LAND, ANCESTORS AND MEN
Social Structures in the Making

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Except where otherwise acknowledged, the data and interpretation in this thesis represent the results of my own research.

Arlette Filloux
This thesis centers upon the maintenance of the social structures through the norms and values forming the ethos of a Balinese village. It is focused primarily upon the husband and wife pair during the active period of their life, because the conjugal unit is the agency who contributes to the preservation of the normative status quo through its actions in the social, economic and ritual domains. The welfare of the village community rests upon the ability and willingness of this unit to discharge its social duties and fulfill its social roles in a manner which is both appropriate to the situation of the moment and in accordance with the existing norms. The status of the conjugal unit within the village illustrates fundamental Balinese ideas about the purpose of human existence and the nature of human action.

Human life is conceived as a transitional period when the ancestral soul incarnates "to fetch food" (ngalih nasi), and a distinction is made between two dimensions of the person. One dimension is intimately linked with consciousness and social interactions, and is the prerogative of human existence from birth to death. The second dimension is identified with the continuity of the descent line and is associated with ancestry, from the time of death until reincarnation. Together, they constitute two complementary aspects of the ancestral group which moves as a single body managed by the living in the name of the dead.

All human actions entail an alteration of the social and/or material environment and have a similar bearing upon the visible and invisible worlds. In order to be effective, human activities must have a ritual as well as an instrumental aspect. The legitimacy of an action depends as much upon the efficacy of its ends as on its conformity to the established norms.

The village ethos rests entirely upon the interplay between the fundamental unity of purpose of the Balinese ancestral group and the perceived impact of human action upon the world. As such the social structures must be flexible enough to adapt to the changing requirements of the moment without losing their relevance for the community.
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In contrast with many other disciplines, anthropology depends greatly upon the quality of the data collected in the field and this is governed to a large extent by the good will of our informants and their readiness to accept us within their culture. I want to extend my thanks to the people of Piling for their wholehearted welcome as a member of the village during my period of fieldwork in Bali. While it is not possible to mention everyone, my thoughts go first and foremost to Kiang Gun in whose houseyard I resided for the main part of my stay and his wife, Dadong Gun, to whom I owe my introduction to the art of making offerings. My warm thanks go also to their daughter-in-law Men Gun and to Men Suprapta who were my constant companions for the length of my stay and taught me so much about the ways and customs of the Balinese.

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Finally, a special note of thanks goes to Paul Ottino without whose unfailing enthusiasm and constant support in every way this thesis would never have been finished.
MAP OF BALI

(from Swellengrebel et al., 1960)
FOREWORD

This work was started in Canberra and finished in Tamatave, Madagascar. It is the result of six years of full-time study begun in 1985, which included a full year of fieldwork spent sharing the life of the population of a village in the central mountainlands of Bali, Indonesia. I moved to Piling in the second half of January 1986 and left it one year later in January 1987. This was followed by a short stay of two months in December 1987 and January 1988 to verify some minor points.

My selection of the village was guided partly by anthropological reasons which are set out below, and partly because of the aesthetic appeal and personal attraction which Piling and its population had upon me from the start. I liked the place for its scenic beauty and the harmonious contrast between the natural wilderness of the volcanic ridges and the man-made terraces, and the people for their proud stance and their non-conformity. While, strictly speaking, a natural affinity with the people and the place are not essential for carrying out fieldwork, nevertheless I believe that it can help sustain the anthropologist's enthusiasm in low times, and add considerably to the richness of the experiences in the field at any other time.
Fieldwork, for a single female researcher, necessitates a higher level of involvement with people than would be required of a single male researcher or a married couple. For one thing, the culture we enter usually has no ready-made category for a single woman to be fitted in, and we must carve out our own sometimes out of trial and error. It is customary for a single woman who enters the Balinese desa adat to become automatically integrated into someone's houseyard. This has many advantages but also its inconveniences. Living close to the people we study gives us an easy entry into the many events, activities and minor or major dramas which make up the day-to-day life in the village, either because we are enmeshed in them ourselves or because we see them unfolding in front of our eyes, and this provides us with a far deeper insight into the psychological and social make-up of those people than would ever be available to a researcher living alone in a separate houseyard. In this respect, the ambiguous status of the single female researcher can be extremely helpful as it is possible to straddle the domains of female and male knowledge which are kept strictly separate for the members of the culture. As a woman, it was deemed natural that I should take part in women's tasks and thus I helped prepare food and offerings for many a ritual held at home, in the fields or in some temple. As a result, I was able to collect a considerable quantity of minutely detailed data on the topics of food, work and ritual, some of which has been included here in the tables on collective work and rituals. Yet I could also be accorded when necessary, the status of "honorary male" to attend, for instance, a subak meeting, or to be seated next
to the officiating priest during a temple ritual in order to follow the unfolding of the ceremony in its smallest details and discuss these details with him afterwards. This moving back and forth between the male and the female domains in a society where gender roles are strongly stereotyped and normative is, I believe, one of the most positive aspects of entering a culture as a single female researcher.

At the same time however, the possibility that this total immersion into the culture can make us lose temporarily our sense of anthropological objectivity which can be better preserved if we stand at some spatial and cultural distance from our informants, should not be disregarded. One of the main disadvantages of being so deeply involved in the life of one houseyard is that we are expected to adopt and respect the values and loyalties of the family, all the more so when, as a single woman, one is placed into the social category of "daughter" of the head of the houseyard, and as such must conform to the cultural stereotypes which deny the unmarried woman the status of adult and make her forever reliant upon a male figure to decide what is the best course of action for her. Who can be interviewed and in what conditions becomes subjected to the approval of the head of the houseyard. In practical terms, this means that some informants can be interviewed only in restricted conditions because they are married men and as such, according to the cultural norms, should never speak to an unmarried woman in private; interactions with these informants can only take place in a formalized and public setting. Other informants again, remain forever out of bounds, either because they are on non-
speaking terms with the family or, as was the case in this village, they have converted to Christianity and have moved to another social space where it would be improper to seek them.

My gathering of data was governed largely by these factors but also by the activities of the villagers. As a member of the houseyard, one is unavoidably caught in people's schedules and these are determined primarily by the agricultural cycle. The year is divided into "busy times" when the whole village is out in the fields from morning to night, and "quiet times" when the lull in the agricultural activities enables people to turn their attention to the residential village where, however, they would seldom be found more often than half a day now and then and always in the context of some collective work party. As a rule, the whole village was usually awake by dawn, then after a one-hour hustle and bustle during which the fire was lit and the breakfast rice steamed, the daily bus left Piling at 5.30 am for Tabanan and Denpasar carrying the office workers and the schoolteachers; and the children who were rostered to attend school in the morning would walk to Penebel to start at 6 am while those on the afternoon roster would join their parents in the fields. By 7 am, unless there was a collective work party or a temple festival to prepare, most adult men and women were in their fields, located sometimes as far as three kilometers away from their own houseyard. Except for the stall-holders, the old people and the very young children, the village was deserted until lunchtime when the schoolchildren and the farmers came home to eat and rest briefly. The second roster of schoolchildren would leave the village at 1 pm and return at 6 pm, while the
others took over to help in the fields until 5 pm when everyone finally came home after feeding cows, pigs and other domestic animals. At night, after bathing and dining and if no meeting or collective work was planned, the men would come and sit at the road-stalls to converse or watch television in a neighbour's houseyard while the women stayed home or visited some friend to prepare the offerings always needed for some small or elaborate domestic ritual. This daily schedule hardly ever varied except for a temple festival or if someone had died, an occasion which would bring the whole village momentarily to a halt.

As a consequence people were, on the whole, very busy and seldom available or willing to sit for formal interviews at night, after a tiring day in the fields. As such, I found that the most efficient way of gathering data was for me simply to follow my informants in their various tasks. Except for two systematic surveys, a kinship survey and a survey of the land tenure and exploitation of agricultural fields for which I enlisted the help of two young assistants from the village, most of the data was collected informally while sharing the activities of my informants. I used to carry a small notebook in my pocket and would take some brief notes, sometimes on the spur of the moment or as soon as practicable during a pause, then I would recopy it at home, during the evening. I also kept a daily diary where I recorded the minor events happening in the village as well as personal thoughts. This diary proved useful later, in putting together the case studies presented in this study. This method had the advantage of not placing my informants in
artificial situations where they were forced to take a reflexive stance upon their culture, something which they would never do in normal circumstances. One of its main inconveniences however, apart from the fact that the data is not reported verbatim, is that it is relatively time and energy consuming, and can only take place within a background of friendly relations which can, in the long run, condition our choice of informants according to criteria of mutual like or dislike not directly relevant to our purposes. In spite of these restrictions, I nevertheless believe that the data gathered in an informal context while sharing in the daily routine of our informants has a quality of freshness and a spontaneity which can be difficult or even impossible to obtain in the context of formal interviews and as such, whenever the opportunity arose, I always preferred the informal setting of a rice-field, a kitchen or a temple to speaking to someone across a table in the reception area of the houseyard.

INTRODUCTION

Piling is located on the southern slopes of Gunung Batukau, the volcano dominating the province (kabupaten) of Tabanan in south-west Bali. It is reached from the town of Tabanan via 19 kilometers of badly eroded bitumen road to Penebel, then, from Penebel, via a dirt road climbing six kilometers into the volcano, which becomes impassable to vehicles during the wet
season (cf. map on following page). Piling lies at the end of this dirt road, surrounded by terraced rice-fields, just below the narrow belt of coffee plantations which merges into the rain-forest covering the upper half of Gunung Batukau. The population of the village are dedicated wet-rice farmers, although the change-over to irrigation is relatively recent, having been developed gradually during the first half of this century. Prior to this, dry-land rice (padi gaga) was grown in permanent fields. The rainfall abundant and regular throughout the year, the rich volcanic soil and the cool climate of the mountain make this area eminently suitable for the cultivation of padi gaga and Piling, together with other neighbouring villages, were in the past important providers of this highly-esteemed rice to the palace of the kings of Tabanan.

The village is situated in a region of Bali which is classified as remote because it lies away from the main town centers and is difficult of access, and marginal because it is populated by non-caste Balinese who are reputed for their independent spirit and their strong resistance throughout the centuries, to any intrusion by outside influences. The population of Gunung Batukau do not accept the legitimacy of the Tri-Wangsa caste order and, until today, no Brahmanical high-priest (pedanda) who is a representative of this caste order, is allowed to perform rituals in Piling or in other villages of the area. Gunung Batukau was the last place in Bali to fall to the Dutch after the defeat of Wangaya Gede in Tuakilang, and was only superficially touched by the Dutch colonization. Later, when Bali began to feel the first
stirrings of nationalism, the villagers took to the forest to wage a guerilla-type resistance, firstly against the Japanese then once more briefly against the Dutch until the Independence of Indonesia in 1945.

The arrival of the Dutch in Gunung Batukau signalled the end of the territorial integrity of the area and its ideological isolation from the rest of the island, and initiated a period of accelerated changes when the villages, until then inward-looking, began to open to the currents of modernity which swept through mainstream Balinese society. A result of this was the introduction of Christianity, firstly in 1937 in the form of Protestantism, then later in 1951 as Catholicism. The conversions took place in the villages of Piling, Jatiluih, Mengesta, and Penggengahan where Christianity found at first a positive reception, particularly among the ritual experts and the healers who welcomed it as a new body of sacred knowledge similar to the esoteric doctrines (agama) then forming the core of the religious tradition of Gunung Batukau. This was followed later by a period of intense difficulties when it became obvious that the new religion did not confine itself to the private sphere of personal beliefs, but spread over into the domain of public behaviour which was until then the prerogative of the highly-normative customary village (desa adat). In Jatiluih and Tengkudak, the converts eventually returned to the desa adat or moved out of their village altogether. Today, four decades after the first conversions, a thriving Catholic community is still found in Penggengahan while in Piling, the Catholics and Protestants
who stayed on in spite of the initial difficulties, make up a little under fifteen percent of the population.

The presence of these two Christian communities guided my choice of Piling as a location of fieldwork, for the following reasons. It is a well-established sociological proposition since Turner first formulated it (Turner, 1957) that conflictive situations bring out into the open the norms and values which make up the ethos of a community and govern the limits of what will be perceived as acceptable action and behaviour within that community. The Balinese desa adat is an example of such a community where, in the words of Erikson "people spend most of their lives in close contact with another, sharing a common sphere of experience which makes them feel that they belong to a special "kind" and live in a special "place" (Erikson, 1966:9). These characteristics are exacerbated in villages such as Piling which have been historically, geographically and ideologically isolated from mainstream society and consequently have retained a strong sense of separateness. In this type of village, the "particularistic" quality of the religious world-view is well developed (Guermonprez, 1986 unpubl.). The gods of Piling are the founders of the village, the settlers of the land and the long line of individual forebears who are deified gradually as they merge into the collective body of the mountain ancestors and the natural forces of the environment, with, standing at the apex, the king - or rather the power (kasaktian) embodied in the dynasty of the kings of Tabanan - who is still venerated as the source of fertility for the fields and prosperity for the whole village. All these gods.
have one thing in common in that they are part of the historical past of Piling and their involvement is considered to be a necessary dimension of the human enterprises carried out in the present day. They are tuned to human needs and, in exchange for suitable propitiation, will intervene to ensure the success of their activities but they will do so only for their own "descendants" i.e. for those who can take care of the ancestral legacy by keeping the fields productive and performing the necessary rituals in the temples.

The welfare of the village rests entirely upon the maintenance of positive relations between the human community and its ancestral deities, and these relations are more important than the identity of the gods who are seldom known by their individual names, or of the people who, in rituals, participate as a collectivity rather than in a private capacity. These relations were made particularly vulnerable by the conversion of some members of the desa adat to Christianity which, in people's perception, amounted to a move from one ancestral group to another. Whereas moving from one ancestral group to another is a fairly common practice among the Balinese, it is nevertheless subject to a code of ethics to which people are expected to conform. This code can be summarized in the following terms: when, for one reason or another, a Balinese breaks his relations with an ancestor or group of ancestors, he is expected no longer to take advantage of the privileges inherent to those relations. This can mean leaving the houseyard and giving up his right to the inheritance of the family fields, or leaving the desa adat altogether; or again, if the ancestral group is the origin-
point group (kawitan) to whose membership no social or jural privileges are attached, simply joining the congregation of another temple. At first, conversion to Christianity was viewed as a move from the local kawitan to the "kawitan of Christ", but soon the converts began to behave as if they had moved to another desa adat or another sanggah gede, the extended family which in Piling traditionally used to hold and exploit in common an estate of rice-fields inherited from an ancestor; while continuing nevertheless to enjoy the concrete benefits bestowed by the very ancestors they no longer acknowledged as their own.

The introduction of Christianity into a village such as Piling which is reputed for the strength and the rigidity of its adat led to a period of intense social conflict which laid bare some of the fundamental structures of the desa adat. In sociological terms, the Christians became a deviant group whose actions and behaviour took them outside the boundaries of what is considered permissible within the desa adat and as such, they threatened the legitimacy of the ethos of the community. But deviant behaviour also has a positive effect upon this ethos since it can, in the words of Erikson, become the means by which "the stability of social life" is preserved. Deviant behaviour "by marking the outer edges of group life, give(s) the inner structure its special character and thus suppl(ies) the framework within which the people of the group develop an orderly sense of their own cultural identity" (ibid:13).
In Piling the behaviour of the Christians had two effects upon the *desa adat* community. The resolution of the conflicts which ensued forced the villagers to reflect upon their own beliefs and practices to an extent which is seldom found elsewhere in Bali, as elements of the relations between the land, the human community and the village ancestors were discussed and assessed in the course of meetings involving the village elders, members of the local government and the leaders of the two churches. At the same time, the articulation of those aspects of Balinese existence which are usually left implicit because they are largely taken for granted, contributed to the consolidation of the cultural integrity of the *desa adat*. As a result, Piling presents itself as a village where, paradoxically, the surge for modernity which is strongly felt in the aspirations and goals of private individuals, is fuelled by ideological structures which in other circumstances are associated with Balinese villages known to be refractory to change.

This thesis is presented as an ethnographic account of the village of Piling but it is primarily the study of the *desa adat* constructed in the manner of the cognitive setting of Schütz's life-world, as a "pre-structured coherent system containing its own interpretation of the place of the community within the social, natural and supernatural worlds", and "the many customs and norms regulating human conduct plus the many recipes for practical behaviour in social as well as technical matters" (Wagner, 1970:16). A classical approach in which the main units of social organization in the village are treated independently and systematically, proved to be
necessary in order to keep notoriously complex Balinese concepts such as the *desa adat* and the *sanggah gede* within manageable limits. However, in contrast with the classical ethnographic tradition of treating religion in a separate chapter as a distinct domain of social existence, the village religion is treated here as an integral part of the social units under study and is presented as the validating element which legitimates the existence of those units in the mind of their members. Throughout this work, a greater emphasis is given to the application in ritual practices, of the beliefs which form the world-view of the villagers than to the system of beliefs conceived as one coherently articulated doctrine which would be related only in a contingent way to the demands of material and social existence. For one thing, it is never apprehended as such by anyone, even by the village ritual experts. We shall see for instance, that different ideas about notions of ancestry and human nature are expressed according to whether we focus upon the human rites of passage, the agricultural rites or the temple festivals, but that these notions are far from being perceived to be incompatible with one another. In fact, it is the existence of the overdetermination of symbolic meanings which gives the village religion its peculiar dynamic quality, providing options which are made readily available by the culture and can be taken up by individuals if need be, to adjust to changing material, social or even political circumstances.

In order to appear legitimate in the mind of the believers, a religion must be endowed with the seal of reality in the sense
that it should be able to offer a world-view which can represent a way of life ideally adapted to the actual state of affairs the world-view describes, while the world-view is rendered emotionally convincing by being presented as an image of an actual state of affairs peculiarly well arranged to accommodate such a way of life" (Geertz, 1966:3). Through it, the world must not only be made intelligible and explicable in a satisfactory manner, but also be made amenable to communication and interactions (Van Baal, 1979:608). In Piling, this world-view is derived primarily from the practice of rice agriculture which demands that the natural environment be humanized in order to be acted upon. The peasant in the fields, like the alchemist in his laboratory and the blacksmith at the forge, manipulates the natural elements and puts order into a world perceived as chaotic, in order to achieve concrete and positive results. The cultivation of rice imposes its own rhythm upon the passage of time whose quality is more important than its chronological reckoning and as such constitutes the temporal framework within which human aspirations, goals and even destiny can be organized. With its temps forts (strong times) and its temps faibles (weak times), the developmental cycle of the rice governs directly and indirectly the calendar of private and collective rituals of the village. It should not come as a surprise therefore to find that the cultivation of rice provides a rich pool of symbolism which permeates the local notions of personhood and of the place of man in the cosmological order. Thus, it is not only fitting but also necessary that a large part of this study should be devoted to the many dimensions of the
agriculture of rice from the production of the crop to the performance of the rituals which form an integral part of the agricultural tasks.

Without going into details here about the contents of the chapters, a few words should be said about the order of their presentation. The format of this thesis closely follows the Balinese's own conception of the territorial, social and divine nature of all village groups. The land is treated in relation to the desa adat and the sanggah gede, the two social units which determine access to residential space and agricultural fields. The human element is represented by the community of the desa adat whom we follow through the main stages of the life cycle which are punctuated by rites of passage, and in their collective activities in the village as well as in the fields. The divine element is treated as a dimension of the other two but the last chapter is specifically devoted to the study of one example of the interactions between the community of the desa adat and its gods at the occasion of the main temple festival of the year.

For the sake of clarity and in order to keep this work within the prescribed length, the thesis is focussed exclusively upon the ethnography of Piling. For these reasons also a considerable amount of data too detailed to be included in the text yet, because of its explanatory value, too valuable to be left out, is presented under the form of tables and diagrams. Especially in the case of rituals, this presentation has the added advantage of classifying in an orderly manner many
disparate elements of extremely complex events which would be otherwise overlooked in a purely descriptive account.

Although principally the study of one Balinese village, this work calls nevertheless for comparison with other villages of Bali which share similar characteristics with Piling as well as with other societies located in the immediate neighbourhood of the island. Placing Bali in the historical and geographical context of Indonesia is all too often neglected, yet, at the level of popular culture, the links with the Indonesian and even Austronesian worlds are too strong to be ignored. The comparative aspects of the study are entered into the notes which are designed to extend the scope of the thesis and can be read as another text parallel to the main text. A selected glossary of the main Balinese words has been compiled to give a condensed and balanced summary of the village world-view. As a final note, the name of the village has been left unchanged but the names of the people have been coded to protect their anonymity.
CHAPTER ONE

Historical Background of Piling
RELATIONS BETWEEN THE MOUNTAIN AND THE STATE

Piling is part of a network of villages located on an area of land forming the customary (adat) territory of Wangaya Gede, which stretches from the summit of Gunung Batukau to Penebel to the east, Panatahan and Jegu to the south. Like other villages on this land, Piling is known as a sisia Batukau, in the sense that it is bound to the observance of adat regulations articulated around the rejection of the Tri-Wangsa caste order1 and of the liturgy of the Brahmanic high-priests (pedanda) issued from that caste order.

The population of the village is divided into two groups. The first group forms the core population. They are known as Bali Aga or Bali Mula, two terms used as more or less synonymous to refer to non-caste Balinese who do not request their holy water (tirta) from the Brahmanical high priests (pedanda). They constitute about one-third of the total population. The second group consists of immigrants from various parts of Bali who are members of several origin-point groups (kawitan) of the Sudra caste. Nevertheless, Piling is classified as a village of Bali Aga, the identity of its population being deduced not from descent but from the observance of the customary (adat) regulations which apply to everyone living on the adat territory of Wangaya Gede, and from the practices deriving from these regulations, i.e.
burial of the dead and the obtaining of tirta from the ancestral temples of the mountain.

The absence of the pedanda from the private and collective rituals has allowed these practices to survive until the present day by enabling the villages located on the adat territory to preserve to a large extent, their ritual autonomy. As a result the area gives the impression of having been marginalized from the political order of the state. In fact this is far from the case and the history of Piling shows that close relations were entertained from an early date between the village and the royal court (puri) of Tabanan.

The historical tradition of Piling seems at first to be contradictory. In view of its close economic and ritual ties with the puri, the village could be classified as an example of the apanage-style (pacatu) Balinese villages traditionally associated with spatial proximity to the courts and the presence of members of the Tri-Wangsa among the population. Ritually and ideologically however, Piling bears much in common with other villages of Bali Aga in the mountainous heartland of Bali. No simple explanation can be given. Only a careful investigation into the historical background of Gunung Batukau supported both by the local oral tradition and the written historical records of the kings of Tabanan, the Babad Arya Tabanan, can bring to the fore significant events which may have been influential in setting the conditions of the present.
The cultural identity of the population of Piling is complex and must be sought primarily in two supra-village factors:

1. the position of the village in relation to Wangaya Gede and the ancestral temples of the mountain,

2. its past relations with the kingdom of Tabanan.

This will be done by contrasting the regional context of the mountain against the context of the village, endeavouring firstly to answer the following questions:

1. what are believed to be the historical events leading to the eventual rejection of the Tri-Wangsa caste order,

2. what are the regional adat regulations from whose observance the mountain population derives its identity.

It will then be possible to focus upon Piling and, through an analysis of two myths of origins, consider the villagers' perception of their own identity and their awareness of being ultimately of "one kind" despite the heterogeneity of their origins.

Two important landmarks in the perceptions of the past in Gunung Batukau are the assimilation of the regional population into the state and the exclusion, at a later date, of the regional population from a broader socio-political order.
incompatible with the previous order\textsuperscript{3}. The first is associated with the supposed conquest of Bali by Gajah Mada in 1343 and its subsequent division into six kingdoms distributed to six high-ranking Javanese knights (Arya) who accompanied him in his conquest. Arya Kenceng, one of these knights, received Tabanan and founded the dynasty of the Arya of Tabanan and Badung\textsuperscript{4}. Close relations between the court of Tabanan and the mountain were developed then, resulting in the appropriation by the Javanese king of the existing ancestral cult in which the ancient Balinese kings were probably already included\textsuperscript{5}. The second landmark is linked with the arrival of Dang Hyang Nirartha to Bali in the late 15th century, resulting in the imposition of a new socio-political order embodied in the Tri-Wangsa and the subsequent closure of the region to the members of this caste order. These landmarks, articulated around the myth of the arrival of the Javanese Arya in Bali, frame the local perceptions of the past into three periods:

1. Pre-1343, historically a period of obscurity\textsuperscript{6}.

2. Post-1343 and until the arrival of Nirartha, the golden age and a period associated with the interpenetration of ideas between the region and the outside world.

3. After the arrival of Nirartha till today, a period characterized by an imperviousness to change and the preservation of the values of the previous period.
The first two periods are classified as pre-Majapahit and pre-Javanese. They are contrasted with the third which is identified as Majapahit and Javanese. Although questionable from a historical viewpoint since the founder of the Tabanan royal dynasty was a Javanese knight from Majapahit, this classification provides the conceptual framework which is used today by the local population for thinking about their identity in terms of us vs. others, where being outside the Tri-Wangsa caste order is equated with pre-Majapahit and "more Balinese" than the members of the Tri-Wangsa who are the people of Majapahit (wong Majapahit) and the descendants of "recently" arrived Javanese, whose right to dominate the socio-political order is thereby put into question.

The Position of Gunung Batukau in Bali

Gunung Batukau is located at the geographical center of the island and at the center of an east-west axis of volcanoes stretching from Gunung Rinjani in Lombok to Gunung Sumeru in Java so that, by standing on the summit ledge of Gunung Batukau, the sun is seen to rise on Gunung Rinjani and set on Gunung Sumeru. This is a location which has undoubtedly impressed generations of mystics and continues to inspire would-be yogi who spend whole nights in meditation on the summit of the volcano at propitious times during the year. For centuries, the mountain slopes were considered too unsalubrious for human life and were used mostly as a reserve of natural as well as supernatural resources: a hunting ground for the kings, a place where medicinal plants could be
easily obtained and a favourable soil for the cultivation of dry-land rice (*padi gaga*). Most importantly, the mountain was and remains the source of rain and irrigation water for the whole province of Tabanan and, in a world-view where the king was the source of fertility for the whole kingdom, also the repository of the magico-supernatural power (*kesaktian*) of the kings of Tabanan. The mountain occupied an important place throughout the early history of the Arya dynasty, providing ideal places of retreat for the kings and the monks attached to the palace. The heavily forested slopes still hide a number of those retreats. Two of them are now cared for by Piling but were, according to the local tradition, originally founded in the 14th century by Brahmanical monks sent from the Buddhist congregation of the *Pura Sada* in Kapal. There is little doubt that, given its location and ecological conditions, Gunung Batukau provided a favourable setting for the development of a system of beliefs where ancestry, natural fertility and royal power are blended together as a single source of prosperity for the human population. What is of particular interest in this instance is that, through a series of historical accidents, this system of beliefs has been allowed to survive until today in the ritual domain although the temporal power of the kings has all but disappeared in Bali.

The volcano is the seat of a network of temples where the links between the agriculture of rice, local ancestry and the kings of Tabanan are graphically expressed in the layout of the shrines. Two of those temples are directly relevant to our purpose. They are *Pura Puncak Kadaton*, an ancient
A babaturan-style temple which is located on the summit ledge of Gunung Batukau, and the complex of temples of Pura Luhur Batukau (a map of this temple is given in Appendix One), which lies at the foot of the southern face of Gunung Batukau, about 2 kilometers north of Wangaya Gede. Pura Luhur is known primarily as the dynastic temple for the kings of Tabanan and Badung. In addition, several small temples used by the province-wide subak of Tabanan for the performance of rituals during various stages in the development of the rice crops, surround the main temple. The Pura Dalem Kahyangan located on the south-west of the main temple is dedicated to Uma/Durga and functions as the temple of the dead (Pura Dalem) for the local population of the mountain and as a source of fertility for the rice-fields. Pura Luhur Batukau also functions as the mountain counterpart of the sea-side complex of temples Pura Luhur Pekendungan/Tanah Lot situated on the south-west coast near the border between Tabanan and Badung. The two temples form two opposite poles of a macrocosmic conception of the environment where the cyclical flow of water, downward as irrigation water and upward as clouds and rain, is encapsulated.

Wangaya Gede and the Origins of the Ancestral Cult

Wangaya Gede holds the status of mother-village for the villages located upon the territory of land which was probably placed under the customary jurisdiction of Wangaya Gede in the past. The population of the village are known as panjak pakandelan a term which, according to the local
interpretation, refers to a group of people specially chosen by Batara Batukau, the deity of the mountain, to take care of the ancestral temple. However, panjak pakandelan can also be translated as the servants or slaves (panjak) of the palace (pakandelan). The two definitions are not incompatible since the kings of Tabanan are automatically assimilated to the deified ancestors of the mountain. The meaning of the term panjak is difficult to translate exactly as it implies a relation of mutual dependence between two parties12, which is typical of the social structure associated with a conception of divine kingship. In Tigawasa, an ancient desa in the mountainland of West Buleleng which bears many similarities with the villages on the southern slopes of Gunung Batukau, the term pakandelan refers to a category of temples (Simpen, 1986:9). According to the author, pakandelan is derived from the root word andel meaning "to be trusted with", in which case panjak pakandelan could indeed be translated as a special category of servants who are entrusted by a superior authority with the upkeep of some valuable object or place. In Wangaya Gede, the care of Pura Luhur Batukau including the maintenance of the temple buildings and grounds, the cultivation of the fields attached to the temple (laban pura) and the preparation and performance of the rituals, is entrusted exclusively to the kerama desa, i.e. the active members of the customary village (desa adat) who believe that they have a special relationship with the temple: they are its official guardians and the descendants of the deified ancestors venerated within it. As such, only they are allowed to carry the ancient gamelan brought from the village of Krambitan near Tabanan, whenever a festival is held in Pura Luhur, from the entrance
of the village to the temple grounds. Above all, the kerama desa of Wangaya Gede are the original inhabitants of the mountain whose special status was conferred on them by ancestors from a distant past living in Gunung Batukau long before the first recorded Javanese arrivals in Bali. This is recalled in a legend, told to me by Pan Ludra of Wangaya Gede, a member of the Kabayan descent group who holds the function of temple-priest (pamangku) of the two taman shrines in Pura Luhur:

When my ancestor Mpu Saraswati came to Bali from Majapahit in the time of Airlangga, he was attracted by a supernatural light glowing at the center of the island. Following the light, he walked for days and arrived here (in Wangaya Gede) where he saw that the light emanated from a supernatural stone (manik) shining in the middle of Pura Luhur. There, he met a group of tall, dark people who lived next to the temple. They told him that they were the guardians of the manik and had been living near it since the times when giants still roamed the island, stepping from volcano to volcano. My ancestor settled in Wangaya Gede and founded the kawitan kabayan Batukau.

According to this tale, the arrival of Mpu Saraswati, a Javanese holy man who, as was the custom, was almost certainly attached to a royal court, took place after the first settlement of Gunung Batukau, an assertion which does not however dispose of the possibility, sometimes expressed by informants, that Wangaya Gede was settled by immigrants moved there by order of the king. The reference to Airlangga would situate the arrival of the Mpu around the eleventh century, in pre-Majapahit times, hence it cannot be used as a chronological point of reference.

Beliefs in the precedence of the mountain population over the arrival of Javanized Balinese at a later date are supported by
another tale. According to it, the graves of a male and female ancestors who lived "when giants still roamed over the island, stepping from volcano to volcano" would be located on the summit ledge of Gunung Lesung, the second of the three volcanic cones, situated north/east of Gunung Batukau. Unfortunately the existence of those graves remains unverified as Gunung Lesung is too difficult of access.

The manik glowing in Pura Luhur with a supernatural radiance when Mpu Saraswati arrived in Gunung Batukau, suggests that the mountain was already a place of sacred power by the time the relations between the mountain and the Javanese kingdom of Tabanan were established. In the tale, the manik is shown as the symbol of ancestral power. The term manik means the germ of a seed as in manik galih, the germ of rice. Manik can be used in a general sense to refer to anything which has the capacity to produce life - women are said to have a manik in their womb from which after conception the child develops - as well as in the sense of essence. It is probable that the manik of the tale is a symbol of fertility and it is not accidental that it should be located near a source of water where the cult of the water-snakes (naga) is particularly strong. In addition, a manik can also be something obtained by the initiate during the rite of pawintenan, in order to endow him with mystical powers. During this rite, the spiritual mentor (guru) spits in the mouth of his disciple (sisia) or inscribes magical letters (aksara) upon his tongue with honey.

Any of the above definitions would be appropriate for the manik in Pura Luhur whose supernatural nature is underlined by
the radiance emanating from it at night, a radiance strong enough to attract the attention of not just anyone but particularly magically powerful (sakti) individuals, and it is possible to conjecture that the manik represents a source of this much sought-after magical power. In Bali, magical power (kasaktian) always manifests itself as light. Heroes are either born with a radiant light or they show this radiance early in life\textsuperscript{17} and one index that an object is endowed with magical power, is the glow emanating from it at night. In the local oral tradition, the glow of the manik attracted two of those sakti individuals. Mpu Saraswati, a highly-skilled hermit from Majapahit, was drawn to Wangaya Gede by the light, then later, the king of Buleleng, Panci Sakti, annoyed by the illumination in the sky, invaded Tabanan from the north and tried to steal the manik from the temple. Today, the manik is hidden inside the volcano where its glow can be seen by a few privileged people and only during the fourth month of the lunar year, sasih kapat, which holds a special place in the local ancestral cult.

By the time the manik was in danger of being stolen by Panci Sakti, it is clear that it had become the emblem of the kasaktian of the kings of Tabanan. According to the oral tradition of Gunung Batukau, Panci Sakti is foiled in his attempt by a swarm of supernatural bees (tawan neskala), in reality the spirits of the ancestors living in the waters of the taman in the temple\textsuperscript{18}. According to the Babad Arya Tabanan, the king of Tabanan, Sri Magada Sakti, another magically powerful king, intervened after being warned of the impending danger by the mountain ancestors who caused the
wooden drum (*kul kul*) of the palace to sound without being struck (*Babad*, mss. 39a to 40b). Rushing to Wangaya Gede with his army, *Magada Sakti* found *Panci Sakti* already defeated by the bees and willing to swear never to invade Tabanan again. The agreement was subsequently ratified by a marriage between *Sri Magada Sakti*'s daughter and *Panci Sakti*19. A small *babaturan* altar situated in the north-east corner of the inner sanctuary in *Pura Luhur* and hidden underneath a clump of trees is dedicated to *Panci Sakti* and probably to the alliance which drew the two kingdoms to unite together to fight in Central Java against Mataram20.

**The Mpu and Traditional King-Priest Relations**

An interesting aspect of the tale is that the apical ancestor of the *kawitan Kabayan Batukau* is a Javanese *Mpu* whereas the *kawitan Kabayan* is a local descent group from whom many of the temple-priests (*pamangku*) and the high-priest (*pamangku gede*) of *Pura Luhur* are recruited. Elsewhere in Bali, the *kabayan* is a high-ranking village ritual expert who is mostly associated with the *Bali Aga* tradition21. In the villages of Tigawasa and Sidatapa1 in the mountainlands of western Buleleng, the term *kabayan* still refers to the ritual leaders chosen from the ranks of the *kerama desa*. According to Geertz, in the nineteenth century, the *Kabayan Wangaya Gede* had become a politically important *Sudra* house (*Geertz, 1980:57*)23, hence by that time the *kabayan* would no longer have referred to a village official but already to a *kawitan*-style descent group. Nowadays the *kabayan* of Wangaya Gede are
primarily a high-status descent group, although it is almost certain that, at some stage in the past, they were the main ritual officiants in Pura Luhur. It will be seen in the third chapter that in Piling, the temple-priests of the two ancestral temples of the mountain which are connected with the puri of Tabanan, are also members of the kawitan Kabayan Batukau, a fact which gives substance to the theory that the kabayan held the monopoly of the rituals in the temples of the mountain at some stage in a distant past. It is difficult to judge whether Mpu Saraswati is an illustrious character conveniently brought in at a later date to give prestige to a local descent group entrusted with ritual functions in Pura Luhur, or if the kabayan of Gunung Batukau are the descendants of a Javanese Mpu sent from the court to mediate between the supernatural powers of the mountain and the king. It is also quite possible that the ritual functions in the ancestral temple were appropriated by priests such as Mpu Saraswati from the local kabayan priests either during or shortly after the establishment of the Arya dynasty in Tabanan.

The Mpu appears early in the tradition of the magically powerful kings as a Brahmanical hermit priest of considerable mystical and magical powers attached to a royal court, whose role consisted largely in the management of the pool of supernatural powers concentrated in the mountain, to be utilized eventually by the king in his function as the source of the prosperity and fertility for the whole kingdom. In the Javanese tradition the forging of the keris sakti, the magically powerful weapon in which the whole power of kingship is focussed, is entrusted to the Mpu. The role of the Mpu is
congruent with ideas of kingship prevailing in Java before and at the time of Majapahit\textsuperscript{26}, in which the king was positioned at the apex of the social hierarchy but depended upon the skills of the priest for the utilization of his powers: the king's person was the medium through whom power flowed but this power had to be channelled in order to be used positively. His divine nature is expressed in the Balinese term \textit{dewaraja}, the king-god. In this conception of royalty the priest and the king worked in close partnership, the priest fulfilling a role equivalent in the spiritual domain to the king's role in the temporal world.

The early history of Bali is linked to the civilizing influence of the Javanese \textit{Mpu}. One of the most famous of these is \textit{Mpu Kuturan} who is credited with the creation of the temple network of the \textit{Kahyangan-Tiga}, and is believed to have come from East Java around the tenth century to disseminate the brand of Siwaism/Buddhism which was the official religion in Java at the time. The deer-head altar (\textit{manjangan seluang}) found in many of the kinship temples of the low-caste and Bali Aga descent groups commemorates the arrival of this \textit{Mpu} in Bali\textsuperscript{27}. The \textit{Mpu} also figures often as the founding ancestor in the origin myths of descent groups traditionally associated with the \textit{Bali Aga}\textsuperscript{28}. Today the \textit{Mpu} of Bali belong to the \textit{Sudra} category of high-priests who can consecrate holy water (\textit{tirta}) in the manner of the \textit{pedanda}\textsuperscript{29} but, in the old texts, they are identified as Brahmanical priests of the Buddhist and Siwaist faiths practising at the court of a king.
The Brahmanic priests mentioned in the Babad Aryan Tabanan belong to a tradition similar to that of the Mpu. Like the Mpu, they were hermit-priests possessing a high degree of supernatural powers who mediated between the king and the deified forces of the mountain. According to the Babad the early kings were also mystics who returned to the mountain to resplenish their supernatural powers, either alone as is the case with Arya Ketut Notor Waringin (mss. 15a to 16b), or with the help of a Brahmanic priest who played a role in the tradition of the Mpu. For instance it is a Brahmanical priest, Ida Pedanda Sakti Wanasara living in Gunung Batukau, who gives the keris I Tingkeb Kile to the king Sri Magada Sakti as a proof of their close friendship (mss. 33b) and earlier, it is another Brahmanic priest, Ida Ketut Jambe who cures Ngurah Tabanan III of leprosy after the king has undergone a long period of asceticism (matapa) in Pura Luhur, giving him the opportunity to return to his function of king as Batara Matules, the Lord with a New Skin (mss. 20a to 21a) - a story which may be taken literally or be interpreted as an initiation, since enlightenment in the jargon of the initiates is compared to the discarding of an old skin for a resplendent new skin. These examples show that the cult of the royal power embodied in the mountain was mediated by Brahmanical priests who lived in Gunung Batukau near Pura Luhur. They also explain, since the king and the priest acted in unison, why the ancestors venerated in the forest temples which served as places of retreat, are remembered both as the ancient kings of Tabanan and also as the Brahmanical monks of the Buddhist faith from Kapal.
Arrival of Nirartha and Creation of Adat Territory

The close association between the kings and the priests which is characteristic of the early days of the Arya rule, may have been one of the causes behind the rejection, later in the history of the kingdom, of another category of Brahmanical priests, the pedanda who represents the caste-order of the Tri-Wangsa. In the oral tradition of Gunung Batukau this rejection is linked to the visit of Dang Hyang Nirartha to Wangaya Gede. The visit is recalled in the following tale told to me by the pamangku gede of Pura Luhur.

Dang Hyang Nirartha travelled throughout the island and arrived in Gunung Batukau. In Wangaya Gede he met with the priests of Pura Luhur and told them that from now on, the rituals would be performed by a pedanda, but the priests of Pura Luhur refused. They said: "The ways of our ancestors were enough for us until now and they will be enough for us in the future". Nirartha then agreed to delineate a territory of land within which he guaranteed that no pedanda would ever interfere with the local rituals. This is the reason why no pedanda are allowed to officiate in the adat territory of Wangaya Gede.

This legend may be taken literally or as an allegory of the rejection of the political hierarchy represented by Nirartha. Dang Hyang Nirartha is a key figure in the Balinese history to whom are attributed many of the reforms which gave rise to the political and religious system of today, in particular the unification of the various sects under a single religious system. Also known as Pedanda Sakti Wauh Rauh, the most recently arrived of the magically powerful high-priests, Dang Hyang Nirartha was a Javanese Brahmin of the Siwaist faith who came to Bali probably toward the end of the fifteenth
century during the dying days of Majapahit and became the spiritual adviser of the king of Gelgel, Dalem Batu Renggong. The close association of Dang Hyang Nirartha with the ruler of Bali endows his religious activities with an undeniable political dimension. His reforms gave spiritual and ritual monopoly to a new priesthood of Brahmanic high-priests descended from the sons of his titled Javanese wives and contributed to the establishment of the Tri-Wangsa caste order which promotes the hierarchical supremacy of the Brahmanic caste, in contrast with the previous system where the king was, if not superior, at least equal to the priest with whom wives could be exchanged in either direction. It is possible that the Tri-Wangsa hierarchy was disputed later when the Gelgel supremacy was put into question during the revolt of the vassal Arya in the reign of Dalem Bekung and Dalem Di Made, leading to the eventual split of the kingdom of Gelgel into several smaller autonomous kingdoms governed by the rebellious Arya, and the subsequent rise of the kingdom of Klungkung whose authority was not recognized by Sri Magada Sakti, then king of Tabanan. The events leading to the rebellion of Tabanan against Klungkung are recounted in the Babad as a series of unfortunate incidents during which, according to the Babad, the king of Klungkung allowed Magada Sakti's father to be murdered by his own family without intervening to protect him, and the king of Tabanan subsequently cursed the king, denying their common ancestry, and severed his ties with the kingdom of Klungkung.

One of the consequences of Magada Sakti's decision was the demotion of the Tabanan Arya to the caste of Wesia.
Significantly the Arya of Karangasem, Buleleng, Mengwi, Badung and Lombok who had also rebelled against the supremacy of Gelgel were similarly demoted from Ksatriya to Wesia. The oral tradition of Gunung Batukau abounds with tales of the rebellious Arya who fled from the court centers during this troubled period, to hide in the mountain and eventually merge with the local population.

The closure of Gunung Batukau to the pedanda was not solely motivated by political interests but, in a society based on caste, religion and politics are always bound together to some extent. That religious interests were also at play is evidenced by the fact that Tabanan has remained one of the regions of Bali where Buddhism survived and still thrives strongly today in the popular cults rather than in the erudite form of the pedanda Boda, the Buddhist counterpart of the pedanda who is found elsewhere on the island. It is also undeniable that this brand of Buddhism is indistinguishable from the cult of ancestors which placed the king at the apex of the cosmological hierarchy and, as such, it is possible to advance the hypothesis that the refusal of the high-priests of Gunung Batukau to submit to the authority of the pedanda originated not from the mountain population but from the royal palace, and was done in order to protect the king's own sources of power from an intruding priesthood representing an illegitimate world-order. What is of particular interest for the present study is that the delineation of a space upon which no pedanda is allowed to intrude has led, through the closure of the territory of Wangaya Gede to the caste-order of the Tri-Wangsa, to the preservation of a world-view which has
been partially obliterated elsewhere by the intervention of the *pedanda* in the village rituals\(^36\).

**Adat Regulations of Wangaya Gede**

The population of the villages located in the *adat* territory of Wangaya Gede are bound together by the observance of ancestral stipulations which are integrated into the body of *adat* "laws" of each village, giving a ritual homogeneity to the various groups, whether these are *Bali Aga* or immigrants from other parts of Bali. Any newcomer, providing he abides by the regional *adat*, is automatically assimilated into the population of the mountain.

The *adat* regulations are given here as they are formulated by the people themselves, as a set of rules couched in terms of *must* and *must not*, and this is indeed the way in which they are perceived by people who place them on the same plane and can list them out as eight rules governing various domains of behaviour, the infringement of which entails, in principle, the expulsion of the culprit from the land. In fact, the regulations do not all have the same portent. Some bear upon the rejection of the legitimacy of the *Tri-Wangsa* and the consequences of this rejection upon the performance of rituals while others pertain to a world-view which was allowed to survive unhampered by the beliefs and practices introduced by the *pedanda*. However if, as seems to be happening, the *pedanda* are to be allowed to officiate in temple rituals and private rites, we would expect the all-important beliefs
underlying the disposal of corpses, rice stalks and discarded offerings which embody fundamental ideas about human nature, to disappear progressively.

First Category - Rejection of Caste System

1. Caste titles are not to be used. Anyone entering the territory must drop his caste.

2. No elevated form of Balinese is to be spoken. People are addressed in a medium to low level of Balinese language.

The effect of these two regulations is to protect the autonomy of the area from the authority of the members of the Tri-Wangsa through the imposition of an egalitarian ideology which raises the status the local population by lowering that of the titled newcomers. The second regulation is known as kulina basa: identity or ethnicity through language. It works on the idea that in a society such as Bali where language with its many levels and forms of address is the most extensive expression of hierarchy, people addressed in a similar manner are fundamentally identical.

Second Category - Restrictions Concerning the Pedanda

1. No pedanda are allowed to perform rituals in the temples of the mountain. Their presence places the temple in a state of ritual pollution.
2. No mantra may be used in the rituals performed in the ancestral temples of the mountain.

3. Tirta used in the performance of the rites of the life cycle and of the temple rituals may not be obtained from the pedanda but should be sought from the local ancestral temples.

The use of mantra is forbidden primarily because it is part of the pedanda's ritual. The pedanda are polluting for two different reasons: as representatives of an unlegitimate political order and as members of a foreign descent group. Common to all Balinese is the belief that a world order based upon a proper hierarchy of beings is a pre-requisite for fertility, prosperity and happiness. The exclusion of the pedanda from the temple rituals represents one means of preserving the world order as it was conceived by the ancestors. The presence of a pedanda creates a confusion of categories conducive to disorder, which places the temple and the whole temple congregation in a state of danger leading inexorably to misfortune, sterility and death unless it is neutralized by an appropriate purificatory ritual.

Furthermore, not being a member of the ancestral group of the mountain, the pedanda does not have the power to consecrate tirta. According to the tradition of Gunung Batukau, tirta to be efficacious must be fetched from local ancestral sources and be consecrated by a member of the ancestral group worshipping at the temple. A brief explanation on the method
of consecrating tirta is necessary in order to appreciate the consequences of these points.\textsuperscript{37}

Tirta is defined variously as water to which divine essence has been added, water to which fire is added, water brought alive a second time (urip-urip), water having the power to bring results, to purify or to protect those who receive it. In brief, tirta is water containing an active element of divine origin known culturally as amerta, the elixir of the gods, which has the power to do something for those who request it. The consecration of tirta entails the passage of this active element from the divine to the human world. In Gunung Batukau this is believed to be a gift from the deified ancestors to their descendants and the operation involves the mystical union between the priest and the ancestral deities. Only the body of a priest who is also a member of the ancestral group can become the receptacle of the deified ancestors, as a continuity of substance is believed to be a necessary prerequisite for this union to take place. Since, as the descendant of Dang Hyang Nirartha, the pedanda is automatically excluded from the local ancestral groups of the mountain, he is consequently - one could say "physically" - unable to consecrate tirta for the members of those groups.

Third Category - Beliefs About Human Nature

1. Corpses must not be cremated, instead they are to be buried.
2. Rice stalks left over from the harvest must not be burnt but should be buried back into the rice-field.

3. Discarded woven shapes of offerings must not be burnt but should be left to rot in a corner of the temple especially reserved for that purpose.

This category of adat regulations treats fundamental traits of human nature through the disposal of three a priori unrelated elements: human corpses, rice stalks and discarded offerings which are perceived to be equivalent. Corpses are buried, rice stumps are ploughed back into the field and discarded offerings are left to rot on the ground. Underlying their disposal is the belief that each of them belongs to the earth and should be returned to it. In the local conceptions of human nature, man is both the center of the world and the mirror image of that world. The human self or buana alit (microcosm, literally : little world) is a small-scale reproduction of the natural world or buana agung (macrocosm, literally : big world). Both worlds are made of three dimensions which in the human self are the physical body (setulasarira), the subtle body (suksmasarira) and the soul (keranasarira, literally causal body). These three dimensions emerge from the union of the five elements of base or Panca Maha Buta : pretiwi, apah, teja, bayu and akasa. According to whether they are found in the natural world or the human self, the elements of base have the following manifestations which, taken together, form a basic paradigm of classification from which essential ideas about human nature are extracted.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Natural World</th>
<th>Element of base</th>
<th>Human Self</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>earth</td>
<td>pretiwi</td>
<td>flesh, skin and bones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>apah</td>
<td>blood and other body fluids</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fire</td>
<td>teja</td>
<td>metabolic heat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wind</td>
<td>bayu</td>
<td>breath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ether</td>
<td>akasa</td>
<td>soul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 1. Manifestations of Panca Maha Buta in Human Self**

Akasa is difficult to translate. Neither "ether" nor "soul" can adequately render its meaning. Akasa is best explained as the essence of the other four elements, from which they emerge and to which they are eventually reduced at the beginning and end of a cycle set into motion by time (kala). Its meaning is very close to that of the purusa with which it is often identified. Akasa and purusa are associated with sunlight. At death, the soul is believed to return to the sun (Surya) which is valued as the source of all life.

Death consists in the separation of the three bodies, causing each element to return to its source in the natural environment. It amounts to a transition from the buana alit to the buana agung accompanied by a change of appearance fundamentally identical to the process of birth, but in a reversed order. Hence, at death, the corpse which belongs to the element of earth should return to the soil of the mountain. Cremating the corpse would return what pertains by
Death is not the end of life as such but the beginning of life in the *buana agung*. The Balinese universe is a closed system with a finite number of elements reshuffled from one world to the other. Consequently all the components of the Balinese universe are thought to be interdependent and fundamentally identical. In Gunung Batukau the rice grown upon the soil of the mountain is the counterpart of human life in the vegetal world. This rice is made of the same elements which, in this instance, take on the following appearance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Element of Base</th>
<th>Rice Field</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pretiwi</td>
<td>soil of rice field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apah</td>
<td>rain and irrigation water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teja</td>
<td>heat from the sun which warms the mud of the rice field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bayu</td>
<td>wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akasa</td>
<td>sunlight carried by the wind which enters the rice flower</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2. Manifestations of Panca Maha Buta in rice field*

Both rice and human beings are locked into a cycle where, once eaten, the rice becomes human flesh which at death returns to the soil of the mountain. The identification of the rice with human beings explains the stipulations concerning the disposal of rice-stalks in the fields after the harvest. The harvesting of the rice is compared to the human death in which the stalks and stumps left over after the harvest are
identified with the corpse and thus they must be returned to their element, pretiwi, in this case the soil of the field.

Similar ideas govern the disposal of the woven offerings after their use in a ritual. Offerings (banten) are used in rituals to provide a temporary place of abode for the deities or spirits with whom one wishes to communicate. In other words the banten lends a "body" to what is normally an immaterial being, making it possible for interactions between man and spirit to take place. The palm fronds shapes are explicitly referred to as the skin (kulit) of the offering, to be filled with ingredients of various sorts symbolizing organs and other components of the body. After the performance of the ritual when the entity who occupied this "body" has departed, the discarded offering is like a corpse emptied of the life which had inhabited it temporarily. Edible ingredients are eaten and the woven shapes are returned to the element of earth, in this case the temple grounds.

Men, rice and the skin of the offerings must be returned to the soil of the mountain in accordance with the widespread belief that men emerge from the mountain viewed as the Great Mother (Ibu Pretiwi) who gives birth, nourishes and eventually welcomes her children back inside her. Perhaps in reason of the fertile volcanic soil, high rainfall and cool climate which makes the mountain particularly well-suited for the cultivation of sought-after indigenous varieties of rice, the cult of the generative powers of the earth is highly developed in the region of Gunung Batukau and merges with the ancestral cult, turning the ancestors into the source of fertility of
the crops and prosperity for the human population.

The beliefs in the fundamental identity between men, rice and offerings pertain to a world-view commonly found in Indonesian tribal religions. In the case of Gunung Batukau this world-view seems to have been integrated into the state religion by the superimposition of the Indian cult of the royalty based upon the conception of the king as the source of fertility and prosperity over the existing ancestor cult. It was subsequently preserved through a series of historical accidents which resulted in the closure of the region to the influence of the pedanda whose tradition, based largely upon Sanskrit literature gradually overlaid the pragmatically oriented ancestral cult which is at the base of Balinese popular religion, with the gloss of a highly intellectualized religion whose main deities are the Hindu trinity of Brahma, Wisnu and Siwa.

THE PLACE OF PILING IN GUNUNG BATUKAU

Because of the unavailability of written records, it is not possible to trace the foundation of Piling with any certainty. It is generally agreed that the village began as an offshoot of Wangaya Gede, in the form of small settlements known as padukuhan which were amalgamated later into a desa adat. The foundation of the desa adat corresponds to the beginning
of the close relations between Piling and the puri of Tabanan, which are well remembered in the village. Piling was named after a variety of tree growing in the vicinity of the village which is highly sought after for building because of its hard, uncorruptible wood. Nevertheless people prefer to find in the name of Piling the memory of these ancient ties with the puri. Piling, they say, does not derive from the piling tree but from pakeling which means "memories of the ancient kings of Tabanan" who have left a legacy of temples to the village. The origins of Piling are recalled in two oral narratives given below. The first narrative tells of the opening of the land and the domestication of space by the first settlers, while the second explains the assimilation of the village into the kingdom of Tabanan.

First Narrative - The Opening of the Land

This story recalls the foundation of the first settlement by a hermit-priest (dukuh) and was obtained from one of the descendants of this dukuh, a schoolteacher named Pan Suwira. Although part of the oral tradition of Piling, the text exists also in written form as a lontar-palm manuscript kept by the family of Pan Suwira but is not available for reading. The manuscript is thought to possess supernatural power (kesaktian) and, as such, it is valued as a sacred ancestral relic (pusaka) to be venerated for its own sake.

The oldest settlement in Piling is the padukuhan Apuan. It was founded in the 15th century by a dukuh from Wangaya Gede who moved to the forest in search of a suitable place of retreat. He was accompanied by a small retinue of disciples and their families
who set up residence next to his quarters, clearing the land to cultivate *padi gaga*. The dukuh never married but adopted the son of one of his disciples as his heir. Upon his death the adopted son became the head of the *padukuhan*.

The *padukuhan* Apuan still exists today. It is located about one kilometer west of Piling Kawan and consists of a large houseyard (*pakarangan*) shared by four families. The temple of the original congregation is located north of the houseyard. This temple is classified as a *Pura Siwa*, a term which is used locally to designate the temple of a congregation of initiates (*sisia*) learning an esoteric doctrine from the same teacher (*siwa*), as well as an origin-point temple for a descent group. In the *Pura Siwa* of the *padukuhan* Apuan, the dukuh is venerated both as the apical ancestor of the *Apuan* descent group and as the spiritual leader of successive generations of initiates who used the temple as a place of meditation. The family of *Pan Suwira* is responsible for the temple's upkeep and for the performance of the periodical rituals, but the *pamangku* of the three temples (*Kahyangan Tiga*) of the *desa adat* must be present at the performance of those rituals which are attended by people from all over Bali, who perpetuate an obligation contracted by an ancestor who found divine favour (*restu*) there in the past.

Although little is known about the *dukuh* in Bali today, these priests seem to have held an important place in the Balinese priesthood as mystical practitioners with considerable magical skills. According to J. Hooykaas, the *dukuh* was "a non-brahmanical hermit, very frequent in folktales and today still the initiator of *sudra*, often living on the slopes of the Holy King of Mountains" (J. Hooykaas, 1956:304). In C. Hooykaas'
opinion, the skills of the dukuh were at least equal to the pedanda of today (C. Hooykaas, 1976:14) and were comparable to those of the traditional healers/magicians known as dukun (ibid, 1974:120). Indeed, in Piling today, a distinction is made between the balean and the dukun, the latter being associated with powerful magic often of the left-hand (pengiwa). The dukuh are mentioned in ancient texts as magically powerful characters whose powers are not always benevolent, and they loom large in the ancestral traditions of Piling where they are represented as hermits of the Buddhist/Wisnuite tradition renowned for their supernatural powers, with a strong leaning toward the practice of left-hand magic. A good dukuh, people say, could sit cross-legged on a taro leaf without touching the ground.

One of the dominant characteristics of the dukuh, as they are remembered locally, lies in that they held priestly functions exclusively for the members of their own kin, a tradition which has doubtlessly reinforced the rejection of the pedanda's liturgy by the local priesthood. The dukuh of Piling have left a tradition of esoteric doctrines which are today jealously guarded by the families of their descendants. These doctrines, known as agama⁴², used to form the core of the religious ideas underlying the ritual practices in the village, until recently when they were largely replaced by the modern liturgy of the official Balinese religion, at least for the ceremonies in the public temples.

Although primarily hermit-monks living an ascetic and sometimes celibate life, the dukuh's activities took place
within a social context which is strongly reminiscent of the communities of Theravada Buddhism in which the monks are supported by a congregation of people whose religious contribution consists in the provision of food and temple offerings, in return for which the monks guarantee the spiritual welfare of the whole congregation. Sociologically, the dukuh of Piling are associated with agriculture, kinship and religion. The padukuhan Apuan started as a community of kinsmen cultivating land under the guidance of a spiritual leader, a combination which continues to provide an ideal model for the main units of social organization in the village today: the sanggah gede and the desa adat, in which the three elements considered essential for prosperity and well-being are found.

1. a leader who can mediate between the human and the spirit worlds,

2. an estate of good, fertile land which can be relied upon to yield abundant crops, and

3. a congenial and supportive social environment to exploit the land to its full potential.

This is not coincidental but, the conditions for the sanggah gede and the desa adat being already contained in a nutshell in the padukuhan, reflects the continuity of values between the past and the present.
It is significant that in the narrative the dukuh as the apical ancestor is not the progenitor of the descent group. Temples dedicated to the dukuh function as ancestral temples for the descendants of the original congregation of disciples who, in time, were transformed into a category of people possessing characteristics similar to that of a descent group with the dukuh as their apical ancestor, although there is often a hiatus between him and the first progenitor of the group. This is because the role of the founding ancestor is first and foremost to create the material, social and spiritual conditions necessary for a thriving community. The dukuh is the civilizing agent who domesticates the land and introduces the cultivation of rice, a practice which, with its concomitant elements of social and agricultural organization intimately linked to the cult of ancestors, is synonymous with civilization in Bali. In this respect the figure of the dukuh recalls, on a smaller scale, that of the mythical ancestor of the Bali Aga, Sri Markandya, a holy man who came from Java accompanied by a retinue of disciples and settled near Gunung Agung, the civilizing hero by excellence to whom are attributed the beginning of Balinese culture and the cultivation of padi gaga.

Second Narrative - Formation of the Desa Adat

The foundation of the desa adat of Piling by an emissary sent from the puri of Tabanan is part of the official tradition of the desa adat and justifies the close ritual bonds between
Piling and the court of Tabanan. It was obtained from the leader of the desa adat (bendesa adat) of Piling, Pan Karmawan.

The desa adat of Piling was founded by I Gusti Jengot, a nobleman who was sent by the king of Tabanan to Gunung Batukau with the mission to find medicinal herbs in the forest. I Gusti Jengot established a place of hermitage (asrama Jero Tengah) and erected a temple, Pura Jero Tengah, which is now included into the Kahyangan Adat of Piling.

The connection between the arrival of I Gusti Jengot from the court of Tabanan and the foundation of Jero Tengah on the one hand, and the creation of the desa adat of Piling on the other, is not explicitly made. All that is said is that someone from the court, an Arya with the title of Gusti, came to settle in Gunung Batukau and from this, the creation of the Piling is inferred. To complicate matters, the first settlers of the desa adat are said to have been members of the kawitan Mas whose descendants are now organized into a high status descent group in the village and this kawitan claims descent from a Brahmanic high priest of Tabanan. Although it is not possible, in view of the scant informations available, to link the arrival of Jengot with the settlement of Piling by members of the kawitan Mas, it is however worth noting the presence of a Brahmanical high-priest from Kaniten in Mas at the court of Ngurah Tabanan Singasana around the same period (Babad, mss. 18a).

The figure of I Gusti Jengot is obscure, but it seems that he was versed into magico-mystical matters since he was sent by the king to fetch medicinal herbs, a task which, in the Balinese tradition, is linked to magical powers and spiritual
knowledge. Jengot was probably also a hermit-priest of some sort since, once in Gunung Batukau, we are told that he begins by building a place of retreat and a temple which will later be used by the kings. Jero Tengah is one of three places of hermitage established in the vicinity of Pura Luhur (the others being Asrama Jero Kangin and Asrama Jero Kauh) which are known to have been used by the kings of Tabanan during their retreats to the mountain. It is not impossible that the desa adat was founded primarily for the purpose of caretaking the royal retreats in the forest. Piling is in charge of the upkeep of three forest temples classified as Pura Sada: Pura Manik Selaka, Pura Ninggarsari and Pura Jero Tengah and provides one of the two temple-priests (pamangku) officially attached to each temple. The second temple-priest lives in the capital town of Tabanan and may have originally been attached to the palace.

I Gusti Jengot's arrival marks the beginning of the officially recognized relations with the kingdom. From then on, the population of the various settlements scattered in the area seem to have been brought together into a structured system. Until the Land Reform of the 1950's Piling was administered by Jero Subamia, a close branch of the main palace founded by I Gusti Nyoman Utara who lived at the time of Ngurah Tabanan II (Babad, mss. 18b)44. All the land belonged to the king (duwe Dalem). Forest land could not be cleared nor wild animals hunted without permission from the puri. A strong taboo (pamali) still prevails upon felling trees in the vicinity of the previously palace-owned forest temples and those who infringe it are said to court disaster as they will incur the
wrath of the ancestors. Arable land was made available to the farmers for the cultivation of *padi gaga*, in return for the payment of a due in rice calculated on the basis of the productivity of the land, but the farmers had never more than a right of usage which was perpetuated from one generation to the next on the provision that certain conditions were fulfilled. The rice-fields had to be kept productive each year. If, for one reason or another they were left fallow for more than one season, they could be taken away from the farmer to be redistributed to another family. In addition the farmers were held to perform corvée-style duties periodically at the palace.

We may ask in view of the close ties existing from the start between the village and the puri of Tabanan whether the classification of Piling as a village of Bali Aga can be justified. In fact, the people of Piling do not view themselves as such. Although they profess to be "true" Balinese (*Bali Asli*), as opposed to the caste Balinese who are "people of Majapahit" (*wong Majapahit*), according to them titles and castes used to be recognized in Piling until one day the elders of the village met and decided unanimously to drop all signs of caste and title, and treat everyone as equal. This story is not peculiar to Piling. It is part of a well-known tradition in other caste-less traditional villages of Gunung Batukau on the Buleleng face of the volcano and in western Buleleng and may be correlated with the presence in those villages of the Arya demoted from *Ksatrya* to *Wesia*, at a period in history when the rebel prncelings fled from the courts to seek refuge in the thick forests of the mountain,
dropping their titles in order to be able to stay and merging eventually with the local population. However, this tale accounts only for the origins of the newcomers who were obliged to adopt the norms and customs of the local inhabitants, but it does not throw any light upon the origins of the core population whose tradition links them to the mountain "since the beginnings of time". The tale can be viewed as an effort on the part of the population to rationalize their low-status in the existing social order, or as an attempt to construct an ideal historical past according to which the process of Javanization is associated with the rise to power of the political supremacy of the Tri-Wangsa caste system which took place in the sixteenth century, and the Arya are not included into the category of "Javanese". Accordingly, "Javanese" is used as a shorthand to designate all that is foreign or belongs to an illegitimate social order, while "Balinese" stands for the cultural us and the accepted social order.

Whichever way, it is obvious that the origins of Piling are complex and the aim here is not so much to give a factual rendering of its history as to explain two seemingly contradictory loyalties which entail the recognition of two prerequisites for the existence of the village: loyalty to the regional population of the mountain and loyalty to the puri of Tabanan. The first is derived from the fundamental - one could say divine - right of the people to utilize the land by virtue of their privileged position in the cosmic order of the mountain and cannot be put into question: it is permanently granted to the descendants of the mountain
ancestors. This is combined with a conditional right to reside upon the land and cultivate the fields which is always open to negotiation and re-assessment: the fields must be kept productive, taxes must be paid. This right connects the village to the political order of the state. In other words, the "divine right" of occupancy enjoyed by the first settlers of the land is not sufficient, it must be regularly validated by the discharging of duties and the payment of taxes to a temporal power represented by the state. These two prerequisites create a tension between the loyalty of the village toward the regional population of the mountain which is exclusive of all other possible ties, and the realities of mundane existence concretized in the obligations of the village toward the kingdom, and nowadays the province, of Tabanan. For the descendants of the first settlers, the exploitation of the land remains conditional upon the payment of dues and the fulfilment of conditions set by the state. The uniqueness of the relations between Piling and the court of Tabanan comes from the fact that the temporal power of the state and the spiritual power of the ancestors were once merged together in a world view in which the king stood at the apex of a hierarchy of ancestors. It is only within such a world-view that the duties of the village toward the palace can be felt both as a burden and a privilege and people can, in the same vein, profess to be descended from noblesmen and priests of a Javanized state and be "pure" Balinese (Bali Asli).
Composition of the Population per Origin-Point Groups

The village population is divided into two main groups: the core group, forming about one-third of the population, who trace their origins to Wangaya Gede, and the immigrants or newcomers, called pendatang (Ind.), descendants of settlers who came to Gunung Batukau at various periods in the past. The core group belongs to the original population of the mountain, the Bali Aga. Some members profess to be part of the kawitan Kabayan Batukau, while others do not claim membership in any particular kawitan, being content to answer: tiang ngawit uli Batukau (I come from Batukau) when asked about their origins. The pendatang are divided into three kawitan belonging to the Pasek groups (warga Pasek): Pasek Mas, Pasek Gelgel and Pasek Tangkas, and four other kawitan: Perean, Sading, Bujangga and Tumbak Bayu. A small number of the population do not belong to any kawitan, but recall being descended from immigrants. In addition a number of villagers recently entered Protestantism and Catholicism. The composition of the population of Piling per kawitan, is given below. The core group is represented as a single category because it is difficult to differentiate between the members of the kawitan Kabayan and those who do not belong to any kawitan since the Kabayan ancestors are venerated during the temple festival of Pura Luhur together with the royal ancestors of the dynasties of Tabanan and Badung, with the result that the festival is attended by all the members of the core population of Piling, without exception.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Group</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% of Total Households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Core group (Batukau)</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>0.20 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mas</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>0.32 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gelgel</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>0.22 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangkas</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0.05 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perean</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.03 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sading</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.02 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bujangga</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.005%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tumbak Bayu</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.02 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no kawitan but immigrant</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0.04 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestants</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0.09 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>100.00 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Population patterns of Piling per kawitan

In the course of everyday life, it is extremely difficult to distinguish the members of one particular kawitan from another. Gelgel and Mas possess kawitan temples in the village. Mas has two of those temples because, according to people, this kawitan is made up of two separate branches who are not related through any remembered ancestor. In fact the congregation of each kawitan Mas temple is made up of the members of several sanggah gede, offshoots of a single sanggah gede. This points to the possibility that the so-called "kawitan" temples of the village originally functioned as ancestral temples for one specific descent group and were attached to the island-wide Pasek kawitan groups only at a later date. Indeed the village kawitan behave very much in the style of any descent group, with specific ancestral stipulations serving to sustain the uniqueness of each group. Until recently (about 30 years ago) the members of one branch of the kawitan Mas were not allowed to build lumbung- type rice granaries raised on four posts, but had to build jineng-
type granaries standing square on the ground. The members of the kawitan Gelgel may not eat black rice or eels from their own rice-fields in memory of one of their ancestors who sought refuge in a field planted with black rice and survived by eating the eels in the field. They may however eat black rice and eels bought from members of another kawitan of the village.

The different kawitan of Piling are most visible on the days of Galungan and Kuningan. On Kuningan day, the village becomes partially empty as the members of the kawitan Mas, Gelgel and Tangkas are seen leaving in hired trucks to attend the festival of the mother-temple of their respective kawitan. Members of the core group do not celebrate Kuningan, a holiday which they associate with the cult of the Javanese heroes of the past. Their own ancestors are remembered on the day of Galungan when they leave for Wangaya Gede to attend the yearly festival in Pura Luhur Batukau. Except for these two days of worship little distinction is made between the original population and the pendatang because the kawitan does not hold much importance in the villagers' lives.

In contrast with membership in the village ancestral groups such as the sanggah gede and the desa adat, membership in the kawitan is not linked to the inheritance of any property, privileges or rights. The kawitan is an origin-point group where no traceable ties exist between the apical ancestor and the kawitan members or individual members of the same kawitan, unless they are independently related through ancestral ties which remain however contingent to the kawitan ties. The
kawitan classifies people of a similar status as belonging to the same category in the sense of warga meaning nationality or race, i.e. as being descended from forebears who at one stage shared the same living space and conditions and were governed by one leader, generally a court official: Pasek, Bendesa, etc., but sometimes also a priest (Mpu) with whom by definition no direct genealogical link exists. The kawitan increasingly appears to be filling a political role in modern Balinese society. One of its functions is to organize masses of low-status Balinese into well-defined categories of people, in accordance with ideals copied from the Tri-Wangsa caste order, by reference to an illustrious ancestor of Javanese origin. Membership in the kawitan is linked to the classification of all Balinese into a hierarchical cosmic order consisting of layered ancestral heavens (pitraloka) corresponding to each kawitan, where individuals are supposed to return at death. According to this conception of the universe, each Balinese bears the marks of his rightful ancestral heaven inside his own body. At death, these markings serve as the identity card (pas jalan, Ind.) of the newly-deceased who needs them to be accepted back into his heaven of origin. With the notable exception of minority groups such as the population of Gunung Batukau, these markings are obtained from the pedanda as surat kajang and are an essential accessory in the correct performance of all death rites. Together with tirta pengantas, a holy water also obtained from the pedanda which serves as a spiritual vehicle for the soul, the surat kajang takes the deceased back to his proper place in the cosmological order.
As no pedanda are allowed to officiate on the adat territory of Gunung Batukau, the members of the Pasek kawitan groups who, if they resided elsewhere in Bali, would request their surat kajang and tirta pengantas from this priest, must conform to the ritual norms of the local population who use neither the surat kajang nor the tirta pengantas in the performance of the funerals, the deceased's spiritual identity being obtained directly as tirta fetched from the ancestral temples of the village. The demands of the regional adat also explain also why, in contrast with members of the same kawitan elsewhere in Bali, the members of the kawitan Mas, Gelgel and Tangkas who reside in Piling do not fetch the soul of their deceased forebears (nunas pitra) from the Dalem Puri in Pura Besakih but from the Pura Dalem of their own desa adat instead. Residence on the land of the mountain confers upon any newcomer an identity incompatible with the identity imposed by the membership in his own kawitan. Since by obtaining their tirta from local ancestral sources and returning at death to the soil of the mountain, original inhabitants and immigrants alike are integrated into a single ancestral group and thus are made equal on a cosmic level, it is not surprising that awareness of one's kawitan should be largely irrelevant in the life of the people. When loyalties to one's kawitan clash with other, more pragmatic aspects of people's existence such as the possibility of residence and exploitation of agricultural fields in the village, these loyalties may be conveniently ignored with impunity until a major event such as an accident or illness, interpreted as ancestral retaliation, brings the kawitan back into the limelight.
However, with the increasing opening of the village to the outside world, we can expect that the importance of the kawitan will increase in response to the evolution of social and economic interactions between the population of the village and the broader, still caste-dominated Balinese society. In this respect the success of the implantation of Christianity, viewed by many converts and non-converts alike as an alternative kawitan better adapted to the demands of modern existence than the local descent groups, shows the general direction likely to be taken by the village in the future. For the present time however, the kawitan remains an insignificant dimension of people's existence in the setting of a village held together by an ideology of equal status which is reinforced on the ritual level by practices promoting the idea of a common descent from the single, highly particularistic source of the desa adat.
1. The Tri-Wangsa consists of four castes: Brahmana, Ksatria, Wesia and Sudra, but only the first three are taken into consideration. They are known as wong jero or insiders (to the system) who are constrained with the Sudra, outsiders or wong jaba. Members of the Tri-Wangsa trace their origins to ancestors from Majapahit in Java. The origins of the Sudra are obscure and probably include Balinese as well as Javanese roots, although, as we shall see in this chapter, whenever possible the Sudra groups try to affiliate themselves to an illustrious Javanese ancestor.

2. cf. Geertz (1980:67 and 176), Boon, (1977:54-5) and Schaareman, (1986a:3-5) for a discussion and somewhat divergent views, about the meaning of the term pacatu, in relation to the traditional system of land tenure in Bali. For want of a better term, the concept of pacatu is translated here as apanage.

3. A word must be said about the legitimacy of using two opposite types of historical sources: the oral tradition and the written texts. Oral tradition is usually accorded little attention in the study of Balinese history, not the least because of its association with the culture of the common folk, a dimension of Balinese studies which has suffered from relative neglect, being presented in the form of legends in which historical characters are endowed with mythical dimensions and respect for the chronology of events or the genealogy of the characters is notoriously absent. Oral tradition simply aims to explain the present by reference to past events manipulated to suit the opinions of the speaker of the moment. The written texts have been the object of closer attention because they belong to an erudite tradition a priori thought to be more reliable, since texts like the Babad are written as the genealogical record of the dynasties of rulers whose actions, in some sense, make up the history of Bali. Nevertheless the historical accuracy of a Babad is somewhat limited. Re-written regularly because of the short life-span of the lontar palm leaves on which they are inscribed, the texts which, more often than not were compiled retrospectively, are amenable to the same distortions and interpretations, in order to bring them on a par with the prevailing ideas or the political ideology of the time. The main and probably sole interest of the Babad lies, as Guermonprez has noted for the Babad Buleleng (Guermonprez, 1985:42), in the theory about the nature of royalty and royal power, which is made available to us through the medium of the text. Hence, with all the restrictions pertaining to the use of literature as a reliable source of Balinese historical data, the Babad Arya Tabanan is used here to counterbalance the oral tradition of Gunung Batukau as a text where the history of Tabanan is interpreted from the perspective of its rulers, and not as the index of truth according to which the events reported in the local lore may be accepted or refuted. Notwithstanding these restrictions the Babad can, when treated
with discrimination to support and confirm evidence presented under a different aspect in a legend, provide valuable material for the reconstruction of a coherent past from the fragmentary elements available in the oral tradition of Gunung Batukau.

4. The dynasty of the kings of Badung was founded by Arya Ketut Notor Waringin, son of the king of Tabanan Sri Magadanata and the daughter of Bendesa Pucangan (Babad Arya Tabanan, mss. 14a to 17b).

5. The local oral tradition links the culture of Gunung Batukau with the last Balinese king Bedahulu who was defeated by Gajah Mada, through his patih Kebo Iwa, a semi-mythical hero of gigantic stature who is remembered as the protector and the defender of the Bali Aga. Kebo Iwa left two footprints in Piling and Penebel. Kebo Iwa is also credited with having built a stone road called Jalan Batu Gede in the Bali Aga village of Trunyan in Gunung Batur (Danandjaja, 1980:6, 47 and 61). In a small cave half-way down a cliff near Sembiran is found a lingga erected near a small water hole which is known as the bathing place of Kebo Iwa. In Gunung Batukau the existence of Kebo Iwa's footprints must be taken at faith value as they are no longer visible. According to people, the road linking Piling to Penebel was built over them. Although nothing is known of the relations between the mountain population and the early Balinese kings, it is worthwhile noting that, according to Guermonprez, Goris suggested that a ancient Balinese center of culture once existed near Lake Tamblingan situated north/east of Gunung Batukau (Guermonprez, unp. 1984:11).

6. cf. Guermonprez, 1980:43. According to this author also, the period of the Javanese conquest marks a qualitative transition in the history of Bali.

7. Geertz expresses similar ideas in Negara. He writes that the history of Majapahit in Bali expresses not only the historical development but also the Balinese view of their own political development (Geertz, 1980:15).

8. Pura Patali, one of the main dynastic temples of Gunung Batukau, was built by Arya Wangbang and Bagawan Resi Canggu in order to placate the evil spirits thought to inhabit the forest and causing epidemics among the local population in order to increase the salubrity of the region before opening the land for the cultivation of padi gaga (Soebandi, 1983:88-91).

9. This information was obtained from the pamangku of Pura Manik Selaka, one of the two Pura Sada. According to him, 64 temples of the same type, which are classified as pura sada and are connected to the dynastic temple Pura Sada of Kapal in southern Tabanan, are to be found throughout the island. 64 shrines called mekel masatya located in the inner yard of the temple of Kapal commemorate these temples. According to another tradition, the mekel masatya are dedicated to the memory of the loyal warriors of a Balinese king, possibly Jayasakti. Apart from the two forest temples in Gunung Batukau, another pura sada is found in Tabanan. This is Pura Yeh Ganggah situated on the western coast of Tabanan, which
was built by a group of emigrants from Kapal at some time between the 11th and the 12th centuries (Atmojo, 1977). The deity worshipped in Pura Yeh Ganggah bears the name of Ratu Sakti Jayengrat (Powerful Lord Protector of the World) which is also the name of the deity worshipped in the two Pura Sada of Gunung Batukau. The Pura Yeh Ganggah is used by Piling for the performance of certain rites of personal purification (penglukatan).

10. The other temples are Pura Puncak Sari, Pura Tamba Waras, Pura Besi Kalung and Pura Patali. All of these temples function as agricultural shrines, ancestral temples and dynastic temples. According to the balean desa of Piling, the Pura Puncak Sari, Pura Tamba Waras and Pura Luhur Batukau also function together as a network of temples similar to the Kahyangan-Tiga, for the whole of the southern area of Gunung Batukau. Pura Puncak Sari functions as a Pura Puseh, Pura Tamba Waras as a Bale Agung and Pura Luhur Batukau as a Pura Dalem.

