (HKS.4179:7.3ff.) but this theory is open to question. The term sadwinaya/sadwinayaka ('remover of the six obstacles') is generally considered an alternate name for Gana or Ganesa, and as such is found in Old Javanese and at least one Balinese inscription.<19> Furthermore, there is no known relationship between the six deities mentioned above and the six sanctuaries which the report listed as Pura Besakih, Pura Lempuyang Luhur, Pura Gua Lawah, Pura Uluwatu, Pura Batukaru, and Pura Puser Tasik/Pusering Jagat at Pejeng.<20> These are not the same six temples listed in the texts from which the theory is derived, but those listed in other texts such as Kusumadewa and Sang Kulputih. Other temples listed in at least two other texts include Pura Batur, Pura Air/Yeh Jeruk, Pura Sakenan/Serangan, Pura Pakendungan and Pura Andakasa.<21>

Center-focussed Classifications.

Speculation on the application of center-focussed classifications to the Balinese world temples has traditionally been both scant and inconsistent. The most authoritative of these, cited in the well-known Usana Bali, although strictly speaking a four-part classification, does imply, with the addition of the center, a five-part classification. The correspondence between mountains (and thus the world temples on them) and divine guardians of the cardinal directions (catur lokapala) is found in all texts of the Usana Bali, often opening the work:

This is the Tuter Usana Bali [which tells of] the origin of the [geographical] situation of the land of Bali. There the mountains of the catur[loka]pala are situated in the four directions: in the east Mt. Lempuyang, the seat of Bhatara Hyang Genijaya; in the west Mt. Bratan, the seat of Bhatara Hyang Watukaru; in the north Mt. Mangu, the seat of Bhatara Hyang Danawa; in the south Mt. Andakasa, the

seat of Bhatara Hyang Tugu... <22>

Another text, the Padma Bhuwana (HKS.4179:7b-8b), gives an elaborate nine-part classification based on the doctrine of the 'ten power-syllables' (dasaksara) (two syllables are located at the center); the corresponding deities are those of the nawa-sanga, but the corresponding temples form a rather idiosyncratic listing.

The officially sanctioned report solved the problem by drawing up its own nine-part classification, basing its scheme on a combination of the dual classification, four-part classification (catur lokapala) and the six-part classification (Sadkahyangan). Combining these three classifications resulted in a list of nine temples which were then located at points of the compass and the center, as follows (IHD 1980:40):

east	-- Iswara	-- Pura Lempuyang Luhur
southeast	-- Mahesora	-- Pura Andakasa
south	-- Brahma	-- Pura Gua Lawah
southwest	-- Rudra	-- Pura Uluwatu
west	-- Mahadewa	-- Pura Batukaru
northwest	-- Sangkara	-- Pura Pucak Mangu
north	-- Wisnu	-- Pura Batur
northeast	-- Sambu	-- Pura Besakih
center	-- Siwa	-- Pura Pusering Jagat (Pejeng)

Considering that Pura Besakih is without doubt the most important temple in Bali, it is curious that in this official nine-part classification it is located on the periphery. People who have come to Besakih occasionally inquire of the local priests about the whereabouts of the shrine or temple to Bhatara Sambu, but must be told that no such shrine exists.

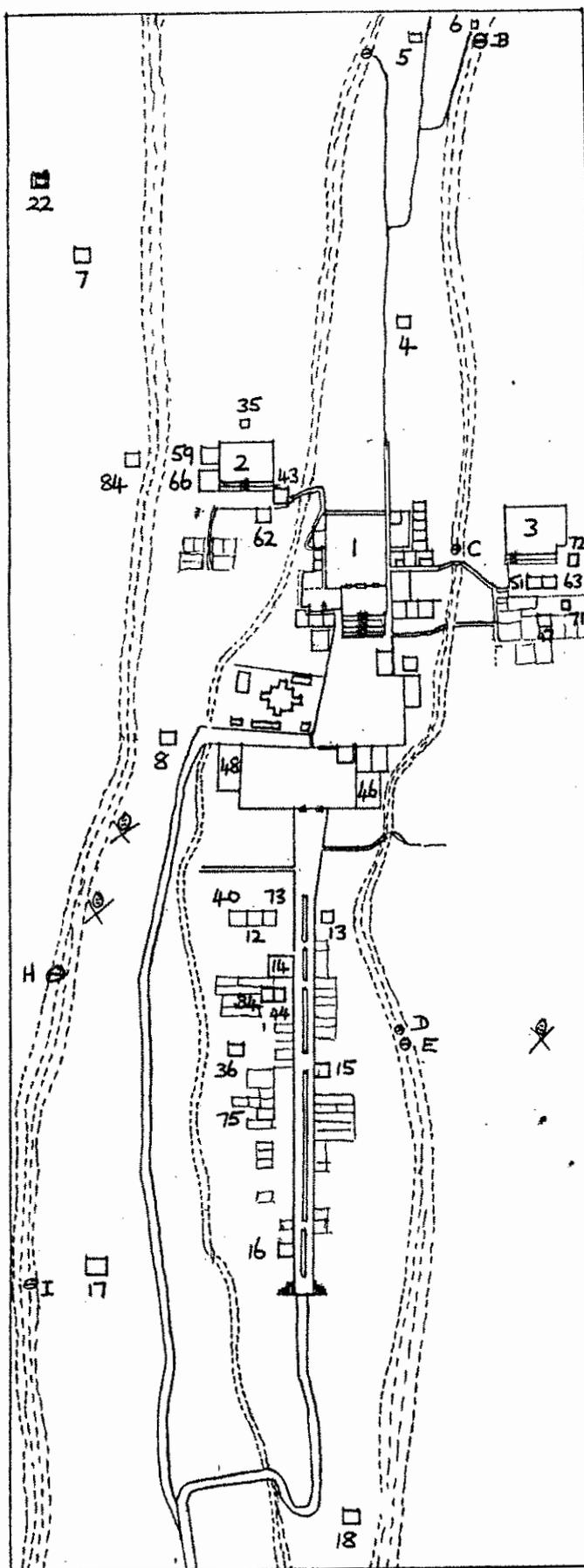
Conclusion

Number-based symbolic classification systems, favourite speculations of (mainly brahmanic) commentators, infuse all aspects of Balinese Hinduism. They play a significant role in the way temples are structured into groups of varying number. Throughout Bali as a whole, they serve as the foundation for the groups of world temples. At Besakih they infuse, but do not wholly account for, the structural linkages among certain sets of public temples. In the conceptual sphere, these systems of symbolic classification do not compete; they coexist as parts of an all-embracing essentially mystical understanding of the nature of things. In the historical record, however, changes in the relative degree of prominence of the different systems did occur. At Besakih the five-part system became important relatively late in its history but it never led to the exclusion of the older three-part and dual systems.

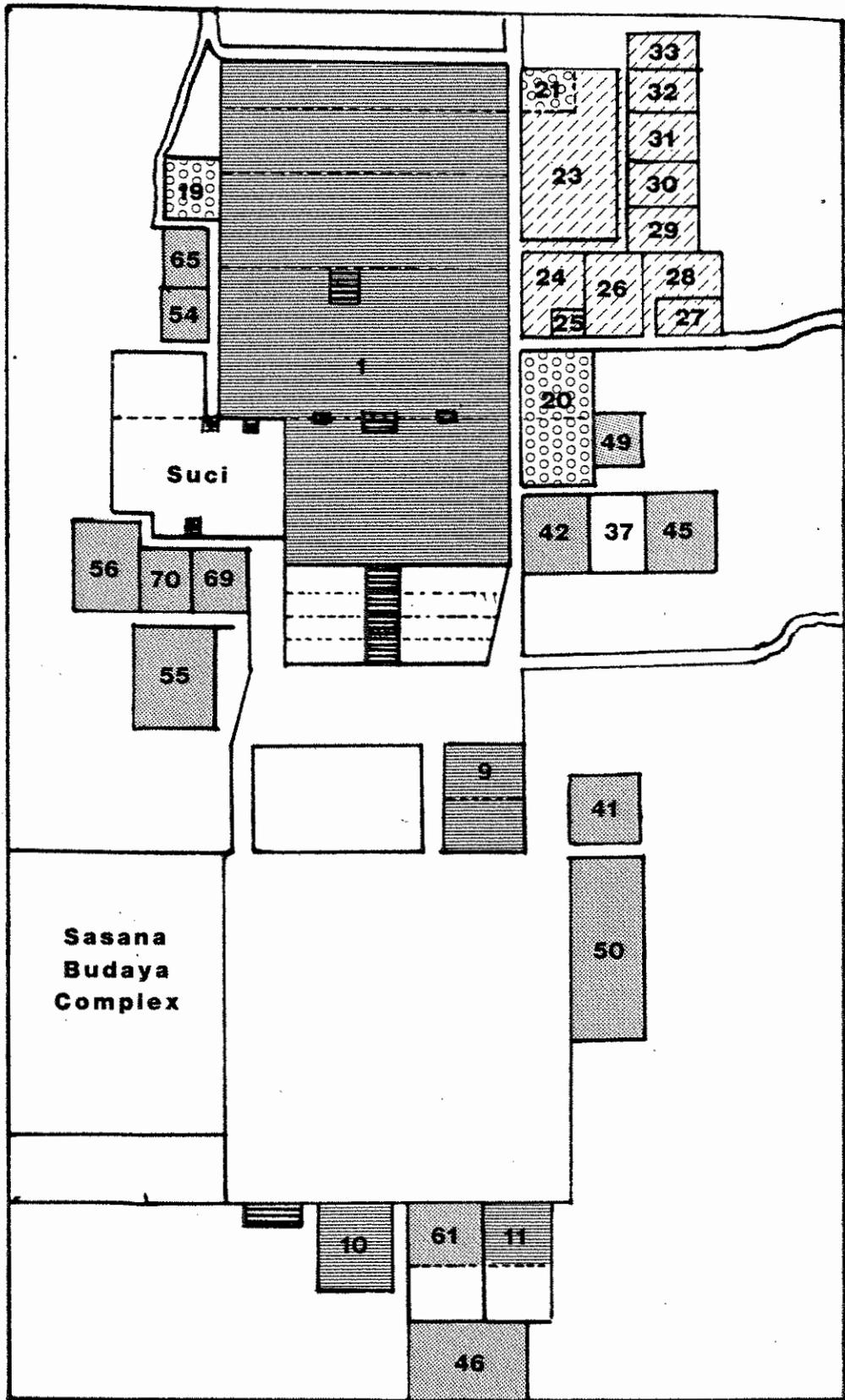
Most significant of all is that Pura Besakih has become the unchallenged paramount world temple, the very pinnacle of the hierarchy, at least since Gelgel times. This came about partly as a result of its intimate association with the court of Gelgel, but just as surely, too, as a result of its location on the island's highest mountain.

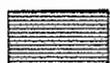
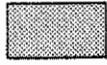
FIG. 4.1 Temples and Springs of Besakih

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| I. Public Temples | II.2 Local descent group temples |
| I.1 General public temples | II.2a Pura Dadia |
| 1. Pura Penataran Agung | 40. P/d Arya Bang Sidemen |
| 2. Pura Batu Madeg | 41. P/d Bali Mula |
| 3. Pura Kiduling Kreteg | 42. P/d Dukuh Seganing |
| 4. Pura Gelap | 43. P/d 'Dukuh Suladri' |
| 5. Pura Pangubengan | 44. P/d Pande |
| 6. Pura Tirtha | 45. P/d Pasek Brejo |
| 7. Pura Paninjoan | 46. P/d Pasek Gaduh |
| 8. Pura Yang Aluh | 47. P/d Pasek Gelgel I |
| 9. Pura Basukihan | 48. P/d Pasek Gelgel II |
| 10. Pura Banua | 49. P/d Pasek Gelgel III |
| 11. Merajan Kanginan | 50. P/d Pasek Gelgel IV |
| 12. Merajan Selonding | 51. P/d Pasek Gelgel V |
| 13. Pura Gua | 52. P/d Pasek Gelgel VI |
| 14. Pura Ulun Kulkul | 53. P/d Pasek Gelgel VII |
| 15. Pura Bangun Sakti | 54. P/d Pasek Gelgel VIII |
| 16. Pura Manik Mas | 55. P/d Pasek Kayu Selem I |
| 17. Pura Dalem Puri | 56. P/d Pasek Kayu Selem II |
| 18. Pura Pasimpangan | 57. P/d Pasek Kayu Selem III |
| | 58. P/d Pasek Kayu Selem IV |
| I.2 Temples of the Catur Lawa | 59. P/d Pasek Ketewel |
| 19. Pura Ratu Pande | 60. P/d Pasek Pejengan I |
| 20. Pura Ratu Pasek | 61. P/d Pasek Pejengan II |
| 21. Pura Ratu Panyarikan | 62. P/d Pasek Tangkas I |
| 22. Pura Ratu Dukuh Seganing | 63. P/d Pasek Tangkas II |
| | 64. P/d Pasek Tangkas III |
| II. Descent Group Temples | 65. P/d Pasek Tangkas IV |
| II.1 Translocal descent group temples | 66. P/d Pasek Tangkeban |
| II.1a Pura Padharman | 67. P/d Pasek Tutuan |
| 23. Padharman Dalem Gelgel | 68. P/d Pulasari |
| 24. Padharman Dalem Sukawati | |
| 25. Padharman Sri Mpu Bhujangga | II.2b Other Dadia-related Temples |
| 26. Padharman Dalem Bakas | 69. Pura Pajenengan |
| 27. Padharman Kabakaba | 70. Pura Merajan |
| 28. Padharman Mengwi | 71. sub-dadia Pasek Kayu Selem |
| 29. Padharman Arya Sukahet | 72. sub-dadia Pasek Kayu Selem |
| 30. Padharman Arya Kenceng | 73. P.Pajenengan Gst.Mk.Kabayan |
| 31. Padharman Bhujangga Wesnawa | 74. sub-dadia Arya Babg Sidemen |
| 32. Padharman Arya Telabah | 75. Pura Pajenengan Alit |
| 33. Padh. Arya Telabah Apit Yeh | |
| II.1b Non-Padharman Temples | III. Locality and other Temples |
| 34. Pura Pasimpangan Ratu Pande | 76. P. Penataran Swarung |
| 35. Pura Pemuputan | 77. Pura Dalem Puregae |
| 36. Pura Dalem Panangsaran | 78. Pura Panti Puregae |
| 37. P.Pasimpangan Dukuh Seganing | 79. Pura Pajenengan Puregae |
| 38. Pura Belong | 80. Pura Panti Keladian |
| 39. Pura Dalem Keladian | 81. Pura Dalem Gintungan |
| | 82. Pura Panti Gintungan |
| | 83. Pura Dalem Nangka |
| | 84. Pura Panti Geliang |
| | 85. Pura Tegal Suci |
| | 86. Pura Melanting |



Map 2a. Temples of Central Besakih



- | | | | |
|---|---------------------------|---|----------------|
|  | General public temples |  | Pura padharman |
|  | Temples of the Catur Lawa |  | Pura dadia |

Map 2b. Temples of the central complex around Pura Penataran Agung

IV. Sacred Springs

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| A. Tirtha Girikusuma | F. Tirtha Lateng |
| B. Tirtha Luhur/Amreta | G. Tirtha Sangku |
| C. Tirtha Putra | H. Tirtha Empul/Panglukatan |
| D. Tirtha Padiksan | I. Tirtha Sudamala |
| E. Tirtha Tunggang/Sindu | |

I. Public temples

I.1. General public temples: I call this group of 18 temples the 'general public temples' to distinguish them from the clearly demarcated sub-group of the temples of the Catur Lawa whose status as public temples is a matter of some debate in Bali. The 18 general public temples are supported by all Hindus throughout Indonesia. The temples' management is in the hands of Parisada Hindu Dharma Pusat, the official national Hindu organization of Indonesia. Historically, these temples have been, and still are, intimately related to the adat village of Besakih, so they are comparable to the communal temples of other adat villages. Other major sanctuaries in Bali, such as Pura Lempuyang, Pura Batukaru, Pura Batur, Pura Pulaki, to name just a few, have a number of subsidiary temples, but none as many as Besakih.

I.2. Temples of the Catur Lawa: This consists of a group of four (catur) temples, also known as the temples of the Catur Warga on account of their association with particular descent groups. Despite this association, their role in public rituals, specifically Bhatara Turun Kabeh, indicates that these temples should be regarded as public temples.

II. Descent group temples

II.1. Translocal descent group temples: The 11 padharman temples are temples which honour the deified ancestors of particular descent groups (warga). Each temple is supported by the particular

group concerned. Padharman shrines are also found within two of the public temples. Such a concentration of padharman temples in one place is unique to Besakih. Descent groups also support temples which, although associated with ancestors, are not regarded as honouring original deified ancestors. At Besakih, six temples supported by non-local descent groups are of this kind.

II.2. Local descent group temples: Belonging to, the descent groups of the villagers of Besakih are 29 pura dadia, two dadia-supported temples, and five sub-dadia temples. This number is within the range one would expect for a village of Besakih's size.

III. Locality and other temples

The 11 temples in this group are supported by special pamaksan whose memberships are mostly based on residence near the localities where the temples are situated. Almost all these temples are located at some distance from the central Besakih complex and are associated with the development of settlements within the Besakih area.

GENERAL PUBLIC TEMPLES

A glance at the overall layout of the Besakih complex and the alignment of temples is enough to allay any thought of the possibility of a single all-embracing system of sacred geometry (cf. James 1973). There is no grand mandala-like design at Besakih, at least not topographically in a geometric sense, though in a general directional sense there are relationships between certain groups of temples. The temples are located along a number of slightly converging ridges, the majority of them on the main Besakih ridge. It

is the ridge, not the summit of Gunung Agung, that determines the alignment of each of the temples -- even temples on one ridge may not have precisely the same alignment. Since little or nothing is known of the origins of any of these temples, it is impossible to say why they are located where they are.

There is, however, an overall unity of the public temples of Besakih which is expressed by a variety of means. Most importantly, their unity is expressed through ritual, and especially through the main yearly festival Bhatara Turun Kabeh, centered upon the Pura Penataran Agung, which honours the deities of all the public temples. Secondly, unity is expressed through their being the temples associated with a single adat village. Thirdly, unity is expressed through a series of number-based classification systems, each system linking certain sets or groups of temples. The central position in all these systems (or one element in the case of the duality) is taken by Pura Penataran Agung.

These number-based classification systems group together the following sets of temples: 1) the dual system links Pura Penataran Agung and Pura Dalem Puri; 2) the three-part system groups Pura Penataran Agung with Pura Batu Madeg and Pura Kiduling Kreteg; 3) the five-part system groups the three temples of Pura Penataran Agung, Pura Batu Madeg, and Pura Kiduling Kreteg with Pura Gelap and Pura Ulun Kulkul. These links, amongst sets of temples, do not imply that the temples were built expressly as a manifestation of a particular classification system. It is more likely that temples arose independently and then were later linked through classification. The most likely exception to this is the dual relationship, for, as I argued earlier, if Besakih is best understood in comparison with other

ancient core villages of the region, one would expect that there would be two essential communal temples. This dual classification system is basic to understanding the Besakih complex as a whole, though difficulties arise in the identification of pura puseh and pura dalem setra. However since the dual classification system is only one of several and since there is an essentially higher unity, it is with the central temple, the Pura Penataran Agung, that I shall begin. Furthermore, an analysis of this great temple will throw light on the problem of Besakih's pura puseh and so on the dual classification itself. At the same time, through an historical examination of the temple's stages of development, I introduce the question of a major shift in paradigms underlying the structure of the whole complex, for although Pura Penataran Agung is now clearly the most important temple, it may not always have been so.



Map 3. Pura Penataran Agung

(from Stuart-Fox 1982:19; originally from Merian 1978,
with changed numbering)

Pura Penataran Agung

Pura Penataran Agung, the central sanctuary of the Besakih complex, is in size not only the largest temple at Besakih, it is the largest temple in Bali. It is an enormous terraced sanctuary consisting of six terraces with structures built on them. Often it is said that the existence of terraces makes a temple, ipso facto, a megalithic sanctuary, with the implication of prehistoric origin. But terraces do not necessarily imply antiquity; they are a direct result of the size of the temple and the degree of incline of the slope where the temple is built. A small temple needs no terracing, but on a slope such as the one at Besakih, a large temple can only be constructed with terracing. Since it is most unlikely that such a large temple was built all at the one time, the terraces suggest a history of enlargement which in turn suggests considerable antiquity. We simply do not know whether Pura Penataran Agung, in some form or another, dates back to prehistoric times.<2> In its present form it is just 25 years old, for in 1962 the main courtyard (Terrace II counting from the bottom) was enlarged to the west and the positions of several buildings changed. That was a very minor enlargement, but it does raise the question as to just how many enlargements this great sanctuary has undergone through the centuries. It seems fair to assume that the temple has grown, by stages, from humble beginnings. And, most importantly, it has grown essentially in one direction -- downridge.

Of great antiquity is the belief that the mountain was the abode of spirit, the greater the mountain the greater the spirit, and it is not by chance therefore that the shrines on the highest terrace are



Pl. 2 Drawing of Pura Besakih by W.O.J.Nieuwenkamp (c.1907)
(Nieuwenkamp 1906-10:200)



Hoofdtempel van Bali te Besakih in 1917.

Pl. 3 Penataran Agung after the great earthquake of 1917
(Moojen 1926)

dedicated to the spirit of the mountain. Leaving origins aside as essentially unknowable, an analysis of the 57 structures located within the temple walls, the deities enshrined there and the rituals performed there, allows one to postulate two main stages of development of Pura Penataran Agung which I shall call the 'pre-padmasana stage' and the 'padmasana stage'.<3>

Pre-padmasana stage

The pre-padmasana stage of Pura Penataran Agung is centered around the four upper terraces (III-VI), and in particular certain shrines of Terrace III which suggest parallels with the region's pura puseh. Taking the terraces in order, the two shrines (nos.56-57) on the uppermost terrace VI are a pair of enclosed structures (gedong) honouring the male and female aspects of the deity of the mountain, Ratu Bukit. These are rather elaborate structures now, but were no doubt far simpler in ancient times. Veneration of the mountain deity, one assumes, has always been an essential element of worship at the temple. The structures on each of the terraces V and IV consist of an 11-roofed meru, accompanied by lesser shrines. On terrace V the great meru (no.53) is dedicated to Ratu Sunaring Jagat, who is identified with Bhatara Siwa or Bhatara Guru, while the meru (no.45) on terrace IV is dedicated to Bhatara Wisesa who is identified with Bhatara Raditya, the sun god. Also on terrace IV is a shrine (no.44) housing four ancient statues said to date from the 12th century as well as a number of lingga. The deity of this shrine is known as Sanghyang Surya-Candra (Sun-Moon). These gods of the sky and upperworld, together with the mountain deity Ratu Bukit, comprise one element in the ancient dual structure of the Besakih complex.

The structures on terrace III include three shrines of particular interest, the kehen (no.35), an 11-roofed meru (no.34) honouring Ratu Maspahit and a seven-roofed meru (no.36) honouring Ratu Geng, as well as several minor shrines and the padharman shrines of the Arya Bang Sidemen and Arya Dauh kin groups. The kehen, situated at the eastern end of the terrace, is the only structure of its kind found at Besakih.<4> It reminds one of similar structures that form the main shrines in the pura puseh of the old core villages of west Karangasem. Now, however, the function of the kehen at Besakih is somewhat different from that of the others, for at Besakih it serves, not as a shrine, but as a storehouse (panyimpenan) where the ancient wooden edicts and other god-symbols and ritual paraphernalia are housed. It is at the kehen that the major deities of Pura Penataran Agung are called down into their god-symbols at the start of the yearly Bhatara Turun Kabeh festival, before proceeding to their pavilion in the lower courtyard.<5>

The 11-roofed meru honouring Ratu Maspahit is located west (kauh) of the kehen. Shrines to Ratu Maspahit are found in many temples in Bali, but the identity of this deity and its relationship with the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit is still obscure. The Raja Purana identifies Ratu Maspahit with Bhatara Candra, goddess of the moon. At Besakih the shrine plays an important role in marriage rituals. Until the 1930's, when the custom fell into abeyance, the cost of the ritual of this meru, which falls on the day Sugi Manik Jawa (Thursday-Wage of the week Sungsang), was derived from the marriage tax, called pangapih, levied on all marriages at Besakih and at all the pragunung villages. The ceremony used to mark one of the most important occasions when pragunung villagers attended rituals at Besakih.

The third important shrine of terrace III is the seven-roofed meru honouring Ratu Geng or Ratu Lingsir, which celebrates its odalan on the same day as that of Ratu Maspahit. The god-symbol of Ratu Geng is the pair of ancient edicts pertaining to Besakih, issued in 1444 and 1458, and written on large wooden panels. In Bali, old inscriptions or edicts (prasasti) are almost invariably sacred objects, revered as the physical symbols (pratima) of deities who at times of festival are believed to reside in these objects. The Besakih edicts are treated with the utmost veneration, and the deity believed to reside in them is one of the major deities of the temple. In processions nowadays the sacred edicts are carried at the end of the processions of the gods, the position of highest honour. (It should be noted, however, that there has been a change in this order of procession). It is noteworthy that besides Ratu Geng, only Ratu Maspahit and Ratu Bukit among the gods of Pura Penataran Agung are represented by god-symbols, the former by an oblong box (kotak) containing various substances, and the later by a non-permanent object, in shape like an offering, called tapakan palinggih. This is a clear indication of the ritual importance of these three deities.

Since it is not unusual for a bale agung associated with a major temple, such as a pura puseh, to be situated in an outer courtyard, it is quite possible that terrace II where the bale agung is situated, already existed at the time of the pre-padmasana stage in the development of Pura Penataran Agung. But terrace II was not then the focus of ritual. That must have taken place in what I am calling the 'padmasana stage'.

Padmasana stage

The triple padmasana on terrace II of Pura Penataran Agung is the single most important shrine in all the temples of Bali, and its central role at Besakih itself is emphasized by the fact that no other public temple there possesses a padmasana. Its introduction marked a crucially important change in the focus of ritual from shrines of the upper terraces, especially terrace III, to the padmasana of terrace II, and it would seem, a change in paradigm from an essentially dual structure of the Besakih complex to an essentially centric structure (three-part and five-part).

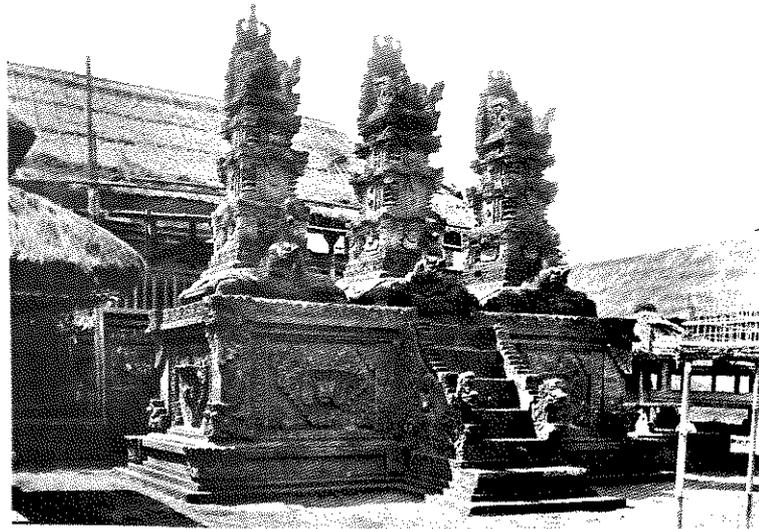
The padmasana or lotus-seat is a late arrival to Balinese temple architecture.<6> It is associated with the brahmanic tradition whose introduction to Bali is attributed to Danghyang Nirartha, founder of the brahmana siwa kin group, court priest of Dalem Baturenggong during the heyday of the Gelgel dynasty, a priest with a significant impact on Hindu religion and ritual in Bali. He is thought to have lived from the end of the 15th century until about the middle of the 16th century.<7> However, when the padmasana began to be incorporated into temples is not known. It is not mentioned in chronicles about Danghyang Nirartha, nor is it found in many temples associated with him. It is, then, more likely to have been introduced by his descendants, probably in the 17th or even 18th century. When the Raja Purana was compiled, no later than the beginning of the 19th century, the padmasana was already the main shrine at Pura Besakih.

Besakih's triple padmasana (no.19) is the most elaborate padmasana in Bali.<8> It consists of a common base from which rise three separate plinths bearing lotus-seats with high backs, each plinth resting on the representation of the cosmic turtle Badawang



Meroes en Gedong Kēhēn in den tempel van Besakih in 1917.

Pl. 4 Pura Penataran Agung in 1917: the kehen building (r) and and the meru honouring I Dewa Maspahit (l) (Moojen 1926)



BEYD

Nieuwe offerplaats „Sanggar agoeng”, tempel van Besakih, 1922. Links Wisnnoe, midden Siwa, rechts Brahma.

Pl. 5 The triple padmasana of Pura Penataran Agung (Moojen 1926)

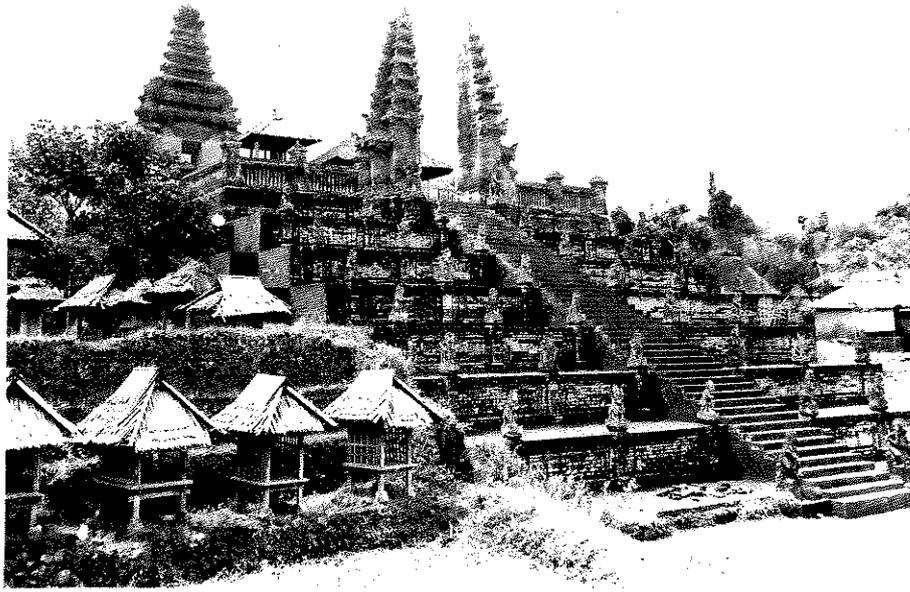
Nala, around which twine the two cosmic nagas, Basuki and Anantaboga. In brahmanic texts padmasana are divided into various kinds on the basis of number of seats, size, decoration and location. In such a typology, that at Besakih is a padmasana anqlayang ('flying padmasana')(Surpha 1977, Seminar I). The Raja Purana calls Mt. Agung by this name, and the padmasana at Besakih by the special name of Lilajnyana, an unusual combination of Sanskrit words, lila (play, grace; playful, serene, unpeturbed) and jnyana (knowledge, especially of the divine).<9> At Besakih it is often called padma tiga.

The most common form of the padmasana with just a single seat is said to honour Siwa-Raditya, Siwa as lord of the sun. This is one of several alternate epithets of the High God in the doctrines of Siwa-Siddhanta branch of Hinduism that became dominant in Bali. In modern Hindu terminology in Bali the High God is known as Sanghyang Widdhi Wasa. The triple padmasana at Besakih is regarded as honouring Sanghyang Widdhi Wasa in His tripartite form. Officially this tripartite form is that of Siwa, Sadasiwa, and Paramasiwa, although to many people less learned in brahmanic lore the tripartite form honoured is that of Brahma, Wisnu and Siwa/Iswara. In the Balinese textual tradition these tripartite forms are variously called Trisakti, Trimurti, and Tripurusa, without clear distinctions being made.<10>

The deity of the padmasana, Siwa-Raditya or Sanghyang Widdhi, is never represented by a god-symbol (pratima), and this is the case too at Besakih. However, generally, despite its exalted role in brahmanic theology, the padmasana is not the focus of ritual in temple festivals, and here again Besakih is exceptional in that its triple padmasana is indeed the focus of ritual.

When worshippers come to Besakih in connection with any ritual whatsoever they always pay homage at the padmasana in Pura Penataran Agung. Every day save Nyepi the temple's pemangku are in attendance, presenting the worshippers' offerings to the godhead, leading them in the prayers of divine homage, and sprinkling them with holy water. This holy water is not prepared by human means, but is a gift or a bestowal of blessings from the godhead of the padmasana on which the vessel of clear spring water had been placed. Such holy water is called wangsuh pada, 'water from washing the feet (of the deity)'. This is the basic ritual act undergone by every worshipper who comes to Pura Besakih. Not only for outside worshippers, but equally for the Besakih villagers, the padmasana is the most important shrine. When local villagers give offerings (maturan) at Pura Penataran Agung in connection with a family or kin group ritual or on one of the calendrical holy days, they always worship at the triple padmasana.

The change in locus of ritual from shrines of the upper terraces to the padmasana occurred centuries ago, and is not the result of modern Hinduizing tendencies. However, the central role of the padmasana at Besakih coincided with Hindu teachings propagated by Parisada Hindu Dharma which emphasizes the padmasana importance. Although the padmasana of Pura Penataran Agung does play the leading role in Besakih ritual, this is not to the exclusion of other important deities; there is no conflict here. On the contrary, in the paselang ritual, part of the Bhatara Turun Kabeh festival, the gods of the public temples, represented by their god-symbols, play the major role, while the locus of this ritual is not the padmasana but the pavilion named bale paselang (no.11) after the ritual. Like the other shrines of the temple, the padmasana has its own special



Pl. 6 Pura Penataran Agung (1950's)



Pl. 7 Pura Penataran Agung: structures of Terrace II (1952)
(Koninklijk Instituut voor der Tropen, Amsterdam, No.726.132.3 N.143)

ceremony, called usaba kapat because it falls on the full moon of the fourth month.

On terrace II, besides the triple padmasana, there are two large meru, one with nine roofs (no.14) and one with eleven roofs (no.15). These are dedicated to I Ratu Kubakal and I Ratu Mas Makentel respectively, who are identified with Dewi Sri and Rambut Sadana (Wisnu). Other important structures on this terrace include the meeting pavilion of the gods (bale pasamuhan agung) and the bale agung.

Based on this analysis of the central sanctuary, it is now possible to move to a discussion of the various number-based classification systems linking Pura Penataran Agung with other sets of temples.

Dual Classification in the Besakih Complex

Both in ancient Balinese thought and in Indic thought dualism is an important basis of classification. Dutch scholars in their studies of Balinese mountain villages made this a crucial characteristic of old Balinese society, though their evolutionary framework requires modification (e.g. Grader 1937). The nature of relationships between linked pairs such as left-right, mountain-sea, earth-sky, male-female, is not necessarily one of analogic correspondence. Often this depends on context. In Bali, old Balinese concepts of dualism became melded with Indic dualism. Together they are subsumed under the concept of rwa-bhineda which in Indic terms is related to the Samkhya doctrine of purusa and pradhana (or prakrti), the male and female principles of existence. This dualism, it would appear, also underlies the

relationship between pura puseh and pura dalem.

Dual symbolic classification at Besakih underlies the structure of the complex as a whole. It is represented by the relationships linking Pura Penataran Agung and Pura Dalem Puri, each with associated temples, and a corresponding pair of holy springs, Tirtha Amreta and Tirtha Tunggang.

It is also reflected in a traditional division of Besakih's public temples into two groups on the basis of location: those luhuring ambal-ambal, 'above the steps', and those soring ambal-ambal, 'below the steps'. The steps referred to are taken to be the main flight of steps leading up to Pura Penataran Agung. The temples 'above the steps' are Pura Penataran Agung, Pura Batu Madeg, Pura Kiduling Kreteg, Pura Gelap, Pura Pangubengan, Pura Tirtha, and Pura Paninjoan. The remaining eleven public temples are all numbered among those 'below the steps'. Pura Penataran Agung is the leading temple of the group of temples above the steps, and Pura Dalem Puri that of the group below the steps.

Corresponding to this division is a similar division of Besakih's nine official pemangku into two groups, one group of five pemangku under the leadership of I Gusti Mangku Sidemen, taking care of the temples 'above the steps', while the remaining four under the leadership of I Gusti Mangku Kabayan take care of those 'below the steps'. Thus the two leading pemangku were particularly associated with the most important temple of each group, Pura Penataran Agung 'above the steps' and Pura Dalem Puri 'below the steps'. In the Raja Purana the two leading pemangku are also known as Mangku ing Lor and Mangku Kidul, where lor and kidul are here equivalent to kaja and kelod respectively. These two topographical terms of direction

correlate with the actual locations of Pura Penataran Agung and Pura Dalem Puri, the deity of the latter temple being called I Dewa Kidul in the Raja Purana.

In the Raja Purana (RPI 8.29-35), this locational dualism is also expressed with reference to two holy springs.

Descending on a pitch-black night, Bhātara Gangga comes forth at the south of Basukir [Besakih], with the name Sanghyang Sindu Tunggang,...

Descending on a pitch-black night, Bhatara Gangga comes forth at the north of Basukir, with the name Sanghyang Tirtha Sakti Amreta,...

However the terms lor and kidul, and more especially luhur and sor, besides having this locational or geographical reference, also have a cosmic reference, most clearly expressed in the deities associated with each group. Pura Penataran Agung itself possesses several shrines, particularly on the temple's upper terraces, honouring deities of an upperworld nature. On terrace IV one finds a meru dedicated to Bhatara Raditya (Ratu Sunar ing Jagat) and a shrine honouring Surya-Candra, while on the uppermost terrace VI are shrines honouring Ratu Bukit, i.e. the god of Gunung Agung, also known as Putrajaya or Mahadewa. Although the upperworld deities are essentially male in nature, both Ratu Bukit and Ratu Surya-Candra are themselves dualistic in structure, both having male and female aspects, an example of the 'recursive' nature of dualism.<11> Related to this group are the deities of Pura Gelap (gelap means 'lightning') and Pura Pangubengan, the latter deity generally being associated with Gunung Agung or with the seven levels of the sky/heavens (sapta akasa). Pura Pangubengan is also closely associated with Tirtha Amreta.<12>.

Among the temples classified as 'below the steps', Pura Dalem Puri, the most important, is closely associated with Pura Manik Mas

and Pura Bangun Sakti. Both Pura Dalem Puri and Pura Manik Mas possess visiting shrines for the other's deity. That at Pura Dalem Puri is identified with Pretiwi/Durga while that at Pura Manik Mas, although rather problematic, is sometimes identified with Giriputri; both are female deities. The god of Pura Bangun Sakti is Sang Naga Anantabhoga, lord of the seven levels of the earth/underworld (sapta patala or sapta pretiwi), with whom Tirtha Tunggang is closely associated.<13>

The cosmic dimensions of the two holy springs, particularly their relationships with life and death, are mentioned in a confusing passage in the Raja Purana, but more clearly expressed in the following passage from a more recent text (HKS.3828:30.12-31.13):

Speaking now of the holy spring (tirtha) at the south of Besakih, the holy water of Bhatara Dalem, Tirtha Sindu [Tunggang] is its name, [and it may be considered] as bathing water (pawangsuhan) of that deity, water from the genitalia of the deity (banyun baga purus bhatara). It may be used as holy water for the dead.

The holy spring at the north of Besakih is called Tirtha Petak [Amreta], and may be considered as bathing water of all the gods,....

Balinese often use holy water from Tirtha Tunggang in connection with cremation rituals, while the Besakih villagers also use it in burial rites in which it is poured over the face of the deceased. In temple rituals at Besakih it is used for holy water (wangsuhan pada) during ceremonies at Pura Bangun Sakti (and Pura Manik Mas?), but not at Pura Dalem Puri.<14>

Holy water from Tirtha Amreta (also known as Tirtha Arum, Tirtha Luhur, Tirtha Pingit) is the holy water par excellence for people requesting holy water at Besakih in connection with major, particularly dewa yadnya, ceremonies in their home villages. Sometimes, however, holy water from the padmasana is used instead.

The use of holy water from Tirtha Amreta as wangsu pada in temple ceremonies at Besakih is complicated by the fact that Tirtha Amreta is the spring of intermediate status in a hierarchical set of three springs -- Tirtha Girikusuma, Tirtha Amreta, and Tirtha Putra. The higher the altitude of the spring's location on the mountain, the higher is its status.<15> The dualism linking Tirtha Tunggang and Tirtha Amreta is further expressed in the manner in which the water is obtained. For example, the mouths of the bamboo tubes are cut in different ways, flat for life-giving rituals, pointed for death rituals.<16>

The dualistic structure of the Besakih complex may also be formulated in terms of the mysticism of sacred power-syllables. In a recent brahmanic text, called Padma Bhuwana (HKS.4179:8.4-5,12-13), in which the power syllables of the dasaksara are related, through the cardinal and intermediate directions, to particular gods and sanctuaries throughout Bali, the two syllables located at the center, ING from the pancabrahma and YANG from the pancaksara, are interpreted as follows:

ING, Isana, Siwawairocana, whose sanctuary is located at the center, becomes Bhatara Pratiwi, [acting] as the base (dasar)[of the world], residing at [Pura] Dalem Puri...;
 YANG, sky (akasa), Siwaraditya, located at the center, residing at Rambut Basukih [Pura Penataran Agung].

From the previous discussion as a whole, the dualistic structure of the Besakih complex and its symbolic manifestations may be summarized as follows:

lor	---	kidul
luhur	---	sor
kaja	---	kelod
Pura Penataran Agung	---	Pura Dalem Puri
Tirtha Amreta	---	Tirtha Tunggang
life	---	death
male	---	female
sky/heavens/sun	---	earth
sapta akasa	---	sapta patala
(Siwa) Raditya	---	Pretiwi
YANG	---	ING

This dualism also underlies the relationship between pura puseh and pura dalem setra which I have characterized as the two essential communal temples of the adat villages of west Karangasem, a regional variation on the more usual 'three sanctuaries' system. Although I have argued that Besakih is best understood in the context of the region's adat villages, the interpretation of temples at Besakih in terms of either the 'two sanctuaries' or 'three sanctuaries' systems raises some difficult problems.

Recent Balinese writings interpret Besakih temples in terms of the 'three sanctuaries' system -- Pura Basukihan as pura puseh, Pura Penataran Agung as pura desa, and Pura Dalem Puri as pura dalem; and on the grounds that Pura Besakih is the ultimate source of all temples throughout Bali, these three temples are regarded as the sources of temples of each category. Taking the regional 'two sanctuaries' system, with no separate pura desa, as a basis, the evidence of the dualistic structure suggests that Pura Penataran Agung and Pura Dalem Puri are the two temples that in Besakih's unique situation play the same role that the pura puseh and pura dalem do in other adat villages of the region. It is necessary therefore to examine the nature of these temples more closely.

Pura Basukihan is often considered Besakih's pura puseh on the grounds that Besakih villagers call the temple their 'puseh'.

However, it portrays none of the usual characteristics of a pura puseh. It is a small temple at the foot of Pura Penataran Agung and, together with a few subsidiary structures, possesses just a single shrine, a seven-roofed meru dedicated to Sang Naga Basuki (RPI 3.25-26). Although some texts prescribe a seven-roofed meru for a pura puseh, a three-roofed meru or a three-roofed structure of the kehen type is the norm throughout east Bali.<17> Furthermore, Pura Basukihan possesses none of the other structures, such as a bale agung, which a pura puseh usually has, but on the other hand has ancestral (kawitan) shrines in its outer courtyard which is unusual for a pura puseh but not unknown.<18> Most extraordinary of all for a pura puseh is Pura Basukihan's most distinctive feature, for it is here that the Besakih villagers hold their post-cremation rituals (neles, equivalent to ngroras).<19> In short, notwithstanding its common designation as puseh, Pura Basukihan has unique features quite unlike those of other pura puseh.<20>

The other candidate as Besakih's pura puseh, following the regional 'two sanctuaries' system, is Pura Penataran Agung, but as in the case of Pura Basukihan, here too there are arguments for and against. In the reconstructed history of Pura Penataran Agung's development, the change of ritual focus from shrines of the upper terraces to the padmasana was of crucial significance. In the pre-padmasana stage, it is impossible to say with certainty which shrine was the focus of ritual, but on comparative evidence the kehen is one possibility, for a structure of this kind serves as the main shrine of the pura puseh of the region's other old core villages. Its function as a storehouse is unique to Besakih, but if this was its original function, it is a most unusual structure to have chosen,

without a single parallel elsewhere in Bali. One argument against the kehen ever having been a shrine is that no rituals are now held specially for it, but on the other hand if it had once been the main shrine its day of celebration would have been that of the temple's great yearly lunar festival, the Bhatara Turun Kabeh, and it is precisely this ritual that now has the padmasana as its focus.<21> Furthermore, it is probably significant that the ritual of the 'gods descending' takes place at this building. Another possibility for the main shrine of the pre-padmasana stage is that dedicated to Ratu Bukit.<22> A further argument in favour of Pura Penataran Agung in its pre-padmasana stage being a pura puseh is that the eleven-roofed meru honouring Ratu Maspahit, in close proximity to the kehen, is the shrine most intimately associated with Besakih's pragunung villages. In west Karangasem it is always at the pura puseh that such adat relationships are expressed. Another parallel between Pura Penataran Agung and other pura puseh of the region is that at their great yearly lunar festivals the gods of the other temples of each village also participate.

Although admittedly the evidence is not conclusive, I am inclined to regard Pura Penataran Agung in its pre-padmasana stage as equivalent to a pura puseh, or at least serving the function of a pura puseh in the dualism linking pura puseh and pura dalem. Before discussing the problematic question of Besakih's pura dalem, it is first necessary to discuss in some detail the Pura Dalem Puri, the other element of the dualism.

Although Pura Penataran Agung as the centre of centre-focussed symbolic classifications and through its role in Bhatara Turun Kabeh is now clearly the most important temple of the Besakih complex,

historically Pura Dalem Puri has played a role of unique significance and in certain respects can claim higher status. According to the mid 15th century wooden edicts, the village of Basuki was granted special rights on the grounds that the village is responsible for the sanctuary honouring Sang Sinuhun Kidul. This sanctuary should be identified with Pura Dalem Puri whose deity, according to the Raja Purana, is I Dewa Kidul. According to lontar texts, when the gods of Besakih went forth on their malasti procession, the god of Pura Dalem Puri came at the rear, normally the position of highest status, though the order of procession has now changed. The reason for Pura Dalem Puri's special status is now obscure. One hypothesis is that the temple was in some special way associated with the 12th century Jaya dynasty (Chapter 10).

If its history and status is obscure, the nature and function of Pura Dalem Puri, and even the identity of its deity, are also problematic. One finds in west Karangasem, and elsewhere in Bali, two kinds of pura dalem: a pura dalem suci honours the female principle in its auspicious aspect related to earth, fertility and agriculture, symbolized by the goddess Pretiwi, while a pura dalem setra honours that principle in its destructive aspect, symbolized by the goddess Durga. Pura Dalem Puri, it would seem, has characteristics of both kinds.

The Raja Purana names the deity of Pura Dalem Puri as I Dewa Kidul, and in a somewhat obscure passage seems to identify this deity with Pretiwi.<23> The author of the recent (20th century) text Padma Bhuwana (HKS.4179:2.10-3.2, 5.13-6.3, 8.4-5) likewise identifies the deity of Pura Dalem Puri with Pretiwi. A further indication of Pura Dalem Puri's association with land and fertility is that the day on

which its main yearly usaba festival falls determines the days of celebration of Besakih's most important agricultural ceremonies. Nowhere does the Raja Purana identify I Dewa Kidul with Bhatari Durga.

Another consideration supporting the view that Pura Dalem Puri is essentially a pura dalem suci in nature is that there is no tradition of a cemetery ever being attached to it.<24> Besakih now has two cemeteries, an eastern one located on the Kiduling Kreteg ridge, and a western one on the Batu Madeg ridge.<25> Place of burial is determined by location of residence, the dividing line being the main approach-way along or across which corpses may not be carried. Only a couple of descent groups, including that of the Arya Bang Sidemen, always bury their dead in the western cemetery, in which case the corpse is borne on a long detour far downridge. The western cemetery would seem to be the most important, in that it lies next to the former setra agunq (great cemetery), while immediately upridge is the small public temple called Pura Yang Aluh.<26> This temple has characteristics of a pura dalem, not only in its location upridge from the cemetery but also in its structure and shrines. Its main shrine is a gedong (or cungkub) facing west, while its entrance is on the upridge side, thus virtually identical with Pura Dalem Puri. The deity of this temple, usually called Ratu Ayu, is identified with Prajapati, lord of the graveyard. Nowadays Pura Yang Aluh plays but a minor role in the death rituals of local villagers, but formerly villagers used to present offerings there in connection with all death rituals.<27> This largely ceased when, around the 1930's, a 'visiting' (pasimpangan) shrine to Prajapati was built immediately outside Pura Dalem Puri.<28> This recent addition, therefore, can not be used to support the argument that Pura Dalem Puri is a pura dalem setra in

nature.<29>

If there are good arguments in favour of Pura Dalem Puri being a pura dalem suci, other considerations involving its associations with death rituals point to characteristics of a pura dalem setra. The deity enshrined in a pura dalem setra is generally identified with Bhatari Durgā, though caution should be exercised in arguing that a temple dedicated to Bhatari Durgā is necessarily a pura dalem setra.<30> Although the Raja Purana does not identify the deity of Pura Dalem Puri with Bhatari Durgā, nowadays this is always said to be the case. However in brahmanic and other texts, Pretiwi and Durgā as well as other goddesses such as Uma are all identified one with another, as different aspects of the cosmic female principle (pradana), personified as the consort of Siwa. Giriputri, Daughter of the Mountain, is another name often applied to the female aspect of Besakih's dualism.<31>

Besides, or because of, its deity now being identified as Bhatari Durgā, Pura Dalem Puri is the locus of certain ceremonies involving the deified souls of the dead, and it is this more than anything that gives rise to the opinion that Pura Dalem Puri is a pura dalem setra. In the case of the Besakih villagers themselves, the ritual at Pura Dalem Puri takes place on the same day as the post-cremation ritual which they call neles instead of the more common terms such as nyekah, ngrorasin, mukur or maliqia (terms which vary according to status of deceased and the level of ritual).<32> After the neles ritual held in Pura Basukihan at which a padanda officiates, the soul symbols are taken to a place called pamuunan (literally 'place of burning') where they are burned, the ashes placed in young coconuts (kalungah) which are then thrown down over a nearby bank (the local version of nganyud)

while a pemangku informs the spirits that they will shortly be called back at the seaside. Immediately thereafter a group goes to the seaside at Goa Lawah where, in a ceremony called nuntun di sagara, the spirits are called back and installed in a new soul symbol (pawilet or panqadeg). After a brief ritual at Pura Goa Lawah, everyone returns to Besakih where at Pura Dalem Puri a ceremony with numerous offerings takes place at the shrine to Prajapati who is notified who the spirits are. A leave-taking consists of circumambulating the shrine three times clockwise. This is followed by a smaller and briefer ritual inside the temple in front of the main shrine. Dust from the floor of the shrine, called buk pada ('dust from the feet [of the deity]') is wrapped in dadap leaves and placed with the soul symbol, sometimes together with buk pada from the Prajapati shrine. After final farewell homage at several other public temples, including Pura Penataran Agung, the soul symbols are carried to the pura dadia of the deceased. There, in front of the hyang shrines just outside the temple, a pemangku performs a final ritual, followed by circumambulation three times clockwise, after which the soul symbols are brought up to the hyang shrine which is struck three times as a sign of enshrinement (ngalinggihang). The soul symbol is thereupon broken up. The buk pada obtained at Pura Dalem Puri is buried behind the shrine. This ritual culminating at the pura dadia is technically known as dewa pitra pratistha (Linus 1983), or more commonly as nuntun ('lead') or nunas pitra ('ask for the spirit'). In these final death rites as practised by the Besakih villagers at Pura Dalem Puri, it should be noted that the larger of the rituals occurs at the Prajapati shrine, whereas formerly this would have taken place at Pura Yang Aluh.

Not all Balinese practise nuntun or nunas pitra at Pura Dalem Puri prior to the final enshrinement at the pura dadia (or sanggah/merajan, depending on local custom), but if this is not the case, then a related ritual is carried out after enshrinement.<33> Nowadays rarely a day passes without a few groups coming to Besakih to nuntun or nunas pitra, and on favourable days people come in their hundreds. Primarily due to improved transportation, there has been a phenomenal increase in the frequency of nuntun.

Reliable information concerning these practices in earlier times seems to be lacking entirely, and it is important to note that texts on pitra yadnya rituals make no mention of them.<34> One Besakih informant believes that such rituals formerly did not take place after every post-cremation ritual but only at such major rituals as a consecration (ngenteg linggih) of a pura dadia.<35> What seems certain, however, is that in former times these rituals were practised only by people living in the vicinity of the temple, but that now they are practised by all Balinese, a development that has occurred in recent decades.

Besides these individual or group rituals, Pura Dalem Puri's main annual public ritual, the usaba dalem puri, celebrated on the day kajeng that falls three, five, or seven days after the new moon of the seventh month, is also closely associated with the souls of the purified dead, particularly those whose final death rites were held in the previous year. Enormous crowds now turn up for this 24-hour long ceremony, and so well known is it that in neighbouring villages it is sometimes simply called 'usaba Besakih'. After presenting offerings to Prajapati and to the deity of Pura Dalem Puri with the request that the deities grant the souls of the dead an auspicious place in the

afterworld and forgive their sins, each group of worshippers presents offerings to the souls of their family dead. These offerings to the dead are placed on the ground outside the temple, this area being known as the tegal panangsaran, 'the field of suffering'. Formerly it was said to have precise measurements, but the throng of worshippers has expanded far beyond into the tilled fields of local farmers.<36>

However one wishes to characterize the nature of Pura Dalem Puri, it is certainly unlike the usual pura dalem setra of the 'three sanctuaries' set. However, despite its several unique features, there are other pura dalem in Bali with which it has important structural parallels and which throw further light on the nature and function of Pura Dalem Puri. Just as Pura Dalem Puri is part of the Besakih complex, so other major temple complexes, such as Pura Batukaru and Pura Ulun Danu Bratan, have their own pura dalem.<37> Like Pura Dalem Puri, these pura dalem lie kelod-kauh from their respective main sanctuaries. None have cemeteries associated with them. The deities enshrined in them are very similar: Pretiwi/Durga at Pura Dalem Puri, Bhatara Guru (Kala) and Bhatari Uma (Durga) at Batukaru's pura dalem, Dewi Uma Bhagawati at Bratan's Pura Dalem Purwa. Reminding one of the term puri (palace) in the name Pura Dalem Puri and its possible relationship with a former royal court, Bratan's Pura Dalem Purwa is closely associated with the ancestors of the royal house of Mengwi which was responsible for its upkeep. (One publication even calls it Pura Dalem Kawitan). According to one informant, at this temple members of that royal family ask forgiveness for wrongdoings they have committed.

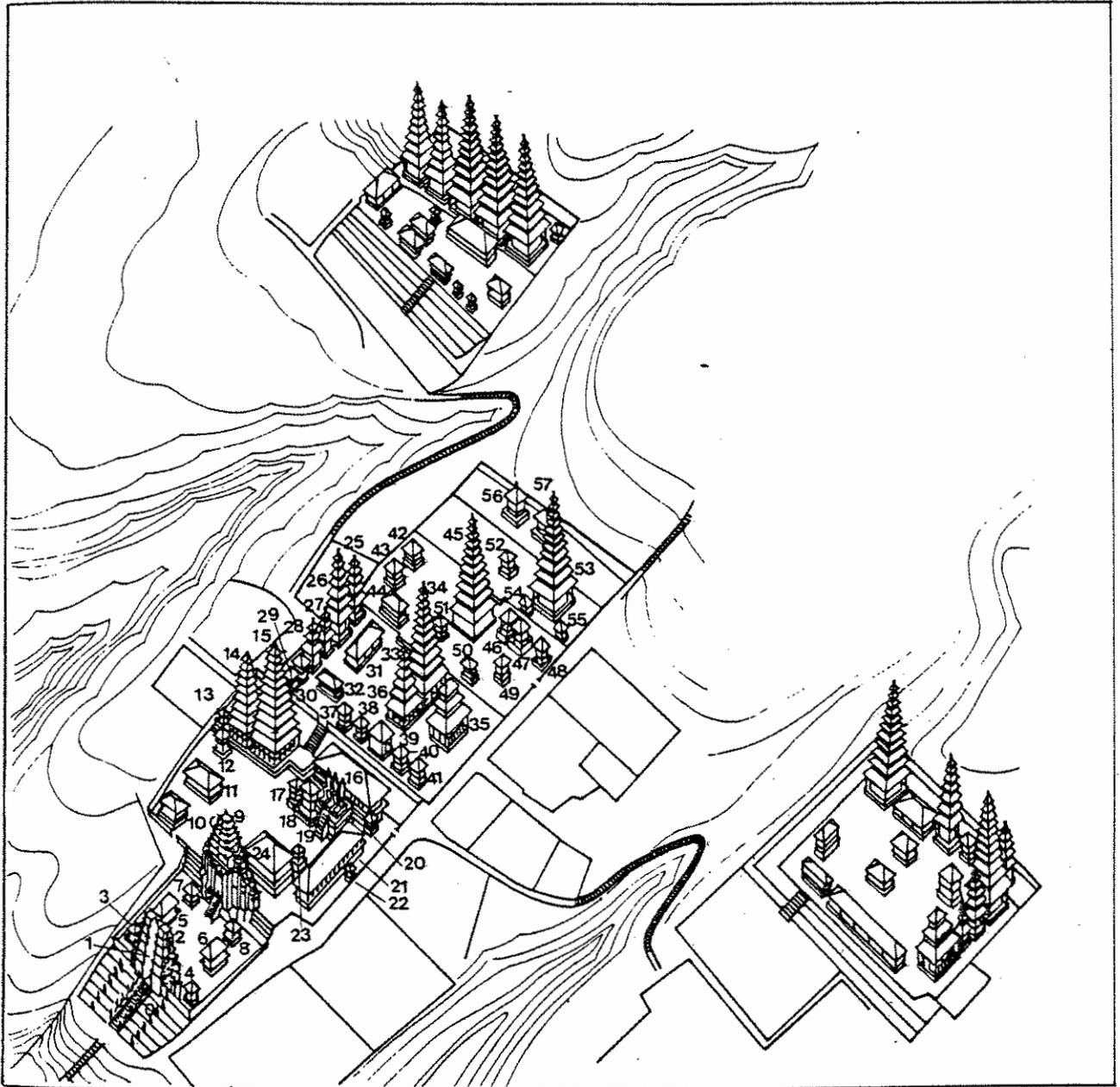
In short, Pura Dalem Puri honours the cosmic female principle personified as Pretiwi/Durga, at the same time providing a clear

example of the intimate relationship between the souls of the purified dead and the forces of earthly fertility and prosperity, a relationship of world-wide distribution (Gonda 1982:549-50). In complementary opposition is the cosmic male principle, symbolized at Besakih by Pura Penataran Agung and personified as Siwa, Raditya and the Lord of the Mountain.

Although the dualistic structure of the Besakih complex is of the greatest significance, centre-focussed systems of symbolic classification are also of undoubted importance, and it is to a discussion of these that I turn next.

Three-part Classification

Three-part classifications permeate Balinese religion and culture, appearing in various triadic manifestations that are all analogically linked. Among the many triads, some are of over-riding importance: left-center-right, black-white-red, water-air-fire, Wisnu-Siwa(Iswara)-Brahma (the Hindu Trinity or Trimurti). Such triads, at Besakih, are expressed in the relationship among the three great temples of Pura Penataran Agung, the central sanctuary honouring Siwa, Pura Batu Madeg honouring Wisnu, and Pura Kiduling Kreteg honouring Brahma.



Map 4. Temples of the three-part classification:
 Pura Penataran Agung (centre), Pura Batu Madeg (left),
 and Pura Kiduling Kreteg (right)

These identifications are stated explicitly in the Raja Purana (RPI 13.33-36, 8.5-12), but there is no way of knowing when they first came into being, whether before or after the introduction of the padmasana. For various reasons, including the Balinese names of their deities and the complex nature of rituals, it seems probable that the temples arose independently and only later became linked in a three-part classification. The nature of the identification of temple and deity of the Trimurti is important here. Both Pura Batu Madeg and Pura Kiduling Kreteg contain a large number of shrines; among these shrines, it is just the one considered the most important, an eleven-roofed meru in both cases, whose deity, besides a traditional Balinese name, is identified with Wisnu and Brahma, respectively. At Pura Penataran Agung, a meru of an upper terrace and the padmasana are both associated with Siwa.

Pura Batu Madeg, 'Temple of the Standing Stone', lies on the ridge to the west of Pura Penataran Agung (to the left as one faces the mountain).^{<38>} In front of a row of low altars containing natural stones and ancient statuary, which presumably are among the original shrines, is a wonderful series of five large merus. The one at the center is dedicated to Bhatara Wisnu, otherwise known as I Dewa Batu Madeg or Ratu Manik Gumawang. Since the days of the Gelgel dynasty this temple has been the responsibility of the ksatria house of Taman Bali which claims ancestry from Bhatara Wisnu. It is interesting that the names of many of the temple's deities suggest a relationship with the Batur area, probably since ancient times, or as a result of the influence of the Taman Bali/Bangli courts which controlled the Batur area.

Pura Kiduling Kreteg, 'Temple south of the bridge', as it is now

called, lies on the ridge to the east (or right) of Pura Penataran Agung. The shrine dedicated to Bhatara Brahma, otherwise known as I Dewa Kiduling/Dangin Kreteg or I Dewa Rabut Palah, is the eleven-roofed meru in the eastern row of shrines. The deities of other important shrines are believed to have control over pests of the fields (birds, mice, insects). Lords of Karangasem have been responsible for this temple since Gelgel times, when perhaps the temple was first constructed. As one faces the mountain, then, the sanctuary of Wisnu is to the left, that of Brahma to the right, of the central sanctuary.<39>

The association of these three temples with the gods of the Trimurti links them analogously with other triads. For example, the colours of each temple's decorations -- long cloth runners along the eaves, tall cloth banners, ceremonial umbrellas, and god's wardrobe -- follow the triadic colour scheme, those at Pura Penataran Agung being white, Siwa's colour, those at Pura Batu Madeg black for Wisnu, and those at Pura Kiduling Kreteg red for Brahma. The three elements, fire, water and air, corresponding to Brahma, Wisnu, and Siwa, is of only limited importance, however, in explaining the nature of the rituals held at these temples. At Pura Batu Madeg there is only the faintest hint of the element water in the name of one minor ritual, usaba warqa siram (siram, bathe), while the ritual called mapag toya (welcoming the water), though conducted by the pemanqku of Pura Batu Madeg, is in fact held at a spring some two kilometers from the temple. At Pura Kiduling Kreteg a reference to fire is found indirectly in the name of the major ritual there called aci panyeeb brahma ('cooling down brahma, i.e. (destructive) heat or fire).

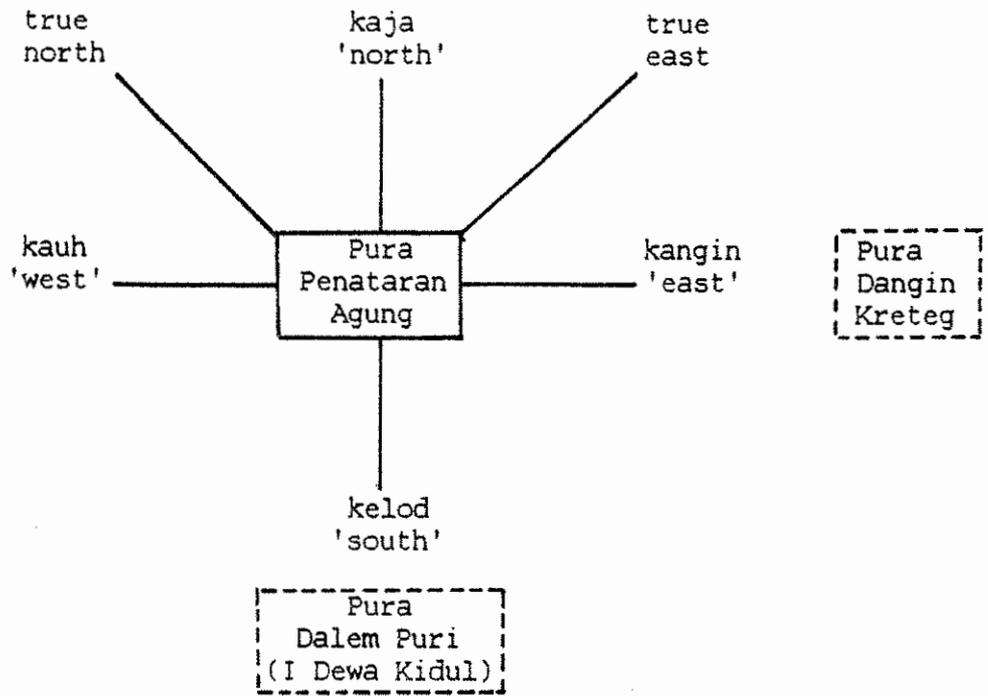
Five-part Classification

It is a short step from the three-part classification, left and right around the center, to the five-part classification, four around the center. In terms of the cardinal directions, the triad Brahma-Wisnu-Siwa is subsumed by the five-part classification in which Iswara resides in the east, Brahma in the south, Mahadewa in the west, Wisnu in the north, and Siwa at the center. It is dubious to say that any one number-based classification system is more important than another in Bali, but without doubt the five-part system is particularly prevalent, linking a wide range of entities, such as direction, deity, colour, element, power-syllable, number, weapon, and day, some of these more important than others in particular realms of knowledge. A five-part classification is expressed time and again in the structure of rituals and offerings.

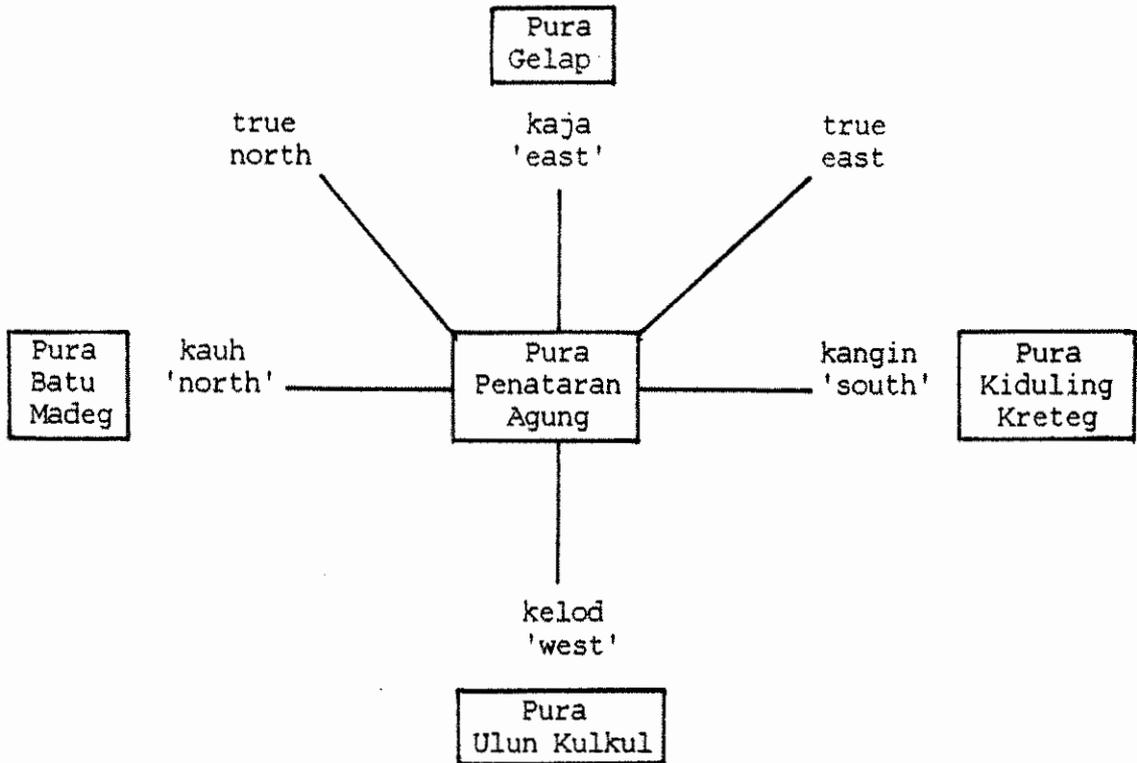
The five-part directional classification gave rise to a problem in Bali that has continued unresolved. Five-part classification in Indic thought is based on the cardinal directions. When Indic influence came to Bali, there was already what seems to have been a well-developed five-part classification based, not on cardinal directions, but on topographical directions (kaja, kelod, kangin, kauh, around the center). The problem arose in trying to relate these two systems. Since the topographical system is determined by ridge alignment, kaja, for example, could never be consistently applied to a particular cardinal direction, and kangin, though always in an easterly direction, is sometimes forced well out of alignment with true east. In much of south and north Bali where ridges run roughly north-south, the two systems matched closely, kaja being north in south Bali and south in north Bali. But in other parts of the island,

especially in east and west Bali and in certain mountainous areas, such as Besakih, the systems do not match. At Besakih the ridges run southwest-northeast, and so kaja lies to the northeast, kangin to the southeast. In everyday speech, directions are always given in terms of this topographical direction system. Since the topographical direction system determines the orientation of the temple, which in turn determines the orientation of ritual within it, it is clear that at Besakih a choice had to be made in the actual performance of a ritual whose textual instructions were given in Sanskrit or Old Javanese terms of cardinal directions. When everyday speech is guide, 'east' is identified with kangin, 'south' with kelod, etc. (Fig. 4.2A). The application of the three-part classification at Besakih determined the positions of sanctuaries to Brahma and Wisnu, and in the Indic cardinal direction system, Brahma is associated with the south and Wisnu with the north. Extending this to the whole of the five-part system, 'east' is identified with kaja, 'south' with kangin etc. (Fig. 4.2B).

At Besakih, this conflict between five-part topographical and cardinal direction systems has never been consistently resolved, and it would seem from certain passages in the Raja Purana that this lack of resolution is of some antiquity. However there is little doubt that the topographical direction system was formerly dominant at Besakih. In older texts, with very rare exceptions, the temple now called Pura Kiduling Kreteg (cardinal system) is always called Pura Dangin Kreteg (topographical system), while the settlement near the temple is still commonly called Dangin Kreteg also, or sometimes Menek Kangin.<40> In the Raja Purana the deity of Pura Dalem Puri is called I Dewa Kidul (topographical system).



A. Topographical Direction System



B. Cardinal Direction System

Fig. 4.2 Cardinal and Topographical Direction Systems at Besakih

The laying out of a caru, or animal sacrifice, at the manca-sata (five chicken) level or larger, is the element of ritual where lack of consistency over directions is most apparent. Briefly, in such a caru, five chickens, each of different coloured plumage, are placed at the particular direction corresponding to the colour (white in the east, red south, yellow west, black north, and multi-coloured in the centre). Often in laying out such a caru there is discussion and argument as to how it should be done. Besakih people generally follow the topographical system (white chicken in direction kanqin). However for major rituals not organized by Besakih people, and which are conducted by high priests, caru are usually (but not always) laid out according to the cardinal system (white chicken in the direction kaja).

The orientation of the temples at Besakih corresponding to the five-part classification followed the cardinal system, being determined by that of the three-part system, in which Pura Batu Madeg honours Wisnu in the north and Pura Kiduling Kreteg honours Brahma in the south, with Pura Penataran Agung at the center. To complete the pentad, the temple honouring Iswara in the east is Pura Gelap, and that honouring Mahadewa in the west is Pura Ulun Kulkul. Although the Raja Purana explicitly associates the temples of the three-part classification with their respective gods, it does not do so with regards to Pura Gelap and Pura Ulun Kulkul. I Dewa Gelap, the deity of Pura Gelap, through the dasaksara power-syllable used to worship him, is associated with Siwa, while Pura Ulun Kulkul is mentioned only once in connection with the shape of its shrine. Mahadewa is mentioned only in relation to Gunung Agung (RPII 9.4), where the name is an epithet for Siwa, rather than being lord of the west. It seems

probable, then, that the full correspondence between the five gods of cardinal directions and center, the panca dewata, and the five Besakih temples associated with them, developed quite late in the history of the Besakih complex. However, the concept of an important temple being surrounded by a set of subsidiary temples corresponding to the topographical directions is not unique to Besakih.<41>

Pura Gelap, 'Temple of Lightning and Thunder', lies on a sharp rise about half a kilometer upridge from Pura Penataran Agung, and commands a fine view of the surrounding temples and countryside. It is a very small temple whose main shrine dedicated to Bhatara Iswara or I Dewa Gelap is a three-roofed meru. Pura Ulun Kulkul lies much the same distance downridge from the central temple, on the west side of the approachway. The main shrine honouring Bhatara Mahadewa or I Dewa Ulun Kulkul is a gedong. Its name is probably derived from the unique position of its kulkul tower at the head (ulu) of the temple, and so is also considered the source of kulkul or wooden slit-gongs throughout Bali. This kulkul is never sounded; only in the oath-taking rituals unique to this temple is it symbolically sounded by being touched with a banana. The fact that the main shrines of the four temples of the cardinal directions are not all of the same kind, not all eleven-roofed meru, supports the view that these temples were not originally founded as a set of sanctuaries of the corresponding gods.

Whatever their origins, the five Besakih temples linked through the five-part classification system are now considered to correspond to the Indic cardinal directions and the five gods of the panca dewata. Modern accounts of the Besakih complex stress this. Furthermore it is precisely these five temples whose rituals must be

performed by brahmana high priests (Chapter 9). The rituals at the four surrounding temples, called by the collective name aci nyatur (from catur, four), were perhaps introduced when the five-part classification was itself introduced.

A further development of centre-focussed classification systems beyond the five-part system did not take place at Besakih. Temples are not linked according to a nine-part system.<42>

Temples of the Approach-way

The remaining public temples can neatly be grouped together as the 'temples of the approach-way'. Climbing up to the central sanctuary of Pura Penataran Agung, one passes to left and right several small temples. One finds such subsidiary temples on approaching other major temple complexes in Bali, among them Pura Lempuyang and Pura Batukaru.

On arriving at Besakih, one enters the sacred territory of the complex through a large split gate (candi bentar). Fifty meters up on the left is Pura Manik Mas (no.16 of Fig. 5.1) its tiny size belying its very considerable importance. It was tradition, now not always adhered to, that everyone of whatever status on arriving at Besakih first performed worship at Pura Manik Mas, to purify the mind of worldly things, before proceeding to Pura Penataran Agung. Before the road was built, the rajas and other important personages rode on horseback and would always dismount at Pura Manik Mas, worship there, then continue on foot. The temple is important also because of its relationship with Pura Dalem Puri, a temple of major significance. Each of these two temples possesses a 'visiting' shrine for the

other's deity, both of whom, it would seem, have a common involvement with the earth, and with the underworld as base of the universe.

Some 200 meters higher up the approach-way, on the right, is the tiny temple of Pura Bangun Sakti, 'Temple of the Arousing of Power' (no.15). Its main shrine (a gedong) is dedicated to I Dewa Bangun Sakti who is identified with the cosmic naga Bhatara Sang Anantabhoga, lord of the seven levels of the underworld. Its yearly ceremony, aci pangangon (ceremony of the herdsman), is directed towards the well-being of livestock, especially cattle; and since it took place prior to first ploughing in the now defunct rice cycle, it is regarded as the opening ceremony of Besakih's lunar festival calendar.<43>

The next temple one reaches is Pura Ulun Kulkul (no.14), on the left side of the approach-way. This is the temple of the west in honour of Bhatara Mahadewa, in the five-part classification system. Besides being the place of oath-taking rituals, this temple, too, has important ceremonies of an agricultural nature.

Nearby, slightly upridge and some 50 meters west of the road, is Merajan Selonding (no.12). Essentially this is a sacred place of storage, not only for the set of iron keys of the ancient selonding orchestra after which the temple is named, but also for a sacred inscription on copper plates, and most importantly for the god-symbols (pratima) of the temples 'below the steps'. Formerly a lontar manuscript of the charter of Pura Besakih, the Raja Purana, was kept here.

On the other side of the approach-way from this temple is Pura Gua, 'Temple of the Cave' (no.13). In the ravine below the temple is a shallow cave. It is said that before an earthquake caused the entrance to fall in at some time in the past, the cave was in fact the

entrance to an underground channel or tunnel that came out at Gua Lawah, some 20 kilometres away on the coast. Pura Gua and Pura Gua Lawah are both dedicated to the cosmic naga Sang Naga Basuki. The cave at Besakih is the spot made famous in Bali through the legend of Ida Manik Angkeran, who was burned to ashes for trying to steal the jewel at the tip of the naga's tail. On supplication of his father, he was revived and thereafter devoted himself to the service of Pura Besakih.

About 100 meters further up the approach-way is Pura Banua (no.10). Old photographs show that formerly the temple lay right in the middle of the approach-way, but the encroachment of a dadia temple on one side has resulted in its location being now less prominent. Pura Banua is a temple of very significant ritual status. It is dedicated to Dewi Sri, goddess of rice, and is the chief agricultural temple at Besakih, although agricultural rituals take place at other temples also. Temples, often of similar name, pura banua, or of similar function, are found in many parts of Bali (Grader 1969). Two major ceremonies, usaba buluh and usaba ngeed, held at this temple, traditionally took place at harvest time in the now partly defunct rice cycle. Their ritual importance is indicated by the use of a buffalo for the usaba buluh, and the procession to other major temples during the usaba ngeed which celebrates the marriage between Dewi Sri and Rambut Sadana.

Immediately east of this temple, rather hidden by the buildings of a local dadia temple, is Merajan Kanginan (no.11), with which the dadia main shrine (a gedong) is dedicated to Bhatara Mpu Bharada, the legendary court priest of the great East Javanese king Airlangga. Curiously, however, this temple receives no special attention from



Pl. 8 Pura Basukihan (foreground) and Pura Banua
(centre of approach-way) (Vries 1946)



Pl. 9 Dadia temple of the Pasek Kayu Selem (I) descent group
(Koninklijk Instituut voor der Tropen, Amsterdam, No.726.132.3 N.4)

members of the enormous 'supra-warga' (comprising brahmana, ksatria dalem, and Manik Angkeran descent groups) which claims ancestry from Mpu Bharada, possibly because of the 'visiting' shrine to him in the Pura Penataran Agung.

The last temple of the approach-way, at the foot of Pura Penataran Agung, is Pura Basukihan, already discussed in connection with its designation as 'puseh'. It is dedicated to Sang Naga Basuki, and in the legend of Rsi Markandeya is regarded as the foundation temple of the Besakih complex. It reminds one a little of the so-called Naga temple in the outer courtyard of the Majapahit-period Candi Penataran in East Java.

The temples of the approach-way form a group solely on the grounds of location with reference to the central sanctuary. There is no classification system linking these temples such as are found linking other sets of public temples.

Conclusion

In this analysis, I have discussed the relationships among public temples at Besakih, that are derived from number-based symbolic classification systems. I have viewed the whole complex not as a static entity but one in which structural relationships have changed over time. I have also emphasized the development that took place in the main central temple, Pura Penataran Agung. Although these number-based classification systems run concurrently, as it were, the evidence as I understand it suggests that there has been a change in emphasis over the centuries. In earlier times, it would seem, dual classification was more prominent, whereas at present the centre-focussed five-part classification is the more forcefully

expressed. This association of certain Besakih temples with the cardinal directions and center seems to have developed rather late in the history of the complex, under the influence of princely courts and brahmana high priests.

The rituals held in these temples are an essential element in the exposition of these symbolic systems and of temple hierarchy in Bali generally. For example, Ekadasa Rudra, the greatest ritual of Balinese Hinduism, can only be celebrated at the island's greatest temple, the paramount temple of the realm, Pura Besakih. In later chapters where I examine in detail the cycles of rituals at the public temples, we find there a complex structure that corresponds to levels of an underlying hierarchy of ritual elaboration, which comments on and refines further the structure of temple hierarchy and the nature of symbolic classification systems as applied to Pura Besakih. Before discussing ritual, however, I turn to the second major group of temples at Besakih, those associated with descent groups.

CHAPTER 5

TEMPLES OF BESAKIH (II): DESCENT GROUP TEMPLES

Introduction

The overall structure of descent groups in Bali is hierarchical in nature. Through processes that include differentiation and aggregation, groups claiming common descent are formed of varying degrees or levels of inclusiveness, each level being marked by a temple. The number of levels in a particular descent group may vary. At one extreme, in a maximal descent group (warga), which is differentiated into several hierarchical levels, each family is a member of the worship groups of a series of temples of increasingly large membership. At the other extreme, a family belongs to no descent group more inclusive than itself; in other words, a family or group of families make up a descent group without any differentiation into levels, but such a situation is rare. The names and number of temples that correspond to increasingly inclusive levels of a descent group may vary, but generally include at least some of the following:

descent group	temple
household (one or more nuclear families)	<u>sanqqah/merajan</u>
household cluster or sub- <u>dadia</u>	<u>sanqqah gede</u>
<u>dadia</u> or <u>pamaksan</u> (minimal descent group)	<u>pura dadia</u>
sub- <u>warga</u> (intermediate descent group)	<u>pura panti</u>
<u>warga</u> (maximal descent group)	<u>pura kawitan/</u> <u>pura padharman</u>

To determine the level of inclusiveness or dimension of any such worship group, one must determine the relationship (if any) with groups of both greater and lesser inclusiveness. The dynamics of descent group formation have been discussed at length by several scholars (e.g. Geertz and Geertz 1975, Boon 1977 and Hobart 1980). By and large, the more inclusive levels of descent group structure, in particular the warga, has received rather less attention than the less inclusive levels (the dadia). The kinds of processes and relationships between individual families or households and the dadia are comparable in many ways to those between individual dadia and the warga, though one might argue that whereas differentiation is important in the former, aggregation becomes more prominent in the latter. One reason perhaps that the warga has received less attention is that in the last thirty years or so, there has been increasing amount of activity involving warga. From being a local or at most regional concern, descent group dynamics are now played out at the island-wide level. In the discussion that follows I examine descent group dynamics from the unique perspective of Besakih.

Local Besakih descent groups (dadia)

Almost all villagers at Besakih are members of descent groups, called dadia, whose members acknowledge descent from a common ancestor or point of origin through the joint enactment of rituals at local descent group temples (pura dadia). The formation of descent groups is a dynamic process, and the number of such groups varies over time. At Besakih at present (1984) there are 29 dadia (Fig.5.1). Each dadia is named after the maximal descent group to which it is affiliated. In cases where several dadia bear the same name, villagers distinguish them when necessary by adding the name of the pemangku, an elder, or the locality of its temple. The size of dadia varies from less than ten to more than a hundred members. Only a handful of families at Besakih are not attached to any dadia.

Households and dadia

At Besakih most families live surrounded by near relatives, forming a localized group of kin whose links amongst members are known, stretching back to grandfather or great-grandfather, the common limits of genealogical memory. Such a small group of kin may remain as such, without connection to a dadia. More commonly as the group grows in size, it forms itself into a dadia by building a pura dadia that is distinct and separate from the houseyard temples of its members. At first such a dadia may simply be called after its leading or senior member. Generally a number of small localized kin groups that acknowledge common ancestry (though knowledge of actual genealogical ties is rare, particularly among commoner groups), come to form a dadia, each part of which I call a 'dadia segment'. The historical accuracy of such traditions of common ancestry can no

Fig. 5.1 Local descent groups (dadia) at Besakih (1984)

Name of <u>Dadia</u>	No. of Members (in families)		Location of <u>pura dadia</u>
	(at Besakih)	(outside Besakih)	
1. Arya Bang Sidemen	72		Besakih Tengah
2. Bali Mula	7	c.20	Besakih Tengah
3. Dukuh Seganing	93	12	Besakih Tengah
4. 'Dukuh Suladri'	34	24	Batu Madeg
5. Pande	12	21	Besakih Tengah
6. Pasek Brejo	86	c.15	Besakih Tengah
7. Pasek Gaduh	54	10	Besakih Tengah
8. Pasek Gelgel (I)	33		Kiduling Kreteg
9. Pasek Gelgel (II)	45		Besakih Tengah
10. Pasek Gelgel (III)	10	2	Besakih Tengah
11. Pasek Gelgel (IV)	27		Besakih Tengah
12. Pasek Gelgel (V)	40	23	Kiduling Kreteg
13. Pasek Gelgel (VI)	13		Keboh
14. Pasek Gelgel (VII)	7	2	Kupang
15. Pasek Gelgel (VIII)	7	1	Besakih Tengah
16. Pasek Kayu Selem (I)	111		Besakih Tengah
17. Pasek Kayu Selem (II)	47	2	Besakih Tengah
18. Pasek Kayu Selem (III)	18		Guwaji
19. 'Pasek Kayu Selem' (IV)	11		Kedungdung
20. Pasek Ketewel	35	9	Batu Madeg
21. Pasek Pejengan (I)	103	9	Besakih Tengah
22. Pasek Pejengan (II) (Bhujangga Sakti)	22	2	Tekedan Kandik
23. Pasek Tangkas (I)	8	2	Batu Madeg
24. Pasek Tangkas (II)	24	1	Kiduling Kreteg
25. Pasek Tangkas (III)	42	6	Cebulik
26. Pasek Tangkas (IV)	19	14	Besakih Tengah
27. Pasek Tangkeban	19	2	Batu Madeg
28. Pasek Tutuan	34	1	Kunyt
29. Pulasari	17	3	Bangkiang

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Source: Klihan dadia of each dadia.

Note 1: Roman numerals attached to dadia bearing the same warga name are provided by the researcher.

Note 2: Names in inverted commas (nos.4 and 19) signify that the dadia themselves are uncertain of their warga affiliation.

Note 3: In some cases, I do not have data on number of members resident outside Besakih, so I have not provided total dadia memberships.

longer be tested. However, among the segments making up a dadia, it is not rare to find sometimes just a family or two, sometimes a whole segment, that although taking part in dadia rituals is yet recognized as being different, normally because it has only recently attached itself to the already existing dadia. In time the quasi-descent link in such a fusionary process may be forgotten and the members of that particular segment be considered as true descendants. In practical terms it is the joint enactment of ritual at descent group temples that is significant.

One way unattached families or small non-corporate kin groups come into existence is through migration into Besakih territory. Some well-established dadia passed through such a stage, after links with the dadia of origin in their natal village became increasingly attenuated. Pasek Gelgel (VIII) originated from Geliang about 1970/71; Pulasari originated from Selat some seven generations ago. However, the majority of dadia at Besakih have no legends of origin; they have been there for as long as anyone remembers.

Besides in-migration, unattached families or small groups of kin can also come into existence through the fissionary process of breaking away from an established dadia. Although occasionally just a family or two will split off and join another dadia or simply remain unattached, the process of dadia fission of a more serious nature leads to a group breaking away and forming its own new dadia, distinguished by its own dadia temple. The new dadia thus formed may retain the name of the original dadia (when Tangkas (IV) broke away from Tangkas (III), it retained the name Tangkas) or it may take a new name (when Pejengan (II) broke away from Pejengan (I), it replaced this name with Bhujangga Sakti).

Of all the Besakih dadia, the Pasek Kayu Selem descent group has been most prone to fissionary pressures, in part because it is one of the largest. Originally there was a single dadia Pasek Kayu Selem (I) with a single pura dadia that was often called Pura Paibon Kayu Sugih from a tree of that variety that grew there. The dadia also supported two other temples, Pura Pejenengan and Pura Merajan, whose origins are obscure. The first fission occurred a long time ago, and is said to have resulted from a disagreement that took place during a ceremony. The new dadia Pasek Kayu Selem (II) built its own pura dadia close to the old one, ceased its support of the Pura Merajan, but retained a nominal link with the Pura Pejenengan. The second fission, also from the original group (I), occurred in the mid-1970s. This group, also calling itself Pasek Kayu Selem (III), built a pura dadia at Guwaji, a distant part of Besakih territory where the members of the breakaway group resided. They cut links with both the other temples.

Besides fissionary pressures resulting in the formation of new dadia, other pressures result not in complete breaks but in partial separation or differentiation, that, depending on developments, may be stages in the process of separation. Partial separation is formalized through the construction of a sub-dadia temple. Within dadia Pasek Kayu Selem (I) there are two such sub-dadia. One has its own sub-dadia temple but still supports all three of the parent dadia's temples. There is however some question of the origin of this group which possibly attached itself to Pasek Kayu Selem some time in the past. The other sub-dadia of Pasek Kayu Selem (I) formed, probably early this century, after a personal clash between two influential members of the parent dadia. The clash occurred in the Pura Pejenengan and the temple that the newly formed sub-dadia built was a

substitute for the Pura Pejenengan alone; the sub-dadia continues to support the pura dadia and the Pura Merajan. This substitute Pura Pejenengan was not rebuilt after the 1963 eruption and there was talk of doing away with it altogether, but when a series of illnesses and deaths struck the group which trance mediums diagnosed as being caused by the abandonment of this temple, there was again (1984) talk of rebuilding it. In another recent case (1984), illness in one particular family was interpreted by a medium as a demand by a recent ancestor for its own shrine near the family's residence. This was done, but its consecration was not accompanied by the full nuntun ritual, thus the new shrine is of the nature of a 'visiting shrine', and the family continues to support all the dadia temples.

The case of the Pasek Kayu Selem illustrates the kinds of events (personal dispute, illness, and perhaps distance from pura dadia) that give rise to a range of responses of varying degrees of fission. Such tendencies are more likely to occur in large dadia. The dadia Dukuh Seganing, another large dadia, has remained intact in that all members support the one pura dadia, but groupings within the dadia have become formalized through the erection of two additional hyang sanctuaries honouring the recently purified dead, both distant from the pura dadia.

The Arya Bang Sidemen kin group, the only triwangsa group at Besakih, shows a unique combination of fissionary and fusionary processes. There are two main sub-dadia and several separate extended or single families, all descendants by different branches from a common ancestor, Ida Manik Angkeran and his son Ida Tulus Dewa. Each retains its branch distinctiveness yet all together support the original merajan (equivalent of pura dadia) from whose founding

ancestor only one of the groups is descended. According to the babad tradition, after Ida Tulus Dewa, the family did not live at Besakih, and only after some four generations had passed did a branch of the clan re-establish itself at Besakih. This branch was founded by I Gusti Ngurah Kabayan. Virtually all clan babad mention this but give no further details of the Besakih branch.<1> Descendants of this I Gusti Ngurah Kabayan form one of the two main Arya Bang Sidemen groups (Group I) of Besakih, and the title of I Gusti Ngurah Kabayan, one of the nine official pemangku, is still held by its core segment. Another segment of Group I has set up its own sub-dadia temple but continues to support the merajan. The genealogical link between these two segments is known. In the late 1960s the whole of Group I founded a new temple, Pura Pajenengan Gusti Mangku Kabayan, in honour of their revered apical ancestor.

The second of the two main Arya Bang Sidemen groups (Group II) consists of five segments whose exact genealogical relationships are no longer known. A charter (prasasti, HKS.3919) in the group's possession claims that the group is descended from I Gusti Ngurah Kabayan, a claim rejected by Group I which otherwise acknowledges their common Arya Bang Sidemen descent. In the late 1970s, Group II rehabilitated an ancestral shrine and called the enlarged temple Pura Pajenengan Alit. Save for a couple of individuals, all Group II members acknowledge the precedence of Group I and fully support the original merajan. The minor Arya Bang Sidemen groups at Besakih trace their descent through branches that settled first at other villages in the region. Early this century a group (now seven families) came to Besakih from Padangaji, and in the 1960s groups came from Padangtunggal (now four families), Tabola/Sidemen (one family) and

Santi near Selat (one family). These minor groups all support the original Merajan. Also at Besakih is the Padharman Arya Bang Sidemen within the Pura Penataran Agung, which is supported by all members of the descent group (warga) wherever they reside in Bali.

The dadia is not confined to the adat village where its pura dadia is located, though generally its membership is concentrated there.<2> The majority of dadia at Besakih have at least a few members residing elsewhere. Dadia 'Dukuh Suladri' and Pasek Gelgel (V) are fairly evenly split between Besakih and neighbouring villages, the former at Geliang, the latter at Tegenan. The dadia Pande is exceptional in that it comprises 12 families at Besakih and another 21 families almost 100 kilometers away at Kalangsari (Datah) at the eastern end of Karangasem. According to their own traditions, the Pande at Besakih were killed on orders of the ruler, and the survivor fled to Kalangsari from where a descendant returned later to Besakih. On the other hand, some 48 families resident at Besakih, mostly immigrants, are members of dadia outside Besakih.<3>

Dadia and Warga

Another and very important aspect of descent group dynamics is the relationship between dadia and warga. The warga is the Balinese maximal descent group, comprising a number of separate dadia which may, if they are triwangsa, or may not, if they are commoner groups, know the genealogical relationships among them. Genealogical memory rarely exceeds the great-grandfather level unless there is written 'documentation', ranging from genealogical notes on lontar leaf to elaborate babad whose genealogical framework is fleshed out with accounts of events involving noteworthy ancestors, particularly the

founder of the warga.

There is an interesting difference in triwangsa and commoner warga. In the former, not only are genealogical ties generally claimed as known, but genealogical ties between warga are also claimed without there being a felt need for all-inclusive linkage. For example, although the majority of Arya groups claim a common ancestry from Airlangga through a line of East Javanese kings and nobles, there is in Bali no ancestral temple supported by them all. Indeed, even among the groups claiming descent from Arya Kapakisan, different branches have their own ancestral temples, whereas there is no ancestral temple for the descent group as a whole.<4> Similarly, Brahmana Siwa and Brahmana Buda groups, although related, have separate ancestral temples. In commoner descent groups, on the other hand, the tendency has been towards greater inclusiveness, the prime example being the Warga Pasek Sanak Pitu, an enormous warga given organizational structure in the 1950's although based on older traditions. It is more in the nature of an agglomeration of warga in that each of its component entities (Pasek Gelgel, Pasek Gaduh, Tangkas etc.) has its own ancestral temple, yet at the same time supporting the temples associated with the larger body.

The role of the warga is absolutely essential to understand Balinese social dynamics. For pre-colonial times, it is now difficult to determine the role and significance of warga. There is no doubt, however, that during this century and especially during the last thirty to forty years, warga organization has undergone important growth and development.<5> In this growth, local factors played the crucial role, and perhaps the most important of these was the rapid improvement of the communication network. The isolation of many

villages was broken down through the building of roads, which more than any other factor brought modernization and change in its wake. Once-isolated villagers have, for the first time, become part of a community of all Balinese.

This Bali-wide identity was given major ritual impetus by the Ekadasa Rudra festival of 1963, held at Pura Besakih. One aspect of the festival with direct bearing on warga dynamics was the instruction by the authorities that all the buried dead must be cremated as part of the requirements of ritual purity. This brought about a 'search for origins' (ngrereh kawitan) on a previously unknown scale.<6>

In the search for origins, whether at local or island-wide level, the role of the trance medium is of central importance. Sometimes the mere desire to know one's origins is sufficient motivation, but more often the compelling factor is frequent illness and misfortune among the members of a family or a dadia, inducing them to seek out a trance medium to know the cause and thus the remedy. Often the group seeks out several mediums, for agreement among several mediums as to the cause is far more compelling and convincing. Mediums frequently interpret or attribute illness and misfortune to 'forgetting the ancestors', the remedy for which may be the rehabilitation of a long-neglected temple (or, rarely, the taking-over of an 'unclaimed' temple) associated with the descent group. More often, this may involve the forging of a new relationship with a more inclusive descent group or warga, involving support of that warga's temples, stemming from a conviction that the warga's ancestors are also ancestors of the particular dadia searching for its origins. This may require a change in the name of the dadia. Formerly a large number of dadia (still the case in certain villages) were named simply after the

leading elder of the dadia (e.g. dadia Pan Mulus, dadia Mangku Tirtha) and recognized no higher level kin group ties. Other dadia did recognize warga ties and bore the warga's name (e.g. dadia Pasek Gelgel, dadia Pulasari). When the search for origins gathered pace in the 1960s, nameless dadia took on warga affiliation and dadia of minor warga became affiliated with major warga. This happened at Besakih as elsewhere.

Of the present 29 dadia at Besakih, possibly as many as eight changed their warga affiliation, five of these becoming Pasek Gelgel and one each Dukuh Suladri, Pasek Kayu Selem, and Pasek Tangkeban. Pasek Gelgel is particularly popular because among commoner warga it has high status, and is a name well known to trance mediums. At least two of the dadia that changed to Pasek Gelgel formerly bore Pasek titles of lesser currency. The former dadia Pasek Sidaparna, named after a relatively nearby village in upland Bangli, not only gave up this local name but cut its links with the group's temple at Sidaparna, although, should the need arise, these links can always be re-activated. Since Pasek Sidaparna is regarded as a genuine branch of the Pasek Sanak Pitu, of which Pasek Gelgel is the leading sub-group, this change of name was more a replacement of a middle-level ancestor by an apical ancestor of higher status. The second case involved the dadia Pasek Gelgel (II) which was formerly called Pasek Watukaru. This dadia always recognized higher level descent group ties to an ancestral temple, called Pura Batukaru, located at Belong, a small adat village in the Ban area. When in the 1960s the dadia began calling itself Pasek Gelgel (an influential dadia leader had links with Pasek officials in Denpasar) and some of its members began attending ceremonies at warga temples (other members

were not so keen on this step), the dadia still retained its links with Pura Batukaru at Belong. The dadia even went so far as to rehabilitate this temple. The dadia leader now authenticates the affiliation with Pasek Gelgel by the possession of a Pasek Gelgel prasasti or charter, rejecting an older charter (HKS.3953) that survives in the collection of a local man without ties to the dadia.

Facilitating change in warga affiliation is the attitude of warga leaders towards groups or dadia seeking membership. When genealogical ties are generally known, this becomes a problem and core lines of triwangsa warga often do not recognize kinship ties with dubious groups that would like to use the warga name. This may also be the case with commoner warga. For example, the warga Pande at Besakih rejected admission of one dadia when it had good reasons for doubting the dadia's claim of Pande descent. However, most commoner warga, which do not have genealogical knowledge, by and large have an open-door policy towards previously unknown dadia seeking membership. For example, one warga whose warga temple (pura kawitan) is located at Besakih, the warga Dukuh Seganing, has admitted dadia from all over Bali, though warga leaders tend to distinguish (in their own minds) between such new arrivals and the core group of dadia of long standing. The leaders say they have no firm grounds for refusing membership to those seeking admission. If a dadia is convinced of its descent from Dukuh Seganing, generally through pronouncements of mediums, the warga leaders honour that conviction, with the understanding that the incoming dadia will suffer retribution (kapanasan, literally 'be in a hot state') should a mistake have been made. This happened with the small Besakih dadia Bali Mula. For a time it attached itself to a dadia Pasek Kubakal at Segah, but its

members were struck by illness and misfortune (kapanasan) and so reverted to its original affiliation as Bali Mula, after which its fortunes improved.

One thing that gives weight to a dadia's belief in its warga affiliation is the possession of a prasasti. Although it may be called a 'prasasti dadia' in that a dadia owns it, by its nature it deals with warga ancestors. As with such texts as babad, there can be considerable variation among prasasti belonging to different dadia of the one warga. At Besakih with its tradition of compiling and copying such texts, prasasti are highly regarded and a dadia leader is somewhat apologetic if his group does not have one, as if it implies some doubt as to his ancestry. Of the 29 dadia at Besakih, 14 have prasasti, three are offshoots of dadia that do, 11 do not, while I do not have information on the remaining two. There is in Bali, and presumably always has been, a tradition of copying (or compiling) prasasti for dadia who desire them -- and are willing to pay the price -- and at least some of the prasasti at Besakih are recent acquisitions to authenticate their owners' new warga affiliations.

The greater part of a prasasti deals with the very early generations close to that of the founding ancestor, and events in the founder's life, whereas it very rarely gives information on the genealogical links between this ancestor and the present dadia. It also includes details of death rites that warga members are entitled to carry out, which is a matter of prestige and status. It is sometimes said that only a prasasti with the stamp of the ruler embossed on its leaves is really authentic, but it is not uncommon for copyists to possess such stamps. However, many prasasti considered authentic by their owners do not bear stamps.

Dadia activities

After this brief look at dadia and warga dynamics at Besakih, it is necessary to turn to the present role of the dadia there. Almost every married couple are members of a dadia. More often than in banjar affairs, a widow, widower or an unmarried adult will join with a partner, such as an unmarried sibling or grown-up child, and play a full active role in dadia affairs. Unlike banjar enrolment, on marriage a couple immediately begins to support the dadia; nor are sons exempt if the father is still an active member. Dadia leadership follows the klihan type: a klihan dadia is in charge of dadia affairs, while a secretary or treasurer is optional. Like banjar, larger dadia are divided into residential groups, each under the control of a saya. The klihan dadia keeps a record of dadia members and their financial contributions. Ritual aspects of dadia activities are in the hands of the dadia's own pemangku, which is normally a hereditary position. At Besakih, activities of a person's descent group takes up a far greater proportion of time and money than those involving his banjar.

The activities of the dadia as a group are largely restricted to the maintenance of the pura dadia and the proper performance of its rituals. Most pura dadia at Besakih celebrate their main ceremonies once a year, on the full moon of either the fourth month (ngapat) or the 'tenth' month (ngadasa), but because Bhatara Turun Kabeh is held on the full moon of the tenth month, other temples celebrate ngadasa rituals the following month. Pura dadia, almost without exception, hold a number of other ceremonies according to the wuku calendar, i.e. every 210 days: on the days Sugi-Manik Bali (held at the manjangan saluwang shrine in honour of Mpu Kuturan), Kuningan (held outside the

temple at the hyang shrines in honour of the recently purified dead), and Wednesday-Wage of the week Kelau (generally at either the tripartite kawitan shrine or the shrine dedicated to Hyang Ibu), and in many cases one or two others.

Besides activities at the pura dadia, kinship ties, involving both maternal and paternal lines of affiliation, play a role in such secular activities as the formation of work groups and in ritual-related activities such as preparing for house-temple, life-cycle or death rituals. For larger ceremonies such as toothfiling and marriage (which are often combined), a number of families often join together to keep costs down to a minimum, and although sometimes the majority of dadia members are involved, it is not a dadia activity per se. The dadia as a whole may organize expensive cremation and post-cremation ceremonies; or, one or several families together may do so, in which case the basic costs are borne by the families of the dead for whom the rituals are being given. However, even in rituals sponsored by individual families, dadia members are generally expected to help. At Besakih, the banjar plays no role in death rituals. At household ceremonies, help is usually forthcoming from neighbours (who are mostly kin), maternal relatives and affines. At a marriage, for example, women of the house who have married out, together with their husbands, are expected to play an active role in all preparatory activities and to contribute money and materials.

At Besakih the dadia play only a marginal role in the affairs of the public temples. The positions of the official pemangku, though hereditary, are controlled not so much by the dadia as by particular pemangku lineages, and these pemangku-ships are usually handed down

from father to son, and occasionally from grandfather to grandson or from uncle to nephew. Financial responsibility for the large consecration ceremony of an official pemangku lies with the candidate rather than with the dadia, though the dadia or individual members often do assist.

A small number of dadia have special relationships with particular shrines in certain of the public temples. It is necessary here to distinguish between two different kinds of relationships, a distinction that is equally important in the later discussion of the pura padharman and the temples of the Catur Lawa. In 'ancestral' or kawitan relationships, a descent group, be it dadia or warga, honours a shrine or temple because a deified ancestor is enshrined there. In 'caretaker' or pangamong relationships, a descent group is responsible for the performance of rituals at a shrine or temple (and formerly perhaps saw to its maintenance) because the descent group was entrusted with that particular task or duty. The origins of a 'caretaker' relationship and at whose instructions it was instigated are often long forgotten. In time, the nature of the relationship between a descent group and a shrine or temple can become obscured, and so become open to reinterpretation. This is especially the case when the relationship between descent group and shrine or temple in some way involves an ancestral figure, who is, however, not 'enshrined' there in the strict ritual sense of that word.

At Besakih, there are several examples of pangamong relationships between a particular dadia and a particular shrine in a public temple. The dadia Pasek Kayu Selem (I), Pasek Brejo and Pasek Gelgel (IV) have traditionally been responsible for rituals at minor shrines in Pura Penataran Agung (nos.37-38, 40-41, see Appendix B), though the rituals

at one of these shrines has recently been taken over by a non-local group. At Pura Batu Madeg, although formerly nine dadia each performed a nadiang ritual at the particular shrine for which it was responsible, now only two or three retain the tradition. At the present time in such pangamong relationships, the dadia is responsible only for a particular ceremony, not for the physical maintenance of the shrine.

Other relationships, however, are clearly of the ancestral or kawitan kind. Traditionally the kawitan shrines of the dadia Bali Mula were located in the outer courtyard of Pura Basukihan, until in 1973/74 they were moved to a separate pura dadia built nearby. Just a bebaturan shrine remained in the public temple where, as a kind of remembrance, offerings were placed when celebrations were held at the new pura dadia. However, in 1984, after illness and misfortune continued to strike dadia members, the shrines were moved back again to Pura Basukihan, although the pura dadia continued to function as such. Formerly, too, the kawitan shrines of the dadia Pasek Pejengan were located within the public temple Merajan Kangin, but were relocated when the dadia built a pura dadia next to the public temple. When the pura dadia celebrates its odalan on Tumpek Krulut, a ceremony is still held in the public temple.<7>

Pura Padharman

Virtually by definition, every warga must have a warga origin temple, usually called pura kawitan or pura padharman, which is supported by all members of the warga concerned (on pura padharman generally, see Purwita 1980). The location of warga temples depends on the particular histories of the groups concerned, but the concentration of such temples at Besakih is unique. There are eleven pura padharman on the east (kangin) side of Pura Penataran Agung, while padharman shrines are also located within certain of the public temples. Furthermore, one of the temples of the Catur Lawa has a kawitan function as well as its public function; in addition, certain local Besakih dadia have kawitan shrines located there. The majority of these padharman temples and shrines belong to ksatria and arya (wesya) descent groups, that is, members of the triwangsa. In discussing the pura padharman, I pay special attention to the points of warga differentiation within more inclusive genealogical structures.