11. cf. Grader 1984:182-3. The affiliation of agriculture with the cult of the king is evidenced also in the Pura Sada in Kapal in south Tabanan. A Buddhist congregation was originally attached to this temple and it is interesting to note that the foundation of the two pura sada cared for by Piling, where the fertility of non-irrigated fields is linked with the cult of the ancient kings of Tabanan, is attributed to Buddhist monks originating from Kapal. A myth which specifically associates Sri Jayengrat, the king of Kapal, with the successful cultivation of rice, is given here. According to the story, the king of Kapal was married to Dewi Manik Galih. One day they went hunting inside the forest. After walking for several hours without finding any game, the king said to his wife "stay here and rest because you are tired. I shall go on to hunt and come back to fetch you afterward. I leave you in the care of my minister (patih) Gajah Para who will look after you." Turning to his patih he added, "you and twenty of your soldiers take good care of my wife. I shall go on with the rest and continue hunting." Gajah Para promised and the king left. Dewi Manik Galih fell quickly asleep and was sleeping deeply when a snake came near her foot. Seeing this, Gajah Para cut a branch and tried unsuccessfully to lift the snake off her foot three times. As the snake finally vanished, the queen woke up with a start and thinking the minister wanted to take advantage of her, bitterly confronted him. Whereupon the king returned from hunting and the queen threw herself at his feet to claim her innocence, but the king was so greatly troubled by the incident that Dewi Manik Galih immolated herself in the fire to prove her innocence. Her ashes were placed on a raft and set to sail to East Java but, after the wind kept bringing the raft back to the Balinese coast, the ashes were then placed in a shrine which is now known as the Pura Sada of Kapal (anonymous, 1977-8:228-32). This myth which shows the influence of the Hindu mythology - Dewi Manik Galih's sacrifice recalls that of Sita in the Ramayana - nevertheless belongs to the Indonesian tradition of the pure woman, sometimes of celestial origin, who sacrifices herself and from whose body grow the plants which are used as food by human beings.

12. Kersten translates panjak as slave or servant (budak or
hamba, Ind.) (Kersten, 1984:444), a definition also found in the Kamus Bali-Indonesia which gives also subjects, people (rakyat, Ind.) as a possible translation (1978:414). Subject is also the sense given to panjak by H. and C. Geertz (1975:176).

13. There is a strong possibility that the local ancestral cult was overlaid at an early stage with a syncretic form of Buddhism and Wisnuism in which the cult of the royalty was also merged, which was prevalent in Java and Bali around the 10th century, i.e. in the time of Airlangga.


15. According to J. Hooykaas the cult of sacred stones in ancient Indonesia and India is closely connected with beliefs surrounding the naga, also a symbol of fertility (J. Hooykaas, 1957:334-40). The belief that the fertility of the soil depends upon the presence of a supernatural snake in the earth is still strongly prevalent in the area of Gunung Batukau where effigies of the naga as serpent spirits inhabiting springs and sources are found in the Pura Pataengan, Panyasom, the beji and the two taman shrines of Pura Luhur, all of which are dedicated specifically to chtonian deities and to the forces of water. Unfortunately when the shrines are renovated, the figures of the naga tend to be deleted from the new construction or are merely suggested as a prominence at the base of the column. However, the previous sculptures of the naga are not thrown away but are incorporated into the vegetation. If one looks closely at the trees in these temples, ancient figures of the naga can still be found in the middle of a bush or half hidden by the branches of a tree which has since grown around them. This practice adds a wonderful organic "feel" to the temple, similar to that given by the old-fashioned forest temples which consist of a babaturan, three erect stones forming a "stone-seat" nestled inside the roots of a large tree growing alone in a forest clearing. While it would be beyond the scope of this chapter to elaborate upon the association between fertility, the snake and Dewi Sri, the reader is referred to an interesting recent article by Jordaan on this topic (Jordaan, 1987:120-34). In Piling, one of the village leaders of the Catholic church (dewan gereja) recalls that his decision to convert followed from his unsuccessful attempts to feed a naga which was believed to dwell in his rice-fields, after being told by a balean that the "snake" in the ground was particularly hungry and wanted many offerings and rituals if he were to boost the productive potential of his land. Eventually, seeing that his efforts and the expenses to stage the appropriate rituals did not bring any improvement to the crops, this man decided to entrust himself to a more powerful god and turned to Catholicism.


17. Panci Sakti, the famed king of Buleleng, is one typical example (on this topic, see Worsley, 1972 and Guermonprez, 1985).
18. *Panci Sakti* is credited with a number of extraordinary feats in various parts of Bali and is very much part of the legends of the *Bali Aga*, mainly for being foiled in his attempts to conquer them. In Trunyan, *Panci Sakti* is remembered for being stung by a swarm of supernatural bees sent by *Ratu Sakti Pancering Jagat*, the ancestral deity of Trunyan (Danandjaja, 1980:48-9) while he was trying to wreck havoc on the population.

19. This shrine is now well hidden under the moss and overgrown grass, and was hardly visible when I surveyed Pura Luhur to draw the map which is included in the appendix, yet it is clearly drawn out in Hooykaas' map which made in the early sixties. This and other discrepancies between Hooykaas' map and my own, shows the extent of the alterations made to this ancient temple during the past twenty years. Today, *babaturan* shrines have all but disappeared to be replaced by modern, custom-made *palinggih* where many symbols such as the *naga* mentioned above, which were represented by stone statues made in a realistic style, are now made in a crudely abstract style or even deleted altogether. However some statues have managed to escape the modernizing trend when they were thought to be too magically powerful (*angker*) to be touched. Of particular interest are the male and female crudely carved stone statues standing on each side of the point where water comes out of the ground, at the *beji* near the *taman*, which are held to be endowed with exceptional supernatural power.

20. A recent trip to Pura Luhur Batukau after the completion of this thesis at the end of 1990, revealed that the temple had undergone major modifications since 1986. The *babaturan* is no longer there and, as far as I could see, had not been replaced by any other shrine. The temple grounds which used to consist of finely trimmed lawns have now been completely cemented over in order to enable women to dance with high-heels during the temple festivals. This was financed by a woman from Wangaya Gede now working in Jakarta as a medical doctor. The inner and outer yards of the main temple are now encased in concrete walls and the place looks spruce and new.

21. According to Goris, the *kabayan* were found exclusively in the mountain village where they used to hold the function of chief officiants in temples (Goris, 1960:92). In Trunyan however, the status of the *kabayan* is lower than that of the *balean desa* (Dandajaja, 1980:265).


23. By *Sudra*, Geertz probably means outside the *Tri-Wangsa* but it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the Balinese who belong to the fourth caste (*Sudra*) and those who are outside the caste order altogether. The *Bali Aga* fall into the last category. The *Sudra* generally accept the ritual supremacy of the *pedanda* and obtain their *tirta* from those priests.

24. The latter would appear to be the case since, in contrast with other *kawitan kabayan*, the *kabayan* of Gunung Batukau do not fetch their ancestors (*nunas pitra*) from the *Dalem Puri* in *Pura Besakih*. However we also know that the observance of the regional *adat* imposes this norm upon all groups, newcomers or
locals alike.


27. The *majangan seluang* is also dedicated to Batara Maospait, a name thought to have been a corrupted form of Batara Majapahit although in fact the *majangan seluang* is found in temples such as the *Pura Dalem Belingkang* in Gunung Batur and several temples of Tenganan, where the influence of the Majapahit is notoriously absent. In Gunung Batukau this altar is found in some of the *sanggah gede* and in the *kawitan* temples of the *Pasek* groups the village. When asked about the deity's identity, people give as an answer either Mpu Kuturan, Batara Maospait or the founder of the *Pasek* group. In Piling, one of the main purposes of the *majangan seluang* is to protect the members of the temple congregation from the effects of black magic.


30. According to Swellengrebel *Nirartha* would have arrived in Bali around 1550 (Swellengrebel, 1960:24).


32. cf. Van der Kraan, 318-9. According to the author the fragmentation of Bali into several kingdoms had the effect of encouraging the development of private property as the Balinese peasants took advantage of the rivalries between the "raja and the punggawa who competed with each other to find subordinates who would work their land, pay rent and taxes, perform labour services and follow them in war" (Van der Kraan, 1983:320-1). There is some evidence from the *Babad Arya Tabanan* and from the oral tradition of Piling that a case of this kind occurred in the eighteenth century between the king of Tabanan and the princeling of Penebel, leading to a full-scale war which ended with the eventual defeat of Penebel (*Babad*, mss. 53a to 55a), following which Piling and other villages in the neighbourhood were moved down the mountain, probably to facilitate the protection of the royal fields.

33. The events leading to this are recalled in details in the *Babad Arya Tabanan*. Ngurah Tabanan III whom the *Babad* praises as a good king was replaced by Ngurah Tabanan Ratu Singasana, first son of Ngurah Tabanan's brother Ki Gusti Made Pamadekan a bad king whose reign is compared to Kali Yuga, a period of troubles, political manoeuvring and misery for the whole population. Eventually rival branches of the *puri* decided to kill the king. The king of Klungkung, whose name is not mentioned in the *Babad* where it is referred to simply as *Dalem*, eventually warned the king of Tabanan that he would be unable and unwilling to protect him from his own family. On the way home Ngurah Tabanan was ambushed and killed by Ki Gusti Mai Dangin. The king's children were captured and held
in captivity in the Pura Mal Dangin but managed to escape and were hidden by the population of several desa loyal to the memory of their father. They subsequently sought protection with the king of Kapal, their uncle by alliance (their father's sister's husband). Later, one of the children waged a war of revenge against Ki Gusti Mal Dangin and killed him, becoming king of Tabanan under the name of Sri Magada Sakti. Devoured by hatred and a desire for revenge against the king of Klungkung who had allowed his father's murder to take place, Sri Magada Sakti then proceeded to sever his ties of vassality with the king in retaliation and proclaimed his autonomy from the kingdom of Klungkung. The speech, delivered in front of a vast assembly of ministers, priests and subjects, is given in the Babad. The gist of the speech, a translation of the Indonesian manuscript, is given below:

"Now listen carefully to these words of mine and let it be witnessed by my Wiku and Purohita, that from now on I am no longer the friend (ally, vassal) of Ksatria Dalem because I cannot but remember my father's death in Penida in an ambush set-up by his own family who were allowed to act unhindered by Dalem. This is the reason why I no longer wish to submit to the authority of Dalem, as Dalem no longer conforms to the ideal of Sri Kresna Kapakisan who reigned in Samprangan in the past and is himself issued from my very own ancestors who became the first kings of Tabanan. It is clear that Dalem is not part of my family and cannot be allowed to reign any longer. It is my wish that the descendants of Ksatria Dalem no longer hold power in Bali but at the most be given a post of minister or the equivalent".

(mss. 31b and 32a)

34. Friederich mentions that the descendants of Arya Damar (by which he meant the kings of Tabanan) were demoted by the Dewa Agung in the 16th century because "they wore their hair like the Wesia" (Friederich, 1959:116).

35. In a report made after his journey to Buleleng in North Bali, Crawford notes that the "Brahmans are entrusted with the whole of the administration of justice, civil, criminal and ecclesiastic" (Crawford, 1814:10), hence their authority and power must have stretched far beyond the ritual domain.

36. This is not peculiar to Gunung Batukau. According to Swellengrebel, the preservation of many older forms of institutions in the villages of the mountains is directly linked to the relative lack of interference of the Majapahit political order (Swellengrebel, 1960:31).

37. Many different types of tirta can be made. Although too numerous for them to be cited individually here, they can be classified broadly into the following categories: (1) tirta whose purpose is to purify something or someone in preparation for a further rite, (2) tirta whose purpose is to increase the efficacy of something or someone in specific circumstances - this is the tirta whose consecration forms the climax of the temple ceremonies, and (3) tirta which is used as a vehicle for a dimension of the self - this is the kind of tirta used in the rites of passage. All three categories
will be treated at different stages in this thesis. The tirta which interests us specifically here belongs to the second category.


39. cf. Gonda's study of the conception of royalty in ancient India where similarities with the Javanese conception of royalty have been noted by the author (Gonda, 1969:7n.54).

40. According to Pastor Shadeg, a Catholic priest who has been living in Bali for over forty years, Balinese religion underwent fundamental changes during 1956 and 1957 when it was proclaimed monotheistic, resulting in the division between state and religious power. Until then the raja was the supreme leader in the spiritual as well as temporal domains.

41. cf. also Schaareman, 1986a:124 for similar remarks on the Pura Padukuh/Pura Siwa, in the village of Tatulingga in Karangasem. According to him those temples serve as genealogical temples for the worship of the ancestors of the "kelompok" (or core population) of Tatulingga who do not belong to the Pasek groups.

42. The term agama is used in the sense given to it in the Tantric text Vijnanabhairava, as a sacred text and by extention the study of a certain type of esoteric text correlated with the acquisition of supernatural and mystical powers which is transferred from a teacher to his disciples under the seal of secret (Silburn, 1961:8).

43. Although Theravada Buddhism was never officially implanted in Bali, a case could be made for the existence in Bali around the 10th century, of a social structure strongly reminiscent of the communities of Theravada Buddhism. For instance, several mountain villages in Gunung Batur were appointed by the palace to care for hermit monks living in caves on the slopes of the volcano, in return to which they were exempted from certain taxes (cf. Ardika, 1984). On another level, the strong division of the tasks, characteristic of the Balinese religion, where the participation of the lay congregation consists essentially of offerings, work and food contributions, and that of the priests whose role lies in mediating between the congregation and the gods, is not without recalling some of the aspects of the Theravada Buddhist communities of countries such as Thailand.

44. Although the Babad does not make this completely explicit, citing only three directions: utara (north), wetan (west) and pascima (south), it would seem that I Gusti Nyoman Utara was one of several vassal Arya entrusted with the administration of the kingdom divided in accordance to the points of the compass with the king presumably standing at the center. Apart from Ki Nyoman Utara, the Babad mentions also Ki Gusti Wetan Pangkung who founded the houses of Lot Rurung, Kesimpar and Srampingan and Ki Gusti Nyoman Pascima who founded the house of Jambe (babad, mss. 18b).

45. This system is still in vigour today. Land taxes (IPEDA) are calculated according to the category of the land (class I, II and III) determined on the basis of its productivity.
46. cf Fox, 1979 for a discussion about the use of historical narratives to explain the present. Past events acquire mythical qualities when they are used to justify the present conditions.

47. This number exceeds by 100 households the number of nuclear households (kurenan) in the village. This is because parents and grandparents living in the same household as their married children are counted as a separate household here, a procedure made necessary by the fact that in a number of cases where children had converted to Christianity, the parents and grandparents were still members of a village kawitan. The figures given in this table also include the absent members of the village who continue to pay their contributions to the village institutions and are therefore counted as a separate household.
CHAPTER TWO

The Cognitive Framework of the Desa Adat
The desa adat constitutes what Guermonprez calls "un modèle de l'universel, réalisé à chaque fois de façon particulière" (Guermonprez, unp.1986:10) in the sense that its principles of organization are founded upon a conception of the world which takes into account specific aspects of the objective world, while excluding the relevance or even the reality of others. The desa adat is a blueprint of the Balinese universe and a self-contained system functioning by virtue of the interaction of its three elements: the land, the people and the gods. In each instance, the desa adat involves a particular group whose activities take place within a discrete geographical environment and historico-political context. Hence, as the Balinese adage: desa, kala, patra (different places, times and circumstances give rise to different customs) makes clear, the ideology of the desa adat is necessarily particularistic and highly selective. Only those elements of the world which are of relevance to the activities of the human group will be taken into account by the desa adat.

Ideally, the desa adat forms an homogenous unit easily distinguished from other social units of the village. In most cases however it is difficult to single out the boundaries or the human community of the desa adat from those of the residential village. When this is the case, the desa adat is mostly visible through the network of its three temples or Kahyangan Tiga consisting of the temple of origins (Pura Puseh), the temple of the human community (Bale Agung) and the
temple of the dead (Pura Dalem), in which the collective identity of the desa adat is represented in an idealized form.

In common with many traditional mountain villages, Piling has the advantage of presenting a near perfect congruence between the residential village and the desa adat. The low demographic density of the region of Gunung Batukau means that the residential settlement is surrounded by a well-defined territory of agricultural fields and uncleared land which separates Piling from its near-by neighbours, and until recently the desa adat included, as well as the public temples, the totality of the village population living in the two residential hamlets (banjar), with their fields and the uncleared land around the residential areas. In those times, the desa adat could be said truly to form the limits of the universe of reference within which individuals lived out their social existence before being recycled periodically into the collective ancestral body. The desa adat constituted a self-contained, closed system, allowing in principle for limited interactions with the outside world.

Since the introduction of Christianity this is no longer the case. The boundaries of the desa adat have been slightly altered to admit the presence of what is viewed as a foreign ancestral group upon the space of the village. This was carried out by means of a careful distinction between the realm of social solidarity and mutual help where affiliation to an ancestral group is not relevant, and that of the transmission of rights and privileges which bring into play ancestral loyalties and the performance of ritual duties.
The first pertains to the residential hamlet or banjar while the second is the prerogative of the desa adat. While the integration of Christian groups has loosened the rigid outlook of the desa adat, it has also had the effect of exposing its fundamental structures and in the process has shown that the identity of the desa adat depends primarily upon the awareness of a mystical unity which holds its members together. This sentiment is born out of the realization of being issued from a single source, taken in the broadest sense of the term to include not only the human progenitors but also the socio-political order and even the crops grown upon the village land, and it is expressed in the communal worship of the ancestral deities of the public temples of the desa adat. Perpetuating the ancestral cult is a pre-requisite for membership in the desa adat because the ancestors are viewed as the source of fertility and prosperity whose intervention in human activities is central to the welfare of the whole community. Hence the desa adat is more than simply a temple group. Membership in the temple congregation is the expression of collective interests in more mundane domains such as economic and social activities for which the participation of the ancestors is nevertheless essential. Common worship in the Kahyangan Tiga gives the members of the desa adat a deep-seated feeling of "oneness", of forming a single body, which is revealed in the daily actions and interactions forming their universe of intersubjectivity.

The final section of this chapter is devoted to the expression of this mystical unity in the Kahyangan Tiga. Although by far the most important dimension of the desa adat, it is
nevertheless anchored in and sustained by other aspects of village existence which will therefore be considered first. Following after a general overview of the residential village, those aspects of the desa adat which are easily and immediately apprehensible, i.e. the residentially units controlling access to the agricultural fields forming the territory of the desa adat, and the formal organization of the human community with its council, leaders and ritual experts are presented together with a brief overview of the adat regulations which govern the public behaviour of its members.

THE RESIDENTIAL VILLAGE (DESA)

Although the Balinese use the term desa fairly indiscriminately to refer to any one aspect of their village, for analytical purposes, a distinction is made here between the desa which consists in the residential settlement and the desa adat which is primarily a social construct organized as an ancestral group. The desa of Piling is separated on the eastern side from the neighbouring desa of Mengesta and Kedampal by the river Yeh Pawal, and on the western side from Wangaya Gede, Penggangahan and Tengkudak by the river Yeh Pusut. To the north, the territory of Piling is encased between those of Jatiluih and Wangaya Gede which meet about three kilometers north of the residential village, and the villages of Mongan and Asah to the south. In 1916, Piling, Mengesta and Kedampal were amalgamated into the administrative structure (desa dinas) bearing the name of Mengesta, the
village where the office of the leader of the desa dinas (pendesa) is found. The desa dinas is sub-divided into administrative hamlets or dusun which correspond to the traditional residential hamlet or banjar in each of the three desa. Partly because of the spatial distance between the three desa which prevents the development of daily interactions among their respective populations and partly because of the strong banjar endogamy which characterizes the mountain villages in this area of Bali, the desa dinas does not play a large role in the life of the Piling villagers whose interactions with the population of Mengesta and Kadampal are still extremely limited and highly formalized. There is some overlapping between the dusun which is in theory part of the administrative structure, and the banjar which is primarily a unit of solidarity since the two units both refer to the same residential hamlet and the dusun is gradually taking over some of the tasks previously performed by the banjar such as the upkeep of the roads and communally owned facilities.

The residential area of Piling takes up about one-third of the total land, the remainder being divided between rice fields (2/3rd of the arable land) irrigated by the subak of Piling, and plantations and gardens (1/3rd). The rice fields are set in terraces cut along the sun-exposed slopes of the volcanic ridges while the plantations and gardens follow the shaded but fertile corridors between the ridges. Although located some ten kilometers further up inside the volcano, some uncleared forest land attached to Pura Manik Selaka and Pura Ninggarsari, is also included in the territory. The forest
is classified as governmental land and is placed under the administration of the Kantor Perhutanan in Penebel.

The desa is made up of two residential hamlets or banjar, Piling Kawan (West Piling) and Piling Kanginan (East Piling) (cf. map) separated by about one kilometer of road. Piling Kawan is the earliest settlement and lies north/west of Piling Kanginan which underwent a demographic expansion as a result of the massive migrations of people from Gunung Batur following the volcanic eruption and earthquake of 1917 and the re-location of Protestant families on the outskirts of the village. Each banjar consists of two rows of houseyards (pakarangan), laid out on either side of the road. Several clusters of houseyards scattered in the midst of the rice fields (pondok), although not strictly speaking part of the residential settlement, are nevertheless included into the banjar.

The houseyard (pakarangan) is the smallest residential unit, consisting of a space delineated by four walls often non-contiguous, within which are found a temple (sanggah) dedicated to the ancestors of the houseyard, the sleeping quarters (meten) of one or several households (kurenan), their kitchen(s) (paon), granary(ies) (lumbung or jineng) and a large open-sided building (bale dangin) where the eldest generation sleeps, most of the socializing takes place and the ancestral heirloom: lontar manuscripts, keris and other objects, are kept. It is usual to have only one kitchen when no more than two households share the same houseyard. Beyond this, cooking becomes a problem and each household builds its
own kitchen. As a rule two households can manage to share the same sleeping quarters and kitchen if they belong to two different generations, i.e. the parents plus one married child and family. If the two households are of the same generation, i.e. two siblings and their families, the houseyard space is divided in two, each family with its own sleeping quarters and kitchen. One unvarying rule is that there should be no more than one sanggah, as there cannot be more than one ancestral line, per houseyard. Two sanggah mean that we are in presence of two separate houseyards even when no dividing walls are built. When a man has two wives, each wife has her own kitchen, sleeping quarters and sanggah.

Sociologically the desa is organized dualistically, per banjar. This is expressed in the attribution of male and female values to each banjar: perhaps because it is the earlier settlement, Piling Kawan is considered male (banjar muani) and Piling Kanginan female (banjar luh). This qualitative distinction between the two banjar is congruent with the strong banjar endogamy shown on the table below. The geographical lay-out of each banjar, consisting of compact residential units separated by one kilometer of road which people are loath to walk at night, further increases the feeling of social distance between the residents of Piling Kawan and those of Piling Kanginan and no doubt contributes to maintaining the endogamous status quo.
**Table 4. Pattern of Marriages in Piling from 1976 to 1986**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>within banjar</th>
<th>within desa adat</th>
<th>within desa dinas</th>
<th>others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Other alliances include the following:
  Wangaya Gede      : 2
  Penebel and Tabanan : 3
  Outside Tabanan   : 7

The alliances contracted outside Tabanan are in fact first and second cousin marriages in which Catholic and Protestant men sought the daughters of families of converts who left Piling to settle in Karangasem and Badung during the difficult early days of Christianity in the village. If these families had stayed in Piling they would have been included into the category of intra-banjar alliances.

The strong banjar endogamy shows that, although hierarchically subordinated to the desa<sup>10</sup>, the banjar remains relatively autonomous. It is the prime unit of solidarity and mutual help, made up of three generations of contemporaries and consociates amongst whom ancestral loyalties do not necessarily come into play, although the banjar residents are in fact more or less loosely connected together through common descent or alliance. Although the preparation of the ceremonies for the rites of the human life cycle constitutes a large dimension of the banjar-based mutual help, the banjar cannot be qualified as a ritual unit since the participation of the banjar residents bears solely on the commensal aspect of the ritual, i.e. the preparation of food for the meals and
of the offerings, the decoration of the buildings and the reception of the guests. Burials are carried out by the recently established suka-duka, the organization for mutual help which, although based upon the banjar, answers directly to the desa adat (or the dewan gereja in the case of the Christian and Catholic groups). Prior to this, the sanggah gede was the most important unit of mutual help and solidarity in the village (see also chapter 3 and 4). The equation of the banjar with sekala in the sense of secular/commensal domain and the desa adat with the neskala in the sense of religious/spiritual domain is probably the most satisfactory definition of the relation between the banjar and the desa adat.

THE DESA ADAT

The desa adat is primarily a social construct organized as an ancestral group, which is made up of a hierarchy of smaller social constructs also organized as ancestral groups: the houseyard (pakarangan) and the sanggah gede. Except for the pakarangan which corresponds to the residential unit of the same name, these constructs are not immediately visible. The sanggah gede is visible primarily through the temple erected in the pakarangan of the core line members of the group, just as the desa adat is defined primarily by the Kahyangan Tiga. Each construct consists of three elements of the land, the
gods and the people whose characteristics, in each instance, are given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pakarangan</th>
<th>Sanggah Gede</th>
<th>Desa Adat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Land</strong></td>
<td>residential space and agricultural fields</td>
<td>residential space agricultural fields, forest land and temple grounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>residential space defined by four walls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>People</strong></td>
<td>families of kinsmen having a common interest in estate and residing in neighbouring houseyards</td>
<td>families of kinsmen and affines loosely related sharing residence in village and exploiting the fields</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>families in residential space</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gods</strong></td>
<td>line of family ancestors tracing back to the first occupier of the houseyard</td>
<td>settlers of the village and forebears who have been instrumental in the development of the village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ancestors tracing back to the first occupier of the houseyard</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Composition of main social constructs in Piling

In contrast with the banjar where common ancestry does not come into play in determining who can or cannot become a member, membership in any one of these constructs demands at the very least affiliation into the ancestral group. It is not possible to become a member of the pakarangan or the sanggah gede except by birth or marriage because in both cases property, rights and privileges are acquired on the basis of actual descent within the ancestral line. It is possible to become part of the desa adat other than by birth or marriage,
by making a formal application to the council to take up residence on an empty pakarangan or to build a new pakarangan on vacant land in the desa adat. Admission is function of the willingness on the part of the newcomer to abide by the local adat, pay his dues and perform his share of the collective duties in the same way as other members of the desa adat.

Once a residential space has been made available, the new resident acquires a permanent right to use the space so long as there are members of his family living upon it. This right is ratified by the erection of a domestic temple in which the main shrine is the sanggah kamulan - in Piling also called the sanggah kabuyutan (ancestral shrine) from buyut: the denomination of the last individually remembered forebear (great-great-great grandfather/mother)

The erection of a sanggah kamulan anchors the residents to the houseyard soil in such a way that the family becomes identified with it. The houseyard is handed down from father to son or, if no sons are available, to a daughter elevated to the status of heir (sentana rajeg). The designated heir undertakes to stay on the houseyard and takes over the parental duties to the houseyard ancestors. The right of residence can stretch over so many generations that people develop a sense of ownership toward their pakarangan, however it can come abruptly to an end if the family leaves Piling, dies out or is expelled from the desa adat. An empty houseyard automatically returns to the desa adat to be redistributed to someone else or to be used collectively, if no residents are found. Theoretically the buildings belong to the family and can be sold, but in
order to do so they must first be removed from the houseyard grounds15.

When the members of a family leave the desa adat and vacate their houseyard, they take the houseyard ancestors with them to the sanggah of their new houseyard, but they take leave (mapamit) of the village ancestors in the Pura Puseh16. As a rule, unless the family moves out of the village, movements in and out of the sanggah gede do not affect residence in the desa adat but access to membership in the sanggah gede does, as it is closely related to the right of residence on the pakarangan: the heir who inherits his father's title to the sanggah gede also inherits the parental houseyard. Those who do not stand to inherit must move out. They may leave the desa adat altogether or apply to build a new houseyard on vacant land elsewhere in the village, unless they marry uxorically (nyeburin) a woman who is a sentana rajeg and move into the houseyard of their wife.

Membership in the pakarangan, the sanggah gede and the desa adat is correlated with the fulfillment of three types of duties toward the ancestors. They include:

1. the performance of periodical rituals in the ancestral temple

2. the provision of another generation of heirs
3. the management of the inherited property, titles, functions and other family assets.

In last instance however, the desa adat has the status of owner of the land, "maduwe gumi", and decides who is to stay in the residential space. Hence, anyone refusing to carry out his obligations toward his family ancestors may be expelled from the houseyard and the sanggah gede without affecting his right of residence in the desa adat, but the reverse does not apply. Theoretically, someone who refuses to carry out his obligations toward the desa adat ancestors would be simultaneously expelled from his pakarangan and his sanggah gede as well as from the desa adat even if he continued to fulfil his duties toward his family ancestors. Recently, since the privatization of the agricultural land, an alternative is open for those who are no longer allowed to reside in the desa adat. They can stay in the village as members of the banjar if they can find a residential space which does not conflict with the space appropriated by any of the three ancestral groups: the pakarangan, the sanggah gede and the desa adat. This is made possible by buying some agricultural land and converting it into a residential houseyard. Unless it is consecrated by the erection of a houseyard sanggah, this new residential space does not become part of the desa adat but it is automatically included in the banjar. The position of the Christian community in the village illustrates this possibility. When the converts were expelled from the desa adat they lost their right of residence in the village and access to their share of the ancestral estate of rice fields held collectively by the sanggah gede.
Eventually they were allowed to remain in Piling with the status of members of the *banjar* on the condition that they move out of the *desa adat*. When the entire houseyard had converted to Christianity this entailed no problem, the houseyard *sanggah* was simply allowed to fall into disuse\(^{17}\). But when only one household or one male in the household\(^{18}\) had converted, they moved out of the family houseyard to the outer edges of the residential village, transforming privately bought agricultural land into a new residential houseyard. The spatial redistribution of the Christians to exclude them from the *desa adat* contributed greatly to the development of the *banjar* Piling Kanginan which is today mostly occupied by Protestant families. The territory of the *desa adat* was subsequently re-structured so as to exclude the residential houseyards of the converts which are shown as a blank space on the map of the *desa adat* but turn up again as inhabited houseyards on the map of the *banjar*.

The fact that the territory can be adjusted without any loss of integrity to the *desa adat* shows that the geographical boundaries of the territory are less important than the qualities of the land within. The land of the *desa adat* "lives" (*idup*) in the sense that it is animated by a vital flux originating from the interactions between the human community and its ancestors. This state which, for the Balinese, is equated with purity (*suci*), is preserved by the rules of purity and pollution of the local *adat*. When, as was the case with the Christian converts, these interactions are brought to an end, the land becomes polluted (*sebel*), loses its nurturing capacity\(^{19}\) and in some sense may be said
to die, with the result that those living on it cease to exist as well. Without having to move from the village, the Christians became non-persons when they stopped participating in the ancestor cult. Their status as non-persons becomes obvious at the occasion of a death. Whereas the death of a member of the desa adat throws the whole desa adat community into a state of ritual pollution (sebel), the death of a Christian has no effect upon it, and temple rituals are performed as usual. This, more than anything, betrays the extent of the estrangement of the Christians who, by affiliating themselves to another ancestral group have acquired the characteristics of another species (sorohan) of beings who are now so different that they can no longer affect the ancestral group left behind.

The relocation of the Christian converts outside the desa adat shows that space is an important signifier of identity for the villagers of Piling. The land of the desa adat belongs primarily to the village ancestors and is largely identified with them. Access to it is reserved exclusively to the descendants of these ancestors on the provision that the ancestral cult is maintained. A moral obligation to keep the residential space "alive" by providing another generation of descendants is attached to the residence in the houseyard which can never be bought nor sold, the family having no more than a right of occupancy, renewable each generation so long as the conditions set by the desa adat are fulfilled.

Until the Land Reform, all the land of the desa adat including the agricultural fields was the property of the ancestors and
of the king, and was therefore unalienable. Today the status of the residential space remains unchanged but the fields are privately owned - at least in so far as the name of individual farmers is shown on the certificate of ownership (pipil). Yet, although the fields are (officially at least) privately owned, they are seldom managed by a single individual or household. More often than not they are held collectively by several households sharing the same houseyard or by several houseyards within a sanggah gede.

Rice fields whose symbolic value is high retain the status of ancestral land which ought not to be sold even when the fields have been in the family for no longer than two or three generations. The Balinese ethos makes it a duty for the owner(s) to keep the fields productive season after season before handing them down to the children. Thus, to sell rice fields is strongly discouraged unless there is a valid reason for doing so, such as paying for the funerals of a parent or financing a rite of passage for the children. In other words, although agricultural land is "owned" privately, all the decisions concerning the land can only be taken collectively by individuals acting in a "corporate capacity" to use Leach's own expression, i.e. for the benefit of the family as a whole.

Membership in the Desa Adat - the Kerama Desa

Caring for the legacy of the ancestors is an inherent part of the ideology of the desa adat. In practical terms this means that the members of the desa adat must keep the territory ritually pure and the fields productive, and provide another
generation of members to take over the tasks in their turn. *Adat* ensures that these caretaking functions are fulfilled in the most appropriate manner, governing as it does:

1. the relations of human beings with their ancestors and gods - this includes the performance of rituals in the *Kahyangan Adat* and the observance of the rules of purity and pollution

2. the relations between human beings: alliances, divorces, adoptions, inheritance of property, privileges and duties and the performance of rites of passage, but also social solidarity and etiquette without which collective life is not possible

3. the relations of men with the land, including access to residential land and agricultural fields and, at death, burial into the graveyard

These caretaking functions determine the moral duties of the members of the *desa adat* and consequently the requirements for membership in the *desa adat*. Two classes of members are distinguished: "active" members or *kerama desa*, who are the married couples during the active period of their life, and the "passive" members consisting of their dependants: children, unmarried siblings, widowed or divorced relatives and/or parents already retired from active membership.

The *kerama desa* constitute the council of the *desa adat* and take all the decisions pertaining to the smooth running of the *desa adat*, under the guidance of a body of administrative
leaders, known colloquially as adat, who are elected from the ranks of the kerama desa for a set period. Except if suffering from leprosy (sakit gede) or madness (sakit gila) anyone born in the desa adat does become a member of the kerama desa at marriage, as it implies that one is issued from parents who are already members of the kerama desa. This amounts to a right of citizenship by birth. One may also become a member of the kerama desa by making a formal request to the leader of the desa adat, for approval by the kerama desa at the occasion of a meeting, and, if accepted, the person enters the kerama desa with the same privileges, rights and duties as those born in Piling, and the same status - at least jurally as differences in perceived status between original inhabitants and newcomers can surface in times of conflict, even when the family of the "newcomer" has been living in Piling for two or three generations already. In cases of conflict, behaviour becomes an issue which brings into question the legitimacy of the person's presence in the desa adat and his suitability for inclusion into the kerama desa. "After all he is only a newcomer (pendatang Ind.)" closes an unresolvable conflict. The reverse also holds true: "after all we are all one family (manyama, literally: we are all brothers)" is a standard remark which closes a successfully resolved dispute.

Everyone enters the kerama desa upon marrying and leaves after the marriage of the first child designated to stay in the parental houseyard and take over the parents' duties. Unmarried men and women can never become kerama desa; they remain "old adolescents" (muda or mudi tua, Ind.) all their
life. If one spouse dies, the remaining spouse leaves the kerama desa until an eventual remarriage. Similar rules apply also to divorcing couples.

The period from one's marriage to the marriage of the children corresponds to the active period in life lasting between 20 to 25 years, when the individual is required to participate in the collective activities of the village institutions. Formerly, when it was customary to marry young, this period was much shorter, lasting no longer than 17 to 20 years at the most and people were able to retire from the kerama desa by the time they reached 40, whereas today, it is not unusual to find people well into their fifties among the kerama desa. In a recent desa adat meeting someone raised this issue and suggested that active membership should be limited to a period of 10 or 15 years. However, the matter was allowed to drop without being resolved. Nevertheless the increasing length of the social commitment required of each individual by the desa adat is beginning to be felt as burdensome, in view of the increasing commitments of the villagers in other domains, particularly agriculture, and the development of individualistic values concomitant with the pursuit of professional careers in the towns.

Apart from residence in the desa adat, being a member of the kerama desa gives one the right to be buried and have the members of his family buried in the village graveyard (setra), ensuring by these means that one is reincarnated in the desa adat. The importance attached to being buried in the village setra is probably one of the aspects of the Balinese desa adat
which has been the least studied, yet it shows that one of the primary functions of the desa adat is to anchor disparate individuals into a cosmic order, a function which is far from being taken lightly by the villagers. Not being buried in the setra amounts to having no proper place after death, as burial is perceived to be a necessary stage in the reincarnation of the soul within the desa adat and, to some extent, governs reincarnation within the family\textsuperscript{26}. As such, it is extremely rare for someone to leave the desa adat unless it is to enter another one. The only known instances to date are the Christian converts who had already left the ancestral group in any case, and several families who emigrated to Java, Sulawesi and Sumatra, some of whom actually chose to retain their ties with Piling. These are "absent members" who continue nevertheless to contribute financially to the desa adat, thereby securing a place in their ancestral land for them to be buried at death.

Decisions concerning the management of the desa adat are made by the kerama desa on the basis of one vote per household, during the periodical meetings of the desa adat held in the Bale Agung in the evening, each 35-day month, on a propitious day calculated from the uku calendar\textsuperscript{27}. The meetings provide the occasion for discussing any matter, however trivial, pertaining to the smooth running of the desa adat, planning the details of forthcoming rituals, organizing work teams to repair one of the public temples and resolving any problem brought to the attention of the assembly. The financial situation and bank balance sheets are presented to the kerama desa at the beginning of each meeting and minutes of the
meetings are kept by one of the secretaries of the desa adat. A sample of typical matters discussed in meetings and taken from the minutes book of the adat secretary in Piling Kawan, is given here as an example.

**Meeting of 6/3/83**  
bank deposit of the result of the fines incurred for not observing Nyepi.

**Meeting of 8/10/84**  
payment of salary of sekaha gong – desa adat pays half, other half to be paid by third party (unresolved during the meeting); sekaha gong must participate in ayahan in return.

**Meeting of 21/1/84**  
Pakeling (a sequence in temple rituals to which attendance is compulsory) to be held straight after nganteb (another sequence) to enable the congregation to go home soon after 1 am.

**Meeting of 25/12/85**  
organization of saya teams of workers for the preparation of temple rituals - should they be rotated or organized in accordance with the availability of people at the time? (unresolved).

As can be seen, problems are not always resolved straight away. Some matters can be brought up regularly at successive meetings without being solved and are eventually abandoned, but even when this is the case, the meetings provide a public arena for debating problems which would otherwise hinder the maintenance of the highly desirable state of harmony of the desa adat, if they remained undiscussed.

A contribution (urunan) of one and a half kilogram of raw rice (baas), one hand of bananas and 2 coconuts, or the equivalent in money, is required of the kerama desa per uku year (210 days). This contribution is to be used in the collective rituals of the desa adat. In addition the kerama desa must be available to participate in work parties (ayahan)
as needed, for the maintenance of the temples and for the preparation of the ceremonies in the temples. Ayahan can be replaced by a financial contribution (pon) equal to the value of a full day's work (2,000 rps) if people cannot participate in the work because of their professional commitments or absence from the desa. The pon is payable by the head of the household, hence in a nyeburin marriage where the head of the household is the wife, it is calculated on the basis of the female wage, i.e. 1,500 rps.

These form the fundamental requirements of the kerama desa. Refusal to conform to them entails expulsion from the desa adat. However the decision to expell a member of the desa adat is never taken lightly because its consequences are far-ranging. More than a social death, expulsion from the desa adat prevents the reincarnation of the individual soul into the collective ancestral group as well as in the family line. Hence the decision is taken only after lengthy discussions but when all fails, the desa adat as rightful owner of the space can throw the dissident out. This was, of course, the fate of the Christian converts, but I was told of one known case where a man living in a pondok north of Piling decided to stop paying his contributions to the desa adat on the grounds that, given the distance from the residential village to his pondok, he derived no significant advantage from his membership in the desa adat. It took many meetings with the elders of the village and many lengthy discussions to make him change his views. Eventually the man returned to the desa adat still not fully convinced, but preferring to conform to the norms rather than have to move out of his house.
Beyond the duties which form the basic requirements for membership in the desa adat, the kerama desa are also expected to conform to the appropriate norms of behaviour and etiquette (tatakrama or tatacara) forming the ethos of the desa adat. Through their actions and public behaviour, the kerama desa should exhibit all the qualities befitting the descendants of the village ancestors. The desa adat ethos is based upon the value of rukun, the ideal state of harmony deriving from cooperative and peaceful social interactions, which Geertz has defined as "public virtue" (Geertz, 1980:48) because it affects only the public aspect of social relations. The villagers explain rukun by reference to the gregarious and clean habits of the ducks who feed only in water, implying a higher level of purity than chickens who feed from the ground and cannot live socially without bickering. Rukun entails the assumption that harmonious and peaceful life based upon cooperation and the transcendence of private interests in favour of the collective interests takes precedence in the village, because private interests are, in the end, better served in a social context where conciliation prevails than in the midst of conflict and discord.

Administration of the Desa Adat

This is entrusted to a body of elders who are democratically elected for a period of four years renewable. The formal structure of the administrative leadership consists of the following:
diagram 1. Structure of Administrative Leadership in Desa Adat

1. The bendesa or leader of the desa adat and the pengurus adat, his assistant, have practically equal status and authority and do not take a decision without consulting each other. The present bendesa resides in Piling Kanginan and the pengurus adat in Piling Kawan.

2. Two panyarikan or secretaries (one per banjar). Their functions include the administration of the desa adat finances, the organization of meetings and the keeping of minutes of the meetings.

3. Two bendahara (also one per banjar) in charge of the organization of work teams.

4. Four juru arah (two in each banjar). The juru arah help the bendehara in the organization of the work teams and relay information to the kerama desa about matters such as forthcoming meetings or payments of contributions.

Once elected, the leaders undergo the rite of pawintenan to prepare them spiritually for their functions. A solid knowledge and appreciation of the local adat are required of the bendesa and his assistant. The present bendesa is a 33 year old teacher of religious studies whose understanding of adat is strongly coloured by the modern current of thought of the Parisada Hindu Dharma. His election was actively
supported by a group of modern thinkers intent on breaking with the village tradition, in their view old-fashioned and quaint, and on fostering the integration of Piling into modern Balinese society. In contrast, the pengurus adat who comes from a conservative group issued from the padukuhan Apuan is strongly attached to the ways of the past, can block if necessary the decisions of the bendesa when they are thought to be too liberal. The two leaders of the desa adat balance each other and represent two significant factions which have developed in Piling over the last few decades: a progressive group composed of the schoolteachers, office workers and policemen, in other words people whose work commitments bring them into contact with the society of the towns, and a conservative group composed of the farmers whose universe of interactions is largely limited to the village. The first group form only a minority of the population yet they wield considerable power in the running of the desa adat partly because of the status bestowed upon them by their profession but also because, through their contacts with the larger Balinese society, they have acquired the worldliness necessary for dealing successfully with the offices of the Camat in Penebel and the Bupati in Tabanan with which nowadays the desa adat frequently has to interact.

The last decades have seen a progressive narrowing of the field of authority of the desa adat to well-defined domains such as the administration of the collective funds, the preparation of rituals in the Kahyangan Adat, and the upkeep of the temple grounds and buildings. This is funded by the contributions (urunan and pon) of the kerama desa, private
donations (*dana punya*) and subventions from the government, all of which are deposited into a bank account administered by the two *panyarikan* who present the balance sheets to the *kerama desa* at the occasion of each meeting.

In addition, the *bendesa* and *pengurus adat* can be consulted privately on matters pertaining to inheritance, adoption and the adequate performance of rites of passage, and they act as arbiters in disputes concerning the division of property or divorces. When their help is required, it is usual for the person to contact his *juru arah* first, then, accompanied by him, to go to the house of one of the leaders. Often the matter can be resolved quickly. If not, then a meeting is called which is attended by the present leaders of the *desa adat* and anyone whose opinions are valued and respected, such as a past leader and/or someone holding a high status in the village, a policeman or a school teacher. Formerly divorce procedures and disputes over inheritance went no further than the *desa adat*; divorce was always initiated by the husband who merely wrote a letter to the *desa adat* exposing his reasons for repudiating his wife. Nowadays however, the wife can initiate the procedure and divorces are pronounced in the court of Penebel. Problems of inheritance can be more difficult to resolve as no hard and fixed rules exist. Inheritance will be treated in details in the next chapter in the context of the *sanggah gede*. Suffice to say here that the most difficult cases to resolve are those involving the children of two or three successive wives of the same man, who contest their respective shares of the paternal inheritance, and those involving members of the three religious groups.
Today litigations concerning property can also be heard in the court of Penebel. However, although individuals can choose to resolve their conflict in court, every effort is made to try and reach an agreement without having to call upon outside authorities. For one thing the villagers have an enduring distrust of strangers, especially when these represent governmental interests; for another, the ideal model of the desa adat as a large family still prevails in the resolution of conflict which is geared primarily toward the maintenance of peaceful and harmonious relations within the desa adat.

Ritual Leadership

Each temple of the desa adat has a priest appointed as its official guardian. This priest is the pamangku whose main duties consist in the performance of minor rites in his temple and assistance to the village high-priest (balean desa) in the performance of the collective rituals. The pamangku is primarily the privileged medium through whom contact with the deity can most easily be made. As such he sits next to the balean desa when the latter officiates in his temple. Formerly the pamangku acted as a vehicle for the temple deity during the trance at the end of the ritual. This is no longer the case. Nowadays, temple trances are performed by a male (sadaran) and a female (sutri) trancers officially appointed by the desa adat.

Except for the pamangku subak who is either chosen by the deity of Pura Ulun Suwi or elected by the kerama subak\textsuperscript{30}, the function of pamangku is hereditary, being passed on from
father to first-born son. This can be overridden if the deity of the temple chooses someone else through the medium of a trancer, or if the skills or integrity of the new pamangku are questioned by the kerama desa who can, in last instance, elect another pamangku to replace him. When this is the case the son of the newly-appointed pamangku will, in time, take over his father's functions.

The ten pamangku of the desa adat come under the authority of a village high-priest or balean desa who conducts all the village rituals including the temple ceremonies, rites of the human life cycle and exorcistic rituals. The balean desa undergoes a rite of ordination (pawintenan) of a more extensive level than the pamangku, and he remains in office until his death or his retirement. Apart from his ritual expertise the balean desa is also consulted for the calculation of auspicious days (wariga dewasa), divination and healing. This village high-priest, seldom found in Bali except in Bali Aga villages such as Trunyan, belongs to the tradition of the local dukuh. As the ritual expert of the desa adat, his task is to maintain contact with the supernatural world (neskala) for the benefit of the human community and, as such, the balean desa must possess considerable mystical and magical skills (kesaktian) which he is expected to seek into the forest temples in the manner of the dukuh of the past. The potential balean desa is nominated to his office by the kerama desa, after undergoing several years of a rigorous training during which he is expected to seek teachers to instruct him in the local mystical doctrines and the formal aspect of the village
rituals. The present balean desa studied several years under the well-known religious reformist I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa, then came back to Piling and began his apprenticeship with a renowned teacher of the local doctrine, Agama Wakia, who lived in the village of Mongan, two kilometers south of Piling and taught him for over a decade until his death in the late seventies.

All the village priests including the balean desa are first and foremost mediators between the human community of the desa adat and the divine world of the ancestors and local gods, and their mediating role determines the various requirements attached to their position. Being married is a necessary pre-requisite for becoming balean desa or pamangku, as the priest's wife is her husband's complementary partner in the performance of his duties. The priest and his wife undergo the rite of pawintenan together and she becomes her husband's assistant in every ritual officiated by him. Together with the specialist in offerings (tukang banten), the pamangku's wife is the only person allowed to walk up and down (naik/turun, Ind.) in the temple (i.e. walk in front of the offerings) during the ceremony, changing offerings and mixing waters for her husband who, himself, does not move from his seated position for the whole duration of the ritual. The priest's wife is also required to make offerings or supervise other women in the making of the more complex offerings, when her husband is asked to perform a private rite. If she is unable to attend a ritual, for instance during menstruation,
she can be replaced by the pamangku's mother or sister. If neither is available, then she is replaced by the wife of another pamangku.

The temple priests are subject to rules of purity and pollution, some of which are also observed by their wives and children. Neither they nor their family are allowed to enter a houseyard where a death has occurred until the period of pollution (sebel) is over, nor may they eat food cooked in the kitchen of that houseyard. However the balean desa, whose supernatural skills are expected to be greater, can enter a houseyard where a death has taken place and even perform death rites, but he should purify himself (malukat) before entering a temple afterward. The pamangku are not allowed to eat food served in the houseyard of a newly-married couple until the couple has been purified by the rite of biakaonan. They should not step over a cow's rope or walk past women's clothing hanging out to dry, as this will cause them to lose their powers. After performing a ritual, they should wash their ceremonial clothing away from the residential areas, in water flowing from the ground and with a new bar of soap. The pamangku of the Pura Sada and the Pura Pucak Kadaton are forbidden to eat pork because the deities of those temples do not like pigs, but they can eat beef if they wish.
The Desa Adat as a Unit of Ritual Purity

We saw earlier that one of the main responsibilities of the kerama desa is to keep the desa adat in a state of ritual purity which is constantly threatened by the polluting effect of human activities, by a scrupulous observance of the ancestral adat. The task of the administrative leaders is to set a limit upon what is tolerable without endangering the life of the desa adat, by their judicious interpretation of adat, whereas the role of the priesthood consists in maintaining a lively interaction between the divine and the human worlds through the performance of rituals. Some of those rituals are designed to remedy the negative effects of pollution, while others act directly upon the divine world in order to obtain favours from the deified ancestors in the form of amerta whose utilization by the human community in tirta, is an essential prerequisite for the prosperity of the desa adat.

Adat refers to the sets of norms, rules and stipulations governing all facets of public life which are handed down as ancestral wisdom from generations of forebears, and whose purpose is to maintain the balance between the desirable but sterile state of order and the necessary but polluting state of disorder, either by preventing actions detrimental to order or by making provisions for the reparation of disorder.

The equation of purity with order is fundamental to Balinese society. To upset this order would amount to bringing chaos into the universe with the disastrous consequences which this entails. Yet, although ideal, the state of order is not in itself desirable, as activity is necessary for the
maintenance of life. As such, pollution, an inescapable residue of human activity, has an ambivalent value. It is positive in so far as it is life-enhancing (eating, one of the most polluting human activities is essential for survival), but negative in so far as it distances the human community from its ancestors and gods. It is not surprising therefore to find that the interpretation and application of adat reflects the contradiction inherent to the two Balinese ideals of maintaining order and sustaining life.

Instances of pollution can be divided into two broad categories:

1. pollution arising from usual activities in the course of everyday life, for which a periodical rite of purification is sufficient to re-establish order in the macrocosm of the desa adat.

2. pollution arising from extraordinary events which plunge the desa adat for some time into a state of intense disorder and may need the performance of specific rites before being rectified.

Pollution arising in the course of everyday life is expressed through the cultural images of the buta kala, chaotic forces perceived as demonic spirits arising from the disturbance caused by instrumental activities, who must be neutralized each year, at the occasion of Nyepi\textsuperscript{35}. On the evening before Nyepi, exorcistic rites (pacaruan) are performed while children explode firecrackers and adults pound the rice-
mortars to frighten the buta kala out of the boundaries of the desa adat. On the day of Nyepi, the village comes to a stand-still in a state of temporary purity, before returning to the hustle and bustle of activities for another year. Another rite of purification periodically performed is pengerastitian desa held at the occasion of an epidemic, a drought, earthquake or any disaster affecting the whole community. On this occasion, the Barong, protector par excellence of the desa adat, is walked through the streets and tirta pengerastitian obtained from the Pura Dalem and the Bale Agung is distributed to the members of the desa adat.

All individual actions whose consequences are likely to affect the desa community are potentially polluting and, as such, they are governed by norms related to the maintenance of purity in the desa adat. To cite but a few, the inheritance of property, rights and privileges, desirable and dangerous marriages, adoption and divorce rules, procedures to be followed when moving from one ancestral group to another or when leaving or entering the desa adat, can be fitted into this category. Some actions are forbidden because they destroy the cosmic order. This is the case for marriage between a brother and sister which goes against the normal current of life, reuniting what was divided in the same generation. Also forbidden is marriage across two generations, i.e. between an uncle and his niece or an aunt and her nephew (kaponakan) as these marriages cut across two classificatory categories of parents and children. Two types of alliances: marriage with a first cousin (misan) and marriage with a second cousin (mindon) are singled out by adat.
as being the most desirable but also the most potentially dangerous. These marriages are the subject of a whole section of the next chapter but it is worth pointing out here that the danger attached to these alliances varies in accordance with the interests at stake. Hence, marriage between first cousins in the agnatic line (parallel patrilateral cousins) is considered particularly dangerous because it involves individuals who are close neighbours as well as close kinsmen, and whose families often have a common interest in some land. While being the type of alliance closest to the forbidden cultural ideal of reuniting what is divided, i.e. brother/sister marriage, marriage between patri-parallel cousins is also the most conducive to conflict.

A similar concern to maintain a state of order conducive to purity is found in the less precise but nonetheless important domain of public behaviour norms. It is desirable for instance, to wear adat clothing when entering a temple or tie a scarf around the waist when making offerings. Bodily postures - one should stoop when walking in front of someone older or of a status higher than oneself, just as one should stoop when walking past completed offerings - forms of address, knowing where to sit, not putting oneself forward in a conversation, all these rules of etiquette are valued as being designed to facilitate harmonious interactions, avoid conflict and maintain the hierarchical status quo. This is related to the maintenance of rukun which has a direct effect upon the state of purity of the desa adat.
Based upon the idea that everything and everyone has its proper place in a hierarchical world, women are considered to be, by nature, inferior to men and they associated with substance (perdana), the land and the chtonian dimension in general. As such, they are always potentially polluting to men who are culturally associated with essence (purusa), the sky and the spiritual dimension. Women are particularly polluting for men who have undergone the rite of pawintenan. This is the reason why the ceremonial clothing of the pamangku must not be washed by a woman, even by his own wife. Menstruating women are not allowed to make offerings nor should they enter a temple, as they throw the temple into a state of pollution (leteh) necessitating a ritual of purification before the temple can be used again. Women more than five months pregnant and until six months after the birth are not allowed to enter the Pura Dalem, although they can enter the Pura Puseh and the Bale Agung until the time of the birth but are not allowed inside those temples either, until the end of the six-month period following the birth.

Because the lives of the members of the desa adat are fundamentally entwined, all major events in the cycle of human life have a polluting effect upon the community. The father, mother and newborn child are polluted (sebel) for 42 days following a birth, during which time they should not enter a temple. At marriage, the newly-wed couple are sebel until the rite of biakaonan performed several days afterward. Death and the birth of twins are the two most polluting events in human life. Twins are especially polluting if they are of opposite sex and when the girl is born first, as this amount
to a total reversal of the world order\textsuperscript{38}. Following a death, the \textit{desa adat} community is declared polluted (\textit{sebel}) for a period of three days, and the family for a period of seven days after the burial of the corpse. In the past, the period of pollution following the birth of twins or a death in the \textit{desa adat} was the same for the family and the \textit{desa adat} community, and lasted for a whole month, until the first full moon or dark moon after the end of that month (\textit{pasaninan bulan}).

No rituals may be performed in the temples when the \textit{desa adat} is declared \textit{sebel} because it is believed that the deities distance themselves from the \textit{desa adat} and, if a ritual were to be performed, demonic spirits would be attracted and would wreck havoc in the village. However, when a death occurs after the offerings for a temple ritual have already been prepared, it is ignored and the deceased is said to be sleeping until after the performance of the ritual. This is so because prepared offerings which are not used are considered to be more dangerous than a corpse. The purpose of the offerings is to provide a temporary body to the deities during the ritual. Until they are consecrated by the officiating priest, the offerings are like a body without a soul, incomplete and therefore dangerous since, according to people, they will try to steal a human soul and thus cause the death of someone else in the village.
The Desa Adat as a Network of Temples

The unity of the desa adat is expressed in its network of temples. Common worship in those temples anchors the co-residents of the village into a spiritual dimension transcending their lives. In other words participation in the desa adat rituals transforms individual families from discrete units sharing the same space into a collective unit held together by a holistic conception of the desa adat culturally expressed as a supra-organism modelled upon the human body, in which the temples are the vital centers. This mystical unity is a fundamental constituent of Balinese identity which endures beyond the eventual dispersal of human beings and land to the extent that, in extreme cases, people may continue to discharge their ritual duties in the temples of a desa adat where they no longer reside.

The desa adat of Piling is entrusted with the upkeep of, and performance of rituals in, ten temples which are classified as Kahyangan Adat. These temples belong to three broad categories.

1. The mountain temples

anchor the desa adat to the kingdom of Tabanan. They include Pura Manik Selaka and Pura Ninggarsari, the two forest temples (Pura Sada) where the memory of ancient kings and Brahmanic monks is preserved; Pura Pucak Kadaton, the ancestral temple built on the summit ledge of the volcano which is considered by many as the temple of ancestral origins for the whole
population of the mountain; and Pura Jero Tengah, built by the founder of the desa adat, which has been recently included into the category of Pura Sada although its status seems to have been different in the past. The mountain temples consist of babaturan nestled in large trees growing in the middle of a clearing in the forest. In Pura Puncak Kadaton the babaturan is set under a gnarled bush called kayu Swa where the spirits of the mountain ancestors are believed to be concentrated. The ancestral cult practised in those temples merges with the cult of the ancient kings of Tabanan and the cult of the natural forces of the environment: the sun (Surya) and rain water are worshipped in the summit temple, chthonian fire (perhaps volcanic) and ground water in the Pura Sada.

2. The agricultural temples

anchor the community of the desa adat to a space of productive land which is domesticated for human needs. They include the temples of the subak: Pura Ulun Suwi the "water" temple dedicated to Indra/Wisnu, the deity of rainwater, and Pura Bedugul dedicated to the deity of the rice fields Uma/Sri; as well as Pura Puseh Sari^{40}, the ex-temple of origins of Piling which functions nowadays as the temple of the recently established association for the cultivation of dry land crops (subak abian).
3. The Kahyangan Tiga

anchor individual lives into the ancestral group of the desa adat. This set of three temples corresponds to the three main stages in the human life cycle: the Pura Puseh to the birth (upetti), the Bale Agung to conscious/social existence (stitti) and the Pura Dalem with death and destruction (pralina). In fact, the Pura Puseh and Bale Agung constitute the inner and outer yards of a single temple, the Pura Desa, which is located between the two banjar, and the Pura Dalem is situated 3 km north-west of the village. Before Piling was moved downhill during the war between Penebel and Tabanan at the end of the eighteenth century, the Pura Dalem was situated south-west of the then village, next to the original graveyard. Today, the graveyard has been moved down to its present location between the two banjar but the Pura Dalem, believed to be too angker to be touched, has remained in its original location.

The Kahyangan Tiga are also related to the three elements of the desa adat: the deified founders of the village, lawgivers and owners of the space are worshipped as the gods of the Pura Puseh which is the temple of origins of the whole desa adat. The human forebears of the village are venerated in the Bale Agung, while the Pura Dalem is dedicated to the fertile powers of the land as well as the unpurified dead. A notion of dualistic origins can be detected under the three-temple system according to which the Pura Puseh is dedicated to upperworld/elevated ancestry and the Pura Dalem to
netherworld/chtonian ancestry. The deities of those two temples, Batara Puseh and Batara Dalem, are composite figures made up of the various deities occupying the temple shrines, whose existence is restricted to concrete instances such as temple festivals when tirta from all the shrines of the temple are mixed together. There is no Batara Bale Agung as this temple functions as a meeting place and as the outer yard (jaba) of the Pura Puseh. The Pura Puseh is the key temple of the Kahyangan Tiga, functioning as the temple of origins for all the constituents of the desa adat, with a particular emphasis upon its agricultural and economic aspects, and as such it is closely associated with the Pura Dalem which functions as a source of life for the human community and of fertility for the agricultural fields.

A detailed description of the shrines encountered in each of these temples is given below, together with a map.

THE PURA DESA

1. Bale Agung

The Bale Agung is primarily the outer yard of the Pura Desa. Hence, the kitchens and slaughtering hall (bale mebat) are located inside it, and it is also the place where the communal meal shared by all the participants at the occasion of a festival in the Pura Puseh is consumed. In addition, the Bale Agung houses the following shrines:

1. The palinggih of the village forebears venerated as the couple Ratu Ayu Dalem Piling (14) and Ratu Mas Dalem Piling (15). Offerings of a canang genten and a daksina are made to these shrines before each
1. Pasimpangan Pekendungan/Ulun Suwi
2. Paruman Tegalwangi
3. Palinggih Manik Selaka
4. Palinggih Manik Galih/Rambut Sedana
5. Palinggih Batara Ngejawat/Ngebalit
6. Pasimpenan Dalem
7. Palinggih Jero Tengah
8. Palinggih Ninggarasari
9. Toksu
10. Padmasana
11. Bale
12. Piasan
13. Bale
14. Palinggih Ratu Ayu Dalem Piling
15. Palinggih Ratu mas Dalem Piling
16. Pasimpangan Besakih
17. Palinggih Ratu Ngurah Maduwe Karang
18. Kitchen and Bale Mebat
19. Granary
20. Bale Gong
21. Barong
22. Apit Lawang
meeting of the desa adat to invite the forebears to preside over the meeting.

2. The Barong (21) housed in a glass-walled shrine. The Barong holds an important position in the life of the desa adat, as the protector of the whole community especially children under seven years of age. It is addressed by the honorific title of Jero Gede and is identified with Banaspati, Lord of the West who presides over residential space and garden land.

3. The pasimpangan Pura Besakih (16), erected recently at the request of the Jabatan Agama of Tabanan for the purpose of obtaining tirta needed for Ngarastiti ceremonies performed collectively throughout the island. Until that time, Ngarastiti was performed with tirta obtained from the temples of Gunung Batukau.

4. The palinggih dedicated to Ratu Ngurah Maduwe Karang the Lord Owner of the Space (17). This refers to the guardian spirit of the desa adat residential space.

2. Pura Puseh

The Pura Puseh constitutes the inner sanctuary of the Pura Desa. It is the abode of the higher deities and the purified ancestors (pitara) who are worshipped as the purusa of the desa adat. No-one should enter the temple except in adat clothes. The shrines are aligned along the northern wall of the temple. They are, from west to east:

1. The pasimpangan Ulun Suwi/Pekendungan, dedicated to the deities of the subak temple of Piling and of the sea-temple of the subak of Tabanan, Pura Pekendungan in the complex of temples of Tanah Lot. These deities are in fact two aspects of a single god of water represented as Wisnu/Indra when it falls as rain from the mountain and Baruna as water from the sea.

2. The Paruman Tegalwangi built recently at the request of the deity of the Pura Puseh Sari during a trance. As its name indicates - paruman means association and tegalwangi the perfume or essence of the dry fields - this shrine is dedicated to the deity of all dry-land crops. Its erection inside
the Pura Puseh reflects the current surge of interest of the farmers in the cultivation of cash crops.

3. The palinggih Manik Selaka dedicated to the deity of Pura Manik Selaka, one of the two mountain temples classified as Pura Sada.

4. A palinggih rong dua (bi-partite altar) dedicated to Manik Galih and Rambut Sedana, gods of fertility and wealth, identified also with Batari Sri (Manik Galih) and Wisnu (Rambut Sedana) and associated both with agriculture and the ancestral cult.

5. The palinggih Batara Ngejawa/Ngebali commemorating the journey to Java of a Tabanan king and ratifying past cultural links with Java. A similar palinggih is found in the inner yard of Pura Luhur Batukau.

6. The pasimpenan Dalem. This is an enclosed construction with a door and a pointed roof (gedong) and is the main shrine in the Pura Puseh, housing ancestral relics, the effigies of ancestral deities (arca) and the awig-awig of the desa adat. The name Dalem is used here in the sense of origin, source or foundation. All rituals are performed in front of it. In the past a permanent altar (papelik) where the offerings were laid out, stood in front of the pasimpangan Dalem.

7. The palinggih Jero Tengah dedicated to Sang Hyang Batu Rajah the deity of the temple built by I Gusti Jengot, the founder of the desa adat.

8. The palinggih Ninggarsari dedicated to the deity of Pura Ninggarsari, the other mountain temple classified as Pura Sada.

9. The taksu, an altar dedicated to the mediating spirit between gods and men.

10. The padmasana, dedicated to a higher deity known variously as Sang Hyang Acintya, Sang Hyang Sunya, Siwa, Surya and Sang Hyang Widdhi Wasa. The padmasana was added after 1976 in compliance with the stipulations of the Parisada Hindu Dharma and represents the effort on the part of the Balinese government to bring village religion into relationship with the monotheistic official religion.
11, 12 and 13. Two bale, and the ancestral platform (piasan) where minor deities congregate with the ancestors during a ritual47.

The identity of the deities worshipped as purusa of the desa adat shows that only those features of the Balinese universe which are directly relevant to Piling, i.e. its historical and geographical situation in relation to Gunung Batukau, are taken into consideration in the notion of collective origins48.

**THE PURA DALEM**

The Pura Dalem is divided into three yards: the outer yard (jaba) forming the entrance of the previous graveyard, is merely indicated by a palinggih dedicated to Mraja pati49. This yard is the property of the subak and is used for the performance of yearly agricultural rituals. Since the renovations of 1976, the middle yard (jaba tanden or tengah) and inner yard (jeroan) are delineated by a walled enclosure50.

1. **Jaba Tanden**

1. The main shrine in this yard is the pura papati (8) dedicated to kalika, follower and helper of Durga. This is the most magically dangerous (angker) spot in the temple, associated with destruction (pralina) where the dead go straight after death51. Kalika is vividly imagined as an executioner armed with a knife, cutting open the corpse to extract its organs one after the other, searching for the magical letters which identify the deceased52. A small urn (beji) next to the pura papati where rain water is collected, provides tirta for the funeral rites.

2. The panyasom jaba tanden (10), a small babaturan left over from the original temple situated along the eastern wall. This babaturan is dedicated to the fertile powers of the soil concretized in the emerging plants53.
Legend

- walled enclosure
- natural hedge

1. Dalem Tungkub
2. Taksu
3. Padmasana
4. Palinggih Manik Gajih/Rambut Sedana
5. Panyasom Jeroan (babaturan)
6. Bale
7. Piasan
8. Pura Papati
9. Beji
10. Panyasom Jaba Tanden (babaturan)
11. Kitchen
12. Bale
13. Granary
14. Apit Lawang
15. Bale
16. Majapati
3. The other buildings include the granary (13), the kitchen and bale mebat (11) and the bale gong (12).

2. Jeroan

1. The Dalem Tungkub, an enclosed, gedong-type shrine with a roof supported by pillars inside which are kept the Rangda masks and a black stone. This is the place of abode of Batara Dalem, also known as Durga. The name Tungkub which means womb but is also the name given to the granaries located in the attic of traditional-style houses in old villages such as Trunyan54, testifies of the Pura Dalem's involvement in the agricultural cult.

2. The taksu dedicated to the mediating spirit between gods and men.

3. The padmasana occupies the north/east position. Like the padmasana in the Pura Puseh, this is a recent addition to the temple.

4. A palinggih rong dua dedicated to the couple Manik Galih and Rambut Sedana.

5. The panyasom jeroan, another babaturan-style altar identical to the one found in the middle yard.

The remaining space is occupied by a bale (6) where the officiants congregate during a ritual and the piasan (7) which serves as a meeting place for deities and ancestors invited to participate in the ritual.

The Pura Dalem relates human identity with space and substance. The lay-out of the shrines in the three yards of the Pura Dalem emphasizes the double role played by this temple as the temple of the dead and the source of fertility for the rice fields. The involvement of the Pura Dalem in rice agriculture is probably a left-over from the tradition of dry-land rice agriculture which relied for the success of the crops, upon the natural fertility of the soil rather than
The Pura Ulun Suwi was built with the creation of the subak but the Pura Bedugul, dedicated to Uma/Sri the deity of the rice-fields, was part of the cultivation of dry-land rice and is not properly speaking a subak temple. Before the change-over to irrigation this temple was already included in the Kahyangan Adat and, in Piling at least, continues to function jointly with the Pura Dalem. We will return to these points in greater details in Chapter Seven, as part of the study of the agricultural rites where the Pura Dalem figures prominently. Suffice to say at this stage that the temple's double function is validated in people's minds by the identification of Durga, goddess of the Pura Dalem with Uma and Sri, the goddess of the rice fields. Uma/Sri, the deity of the Pura Bedugul is perceived as the benevolent and nurturing aspect of Durga, the deity of the Pura Dalem emphasizing decomposition, degradation and destruction, both of whom represent two complementary aspects of a life cycle which takes in the rice crops as well as human existence.

The diagram given below illustrates the human life cycle through the Kahyangan Tiga:

```plaintext
Pura Puseh

Pura Dalem

Bale Agung

Diagram 2. Human cycle through Kahyangan Tiga
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In this cycle, the soul is incarnated in the Pura Puseh and after a transition through the social world (Bale Agung), returns to the Pura Dalem to be purified before returning to the Pura Puseh for a further reincarnation. Individual reincarnation is not taken into account at the level of the desa adat as it pertains to the domestic cycle where some elements of the deceased forebears reincarnate on a five-generation basis. Reincarnation in the Pura Puseh consists in the recycling of the collective heritage of the past into the present community. The cycle of human life is caught into a larger cycle which mobilizes elements of the macrocosmic environment of the desa adat represented in the agricultural temples and mountain temples. Hence for their return into the desa adat the souls of the deceased kerama desa need the input from a selection of temples from which they draw the components of their collective identity. This explains the central position occupied by the Pura Puseh, situated at the junction of two cycles: the cycle of human life in the Kahyangan Tiga and the broader cycle taking in all aspects of the domesticated environment of mundane activities in the village and in the fields, which are represented in the Kahyangan Adat. At death, the various components of the person are separated (pralina means division and separation as well as destruction) and while the soul awaits its return to the Pura Puseh in the inner yard of the temple, another, more substantial dimension of the deceased remains in the middle and outer yards to be utilized ritually as a source of fertility for the fields. Hence while the soul follows a
short cycle leading to its eventual recycling into the human community, the physical components of the person begin another broader cycle which includes a passage through the wet space of the rice fields before returning to the residential space in the form of rice. Later, during the reincarnating stage in the *Pura Puseh*, the ancestral soul draws material and social elements from the mountain and agricultural temples for the formation of its social identity. This process is shown in the diagram below.

![Diagram 3. Human cycle through Kahyangan Adat](image)

In this cycle, the mountain temples (*Pura Sada* and *Pura Puncak Kadaton*) channel elements from the wider macrocosm of the mountain which anchors Piling to the kingdom of Tabanan. This category of temples is associated with ideas of power emanating from the mountain into which are included all deceased forebears as well as the kings of Tabanan. The cycle places individual lives in a historical, material and
political context articulated around the Pura Puseh which can be conceived as a social matrix where, at the time of the birth, the identity of the future members of the desa adat is fashioned.

The temples are utilized as a network mainly for the purpose of making tirta needed for private and collective rituals. The performance of the rites of the human life cycle whose purpose is the socialization and desocialization of individuals, necessitates tirta from the Kahyangan Tiga because the collective identity of the desa adat community comes from these three temples. The mountain and agricultural temples are used as sources of tirta specifically for the temple rituals oriented toward the realization of the collective pursuits in the agricultural and economic domains. Once a year, the ten temples of the Kahyangan Adat are brought together into one festival called Ngusaba Desa which is held in the Pura Puseh. On this occasion, tirta fetched from each of the temples are mixed together and distributed to the congregation.

The fact that the consecration of tirta, an important signifier of Balinese identity, always involves more than one temple, shows the complexity of the collective identity of the members of the desa adat. It also explains why, drawing the same elements from the same cosmologically bounded environment to which they return at death, the members of the desa adat exhibit, beyond their individual differences, a strong sense of fundamental unity.
1. H. and C. Geertz's definition of the desa adat as a "sacred space within whose bounds the fates of all residents are supernaturally intertwined" (H. and C. Geertz, 1975:167) expresses similar ideas.

2. This ambiguity is perpetuated in the position of the kelian dusun who is elected in office for a term of two years renewable. The official tasks of the kelian dusun consist in liaising with the pendesa, keeping records of the population movements in the residential hamlet and organizing collective work parties for the maintenance of the road and other facilities. In addition the kelian dusun oversees the collective funds of various banjar-based groups such as the women's association and is considered responsible for seeing that the books balance. On the other hand, the kelian dusun is often contacted by the members of the banjar for all sorts of reasons which, unless they are resolved at the level of the banjar, would eventually be referred to the leader of the desa adat. It is quite common for a wife beaten by husband, to seek refuge with the kelian dusun, or for two individuals to settle their dispute in front of him. The kelian dusun is considered the first authority in the complex hierarchy of leadership and is perceived to be closer to the people than the leaders of the desa adat. As such he is the first person to whom one has recourse when the matter is too trivial to bring it to a higher authority. Warren reports that this de facto arrangement where the leader of the banjar doubles as kelian dinas/dusun is quite common in Bali and that with the undang-undang No.5 of 1979, the banjar and dusun are now caught into the same local government administrative hierarchy (Warren, 1990:22 and 287).

3. Although difficult to ascertain, it seems that after the eruption of Gunung Batur many Balinese moved west to the region of Lake Bratan and Gunung Batukau where they either set up a new village (such as for instance the village of Titigallar near Baturiti) or were assimilated into the population of existing villages. Some of these emigrants came to settle in Piling. However, it is not possible to retrace the origins of these newcomers who are by now completely integrated into the local population. The only indices of a possible link between some of the inhabitants of Piling and Gunung Batur is the presence of a small babaturan-style temple called Pura Dalem Kelingkung which, according to some people, is a mid-way temple for Pura Dalem Belingkang, and the tradition perpetuated by some families, of returning periodically to Lake Batur to participate in fishing parties with the inhabitants of Trunyan. Danandjaja reports that, in order to protect the fragile environment of Lake Batur from the environmental destruction brought by the practice of slash and burn agriculture, the Dutch administration tried not very successfully, to relocate the population of several villages of Gunung Batur, to the area of Candi Kuning, near lake Bratan (Danandjaja, 1980:67).
4. According to people, the purpose of the walls is to ensure that the buta kala are confined within the houseyard so that the exorcistic rites to placate them can be more efficiently performed, as well as to prevent the buta kala from other houseyards from intruding upon the houseyard space. A more down to earth explanation would be that a lane where people can walk to reach the main street without crossing from one houseyard to the next, gives each houseyard greater privacy - a much needed necessity in the over-crowded village - than if people had to walk through their neighbours' houseyards.

5. The jineng is an old-fashioned granary built like a hut standing on the ground, whereas the lumbung stands on four posts.

6. The term kurenan designates the family as a unit of commensality, i.e. all the people living as a household and eating from the same kitchen, rice taken from a single granary. It is rare to find only one kurenan per houseyard. Rather, It is the norm for two or three kurenan to share the same houseyard space, either eating and sleeping in the same quarters (rob-roban) or with their separate kitchen and sleeping quarters (manehan).

7. This shows an interesting facet of ancestral awareness in Piling as it gives equal importance to ancestry through the man and the woman in a society where the ideology of male ancestry predominates.

8. According to Goris, the dualistic organization of Balinese villages is characteristic of the mountain villages which he qualifies as pre-Hindu. The disappearance of the old system is correlated with the arrival of newer functionaries from the courts (Goris, 1984:90-1). The division of Piling could also be construed as a vestige of a former division of the desa adat into two complementary halves which is still found in villages such as Tigawasa on the northern face of Gunung Batukau, were it not for the fact that, until the recent development of Piling Kanginan, the village consisted in a single banjar.

9. The dualistic arrangement of the village does not, as could be expected, affect the order of seating in the desa adat meetings which is rather anarchistic, although the women do tend to sit together around the granary in the Bale Agung and the men sit in the bale gong. Piling is also said to be a male village (desa muani), a fact which, according to its inhabitants, accounts for their reputation as belligerent and fierce, but which on a sociological plane, indicates the possibility that a network of complementary "male" and "female" villages may have existed in the region of Gunung Batukau at some stage in the past.
10. According to Guermonprez this is typical of what he calls Hindo-Balinese villages (Guermonprez, 1980:50).

11. The relative importance of the desa adat and the sanggah gede over the banjar is due to several factors. The first is the absence of caste. As Warren's informants make clear "the banjar knows no caste" (Warren, 1990:7). In Piling where no titles are recognized, the ideological equality which is characteristic of the banjar in a desa adat where members of different castes share the same space, permeates the whole desa adat. Furthermore, Piling is typical of the mountain villages where the banjar and the desa adat cover the same surface and the same population (ibid:20). We saw earlier that, until recently, Piling consisted probably of a single banjar. This would partly explain the prominence of the sanggah gede as a unit of mutual help and solidarity in the past and the subjection of the suka-duka to the authority of the desa adat today. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that, in Piling, the sanggah gede is a territorial and residential unit as well as an ancestral group (cf. chapter 3). In fact the strong banjar endogamy could be traced to the marriage of first and second cousins between sanggah gede. As sanggah gede show a tendency to divide after several generations, one's neighbours in the residential hamlet are likely to be one's kinsmen (sometimes as close as first cousins) as well. The last section of chapter 4 is devoted to studying the possibility that, in the case of Piling at least, the validity of banjar solidarity is still questioned.

12. See Warren, 1990:21 for similar comments and her reservations about the extent to which these concepts can be used to illustrate the relations between the banjar and the desa adat.

13. The sanggah kamulan is dedicated to three dimensions of ancestry: male, female and from the sun (Surya), the latter being equated with the life-principle (purusa). This local interpretation of ancestry is similar to that reported by Grader as prevailing in the area of Kintamani where Surya also occupies the central niche between the male and female ancestors (Grader, 1969:143). The sanggah kamulan is sometimes associated with the Hindu Trinity Brahma, Wisnu and Siwa by progressive villagers, Brahma being identified with the male ancestors, Wisnu with the female ancestors and Siwa with the sun. Often, however, the three levels of ancestry are simply referred to as the three elements of fire (male), water (female), both of which have a value of perdana, and ether (higher ancestry/purusa).

14. There is no marked preference for the first-born or the last-born son. Willingness to stay home and take over the parents' duties in the sanggah gede is the deciding factor in choosing a heir.
15. This is commonly done if, for instance, the residents of a houseyard shrink in number and some buildings remain unoccupied. A work party is then organized to take the sold building apart, transport it to the new houseyard and rebuild it there.

16. They must also pay a sum of money toward the maintenance of the temples (about 5,000 rps in 1986) and hold a feast which must include pork roasted on the pit (babi guling) for all the members of the desa adat. A member of the desa adat who converts to Christianity is treated as if he were leaving Piling altogether and as such should pay the due and hold the feast. The social value of exchanging food when leaving the network of social relations of the village will be treated further in Chapter Four.

17. When a son who is designated as a heir converts to Christianity, his parents would usually convert as well in order to "move all the ancestors into the same group". This has the effect of allowing the family to stay inside their own houseyard which is simply deleted from the desa adat.

18. There would be no problem if a woman converted, as she is not a member of the ancestral line, unless of course she is elevated to the state of sentana rajeg. Apart from one case, in Piling women do not as a rule change religion. It is accepted that the woman adopts the religion of her husband just as she moves into his ancestral group upon marrying him. If she did change religion, she would lose the right to the produce of the land owned by her husband, if he happened to die before her. With the increasing incidence of marriages across religious groups, it is accepted that the in-coming spouse: wife or husband in a nyeburin marriage, should join the ancestral group of the houseyard as it is considered dangerous (panes: hot) to have two religions, i.e. two ancestral groups on the same space.

19. The land is often compared to a universal mother, Ibu Pretiwi who, as one villager explained it to me, sacrifices herself without asking anything in return (mengorbankan diri tanpa balasan (Ind.)).

20. cf. Goris, 1960:81 for similar ideas. According to him, temple worship in the desa adat derives from "two basic ideas. The first is that the ground belongs to the gods, and the second that the population of the desa desires to maintain contact with its deceased ancestors".

21. The status of the small Christian community living on the residential space of the banjar but not in the desa adat is still somewhat ambiguous. Until now, the Christians have been concerned with being allowed to stay in the village and thus have acquired residential land rather than try and sell it. However, if, as may well happen in the future, a Christian family decides to leave
the village, no one knows for certain what the status of the residential space left empty would be. Whether the Christians would be able to sell their houseyard space and to whom, is still open to conjectures.

22. The status of the land probably underwent major changes throughout the centuries, in accordance with the evolution of the administration of land and collection of taxes within the kingdom. For an overview of the relations between the villages and the courts in ancient (i.e. pre-Majapahit) Bali, based upon the royal edicts preserved on prasasti, see Ardika (1984). For an analysis of the complex aspects of land "ownership" and the rights of the raja over land in Indonesia see Ter Haar (1948:ch.2) and for a Balinese example of the special status conferred to some Bali Aga villages and their relations with the courts, see Korn (1984:362-68) for Tenganan, Danandjaja (1980:53-67 and 208-16) for Trunyan, and Schaareman (1986a) for Tatulingga, in Karangasem.

23. It is in Bali Aga villages where the land is held communally by the desa adat and shared out to its members, that the links between the desa adat and the land are the strongest. On this topic, see Bali Aga (anon.:33) for general remarks on Bali Aga system of land tenure and Danandjaja, (1980:208-9) for the village of Trunyan where, as in Gunung Batukau, changes in land tenure are being felt in response to modernity. On another level, the strong bonds linking any Balinese to his land regardless of his social status, cannot be ignored without doing violence to the local perceptions of identity (cf. Schaareman (1986a:65) for similar comments). The qualities of the land change according to its use. In Piling, rituals are needed to convert fields into residential space. Before beginning to build or, at least before moving into the houseyard, the guardian spirit of the rice land must returned to the Pura Bedugul and the guardian spirit of the residential space is fetched from the Pura Puseh to be "implanted" in the ground. These spirits are identified with the Kanda Mpat (see also the comparative table of the symbolic correspondences of the Kanda MPat in Chapter 6, for details of the categories of land in Piling).

24. Any member of the Christian community who wants to re-enter the desa adat is treated as if he had just taken up residence in Piling.

25. In an article on the resolution of an infringement of adat in Tatulingga, Schaareman brings out the importance of what he calls the "ceremonial character of almost all social behaviour" (Schaareman, 1986b:212-3). What matters most is to preserve the proper way of doing things while, at the same time, avoiding conflict. Closing a dispute with an affirmation of the family bonds which unite the members of the desa adat, even if these are merely putative, reinforces the village ethos of
peace, harmony and order without which collective life is impossible.

26. So important is the burial stage in ensuring the continuity of the human life cycle from one reincarnation to the next that according to Pan Pereira, a Catholic Dewan Gereja of Tabanan, when the Catholic church finally obtained space for a graveyard in a village of South Tabanan, this was immediately followed by a minor mass conversion on the part of families who until then, hesitated to join Catholicism. This raises the difficult question of the survival of beliefs about reincarnation among the Catholics. Among the Catholics of Piling, these beliefs are fostered by the cult of the ancestors which has been integrated into the Catholic rites, in an attempt at acculturation. I would say that more than three-quarters of the Catholic villagers to whom I spoke still believe strongly that the ancestors reincarnate within the family.

27. The combination Kajeng-Klion is particularly auspicious, as are Buda-Kelion and Anggarkasih, all of which are days which carry a strong ancestral value. Kajeng-Manis or Buda-Manis are next best.

28. There is always an aura of suspicion surrounding the person who manages public funds in the village. Bank balances are presented at the occasion of each meeting and are closely scrutinized for any transaction which could not be accounted for. For this reason few people relish the position of treasurer or secretary which they view as bringing little reward and much heartache.

29. One and a half kilogram corresponds to the traditional measure of one halved coconut shell.

30. At first the pamangku subak combined these duties with those of pekaseh. Nowadays however, because of the presence of three different religious groups in the subak, the two functions have been dissociated.

31. cf. Danandjaja, 1980:264-5. Formerly in Trunyan, the balean desa who conducts all the rituals had to be a woman and her role consisted in inviting the village deities to descend among the assembled congregation by using her body as a vehicle. We may compare this tradition with that of the priestesses of the Ngaju Dayak of Borneo, also called balean (or balian) (cf. Schärer, 1963:53-9). While no comparative study has yet been undertaken between the Balinese and the Dayak, it would be interesting to inquire into such cultural similarities as the sangiang who are spirits summoned by chanting in a special poetic language called basa sangiang. According to people, sangiang performances which used to be commonplace in Gunung Batukau in the past but are hardly ever performed today, should be kept distinct from other rituals, as they do not pertain to religion per se.
32. The last three generations of balean desa included a pamangku subak, a pamangku Pura Manik Selaka and a pamangku Pura Puseh. All three were individuals versed in the tradition of the esoteric doctrines, who spent several years learning with the local experts (guru) of the mountain and confirmed their skills by retiring temporarily to the mountain to meditate in the forest temples and develop their magical powers.

33. Those who practise magic are also likely to lose their powers if they step over a cow's rope, especially when they wear a magically powerful belt (selandang). This suggests that the temple priest is fundamentally a magician and indeed in the past before the term pamangku was introduced no difference was made between the temple priest and other magical practitioners all of whom were called balean.

34. In Piling, pork meat which is a highly prized Balinese dish, is shunned not only by the priests of those temples but also by the men who take the study the local agama seriously. In this instance it would seem that the cultural value of not eating pork is exploited by these individuals who, under the pretence of being made ill by the ingestion of impure meat, can thereby distinguish themselves from the rest of the population and implicitly proclaim their apparence to a higher (i.e. purer) category of beings.

35. The meaning of buta kala is complex and cannot be reduced to a single definition. In a recent article on the Balinese notion of person, Howe surveys some of the many dimensions of this extremely interesting Balinese concept (cf. Howe, 1984:206-10). For an alternative explanation of the buta kala and their relation to pathological states of the human body, see also Lovric (1988, unpubl.:132-40).

36. As Geertz and Geertz have noted (1975:171) no term of address exists between these, although there are terms of reference. Uncles and aunts are classified in the parental category and are called nang (short for nanang) and men (short for memen), as indeed are all members of the parental category in the village.

37 In my understanding of the ways the villagers used the terms sebel and leteh to refer to pollution, leteh is used for the temple buildings and grounds to denote a state which causes the deities to distance themselves from it and the chthonian spirits to be drawn to it. Sebel is used to denote a state of pollution in the sense of magical vulnerability when one speaks about persons. By extension the land can be sebel when it is personified and the rice can be sebel after pollination, a crucial point in the developmental cycle of the crop when the rice is believed to acquire human characteristics after being impregnated with purusa from the sun. According to this distinction a temple becomes polluted (leteh) by the
presence of polluted (sebel) persons within its walls.

38. It was not possible to ascertain the length of sebel following the birth of twins in the past, as no twins have been born in Piling for a long time. The only known twins are two seven-year old Catholic girls living in Piling Kawan. According to the bendesa adat, the rule of 7 days of ritual pollution for the family and three days for the desa adat now applies.

39. According to the mystical tradition of Piling, the Pura Ulun Suwi corresponds to the heart (papusuhan), the Pura Sada to the liver (ati), the Pura Puseh to the navel (puseh, puser), the Bale Agung to the kidneys (ungsilan), and the Pura Dalem to the gall bladder (empedu).

40. The clothes of the village founders and various magically powerful objects including a keris, a fish and a chair apparently made of gold, are buried in the Pura Puseh Sari under the main babaturan. These form the roots (in fact the Balinese term, padagingan, suggests that they are the flesh) of the temple and serve to anchor Piling to the land. They cannot be removed without endangering the welfare of the whole desa adat. The temple is considered to be the true "origin point" of the desa adat and no ritual held in the Pura Puseh is complete without tirta fetched from the Pura Puseh Sari beforehand.

41. cf. Grader (1960:184-5) for similar findings in the region of Mengwi. This is not coincidental as Mengwi entertained close historical and cultural ties with Tabanan before being defeated by it. The Pura Sada (according to Grader this should be Pura Prasada) of Kapal is nowadays part of Tabanan but used to be one of the state temples of Mengwi.

42. The men who are assigned to wear the Barong and Rangda masks must, before wearing them, ask for assistance and power from the ancestors in two palinggih with the following offerings: 6 ketipat, a daksina and rayunan. The men who wear the Barong address themselves to the male ancestor and those who wear Rangda to the female ancestor.


44. This may refer to Ngurah Tabanan who was sent to Java by the king of Gelgel to be purified after pulling the hair of the king's son (Babad, mss. 13b), or to Ki Gusti Made Pamadekan who went to war against Mataram, was defeated and managed to come back to Tabanan (ibid, 23a).

45. The awig-awig are actually part of the ancestral relics. They are in the words of Ter Haar "sacred
community possessions (viewed) as physical symbols or material embodiments of the vital energy, the magical potency of the community" (Ter Haar, 1948:49).

46. In view of the close links between Piling and the puri Dalem may also be a reference to the kings of Tabanan who held the title of Dalem.

47. Formerly a papelik consisting of a roofed and elevated platform used for setting the offerings, stood next the piasan but this was removed several years ago. Instead, a temporary shrine made of bamboo, called pengubengan, is erected at the occasion of each ritual.

48. Geertz's definition of the temples as "begetters of order in (an) otherwise rather particulate social field" (Geertz, 1967:239) is particularly apt to describe the function of the Pura Puseh in the desa adat of Piling.

49. According to Goris, this pattern is typical of the mountain villages (Goris, 1960:106). He adds that in some cases, the grounds in front of the temple constitute the jaba and the outer yard of the temple is actually the jaba tengah.

50. The layout of the Pura Dalem could be compared to that of the complex of temples of Pura Luhur Batukau where the main temple consisting of two walled-in yards, is surrounded by a series of smaller temples dedicated to the deities of agriculture and death. In both cases agricultural practices are blended together with the ancestral cult in what Grader calls "the basic principles of Balinese popular religion, the veneration of the inexhaustible creative force of nature which provides sustenance in abundance for life in its diverse forms" (Grader, 1969:133).

51. This is also the place where the soul and spirit of the deceased may be fetched if the person is believed to have died a premature death. A case of the sort happened when an old woman of Piling Kawan died during the ceremony of Ngusaba Desa in the Pura Puseh on Purnamanin Kapat. The pamangku Dalem who was taking part in the ceremony, was called to her assistance and rushed to the Pura Dalem to try and recall her soul from the Pura Papati, unfortunately without success. Although, given the age of the deceased, the death was not strictly speaking premature, a death happening during the performance of the one of the most important festivals of the year is nevertheless particularly unwelcome and every effort was made to delay it by at least several hours.

52. In a village such as Piling where the mystical traditions of the past still linger, stories abound of men who encountered Kalika during a night of yoga in the Pura Dalem and were allowed to leave only after "having been cut open and seeing their inner organs spread out by Kalika who checked the writing on them". This type of
story is strongly reminiscent of the Tantric initiation rites which in former times, used to take place in the graveyards, during which the aspirant initiate was to meet Durga and watch over the destruction of his own body before experiencing enlightenment. Lovric (1988, unpubl.) argues that the influence of Tantrism upon Balinese culture, which has been greatly underestimated, survives to a large extent in the cult of Durga and in the Pura Dalem. According to I Nyoman Antasha of the Gedung Kertya in Singaraja, the Bali Aga carry within their inner organs, mystical syllables (aksara) which are obtained from Durga in the graveyard, and these syllables distinguish them from the rest of the Balinese (Antasha, personal communication). It would be interesting to enquire further into the origins of this tradition and the relation of these syllables to the surat kajang used by the pedanda in the funeral rites.

53. One of the agricultural temples in Pura Luhur Batukau is also called Pura Panyasom. It is dedicated to the deified forces of the soil. The Subak Propinsi (province-wide subak) Tabanan comes to perform rites in that temple when the rice seedlings begin to straighten up and look like arrows.


55. The association of the deity of the Pura Dalem with the fertility of the fields is not peculiar to Piling. It is found in the Pura Meduwe Karang of Kubutambahan (Grader, 1969:153-60) in connection with dry-land crops. According to Grader, Uma, Guru and Durga are worshipped as a trinity in the Pura Dalem of Klumpu on Nusa Penida (ibid:148) suggesting that a possible link is made also between the cultivation of dry crops and death in that temple. The Pura Dalem Kayangan in the complex of temples of Pura Luhur Batukau where Uma and Durga are worshipped together is another example where the beliefs in the connection between human death and the fertility of the fields, are found.

56. This suggests that the local conceptions of human nature are fundamentally dualistic. Indeed many informants, especially older people, consistently maintained to me that at death the "soul" inhabits two places : the Pura Dalem and the Pura Puseh. Conversion to Christianity does not affect these beliefs adversely as the new converts can find echoes of their cultural dualism in the dichotomy between heaven and hell, God and Satan. This dualistic world-view is also evidenced in the belief that Gunung Batukau is inhabited by two deities : a male deity, Ratu Gede Bulusaji, who resides in the sky/summit/clouds, and a female deity, Ratu Ayu Mas Mengetel who lives in the mountain and is in some sense associated with it and the land. In this respect, Danandjaja reports that the Trunyanese also believe that the human soul has two aspects : a male one which
inhabits the fontanelle (ubun-ubun) and a female one which resides at the "top of the liver" (ulun ati), in the area of the navel (Danandjaja, 1980:311). Consistent with these beliefs, their main deities include a male god, Ratu Sakti Pancering Jagat and his wife, Ratu Ayu Pingit Dalam Dasar (ibid:40-2)

57. cf. Boon, 1977:100 for similar comments. Boon writes that the ancestral temples of the various Balinese kin groups anchor individuals into a socio-historical world. This is true also of the network of temples in a desa adat such as Piling where ancestral awareness and notions of collective identity are extremely strong.
CHAPTER THREE

Pragmatic Ancestry

The Sanggah Gede as a Descent Group and an Economic Unit
Within the desa adat, access to residential space and, until recently, agricultural land, is controlled by the sanggah gede on the basis of descent from the ancestors who, ideally, first opened the land. With the Land Reform and the social changes brought to the village by the presence of Christianity, the sanggah gede no longer exercises complete control over agricultural land yet, even when rice fields are no longer held in common, the links between the sanggah gede and agriculture remain very strong. This is the result partly of the historical development of the village and of the availability of good, uncleared land which favoured the development of small, closely-knit farming communities, held together by the veneration of the ancestors from whom land was obtained in the first place. There is some evidence that the pattern of agricultural land tenure still commonly found in Piling, used to be characteristic of the non-caste or low-caste Balinese groups in the past. Jane Belo makes the following comments:

The fields are passed down by heredity in the male line but may not be alienated; they may not be bought by a foreigner or even by the member of an adjoining village. When a house court falls empty it is filled by members of the family, and there are almost always sons waiting to get a village site when the old people die off. Only if there is a family line which comes to an end...do the village site and the portion of the fields worked by the family come up for sale to outsiders.

(Belo, 1949:7)

This sums up the status of agricultural land still prevailing in Piling and describes the operating principles of the sanggah gede which remains the primary unit of exploitation of the fields, either directly when the estate is held in common.
by the group or undirectly when the fields are apportioned among its members but remain nevertheless unalienable.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SANGGAH GEDE

The sanggah gede is a residential, economic and ritual unit consisting of several adjacent or neighbouring houseyards grouped together around a temple built in the houseyard of the patrilineal descendants of the first owners of the fields, who constitute the core line of the group. The sanggah gede, which is called also tungallan sanggah (the union of several houseyard temples), comes into existence either from a segmentation of a larger sanggah gede or when several individual houseyard sanggah are brought together\(^1\). In Piling, the sanggah gede presents the following characteristics:

1. It is made up of pakarangan occupied by what Leach calls a local line, namely three living generations of "the old men or grandfathers, the normal adults or fathers, and the young adults or sons" (Leach 1969:56). At the level of the sanggah gede these local lines, held together by two generations of deceased common forebears, make up the descent line (ibid:57) which constitutes the structural framework of the sanggah gede.
2. When the *sanggah gede* is tied to an estate, the size of this estate is bound to set a limit upon the number of shares available for distribution and therefore upon the number of descendants who can become heirs, with the result that those who are not selected as heirs do not belong to the *sanggah gede*. A corollary of this is that the shedding of a number of descendants who cannot be taken into consideration as heirs constitutes a structural necessity of the *sanggah gede*.

The fact that the residents on the *pakarangan* do not exceed three living generations and that the senior generation usually consists of male siblings or first cousins, sets the limit of the collaterals to patri-parallel first cousins (*misan*) and second cousins (*mindon*) in the middle generation, i.e. the generation of the current heirs, and this in turn explains the special status given to *misan* and *mindon* in the village adat.

In this three-generational structure made up of the senior generation of previous heirs, the middle generation of present heirs and the junior generation of future heirs, as soon as the senior generation disappears, the *sanggah gede* "descends" i.e. the middle generation becomes the senior generation and passes its share of the estate to the junior generation which moves up to the position of middle generation of present heirs. When the parental share is divided among several heirs, this can lead to the emergence of new households (*kurenan*) in the houseyard, of new houseyards in the *sanggah*
gede or eventually of new sanggah gede which are offshoots of the original one.

The articulation of the pakarangan within the sanggah gede and of the sanggah gede itself as a three-generational structural and temporal framework, are illustrated in the diagram given at the end of this chapter, on which are shown also the stemming of new sanggah gede over the passage of time, and the shedding of the descendants beyond the limit of second cousins.

Although the sanggah gede is traditionally linked to the exploitation of rice fields, the developments of the last few decades, such as the Land Reform and the presence of a Christian community, show that it can survive the disappearance of what was originally the foundation for its structure, i.e. the communal exploitation of a single ancestral estate of fields. Owing to its pragmatic nature, even when the ancestral estate of fields has all but disappeared, we shall see that the sanggah gede remains the most important unit of solidarity and mutual help for the performance of the various tasks in the fields and in the houseyard. Effective descent which in the past controlled access to agricultural land, today can give access to privileges of an economic or political nature. In every instance, the links between the sanggah gede and agriculture remain very strong but are now invested mostly in the temple which continues to anchor the members of the sanggah gede to the land of their forebears.
The case studies treated in the second part of this chapter bring out the versatility of the *sanggah gede* and its ability to adjust to different situations and contexts. This will lead us to a survey of the specific aspects of the evolution of the various *sanggah gede* of Piling. Firstly however, and in view of the systematic shedding of some descendants in the selection of potential heirs, which is a characteristic feature of the *sanggah gede*, the following points should be considered.

1. the requirements needed for acceding to the function of heir in the *sanggah gede* and the modes of elimination of the excess number of descendants

2. when no male agnatic heirs are available, the promotion of women to the status of female agnatic heir.

**Requirements for the Function of Heir**

In order to be selected as heir one should be married as it is through marriage that children are provided, either by birth or adoption, who will, in turn, take over the parental duties. The designated heir becomes a title holder in the *sanggah gede* for a period similar to that of active membership in the *desa adat* and in the other institutions of the village. In a *sanggah gede* where an estate of rice fields is held in common, the heir inherits the parental right to use a share of the portion of that estate entrusted to his father as well as the parental houseyard, together with the accompanying duties.
and obligations toward the ancestors of the houseyard and of the *sanggah gede*, which form an integral part of the inheritance. When the fields are no longer held as a common estate, the heir inherits the parental houseyard with its accompanying ritual duties toward the ancestors of the *sanggah gede*. In addition the heir is placed within a hierarchy of kinsmen who are entitled to receive the fields of any member of the *sanggah gede*, should the houseyard line of that member become extinct.

There are two possibilities:

1. a single heir inherits the parental title - this is often found in small *sanggah gede* where an estate of fields is held in common by all the title-holders

2. the parental title is divided among several heirs - this is usual of larger *sanggah gede* where the fields are held and exploited by individual houseyards.

In the first instance, the system functions like a stem family. The designated heir, not necessarily chosen from the eldest or the youngest son, moves into the parental household and inherits the fields. The descendants who are not included among the heirs do not receive a share of the fields and must move out of the houseyard. They can build a new residential houseyard or seek to marry uxorially a woman who has been elevated to the status of heir by her own father.
A father may also choose to share his title among several of his children, in which case one heir becomes automatically the head of the houseyard, moves into the parental household while the other siblings split the houseyard space among themselves to build new quarters. The head of the houseyard takes on a large share of the responsibilities for the ancestral cult in the domestic temple. In a sanggah gede where the title entails access to an actual estate of fields, the estate is shared out among the heirs, one of them being elevated to the status of head of houseyard.

As the privileges and status acquired by the heirs are counterbalanced by a set of very real duties and obligations which are occasionally felt as a burden, in a large sanggah gede where the land is no longer held or exploited collectively, some individuals, already weighed down by obligations in other domains such as official functions in the village institutions or private business ventures, are unwilling to take on additional obligations toward the sanggah gede. Hence it may happen that a designated heir foregoes his title to the sanggah gede, in which case the title is relinquished to a brother or a sister. Perhaps because no hard and fast rule prevails in the village adat concerning the distribution of property, the division of the parental inheritance is often conducive to conflict among heirs and can in extreme cases lead to a split within the sanggah gede and the emergence of a new sanggah gede stemming from the original one. As a rule, relations between half-siblings are more difficult than relations between siblings and the division of the parental estate can lead to long-term resentment toward the father. In a sanggah gede where no land interests are
at play, several siblings may come to an agreement with the heir on whom the obligations fall, and split the houseyard among themselves, the designated heir taking over the parental quarters while his siblings build new quarters in their allotted space. Most of the time however, this is not possible; the non-heirs must leave the houseyard and in some cases the village altogether.

The elimination of non-heirs need not be final however. They or even their children may be reintegrated into the sanggah gede by marrying a first or second cousin from that sanggah gede. Both types of marriages involve parallel-patrilateral cousins and agnatic cousins (*misan* and *mindon uli muani*: first and second cousins through the male) and are considered desirable, as they have the effect of preserving the integrity of the parental estate by consolidating the foundations of the "joint-venture" style exploitation of the fields, as well as preventing the dilution of the ancestral purusa, inevitable in exogamous marriages. Such unions are nevertheless considered dangerous (*panes*, literally: hot) as they involve families sharing close interests in the same property and as such, they are believed to be conducive to conflict and discord within the sanggah gede.

*Misan* and *mindon uli muani* are usually either co-residentials or neighbours and are known as *misan* (or *mindon*) *paekan* (close cousins), a term which emphasizes spatial closeness as well as closeness through blood. They are contrasted with *misan* and *mindon johan* (distant cousins) who are cross-cousins through the mother (*misan* and *mindon uli luh*) or, in the case
of a uxorilocal marriage (*nyeburin*), the cross-cousins since, in this type of marriage, the mother is the agency through whom the ancestral *purusa*, a concept linked to the identity of the members of the group is transmitted. The distinction made between marriages involving *misan* and *mindon* from the *purusa* line, and marriages involving *misan* and *mindon* from the outside is important as it shows that the first type of marriages is related to the preservation of the *purusa* concentrated in the three generations of agnates forming the structural framework of the *pakarangan* and the *sanggah gede*. One consequence of this is that the necessary shedding of the excess members who cannot be taken into consideration as heirs because of a shortage of land is felt as a loss and a dilution of the ancestral *purusa*. The interesting feature of these two types of marriage lies in that the loss experienced in the previous generation(s), can be compensated by the reintegration of one or several of the children in their parents' *sanggah gede* of origin or eventually in an offshoot of that *sanggah gede*.

Paradoxically today, finding enough heirs to take over the parental duties in the *sanggah gede* is becoming a problem. Apart from the fact mentioned above that people are increasingly reluctant to take on their parents' obligations unless these are accompanied by concrete advantages such as access to agricultural land, this situation is due also to the success of the governmental contraception program (*keluarga berencana*, or KB) which has led to a considerable decrease in the size of families and to the departure of many young men to the cities to study and to work. There are two ways of
alleviating this problem by finding a "substitute heir" (H. and C. Geertz, 1975:54). The first is provided by nyeburin alliances which are treated in the next section. The second consists in adopting a child simply by requesting (ngidih) the child from within the agnatic line. This type of adoption is viewed as a redistribution of heirs within the same family, it is done informally and does not necessitate the official ratification of the desa adat which is needed for the adoption of a child from another sanggah gede.

The Place of Nyeburin Alliances in the Sanggah Gede

With no son left in the houseyard, a father may elevate his daughter to the status of sentana rajeg, literally: the heir who does not move, who stays put; by giving her the same status as a male heir. A sentana rajeg stays at home, inherits the parental houseyard and fields and continues to perform ritual duties in the sanggah. At marriage, her husband moves into her houseyard, taking leave of his ancestors to enter the ancestral group of his wife. This type of marriage is called nyeburin. The nyeburin husband becomes "female" (mawak luh: has the body of a woman) whereas his wife become "male" (mawak muani: has the body of a man). He has no right over his children who are the property of his wife's family. He may be repudiated and divorced by his wife, in which case he is not entitled to any share of the fields but returns to his parents' house where he may receive a share of his siblings' fields if the family
situation permits it, to give him the possibility of seeking another wife in the future.

As far as people can remember, nyeburin alliances have always been part of the pattern of alliances in Piling, helping to recycle men who are not included into their father's inheritance. Today, nyeburin alliances form about 18% of the total village alliances, a relatively high percentage which is attributed to three inter-related factors: the unwillingness of men to take over parental obligations, the spate of transmigration in the early 1970's, and the recent trend, which is proving to be increasingly attractive to the unmarried men of the village, of leaving the village to seek fortune in the tourist centers of the lowlands. Hence nyeburin marriages are more and more frequently used as a means to maintain the stability of the family.

The pattern of nyeburin alliances is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total nyeburin alliances in Piling</th>
<th>43</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christian nyeburin women*</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total nyeburin women in sanggah gede</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 nyeburin women, heirs in sanggah gede</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 nyeburin women whose brothers are heirs in sanggah gede</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyeburin women heirs in individual houseyards</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* includes Catholic and Protestant women

Table 6. Pattern of nyeburin alliances
Since only the *nyeburin* alliances of the present generation of heirs are included in these figures, the table cannot give any conclusive guidelines on the increase or decrease of the incidence of the *nyeburin* alliances in Piling. What the table shows however is the strong correlation between the number of women title-holders in a *sanggah gede* and the number of *nyeburin* alliances: an overwhelming 24 out of 32 *nyeburin* alliances in the *sanggah gede* involve women who are title-holders within that *sanggah gede*. A further 8 women, whilst not title-holders themselves, share the parental houseyard with a brother who is a title-holder. Only a minority of women *nyeburin* are not heirs in a *sanggah gede*. Even if we add the 4 Christian *nyeburin* women to the category of women *nyeburin* who are not heirs in a *sanggah gede*, altogether these women account for only 11 out of the 43 *nyeburin* alliances.

With such a high incidence of *nyeburin* alliances within the *sanggah gede* one could ask whether the *sanggah gede* should not be viewed as a cognatic group in which succession is open to men and women alike. This postulation would be supported by the fact that the *sanggah gede* members trace their descent not from a single male ancestor but from an ancestral couple. Nevertheless, the *sanggah gede* is structured around a strongly agnatic ideology where succession should be open to males only, by virtue of their privileged association with the ancestral *purusa* which they carry in the semen. A complex concept difficult to define, the *purusa* serves to define the group's identity, being passed on from one generation to the next as ancestral essence whose effect is to stamp individuals
as belonging to a distinct category or species of beings. The integration of women into the category of bearers of purusa in nyeburin represents a compromise between the ideals of agnatic descent and the pragmatic goals of the sanggah gede. When no male heirs are available, to elevate a woman to the status of male is preferable to not having any heirs at all, at which point the ancestral line would die out and the land would be dispersed. According to this view, nyeburin women are used as links which can be added to the temporarily interrupted male line of purusa bearers in order to obtain male heirs in the following generation.

An alternative explanation would be that, although transmitted through men, the ancestral purusa is composed of male and female elements which are found in both women and men. This view is based upon the Balinese notion of person in which every human being, either male or female, is made up of three dimensions or "bodies" (sarira) : a physical body of matter, a subtle body of energy related to the personality, and a causal body or purusa which is made up of the essential elements of the two other bodies passed on from generation to generation along the ancestral line. Accordingly, nyeburin which gives women "a male body" (mawak muani) merely develops the male aspect, already present in a latent form in women, through the attribution of certain social prerogatives such as access to property. In other words, although favouring men in practical domains such as work, management of the estate and inheritance of property and titles, the notion of purusa can admit women as second best candidates to replace a brother away in town or busy with other commitments, without doing violence to the
integrity of the ancestral line. The status of nyeburin women in the village illustrates the complexity of their social position.

1. Jurally
The jural status of the nyeburin woman is similar to that of men. She is the head of the household and of the houseyard if she has inherited her father's title in the sanggah gede. She lives in her parents' houseyard and continues the cult of the family ancestors in the houseyard sanggah. The property is in her name and her children inherit from her, although they belong in fact to the agnatic branch of the family. In case of divorce, the children remain in her houseyard. If she dies, they are placed under the care of her agnatic relatives. Except for assets acquired jointly during the marriage which are, as a rule, always split between the divorcing spouses, all property is in her name.

2. Ritually
The ritual status of the nyeburin woman is identical with that of a man. As all the rites of the life cycle are performed in her houseyard, the nyeburin woman is the link between the ancestors and their descendants. When the participation of members of the purusa line is specifically required, she is the one to be approached. In domestic rituals performed in the houseyard sanggah both spouses have equal status. Thus, they must both be present to receive tirta and eat the punjung, an offering dedicated to the uncremated ancestors which, in Piling, is traditionally eaten by the family at the end of all private rituals.
3. Socially

In social activities organized around a complementary division of tasks between men and women, the status of the nyeburin woman is no different from that of other women. However in the family circle she wields the authority of a male. As a member of the purusa line the nyeburin woman has the right to speak up in family affairs and this gives her confidence to speak and act in the broader social context of the village. In theory, the nyeburin woman should be the one to vote during a meeting of the kerama desa; in practice however, this is left very much to individual couples: if the nyeburin husband holds a position of prestige in the village, then it would be inappropriate for his wife to vote in his place. Nyeburin women tend to be feared by men as being aggressive but their status in the village is high, especially when, as will be seen below in the second case study, they are involved in business ventures with their male kinsmen. Although nyeburin husbands can occupy leadership positions in the village, some social stigma remains attached to the landless man who marries nyeburin, as land forms a large part a man's identity. Socially, the nyeburin husband never quite escapes feeling inferior to other men especially his brothers-in-law, compensating this with a jesting attitude at, as a nyeburin man said to me "having been chosen for his looks since he had nothing else to offer". One of the most difficult dyadic relations is the relation between a nyeburin husband and his mother-in-law which amounts to an inversion of the normal relation mother-in-law/son-in-law, since the nyeburin husband who lives on his mother-in-law's houseyard finds himself in a position of subordination toward a woman with whom, in normal
circumstances, he would only have a relation of distant politeness. It is within the relation mother-in-law/nyeburin husband that accusations of black magic are most frequently found, as the following account, told to me by a nyeburin husband, illustrates:

That night when I went to bed, I locked my door carefully. Toward midnight I was awakened with a start. Still half-asleep I saw my mother-in-law standing over my bed, dishevelled, with red eyes and a burning tongue hanging out like Rangda. I was truly scared and I screamed, then the apparition disintegrated.

Here the phantasm of the mother-in-law looming over the unfortunate man expresses the unspoken fear and hostility inherent to the relation. His frustration over his own inescapable inferiority is experienced in terms of the cultural image of Rangda the witch whose unresolved duels with the masculine figure of the Barong recall the eternal conflict between men and women.

STRUCTURE OF THE SANGGAH GEDE

Notions of Ancestry

Even when, as is more and more frequently encountered today, the fields are no longer held and worked in common, the agricultural dimension of the sanggah gede is still discernible in the temple of the group which is dedicated to the cult of the ancestral couple who founded the sanggah gede.
Ideally these ancestors should be the first settlers who cleared the land and prepared it for cultivation. In fact, this is seldom the case as new *sanggah gede* emerge regularly from larger ones, but the founders of a *sanggah gede* always acquire the status of first owners of the land and are venerated as such in the temple of the group. Ownership, in this context, refers to the belief that the ancestral fields are stamped with a spiritual identity which sets them apart from other fields in the territory of the *desa adat* and restricts their rightful exploitation to the agnatic descendants of those ancestors\textsuperscript{10}.

The female ancestor plays at least as important a part as the male ancestor in the ancestral cult of the *sanggah gede*. Through her are venerated, not only the woman from whose womb all the members of the *sanggah gede* are believed to be descended but also, by a symbolic identification of the woman with the land, the nurturing potential of the fields cultivated by the members of the *sanggah gede* who derive their sustenance from them. For this reason, the *sanggah gede* temple is also known as *paibon*, a term which designates a shrine or temple where a chthonian origin expressed as a maternal figure is remembered and worshipped\textsuperscript{11}. In the following quote, *Pan Murya*, the leader of a small tightly-knit *sanggah gede* compares the *sanggah gede* to a maternal figure:

*Paibon* (the temple of his *sanggah gede*) means from the mother because we are all issued from the same blood of one womb (*magetih abungbung*, literally we are issued from the blood of the same bamboo container). What is important (in descent) is blood. It is blood which differentiates the species and blood comes from the mother. Of the same blood means out of the same mother.
The bamboo container is a cylinder made from cutting a bamboo stem so as to include one knot as the base, which is used mostly for carrying liquids such as water, palm wine or tirta. Magetih abungbung plays upon the belief that blood, the vital fluid which differentiates living beings from inanimate things, is acquired from the mother's womb before birth, but here blood is made to play the role usually reserved to the ancestral purusa, of differentiating between species of beings. At first surprising because it goes against the accepted patrilineal ideology of the sanggah gede, this statement betrays the complexity of Balinese identity which is derived not only from the ancestral essence transmitted through the male line but also from the ancestral land and the food grown from it, as well as the deeply-seated dualism which permeates the village world-view in which chtonian ancestry is given as much prominence as ancestry from the upperworld. This is reflected in the shrines erected in the sanggah gede temples of Piling. Below is the map of a typical sanggah gede temple which illustrates these points.

![Map of sanggah gede temple](image)

**Legend**

1. Puseh
2. Dalem
3. Ninggastaar
4. Monik Galti/Rambut Sedana
5. Puncak Kaderton
6. Padmasana
7. Bale Agung
8. Kamulan
9. Tejeu
10. Tugu
11. Babarutan Tukad Daya
12. Plasan
13. Majangan Sekuang
The temple belongs to a small, recently founded sanggah gede headed by Men Leseg, a woman who branched off from her parental sanggah gede after her father's death, at the instigation of her nyeburin husband whose relations with her family were particularly difficult. The pantheon of the deities enshrined in the altars represents the family's perception of its own position in a socio-economic context clothed in religious forms.

The shrines (1), (2) and (7) are mid-way places (pasimpangan) for the deities of the Kahyangan Tiga, linking the sanggah gede to the desa adat. (3) is a pasimpangan for Batara Pura Ninggarsari because Men Leseg's brother is the pamangku of that temple. Next is the bi-partite shrine (palinggih rong dua) dedicated to Manik Galih and Rambut Sedana, gods of fertility and wealth whose presence in the temple betrays the agricultural and economic interests of the sanggah gede, then the pasimpangan of the deity of Pura Puncak Kadaton, and in the north/east corner a padmasana, called kawitan by Men Leseg's husband, my informant. On the eastern side is a three-partite sanggah kamulan dedicated to the ancestors of the sanggah gede and the ancestors of the houseyard since, in this instance, the temple functions also as a houseyard temple, a taksu and a small babaturan called Tukad Daya commemorating the place near the river where Men Leseg's husband, a balean specializing in rain-making, obtained favour (restu) from the spirit of that river. The manjangan seluang, a small shrine bearing a deer head, recalls that the
members of the sanggah gede belong to one of the Pasek groups of the village.

The shrines likely to be encountered in the temples can vary from one sanggah gede to the next, in accordance with the group's understanding of its connections with the village and the mountain. Yet, as a rule, the following shrines are consistently found in most sanggah gede temples:

1. the palinggih Manik Galih/Rambut Sedana

2. the pasimpangan for the three temples of the desa adat

3. the sanggah kamulan

4. one shrine connecting the group to one of the ancestral temples of the mountain.

It is not always possible to distinguish the shrines specifically dedicated to the ancestors from those dedicated to the deities of agriculture since the ancestors are soon merged in with the deified forces of the environment. Nevertheless a hierarchy of ancestral ties can be detected in the temple used as an example here. These are:

1. Family forebears, venerated in the sanggah kamulan as the deified sources of the family line and in the piasan as the recently dead forebears who are still attached to the human world.

2. Village ancestors, venerated in the pasimpangan of the three temples of the desa adat.
3. Mountain ancestors merged with the kings of Tabanan, venerated in the pasimpangan Puncak Kadaton and the pasimpangan Ninggarsari.

4. "nationality" in the sense of warga (meaning race and nationality), remembered in the manjangan seluang dedicated to the founder of the Pasek groups.

Although, except for (1), these notions of ancestry are for the most part merely putative, they are nevertheless experienced as real by the members of the sanggah gede. Through them, the sanggah gede is placed in relation with hierarchically superior ancestral groups in the socio-political sphere of the macrocosmic environment of the village which can be used as sources of prosperity for the agricultural ventures of the members of the group.

Hierarchy Within the Sanggah Gede

From an outsider's perspective the sanggah gede is an homogeneous body consisting of title-holders having similar status and equal access to an estate of fields. This is supported by the fact that everyone within a sanggah gede is similarly affected by pollution arising from a death or the birth of twins within the group. The fundamental identity of the members of the sanggah gede is called pawatekan, a term derived from watek : species of people, and is more or less
synonymous with soroh (species) or bangsa (race, nationality, also species).

In the ritual domain, the egalitarian ideology of the sanggah gede is concretely expressed in the fact that the members of the sanggah gede constitute a congregation of people who pay homage to the same ancestors (nyembah) and partake of tirta during rituals in the sanggah gede temple. This congregation is known as tunggal sumbah, literally: one group of people who pay homage to the same ancestor(s), acknowledging therefore a similar status and single descent. It would be unthinkable for a member of another sanggah gede to partake of tirta as this would amount to a rejection of his own ancestors, a deed which, in the past at least, would have led to his expulsion from his own sanggah gede.

From an insider's perspective, however, the sanggah gede is a hierarchical unit organized around a core line consisting of the direct descendants of the ancestral founders, branching out in ramifications of descendants located further and further away from the core line houseyard as they become less and less closely related to the core line, according to the principle of sinking status discussed by Geertz in Negara. The sanggah gede is named after its present leader X, always chosen from the core line, who keeps his office from the time of his marriage until the marriage of the child Y designated as his successor. When Y takes over his father's office, the sanggah gede ceases to be called X and is called Y. This shows the pragmatic nature of the sanggah gede whose concerns are firmly rooted in the present: it is primarily a corporate
group\textsuperscript{13} where, although oriented towards an ideology of ancestral exclusiveness, the economic and social interests of the living members predominate\textsuperscript{14}.

The core line is responsible for the continuity of the ancestral cult in the group's temple. When fields are held collectively by the \textit{sanggah gede}, the leader wields some authority over the decisions to be made concerning the exploitation of the fields and the management of the group's finances. In such a case, a larger share of the fields and/or the produce is allotted to him in compensation for the added responsibility. In large \textit{sanggah gede} where no common estate exists, the position of leader entails few concrete advantages. As a rule, the leader is responsible for the management of the collective finances of the group which, in large, well-established \textit{sanggah gede}, can be organized into a cooperative \textit{cum} credit agency. In addition, the core line often provides the officiating priest for the performance of rituals in the temple of the group. As is shown below, this priest can be a \textit{pamangku} or a \textit{balean}\textsuperscript{15}:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{sanggah gede} where the leader is a \textit{pamangku} ......................... 2
\item \textit{sanggah gede} where the \textit{pamangku} is a sibling of the leader ... 3
\item \textit{sanggah gede} where the leader is a \textit{balean} .......................... 4
\item \textit{sanggah gede} where the leader's husband is a \textit{balean} .......................... 1
\end{itemize}

An interesting feature of the \textit{sanggah gede} in Piling, is that the ritual leadership in the \textit{desa adat} is monopolized by the members of the core line of a small number of \textit{sanggah gede}. 
A sizeable proportion of the pamangku officiating in the Kahyangan Adat are recruited from the core line of the sanggah gede of Pan Maliastra, second largest in Piling, or from its recent offshoots:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pura Puseh</td>
<td>sibling of leader sanggah gede Pan Keles (offshoot Pan Maliastra)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bale Agung</td>
<td>leader sanggah gede Pan Keles (offshoot Pan Maliastra)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pura Dalem</td>
<td>sibling of leader sanggah gede Men Seminiani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pura Manik Selaka</td>
<td>sibling of leader sanggah gede Pan Maliastra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pura Jero Tengah</td>
<td>first cousin of leader sanggah gede Men Seminiani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pura Puseh Sari</td>
<td>not a member of a sanggah gede but sibling of second cousin of leader sanggah Gede Pan Maliastra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pura Ninggarsari</td>
<td>sibling of leader sanggah gede Pan Indayani (offshoot Pan Maliastra)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pura Ulun Suwi</td>
<td>not a member of a sanggah gede but leader of padukuhan Apuan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pura Bedugul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pura Pucak Kadaton</td>
<td>leader of sanggah gede Pan Mudreg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 7. Distribution of priestly functions among sanggah gede of Piling**

The list shows that when the pamangku are not recruited from the sanggah gede of Pan Maliastra or from its offshoots, they come either from the padukuhan Apuan and its recent offshoot, the sanggah gede of Pan Mudreg, or from the large sanggah gede of Men Seminiani. In other words three main descent groups share the monopoly of the public rituals in the desa adat.
Since these groups count among the earliest established in Piling, a correlation can be made between direct descent from the main landholders of the past and access to ritual functions in the village temples. This suggests, underneath the egalitarian varnish of the village, the existence of a core population controlling two domains which are traditionally merged together in Piling: access to land, both agricultural and residential, and the performance of rituals constituting the ancestral cult in the desa adat temples.

The sanggah gede of Pan Maliastra, which is the main provider of priests for the temples of the desa adat, holds a special place in Piling. Although split apart recently during the difficult early days of Christianity, it is still the second largest sanggah gede of the village and seems to have played a major role in the political and ritual life of Piling in the past. Significantly, this sanggah gede and its offshoots make up the larger of the two branches of the kawitan Mas whose forebears are widely believed to have been the first settlers of Piling. This descent group enjoys the special status bestowed on the first settlers of the land who become, in some sense, the Lords of the Earth\textsuperscript{16}, controlling the ritual sphere as well as the economic domain. Not surprisingly, this sanggah gede fosters a comparatively higher degree of ancestral awareness among its members. The genealogical list of the ancestors (called prasasti although probably written on lontar palm leaves) which is kept inside the temple of each sanggah gede in Piling, is ceremonially read out to the congregation on the occasion of the festivals in the temple of this particular sanggah gede.
CASE STUDIES

General Considerations

There are nineteen sanggah gede in Piling ranging from the very small (1 household) to the very large (up to 38 households). The sanggah gede is the primary unit of social organization in the village: 186 households of the village out of a total of 247 households belong to a sanggah gede. Of the 61 remaining households, 18 are Catholics and 11 Protestants. This leaves 32 nuclear households not belonging to a sanggah gede. The sizes of the village sanggah gede are given below

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total sanggah gede</th>
<th>19</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sanggah gede consisting of one household</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanggah gede of less than five households</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanggah gede of more than five and less than ten households</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanggah gede of more than ten and less than twenty households</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanggah gede of more than twenty households</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**table 8. comparative table of sanggah gede sizes**

The average size of the sanggah gede oscillates between five
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME OF SANGGAH GEDE</th>
<th>Number of kurenan</th>
<th>Number of pakarangan</th>
<th>OWNERSHIP AND METHOD OF EXPLOITATION OF FIELDS</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>REMARKS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Pan Maliastra</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>owned and exploited per household (kurenan) or per houseyard (pakarangan) - may be worked on cooperative basis (pakarangan) among siblings not necessarily title-holders</td>
<td>Piling Kawan</td>
<td>4 co-residents non title-holders (cf. case study 3 below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Pan Sutina</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>owned and exploited per household (kurenan) or per houseyard (pakarangan)</td>
<td>Piling Kawan</td>
<td>traceable to 4 brothers - 17 non title-holders residing on houseyards with title-holders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Men Seminiani</td>
<td>*55</td>
<td>*27</td>
<td>owned and exploited per kurenan or per pakarangan sometimes with non title-holders</td>
<td>Piling Kawan</td>
<td>recent offshoot of sanggah gede Pan Maliastra - 2 co-residents not title-holders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Pan Suerta</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>owned and exploited per pakarangan</td>
<td>Piling Kawan</td>
<td>one co-resident on houseyard not title-holders Probably offshoot of sanggah gede Pan Sutina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Pan Mudreg</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>owned and exploited per pakarangan</td>
<td>Piling Kawan</td>
<td>fairly recent arrival but already 3 generations of residents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Men Sujana</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>privately owned and exploited - will form estate sanggah gede</td>
<td>Piling Kawan</td>
<td>recent offshoot of sanggah gede Pan Maliastra - split among siblings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Pan Rejeg</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>owned by sanggah gede - exploited communally among members</td>
<td>Pondok</td>
<td>newcomer (2 generations)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Pan Nuraka</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>owned and exploited per pakarangan</td>
<td>Piling Kawan</td>
<td>recent split into 2 sanggah gede (cf. sanggah gede Pan Murya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Pan Wardani</td>
<td>some kurenan untraceable pakarangan ascertainment 5</td>
<td>11 owned and exploited per pakarangan where ascertained</td>
<td>Piling Kawan</td>
<td>fairly recent arrival but already 3 generations of residents</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Pan Keles</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>owned and exploited per pakarangan</td>
<td>Piling Kanginan</td>
<td>recent offshoot of sanggah gede Pan Maliastra - 2 women nyeburin co-resident on houseyard - not title-holders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Pan Jaluk</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>owned and exploited per pakarangan</td>
<td>Piling Kanginan</td>
<td>recent offshoot from sanggah gede Pan Maliastra - reasons: conflict between siblings over inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Pan Singin</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>not ascertained</td>
<td>Piling Kanginan</td>
<td>offshoot of sanggah gede Pan Sutina conflict between half-siblings over estate - confusion about kawitan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Men Leseg</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>will form estate sanggah gede next generation</td>
<td>Pondok</td>
<td>split with sanggah gede Pan Indayani - conflict between siblings over inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Pan Suantri</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>will form estate of sanggah gede in next generation</td>
<td>Piling Kawan</td>
<td>recent arrival from Klungkung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Pan Murya</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>owned and exploited communally by sanggah gede</td>
<td>Pondok</td>
<td>recent split with sanggah gede Pan Nuraka - father given 2 pans of inheritance - conflict between siblings - reason invoked : kawitan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Pan Indayani</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>owned and exploited per pakarangan first division father's inheritance</td>
<td>Piling Kawan</td>
<td>split with sanggah gede Men Leseg - see above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Pan Pageh</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>owned and worked communally by sanggah gede</td>
<td>Piling Kawan</td>
<td>adopted heir in sanggah gede Men Seminiani - recent split with brother-in-law - reason given : change of kawitan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Men Segari</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>owned and worked communally by sanggah gede</td>
<td>Pondok</td>
<td>recent arrival (2 generations) from Baja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Pan Rapia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>owned by sanggah gede, will become sanggah gede estate next generation</td>
<td>Piling Kanginan</td>
<td>recent offshoot sanggah gede Men Seminiani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 2 title-holders untraceable not included in kurenan or pakarangan but included in total members
and ten households. Beyond this size, the group tends to split. Since there are on average two households per pakarangan, five seems to the limit number of pakarangan forming a unit of solidarity beyond which the bonds between the families begin to loosen. This is made clear in the detailed table given on the next page. For the purpose of this study, it is possible to classify the sanggah gede of Piling into three main types using rice fields as a criterion for distinction. These are:

1. **Traditional type sanggah gede where the three elements land/kinsmen/ancestors are present.**

In general this type of sanggah gede is found among people who, for one reason or another, are not well integrated in the village community. Several households of siblings and/or first cousins share the same residential space and exploit an agricultural estate in common. This is characteristic of the sanggah gede established by recently arrived families, which comprise no more than one generation of deceased, i.e. before the second division of the estate has occurred. The sanggah gede of Pan Rejeg (7), Pan Sutantri (14), and Men Segari (18) belong to this type.

In a small sanggah gede stemming from a larger one, the fields may or may not be exploited communally, depending upon the reasons for the split and the status of the fields in the original sanggah gede. Conflict between siblings or half-siblings over their share of inherited fields is by far the main reason for break-up within a sanggah gede. This is the case with the sanggah gede of Men Leseg (13) Pan Murya (15)
and Pan Pageh (17), which were started from an estate of fields forming a share of the father's inheritance, whose status was disputed by other members of the sanggah gede. When a split occurs within a sanggah gede over a matter of inheritance, the device of claiming descent from a different kawitan can be used as a rationalization for severing one's ties with the original group without upsetting other members.

2. **Sanggah gede where the elements ancestors/kinsmen are still present but the connection with the land is already diffuse.**

This is characteristic of the recent sanggah gede where at least two generations of deceased are found, i.e. where the estate has been divided twice already and the tension between the number of heirs and the land available begins to be felt. The unit of exploitation of the fields is the pakarangan usually consisting of the father and sons and/or nyeburin daughter. The sanggah gede of Pan Suerti (4), Pan Nuraka (8), Pan Mudreg (9), Pan Keles (10) and Pan Jaluk (11) belong to this type. All of them, except (9), are known to be recent offshoots from larger sanggah gede.

In this type of sanggah gede, the fields are exploited collectively by the residents of the houseyards, the rice being sometimes pooled in one granary or stored in individual granaries. The pakarangan is the unit of production, but non-members are rarely included. In those sanggah gede economic ties survive but, as will be seen below in the second case study, they may be transformed into common interests in business ventures.
3. **Sanggah gede** where only the elements ancestors/kinsmen survive and the connection with the land has completely disappeared.

This is typical of the large, long-established **sanggah gede** where the ancestral estate has been split apart one or two generations ago. In a **sanggah gede** of this type, ritual obligations are the only ties connecting together the members of the group. The fields are exploited privately, either per household or per houseyard. A sibling who is not a member of the **sanggah gede** may sometimes be found on the houseyard of a member. The table shows that the larger the **sanggah gede**, the looser the connection with the exploitation of fields and the more frequent the integration of non-members of the **sanggah gede** into the houseyards of members. **Men Seminiani's sanggah gede** (3), the largest in Piling, comprises 27 houseyards occupied by 55 households amongst which only 38 households belong to the **sanggah gede**. The 17 remaining households are made up of non-heirs who may participate in the exploitation of the family's estate of rice fields on the same basis as the members of the **sanggah gede**. In this type of **sanggah gede** the **pakarangan** has become the unit of production and is largely autonomous from the **sanggah gede**.

The **sanggah gede** of this type are (1), (2) and (3). They are very influential in the political arena of the village. The previous and present leaders of the **desa dinas, desa adat, subak, subak abian** and **banjar** come exclusively from these **sanggah gede**, especially that of **Pan Maliasta** (1) and **Men Seminiani** (3). A system of credit/cooperative to assist members in financial difficulty was recently established in
those two *sanggah gede*, showing a trend which may become the norm in the future.

The three *sanggah gede* presented here in the case studies are chosen in order to illustrate each of the three types discussed above. In the first case study, the diagram is designed to emphasize the core line in order to demonstrate the continuity between generations.

**Case Study no. 1 - Sanggah Gede Pan Rejeg**

This is a small *sanggah gede* made up of four title-holders in G=0: three siblings sharing the same houseyard and their first cousin (*misan paekan*) sharing the adjacent houseyard. The *sanggah gede* was founded by two brothers (G+1) who moved to Piling from Badung in the 1950's and bought land south-west of Piling, away from the residential village, where they built a houseyard (*pondok*). When they retired, their estate was divided in the following manner:

1. The eldest son of the first brother received 0.97 ha and became the leader of the *sanggah gede*; his two brothers received 0.56 ha and 0.60 ha of land each.

2. The son of the second brother received 0.63 ha.

This seemingly unequal land division is common in Piling. In order to preserve the equitability of shares, the fertility of the soil, its exposure to the sun and the wind and the availability and quality of the irrigation water as well as
the size of the plots, are taken into account in the distribution of the fields. In this case the heir designated to become the leader of the *sanggah gede* also received a much larger share to compensate him for the heavier obligations accompanying this position.

After the first division of the estate, the rice fields were brought together again to be exploited collectively by the three siblings and their first cousin, each partner taking home a share of the harvest proportional to the size of his share of the parental estate.

The fields are kept as a single estate to prevent the dispersion of the land acquired and exploited by the parents. Each heir inherited the right to use the fields for his own benefit but does not own the land and cannot dispose of it. Upon his death, if he has no descendants, his share returns automatically to the *sanggah gede* for redistribution to the heir closest to him (sibling or nephew). In this particular instance, this system has the further advantage of ensuring the provision of manlabour from within the family. In Piling where all outsiders tend to be viewed with suspicion, it is notoriously difficult for newcomers to become integrated into the village community and, as such, voluntary work parties are hard to constitute if one must look for help outside the family. This is one of the reasons why a newly-arrived family always sets up a *sanggah gede*.

The diagram shows that in the head generation (G+1), there is a perfect fit between the shared residential space and the estate of rice fields worked collectively by the title-holders.
of the sanggah gede. In the next generation (G=0), there are indices of conflict developing between the three siblings and their first cousin, leading eventually to the division of the residential houseyard. At this stage in the evolution of the sanggah gede it is important to keep the land within the family and provide another generation of heirs to take over the parental share of the estate, but the leader of the sanggah gede has no son. The first daughter is therefore elevated to the status of sentana rajeg and marries nyeburin. Although it is not possible to predict the pattern of succession in the next generation, the pattern usually followed in other sanggah gede in Piling is as follows. In the first generation the heirs divide the parental estate among themselves but continue to exploit it collectively. In the following generation, some selection takes place between the descendants who have to leave the houseyard and those who are elevated to the status of heir to the sanggah gede estate. The next generation (G-1) is still young, however it is probable that a tension will develop between the number of heirs in houseyard A and the residential space/agricultural land available which may be resolved by the shedding some potential heirs. This process has already begun with the nyeburin marriage of the first son in houseyard A. A first-cousin (misan) marriage between houseyards A and B would solve the problem, at least temporarily, but this type of alliance involving a misan paekan is considered dangerous. It is more likely that we would find a second-cousin (mindon) in the next generation (G-2). In any case, an endogamous alliance may not be the right strategy for this particular sanggah gede which needs to be integrated inside the village. Alliances
with other sanggah gede would be preferable as they would create bonds with the larger village community.

As the tension within this type of sanggah gede comes from the constraints set by the size of the estate which can provide subsistence for a limited number of heirs, another option open to the members of G-1 and G-2 would be to acquire private fields to complement their share of the ancestral estate which becomes eventually absorbed into the private estates as the sanggah gede develops and the ties with the land are loosened.

Case Study No. 2 - Sanggah Gede Pan Mudreg

This case study illustrates the evolution of a medium-sized sanggah gede in which the traditional ties with the land are replaced by shared interests in a business venture. This sanggah gede is an offshoot of the padukuhan Apuan. It is made up of seven separate houseyards, six of which are located on the southern end of Piling Kawan. The core line resides in houseyard D, the houseyards B, C and F are contiguous. Houseyard G faces houseyard D from across the road and houseyard A is located further south, being separated from houseyard D by two houseyards, one of which is occupied by members of another sanggah gede and the other by a Catholic family. Houseyard E is situated west of Piling Kawan. The houseyards are commented below in order of importance, starting from the core line.

Houseyard D is the core line houseyard. It is occupied by three generations: G+1, G=0 and G-1. The present leader is still in G+1. This is unusual but Pan Mudreg is an active man who should eventually pass on the leadership of the sanggah gede
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to his eldest daughter. This daughter married *nyeburin* the son of a Catholic man and received 0.35 ha of rice fields and 0.30 ha of dry fields from her father. She built her own quarters but shares the parental houseyard with her brother, also a title-holder, who inherited the function of *pamangku Pura Puncak Kadaton* from their father and lives with him in the parental household. The leader's second daughter is married to the Protestant main shareholder in the rice refining mill of Piling Kawan. The father and son work collectively an estate of fields consisting of 0.40 ha of rice fields and 0.55 of dry fields which will be handed to the son at his father's death.

**Houseyard E** is occupied by the younger half-sibling of the heirs in the core line. It is a new houseyard built at some distance from the core line houseyard. This son inherited 0.35 ha of rice fields half of which is loaned to his half-sister, the next leader of the *sanggah gede*, and 0.30 ha of dry fields.

**Houseyard F** is occupied by three generations: G+1 is the wife of a now deceased brother of *Pan Mudreg*. She lives with her two sons, the youngest of whom is the only title-holder in the *sanggah gede*. His older sibling, not a member of the *sanggah gede*, nevertheless resides on the same houseyard but in separate quarters. In this houseyard, the pressures of residential space are apparent in the dispersal of individuals in the generation G=0. Two brothers have left. One married *nyeburin* a woman title-holder in the *sanggah gede* of *Pan Sutina* and the other established a houseyard on the western edge of Piling Kawan. The title-holder holds 1.090 ha of rice fields, (0.70 ha are inherited, the remainder is bought privately) and 0.35 ha of dry fields, also inherited, which are exploited collectively with his elder sibling and family.

**Houseyard G** is a small houseyard where the pressures of space are also strongly felt. Three generations reside in it: G+1 whose ties with the core line are not ascertained but are probably first cousins with the father of the present leader. In the generation G=0, two sons left the houseyard to marry *nyeburin*. One of them married into the core line of *Pan Maliastra's sanggah gede* and the other left Piling altogether. The first son transmigrated to Sulawesi with his family about ten years ago. The rice fields whose size could not be ascertained and 0.80 ha of dry fields are exploited collectively by the father and his two title-holding sons.
Houseyard B is occupied by three generations: G+1 is a first cousin of the father of the sanggah gede leader. He shares his houseyard with his younger son (G=0) who is the only title-holder. The elder son has moved to Malang in East Java several years ago, after converting to Catholicism. G+1 has kept for his own use a small estate of rice fields (0.40 ha) which will be passed on eventually to G=0 at his death, to complement G=0's share of 0.80 ha of rice fields and 1.00 ha of dry fields, some of which were recently purchased.

Houseyard C is contiguous to the houseyard of the core line and to houseyard B. The previous title-holder in G+1 is the half-sibling of the previous title-holder in houseyard B. He lives with his son in G=0 who is the present title holder and is married to his second cousin from houseyard A, and the wife of another son recently deceased and their children. The title-holder exploits 0.75 ha of rice fields and 0.30 ha of dry fields inherited from his father together with 0.30 ha of rice fields and 0.30 ha of dry fields belonging to his deceased brother's son. The father has kept 0.33 ha of rice fields and 0.50 ha of dry fields for his own use, which will be passed on eventually to his son.

Houseyard A is occupied by four generations: G+2 is the brother of the present leader's father's father. He resides in the houseyard together with G+1 his daughter-in-law whose husband died some time ago, and G=0, a middle son of G+1 who is the present title-holder. The other siblings have moved out. The first son married nyeburin Men Seminiani, a woman leader of the sanggah gede of the same name. Other sons have left the village to join the army. One of them married in 1986 and was planning to come back to the parental houseyard during the next year. One daughter married into the sanggah gede of Pan Maliasta, another married a second cousin in houseyard C of the present sanggah gede (cf. above) and a third one married a second cousin from the padukuhan Apuan. The estate consisting of 1.050 ha of rice fields and 0.40 ha of dry fields is exploited collectively by the members of the houseyard.

The sanggah gede of this case study illustrates the process of shedding of heirs, which takes place when the tension between residential space and the number of heirs becomes too great. One of its striking features is the frequency of the nyeburin alliances contracted within high-status sanggah gede. The eldest son in A married Men Seminiani, the leader of the
largest sanggah gede in Piling and became the present pengurus adat. The second son in F married the leader's brother's daughter in the sanggah gede of Pan Sutina and became a leader of the banjar-based organization for mutual help (suka-duka), and the 3rd son in G married the leader's brother's daughter in the sanggah gede of Pan Maliasta. These and the marriage of the leader's second daughter into an economically powerful Protestant family, illustrate the positive potential of carefully planned exogamous unions in a sanggah gede where the concerns are no longer to keep the fields within the family but to develop a network of political ties within the village.

Although the houseyard has already become the unit of exploitation of the fields, much of the ideology of the traditional sanggah gede is still preserved in the strong sense of solidarity and the extensive mutual help found among the members. Pan Mudreg's sanggah gede singles itself out from other sanggah gede because of its active involvement in the two rice-threshing mills (selip) of Piling. The first threshing mill was opened in 1972 in Piling Kawan by I Wayan Suratna, grandson of the first Protestant convert. The mill was run as a community project until 1978 then was officially registered as a business held by four partners: Suratna, two of his brothers and his wife's father, Pan Mudreg, the leader of our case study. Pan Mudreg's two daughters, one of whom is next in line in the leadership of the sanggah gede while the other married I Wayan Suratna, together with their sister-in-law, Suratna's sister who married a Protestant shareholder, play an important role in the running of the mill. The management of the staff is entrusted to them and they also act
as rice-brokers (*saudagar*) for the mill when necessary. The three women employ young men from the *sanggah gede* of *Pan Mudreg* to work in the mill in return for a wage and a bonus in rice worked out on the basis of the volume of rice threshed per day.

The business ties between the *sanggah gede* and the Protestant community were further tightened with the establishment of the second rice-threshing mill in Piling Kanginan. This mill is a joint-venture between *Pan Mudreg*'s son *I Made Sujarna* and *I Ketut Wirana*, a member of *Pan Maliasta*'s *sanggah gede* married to the leader of that *sanggah gede*'s second daughter, whose own brother married a sister of *I Wayan Suratna*. The threshing mill of Piling Kanginan employs staff from Protestant families residing in Piling Kanginan who are close relatives of *Suratna*.

This case study provides a typical example of the pragmatic orientation of the *sanggah gede* as a whole. In G=0, the *sanggah gede* reached a point of crisis when space and the availability of agricultural land set a limit upon the number of heirs who could be accepted inside the group. This was solved in the usual manner, by adding privately bought fields to the inherited estate in houseyard F and B, and through the shedding of potential heirs, but in this instance the shedded men were used to consolidate political ties with the three main *sanggah gede* of the village. The most distinctive characteristic of this case study remains the utilization of men and women alike to effect the transition into the modern economic life of the village. The frequency of *nyeburin*
marriages in the G=0 generation together with the high status held in the village by three of the nyeburin men who married locally, suggest that in this particular instance the mode of descent is no longer patrilineal but cognatic in the sense that gender is not seen as a relevant factor in contracting alliances.

This case study leads us to wonder whether the principle of patrilineal descent constitutes a structural feature of the village sanggah gede as a whole. Indeed, whilst in most sanggah gede people are related to land through patrilineal descent for religious reasons because men are considered privileged bearers of the ancestral purusa also found in the fields, when the land disappears this mode of descent seems to lose some of its relevance. When the sanggah gede's interests are turned toward the pursuit of secular ventures such as business interests, the present case study shows that nyeburin men and agnatic women are treated much in the same way, their marriage serving the same pragmatic ends of ensuring the sanggah gede access to positions of authority and power within the wider community.

Case Study No. 3 - Sanggah Gede Pan Maliastra

This sanggah gede is the second largest in Piling. It is made up of 29 members occupying 16 houseyards. It was chosen in preference to the largest sanggah gede in view of its special
status in the political and ritual life of the village. This sanggah gede was seriously undermined by the introduction of Christianity in Piling. The majority of the first conversions took place among its members, leading eventually to the dismembering of the large ancestral estate of fields and the emergence of new sanggah gede stemming from the original group.

As with the second case study, the houseyards will be analysed in order of importance beginning with the houseyard of the core line. The links between the core line and the houseyard I,J,K,L,M and P were not ascertained conclusively. The members of the G=0 generation are almost certainly second cousins with G=0 in the core line. However, since membership is ratified by a set of concrete duties, privileges and obligations, no doubt whatsoever exists in people's minds about the legitimacy of their inclusion within the sanggah gede.

1. Houseyard F is the houseyard of the core line. It is occupied by three siblings title-holders who reside in the same houseyard but have their separate quarters, kitchen and granaries. The present leader of the sanggah gede is Pan Maliastra, the eldest son who is married to his agnatic second cousin (mindon) from an offshoot, and obtained his title from his mother who is still alive and sharing the quarters of her middle son. His father was a nyeburin man from the padukuhan Apuan and a first cousin of Pan Mudreg, the leader of the sanggah gede in the previous case study. The parental estate was divided into equal shares of 0.35 ha of rice fields and 0.30 ha of dry fields which are now exploited privately per household. The father's function of pamangku was inherited by the middle son who is also the balean desa and is married to his first cousin by alliance (misan johan) from the neighbouring village of Tengkudak.
Houseyard E is occupied by the daughter of a deceased sibling of G=0 in the previous houseyard. She lives on a newly partitioned-off portion of the main houseyard with her nyeburin husband originating from the sanggah gede of Pan Mudreg. She inherited her father's share of 0.33 ha of rice fields and 0.30 ha of dry fields.

Houseyard D is occupied by three brothers in G=0 who are first cousins with G=0 in the core line houseyard. They share the sleeping quarters, kitchen and granary of their parents, still alive. The eldest brother was elected leader of the desa dinas in 1986 and the youngest is the secretary of the subak. The youngest son married his second cousin (mindon) from the Catholic group. The three brothers exploit the parental fields (1.20 ha of rice fields and 1.00 of dry fields) collectively. In addition the youngest brother cultivates 0.20 ha of privately owned fields on a cooperative basis (pasamuan) with another farmer of Piling Kawan, not a member of the sanggah gede.

Houseyard G is located on the northern edge of Piling Kawan. The occupier is the youngest son in a family who originally lived on a houseyard adjacent to that of the core line before his father and two brothers entered Catholicism in G+1. Having chosen to remain in the sanggah gede of his ancestors, the present title-holder built a new houseyard and continues to exploit 0.35 ha of wet fields and 0.25 ha of dry fields inherited from his sanggah gede.

Houseyard H is a large and wealthy houseyard shared by two sons and two daughters. The residents are first cousins of Pan Mallastra's mother, their father being her father's younger brother. The first son holds an administrative position in Tabanan and resides in the houseyard but is not a title-holder in the sanggah gede. The father's title is shared between the second son and the two daughters. The large parental estate of fields was divided between the first son whose holding of 1.00 ha of rice fields and 2 ha of dry fields (some of which were bought privately) is worked on a cooperative basis (pasamuan) by his two sisters and their nyeburin husbands, one of whom is an agnatic second cousin from an offshoot and the other a second cousin by alliance from another sanggah gede. The sisters hold 0.65 ha and 0.45 ha of rice land, and 0.50 ha of dry land each. Another brother also residing in the same houseyard holds 0.40 ha of rice fields and 0.50 ha of dry fields. In addition, the father exploits for his own benefit 0.35 ha of rice fields pawned (gade) by one of the members of the core line.
Houseyard C. The parental title was inherited by four male siblings in G+1. Two brothers stayed on the parental houseyard and the other two built new houseyards close by, now houseyards A and B. Three male siblings who did not inherit left the houseyard and the sanggah gede altogether. The first title-holder (G+1) had three successive wives and has already handed a sizeable portion of his inherited estate to the children of his previous wives. The children from his first marriage could not be ascertained. One male child from his second marriage resides with him and his third wife. The second title-holder in G+1 passed his title to his son in G=0. His daughters have all left the houseyard (two of them have since died). The houseyard residents exploit a very small estate of land, 0.465 ha of rice fields and 0.50 ha of dry fields on a communal basis.

Houseyard B. The resident (G+1) is a sibling of the above. He shares the houseyard with one nyeburin daughter and one son (G=0) who exploit collectively the parental estate of 1.00 ha rice fields and 1.775 ha dry fields. The son was elected to the leadership of the subak in 1986.

Houseyard A is occupied by one nyeburin daughter and one son who share the houseyard with their widowed mother. The present title-holders (G=0) are first cousins with the same generation in houseyards B and C. There is a possibility that other siblings have moved out but this could not be ascertained conclusively. The residents of this houseyard belong to the category of "silent members" i.e. families who are not politically active in the sanggah gede and thus not very visible. The size and means of exploitation of their estate of fields could not be obtained.

Houseyard K is occupied by a family originating from a houseyard adjacent to A and B, who left following a dispute between three siblings over the division of parental inheritance. The parental houseyard and title to the sanggah gede went to the youngest sibling, now deceased. The second sibling, not a title-holder, was given a share of the fields (0.30 ha of rice fields and 0.30 of dry fields) and took over his father's function as the pamangku of the Pura Puseh Sari and moved out of the parental houseyard and the sanggah gede. The eldest sibling, who is secretary of the desa adat, is a title-holder but moved out and built the present houseyard on vacant land east of Piling Kawan. He exploits 0.30 ha of inherited rice fields and 0.30 ha dry fields, 0.30 ha of rice fields and 0.15 ha dry fields purchased privately, and 0.30 ha rice fields and 0.20 ha dry fields representing the youngest brother's share which came back to the eldest brother now
entrusted with the guardianship of his brother's two sons until they reach adulthood, when they will receive half their deceased father's estate, the other half being retained by their uncle as payment for raising them, in accordance with the local adat.

**Houseyard L** is occupied by two male siblings in (G=0), one of whom is a title-holder in the sanggah gede. They are first cousins with G=0 in houseyards K, M and P. Fields are owned and exploited privately. The title-holder's share is 0.50 ha of rice land and 0.30 ha of dry land and his brother's share 0.43 ha of rice land and 0.50 of dry land. One unmarried brother residing with the mother (G+1) may remain in the houseyard after his marriage.

**Houseyard M** is occupied by two title-holders in G=0: one son and one daughter whose nyeburin husband is a first cousin (misan paekan) from a recent offshoot of this sanggah gede. They are first cousins with G=0 in the previous houseyard and exploit collectively the estate of their parents still alive, consisting of 1.30 ha of rice fields and 2 ha of dry fields.

**Houseyard O** - The residents of this houseyard (G=0) inherited their title from their mother (G+1). They are probably second cousins with the members of the core line, although this could not be ascertained conclusively. Originally there were four title-holders: three sons and one nyeburin daughter who may have been from another mother. Conflict over the division of inheritance led to a split among the siblings. The daughter took her share and started her own sanggah gede, shown as a shaded area on the diagram, together with five other families. The parental fields are divided into more or less equal shares of 0.45/0.50 ha of rice land and 0.40/0.45 ha of dry land and are exploited per household. One of the households has recently acquired an additional 0.50 ha of rice land.

**Houseyard P** is occupied by a first cousin of K, L and M. The tension between land and heirs was acutely felt in G=0. As a result only one brother inherited the whole of the father's estate and the houseyard while the other two brothers moved out, contracting nyeburin alliances: the elder married his agnatic second cousin and became one of the local leaders of the Catholic Church (Dewan Gereja) and the second married a woman in Men Seminiani's sanggah gede. The title-holder married his first cousin by alliance (misan johan) from another sanggah gede. The parental estate, of modest size, has been partly sold to finance several surgical interventions undergone by the title-holder, leaving 0.11 ha of rice fields and about 0.25 ha of dry fields.
In this sanggah gede there is a tendency for the household to become the unit of production. As such, several houseyards can include non-members of the sanggah gede, siblings of the title-holder(s) who share the same residential space without necessarily exploiting the family fields together. In some instances, the fields of one household are pooled with those of another household from a different sanggah gede. This arrangement is called pasamuan. It follows the traditional method of collective exploitation found within the sanggah gede: the fields are exploited collectively and the produce is shared out among the partners, but it is re-negotiable after a set period, usually three rice-growing seasons, and need not involve the partners in any additional obligation not strictly relevant to the cultivation of the fields. As such this system of exploitation does not morally engage individual families to the extent found in the system of the sanggah gede. In contrast with the sanggah gede-based system where if relations between co-holders prove difficult one has no option but to leave the sanggah gede, sometimes without being able to take a share of the common estate; in the pasamuan the agreement may be broken whenever the partnership no longer satisfies the needs of the partners.

The dissociation of this sanggah gede from the land is compensated by its active involvement in the management of the village. Many of the temple-priests of the desa adat come from this sanggah gede and two of its offshoots. In addition, most of the leaders in the agricultural, ritual and administrative spheres come from the ranks of Pan Maliasta's
sanggah gede or from its recent offshoots. The sanggah gede provides the leader of the desa dinas and the secretary of the subak from houseyard D, the balean desa from the houseyard of the core line, the new leader of the subak from houseyard B and one secretary of the desa adat from houseyard K. In addition, the leader of the desa adat comes from one recent offshoot in Piling Kanginan, as does the second secretary of the desa adat. The power wielded by this sanggah gede in the village politics today takes its roots in the power given by land ownership in the past. There is some evidence that, in a not too distant past, this sanggah gede which traces its origins to five brothers was one of the main landholders in Piling. However, the division of the ancestral estate which followed the conversion in G+2 of a prominent member of the sanggah gede, first cousin of the leader and a balean of considerable repute to Protestantism, and in G+1 of several families to Catholicism, had far-reaching consequences upon the sanggah gede, giving other members the opportunity to split off from their main group and start a sanggah gede of their own.