The main complex of pura padharman is that on the east/kangin side of Pura Penataran Agung, between Pura Ratu Pasek and Pura Ratu Panyarikan.<8> Eleven temples are located in this complex (cf. Purwita 1980, Widia 1979/80, Surpha 1979, Soebandi 1983, etc):

- I. Pura Padharman Dalem Gelgel
- II. Pura Padharman Dalem Sukawati
- III. Pura Padharman Ida Sri Mpu Bhujangga
- IV. Pura Padharman Dalem Bakas
- V. Pura Padharman Kaba-kaba
- VI. Pura Padharman Mengwi
- VII. Pura Padharman Arya Sukahet
- VIII. Pura Padharman Arya Kenceng
- IX. Pura Padharman Bhujangga Wesnawa
- X. Pura Padharman Arya Telabah
- XI. Pura Padharman Arya Telabah Apit Yeh

There is no doubt that the Padharman Dalem Gelgel (I), the origin

temple of all the descendants of Dalem Sri Kresna Kapakisan, the founder of the royal Gelgel dynasty, is the most important of the temples; the others, it would seem, followed that example, like vassals following their lord. In the Padharman Dalem, the neatly ordered row of meru of descending size are dedicated to a series of deified rulers, and although there are problems as to whom the two largest meru are dedicated, the general view now is that the meru reflect descending generations.

<u>Meru</u> (no. of roofs)	Deified Ruler	
	according to Raja Purana (RPI 4.3-8)	according to current opinions <9>
11	I Dewa Tegal Besung	Dalem Kresna Kapakisan
9	I Dewa Samprangan	Dalem Ketut Ngulesir
7	I Dewa Enggong	Dalem Baturenggong
5	I Dewa Seganing	Dalem Seganing
3	I Dewa Made	Dalem Di-Made
1	I Dewa Pacekan	I Dewa Pacekan

At the present time, the 11-roofed meru, for example, is said to honour the founder of the descent group. All members worship here, and usually again at the meru representing the generation at which his/her sub-warga branched. (Indeed it is said that anyone, save brahmana, can worship at the 11-roofed meru, not as descendants, but as vassals). The nine-roofed meru, in this view, honours the founder's sons (Dalem Samprangan, Dalem Taruk, and Dalem Ketut Ngulesir), and so it is here that members of the warga Pulesari, the descendants of Dalem Taruk, worship.<10> For historical reasons, this warga lost caste and is counted among the commoner (sudra, jaba) descent groups, which indicates that present caste (warna) or status have no bearing on the right to worship at a pura padharman. For lack of information, one can only speculate on whether such an open policy at Padharman Dalem was always practised, or whether it was once restricted to the core house of the ksatria dalem. Descent, within

the confines of the ideology of kawitan is now the sole determining factor. The rulers honoured in the smaller meru follow the father-to-son succession enshrined in the Babad Dalem. Dalem Di-Made was the last legitimate ruler of Gelgel, and was overthrown by I Gusti Agung Maruti towards the middle or end of the 17th century.<11> The last-named person, I Dewa Pacekan, a son of Dalem Di-Made (K.1252:67.16, Kid.Pam. VI.10), never became ruler, and little is known about him. This information is enough to give a rough terminus ante quem of the early 18th century for the construction of the Padharman Dalem, presuming it was initially built at one time, without later additions. The other pura padharman were probably built at the same time.<12>

Besides this Pura Padharman Dalem Gelgel honoured by all descendants of the apical founder, the major Sukawati branch of the ksatria dalem is represented by its own pura padharman (II), although members of the Sukawati branch continue to honour the Padharman Dalem Gelgel. The founding ancestor of the Sukawati branch was I Dewa Agung Anom Sirikan, a son of Dalem Seganing(?).<13>

Among the pura padharman, the ksatria dalem is not the only warga represented by more than one temple; different levels of the 'warga' Arya Kenceng are represented by three. During the 18th and 19th centuries when communications were slow and often interrupted by dynastic intrigue and warfare, the caretakers of a temple had to live within reasonable distance of it, and so it came about that a particular branch line became responsible for the padharman of its descent group. This is the probable reason why a Gusti Telabah family from Duda, the caretaker of Pura Padharman VIII, claim that the temple is the Pura Padharman Arya Kenceng (the Telabah are a branch of the

Arya Kenceng group).^{<14>} The family even claims that the temple honours 'Arya Kenceng Sapta Sanak' ('Seven Brothers').^{<15>} The first claim, let alone the second, was rejected by the core lines of warga Arya Kenceng, especially the noble houses of Tabanan and Badung.

Attitudes, however, are changing as a result of Besakih's dominant position in the Balinese temple hierarchy, and the overall ease of communication. Though ritually of no special significance, there is a sense of added status for a descent group to have a pura padharman at Besakih. In the case of the Arya Kenceng group, the result has been, it is said, that a few members from Tabanan and Badung are beginning to worship there, as are some of the descent groups numbered among the 'seven brothers', including descendants of Arya Sentong from Carangsari and descendants of Arya Kuta Waringin. Apparently at the instigation of this last named group, the number of roofs of the temple's meru was increased from five to seven.

An interesting case is that of the ancestor honoured in the seven-roofed meru of the Pura Padharman Mengwi. The elders of the former royal house of Mengwi are of the opinion that the shrine honours Arya Kapakisan himself, the original founder of the whole Arya Kapakisan descent group (Bali Post 13 Feb.1979). This claim, however, is not recognized by other branches descended from Arya Kapakisan, in particular the house of Karangasem, who consider that the meru honours the founder of the Mengwi branch only. Descendants of Arya Kapakisan form a very large descent group without a unifying temple of origin, a situation similar to the Arya Kenceng case. Such a situation allows flexibility in relations between branches of a descent group. Until quite recently the caretakers of Padharman Mengwi was a Klungkung family, like the house of Mengwi, descended from the Asak side of the

maximal group.

The groups associated with other padharman need be mentioned briefly. Padharman Dalem Bakas is supported by certain groups (from Bangbang) bearing the title Pungakan, as well as by the ksatria Taman Bali descent group; a sub-temple within it honours Dalem Keramas.<16> Padharman Kaba-kaba is supported by the descendants of Arya Belog, lord of Kaba-kaba, and Padharman Sukahet by descendants of Arya Sukahet.<17> The Padharman Ida Sri Mpu Bhujangga, separate from, yet within the walls of, Padharman Sukawati, is supported by a small descent group of about 60 families originating from Banjar Celepik, Tojan (Gelgel).<18> Although using the title gusti, this group is apparently unrelated to the Majapahit nobles (arya). The only commoner padharman in this complex is the Padharman Bhujangga Wesnawa which is supported by the warga of that name, an exclusive commoner group with its own succession of high priests (rsi bhujangga).<19> Besides having a pura padharman, a warga may also possess other temples classified as pura kawitan.

One can only speculate why these particular descent groups possess pura padharman at Besakih, but the most likely possibility is that these groups wielded political influence at the time the temples were built. Until research has been done into the politics of early Klungkung, one can not be sure.

Temples of the Catur Lawa/Catur Warga

Associated with the public temples, and in particular with Pura Penataran Agung, are the temples of the Catur Lawa or Catur Warga:

Pura Ratu Pande (Pura Penataran Pande)

Pura Ratu Pasek

Pura Ratu Panyarikan

Pura Ratu Dukuh Seganing

This group of four temples illustrates the difficulties in elucidating relationships between descent groups and temples. As to the nature of the relationship in the case of these four temples, there is no unanimity of opinion, even among members of the descent groups concerned. Some people consider the relationship as being ancestral (kawitan) in nature, while others regard them as essentially caretaker relationships, although of a rather special kind. In certain respects these temples may be said to have both a public function and a 'descent group' function. The alternative names -- the temples of the Catur Lawa or Catur Warga -- reflect different aspects of these complex relationships.

The name Catur Lawa is the less current of the two, but it was the preferred option for no less an authority than Ida Dalem Mayun, scion of the royal house of Klungkung. It appears to be related to the Sanskrit word lawa, 'piece, fragment' (lumawa-lawa, 'to offer (provide) all sorts of things')(Zoetmulder 1982; cf.KBW III.708). Essentially, these temples are an elaboration of a concept, widespread in Bali, that major deities are served or assisted by lesser deities. In many temples in Bali, minor shrines are dedicated to such deities as Ratu Panyarikan, Ratu Pasek, or Ratu Pande. Occasionally, as at Besakih, these deities are honoured at separate small temples.<20> The

names of these three deities refer to different kinds of officials or artisans: the pasek may be likened to organizer or headman, the panyarikan to secretary, and the pande to the official in charge of ornaments (and possibly temporary structures). Dukuh Seganing, the exception here, is not the name of a kind of official, but of a historical figure thought to have lived around the time of Dalem Baturenggong of Gelgel. Shrines honouring him are found only in temples supported by the descent group that stems from him. He is thought of as the ritual expert in the group of officials (cf. HKS.3828:43.1-5).

Essentially, then, the deities of these temples may be regarded as functionary deities, aiding and accompanying the gods of Besakih's public temples proper, structurally comparable to the officials of like title who serve the king of the middle world. The relationship between functionary deities and the gods of Besakih is played out ritually during the great annual celebration of Bhatara Turun Kabeh. When the gods of Besakih, those of the 18 public temples proper, take up residence together in Pura Penataran Agung, the functionary deities take up residence in their respective temples. When the gods go in procession for their bathing ritual (malasti), these four gods must lead the procession in a prescribed order: Ratu Pande, Ratu Pasek, Ratu Panyarikan, then Ratu Dukuh Seganing.<21> The four functionary deities are also remembered at other points in the ritual (e.g. nanding ajang ritual). In this their public function during Bhatara Turun Kabeh, offerings and other expenses are considered as part of the expenses of Bhatara Turun Kabeh as a whole, and paid for out of public funds. During the festival, the members of the descent group associated with each of the four temples look after the temple and

carry the palanquins of their god.

The existence of descent groups or warga associated with the temples give them their alternative name -- the temples of the Catur Warga or 'Four Descent Groups'. Two questions are of special interest here. The first is whether the relationship between descent group and temple is of the caretaker or ancestral kind, while the second concerns the structure of the warga groups themselves. The previous discussion of these gods as functionary deities supports the view that they are indeed caretaker relationships. Knowledgeable informants, especially descent group officials traditionally associated with Besakih, also support the view that their temples are not equivalent to pura padharman, but honour the divine functionary bearing the same title as that of the supporting descent group. They point out that people who are clearly not members of the descent groups worship in these temples, which would not occur if they thought they were ancestral origin temples.

Such fine points of religious practice are not understood by all who worship at the Catur Lawa temples. Since many warga do have origin temples (pura kawitan or pura padharman) at Besakih, in the minds of many members of these groups, the temple that they each support is likewise thought of as an origin temple. In this view, which is now quite common, Pura Ratu Pasek is equivalent to a pura padharman (e.g. Soebandi 1983:68). To understand the relationships between these descent groups and their temples, it is necessary to examine each in turn, for, amongst other things, the structures of the warga themselves vary. In a sense, each is a special case.

Of these four deities or temples, the Raja Purana mentions only I Dewa Panyarikan (RPI 15.1-3) and I Dewa Pasek (RPI 15.4-6; RPII 2.20,

7.16), both in connection with rituals other than Bhatara Turun Kabeh. Furthermore, the ceremony in the third month in honour of I Dewa Panyarikan (no longer held) is said to be the responsibility of the ruler himself. The omission of the other two deities may be due to the fact that celebrations other than at Bhatara Turun Kabeh were not prescribed. More commonly these days the deities bear the honorific Ida Ratu.

At Pura Ratu Pasek, the main shrine of the temple, a seven-roofed meru, is dedicated to Ida Ratu Pasek. In writings originating from the warga Pasek Sanak Pitu organization (Sutaba 1970, Soebandi 1983) Ida Ratu Pasek is identified with Mpu Semeru, or at least the temple is regarded as his place of worship after his arrival at Besakih in 999. To the Pasek Sanak Pitu, Mpu Semeru is a brother of their apical ancestor Mpu Genijaya whose seven sons gave the organization its name. Mpu Genijaya, to whom the temple Pura Lempuyang Madia is dedicated, is represented by a 'visiting' shrine at Pura Ratu Pasek at Besakih. Although in Pasek Sanak Pitu genealogies, Mpu Semeru is the apical ancestor of the warga Pasek Kayu Selem, the Pasek Kayu Selem in their own writings claim a different ancestry (Sugriwa 1968, Budiastira 1979) and regard Pura Kayu Selem near Songan as its pura kawitan, not the temple at Besakih. Pasek Kayu Selem members worship, however, at Pura Ratu Pasek at Besakih, for they too bear the title pasek. They have their own warga organization quite separate from that of the Pasek Sanak Pitu. In all, the Pasek Sanak Pitu supports four 'warga' temples: Pura Ratu Pasek at Besakih, Pura Lempuyang Madia, Pura Silayukti at Padangbai (honouring Mpu Kuturan) and Pura Dasar at Gelgel (associated with Mpu Gana). With the probable exception of Pura Lempuyang Madia, these are all public temples where anyone may

worship, although by sheer weight of numbers the Pasek have in a sense taken them over.

The warga Pande is more in the nature of a title group than a true descent group in that no over-riding genealogy links the separate 'sub-warga' groupings within it. Nor have efforts to unite Pande in a single organization met with unqualified success. Although comprising such sub-warga as Pande Tusan, Pande Bratan, Pande Tonja, Pande Kamasan, and Pande Bangke Maong or Pande Besakih, their common designation as Pande is sufficient basis for an almost mystical sense of unity.<22> Members of all sub-groupings honour Pura Ratu Pande at Besakih and Pura Pande at Batur. The three-roofed meru, the main shrine, of Pura Ratu Pande (or Pura Penataran Pande as it is often called), is dedicated to Ida Ratu Pande, sometimes associated with Sri Mpu Brahmaraja.<23> The Pande Besakih or Pande Bangke Maong group looks after Pura Ratu Pande as well as three other small temples at Besakih -- Pura Pasimpenan Ratu Pande (where the god-symbol of Ratu Pande is stored), Pura Pemuputan, and Pura Dalem Panangsan.

Pura Ratu Panyarikan is different again for there is no warga Panyarikan. Instead, the family of Puri Blahbatuh together with a small descent group called Pasek Panyarikan Dauh Bale Agung act as caretakers (pangamong). At times the temple has mistakenly been called Pura Padharman Blahbatuh. How the family of Puri Blahbatuh became caretakers of this temple is no longer known, but probably this relationship dates back to Gelgel times when the ancestors of the family of Puri Blahbatuh, the core line of the Jelantik descent group, lived at Tojan (Gelgel).<24> The Pasek Panyarikan descent group claims to have originated from Blahbatuh where presumably it had retainer status to the palace. A branch moved to Padukuhan (Rendang) where

there is still a small dadia, and from there expanded to Alasngandang (Pempatan). The concentration of the descent group at Alasngandang has led to that village being included within the Pragunung Besakih, although it should be regarded as a special case.

Pura Ratu Dukuh Seganing, although it does have a public function during Bhatara Turun Kabeh, also serves as the warga's pura kawitan. It has a dual function. According to various charters (prasasti) of the descent group Dukuh Seganing (HKS.3728, HKS.3828, HKS.3922), the original Dukuh Seganing was a holy man who lived in the Besakih area. His daughter, the texts claim, married the ruler of Gelgel (Dalem Baturenggong), the son born of this marriage being Dalem Seganing. The Babad Dalem gives no information as to Dalem Seganing's mother, but it was common for a noble to take as his personal name the name of his mother's family or place of origin. It must have been an event of importance, such as marriage into the ruling family, for Dukuh Seganing and his descendants to have gained such an honoured position at Pura Besakih. Pura Ratu Dukuh Seganing is situated three to four kilometers northwest of Besakih proper, so for convenience a small 'visiting' temple (Pura Pasimpangan) has recently been built near Pura Penataran Agung, next to the pura dadia of the Besakih branch of the warga.

Besides their participation in Bhatara Turun Kabeh when 'public' funds cover expenses, each of these temples has its own anniversary ceremony for which the descent group/panqamong is responsible. At Pura Ratu Pasek, routine organization has traditionally been in the hands of the Pasek Selat family, while the celebration on the full moon of the eighth month is funded in turn by Pasek families living in kecamatanans of Rendang, Selat and Sidemen. Celebrations at Pura Ratu

Pande on Tumpek Landep is organized by the Pande Besakih group which is dispersed throughout Karangasem. Puri Blahbatuh organizes the ceremony at Pura Ratu Panyarikan on the day Tuesday-Kliwon of the week Prangbakat, while the warga Dukuh Seganing organizes the ceremony at Pura Ratu Dukuh Seganing on the full moon of the fourth month. Physical upkeep is mostly paid for by the descent groups/pangamong, with contributions from public sources.

Conclusion

This discussion of descent group temples at Besakih demonstrates the role of such temples in marking points of relative origin in a hierarchical structure. Temples play a key role in the dynamics of differentiation and aggregation of descent groups at different levels of 'genealogical' inclusiveness. The three major levels of this hierarchy of descent group structure -- or potential hierarchy -- are the family/houseyard, the dadia and the warga. In the overall structure, the relationship between dadia and warga parallels that between families and dadia. Some families or family clusters are unattached to dadia, some dadia are unattached to warga. The dynamics are further complicated by the role of sub-dadia and sub-warga levels, and by differences between commoner and triwangsa descent groups (see especially Geertz and Geertz 1975). Besakih, in having a large number of both local descent group temples (pura dadia) as well as a conspicuous group of translocal (pan-Bali) descent group temples (pura padharman), is unique in Bali.

The relationship between a descent group of any level of inclusiveness and a shrine or temple is not necessarily a relationship of ancestral origin. It may be a caretaker relationship, although

occasionally a relationship seems to partake of both kinds. This distinction, however, proves useful in elucidating the nature of the temples of the Catur Lawa/Catur Warga, and the relationship with their supporting descent groups. With the partial exception of Pura Ratu Dukuh Seganing, these four temples must be regarded as public temples, intimately related to, yet distinct from, the 18 public temples proper.

The role of temples and the relationship with their worship groups, whether members of descent groups or Balinese Hindus throughout the island, is manifested in the enactment of rituals. Ritual at Besakih, especially at the public temples, forms the subject of the following chapters.

CHAPTER 6

HIERARCHY OF RITUAL ELABORATION

Introduction

Ever since visitors reached Bali, they have remarked upon the beauty and richness and spectacle of Balinese ritual. Students of the religion have also lamented its complexity. Acts of worship or ritual (yadnya) are a common daily occurrence. Classification of yadnya into groups, although not unknown in the past, was not formalized to the degree it has become at the present time, now that the panca yadnya classification is officially sanctioned.<1> Each of the five (panca) categories of ritual (yadnya) -- dewa yadnya, bhuta yadnya, manusa yadnya, pitra yadnya and rsi yadnya -- is named after a category of 'being' on whose behalf or in whose honour the ritual is held: deity (dewa), 'demon' (bhuta), human being (manusa), spirit of the dead (pitra), and holy man (rsi). Any particular ceremony is classified as belonging to one of the ritual categories, but what this means is that the focus of the ritual is towards one or other of the categories of being, and that this aspect of the ritual is dominant. However, within virtually any ceremony, other categories of ritual are also a necessary part, even though subordinate. No ceremony performed on behalf of a human being, for instance, neglects specific offerings and ritual acts that are directed towards gods and demons. Occasionally there is discussion into which category a particular ritual falls.

Variation is a characteristic feature of almost all aspects of

Balinese culture and society, and it is prominent in ritual. Balinese are well aware of this, and describe it by the frequently used dictum desa, kala, patra which explains variation in terms of place (desa), time (kala), and situation (patra: literally 'ornament'). Rituals of any category vary as to where they are held, when they are held, and, in terms of the economic and social situation of the people responsible for it, how they are held and at what level of elaboration.

Ideally, in a complete study of Balinese ritual, one would examine all categories of ritual over as wide an area and for as long a period as possible. In this study the body of data that I analyze comprises only the public ceremonies at Besakih. By public ceremonies I include ceremonies held at Besakih's public temples (or particular shrines within them) as well as communal rituals of the adat village that are held outside temples, for they together form parts of the same calendrical cycles. This large corpus of ritual consists of 74 ceremonies in all, 40 reckoned according to the 210 day wuku calendar and 34 according to the Balinese lunar calendar (Chapter 8). These ceremonies fall within only two of the five categories of ritual: most are dewa yadnya, while just a few (4) are bhuta yadnya. Rituals held by individual Besakih villagers, including manusa yadnya and pitra yadnya ceremonies that are unique in certain respects, are mentioned only when directly associated with a public temple.

Since this study deals with these two categories of ritual in just one village, one element of variation, that of place, is largely eliminated. Nevertheless, variation between rituals at different temples in this one village remains operative, as do the other elements of time and situation. Besakih's public ceremonies encompass

the widest possible range in levels of ritual elaboration, from quite simple ceremonies to enormously elaborate festivals. This makes the Besakih data eminently suitable for an analysis of the hierarchy of ritual elaboration, which forms an important part of this study. Circumscribed in various respects as the body of data is, the analysis of Besakih's public rituals leads to an understanding of basic structural principles that are clearly not unique to Besakih alone but underlie Balinese ritual generally, in particular for dewa yadnya and bhuta yadnya rituals.

Starting with insights from his studies of Sanskrit grammar and Vedic ritual, Frits Staal has developed the idea of structural similarities between the syntax of language and what he calls 'ritual syntax'.^{<2>} He points to such features as embedding, modification, and recursiveness that are common to both. In this view, ritual is essentially activity, a series or succession of acts whose links are structured by rules to a high degree, as is the syntax of language. Ritual is activity governed by explicit rules, and this is a basic feature of religion in Bali as it is elsewhere. It tends to follow from this that orthopraxy or correct performance rather than orthodoxy is what is important, an observation made a number of times with reference to both Bali and India. Ritual is an activity in itself. It is surely true that at least to a certain degree ritual is performed for its own sake, and not wholly with meaning or purpose in mind. It is not wholly symbolic of something else.

Following Staal's lead, I begin by analyzing ritual as structured activity intrinsic to itself, without recourse to anything other than the series of ritual acts themselves. In this analysis I distinguish

two components or two perspectives of what is really a single structure. Taking as a starting point a corpus of Besakih rituals and by analyzing their component elements, I elucidate the concept of 'hierarchy of ritual elaboration'. By analyzing the sequential or syntactic structures of rituals both simple and elaborate, I show that these are essentially one and the same, and that this basic sequential structure articulates with the hierarchical structure of ritual elaboration.

Up to this point the analysis proceeds without recourse to meaning, for, as Staal says, in this syntactical sense, ritual is 'meaningless', like music or dance is 'meaningless'.⁽³⁾ But if 'meaning' does not lie in the formal aspects of ritual, consideration must be given to whether it is expressed in other aspects of ritual. 'Meaning' is such a complex notion that for the purposes of this analysis I distinguish three basic aspects or components that I call 'intrinsic meaning', 'external purpose', and 'social significance'.

1) 'Intrinsic meaning'

As Staal has pointed out, meaning (in the broadest sense of the word) of ritual can only be expressed in language. But language, in most but not all ritual, is an element of ritual itself. Indeed, what Staal says of Indian ritual may well be true of ritual generally, that "the most effective ritual activity is that which is accompanied by language, in particular recited or chanted language; complementarily, the most effective language is that which is accompanied by ritual activity" (Staal 1982:4-5). One might assume then that language in ritual carries all the meaning, or at least an important part of it. From this element of language within ritual derives what I call 'intrinsic meaning'. Despite the problem of ritual language not been

understood by the performer, or, like certain mantras, being meaningless in a normal semantic sense, in the very enactment of ritual the performer does assume and believe in a necessary connection between act and mantra, whether this be the original connection or not.<4> Furthermore, lack of such knowledge does not affect the efficacy of ritual. From all this, we may conclude that the meaning of the sacred words of ritual may provide, but not necessarily, the 'meaning' or interpretation of the accompanying ritual act.

The meaning of ritual language gives rise to, though perhaps does not wholly determine, what I call the 'idiom of ritual', the semantic counterpart of formal sequential structure, that is intrinsic to that structure. The sequential phases of ritual are not combined in an arbitrary or random manner, but in a particular order that carries what I call the 'idiom of ritual'. To anticipate, the idiom of Balinese ritual may be summarized in the key words: purification -- invitation -- prestation -- counterprestation -- dispersion. There is, then, a direct correlation between the phases of idiom and the phases of a formal sequential structure.

Since sequential formal structure appears to have a semantic counterpart that I call the 'idiom of ritual', it is possible that the other formal structure, the hierarchy of ritual elaboration, also encompass 'meaning'. If it does, one would expect to find it in the offerings, a key element in determining ritual hierarchy. The meaning of offerings is itself a complex matter, being derived from the language of the mantra attached to it (if there is one), from the material structure of the offering, and from oral and textual exegesis. On the whole, this is a matter that traditionally has been of little concern to the Balinese. Offerings are made, not talked

about. The importance of hierarchy of ritual elaboration lies in its social significance.

2) 'External purpose'

By the 'external purpose' of ritual, I refer to the reason(s) why a particular ritual is performed at all, the teleological aspect. For example, in answer to a question why a ritual is held, a participant might answer that the ritual is to bring about happiness or prosperity, or the success of the harvest, or is for the well-being of the ancestors in the case of mortuary rituals. Or he will answer simply with the phrase mula keto, that is the way it has been since long ago ('long ago' may not in fact be such a long time). In a sense this is equivalent to "I don't know", but more importantly it expresses the notion that ritual is performed and is effective because it has the authority or sanction of the ancestors. Such an answer is certainly not unique to Bali.<5> Staal is right in saying such answers are not the 'meaning' of ritual (cf. Staal 1979b:3).

Besides such general comments, the purpose of ritual can be sought in the mythologies associated with such components of ritual as place and time and in additional ritual features over and above the basic priestly rituals which form their basis. In Bali anyway, the same priestly ritual can be celebrated at different places at different times, and although 'meaning' can not be found there, 'purpose' can. Purpose is not intrinsic to the ritual but is derived from 'implicit mythology'.

3) 'Social significance'

The third notion, 'social significance', takes us outside the ritual as such and into its social context, the individual or group who is responsible for it and who worship there, the mobilization of

manpower and resources, the organization and economy of ritual. It involves the relationship of ritual with village community and with ruler or state authority. Significance of ritual also brings us back to the formal analysis of hierarchy of ritual elaboration, for this is a formal, though not absolute, index of significance. The reason is simple: the level of ritual elaboration directly determines the level of cost and the level of manpower required. At the same time it is related to other cultural and social hierarchies (Chapters 9-12).

The total meaning of a ritual or ritual in general encompasses these three more narrowly defined notions of 'intrinsic meaning', 'external purpose' and 'social significance', and the occasionally conflicting nature of the relationships among them, when, for instance, the level of elaboration does not correlate directly with the perceived importance of a ritual as indicated by size of attendance. I begin my examination of Besakih rituals within this analytical framework with a discussion of the 'hierarchy of ritual elaboration.

THE HIERARCHY OF RITUAL ELABORATION

'Hierarchy of elaboration' describes one of the basic formal structural features of Balinese ritual. The Balinese express this very effectively by the dictum *ritual*. The Balinese express this very effectively by the dictum nista, media, utama, 'simple, moderate, superior'. Almost any ceremony can be held at these different levels, though in practice this neat three-level division is rather more complex. This the Balinese acknowledge by sub-dividing,

theoretically, each of these levels into a further three sub-levels, e.g. nista ning utama, madia ning utama, utama ning utama, and so on. In other words, a ceremony can be held at one of the major levels of ritual, but minor adjustments through addition or omission can be made within these levels. There are many ways, large and small, to vary level of ritual, which translate directly into levels of costs of ritual.

This hierarchy, marked by rising 'ritual levels' of increasing size and complexity, can most readily be examined by taking the separate elements of ritual -- the priesthood, holy water, offerings, sacred words -- as distinct objects of analysis and determining their formal structure. Although hierarchy of elaboration is the dominant structuring principle of these separate elements and thus of rituals as whole entities, different elements are not neatly divided into the same number of ritual levels that exactly correlate one with another. Elements and also sub-elements, especially categories of offerings, have varying numbers of ritual levels. It is the complex manner in which levels of different elements articulate amongst themselves that gives to the system its flexibility and creates what I call 'level articulation'. If, for instance, offerings are raised to a more elaborate level, sacred utterances must be 'raised' in turn; or if the level of priest is raised, offerings must be raised too, and so on. It is with the priesthood that I begin the discussion.

The Priesthood

Using the word priest in the broad sense of any ritual expert acting as intermediary in communication between human and non-human realms, Bali is particularly rich in priestly titles. Balinese classify these many kinds of priests into two categories: the pemangku and the sulinggih.^{<6>}

A pemangku may belong to any of the four castes (warna). He may be a temple pemangku or a private pemangku. A temple pemangku has in his charge the ritual of a particular temple to which he has rights and duties under the authority of the temple's worship-group. A temple pemangku may inherit the position, or he may be chosen by the worship-group or by divine selection (trance). A private pemangku becomes so of his own volition, often in connection with such pursuits as shadow-play puppeteer (dalang) and folk-healer (balian).

Sulinggih is a general term that encompasses all kinds of 'high priest'. The title a high priest carries depends partly on caste and partly on descent group affiliation. High priests from the brahmana caste bear the title pedanda, of which there are two kinds, pedanda siwa and pedanda buda (the latter's cult is actually Hindu-Buddhist). The title rsi is carried by high priests of the ksatria and wesya castes, as well as of the bhujangga wesnawa group, now considered sudra (or jaba). High priests of other sudra groups take their titles according to descent group, e.g. sri mpu pande, sri mpu pasek, jero dukuh, jero sengguhu.

In Bali, the most important succession of high priests in terms of numbers, influence, and ritual purity, is that of the brahmana high priest, the pedanda. Whereas a pedanda may carry out rituals on

behalf of any descent group of whatever caste or of any corporate group such as a village community (although some groups, in fact, never use a pedanda), other high priests only very occasionally perform specific rituals for a social group other than their own descent group.<7> The brahmana, from whom pedanda come, are divided by descent into brahmana siwa and brahmana buda, and the former further sub-divided into descent lines which are traced back to different wives of their common ancestor Danghyang Nirartha. These wives are ranked according to the status of their natal descent groups (brahmana Kamenuh are descendants of Nirartha's first wife of brahmana origin, etc), but, at least from the perspective of non-brahmana, this ranking does not translate into differences of ritual status.<8> Any pedanda, provided he knows the ritual, is eligible to perform any pedanda-level ceremony, and when two or more pedanda together perform a ritual there is never distinctions in levels of seating. On the rare occasions when pedanda and other high priests perform together, the pedanda sits at a higher level, as befits his status.

The relationship among kinds of priests may be illustrated by their respective consecration rituals. The consecration ceremony of a high priest, called madiksa (from Sanskrit diksa), is always performed by another high priest. An alternative name for the ceremony, nuhun pada, refers to the crucial consecratory act of the guru placing his foot (pada) on the head of the candidate. Through consecration, the guru passes on ritual power and authority to his candidate or pupil (sisia), forming a succession of teachers which in theory has its own 'genealogy'. However, as against physical descent, 'ritual descent' is almost never remembered.<9> Of the high priests, only the pedanda, mpu pande, mpu pasek and rsi bhujangga priesthoods possess their own

priestly successions; the others receive consecration from a pedanda.^{<10>}

The consecration of a pemangku is called mawinten.^{<11>} To all village and descent groups that acknowledge the efficacy of the pedanda (and some do not recognize it), consecration of a pemangku by a pedanda is most highly regarded. However, pemangku often seek other forms of mawinten through rituals at specific shrines and temples. Mawinten is not necessarily undergone only once, whereas madiksa is.^{<12>}

Priests at Besakih

Both pemangku and pedanda perform rituals at Besakih, but whereas pedanda are not assigned to a particular temple, pemangku are (Fig.9.2). The nine official pemangku at Besakih each take care of one or more public temple. A few other pemangku, either fully or partially authorized by temple authorities, also assist. The number nine is sacrosanct and is determined by the number of sitting positions at the unique ritual, called nanding ajang, in which they alone participate. This arrangement, together with the mystic number (urip) associated with each position and title, determines the relative status of the pemangku. The possibility that the nine official pemangku are the vestiges of an earlier body of elders of the adat village has already been touched on, as has their division into two groups, one looking after temples 'above the steps', the other those 'below the steps', which is a reflection of Besakih's dualistic structure.

Each pemangku bears his own distinctive title which is handed down within a particular descent group (Fig. 2.1). Often but not

always an elderly pemangku will nominate his successor, usually a son or close relative, and begin his training, so that on the death of the previous incumbent the choice of his successor is clear-cut. But although the descent group nominates the candidate, final authorization lies within the jurisdiction of the village's adat council, and ultimately must be approved by Pura Besakih's governing authority (Parisada Hindu Dharma). Only once, to my knowledge, was there a shake-up in the traditional inheritance of pemangku titles within particular descent groups. That occurred about the 1930's, and, interestingly enough, involved the pemangkuships of Pura Penataran Agung, the most important temple of all, and Pura Gelap.<13>

An official Besakih pemangku, accompanied always by his wife, undergoes a two-part consecration ritual (mawinten), at both parts of which a pedanda officiates.<14> Briefly, in the first part, three days before the ritual is due, 'notification' (matur piuning) is carried out at all public temples, including those of the Catur Lawa. The consecration ritual itself takes place at the candidate's house temple, followed by a further ritual at the bale pegat of Pura Penataran Agung. The candidate carries out various purificatory actions such as bathing, sexual abstinence, fasting, and replacement of clothing. Members of the village's adat council attend as witnesses. With this opening ritual completed, the new pemangku may carry out normal pemangku duties. However, until he has undergone the second part of his consecration he should not ascend the padmasana in Pura Penataran Agung.

The second part of the consecration, called natak tiis, takes place at Pura Penataran Agung, only in conjunction with one of the largest ceremonies, such as Bhatara Turun Kabeh or Panca Walikrama,

whose level of ritual elaboration requires a buffalo (lantaran kebo) laid out at the foot of the padmasana. When the main ceremony is over, the officiating pedanda again purifies and consecrates the pemangku, a text detailing the responsibilities of a pemangku is read out, and finally the pemangku treads upon the laid-out buffalo and eats portions of certain special offerings. For three days thereafter he does austerities and fasting (brata) within the confines of the temple. Occasionally, re-consecration or re-purification of pemangku may take place.<15> Consecration of non-authorized pemangku do not involve rituals in Pura Penataran Agung.<16> These consecration rituals illustrate a number of ritual status differentiations: the special status of the padmasana, the superior status of pedanda over pemangku, and also the superior ritual status of the official pemangku over non-official pemangku such as pemangku in charge of descent group temples and private pemangku.

The mortuary rituals of an official pemangku are also more elaborate than those of other pemangku at Besakih. After the first part of the post-cremation ritual (neles) held at Pura Basukihan, the soul symbol of a deceased official pemangku is carried to Pura Penataran Agung where at the bale kawas a special ritual called maselangin kawas serves as a kind of ritual repayment of the many ajang or kawas he received during his time as a pemangku.<17>

Whereas the Besakih pemangku are resident in the village, no high priests live there. The nearest brahmana residences lie some ten kilometres away at Pringalot (Rendang) and Muncan, and they have no special rights at Besakih. In an Indian context this lack of resident brahmana attached to a major temple honoured and supported by the state would be unusual.<18> When a pedanda is required to officiate,

he is chosen by the committee in charge of such a ritual. No pedanda have special rights to perform at Besakih's public rituals.

Mantras and Puja

In places where both pemangku and pedanda officiate, the pedanda ritual of worship (puja) is considered higher in status and is higher in terms of ritual elaboration. Both pemangku and pedanda rituals undergo levels of elaboration which are most clearly illustrated in the structure of offering-groups. The higher the level of elaboration and size of offerings, the greater the number of mantra in the priest's puja. The number of mantra increases partly because certain additional offerings possess their own mantra and partly because more mantras are uttered at certain key points in the ritual where one mantra would have sufficed at smaller rituals.

Another interesting aspect of mantra hierarchy is the not uncommon tendency for mantra at lower level rituals to be segments of 'fuller' mantras. Sometimes a pemangku uses a mantra segment simply because he does not know the fuller mantra, and may not even know it exists. One finds shortened versions of many mantra, such as those for sudamala and peras, while the mantra for the small water sprinkler called buu is a shorter modified mantra of the larger lis. With regard to Sanskrit mantras, most that are used by the pemangku consist of a verse or a verse-segment (pada) taken from the pedanda's mantras or hymns. The mantra the pemangku uses to request favour of the gods or to request forgiveness are parts of longer mantras that pedanda use for the same purposes. Some of the Sanskrit mantras for congregational worship (bakti) are taken from longer hymns.

In keeping with the Balinese cultural ideology of hierarchy, it is generally believed that the more complete the mantra, the greater its power, and yet at the same time the shorter version or segment has its own independent and self-sufficient existence. Central to the priests' worship is the preparation of holy water whose mantras, too, vary with level of ritual elaboration.

Holy Water

The role of holy water in Balinese Hinduism is so pervasive that, with good reason, the religion itself has at times been called Agama Tirtha, 'Religion of Holy Water'. The common daily word for water in Balinese is yeh, or toya in refined language. Toya can also refer to holy water, but for this the Sanskrit word tirtha is more commonly used. In Balinese Hinduism there are many varieties of holy water, and if we are ever to understand Balinese ritual these varieties must be distinguished. In describing a ritual we cannot simply use 'holy water' without further clarification; different kinds of holy waters have different powers or efficacies. The specific efficacies of holy waters depend on a number of factors: the source of the water, how it is empowered, either directly by a deity or by a priest, the kind of priest, and the specific power he bestows upon the water through ritual words and actions. The first distinction that must be made is between holy waters blessed by or symbolizing a deity, and holy waters prepared by an officiating priest (Fig. 6.1).

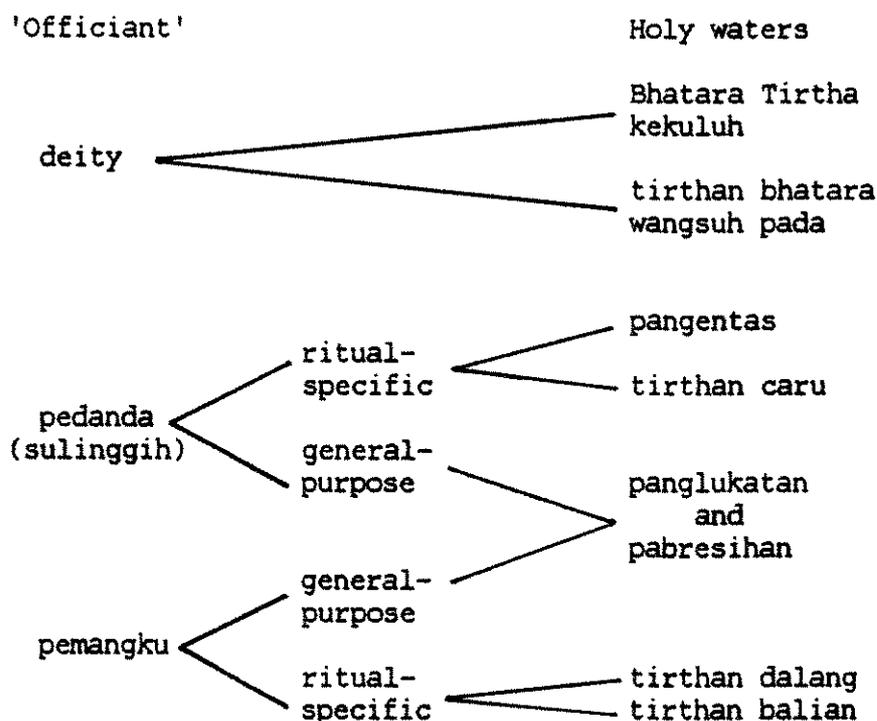


Fig.6.1 Categories of Holy Water and their 'Officiants'

In the first category where deity is the 'officiant', it is necessary to distinguish between two kinds or uses of holy water. Bhatara Tirtha is holy water which is considered the material symbol of deity. Or in other words: Bhatara Tirtha is a deity manifest as holy water. By this means, a deity, especially of a major temple, can be invited to attend a ceremony in the role of witness. It is carried and otherwise treated with the reverence due to a deity, and as befits a deity, on entering the temple where the ceremony is taking place, Bhatara Tirtha is 'welcomed' in a ritual called mendak tirtha. Holy water as Bhatara Tirtha is carried in what is called a sujung, a length of bamboo plugged with sacred leaves, to which is attached a string of 200 coin. Holy water obtained in this way is also sometimes called kekuluh. At the end of the ceremony that Bhatara Tirtha was to witness, the holy water may be added to that given out to the congregation, or it may just be poured out.

Tirthan bhatara (holy water of the god), on the other hand, is holy water empowered or blessed by a deity within the context of priestly ritual (Chapter 8). It is the material means by which divine power passes from deity to worshipper, and is given out in the matirtha ritual at the end of temple festivals. It is quite often called wangsuh pada whose meaning, 'water from washing the foot', emphasizes the disparity between deity and devotee.

The second major category of holy waters are those prepared by an officiating priest through ritual acts and utterances. The holy waters prepared by both categories of priest, pemanqku and pedanda (sulingqih), may be classified as either general-purpose or ritual-specific. Of particular interest is that general-purpose holy waters of both pemanqku and pedanda are called by the same names, tirtha/toya panlukatan and tirtha/toya pabresihan, although the rituals and particularly the associated mantras are quite different and the resulting holy waters are of different status or power. Ritual-specific holy waters are prepared by the pedanda through the use of mantras that bestow a particular power or efficacy, the most important of these being holy waters required at death rituals, especially cremation (tirtha pangentas) and at large bhuta yadnya ceremonies (tirthan caru). Ritual-specific holy water of the pemanqku includes those special varieties prepared by priest-puppeteer (mangku dalang) and priest-healer (mangku balian).

For holy water of this second category, the source of the water is generally not important, provided it is fresh (anyar), and this suffices also for holy water of the first category in connection with lesser rituals. But for larger rituals, the source of holy water is very important, and it is in this respect that the relationship

linking holy water and hierarchical levels of ritual elaboration is apparent. Water for Bhatara Tirtha or tirthan bhatara is obtained at a spring with a ritual called nuhur tirtha which is a part of all larger temple ceremonies. The level of this ritual articulates with the overall level of the ceremony as a whole.

In Bali, just as villages have their own temples, they also have sacred springs. And just as there are regional temples, so there are sacred springs of regional status (e.g. Yeh Esah near Muncan) and island-wide status (e.g. Tirtha Luhur at Besakih). At Besakih, at least nine springs are located in the beds of the two streams that flank the main Besakih ridge (Map 2). Some springs are associated with just one or two temples, or with a specific (kind of) ritual, while others are of wider significance. Just as Besakih temples are related among themselves, so too are the springs. Tirtha Luhur (Amerta) and Tirtha Tunggang (Sindu), according to the Raja Purana, are related to a dualism linking life and death, for the waters of each are used for life-giving and death-associated rituals respectively. This dualism parallels the dual structure of the complex as a whole.

At Besakih, the hierarchy of status of sacred springs is clearly illustrated in the relationship linking Tirtha Girikusuma, Tirtha Luhur and Tirtha Putra, in which the higher in altitude the location of the spring, the higher its status, and the larger the offerings required at nuhur tirtha. Tirtha Girikusuma is a three hour climb up the mountain. Water from there in the form of Bhatara Tirtha is required only for Bhatara Turun Kabeh, the main yearly Besakih festival; the nuhur tirtha ritual requires a white pebangkit offering. <19> Tirtha Luhur, a 15-20 minute walk, is the source of

water for Bhatara Tirtha and tirthan bhatara at several of Besakih's larger ceremonies. Tirtha Putra is in the river right by the main temple, and is used for smaller ceremonies for tirthan bhatara but never for Bhatara Tirtha.

The number of Bhatara Tirtha at larger ceremonies depends on the level of ritual. At Bhatara Turun Kabeh, for instance, there are two: Bhatara Tirtha Girikusuma representing the god of the mountain, and Bhatara Tirtha Sagara (obtained at Klotok) representing the god of the ocean. At Ekadasa Rudra in 1979 there were 11, nine from temples in Bali, one from Mt. Semeru (Java) and one from Mt. Rinjani (Lombok). People coming to Besakih to nuhur tirtha usually obtain it either at Tirtha Luhur or at the padmasana of Pura Penataran Agung.

Offerings

To present an offering (banten) accompanied at the least by that most prevalent of ritual gestures, wafting the essence of an offering towards a god or spirit, is the basic ritual act of the Balinese. Offerings are essential at all and every ritual, from a simple portion of cooked rice for the daily sesaiban offering to the thousands of offerings required at the largest ceremonies. What I attempt here is to demonstrate that, matching their visual prominence is a structural prominence in determining hierarchy of ritual elaboration, a fundamental characteristic of Balinese ritual. Size of ritual, and thus cost, is measured by the number of offerings which are organized according to a system of 'groups' of increasing elaboration.<20>

The world of offerings is a domain where women are the

acknowledged experts (tukang banten). Men are generally responsible for flesh offerings, but beyond that it is rare, though not unknown, for a man to be an offerings expert. A woman learns about offerings by making them, a process she begins as a young girl helping her mother and other women of the community, particularly those of her own kin group. A girl first learns the simplest tasks such as making the basic palm leaf containers. Gradually her skills increase and she learns the basic repertoire of offerings necessary for the most frequently held ceremonies. Most women know the basic repertoire, but for offerings at larger and less common ceremonies the community must call upon the skills of those few women, the tukang banten, recognized as experts in the field, which gives them a measure of status in the community. All temple-owning corporate groups have their own offerings experts with regard to pemanqku rituals. Womenfolk of brahmana households, including the pedanda istri, the ordained wife of a high priest, devote a good portion of their time to the preparation of offerings, especially the additional offerings necessary for pedanda rituals. Sometimes brahmana households make all the offerings for a pedanda ritual, but more commonly a padanda istri and a few helpers work together with the people putting on the ceremony.

Whereas experts in offerings for pemanqku rituals learn through practice without any reference to the textual tradition, experts in offerings at pedanda rituals do at times refer to texts on offerings, although the basic learning is still through practice. One does as one was taught, and variation in matters of detail is endless. Pemanqku offerings vary from region to region, village to village, even from group to group within the one village. Similarly, pedanda offerings vary among brahmana households (geria), each claiming their

own way is best and most complete, each citing as authority the lontar texts in their own possession.

Within a single localized tradition variation appears also at a result of other considerations, such as financial constraints and aesthetic impulse. If resources are strained, commitment weak or time short, not only can the overall number of offerings be reduced, but individual offerings can be reduced in size -- the cone of rice made smaller, fruit represented by slices -- to such an extent at times that it almost appears a different offering. The aesthetic impulse for which the Balinese are so rightly famous is manifested in the beauty of the offering as much as it is in sculpture or painting, but with so many people involved in making offerings, great variation exists in the skill and aesthetic taste any individual brings to the task. And finally, just as a teller of tales introduces slight variations in telling the one tale at different times, so too does the maker of offerings in preparing the same offerings at different rituals. And yet, despite this variation, there is clearly a common ground behind the varying localized traditions.

Variation within a local tradition is evident also at Besakih, for the women making pemangku offerings vary according to the group responsible for any particular ceremony. For public rituals most preparation is done by womenfolk from households of pemangku and banjar officials. The acknowledged offerings expert at Besakih is Mangku Ngales, the second wife of a now deceased pemangku of Pura Kiduling Kreteg, from the dadia Gelgel I. She assists both at private rituals and at the larger pemangku rituals such as usaba buluh and usaba ngeed, and she serves as the unofficial leader of the Besakih women during preparations for Bhatara Turun Kabeh. But no offerings

expert is wholly consistent, and she too introduces variation in the offerings for different enactments of one and the same ritual. In pedanda rituals at Besakih variations are even more prevalent, for the offerings are prepared under the direction of experts from different parts of the island.

Categories of Offerings

Offerings comprise a number of fairly distinct categories (Fig.6.2)

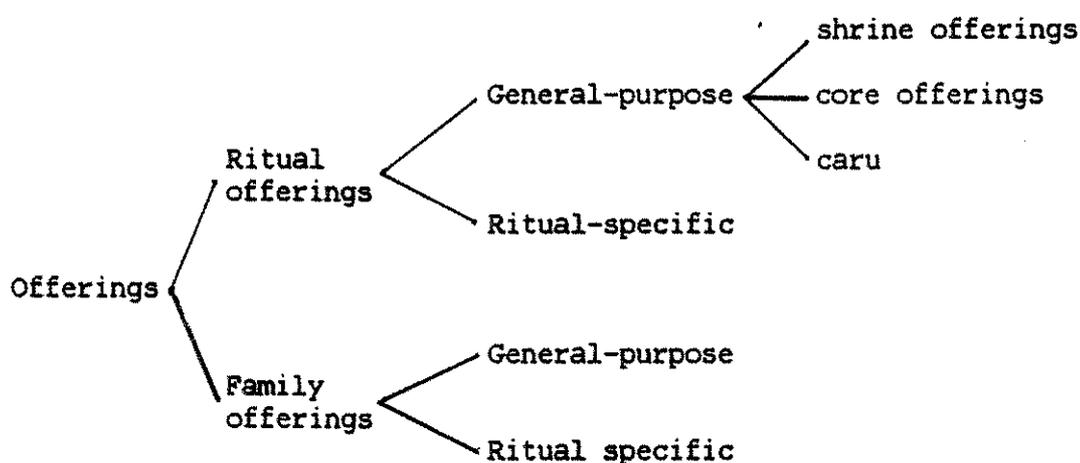


Fig. 6.2 Categories of Offerings

The first distinction I make is that between what I call 'ritual offerings' and 'family offerings'. The former are necessary for the ritual to take place, while the latter depend on who participates. The Balinese use the common word banten for both groups, though the latter are not infrequently called by other names such as prani. The offerings that each family brings to the temple or place of ritual are a symbol of its participation and its members' homage. Family offerings are arrangements, often of striking beauty, of fruits and

colourful rice cakes and betel ingredients, crowned by the palm leaf artifact called sampian. To some degree villages and regions have their own style of family offering, in particular those that are ritual-specific. For example, instead of the usual kind of family offerings, at usaba ngeed Besakih villagers bring to Pura Banua special offerings, penek one year, dangsil the next.

Ritual offerings, without which the ceremony cannot be held, can also be divided into general-purpose and ritual-specific. They invariably consist of a sometimes lengthy list of specific ingredients or components, arranged in a specific composition. It is ritual offerings, in particular general-purpose ones, that are capable of undergoing elaboration according to a hierarchical system that I discuss in some detail. General-purpose ritual offerings are used for all five categories of ritual.

Ritual offerings can be further divided into three groups that I call 'shrine offerings', 'core offerings' and caru or 'sacrifice'.^{<21>} The categorization is based essentially on the location of offerings at ceremonies. 'Shrine offerings', what Balinese sometimes call banten sane mungguh ('offerings that are raised up'), are placed in or on shrines that are the focus of ritual. They are offered to the gods. The caru is the animal 'sacrifice' that is laid on the ground and directed to demonic forces. Its accompanying offerings are often called banten sor (sor, below, chthonic). In bhuta yadnya ceremonies the caru becomes the focus of ritual. The 'core offerings' are placed in pavilions or on temporary platforms or on mats on the ground. I use the term 'core', for at Besakih the core offerings are the index of particular levels in the hierarchy of ritual elaboration. I begin with the core offering.

Core offerings

Core offerings, which form groups, consist of many different individually-named offerings, each made up of separate components or ingredients, some of the components themselves consisting of various sub-components. I do not intend to list the ingredients of each offering, not only because it would take up an inordinate amount of space, but more importantly because the key to understanding offerings as an overall system is not to examine them as so many individual offerings, but as groups of offerings. The offering groups that I discuss are not restricted to the core offerings but are also encountered among offerings accompanying the caru. A common Balinese word for a 'group' of offerings is sorohan, a general word for group or grouping of many things besides offerings. Some groups of core offerings have their own specific names and the word sorohan can be left out, in others the term is used in conjunction with a certain key offering, e.g. sorohan pebangkit or sorohan catur.

Core offering groups are organized in a system of hierarchical elaboration whose levels articulate with those of other aspects of ritual. Offering groups are basic to ritual in that they determine the overall level of ritual and serve as a shorthand indication of that level. A key feature of these core offering groups of increasing complexity is that a smaller group is transformed into a larger one by the addition of extra offerings and not by replacing one set by another. This is illustrated clearly in Fig. 6.3 which lists the component offerings of the five main offering groups used at pemanqku rituals at Besakih: pelayuan, tlajakan, daanan, dandan, and sorohan pebangkit. Just as there is variation in the details of individual offerings, so there is variation in the component offerings of

Fig. 6.3 Component offerings of core offering groups used in pemangku rituals at Besakih

Offering	Pelayuan	Tlajakan	Daanan	Dandan	Sorohan Pebangkit
ajuman	x	x	x	x	x
daksina	x	x	x	x	x
tapakan	x	x	x	x	x
ketipat kelanan	x	x	x	x	x
penyeneng		x	x	x	x
peras			x	x	x
guru			x	x	x
pisang			x	x	x
pengiring			x	x	x
solasan			x	x	x
nasi putih kuning			x	x	x
tulung/cacahan			x	x	x
jambal samah--					
jambal taksu			x	x	x
sayut kayu sakti			x	x	x
sayut nagasari			x	x	x
sayut sudamala			x	x	x
tehenan			x	x	x
basokan			x	x	x
kampuh			x	x	x
segehan			x	x	x
tapakan panganteb			x	x	x
buu/lis			buu	lis	lis
guling taluh				x	x
jerimpen sate				x	x
tumpeng pat				x	x
sayut pengambean				x	x
sayut penuku				x	x
sayut penyegjeg				x	x
sayut pucak manik				x	x
sayut kekuren				x	x
sayut kesunaran				x	x
sayut sidakarya				x	x
{ guling bawi/bebek, and tumpeng guling or				x	x
{ bayuh lantaran/gelarsanga, tumpeng agung, tumpeng alit, and sayut ketutupan					
pebangkit					x
pekekeh					x
tutuan					x
galahan					x
rompokan					x
jerimpen					x

offering groups. But all experts there employ the same offering group terminology. <22>

Besides additional offerings that distinguish one offering group from the next, groups are also commonly distinguished according to the number of certain key ingredients, the most important of which are rice-cones (tumpeng), sesayut offerings, chickens, and other creatures (Fig. 6.4).

Fig.6.4 Relationship between core offering groups and key components

	rice-cones	sesayut	chickens	other creatures
pelayuan	-	-	-	-
tlajakan	2	-	1	-
daanan	7 (11)	3	3	-
dandanan	33	7	7	duck or pig
sor. pebangkit	45	11	11	duck or pig

(Source: leading offering experts at Besakih. There is minor variation in these figures, depending on the expert.)

The additional flesh component, either duck or pig, is a particularly important feature. Whichever animal is used is sometimes a matter of choice or cost, but not infrequently a certain ritual prescribes one or the other, for the duck is considered a purer creature than the pig (or chicken). Both the dandanan and sorohan pebangkit groups are divided into sub-types according to the manner in which this flesh component is prepared. Both pig and duck can be prepared either as guling (roasted whole on the spit) or bayuh (divided into parts). The differences are instructive, not because they are intrinsically important in themselves, but because the differences illustrate that love of elaboration and endless detail of ritual that is so characteristic of the Balinese. A far greater

amount of time and effort goes into the preparation of ritual than into the actual performance of ritual. In discussing Balinese ritual it is tempting to disregard the detail, and one is often forced to do so out of sheer necessity, yet such neglect is in peril of making one lose sight of one of the salient characteristics of the ritual. The manner of preparing guling and bayuh illustrates well the minutiae with which the Balinese occupy themselves.

The bayuh, almost invariably a pig and very rarely a duck, is itself divided into bayuh lantaran and bayuh gelarsanga, the latter corresponding to a higher level of elaboration. For a bayuh of either kind, the pig is cut up prior to cooking and certain portions of the carcass retained.<23> These portions are boiled or fried, it does not matter which. When the bayuh is laid out at the place of ritual, the portions are arranged anatomically. Two other portions of the carcass are used in offerings that always accompany a bayuh: a ring of skin and flesh around the neck is part of the tumpeng agung, a portion of three rib bones with skin attached in the tumpeng alit. For a bayuh gelarsanga the pejuit, a ring of flesh and skin immediately behind the head which is left attached only at the top, is pulled over the top of the head and slipped into the mouth. The corresponding offering that accompanies the guling is called tumpeng guling.

Both guling and bayuh are accompanied by a specific number of packets (variously called kawas, solasan or kaputan) containing specified varieties of meat preparations from the flesh and blood of the creature. A guling is accompanied by 11 packets, each containing a little urab putih, urab barak, sembuuk and urutan wrapped in banana leaf. The bayuh lantaran requires 33 packets, whose ingredients include sate asem and sate lembat in addition to the other

preparations, while the bayuh gelarsanga requires 45 packets. Furthermore the bayuh gelarsanga requires nine each of nine kinds of sate, each kind having its own name, its own shape, and its own ingredients. These are simply tied into bundles or arranged attractively by being stuck into a piece of banana stalk.

The three larger groups of core offerings -- daanan, dandanan, and sorohan pebangkit -- consist of two parts, the smaller part being offerings 'manipulated' by the pemangku, in contrast to those that are not. 'Manipulated' offerings remain almost unchanged in all three offering groups (for details, see Chapter 7). In laying out the groups of core offerings, those manipulated by the pemangku are placed in front of him within easy reach so that he can take them into his hands and perform ritual actions with them and utter their special mantras. The other offerings are either placed in front of the pemangku as he sits on the ground, or in a pavilion by the shrine that is the focus of ritual.

At Besakih, ceremonies at the sorohan pebangkit level are the largest at which pemangku officiate. However, at pedanda rituals the sorohan pebangkit continues to be a core offering, with, as one would expect in this hierarchical system of elaboration, certain additional offerings. Besides an increase in shrine-offerings, pedanda rituals at the sorohan pebangkit level require a more elaborate range of purificatory offerings, offerings that accompany the 'seating' (linggih) of a pedanda, and additional sesayut offerings.<24>

Shrine offerings

Shrine offerings are placed in or on the shrine (or shrines), permanent or temporary, that is the focus of any particular ritual. Balinese generally call these offerings banten sane munggah, 'offerings that are raised up'. Location and level of elaboration of shrine offerings indicate which shrines are the most important in a particular ritual. In any one temple, different rituals may be directed towards the deities of different shrines, or to all the deities together in which case the meeting pavilion of the gods (bale pasamuhan) serves as a temporary shrine.

Before discussing the shrine offerings per se, it is necessary to mention an 'offering' placed in the shrines, that is not really an offering at all but a ritual object that serves as the symbol of the deity. For simple pemangku rituals characterized by the phrase maturan di palinggih ('presented at the shrine'), such god symbols are not required in which case the mantra used to invite the deity to descend and take up residence in its symbol is not used. At larger rituals the god-symbol may take the form of a tapakan palinggih or daksina palinggih, so-called after their similarity with offerings called tapakan and daksina. At Besakih, certain important shrines possess permanent god-symbols called pratima in the form of statues or boxes (with unknown contents). At Bhatara Turun Kabeh the permanent god-symbols are placed all together in the gods' meeting pavilion.

Shrine offerings, like other aspects of ritual, are arranged in hierarchical levels. At the simplest rituals, a canang offering is sufficient. At a relatively small ceremony whose core offering is a daanan, shrine-offerings consist of a peras ajengan ('the peras offering out in front') together with a rayunan ('food') on the main

shrine, and smaller ajuman offerings on minor shrines. When the core offering is a dandanan or sorohan pebangkit, the shrine offerings invariably consist of a suci offering together with a choice among or combination of peras, rayunan, ajuman, or the pelayuan offering-group. A suci offering may be placed in each of several shrines if they are all regarded as important, although only the one core offering-group is needed. For example, at the odalan of Pura Kiduling Kreteg whose core offering is a sorohan pebangkit, suci offerings are placed in five shrines and ajuman in the remainder.

The suci (literally 'pure') offering should more correctly be called an offering-group (sorohan) in that it consists of a number of separately named component offerings, the larger the number of components, the higher its level of elaboration. Offering texts distinguish several levels, each with its own name, which are often described by the number of containers (tamas) that the component offerings require. The highest level, suci tibaro, is restricted to larger pedanda rituals, less elaborate ones to smaller pedanda and larger pemangku rituals.<25>

At larger pedanda rituals, however, the shrine-offerings are augmented by another very important offering (or offering-group) called (sorohan) catur. Its significance is illustrated by the fact that the largest pedanda rituals at Besakih can be characterized by the phrase sorohan catur iwak kebo, which might be paraphrased as an 'offering-group (sorohan) based on the catur, whose flesh (iwak) component is a buffalo (kebo)', implying that other elements of ritual must likewise be at the highest level of elaboration. The catur itself has two main levels of elaboration, called by various names depending on traditions of different brahmana residences (geria), and

on locality; I use the terms catur rebah (or catur mukti) for the smaller and catur niri (or catur muka) for the larger. The offering derives its name catur ('four') from its four-part structure, for its main ingredients are in four parts according to colour and direction. In the smaller catur rebah, two of each kind and colour of ingredient are placed in their own quadrants in a single large container, whereas in the larger catur niri a varying number (according to the urip of direction) of each kind and colour of ingredient are placed in separate containers, four in all. Varieties of rice and of such fruits as banana and sugar-cane are associated with specific directions.<26> Offerings that always accompany the catur (i.e. runtutan catur) include the saraswati and gana.<27>

Another essential requirement of pedanda rituals, and the largest of the pemanqku rituals, is the presence of temporary shrines, over and above the temple's permanent ones. At the largest pemanqku rituals of the sorohan pebanqkit level, a temporary shrine called sanggar surya is erected, its shrine-offerings being a suci and perhaps a saji. This bamboo shrine with a single compartment (rong siki) is dedicated to Surya, the Sun-god, who is invited to attend the ceremony in his capacity as divine witness (pasaksi). When a pedanda officiates a sanggar surya is essential and with it, besides the suci, an offering called dewa-dewi, 'god-goddess'; its ingredients symbolize a divine couple.<28> At larger pedanda rituals the much larger and taller sanggar tawang is required in addition to the sanggar surya. A sanggar tawang sometimes has just one compartment, but more usually three. It is dedicated to the Trimurti, Brahma (right compartment), Wisnu (left compartment) and Siwa (central and slightly higher compartment). Its shrine-offerings always includes a

catur and suci tibaro.

Caru

A caru or 'sacrifice', which is essentially a flesh offering, is directed towards disruptive demonic forces (bhuta) which in Balinese symbolic classification are associated with the downward direction (sor). Hence a caru is always placed on the ground (though not all offerings placed on the ground are necessarily caru). Offerings accompanying a caru are likewise called banten sor. <29>

The caru is one of the clearest expressions of the hierarchy of ritual elaboration, both in terms of its flesh component and its accompanying offerings which are based on the offering groups already discussed. Balinese distinguish different levels of 'sacrifice'. The smallest is the segehan, of which there are several varieties, large and small. The segehan is not strictly a caru for the flesh component is represented by ginger and garlic. The caru itself is divided into levels according to the creatures sacrificed. Caru is originally a Sanskrit word meaning 'oblation', or in Old Javanese 'offering', while in Bali it came to be used only of the animal sacrifice. The larger caru, particularly those of the great bhuta yadnya rituals, are more commonly called taur which has the sense of 'payment'. They range in size up to the enormous Panca Walikrama and Ekadasa Rudra.

The simplest caru is called eka sata, 'one chicken', which must be of multi-coloured plumage (ayam brumbun). The chicken is prepared in what the Besakih pemangku call the kekletan manner, i.e. the bird is skinned, retaining the head and feet in one piece with the skin and plumage. The flesh is prepared as urab and sate, the ingredients of the gibungan and solasan offerings. In laying out the caru, the bird

is placed first on an object, called sengkui, plaited from coconut palm leaf, which is laid at the foot of a little temporary bamboo shrine called sanggar kembang or sanggar caru. The accompanying offering group is a tlajakan or daanan.

The caru of the next higher level is called panca sata, 'five chickens', which are arranged four around the centre in the form of a cross (Fig. 6.5A). The multi-coloured chicken remains at the centre, while the chicken at each of the cardinal directions has plumage of the colour associated with that direction. This is the typical structure of the five-part classification. The rice components of certain accompanying offerings (penyeneng, nasi pangkonan) also follow this colour scheme, while the number of solasan follows the mystical number (urip) of each direction. Normally each chicken is placed at the foot of its own shrine (sanggar caru) but occasionally one sees just one shrine at the centre. Sub-levels of the caru panca sata are indicated by the accompanying offering group, either one daanan at the centre or five daanan, one at each direction, in which case five shrines are essential.

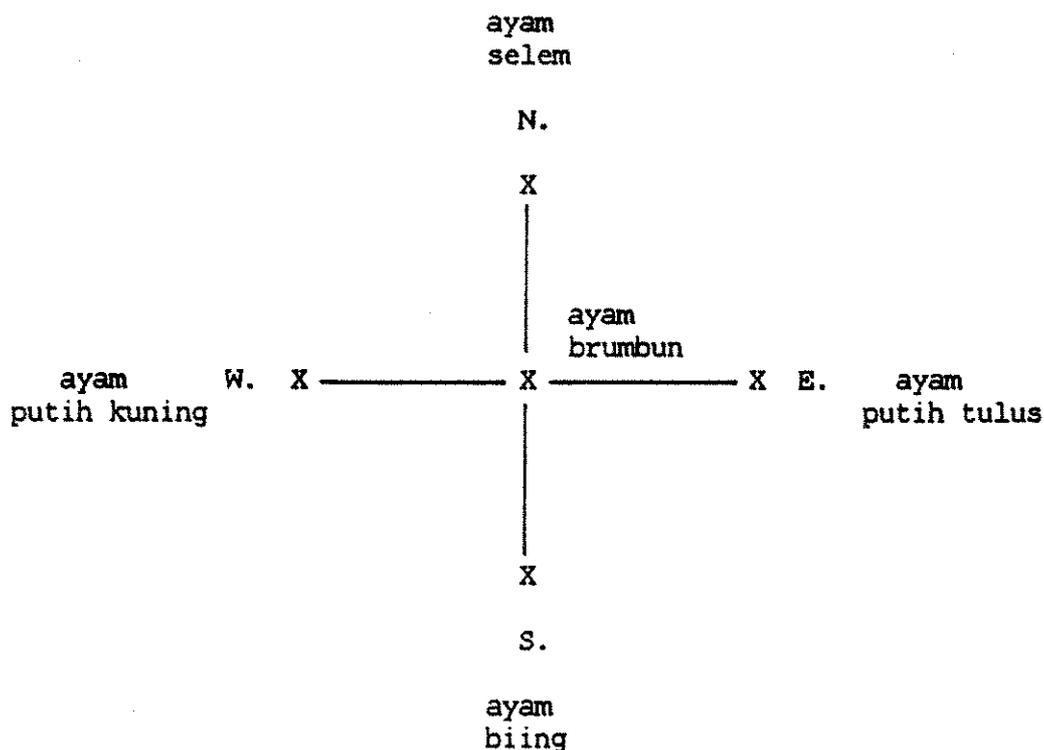
A caru panca sata is the highest level of caru at which a pemangku at Besakih is willing or considers himself fit to officiate. At larger caru, a pedanda (sulinggih) is invited to officiate in person, or the necessary holy waters are requested at his home.

Caru (or taur) larger than a caru panca sata are all elaborations of the caru panca sata. Numerous ritual texts give details of the additional creatures to be sacrificed and their respective locations/directions, together with accompanying offerings, but the details vary greatly. Creatures that may be required at these higher level caru -- panca sanak, panca kelud, taur/tabuh gentuh, walik

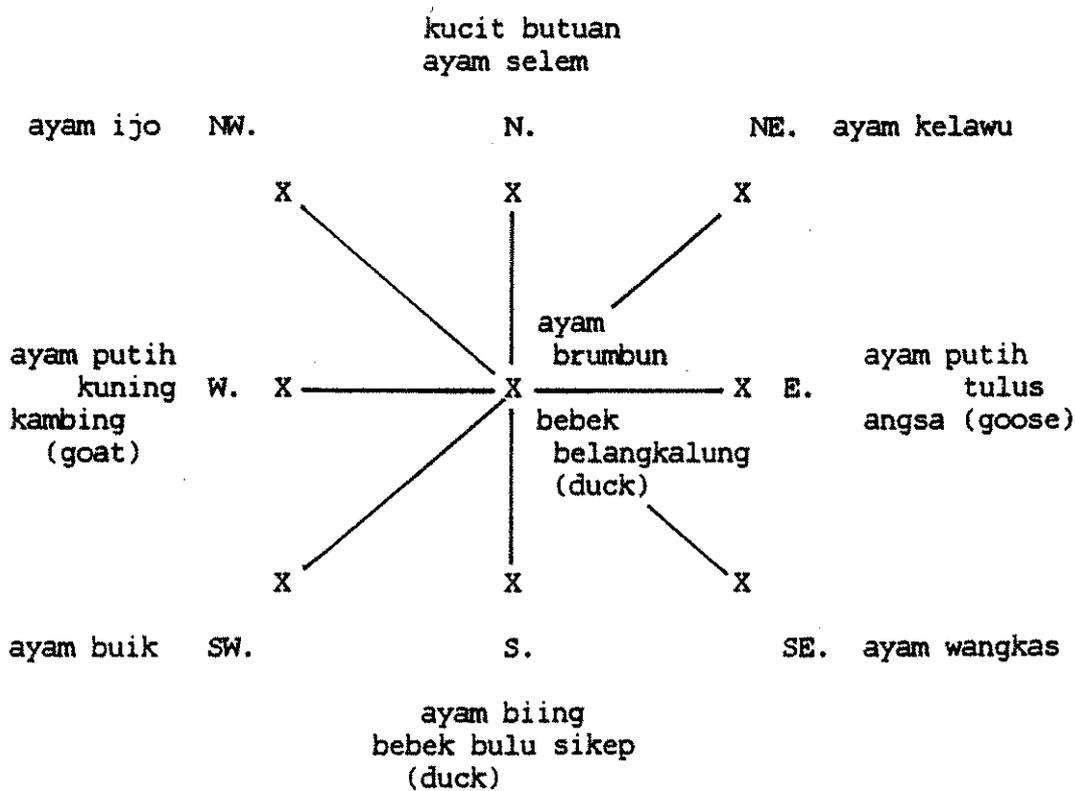
sumpah, taur agung -- include variously coloured chickens (at the intermediate directions), varieties of duck (bebek), goose (angsa), bull (banteng), goat (kambing), dog (asu bangbungkem), and piglet (kucit butuan). Despite variations in details, the structural principle of these caru is quite clear: over and above the five chickens of the caru panca sata, additional creatures, prepared in the manner called winangun urip ('laid out as if alive'), are placed at some or all of the cardinal and intermediate directions. If the intermediate directions are used, the number of caru shrines is increased to nine. Accompanying offering groups are increased accordingly, with a sorohan pebangkit at the centre (Fig. 6.5B).

At several of Besakih's bhuta yadnya ceremonies the caru required is the so-called caru banteng or caru sampi, which I translate as the 'bull sacrifice' since the beast is always male. Unlike the other caru, the bull is laid out separately and not in a single directional scheme with the five-chicken sacrifice that always accompanies it. The bull is invariably orientated with its head towards the south (kelod). Another distinctive feature of the bull sacrifice is its resemblance to the bayuh, in that particularly portions (bones) are laid down on top of the skin to which the head and feet remain attached as usual. At Besakih the bull is always slaughtered where the caru is to be held.

Fig. 6.5 Structural levels of the caru

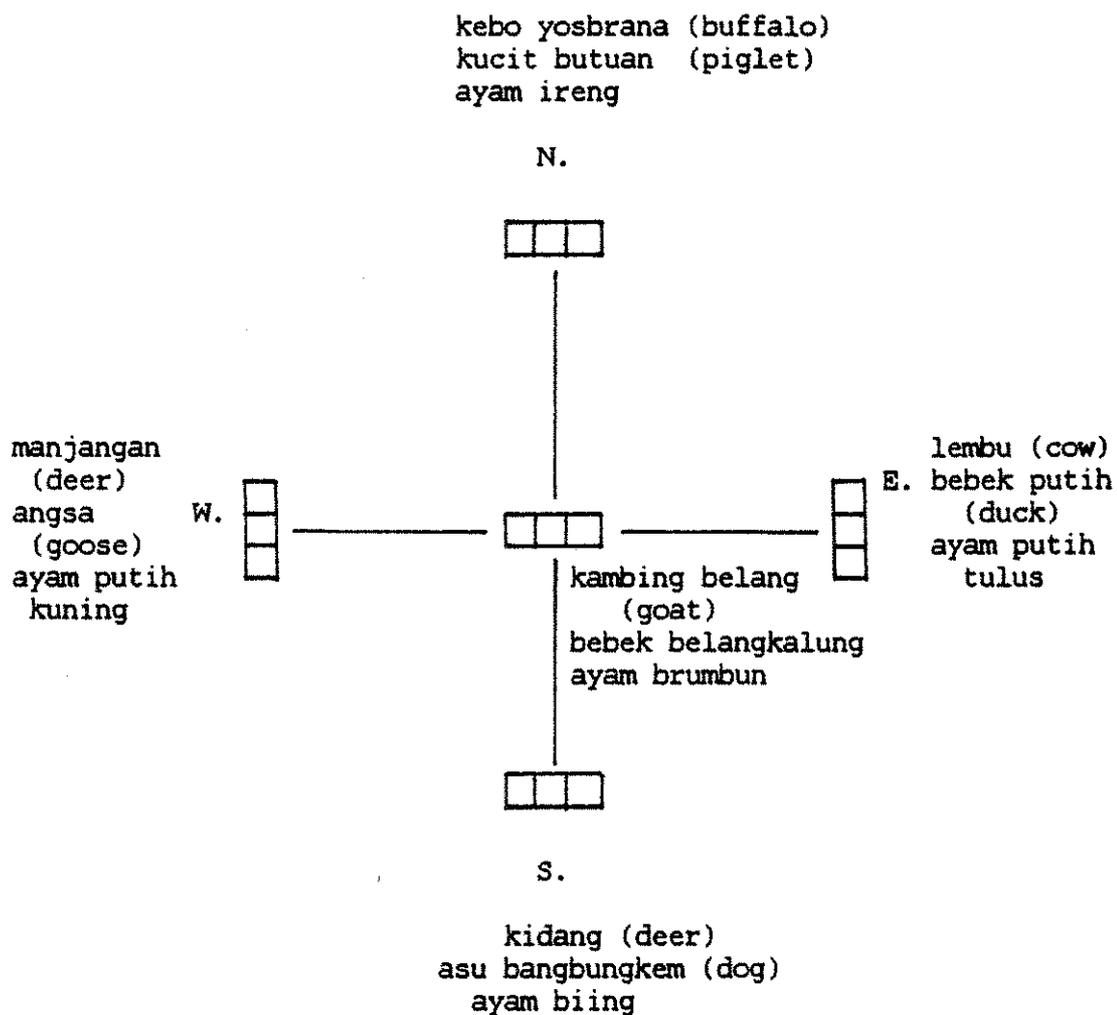


A. Caru Panca Sata



B. Caru panca sanak (Aci pangenteg jagat 1983)

Fig. 6.5 (cont). Structural levels of the caru



C. Taur Panca Walikrama (1978)

(Note: X represents a sanggar caru
 represents a sanggar tawang)

The two largest caru or taur, the Panca Wali Krama and Ekadasa Rudra, are bhuta yadnya ceremonies and are never used as part of ceremonies of the other categories of ritual. For these, the small sanggar caru are replaced by sanggar tawang, five at Panca Wali Krama and 11 at Ekadasa Rudra (nine directions plus above and below), a pedanda officiating in connection with each sanggar tawang, i.e. towards each of the directions. The number of creatures sacrificed at these enormous ceremonies is far larger than at other caru.

Conclusion

'Hierarchy of ritual elaboration' and its corollary of 'level articulation' are basic features of Balinese ritual. At Besakih, levels of ritual range from the small to the truly enormous, and so provide a particularly good example of ritual hierarchy. It is necessary to clarify these structural principles of Balinese ritual before discussing the actual ceremonies at Besakih, for without this understanding it is difficult to discuss the relative importance of ceremonies within ritual cycles (Chapter 8), for the difference in levels of elaboration is their distinguishing formal feature. Despite this difference, the sequential structure of these rituals is essentially similar and it is to this 'idiom of ritual' that I turn next.

CHAPTER 7

THE IDIOM OF RITUAL

Introduction

The sequential aspect of the formal structure of ritual consists of a temporal succession of ritual acts which follow one another in a prescribed manner. <1> I call this sequential structure the 'idiom of ritual', for reasons that will become clear later. Since idiom of ritual is essentially unaffected by ritual elaboration, it may be sought equally in the small or large ceremony, but perhaps it is most readily apparent by comparing small and large rituals side by side. In the data under analysis, the basic idiom of ritual consists of five phases which follow one another in fixed order: A--B--C--D--E. I analyze this structure first in the ritual of the pemanaku, as he performs it for a dandanan level ceremony, pointing out additions necessary for the higher sorohan pebangkit level. Each phase of the pemanaku's ritual consists of a number of sub-phases or acts, thus:

A(a1,a2,a3)--B(b1,b2,b3)--C(c1...)--D(d1...)--E(e1...).

The pedanda ritual follows much the same structure, although I do not discuss it in detail here. The separate acts of the pedanda tend to parallel those of the pemanaku, though the details of the acts themselves and especially the mantras are different.

In contrast to the relatively simple pemanaku ritual, I then elucidate this sequential structure in the largest of Besakih's yearly ceremonies, Bhatara Turun Kabeh, which takes place over several days.

Essentially what happens is that each phase (A,B,etc) of the idiom is transformed into a separate ritual, each ritual consisting of the basic idiom.

But this formal structure is not the end of the matter and as I indicated in the general introduction on ritual and meaning, besides its formal aspects, sequential structure has a story-line, as it were, or an 'idiom'. Each phase of the ritual can be represented by a formal device (as above) or by a key word that characterizes it. In the case of the rituals under discussion these key words are (A) Purification, (B) Invitation, (C) Prestation, (D) Counterprestation, (E) Dispersion. Underlying this idiom are two important notions. The first one might call the 'idiom of the guest'. In the case of dewa yadnya ceremonies, after the initial purification rites, the deity as honoured guest is invited to attend the celebrations in his/her honour and then at the end is requested to take his/her departure. In the case of bhuta yadnya ceremonies, the demons' attendance is compulsion or command rather than request. The second underlying notion is an asymmetrical exchange relationship between deity and devotee: the devotee presents to the deity offerings and homage, and in return receives from the deity the divine gift of tirthan bhatara or wangsu pada, 'water from washing the feet', water made holy through the power of the deity, in which the deity's blessings are symbolically embodied. This powerfully expresses the great status differentiation between deity and devotee.

Pemangku Ritual

Just as there is throughout Bali a certain level of variation in offerings required at pemangku rituals, so there is with the ritual acts and utterances of the pemangku themselves, even among those living in the one village. But unlike the making of offerings which is only extremely tenuously associated with the written tradition, the ritual of the pemangku is closely associated with the written tradition. The relationship between written text and performance is, however, rather complex. Many of the thousands of pemangku in Bali are illiterate, and learn their ritual directly from other pemangku who act as teachers. Since probably the majority of pemangkuships are hereditary positions, the teacher is often a close family member such as father or uncle, yet it is hardly unusual for a would-be pemangku to choose as teacher, or as an additional teacher, some other pemangku whom he regards as having sound knowledge of the ritual. Such is the high regard for literacy in the community that the chosen teacher may well be literate, and so in the succession of pemangku over time, every so often a literate teacher will appear. However, in some pemangku families literacy is an entrenched tradition, in others the ritual is handed down orally over many generations.

Among illiterate pemangku, some learn orally the mantras of the written pemangku tradition, while others make use of what is often called atur Bali, that is, they compose in high Balinese prayers that are partly derived from a common stock of exalted expressions. Atur Bali, to a varying degree, comes into all pemangku ritual. At Besakih, pemangku regard atur Bali as equally efficacious as the mantra tradition though the latter is the more common.<2>

Although no census of lontars has ever been taken in Bali,

probably hundreds of lontar manuscripts of pemangku ritual exist, besides a dozen or so stencilled booklets which since the 1950's have gained a limited distribution, though how widely the booklets have been used is another question. Lontar texts of pemangku ritual go under various names, the most common being Kusumadewa, Sangkul Putih, Tingkahing Pemangku, and Gegelaran(ing) Pemangku. Variation among texts is considerable, and even when their contents are largely similar, the order in which the different sections are placed can also vary, as is shown clearly in the comparison of the seven main texts that Hooykaas used in his study 'A Balinese Temple Festival' (Hooykaas 1977: Tables 2 and 3). As a general rule, however, pemangku texts do not determine performance, but function more in the nature of aide de memoire. The practice is learned from the teacher, and a text, when used, is only an additional help in the learning process. Consulting a text helps remedy mistakes in the learning of specific mantras, and may suggest mantras otherwise unencountered or not used in a particular local tradition. But the teacher, not the text, is the source of the ritual as performance.

Comparative studies of pemangku rituals in different parts of Bali have yet to be carried out. And indeed Jane Belo's 1953 study of an actual pemangku ritual at Sayan (Ubud, Gianyar) remains the only one of its kind, for Hooykaas' study was based entirely on texts. Although there are some elements in common with the Sayan ritual and with Hooykaas' texts, and the basic idiom is the same, the Besakih ritual appears to form a largely separate tradition whose distribution at this stage of our knowledge is unknown. At Besakih I was able to consult and have transcribed two lontar texts of the pemangku ritual, between which there were only minor scribal variations.<3> In both

texts the pemangku ritual is preceded by the story of Sang Kulputih, the legendary first priest at Besakih, who is credited with originating the pemangku ritual. This story is similar to or based on that found in the 'Usana Bali'.

As elsewhere, though, the Besakih texts are not a charter of right performance. Furthermore, there is no single pemangku ritual suitable for all occasions and purposes; instead, the pemangku ritual is made to suit the level of ritual elaboration of any particular ceremony. Some mantras in the texts are never used, others but rarely so, while on the other hand some mantras commonly used are not in the texts. Nor does the order of ritual as performed follow that in the texts. Yet, at Besakih literate pemangku do consult the texts. Some younger pemangku still in the process of learning more elaborate rituals find it easier to learn mantras from a written text than to do so orally, and they consult with their teacher, Mangku Puja, the Besakih pemangku most at home with written texts. In the following discussion of the ritual I cite the texts if mantras used in performance are found there, keeping in mind that not infrequently minor variations occur in actual performances. Variation though there be, according to the pemangku their rituals are essentially similar.<4>

Pemanqku Ritual at Besakih

The pemanqku ritual at Besakih can be divided into a number of parts or phases which combine into series to produce the idiom of ritual. These may be summarized as follows:

- A. Purification
 - i. of priest
 - ii. of cult instruments and offerings
- B. Invitation
 - i. inviting the deities to attend
 - ii. bathing and adorning the deities
- C. Prestation
 - i. presenting offerings to the deities
 - ii. presenting homage to the deities (bakti)
- D. Counterprestation
 - receiving the divine gift of wanqsuh pada
- E. Closing ritual

A. Purification

A(i). Purification of the priest

The pemanqku ritual opens with the priest purifying himself, body and mind. The pemanqku sits crosslegged on the ground or in a pavilion. Placing his right hand over his left hand, palms upwards, he utters the mantra:

ONG kara sedaman swaha.

ONG honour to the syllable ever in mind.

Next, reversing his hands so the left one rests on the right one, he says:

ONG kara ati sedaman swaha.

ONG honour to

Then he raises his hands and touches his shoulders three times (kabiukan), then cross his arms so his hands touch the opposite shoulders (silang) and are passed down the opposite arms until the

hands meet, saying the mantra:

ONG tirtha sweta rakta nila warna,
amreta suda nirmala ya nama swaha.

ONG holy water white, red, black in colour,
homage and honour to immortal nectar, pure and spotless.<5>

The pemangku next utters mantras requesting favour from three sources of power. The first two mantras are said silently (ngregep), while the third is said aloud. The first mantra is addressed to the Kanda Empat (Four spiritual brethren):

Ong sama maliwat ing isi putih, mundiya tahan pepangen-pepangan sira, aja sira lali maring ingsun, apan ingsun atunggal lawan sira, ryah ya I Lejar, I Lawut, I Areng, ngaran Bhatara Indra.	ONG do not forget about me, for I am one with you, ..I Lejar, I Lawut, I Areng, called Bhatara Indra.<6>
---	---

The second mantra is addressed to his Guru:

ONG asung anugraha Siwa-lingga guru reka pradnyan ta sira,
ANG UNG MANG Siwa Sadasiwa Pramasiwa ring bayu sabda idep,
wenang ganal alita sor ing luhur, paripurna ya nama swaha.

ONG Delighting in grace is Siwa-lingga, wise is Guru Reka,
ANG UNG MANG Siwa Sadasiwa Pramasiwa in deed, word and thought
....., honour and hail to the perfect.

The third is addressed to God:

ONG asung anugraha dewa data anugrahakem riarcanem sarwa purnem,
ONG gring gring anugraha sarwa arcanaya nama swaha.

ONG Thou Who art delightful in Thy grace, with Thy signs of grace
given by the gods;
adoration, all kinds of worship and honour to Thee
Who showest all kinds of grace.
ONG gring gring, honour and hail to the adoration of Grace.<7>

A(ii). Purification of cult instruments and offerings

Next the pemangku utters mantras in honour of certain cult instruments and offerings. These include mantra in honour of the ceniga, a palm-leaf ornament hung from the shrine, and related to the more elaborate lamak:

ONG pahong arepa muja salwiring caru suklana ya nama swaha.<8>

Next, a mantra (pabresihan bunga) in honour of the flowers the pemangku uses throughout his ritual:

ONG puspa danta ya nama swaha.

ONG homage and honour to 'flower-tooth' (i.e. Siwa).<9>

A mantra in honour of the pemangku's instrumental offerings (panqanteb):

ONG tembola pancopara sapurna ya nama swaha.

ONG honour and hail to the complete five oblations.<10>

A mantra (naqingin coblong) in honour of the water vessel:

ONG sajembah sakuwah-kuwah sesek supenuh ganjaran ing hulun.<11>

A mantra (pacekin dupa) in honour of the incense:

ONG pati pata ya nama swaha.

Usually, however, the pemangku uses other longer mantra in honour of the incense, either that called panqider asepe or panyereg asepe. The latter is as follows:

ONG ANG Brahma satya namo namah,
 ONG UNG Wisnu satya namo namah,
 ONG MANG Iswara satya namo namah.
 Urubira Bhatara Brahma dadi Bhatara Mahadewa,
 arenge dadi Bhatara Wisnu,
 lalatune dadi Bhatara Iswara,
 mletike Bhatara Ludra,
 anguse Sang Hyang Sangkara,
 kembang ing awu Bhatara Sambu,
 malebek dadi Sang Hyang ONG-kara,
 ambuning asepe mulih maring Bhatara Baruna,
 angadeg ta sira bener,
 matemahan Sang Hyang Taya
 masuk maring akasa,
 mrebuk arum gandhanira,
 terus tekeng sapta-patala,
 matemahan widadara widadari.

ONG ANG honour and hail to Brahma,
 ONG UNG honour and hail to Wisnu,
 ONG MANG honour and hail to Iswara,
 the flame of Bhatara Brahma becomes Bhatara Mahadewa,
 the charcoal becomes Bhatara Wisnu,
 the sparks become Bhatara Iswara,
 the flying sparks are Bhatara Ludra,
 the soot is Sang Hyang Sangkara,
 the flower of ash is Bhatara Sambu,

the whirling [of the smoke] is the Divine Syllable ONG,
 the fragrance of the smoke returns to Bhatara Baruna,
 standing upright,
 it changes into Sang Hyang Taya,
 entering into the heavens,
 the odour is lovely and sweet-smelling,
 penetrating as far as the seven levels of the underworld,
 it changes into heavenly singers and nymphs.<12>

At this stage the pemangku continues with the empowering of important cult instruments of purification: fresh water, tehenan, the holy water sprinkler, holy water of exorcism, and sesayut sudamala, whose various essences are sprinkled or wafted over all the offerings, shrines etc. This process of empowering begins with fresh water (toya anyar):

ONG guru paduka byo nama swaha,
 idep salwiring banten suklanana ya nama swaha.

ONG honour and hail to my lord Guru,
 enliven all spotless offerings, honour and hail.<13>

The tehenan is fashioned out of young coconut palm leaf. Its conical base is divided into three segments, each one containing a purificatory substance, including rice mixed with ash and chopped-up dadap leaves. Its mantra is as follows:

ONG (ng)awang-(ng)awang	ONG (moving through) the air
tutug teka ring akasa,	reaching to the heavens,
betel teka ring pretiwi.	penetrating to the earth.<14>

Next, taking the holy water sprinkler into his hands, he utters its mantra. The form of the holy water sprinkler and thus its mantra changes in accordance with the level of ritual elaboration. The simplest, the buu, which is short and stubby, consists of a number of cut-out and plaited creations fashioned from young coconut palm leaf (busung or janur), tied together in a bunch. A buu, or occasionally a pair, is used in conjunction with a daanan core offering, while for the larger dandanan and sorohan pebanqkit groups, it is generally replaced by the more elaborate lis which is long and graceful. The

lis contains the same named components as does the buu, but is supplemented by many others, as many as 45 components in all. At larger ceremonies two lis are tied together as a pair (lis apasang/atangkep).^{<15>} The mantra for the buu and lis used at Besakih are as follows:

ONG pukulun ngadeg ta sira sang janur kuning,
mawak kedas, mawak rsi, mawak lis.

ONG Sang janur kuning angadega sira,
t(um)urun Bhatara Siwa, Brahma,
lis las klesa sebel kandel papa klesa mawak lis, mawak tebas,
mawak sang Aji Lasem, rastu sidi nama swaha.

ONG Lord Young Coconut Leaf, present yourself,
descend Bhatara Siwa, Brahma,
the lis makes vanish impurity and defilement,
with the body of a lis, (and) with a head (?),
with the body of Aji Lasem (teaching of Lasem?);
may there be fulfillment, honour and hail.^{<16>}

The pemangku continues by uttering the panglukatan mantra to empower the water in front of him with the power to remove (lukat) impurities that may have affected the offerings.

ONG ANG Brahma dipe makadi Sang Hyang Tigamurti Ekanyana
jute suci Sang Hyang Nirmala-nyana sarwa bakti kraraban
karampuhan kinamelan kapletikan dening odak, kraraban dening
roma, kaiberan dening ayam, kalangkahan dening sona, kacecil
dening wong rare, kacamahan dening wong campur, katiban ala,
ujar ala, ipen ala, tujuh teluh tranjana, ika pratista kabeh
dening tirthan Bhatara Siwa Murti Sakti, wastu punah ilang
mala pratakaning bakti, sidi wastu astu ya nama swaha.

ONG ANG Brahma and especially Sang Hyang Tigamurti (Divine Trinity), One-knowledge, Divine Knowledge of Stainlessness, all worship,(?), soiled by powder (for the skin), when one has hair fall on one, when one has a cockerel fly over one, clasped (?) by a child, defiled by an unclean person (menstruating woman), struck by ill-fortune, ill words and ill dreams, black magic (of three kinds), these are all cleansed by the holy water of Bhatara Siwa Murti Sakti, may impurities be destroyed and disappear by means of worship, may it be successful.^{<17>}

Finally, taking the sesayut sudamala (sudamala, free of impurities) offering in his hands, he utters its mantra:

ONG Sri ya muwantu, ONG suka ya muwantu, ONG paripurna muwantu,
suda tata suda nirwigna suda kasa suda bumi

paripurna ya nama swaha.

.....
honour to perfection.<18>

At this point, once the pemangku has empowered the instruments of purification, assistants carry them around the temple or place of ritual sprinkling them or wafting their essence over shrines and offerings in order to remove all impurities. Fresh water (toya anyar) is sprinkled first, ingredients from the tehenan are thrown about, the tirtha/toya panglukatan is sprinkled using the buu or lis, while the essence of the sudamala is wafted with a wave of the hand. This rite, called malis after the holy water sprinkler, indicates which shrine(s) is the focus(i) of the ritual. In pedanda rituals the instruments of purification are considerably more elaborate (Chapter 7, note 24), but include those of the pemangku ritual. Only when the shrines and offerings have been purified, can the pemangku proceed to the next phase of the ritual, the invitation to the gods to descend.

B. Invitation

B(i). Inviting the deities to attend

At all but the simplest ceremonies, the pemangku invites the deity to descend and take up residence in an offering-like god-symbol placed in the shrine. If god-symbols are not used, then the mantra invitation is not required, but at larger pemangku rituals the god-symbol usually takes the form of a canang palinggih or tapakan palinggih or, in more elaborate ceremonies, daksina palinggih, so-called from their similarity with the offerings after which they are named. At Besakih, permanent god-symbols are not used at pemangku rituals.

Of the mantras a pemangku uses in requesting the gods to descend,

a common one is as follows:

Pukulun mangkin manusa sedahan ngaturin paduka bhatara tumurun
 pangundang Bhatara Sang Hyang Dewa-Gana,
 malejeg awor ing kukus, menyan majagawu candana,
 pangundang para bhatara,
 tumedun para bhatara ring pakahyangan sakti,
 Ida Guru-dewa ingiring dening sanak aputu, widyadara widyadari,
 mangetan ida para bhatara ring pasamuhan,
 rawuh ida saking desa kidul, apupul ida ring pasamuhan,
 rawuh ida saking desa kulon, apupul ida ring pasamuhan,
 rawuh ida saking desa lor, apupul ida ring pasamuhan,
 tumurun Ida Guru-dewa ring tengah, apupul ring kayangan sakti,
 pada katuran dening manusa-pada,
 ida amukti banten suci, ring kayangan sakti.
 Pakulun paduka bhatara, muncaryana tirtha kamandalu,
 upetin sira Bhatara Gangga, winadahan kundi manik,
 siniratan mancur-muncrat angilangang dasamalan ing jadma,
 keneng sapan ing dewa manusa mawisesa,
 kasupat dening tirthan bhatara, muksah ilang patakan ing jadma,
 wastu punah ilang, sidir astu.

My lord, your servant now requests you to descend,
 [this] invitation to the company of gods,
 rises high with the smoke of fragrant incense woods,
 an invitation to all the gods to descend to the holy sanctuary,
 the god Guru accompanied by relatives and grandchildren,
 heavenly musicians and nymphs,
 coming from the east, they gather together at the meeting hall,
 arriving from the south, they gather at the meeting hall,
 arriving from the west, they gather at the meeting hall,
 arriving from the north, they gather at the meeting hall,
 the god Guru descends at the centre,
 [all] gather together at the holy sanctuary,
 all are offered [homage] by humankind,
 you devour the pure offerings at the holy sanctuary,
 My lord gods, pour forth the holy water kamandalu,
 the incarnation of Bhatara Gangga, contained in a jewelled pot,
 sprinkled around to make disappear the ten impurities of man,
 whether cursed by god or by man of prowess,
 cleansed by the holy water of the deity,
 disappear, vanish, misfortunes of man,
 let it so succeed.<19>

This may be followed by a mantra in praise of the gods:

ONG Brahma satya, Wisnu satya, Iswara satya,
 urub ira Bhatara Brahma, mumbul ring akasa,
 mandadi kukus, matemahan taya,
 areng ira mumbul ring ambara,
 mandadi pawana, matemahan Sang Hyang Bayu,
 lalatune dadi Sang Hyang Iswara, matemahan Bhatara Mahadewa,
 anguse Sang Hyang Sangkara, kembang ing awu Bhatara Sambu,
 mlebek ing akasa, ungase matemahan Sang Hyang Baruna,
 angadeg sira bener, matemahan Sang Hyang ONG-kara,
 aran Sang Hyang Kalih Prana-dewa,
 ya ta asep ira widadara widadari, abang po sira putih,

offerings presented vary with level of ritual elaboration, while the mantras used must correspond with the offerings. For the simplest of pemangku rituals just a single mantra will suffice. However, for larger ceremonies, extra mantras are uttered in connection with specific offerings. Opening this group of mantras is that in honour of the suci.

OM Sangtabeya namah Siwaya
 tan kabrateng tulah sarik
 luputeng lara wighena,
 aminta pamangku amuja.
 Kurusya maka-pulacek,
 Pratanjala maka-padma,
 Sang Hyang Kaki maka-puspa,
 lingga pada-nira Sang Hyang
 Pulacek Sang Hyang Wisesa,
 Sarwa-Resi apan siddhi,
 pasiraman kundi manik,
 kancana mas sang kasuhun.
 Dhupa Sang Hyang Kala Sakti,
 pakundan Bhatara Gana,
 jangan Bhatara Kowera,
 tasik Bhagawan Anggasti,
 pisang ta Sang Hyang Kumara,
 kembange Sang Hyang Asmara,
 jambe Bhatara Iswara,
 susuruh Bhattara Wisnu,
 apuhe Bhatara Brahma,
 awus-awus Mahadewa,
 palawa Bhatara Siwa,
 Sang Hyang Sambhu lenga burat,
 Sang Hyang Rudra maka-caru,
 banten Bhatara Iswara,
 bhoga Bhatara Manungku-Rat,
 sajenge Hyang Besawarna,
 ulam Bhatara Baruna,
 lalawuh Bhatara Mahesora,
 sad-rasa maka-imbuan,
 Sadana minaka artha,
 Bhatara Suci-Nirmala,
 angicenin maka-sari,
 sarira suci nirmala,
 puja Bhatara Lumanglang,
 kang pinuja Bhatara Dharma,
 nguniweh jagat wisesa,
 akasa lawan pretiwi,
 raditya kalawan ulan,
 Sang Hyang Tunggal amuja,
 Hyang Pramana sari ning rat,
 kastuti dening sa-loka,
 ONG Sampurna ya namah swaha.

OM Forgiveness, glory to Siwa,
 Free me from censure and curse,
 escape from illness, and hindrance,
 asking pemangku to worship.
 Kurusya will serve as a charm,
 Pratanjala is as lotus,
 The Gods fulfil their role as blooms,
 Footsteps are the signs of the Gods,
 The Supreme God is like a spell,
 and all the Seers achieve their aim,
 bathing place of alabaster,
 gold belongs to the respected.
 Powerful Kala: frankincense,
 Bhatara Gana: the oven,
 Kowera is the plants to eat,
 salt: the respected Agastya,
 Sang Hyang Kumara: banana,
 flowers are for the God of Love,
 areca nut Bhatara Iswara,
 betel for Bhatara Wisnu,
 lime is for Bhatara Brahma,
 Mahadewa,
 sacred leaves Bhatara Siwa,
 Sang Hyang Sambhu the fragrant oil,
 Sang Hyang Rudra as sacrifice,
 offerings Bhatara Iswara,
 food Bhatara Manungku-Rat,
 alcohol Hyang Besawarna,
 fish for Bhatara Baruna,
 side dish Bhatara Mahesora,
 six flavours as additional,
 Sadana as wealth and money,
 Bhatara pure and blemishless,
 granting that which serves as essence,
 body pure and without blemish,
 worship of the God Creator,
 worshipped is Bhatara Dharma,
 and also to the Supreme God,
 the sky together with the earth,
 the sun together with the moon,
 the only God and His worship,
 God Measure, essence of the world,
 to whom the whole world offers praise,
 ONG hail and homage to the perfect.<21>

Next follows the mantra used in presenting the core offering as a whole. For the simplest ceremonies this mantra alone is sufficient.

ONG Swi ri banten sinembah tirtha pawitra, pawong awastra
pitra sinah, tan kari Bhatari Suci mwanng Bhatari Saraswati,
rastu sidi nama swaha, ONG teka sidi.<22>

(translation not attempted)

The peras, whose mantra follows next, is one of the ubiquitous offerings of Bali, necessary at all but the simplest rituals. Outwardly, it is recognizable by its pair of rice cones (often joined by a piece of thread), a chicken, a distinctive palm-leaf crown -- and its aledan or kulit, a base of young coconut leaves, which is fashioned in a special way with a fold or pleat in each of its spokes. After the pemangku has uttered its mantra, or sometimes at the end of the ceremony, the pemangku or a helper pulls open these pleats (ketek mandel) "so that the peras is successful (in its purpose)" (apang peras sida). As one expression puts it: "Without peras the ceremony is not successful, without daksina the ceremony is not witnessed, without suci the ceremony is not complete/perfect" (WHD 40:4). Of the several mantras for the peras, that used by pemangku at Besakih is as follows:

Eka-wara, dwi-ware, tri-ware, catur-ware, panca-ware, Brahma purwan ing pras, pras sidi sidi, anyari-nyari kewalunan, menawi kurang baktin manusa katur ring bhatara, iki sarin ing pras, mras sida aturan manusa katur ring bhatara. ONG sidi rastu astu ya nama swaha.

One-day week, two-day week, three-day week, four-day week, five-day week, Brahma is the source of the peras, the peras is powerful(?),, should anything be lacking in man's worship of the gods, this is the essence of the peras, (so that) man's worship of the gods is successful. ONG let it be successful, honour and hail.<23>

Only in the largest pemangku rituals whose core offering is a sorohan pebangkit or the slightly more elaborate sorohan pebangkit gelarsanga do additional offerings, the pebangkit and the gelarsanga,

appear that have their own mantras.<24>

Either at this stage in the ritual or immediately prior to the giving out of holy waters, the pemangku utters the tetabuhan (libation) mantras while an assistant performs the act of pouring out the libation liquids of fresh water, palm-wine and arak, in conjunction with a segehan offering. Tetabuhan is directed to Ibu Pretiwi. At simple rituals a single mantra is used:

Pukulun ngadeg Hyang Ibu Pretiwi, ulun angaturaken banyu amreta ya nama swaha.

I raise up Hyang Ibu Pretiwi, I present the water of eternal life, honour and hail.

When a suci serves as shrine-offering, slightly different mantras serve for tetabuhan suci

Pukulun ngadeg sedahan Hyang Ibu Pretiwi, ulun angaturaken banyu mahamreta ya nama swaha.

I raise up sedahan Hyang Ibu Pretiwi, I present the great water of eternal life, honour and hail.

and tetabuhan sorohan

Pukulun ngadeg Bagawan Sakti Hyang Ibu Pretiwi, ulun angaturaken banyu mahamreta ya nama swaha.

I raise up Bagawan Sakti Hyang Ibu Pretiwi, I present the great water of eternal life, honour and hail.

Another mantra accompanies the presentation of the segehan offering which is directed towards demonic powers:

Anggapati, Mrajapati, Banaspati, Banaspatiraja, iki tadah sajin sira, segehan alit/agung, wus sira anadah manyarira ring raganta kabeh, yan sira mantuk aja sira mangalah-alah desa, aja sira manyipat manyinggul manyanut-nyanut manusa, anglaranin nyengkalanin manusa, yan sira lunga maring adoh tumojog sira ring pasar, alungguh sira ring selananya, elinga juga unggwanta sira kabeh, poma pcma poma.

Anggapati, Mrajapati, Banaspati, Banaspatiraja, this is your nourishment, a small/large segehan, after you have eaten take all of you your own forms, and as you go home do not go about conquering the land, do not curse and annoy mankind, or bring affliction and misfortune to mankind, when you go far away, make your way to the market, take your seat on the stone(?), remember well all of you your places, take head.

Tetabuhan, however, also depends on the ritual's level of elaboration. At large pemangku rituals the segehan agung whose ingredients include a dehusked coconut, is accompanied by a black chicken (pitik selem) over which the pemangku utters a mantra which is also directed to Ibu Pretiwi, if not by name:

ONG rah mulih ke yeh,
bulu mulih ke padang,
ukudan mulih ke gumi,
ya nama swaha.

ONG blood returns to water,
feathers return to grass,
body returns to earth,
honour and hail.

An assistant cuts off the head of the chicken, mixes its blood with water, rice wine and arak in a part of the coconut which has been split open, and then, as he circumambulates the place of ritual three times, spills out the contents on the ground. A segehan agung and slaughter of a chicken generally accompany larger rites of 'welcoming' (mendak bhatara).

Finally the pemangku utters the well-known mantra of forgiveness for any shortcomings in the ritual, what the Besakih pemangku call mantra pamopog:

ONG ksawaswamem mahadewa sarwa prani itangkara
mamuca sarwa pabebyah palayaswa sada-siwa.

ONG Bestow forgiveness upon me, O Great God,
Thou Who art the cause of the good of all creatures;
deliver me from all evils, grant protection, O Eternal Siwa. <25>

C(ii). Presenting homage to the deities

Earlier in the ritual, before the offerings are fit to be presented to the deity, the pemangku first has to remove any impurities. Similarly at this stage of the ritual before the worshippers can perform their rites of homage to the deity the pemangku must remove impurities of both body and mind. This is done by means of holy water of exorcism (panglukatan) and holy water of purification (pabresihan/pangening). The pemangku prepares the holy

water sometimes prior to tetabuhan or sometimes immediately afterwards. He first prepares panglukatan for the congregation, using the mantra:

Pukulun Sang Hyang Trilingga Sakti, Brahma Wisnu Maheswara, sami sredah amuncarana tirtha kamandalu, urip Bhatara Ganggadewi, dewa winadahan kundi manik, senirat muncur-muncrat angilangaken dasamala, keneng sapan ing dewa manusa mawisesa, kasupatan dening tirthan Bhatara Pasupati, wastu punah ilang lara pitakening jadma, sidi rastu astu astu tatastu ya nama swaha.

Lord Sang Hyang Trilingga Sakti, Brahma Wisnu Maheswara, be all favourably disposed to pour forth the holy water kamandalu, the life of Bhatara Ganggadewi, a divinity contained in a crystal vessel, sprinkled and poured out to remove the ten impurities, and the curse of god or man of power, [all of these] removed by the holy water of Bhatara Pasupati, let vanish affliction affecting mankind, may it be accomplished, may it be so, honour and hail.

and then pabresihan/pangening:

ONG ayu wredi yasa wredi, wredi wredi pradnya suka sri ya, dharma santana santumi sapta wredayem.

ONG growth in life and growth in fame, growth of wisdom, joy and bliss, growth in Law Eternal and in offspring, may sevenfold growth be your portion.<26>

Usually the mantras for these two kinds of holy water are uttered over the one vessel of water. The pemangku or his assistants then sprinkle these holy waters over the worshippers who, having taken their places on the ground near the pemangku, hold out their hands, palms upwards, in the gesture of receiving. Sprinkling is done with the lis; or, if the holy waters are sprinkled separately, a flower may be used to sprinkle the pabresihan. The panglukatan is to purify the worshipper of any impurities, while the pabresihan or pangening is, as the mantra says, to bestow upon the worshipper long life and happiness.

Then follows the rite of worship (bakti). Flowers from the offerings are handed out to the worshippers. Some like to stick into the ground in front of them a lighted stick of incense, in the smoke

of which they purify their hands. The gesture of homage is to bring the hands, palms together, up to the level of the forehead (or to the level of the chest in homage to the unpurified dead). In simple rituals this gesture may be performed just once, in larger rituals a number of times, of which five times is particularly common. The worshippers perform the gestures as the pemanqku utters the respective mantras. The first gesture is performed empty-handed (puyung), that is, without a flower, the mantra being:

ONG atma tatwa atma sudharmam ya nama swaha.

ONG honour to the soul

The second gesture of worship, with a flower between the tips of the fingers, is directed towards Surya, the Sun-god, the mantra being:

ONG Aditya syoparan jotir rakta teja namtuste
sweta bang kaja madiaste baskara ya nama swaha.

ONG pranamya baskara dewam sarwa klesa winasanem
pranamya ditya siwartuwem bukti bukti wara pranem.

ONG MRANG MRING sah siwaditya ya nama swaha.

ONG O supreme Splendour of the Son of Aditi,
O Thou with the red lustre, honour be to Thee;
Thou who standest within a white lotus,
honour be to Thee, the Spreader of splendour!

ONG Having bowed down to the God Who creates splendour,
[may there be] destruction of all afflictions;
having bowed down for the sake of worship of the Sun,
Who bestows enjoyment and releases as boons, ...

ONG MRANG MRING honour and homage to Siwaditya.<27>

The third gesture, using a flower or a kwangen, is directed to the god of Gunung Agung, the mantra being:

ONG nama dewa ardistana ya sarwa yapine siwa ya
padasana yeka pratistanaya ardanaweswari ya nama swaha.

ONG makasa nirmala suniem guru dewa byomantarem
siwa nirbawa wiryanem reka onkara wijayem.

ONG

ONG The sky, spotless and void,
the divine Teacher, in the interior of the sky;
Siva's highest heaven, of heroic nature,
[symbolized by] the lines of the syllable OM, victorious.<28>

The fourth gesture, also with a flower, is directed to all the gods

(bhatara kabeh), the mantra being:

ONG anugraha manokarem dewa data anugrahakem
riarcanem sarwa pujanem nama sarwa nugrahakem
dewa dewi maka sidi yadnya katemu ladmidem
laksmi sidis ca nirgayu nirwignam suka wredita
ONG gring gring anugraha arcana ya nama swaha.

ONG O Thou Who art delightful in Thy grace,
with Thy signs of grace given by the gods;
adoration, all kinds of worship
and honour to Thee Who showest all kinds of grace.
O Great miraculous Power of gods and goddesses,
Which possesses the sacrifice as its body, of pure essence;
Fortune, perfection, a long life,
and prosperity in undisturbed happiness [are its results].
ONG GRING, honour, honour and hail to the adoration of Grace.<29>

The fifth gesture is a repeat of the first, with the same mantra.

Thus ends the prestations of offerings and worship.

D. Counterprestation -- receiving the divine gift of wangsuh pada

After the worshippers perform the bakti ritual, the pemanqku goes to the shrine or gods' meeting pavilion that is the focus of ritual and takes from it the vessel of water that had been placed there at the beginning of the ritual. As a result of the ritual already performed, this is no longer simply water but has been instilled with the deity's power and benevolence. It is called wangsuh pada, 'water used to bathe the feet (of the deity)', a term that emphasizes the great disparity in status between deity and devotee, in which relationship the exchanged gifts are similarly of great disparity in value.

The pemanqku, using a flower, first sprinkles wangsuh pada over the worshippers who hold their hands, palms up, in front of them in the gesture of receiving. For some people this is sufficient. Most, however, desire the full rite of receiving holy water (matirtha), in

which the pemangku three times sprinkles the water over the worshipper, three times pours a little water into the cupped hands, right over left, of the worshipper who sips it, and then again three times pours water into the cupped hands of the worshipper who brushes it over head and hair.

E. Closing Ritual -- dispersion

In the closing ritual, the pemangku first requests the deity to return to the deity's abode, by uttering the mantra:

Pukulun paduka bhatara, jumeneng paduka bhatara ring paryangan sakti, manusan ida ring madyapada ngaturin raka rahin cokor ratu mantuk ring paryangan ider buwana, mantuk ring purwa, ring daksina, ring pacima, ring utara, ring madya, ring luhur, ring sor, kahiringan ida juru canang, juru pendet, juru songsong, juru gayung, sasraha widyadara widyadari prasama mantuk, apang sampun anyanut manusan ida ring mrecapada.

O Lord god, lord god who rules over the holy sanctuary, your human subjects of this earth requests that all of you, young and old, return to the sanctuaries of the world directions, return to the east, to the south, to the west, to the north, to the centre, to the upper region and to the lower, together with your retinue of offering expert, pendet dancer, umbrella bearer, drinks bearer, the thousand heavenly musicians and damsels return altogether,.....<30>

The ceremony comes to a close with the ritual act called panglebar (from lebar, 'throw away') or pangluwar (from luwar, 'disperse'). An assistant takes portions of certain offerings -- peras, sudamala, lis, segehan, solasan, cacahan, and kukur rambut -- and places them on the ground, usually outside the temple entrance, pours a libation of palm wine and arak, lights a stick of incense, and utters a few words of atur Bali to the effect that the ceremony is over and the demonic followers of the deities should disperse. Meanwhile, the pemangku has been saying the accompanying mantra:

Pukulun ngadeg-ngadeg Ratu Agung manawi wenten iringan cokor I Ratu dewa reke pun mangkin, akanca dwang kanca, arurahan dwang rurahan, abekelan dwang bekelan, uli kangin mundur

kangin, uli kawuh mundur kawuh, uli kajya mundur kajya, uli kelod mundur kelod, pada pesu maluwaran, masahagan, sampun kingon lebung matah, I Buta Dandan, I Bongol Tundik, pada ingetin desan ira, puniki bekel ira mantuk jinah satak salahe, manawi sira kaleson ana ring dadalan, jumojog sira ring pasar agung, araryana sira ring heb ning waringin, atukwana sira ring sakabelan ira, jinah iki matukwana sangun ira, ajak sahiwatahakena, poma poma poma.

Your servant in the presence of Ratu Agung (Great Lord), should there now be any of your divine retinue, one or two companions, one or two chiefs, one or two officers, those from kangin return to kangin, those from kauh return to kauh, those from kaja return to kaja, those from kelod return to kelod, all of you leave and disperse, rush off, you have already partaken of cooked and raw foods, I Buta Dandan, I Bongol Tundik, all of you remember your place of residence, these are the provisions for your return, 225 coin, should any of you be exhausted on the way, make for the great market, stop off in the shade of the waringin tree, buy something from those present there, use this money to buy your provisions, . . . , take heed, take heed, take heed (poma). <31>

Conclusion

The ritual is over. The blessings of the deity have been poured out upon the world and upon the congregation, though the latter may be just a handful of people. Efficacy of ritual is not dependant on size of congregation, though clearly to the worshipper direct participation has its own psychological and spiritual rewards. He may not understand the priest's words -- he rarely would even bother to listen -- but this does not affect the efficacy of the holy water which he receives. On the other hand, for the most part the pemangku does understand the meaning of the sacred words, at least those parts in Javano-Balinese idioms. The Sanskrit mantras he understands only a little. Although he may not express it as such, he is well aware of the basic idiom of the pemangku ritual, the idiom of the divine guest and the divine gift.

I argue that this idiom of ritual is common to Balinese ritual as

a whole, and especially to dewa yadnya ceremonies. For instance, the same phases of ritual idiom in the same order are common to both pemangku ritual and Bhatara Turun Kabeh, though in the latter there are special supplementary rituals which have no counterparts in the simple ritual of the pemangku. Elaboration is achieved by transforming the phases and sub-phases of a pemangku ritual into one or more component rituals of the great festival. The structures are similar, and if idiom of ritual encompasses 'meaning', then the 'meaning' of both are essentially one and the same. In bhuta yadnya ceremonies, in which the dispersal of demonic forces is emphasized, the idiom of ritual is adapted to this end.

In a subsequent chapter, when the component rituals of Bhatara Turun Kabeh have been discussed, I will examine and compare its sequential structure with that of the pemangku ritual. A comparison of the sequential structure of Bhatara Turun Kabeh and those of the great purificatory ceremonies of Panca Walikrama and Ekadasa Rudra, which are held in association with Bhatara Turun Kabeh, is discussed in the final chapter.

CHAPTER 8

RITUAL AND PURPOSE

Introduction

In the previous two chapters I analyzed two fundamental formal structures of Besakih ritual and examined these structures in relation to the 'meaning' of ritual. At Besakih, the same ritual can be enacted at different places and at different times. The logical conclusion from this is that neither place nor time can be invoked to explain the 'meaning' of ritual. Place and time play a different role which is to contribute to an understanding of 'purpose', for 'purpose', like time and place, is not intrinsic to ritual, at least not in these Besakih rituals. Levi-Strauss was aware of such a distinction when he wrote that ritual "consists of utterances, gestures and manipulations of objects which are independent of the interpretations which are proper to these modes of activity and which result not from the ritual itself but from implicit mythology" (Levi-Strauss, *L'Homme Nu*, p.600, quoted in Staal 1979b:10). It is the mythology of place and time and the mythology of certain additional ritual features over and above the basic ritual that provides the ritual with its 'purpose', in the sense that I use the word.

Purpose has the potential to change over time according to changes in cultural and religious ideology, and it can vary also from person to person according to the knowledge and experience each brings

to the interpretation. Besakih, being what it is, is the subject of scholarly interpretation developed by the religion's intellectuals. It can be expected that new modern interpretations, such as those authorized by the official Hindu organization, will gradually become part of popular knowledge. To take one example: formerly the local pemangku thought that the paselang ritual during Bhatara Turun Kabeh referred to toothfiling (mapandes), since it was known that paselang ritual was included in highly elaborate toothfiling ceremonies. Why the gods should need their teeth filed was conveniently neglected. Based on the study of the ritual itself and textual sources unavailable to villagers, local intellectuals provided a more rationalizing interpretation that associated the ritual with the penetration of the deity's powers and blessings into the natural and human worlds.

The basic pemangku or pedanda ritual is common to all five categories of ritual. It is distinctive additional ritual activities that distinguish categories of ritual. Even within a single category, such as Besakih's dewa yadnya ceremonies, additional features characterize at least some of the rituals. Additional ritual features may consist only of a distinctive offering or two which often have no supporting mythology to explain a traditional practice. A more prevalent feature is the empowering of a substance or object specifically associated with a particular ceremony. It is generally such additional ritual features that provide the ritual as a whole with its purpose, or at least contribute to it. Examples of such additional ritual features, often encountered in Besakih's agricultural rituals, are given in the pages that follow.

The mythology of the different temples and especially of the

deities enshrined there to whose honour the ritual is enacted, have already been discussed (Chapter 4 and Appendix B). The mythology of time, an important aspect of this chapter, involves the relationship between ritual and calendrical cycles. Rituals as elements in temporal cycles can be divided into those based on the wuku cycle and those based on the lunar cycle. The existence of rituals reckoned according to two time cycles running concurrently means that the order of ceremonies in successive years is never the same. Most rituals, it appears, are only tenuously or seemingly arbitrarily associated with a particular day of celebration, with the result that even time contributes little to understanding a ritual's purpose. The exceptions are the agricultural rituals which are intimately associated with the lunar cycle and the natural growth cycle of dryland rice.

I begin, then, with a brief introduction to the calendrical cycles and then discuss the rituals within these temporal frameworks.

Rituals as components of temporal cycles

In Bali, time is now reckoned according to three calendrical systems concurrently. (1) Introduced most recently, by the Dutch, is the European Gregorian calendar, employed in all matters of government and business, but which has had negligible impact on religious affairs. The other two calendrical systems, the lunar(-solar) cycle and the wuku cycle, have ordered Balinese conceptions of time for a thousand years. Of these the lunar calendar is the older, as we know from the earliest inscriptions, written in Old Balinese, which date from 882 to 994 AD when Old Javanese first made its appearance. In these earliest inscriptions time is reckoned according to a lunar

calendar which originated in India and continued to use Sanskrit names of the months, while the years were counted according to the Saka year (78/79 years behind the Gregorian year).

These inscriptions also indicate the importance of the three-day week (triwara) which is Balinese in origin. The old names of these three days which the inscriptions relate directly to the market system, have long been replaced by the set pasah-beteng-kajeng. These days have important ritual significance. Many religious ceremonies are held on days reckoned by a combination of lunar cycle and three-day cycle; for example, Besakih's usaba dalem puri, is held on the day kajeng that falls three, five, or seven days after the new moon of the seventh lunar month. Intervals between rituals in a series are often three days, or a multiple of three.

The introduction of Old Javanese language brought with it the Javanese wuku calendar. Within a 'year' or cycle of 210 days, a series of 'weeks' of different durations (from one-day to nine-day weeks) run concurrently with constant permutations, certain adjustments being made in the case of those weeks (four-day and eight-day) which do not fit exactly. Each day of each kind of week is named; and each seven-day week or wuku is named also (Sinta, Landep, Ukir, etc). A day in this calendar commonly receives a three part designation: day of seven-day week, day of five-day week, and wuku, e.g. Buda (Wednesday)-Kliwon Kelau. The old Balinese three-day week fitted nicely into the wuku calendar, but of the dozens of permutations that arose, only one kajeng-kliwon became important. The wuku cycle did not link up with the lunar cycle in any but an incidental way, with the partial exception of kajeng-kliwon; some ceremonies fall on a particular kajeng-kliwon of a particular lunar

month.<2>

There is often no significance in the relationship between temple and its day of celebration, nor therefore in the order of a series of temple ceremonies during a cycle. Based as it is on a cycle of 210 days, the wuku calendar has no correlation with natural cycles, in marked contrast to the lunar calendar. The lunar calendar is kept in harmony with the solar cycle and seasonal cycle by adding an intercalary month according to complicated calculations laid down in special calendrical texts. Methods vary and although normally everyone agrees which day is new or full moon, not everyone agrees of which month it is a new or full moon, despite the existence of printed calendars which have virtually official status. The difference, however, is never more than one month.<3> The different months are thought to have characteristics as far as weather and other matters are concerned. Since the lunar cycle is in essential correlation with the seasons, agricultural rituals generally follow the lunar cycle.

A terminological distinction at Besakih, which is known elsewhere, distinguishes categories of temple ceremonies according to calendar. Odalán (or piodalan) refers to temple ceremonies of the wuku cycle, while usaba refers to those of the lunar cycle.<4> The distinction, however, is not always rigorously applied. A third term, aci, tends to refer to any large ceremony, though at Besakih these all happen to be ceremonies of the lunar cycle. The word karya is also often used in connection with major rituals.

In numerical terms, rituals at Besakih reckoned according to one or other of these two calendrical systems are roughly equal, 40 according to the wuku calendar (Fig. 8.1) and 34 according to the lunar calendar (Fig. 8.2). Among the wuku rituals, many have not

Fig. 8.1 Wuku cycle ceremonies at Besakih's public temples

No.	Wuku	Day	Temple	Ceremony	Level of Ritual
1	Sinta	coma-pon	P. Banua	nagingin pulu	dandanan
2	Landep	saniscara-kliwon	Mer. Kanginan	odalan -- Bh. Indra	dandanan
3	Landep	saniscara-kliwon	P. Ratu Pande	odalan	dandanan
4	Kulantir	anggara-kliwon	P. Penataran Agung	odalan -- Ratu Mas Magelung	dandanan
5	Tolu	coma-umanis	P. Batu Madeg	odalan	dandanan
6	Tolu	wrespati-wage	P. Paninjoan	odalan	dandanan
7	Wariga	saniscara-kliwon	P. Manik Mas	odalan	dandanan
8	Warigadian	wrespati-kliwon	Mer. Selonding	odalan	dandanan
9	Julungwangi	anggara-kliwon	P. Pasimpangan	odalan	dandanan
10	Sungsang	buda-pon	P. Penataran Agung	odalan -- Ratu Malesung	dandanan
11	Sungsang	wrespati-wage	P. Penataran Agung	odalan -- Ratu Maspahit	sor. pebangkit
12	Sungsang	wrespati-wage	P. Penataran Agung	odalan -- Ratu Geng	sor. pebangkit
13	Sungsang	wrespati-wage	P. Penataran Agung	odalan -- Mpu Bradah	dandanan
14	Sungsang	wrespati-wage	P. Penataran Agung	odalan -- Padharman Arya Bang Sidemen	dandanan
15	Sungsang	wrespati-wage	P. Penataran Agung	odalan -- Padharman Arya Dauh	dandanan
16	Sungsang	sukra-kliwon	Mer. Kanginan	odalan -- Mpu Bradah	dandanan
17	Dungulan	anggara-wage	P. Kiduling Kreteg	odalan -- Ratu Bagus Cili	sor. pebangkit
18	Dungulan	buda-kliwon	P. Penataran Agung	odalan -- Ratu Ayu Subandar	dandanan
19	Dungulan	buda-kliwon	P. Penataran Agung	odalan -- Ratu Tulang Alu	dandanan
20	Kuningan	saniscara-kliwon	P. Penataran Agung	odalan -- Ratu Sakti	dandanan
21	Kuningan	saniscara-kliwon	P. Penataran Agung	odalan -- Ratu Sila Majemuh	dandanan
22	Kuningan	saniscara-kliwon	P. Ulun Kulkul	odalan	dandanan
23	Langkir	buda-wage	P. Penataran Agung	odalan -- Ratu Sunaring Jagat	dandanan
24	Krulut	saniscara-kliwon	P. Penataran Agung	odalan -- Ratu Mas Makentel	dandanan
25	Krulut	saniscara-kliwon	Mer. Kanginan	odalan -- with kawitan	dandanan
26	Prangbakat	anggara-kliwon	P. Kiduling Kreteg	odalan -- Bh. Brahma	sor. pebangkit
27	Prangbakat	anggara-kliwon	P. Yang Aluh	odalan	dandanan
28	Prangbakat	anggara-kliwon	P. Ratu Panyarikan	odalan	dandanan (?)
29	Ugu	buda-kliwon	P. Penataran Agung	odalan -- Ratu Surya-Candra	dandanan
30	Ugu	buda-kliwon	P. Penataran Agung	odalan -- Widyadara/i	dandanan
31	Ugu	buda-kliwon	P. Dalem Puri	odalan	dandanan
32	Kelau	buda-wage	P. Penataran Agung	odalan -- Ratu Bukit	dandanan
33	Kelau	buda-wage	P. Basukihan	odalan	dandanan
34	Kelau	buda-wage	P. Gua	odalan	dandanan
35	Kelau	buda-wage	P. Penataran Agung	odalan -- Ratu Batulepang	dandanan
36	Kelau	sukra-umanis	P. Penataran Agung	odalan -- Ratu Tri-Iderbhuwana	dandanan
37	Kelau	sukra-umanis	P. Banua	odalan -- Bh. Sri	dandanan
38	Watugunung	buda-pon	P. Bangun Sakti	odalan	dandanan
39	Watugunung	saniscara-umanis	P. Penataran Agung	odalan -- Bh. Saraswati	dandanan (sor. pebangkit)
40	Watugunung	saniscara-umanis	Mer. Selonding	odalan -- Bh. Saraswati	dandanan

Fig. 8.2 Lunar cycle ceremonies at Besakih's public temples

No.	Month	Day	Temple	Ceremony		Level of Ritual
				cosmological	agricultural	
1	Jyestha/ Sada	kajeng-kliwon enyitan	P. Bangun Sakti		aci pangangon	sor. pebangkit
2	Jyestha/ Sada	full moon (after no.1)	P. Penataran Agung (Ratu Kubakal)		aci mungkah	sor. pebangkit
3	Kasa	full moon	P. Penataran Agung (Ratu Bukit)	aci panaung taluh		dandanan
4	Kasa	full moon	P. Penataran Agung (Ratu Wisesa)	aci		dandanan
5	Kasa	full moon	P. Penataran Agung (Ratu Mas Magelung)	aci		dandanan
6	Kasa	full moon	P. Pangubengan	aci		sor. pebangkit
7	Kasa	full moon	P. Tirtha	aci		dandanan
8	Kasa	new moon	P. Ulun Kulkul		aci sarin tahun	sor. pebangkit
9	Karo	full moon	P. Gelap	aci pangenteg jagat		pedanda
10	Karo	full moon	P. Penataran Agung P. Batu Madeg P. Kiduling Kreteg P. Basukihan P. Banua Mer. Kanginan		ngebekang	dandanan
11	Karo	full moon + 1 day	P. Batu Madeg		nadiang	dandanan
12	Karo	full moon + 3 days	(as for no. 10)		ngrumpuk	daanan (?)
13	Karo	new moon	P. Ulun Kulkul	aci pangurip bumi		pedanda
14	Kapat	full moon	P. Penataran Agung (padmasana)	usaba kapat		pedanda
15	Kapat	full moon	P. Ratu Dukuh Seganing	aci		sor. pebangkit
16	Kapat	new moon	Tirtha Lateng		aci mapag toya	dandanan
17	Kalima	new moon	P. Batu Madeg	aci panaung bayu		pedanda
18	Kalima	new moon (or + 3,5,7 days)	P. Batu Madeg	aci wargasiram (aci margasira)		sor. pebangkit
19	Kenem	full moon	P. Kiduling Kreteg	aci panyeeb brahma		pedanda
20	Kenem	new moon	P. Bangun Sakti	usaba peneman		sor. pebangkit
21	Kenem	new moon	P. Penataran Agung P. Batu Madeg P. Kiduling Kreteg P. Gelap P. Ulun Kulkul P. Basukihan P. Banua Mer. Kanginan	caru panyaag		caru 5 ayam/daanan (at P. Penataran Agung) caru 1 ayam/ pelayuan (at other temples)

Fig. 8.2 (cont) Lunar cycle ceremonies at Besakih's public temples

No.	Month	Day	Temple	Ceremony		Level of Ritual
				cosmological	agricultural	
22	Kapitu/ Kaulu	3 days before no.24	jaban P. Dalem Puri/ poh udang	caru usaba dalem		caru sampi/ dandangan
23	Kapitu/ Kaulu	3 days before no.24	P. Ulun Kulkul	tetabuhan usaba		sor. pebangkit
24	Kapitu/ Kaulu	kajeng 3,5,7, days after new moon of seventh month	P. Dalem Puri	usaba dalem puri		sor. pebangkit
25	Kapitu/ kaulu	as for no.24	P. Ulun Kulkul	aci pacayaan		sor. pebangkit
26	Kaulu	as for no.24 + 3 days	P. Kiduling Kreteg		usaba nyungung	dandangan
27	Kaulu	as for no.24 + 6 or 9 days	P. Banua		usaba buluh	sor. pebangkit
28	Kaulu	full moon	P. Banua		usaba ngeed	sor. pebangkit
29	Kaulu	full moon	P. Ratu Pasek	aci		sor. pebangkit
30	Kaulu	new moon	setra kangin setra kauh	caru ulun setra caru ulun setra		caru sampi/ dandangan
31	Kasanga	full moon	P. Penataran Agung	aci Sang Hyang Siyem		sor. pebangkit
32	Kasanga	new moon	tulak tunggal	caru kasanga		caru panca sanak/ sor. pebangkit
33	Kadasa	full moon	P. Penataran Agung (all temples)	Bhatara Turun Kabeh		pedanda
34		every full moon and new moon	P. Gelap			pelayuan jaja kuskus ketan/inji

been held regularly, but this has nothing to do with their being of lesser importance than those that are, but is due to problems of financial support. Of these 40 ceremonies, 19 are odalan at the many shrines of Pura Penataran Agung. Four other temples (Pura Kiduling Kreteg, Pura Banua, Merajan Selonding and Merajan Kanginan) have more than one odalan, three temples (Pura Gelap, Pura Pangubengan and Pura Tirtha) have none, while the rest have one each. Two are ceremonies at temples of the Catur Lawa.

Public ceremonies at Besakih held according to the lunar cycle include four bhuta yadnya ceremonies held outside temples. Four ceremonies, although each counted as one, are in fact each held at more than one place. Lunar cycle ceremonies are held at all but six small temples (Pura Paninjoan, Pura Yang Aluh, Pura Gua, Merajan Slonding, Pura Manik Mas and Pura Pasimpangan) whose ceremonies are all of the wuku cycle.

Although in numerical terms, rituals at Besakih reckoned according to these two calendrical systems are roughly equal, in terms of importance those reckoned according to the lunar cycle are far and away the more important. Indeed, all major ceremonies at Besakih are held according to the lunar cycle, the exception being the once important odalan at the shrine honouring Ratu Maspahit in Pura Penataran Agung.

The far greater importance of lunar cycle ceremonies over those of the wuku cycle is demonstrated clearly by examining the relationship between ceremony and level of ritual elaboration (Fig. 8.3). On the whole, each ceremony at Besakih's public temples has an optimum, almost a standard, level of ritual. Only for special reasons is this level sometimes smaller or larger than usual, but there is no

Fig. 8.3 Relationship between calendrical cycles and levels of ritual of ceremonies at public Besakih temples

Officiating Priest	Level of Ritual	Wuku Cycle	Cosmological	Lunar Cycle Agricultural	Sub-total	Total
	daanan	--	1	1	2	2
pemangku	dandanan	36	6	4	10	46
	sor.pebangkit	4	10	5	15	19
pedanda		--	6	--	6	6
Total		40	23	10	33	73

(Note: For bhuta yadnya ceremonies (caru) at which a cow is sacrificed, although the pemangku performs the ceremony, special holy water is obtained from a pedanda)

regular alternation between higher and lower levels of ritual such as is quite common elsewhere. At Besakih a ceremony is held at a ritual level lower than usual when financial support is not at hand; in such cases the ceremony is characterized as a pangeling (eling, 'to remember'), for if one can not put on the proper ceremony one must at least inform the deity that the occasion has been remembered. Offerings at a pangeling may be nothing more than a canang or one of the small offering-groups. On the other hand, very occasionally the ceremony may be larger than usual, most commonly after the completion of repairs and rebuilding, when the ceremony is held in conjunction with the ritual purification (mlaspas) of new structures.

The standard level of ritual of most ceremonies at the public temples is laid down by tradition, which is not to say that, over the centuries, there have not been changes. Level of ritual indicates the 'importance' of a ceremony based on that criterion alone; it does not necessarily indicate the social 'significance' of the ceremony. A ceremony at a relatively low level of ritual may attract a large crowd of worshippers, while on the contrary a large one may be poorly attended.

Wuku Cycle Rituals

With but few exceptions, wuku cycle rituals consist of the basic pemanqku ritual according to the level of elaboration, without additional features. Their purpose is basically the same: to request the deity to bestow his/her divine power and blessings upon the world, the nature of these powers and blessings being dependant upon the mythology of the temple or shrine and its deity, and upon the nature of the worship group. A number of wuku cycle rituals held at public

temples are associated with descent groups (Fig. 8.1, nos 3,14,15,25,35).

Rituals that have additional or more specific purpose are the odalan of Ratu Maspahit at Pura Penataran Agung and the two rituals in honour of Bhatari Saraswati (nos. 39,40).^{<5>} The shrine dedicated to Ratu Maspahit is directly associated with marriage through its role in Besakih marriage rituals and, in former times, through the source of its funding from a kind of marriage tax (pangapih) paid by members of Besakih's pragunung villages. However the odalan at this shrine involves no special features, and its former relationship with the pragunung is more a matter of social significance than ritual purpose.

The pair of rituals in honour of Bhatari Saraswati is provided purpose through the mythology of the day of celebration. Saturday-Umanis of the week Watugunung, the last day of the wuku year, is Saraswati's Day which in the last 20 or so years has become of increasing significance owing to a change in the cultural ideology of knowledge. The day honours Saraswati as goddess of learning and writing, and at rituals on that day lontar in particular and written materials generally, the physical embodiment of knowledge, become the ritual symbols of the goddess herself. On Saraswati's Day at Besakih, rituals are held at the two shrines where the sacred writings of Besakih -- the 15th century wooden inscriptions stored in the kehen building of Pura Penataran Agung, and a copy of the so-called Bradah inscription at Merajan Selonding -- are housed.

Lunar Cycle Rituals

In understanding the purpose of Besakih rituals that follow the lunar cycle, it is useful to divide them into two categories, the 'agricultural' and the 'cosmological'. 'Agricultural' rituals are those that are directly associated with the preparations for and the growth cycle of dryland rice. Although dryland rice has not been grown in the Besakih area since the eruption of 1963, the rituals are still held. All other lunar rituals, i.e. those not classed as agricultural, comprise the category of 'cosmological' rituals which are general in purpose. The distinction is not absolute. Cosmological lunar rituals, in creating cosmic harmony and well-being, prepare the stage, as it were, for the agricultural rituals with their more specific purposes. Furthermore, it would seem that such a distinction was followed by the compiler(s) of both Raja Purana recensions, for it seems more than mere coincidence that the detailed lists of lunar rituals in these texts (RPI 14.29-16.19 and RPII 5.6-8.26) do not include, with but a couple of possible exceptions, any of the agricultural rituals.

Another distinction can be made between dewa yadnya and bhuta yadnya ceremonies. All but four of Besakih's public lunar rituals are categorized as dewa yadnya. Of the four ceremonies in the bhuta yadnya category, one of them, the caru usaba dalem or caru poh udang, is intimately related to a dewa yadnya ceremony which determines when the caru is held. Important as this distinction is in certain respects, it is not of major significance in understanding Besakih's lunar rituals as a cycle. None of the caru are directly related to agriculture.<6>

A third important distinction is that between rituals at which a

pemangku officiates and those at which a pedanda officiates. This is essentially a distinction based on hierarchical level of ritual elaboration. However, the distinction has important ramifications with regard to the historical development of rituals at Besakih. The fact that pedanda are nowhere mentioned in the Raja Purana suggests that at that time all rituals were still performed by pemangku, as is still the case at Pura Batur, a temple in stature comparable to Pura Besakih. Now, pemangku rituals are still far more numerous than pedanda rituals; the latter in fact number only six, all of them held at temples belonging to the five-part classification system -- one each at the temples associated with the cardinal directions (these ceremonies collectively are known as the aci nyatur) and two at the central temple, Pura Penataran Agung.

Various data, particularly the historical implications of the distinction between pemangku and pedanda rituals, indicate that the sequence of lunar rituals as they are now performed at Besakih is the result of a long history of change and development, though continuities are also clearly apparent. For most of Besakih's history, sources on its rituals are lacking entirely, but the Raja Purana texts provide invaluable if incomplete information towards a study of ritual change during the last two centuries. In turn, this history of ritual change touches on the history of the relationship between temple ritual at Besakih and the nature of the Balinese state and society.

At Besakih, although it is possible to document change, sources rarely provide the reason for such change. Often little more can be said other than to note that a former ceremony is no longer held, or has undergone, sometimes radical, alteration. For example, the Raja

Purana texts (RPI 15.10-15, RPII 7.4-13) describe a major ceremony that formerly took place in the sixth month, that involved all the gods of Besakih in a procession to the sacred bathing place, as well as a ceremony in honour of I Dewa Kidul, the deity of Pura Dalem Puri. Now, on the new moon of that month there is only a small ceremony (usaba peneman) at Pura Bangun Sakti and a set of small caru (caru panyaag), the relationship between these rituals and the former ceremony no longer being known. Among several other examples are large buffalo rituals that used to be held at two of the Catur Lawa temples, at Pura Ratu Panyarikan (third month) and Pura Ratu Pasek (fourth month), mentioned in the Raja Purana (RPI 15.1-6) and in lists of rituals dating from as recently as 1929 and 1935, but now no longer held.<7> Changes in days of celebration also occurred with regards to certain agricultural rituals.

However, of all changes that have taken place in Besakih's lunar rituals, the most important is the introduction or development of rituals at which a pedanda officiates. These rituals forms a separate group, but first I shall discuss the lunar rituals at which pemangku officiate, beginning with the agricultural rituals.

Agricultural Rituals

One characteristic purpose of Balinese ritual is to ensure a balanced harmony between macrocosm and microcosm. In such a state of harmony the gods bestow upon mankind prosperity and general well-being. The literary tradition often characterizes this land of plenty by the expression: 'everything that is planted grows well, everything bought is cheap', for the success of these two aspects of everyone's livelihood, agriculture and trade/economy, are the

essential elements of prosperity. Agriculture and the economy (i.e. money) are under the patronage of the divine couple Bhatari (Dewi) Sri and Bhatara Rambut Sadana, who in terms of the prevalence of their shrines are the most popular of Balinese deities. Bhatari Sri is above all the goddess of rice, the foundation of Balinese society.<8> But Hinduism in Bali is rich in divine symbols of the earth, the earth's powers of fertility, and the prosperity that results from it. Ibu Pretiwi, Mother Earth, symbolizes both the element and the substance earth.<9> The nagas represent the underworld as well as the surface layer of the earth.<10> Wisnu is the god of the life-giving waters. All these complex symbols make their appearance in Besakih's rituals generally, but most prominently in the series of agricultural rituals.

Besakih agricultural rituals may be classified into a number of different categories, according to what calendrical cycle they belong to, whether they are private or communal, and where they take place.

1) Private agricultural rituals held at the fields to mark certain stages in the cultivation cycle. The days on which these fall are not fixed, but depend instead on the growth of the crop. With the cessation of dryland rice (gaga) cultivation, these rituals are largely a thing of the past.

2) Communal agricultural rituals held at public temples on fixed days, almost all according to the lunar calendar. These open with aci pangangon and reach their climax in the usaba buluh and usaba ngeed. The relationship between these rituals and the growth cycle of dryland rice is crucial to understanding their ritual purpose.

3) Private, group, or communal 'protective' agricultural rituals (paneduh) held, when circumstances demand it, at particular temples

according to the nature of the affliction affecting the crops. Whether the rains be late, or the growing crop attacked by birds, mice, insects and disease, Balinese consider such ill-fortune as a sign of divine anger. The land is 'hot' and must be made 'cool' (teduh) again. The purpose of paneduh ('cooling off') rituals is to appease this anger. Against specific kinds of plagues or disaster, paneduh rituals were held at specific shrines and temples, whose deities were believed to have power or control over those afflictions.<11> These are rare nowadays.<12>

4) Locality-based group agricultural rituals held on fixed days at 'area' temples within Besakih territory.<13> The worship-group or pamaksan that support these temples generally consist of families owning or working land in the neighbourhood of the temple concerned. Routine ceremonies at these temples are believed to ensure the fertility of the surrounding fields and the success of the harvest.

5) Private agricultural rituals held at the fields on fixed days. The most important one, tumpek pangataq or tumpek wariga, belonging to the wuku cycle, honours trees, particularly fruit-bearing trees which are now the mainstay of the Besakih economy.<14> Offerings are also placed at the fields on other holy days of the wuku cycle, such as Galungan and Kuningan, which are, however, not specifically agricultural in nature.

Of these five categories, I discuss the first two in some detail because only through an examination of the growth cycle of dryfield rice can one determine the correlation between plant growth and communal agricultural rituals held at the public temples, and so understand the latter's purpose. Difficulties encountered in this examination stem from the fact that, firstly, several rituals are no

longer (or no longer regularly) held, and secondly, since the eruption of 1963 there has been no cultivation of dryland rice in the Besakih region (and elsewhere). Nowadays farmers do not link their agricultural activities with the rituals that are still held. Furthermore, there seem to have been changes in the days of celebration of certain communal rituals.

Agricultural rituals and the growth cycle of dryland rice

Preparation of the ground occupied the farmers during the Balinese months of Sada and Kasa (about May-June), and involved the use of a various implements, all cow-drawn.<15>

Unlike irrigated rice which is first planted in seed patches and then transplanted, dryland rice was planted directly into the furrows by means of the handcast method, and then the seeds covered and the furrows filled in (pleser) by drawing over the land a board held at an angled position. Planting took place in the month of Karo (about July). Each farmer determined his own day of planting according to a method derived from the day of his birth.<16> The ritual that accompanied planting took place at what was called a pepuun, a small circular ritual space on the upridge side of each group of fields worked by a single cultivator.<17> For this ritual, called mapepuun or mapuunin, the farmer erected a temporary shrine (sanggar) of dapdap wood on which he placed certain offerings.<18> The farmer performed the brief ritual himself.

During the growing season there were no routine rituals until the rice began to come into ear, whereupon each farmer individually held a ritual called biakukung, as is the case throughout Bali.<19> The ritual, performed by the farmer, ended with nquak (from quak, 'crow'):

a child made noises like a crow, waving his arms about like wings, then, stealing bits from the offerings, ran off to the side of the field where he ate them, no doubt symbolizing the hope that birds would not devastate the ripening crop.

Dryland rice has a long growing season of about five months, and was ripe for harvest during the Balinese months of kapitu or kaulu (around January) when the main communal agricultural rituals were held. At the outset of harvesting each farmer performed a ceremony whose level of elaboration depended on the size of the harvest. Only for larger harvests in excess of 200 bundles of padi did the farmer perform a ritual requiring a nini, symbol of Bhatari Sri, created from the first sheaths of rice harvested, for a nini-level harvest ritual required later the quite large ceremony called mantenin padi at the place in the home where the rice was stored. If no nini was made, the smaller ngejotin padi was sufficient.

Using this rice growing cycle as temporal framework, it appears that there was once a close relationship between the communal agricultural rituals at the public temples at Besakih and this growth cycle (Fig. 8. 4).

Fig. 8.4 Former correlation between agricultural rituals and phases of former rice-growing cycle

Month	Temple ritual	Field Ritual	Field Activities
May-June	aci pangangon aci mungkah		ploughing, and preparation of land
June-July July-Aug	aci sarin tahun ngebekang nadiang ngrumpuk	mapepuun/mapuunin	planting
Aug-Sept Sept-Oct Oct-Nov Nov-Dec Dec-Jan	mapag toya	mabiakukung	rice coming into ear harvest
Jan-Feb	usaba nyungsung usaba buluh usaba ngeed		
Feb-March	(aci sarin tahun) (ngebekang)	ngejotin/mantenin padi	

(Note: On the change in dates of aci sarin tahun and ngebekang, see Appendix C)

In these communal agricultural rituals, the clearest indicator of an agricultural ritual is whether or not the sacred substances of power created through the ritual are in some manner brought into contact with animals employed in agriculture, agricultural tools, the field shrine, the growing crop, or the fruits of the harvest. In certain cases where this does not occur, the ritual is included within the agricultural category on account of its declared purpose; it is the rituals of this sub-group (aci sarin tahun, ngebekang) whose days of celebration have seen recent change, presumably because they were less closely linked to the rice growing cycle.<20>

Aci pangangon, held at Pura Bangun Sakti, traditionally opens the cycle of lunar agricultural rituals, and of the lunar ritual cycle generally.<21> Its name, 'the herdsman's ceremony', indicates the purpose of the ritual -- to protect the well-being of livestock,

particularly cattle. Holy water (wangsuh pada) from the ceremony is sprinkled over the cows. With ploughing soon to begin, the animals' well-being and protection from disturbances that might arise from the very act of turning over the soil was of crucial importance.

Formerly, at the ceremony called Aci mungkah, farming families carried agricultural tools (parts of ploughs, hoes) to the temple where they were blessed (prayascita), and then proceeded to their fields to use them ritually for the season's first turning of the soil.

Aci sarin tahun and aci ngebekang are not directly linked to the growing cycle of rice, which is perhaps why their days of celebration have changed. Aci sarin tahun, as its name 'ceremony of the year's fruits/essence' suggests, is a sort of thanksgiving ceremony, an offering of the fruits of the earth to the deity of Pura Ulun Kulkul where it takes place. Ngebekang is said to have been associated with individual family's rituals of mantenin/ngejotin padi held at granaries and storage bins. Common to these ceremonies is the emphasis on the fertility of the crops and sufficiency in rice (or corn), while the holy water (wangsuh pada) resulting from the rituals is frequently taken home and sprinkled over the fields, for the holy water is the symbol or vehicle of the deity's blessings.

The ceremony called nadiang (from dadi, become) traditionally marked the start of planting (EDR 1963/S/3:16). It is celebrated now in diminished fashion.

The ceremony mapag toya, 'welcome the water(s)', takes place at the spring Toya Lateng around October when the dry season is drawing to a close, and the spring reduced to a trickle, and when the three-month old rice was in need of rain. The aim of the ceremony is

to ensure the onset of the rains and thus a plentiful supply of water.

The usaba dalem puri sets in train a series of agricultural ceremonies taking place over a period of two weeks until the next full moon. First comes usaba nyungsung, when portions of certain ritual offerings are taken home and offered at the pepuun field shrine or simply cast over the fields, as protection of the crop against insect pests.

For the usaba buluh the focus of ritual changes to Pura Banua, which is dedicated to Dewi Sri, goddess of rice. Every family brings to the temple a piece of bamboo of the variety called buluh, hence the ceremony's name. At this ceremony also, parts of ritual offerings are placed at the field shrine (pepuun) or just scattered about the fields, in the belief that these ritually empowered objects will ensure the fertility of the soil and the fruitfulness of the crop, free of plague and disease.

Usaba ngeed, which is essentially a continuation of usaba buluh, is the last and largest of Besakih's agricultural rituals. It is unique in many respects, particularly in its overt marriage symbolism, for it celebrates the marriage of Bhatari Sri, goddess of rice, enshrined at Pura Banua, and Rambut Sadana, lord of wealth, enshrined in an 11-roofed meru in Pura Penataran Agung. The two deities are carried in procession to four other temples in turn -- Pura Manik Mas, Pura Batu Madeg, Pura Kiduling Kreteg, Pura Penataran Agung. The procession ends with the two deities being enshrined together in Pura Banua, where the worshippers perform their final act of homage.

In a more general sense it is said that while usaba buluh requests prosperity and productivity of both irrigated and dryland agriculture, usaba ngeed is directed towards material well-being, in

other words, wealth. In Hindu terms, usaba buluh requests bhoga (food), usaba ngeed requests upabhoga (clothing and ornament) and paribhoga (shelter, house) for which wealth is the prerequisite. And indeed holy water (wangsuh pada) from usaba ngeed may be sprinkled at home both on rice storage containers and on household valuables. Formerly, too, people from the surrounding region used to bring to Pura Banua the bound sheaths of the rice first harvested, the sacred nini, but this custom has now died out.

Since 1963 when Gunung Agung erupted, the cessation of dryland rice growing and the gradual changover from other traditional crops to fruit growing has brought changes to the agricultural rituals. Private rituals accompanying the rice growing cycle have ceased altogether, and other traditional crops do not receive the same ritual attention as that given to rice. The communal agricultural rituals at public temples that were linked to the rice growing cycle, although continuing to be held have to some extent lost their significance, and attendance at these rituals is low, with the exception of usaba buluh and usaba ngeed, if and when these are held. In short, in recent times the agricultural rituals have tended to become less significant in comparison with the cosmological rituals.

Pemangku rituals of the cosmological category of lunar rituals

The cosmological rituals comprise three groups: the Ratu Bukit group, the caru group, and the Dalem Puri group. The Dalem Puri group, of which the usaba dalem puri is the key ritual, is of particular importance. Although the six pedanda rituals might be regarded as the most important ceremonies of Besakih's lunar cycle on account of their elaborate level of ritual, from other points of view

the usaba dalem puri is clearly of the greatest significance, second only to Bhatara Turun Kabeh. In the dual structure of the Besakih temple complex, Pura Dalem Puri is the main temple of the 'temples below the steps', the counterpart of Pura Penataran Agung, and thus the usaba dalem puri is the counterpart of Bhatara Turun Kabeh. In terms of attendance, usaba dalem puri draws more worshippers than any other ceremony with the exception of Bhatara Turun Kabeh, but whereas the latter takes place over many days, the usaba lasts but one day, and on that day the crowd outnumbers that of the main day of Bhatara Turun Kabeh. Furthermore, unlike other ceremonies at Besakih, usaba dalem puri is the core ceremony of a complex of rituals either directly associated with it or whose days of celebration are determined by it.<22>

Usaba dalem puri is celebrated on the day kajeng that falls three, five or seven days after the new moon of the seventh month (tilem kapitu, tanggal ganjil, 3, 5, 7, nemu kajeng), thus actually in the first few days of the eighth month. Three days preceding the usaba, thus also on a kajeng, two important preliminary rituals take place, the patabuhan usaba dalem at Pura Ulun Kulkul and the caru usaba dalem at two different locations alternately. On the same day as the usaba, another ritual called aci pacayaan is held at Pura Ulun Kulkul.

The caru usaba dalem is held in alternate years either immediately outside the entrance to Pura Dalem Puri or at a location called poh udang (pekudang) after a variety of mango tree that once grew there, or less commonly patelun or pamengkang agung. This latter location, some 200 metres downridge from Pura Manik Mas, was formerly an important three-ways (patelun) where a path led off to the western

graveyard, and above which point it was forbidden to carry a corpse across the approachway.<23> That this point marked a ritual boundary is emphasized during the ritual by the erection of a sort of bamboo arch called sungga puling, with the intention of entrapping demons should they venture into the forbidden area.<24> The caru at either location is a bull sacrifice (caru sampi), in this case a black bull (banteng selem).<25> The accompanying offerings can apparently vary in size.<26>

The patabuhan usaba dalem at Pura Ulun Kulkul has the purpose of announcing to the deities of all pura dalem that the spirits of the dead in their care should come to Pura Dalem Puri at the time of the usaba. It serves as a summons, hence the name of the ritual, patabuhan, from tabuh, 'to sound or beat a kulkul (or drum)', the normal way in Bali of announcing an upcoming event or gathering. That presumably is why the ceremony is held at Pura Ulun Kulkul, though the kulkul there is not actually sounded.<27>

Even as the preliminary rituals are underway, preparations for the usaba three days later are already well-advanced. In terms of ritual elaboration, usaba dalem puri is counted among the largest of pemanqku rituals, the core offering being an augmented sorohan pebangkit gelarsanga.<28> A day or two before the ceremony, peddlars selling clothing and shoes, coloured posters, and especially toys, set up stalls around the temple and along the road leading there. There were almost 50 stalls in 1983 and even more in 1984. These peddlars and sellers of sate come from the towns. Besakih villagers for the most part set up some two dozen or so food and drink stalls, while others sell fruits, peanuts and cigarettes. The scene takes on the atmosphere of a fair.

Worshippers begin arriving in the early evening, for private rituals can begin at midnight when the new day starts. By sunrise, thousands of people pack the area surrounding the temple, and throughout the day there is a steady stream of people coming and others leaving, moving slowly shoulder to shoulder down the road through the avenue of stalls. The area surrounding the temple is sacred ground known as tegal panangsaran, 'field of suffering', and save for the few who find space within the temple, it is here that each family group lays out their offerings to the spirits of the dead. But first they present offerings at the shrine to Prajapati outside the temple and at the shrine to Durga within, at both places worshipping and receiving holy water.<29> Offerings to the dead vary considerably according to family and region of origin. Prajapati (sometimes called Yama Prajapati) and Bhatari Durga hold within their power the souls of the dead, and the purpose of the ritual is to request these deities to grant the dead a fitting and auspicious place in the afterworld.

On the same day as the usaba a ceremony called aci pacayaan takes place at Pura Ulun Kulkul. The purpose of the ceremony is no longer clear. Its name is derived from caya, here probably meaning either 'shadow, reflection' or 'radiance, glow', in either case referring to the usaba with which it is associated.<30>

Besides the three ceremonies -- caru usaba dalem, patabuhan usaba, and aci pacayaan -- directly associated with it, the usaba dalem puri determines when the celebrations take place of a series of major agricultural rituals. This further emphasizes the significant role of usaba dalem puri in Besakih's lunar cycle rituals.

Of the other cosmological rituals (for details, see Appendix C),

the Ratu Bukit group of cosmological rituals brings together several rituals, all held on the full moon of the first month (puinama kasa). The most important of these is the aci panaung taluh held at the uppermost shrines in Pura Penataran Agung dedicated to Ratu Bukit, lord of the mountain. At the same time ceremonies are held at the two meru on the terrace next to the top, that honour Ratu Wisesa and Ratu Mas Magelung, and at Pura Pangubengan and Pura Tirtha. The deity of Pura Pangubengan and the holy water of Pura Tirtha are also both closely associated with the mountain. This would seem to be a group of ancient ceremonies.

Two ceremonies, usaba wargasiram (margasira) at Pura Batu Madeg and usaba peneman at Pura Bangun Sakti, both named after the lunar months (the fifth and sixth) in which they are held, would seem to be the remnants of once more important ceremonies. The Raja Purana mentions the ritual of the fifth month and indicates that formerly in the sixth month a major ceremony was enacted that involved all the gods of Besakih.

The third group of cosmological rituals are the caru. Held on the same day as the usaba peneman, a set of small caru panyaag opens a three-month season of important bhuta yadnya ceremonies at Besakih. These take place on or around the following three new moons, auspicious times for such ceremonies, and end with the caru kasanga which is held throughout Bali as part of the lunar New Year celebrations. All these caru take place outside temples. During this three-month season of bhuta yadnya ceremonies, every household at Besakih also holds a caru in its own courtyard, usually on the new moon of the seventh or eighth months. If it is held on the new moon of the ninth month it must take place prior to the village's caru

kasanga in the late afternoon. The size of the caru depends on the wealth of the family and on whether untoward signs such as illness and misfortune indicate demonic defilement.<31> Caru, called caru ulun setra, are also held at each of Besakih's two graveyards.

The season of caru ends with caru kasanga on the new moon of the ninth month, the last day of the Balinese lunar year, and the day preceding the Day of Quiet (Nyepi). Caru kasanga sacrifices are held throughout Bali, and in efforts to standardize ritual, Parisada Hindu Dharma has laid down minimum requirements -- one-chicken caru at the banjar level, five-chicken caru at village level, and much larger sacrifices at kabupaten level -- but at the same time in no way prevents villages from holding larger caru if that is their custom. The caru kasanga at Besakih is very much larger than the minimum requirement, and in fact is the largest of the routine sacrifices there.

The most important cosmological rituals, however, in terms of level of ritual elaboration, are those at which pedanda officiate.

Pedanda rituals of the lunar cycle

Routine pedanda rituals of the lunar cycle are held only at a specific group of temples -- those of the five-part symbolic classification. A pedanda ritual takes place at the temple of each direction, and two at the central temple of Pura Penataran Agung, thus six in all. The introduction or development of pedanda rituals began a very significant change in Besakih's rituals, a change that may have occurred no earlier than the 19th century, and which has undergone further alterations in more recent times.

In Bali, symbolism of the four cardinal directions enters into

ritual in innumerable ways -- in details of offerings, in words of the priest, and in ritual acts. In terms of whole rituals, the largest performative enactment of this symbolism is Besakih's pedanda ceremonies called aci nyatur, celebrated at the four temples associated with the gods of the four directions. As reflected in its name, a collective designation meaning 'ceremonies towards the four directions', the aci nyatur form an inter-related set of ceremonies in which the deity of each direction is honoured with its own elaborate and distinctively named ceremony:

Direction	Temple	Ceremony	Day of celebration
East	Pura Gelap	aci pangenteg jagat	full moon 2nd month
South	P. Kiduling Kreteg	aci panyeeb brahma	new moon 2nd month
West	Pura Ulun Kulkul	aci pangurip bumi	new moon 5th month
North	Pura Batu Madeg	aci panaung bayu	full moon 6th month

The four rituals are always conducted by a pedanda, but may be held at different levels of elaboration (Fig. 8.5). The ideal, and most elaborate, level requires the sacrifice of a buffalo, but since the buffalo is such a major item of expenditure, financial constraints have necessitated the rituals sometimes being held at less elaborate levels not requiring a buffalo. Buffalo ceremonies are held every year at Pura Gelap, on alternate years at Pura Batu Madeg and less regularly at Pura Kiduling Kreteg, and not for many years at Pura Ulun Kulkul.

Fig. 8.5 Levels of Ritual Elaboration of Pedanda Ceremonies (Key Indicators)

Ceremony	Temporary Shrine	Titi Mamah/ Lantaran	Shrine Offering	Core Offering	Caru
usaba kapat (1983)	sanggar surya	---	suci	sor. pebangkit 3	5-chicken
aci pangurip bumi (1981,1983)	sanggar tutuan	---	catur mukti	sor. pebangkit 2	5-chicken
aci panyeeb brahma (1982,1983)	sanggar tawang	goat	catur mukti	sor. pebangkit 2	5-chicken
aci panaung bayu (1982)	sanggar tawang	goat	catur mukti(?)	sor. pebangkit 3(?)	9-chicken goose (E)
aci panaung bayu (1983)	sanggar tawang	buffalo	catur muka	sor. pebangkit 3	9-chicken duck (C,E,S,W) piglet (N), goose (C)
aci pangenteg jagat (1981,1983)	sanggar tawang sanggar luhur ing akasa	buffalo	catur muka	ssor. pebangkit 5	9-chicken goose (E), piglet (N) goat (W), duck (C,S)

(Note: 1. The dates refer to ceremonies for which I have reliable data.

2. Sorohan pebangkit at large pedanda rituals are considerably augmented compared with those at pemangku rituals.

Preparations for the ceremony at Pura Gelap is almost always in the hands of Puri Agung Klungkung. According to Ida Dalem Mayun, the leading member of this palace, his father, the former Dewa Agung of Klungkung during Dutch times, had stressed to him that this ceremony at Pura Gelap must on no account be held at anything but its full and proper level of ritual, or else misfortune and destruction would ensue. In the elaborate ceremonies, the buffalo is not sacrificed as part of the large caru that accompany the rituals, but is laid out at the foot of the sanggar tawang in the form known as titi mamah where it serves as an honoured vehicle of the deity. In less elaborate rituals the buffalo may be replaced by a goat, or at the small ceremony at Pura Ulun Kulkul not replaced at all.

The distinctive names of the rituals are not related to the symbolism of the four/five-part classification. Only in aci panyeeb brahma does brahma, here meaning 'anger' or 'heat' in a mystical sense, refer also to the god of one of the directions, the south. The terms themselves each consist of two parts, the first derived from a verbal root of Balinese/Old Javanese origin with a prefix denoting 'the means of', and the second a noun of Sanskrit origin:

pangenteg jagat -- strengthening/maintaining the world <32>

panyeeb brahma -- cooling off anger/heat <33>

pangurip bumi -- giving life to the world <34>

panaung bayu -- gathering together the life-force <35>

Of these, only aci panyeeb brahma is the name of a ritual known elsewhere in Bali (upland villages of Bangli and Badung), although other than in name any connection between these rituals and that at Besakih is obscure.<36>

The terms do, however, have a certain unity in their common

concern with cosmic maintenance. The purpose of these rituals, notwithstanding their different names, is essentially similar: to request the deity of each direction to bestow upon the world their respective powers and thus ensure the welfare and prosperity of the land.

Just as the four directions imply a centre-focussed five-part classification, so the aci nyatur is related symbolically to the ceremony Bhatara Turun Kabeh, and to a lesser extent usaba kapat, held at the great central sanctuary of Pura Penataran Agung. Usaba kapat is a relatively small pedanda ritual directed to a particular, albeit very important shrine. Bhatara Turun Kabeh is Pura Besakih's culminating and unifying ritual, enacted on a grand scale, in which the gods of all the public temples participate. The ritual focus of both ceremonies is the padmasana. Usaba kapat, as its name indicates, is held on the full moon of the fourth month (Kapat).^{<37>} Bhatara Turun Kabeh is a month-long festival whose main day of celebration is that of the full moon of the tenth month (Kadasa).

The sequential order of pedanda rituals does not follow any recognized pattern linking the directions, such as a clockwise (purwadaksina) motion. That there is no intrinsic relationship between days of celebration and the symbolism of the directions is clear from the fact that these days of celebration have undergone many changes in the last two centuries.

By pedanda rituals I mean rituals of brahmana high priests who are descendants, according to their traditions, of Danghyang Nirartha and Danghyang Asthapaka, who are said to have arrived in Bali from a fading Majapahit Java early in the 16th century. Only gradually did the role of the pedanda in Balinese ritual become prominent. Sources

available do not indicate exactly when pedanda began to officiate at Besakih.

The question then arises whether these pedanda rituals are developments or elaborations of previously existing pemangku rituals or whether they were introduced at the time pedanda began to officiate at Besakih. Of the six pedanda ceremonies, only two, the ceremony at Pura Gelap and Bhatara Turun Kabeh, are mentioned in the cycle as given in the Raja Purana. These two, it seems certain, developed from former pemangku rituals. If the lack of mention in the Raja Purana is taken as guide, the other ceremonies are relatively recent introductions.<38> None of the special names given to the aci nyatur ceremonies are mentioned there either, though as the case of Pura Gelap indicates, this does not necessarily prove they did not exist, at least in some form. The earliest reference I have found to any of these special names occurs in a document from Lombok dated 1884.<39>

However, supporting the view that some of the aci nyatur ceremonies are relatively recent introductions (of the early 19th century?) is the fact that the five-part classification linking the temples where they are held does not seem to have been developed at the time the Raja Purana texts were compiled. It seems plausible to argue that the development of the aci nyatur ceremonies coincided with the seemingly late development of the five-part classification of Besakih temples.

In connection with this, changes in the time of celebration of Bhatara Turun Kabeh is of significance. In the Raja Purana, ceremonies involving all the gods (sadewa-dewa, dewa turun kabeh) were held twice a lunar year, in the sixth month and again in the tenth month, it being expressly stated in both cases that the deities were

to be taken in procession for their ritual bathing.<40> When and why these ceremonies were replaced by a single Bhatara Turun Kabeh celebrated in the fourth month is not known, but this change had already occurred by the middle of the 19th century.<41> It is tempting to speculate that this change was linked to the introduction of the pedanda rituals of the aci nyatur. Formerly it appears that the rituals of the aci nyatur (with the exception of aci pangenteg jagat) were held in conjunction with Bhatara Turun Kabeh when that still occurred on the full moon of the fourth month. A new schedule similar to that followed now was introduced probably in the late 1920s.<42>

Some time later around 1936 the day of celebration of Bhatara Turun Kabeh was changed back to the tenth month. This came about after a reading at Besakih of the Raja Purana. Since this text is regarded as the temple's sacred charter, the rulers of Karangasem and Klungkung, who were directly involved, decided to follow its directive. The 1936 change in day of celebration did not affect the ceremony's performance in any way we know of. It is possible that only after Bhatara Turun Kabeh's day of celebration was changed to the tenth month was the usaba kapat instigated as a kind of remembrance of that former celebration.

The development or introduction of pedanda rituals, whenever this took place, would surely have occurred only under the auspices of the royal court (Klungkung), in conjunction with state ritual, approved and supported by the ruler at the instigation of his court priests and other brahmanic advisors.

An outcome of these changes in the time of celebration of Besakih's pedanda rituals is that time of celebration does not contribute to an understanding of the ceremony's purpose.

Bhatara Turun Kabeh

Bhatara Turun Kabeh, the main yearly ceremony of the main central temple, is the culmination of Besakih's festival year. In the same way as Pura Penataran Agung is literally and symbolically the central temple of the whole complex, so Bhatara Turun Kabeh is the great centralizing ritual which unites within itself the worship of the gods of all Besakih's public temples, creating and emphasizing the unity of Pura Besakih. Since Pura Besakih is symbolically and ideologically at the pinnacle of the island's temple hierarchy, Bhatara Turun Kabeh also symbolizes the unity of the whole community of Balinese Hindus. Bhatara Turun Kabeh, as Besakih's major annual festival, is thus a symbol of Balinese perception of themselves as one people, defined by their religion.

Bhatara Turun Kabeh derives its role as Besakih's great centralizing ritual partly because its focus of ritual is the Pura Penataran Agung, and partly because it honours not only the gods of Pura Penataran Agung but the gods of all twenty-two public temples. Its very name Bhatara Turun Kabeh, 'the gods descend altogether', draws attention to this most salient characteristic. A ceremony in which all the gods of a village are honoured is not unique to Besakih but, reflecting the structural parallels between Pura Penataran Agung and the pura puseh of the region's old core villages, occurs also at these latter temples. For instance, at the usaba gede, the main annual ceremony at Muncan's pura puseh, deities from other temples take part.

The component rituals of Bhatara Turun Kabeh

In minor respects the level of ritual elaboration of Bhatara Turun Kabeh can be altered here and there, but the basic series of component rituals is largely unchanged. With rare exceptions, then, the festival consists of 14 separate rituals, of which eight important ones are conducted by pedanda, the other six by pemangku.

1. Matur piuning

Conducted by a pemangku at the padmasana, matur piuning is a brief ceremony to 'announce' to the gods that Bhatara Turun Kabeh is soon to be held. The 'announcement' forms part of all but the smallest ceremonies. Occasionally a caru in the main courtyard of Pura Penataran Agung is held in conjunction with it.

2. Negtegang

This ritual is held in the temple kitchen known as Suci and requests the deity who is associated with Bhatari Sri, to bless the work of preparation and ensure that all materials are pure, of high quality, and sufficient. The name negtegang means to 'confirm' or 'strengthen'. A small caru purifies the kitchen compound which in the days to come is the busy centre of preparatory activities.

3. Nqingsah

Nqingsah is the ritual 'washing' of the different varieties of rice to be used in significant offerings like the catur. A pemangku or a pedanda istri offering expert conducts the ritual in the pavilion kembangsirang near the nine-roofed meru honouring Ratu Kubakal who is identified with Bhatari Sri, goddess of rice.

4. Nedunang Bhatara

Only at Bhatara Turun Kabeh are all the gods of the public temples represented by their special god-symbols (pratima) in the form of an inscription, a statue, a box containing ritual substances, or an ephemeral symbol. The deities are requested to descend into these god-symbols at the several shrines where they are housed -- at the kehen building in Pura Penataran Agung, at Pura Kiduling Kreteg and Pura Batu Madeg, at Merajan Selonding for the temples below the steps, and at Merajan Kanginan. After the rituals, the god-symbols are carried in procession to Pura Penataran Agung and enshrined together in the gods' meeting pavilion (pasamuhan agung). The gods of the Catur Lawa are enshrined in their own temples.

5. Nuhur Tirtha

Two of the godhead's greatest manifestations, the god of the mountain (Bhatara Gunung Agung) and the god of the ocean (Bhatara Sagara), are also honoured during Bhatara Turun Kabeh. Their presence is symbolized in the form of holy water (Bhatara Tirtha) obtained with due ritual (nuhur tirtha). Water from Tirtha Girikusuma, a spring high up on the mountain, represents the god of the mountain, and water from Pura Klotok on the beach south of Klungkung represents the god of the ocean. Pemangku conduct the rituals.<43>

6. Malasti

Instead of the deities of the separate temples each receiving their own bathing ritual (malasti) at times of temple ceremonies, at Besakih the bathing ritual is carried out collectively once a year as part of Bhatara Turun Kabeh.<44> Such a tradition is common in west

Karangasem. The gods are borne in procession to either Tegal Suci (Tegenan) most years or to Yeh Esah (near Batusesa) every fourth year. The order of procession to some extent is fixed, though in practice there is minor variation. The gods of the Catur Lawa -- Ratu Pande, Ratu Dukuh Saganing, Ratu Pasek and Ratu Panyarikan in that order according to texts -- lead the procession, followed by the gods of Pura Kiduling Kreteg, the gods of Pura Penataran Agung and other upper temples, the gods of Pura Dalem Puri and other lower temples, and finally the gods of Pura Batu Madeg. The tasks of bearing the ritual weapons and other accessories and the palanquins of the gods are allotted to the villagers of Besakih and the Pragunung. A pedanda officiates. The purpose of the ritual is not to purify the gods (they are inately pure) but to bathe, refresh and adorn them through their material god-symbols.

7. Pamendak

Pamendak is the ceremony of 'welcome' held at the foot of the steps of Pura Penataran Agung on the return of the gods from the malasti procession. There they are joined by the Bhatara Tirtha of mountain and ocean. The most significant feature of this ritual is the titi mamah, a sacrificed buffalo laid out on the ground, which serves as the symbol or vehicle to carry the gods to their meeting pavilion.<45> The buffalo, i.e. the skin to which the head and feet are still attached, is laid out facing downridge, and is accompanied by a sorohan pebangkit augmented by special offerings including at least one and usually a pair of pring, amazing human-like (male and female) figures made of mature sugar-palm leaf. A pedanda officiates. After the rite of purification (malis) and an elaborate rite of

libation (tetabuhan) which includes the blood sacrifice of a chicken and duck, the gods are borne across the buffalo vehicle, and into the temple.

8. Mapepada

This ritual is in honour of the animals that are to be sacrificed for the main day's celebration. All the animals are led or carried into the main courtyard of Pura Penataran Agung where a pedanda purifies them and ritually sacrifices them. Then three times the animals are taken clockwise around the courtyard, led by a person bearing a ritual object called panuntun. The panuntun is used in post-cremation rituals when the purified soul is led back to its place of enshrinement. Its role in mapepada is similar: because the animals are sacrificed for use in ritual, their souls, through the priest's ritual, are led to an abode of heavenly bliss.

9. Puja arepan Widdhi

'Worship in the presence of the Godhead' is the central ritual of Bhatara Turun Kabeh, to which the preliminary rituals all lead. Its importance is clearly illustrated in the vastly greater amount of offerings that are necessary. At least one padanda siwa and one padanda buda officiate. The Godhead is symbolized in the offerings: shrine offerings of the sanggar tawang as the head, core offerings as the main part of the body, and the caru as the lower body and legs. The purpose of the ceremony, essentially that of the basic idiom of ritual, is to request through devotion and worship that Sang Hyang Widdhi, the Godhead, and His manifestations, the gods of Besakih, bestow upon the world divine emanations of blessings and benevolence.

10. Caru jaban pura

While the main ritual of Puja arepan Widdhi is taking place, another pedanda officiates at a bull sacrifice held at the foot of Pura Penataran Agung. The bull faces downridge. Many people interpret this sacrifice as being directed towards the demonic followers of the gods. Some, however, interpret it as part of the main caru inside the temple, saying that its position outside is due to the prohibition against the bull, and the dog for that matter, being used in caru inside any of the Besakih temples.

11. Mapaselang

For the ritual of mapaselang the gods are first carried in procession three times clockwise around the courtyard before being enshrined in the pavilion kembangsirang (or bale paselang) where it takes place. At each circumambulation the bearer of each god-symbol steps upon the head of the buffalo laid out in titi mamah fashion beside the pavilion.<46> Here, as in pamendak, the buffalo serves as the vehicle of the gods. Within the pavilion, besides many complex offerings, there are a number of unusual objects such as a model boat, a model ricebarn, model shrines, and other artifacts. These objects are mentioned in a unique text of questions and answers (the (pa)jejiwan) read out aloud in the course of the ritual, in which the varied contents of the earth, mountain, ocean, shrine, boat, and ricebarn, are said to be in the possession of "he who performs the paselang ritual; if there is no paselang ritual, the ceremony will not accomplish [its purpose]." Such possessions are said to come from Bhatara Smara and Bhatari Ratih, the god and goddess of love, who at the same time destroy afflictions and misfortunes and bring about

prosperity and long life (for text and translation, see Appendix E). The theology of the paselang ritual has yet to be studied, but one interpretation (I Gusti Agung Gede Putra:pers.comm.) associates it with the famous Smaradana myth in which Smara sacrificed himself for the well-being of the world, the lesson being that desire, which is absolutely necessary for things to happen, must be controlled. Sacrifice must accompany desire, for the greater good of all. Love and homage (bakti) towards the gods brings about in return the love and benevolence (sweca) of the gods towards mankind. The paselang ritual serves to accomplish this transference of love between devotee and divinity. Such rituals are also held in conjunction with the most elaborate rituals of the later stages of rites of passage, particularly toothfiling and marriage.<47>

12. Puja tigang rahina

The 'worship of the third day' after the main day's celebration is a basic pedanda ritual without any supplementary features. The gods remain in residence in the temple for a total of eleven days so that worshippers from afar have the opportunity to express their devotion.

13. Nanding ajang

In this ritual in the bale agung, Besakih's nine official pemangku perform the ritual, unique to them, that determines their positions in the system of ranking of pemangku (Chapter 2). The ritual also includes the reading of a text asking forgiveness for any shortcomings or mistakes that may have been committed.

14. Panyimpenan/Panyineban

The distinctive rituals of the closing day begin in the morning in the lowest courtyard with a ritual blood sacrifice (tabuh rah) in the form of a small cockfight preceded by egg-, coconut-, and candlenut-fights. In the late afternoon or evening a pedanda officiates at a final ritual of homage. On the completion of this ritual the gods are carried out of the temple in a procession led by a person bearing a special offering called tetingkeb which at the foot of the steps is turned upside down and its contents spilled on the ground (tingkeb, 'spilled, upside down'). The gods step upon these spilled contents and then return to the same shrines and places where they first descended into their god-symbols at the start of the festival. Jejauman and sidakarya offerings are placed on shrines as a final symbol of thanks and successful completion.

The gods have returned to their heavenly abodes. One last rite remains to be carried out: the returning of the material aspects of ritual to their ultimate source, the earth. The ritual is called ngeseng pring bagia, 'burning the pring and bagia', after two particularly important offerings. It takes place at a large hole dug behind the sanggar tawang. Bits of now dried palm-leaf from the pring, bagia and other offerings are burned on an earthenware stand and their ashes placed in a young coconut, and then placed in the hole. The rest of these offerings are thrown in, too, after which the handful of worshippers pay homage to Ibu Pretiwi, Mother Earth.

Bhatara Turun Kabeh is over for another year.

Sequential structure of Bhatara Turun Kabeh

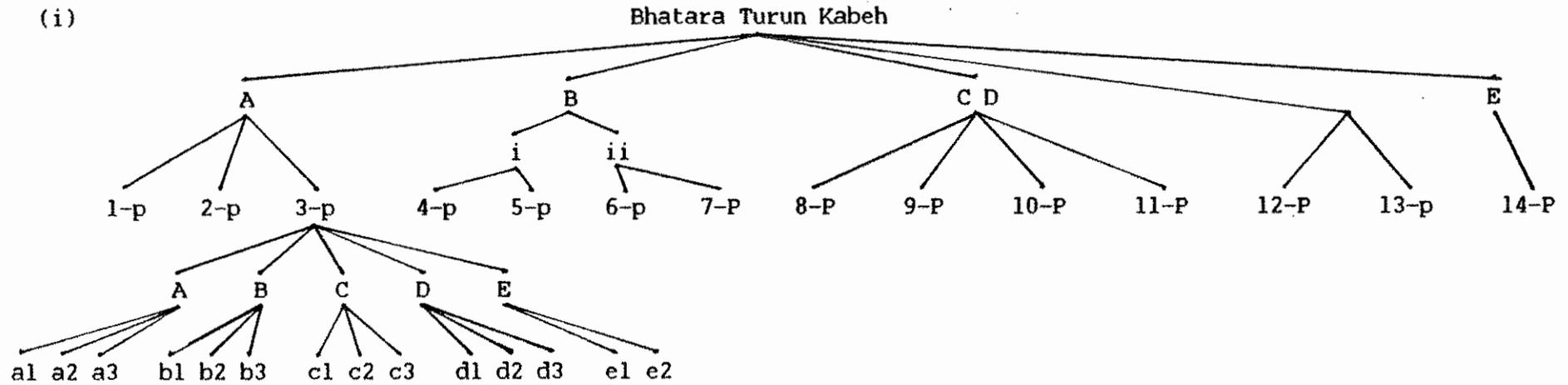
Bhatara Turun Kabeh consists of a sequence of ritual events lasting over a period of almost a month. Instead of just a single pemangku ritual, Bhatara Turun Kabeh consists of 14 separate events or rituals. These rituals can be divided into groups which parallel the phases of the pemangku ritual (Fig. 8.6). In a temporal sense there is a neat division between the tasks of the two kinds of priests. Pemangku officiate at the early purification and invitation phases, while pedanda officiate at the core and closing rituals.

Fig. 8.6 Correspondences in sequential structures of pemangku ritual and Bhatara Turun Kabeh

Phase	Pemangku Ritual	Bhatara Turun Kabeh
		1. matur piuning
A. Purification	i. of the priest	2. negtegang
	ii. of ritual offerings	3. ngingsah
B. Invitation	i. invites gods to descend	4. nedunang bhatara
	ii. bathing ritual	5. nuhur tirtha
C. Prestations		6. malasti
D. Counterprestation		7. pamendak
		8. mapepada
		9. puja arepan Widdhi
		10. caru jaban pura
		11. mapaselang
		12. puja 3 rahina
		13. nanding ajang
E. Dispersion		14. panyimpenan

The sequential structure of Bhatara Turun Kabeh may be also be illustrated in diagrammatic form (Fig. 8.7). These figures demonstrate that The same phases of ritual idiom in the same order are common to both pemangku ritual and Bhatara Turun Kabeh. Elaboration is achieved by transforming the phases and sub-phases of a pemangku ritual into one or more components rituals of the great festival.

Fig. 8.7 Relationship between sequential structures of pemangku ritual and Bhatara Turun Kabeh



(ii) Pemangku ritual: A ----- B ----- C -- D -----E

Bhatara Turun Kabeh: A (p,p,p) -- B (p,p,p,P) -- C D (P,P,P,P) -- (P,p) -- E (P)

Note: 'p' denotes pemangku ritual; 'P' denotes pedanda ritual

Conclusion

In early chapters I argued that common to Besakih rituals generally are two basic formal aspects, that of idiom of ritual and that of ritual elaboration. In this chapter I argued that it is implicit mythology of certain contingent aspects of ritual that provides an understanding of the purpose of ritual. Various strands contribute to the purpose of ritual. Important among them are the mythology of the deity in whose honour the ritual is enacted, the mythology of the time of celebration within calendrical cycles and relationships (especially agricultural rituals) with natural cycles, and special characteristics of additional ritual features specific to several rituals. However, among some rituals (especially wuku rituals) the only distinguishing feature is the location of the ritual. Such rituals have no specific purpose over and above the usual request for divine blessings.

In this chapter I paid special attention to those rituals that reflect the symbolic classifications underlying relationships between temples. The pedanda rituals are associated with the temples of the five-part classification. Bhatara Turun Kabeh and usaba dalem puri are the main ceremonies at temples of the dual classification. More importantly, however, Bhatara Turun Kabeh also expresses the unity of the whole complex. In a later chapter I discuss the two great purificatory rituals, Panca Walikrama and Ekadasa Rudra, which reflect the coming together of hierarchical structures in religion and society. These two rituals can only be understood in the context of the relationship between Pura Besakih and the society that supports it. This relationship forms the subject of the following chapters.

CHAPTER 9

ENACTMENT OF RITUAL

Introduction

I have examined the hierarchy of ritual elaboration, the idiom and the purpose of ritual. Now I turn to the social significance of ritual, the relationship between ritual and its social contexts, and introduce the people who make possible its enactment.

The public rituals of Besakih are numerous, and range in size from some that are quite simple where only the pemangku and his family attend, to others that are very elaborate where thousands of people attend from all over Bali. People from all levels of society worship at Besakih or are in some way involved in its rituals. Besakih's social contexts range along a hierarchy of social formations from the adat village, through the regional principality, to the island-wide state or province, and beyond to the modern nation state. There is here a very important structural relationship among social hierarchy, temple hierarchy and ritual hierarchy. Essentially, it is this relationship that I explore in this and in subsequent chapters.

Temple-society relations entail both an ideational aspect and a practical aspect. The ideational aspect is what people from different levels of society think about this temple-society relationship. A local Besakih villager, a member of a pragunung village, the regional lord such as Anglurah Sidemen, the ruler and members of his court, and officials of present-day government, have at different times viewed

this relationship in the light of their own understanding and involvement. Of special importance here is the relationship between Pura Besakih and what the Balinese call guru wisesa or the holder of political authority, the raja during the period of traditional states, the provincial governor representing the state in modern times. In an overall perspective from early times to the present day, one theme that becomes apparent is that temple-state relations have changed as the structure and nature of the island's political authority have changed. These changes are discussed in later chapters.

This chapter discusses the enactment of ritual, the practical dimension of the relationship between ritual and society, as it is carried out at the present time. Enactment of ritual consists of three aspects -- payment or funding, preparation, and performance. All of these aspects involve people. Whatever the ritual, someone has to prepare it, perform it and pay for it. By payment, I include contributions in kind. Although not the case in earlier centuries, nowadays funding is almost entirely provided as money. By performance I mean both the officiating priest(s) and the congregation.

In some rituals the people involved in preparation, performance and payment are one and the same group, but often they are not. Those who prepare a ritual normally partake in its performance but do not necessarily contribute to funding. Many people who take part in performance or attendance are in no way involved in preparation or payment. Those who pay for a ritual as a rule take part in its performance but may be involved in preparation in only an advisory or overseeing role. Furthermore, the congregation that attends must be distinguished from the beneficiaries of a ritual, for the benefit of a ritual is not bound by individual attendance. In the case of Pura

Besakih, for instance, its status as the hierarchically paramount temple of Bali (and indeed of Indonesia) means, ideologically, that the beneficiaries of its public rituals are all Hindus throughout Bali and Indonesia. A few rituals have a more circumscribed circle of beneficiaries, in most cases a descent group of varying inclusiveness.

The key to an analysis of these three aspects that together make up the enactment of ritual is the location of rituals on the hierarchy of ritual elaboration which in terms of 'meaning' may not be very informative but in terms of social significance is very important indeed. As I have shown, hierarchy of ritual elaboration is related to the calendrical cycles in which Besakih ceremonies fall, and these in turn, as the following analysis will demonstrate, are related to sources of funding. A series of important correlations between these three variables emerge from this analysis, and these reveal a great deal about the social significance of rituals. The few seeming anomalies that arise are not really anomalies at all but are determined by the symbolic structure of the temple system at Besakih.

The location of a ritual on the hierarchy of ritual elaboration determines its size, which in practical terms means the cost of ritual and the amount of preparation as measured in units of labour. In this regard, the distinction between pemanaku and pedanda rituals is particularly important. Essentially, pemanaku rituals are Besakih affairs as far as both preparation and performance are concerned. At the simplest of these, only the pemanaku and a few close family attend, six to eight people in all, including children. At others, representatives of one or more banjar attend. Congregation varies with source of funding. The only exception now is the usaba dalem

puri attended by huge crowds from all over Bali; formerly the odalan of Ratu Maspahit, and to a certain extent the major agricultural rituals at Pura Banua, were attended by pragunung and other non-Besakih villagers.

Pedanda rituals, on the other hand, always involve people from outside Besakih, for no pedanda or brahmana families reside there. At the very least, a pedanda must be invited to officiate and brahmana offering expert(s) to assist; at times, all preparations for pedanda rituals are done outside the village and offerings arrive by truck. Congregations at pedanda rituals are partly or even mostly non-Besakih people, while funding comes mostly from government sources.

I will begin the discussion of the social contexts of the enactment of ritual with the aspect of funding, for logically funding, whether cash or kind, is the necessary precondition for ritual to take place. If the source of funding fails the ritual is not held, and that is precisely what happened at Besakih for at least twenty years to more than thirty, mostly wuku cycle, pemangku rituals.

There are five main categories of funding: revenue from temple land, village contributions, state contributions, voluntary contributions, and descent group contributions. With the exception of voluntary contributions which are a modern development, these categories of funding are of long-standing, and the uses to which sources of funding are put show a certain continuity until quite recent times when alterations and adaptations became more pronounced. Revenue from temple lands, save for certain quite recent changes, has been used for pemangku rituals including almost all those reckoned by the wuku calendar and many lunar calendar ones as well. Contributions from the village of Besakih fund agricultural rituals and bhuta yadnya

sacrifices. Contributions from pragunung and other villages of the region are now largely a thing of the past. Descent groups, either at dadia or warga levels, fund rituals held at public temples. The benefits of these rituals are restricted to each group's members alone and do not involve the public as a whole. For special reasons, however, descent groups fund public ceremonies whose regular source of funding had dried up. Contributions from individuals which in the time of the Raja Purana were tied up with land grants have almost entirely died out, to be replaced recently by voluntary contributions of a different sort.

State funding has always been of major significance, for traditionally it included the gift either of land or of tax rights over land. However, the grant once given, its administration operated largely independently, with little or minimal court involvement. At the present time, different administrative levels of the Indonesian government fund most of the largest ceremonies at the pedanda level, which though few in number, make up a high percentage of total expenditure. Directly or indirectly, the state also has been the source of funds for physical maintenance.

The relationship between the source of funding and who carries out the necessary preparations is so close that it is most satisfactory to discuss them together. But before I discuss these sources in detail, I present a brief summary of the situation to indicate the relative importance of these different sources in relation to level of ritual elaboration and ritual cycle (Fig. 9.1). The actual sums of money in this chart are partly estimates and that should be kept in mind, but the chart indicates the important role of government in funding Besakih's rituals.

Fig. 9.1a Rituals at public Besakih temples and their sources of funding in 1983.

rituals	laba pura	village	government	descent group	pemangku	not held	total	expenditure
wuku cycle:								
daanan/dandanan	5	-	-	9	2	20	36	480,000
sor. pebangkit	2	-	-	-	-	2	4	120,000
lunar cycle:								
cosmological rituals:								
daanan/dandanan	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	-
sor. pebangkit	1	-	-	3	1	4	9	390,000
pedanda	2	-	4 (6)	-	-	-	6	10,800,000
agricultural rituals:								
daanan/dandanan	2	3	-	-	-	-	5	-
sor. pebangkit	-	3	2	-	-	-	5	780,000
bhuta yadnya:								
daanan/dandanan	-	3	-	-	-	-	3	740,000
sor. pebangkit	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	240,000
sub-totals:								
daanan/dandanan	7	6	-	9	2	24	48	
sor. pebangkit	3	4	2	3	1	6	19	
pedanda	2	-	4	-	-	-	6	
TOTAL	12	10	6 (8)	12	3	30	73	
EXPENDITURE (Rp.)	390,000	1,200,000	11,300,000	450,000	210,000	--		13,550,000
%	(2.9)	(8.9)	(83.4)	(3.3)	(1.5)			(100)

Fig. 9.1b Rituals at public Besakih temples and their sources of funding in 1986.

rituals	laba pura	village	government	descent group	pemangku	dana punia	total	expenditure
wuku cycle:								
daanan/dandanan	5	-	-	7	-	23	35	-
sor. pebangkit	2	-	-	-	-	3	5	-
lunar cycle:								
cosmological rituals:								
daanan/dandanan	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	-
sor. pebangkit	1	-	-	2	-	6	9	-
pedanda	2	-	3 (5)	-	-	1	6	-
agricultural rituals:								
daanan/dandanan	2	3	-	-	-	-	5	-
sor. pebangkit	2	2	-	-	-	1	5	-
bhuta yadnya:								
daanan/dandanan	-	3	-	-	-	-	3	-
sor. pebangkit	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
sub-totals:								
daanan/dandanan	7	6	-	7	-	27	47	
sor. pebangkit	5	3	-	2	-	10	20	
pedanda	2	-	3	-	-	1	6	
TOTAL	14	9	3	9	-	38	73	

(Note: I do not have figures for ritual expenditure in 1986)

In 1983, government funding exceeded 80% of total expenditure on rituals. Even disregarding the nine ceremonies funded by descent groups and adding estimates for those thirty rituals not held that year, the proportion would still be about 75%. Furthermore, two-thirds of government funding or half of total funding pays for just one ritual, the great annual Bhatara Turun Kabeh. The cost of this extended festival has risen markedly in recent years, higher even than the rate of inflation; and over a period of fifty years the proportion of funding for Bhatara Turun Kabeh has risen both with regard to total expenditure and in relation to other pedanda rituals. There is only one possible deduction: Bhatara Turun Kabeh has undergone an increase in elaboration. The point I want to make here is that the present proportions of various sources of funding cannot be assumed to reflect earlier practice.

Compounding the problem of trying to understand patterns of funding is that we cannot be sure that the funding of particular rituals from particular sources of finance has remained unchanged. Pedanda rituals, however, have, as far as our data allows us to be certain, always been funded by the state. With this in mind, I turn now to the discussion of the various sources of funding, beginning with the adat village of Besakih to whom falls the responsibility of most of the preparation of rituals.

The Adat Village of Besakih

Throughout Besakih's history as far as we know it, from the time of the 15th century edicts to the present day, the villagers of Besakih have carried out their sacred obligation towards the gods of the public sanctuaries. Although the public temples are not 'owned'

by the adat village in quite the same way as other adat villages 'own' their communal temples, the village has always been intimately associated with the temples in a unique sort of pangamong or support relationship. This relationship is demonstrated less in financial responsibility, which for the village is not at all onerous, but in its responsibility to provide the human resources necessary for the successful enactment of ritual.

In the preparation and performance of ritual, the Besakih villagers, servants of the gods, bear the greatest burden. Whatever the source of funding and whether paid in cash or kind, the Besakih villagers are involved with the rituals in some way or other. To what extent preparation and performance was the task of Besakih people alone, to what extent they received outside assistance, is known only for quite recent times. There are good reasons to assume that present arrangements are by no means wholly 'traditional'. Early sources such as the old edicts and the Raja Purana are not particularly informative on the details of village responsibilities, for the latter, as its name indicates, is more concerned with relations between court and temples rather than that between village and temples. Nor is it certain what role the village played in ceremonies which the Raja Purana says were the responsibility of particular individuals, though this probably refers to financial responsibility. One assumes, at least for ceremonies for which the ruler was responsible, that Besakih villagers were involved in their preparation.

In terms of human resources, the village has always been self-sufficient in the provision of skills necessary for the preparation and performance of all pemangku rituals.

Between banjar and public temples is a system of 'traditional'

relationships also involving official pemangku that is still of importance, though not to the same degree that it once was. Notwithstanding changes in the system over the centuries, the idea behind the system is probably of considerable antiquity.<1> At the present time, each of the eight banjar is associated with one or several public temples, while the pemangku responsible for each group is a member of the respective banjar (Fig.9.2).

banjar	temples	pemangku
Penataran Kangin	Pura Penataran Agung	(Mangku Anglurah Sidemen)
Penataran Kawan	(Pura Gelap, P.Tirtha, Pura Pangubengan)	Mangku Pageh Mangku Patuh
Batu Madeg	Pura Batu Madeg Pura Yang Aluh Pura Paninjoan	Mangku Tinggi
Kiduling Kreteg	Pura Kiduling Kreteg	Mangku Tincap
Basukihan	Pura Basukihan	Mangku Dangka
Banua Kangin	Merajan Kanginan	Mangku Pejengan
Banua Kawan	Pura Banua	Mangku Gaduh
Ulun Kulkul	Pura Ulun Kulkul Pura Pasimpangan Pura Manik Mas Pura Bangun Sakti Pura Dalem Puri Pura Gua Merajan Selonding	[Mangku Ulun Kulkul] Mangku Kabayan (Dalem Puri)

Fig.9.2 Relationships among banjar, temples, and pemangku

These banjar-temple relationships only partly underlie the division of responsibility for ceremonies that are now funded by the adat village as a whole or by the banjar. At the time of fieldwork (1983) the adat village of Besakih was responsible for ten ceremonies (Fig. 9.3). All were lunar rituals: four bhuta yadnya sacrifices and six of the ten agricultural rituals. It is precisely such 'village' rituals which the Raja Purana does not mention. They probably have always been the village's responsibility, for the very same rituals or ones of a similar sort are held by other adat villages of the west Karangasem region.

Fig. 9.3 Public rituals at Besakih financed by the adat village of Besakih (1983)

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Ritual	Source of Funding	Contribution (per member)	Expenditure	Remarks
aci pangangon (L1)	pemangku fund		121,500	ritual costs only c. 20,000 prepared by pemangku of Pura Bangun Sakti
aci mungkah (L2)	Banjar Penataran Kangin (or Br. Penataran Kauh)	1,000	82,500	pig 36,000; offerings 36,000
aci sarin tahun (L8)	Banjar Ulun Kulkul	250	13,500	pig 12,500; offerings divided
ngebekang (L10) and ngrumpuk (L12)	Banjar Penataran Kauh (or Br. Penataran Kangin) Banjar Batu Madeg Banjar Kiduling Kreteg Banjar Basukihan Banjar Banua Kangin Banjar Banua Kawan	850	71,225 ? ? ? ? ?	pig 35,000; offerings 27,000
aci mapag toya (L16)	pemangku fund		10,000	prepared by pemangku of Pura Batu Madeg
caru panyaag (L21)	pemangku fund and/or banjars		?	prepared by pemangku of the eight temples involved
caru usaba dalem (L22)	Banjar Basukihan (or Banjar Ulun Kulkul + Br. Banua Kangin)	1,100	166,100	bull 100,000
caru ulun setra (L30)	Banjar Kiduling Kreteg (setra kangin)	1,200	240,000	bull 165,000
	Banjar Batu Madeg (setra kauh)	1,000	115,000	bull 73,500
caru kasanga (L32)	Banjar Penataran Kangin + Br. Penataran Kauh + Br. Banua Kawan	1,100	241,500	bull 150,000; offerings 90,000
Sub-Total			1,061,325	
TOTAL (estimate)			1,200,000	

(Note: since 1985, aci mungkah has been funded from voluntary contributions)

The manner in which responsibility for funding these ten ceremonies is now divided among the banjar and the village certainly does not reflect traditional practice. Three ceremonies are now funded by the pemangku fund (kas pemangku) which in effect serves as the treasury of the adat council; its income is derived from a half share of donations made in connection with nuntun and nuhur tirtha rituals. The caru ulun setra, now divided between two banjars, was formerly funded by the retired members (penyada) of the whole adat village. Aci sarin tahun was prior to the mid-19th century funded by the village of Bangbang. Formerly, it appears, other caru sacrifices and agricultural rituals were the responsibility of all members of the adat village, and only after Independence were the tasks of preparation and funding divided among the banjar.

As the population of the adat village of Besakih grew, the preparations for most rituals could not effectively utilize the labour available, and costs were low enough that a part of the membership could easily pay for it. So it became the practice for the adat village to divide responsibility for village rituals among the banjar. How this was done depended on the size of the banjar and the level of ritual elaboration. Similar kinds of arrangements are common in many villages in Bali. The present arrangement, then, reflects a new division of responsibility partly following the old structure rather than being an old division. So, for example, since aci sarin tahun and aci mungkah are held in Pura Ulun Kulkul and Pura Penataran Agung respectively, the Banjar Ulun Kulkul and Banjar Penataran Kangin and Kawan, were made responsible for them.

Each banjar or group of banjar responsible financially for a ceremony is also responsible for its preparation. A major item of

expenditure, often well over half of total costs, is the animal or animals required either for the sacrifice or for the flesh component of the core offerings. A beast of small size satisfies ritual requirements, but in most cases the banjar makes a celebration of it for its members and chooses instead a far larger beast. The meat from such large animals, over and above the modest ritual requirements, is divided amongst the members. At these rituals, slaughter of the animal and its preparation takes place on the day of the ritual; in the case of bull sacrifices, at the very place of ritual. It has become the practice for the banjar officials and the section-heads (saya), a dozen or so men in all, to carry out this preparation. As recompense for their labour, these men (as well as members of the village gamelan orchestra club or sekaa gong) are exempt from paying the cash contribution (uran) that ordinary members pay, and they sometimes receive an extra share of meat, besides giving themselves a good midday meal. Ordinary members of the banjar are involved only to the extent of paying their contribution and collecting their portion of uncooked meat. Often a relative or friend or one's section-head can do this on one's behalf, and so many members do not have to turn up at all. Since banjar tend to buy animals in proportion to the size of their membership, rituals of the same level of elaboration may vary a lot in overall expenditure, and yet be much the same in terms of individual contributions.

The other major item of expenditure besides the animal is the cost of offerings which for any one level of elaboration varies little. Either the offerings are divided individually among the banjar members and thus no cash contribution is needed, or the offerings are bought and members do pay a contribution. Invariably,

offerings are bought from the banjar officials themselves (klihan or deputy, but sometimes a section-head) and/or from official pemanaku who are members of the banjar. In such cases the offerings are divided into roughly equal groups which may alternate between banjar when more than one is involved, or which rotate when the same families routinely prepare them. For example, the offerings for the caru usaba dalem are held on alternate years at Pura Dalem Puri when Banjar Basukihan is responsible and at the place called pohudang when responsibility is shared by Banjar Ulun Kulkul and Banjar Banua Kangin. In the latter case, the banjar alternate between one preparing the offerings accompanying the bull sacrifice, and the other preparing the rest of the offerings. In 1984, Banjar Ulun Kulkul bought its offerings while Banjar Banua Kangin, as is its custom, divided up its lot. Generally the leftovers (lungsuran) are divided equally between those making the offerings and the banjar itself which sells its share to the highest bidder. Officials' families making offerings usually use their own resources and receive payment after members have paid their contributions, the amount being decided on the day of the ritual when total costs are known. A negative effect of the system of banjar's buying offerings from its officials is that the relationship between ordinary members and public rituals has become nothing more than the payment of a small sum of money, but on the whole officials and members find the system convenient and satisfactory. Thus most members are no longer involved in the actual preparation of rituals which they themselves fund, let alone those funded from other sources. Many villagers feel less and less any special relationship between themselves and the public temples.

The system of banjar-temple relationships plays a role still in

the way responsibility for preparing and performing ceremonies funded by temple lands and voluntary contributions have been handed over to particular klihan banjar and official pemangku. For example, ceremonies in the group of temples associated with Banjar Ulun Kulkul are the responsibility of the klihan of that banjar or of the pemangku who are members of it. However, these arrangements do not involve the banjar as a corporate body.

Self-sufficient in the preparation and performance of pemangku rituals, the adat village must cooperate with technical assistance from outside in the enactment of pedanda rituals, at the least one or two brahmana offering experts for a few days. For such pedanda rituals, ordinary banjar members are not involved; any assistance needed is provided by the temple pemangku. For the preparation of the largest annual festival, Bhatara Turun Kabeh, Besakih villagers play an important role. This I discuss shortly when dealing with state-funded rituals, and turn instead to the role of other villages of the west Karangasem region in relation to the enactment of Besakih rituals.

Pragunung Besakih

In former days adat villages of a wide surrounding region looked to Besakih as the region's leading sanctuary. Pura Besakih functioned, at one level, as the ritual centre of the west Karangasem region. The inhabitants of the region's villages not only paid homage to the gods of Pura Besakih but gave contributions of cash and kind towards its upkeep, and participated directly in specific rituals. Over the centuries a group of villages with special ritual rights and obligations towards Pura Besakih were known as the villages of

Pragunung Besakih. Then, from around the 1930's the role of the Pragunung began to diminish and erode. For various reasons, rituals were neglected and contributions largely forgotten till now the 12 villages that comprise Pragunung Besakih is associated with just the malasti procession of Bhatara Turun Kabeh when members of these villages bear the palanquins of the gods and their ceremonial paraphernalia.

Texts probably dating from the turn of the century cite the traditional tasks allotted to each village: Besakih, Batusesa and Tegenan carry the palanquins, Pempatan is responsible for ritual accessories, Temukus for the processional banners (umbul-umbul), Kesimpar for the gamelan orchestra, Lebih for the ritual weapons (pangawin), Telungbuana for the flags, Badeg for the rerontek banners, while Pura waits behind and takes care of the temple during the gods' absence (HKS.3828:45.2-7). Another text (SF-Bes.3:29b-30a) adds Suhukan to the list, which has the task of helping with the orchestra. Neither Geliang nor Alas Ngandang are mentioned, the former probably because it did not yet exist, and the latter because it is really a special case. It is not the village that has the obligation but a specific kin group called Pasek Panyarikan whose duty is to take care of Pura Ratu Panyarikan and carry the palanquin of that deity.

Furthermore, the number of men from each village who are obliged to participate in the malasti procession is fixed, at least in theory. According to one knowledgeable old informant, a former perbekel of Besakih (I Wayan Gentiada), formerly 400 men took part in the procession, 200 from Besakih, 100 from 'Gunung Kangin' and 100 from 'Gunung Kelod'. Gunung Kelod, he said, consisted of Batusesa (33), Tegenan (33), and Pempatan-Pule and Suukan (together 33), while Gunung

Kangin consisted of Kesimpar, Lebih, Telungbuana and Badeg. Pura was not included since it did not participate in the procession, while Temukus and Geliang, he said, were desa madasan (outlying settlement) and included within Besakih. The men participating were determined according to ownership of certain lands (Batusesa and Tegenan) or were chosen by rotation amongst village members. In practice there appears to be some variation in the number of men taking part from the different villages.<2>

Besides their role in the performance of Bhatara Turun Kabeh, the pragunung villages also used to contribute to its funding by providing certain raw materials. Badeg, Lebih, and other east pragunung villages, for example, provided spices, garlic and onions; Batusesa and Tegenan contributed palm leaf of various sorts, together with coconuts and bamboo. Such contributions continued into the 1930s, then seemed to have lapsed, and despite efforts at revival in the late 1960s, have now largely but not altogether ceased.<3>

Until well into this century the pragunung villagers were involved in various other activities on behalf of Pura Besakih. They used to pay a special marriage tax (pangapih) which funded the odalan at the shrine of Ratu Maspahit in Pura Penataran Agung, and participate in that ritual. They used to attend the major agricultural ceremonies at Pura Banua.

Land

The present-day role of temple land in funding Besakih's ritual cycles is just the latest in a long series of changes in a tradition centuries old. The varieties and vicissitudes of temple lands make it difficult to trace their development, but survivals from earlier methods of management of temple lands allows a partial reconstruction of how the system worked at different times in the past. Still of considerable importance in the days of traditional courts, land probably had a more dominant role in overall funding. In terms of present Indonesian land law, Besakih's temple lands fall under different categories, the most important being laba pura land. Formerly located mainly in Karangasem, present-day parcels of laba pura land in four kabupatens -- Karangasem, Klungkung, Bangli and Gianyar -- for the most part probably came into the temple's possession only during colonial times. The latest addition, the land surrounding each public temple, was acquired as recently as 1978/79.<4> Present holdings total about 12.3 hectare of sawah and about 5.1 hectare of dry fields (Fig.9.4).<5> As the actual plots of land have changed over time, so too has the set of rituals funded by them. The present set is partially the result of changes in the 1960's.

Laba pura lands located in the kabupatens of Karangasem and Bangli continue to function in a traditional manner, with particular land belonging to particular temples. Reflecting long-standing ties between Bangli and Pura Batu Madeg, land in Bangli pays for odalan at Pura Batu Madeg and the two other temples (Pura Paninjoan and Pura Yang Aluh) under the care of the same pemangku family. Land in Karangasem funds rituals at various temples, most importantly those at

Fig. 9.4 Laba pura land belonging to Pura Besakih (1985)

Kabupaten	sawah		tegal		rituals/temples formerly (odalan)	present
	area (ha.)	%	area (ha.)	%		
Karangasem	3.600	29.2	4.925	95.8	P. Kiduling Kreteg, Pura Dalem Puri, etc.	(unchanged)
Klungkung	3.335	27.1	.215	4.2	P. Penataran Agung, P. Gelap, P. Pangubengan P. Tirtha (temples 'above the steps')	aci pangenteg jagat
Bangli	1.885	15.3	-	-	Pura Batu Madeg, Pura Paninjoan, P. Yang Aluh	(unchanged)
Gianyar	3.495	28.4	-	-	Temples 'below the steps'	aci pangurip bumi
TOTAL	12.315	100.0	5.140	100.0		

Sources:

Karangasem: Register adanja tanah plabe poera dalam Landschap Karangasem 1936 t/m 1945

(Note: the figures do not include tanah pajegan)

(Note: The Office of Sedahan Agung Kabupaten Karangasem in 1984 did not have an up-to-date listing, so the figures in Fig. 9.4 should be taken as provisional)

Klungkung : Office of Sedahan Agung Kabupaten Klungkung, document dated 1 September 1983

Bangli : Letter of former Bupati Bangli (copy in possession of pemangku of Pura Batu Madeg)

Gianyar : Office of Sedahan Agung Kabupaten Gianyar, document dated 31 January 1983

(Note: inconsistencies occur in additions of figures in original document)

Pura Kiduling Kreteg with which Karangasem has traditionally been associated, and those at Pura Dalem Puri.<6> The pemangku of the temples concerned collect the revenue in person, the sharecroppers informing them when collection can take place. Revenue from lands belonging to Pura Kiduling Kreteg are paid in kind, while those of the Pura Batu Madeg group are now paid in cash equivalents.

Prior to the 1960's temple lands in Klungkung and Gianyar also funded routine pemangku rituals. Klungkung lands funded rituals at several temples 'above the steps', for the most part Pura Penataran Agung's wuku cycle rituals, but also lunar cycle rituals there as well as at Pura Gelap, Pura Pangubengan and Pura Tirtha. Gianyar lands funded rituals at most temples 'below the steps' with the exception of Pura Dalem Puri. Revenue was collected as kind or converted to cash.<7> However, since the mid- or late 1960's, the revenue from these lands were taken over by the respective kabupaten governments to pay, or at least go towards, the cost of the large pedanda rituals for which they were made responsible: in the case of Klungkung, the aci pangenteg jagat at Pura Gelap, and in the case of Gianyar the aci pangurip bumi at Pura Ulun Kulkul. There appears to have been no official authorization at the provincial level for this change. In Gianyar, in recent years at least, the lands have been contracted out for fixed sums, the money being collected by the office of the Sedahan Agung. This money is paid over, via the kabupaten government which supplements it if necessary, to whoever is given the task of organizing the pedanda ritual.<8> In Klungkung revenue was apparently collected in kind until 1982 when the contract system was introduced there too. However, from 1 September 1983, control of the land was transferred from the Sedahan Agung's office to the Kabupaten Klungkung

branch of Parisada Hindu Dharma, together with a sizeable cash balance.

Since the pemangku rituals formerly funded by revenues from laba pura lands in Klungkung and Gianyar had no new source of funding, for at least twenty years the rituals were simply not held, save for a few paid for by individual pemangku or descent groups. Only in 1985 was it decided, rather than let the neglect of the rituals continue, to use alternative funding available from voluntary contributions (dana punia). Prior to the 1960's, then, the number of rituals funded from temple lands was much larger than it is now, totalling perhaps as many as 40.

Whereas Besakih's laba pura lands are now fairly evenly divided among four kabupatens, in the days of traditional courts when the Raja Purana texts were compiled almost all temple land was located in west Karangasem. Rather like the demise of the Prangunung Besakih, this change in locations of land-holdings reflects the change in the focus of the sanctuary from regional to island-wide. Very little indeed of current land-holdings were already in the temple's possession when these texts were compiled. Most of it was obtained probably in the colonial period; some land at least was bought with proceeds from large court-organized cockfights.<9> Judging from Karangasem data, the temple's laba pura lands have changed only in minor respects since the 1930's.

No records explain when or why lands mentioned in the Raja Purana texts ceased to belong to the temple. One possibility is that when the Dutch carried out their survey and registration of land in the mid-1920's in connection with new land tax regulations, ownership was not always determined correctly. From conversations with older

informants, it appears that a sharecropper was sometimes recorded as owner, or a traditional levy was not recorded. Land may have been sold or replaced with other land. Whatever the reasons, there is now, for instance, no land in the territory of Selat and very little in Muncan that still belongs to the temple.

Of the small number of plots mentioned in the texts, there are two areas that still belong to the temple today. Although not classified as laba pura land, these lands still pay a levy or tax (pajeg). Land of this category, tanah pajegan, does not have official status, and its survival depends on the owner/sharecropper's religious convictions and sense of obligation to Pura Besakih.

One of these parcels of tanah pajegan, land called Cangga, is located in the territory of the adat village of Tabola. The Raja Purana (RPI 11.25-12.2) calls this land "a gift from Ida Dalem to the Panataran [Pura] Batu Madeg, all the gods, including Basukihan", and categorizes it as piak bukti land requiring 10 tenah of seed. Raja Purana II (RPII:6.26-27) associates it specifically with a ceremony at Pura Batu Madeg in the fifth month (i.e. usaba wargasiram). In two undated memoranda probably from around the turn of the century, the levy is reckoned at 213 catu (532.5 kg) of rice (beras) in one case, and 243 catu (607.5 kg) in the other; in another memorandum, 14 members of Banjar Batu Madeg were required to carry the rice from Tabola.<10> According to the man who now collects the levy on behalf of Pura Batu Madeg, the levy from the land Cangga which he reckoned at about three hectare, should be a fixed number of small bundles (butus) of padi weighing one gantang or about two kilograms of pounded rice (beras). In practice, however, the levy varies with the harvest. Nowadays the pemangku of Pura Batu Madeg receives the levy as a cash

equivalent which varies between Rp.100,000 and Rp.200,000 (roughly 300-600 kg. rice). Generally he still collects the levy just prior to the usaba wargasiram.

The second example of surviving tanah pajegan is land called Lod Bukit Antap, in Macetra territory. "The [land as] support of Ida Dalem towards I Dewa Rabut Pradah, received by [Mangku] Pajengan, is called Lod Bukit Antap, and is piak bukti land, especially pramaseba, [requiring] 3.5 tenah of seed" (RPI 11.3-5). Elsewhere in the same text: "As bukti of Juru Arah [i.e. Mangku Pajengan] who bears Sang Hyang Siyem and carries Sang Hyang Rabut Pradah, is land in Macetra territory called sawah Lod Bukit Antap, [requiring] 3.5 tenah of seed" (RPI 2.7-10). In the other recension: "Ki Pajengan, [who] looks after Ra(m)but Pradah [and Sang Hyang] Siyem, has as bukti sawah kembang [in the territory of Ma]cetra, [called] Lor Pulo Antap, valued at 300 mas, [requiring] 3.5 tenah of seed" (RPII 2.14-16). The descent group called Pasek Pajengan (with the same membership as Banjar Banua Kangin) which is responsible for ceremonies at shrines honouring Rabut Pradah and Sang Hyang Siyem, still receives from this land a set levy of 12 timbang of padi (about 120 kg of rice). The same land also pays a levy to one of Selat's communal temples.<11> The continued existence of this tanah pajegan land raises the possibility that other land mentioned in the Raja Purana was of similar nature but did not survive the vicissitudes of time. The Raja Purana texts devote pages to detailed information on temple lands at that time, stressing the great importance of land as a temple resource for the funding of rituals (see Appendix F for details of temple lands in the Raja Purana).