The process of dispersal initiated by the conversions in G+2 and G+1 may have seemed at first irreversible, yet in the next generation (G=0) we witness indices of the reintegration into the sanggah gede, of some of the departed families. In the generation of the present title-holders (G=0) and in the forthcoming generation (G-1), three women have been taken back from the Protestant and Catholic communities, two women and two nyeburin man from two recent offshoots, and two women and one nyeburin man from the closely related padukuhan Apuan/Pan
Mudreg's sanggah gede, the majority of whom are agnatic cousins. One parallel patrilateral cousin, one agnatic second cousin and one cross cousin are found among the nyeburin men, while the women brought back into the sanggah gede include three agnatic second cousins and two cross cousins. With the exception of the padukuhan Apuan and Pan Mudreg's sanggah gede, two descent groups with whom the sanggah gede of Pan Maliastra has been exchanging women and nyeburin men for at least the last three generations, all the other unions involve known agnates originating from the same ancestral line. Although appearing a priori as exogamous alliances between different ancestral groups, these unions are in fact patri-endogamous since they involve members of the Protestant and Catholic communities and offshoots of the sanggah gede whose fathers and grandfathers were members of Pan Maliastra's sanggah gede. This phenomenon can be linked to the concern to prevent the dilution of the ancestral purusa which is felt as weakening and impoverishing by the group, and shows the permanence of purusa characteristics in individuals, making them suitable to be reintegrated into the ancestral line whenever it is considered possible or appropriate. After the process of depletion of the purusa which began two generations ago with the massive shedding of heirs to other "ancestral groups", the sanggah gede is now experiencing a re-concentration of the purusa through the return of the sons and daughters of those heirs, resulting in the consolidation of the ranks of the next generations of heirs in G-1 and G-2.
The case studies confirm the three-generational structure of the *sanggah gede* which has the effect of setting the limits of the collaterals to first and second agnatic cousins at the level of the junior generation (G=0). This structure explains the following points:

1. the necessity of shedding potential heirs from the *sanggah gede* whenever their number exceeds that of the shares of land available

2. the structural importance of marriage between the children of two agnatic siblings (*misan paekan*) and between their children (*mindon*)

3. the existence of a core line which forms the skeletal frame of the *sanggah gede*, as well as, in time, the patrilineal genealogical articulation of the various *sanggah gede* included in the *desa adat*

4. the pragmatic "here and now" attitude characteristic of the *sanggah gede* named after the leader of the core line, so long as the latter remains in office

5. the versatility of the *sanggah gede* which enables it to evolve in accordance with the concrete interests of its members, to the extent of modifying the basic principles upon which the group is founded.
All these points are summarized in the following diagram:

The diagram brings out the importance the core line linking the members of the present sanggah gede (frame D) with their forebears in the previous sanggah gede (frames C, B and A) now extinct with the passage of successive generations, and, beyond the limit of the remembered ties, with the remote ancestors remembered as the first settlers of the land. The sanggah gede frame moves down each generation (frame A, B, C and D) setting the limits of the kinsmen related to ego both through blood and by being born in the same sanggah gede, to first (misan) and second (mindon) cousins in the agnatic line. This sentiment of common origin means that when one is not selected among the heirs and must leave the sanggah gede, his children and grandchildren can be reintegrated into the sanggah gede through first and second cousin alliance. This is no longer the case with cousins three times removed (mintelu) or cousins four times removed (minpat), not because
they are situated outside the frame but because they are no longer connected to it by the memory of a formerly living forebear. These cousins are distant relatives who, given the endogamous nature of the banjar, are merged into the category of banjar relatives (nyama banjar).

The sanggah gede shown in this diagram is a blueprint serving of model to the sanggah gede of today. Nevertheless it is found to a lesser or greater extent in the various sanggah gede of the village, particularly in smaller, recently established sanggah gede which, because of the reasons mentioned in this chapter, tend to be closer to the ideal model than larger, long established sanggah gede.

The ideal model of the sanggah gede gives an insight into the Balinese conception of the role of the individual within the ancestral group. The individual is first and foremost a link on the ancestral chain or, as people express it, abungbung tiing: a bamboo cylinder made from the bamboo stem with the node at the base, whose primary purpose is to enable the flow of ancestral essence to continue uninterrupted along the line. These temporary hiatuses on the line when ancestors incarnate to "fetch food" (ngalih nasi) are nevertheless necessary for the provision of another generation of heirs who will in turn ensure the continuity of the group as a whole. As such the welfare of the group takes primacy over the individual welfare and this justifies the ruthless paring down of individuals accompanying the selection of heirs from among descendants.
1. H. and C. Geertz write that the *sanggah gede* can refer either to a sub-*dadia* temple or to a houseyard cluster temple (Geertz and Geertz, 1975:66). Hobart brings out the connection between the *sanggah gede* and the land. According to him, the *sanggah gede* grows out of the *laban pura*, an estate of irrigated riceland, "part of which is designated as separate, tied fields of an ancestor shrine, which are for the provision of regular offerings to the deified forbears... the land is thought of as an heirloom (*pusaka*) under the control of a single specified heir and in theory unalienable except with the consent of an ill-defined category of potential heirs." (Hobart, 1980a:30). This category of fields does not exist in Piling where the land is either held communally by the *sanggah gede* or privately per individual households and/or houseyards. The *sanggah gede* of Piling bear many similarities with the *dadia* of Trunyan (Danandjaja, 1980:114-32) particularly in relation to land tenure.

2. This would be the case in a small, recently established *sanggah gede* during the first or second division of the estate.

3. Fields can be apportioned to each child, male and female, or to male children only, or again to a daughter rather than a son. In the past, a daughter received one third of her brother's share. Today, if she is included as heir, the daughter receives the same share as her brothers. In some cases a daughter keeps her share of the parental fields after marriage, if the father is concerned for his daughter's economic autonomy in case of divorce. Sometimes the daughter is given a small plot (usually 15 ares) to tend for herself, the land going back to her brothers after her marriage. At other times again, the father can, after dividing the main part of his estate between his children, keep a portion of the fields for his own use, or may decide to keep the estate undivided and give each child the right of usage to a carefully defined share. In one rather exceptional case, a man chose to disinherit his son by his first marriage in favour of his daughter by his second marriage then, when his daughter married (*nyeburin*) and had only one daughter, adopted his grand-daughter as his own daughter, with the result that the mother and daughter became "sisters". The lack of well-defined regulations about inheritance in the *adat* of the village may be a consequence of the comparative autonomy of the *sanggah gede* as an economic unit in Piling until recently.

4. The following example illustrates the type of conflict which can arise between father and son over a matter of inheritance. *Suarnata* is 22 year old and single. His father had three consecutive wives and *Suarnata's* mother was the second wife. When his parents divorced, his mother went to Surabaya and he was taken by his paternal grandparents who still look after him. His father had a fairly large estate of rice-fields, part of which was sold to buy a secondhand public transport vehicle (*bemo*)
which unfortunately broke down soon after the purchase. What was left of the estate was split between the children of his three wives. Suarnata's share was 0.10 ha of inferior rice-land consisting of two narrow fields located at the bottom of a slope, which are often shaded by the large trees of the plantation just below them. Being at the bottom end of the irrigation channel the fields receive too little water for the rice to develop properly. Suarnata is bitter and resentful toward his father and knows that his only chance to get out of his predicament is to marry nyeburin. He is extremely thankful to his grandparents who are now very old, and he plans to find enough money to ensure that adequate funeral rites are performed for them at their death. Several years ago he emigrated to Sulawesi under the auspices of the transmigration program, in the hope of getting rich enough to buy some land and start a new life there, but he eventually came back to the village and tried unsuccessfully to marry the daughter of one of the Protestant owners of the rice threshing-mill of Piling Kawan. He would like to be better educated but is restricted by his self-imposed responsibility of seeing that, in his own words, "his grandparents obtain a safe place in heaven" and is undermined by the notion that he is born under a particularly unauspicious fate and can do nothing to better his standing in life.


7. This case shows a fundamental trait of Balinese culture, i.e. that nothing can ever be considered final. Everything, including the division of the parental inheritance, is open to re-assessment in the light of changing circumstances. In this instance, the family's financial situation had greatly changed during the last twenty years. Their conversion to Catholicism and their subsequent expulsion from their sanggha gede led at first to the loss of some of their rice-fields, one of the causes for the nyeburin marriage of their youngest son. Later, the first son moved out of Piling to become a primary school teacher but his early death brought his wife back to Piling where she now lives in her parents-in-law's houseyard. The second son has now done well and possesses, in addition to his share of the parental fields, a large plot of privately owned fields. It was therefore possible for the family to negotiate the youngest son's position to include him this time in the parental inheritance. His sister-in-law and his brother both agreed to surrender a small portion of their fields to provide him with his own estate.

8. In fact a man's children belong to his agnates. If he dies, the children may be taken either by his father, a brother or one of his father's brothers (if they are
still alive). His widow can choose to live with them in
their guardian’s houseyard or return to her parents' 
houseyard in which case she loses access to them 
altogether.

9. Authoritarian women are often believed to be wearing a
pamangkeb, i.e. a length of fabric upon which is drawn 
the figure of a woman standing with her legs and arms 
apart, in the position known as ningkang, with the figure 
of a man crouching between her legs in a position of 
submission. One of men's most acute fears is to be 
dominated by their wife or their mother-in-law whom they 
always suspect of being united against them.

10. Some of the characteristics of the sanggah gede have 
been retained by the Protestant community which is 
organized as a descent group around the first convert and 
forms a tightly-knit group with shared interests in the 
rice threshing mills and a transport business. Ties tend 
to be looser among the Catholics who stem from several 
different families, although these are originally from 
the same sanggah gede. A German missionary who resided 
in Piling for a number of years tried unsuccessfully to 
reproduce the system of collective land ownership and 
exploitation which is characteristic of the traditional 
sanggah gede, by purchasing rice-fields to be cultivated 
collectively for any Catholic families in need of help. 
The scheme worked well until his departure then it was 
soon dropped altogether. Today the fields are rotated 
each season among the Catholic families who cultivate 
them in turn and keep the produce as if the fields were 
part of their private estate. According to several 
Catholic informants common membership in the same 
religion is not binding enough to justify collective 
ownership and work. So long as the missionary lived in 
the village, he explicitly presented himself and acted 
as a father figure for the whole congregation and the 
fields were exploited in his name although the produce 
was in fact used for collective purposes. When he left, 
the Catholics felt they were now "fatherless" and the 
sentiment of belonging to a single extended family 
similar in structure to the sanggah gede disappeared 
accordingly.

11. The paibon can also refer to a closed-in, gedong-type 
shrine in a kin-group temple. According to Grader the 
paibon is sometimes associated with unpurified ancestors 
who are still closely related to the human world (cf. 

12. cf. Geertz, 1980:30-32 and 58-60, for a discussion of 
the principle of sinking status pattern applied to the 
gentry dadia and the ruling houses. Similar principles 
govern the village sanggah gede but on a much more 
limited scale. The dichotomy between 
commoner/egalitarian::gentry/hierarchical would be too 
crude to do justice to the internal hierarchy found
within the sanggah gede of Piling (Forge, personal communication).

13. Leach defines corporate as follows: "The notion of a corporation, as derived from Maine, is that an estate comprises a "bundle or rights" over persons and things. At any one time the corporation embraces a number of individuals who share in the assets of the estate according to their particular relative status" (Leach, 1960:117).

14. In this respect, the sanggah gede differs from origin-point groups (kawitan) where the identity of the apical ancestor is preserved in the name of the group, or from what H. and C. Geertz call the "Gentry Dadia" (1975:124), descent groups of the Tri-Wangsa where an awareness of genealogical ties is crucial to ensure the purity of the line.

15. This is in accordance with the local tradition that the balean can perform rituals and consecrate tirta for the members of their own family.

16. When translated in Balinese this gives Ratu Ngurah Maduwe Gumi/Karang, the name of an obscure spirit of the grounds whose palinggil is found in many temples. It would be interesting to inquire further into the identity of this spirit and its possible relation with the first occupiers/settlers of the space.

17. For instance, Pan Murya's father, an adopted child, received two shares of inheritance: one from his natural parents and the other from his adopted parents. One share of this inheritance became the communal estate of Pan Murya's sanggah gede. These fields are now worked collectively by the first generation of heirs.

18. This is a brother of the resident of houseyard D in the sanggah gede of Pan Maliasta.

20. Although this is hard to ascertain as people are loath to speak about divorces and remarriages, the birth-order name of the title-holder: Wayan, indicates that he is the son of the leader from a second marriage. In Piling birth-order names (Wayan, Nengah, Made, Nyoman, Ketut) are used for the first five children of the same mother, then the last birth-order name (Ketut) is repeated as many times as there are children beyond the first five. It is only when a man marries a second time that naming begins at Wayan again. Thus, when two children of the same father bear the birth-order name of Wayan, one can assume that they are issued from a different mother.

21. Except in considering the children of the marriage, one could even question the suitability of using the term nyeburin with its implication of second-rate membership to the sanggah gede to describe the union of the
outmarrying man of houseyard A with the woman leader of
the sanggah gede of Men Seminiani.

22. After her first husband's death, this woman became
for several years the wife of the leader of the padukuhan
Apuan. After her second husband's death, she returned to
her son's houseyard. Although the marriage remained
childless, nevertheless this alliance generated permanent
bonds of siblingship which are still strongly felt
today, between the members of the core lines of the two
descent groups.

23. The father brought with him his function of pamangku
of the Pura Manik Selaka as a result of which the care of
this temple originally entrusted to the descendants of
the padukuhan Apuan was appropriated by the sanggah gede.
It is interesting to note that, in contrast with
property, ritual functions cannot be inherited by a woman
sentana rajeg. This is because men are believed to have
a special affinity with spiritual matters by virtue of
their biological make-up. According to several male and
female informants to whom I presented this point, women
could never become pamangku for the reason that they
menstruate and would not always be able to fulfil their
duties. One informant, a balean, added that women are
unsuitable for priestly duties as they always carry
inside them the Panca Maha Buta, chtonian forces
incompatible with the deities addressed in the temple
rituals. Nevertheless they can become balean, i.e.
healers, because baleanship requires dealing mostly with
chtonian forces. A corollary of this, as was often
stressed to me during my stay in Piling, is that women
are believed to have a natural ability to perform "left-
hand magic" (pengiwa) which involves the manipulation of
the Panca Maha Buta and can be used for healing as well
as witchcraft.

24. The reader is referred to the first case study where
the original houseyard was also divided at the death of
one of the siblings. This frequent occurrence suggests
that the tendency toward division occurs naturally as the
kin ties loosen over successive generations. Whereas
siblings share one houseyard and one sanggah, it would
seem that first cousins are already too remote to live on
the same houseyard and go on to build their own
houseyard, sometimes from a sectionned-off part of the
original houseyard, and their own sanggah.

25. The whole Protestant community traces its origins to
Pan Maliastra's sanggah gede through the person of this
departing balean who is now more than 100 years old but
was still alive at the time of my stay in Piling.

26. As far as could be ascertained, all but one Catholic
convert originated from the sanggah gede of Pan
Maliastra. They included three brothers in G+2
generation who converted some time after their sons had
entered Catholicism.
CHAPTER FOUR

Collective Work And The Village Ethos
Collective activities are a fundamental ingredient of Balinese social existence. Few tasks are carried out in private unless no other options are available as it is contrary to human nature to work alone. Work shared is done faster and with less fatigue, but this alone does not account for the importance of collective work. For the Balinese, activity cannot be dissociated from sociability and since the value of sociability governs the normative patterns of social interactions, it also governs the Balinese ethos largely shaping the personality of individuals. Those with whom work is shared are automatically assimilated into the category of kinsmen (nyama), in the broad sense of the term to mean those with whom one interacts, in contrast with the "alien", i.e. individuals with whom no exchange can take place¹. The organization and performance of collective work brings to light traits which are fundamental to the Balinese psyche. These traits are expressed in three social values upon which the village ethos is founded, which are borrowed from Takie Sugiyama Lebra's study of Japanese behaviour² because of their suitability for Balinese society. These values are belongingness which emphasizes giving priority to group goals over individual pursuits, dependency inciting the individual to be constantly aware of his relatives, neighbours and fellow villagers as well as his forebears, and reciprocity which governs all forms of social behaviour and monitors the social exchanges, notably the exchange of food which is part of the work transactions.
The social nature of work is emphasized by the use of two words: gae (low to medium Balinese) if work is performed for oneself or for other people of equal status and karya (high Balinese) if it is performed for someone superior to oneself (karya). In magae egalitarian and reciprocal relationships are implicated. People working together are assumed to be of the same status, perhaps kinsmen, in any case co-residents sharing a similar life-style. In contrast, makarya implies the existence of a hierarchy between the worker and the beneficiary of the work. In Piling where only one level of language (low to medium Balinese) is spoken, magae and makarya are used to distinguish usually between work performed within an egalitarian setting (magae) referring broadly to social activities, and work performed in a hierarchical setting (makarya) referring to ritual work performed in the temples. Makarya cannot however be translated as ritual since, in the past, the term referred also to work performed for the palace (makarya ke Dalem).

In Piling, collective work is divided into two broad categories: formal work (ayah), performed as part of the relation between individuals and their institutions for the banjar and the desa adat, and informal collective work called ajak performed for other individuals with whom a relation of reciprocity is already established. Collective work may involve permanently formed groups (sekaha). This is the case with the ayahan teams which are made up of the members (kerama) of the desa adat and the banjar. In informal work parties the group is seldom permanent, being formed for the duration of the task to be dissolved as soon as it is
completed, although the relationship created during the work party endures, giving rise to networks of solidarity from which much of the fabric of social existence is woven. One characteristic shared by permanent and impermanent work groups is that they are concrete groups created for a specific purpose. They are action-centered groups in which everyone is on an equal footing. Differences of social status which may be relevant in other domains of village existence are never taken into account in this context.

As a rule, collective work duties are performed by married couples during the period of life corresponding to the stage in the human life cycle when individuals are specifically required to participate in the life of the community. It covers about twenty years, from the time of marriage in early adulthood to retirement in early middle-age and is also the time when the financial and ritual contributions are made to fall on individuals. This period is counterbalanced by childhood and old age where, in contrast, social constraints are practically non-existent. Yet, although married couples provide the bulk of the labour force in the village, this does not preclude the possibility of involving adolescents and young unmarried adults in collective work parties when necessary, but their participation remains casual and purely voluntary. Until marriage and after retirement from active life, individuals are left free to pursue their own private interests.

Only collective work pertaining to the residential village will be considered in this chapter. The organization of
Agricultural tasks will be treated separately in the following chapter which is devoted to the subak. A brief definition of ayahan and ngajakang is given below. This is followed, in the second part of this chapter, by several examples describing concrete situations and involving specific individuals, which have been chosen in order to illustrate a characteristic aspect of each type of collective work. Food exchange, an essential element of collective work, makes the object of a separate section where it is treated firstly as an essential component of the work transaction, then in relation to the evolution of collective work, in response to the influence of modernity.

AYAHAN

Ayahan consists of corvée-type duties which are required periodically of each member (kerama) of the banjar and the desa adat in return for the use of the collective facilities. The performance of ayahan is a pre-requisite for membership in these two institutions, and it is based upon the idea that facilities shared collectively must also be maintained collectively. Underlying this is the belief common to all Balinese, that one is always dependent, for one's existence, upon some superior agency, be it social, political or supernatural, which is based upon the cultural ideal model of the dyadic relation between the child and his parents.
Throughout his life, the Balinese accumulate a series of debts (ngutang) towards their family, the village, the state, the ancestors and the gods, which cannot ever be fully repaid. Nevertheless, so long as the relation of dependency endures, a periodical compensation must be made in order for it to be maintained. This compensation can take the form of daily offerings for the domestic ancestors, financing adequate funerals for one's parents after their death or paying taxes regularly to the village or governmental institutions and, of course, participating in ayahan work.

In Piling, the ideal model for ayahan is ayahan Dalem, work carried out by the villagers at the palace of the king in exchange for access to the fields and the king's guarantee of prosperity, material and spiritual welfare; in the past. Work teams made up of men and women from the village were required to perform tasks at the palace, such as repair to the buildings, or help in the preparation of the ceremonies for which they were expected to provide raw materials such as palm-fronds, coconuts, bamboo and wood, fruit and rice. In return they were fed from the puri's kitchens for the duration of the work. Although ayahan Dalem is no longer performed, Piling continues to provide work teams for the puri when required. This is done voluntarily by the villagers in recognition of the close bonds developed in the past between Piling and the court of Tabanan, and is experienced as a privilege as much as a burden, suggesting that the relation of dependency between the village and the puri continues to be experienced as real although the temporal power of the kings has all but disappeared. As it was performed in the past,
ayahan Dalem constitutes a blueprint for ayahan performed in the village today, particularly in the preparation of the temple ceremonies where many of the traditional Balinese values of hospitality and exchange are still preserved.

NGAJAKANG

Ngajakang refers to voluntary, reciprocal collective work carried out by individuals for other individuals. The term comes from the root word ajak meaning together with, or to invite or accompany. In ngajakang this meaning is extended to refer to the action of participating in a collective task in exchange for food, with the understanding that the same help will be returned at some stage in the future. As with ayahan, ngajakang is modelled after family relations, but in this instance it is the relation of mutual solidarity between members of the same family unit which is emphasized. As such, it will come as no surprise to learn from the table on the following page, that the sanggah gede remains the most important unit of ngajakang help in the village. In contrast with ayahan which entails the existence of assymetrical relations, ngajakang can only take place in a context of egalitarian relations involving individuals who are considered fundamentally equal because they share the same space and are caught in the same activities, concerns and vagaries of life, with the results that their requirements will be basically
similar. The performance of ngajakang creates networks of mutual indebtedness which foster the values of belongingness and reciprocity considered essential to the psychological health of the community.

For reasons which will become apparent in the examples given below, the composition of ngajakang groups is not as clear-cut as those of ayahan. A broad outline of the groups usually encountered in some of the recurrent village activities in which ngajakang help is required, is given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Daily activities of houseyard (cooking - drying rice, making oil, etc)</th>
<th>Domestic rites carried out in houseyard</th>
<th>Rites of the life cycle</th>
<th>Building and maintenance of houseyard</th>
<th>Building and maintenance of houseyard temples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>women relatives, neighbours and friends</td>
<td>residents of houseyard, members of sanggah gede, affines other than from sanggah gede</td>
<td>traditionally: residents of houseyard and members of sanggah gede since institution of suka-duka 1) members of the banjar and for large-scale ceremony, members of the two banjar</td>
<td>residents of houseyard and members of sanggah gede, affines not from sanggah gede, friends, neighbours clients</td>
<td>members of temple congregation, i.e. 1) for houseyard sanggah: residents of houseyard 2) for sanggah gede: members of sanggah gede</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10. Composition of work groups for ngajakang in residential village

As a rule, all activities involving more than the nuclear household fall into the category of ngajakang, ranging from the informal work parties organized by women on the spur of the moment to help each other out with making cakes or grating coconut for oil, to the suka-duka which enlists the help of all the banjar residents in the preparation of the rites of the life cycle.

Whereas ayahan counterbalances the hierarchical relation of dependency between individuals and their institutions by
introducing the value of reciprocity, *ngajakang*, which carries with it the obligation to reciprocate at some stage in the future, places the beneficiary of the work in a relation of dependency toward those who have helped him out, through the creation of a work debt which should not be repaid straight away. It is unsocial to try and void a *ngajakang* debt too soon because it would betray unwillingness on the part of the individual to accept a social commitment without which social life is not possible. To be beholden to others means that one tacitly acknowledges the right of others to make demands upon oneself and hence places oneself in a state of social vulnerability which is thought to have a positive value upon the conditioning of social behaviour, setting constraints upon the indebted party who must observe certain criteria of conduct such as avoiding conflict and supporting, passively or overtly if need be, those who have helped him out. As such the networks of solidarity created by outstanding *ngajakang* debts greatly contribute toward the maintenance of the value of *rukun* which is fundamental to the village ethos.

All these points will be taken up again and studied in the context of the four examples given below. The first two examples illustrate two types of *ayahan* found in the village: maintenance of the public facilities and the preparation of a ceremony in one of the public temples of the *desa adat*. The latter is a form of *ayahan* where the values attached to the traditional relation of dependency are retained.

The second group of examples is selected to contrast a *ngajakang* work party which makes use of informal networks of
kinsmen, clients and friends, with the highly-structured banjar-based suka-duka institution of mutual help created to provide assistance to every resident of the banjar, regardless of creed, in the performance of the rites of passage.

Maintenance of the Public Facilities

This is ensured by the residents (kerama) of the banjar but is organized at the level of the administrative village (desa dinas) and as such it involves the residents of the banjar in the quality of members of the dusun as well. Each banjar is responsible for maintenance of the portion of road running through the hamlet, the public building (bale banjar) and such modern facilities as the diesel-powered electricity plant or the system of water conducts which bring drinking water to the public taps located at various points throughout the village. These facilities are made available to all residents against the payment of a periodical contribution and participation in the work parties necessary to ensure their maintenance and eventual repair.

For large tasks such as the maintenance of the road, the ayahan teams are made up of all the married couples residing in the banjar and young unmarried men and women are urged to participate as well. Married men maintain and repair the drinking water system and the diesel-powered electricity.
They can be helped if they wish, by an unmarried adult male relative or son. For long-term jobs such as erecting or repairing a building, the teams are rostered to work for no more than one 3-hour shift at a time, either in the morning or in the afternoon, in order to enable people to keep up with their private activities.

The following example describes a work party organized by the *banjar* of Piling Kawan as part of a *desa dinas*-wide project to repair the surface of the road linking the three *desa adat* of Piling, Mengesta and Kadampal to the town of Penebel, before the beginning of the rainy season. The work was carried out during *sasih Kapat* (October 1986), shortly after the early spring rains made the road impassable to vehicles.

A meeting of the *kerama banjar* was held at 7.30 pm in the *bale banjar* to arrange a date for the project. It was addressed by the leader of the *banjar* (*kelian*) and the leader of the *desa dinas* (*pendesa*). There was some discussion to try and find a day suitable both for those working in the towns who can spare only their Sunday, and for the Catholics (there are no Protestants in Piling Kawan) who could not work on Sunday morning because this would clash with the church service. Finally it was decided that everyone would work on Sunday, except the Catholics who would make up a team to finish the work on Monday morning. As it happened, the Catholic priest who does the rounds of the mountain villages each week to celebrate the mass, came to Piling on Saturday afternoon instead of Sunday morning, leaving the Catholics free to take part in the *ayahan banjar* on Sunday, after all.

On Sunday morning, the *banjar* drum (*kulkul*) was sounded at 7.00 am to remind everyone to assemble in front of the *bale banjar* by 7.30 am. Couples streamed in, the women carrying buckets and baskets and the men carrying their spade. Young unmarried men and women of the *banjar*, who are prime users of the road, also came along to help. When everyone was assembled, male and female teams of ten to twelve people were organized. The women were given the task to collect pebbles and stones from the river and take them back to the village, to be used to
consolidate the surface of the road. The men were to clear the mud washed into the roadside drains by the rain and mix it with the pebbles and stones, then spread it evenly over the surface of the road.

The male and female teams were paired off, each pair being allocated a portion of road to repair. Work started at about 8 am and lasted non-stop until about 11.30 am, when all the road was completed. On the whole people worked diligently, being in a hurry to finish in order to get on with their own work. As the pairs of teams finished the portion of road attributed to them, they would break up into small parties to walk home together, stopping at the local warung for a cup of coffee, a snack and a chat.

Participation in this type of ayahan is determined by the urgency of the task. The road plays a large role in the social and economic life of the village and is used regularly by the students and office workers who go to Penebel or to Tabanan each day. In addition, trucks and minibuses come up to Piling frequently to load rice or other primary produce for sale in the town markets. Hence it is essential to keep the road in good working order and the help of everyone in the banjar must be enlisted.

The organization of the work schedule and the composition of the teams also reflects the need for efficiency. No exchange of food takes place in this type of work whose purpose is purely utilitarian. When the work entails emergency repairs, the teams work until completion of the task. When the work consists of routine maintenance, then men and women teams consisting of 10 to 15 individuals are rostered on the basis of two 3-hour shifts for several days if necessary. One distinctive feature of this type of ayahan is that no one can be exempted from it. Everyone who uses the road is held to contribute personally to its maintenance. The leaders of the
village institutions, including the pendesa who as it happens lives in Piling Kawan, participate in their capacity as resident of the banjar. No exception is made for the professional workers who, in this particular instance, cannot replace their work duties by a financial contribution.

The moral dimension of collectively ensuring the maintenance of the public facilities is illustrated in the mixed reception which greeted the decision of a German Catholic missionary then residing in the village, to repair the road by himself, using his own finances and enlisting the help of the Catholic community only. According to people, the missionary improperly acted in a corporate capacity, without consulting with the kerama banjar beforehand. Furthermore, his initiative placed the banjar residents in a position of dependency toward someone with whom no such relation can be entered into, since the missionary is perceived as being twice "alien" : by race and by his affiliation to another religion. At the same time however, people could appreciate and applaud the social sense of this man who, in spite of his status of ritual expert (highly regarded in Piling, in spite of the religious conflict), could immerse himself in the village collective activities, a quality which is viewed as essential for harmonious existence in the desa adat. The missionary's initiative nevertheless provided momentum for the villagers' decision to do something about their road. After several meetings the banjar took the decision to take over the repair of the road but, this time, the missionary continued to help as a member of the banjar.
SCHEDULE OF WORK OF SAYA TEAMS FOR
PIODALAN BALE AGUNG
(PURNAMANIN KADASA - 26 march 1986)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEN SAYA TEAMS</th>
<th>WOMEN SAYA TEAMS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A — PREPARATION OF CEREMONY</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FOR SEVERAL DAYS BEFORE CEREMONY</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>collection of coconuts, bamboo and palm fronds forming contribution of kerama desa</td>
<td>collection of raw rice from kerama desa (1.5 kg per household) and palm fronds for offerings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cleaning and sweeping of temple grounds, trimming of grass and bushes</td>
<td>preparation of offerings: weaving palm fronds shapes and making cakes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erection of temporary buildings for shelter during ceremony</td>
<td>collection of fruit, flowers, vegetables and spices for ingredients in offerings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erection of temporary altars</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>decoration of temple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Morning of Ceremony**

slaughter of pigs, chickens and ducks for preparation of offerings and communal meals during ritual

making of sate and lawar for offerings and meals (chopping up raw vegetables, pounding, chopping meat and mixing spices) - preparation of pigs for washing

preparation of Barong and Rangda masks

**B — DURING PERFORMANCE OF CEREMONY**

two communal meals served to the priests, officials of the desa adat and saya workers - first meal around 9.30 in the evening, second meal before the end of the piodalan at 5 a.m. the following morning.

**C — AFTER CEREMONY**

dismantling and clearing of temporary buildings and decorations - sweeping temple grounds

cleaning ritual objects and accessories - storage of masks

clearing of edibles from discarded offerings (shared among workers and priests),
cleaning and storage of ritual objects and accessories

table 11.
Preparation of a Temple Ceremony

The festival held in the Bale Agung on the night of the full moon (purnamanin) in sasih Kadasa⁹ is used here as an example to illustrate a traditional type of ayahan. The preparation of this particular festival is typical of any of the festivals held in the public temples of the desa adat. Its planning begins several weeks beforehand, with the selection of teams of male and female workers (saya) from the ranks of the kerama desa during a meeting of the desa adat. The saya are rotated so as to include every active member of the desa adat, at least once in a ritual year. The size of the teams varies from ten to twenty or even thirty people, depending upon the scale of the ceremony. The temple priests, the trancers and the officials of the desa adat are exempted from saya work because they make a contribution of another kind to the ceremony. As far as possible, the men and women saya teams are made up of husband and wife pairs. The details of the schedule of work of the men and women saya are given in the table on the following page.

The preparation of the offerings is the exclusive domain of women who also cook the rice, cakes and vegetables, and boil the meat prepared by the men who slaughter the beasts, handle the raw flesh and blood for sate and lawar and roast the meat. The teams of saya always work under the supervision of one or several ritual specialists. The women prepare the offerings with the tukang banten, women specialists in offerings who know the exact number and composition of the offerings required for the rituals held in each of the ten public temples of the desa adat. The male saya work with the
bendahara who acts also as tukang mebat the official slaughterer and butcher whose tasks include, apart from the killing and carving of the beasts, the performance of the exorcistic ritual carried out before the slaughtering\textsuperscript{10}, and the preparation of the sate and lawar for the offerings.

The tasks of the saya teams bear exclusively upon the commensal aspect of the ritual, from the temple decorations to the making of the woven offerings and the preparation of the food for the offerings and the meals. At this level, the purpose of the temple ceremony is to welcome and feed the ancestors and local gods invited to come down in the temple and, as such, the saya work ends where the work of the officiating priest begins. The teams are busiest up to the beginning of the ritual then, apart from serving the meal to the guests, they are relatively free to do as they wish during the whole performance of the ritual. Nevertheless, they are counted among the active participants and as such, they are included in those who, together with the human and divine guests, partake of the communal meal during the ritual although they receive no food during the few days of preparation. Their inclusion in the category of those who make the ritual happen means that the actual performance of the ceremony is no more than the finishing touch of something started several days beforehand, which involves not only the ritual experts but also the lay community.
The case study presented here is chosen to illustrate the complexity of the composition of an informal ngajakang group. Although centered around the sanggah gede, informal ngajakang work parties never quite reflect membership in the sanggah gede. For a variety of reasons, some close kinsmen seldom or never appear in the ngajakang groups. They may be absent from the village or may be in non-speaking terms with ego or, through his activities, ego may have developed a network of close friends and clients who are closer to him than some of his own kinsmen. In addition, clients form a "silent" group which, although playing a crucial role in the life of the village, does not show in formal studies of social structure since it is practically impossible to trace the networks of patron-clientship except in concrete occasions such as reciprocal collective work which the clients have a moral obligation to attend. In this instance, Pan Sukeyastini, the balean desa and a well-known teacher (guru) of the local esoteric doctrines wanted to change the location of his rice granary with that of his kitchen so as to bring them in line with the granaries and kitchens of the other households in the houseyard.

Pan Sukeyastini chose a week in sasih karo (August 1986) to perform this task because sasih karo falls in the dry season, during the quiet period after the replanting of the second crop of rice, when farmers are free to devote their attention to the tasks in the domestic houseyard such as repairs and modifications to the buildings, which cannot be carried out during the rainy season. Pan Sukeyastini was also concerned to resplenish his granary already more than half empty although the previous crop had been harvested two months ago and hoped that the workers' traditional donation of rice would boost his fast-diminishing stock.
Having chosen a suitable date, Pan Sukeyastini then set out to find help. First of all he contacted the people who owed him ngajakang and all the members of his sanggah gede. Then he went to advise his personal friends from the next banjar and, since he is a guru of some repute, his disciples. Last but not least, he contacted village acquaintances who possessed technical skills useful for the job. According to him it is very important, when seeking ngajakang help, to balance the teams so as to include at least one technician in each team. In his own words: "if the team is not carefully constructed, there will be some with nothing to do who come only for eating, while the others do all the work."

On the eve of the appointed day, Pan Sukeyastini had one of his pigs slaughtered and butchered to cater for the workers' meals while the women of the houseyard busied themselves making rice cakes. On the morning of the day, the invited workers came into the houseyard soon after breakfast, the men carrying their tools and the women an offering (ejotan) of uncooked rice, bananas, coffee and sugar and some cakes. As they arrived, the workers were served coffee and cakes then, after some time socializing, a group of men began pulling apart one of the kitchen walls while the women set to work in the kitchen of the household next door to prepare the midday meal, two men volunteering to chop the meat and the spices for them.

All throughout the morning people streamed in from the street to lend a hand for a while, bringing an ejotan with them; others left, called by their own activities. Before leaving the women collected their ejotan platter now filled, as is customary if the person has come to help but is not staying for the meal, with a cooked meal (panguun) for one person. Those who stayed were served a meal of cooked rice, roasted pork meat, spices and vegetables followed by coffee and cakes before retiring home to rest at about 1 pm. In the afternoon, some of the morning's participants returned while others were replaced by newcomers. The day ended at 5 pm with another meal eaten before going home to bathe.

The work took four days to complete. By the third day the number of participants had considerably dwindled, leaving only the close relatives, neighbours and long-standing disciples of Pan Sukeyastini. On the fourth day people dropped by from time to time to help but the finishing touches were done by the family of Pan Sukeyastini now alone.

In this type of ngajakang some fluidity must prevail. It is almost impossible to organize the teams in a formal manner
because people are not held to work for a given roster or sets of rosters. Since for many villagers ngajakang is felt as an obligation to be filled on top of already time- and energy-consuming activities in the fields and in the village, few feel compelled to turn up for more than half a day, or one day at the very most. Work started by twenty may have to be finished three hours later by ten, or even five. Too many workers are usually present on the first days and not enough on the last days.

The composition of the teams reflects the underlying obligations hidden beneath the values of solidarity and mutual help which are inherent to the participation in ngajakang. On the whole the sanggah gede provides the most consistently reliable nucleus of workers for informal collective work parties. Other members of the sanggah gede are the first people to be advised of an impending ngajakang party. They may decline to work if this clashes with their own commitments, yet it is considered highly discourteous not to invite them before seeking help outside, as the members of the sanggah gede have a moral obligation to support one another in the realization of their personal goals. The members of the sanggah gede most likely to contribute consistent help are the people who live in adjacent houseyards because, apart from being closely related kinsmen, they are also the people with whom one has the greatest extent of interactions in the course of everyday life. The members of the recents offshoots of the sanggah gede may also be called upon if the relations between individuals are good.
Clients are another category of people who can be relied upon to help. In this example, the clients are the past and present disciples initiated into the local esoteric doctrines by Pan Sukeyastini who are indebted to their guru, either for a set period of time or permanently depending upon the agreement reached between the two parties\textsuperscript{12}. Clients are an interesting category of workers since, because of the hierarchical nature of the dyadic relation between a patron and his clients, they work according to standards pertaining to ayahan within the egalitarian context of ngajakang. For them, "voluntary" work is an obligation which they are expected to discharge periodically toward their patron in compensation for his support\textsuperscript{13}. However, in contrast with the dyadic relation of permanent dependency between individuals and their institutions which is inherent to ayahan, the patron-client dyad obtains in specific domains only. In everyday life, the two parties relate on an egalitarian basis, as members of the various village institutions and, in many cases, also as members of the same sanggah gede.

People who have an outstanding ngajakang debt towards Pan Sukeyastini are also compelled to come. To refuse would be ill-received as people are expected to honour their work obligations. In any case, unless a major commitment prevented them from coming, few would shirk their duty as the invitation represents an opportunity to void the outstanding moral debt and free themselves from a self-imposed relation of dependency which could eventually be used to make unreasonable demands upon them. The constraints imposed by the necessity of letting time pass before reciprocating mean that mutual
help becomes a social obligation which, in extreme cases, can be counted in hours of ngajakang owed to others. For these reasons, many people are loath to let their ngajakang debts accumulate for more than one agricultural season unless it is absolutely impossible for them to do otherwise.

A category of people who are not obliged to come but often do, must also be mentioned. They are the friends (relatives or not) who work out of sympathy for Pan Sukeyastini or because of a feeling of personal commitment to the family. The definition of ngajakang is best fitted for them, as their help is motivated by the values of solidarity and mutual help upon which the ideology of voluntary reciprocal collective work is based.

One of the main problems with this type of ngajakang is that the recruitment of workers is based upon criteria which are not relevant to the performance of the task. As Hobart has noted for Tengahpadang, ngajakang emphasizes socializing and conviviality but does not take into consideration efficiency or technical excellence (Hobart, 1980:140) which are, so to speak, added on as a bonus. In Piling, a common complaint about informal ngajakang today is that it is just about the most inefficient way of doing something. There is always some uncertainty about the eventual completion of a ngajakang job which may take anything from two days to two weeks according to the availability or the disposition of the workers, or may be stopped altogether for several days if there is more pressing business such as the preparation of a temple ritual. For this reason informal collective work parties have begun to
be undermined in recent years by the introduction of wage labour.

**Suka-Duka Help Within the Banjar**

The *suka-duka* is essentially an association of *banjar* residents created for the purpose of providing assistance to any family residing in the *banjar*, regardless of religious creed, for the performance of the following rites:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hindu</th>
<th>Catholic</th>
<th>Protestant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>three-month</td>
<td>baptism</td>
<td>baptism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceremony</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tooth-filing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marriage</td>
<td>marriage</td>
<td>marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>funerals</td>
<td>funerals</td>
<td>funerals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 12. Rites of passage for each religious group*

Traditionally, this type of help used to be recruited exclusively from within the *sanggah geđe*. People would come and work at the house of a relative, bringing with them raw food materials such as raw rice (*baas*), bananas, a chicken or a duck, as well as cloth, representing their participation to the feast. Being guests as well as workers, they would cook and eat together with the family after the performance of the ritual. *Ngajakang* of this kind was purely informal and was automatically reciprocated when someone else in the *sanggah geđe* had a rite to perform.
The expulsion of the converts from their sanggah gede and the temporary ban placed by the desa adat upon providing ngajakang help to the Christians led to the estrangement of the converts from the members of their family who had remained in the sanggah gede, and to the eventual break-down in the existing networks of mutual help until then based almost exclusively upon the sanggah gede. The suka-duka was created as an institution subordinated to the desa adat, in order to compensate for the weakening of the traditional ngajakang networks resulting from the break-up of some of the sanggah gede. At first the suka-duka included only the banjar residents who were also members of the desa adat then, in 1981, it was restructured to include the Catholics and the Protestants and has now become autonomous from the desa adat. This was made possible by bringing the rites of the human life cycle under the domain of adat as distinct from the domain of religion. The suka-duka provides help of two kinds. Each family residing in the banjar is required to make a minimum donation of rice, incense and bananas to the family holding the ceremony. In addition, teams of workers take turns in preparing the food for the meals, making offerings and putting up decorations. Its purpose is to minimize the financial output of the family in the performance of the rites which form an essential part of the socialization of the individual.

The suka-duka is divided into a male and a female sections, each section being administered by a body of leaders, as is shown below.
In addition the female section includes two women responsible for the stocks of crockery and cutlery used for the meals, and the male section has two *tukang mebat* in charge of supervising the slaughtering of animals and two *bidang mabanten*, men in charge of performing the appropriate rituals before the slaughter and preparing the meat offerings. Each section is divided into teams or *regu*, made up of ten to fifteen people, which form the unit of work in the *suka-duka*.

The institutionalization of mutual help in *suka-duka* ensures the equitable distribution of assistance to all *banjar* residents. When someone wishes to hold a ceremony, he should first contact the *bendesa adat* or one of the churches' leaders if he is a Christian, taking with him a complete meal for two persons (*jujonan*). The *bendesa* consults with the *ketua suka-duka* to work out the extent of the help required and the number of teams to be mobilized. The rites may be performed on a small-scale (*nista*), medium-scale (*madya*) or elaborate scale (*utama*), depending upon the financial means of the
family. Madya rites must include the *gamelan* and *utama* rites (hardly ever conducted in Piling because of the cost), dances as well. When a suitable scale of ceremony has been agreed upon, the *ketua adat* advises the *bendahara* who organizes the teams in relation to the needs and financial means of the family and the number of guests planned. When the family is known to be poor the *suka-duka* can advise them to choose a smaller-scale ceremony or may lend them money from its own funds, to be repaid in instalments. In exceptional circumstances, the *suka-duka* can wave the imposition of providing meals for the team workers at the end of each three-hour shift and take over the preparation of the ceremony on a purely benevolent basis.

When the help of the *suka-duka* has been enlisted, each resident of the *banjar* is required to contribute an *ejotan* consisting of at least 1 1/2 kg of uncooked rice (*baas*), incense and bananas, to which people often add Chinese noodles, coffee, tea, money or a piece of cloth, depending upon the closeness of their relations with the family\(^\text{14}\). The *ejotan* is brought in by one of the women of the household and the tray is taken from her to be placed on display with other trays in the front room of the *meten* or in the *bale dangin*. The donor's name is written on it and the contents carefully jotted down into a book. Later, after a suitable period of time (1 hour at the most) has passed, the tray is returned bearing glutinous rice pastries and cakes together with some bananas.
Upon being advised by one of the juruh arah of the impending ceremony, the members of the suka-duka meet to work out the rosters of the teams. The teams begin work several days before the ceremony under the supervision of a juru arah. They are rostered in three-hour shifts at the end of which they receive a full meal consisting of cooked rice (nasi), meat and vegetables, sate and lawar if available, coffee, fruit and cigarettes. Mid-way through the roster they receive coffee, cakes and cigarettes. As far as possible, husbands and wives are rostered in teams working on the same shifts so as not to disturb the household's activities. An effort is made also to avoid giving Christian workers tasks such as the preparation of offerings which are incompatible with their beliefs. At the occasion of a funeral, the pamangku, the trancers and the traditional healers who are vulnerable to the pollution of death are organized into one regu and given tasks which can be carried out away from the polluted houseyard.

An average ceremony requires at least two days of preparation on the basis of two male and female regu working three shifts per day. It is not uncommon for the suka-duka teams to work round the clock for a funeral, in order to prepare the numerous offerings. When this is the case the banjar electricity is left on all night instead of being turned off at 10pm. As most of the preparations consist in making offerings and cooking food, Christian rituals are greatly appreciated because no offerings need be made. On the day of the ceremony, the regu work non-stop from 7 am to 7 pm, changing every three hours.
**SCHEDULE OF WORK FOR SUKA DUIKA REGU**  
AT THE OCCASION OF A JOINT TOOTH-FILING AND WEDDING CEREMONIES IN BANJAR PILING KAWAN

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Ceremony held on 30th May 1986  
Composition of *regu*: 12 people

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEN</th>
<th>SCHEDULE OF ROSTER</th>
<th>WOMEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### A. PREPARATION OF THE CEREMONY

**1 regu per roster:**
- Collection of bamboo and palm fronds for decorations  
  - 26.05.1986  
  - 2-4 pm  
  - End of roster: coffee and snacks

**1 regu per roster for first two rosters:**
- Houseyard decorations, preparation of temporary building  
  - 27.05.1986  
  - Three rosters:  
    - 7-10 am  
    - 2-5 pm  
    - 7-10 pm  
  - Mid roster: snacks and coffee  
  - End of roster: full meal

**2 regu for last roster:**
- Slaughter and preparation of one pig for workers' meal  
  - 28.05.1986  
  - Repeat of work schedule and food outlay as previous day

**2 regu per roster:**
- Erection of decorations and temporary buildings - Slaughter of pigs for offerings and meals, slaughter of chickens and ducks - Preparation of *sate* and *lawar*  
  - 29.05.1986  
  - Three rosters:  
    - 7-10 am  
    - 2-5 pm  
    - 7-10 pm  
  - Mid roster: coffee and snacks  
  - End of roster: full meal

**2 regu per roster:**
- Preparation of meat, *lawar* and *sate* for meals (guests and workers)  
  - 30.05.1986  
  - Continuous rosters:  
    - 7-10 am  
    - 10-1 pm  
    - 1-4 pm  
    - 4-7 pm  
  - Mid roster: coffee and snacks  
  - End of roster: full meal

**2 regu per roster:**
- Collection of palm fronds for offerings - Weaving of offerings
  - 2 regu:  
    - Weaving of offerings, cooking of cakes for snacks and preparation of meals - Recording of food donations (*ejotan*) and preparation of meals to be given to donors, in return

### B. PERFORMANCE OF CEREMONY

**2 regu per roster:**
- Continuation of offerings - Preparation of dry ingredients for filling of offerings - decoration of *bale* with cloth and flowers - Cooking of rice, vegetables, *lawar* for offerings and meals - Preparation of snacks and meals for *regu* - Preparation and dispatching of *ejotan* meals

**2 regu per roster:**
- 1) During ceremony  
  - Preparation of rice, vegetables and cakes for meals (guests and workers)  
  - Serving of meals, coffee and snacks to guests during the whole period of the ceremony  
  - 2) After ceremony  
  - Cleaning of houseyard decorations and cleaning of houseyard  
  - Mid roster: coffee and snacks  
  - End of roster: full meal

**2 regu per roster:**
- 1) During ceremony  
  - Preparation of rice, vegetables and cakes for meals (guests and workers)  
  - Serving of meals, coffee and snacks to guest  
  - 2) After ceremony  
  - Cleaning of dishes and crockery  
  - Cleaning of discarded offerings - Distribution of edibles from offerings to participants - Cleaning of kitchen

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**Table 13.**
For the sake of simplicity and clarity, the following account is presented under the form of a table describing the schedule of work of the suka-duka work teams for the preparation of a joint tooth-filing and wedding ceremony held in the houseyard of a member of Pan Mudreg's sangghah gede. The level of ceremony chosen being madya, the village gamelan was hired to play for the whole day and pigs were slaughtered for the offerings and for the meals.

The formation of the suka-duka teams is highly-structured and may appear regimented. In fact the work output is low. As the teams change every three hours no one feels responsible for seeing a task to the end. The teams are seconded in their work by neighbours or close relatives who come to help out informally out of sympathy for the family. Young men and women also join in the preparations and, on the day of the ceremony, help out in the kitchen, washing coffee glasses and carrying trays.

Suka-duka help shares many characteristics with ayahan desa performed for the preparation of temple ceremonies, but it is based upon the value of reciprocity and takes place within a setting of egalitarian relationships. In this type of collective labour, teams of workers are organized by an agency (the institution of the suka-duka) and must work a set schedule for a third party, in return for a meal whose composition follows strict prescriptions. In contrast with informal ngajakang parties where the debt incurred toward an individual must be personally repaid to him, the suka-duka debt is incurred toward the whole banjar community and is
repaid to the community when in turn, the family helps out in a suka-duka regu at the occasion of a domestic ritual performed in another household of the banjar.

EXCHANGE OF FOOD IN COLLECTIVE WORK

The examples show that, except in the case of the maintenance and repair of the public facilities of the village, the exchange of food is an essential dimension of collective work. In fact, it is a prerequisite for all social interactions inside the village. The cultural value of food is high in Balinese society. Anyone entering a houseyard is automatically asked "suba madaar?" (have you already eaten?) and although one should answer "suba" (yes, I have already eaten), food and drink are quickly brought out of the kitchen and placed on the table, and it would be unthinkable to refuse the gift. Accepting the food offered is a proof of trust in the good intentions of the other party. We saw previously that the world of the villagers is divided into two categories: us/family, i.e. people with whom relations of amity obtain, vs. others/alien, i.e. people with whom no such relations exist. With the gift of food, the newcomer is moved from the category of alien to that of potential kinsman, opening the way for possible future interactions. As a rule, people avoid putting themselves into situations where they have to accept food from strangers or from potential enemies, partly because
of a very real fear of poisoning\textsuperscript{15} but also because the gift of food entails the creation of a relation of amity perceived to be undesirable in such circumstances.

Food is correlated with two diametrically opposed cultural ideals. The first is that of the ascete who, through conscious deprivation of food, obtains access to the divine. Although commendable, this is an ideal which presents no particular appeal to the average Balinese for whom lack of food means primarily a loss of substance and thus a loss of vitality. The second ideal is that of plentiful eating which signifies conviviality and satisfaction and, especially when shared, brings about a gloss of well-being, making the person all the more amenable to social interactions. Ascetism, lack of food, purity and unsociability are equated with world renunciation and are contrasted with conviviality, eating, pollution and sociability, which represent the exaltation of the human world. While the first is prized but seldom realized, the second is deprecated but enjoyed and, furthermore, is felt to be necessary for the psychological welfare of the community.

The offer of food conveys important social values and as such, the worst sin one could commit is to be stingy (\textit{kikir}) in his gift. Every host's nightmare is to run out of food before all the guests are satisfied, a fear which finds its cultural expression in the exorcism, before the beginning of the meal, of the supernatural entities (\textit{samar}) possibly sent by someone who wants to shame the host, to sneak in unseen and eat up all the food.
As Ortner has shown for the Sherpa, the gift of food is never moved simply by altruistic motives. Rather, the offer of food and drink always implies some gentle coercion upon the recipient. When seeking help or when preparing to request a favour from someone, it is customary to bring along an ejoten of, at the very least, 1 kg of rice, bananas and pastries. On a formal occasion when, for instance, seeking advice from the bendesa, a two-portion (duan tanding) meal of cooked rice, meat, sate and vegetables called jujonan is required and must be given before proceeding further. The denial of food can also signal the end of a relationship: the woman outraged by her husband's unfaithful conduct closes her kitchen to him, leaving him to buy his meals from the road-side stalls. Food offered to the whole community before leaving the desa adat, eases the trauma of the departure which is always felt as a threat to the collective welfare. Using food for social ends is extended to the ancestors and the deities who, in Bali, must be included into the category of beings with whom the rules of sociability and hospitality governing human interactions, obtain.

All these aspects are found in the food transactions which accompany most collective work parties where, in addition to fostering relationships of trust, the exchange of food helps level out the hierarchical differences established in the wake of the work and promotes a relation of amity characterized by a feeling of belongingness, so important to validate the ethos of mutual help and solidarity which holds the village together. For this reason, just as social interactions are
not all placed on the same plane, the exchange of food is never totally left to chance but follows precise rules governing the type, combination and quantity of food to be given, and these are correlated with the type of work. The exchanges of food most commonly encountered in the village are presented in the table on the following page.

The table gives examples of social interactions in which food plays a central role yet conveys slightly different values each time. As a rule, the more depersonalized a relation is made by the intervention of a third party, the more formalized is the food exchange. The ritual meal eaten during the temple ceremony and the meals of the suka-duka workers as well as the meals exchanged at the occasion of Galungan, Christmas and Easter, are the most strictly regimented. They must include a balance of the three basic types of food which make up a complete Balinese meal: meat (be), vegetables (jukut) and rice (nasi), with a combination of condiments and spices which include the five tastes: sour, spicy, bland (as in the banana), salty and sweet. Lawar and sate are a must in the ritual meal eaten during the temple ceremonies and roasted pork on the spit (babi guling) must be included in the Galungan, Christmas and Easter meals. Generally, the worker brings in raw food ingredients such as rice or bananas, or food processed commercially, such as sweet cakes (roti), coffee or Chinese noodles all of which are entered also in the category of raw food; and the beneficiary of the work gives food cooked in the houseyard's kitchen, whether this consists of a complete meal or simply of rice confectionery (jajan). The correlation between worker/raw food and beneficiary of work/cooked food is so constant that it can legitimately be
STRUCTURE OF FOOD EXCHANGE IN VILLAGE FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF INDIVIDUAL HOUSEHOLDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTEXT OF EXCHANGE</th>
<th>FOOD GIVEN</th>
<th>FOOD RECEIVED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. daily activities-informal help in houseyard in unstructured setting</td>
<td>raw food offering (ejotan) consisting of rice (baas) bananas - coconuts - (and optional: sugar, ground coffee, tea, Chinese noodles)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. mutual help among kinsmen and friends</td>
<td></td>
<td>cooked meal (panguun) consisting of rice (nasi), meat/vegetables (bel/ikut) spices (sambel) and fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. performance of rites of life cycle</td>
<td>by workers of tuka-duka: raw food offering (ejotan) composition as above to the person holding the ceremony</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. preparation of temple ceremonies</td>
<td>by all members of desa adat: 1.5 kg of uncooked rice (baas abungbung), one coconut, palm fronds and bananas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Galungan (members of desa adat)</td>
<td>cooked meal offering (ejotan) consisting of nasi, sate, lawar, be guling, vegetables, spices, fruit and cakes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Christmas and Easter (Protestants and Catholics)</td>
<td>cooked meal offering (ejotan) same composition as above</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 14.**
assumed to express deeply-seated attitudes toward the symbolic value of food, attitudes which are also expressed in the symbolism of the edible ingredients used to fill the woven shapes of the offerings. Cooked food is viewed as food humanized and domesticated by fire and water and this is symbolically related to the gradual socialization of the individual, whereas raw food belongs to the realm of the wild and the as-yet unsocialized. In some sense, the exchange of food could be viewed as a meta-statement upon the civilizing dimension of collective work. Although it would be beyond the scope of this Chapter to elaborate this further, the symbolic value of cooked vs. uncooked food should be kept in mind if we are to appreciate the finer points of the food exchange within the context of the work transactions described below.

This is the most informal type of exchange which takes place when someone strolls into a houseyard and joins briefly into the on-going activities, receiving in exchange some coffee and whatever cake or fruit is available in the kitchen. In this instance, the worker gives work and companionship in return for a small gift of food. This type of exchange is almost exclusively found among women who drop by on their way to the market, the fields or the threshing-mill, stay fifteen or
twenty minutes and leave refreshed, having exchanged a bit of
gossip for a cup of coffee. The transaction emphasizes the use
of work and food for purely social ends. Food is used as the
mellowing agent which unties the tongue and a note of thanks
for the news brought in. The transaction is discharged
immediately and no debt is incurred by the beneficiary of the
work. Informal food/work exchanges of this type play a major
role in maintaining networks developed in more formal settings
just as they help resolve difficult situations when one feels
temporarily estranged, for instance allowing a new bride to
settle in quickly or an outraged wife to vent her anger about
an unfaithful husband without endangering the future of the
family.

In informal but structured ngajakang parties the transaction
is more complex, being subject to rules which must be followed
if good relations are to be maintained. Here the workers
bring an ejotan which must contain raw items consisting of at
least 1 to 1 1/2 kg of raw rice, accompanied of incense and/or
fruit or cakes. In return for their donation, the workers
receive at the end of each roster a cooked meal (panguun)
which must always contain meat - preferably pork, but chicken
or duck is also acceptable. Food must be plentiful and the
workers eat their fill. Nothing would be more embarrassing
for a host than to run out of food at this stage, a loss of
face that few would stand. In this type of collective work the
transaction is as follows:
In this instance, the transaction is not voided by the exchange of food. An outstanding work debt remains, which must be discharged at a later date by the beneficiary of work. This is an instance of direct exchange, what Sahlins calls "balanced reciprocity" (Sahlins, 1965:147), in which the debt incurred toward an individual must be repaid to that individual. In this type of exchange, food plays an important role in consolidating the expression of stereotyped values which need not implicate the person's emotions: the ejotan conveys the worker's willingness to participate and the panguun meal ratifies the beneficiary's appreciation. On another level, the gift of a cooked meal to the workers conveys the value of nurturance which is associated with relation of dependency based upon the ideal model of the family relations, with the result that, in accepting the meal, the worker places himself in the position of the child toward the beneficiary of work acting as parent. Thus the exchange of food reverses the relation of dependency created by the work transaction, which places the beneficiary of work in a position of indebtedness toward the workers.

The structure of the food exchange in the context of the suka-duka is basically similar to that of informal but structured ngajakang activities, with one major difference. It is mediated through a third party, the suka-duka institution.
which sets the rules of the transaction. This is the type of exchange which Sahlins defines as "generalized reciprocity", a transaction which is only putatively altruistic and takes the form of assistance given by a collective agency to individuals, sometimes for a long period of time, before it is returned (ibid).

Here the exchange is of a generalized type as the debt incurred by the beneficiary of work may be repaid to anyone within the banjar community. As with other types of ngajakang, the relation raw food ingredients/worker::cooked food/beneficiary is maintained but is subjected to a set of rules. Food brought by the worker A as ejotan must include a minimum of 1 1/2 kg of raw rice or the equivalent of the contents of a halved coconut-shell, bananas and incense. The contents of the ejotan are carefully jotted down by the beneficiary B in a book. Later when A needs suka-duka help, B will check his book and return exactly what was brought to him by A. According to people, the primary purpose of ngejot is primarily to help defray the cost of feeding suka-duka workers and guests. A household holding a ceremony may receive up to one quintal of baas which they can either use for the meals or sell later at the local threshing mill. The composition of meals served to the suka-duka workers also follows set rules. The type of meat to be given to the workers must be the same
as the meat used in the offerings, and this varies with the level of ceremony. In small-scale (nista) ceremonies, chicken and ducks only need be slaughtered, in medium-scale (madya) ceremonies (the most common in Piling) pigs must be slaughtered along with chicken and ducks. With large-scale (utama) ceremonies, it is necessary to slaughter a cow or a buffalo, a considerable expense few households can afford to undertake.

The formalization of the food exchange parallels the abstraction of the personal relations imposed by the institution of the suka-duka which cuts across traditional ties of amity by treating everyone in the banjar as similar. In order to remain true to its ideal of equity, the suka-duka must impose strict stipulations covering the kind, quantity and quality of food to be exchanged, in the same way as all personal relations are brought to the same level by making it compulsory for everyone to donate a similar number of hours of their time to work. One of the consequences of this has been the considerable weakening of the values inherent in food exchange, leading to what is now perceived as an abuse of the rules of hospitality by the suka-duka workers.

The preparation of rituals in the public temples of the desa adat entails two types of food exchange. Each family member of the kerama desa is asked to make a contribution (urunan) of raw materials toward the preparation of the offerings and the feast, but only the saya teams who participate actively in the preparations, share the communal meal held during the performance of the ritual together with the guests, the
officiants and the deities. The meal given to the saya workers should be consumed inside the temple grounds and must include cooked rice (nasi), roasted meat (guling), sate and lawar, vegetables (jukut) and spices (sambel), coffee and bananas, all of which must be identical with the ingredients in the offerings presented to the deities as ceremonial food.

In this type of food exchange, a distinction is made between the active (saya teams) and passive (kerama desa) participants in the ritual. However since all the members of the kerama desa are rotated to work in the saya teams, the work transaction is similar to the transaction B (informal but structured ngajakang parties). Feeding only the saya workers is governed by purely pragmatic reasons. As the preparation of rituals requires the participation of a small number of workers, it would be economically unrealistic to try and feed the totality of the desa adat community each time. Hence, the kerama desa take turns in participating in the ritual feast with the ancestral deities of their own village.

The last type of food exchange involves no work transaction. It is based solely upon the mutual giving and receiving of a cooked meal at the occasion of Galungan for the Hindus, and Christmas for the Christians. Here the exchange of food is its own end and takes place within a social context which is enlarged to include the ancestors as well as the human community\textsuperscript{19}.

On Panampahan day, at dawn, the pigs to be used in the preparation of the food were slaughtered. This was organized by the desa adat and carried out by a group of men, after consecration of an offering to the spirit of the pigs about to be sacrificed. The
meat was then cut into portions which, together with the blood gathered in banana leaf containers, were sold to the women as they came in around 7 am.

In every household that day, people were feverishly busy preparing and cooking food. Pig blood was mixed with spices and grated coconut to make lawar. Some of it was kept to be eaten raw, the rest was steamed in parcels of banana leaf. The meat was boiled or roasted. Meanwhile rice was steamed and vegetables prepared. When all was ready, plates were made of banana leaves and single portion-sized meals (atanding) were served out. These were taken to relatives, friends and people whom one wishes to honour. Food parcels were also handed out to Catholic and Protestant families. In return the Catholics and the Protestants were to offer food to the Hindu community at Christmas. Carrying the presents of food was the task of the young girls who dressed in their best clothes and spent the day going from house to house, taking home a gift of traditional glutinous rice cakes and fruit in return.

The family ancestors also received a two-portion meal of rice, meat and vegetables which was placed together with fruit, coffee, cigarettes and a canang sari on a small table in the north/east corner of the front room in the meten. The food was renewed each day for the three days of the three-day holiday.

The whole of Galungan is thus spent in exchanging food and greetings. The elders of the village make a point of visiting each houseyard if possible, or at least the houseyards of the people with whom they are best acquainted. The festivities continue until Manis Galungan after which time people resume their normal activities. From Wednesday morning (Panampahan) to Friday night (Manis Galungan), no money should change hands and food should not be sold but graciously offered to anyone, even a stranger who comes into the village.

This type of exchange is the closest to the cultural value of hospitality and its performance maintains a normative ideal associated with the ways of the ancestors. Since food exchanged periodically contributes to maintaining a network of smooth relations within the village by promoting the good
disposition of others with whom space and activities are shared, it is not coincidental that this highly-structured exchange has been imposed upon the three religious groups amongst whom relations can sometimes be tense and marked by conflict.

EVOLUTION OF COLLECTIVE WORK

The economic and social changes of the last decades, in particular the introduction of wage labour in the wake of the development of a cash economy in the village, have led to the reconsideration of some aspects of collective work which have affected ayahan and ngajakang in a different way. Because the village welfare directly depends upon its performance, ayahan cannot be entirely replaced by financial contributions. There is nothing a priori to prevent the replacement of ngajakang by wage labour (ngupahang) except that this would lead eventually to the destruction of the networks of mutual help and reciprocal obligations which sustain the village ethos.

Evolution of Ayahan

In order to accomodate the increasing number of villagers whose professional commitments leave them unable to participate in the work parties, ayahan desa and ayahan banjar may be replaced by a financial contribution equal to one
day's labour (1,500 rps in 1986). However the social value of collective work cannot be adequately replaced by money. Ayahan work parties, in particular the preparation of collective rituals in the public temples, are considered essential for the psychological well-being as well as the material welfare of the desa. The payment of a financial contribution in lieu of work represents an uneasy compromise on the part of the village institutions, in the light of changing social conditions, to enable some members of the village to pursue private activities thought to be advantageous to the community as a whole.

That it is only a compromise is evidenced by the fact that the work load must be taken over by other villagers in addition to their own, leading to an imbalance in the allotment of the duties which is experienced in terms of social injustice: "the rich, it is said, can always shirk their obligations whereas the poor always have to do the work". If too many people were to discharge their work obligations in cash, the life of the community would be seriously undermined. The first signs of a deep incompatibility between the pressures of modern life where individual pursuits are given prominence and the traditional social values which emphasize the transcendence of private interests in favour of the collective, can be seen in the conscious trimming down of the temple rituals which has taken place over the last four decades. With less people willing to devote more than three half-days to the preparation of the rituals, the number and complexity of the offerings used for those rituals has been cut down by half and the duration of the ceremony is now
reduced to 12 hours - from sunset to sunrise - instead of the usual three days in the past. Some suggestions were made, during my stay in the village, that the length of the public rituals should be cut down further and held during the day rather than at night, especially during the busy period of the agricultural season.

There is a limit, however, to how far ayahan can be cut down without endangering the welfare of the community altogether. While some exceptions can be admitted without upsetting the fair distribution of the work amongst people, when the community feels threatened, certain mechanisms can be set into motion to prevent its destruction. As the following example shows, public opinion can act as a normative instrument when necessary to put pressure upon the individual, mobilizing the ancestors to legitimate the preservation of the endangered village solidarity.

X works in the administration offices of a high school in town. He also fulfils the administrative duties inherent to his office of secretary of the desa adat. Work commitments do not allow him to participate in ayahan banjar and ayan subak, as he keeps a six-day week work schedule, leaving at 6 am to return home in late afternoon, usually around 4 or 5 pm. X who is also a trancer, invokes his vulnerability to pollution to avoid taking part in suka-duka preparations for funerals. His wife manages the large family estate of rice fields with the help of hired workers, but has been seriously handicapped by an infection which prevents her from working in the fields. Last season, several of his fields, planted with glutinous rice, were devastated by mice. Soon after, X's right cheek swelled up and he has been consulting unsuccessfully several doctors and traditional healers to cure it. According to people, all these misfortunes are caused by the ancestors because X does not behave in a way befitting a member of the kerama desa.
The obvious involvement of X in the administration of the desa adat is considered to be neither relevant nor sufficient to justify his non-participation in the work parties. What the villagers unanimously want is to see X, whom they consider to be arrogant (sombong, Ind.) and selfish (mementingkan diri, Ind.) work together with them to show that he has not forgotten his roots, his family nor his fellow villagers. According to their standards, a person who does not work has no capacity for social life.

**Evolution of Ngajakang**

The introduction of wage labour has greatly contributed to the deterioration of ngajakang which is now confined to the performance of routine tasks in the houseyard and some of the agricultural tasks. Wage labour came to Piling in the wake of the social estrangement of the Christian groups and of the intensification of rice agriculture and was bolstered by the development of a cash economy. With money available, people now have the possibility of hiring workers as an alternative to ngajakang help when the latter's shortcomings are acutely felt. When someone decides to hire workers to carry out a task, he must, out of courtesy, let his family and the members of his sanggah gede know that it will not be necessary for them to ngejot. In some cases some arrangement may be made to feed the workers, in which case a sum of money (about 250 rps per day) is deducted from their wages. The advantages of wage labour (ngupahang) over ngajakang are given in the table below.
The ethical value of ngajakang clearly lies in the relation of dependency binding the beneficiary of work to the worker because the work debt cannot be repaid immediately but must be left running for what is considered a proper period of time. This has the effect of sustaining the networks of loyalties, affiliations and solidarity considered essential to collective life. In upahan by contrast, no relation is allowed to develop between the two parties. Wage labour is characterized by a depersonalization of the relation between the worker and the beneficiary of the work. The moral worth of a hired worker is equal to his efficiency and competence during the performance of the job; a good worker is someone who gives the hirer his money's worth in work. Upahan leads to a
gradual break-down in existing networks but nevertheless presents enough advantages to be increasingly used as an alternative to ngajakang. The considerable expense of paying wages (2,000 to 3,000 rps for a task requiring technical skills per worker per day) is offset by efficiency. The work is more likely to be done well and to be finished on time. In addition, the relation is voided with the payment of the salary on completion of the work; thus one is free to follow private money-making pursuits such as the cultivation of cash-crops or the development of a small business, without having to worry about reciprocating in the future.

The establishment of the suka-duka represents an effort on the part of the villagers to alleviate the break-down in voluntary collective labour by institutionalizing mutual help in specific circumstances when the values expressed in ngajakang are most appreciated. However, people are divided in their opinions concerning the positive aspects of suka-duka. Some would like to return to the ancient system of seeking help within the sanggah gede because, they say, "kinsmen would come and help without asking anything in return whereas suka-duka workers use this opportunity to fill themselves with food as if it were their due, socialize and do very little practical work." It is undeniable that many suka-duka workers behave as if they were eating in a restaurant, checking that every ingredient should be there and cooked according to their taste, over-filling their plates, helping themselves two or three times and even taking pastries and cakes home with them, a behaviour which, although going against the most basic rules of decency in any other context, is here considered normal
because the meal is viewed as an actual payment for the workers' labour.

On the whole, seeking suka-duka help is thought to be a rather inefficient way of preparing a ceremony, mainly because of the cost involved in feeding all the workers. Yet, when suka-duka help is evaluated in terms of work output against food intake we find paradoxically, that the income and expenses even themselves out. The break-down of expenses incurred by a family of Piling Kawan for the performance of a small scale funeral is given here as an example to demonstrate this point:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEMS</th>
<th>COST in Rps</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One pig @ 57,000 rps</td>
<td>57,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven chicken @ 750 rps each</td>
<td>5,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One duck @ 1,000 rps</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 kg or rice @ 300 rps</td>
<td>22,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bananas, coconuts, vegetables etc...</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offerings (bought from the specialist in offerings)*</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiring of angklung</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td><strong>165,650</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* this is not unusual for a funeral as some of the offerings are complex and their fabrication must be left to the specialist (tukang banten).

**table 16. break-down of expenses incurred in holding a suka-duka work party**

while the value of the ejotan is as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEMS</th>
<th>COST in Rps</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 1/2 kg uncooked rice (baas)</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@ 500 rps per kg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 packet of incense @ 100 rps</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bananas, Chinese noodles or coffee</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(together)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL:</td>
<td>1,250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

X 154 ejotan ................................ 192,500
(number of households in Piling Kawan)

**table 17. Break-down of value of ejotan given in context of suka-duka work party**

It is clear that when the household's expenditures for the ceremony are balanced against the average value of the ejotan given by the banjar residents, suka-duka, help far from being detrimental to the household's finances, eases considerably the financial strain which would be otherwise placed upon the household, in addition to providing a pool of unpaid workers who can take care of most of the preparations.

This raises the question of why the suka-duka help should meet with such resistance on the part of some villagers. A partial answer is found in its very structure. We saw earlier that traditional mutual help is founded upon networks of amity based upon ties of kinship which are experienced as real whereas, in order to be evenly distributed among all banjar residents, the institution of the suka-duka has emptied mutual help of most of its values. This is evidenced in the suka-duka workers' attitude towards food which goes against the most basic rules of etiquette, usually carefully observed by the same people in other occasions. This is because the
stipulations of the suka-duka conflict with deeply seated Balinese attitudes toward food exchange, since they blur the difference between those with whom close relations are entertained and those with whom, for one reason or another, no such relations exist. Food given to friends and foes alike becomes an obligation which, as a consequence, is felt as a burden and a strain upon the household budget.

Although the establishment of suka-duka has been influential in reinforcing the bonds of solidarity and mutual help endangered in the early days of Christianity, the depersonalization of this assistance in occasions when, especially after a death, people's needs for emotional support are great, remains a major handicap. The extent to which banjar residents can feel personally concerned by the sorrows of someone with whom they may have had previously few interactions is necessarily limited. The problem lies in that the suka-duka works on the principle that banjar solidarity is essentially derived from the social interactions that are bound to be found between neighbours. Although true in some sense, banjar solidarity is nevertheless supported by deeper attachments mobilizing family loyalties which are made apparent only in retrospect, when they no longer exist. The residential unit of the banjar is made up of a hierarchy of sanggah gede connected together to a greater or lesser degree by ties of alliances. This very real hierarchy between the various sanggah gede is denied at the level of the banjar where all residents are considered equal, but comes to the fore again in the feeling of relative social closeness and distance governing the amount of help one is willing to give to a co-resident of the banjar. In this
respect, the reintegration of women into their parental sanggah gede through first and second cousin marriages has lessened the need for a formal institution of mutual help as these women bridge the chasm created by their fathers' conversion and contribute to the restoration of the networks of mutual help based upon the traditional value of solidarity within the family.

The study of the organization of collective work in the village brings out the tension between the traditional values upon which the village ethos is founded and the demands of modern existence. In Piling, these values are preserved mostly in the domain of the collective rituals which are based upon the ideal model of hospitality associated with the ways of a past which is necessarily perceived as a period of cultural magnificence, a sort of golden age. They are most threatened in areas where the pursuit of individual interests is emphasized. Not surprisingly, the performance of agricultural tasks which is the subject of the next chapter has been the most vulnerable to the pressures of modernity.
1. A result of this is that in order to expell someone from the community, it is sufficient to exclude him from the networks of collective work. The person thus pushed out automatically ceases to exist. This is what happened, in the early days of the introduction of Christianity, to the converts to whom all form of collective work or reciprocal mutual help was officially denied, as a result of their expulsion from the desa adat and their sanggah gede. In extreme cases, fences were erected around their houseyards and their crops were burnt in their fields. People who, nevertheless, continued to help them, were fined by the desa adat - in theory at least, since, as one man recalls "it was hard to forget that they were members of your own family, so they were helped discreetly and everyone turned a blind eye."

2. These three fundamental values make the subject of three separate chapters in a study of Japanese behaviour which, according to the author Takie Sugiyama Lebra, is based upon a profound social and interactional relativism fostered by the elaboration of some relationships determined by the Japanese world-view, which leads to the rejection of other relations considered irrelevant because they are foreign to this world-view (Takie Sugiyama Lebra, 1976).

3. cf. Geertz (1959:999) for a similar definition of the sekaha which he calls voluntary organizations. In fact sekaha can refer to permanent village groups such as the ayahan teams or to voluntary associations made up quite independently from the village associations for a variety of purposes such as, for instance, weeding rice-fields or building houses.

4. This type of collective work is viewed as a privilege as much as an obligation because it is prerogative of the fully-fledged members of the desa adat. Hence ayahan can in some instances be perceived as a recognition of status especially in villages where a difference is made between the core-villagers who are descended from the first settlers, and the newcomers who are relegated to the status of secondary citizens (cf. also Holleman, 1981:163).

5. The relations between Piling and the puri of Tabanan may be compared to the relations between castes, mentioned by Meyer Fortes in a discussion about the Konan caste in a Tanjore village of India, where "the servile status is perceived by the inferior caste as a "right of service" inherited patrilineally, an incorporeal possession of value giving its holders a title to "an assurance of livelihood" (Fortes, 1969:94, quoting Gough, 1960:23).

7. cf. chapter 2, the section on the residential village for a discussion of the banjar and the dusun. It is extremely difficult to distinguish between the two, as their realm of activities largely overlaps. Tasks such as the maintenance of the public buildings and roads which used to be the prerogative of the banjar before the recent institution of the dusun, are the administrative responsibility of the dusun but people consider that they are carried out by the residents of the hamlet in their capacity as members of the banjar.

8. This is also the case with ayahan desa performed for the maintenance of the public temples of the desa adat, where the teams are rostered to work on a three-hour shift basis, if necessary for several days or weeks, but must provide their own food and drink.

9. Actually, this festival is performed in the Pura Puseh which functions as the inner yard of the Pura Desa, in which the Bale Agung is the outer yard. There is some confusion in Piling about the adequacy of calling the festival of purnamanin kadasa, the piodalan of the Bale Agung. According to some people, purnamanin kadasa corresponds to the piodalan of the Bale Agung and purnamanin kapat to that of the Pura Puseh. In the opinion of others, the festivals of purnamanin kadasa and purnamanin kapat (the latter, called also ngusaba desa) are identical festivals which are performed at the first full moon after the sun equinox but, according to the balean desa, the festival of sasih kadasa is focussed upon the residential village while the festival of sasih kapat is concerned also with the agricultural practices and economic pursuits.

10. Before slaughtering the animals the tukang mebat consecrates a group of offerings called banten penyandra nampah, in the street outside the houseyard entrance. The penyandra nampah is made up of the following offerings: segehan agung, daksina gede, daksina didulang, takilan, tulung, suci, daksina divakul, ketipat kelanan, nasi gebogan, nasi paibuan, peras, segehan warna lima.

11. The sanggah gede is the realm where, in the words of Fortes, relations of amity prevail i.e. the "consensus in accepting the value of mutual support in maintaining "a code of good conduct" for the realization of each person's "legitimate interests" (Fortes, 1969:110).


13. In fact, as the following case study shows, clients can - at a cost - put an end to the relations with their patron if they feel themselves to be exploited. Pan Yudi had become interested in mystical matters and contacted Pan Sukeyastini (his second cousin by alliance) to learn the local agama. The latter accepted him as a
pupil on the strength of the family ties notwithstanding some misgivings as he thought that Pan Yudi was not altogether well-motivated. The two men reached the agreement that Pan Sukeyastini would teach Pan Yudi for no fee, in return for ngajakang help whenever necessary. After three lessons, however, Pan Yudi's enthusiasm weakened greatly, he decided that mystical pursuits were not for him after all. Nevertheless Pan Sukeyastini felt that the contract made between the two of them was still to be honoured and kept requesting Pan Yudi's help for a variety of tasks which the latter carried out grudgingly. The situation came to a head when Pan Yudi who had been asked to tap palm-trees for sugar in Pan Sukeyastini's plantation, slightly injured his thigh and, in his anger at being taken advantage of, threw his tools and the containers on the ground and marched out of the plantation, leaving Pan Sukeyastini standing there. From then on the two men waged a war of silence, looking through each other if they crossed in the street, and deliberately ignoring the other if they found themselves forced in a situation, such as a collective work party, where they had to be together. This war lasted a year then finally, mostly out of weariness and boredom, they slowly began to talk to each other again. Nevertheless the experience left its mark upon them and their relations have remained rather cool and distant.

14. Other families from the village may also contribute an ejotan if they wish but, in contrast with the suka-duka, their contribution is not compulsory. If the family is reasonably well-known, people from other villages also contribute an ejotan. For each ejotan brought from outside the confines of the desa adat, it is customary to give the woman a full meal of cooked rice (nasi), meat and vegetables, bananas and cakes to take home with her.

15. The importance of the exchange of food in collective activities can be appreciated in the following case study: Dadong Kusuma lost her son and her husband from an undiagnosed illness (probably hepatitis) several years ago, an event which was immediately interpreted in the village as a case of poisoning and Dadong Kusuma was the first suspect. Since then, although she is an old woman of rather frail health, she has been unable to obtain ngajakang help other than from her immediate family consisting of her second son and daughter-in-law who share her houseyard; as no-one dares eat food prepared by her but, again, would not dream of working for her without receiving any food in return. This is a typical and by no means isolated instance of people being "tied up" and not knowing how to act because they are torn between their private fears and their sense of social duty. The collective attitude of the villagers towards her puts Dadong Kusuma into the predicament of having to hire wage workers to carry out most of the agricultural tasks in her fields.


18. Cakes are included in the category of raw materials because the Balinese classify as cooked food only a meal which contains cooked rice. Other foods enter into the category of snacks (amikan) and may consist of cakes, rujak, gado-gado, manioc etc... Rather surprisingly, lontong which is made of rice boiled inside a ketipat comes under the category of snack when it is eaten at the road-stall but has the value nasi when it is eaten at home with accompaniments, or away on a trip to, for instance, a forest temple. On the subject of Balinese food classifications, see also Cole, 1983:75-6.

19. This is true also of the Christians, especially the Catholics where the cult of the ancestors has been syncretized into the religion. I was surprised once to walk into the household of a local Catholic church leader and see a two-portion meal offered to the ancestors on the occasion of Galungan. More so than the Protestant Church, the Catholic Church has greatly assimilated the local ancestral cult into the Catholic liturgy. On All Saints Day, the Catholic community of Piling took to the graveyard where they decorated the graves of their deceased relatives with candles, flowers, incense, cakes and fruit, placing the clothes of the deceased upon the grave. After a mass celebrated by the Balinese priest at the entrance of the graveyard, the cakes and fruit were shared out among people as one would do at the end of a temple festival.
CHAPTER FIVE

Between Tradition and Modernity

Collective Activities and the Cultivation of Rice
The organization of agricultural activities reflects the changes of the cultivation of rice which have taken place in the last four decades. During that time, the *subak* of Piling underwent a spectacular expansion as the result of the development of the system of irrigation and the intensification of wet-rice agriculture under the auspices of the BIMAS/INMAS program. Since 1972, the introduction of the cultivation of clove-trees and vanilla has spurred the creation of a *subak abian*, an association of farmers aiming to reproduce the structure and purposes of the *subak* for the agriculture of dry land crops. All these changes occurred concurrently with the introduction of Christianity and the privatization of the agricultural fields which followed after the Land Reform when farmers were able to buy their fields from the puri at a nominal price. These transformations have resulted in the switch from a village-based subsistence economy where rice circulated as the main currency of exchange to a market-based cash economy where money now is the currency used in the transactions that occur inside as well as outside the village. Today, the organization of collective labour in the fields reflects the tension between the private interests of the farmers and their increasing reliance upon money, and the need to preserve the community ethos of solidarity and mutual help without which the cultivation of irrigated rice cannot proceed.

This chapter centers upon the *subak* because it is within this village association that the tension between traditional values and the demands of modern life are most acutely felt.
Legend
A. Piling kawan
B. Piling kanginan
C. Tembuku ayah
D. Irrigated fields in subak Piling

D1. Uma desa
D2. Seragsogan
D3. Uma tengah
D4. Kelaci
D5. Apuan
D6. Pelit/Babakan
D7. Gurindem
D8. Munduk tengah
D9. Munduk tampel
D10. Asah

MAP OF SUBAKPILING