Voluntary Contributions

Voluntary contributions have in recent years become of increasing significance to the upkeep of Pura Besakih. When an individual or family or group of worshippers come to Besakih they make contributions in one or more of several ways. The most important of these is the voluntary contribution or donation, called dana punia, made to the temple as a whole.<12> Such a gift is an act of religious merit.<13> Parisada Hindu Dharma leaders have increasingly encouraged such voluntary contributions as government constraints on its contributions became apparent, in line with changing ideas about the role of the Hindu congregation as a whole in matters of financial support. Public contributions to the upkeep of Pura Besakih have in the past been solicited for a particular purpose (e.g. the levy for the post-1917 restoration), but truly voluntary contributions are a more recent development. They formed a significant proportion of funding for both Panca Walikrama 1978 and Ekadasa Rudra 1979.<14>

In the years that followed these ceremonies, voluntary contributions were collected only during the month-long yearly enactments of Bhatara Turun Kabeh, the money raised being used for shortfalls in government funding of these ceremonies; sometimes money was left over for other purposes.<15> After Bhatara Turun Kabeh of 1985, it was decided to collect voluntary contributions all year round with the primary aim of funding those rituals, some 30 mostly wuku cycle ceremonies, which otherwise were not being held. These were the ceremonies formerly funded from proceeds of temple land located in Gianyar and Klungkung. The control over and responsibility for these voluntary contributions were left entirely in the hands of Besakih's adat council (particularly its secretary and treasurer) which had to

submit financial statements periodically to Parisada Hindu Dharma. All contributions were noted down individually, and receipts given.

The ritual experts of Prawartaka Pura Besakih (I Gusti Agung Gede Putra and his wife Ibu Mas Putra) listed the ceremonies to be funded from these voluntary contributions and fixed the expenditure for rituals according to their level of ritual elaboration. Cost was reckoned in a rice measure, timbang, equivalent to 18 kg. of milled rice (beras). A dandanan level ritual was reckoned at two timbang, a sorohan pebangkit level ritual at eight or ten timbang. Certain more elaborate ceremonies (tetabuhan usaba, usaba dalem puri, aci pacayaan) were reckoned individually. A particular individual was designated as being responsible for the preparation and performance of each ritual, payment being made in cash (Rp.300 per kg. in 1985/86) at the routine meetings of the adat council. During a one year period in 1985/86, expenditure for rituals funded from voluntary contributions amounted to about Rp.1.5 million.<16>

The usaba kapat, a pedanda ritual, is also now being funded from voluntary contributions, though (temporarily?) as a special case of an individual donating the necessary funds. This was the one pedanda ritual that for a long time had been neglected; for a few years after 1980 it was again held with whatever money could be found, and since 1985 from voluntary contributions.<17>

Government Funding

Government funding for Besakih rituals as much as anything is what makes Pura Besakih a 'state temple'. This involves the complex history of the relationship between state and temple, which in turn leads to a variety of matters such as pre-colonial ideology of

kingship and constitutional developments of the 20th century. These matters are the subject of later chapters. Here I discuss only the present-day practical aspects of government involvement with Pura Besakih, the enactment of rituals for which government is responsible.

At the present time, rituals for which government is responsible are few in number, but in terms of ritual elaboration they are the most important rituals of Besakih's festive year. Like other sources of support, these responsibilities (especially funding) have undergone a series of changes. During most of the last 30-40 years ceremonies for which government was considered responsible included all six pedanda rituals and the two largest agricultural rituals. Indeed the only ceremony of major importance not funded by the state was the usaba dalem puri. Since 1968 the four pedanda rituals of the aci nyatur were made the responsibility of four kabupaten governments. The provincial government retained responsibility for the others, above all for Bhatara Turun Kabeh; the other three (usaba kapat, usaba buluh, usaba ngeed) were neglected and rarely held, and after other sources of support were found in the early 1980's they were no longer considered the responsibility of the provincial government.

At present the four kabupaten governments that are responsible for the aci nyatur rituals fund them from different sources, enact them at different levels of ritual elaboration, and delegate the task of preparation and performance to different groups of people. Karangasem and Bangli fund the rituals for which they are responsible, aci panyeeb brahma (Pura Kiduling Kreteg) and aci panaung bayu (Pura Batu Madeg) respectively, entirely from kabupaten funds. Gianyar and Klungkung, on the other hand, fund aci pangurip gumi (Pura Ulun Kulkul) and aci pangenteg jagat (Pura Gelap) respectively largely from

the rental of laba pura land within their territories, supplemented by additional sums if necessary. Klungkung's ritual is generally prepared by Puri Klungkung, Gianyar's by an official of the Department of Religion, while Karangasem and Bangli delegate this task to the Kesra offices within the kabupaten governments.

In recent years the offerings for these four large rituals have been with few exceptions prepared by the kabupaten and then trucked to Besakih. In such cases Besakih villagers are in no way involved, with the exception, of course, of the temple pemangku who is responsible for the construction of temporary shrines and temple decorations.

Bhatara Turun Kabeh, the great yearly ceremony for which the provincial government is most closely involved, is an enormous affair that requires coordinated support from various levels of society. This is well illustrated in the details of its funding and the organization of the work of its preparation and performance.

Bhatara Turun Kabeh

In terms of ritual elaboration, the difference between a typical pemangku ritual of dandangan or sorohan pebangkit level and a great extended pedanda festival like Bhatara Turun Kabeh (BTK) is truly enormous. A comparison of the amounts of certain key raw materials (Fig. 9.5) is enough in itself to demonstrate this; it is more than ten times the size of even the very largest of the pemangku rituals. In terms of offerings, the contrast is even more striking. By one reckoning, BTK requires 1 catur niri, 11 catur rebah, 45 large suci tibaro, 312 medium-sized suci bungkulan, 322 of the small suci punggelan, 35 pebangkit, 18 dewa-dewi, 15 eteh-eteh panglukatan and three of the larger eteh-eteh padudusan, plus hundreds of chickens and

Fig. 9.5 Material Requirements for offering groups and select rituals

1 commodity	2 dandanan	3 sorohan pebangkit gelarsanga	4 usaba buluh	5 usaba dalem puri	6 usaba ngeed	7 Bhatara Turun Kabeh 1977	8 1985	9 Panca Walikrama 1978
rice/beras (kg)	25	50	150	200	300	3200	7300	
rice/ketan (kg)	5	10	20	50	50	100		
rice/injin (kg)		2	5	5	10			
coconuts	16	30	50	75	150	1974	2549	3882
eggs	16	30	36	50	82	2070	2734	7074
bananas	250	500	400	500	1000			
chickens	7	12	20	16	46	412	467	705
ducks	2	5	5	7	16	353	563	1101
pigs	1	1	1	2	3	36	25	80
palm leaf (bundles)	2	4	6	10	8			
cooking oil (bottles)	2	8	10	25	25			
firewood (bundles)	10	25	25	50	50	450		

Sources: 1-6. Klihan Desa Adat Besakih (document dated 18 July 1979)

7. Parisada Hindu Dharma document dated April 1977

8. Prawartaka Pura Besakih (Seksi Upacara) document dated 5 April 1985

9. Parisada Hindu Dharma document 2A/Upek/XII/PHDP/1978 dated 11 Dec.1978

Note: The difference between the figures for Bhatara Turun Kabeh illustrates the inexactness of such figures, but the general picture is clear enough.

ducks, three dozen pigs, and at least two (but as many as five) buffalo. People have to prepare this enormous amount of offerings as well as prepare all manner of other ritual requirements, and these people have to be fed. It is hardly surprising then that BTK costs so much money and requires efficient organization to ensure its success.

Most of the finance for BTK comes from government. The provincial government contributes one half of the estimated cost, while the eight kabupaten governments together contribute the other half. The two rich kabupatens of Badung and Buleleng contribute more than the others, in proportion to their much larger incomes. Donations in cash and kind supplement government funding.

Since 1968 when the provincial government handed over what might be termed 'management authority', Parisada Hindu Dharma, through its specially created 'temple management authority' known as Prawartaka Pura Besakih, has been responsible for the enactment of BTK. Since that time the ritual aspects of the festival have been almost entirely in the hands of two members of the Prawartaka's 'Ceremonies Section' (Seksi Upacara), I Gusti Agung Gede Putra and his wife Ny. I Gusti Agung Mas Putra. The Secretary-General of Parisada Hindu Dharma (I Wayan Surpha at time of fieldwork) also plays an important role.

The preparation of BTK is a cooperative effort between the temple management authority Prawartaka and its parent Parisada Hindu Dharma acting on behalf of the state or government (guru wisesa) and the adat village of Besakih whose duty it is to serve the gods and assist in preparation of rituals. The way these two bodies work together is a delicate matter depending on the personalities of those involved and the experience they have in organizing a great festival. At times in the past, those representing the state have left the adat village to

run things, supporting and assisting where necessary. At the present time, leadership is largely in the hands of the Parisada representatives. The present 'team' has worked together for many years. From Parisada is Ny I Gusti Agung Mas Putra, an efficient organizer who has been involved with the festival since 1968. Even before preparations get underway, she visits frequently to discuss everything with the village leaders, and for the final week before the main day virtually lives at the temple. With the experience of many years of 'running' BTK, she has learned precisely what is necessary and now follows a well-tested plan of action. Organizing the village side of the effort are the leading officials of the adat council (the Body of 40), the klihan and his deputy, and especially the village secretary (I Gusti Ngurah Jelantik) and the treasurer (I Wayan Anut) who are in charge at Besakih of all expenditures and purchases made there.

At Besakih, the centre of operations and preparations is the temple kitchen called Suci, located at one corner of Pura Penataran Agung where BTK is held. Suci consists of an inner section devoted to the preparation of offerings (the brahmana offering experts work here), and an outer section where a variety of 'secular' activities takes place and which serves as a sort of command post.

The length of time available for preparation depends largely on the availability of funds, for although BTK and other pedanda rituals are routine annual festivals, government funds are sometimes only made available at the last minute.<18> Prior to the commencement of preparations Parisada representatives hand out seed money to the village authorities to begin purchasing the necessary raw materials at the big Klungkung market whose merchants specializing in ritual

requirements can provide large numbers of such items as palm-leaf containers and earthenware vessels of various shapes and sizes. Parisada itself purchases in the provincial capital of Denpasar such bulk items as rice and certain other commodities.

At the minimum, preparations begin about 12 days before the main day, as in 1984, but sometimes as long as 18 days, as in 1983. The villagers prefer a longer period, though it makes little difference at to the labour requirements necessary. For the shorter period, the labour force has to be that much larger. All labour requirements, save for special technical assistance, is provided by the village. In recent times the adat village authorities has found it easier and more practical to rely upon a restricted group of experienced helpers rather than upon the total membership of the adat village. Traditionally, the banjar, on a rotation basis, provided labour, but the problem and extra cost of feeding large numbers has resulted in this rotation system being replaced. The main advantage of the traditional system was that all members of the adat village were involved in some way with the preparations for BTK, whereas now most families merely attend the festival and just bring along their own offerings like any other worshipper from any other village in Bali.

In the system preferred now, the core of the body of skilled and experienced helpers is the forty members of the adat village council together with their wives (or other female counterpart such as a sister). This council includes all the official pemangku who, of course, are duty bound to assist, and the leading officials of all eight banjar who represent the adat village membership as a whole. Supplementing this group of forty men and forty women, are a number of women who are considered experts in making offerings, including the

recognized leader of the local Besakih offering women, Mangku Ngales, as well as a few extra men. If time of preparation is short, a greater number of additional helpers is required. The village secretary keeps a record of how many days each person helps, for rather than receive meals which would require additional kitchen staff, each helper at the end of the festival receives instead a rice ration of two kilogram a day, but only for those days of preparation until the gods descend (nedunang bhatara), which is two or three days before the main day. It is these records that provide the figures in Figure 9.6.

Fig. 9.6 Labour requirements provided by the adat village of Besakih during preparations for Bhatara Turun Kabeh (in person/days)

	1983	1984
Reimbursed labour:		
members of village council (+ wives)	971.5 (73%)	840 (63%)
other helpers	357.5 (27%)	500 (37%)
Sub-total	1329 (100%)	1340 (100%)
Free labour (approx)	330	268
Total	1659	1608

(Note: Periods of reimbursed labour amounted to 15 days in 1983 and 10 days in 1984, while that of free labour amounted to 3 days in 1983 and 2 days in 1984. These figures cover the period of preparation up to but not including the main day of celebration.)

In addition to the labour resources of the adat village of Besakih, which is limited in scope, Parisada arranges any technical assistance that the village cannot provide. In effect, this means the assistance of offering experts to prepare all the special offerings for the pedanda rituals. Each year three teams of offering experts, each led by an experienced pedanda istri, prepare these offerings under the direction of the Parisada representative (Ny I Gusti Agung

Mas Putra). The eight kabupatens together with the provincial authority are grouped into three groups of three, which take turns in providing these teams. Teams vary in size from three to seven women, but together average about 15 women. The teams arrive after preparations have begun, usually nine to ten days before the main day. Over this period these brahmana offering experts contribute roughly 150 days of labour. Meals are provided.

Besides the village workers and the brahmana offering women, the two main groups of people involved in the preparation of BTK, other groups and organizations offer their services (ngayah as they say). In recent years students from the tertiary level Institut Hindu Dharma have been required to help. With the adat village contributing some 1600 days of labour, the brahmana offering women another 150 days of labour, and other people offering their labour, the total labour requirements for BTK is probably not much under 2000 days of labour.

Bhatara Turun Kabeh, always the most important ritual in Besakih's yearly cycle, has come to dominate the cycle in terms of ritual elaboration. This befits its paramount position in a centre-focussed classification system. Even assuming the cost of this ritual in the colonial period are on the low side since many requirements were contributed without payment, nevertheless an explanation is required for the quantum leap in cost of BTK, at least since the 1970's. In 1935 its cost was the same as other pedanda rituals, f.100 (6.36%) out of total ritual costs of f.1572; the 1940 estimate had risen to f.273 (17.28%) as against total costs in 1939 of f.1579. By the 1970's the cost of BTK was measured in millions, but a rough comparison in terms of rice equivalents indicates that 1970's costs were five times or more the cost of the 1940 ceremony.<19>

The main reason for this rise in cost is an increased level of elaboration, due less to the level of elaboration of core rituals than to the addition of supplementary rituals. BTK (average level) requires 19 sulinggih appearances in 16 rituals, all but one being a pedanda. Eight of these appearances (in eight rituals) are at supplementary rituals held at eight major temples at the same time as the core ceremony at Pura Penataran Agung. These additional ceremonies, not held prior to the 1970's, add a significant number of offerings to overall requirements. One explanation for holding these supplementary rituals likens them to the Balinese custom of sending food to the home of an important guest who is invited to attend the main event. If people are so honoured, even more so must be the gods.

Conclusion

The enactment of rituals at Besakih's public temples is made possible through a complex arrangement of sources of support and funding. Each source supports a set of rituals. Ritual cycles have histories and we know that some ceremonies have been abandoned and forgotten. Despite changing details in these arrangements and despite neglect of some ceremonies at times, Besakih's rituals have survived the vicissitudes of the past century without drastic change. Recent years have even seen the revival of rituals long neglected, for Hindu (Parisada) leaders, rather than simplify ritual, have endeavoured to enact Besakih rituals in a full and proper manner befitting the religion's holiest shrine. Where funding was lacking, new sources of support have been sought and developed. Under Parisada the annual Bhatara Turun Kabeh has become even more elaborate, and although

having little to do with Ekadasa Rudra 1963, Parisada was directly involved with Panca Walikrama 1978 and Ekadasa Rudra 1979. The increasing national role of Hinduism has made Besakih, Bali's paramount temple, into the nation's paramount temple. How better to uphold and strengthen this status than through physical renovation and enactment of grand ritual.

Throughout the centuries, enactment of Besakih's rituals has been made possible only through cooperation between the island's political authority (court or provincial government) and the adat village of Besakih. The history of the relationship between temple and political authority is the subject of the following chapters.

CHAPTER 10

TEMPLE AND STATE (1): THE PERIOD OF TRADITIONAL COURTS

Introduction

The influence of the state on the affairs of Pura Besakih has been a constant presence. Through the ages, the wielder of political authority has directly or indirectly contributed towards both the physical maintenance of Pura Besakih and the enactment of its rituals. Such involvement in the enactment of ritual is the minimum requirement for a temple to be considered a 'state temple'. Balinese tradition often refers to the ruler as guru wisesa ('teacher of power') or sang amawa/angawa rat ('the one who carries/commands the world'). These expressions span the history of the state in Bali, and may be found in memoranda of the traditional courts and documents of the republican period.

The relationship between temple and state has changed as the nature of the state in Bali has itself changed, from the kingdoms of pre-Majapahit Bali, to the traditional courts of Gelgel and Klungkung, to incorporation as part of the Dutch colonial empire, the Netherland Indies, and then as part of the independent Republic of Indonesia. Throughout the centuries, the relationship between sang amawa rat and Pura Besakih has been adapted to changing circumstances. The history of this relationship is characterized by evolution rather than disruption, even though the history of the state is often one of

disruption and conquest. Physically neglected at times, Pura Besakih was never abandoned, and the ideology of hierarchy supported the need for a paramount temple to mark the pinnacle of hierarchy and of centre-focussed classifications. State support for Pura Besakih has taken place in the context of an ideology linking temple and state. The changing nature of this ideology, from one based on (Hindu) kingship to one based on legal/constitutional considerations, is the main subject examined in this and the following chapter.

The phases of development of the history of the state in Bali provide the obvious framework for the analysis of the relationship between state and temple. I have divided this history into two major periods: the period of traditional courts (until the 19th century) and the 20th century. The period of traditional courts I have further divided into Legendary Beginnings (Pre-Majapahit Bali), the Majapahit Connection, and the Courts of Gelgel and Klungkung. The 20th century I have divided into the Dutch colonial era and the Republican period. An analysis of this relationship between temple and state could easily become a vast undertaking in itself, especially since there is no satisfactory study of the history of the state in Bali, nor even of the state in any one phase of its development. Much of importance must needs be left unconsidered.

LEGENDARY BEGINNINGS (PRE-MAJAPAHIT PERIOD)

There is not one but several legends that tell of Pura Besakih in ancient days. These stories take place in an ancient time lacking in chronology since Balinese conceive of Besakih as being a place of the greatest antiquity. However, at the present time, the legends of Kulputih, of Dalem Kesari, of Markandeya, of Kuturan, coexist in a manner that reflects not only traditional Balinese attitudes towards the past, but also the impact of western concepts of history. To what extent the legends coexisted in the past is difficult to discover, for little is known of their distribution in time and place. Judging from the textual tradition, the legends of Markandeya and of Dalem Kesari were restricted in distribution and probably only entered 'mainstream' Balinese tradition early this century. On the other hand, the stories of Kulputih and of Kuturan are episodes within the Usana Bali, of all Balinese 'historical' texts probably the one best known to a wide audience. To Balinese, Kuturan was fixed in time (though they gave no date) through his relationship to Mpu Bradah and to Airlangga, whereas Kulputih was a figure of indeterminate antiquity who welcomed new gods to Besakih.

For fifty years at least, Balinese attitudes towards the past and their conceptions of history have been affected by western ideas about history, both in a general sense and through the particular writings of western and Indonesian scholars. Changing attitudes among educated Balinese have become even more prominent in recent decades. To these people, the legends no longer merely coexist in a timeless past but are fitted into a chronological framework. Whereas a western scholar might take these stories as legend and treat them with due caution,

most Balinese still believe they reflect actual happenings. Through this rearrangement of legends as influenced by western concepts of history, Balinese have developed a different image of the past. For example, the legend of Markandeya, attributed to a period prior to the earliest inscriptions, has become the currently accepted myth of origin not only of Besakih but of Hinduism in Bali. Dalem Kesari has been linked with a key historical figure of the 10th century. Kuturan has become the great priest of early Balinese history. Only Kulputih has been left somewhat in limbo.<1>

Interestingly, such traditions focus little on the temple's relations with the state and its rulers, but emphasizes instead its relationship with the great priests of Balinese history. The presence of such illustrious priests legitimize Besakih's paramount status as the single most important Hindu sanctuary in Bali. The legend of Rsi Markandeya goes one step further and legitimizes it as the earliest Hindu sanctuary in Bali.

Rsi Markandeya

Rsi Markandeya, like Rsi Agastya, is one of the great legendary rsi of the Hindu tradition (Dowson 1950:203-4; Walker 1968:I.607,II.257). A brahmana, son of Rsi Mrkanda, remarkable for his longevity, Rsi Markandeya is the protagonist of the famous myth in the Mahabharata's Book of the Forest in which he enters Wisnu's mouth and within sees the whole world.<2> He is the reputed author of the Markandeya Purana which contains the Dewimahatmya and its story of Durgamahisasuramardini, well known in ancient Java and Bali, judging from the great number of statues of Durga in this manifestation. Like Rsi Agastya, Rsi Markandeya or a holy man bearing this name makes his

appearance in the Hindu traditions of Sunda, Java and Bali, where he is famous for his austerities on sacred mountains, especially Mt. Damalung (the old name of Mt. Merbabu) and Di Hyang (Dieng), both in central Java.<3> In the Balinese tradition the geographical spread of his activities is extended first to Mt. Raung in East Java, then to Gunung Agung in Bali.

In the Balinese legend, Rsi Markandeya is said to have originated from India. After his arrival in Java he performed yoga first on Mt Damalung, then moved to Di Hyang, and subsequently to Mt Raung in East Java. There he received divine inspiration that he should lead his followers to Bali and settle there. He did so, with a contingent of 8000 followers who began to clear the forest, but, it is said, he failed to perform the necessary rituals and his followers suffered illness and death and were attacked by wild beasts. Forced to give up his enterprise, he returned to Mt Raung. Later, returning again to his enterprise, he led a second contingent of 4000 followers, Aga people from the area of Mt Raung. This time on arrival he performed the necessary rituals, asking for God's protection. At the spot where they began clearing the forest, Rsi Markandeya buried a pot of water containing the pancadatu, the five elements: gold, silver, iron, copper, bronze, together with a precious jewel.<4> This spot was given the name Basuki, because once this ritual was performed his enterprise prospered (basuki is said to mean 'prosperity'). The spot where, felling the forest completed, the cleared land was divided became known as Puakan ('division'). Rsi Markandeya's place of meditation was called Payogan. His residence was called Sarwa Ada which subsequently became Taro. Later he moved a little to the west and settled at Murwa ('beginning').<5>

This legend seems not to have been widely known in Bali until quite recently. It is found in none of the classic legendary accounts of early Bali, such as the Usana Bali. As far as I have been able to discover, there is no reference to the legend in any form prior to the publication by Korn of a version that differs in crucial respects from the standard version, most notably in not mentioning the Basuki episode.<6> I have traced back the standard version only as far as 1943 when it appeared in an Indonesian retelling, based, it was said, on the lontar text Medang Kamulan and others (Bali Shimbun Th.II no.181). After years of searching I have yet to find a lontar of the Markandeya legend; the first and only Balinese text was published in 1979.<7> Since the legend has no antiquity in the lontar tradition, it most probably began as a local oral legend, possibly in the region of Taro, and only as late as the 1930's and 40's was absorbed into mainstream Balinese 'history'. Now it is regarded in Bali as an historical account of the earliest Hindu influence to come to Bali, prior to the time of the first inscription (dated 882) which already shows Hindu influence. Archaeological and other data demonstrate the existence of close contacts between Central Java and Bali around the 9th century. It is guesswork really to try to attach a date to Rsi Markandeya, even accepting his historicity.<8> The legend, anyway, to make its point, sets the events in a time when Bali was completely forested and without inhabitants.

Perhaps contributing to the widespread appeal of the legend is the episode of the foundation ritual at Basuki, the old name for Besakih. More specifically, the sacred site Basuki is identified with Pura Basukihan, the temple that the villagers called their puseh, their 'origin'. This identification makes Besakih the very first

place in Bali where a Hindu ritual was performed, and so the legend serves as a charter of Besakih's status as the oldest and paramount centre of Hindu worship in Bali. The ancient relationship between Taro and Besakih that is recounted in the legend received ritual reification when the god of Pura Agung Gunung Raung (Taro) attended the Ekadasa Rudra festival at Besakih in 1979.

Sri Kesari Warmadewa

Sri Kesari Warmadewa, the first ruler of Bali whose name is known, reappeared on the pages of history on the discovery in 1932 of the pillar inscription of Belanjong (Sanur), dated 914 A.D. <9> Two other pillar inscriptions of this king were later found at Panempahan and Malat Gede, both near Tampaksiring (Sukarto 1977a). Sri Kesari Warmadewa, the founder of the Warmadewa dynasty which ruled Bali for several centuries under such famous rulers as Udayana, is frequently identified with a legendary ruler called Sri Wira Dalem Kesari whom tradition has credited as the first great builder of the Besakih temples. This assumed identification has become enshrined in current Balinese historical writing and received official recognition with the naming of the new public meeting hall at Besakih as the Kesari Warmadewa Mandapa. It links Bali's paramount sanctuary with the founder of the first great Balinese dynasty, and thus makes Pura Besakih a state temple almost from its inception. However, the identification of these two rulers, one historical and one legendary, is based solely on the similarity of names, and must be regarded as unproven and rather doubtful since aspects of the Sri Wira Dalem Kesari tradition suggest a connection with the 12th century Jaya dynasty.

Udayana and the court priests Mpu Kuturan and Mpu Bradah

The rule of Sri Kesari Warmadewa's illustrious descendant and eventual successor, Dharmodayana Warmadewa, is a very important period in Balinese history. Udayana married the East Javanese princess Mahendradatta or Gunapriya Dharmapatni, great-granddaughter of Sindok, in a marriage alliance that brought with it strong Javanese influence. It was during their joint rule that Old Javanese, as an official court language, first appeared in state edicts. Their joint edicts date from 989 to 1001. Subsequently, in 1011 Udayana issued an edict in his name alone. It is assumed that Mahendradatta died about 1001, or soon after. Six years later, in 1007, the final post-cremation ritual of the late queen took place, when the temple dedicated to her in her mystical incorporation with Durga Mahisasuramardini was consecrated at Dharma (Buruan). This date, or rather its equivalent in the Saka era, 929, represented by its candrasengkala lawang (ang)apit lawang, is well known in Bali's textual tradition. One finds it, for example, in 'popular' compendiums of memorable dates collected under the title of Babad Gumi or Bumi (e.g. Korn Coll. no.232:12). One finds it also in both recensions of the Raja Purana, and in two late inscriptions, one from Besakih (the so-called Bradah inscription) and one from Selat, that are included within one or other of the Raja Purana recensions. The date Saka 929 appears at the end of major passages, but with no further explanation whatsoever, no reference to Dharma Buruan.<10> Goris suggested that the citing of this date in these texts meant that Besakih was associated with the event of that year. Although there is no supporting evidence for this interpretation, other data relate to this period.

Contemporary with Udayana and his son Airlangga were two brahmana

priests of prestigious stature, Mpu Kuturan and Mpu Bradah.<11> In their respective roles in the structure of political authority in Java and Bali, both were highly influential, marking what might even be claimed as the high point of brahmanic influence over state affairs. Mpu Bradah was court priest of Airlangga and famous above all for the ritual division of Java into two parts. Mpu Kuturan is perhaps the greatest of Bali's culture heroes, to whom is credited the introduction of key elements of adat and religious practice (such as the adat village's 'three sanctuaries' system). In inscriptions of the period Kuturan holds the position of senapati, and subsequently Senapati Kuturan became a title in its own right, held by a succession of court appointees. Perhaps it was an office dealing with adat and religious affairs, but it means one must be very cautious in attributing everything to the first and famous Mpu Kuturan.

In Bali Mpu Kuturan and Mpu Bradah are considered elder and younger brothers. They are linked together in a well-known Balinese legend (Soewito Santoso 1974, Susrama 1956). Airlangga, ruler of Java, wished to settle the matter of the royal succession between his two sons by having one become ruler in Bali and the other inherit Java. In connection with this, he sent his court priest Mpu Bradah on a mission to Bali where, at Silayukti (Padang), he tried to persuade the influential prelate Mpu Kuturan to support the plan. The mission failed: Bali remained under Balinese princes favoured by Mpu Kuturan, while Java was divided into two, one part for each of Airlangga's two sons. Since Airlangga lived till 1042, this event would seem to be quite separate from that of 1007, though many of the protagonists were the same.

The lives and deeds of both Mpu Kuturan and Mpu Bradah impinge on

the story of Besakih. Mpu Bradah was honoured by having an inscription named after him, and in having shrines in Merajan Kanginan and Pura Penataran Agung dedicated to him. Merajan Kanginan is considered his family place of worship, the implication being that he must have stayed at Besakih at some time.<12>

Mpu Kuturan is traditionally associated with Pura Paninjoan, as the high point from which he surveyed the Besakih area in connection with a building program of which he was master-planner and architect. Lontar texts say that Mpu Kuturan built the meru at Besakih.<13> There is no doubt that the introduction of the meru at Besakih marked a very significant phase in its development, but whether Mpu Kuturan was involved is highly problematic.<14>

In the Pasek tradition, Mpu Kuturan and Mpu Bradah are two of five brothers, the others being Mpu Genijaya, Mpu Sumeru and Mpu Gana. Mpu Sumeru is said to have arrived in Bali early in the year 1000 (8th month Saka 921), and subsequently took up residence at Besakih in the role of priestly custodian of the sanctuary of Bhatara Putrajaya (Pura Penataran Agung). His residence is now marked by the temple Pura Ratu Pasek. Mpu Genijaya resided at Lempuyang, while Mpu Gana settle at Gelgel and is considered the founder of Pura Dasar Gelgel (Soebandi 1982:35-36, Subaga 1970, Sugriwa 1957). There is no independent confirmation of this Pasek tradition.

The 'Jaya' dynasty of the 12th Century

In a tradition found in several lontars, Sri Wira Dalem Kesari was the (first) great builder of the Besakih temples, Pura Penataran Agung and Pura Dalem Puri among them. A descendant of the noble clan Wisnuwangsa from Daha (East Java), he came to Bali and became ruler

there with his residence at Kahuripan in the Besakih area. His family-temple (pamrajan) was the Merajan Slonding. He also built the temples of the Sadkahyangan. He was succeeded by Sri Jayakasunu. So runs the tradition.<15>

These texts cannot be dated, but it should be noted that all cite as source the Raja Purana, though the Raja Purana of Pura Besakih does not mention Sri Wira Dalem Kesari. The tradition is also known at Besakih (perhaps it originated from there) where the remains of an ancient structure near Pura Ulun Kulkul and quite close to Merajan Slonding, is believed to be the residence of Sri Wira Dalem Kesari.<16>

As mentioned, Sri Wira Dalem Kesari is now commonly identified with the 10th century ruler Sri Kesari Warmadewa, an identification that the evidence, save for the similarity of names, does not support. The name Kesari is an epithet of Kresna, himself an avatar of the god Wisnu.<17> In Old Javanese history Kresna was of greatest importance during the Kadiri period (12th century) when Wisnuism was particularly prominent. Sri Wira Dalem Kesari is himself said to be a descendant of the Wisnuwangsa clan, a term in Bali generally applied to the descendants of king Airlangga, from whom the Kadiri rulers traced their ancestry. The place-name Daha in fact refers to Kadiri.

The tradition adds that Sri Wira Dalem Kesari was succeeded by Sri Jayakasunu, well known in the Balinese lontar tradition but not mentioned in inscriptions. He is the subject of an important text called 'Sri Aji Jayakasunu' after him, or 'Pitatur Bhatari Durga' after the goddess who revealed to him that the reason previous rulers were short-lived was that they had ceased to celebrate the feast day of Galungan. The goddess revealed to him the correct rituals to be

performed on that day as well as details of various lunar purificatory rites, including Ekadasa Rudra which was deemed necessary should certain disasters befall mankind. This revelation took place at the cemetery of Gandamayu, which, although the texts do not mention it, has traditionally been identified with Besakih's Pura Dalem Puri, a sanctuary dedicated to Bhatari Durga.<18>

The identity of Sri Jayakasunu has led to much speculation and various theories, but the evidence available is simply too scanty and full of contradictions to allow of a definitive solution. From the evidence of their edicts, in the 12th century there ruled in Bali a series of kings with the element Jaya in their names: Jayasakti (1131-1150), Ragajaya (1155), Jayapangus (1177-1181), and Ekajaya-Lancana (1200), which for convenience I shall refer to as the 'Jaya' dynasty.<19> The resemblance of the names of these Balinese rulers and those of contemporary Kadiri kings of Java suggest some sort of relationship between the two dynasties (Sukarto 1977:40-5). This suggestion is supported not only by the Sri Wira Dalem Kesari tradition but also by the so-called Sading C inscription in which Jayasakti is said to have come to Bali on the instructions of his father. The similarity of these two traditions has even led to the hypothesis that Sri Wira Dalem Kesari is another name for Jayasakti.<20> If this be so, Jayakasunu who is said to have succeeded Sri Wira Dalem Kesari might be identified with Ragajaya. The Usana Bali says that Jayakasunu was himself succeeded by Jayapangus, which would support this view. Varying interpretations of the Jayakasunu text, however, have led to differences of opinions as to whether Jayakasunu was responsible for starting the Galungan feast or whether he merely revived it after it had fallen into abeyance. The latter

interpretation led one scholar to identify Jayakasunu with Sri Walajaya Tarunajaya whose edicts date between 1324 and 1328)(Ginarsa 1957:17; wala, taruna and kasunu are all related in meaning). Galungan itself, according to one view, was introduced into Bali from Kadiri-period Java, or at least developed from a tradition known there.<21>

Despite the problems inherent in trying to interpret such legendary traditions as those of Sri Wira Dalem Kesari and Sri Jayakasunu, these traditions do suggest a relationship between the 12th century Jaya dynasty and the temple complex of Besakih, in particular Pura Dalem Puri. This hypothesis, assuming it is true, would seem to have a bearing on the position of Pura Dalem Puri in the 15th century inscriptions of Besakih and in later times. Concerning Jayakasunu, it may be more than mere coincidence that the meaning of this name is the same as that of Putrajaya, one of the epithets of the god of Gunung Agung; both names mean 'Son of Victory' (IHD 1984, Pura Dalem Puri:7). Also suggesting that something was taking place at Besakih in the 12th century are the four ancient statues housed in Pura Penataran Agung's shrine to Ratu Surya-Candra (Siwa-Buddha), that are believed to date from that period.<22>

None of the fifty or so surviving inscriptions issued by the rulers of the Jaya dynasty mentions Besakih or Basuki, its 15th century name.<23> Several inscriptions, however -- those of Basanghara and Udanapatya (Pemuteran area), of Daya, and of Selat, issued by Jayapangus in 1181 -- relate to other old core villages of the west Karangasem region and give some idea of government and administration of that period.<24>

Conclusion

The purpose of the legends is not to tell Besakih's history but to authenticate traditions associated with it. Some of the traditions may indeed be very old. Others, perhaps all, are interpretations or elaborations or even recreations of the past, possibly at the time Besakih became an important state temple of the Gelgel court, but more likely at the time in the early Klungkung period when the relationship of Gelgel to Majapahit was imbued with a new significance and identity. The story of Markandeya have have undergone elaboration in quite recent times.

To use these legends in an attempt to discover the temple's history is an endeavour fraught with danger. Goris attempted it and Balinese have followed in his footsteps. Although the legends do mention a number of known historical persons from the pre-Majapahit period, from the viewpoint of western historiography, these traditional data are not wholly convincing, and besides, there are thorny problems of interpretation. The result, though, tells us very little, for certain, about Pura Besakih, and even less about its relationship with contemporary courts. Another approach, however, considers the existence of the adat village of Besakih rather than the temples.

The comparative study of the west Karangasem region's adat villages and temples supports the view that Besakih is one of the old core villages, predating the Majapahit period. It was probably much like the other old core villages except in one important respect, and that was that a temple located there was recognized in the extra-village sphere as the sanctuary par excellence for honouring the deity of Gunung Agung. No other sanctuaries challenge this claim, and

from the importance of mountain sanctuaries generally, it is hardly conceivable that Gunung Agung did not also have one. Although unrivalled as the main sanctuary of Gunung Agung, Pura Besakih was not necessarily the most important mountain temple at this time. Pura Panulisan, near Kintamani, probably has the stronger claim, especially considering its favourable geographical location in relation to Pejeng or Bedahulu, the former capital. Since courts supported regional temples, it is possible that early rulers were involved to some extent with Pura Besakih. Whether Besakih played any role in the ideology or practice of kingship is not known.

Although the antiquity of the village is likely, the association of its main sanctuary honouring the god of Gunung Agung with states of the pre-Majapahit period, if such an association there was, has left only traces in the legendary record.

BESAKIH IN THE ERA OF TRADITIONAL STATES (14-19th Centuries)

The 15th Century Edicts: the Majapahit Connection

According to the great Majapahit-period panegyric poem, the Nagarakretagama, Majapahit forces under the famous patih Gajah Mada conquered Bali in 1343.<25> The campaigns, described in works such as the Usana Jawa, ended with the sacking of Bedulu (Bedahulu), and the death of the Balinese king.<26> Patih Gajah Mada, in overall control, was assisted by a number of Majapahit nobles (arya) in command of troops, who were stationed at strategic villages. The Balinese had not everywhere capitulated, and the population of the mountainous central and eastern parts continued to oppose what they must have

considered the occupying forces of Majapahit. After Gajah Mada's return to Java, lack of strong central leadership aggravated the situation, and so to improve security and strengthen their position the Majapahit authorities appointed Dalem Kresna Kapakisan as ruler of Bali under Majapahit suzerainty. The new ruler set up his capital at Samprangan, some ten kilometres southeast of the former capital, around the year 1350, according to 'traditional' dates. Born into a brahmana family, Dalem Kresna Kapakisan took the status of ksatria following his appointment; the royal clan descended from him is called the ksatria dalem. He was succeeded by Dalem Samprangan, the eldest of his three sons. Dalem Samprangan proved such a vain and weak ruler that powerful nobles persuaded his youngest brother, Dalem Ketut Ngulesir (Dalem Smara Kapakisan) to become ruler in his stead. The court and capital was moved to Gelgel, where Dalem Ketut Ngulesir ruled from about 1380 till 1460, the first of the Gelgel rulers. He was succeeded by Dalem Baturenggong. Gelgel remained the capital till the end of the 17th century.

This, briefly, is the account of Dalem Kresna Kapakisan and his successors as told at length in the court chronicle Babad Dalem.<27> The interpretation of this important text is fraught with difficulties; it is particularly difficult to determine to what extent it approaches historical realities and to what extent it is a later (18th century) creation.<28> Furthermore, the chronology of this period is highly problematic, and 'traditional' dates in modern Balinese histories should be viewed with great caution.<29>

That Majapahit did conquer Bali in the middle of the 14th century is not open to doubt. Indeed, Majapahit continued to exercise some degree of political authority long after the conquest as shown by

inscriptions dated 1384 and 1398 that were issued in the name of, or associated with, Wijaya Rajasa, prince of Wengker, and uncle of Hayam Wuruk (Goris 1954:I.45-46). How long Majapahit exercised its authority is difficult to answer, but evidence suggests that it continued to do so until the middle of the 15th century.<30> This evidence is derived from two inscriptions or edicts that deal specifically with Basuki, as Besakih was then called, and which are still kept there.

The edicts, written on large wooden rectangular panels, are honoured as the sacred god-symbols (pratima) of Pura Penataran Agung. They are stored in the kehen building, being brought out, wrapped in white cloth, only once a year at the Bhatara Turun Kabeh festival. Because of their sacredness, they have only very rarely been unwrapped and examined.<31> Each inscription consists of 12 lines of writing filling most of the panel, while in a narrow band down the left-hand side is a painted design of an elephant whose significance is obscure.<32>

The text of each inscription is written in a script typical of the mid-15th century; "though not substantially different from Old Javanese, it [the script] has a few stylistic features that seem confined to Bali" (Casparis, pers.comm.).<33> The language of the edicts is Old Javanese, but whether there are features here indicating Balinese influence is not yet certain.<34> The date of each edict occurs at the end of the last line and consists only of the Saka year (Saka 1366/AD 1444, Saka 1380/AD 1458). The two texts are very similar, but the reason for issuing the second edict only 14 years after the first, with relatively minor variation in the wording, is no longer known. One possibility is that there was a change of ruler



Pl.10 Besakih edict of the year 1444
(photo: I Gusti Putu Astika, Besakih)

during this interval, but since the edicts do not mention the issuing authority, this possibility must remain conjectural. According to chronology currently accepted by Balinese, both edicts were promulgated during the reign of Dalem Ketut Ngulesir.

Both inscriptions declare that the village of hulundang at Basuki (Besakih) to be a 'prohibited' or 'forbidden' village (desa hilahila) to everyone throughout the land. The term hulundang may simply mean 'servants of (hulu-n) the deity/spirit (dang)', i.e. the villagers who serve the deity, or, less likely, refers to a kind of monk.<35> The deity who is honoured at Basuki is called Sang Kasuhun Kidul, 'the One who is honoured in the south'. This deity should probably be identified with that of Pura Dalem Puri, who in the Raja Purana is called I Dewa Kidul, now identified with Bhatari Durga. The edicts seem to confirm the special status that this deity once enjoyed at Besakih. A possible relationship with the Ratu Kidul of Javanese belief remains to be explored.<36> The only other possibility is that Sang Kasuhun Kidul refers to Brahma, the Lord of the South in the pancadewata system, a view that finds some supporting evidence from Java where the gods of the volcanoes (Bromo/Brahma, Kelut/Kampud) were identified with Brahma as god of fire.<37>

The edicts state that Basuki's status as a 'forbidden' village must be honoured by all the people of Bali and by the officials called mancanagara, upapati, atuqu lawangan, as well as the adipati. Adipati is typically the title of the highest official of a region under Majapahit suzerainty; the Babad Dalem (K.1252:3.16, etc) uses it in reference to Ida Dalem, the ruler of Bali. This suggests that in the mid-15th century Bali still recognized Majapahit suzerainty, though perhaps only in a ritual sense. The status of 'forbidden' village

meant that no-one, not even the highest official in the realm, could take possession of land within the village (boundaries are not cited), nor take its products (rattan and sulphur, the latter obtained only at the crater) or its livestock. The servants of the deity are freed of the obligation to provide food and drink to guests, and are exempt from paying tribute and land tax and from providing corvee labour. Should anyone disregard the pronouncement as set down in the edict, they are sure to suffer the consequences which are, however, not spelled out in detail. Such, in brief, are the contents of the edicts.

That the decades around the middle of the 15th century was a time when Besakih affairs received much attention is suggested also by passages in the Raja Purana II that mentions the dates Saka 1383/AD 1461 (RPII:12.19,13.18; cf.K.955:14b) and Saka 1393/AD 1471 (RPII:2.29). The 1461 date occurs twice, at the end of passages detailing the responsibilities of the people of (Gunung) Badeg and (Gunung) Sarilewih towards the sanctuary of Besakih, while the 1471 date occurs at the end of the opening passage giving details of various administrative procedures with regard to Pura Besakih, including land grants. The language of these passages is different from that of the wooden edicts, and it is open to question whether they really date from the 15th century.<38>

Although in Bali there are no other inscriptions comparable to the Besakih edicts, some inscriptions from Majapahit Java are similar in many respects. Pigeaud divides Majapahit inscriptions into two groups, one which he calls 'court edicts', the other 'non-court edicts'. It is to this latter group that the Basuki edicts appear to be related. The non-court charter of Walandit (1381/1405), to take an

example from the Tengger region, deals with the 'forbidden village' (desa hilahila) of Walandit where live the 'servants' (hulun hyangira) of Sang Hyang Gunung Brahma, the modern Gunung Bromo (Pigeaud 1960-63:I.120, II.146-7, III.171).

According to the Nagarakretagama (79.1) there were a number of different kinds of estates or domains, of which 'hilahila hulun hyang' is one. How exactly it differed from such other kinds as dharma (religious domain) or sima (estate) is not quite clear, but all had legal standing according to the adat of the time. Nor is the relationship between court and 'forbidden village' explained in sources available; non-court charters (e.g. charter of Renek) could be issued by princes of the royal blood as well as by the ruler. What is clear, however, is that granting hilahila status to a village in order to support a temple indicates a court's recognition of the temple's importance and indirectly provides economic support through certain tax exemptions. Presumably, responsibility for enactment of rituals lay with the hulun dang/hyang, whoever they were, though the court may have participated in major rituals.

In the religion of Majapahit Java, the mountain as locus of divinity played an important role. From references to Girinatha and its several synonyms in Majapahit-period literature, Supomo has argued that the Lord of the Mountain was, to use a phrase of Coedes, "some sort of national god, closely associated with the monarchy", both Supreme God and the Great Ruler of the Realm who, transcending the division into major religious denominations, was honoured equally by Siwaite and Buddhist. In Prapanca's words, He was "Siwa-Buddha (Nag.1.1), the Protector of the Absolute (natha ning anatha), the Ruler of the World-ruler (pati ning jagatpati), the God of the

tutelary deities (hyang ning hyang inisti).” (Supomo 1972:293). The opening stanza of a pedanda's hymn from Bali, which likely reflects Majapahit conceptions, stresses the universal characteristics of the Mountain Lord.

AM AM, I salute the Lord of the Mountains (Giripati),
 Protector of the Universe, Lord of the World;
 Lord of Wealth, Cause of Salvation,
 the Possessor of all virtues and of great power.
 (Goudriaan & Hooykaas 1971:no.052.1; cf.305,444)

The Nagarakretagama tells in detail of the state journeys in which the ruler and his court visited a large number of religious establishments, some honouring deified ancestors, others honouring regional or national deities. In Majapahit Java, doubtless there were many mountain sanctuaries of local, regional or national significance, but one above all has generally been considered Majapahit's mountain sanctuary par excellence, and that is the sanctuary of Rabut Palah, the present-day Candi Penataran, on the southwest slopes of Mt.Kelut (Kampud). According to the Nagarakretagama (17.5, 61.2), almost every year, either in the fourth month or at other times, the then ruler Rajasanagara visited the sanctuary of Palah where he paid homage to Hyang Acalapati (Lord of the Mountain).^{<39>} Despite differences of opinion whether Palah was really the central state temple of Majapahit, it is certainly the largest of the Majapahit sanctuaries, and its fame as a place of popular devotion reached even to Sunda and Bali.^{<40>} All the more unfortunate is it that details of its ritual cycle and administration have not survived. At Besakih, Rabut Palah is identified by the Raja Purana (RPI:8.5-7, 13.33-34) with the god Brahma, enshrined at Pura Kiduling Kreteg.^{<41>}

In Majapahit Java, the epithet Mountain Lord is used in conjunction with dynastic titles. In the Nagarakretagama,

Rajasanagara, to whom the poem is dedicated, is variously described as "Lord Girinatha in the material, having become a Prabhu, excellent" (1.5.1), "Lord Giripati is incarnated in Him, being the paramount Prabhu" (51.6.2), "Verily he is the Illustrious Girinatha incarnate" (92.2.2). Majapahit rulers are often denoted by an epithet meaning son or descendant of the Mountain Lord, as indicated by passages in the Nagarakretagama (37.2.3, 38.6.4, 40.2.3, 40.5.1, 44.3.1), in 15th century inscriptions (Waringin Pitu, Pamintihan) and in the Siwaratrikalpa (Noorduyn 1978:235, esp n.24). In the words of Supomo (1972:292), such passages express "a mystical union between the microcosmic and macrocosmic Lord of the Mountains."

Mountain Lord: an ideology of kingship

The mountain as a locus of divinity is a general conception, and in Bali as in Java it no doubt dates back to prehistoric times. In pre-Majapahit Bali, the sources for this belief are too scanty and scattered, especially with regards to Pura Besakih, for a convincing analysis of the relationship between mountain and ruler. In the 15th century, the Basuki edicts prove at least that the Balinese court acknowledged the role of Pura Besakih in Bali's religious life, and implicitly at least, Besakih being located where it is, acknowledged the importance of the cult of the Mountain Lord. To what degree the Majapahit ancestry of the Balinese noble families is fact or the creation of a new tradition, the relationship between Majapahit and Bali is proven enough that in spheres of court influence one would expect to find influence of Majapahit religious beliefs and customs.<42> Indeed the Nagarakretagama (79.3.1.) says that Bali 'firmly' followed all customs of Java, though such statements, out of

excess chauvinism, must be taken with due caution. It is reasonable to assume that the importance of Pura Besakih as a mountain temple reflects Majapahit belief in the Mountain Lord, though by no means derived entirely from it.

The cult of the Lord of the Mountain would have been well-known to the first Majapahit-appointed ruler, Dalem Kresna Kapakisan, himself from a priestly family, and to his nobles. Furthermore the belief was hardly new to Bali, and he would have found already existing in some form or other a sanctuary honouring the Lord of Bali's greatest mountain, Gunung Agung. According to a traditional Balinese source pertaining to the introduction of Majapahit power in Bali, the Usana Jawa, Dalem Kresna Kapakisan ordered the construction of important buildings at Besakih, an order which was carried out under the direction of a leading noble, Arya Kenceng. Some texts seem to suggest that Arya Kenceng even instigated the building program.<43> A building singled out for mention is the 11-roofed meru, and until the earlier existence of meru in Bali can be proved, it is likely that meru first appeared at Besakih only at this time. The construction of a rice barn is also mentioned, presumably as a place to store the gifts of rice, which together with other commodities and money were presented to the deity for ritual purposes. Referring to this same time, other texts mention meetings between Dalem Kresna Kapakisan and Pasek leaders representing the Balinese, in which the ruler encouraged the honouring of the great temples, especially Besakih. Ida Dalem granted specific tasks to the Pasek leaders; Pasek Kubakal was sent to Besakih (Warna et al 1986:6,8-9; Soebandi 1982:118-9).<44>

It is not at all surprising, then, that a similar belief in the mystic relationship between ruler and mountain is found in the

Balinese tradition in such texts as the Babad Dalem, the official chronicle of the Gelgel dynasty and an important source for a study of the ideology of kingship during this period, and the Raja Purana of Pura Besakih. However, since both the Babad Dalem and the Raja Purana were probably written in the course of the 18th century, after Klungkung had replaced Gelgel as the court centre, they presumably reflect ideas current in the early Klungkung period.

Among the few references to either Besakih or Gunung Agung in the Babad Dalem, most refer to the relationship between the ruler Ida Dalem and the Lord of the Mountain (Hyang Tolangkir or Mahadewa). Speaking of Dalem Ketut Ngulesir, the first ruler of Gelgel, the text says:

For a very long time Dalem ruled at Gelgel, and peace reigned throughout the state, as if [or 'for'] Hyang Tolangkir had manifested himself, handsome as Arjuna; there was not a human being like him. He fully possessed the 'eight qualities' (astaguna). (K.1252:12.21-23; Warna et al 1986:68; cf.Kid.Pam.I.157)

Later, in the account of this ruler's consecration, the brahmana priest invited from Java, the Janggan of Kayu Manis, "arrived at Wasuki Mountain [Gunung Agung] where he saw a padmasana visible on the summit of the mountain, with Sanghyang Mahadewa visible in the midst of the radiance." After passing the god's test of his knowledge, he journeyed to Gelgel where, on seeing Ida Dalem, the priest "was struck dumb, amazed, for his [Dalem's] features were identical with that of the god [Mahadewa]" (K.1252:23.5-23; cf.Kid.Pam.:III.22-30).<45>

The relationship between ruler and mountain is beautifully expressed in a passage from the Raja Purana:

Now it is related that Ratu Pakisan who rules as Ratu Sakti of Bali [has as sanctuary] Lilajnana [the padmasana at Besakih] [whose deity] Lord Dharma of the Shrine brings victory to the ruler of Bali. Sira Wangbang does homage to the gods of Gunung Agung, in service to Naga Basuki. It is fitting always to attend the [rituals of] holy water.

'Coming in homage to the place of the gods, I, the ruler, seek consecration (anyuhun pada) from the god at the summit of Gunung Agung, even unto the 'Navel of the Ocean' (Pusering Tasik) [the crater] and the 'Sea of Honey' (Sagara Madu).<46> I take the essence of land and sky, all kinds of things that fill shoreline, ocean and mountain, to be used as offerings at ceremonies honouring the Revered Deity (Bhatara Sinuhun) of Gunung Agung; should the gods be pleased, then the whole world will be prosperous,.... (RPI 7.8-18)

Such passages express the intimate nature of the relationship between the ruler and the Lord of the Mountain, but they do not amount to evidence for a cult of divine kingship. The ruler was likened to the god, not identified with him, for the ruler too must pay homage to the Lord of the Mountain. In the ideology of kingship, the very prosperity of the state depends on the ruler. If the ruler carries out faithfully the duties of the dharma befitting a ruler, the realm will be prosperous and peaceful, or as the texts often say, "everything planted grows well, everything bought is cheap." His duties include proper homage to the sources of divine power and performance of rituals at great sanctuaries. If these should be neglected, the realm will fall into chaos, as the story of Mayadanawa indicates. The existence of and necessity for kingship is part of the divine plan; kingship is divine, not the king.<47>

The passages illustrate a metaphor of excellence. When a ruler is bad he is like a demon, when he is good he is like a god or is considered a temporal manifestation of a god. The king was not, by right, divine; he had to prove it, as it were. Comparison or metaphorical identity with divinity is an honour paid only to the best of rulers -- such as Dalem Ketut Ngulesir. Such notions as these are Chinese as well as Indian, and indeed in various forms have world-wide distribution. The relationship between ruler and Lord of the Mountain may also come about through a structural correspondence: as the ruler

is king of the earthly realm, so the Lord of the Mountain, the Great God Siwa or Mahadewa, is king of the cosmic universal realm.

As far as surviving evidence informs us, the metaphorical identity between ruler and Lord of the Mountain was, as far as we know, not manifested through specific ritual acts. What was important in Bali was the ruler's attendance, his presence, at the great rituals. Informants at Besakih say that formerly without the presence of the ruler (Ida Dalem or Dewa Agung) and of Anglurah Sidemen a major ceremony was not really complete -- the benefit to the prosperity of the realm was not at its optimum. Yet there is no suggestion that his presence was indispensable. If modern custom is anything to go by, a traditional ruler, like the modern Governor, might act as a bearer of the god-symbol in one of the ritual processions, but by such an act he acknowledged not identity but subordination with respect to the deity. The ruler was the earthly deputy of his divine overlord. No-one could claim equality, let alone identity, with the god of Gunung Agung. The great priest Danghyang Nirartha was taught that lesson.<48> Connected with this perhaps is the prohibition on trance at Besakih. Although apparently it has been known for a pemangku to fall into trance, it is not regarded with favour or significance. In Bali there was nothing comparable to certain state rituals in India where the metaphorical identity of ruler and state deity was manifested through ritual. For instance, the late rajas of Puri temporarily became living symbols of the god (calanti Wisnu/moving Wisnu). Also known in India was the substitute image of the deity which was consecrated at the palace where its cult was performed by court brahmins.<49> There was nothing comparable in Bali. At Besakih there were no rituals during which the ruler was transformed into a temporary divinity.

The belief in the relationship between the ruler (and state) and the Lord of the Mountain and the support rendered by the ruler towards the upkeep of Pura Besakih raises the question as to whether Pura Besakih in some way was a source of authority for the Gelgel dynasty. The authority, or legitimation, of the Balinese ruler is too complex a matter to discuss here in detail. Sources of authority were several: military power, descent, possession of powerful sacred heirlooms, particularly *krises*, and qualities of leadership. But in the case of the Samprangan and Gelgel rulers and their successors, the *Babad Dalem* makes one point clear: the new ruler of Samprangan and the dynasty that stemmed from him claimed their authority and right to rule from the original appointment by the ruler of Majapahit in the days of its glory under king Hayam Wuruk and patih Gajah Mada. The *Babad Dalem* itself proudly acknowledges the subordinate position of the ruler of Bali towards the ruler of Majapahit. It describes at length, for instance, Dalem Ketut Ngulesir's homage to Hayam Wuruk, king of Majapahit, by travelling to Java to attend a special state audience. This authority was symbolized by the gift of sacred state heirlooms such as *kerises* and court apparel. Such was the fame of Majapahit, both in Bali and throughout most of the archipelago, that the royal dynasty in Bali and the arya descent groups (and, later, the brahmana) stressed -- and still stress -- their Majapahit ancestry by calling themselves the wong Majapahit, the people of Majapahit, which set them apart from the majority of Balinese. To them, Majapahit was always their spiritual and cultural source; they did not search for a legitimacy whose source derived from Bali itself.

The dynasty's support for Pura Besakih, for instance, though founded on sound political and religious considerations, was not the

basis of its authority, though it contributed to it through its power as symbol of the unity of Bali. The mystical relationship between Lord of the Mountain and the ruler demanded of the ruler his presence at major Besakih rituals, especially Bhatara Turun Kabeh, and his material support towards their enactment. It was part of the ruler's dharma necessary to the maintenance and prosperity of the realm for the ruler to support major temples of the realm. This, it seems reasonable to assume, would have added to the respect and honour in which he was held by the populace at large, and in that particular respect Besakih would have added to the ruler's authority. Or, put another way, lack of proper support for Besakih as shown by disaster of one kind or another would have diminished the ruler's authority. However, if Besakih had been of major importance to a ruler's legitimacy, one would expect to find many more references in the chronicles and other literature mentioning the ruler's building programs at Besakih and the performance of major rituals. On the contrary, such references are extremely few. The chronicle writers, it would appear, did not consider Besakih affairs of sufficient importance to include them among memorable events in the lives of the rulers, perhaps because Besakih affairs were mostly routine.

A second factor was that political control of the region in which Besakih lies gave the state, in this case Karangasem during the later Klungkung period, no special status. Save for perhaps occasional interruptions during times of conflict, access to Besakih was respected. In that respect, the temple stood above the world of interstate politics. In the Gelgel period when Bali was under the hegemony of a single powerful court, the relationship between court and temple (or what later writers thought that relationship should

have been) is neatly summed up in a phrase common in the textual tradition to the effect that Besakih was (pang)ulun ing Gelgel, the 'head' or 'upper/higher part' of Gelgel. The phrase stresses a hierarchical interrelationship in which Besakih, as the head, is in the superior position, for the head is the sacred part of the body. It expresses a particular structure in which the locus of sacred power and the locus of political power were separated. Gelgel was the seat of political power, Besakih the seat of sacred power.<50> This reflects a pattern common in much of Indonesia and other Austronesian-speaking areas.<51> In contrast, state temples in India were usually located at the state capital.<52>

A third factor that argues against Pura Besakih being a source of state legitimation or authority was the special status of Anglurah Sidemen who, according to the Raja Purana, was of equal status with the ruler Ida Dalem when they attended Besakih rituals. It is to Anglurah Sidemen's role at Besakih and his association with the ruler in the enactment of ritual at Besakih to which I now turn.

Patronage and Responsibility: Ida Dalem and Anglurah Sidemen

It was Ida Dalem's responsibility to support and maintain Pura Besakih, as the main sanctuary honouring the Lord of the Mountain. This is expressed clearly in passages in the Raja Purana.

I, Sang Arya Kapakisan, ruler (ratu) of Bali, discussed all matters pertaining to the sanctuary of Gunung Agung and the shrines of the gods with the aryas Kanuruhan, Kenceng, Dalancang, Belog, and Waringin. (RPI 13.22-26)

Another passage from the Raja Purana indicates clearly the very important role in the administration of Pura Besakih played by certain leading nobles of the realm, particularly Anglurah Sidemen, the Lord of Sidemen.

It is related that to bring stability to Bali, with the result that it is always prosperous, it is right and proper that Anglurah Sidemen, on command of the god of Gunung Agung, reminds Ida Dalem of the age-old practice of heeding the physical well-being of the temple of the gods, the padmasana called Lilajnana, Gunung Agung called padmalayang ('flying lotus'), Batur otherwise called Gunung Indrakila.

[Then follows a list of all the temples, after which:]

It is related that in the seating arrangements in the pavilion for dignitaries (bale mandapa), Ida Dalem sits together (apalingqih) with Anglurah Sidemen. Ida Dalem must know about the shrines of the gods at Batu Madeg, which Cili Den Bancingah supports, together with all the arya west of the river Talaga Dwaja, so that well-being comes to all. Here is the account of the shrines of the gods that are supported/held (sagamel) by Sang Anglurah Sidemen, together with all the arya east of the river Talaga Dwaja, as well as the associated villages.

[A list of shrines follows, all, with the exception of Pura Gelap's, being within the Pura Penataran Agung. The text then continues:]

This is the responsibility/task (gagawane) of Anglurah Sidemen who makes decisions concerning them. All the shrines of Pura Penataran Agung [also] all 'belong to' (sadrewya) Ida Dalem. The shrines of Pura Daging [Kiduling] Kreteg are the responsibility of Arya Karangasem. This completes the list of shrines as contained in this document. Besides this, for ceremonies large and small Anglurah Sidemen is responsible for providing cloth for the palanquins, and all manner of decorations and ornaments of all the gods, [the costs for which] are to come from the produce of rice fields called Bebandem, Cacakan, Papajegan, and Gantalan; reminders [to the farmers concerning their responsibilities] are left up to Anglurah Sidemen, while the offerings [for the gods] in the palanquins comes from, above all, [the produce of] the ruler's rice fields (RPI 3.13-18, 4.11-18, 5.12-19).

The Raja Purana indicates that there was a three-part division of responsibilities towards temples and rituals at Besakih. The ruler Ida Dalem, together with Anglurah Sidemen, was responsible for Pura Penataran Agung (RPI 5.12-13). One important means of state support of Pura Besakih was the granting of lands whose revenues went towards temple ceremonies. The Raja Purana repeats time and again that the temple lands were aturan Dalem, the 'gift' of Ida Dalem. In those days, with the possible exception of Bhatara Turun Kabeh, pemangku conducted all routine rituals which were, relative to later pedanda

rituals, of modest cost. In the Raja Purana's list of lunar rituals, several ceremonies are said to be the responsibility of the ruler (pakenane Sang Ratu Bali)(RPI 15.1,7,12-14,16). Furthermore, the Panca Wali Krama is said to 'belong' to Dalem (druwe Dalem), which implies that he was responsible for its enactment. In short, it seems that besides the granting of lands, Ida Dalem also made direct contributions for certain larger ceremonies.

Responsibility for the two major flanking temples, Pura Kiduling Kreteg and Pura Batu Madeg, was delegated to regional lords, the former to Arya Karangasem (RPI 5.13-15), the latter to Cili Den Bancingah (Ksatria Taman Bali) and the arya west of the river Telaga Waja (RPI 4.12-15). This association of Karangasem with Pura Kiduling Kreteg and of Bangli with Pura Batu Madeg has continued until the present day.

The role of Anglurah Sidemen at Pura Besakih is of particular interest. As the Raja Purana indicates, he is more than just Ida Dalem's right hand man; in certain respects, he is his equal. Jointly they are responsible for the central sanctuary of Pura Penataran Agung, and in the pavilion for dignataries they sit together (sapalingqih). It is said, particularly by members of the Arya Bang Sidemen descent group, that a major ceremony at Pura Penataran Agung was not really complete without the presence of both Ida Dalem and Anglurah Sidemen. It is not clear, however, to what extent this ideology was put into practice.

The special relationship between Anglurah Sidemen and Pura Penataran Agung is further emphasized by the location of the padharman shrines of the Arya Bang Sidemen descent group within that temple. Now there are five shrines, the largest being a seven-roofed meru,

whereas the Raja Purana's listing begins with a nine-roofed meru dedicated to Ratu Manik Geni. According to Arya Bang Sidemen informants this meru was moved to Pura Batu Madeg, and on its site the Arya Dauh erected their padharman shrine in the form of a five-roofed meru. Be that as it may, the deities of the padharman shrines of both descent groups together act as hosts at Pura Penataran Agung to their divine superiors. During Bhatara Turun Kabeh, when the gods leave the temple for their malasti procession, the padharman deities accompany them only to the outer entrance. The padharman shrines of the royal ksatria dalem descent group are located in a separate temple outside Pura Penataran Agung.

A further indication of the relationship between Besakih and Sidemen occurs when, in the course of their malasti journey to the coast at Klotok, the gods of Besakih spend a night at the Pura Puseh Tabola (Sidemen). There is, in fact, a similarity of names of deities of Pura Penataran Agung and Pura Puseh Tabola. Each temple has a triple lotus shrine (though the one at Tabola is built on a single plinth) and shrines dedicated to Ratu Mas Magelung, Ratu Maspahit, Ratu Sunaring Jagat, and Ratu Pameneh. The gods also visit, or used to, the Pura Puseh at Tohjiwa, a village also connected with that descent group.

Political authority of the region where the temple lay and where its supporting rice fields were located, important as this undoubtedly was, would not, I think, be alone sufficient to give Anglurah Sidemen such an exceptional and exalted status at Besakih equal to Ida Dalem's. It seems that his special status derives in part from his legendary ancestor Ida Manik Angkeran's position as priestly caretaker of Besakih; Sang Mangku Gunung Agung, the Raja Purana also calls him.

One is tempted to link this family's special rights at Besakih with those acquired by the village under the 15th century edicts.

Ida Manik Angkeran, also known as Arya Wangbang, was among the arya who took part in the Majapahit conquest of Bali. He is the subject of a legend that, in terms of its relationship to Besakih and to the later political development of the west Karangasem region, is most significant. The legend which appears in many lontar may be summarized as follows.<53>

Mpu Siddhimantra was a brahmana priest from Java, of the same illustrious family as Bali's present-day brahmana. In brahmana genealogies he is Danghyang Nirartha's uncle. The story goes that Mpu Siddhimantra, in the course of travels, visited Besakih where he paid homage to the cosmic Naga Basuki who bestowed valuable gifts upon the priest. Unknown to Mpu Siddhimantra, his son Ida Manik Angkeran, overcome by greed for such wealth, likewise made the journey to Besakih to pay homage to the naga in the expectation of similar gifts. His expectations were fulfilled. But as the naga turned to enter his cave, Ida Manik Angkeran, like an inveterate gambler who cannot resist a last and greatest gamble, cut off the jewel at the tip of the naga's tail. The infuriated naga burned Ida Manik Angkeran to ashes. When his son failed to return home, Mpu Siddhimantra, from powers of insight sensing what had happened, again journeyed to Besakih and beseeched the Naga Basuki to restore his son to life. In recognition of the priest's great spiritual powers, the naga granted the request. In gratefulness, Mpu Siddhimantra ordered his son to remain at Besakih in service to Naga Basuki and the gods of the sanctuary. To prevent his wayward son's returning, Mpu Siddhimantra separated Bali from Java by creating the strait (sagara rupek) between the two islands.<54>

Ida Manik Angkeran, the legend goes on to relate, married a divine maiden he encountered at the holy spring Tirtha Amreta. One time in his wanderings, he met a priest called Dukuh Blatung after the village where he lived. Dukuh Blatung challenged Ida Manik Angkeran to a contest of spiritual power, and lost. As a result of his victory, Ida Manik Angkeran gained the allegiance of all the dukuh's followers who lived in nearby settlements in the area of Muncan.

Ida Manik Angkeran (Arya Wangbang) had four sons: Ida Tulus Dewa, Ida Banyak Wide, Ida Wayabya, and Sang Manikan (different mother), the ancestors of four related descent groups (warga) called, respectively, Arya Bang Sidemen, Arya Pinatih, Arya Bang Wayabya, and Manikan. The son that concerns us, Ida Tulus Dewa, had two sons: Ida Panataran and Ida Tohjiwa. Choosing political influence rather than sacerdotal prestige, Ida Panataran married into a leading arya family at the court of Gelgel, upon which he lost his brahmana status and became I Gusti Panataran. He was granted lordship over what is now the west Karangasem region, with residences at Sidemen (Tabola), Muncan and Besakih. His brother lived at Tohjiwa, from where a branch line moved to Selat.

I Gusti Panataran's son, called I Gusti Made Kacang, was the first of the family to take the title Anglurah Sidemen, the title that the leading member of the family took for many succeeding generations. Although residing at Sidemen, the link with Besakih was retained, and this first Anglurah Sidemen, after his death, was cremated at Besakih, after which time the burning of bodies at Besakih was forbidden. His posthumous name was I Gusti Hyang Taluh. His son I Gusti Gunung Agung (Anglurah Sidemen II) was lord of Sidemen at the time of the revolt of I Gusti Pande Bhasa in 1578, according to the Babad Dalem. Of his

three sons, I Gusti Kaler took the title Anglurah Sidemen Di Made (III), while another son, I Gusti Kabayan, returned to take up residence at Besakih, and is the ancestor of the major Arya Bang Sidemen descent group there to this day. At Besakih, the group's senior line are the traditional bearers of the top two pemangku positions. Following traditional dating, this move back to Besakih occurred towards the end of the 16th century or early 17th century.

The power of Sidemen reached its greatest extent in the second half of the 17th and early 18th centuries during the lifetime of the fifth Anglurah Sidemen, known as I Gusti Ngurah Sidemen Sakti, whose influence extended to the eastern side of Bukit Penyu, prior to the rise of the house of Karangasem. But the power of the House of Sidemen was not to last. Its decline was closely related to the rising fortunes of another noble descent group, that of the Arya Dauh, with which it was related through marriage. It is likely that the role of Anglurah Sidemen with respect to Pura Besakih began to wane after the Arya Dauh became the dominant descent group in west Karangasem towards the end of the 18th century.<55>

Local Functionaries

Under the patronage of Ida Dalem and Anglurah Sidemen, routine administration of temple affairs was in the hands of village-level functionaries. The opening paragraph of one of the recensions of the *Raja Purana* (RPII 1.1-5), problematic as it is to interpret, states that contributions, the backbone of the temple's maintenance and ceremonial, formed a single support system under the control of two men, Anglurah Kabayan at Besakih and Sedahan ing Lor at Selat. At Besakih, Anglurah Kabayan primarily concerned himself with ritual,

while administrative tasks pertaining to contributions were delegated to another man, Ki Prejo, who bore the title Sedahan Dalem.

Both men worked closely together, for their tasks were interrelated, as the following passage indicates:

This, the bequest (aturan) of the Ruler of Bali to the Panataran of Gunung Agung [Pura Penataran Agung], is received by Sedahan Dalem ing Jro Ler, also called Ki Prejo, who lives at Panataran [at Besakih]. His responsibility/task (gagawane) is to take care of/administer (rumaksa) the sacred complex that the Ruler upholds, together with Ki Panuruhan [Sedahan ing Ler] who lives at Selat and whose responsibility/task is to administer the lands (palaba) [belonging to] the god of Gunung Agung. [The levy] is paid out twice every six months [of 35 days] on each Friday-Kliwon of the week Sungsang and Sunday-Wage of the week Wayang. (RPI 14.22-28; see also 16.19-22)

Both men also had certain ritual responsibilities, Sedahan ing Ler to I Dewa Bukit and I Dewa Pasek, Sedahan Dalem to Ratu Maspahit. When the marriage tax (pangapih) in honour of Ratu Maspahit was paid over on Thursday-Wage of the week Sungsang, Sedahan Dalem together with the village elders (prawayah desa) had to be present to receive it. Both men had the task of reminding people of activities and of their responsibilities. Both men received bukti land in recompense for their services.

The title sedahan refers to a land-tax official responsible traditionally to the regional court, a significance the term has had since Majapahit times (Charter of Selamandi). The word is synonymous with suruhan (kanuruhan, panuruhan); thus, at Selat, Sedahan ing Ler is also called Ki Panuruhan. It would seem that the holders of both Sedahan ing Ler and Sedahan Dalem were confirmed by Ida Dalem, or at least were responsible to him. In one Raja Purana text, Sedahan ing Ler is said to belong to Dalem's household (grehaning dalem). It appears that both positions were inherited within particular descent groups: Sedahan ing Ler, also called Ki Pasek Selat, in the descent

group from which the Selat village official called pasek is still drawn; and Sedahan Dalem, or Ki Prejo (also possibly a title) in the descent group at Besakih called Pasek Brejo. <56>

Physical maintenance

Besides the enactment of rituals, Ida Dalem and his leading nobles were also responsible for the physical maintenance of the temple complex. This was (and still is) a continual process, for in Bali the passing of time gradually brings about the decay and destruction of temple shrines. Moist tropical atmosphere and torrential rains wear out even the strongest roofing material, the coarse black fibre of the sugar-palm, which if laid thickly can last 50 years. The wood of the shrines decays more gradually. Natural disasters -- fire, earthquake and gales -- take their toll also. Strong gales often blow in the seventh and eighth lunar months (January-February) and can uproot a meru. Earthquakes, both tectonic and volcanic, cause varying degrees of damage and sometimes, as in 1917, are of devastating intensity. Fire, too, particularly that caused by lightning, is always a danger and can easily spread. Built and rebuilt through the centuries in endless minor repairs and occasional major restorations, changes were constantly made, a new shrine added here, a structure moved there. There was none of that immutability of form that characterizes, for example, the ancient Japanese sanctuary of Ise.

The history of the physical structures making up the complex has left an extremely scanty record. We have no means of dating even such an important innovation as the introduction of the padmasana, which might have occurred any time between about 1500 and 1800, though most

probably between 1600 and 1750, certainly prior to the compilation of the Raja Purana. The introduction of the padmasana at Besakih would seem to have been an event of great religious significance, yet in the written tradition seems to have passed unnoticed. References to building at Besakih are both rare and of dubious reliability. Babad Sukahet, for instance, says Ida Dalem and leading nobles carried out a major building program in 1543.<57> Babad Patisora (Budiastra et al 1979: I.163-4, II.3,154) mentions a fire in 1549 and the reroofing of the bale agung in 1550. Of an archeological nature, the only evidence is a now-lost tenon stone from a former high priests' pavilion, that bore the date 1568 Saka/1646 AD; and a statue flanking the entrance steps to Pura Kiduling Kreteg, which has on its base a picture-date (man-horse-crab-?) equivalent to 1724 Saka/1802 AD (Moojen 1926:125). The oldest known wooden structure is the three-roofed meru of the Padharman Arya Bang Sidemen in Pura Penataran Agung, which bears the date Saka 1797/1875 AD.

It would seem that ultimate responsibility for temple maintenance, particularly major rebuildings and restorations, lay with the courts, each taking care of that part of the complex assigned to it. Local villagers, however, also had certain responsibilities. According to the Raja Purana, the eight banjar of Besakih were responsible for reroofing the pavilion for dignitaries (bale mandapa); while old memoranda give examples of individual banjar performing small maintenance tasks such as reroofing. It is likely that villages of the Pragunung Besakih contributed building materials from time to time. According to Dutch colonial sources, holders of land of the category tanah ayahan dalem or tanah pacatu were traditionally responsible for the physical maintenance of Pura Besakih, one among

various obligations owed to the ruler who owned the land.

Pura Besakih in the Nineteenth Century

The core Babad Dalem stops after the downfall of Gelgel. The Raja Purana, the primary source throughout the previous pages, seems hardly influenced by the change of location of the court; it does not mention Klungkung. The problem in precisely dating the Raja Purana makes it difficult to know to what extent and for how long the workings of Besakih as depicted in it continued. No other sources tell anything about Pura Besakih until the early decades of the 19th century.

By the early 19th century a new configuration of political power had come about in Bali. The rulers of Klungkung had lost the political hegemony that once belonged to the Gelgel court and retained but a rump of territory and a name honoured (but not obeyed) as the highest in the realm. Regional states had risen to prominence -- Buleleng and Jembrana, Mengwi, Karangasem (together with Lombok), Bangli, Badung and Tabanan, and Gianyar. Their energies confined by Dutch power which increasingly played a dominant role in their affairs, the Balinese courts feuded amongst themselves, making and breaking endlessly shifting alliances in a political atmosphere of perpetual turmoil and frequent, if small scale, warfare.

At the regional level, too, there had been change, for the Besakih area had fallen under a new political overlord. Probably from the third quarter of the 18th century, the region had come under the hegemony of Karangasem, with the help of its local allies, the Arya Dauh house of Selat whose area of influence included Besakih.<58> Sidemen remained an important minor court, but no longer were the Arya

Bang Sidemen dominant there.⁵⁹ Even though territorially Besakih was part of Karangasem, the court of Karangasem never claimed the temple as its own, nor did it take over Klungkung's ritual responsibilities. This is the strongest argument that political control of the region in which the temple lies did not give the controlling court any special status or authority.

Not surprisingly, the role of Besakih was affected by these new configurations of power. From being considered the 'head' of a single dominant court, it became instead a unifying symbol that transcended divisions among the feuding courts, in recognition of that higher unity that however frail was nonetheless real. As a level of discourse, this certainly did not wholly reflect actual practice but throughout the century it was the dominant ideology in which Besakih was viewed. With certain partial exceptions (most notably Tabanan), all the courts and brahmanic priesthood honoured Pura Besakih as the paramount temple of Bali. In the course of the 19th century this ideology was recorded by several writers who mostly procured their information in Buleleng and Badung.

Although not referring to Besakih by name, Raffles in his 'History of Java' wrote that to such gods as Batara Perмести Guru, Batara Narada, Batara Sangjang Tunggal with their images

are dedicated temples and places for the reception of their images on Gunung Agung, Gunung Batu[r], Gunung Batur-kahu, and Gunung Predung, but it is Gunung Agung that is the famous place for [the figures of the gods]; and those figures are the objects of worship to all the princes of Bali. When there happens to be a mebantana, which signifies a festival on some grand occasion, all the Rajas, with their families, descendants, and subjects, repair to Gunung Agung and invoke all the deities, the Maperwita Bramana [the purohita or brahmana court priest] being summoned to attend and conduct the ceremonies. (Raffles 1817:II.ccxxxix-ccxli)

Writing in the middle of the century at the end of an extended stay on

the island, during which time, however, he did not visit the temple, the German scholar Friederich had this to say about Pura Besakih:

In the temples of Basuki (or Besaki) at the foot of the Gunung Agung, the feast day is every lunar year on the full moon (purnama) of the month kapat or Karttika. This feast day is really valid for all Balinese (Us[ana] Bali, pp.273 seq. and 346); but on account of the existing hostilities, Badong [Badung] and Tabanan have not for a long time performed their worship, because the temple is in Karang Asem. (Friederich 1959:70-71)

In the earliest recorded account of a visit to Besakih by a non-Balinese, in 1871 the Javanese Raden Sasrawijaya also noted that Besakih was "the sanctuary at which the rajas of all Bali worship," adding that the village was under the control of Karangasem (Sasrawijaya 1875:62-63). Van Eck, writing in 1880, likewise noted that the rajas cooperated in respect to Besakih

The best known village in this area [Karangasem], however, is Besukih or Besakih, where one of the famous temples of Bali is found. The bale piturun is kept here, a sort of offering-table, for which each state sent one pillar which, so goes the story, on their arrival at Besakih fitted together so perfectly that it could only be the handiwork of the gods. Besides this, each of the eight raja of Bali (not nine, as we said earlier, for Jembrana was not included) had in the temple their own meru; these holy offering-places are the reason that the people of Besakih, although not belonging to the Bali Aga, may not cremate their dead. Some 15 years ago [about 1865] a fireball thrown out of Gunung Agung, round and the size of a coconut, fell precisely at this temple [Pura Penataran Agung] and set fire to one of the merus, but left the others undamaged. People generally believed that this signified something extraordinary, but what? That even the learned brahmans of Sindu could not say. (Van Eck 1880:118)

The ideology of cooperation among the rulers was again mentioned in the description by Schwartz who visited Besakih on 15 April 1898, the first European to leave a firsthand account.

15 April [1898]. In the morning I visited Besakih, about seven paal (roughly ten kilometres) from Rendang. Above the village a high broad stone stairway gives entrance to an open space, where save for Tabanan, the other Balinese states and formerly the people of Buleleng set up one or more meru or temples dedicated to Siwa. The central part, the Penataran Agung, belonging specially to Klungkung and of

which the Dewa Agung has allotted sub-sections to Buleleng, Badung and Mengwi, is flanked to east and west, separated by ravines, by Pura Batu Madeg and Pura Dangin Kreteg, respectively the sanctuaries of Bangli and Karangasem.

This temple is one of the Sad-kahyangan ['Six Sanctuaries'] of Bali, which amongst the people are considered to have special reputation for sanctity. People say in Buleleng that the cholera which the previous year raged continuously for months and claimed almost 2000 lives, is an expression of the anger of the gods because the meru at Besakih which burned down about 15 years ago [c.1883] has not been rebuilt. Now it is determined that this be done, and discussions have been held about collecting together the necessary money. As proof of the holiness of this temple we were told both at Besakih and at Karangasem, that when the region had been visited by the dread sickness and many had succumbed, Gusti Gede Jelantik [Raja of Karangasem] in person held an offering and propitiary feast in the temple and therewith allayed the cholera. (Schwartz 1900:114)

Besides reporting the ideology of Besakih and the mystical relationship between the temple, or the mountain, and the well-being of the state and its people, <60> these accounts indicate that the ideology was honoured as often in the breach as in the observation, and they detail the growing neglect of the temple towards the end of the century.

Of the routine ceremonies at Besakih, the main yearly festival, Bhatara Turun Kabeh, would presumably have been the occasion for the rulers to attend and pay homage to the gods of Besakih. To what extent they actually attended is not known. One would assume that the frequent turmoil would have made travelling difficult and dangerous, and it would seem unlikely that rulers from more distant states attended very often. In the middle of the century, according to Friederich, the rulers of Badung and Tabanan had not attended in a long time. Even the possible existence of a policy of free-passage to Pura Besakih would hardly have served as guarantee of safety; about 1891 the Dewa Agung of Klungkung was detained on his way to Pura Besakih. <61> Yet the rajas often did cooperate as the many treaties

(paswara) among states indicate, and Pura Besakih, and religious affairs generally, would have been a sphere where cooperation was thought desirable. Different politics did not necessarily preclude joint ritual enterprise.<62>

In late Klungkung times, at least, the current ideology of cooperation was given a practical dimension in that the basic three-part division of responsibility was elaborated so that other regional states could play a role. In 1898, according to Schwartz, Buleleng, Badung and Mengwi assisted Klungkung in the upkeep of Pura Penataran Agung. Buleleng, he states more specifically, was responsible for a meru (the 11-roofed meru honouring I Ratu Wisesa) which burned down some 15 years before his visit and still had not been rebuilt. It appears that formerly Buleleng was responsible for the ceremony aci panaung taluh, and Mengwi for aci pangenteg jagat at Pura Gelap, but later both were replaced by Klungkung (HKS.1741:1b). Badung's responsibility, if any, is uncertain, but judging from colonial times, it might have been the 11-roofed meru honouring I Ratu Manik Makentel. Tabanan and Jembrana played no role in Besakih affairs, nor yet, it seems, did Gianyar.

During the political turmoil of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the courts apparently did not look to the maintenance and upkeep of Pura Besakih as they should have. We do not know how well temple lands were administered, or whether all ceremonies were held in the proper manner, but physically the temples did suffer. A series of natural disasters, fires for the most part, but divinely caused in the eyes of the Balinese, added further to the decay and destruction.

Pura Besakih remained in a state of ritual and physical neglect until the great earthquake of 1917 completed its destruction.

CHAPTER 11

TEMPLE AND STATE (II): TWENTIETH CENTURY DEVELOPMENTS

PURA BESAKIH DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD

Introduction

With the defeat of Klungkung in 1908 the Dutch completed their conquest of Bali and incorporated the island within the structure of their colonial state of Netherlands-Indie.<1> Five of the eight Balinese states -- Buleleng, Jembrana, Tabanan, Badung and Klungkung -- were directly-governed government lands, while the remaining three, the former states of Gianyar, Bangli and Karangasem, for varying lengths of time retained special status (as gouvernementslandschap, their rulers being titled Stedehouder).<2> Paralleling, overseeing and dominating this structure was the Dutch civil service. The Resident of Bali and Lombok was stationed at Singaraja, with an Assistant-Resident of South Bali at Denpasar. Below them were the controleur in charge of one or more regency.

The eight traditional states survived the change to Dutch rule with varying degrees of authority left intact. The former Dewa Agung of Klungkung died with most of his court in the puputan of 1908. The few survivors of any importance were exiled to Lombok, from where they returned only in 1929. The courts of Badung had likewise been decimated in the puputan of 1906. The raja of Tabanan was dead and his court had largely lost its authority. Buleleng and Jembrana had

long been under direct colonial rule. The three states, Karangasem, Bangli and Gianyar, that submitted to the Dutch without armed struggle, were left with their courts intact. Through their good relations with the colonial authority, Karangasem and Gianyar in particular were the most influential of the former courts throughout the colonial period.

The political turmoil of the opening years of the 20th century only added to the neglect of Pura Besakih, and this did not change even after the Dutch imposed their control. In a document dated 6 March 1917, immediately after the earthquake, the Stedehouder of Karangasem and the Regents of Gianyar and Bangli declared that "we have neglected the Pura Besakih, the place where we serve the Divinity, for 16 years, and have not regularly held the ceremonies there."³ Pura Besakih had sunk to the nadir of its fortunes. Not only the ceremonies but also the physical condition of the sanctuary were neglected. When Nieuwenkamp visited Besakih about 1907 the temple was in a state of decay and neglect (Nieuwenkamp 1906-10:204). Old people at Besakih remember that vegetation in the temples grew rampant and cows roamed freely through broken walls. The temple continued to be in disrepair until the earthquake completed its destruction (Nieuwenkamp 1922:205).⁴

In those years, the Dutch did not involve themselves in the affairs of Pura Besakih. There is no record of temple affairs, let alone the matter of ultimate responsibility for the temple, ever being discussed. Instead, they left temple affairs in the hands of the former rulers, as the upholders of Balinese adat and religion. But the result, perhaps unforeseen, of certain actions the Dutch took did indirectly effect the village of Besakih and its temples.

In 1908, as one of their first administrative measures, the colonial authorities abolished the rights of the rajas over land in the category of tanah ayahan dalem or tanah pecatu. The holder of such land was forbidden to sell it, and could pawn only enough to finance rituals of cremation and marriage. Among the obligations to the raja was building and repairing the palace, carrying out preparations for state rituals (including the sacrifice preceding Nyepi), paying a fixed land tax, and assisting in the physical maintenance of Pura Besakih. The abolition of such rights meant that a traditional source of manpower and materials for the maintenance of Pura Besakih was no longer available.<5>

Another indirect effect on Besakih, which led to a reorganization of local administration there, resulted from an old power struggle within the court of Karangasem which flared in 1908 over attitudes towards the Dutch. Upon the failure of the anti-Dutch faction, its leaders, including the punggawa of Selat, I Gusti Nengah Sibetan, were exiled to Jembrana. I Gusti Bagus Jelantik who became the new Stedehouder of Karangasem, appointed a new punggawa at Selat with a reduced territory of jurisdiction, and for the first and only time appointed a punggawa at Besakih. The punggawa of Besakih, I Gusti Lanang Jelantik (Genjor), from the Nongan branch of the Arya Dauh, took up his position probably in late 1908 or early 1909.<6> His residence was where the Sasana Budaya complex now is. He held the position for too short a time to have had much impact on local or temple affairs, for in 1912 the position of punggawa of Besakih was abolished and I Gusti Lanang Jelantik was granted honourable retirement (MVO Doornik 1913:7). He left no descendants.<7>.

The area under this man's jurisdiction was divided between the

punggawas of Rendang and Selat. Besakih became part of Rendang. Rendang had become the centre of a punggawa from about the third quarter, certainly by the fourth quarter, of the 19th century, first under I Gusti Gede Panida and then I Gusti Made Bengkel, distant relatives of the raja.<8> After the administrative reforms of 1913 or 1914 when the number of districts in Karangasem was halved from sixteen to eight, and those of west Karangasem reduced from four (Sidemen, Selat, Muncan and Rendang) to three (Muncan was abolished), I Gusti Gede Kebon was appointed the new Punggawa Rendang.<9> This man, of Arya Dauh descent from the Pekuudan (Amlapura) branch of the family, administered Besakih at the time of the great earthquake.

At Besakih itself, I Wayan Berati was appointed prabekel, taking up the position some time prior to 22 April 1914, the date of a surviving memorandum. This man, from a Pasek Prateka family at Rendang, gained his position through the patronage of I Gusti Made Bengkel into whose family Berati's sister had married. In Bali, marriage into an influential triwangsa family was a frequent means of advancement for a commoner family. After marrying a woman from Tegenan and buying land there, I Wayan Berati took up residence at Tegenan from where he administered his perbekelan which included Besakih, Tegenan, Batusesa, Temukus, Kesimpar and Pejeng. Later in 1918, Menanga, Buyan and Pempatan were added to this territory. This man, too, was much involved with Besakih affairs, especially after the great earthquake.

The Great Earthquake

It was such a terrifying and unforgettable event that one man noted down the date on a spare palm-leaf at the end of a poem: "Memorandum of the great earthquake (gejor) of Bali on the day Sunday-Umanis of the week Ukir, on the 13th day of the waning moon of the seventh month, in the Saka year 1838" -- 21 January 1917.<10>

The earthquake struck at 6.50am and lasted 45 seconds. A smaller earthquake occurred on 4 February and tremors continued for the next two weeks. Devastation throughout the island was enormous. Central south Bali was hardest hit. An official telegram of 2 May 1917 listed 1372 people dead or missing and 1071 injured, almost all in the south. 64,000 dwellings, including a number of palaces, 10,000 ricebarns and 2431 temples were destroyed.<11> Pura Besakih was devastated.

The great earthquake marks a turning point in the history of Pura Besakih. It goaded the rulers into doing something. The Balinese believed that the earthquake was a sign of the wrath of the gods, in particular of course the god of Gunung Agung, over the continual neglect of Pura Besakih. This was widely reported, and the calamity received wide coverage in the colonial press. Although the belief in divine wrath for mankind's wrongdoings and especially those of the rulers is widespread in Bali, the story may have stemmed from events at Besakih itself. After the earthquake struck, the perbekel's (I Wayan Berati's) father-in-law from Tegenan performed austerities for several days at Pura Basukihan. He became entranced and declared that the earthquake was divine punishment for the neglect of Pura Besakih. The perbekel, his father-in-law, together with pemangku from Besakih, reported this to the Punggawa Rendang, I Gusti Gede Kebon, and then to the raja himself in Karangasem.<12>

This view of the earthquake's divine causation was given, as it were, official acknowledgment in the document that marked the first high-level reaction to the situation at Besakih.<13> Apparently at their own instigation, on Tuesday 6 March 1917 the Stedehouder of Karangasem and the Regents of Bangli and Gianyar, "after consultation with all the punggawa of Bali", drew up a document of agreement concerning the restoration of Pura Besakih.

Article 1

That, according to the belief and conviction of the people and in accordance with Balinese Hindu religion, it is most certainly apparent that through the anger of the All-Highest Sanghyang Widi Wasa a great disaster has befallen, so to speak, all the inhabitants of the island of Bali as a consequence of the fact that friends and kindred have lived in discord with one another and especially because for 16 years we have neglected the Pura Besakih, the place where we serve the Divinity, and have not regularly held the ceremonies there.

Article 2

That now, with all the punggawa of the island of Bali, it is agreed that from this day it is firmly resolved with all our strength to set in order all temples and shrines and especially the sanctuary at Besakih, and if possible to rebuild them as they formerly were, while all ceremonies of worship shall be honoured and restored.

To raise money for the restoration, the agreement imposed a levy on all married people depending on the size and nature of their landholdings (from 100 Chinese coin if landless up to 500 coin for large holdings, contributions above that being considered wang darma)(Article 5). Contributions were to be collected by penglurah and klihan, passed onto punggawa (Art.6) and finally to a finance committee of 10 members consisting of a member of each of the Raad van Kerta of Karangasem, Bangli, Gianyar, Klungkung, Badung and Buleleng, the three rulers, and the Assistant-Resident of South Bali (Art.8). To oversee day to day work five mandor were to be appointed, one each from Karangasem, Bangli, Gianyar, Klungkung and Badung. The work was divided into three parts: stone working (walls, gateways, building

foundations) were given to Gianyar and Badung, supervised by the Regent of Gianyar; the meru (especially palm fibre for their roofs) to Bangli, supervised by the Regent of Bangli; while wooden constructions were handed to Karangasem, Klungkung and Buleleng, supervised by the Stedehouder of Karangasem.<14> Wages were set at 400 Chinese coin per day for craftsmen and 200 coin a day for coolies (Art.9).

Three days afterwards on 9 March 1917, the Stedehouder of Karangasem, the Regents of Bangli and Gianyar, many punggawa and pedanda as well as thousands of ordinary Balinese attended a great propitiation ritual at Besakih (Kemmerling 1918, in Lekkerkerker 1920:229). Presumably special emphasis was put on the offering and ritual called guru piduka, asking forgiveness for wrongdoings.

The rajas also called for government involvement. The Resident was asked to support the proposals (Art.4) while the Assistant Resident was to be involved in financial arrangements (Art.8 and 10). The document also paid due honour to the Governor-General and to Queen Wilhelmina (Art.11). Whether or not colonial government officials were involved in the restoration from the very start (involvement in the 6 March meeting is uncertain), the government soon did become directly involved. Perhaps in response to the document of 6 March, the colonial government donated f.25,000 to the Besakih restoration fund, private businesses gave donations, and even Queen Wilhelmina donated f.1,000. In Batavia a special committee was formed to organize assistance. Such widespread public sympathy led the government, by a decision dated 11 May 1918, to entrust the restoration program to the architect J.A.P.Moojen of Batavia.<15>

As a result of his visit to Besakih on 9 August 1918 and

enquiries he made in Bali, Moojen found that the restoration work was, by his standards, all in confusion. The rulers had each taken different parts of the work and each group worked with little or no mutual consultation; prices for one and the same commodity varied widely. To put matters in order, a conference was held at Klungkung on 12 August 1918 under the chairmanship of the Assistant-Resident of South Bali, A.J.L.Couvreur. As a result, the well known Balinese master-builder Gusti Made Gede of Badung was appointed to direct day-to-day activities, and a Javanese, Raden Mas Soetatmo, was transferred from the Public Works department to act as overseer. Prices of building materials were agreed on, especially paras stone; since an estimated 50,000 pieces were required, paras stone was the largest item of expenditure. Nieuwenkamp visited the temple while the work was in progress:

In 1918, people were busy with various repairs. Leaning merus were put right, others were wholly new or had new ijuk roofing. Large sections of temple walls were repaired or rebuilt with paras.... New walls were made from large blocks 45 x 25 x 8 cm. No mortar was used; the stones were rubbed on stone with just water till they made a perfect fit. The upper side of the stone was smoothed, the bottom worked with a chisel. There was no water close to the temple so it had to be brought by bamboo piping some hundreds of metres from a small spring on slopes behind the temple. But from lack of rain when I visited the temple [about September 1918] the spring was dry and work had had to stop. Two months later with heavy rain there was plenty of water, but when treacherous influenza or plague carried off so many victims, the work, barely begun, stopped again (Nieuwenkamp 1922: 207).

The restoration program continued for years. It is impossible to give a final balance sheet of the program's finances -- different sets of figures are confusing -- but approximately f.100,000 was spent. The greater part, some 75 percent, was contributed by the rulers and people of Bali, a point often cited by supporters of the program in some of the rather heated debates in government circles with its

detractors.<16>

No major changes were made to overall size or layout of shrines, but in Bali no rebuilding is quite the same as its predecessor. The kori agung, for instance, was larger and grander than its predecessor, judging from remains of foundations discovered in 1982 during its latest rebuilding.<17> The main lower courtyard was smaller than it is now. During restoration it is not known to what extent ceremonies were held, but one would expect they were kept to a minimum.

"Early in 1928, with great religious ceremonial, the old holy and rebuilt temple complex of Besaki[h] on the slopes of Gunung Agung was consecrated (ingewijd)" (MvO Caron 1929:71). Besides this short notice in an outgoing official's report, no other documentation seems to have survived on what must have been an important ceremony.<18> The dedication or re-dedication (ngenteg lingqih, 'erecting the seats') of a temple after rebuilding or major renovations is a major ceremony at which pedanda officiate.

State, rulers and temple

As part of the restoration effort, the Netherlands Indies government contributed quite a large sum of money and involved itself directly with the work. The restoration program and the government's involvement in it gave rise to a rather heated debate that even spilled over into the colonial press.<19> The protagonists were Moojen and Damste who succeeded van Stennis as Resident of Bali and Lombok in 1919. In a letter dated 6 May 1921 to the Director of Education and Worship, Damste claimed that the restoration of Pura Besakih was a waste of government funds.<20> It was his conviction that the upkeep of Pura Besakih was carried out by the rulers' pangayah under

compulsion and that with the demise of the traditional rulers and the abolition of palace-service, the temple was doomed. He supported his contention by citing the neglect of previous times. Moojen took issue with this in his September 1921 report on the restoration, addressed to the Governor-General. He denied Damste's contention that Pura Besakih was merely 'the cradle of Balinese rulers'. He cited the appreciation for the restoration from all levels of society and reported seeing repeatedly small processions coming to the temple bringing offerings and requesting holy water. He said hundreds of people attended half-yearly ceremonies held in the temple. In support of government involvement, he wrote:

.. as self-constituted rulers we have ourselves laid on our shoulders the task of bringing these people not only to a higher economic but also to a higher spiritual standard...that we, besides exercising the rights of the rulers ousted by us, also had to take on ourselves their obligations; that the obligations also include guidance of the people's spiritual interests, is, it will perhaps be clearly admitted, a not overstated wish of the colonial administration. (Moojen 1921:28)

The essence of Moojen's argument, which I shall call the 'constitutional' argument, is that colonial state support for the restoration was legally proper on the grounds that the Dutch colonial government was the successor state to the former traditional states, and must accept the responsibilities of those former states, the maintenance of Pura Besakih being one among them. A similar argument was put forward by another contemporary writer, W.O.J.Nieuwenkamp (1922:207). Later, in their heated debate with Christian missionaries in the early 1930's, scholars like Goris defended this view, if not on legal then at least on moral grounds.

When our government dismissed the central royal administration and therewith took this on itself, including replacing it in the material sphere, it had imposed on it a moral obligation, which our government fully lived up to, to help according to its capacity at times of material

disasters. More the government did not do. It helped with money since, through natural disaster, great material damage was caused, but it remained completely neutral; in no sense did it involve itself hereby in any controversy of a religious nature which for that matter did not arise anyway. (Goris 1934:22)

This state of affairs remained true throughout the colonial period. During the remainder of this period the government made no further contributions to the maintenance of or ceremonies at Pura Besakih, or involve itself in any way with temple affairs. It would seem that the government did not consider itself legally responsible for the restoration -- at least I know of no official documents that committed the government to this position -- but offered assistance from moral considerations.

After the great earthquake, it appears that Besakih affairs were in the hands of the rulers of Karangasem, Bangli and Gianyar. In the 1920's the details of administration are obscure for lack of documentation. A text (HKS.1741:1-3) dated 1927 (whether it actually refers to the situation in the 1920's is less certain) mentions only Klungkung, Bangli and Karangasem as being responsible for ceremonies, whereas Nieuwenkamp (1922: 205) says that Buleleng, Badung and Gianyar assisted Klungkung in upkeep of Pura Penataran Agung, a similar situation to that described by Goris in 1937 (Goris 1969: 86-7). However, certainly by the end of the 1920's, all the rulers of the south Bali states were involved with Besakih affairs. Together they attended a meeting on 12 May 1928, and decided to hold a special cockfight to raise funds for future expenditures and to pay outstanding debts. The cockfight, a mammoth event lasting 12 days, was finally held at Klungkung in August 1928, and raised the large sum of f26,939, of which, after costs and debts were paid, the temple was left with a balance of f.14,377.41 (Bali Adnyana VI(2), 20

Feb.1929:4-5 and VI(9), 20 Maart 1929:6). Throughout the 1920's it appears that the rulers held meetings to discuss Besakih and other matters of common interest only on an informal basis.

In 1929 all the former rulers were reinstated as heads of government (bestuurder) in the regencies based on their former states (Staatsblad 1929, no.226). Only in 1931, however, under the auspices of the colonial government, did the rulers together create a formal body, *Paroeman Kerta Negara*, within whose framework they could discuss matters of common interest. The founding meeting was held on 7 March 1931 at the Kerta Gosa, Klungkung.<21> Besides the eight rulers, the Assistant-Resident of South Bali, several controleurs, and Tjokorda Raka Soekawati (Lid delegate) also attended. In opening the meeting, the Assistant-Resident urged the rulers/bestuurders to form a *Regenten-Bond* to discuss and implement administrative and other matters. The meeting elected A.A.Agung Karangasem as Chairman and chose *Paroeman Kerta Negara* (Association for the Prosperity of the State) as the name of their organization. The *Paroeman Kerta Negara* was a formal body, but it was not an official government body. It had no jural status in colonial government constitution. It was like a sekaa raja or 'club of rulers'. In terms of Balinese religion and adat, it acted as the highest body in the land, and in consultation with priests could make decisions on such matters. It did not, however, have the status of a court of final appeal.

At the opening meeting Besakih was one of the matters discussed. The Chairman proposed that the rulers "all together maintain Pura Besakih by whatever means necessary provided all agree, so that it does not suffer neglect." Since the possibility of a representative from Lombok sitting on the *Paroeman* had not been finalized, and since

Lombok was largely Moslem, the Assistant-Resident suggested that the upkeep of Besakih should not be among the organization's statutes, but that it be the subject of a separate resolution. Thus, right from its inception and throughout its existence the Paroeman Kerta Negara administered Pura Besakih. It administered matters dealing with both rituals and physical maintenance, the latter often requiring a far larger amount of money than the former.<22> It also organized special events and projects associated with the temple in some way or other. One of the first things the newly formed Paroeman did was to make an "urgent and special request" to the Dutch authorities to build a road from Pringalot up to the temples, "passable to automobiles." The road was opened in 1932.<23> With regard to non-routine ritual matters, the Paroeman Kerta Negara made two important decisions. The first was to hold the great Panca Walikrama sacrifice in 1933, an important event that confirmed Pura Besakih's paramount status (see Chapter 13). The second was the alteration in about 1936 in the day of celebration of Bhatara Turun Kabeh.

To support such responsibilities and activities, each ruler contributed cash to the temple treasury. These contributions were not fixed, but were left up to the rulers as each was able. Wealthier rulers, in particular the Raja of Karangasem in whose state Besakih lay, gave more than others. Funds contributed by or through the rulers came from various sources.<24>

Between the rulers and the Besakih villagers, the Punggawa of Rendang and the Perbekel of Besakih were key links in the chain of administration and command. The Punggawa of Rendang was closely involved with the affairs of Pura Besakih not only because the village of Besakih and its temples lay within the area of his jurisdiction,

but also, at least since 1919, because he was the kashouder or treasurer of Pura Besakih.<25> He was sometimes instructed to attend meetings of the Paroeman. As kashouder he received the contributions that the rulers paid via the Paroeman, and was in charge of expenditures on rituals and upkeep.<26> The perbekel of Besakih, in turn, carried out the instructions of his superior, the punggawa, in cooperation with Besakih's adat leaders.<27>

In 1938 the relationship between temple and state entered a new and important stage, for in that year the Netherlands-Indie government, by its Zelfbestuursregelen (Staatsblad 1938, no.529), reconstituted the eight landschap of Bali as self-governing lands. This altered the jural status of the regents within the colonial administration. Whereas previously the Netherlands-Indie government administered the regencies directly, the new regulation appointed each regent the legal head of his own regency, with the title Zelfbestuurder. The Resident, however, retained important supervisory powers over the activities of the individual rulers, and each ruler was still assisted by a Controleur who in effect wielded considerable power. Also, an advisory council (paroeman negara) was set up in each regency.

The swearing-in ceremony of the eight Zelfbestuurders took place at Besakih on 29 June 1938.<28> This was a significant choice of location, for it was the one and only place in Bali that unequivocally stood for the essential unity of the whole island and yet at the same time did not raise any particular ruler (such as the Dewa Agung of Klungkung) higher in status than the others. Traditionally, the ritual installation (abhiseka ratu) of a ruler took place at the ruler's palace, and not at Besakih, though holy water was, at least in

some cases, requested there.<29> The day chosen was equally interesting, for 29 June 1938 was the important feast day of Galungan. The ceremony was turned into an imposing pageant. The road to Besakih was lined with lance-bearers dressed in red and black and white costumes like baris dancers, and with women watching beside decorative offerings, while the penjor of Galungan added their particular grace to the scene. Padanda Gede Manuaba, a member of the Raad van Kerta of Gianyar, read out the oath, a pamastu formula lasting 20 minutes. A speech by the Resident of Bali and Lombok, to which the ruler of Karangasem replied on behalf of the new rulers, ended the proceedings.<30>

This 1938 ceremony further strengthened Pura Besakih's role as symbol of Balinese unity. On other state occasions when the rulers acted as a group, Pura Besakih was the choice of location.<31>

The Zelfbestuurders' new powers took effect two days later, beginning 1 July 1938. On 30 September 1938 the eight rulers, in accordance with government policy (the Resident was Chairman), set up a High Council, called Paroeman Agoeng, to deal with matters of common interest. It served, in effect, as a kind of federal council, each regency being represented by two advisors besides the rulers. For a short while, the official Paroeman Agoeng and the unofficial Paroeman Kerta Negara existed side by side, but their spheres of concern and membership were essentially so similar that the latter seems to have lost its own identity. Certainly by 1940 the Paroeman Agoeng had taken over the administration of Pura Besakih. From that time, Pura Besakih was the responsibility of the highest legal body in the island.

The Japanese landed in Bali on 19 February 1942 and until their

surrender on 14 August 1945, ritual activities at Pura Besakih were presumably kept to a minimum.

PURA BESAKIH AND THE REPUBLICAN STATE

The Revolutionary Period (1945-1950)

On 17 August 1945 Sukarno and Hatta declared the Independence of the Republic of Indonesia. In Bali, republican supporters took power.<32> I Gusti Ketut Puja became Governor of the Province of Lesser Sunda (Sunda Ketjil). However, republican control in Bali was terminated after Dutch forces landed in Bali early in March 1946. Armed struggle broke out between Dutch and republican forces under I Gusti Ngurah Rai who was finally killed at the battle or puputan of Marga. The state of war in Bali was officially lifted only in June 1949. Throughout this period, government administration in Bali remained based on the 1938 Zelfbestuursregelen. A revamped structure, however, was put into effect by the rulers on 4 February 1946, in which the eight rulers set up the Gabungan Keradjaan-Keradjaan Bali (Federation of Balinese Kingdoms).

As a result of the Denpasar Conference, Negara Indonesia Timur came into existence on 24 December 1946, and 'Daerah Bali' became an autonomous unit within this federally constituted state. The President of the new state was the Balinese Tjokorda Gde Raka Soekawati. In response to this new situation, the regulation of 4 February 1946 was revoked and a new law, effective from 1 March 1947, established a federal type of organization for Daerah Bali. Called Gabungan Keradjaan-Keradjaan Bali like its predecessor, it consisted

of two bodies, a Dewan Radja-Radja (Council of Rulers) and a Representative Council called Paroeman Agoeng. In setting up this federation, individual rulers handed over to the Federation a number of rights and powers, which the law spelled out in detail.<33>

The new federal bodies promised to assist in "the development of Daerah Bali" and "to raise higher both the material and spiritual happiness of the population." As part of the enactment of this promise was "the upkeep of Pura Besakih and the organization of the ceremonies associated with that temple" (pasal 2c, lempiran d). Upkeep of Pura Besakih was therefore listed among expenditures for which the Federation was responsible (pasal 34). The importance of this document is that it marks the first time in a constitutional document that Pura Besakih was declared to be the responsibility of the state, in this case the federal government of Daerah Bali, though the foundations of this legal development had begun in 1938. All the rulers attended Bhatara Turun Kabeh at Besakih that year (1947).

On 27 December 1949 the Dutch government transferred sovereignty to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia, of which Negara Indonesia Timur was a constituent state. The unitary Republic of Indonesia was established on 17 August 1950.

The 1950's and early 1960's

Within the unitary republic, Bali became a daerah within the province of Lesser Sunda. In changes implemented in September 1950, the Paruman Agung was replaced by the Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Daerah Bali. Routine administration was conducted by the Dewan Pemerintah Daerah Bali whose head (kepala daerah) from October 1950, Anak Agung Bagus Sutedja, was assisted by four members. The Dewan Pemerintah

Daerah Bali concerned itself, amongst other things, with various religious matters. Pura Besakih was one of these, but was embroiled in the larger problem of the status of Agama Hindu or Hinduism at the national level. The struggle for the recognition of Hinduism as one of Indonesia's official religions was to last a decade.<34>

When Kementerian Agama (Ministry of Religion) was set up in 1950, only Islam, Catholic and Protestant Christianity were officially recognized. In response to queries as to the status of Hinduism and to investigate the setting up of Kantor Agama (Office of Religion) at provincial and regional levels, two envoys from the Ministry in Jakarta, K.H.Masjkur and Sunarjo, visited Bali on 28 December 1950. They made enquiries concerning the name of the religion of the Balinese, its philosophy and belief about God, the significance of its worship, the names of its important temples, the existence or not of religious schools, and its Holy Book. I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa, at the time Bali's foremost intellectual, an expert on the Hindu religion, a prolific author, and a member of the Dewan Pemerintah Daerah, answered on behalf of the Daerah government. In answer to a question whether there were any difficulties, he brought up four matters, among them the funding of rituals and maintenance of Pura Besakih which was said to be in disrepair, and full representation of Hinduism (Agama Hindu Bali) within the Ministry at all levels of its administration.<35> The Balinese informed the envoys that the cost of rituals at Pura Besakih each year was Rp.15,000. The envoys promised assistance, and next day visited Besakih.

Correspondence between the Daerah government and the Ministry of Religion during the first half of 1951 again brought up the matter of funding for Pura Besakih. In June private religious organizations,

supported by the Daerah's House of Representatives, petitioned the Minister. The Head of Daerah, Sutedja, in a letter to the Governor in support of this petition, drew special attention to funding for Pura Besakih, saying that he had made available money for that year's Bhatara Turun Kabeh since, despite promises of assistance, nothing had been forthcoming.<36>

In another letter to the Governor dated 31 August 1951 (Letter No.B 6/5/14), Sutedja spelled out in detail the official Balinese view of the status of Pura Besakih.

1. Pura Besakih is the one and only temple which is considered sacred and which must be honoured by all followers of Agama Hindu Bali who now number some one and a half million, and where every year at least worship must be performed there for the well-being of the island and its inhabitants.

2. Pura Besakih was looked after and taken care of by all the people through the channel of the rajas and then through the Dewan Raja-Raja.

3. Pura Besakih, according to popular belief, is considered sacred because that temple is the first temple in the history of Bali. Each Galungan everyone honours it by erecting penjor on the right-hand side outside their gateways.

4. Since Dutch times, our concern towards Pura Besakih and religion has much declined owing to the people's generally being unable to pay for or restore the temple because of its size.

5. Now Pura Besakih is in a state of utter disrepair and the responsibility of its upkeep has been handed over to us as the successor to the Dewan Radja-Radja which has already been disbanded.

6. Remembering that our nation is based on belief in God, with which we are in full agreement, religious movements are making themselves known, and so we very much hope for government contribution for the restoration of Pura Besakih as a necessary condition for perfecting the performance of our religion, and also to lighten the burden on the people generally who follow Agama Hindu in their efforts to support the said temple. Besides that we have already made efforts to create a fund for Pura Besakih.

The most important point in this and other correspondence is that the Daerah government considered itself responsible for Pura Besakih on the grounds that it was the successor to the Dewan Radja-Radja.

And since the Daerah government itself received its authority from the national government, the latter was not wholly free of ultimate responsibility. But this the national government was reluctant to admit and in replying to the motion of the private religious organizations, the Ministry of Religion declared that the upkeep of the temples was the duty of the adherents of the religion themselves (Letter dated 23 August 1951). However, despite this seeming rejection, in May 1952 the Minister of Religion made available the sum of Rp.10,000 for the upkeep of Pura Besakih (Letter dated 10 May 1952). I am uncertain to what extent the Ministry of Religion continued to give contributions to Pura Besakih.

The lack of documentation from the remainder of the 1950's and early 1960's makes it difficult to determine with any degree of certainty the details of funding and administration of Pura Besakih at that time.<37> The general picture, though, is reasonably clear. The Daerah government continued to consider itself responsible for Pura Besakih. Administration of the temple, as far as it went, was conducted by the Dewan Pemerintah Daerah. After Bali became a separate province on 11 August 1958 (UU No.64/1958), the responsibility of the former Daerah government was taken over by the new provincial government (Pemerintah Daerah Tingkat I Propinsi Bali), with administration being under a revamped executive body called Badan Pemerintah Harian (see Legge 1961 on these administrative changes). Government involvement, however, was essentially limited to providing finance (whether on a regular basis is uncertain). The enactment of Bhatara Turun Kabeh, for instance, was carried out by the traditional ruling families of Gianyar, Karangasem and Klungkung on a rotation basis.<38> The Kantor Agama Otonoom Daerah Bali and its successor, the

Dinas Agama Tingkat I Bali, played only a supporting role.

The continuing role of government in the affairs of Pura Besakih during the late 1950's and early 1960's is most dramatically demonstrated in the enactment of the enormous cleansing ceremonies of Panca Walikrama in 1960 and Ekadasa Rudra in 1963. These great bhuta yadnya ceremonies, the culmination of the hierarchy of ritual elaboration both for Besakih itself and for the religion as a whole, are so important in the religious history of Bali and in the history of Besakih in particular that I devote to them the final and culminating chapter of this study. Leaving aside until then the reasons why they were enacted at that time and the details of their enactment, I discuss briefly here only those aspects that reflect directly on the government's responsibility towards Pura Besakih and its rituals.

This responsibility, in terms essentially similar to those expressed in the documents of the early 1950's, was clearly acknowledged in the preamble to the announcement of the Governor setting up the special committee that was to organize the Ekadasa Rudra. The document says:

1. That the Government of the Daerah Tingkat I Bali cannot free itself from the duty that was bequeathed to it by the [former] rulers, i.e. to act as the Head of Adat and Agama [Religion]
2. That, for that reason, [the Government] is responsible for carrying out ceremonies that in the usana and purana texts must be performed by Sang Angawa Rat
3. That, for that reason, after obtaining the opinions of several gatherings of high priests (sulinggih), [the Government] has made the decision to hold the Karya Ekadasa Rudra in April 1963.<39>

Political realities, however, as well as both traditional and modernizing political ideologies, were all reflected in the enactment of Ekadasa Rudra 1963. The patron (pelindung) of the committee was

the local military commander (Panglima Kodam XVI Udayana), who at that time was the man of highest authority at the provincial level and who thus controlled central government funds without which the ceremony could not have been held. The Governor was the head of the group of 'supervisors' (pengawas). The chairman (ketua), however, was Ida I Dewa Agung of Klungkung. This reliance on the Dewa Agung in no way was a recognition of political power but of power to mobilize skilled manpower for the enactment of a major ritual, together with deference to his former traditional role as paramount ruler of Bali (at least in name) and a leading authority in matters of religion and adat. After all, he had the most experience in organizing major rituals (including the Panca Walikrama 1960).^{<40>} Members of the governor's staff, especially I Gusti Putu Arka (member of Badan Pemerintah Harian) and Ida Bagus Rurus (Daerah secretary) played active roles as did officials of the Dinas Agama, particularly Ida Bagus Gede and I Gusti Ketut Kaler.^{<41>} In effect, then, the Government both organized the festival and provided a substantial proportion of the total costs of about Rp.3 million.^{<42>}

Modern political ideologies associated with Indonesian nationhood also influenced the complex relationship between the enactment of Ekadasa Rudra and political authority. Whereas in pre-colonial times Sang Angawa Rat was the raja in whose hands were, indistinguished in those days, both sovereignty and government, in the post-colonial era of the Republic, Sang Angawa Rat was both government and the people. In official pronouncements, anyway, the people (here the Hindu population of Bali) were the (co-)sponsors of Ekadasa Rudra (Panitia 1962:28,30; Kala Wrtta II(17):2). This idea was to develop further in the years to come.

Throughout the 1950's and early 1960's the government, while acknowledging its responsibility for Pura Besakih, used existing institutions and had never felt the necessity to establish a separate organization to administer the temple. That came about for the first time in 1965. Two years earlier, just as Ekadasa Rudra was in progress, in a remarkable coincidence, Gunung Agung erupted for the first time in more than a century. The festival went ahead despite the eruption, but when finally the mountain quietened down, Pura Besakih had suffered considerable damage, largely from an earthquake after the festival was over. Nothing was done for two years. Then the Governor, through a letter of authorization (surat keterangan) dated 18 March 1965, inaugurated a special committee called Panitia Pembinaan Pura Besakih with the task of restoring the temple.<43> Work began on the day of the full moon 25 February 1967. The project was financed by the government.<44>

Rehabilitation of Pura Penataran Agung was completed by early 1968, and a high-level committee was formed to carry out the large ritual of rededication (pangenteg linggih), which was held on 13 April 1968, in conjunction with that year's Bhatara Turun Kabeh.<45> A series of discussions held within the framework of this committee, the latest being held at Besakih on 25 July 1968, led to a new organizational structure for Pura Besakih in which administrative control was handed over to Parisada Hindu Dharma.

Pura Besakih and Parisada Hindu Dharma

Parisada Hindu Dharma, or Parisada Dharma Hindu Bali as it was originally called, came into being on 23 February 1959.<46> Parisada became recognized by the central government as the official 'supreme

council' (majelis tertinggi) of the Hindu Religion in Indonesia, parallel to similar councils of the other official religions. Its basic aim, as laid out in its constitution, is religious:

Parisada is based on the belief in One God according to the teachings of Hinduism and aims to lead its adherents to the achievement of material and spiritual well-being in a society based on Pancasila.

Through its periodic assemblies (pesamuhan and mahasabha), Parisada, with varying degrees of success and persuasion, has attempted to bring about a certain minimum uniformity of belief and practice. There is, however, no unanimity amongst its leaders as to the nature and degree of such reforms. At times, a healthy respect for tradition is also apparent.<47>

Pura Besakih's new organizational structure took effect from 10 August 1968, when the Governor of Bali, Soekarmen, issued a letter of authorization transferring administration, but not total responsibility, from the government of the province of Bali to Parisada Hindu Dharma.<48> This document lists three matters of consideration in the formation of this decision.

1. That Parisada Hindu Dharma is in truth a council that represents the adherents of Hinduism, and is trusted by the adherents of Hinduism to develop the Hindu community, especially in matters of religion.
2. That Pura Agung Besakih constitutes the centre of worship for the adherents of Hinduism, which continually requires support, and which since times past until the present has been assisted by the government of Bali.
3. That since it constitutes an institution traditionally regarded as custom (adat) in Balinese society, government as the holder of power (Guru Wisesa) cannot be separated from activities existing within Hindu society.

Taking into account the discussions held within the framework of the pangenteg linggih committee, and taking note of the 1965 law on local government, the 1958 law setting up Bali as a province, and the letters of authorization dealing with the Panitia Pembinaan Pura

Besakih, the Governor implemented a number of decisions. The first was to dissolve the Panitia Pembinaan Pura Besakih. The second was "to hand over to Parisada Hindu Dharma the duty of carrying out the development of Pura Agung Besakih henceforth, in the widest sense of the word." The third was to demand a more intensive management of temple-owned lands (laba pura) which formerly was handled by Ida Bagus Gede. The fourth decision was that "In activities henceforth, especially those dealing with important matters, consultations be held with the Government of the Province of Bali." This last and important point meant that the provincial government did not hand over all responsibility but retained for itself consultative powers. Government continued to be the main source of finance for the running and upkeep of the temple.

To accomplish the task handed over to it, Parisada Hindu Dharma set up a special organization, the Prawartaka Pura Besakih, to administer the temple. This organization, established by acte notaris on 24 September 1968, was responsible to its parent organization. I Gusti Ngurah Pindha, then vice-governor, was appointed chairman. Structurally, Prawartaka was divided into various sections including those dealing with ceremonies (upacara) and temple lands. Certain sections (especially the section dealing with ritual) performed their tasks admirably, but in its overall administration of Pura Besakih, Prawartaka was not as successful and efficient as had been expected. It did not meet regularly, and often there was insufficient coordination with the provincial government, or the kabupaten government of Karangasem in whose territory the temple is located, or with the leaders of the adat community of Besakih. To a certain extent its duties devolved back to its parent organization and its

secretary-general.

The major reason for the administrative transfer of Pura Besakih from provincial government to Parisada Hindu Dharma was the view that matters of a religious nature should be organized by each religion's own supreme council rather than by government. Government preferred to act in a supporting rather than directing role. This harks back to statements made in the early 1950's that care of religious sanctuaries should be in the hands of the religion concerned, and to the view expressed during Ekadasa Rudra 1963 that the Hindu congregation was the sponsor of such rituals, or at least co-sponsor with government. In short, Parisada Hindu Dharma was expected to develop policy and determine requirements concerning Hindu sanctuaries, especially Pura Besakih. In important matters, as the transfer document instructed, it was to consult the government. In practice, for various reasons, government continued to play more than just a consultative role. One reason was the nature of Parisada's financial structure. Another was that government was heir to Bali's unique relationship between the Hindu religion and the state, expressed in such terms as guru wisesa and sang angawa rat.

Although the provincial government no longer invoked the guru wisesa ideology after the administrative transfer, it still felt itself bound to assist Parisada. The change brought about by the transfer is shown clearly from a comparison of the letters of authorization setting up the committees for Ekadasa Rudra 1963 and Ekadasa Rudra 1979. In the latter case, the decision to hold the ceremony was made by Parisada which then discussed it with the government. The point to note, though, is that the government and not Parisada established the committee. The preamble to this letter

referred to the Parisada decision but also noted certain more general considerations, such as the importance of implementing religious duties and the traditional directives regarding the enactment of Panca Walikrama and Ekadasa Rudra at Pura Besakih.<49>

A rather more complex relationship between Parisada and government was demonstrated by the establishment of a Master Plan for Pura Besakih and its immediate environs.<50> The inspiration for this appears to have come from the Directorate of Culture whose Director-General at that time (1975) was Ida Bagus Mantra who has been closely associated with Parisada since its inception. A draft of the master plan was drawn up by the Proyek Sasana Budaya Bali (funded by the Directorate of Culture) in conjunction with Parisada officials. This was then further discussed with the provincial government and its Planning office (Bappeda), with the result that in May 1977 the governor officially established a team to compile the plan. This team in effect merely accepted the report already compiled. In June the plan was officially endorsed by the provincial House of Representatives, and money made available in the budget.

The other reason for continuing government involvement in Besakih affairs is related to the matter of Parisada's finances. Although Parisada is the officially-sanctioned supreme Hindu council in Indonesia representing all Hindus throughout the country, up until the present day (1986) it does not possess an independent financial base. Rather than being supported by contributions from the Hindu congregation, it depends almost entirely on grants from government, especially the Bali provincial government. Parisada cannot from its own resources, including these grants, finance the ceremonies and maintenance of Pura Besakih. All it can do is, through its Prawartaka

Pura Besakih, act as organizer and coordinator.

For the funding of rituals that in earlier times were the responsibility of government, Parisada relies on government at various administrative levels: kabupaten government for the aci nyatur ceremonies, kabupaten and provincial government for Bhatara Turun Kabeh, while the great occasional cleansing rituals are funded by government together with contributions from the Hindu congregation. Provincial government contributed Rp.13 million out of Panca Walikrama's cost of Rp.24.7 million. Of Ekadasa Rudra's expenditure of Rp.88.9 million, Rp.50 million came from government sources (Rp.15 million from the President, Rp.25 million from the provincial government and Rp.10 million from kabupaten governments).^{<51>} Donations from the Hindu congregation, however, are of increasing importance.

Maintenance costs are financed entirely by government, and although they do not constitute routine expenditure, in some years they are several times larger than ritual expenditure. They depend on both what repairs are necessary and the availability of funds.^{<52>} In the years 1976 to 1984 large sums of money were spent on temple maintenance and on non-temple infrastructure associated with the Besakih master-plan and with the Ekadasa Rudra 1979. In preparation for Ekadasa Rudra, in the fiscal year 1978/79 the provincial government paid out Rp.25 million for an enormous carpark and a further Rp.4.65 million for minor temple repairs.^{<53>} But the great majority of maintenance funding has come from the central government via various projects of the Directorate-General of Culture (Ministry of Education and Culture). In 1977 a large secular general-purpose pavilion complex called Kesari Warmadewa Mandapa, built at a cost of

Rp.23 million, was funded by the Project Sasana Budaya Bali.<54> Between 1980 and 1984, after an earthquake in 1979 again damaged structures, the Office of Restoration and Protection of Historical and Archeological Monuments funded the major project of completely rebuilding the entrance-gates of Pura Penataran Agung (the candi bentar, kori agung and two new side gates) and the structures of the lowest terrace. The cost of this project was about Rp.142 million.<55> Minor repairs were also carried out in some of the other temples.

These large expenditures were made in the years when the high price of oil contributed to a large national budget, but with the drop in oil prices such expenditures have been severely curtailed, and it seems likely that plans for further major rebuilding will be postponed for quite some time. Even the provincial government in recent years has attempted to keep its Besakih contributions to present levels, making it likely that contributions from the Hindu congregation will gradually play an increasing role in years to come.

Conclusion

For more than 500 years (and perhaps twice that) the relationship between Pura Besakih and the state in Bali in its various transformations through the centuries has maintained an essential continuity. During this long period the dominant ideology underpinning this relationship was that the authority in power, the guru wisesa or sang angawa rat, had the duty and responsibility to serve and honour the gods of Pura Besakih. The stability of the state, the prosperity of the people, the fertility of the land, all depended on homage being paid to the Divinity. This duty to serve the

gods of Besakih was implemented through the enactment of the required rituals and the physical maintenance of the temple complex. The organization and funding for Besakih has varied over the centuries yet, like the relationship as a whole, shows a demonstrable continuity. Only the colonial period is something of an anomaly for the Dutch colonial government, which was guru wisesa in Bali for more than 30 years, never considered itself responsible for the temple. The traditional rulers during most of the colonial era, although not having political authority, retained (or were allowed to retain by default) certain powers in matters of adat and religion, and these included responsibility for Pura Besakih. The power of this ideology has only begun to lose its force in recent years, to be replaced partly by the idea that the Hindu congregation itself must now help bear responsibility for Pura Besakih, the nation's paramount Hindu temple.

CHAPTER 12

PINNACLE OF HIERARCHY:

PANCA WALIKRAMA AND EKADASA RUDRA

Introduction

Hierarchy in various forms infuses most aspects of Pura Besakih. Nothing more illustrates the coming together of the highest levels of the political and religious hierarchies associated with Pura Besakih than the great periodic purificatory rituals of Panca Walikrama and especially Ekadasa Rudra. Ekadasa Rudra is the largest ritual of Balinese Hinduism and must therefore be enacted at the island's largest and most important temple by the highest level of political authority. Its effects encompass not just the island but the whole 'middle world' and it involves all Hindus in Bali, and beyond, in a way no other ritual does.

Rituals of the dewa yadnya and bhuta yadnya categories that are larger than the usual annual (or bi-annual) ceremonies and held at longer intervals of time, are very important in understanding Balinese ritual as a whole.<1> Depending on village or temple, such ceremonies are sometimes held at regular intervals of five or ten years, but more usually take place at irregular intervals that may be measured in decades. When these elaborate ceremonies are temple festivals of the dewa yadnya category they are usually called usaba of one kind or another; at Besakih there is nothing quite comparable to these.<2> When they are bhuta yadnya ceremonies their names depend of the level of ritual elaboration. Besakih's great periodic rituals, Panca

Walikrama and Ekadasa Rudra, are both of the bhuta yadnya category. Ekadasa Rudra is only ever held at Pura Besakih, whereas Panca Walikrama is not restricted to Besakih.<3>

The Textual Tradition

Although Panca Walikrama and Ekadasa Rudra are rarely enacted, both are well known and often encountered in the ritual texts of the brahmanic tradition. These ritual texts are many in name and number. For a large part they are compilations or collections of shorter items or passages which have their own identities. The opening item often gives its name to the text as a whole. Despite the variety of names, a comparison of ritual texts makes it clear that many have items in common, arranged in varying order. Some items are essentially lists of offerings while others are more didactic in purpose. Many begin by explaining the when and the why of a ritual and then go on with the practical matter of ritual enactment, enumerating groups of offerings and their locations within the rituals.

Forming something of a sub-group within some of these texts are passages dealing with major rituals of the bhuta yadnya category, those larger than the common five-chicken sacrifice, ceremonies where a high priest rather than a pemanaku officiates. In such texts, the names of the rituals, their ranking and ritual details vary quite considerably. References to Panca Walikrama and Ekadasa Rudra, often though not invariably encountered in this sub-group of bhuta yadnya items, are found in texts catalogued under such names as (Widhi-widhananing) Taur Ekadasa Rudra or Tingkah ing Karya Panca Walikrama, only when such is the opening or sole item. Besides these texts, some high priests possess special puja texts which give the

mantras and hymns of praise (stawa) to be used.<4> Some passages dealing with Panca Walikrama and Ekadasa Rudra provide little more than technical information. Very important in the practical enactment of ritual, these are a mass of technical terms and I will not go into them further here.<5>

A number of passages in some of these texts, however, give directives as to when and under what conditions Panca Walikrama and Ekadasa Rudra may or should be held. These directives fall into two groups. One group says that the rituals should be held on the appearance of grave natural and social disasters, without specifying any preferred calendrical timing. The second group specifies a preferred timing, either in terms of an interval of time (e.g. Panca Walikrama every five, six or ten years; Ekadasa Rudra every 10 or 100 years) or in terms of a specific point in time (e.g. Panca Walikrama when the Saka year ends in a zero; Ekadasa Rudra when it ends in two zeros). Natural and social disasters as reasons for holding major purificatory rituals are not confined to Panca Walikrama and Ekadasa Rudra alone, but also apply to other large bhuta yadnya sacrifices such as rsi gana, lebu gentuh and balik sumpah, depending on place and situation. Directives of both types may be found in the one text.

With regard to Panca Walikrama, for instance, the Nitisastra Padanda Sakti Wawu Rawuh makes it quite clear that Panca Walikrama may be enacted according to either of the two kinds of directives:

At the time of the disastrous Kali yuga, the earth is troubled, illnesses continue endlessly, war rages unabated, disease affects the whole world, whatever is planted is eaten by mice and locusts, evil and crime continue without end,, all weda and mantra are without effect . . . If the world is struck by such ill-fortune, the priest and the ruler should perform rites of homage to God who is rightly the object of worship of brahmana and ruling ksatria, on an auspicious day, at full moon or new moon, and do homage to Surya

Furthermore regarding the ruler, if the ruler lacks

direction and purpose, then the world becomes confused, in the manner just discussed, and the world must be made prosperous [again]. To begin, the priest does rituals that ensures the well-being of the world, worships the deities, praises God and all spiritual beings that are the life of the world. Ruler and priest do homage to the gods by means of sacrifice(?), performing weda mantra and hymns of praise such as those directed to Giripati, Brahma, Mahadewa, Wisnu, Sambha, Basuki, Druwe-Resi, Bayu, Teja, Baruna, Anantabhoga. Arrange [the sacrifice] in the manner of Panca Walikrama, in five places. High priests officiate. Carry out the ceremony in the open space at the great sanctuary, and use five panggungan, the paselang ritual and a buffalo as titi mamah. This is the way in which the ruler makes prosperous the world, and has been thus done since the time when Dalem Wau Rauh was ruler.

This ceremony should also be enacted at the point of time when the 'neck' (tenggek: the tens column of a Saka year) changes, and should be carried out at [Pura] Penataran Agung on Gunung Agung Basakih, then at the Bancingah Agung and also Pasar Agung, and finally at the limits of the land, at simple, moderate or elaborate level.

This is the explanation: It is the nature of the world that when the earth is afflicted by 'sharpness' (?) for a period of a year, the world is troubled, ill-fortune and pestilence increase, mice eat everything that grows, many people become ill, many buffalo and cows die from wrong birth. In the third month thundering comes out of the east, [together with] a meteor . . . In the ninth month there comes forth thundering in the east, accompanied by a meteor in the south. In the month Sada thundering comes forth in the southwest and southeast, . . . filling the heavens. These are the signs of nature indicating that the sacrifice Panca Walikrama should be performed. Set up sanggar tawang of three compartments, and place in it/them six groups of suci laksana offerings together with catur, widya, gana [three kinds of offerings], and byulalang, peji, uduh [sacred leaves]. The three kinds of priest -- Siwa, Buddha and Bhujangga -- are entitled to officiate. Do the lukat cleansing with the Homatraya. Seven brahmana priests do puja, three at the centre and one at each of the four directions; eight if the padanda buddha at the paselang is included. Also senqquhu -- five, one each at the four directions and centre.

[The text continues with details of Panca Walikrama]. <6>

The directive based on specific timing, i.e. when the 'neck' of the year changes (anemu masalin tenggek) but without specifying any particular day of the year, is also found in the Raja Purana Pura Besakih (RPI 17.29-18.1) where it too is followed by details of a somewhat different lot of offerings. The Raja Purana has an

additional phrase to the effect that Panca Walikrama at Besakih is 'owned' by the ruler (druwe Dalem), i.e. the ruler is responsible for its enactment. A number of other texts also indicate a preferred timing every ten years.<7> Some texts, however, prescribe an interval of five years<8>, while the directive in the well-known Jayakasunu text specifies an interval of six years and specifies the day of the new moon of the ninth month as an appropriate time:

Also, my child Sri Aji Jayakasunu, in each ninth month you must bring forth all the gods and carry them in procession to the seashore, [and] on the day of the new moon of the ninth month, lay out a pancasanak sacrifice according to the system of directions, and 'make quiet' the land for a night. On the sixth year, you must enact Panca Walikrama, using five buffaloes, and also erect five sanggar tawang, [one] at each of the five directions, [thus] removing all kinds of impurity, so that the ruler of Bali will enjoy long life.

There is a similar situation with regards Ekadasa Rudra: some texts indicate inauspicious natural signs as reason enough for its enactment, others prescribe specific intervals or points of time. Inauspicious natural signs are the reasons in the Jayakasunu:

Hai Jayakasunu, the reason each ruler dies at the time of the 'three kala of dungulan', dies after less than a year [as ruler], and why his followers die struck down by epidemic, is because the sanctuaries of gods and ancestors are all in absolute ruin, because you do not perform homage to the god of Besakih and of Batur and Batukau, No-one performs yoga meditation or enacts the rituals requesting prosperity at Besakih each year in the fourth month or on the day Coma-Umanis. And most importantly, if there is destruction, for instance land inundated by the sea, rain of ash, darkness [day and night], you should enact Ekadasa Rudra at Besakih,<9>

And in the Raja Purana Pura Besakih (RPI 17.22-28):

Here is the sacrifice against all kinds of pestilence, the sacrifice to be performed being the Ekadasa Rudra, a sacrifice to the bhuta (demons) of Bali,[list of offerings].... Its function is the removal of infirmity from the land. He who owns the land/country must erect sanggar tawang.<10>

Besides directives such as these, for Ekadasa Rudra, just as for

Panca Walikrama, directives in different texts prescribe different intervals of time. Generally, should Panca Walikrama be every five years, Ekadasa Rudra is every ten <11>; whereas should Panca Walikrama be every ten years, Ekadasa Rudra is every 100 years.<12> When 100 years is prescribed, the expression used is usually (kalaning anemu) rah windu tenggek windu, '(at the time when) both the units (literally 'blood') and the tens ('neck') are zero'. This difference in intervals of time for enacting both Panca Walikrama and Ekadasa Rudra is explained in one text as being due to different traditions or methods of calendrical calculations.<13>

For a culture so fascinated by concepts and calculations of time in cycles, in which the change of Saka year was celebrated by major ritual, it is not surprising that changes of Saka decades and centuries were celebrated in even larger rituals. It was regarded as a time of potentially dangerous transition that could be guarded against only by the enactment of suitable ritual. Whether there was an idea of cosmic calamity at the end of each century as there was in Java requires further research.<14>

The evidence of the relevant passages in the textual tradition indicates that there is no single correct timing for either Panca Walikrama or Ekadasa Rudra, and thus one cannot say that a Panca Walikrama or Ekadasa Rudra held other than at a zero Saka year of decade or century was necessarily wrong (e.g. Lansing 1983:129). That there are two kinds of directives for enacting these ceremonies finds support in the views of modern Balinese religious leaders, and in the actual enactments of these rituals, all held this century, for which we have data.<15>

Enactments of Panca Walikrama and Ekadasa Rudra

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that both Panca Walikrama and Ekadasa Rudra were well-known to those well-read in brahmanic ritual. The very details provided by the texts suggests that these are notes based on experience, and not directions for a hypothetical ritual.<16> How often these rituals were in fact held in previous centuries is difficult to answer. Such traditional sources as babad do not help for they never or very rarely mention the enactment of rituals. This does not imply that they never were held. Friederich, the first great scholar of Bali who studied there in the mid-19th century, suggests otherwise.

The expiatory feasts, however, are those most worthy of attention. They are, in great part celebrated, not in the temples, but in the inner portion of the houses (natar), or in places arranged for the purpose. We have already mentioned two feasts: Bayakala (...) and Panchawalikrama. This feast is not kept on fixed days in the year, but on great occasions. It occurs after the conquest of a State, for the sake of the conquered population, who are thereby delivered from the evil influence of the demons, who have power over conquered places; it also takes place before the abiseka (anointing) of the Sovereigns, and it is celebrated by all the princes and the men who bear arms. It is further observed after a contagious disease -- e.g., the smallpox. It is necessary that five Padandas should be present, four seated facing each of the cardinal points and one in the middle: one of the five must be a Padanda Buddha (a Buddhist priest), who sits facing the south....

Another expiatory feast is called Ekadasa Rudra (....). The [Indian] origin of this feast, however, seems to be known to but few Balinese.<17> (....) The offerings enumerated there are the greatest known in India, but, according to the descriptions which I have obtained, they are not organized in Bali and Lombok precisely in the Indian manner. I was told that there was no bloody sacrifices in the feast in Lombok (September 1846); simply large sums of money were distributed among the priests and the people, and ordinary offerings were presented. (Friederich 1959:71-72)

A problem that arises is that a reference to the enactment of a ritual does not always clearly indicate level of ritual elaboration. The Lombok ceremony that Friederich refers to would not appear to be

comparable to the two Ekadasa Rudra of this century. Prior to these, whether Ekadasa Rudra had ever been held at such an elaborate level is open to question, but unanswerable. Although there may be doubt whether Panca Walikrama has ever been held at Besakih at a level comparable to those of the 20th century, there is little doubt that comparable ceremonies have been held elsewhere on the island. The abiseka ratu ceremony held at Gianyar in 1903 involved five sanggar tawang at the five directions (Swellengrebel 1947) and there is evidence to suggest a ceremony of like size was once held every year at Klungkung on the day of the new moon of the ninth month.<18>

The enactments for which data are available -- Panca Walikrama in 1933, 1960, and 1978, and Ekadasa Rudra in 1963 and 1979 -- vary widely as to timing according to Saka years. Panca Walikrama 1978 and Ekadasa Rudra 1979 both fell within the Saka year 1900, but the other enactments were held in the Saka years 1855, 1882 and 1884, and in various months within those years.<19> Since Panca Walikrama of 1933 and 1960 and Ekadasa Rudra of 1963 were not held at turn of Saka decade or century, there must have been other reasons for enacting them. Decisions to hold such large ceremonies, which can only be made in ruling circles, are not based solely on religious or ritual requirements but are influenced to varying degrees by political and social considerations.

Panca Walikrama 1933

The great Besakih ritual of 1933 that combined Panca Walikrama and ngenteg lingqih was considered the culminating ritual in the rehabilitation of Pura Besakih after the great earthquake. The festival took place in the week leading up to the full moon of the

fourth month.<20> The grandeur of such an elaborate ceremony, the presence of large crowds ('like a large town moved to the mountain'), the attendance of the eight traditional rulers newly restored to positions of power as bestuurders, brought prestige to temple and rulers. The ritual confirmed the unity of Bali and the paramount status of Pura Besakih. It clearly was an important event in the history of the temple, and at the time it must have attracted more attention than any previous ceremony in Bali for quite some time. Its greatest impact would have been among the ruling circles of the eight regencies, among villagers in the neighbourhood of the temple itself or near the route of the gods' procession to the sea at Klotok and back. Yet considering the communications of the age (no local radio or newspaper), it may be doubted whether all villagers throughout the island even knew about it, let alone had the opportunity to attend. The newly opened road right up to the temple made the journey easier, but was of more benefit to the rulers in their private automobiles than the ordinary villagers who probably still made the final ascent on foot.

Funding for the ritual came from or via the rulers and included donations. There is no record of its cost but just two years later in budgetary estimates, Panca Walikrama was reckoned at f.1000, or ten times that of Bhatara Turun Kabeh (Notulen Paroeman Kerta Negara 10 Dec.1935).

Panca Walikrama 1960 and Ekadasa Rudra 1963

Panca Walikrama 1960 was essentially a reenactment of that of 1933; people still remembered how it had been done. But Ekadasa Rudra 1963 was most extraordinary in that it had never been held in

living memory. Known only in the textual tradition, it had to be created anew, based on the texts and, equally, on the knowledge and experience of other large bhuta yadnya ceremonies and the hierarchy of ritual elaboration that connects them. Ekadasa Rudra 1963 was extraordinary in another crucial respect and that was the degree to which it affected all Hindu Balinese to an extent greater than had even been the case before. The island had to be purified; all the dead had to be cremated, and this involved virtually everyone. Then on top of all this, engraving the event on everyone's mind, Gunung Agung erupted as preparations were well underway and the ritual took place under extraordinary conditions.

Why and how all this came about helps explain its significance, and for that we must go back some years, earlier even than the Panca Walikrama of 1960, to an event, the so-called 'tumbal affair'.^{<21>} On 17 October 1958, in the presence of the then acting head of the Office of Religious Affairs (Kantor Dinas Agama Daerah Tingkat I Bali), important members of the former ruling house of Karangasem, a padanda and local Besakih pemangku, a tumbal, an object of magical power, was buried behind the padmasana in Pura Penataran Agung on behalf of one Ejang Gusti Haji, a Javanese from Malang who had been instrumental in the spread of Hinduism in East Java.^{<22>} At the time nothing more was thought of it. Later, when this private ritual event was brought to the attention of the government and the provincial House of Representatives, it was viewed in a different light, and the tumbal was ordered removed. This took place on 1 November 1959; the substances removed (hair and menyan incense) were returned to their owner in Malang. A small purification ceremony was held to cleanse the temple and with that the affair was officially closed.

However, the matter did not end there. The affair created consternation in the community at large, because of the common belief that to bury a tumbal, especially in such a place, the most important shrine on the island, must have had some purpose behind it, and in the then current political and security atmosphere, perhaps an unworthy purpose. Although officially other reasons, sufficient reasons in themselves, were given as to why Panca Walikrama was being enacted, so widespread was the connection made between tumbal affair and Panca Walikrama that the government felt forced to issue an official denial of any connection. The official reason was that since political disturbances had prevented Panca Walikrama from being held since 1933 and since many shrines had again been renovated, it was the duty of Hindu Balinese to enact it in accordance with the directive of the Raja Purana which says it should be held every ten years. More specifically the ceremony was intended to purify the island from the events that had befallen it since the Japanese landed, events that had led to the shedding of much blood (Suara Indonesia 15 Feb. 1960).

However, in the mind of one man, Ida Bagus Gede (later Padanda Gede Manuaba) of Geria Sedawa, Gianyar, the Panca Walikrama of 1960 was indeed the direct result of the tumbal affair. According to Ida Bagus Gede, who became the new head of Kantor Dinas Agama as a result of this affair, the tumbal affair, when it became public, caused considerable discontent and restlessness in the community.<23> This discontent, aggravated by the unease caused by the unhealthy state of public security in Bali throughout much of the 1950's, was of concern to the local military command. The military commander, since at that time he, rather than the Governor, controlled central government funds at the provincial level, authorized the necessary finance for the

Panca Walikrama (less than Rp. 1 million, according to Ida Bagus Gede). A special committee was set up under the chairmanship of the Dewa Agung of Klungkung (Dewa Agung Oka Geg), presumably in recognition of his former traditional status and his experience in organizing grand rituals. Preparations were carried out at Puri Klungkung.<24>

Hindu Balinese were expected to participate in Panca Walikrama by attending the rituals at Besakih, or by paying homage to the gods during their procession to and from Klotok. Those unable to attend were requested to ngubeng, i.e. pay homage indirectly through worship at house temples and communal temples. It was hoped that 11 April 1960 would be a day of holy celebration throughout Bali. Such a high level of Bali-wide communal involvement in a great ceremony, unique at the time, was partly due to improvements in transportation and communication and partly due to a new sense of political identity marked by Bali's new status as a separate province in 1958.

It is difficult now to trace precisely the turn of events that led to the decision to hold the Ekadasa Rudra festival in 1963.<25> It had never been held in living memory nor was there certain recollection of when (if ever) it was last held, but there is no doubt that during preparations for Panca Walikrama, examination of certain lontar would have brought to people's attention the possibility of holding the even larger Ekadasa Rudra. In the mind of Ida Bagus Gede, Panca Walikrama had to be followed by Ekadasa Rudra. And indeed, within a year of Panca Walikrama, meetings of high priests (Paruman Para Sulinggih) were held, in February 1961 and again in March and in July, to discuss holding Ekadasa Rudra (Gede 1962:128).

From interviews with men involved with Ekadasa Rudra, an

important source for the idea of holding Ekadasa Rudra was the local police chief, a Javanese officer called Soetarto, a man much influenced by the beliefs of Javanese mysticism. As a result of practising meditation in temples and other sacred places of power, he received the inspiration that because of the turmoil of past decades Bali was in need of a great purification ritual, a parisuddha bumi. From his position of influence as police chief and through his influence in the Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI), then the most important political party in Bali, Soetarto provided powerful support and encouragement. The military commander, also a Javanese, and the most powerful man on the island, supported the idea and procured funding from central government sources, without which the festival could not have been held. Some money was raised by the Balinese themselves. Sutedja, then Governor of Bali, a PKI/Sukarno sympathizer who did not always see eye to eye with Soetarto, also agreed. As head of government, Sutedja authorized the formation of the special committee to organize the festival.<26> The committee in charge of enacting the ritual was inaugurated on 3 January 1962, and began the planning of what was to be, in all probability, the most elaborate ceremony ever held in Bali up to that time.

Based on the two kinds of directives found in the lontar tradition, the reasons for enacting the Ekadasa Rudra 1963 were likewise said to be twofold:

- a. as a replacement for those ceremonies not held for almost three to four centuries, not in Saka 1700 and also not in Saka 1800;
- b. during the past two centuries, especially in the 19th Saka century, the island of Bali has repeatedly suffered ill omens: repeated warring among the rajas, against the Dutch and Japanese and during the Revolutionary period, the eruption of Mt. Batur in 1926, the great earthquake of 1917, and others. (Gede 1962:132)

Ekadasa Rudra 1963 had a great impact on Hindu Balinese at large,

for no previous ritual had ever involved the whole Hindu population of Bali as it did. Official announcements and publications expressed the idea that the Hindu public were not merely worshippers at a state ritual but were indeed equally responsible with the government for its enactment. In Hindu terms, the 'sacrificer' (yajamana) or 'the one who enacts the ritual' (sang mayadnya), is responsible for a ritual, and in the case of Ekadasa Rudra this was traditionally said to be Sang Amawa Rat ('the One who bears the world'). In pre-colonial times this was the raja in whose hands were, indistinguished in those days, both sovereignty and government. In the post-colonial era of the republican state, Sang Amawa Rat was both Government and the people. Being a Hindu ritual, only people of Hindu religion were considered as sang mayadnya. In other words, the 'sacrificer' of Ekadasa Rudra was the whole Hindu congregation (Panitia 1962:28,30; Kala Wrtta II(17):2).

Besides involvement at this level, all Hindu Balinese were involved in the enactment of the ritual in very direct ways, the most important of which was the implementation of the directive, issued by the Governor, that all Hindu dead must be purified through cremation as part of the purification of the island as a whole.<27> The committee used information teams sent to the regencies and the media to disseminate information concerning this, making it clear that simple rituals (e.g. nywasta) were quite sufficient. Many groups and communities eased the financial burden through the use of collective cremations. The impact of this directive was felt throughout the island.<28> Although undoubtedly it caused hardship in some quarters, in September 1962 the authorities expressed their satisfaction with the manner in which the directive had been implemented as a sign of

public understanding of the aims of Ekadasa Rudra (Kala Wrrta II(17):2). Realizing that there would surely be some human remains left uncremated, for whatever reason, social, economic, or because there were no descendants, the committee held a special cleansing ritual of all graveyards.<29> Thereafter it was forbidden to bury bodies in graveyards -- instead, they had to be immediately cremated or, while the ceremony was in progress, kept at home.

Hindu Balinese were also involved in various ways with the long series of rituals held at Besakih. Holy water from the opening ritual (paneduhan and ngaturang guru piduka/pejati) on 10 October 1962 at Pura Penataran Agung was distributed throughout the island (Kala Wrrta II(21):3). On the main day of celebration, sacred decorative bamboo poles (penjor) were erected at entrances to all temples and house compounds.

Ekadasa Rudra and the eruption of Mt. Agung

On 19 February 1963 Mt. Agung showed the first signs of volcanic activity. By that time preparations for Ekadasa Rudra were nearing completion and the main part of the festival was to begin in two weeks time. The mountain had lain dormant for 120 years, so by any standards it was a quite remarkable coincidence that the mountain should erupt for the first time in memory just when Balinese were enacting their grandest ceremony ever at the island's main temple high on the mountain's flank and dedicated to the Lord of the Mountain.

Despite the eruption, the committee announced through the newspaper Suara Indonesia that the 'Karya Ekadasa Rudra Djalan Terus' (Ekadasa Rudra To Go On). According to the committee the eruption was

a sign from the Divinity/God intended to bestow corrections to a number of shortcomings that had been made by the committee in particular and the Hindu congregation in

general. For that reason, besides concern for the misery that has befallen the refugees, let us with sincere heart offer the highest gratitude to Ida Sanghyang Widhi for being willing to grant this sign. (Suara Indonesia 23 Feb.1963)

In response to the eruption, the committee presented special additional rituals at Besakih.<30>

As the main day grew closer and the mountain continued its activity, an announcement in the Governor's name appeared in Suara Indonesia of 4 March and again in very large print two days later:

In order to prevent hesitancy and questionings among the people, especially those of the Hindu Bali religion, it is announced that Karya Agung Ekadasa Rudra goes on. Until now the Government and Committee have not considered postponing this ceremony. The situation at Pura Besakih is calm and all preparations for this great ceremony continue according to plan and duty. Ida Hyang Parama Kawi (The Most High God) protects us all. (Also quoted in Mathews 1965:101)

On 8 March 1963 the main ritual, the presentation of the great Ekadasa Rudra sacrifice (taur), took place as planned.<31> Ten thousand people were said to have attended the rituals that day, including the Governor, heads of regional government and other leading Balinese. General Yani, the national Army Commander, represented President Sukarno. Schools were closed. Trucks and buses brought people to and from the temple. In the days that followed 4000-5000 people came each day to the temple despite the occasional shower of ashes or grape-sized lapilli or mud-like bombs. The only consternation arose from the circulation in Denpasar of rumours that a child would be sacrificed to the volcano (sufficiently believed in to cause panic), denied of course by the authorities.<32>

Until the main day of Ekadasa Rudra the mountain had been steadily but not violently active, and the limited destruction and deaths had occurred mostly on the distant and sparsely populated northern slopes. The first paroxysmal eruption occurred on 17



Pl.11 Ekadasa Rudra 1963: pamendak ceremony near Pura Basukihan
(the sacrificial enclosure is at back left)
(photo: Coll. Prof.Dr. I Gusti Ngurah Bagus)



Pl.12 Ekadasa Rudra 1963: pedanda perform a ritual
(photo: Coll. Prof.Dr. I Gusti Ngurah Bagus)

March.<33> All through this period of eruptions the buildings and shrines of the Besakih complex had suffered only minor damage. Ironically, it was a strong tectonic earthquake on 18 May and further shocks a few days later that destroyed Pura Besakih, a month after Ekadasa Rudra was over.

Traditionally, disastrous natural events are interpreted as signifying something; they do not simply happen as a result of natural causes. Instead, Balinese believe in an intrinsic connection between the natural world and the world of men. In pre-colonial days significance of natural disasters was linked with the wrongdoings and shortcomings of Balinese rulers. The great earthquake of 1917 was thought to be divine anger at the rulers' neglect of Pura Besakih. In a time of changed political and social conditions and of conflicting kinds of knowledge, Balinese interpreted the eruption of Mt. Agung in 1963 in various ways.

Save for a very small minority who took a scientific attitude that it was due to natural causes, there was general agreement that the eruption was due to divine intervention in the events of this world, and were somehow related to the enactment of Ekadasa Rudra. Few doubted that the eruption at that particular time signified spiritual contact between Divinity and humanity. Few doubted that Mt. Agung was a locus of Divinity or a medium of Divinity's intervention. Where people disagreed was in the interpretation given to this remarkable coincidence of eruption and ritual.<34>

According to a geographer who studied the effects of the eruption in the years immediately afterwards,

The most frequent explanation encountered was that the eruption was retribution for their past sins and lax behaviour. This explanation was quite widely accepted due to the fact that the Ekadasa Rudra ceremony to purify Bali and to appease the gods and ancestors coincided almost

exactly with the eruption. (Jennings 1969:129-130)

Anna Mathews in her account of the eruption, 'The Night of Purnama', quotes Balinese expressing this same view:

... they [the dead] must have offended the gods, or the gods would not have killed them.

They [people at Ubud] are saying that it is a just punishment, that it will go on and on until the mountain is satisfied... (Mathews 1965:134-5)

Another explanation agrees that the eruption was due to the anger of the god but attributes this anger to the Ekadasa Rudra itself, either that it was held at the wrong time or that mistakes were made in its enactment. This latter view seems to have been that taken by the committee at the outbreak of the eruption. Balinese quite often attribute (explain or account for) misfortune to errors made in the enactment of ritual. It is possible that this explanation became increasingly widespread later in efforts to account for the terrible events of 1965 and 1966 when tens of thousands died in the slaughter that followed the Gestapu affair.

A positive explanation of the cause of the eruption can be summed up in the expression 'spiritual contact'. This explanation, which seems to have been adopted by many of those directly involved in the ceremony (interviews with the former Ida Bagus Gede, I Gusti Ketut Kaler, I Wayan Gentiada), was based on the view that natural events are a sign of a god's presence. Ida Bagus Gede said that he had read that Rudra makes his presence known through earthquake and volcanic eruption.<35> Lontar texts (e.g. Babad Pasek) also associate eruptions with gods performing yoga on the mountain. In a sense, this positive interpretation is not necessarily in conflict with the view that the eruption was divine retribution.

Ekadasa Rudra 1963 was the most remarkable ritual that has

probably ever taken place in Bali -- and not only because the mountain erupted. It demonstrated the confidence and maturity of Bali's religious experts and political leaders to enact a ritual that none had ever seen. It became a symbol of the religion's newly-won status in the nation as a whole. It expressed, for Balinese, pride and strength of belief in their religion. And it set a precedent: the greatest of Balinese rituals should and could be enacted in accordance with the religion's teachings. Once held, its potential for re-enactment was greatly enhanced.

Panca Walikrama 1978 and Ekadasa Rudra 1979

Ekadasa Rudra 1963 did not bring peace and prosperity to Bali. Instead, in the years that followed, political and social tensions led to massacre on an unimaginable scale. Although it seemed that earlier cleansing rituals had not succeeded, this was no reason to disregard them in the future. On the contrary, there were reasons enough to hold them again. However, plans to hold Panca Walikrama in the Saka year 1890 (1968/69 AD) did not eventuate, but a call by Parisada Hindu Dharma in 1971 to make a study of the correct manner and timing of Ekadasa Rudra shows that the idea of holding it again was already in people's minds. Parisada leaders in particular knew that the turning of the Saka century was, according to lontar texts, an auspicious time to enact Ekadasa Rudra. And then other disasters struck the island: in 1974 an international jetliner crashed killing all aboard, in 1976 an earthquake killed hundreds and caused severe damage. Parisada called a meeting to discuss what cleansing rituals were necessary under the circumstances.<36>

The earthquake again brought to the fore the question of holding

the great cleansing rituals. With time drawing near when a decision had to be made, a special meeting was held at Besakih on 24 July 1977, attended by some 200 high priests and leading laymen.<37> Prior to the meeting the subject had even been discussed in the local press, and all participants were sent beforehand a collection of excerpts from relevant texts. Religious leaders wanted a full examination of the problem of the correct timing of Ekadasa Rudra, for in the minds of some there remained an element of doubt about the appropriateness of the 1963 Ekadasa Rudra. The meeting decided that Panca Walikrama should take place in 1978 (as a panereqteg for that not held in 1968) and Ekadasa Rudra in 1979.

The decision was based on religious considerations and had the support of leading experts. Whether extra-religious considerations came into the discussions, I do not know, but there is little doubt that in the minds of at least some leaders, such considerations were also significant. In the years since 1963, Parisada Hindu Dharma had become a truly national organization with branches throughout the country and had taken under its wing certain 'tribal' religions with varying degrees of Hindu overtones. A ceremony of the magnitude of Ekadasa Rudra in an island famous in Indonesia and a major destination of international tourism would attract wide attention and confirm the national stature of Hinduism in Indonesia.

Unlike Ekadasa Rudra 1963, the idea for which developed in government circles, Panca Walikrama 1978 and Ekadasa Rudra 1979 was a decision of Indonesia's national Hindu organization. Government, however, was still very much involved both in funding and organization. The Governor's office was informed of the July 1977 decision, but it was not until 24 January 1978 that Parisada and

Prawartaka officials met officials of the Governor's office to discuss the enactment of the two great rituals. As a result, on 4 February 1978, on the basis of a letter of authorization (surat keputusan) from the Governor, a committee was set up with the specific task of organizing the ceremonies (Panitia 1978:lamp).

In contrast to earlier times, there was no mention of the guru wisesa ideology. Instead, the preamble to the document mentioned the importance of the implementation of religious duties in upholding and strengthening religious life in the community, and the injunction to hold at fixed times the great cleansing rituals at Pura Besakih. It went on to propose a committee that mirrored the cooperative nature of Indonesian people. These formulations were influenced by the state ideology of Pancasila.

The committee consisted of heads of Government, Parisada and Department of Religion at both provincial and kabupaten levels in Bali, members of the Prawartaka, and leaders traditionally involved in such rituals (former ruling families). The patrons (pelindung) were the Governor and the Chairman of the Provincial House of Representatives. The Provincial Secretary acted as general chairman, while the Secretary-General of Parisada was First Secretary. <38> This committee organized both Panca Walikrama and Ekadasa Rudra. The Secretary-General of Parisada, Wayan Surpha, and the head of the provincial office of the Department of Religion, Drs. I Gusti Agung Gede Putra, played major roles. The committee consisted of a number of sections with specific tasks.

Coordinating ritual aspects of both ceremonies was I Gusti Agung Mas Putra, wife of the head of the Department of Religion. With ten years experience running Bhatara Turun Kabeh and then Panca Walikrama,

she organized Ekadasa Rudra in a thorough and masterly fashion. Whereas Ekadasa Rudra 1963 was essentially based on the text of the ritual belonging to the offering expert in charge (Geria Cucukan, Klungkung), Ibu Mas Putra compared in a scholarly way a range of relevant manuscripts, consulted high priests, prepared documentation that when necessary was discussed at meetings of religious experts.

Panca Walikrama and Ekadasa Rudra are enormously complex rituals which have been discussed in a number of published works.<39> The level of ritual hierarchy of these great sacrifices (taur), which are particularly elaborate, and their sequential structures in relation to Bhatara Turun Kabeh are summarized in Fig. 12.1.

Organization was based on the system introduced in the late 1960s in preparations for Bhatara Turun Kabeh in which three of nine work groups -- one from each of the eight kabupaten and one from the province/Pusat -- took turns. For Panca Walikrama and Ekadasa Rudra all nine work groups were called upon, preparations being divided amongst them (Fig. 12.2).

Fig. 12.1 Structural relationships between Bhatara Turun Kabeh, Panca Walikrama, and Ekadasa Rudra

Ritual	Bhatara Turun Kabeh (1983)	Panca Walikrama (1978)	Ekadasa Rudra (1979)
matur piuning (& caru)	(p)	(1S)	pamiut (p) balik sumpah (2S, 1B)
negtegang	(p)	(1S)	(2S)
madu parka	X	X	(padanda)
ngingsah	(p)	(1S)	(2S)
nuhur tirtha	Girikusuma Klotok	Girikusuma. Klotok Pura Sadkahyangan	Girikusuma, Klotok 8 Pura Kahyangan Jagat Bali Rinjani (Lombok), Semeru (Java) panendak tirtha (1S) (1 kebo) aturan ayaban Widdhi (1S)
nedunang bhatara	(p)	(p)	(p)
ngeed	X	X	9 places (9S 9B) (18 kebo)
malasti	Tegalsuci or Yeh Esah (p)	Klotok (1S) + PPA Klungkung	Klotok (1S) (1 kebo) + PPA Klungkung P.Puseh Tabola
panendak	titi mamah kebo (1S)	titi mamah kebo (1S)	titi mamah kebo (1S)
mapepada	X	(1S)	(2S)
taur	X	taur panca walikrama (6S, 1B, 1 sengguhu)	taur ekadasa rudra (11S, 11B, 1 sengguhu) (2 kebo)
mapedanan	X	(1S)	(1S, 1B) (7 kebo)
ngaturang ayaban Widdhi	X	(1S, 1B)	(2S, 1B) (4 kebo) panihis rituals (22 kebo)
mapaselang	X	(1S, 1B) (1 kebo)	(1S, 1B) (1 kebo)
Bhatara Turun Kabeh; mapepada	(1S)	X	X
puja arepan Widdhi	(2S, 1B)	(2S, 1B)	(2S, 1B) (4 kebo)
caru jaban pura	(1S)	(1S)	(1S)
mapaselang	(1S, 1B) (1 kebo)	(1S, 1B) (1 kebo)	(1S, 1B) (1 kebo)
puja tigang rahina	(1S)	(1S)	(1S)
nanding ajang	(p)	(p)	(p)
panyimpenan	(1S)	(1S)	(1S, 1B) (1 kebo) naur sot
total pedanda appearances	10 (8S, 2B)	25 (?) (19S, 5B, 1 sengguhu)	92 (63S, 27B, 1 sengguhu, 1 empu pande)
total kebo	2	5 (?)	57
(Note: S - Pedanda Siwa, B - Pedanda Buda, p - pemangku)			

Fig. 12.2 Division of responsibilities in preparations for Panca Walikrama 1978 and Ekadasa Rudra 1979

Kabupaten	Panca Walikrama	Ekadasa Rudra
Tabanan	taur (east)	taur (west & nadir), Pura Basukihan
Badung	taur (south)	taur (southwest), pamendak, Pura Dalem Puri
Jembrana	taur (west)	taur (northwest), paselang, Pura Manik Mas
Buleleng	taur (north)	taur (northeast), padanan, Pura Batu Madeg (?)
Gianyar	taur (centre)	taur (south & centre), Pura Ulun Kulkul
Karangasem	padanan	taur (southeast), Batu Klotok, Pura Kiduling Kreteg
Klungkung	arepan Widdhi	taur (east), arepan Widdhi, Pura Gelap
Bangli	paselang	taur (north & zenith) Pura Batu Madeg

Note : Province/Pusat was responsible for all other ceremonies
Sources: Panca Walikrama - Mas Putra 1979
Ekadasa Rudra - document EDR 1979/A/3

Each work group included one or several pedanda istri offering experts, and was assisted by one of the Besakih banjar. For each work group Ibu Mas Putra prepared a list of their tasks, indicating key offering components. Beyond that, no effort was made at uniformity in lesser details of offerings. In this system of organization, people from all parts of the island were involved, whereas in 1963 preparations were handed over to Puri Agung Klungkung.

Information about the ceremony was widely distributed throughout the island by information teams and by the mass media.<40> Every Balinese knew of it. As in 1963 the dead were cremated and no cremations were allowed while the festival was in progress. The higher slopes of the mountain were declared off-limits. The Hindu congregation was involved at various stages of the festival. At the opening ritual on 27 February 1979, holy water of the gods (wangsuh pada) and holy water to ask forgiveness (tirtha guru piduka) were

handed out to village representatives to be distributed to everyone. On the main day of the festival, 28 March 1979, tens of thousands of people crowded into Besakih to participate in the great sacrifice. Smaller rituals were held in villages throughout the island. Towards the end of the festival, rice and oil which had been touched by strange miraculous events (Stuart-Fox 1982:129-30) was also distributed and special shrines were built for them in some temples. During the month that the gods were in residence, probably half a million people visited Besakih.

At the Indonesian national level, Ekadasa Rudra 1979 had a considerably greater impact than that of 1963. The Indonesian mass media brought the ceremony to a far wider audience; the ceremony received coverage by national television and by several major national newspapers and magazines, and the international press was also well represented.<41> Furthermore, the expansion of Hindu organization throughout Indonesia and the entry of certain 'tribal' religions under the banner of Hinduism, which clearly had consent from Jakarta, brought Hindus from other parts of the nation.

As in 1963, the central government provided a sizeable financial contribution (although probably this was a lower percentage of the total cost than in 1963). The gift, from the President, amounted to Rp.25 million. Most significant, however, was that in 1979 the President himself attended the main day of celebration (Stuart-Fox 1982:87), accompanied by ministers and other high dignitaries. Symbolically, this marked the government's support for the freedom of worship for all official religions, and of Hinduism in particular.<42> For Besakih, it marked its national status as Indonesia's paramount Hindu sanctuary.

APPENDICES

NOTES

REFERENCES

APPENDIX A

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF VILLAGES IN THE WEST KARANGASEM REGION

Of the four large villages of the upper sawah zone of west Karangasem, only Selat still possesses an old inscription (PB 625), issued by Jayapangus in 1181. The village was then called Kanuruhan. Its territory was a slice of mountain slope from the summit of the mountain down to the river Patal, just north of Iseh, bounded on the east by the river Anipi (Tukad Nyuling?) and on the west by the river Langgrung (Tukad Lenggung) (PB 625:VIIa.1-2).^{<1>} This territory included both an area of sawah and an area of dryland. The territory of another ancient village, Bahung Tringan, also stretched up to the summit of the mountain, as we know from the inscription now kept at Bebandem, east of Bukit Penyu (PB 552:10b). Bebandem is an old village and Bahung Tringan is possibly its earlier name, just as Kanuruhan became Baledan and then Selat (the last two names are synonymous). Sibetan, too, lying on the eastern slopes of Bukit Penyu, possesses an extensive territory stretching up to the mountain, its dryland settlements, like those of Selat, being called pragunung (Korn 1932:88-89). The territory of Macetra, too, extends to the summit of Mt. Agung, even though it is just the width of a harrow! In all likelihood, Macetra and Muncan and probably Duda are, like Selat, ancient villages whose former territories stretched from the upper sawah zone to the top of the mountain.^{<2>} I shall discuss these core villages in turn, beginning with Duda in the east.

The relationship between Duda and its neighbouring villages and settlements, owing to the brevity of my survey in that area, remains a little unclear. A report of 1929 says that, at a major ritual at the pura puseh at Duda, which is of the kehen type, neighbouring villages -- Geriana, Lekutuk, Putung, Pesangkan, Pateh, Padangtunggal, Bangbangbiaung and Pegubugan -- all took part. This suggests that Duda has superior adat status.<3> Of these villages, Pesangkan, Bangbangbiaung and Pegubugan, are said to be part of the adat village of Duda, while Lekutuk (now called Perangsari), Putung and Pateh are said to be separate adat villages. Geriana is now divided into two parts, Geriana Kangin remaining part of Duda, while Geriana Kauh has split off and become a separate adat village. A text (K.955:37b), related to Besakih's Raja Purana, states that Griyana (Geriana) and certain other lands are located in the territory (gumi) of Duda. Some of these settlements, then, are offshoots from Duda, whereas others were founded by immigrants. Padangtunggal, for instance, was founded by Arya Bang Sidemen families no earlier than the 17th century. Duda's western boundary with Selat is Tukad Nyuling (the Air Anipi of the Selat inscription), lying immediately west of Bangbangbiaung.<4>

Selat's segment of mountain slope, so the inscription tells us, was bounded by Air Anipi in the east and Air Langgrung in the west. The latter probably should be identified with Tukad Lenggung, the name given to the higher reaches of the stream that flows just west of the present center of Selat.<5> Supporting this identification, settlements lying west of this river -- Seledumi, Badeg Kelodan, Badeg Tengah -- have no adat relationship with Selat, while those east of it are (or were) known as the pragunung Selat. The villages comprising pragunung Selat were five in number: Santi, Tegoh, Prasana, Sebudi

and Sogra (Sorga), and all still retain adat links with Selat.<6> I am uncertain of the current status of Tegeh and Prasana. Santi broke away from Selat and became a separate adat village only quite recently; their relationship was the subject of a court case around 1930.<7> Sebudi and Sogra have long been separate adat villages. Besides its relationship to Selat, Sogra also once had a close relationship with Besakih, for the famous Dukuh Sogra, in many texts, is said to be the son of Sang Kulputih of Besakih, and in the Raja Purana, Sogra, there called Swarga Meleng/Peleng, had ritual obligations to Pura Besakih, now lapsed.<8> The former settlement of Sangkan Kuasa, abandoned after the 1963 eruption, was apparently part of the adat village of Sogra, but the relationship between Sogra and the long abandoned settlement of Pranasih is unclear.<9> Sogra together with Sebudi honour the important temple Pura Pasar Agung lying upridge from Sogra, though responsibility for rituals there lies with owners of the temple's tanah ayahan near Sebun. Sebun and its neighbour to the east, Bukit Galah, both appear to be small adat villages about whose adat relationships I am uncertain.<10> Sebudi (Sukabudi in some texts), according to tradition, was founded by Dukuh Gading, on the authority of I Gusti Nengah Sibetan Dimade, lord of Selat, in 1737.<11> Something of an exception is the adat village of Sukaluwih, northeast of Selat, which appears never to have been part of Selat, and the relationship between them is complementary rather than hierarchical; Sukaluwih has obligations at the main ceremony of Selat's pura puseh, while Selat has obligations to Sukaluwih's pura puseh. The origins of the village are obscure.<12>

Between Selat and Muncan is a segment of slope whose settlements have no adat relationships with either village. On analogy with Selat

and Muncan, its core village is the upper sawah zone village of Macetra (now Umasari), whose territory, the width of a harrow (lampit), is said to extend to the summit of the mountain. The Raja Purana mentions Macetra as an autonomous village. Its pura puseh has a kehen as its main shrine. It has only one offshoot, Seledumi, whose members still attend major rituals at Macetra's pura puseh, but which has its own pura dalem setra.^{<13>} Other the dryland villages upridge have no adat relationships with Macetra. Padangaji, a village whose inhabitants are almost all members of the Arya Bang Sidemen kin group, was founded about the 17th century; probably the high status of this kin group in the west Karangasem region allowed the village to maintain autonomy.^{<14>} Badeg Kelodan also has a large Arya Bang Sidemen kin group.^{<15>} Badeg Tengah and Badeg Dukuh are parts of one adat village which now marks the easternmost extension of the pragunung Besakih. Ritual obligations of this village towards Pura Besakih go back at least to the time of the Raja Purana.^{<16>} Formerly there were settlements -- Sikuwan/Sikuhan and possibly Rujak Boni -- located even further upridge from Badeg Dukuh.^{<17>} I do not have information on Ancut.

Although proof is lacking, all indications point to Muncan being one of the ancient core villages with a territory stretching from the upper sawah zone to the top of the mountain. Its leadership is collegiate, and its pura puseh possesses the kehen (and an enormous kulkul rivalling the one at Taro). At its main yearly ceremony, the usaba agung, people come from many neighbouring settlements, bringing either their temple gods or special offerings: from the south, Ku, Kalot, Benekasa, Abian Bangbang, and Hyang Api, all these settlements constituting part of the adat village of Muncan;^{<18>} from the north or

upridge, Kesimpar, Temukus, Lebih, Pura, Telungbuana, Yeh Aa, and Pejeng, each of these a separate adat village; from the west, Banjar Langsat, now part of Rendang, but originally an offshoot from Muncan.

Passages in the Raja Purana texts (RPI 6.2-8, 9.27-29; RPII 13.10-13) mention several settlements or locations as lying within the territory (gumi) of Muncan, among them being Tinggarata (or Singarata), Payasan, Sarilewih, Susut, Yeh Aa, Pejeng, and Tampelan. Tampelan (now Taman Darma) is free of ritual obligations to Muncan, this autonomy probably resulting from the high status of its inhabitants, who comprise essentially a single satria Taman Bali kin group which indicates origin from Bangli.<19> Pejeng appears to be a relatively recent adat village.<20> Of the upland villages, several texts mention a place called Sarilewih, its ritual obligations to Pura Besakih, and the former high-altitude settlements of Singarata and Payasan, now marked only by temples, which were most probably part of Sarilewih. By name if nothing else, Lebih and Bunga (which is synonymous with Sari) must be regarded as the successors of Sarilewih.<21> How Kesimpar and even possibly Temukus are related to the old Sarilewih is not clear. Both these communities together with Lebih and particular kin groups are, in a complex arrangement, responsible for the temples of Payasan and Singarata.<22>

When we move to the west beyond Muncan the picture is a little different. The main village now, Rendang, was formerly a largely uninhabited forested area into which people from Muncan were pushing (Banjar Langsat). South of Rendang is Segah, an old village probably, from which Nongan, now by far the more important of the two settlements, broke away. Rendang has no offshoot settlements, its leadership is of the klihan type, its pura puseh has no kehen. Much

of its sawah dates from only this century. It is not, and tradition confirms this, a particularly old village. There are suggestions it was once controlled by one of the early Bangli states towards the end of the Gelgel period.<23>

Of other adat villages in the vicinity of Rendang, Suhukan dates only from the second half of the 19th century, and was probably once part of Besakih. Buyan is even more recent. Its dominant kin group, Arya Pinatih from Besawah (Muncan) and Sidemen, settled there at the time of the war with Klungkung and Bangli about 1891, to guard the border. Menanga, somewhat older, was also founded to guard this boundary during an earlier war in the 18th century when the powerful Arya Dauh took control of the Rendang and Nongan areas. Sawah is of minor importance in these three villages.

Not Rendang but Besakih was the ancient village of this area. In all likelihood, like Selat, its territory originally included both sawah and drylands, for Batusesa and Tegenan, both of which possess sawah, were probably once part of Besakih. But unlike the other core villages, the main settlement of Besakih was not in the sawah zone but much higher up in the dryland zone. And so, contrary to Selat whose dryland settlements split off, Besakih lost its sawah zone settlements. The most likely reason for this 'distortion' in Besakih's situation was the existence of the great temples which drew the main settlement close to them. Although the earliest written evidence for the existence of Besakih are two 15th century inscriptions on wood, oral and written legends together with a variety of other evidence all support the view that Besakih already existed in the pre-Majapahit period, with a village territory somewhat different from that at present.

Although the evidence is perhaps not in all cases as decisive as one would wish, there are reasons for thinking that five neighbouring adat villages -- Temukus, Batusesa, Tegenan, Suhukan, and Geliang -- were once part of an older and larger adat village of Besakih. The northern or kaja boundary was the summit of Gunung Agung, as it still is.

To the east, the deep ravine of Tukad Dalem was probably the village boundary, for Temukus, which is west of this river, was almost certainly originally part of Besakih. In the Raja Purana the settlement is called Kumukus or Kamukus, but the passages do not make clear the exact nature of the adat relationship between them and Besakih; one passage even calls Kamukus a banjar.^{<24>} The village is divided into Temukus Kajanan and Temukus Kelodan, each with its own pura dalem setra, but whereas the former supports the pura puseh, the latter supports two other small temples called Pura Bang and Pura Tigasari.^{<25>} Of the three dadia at Temukus Kajanan, one originates from Besakih, while another has ties to Lebih and Kesimpar and takes part, together with people from these two villages, at ceremonies at the old temples on the Singarata-Payasan ridge, east of Tukad Dalem.

Tarib, administratively part of dusun Temukus, is in adat matters often thought of as part of Temukus also. But in many ways it should really be regarded as a small (only 30-odd families) adat entity in its own right, for it has a pura puseh and a pura dalem setra; its members do not take part in rituals at the pura puseh of Temukus. According to tradition, Tarib was settled by immigrants from Selisihan (Klungkung), southeast of Bukit Jambul, in the relatively recent past. Many members of the dadia Pasek Gelgel at Tarib are members of the adat village of Besakih.^{<26>}

Besakih's southern or downridge boundary is also problematic, but there is a strong possibility that originally its territory extended down to and included both Batusesa and Tegenan, perhaps as far as the Tukad Telaga Waja.<27> Both Batusesa and Tegenan are villages of the Pragunung Besakih, but there are other stronger reasons to support this view. Firstly, the 33 karang desa plots at Batusesa and the similar number of tanah ayahan plots at Tegenan owe ritual obligations to Pura Besakih, not to local temples; it is noteworthy this includes residential land (Chapter 3). Secondly, though not a fixed rule, sacred springs where village gods go for bathing rituals are frequently within or at least near village boundaries. The two sacred springs where Besakih gods go for their bathing rituals (malasti), Yeh Sah and Tegal Suci, are close by Batusesa and Tegenan respectively. Thirdly, until the road from Menanga was built in 1931, the main way up to Besakih was through Batusesa. At the southern edge of the village, at the top of the steep escarpment leading up from the rice fields, is a temple called Pura Lawangan Agung, the Temple of the Great Entranceway, which perhaps marks the point of entry into the sacred territory of Besakih.<28> Fourthly, the leadership of both Batusesa and Tegenan are of the klihan type, which suggests that neither became separate adat villages earlier than the Gelgel period.

If Batusesa and Tegenan were once within Besakih territory, they must have become separate adat villages a long time ago. In the Raja Purana (RPII 12.11-18), both villages, mentioned under their alternate names of Selajaya and Tikulan, had ritual obligations to Pura Besakih; Batusesa is also mentioned in the Usana Bali (e.g. K.1043:25a-26a). A manuscript of village regulations from Batusesa bears the date 1734, and if this date has any validity, the village must have existed in

its own right no later than the beginning of the Klungkung period. Both Batusesa and Tegenan possess sawah lands, the former irrigated from Tukad Dalem, the latter from Tukad Telaga Waja. These sawahs probably date from an early period; at Tegenan the most exclusive tanah ayahan (12 plots) is sawah. The original territory of Besakih, then, like the other core villages of the region, would have included both sawah and dryland areas. But at Besakih where the main settlement, near the great temples, was located well within the dryland zone, it was the lower sawah zone villages that split off.<29>

To the southeast, Besakih territory probably extended down to the Tukad Telaga Waja and included the Suhukan area (in the 1924 land map it is included within 'Besakih'). Suhukan is a relatively recent village. About half its population are members of the dadia Dukuh Blatung, the only kin group that has a pura dadia at Suhukan, and shrines honouring Dukuh Blatung are found in the village's pura puseh. There is no doubt that the original settlers came from Blatung. According to the present village pemangku (Mk. Brati, aged 45-50), Suhukan was founded by his great-great-great-grandfather, one Gede Kudiang, at a time a rough generation count indicates was early in the 19th century. One would assume two or three generations would have to pass before the settlement could stand as a separate adat village, no earlier than late 19th century. Not surprisingly, then, Suhukan is not mentioned in the Raja Purana.

Whereas in the east and south it seems likely that settlements within the former territory have split away, in the west there has been an expansion of population into largely uninhabited or thinly populated areas. In centuries past, Daya, an ancient pre-Majapahit village centered north of the Bubung pass ('dajan bukit' to Besakih

people), expanded south of the pass into the areas of Tanah Mel, Puregae/Swarung, and Cebulik/Gintungan. Several temples in this area are associated with Daya people, either in folk traditions or in still surviving ritual relationships. These outlying settlements of Daya seem to have been abandoned at the time of Panji Sakti's military campaign into the area, leaving it open to later expansion from Besakih.<30>

Keladian, a little south of Puregae, has a rather similar history, in that Besakih people moved into an area where a former settlement had been abandoned. The old Keladian settlement, however, was not the result of expansion of a neighbouring village but the result of migration from a very distant village, Kaba-kaba, near the boundary between Badung and Tabanan. Kaba-kaba was the residence of Arya Belog who is said to have accompanied Gajah Mada when Majapahit conquered Bali. According to one text, Arya Belog's great-grandson called Kyayi Ngurah Keladian had three sons who tried to sieze power, were defeated and fled. After an adventure in Buleleng, the youngest son, I Gusti Keladian, settled at alas Keladian (forest of Keladian, suggesting uninhabited land).<31> His residence was near the temple now called Pura Dalem Keladian; farmers tilling fields there have turned up pieces of earthenware and the remains of a kris. Downridge, in the bed of a small stream, are the remains of a well he is said to have dug. I Gusti Keladian sided with Dalem Taruk and his son in their confrontation with the ruler of Gelgel, as mentioned in various sources.<32> The Arya Belog clan history says I Gusti Keladian was persuaded by his family to abandon the confrontation and return to Kaba-kaba with two of his sons while two other sons settled at Talibeng (kecamatan Sidemen) and Dawan (Klungkung). The genealogy of

the Talibeng group says that a son remained at Keladian, and it was this man's sons who moved to Talibeng and Dawan. Local tradition has it that the settlement was abandoned as the result of Panji Sakti's campaign. Details vary, but the settlement can roughly be dated to the 16-17th centuries. To this day descendants of I Gusti Ngurah Keladian from Talibeng and Dawan continue to honour their ancestor at the Pura Dalem Keladian. We do not know when Besakih people began settling this area, but the movement began certainly by the 19th century, and continued into this century.

Geliang, now an enclave within the western part of Besakih territory, is a small adat village with a population of only 225 people (1984).^{<33>} Formerly it was part of Besakih, and broke away only around the turn of the century. Under its former name, Galih Hyang, it is mentioned in the Raja Purana (RPI 23.18, 25.19) as one of Besakih's eight banjars. It appears that the old Geliang was a semi-autonomous settlement with a pura panti and a pura dalem setra of its own. The split, when it occurred, involved only part of the banjar which itself split along kin group lines. When the new adat village was formed the old pura panti became the new pura puseh. At that time the village lay upridge, near the temple Pura Dukuh Bhujangga. The move to its present location took place around 1928 when the area was declared state forest; many families migrated to other parts of Bali.^{<34>} All members of the village belonged then to one dadia calling itself Tangkas. But the unity was not to last. About 1957 the dadia split. Only a few families (now numbering 11) remained to support the pura dadia Tangkas at Geliang. The majority (now 58 families) built themselves a new pura dadia at the southeast corner of Pura Batu Madeg at Besakih, but this group is still

searching for a name (some, but not yet all, favour the name Dukuh Suladri). Their present story is that the former unified dadia Tangkas was itself an amalgamation of an older kin group and the more recently arrived Tangkas group. The 'older' kin group searching for its name does not claim descent from Dukuh Bhujangga, though this would seem to be an option open to them. As this stage members of both groups were all attached to the adat village of Geliang, but around 1968, after the devastation of the eruption, the village itself split, one group rebuilding the pura puseh, the other a temple called Pura Panti Geliang on the ridge to the west of Pura Batu Madeg.<35> About 1976 this split was formalized with many families again becoming members of the adat village of Besakih. In this complicated affair, the situation at present is as follows: 11 families, all members of adat village of Geliang, support pura dadia Tangkas at Geliang; 58 families support the pura dadia 'Dukuh Suladri' at Batu Madeg, of whom 24 families remain members of Geliang, while 34 families are members of Besakih. And there are still problems over who should be responsible for Pura Panti Geliang.<36>

Comparing the case of Geliang with other western settlements such as Nangka, Keladian and Puregae, is interesting. These other settlements remain an integral part of the adat village of Besakih, though in the 1950s there were suggestions from a minority at Keladian that they give up their membership in the adat village of Besakih. Like Geliang before the break, these settlements have both a pura panti and a pura dalem (though not all have cemeteries), which potentially could become pura puseh and pura dalem setra should they too have broken away. But their ties to Besakih were too strong, as all the major kin groups represented in these settlements have pura

dadia at Besakih Tengah. In contrast, Geliang's residents formerly were members of a kin group whose pura dadia was at Geliang. Ritual obligations to public Besakih temples, considered very important by such kin groups as Pasek Pejengan and Dukuh Seganing, would also have militated against a break.

To the west of Besakih, upridge from Menanga and Buyan, in land between the upper reaches of the rivers Telaga Waja and Jinah, we are back in the dryland zone now encompassed by the administrative village of Pempatan. These ridges lead up towards Gunung Abang (Tulukbyu) which is the dominant topographical feature, not Gunung Agung. On the upper southern and southeastern slopes of Gunung Abang lies the ancient village of Pemuteran, known to us from inscriptions kept at Pengotan and Abang. Its leadership is collegiate. Its former extensive territory stretched up to the pass leading over to the north coast where it bordered the equally old village of Daya. To the south, according to the inscription, it bordered Parempatan, now Pempatan. Unfortunately it is not clear whether this was a field name or the name of a settlement. A charter of Pasek kingroups of the area says that Pemuteran was split into two separate villages, Pemuteran and Gragah (HKS.3838:2a-3a). Gragah survives in the name of an important temple, Pura Puseh Glagah. It seems that although the name of the temple remained the same, the village whose pura puseh it was, changed its name from Gragah or Glagah first to Bukit Catu, then to its current name Pule.<37> Pempatan is now a separate adat village with its own pura puseh and pura dalem setra, yet at the same time Pule and Pempatan are often said to have a common adat. While responsibility for ceremonies at Pura Puseh Glagah lies now with Pule, Pempatan people always attend bringing offerings, and are liable for

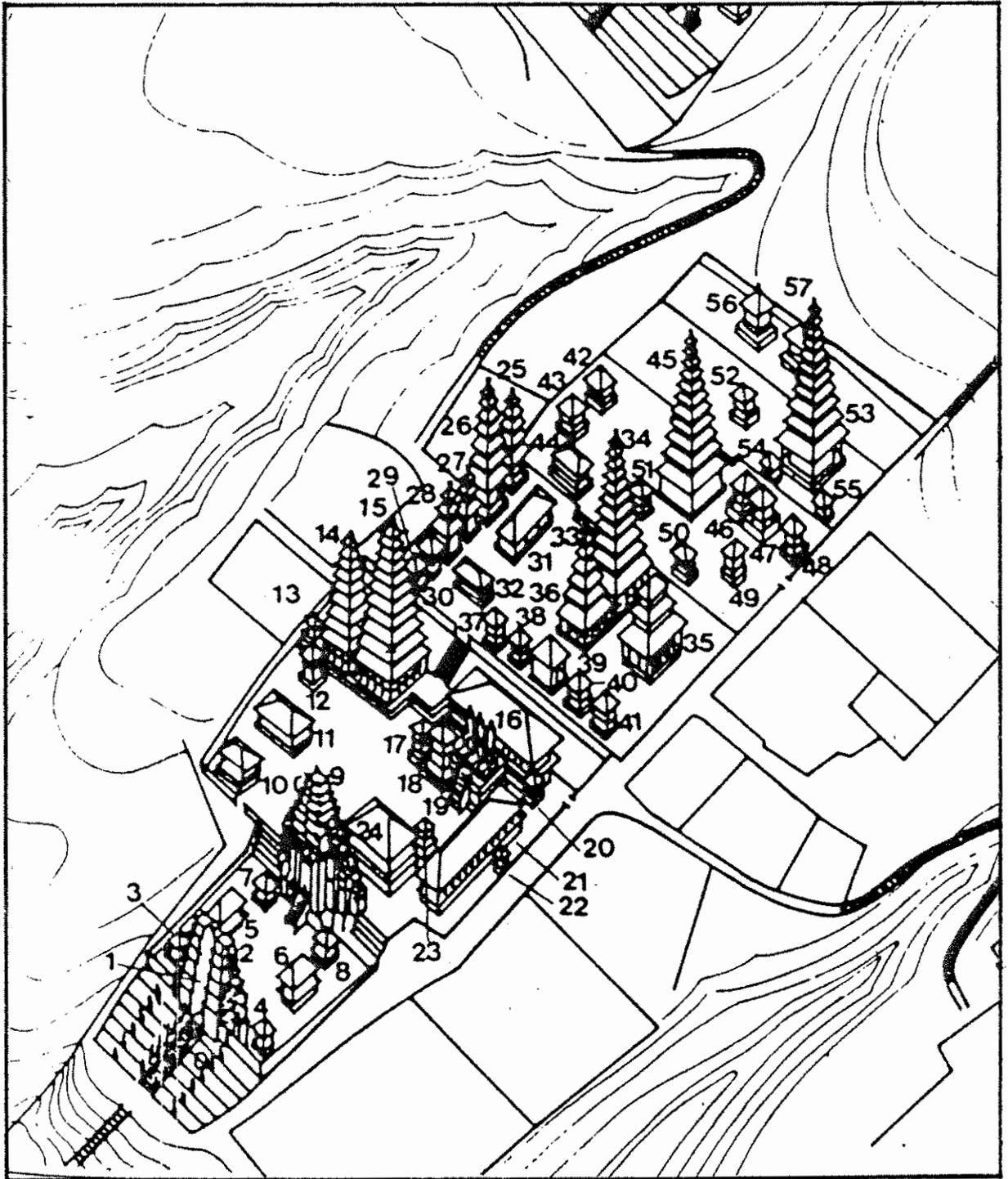
assistance in temple maintenance. It is possible that an earlier Parempatan was abandoned and the area later resettled by people from Glagah-Pule.

The western fringe of the territory of administrative Pempatan is divided among several small adat villages, from south to north, Putung, Kubakal, Teges, Alasngandang, Waringin, and formerly Poh Tegeh (abandoned). Of these it appears that Kubakal is the old core settlement which existed in the early Gelgel period but which may be older. At main ceremonies at its pura puseh members of the other villages bring offerings.<38> Some of these other villages were settled by immigrant groups in the early Gelgel period, Waringin by a branch of the Arya Kuta Waringin kin group, Poh Tegeh by a branch of the Arya Gajah Para kin group, around whom commoner families gathered.<39> A dukuh priest is said to have founded Alasngandang. I do not have data on Putung or Teges. Throughout its history this area must have been but lightly settled, with plenty of spare land where immigrants could settle.

APPENDIX B

PUBLIC TEMPLES OF BESAKIH

1. Pura Penataran Agung
2. Pura Batu Madeg
3. Pura Kiduling Kreteg
4. Pura Gelap
5. Pura Pangubengan
6. Pura Tirtha
7. Pura Paninjoan
8. Pura Yang Aluh
9. Pura Basukihan
10. Pura Banua
11. Merajan Kanginan
12. Merajan Selonding
13. Pura Gua
14. Pura Ulun Kulkul
15. Pura Bangun Sakti
16. Pura Manik Mas
17. Pura Dalem Puri
18. Pura Pasimpangan
- Pura Pasar Agung



Pura Penataran Agung

Introduction

This appendix provides additional information on each of Besakih's public temples. A plan of each temple is given, with identification of and notes on every shrine and structure. Often in the discussions throughout this work I needed to be reasonably brief. In a great many cases the discussion in the text can be usefully augmented by referring to a temple or shrine in this appendix. The appendix provides a ready reference guide to Besakih's public temples.

1. PURA PENATARAN AGUNG

TERRACE I

1. Candi Bentar

A long flight of steps flanked by terraced bulwarks leads up to the candi bentar. Stone statues a meter high line each terrace, characters from the Ramayana to the right and from the Mahabharata to the left, essentially ornamental. Statues of gate-keepers flank the gateway. The carvings were done about 1935 under the supervision of a sculptor from Sukawati, I Kolok by name (Putra n.d.b:20). The candi bentar, the distinctive split gateway of Java and Bali, marks the outer entrance to a place where reverence is due, be it temple or palace.<1> The present candi bentar of hard black volcanic stone (batu tabas) was built in 1982, at the same time as the kori agung (9), and differs from its predecessor only in the shape of the finials.

2. Bale Pegat

Immediately inside the gateway is a bale pegat, a pavilion whose platform is broken or cut (pegat) in the middle, so that of the three

sections (rong) formed by its eight posts, the centre one serves as a passage separating platforms on either side. Platforms in some bale agung are of this kind. The function of the bale pegat is no longer very clear, and this one at Besakih receives but scant ritual attention. However, in one of the closing ceremonies of the 1979 Eka Dasa Rudra festival, called megat sot ('cut the vow') or aur sot ('pay the vow'), it was here that the organizing committee fulfilled their promise to perform this ritual should the festival proceed without mishap, at the same time requesting forgiveness for any shortcomings.<2> The bale pegat also plays a role in the consecration of an official pemangku. In a more interpretative tone, the bale pegat is likened to a place where the worshipper cuts the connection with the world of the senses as he or she proceeds into the temple's sacred precincts (Putra n.d.b:20-21).

3-4. Bale Kulkul

A bale kulkul, pavilion of the wooden slit-drum, stands in each corner on either side of the candi bentar. Formerly there was only one, as old photographs show. The kulkul are sounded only for major rituals at Pura Penataran Agung.

5-6. Bale Paqambuhan and Bale Paleqongan

These two large open pavilions are used by the gamelan orchestra accompanying dance or theatre performances at times of major ceremony. The dances held need not necessarily be gambuh or legong, as the names of the pavilions suggest; topeng or baris, for instance, are often danced. The two pavilions were restored in late 1983.

7-8. Bale Mundar-Mandir or Bale Ongkara

These two pavilions, standing on either side in front of the great gateway, are unusual in that the roof is supported by a single post. Usually called bale mundar-mandir, they are found in only a few temples in Bali, among them several old major temples such as Pura Gunung Raung (Taro), Pura Balingkang (Pinggan, Kintamani) and Pura Gaduh (Blahbatuh) (Moojen 1926:pls.XLVI,CLXXIV,CLXXVI) In origin they date back to Old Javanese times and are depicted on reliefs on a number of Javanese candi (Galestin 1936). In the Raja Purana (RPI 4.31), they are called bale ongkara. Save for occasional offerings placed on them, they now play almost no role in ritual. The present structures date from 1982/83.

TERRACE II

9. Kori Agung

The kori agung, the great covered gateway, is the chief means of access to the second courtyard, which is now the locus of major ritual. The gods in procession leave and enter through the kori agung. Flanking it on either side are smaller gateways (kori betelan), added only in 1982/83 to facilitate the traffic of worshippers at times of festival. The kori agung itself was also rebuilt in 1982/83 from the foundations up, in shape virtually identical with its predecessor.<3> It is constructed of hard black volcanic stone (batu tabas) around a core of reinforced concrete. During excavations for this latest rebuilding (unfortunately without the presence of trained archaeologists) it was noticed that the former kori agung built after the great earthquake of 1917 enclosed an

earlier gateway of rather smaller proportions. The wooden door-frame and carved leaves from the Dutch-period kori were reused in the latest rebuilding; on the inside lintel the Saka year 1841 (1919 AD) is carved in Balinese numerals.

The consecration (mlaspas) of a temple's kori agung, particularly that of such a major temple as this, requires a ritual of major proportion. It took place on 26 March 1983, just a few days before that year's Bhatara Turun Kabeh. Without a consecrated kori agung, it would have been impossible for the gods to leave the temple for their malasti procession. Special ritual objects (padagingan), consisting of a large variety of substances, were buried behind each structure consecrated. For the kori agung, one padagingan was placed in the hollow finial, and a second buried under the threshold, for which a male piglet was sacrificed. The Governor of Bali took part, an index of the ceremony's importance (Sutresna dll. 1983).

Mlaspas is the name of the consecration ceremony for all kinds of buildings, the equivalent of masupatinin (from pasupati) of such objects as masks and amulets. As one would expect, there is a hierarchical series of mlaspas corresponding to the importance of the structure. Although I use the term 'consecration', it is really more of an 'enlivening' ceremony in the sense that a fittingly consecrated structure has a certain spirit or power of its own. For consecration of temple structures, the padagingan is a crucial element, the ritual essence, literally 'contents', of the building. Padagingan, too, vary for different kinds of buildings, details of which are found in the lontars, frequently in connection with Mpu Kuturan.<4> Padagingan are related in function to the old compartmented foundation boxes with their varied contents, that have been excavated from the foundations

of old sanctuaries in Java, Bali and elsewhere, which have Indian antecedents.

10. Bale Gong

This eight-post bale (bale sakulu) is where the gamelan orchestra plays at times of festival. Important guests are usually seated here.

11. Bale Sumangkirang or Bale Kembangsirang

The Raja Purana (RPI 4.30) calls this pavilion the bale sumangkirang and says it must be roofed with aren palm fibre (duk), but nowadays it is more commonly called bale kembangsirang or bale paselang (after the important mapaselang ritual held there during Bhatara Turun Kabeh). It is a pavilion of 16 posts, with a platform at each corner, thus leaving open crossed (sirang) passageways between opposite sides.<5> The kaja side is blocked by a janggawari shrine. The present structure was erected in 1963 in readiness for the Eka Dasa Rudra of that year; on the crossbeams inside is carved "Eka Dasa Rudra. Bali Murti Brata Yajnya. 1885 - 1885", referring to the Saka year 1885, equivalent to 1963 AD. This building's predecessor is now the large work pavilion in the outer part of Suci, the kitchen area.

12-13. Shrine to Ratu Sula Majemuh and accompanying bale paruman alit

This shrine, facing towards the east, is of curious construction. In form it is like a padmasana but it does not function as such. Sometimes it is called bebaturan or tuqu capah (Putra n.d.b:22). The word majemuh means 'drying in the sun', and seems to refer to the function of this deity as Lord of the Weather.<6> At major rituals, particularly if the weather looks inclement, offerings and a brazier

are placed here to ask for a clear day so that the ceremony will not be interrupted. Very occasionally, special ceremonies 'to make fine weather' (nerang) are performed in the nearby bale paruman alit which shelters a metre-high stone lingga of considerable though indeterminate antiquity (Hooykaas 1964a:figs.16-17).^{<7>} Save for routine little offerings, this lingga receives no special ritual attention. When this courtyard was enlarged in 1962, both structures were moved from their former positions in front of the nine-roofed meru and rebuilt on their present locations, though it is uncertain what, if any, is their relationship with the meru. The shrine bears an inscribed candrasengkala equivalent to Saka 1885/1963 AD. Its odalan falls on the day Tumpek Kuningan.

14. Meru of nine roofs dedicated to Ratu Kabakal

This deity, Ida Ratu Kubakal, is not mentioned in the Raja Purana, which, however, mentions another deity, I Dewa Basa, as residing in a nine-roofed meru. That I Dewa Basa, otherwise unknown, is another name for Ratu Kubakal is suggested by a passage that follows immediately after a reference to the neighbouring 11-roofed meru: "Seat of I Dewa Basa, nine-roofed meru, the lingga of the deity who makes the means of purification, Sanghyang Tapapita, whose holy water gives blessings to the world (?)" (RPI 14.13-15). Basa (wasa) here probably means 'power, force, dominion' (Zoetmulder 1982). This rather obscure passage may refer to the role of this meru in ritual, for holy water (wangsuh pada) requested at this meru is used for the Bhatara Turun Kabeh rituals of negtegang and ngingsah baas which purify the rice and other materials to be used in offerings. This meru is also the locus of the agricultural ritual aci mungkah.

The deity's present name, Ratu Kubakal, is found also as the name of an adat village just west of Besakih and of a Pasek group associated with that village. According to tradition, the village of Kubakal was founded by Ki Pasek Kubakal (I Gusti Ngurah Kubakal) at the time Dalem Taruk held sway in this region (15th century?). Ngurah Kubakal is said to have resided first at Besakih.<8> Pasek texts identify him as the great-grandson of Mpu Prateka, one of the seven sons of Mpu Genijaya. It is said that in the days of Ida Dalem Kresna Kapakisan of Samprangan (father of Dalem Taruk) when Pasek leaders were assigned different responsibilities, Ki Pasek Kubakal was put in charge of Pura Besakih, especially of temple lands.<9> So again there is an association with land and agriculture.

15. Meru of eleven roofs dedicated to Ratu Manik Makentel

The word kentel appears in the names of many temples or shrines, most commonly in the form Kentel Gumi, 'the earth thickens/solidifies', the most famous being Pura Kentel Gumi at Banjarangkan (Klungkung) which in ancient days had ritual relations with Pura Besakih. Shrines dedicated to Ratu Manik Makentel or to Ratu Kentel Gumi are found in many temples, at least some of which are of considerable antiquity.<10> The relationship with the earth in these names perhaps refers to the idea that it is around these sacred spots that the (village) land or territory formed.

The Raja Purana (RPI 8.16-18, 14.11-12) identifies Ratu Mas Makentel with Bhatara Rambut Sadana, god of money and wealth, a deity popular throughout Bali, who as consort of Dewi Sri is considered an aspect of the god Wisnu. Rice and money, the basic means of livelihood, are sought through veneration of their deities who are

honoured in most temples. At Besakih the Sri-Sadana relationship is enacted in the ceremony usaba ngeed. Rambut Sadana/Ratu Manik Makentel is called down into his god-symbol at this 11-roofed meru, meets Dewi Sri outside her temple Pura Banua where, after a long procession, a ritual is held in both their honours.

The meru's odalan falls on Tumpek Krulut. Formerly, if little hairy caterpillars called geeng attacked the crops, a paneduh ('cooling') ceremony was held at this meru (EDR 1963/S/3:5; on geeng, KBW IV.629-30, KBI). The building, which has doors on all four sides, dates from about 1941.

16. Bale Pasamuhan Agung

The bale pasamuhan agung is the 'great meeting pavilion' of all the gods of Besakih during the annual Bhatara Turun Kabeh. The pavilion is built on a high stone base. Lengthwise it is divided into three rising levels (like terraces), the stone floor, then a wide wooden platform, finally a narrow shelf called janggawari. Built on 12 posts, it consists of five sections (rong) which has a bearing on the number of certain kinds of offerings placed there. In the Raja Purana (RPI 4.30) it is apparently called bale anguntur.

17-18. Shrines to Sanghyang Siyem and Mpu Bradah

These two shrines form a pair. The Raja Purana (RPI 5.1-2; cf. RPII 8.21-21, 11.3) says that "[two] shrines (bale) with sugar-palm fibre roofs one behind the other (sajajar)" are the "seat of Majalila". When this courtyard was enlarged in 1961/62 these two shrines, formerly one behind the other directly in front of the steps leading to the next terrace, were moved to their present position,

side by side, on a line with the padmasana (for former location, see photographs in Sluyters' Monthly vol.2 no.1, Jan.1921, p.39). According to Goris (1969a:82-84) the shrine in front was dedicated to Majalila and the one behind to Sanghyang Siyem (now the one on the left). The old name Majalila is now forgotten, and is replaced by Mpu Bradah. Sanghyang Siyem and Mpu Bradah are always associated with one another in the Raja Purana (RPI 2.7-10, 9.6-8; RPII 2.12-16).

The shrine honouring Mpu Bradah, court priest to raja Airlangga of East Java and well known in Javanese and Balinese sources, is really a kind of pasimpangan or 'visiting' shrine, for his main shrine at Besakih is that in Merajan Kanginan. At Bhatara Turun Kabeh, according to informants, this deity rightly should not join the other gods in the bale pasamuhan agung but resides instead at his own shrine. Sanghyang Siyem is an obscure deity; a Ratu Dalem Siyem is also honoured at Pura Batur.<11>

The ceremonies at these two shrines, that to Sanghyang Siyem on the full moon of the ninth month and that to Mpu Bradah on Thursday-Wage of the week Sungsang (Sugi Manik Jawa), were for a long time funded by the Besakih descent group Pasek Pejengan which also cares for the Merajan Kanginan. The members of this group believe that should these rituals not be performed misfortune would strike them, so when a former source of funding ceased, they paid for the rituals themselves. The distinctive feature of the ceremony honouring Sanghyang Siyem is that the purificatory libation is poured not on the ground but into a special vessel called pamua jagat ('face of the world') set into the high plinth under the raised floorboards.

Both shrines were last rebuilt in the early 1980's, unfortunately in a highly decorative south Bali style not really in harmony with the

other structures of the temple.

19. Padmasana

The padmasana is the single most important shrine in Pura Penataran Agung, one might say in the whole of Bali. Its importance and the ritual changes brought about by its introduction are discussed in Chapter 4.

The present padmasana was built in 1967. The date 1 October 1967 is inscribed on its base to the right of the steps, while to the left is a relief panel picturing four figures taken from the Kekawin Sutasoma -- Sutasoma (1), elephant (8), naga serpent (8), and cave (9) -- representing the Saka year 1889, i.e. 1967 AD. This structure replaced an earlier one (illustrated in Moojen 1926, pls. CCIII, CCIV; Hooykaas 1964a, Fig.10) damaged in the 1963 eruption, which in turn replaced a still earlier one destroyed in the great earthquake of 1917. The foundation deposit (padagingan) of the pre-1917 structure was reburied in its successor (Moojen 1926:126-128), but I do not know whether this was repeated in 1967.

20. Bale Pelik

In form this structure is a bale pelik, but there is some doubt as to whether it functions merely as a place for offerings or whether it is a shrine (dedicated to Sanghyang Ngurah, according to one pemangku).

21. Bale Agung

This very long bale agung of 24 posts or 11 sections (rong) is no longer used for official village meetings (if it ever was), though occasionally informal gatherings are held here. Often, at festival time, it becomes a work place for preparing offerings etc. The only routine ritual held here is the official pemanqku's ajang/kawas ritual during Bhatara Turun Kabeh (Chapter 2).

22. Bale Kawas

This little shrine, a gedong to the east of the bale agung, is in honour of Bhatara (Tri) Ider Bhuwana. The name bale kawas is derived from the kawas/ajang offering placed here, and elsewhere, in connection with the pemanqku's ajang rituals. The shrine's odalan falls on Friday-Umanis of the week Kelau (EDR 1963/S/3:5).

23. Panqungan

A place for offerings during Bhatara Turun Kabeh.

24. Bale Pawedan

The bale pawedan is where the high priests (pedanda) perform their rituals (maweda). Its alternative name, bale gajah ('elephant pavilion'), is said to refer to the particular form of pavilion having 24 posts, four at the centre, surrounded by three posts a side, then four posts a side. According to Moojen (1926:125), a stone base for a post was found with a date equivalent to 1568, presumably the date of one of its periodic rebuildings.

TERRACE III

25. Meru of five roofs -- Padharman Arya Dauh

This five-roofed meru is the padharman shrine of the Arya Dauh descent group, but it is uncertain whether it honours a particular ancestor or several. From the 18th century the descent group became influential in the west Karangasem region, and it is possible that the shrine was erected at that time, for it is not mentioned in the Raja Purana. No members of the descent group lived at Besakih until I Gusti Lanang Jelantik Genjor became punggawa there early this century. A distant female relative of this man now lives at Besakih and presents small offerings on holy days. For the shrine's odalan on Thursday-Wage of the week Sungsang (Sugi Manik Jawa), the descent group's pemangku from Selat officiates and the descent group organization provides the finances. The nearby pavilion (no.31), associated with this meru, provides shelter for members and a place for offerings. Besides this padharman shrine, the descent group honours the temples Pura Garba (Sibetan, Karangasem) and Merajan Alap Sari (Gelgel, Klungkung).

26-30. Shrines of the Padharman Arya Bang Sidemen

Forming a single line with the Padharman Arya Dauh are five other shrines, meru of seven, five and three roofs and two gedong (1-roofed meru) which together form the Padharman of the Arya Bang Sidemen descent group. The Raja Purana (RPI 5.3-11), in a passage in a larger section dealing with shrines of Pura Penataran Agung, lists not five but six shrines: 9-roofed meru dedicated to I Dewa Manik Geni, 7-roofed meru to I Dewa Panataran, 5-roofed meru to I Dewa Hyang Hening Made Gunung Agung, 3-roofed meru to I Dewa Gusti Hyang, and

1-roofed meru to I Dewa Hyang Antiga and I Dewa Hyang ning Teges. The other recension (RPII 4.16-21), in connection with certain lands, also mentions this same group of six ancestors (the only difference is that the third and fourth names are Ki Dewa Hyang Made and Ki Dewa Hyang Gunung Agung). With only five shrines to account for, modern accounts (Goris, Anandakusuma, Widia, Putra, Surpha, and signs put up during the 1979 Ekadasa Rudra) give listings that are the same for the multiple-roofed shrines -- I Dewa (or Ida Bhatara) Tulus Dewa/Sadewa (7-roofed meru), I Dewa Panataran (5-roofed meru), I Dewa Sukaluwih (3-roofed meru) -- but vary slightly for the two single-roofed shrines -- I Dewa Hyang Gunung Agung and I Dewa Hyang ing Teges (Anandakusuma) or Ida Gusti Teges and Ida Gusti Hyang (Ang)antiga (Widia).

Further confusion arises when these lists are compared with the descent group's chronicles and genealogies. In these, Manik Angkeran, Tulus Dewa, Panataran, Hyang Taluh (Antiga), and Gunung Agung are successive generations. I Dewa Sukaluwih is said to be the posthumous name of I Gusti Tohjiwa, second brother (made) of I Gusti Panataran. An (I Gusti) Made Teges is mentioned in the Purana Pasar Agung (SF-Bes.10:5b). Although in the Raja Purana, Tulus Dewa is not mentioned among the padharman deities, he is mentioned elsewhere (RPI 2.5-6). I can offer no solution to these problems of identification.

Some members of the Arya Bang Sidemen descent group claim that formerly, where the 5-roofed meru of the Padharman Arya Dauh now stands, there once stood the 9-roofed meru dedicated to Ida Manik Angkeran, which is now located in Pura Batu Madeg. Assuming I Dewa Manik Geni is another name for Ida Manik Angkeran, this account agrees with that of the Raja Purana texts. These informants explained the alteration by the following story: I Gusti Putu Alit Sawan, a member

of the Muncan branch of the family, had a daughter I Gusti Ayu Belong for whom the Raja of Bangli made a marriage proposal. Angered when his suit was rejected, the raja attacked Muncan but was defeated. In the terms of submission, the 9-roofed meru honouring Ida Manik Angkeran was moved to Pura Batu Madeg so that the Bangli family who were responsible for Pura Batu Madeg would henceforth have to pay homage to Ida Manik Angkeran.

The odalan of the Padharman Arya Bang Sidemen falls on Thursday-Wage of the week Sungsang (Sugi Manik Jawa). It is funded by the descent group organization.

The 3-roofed meru is of special interest in that it is probably the oldest wooden structure in the temple. A beautifully carved inscription around its door frame says it was built in Saka 1797 (AD 1875) and consecrated (karyya ngenteg) on Wednesday-Pon of the week Pujut in Saka 1799 (AD 1877). Evidently, the meru survived the great earthquake of 1917.

The Arya Bang Sidemen descent group also honour the temples Pura Bangbangbiaung (Duda) and Merajan Agung (Sidemen).

31-32. Bale

These pavilions are associated with the Padharman Arya Dauh and Padharman Arya Bang Sidemen respectively.

33. Bale pelik

This bale pelik, a little shrine for offerings, is associated with the meru no. 34.

34. Meru of 11 roofs, dedicated to Ratu Maspahit

This is one of the most important shrines in the temple, especially to the people of Besakih and formerly to those of the Pragunung villages. An 11-roofed meru with doors on all four sides, it is dedicated to Ida Ratu Maspahit, often shortened to Ratu Mas. A mark of its importance is that it is one of the very few shrines whose deity is honoured by a pratima or god-symbol, in the form of a box (kotak), of unknown contents, always wrapped in yellow cloth. Formerly, it is said, the pratima was a statue of gold which was replaced by one of sandalwood, but this too is now lost (EDR63/S/3:4). Another mark of its importance is that it was here, according to Goris (1969:84), that the Dewa Agung of Klungkung performed his devotions.

Before turning to the problem of the identity of Ratu Maspahit, I examine first the role of the shrine in ritual. The shrine is, above all, associated with marriage. At Besakih, a complete marriage ceremony requires that worship be done at this meru, accompanied by a number of special offerings.<12> Formerly, on all marriages involving women not only from Besakih but also from the Pragunung villages, a kind of tax, called panqapih, was levied. At the Pragunung village of Lebih, but presumably applicable to the others, this tax amounted to 1000 Chinese coin when the bride-taker was from one of these villages, but 3000 coin when the bride-taker was from an outside village.<13> The panqapih marriage tax was presented to Ratu Maspahit at Besakih, and used to pay for the shrine's odalan on Thursday-Wage of the week Sungsang (Sugi Manik Jawa). Formerly, on that day members of the Pragunung villages came to Besakih to worship at this meru. It was one of the temple's more important ceremonies. In the 1930's this ceremony fell into abeyance. According to a senior pemangku at

Besakih, payment of the pangapih tax ceased as a direct result of the imposition by the Dutch authorities of a head-tax of two ringgit (or 2000 Chinese coin) a year. This levy was called uang rodi, for failure to pay it led to punishment of 20 days labour (rodi), sometimes at places far distant from home. Apparently villagers simply could not afford the pangapih tax as well. Ceremonies at this meru were held again in 1985 after a long period of neglect.

Although the Pragunung villages no longer continue their old tradition, the village of Selat which has ancient ties to Besakih still honours Ratu Maspahit in a special ritual on the day following the main day of the annual Bhatara Turun Kabeh, in conjunction with Selat's other rituals at Pura Kiduling Kreteg. The ritual honouring Ratu Maspahit is called nunas merta sanjiwani ('request holy water of eternal life'). On the bale pelik (no.33) associated with this meru were placed two pecaraan offerings, each consisting of a mound of rice surrounded by nine kinds of meat from a pig provided by the Selat villagers. After a brief pemangku ritual, the men of Selat worshipped Ratu Maspahit and were sprinkled with holy water (wangsuh pada) from the shrine, the so-called merta sanjiwani, and finally together consumed the pecaraan offerings.