Yet, we must keep in mind that in Piling the *subak* is part of modernity since it was developed only during this century. Until the 1930's, dry-land rice (*padi gaga*) was the only rice cultivated in Piling. Its cultivation decreased gradually as, under the influence of the Dutch administration, the irrigation system was developed and improved\(^1\). The changeover to the cultivation of irrigated rice was previously held back mainly because of the unavailability of suitable materials to build non-porous irrigation channels\(^2\). With the introduction of cement to line the walls of the main channels, the cultivation of irrigated rice developed rapidly, with the result that the *subak* of Piling grew from a single *tempek* (sub-section of the *subak*) in 1950 to eleven *tempek* in 1986. Today, irrigated fields form a little under two-thirds of the total area of arable land, the remainder being used as plantations for fruit trees and cash crops.

The *subak* is an association consisting of all the farmers who obtain their irrigation water from one main conduit leaving a reservoir (*empelan*) located about 5 km north/east of Piling, where the waters from the two rivers *Yeh Oo* and *Yeh Pusut* are dammed for the needs of the *subak* of Piling and several other *subak* in the area. Although the rivers run down the southern slopes of Gunung Batukau, the water is believed to originate from Lake Tamblingan situated at the foot of Gunung Sengajang, several kilometers north/east of Gunung Batukau\(^3\). The primary function of the *subak* is to ensure the adequate provision of irrigation water to each rice-field (*petak*) belonging to the members of the association. As with the other institutions of the village, all the tasks connected with the maintenance of
the collective facilities, i.e. the system of irrigation channels running from the empelan to the private plots, are shared by the members of the subak acting in a corporate capacity. Since the agricultural schedule is determined by the subak according to the availability of water and the developmental cycle of the rice plants in the fields, the subak also determines indirectly the schedule of agricultural tasks carried out by the farmers acting this time in private capacity in their own fields. The association maintains two agricultural temples where the rites designed to ensure the adequate irrigation to the fields and protect the crops from unpredictable hazards are periodically performed.

Like all Balinese activities, the agricultural tasks comprise a ritual dimension which cannot be separated from their technical and instrumental aspects. In view of the complexity of the rites accompanying the cultivation of rice and the high level of symbolic value of rice in people's lives, they make the object of a separate chapter. In practical terms however, no such dichotomy is made and every task carried out in the fields is accompanied by a ritual. In this chapter, we shall concentrate firstly upon the technical aspects of irrigation together with a brief history of the subak, its structure, leadership and management. Since the organization of collective work at the level of the subak and in the private fields is largely determined by the cycle of growth of the rice, this is followed by a consideration of the varieties of rice currently cultivated in Piling. The second part of the chapter is devoted to the presentation of three case studies illustrating the organization of the work teams.
for the performance of *ayahan subak* and of the various tasks carried out by private farmers in their fields. This will lead us to a consideration of the economics of rice cultivation and the current evolution of the *subak* in response to the demands of intensified agriculture.

**THE SUBAK**

**Distribution of Water**

The system of irrigation is based upon a principle of segmentary channels from a single source⁴, in which water is harnessed into a conduct from a concrete dam called *tembuku ayah* which forms the limit of the *subak*'s responsibility for the maintenance of the irrigation system. Three channels branch off from the *tembuku ayah* to feed into three sections called *subak*: the *subak* Apuan, *subak* Kelaci and *subak* Babakan, where they divide again into smaller channels bringing water to nine sub-sections or *tempek*. At the entrance of each *tempek* the channels divide into smaller ones channeling water to the private fields. A piece of wood cut diagonally, called *tembuku*, is inserted in the channels at the point where they divide into two smaller sections to cut off or allow the flow of water when needed. The system of irrigation is graphically represented in the following diagram:
The irrigation channels are built collectively by the subak. Upon joining the association, each farmer must contribute one quintal of cement per nyari of water required for the irrigation of his fields, or the equivalent in money, toward the maintenance of the water channels. The nyari is the unit of measurement of irrigation water used by the subak and is equal to enough water needed to irrigate 10 ares of rice field for one season. Hence, for a 35 ares estate, a farmer requires 3.5 nyari of water twice a year. If more water is needed, the farmer must pay an additional contribution or borrow water from another farmer, if he finds someone who can
sparing some. Stealing water is the most serious offence a farmer can commit. Although hard to prove, if someone is caught he incurs a heavy fine (10,000 rps in 1986) and his supply of water is cut off until the fine is paid. Failure to pay leads eventually to the expulsion of the farmer from the subak. The extent of the contribution of each farmer to the maintenance work is worked out according to the number of nyari of water utilized. Once acquired, the right to a given number of nyari of water is permanently held. If less water is needed, when, for instance, some of the fields are sold or dried out to be turned into plantations, the farmer can either sell or lend water to other farmers, or request from the subak that his share of water be reduced in accordance with his needs. In the latter case the other farmers in his tempek take over his share of ayahan duties corresponding to the nyari of water relinquished, but the farmer retains the right to claim his original number of nyari for the next ten years, after which it is permanently cancelled. The ten years limit imposed upon the recovery of a right or privilege allowed to lapse is called kadaluwarsa.

Organization of the Subak

The members of the subak (kerama subak) are the farmers who use water from the subak to irrigate their fields. Membership in the subak is practically identical with membership in the residential village except for a minority of farmers from the neighbouring villages of Mengesta and Tengkudak whose fields, located on the periphery of the
territory of Piling, are more conveniently irrigated from the subak of Piling. Altogether they account for about 5 to 6% of the total members. In addition several Piling farmers, for the same reasons, obtain their irrigation water from the subak of Mengesta and Tengkudak. This is not peculiar to Piling but is commonly found in the neighbouring villages of the area. It is due in part to the low population density which allows each village the use of plenty of land around the residential settlement, and partly to the recent switch to irrigation which led to a dramatic conversion of the uncleared land of the villages' territories into cultivated fields, in the space of a few decades.

The leader of the subak is the pekaseh whose functions nowadays are purely administrative but, until the early sixties, also included the performance of the collective rituals in the subak temples. The function of pekaseh was eventually secularized to enable the co-existence of three religious groups within the subak. Today, the performance of the rituals is entrusted to a pamangku subak who officiates either alone or in conjunction with the balean desa and the pamangku of the desa adat. The pekaseh is seconded by a secretary (panyarikan) and seven tempek leaders called juru arah whose tasks consist in conveying information from the subak leaders to the farmers of their tempek, supervising the efficient management of the water allotted to the tempek and ensuring that the subak decisions are respected by the farmers. The juru arah can take the initiative to impose
sanctions if the rules are not obeyed. Some juru arah have several tempek in their care.

The leaders of the subak are elected for a term of two years, but the appointments are renewable. The previous three pekaseh were in office for two years. The last pekaseh doubled his term but resigned half-way through his second term because of chronic illness. A new pekaseh was elected in August 1986, with only one reluctant candidate to fill the post. Few people care to take over the leadership of the subak, a difficult position which commands only a very small wage in return for a heavy burden of responsibilities and work. The pekaseh must liaise with the governmental offices in Penebel (Kantor Pertanian and Sedahan Agung), ensure the adequate provision of fertilizer and pesticides at a competitive price; in addition, he is expected to take decisions such as the choice of rice to be cultivated in the next crop, which affect the farmers' economic welfare directly; and is generally held personally responsible for disasters such as the epidemic of plant-hoppers (wereng) which destroyed almost half the crop in 1986. The subak also has its own body of 30 guards (HANSIP) chosen from the kerama subak, who patrol the rice-fields at night when necessary, to prevent the breach of subak regulations, such as stealing water or fishing by light during certain crucial periods in the development of the crop when the rice is most vulnerable to the insects attracted by the light. The structure of the leadership is shown in the diagram below.
The leaders of the subak have access to two publications of the Parisada Hindu Dharma of Tabanan where they find general guidelines for the determination of the schedule of agricultural activities, the organization of the rituals and the administration of the association. In addition, the pamangku subak holds a lontar manuscript inherited from his father, where the details of the rituals and the type and number of offerings needed are set out. Through its leaders, the subak guarantees the protection of the individual farmers from any damages made by parasites, diseases, animals or human beings in the fields. The kerama subak are entitled to receive enough water for their needs each season, have their fields protected from human or animal disturbances, obtain access to the credits made available through governmental programs and discuss questions pertaining to the awig-awig with the pekaseh. In return, they must abide by the pekaseh's decisions concerning the date of replanting and distribution.
of water, pay their dues, discharge their collective work duties and participate in the rites of the subak. The subak leaders are held to show no discrimination in the distribution of water, fertilizer or pesticides, or in the collection of the financial contributions from each farmer.

The subak meets once every rice-growing season, a few days before Ngusaba Uma, the ritual held shortly after the rice begins to yellow, on a date calculated according to the uku calendar; to set the date for the harvest and organize the teams of hired workers who are rostered to the various subak of the area by the head office of the province-wide subak in Tabanan to help the farmers with the harvest. Every member of the subak must attend this meeting and a fine is imposed upon the farmers for non-attendance. In contrast with the meetings of the desa adat and the banjar, women - even those with nyeburin husbands - do not participate in the subak meetings. The subak can meet more often if necessary, however routine decisions which include the determination of the date for replanting, information about forthcoming temple rituals and the organization of the saya teams for their preparation, are taken by the pekaseh in conjunction with the secretary and the pamangku subak, then are passed on to the juru arah who are responsible for communicating the information to the farmers in their tempek. If a farmer disagrees with a decision, he can take up the matter with the juru arah who reports it to the pekaseh.

In addition to the initial dues paid upon joining, each member of the subak contributes 1.5 kg of cut rice on the stalk
(padi) per ten ares of land per season. This is called pon. The contribution goes toward the maintenance and repairs of the irrigation system, and is payable after the harvest. Another contribution, called urainan or aci, after the name given to the festivals held in the Pura Ulun Suwi, is also required of each member to pay the leaders' wages and for the maintenance of the subak temples and to finance the collective rites. This contribution consists of 15 kg of padi per hectare or its equivalent in money (about 3,000 rps in 1986) and must be paid by everyone, regardless of religious creed. When the Protestant and the Catholic farmers hand in their aci contribution, 10% is kept by the subak while the other 90% are returned to the local church leaders (dewan gereja) to be used for the maintenance of the church buildings. The balean desa, the pamangku, the administrative leaders of the desa adat and the leaders of the banjar and the desa dinas are exempted from the pon and the aci, but the subak leaders are required to contribute to both in return for which they receive a small salary.

Temples of the Subak

The subak possesses two temples: the Pura Ulun Suwi or water temple dedicated to Indra/Wisnu, the deity of rain and irrigation water, and Pura Bedugul dedicated to Uma/Dewi Sri, the deity of the rice fields who, in Piling, is identified as the benevolent aspect of the deity of the Pura Dalem. The availability of irrigation water and the general welfare of the rice crops are guaranteed by the deities of the Pura Sada
Legend

1. Beji
2. Palinggih Pekendungan
3. Palinggih Manik Galih/Rambut Sedana
4. Gedong
5. Palinggih Puncak Kadaton
6. Palinggih Gede
7. Taksu
8. Bale
9. Plasan
10. Bale Gong
11. Bale Mebat
12. Kitchen
13. Granary
14. Apit Lawang

PURA (SIMPAN) ULUN SUWI

Legend

1. Babaturan Uma/Dewi Sri
2. Papelik
3. Beji
4. Bale

PURA BEDUGUL
and of Pura Pucak Kadaton who can manifest themselves through a trancer when need be to implement changes in agricultural activities or ritual practices. As such, tirta fetched from those temples is an essential ingredient in the performance of the rituals held in the subak temples. A map of the two subak temples is given on the following page.

Pura Bedugul is a small, old-fashioned temple delineated by a natural hedge and consisting of two babaturan-type altars nestled within trees, dedicated respectively to Uma/Sri and to the mediating spirit known as taksu. After the switch to irrigated rice agriculture, Pura Bedugul was taken over by the subak but prior to this, it functioned as the sole agricultural temple for the cultivation of dry-land rice. Pura Ulun Suwi is adjacent to Pura Puseh Sari which is located three kilometers north of Piling. The temple was built in 1967, after the original temple situated further north, next to Pura Patali in Jatiluih, was destroyed by fire during the events of 1965. The Pura Ulun Suwi is no more than a mid-way (pasimpangan) temple for the previous temple, now reduced to a babaturan where tirta is fetched prior to all rituals held in the Pura Ulun Suwi. Although the new temple was made according to modern standards with two walled-in yards, a traditional babaturan style has been retained for the shrines which, as the map shows, are made of concrete slabs cut so as to reproduce the exact shape of the original stones in the previous temple. The main shrines of the temple are the pasimpangan Puncak Kadaton and the pasimpangan Pekendungan/Tanah Lot, both of which link the Pura Ulun Suwi to the province-wide network of mountain and sea temples.
Apart from these temples, the subak also holds the outer yard of the Pura Dalem where a yearly sacrifice is made to the deity of the Pura Dalem, to ensure the fertility of the fields and the protection of the crops from pests and diseases.

**ORGANIZATION OF THE AGRICULTURAL SCHEDULE**

**Varieties of Rice Grown**

All the agricultural activities, from the collective maintenance of the irrigation channels to the private tasks which are performed in the fields by individual farmers, are scheduled in accordance with the developmental cycle of the rice. As such, the variety of rice cultivated in any given season, especially its length of maturation, has a determining influence upon the pattern of collective work. Since 1974, the subak has been organized on the basis of two rice-growing seasons per year. The first season is called kerta masa (literally: safe season) and begins in January until June, taking in the second part of the wet season and the first part of the dry season. The second season is called gagadon and runs from August to December, taking in the second half of the dry season and the first half of the next wet season. Two main varieties of rice, classified as padi asli Bali—rice indigenous to Bali—are grown. Padi mansyur maturing in 185
days, is grown during the kerta masa, and padi cicih maturing in 150 days, is grown during gagadon. Padi mansyur comes in white only, is short-stemmed with a bearded (berbulu, Ind.) panicle, and yields sparse but heavy grains. Padi cicih comes in red or white, is long-stemmed with a bearded or bare (gundul, Ind., lit. bald) panicle and yields more grains than padi mansyur but of a smaller size and lighter weight. Padi mansyur and padi cicih make up from 0.75% to 0.85% of the crop in each season. They are grown primarily for eating; the surplus is sold through private dealers (saudagar) or to the rice-threshing mills (selip) of the village. Glutinous rice (ketan) and black rice (injin) are also grown in small quantities, mainly for rituals and for sale as they retail at a very high price. Both ketan and injin are sweeter than other varieties of rice and particularly vulnerable to mice. Two varieties of ketan are grown: ketan taun which matures in 175 days and yields fewer but larger grains than ketan cicih which matures in 165 days. A single variety of injin is grown, injin baru also called injin cicih which has a slightly shorter growth cycle than padi cicih.

These varieties of rice have been cultivated consistently for only ten years. Previously the subak used to cultivate a slow maturing strain of local rice, padi taun, also called padi asli Bali, on the basis of one rice crop per year. Padi taun derives its name from its length of growth of 210 days which corresponds to one Balinese year (taun). It comes in red or white and is characterized by a long stem, a bearded panicle and elongated, sparsely distributed grains, heavy in weight. It is reputed for its taste and nutritional qualities.
and its resale price is high but, because of the time taken for it to mature, only one harvest per year is normally envisaged. *Padi taun* is still cultivated during the *kerta masa*, in the neighbouring *subak* of Wangaya Gede, Tengkudak, Penggengahan, Mengesta and Jatiluih, where it is grown on a tight schedule in conjunction with *padi cicih* during the dry season and the periodical drainage of the fields every fourth season to plant leguminous (*palawija*).

The *subak* of Piling joined the BIMAS/INMAS programme for the intensification of irrigated rice agriculture in the mid-sixtie and withdrew in 1974. During that time, several fast-growing varieties of rice were tested for their suitability to the climatic and environmental conditions of the mountain from 1967 until 1971 then, after a one-year break, continually until 1974. The *pelita* strains of hybrid rice (*padi baru*) chosen for the tests were grown on the basis of three crops per year, combined with the periodical drainage of the fields every two years. The *subak* withdrew from the program following a trance in Pura Manik Selaka during which the deity of that temple ordered the *subak* to return to the cultivation of traditional Balinese varieties of rice. However, the *subak* did not, as might be expected, return to the cultivation of *padi taun* whose yield was by then considered too low and inadequate for the developing economic needs of the farmers, but, still on the suggestion of the deity, chose *padi mansyur* and *padi cicih*, the two improved varieties of "indigenous" rice currently grown[9].
The subak justified this decision on the following grounds. The sun and water needs of padi baru could not be adequately met in the cold environment of the mountain, the plants were extremely vulnerable to rain, pests and diseases, the excessive use of pesticides and fertilizer led to the rapid deterioration of the flora and the fauna of the rice-fields which make up an important element of the daily diet. The wet climate also made drying difficult. Whereas local varieties of rice are cut on the stalk as padi and tied in a bundle which can be brought in and out according to the vagaries of the weather, padi baru is cut with a sickle and turned immediately into gabah (unhusked grains without the stalk) which is difficult to handle as it must be spread on plastic sheets on the ground to dry. Another factor taken into consideration was the topography of the region which forbids the use of tractors, necessary when seeking three harvests per year, to alleviate the work load of the farmers. The fields are cut in narrow terraces along the sides of steep ridges and ploughing must still be carried out in the traditional manner with a small plough driven by a buffalo or a cow. The periodical drainage of the fields once every two years for the cultivation of a crop of leguminous (palawija) was also criticized as conducive to the erosion of the banks, although this last point was never satisfactorily demonstrated. In the neighbouring subak of Jatiluhij where it is practised as part of the cultivation of padi taun, the periodical drainage of the fields has been shown to have no negative effect on the banks. It is believed instead to have a positive effect upon the level of fertility of the soil as well as reduce the incidence of mice and other rice pests by
cutting through their developmental cycle. The practice of burning the stumps after the harvest which is part of the cultivation of *padi baru* also constituted a cultural obstacle whose importance cannot be ignored since, as was seen in the first Chapter, this practice conflicts with deeply-seated beliefs forming a substantial part of the identity of the population of Gunung Batukau.

Before the end of the harvest of the previous season, the *pekaseh* announces the variety of rice to be grown for the next crop, taking into account the availability of water and the length of time available from one season to the next. *Padi cicih*, which is more resistant to water stress and grows faster than *padi mansyur*, is preferred for the dry season crop which must be grown in four months between August and December. However individual farmers are not held to follow strictly the *subak* decisions if they can make a good case for choosing a different variety for their next crop. For instance, a farmer running behind schedule may ask to be allowed to grow a faster-growing variety of rice, if necessary one of the *padi baru* varieties which mature in three months. During the 1986 *kerta masa*, *padi mansyur* represented only 65% of the staple crop (*injin* and *ketan* not included), the other 35% being made up of *padi cicih* and *padi taun* as most farmers grow one or several fields (*petak*) of *padi taun* during the *kerta masa*, in accordance with ancestral stipulations that this rice should always be planted in the land.
Schedule of Agricultural Activities

The cycle of agricultural activities is set into motion by the date of replanting, in the week chosen by the pekaseh and the pamangku subak according to the uku calendar of the 210-day year. The complete cycle of agriculture for a whole year is shown on the next page in a diagram which brings out the short interval of free time left between one harvest and the replanting of the next crop. The two rice-growing seasons are set into an agricultural year of two seasons calculated from the September to the March equinoxes, then from the March equinox to the next September equinox. In Chapter Seven, we shall come back to this division of the year which provides the conceptual framework for rice agriculture.

The fields are flooded three times during each cycle: the first flooding takes place one week after the last harvest after digging the stalks and stumps of rice into the soil of the petak to prevent regrowth. The fields are flooded a second time one week or a few days before replanting the seedlings, then a third time after the replanting operation. Water flows freely from one petak to the next until the formation of the panicle, then the fields are allowed to dry out as the water needs of the plant gradually lessen.

At the time of the first flooding, the seeds for the next crop are placed to germinate in the seed-bed, a long and narrow petak chosen for its excellent exposure to the sun. This is called mamulih (from bulih: seed). The seeds, still on the stalks, are laid out in rows with the head to the east.
Diagram 14: Schedule of activities for agricultural year 1986

- Cycle of growth of rice in the fields
  1. Preparation of seedbeds
  2. Cleaning of water conduct
  3. Preparation of individual fields (hoeing, ploughing, trimming and trampling underfoot)
  4. Replanting of seedlings
  5. Weeding
  6. Harvest
Meanwhile the fields are cleaned\textsuperscript{14}, the banks are trimmed and the water channels are cleared of straw and dirt, then the fields are ploughed with a buffalo or a cow. Ideally the fields should be ploughed three times but two ploughings at one week's interval followed by a final careful hoeing of the field, are usually the norm. After each ploughing, the surface of the petak is levelled out by stamping the clumps of earth underfoot and harrowing. The fields are then rested and fertilizer is spread in preparation for the replanting of the seedlings\textsuperscript{15}.

Replanting (tanduran) is synchronized so that all the crops throughout the subak mature at the same date. Those farmers whose fields are situated north of the village or which catch only the afternoon sun, must therefore replant one week earlier than the rest of the subak. After tanduran comes a period of rest until the first of three successive weedings (majukut). The first weeding is carried out one month later, then at an interval of three weeks each\textsuperscript{16}. Weeding is done by hand, the workers delicately spreading the roots of the plants as they pull out the weeds and rake the mud to aerate the soil. The third weeding is optional. If the fields have been well managed, they should have developed a blue algae which provides nitrogen and keeps the weeds under control. Ideally fertilizer should be spread in the fields by the end of the first month, but the farmers often run behind schedule and fertilize during the second or even third month after replanting.
After the third weeding, nothing is done to the fields until the rice is ready to harvest. Harvesting is carried out over three weeks and mobilizes the whole village. The rice is cut on the stalk with the hand-held knife (anggapan[^17]), then it is tied in bundles which are dried in the houseyard before being stored away in the granaries.

**ORGANIZATION OF AGRICULTURAL TASKS**

A distinction should be made between the collective duties carried out by the farmers acting in a corporate capacity, which enter into the category of ayahan subak, and the collectively organized activities carried out in the farmers' private fields. Since the early 1960's, both types of collective work have undergone profound changes leading to the partial replacement of ayahan by a monetary contribution, and of unpaid reciprocal voluntary work (ngajakang) based upon the traditional networks of mutual help and solidarity in the sanggah gede, by wage labour (ngupahang) carried out either by associations of men and women from the village or, in extreme cases, by "professional" teams who travel from one village to the next to offer their services. Wage labour is not a recent development although paying the workers in cash definitely is. In the past, the workers were paid in kind, taking home with them a percentage of the rice they cut. Today several options are available to owners who, because they do not have the time to work their fields, choose to hire workers.
In *malais manuh*, they may rent out their fields to one or several workers who keep half the produce from the harvest, the other half going to the owner. In *pasamuan*, several owners pool their fields and contract several teams of workers to cultivate them for the whole season, in return for a salary and a small share of the harvest. In most instances, however, teams of workers are simply hired to do a specific task such as weeding or harvesting, the owner doing some of the work himself, helped by his family and close relatives. The forms of collective work favoured for each task in a rice-growing season, are set out on the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERIOD IN AGRICULTURAL CYCLE</th>
<th>TASK TO BE PERFORMED</th>
<th>PARTICIPANTS</th>
<th>TYPE OF WORK</th>
<th>DURATION OF TASK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>three weeks before date set for replanting</td>
<td>cleaning and repair of irrigation channels</td>
<td><em>subak</em> members organized by <em>tempek</em></td>
<td><em>ayah</em></td>
<td>until completion of work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preparation of fields</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) ploughing</td>
<td>hired team: buffalo, driver and workers, owner and male relatives</td>
<td><em>upah</em> and <em>ajak</em></td>
<td>two or three times over three weeks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) hoeing and trimming</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) trampling underfoot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preparation of seedbeds</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on week set by <em>subak</em></td>
<td>replanting of seedlings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first weeding</td>
<td>members of houseyard, and close relatives</td>
<td><em>ajak</em></td>
<td>from one morning to one day according to size of estate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second weeding</td>
<td>women members of houseyard or hired female teams</td>
<td><em>ajak</em></td>
<td>2 or 3 days according to size of estate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>third weeding (optional)</td>
<td>as above</td>
<td>as above</td>
<td>as above</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when grains fill out and rice begins to yellow</td>
<td>keeping birds away from crop</td>
<td></td>
<td>informal until harvest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when rice fully mature</td>
<td>harvest</td>
<td>members of houseyard, especially children and adolescents</td>
<td><em>ajak</em></td>
<td>2 to 3 weeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>members of houseyard, relatives and friends, members of <em>subak</em>, hired teams of workers provided by head office <em>subak</em> of Tabanan</td>
<td><em>upah</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18. Organisation of agricultural tasks
Corporate Work - Ayahan Subak

Except for the pamangku, the balean desa and the leaders of the village institutions, ayahan is required of all farmers in return for access to irrigation water. Ayahan work parties are organized shortly after the end of the harvest, for the purpose of cleaning and repairing the water channels before the first flooding of the next season. Women do not participate in ayahan subak, as this type of work is considered too strenuous for them. The members of the subak whose professional commitments prevent them from participating in ayahan, pay a contribution of 250 rps per month in lieu of work. Each farmer is responsible for the maintenance of the channels in his private fields. In addition, as tempek members, the farmers must contribute to the upkeep of the channels within the tempek and as members of a subak, to that of the channels bringing water from the tembuku ayah. The subak of Piling is collectively responsible for the maintenance of the reservoir and the overseeing of the maintenance of the networks of irrigation channels within the subak.

Maintaining the irrigation system is getting more and more difficult for the following reasons. We saw earlier that when a farmer reduces his share of water, his share of ayahan work is taken over by other farmers of his tempek. If, at a later stage, this farmer needs to utilize his original share of water, he is required to make up the difference in ayahan as a financial contribution. Several years ago, during the first surge of interest in the cultivation of cash crops, many
farmers rushed to drain out their least productive rice fields in order to turn them into plantations, with the result that a greater amount of the maintenance work now rests upon the shoulders of a smaller number of farmers. In addition the *subak* now works on a tight schedule in order to fit two rice crops in one year. As such, maintenance work must be carried out quickly at a time when farmers are busiest in the fields. The stress of being ready in time for the next flooding is felt particularly acutely between the end of the *gagadon* and the beginning of the *kerta masa*, when no more than three weeks are available to clean and repair the water channels and prepare the fields for the next season. As the maintenance of the irrigation system is an essential prerequisite for the successful cultivation of the crops, the *subak* increasingly has to face the eventuality of asking those farmers who make a financial contribution to discharge their *ayahan* duties in the form of work instead in order to take pressure off other farmers; or to hire workers to carry out this maintenance work, in return for a wage to be paid by the farmers in lieu of their *ayahan* contributions.

*Ayahan* work parties operate also for the maintenance of the temples and for the preparation of the temple rituals. The *saya* teams are recruited from the *kerama subak* and work according to a schedule similar to that used for the preparation of the temple rituals in the *desa adat*. The Catholic and Protestant farmers are exempted from this type of *ayahan* but they are required to perform equivalent rites in their respective churches on the day when the *subak* holds a ceremony in one of its temples, or on the following Sunday¹⁸.
Tasks Carried Out in Private Fields

The pressure of trying to obtain two crops per year is reflected in the organization of the agricultural activities which accompany the cultivation of the rice in the fields. Except for replanting, all tasks, whenever possible, are carried out by teams of wage workers (ngupahang) helped by voluntary workers (ngajakang) recruited mostly from the houseyard or the sanggah gede and from clients, the latter forming an important source of unpaid "voluntary" work which, for reasons mentioned in the previous chapter, need not be reciprocated. While clients work for their patron, a patron is not held to return the favour for his clients. More so than in the residential village, efficiency is the main concern in organizing work teams, especially for the tasks at the beginning and at the end of the rice cycle when time is at a premium and available workers hard to find. Three alternatives available to the farmers according to the circumstances, the availability of workers and the financial means of the family are illustrated with the help on concrete examples given below. The first example treats an instance of reciprocal collective work party for the replanting operation, in which the traditional values of mutual help and hospitality are retained. The second is devoted to the harvest which makes use of a combination of unpaid workers operating according to the standards of ngajakang, and paid workers hired by the subak and rotated to each member of the subak in turn. The third example treats an instance of contracting for the ploughing and cleaning of the fields.
before replanting, an option which is increasingly favoured for the performance of heavy agricultural tasks.

1. Ngajakang

The ngajakang work party described here was organized by the pamangku subak for the replanting of the gagadon crop in the uku Landep (10 to 17 August 1986). Among the invited workers, those who came included his wife, his son and daughter-in-law with their children, all residents on his houseyard; his own step-brother and his wife, two parallel patrilateral cousins from the padukuhan Apuan with their wives and three adolescent children, the pamangku of the Pura Dalem who is his second cousin by alliance as well as a close personal friend, and his own brother's wife and daughter. The replanting operation has a strong symbolic dimension which is expressed in the rituals which precede the actual replanting, and in the meal which must traditionally be shared by all the workers before beginning work.

The replanting date was set for the next Sunday but the work started on Saturday with the preparation of the offerings, the making of the rice cakes and the cooking of the meal to be given to the workers the following morning. Early on Saturday morning, the pamangku's wife and her daughter-in-law began weaving palm-fronds, grating coconut and cooking glutinous rice, helped from time to time by women friends and relatives who dropped in for an hour or so. The preparations lasted all day. By 6 pm, the completed offerings and the various ingredients for the meal were placed into baskets, ready to be carried to the fields the following day when, at dawn, all the participants would congregate near the water inlet and the bedugul shrine to partake of the meal whose ingredients follow strict rules: the food served must include steamed rice, roasted white chicken and duck, vegetables taken from the vicinity of the rice fields, fried spices and rice cakes similar to those used in the offerings at the bedugul shrine for the ritual performed prior to eating. The food must be plentiful and people are expected to enjoy the meal and keep on eating throughout the replanting
operation. Rice cakes are handed to the workers to eat whenever they sit down to rest or come back to take a new tray-load of seedlings.

The seedlings are planted in carefully spaced rows. Men and women work from north to south and from east to west, moving from the highest to the lowest terraces. One should never turn one's back to the sun. The seedlings are planted in clusters of four or five plants, three rows at the time, at a distance of one arm's length: first to the left, then in front and to the right. The procedure is then repeated after taking one step backward. By 11 am the 0.30 ha of fields were completed. People lingered a while, sitting on the banks to finish the rice cakes before going down to the river to clean the mud off themselves and go home to lunch.

**Tanduran**, the replanting operation, is the only agricultural task which has remained totally faithful to the traditional work patterns, in part because it is one of the least strenuous activities in the agricultural cycle, but also because of the high symbolic value of the replanting which is associated with the idea of the impregnation of the land by the owner of the fields. **Tanduran** mobilizes only a small number of participants, usually the houseyard residents and members of the **sanggah gede**, if time permits. However this is seldom practicable, as many farmers plant on the same day and few people are free to join in **ngajakang** work parties in someone else's fields. The difficulty of finding workers to help out has probably contributed to the maintenance of the old-fashioned values expressed in the ritual sharing of an abundant meal consisting of food symbolically related to the rice-field, which is made up of ingredients taken from the field such as rice, either steamed or boiled with coconut and palm sugar, **kangkung** (water convolvulus growing as a weed in the rice field), **paku** (young fern fronds growing on the banks of the water channels) or meat associated with it, such as white chicken and duck, both of which are identified with an
aspect of Uma/Sri. Food as a symbol of abundance and conviviality is in this instance indistinguishable from the work. Sweet rice cakes made with glutinous rice or black rice, sugar and coconut, are eaten by the workers throughout the replanting, in the hope that the forthcoming crop will provide the same abundance, transferred by an effect of sympathetic magic, from the feeling of fullness and well-being of the satiated workers to the transplanted seedlings. The sharing of food adds a festive note which appears to have been part of at least some of the agricultural activities in the past. Older villagers can recall a time when the harvest used to be carried out to the sound of the gamelan and accompanied by dances. This is in accordance with the cultural belief that, in order to thrive, rice must be treated as a human being. The psychological dimension of care and nurturance believed to be inherent to the proper tending of the rice crop, has not yet been entirely suppressed by the constraints imposed by the intensification of rice agriculture. It survives whenever possible, in the retention of the traditional ways which give primacy to the interactions, at a highly personal level, between the workers, and between human beings and the rice crop.

2. Combination Ngajakang and Upahan

In many cases however, it is no longer practicable to retain the ways of the past. For one thing, the farmers have on the whole a greater surface of land to work than ever before, and they also possess less time to devote to it. The majority of the agricultural activities are carried out by ngajakang workers whose reliability and commitment remains uncertain
unless they have a vested interest in the fields, supplemented with teams of hired labourers who can be trusted to see the work to its very end. The combination ngajakang/ngupahang is considered one of the most satisfactory methods of working the fields. The example given below is an account of the 1986 kerta masa harvest which took place over three weeks, from the 21st May onward. On the week prior to the starting date, the subak held a meeting in the bale banjar of Piling Kanginan to discuss the allotment of teams of wage workers to each farmer. Each juru arah gave a report on the state of the crops in his tempek and it was decided to start with the fields situated north and west of the village, in order to give their owners enough time to prepare the fields for the next replanting. As the teams of wage workers are rotated throughout the province, each subak must book them some time beforehand for a number of weeks estimated in advance and this necessitates some planning to enable each farmer to have a chance to hire the teams in turn. In addition, young men and women of the village who do not yet have their own fields, make up a temporary association (sekaha manyi) and hire themselves out to the farmers at the on-going rate. The workers' wages are paid by the private farmers at the rate of 3,000 rps per quintal of padi cut by one worker. Some impecunious families cannot afford this rate and must rely entirely upon ngajakang help, sometimes extremely difficult to find, for their harvest.

For the three weeks of the harvest, the whole village is abuzz with activity. The electricity, usually turned off at 10 pm each night, is left burning through the night as people rise at 2.30 or 3.00 am to prepare food for their own families and the ngajakang workers before leaving for the fields by daybreak. The two bale banjar have been turned into
dormitories for the teams of wageworkers who cook their food on a small stove as none of the warung will open for the next three weeks. The harvest is called musim padi, meaning that during that time rice takes priority and the meals are kept to the maximum simplicity. Food consists mainly of rice cooked in various forms, steamed, boiled in ketipat or turned into cakes, as women no longer have time to go to the market in Penebel.

By sunrise the teams are already in the fields, hired workers and ngajakang workers alike, working together non-stop until 10 am when the children of the houseyard come up from the village carrying trays of coffee, cigarettes, cakes and bananas. No one stops longer than the few minutes needed to drink a cup of coffee before returning to the field.

Men and women work under the beating sun, dressed in long trousers and long-sleeved shirts to avoid the treacherous spikes of the grain which cause much itching. The rice is cut with the traditional hand-held knife called anggapan, each stem being caught between the index and the middle finger of the right hand to be snipped off neatly with the blade. When several stems are cut, they are switched to the left hand until the bundle becomes too bulky for comfort. The worker then places it down in a spot specifically reserved for him. Several bundles are tied together to form an ikat. This is the job of the children and the old people who keep a record of everyone's ikat with the name of the workers upon them, to be weighed at the end of the day. The harvesters work by teams of four to five people per petak, moving in a single line and followed by children who practise their skills by cutting small rice ears and those ears lying on the ground which are left behind by the workers.

A team of five workers working non-stop can harvest an average-sized petak (about 10 ares) in one hour. Lunch is served to the ngajakang workers at 12 pm, the hired workers having brought their own. After an hour's rest, work begins again until 4 pm when the ngajakang workers go home. Often, hired workers remain behind to boost their day's wage, staying until it is too dark to see the rice properly any longer. At lunch time and after everyone has left the fields at night, the ikat of rice are brought into the houseyard where, after being weighed separately, they are put out to dry on the ground if the weather is fine, or brought inside the house to be kept out of the rain. The hired workers can be paid at the end of the day or when all the fields have been done.

In this type of work organization, the advantages and inconvenients of ngajakang and ngupahang even themselves out. People are of the opinion that, on the whole, ngajakang
workers work slowly but more carefully than ngupahang workers who are concerned with getting the heaviest weight possible at the end of the day. As one hired worker said half-jokingly: "I only cut the long ears of wet rice because they are the heaviest..." another adds that she never cuts the ears bearing few grains or grains that are not properly filled out, as they are not profitable enough. This is a recent problem which is linked to the method of payment of the workers. In the past before the introduction of cash, the workers were paid on the pro-rata of the number of ears of rice cut, each worker taking home three ears of rice for each eighteen ears cut - the number of ears in one rice plant. This was called the tegen. The actual weight of the ears did not make any difference. Today, the farmers accept that they need at least another hour of work to finish off the harvesting (munuh) in a petak after a team of ngupahang workers has been through it.

Feeding the ngajakang workers remains a problem difficult to solve since, during the period of the harvest, every able-bodied member of the houseyard is in the fields. In addition, many farmers are short of money at the time of the harvest and cannot afford the cost of feeding ngajakang workers in addition to paying the hired workers whose salary takes first priority. In extreme cases, the farmers need to sell some rice straight after the harvest in order to pay the wages of those workers, although this is highly frowned upon by the subak as rice should not be eaten or sold until three days after the ceremony of mantenin has been performed. An alternative consists in borrowing money from one of the rice-brokers, at a rate calculated on the lowest market-price of
the rice at the time of the harvest, to be repaid in rice later in the season or soon after the next harvest. This method of credit is called ngijonan.

3. Ngupahang

This is increasingly favoured for the heavy tasks of preparing the rice fields for the forthcoming crop, in particular for ploughing but also for hoeing and harrowing the surface of the soil. These tasks are carried out straight after the previous harvest, at a time when people are still tired from it and the men must participate in the ayahan work parties in preparation for the next flooding. Ploughing can be done either with a cow or a buffalo-driven plough. Most farmers own two or three cows but these are thought to be physically and temperamentally unable to plough more than two or three petak in one day. In view of its strength and docility, the buffalo is preferred for this task, but is far more expensive to purchase. In Piling, three farmers have a trained buffalo and, during the ploughing season, they contract their services out to the other farmers. The following example is an account of the ploughing of a 0.35 ha estate of rice fields belonging to the pamangku of the Pura Puseh Sari. This was carried out after the gagadon harvest of 1986 (30th December).

Several years ago Pan Sumadi bought a yearling female buffalo for the price of 250,000 rps and broke it in to the plough a year later. Today, the buffalo is fully grown and Pan Sumadi hires himself out to plough the fields of other farmers in the subak. He works an average working day of eight hours, starting from 7 am to 12 pm then from 1 pm to 4 pm during which time he can plough 0.30 ha of rice fields at a fee of about 8,000 rps depending upon the quality of the land. His fee is calculated on the basis of the productivity of the land worked out from the number of tegen obtained in the fields during the
last harvest. Highly productive land will thus cost more to plough than land of average quality.

Shortly after 7 am on the appointed day, Pan Sumadi arrives at the fields, leading his buffalo and accompanied by a team of five men, all of whom are hired workers paid by the owner of the fields whose task consists in hoeing and harrowing the surface of the soil after ploughing and trimming the banks.

The fields were ploughed in descending order from the highest point down to the lowest one, making it easier for the buffalo to move from one petak to the other. As the plough dug into the soil, two men followed, hoeing as they went to level out the clods of mud brought up by the blade, while the other three workers, armed with a sickle, trimmed the overgrown grass on the banks of the petak and in the water channels. When one petak was done and the buffalo had moved to another field, the men returned to the field to trample the soil with their bare feet once more until they were satisfied that it has been evened out completely. The field is fully prepared when water seeps up to the surface of the soil and begins to resemble the surface of a lake.

At 9.30 am the owner's wife and his eldest daughter arrived at the fields, carrying coffee, cigarettes and black rice pudding in baskets. The men stopped and sat on the banks long enough to drink the coffee and finish their cigarette before returning to work until lunch time when they went home to eat and rest. Pan Sumadi who lives four kilometers away, in Piling Kanginan, decided to stay with his buffalo and sought a shaded spot near the creek below to eat the lunch brought by his daughter a little while earlier. When the men came back at 1 pm, the work continued until, by 4.30 pm the fields were completed and the workers sat down once more to coffee, cigarettes and cakes before going home to wash.

This example illustrates an increasingly common situation where traditional patterns of work are made obsolete by the constraints placed upon the farmers by the tight schedule set by the subak. Ngajakang workers are particularly hard to find because everyone is in the same predicament of trying to prepare the fields in time for the next season. Contracting workers proves a viable alternative as it ensures that the work is done quickly and efficiently. As Pan Sumadi takes a flat fee for his work, calculated on the pro-rata of the
surface to be ploughed, he has every interest in finishing quickly in order to move on to the next client. As such, he keeps his team of workers moving at his own pace. Although the initial cost of purchasing a buffalo is prohibitive for many, owning such a beast is every farmer's dream. The yearling bought by Pan Sumadi has a resale value of 500,000 Rps as a trained adult animal. Used twice a year for three weeks of intensive ploughing, the buffalo brings back more than 300,000 Rps to his owner each year.

Ngupahang work of this type has the additional advantage of leaving the owner and his family free to devote themselves to other activities. Yet, a minimum hospitality is felt to be necessary especially when, as in the present case, the workers are personally known by the owner of the fields. Hence, coffee and black rice pudding are brought to the workers in the morning and in the afternoon. Yet, apart from these two brief visits to the fields which are made by the wife and the daughter of the owner, no time is spent in preparing the elaborate meals which must accompany ngajakang work.

In the context of the household economics, the advantages of contracting workers are significant. The expenses incurred by the owner of the fields for this operation are set out in the following table:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>COST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cost of hiring the buffalo for one day</td>
<td>8,000 Rps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wages of the five workers for one day's labour</td>
<td>15,000 Rps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cost of providing snacks to workers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 packets of cigarettes</td>
<td>800 Rps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coffee and sugar</td>
<td>450 Rps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black rice pudding</td>
<td>500 Rps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>24,750 Rps</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 19. Break-down of expenses involved in contracting for ploughing**

This is compared to the expenses involved in giving two meals to a group of 10 ngajakang workers, a number needed for carrying the work at the same pace as the hired workers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>COST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>three chicken at 1,000 rps each</td>
<td>3,000 Rps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 kg rice</td>
<td>4,500 Rps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miscellaneous (vegetables, spices)</td>
<td>2,000 Rps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cakes (bought) - 5 packets</td>
<td>3,000 Rps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cigarettes - 5 packets</td>
<td>2,000 Rps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coffee and sugar</td>
<td>1,500 Rps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>17,000 Rps</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 20. Break-Down of Expenses Involved in Feeding Ten Ngajakang Workers for Ploughing**

The 7,750 Rps saved by holding a ngajakang party are considered to be minimal when this saving is assessed against the additional workload imposed upon the members of the houseyard by the preparation of the meals to feed the invited
workers. Even taking into account the ejotan of rice, bananas and cakes which are brought by the workers in ngajakang, contracting for ploughing is unanimously preferred by the farmers since, although a little more expensive than ngajakang, it frees the farmer from the social constraints inherent to ngajakang which always entails the need to reciprocate in the future. In any case, the owner of the buffalo is understandably reluctant to use his animal, bought specifically for economic gain, for a ngajakang work party. As such, even when ngajakang workers are found for the hoeing and cleaning of the fields, contracting for ploughing remains the norm.

THE ECONOMICS OF RICE CULTIVATION

Although the subak does not control the production and the sale of rice, the association has an indirect influence upon the economic life of the village through decisions which affect the eventual outcome of the crops, such as the choice of a variety of rice or liaising with government departments for the purchase of fertilizer and pesticide on credit. The rice is sold either through private dealers (saudagar) or directly through the two threshing-mills (selip) of the village. The primary use of rice is for eating. Unless the season has been particularly good, two-thirds of the harvested rice is kept for domestic purposes, either for eating or to be used in ejotan and as currency for small purchases within the
village. The harvested rice is stored into the houseyard granary as *padi* to be taken down again for dehusking into *baas* when needed. One *ikat* is taken down at the time, usually one day before being taken to the mill, and it is put above the kitchen hearth to dry out completely (*unun*) before being taken to the rice-threshing mill. Until 1972, rice was de-husked by pounding in mortars, a task carried out each morning by the women of the houseyard. Today, women take their rice to the threshing mills as *gabah*, unhusked rice without the stalks, and have it returned as *baas*. If the rice is de-husked for domestic consumption, a fee of 4 kg of *baas* for every 55 kg of *gabah* is kept by the mill in payment. In addition, the women can take the rice bran home with them, to use as food for the pigs.

The opening of the threshing mills has contributed to increasing the consumption of rice in the village. Whereas in the past, rice was seldom eaten alone except in special occasions, being usually mixed with manioc, bananas or corn, today the villagers eat about 1 kg of uncooked rice per person per day, in the form of steamed rice (*nasi*), boiled rice (*lontong* and *bubuh*) or rice cakes (*jajan*). Steamed rice with a side-dish of vegetables, fried spices (*sambel*) and salt constitutes the daily diet of most people, to which are sometimes added chicken meat, soy-bean cakes (*tahu*) or eggs when these are available. Pork is eaten only in very special occasions, for a rite of passage or a temple festival.

Rice can be sold either as *padi* or *baas*. *Padi mansyur* which yields more grains than *padi cicih* is best sold as *padi* with the grains still on the stalk whereas *padi cicih* whose grains
are larger than *padi mansyur* sells at a higher price (550 Rps per kilogram against 450 Rps per kilogram of *baas mansyur*) and is best sold husked, as *baas*. The threshing-mills take a fee of 2,000 Rps per quintal of *gabah* to de-husk the rice for commercial purposes. The rice can be sold straight after the harvest but this is not a good move as its market price jumps up considerably in the course of the year. In 1986 the price went from 13,000 Rps per quintal of *padi* at the time of the harvest, to 17,000 Rps or even 20,000 Rps just before the next harvest. Rice-brokers from the village try to buy rice at a low price at the time of the harvest from the farmers in need of cash, then resell it later, either to private individuals or to the rice-mills, using the fluctuations in the market price to make a profit. They also run a system of credit within the village, lending money to private farmers, to be repaid in rice at the next harvest on the pro-rata of 2 quintals of rice worth 26,000 Rps, for every 20,000 Rps lent in cash.

The following table gives the figures for the harvest of the 1986 *kerta masa*. This was not a very successful harvest as the crops were partially devastated by a plague of plant-hoppers (*wereng*). According to the *pekaseh*, on an average season, the total harvested rice can reach 540 tons. The data was taken from a survey conducted in November 1986 among the farmers of the *subak*, in cooperation with the owners of the rice-threshing mills.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>total rice harvested*</td>
<td>326,550 kg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rice eaten by the domestic household</td>
<td>199,640 kg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rice sold commercially</td>
<td>126,150 kg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rice used for social exchange</td>
<td>760 kg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**table 21. results of the 1986 kerta masa harvest in Piling**

* padi mansyur : 0.68%
 padi cicih : 0.21%
 ketan : 0.06%
 injin : 0.05%

With the opening of the village to modern influences, the need for higher education and for commodities such as radios, television sets, motorbikes or minibuses has greatly increased with the result that farmers often buy on credit and take a chance on the outcome of the next harvest to repay their debt. As a result rice is not always marketed wisely. When, as was the case with the 1986 kerta masa, the harvest is meager, the whole of the produce has to be sold quickly to meet outstanding debts which fall due, leaving the family with no other solution but to buy - at a high price - unhusked rice from the village threshing-mills or use the seldom satisfactory option of ngijonan.

A recent surge of interest in the cultivation of vanilla and clove trees, spurred by one of the Protestant shareholders of the threshing-mill in Piling Kawan, has taken the pressure off the rice transactions. These two cash crops fetch high market prices and, when successful, their cultivation can provide ready cash which pays for extraordinary expenses,
leaving the family with the possibility to budget the sale of rice for paying regular expenses such as the children's school or university fees. The cultivation of cash crops is a purely individualistic venture involving the owner alone in his plantation and has been welcomed as a way out of the dilemma of the ever-increasing collective work-load incumbent upon the farmers. Vanilla costs 1,500 rps for ten plants, matures in three years and yields a maximum of 0.25 kg of wet fruit for the first harvest. In 1986, its retail price was 4,500 rps per kilogram when dry. A kilogram of newly-harvested vanilla, when still wet, gives about 250 grs of dry vanilla but these plants are extremely difficult to grow and demand a technical expertise which few farmers have had time to acquire. Cloves could sell for up to 16,000 rps per kilogram of dry fruit. 6 clove trees cost 1,000 rps to buy but they take at least six years to bear fruit, the first few harvests consisting of no more than 2 or 3 kilogram of wet fruit per tree.

So far, the cultivation of cash crops has met with mixed results. In 1978, an association called subak abian was created by the desa dinas of Mengesta, on the instigation of the Dinas Perkebunan of Penebel, to provide technical assistance, financial help and sale outlets for the farmers who cultivate dry-land crops. Although the avowed aim of the subak abian is to reproduce the socio-religious structure of the traditional subak, so far it is perceived by the farmers purely as a means of obtaining credit from various agencies and providing a reliable outlet for the sale of cash-crops. The fundamentally individualistic nature of the cultivation of dry-land crops is such that, except in
exceptional years when the harvest is particularly abundant, few work parties need to be mobilized for plantation work. Moreover, since the subak abian of the village does not draw irrigation water from the subak, in contrast with other parts of Bali where the dry fields need to be irrigated during the dry season, the feeling of solidarity which derives largely from the shared concern on the part of the members of the subak to ensure the maintenance of the collectively owned canalizations is non-existent in the subak abian. Consequently, since membership to the subak abian is not compulsory, only about one-half of the Piling farmers had joined the association in 1986. Although too early to decide whether the original enthusiasm can legitimately be sustained, the opinion of the farmers is that cash-crops cannot guarantee the additional regular income which was expected in the first place and, until significant improvements in the production of cloves and vanilla are experienced, rice continues to provide the safest and most stable source of money.
1. *Padi gaga* is still cultivated in some villages on the eastern face of Gunung Batukau where irrigation water has not yet been made available. The following information was collected from Pan Kerta, the pamangku of the agricultural temple (*pura Bedugul*) of the banjar of Titigalar in the village of Bangli, near Baturiti. *Padi gaga* is cultivated in fields (*uma*) cleared from the forest, on the basis of one crop per year. Work begins when the Plough (*Bintang Tenggala*) in the constellation of Orion, rises on the horizon at sunset (about October). The fields are ploughed (*matengalla*) three times in one month and the ground is harrowed between each ploughing. The seeds are either scattered (*nyambah*) onto the surface of the soil or, very seldom, planted in rows by digging a hole with a stick (*nugal*). Immediately after sowing, the field is ploughed and raked (*ngleserang*) once more. The first weeding takes place 6 days after the sowing. It is done with a small hoe (*kiskis*). Successive weedicings are carried out 21 days and 45 days after sowing. Corn is planted in rows spaced 3 meters apart, along the length of the fields. According to my informant this is done in order to provide shelter for the developing rice plants. Growing corn with rice also helps increase the total yield of the field. *Padi gaga* is harvested 210 days after sowing with the traditional hand-held knife. The yield is mediocre, between 22 and 25 kg of *padi* (cut unhusked rice still on the stalk) per are.

2. cf. Liefrinck (1969:39) for remarks on the difficulties inherent to irrigation in the mountainland *subak* of Buleleng. His remarks are of particular relevance for the mountainous area of Tabanan which shares the same topography and climate as the mountains of West Buleleng.

3. cf. *ibid*:42-3, for similar comments upon Balinese beliefs that all rivers are fed from the four mountain lakes, Danau Batur, Bratan, Tamblingan and Buyan situated in the heart of the island. The irrigation water for Tabanan is thought to come from Lake Tamblingan and a shrine dedicated to the goddess of this lake is found in the *taman* of *Pura Luhur Batukau*. However, according to the local population, Lake Tamblingan emerged only recently, after an earthquake. Indeed Lierfrinck mentions that Lake Tamblingan was formed in 1818 after a landslide separated the existing lake into two smaller bodies of water now known as Tamblingan and Buyan. Hence, the shrine was probably dedicated to the deity of the previous, unique lake, before the emergence of Lake Tamblingan.

4. cf. Geertz, 1980:72 who compares the organization of the irrigation system to a segmentary kinship system.

5. These publications are the *Tuntunan Gunan Ing Masasawahan* published by the Tabanan office of the *Parisada* in 1981 which is held by the *pekaseh*, and the *Buku Petunjuk Para Juru dan Kerama Subak di Bali*
published in 1984 by the Pemerintah Propinsi Daerah Tingkat I Bali and the Parisada Hindu Dharma, Pusat Denpasar, which is distributed to the juru arah. The Tuntunan was created specifically for the needs of the Tabanan subak and thus, as can be expected, the rituals described in the text are, with some minor variations, identical with those performed in Piling.

6. The rights and obligations of the subak leaders and members are listed in full in a publication of the Department of Agriculture of Tabanan (1982: Ch.2).

7. The traditional remedy for mice is to place a small piece of the skin of a white tiger at the highest point (ulun) of the rice fields. Although the results are dubious, this is widely practised in Piling in the belief, as the farmers bashfully explain, that the mice which are low-ranking animals are terrified by the white tiger who is the king (raja) of the animal world and will flee at the sight of his skin.

8. Padi taun is also the name of a variety of dry-land rice grown by the Iban which includes several types of rather slow-maturing rice which forms the bulk of the crop and is used for day to day eating (Freeman, 1970:188). On the east coast of Madagascar vary taona (the Malagasy equivalent of padi taun) is the name of a variety of wet rice which is grown from September/October to May/June (Tanaka, 1988:32).

9. This is typical of the decisions made through trance, which hardly ever deviate from the interests of the subak but instead seem to ratify the needs of the farmers at a particular time. Trance is a complex subject, the study of which is beyond the scope of the present thesis. However, it is worth noting that the attitude of the villagers toward trance is not one of blind faith. People tend to be skeptical of a trancer until he or she has been officially recognized by the desa adat and has undergone the rite of pawintenan and even then, trances are sometimes just not accepted by the temple congregation especially when they are not accompanied by some extraordinary feat such as rubbing burning coals or drawing the blade of a keris upon oneself. According to the balean desa, only about one-tenth of the words spoken by a trancer should be taken into account. Since the balean desa is about the only person to hear distinctly what is being said by the trancer, some selection in favour of what is thought relevant or advantageous for the temple congregation is made by him, from the start. In any case, although people may express serious doubts in private, the words spoken in trance have the quality of the sacred which no-one, even the governmental offices, would dare disregard. Hence, when the subak of Piling took the decision to withdraw from a program which was perceived as detrimental to the farmers' interests,
the trance provided an irrefutable argument to be presented to the Kantor Pertanian in Penebel who had no choice but to bow to the decision.


11. In Jatiluih, the fields are drained once every fourth season, on the basis of two kerta masa crops and one gagadon crop, organized as follows:

- **first kerta masa**: padi taun from December to June
- **first gagadon**: padi cicih or other fast growing variety suitable for the ecological conditions from July to November
- **second kerta masa**: padi taun
- **second gagadon**: palawija (leguminous) from July to November

Cows are allowed to graze in the rice fields for several weeks between each season. Apart from facilitating the ploughing by loosening the surface of the soil, leaving the cows inside the fields for some time enables the farmers to keep the level of chemical fertilizers down to a minimum, as cow manure provides one of the richest natural fertilizers for growing rice crops. The pekaseh who has been in office for the past sixteen years, claims that, by starving the population of mice and rice pests one season out of four, periodical draining keeps them down to a level where they do not endanger the welfare of the crop.

12. Generally the second crop is considered inferior and tasks such as the third weeding or rites such as byukukung can be omitted altogether or performed on a minor scale, so long as it does not disturb the general welfare of the crops at the level of the subak. This explains the apparent confusion reported by Hobart who writes that during the kertajmasa, "all work and ritual are coordinated in theory through the head of the association on pain of punishment", while during gagadon "each farmer is notionally free to decide his own schedule." (Hobart, 1978:57).

12. Ideally this rice should be padi gaga, however padi taun can do, as it is symbolically equal to padi gaga with which it shares the same length of growth and the same physiological characteristics. According to some farmers padi taun could be derived from dry-land rice which was adapted to irrigated conditions. Although unlikely, this is, strictly speaking, not impossible as some varieties of rice are known to grow either in dry or wet conditions. (Grist, 1975:189-90.) Grist writes that in some parts of Malaysia, rice planted as a dry crop may mature either as a dry or wetland crop depending upon whether or not floods are experienced, and no
clearcut morphological or physiological criteria are yet available to differentiate between dryland and wetland rice. *Padi gaga* is still grown in small quantities in exceptional circumstances. When opening a new rice-field it is customary to grow dry-land rice for several seasons before turning the field to irrigation as this is supposed to purify the soil and boost its fertility.

13. On the first day of work in the fields it is customary to start work in the fields (*ngendagin*) by digging the soil with the hoe for a number of times equal to the numerological value of the day, then to go home and begin again on the following day.

14. Cow's manure was used traditionally as fertilizer. Today, chemical fertilizer is bought wholesale by the *subak* in conjunction with the *banjar* cooperative, to be distributed to the farmers against cash payment or on credit.

15. Work in the fields is subject to certain taboos called *pamali*. On some days (especially *kajeng* in the three-day week (*trivara*) which is associated with ancestral values) it is forbidden to dig the soil or move stones from the field. Some stones are permanently marked as *pamali* and can never be moved. *Pamali* is personified as *buta pamali* which enters the body and causes illness. If someone infringes the taboo, he is entered by this *buta* (*pamalinan*) and, as a consequence, struck with an illness which felt as a vague pain or as if needles were being prodded in the back or the abdomen, a feeling of nausea and general weakness. The disease can be cured only with an offering of cooked rice and chili peppers. *Pamali* strikes different people at different times because it is related to the ancestors (a more cynical informant remarked that it is especially related to the *balean* who wants to earn easy money!). According to one Catholic informant, *Pan Sutia*, the Catholics have their own *pamali* day on Sunday because they belong to the *kawitan* of the Christ and must therefore abide by his laws. He himself works on that day but wears a cross and a rosary as a protection. The word *pamali* is found throughout Indonesia either in its radical form *pali* or with the infix *am* or *em*. Among the Batak of Sumatra it becomes *kemmali*, further away in Madagascar, *faly* or *fady*. The distinction made by Wilken about three groups of *pamali* are relevant to the understanding of *pamali* in Piling. According to him, *pamali* can refer to (1) things that are forbidden and illicit at all times and in all places, (2) things that are forbidden at certain times and on certain occasions, and (3) things forbidden in certain places. In addition some *pamali* apply to certain persons while others apply to a whole group of people without distinction (Wilken, 1893:597).

16. The *anggapan* is called also *ani-ani* in other parts of Bali.
17. At the end of the Catholic church service, the farmers receive holy water to take to their fields and pour into the soil at the highest point (ulun) of the fields, next to the water inlet.


19. Léontine Visser reports that planting the rice in Sahu is done to the sound of musical instruments. She also notes the importance of food and eating in the performance of the tasks involved with the cultivation of rice (Visser, 1989:66-7). We saw in the previous chapter that eating is generally correlated with an increase in vitality which is experienced as a feeling of well-being and strength both of which are qualities thought to be desirable for the growing crop. It would be easy to find a multitude of instances of such attitudes toward the welfare of the rice crops throughout South-East Asia. I shall cite here only two examples taken from countries which are situated on the extreme limit of the Indonesian world-view, in order to illustrate the continuity of beliefs in the symbolic value of rice throughout the Austronesian world. Among the dry-rice growing Tanala of the south-eastern coast of Madagascar, the planting operation is accompanied by a lavish meal of rice which must be eaten on longozó (amomum angustifolium, a species of cardamon plant) leaves in the traditional manner (Beaujard, 1983:512). Closer to Indonesia, Condominas notes the importance of food and drink used both for offerings and meals which are part of the agricultural practices of the Mnong Gar of Vietnam (Condominas, 1983:28-51).

20. The subak's involvement in the organization of the work teams for the harvesting of the crops reflects the changing conception of the role of the subak from an irrigation association concerned solely with the equitable distribution of water to an administrative body put together to implement at the level of the village, decisions originating from the regional Department of Agriculture (Kantor Pertanian) and the Subak Propinsi Tabanan. Credit for buying fertilizer and pesticides or for personal needs, is made available to the farmers through the Kredit Usaha Tani via the subak. They are presented to the farmers as "packages" offering free transport to carry rice to the town markets if the subak buys a given amount of chemicals (8 tons of fertilizers and pesticides at the beginning of 1987). In return the Kredit Usaha Tani undertakes to refund the costs of the chemicals to the farmers in the advent of a bad season. The Department of Agriculture recently began organizing inter-subak competitions based upon the highest yield obtained over a period of one year, or providing tailor-made schemes to supply fertilizer and pesticide to individual farmers through the medium of the subak. The subak of Rejasa, south of Piling won such a competition several years ago (Geriya et al., 1985) and when I left
Piling in January 1987, the subak was preparing to enter a similar competition during that same year. One negative consequence of these competitions has been to boost the farmers' incentive to raise their production of rice even further by increasing their use of fertilizer, leading to the deterioration of the fauna and flora of the fields and the neighbouring ponds.

21. It is widely accepted in anthropological circles that the subak is a totally independent association which can be divorced from the desa adat (see for instance Birkelbach, 1972:111 for a typical example of this view). This is not the case in Piling or in the neighbouring villages of the region of Gunung Batukau where the pattern of membership in the desa adat is practically identical with membership in the subak. Furthermore, the temples of the subak are included into the Kahyangan Adat, the agricultural rituals must be in accordance with the stipulations concerning the performance of rituals in the desa adat, which are set down in the awig-awig, they are performed by the balean desa and the pamangku of the desa adat as well as the pamangku subak, and they mobilize the ancestral deities who are worshipped as the protectors of the desa adat.

22. The goals, regulations and structural organization of the subak abian were compiled by the pekaseh subak abian, into two booklets which are made available to the farmers through the office of the pendesa of the desa dinas of Mengesta.
CHAPTER SIX

The Human Life Cycle and the Rites of Passage
In the previous chapters only the married adults in the active period of their life, on whom social duties and responsibilities are incumbent, were considered. However, this period constitutes only one of the three stages in the human life cycle. Marriage is the most important landmark in life, signalling the formal entry of the individual into the social community and the beginning of collective activities. Childhood and adolescence, adulthood, and middle age/old age correspond to the period before marriage, during marriage, and after the children are married. The transition from one stage to the next is marked by four important rites of passage which follow the evolution of the social self throughout the course of life. They are the three-month ceremony, the tooth-filing ceremony, the wedding ceremony and the funerals. The first three rites of passage prepare the individual for his social role while the last rite prepares the individual for his return to the ancestral realm.

The present chapter is devoted to the study of these four rites in the perspective of the gradual socialization and subsequent de-socialization of the conscious self. Owing to the complex nature of these rites which bring into question Balinese notions of personhood, it is necessary to consider, in successive order:

1. These notions of personhood in relation to the three stages of the life cycle and their correspondence with the evolution of the Kanda Mpat (or Kanda Pat), the four life-spirits who accompany
the individual from birth to death, and are indistinguishable from conscious existence.

2. The rites of passage presented in the form of an ethnographic description complemented by sequential tables giving the details of the ritual procedures and the offerings used during these procedures. Each table is followed by a brief commentary.

3. The role played by these rites in fitting the individual within his social environment at various stages in the course of his life. Two key elements of the rites of passage, i.e. the use of social space and of domestic and collective ancestral sources in the definition of social identity, will be analysed in this final section, particularly in relation to the consecration of tirta in the performance of each rite.

BALINESE NOTIONS OF PERSON

Stages in the Life Cycle

During the period of marriage which stretches over an average of twenty years, individuals are asked to be totally immersed into activities transcending their personal lives. Thus, not coincidentally, marriage corresponds also to the time when one is the furthest away from the ideal state of purity of the
ancestral realm and the self is experienced as scattered. These ideas are reflected in a statement given below, in which Pan Murya, a traditional healer (balean) of the village, presents the course of human life as a gradual division followed by an eventual return to the original state of unity.

When I was young I wanted to devote myself to the pursuit of spiritual knowledge and I did not want to marry but my father forced me to take a wife. I feel that being married has retarded me (in my mystical pursuits), but marriage is a necessary part of life. When we are born we are undivided, we are one; but at marriage we are divided into two, then into three or four when we have children. When the children are married we are back to two, then eventually when we prepare for death we are back to one again. At the moment I feel myself to be divided and I cannot meditate because my attention is taken by many other things, but when the children are gone I will go to the forest (to meditate) because the time will be right then.

In the perception of Pan Murya, childhood is conceived as a period of existential wholeness then, as one becomes progressively involved in the social world, a division of the self takes place, experienced firstly as the polarization of sexuality from puberty to marriage, then as a change of identity emphasizing the social function of the married couple, described here by recourse to the cultural shorthand of the four-fold division, followed later, with the birth of the grandchildren and the relinquishing of the social responsibilities, to a return to the original state of integrity. The developmental cycle of the human life forms a curve beginning with the downward journey of the newly-incarnated ancestral soul into the human world, culminating at its lowest point during adulthood and ending with the upward journey of the soul to the ancestral realm at death.\(^1\)
This developmental cycle is divided into three broad stages:

**Stage 1**

childhood and adolescence, corresponding to the humanization of the self and preparation of individuals for social life in the next stage.

**Stage 2**

adulthood and marriage, corresponding to the immersion of individuals into the social life of the village.

**Stage 3**

old age and death, corresponding to the gradual detachment of individuals from society and the depersonalization of the self.

Childhood is a state of pure innocence. The child does not yet know the ways of mankind and is allowed to grow like a young plant, nothing being asked of him but to be strong and healthy until the age of six or seven when he begins to go to school. Adolescence is a period for seeking one's inner
identity, a pursuit embodied in the cultural ideal of brahmacarya. Traditionally, puberty was the time when a father began to pass his own knowledge to his son so that, by the time the latter married and took over his father's functions and duties, the knowledge would have matured and ripened (matang) inside him. Until the establishment of primary schools in the next-door village of Mengesta, this was the only education received by the children of Piling. Today, adolescence has also become the time when young men leave the village to seek their fortune in the tourist spots of the lowlands, living a life-style entirely at odds with the village norms, until they are ready to return to the desa to marry a childhood friend or cousin and settle down to an existence in most ways similar to that of their parents.

Early in life, children learn to differentiate between public behaviour and private actions in order to combine their personal aspirations with the ideals imposed upon them by the normative village environment. The gap between private actions and public behaviour broadens throughout adult life as the pressure of social norms increases considerably with marriage which takes place nowadays around 23 -25 years of age for the men and 19 to 22 years for the women. Upon entering the village institutions, married couples leave the private sphere to enter the public domain. Because married life is the time when one is totally immersed in collective pursuits, it is also the time when one is the most exposed to public opinion and the most vulnerable to it. The young couple suddenly belongs to the community which, when necessary, can apply strong sanctions in the form of ruthless public opinion.
Marriage signals the entry into the active social phase because it corresponds to the period of procreation when one's attention is entirely devoted to pragmatic concerns such as providing for the family, ensuring the education of the children and the performance of the rites of passage. This is also the period when one is the most vigorous and able to carry out heavy tasks without too much fatigue. It is this combination of physical stamina and mature psychological make-up which makes adulthood and marriage the most suitable time to devote oneself to the management of the desa adat with its concomitant constraints expressed in social norms, in the sense given to them by Bott, of what others think is "morally right or at least expected and customary" (Bott, 1957:193). During this period, conformity to the cultural ideals of the "social man" which are embodied in the value of rukun is essential, but the thoughts and beliefs of an individual are never questioned. They belong to the domain of the private which does not endanger the welfare of the community unless, as was the case with the conversion to Christianity, they serve as motivating factors for public actions. Paradoxically, marriage is also the time when one can be the most outspoken, yet words need not correspond to private convictions. Speeches in meetings or even discussions in casual settings are littered with ready-made phrases expressing the highest of sentiments and the noblest of opinions which need not be taken at their face value but must nevertheless be articulated, providing as they do the necessary social lubricant to smooth out social relationships experienced by many as conflictive and frustrating. The
value of such "speech acts" lies in their social efficiency. They are played out in conformity with the norms, and thus they contribute to the maintenance of the ethos of the community. So much emphasis upon the public expression of social ideals can be explained only in function of a notion of person in which individuals are utilized by their institutions at least during one stage in their lives.

Old age by contrast is a period of rest and return to serenity when the pressure of social norms is gradually lifted from the individual. This period begins with the marriage of the children, in early middle age if one married young. After relinquishing their duties to the next generation, people can concentrate upon themselves until their death. Old age corresponds to the cultural ideal of matapa: renunciation and retirement from the hustle and bustle of society in order to recapture the original state of wholeness. It is the time when one is once again silent, but this is a silence born out of experience and wisdom rather than ignorance. Old people let the younger ones speak and dissipate their energies (makan angin, Ind.), convinced of the futility and fleetingness of things. They speak only when consulted for advice on delicate matters, being by virtue of their age and experience, the ones who are conversant with the rightful and proper way to act.

The critical periods in the main stages of the life cycle are punctuated by rites of passage whose purpose is to facilitate the transition from one stage to the other by transforming one aspect of the conscious self. These rites are netulanin or three-month ceremony performed when the child is three-month
old, masangih, the tooth-filing ceremony performed ideally at puberty but, in practice, any time from young adulthood to middle-age, masakapan or wedding ceremony and ngelanus, the funeral rites performed at death.

The rites of the life-cycle act upon one dimension of the person which is extremely important to the Balinese; it is the subtle body or sukmasarira, commonly called badan alus (Ind.) by everyone in the village including the ritual experts. The subtle body, together with the physical body (setulasarira) and the causal body (keranasarira) form the totality of the human self. While the causal body is, in the words of Pan Ludra a specialist in funerary rites (balean pengabenan) "a drop of light merely borrowed and returned at death", the physical and subtle bodies pertain to this world and are related to the Panca Maha Buta\(^3\), being the equivalent in the human microcosm (buana alit) of the the visible and tangible physical world (sekala) and the invisible, intangible but nevertheless real spiritual world (neskala) in the macrocosm of the natural environment (buana agung). According to the same informant, the rites of passage never deal with the soul which "cannot ever be sullied". By contrast, the subtle body which is connected to the Panca Maha Buta, instincts and consciousness, needs to be carefully domesticated and refined during life as it can ultimately affect the return of the soul to its origin at death.

The subtle body is also identified with the Kanda Mpat\(^4\), a complex concept basic to the understanding of the Balinese notions of person\(^5\). The Kanda Mpat are best known as the four
subtle "siblings" (nyama patpat) who accompany each Balinese from birth to death and, if well looked after, will care for their younger sibling throughout his existence, returning him at death to the ancestral abode. If neglected, they quickly forget about their sibling and can turn mercilessly against him, to harm him and eventually even kill him. Culturally expressed as four separate entities who can come in and out of the body, the Kanda Mpat are in fact indistinguishable from the conscious self and perception.

Although the rites of the human life cycle are centered mainly around the Kanda Mpat and the villagers are fully aware of their importance especially in relation to the development of the child, few people can tell much about the "four siblings" except that they share every moment of human existence. In order to appreciate the complexity of the Kanda Mpat, we must therefore leave temporarily the realm of common knowledge and turn to that of the specialists who deal personally with the Kanda Mpat during rituals, and thus have an intimate knowledge of their nature and characteristics. The account of the Kanda Mpat presented here was obtained mainly from Pan Sukeyastini, the balean desa in Piling. It does not come from any text but was communicated to me as a record of this informant's own experiences. Throughout my period of fieldwork, the topic of the Kanda Mpat became the subject of lengthy conversations between Pan Sukeyastini and myself in an effort to elucidate a practical knowledge developed, according to him, through mystical practices aimed at contacting and utilizing this power within himself. Like many Balinese today, Pan Sukeyastini has access to the cheap publications on the Kanda
Mpat sold in the libraries of the towns, which he uses as a memorandum for ordering his own experiences rather than as a source of knowledge. For him, the Kanda Mpat are part of his daily existence and his field of experience. When not within his body, they reside in a five-partite shrine built outside the entrance of his houseyard sanggah where they receive offerings each kelion day. The result of these conversations, supplemented by conversations with two of his own disciples, is given here, not as a definitive account of the Kanda Mpat but as a coherent system developed by one person in order to perform his priestly functions competently.

The Kanda Mpat and the Development of the Person

The Kanda Mpat are four life-spirits linked with the development of the conscious self, which are born with the person and disappear gradually after death. To be accurate, the Kanda Mpat appear during pregnancy, around or after the fifth month, a turning point in the development of the unborn baby since, after that time, pregnant women are forbidden to enter the Pura Dalem which would be polluted by their presence. At birth the Kanda Mpat accompany the baby out of the womb, in the form of the four appurtenances: the waters of birth (yeh nyom), blood (getih), the placenta (ari-ari) and the membrane sac (kelamad). After the umbilical cord is cut, the physical remains of the four siblings are buried outside the doorstep of the meten - on the right side for a boy and on the left for a girl - while the subtle aspect of the siblings returns to the four points of the compass.
where they are identified with the Panca Maha Buta. This is signalled by a change of name: yeh nyom becomes Si Anggapati and goes to the East, getih becomes Si Mrajapati and goes to the South, ari-ari becomes Si Banaspati and goes to the West, kelamad becomes Si Banaspati Raja and goes to the North. Under those names the Kanda Mpat are identified with the natural, chaotic forces at large in the universe. As one informant said to me "when they bear that name, you have no control over them". They no longer remember their duties to their younger sibling (sing nawang nyamane) and must be domesticated, i.e. humanized again. The newborn baby is unable to achieve this feat, depending entirely upon its mother until the third month in its life. If it falls ill during the first three months, the illness is caused by the ancestor who may not want to reincarnate after all and can be cured only by the mother's own fluids, her milk and saliva. If it dies nevertheless, it is buried in the infants' graveyard (setra bajangan) without any ceremony because, under three months of age, the child whose conscious ego is not yet developed still belongs to the realm of the ancestors. This graveyard is held to be one of the most sacred and magically powerful (angker) spots in Piling and is marked by a babaturan shrine. Water flowing from a spring located next to this shrine has powerful purifying properties. It is used for personal purification rites (panglukatan) and for the ritual bath of the effigy of the deceased in the second part of the funeral rites.

After three months, the four siblings return to the body of the baby who is now able to control them. Three months is the
age when the child begins to relate to its environment, develops an awareness of itself and starts to control the movements of its own limbs. It is around this time that the baby is scrutinized for the first signs of the emergence of the conscious ego, such as a smile, an effort to lift itself up or a keen interest in following movements in its immediate environment. The return of the four siblings is marked officially by the three-month ceremony. From then on and until death, they take up residence in the four vital organs of the body: Anggapti goes to the heart (papusuhan), Mrajapati to the liver (ati), Banaspati to the kidneys (ungsilan) and Banaspati Raja to the gall bladder (empedu). Their road in and out of the body is through the organs of sensory perception: the heart is connected to the mouth and to the sense of taste, the liver to the eyes and the sense of sight, the kidneys to the ears and the sense of hearing, and the gall bladder to the nose and the sense of smell. Thus, from the age of three months when the conscious self awakens until the time when the soul leaves the body in the last breath, the Kanda Mpat connect the microcosm of the human body with the macrocosm of the external world. Each pair of vital organ and sensory organ is associated with an element of base. The heart and the mouth are linked to the element of wind, the liver and the eyes to the element of fire, the kidneys and the ears to the element of earth and the gall bladder and the nose to the element of wind. Hence, through the combination of inner organ, organ of sensory perception and element of base, the individual is wholly immersed in the world in a manner which is graphically illustrated in the schema on the following page. The interaction between the
diagram 18.
two-way process of perception based upon
doctrine of Kanda Mpat
human body (buana alit) and the natural world (buana agung) gives rise to desires, urges and needs such as fear, hunger or thirst, sexual attraction, etc., originating from the vital organs of the inner body and fuelled by intake from the environment filtered via the organs of sensory perception. The information travels through the spinal cord from the navel to the "lontar tan petulis", the blank page (literally: the palm leaf without writing) in the area of the occipital bone, where every experience is inscribed during the course of human existence.

The "four siblings" are in fact five in number. The fifth kanda is located in the center. It is sometimes equated with the conscious self and at other times with the purusa in the sense of essential self and product of the other four kanda. The number of the Kanda Mpat does not always seem to be important to those who deal with them. Pan Sukeyastini confesses that in any case "one cannot be called without calling also all the others", although it is extremely important to retain the order in which they are called. For this reason when they are inside the body, the Kanda Mpat are given birth-order names: Wayan, Made, Nyoman, Ketut, the first Kanda being known as Ngurah, the Lord, because it governs the others. The siblings also have private names which change according to the aspect of their nature which is called upon. In fact, knowing how to call the Kanda Mpat by their appropriate names constitutes a major dimension of the skills of the practitioner.
In order to keep healthy, prosperous and safe throughout life, the *Kanda Mpat* should be kept under control by tending to them in certain circumstances when one's personal vitality is endangered. Each Balinese is taught to call upon his siblings when eating, bathing, coming to a cross-road, leaving the confines of the village, and generally in each situation where one has to face the unknown because these are times when one is most vulnerable to danger and must be particularly watchful. On these occasions the *Kanda Mpat* should be made to sit on the chest, the back, the right and the left shoulder to keep watch on potential enemies and eventually defeat them.

Unless one is particularly oriented toward mystical pursuits\textsuperscript{14}, these are the sole functions of the *Kanda Mpat* until death when they are required to dispatch the soul back to the ancestral abode\textsuperscript{15}. For those who like to deepen their knowledge of the *Kanda Mpat*, the "siblings" can be used as mediators between the supernatural and the human worlds. In this capacity they play a significant role in the liturgy of the temple priest. They can also be used for magical purposes or for healing by the specialist who treats them as a system of symbolic transformations in which each component can be a permutation of another or equated with the totality\textsuperscript{16}. Some of the equivalences in this system of classification which are specifically relevant to the village environment, are presented in the table on the following page.

Because the *Kanda Mpat* are intrinsically connected with the conscious self, the Balinese have a difficult and ambivalent relationship with them, being never quite able to reconcile
### Table of Correspondence of Kanda Pat with Other Elements of Balinese Cosmology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Manifesation as America</th>
<th>Temple of Desa Atat</th>
<th>Category of Land</th>
<th>Natural Elements</th>
<th>Colors</th>
<th>Points of the Compass</th>
<th>Elements of the Body</th>
<th>Directions of the Body</th>
<th>Vital Organ in Body</th>
<th>Apparatus of Birth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>America Sanjywani</td>
<td>Pura Ulun Suwi</td>
<td>irrigated fields</td>
<td>wind (bayu)</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>east</td>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>front</td>
<td>heart (papurwana)</td>
<td>amniotic fluid (yen nyom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>America Kamandalu</td>
<td>Pura Sada</td>
<td>forest, land and mountain land</td>
<td>fire (teja)</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>south</td>
<td>eyes</td>
<td>right side</td>
<td>liver (ari)</td>
<td>blood (getik)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>America Kundalini</td>
<td>Pura Puseh</td>
<td>residential land and gardens</td>
<td>earth (pretwi)</td>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>west</td>
<td>ears</td>
<td>back</td>
<td>kidneys/spleen (ari-ari)</td>
<td>placenta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>America Maha</td>
<td>Pura Dadem</td>
<td>water graves and ravines (apah)</td>
<td>water (apah)</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>north</td>
<td>nose</td>
<td>left side</td>
<td>nose</td>
<td>membrane sac (kelamad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>America Pawira</td>
<td>Bale Agung</td>
<td>other cross roads and ravines (pemapatan agung)</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>four</td>
<td>center</td>
<td>nerve channels</td>
<td>center</td>
<td>area of occipital bone (puseh)</td>
<td>umbilical cord (pungred)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 22**
themselves completely with what amounts to the instinctive aspect of their own nature. To some extent the Kanda Mpat can be said to represent a convenient way of disposing of the dimension of Balinese personality which cannot ever be brought entirely under societal control.

The psychological importance of the Kanda Mpat for the Balinese waxes and wanes in accordance with the course of life. They grow in strength as the child develops and enters adolescence, remain prominent in young adulthood during the period of procreation when personal vitality is at its peak, then their influence tends to weaken as one enters middle age and old age. As vitality decreases so do the passions and drives, so that the Kanda Mpat are eventually "dominated"\(^{17}\). In old age the gradual decrease of the prominence of the Kanda Mpat corresponds also to the progressive detachment of the person from all worldly ties.

![Diagram 17. Curve of prominence of Kanda Mpat through life](image)

At death, when the Kanda Mpat have fulfilled their ultimate function they gradually disintegrate over a period of three years, according to Pan Ludra, returning to the basic elements in the natural world unless they are purified and
returned to the ancestors residing in the kamulan shrine of the houseyard sanggah. In the opinion of this informant, the Kanda Mpat also constitute the spiritual link between the successive generations within an ancestral line and it is through them that the personality traits and physical characteristics of the forebears are inherited by their descendants.

THE RITES OF PASSAGE

The four rites of passage presented here illustrate the importance given to the Kanda Mpat in the psychological life of the Balinese. Whether the four siblings are directly acted upon in some of the rites, or are merely passive participants, they are always represented under one form or another either in the colour scheme of an offering or in offerings which are specifically designed to provide them with a temporary place of abode. The rites are studied in the sequence in which they occur in life, from the three-month ceremony to the tooth-filing/wedding ceremonies often performed concurrently in young adulthood, and finally the funeral rites at death.
Three-Month Ceremony

The purpose of the three-month ceremony is to promote the health and vigorous growth of the baby by securing the *Kanda Mpat* within its body\(^{18}\). At birth, a *banten dapetan panyambutan cenik* is placed next to the mother when the umbilical cord is cut to welcome the child and its siblings in the world. When the umbilical cord falls off, a small ceremony is performed with the *banten kepus udel pungsed*, and the mother and child are officially purified four or six days after the birth with the *banten pabersihan, biakaonan* and *prayascita\(^{19}\).*

The following is an account of a three-month ceremony performed on the 6th August 1986 (*Buda Kelion* falling on the eve of the new moon, according to the Balinese calendar), for the first born son of the *pamangku Pura Jero Tengah*. The ritual started early in the morning and was finished before lunch but the festivities lasted until the following morning. Guests from Piling and the neighbouring towns were entertained with a feast and a *joged* dance. In order to defray the costs of the ceremony, the young father sold his minibus and Piling lost its only public transport. The loss caused much consternation among office workers who relied upon the minibus to get to work each day, nevertheless the young father felt that the welfare of his son justified this harsh and rather unsocial decision.

The ritual was performed by the *balean desa* assisted by the child's grandmother who is a specialist in offerings\(^{20}\). Women
relatives from the *sanggah gede* and personal friends of the family had been helping out since the eve of the ceremony to prepare the offerings and the food to be served to the guests. For personal reasons, the family decided not to call upon *suka-duka* help, preferring instead to rely upon informal *ngajakang* help from relatives and friends. Nevertheless, many *banjar* residents sent an *ejotan* as usual, as a token of participation. On the morning of the ritual, the shrines of the houseyard *sanggah* were decorated with white, yellow and checkered (*poleng*) cloth and a large urn was set up in the *sanggah*, later to be filled with hot water for the baby's bath. A chicken skinned and roasted was placed upon a tray on top of the urn bearing the silver bracelets and anklets which would be put on the child's wrists and ankles.

The officiant arrived at 8 am and was immediately asked to sit down to drink coffee, while the women brought the sleeping baby ensconced in wraps. The ritual began at about 8.30 am. Having purified himself, the officiant went into the street outside the entrance of the houseyard where a group (*sorohan*) of offerings (*banten*), including a *segehan warna lima*, a *panyambutan gede* topped with a *peras penyeneng* and bearing four water-filled *wakul* (banana-leaf containers) for the siblings, had been made ready on the ground. The ritual was conducted in two places: firstly at the entrance of the houseyard, then inside the houseyard *sanggah*. 
1. At the Entrance of the Houseyard

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Procedure</th>
<th>Offerings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Disposing of the buta kala</td>
<td>segehan warna lima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Requesting the return of the Kanda Mpat from</td>
<td>panyambutan gede, peras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the Batara Dalem</td>
<td>penyeneng, 4 wakul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| table 23. first phase of the three-month ceremony |

After placating the chtonian spirits with the segehan warna lima (masegeh), the officiant addresses the deity of the Pura Dalem (Batara Dalem) to request that the four siblings be made to return and take charge of the child then, after some time has elapsed, ties the two tendrils of the penyeneng together - one for the Pura Dalem and the other for the road - as a signal that the Kanda Mpat have arrived. These are invited to descend (malinggih) into the four wakul which are then respectfully taken by the female assistant to the sanggah for the next stage of the ceremony.
### 2. In the Houseyard Sanggah

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Procedure</th>
<th>Offerings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>purification of the child and the parents</td>
<td>biakaonan, prayascita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>payment (upah) to buta kala</td>
<td>labaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>invitation to nymphs, ancestors and domestic gods to witness the ritual</td>
<td>padedarian, punjung, banten guling (only for this family) pengambian, sayut sari, taonan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>securing the Kanda Mp at in the tirta panyambutan child's body, first by fitting bracelets and anklets then by drinking tirta panyambutan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ritual bathing of the child, haircut and change of clothes touching the ground, closing the fontanelle with a silver cap</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paying homage to ancestors and deities (nyembah) followed by receiving tirta ulun banten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharing a symbolic meal with</td>