There are various opinions concerning the identity of Ratu Maspahit. On this matter, the Raja Purana (RPI 8.7-9, 14.3-4) clearly identifies Ratu Maspahit with Bhatara Wulan or Candra, the moon-goddess. The significance of this is not clear to me.

One opinion often encountered identifies Maspahit with Majapahit. In this view, a number of similar words -- Maspahit, Mahaspahit, Ma(h)ospahit, Majapahit -- are said to be interchangeable; so they may be, but the possibility of distinctions in usage should still be kept

in mind. For example, in the Raja Purana there seems to be a distinction between Ratu Maspahit (a deity) and Ratu or Sang Raja Majapahit (a ruler) (cf. RPI 5.20-22, 7.4-7; Mas-, Mahas-, Mahos-pahit are used interchangeably in the RP). Maja and mahos both mean bael tree or fruit (*Aegle marmelos*). Majapahit, the name of the great east Javanese kingdom, literally means 'bitter bael fruit'; its alternative name, Wilwatikta, is a literal Sanskrit translation, while Majalangu refers to its rotten smell.

These lexical equivalences still leave unanswered the question who Ida Ratu Maspahit (the deity) really is. Goris (in Spies 1933:255 n12) suggested that this is "the deified founder of the (Majapahit) kingdom on Java, who at the same time symbolized its spiritual essence, its magic power." Danandjaja (1980:188,361-2), in his study of Trunyan, echoes this view. In Trunyan's main temple, Pura Bali Desa Pancering Jagat Bali, a separate section called Kompleks Palinggih Maspait contains, among other shrines, one dedicated to Ida Ayu Maspait (a female deity) as well as a structure in the form of a bale agung called Belagung Maspait. In an interesting parallel to Besakih's association of Ratu Maspahit with marriage, this pavilion at Trunyan plays an important role in that village's fourth stage of marriage rituals, called mapekandel; after the couple perform worship there, the marriage is considered legal and the couple become members of the krama desa. The author claims that this is 'clearly' a leftover from a regulation of the Majapahit authorities in Bali that required a man to express loyalty to Majapahit before he could be considered a full village member and citizen of Majapahit. He suggests that later this civil ceremony became a religious ceremony (which assumes a sharper dichotomy than seems likely). He even

postulates that the Belagung Maspait may originally have been a meeting place for officials of the Gelgel government which recognized Majapahit overlordship.

In a study of Pura Besakih, I Gusti Agung Gede Putra (n.d.b:23 and priv.comm.) agrees with the connection between Majapahit and Ratu Maspahit, and suggests that the shrine at Besakih honours Bhatari Gayatri or Rajapatni, grandmother of Hayam Wuruk and a powerful political figure in her own right. This view he bases on a passage in the Nagarakretagama (69.3) which says that the deified Rajapatni is offered worship in shrines throughout the country.

Another theory identifies Ratu Maspahit with Mpu Kuturan, or, as Singin Wikarman and Ridjasa (1980:1) in their edition of the Pamancangah Maspahit put it, Ratu Maspahit is the name of the deified spirit of Mpu Kuturan. These authors claim that Maspahit is a place name to be identified with Wwatan Mas, former capital of the country Kahuripan from where Mpu Kuturan originated. Ratu Maspahit, the authors say, is honoured at the manjangan saluwang shrine which is found in most Balinese temples. This shrine is always provided with real deer antlers usually fitted into a wooden carving of a deer's head or body (manjangan means 'deer'). Although pemangku in some temples identify Ratu Maspahit as the deity enshrined in the manjangan saluwang, others identify the deity as Mpu Kuturan. Both identifications find textual support. A version of the Kusumadewa says "the shrine of the Seven Sages with the carving of a deer is the seat of Sanghyang Pahit of Gunung Maspahit" (Surpha 1980:22), while a text on temple shrines from Besakih says "the shrine manjangan saluwang is the lingga of Mpu Pakuturan" (HKS.3755:23.8). This deity is also sometimes said to be Sanghyang Limaspahit (Surpha 1977:10).

It is worth noting that in texts Mpu Kuturan is frequently said to come from Majapahit (on Mpu Kuturan, see Chapter 10).

35. Kehen

The kehen has been discussed at length in Chapters 2 and 4. The present structure dates from about 1941.

36. Meru of 7-roofs, dedicated to Ratu Geng/Lingsir

This deity, who has more different names than any other deity at Besakih, is of the greatest significance in that the two 15th century edicts on wooden panels are regarded as this deity's physical symbol (pratima). The two commonest names now, Ratu Geng ('Great Lord') and Ratu Lingsir ('Aged Lord'), are not really proper names at all but rather terms of veneration. Neither of these two names are mentioned in the Raja Purana which instead calls this deity I Dewa Tureksa or I Dewa Pangandika (RPI 4.26; RPII 4.25-5.5, 11.8-12). Tureksa means 'attentive, careful, with disinterested care' (Zoetmulder 1982), suggesting perhaps that the deity keeps a close watch over the carrying out of the edicts' pronouncement; whereas Pangandika, meaning 'decree, command, pronouncement', seems to refer to the edicts themselves.

The odalan at this shrine is held in conjunction with that of Ratu Maspahit on the day Thursday-Wage of the week Sungsang (Sugi Manik Jawa). Another ceremony, honouring the edicts themselves, takes place on Saturday-Umanis of the week Watugunung, the holy day in honour of Dewi Saraswati, goddess of writing and knowledge. The pemangku consider this latter ceremony so important that, when official funding was lacking, they paid for it themselves. On

Saraswati's day all inscriptions, lontar and books are honoured as symbols of the Goddess herself. Stemming from this association, Ratu Geng is often identified with Dewi Saraswati (EDR63/S/3:4; Widia 1979/80:42). However, since the edicts are housed in the kehen building, the ceremony on Saraswati's day takes place there, not at the 7-roofed meru.

37-38 & 40-41. Shrines dedicated to Kyayi Batulepang and Batulempeh(?)

On either side of the shrine (no.39) honouring Ratu Sakti is a pair of structures consisting of a shrine (gedong) and an accompanying little pavilion for offerings (bale pelik). The identity of the deities enshrined here is a matter of differing viewpoints; the Raja Purana makes no mention of them. For generations, it is said, these shrines have been looked after by specific Besakih descent groups (dadia), the eastern one by Pasek Gelgel (IV), the western one jointly by Pasek Kayu Selem and Pasek Brejo. The differing viewpoints centre on the question whether these shrines are ancestral shrines or not. I begin with an account of an event related to one of these shrines.

At the village of Selumbang (Manggis, Karangasem) there live three groups of people who claim descent from Kyayi (I Gusti) Batulepang. The smallest of these, on account of continual family problems and disharmony, called on a trance specialist (sedahan) who, during a trance session held at the group's pura dadia at Selumbang, declared that their problems stemmed from the neglect of two shrines at Besakih associated with their family. So one day representatives journeyed to Besakih and consulted with pemangku who pointed out the two structures west of the shrine to Ratu Sakti as those associated

with Batulepang. Light rain fell as the representatives worshipped there, an auspicious sign. Some time later the group offered a guru piduka ceremony asking forgiveness for their neglect of the shrine, and on a third visit gave notice that they intended to replace the structures with new ones. This they did in late December 1982.

Senior pemangku of the two Besakih dadia, Pasek Kayu Selem and Pasek Brejo, who had long looked after that shrine and taken turns to offer a ceremony there every Wednesday-Umanis of the week Julungwangi, considered this as a duty entrusted to them as caretakers (pangamong). They did not consider the shrine as an ancestor (kawitan) shrine of their own. Both dadia have their own pura dadia -- and anyway how could they have the same ancestor? The shrine, they agreed, was associated with Batulepang, and if people claiming descent from Batulepang wished to worship there and replace the shrine, they may do as they wish.

What of the other pair of structures just east of Ratu Sakti's shrine? Pemangku who knew about Batulepang considered the easterly shrine as being in honour of Batulempoh who they thought was probably Batulepang's brother or at least family. They considered the dadia that looked after the shrine as being caretakers. However, this particular dadia, now called Pasek Gelgel and whose pemangku is Mk Sumadi, consider the shrine to be an ancestor (kawitan) shrine, even though they have their own pura dadia. They present a ceremony at the shrine on Wednesday-Wage of the week Kelau, at the same time presenting offerings to Ratu Sakti. There was no conflict between these viewpoints for the different pemangku never discussed it together; in practical terms it made no difference. It does, rather nicely, illustrate the distinction between pangamong and kawitan

relationships.

The proximity of these shrines to the shrine of Ratu Sakti is almost certainly not coincidental. Although I know of no reference to Batulempeh, Batulepang is mentioned in such chronicles as the Babad Dalem (K.1252:53.8-10) as one of the sons of I Gusti Agung of Gelgel. He is said to have murdered a brahmana. Ratu Sakti is honoured as the ancestor of the brahmana.

39. Shrine dedicated to Ratu Sakti

This small pavilion of simple construction, open on its upridge side which is rather uncommon, is dedicated to Ratu Sakti. Within the pavilion are two ancient statues, one of a holy man (resi), the other a rider on horseback (for descriptions, see Widia 1979/80:67-68, pl.28) Both are rather damaged, the latter especially, and are of indeterminate date. Sometimes the holy man, sometimes the horse-rider, is identified with Danghyang Nirartha, though the former is also sometimes identified with Mpu Kuturan. The identification with Danghyang Nirartha is either the reason for, or the result of, the custom that at this shrine honouring Ratu Sakti members of brahmana descent groups pay special veneration to their ancestor. However, it appears that this is not considered an ancestor shrine as such, not a kawitan or padharman, but rather a shrine honouring a holy man of renown to whom all Balinese pay homage. It is said that in former days, soldiers sent out on orders of the ruler would worship first at this shrine and request victory in war. This custom still lives on, for sometimes on Kuningan, the day of the shrine's odalan, military personnel pay homage to Ratu Sakti.

TERRACE IV

42-43. Shrines dedicated to Ratu Ayu Subandar and Ratu Ulang Alu

On the west side of Terrace IV are two shrines whose deities are both connected with trading. The one on the upridge side is dedicated to Ida Ratu Ayu Subandar, the other to Ida Ratu Ulang Alu (or Tula-ng Alu?). Subandar, of Malay (ultimately Persian) derivation, means 'harbour master', usually a trader of foreign origin who paid the local ruler a certain sum of money for the right to hold the position (Zoetmulder 1982; KBW III.382). The word does not seem to be current before the Majapahit period. Ulang and alu are words of related meaning. The former, in its verbal form angulang, is an old Javanese word mentioned in 10th century inscriptions, that means 'to buy up (esp. cattle for slaughter and selling the meat?)' (Zoetmulder 1982), an occupation that would require a good deal of travelling. Alu is a Balinese word whose verbal form ngalu means 'to travel far in search of trade' (KBI; cf. KBW I.258-9). (Tula, meaning 'scales', seems to me less likely).

These seems to be a distinction, then, between the spheres of influence of these two deities, Ratu Ulang Alu being the deity of the local itinerant trader and Ratu Ayu Subandar that of the inter-island trader. Nowadays, however, Ratu Ayu Subandar has very much eclipsed the other deity. Worshippers who make their livelihood through trade and marketing activities frequently pay homage to Ratu Ayu Subandar to ask for success in their dealings; in fact, a wealthy Denpasar businessman financed the recent rebuilding of this shrine (Surpha 1979:48-49). It is particularly busy there during the Bhatara Turun Kabeh festival when many traders of Chinese descent visit the shrine and offer cakes, rice, tea and paper money in rituals of distinctly

Chinese flavour. An even stronger Chinese presence is found at the important shrine to Ratu Gede Ngurah Subandar in the main courtyard of Pura Batur. Although at Batur considered male, at Besakih and many other temples the deity is considered female (ayu).^{<14>}

Odalan at both these Besakih shrines fall on Galungan (Wednesday-Kliwon of the week Dungulan).

44. Shrine dedicated to Ratu Surya-Candra

In a simple shelter, four beautiful old statues, the finest antiquities at Besakih, face upwards towards the mountain, with a row of seven lingga and other assorted stones in front of them. The four statues, stylistically very similar and presumably contemporaneous, are all seated cross-legged and have four arms. The following discussion is based on that of I Wayan Widia (1979/80:68-72, pl.27). From east to west:

1. female deity, upawita over left shoulder, two rear hands carry what appear to be vajra, front right hand in vara mudra, front left hand held palm up with flower.
2. male deity, similar to no.1, except that front right hand in abhaya mudra.
3. male deity, upawita in form of snake over left shoulder, rear right hand carries sangka/conch (symbol of Wisnu), rear left hand carries aksamala (attribute of Siwa), front right hand in abhaya mudra, front left hand palm up with flower.
4. female deity, upawita as no.3, rear hands missing (damaged), front right hand in vara mudra, front left hand palm up with flower.

Traditionally these statues have been called Bhatara Surya-Candra or Bhatara Siwa-Buddha, which reminds one of the eclectic Siwa-Buddha

cult of Singhasari and Majapahit. And indeed the statues portray attributes of Buddhist and Siwaite iconography: the abhaya mudra associated with Dhyani Buddha Amoghasiddhi, vara mudra with Dhyani Buddha Ratnasambhava, while statue no.3, with both Siwaite and Wisnuite attributes, might depict Harihara. The flower or lotus bud that each figure holds in its front left hand is regarded as an attribute of the classical Balinese ancestor statue. It seems possible, then, that the four statues are in honour of a pair of deified rulers accompanied by their consorts. Widia dates them to the 12th century.

The shrine's odalan falls on Wednesday-Kliwon of the week Ugu. People from Bungaya (Karangasem) also worship here as part of their special rituals on the day of the full moon of the fourth month.

45. Meru of 11-roofs dedicated to Ratu Sunaring Jagat

The most important shrine of Terrace IV is the 11-roofed meru, with doors on all four sides, dedicated to Ida Ratu Sunaring Jagat, 'Radiance/Light of the World'. No deity of this name is mentioned in the Raja Purana, but apparently is referred to instead by other names: I Dewa Atu, Bhatara Siwa Nyaturmuka, Bhatara Siwa Nyakra-Bhuwana, and Bhatara Guru (RPI 3.28-29, 7.33-8.2, 14.5-7; RPII 1.28-30, 3.3-4).^{<15>} The meru's odalan is held on Wednesday-Wage of the week Langkir. Formerly the upkeep of this meru was the responsibility of the ruler of Tabanan and members of the former Tabanan royal family still sometimes worship there. In its architecture, the present (1985) meru portrays the old style in which the chamber is constructed of wooden planks.

46-51. Subsidiary minor shrines

Besides the four shrines already mentioned (nos.42-45), there are now a further six shrines or structures on Terrace IV, all of minor significance. Earlier temple plans show only three (Goris 1937) or four (Moojen 1920) structures, but whether these plans simply neglected minor structures or whether new structures have been added is not clear.

46 and 47. These pavilions, sometimes called bale tegeh, are dedicated to the dedara (widyadara) and dedari (widyadari), heavenly musicians and nymphs. The Raja Purana (RPI 4.25) mentions that the "seat of Sanghyang Dedari is one bale candana ('sandlewood pavilion') of four posts." The shrines' odalan falls on Wednesday-Kliwon of the week Ugu.

48. This bale kampuh (Putra n.d.:plan, Widia 1979/80:43) where offerings are placed, is usually regarded as part of the Dedari group.

49. Bale pelik

50. Bale pelik, dedicated to Ida Ratu Ayu Ngalesung (lesung, 'pounding mortar/block'). Formerly, it is said, before pounding the first rice of the season, villagers worshipped here and requested holy water to sprinkle over the rice, a little of which was then offered to the deity. This custom is no longer practised. The shrine's odalan falls on Wednesday-Pon of the week Sungsang (EDR63/S/3:4).

51. Bebaturan dedicated to Ratu Sedahan Nginte (Panginte, Manginte) (EDR63/S/3:4; Anandakusuma 1975:23). By the villagers of Bungaya who conduct rituals on this terrace on the full moon of the fourth month, this shrine is sometimes called palingqih kabayan.

TERRACE V

52. Meru of three roofs, dedicated to Ratu Magelung

This small three-roofed meru, oriented towards the west (maulu kauh) is dedicated to I Dewa Ratu Magelung (RPI 4.22) or Ratu (Ayu) Mas Magelung (EDR63/S/3:3; Notulen Paroeman Kerta Negara 10 Dec.1935). This (female) deity is the goddess of the arts of dancing and music, as suggested by the name (gelung, 'dancer's headdress, chignon'). In days past, when a dance or music group was formed, the members paid homage at this shrine to inform the deity of their intentions and to request the deity's blessings on their endeavour (EDR63/S/3:3).

Formerly, on the day of the meru's odalan, Tuesday-Kliwon of the week Kulantir, fruits (and cookies?) were hung around the eaves of the roof as decoration, according to one source (EDR63/S/3:3). According to another source (Notulen Paroeman Kerta Negara 10 Dec.1935), a small ceremony called usaba ngina was celebrated here on the full moon of the first month, when rituals were also held at other shrines on the two uppermost terraces. The word ngina is derived from gina which means both 'dance' (pragina, 'dancer') and a kind of rice cookie. The Raja Purana (RPII 6.10-22) gives details of quite a large ceremony held at this meru during the time of the waxing moon of the fourth month, at which Ida Dalem paid homage. Since it is rather unlikely that two yearly festivals would have been held at this shrine, it is possible that its day of celebration has changed. The Raja Purana (RPI 15.33-16.2) lists offerings formerly placed here during the tenth month celebration.

Other temples with a shrine to a deity of this name include the Pura Puseh of Kesimpar, one of the Pragunung Besakih villages, where,

according to the pemangku, she is associated with agriculture; and at Pura Puseh of Tabola (Sidemen) (EDR63/S/3:10-12).

53. Meru of 11 roofs, dedicated to Sanghyang Wisesa

The main structure of Terrace V is an 11-roofed meru, its main door on the south side, little doors (almost windows) on the other three sides. In front, flanking the meru on either side, are small bale pelik. The meru is dedicated to I Dewa Wasesa (RPI 4.23), now more commonly known as Sanghyang Wisesa. Wasesa means 'ruling', whereas wisesa means 'eminent, supreme' (Zoetmulder 1982). Sanghyang Wisesa is a designation for the Supreme Being in such Old Javanese texts as *Wrhaspatitattwa* and *Sutasoma*, and in inscriptions (Zoetmulder 1982, sv *wisesa*, *andika*). In the *Raja Purana* (RPI 8.2-5, 14.1-2), I Dewa Wasesa is identified with Bhatara Raditya, the Sun God. Sometimes the deity is also identified with Bhatara Indra (Surpha 1979:49; Soebandi 1983:99) which finds passing support in the god's mantra (RPI 8.2-5). Hyang Wisesa was also the sacral name, adopted before he became king, of Wikramawardhana who succeeded Hayam Wuruk in 1389 (Noorduyn 1978:230 n.19).

A yearly ritual is held at this shrine on the full moon of the first month, in conjunction with the other shrines of the two uppermost terraces. Formerly this meru was the responsibility of the ruler of Buleleng (Goris 1969a:85).

54-55. Sale pelik

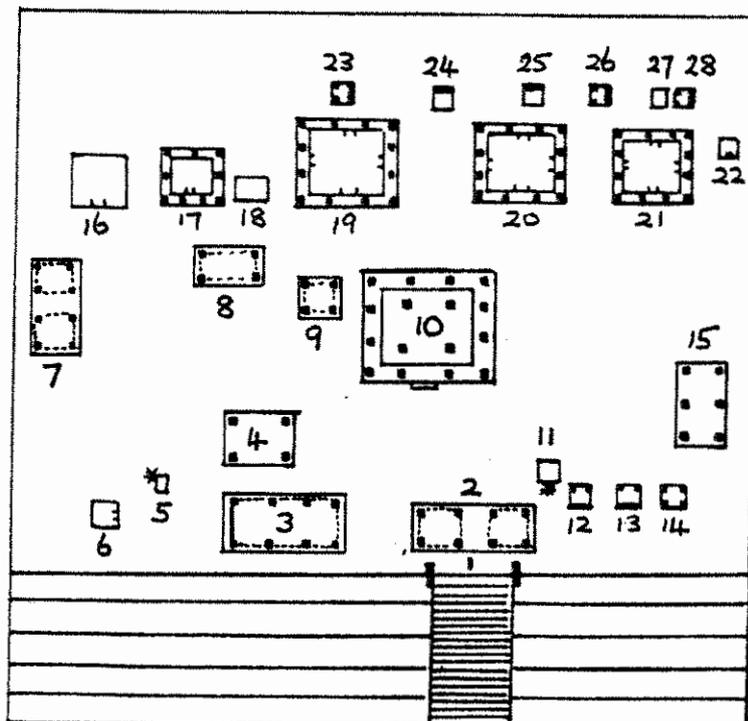
These two small pavilions used for offerings are associated with the 11-roofed meru honouring Sanghyang Wisesa (no.53).

TERRACE VI

56-57. Shrines (Gedong) dedicated to Ratu Bukit

The sixth and uppermost terrace contains only a pair of matching shrines, shaded peacefully by wonderful old lychee trees. Beyond the fields outside the enclosing wall rises Gunung Agung to whose deity the shrines are dedicated. According to the Raja Purana (RPI 4.20-21), the two shrines honour the male and female (istri kakung) aspects of I Dewa Bukit. Now frequently these two aspects are called I Dewa Bukit Kiwa ('right') and I Dewa Bukit Tengen ('left') or Ratu Pucak Kiwa/Tengen (pucak, 'summit'). Sometimes they are given quite separate names: Ratu Pucak to the right and Ratu Pameneh to the left. In an obscure passage the Raja Purana (RPI 7.31-33) appears to identify or associate I Dewa Bukit with I Dewa Luhuring Akasa and I Dewa Naga Basuki. Deities bearing the name Ratu Pameneh are also enshrined at Pura Puseh Tabola and Pura Puseh Kesimpar.

The main ceremony at these shrines, called aci panaung taluh, falls on the full moon of the first month. A small odalan, on the day Wednesday-Wage of the week Kelau, is the responsibility of the village official of Selat called pasek, and is funded by that village's treasury.

2. PURA BATU MADEG

Temples called Pura Batu Madeg, 'Temple of the Standing Stone', are not uncommon in Bali, and the idea implicit in the name -- standing stone as (temporary) abode of divinity -- is very widespread. This trait is often termed 'megalithic' but such a characterization is little more than tautology. The origin of the concept may be old indeed, but the occurrence of standing stones says little about the antiquity of a sanctuary where they are found. The standing stone which gave this temple its name is now enclosed within the most important shrine, the 11-roofed meru dedicated to I Dewa Batu Madeg who is identified with Bhatara Wisnu. This stone, once said to be intact, is now in fragments.

The shrines of the temple may be divided into three groups. The

first group, in the most upridge position behind the row of meru, consists of three low altars (bebaturan), each accompanied by a small offering pavilion (bale pelik). The 'megalithic' nature of one of these shrines and the ancient Hindu statues on the other two, point to the existence of an ancient sanctuary, perhaps predating the Majapahit era. However, although it is tempting to speculate that these shrines, together with the standing stone once open to the sky, are the original shrines, it is difficult to associate with any degree of certainty particular shrines with particular stages of development, as I suggested in the case of Pura Penataran Agung.

The second group is the wonderful row of five large meru. Their date of construction is unknown. In the Raja Purana (RPI 4.12-15), the temple as a whole is the responsibility of I Dewa Den Bancingah and the arya west of the river Telaga Dwaja (Waja). There is a story that Sang Anom, the ancestor of I Dewa Den Bancingah and the Ksatria Taman Bali descent group, achieved spiritual liberation (moksa) at Pura Batu Madeg's standing stone, and that later his descendants, to commemorate the event, enclosed the stone within a meru. Perhaps all the meru date from the Gelgel period.

The third group of shrines, all rather minor, stand in the downridge part of the temple

On the shrines as a whole, there are two points of interest. The first is that the names of many of Pura Batu Madeg's deities suggest a relationship with the Batur area, either since ancient times or as a result of the influence of the Taman Bali/Bangli courts. The second is that, traditionally but now largely neglected, the majority of shrines were the responsibility of particular descent groups who offered homage there at the ceremony called nadianq. With one certain

exception, the descent groups act (or acted) as caretakers (panqamong); in other words, the shrines are not dedicated to deified ancestors.

1. Candi bentar

2. Bale pegat

This structure seems to have no function nowadays (cf. Pura Penataran Agung, no.2), save that the temple's slit-drum (kulkul) is hung here.

3. Bale agung

This bale agung of eight posts (three rong or sections) is oriented to the west. In ritual it plays a role only in the usaba warqasiram.

4. Bale pawedan

5. Bebaturan -- a damaged old statue of Ganesa is found here.

6. Shrine (gedong) dedicated to Hyang Kumpi Batur

The deity of this shrine, oriented to the west, is considered the (pra)sedahan of the temple's main deity. Kumpi means 'great-grandfather', while batur here probably means 'servant, helper' (Zoetmulder 1982), almost synonymous with sedahan. The shrine is the responsibility (amongan) of the temple's pemangku family, which it takes seriously. A celebration is held here in conjunction with the nadiang ritual; an odalan is held on Wednesday-Wage of the week Kelau.

7. Bale pasambianqan

8. Pangqungan -- place for offerings.

9. Bale tegeh

Rising from the high base of this pavilion (hence its name tegeh,

'high') is a finely worked Siwa lingga of stone (illustrated in Hooykaas 1964a, fig.18-19).

10. Bale pasamuhan agung

This large pavilion of 16 posts, the four central posts being on a higher base, is where the gods of the temple gather at times of important ceremony.

11. Bebaturan -- a cement structure enclosing a large boulder.

12-14. Bale pelik

In connection with the nadiang ritual, the ceremonies at these shrines were traditionally the responsibility of the Pasek Tangkas (no.12), Dukuh Siladri (no.13) and Pasek Gaduh (no.14).

15. Bale gong

16. Meru of nine roofs, dedicated to Bhatara Manik Angkeran

Bhatara Manik Angkeran, the deity of this meru, the most westerly of the row, is an historical figure (Chapter 11). All his descendants (Arya Pinatih, Arya Bang Sidemen, etc) honour their deified ancestor at this meru which may thus be considered a padharman shrine. In the discussion of the padharman shrines of the Arya Bang Sidemen descent group in Pura Penataran Agung (nos.26-30), there is reason to think that in the Raja Purana Bhatara Manik Angkeran is known as I Dewa Manik Geni, honoured at a nine-roofed meru that was formerly located in that temple. Being an inveterate gambler, Bhatara Manik Angkeran is sometimes identified with or confused with Ratu Bagus Bobotoh, though at Pura Batu Madeg they have separate identities. The ceremony at this meru in conjunction with the nadiang ritual is still always held, its cost being borne by the proceeds of dryland at Guwaji (Besakih). At the two major rituals at Pura Batu Madeg, aci panaung

bayu and especially the odalan on Monday-Umanis of the week Tolu, large numbers of people claiming descent from Bhatara Manik Angkeran, come and pay homage. Shrines honouring Bhatara Manik Angkeran are sometimes found in non-descent group temples, e.g. Pura Silayukti, Pura Penataran Tanggahan Peken (Susut).

17. Meru of eleven roofs, dedicated to Ratu Manik Buncing

Nothing is known of this deity, nor do I know of shrines to this deity in other temples. The word buncing means 'twins of opposite sex' who in the realm of the gods (and, formerly, princes) are considered as being married to one another (Belo 1935, etc). In connection with the nadiang ritual, the Pasek Ketewel still present offerings at this meru.

18. Bebaturan, dedicated to Bhatara Kelabang Akit

This shrine, a bebaturan on which have been placed many stones and fragments of statues, is dedicated to Bhatara Kelabang Akit. Kelabang means 'plaited coconut palm frond, used for walls, roofing or as mats'; akit means 'a pair, especially of plough animals' (KBW I.142). Although the name is obscure, the deity is identified or associated with the earth (Dasar, Ibu Pretiwi). According to the pemancku, people even now sometimes come here to ask for a blessing when building a dam; a little earth from in front of the shrine is buried at the base of the dam. The importance of this shrine is indicated by the size of the offerings, a sorohan pebangkit which must be black in colour, placed here during the aci panaung bayu ritual.

19. Meru of eleven roofs, dedicated to Bhatara Wisnu

This is the most important shrine in the temple and encloses the fragments of the once intact standing stone that apparently gave the temple its name. In the Raja Purana (RPI 8.10-12, 13.35-36), the deity of this meru is called I Dewa Batu Madeg and is identified with Bhatara Wisnu. Another name that is sometimes attached to this deity is Manik Gumawang, 'Shining Jewel' (Hooykaas 1964a:183, quoting K.1139:8b; Atmanadhi 1973:48), though this name is also associated with other places or temples such as Giri Bratan (LOR 13505:25.17-18) and Pura Ulu Watu (KBW III.152 sv.sadkahyangan, IV.502-3 sv.manik, IV.739 sv.gawang). Although not a kawitan shrine, this meru is honoured by the Ksatria Taman Bali descent group, including the princely house of Bangli, to whom Bhatara Wisnu is considered the progenitor of Sang Anom, the original human ancestor. The god-symbols of Pura Batu Madeg are stored in this meru, being brought out only for Bhatara Turun Kabeh.

20. Meru of eleven roofs, dedicated to Ratu Bagus Bobotoh

Ratu Bagus Bobotoh is the deity of gambling (bagus refers to a male deity, bobotoh 'gambler') to which the Balinese are rather addicted. Shrines to this deity are found in other temples, e.g. Pura Tulukbyu (Batur Kalanganyar), Pura Bale Agung Pengotan. The dadia Pasek Kayu Selem was traditionally responsible for the nadiang ceremony at this meru.

21. Meru of eleven roofs, dedicated to Ratu Manik Bungkah

Since several shrines in this temple point towards the Batur area, there may be some relationship between this deity and the holy

spring Toya Bungkah on the slopes of Mt. Batur. The dadia Pasek Brejo was traditionally responsible for the nadiang ceremony at this meru.

22. Shrine (gedong) dedicated to Ratu Pujung Sari

Ratu Pujung Sari probably refers to the deity of the little temple of that name on the lower easterly summit of Mt. Abang (Chapter 3). Temples possessing shrines to a deity of this name are found in the villages of Bangli (Pura Kehen), Penida Kaja (Pura Panti Dadia Pasek) and Trunyan (Danandjaja 1980). The dadia Pulasari was traditionally responsible for the nadiang ceremony at this shrine (there are Pulasari connections with villages that honour Pura Pujung Sari).

23-24. Bebaturan and bale pelik, dedicated to Ratu Gajah Waktra

Placed on the bebaturan is an old stone statue of a man riding an elephant (gajah) called Ratu Gajah Waktra (Widia 1979/80:71). Gajah Waktra is one of the names of the last ruler of Bali prior to the Majapahit conquest of 1343, but save for this similarity of names, it is not known whether this ruler was associated with Besakih.

25-26. Bebaturan and bale pelik, dedicated to Ratu Hidung Lantang

Ratu Hidung Lantang, 'Long Nose', is the name given to the ancient statue of the elephant god Ganesa that is placed on the shrine (Widia 1979/80:70, pl.29). Ganesa or Gana, son of Siwa, was a popular figure in pre-Majapahit Bali, judging from the number of his statues.

27-28. Bebaturan and bale pelik, dedicated to Ratu Batu Dinding

The bebaturan contains a number of flat upright stones, rather fitting for a shrine of a deity called Ratu Batu Dinding (batu 'stone', dinding 'wall'). It is possible there is a connection here with the village called Batu Dinding in the Tianyar area (ARB 37:377-8, Coll.Korn 171/625), presumably the origin of the Pasek Batu Dinding (K.2261:7a).

Ceremonies:

Odalan on Monday-Umanis of the week Tolu

Ngebekang on the full moon of the second month

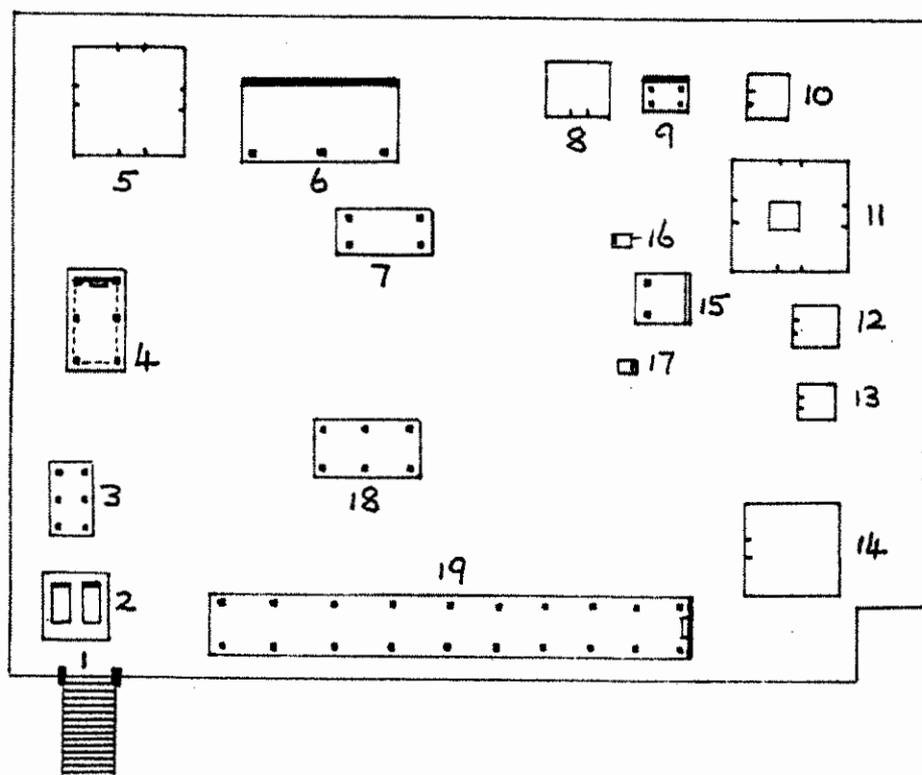
Nadiang on the day after the full moon of the second month

Aci panaung bayu on the new moon of the fifth month

Aci wargasiram on the new moon of the fifth month

Caru panyaag on the new moon of the sixth month

Usaba ngeed (minor role) on the full moon of the eighth month

3. PURA KIDULING KRETEG

Pura Kiduling Kreteg, 'Temple south of the bridge', is the current name of this temple, replacing the older designation Pura Dangin Kreteg, 'Temple east of the bridge', only within the last 30 years or so (on this change of direction, see Chapter 4). There is no data whatsoever to determine when the temple was constructed, save that it already existed at the time the Raja Purana was compiled, when it was the responsibility of Arya Karangasem (RPI 5.13-15), whose identity is not certain. A passage in a text called Piagem Pura Bukit which bears a date equivalent to 1806 mentions several deities enshrined in Pura Kiduling Kreteg (nos.4,7,9).

The shrines and structures are as follows:

1. Candi bentar

On either side of the flight of steps leading to the candi bentar

stands a statue of a guardian. On the base of the one to the left is a relief panel bearing a picture-date, man(1)-horse(7)-crab(2)-?, read as Saka 1724 (AD 1802) by Moojen (1926:125)

2. Bale pegat

3. Bale gong

4. Bale patus

It is here that the Selat people place their god Ratu Bagus Selonding on his annual visit to Pura Kiduling Kreteg during Bhatara Turun Kabeh. Otherwise, it is used as a place for offerings and the pemanjku's ritual for the odalan of Ratu Bagus Cili.

5. Meru of eleven roofs, dedicated to Ida Ratu Bagus Cili

Ratu Bagus Cili is lord of mice, who must be supplicated at times of mice plague with what is called a paneduh ritual. The word cili means 'small' originally, while derivatively it signifies a pictorial representation of a female figure often identified as Dewi Sri, goddess of rice. However, save for the obvious link between rice and mice, Ratu Bagus Cili is not identified with Dewi Sri. The odalan that falls on Tuesday-Wage of the week Dunggulan (Panampihan Galungan), is directed towards Ratu Bagus Cili, although not to the exclusion of the other deities.

6. Bale pasamuhan agung

7. Panggungan

8. Meru of seven roofs, dedicated to Ida Ratu Bagus Bulusan

The word bulus has several meanings (Zoetmulder 1982; KBI), among them 'fast, quickly' in reference to, say, running or the beating of a kulkul. Perhaps this sense of rapid noise-making, a common means of scaring away birds destroying the ripening rice, is linked to the deity's function as lord with power over birds.

Formerly, if birds reached plague proportion, a paneduh ritual was held at this meru.

9. Bale pasambianan

The place for offerings at rituals at shrines no.8 and 10.

10. Meru of five roofs, dedicated to Ida Ratu Bagus Swa

Ratu Bagus Swa is the deity with power over grasshoppers (balang sangit) and other insect pests (merana). Every year, the ceremony usaba nyungsung, generically a paneduh ritual, is held here three days after usaba dalem puri. A deity of this name is also honoured at shrines in the pura puseh of Selat and of Tabola. The meaning of the word swa is unknown.

11. Meru of eleven roofs, dedicated to Bhatara Brahma

This is the main shrine of Pura Kiduling Kreteg. The Raja Purana (RPI 13.33-34; cf. RPI 8.5-7) says that "The seat of I Dewa Rabut Palah, Kiduling Kreteg, is an 11-roofed meru, the lingga of Bhatara Brahma." Thus I Dewa Rabut Palah, elsewhere known as I Dewa Dangin Kreteg, is identified with Bhatara Brahma (Cf. RPII 8.31-9.3 which says that the odalan of I Dewa Rambut Salah (sic) falls on Tuesday-Wage of the week Dungulan, the only passage suggesting identification with Ratu Bagus Cili). Rabut Palah, 'Venerable Palah', is the old name for the (chief deity of the) temple complex of Candi Penataran on the southwest slope of Mt. Kelud, near Blitar. It was famous in its day as a centre of worship and learning, and is mentioned in early kidung and in the Old Sundanese work Bhujangga Manik (see Krom 1914; Noorduyt 1982:416, 430-1; Robson 1979:310). The identification of Rabut Palah with Bhatara Brahma throws light on the discovery of a statue of Brahma at Candi Penataran (Krom 1914). Bhatara Brahma, the deity of this meru, has as god-symbols (pratima) a

pair of small stone statues, symbolizing lord and spouse or male and female aspects (lanang istri). They are brought out only for Bhatara Turun Kabeh.

12. Meru of five roofs, dedicated to Ida Ratu Gede Sa(a)

13. Meru of three roofs, dedicated to Ida Ratu Sii

Nothing is known of either of these deities.

14. Meru of three roofs, called Pasimpenan

This meru is not dedicated to a particular deity, but, like the kehen of Pura Penataran Agung, functions as a place for storing the precious god-symbols and other ritual paraphernalia.

15. Bale tegeh

16-17. Bebaturan

Both these were originally little 'megalithic' shrines; the tops of the stones are still showing after rebuilding. They are said to be dedicated to the sedahan or servants of the gods.

18. Bale pawedan

19. Bale agung

This 20 post bale agung, oriented to the east (maulu kangin), is used as such only by the Selat villagers during their special rituals at Pura Kiduling Kreteg during the Bhatara Turun Kabeh festival.

Ceremonies:

Odalan (Bhatara Brahma) on Tuesday-Kliwon of the week Prangbakat

Odalan (Ratu Bagus Cili) on Tuesday-Wage of the week Dunggulan

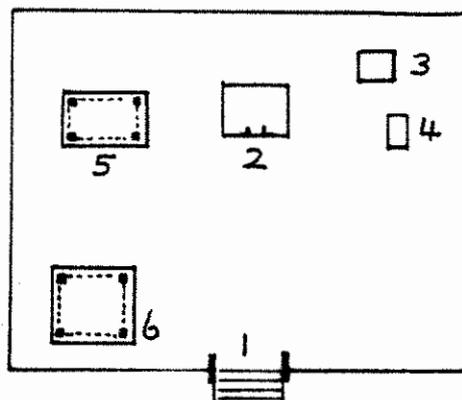
Aci panyeeb Brahma on full moon of the sixth month

Usaba nyungsung (Ratu Bagus Swa), three days after Usaba Dalem Puri

Ngebekang on full moon of the second month

Caru panyaag on new moon of the sixth month

Usaba ngeed (minor role) on full moon of the eighth month

4. PURA GELAP

Pura Gelap lies on a sharp rise about 500 metres upridge from Pura Penataran Agung, and commands a fine view of the surrounding temples and countryside. It is a very small temple consisting of a walled inner courtyard with just five structures and an outer unwallled space where the kitchen and sitting/work pavilions are located. The main shrine is a three-roofed meru dedicated to I Dewa Gelap (RPI 4.19) who in the 'tumurun' passage (RPI 8.26-8) is identified with I Dewa Geni and with "Ida ala-ayu, gumi akasa" (Lord inauspicious (and) auspicious, earth and sky) and whose mantra, the dasaksara, suggests identification with Siwa. Formerly, a natural stone said to represent the Siwa-lingga, was located beneath the meru (Hooykaas 1964a:180, fig.20). The present-day identification of I Dewa Gelap with Bhatara Iswara, which is not mentioned in the Raja Purana, is a result of the development of the five-part system of direction temples. The word gelap means 'lightning (and thunder)' (Zoetmulder 1982; KBW IV.758) and so, to some extent, the deity is thought to control destructive powers. The present Dewa Agung/Dalem of Klungkung was warned by his father never to celebrate the temple's main festival at anything but its full elaborate level, for to do otherwise would court destruction.

This main ceremony, aci pangenteg jagat, is one of the aci nyatur ceremonies.

The shrines and structures of Pura Gelap are as follows:

1. Candi bentar
2. Meru of three roofs, dedicated to Bhatara Iswara or I Dewa Gelap
3. Sangqah agung, honouring the god of Gunung Agung
4. Bebaturan, honouring the various sedahan and panginte, servants and helpers of I Dewa Gelap (EDR 1963/S/3:19).
5. Panggungan
6. Bale pawedan

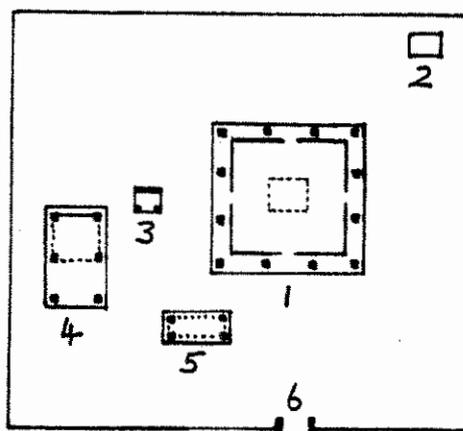
Ceremonies:

Aci pangenteg jagat on the full moon of the second month

New Moon and Full Moon rituals:

Every new moon and full moon the temple's pemangku presents a small ritual whose distinctive feature is special offerings. For new moon, the basic pelayuan group of offerings (daanan could also be used) is supplemented by a basket (wakul) of steamed black rice (kuskus injin), while on full moon the basket contains steamed cookie-rice (kuskus ketan). The correspondence between colour of rice and phase of the moon is obvious.

5. PURA PANGUBENGAN



Of all the public temples, Pura Pangubengan lies highest up the mountain slope, some two to three kilometres upridge from Pura Penataran Agung, on a small knoll amidst tall pine trees. A little candi bentar leads into the temple. Within a low surrounding wall stands an eleven-roofed meru, with doors on all four sides, accompanied by four other structures. The Raja Purana (RPI 3.27-8) says that the shrine is dedicated to I Dewa (ring) Pangubengan, while another confusing passage (RPI 13.30-2) suggests an identification with 'the god of the seven skies' (bhatara ring sapta akasa). Other passages (RPI 1.10; RPII 5.17-18) suggest a relationship between this temple and Pura Penataran Agung's shrine to I Dewa Bukit; both celebrate their festivals on the same day. One recent account (EDR 1963/S/3:12) identifies I Dewa Pangubengan with the god of Gunung Agung, while others explain the temple's function as the place from which to inform the god of the mountain about forthcoming ceremonies.

For certain important rituals, at Besakih and elsewhere, it is thought proper to present offerings at the summit of Gunung Agung. If this should not be possible, the offerings may instead be presented at

Pura Pangubengan. For the Ekadasa Rudra of 1963 the pakelem offerings destined for the crater could not be taken there because the mountain was erupting, so instead a large hole was dug outside Pura Pangubengan and the offerings thrown into that. Another function of Pura Pangubengan that is sometimes given is that it is here the followers of the chief gods stay when their masters descend to Pura Penataran Agung, an explanation akin to that of the pangubengan shrines, either permanent or temporary, erected outside temples in many parts of Bali (Hooykaas 1977:pls.9-13).

The temple's structures are as follows:

1. Meru of eleven roofs, dedicated to I Dewa Pangubengan
2. Sanggar agung
3. Bale pelik
4. Bale pasamuhan
5. Panggungan
6. Candi bentar

Ceremonies:

Aci on the full moon of the first month.

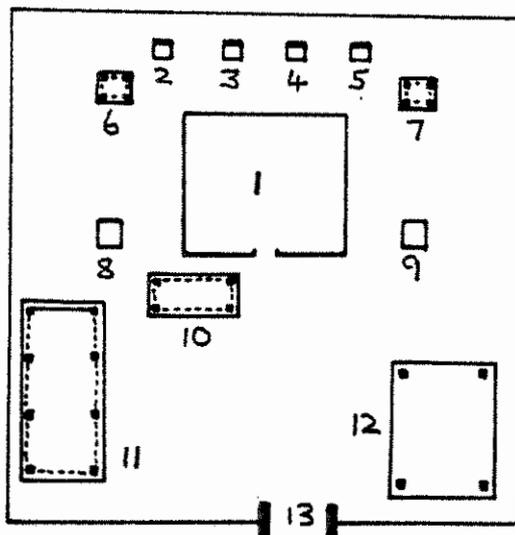
6. PURA TIRTHA

Of the many holy springs at Besakih, only Tirtha Amreta has an accompanying permanent shrine. It lies in the ravine down from Pura Pangubengan. Although called a temple, Pura Tirtha consists of just one shrine (gedong) and of course the spring, without an enclosing wall. The Raja Purana (RPI 9.34, 20.4) names the deity Sanghyang Tirtha or I Dewa Tirtha. Offerings, usually a suci, are placed here whenever water is requested for a ritual.

Two other structures, a shrine (gedong) and an accompanying pavilion (bale piyasan) that are located nearby, belong to a small descent group (dadia) at Batusesa, which now calls itself Pasek Gelgel. The dadia's pemangku says that a distant ancestor called Mangku Mas was sent from Sengguan (Klungkung) to be the temple's custodian (panqamong).

Ceremonies:

Aci on the full moon of the first month

7. PURA PANINJOAN

Pura Paninjoan lies about two kilometres west (kauh) of Pura Batu Madeg, on a knoll rising out of the Ootan ridge. The setting is magnificent. Through the fringe of trees, forest and ravine, fields and farms, stretch out towards the main Besakih complex. No wonder it bears the name paninjoan, 'a place to enjoy the view'. Twelve structures fill the little temple. The main shrine is a nine-roofed meru honouring I Dewa Paninjoan (RPI 3.29) or I Dewa Paninjoan Tranggana (RPI 10.13-14) ('god of the place to view the stars(?)'). It is often said to honour Mpu Kuturan who, according to tradition, frequented this place during visits to Besakih. Various accounts (e.g. Putra n.d.b:26; Widia 1979/80:51) says it was here that he performed yoga or prayed to the god of Gunung Agung to partake in rituals at Pura Penataran Agung, or it was from here he surveyed the Besakih area prior to a building program. These traditions are not mentioned in texts.

The shrines in the most upridge position are four bebaturan (perhaps the original shrines?), each with one or more natural stones.

From left to right, these shrines are panyawangan to Gunung Batur, Punggul Wesi, Payasan and Gunung Agung. Panyawangan is a place to nyawang (from sawang), to create in one's mind the presence of a deity whose main shrine is elsewhere.

The structures in the temple are as follows:

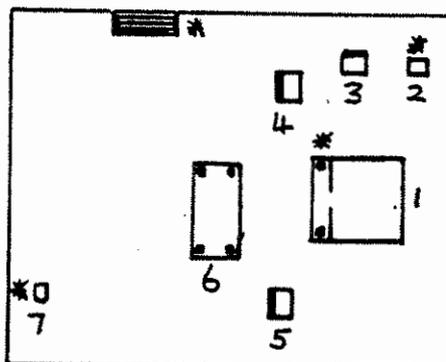
1. Meru of nine roofs, dedicated to I Dewa Paninjoan
2. Bebaturan -- panyawangan to Gunung Batur
3. Bebaturan -- panyawangan to Punggul Wesi
4. Bebaturan -- panyawangan to Payasan

Punggul Wesi and Payasan are locations, still marked by temples of the same names, high up the ridge on which Kesimpar lies. In the Raja Purana (RPI 9.25) Payasan is mentioned as an area of dry fields. It would seem the area was inhabited, for there is a small descent group that claims descent from a Dukuh Payasan, while in one text (HKS.3883: 9.11-14) Pasek families of several settlements, including Payasan and Punggul Wesi, are said to be related. Besides the descent group of Dukuh Payasan, people from Temukus, Kesimpar, and Lebih also support the temple Pura Payasan. Pura Punggul Wesi, of which little seems to be known, is looked after by a dadia split between Temukus and Kesimpar.

5. Bebaturan -- panyawangan to Gunung Agung
- 6-9. Bale pelik
10. Panqqungan
11. Bale agung
12. Bale gong
13. Candi bentar

Ceremonies:

Odalan on Thursday-Wage of the week Tolu

8. PURA YANG ALUH

This small temple lies on the high ground over the road from the Sasana Budaya complex. It lies on the same ridge as the western cemetery and Pura Batu Madeg. The relationship between temple and cemetery and other parallels with a pura dalem have been discussed in Chapter 5. The ancient statues there point to the antiquity of the temple. Apparently originally called Pura Yang Taluh, in more recent times it also became known as Pura Jenggala. Its structures are as follows:

1. Gedong

This, the main shrine, is dedicated to Ida Ratu Ayu, also sometimes known as Dalem Prajapati. Inside is a large boulder which formerly was apparently open to the sky.

2. Bebaturan -- a flat stone by a tree.

3. Bebaturan

4. Bale pelik

Within the small pavilion is an ancient statue of a priest (rsi) (Widia 1979/80:71-72).

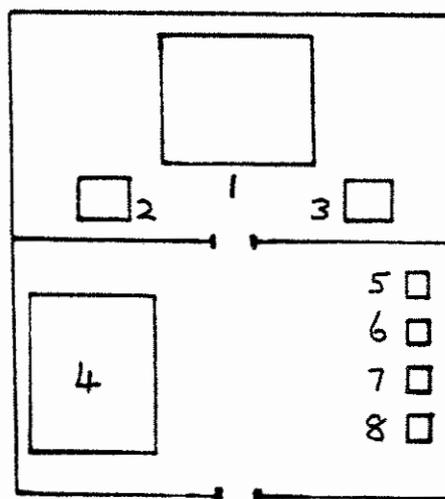
5. Bale pelik

This pavilion houses an old statue of Garuda (Widia 1979/80:71).

6. Panqqungan7. Bebaturan -- just a flat stone at the foot of a tree.

Ceremonies:

Odalan on Tuesday-Kliwon of the week Prangbakat.

9. PURA BASUKIHAN

Pura Basukihan is the little temple at the foot of Pura Penataran Agung, that has just a seven-roofed meru and a few pavilions. It is dedicated to the Naga Basuki. The mythology of this important temple associates it with the founding of the village. The villagers call it the puseh (Chapter 4), and the legend of Rsi Markandeya makes it the site of Bali's first Hindu ritual (Chapter 10).

The great cosmic nagas have an honoured role in Balinese Hinduism. They are favourite personages in stories of the Adi Parwa such as the struggle between Garuda and the nagas, and the churning of the milky ocean in which the nagas served as the ropes with which to turn the mountain resting on the turtle's back. In the symbolism of the padmasana, associated with this latter story, the cosmic nagas Anantabhoga and Basuki, representing the layers of the earth, rest on the back of the cosmic turtle Bedawangnala who represents the earth's molten magma.

In several mythological texts three nagas are mentioned -- Anantabhoga, Basuki, and Taksaka -- who are associated with other well-known triads. In one myth, the High God sent Brahma, Wisnu and

Iswara down to earth to help mankind in their struggle against suffering and starvation. Brahma entered into the earth and as the naga Anantabhoga, dwelling in the seven levels of the earth (sapta patala), restored the fertility of the earth. Wisnu entered into the waters and became the naga Basuki, and restored strength to the waters. Iswara entered into the air, and as the naga Taksaka restored the purity of the air, for which reason he is said to be winged.

In Bali, the individuality of the nagas is largely ignored, and Basuki, Anantabhoga, and also Sesa are often identified one with another. Etymologically, Basuki is a Sanskrit proper name (Vasuki), from the root vasu meaning both 'well, generous' and 'wealth, gold, jewel'. These ideas of generosity and wealth are enshrined in the story, located at Besakih, of Ida Manik Angkeran and the Naga Basuki (Chapter 10) but are equally part of Bali's naga lore generally, particularly folktales. <16> Basuki is often said to mean 'prosperous' or 'prosperity'. Anantabhoga consists of two words ananta meaning 'endless' and bhoga meaning 'enjoyment, food', while derivatives from the latter word, upabhoga and paribhoga, refer respectively to clothing and ornaments and to the dwelling place and its contents, in other words the essentials of life. In short, the nagas represent the forces of the soil, mineral treasure and precious stones (Singaravelu 1970:9-15). They hold within their power the means of "destruction of evils afflicting the ground, crops, villages, houses, etc." (Goudriaan & Hooykaas 1971:no.124, rit.env.; for brahmanic speculation regarding naga, see the various naga stawa in this book).

The nagas Basuki and Anantabhoga are particularly important at Besakih. The very name Besakih is derived from Basuki, the old 15th century name of the village. In the Raja Purana the tripartite

classification of nagas (cf. RPI 14.8-10) is overshadowed by a duality linking Basuki and Anantabhoga (RPI 7.26-33; cf.13.26-32).

...at the sanctuary of Gunung Agung..., there comes forth I Dewa Kidul Bangun Sakti,... the lingga of Bhatara Sang Anantabhoga, whose seat (padma) is the ocean. Descending as water flowing,... there comes forth I Dewa Bukit,... the lingga of I Dewa Duhur ing Akasa I Dewa Naga Basuki.

The intimate association between Basuki and Gunung Agung is reflected in another passage referring to Sira Wangbang, i.e. Ida Manik Angkeran (RPI 7.10-11). Basuki, in high priest's hymns, is sometimes designated as Indragiri, lord of the mountain, and is sometimes pictured as having his tail at the summit of Gunung Agung and his head at the ocean, the waters flowing along his body from tail to head as they flow down to the sea. The penjor expresses this same symbolic relationship between naga and mountain.<17>

At Besakih, Pura Bangun Sakti is dedicated to Naga Anantabhoga, while Basuki is enshrined at Pura Basukihan, named after him, and again at Pura Goa.

The shrines of Pura Basukihan are as follows:

1. Meru of seven-roofs dedicated to Naga Basuki

The meru has small doors on all four sides.

- 2-3. Bale pelik

4. Bale pakenca

This pavilion is where the symbols of the cremated dead are placed during Besakih's post-cremation neles ritual (equivalent to nyekah or ngroras). Last rebuilt in February 1983.

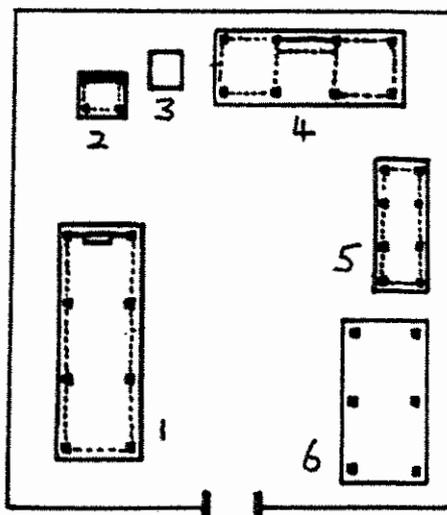
Kawitan shrines: The other four shrines in the outer courtyard are ancestor shrines (kawitan) of the dadia Bali Mula. The official pemangku of Pura Basukihan is traditionally from this descent group. For some years, just a bebaturan marked original ancestor shrines

which had been relocated in a pura dadia, but continual ill-fortune persuaded the group to rebuild their ancestral shrines within the temple again (February 1984).

Ceremonies:

Odalan on Wednesday-Wage of the week Kelau.

(RPI 15.16-18 suggests there once was a lunar cycle ritual in the seventh month at this temple).

10. PURA BANUA

Pura Banua lies some 200 metres downridge from Pura Penataran Agung in a direct line of orientation. Formerly the temple stood prominently right in the middle of the approach-way, but in the 1960's a dadia temple was extended into the approach-way, leaving just a narrow space between it and Pura Banua. The approach-way now passes on the west side of the temple.

The Raja Purana does not refer to Pura Banua by name, but presumably refers to it in a passage (RPI 3.24-25) that describes the shrine honouring Bhatari Sri as a 'one-roofed meru'. This presumably is the gedong located at the head of the bale agung in Pura Banua. Another passage (RPI 8.19-21) identifies Bhatari Sri with I Dewa Manik Malekah, a name no longer known at Besakih, but honoured in the pura puseh of Selat. The Raja Purana (RPI 12.27-13.3) devotes a passage to this deity. The word m(a)lekah/wlekah means 'to spread, radiate; to shine (sun), to open (flowers, fruit) (Zoetmulder 1982), almost synonymous with sri. In the Raja Purana (RPI 23.15,25.20; RPII

11.6), the word banua only occurs as the name of a banjar.

Banua or wanua is an old Indonesian word found in the earliest inscriptions of both Java and Bali, and means 'village' or 'village territory'. In Bali now the word is still encountered in the name of a class of temples called pura banua which are generally associated with dry-field rice farming (Grader 1969:134-141). They are scattered throughout the dry farming areas of upland central Bali between Bratan and Batur, e.g. Bon, Perean (Goris 1939:142), around Payangan (ARB 34:352-6, Bali Post 6 Oct.1983). In the Kintamani area one finds the term bebanuan referring to a collectivity of villages, mostly with ties of origin to a core village, e.g. Dausa, Sukawana (Grader 1969, Korn 1932). In modern terminology, pura banua, or equivalents like pura pabianan and pura panyungsungan (e.g. Pura Maduwe Karang at Kubutambahan, temples in the Rendang area) are classed as pura subak abian.

The shrines of Pura banua are as follows:

1. Bale agung
2. Bale pelik
3. Gedong sari

According to I Gusti Agung Mas Putra (pers.comm.), lontar texts say that a gedong located at the head of a bale agung is dedicated to Bhatari Sri (see also paper by Ped.Gede Ngurah in Seminar Aspek II).

4. Bale pasamuhan
5. Pangqungan

According to informants, this structure was formerly called bale lumbung or lumbung sri/nini, where at major rituals at Pura Banua participants placed sheaths of rice.

6. Bale gong

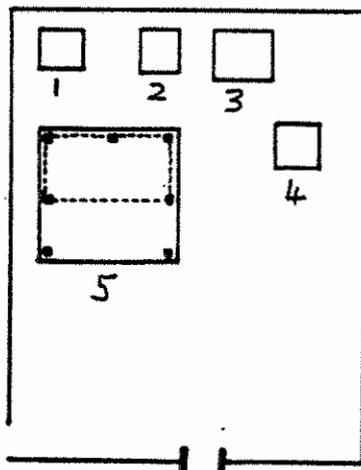
Ceremonies:

Odalan on Monday-Pon of the week Sinta (sometimes called
nagingin pulu)

Odalan on Friday-Umanis of the week Kelau (sometimes called
odalan Bhatari Sri)

Usaba buluh

Usaba ngeed

11. MERAJAN KANGINAN

Merajan Kanginan is located east of Pura Banua, rather hidden away in a complex that also includes the pura dadia of the Pasek Pejengan and the bale banjar of Banjar Banua Kangin. The connection between Merajan Kanginan and the descent group is so special that formerly the group's ancestral shrines were located within the temple, but were then relocated in a new pura dadia built next to it. The official Besakih pemangku called Mangku Pejengan, is always from this descent group. In the Raja Purana he is called juru arah, and formerly had the duty of pouring libations at the close of rituals.

The shrines of Merajan Kanginan are as follows:

1. Gedong simpen

This shrine is dedicated to Bhatara Indra. The term simpen ('store, keep') also refers to the fact that long ago sacred kempul or small gong known as dengdengkuk were kept here. "Descending on a black night of storm and rain, Sang Hyang Siyem comes forth, light green in colour, and Sang Hyang Rabut Pradah comes forth accompanied by music of the dengdengkuku," says the Raja Purana. These

instruments are now kept in a temple in Sogra. The story goes that men from Besakih fought at the battle of Bangbangbiaung on the side of Anglurah Sidemen, bringing the kempul with them, presumably in the belief that they and their sound augmented the courage of the warrior. But the Sidemen side lost and in the confusion of defeat and flight, people carried the dengdengkuk up to Sogra. There they remain to this day.

2. Sanggar Agung

3. Gedong, palingqih Bhatara Mpu Bradah

This, the temple's main shrine, is dedicated to Bhatara Mpu Bradah who in the Raja Purana is always associated with Sang Hyang Siyem. The latter has a shrine in Pura Penataran Agung, and beside it Mpu Bradah has a 'visiting' shrine (see this appendix, Pura Penataran Agung). Merajan Kangin is sometimes thought to have been Mpu Bradah's house temple, hence its name merajan. Mpu Bradah was court priest of Airlangga (Chapter 10).

4. Bale pelik

5. Bale paruman

Ceremonies:

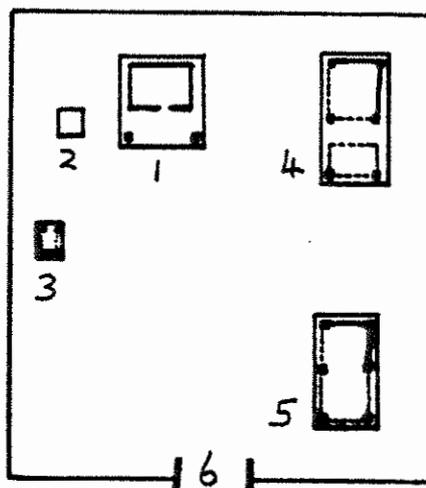
Odalan (Bhatara Indra) on Saturday-Kliwon of the week Landep

Odalan (Mpu Bradah) on Friday-Kliwon of the week Sungsang

Odalan (with kawitan) on Saturday-Kliwon of the week Krulut

ngebekang on full moon of the second month

caru panyaag on new moon of the sixth month

12. MERAJAN SELONDING

Merajan Selonding lies about 200 metres kaja-kelod from Pura Ulun Kulkul, off the approach-way a short distance. Its name merajan suggests it was once a house temple, and it is traditionally associated with Sri Dalem Kesari (Chapter 11). Selonding refers to ancient iron keys of the selonding orchestra which are kept there. It also serves as the storehouse of the god-symbols of temples below the steps. of the so-called Mpu Bradah inscription (Goris 1954:46, esp n.1), and of various processional paraphernalia (panqangge).

In the Raja Purana (RPI 3.24), this temple is dedicated to I Dewa Mpu Anggending. The root gending refers to both instrumental playing and singing; in Old Javanese, it refers to a kind of percussion instrument (Zoetmulder 1982). The 'tumurun' passage of the Raja Purana (RPI 8.36- 9.3) has this to say: "Descending on a black night of wind and rain, like gold studded with jewels and sounding like a gentorag, Mpu Anggending [comes forth]. His mantra is ONG NANG UNG NANG UNG. There comes forth a gold statue of four faces, there descends silver, bronze, pinchbeck and iron statues, in the shape of

human figures, all of them embellished with gold and jewels". This passage refers to the temple's role as the place where, for Bhatara Turun Kabeh, the gods of the temples below the steps descend into their god-symbols, though the precious statues of the text no longer exist.

Formerly it was said that when a group set up a music or dance club, it would hold a small announcement ceremony there to request the god's blessings on its endeavour (EDR 1963/S/3:21).

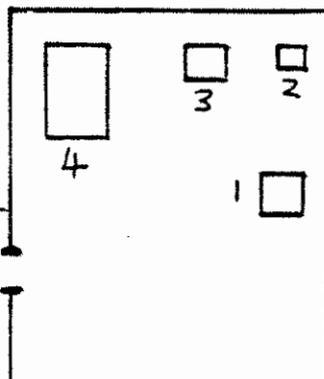
The temple's structures are as follows:

1. Gedong panyimpenan -- the palinggih of Ratu Bagus Selonding.
2. Gedong pasimpangan -- 'visiting shrine' of Ratu Ayu Yang Aluh.
3. Bale piyasan
4. Bale pegat
5. Bale ukiran -- "In former times this was the place where the rulers and priests would have discussions and sing ancient texts" (EDR 1963/S/3:21).
6. Candi bentar
7. Bebaturan -- just outside the temple.

Ceremonies:

Odalan on Thursday-Kliwon of the week Warigadian

Saraswati ceremony on Saturday-Umanis of the week Watugunung

13. PURA GUA

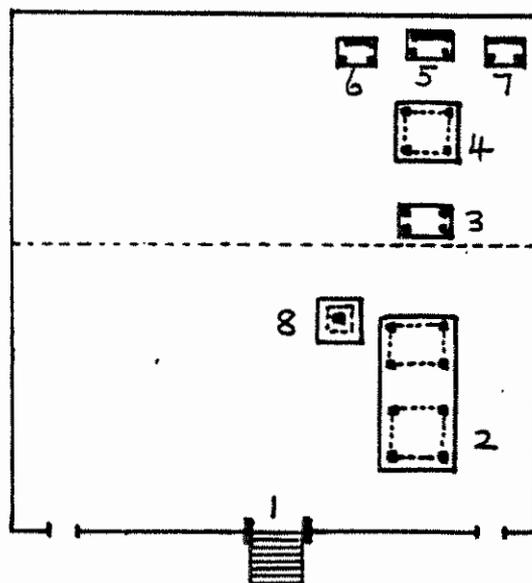
Pura Gua lies below the level of the road on the right side of the approachway about half way between Pura Manik Mas and Pura Penataran Agung. In the bank of the ravine below is a cave, hence the name 'Temple of the Cave'. The cave is shallow now, but it is said the roof fell in and blocked the entrance to a former very deep cave which, according to tradition, comes out at Gua Lawah on the south coast. Pura Gua is dedicated to the Naga Basuki who is also the main deity honoured at Pura Gua Lawah (Ardana 1979; IHD n.d.:125-8). The cave below Pura Gua is believed to mark the residence of the naga, and is a place made famous in Bali through the legend of Ida Manik Angkeran.

The structures in the temple are as follows:

1. Gedong simpen
2. Bebaturan
3. Bale pelik
4. Bale piyasan

Ceremonies:

Odalan on Wednesday-Wage of the week Kelau

14. PURA ULUN KULKUL

Pura Ulun Kulkul lies on the main approachway, some 300 metres downridge from Pura Penataran Agung. The deity of the temple is now identified with Bhatara Mahadewa, the Lord of the West in the system of five-part symbolic classification. The identification presumably arose when the five-part system was applied to the Besakih complex, rather late in its history. The association with Bhatara Mahadewa is not mentioned in the Raja Purana whose only reference to the temple is that "the seat of I Dewa Ulun Kulkul is a one-roofed meru on four posts", what is now called a gedong (RPI 3.22). The temple's rituals show a close connection with Pura Dalem Puri.

In 1985/86, on the instigation of the kabupaten government of Gianyar, which is responsible for Pura Ulun Kulkul's aci pangurip bumi, the temple was enlarged to twice its size by extending it westwards. Every family resident in the kabupaten contributed Rp.1000 towards the work. The shrines were rebuilt in an ornate Gianyar

style, but their positions were not changed, with the exception of the kulkul tower. The position of this tower has changed more than once. For decades, until 1983, the kulkul had hung in the bale agung, but in that year a kulkul tower was built in the kaja-kauh corner of the temple, for some older men remembered an old basement that marked the position of an earlier structure. The tower's location at the head of the temple, if correct, may have given the temple its name, 'Temple with the kulkul at its head'. The name might also be interpreted as meaning the 'Temple of origin/source/head of the kulkul'. In the rebuilding of 1985/86, this recently erected tower was pulled down and a new one built next to the bale agung.

The kulkul is regarded as sacred. It is never sounded. Only in the oath-taking rituals unique to this temple, as divine witness to the proceedings, is the kulkul touched soundlessly three times with a banana (pisang kayu). Nowadays only rarely do people from Besakih and neighbouring villages choose to settle disputes through the taking of oaths of various kinds. The difference between dewa saksi, cor/pacoran and sumpah depend on who takes the oath and on whom divine retribution falls, should perjury be committed. I know of no doctrinal relationship between oath-taking and Bhatara Mahadewa.

The temple's structures are as follows:

1. Candi Bentar
2. Bale agung (rather resembles a bale pegat)
3. Bale pawedan
4. Panqqungan
5. Gedong, dedicated to Bhatara Mahadewa or I Dewa Ulun Kulkul
- 6-7. Bale pelik
8. Bale kulkul

Ceremonies:

Odalan on Saturday-Kliwon of the week Kuningan

Aci sarin tahun on the new moon of the first month

Aci panqurip bumi on the new moon of the second month

Tetabuhan usaba dalem, three days before usaba dalem puri

Aci pacayaan on the same day as usaba dalem puri

Oath-taking Rituals

There are three kinds of oath-taking rituals that may be held at Pura Ulun Kulkul:

1) dewa saksi -- both parties to the dispute take the oath that their accounts are accurate; retribution falls on the party committing perjury.

2) cor (pacoran) -- one party on oath accuses the other party of a particular wrong-doing; if the accusation is true, the accused suffers divine retribution, but if it is false the party bringing the accusation suffers retribution.

3) sumpah -- one party calls for divine retribution to fall on the other party to the dispute, should that party be in perjury; there is no actual accusation, so retribution does not rebound as in cor.

During the period of my research only two oath-taking rituals came to my attention.

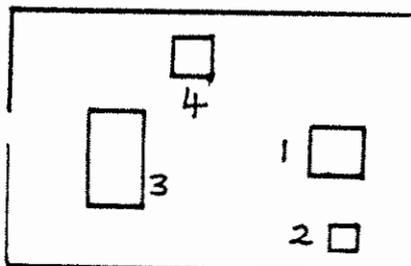
Case 1.

This was a dewa saksi ritual involving parties from neighbouring villages in dispute over a gold transaction, one party claiming to have been cheated. The case had come before the police who for lack of evidence could not bring charges. Both parties agreed to the dewa saksi ritual to settle the matter. In the presence of the temple's

pemanqku, the klihan adat desa (or representative) and the police, each party recounted his version of the affair, and then paid homage to the deity saying that he was telling the truth. Sealing the oath, the pemanqku struck the kulkul three times with the banana. Holy water was given to both parties, concluding the ritual.

Case 2.

In the second case, a sumpah ritual involving Besakih villagers was held to settle a family dispute. Man A had two wives, and apparently for some time tension had built up between the children of the two marriages. One day, A's son B struck the daughter D of his half-brother C. The girl claimed that during the scuffle she lost a valuable gold necklace. B and his father A who sided with him decided to make peace by paying compensation for the loss, on condition that the girl take the sumpah oath at Pura Ulun Kulkul. The two parties shared the cost. After the dispute was recounted in front of the same officials as Case 1, the pemanqku presented the offerings at the main shrine and at the kulkul. The parties paid homage and received holy water, after which the pemanqku struck the kulkul with the banana and sprinkled it with holy water. Activities then moved to the bale agung where, after a brief ritual, the man A spoke a curse, requesting that the deity punish the girl D if she not be telling the truth. After the girl D and her father C were told of the dire consequences of perjury, the pemanqku gave them holy water from the bale kulkul, then touched their heads three times first with the banana used to strike the kulkul and then with a daksina offering. Only then was the money amounting to several hundred thousand rupiahs, which during the ritual had been placed with the offerings in the bale agung, handed over to the girl D and her father.

15. PURA BANGUN SAKTI

Some 200 metres up the approachway from Pura Manik Mas, on the right hand side, is the tiny temple of Pura Bangun Sakti. Its main shrine, a gedong, is dedicated to I Dewa Bangun Sakti (RPI 3.21-2) who is identified with the cosmic naga Bhatara Sang Anantabhoga (RPI 7.26-30, 13.26-9), lord of the seven levels of the underworld. The words bangun sakti mean 'awaken (mystic) power'. Through the ceremony aci panganqon, the deity is associated with the well-being of livestock.

Structures in the temple are as follows:

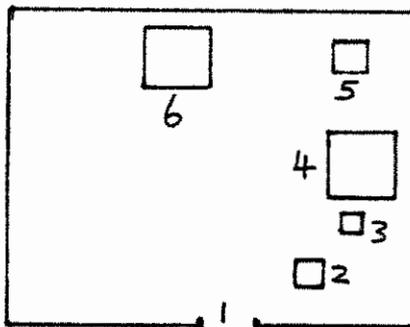
1. Gedong simpen, palinggih I Dewa Bangun Sakti or Sang Naga Anantabhoga
2. Bebaturan
3. Panqqungan
4. Bale pelik

Ceremonies:

Odalan on Wednesday-Pon of the week Watugunung

Aci panganqon on the day kajeng-kliwon enyitan of the month Jyestha
or Sada

Usaba peneman on the new moon of the sixth month

16. PURA MANIK MAS

When one arrives at Besakih, one enters the sacred complex through a large candi bentar. Fifty metres upridge on the left is Pura Manik Mas, its tiny size belying its quite considerable importance. It was tradition, now no longer always adhered to, that on arrival at Besakih everyone should pray first at Pura Manik Mas and purify the mind of worldly things, before proceeding towards Pura Penataran Agung. Before the road was built, the rulers and other important persons rode on horseback and would always dismount at Pura Manik Mas, worship there, then continue on foot.

Of the six structures within the temple, the shrine (gedong) oriented to the east is the main shrine dedicated to I Dewa Manik Mas (RPI 3.20-1). In Hindu terms it is not clear whom I Dewa Manik Mas represents. In a problematic passage in the Raja Purana (RPI 13.26-9), this deity, together with I Dewa Bangun Sakti, seems to be associated with the Naga Anantabhoga, the cosmic naga, lord of the seven levels of the earth. One modern account (Putra n.d.b:11-12), taking the whole Besakih complex as a padmasana, identifies I Dewa Manik Mas with Bedawang Nala, the cosmic turtle, on whom the earth rests, and who forms the base of the padmasana. (The turtle is sometimes identified with I Dewa Mas Malilit (Putra n.d.b:12; Widia

1979/80:31), but unfortunately for this view, the Raja Purana says that I Dewa Mas Malilit is honoured at an eleven-roofed meru, although which meru is not clear).

Some accounts (Surpha 1979:40; Subaga n.d.:17) say that the main shrine honours Bhatari Giriputri (or Dewi Parwati), but according to the pemangku this is the deity honoured in the other shrine (gedong) which is oriented to the west. Giriputri is also said to be honoured at Pura Dalem Puri, and since there is in Pura Dalem Puri a pasimpangan shrine to I Dewa Manik Mas, the shrine to Giriputri in Pura Manik Mas may be a pasimpangan shrine, too, hence its orientation to the west (maulu kauh).

Finally, Pura Manik Mas is also associated with Ida Manik Angkeran, either as his place of residence or as the place where he was burned to ashes by Naga Basuki (Babad Pinatih 1975:26). Neither tradition is known to Ida Manik Angkeran's descendants at Besakih.

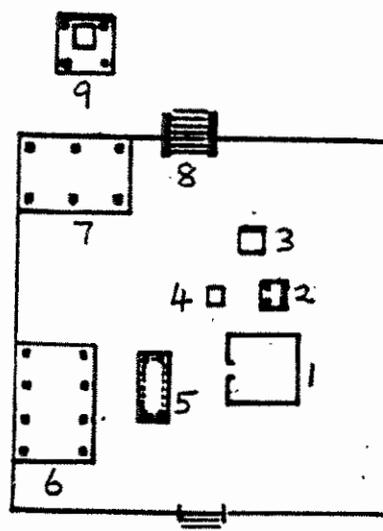
The structures of the temple are as follows:

1. Candi bentar
2. Bale piyasan
3. Bebaturan
4. Gedong, oriented east, dedicated to I Dewa Manik Mas
5. Sanqqar agung
6. Gedong, oriented west, (a pasimpangan shrine?) honouring Bhatari Giriputri
7. Panqqungan

Ceremonies:

Odalan on Saturday-Kliwon of the week Wariga

Usaba ngeed (minor role) on the full moon of the eighth month

17. PURA DALEM PURI

Pura Dalem Puri lies a kilometre kelod-kauh from the main temple complex (discussed in Chapter 4). Its structures are as follows:

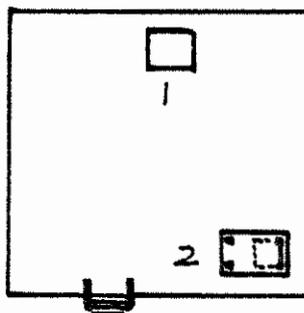
1. Gedong -- palinggih Ida Ratu Dalem
2. Bale pelik -- visiting shrine for Bhatara Manik Mas
3. Bale pelik
4. Bebaturan -- a 'megalithic' seat in honour of sapta patala
5. Panggungan
6. Bale
7. Bale
8. Candi bentar
9. Palinggih Prajapati
10. Bale paumbukan -- place for worshippers to rest

Ceremonies:

Odalan on Wednesday-Kliwon of the week Ugu

Caru usaba dalem, three days before the usaba

Usaba dalem (puri), on the day kajeng 3, 5, or 7 days after the new moon of the seventh month

18. PURA PASIMPANGAN

Pura Pasimpangan is a tiny temple in the midst of fields almost a kilometre downridge from Manik Mas. The temple has no real function now, but formerly the Besakih gods would always stop off here (simpang) on their way back from the bathing procession of malasti.

There are now only two structures: a gedong (1) and a bale (2). Its odalan is celebrated on Tuesday-Kliwon of the week Julungwangi.

PURA PASAR AGUNG

By far the best known Pura Pasar Agung is the one lying high up on the southern slopes of Gunung Agung, upridge from the village of Sogra/Sorga, in the administrative village of Sebudi.<18> This temple is closely associated with Pura Besakih, so much so that it is sometimes numbered among Besakih's public temples. Neither its history nor the origin of its connection with Besakih is known, but, according to tradition, the relationship goes back to the days of Dukuh Sorga who is said to be the son of Sang Kulputih, legendary pemangku of Pura Besakih.

Pura Pasar Agung's own charter (purana)(SF-Bes.10; partly published in Surpha 1979:61-3 and Soebandi 1983:38-40), an undated text in rather modern Balinese, says that after the gods have been in residence at Besakih for 42 days, they "return home and hold a market on the middle [slopes] of Gunung Agung lasting 42 days, after 42 days they all return to the summit of Gunung Agung; but no man knows the manner in which the gods hold their market at Pasar Agung. The reason it is called Pasar Agung is that all the gods from the divine realm hold market [there]." The text emphasizes the dire misfortunes that will befall mankind should the gods in their sanctuaries not be worshipped dutifully. The latter part of the text states that Pura Pasar Agung was formerly the responsibility of (I Gusti) Ngurah Sidemen together with (I Gusti) Made Teges, at the time when the Arya Bang Sidemen family controlled the Selat and Sebudi area (16-17th centuries). The text ends with the reminder that whoever governs Selat must always remember Pura Pasar Agung, "so that the basic necessities of life, all the things found in the market-place, be there in abundance."

Similar ideas are encountered in the pemangku's mantra for the prayascitta purificatory ritual, which begins by telling the demons to eat the offerings laid out for them, and "should there be a lack of food when you reach Pasar Agung, use the 225 coins and skein of yarn to shop at Pasar Agung; be gone with your children" (RPI 17.1-12; BPPLA Gianyar: p.11.26-38).

In more recent times the lord of Selat from the Arya Dauh house participated in the custodianship of Pura Pasar Agung of Sebudi. Routine rituals, however, are in the hands of a pamaksan of families that together own some 40 hectares of tanah ayahan dry fields, mostly in the Sebun area. People from surrounding villages bring offerings (maturan). In the early 1950's the former ruler of Karangasem (A.A.A. Anglurah Ketut Karangasem) took an interest in it (undated document in Arsip Puri Kanginan, Amlapura). Calling it "the place where one offers worship to the god Mahadewa of Gunung Agung," its importance, he said, was shown by the fact that at temple dedication ceremonies etc, it was necessary to request holy water from Gunung Agung; some people went to the summit, others only as far as Pasar Agung (Lamster 1932:12-13). To Karangasem people, he said, Pasar Agung was considered a 'branch' of Pura Besakih. At that time local villagers had begun rebuilding three meru and the sanggar agung, but more money was needed. There is a story that prior to Ekadasa Rudra of 1963, a pemangku went to the Governor requesting that the temple be completed and warning that otherwise the volcano would erupt. His advice was not taken, and the mountain erupted. During preparations for the Ekadasa Rudra of 1979, I Wayan Surpha, Secretary-General of Parisada Hindu Dharma, took an interest in the temple and with financial help from the government, building began again.

According to the Purana Pasar Agung, the gods honoured at shrines in the temple were Bhatara Tigasakti, Ida Rab ning Bhuwana, Bhatara Bagus Mas Magelung, Ida Mutering Jagat, Bhatara Manik Geni, Ida Tulus Dewa, Ida Ratu Maspahit, Ratu Gede Pangubengan, almost all of whom are also honoured at Besakih's Pura Penataran Agung. The present pemangku is Mk.Genda of Sebudi. The temple's odalan falls on Wednesday-Wage of the week Ukir, and is held at the sorohan pebangkit level.

It seems, then, that Pura Pasar Agung is both a place to request the gods to bestow the necessities of life as found in the market, and as a 'way station' between the abode of the gods on the summit of the mountain and Pura Besakih. Similar ideas are noted for other temples that bear the same name pura pasar agung. According to a pedanda from Sibetan, temples of this name at Yeh Kori (Sibetan) and Nangka (Bebandem) are equivalent to 'visiting' (pasimpangan) temples for the god of Gunung Agung. On the slopes of Gunung Lempuyang, a pura pasar agung is the highest temple on each of the three main paths up to the summit of the mountain, where Pura Lempuyang Luhur is situated; they are regarded as places to worship the deity of the market-place so that the economy be healthy, so that "whatever is planted grows, whatever is bought cheap" (Rencana Induk...Pura Lempuyang:14-15,19).

APPENDIX C

PEMANGKU RITUALS OF THE LUNAR CYCLE

This appendix provides data on the rituals of this cycle, in addition to that contained in Chapter 8. The order of the ceremonies follows that of the lunar cycle.

Aci pangangon

Aci pangangon, held at Pura Bangun Sakti, traditionally opened the cycle of lunar agricultural rituals, and of the lunar ritual cycle generally. Now it is held on the day kajeng-kliwon enyitan of the month Jyestha or Sada, usually the latter, i.e. the day kajeng-kliwon that falls during the period of waxing moon.<1> Generally this falls in May or early June.

Its name, 'the herdsman's ceremony', indicates the purpose of the ritual -- to protect the well-being of livestock, particularly cattle. Cows are plough animals throughout Bali, but in dry farming areas with relatively extensive land, the cow is a major source of wealth and prosperity. Following the ritual at which a pemangku officiates, worshippers take home with them in assorted little containers the holy water (wangsuh pada) from the temple's main shrine dedicated to the naga Anantabhoga, and this they sprinkle over their cows.<2> With ploughing soon to begin, the animals' well-being and protection from disturbances that might arise from the very act of turning over the soil, over which Anantabhoga holds sway, was of crucial importance.

Aci mungkah

Aci mungkah is now held on the next full moon after the aci pangangon at the nine-roofed meru in Pura Penataran Agung, honouring Ratu Kubakal who is associated with Bhatari Sri.<3> Formerly at this ceremony farming families carried agricultural tools (parts of ploughs, hoes) to the temple where they were blessed (prayascita), and then proceeded to their fields to use them ritually for the season's first turning of the soil. The ceremony's name, the verbal form of bungkah meaning 'dig up' or 'open up', probably refers to this custom which has now died out. At the same time as marking the start of ploughing and hoeing, the ritual looks forward and asks the deity to grant divine blessing on the coming season's crop.

Aci panaung taluh

On the full moon of the first month (purnama kasa) several ceremonies are celebrated, perhaps merely coincidentally on the one day, but more probably because of now rather obscure relationships. These ceremonies are those of the shrines of the two uppermost terraces of Pura Penataran Agung, honouring Ratu Bukit, Ratu Wisesa and Ratu Mas Magelung, and those at Pura Pangubengan and Pura Tirtha.

The ceremony in honour of Ratu Bukit has the special name of aci panaung taluh, 'ceremony of the coming together of the eggs', which refers to a sort of 'cockfight' wherein eggs replace cocks. This ritual 'egg-fight' is a special form of libation (tetabuhan) which is part of all pemangku rituals. Taking a pair of eggs into his hands, the pemangku presents them, with a few words of Balinese, at each of the Ratu Bukit shrines, and then smashes them together, pouring the contents of the one that breaks into half of a coconut (as in offering

a segehan agung). He repeats this act with a second pair of eggs, one round (seet in cockfight terminology) being in the kaja-ke lod direction, the other kangin-kauh. Three times the pemanqku circumambulates the place of ritual, flicking out the mixed contents as he goes. Such is the custom at this ceremony. Rituals at the 11-roofed meru honouring Ratu Wisesa and the three-roofed meru honouring Ratu Mas Magelung, both on the terrace second from the top, are held at the same time as aci panaung taluh.

Ratu Bukit, male and female, are the deities of Gunung Agung itself. The deity of Pura Pangubengan, the temple lying highest up the mountain slope amidst tall pine trees, enshrined in an 11-roofed meru, is by many also identified with the god of Gunung Agung. The Raja Purana suggests an identification with the 'god of the seven heavens' (bhatara ring sapta akasa), in any event an upperworld god.<4> During the Ekadasa Rudra of 1963, offerings destined to be thrown into the volcano's crater, but which could not be because of the eruption, were instead thrown into a large hole dug outside Pura Pangubengan. The common relationship of Ratu Bukit and Ratu Pangubengan to the god of Gunung Agung may explain why the rituals honouring these deities are celebrated on the same day. Rituals at Pura Pangubengan and the nearby Pura Tirtha are regular pemanqku rituals without special features.

Aci sarin tahun and aci ngebekang

These two ceremonies are not directly linked to the growing cycle of rice, which is perhaps why their days of celebration have changed. Now aci sarin tahun is held on the new moon of the first month (tilem kasa), and ngebekang on the next full moon (purname karo). At least

in the 1920's and 1930's, they were celebrated, their order and interval unchanged, on the new moon of the eighth month (tilem kaulu) and full moon of ninth month (purnama kasanga), thus soon after the harvest.<5> There would seem to be a certain logic to this former arrangement.

Aci sarin tahun, as its name 'ceremony of the year's fruits/essence' suggests, is a sort of thanksgiving ceremony, an offering of the fruits of the earth to the deity of Pura Ulun Kulkul where it takes place. Ngebekang, is said to have been associated with individual family's rituals of mantenin/ngejotin padi held at granaries and storage bins. The word itself means 'make full' (from (e)bek, 'full') in the sense that the recently harvested rice, now stored safely away, will be sufficient to last the family's needs till the next harvest.

Ngebekang is held at six temples -- Pura Penataran Agung, Pura Batu Madeg, Pura Kiduling Kreteg, Pura Basukihan, Pura Banua, and Merajan Kanginan -- all held at the dandanan level (with bayuh lantaran and one suci). For ngebekang at Pura Penataran Agung, distinguished by its special kawas offerings, each family brings prani offerings consisting of cooked rice, packages of steamed sweet rice with sugar and grated coconut, and a few canang. Some of each ingrediient from each prani are collected together, and from them are made a score or so kawas offerings, each consisting of a heaped coconut shell of cooked rice, one package of steamed sweet rice, one canang, and a package of prepared pig meat. Specific number of kawas are placed on specific shrines (in practice details like this vary): padmasana 3, bale pasamuhan 5, bale onkara 2, bale pegat 2 (or 4), bale agung 2 (or 0), with the sorohan dandanan 8 or 9.

At Besakih, three days after ngebekang, ceremonies called ngrupuk should take place at the same six temples, but now rarely do so. In days past this was a busy day of cockfights. At the ngrupuk ritual at Pura Batu Madeg, "meat (be cundang) from the defeated cocks was collected together, and no matter from where the bird's owner came, he had to give over a portion of the bird in weight equal to 250 Chinese coins. Those duty-bound to attend but who did not bring a cock, had to produce the same weight of meat anyway. Women prepared the meat, which was used as the flesh components of the offerings that the pemangku presented in his ritual. Afterwards the prepared meat remaining was divided up and everyone ate his share" (EDR 1963/S/3:16). Without the cockfight, now severely restricted by force of law, this ceremony seems to be heading for extinction. The ritual's function is obscure.

Aci sarin tahun and ngebekang ceremonies are performed in most parts of Bali, with the variation one comes to expect.<6> Common to these ceremonies is the emphasis on the fertility of the crops and sufficiency in rice (or corn), while the holy water (wangsuh pada) resulting from the rituals is frequently taken home and sprinkled over the fields, for the holy water is the symbol or vehicle of the deity's blessings. References to ngebekang in lontar texts also attests to the ceremony's widespread distribution.<7>

Aci nadiang

The ceremony called nadiang (from dadi, become) traditionally marked the start of planting (EDR 1963/S/3:16). It is celebrated, now in diminished fashion, at Pura Batu Madeg one day after the full moon of the second month, in late July or early August. Formerly twelve

descent groups (dadia) with responsibilities to specific shrines in the temple prepared and presented the offerings. Now only three or four kin groups enact this ritual.

Mapag toya

The ceremony mapag toya, 'welcome the water(s)', takes place at a spring, Toya Lateng, some two or three kilometres upridge from Pura Batu Madeg, on the new moon of the fourth month (tilem kapat). Toya Lateng is the main spring of the upper Besakih area, from where many families draw their water. The new moon of the fourth month generally falls in October when the dry season is drawing to a close, and the spring reduced to a trickle, and when the three-month old rice was in need of rain. The aim of the ceremony is to ensure the onset of the rains and thus a plentiful supply of water. The pemangku of Pura Batu Madeg usually officiates, and usually only his family attends.

Mapag toya is a ceremony known throughout Bali, usually held at a spring or an artificial source of water such as a dam. In areas of irrigated rice, each subak performs it. Levels of elaboration vary widely, depending on local custom and circumstance; ritual texts provide details of very elaborate mapag toya rituals requiring a buffalo.<8>

Usaba Warqasiram (Margasira)

Usaba warqasiram is held at Pura Batu Madeg, either on the new moon of the fifth month or on the day kajeng that falls three, five or seven days after that new moon.<9> The Raja Purana texts (RPI 15.7-9, RPII 6.26-7.3) give details of a ceremony at Pura Batu Madeg held in the fifth month, without specifying the day. The common Balinese

version of the Sanskrit word for 'fifth month', margasira, is almost certainly the origin of the name wargasiram, though the latter has long been in use.<10> In a play on words typical of the Balinese, the element -sira became siram, meaning 'bathe' or 'wash', probably because the ceremony falls in the wet season and because Wisnu, the god of Pura Batu Madeg, is the lord of the waters. From this arose the view that the purpose of the ritual is, in the words of the temple's pemanqku, 'to bathe or provide the world with water so that all grows fruitfully.' However, the ceremony is not directly related to the rice growing cycle in the way agricultural rituals are. This provides a good example of new purpose being applied to an already existing ritual.

For the ceremony performed in 1983 on the day of the new moon, the core offerings were a sorohan pebanqkit (quling bawi), but in addition to this nine ajang offerings, accompanied by a sorohan daanan, were laid out in the temple's bale agunq. Ajang offerings are associated with Besakih's nine official pemanqku, but the usual ajang ritual did not take place, nor was the presence of the pemanqku deemed necessary, though that may not always have been the case. It seems likely that the usaba wargasiram has lost much of its importance.

Usaba Peneman

Just as usaba wargasiram (margasira) is named after the month in which it is held, so too the usaba peneman (enem, six) which falls on the new moon of the sixth month (tilem kenem), its named after its month. Its alternative name, usaba posya, is derived from the Sanskrit word for that month. The ceremony is held at Pura Bangun Sakti in honour of Sang Naga Anantabhoga and requests that deity, the

lord of the seven levels of the earth, to grant prosperity and fertility to the land. Indirectly, then, it is related to agriculture.<11>

Caru Panyaaq

Held on the same day as the usaba peneman are a set of small caru, called caru panyaaq. These caru open a three-month season of important bhuta yadnya ceremonies at Besakih. These take place on or around the following three new moons, auspicious times for such ceremonies, and end with the caru kasanga which is held throughout Bali as part of the lunar New Year celebrations. All these caru take place outside temples. The opening caru panyaaq, 'sacrifice to be eaten together (by the demons)', on the new moon of the sixth month, are held outside eight of the public temples, this number probably being associated with the number of banjar.

The caru panyaaq held outside Pura Penataran Agung is a five-chicken caru (the heads of the chickens should face outwards), the others all being at the one-chicken level. At each of the four temples of the cardinal directions -- Pura Gelap, Pura Kiduling Kreteg, Pura Ulun Kulkul and Pura Batu Madeg -- the colour of the chicken corresponds to the colour of the respective direction, while those at the other three temples -- Pura Basukihan, Pura Banua and Merajan Kanginan -- are multicoloured (ayam brumbun). According to the pemangku of Pura Penataran Agung, worship is performed first to the gods of the temple, then to Bhatara Kala, lord of demons. The word saag means to 'disperse, rush in flight from one another in different directions' (KBI; KBW III.15).

Usaba dalem puri and associated rituals

These rituals have been discussed at length in the Chapter 8 of this study.

From usaba dalem puri to usaba ngeed

The usaba dalem puri sets in train a series of ceremonies taking place over a period of two weeks until the next full moon, culminating in the largest of the agricultural rituals. It is one of the busiest times of Besakih's festive year. Usaba dalem puri honours the cosmic female aspects of existence which encompasses the fertility of the soil and the fruitfulness of crops. The significance of usaba dalem puri with regards to agriculture is further expressed by the day of its celebration serving to determine the days on which the following agricultural rituals take place: usaba nyungsung three days later, usaba buluh a further three or six days after that, and finally usaba ngeed on the next full moon, that of the eighth month (purnama kaulu).^{<12>} All three ceremonies usually fall in January, around the time when dryland rice used to be harvested.

Usaba nyungsung

Usaba nyungsung's focus of ritual is the five-roofed meru in Pura Kiduling Kreteg, that is dedicated to Ratu Gede Swa, lord of locusts and other insect pests. The offering or ritual substance distinctive to this ritual is bubur buyuk, rice porridge mixed with ground-up gangga fruit. A possible explanation for the special porridge is that gangga, the fruit of a variety of areca palm, if eaten causes disorientation and a feeling of drunkenness (KBI, Zoetmulder 1982, KBW I.45-46 sv.handawe, KBW IV.825) -- thus not to the insects' liking,

and this is symbolically transferred to the crop as a whole. After the ceremony, worshippers rush to the meru and with much confusion grab bits of the purificatory lis and the porridge, and fill containers with holy water (wangsuh pada). These are all taken home and offered at the pepuun field shrine or simply cast over the fields, as protection of the crop against insect pests.

Usaba buluh

For the usaba buluh the focus of ritual changes to Pura Banua. At this ceremony every family brings to Pura Banua a piece of bamboo of the variety called buluh, hence the ceremony's name. Each piece of buluh has many subsidiary branches, all decorated with coloured leaves and flowers, palm-leaf ornaments and chains of young coconut leaf. Full of decorated bamboos and colourful family offerings, the little temple is a picture of delight.

For reasons of finance, usaba buluh and the following usaba ngeed are not always held, or if they are it is at relatively moderate levels. At its most elaborate level, usaba buluh requires a buffalo, prepared and laid out in the manner called titih mamah. The head of the buffalo faces towards the small shrine at the head of the bale agung, where it is accompanied by a large group of offerings that must include a pair of pring and a vessel containing nasi aon.

The pring is an amazing creation comprising some 50 to 60 separate named components fashioned by intricately cutting, folding, and plaiting mature sugar-palm leaves (ron), which are then tied together and encased in further leaves that form the representation of a human figure. They are made in pairs, male and female. Nasi aon consists of cooked white and 'red' rice mixed with ash (a purificatory

substance) from the temple kitchen-fire and chopped-up leaves of the plants aa baas, paku bali and don kririk; other varieties of leaves such as kayu sakti, temen, kunyit, etc are optional. A folktale relates how one time the buffalo about to be sacrificed escaped, turned over the pot of rice into the ashes of the kitchen fire, and disappeared into the forest, leaving only traces of blood on leaves of aa baas, paku bali and don kririk (Ngr.Oka Supartha in Bali Post 2 Jan.1981). In simpler enactments, these leaves serve as replacement for the buffalo itself. Nasi aon also is an ingredient of the pemangkus' ritual food-offering called ajang. Aa baas is also numbered among the ingredients of madu parka where it represents Siwa (Mas Putra 1982:42-44, Hooykaas 1964a:202-205, Hooykaas 1977:74,.16-18).

After the officiating pemangku performs his ritual and sprinkles holy water over the offerings and the branches of buluh and the worshippers pay homage, there immediately ensues a mad rush for the pair of pring (ngrebut pring); hands grab and tear them apart. A bit of pring, a portion of nasi aon, and a container of holy water (wangsuh pada), and the branch of buluh, are all taken home and placed at the field shrine (pepuun) or just scattered about the fields, in the belief that these ritually empowered objects will ensure the fertility of the soil and the fruitfulness of the crop, free of plague and disease.

The ceremony concludes with the nine official pemangku, seated in the temple's bale agung, performing their special ajang rite, which would seem to be a mark of the ceremony's importance.

Usaba ngeed

Usaba ngeed, which is essentially a continuation of usaba buluh, is the last and largest of Besakih's agricultural rituals, though it may be held at simple or elaborate levels.<13> It is unique in many respects, particularly in its overt marriage symbolism, for it celebrates the marriage of Bhatari Sri, goddess of rice, enshrined at Pura Banua, and Rambut Sadana, lord of wealth, enshrined in an 11-roofed meru in Pura Penataran Agung.

The central ritual of the ceremony, held a day or two after the procession to the bathing spring, opens with Rambut Sadana being carried down from his meru towards Pura Banua from where Bhatari Sri is carried out to meet him, and together they are presented a large welcoming and purification ritual (pamendak). Afterwards, the two deities are carried in procession to four other temples in turn -- Pura Manik Mas, Pura Batu Madeg, Pura Kiduling Kreteg, Pura Penataran Agung. At each, they are ritually welcomed outside and, after being seated within, offered a ritual of homage. The procession ends with the two deities being enshrined together in the bale pasamuhan of Pura Banua, where the worshippers perform their final act of homage.

The symbolism of usaba ngeed is derived, not from the marriage ritual as a whole, but from the large final part of this ceremony, called marebu (or makala-kalaan), which at Besakih may take place years after the marriage.<14> In marebu, the couple return to the bride's house for a ritual at the house temple of the bride's father. This finds its parallel in the usaba ngeed when the divine couple return to the bride's house, Pura Banua. This parallel between usaba ngeed and marebu occurs also in details of offerings.<15>

Marriage is the last of the rites of passage and marebu the last

of the marriage rites. Usaba ngeed is the last of the agricultural rituals at Besakih, and when dryland rice was still being grown, the ritual took place soon after the harvest. It is not unusual for the Balinese to draw parallels between a human life and its necessary rites of passage and the 'life' of certain inanimate substances, such as rice itself and magic oils and the fire of the now lost homa rites, each of which is or was provided with a series of rites of passage.<16>

In a more general sense it is said that while usaba buluh requests prosperity and productivity of both irrigated and dryland agriculture, usaba ngeed is directed towards material well-being, in other words, wealth. In Hindu terms, usaba buluh requests bhoga (food), usaba ngeed requests upabhoga (clothing and ornament) and paribhoga (shelter, house) for which wealth is the prerequisite. And indeed holy water (wangsuh pada) from usaba ngeed may be sprinkled at home both on rice storage containers and on household valuables. Formerly, too, people from the surrounding region used to bring to Pura Banua the bound sheaths of the rice first harvested, the sacred nini, but this custom has now died out.

Caru ulun setra

On the new moon of the eighth month (tilem kaulu), caru ulun setra ('sacrifice at the upper end of the graveyard') are held at each of Besakih's two graveyards which, being associated with death, are places of pollution requiring regular ritual cleansing. Both ceremonies are bull sacrifices.<17>

Aci in honour of Sang Hyang Siyem

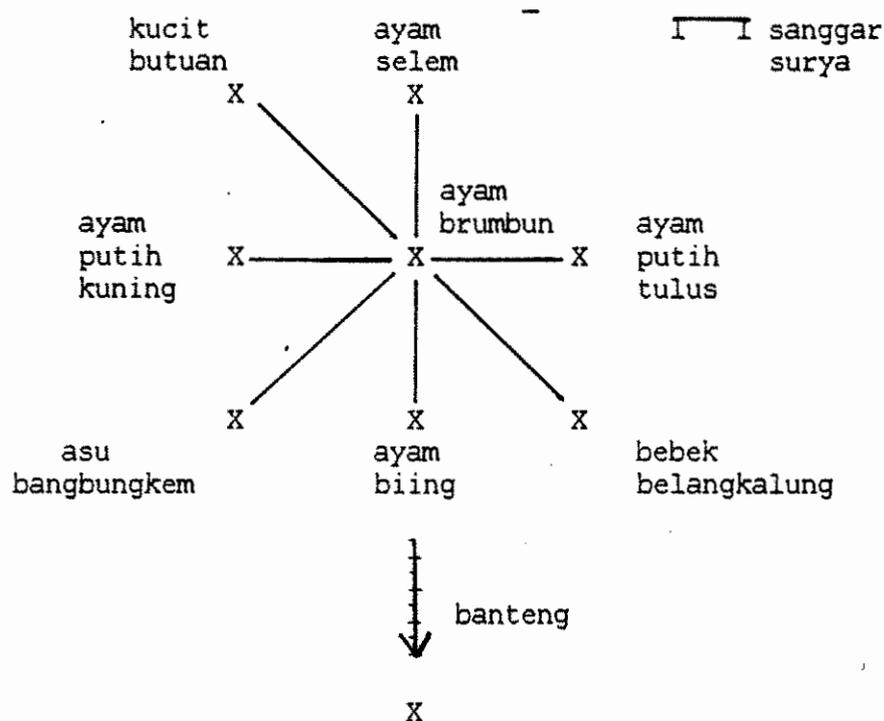
The shrine dedicated to Sang Hyang Siyem is located in Pura Penataran Agung on the same terrace as the padmasana. Sang Hyang Siyem together with Mpu Bradah are especially associated with the dadia Pasek Pejengan whose pemanaku always officiates at this ceremony.<18> The distinctive feature of this ritual, held at the sorohan pebangkit gelarsanga level, is that the libation liquids of the tetabuhan rite that are usually poured onto the ground are here poured into a special stone vessel set into the shrine. This vessel is called pamua jagat, 'the face of the world'.

Caru kasanga

The season of caru ends with caru kasanga on the new moon of the ninth month, the last day of the Balinese lunar year, and the day preceding the Day of Quiet (Nyepi).<19> Caru kasanga sacrifices are held throughout Bali, and in efforts to standardize ritual, Parisada Hindu Dharma has laid down minimum requirements -- one-chicken caru at the banjar level, five-chicken caru at village level, and much larger sacrifices at kabupaten level -- but at the same time this in no way prevents villages from holding larger caru if that is their custom. The caru kasanga at Besakih is very much larger than the minimum requirement, and in fact is the largest of the routine sacrifices there. It is held at a location called tulak tanqul ('protection, defense'), a point on the main approachway just upridge from Pura Bangun Sakti, where a path leads off to the sacred spring Tirtha Tunggang. Prior to the relocation of residences in 1962, this point marked the downridge (kelod) limit of the village's residential area, not its centre. On the day before the ceremony, sunqqa puling are

erected at three locations -- one on the path leading upridge from Pura Penataran Agung, another on the path leading to the place where soul symbols are burned (pamuunan) in connection with mortuary rituals, and the third on the path opposite the second location.

The caru is laid out as follows:



The accompanying offerings are correspondingly larger than those of a bull sacrifice. In the caru kasanga, the bull is accompanied by a sorohan pebangkit, the other creatures by a daanan.

Two weeks after the caru kasanga, the Besakih lunar cycle of rituals reaches its climax in the great yearly festival of Bhatara Turun Kabeh.

APPENDIX D

RAJA PURANA PURA BESAKIH

Introduction

The Raja Purana Pura Besakih has contributed greatly to the historical perspective that permeates much of this study. 'Raja Purana' is not a title uniquely applied to texts dealing with Pura Besakih, nor does 'Raja Purana Pura Besakih' refer to just one text. A purana, according to its Sanskrit derivation, is a tale or story 'belonging to ancient times' (Zoetmulder 1982). In Indian literature the many Purana are predominantly mythological in nature. In contrast, purana is not commonly found in the titles of works in either Old Javanese or Balinese (Brahmandapurana is one example). From its title one would expect a text called Raja Purana to be a story about a king of ancient times, and in one or two instances that is the case (K.827 and K.1028). The Raja Purana Pura Besakih, of which there are two main versions, is, however, a very different kind of text. It is not a story, nor a chronicle, but before examining the nature of these works I discuss manuscripts and dating.

Manuscripts of the Raja Purana Pura Besakih

Manuscripts of these texts are not uncommon and about a dozen came to my attention. A search in brahmana households and princely palaces would no doubt turn up others (see, for example, others cited in Purwita 1980:34 and IHD 1980, Pura Kentel Gumi:13 n.1). It is not

a sacred or secret text in the way that the 15th century inscriptions at Besakih are the god-symbols of Pura Penataran Agung. Texts of the RP can be divided into two groups, abbreviated as RPI and RPII. The only passage that is common to them both (RPI 2.11-22, RPII 15.8-17) deals with the descent groups (tereh wangsayan) from Majapahit -- was this perhaps an addition? Some manuscripts contain further additional material.

Group I (RPI): Iti caritaning pangandika ring Gunung Agung....