<td>punjung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the ancestors.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 24. Second phase of three-month ceremony**

Inside the sanggah, the wakul are placed upon the banten kurenan, an offering specifically reserved for the Kanda Mp at, and their contents are mixed together to become tirta panyambutan. After purifying the parents and the child and "paying off" the buta kala to make them leave, the officiant invites the ancestors of the houseyard, the celestial nymphs and the deities of the sanggah, to witness and ratify (nyaksiang) the impending ritual. Next, the officiant places the silver bracelets and anklets around the child's limbs then gives him a few drops of tirta panyambutan to drink. By these means the Kanda Mp at are now inside the body of the child and, to prevent them from leaving again, the fontanelle is closed with a small silver cap. Meanwhile, the urn is filled with warm water by the women of the houseyard, then the child is undressed and bathed by
his mother and grandmother. Small objects such as Chinese coins (pipis bolong) and plastic fish are floated in the urn for the child to catch, in the hope that what is caught today will be obtained easily by the child in the future.

By now wide awake and alert, the child is dressed in miniature adat clothing complete with yellow undergarments, a poleng cloth as a kain and a white overcloth. A miniature head-scarf (destar) is tied around his head and various necklaces including a locket containing the remains of the umbilical cord are placed around his neck as amulets to protect him against black magic, illness and accidents. Held by his mother, the child is then made to touch the ground three times while his grandmother holds a black stone next to him. The black stone is an object which accompanies the child throughout his life. For some it is a representation of the placenta, for others it is a symbol of strength, sturdiness and stability, qualities which the child is hoped to develop.

The three-month ceremony is the time when the first lock of hair is cut. This is done by the officiant, while the grandmother "buys" the lock by placing a Chinese coin on the offerings. The hair is placed into a yellow coconut (nyuh gading) then is buried behind the kamulan. This is the first of several hair and nail clippings and tooth-filings to be returned to the kamulan during the lifetime. In the past it was customary also to name the child at the occasion of this ceremony. This is no longer the case as children are given a name when they are entered in the register of the desa dinas, usually within one week of their birth.

Now that the child has officially been welcomed in the domestic environment of the houseyard, the time has come for him to pay homage for the first time (nyembah) to the ancestors and deities of the sanggah. He and his parents then receive tirta ulun banten consecrated by the officiant from tirta taken from the three shrines of the sanggah, the kamulan, the taksu and the tuguh, then they waft the essence of the offerings towards themselves (natab). Next, a symbolic meal is consumed in the sanggah by the family and the houseyard ancestors. This is the punjung, an offering used solely for non-cremated ancestors, to be shared by the participants at the end of all domestic rites. The ancestors eat the essence (sari) of the punjung and the family eats the food ingredients. A white thread is then placed around the right wrist of the baby (the left wrist for a girl), then it is given to eat a minute amount of lawar, cooked rice and fish from the punjung.
Tooth-Filing Ceremony

Tooth-filing is an important part of the socialization of the adolescent and his preparation to adulthood. Filing the six upper front teeth which symbolize the *sad ripu*, six passions: sexual desire (*kama*), greed (*loba*), anger (*kroda*), excess (in food and drink) (*mada*), confusion (*moha*) and jealousy (*matsarya*), is thought to refine the personality, bringing the adolescent out of the world of desires, instincts and passions associated with the animal world, into the human domain. Formerly children were not allowed to enter the temples of the *desa adat* before their teeth were filed, as they were considered too coarse and impure to be in contact with the divine\(^26\).

Tooth-filing should ideally be performed at puberty which signals the beginning of sexuality with its accompanying social constraints and gradual participation in life of the community, when the instincts and urges so important to physical development in early life, must be curbed to an acceptable level. When this is not possible, it should be performed before marriage, especially for men who are believed to have stronger passions than women. However, because of the cost, many parents wait until several of their children have reached adulthood and hold a tooth-filing ceremony for all of them at the same time, or try to hold the rite in conjunction with a wedding ceremony. Some married women do not have their teeth filed until several years after their marriage and only if their parents happen to hold the ceremony for one or several of their brothers. Eventually if someone
dies without having had his teeth filed, it is still possible to perform the ceremony on the corpse before proceeding with the usual funeral rites.

The tooth-filing ceremony described here took place on the day of Galungan (19th March 1986) in conjunction with a wedding ceremony, the groom having his teeth filed a few hours before getting married. Galungan was chosen because the ancestors visit their descendants on that occasion and can add their blessings to the festivities. The main part of the ceremony was performed in the bale dangin of the houseyard draped for the occasion with batik and ikat cloth. The balean desa officiated, seconded by a specialist in offerings and the mother and grandmother of the groom. Before the ceremony, the subject was presented to the houseyard ancestors in the domestic sanggah.

1. In the Houseyard Sanggah

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Procedure</th>
<th>Offerings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>purification of the subject</td>
<td>biakaonan, prayascita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calling the ancestors and gods Semara/Ratih to witness and requesting their help in giving efficacy to the ritual</td>
<td>punjung, pulagembal, suci, taonan bangun urip, peras, daksina, punia.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**table 25. first phase of tooth-filing ceremony**

2. In the Bale Dangin

After presenting the subject to the ancestors and deities invited to witness the ritual, the officiant moves to the bale dangin where a couch covered with
ikat cloth has been set up. Next to the couch is a table bearing a *panyambutan gede* and a tray where all the implements for filing have been set up. These include a gold ring set with a ruby, a mirror for checking the results, a piece of sugar cane (*tebu*), betel (*sirih*), a glass of water to rinse the mouth, a yellow coconut (*nyuh gading*), a black stone and a white stone, a length of white cloth, a handkerchief and the ingredients for *maurip-urip*: turmeric (*kunyit*), honey (*madu*), *arak* and *brem*. The subject, bare to the waist, lies down on the couch, then his mother covers him with the white cloth. During the whole procedure, both parents keep their hands on their son's body.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Procedure</th>
<th>Offerings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inviting the <em>Kanda Mpat</em> of the subject to attend the ritual</td>
<td><em>panyambutan gede</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>filing the teeth</td>
<td><em>nyuh gading, peras, ajuman,</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>followed by bringing the teeth alive (<em>maurip-urip</em>)</td>
<td><em>daksina, sirih</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>again after the operation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cutting hair on the forehead</td>
<td><em>nyuh gading, canang genten</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 26. Second phase of tooth-filing ceremony**

The officiant cleanses the teeth with sugar cane then files each tooth in turn, allowing the subject to check the results in a mirror from time to time. The filing stops when the subject declares himself to be satisfied. According to the officiant, the test of a good filing is when, after a few weeks or months, people feel that their personality has improved. If no improvement is experienced, it is possible to repeat the operation, several times if necessary.

After the six teeth have been evened out to an acceptable level, the officiant polishes them with the black stone and the white stone, then takes the ingredients for *maurip-urip* and brushes them over the teeth with a banyan leaf, in order to re-awaken the teeth spiritually "killed" by the filing operation. The subject is then asked to reintegrate his *Kanda Mpat* by chewing upon betel whose ingredients - the base leaf, chalk, tobacco and *pinang* nut - are widely used symbols for the *Kanda Mpat*, and the juice is spat into the yellow coconut.
After the filing, a lock of hair is cut on the forehead. Holding a canang genten in his hand, the officiant cuts a small lock which is placed together with the filings in the yellow coconut, to be buried later behind the kamulan shrine. Traditionally, the forelock should be allowed to grow long and women should not have their hair cut into a fringe until their teeth are filed, but these rules are no longer strictly followed.

3. At the River and in the Houseyard Sanggah

Accompanied by the officiant and the members of his family, the subject then goes to the river where he bathes naked before changing into new ceremonial clothing. Bathed and clothed afresh, the subject is then taken once more to the houseyard sanggah, to be presented to the ancestors and deities, ngatab, nyembah, and receive tirta panyangihan. The ceremony ends with the sharing of the punjung between the subject and his family.

Wedding Ceremony

The purpose of the wedding ceremony is to introduce the couple to their functions as spouse, parent and member of the various village institutions, and to legitimate their union in the eyes of the village community. The last point was particularly important in the past when it was the norm for a couple to run away and hide for several days (ngerorod: marriage by elopment) until the bride's parents officially gave their consent.

The wedding described here took place in the bridegroom's houseyard in Piling Kawan, on the day of Manis Galungan (16th October 1986). As the bride's parents now reside in Java, the bride was fetched from her paternal grandparents' houseyard, also in Piling Kawan. The ceremony was officiated by the
balean desa assisted by two specialists in offerings. The gamelan orchestra of Piling was hired to play for the whole day. Apart from the villagers, the list of guests included several families from Tabanan as well as schoolfriends of the bride and groom.

The wedding ceremony unfolds in six stages, starting with the reception of the in-coming spouse outside the houseyard, then in the sanggah of the houseyard where the bride and groom are initiated in their new married role. After a transition to the river for a bath and a change of clothes, the couple returns to the houseyard sanggah before the next stage in the sleeping quarters. The wedding ceremony ends on the front porch of the sleeping quarters, with the formal reception of the newly married couple in the village institutions.

1. Outside the Houseyard Entrance

Early on the morning of the wedding, the groom, accompanied by the officiant, the village gamelan, relatives and friends, goes to the houseyard of the bride's family to request formally from them the permission to take their daughter. When this is accorded, the ceremony of mapamit is performed in the sanggah and the bride takes leave of her own ancestors. Then, the procession returns to the groom's houseyard where the bride-to-be is welcomed outside the entrance by the officiant who performs an exorcistic rite with a segehan cacahan warna lima, before she is allowed to step inside the houseyard.

After her reception, the bride is taken inside the sleeping quarters (meten) to be dressed and made up by her sisters and female friends. She is brought out again to meet the groom outside the houseyard sanggah at the beginning of the wedding ceremony which starts shortly after 9.30 am.
2. In the Houseyard Sanggah

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Procedure</th>
<th>Offerings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>purification of the couple</td>
<td><em>biakaonan, prayascita</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calling the ancestors and the deities to witness</td>
<td><em>peras, ajuman, daksina, suci taonan</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preparation of the couple to the duties of spouse and parent</td>
<td><em>padengen-dengenan</em> consisting of <em>tegen-tegenan, sok padagangan, pengeliwetan, papegatan, kala sepata, tataban, bangun-urip</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second purification of couple</td>
<td><em>tetimpug, black chicken and black duck.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 27. Second Phase of Wedding Ceremony**

The officiant purifies the bride and groom with the *banten biakaonan* and *prayascita* and invites the ancestors of the houseyard and deities to witness the ceremony. Then the couple sit in front of the *banten padengen-dengenan* and are made to go through the gestures of the roles associated with married life:

1. The groom carries (*mamikul*) the *tegen-tegenan* consisting of a sugar cane stem and a *dadap* branch wrapped together with the meat of a young coconut, a hoe to which are hung a cooking pot on one end and a basket filled with 225 Chinese coins on the other.

2. The bride "sells" to her husband the contents of the *sok padagangan*, a basket filled with raw rice, spices and herbs, turmeric and taro roots.

3. The bride "cooks" and the couple "eat" together a meal made of the ingredients of the *pengeliwetan*, a basket containing cooked rice, spices, meat and leaves, mixed into the cooking pot carried by the groom.

4. The bride and groom walk three times anti-clockwise around the *papegatan*, two branches of *dadap* planted in the ground of the *sanggah* and joined together with a length of white thread. The bride then walks between the two branches and breaks the thread while the groom breaks a raw chicken egg under his right foot.
The ritual ends with one of the female assistants holding out the black chicken and black duck tied together to touch the couple three times on the forehead, the lips, the abdomen (the bride only) and the feet with the birds' beak.

The first part of the wedding ceremony now over, the couple accompanied by the officiant, the village gamelan and the family, go to the river to bathe and change into a set of new ceremonial clothes. The couple are brought back from the river in great pomp and are met at the entrance of the houseyard for an exorcistic rite with a cau petemon.

3. At the River and in the Houseyard Sanggah

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Procedure</th>
<th>Offerings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>presentation of couple to the houseyard ancestors and witnesses</td>
<td>tatabasan pawarangan, tataban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the couple pay homage to the ancestors and receives tirta masakapan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharing of symbolic meal between the couple and the ancestors</td>
<td>punjung</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 28. Third phase of wedding ceremony**

The couple now purified, bathed and dressed in new clothes, are presented once again to the ancestors and deities in a ritual called natab dapetan followed by nyembah and matirta with tirta made from tirta obtained at the kamulan, the sanggah gede and the Pura Puseh/Bale Agung. The ritual ends with the sharing of the punjung then the couple leave the sanggah for the room where they are to spend their wedding night.
4. Inside the Sleeping Quarters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Procedure</th>
<th>Offerings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>presentation of newly-married couple to the ancestors of the household</td>
<td>suci, sesayut, lelingian, split coconut, raw rice (baas)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**table 29. fourth phase of wedding ceremony**

In the nuptial room two lelingian, three dimensional male and female effigies about 2 meters tall, made of bundles (ikat) of padi, stand in front of a sesayut, a suci and a coconut split open with a branch of dadap planted in it. About 20 kg of baas is piled next to them. The couple are presented to the household ancestors, then are sprinkled with tirta.

5. In the Houseyard

The bride and groom come out into the houseyard to mingle with the guests for an hour or so, while the leaders of the banjar, desa dinas, desa adat, sanggah gede, subak and suka-duka, assemble in the houseyard to receive the newly married couple officially into their institutions. When they are all seated, each leader takes a turn in explaining the nature and purpose of his institution and the duties, privileges and rights of the couple who are about to enter it. The couple are formally welcomed as active members of the village and the officiant declares the wedding officially over. A meal shared between the village leaders and the bride and groom closes the ceremony.

Marriage is the last of the rites which prepare individuals for their social function. No further rites are performed until the moment of death.
Death Rites

The purpose of the death rites is to de-socialize and dehumanize the deceased in order to facilitate the return of the soul to the ancestral abode. This takes place in two stages. The physical remains are buried in the graveyard then the subtle body and the soul are returned to their respective origins, the first behind the kamulan in the houseyard sanggah and the second to a higher notion of ancestry in the sun (Surya). Death rites can be performed by the balean desa if necessary, but it is usual to enlist the expertise of one of the three specialists in funeral rites (balean pengabenan) who officiates, assisted by two specialists in offerings.

Preparation for the Funerals

When someone dies, the kulkul is sounded in long, easily recognizable drawn-out sounds. Immediately the whole desa adat is declared sebel until three days after the burial. No temple ritual may be performed during that time. The corpse is buried on the first propitious day after the death. Burials cannot be held on the day of the full moon as, on that day, ancestral amerta is believed to flow down to earth. Formerly, the funeral rites consisted of a simple burial ceremony known as nyuwasta which ended at the graveyard with the filling of the grave. Nowadays, the purificatory rite of ngerorasin has been added at the demand of the Parisada Hindu Dharma. However, in accordance with the local tradition which demands that the funeral rites should be completed within one day, ngerorasin is held after returning from the graveyard and finishes around midnight on the same
night. The burial ceremony and *ngerorasin* together are called *ngelanus*. The burial ceremony begins in the houseyard with the public bath of the corpse and its preparation for burial and ends in the graveyard after the coffin is closed and the grave is filled. *Ngerorasin* begins at the graveyard when the soul and spirit of the deceased are placed in an effigy to be taken home for a further purification and is performed in three stages: in the infants' graveyard for the ritual washing of the effigy, then in the houseyard where the effigy is cremated, and finally in the *sanggah* for the burial of the ashes behind the *kamulan*.

From the moment of death to the beginning of the funeral ceremony, the corpse is laid out in the front room of the *meten* with the head to the north. On a small table a full meal and the following *banten* : *nasi angkeb*, *punjung* and *bubuh pirata* are displayed. The meal is changed every day. The corpse should never be alone. Friends, relatives and acquaintances stream in, taking turns to sit by the corpse to chat, smoke and drink coffee and, at night, sing *kakawin* to keep evil spirits at bay.

The ceremony described here took place on *Redite Paing* in the *uku Sinta* (3rd August 1986). The deceased was an old woman from Piling Kawan whose family was too poor to afford an elaborate ceremony. Hence this is an account of a *nista*-type funeral for which the offerings are the least numerous. This choice was made deliberately in view of the complexity of the death rituals to avoid cluttering the description beyond what is strictly necessary. On the morning of the funeral two
platforms were erected in the houseyard, the first one (*pepaga*) in the middle of the yard to be used for the ritual bath of the corpse, and the second (*sanggah Surya*) next to the *sanggah*, for the consecration of offerings to the higher ancestors.

**Burial Ceremony**

1. Inside the Houseyard

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Procedure</th>
<th>Offerings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. At the Sanggah Surya:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purification of the officiant and the assistants</td>
<td>biakaonan and prayascita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>advice to the ancestors and request for the protection of the officiant and the assistants from chtonian spirits</td>
<td>3 nebus pitra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. At the Pepaga:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>washing of the corpse dressing it in adat clothes placing it in the coffin</td>
<td>implements for washing, canang genten, raw hen egg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3. At the Sanggah Surya:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purification and presentation of corpse to the ancestors in <em>sanggah Surya</em></td>
<td>banten diyus kelemigi, peras gede, daksina gede, daksina pajati, suci gebogan, daksina diwakul, 6 ketipat, tatebasan, sorohan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**table 30. first phase of burial**

The officiant and the two assistants purify themselves, then the officiant asks protection with the higher ancestors in the *sanggah Surya*, against the *buta kala* and other chtonian spirits particularly virulent in the vicinity of a corpse.
The body is brought out and laid upon the pepaga, on a bed of banana leaves. Above the pepaga a small length of white cloth is stretched between four posts. This is the rurub luhur inscribed with magical letters (surat kajang) representing the spirit and soul of the deceased. The corpse is uncovered and washed by the officiant and by relatives of the same sex as the deceased. The body is sprinkled with ordinary water then the face and hair are washed by the officiant who sleeks the hair back and ties it in a knot. The fingernails and toenails are pared with a knife, the thumbs are tied together with white string and the large toes with red string. Several grains of white rice scorched black are inserted inside the mouth, leaves are placed on the eyebrows and flowers on the eyes, then a canang genten is placed on the chest. The officiant takes a raw hen egg and rolls it over the corpse, throwing it on the ground by the feet. Tirta pengelemidian obtained from the kamulan shrines of the houseyard sanggah and the sanggah gede, and from the Pura Puseh/Bale Agung is poured over the corpse, several drops being inserted inside the mouth. Grains of raw rice soaked in perfumed water (bija) are placed on the forehead and inside the mouth.

The corpse is now ready for burial. It is dressed in a set of well-worn adat clothes favoured by the deceased during her life, then is wrapped in a white shroud, and rolled in a mat (tikeh) to be placed in the coffin lying on its left side so that the deceased's face will be turned to the east when it is in the grave. The rurub luhur is placed on the chest over the shroud and under the mat.

The coffin is placed on the wadah, a high-backed chair (padmasana) made of bamboo covered with white and yellow paper decorations and carried on a stretcher. The procession leaves the house in the following order: the young women of the family, carrying over their head, a length of white cloth attached to the wadah, walk in front, followed by the wadah which is carried on the shoulders of young men. Two sons of the deceased ride on it. The balean pengabenan walks behind, accompanied by a young boy who carries the puspa, a bamboo container filled with tirta from the Pura Dalem and decorated with fragrant flowers. One of the female assistants carries the effigy of the deceased (sekah). The family and friends come last with the village angklung. Upon coming to a cross-road, the wadah is rotated three times anti-clockwise. This, according to people, is to prevent the deceased from finding its way back to her house.
2. At the Graveyard

Before entering the graveyard, the procession stops at the entrance, next to the Mrajapati shrine where the officiant advises the Lord of the Graveyard of the arrival of the corpse with the offerings segehan warna lima and daksina ketipat. The procession then moves to the freshly dug grave for the second part of the burial ceremony.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Procedure</th>
<th>Offerings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. At the Grave :</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opening the coffin, pouring tirta from Pura Dalem over corpse, placing banten on corpse, closing coffing</td>
<td>nasi angkeb, bubuh pirata daksina pajati, rayunan, peras penyeneng, segehan warna lima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. At the Sanggah Cucuk and over the Grave :</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>placing a full meal next to the head of the grave</td>
<td>incense, sandalwood, one meal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>filling the grave</td>
<td>6 ketipat, saji ngebah, pengiriman telung tamas daksina diwakul, penyeneng segehan agung, peras cenik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>placing the soul and spirit of deceased in effigy</td>
<td>sekah, taonan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 31. Second Phase of Burial**

The coffin is lowered into the grave, then it is opened and the head of the corpse is cleared of its coverings. The officiant takes tirta from the Pura Dalem and pours it over the head and chest of the corpse, breaking the container afterwards at the feet of the corpse, inside the coffin. This sequence is called mapralina. One of the assistants places the nasi angkeb, bubuh pirata and daksina pajati on the corpse and the coffin is closed again. The grave is filled and a one-person portion (atanding) of a complete meal consisting of cooked rice, meat and vegetables, spices, coffee, bananas, cakes and cigarettes is left on the sanggah cucuk, a bamboo platform erected on the right side of the grave next to the head. This meal will be renewed each day for three days. Incense and sandalwood are burnt profusely. Three hollow bamboo stems (pawesan) are
dug into the grave, two at the head and one at the feet. Lit incense sticks are planted briefly into the grave then are taken up again by the officiant who places them on the head of the sekah, an effigy of the deceased made of woven palm fronds wrapped in yellow and white cloth and adorned with white frangipani, ilang-ilang blossoms and yellow flowers. The spirit and the soul of the deceased are believed to ride on the incense smoke. The effigy holds an arrow decorated at the tip with an upright flame cut out of white paper, representing the departing soul.

The wadah and the tools used to dig the grave are burnt in a corner of the graveyard, then the procession departs again, taking the sekah home for the next stage in the ceremony. Many people who have come for the burial go home at this stage, as the second part of the funerary rites is a private ceremony involving, apart from the suka-duka workers, only the members of the houseyard.

Ngerorasin

1. At the Infants' Graveyard

The procession assembles again at 4 pm and, still accompanied by the angklung, takes the sekah to the infants' graveyard for a ritual bath at the water spring located in the middle of that graveyard.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Procedure</th>
<th>Offerings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ritual bath of effigy of deceased</td>
<td>pengulapan, pengembian, suci gebogan, daksina diwakul, 6 ketipat, peras gede, sorohan segehan agung, pamepag, canang gental</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

table 32. first phase of ngerorasin
Upon arrival, the officiant takes the sekah's arrow, places it on a bow and makes the gesture of shooting the arrow into the water 3 times then proceeds with the ablutions of the sekah, using a tray with toilet implements similar to those used for the washing of the corpse. When this is over, the sekah is dressed in a set of new white and yellow clothes. The procession returns to the houseyard where the sekah is placed on a second temporary altar, the bale pengorasan, erected in front of the sanggah Surya.

2. In the Houseyard

The second stage of ngerorasin takes place in front of the sanggah Surya where the sekah is presented to the higher ancestors before being cremated. Then the family pays homage to the new purified ancestor and the objects used by the deceased during her lifetime are ritually destroyed.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Procedure</th>
<th>Offerings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>purification of officiant and assistants, address to ancestors to request protection from chtonian spirits</td>
<td>nebus pitra, biakaonan, prayascita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>presentation of sekah to higher ancestors</td>
<td>suci sari, tumpek kuning, punjung kuning, daksina diwakul, 6 ketipat, peras cenik, penyeneng, sayut agung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cremation of the sekah</td>
<td>ibu sugih, babangkit, tutuan, sayut pajegan, daksina diwakul, 6 ketipat, suci sari, tatebasan, daksina gede, canang genep, bubuh pirata, peras gede, jerimpen jaja, jerimpen sate, pengulapan, pengembian, punjing kapen, suci gebogan, penyeneng, tetrang daksina didulang, penganteban, segehan warna lima bangun urip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>destruction of social bonds between the deceased and the family</td>
<td>panyambutan lebeng/matah, gelar sanga, daksina didulang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 33. Second phase of ngerorasin**

The officiant purifies himself and his two assistants and, as earlier that morning, requests the protection of the ancestors from the chtonian spirits. In the meantime the sekah is adorned with objects such as jewelry and combs worn by the deceased during her life-time. The sekah is presented to the higher ancestors identified with the sun (Surya) in a rite called nangkid ke Surya, literally: putting the soul away to the sun. The banten ibu sugih consisting of a specimen of all the produce grown in the fields and of specific offerings symbolizing the deceased, accompanies the soul39. Nangkid ke Surya is the most important sequence in ngerorasin for which the assistance of all the members of the family is enlisted. The bale pengerorasan is covered with
three layers of canang genten made with flowers as fragrant as can possibly be found, incense is burnt profusely and, while the officiant endeavours mystically to lead the soul back to the ancestral abode, the family helps by wafting the essences and perfumes toward the sky. After the completion of this rite, the sekah is cremated and the ashes are collected inside a yellow coconut. With this symbolic cremation, the deceased, until then part of the dangerous intermediary world of as yet unpurified ancestors (pirata), enters into the realm of the benevolent purified ancestors (pitara) and can now be invoked for assistance. Hence the family pays homage (nyembah) to the new ancestor for the first time, ngatab and receives tirta pengroras in return. This sequence ends with the sharing of the punjung among the members of the family.

The next ritual is pepegat which consists in the destruction of the remaining bonds between the deceased and the family. The objects used by the deceased in the course of the daily activities are brought out. In this instance, they include the rice mortar and cooking utensils because the deceased is a woman. The family turns around the objects three times anti-clockwise. One of the children, a son, goes through the gestures of cooking a meal in the frying pan. The eldest child (this would be the husband if he were still alive) then takes the banten daksina didulang (a daksina laid out on a flat tray), places it onto his head and throws it over the back, then smashes the coconut of the daksina onto the ground. Throwing the daksina (an offering used as a stand-in for the human body) over the back signifies to everyone that the deceased now belongs to the past, while breaking the coconut (a symbol for the head) signifies that the last physical and psychological characteristics of the deceased have now ceased to exist.

By the time pepegat is over, the night is already advanced. As it is important to complete ngerorasin before midnight, the officiant and his assistants move to the houseyard sanggah for the final stage, the burial of the ashes of the sekah behind the kamulan.
3. In the Houseyard Sanggah

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Procedure</th>
<th>Offerings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>presentation of the ashes to ancestors of the kamulan</td>
<td>daksina diwakul, 6 ketipat, 6 warna lima, segehan, peras cenik, penyeneng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purification of the ashes</td>
<td>sorohan, sayut sari, sayut pabersihan, peras penyeneng daksina diwakul, 6 ketipat punjung kuning,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burial of ashes behind the kamulan</td>
<td>saji ngebah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exorcism of chtonian forces</td>
<td>pacaruan panca sanak, 6 sokan, 6 ketipat, 6 peras cenik, 12 punjung anggapan, daksina diwakul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>welcoming the newly-purified ancestor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 34. Third phase of ngerorasin**

In this last sequence the ashes of the deceased are returned to the kamulan shrine, the emplacement where the hair-cuttings and tooth-filings are buried. Like the imputrescible parts of the body such as hair, bones, teeth and nails, the sekah's ashes represent the essential components of the body and as such they should be returned to the ground behind the kamulan. After a preliminary purification, the ashes are formally presented to the ancestors of the kamulan, then they are buried in the soil behind the shrine. This is followed by an exorcistic rite for the guardians of the four points of the compass with a pacaruan panca sanak and the formal reception of the deceased into the ancestral body of the kamulan with a set of offerings celebrating the new ancestor as a source of life: the offerings are laid out in two groups of six, a number associated with fertility and prosperity. The twelve punjung anggapan named after the knife used for the harvest recall the local beliefs in the complementarity between rice and men.
The rites of passage mark the evolution of the conscious self through the social environment of the village during the course of human life. This evolution is correlated with an increasing complexity in the ritual procedures which mobilize a greater number of participants over a wider area of space as the individual is introduced to an ever-widening social environment. The rites are summarized on the next page in a comparative table in which the following points are brought out:

1. The rites of passage can be divided into two broad types corresponding to the Balinese's own cultural categories. The rites performed in early life until marriage prepare the individual for his social function in adulthood. They belong to the category of manusa yadnya (literally: human rites). The procedure is reversed in the death rites which amount to a discarding of social and human characteristics in preparation for the return to the ancestral body. The death rites belong to the category of pitra yadnya (literally: ancestral rites). A different category of ancestors is mobilized each time and this category is correlated with the social environment which the individual is about to enter.
purification of the officiant and his assistants, the ancestors and the deities relevant to the rituals are asked to come down into the sanggah to act as witnesses. This is followed by the performance of the ritual during which a dimension of the subject is acted upon and transformed. Next comes the transitional bath and change of clothing, then the subject is presented to the ancestral and divine witnesses for them to validate and legitimize the transformations. This is achieved in two sequences: through the absorption of tirta whose composition varies from one rite to the next, then by the sharing of a symbolic meal between the ancestors and the subject. In death rituals, whose purpose is to reverse the processus of humanization and socialization carried out in the first three rites, the corpse, then later the effigy of the deceased, is bathed and dressed before being acted upon by the officiant.

In the performance of the rites of passage, the officiant acts in the capacity of instrumental agency for carrying out procedures which must be legitimated by the ancestors and the local deities, in order for the rite to be successful. This is in accordance with deeply-seated Balinese beliefs that actions taking place in this world (sekala) can have no effect unless they are ratified in the spiritual world (neskala). As such no ritual can proceed without the presence of the divine witnesses who, after the officiant has performed the appropriate gestures, give their "seal of approval" during the last stage of the ritual. The concrete proof that the ritual has been successful is the white thread tied around the subject's wrist by the officiant, after the subject has wafted
the essence of the offerings in his own direction (ngatab) at the very end of the ceremony, but the divine witnesses intervene through tirta. Tirta used during the rites of passage is always mixed from several containers of tirta fetched from various shrines or temples of the Kahyangan Tiga which are of relevance to human affairs at a particular stage in the life cycle.

Two different kinds of tirta are used during the three-month ceremony. The first, called tirta panyambutan, is made from the waters containing the Kanda Mpat recalled from Batara Dalem at the beginning of the ceremony. Through its ingestion, the baby reinternalizes his four siblings who are then secured firmly inside the body with the bracelets and anklets. The second is called tirta ulun banten. It is mixed from water taken from the three shrines of the houseyard sanggah: the kamulan dedicated to the houseyard ancestors, the taksu dedicated to a mediating spirit between the human and divine worlds, and the tugu dedicated to the "owner of the space" (anake maduwe gumi), the spirit of the houseyard soil. A correlation can be made between those three shrines, the three dimensions of the Balinese universe (buana agung) and the three components of the person (buana alit):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shrine</th>
<th>Buana Agung</th>
<th>Buana Alit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tugu</td>
<td>natural world</td>
<td>physical body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taksu</td>
<td>human world</td>
<td>subtle body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamulan⁴³</td>
<td>divine world</td>
<td>causal body</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 36. Symbolic correspondence of shrines in houseyard sanggah
The ingestion of tirta ulun banten by the child at the end of the ceremony, bestows upon the newly-reincarnated soul its human identity and initiates the child's entry into the restricted world of the domestic houseyard, as a fully-fledged member of the family.

Unfortunately, the composition of tirta panyangihan consecrated at the occasion of the tooth-filing ceremony could not be ascertained. Tirta consecrated for the wedding ceremony is made from tirta obtained from the kamulan, the sanggah gede, and the Pura Puseh/Bale Agung, three ancestral sources anchoring individuals in the social context which they are about to enter in marriage: the kamulan symbolizes the domestic world of the houseyard, the sanggah gede the productive unit and the Pura Puseh/Bale Agung, the socio-political system determining access to basic rights and privileges.

At death, tirta is used to return the soul to the ancestors, in two distinct stages. After completion of the corpse's bath in the houseyard, the spirit and the soul are separated from the physical remains with tirta pengelemidian made from tirta obtained from the kamulan in the houseyard sanggah, from the sanggah gede and from the Pura Puseh/ Bale Agung. The composition of tirta pengelemidian is identical with tirta used at the end of the marriage ceremony because it is supposed to fulfil the same function, but in reverse. Marriage signals the entry of the individual into the social environment of the village community while death amounts to his exit. Hence tirta pengelemidian is used in the first
stage of the funerals to purify the deceased by separating the physical remains which are symbolic of the social person whom everyone knew from the spirit and the soul. The second tirta is taken from the beji at the Pura Papatí of the Pura Dalem and is poured on the corpse before closing the coffin in the grave to initiate the process of separation (mapralina) in the Pura Dalem which will eventually return the purified soul into the Pura Puseh. The composition of tirta pengroras consecrated during the performance of ngerorasin after the cremation of the deceased's effigy could not be ascertained.

The composition of each of the various tirta used in the rites of passage described above is summarized in the following table.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Rite</th>
<th>Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tirta panyambutan</td>
<td>three-month ceremony</td>
<td>four water containers in panyambutan gede set on the ground outside houseyard entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tirta ulun banten</td>
<td>three-month ceremony</td>
<td>tugu, taksu and kamulan shrines in houseyard sanggah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tirta masangih</td>
<td>tooth-filing ceremony</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tirta masakapan</td>
<td>wedding</td>
<td>kamulan in houseyard sanggah and in sanggah gede, Pura Puseh/Bale Agung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tirta makelemigian</td>
<td>burial</td>
<td>as above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tirta mapralina</td>
<td>burial</td>
<td>Pura Dalem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tirta pengroras</td>
<td>ngerorasin</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 37. Sources of tirta for use in rites of passage**

**Utilization of Space in the Rites of Passage**

The various locations where the rites of passage are performed reflect the evolution of individuals from birth to death, through the social space of the village environment. In the three-month ceremony the person enters the domestic space of the houseyard which will remain the prime universe of intersubjectivity throughout the whole duration of human existence. Hence, after recalling the Kanda Mpat from the chaotic wilderness outside, the ritual is entirely performed inside the sanggah which is an idealized version of the
houseyard and its occupants. Later, the tooth-filing ceremony whose purpose is to curb the natural instincts in order to develop the sociability of the adolescents or the young adults, is performed in the bale dangin, the place where most social interactions in the houseyard, take place. Marriage prepares the young couple for several functions; thus, the ceremony takes them through a complex route from the houseyard sanggah where they learn their roles of spouse and parent to the sleeping quarters to celebrate the procreative function of marriage and finally outside in the houseyard for their formal introduction into the village institutions.

The journey taken at death starts from the private world of the sleeping quarters where the corpse lies during the wake to the semi-public domain of the houseyard where it is bathed in front of an audience made up of the members of the banjar before being returned to the collective space of the graveyard of the desa adat. The desocializing process of the burial ceremony is followed in the second part of the ritual by the destruction of the remaining earthly bonds between the deceased and the family of the houseyard and the redistribution of the social role of the decased to the next generation. After the cremation of the sekah, the domestic objects used by the deceased are broken. The separation of the dead from the living ends with the burial of the sekah's ashes behind the kamulan in the houseyard sanggah, the point where social existence began in the three-month ceremony.

Each step in the passage of the individual from one social space to the next is marked by a transitional bath symbolizing
death in the old status and rebirth in the new one. The bath is always accompanied by a change of clothing. The location where the bath is taken is as important as the type of clothes worn subsequently. They differ for each rite and are summarized in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rite</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Change of Clothing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>three-month ceremony</td>
<td>houseyard</td>
<td>from swaddling to miniature new set of adat clothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sanggah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tooth-filing ceremony</td>
<td>river</td>
<td>from previously worn clothing to new set of adat clothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wedding ceremony</td>
<td>river</td>
<td>from previously worn adat clothing to new set of ceremonial adat clothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burial</td>
<td>houseyard</td>
<td>from shroud to previously worn set of adat clothing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 38. Location of ritual bath and change of clothing in rites of passage

The first ritual bath is taken in the pure environment of the houseyard *sanggah* because the child is not yet polluted by contact with the human world. After this bath the child is dressed in a set of adat clothing, the first of many adat clothes which will be worn by him throughout his life. This rite signals his formal entry into human society. The bath held at the occasion of the tooth-filing and the wedding ceremonies takes place at the river, a body of water which is symbolically equated with the sea with which it is believed...
to share the same purifying properties. In both ceremonies, the clothes worn after the bath must be of the sort referred to as *adat Bali* i.e. *ikat* and *songket* cloth for the main clothes (*kamben*), the shoulders being left bare and the chest covered with a tightly wound cloth. Traditionally *batik* should not be worn, perhaps because of its association with the Javanese. The clothes worn by the subject for the first part of the ritual are discarded and must not be worn by him again or by anyone who has undergone the same rite, but they may be given to a younger sibling, relative or friend.

At death, the last bath is held in the domestic environment of the houseyard, the place where most social intercourse is held during lifetime, in presence of a large public made up of relatives, friends and co-residents of the village. The bath signals that social relations with the deceased are brought to a stop and this is further underlined by the ritual closure of the body. The eyes and the mouth are covered with leaves and flowers; the hands and the feet are tied together, effectively shutting out the outside world and thus cutting off all possibilities of communication between the deceased and the social group left being. This time the body is clothed in previously worn garments with which the person was identified during life. Since these clothes are the main signifier of the social identity of the deceased, it is fitting that they should accompany the corpse in the grave.
Ritual Sharing of Food

One of the main functions of food eaten during the rites of passage is to break down the barriers between the human and divine worlds. Every rite ends with the sharing of a meal between the ancestors and the human participants. This meal is the punjung, an offering reserved specifically for non-cremated ancestors which, in most places in Bali, is used exclusively for funeral rites. In Piling however, the punjung is included in the list of offerings in all rituals where the ancestors must be contacted. The punjung consists of cooked rice, roasted meat, shredded vegetables and spices, bananas and cakes, placed on a tray (dulang) and topped with a sampian made of woven palm fronds, containing a white thread wrapped inside a small parcel made of palm frond. After partaking of tirta the subject eats some of the food from the punjung, the ancestors having previously helped themselves to its essence (sari). Sometimes his parents and siblings may join him. This sharing of food to punctuate a ritual recalls the communal feasts (slametan) held in Java for "almost any occurrence one wishes to celebrate, ameliorate, or sanctify" (Geertz, 1960:11). Like other communal feasts, eating the punjung promotes a feeling of togetherness between the human participants and the ancestors and ratifies the good disposition of these ancestors towards their descendants. The punjung is not simply a meal, however. It is used primarily to contact the uncremated ancestors and serves as a temporarily place of abode for them for the duration of the ritual. Like many other Balinese offerings, it is used as food and to provide, for a short while, substantial
characteristics for supernatural beings who are, by definition, devoid of any.

That the punjung is more than merely a meal is evidenced by the fact that the ingredients can change according to specific occasions. For instance, the punjung used in the last stage of ngerorasin when the ashes of the sekah are being buried behind the kamulan is called punjung kuning because of the colour of the ingredients used in it: egg fried without oil (teluh dadar), cooked rice dyed yellow (tumpeng kuning), beans and roasted peanuts (kacang-kacangan) and grated coconut mixed with turmeric (saur kuning). Yellow is the colour of recently dead forebears who are still close to the human world. The punjung kuning is used exclusively for death rites and, by the members of the Pasek kawitan groups only, as an offering presented to the ancestors on the day of Kuningan.

The main purpose of food is to make the transition from the ancestral realm to the human world. We saw earlier that eating is the prerogative of human beings to the extent that reincarnation is often phrased in terms of the ancestor looking for food. As such food can be used ritually to announce that the reincarnating soul is now a fully fledged member of the human world during the three-month ceremony when the child is given a minute amount of the punjung to eat, for instance. Apart from the watery rice-porridge (bubuh) which is given to newborn babies, a food which must be fitted into a category of its own as one of the purest of the panoply of foods eaten by human beings and is closest to the concept of amerta; this is the first time the child eats solid food.
Eating from the *punjung* is correlated with the acquisition of human characteristics by the child after the internalization of its *Kanda Mpat* and paradoxically, the sharing of the *punjung* which is usually a communion with the ancestors, in this instance also distances the child from the ancestral realm that it recently departed. Symbolically brought down into the realm of the earth by making him touch the ground three times, through the action of eating solid food the child is irreversibly anchored into the human world.

Food is used primarily for its social value, in the wedding ceremony. Sociability is a valuable human characteristic which, in the environment of the village, is expressed mostly in terms of cooking and eating together. This is carried out during the ritual of *padengen-dengenan* when the bride and groom are taught to perform the tasks incumbent on their role in the domestic household: the husband tills the earth and provides food and money for his family while the wife cooks and sells the produce of the land. They go through the gestures of eating from the same dish, an important symbol of equality and identity, signifying that from now on the husband and the wife form a single unit.

Cooking for the family is one of the fundamental roles of the woman. At death, this is passed on to the next generation. Hence during *pepegat* held after the cremation of the *sekah* in the second part of the funeral rites, one of the children takes over the mother's role by going through the gestures of cooking a meal in the frying pan belonging to the deceased. As with the wedding ceremony, the emphasis is placed upon the
gestures rather than on the food which is neither cooked nor eaten because it is the relation of commensality created by cooking rather than the food itself, which is of importance in this instance.

In summary, we can say that the rites of passage are concerned purely with the development of the social self. Their purpose is to facilitate the transition from one stage in the life cycle to the next by acting specifically upon the dimension of the conscious personality which is mobilized in the social interactions inherent to each stage. This dimension of the person is linked to the notion of vitality and vital force expressed culturally as the *Kanda Mpat*. This shows that the Balinese notion of person is founded upon the irreducible dichotomy between what may be termed the "private dimension of the self" which is linked to genealogical and spiritual identity and is of little relevance to social interactions, and the "public dimension of the self" which is mobilized consistently in social interactions and collective pursuits during the course of human existence. This dichotomy is evidenced in the use of birth-order names and teknonyms whose effect is to bring to the fore the public aspect of the personality to the detriment of the personal name which is linked to the notion of essential self and private identity, and as such remains carefully concealed from others.

As the previous chapters have shown, Balinese social identity is derived from many sources which include, apart from the family, the socio-historical context and some features of the physical environment. The rice grown upon the ancestral land
constitutes one of the most important elements of this identity. This is expressed in the set of complex beliefs surrounding its cultivation and the performance of rituals accompanying the development of the crops in the fields which form the topic of the next chapter.
1. See also Hobart for similar ideas about the progression of human life in a downward curve from a state of initial purity before birth to a state of increasing pollution as the child reaches puberty. Pollution is most intense during the years of procreation and is followed by a gradual return to the state of purity (Hobart, 1978:15-6). According to Hobart there is a temporary return to intense pollution at death; however, according to my own findings, this pollution touches the members of the social environment of the deceased and the corpse which is now an empty shell. The purificatory rites which follow the disposal of the corpse, consist in freeing the soul from the last substantial remains keeping it earthbound in order to facilitate its return to the ancestral abode. The opposition between purification/discarding of substance/return to essence, and pollution/acquisition of substance/distancing from essential state, a characteristic trait of Austronesian societies, is fundamental to the Balinese conceptions of human existence which consist of a gradual acquisition then discarding of substance as one moves from childhood to adulthood and old age.

2. The spiritual tradition of Piling is founded upon several esoteric doctrines known as agama which are taught to a few, carefully selected initiates by experts known as guru under the seal of secret. For average folk however, religious knowledge is essentially practical and consists mainly in the acquisition of manual skills to carry out tasks such as weaving and preparing offerings, cooking, decorating etc., needed for the preparation of rituals. Private beliefs do not enter into play as they are not relevant to this type of participation which comes under the domain of adat. At first, Protestantism and Catholicism were viewed as yet another type of esoteric agama and the converts were treated with the respect given to initiates, being seated on raised platforms, etc... It is only when the converts stopped participating in the preparation of the rituals that problems developed, as they were then perceived to be unsocial for not helping others, ungrateful for not thanking the ancestors and deities for the benefits bestowed upon them, and as such altogether unfit for life in the desa adat.

3. The idea that the soul is inseparable from the physical body and is linked to the natural elements of base is not specific to Bali but is widely found throughout Indonesia (cf. Cuisinier, 1951:202).

4. It is probable that the Kanda Mpat as they are known today are the product of the syncretization of early Indonesian beliefs and Buddhist doctrines introduced at a later date. The Kanda Mpat are mentioned in ancient Ceylonese Buddhist texts where, as the rupa-khanda, they are connected to vitality (cf. for instance Spence-Hardy, 1967:402). Beliefs in vital spirits perceived as spiritual siblings residing inside the human body are not peculiar to Bali. According to Danandjaja, they are also found in Central and East Java, and in Aceh (Danandjaja, 1980:473). These spirits are also part of the cultural tradition of many south-east Asian populations such as the Thai and the Muong (Cuisinier, 1951). Moreover, the belief in the siblingship between the child and its placenta is characteristically Austronesian. In Tahiti, a
tree planted on the spot where the placenta is buried becomes the brother of the person (Ottino, personal communication) and in Madagascar another name for the placenta (tavony) is elder brother (zokinjaza) (cf. Weber, 1853:797 and Molet, 1979:37). It is worth noting that among the Betsileo, one of the most conservative Austronesian groups of Madagascar, the placenta is known as razan-jaza: the ancestors of the child (Rainihifina, 1975:40). This is similar to ideas found among some of my informants in Bali for whom there is a conceptual link between the placenta, the immediate ancestors, the kidneys and the parental semen.

5. The Kanda Mpat also constitute a conceptual grid by means of which the whole universe can be ordered and understood. A similar system is also found in Java (cf. Headley, 1987). An exhaustive study of the Kanda Mpat, which remains to be done, would prove eminently profitable to our understanding of the Balinese psyche. They are mostly studied in the context of traditional medicine (cf. Weck (1937) probably the most complete and best-known account of Balinese healing, also Connor (unpubl. 1982) and Lovric (unpubl. 1988) and through several Balinese creation myths (cf. Hooykaas (1974) for a philological study of the texts pertaining to the Kanda Mpat). One author (Mershon, 1971) studied the Kanda Mpat in relation to the rites of passage, showing that they are present in each rite (seven rites in Sanur, the part of Bali where Mershon resided). Until now, however, the Kanda Mpat have been examined purely from a ritual and a magical perspective, their psychological importance in the development of the personality remaining largely unstudied, except for Dananjaja who studied the Kanda Mpat as an integral part of the social existence and psychological make-up of the Trunyanese, in a village where beliefs in the four siblings are still particularly strong (Dananjaja, 1980:esp. 2nd part).

6. Although few people have access to the knowledge of the specialist which is by definition restricted to a few selected individuals only, there is a continuity between this type of knowledge and common knowledge, with the difference that the knowledge of the specialist tends to be reflective and can be articulated, if necessary, into a coherent system. This is particularly true of the village guru who must teach their knowledge to other people. Common knowledge on the other hand is essentially practical, not being concerned with ideas in themselves but in the performance of tasks where these ideas are concretely expressed. This is the reason why, for instance, women know exactly the right order, composition, combination of textures, colours and forms of the offerings but are unable to articulate the underlying principles governing these.

7. Kelion is the fifth day of the five-day week or Pancawara which consists of Umanis, Pon, Paing, Wage and Kelion. The pancawara is symbolically linked to the points of the compass, each day being attributed a value in accordance with its position on the compass: Umanis is located on the East, with the colour white and a numerological value of 5, Pon with the South and 9, Paing with the West and 7, Wage with the North and 4, and Kelion with the center and 8.

8. According to local norms, the disciples of a guru must not
divulge any of the knowledge which is handed to them by their guru nor should they discuss their experiences with a third party, unless they are explicitly given permission to do so by the guru. The conversations which took place between myself and Pan Sukeyastini's disciples were arranged by him and held in his presence but the meetings were neither formal nor stilted. In fact, when people felt free to discuss the Kanda Mpat, I found that they very much enjoyed the subject and were rather more voluble than reserved. Both disciples were studying with Pan Sukeyastini, mainly for the purpose of learning how to consecrate offerings (mabanten) in order to be able to perform their domestic rites themselves and eventually, all going well, to become traditional healers (balean).

9. While it is beyond the scope of the chapter to describe in details the development of the embryo each month, it is nevertheless important to note that the fifth month is a crucial time in the pregnancy, marking the transition of the embryo from potential being to fully fledged, physically complete human child. During the fifth month, the union of the sky and the earth and the union of the microcosm (buana alit) and macrocosm (buana agung) takes place, resulting in the development of the Panca Maha Buta into a body of flesh and bones. A comparative study of the texts where this information is available is found in Hooykaas' book on Cosmogony and Creation in Balinese Tradition (Hooykaas, 1974:ch.4).

10. At this level of reincarnation, the ancestor directly affects the physical appearance of the child. The newborn baby is scrutinized for any mark or spot (tompel) which may recall those of a recently deceased relative. It is thought that a child born without any marking at all is like an empty shell and will not be able to live very long. Pan Murya, my informant on this matter, once had a baby boy who was born unmarked and died six months later of chickenpox.

11. According to some people, it is possible to perform the three-month ceremony several times during the lifetime if it is necessary to increase the vital strength of a person after an illness or accident. Such performance appears to be extremely rare today and I could not find anyone who had witnessed it personally, however there is a strong possibility that the performance of the "three-month ceremony" at various stages of life may have been part of the ritual practices of the past.

12. In fact ungsilan refers to the spleen and the kidneys which tend to be fused into a single organ in the local conceptions of human physiology. As the villagers generally have a good knowledge of anatomy which is largely derived from their observations of the innards of the pigs slaughtered at the occasion of rituals, this confusion is rather surprising. I have sometimes suspected that the four vital organs mentioned as the seat of the Kanda Mpat within the body refer to subtle organs which are only contingently associated with the physical organs.

13. The navel soul is an important component of the person in the Indonesian tradition. Among the Toraja, it is called
angga mpoese and comes from the placenta. The angga mpoese presents striking similarities with the kanda Mpat who must also be united in the navel in order to be utilized constructively. It accompanies the individual from birth to death and remains in close contact with him. Food is given to it at the door when the person eats, and it is supposed to warn from danger, protect against magic, sleep next to his owner and, generally it "sees to it that a person does not reach the end of his life for a reason that was not decided on at his birth." (Adriani and Kruyt, 1950:410-11). A comparative study of the notions of life spirit, sumangat and soul throughout Indonesia would throw much light upon the complex topic of the Kanda Mpat in Bali.

14. As far as I could judge, the doctrine of the Kanda Mpat makes up a large part of the mystical doctrines (agama) of Piling. In Agama Wakia, the most popular of these doctrines, which is taught by Pan Sukeyastini, the initiate progresses in seven stages. At first, he learns to "feel" (rasa) the mystical markings (sastra jendra saspasupati) disseminated over various parts of his body. These markings are related to the surat kajeng but are not identical with them. In the second stage the initiate learns to master his Kanda Mpat until he can draw them in and out of his body at will. Until he is fluent in this exercise, he will not progress any further. Before moving to the third stage, the initiate must build a shrine to his Kanda Mpat in his houseyard or inside the houseyard sanggah. This is used to "put away" the siblings when necessary. In the third, fourth, fifth and sixth stages the initiate learns to return to certain ancestral "sources" known as Dalem which are located in the vital organs of the body. These are the Dalem Kahyangan and the Sad-Kahyangan, the Dalem Tungkub, the Dalem Nusa and the Dalem Belingkang. In the seventh stage the initiate is finally taught to merge with the sunya or sunyata, the state of ultimate nothingness. This progression should be paralleled with the development of the initiate's supernatural powers including the ability to heal others, and each stage is accompanied by specific rituals requiring an ever-increasing number of banten. In the seventh stage however, the initiate should have ideally reached the point where he is beyond the illusions and ties of this world and should no longer require the help of any banten. According to Pan Sukeyastini this is the stage when the many dewa, dewata, buta kala and other spirits dissolve altogether. From a psychological perspective Agama Wakia can be interpreted as a journey into oneself, including the subconscious and inconscious, and culminating into the total knowledge and domination of all aspects of one's own nature. It is highly probable that Agama Wakia, which I believe to be more or less similar to the other local agama except for a few minor variations, is strongly impregnated with Buddhist ideals pertaining to the Tantric Buddhism which found many adepts in Java and Bali. Some of the other agama taught in Piling include agama Ratu Ibuh, agama Boda, agama Surya, agama Kala etc... When I enquired about the various agama with the staff of the Gedung Kertya in Singaraja no one could find any reference to them, yet their teachings do not appear to be fundamentally different from the beliefs found in popular Balinese religion. The Dalem, whose meaning is somewhat obscure, may refer to old Balinese kingdoms with which the
The area of Gunung Batukau could have entertained relations in the past.

15. cf. C. Hooykaas, 1974:24, n.51 for similar remarks about the role of the Kanda Mpat in the person's life.

16. The Kanda Mpat are also conspicuous in many offerings. For instance, a fairly pure (suci) aspect of their nature is represented in the following ketipat: ketipat dampul standing for the first kanda, ketipat galeng for the second, ketipat gangsa for the third, ketipat gong for the fourth and ketipat lepet for the fifth. They are also present in a chtonian form, in the varicoloured mounds of rice of the segehan warna lima. The banten kurenan is specifically designed to contact them, as is the banten nyambutin used in some agricultural rites for the rice as well as in the human rites of passage. Colours, numbers and textures can be used to suggest one aspect of their multi-faceted nature in any given offering. The banten ajuman is used by the officiating priest to contact a specific Kanda if necessary. This banten consists of one plate full of rice set upside down, topped with one ketipat made in the shape of the Kanda who is to be contacted and a sampian (woven palm-frond shape used to finish off many offerings). The ajuman is less and less often used in public rituals nowadays but it is not unusual for a conservative village balean to request that it should be added in a domestic ritual.

17. Because of this, middle age and old age are also periods when the talents for magic are most likely to be successfully developed. Since the Kanda Mpat are a permanent extension of the personality enabling one to cross between two universes of reality, the personality of the individual determines to a large extent the kind (or rather the direction: pengiwa to the left, pengenen to the right) of magic which is practised.

18. So important is this rite for the welfare of the child that it is still performed among the Catholics. In this version of netulanin, the ceremony is held in the houseyard and is officiated by the priest or by one of the dewan gereja. Holy water is fetched from the church and the child is blessed with it then the bracelets and anklets are secured to its limbs while the family joins in prayer. However the Catholics are not aware of the connection between the three-month ceremony and the Kanda Mpat. When asked about their reasons for holding this rite, they usually reply that it is part of "adat Bali".

19. An additional small rite is also performed on the first birthday (otonan) falling on a full moon or a dark moon. This is called nebusin oton or nyampet oton and is designed to close a "hole" left in the body of the child at birth. The place of this hole varies according to the day of the birth in the seven-day week (saptawara). They are as follows: the breast if the child is born on Sunday, the tip of the fingers of the left hand if he is born on Monday, the diaphragm if the birth takes place on Tuesday, the navel for Wednesday, the armpits for Thursday, both forearms for Friday and the collarbones for Saturday. According to the local beliefs, illness enters and the life energy (bayu) of the person leaves the body through this hole unless it is closed by the
application of a medicinal oil made with the oil of a yellow coconut and Tribulus oil consisting of turtle oil, the oil of a bird called burung bulusan and coconut oil mixed together. The ceremony takes place in the front room of the sleeping quarters facing east and the officiant addresses himself to the ancestors of the houseyard.

20. The success of a ritual depends almost entirely upon the skills of the officiant. To this effect, a banten taksu consisting of one and a half kilogram of raw rice (baas), incense, a canang sari and money for the fee of the officiant, is delivered to his house on the eve of the ceremony by a female member of the houseyard where the ritual is to be held. Before leaving the following morning, the officiant goes to the taksu shrine of his houseyard sanggah and consecrates this offering, asking for power and efficacy in performing the rite.

21. The fact that the Kanda Mpæ are recalled from offerings set upon the ground shows their chthonian nature, at least at this stage of the evolution of the self.

22. The performance of the three-month ceremony can widely vary according to the region and the caste of the family. The reader is referred to Jacoba Hooykaas' article on the changeling in Bali, for an account of this rite as it is performed among the high-caste Balinese (J. Hooykaas, 1960:424-36). In Trunyan, the Kanda Mpæ are recalled at the occasion of the first otonan (six-month ceremony), although the ritual bath and change of clothing into traditional clothes takes place during the three-month ceremony (Danandjaja, 1980:481-5).

23. cf. also K. Mershon (1971:57) for similar comments about the purpose of the banten kurenan which she defines as the "gathering together of the four Brothers".

24. See also Chapter Eight for the importance of distancing the buta kala in temple rituals and the use of the segehan to fix them into a particular spot in order to dispose of them.

25. The fontanelle, called the siwadwara: the door of Siwa, is best known as the place where the ancestral soul enters and leaves the body. It may seem surprising to find that it is closed to prevent the Kanda Mpæ from leaving the child's body, especially in view of the fact that the Kanda Mpæ have their own entry and exist through the organs of sensory perception. While it would be beyond the scope of the present work to give a full explanation which would lead us into the mystical technicalities of the Balinese esoteric tradition, it is worth noting that, although they are by definition antithetical to notions of ancestry since they belong essentially to the domain of conscious existence, the Kanda Mpæ are nevertheless linked to the immediate ancestors as they are transmitted through the parents during the second stage of pregnancy and return the soul to its ancestral origin at death, and they seem to provide the spiritual link between generations of individuals within the same family.

26. According to Alkema and Bezemer, the filing of the teeth is an ancient Indonesian custom which was at one stage
probably linked to the funeral rites and may have been performed as a "surrogate sacrifice". The teeth were considered to have much mana and were offered to the spirits instead of the whole body (Alkema and Bezemer, 1927:519).

27. This is mentioned also by Cuisinier in her article on the domestic rites in Bali (Cuisinier, 1964:419).

28. Eating together is an important part of the couple's identity. The ritual sharing of a meal is part of the wedding ceremony throughout Bali, Java, Sumatra, Minahasa and Borneo, to cite but a few islands. It is sometimes accompanied by betel chewing, in Indonesia a social (and sexual) act by excellence. Usually it is the bride who feeds the groom and also prepares the betel for him. One noteworthy exception mentioned by Wilken are the Sea Dayak amongst whom the groom places the betel and a cigarette into the mouth of his bride while she does the same for him (Wilken, 1893:285-6).

29. Apart from these ingredients, the banten padengen-dengenan includes also kala-sepeta, a basket filled with one raw egg, a black stone (batu bulitan), turmeric, taro roots, coconut fibers, red, white and black (tri-datu) thread and kawangen.

30. The presence of the two effigies could not be satisfactorily explained to me. They would appear to be somewhat related to ideas of ancestry and fertility. This is supported by the presence of husked rice, a symbol of fertility and prosperity, in the nuptial room. A heap of husked rice is also used for similar purposes as part of the wedding ceremony among the Ngaju Dayak. A coconut with a ceremonial spear stuck in it is laid on top of the rice (Schärer, 1963:83). This recalls the coconut split open with a branch of dadap stuck in it, which in Piling is also part of the wedding ceremony and of the rite of buykukung when the male and female principles of the rice are married. Alkema and Bezemer report that in Java the bridal procession used to include two giant puppets representing a man and a woman (Alkema and Bezemer, 1927:469). We may compare these with the Barong Landung of Bali, two giant puppets who are walked around the streets at the occasion of a festival and are said to represent the ancestors of the community. A pair of Barong Landung is kept in Piling in the house of Pan Mudreg's brother. Hobart mentions also that two Barong Landung puppets stored in the Pura Duur Bingin of Tengahpadang (Central Bali) are used specifically to "confer fertility on childless marriages" (Hobart, 1978:58).

31. In Balinese religion the sun (Surya or Aditya) is identified with Siwa and by extension the pedanda is known as Surya (C. Hooykaas, 1963:544) as well as Siwa. In Bali, the Hindu god Siwa is sometimes associated with a higher, generalized notion of ancestry.

32. The Balinese are extremely surprised by the Catholic practice of taking the corpse to the church for the funeral rites and do not always understand how this can be done with impunity. Some Catholic informants ventured that their religion must have a permanent purifying effect upon people since it makes their body so pure that the corpse may be taken to the church immediately after death. They support this with
the argument that, according to them, a Catholic needs to be purified with "tirta" only once in his life when he is baptised whereas, in Balinese religion, repeated periodical purifications are necessary to maintain an adequate level of purity. Underlying this belief is the idea that holy water consecrated in the church is extremely powerful. One informant even affirmed having learnt from Pastor Kersten who worked in Piling in 1957 that the sign of the cross made without holy water had the power to protect him over a radius of 50 meters whereas, if he used holy water as well, his protection would be increased to 250 meters!

33. This is unusual for Bali where double funerals are the norm. Although they are often performed in several stages during rites held at various intervals after the burial, Balinese funeral rites can be conceptually divided into two categories. The first category of rites is concerned the separation of the spirit and soul from the physical envelop. It includes the burial and a series of rites performed at 3, 7, 12 or 42 days interval after the burial, or even much later according to the local adat. The second category is concerned with the release of the soul from the world and its return to the ancestral abode. Rites of this kind involve usually the unearthing of the remains, either for their cremation or to be buried again after purification and come under the denomination of pengabenan. The purpose of the pengabenan is to free the deceased from the last earthly ties and allow him to enter the realm of the purified ancestors (pitara) after a period of transition when the dead belong to the dangerous world of the unpurified ancestors (pirata). Hence, the pengabenan marks the reintegration of the deceased into the ancestral line. In Tenganan, a series of rites are conducted over a period of one year, followed much later by a final ceremony called nehus by means of which the soul of the deceased is finally purified and can reincarnate (Breguet, 1983:206). In Tigawasa, the rite of pengabenan consists in unearthing the remains of the corpse, bathing them and purifying them before returning them to the grave (Simpen, 1986:20-2). In Trunyan, effigies of the dead are made then, after being purified, they are buried or taken home to be venerated for a whole year (Danandjaja, 1980:430-3). In a comparative study of the death rites, Hertz has shown that double funerals are widely practised throughout Indonesia (Hertz, 1928:1-98) as they are also in Madagascar (see also Bloch, 1971:Ch.5), and are related to the beliefs that the physical, psychological and spiritual components of the person disintegrate slowly over a period of one to several years. Hence the traditional practice found in Gunung Batukau of finishing the funeral rites with the burial of the corpse in the graveyard is rather suprising. When I queried the various specialists in funeral rites (balean pengabenan) their answers were rather vague. One informant mentioned that in the past it was usual to bury the dead in the fields (ladang) of the family for a period of seven years before being moved to the desa adat graveyard. This is still occasionally found in Piling. The previous balean desa is buried in his own gardens next to his rice fields. Today this is frowned upon by the desa adat who requires that corpses should be unearthed and re-buried into the public graveyard within six months after the death.
34. Unless the person died a "bad" death (salah pati), i.e. an unnatural death, for instance a suicide or a murder. In this case, the corpse cannot be brought inside the houseyard but is laid out on a platform in the street outside the entrance of the houseyard, until the day of burial.

35. Sometimes the surat kajeng is inscribed on wooden tablets which are placed on the chest of the corpse. These tablets come in three sizes: nista, madia and utama, which are matched with the level of ceremony. Nista tablets are about 10 cm long from the tip to the base of the index finger (perarai), madia tablets go from the tip of the index to the base of the thumb (sanga) and utama tablets go from the hand to the elbow (asta). The surat kajeng is used in the funerals of the members of the Pasek kawitan groups only and seems to be a fairly recent addition to the funeral rites.

36. This part of the funeral rites does not change greatly among the Catholics. The corpse is laid out in the front room of the meten with food and drink placed next to it on a table together with a bible. The presence of food is justified by reference to the Gospel where, so my informants maintained, it is said that the soul remains next to the corpse for three days after the death, then goes to heaven. So long as it is earthbound, they say, the soul has the same physical needs as the person during his life. The corpse is brought out in the houseyard and bathed on the bamboo platform; flowers and chopped dadap leaves are strewn over it then it is dressed. This is carried out by the family before the arrival of the priest. Later, after a series of prayers recited by the priest standing at the head of the corpse, it is sprinkled with holy water while incense is burnt profusely. A rosary is placed between its fingers and two large white candles are left burning next to its head. The corpse may then be taken to the church for a service before burial or, if the family cannot afford it, it is taken straight to the graveyard in a procession led by several young relatives bearing a cross on a pole, two smaller crosses made of frangipani flowers, one crown of flowers and foliage. After burial, incense sticks are stuck on the grave and holy water is sprinkled over it. Before leaving the graveyard, the family leaves a cooked meal, coffee, water, cakes, red and white flowers on the grave. Three lit white candles are placed at the head together with one black stone, and one white candle and a black stone at the feet. The food is changed regularly every day for the next three days after the burial.

37. Traditionally, the gamelan never performs at a funeral (cf. also Cuisinier, 1964:422n2 for similar remarks).

38. The same movement is also performed in temple rituals where it is done to facilitate contact with the supernatural. Turning three times counter-clockwise probably serves the same purpose here, as the cross-roads (pempatan agung) are places where the deities of the four points of the compass are clustered. It was also suggested to me that it could be done to confuse the deceased and prevent its ghost from finding its way home again.

39. The ibu sugih consists of the following: 4 daksina, 4 kojong kadengan, 10 sampian umbi-umbian, 10 pieces of all.
kinds of vegetables, fruit, coconut and spices available locally, 5 bagia, 10 orti, 10 canang makejong, bubuh pirata, nasi sekul 1 ceper, sampian daksina, 10 pelawa papaselan, 33 Chinese coins.

40. According to Kiang Suratna, an ex-balean now Protestant, the components of the daksina represent parts of the human body. The coconut is the head, the raw, unshelled rice (bba) is the flesh, the Chinese coins represent the skeletal bones, the egg is the heart, the white thread the nerve channels (uat) and the spinal cord (sumsuma), the chopped vegetables and meat stand for the stomach and intestines, the tapak liman (a plant which according to the Kamus Umum Bahasa Indonesia is called also tutup bumi in Indonesian (elephantopus scaber) (Poerwadarminta, 1976:1019) stands for the sexual organs.

41. Jeanne Cuisinier reports that the ceremony of mepegat is sometimes celebrated seventeen days after the burial of the corpse. Although varying in several details from the one performed in Piling, the ceremony described by her is fundamental similar in its broad outlines as well as its purpose of severing the last ties between the deceased and the family (Cuisinier, 1964:423-4).

42. Burying the imputrescible elements of the body in the ground made sacred by the presence of a kamulan shrine bears similarities with the ancient practice of burying the clothes and other personal objects of the ancestors underneath the babaturan of the Pura Puseh, a shrine functioning as a collective kamulan for the whole village. This suggests that the kamulan, whose shape as a column topped with a three-partite niche recalls that of a tree, could symbolize the ancestral body as an organism kept alive by the cyclical return of the physical and spiritual remains of successive generations of individuals.

43. The same elements are found in the three-partite division of the kamulan were physical ancestry, spiritual ancestry and ancestry of a higher order identified with the sun, are represented. It is probable that the three dimensions of ancestry can also be correlated with the three constituents of the person.

44. The sites where the rites of passage are performed can vary from one village to the next. Hence, the account given here is valid for Piling only. However the idea that individuals move in a cycle through the houseyard in the course of their life and that each stage is punctuated by a rite of passage performed in one particular site within the houseyard can, I believe, be applied generally to the whole of Bali. See also Hobart (1978:5-28) for a similar study in Tengahpadang in Central Gianyar.

45. Hertz has shown that the attitudes of the living toward death are universal and engender the same kinds of rituals. Goody reports a sequence of death rites similar to the sequence followed in Piling, among the Lodagaa of West Africa where "after the preparation and the disposal of the corpse, the bonds between the living and the dead are severed by means of rites which reaffirm the solidarity of the descent group and redistribute the functions of the deceased among the
living" (Goody, 1962:44).

46. Compare this with the Ngaju ceremonial bath in the river at the occasion of a wedding ceremony where, in former times, the death symbolism of this transitional bath was made abundantly clear by letting the blood of a slaughtered slave flow into the waters in which the bride and groom were made to bathe (Schärer, 1963:84). Today, according to Schärer, the Ngaju use a coconut as a surrogate.
CHAPTER SEVEN

Rice as the Sibling of Mankind
The Rites of the Agricultural Cycle
In addition to the tasks carried out in the fields, the cultivation of rice requires the performance of rituals designed to ensure the successful development of the crops through the mobilization of the forces of the supernatural world, in accordance with the Balinese belief that rituals are an essential ingredient for giving human actions their efficacy. Each rice-growing season sets in motion two schedules of agricultural rituals performed simultaneously in the private fields and, at a collective level, in the temples of the subak. One schedule of rituals follows the actual developmental cycle of the plant starting with the replanting of the seedlings and continuing until the time when the ripened grain is stored inside the granary of the houseyard. The second schedule of rituals is based upon the ideal cycle of agriculture determined by the passage of the seasons and the availability of rains.

The dates of the agricultural rituals are determined according to two calendars. The lunar calendar is used for the collective rites while the uku calendar is preferred for the private rites accompanying the physiological development of the rice plant in the field\(^1\). Both calendars are set within a solar "year" divided into two seasons running from one equinox to the next, which forms the cognitive framework within which all the activities during one agricultural year are performed. To be appreciated, the agricultural rituals must be placed within the context of local beliefs according to which the cycle of growth of the rice is compared to the cycle of human life. The rituals are interpreted in terms of two distinct but not incompatible paradigms. The first paradigm
emphasizes the physiological development of the plant while the second reflects the qualitative changes in the spiritual nature of the rice before and after pollination. Such ideas are complex and are intricately linked one with the other. They explain why, for the farmers, the successful cultivation of rice necessitates the manipulation of many elements in the spiritual as well as in the physical environments. It is not sufficient to ensure that the physiological needs of the plants are met. As well as the divinized forces of nature such as sun, water, wind and land upon whose proper domestication the welfare of the crop eventually rests, rice agriculture mobilizes several levels of ancestry without whose intervention human activities would remain fruitless.

These considerations govern the plan followed in this chapter. After discussing the two above-mentioned paradigms, the agricultural calendars are discussed in relation to the determination of the dates for each ritual. This is followed by an account of the two schedules of agricultural rituals which is presented firstly in the form of a descriptive account, then in the context of two complementary human cycles in which rice plays an important role: the domestic cycle which takes individual human beings through the cognitive space of the houseyard, and the collective cycle which takes the human community through the macrocosmic environment of the desa adat.
CYCLE OF GROWTH OF THE RICE

Two Paradigms of the Development of the Plant

In the first paradigm, three distinct phases which correspond to the physiological development of the rice, are distinguished. The first is the developmental phase, from the replanting of the seedlings to the time when the panicle begins to swell. Depending upon the variety of rice, this phase lasts from two and a half to three months, calculated from the time of replanting. The second is the productive phase beginning when the panicle appears and ending after flowering. This phase lasts from one month to 35 days from the first swelling of the panicle to its full development. The third phase is the phase of fruition during which the grains develop and mature until they are ready to harvest one month later. During the developmental phase, the seedlings put out 3 or 4 tillers each so that by the time the panicles begin to swell, each plant bears 15 to 18 panicle-bearing tillers. The major requirements of the rice at that stage and during the productive phase are, apart from sufficient good nutrient, adequate irrigation and good soil aeration. It is important to keep water flowing freely as stagnant water renders the field putrid (embet). The flow of water is regulated by opening and closing the water outlets (paluan), located in the lower wall of the field in order to allow
excess water to run into the field below. Good soil aeration is maintained by weeding (majukut) which is carried out by hand by the women who rake the mud carefully with their fingers to spread the roots of the rice-plants as they pull the weeds out. Proper irrigation and soil aeration result in the formation on the surface of the petak of a cover of nitrogen-producing blue algae, the sign of good rice field management. Not enough water at this stage causes the rice to yellow prematurely before the grains have filled out. Too much water, especially when it is not allowed to flow, prevents the adequate development of the roots, making the plant fragile and liable to fall over in the wind later, when the grains are formed (padine sirep, literally: the rice sleeps). The need for water lessens after the appearance of the panicle. During the second productive phase, the soil of the petak is allowed to dry out slowly until, by harvest time, it is hard enough to walk on without sinking into the ground. The crop is ready to harvest when the plants are a golden yellow and the ears, heavy with grains, bend toward the ground.

The second paradigm is oriented toward the spiritual development of the rice and is based upon the assumption that the rice undergoes a change of nature at the time of flowering. Prior to that time, the rice is still "profane" but, according to the local beliefs, when the flowers open the rice is entered by Dewi Sri in the form of sunlight carried by the wind, the strong perfume exuded by the newly-open flowers at the time of the pollination signaling her arrival in the fields. This paradigm takes into account the water needs of
the plant before flowering and its increasing reliance upon sunlight in the second stage from flowering to fruition. It governs the attitudes of the farmers who interpret the qualitative changes according to the cultural code of purity and pollution. Hence, from the moment when the flowers are entered by Dewi Sri, the rice is treated in a manner similar to human beings who have undergone the rite of pawintenan. Like them, it is polluted by corpses when these are taken past the fields on the way to the graveyard, or by newly-married people before the rite of biakaonan. It is also polluted by contact with cows when these happen to graze by the rice fields. In each instance, the polluted rice must be purified by the rite of panyapsap, with biakaonan and prayascita, two offerings which are normally used specifically for the purification of human beings.

The liminal position of the period of flowering which marks the transition from one realm to the other is shown on the following diagram.

![Diagram](image.png)

**Diagram 18. Cycle of Development of Rice in the Field**
The rice is believed to develop from the union of the four elements of base: earth (pretiwi), water (apah), fire (teja) and wind (bayu) corresponding to the mud, irrigation and rain water, sunlight and heat from the sun, and wind in the field. According to this conception, the rice belongs to the realm of the earth in the first phase of the growth cycle. This is evidenced in the extreme dependence of the plants upon water for their growth. The second phase, which is marked by the arrival of Dewi Sri into the open flowers, signals the transition of the rice into realm of the sky. This is evidenced in the importance of sunlight for the full development of the grain until maturity.

Significantly the qualitative change which takes place in the rice during pollination is not marked by any rite, but it is nevertheless believed to have a profound effect upon the nature of the rice. Dewi Sri, the spiritual element which enters the rice at this stage and is identified with the fertility principle residing in the germ of the grain (manik galih), remains in the field until after the end of the harvest. During the kerta masa, the flowers open at the same time as those of the wild rice growing in the outer yard of Pura Pucak Kadaton, the temple on the summit ledge of the volcano. This rice, which is believed to the essence (sari) of the domestic rice, grows only during the rainy season, comes in black, white and red and looks like ordinary grass until the ear develops. After flowering, it is watched closely by the farmers as its fate is believed to have a determining effect upon the fate of the rice crops grown in
Piling. If the ears of the wild rice on the volcano are full and heavy, the harvest will be good, but if the grains are sparsely distributed on the ear then the worst can be expected.

Agricultural Calendars and Schedule of Agricultural Rites

To be efficiently carried out the cultivation of rice must also take into account the seasonal fluctuations of rain and sunshine. Two calendars are used in agriculture: the lunar year which divides the year into twelve lunar months (sasih) calculated from one new moon to the next and the uku year of 210 days which, perhaps not coincidentally, corresponds exactly to the cycle of growth of padi taun and padi gaga. The lunar calendar is used for the determination of the dates of the collective rituals held by the subak, for the purpose of increasing the productive potential of the fields and for obtaining rain. The uku calendar is used for the calculation of propitious days for the performance of the agricultural tasks carried out in the fields and of the rituals accompanying the cycle of growth of the rice. These two calendars are set within the framework of a solar year divided into two seasons (masa) according to the position of the sun in the sky.

The agricultural year starts with the appearance of Bintang Tenggala (the Plough) in the constellation of Orion in the sky at sunset, some time between the months of October/November. Bintang Tenggala signals the beginning of the rainy season as
well as, when padi gaga was still cultivated, the start of the work in the fields in preparation for sowing in sasih kelima. Later, when padi taun was cultivated, the rise of bintang tengala set the time for ploughing the fields and planting the seeds to germinate in the seedbeds.

Since the subak turned to the cultivation of faster growing rice, the kerta masa now begins in January but the traditional agricultural cycle remains an important guideline for determining the rice-growing schedule. As Lansing has argued in a recent paper (Lansing, 1987:328-30), the crucial stage in the rice cycle is not the replanting but the time when the panicle begins to form, as the water needs of the plants decrease considerably after this point. The whole agricultural schedule is calculated in order to make it fall at an appropriate date. In the area of Gunung Batukau, this is timed to take place around the date of Nyepi, on the dark moon marking the beginning of sasih kadasa which falls somewhere around the March equinox. In the Balinese method of calculating the lunar year, this can vary from one to three weeks before or after the equinox.

The diagram given below shows the actual kerta masa cycle of the subak in Piling, in relation to the two equinoxes.
The September equinox marks roughly the beginning of the wet season and the March equinox, the start of the dry season. Both equinoxes, called iswayana, are periods of transition when the sun is briefly at an equal distance from the north and the south poles. From September to March, the sun moves to the southern hemisphere, reaching its lowest point at the December solstice. This is the wet season, called daksinayana. During the dry season (uttarayana) from March to September, the sun moves to the northern hemisphere, reaching its highest peak at the June solstice.

The importance of the solar year for the cultivation of rice lies with the March equinox which marks the beginning of the journey of the sun in the northern sky and the official start of the dry season, as well as the time when the panicle appears plants. As the water needs of the rice decrease considerably in proportion to its sunlight requirements, timing the development of the panicle to take place at the end...
of the rainy season is very important for the kerta masa crop whose replanting date is therefore adjusted so that the productive phase begins around the period of the March equinox. Hence, the date of replanting of the slightly faster-developing varieties grown today during the kerta masa is brought forward to allow the plants to reach the end of the developmental stage at the same time as the traditional varieties grown in the past.

The water requirements of the gagadon crop whose growth cycle begins during the dry season and ends at the beginning of the wet season, cannot be met as accurately as those of the kerta masa crop. This is the reason why padi cicih, longer-stemmed and less sensitive to water stress, is grown during this period. The cultivation of padi cicih as a second crop represents a compromise between the traditional methods of agricultural management based upon one rice season per year and the pressures of modernity. This arrangement is not peculiar to Piling. Lansing reports (ibid:330) that it is generally found throughout Bali, whenever the farmers opt for two rice crops per year. It is worth noting that the gagadon crop is generally considered inferior and thus, as we shall see in the next section, some of the rites carried out in the private fields tend to be less elaborate or may be deleted altogether during the second cultivation cycle.

The yearly journey of the sun to the low (teben) regions of the southern sky and the heights (luan) of the northern sky provides the cognitive framework into which the yearly cycle of human activities used to be organized in the past. The
wet season was devoted to working in the wet space of the rice fields and was opposed to the dry season centered upon the dry space of the residential village. The fields, being planted with vegetables of various sorts and leguminous, needed little care until the next rice-growing season. No such contrast can be found today between the wet and the dry seasons except in the values attached to the position of the sun in the sky. A minimal number of domestic rites are performed during daksinayana which is symbolically associated with physical growth, childhood and young adulthood and is placed under the sign of Brahma. Daksinayana is marked by intense activity in the natural environment: abundant growth, flowering and fruition, and by disease and epidemics in the human world. In contrast, uttarayana is a period of maturation associated with spiritual growth and old age and is placed under the sign of Wisnu. It is marked by the harvesting of the crop and the death of the aged especially in the cold months of July and August. The beginning of uttarayana is also the period of the year when ancestral rites (pitra yadnya) should traditionally be performed, as the door of the ancestral heavens (pitra loka) is believed to open briefly during the months of June and July each year.

**Lunar Year Calendar**

The use of the lunar calendar to determinate the dates of the collective rituals held in the temples of the subak is based upon the belief that the moon, which is symbolically associated with Wisnu and Uma, rainwater, coolness and
nurturance, plays an important role in rice agriculture. Full moons are periods when the ancestral amerta is believed to flow down onto the earth and, as such, the collective rituals performed in the Pura Ulun Suwi which are aimed at obtaining rain are held on full moon nights, as are the rites performed in the Pura Bedugul to increase the vital strength of the crop. Conversely, new moon nights are associated with purification by dessication and thus they are particularly suitable for the performance of rites designed to purify the soil and the crop and ensure freedom from diseases and pests. The subak rituals making use of the lunar calendar are listed in a table given on the following page.

It will be noted from the table that although the lunar calendar is preferred for the collective rites of the subak, when the schedule cannot be respected (for instance if the desa adat is in a state of ritual pollution) the uku calendar may be used as an alternative to determine the closest propitious date for the performance of a subak rite. In contrast with the temple rituals of the desa adat which are deleted altogether when they cannot be held on the appointed date, the temple rituals of the subak must be carried out at all costs because agricultural rites have an important instrumental aspect which makes their performance an essential dimension of the activities necessary for the successful cultivation of rice. This is what happened in May 1986 when, following a death in Piling, the performance of Ngusaba Uma which was originally planned to be held on the day of the full moon had to be cancelled and another date had to be found. The pamangku subak chose the earliest propitious day after the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>DATE IN WESTERN CALENDAR</th>
<th>PERIOD OF AGRICULTURAL YEAR</th>
<th>RICE CULTIVATION CYCLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. KERTA MASA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purnamanin Kapat</td>
<td>full moon - October 85</td>
<td>opening of agricultural year 1986</td>
<td>Ngusaba Desa in Pura Puseh to ensure fertility of fields and prosperity of village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tilem Kasanga</td>
<td>new moon - 9th February 86</td>
<td>first new moon after replanting</td>
<td>day of rest for rice crop in the fields (Nyepi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purnamanin Kasanga</td>
<td>full moon - 24th February</td>
<td>piodalan of water temple (Pura Ulun Suwi) of subak</td>
<td>festival to ensure abundant rains for developing crop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kajeng Rediie Manis in the uku Merakh*</td>
<td>4th may</td>
<td>when the grains fill out and the rice yellows</td>
<td>Ngusaba Uma - to ensure abundant harvest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purnawi Sadha</td>
<td>day before full moon - 23rd may</td>
<td>end of kerta masa</td>
<td>beginning of harvest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tilem kasa</td>
<td>new moon - 7th July</td>
<td>First new moon after end of kerta masa</td>
<td>Panyepian Anduran - yearly sacrifice at Pura Dalem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. GAGADON</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tilem Karo</td>
<td>new moon - 4th August</td>
<td>first new moon after replanting</td>
<td>day of rest for rice crop in the fields</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purnamanin Ketiga</td>
<td>full moon - 19th September</td>
<td>festival at water temple of subak</td>
<td>as above for kerta masa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purnamanin kapat</td>
<td>full moon - 18th October</td>
<td>opening of agricultural year 89</td>
<td>Ngusaba Desa - as above for kerta masa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purnamanin Kelima</td>
<td>full moon - 17th November</td>
<td>when grain-bearing panicles begin to bend</td>
<td>Ngusaba Uma - as above for kerta masa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purnamanin Kenem</td>
<td>full moon - 16th December</td>
<td>end of gagadon</td>
<td>beginning of harvest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* : usually held on full moon prior to harvest - however in 1986 prevented because of death in village - alternative date set by pamangka subak

**table 39.**
end of the period of ritual pollution, in this case *Redite Kajeng Manis* in the week (uku) *Merakih*, because he could associate the positive values of that day with those of a full moon. This example shows that the use of one calendar is not necessarily exclusive of the other. The Balinese do not use their calendars as strictly regimented systems to which there is an obligation to conform, but as alternative systems offering options considered to be more or less equivalent within the culture.

**Uku Year Calendar**

The *uku* calendar is used for determining the dates of the activities, instrumental or ritual, which are performed by the *subak* and the individual farmers during one growth cycle of the rice in the fields. Generally, the *uku* calendar is used when some sort of interactions between human beings (*buana alit*) and the natural environment (*buana agung*) takes place. This calendar does not start or end on a set date. It is an essentially subjective and personal method of counting time which, in Piling, is used for counting human years and marking birthdays (*otonan*), determining the dates of the festivals (*odalan*) of the kin group temples, the dates of meetings in the various social institutions of the village, and the agricultural rites pertaining to the physiological development of the rice. One of the most adequate interpretations of the *uku* year is in terms of a complete cycle of interactions between the microcosm of the human self (*buana alit*) and the macrocosm of the natural world (*buana*).
agung), which is believed to take place over a period of 210 days. The uku year is calculated on the basis of the interactions of the five-day week (pancawara) which is symbolically associated with the human self with the seven-day week (saptawara) which corresponds to the seven major planets of the solar system, according to the fluctuations of a cycle of vitality represented in the six-day week (sadwara), and probably associated with the naga taun, a snake-like spirit which revolves in the sky toward the four points of the compass and plays an important role in agriculture.

1. Pancawara

The five days of the pancawara are related to the system of cosmological classification of the Kanda Mpat. They are represented graphically as four around the center:

```
Wage
     |
Pon ---- Kelion ---- Umanis
     |
Paing
```

diagram 20. value of days in five-day week

Kelion, situated in the center, is the most magically powerful day and is used for rituals in preference to others. The next best day is Umanis which is endowed with positive values associated with its place in the east and the rising sun. Paing and Pon are associated with human life and ancestors and are suitable for meetings, whereas Wage which is associated with death is avoided altogether.
2. Saptawara

In accordance with the Balinese classificatory system, the days of the saptawara are associated with the various points of the compass and seven planets believed to exert a direct influence upon human existence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day of the Week</th>
<th>Direction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monday (Soma)</td>
<td>North</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday (Anggara)</td>
<td>South/West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday (Buda)</td>
<td>West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday (Wraspati)</td>
<td>South/East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday (Sukra)</td>
<td>North/East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday (Saniscara)</td>
<td>South</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday (Redite)</td>
<td>East</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**table 40. value of days in seven-day week**

The most beneficial day for the rice is Friday (Sukra) which is associated the direction of the north/east and the value of Sri, all of which are correlated with fertility, growth and abundance. It is particularly beneficial when combined with Umanis in the pancawara. The next best days are Monday (Soma), the day of the moon, and Sunday (Redite), placed under the sign of the sun. Tuesday (Anggara) is a particularly difficult day which is associated with the edge of life and death symbolized by Rudra, a negative aspect of Siwa, also identified locally with Durga. Tuesday is altogether avoided for the performance of rites designed to boost the fertility of the fields but it is a good day for the rites of purification of the land and of the protection of the crop from pests and diseases, especially when it is combined with Kelion in the pancawara\(^{12}\). Similar values obtain for Thursday.
(Wraspati).  Wednesday (Buda) is associated with death and the ancestors and tends to be used in conjunction with kelion in the pancawara and kajeng in the triwara\textsuperscript{13}. The combination of the saptawara and the pancawara gives a unit of time of 35 days called sasih (Balinese month).

3. Sadwara

The six days of the sadwara symbolize six stages in the ebb and flow of a life cycle going from birth and growth to decay, death and eventual rebirth. Those days are associated with fate\textsuperscript{14}. They are presented here as they were given to me by my informant Pan Sukeyastini, fittingly, in botanical metaphors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aryang</td>
<td>dry - suffering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urukung</td>
<td>mouldy - decayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paniron</td>
<td>burgeoning - breaking out (of buds)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was</td>
<td>healthy - growing - whole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahulu</td>
<td>flowering - maturity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tungleh</td>
<td>aged - if a tree : losing its leaves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textit{table 41. value of days in six-day week}

A complete uku year may be calculated on the basis of six times one combination of the saptawara and pancawara to obtain six sasih of 35 days each, or thirty times one combination of the saptawara, the pancawara and the sadwara in which case one obtains thirty uku or "weeks", each with a different value and placed under the sign of a specific deity (dewa). Some uku are more auspicious than others. Generally a uku placed under
the sign of Lanus, i.e. uku Ukir, Sungsaŋ, Dunggulan, Kuningan, Pahang, Krulut, Merakih, Uye or Dukut, is considered auspicious as during that time the soil is supposed to be more fertile. But one would avoid planting rice or performing a rite on a uku placed under the sign of Watek Uler, i.e. uku Landep, Taulu, Sungsaŋ, Kuningan, Pujut, Krulut, Medangkungan, Uye, Bala, Wayang and Watugunung as these uku are characterised by an increase in the number of worms and larvae (uled) in the soil which would eventually destroy the plants.

The date for the replanting of the seedlings which sets into motion the whole cycle of agricultural activities, is determined according to the uku calendar. Within the uku chosen by the subak, each farmer seeks a day suitable for replanting, in terms of his own day of birth. The date for the rites performed at key periods in the development of the rice plants are then calculated from this starting date. The schedule of the subak rituals making use of the uku calendar for the whole agricultural year in 1986, is presented on the following page.

RITES OF THE CULTIVATION OF RICE

The agricultural rites include the rituals performed privately by the houseyard (or the sanggah gede when this is the unit of
### AGRICULTURAL YEAR SUBAK PILING - UKU CALENDAR - 1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>DATE IN WESTERN CALENDAR</th>
<th>PERIOD OF AGRICULTURAL YEAR</th>
<th>RICE CULTIVATION CYCLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uku Sinta</td>
<td>5th-11th January 1986</td>
<td><em>kerta masa</em> crop - 3 weeks after preparation of seedbeds</td>
<td><em>Tanduran</em> - replanting of seedlings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wraspati Kelion - Uku Ukir</td>
<td>23rd January</td>
<td>12 days after replanting</td>
<td><em>Ngarastiti</em> - to ensure protection from pests and diseases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wraspati Paing - Uku Tambir</td>
<td>15th May</td>
<td>auspicious day after Ngasaba Uma</td>
<td>meeting of <em>subak</em> - preparation of harvest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buda Manis Kajeng - Uku Perangbakat</td>
<td>18th June</td>
<td>auspicious day when cut rice is dry</td>
<td><em>Mantenin</em> - storage of rice in granaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uku Landep</td>
<td>10th to 17th August</td>
<td><em>gagadon</em> crop - 3 weeks after preparation of seedbeds</td>
<td><em>Tanduran</em> - replanting of seedlings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anggarkasih - Uku Kulantir</td>
<td>26th August</td>
<td>9 days after replanting</td>
<td><em>Ngarastiti</em> - to ensure protection from pests and diseases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sukra Kajeng Kelion - Uku Sungsiang</td>
<td>10th October</td>
<td><em>kerta masa</em> crop</td>
<td><em>Sarin taun at Pura Pekendungan/Tanah Lot</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sukra Kajeng - Uku Tambir</td>
<td>12th December</td>
<td><em>gagadon</em> crop - first auspicious day after Ngasaba</td>
<td>meeting of <em>subak</em> - preparation of harvest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uku Perangbakat</td>
<td>11th-17th January 1987</td>
<td><em>kerta masa</em> crop - 3 weeks after preparation of seedbeds</td>
<td><em>Tanduran</em> for first crop 1987</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 42.*
production) during the growth cycle of the rice cultivated on family land, and the rituals performed by the subak for the totality of the crop grown on the agricultural territory of the village. Both categories of rites are carried out concurrently during the rice growing season (cf. diagram on the next page). The private rites mobilize the domestic ancestors of the houseyard while the collective rites call upon a collective notion of ancestry which includes the desa adat and the mountain ancestors. These two different categories of ancestors corresponds to two distinct cycles:

1. The rice grown in private fields is part of domestic cycle effected by the residents of the houseyard.

2. The rice grown by the farmers of the subak participates in the collective cycle of the whole community of the desa adat.

In the domestic cycle, the rice leaves the dry space of the houseyard in the form of seed stored from a previous harvest and returns to the houseyard after the harvest in the form of new grain. In between the rice goes through the wet space of the irrigated fields during which time the seed develops into a plant which produces another crop of seeds. The passage of the rice through the field is compared to one human life cycle in which the soul leaves the "dry space" of the ancestral realm and enters the "wet" space of the human world by becoming incarnated into a physical body.
Diagram 21: Schematized cycle of agricultural rites performed in 1986.

- Rites performed in fields
- Rites performed in fields and in temples of subak
- Rites performed in temples of subak

Cycle of growth of rice in the field:
1. Mamulah - when preparing seedbeds
2. Putra ketemu - when replanting
3. Ngarastiti - 11 days after replanting
4. Nyepi di Uma - Tilem Kepitu and Tilem Karo
5. Podalan Pura Ulun Suwi, Pumamanin Kasanga and Pumamanin Ketiga
6. Byukukung - when crop is 3 months old
7. Ngusaba Uma
8. Making the Nini - at harvest
9. Mantanin - on auspicious day when rice ready to store
10. Panyepian Anduran - Tilem Kasa
The identification of dry with essence and maleness, and wet with substance and femaleness is correlated with the complementary opposites purusa/perdana fundamental to Balinese notions of human nature. The human life cycle consists in the gradual discarding of the female/substantial/perdana attributes acquired by the male/essential/purusa during its incarnation. Similar values are applied to the growth cycle of the rice which is viewed as a progressive return to the state of dry/essential space in the granary after a passage through the wet/physical space of the fields. In this way, the replanting of the seedlings is symbolically equated with human birth and the harvesting of the ears with human death.

At the same time, the rice growing in the fields is also compared to a pregnant woman whose swollen belly begins to show when the panicle appears and who gives birth to the fully mature ears of rice at harvest time. The grain is likened to the newborn child severed from its mother by the cut of the harvesting knife. Viewed in this perspective, the replanting operation marks the beginning of the pregnancy and the harvest marks its end so that the replanting of the seedlings is symbolically identified with the conception of the child and the harvest of the ears with the birth.

The rites accompanying its cycle of growth can be interpreted in terms of either of these two conceptions of the nature of the rice in the fields. This may appear ambiguous and misleading to the outsider who sees the rice treated one moment as a pregnant woman and the next as a developing child, but this apparent ambiguity does not unduly concern the
farmers for whom the rites have a single purpose: to foster the safe development of the crop and maximize its potential yield to ensure an abundant harvest. The instrumental function of the rites in achieving those goals gives secondary place to the means used to ensure their success and in this respect we may raise the question whether the humanization of rice is not simply a handy device providing a frame of reference by means of which the farmers can affect the success of their crops in the most efficient manner.

Rites Conducted in the Private Fields

The private rites performed in the fields during one growing season are detailed in the table on the next page, together with a summary of the participants, the setting and the offerings used. Each rite is then commented separately, in the sequential order of its performance in the growth cycle of the rice.

1. Nuasen and Pitra Ketemu

In accordance with the belief that rice is the younger sibling of man, the replanting of the seedlings (tanduran) takes place in the uku set by the subak on the day of the seven-day week corresponding to the day of birth of the owner of the fields to which is added one day. Hence, if a man is born on a Monday he will plant on Tuesday, unless Tuesday is not compatible with Monday, in which case he will seek the first compatible day after Tuesday. On the day when tanduran takes place, all the participants, usually no more than the owner and his wife, children and close relatives with their
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHEDULE OF AGRICULTURAL TASKS</th>
<th>PARTICIPANTS</th>
<th>NAME OF RITUAL</th>
<th>OFFERINGS</th>
<th>TIME OF DAY</th>
<th>SEQUENCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>replanting of seedlings in prepared seedbeds (tanduran)</td>
<td>Dewi Sri/Uma - family ancestors - owner of fields and wife</td>
<td>Nuase Nitar</td>
<td>on shrine near water inlet: hiti nasi, ketipat dampur, daktina, raw rice sataan, jajan tepung, kukus, sumpering, kaput, pammor</td>
<td>early morning</td>
<td>A) offerings presented to Dewi Sri Uma in shrine, by owner's wife B) owner plants ancestral mark in field next to water inlet C) communal meal shared by all participants, eaten on edge of fields before starting work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when rice is twelve days old</td>
<td>Uma/Dewi Sri - Buta Sasatrana - owner of fields or owner's wife</td>
<td>Ngarastiti</td>
<td>on ground at the edge of fields: banten pamupuk, nasi gebogan, segehan warna lima</td>
<td>any time in the day</td>
<td>tirta pengeraritani poured into soil near water inlet for protection against pests and diseases - banten pamupuk presented to Uma - nasi gebogan to Dewi Sri, segehan to Buta Sasatrana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on eve of new moon one month after replanting</td>
<td>Uma - owner of fields or owner's wife</td>
<td>Nyepi di uma</td>
<td>on ground in each individual field: segehan dadu - segehan putih/selem</td>
<td>evening</td>
<td>presentation of offerings to chthonian spirits of fields - tirta panyeplian poured into soil near water inlet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when rice is about three months old - panicle begins to form (padine ngidam)</td>
<td>owner's wife, children and females relatives - balean - rice plants</td>
<td>Byukukung</td>
<td>on ground next to shrine: 6 ketipat, fried white chicken peras, tulung, punjung, nasi mancawarna, sesayut alti, penyeneng, burat wangi, papegatan, lelinggian, rujak</td>
<td>morning</td>
<td>wedding of male and female principles in rice married by balean - rujak given to pregnant plant to facilitate formation of panicle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when rice begins to yellow (padine munguning) after performance of subak ceremony of same name</td>
<td>Owner's wife, children and female relatives - rice - Dewi Sri/Uma</td>
<td>Ngsaba Uma</td>
<td>1) on temporary bamboo shrine: Pengambean, suci gebogan, daktina, ketipat dampur, punjung selehan 2) on edge of fields (ground): banten pagpagan 3) behind bamboo shrine: penyor bearing uba-gabig, jajan jii mamerth, ketipat 4) at shrine near water inlet: rayunan, ketipat 6, cau, segehan putih/kuning, fried white chicken</td>
<td>morning or afternoon</td>
<td>tirta pasabaan obtained from subak poured into soil near water inlet. Effigy of vital force of rice (ubagabig) erected on penyor and given provisions for its journey until the harvest - presentation of offerings to Dewi Sri/Uma to ensure her assistance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first day of harvest</td>
<td>owner's wife, rice ancestors</td>
<td>making of Nini</td>
<td>at shrine near water inlet: soda, ketipat 6, segehan putih/kuning, fried white chicken, cau</td>
<td>early morning</td>
<td>cutting and making of effigy of ancestors of rice before start of harvest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when cut sheaves of rice are dry and ready to be stored in granary of houseyard</td>
<td>owner and family, rice, Nini, Dewi Sri</td>
<td>Mantenin</td>
<td>inside granary: pengambean, tegieg, cau numbul peras gele, peras, lurus, sayat sari, ketipat 6, taonan, daktina, suci gebogan kundang, jitan nasi, ketipat yuyu, pageh, padiang etc. jajang: uli, gina, aboh, sobah, pisang, kelisping, sabun. Outside granary: on either side of door: penyor with white/yellow banners on ground: jajan as above</td>
<td>early morning</td>
<td>presentation of offerings to Dewi Sri, Nini placed in north/east corner of granary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 43**
families, assemble near the water inlet at the highest point (ulun) of the fields. Soon after sunrise is considered best because of the belief that the rising sun has life-enhancing powers which will be communicated to the seedlings.

As soon as everyone is assembled, the rite of nuasen is performed. The wife or the daughter of the owner presents offerings consisting of a daksina and cakes made with glutinous rice (ketan), black rice (injin) and ordinary rice cooked in different ways with palm sugar and grated coconut, to Uma/Sri, the deity of the shrine (bedugul) situated near the water inlet. When this is done, a meal is served to all the participants, to be eaten on the edge of the fields. The fact that the ingredients of the meal must be associated in some way with the rice fields and be identical with the food ingredients in the offerings presented to Uma/Sri suggests that this deity is included among the participants sharing the communal meal which is eaten as a symbol of hoped-for prosperity and abundance to come. After the meal and before setting out to replant, the owner of the fields goes to the highest point of the fields near the water inlet (ulun), taking with him a number of tufts of seedlings equal to the numerological value of his day of birth in the saptawara plus one. Hence, if the owner is born on a Monday (Soma), he will plant 4 (numerological value of Soma) tufts plus one, i.e. 5 tufts. These are planted next to the water inlet where the water is the least polluted by contact with the soil. The rice planted at this occasion is held to be purer than the rest of the crop and, at harvest time, it is from this rice that the ears needed for the Nini will be cut. The rite
is called pitra ketemu (literally: the meeting or union of ancestors) and fulfills the two functions of setting into motion the cycle of growth of the entire rice crop in the owner's estate and stamping the crop with the owner's ancestral mark. In the first place, the rite of pitra ketemu amounts to a "gearing into action", effectively transforming amorphous, passive time into concrete and productive time. Stamping the rice with the owner's mark also gives the crop a specific identity differentiating it from other, anonymous crops grown in the remainder of the village agricultural land. The performance of pitra ketemu also turns the replanting operation into a symbolic impregnation of the land by man. The owner of the fields acts in the capacity of purusa to the land as perdana, in a ritualized reproduction of the cosmic union of the two complementary elements of which sexual intercourse is the best known example.

2. Ngarastiti

Ngarastiti, a rite of purification and fertilization of the fields and the crops, is performed twelve days after the replanting. The private ritual is held in conjunction with a collective rite performed by the subak at the Pura Bedugul, for the consecration of tirta pengerastitian which is then distributed to each member of the subak.

After obtaining this tirta, the farmer goes to the highest point of his fields and pours it into the ground next to the water inlet, asking the deity of the fields protect the crops against pests and diseases. This is followed by the exorcism of Buta Sasebrana, the chtonian spirit of the fields, with a
segehan warna lima, then the banten pamupuk (from pupuk : fertilizer) and a nasi gebogan are offered to Uma, to boost the fertility of the soil.

3. Nyepi di Uma

A pacaruan panyepian is held in the rice fields on the eve of the new moon, one month after the replanting operation, for the purification of the fields from the buta kala created by human activities during the beginning of the agricultural cycle. This is done with a segehan dadu (pink) and segehan putih/selem (white/black). If there has been an illness or an accident in the family, a pacaruan panca sanak directed to Uma, the deity of the rice fields who is worshipped as the benevolent aspect of Durga to whom illnesses, accidents and misfortune are imputed, can be held in the fields. On the day of nyepi the fields are rested (sepi), the crop is said to "fast" (matapa) and it is forbidden to do any work in the rice fields.

4. Byukukung

Perhaps because of the need to trim the schedule of agricultural rituals down in order to cope with the increased work output of two rice seasons per year, this rite is no longer widely performed in Piling, especially during the gagadon crop. Nevertheless, byukukung continues to be performed during the kerta masa by conservative farming families for whom rituals remain a necessary dimension of agriculture. It is held when the rice is about three months old, when the panicle begins to swell. At that stage, the plant is likened to a pregnant woman (beling, another name for
the rite of byukukung) and, like all pregnant women, it is said to "crave" (padine ngidam) for special food. Rujak, a sweet and sour fruit dish, is taken to the fields to be placed on the ground next to the bedugul shrine. A wedding ceremony is sometimes held at this occasion. This is performed by a balean assisted by the owner's wife and the women of the houseyard. The main offering is the banten papegatan used also on the occasion of the wedding ceremony in the human rites. Two dadap branches are planted in the ground on the edge of the field and are tied together with a white string, and two lelingian - male and female figures made of banana trunks - are placed next to it. Nowadays however, this part of byukukung is considered rather quaint by progressive farmers for whom it is hard to understand "how a plant can be married like a human being" (masa ! tumbuh-tumbuhan itu dikawinkan seperti manusia ! Ind.)²⁵. For those who still perform it, the wedding of the rice is justified on the grounds that the rice's pregnancy like a woman's pregnancy must be legitimated by a proper wedding ceremony. In fact the wedding of the rice can be interpreted as yet another instance of the ritualized re-enactment of the universal life-producing union of the male and female principles (purusa and perdana), a fertility rite in which the gestures of "marrying" the two complementary elements in the rice plant are expected to produce an abundance of grain²⁶.

It is interesting to note that the punjung is included in the offerings of byukukung, an indication that the ancestors are called upon, perhaps to act as witnesses in the same way as with the rites of the human life cycle. These ancestors are
not necessarily the ancestors of the rice but probably the ancestors of the family unit, whether houseyard or sangghah gede, to whom one requests assistance with the welfare of the crop. The punjung is used exclusively in this rite and in the next rite of ngusaba uma in which the rice is treated specifically as a human being. This lends support to the proposition that the rice and the owner of the fields ultimately share the same ancestry.

5. Ngusaba Uma

This is held in conjunction with the collective rite of the same name performed in the Pura Bedugul of the subak on the day of the first full moon after the rice begins to yellow (padine menguning). Tirta pasabaan consecrated during the temple ceremony, is distributed to the farmers to be used in the private fields either on the following afternoon or the next morning.

Ngusaba uma is compared to the three-month ceremony in the rites of the human life cycle. Its purpose is to secure and strengthen the vital force or spirit of the rice into the plant from the time when the grains begin to fill out to the moment of the harvest. This vital force is known as Dewi Sri, a deity who is made to play many different roles in the cultivation of the rice, being associated sometimes with the land, sometimes with the rice or sometimes even with the ancestors of the rice. Ngusaba uma is performed during the last stage in the growth cycle when the crop is the most vulnerable to the vagaries of the weather and birds. A freak storm can bend the ears and make them lie in the mud, rotting.
the grains before they can be cut. All precautions must therefore be taken to ensure that the rice will safely reach the final stage of the harvest.

Like most rites conducted in the rice fields, ngusaba uma is performed by women. On the appointed day, the owner's wife and some female relatives, usually accompanied by the children, congregate in the fields next to a temporary bamboo shrine (sanggah cucuk) erected at the highest point of the fields. A set of offerings including the punjung which suggests the involvement of the ancestors in the ceremony, is placed on the sanggah cucuk. These offerings are consecrated to Dewi Sri. The banten papagan (from papag : to catch, intercept, welcome) is placed on the ground next to the bedugul. The function of this offering is similar to that of the banten panyambutan, also used in human rites to call upon the Kanda Mpat. A penyor is erected behind the sanggah cucuk and an effigy of the rice spirit called the ubagabig, is tied to it. The ubagabig is made of palm fronds woven in a human shape with male and female sexual organs, representing the rice as a complete being (kedi). Small woven palm frond bags containing rice cakes and several ketipat are tied to the penyor. These are the provisions (bekel) given to the ubagabig to sustain it in its journey until the harvest. Food consisting of a rayunan ("food" in high Balinese), ketipat, a fried white chicken and a segehan putih-kuning is also offered to Dewi Sri at the bedugul shrine. The rice cakes are made in large quantities, a few of them to be used for the offerings and the rest to be eaten by the family or given to neighbours and friends. Here, as with tanduran, eating is an important part of the ritual, no doubt related to
the hope that the rice will be as abundant, sweet and satisfying as the cakes which are eaten when the crop begins to mature.

6. Making the Nini

A few days before the harvest, the owner's wife goes to the fields and cuts thirty-three ears of young rice which are taken home to dry, then are pounded in the mortar on the eve of the harvest and cooked into a porridge called jemutan. Some of this porridge is eaten by the members of the household and the remainder is taken back to the fields to be poured stealthily into the soil next to the water inlet.

By dawn on the morning of the harvest, everyone is ready to start work in the fields. Offerings similar to those used at ngusaba uma, consisting of rayunan, 6 ketipat, soda, segehan putih/kuning, cau and fried white chicken are taken to Dewi Sri/Uma in the bedugul next to the water inlet. Then the owner's wife cuts thirty-three ears from the rice planted by her husband during pitra ketemu, being careful to chose eleven male ears and twenty-two female ears. The gender of the ear is determined by the direction in which the last leaf unrolls from the stem: if the leaf unrolls to the right the ear is female, if it unrolls to the left, it is male. This is likened to the male and female ways of tying the sarong.

The ears are coupled together to make the body of the Nini, one male ear with two female ears. This is called mamadu, the bigamous marriage culturally considered to be the ideal union
in the manner of the gods. Thus coupled, the ears are tied together with a white string. An additional thirty-three undifferentiated ears are then cut from the same spot near the water inlet to form the escort (pengiring) of the Nini. These are secured at the back of the effigy and the whole lot is tied together with more white string to be placed in a basket near the bedugul shrine where it will preside over the harvest until all the rice is cut, then be taken home to dry in preparation for the ceremony of mantenin.

This is the traditional and the most widespread method of making a Nini in Piling, yet not everyone agrees on the manner of preparing the body of the effigy. Some farmers follow the directions obtained in the recent publications made available to the leaders of the subak of Piling by the government, where it is stipulated that the Nini should be made of 108 ears, a sacred number standing for the 108 names of Siwa. One family at least makes the Nini from 64 undifferentiated ears, tied together with an additional eleven ears as a walking stick. Nevertheless, the traditional method of making the Nini from thirty-three sexually differentiated ears remains by far the most commonly used, betraying the irreductible dualism which pervades the local system of beliefs. Although known as the Rice Mother or Grandmother (the exact translation of Nini), the Nini is in fact the representation of an undifferentiated ancestral figure made of male and female elements, similar to other dualistic ancestral representations expressed, for instance, in the twin shrines dedicated to the ancestral couple of the desa adat in the Bale Agung or in the bi-partite shrine of Manik Galih and Rambut Sedana found in every domestic and public temple in the village. The thirty-
three ears also recall the widespread Buddhist influence of the past. Thirty-three is the number of dewa residing in the eight worlds (dewa loka) of the four points of the compass and presided over by Indra, a deity enjoying a considerable popularity in the region of Gunung Batukau as the god of rain, storm and thunder. According to an Indonesian interpretation of the Buddhist cosmology, Indra is the deity who leads the way to the state of Buddhahood reachable only after a passage through the world of Yama.

7. Mantenin

When the sheaves of rice have been thoroughly dried, they are stored in the granary (lumbung) on a propitious day decided upon by the subak. Before storing the sheaves, the ritual of mantenin is performed to welcome the new Nini inside the granary and place the stored grain under the protection of the rice ancestors. Mantenin is once again the occasion for much cake eating and giving. Rice cakes made with ketan, injin, coconut and palm sugar are cooked in large quantities several days in advance. A small proportion of these is to be used for the offerings and the rest is eaten by the family or taken to friends, neighbours and relatives by the children of the household.

On the morning of the ceremony, the Nini is placed inside a basket (wakul) wrapped in white and yellow cloth and is topped with a triangular woven palm frond "face" (cili) bearing eleven "hairs" called sri-srian, each hair representing a stage in the rice cycle:

1. sri nganti: the pregnant rice (from nganti: to wait), waiting for the arrival of Sri
2. sri bunga : the flowering rice, celebrating the arrival of Sri
3. sri padi : the filling of the grain
4. sri tumpuk : the abundance of grain (from tumpuk : to stock, pile up, store)
5. sri sangkulung : the final stage just before the harvest
6. sri anggapan : the cutting of the rice in the harvest
7. sri kunkungan : the rice as honey (from kunkungan : beehive, the rice is compared to the product of the beehive)
8. sri uang : the rice as money, affluence from the sale
9. sri lumbung : the rice in the granary, abundance and security
10. sri sugih : the rice as prosperity (from sugih : wealth)
11. sri kuskusan : the recipient holding the rice when cooking, rice as sustenance

When the Nini is ready, it is ceremonially placed in the north-east corner of the granary where it will watch over the stored rice, hopefully keeping the granary full until the next harvest. Various ketipat made in the shape of the fauna and flora of the rice field (ketipat yuyu, ketipat udang, ketipat kangkung, ketipat pageh, etc...) and representing elements from the fields are placed next to the Nini together with the rice cakes. The Nini are allowed to turn into dust inside the granary as they are eventually replaced by the in-coming Nini of the forthcoming seasons.

Traditionally rice could not be taken down or sold until three days after the rite of mantenin had been performed as this caused Dewi Sri to flee from the granary. Today, however, if a broker offers a good price, some farmers take the risk to
sell without holding the rite first. Although no fines are incurred, this is frowned upon by the subak and people believe that those who sell their rice before holding the rite of mantenin will see their stock vanish mysteriously, leaving their granary empty soon after the harvest.

**COMMENTARIES**

The agricultural rites performed in the private fields may be classified into three categories:

1. rites marking the beginning and the end of the growth cycle
2. rites designed to protect the crop by working upon its environment
3. rites following the physiological development of the plant

The start of the period when the rice is in the fields is initiated with pitra ketemu/nuasen and ends with the making of the Nini when the rice is about to return to the houseyard. Fittingly, both rites involve the participation of the domestic ancestors. Pitra ketemu brings into play an idea of ancestry which endows the rice with the same identity as the owner of the fields. The making of the Nini mobilizes male and female ancestral principles which are symbolically associated with the sky and the earth whose union results in
the rice. However, because the Nini is cut from the rice planted during the rite of pitra ketemu, the rice ancestors are also directly connected to the domestic ancestors of the houseyard represented by the owner of the fields. During the whole cycle of cultivation, this "ancestral rice" which grows next to the water inlet classifies the whole crop as belonging to one owner and being his own identity. It would be possible to draw parallels between the rice planted during pitra ketemu and the mystical markings (surat kajang) imprinted inside the body of each Balinese which identify individuals as belonging to a particular ancestral group. In both cases, the mark has the quality of an ancestral seal whose effect is to classify disparate elements such as crops or human beings into well-ordered categories (sroohan) which can be distinguished from the anonymity of the world at large.

Ngarastiti and nyepi di uma belong to the second category of rites. They are exorcistic rites performed early in the growth cycle to cancel out the negative effects of the disturbances provoked by human activities. Both rites are conducted in conjunction with a collective rite of the same name performed in the Pura Dalem of the desa adat and in one of the subak temples. The private rites can be viewed as an extension of those rites, their main purpose being simply to pour tirta consecrated at a collective level, into the private fields.

The third category of rites are those which duplicate the rites of the human life cycle. Significantly, these rites are performed after the rice is believed to have acquired
human characteristics. Byukukung takes place when the panicle begins to swell, announcing the beginning of the "pregnancy" which must be legitimized by a ceremony identical to a human wedding. Later, when the grains begin to fill out, the spirit of the rice is secured into the maturing grain to give it strength and vitality in the rite of ngusaba uma, in the same way as the four human life spirits, the Kanda Mpat, are secured into the child during the three-month ceremony.

The cycle of cultivation of the rice mobilizes an idea of ancestry which cannot be separated from the human ancestors of the houseyard residents. Indeed, rice accompanies human beings in a domestic cycle which takes them through the cognitive space of the houseyard on a daily cycle and in the course of life. The following is a diagram of an ideal houseyard in the village which shows that the rice ancestors (Nini) and the human ancestors in the kamulan are spatially distributed along a north-east/south-west axis dividing the houseyard into two distinct sections associated respectively with sleep/night/death/spiritual life (north-east) and activities/eating/day/social interactions (south-west).

![Diagram 22. an ideal houseyard in Piling](image)
The sleeping quarters (meten) are located north, the sanggah occupies the north-east corner and the bale dangin the eastern wall, while the kitchen occupies the southern section and the granary the south-west corner. A horizontal line drawn through the diagram would show that the meten and the sanggah are contained in the north-eastern half which has the cultural value of elevated (luan, ulun, also kaja/kangin), while the kitchen and granary are located in the south-western half which is associated with the value of low (teben, also kelod/kauh). The bale dangin straddles the two. The domestic cycle takes the residents around the houseyard in two cycles:

1. A daily cycle where they move in a clockwise direction from the sleeping quarters to the sanggah for an early prayer to the ancestors, the kitchen, granary and bale dangin in the course of the day, then back to the sleeping quarters at night to sleep.

2. A life cycle where each individual moves also in a clockwise direction from the sleeping quarters at birth, to the sanggah where one is gradually socialized into the domestic world of the houseyard, then to the southern section associated with conviviality, commensality and social intercourse, and at death back to the meten where, as was seen in the previous chapter, the body lays until the beginning of the funeral rites.
Each cycle takes the person downward to the teben end of the houseyard then upward again to the luan end. Rice accompanies human beings through these two cycles, providing the food\textsuperscript{34} which not only sustains life in the body but becomes its very substance and eventually the seed from which another human being emerges\textsuperscript{35}. The sanggah and the granary are located at the two points where the transition from luan to teben and teben to luan is effected. The Nini is positioned on the north-eastern corner of the granary and stands on the same axis as the kamulan shrine of the sanggah which is situated on a north-east/south-west axis.

THE COLLECTIVE RITES PERFORMED BY THE SUBAK

With the performance of the collective rites, the subak takes responsibility for the welfare of the entire crop, mobilizing for that purpose a category of ancestors and deities who exhibit similar corporate characteristics. These are the village forebears, mountain ancestors and the ancient kings of Tabanan, merged to a lesser or greater degree into the natural forces of the environment whose manipulation forms an essential part of the practice of wet-rice agriculture. The agricultural rites performed by the subak during one rice growing season are given in the table on the following page. The rituals performed each season follow the growth cycle of the rice in chronological order. Panyepian anduran and sarin
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGRICULTURAL SCHEDULE</th>
<th>PARTICIPANTS</th>
<th>NAME OF RITUAL</th>
<th>OFFERINGS</th>
<th>TIME OF DAY</th>
<th>SEQUENCE OF RITUAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12 days after</td>
<td>Uma</td>
<td>Ngarasis</td>
<td>in Pura Bedugul pengambean, kurenan, peras gege, panggulan, natabasan, sugi sari, sugi agoeng, punjung kuning, peribuan, datsangan bahan, cañang genep, keitap dampul, daksina, kelemligan, sorohan, biakasan, prasyascia, peras cenek, sugi sari, paberisan, datsangan benen, sugi pajegan, 6 keitap, peras penyeneng, 2 punjung, sohkan kampuh, pisang matah/biebeng, segehan warna lima, ducks</td>
<td>early morning</td>
<td>purification of officials of subak</td>
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<tr>
<td>replanting of</td>
<td>Batara Puncak</td>
<td></td>
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<td>from 6 pm to 6 am</td>
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<td>seedlings</td>
<td>Batara Dalem</td>
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<td></td>
<td>request for ancestral and divine assistance in obtaining abundant rains - sequence of ritual follows</td>
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<td></td>
<td>soya teams</td>
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<td>liturgy of piodalan in adat temples</td>
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<td>officials of subak</td>
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<td>including communal meal shared by</td>
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<td>each family member of</td>
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<td>pamangku Dalem, pamangku</td>
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<td>Puncak, pamangku Subak</td>
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<tr>
<td>one month after</td>
<td>Batara Dalem</td>
<td>Nyepi di</td>
<td>in Pura Ulun Sawi segehan pabersihan sorohan, sugi sari, nasi gebogan, 4 daksina, 4 keitap, 2 peras, 2 taonan sugi pajegan, segehan apulangan</td>
<td>eve of nyepi morning</td>
<td>purification of officials of subak</td>
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<tr>
<td>replanting - on eve</td>
<td>Batara Ulun Sawi</td>
<td>uwa</td>
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<td>from 6 pm to 6 am</td>
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<td>of dark moon</td>
<td>officials of subak</td>
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<td>request for ancestral and divine assistance in obtaining abundant rains - sequence of ritual follows</td>
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<td>representative from</td>
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<td>liturgy of piodalan in adat temples</td>
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<td></td>
<td>boalean desa, pamangku</td>
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<td></td>
<td>subak, pamangku adat</td>
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<tr>
<td>full moon,</td>
<td>Pura Puncak Kadaton</td>
<td>Piodalan</td>
<td>kelemligan, biakasan, 2 sorohan, 2 sugi sari, 2 paberisan, prasyascia, 5 peribuan, panggulan, pengambean, peras gege, 2 kurenan, 2 sugi pajegan, keitap, 2 jerimpem uja, 2 jerimpem sampi, sugi agung, sugi, 2 bangun wip, bawi, 2 jerimpem zte, 2 karangan, 5 daksina, keitap gang, 2 sugi agung, nasi gebogan, ngodalan maninah, malpin gege, tegeg, dastengan babuasa/beszen, 13 tajendingan, punjung, peras penyeneng, sugi sari</td>
<td>from 6 pm to 6 am</td>
<td>purification of officials of subak</td>
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<td>two months after</td>
<td>Batara Tanah Lot</td>
<td>Pura Ulun</td>
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<td>morning</td>
<td>slaughterings of sacrificial animal</td>
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<td>Batara Manik Selakat</td>
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<td>in outer yard, consecration of</td>
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<td>Jero Tengah/Ninggar-sari - Nini -</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tirta panyepian from tirta</td>
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<td></td>
<td>officials of subak</td>
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<td></td>
<td>obtained at Pura Ulun Sawi,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>representative from</td>
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<td>purification of officials of</td>
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<td>each family member of</td>
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<td>subak, communal meal between</td>
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<td>subak</td>
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<td>officials, soya teams and subak</td>
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<td>officiants</td>
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<td>boalean desa, pamangku</td>
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<td></td>
<td>subak, pamangku adat</td>
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<tr>
<td>new moon, sasih kaza</td>
<td>Batara Dalem - Batara Ulun Sawi -</td>
<td>Panyeplan</td>
<td>outside Pura Dalem: keitap bekel, sugi gebogan, sugi sari, paberisan, ajuman, rayosnan gege, biakaonan/prasyascia, sorohan, cau (sate and lawar masuk pabersihan)</td>
<td>morning</td>
<td>purification of officials of subak</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mbayajati subak - soya teams</td>
<td>Andalan</td>
<td>inside Pura Dalem: peras, perasan, sugi sari, paberisan, keitap dampul, tetrag caànag sari, peras penyeneng, segehan warna lima, daksina, peras, taonan</td>
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<td>pamangku Dalem, pamangku Subak</td>
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<td>full moon before</td>
<td>Uma/Dewi Sri, Batara Ulun Sawi</td>
<td>Ngusatna</td>
<td>Purba Bedugul pengambean, kurenan, peras</td>
<td>early morning</td>
<td>purification of officials of subak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harvest</td>
<td>Batara Paseh Uma</td>
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<td>panggulan, sungasas, sugi sari, sugi agoeng, punjung kuning, peribuan, biakasan/prasyascia, datengan babuasa/betren, punjung biasa, 2 keitap, pisang matah/biebeng, segehan warna lima, 2 ducks, peras cenek, sugi sari, paberisan, sugi pajegan, peras penyeneng</td>
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<td>Batara Dalem</td>
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<td>request for ancestral and divine assistance in obtaining abundant rains - sequence of ritual follows</td>
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<td>Batara Batukau, officials</td>
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<td>liturgy of piodalan in adat</td>
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<td>subak, pamangku adat</td>
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<td>temples including communal meal shared by</td>
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<td>soya teams</td>
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<td>boalean desa - pamangku subak</td>
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<td>a few days before</td>
<td>Batara Pekendungan, Sarin suan</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 sheaves of rice cut from harvest to Kera Masa</td>
<td>morning</td>
<td>presentation of sheaves to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purnamanin kapat</td>
<td>officials subak, pamangku subak,</td>
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<td>Batara Pekendungan- tirta suan suan</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pamangku Pekendungan</td>
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<td>distributed to each member of</td>
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<td>subak to be poured in fields</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**table 44.**
taun, which are performed once a year, have been integrated into the schedule on the date when they were conducted. They belong to the kerta masa crop, although they are held concurrently with the cultivation of the gagadon crop.

The subak rituals can be classified in two categories:

1. Rituals performed in conjunction with the private rites held by the farmers in their fields. Their purpose is to consecrate tirta to be distributed to each farming family for the performance of the private rites in the fields. In this category of ritual the subak plays the role of mediating agency between the deities and ancestors from whom tirta is requested, and the individual farmers who are the consumers of this tirta.

2. Rituals where the subak moves collectively for the manipulation of the deified forces of the environment. Here the subak acts in a corporate capacity in the name of all the farmers, interacting directly with a category of deities and ancestors not accessible to individuals.

Subak Rituals for the Preparation of Tirta

Ngarastiti, nyepi di uma, ngusaba uma and sarin taun belong to this category. In each of these rituals, the leaders of the subak are purified, then tirta is consecrated and distributed
to the kerama subak who must be present at the temple ceremony or send a representative from the household.

1. Ngarastiti

This ritual is performed on the twelth day after the replanting of the seedlings. It is held for the purification of the rice fields and increasing the fertility of the soil. On the day prior to the ceremony, tirta is fetched from the Pura Dalem of the desa adat and from Pura Puncak Kadaton to be mixed with water from the beji of the Pura Bedugul for the consecration of tirta pengarastitian.

The ceremony of ngarastiti takes place in the Pura Bedugul early in the morning and lasts about three hours. The pamangku subak officiates, assisted by the pamangku Dalem and the pamangku Puncak Kadaton. The ritual is divided into two parts: in the first part, the pamangku Dalem and the pamangku Puncak Kadaton officiate together and tirta obtained from those two temples are mixed together. In the second part of the ceremony, the pamangku subak officiates alone to consecrate tirta pengarastitian. When the ceremony is over, tirta pengarastitian is distributed to each member of the kerama subak, then the pamangku subak announces the type of offerings to be taken to the fields by the farmers and used in conjunction with pouring tirta into the soil.

2. Nyepi di Uma

The temple ceremony takes place in the morning on the eve of the day when the crops are to be rested in the fields and
consists in the preparation of tirta panyepian for use by the farmers in their fields later that day. The ritual begins in the Pura Ulun Suwi where the pamangku subak consecrates tirta which is subsequently taken to the Pura Dalem for the second part of the ceremony. There, the pamangku Dalem mixes it with water obtained at a spring next to the Pura Dalem (not in the beji of the Pura Papati in the middle yard) to make tirta panyepian which is distributed to all the kerama subak.

3. Ngusaba Uma

Ngusaba Uma is performed in the Pura Bedugul on the morning of the first full moon after the crop begins to yellow. As it is essentially a rite of fertility designed to strengthen and protect the maturing crop in the last stage when it is most vulnerable, a broad category of ancestors and deities is mobilized for that purpose: tirta is fetched from the Pura Puseh, Pura Dalem, Pura Ulun Suwi and Pura Luhur Batukau to be mixed with water taken from the beji of Pura Bedugul for the consecration of tirta pasabaan. The balean desa officiates, assisted by the pamangku subak and the pamangku of the temples of the desa adat.

4. Sarin Taun

As its name indicates, (sarìn means essence and taun means year) this ritual closes the traditional agricultural year which used to include a single crop grown during the kerta masa. It is performed a few days before Ngusaba Desa, the most important festival in the ritual calendar of Piling, on a propitious day chosen by the pamangku subak from the uku calendar and consists in taking four sheaves of rice to the deity of the sea residing in Pura Pekendungan in the complex
of temples of Pura Luhur Tanah Lot, the sea counterpart of mountain complex of temples of Pura Luhur Batukau. The sheaves which are made of padi taun grown during the kerta masa, are taken to Pura Pekendungan by the pamangku subak from Piling accompanied by the leaders of the subak and one specialist in offerings. The rice is offered to the deity of the sea in return for asking protection against pests and diseases for the forthcoming season. Tirta consecrated by the pamangku of Pura Pekendungan is brought back to Piling to be distributed to the farmers for use in their fields and the four sheaves of rice are stored in the granary of the Pura Ulun Suwi to be used as food in a future festival.

Rituals Where the Subak Acts in Corporate Capacity

1. Temple Festivals

No periodical festival (piodalan) is held in the Pura Bedugul. The festival of the Pura Ulun Suwi is called aci and is held twice a year on Purnamanin Kesanga for the kerta masa crop and Purnamanin Ketiga for the gagadon crop. After Ngusaba Desa, this festival is the most important occasion in the ritual calendar of Piling. The Nini from the previous harvest are brought down from the granaries to join in the festivities which last the whole night, from sunset to dawn, and are attended by all the members of the subak. The ritual which is performed by the balean desa assisted by the pamangku subak and the pamangku of the temples of the desa adat, follows the
liturgy of the temple festivals set down in the awig-awig of Piling. The purpose of the aci is to ensure abundant rain for the developing crop and this justifies the lavishness of the ceremony for which several pigs are slaughtered and the gamelan orchestra is hired to play throughout the night.

Tirta is fetched from the Pura Manik Selaka and Pura Ninggarsari prior to the ceremony, to be mixed with tirta consecrated from the shrines in the Pura Ulun Suwi. The deities of the two temples guarantee the welfare of the rice. Their active involvement is fairly recent and follows from a trance held during a piodalan at Pura Manik Selaka, when the deity of Gunung Batukau, speaking through the trancer, undertook to protect the crops and enjoined the subak to include the deities of the Pura Sada in the consecration of tirta at the piodalan of the Pura Ulun Suwi.

In view of the instrumental purpose of agricultural rites, it is crucial to end the festival in the Pura Ulun Suwi with a trance during which the deity is questioned by the leaders of the subak on matters pertaining to the cultivation of the rice, the adequacy of the rituals or any other current problem needing to be resolved. The trance gives the subak the opportunity to inquire into the desires of those upon whom the welfare of the crops ultimately rests. As such, when no trance takes place, the whole temple congregation is thrown into a state of consternation as this means that the ritual
was not effective in contacting the deities and the fate of the crop remains uncertain for the forthcoming season.

2. Panyepian Anduran

This rite is held once a year on the new moon in sasih Kasa and replaces the yearly province-wide rite of Pengeleban held at lake Tamblingan, which is attended by every subak in Tabanan. On this occasion a buffalo, purchased collectively by the various subak, is ritually drowned in the waters of the lake. During another trance in Pura Manik Selaka, the deity requested that instead of participating in this collective ritual the subak should sacrifice a cow in the outer yard of the Pura Dalem each year.

Panyepian anduran is performed by the pamangku subak and the pamangku Dalem, with the help of the saya teams who slaughter the beast in the middle yard (jaba tanden) of the Pura Dalem. It is a small affair which is attended only by the leaders of the subak. The ceremony begins around 8 am in the Pura Ulun Suwi with the consecration of tirta by the pamangku subak. This tirta is then taken to the Pura Dalem to be mixed with water from the spring next to the Pura Dalem to make tirta panyapian. This section of the ritual is officiated in the inner yard of this temple by the pamangku Dalem who does not stand facing north in front of the Dalem Tungkub as would usually be the case. Instead, the pamangku faces east in front of the palinggih Manik Galih/Rambut Sedana.

While the pamangku Dalem is officiating, the leaders of the subak are purified in the outer yard by the pamangku subak,
then a set of offerings containing meat from the slaughtered beast is offered to Mrajarat, the Lord of the Graveyard at the shrine outside the entrance of the Pura Dalem. During the whole performance of the ceremony, the pamangku subak stands facing south. The cooked meat is then shared out among all the participants including the pamangku, the saya teams and the subak leaders who eat some of it in a communal meal to close the ceremony and take the rest home with them.

COMMENTARIES

The Pura Dalem plays an important role in the collective rituals held by the subak, either indirectly as a source of tirta or directly as the space where the rite is performed. The Pura Dalem's involvement in agriculture is shown in the following table where the sources of tirta needed for the performance of the subak rituals are recapitulated.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RITE</th>
<th>Temple used as a Source of <em>Tirta</em> (other than temple where rite is held)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pura Dalem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ngarastiti</em></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Nyepi</em></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Piodalan</em></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pura Ulun Suwi</em></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Panyepian</em></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Anduran</em></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ngusaba</em></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Uma</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 45. Sources of *Tirta* for Agricultural Rites**

**Legend**

*x*: source of *Tirta*

- : not a source of *Tirta*

This table also shows that the Pura Dalem is closely associated with the Pura Ulun Suwi. The connection between death and the fertility of the fields probably traces back to the cultivation on dry rice and was carried over when the transition to irrigated rice agriculture was made. It is clear that in the performance of the agricultural rituals, the Pura Dalem functions primarily as the temple for the fertility of the land rather than as the temple of the dead, yet this temple is used in preference to the Pura Bedugul which functions specifically as the temple of the land for the rice fields. Hence we should look for the specific qualities of the Pura Dalem which cannot be reproduced in the Pura Bedugul. These are obviously found in the Pura Dalem's status as temple of the dead in the Kahyangan Tiga and the place where the physical components of the person are separated and recycled into the domesticated natural
environment of the fields. The double function of the Pura Dalem is congruent with the closed ideology of the village in which prosperity and fertility are obtained directly from the forebears who have not yet left the realm of the earth, and it illustrates the complementarity of the rice cycle and the human cycle which are articulated together into a single, comprehensive cycle. The deep-seated unity and identity of all these elements upon which the local beliefs about the place of man in the universe are based, is periodically re-enacted in the yearly festival of Ngusaba Desa which marks the start of the traditional agricultural year. On this particular occasion, the ancestors, the rice and the human community come together for a night-long festival.
1. This is not peculiar to Piling. Hobart reports that a similar distinction is made in the village of Tengahpadang (Central Gianyar) where "the main temple festival, (pi)odalan agung occurs on Purnama Kedasa, or every full moon of the tenth solar-lunar month; whereas the regular offerings in the rice fields normally fall on every fifteenth day, or Kajeng-Manis, by the overlap of Kajeng, the third day of the three-day week, with Umanis, the first day of the five-day week." (Hobart, 1978:57). The full moon of sasih kadasa is given in the lontar Shri Tatwa as the date for the main temple festival of the subak dedicated to the worship of Bhatari Shri (sic) and Rambut Sedana (Shri Tatwa, mss.:2). The Tuntunan Gunan Ing Masasawahan which is published as a practical handbook for every subak in Tabanan does not give any date for holding the piodalan agung but makes a conceptual difference between the schedule of agricultural rites which is set into motion by the cycle of development of the rice plants, and the temple festivals which accompany the practice of rice agriculture. This difference was appreciated by Geertz who distinguishes between rituals which are performed "in a fixed order....once the first stage is initiated, by the intrinsic ecological rhythms of rice growing" and those which "are concerned with a broader ecological rhythm" (Geertz, 1972, quoted in Hobart, 1978:68).

2. This belief is based upon two ideas: that there is a fundamental identity between human beings and rice, and that the two are part of a complementary closed circuit which takes in the cycle of human existence and the growth cycle of the rice. In the previous chapter, we saw that at death, part of the human soul goes back to the sun, then in this chapter sunlight, as Dewi Sri the principle of fertility, fecundates the rice during flowering. We may compare this with the Iban belief that at death the human spirit (samangat) dissolves eventually into dew which is taken up into the ears of rice and are eaten by human beings (Jensen, 1974:108 and 153).

3. According to Liefrinck, the Balinese time the planting of the rice with the appearance of the Plough or with the Pleiades (Liefrinck, 1969:63). The Plough often seen as six stars closest to each other in the constellation of Orion, and the Pleiades consist of seven stars clustered together in the constellation of Taurus next to Orion. According to Condominas, the relevance of the Pleiades to the cultivation of rice in South-East Asia comes largely from the fact that they look like grains of rice scattered in the sky (Condominas, personal communication). In ancient Java the rice growing season began after the apparition of the Pleiades on the eastern sky at sunset in December or with that of the Plough later in January (this is one month later than is recorded in Bali (Knappert, 1977:5)). The Pleiades (Bintang Banyak) and Orion (Bintang Tiga) also determine the start of the agricultural cycle among the Iban. According to Freeman, the rise of the Pleiades above the
horizon before dawn, marks the beginning of the first clearing of the fields. Their appearance at the zenith before dawn marks the beginning of the sowing of the rice (Freeman, 1970:171-2). The author also notes that the Iban take a third star, Sirius (Bintang Tangkong Peredah) into account. They believe that the rice sown after Sirius has passed the zenith will not mature properly (Jensen, 1974:156n1, also Freeman 1970:172).

4. Lansing elaborates upon this in the second part of his paper on the Balinese water temples and the management of irrigation in Bali (Lansing, 1987:331). Briefly, the Balinese lunar year is slightly shorter than the solar year and must be adjusted periodically by adding one extra month every thirty months (Goris, 1960:116). The intercalary month of Malasadha was added to the lunar calendar in 1986, and ran from the 8th of June to the 7th of July 1986.

5. As a matter of interest one may wish to compare the reckoning of the agricultural year in Piling with that of the Mnong Gar in Vietnam who also divide the year into twelve lunar months as well as in two seasons linked to the position of the sun in the sky. As Vietnam is located in the northern hemisphere, the dry season runs from November to May and the wet season from May to November (Condominas, 1983:20-1).

6. Although in fact the rainy season tapers off progressively in April and can sometimes stretch until May.

7. This was also noted by Liefrinck in relation to the subak of Buleleng in North Bali (Liefrinck, 1969:66).

8. Compare this with the Ngaju division of the year into a "sacred era" beginning with the appearance of the constellation of Orion (patendo) at sunset and corresponding to the rice growing season when most activities took place in the fields, and a period of two or three months called "the time between years" (helat nyelo) running the end of the harvest to the beginning of the next agricultural cycle and corresponding to the return of the farmers to the residential village (Schärer, 1963:94).

9. The adjective wet applies also for the cultivation of dry-land rice as, although the fields are not irrigated, the soil must have the consistency of mud for "dry-land" rice to grow well.

10. In 1986, at least one person died each week during those two months, a not unusual phenomenon according to people. The cold weather is no doubt responsible for these deaths, as many people suffer from chronic chest condition probably caused by tuberculosis or asthma, which worsens considerably during the winter months.
11. As Lansing has remarked in relation to the determination of the schedule of rice cultivation in Bali (Lansing, 1987:331), the use of the printed calendar is only recent (two decades). Before its introduction, the farmers estimated the months of the lunar year from the changes visible in the environment. This is still done in Piling where the important months are estimated in the following manner: it is sasih kapat when the jepun (frangipani) blossoms, sasih kelima for the gadung (dioscorea hispida), a vine whose tuberous roots are poisonous (Poerwadarminta, 1984:287), sasih keenam when the boni (?) bears fruit, and sasih kepitu when the bamboo grows new shoots. From sasih keenam to kaulu the wind grows stronger, announcing the arrival of rain and in sasih kesanga it blows in violent storms. The star Jiyestha (Jupiter) rising in the north-west sky at sunset announces the end of sasih kadasa and the beginning of sasih jiyestha. Sasih sada, malasadha (when applicable), kasa, karo until ketiga tend to be blended together into a single period of time as this is the dry and cold season when nothing much happens in the natural environment.

12. The combination Anggara-Kelion is called Anggarkasih.

13. The three-day week (triwara) consists of Beteng which is associated with the north, Kajeng associated with the west and Pasah associated with the south.

14. According to Pan Mendi, a balean of Buruan, one should add the number (urip) i.e. the numerological value of the day of one's birth to the number of the day in the sadwara chosen to undertake something in order to find whether it is a propitious time.

15. cf. Huntington, 1988:36-8 for a similar categorization among the Bara of Madagascar.

16. Or a form of speaking, a "botanic idiom" not necessarily to be taken literally (Fox, personal communication).

17. The schedule of agricultural rites accompanying the cycle of cultivation of padi gaga is given here, as a matter of interest.

1. before preparing the soil for sowing, a small pacaruan is held at the highest point of the field, in the north-west direction, with a cau petik and a segehan putih/kuning

2. before sowing the seeds, the ceremony of panuasen is held at the same place in the field with offerings similar as above, a panuasen (made of the top part of one cone of steamed rice), a cacen pengeribuan and a sayut
3. When the rice is 42 days old, nyaab is held with the following offerings: a ketipat, a belayak, a boiled chicken, a sampian and a cacen buh.

4. When the rice is three months old, byukukung is held in the fields. Rujak is brought out and the rice is married with a pengerampinian, 6 jajan samping, 6 jajan pepes, 6 jajan timus, a pengulapan pengembean, 2 lelingian, wawangian, keben-keben, kuangen, penguak and a segehan warna lima.

5. Ngusaba is held in the fields and in the Pura Bedugul (offerings unknown).

6. Panen, held 210 days after the sowing starts with the consecration of a soda rayunan, one ketipat, a segehan putih/kuning, a fried chick and a cau. Two Nini are made: a male effigy consisting of 66 ears of rice, and a female effigy made with 33 ears. Each effigy is given a walking stick made with 3 ears of rice which must be "stolen" from someone else's field. They are given hands and feet made of 5 ears of rice each and two ears made of three ears of rice. Finally they are given clothing made from the number of ears of rice which can go through a ring.

7. Mantenin takes place on a suitable day when the rice is dry. A small ceremony is held in the granary with the following offerings: pengulapan pengembean, sorohan and various kinds of cakes (jajan).

18. This is not always the case. In Jatiluih, a neighbouring village situated 3km north-east of Piling, rice is the older sibling of man, therefore the replanting of the seedlings must be carried out one day prior to the day of the birth of the owner of the fields.

19. Days of the seven-day week are either friends (mitra) or enemies (satru) of other days of the seven-day week. The relations between days are largely related to their position on the cosmological grid. Days positioned on opposite points of the compass are "enemies". The list of compatible and incompatible days of the Saptawara is as follows: Sunday is compatible with Thursday and Wednesday but incompatible with Saturday, Friday and Tuesday; Monday is compatible with Friday but incompatible with Saturday, Wednesday, Thursday and Tuesday; Tuesday is compatible with Wednesday and Saturday but incompatible with Sunday, Monday and Thursday; Wednesday is compatible with Tuesday and Friday but incompatible with Monday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday; Thursday is compatible with Sunday and Friday but
incompatible with Tuesday, Wednesday, Monday and Saturday; Friday is compatible with Monday, Sunday and Wednesday, but incompatible with Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday; finally Saturday is compatible with Tuesday and Thursday but incompatible with Monday, Wednesday and Saturday. This list was obtained in Piling and is probably valid for Piling only. Some variants are available in the commercial litterature sold in libraries throughout Bali.

20. This shrine bears the same name as the subak temple dedicated also to Uma/Dewi Sri, the goddess of the rice fields. According to my informants the deity of the Pura Bedugul is identical with the deity of the Pura Dalem. At night Uma is believed to transform herself into Durga and count the strands of rice in the fields. She must not be disturbed and it is forbidden to sleep in the vicinity of the rice fields.

21. One tuft is made of four to five seedlings which are planted together to form one rice plant.

22. In accordance with the Balinese system of classification, the numerological value of the days of the saptawara is congruent with their position on the points of the compass: Soma 4 is located to the north, Sukra 6 to the north/east, Redite 5 to the east, Wraspati 8 to the south/east, Saniscara 9 to the south, Anggara 3 to the south/west and Buda 7 to the west.

23. But see also the schedule of subak rituals using the uku calendar where ngarastiti was performed on the 9th day after the replanting of the gagadon crop in 1986. There are two reasons for this. We saw that the gagadon crop is considered inferior and as such is not tied to ritual prescriptions to the same extent as the kerta masa crop. Furthermore, the rite was performed on Anggarkasih, a particularly auspicious day for this type of ritual whose purpose is to purify the soil.

24. The pacaruan panca sanak is an excorcistic rite requiring the slaughtering of a white duck, red, yellow and black chicken and a chicken with varicoloured feathers. The birds are skinned and the skin with the feathers still attached are spread out on a bamboo frame, the duck to the east, red chicken to the south, yellow chicken to the west and black chicken to the north. The varicoloured chicken is placed in the center. The pacaruan panca sanak is the smallest of a series of exorcistic rites, the largest being the panca wali krama and eka dasa rudra necessitating the slaughtering of a considerable number of different species of animals.

25. Byukukung is still an integral part of the agricultural rituals in Wangaya Gede, Tengkudak and Jatiluih where padi taun is still grown. It is possible that its gradual disappearance in Piling is a consequence of the intensification of the agricultural schedule which
leaves little time free for the preparation of elaborate rituals. The modernizing influence of Christianity also plays a definite role in the paring down of the agricultural rites. Farmers can be slightly embarrassed or even ashamed of talking about their rituals especially those where the rice is clearly treated like a member of the human species, as they are aware of the quaintness of their beliefs and are afraid of being tagged old-fashioned (terbelakang, Ind.) or superstitious (bertakhyul, Ind.).

26. One of the most striking examples of fertility rites in Bali is the Batara Berutuk dance performed in the Bali Aga village of Trunyan for the Usaba Gede each year on the day of Purnamanin Kapat (cf. Danandjaya, 1980:384ff.) in which the male and female deities of the village go through the gestures of copulating. Although not always as clearly expressed, in my opinion similar ideas underlie the performance of the Barong and Rangda dance. Fertility and the life-producing power of the union of the male and female elements is a recurrent theme in Piling.

27. The cakes to be used for ngusaba uma must follow certain prescriptions; there must be jajan gina made with glutinous rice and palm sugar, jajan uli made with rice flour, glutinous rice and grated coconut, jajan kekiping consisting of rice flour and bananas and jajan oboeg made with glutinous rice, rice flour, grated coconut and palm sugar.

28. The meaning of this rite is obscure and people tend to be rather secretive about it. We may compare it with the Iban rite of mata padi performed several days before the harvest. On this occasion a few ears of ripening rice are ceremonially cut, taken home, prepared and cooked on the same day, then the resulting porridge is eaten by the whole bilek-family including the dogs and some of it is rubbed onto the hearth stones (Freeman, 1970:203-4 ; Jensen, 1974:189-90).

29. This is the task of the owner's wife unless there is a death in the family, in which case a woman outsider must be sought to make the Nini.

30. In Trunyan Danandjaja reports that the Nini is also made from a male and a female bundle of ears which are tied together to form a single bunch (Danandjaja, 1980:205). In Java the "Nini" is also made with male and female ears. It is conceived as a bridal pair consisting of 108 ears divided into two bundles. One bundle is bound with white cord and is thought of as male while the other "is bound so that the leaves form the shape of a woman's hairknot." (Van Setten van der Meer, 1979:105). Alkema and Bezemer report that instead of the "rice mother", the Nini in Central Java is thought of as the rice bridal pair whose marriage is celebrated in the
harvest (Alkema and Bezemer, 1927:166). Van Setten van der Meer suggests that the pair could be Dewi Sri and her consort Sedana, another name for Wisnu, and rightly points out that in Java as in Bali the couple are associated with the worship of ancestors and the fertility of both man and rice (Van Setten van der Meer, 1979:102).

31. cf. for instance Tuntunan Gunan Ing Masasawahan made available to the pekaseh of each subak in the province by the Parisada Hindu Dharma of Tabanan (1981:21).

32. This information is taken from a small roneotyped booklet on Buddhism, published in Jogjakarta in 1958 which is owned by a schoolteacher and is circulated rather freely among the temple-priests of the village. While its conformity to the Buddhist scholarly writings is at times rather dubious, this booklet is probably the only Buddhist text the villagers have ever had the chance to read. It is quoted here in view of its relevance to the locally held beliefs and practices.

33. These cakes are jajan gina, jajan uli, jajan kekiping already described in note 10, jajan satoh made with glutinous rice and sugar and jajan sabun made with black rice, glutinous rice flour, coconut milk and palm sugar.

34. The importance of rice as food is evidenced in the different terms used to refer to rice according to the method of cooking used. Raw unhusked rice is called baas. When it is soaked in water it is called aruan, steamed rice is known as nasi; the rice boiled inside a ketipat is called lontong and when it is boiled in water to the consistency of porridge, bubuh. Black rice porridge is known as bubuh injin and when it is mixed with grated coconut and sugar, bubuh liklik. Finally, rice pounded into flour is called tepung.

35. cf. Weck, 1937, quoted in Hooykaas, 1974:106 for similar ideas: "The essence from food and drink becomes the parents' semen, from which man is born."

36. It is significant that the banten punjung is included in the offerings used during the ceremony as it indicates the involvement of the ancestors in the protection of the crop.

37. In 1986, the Jabatan Agama of Tabanan requested the subak to obtain tirta pengarastitian from the following temples: Pura Pekendungan, Pura Tanah Lot, Pura Batukau and Pura Besakih. The subak complied with this demand but held two ceremonies of ngarastiti, using tirta fetched from the traditional sources for the first, and tirta fetched from the four above-mentioned temples for the second.
CHAPTER EIGHT

Ngusaba Desa - A Yearly Rite of Renewal
A large part of this thesis has been devoted to the study of the many rituals which form an integral part of the mundane activities of the villagers, whether these rites follow the psychological passage of human beings through the course of life or the developmental cycle of the rice. However, these rites are not in themselves sufficient to ensure the success of human enterprises which would remain fruitless without the addition of an active ingredient: amerta, the divine essence or elixir of immortality which is linked to ideas of pure sustenance. Amerta has all the positive effects of food. Like food, its absorption gives vitality, strength, energy, happiness and well-being without the inevitable pollution caused by food. If one were to define amerta by what it is not, one could say that it is food without substance, hence without the impurities pertaining to the physical world. As such amerta is the perfect "sustenance" for the immaterial beings who inhabit the neskala since, having no bodily form, spirits cannot by definition take substantial food. The opposition between amerta/essence vs. food/substance is very important since it is one of the criteria used to make a distinction between the divine and the human realms in the Balinese universe.

The purpose of the temple festivals consists essentially in the preparation of tīrta from this amerta which is obtained from the invited ancestral deities and is mixed with pure water to be distributed to the assembled congregation. The gift of amerta constitutes the climax of the ritual which
unfolds within a paradigm of hospitality according to which
the deities are welcomed into the temple to be fed and
entertained, before being requested to donate some of their
divine essence to the assembled congregation. Yet, although
this paradigm predominates to the extent that the whole ritual
is performed according to the precise rules of etiquette
governing social interactions in the village, the actual
exchange of divine food against human food which culminates in
the consecration of *tirta*, brings into play fundamental ideas
about human nature and the relations between men and their
gods which cannot be explained solely in terms of rules of
hospitality.

The present chapter is devoted to the study of *ngusaba desa*,
the yearly festival of the *Pura Puseh*. On this occasion, a
return to the collective ancestral sources of the *desa adat* is
made in order to resplenish the spiritual reserves depleted
throughout the previous cycle of activities. *Ngusaba desa*
brings together all the elements constituting the *desa adat*
into a one-night encounter at the end of which the human
community, revitalized by the absorption of the divine
essence, can launch into another agricultural season. In
addition to being the occasion when all the ancestors of the
*desa adat* are received and entertained by the human community,
this temple festival which is conducted soon after the
September equinox\(^2\), on the night of the full moon (*purnamanin*)
in the fourth month of the lunar year (*sasih kapat*) at the
juncti on of dry season and the forthcoming rainy season, also marks the end of one ideal agricultural year and the beginning of a new one.

This chapter is focussed essentially upon the elements of the ritual which are directly relevant to the interactions between the human congregation and its gods, whenever these are mediated through the person of the officiant, culminating in the consecration of tirta. The ritual is structured around the two-way exchange of food against amerta which, in order to take place, necessitates a breaking-down of the boundaries between the human and the divine worlds as the temple congregation is gradually elevated toward the gods while the latter are brought down into the human world. This is correlated with a gradual concentration of the disparate elements of the two worlds within the person of the priest during the first half of the ritual up to the consecration of tirta followed by a progressive dispersion of the same elements in the second half and a return to the state of differentiation and division characteristic of everyday life.

Balinese temple festivals are complex events where different things happen simultaneously on various levels, and as such they lend themselves to different types of interpretations. For the sake of clarity in this analysis, the ritual is presented firstly under the form of a sequential table where the structure of each procedure is briefly outlined. The table is followed by a descriptive commentary of the actions of the officiant. This presentation has the advantage of
bringing out the linear progression of the ritual. In the second mode of treatment, the ritual is presented from the perspective of the interactions between the participants consisting of the human community and the divine guests, mediated through the person of the priest. This type of presentation exposes the concentric movement of the ritual during the first half until the consecration of tirta, followed by a gradual dispersion and division in the second half of the ceremony.

In order fully to appreciate the goals followed by the desa adat community in the enactment of this festival, it is necessary, by way of introduction and before moving to the analysis of the ritual, briefly to discuss the Balinese conceptions of human action.

**A BALINESE CONCEPTION OF ACTION**

Human activities have an inevitable polluting aspect which is produced by the fact that they disturb the original state of harmony and order described as sepi or sunya (quiet, concealed, mysterious, timeless). The original order provides a normative ideal of the conditions that ought to be achieved but can never realized in practice, as this would signal the end of life. The dynamic function of human activities has a positive aspect which counterbalances their polluting effect since it is conducive to the continuation of
life. As such, some degree of pollution is accepted providing that it is cancelled out periodically by the performance of exorcistic rituals which are designed to enable men to act upon the world without ultimately being affected by the consequences of their actions.

Re-establishing the order temporarily upset by the pollution of activities is not sufficient to ensure the success of human enterprises. In order to bring positive results human actions need the addition, through the gift of amerta, of a spiritual quality which is obtained from the ancestors and the village gods. The belief that human actions cannot by themselves yield any result means that the Balinese are extremely dependent upon their deities and ancestors for the success of their enterprises and are acutely vulnerable to the negative influences of the chaotic spirits or buta kala which plague their universe. Balinese existence consists in striking a bargain between the unavoidability of having to deal with those spirits in the course of everyday life and the necessity to renew contact periodically with the ancestral deities who can exert a positive influence upon the outcome of human activities.

These divine beings, whose realm of abode is the neskala, are the actual driving force behind human enterprises which take place in the sekala, the visible and tangible dimension of the Balinese universe equated with the physical world and the world of forms, where everything is apprehended in terms of discrete units without any obvious connections between
themselves. In contrast, the neskala is characterized by the absence of forms and the fundamental inter-relation of all elements. Movement, progress and evolution are thought to originate from the neskala although they are perceived in the sekala but, unless they are focused upon positive goals, they take the form of a raw energy or impulse culturally expressed in the ambivalent nature of the Balinese gods whose destructive aspect is at least as important as their benevolent aspect.

The temple festival constitutes the occasion when the human community has an opportunity to contact its ancestral deities in order to obtain this active ingredient which is communicated to them via the medium of tirta consecrated during the ritual. Strengthened by it, people can return to their secular activities, secure in the knowledge that the deities are bestowing their blessings upon them and bringing their enterprises to success.

NGUSABA DESA

Purnamanin Kapat holds a special place in the ritual calendar of Piling. Full moon nights are considered propitious times for holding festivals designed to bring fertility and/or prosperity as on those nights, ancestral amerta is believed to flow down to the earth. In addition, sasih kapat is an
important month in the local ancestral cult since, after disappearing inside the volcano to escape Panci Sakti's attempts to steal it, the mystical manik of the legend can nowadays be seen only during sasih kapat. In the agricultural calendar, this particular month marks a period of renewal, the start of the rainy season, which is correlated with the southward journey of the sun in the sky after the september equinox and, in Piling where, because of the altitude, the dry season is decidedly cold, sasih kapat is also the time of the year when the weather warms up, fruit trees begin to blossom and a profusion of flowers appears.

Ngusaba desa is held at the same date as the yearly festival (piodalan) of Pura Pucak Kadaton, the ancestral temple of the summit of Gunung Batukau. This is not coincidental since both temples function as temples of ancestral origins, Pura Pucak Kadaton for the whole of the mountain population and the Pura Puseh for the community of the desa adat of Piling. As one of several villages appointed to its care, Piling participates in the preparation and the performance of the piodalan of Pura Pucak Kadaton during which a buffalo is sacrificed in the outer yard of the temple, then is quartered and left for the ancestors on the four-partite ancestral platform known as pasamuan.

In order to accommodate the two festivals and because tirta consecrated in the summit temple is needed for its performance, ngusaba desa is held on the night after the full moon, following the piodalan of Pura Puncak Kadaton. A
delegation from Piling, consisting of the pamangku Puncak Kadaton, the saya teams and anyone who wishes to join in\(^5\), spends the night of the piodalan on the summit of the volcano and the following morning brings back some of the tirta consecrated during the night. On the way home, the delegation stops at the Pura Puseh Sari and the pamangku of that temple obtains tirta which is also needed to complete the tirta consecrated in Ngusaba desa.

On the morning of the festival, the effigies (arca) of the various ancestral deities are brought out of their storage to be cleaned, dressed and adorned by the pamangku of the desa adat. Sandalwood tablets inscribed with magical letters (aksara) are placed inside metal containers (taonan) which are wrapped in white and yellow cloth and topped with a penyeneng. These are called gagaluh an and are used as representations of the deities of the various altars in the Pura Puseh. Later, during the first stage of the ritual, the taonan will be filled with water taken from the beji of the Pura Puseh to serve as a receptacle for the divine amerta.

All throughout the day women stream in and out of the temple bringing the Nini from the previous kerta masa harvest taken down from the granaries, dressed in white and yellow cloth and decorated for the occasion with new sri-srian, frangipani and ilang-ilang. Tall cone-shaped offerings made of multicoloured rice cakes, fruit and flowers and topped with a cili face are also brought to the temple. These offerings (aturan) symbolize the best of the produce from the land and
represent each family's personal contribution to the festivities. These and the Nini are placed together on the ancestral platform (piasan) inside the Pura Puseh.

Meanwhile, two pamangku of the desa adat are delegated to the Puri Anyar in Tabanan to fetch the keris and the tombak, two emblems of royalty within which is embodied the supernatural power (kasaktian) of the kings of Tabanan⁶, whose presence is essential for the success of the ritual. A formal invitation is also extended to the members of the royal family to delegate someone to attend the temple festival. By four o'clock, the gamelan players arrive and set up their instruments while the Barong is brought out of its storage, dusted and prepared for display in the Bale Agung. The masks of Rangda and her two followers are brought down from the Pura Dalem to be displayed next to the Barong. Meanwhile, in the Pura Puseh, the two specialists in offerings (tukang banten) who will assist the officiant later during the ritual, start setting up the offerings specific to each altar. It is essential that one of these assistants be the officiant's own wife (or his mother, if the wife is prevented from attending).

The ritual is performed by the balean desa who will be referred below as the officiant or the priest. The balean desa is assisted by the pamangku of the Pura Puseh whose role, by virtue of his special affinity with the deity of the temple, consists in facilitating the communication between this deity and the officiant. The other pamangku of the desa adat (including the pamangku subak) and their wives sit behind
the officiant throughout the duration of the ritual. Their participation includes joining the officiant in meditation, chanting *kidung* and, later in the night, helping out in the distribution of *tirta* to the temple congregation.

*Ngusaba desa* lasts the whole night from sunset to sunrise the following morning. It is centered upon a two-way exchange between the human community and the gods of the *desa adat* during which the gods receive human food, i.e. food which usually eaten by substantial beings, and men receive spiritual food in the form of *amerta*. This exchange is articulated in four phases given below.

1. preparation for the arrival of the divine guests  
2. reception of the divine guests and serving of meal  
3. gift of divine essence to the human community  
4. departure of the divine guests

In the first phase, the disparity between human beings and gods is reduced by bringing the temple congregation closer to the divine world by distancing the *buta kala* from the temple grounds and through the systematic purification of the temple grounds, the ritual implements and the human participants. In the second phase, the gods are brought down into the human world by means of a gift of food whose effect is to stabilize them in time and space. In the third phase, divine essence is obtained from the satiated deities and *tirta* is consecrated during a sequence in which the officiant and deities meet in a liminal dimension beyond the boundaries of the human world.
This phase ends with the distribution of tirta to the temple congregation. The fourth and last phase involves the departure of the divine guests and the re-establishment of the boundaries between the human and the divine world culminating in the cockfight at the closure of the ceremony.

The logic of the ritual lies in the articulation of these four parts: preparation, invitation, exchange and separation, forming the paradigm of hospitality within which the seventeen consecutive procedures presented in the table on the next page, take their meaning.

LINEAR PROGRESSION OF THE RITUAL

In this section, I concentrate exclusively upon the gestures and actions of the officiant and his assistants, in other words, upon the ritual procedure which is immediately apprehensible by anyone attending the festival. No mantra are included here because they are not directly relevant to this study. The officiant uses mantra taken from the lontar manuscript Sang Kulputih with the recent addition of mantra made available in the Pedoman Pemangku published in 1982 for the use of the students in the Akademi Pendidikan Gura Agama Hindu in Singaraja. In this publication, amerta is specifically described both as food needed by all spiritual beings for their subsistence and as an active principle
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>PHASE</th>
<th>PARTICIPANTS</th>
<th>ACTIVITIES</th>
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<tr>
<td>5am</td>
<td>1st Ph.</td>
<td>Sunday night festival</td>
<td>Participants dance, sing, and engage in sacred rituals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.30am</td>
<td>1st Ph.</td>
<td>Rituals at temple</td>
<td>Participants perform rituals at the temple.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6am</td>
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<td>Morning prayers</td>
<td>Participants attend morning prayers at the temple.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.30am</td>
<td>2nd Ph.</td>
<td>Procession from temple to village</td>
<td>Participants parade from the temple to the village.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8am</td>
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<td>Villagers offer prayers</td>
<td>Villagers offer prayers outside the temple.</td>
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<tr>
<td>9am</td>
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<td>Preparations for dance</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10am</td>
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<td>11am</td>
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<td>Performance of sacred rituals</td>
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<td>12pm</td>
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<td>Midday meal</td>
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<td>2pm</td>
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<td>Participants attend afternoon prayers.</td>
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<tr>
<td>4pm</td>
<td>3rd Ph.</td>
<td>Evening meal</td>
<td>Participants have an evening meal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5pm</td>
<td>3rd Ph.</td>
<td>Procession from village to temple</td>
<td>Participants parade from the village to the temple.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6pm</td>
<td>3rd Ph.</td>
<td>Evening prayers</td>
<td>Participants attend evening prayers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7pm</td>