(Note: References to the text are to leaf and line of ms.D)

(A) Korn Coll.253/7

This manuscript includes the text of RPI in Balinese script on the left side of the page, and a 'Malay' translation in Latin script on the right side. The manuscript ends with the brief colophon saying that transcription and translation were the work of Gusti Putu Jiwa, at the time (c.1922) first kanca (clerk) at the Raad Kerta at Klungkung. He also provided a summary of the importance of Pura Besakih according to Sang [Ida Padanda] Gde Pidada, a member of the Raad Kerta. The manuscript was probably prepared for V.E.Korn, in whose collection it is now located again after being in the temporary possession of C.Grader for many years (Grader 1970:76).

(B) Museum Nasional No.958b -- Prasasti Gunung Agung

Source of ms. unknown. Cited in *Jaarboek KBG* 1933:346. Transcription published by Hadisutjipto (1975).

(C) K.385 -- Purana Kahyangan Besakih

Copied from a book (60 pages) originally in the possession of Puri Gobraja, Singaraja. Transcription by I Gde Suparna (21 pages). Cited in *Gedong Kirtya* catalogue c.1935.

(D) K.1341 -- Rajapurana Pura Besakih

Copied from a notebook originally belonging to C.Grader, Controleur at Singaraja. Summary in *Goris* 1937. Transcription by I K. Windia (28 leaves, 21 pages), dated 4 October 1977.

(E) Anandakusuma 1978 -- Raja Purana Pura Besakih

Stencilled booklet published by Satya Hindu Dharma, Klungkung, 1978 (28 pages). Source of text not given. Editor divided text into 20 sections, the last of which is not found in other RP manuscripts, but is known in texts from Besakih (HKS.3828, SF-Bes.3).

(F) HKS.2590 -- Raja Purana Pura Besakih

Original lontar (28 leaves) in possession of I Gusti Agung Mas Putra, Lumintang, Denpasar. Transcription (18 pages) by Sagung Putri, dated 14 October 1978.

- (G) HKS. ? -- Pangandika ring Gunung Agung
Original lontar (28 leaves) in collection of I Dewa Wayan Pucangan, Jero Kanginan, Sidemen. Transcription (12 pages) by I Gusti Lanang Mantra, dated 12 May 1979.
- (H) Coll. Padanda Gede Putra Telaga (Geria Gede, Banjarangkan)
This manuscript (58 leaves) contains the texts of both RPI and RPII. Photocopy of lontar in author's possession.
- (I) Grader Coll., Universiteits Bibliothiek, Leiden
This manuscript, 36 pages handwritten on lined paper, is contained in a green folder marked "Archief Korn. NB.Prasasti Purana Pabantjangan Pura Besakih". At the time of my research, the Grader collection had not yet been catalogued. It consists of a transcription which has been divided into an introduction and 87 paragraphs. Paragraphs 1-82 are of RPI, paragraphs 83-84 are from RPII (1.14-2.29; cf. ms.S), while paragraphs 85-87 are additional memoranda found in no other manuscript.
- (J) Coll. I Gusti Mangku Ngurah, Besakih
This manuscript, apparently, was formerly kept in Besakih's Merajan Selonding. I Gusti Mangku Ngurah (I Gusti Mangku Kabayan), at whose home it is now kept for greater safety, kindly allowed me to consult this text, on an appropriate day and with appropriate offerings. I did not make a transcription of this text. It is identical with other manuscripts of RPI.
- (K) Prasasti Bali 907 (Selat B)
This inscription, called "Bhatara Ratu Putra", is kept in the temple Pura in the village of Selat, where it plays an important role in that village's 10-year ceremony (Goris 1969, esp.p.101, 110; Goris 1954:I.46). It bears the date Saka 1393. The text is very similar to a section of RPI (5.20-7.25), with minor additions. In a transcription made for Ketut Ginarsa, it has mistakenly been called Prasasti Pura Pasar Agung.
- Group II (RPII): Ki Kabayan Basukih, aparab Ki Tonjaha,...
(Note: References to the text are to leaf and line of ms.Q)
- (P) K.1531 -- Rajapurana
Original lontar (24 leaves) in collection of Ida Made Bukian, Sanur, Badung. Transcription (21 pages) by I Mangku Resi Kadjeng, dated 16 August 1948. The manuscript contains two separate works, the first of which (leaves 1-15a) I call RPII, the second (leaves 15b-24b) I call 'Purana Tatwa Gagaduhan' after its final words. This latter text is, however, not unrelated to Besakih; it also deals with various other matters.

- (Q) L.Or. 13.607 -- Rajapurana
Said to be from an original lontar (24 leaves) in the collection of I Gusti Bagus Kuta, Jero Celuk Negara, Amlapura. Transcription (15 pages) by I Gusti Ngurah Rai. This text is identical to K.1531, even to the breaks between leaves. It is possible the transcription was copied from that of K.1531.
- (R) K.955 -- Babad Pasek Gelgel
The original manuscript was in the collection of Anak Agung Putu Djlantik, raja of Buleleng. The manuscript begins with a text of a Babad Pasek Gelgel (leaves 1b-19a), continues with the text of RPII (19b-41b) which contains some additional passages (36b-39a), some passages from RPI (41b-45a = RPI 2.23-5.19), and ends with passages not found in other manuscripts (45a-53a).
- (S) K.1470 -- Piagem Pura Besakih
Original from Karangasem (no further identification given) was received in 1938. Transcription (2 pages) by Ida Bagus Saskara, dated 23 July 1941. This short and defective manuscript gives only part of the opening section of RPII (1.14-2.29). Goris (1969c:107) described the text as "the only partially preserved code of regulations, dated 1471, relating to the Besakih temple".
- (T) Prasasti Bali 908 -- 'Bradah' inscription
This inscription, to which Goris (1954:46) gave the number 908, was published by Goris in 1937 (Goris 1937:280; see also Goris 1939:227 n.68). From the title Goris gave to it, it is not clear whether it was originally kept in Merajan Kanginan or Pura Batu Madeg, though the former it certainly the more likely, since that Merajan is indeed dedicated to Mpu Bradah (see Appendix I). The inscription consisted then of two leaves of copper. The text, however, is very closely related to a passage in RPII (2.31-4.1).

Dating the Texts

No original lontar manuscripts of either group are dated; only copies or transcriptions bear a date, and the earliest of these is only c.1922 (A). Because the name Raja Purana may refer to one of several works, its mention in a securely dated text is only of help if the context is clearly about Besakih. In attempting to date the RP texts, it is necessary to bear in mind that they are not works conceived as a whole, but are rather compilations or collections of materials pertaining to Pura Besakih. One can assume, furthermore, that different sections of the works are not all from the same period. There are, then, questions of dating different sections, and of dating

the compilations as they now exist.

Certain passages in both texts do bear dates, but these must be used with caution. The earliest dates, such as Saka 724 (RPII 13.28-29), 924 (RPII 14.25-26) and 929 (RPI 7.1-2/PB 907, RPII 14.27-28/PB 908), are of very dubious value (for 929, see Chapter 11). One passage (RPII 2.31-4.1; cf. PB 908) ends by calling itself the 'Babad Raja Purana', and gives the date Saka 1238/1316 A.D.; that too seems highly unlikely. Of greater possibility are two 15th century dates: the date Saka 1383/1461 A.D. (RPII 12.19-20 and 13.18; K.955:51b) ends memoranda dealing with responsibilities of villagers of Badeg and Sarilewih towards Pura Besakih, while the date Saka 1393/1471 A.D. ends the opening section of RPII (2.29). These dates are indeed possible (if unproven), for the sacred inscriptions indicate that activities involving Besakih were taking place at that time.

Although the compilations as they now exist are not dated in any manuscript, data contained in the texts do provide evidence for at least the general period in which they were compiled. Studies in the language of Balinese texts are not sufficiently developed to help much in this endeavour. The language of the RP texts is difficult, and this is the result partly of obsolete terminology which proves a certain antiquity (see Warna et al 1986b:v). It is also partly the result of the style of composition in which phrases separated by 'commas' (carik) succeed one another with little indication sometimes of the nature of the connection among them.

A more productive means of dating these texts is from references of a historical nature contained within them. In the case of RPI, a passage (4.3-8) dealing with the Padharman Dalem proves conclusively

that the present form of the text dates from after the death of Dalem Di-Made and I Dewa Pacekan. This occurred after the usurpation of I Gusti Agung Maruti and almost certainly after the fall of this usurper and the shift of court/capital from Gelgel to Klungkung. Evidence for dating this latter event points towards the year 1686, although some texts suggest a date in the first decade of the 18th century. Interestingly, Klungkung is not mentioned in either RPI or RPII, and nor is the title Dewa Agung that the rulers of Klungkung adopted. This would seem to suggest that either the texts were compiled very early in the Klungkung period (early 18th century) or that the court of early Klungkung made no major changes in its relationship with Pura Besakih. The mention (RPI 5.14-15) of Arya Karangasem being responsible for Pura Kiduling Kreteg leads to a similar sort of conclusion, assuming this does refer to the head of the House of Karangasem (which is indeed an arya family) which only began its rise to prominence at the beginning of the 18th century.

So much for the terminus a quo. Turning now to the terminus ad quem, the evidence does not allow us to be any more precise in determining the date of compilation. Arguments from what is not said is always somewhat risky, but the lack of mention of the Arya Dauh who rose to prominence in much of west Karangasem, including the Besakih area, towards the end of the 18th century might be significant; their padharman shrine in Pura Penataran Agung, for instance, is not mentioned. More convincing is evidence from change in time of ritual of Bhatara Turun Kabeh. We know from Friederich that in the mid-19th century this was held on full moon of the fourth month, whereas the RP has it taking place in the tenth month.

In conclusion, the present compilation of RPI can be dated

between c.1700 and c.1850. It is impossible to be more precise, but my own guess would be c.1750.

Evidence for dating RPII is derived from its opening sentence: "Ki Kabayan Basukih, aparab Ki Tonjaha, pamangkun Ida Dewa Ratu Kidul,....". According to genealogical tradition of the Arya Bang Sidemen descent group at Besakih, the great-great-great-grandfather of the present holder of that office was called I Gusti Ngurah Mangku Tonja (=Ki Tonjaha). On a rough count of 30 years a generation, he lived from about the third quarter of the 18th century to the second quarter of the 19th century. This finds support in a colophon attached to a manuscript owned by the family, which is called Pamancangah Arya Bang Sidemen (SF-Bes.2:31b). This colophon says that one copy of the text was made for 'Wayan Tonjaha at Besakih' and another for 'Wayahan Taji at Selat'. Immediately prior to this statement is the date of copying (putus katurun), equivalent to 25 January 1809. An earlier section of the manuscript, the Pamancangah proper, bears a date equivalent to 27 December 1824. Both these dates comprise complete calendrical data that are internally consistent. One concludes, then, that RPII was compiled about the second quarter of the 19th century.

The nature of the Raja Purana texts

The RP texts are essentially compilations of memoranda and ritual directives, which are grouped together because they all deal with Pura Besakih. Other than this, these texts lack an overall structure. There is nothing comparable to the genealogical framework, for example, that characterizes the structure of the babad or chronicle. This lack of unified structure left one copyist at some point in time

so dissatisfied that he repeated certain passages at the end of the text so that the work ended in a curse, which he must have thought was more suitable (I Wy. Warna:pers.comm.). In the management and organization of such a major religious sanctuary as Pura Besakih, memoranda and ritual directives of one sort and another would from time to time be necessary, and over a period of centuries might be quite numerous, and thus different collections could result, and additional memoranda or directives be added to certain manuscripts.

The Raja Purana texts, then, are best thought of in relation to the large corpus of Balinese memoranda literature, whether these be ritual or legalistic in nature. With such documents there is always the question to what extent directives were actually carried out, but other than this the texts can be taken pretty much at face value. Nineteenth century writers such as van Eck, van Dissel and Lieftrinck, and 20th century adat law scholars like Korn were much interested in such documents, but in the last fifty years they have been neglected.

Legalistic and memoranda literature has a long history in Bali indicating a tradition of regulated administrative organization. Rights and responsibilities are laid out, sometimes in the minutist detail. Such literature includes the ancient royally authorized edicts (prasasti) dating from the late 9th to the 15th century, regulations (awiq-awiq) of villages, banjars and other organizations (sekaa), treaties (paswara) between and among the pre-colonial states of Bali, and a great variety of memoranda (pangeling-eling), letters and just odd jottings (a man notes down the physical characteristics of his cows). Memoranda, especially, are important in understanding the role and extent of literacy in pre-colonial Bali, and it is a pity that such documents have rarely been collected. In Besakih area, I

was surprised at how many documents and memoranda still survive, often kept in old baskets above the kitchen.

Besakih's Raja Purana texts are memoranda, that typically lack the elegance and sophistication of literary texts. They are important, nonetheless, and as far as Pura Besakih is concerned, crucial to understanding the changes that have occurred there over the centuries.

(Note: Just as this study was almost completed, too late for much use to be made of it, there appeared the book 'Raja Purana teks dan terjemahan', edited and translated by a team of Balinese scholars under I Wayan Warna, and published by Dinas Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Propinsi Daerah Tingkat I Bali (1986). The text of this book is based on that of my ms. G; comparisons were made with my ms. A, B, and D.)

APPENDIX E

JEJIWAN

Introduction

The jejiwan is a text of questions and answers read out aloud during the mapaselang ritual of Bhatara Turun Kabeh (Chapter 10). The text (A) given below is that belonging to Pedanda Istri Mayun (Geria Taman, Blayu), supplemented [in square brackets] by one (B) belonging to I Gusti Agung Mas Putra (Denpasar), Bhatara Turun Kabeh's chief ritual expert. The questions are in respectful language (e.g. pakanira).

Text

Q. Ih saking ndi pakanira wahu dateng?

A. Manira wong Keling.

Q. Paran dera karya?

A. Manira akarya bhumi, gunung.

Q. Paran isining bhumi, isining gunung?

A. Isining bhumi, brahmana, ksatria, wesya, sudra, pandita, ratu, bhujangga, maka nguni pretiwi, apah, teja, bayu, akasa, raditya, ulan, tranggana, dete detya, danawa, raksasa, pisaca, [buta], manusa sakti, kumlap-kumlip, mambekan, muni, kece-kece, keci-keci, purwa, geneya, daksina, neriti, pascima, bayabhya, utara, airsanya, madya, sor, luhur, saha sangga dening mahitala [B: kasangga dening

pretiwi], saka payungan [B: ungkulan] dening akasa. Isining gunung, trena, taru, lata, gulma, janggama, burwan, paksi, sarpa, krimi.

Q. Sapa kang adrewe?

A. Drowenira sang apaselang, yan tan sang adrewe apaselang, tan prasiddha punang karya.

Q. Ih saking ndi pakanira wahu dateng?

A. Manira wong Majapahit.

Q. Paran dera karya?

A. Manira akarya gedong, pasih.

Q. Paran isining gedong, isining pasih?

A. Isining gedong, mirah, winten, komala, spatika, kancana, rajata, artha, makadi laluwes rajamulya. Isining pasih, tirtha agung, mina, jukung, prahu. Isining prahu, laluwes, basan ubad.

Q. Sapa kang adrewe?

A. Drowenira sang apaselang, yan tan sang adrewe apaselang, tan prasiddha punang karya.

Q. Ih saking ndi pakanira wahu dateng?

A. Manira wong Singhasari.

Q. Paran dera karya?

A. Manira akarya lumbung.

Q. Paran isining lumbung?

A. Isining lumbung, padi, ketan, injin.

Q. Sapa kang adrewe?

A. Drowenira sang apaselang, yan tan sang adrewe apaselang, tan prasiddha punang karya.

Q. Ih sapa sira angindang-indang ing kene?

A. Manira bibi, iringanira Bhatara Smara, Bhatari Ratih, olih ida

saking Smarabhawana.

Q. Paran dera indang?

A. Manira angindang mas, mirah, winten, olih ida saking Smarabhawana.

Q. Ih sapa sira angampuh[-ampuhan] ing kene?

A. Manira bibi, iringanira Bhatara Smara, Bhatari Ratih, olih ida saking Smarabhawana.

Q. Paran dera ampuh-ampuhang?

A. Manira angampuhang lara wighna [B: lara roga papa klesa nira sang piniselang, wastu amungguh sadya rahayu, dirgayusa paripurna, kayowanan, mwanng tungtung ana anugraha, ayu wredhi].

Translation

Q. Where have you just come from?

A. I am a person of Keling.

Q. What is it you do?

A. I make/create the earth, create the mountain.

Q. What are the contents of the earth, the contents of the mountain?

A. The contents of the earth are brahmana, ksatria, wesya, sudra, holy ruler (or:holy man and ruler), bhujangga (scholar/priest), and especially earth, water, fire, air, ether, sun, moon, star, demons of various sorts (detya, danawa, raksasa, pisaca, buta), human being of power, kumlap-kumlip, mambekan, kece-kece, keci-keci, east, southeast, south, southwest, west, northwest, north, northeast, centre, nadir, zenith, supported by the earth, covered by the sky. The contents of the mountain are grass, tree, creeper, shrub, animal, bird, snake, worm.

- Q. Who is it that possesses it?
- A. It is the possession of he who performs the paselang, for if he performs no paselang, the work/ceremony will not be successful.
- Q. From where have you just come?
- A. I am a person of Majapahit.
- Q. What is it you do?
- A. I make the shrine, the ocean
- Q. What are the contents of the shrine, the contents of the ocean?
- A. The contents of the shrine are ruby, diamond, komala, crystal, gold, silver, money, and especially fine silks. The contents of the ocean are the great holy water, fish, sailing canoe, boat. The contents of the boat are fine silks, medical spices.
- Q. Who is it that possesses it?
- A. It is the possession of he who performs the paselang, for if he performs no paselang, the work/ceremony will not be successful.
- Q. From where have you just come?
- A. I am a person of Singhasari.
- Q. What is it you do?
- A. I make the rice-barn.
- Q. What are the contents of the rice-barn?
- A. The contents of the rice-barn are rice, white glutinous rice, black rice.
- Q. Who is it that possesses it?
- A. It is the possession of he who performs the paselang, for if he performs no paselang, the work/ceremony will not be successful.
- Q. Who is it that searches here?
- A. I the 'mother' of the retinue of Bhatara Smara and Bhatari Ratih, for they are from Smara's Realm.

Q. What is it that you search for?

A. I search for gold, ruby, diamond, for they are from Smara's Realm.

Q. Who is it that brings restraints?

A. I the 'mother' of the retinue of Bhatara Smara and Bhatari Ratih, for they are from Smara's Realm.

Q. What is it that you restrain?

A. I restrain afflictions, suffering, sins, misfortune of him on whose behalf the paselang is held, may he encounter happiness and good-fortune, long life and perfection, youth, and as the pinnacle of the bestowal, increase in virtue.

APPENDIX F

LAND IN THE RAJA PURANA TEXTS

The Raja Purana texts emphasize that lands whose proceeds are for the use of Pura Besakih are 'grants' (aturan) from the ruler Ida Dalem, who in so doing was fulfilling his duty as ruler to support the great sanctuaries of the realm to secure the realm's peace and prosperity. In this regard, Pura Besakih continued a tradition dating back virtually to the advent of Indic influence.

Temple lands listed in the two main recensions of the Raja Purana and in a third additional text (K.955), although differing in some details, by and large are quite similar. The texts identify each plot or parcel of land by such features as category of tenure, the village territory where it is located, its name, its size and sometimes value as well, and its purpose with regards to a particular ceremony, shrine or deity.

Village.

Most of the land is located in the territories of Muncan and Selat, with lesser amounts at Macetra, Duda, Tabola, Tohjiwa, Kalungah, Wangseyan, Tangkup, Nyalian and Tusan, depending on the text. Except for the last two villages, located in Kabupaten Klungkung, these are all located in the west Karangasem region and some 90% of the temple lands lay within this region. The main reason for this was that the fields had to be within reasonable walking distance either of Besakih or of Muncan (where much preparatory work

for large ceremonies was undertaken), to where the levy, paid in kind, had to be carried.

Name of land.

Almost all the plots of land are identified by name, and of the several dozen names mentioned, the majority are still in current use.

Category of tenure.

The land, identified as to whether it is sawah or dryland, is further designated in many cases by certain technical terms whose exact meanings are somewhat obscure. It is not clear whether the ruler's gifts of land were outright gifts, the land becoming what is now termed laba pura, or whether he handed over to the temple the share of the crop due to him as owner, or whether he handed over to the temple the right to a land tax that otherwise would have gone into the ruler's granary. The term laba pura (or palaba) occurs only a couple of times in the text in general contexts, though such terms as padatahan/panatahan, piak bukti, and paramaseba may be equivalent to it. Nowhere in the texts is the term tanah ayahan pura mentioned, nor tanah ayahan dalem. Another category mentioned is tanah bukti which is land handed over to an official for the period of his incumbency in recompense for services rendered, on which a particular obligation or service is due, the obligation usually being the performance of a particular ceremony in honour of one or another of the many deities. However, in the texts the term is used not only with reference to people but also with reference to deities, giving them a kind of quasi-legal status, not unknown in India. Piak bukti land, from the meaning of the word piak, 'divide', would appear to be land whose

harvest is divided between temple and sharecropper, thus equivalent to laba pura land. Another term, tanah pajegan, refers to land on which a tax (pajeg) was levied; this was probably a fixed amount and not a percentage of harvest. Such land could be bought or sold, the tax being paid by the new owner.

Size.

The size of each plot of land is given in terms of the amount of seed (wit or winih, abbreviated as 'wi'), measured in tenah or tahil (abbreviated as 'ta'), that is required to plant the area concerned. For example, the plot called Timpas is wit, 5, tenah in size. Tenah and tahil appear to be used interchangeably. Tahil is generally considered a unit of weight, while tenah is defined in various ways: the measure of a bundle of padi weighing about 25 kg., or a measure of water necessary to produce a fixed amount of rice, in which case the area of land can vary widely, depending on its quality. In some cases the value (rega) of the land is given, at the almost uniform rate of 200 (coin) per tenah.

Both recensions of the Raja Purana give totals of land in each of Muncan and Selat amounting to 85 tenah of seed, though the totals of separate plot sizes do not add up to these amounts. For temple land as a whole, calculated by adding up the sizes of all plots mentioned, the totals in the three texts vary considerably: 104.5 tenah (RPII), 148 tenah (K.955), 224.5 tenah (RPI). As a rough and ready guide, by taking one tenah as 25 kg. of padi or 10 kg. of pounded rice (beras), production would have amounted to 1055 kg., 1480 kg., or 2245 kg. of pounded rice. Of these amounts, the temple would probably have received half as its share. When one considers that a single

offering group of sorohan pebangkit size requires about 50 kg. of rice, or that Bhatara Turun Kabeh can use up to 3000 kg., these quantities are not very large, enough perhaps for smaller routine ceremonies, but not enough for all rituals.

Recipient.

In many cases, the produce from a particular plot is used in the service of a particular deity -- some deities, such as I Dewa Kidul, I Dewa Atu, and I Dewa Batu Madeg are particularly well endowed -- or for a particular ritual. In other cases, the recipient of the land is a particular official (sedahan or pemangku) or a group of people responsible for a certain task (e.g. carrying banners, palanquins, etc). Sometimes a special day is indicated for payment of the levy.

Special functionaries administered temple lands on behalf of the ruler (see Chapter 10).

NOTES

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. The dates recorded in this myth cannot be taken as historically meaningful, and so I have not provided Gregorian equivalents of the Saka years. In later cases, I have not given the full dates. Balinese calendrical systems are discussed in Chapter 8.
2. Salodaka refers to fine sulphur powder that collected on rocks near vents from which vapours issued. It was regarded as a substance of magical potency. The 1963 eruption closed off these vents.
3. The same or similar myth is found in other texts, e.g. Babad Pasek Kayu Selem (Budiastra 1979a:7-10, 64-67). The story of moving Mt. Mahameru to Java, rather than Bali, is told in the Tantu Pagelaran.
4. PB.552:10b.2-3 (northern boundary of thani Tringan Bahung), PB.625:Za.2 (northern boundary of thani Kanuruhan). See also KBW II.719 (sv. Tolangkir).
5. These dates are often found in texts generally called Babad Gumi, e.g. K.719:7a,9a, Ms. in Arsip Puri Kanginan (Amlapura), Ms. in Geria Mangasrami (Ubud)(see Jennings 1969:125-6). Local traditions from Budakeling (Kec. Bebandem, Karangasem) supports a 17th century eruption.
6. See also Life and Service of Sir Stamford Raffles:241; Junghuhn 1850,II:1247. The fullest bibliography on Mt. Agung and its eruptions is in Kusumadinata 1979:410-418.
7. ANRI Bali 4.20 (information courtesy of Henk Schulte Nordholt). See also Junghuhn 1850,II:1247. Memory of this eruption lingers on: I Wayan Riyanta, a man in his eighties, said during an interview at Besakih (28 June 1983) that an old friend of his who died in the late 1940s once told him that in his friend's great-grandfather's day an eruption had caused damage to the villages immediately south of the crater, but that Besakih was untouched.
8. Among the many publications and reports on the 1963 eruption (full list in Kusumadinata 1979), see Booth and Matthews 1963, Mathews 1965, Zen 1964.
9. Balinese attitudes to the eruption and the Ekadasa Rudra ceremony are discussed in Chapter 12.
10. On the Lake Batur villages, see map in Kurata 1978:53. On the villages between Batur and Agung, author's notes from fieldtrip (with J.Darling) in July 1983.
11. See, for example, Ishige (ed) 1980 on Halmahera. For an interesting comparison of relationship between orientation and topography, see Haugen 1969 on Iceland.

12. Lieftrinck 1917:86-87. The edict is dated 1811/12.
13. Because of the variety of criteria, the extent of relationships at the supra-village level according to different criteria is unlikely to be the same; on the contrary, they overlap in complex ways. The island cannot be neatly divided into a number of discrete regions, so unless one takes the whole island as the field of study, one must limit the field in ways that to a certain degree will be arbitrary. Only gradually as such studies spread over the map of Bali might we be able to delimit regions according to criteria with an added degree of accuracy and significance.
14. The 1979 regulations are contained in Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia No.5 tentang Pemerintahan Desa. See also Warren forthcoming.
15. This account is based mainly on that in the Monografi Desa of Besakih (1980 and 1985), Menanga (1983) and Pempatan (1984).
16. The administrative and adat territories of Besakih, though not identical, do for the greater part overlap. The core area of Besakih Kangin and Kawan are common to both, but whereas the administrative territory extends east to include Temukus and Kesimpar, the adat territory extends west to include Keladian and Puregae, which are now both part of Pempatan. The adat territory, then, stretches from Tukad Dalem in the east to Tukad Lantang in the west (save for the enclaves of Temukus and Geliang), while its northern and southern boundaries are the same as for the administrative village. The area of the adat territory can only be estimated, but Temukus and Kesimpar being in area much the same as Keladian and Puregae, or smaller if anything, the adat territory would be little more than that of the administrative territory. The splitting up of Besakih's adat territory as parts of two administrative villages has tended to contribute to the weakening of the adat community.
17. For the significance of Tukad Telaga Waja with reference to Pura Besakih, see RPI 4.12-18; also Lieftrinck 1917:86-87.
18. In documents at the local Agrarian Office, such groups of fields are known as banjar klasiran. Prior to Dutch land tax reforms, there seems to have been no traditional Balinese word for such an area. Field names were used by the Dutch as names of land subdivisions, and for Besakih some 200 are listed in land tax records, though many of these use a field name qualified by a direction indicator (kaja, kelod, etc). The majority of field names are names of plants and trees (gamongan, bunut, kunyit), of topographical features (pacung), of nearby temples (pengubengan, pesimpanan), while some are simply proper names. Some of these names are very old; Tanah Mel and Cebulik, for example, are modern forms of Tengah Mel and Cabulika old edict of Pemuteran (PB 502:IIIb3, in Budiastara 1978).
19. MvO Doornik 1913, Bijlage I
20. Korn Coll.160/f.558. The source of the figures is not given, but

presumably is the 1930 Volkstelling.

21. In the mid-1920's the Dutch colonial authorities mapped, recorded and classified land throughout Bali, in preparation for a new land tax system. I do not know whether the territory covered by the land map of Besakih made at that time is that of the then administrative village of Besakih, or of the 1930 census area. The eastern boundary is Tukad Dalem whose particularly deep ravine (dalem, deep) formed a natural border. Kesimpar, east of Tukad Dalem on the ridge between that river and Tukad Esah, was not included, being attached instead to Muncan. The whole of the munduk rising from the confluence of Tukad Esah and Tukad Blatung and stretching up through Tarib to Temukus was included within Besakih. The western boundary was Tukad Lantang, curving round the mountain to border the district of Kubu on the north side of Mt. Agung. The settlements of Tanah Mel, Puregae, Keladian were part of Besakih. The southern boundary excluded Batusesa and Tegenan, but included Suhukan. The land map of Besakih at that time comprised what may be considered as the territory of the adat village of Besakih, with the addition of Suhukan, Belatung, Tarib and Temukus, and Geliang. Unfortunately, we do not know whether the 1930 census area was coterminous with the land map area.
22. See Monografi Desa Besakih 1980:47 (for 1979/80 figure), Kantor Perbekel Besakih (1983 figure), Monografi Desa Besakih 1985:34 (for 1985 figure).
23. The klihan of tempek, banjar, and dadia all keep lists of members. If all the lists were brought up to date at one and the same time, and taking into account certain exceptions (e.g. residents who are not banjar and dadia members), there would not be perfect correlation among these numbers. However, as far as I could, I tried to make a correlation, thinking it would help to understand the social organization. For about 90% of the members of each list, correlations could be made, i.e. the same man's name was found in all three lists. The remaining 10% or so were the problem. Why was a resident in a tempek list not mentioned in banjar or dadia lists? Or why was a man in a banjar list but not in tempek or dadia list? There are many reasons.
 - 1) The lists are not up to date -- tempek and dadia lists tended to be more up to date than banjar lists which in a couple of cases were a year or more out of date.
 - 2) There are residents who are not banjar members and whose dadia are centred outside Besakih, i.e. visitors or foreigners. There are residents who are banjar members but whose dadia are centred outside Besakih (note: there are no banjar members who are not also residents). There are residents who are not banjar members but who are in dadia lists, i.e. people of Besakih origin returning to the village after a long stay away and who have not yet rejoined the adat village.
 - 3) The problem of names. When a couple marries, both man and woman often take a new name for themselves. The first child may have the same name (sometimes it is a question which came first, child or name) or it may have a different name. There is, therefore, only a low degree of teknonymy at Besakih. Occasionally names are changed both at marriage and at birth of

first child, or for some other reason (e.g. illness or misfortune). It is understandable then that one man may be entered in the lists under different names. Many of these, by cross-questioning, I was able to discover, but I am sure I did not get them all. Also, occasionally, the name of a deceased man is still listed rather than that of the son who replaced him.

4) Differences in ways of counting memberships. The tempek residential lists are based on household units or kitchens. Banjar and dadia lists are based on fee-paying members and on retired members (penyada). However a widow or widower may be a penyada of a banjar but still a full member of the dadia. Or a man and his youngest married son may be listed only once in the banjar list but separately in the dadia list. Or a widow or widower living with a married child, listed as one household unit in the residential list, may be listed twice in the banjar list (one full member, one penyada). There are many people in the dadia lists who reside outside Besakih.

24. On forestry policy in Bali, see McTaggart 1983. Forestry policy in the colonial period is extensively discussed in the *Memori van Overgave*, e.g. MvO Caron 1929:122-7 and MvO Jacobs 1935:18-51. A study of such documentation would probably further clarify the impact of forestry policy on settlement patterns and internal migration from the southern slopes of Mt. Agung.
25. Compare these figures: *Monografi Desa Besakih* 1980:50 estimates that in 1979/80 there were 20,850 orange trees with a production of 613.5 kwintal valued at Rp.4,294,500, and 45,150 mandarin trees with a production of 2,275 kwintal worth Rp.68,250,000. *Statistik Kecamatan Rendang* 1981:37 gives an estimate of 72,300 citrus trees producing 15,000 kg. of fruit. *Potensi Desa Besakih* 1983 gives a figure of only 13,200 trees which would seem to be far too low. Figures of 65,000 to 75,000 trees would seem to be inflated.
26. In 1983 grade A mandarins dropped to Rp.500 per kilogram, and lower grades to Rp.200-250, but in 1984 prices picked up again. One farmer with 165 trees said that in 1983 he earned Rp.950,000 (Rp.5757 per tree) while in 1984 his income rose to Rp.1,300,000 (Rp.7878 per tree).
27. Figures in *Monografi Desa Besakih* 1980:18 are 1775 cows, 325 pigs and 10,285 chickens; those in *Potensi Desa Besakih* 1983 are 1884 cows, 240 pigs and 4525 chickens.
28. In the years 1980-1983 the number of foreign and domestic tourists visiting Besakih were as follows (source: ticket sales):

Year	Foreign	Domestic	Total
1980	18,801	25,264	44,065
1981	15,771	25,146	40,917
1982	14,124	24,272	38,396
1983	14,927	31,325	46,252

In earlier years, according to *Kompilasi Data Regional Bali Dati II Karangasem* (March 1977), 42,390 tourists came in 1973 and 50,760 in 1974.

29. Up until 1978/79 kiosks were grouped around Pura Banua, then were moved to the carpark at Manik Mas. In 1983 when another carpark was built at the top of the new Dalem Puri road, tourist vehicles parked there because it was close to the temples, and so the kiosks followed. After months of irresolution, just before a state guest was about to pay a visit, the government acted belatedly and harshly, ordering kiosks torn down and moved back to Manik Mas. Some families lost their savings. At Manik Mas, notwithstanding a glut of government-built kiosks that can be rented, most vendors prefer to build their own cheap and ugly kiosks.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. In the term desa adat, both words are of foreign origin, introduced into Bali at very different periods of its history. Desa is a Sanskrit word meaning 'place, area, region, country(side), or village'. In this last sense it passed into Balinese usage as early as the 10th century (PB 109, dated 942), though it did not wholly replace the older Austronesian terms wanua and tani which in old inscriptions refer to the village as a territorial entity. By the Gelgel and Klungkung periods (post-1400) desa had become the common term. Adat, meaning 'custom or tradition,' is a Malay word of Arabic origin. The word was given official status by the Dutch, especially in the fields of government and law where it became a key concept, from the need to distinguish traditional or customary law from Dutch colonial state law. This distinction carried over into the Indonesian legal system. Thus the traditional village became known as the adat village. Before this time, of course, Balinese had no need for such a distinction: a village was simply called desa. The Balinese equivalent of adat is dresta (also cara, sima, tata krama), but these terms were never used to qualify desa. Older terms used to qualify desa include desa pakraman which rather than being derived etymologically from Sanskrit krama, is more likely to be related to Austronesian karaman (from rama, 'father, elder'), which in pre-Majapahit inscriptions refers to the village community (see Semadi Astra 1980).
2. I would like to express here a debt of thanks to Jean-Francois Gueronprez whose ideas on the adat village, both in his article (forthcoming) and in personal comments on an earlier draft, have been most helpful.
3. For a recent discussion of this doctrine, see Sudharma 1986.
4. According to tradition, Mpu Kuturan, a powerful court priest of the early 11th century, established the 'three sanctuaries' as the hallmark of the adat village. There are reasons to doubt this: the terms do not appear in old edicts of the 11-14th centuries. Furthermore 'Kuturan' became part of the title of a high court official, the Senapati Kuturan, held by a succession of incumbents. Possibly this official was in charge of adat village organization and so, in time, all such regulations became

attributed to the original Mpu Kuturan. Adding to the confusion, texts often declare that Mpu Kuturan came from Majapahit.

5. The pura puseh at Sukaluwih apparently had a shrine of this type, now replaced by a three-roofed meru, while the main shrine of the pura puseh at Padangaji, a three-roofed meru, is called pura kehen. One pemangku said that the three-roofed meru of any pura puseh should rightly be called a kehen. Outside west Karangasem I know of kehen-type structures at Pura Agung Taro and at a subsidiary temple in the Pura Balingkang complex. The name but not the structure appears at Bangli's Pura Keheh. The word appears in old Balinese inscriptions (PB 705:4a.1). The pronunciation keren is still occasionally heard (e.g. at Sangkan Gunung).
6. The sanggar agung is always oriented in the upridge direction. In form, it is a stone seat on a high plinth, from which the brahmanic 'lotus seat' (padmasana) is a development. Next to it, but oriented to the east, is the shrine dedicated to Ratu Dasar who may be further identified as Ibu Pertiwi, Mother Earth, or Sang Anantaboga, the cosmic naga, lord of the seven levels of the underworld, two deities who are closely related.
7. In the kaja row of shrines there is generally a pair of gedong (or occasionally a single shrine having two compartments): the one to the left, with a flat-bottomed earthenware dish (pane) on top of its roof of sugar-palm fibre, is dedicated to Dewi Sri, the goddess of rice; the one to the right having a high-pointed roof (prucut) is dedicated to Rambut Sadana, the god of wealth and money. This pair of deities, considered husband and wife, is very popular throughout Bali as protective deities of the greatest importance, for rice and money are the basic means of livelihood of the Balinese. Dewi Sri is the spouse of Wisnu and Rambut Sadana is an aspect of this universal god. The great majority of temples in Bali have shrines honouring these deities. At the western end of the kaja row of shrines is the manjangan saluwang, the shrine with the carving and antlers of a deer. It is dedicated to Mpu Kuturan, the great legendary priest. In the tradition that identifies Mpu Kuturan with Bhatara Maspahit, the latter is sometimes regarded as the deity of the manjangan saluwang.
8. The pura bale agung of Pengotan, a temple structurally very complex, has an immense number of shrines. In one sub-temple there are 'visiting' (pasimpangan) shrines dedicated to Ratu Pandawa, Ratu Gunung Asti, Ratu Dukuh Payung and Ratu Turunan Glagah; in the main courtyard is a shrine to Ratu Dalem Linjong. All these names refer to temples in the Pemuteran and Pule areas, and local tradition relates that indeed in the past people fled from Pemuteran and settled at Pengotan, and there set up shrines to the gods of their former temples (see Budiastira 1978). With regard to Ratu Ayu Mas Maolet, a shrine to this deity is found in the pura puseh of Bunga, a former offshoot of the old village of Daya, while at nearby Cegi the deity Ratu Ayu Ngolet is the chief deity of the Pura Ibu (Desa). At Puregae, a locality on the western edge of Besakih territory, close to Daya, is a small temple high up the slopes of Bukit Tapis, deep in the

pinet of the forest; the main shrine of the temple, variously called Pura Penataran, Pura Dukuh or Pura Swarung, is dedicated to Ratu Ayu Mas Mangolet. A connection between this temple and Daya is confirmed by the local tradition that it was people from Daya who originally settled the hamlet, now long abandoned. Ratu Ayu Maolet is also honoured at a shrine in the pura puseh of Kesimpar, east of Besakih. No one at Kesimpar knew anything about the name, but a text (HKS.3883:9.11-14) says that Pasek Daya forms a unity with Payasan, Singarata, Punggul Besi and Pupus Bang Sari, all of which are marked by temples close to Kesimpar. See also KBW I.284, sv olet.

9. The Pasek Kubakal group, to whom Ratu Ngurah Kubakal is the founding ancestor, is part of the enormous Pasek Sanak Pitu grouping.
10. Recently, in a similar dispute between the village of Songan on Lake Batur and the warga Pasek Kayu Selem over ownership of Pura Kayu Selem, regarded as pura puseh by the village and pura kawitan by the kin group, the village won and the kin group was forced to build a new temple.
11. In many areas a pura panti is a kind of kin group temple, more inclusive than a pura dadia, less inclusive than a pura kawitan warga.
12. These categories of land are discussed later in this chapter.
13. I have not attempted a critical evaluation of the written awig-awig that some 15 villages in this region are said to have. Besakih does not now possess a written awig-awig; such a document did once exist but was lost through neglect, according to older informants. According to Fak.Hukum 1978, Sebudi, Ancut, Yeh Aa, Sorga, Umasari (Macetra), Padangaji, Geriana Kauh, Perangsari, Suhukan, Menanga, Buyan, Batusesa, Tegenan, and Rendang all possess awig-awig, but from what period is not given. The government is encouraging all adat villages to have an awig-awig adapted to modern times. Older awig-awig exist for Batusesa (SF-Bes.11), Muncan (Korn Coll. 172/f.626), Santi (Gedong Kirtya), and Selat (Korn Coll. 160, 170/f.624). Many awig-awig are dated. As legal documents, these texts have yet to be studied seriously. Dutch adat law experts regarded the Balinese legal system as the most developed in the archipelago.
14. In the Raja Purana (RPI 23.9-19, 25.16-20), the eight banjar are: Panataran, Banua, Batu Madeg, Wetaning Kreteg, Basukihan, Kidul, Nangka, and Galih Hyang. Brief memoranda (SF-Bes.7), from about the turn of the century, refer to banjar Nangka and banjar Geliang. It seems that when Galih Hyang (Geliang) broke away and became a separate adat village, a reorganization of banjar took place. Although the Nangka area remains part of Besakih, it was dropped as a name of a banjar. Apparently it was decided to name all banjar after public temples, so the total of eight banjar was made up by dividing Panataran and Banua into 'eastern' and 'western' parts (kanqinan, kawan). Banjar Kidul was renamed banjar Ulun Kulkul.

15. Banjar Banua Kawan has one member who is not Pasek Gaduh, but he is married to a woman originating from that group.
16. Of the 29 dadia (see Fig. 5.1), members of 12 are not divided among banjar, members of 12 are split among two banjar, members of three are split among three banjar, and members of two are split among four banjar. If certain minor exceptions are disregarded, the result becomes: members of 19 dadia are not divided among banjar, members of nine are split between two banjar, and members of one is split among three banjar.
17. Only in 1980 or 1981 was the first, and so far the only, banjar patus set up specifically to help members with death rituals. It groups together members of several banjar adat who are among residents of two localities (tempek).
18. On Selat, see Goris 1969c; Korn 1932:192-5; Korn Coll.160.
19. Interview (30 Jan.1984) with Mk. Rampih who held the position of panyarikan. Unfortunately I do not have data on the rankings and relationships and the separate responsibilities of the village's body of elders.
20. The division of the beast is as follows: ears - kabayan, head - bandesa, right foreleg - taki, left foreleg - ngukuhin, right hindleg - salahin, left hindleg - dangka, tail - panqikut. Data from interview (16 Feb.1984) with members of the body of elders; interview (8 Dec.1983) with Mk.Darma, klihan desa adat.
21. This arrangement is also mentioned in the text Taur Ekadasa Rudra (Balai Bahasa, Singaraja; EDR63/S/9:44.14-45.8). The ajang itself is a special kind of offering consisting of a lower section of cooked rice and meat ingredients, and an upper part of rice cakes of various sorts as well as fruit. Each pemangku prepares the lower section of his ajang during the ritual, whereas the upper section is made beforehand by the women. The meat ingredients consist of pieces of nine kinds of meat, the number (urip) of each kind depending on the ranking or position of the pemangku.
Traditionally, besides the one during Bhatara Turun Kabeh, ajang rituals were held in conjunction with usaba buluh at Pura Banua and aci pacayaan at Pura Ulun Kulkul. Ajang are also made for the usaba warga siram at Pura Batu Madeg, placed on the bale agung, but the pemangku do not participate (at least, not now).
22. Change has occurred in the pemangku-ship of Pura Penataran Agung which is no longer held by a member of the Arya Bang Sidemen kin group. The pemangku of this temple are now from the Dukuh Seganing and Tangkas (I) kin groups, neither of whom were represented traditionally. Mangku Patuh should rightly be from the Pasek Brejo kin group, but the leading pemangku of this group is not now numbered among the official pemangku, although he does still help at times of major ritual.
23. In Bali, the buffalo is the animal of highest status, and probably has been since prehistoric times. It is sacrificed at the greatest rituals. In woodcarving, the buffalo or just its

horns, is occasionally represented on bale agung of some mountain villages. No full study of buffalo symbolism in Bali has been written, but see Sri Arwati 1981. A comparison with buffalo symbolism in other parts of Indonesia (e.g. Toraja) would be fruitful.

24. The title kabayan is encountered in a great number of villages throughout Bali, usually as the leading or more important of the body of elders. His role is primarily religious or ritual in nature, and may be likened to a priest. For examples, see indexes to Korn 1932 and Bali volumes of Adatrechtbundels. It occurs in old Balinese inscriptions (Goris 1954). The word is also common in Old Javanese texts and inscriptions where, according to Zoetmulder (1982), it means "old; an elder, chief, leader". In Javanese contexts, the meaning of the term has been discussed by many writers (Aichele, Berg, Hidding, Heyting). The term tinggi as functionary is known at Sabetan and at several north Balinese villages (Sawan, Panji, etc)(see Korn 1932, index). In Java, including Tengger, petinggi is a common term for village official or headman. The awiq-awiq of Batusesa (SF-Bes.11:lab) mentions village functionaries called I Patok, I Pageh, and I Patuh.
25. In an obscure passage (RPI 24.7-14), an official called bahan is mentioned, not found at Besakih now, but numbered among village functionaries at many villages (Tenganan, Sembiran, Pedawa, etc)(see Korn 1932, ARB 37, indexes). The evidence for the nine official Besakih pemangku being equivalent to the body of elders found in other villages is suggestive rather than conclusive. Even so, this leadership must have developed from a still earlier form probably in Gelgel times when members of the Arya Bang Sidemen kin group gained positions of dominance. The present klihan system of leadership would seem to be a later development.
26. Examples are Sukaluwih, Yeh Aa, and Pateh (Fak. Hukum 1978).
27. In a memorandum of 1923, I Gusti Nyoman Gunung was kepala desa which presumably means klihan desa adat. He was succeeded by I Gusti Nyoman Alit.
28. The breakdown of this group of 40 was given to me as follows: klihan desa 1, wakil klihan desa 1, sekretaris 1, bendahara 1, pemangkus 12, banjar officials 19, representatives of the Catur Warga 3, klihan dusun 1 (the others never attend), perbekel 1 (he never attends either).
29. The opening ritual involves a special object called batu- batu sangkepan which is a small basket containing 1000 Chinese coin and betel-chewing ingredients.
30. On oath-taking rituals, see Appendix B, Pura Ulun Kulkul. Days on which burial is forbidden include full moon, new moon, tumpek, Wednesday-wage, and others.
31. The Old Javanese system appears to be based on cardinal directions, wetan - east, kidul - south, etc (Zoetmulder).

Further study, however, I think is needed to determine whether Javanese used a topographical direction system similar to the Balinese one. Also, it seems likely that Balinese (in the south of the island) sometimes translated their topographical direction system into Old Javanese, e.g. kaja - lor, kelod - kidul.

32. In the 12th century edict of Pamuteran (PB 502:IIIb2-IVa1, in Budiastira 1978), the boundaries of the village are given in considerable detail: "...in the eastern part (kanqin), Tulukbyu, as far as Patikala, Tihing Sungsang (Daya boundary), Yeh Dapdap (Tengah Mel boundary), as far as Tukad Bikung, Tukad Lantang (Cabulika boundary); in the southern part (kelod), Ranggeng (Parempatan boundary), as far as Yeh Bakung (Landih boundary), as far as Tukad Ahta (Yeh Bias boundary), as far as Genga; in the western part (kawuh), Yeh Puh, as far as Samuhaga, as far as Her Talaga, as far as Kaliki (Tuhugyan boundary); in the north part (kadya), Pahigi, as far as Hancalalang, Tangga." In the edict of Abang (1384) which details the relationship between Abang and Pamuteran, the boundaries of the latter are less detailed: east -- Daya, southeast -- Tengah Mel, south -- Pulu Behas, southwest -- Pulu Behas, west -- Yeh Bihis (PB 901:IIb5-IIIa3). In an undated lontar charter of some Pasek families of the Pemuteran area, the territory is divided into two separate entities: Panguteran (Pemuteran) in the western half of the old territory and Gragah (later renamed Bukit Catu) in the eastern half. Panguteran's boundaries are as follows: east (kanqin) -- Tukad Boni, south -- Geting Bohong Mayung, west -- Tukad Kuta Anyar, north -- to the summit of Bukit Tulukbyu. Gragah's boundaries are given as: north (kaja) -- Dwaya Dukun, east -- Tukad Panjang, south -- Pangsut Cumpule, west -- Pangkung Boni (HKS.3838:2.7-3.3).
33. On wewengkon qumi, see e.g. Schaareman 1986:44,156.
34. An example of the ritual demarcation of boundaries: In the adat village of Budakeling, a very important ceremony is the yearly taur agung which is enacted every other year on new moon of the ninth month. After the nasi taur has been empowered, it is carried, and sprinkled, around the boundaries of the village.
35. Stories tell how villagers in flight would sometimes carry their bale agung with them.
36. Whether village territories were always contiguous is not certain, but that must have been the case most of the time (e.g. Pemuteran was contiguous with Daya and Landih, both pre-Majapahit villages). However there seems to have been areas of no-man's land for in these early centuries forests were still widespread and unused land was readily available. Chronicles suggest that people could simply move in and start clearing the land, though we do not know whether this was in any way subject to approval by local lord or neighbouring village.
37. See Table 17, Bundschu 1985:55.
38. The 227 plots are divided into six groups called kliang desa (4 plots), teruna (32 plots), kaja-kanqin (40 plots), kelod-kanqin

- (57 plots), kaja-kauh (48 plots), and kelod-kauh (46 plots).
39. Ceremonies at Pura Dalem Nangka include an odalan on Wednesday-Wage Kelau, and a yearly caru on the new moon of 6th or 7th or 8th month.
 40. Recently larger landowners having more than one ayahan plot have tried to have obligations reckoned according to actual owners rather than ayahan plots. This is a move which would favour them.
 41. Whether Pura Batu Madeg once possessed tanah ayahan is a question that available evidence does not answer with certainty. For the nadiang ceremony, formerly eight other descent groups each had responsibility for a particular shrine there, but only three or four of them still remember it. It is not clear whether these groups had temple land to offset costs. However, there once was so-called tegal neng which is mentioned in a memorandum of Banjar Batu Madeg, unfortunately incomplete and undated but probably from early this century, which lists the banjar members who own (madruwe) tegal neng, their place of residence, the area of land (most own just one saih), and location of land. Literally, tegal neng means 'empty field' but here it seems to refer to tax-free land. The very existence of the memorandum suggests that some obligation from the owners was due either to banjar or to temple.
 42. Prehistoric remains, other than so-called megaliths of indeterminate age, are so extremely scarce in this region as to be of negligible use; in fact the only such find is a stone sarcophagus at Nongan (Heekeren 1955).
 43. Some edicts are kept in villages far away from the village mentioned in the edict; for whatever reason, be it war, natural catastrophe, or court service, groups left their villages of origin taking their inscriptions with them. The inscriptions of Pengotan are a case in point. The absence of an inscription, however, does not necessarily mean that a particular village did not already exist at that early time. The main study of Balinese inscriptions is Goris 1954. See also titles listed in Stuart-Fox 1979. Dozens of inscriptions are transcribed but unpublished; I wish to thank Dr. Hedi Hinzler for copies of these transcriptions, mostly made by Goris.
 44. On babad or chronicles generally, see Berg 1927 and 1938, Hinzler 1974, and Worsley 1972. A hundred and more babad texts exist, but study of them has barely begun.
 45. On Panji Sakti's campaigns, see Danandjaja 1980:48-9, 52-3; Soebandi 1982:301-3; Soebandi in Bali Post 8 Feb.1984; Hadipta in ARB 37:442f.; Budiastira 1978:3; Boekian 1936 (Dherana 1979:38).
 46. On Tusan, see RPI 24.15-17,21-23, 24.26-25.2 On Daya and other Dajan Bukit villages, see K.955:39a. On Panida and Nyanggelan, see RPI 25.12-15, 26.3-10.
 47. According to the Raja Purana texts, all these villages

participated in the upkeep of the Besakih temples through contributions mainly in kind, that included such things as animals (especially pigs), raw materials for cooking (onions, garlic), cooked food (rice), offering materials (palm-leaf, bamboo) and completed offerings, usually paid over on a particular day or in connection with a particular ceremony. To take just one example (RPI:24.3-6): "The amount of the contribution from the villagers of Yeh Biyas to the god of Gunung Agung, for the Usaba Wesaka [Bhatara Turun Kabeh], is one large pig valued at 3000 coin, 40 catu of rice, one celeng bakakak [pig splayed out in bakakak form], complete buat-buatan offerings; remember this, that has been done since long ago."

48. To give just one example: Bangbang (Kecamatan Tembuku, Bangli) was formerly responsible for the ceremony aci sarin tahun at Pura Ulun Kulkul. After a border war between Bangli and Karangasem in the mid-19th century, Bangbang reverted to Bangli control and the obligation was no longer honoured (Gora Sirikan 1957:III.10n).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. Of other 'planes of social organization' mentioned by Geertz (1959), 'commonality of ascribed social status' is so intimately bound up with descent group structure and dynamics as not to constitute a wholly separate system. Voluntary organizations are only associated with temples when the administration of a temple is the very reason for the organization; temples do not mark voluntary organizations associated with agricultural (planting, harvesting, etc) and artistic activities. The modern state administrative structure is associated with temples only when its higher levels (kabupaten, province) act as successors of traditional states and take over responsibility for temples of regional and island-wide status.
2. Regional temples are included within the officially sanctioned category of dang kahyangan temples, which, according to one official publication (IHD 1980:1), total 714. The term etymologically refers to sanctuaries (kahyangan) associated with a particular holy man of distinction (dang). In practice, however, the term is analytically not very useful as it includes temples with different kinds of support systems. Many of these temples are indeed associated with holy men, particularly Mpu Kuturan and Danghyang Nirartha. The history of others is often obscure.
3. In the case of descent groups, pangamong relations with temples where the deity enshrined is not a deified ancestor must be distinguished from those with temples where a deified ancestor is enshrined.
4. For example, at times of misfortune or illness, a family/person will promise (masesanqi, masesandan) a particular deity certain offerings should the misfortune abate or the sick recover. If payment of such a promise takes place at a normal calendrical ceremony of a shrine or temple, the offerings are in addition to

those normally required at that ritual.

5. There are a number of other temples called Pura Madia, raising the possibility that the name once signified a particular kind of temple.
6. This small temple possesses only three little gedong, dedicated to Ratu Puseh ring Sekar (Bunga), Ratu Dalem Pucak Sari (the main shrine) and Ratu Ayu Kembar ring Batur. Little is known of the adat relationships among the villages that support this temple, save that Bunga is an offshoot of Daya, an old pre-Majapahit village. Main informant: Mangku Dalem, Klihan adat of Bunga (July 1983).
7. There are also temples called Pura Tulukbyu Madia and Pura Tulukbyu Batur. The latter, supported by Abang, formerly was situated on the flank of the mountain before being moved to its present location right next to Pura Batur. On Pura Tulukbyu, see IHD n.d.:155-160; IHD 1978; Soebandi in Bali Post 8 Dec.1982; Budiastira 1980; interviews at Pemuteran. It seems likely that at some point in time there was a division of responsibility, Abang taking care of the temple now at Batur (equivalent to a pura penataran), the other villages taking care of Pura Tulukbyu Luhur and Madia. The relationship among these villages is complex and needs further study. Pemuteran, although an old village, was to some extent subordinate to Abang (PB 901, dated 1384). Landih is also a pre-Majapahit village; and Pengotan is closely related to Pemuteran.
8. On Pura Pasar Agung, see Appendix B
9. Pura Watu Klotok, see IHD n.d.:255-59. Watu Klotok is also called Batu Mangecek (RPI 12.14, 15.27).
10. On Pura Kentel Gumi, see IHD n.d.:83-90; IHD 1980. Also mentioned in text called 'Prateka bhatara turun ring Bali' (K.63:35a-37a, K.360, K.1298, etc). On Tusan, see RPI 24.15-25.2.
11. See Hooykaas 1973:212-215 for an example of the process in the ritual involving nasi taur of major bhuta yadnya ceremonies, in which the groups of rice are gathered together in a single pile before each division of the series.
12. With so much confusion, in 1980 a research project carried out by the Institut Hindu Dharma was designed to bring order and consistency into the matter. The result of this is that now certain sets have official sanction. Centre-focussed and non-centre-focussed classification systems are not wholly discrete. Six, for example, could, I suppose, be viewed as four around the centre where the centre itself is dual in structure.
13. Among the many manuscripts of the Usana Bali (Hinzler 1983), see, e.g. K.1043:18b-19a.
14. The text says lor-kuloning Gunung Agung (K.1043:18b), a clear example of lor being equivalent to kaja.

15. The myth is the subject of a text variously called 'Babad Dewa ring Tolangkir' (Chronicle of the Gods of Gunung Agung) (HKS.2621), 'Puniki kawit guna Bali' (Origin of Balinese magic) (Museum Bali 4854/224.IIIb) or 'Tutur Andhakasa' (private collection of Dr.Mary Zurbachen).
16. On Pura Batur, see IHD n.d.:337-344; Rencana Induk...Pura Batur n.d.; Budiastara dkk.1979, Bali Post 1 Dec.1984; various unpublished documents; interviews with Jero Gede Duhuran and Jero Gede Alitan. An in-depth study remains to be written.
17. On this ritual, see Bali Post 1 Dec.1984; also various documents, courtesy of I Gusti Agung Mas Putra.
18. In a text called Indik Puja (HKS.1396:8.4-9.26, esp. 8.11-19), the Sadkahyangan are mentioned in an oath (cor) formula bearing a date Saka 1532 (1610 AD); the deities mentioned are those of Basuki (Besakih), Tumpuhyang, Batukaru, Yeh Jeruk, Wuluwatu, and Pejeng. Deities of major temples are mentioned in other oath formulas (e.g. LOr.13.344: lines 11-20).
19. Zoetmulder 1982:1590. PB 210, dated 983.
20. On these temples, see IHD n.d. and the various Rencana Induk (Master Plan) volumes, also Panitia 1984, Ardana 1979, Hooykaas 1964a:187-9.
21. On Pura Air/Yeh Jeruk, see IHD n.d.:65-72. On Pura Sakenan/Serangan, see Grader 1960. On Pura Pakendungan, see IHD n.d.:173-79. On Pura Andakasa, see Rencana Induk...Pura Andakasa.
22. E.g. LOr.13956:1b; LOr.14923:1a; HKS.3672:39b. Note that generally Mt.Bratan is an alternative name for Mt.Mangu, though here it refers to Mt.Watukaru.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. According to their respective Monografi Desa, Nongan has 121 temples (of which 35 belong to adat village of Pesaban), Rendang 66, and Ababi (east Karangasem) more than 100.
2. By prehistoric times in Bali, I refer to the period before the earliest known inscription of 882 (PB 001).
3. A detailed description of all shrines in each of the public temples is given in Appendix B, and should be referred to for full documentation. We can only speculate as to its original form: perhaps it was just a little temple, without terraces, just a single courtyard with a few seats or platforms of unworked stones, rather like some of the little 'megalithic' temples that one still finds on the remoter slopes of the mountain. Besides the pre-padmasana and padmasana stages of Pura Penataran Agung, one could also add a pre-meru stage. Although there are very good reasons to assume there was such a stage, there is no

documentation on what the temple may have looked like at that stage. See Chapter 10 for a brief discussion of the meru and the dating of its introduction into Bali.

4. At Pura Kiduling Kreteg, a structure called panyimpenan is similar in function to the kehen at Pura Penataran Agung, but in form is a three-roofed meru rather than a kehen.
5. Perhaps one might argue that the holding of the ritual of the gods 'descending' (nedunang bhatara) at the kehen supports the view that this structure was once a shrine rather than just a storehouse as it is now.
6. On the padmasana generally, see Hooykaas 1964a:93-140. It appears that the padmasana cult reached its full development only in Bali, for in old Java only structures that one might call 'proto-padmasana' have been found (see, e.g. Wibowo 1975).
7. There are many babad dealing with Danghyang Nirartha. See Rubinstein, forthcoming.
8. The triple padmasana at Besakih is, as far as I know, the only one of its kind in Bali. Padmasana having three seats on top of a single plinth are found in a number of temples (e.g. Pura Batur, Pura Puseh Tabola). By far the commonest, however, is the padmasana with a single seat, and this type is distributed widely throughout Bali, although many temples, including some quite important ones, do not have it. Only at major gentry and brahmanic residences is the padmasana found in house temples. The location of the padmasana within a temple is virtually always in the kaja-kangin corner with its back orientated towards Gunung Agung, drawing its legitimation, as it were, from the one at Besakih. The padmasana is the only shrine that does not always follow the orientation of the temple.
9. A passage in the Raja Purana (RPI 3.16-17) says "Lilajnana is the name of the padmasana, padma nglayang is the name of Gunung Basukih". See also RPI 7.9, 15.11; and RPII 3.11. On Lilajnana, see Zoetmulder 1982, sv.lila and jnana (the compound form is not listed); Hooykaas 1964a:222-23 (n.16-17) and Hooykaas 1966:46n.1.
10. It seems that the the three terms have been used interchangeably. Zoetmulder 1982 identifies Tripurusa as Brahma, Wisnu and Siwa (quoting, e.g., Agastyaparwa 384.26). KBI identifies both Tripurusa and Trisakti as Brahma, Wisnu and Siwa.
11. An expression I owe to Dr.J.J.Fox (1983).
12. RPI 13.30-32. This is a very confusing passage, for Pura Pangubengan possesses an 11-roofed meru (RPI 3.27), not one with seven roofs. Furthermore, its association with Naga Basuki is surprising. Naga Basuki is enshrined at Pura Basukihan which does have a seven-roofed meru. Should Pura Basukihan also be regarded as a kind of pangubengan? See also Appendix B.
13. RPI 13.26-29. The context of this passage forms a dualistic pair

with that of note 12 above.

14. Water for wangsuh pada at Pura Dalem Puri is obtained at Tirtha Suda/Sudamala, located in the ravine of the river immediately west of the temple. Sudamala means 'cleansed of impurities'.
15. See further discussion in Chapter 6.
16. According to a Besakih informant (I Gusti Aji Badung), the open end of the bamboo tube used to obtain/carry water for life-giving rituals is cut flat, while that for death rituals is pointed. A further contrast, according to Ibu Mas Putra (pers.comm.), is that holy water for life-giving rituals is obtained by moving the tube in the upstream direction, while for death rituals it is moved downstream with the current. At Tirtha Tunggang, she asserted, where the spring is only a drip, this contrast is obtained another way: for life-giving rituals the open end of the bamboo tube is at the 'upper' end, while for death rituals it is at the 'lower' end, 'upper' and 'lower' being in relation to the way the bamboo grows in nature.
17. E.g. the text called 'Usana Dewa' (HKS.2372:6.4-5). Note that this text originates from Tabanan and a similar one from Mengwi, in which areas, apparently, a seven-roofed meru is commonly found in pura puseh.
18. These are the ancestral shrines of the dadia Bali Mula which is probably one of the oldest descent groups at Besakih. Ancestral shrines in a pura puseh are also known elsewhere (e.g. Pura Puseh Kubakal). Perhaps the designation puseh arose in connection with this, and in turn this may be the source of the story as told in 'official' versions of the legend of Rsi Markandeya that Pura Basukihan is the oldest of the Besakih temples.
19. Cf. RPI 8.13-15 where I Dewa Basukihan is identified with Bhatara Sang Agawe Pita. Pita is a Sanskrit word for 'father', presumably here representing purified or deified ancestor, equivalent to pitra.
20. The only example I know of a temple clearly not a pura puseh but referred to as 'puseh' is a temple supported by a dadia Pande Mas at Budakeling, who at the same time possess a separate pura paibon/ibu/dadia.
21. The ceremony held there on Saturday-Umanis of the week Watugunung, the day honouring Saraswati, is directed towards the sacred inscriptions, not the kehen as shrine.
22. According to Ibu Mas Putra (pers.comm.) in some mountain villages in west central Bali (e.g. Tinggan) one finds small separate Pura Bukit on the upridge side of pura puseh. If this were once the case at Besakih, later becoming part of Pura Penataran Agung, it would further strengthen the argument that Pura Penataran Agung was once a pura puseh.
23. "At Besakih [to] the south (daksina) is the seat of I Dewa Ratu

- Kidul, pretiwi[,] a gedong" (RPI 3.19-20). A comma after pretiwi, as I have suggested, would strengthen this identification; another less likely interpretation is that the gedong be built directly on the ground, which is indeed the case.
24. See IHD 1984, Pura Dalem Puri:9-10 for an hypothesis attempting to explain this fact, ingenious but I think unnecessary, and partly based on misunderstandings.
 25. One cemetery with a pura dalem, located at Tanah Mel (Puregae) and originally associated with an offshoot settlement of Daya, need not concern us here, though now occasionally used by villagers who do not feel it necessary to bury their dead in one of the main Besakih cemeteries.
 26. This is the name commonly used now, but it should probably be called Pura Hyang Taluh, a view supported by the temple's pemangku (Mk.Rumi). Babad of the Arya Bang Sidemen descent group use Hyang Taluh as the name of Besakih's setra agung, one of the groups's important ancestors being named posthumously I Gusti Hyang Taluh after it. Staat Atji 1929 also calls the temple Pura Hyang Taluh. The temple is not mentioned in the Raja Purana. On its antiquities, see Widia 1979/80:71.
 27. According to a 1963 account (EDR63/S/3:22), people presented offerings there "to request of the deity the souls of the dead who are to be given the ngrorasin [post-cremation] ceremony".
 28. Older informants (Mk.Sukanadi, Mk.Rumi) remember this shrine being built. One pemangku called it a panqayanan(?) shrine.
 29. Further complicating the matter is that yet another temple at Besakih, Pura Dalem Panangsaran, also has characteristics of a pura dalem both in name and structure, while a long-disused cemetery is said to lie nearby. It is located near the residential area called Pande, a short distance west of the approach-way, some 200 metres kaja-kangin of Pura Dalem Puri. It is now supported by the Pande Besakih descent group. Its origin is obscure, but its name reminds one of the so-called tegal panangsaran associated with Pura Dalem Puri. Its day of celebration falls 30 days after the usaba of Pura Dalem Puri.
 30. E.g. Pura Kedarman Kutri, with its statue of Durga Mahisasuramardini, is not a pura dalem setra.
 31. Goudriaan & Hooykaas 1971:nos.308, 697. In the Anda Bhuwana (WHD 214-215:18-21, 217:27-30), for example, which tells the story of Uma's 'adultery' with the cowherd (Siwa), Uma or Giriputri as the story calls her is banished to earth where, following a five-part classification, she takes on different names according to her location, her residence likewise having different names. In the south she is called Durgadewati while her residence there is called Dalem Cungkub.
 32. Description is based on personal observations of ceremonies that took place on 15 June 1983 and 27-28 July 1983.

33. Linus 1983:25 says this is confined to a few places in Karangasem and Klungkung areas. IHD 1984, Pura Dalem Puri:10 says it is confined to "several families or areas in Bali".
34. To confirm definitely this assertion which I have heard from a number of religious experts would require an examination of all the many relevant lontar. IHD 1984, Pura Dalem Puri:10 mentions specifically that these rituals are not mentioned in the texts Purwa Yama Tattwa and Puja Pitra.
35. The informant was I Gusti Aji Arjawa.
36. According to I Gusti Aji Arjawa, the traditional measurements of the 'field of suffering' are said to be 81 (9X9) by 99 (9X11) the length of body with arms outstretched above the head. See IHD 1984, Pura Dalem Puri:9 for a largely unsubstantiated hypothesis as to the origin of the 'field of suffering'.
37. On Pura Batukaru, see Hooykaas 1964a:188, Map V, and Rencana Induk...Pura Batukaru. On Pura Ulun Danu Bratan, see Rencana Induk...Pura Ulun Danu Bratan, Proyek Penggalan (Inventarisasi Pura) 1981/82:51-58 (esp.p.52), and I Gusti Agung Gede Putra (pers.comm.). The temple complex of Pura Patali at Jatiluwih on the southeast slope of Gunung Batukaru also has a pura dalem comparable to those cited above (IHD 1982).
38. Not an uncommon name for a temple in Bali, e.g. at Manikaya (Tampaksiring), Sunantaya (Penebel), Trunyan (Kintamani), or for a village, e.g. Batu Madeg (Nusa Penida), Selamadeg (Tabanan). The idea implicit in the name, i.e. 'standing stone' as (temporary) abode of deity, is extremely widespread. This trait is often called 'megalithic', but such a characterization is little more than tautology. The origin of the concept may be very ancient indeed, but the occurrence of standing stones says little about the antiquity of such a sanctuary. See also Appendix B.
39. In Bali, the other prime example of Wisnu being to the left and Brahma to the right of Siwa or Iswara, is the sanggar kamulan, the ancestor shrine with three compartments that is found in every house temple and in some communal temples as well (Surpha 1977:26). Whereas the sanggar kamulan is orientated to the east (kangin) and the three Besakih temples upridge (kaja), in both cases the association of Wisnu and left, and that of Brahma and right, is the same. The identification of Wisnu and Brahma as lords of the cardinal north and south directions is discussed later.
40. See RPI 12.8-10, also 13.33-34.
41. A comparable arrangement is found with regards to the pura puseh of at least three west Karangasem villages, two of which, Selat and Tabola/Sidemen, are old villages having close relations with Besakih; the third, Padangaji, is a more recent village. At Selat the temples are called Pura Uma Sangiang Kangin/Kelod/Kauh and Pura Mudu (kaja); save for Pura Uma Sangiang Kangin which has its own ceremony, rituals at these temples are held in

conjunction with those at the pura puseh. At Tabola, the direction temples are called Pura Embang (kanqin), Pura Sega (kelod), Pura Pangalasan (kauh), and Pura Peneman Sari (kaja); rituals are held there only in conjunction with those of the pura puseh. At Padangaji, they are called Pura Dalem Kanguin, Pura Dalem Setra (kelod), Pura Dalem Jawi (kauh), and Pura Dalem Kreta (kaja); each temple has its own ceremony.

42. If we consider the four temples discussed above as an inner group of direction temples surrounding the center, there is at Besakih a hint, nothing more, of an outer group of direction temples. No written source, ancient or modern, documents this; the idea was first suggested to me by one of the official pemangku who admitted it was just speculation. According to this theory, corresponding to each temple of the inner group is another temple at some distance further out from the center. The reality is curiously close to this theory, as follows:

<u>Kaja</u> /east	-- Pura Gelap	-- Pura Pangubengan
<u>Kanqin</u> /south	-- Pura Kiduling Kreteg	-- Pura Tegal Suci (?)
<u>Kelod</u> /west	-- Pura Ulun Kulkul	-- Pura Pasimpangan
<u>Kauh</u> /north	-- Pura Batu Madeg	-- Pura Paninjoan

Of these four outer temples, only Pura Tegal Suci is problematic. The other three temples (Appendix B) are all public temples, and furthermore the pemangku of the inner temple of each direction is also responsible for ceremonies at the corresponding outer temple. Pura Tegal Suci, a tiny temple of just two structures, is not now considered a public temple, but instead is supported by a pamaksan made up of surrounding households and a segment of the dadia Pasek Brejo. It is sometimes associated with Mpu Siddhimantra, father of Ida Manik Angkeran. However there are indications that it once was a public temple, and according to one knowledgeable informant was looked after by the pemangku of Pura Kiduling Kreteg. Several informants thought that it had once been supported by Buleleng and that former laba pura lands may have passed into private hands. The temple is not mentioned in texts. If one accepts this theory, it means that nine temples are linked together, but such a nine-part classification would differ from the normal one which corresponds to the center, four cardinal directions and four intermediate directions (the so-called nawa-sanga system).

43. In the Payangan area, and perhaps elsewhere, temples called pura pangangon are functionally similar to Besakih's Pura Bangun Sakti (ARB 37:352-3, 362).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. On I Gusti Ngurah Kabayan Sakti settling at Besakih, see, among many, K.238:29b, HKS.3919:15.12ff, LOr.13616:18.2; SF-Bes.2:8a. On Arya Bang Sidemen generally, see Chapter 10.
2. In Geertz and Geertz 1975 it is not clear whether people not belonging to dadia within the village of residence are or are not attached to dadia centred upon other villages. This distinction is important in understanding the extent of dadia formation in a village, and the extent of in-migration.
3. Of these 48 families, 12 were members of the dadia Pasek Gelgel at Tarib, six were from dadia Pulasari at Pura, while the others were attached to dadia at Tegenan, Menanga, Sidemen, Pemuteran, Suhukan, Muncan, Selat, Linggasana, Geliang, Pesaban, Kesimpar, Badeg, Perasan, and Temukus.
4. Perhaps one might argue that the lack of such a temple supports the view that the existence of such a warga Arya Kapakistan is, in fact, a myth. See Schulte Nordholt 1986.
5. Jean-Francois Guernonprez (pers.comm.) says that there is no evidence for Bali-wide warga ideology of Pande title groups in the beginning of this century; in the case of the Pande Bratan, the warga was activated in the 1930's. For parallel developments in Java, see Sairin 1982, where the term trah is equivalent to the Balinese warga.
6. E.g. see Pugeh 1979 on developments at the village of Pedawa in Buleleng.
7. It is interesting that in both these cases, the dadia concerned are not affiliated with a more inclusive descent group. These kawitan shrines honour apical ancestors. In a sense these dadia are equivalent to warga so small that there is no differentiation into levels of descent group hierarchy. Other dadia at Besakih of a similar kind are Pasek Brejo and Pasek Ketewel. Although in other parts of Bali there may be dadia calling themselves Bali Mula or Pasek Ketewel, for instance, the dadia bearing these names at Besakih recognize no more inclusive descent group.
8. At the present time, the different pura padharmn are, with a couple of exceptions, separated from one another by walls. But old photographs suggest that formerly these temples were not separated by walls but instead were located within one large courtyard. See Langenn 1957:87.
9. Anandakusuma 1971:24, Widia 1979/80:57.
10. The warga Pulesari possess their own Babad Pulesari, of which many manuscripts exist. For an Indonesian translation of a verse version, see Budharta 1980.
11. The revolt of I Gusti Agung Maruti and his later defeat which marked the abandonment of Gelgel as the royal capital must be studied in detail before the dates of these important events can

be determined. Preliminary research, however, indicates that the defeat of Maruti and the fall of Gelgel occurred in 1686 (Schulte Nordholt:pers.comm.)

12. I have been unable to find reliable documentation as to the date of construction of the pura padharman. Babad Sukahet (K.1921:17-18) and Babad Kaba-kaba (19.23-20.5), the latter a very recent text, says they were built during the rule of Dalem Baturenggong, which I think is rather unlikely. Some informants suggest the time of Dalem Seganing. My own preference is that construction took place in early Klungkung times, certainly prior to the time the Raja Purana was compiled.
13. For babad of this branch of the ksatria dalem, see Sanggra 1975 and Agung 1976
14. This same Duda family also acts as caretakers of what is generally called Pura Padharman Arya Telabah (X), after the ancestor of a lesser branch of the Arya Kenceng descent group. Only the Duda family and its immediate offshoots, some 30 families, now support the temple. Further complicating the picture is the temple called Pura Padharman Telabah Apit Yeh (XI), looked after by a local branch of the Telabah group living at Apit Yeh (Manggis). Little is known of Arya Telabah and his descendants. There is no babad devoted to the Arya Telabah descent group. The Babad Dalem, however, mentions an Arya Telabah in relation to the revolt of Kyayi Pande Bhasa.
15. According to the temple's pemangku, I Gusti Mangku, the seven brothers were Arya Kenceng, Arya Sentong, Arya Beleteng, Arya Kuta Waringin, Arya Belog, Arya Kapakistan, and Arya Benculuk; he even had a printed genealogical chart to this effect. Babad vary on the matter, but there is a group that connects several arya lines into a large descent group with Airlangga as apical ancestor.
16. The temple is now also called Pura Padharman Ksatria Taman Bali. Ksatria Taman Bali have a special relation with Besakih's Pura Batu Madeg (see Appendix B), possess a pura kawitan at Pura Tirtha Arum and support other temples (Pura Taman Bali, Pura Dalem Suladri). Dalem Bakas, who is not the apical ancestor, is said to have achieved liberation (moksa) at Bakas, hence his name. The royal houses of Taman Bali, Nyalian and Bangli are all Ksatria Taman Bali. Their numerous babad and other sources have yet to be studied. The Pungakan groups concerned are the Pungakan Kuta and Pungakan Klaci, according to temple elder, Pak Kuthanagara. (Note that Pungakan is a title used by more than one decent group, cf. Pungakan Timbul who worship at Pura Padharman Dalem Gelgel). I am unaware of the relationship between Ksatria Taman Bali and the Pungakan groups involved. Dalem Keramas is said to have been a member of the Ksatria Taman Bali who was adopted by a Gusti Agung of Keramas. Conflict between real son and adopted son led to the death of them both. The pregnant wife of the adopted son fled and gave birth to the ancestor of the Dalem Keramas group.
17. On the Arya Belog descent group, see Babad Kaba-kaba; see also

Babad Dalem. The Arya Sukahet descent group is a branch of the larger group stemming from Arya Wangbang (not to be confused with Arya Wangbang, alias Ida Manik Angkeran); see Babad Sukahet (HKS.2925).

18. A notice-board identifying the padharman was erected just prior to Ekadasa Rudra of 1979. According to group leaders (I Gusti Made Oka and I Gusti Ngurah Oka of Banjar Sengguan, Klungkung), this small descent group has a pura kawitan at Banjar Celepik, Tojan. A babad, mentioning Ida Sri Mpu Bhujangga, is kept in this temple. The group also supports a temple called Pura Penataran Raja Purana (Banjar Sengguan, Klungkung) where a group of pre-Majapahit inscriptions are kept (Budiastra 1980). It seems the group considers this latter temple as panyawangan with regard to its padharman at Besakih; both ceremonies fall on full moon of tenth month.
19. There is not yet a satisfactory study of this very interesting descent group, nor of the relationship between Bhujangga Waisnawa and bhujangga groups in some mountain villages (and that of Note 22). Bhujangga Waisnawa are concentrated in Badung and Tabanan; their pura kawitan is Pura Pucak Sari near Jatiluwih on Gunung Batukaru. The group has its own high priest (sulinggih) called rsi bhujangga who is consecrated as such by another rsi (cf. with sengquhu who is consecrated by a pedanda or brahmana high priest, a distinction not always understood by many Balinese; cf. Hooykaas 1964b). Numerous texts either deal with the bhujangga or originate from them (e.g. Hooykaas 1964a:184-5).
20. Examples of such shrines are plentiful, e.g. see temple plans in volumes of Penelitian Sejarah Pura (IHD 1978-84) and Museum Bali volumes on inscriptions. Separate temples, however, are rare; at Muncan there is a Pura Panyarikan supported by the adat village. The blacksmith shrine at Candi Sுகු may reflect a similar tradition in old Java.
21. This custom goes back at least to the turn of the century (SF-Bes.3:29b; cf. HKS.3828:44.6-10) and probably much longer.
22. On the Pande generally, there are a large number of babad and other texts (see Guernonprez 1984). There does not appear to be a babad devoted to the Pande Bangke Maong or Pande Besakih. Bangke maong means the 'corpse' (bangke) 'that grows mould' (?) (maong); the name most probably refers to an ancient burial practice (cf. KBW IV.1066-7; also the name of a kris blade, KBW III.35, sv. santa). A transcription of a Prasasti Pande from Besakih (SF-Bes.4) does not mention the term Bangke Maong.
23. Generally speaking, penataran is a term rarely used for ancestor temples. However, Jean-Francois Guernonprez (pers.comm.) informs me that it is not exceptional for the term pura penataran to be used to refer to a pura dadia belonging to a Pande group, although he suggests it may perhaps be recent.
24. The Arya Jelantik descent group is a branch of the Arya Kapakistan group, via Arya Nyuhaya and Arya Cacaran. See Babad Blahbatuh (Berg 1932, Sugriwa 1958).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. See Hooykaas 1975 for a brief discussion of the panca yadnya in India and Bali. Further study is needed to determine the role of this system in earlier times.
2. Staal 1979a, 1979b, 1982, 1983. Frits Staal, an Indologist and philosopher, brings to a study of ritual a unique perspective, stemming from his research into Sanskrit grammar and Vedic ritual. His interest in the latter resulted in a mammoth study of the Vedic Agnicayana ritual, one of the most remarkable ritual traditions in the history of man, both on account of its great antiquity and its voluminous textual commentary. It was such Vedic rituals that Hubert and Mauss studied in their analysis of 'Sacrifice'. Studies of Sanskrit grammar and Vedic ritual, as Staal points out and as the ancient Indians were themselves well aware, have a lot in common, for both developed as disciplines auxiliary to the Veda. Staal (1979a:132) quotes Patanjali: "There are indeed linguistic expressions which are never used.... Even though they are not used, they have of necessity to be laid down by rules, just like protracted sattras." Sattras are formal rituals, unperformed and unperformable, stretching over a thousand years. Staal (1982:34) says the sattras "give expression to the recursive procedures which constitute the essence of the ritual of the Sruta Sutras, and without which they would constitute not a science but a mere inventory." It is this inherent formality that gives to these disciplines their 'scientific' character, in Staal's view. Staal illustrates ritual syntax through analysis of Vedic ritual, especially as detailed in the Sruta Sutras, elucidating 'ritual phase structure rules' and devising a schema or notation to express them. He even goes on to speculate that the syntax of language may have originated from ritual syntax, for the existence of ritualized animal behaviour suggests a biological foundation.
3. Staal 1979b:4 quotes Isadora Duncan: "If I could tell you what it meant there would be no point in dancing it."
4. This is not to presuppose that Balinese ritual is purely Indic, though Indic elements are clearly important in it. Only when such formal analyses have been applied to a number of ritual traditions, and comparisons made, might one be able to talk of 'ritual families', as it were. One would indeed expect to find that there are, as the evidence suggests, certain family resemblances between formal aspects of Indian and Balinese ritual, but whether these are parallel to or different from those of, say, 'Old Indonesian' ritual remains to be seen.
5. In the Indic tradition generally ritual language consists of mantras, recited in a special manner, often in a language (Sanskrit) that is not the spoken language of the performer, and may often be unintelligible to him. In regional traditions ritual language may be entirely or partially in the regional language, often an archaic form of it, which for the most part the practitioner understands. Some mantras, on the other hand, especially the bija mantras, are in fact meaningless in a normal semantic sense. Staal argues that "since the rites continued to

be performed even when the accompanying mantras are no longer understood, knowledge of the original connection between the two can not be a necessary feature of ritual. Similarly, if rites at one time had a purpose it does not follow that that purpose is a necessary feature of the performance of the rite" (Staal 1982:280).

6. Ask a Vedic ritualist why a ritual is performed and he will answer, "we act according to the rules because this is our tradition (parampara)" (Staal 1979b:4).
7. The sengguhu officiates at large public bhuta yadnya ceremonies, e.g. caru kasanga, Panca Walikrama, Ekadasa Rudra. A dukuh officiates at Ababi's unique mouse cremation.
8. According to Jean-Francois Gueronprez, a member of the Brahmana Kemenuh, for instance, does not ask for holy water from a pedanda belonging to a lower brahmana group. In Bali, there is no loss of status of a pedanda who becomes court priest (purohita) of a ruler, as apparently is sometimes the case in India. On the contrary, in Bali purohita are usually priests of renown.
9. The only example I know forms an appendix to a genealogy of the brahmana buda, but this example has little time depth. Also cf. Goudriaan & Hooykaas 1971:463-470 (No.775). Priestly succession is recorded in old Khmer inscriptions. It seems to be of far greater importance in Tibetan tradition.
10. The priestly succession of rsi bhujangga has a long tradition in which a special kind of bell called bajra uter is used in the key rite of nuhun pada. Successions of mpu pande and mpu pasek may not be very old; again, more research is needed.
11. The root winten means 'diamond' in Old Javanese, but it is uncertain whether this 'diamond' is in any way related to the 'diamond' (vajra) of Tantrism.
12. It is interesting to compare the relationship between pemangku and pedanda with that between priest and bishop in the Christian church. Although the comparison is not really apt, the differences are illuminating. Firstly, bureaucratically, whereas the bishop has administrative control over priests in his charge, there is no comparable bureaucracy at all in Balinese Hinduism. Secondly, in matters of ritual. In the Anglican Church the bishop can take any ceremony that a priest takes, whereas on the other hand, there are certain ceremonies (confirmation, ordination -- in other words, consecration ceremonies) which a bishop takes that a priest can not. In Bali, there are likewise certain ceremonies that only a pedanda can take, which include both consecration rituals and important mortuary rituals. Furthermore, among Christian ceremonies (baptism, marriage, mass) that both priest and bishop may take, the ceremony is one and the same, as laid down in the Book of Common Prayer; the performance, the ritual words, are the same. In Bali, it is quite the contrary. The rituals of the pemangku and the pedanda are quite different, at least in their sacred words and actions, though in such respects as idiom of ritual they show either

continuities or similarities. In a sense, although the Christian mass has levels (said mass, sung mass, high mass), they are more levels of decoration and not really comparable to Balinese levels of ritual elaboration.

13. As far as Pura Penataran Agung was concerned, the shake-up was total and appears to have been at least partly related to village politics. Of the three descent groups that traditionally provided pemangku for Pura Penataran Agung, Arya Bang Sidemen group seems to have abdicated its paramount position by having only the one pemangku who looked after Pura Dalem Puri, Pasek Brejo lost out entirely (and may have done so prior to this), while Pasek Kayu Selem retained a pemangku who was given charge of Pura Gelap instead. The former pemangku of Pura Gelap, from the Tangkas (I) group, took over Pura Penataran Agung together with a pemangku from Dukuh Seganing. Later the Arya Bang Sidemen divided its responsibility to temples 'below the steps' by providing a second pemangku who looked after Pura Ulun Kulkul group. These changes necessitated a slight alteration to the sitting places of the pemangku at their nanding ajang ritual. The two Arya Bang Sidemen pemangku retain their positions, although neither is responsible for Pura Penataran Agung. The Pasek Kayu Selem pemangku retained his position. The Pasek Brejo pemangku was replaced by the one from Dukuh Seganing, while the Tangkas pemangku usually conducts the ritual. The other positions remained unchanged. A similar change in relationship between pemangku titles and descent groups may also have taken place when members of the Arya Bang Sidemen group gained the two positions of highest status, assuming that the nine-pemangku system predates this rather than perhaps being developed at that time.
14. The ritual includes writing power syllables on the tongue and other parts of the pemangku's body, and the touching of chicken, duck, and piglet to the candidate's body as an act of purification (pasolsol).
15. It occurred in the course of Bhatara Turun Kabeh in 1970 when eleven pemangku received re-consecration in the presence of pedanda, religious officials, and a representative of the Dewa Agung of Klungkung. Each pemangku was given a lontar certificate (piagem).
16. Consecration of non-official pemangku does not involve the ritual at the bale pegat, while the ritual of natak tiis is held at the temple which will be in his care. Status differentiation between official and non-official pemangku is also illustrated in the different lengths of the period of pollution (sebel) following a relative's death. A non-official pemangku is polluted for the same time as his fellow descent group members. An official pemangku, on the other hand, is polluted only if there is a death in his own courtyard or a death of a very close family member such as wife or child, and even then the period of pollution is shorter than for other members of the descent group. An official pemangku makes efforts to avoid places of pollution; he does not visit a house where the body of a deceased person is not yet buried, nor does he attend ceremonies at the graveyard. Besides

the death of a close family member, the birth of a child also pollutes an official pemangku. When an official pemangku purifies himself after being in a state of pollution, he may request a pedanda to carry out the ritual. The official pemangku's right to dispensation from or lessening of periods of pollution derives from his responsibility towards the public temple in his care. A pedanda has similar dispensation.

17. Maselangin kawas (loan the kawas) is centred on the bale kawas and bale agung. During his life as pemangku he received kawas during the kawas or ajang rituals, now after death he must repay. The usual nine kawas are laid out in the bale agung, while other kawas are presented at certain shrines, including the padmasana. Offerings are at sorohan pebangkit level. Comparable to the official pemangku's maselangin kawas is the maselangin sampelan ritual of the priest-healer (mangku balian), which takes place within Pura Basukihan, and requires a guling babi.
18. Brahman priests, for example, control such great temples of regional and all-India status as Gaya and Puri.
19. The comparable nuhur tirtha ritual at the sea at Klotok requires a black pebangkit.
20. Here I am not concerned with the meaning of offerings; those essential to the pemangku's ritual are discussed in Chapter 7. Considering their enormous importance, it is perhaps a little surprising that the significance or meaning of many of them is little understood. Texts on ritual merely give lists of offerings for the ceremonies discussed, and even those texts that discuss offerings themselves, rather than rituals, tend to list only the ingredients. Formerly, and still to the average villager, this mattered little. But in recent years with the spread of education, the meaning of offerings is being increasingly questioned, and some writers have attempted interpretations. Such studies, still in their infancy, will gradually throw more light on the meaning of offerings. There are, however, a few brahmanic texts that do give interpretations of offering ingredients or components. For example, the sacred incense woods menyan, majegau and candana are said to be symbols of Siwa, Sadasiwa, and Paramasiwa; salt is a symbol of Sang Hyang Baruna, and so on. On offerings generally, see Brinkgreve 1984, Mas Putra 1982.
21. In one interpretation these three categories are a symbolic representation of the body of the deity, shrine offerings representing the head, core offerings the trunk of the body, while the caru represents the lower part of the body (I Gusti Agung Gede Putra, pers.comm.).
22. The list in Fig. 6.3 is typical for Besakih but it is not unvarying. One specialist may include a pair of a particular offering rather than just one, or regard as optional an offering which another expert regards as essential. Despite this, variation is essentially minor in nature.
23. The parts of the carcase needed are as follows:

- head (tendas)
- the four feet (suku)
- tail (kiput)
- breastbone (balung tangkar) -- the lower section, not the whole bone.
- ribs (balung iqa) -- two portions are used, one with two rib bones, the other with three, both without skin.
- backbone (balung qiing) -- four vertebrae are taken in a manner called ngutang nuduk, 'throw away' one, 'take' one.
- coccyx (bokongan)
- flap (babi) -- a cut from the side, complete with skin.
- tip of the stomach (?) (bol)

24. At a pedanda ritual, the purificatory offerings are called eteh-eteh panglukatan or, at a higher level of elaboration, eteh-eteh padudusan which is itself further divided into 'small' and 'large' versions (padudusan alit/aqung). Eteh-eteh panglukatan always includes a prayascita and durmangqala. For larger pedanda rituals additional purificatory offerings vary with the pedanda officiating, but often include the use of purificatory animals (chicken, duck, piglet) and such offerings as garuda and pungu-pungu. The pedanda's 'seating' offerings serve as ritual payment for his taking the ceremony, and include suci and galahan offerings. Sesayut (also called tebasan) offerings are multitudinous in their variety, differences often being so minor that save for those frequently made the offerings expert must refer to her book of notes or to a lontar text dealing with sesayut. At the largest pedanda rituals these include such sesayut as pulakerti, baqia, panca-lingga, dirgayusa bumi, and so on. Also at elaborate pedanda rituals one encounters such amazing show-pieces of Balinese offering art as the sarad and bebali which, like so many offerings, symbolize the universe. The sarad is made of rice cakes, and the bebali of pig fat and pig meat.
25. On the suci, see Mas Putra 1982:35-44.
26. Varieties of bananas are pisang gancan (east), pisang udang (south), pisang mas (west), and pisang kayu/lumut (north). Varieties of sugar-cane are tebu ratu (east), tebu malem (south), tebu rejuna (west), tebu gadang (north).
27. On the catur, see Mas Putra 1982:46-51.
28. On this offering, see Mas Putra 1982:44-46.
29. In the discussion here I leave aside the context of the caru, whether it is the main element of a bhuta yadnya ceremony or just an element within a ceremony of one of the other categories of ritual.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1. It is the formal sequential or syntactic structure that Staal concentrates on in his works. What I term 'idiom', Staal, I think, would not consider as a necessary element of ritual but as part of implied mythology.
2. For example, the story was told to me about one official pemangku who, having to perform next day an elaborate ceremony of sorohan pebangkit level for which he did not know the mantras, dreamed that a divine figure came to him and told him he need have no worries about using atur Bali, for he (the divine figure) would be present to ensure the ritual was successful.
3. Transcriptions of these two texts are now in public collections: LOr 16.816 Tukur Usana Bali, Coll.I Wayan Rianta (used also by Mk.Puja) and HKS.3708 Tukur Sangkul Putih, Coll.Mk.Rumi/Mk.Sridana, pemangku of Pura Batu Madeg. At least two other official pemangku, Mk.Sukanadi and Mk.Kanten, are said to own lontars of the pemangku ritual. The only other text known to me outside Besakih that contains a pemangku ritual similar to that of the Besakih texts is K.360 (leaves 28b-37b) Usana Jawa, originating from Kesiman (Denpasar). The ritual in this text is somewhat briefer, and the order of acts and mantras is quite different. Hooykaas 1977:2-3 (Table 1) knew of this Usana Jawa text (his Y), but since it differed from his other texts, he made little use of it.
4. Here I would like to express my special thanks to Mangku Puja, official pemangku of Pura Kiduling Kreteg, who discussed his liturgy with me on several occasions. The order of actions and the mantras of the pemangku ritual discussed below is that of his ritual.
5. This mantra is also used to make tirtha pabresihan. See Sesanan Pemangku (c.1975):16.
6. Cf. LOr 16.816:28.4-6
7. Mk.Puja's mantra is part of a longer Sanskrit mantra used by the pedanda siwa with similar intent. See Hooykaas 1966:114-5 (S' lines 2-3, 6). Translation from Goudriaan & Hooykaas 1972:no.082.
8. Cf. LOr 16.816:11.15-16. This comparison illustrates the typical variation that occurs in uttering even short mantras.
9. Puspadanta is an epithet of Siwa (Zoetmulder 1982).
10. Cf. LOr 16.816:11.19. Translation from Hooykaas 1977:76 (24b).
11. Cf. LOr 16.816:11.17-18
12. LOr 16.816:28.7-29.8; Hooykaas 1977:39-41 (8-9). The mantra pangider asep, which is partly similar, is found in LOr 16.816:15.4-20 and Hooykaas 1977:35, 39-40 (5C, 8, 8A). The opening lines are echoed in a mantra from the Lawu area of

Central Java (Soehari 1926:75).

13. LOr 16.816:11.20. This is an example of a single mantra in the text being split into two separate mantras in performance
14. LOr 16.816:12.5-6. Mk.Puja's longer version is as follows: ONG awang awang wung wung tutug teka ring akasa betel ring pretiwi, tepung dadap tepung tawar anilah taru sakti katiba ring bebanten, wastu punah ilang papa klesa ning banten, sidir astu astu ya nama swaha. Cf. Hooykaas 1977:64 (19d).
15. On the lis, see Hooykaas-van Leeuwen Boomkamp 1961. Related to the lis is structure but not in purpose is the pring, which is fashioned from sugar-palm leaf and which has even more components. Usually pring comes in pairs, one male and one female, and is fashioned to resemble human figures. They generally accompany ceremonies requiring a buffalo (e.g. titi mamah). Illustration in Stuart-Fox 1982:52.
16. LOr 16.816:13.1-4; Hooykaas-van Leeuwen Boomkamp 1961:17-18 (IV). This work gives various mantras for the lis.
17. Cf. Sesanan Pemangku (c.1975):21; Hooykaas 1977:64 (18). There are a great number of panglukatan mantras.
18. Cf. Hooykaas 1966: 48-49 (Cb18), 56-57 (H9), 100-101 (Zb3). In all cases Hooykaas translated the first line with the Latin phrase 'Omne quod felix, faustum fortunatumque sit'.
19. LOr 16.816:17.8-19.2. Cf. Hooykaas 1977:35-36 (5D)
20. LOr 16.816:15.4-17. Cf. mantra panyereq asep.
21. LOr 16.816:22.7-23.8; Hooykaas 1974:154-155 for text and initial translation, Hooykaas 1977:74 (23) for emended translation.
22. LOr 16.816:12.2-4
23. Cf. LOr 16.816:12.17-19. The latter part of the mantra is known as paneges. This mantra has parallels to a Sanskrit stanza the pedanda siwa employs in presenting the peras (Hooykaas 1977:98 (49), Goudriaan & Hooykaas 1971: no.621). For other peras mantras, see Goudriaan & Hooykaas 1971: nos.482, 846; Hooykaas 1973:222-223 (also 181-183,n.2.3); Hooykaas 1977:79-80 (26). On the offering itself, see Mas Putra 1982:26 and WHD 40 (Jan.1971):3-4.
24. For mantra pebangkit, see LOr 16.816:25.1-9 and Hooykaas 1977:72-73 (21). For mantra gelarsanga, see LOr 16.816:24.17-22 and Hooykaas 1977:73-74 (22).
25. Hooykaas 1966:88-89 (Ta3-4), Hooykaas 1977:53-54 (13f), 55 (14b); Goudriaan & Hooykaas 1971:258-259 (no.417.1).
26. Hooykaas 1966:98-99 (Yc10-11), Hooykaas 1977:70 (20r); Goudriaan & Hooykaas 1971:no.453.2).

27. Goudriaan & Hooykaas 1971:no.022, 664; Hooykaas 1966:108-9 (K'), 94-95 (Xa); Hooykaas 1977:52-53 (13a).
28. Goudriaan & Hooykaas 1971:42-44 (no.043.1)
29. Goudriaan & Hooykaas 1971:60-61 (no.082), Hooykaas 1966:114-115 (S').
30. LOr 16.816:25.10-18
31. LOr 16.816:26.1-11.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 8

1. On Balinese calendrical systems, see Goris 1960c; also Damais 1951-52.
2. Within a lunar month of 29-30 days, kajeng-kliwon (every 15 days) falls twice, once during the waxing moon (kajeng-kliwon enyitan) and again during the waning moon (kajeng-kliwon uwudan). At Besakih, aci pangangon falls on kajeng-kliwon enyitan of the month Jyesta or Sada.
3. Besakih rituals follow the printed calendar (of Bangbang Rawi), but when I was there (1983-84) certain pemangku claimed it was a month fast. Karangasem experts often seem to be a month behind fellow experts from Klungkung and elsewhere. To my knowledge two or three Besakih pemangku determine the moons by astronomical observations interpreted according to a calendrical text called (by Mangku Puja) Wariga Surya Sewana. For example, in the first month (Kasa) at dawn the first star of the Pleiades (kartika) is just appearing. In the second month (Karo) more of the Pleiades is visible and the 'Plough' is just appearing. In the fourth month (Kapat) Pleiades and Plough are overhead at dawn. In the tenth month (Kadasa) Pleiades and the moon come together. An interesting example of differences of opinion in lunar reckoning, that has a bearing on Besakih, is found in Notulen Paroeman Kerta Negara 9 May 1932, p.8.
4. The word usaba is derived from Sanskrit utsava. See Gonda 1975.
5. For further details on these rituals and the shrines where they are held, see Appendix B.
6. Formerly, if the Raja Purana reflects ancient practice, special caru were held every lunar month in recognition of each month's named demon. This passage (RPI 20.30-22.3) is entitled pabubutan (from buta, demon), 'concerning demons'.
7. Staat Atji 1929:nos.591, 593; Notulen Paroeman Kerta Negara 10 Dec.1935. This 1935 document lists several ceremonies that not only are no longer held, but that are not even remembered!
8. Of all the deities of Bali, Bhatari Sri needs the least introduction. As goddess of rice, she is the very popular deity

of Sunda and Java as well as Bali, and beyond. Doubtless the Bhatari Sri as honoured in Indonesian ritual is an autochthonous rice goddess that encompassed the Dewi Sri of the Indian tradition. Sri means 'prosperity, good fortune', which depends above all on the success of the rice harvest. In some myths, after her death a rice plant grew from her navel. In Balinese brahmanic texts, Sri is the spouse of Wisnu, and is often identified with other great goddess figures (Gonda 1982). Her spouse is also often identified as Bhatara Rambut Sadana, who thus may be considered an aspect of Wisnu. In many temples in Bali there is a pair of adjacent shrines honouring this divine couple, the roof of the shrine to Bhatari Sri being capped by an upturned earthenware dish, that to Rambut Sadana having a pointed form, together symbolizing male and female. This pair of deities is also called Magata-Magati in some texts (HKS. 3755:23.6).

At Besakih, in the Pura Penataran Agung the nine-roofed meru honouring I Dewa Kubakal is closely associated with Bhatari Sri, while the 11-roofed meru next to it honours I Dewa Manik Makentel who is identified with Rambut Sadana. However the main temple honouring Bhatari Sri is the small though important Pura Banua where the major agricultural rituals of usaba buluh and usaba ngeed take place, the latter celebrating the marriage of Bhatari Sri and Rambut Sadana. On Pura Banua, see Appendix B.

9. The word pretiwi (Skt. prthivi) means earth, ground, land. Through its complementary relationship with akasa, sky or heaven, it is an element of an important dual classification. This linked pair is personified as Ibu Pretiwi and Bapak Akasa, Mother Earth and Father Sky. (As one of the five elements or panca-mahabhuta, it links up with the system of five-part symbolic classification).
Ibu Pretiwi is honoured in every ceremony, for the libation (tetabuhan) of water, palm wine and arak that are poured onto the ground is directed towards her. Temples, however, are not dedicated to her, though in many temples throughout west Karangasem and elsewhere in Bali, there is a low altar (bebaturan) which is said to honour either Ibu Pretiwi or the naga Anantabhoga representing the seven levels of the earth. Around Besakih this low altar is often simply called dasar, referring to the 'foundation' or 'base' of the world. There is no corresponding shrine honouring Bapak Akasa by name, though through the relationship with the god of Gunung Agung and Raditya the sun god, the sanggar agung and the padmasana may be said to play this role. The dasar shrine and the sanggar agung are generally next to one another in the temple's kaja-kangin corner, though alligned at right angles to one another. Of Besakih's public temples, only Pura Dalem Puri is associated with Ibu Pretiwi, though her role there is of less significance now than that of Bhatari Durga.
10. For a discussion of the naga, see Appendix B, sv. Pura Basukihan.
11. Pura Batu Madeg is the sanctuary of the god Wisnu, lord of the waters, and so in days past, when the tips of plants were withering from the drought, a paneduh ritual was held there. At its most elaborate, such a ceremony required offerings of a

sorohan bebangkit, and the head of a deer (kidang) was carried around the temple in a kind of dance. According to this temple's pemanqku, mice droppings on one particular shrine (bale tegeh) is a sure sign that a plague of mice is infesting some area; sometimes people from Bangli still come to request divine intervention to stop the plague.

At Pura Kiduling Kreteg there are shrines for three deities with power over specific field pests: Ratu Bagus Cili (11-roofed meru) over mice, Ratu Bagus Bulusan (seven-roofed meru) over birds, and Ratu Bagus Swa (five-roofed meru) over locusts and insects pests. As the temple pemanqku explained it, paneduh rituals are all very similar. At the shrine of the deity chosen according to the affliction, the worshipper presents a basic group of offerings together with a specific additional substance or sarana ('means') which, blessed by the deity invoked, embodies the deity's power over that affliction. These substances vary: against mice, nyahnyah gringsing (cake made of rice fried without oil); against birds, jit aru (cone of cooked rice from the point of the rice-steaming basket, with red hibiscus flowers stuck into it); against insects, bubur buyuk (as at usaba nyungsung). After the ceremony at the temple, the specific empowered substance, holy water (wangsuh pada), and bits of the purificatory holy water sprinkler (lis or buu) are taken back to the afflicted fields where they are usually carried round clockwise three times before being scattered around.

Deities of certain other shrines in public temples also possess power over specific agricultural pests. At Merajan Kanginan, at the shrine honouring Mpu Bradah, paneduh rituals used to be held against ant plague, with tepung buah gangga (powdered gangga fruit) the special substance (EDR 1963/S/3:18). Mpu Bradah's power over ants is well known from the story of his meeting with Mpu Kuturan when, impatient at waiting, he ordered red ants to disturb the meditating sage. At Pura Bangun Sakti, the naga Anantabhoga is believed to have power over tiny worms called candang that causes the rice plant to wither and die, doubtless owing to the similarity between serpent and worm (ulet) (EDR 1963/S/3:18; KBW I.571; KBI). Ratu Manik Makentel, enshrined in Pura Penataran Agung, is thought to have power over geeng, a general name for varieties of hairy caterpillar (EDR 1963/S/3:5; KBW IV.629-30; KBI).

12. Since about 1940 paneduh rituals have gradually become rarer and are now seldom held. Formerly, not only Besakih villagers but people, usually a group of farmers or the members of an irrigation society, sometimes from distant areas, would come to Besakih to perform paneduh rituals. Farmers from Karangasem tended to go to Pura Kiduling Kreteg, those from Bangli to Pura Batu Madeg. Paneduh, particularly those against mice, are still occasionally held at these two larger temples.
13. Such temples include Pura Tegal Suci, Pura Dalem Nangka, Pura Panti Keladian, and Pura Panti Puregae.
14. The size of each family's celebration, in terms of the number of offerings, depends on the wealth of the family, the importance it gives to the ceremony, whether the trees have begun producing (if trees are young offerings tend to be fewer), and the number of

separate orchard plots. A daanan is probably commonest, though some farmers present the larger dandanan. One friend who owned two large orchards presented dandanan (guling bawi) at each, so many offerings that his wife and several friends were busy several days preparing them. The ceremony was held in the orchard, and holy water, first panglukatan from the pemangku, then at the end wangsuh pada, were sprinkled around. A distinctive feature of tumpek pangataq rituals are special palm-leaf objects (gantungan, tipat taluh, etc) tied to the trees. The purpose of this island-wide ritual is to request that all useful trees be healthy and productive.

15. First the soil was ploughed and often ploughed again, then the ground prepared by drawing over it a series of special implements: a plasah, essentially a board held in an upright position, to make it level; a lampit to clear away left-over weeds; and finally a gabag rangkep to clean and break up the soil even further. These implements were all cow-drawn. Furrows were made using an implement called a garu.
16. Each day of the five-day and seven-day weeks has its own numerical value, called urip. The farmer calculated the combined total of the two urip of his day of birth according to these two weeks, then added a further one to this total. This new total was equivalent to the combined urip of certain other days, on any of which he could commence planting, i.e. combined urip of day of planting = combined urip of day of birth + 1.
17. The boundaries of the pepuun were marked by stakes of bamboo, the number of stakes being equal to the combined urip of the day of planting (or sometimes just the urip of the day in the seven-day week). Inside the pepuun such plants as taro (keladi), marigold (gumitir), pidpid and turmeric (kunyit) were planted. Normally a farmer prepared a pepuun only when he began cultivating the fields for the first time, re-using it thereafter without further change.
18. These offerings included ajuman, tipat kelanan, and tapakan, together with special rice cakes (blayaq, bantal, ketimus). At the four corners of the field(s) he placed segehan alit.
19. For this ritual, a temporary shrine was set up, the leaves of young sugar-palm that decorated it being tied together above it. Besides the basic group of offerings (ajuman, tipat kelanan etc) were special 'meat' offerings, called pesan, made with shrimp, dragonfly, grasshopper, cricket, etc. (the 'meat' is added to spices, grated coconut etc, wrapped in banana leaf and cooked over hot coals) and various kinds of rice cakes (blayaq, bantal, ketimus, kongkang, sumping). Solasan were placed at the corners of the field(s).
20. Communal agricultural rituals at public temples held according to the wuku calendar are insignificant compared with those of the lunar cycle, due to the lack of correlation between wuku cycle and rice growing cycle. The only wuku cycle rituals that can be characterized as agricultural are those celebrated at Pura Banua on Friday-Umanis of the week Kelau and on Coma-Pon of the week

Sinta (Coma Ribek), both days being associated with Bhatari Sri in wuku lore generally (e.g. in text Sundarigama, in Suandra 1977:5). The latter is sometimes called dagingin pulu (fill the rice-bin) and the former odalan Bhatari Sri. For some 20 years these were never held.

21. For further details of these agricultural rituals, see Appendix C.
22. One can only speculate why such an important ceremony was not 'up-graded' into a pedanda ritual, but the fact is that it never was. There is no prohibition on pedanda officiating there, for they do so at private rituals, and at the ceremony there held in conjunction with Bhatara Turun Kabeh.
23. On Besakih's cemeteries, see Chapter 4. The meaning of pemangkang is uncertain.
24. The purpose is derived from the meaning of the term. Sungga is a 'sharp pointed piece of bamboo (stuck aslant in the ground with the point upwards, to trap or kill animals' (Zoetmulder 1982), and, one might add, humans (Wangbang Wideya 2.28a), and by extension, non-material beings. Pulung means 'turning around, spinning' (Zoetmulder), which is an apt description of the sungga on the bamboo arch at Besakih, which consist of crossed stakes stuck through the bamboo crosspiece, thus pointing in all four directions. For this ceremony, seven crossed stakes are placed along the length of the bamboo.
25. The bull should rightly be a banteng selem batu which is said to be black overall except for the legs which have white stripes. Banten selem sukuruyung is black overall including the legs.
26. In 1983 when the ceremony was held outside Pura Dalem Puri, the bull was accompanied by a dandanan and the five chickens by a daanan. The following year when it was held at the 'three-ways' an additional sorohan pabangkit gelarsanga was placed on a temporary platform, together with a suci placed on a sanggar surya.
27. I have not seen these ceremony, only held in 1985 for the first time in years. It is said to consist of another large caru requiring a bull and a goat, accompanied by offerings of the sorohan pabangkit gelarsanga level. I am uncertain whether the kukul is sounded symbolically, as at oath-taking ceremonies, by touching it with a green banana.
28. Since this is such an important ceremony, I give fuller details of offerings (for plan of temple, see Appendix B):
gedong (Bh.Durga) -- suci 2 (ardanareswari), pragembal, parayunan 2, peras, panyeneng, tapakan palinggih, pasucian, sekar taman, tiganan 2.
panggunan -- sorohan pabangkit gelar sanga, plus babi guling, grantangan/geglindiran.
bale pelik, bale piyasan, hebaturan -- pelayuan (on each)
palinggih Prajapati -- suci 1, peras, panyeneng, jit aru.
 The family of the pemangku of Pura Dalem Puri prepares all the

offerings, beginning some two weeks before the day of celebration. Three days prior to the usaba, matur piuning (announcement) offerings are presented at the temple's shrines, at Pura Penataran Agung (padmasana and shrines to Ratu Bukit), and at most of the other public temples. On the afternoon before the ceremony the pemangku's family take the offerings to the temple and place them in their respective shrines so as to avoid the incredible crush of people in the temple, which is quite small. Pemangku and helpers decorate the temple with penjor, lamak, and black and white check cloths (kain poleng) which are commonly associated with Bhatari Durga.

29. In sprinkling and handing out holy water, the pemangku of Pura Dalem Puri is helped by members of his family and by pemangku from outside Besakih who ngayah, i.e. serve the deity. Besakih pemangku rarely help at ceremonies of temples not in their charge -- malu, they say, for it might be thought they wanted a part of the sesari (cash ingredient of offerings) that is due to the temple's pemangku.
30. I have not seen this ceremony; it was held in 1985 for the first time in many years. It is said that at this relatively large ceremony, held at the sorohan pebangkit level, the official pemangku used to perform their distinctive ajang ritual, the flesh components of the ajang being the meat of a piglet (babi butuan) cooked in the guling manner. On caya, see KBW I.656.
31. A one-chicken or five-chicken caru is most common, at which a pemangku officiates. Only under special circumstances is a larger caru held, such as a bull sacrifice (caru sampi) or caru rsi gana.
32. Cf. pangenteg linqqih, the consecration ceremony of a temples and its shrines.
33. Panyeeb is derived from seeb which has two meanings, one being to 'cool down or sprinkle with water', the other to 'heat up' (KBI; KBW III.16). The meanings have in common the idea that both supernatural 'heat' and 'cold' needs to be neutralized or harmonized.
34. Urip, 'life', in all its ramifications, is a key Balinese concept.
35. Panaung is derived from old Javanese sawung, meaning 'coming together, gathering' (Zoetmulder 1982). Sawung also means 'fighting cock, cockfight'. In the adat of certain villages, panaung means 'payment of money in lieu of providing fighting cocks at compulsory cockfights' or 'payment of money in lieu of attending village meetings' (Korn 1932:90,205,221,226,265; ARB 37:228,233).
36. In villages in Bangli (e.g. Buungan, Lumbuan), in all but formal 'request' marriages (mapadik), the groom must pay or provide panyeeb, in the form of a pig, to fellow banjar or village members in a ritual that removes communal impurity (Hadipta 1932-33:124-6; ARB 34:462-4). At Lumbuan, in connection with

one major village ceremony, the spring whose water will be used for the ceremony is sealed off, as it were, with a ritual called nyehebrama; should someone break the restriction on using this water he will be fined the cost of a nyehebrama ritual (Hadipta 1932-33:119). (Might nyehebrama be nyeheb rama?). Rituals of this name are also held in such mountain villages as Bon and Tiingan in Badung (I Gusti Agung Gede Putra:pers.comm.).

37. The enactment of usaba kapat has had a chequered history. It was not held between the years 1967 and 1979. In 1982 it was held at a simple level at which a pemangku officiated (like a pangeling). In 1983, when a pedanda officiated, its core offering-groups consisted of three sorohan pebangkit, one for each of the three seats of the padmasana, according to its colour. Also on the full moon of the fourth month, villagers from Bungaya (Karangasem), in connection with a major village ceremony, regularly come to Besakih and carry out a ritual at the shrine honouring Ratu Surya-Candra in the Pura Penataran Agung. In the Raja Purana (RPI22.19-20, RPII 6.23-25) an usaba kapat is associated with I Dewa Pangulu whose identity is unknown.
38. The argument ex nihilo must be used cautiously. For instance, the padmasana is mentioned in the Raja Purana and since this kind of shrine is so closely associated with the pedanda, it seems likely that a pedanda must have been involved with its inception and dedication some time before the text was compiled, but perhaps did not regularly officiate there (Cf. Pura Batur).
39. Lieftrinck 1915:142-3. The document mentions the ceremonies of panapuh lemah (now unknown), manaung bayu, panyeheb brahma and also tumurun batara kabeh. As sources, the document cites the Usana Bali and the Prasasti Besakih, but I have never found mention of the rituals there. I owe this reference to Hinzler 1983.
40. RPI 15.10-13, 15.26ff, 22.22, 22.34; RPII 7.4ff, 7.30ff.
41. The evidence is plentiful: HKS.3828:41.6-7, cf.42.1-2; LOR 13.089:29.2-3; LOR 13.505; HKS.1741:2ab; HKS.1833:1.30,2.1-2; Staat Atji 1929:no.592, cf.no.604; Maron 1931:23-24; N.1933:110; Notulen Paroeman Kerta Negara 10 Dec.1935.
42. Only aci pangenteg jagat on full moon of second month has never changed its day of celebration. Documentation on the other three rituals shows a series of changes. At one stage all three were held on full moon of the fourth month (LOR 13.089, LOR 13.505, HKS.1833, Maron 1931). For other changes, see HKS.1741, N. 1933; Djiwa c.1922, Djiwa 1934; Staat Atji 1929; Notulen Paroeman Kerta Negara 10 Dec.1935, a document of 1949, Gora Sirikan 1957, Makna n.d., Atjara Eka Dasa Rudra 1963, EDR 1963/S/3:23-24.
43. There is an interesting distinction between the colours of the pebangkit offerings: that at the mountain spring is white and that at the ocean black.
44. An older term makokobok is found in RPI 15.13, 15.27 and RPII

7.6, 8.3.

45. In Indonesia generally the buffalo is the sacrificial animal par excellence, but until comparative research has been carried out on buffalo sacrifice in Indian rituals, one cannot be sure to what extent the titi mamah is Indonesian or Indian.
46. The head of the titi mamah always used to face towards the bale paselang (i.e. towards the west/kauh), but in 1983 on instructions from Denpasar it was laid out facing upridge. Some pemangku were not happy about the change.
47. On the paselang ritual generally, see Mas Putra 1976:54-55. Also mentioned in brahmanic ritual texts, while pedanda possess puja paselang texts.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 9

1. Although specific relationships between banjars and temples are not mentioned in the Raja Purana, the evidence there of banjars and of divisions of tasks among them (RPI 25.16-20) makes such relationships very likely.
2. At Bhatara Turun Kabeh 1981, numbers were as follows (numbers in brackets are from other Bhatara Turun Kabeh or from interviews): Badeg 25, Telungbuana 17, Pura 20, Lebih 15, Kesimpar 33 (or 20?), Temukus 50 (or 20?), Batusesa 33, Tegenan 33, Suukan 10, Pule-Pempatan 35 (?), Geliang?, Alasngandang 13 (or 10 or 20?).
3. The camat of Rendang from about 1967-1973, Anak Agung Gede Ngurah Suryaningrat, tried to revive contributions in kind from the pragunung and from Besakih banjar.
4. In accordance with the Besakih master-plan, land surrounding each public temple to a distance of 20 metres was purchased if, as in most cases, it did not already belong to the temple. The land was handed out on a sharecropping arrangement to pemangku and other villagers, hence its name tanah sakapan. Its orchards of citrus and cloves are now producing revenue. After being used for various purposes, it was decided in 1985 that the revenue should fund Pura Banua's two large agricultural rituals which formerly were of provincial government responsibility but which for at least 20 years had not been held regularly. Land certificates (Surat keterangan pendaftaran tanah) issued up until November 1986 listed tanah sakapan totalling 2.44 hectare, but I am uncertain whether these certificates are complete.
5. Besakih's laba pura lands have not been managed as they should have been and it proved impossible (in 1983) to obtain a full and reliable listing. Least reliable are the Karangasem data; but the Gianyar document contained errors of addition and in both Gianyar and Bangli some land listed as belonging to Pura Besakih no longer pays revenue there, for reasons unknown to me. There are a few documents besides those listed in Fig.10.4. For Klungkung a document in the Moojen Collection (KITLV) entitled

'Register van den sawahs welker opbrengst wordt gebezigd voor instellingen van openbaren of gods-dienstig aard in het landschap Kloengkoeng' (undated:1920's?) lists Besakih land in Klungkung in the name of Padanda Gede Pidada amounting to 2096 peceraken. Some at least is probably the same as that now in the temple's possession. A document with the same title but referring to Karangasem (also undated:1920's?) lists land totalling 2047 peceraken, as well as tanah pajegan at Cangga (Tabola) amounting to 750 peceraken. The greater part of this land, save for the tanah pajegan (a special case) and land in Tohjiwa and Wangseyan (cf.RPI), is listed in a later document entitled 'Register adanja tanah: Plabe poera dalam landschap Karangasem 1936 t/m 1945 (Kantor IPEDA Denpasar).

6. Formerly, specific plots of land funded both odalan and usaba at Pura Dalem Puri. Land called Delod Blumbang in subak Auman (0.1 hectare in 1936/45) still funds the odalan, but the land (in subak Tubuh?) that once funded the usaba was destroyed by lahar during the 1963 eruption.
7. For example, during the 1950's revenue from laba pura land in Klungkung was collected as padi, and stored in a ricebarn at the home of the chief irrigation officer, the Sedahan Agung (Wayan Ukir), who administered the land on behalf of the temple.
8. In recent years the Gianyar ceremony has been organized by the head of the Hindu section of the kabupaten office of the Department of Religion (Dewa Gede Raka of Puri Blahbatuh). In the late 1960's and early 1970's it was organized by the then Sedahan Agung of Gianyar, Cokorda Mayun of Puri Pejeng; this man played an important role in the rebuilding of Pura Ulun Kulkul in 1986.
9. According to information from A.A.Gede Taman (Puri Tulikup) and Wy.Patra Wijanegara (Rendang). In 1935 the Paroeman Kerta Negara proposed to buy land for Besakih that had been raised by holding a large cockfight in Klungkung, from 18-29 Aug.1928 (Notulen Paroeman Kerta Negara 10 Dec.1935, p.2). Surviving documents do not indicate whether this was done or not.
10. It is uncertain whether these figures refer to different years or to different parcels of land, but probably the former. The memorandum is in the possession of Mangku Rumi of Pura Batu Madeg.
11. It appears the land is now called Batu Takep (according to Ny.Rai of Selat). In former days Mangku Pejengan had a special right, called tusukan, which allowed him to take a small portion of the harvest (equivalent to c.1.5 kg. beras) from fields where harvesting was in progress. This rice was used for the temple's odalan (EDR63/S/3:17).
12. Other sorts of 'contributions' are not paid to the temple as a whole but to other recipients. Firstly, there is the monetary component (sesari) of offerings which is collected by the temple pemandku as payment for ritual services. In the special instance of sesari collected during Bhatara Turun Kabeh (Rp.47,000 in

1977, Rp.190,000 in 1983, Rp.522,525 in 1985), the money is divided equally among the pemangku, the klihan, and the temple (katur ka bhatar). Secondly, there is the contribution a group pays for temple services in connection with a particular purpose, the most frequent being nuntun and nuhur tirtha. This money is divided among the pemangku of the particular temple (25%), the official collectors (25%), and the 'pemangku fund' (kas pemangku)(50%). It is not uncommon for a group to give both of these kinds of contributions as well as dana punia. Entrance money that tourists pay and parking fees are not collected by the temple but by the kabupaten government which in return is responsible for cleanliness and gardening costs.

13. According to Zoetmulder 1982, danapunya means 'gifts as meritorious acts', from dana 'act of giving, donation, gift' and punya 'the good, virtue, righteousness, good work, meritorious act, gift' (cf. dhana 'wealth, riches, money'). All are Sanskrit words.
14. With regards Panca Walikrama, voluntary donations accounted for Rp.9,483,917 out of Rp.24,733,917 (the remainder of voluntary contributions of Rp.11,504,642 was used elsewhere). With regards Ekadasa Rudra, they accounted for Rp.37,618,965 out of Rp.88,868,232 (total costs) or Rp.98,432,698 (total income).
15. Voluntary contributions collected during Bhatara Turun Kabeh amounted to Rp.906,045 in 1983, Rp.1,073,840 in 1984 and Rp.2,032,405 in 1985.
16. Costs during a Gregorian calendar year are never the same because of varying correlation between this calendar and the Balinese lunar and wuku calendars. For example, from 17 April 1985 to 2 April 1986 (11 meetings) Rp.1,506,600 was paid out; from 13 November 1985 to 29 October 1986 (11 meetings) the amount was Rp.1,507,400. In terms of the ceremonies listed in Fig.8.1, voluntary contributions fund nos. 1-2,4,7-13,18-24,29-30,33-34,36-38,40 of the wuku cycle and nos. 2-7,20,23-25,31,34 and 14 of the lunar cycle.
17. The usaba kapat began to be held again only in the 1980's after some 20 years neglect. In 1982 it was held at the very simplest level of one sorohan pebangkit, and cost Rp75,000 (from an individual donation). In succeeding years it has been held at its average or moderate level of three sorohan pebangkit, in 1983 the funds (Rp.300,000) coming from revenue from tanah sakapan, in 1984 from the temple's share of sesari, and since 1985 from voluntary contributions (about Rp.700,000 in 1986).
18. It has even happened that release of government funds has been so late that a ceremony had to be postponed.
19. Rough ritual costs--rice equivalents: 1935 -- 1, 1939/40 -- 2.6, 1951 -- 2.6, 1953 -- 11.5, 1974 -- 17.4, 1976 -- 13.6, 1977 -- 14.0, 1981 -- 16.9, 1982 -- 15.0, 1983 -- 17.3, 1984 -- 21.7, 1985 -- 24.2.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 10

1. The story of Kulputih and the Usana Bali generally is discussed at length in Hinzler 1983 where the story is compared with the kekawin Usana Bali/Mayadanawantaka which apparently predates the prose version. The author also points out the Majapahit emphasis of the prose version which in its present form was composed between the end of the 17th century and 1846 (date of oldest manuscript). Hinzler 1983 includes full list of manuscripts.
2. There is an interesting parallel between this myth and the story of Bima in the Dewa Ruci/Nawaruci. See Berg's comment in Soebardi 1975:167-8, n.142.
3. In old Javanese literature, Markandeya is mentioned in the Agastyaparwa (Gonda 1933:347, 394-5; 1936:226-7, 279), the Tantu Pagelaran (Pigeaud 1924:89, 214, 242, 244, 286) and the Brahmanda Purana. In old Sundanese literature he is mentioned in the Carita Parhyangan (Noorduyn 1962:406-7, v.2,4, as Rsi Makandria) and Bhujangga Manik (Noorduyn 1982:423-4). Mt.Damalung (or Umalung -- readings differ) is mentioned in the inscription of Palembang (1449) (Djafar 1986:225, esp.n.7 and 8). On Mt. Damalung, see also KBW II.520-1.
4. The pancadatu, the five sacred metals, are an essential component of the ritual depository (padagingan) that is buried within or behind shrines when a temple is consecrated (ngenteg lingqih). See Adri 1983.
5. These last mentioned places are all located quite close to one another in the region between Taro and Payangan (Kab. Gianyar), which from archeological and inscriptional grounds is known to be an area of ancient settlement. Puakan is an adat village, as is Payogan; at the latter the temple associated with Rsi Markandeya is called Pura Pucak Payogan. At Taro, Markandeya's first residence, according to tradition, is now marked by the very large and distinctive temple called Pura Gunung Raung, after the holy man's place of origin, whose main shrines are oriented to the west (IHD n.d.:181-91). Murwa is marked by a temple called Pura Murwa/Purwa Bumi in the village Pengaji (Payangan), whose main shrine, an eleven-roofed meru, is dedicated to Bhatara Gunung Raung (ARB 37:350-2). There is a fruitful study to be done on this region. On Markandeya, see also Monografi Desa Taro 1977:3-5).
6. Korn 1932:188-9. Korn obtained the story from H.K.Jacobs who in turn heard it from a pedanda at Lebah (Gianyar). The legend is mentioned in none of Goris' writings on Besakih.
7. Surpha 1979:29-35. This text is said to have originated from Tampaksiring. The text in Ginarsa 1979:6-11 is the author's own and not that of an old lontar. The author's claim of Rsi Markandeya as ancestor of the Bhujangga Waisnawa descent group is, I believe, his own creation. There are also Gaguritan Markandeya from Jero Batuaya, Amlapura (HKS.1923) (not seen) and Jero Kanginan, Sidemen (HKS.3160); the latter, a poem of 131

- stanzas, is undated but would seem to be recent (post-1930's).
8. Perhaps as early as the sixth century, if one follows the Carita Parhyangan which states that the daughter of Rsi Makandria was the spouse of Sanjaya's grandfather.
 9. On the Belanjong inscription, see Stutterheim 1934, Damais 1947-50:121-8, Goris 1954:PB 103, Casparis 1975:37. It is interesting that LOr.13.505:25.1 names the ruler Sri Wira Dalem Kesari Warmadewa and gives the date Saka 839/AD 917 which was the original reading of the date of the Belanjong inscription. I think it very possible the text was written no earlier than the mid 1930's.
 10. PB 908 parallels RPII 2.31-4.1, one difference being in the last lines. PB 908 ends with "iti watek nawasangapit lawang, 929, sawada luput sarajakarya", while the passage in RPII ends with "iti babad rajapurana, aron/abon gumi 1238".
 11. On Airlangga, Bradah and Kuturan, there is now a considerable literature, e.g. Casparis 1958, Pigeaud 1960-63. Although mentioned in many works on early Balinese history, a serious study of Mpu Kuturan that examines inscriptional evidence and the lontar tradition is still awaited. Gora Sirikan attempted such a study in a work called Puja Sastra Mpu Kuturan (1969), partly published in the Pasek magazine Dutta Warga. Mpu Kuturan is mentioned repeatedly in lontar texts, but a preliminary survey suggests that half a dozen or so separate items form the core of the 'Kuturan texts'. On Udayana, see Ardana dkk. 1984.
 12. According to the original publication (Goris 1937:280), the name Bradah was applied to "the inscription on copper from the Pameradjan Kanginan from the Batumadeg temple of the Besakih complex." This is most confusing for Merajan Kanginan and Pura Batu Madeg are quite separate temples. In later articles Goris (1948-49:93; 1954:I.46) settled on Batu Madeg, but I think wrongly. Firstly, there is no memory now of an inscription at Pura Batu Madeg; secondly, Merajan Kanginan is indeed associated with Mpu Bradah and the descent group, dadia Pasek Pejengan, that is the temple's custodian owns a clan charter called "Mpu Bradah and Sanghyang Siyem" (HKS.3801; this is quite different from PB 908). Either the inscription that Goris saw, or a copy of it, is now kept at Merajan Selonding (Goris 1954:I.46 n.1; author's fieldnotes and photographs). For the temples, see Appendix B.
 13. K.753:1a ff.; HKS.1741:10.14 ff.; K.1338:7.13 ff. These passages, dealing largely with foundation deposits (padaqingan), all begin "Ling Sang Mpu Kuturan ring Majapahit duk ngwangun meru ring Besakih..." Majapahit, of course, was not in existence when Mpu Kuturan lived, although Majapahit is virtually interchangeable with Jawa in such texts.
 14. In both Java and Bali the meru is found in Majapahit times (for Java, see Galestin 1936; for Bali, especially the meru at Perean, see Bernet Kempers 1977 and de Haan 1921). Its history in Indonesia prior to that period is obscure; there is no data

supporting an 11th century date. This would not prove, anyway, that Mpu Kuturan was not involved in a building program; we simply do not know.

15. This tradition is found in LOr.14.977:1a-2a, LOr.13.089:27-30, LOr.13.505:25a-26b, and also in EDR 1963/S/3:19-20 (source not given but corresponds to opening passage of LOr.14.977). In secondary sources, the tradition is first mentioned in Maron 1931:21-2, thus prior to the discovery of the Belanjong inscription. Also Goris 1948-49/1960:96 and 1953,II(17):12. Temples he is said to have built include Pura Gelap, Pura Kiduling Kreteg, Pura Batu Madeg, Pura Manik Mas, Pura Pucak (?), Pura Basukih, and (Pura) Pangubengan Tirtha.
16. No signs of this ancient structure are now visible above ground. However, villagers say that people digging in the area have found large bricks at a depth of one to two metres. According to Wayan Gentiada (former perbekel) who was a young man when the Besakih temples were rebuilt following the great earthquake of 1917, many old bricks from this site were used as filling within the kori agung built at that time.
17. Goris 1969:220 n.3,4. On Kresna in Indonesia, see Zoetmulder 1974 and Devahuti 1977. Kresna's outstanding role in Javanese and Balinese culture is in the wayang.
18. 'Sri Aji Jayakasunu' or 'Pitatur Bhatari Durga' is a text that sometimes has an existence of its own and sometimes is part of the Usana Bali or some other text. There are scores of manuscripts, e.g. K.41a, K.22:33a-35b, K.1196a, K.1476:16a-19a, HKS 1741:27.16-36.12, HKS 1833:8.22-10.15, HKS 3672:60.12-63.9. Early printed edition in Surya Kanta II(8), Aug 1926:123-4. For excerpt with Indonesian translation, see Surpha 1979:20-22. See also Ginarsa 1957. Despite assertions to the contrary (e.g. IHD 1984, Pura Dalem Puri:7), I have found this identification of Gandamayū with Pura Dalen Puri in none of the Jayakasunu manuscripts I have consulted, nor in a variety of other texts.
19. On these rulers, see e.g. Sukarto 1977b, Ginarsa 1957 and 1968, Semadi Astra 1977.
20. IHD 1984: Pura Dalem Puri p.3-5. The quote on page 4 is not from the inscription Sanding B (PB 557) but from the so-called inscription Sanding C (Bantiran), an undated though clearly much later text in the babad tradition of the Gelgel-Klungkung period. Simpen 1973:11 and Regeg-Warsa n.d.:5 have also suggested a 12th or 13th century date for Sri Wira Dalem Kesari.
21. IHD 1984, Pura Dalem Puri:7 (references not given). In Bali, the Galungan feast is mentioned in inscriptions issued by Jayapangus (PB 636:Vb5 in Semadi Astra 1980; cf. PB 623 and PB 663). Ginarsa 1957 argues that, although the name was new, the Galungan feast was essentially a continuation of older Balinese practices associated with mortuary rites.
22. Widia 1979/80; also Appendix B. If these statues are indeed contemporary with the Jaya dynasty, it would suggest that

Siwaism, Wisnuism and Buddhism all played a role in Besakih's religious activities of that period.

23. Goris (1937:78, in a Naschrift not translated in Goris 1969a) once suggested that perhaps Besakih had a different name then, and for a while toyed with the possibility that Buka Sri (and/or Sri Muka) might refer to it. Later (Goris 1969b:97), he rejected the idea and located Buka Sri near Landih, on the assumption (it would seem) that Basanghara was near Pengotan rather than Pemuteran, as would seem to be the case. It is not so clear-cut, however, especially if one regards Buka Sri and Sri Muka as different places. Buka Sri occurs in two inscriptions. The term suruhan (a land tax official?) of Bhatari Buka Sri, a goddess, occurs twice in the edict of Bahungtringan (PB 552:IVa3, IVb4), which tells us little, but in the edict of Basangara (Pemuteran area) Buka Sri is located to the east of Basangara (PB 801:Ib3 in Budiastra 1978:26, 57). Geographically, this location fits Besakih very closely, but there remains the linguistic problem of deriving Basuki from Bukasri. The 'r' commonly disappears in Balinese, leaving an intriguing similarity of vowels and consonants between Bukas(r)i and Basuki.
24. PB 625 Selat (not yet published), PB 626 Daya (Budiastra 1977), PB 627-628 Basanghara and Udanapatya (Budiastra 1978). See also Semadi Astra 1977. I would like to especially thank Drs Semadi Astra for letting me consult his unpublished translation of the Selat edict.
25. Nag.49.4.1-4. The poem is edited, translated and commented upon in Pigeaud 1960-63 and Slametmulyana. The discovery of further manuscripts -- Pigeaud had just one at his disposal -- has led to renewed study of this very important text. See Hinzler and Schoterman 1979.
26. I have not undertaken a study of the several Usana Jawa manuscripts now available, but consulted only K.360 (Cf.K.534). On these campaigns, see also Ginarsa 1968 which is based on K.827, a text entitled Raja Purana -- no connection with Besakih's Raja Purana.
27. The Babad Dalem, a prose work, is the 'official' chronicle of Bali during the Gelgel period. The large number of manuscripts now available await a full study, but even a brief survey shows that there is a single 'core' Babad Dalem, minor variations being due to scribal errors. Some manuscripts have additional sections which show wide variation. By interspersing additional passages at various points in the text, i.e. by using the core Babad Dalem as framework, partially new works were written that deal with specific descent groups. Others provide a continuation of the core text. The core Babad Dalem is undated, but was written after the fall of Gelgel. The earliest known manuscripts date from 1805 (pers.comm. I Dewa Gede Catra) and 1812 (MB.100.1/46), so it must date from the 18th century. The Kidung Pamancangah (Berg 1929) is a poem based on the prose babad, and dates from 1819 (Damais 1963:135-6; cf.Ginarsa 1959:141, also Vickers 1982). It was written by Mpu Sura Wadana, alias Ida Padanda Gede Rai of Geria Cucukan, Klungkung, who also wrote a prose

continuation of the Babad Dalem (text and translation in Warna et al 1986, version C). For the history of this period, the Babad Dalem is supplemented by many other babad dealing with specific descent groups, many of them dating from the early decades of this century. Primary sources are scarce in the extreme.

28. For example, Schulte-Nordholt (1986) argues that the claim by leading Balinese families of Majapahit ancestry is a tradition newly created in the 18th century, though this seems to be rather an extreme position.
29. The chronology of the Gelgel period is highly problematic. Even the main divisions of the era, marked by the founding of the three successive capitals, cannot be exactly dated. Like genealogies, dates occurring in babad are notoriously difficult to evaluate and frequently are mutually inconsistent. The internal consistency of a date can be tested in those cases where full calendrical data are provided, consisting of day, week, phase of moon, month, and year. Many dates do not 'compute', i.e. are not internally consistent. The dates found in modern Balinese publications for the regnal years of successive rulers appears to have no solid basis and must be regarded as highly provisional. The problems are such that the chronology of the Samprangan and Gelgel periods may always remain elusive.
30. Cf. Noorduyt 1978:225 -- "By the beginning of the 15th century Majapahit had lost its ascendancy in the Indonesian archipelago outside Java, ..."
31. Photographs nos.498 and 499 in the Moojen collection of photographs (KITLV), both without captions, are in fact photographs of the Besakih edicts of Saka 1366 and 1380 respectively. In his writings Moojen makes no mention of the edicts, so we can only assume that the photographs were taken at the time of the restoration after the 1917 earthquake. In 1937 Goris published the texts of the edicts (Goris 1937:279) together with that of the so-called Bradah inscription. Goris does not say whether he read the inscriptions first-hand or from photographs. In a later study Goris (1954:I.46) gave these inscriptions the numbers 905 (Saka 1366), 906 (Saka 1380), 908 (Bradah inscription, c.Saka 1393). In 1978 during that year's Panca Walikrama, they were read by Balinese religious experts.
32. The earlier inscription dated 1444 shows a dancing(?) elephant bearing a vegetable ornament in its trunk; the elephant appears to be standing on another, now indistinct, figure. The painting on the later inscription of 1458, in a poorer state of preservation, also portrays a dancing elephant as its key figure. The significance of these elephant figures, presumably representing Ganesa, is not clear to me, though they bring to mind certain antiquities at Candi Sukuh and elsewhere on Mt Lawu (central Java). At Candi Sukuh, a dancing elephant holding an animal (dog?) is the central figure of the well-known 'blacksmith' relief (O'Connor 1985). At Candi/Punden Planggan, a representation of Ganesa (Gana) wearing an ascetic's headdress and with both hands placing a moon in his mouth, is found next to a short inscription; this has been interpreted as a chronogram

reading Saka 1376 (1454 AD)(Sukarto 1983:2). A squatting elephant is found at Punden Cemoro Bulus (Sukarto 1983:3). With regards the paintings on the Besakih edicts, one possibility that comes to mind is that they represent picture-dates or candrasengkala. Since Gana/elephant=6, this might fit the earlier date of Saka 1366, but could hardly fit the later date of Saka 1380. These paintings are unique in being the only extant contemporary examples that presumably reflect the otherwise vanished paintings of Majapahit Java.

33. Balinese stylistic features in the script are not inconsistent with the edicts being issued by a Javanese court, for it is quite conceivable that the text of the edict was first written on perishable material (lontar leaf) and then transferred to the wooden boards in Bali.
34. Casparis (pers.comm.) thought that the use of den in den idepa and den waca shows Balinese influence. Uhlenbeck (pers.comm.) says that similar constructions are known in Javanese.
35. The existence of Basuki/Besakih as a 'forbidden' village brings to mind the story of Ida Manik Angkeran and his special association with the temple. See discussion later in this chapter.
36. Although in Java Ratu Kidul is often identified with the goddess of the Southern Ocean, this deity is also not infrequently associated with mountains. In Tengger, Ratu Kidul is an awe-inspiring goddess to whom people beseech for health and prosperity, and different from Brahma, the lord of the volcano Bromo, named after him (Schrieke 1924:49). On Mt. Lawu, Ratu Kidul had a sanctuary at Tirtomoyo (Wonogiri)(Schrieke 1924:49). Ratu Kidul is also associated with Mt. Slamet (Jasper 1924:317) and Mt. Semeru. This mountain aspect of Ratu Kidul needs further research.
37. At Besakih, Brahma is enshrined at Pura Kiduling Kreteg (see later discussion of Palah). If either of these identifications be accepted, the same problem arises: Why are the edicts now the god-symbols of Pura Penataran Agung? This could arise, perhaps, because responsibility fell on the whole community and of all temples Pura Penataran Agung was most closely associated with the community. Or perhaps, Sang Kasuhun Kidul, as Brahma god of fire, does refer to the god of Gunung Agung who is honoured in the main temple. Sang Sinuhun Kidul is often mentioned in lontar texts (e.g.K.1476:21ab). Further study may lead to elucidation.
38. The different purposes of the edict and the Raja Purana passages may explain the difference in language. The former was a refined court idiom, while the latter, directed towards village communities, was more a Balinese idiom. Historical linguistics in Bali are not sufficiently developed to provide an answer.
39. Pigeaud (1960-63:IV.44) suggests that it is remarkable that this deity is not given the highest predicate Sri or Bhatara instead of Hyang, but in the Rajapatigundala 17a (Pigeaud III.135) there is a hierarchical series in which Hyang is highest next only to

Sunya (symbolizing Divinity).

40. On Palah, see Pigeaud 1960-63:IV.44,163-4,240; Krom 1914; Norduyn 1982:416,430-1 (on old Sundanese text Bujangga Manik); Supomo 1972:290-4. Palah is also mentioned in Panji stories (Poerbatjaraka 1940:268, Robson 1979:310, Vickers 1986:127,130).
41. This is an interesting identification. See especially Krom 1914:236 and Supomo 1972:294 n.8. Besides the great temple of Palah, the importance of mountain sanctuaries, especially during later Majapahit times, is shown also by the considerable building and ritual activities taking place at sanctuaries on the slopes of Mt. Lawu (Candi Sukuh, Candi Ceta, etc) and Mt. Penanggungan, and by the traditions of the Tengger people of the Mt. Bromo area.
42. The impact of Majapahit religious belief and custom on other aspects of Pura Besakih remains, at this stage of research, a matter of some speculation, and parallels are suggestive rather than proven. Among the titles of the official pemangku, for example, tinggi can be traced back to Majapahit times; patinggi is a common name for village official in Java, including Tengger. Another possibility is a relationship between Besakih's Pura Basukihan and Candi Penataran's Naga temple (see Bernet Kempers 1956, Pannenberg-Stutterheim 1947). Might the latter have been associated with post-cremation rituals? On the whole it seems that the naga played a more significant role in the East Javanese kingdoms than in the earlier central Javanese ones, but whether this became of special significance in Majapahit times is debatable, though Candi Penataran's Naga temple does suggest as much. Note also the wide distribution of stories related to that of Ida Manik Angkeran and the naga Basuki, which is set in Majapahit times. The relationship in art between naga and deer, as in the so-called deer and naga arches (Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1979), raises the possibility that the deer likewise became a prominent symbol in Majapahit times, and this in turn reminds one of the Balinese manjangan saluwang shrine with its distinctive deer head, which is often said to honour Ratu Maospahit or Ratu Majapahit.

A further question is: who were the priests of Bali during the Majapahit period, and is there evidence of Majapahit influence on priestly ritual? This is not the place for a full discussion of this very complex problem, and I will confine myself to a few points. In Bali, the priestly tradition of the pemangku is generally traced back to the legendary priest Sang Kulputih, the priestly caretaker of the Besakih sanctuary. His story is told at length in the Usana Bali. It was in answer to his prayers that Pasupati, the High God, sent his children Putrajaya and Dewi Danu to become the chief gods of the Balinese. This myth seems to have been Besakih and Batur's charter of Hindu legitimation prior to the Rsi Markandeya legend becoming popular. Sang Kulputih is a legendary figure, and even assuming there was such a personage, there are no clear indications of when he lived. Here comparison of Balinese pemangku ritual and that of the Tengger dukun raises some intriguing possibilities which only further study will clarify. Not only their common language idiom but even passages in common indicate some kind of relationship

between the two textual traditions. The Tengger priest, however, can also be compared with the Balinese bhujangga or sengguh priests, for both have in common a particularly distinctive text called Purwabumi. The Tengger dukun was formerly called pujangga (Smith-Hefner 1983:163). It is possible that the ritual of the Majapahit bhujangga was related to that of a Balinese pemangku, but that later in Bali the bhujangga adopted aspects of the pedanda's ritual.

Parallels between Tengger and Balinese ritual texts are best explained as developing from a common Majapahit source (or recent borrowing?). Perhaps Sang Kulputih, or the tradition that he personifies, was of Majapahit origin, as the texts so often say, though it must be remembered that the Balinese lontar tradition seems to use the word Majapahit rather loosely. It may be of interest, too, that Sang Kulputih's son, called Dukuh Sogra after the village of that name on the southern slope of Gunung Agung, was a dukun priest.

Now of minor significance and their tiny number restricted to the east of Bali, dukun priests, judging from their popularity in folktales and other literature, once played a prominent role in village religion. A preliminary survey of the evidence suggests that the dukun priest made his appearance in the Majapahit era. Texts, temples and surviving descent groups all point towards dukun priests having a special relationship with Gunung Agung, their hermitages being located all around the mountain, though not confined to those areas. Important dukun priests at Besakih and its neighbourhood include Dukuh Seganing and Dukuh Blatung.

Knowing so little of pre-Majapahit Besakih makes an evaluation of the influence on the temple of Majapahit's religion and culture a difficult matter, yet the edicts alone are enough to demonstrate that it was very considerable. Within the milieu of the court Majapahit influence was direct and deep, and through the ever-widening impact of court culture on the villages, it gradually penetrated to varying degrees throughout most of society. Perhaps its most lasting creation were the speech levels of the Balinese language.

43. K.360:15b-16b, K.534:7b-8b, Babad Dalem turun ke Bali:10b. The Raja Purana (RPI:24.15-25.2) confirms the existence of a special relationship between Besakih and Tusan (Pura Kentel Gumi) where, in these texts, Arya Kenceng is said to have lived.
44. It is possible (the evidence is not certain) that court involvement at Besakih in the Samprangan and early Gelgel period was associated with moves to end the conflict between the then new rulers and upland villages of central and east Bali still resisting them. To these villages, Besakih was presumably already an important regional temple.
45. Comparisons are also made with Indra (K.1252:18.8-9) and Harimurti (K.1252:24.12).
46. If 'Navel of the Ocean' represents the crater, 'Sea of Honey' might represent molten lava. Beginning with Gunung Agung, there is here a series of increasingly 'concentrated' symbols. In Java also, volcanic craters or caldera are associated with 'sea',

often in the expression 'sand-sea' (e.g. Bromo). I have a recollection of reading a text where 'Navel of the Ocean' and 'Sea of Honey' were interior symbols of mind, states of yogic concentration increasingly close to Divinity. Furthermore, as symbol, Gunung Agung may be equated with lingga or padmasana.

47. For Indian parallels and sources, see Stein 1983. I believe it is quite legitimate and fruitful to compare and contrast Balinese ideas of kingship with the range of Hindu concepts and practices involving kingship in different parts of India. See also Coomaraswamy 1942(1967):16.
48. In a curious passage in the Babad Dalem (K.1252:26.16-20; cf. Kid. Pam. IV.6-7), Danghyang Nirartha, standing on a lotus leaf floating in the pond while fishing, looked towards the holy mountain and saw the god of Tolangkir, whereupon the priest sank upto his ankles. The priest said to himself, "Wah, the god of Bali is very holy(?); it is true indeed that Sanghyang Mahadewa may not be equalled." (Considering the passages in which Ida Dalem is compared with the god of Gunung Agung, might this perhaps be a hint that the priest should not consider himself the equal of Ida Dalem?).
49. On the temple of Puri and its relationship with successive dynasties of Orissa, see the excellent works of Kulke and others in Eschmann, Kulke, Tripathi (eds) 1978 and Kulke 1979. With regards Besakih, there is no evidence that the gods of Besakih in their pratima forms were ever taken into the palace of the ruler at Gelgel or Klungkung. During malasti processions to the sea at Klotok, there was opportunity enough to do so as the procession passed through the capital. The Raja Purana makes no mention of a stop-over in Gelgel, either at the palace or at Pura Dasar; instead close connections seem to be with Tusan (a ritual association of Samprangan times?)(RPI:24.15-25.2). In more recent times (throughout Klungkung times?) the gods stopped off (or stayed a night) at Pura Penataran Agung at Klungkung, a court temple with a political function located outside palace walls (letter of Sang Gde Pidada, 6 Sept. 1917; in Moojen Coll.). Furthermore, the great court ceremonies, such as marriage, cremation and post-cremation, were held at the palace, not at Besakih. The great yearly state purificatory sacrifice (taur kasanga) was held at the main crossroads of the court town, not at Besakih. One can assume that sometimes the gods of Besakih in the form of Bhatara Tirtha (as Holy Water) were invited to attend as witness.
50. Were they rivals to Besakih's status as paramount locus of Divinity? The role and status of Pura Batur in relation to the court of Gelgel is obscure, while in Klungkung times its relations were apparently more with the court of Bangli and of course with subak throughout south central Bali. Concerning Pura Dasar of Gelgel, its relationship to the court is not clear to me (it is not mentioned in Raja Purana or Babad Dalem). As I understand it, the large adat village of Gelgel was responsible for it, though in recent years its control has been challenged and the Pasek connection made increasingly prominent. See Forge 1981, Subaga 1970, Soebandi 1983.

51. A comparison with Java is particularly informative, for the situation there is similar to that in Bali. Only for a brief period in 8th and 9th century Mataram in central Java were large state temple complexes (e.g. Prambanan, Sewu) founded in proximity to the court (Christie 1983:24-5). In Majapahit times there appears to have been no large state temple at the capital itself. The Majapahit court was involved with many sanctuaries, the presumed hierarchy among which is not clear; it is not even certain whether there was a central state temple comparable to Pura Besakih, unless it be Candi Penataran.
52. Great Indian temples like those of Puri and Tanjore are located in the capital towns and generated powerful temple economies. Pura Besakih was remote from the court and economically weak (it had to be subsidized). In India, the temple often provided the ruler with a ritual means to unify loosely structured regional kingdoms (far larger than Bali), and counterbalance disruptive forces. In the case of the Jagannatha temple of Puri, the temple played an important role in the internal legitimation of the Gangga dynasty's control over Orissa. Later, at the time of the politically ineffective Khurda dynasty, an increasing ritualization and a tendency towards temporary divinization of the ruler accompanied the decrease of political power. The history of this dynasty "provides an excellent example of how a local dynasty, through control over an important temple city and the assumption of an imperial kingship ideology, gained regional importance" (Kulke 1979:234). See also Pieper (ed) 1980 (esp. article by Kulke), Stein (ed) 1977.
53. This legend is found in all the babad of groups claiming ancestry from Ida Manik Angkeran. Babad of the Arya Bang Sidemen group include Bloemen Waanders 1859, LOr.3890, HKS.1208 (Lor.13666), HKS.3727, HKS.3918, HKS.3919, and others in my own collection. Babad of the Arya Pinatih group include K.818, K.1134, K.1478, LOr.12785, HKS.1686 (Lor.14830), etc. Also Babad Arya Bang Wayabya (stencilled book), Babad Paminggir (Catra Coll.).
54. The myth of Manik Angkeran has interesting parallels in widely separated parts of Java, e.g. Tengger (Hefner 1985:126) and Gunung Segara (Tricht 1929:117-20).
55. The battle of Bangbang Biaung (between Duda and Selat) in which Anglurah Sidemen (VII) was killed marked the end of Arya Bang Sidemen power in west Karangasem, though in several villages they retained a great deal of influence. According to one source (of doubtful value), the battle took place in 1691. Besakih people fought on the side of Anglurah Sidemen; according to Besakih tradition, ancestors of two or three important local descent groups were killed, and small gong(s) sacred to Mpu Bradah and formerly kept at Merajan Kangin, were carried into battle, but during the disarray of defeat were taken to the village of Sorga where they are still kept.
56. The Raja Purana mentions another eleven sedahan by name, the names probably referring to particular areas of sawah over which each sedahan had the duty of collecting tax. These sedahan were

responsible for ceremonies to specific gods, receiving bukti land as recompense.

57. K.1921:17-18, also Purwita 1980:31-3. The text (dating from early 20th century?) says Ida Dalem built a pura dharma which was called Pura Penataran Agung as a place to enshrine Bhatara Putrajaya, with an 11-roof meru as the main shrine. Other lords (Kyayi Lurah Sidemen, Kyayi Dawuh, Kyayi Ngurah Sukahet, Kyayi Lurah Jalantik) built their own dharma shrines within the temple (meru of seven, five, nine and nine roofs respectively); Kyayi Batan-Jeruk and Sang Pungakan Den Bancingah built their pura dharma in Pura Kiduling Kreteg and Pura Batu Madeg (meru of eleven and nine roofs resp.). It is difficult to know what to make of this confused and confusing passage; furthermore, the calendrical data are internally inconsistent. And yet it does seem very plausible to think that during Dalem Baturenggong's traditionally long reign some construction work took place at Besakih. (For the date Saka 1465/1543 AD in connection with Gunung Agung, see K.719:9a).
58. According to traditional sources, the Arya Dauh is a branch line of the Arya Kapakistan descent group, traced through I Gusti Dauh Bale Agung, a prominent official at the court of Dalem Baturenggong. His son I Gusti Pande Bhasa and grandsons died in their tragic revolt of 1579. However, one grandson, I Gusti Byasama, was survived by his pregnant wife who sought refuge with her father, I Gusti Anglurah Sidemen (Hyang Taluh). In time, her son, I Gusti Abian Nengan, became lord of Sibetan under Sidemen suzerainty. In a later generation, however, the Sibetan branch of the Arya Dauh, was forced to submit to Karangasem. Another branch of the family settled in west Karangasem. A member of this branch, I Gusti Kebon, of Iseh, in a manner no longer easy to unravel, was embroiled in machinations among local lords that led to the battle of Bangbang Biaung in which the then lord of Sidemen was killed.

The battle of Bangbang Biaung marked the decline of Arya Bang Sidemen control of west Karangasem. At Sidemen itself during the 18th century, a branch house of the Ksatria Dalem (through Dewa Anom Pamahyun) and influential brahmana residences became dominant. The brahmana made Sidemen famous as a place of learning and literary endeavours. The 18th century also saw the rise to prominence of the state of Karangasem. The Arya House of Karangasem, a branch of the Arya Kapakistan descent group, traced its ancestry from I Gusti Wayan Oka, nephew and adopted son of I Gusti Batan Jeruk. The nascent state first consolidated its position in east Karangasem. Its expansion out of this region was closely associated with the fortunes of the Arya Dauh descent group. The Arya Dauh gained firm political authority in west Karangasem during the lifetime of I Gusti Nyoman Kebon's grandson, I Gusti Nengah Sibetan Wiweka, who lived around the middle of the 18th century. He made Selat his headquarters and until the first decade of the 20th century, Selat was the residence of the head of this branch, who always bore the title I Gusti Nengah Sibetan. The first bearer of this title won the appellation wiweka (discretion, right judgment) on account of his very considerable political skills which he put to the service of the raja of Karangasem. Besides being instrumental in plotting

the Karangasem takeover of Buleleng, his strategy won him control of the Rendang area of west Karangasem and, for a while, the eastern edge of Bangli. (In the 16th and 17th centuries, one or more of the three related Bangli courts (Nyalian, Taman Bali, Bangli) of the Ksatria Taman Bali descent group, controlled or at least wielded a certain influence in an area stretching up to the Batur caldera and across into north Bali to Tianyar, but not including the Besakih area which owed its allegiance to Sidemen).

The conquest of the Rendang area took place around the third quarter of the 18th century. Through an intrigue that might be called the I Lobar kris affair, I Gusti Nengah Sibetan caused a split to develop between Nyalian (Bangli area) and Rendang which was apparently under a minor lord called I Dewa Anom who was related to the Nyalian court. Karangasem forces under the command of his sons invaded the area. I Gusti Gede Sari took Rendang, I Gusti Gede Sawan took Menanga. The attack was pressed into Nyalian territory, and a number of villages siezed. Peace terms, arranged by Dewa Agung Panji of Klungkung, ceded the area north of Nyanggelan over to Karangasem. Arya Dauh families settled at Nongan to guard the southwest boundary at Bukit Jambul.

Bangli won back their territory in a border conflict in the middle of the 19th century, in which, it seems, some Besakih people were involved. Among the villages regained by Bangli was Bangbang which, from that time, no longer fulfilled its responsibility of holding the ceremony aci sarin tahun, an agricultural ritual at Pura Ulun Kulkul. Tukad Jinah became the new boundary, as it is to this day. Branch lines of the Arya Dauh settled at such important villages as Muncan, Menanga, and Nongan, but not at Besakih where the local branch of the Arya Bang Sidemen retained its firm hold over adat matters. Interestingly, too, although Selat was the headquarters of the Arya Dauh, the branch of the Arya Bang Sidemen there retained an important influence in adat matters. Although the Arya Dauh could claim no ritual prerogatives at Besakih, it projected its influence there through its monopoly of the position of Punggawa Selat.

59. The area under the jurisdiction of Punggawa Sidemen included the western fringe of the region; a memorandum of 1813, deciding a dispute over temple ownership at Waringin (Pempatan), calls the punggawa, I Dewa Gede Dangin Sakti Jambe (Sidemen branch of Ksatria Dalem), pangawa bumi Singharsa mwang kilyan ing Yeh Talaga Waja -- lord of the land of Singharsa (Sidemen) and that west of the river Talaga Waja. A relative acting as punggawa's representative lived at Pringalot (Rendang). Towards the end of the century, the jurisdiction of Punggawa Sidemen still extended over this western fringe. It is uncertain whether there was also a Punggawa Muncan throughout the 19th century. A Punggawa Rendang first appears from about the third or fourth quarter of the 19th century.

Some adat villages, such as Menanga and Tegenan, were divided between Punggawa Sidemen (who took Menanga Kangin and Tegenan Kangin) and Punggawa Selat (who took Menanga Kawan and Tegenan Kawan). There is not the evidence to know how widespread was the division of adat communities among punggawa. From the raja's point of view, such spheres of jurisdiction cutting across

adat lines, dampened the possibility of a punggawa gaining sufficient power to challenge the raja's authority.

60. The worldview that linked natural disasters with political events is essentially a continuation of the old ideology or belief in the relationship between ruler and Lord of the Mountain. The lack of central hegemony resulted in local interpretations and responses being given to such events. Several examples are mentioned in the passages quoted. The eruption of Gunung Agung in 1808 was attributed by Balinese on Java "to a recent dispute between the two Rajahs of Bali Baliling [Buleleng] which terminated in the death of the younger Rajah by order of his brother." Similarly, the tidal wave that accompanied an eruption in 1843 was considered divine punishment for the Raja of Karangasem's refusal to accept gifts from Mataram (Lombok).

Besides these European reports, passages in Balinese literature, especially poems based on historical events, reflect the same belief. In one text, for example, Dalem Samprangan became mad as the result of a curse of the Lord of Tolangkir/Gunung Agung (Budharta 1980:16,174,v.103). The poem Rereg Gianyar, about the troubled times of the late 19th century, explains the state of affairs as follows (Sidemen 1980:139,300,v.991)

If pondered fully, the world is indeed in a time of
confusion:
 endless disputes and quarrelling, slander running wild,
 from a sense of hatred, not taking note of right
 and wrong; [this is] the anger of the Lord of Tolangkir.

61. In the last decade of the 19th century, very troubled times, a small border conflict broke out between Karangasem and Klungkung, during which, it is said, the Dewa Agung of Klungkung was detained on his way to Pura Besakih. In July 1891, an armed clash erupted at Bukit Jambul, which one or two very old men still remember. Lombok sided with Karangasem and shipped troops and stores to Bali, to the dislike of the Dutch (Cool 1934:6). To bolster defences on its western border, Karangasem settled at Buyan a number of families of Pinatih descent.
62. A telling example was a very large ceremony (nine buffalo, five with golden horns) held at Pura Goa Lawah in 1907, when five states -- Klungkung, Karangasem, Bangli, Gianyar and Buleleng -- took part, and this at a time when Klungkung, unlike the other four, was still resisting the Dutch. See text MB.351.p/45.Ic.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 11

1. On political developments in Bali in the first decades of the 20th century, see Hanna 1976, Kaaden 1938, Schulte Nordholt 1986.
2. Bangli and Gianyar became directly governed lands in 1916, and Karangasem in 1922. After these changes of legal status, the rulers became known as Regent.

3. This document is in the Grader Collection (UBL LOr). De Haan who retired as Controleur of Klungkung in 1911 wrote that "Badung, in recent years, refused to pay a contribution for the restoration [of Pura Besakih]" (quoted in letter of Damste, 6 Mei 1921). However, according to a document in Dutch archives (courtesy of Henk Schulte Nordholt), on 6 November 1907 the Dewa Agung, I Gusti Bagus Jelantik of Karangasem, and punggawa from Bangli attended the 'consecration' (inwijding) of the Klungkung temple (Padharman Dalem or Pura Penataran Agung?) at Besakih.
4. A note of caution is in order here. One cannot assume that this was the first time Pura Besakih had fallen into disrepair, as if in centuries past such was the rulers' dedication that maintenance lacked nothing. Bali has known other periods of turmoil, such as that of I Gusti Agung Maruti's usurpation, when Pura Besakih may have suffered similar neglect.
5. On the problem of tanah ayahan dalem and palace service, see Korn Coll. no.148 (fiche 499-500) and Korn 1932:301-2,329-32.
6. At Besakih I found several memoranda issued on his authority, the earliest being dated 30 April 1909. In these he is sometimes referred to as I Gusti Punggawa Besakih.
7. Besides a chief wife of equal status from Selat, he married two local commoner women, but none gave him children. A distant relative from the Menanga branch of the Arya Dauh helped him as a sort of assistant; this man's only daughter still lives at Besakih.
8. I Gusti Gede Penida, the first incumbent, or the first whose name people remember, was from Puri Kaleran (Karangasem). By 1894 he had been succeeded by I Gusti Made Bengkel alias Baganali, from Puri Kawan (a branch of Puri Kaleran), who remained in that position until about 1914. For the latter part of his incumbency, Besakih lay within the area of jurisdiction of Punggawa Rendang, and his successors played an increasingly important role in the affairs of Pura Besakih.
9. MvO Doornik 1913, Bijlage I, gives details of administrative divisions both before and after reorganization, together with population estimates of component villages.
10. This memorandum is found at the end of a manuscript of the Kakawin Lubdaka, Coll. I Dewa Gede Catra, Sidemen/Amlapura. In Bali generally, the gejor is a reliable date in explorations into Balinese oral histories.
11. Lekkerkerker 1920:204-5; Kemmerling 1918
12. Interview with I Wy. Gentiada, Menanga
13. This document may be found in the Grader Collection. Translations from the Dutch are mine.
14. Neither Tabanan nor Jembrana were involved in the work, although the special levy was applied there as elsewhere. The absence of

Tabanan is likely connected with its responsibility for Pura Batukau.

15. On the restoration generally, see Lekkerkerker 1920:204-5, Kemmerling 1918, MvO van Stennis 1919:120-3, MvO Couvreur 1920:22-4, Moojen 1920, Moojen 1921, documents in Moojen Coll.(KITLV). I wish also to thank Henk Schulte Nordholt for notes on other archival documents.
16. The latest set of figures are those given by Moojen 1921:5- 6. In this report Moojen wrote that the fund amounted to f.108248, consisting of f.25000 from the government and f.83248 promised by the rulers and people of Bali (f.59130 from South Bali, f.20000 from Buleleng and Jembrana and f.4128 wang darma). However by May 1921, only f.65077.27 of the promised Bali contribution had in fact been paid. Thus, at the time of this report, f.90077.27 had already been raised. What each regency raised is only partially known. In a document in the Grader Collection, entitled "Oeroenan Poera Besakih" and dated 11 April 1921, the Sedahan Agung of Tabanan reported that Tabanan regency had collected f.13347.62 out of a planned f.13875.16. In 1918 Karangasem through its landschapkas, apparently contributed f.15000 towards the restoration (Encyclopaedisch Bureau, Aflevering 19 (1919):203 and 24 (1920):191). Expenditure to 24 May 1921 amounted to f.91301.47. A 1918 estimate of the cost of restoring the main temple Pura Penataran Agung was f.43704.35. (Moojen's 1920 report states that at that time f.51,431.43 had been raised).
17. Unfortunately, no archeological investigations were carried out at this time, although the project was funded by the Directorate-General of Culture.
18. The date 1928 is also mentioned in Ritman 1932:3, while a passage in a contemporary travel account (Powell 1930:161-4) may possibly refer to this ceremony.
19. E.g. Java Bode (undated clipping in Moojen Coll.), De Taak 22 Juni 1918.
20. This letter is found in the Moojen Coll.
21. The minutes of this meeting are found in the Arsip Puri Kanginan, Amlapura.
22. The few surviving minutes of meetings of the Paroeman Kerta Negara and the later Paroeman Agung do at least provide some idea of the level of expenditure. In 1935 ritual costs were estimated at f.1250 (Bhatara Turun Kabeh f.100) while maintenance amounted to f.650. Ritual costs in 1938 amounted to f.1883 and in 1939 to f.1579 (this latter figure may not include wuku rituals). In 1940 Bhatara Turun Kabeh cost f.273 and odalans (wuku rituals) f.334. In the years 1939-1941 maintenance costs far exceeded ritual costs. In 1939-1940 two meru in Pura Penataran Agung cost f.3577, while in 1941 another meru was estimated to cost f.3300 and the kehen f.2000, besides other smaller expenditures. (See minutes of 10 Dec.1935, early 1939 (page one missing) and 4 October 1940). The high cost of maintenance as compared to

ritual were apparent also in building projects in the late 1960's and again in late 1970's-early 1980's.

23. By 1929 the road from Klungkung had been extended as far as Rendang/Pringalot, and from there to Selat, thus completing the link to Karangasem (MvO Caron 1929:138-139). From Pringalot the rulers and other important people rode on horseback, while the populace walked. The new road, "built entirely by the inhabitants themselves," made access to the temples very much easier, especially for the rulers in their private automobiles. However, the road was also built for economic reasons, for the Dutch were interested in opening up high altitude slopes both to boost the local economy and to develop cash crops, especially coffee (MvO Beeuwkes 1932:17-18,151,183,210).
24. I do not have satisfactory data. One possible source was the ruler's own budget or the landschap budget, while another was proceeds from special cockfights. A further source was levies on the populace at large.
25. In connection with the restoration, it was decided at a meeting held on 19 July 1919 that the Punggawa of Rendang be the sole paymaster.
26. The Punggawa of Rendang at the time of the great earthquake, I Gusti Gede Kebon, continued in office until 1924. On 13 August 1924 I Kadek Rauh was appointed the new punggawa, provisionally at first (Besluit Residen No.540, 1924). The most prominent member of an influential Pasek family with long-standing retainer ties to the court, he was apparently the first commoner to gain the position of punggawa in Karangasem. As Punggawa of Rendang, I Kadek Rauh played a major role in Besakih affairs. After the formation of the Paroeman Kerta Negara in 1931 he became the official Kashouder Pura Besakih and at times attended its meetings. He was also much involved with the road building project and the Panca Walikrama of 1933. On 29 January 1934, after ten years in office, he was succeeded as Punggawa of Rendang by I Gusti Bagus Oka, a son of I Gusti Made Bengkel, himself a former Punggawa of Rendang. He married a niece of I Kadek Rauh. After serving as Punggawa of Rendang till 30 June 1938, he became secretary to the Paroeman Agung when that body was formed. Later he was involved with the Negara Indonesia Timur, and in 1957 was briefly acting head of the Province of Bali. As Punggawa of Rendang, he was succeeded in 1938 by I Gusti Nengah Jelantik (distant relative of the Zelfbestuurder of Karangasem). From 1940 to 1945 the position was held by several men in quick succession.
27. The office of perbekel at Besakih was very much a family affair. When I Wayan Berati retired in 1926, he was replaced by his eldest son I Nengah Patra, who in turn was replaced the following year by his half-brother I Wayan Gentiada. He moved from Tegenan to Menanga where (1986) he still lives, aged about 100. He retired as perbekel in 1945, but throughout his life he has been intimately involved in Besakih affairs. On adat officials at Besakih at this time, see Chapter 2.

28. Although the ceremony was held at Besakih, it did not take place within Pura Penataran Agung but in a special enclosure in front of the main temple just near Pura Basukihan. This was due to the fact that some of the rulers were ritually unclean following deaths in their families (Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad 1 July 1938, a reference I owe to Dr Henk Schulte Nordholt). This article gives a good description of the ceremony. For photographs, see van Kaaden 1938:265,266. See also Bali Post 9 March 1982.
29. To date the only studies of the abhiseka ratu ceremony are those of Swellengrebel 1947 and van der Meij 1986, both dealing with that of the Raja of Gianyar in 1903. For that ceremony, holy water (kekuluh) was requested at both Pura Besakih and Pura Batur (Swellengrebel 1947:10-11).
30. A hand-written draft of this speech by the ruler of Karangasem is found in Arsip Puri Kanginan, Amlapura.
31. E.g. the prayer for the safety of the Dutch queen at the outbreak of World War II (Goris 1948-49:14-18, Damais 1958:225).
32. On political developments in Bali during the Revolutionary period, see Schiller 1955, Venema 1949-50:312-6, Peringatan 1 Tahun DPR Daerah Bali (1951), Sejarah Pemerintahan Daerah Bali [1977]:21-33, Pendit 1979.
33. Pengoemoeman Resmi Gaboengan Keradjaan-Keradjaan Bali No.1/1947 (a copy is held in Cornell University Library; also in Kollwijin and van Dijk 1949, Bijlage VIII (pp.29-36) without Keterangan).
34. Some important documents relating to this movement, which has not yet been studied in detail, are in the possession of Rsi Anandakusuma of Klungkung, who was himself involved. I wish to thank Rsi Anandakusuma for his permission to consult these documents, the most important ones being a long report (DPD No.04/4/115) dated 14 November 1952 sent by Governor Sutedja to the Ketua DPRS Daerah Bali, and a long letter (DPD No.04/4/67) dated 19 September 1956 sent by Sutedja to President Sukarno and important ministers. The latter document is entitled 'Position of Agama Hindu Bali in the Department of Religion R.I.'. Some knowledge of this movement is necessary as background to the role and position of Pura Besakih at this time.

Neither financial assistance nor the existence of a section devoted to Agama Hindu Bali within the provincial level Kantor Urusan Agama Propinsi Sunda Ketjil amounted to official recognition of Hinduism as an official religion. Instead, it was grouped in the Ministry's residual category H (Religious Movements) which did not please the Balinese. Failure of the Ministry to establish daerah and regency level offices of religion led the government of Daerah Bali, using powers granted it in the Zelfbestuursregelen, to set up its own Kantor Agama Otonoom Daerah Bali (Autonomous Office of Religion of Daerah Bali). This was established on 1 November 1954, with branches at regency level. Meanwhile the Daerah government continued to press for official recognition, via the Governor, and in 1956 directly to the President who was himself half-Balinese and in speeches had referred to 'Agama Hindu Bali'. In 1958 Hindu

religious organizations even sent a delegation to the President. Different accounts vary as to when Agama Hindu was officially recognized (Geertz 1975:189 n.17 says 1962, Howell 1977:150 gives 1958). Balinese sources say it was the Penetapan Presiden No of 1965 that marked formal recognition.

35. The other matters dealt with financial assistance to translate holy books from Old Javanese into Indonesian so that they might be more easily studied, and with stipends for high priests and temple priests.
36. Since to the Balinese the ceremony had to take place, Sutedja made available the sum of Rp.6361.15 (Letter no.B14/2/84, dated 9 July 1951).
37. The funding and administration of Pura Besakih was one of various matters concerning the Hindu religion in Bali discussed at a special congress (Pasamuhan Agung) held on 26-27 May 1953 by the Dewan Pemerintahan Daerah Bali (Sugriwa 1953:733-4). However, I have not yet been able to discover documents pertaining to this congress.
38. Shanty 1953:17, Last 1954:1032. Last says that the festivals put on by Gianyar were more splendid than the others. Anak Agung Gede Oka of Puri Agung Gianyar was in charge of the severalBhatara Turun Kabeh organized by the Gianyar court over a period of some 20 years (including that of 1953, described by Last). The latest was in 1975 when he was given special permission by Parisada Hindu Dharma/Prawartaka Pura Besakih (Oka 1975).
39. Paragraph 4 dealt with dissemination of information about the festival, while Paragraph 5 announced a contribution from the Yayasan Dana Sosial of Rp.1.5 million towards the rehabilitation of Pura Besakih. The sixth and final paragraph announced that the committee was inaugurated on 3 January 1962 to carry out all activities connected with the festival. For the full membership of the committee, see Kala Wrtta II(1):6-7 and Panitla 1962:49-51.
40. Whether he saw it in these terms is a different matter, and it appears that to some extent he tried to take it over in the sense that his people from Klungkung wanted to do everything, which resulted in a certain amount of tension. See Sukawati 1979:47-54.
41. Sukawati 1979:47 says that Arka was Vice-Chairman of the committee but his name is not listed among the committee members. Several informants, however, confirmed his important role.
42. Interview with Padanda Gede Manuaba, 24 Aug.1983. I have not been able to trace any documents on the finances of Ekadasa Rudra 1963.
43. This letter of authorization, No.229/B.6/5/8, and an emendment No.533/B.6/5/57 dated 25 July 1966, are cited in the letter of authorization of 10 August 1968 handing over the running of Pura

- Besakih to Parisada Hindu Dharma (Dep.Dalam Negeri Prop.Bali 1977, lamp.1). Efforts to trace copies of these letters of 1965 and 1966 were unsuccessful.
44. Panitia Pembinaan Pura Besakih 1967; Suluh Marhaen 2 Maret 1967; Harian Angkatan Bersendjata 3 Maret 1967. In a document 'Daftar taksiran rentjana biaya pembinaan Pura Besakih', issued on 26 September 1967 by I Ketut Mandra, head of the public works department, who was in charge of the work, the restoration of the whole complex was estimated at Rp.21.2 million, of which Pura Penataran Agung accounted for almost one third (Rp.6.6 million). Many thanks to I Wayan Widia for providing me a copy of this document.
 45. The ceremony is described in the program brochure 'Atjara Karya Betara Turun Kabeh dan Ngenteg Linggih di Pura Besakih 1 s/d 16 April 1968'. See pp.16-17 for membership of the special committee. The patron was the military commander. The Governor was one of several 'advisors'. The chairman was the Vice-Governor assisted by the bupati of Karangasem, Klungkung, Gianyar and Bangli. The committee was officially called 'Panitia Karya Panca Walikrama/Pengenteg Linggih di Besakih', for originally there were plans (which did not eventuate) to hold Panca Walikrama during the Saka year 1890 (1968/69 AD).
 46. Parisada Hindu Dharma 1970; Forge 1981; Geertz 1964; Howell 1977:150-155. A serious study of this important organization remains to be written.
 47. In the context of Indonesian politics, the political aspects of the Indonesia-wide expansive policy of Parisada Hindu Dharma should not be underestimated. During the 1960's and 1970's branches at provincial and kabupaten levels were set up throughout Indonesia. Efforts were made to have Hindus elected to national, provincial and kabupaten level Houses of Representatives. Certain 'tribal' religions with varying degrees of 'Hindu' influence were brought under the umbrella of Parisada. Such a policy has also influenced the kind of reformist tendencies associated with Parisada.
 48. Surat Keputusan No.50/Pemb.206/I/c/1968, contained in Dep.Dalam Negeri Prop.Bali 1977, lamp.1.
 49. Surat Keputusan Gubernur Kepala Dati I Bali No.47/Kesra II/c/67/78, dated 4 Feb.1978, contained in Panitia 1978:lamp.
 50. For details of this master-plan and official documents associated with it, see Dep.Dalam Negeri Prop.Bali 1977.
 51. On Panca Walikrama, see Parisada document (2a/Upek/XII/PHDP/1978) entitled 'Penjelasan tentang Tawur Panca Wali Krama dan Eka Dasa Rudra di Pura Besakih,' which was addressed to all klihan banjar. On Ekadasa Rudra, see financial report (Keu 11/1/60/80) dated 25 Jan.1980 from Bendahara Panitia to Governor; slightly different figures in Keterangan 1979:68 and lamp.p.14.
 52. Unfortunately I do not have comprehensive data on all

government-funded projects at Besakih over the last ten years or so, but those cited below are the most important ones. Furthermore, figures vary in different government and newspaper reports.

53. Keterangan 1979:45 and lamp.p.15. Is this the same Rp.25 million, mentioned in Bali Post 5 Oct.1978, granted by the President via the Governor, for restoration work at Besakih?
54. Bali Post 25 Sept.1980. The main structure, the wantilan, was alone said to cost Rp.17,174,000 (Bali Post 5 April 1977).
55. According to a report in the Bali Post 28 March 1983, the cost up until that time amounted to Rp.125,430,000 (kori agung Rp.56,430,000, candi bentar Rp.24 million, balai (sic) peletasan Rp.35 million, bale mondar-mandir Rp.10 million). Apparently a further Rp.16,490,000 was spent in fiscal year 1983/84 for structures on the lowest terrace (according to a notice-board). Other sources give slightly different figures. See also Bali Post 8 Sept.1980, 14 May 1982, 7 Feb.1983, 18 May 1983.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 12

1. I am not talking here of ceremonies held alternately at small and elaborate levels.
2. Good examples are the usaba dangsil of Bungaya and Sibetan (Stuart-Fox 1974:55-71), and the 10-yearly ceremony at Selat (Goris 1969c).
3. I am uncertain whether a bhuta yadnya ceremony at the Panca Walikrama level may be held at the village level, but one does encounter passages in texts concerning usaba desa tiningkah kadi panca walikrama).
4. E.g. Puja Ekadasa Rudra (Geria Gede Panarukan)(Coll.Sangka) for a Siwaite text, also LOr.12.697(?). Buddhist texts of Ekadasa Rudra are found in Hooykaas 1973:165ff.
5. For Panca Walikrama, the item 'Nihan kramaning caru Panca Walikrama' is found in K.1338:3a-6a & 24b-25a; HKS.1741:57.16-61.15; BPPLA Gianyar 1981:pp.25-26. See also HKS.3930, MB.375d/481c, and Raja Purana (RPI 17.29-19.26). For Ekadasa Rudra, the item 'Nihan widhi-widhananing taur Ekadasa Rudra', is found in EDR63/S/9:1.1-8.18, EDR63/S/10:10.1-17.13 & 46.1-53.19, EDR79/B/11, K.63:18a-23b, LOr.13.269:1.1ff, HKS.2945, BPPLA Gianyar 1981:26.41-30.13. Other manuscripts mentioned in catalogues include LOr.12.696, LOr.12.752, HKS.1931, HKS.1932.
6. Niti Sastra Padanda Sakti Wawu Rawuh: Ms.Coll.Mas Putra, Mas Putra 1978:11-13, Perembon n.d.:10-16. Cf.K.2050:5-6. The Raja Purana passage differs from that in Niti Sastra Padanda Sakti Wawu Rawuh also in saying that Panca Walikrama cannot be held at Pasar Agung. The offerings, too, are different.

7. E.g. HKS.1741:2.14-15. Certain texts originating from Besakih (HKS.3828:44.6, SF-Bes.3:29a), instead of Panca Walikrama every ten years, say that malasti to Klotok should take place every ten years.
8. Widhisastra pawarah Batara Putrajaya is found in such texts as K.172:12.10ff, K.815:11a-12a, K.1338:25.22-26.6, HKS.1741:44.16-45.13 (esp.45.7-8), Putra n.d.:38-42, BPFLA Gianyar 1981:p.31.
9. On Jayakasunu, see Chapter 10. For the text, see e.g. K.41a:21b and K.1476:16b.
10. The odd thing is that Ekadasa Rudra here seems to be quite small.
11. Widhisastra Bhatara Putrajaya mentions only Panca Walikrama, not Ekadasa Rudra. Particularly interesting instance of this view is that of Notulen Paroeman Kerta Negara 12 Dec.1935.
12. LOr.13.089:29.12-14 and LOr.13.505:26.8-10 (Ekadasa Rudra only). HKS.1741:2.15-16 (angken adasa masa, ... satus masa).
13. EDR63/S/8 Ngekadasa Rudra (Geria Taman, Intaran, Sanur).
14. For Java, see Ricklefs 1978. EDR63/S/8:2.2 says that 'tekaning windu hatu, nga, windu turas, agong prawesa pagentosing jagat'.
15. Seminar IV; also Parisada Hindu Dharma 1982-83:31 (on Panca Walikrama). Gede 1962:131-2 (on Ekadasa Rudra 1963).
16. There is a bhuta yadnya ritual even larger than Ekadasa Rudra, called maligia (to be distinguished from the post-cremation ritual of that name)(see, for example, the text K.2287:6b). Other than the name and the number of buffaloes (46) necessary, nothing further is said about it. It might be regarded as hypothetical.
17. Ceremonies called Ekadasa Rudra are known in India, or at least in Indian texts (Lokesh Candra:pers.comm.).
18. Djiwa c.1922:9-13 says that Panca Walikrama was held every year at Klungkung on the day tilem kasanga, the ritual being divided amongst five places, the central crossroads of the town, and points at the four directions. Every tenth year the ritual was held only at the central crossroads, when it was called tabuh gentuh. Every tenth tabuh gentuh should be replaced by Ekadasa Rudra at Besakih. The yearly ritual was presumably called Panca Walikrama because it was held at five places. Unfortunately the writer does not provide sufficient details to know whether, in terms of ritual elaboration, it was comparable with Besakih's Panca Walikrama. I am uncertain of details of present-day taur kasanga at Klungkung.
19. Panca Walikrama 1933, 3 October, kajeng, Tuesday-Kliwon Kulantir, two days before full-moon of fourth(?) month, Saka 1855. Panca Walikrama 1960, 11 April, kajeng, Monday-Paing Warigadian, full-moon of 10th(?) month, Saka 1882.

Ekadasa Rudra 1963, 8 March, beteng, Friday-Pon Julungwangi, 2/3 days before full-moon of ninth month, Saka 1884.

Panca Walikrama 1978, 10 April, kajeng, Monday-Kliwon Krulut, two days after new moon of 10th month, Saka 1900.

Ekadasa Rudra 1979, 28 March, pasah, Sunday-Paing Wariga, new moon of ninth month, Saka 1900.

The determination of the day of Panca Walikrama 1978 is interesting. Although considered as a penereqteg ceremony (i.e. in place of the one that should have been held in Saka 1890), it was still thought best to hold it in the Saka year 1900, but clearly could not be held at same time as Ekadasa Rudra. At first, 9 March 1978 (tilem kasanqa) was chosen, but this is the last day of Saka 1899, and it also fell within the period from wuku Dungulan to Pahang, called uncal balung. So it was decided to put the ceremony back one lunar month to 8 April 1978 (tilem kadasa). The problem of uncal balung was at first disregarded since different texts give conflicting views, but when it was found that a text called 'Widhisastra pawarah bhatara Putrajaya malinggih ing Besakih' specifically forbade the holding of Panca Walikrama during uncal balung, a new date, 10 April, was finally settled upon. Concerning this, I wish to thank Ibu Mas Putra for a copy of her unpublished manuscript (Mas Putra 1979).

20. On Panca Walikrama 1933, see N. 1933 and Lelana 1934. These Balinese language accounts are the only documentation that I have been able to find. As for timing, the fourth month was chosen presumably because at that time the yearly Bhatara Turun Kabeh was held in that month. The day 3 October, just before full moon, may have been chosen because it was a kajeng which is suitable for such rituals. Originally, it seems, it was planned for 1932 but disagreement over the determination of the lunar months -- a month's difference between Karangasem and Klungkung systems of reckoning at the time -- led to its postponement (Notulen Paroeman Kerta Negara, 9 Mei 1932). The festival consisted of a series of ceremonies. From 29 September to 2 October, the gods were carried in procession to the sea at Klotok, and back again via Klungkung and Tabola (Sidemen). 3 October 1933 marked the climax of the festival with the Panca Walikrama sacrifice and the final dedication (ngenteg linggih) of shrines and buildings. After a ritual on the next day, the gods remained in residence for a further eleven days. These two accounts state that Panca Walikrama should be held at intervals of ten years and Ekadasa Rudra at intervals of 100 years, whereas a near contemporary document (Notulen Paroeman Kerta Negara 10 Dec.1935) gives intervals of five years and ten years respectively, proof enough of the influence of conflicting textual traditions.
21. The 'tumbal affair' is discussed at some length in Anandakusuma 1974:37-39.
22. In a letter after the event, the acting head of the Dinas Agama offered the following explanation: 'Because of our conviction that the said tumbal was not put there in order to be worshipped or with evil intent, and remembering the inspiration of building a temple at Malang which was the doing of Ejang Gusti Aji and impelled by the possibility of developing Hinduism in Java, with

complete sincerity and without thinking more about it, we carried out the burying [of the tumbal]' (Letter dated 19 October 1959, quoted in Anandakusuma 1974:38-39).

23. Interview, 24 August 1983.
24. I have yet to find any documentation on this committee or on the ceremony as a whole except for the booklet published by the Department of Information 1960, and a clipping from a newspaper at the time.
25. Documentation on Ekadasa Rudra 1963 is quite extensive. Published works include Bagus 1974, Gede 1962, Grader 1970, Panitia 1963, Department of Information 1963, various issues of Kala Wrtta and Suara Indonesia (clippings from the latter in Grader Collection, UBL). Unpublished documentation consisting of various stencilled reports and directives are in the Sangka Collection (Krambitan) and the Grader Collection. These I cite according to my own numbering EDR63/S/1-11.
26. I have found no evidence that President Sukarno was in any way involved with the decision to hold Ekadasa Rudra. Various sources denied it. I am also doubtful whether he was involved in the decision to continue the ceremony after the mountain began to erupt, as related in Hanna 1976:114-5 and repeated in Lansing 1983:136-7.
27. I have yet to find a copy of this directive (No.526/B 6/5/113) which became known as the 'cremation directive' (instruksi ngaben). Exceptions included the bodily remains of national heroes in heroes' cemeteries, of those given special ceremonies according to local adat (e.g. Trunyan, Sembiran and Songan were mentioned), of children under 105 days, and of course the remains of the dead of other religions (Gede 1962:134-5).
28. Bali's sole newspaper of the time was Suara Indonesia but unfortunately the clippings in the Grader Collection begin only in February 1963. Kala Wrtta, the magazine of the Dinas Agama, also carried directives aimed at officials rather than villagers. Presumably the local station of Radio Republik Indonesia was also used. The fullest information on the implementation of this directive is in Gede 1962. For the impact with regards the determination of descent group affiliation, see Chapter 5.
29. A ritual called pangerapuhan di setra-setra was held at all graveyards during December 1962. Holy waters for this ritual included tirtha tunggang from Besakih, tirtha pangentas from a high priest, and other kinds of tirtha according to local custom. Finally, on behalf of all uncremated dead everywhere, a tarpana saji ritual was held at Menanga, near Besakih, on 29 December (Kala Wrtta II(22-23):3, II(24):8).
30. These consisted of a pemelepeh ritual (involving guru piduka, balik sumpah, and pengererebu), while balik sumpah rituals were held at regency level and smaller caru at villages (Suara Indonesia 23 and 27 Feb.). In the days that followed, preliminary rituals were held as planned: holy water was

obtained at Mt.Semeru in Java, pejati rituals were held at the Sadkahyangan temples, and pakelem rituals at seas and lakes.

31. Only the pakelem ritual at the summit of the mountain was forbidden on the Governor's orders although there were men willing to do it (Suara Indonesia 6 and 8 March). Instead, a substitute ceremony was held at a large hole dug for the purpose near Pura Pangubengan.
32. Suara Indonesia 14 March 1963, translated in Mathews 1965:107. For a 19th century view of human sacrifice in Bali, see Friederich 1959:73.
33. Nuees ardentees and lahar flows claimed hundreds of victims especially in the higher villages of Selat district. A layer of lapilli covered the ground at Besakih to a depth of 25-30cm. On 2 April the Gunung Agung Command Operation, on the advice of volcanologists, declared a 'closed area' of ten kilometers radius from the summit, from which all inhabitants had to evacuate. Besakih lay within this area. The Committee decided that the ceremony would go on, supervised by the smallest number of people possible. Worshippers, however, would nyawang (worship from a distance) from the safety of Menanga, outside the danger zone. Similarly, the celebration of Bhatara Turun Kabeh on 9 April, the other great day of the festival, would involve nyawang. The final ritual (panyimpenan) of the whole months-long festival took place on 20 April 1963, almost a month before the mountain's second paroxysmal eruption of 16 May, after which activity gradually decreased.
34. On these differing views generally, see Surpha 1979:12-13.
35. In support of his view, the Pedanda told a long story of a folkhealer (balian) from Sibetan who in a mystical experience was taken up a flight of steps to the top of the mountain by a holy man who performed yoga on the summit.
36. The response to this last event was a ritual called dirghayusa bumi, held at Besakih on 25 August 1976.
37. The following account of preparatory meetings is largely based on Mas Putra 1979.
38. Chairmen I -IV were Chairman of Parisada, provincial head of Department of Religion, head of the office of public welfare in the Governor's office, and Chairman of Prawartaka. For list of committee members, see Panitia 1979:lamp.
39. On Panca Walikrama 1978, see Panitia 1978, Pendit 1978, Mas Putra 1979, WHD 128-129 (1978), Bali Post March-April 1978, and documentation of the committee. On Ekadasa Rudra 1979, see Panitia 1979 and 1979b, Parisada Hindu Dharma Pusat 1981, Stuart-Fox 1982, Surpha 1979, newspaper reports, and documentation of the committee (in my numbering, EDR79/A- /1-).
40. The two Denpasar dailies, Bali Post and Tenggara, provided constant coverage, and their reports are an important source of

information. The weekly English edition of the Bali Post (now defunct) also provided detailed reports.

41. Two major national dailies, the Christian-based Sinar Harapan and Kompas, and to a lesser extent other dailies, printed a number of reports. The festival was also reported in national tourist industry magazines (e.g. Media Wisata 5/II 30 April 1979, Travel Indonesia I (1) July 1979). For stories in the foreign media and magazines, see Eiseman and Miller 1980 (National Geographic), Gartenstein and Baglin 1979 (Geo Australia), Asiaweek 20 April 1979. Australian newspapers (The Australian, The Age 6 Feb.1979) drew attention to the sacrifice of animals. An Australian film company produced an hour-long documentary called 'The Eleven Powers' with narration by Orson Welles.
42. In further recognition of the status of Hinduism, a few years later the government declared the holy day Nyepi a national holiday. All official religions in Indonesia now have one or more holy days as national holidays.

NOTES TO APPENDIX A

1. PB625. I wish to thank Drs. I Gede Semadi Astra for allowing me access to his unpublished Indonesian translation of this edict.
2. The iron-keyed selunding orchestra is known to date from pre-Majapahit times. In west Karangasem it may not be mere coincidence that the villages which possess at least a few selunding keys are precisely those which I consider the old core villages. Selunding keys are found at Duda (a couple of keys, honoured but not played), Selat (still played with all due honour), Muncan (formerly two keys, stolen about 1965/66), Besakih (a complete set of keys but the knowledge to play it is lost), and Pemuteran (keys kept in a pura dadia there).
3. Staat atji 1929: nos.343-5 (nos.341-383 for the Duda area as a whole). Lekutuk (now Perangsari) possesses a written awig-awig which I have not seen.
4. A short undated inscription kept in the 'pura puseh' of Bangbangbiaung suggests that this is a separate adat entity, with a particular territory whose boundaries are mentioned. The western boundary is Tukad Nyuling.
5. On Selat generally, see Goris 1969c, and a large amount of documentation in the Korn Coll. It is possible that Kanuruhan was not located exactly where Selat now is, or that the river has changed its course.
6. Awig-Awig Desa Selat, passim. Text in Korn Coll. 170 (fiche 624), Indonesian translation in Korn Coll. 160. The text bears a date equivalent to 19 Jan.1858. See also HKS.3883:6.11-12, 9.2-4.
7. On Santi, see Goris 1969 and Korn Coll.160.

8. On Sogra, see RPI 6.17-25, RPII 3.11-24; HKS.3882: 38.6-39.5; HKS.3883:19.12-18; SF-Bes.9:6b, 15b; also Pasek texts.
9. On Pranasih, see note 17
10. On Pasek Sebung, see HKS.3883:8.9-14. On Dukuh Sebung, see HKS.3726:5.3, 19.9-10; HKS.3728:51.9, 62.4-5; HKS.3938:passim. People at Linggasana, Pesangkan, and Sanggem claim descent from Dukuh Sebung. (Bukit) Galah is mentioned in RPI 9.26 and 16.22-24. According to HKS.3883:8.10, village leadership at Bukit Galah was in the hands of a Pande kin group originating from Besakih; this group still exists.
11. Monografi Desa Sebudi 1982:4 (no source given). On Sebudi, see also Korn Coll.161/f.559.
12. Sukaluwih is mentioned in various texts, e.g. RPI 9.26, 16.19-32; RPII 4.6; HKS.3883:8.13-9.3, 17.10.
13. In the Raja Purana texts (RPI 2.7-10, 10.33; RPII 2.14) Macetra clearly possesses its own territory (qumi). On Macetra, see also HKS.3882:41.5. Macetra is really short for Umacetra: uma means 'sawah' while the meaning of cetra here is uncertain but may be associated with the ninth lunar month. Old inscriptions (PB 305: VIa5) mention a tax or contribution called pacetra. The village now calls itself Umasari.
14. More than 80% of the inhabitants of Padangaji are members of the Arya Bang Sidemen descent group, from which the klihan adat must be chosen. Further information in the babad dealing with this descent group. For settlement by this group, see e.g. SF-Bes.2:9b.
15. On Badeg Kelodan, see babad of Arya Bang Sidemen descent group; also RPII 4.7; K.955:38b.
16. On Badeg, see RPI 23.19-20, 25.23; RPII 12.7-10; HKS.3883:8.11; HKS.3882:32.10. The dukuh priest of Badeg is mentioned in HKS.3726:5.2-3. The kin group at Badeg Dukuh claims descent from this priest.
17. Sikuwan/Sikuhan and Pranasih/Pranasuka/Renasih are mentioned in several passages in the Raja Purana (RPI 6.19, 9.26, and 16.21-32). A passage in HKS.3883:8ab (...ring Prenasih, Tangkas mandesanin, ...ring Sikuwan, Tangkas mandesanin) indicating which kin group is in charge, proves that these places were indeed settlements and not just fields.
18. These settlements are closely associated with the important temple Pura Linjong in the southern part of Muncan's territory, which appears to be essentially an agricultural temple. The gods of Banjar Langsat (now in Rendang) are considered the daughter and son-in-law of the gods of Pura Linjong. Between the gods of Pura Linjong and Pura Patemon in Sanggem there is a complementary relationship marked by an exchange of visits. Sanggem appears to have originally been a part of the old village of Sangkan Gunung whose pura puseh has a kehen as its main shrine.

19. This, I believe, marks the easternmost expansion of the Satria Taman Bali, and possibly dates back to late Gelgel times. There is another branch at Menanga.
20. According to one informant, Pejeng was granted as a kind of fief to I Gusti Kebon, punggawa of Rendang who, it appears, had rights to taxes on this land, that otherwise were due to the raja. Perhaps it became a separate adat village at that time (early 20th century). I have no information on Yeh Aa. Susut is still part of Muncan.
21. RPII 12.21-13.18 is a passage akin to an edict detailing Sarilewih's obligations to Pura Besakih. Payasan and Singarata are also mentioned, so I assume their inhabitants are among the people (wong) of Sarilewih. Budiastira, Sukiya Astuthi 1977 gives text and translation of an inscription kept in a dadia temple at Lebih, that is also a kind of edict, but different from that in RPII. See also RPI 6.2-8 and 9.25. HKS.3883:9.11-14 says there is common kin group origin among the Pasek Daya, Payasan, Singarata, Punggul Besi (there is a temple of this name) and Pupus Bang Sari (part of Temukus). Although Bunga is now considered part of the adat village of Lebih, it has its own pura puseh and pura dalem.
22. It appears that both Singarata and Payasan were residences of dukuh priests. For example, one text (HKS.3726:5.2, also 19.11-20.3) says that "I Dukuh Tinggarata atunggu ring Sarilewih". Dukuh (or Sang Kukuh) Singarata is said to have had two sons, Dukuh Lewih and Dukuh Cangkung who are honoured at small temples which Kesimpar look after. There are no descendants. Dukuh Payasan, on the other hand, is the eponymous ancestor of a small descent group with members at Lebih, Tegenan, and Asahduren (Tabanan). Padangaji also has responsibilities at Pura Singarata and the nearby Pura Punggul Besi.
23. On Rendang, see Monografi Desa Rendang 1981:4-6.
24. RPI 12.36-13.3, 23.15, 24.19; RPII 11.8-9 (where it is called Banjar Kamukus). On Temukus generally, my main informant was Mk.Ketil, pemanqku of the pura puseh. I Wayan Gentiada of Menanga, a former perbekel of Besakih, called Temukus, together with Geliang, a desa madasan. The significance of the term is obscure to me, but since Geliang was certainly once part of Besakih, Temukus probably was also.
25. HKS.3883:9.12 mentions a Pupus Bang Sari. Mk.Ketil of Temukus said that there used to be an old village with the name of Kukus Bang Sarilewih. Kukus Bang, west of Tukad Dalem, became Temukus; Sarilewih, east of the river, became Lebih.
26. My main informant on Tarib was Mk. Puja of Besakih.
27. The inscription of 1444 (line 3) has a passage that may be translated either as "village land in the valley" or "the land in the village Lebak". The latter name is not known, so the former translation is the more likely. A reference to a valley may refer to that of the river Telaga Waja. Main informants on

Batusesa were Mk.Nara (pemangku of pura puseh) and Wy.Pageh (klihan adat), and on Tegenan were Mk.Kerti (pemangku of pura puseh) and Wy. Sukarma (klihan adat). Mk. Nara possesses awiq-awiq dealing with Batusesa.

28. The temple is now supported by a dadia which also has a separate pura dadia. Formerly temples were sometimes the responsibility (as panqamong) of a dadia, the difference between responsibility and ownership sometimes becoming blurred.
29. To suggest that both villages were once within Besakih territory does not necessarily imply that they were offshoots from Besakih. They may have been founded by immigrants, though I think the former the more likely. Certainly their populations have been boosted by immigrant groups. Changes in names and claimed origins of dadia cast in doubt their value for historical purposes. For example, Batusesa has five dadia out of twelve and Tegenan four out of ten that now call themselves Pasek Gelgel. However Tegenan has two kin groups that did originate from Besakih: a Pasek Gelgel group that still supports a pura dadia at Besakih together with Besakih villagers (this could be a recent expansion), and a Dukuh Seganing group with its own pura dadia at Tegenan but which supports its warga temple at Besakih. It is interesting that the Dukuh Seganing is one of three kin groups possessing tanah ayahan, the others being Pasek Gelgel (Pikulan/Tikulan) and Pasek Kayu Selem. Immigrant groups at Tegenan include a dadia Pasek Gelgel originating from Waringin (Pempatan), another dadia Pasek Gelgel with ritual relations to Pura Panca Panawa in Pule territory, and a dadia Dukuh Payasan from Lebih. It is worth noting also that tradition claims that Tegenan was formerly located upridge from its present location. At Batusesa, no kin group has relationships with any pura dadia at Besakih. Besides the five dadia Pasek Gelgel, there are four dadia Kebontubuh, and one each of Tangkas, Pulasari, and Dukuh Blatung. Blatung, though part of Batusesa, has an identity of its own, and is the point of origin of the whole warga Dukuh Blatung.
30. These temples are nos. 76-79 and 81-82 of Fig.4.1.
31. Babad Kabakaba (Coll.HKS.); also genealogy of the Talibeng branch (Coll.Dewa Gede Catra, Amlapura).
32. Babad Kabakaba 22.13-24.6; also Babad Pulasari texts. HKS.3728:55.6-8 says that I Gusti Ngurah Keladian married a daughter of Dukuh Seganing (Dukuh Seganing texts vary greatly in details).
33. Main informants on Geliang were Mk.Tamped (Geliang) and Ng.Dangin.
34. Geliang people moved to Asahduren (Jembrana), Gunung Kunyit (Kintamani), Bulaan (Buleleng) and Juklegi (Baturiti). Many other families migrated to Sumatra and Sulawesi after the 1963 eruption.
35. The story goes (as told by Mk. Tamped of Geliang) that when

Panji Sakti invaded the Ban area of Dajan Bukit, he came south of the Bubung pass. The inhabitants fled, one group going to Guliang (Bangli), the other, carrying the village gods with them, to Besakih. They installed their gods in a temple on the ridge across the stream from Pura Batu Madeg. Panji Sakti, it is said, stopped at Pura Paninjoan, just short of Besakih proper, then turned back. When all was safe again, the Geliang people returned to their village.

36. Mk. Tamped said the village should have been responsible for the temple, but it had been totally neglected. Nothing remained but mounds marking the sites of former shrines and a number of 'megalithic' stones when the 'Dukuh Suladri' group rebuilt it. Some members of this dadia now consider the temple their responsibility, others believe the village should again look after it.
37. Staat atji 1929: nos.482-485. Bukit Catu was forced to move when the area was made into state forest.
38. Main informant was the pemangku of the pura puseh. Kubakal is mentioned in many Pasek texts; see Soebandi 1982:117,244,322. In RPI 25.12-15, 26.5 and K.955:39a, it is mentioned under the name Kawubakal or Kayubakal.
39. On Arya Kuta Waringin, see Catra 1980. On Arya Gajah Para, see Kanta n.d. Also Babad Pulasari texts.

NOTES TO APPENDIX B

1. The candi bentar has now become an all-purpose gateway to factory, hotel and office-block. Enormous candi bentar stand at the entrance to the Nusa Dua Hotel complex and another as one gets off the ferry at Gilimanuk, the western point of entry into Bali from Java.
2. Directives concerning megat sot are found in several ritual texts, e.g. K.63:4b-6b and BPPLA Gianyar:40-42.
3. The restoration of both candi bentar and kori agung was financed by projects of the Directorate of Culture, Department of Education and Culture. Costs varied somewhat among sources. One set of figures (Bali Post 28 March 1983) were kori agung Rp.56,430,000, candi bentar Rp.24,000,000, and bale mundar-mandir Rp.10,000,000.
4. On mlepas and padaqingan, see Adri 1983. Kuturan texts on these matters include K.753, K.1338:7.13ff, HKS.1741:10-11,16-17. Architectural treatises also deal with these rituals. An important text used for the mlepas of Besakih's kori agung was the "Nihan pamahayu kori agung" in Asta Kosali (Coll. Pad. Md. Sidemen, Geria Taman, Sanur)(Building Information Centre n.d.:27-28, item 41/42).
5. This kind of pavilion is defined differently in different texts,

- e.g. 1) ten posts, three short posts, limas roof (Building Information Centre n.d.:5) 2) 11 posts, three short posts, three spaces/rong, limas roof (Atmanadhi c.1975:42). It is said that formerly in this pavilion at Besakih the four central posts were short, and did not continue up to the crossbeams as they do now.
6. Shrine to this deity is also found at Pura Dalem Penasan (Banjarangkan, Klungkung) (Bali Post 2 April 1977), and I know of a holy spring called Sula Majemuh.
 7. On the lingga generally, see Hooykaas 1964a:141-90. Lingga, worked or unworked, are found in scores of temples; some, such as that at Pura Pucak Bon, are still the focus of ritual.
 8. Pura Puseh Kubakal owns a prasasti lontar of 27 leaves. According to I Dewa Gede Catra who has read this text (and whom I wish to thank for this information) the text says that the god of the Pura Puseh Kubakal is the son of Dalem Ratu Pamutering Jagat whom he thought might refer to Besakih which is otherwise unmentioned.
 9. Soebandi 1982:117, 244, 322; Babad Dalem (Pamrajan Pambahyun) (Jero Kanginan, Sidemen):19a; Silsilah Pasek Sanak Sapta Rsi (Sumerta, 1969)
 10. On Pura Kentel Gumi (Trunyan) see Goris in Spies 1933:251 n.3. Temple of same name at Rendang.
 11. Siyem is the country Siam (Thailand) and perhaps because it originated there also the name of a dark gemstone. Is there a placename Siyem in Java? In various texts the name appears in lists of Javanese and foreign place-names, e.g. K.360:2a, K.534:2a, K.719:3a. The term tumpur siyem (a kind of plague or epidemic?) appears in HKS.3883:3.5, 12.3. See also KBW III.310 sv.siyem and III.248-9 sv.sulaksana.
 12. Special marriage offerings include base wakulan, base gede, base buah, kuskus injin, kuskus ketan etc. These offerings are later taken to the bride's natal home (placed above bed of bride's father?) and dismantled three days later.
 13. At Lebih, at least, pangapih was paid in addition to a dowry or maskawin of 10,000 coin (Korn Coll. 161/559). Another source (EDR 1963/S/3:4) says that pangapih was paid (only?) in tuku ('buy') marriages which involved the 10,000 coin bride-price (panuku).
 14. Ratu Ayu Subandar at Pura Dalem Balingkang (Pinggan, Kintamani)(IHD n.d.:239, Widia 1979); Bhatara Sakti Masbandar at Pura Kehen (Bangli) (IHD 1982); Ratu Ayu Suan Subandar at Sanggah Dadia Mangku Madias (Trunyan)(Danandjaja 1980:653); Ratu Ayu Subandar at Pura Dukun Bubung (Daya).
 15. The name Hyang Hatu is mentioned in an inscription dated 1204 (Kehen C, PB 705:IIIb7).
 16. It seems curious that the naga was seemingly of little

significance in the period of Bali's early inscriptions (not mentioned in wordlist of Goris 1954). In Majapahit Java, the naga seems to be of more significance, as is suggested by the famous Naga temple at Candi Penataran. A study of the naga in old Java and Bali would be worthwhile.

17. The arching form of the bamboo penjor represents the body of the naga, the beautiful palm leaf sampian its jewel-tipped tail, the little shrine its upturned head. In a consciously Hindu interpretation, the ears of rice, fruits and cookies, the fruits of the earth, represent the hairs along the back of Naga Anantabhoga; the sampian represents the tail of Naga Basuki, its jewel being the betel ingredients of porosan silih-asih being the jewel which symbolizes the naga's favours to mankind; the sangqar represents Naga Taksaka.
18. In former days settlements lay further upridge than they do today. Between Sogra and Pasar Agung were Sangkan Kuasa (abandoned after the 1963 eruption), Langkan Batu and Pranasih/Pranasuka.

NOTES TO APPENDIX C

1. Gora Sirikan 1957:III.15. Makna n.d.:11 says it should be held on kajeng-kliwon uwudan of tenth month, or at latest in Jyesta (11th month). EDR 1963/S/3:18 says kajeng or kajeng-kliwon of the second month (Karo).
2. A cockfight takes place outside the temple prior to the ceremony, and the cock killed in the first round, suitably prepared, must be offered at the temporary shrine just outside the entrance (asagan/sangqar di jaba). Such a flesh offering of a bird killed at a cockfight is called be cundang. Other special offerings on this outside shrine, directed to disruptive demonic forces, include a guling babi and a tumpeng guling with especially large rice cones.
3. Gora Sirikan 1957:III.15; Makna n.d.:11; EDR 1963/S/3:5,24.
4. RPI 13.30-32 (a very confusing passage); EDR 1963/S/3:12. See also Appendix B (Pura Pangubengan).
5. Staat Atji 1929:nos.602,603; Notulen Paroeman Kerta Negara 10 Dec.1935. Cf.Gora Sirikan 1957:III.10,19 (he reverses order:ngebekang -- puinama kaulu, aci sarin tahun -- tilem kaulu); Makna n.d.:9,13 (ngebekang -- puinama kaulu, aci sarin tahun -- tilem kaulu); EDR 1963/S/3:20 (ngebekang -- puinama kasa, aci sarin tahun -- tilem kasa).
6. A good example is piodalan ngebekin at Pura Luhur Entap Sai at Bon (Petang, Badung) (see IHD n.d.:111-124, esp.114-16).
7. K.1338:19a and EDR 1963/S/9:36.7-9 gives same description which consists of list of offerings, quite different from those at Besakih.

8. K.63:9ab, LOr 13.679:21.14-22.6, and BPPLA Gianyar:32.31-44 give the same passage which lists offerings at very elaborate level, including a buffalo. BPPLA Gianyar:32.45-33.15 and EDR 1963/S/9:21.1-22.15, which have parts in common but are not identical, also gives details of a different though still elaborate ceremony, in which the god of Mt. Agung and Dewi Danu at Batur are also specifically honoured. The former reference says fourth or eighth months are suitable times. See also Parisada Hindu Dharma (Kab.Tabanan) 1981:46-47.
9. Staat Atji 1929:no.595 (simply called usaba Pura Batu Madeg); Notulen Paroeman Kerta Negara 10 Dec.1935; Gora Sirikan 1957:III.12-13 (stanzas 67-69).
10. Notulen Paroeman Kerta Negara 10 Dec.1935. An undated pangeling from around the turn of the century calls the ceremony usaba siram.
11. I have not witnessed this ceremony; it was scheduled to be held 1985 for the first time in some 20 years.
12. Since usaba dalem puri falls on a kajeng, so too do usaba nyungsung and usaba buluh, but the day of full moon, when usaba ngeed is held, need not be kajeng. According to one knowledgeable informant (Wayan Gentiada), formerly usaba ngeed took place three days after usaba buluh, which would have been kajeng, whether it was full moon or not.
13. In its elaborate enactment, the two deities are ritually requested to descend into their god-symbols, Bhatari Sri into her coin statue at Merajan Selonding, and Rambut Sadana into his offering-like daksina palingqih, a temporary substitute god-symbol. Other than at Bhatara Turun Kabeh, only at usaba ngeed and Pura Gelap's aci pangenteg jagat, are such god-symbols used; similarly, as at Bhatara Turun Kabeh, the two deities honoured in usaba ngeed are carried to the sacred bathing place for their god-symbols and other accessories to be purified (malasti). On their return Bhatari Sri is enshrined in Pura Banua, while Rambut Sadana returns to his meru. In the elaborate enactment of this ritual, the two deities remain in residence for a longer period, requiring supplementary rituals.
14. If marebu is not performed during a person's lifetime, a special version of it is held in conjunction with death rites.
15. For example, the distinctive sesayut raja pinoma of usaba ngeed is different only in name from the sesayut seroja of the marebu ritual (Mk.Puja).
16. Information on such rituals in connection with magic oils, I owe to Mangku Liyer of Pengosekan; on homa, see Hooykas 1983:523, 567ff.
17. This caru also includes a duck (bebek belangkalung) which is either laid out separately, as is the bull, or is added to the five-chicken caru in the direction kelod-kanqin. A dandan accompanies the bull, a daanan the chickens.

18. When, for a long time, finance from public sources was not available, the dadia itself financed the ritual in the belief that misfortune would strike them if it were not celebrated.
19. Many booklets published on this subject; e.g., see Pendit 1984, and titles listed in Stuart-Fox 1979.

REFERENCES

Abbreviations

ARB	Adatrechtbundels
BEFEO	Bulletin d'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient
BKI	Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
EDR63/S/1-11	Ekadasa Rudra 1963, documents in the Collection of I Gusti Ketut Sangka (Krambitan, Tabanan) (my numbering)
EDR79/...	Ekadasa Rudra 1979, documents in the author's collection (my numbering)
IHD	Institut Hindu Dharma (Denpasar)
KBI	Kamus Bahasa Bali-Indonesia (Warna et al 1978)
KBW	Kawi-Balinesesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek (Tuuk 1897-1912)
KITLV	Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
MvO	Memorie van Overgave
PHD	Parisada Hindu Dharma
RP	Raja Purana Pura Besakih
TBG	Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, uitgegeven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen
TNI	Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indie
WHD	Warta Hindu Dharma

Balinese Manuscripts

Gedong Kirtya, Singaraja (K)	
K.22	Usana Bali
K.41a	Sri Jayakasunu (I Gst.Ngurah Mayun, Sibangkaja)
K.63	Parembon Babanten (Ped. Md. Sidemen, Sanur)
K.172	Mpu Kuturan (Ped. Ny. Dangin, Bangli)
K.238	Babad Dukuh Suladri
K.360	Usana Jawa (I Rineng, Kesiman, Denpasar)
K.385	Purana Kahyangan Besakih (Puri Gobraja, Singaraja)
K.534	Prasasti
K.719	Babad Gumi
K.753	Mpu Kuturan (Ped. Kt. Buruan, Pegesangan, Lombok)
K.815	Kanda Sasana (Ped. Nyoman, Siangan, Gianyar)
K.827	Raja Purana Pasung Grigis
K.955	Babad Pasek Gelgel (A.A. Pt. Djlantik, Raja Buleleng)
K.1028	Raja Purana Pasung Grigis
K.1043	Usana Bali (Bungkulan, Buleleng)
K.1196	Dewa Tatwa Medang Kamulan
K.1252	Babad Dalem (formerly Coll. R.Goris)
K.1298	Sangkal Pinge I Kt. Kadjeng, Banjar Tegal, Buleleng)
K.1338	Dewa Tatwa (Pan Tunas, Penarungan, Buleleng)
K.1341	Raja Purana Pura Besakih (formerly Coll. C. Grader)
K.1470	Piagem Pura Besakih (Karangasem)
K.1476	Lebu Guntur (Ida Kt. Sari, Sanur)
K.1531	Raja Purana Pura Besakih (Ida Md. Bukian, Sanur)
K.1921	Babad Sukahet
K.2050	Bhuwana Tatwa (Ped. Pt. Tangkeban, Banjar)
K.2287	Dangdang Bungalan (Singaraja)

- Project Hooykaas-(I Gusti Ngurah) Ketut Sangka (HKS)
- HKS.1208 Babad Ngurah Sidemen (Jero Kaleran, Sidemen)
- HKS.1396 Puja Guru Paduka (Geria Pidada, Sidemen)
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- HKS.1833 Usana Bali (Geria Pidada, Klungkung)
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