<td>3rd Ph.</td>
<td>Evening entertainment</td>
<td>Participants enjoy traditional entertainment.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE: Structure of Temple Festival

- **1st Phase**: Sunday night festival
- **2nd Phase**: Procession from temple to village, rituals at temple, prayer offerings, and dance preparations.
- **3rd Phase**: Dance performance, sacred rituals, midday and evening meals, temple procession, and evening prayers.

Participants include local villagers and temple inhabitants, who participate in various activities throughout the day. The festival is a significant community event celebrated annually.
When all the containers have been emptied in an earthenware jar, the officiant adds shredded *dadap* leaves to the water then one of the female assistants sets fire to the coconut fibers and the sandalwood placed in *biakaonan* and purifies each altar in the *Pura Puseh* and the *Bale Agung* by sweeping the smoke toward them. Next, she sweeps the smoke toward the officiant and other participants who make the gesture of attracting it toward themselves (*natab*). Then comes the purification by water. The officiant takes the *lis senjata*, a broom-like offering symbolizing the weapons and attributes (*senjata*) of five *dewata*, which is used specifically for sprinkling *tirta*[^10]. After cutting it open, he sprays *tirta pengelemidian* over himself, then gives the *lis* to one assistant who sprays *tirta* in the direction of the four points of the compass, sprinkles each altar in turn and, coming back to the human participants, sprays them liberally with the *tirta* which is accepted with the same gestures of *natab*. The *tirta* left over from *makelemigi* is placed on the *apit lawang* next to the entrance of the *Bale Agung*. Later, as people come in, a woman *saya* standing by the *apit lawang* sprays *tirta* over them.

2. *Masiram* (to bathe in high Balinese)

After the purification of the temple and of the human congregation, comes the purification of the implements and
effigies which will later be imbued with divine emanations during the ritual: the arca, umbrellas and lances (pangawin) and the royal pusaka are taken to the river for a ritual bath. The taonan are also taken along to be filled with water from a pure source of water on the way back from the river. The procession forms inside the Pura Puseh. It is led by the Barong whose role is to protect the effigies and ritual implements which, until they become the place of abode of the gods, are particularly vulnerable to being entered by a chthonian spirit. The young unmarried women of the desa adat walk in front, carrying a length of white cloth stretched over their heads. They are followed by the pamangku who carry the arca and the royal pusaka over their shoulders on a heavily-decorated stretcher to which the women's cloth is tied. The young men carry umbrellas and lances, then come the pamangku's wives and assistants carrying upon their heads the taonan and the groups of offerings to be used at the river. The balean desa brings up the rear, followed by the gamelan players and any member of the temple congregation who wants to join the procession.

The bathing ceremony is held at the large river Tukad Yeh Oo forming the eastern boundary between Mengesta and Penebel. Upon arrival at the river, the chthonian spirits (buta kala) are exorcised with a segehan warna lima then the officiant purifies the pamangku and the ritual objects with the pabersihan. Next the pamangku enter the river to sprinkle
the objects liberally with water. Meanwhile, from the bank, the officiant consecrates the suci gebogan, peras penyeneng and sorohan to ensure the success of the procedure.

3. Ngaturin ke Beji
On the way back from the river, the procession stops at the beji, a spring situated south of Piling Kanginan whose water is used as a base for the tirta consecrated in the Pura Puseh/Bale Agung. First the pamangku beji distances the buta kala with a segehan warna lima, then the female assistants and the pamangku's wives fill the taonan and several urns with wat. Finally, the procession sets off again to return to the village.

4. Papapagan (from papag : to receive, welcome)
The procession stops outside the entrance of the Bale Agung and the officiant exorcises the buta kala which may have followed from the river with a segehan agung upon which a newly-born chick is killed, its body cut into five portions and the blood sprayed in the direction of the four points of the compass. This exorcistic rite is performed in front of the barong, while the rest of the procession stands further back, perhaps in order to protect the purified ritual objects from contact with blood, an intensely polluting substance for all but the buta kala who feed specifically upon it, but also because this is congruent with the protective role played by the Barong whose presence is used to attract and neutralize the chthonian spirits.
5. *Ngilehin* (to walk around something with the meaning of surrounding or delineating a specific area)

The procession walks in through the *Bale Agung* and into the *Pura Puseh*, turning to the right to walk three times counterclockwise around the *Pura Puseh*\(^{11}\). The women *kerama desa* join the procession at this point, carrying their *Nini* and *aturan* on their heads. After completing three turns, the procession stops; the umbrellas and lances are planted in the ground of each side of the main shrine in the *Pura Puseh* (the *pasimpenan Dalem*) and on each side of the entrance to the *Bale Agung*; the *arca* are placed in the *piasan*, the royal *pusaka* on the *pengubengan*, a temporary altar built in front of the *pasimpenan Dalem* where the offerings intended for the higher deities are placed. The *Nini* and *aturan* are returned to the *piasan*. There is a short pause while the female assistants busy themselves with setting up the groups of offerings needed for the next sequence in the ritual.

**Second Phase**

The second phase begins after sunset with the exorcism of the *buta kala* which may still happen to be in the *Pura Puseh* after the purifications of the previous phase. This phase forms the first part of the exchange during which men give food to the gods. The divine guests are invited to descend into the temple to partake of the feast laid out for them. This is performed in three sequences because three classes of guests are received. The higher gods and deified ancestors who have
an altar in the *Pura Puseh* are welcomed first, then the unpurified ancestors and the minor deities who attend the ritual in the *piasan*, and finally the followers of the deities who, not being included in the category of gods, are invited to remain in the outer yard, i.e. in the *Bale Agung*.

6. *Malinggihan* (to place or seat someone in a specific place)
The officiant sits cross-legged facing north in front of the *pasimpenan Dalem*. The group of offerings called *mulapin gede* is placed in front of him on an elevated platform erected for the ritual (*pengubengan*). The purpose of this procedure is to attract the attention of the gods (*ngulapin* means to wave to someone to attract his attention) and ask them to descend (*malinggih*) onto their respective altars to partake of the food offerings placed there for them. The officiant takes the ritual bell (*bajra*) into his left hand and a lit incense stick and red blossom (*pucuk*) in his right hand so that the smoke from the incense is level with his mouth, then calls out the gods loudly by name, asking them to accept the ingredients of the *mulapin gede* which he enumerates aloud and to congregate in the temple.

Sound is particularly important in this sequence. Although not shouted, the incantation must be articulated loudly and clearly, each name being punctuated rhythmically by the *bajra* whose sound is believed to have the property to penetrate into the *neskala*. The officiant then spends several minutes in deep meditation before bringing the rite to a close.
7. Maturin Piuning

This is performed in two sequences. The first takes place in the Pura Puseh and the second in the Bale Agung. In the first sequence an additional group of offerings, the datengan babuan (reception of guests of an elevated status), is placed on the ground in front of the officiant, angled in the north/west direction, toward the piasan. Turning slightly to his left so as to face the offerings, the officiant repeats the same procedure as in malinggihan, addressing himself this time to the village ancestors (to whom the punjung is specifically dedicated), the deities of the Nawasanga and other minor deities who, although they do not have a shrine in the Pura Puseh, must nevertheless be invited to attend the ceremony to come down into the piasan and feast on the meal offered to them. This class of divine guests is closer to the human world and as such they receive portions of food (tatandingan) including cooked rice, roasted meat, spices and vegetables which are identical to the meal served to the human guests later in the evening.

In the second sequence of maturin piuning, the officiant moves to the Bale Agung to invite the gendarwa, the followers and servants of the deities, who are also their vehicles, to come into the Bale Agung to partake of their share of the feast. The officiant sits facing north in front of a group of offerings known as the datengan beten (invitation to guests of a low status) which is laid out on the ground, and calls upon
the gendarwa, asking them to rest, enjoy their meal (identical with that of the datengan babuan), and remain in the Bale Agung until the end of the ceremony.

Malinggihan and maturin piuning last roughly two hours, from 7.30pm to 9.30 pm. During the long pause following the completion of this phase, a meal consisting of cooked rice (nasi) roasted pork (babi guling), sate, lawar, vegetables and spices, followed by fruit, cakes and coffee, is served to the officiant, the administrative leaders of the desa adat and the guests of the desa adat, the pamangku and their wives and the saya workers. The guests and the officiant are served in the Pura Puseh while the others go to the Bale Agung where the meal is laid out for them in the bale mebat. Everyone included in the category of active participant must partake of this meal. If one of the saya workers happens not to be present at the time, a serving is taken to his house or kept for him to take home at the end of the temple ceremony. Similarly, when the desa adat wishes to honour a particular person, for instance if someone has made a generous contribution to the temple, a serving of the meal is taken to his house by one of the saya workers. The kerama desa who are part of the temple congregation do not partake of this communal meal. They dine instead on food brought from home or bought from the stalls erected outside the temple's entrance.
Third Phase

Nothing much happens for the next hour. People come in and out of the temple, drinking coffee and socializing while waiting for the next phase of the ritual during which the satiated gods will be asked to donate their divine essence. The second part of the exchange follows three distinct sequences: first the gods are requested to donate some of their essence then this essence is transformed into tirta panyanya-nyanya which is subsequently distributed to the temple congregation. This is followed by a period of entertainment for the benefit of the gods.

8. Nganteb

In this sequence, the deities are requested to let amerta flow into the water containers (taonan) placed on their altars. The officiant unites mystically with the deities, firstly by lifting himself out of the human world to meet the deities in their own dimension with help of the banten pengantas (escort, vehicle implying an upward movement), then by bringing the amerta down to the human world with the banten turunan (from turun : to come down). Using the bajra and incense as in the rite of malinggihan but this time holding a white flower in his right hand, the officiant calls loudly upon the assembled deities, asking them to donate their divine essence; then he falls into a deep meditation lasting several minutes. The female assistants fetch the taonan from the altars and bring them to the officiant who mixes their contents with
tirta from the Pura Puncak Kadaton and from the Pura Puseh Sari into a large water jar placed on the pengubengan.

9. Panyanya-nyanya

In this sequence, the officiant once again faces the banten pengantas and banten turunan. Calling to witness all the elements of the physical (sekala) and the spiritual (neskala) worlds, the officiant mystically "brings alive a second time" (maurip-urip or mapasupati) the offerings placed in front of him to consecrate tirta panyanya-nyanya, the ultimate purpose of the ritual. The gamelan whose sounds accompanied each previous sequence, stops playing during panyanya-nyanya when the concentration of the priest must be complete.

10. Nyembah (paying hommage) and
11. Matirta (absorption of tirta)

After the consecration of tirta panyanya-nyanya, the human congregation pays hommage to Batara Puseh, the composite deity of the temple whose essence is now present in the tirta. The pamangku and their wives, the guests and the administrative leaders of the desa adat pay hommage first, raising their joined hands above their heads. Tirta panyanya-nyanya is sprayed over them with the lis by a female assistant then they receive it three times into their cupped hands, to drink and to sleek the last drops over their hair. Next, they are given several grains of raw white rice soaked in fragrant water (bija) to eat and to paste in the middle of the forehead and each temple. The members of the temple congregation then come into the Pura Puseh to pay their hommage to Batara Puseh
and receive tirta in their turn.

After the completion of matirta, the secretaries of the desa adat make a roll call of the kerama desa to check out attendance, noting down the names of absentees who will be fined the following morning unless they can provide a valid reason for not attending the ritual. However, the kerama desa need not attend in person. It is sufficient for them to send one representative of the family. A young child will do so long as the family is represented. Panyanya-nyanya marks the limit of the period of compulsory attendance on the part of the kerama desa and also the end of the active part of the ritual. From then on people are free to go home to sleep, but many do not avail themselves of this opportunity and stay until morning. This is particularly true of older people for whom the traditional values of hospitality still obtain. They cannot conceive of leaving the temple grounds before the departure of the deities.

12. Pakeling (remembering, being mindful of something)
During the lull after matirta, the families who have incurred a debt (mautang) toward the deity of the Pura Puseh during the year, present individual offerings to be consecrated by the officiant and, in exchange, receive some tirta panyanya-nyanya in a container to take home with them.

While pakeling is being performed in the Pura Puseh, the young unmarried women of the village perform a dance around the Pura Puseh and the Bale Agung, moving counter-clockwise and carrying burning sandalwood, incense and a canang sari in their hands. This dance, which is performed in ordinary adat clothing, is led by one of the pamangku. Meanwhile the Barong and Rangda encounter takes place in the Bale Agung. The men wearing the masks meditate briefly in front of the altars of the village ancestors. Those who wear the Barong meditate in front of the palinggih of Ratu Mas Dalem Piling, and those who wear the masks of Rangda and her two assistants in front of the palinggih of his wife, Ratu Ayu Dalem Piling.

The dance lasts until the Barong is defeated by Rangda, that is until the men who wear the Barong mask fall unconscious on the ground. On this particular occasion, the Barong fell down after ten minutes of confrontation with Rangda, bringing the festivities down to a close soon after 1.30 am. All lights were then turned off and everyone lay down to sleep for a while.

Fourth Phase

The fourth phase begins at 3 am, a time considered most propitious for trancing, and finishes at dawn with the departure of the divine guests. The trance is an essential element of all temple ceremonies. It is held in order to ascertain that the ritual has been efficacious. If anything
is found to be inadequate, the deity's wishes are obeyed and changes will be made to the ritual in the following year or a complementary rite will be held to mitigate the immediate consequences. When, as does sometimes happen, no one trances, the general feeling is one of worry that the deities have not really been contacted and that as a result, the following year will be a difficult one. The ceremony is brought to a close with a cockfight performed soon after sunrise.

15. Nyanyan
The officiant and the pamangku are awakened by the saya workers who light the lamps and bring them coffee. When everyone is up, the offerings are placed in front of the officiant and the two official trancers of the desa adat come to sit behind the officiant. Sandalwood and incense are burned profusely, all the lights are turned off again and the pamangku begin to chant the kidung Warga Sari while the officiant and the pamangku Puseh fall into meditation to request Batara Puseh to descend (tedun) into the body of one of the trancers. The most usual manifestation of Batara Puseh is as a tiger and the deity has a marked preference for entering the body of the male trancer. When this trancer shows signs of being possessed, a segehan agung is placed before him while the officiant waits for the deity to speak. When several words are uttered which are recognizable and meaningful, the officiant addresses the deity in high Balinese, enquiring about the adequacy of the ritual, the suitability of the offerings and any matter pertaining to the welfare of the desa adat or agricultural problems. In this
occasion the deity complained about the polluted state of the desa adat and demanded that all the pamangku, including the balean desa, should undergo the rite of pawintenan once again, setting the date for the performance on the following Saturday - as it happened the day of Kuningan. The trancer is brought out of the trance with tirta panyanya-nyanya given to him by the officiant to drink and sleek over his hair.

16. Mapamit (leave-taking)

As soon as the trance is over, preparations are made for the formal leave-taking (mapamit) of the guests, as it is considered crucial that the deities should depart before the sun rises. Mapamit is performed first in the Bale Agung where the officiant takes leave of the gendarwa, asking them to return home, then in the Pura Puseh where the officiant takes leave of the deities and ancestors, thanking them for their benevolence and requesting them respectfully also to return home. As one would do with honoured guests, the departing ancestors, deities and their followers are presented with a parting gift of betel (sirih), sate and ketipat to take with them on their journey.

After mapamit, the saya workers begin to pull down the decorations and collect edible ingredients from the discarded offerings to be shared out among the participants. Money placed on top of the offerings as sarin banten (essence of the offerings) is pooled in a special fund which is used to pay for the priests' ceremonial clothing. The woven shapes (kulit) of the offerings are thrown away to rot in a place
reserved for that purpose outside the temple enclosure. The ritual implements and arca are put away and the royal pusaka are returned to the puri Anyar in Tabanan.

17. *Tajen*¹² (cockfight)
The ritual ends with a cockfight held outside the entrance of the *Bale Agung* in presence of the officiant, the *pamangku* and the men of the *desa adat*. As cockfighting has now become illegal except in the context of a ritual, it must be attended by a policeman and all the participants must still be wearing their ceremonial clothes. No betting takes place. The cockfight is necessary for the welfare of the officiant who, after the ritual, is in a state of magical vulnerability. According the *balean desa*, the performance of the ritual entails a loss of vitality for the officiant. After the euphoria of coming into intimate contact with the divine, one may not want to return to the secular world and will waste away unless one is firmly anchored into the human world again with the shedding of the blood of the fighting cocks. At the end of the fight, a *segehan agung* is offered to the chthonian spirits and the head, wings, legs and tailbone of the defeated cock are buried outside the entrance of the *Bale Agung*. 
CONCENTRIC EVOLUTION OF THE RITUAL

The sequential description of the ritual shows that the whole ritual is centered around the consecration of *tirta* which takes place within a restricted space constructed by the interactions of the priest and the deities via the medium of the offerings. It establishes a microcosmic environment within which are concentrated the disparate elements assembled inside the temple:

1. in the world of gods: the deities of the altars and in the *piasan*,

2. in the human world: the temple congregation made up of the *kerama desa* and their families.

For a short time these elements are unified in the person of the priest who acts as a channel through whom the two-way exchange of food/amerta takes place. The mediating role of the priest is essential to the success of the ritual because amerta belongs to the realm of the divine, being neither accessible to nor usable by average human beings. The priest must therefore penetrate into this realm to obtain *tirta* and bring it back down with him to be distributed to the assembled temple congregation. This mystical "journey" of the priest takes place in a liminal environment between the two worlds where the human community and their gods meet half-way within the person of the priest. Hence, for the duration of the
ritual, the priest acts as if the collectivity of the desa adat including men and gods, was concentrated inside his own body. The success of the ritual depends entirely upon the priest's ability to dissolve within himself the boundaries separating the two worlds. The first part of the ritual during which the gods are brought down to the human world and fed, is geared essentially toward the achievement of this union. A reconsideration of the ritual from the perspective of the gods, then of the human community, will make these points clear.

The Gods

The nature of the Balinese gods is abstract and diffuse. They reside only periodically in their temples (although the temple grounds and altars preserve their sacred character even in their absence) and, for mundane purposes, are largely unfocussed conceptions of the neskala with whom it is impossible to interact in the sekala. In contrast with the newly-deceased ancestors and the chtonian spirits who take a lively interest in the daily life of human beings, Balinese gods, into whose category the higher ancestors must be fitted, are aloof, remote and elusive, yet their participation is not only required but essential to the welfare and prosperity of the human community. One of the main concerns of the second part of ritual consists in endowing these abstract entities with human characteristics in order to render them amenable to interactions. This is carried out in two separate
procedures. Firstly, with the "ingestion" of food, the gods are made to acquire a body which fixes them in time and space, then, through the sharing of a communal meal with some members of the temple congregation, they are gradually enmeshed in a network of social relations which endows them with characteristics associated with human identity. The first operation humanizes the gods while the second operation socializes them.

Since it is possible to interact only with beings presenting similarities with oneself, "bodying" the gods, to use Ortner's expression, i.e. giving them a human form, is a pre-requisite for communicating with them, and eventually coercing them into giving some of their amerta. The substantialization of the gods is correlated with their acquisition of an individual identity and as such, they are carefully positioned in their proper places around the temple. The gods and higher ancestors directly relevant to the ritual descend in their respective altars, while the minor deities and ancestors still close to the human world stay in the piasan. Just as one should take care to seat one's guests according to their status in society, it is important to keep the categories of gods well separated since they are now part of the realm of social interactions where it is important to respect individual sensitivities. Not all the guests participate on an equal footing. The gods and higher ancestors of the altars constitute one class of divine participants who contribute directly to the consecration of tirta, whereas the gods and ancestors of the piasan who form a diffuse mass
contribute indirectly since no taonan is placed in the piasan to collect amerta from them, yet their presence is necessary for the ritual to be complete.

No effort is spared to call the gods out of the neskala as the success of the ritual depends entirely upon their presence inside the temple. Incense is profusely burnt. Offerings specifically designed to attract the gods are used. They include pengulapan (making a waving motion with the hand) and pengambean (to call out, confront and/or salute), tatebasan (to level out in the sense of cutting a hedge) which suggests the idea of levelling a path for the deities, tegteg (firm, strong, secure) and suci sari whose purpose is to consolidate them in the human dimension. Hence, the gods are coerced downward - albeit gently and respectfully - into a well-defined space where they will be fixed for the duration of the ritual. Since it is important that the gods should be firmly anchored into the human world, they are provided with two offerings corresponding to the dual nature of the members of the human species, which is imposed momentarily onto the gods. The first is the gagaluhan which is placed inside an offering bearing the name of the altar (i.e. banten Jero Tengah). This is where, later, the divine amerta will flow; the gagaluhan pertains to the mystical nature of the god. The second offering is the paibuan or paibuhan\textsuperscript{13}, a flat offering of meat, vegetables, bananas, coins, flowers and cakes topped with a canang genten, which is placed on the shrine as a meal to be "eaten" by the deity who takes its essence (sari), and to provide the spiritual entity with the elements of a "body",\textsuperscript{13}
lent to it for the duration of the ritual. After the end of the festival, the paibuan is shared out among the participants and eaten there and then, as are the offerings used in malinggihan, datengan babuan and datengan beten.

Giving the gods a substantial form is not sufficient. In order to act upon them, it is necessary to bring them inside the networks of reciprocal obligations governing all social exchanges. This is achieved with the communal meal shared by the human participants after the completion of the first phase of the ritual when the divine guests have already been fed. The inclusion of a meal in the ritual at this stage is not simply determined by values of hospitality. The food must be eaten within the confines of the temple and should consist of ingredients identical to those offered as food for the gods. Furthermore only one category of human beings can partake of it. These are the active participants in the ritual, i.e. the priests, officials, saya workers and guests, in short all those who, together with the invited deities, make the ritual happen. The meal amounts therefore to a communion between the human community and the ancestral deities of the desa adat, greatly contributing to the reinforcement of the mystical bond which unifies men and gods. Moreover, by bringing the gods into the social dimension and endowing them with what Ortner has called the virtue of sociability\textsuperscript{14}, the communal meal consolidates the deities within the human world. Food offered earlier to the gods and now shared with them creates obligations identical to those created in the food exchange accompanying most of the social interactions within
the village. Coaxed and seduced into participating in the great feast, the gods are now morally indebted to their hosts and will be expected to return the favour later in the night when they are asked to give something in their turn.

It is necessary however, to let some time elapse between the moment when the deities are fed and the moment when they are asked to donate their amerta because, once they have entered the human world, the gods come under the constraints of time and space like any other substantial being. As such, their materialization is a gradual process which takes some time to complete. The next sequence is held at midnight because it is the most propitious time for contacting the supernatural but this is not the sole reason for the three-hour interval between the second and third phases since the temple festival could theoretically start at any time in the evening. This length of time appears to be necessary in order to secure the gods firmly inside the human world and until this is achieved, the ritual cannot to proceed.

The Human Assembly

The temple congregation participates as a collective body made up of the guests of the desa adat including members of the royal family from the puri in Tabanan and the members of the kerama desa, together with their families and personal guests. Except for the active participants mentioned earlier, around whom the ritual unfolds and who must stay until the end, the presence of the temple congregation is required from the first
phase of the ritual until the end of the third phase, when tirta panyanya-nyanya has been consecrated and distributed. In other words, as is evidenced in the penalty imposed upon those who do not turn up, the participation of the kerama desa in the ritual, albeit passive, is considered essential to its success. By its mere presence, the temple congregation helps in securing the gods temporarily within the social world. During that time, the differences between individuals are blurred and the congregation acts as a single unit, forming the human counterpart of the gods invited down inside the temple, who become merged eventually into a single composite deity, Batara Puseh.

It is as a single unit therefore that the whole of the temple congregation is lifted out of the realm of mundane life, during the preparatory stage of the ritual. This is carried out by purification with fire and water, two elements having the power to dissolve impurities and bring elements of the physical world closer to their original essence in the neskala and by distancing the buta kala who are the constant companions of human beings in their activities and correspond to the dimension of the psyche which ties human beings down into this world. The buta kala are neutralized by means of the segehan, a "food" offering designed to fix them into a specific space to be disposed of eventually by giving the offering to the dogs or simply throwing it away.
The initial purification of the temple congregation serves the purpose of moving it closer to the realm of gods through the refinement of its collective spiritual nature and the weakening of its attachments to the chtonian world. This is carried out within a well-defined space consisting of the outer yard of the temple where the congregation will stay until the end of the third phase when the time comes for its members to pay hommage to Batara Puseh and receive tirta in a symbolic reversal of the communal meal shared earlier between the gods and the human participants.

This communion with the deity is followed later by a direct communication between the deity of the temple and the human congregation, which is carried out as a dialogue between the god and the priest via the medium of a trancer. The trance underlines the pragmatic aspect of the whole festival which is geared toward the satisfaction of the concrete needs of the village community and paradoxically also signals the beginning of the deterioration of the mystical unity achieved earlier during the night. The god manifests himself to his followers in a lowly aspect of his nature, as a tiger, addressing them in coarse language and requesting a segehan agung, an offering usually reserved for the buta kala as food. The boundaries between the two worlds are consolidated at the end of the ritual with the cockfight which has the effect of firmly reintegrating the whole congregation, symbolically represented in the limbs of the defeated cock buried in the ground outside the entrance of the Bale Agung, into the chtonian dimension.
The Priest

The person of the priest is the central pivot around whom the whole ritual is organized. Sitting cross-legged in a restricted space for the duration of the ritual, the priest is the channel through whom the two-way exchange of *amerta* for food takes place. He is the key actor in the transformation of the divine *amerta* into a *tirta* usable by human beings.

As the ritual progresses towards its climax at midnight, we can observe a corresponding narrowing of the space within which the interactions between men and gods take place. In the preparatory phase, this space encompassed the outer yard and inner sanctuary. By the end of that phase, it is reduced to a smaller, more sacred space delineated during the circumvolutory rite of *ngilehin*. Later, as the ritual advances, an even smaller, three-dimensional space is constructed between the priest, the offerings and the altars. This space remains unviolable for the duration of the ritual. No-one is allowed to walk between the priest, the offerings

![Diagram 23. Mediating position of officiant during the ritual](image_url)
and the altars, except for the two female assistants who are said to "walk up and down" (naik-turun, Ind.\textsuperscript{16}) in the temple, an expression emphasizing the upward movement as one comes closer to the abode of the deities represented by the altars, and the downward movement when returning to the human world personified by the priest. The space contained between the three elements of the priest, the offerings and the altars forms a microcosm within which all the disparate elements of the human and divine collectivities are temporarily concentrated.

Within this sacred space, the paradigm of hospitality through which the complex ideas embodied in the ritual are filtered in order to make them meaningful to the lay population is no longer adequate to account for the quality of the interactions between the priest and the deities. Hence we must move beyond this paradigm which belongs to the realm of common knowledge and into the domain of the knowledge of the specialist where primacy is no longer given to the world of sentience, but to the spiritual affinity between the officiant and the deities. It will be recalled that the officiating priest is the balean desa who holds a special status within the village as the guarantor of the spiritual welfare of the desa adat. The balean desa's ability to ensure this welfare is correlated with his capacity to act upon the supernatural world (neskala) during a ritual. Hence the balean desa must possess a high degree of mystical knowledge and skills which he must be able to demonstrate on request to the satisfaction of the lay community and, as such, his universe of reality
stretches beyond the limits of the human world to include the realm of spirits, gods and ancestors with whom he interacts on a regular, if not a daily basis.

By virtue of his skills and the rite of ordination undertaken by him to accede to his functions, the *balean desa* is considered to be purer than anyone else in the village. This status places him permanently in a marginal category, half-way between the realm of men and that of gods. Although the *balean desa* is primarily a medium who can communicate with the spiritual world, his role does not stop there. He must also be able to turn the *amerta* fetched during his mystic journey in the third phase into *tirta* usable by the human community.

The consecration of *tirta* necessitates three consecutive procedures: first the priest travels spiritually to the realm of the divine to fetch *amerta*, then he brings it down to the human dimension and finally he adds an active ingredient which gives the newly-made *tirta* its power to bring results. In fact the journey takes place within and in the vicinity of the priest's own body but in another, more subtle dimension. The priest "travels" in spirit through the agency of his *Kanda Mpat* whom he draws from the depth of his inner organs, through the spinal fluid and the occipital bone to bring them out of his physical body through the top of the head (*siwadwara*). Once there, the priest unites mystically with the deity until *amerta* flows down into the water to make *tirta*. This procedure differs little from the modern liturgy of the
pamangku published in the Pedoman Pemangku where it is described in the following terms:

Visualize fire burning from the center of the Svadisthana, increasing in radiance and vigour, while drawing the breath upward. Guide the atma to the top (of the head) then through the fontanelle and stop above the head. Let it be burnt there by the fire. The atma begins to radiate and shine. When it sparkles like the sun, visualize the Holy Water Amrta flowing down from the sky to wash away the burnt-out impurities, gradually extinguishing the glow of the burning fire. Once all these impurities have been washed away from the foot of the river to the sea, and the fire is almost completely extinguished, brings the atma back down to the Trikuta (in the center of the head) (anon. 1982:24).

Atma can be translated as soul, but it is in fact the lowest and best known of three "souls" residing in the following places of the body: below the navel (Atma), at the junction of the heart and the liver (Siwaatma), and on top of the heart (Paramaatma). Atma corresponds to the mystical sounds: SANG, BANG, TANG, ANG and ING which are also the sounds of the Kanda Mpat. As a matter of interest, Hooykaas also mentions that the externalization and re-internalization of the Kanda Mpat of the officiant is part of the ritual of the pamangku (Hooykaas, 1977:77). In this instance, the balean desa re-internalizes his Kanda Mpat at the end of second phase of nganteb, after having brought the amerta down with their help, by means of a segehan warna lima which disposes of their chthonian aspect.

When the contents of all the taonan have been mixed into a large water jar at the end of nganteb, the tirta thus obtained consists of divine essence and pure water and is not yet
usable by human beings until an active element is added by the priest in the next rite. Significantly, no new sets of offerings are used in the performance of this rite which does not necessitate any interactions with the deities. The priest faces the previously used banten pengantas and turunan and "brings them alive a second time" (maurip-uri or mapasupati), calling as witnesses all the elements of the neskala and the sekala in order to make tirta panyanya-nyanya. Maurip-uri/mapasupati is a procedure identical to the rite performed in order to give an inanimate object the capacity to fulfil its function in the rite of malaspas. This "added virtue" or "principle of efficacy" is part of the officiant's own power which is transferred from him to the object. Pasupati is described culturally as fire emanating from the area of the occipital bone and representing the magical power (kasaktian) of the officiant, which is used by him to insufflate life into things. Mapasupati is performed especially with weapons such as kerises or with small objects such as coins to turn them into amulets, or to "bring alive" a newly-built house or a newly-repaired car, in fact anything which is going to be used by human beings. In the context of the ritual, mapasupati completes the consecration process by adding a principle of efficacy which gives the divine essence contained in the water the power to bring concrete and positive results. This principle comes not from the gods but from the person of the priest who at this moment however holds an ambiguous status as he embodies the totality of the desa adat including the deities as well as the human community.
The rite of panyanya-nyanya marks the point where the ritual diverges from the usual liturgy of the pamangku and this divergence is interesting since it explains the necessity of using as an officiant, a member of the ancestral group for whom the ritual is performed. Indeed, to use a priest from outside would endanger the welfare of the whole community, as tirta consecrated by this priest could not be used by the temple congregation. According to the traditional beliefs, in order to be usable this tirta needs the intervention of a priest who is also a member of the descent group, since it is only within the body of such a priest that the temple congregation and its deities can be mystically united. According to the tradition of Gunung Batukau, the village high-priests can perform only within the confines of the desa adat where, however, the pedanda are not allowed to perform. The balean desa and the pedanda represent two different categories of priests who, according to this tradition, are fundamentally incompatible because they represent two different ancestral groups. As Guermonprez has suggested in a recent paper, the pedanda's ritual can have no relevance at village level since, by definition, the pedanda contacts a different category of gods\(^1\) from those of the village. While the pedanda interacts with Siwa, an abstract, pan-Balinese deity, the balean desa interacts with deities who are directly involved in the affairs of the villagers, either because they are deified representations of natural forces whose domestication is an inherent part of the agricultural practices or because they are remote ancestors who played a significant role in the history of the village. As such,
tirta consecrated by the pedanda can have no power to bring results for a temple congregation for whom continuity of substance between the ancestors and the priest is a pre-requisite for the efficacy of the priest's ritual.20

COMMENTARIES

In short, Ngusaba Desa is a complex happening open to several levels of interpretation yet its structure is simple. It is constructed within a paradigm of hospitality in which the norms and values governing the social relations between the members of the human community of the desa adat are extended to include their gods. This paradigm provides the lay population with the basic scripts necessary to act and behave appropriately during the ritual, yet it is inadequate to explain the consecration of tirta. This dimension of the ritual entails a denial of the existing world order separating human beings from the gods and a temporary return to the state of unity. This is mediated through the person of a priest who can, for a short period of time, encompass the totality of the collectivity within the microcosm of his own body.

The success of what is essentially a festival of renewal, i.e. the consecration of tirta, requires the dissolution of two types of boundaries:
1. between the human and the divine worlds - this is carried out initially through the preparatory rites of purification, then through the communal meal shared between the human and divine participants in the ritual

2. between categories of people within the human world - this is achieved through the sharing of food between participants of different status: priests, guests and leaders of the desa adat eat together with the saya workers, then in the gesture of submission (nyembah) made by the whole assembly to the deity of the temple and the partaking of tirta both of which, although they occur after the consecration of tirta, must be anticipated for the procedure to be successful) expressing the recognition of a similarity of status and substance

In other words the performance of the ritual severs and transcends the boundaries and divisions normally found in society, in order to recapture a mode of social relationships characterized by a sense of fundamental similarity and unity between all parties. This is achieved through the obliteration of the differences between gods and men in order to return to a state of unity which is perceived as the true identity of the ancestral group of the desa adat conceived as a collective body. The idea of renewal which underlies the whole temple festival derives from the restoration of this state of unity which enables the unhampered flow of the vital
divine fluid to the human world through temporarily unblocked channels, in the same way as, before each rice growing season, the rice fields are irrigated by removing the blocking devices in the canalizations in order to let water flow freely, a particularly apt metaphor in view of the high symbolic loading of wet-rice agriculture in the village.
1. cf. Hobart (1980b:61-3) for an analysis of the concept of *amerta* which brings together the ideas of food, essence and purity.

2. Depending upon the years, there may be a difference of one to three weeks between the date of the equinox and the full moon in *sasih kapat*.

3. *Pura Puncak Kadaton* functions as the temple of ancestral origins for the human population of Gunung Batukau as well as being connected with the cult of the royalty and the cultivation of rice - probably dry-land rice. It is still highly prized as a place of yoga by some of the men of Piling and of the neighbouring villages, for whom it is associated with the cult of the sun (*Surya*). Recently *Pura Puncak Kadaton* has become the center of attention of domestic tourists who climb the volcano to spend the night on the summit ledge before climbing down the following morning. This is received with mixed feelings by the older villagers of Piling for whom *Pura Puncak Kadaton* is still in a concrete sense, their place of origins.

4. In theory, this meat should be left for the black tiger spirit who, according to the local tradition, guards the volcano. In fact the meat is left on the *pasamuan* for the duration of the ritual; then, as people leave, they can if they wish request (*ngidih*) some of the meat which is then given to them to take home and the platform is cleaned as best as possible by the *saya* workers before leaving the temple.

5. Whereas the younger villagers are not keen on making this long and rather strenuous climb to spend the night in rather uncomfortable conditions in the cold and wet environment of the mountain top, for many older villagers it would be unthinkable not to attend this very important ritual. The road to the temple passes near several places of hermitage, old-fashioned *babaturan* nestled in large trees or near a water source where people must stop to present offerings and burn incense before continuing their climb. Traditionally, one should walk barefoot, wear new clothes and avoid speaking about thirst which would make rain fall, hunger which would bring clouds of thunder, or cold which would make the temperature drop several degrees. The first drink should be taken from a cascade situated half-way up the top. It is possible to find a connection between these taboo and the ascetic practices of hermits and yogis, suggesting that the ascent to the summit of the volcano which is by any standards arduous and fairly dangerous in some places where the ground has given way, may have indeed been used in the past as a test of psychological endurance for new or aspiring initiates who were to stop and meditate in specific places on the way up.

6. In the tradition of Piling, the *keris* and the *tombak* were originally the property of *Jero Subamia* but because
of the illness of the last descendant of this house now residing in Jakarta, they have been moved to Puri Anyar for safekeeping.

7. This schedule is not specific to Piling but forms the broad outline of all temple festivals in Bali. Minor and major variations can occur from place to place in function of the local adat regulations, intervention of the pedanda in the rituals, etc... but the four-part schedule of preparation, invitation, exchange of food for amerta and separation remains constant. The reader is referred to Belo's study of a typical temple festival based upon the observation of a number of many piodalan over a period of two years (Belo, 1966) and Hooykaas' complementary study from the perspective of the classical Balinese texts on the ritual of the pamangku (Hooykaas, 1977).


9. The number of containers is equal to the numerological value of the dewa associated with the offering, a value corresponding to its position of the points of the compass : 5 is associated with Iswara and the east, 9 with Brahma and the south, 7 with Mahadewa and the west, 4 with Wisnu and the north and 8 with Siwa and the center.

10. cf. Hooykaas and Van Leeuwen Boomkamp (1961:5ff) for a detailed description of the lis and the symbolism attached to it, and Belo (1966:48) for a description of the purification operation by "sweeping" with the lis (melis). Belo's temple ritual which has been commented and developed by Hooykaas in a 1977 publication, does not follow quite the same sequential order of the ritual in Piling. This is due in part to the fact that the liturgy of temple festivals must accord with the adat peculiarities of each village. The recent efforts made toward the rationalization of temple rituals, the simplification of the liturgy and the reduction of the duration of the festivities, also play an important part. The material upon which Belo's book is based was collected between 1931 and 1939 and as such it provides a useful model for evaluating the extent of the rationalizing process undergone by Balinese popular religion during the last fifty years. Nevertheless, beyond the formal modifications brought to the liturgy, fundamental ideas such as hospitality, exchange, reciprocity and the equation of food with vitality in the divine and human worlds remain as strong as ever, even when the formal expression of these ideas has been drastically pared down.

11. This is peculiar to Piling. Usually the procession walks clockwise around the temple. No explanation could be given to me for this.
12. It is the term tajen and not tabuh rah which is used in Piling to refer to the cockfights performed at the closure of a ritual. No distinction is made between those and the cockfights performed on secular ground for the sake of gambling. In both cases, the head, tailbone, wings and legs of the defeated cock are cut off and buried in the ground outside the Bale Agung.

13. Paibuan comes from ibu: mother and means maternal place, source or origin (chtonian) while paibuhan comes from ibuh meaning fat, fecund, prosperous, all of which are positive qualities of substantial beings. The name of the offering can be interpreted either way and still convey its purpose in the ritual. In fact, the symbolic value of the offering is enriched by the very ambiguity of its meaning. This is one of many examples of plays on words on which the Balinese are wont to make, whose effect is to enlarge the extent of possible meanings of a term and consequently its symbolic range. Another well-known instance of ambivalent interpretation is mamulih, the operation of placing seeds in the seed-bed, which is derived from bulih: seed, but may also be interpreted as the action of going home, from mulih: to come home, a metaphor for the return of the rice to the fields.

14. ibid:155.

15. People never eat the food remains of a segehan, although they do eat the roasted meat offered to the chtonian spirits in the pacaruan panca sanak.

16. This expression is in Indonesian because this is the way people refer to it, although the use of Indonesian may seem surprising in the traditional context of the temple ritual.

17. The original text is as follows: Bayangkan api berkobar dari pusat Svadisthana memancar dan semakin besar berkobar dengan meningkatkan prana. Tuntun atma naik ke atas dan keluar melalui ubun-ubun dan berhenti di atas kepala. Di sana ia dibakar oleh api tadi. Atma itu menjadi semakin bersinar cemerlang. Setelah gemerlapan seperti surya, bayangkan Air Suci Amrta turun tercurah dari langit, menghanyutkan kekotoran hasil pembakaran, serta berangsur-angsur memandamkan api yang membakar itu. Setelah semua kotoran hanyut melalui sungai di kaki ke laut lepas, serta apipun sudah padam (kecil), atma itu kembali turunkan sampai di Trikuta (di tengah-tengah kepala).

18. On this topic, see also Mershon, 1970:60-5.

19. cf. Guermonprez, unp. 1986; see also Forge, 1980 for comments about the territorial characteristics of Balinese religion.

20. That the villagers treat tirta primarily as water which has the power to bring results is shown in the fact
that, since the building of the Catholic church in Piling Kawan, some Hindu villagers have been known to help themselves from holy water in the church for such purpose as, for instance, to take to a sick pig or to use in a rice field when their own tirta seems to fail.
CONCLUSION

My aim in this thesis has been to investigate the structural features of the desa adat which enabled it to survive in the face of the introduction of Christianity in Piling four decades ago. This investigation necessitated an enquiry into the religious world-view of the desa adat, an approach which, when it was attempted (see for instance Danandjaja's ethnography of Trunyan (1980) and Schaareman's work on Tatullinga (1986a)), has been shown to yield interesting results. In those two studies the authors established that their informants' own ideas of identity could be traced through the network of village temples. In a study focused, this time, upon a pan-Balinese group, Guermonprez (1984) showed the importance of tirta in fostering the Pande's ideology of different origins and suggested that the temples should be viewed as cognitive maps where the composite identity of a group could be read in the shrines. Using the desa adat of Piling as an ethnographical base, the present work develops the proposition that an important function of the Balinese temples consists in anchoring a group in a social and historical environment from which the group's identity is derived.
I concentrated my field of investigations primarily upon the desa adat because, in Piling, it is the most important unit of social organization. Until recently when the pressure of conflicts between religious groups resulted in the intervention of the local government in the concerns of the village, the authority of the desa adat was absolute. The desa adat was conceived as a community of "kinsmen" bound together by a sentiment of mystic unity maintained through the collective ancestral cult in the Kahyangan Adat. This sentiment found its confirmation in the ritual pollution which touched all members of the desa adat to the same degree when a death or the birth of twins occurred in one family. This is no longer so. Yet, although the desa adat underwent major structural changes in order to admit the presence of the two Christian groups in the residential village, the bonds which unite the members of the desa adat still endure in the idea of a collective purusa enshrined in the Pura Puseh and a notion of common origins derived from shared substance in the Pura Dalem.

One of the issues raised by this thesis is the complexity of the Balinese notions of origins which cannot treated simply in terms of genealogical descent. I argued in the first chapter that the awareness of sharing a common identity is partly derived from the villagers' observance of adat regulations specific to Gunung Batukau. These regulations shape the behaviour of individuals in the ritual, agricultural and social domains in such as way that the newcomers eventually exhibit the characteristics associated with the groups of Bali.
Aga who are believed to constitute the original population of Gunung Batukau. Different notions of identity can overlap so long as their domains of relevance do not clash. It is possible for people to remain members of an island-wide Pasek kawitan whilst observing ritual procedures specifically associated with the Bali Aga if membership in their own kawitan does not conflict with the demands of the local adat. The case of Piling makes clear that the Bali Aga's status of first occupiers of the land allows them to enforce their customs and traditions upon the in-coming groups, although they do not control the political and economic life of the village. This role is played by several powerful sanggah gede in the kawitan Pasek Mas who, perhaps not coincidentally, have acquired the status of founders of the desa adat. This is an important point demanding further investigation as its suggests the possibility that Bali Aga identity may be related to the special status conferred upon the first occupiers of the land, by virtue of which a group acquires a divine - in the sense of ancestral - right of occupancy which cannot be disputed. In time the group is assigned the leadership of the community's ritual. This point, common to Austronesian societies, would explain why the Bali Aga were allowed a considerable degree of autonomy in the ritual domain by the state, in the past.

In the first part of the thesis I showed that, in Piling, the banjar, the sanggah gede and the subak are subordinated to the desa adat which encompasses them. This singles Piling out from the Balinese norm, although, as Guermonprez (1980) has
shown, the subordination of the banjar to the desa adat is congruent with many villages located in the underpopulated mountainland of Bali. One significant feature of Piling is the primacy of the sanggah gede as a unit of solidarity over the banjar. This is due to the relative unimportance in Piling of the administrative banjar (banjar dinas, also called dusun) as a sub-unit of the desa dinas, as much as to the unusual importance of the sanggah gede within the village.

In Piling the sanggah gede is an extended family in which traceable descent to a line of ancestral owners of an estate of rice fields gives access to residential space as well as, nowadays indirectly, access to agricultural land. For this reason, the bonds of solidarity within the sanggah gede are very strong and it is still perceived as the foremost unit of mutual help in the village. Even when the sanggah gede becomes too large for its members to hold an estate of rice fields in common, the sentiment of belonging to the same family (manyama) continues to be supported by common interests in business ventures or political activities. Banjar solidarity, although based upon neighbourhood relations, must be ratified by deeper bonds which are not always articulated but are nevertheless real. The relative lack of importance of the banjar as a unit of mutual help is reflected in the need for a highly-formalized exchange of work and food in the suka-duka and the mixed opinions of the villagers about its advantages.
Ideally the banjar cannot be separated from the desa adat. Banjar solidarity is supported by an awareness of belonging to and being part of a wider group, the desa adat which is viewed as an ancestral group. In this respect Piling conforms to the model drawn by Guermonprez (1980) in which the desa adat is hierarchically superior to the banjar which it encompasses. But the relation between desa adat and banjar is not simply one of hierarchy. The desa adat and the banjar are complementary in that they cover two aspects of one totality corresponding to two facets of social existence which cannot be separated without doing violence to the Balinese's own perceptions of identity. For the Balinese, social existence includes the domain of interactions between human beings sharing the same space and the domain of relations with the ancestors and the village deities. The first domain of interactions corresponds to Schutz's category of contemporaries and consociates, and the second to the category of predecessors and successors. Together, they generate two types of ties (iket): vertical and horizontal ties which can be equated with the desa adat and the banjar respectively, from which the Balinese derive their identity. A Balinese is tied (kaiket) to his predecessors and successors through the performance of rituals and to his contemporaries and consociates through the networks of mutual help and collective activities. Most times, these ties remain implicit but if, as happened in Piling after the conversions, the vertical ties are broken, the legitimacy of the horizontal ties begins to be questioned.
In the second chapter I argued that the *desa adat* is primarily a cognitive framework by means of which the disparate elements of the historical, social and material environment can be interpreted in a meaningful manner and organized in a coherent system in order to enable human beings to act upon the world. This conception of the *desa adat* is expressed through the network of temples of the *Kahyangan Adat*, particularly in the utilization of these temples as sources of *tirta* in the performance of the private and collective rituals which constitute an essential dimension of human activities. This suggests that the active participation of the ancestral deities represented in those temples is a fundamental trait of the village religion, and it is possible to assert that the "particularistic" (Guernonprez, 1986) quality of the *desa adat* is a consequence of this participation. The closed-world ideology of Piling confirms this view; *amerta* flows exclusively from the ancestors to their descendants. It means also that one of the main concerns of the *desa adat* is to maintain positive interactions between the community of the living and that of the dead.

These ideas are not peculiar to the *desa adat*. In Piling they also govern people's perceptions of the family unit, the *sanggah gede* and the *subak*. On a more general level, I propose that all Balinese temples groups can be conceived in this manner. One of the conclusions of this thesis is that the Balinese temple should be viewed as an idealized representation of the totality of the group as well as a place where interactions between the two worlds (*sekala* and *neskala*)
of the Balinese universe can take place. A systematic survey of the identity of the deities represented in the shrines of the networks of temples of the villages would yield valuable information about Balinese ideas of kinship and origins. Such a survey may uncover also, as was the case with Piling, the existence of networks of loyalties between villages and puri, sometimes stretching over centuries and remembered only in the ritual use as a source of tirta, of the mid-way shrine (pasimpangan) of a distant temple.

Nevertheless there are reasons to believe that the banjar could acquire a significant position in the village in a near future. It is undeniable that the present confusion experienced by people in defining the realm of the banjar dinas has worked to the advantage of the Christian converts who, in some sense, can be said to reside in the banjar dinas although, with the establishment of the suka-duka in 1981, they are now gradually integrated into the banjar adat. However their reintegration is happening at the cost of a loss in the symbolic significance of the rites of passage in each religion.

The separation of the rites of passage from the religious domain is not specific to Piling. It is now usual elsewhere in Bali for the banjar to take charge of the preparation of the rites of passage. This is probably a consequence of the conceptual changes brought to Balinese religion during the last four decades. Attempts to transform Balinese religion from a kinship-oriented body of ritual practices to a world religion have resulted in the rationalization of the rites of
passage which overlooks the basic premisses upon which this category of rituals is based. In Chapter 6, I showed that the rites of passage implicate two categories of ancestors: the family forebears of the houseyard and the collective ancestors of the desa adat, upon whom the village religion is based.

Two categories of ancestry are also involved in the cultivation of rice: the houseyard ancestors intervene in the context of the crop grown in the private fields and the ancestors of the Kahyangan Adat intervene at a collective level for the totality of the crop grown within the subak. This last point shows that in Piling, the subak is ritually subordinated to the desa adat and cannot be treated as an autonomous unit although, because it is oriented purely toward the realization of pragmatic aims, the subak can admit among its members the presence of farmers who do not belong to the desa adat, on the provision nevertheless that their non-participation in the rituals is in no way detrimental to the successful cultivation of the crop.

The beliefs in the complementarity of rice and men are fundamental to the village world-view not only because the cycle of growth of the rice provides the temporal framework within which human life is organized, but also because the humanization of the rice is part of a broader conceptual scheme. The Balinese conceive the universe as a living organism modelled upon the human body, a cultural metaphor
which can be applied to the social as well as the natural environment. This humanization of the world blurs the differences between the human self as subject and the environment as object and renders the environment amenable to interactions. The projection of a human model upon the world explains why, beyond the immediate ancestors, it is difficult to distinguish the deified ancestors from forces of the natural environment. Both are fused into a single concept. They are viewed as the source of life (purusa) and as such can be used interchangeably without any loss of significance. It is also the reason why temple festivals are conducted within a paradigm of hospitality which demands that the deities be brought into the human world before interactions with them can take place.

The temple festivals can be said, in some sense, to give existence to the gods. The village deities are diffuse concepts except in specific circumstances when they are "materialized" by providing them with a temporary body. The central role of the temple festivals in sustaining the sentiment of unity of the group by recreating periodically the reality of its gods, suggests that Balinese religion can be viewed as a meta-statement upon Balinese society with its kinship loyalties, networks of patrons (siwa) and clients (sisia), political affiliations and hierarchical order.

This outlines the need for a holistic approach to the ethnography of the Balinese village. Attempts to dissociate the religious dimension from the village institutions and the
realm of social existence can be made only at the cost of a loss of coherence. If we are to understand the factors which give Balinese culture its peculiar resilience in the face of the major changes undergone in the past fifty years, an investigation into village religion is urgently needed. More studies of Balinese villages conducted in the anthropological tradition of treating religion as a separate domain of enquiry will not provide the answer. They can only serve to increase the difficulty of sifting through the variations in an effort to uncover the general principles. What is needed is a new paradigm to shape our perception of Balinese society. In an article comparing three different villages, Geertz suggested as early as 1959, the direction to take. The village should be understood as various planes of social organization which overlap and intersect. Later, the same author inspired by Schutz's categories of predecessors/successors and contemporaries/consociates, proposed in Time, Person and Conduct in Bali (1973) to consider Balinese society from the point of view of the individual as the nexus of networks of solidarity, mutual help and obligations. A solid phenomenological study giving emphasis to the Balinese's perceptions of their place, role and function within their multiple environments is now imperative for an adequate understanding of the Balinese.
APPENDIX

Map and Legend of Complex of Temples

Pura Luhur Batukau
COMPLEX OF TEMPLES PURA LU_HUR BATUKAU
LEGEND OF MAP OF COMPLEX OF TEMPLES PURA LUHUR BATUKAU

This information was obtained from the high-priest (pamangku gede) of Pura Luhur in 1986 while the complex of temples was undergoing a series of renovations. The following is a list of the shrines presently found in Pura Luhur. In some cases, when the name of a shrine does not correspond to the name given on the map of Pura Luhur made for Hooykaas in 1964 by J. Hooykaas and Ida Pedanda Gede Bajra of Tabanan, both names are given together. The reference to Hooykaas being set between brackets. The map which is part of Hooykaas' book Agama Tirtha, published in 1964, is to my knowledge the only other map of Pura Luhur to be published.

A. Inner yard (jeroan) of the main sanctuary

B. Outer yard (jaba) of the main sanctuary

C. Pura Pengubengan, agricultural sanctuary where rites are performed before the harvest (babaturan dedicated to Ratu Made Sedahan)

D. Pura Pataengan, agricultural sanctuary where rain water is requested before the replanting of the rice (babaturan dedicated to Ratu Made Sedahan Agung)

E. Beji

F. Public baths

G. Lake (Taman)

H. Mid-way shrines (pasimpangan) for deities of Lake Tamblingan and Ngukuhin descent group (dedicated to deities of Pura Pucak Kadaton)

I. Pura Panyaom, agricultural sanctuary for performance of rites when rice plants begin to shoot after replanting, (babaturan dedicated to Ratu Sedahan)

J. Pura Dalem Kahyangan, temple dedicated to Uma/Durga and serving as a temple of death for the population of Gunung Batukau. Hooykaas distinguishes between the gedong shrine dedicated to Batara Guru/Kala, and a small babaturan still standing, which is dedicated to Batari Uma/Durga

K. Bale where the discarded offerings are thrown away after a ritual (place of abode of Jero Bangbang, the "guardian...Lord Pit/Trench")

L. Sanctuary whose function is unknown - not shown on Hooykaas' map.
JEROAN

1. Candi dedicated to Pretanga Dipati (this is erected in the place of two babatural dedicated to Batara Karihinan Kabayan and to Ratu Devayan)

2. Main Candi dedicated to Sang Hyang Bhaskara (babatural dedicated to Batara Sakti)

3. Candi dedicated to Surya Reditia (the space was occupied by two babatural dedicated to Batara Taksu Gede and Batara Taksu Prajnan Panginte)

4. Palinggih to Gunung Agung (there was a four-pillar building dedicated to Layang Petak)

5. Babatural dedicated to Ratu Ngurah Panci Sakti

6. Shrine to Ratu Kesundaran (Sang Hyang Arya Kesundaran)

7. Shrine to Sang Hyang Arya (five meru shrine to I Ratu Ngejawa-Ngebali)

8. Five meru shrine to I Ratu Ngejawa-Ngebali (three meru shrine to I Ratu Naga Mas)

9. Five meru shrine to Panca Jawa (three meru shrine Karihinan Cokorda Tabanan)

10. Three meru shrine dedicated to Tri-Sakti (gedong bata, karihinan Cokorda Tabanan)

11. Gedong Raja Badung (on Hooykaas' map 10 and 11 are dedicated to a single deity)

12. Gedong Raja Tabanan (?)

13. Pasimpangan Batara Pekendungan

14. Three meru shrine to Tri-Sakti (three meru shrine karihinan Cokorda Tabanan)

15. Five meru shrine to Panca Jawa (five meru place of abode for Ratu Made Kobetan)

16. Akit (meeting place for the gods (sangkepan Batara))

17. Seven meru shrine to Sapta Dewa (place of abode of Ratu Demade)

18. Bale for the Kabayan ancestors (meeting place for the gods)
19. Piasan (bale Singasari)
20. Bi-partite shrine to Manik Galih/Rambut Sedana
21. Bale banten
22. Bale gong

A small babaturan, not shown on the map and now half-hidden under the tree located west of the piasan, marks the place where the clothes of the Kabayan ancestors are buried.

JABA

23. Gedong, function unknown (four pillar building for karihinan Cokorda Tabanan)
24. granary
25. shrine for the Pasek (six pillar building for karihinan Pasek and stone-seat erected over buried clothes of Pasek ancestors)
26. kitchens
28. Bale Agung
29. Bale pengemit

Addendum. A short visit to Pura Luhur in January 1991 showed that extensive modifications had taken place in the complex of temples since 1986. The shrines in the jeroan had been entirely renovated, the candi had been repaired and the grounds had been cemented, as were the grounds of Pura Pataengan. The trees had been cut down in those two temples and the babaturan could no longer be found.
GLOSSARY

aci
contribution required of individual members of the subak for performance of collective rituals in the agricultural temples; name given to the festivals held in the Pura Ulun Suwi on the nights of purnamanin kasanga and purnamanin ketiga

agama
esoteric doctrines taught from a teacher to his disciple usually for the purpose of practising traditional healing or performing rituals

ajak
work performed without remuneration in exchange for a cooked meal by persons invited to attend to attend the work-party on the basis of mutually recognized bonds of kinship, affinity, friendship or clientship; ngajakang : participation in reciprocal voluntary work parties

amerta
pure sustenance having all the life enhancing qualities of food without its polluting aspects; a metaphor for rice especially when cooked; vital essence which is obtained from deified ancestors and gods during the performance of a ritual and is mixed with pure water to make tirta

anggapan
hand-held blade knife used to harvest the rice, also called ani-ani in other parts of Bali

arca
effigy usually made of carved wood representing an ancestral deity, which is kept inside the Pura Puseh and is used as a temporary place of abode for the divine guest during a festival in that temple

aruana
steamed rice soaked in boiling water before the second steaming (see also nasi).

aturan
tall, cone-shaped offerings made of fruit, flowers, rice confectionery and topped with a cili face, symbolizing the essence of the produce from the agricultural fields, which are taken to the temples by the members of the desa adat at the occasion of the temple festivals held in the Pura Puseh and in the Bale Agung
ayahan
corvée-type duties to be performed periodically by the members of the village institutions in return for the use of the collective facilities placed in their care by that institution; ayahan Dalem : work performed in the past for the palace of the kings of Tabanan

baas raw, unhusked rice

badan alus (Indonesian)
term commonly used to refer to the subtle dimension of the self which is acted upon during the rites of passage (cf. Kanda Mpat below)

bajra
ritual bell bearing the emblem of thunder which is sounded rhythmically by the officiating priest during ritual to accompany the sound of a mantra

Bale Agung
outer yard of the Pura Desa serving as a place of meetings for the members of the desa adat

balean
traditional healer, person versed in the arts of healing and magic and usually adept at dealing with the supernatural world

balean desa
village high-priest who conducts all public rituals as well as the rites of passage for the members of the desa adat; the balean desa is empowered to make tirta in the same manner as a pedanda but only for the members of the desa adat

balean pabantenan
name given in the past to temple-priests of the village

balean pengabenan
specialist in the performance of the funeral rites

Bali Aga
generic term given to non-caste Balinese residing in the mountainous areas of Bali who used to cultivate dry-land rice and do not use the services of the pedanda

Bali Mula
original Balinese, term designating non-caste Balinese who do not use the services of the pedanda; a polite alternative for Bali Aga

bangun urip
offering used in conjunction with the gong in a ritual to awake the spirit of a slaughtered animal in order to convey the purpose of ritual to the supernatural world

banjar
hamlet consisting of houseyards occupied by co-residing families more or less loosely connected together through kinship and alliances
**banten**
offering used by the officiant during a ritual to communicate with the supernatural world

**banten taksu**
offering consisting of raw unhusked rice, one egg, incense, a *canang sari* and bearing a sum of money for the fee of the officiant, which is presented to the officiant by the family or the congregation holding the ritual on the eve of the performance, to be consecrated by the officiant to awaken his spiritual powers

**Barong**
lion-shaped effigy housed inside the *Bale Agung* who is venerated as the protector of the *desa adat* community

**bedugul**
small shrine shaped an offering column, erected at the highest point of a farmer's estate of rice-fields, next to the water inlet

**beji**
source of water ranging from an urn to a natural spring used specifically in the making of *tirta*

**bend* cara**
official of the *desa adat* and the *suka-duka* whose task consists in the organization and the supervision of work teams

**bendesa adat**
leader of the *desa adat*

**biakaonan**
offering used for personal purification by fire during the preliminary phase before the performance of a rite of passage or a temple festival (cf. *prayascita* below)

**bidang mabanten**
male official in the *suka-duka* in charge of the performance of the ritual preceding the slaughter of an animal and the preparation of the meat offerings

**bintang Tenggala**
the Plough, stars in the constellation of Orion whose appearance on the horizon at sunset signals the beginning of the traditional *kerta masa*

**Brahmana**
high caste in the *Tri-Wangsa* caste order from which all the *pedanda* are recruited

**buana agung**
macrocosm - conception of the universe as a closed world and a living organism based upon the model of the human body

**buana alit**
microcosm - the human self conceived as a reflection of the universe, and able to interact with it
bubuh
boiled rice, rice-porridge

bubuh pirata
offering consisting of 33 yellow and 33 white mounds of boiled rice, tape, dadap leaves, a container of water and a canang sari, which is used in funeral rites in conjunction with nasi angkeb

buta kala
chaotic forces associated with the chthonian world and human activities which are personified as spirits having usually a negative effect upon the cosmic order

byukukung
rite of the developmental cycle of the rice consisting in the wedding of the male and female principles in the rice, which is performed when the panicle swells

daksina
offering used in all rituals as a stand-in for the body of the officiating priest or of the supplicant

daksinayana
period of the year ranging from the September equinox to the March equinox, when the sun is in the southern hemisphere of the sky

dana punya
donations made by private individuals for the upkeep of the public temples in the desa adat

datengan
phase in a temple festival when the deities and their followers are invited to come down inside the temple and partake of the food offerings

desa
term used to refer to the village when no other specification need be made

desa adat
customary village; community of co-residential families bound together by common worship at a set of public temples and the observance of ancestral adat

desa dinas
administrative structure under the leadership of one village head (pendesa) which liaises directly with the regional governmental offices

dewan gereja
village leaders of the Catholic and Protestant churches

dukuh
priests-magicians of the past who lived an ascetic life in the forest and are venerated as the founding ancestors of the first settlements of the village
dusun
sub-section of the desa dinas demographically identical with the banjar and headed by an official called kelian dusun who answers to the pendesa

duwe
property of, or owned by; duwe Dalem : term applied to the status of the agricultural fields in the past; duwe pura : spirits (usually shaped as animals) believed to reside permanently inside a temple, probably as guardians of the temple

ejotan
food offering accompanying ngajakang work parties which is given by the worker to the person holding the work party

empelan
reservoir serving where the irrigation water of the subak is stored

gabah
cut unshhusked rice without the stalk

gade
transaction in which one or several rice-fields are loaned to another farmer in return for a loan of money and are exploited by the lender until the money is repaid

gagadon
second crop of rice of the year which is cultivated during the dry season

gagaluhan
offering consisting of a metal container filled with water, inscribed tablets and palm-fronds woven in the shape of a penyeneng, used as a place of abode for a deity and as a receptacle for tirta during a temple festival

Galungan
210-day year holiday celebrated on Buda-Kelion in the week of Dunggulan, when the ancestors are believed to return into the village and reside with their families

guru/gurun
title given to someone who has gained expertise in the esoteric doctrines (agama) and is allowed to take disciples

injin
black rice

iswayana
equinox, brief period of the year in March and September when the sun is at the zenith in the sky

jujonan
two-portion meal offered to someone to accompany a request for help or for a favour
juru arah
section leaders in the suka-duka and the subak who are in charge of a section and are responsible for liaising between the leaders and the individual members of the group

kabayan
local descent group organized as an origin-point group (kawitan) tracing its descent from the ritual leaders in Wangaya Gede in the past; the group still provides high-priests (pamangku gede) for Pura Luhur Batukau

Kahyangan Adat
public temples entrusted to the collective care of the community of the desa adat

Kahyangan Tiga
set of three village temples included in the Kahyangan Adat, consisting of a temple of origins (Pura Puseh), meeting hall (Bale Agung) and temple of death (Pura Dalem) which correspond to the three main stages of birth, life and death in the human life cycle

Kanda Mpat
four life spirits associated with vitality, perception and the psychic dimension of the self, personified as four "siblings" of the person, who play an important role in the psychological life of the Balinese and are used as mediators by the ritual experts in order to communicate with the supernatural world; a cosmological mode of classification

kawitan
origin-point group used to classify groups of low-caste or non-caste Balinese within a hierarchical cosmological order in accordance with the identity of a semi-mythical or historical apical ancestor with whom no descent ties can be traced

kelian
leader of the dusun

kerama
married couples who, as active members of the village institutions, have certain obligations to discharge and enjoy certain rights and privileges in return

keris
sword-like weapon with a curved blade which is often endowed with magical power; used as a symbol of the power embodied in the male descent line (purusa)

kerta masa
first rice crop of the year grown during the wet season, from December to May

ketan
glutinous rice
ketipat
rice boiled in a wrapping made of woven palm fronds of varying shapes with different symbolic values

kulina basa
ethnicity through language; the belief that people addressed in the same level of language are socially identical

Kuningan
holiday of the 210-day year falling 10 days after Galungan which is celebrated by the members of the Pasek groups of the village and is associated with the veneration of the Javanese heroes of the past

kurenan
nuclear household based upon the parents and their unmarried children with the occasional addition of an unmarried sibling and/or one parent of the head of the household

lelingian
male and female human effigies used as part of the wedding ceremony in the human rites of passage and for the agricultural rite of byukukung

leteh
state of a temple which is polluted by contact with a person who is sebel (cf. sebel).

madia
second of three levels of rituals for which a pig must be slaughtered and the meat used in the offerings

malais manuh
transaction involving rice-fields in which the fields are rented out to a third party who cultivates them in exchange for a percentage of the harvest

mantra
syllables and words whose sound is believed to have the power to affect the supernatural world; litanies recited by the officiating priest during a ritual

manik
gem, stone, germ, jewel, seed, kernel, ovum

Manik Galih
deified fertile potential of the germ of rice; another name for Dewi Sri

manusa yadnya
rites of passage in the human life cycle from birth until marriage, which are designed to facilitate the integration of the individual within society

masangih
tooth-filing ceremony forming part of manusa yadnya
mantenin

ceremony held during the storage of the rice in the granary in order to ensure continued abundance of grain and subsequent wealth for the family

masakapan

wedding ceremony, also part of manusa yadnya

mindon

second cousins

misan

first cousins

misan paekan

cousins through the purusa line; in most instances parallel patrilateral cousins; in rare cases may be cross-cousins if they are the children of a brother and of a sister who are members of the same purusa line

misan johan

cross-cousins

mpu

hermit-priest of considerable supernatural powers who was traditionally attached to the court of a king; today, high-priest of the low-caste or non-caste Balinese groups empowered to make tirta in the same manner as a pedanda (cf. pedanda below)

mulih/mamulih

placing the seeds of rice to germinate in the seed-beds

munuh

cutting the rice ears left-over in the fields after the harvest workers have been through them

naga taun

serpent spirit associated with agriculture which is believed to lie in the sky and revolve slowly around the four points of the compass during the year

naik-turun

Indonesian expression (Balinese: menek-tuuun) meaning to climb and go down, used to describe the action of walking between the offerings placed in front of the officiating priest and the shrines of the temple during the performance of a ritual, which is the privilege of the female assistants of the priest

nangkid ke Surya

stage in the second phase of the funeral rites when the soul of the deceased is returned to the higher ancestors in the sun

nasi

rice steamed once, left to soak in boiling water, then steamed again; by extension, a cooked meal
nasi angkeb
offering used during the funeral rite as provisions for the spirit and the soul of the deceased

neskala
invisible and untangible dimension of the Balinese universe which parallels the material world and exerts a direct influence upon it; the world of spirits, demons and deities

netulanin
three-month ceremony performed as part of manusa yadnya

ngelanus
funeral rites consisting of a burial in the graveyard followed by the ceremony of ngerorasin ending on the same day

ngerastiti
purificatory rite performed at the occasion of a new moon to free the village or the fields from diseases, epidemics and pests

ngerorasin
second stage in the funeral rites usually performed twelve days after the burial for the purification of the spirit of the deceased, in Piling must be performed on the same day as the burial ceremony

ngijonan
system of credit where money lent to a farmer is to be repaid in rice at the next harvest

ngilehin
phase in a temple festival during which the priests and the audience walk three times around the temple grounds, in Piling this is performed anti-clockwise

ngusaba desa
temple festival held in the Pura Puseh on the night of the full moon in sasih kapat

ngusaba uma
agricultural ritual held in the Pura Bedugul of the subak and in the private fields when the rice yellows, in order to ensure an abundant harvest

Nini
effigy of the ancestors of rice made of a sheaf of rice cut from the plants used in the rite of pitra ketemu, which is placed inside the granary after the harvest

nista
smallest level in ritual for which chicken or ducks need be slaughtered and used in the offerings

nyama
sibling, companion, friend; term used to refer to someone with whom one has a relation resembling the relations between two brothers; often used in conjunction with
another term defining the type of relation, i.e. nyama beraya (friends), nyama daun dadap (step-brothers and sisters through the same mother)

nyama patpat
manifestation of the Kanda Mpat as the four spiritual siblings, used in particular to describe the Kanda Mpat of the child in the early stages of life (cf. also Kanda Mpat above)

nyanyan
phase in a temple festival when the deity of the temple is made to enter the body of a trancer by singing kidung

nyari
unit of measure of irrigation water sufficient to irrigate 10 ares of rice land for one season

nyembah
action of paying homage to a superior, an ancestor or a deity by bringing the hands together at the level of the heart, the forehead, or above the head

nyepi di desa
day of purification of the village held on the day of the new moon in sasih kadasa, during which it is forbidden to light a fire or work

nyepi di uma
day of purification of the rice crops held on the first day of the new moon after replanting during which it is forbidden to work in the fields

nyuwasta
funeral rites ending with the burial of the corpse in the graveyard

padengan-dengenan
phase in the wedding ceremony when the bride and groom learn their domestic and social roles with the help of appropriate offerings

padi
rice in the fields, cut rice still on the stalk

padi cicih
variety of irrigated rice maturing in 150 days, usually grown during the dry season from seeds saved from a previous harvest

padi gaga
dry land rice maturing in 210 days from seeds saved from a previous harvest

padi mansyur
variety of irrigated rice maturing in 185 days, grown during the wet season from seeds saved from a previous harvest
padi taun
variety of irrigated rice maturing in 210 days, grown during the wet season from seeds saved from a previous harvest

padukuhan
descent group organized as a sanggah gede and tracing its ancestry to one dukuh who is venerated in a temple known as Pura Siwa belonging to the group

paibon
another name for the sanggah gede; a closed shrine with a roof and door usually dedicated to a female or a chthonian deity

pakeling
phase in a temple festival when individual families pay their outstanding debts to the deity of the temple

paluan
hole made in the lower wall of a rice-field which can be plugged or unplugged as necessary to allow the run-off of excess water from a field to the one below

pamali
taboo placed upon moving certain stones or cutting certain trees; ailment caused by breaking the taboo; name of a spirit (buta pamali) thought to cause the ailment

pamangku
term recently introduced in Piling to designate a temple-priest attached to one particular temple (cf. balean pabantenan above)

pamit
leave-taking; final phase in a temple festival when invited deities are requested to leave

Panca Maha Buta
spiritual forces forming an inherent dimension of the five elements of base in the natural world

pancawara
five-day week, associated with the human microcosm

panguun
meal given to workers during a ngajakang work party

panjak pakandelan
name given to the population of Wangaya Gede who are entrusted with the upkeep of the ancestral temple Pura Luhur Batukau

panyambutan
offering used for calling the Kanda Mpat in the human rites of passage and some agricultural rites in the fields

panyanya-nyanya
phase of a temple festival when the officiating priest consecrates tirta
panyapsap
rite of purification of the rice when it is polluted by a
cow or a corpse after the time of pollination

panyarikan
official entrusted with the duties of secretary and
treasurer of a group

panyepian anduran
yearly sacrifice held by the subak in the outer yard of
the Pura Dalem to ensure the fertility of the rice fields

pasamuan
association of several owners who pool their fields and
work them together or contract them out to be worked by a
third party

pasaninan bulan
limit of ritual pollution lasting between 35 and 42 days
until the first full moon or dark moon after a full month,
following a death or the birth of twins

pasimpangan
shrine occupied temporarily by the deity of a temple
hierarchically superior to the temple in which the shrine
is located

pasimpangan Dalem
closed shrine with a roof in which are placed the awig-
awig and other sacred village heirloom in the Pura Puseh

pasupati
spiritual energy given to inanimate objects to endow them
with magical potency; mapasupati : phase in a temple
festival when the officiating priest adds an active
spiritual principle to the newly consecrated tirta

pawesan
hollow bamboo stems erected upon a grave to enable the
shade of the deceased to travel back and forth from the
grave

pawintenan
rite of ordination undergone by the temple-priests,
trancers, specialists in offerings and officials of the
desa adat in order to enable them to fulfil their duties
efficiently; pawintenan saraswati : rite undergone by
those who begin the study of the esoteric doctrines

pedanda
Siwaist high-priest member of the Brahmanical caste who
can perform all public and private rites anywhere in Bali,
whose ritual supremacy is rejected by the Bali Aga (cf.
mpu and balean desa above)

pekaseh
leader of the subak

pendesa
leader of the desa dinas
pengurus adat
assistant to the leader of the desa adat

pepegat
stage in the rite of ngerorasin when the last ties between
the deceased and the family are severed and the domestic
function of the deceased is passed on to another member of
the family

perdana
matter, substance, feminality, anything pertaining to the
physical world

petak
individual rice-field

piasan
platform in the inner yard of a temple where the ancestors
and minor deities come to congregate during a festival

piling
tree with a particularly hard wood growing in the vicinity
of the village, which is favoured for building; an ancient
currency of money consisting of balls of silver of
different weights

piodalan
periodical ritual held in a temple at the occasion of
which the deities come down inside the temple to be
entertained by the congregation

pirata
unpurified souls of the dead

pitara
purified souls who have attained the status of ancestor

pitra ketemu
rite held at the occasion of the replanting of the rice in
which the coded spiritual identity of the owner of the
field is imprinted upon the future crop

pitra yadnya
funeral rites and ancestral rites; all the rites performed
after death which are designed to return the soul of the
deceased to the ancestors

pon
financial contribution paid by individuals to a village
institution in lieu of ayahan work; in the subak may be
paid as padi

pondok
houseyard or cluster of houseyards set away from the
residential village

pralina
one stage in the human life cycle associated with death
and the Pura Dalem; one phase in the burial ceremony
during which the corpse is ritually destroyed before
closing coffin and filling the grave
prasasti
genealogical list of the sanggah gede ancestors kept in the temple of the group

prayascita
offering used in the preliminary purificatory rites before the main phase of a ritual, for the purpose of purification by water (cf. biakaonan above)

punjung
food offering addressed specifically to non-cremated ancestors which is used in Piling to close a rite of passage or a festival in a kin group temple

punjung anggapan
one type of punjung used as part of the final phase of ngerorasin

punjung kuning
one type of punjung used as part of the final phase of ngerorasin and as an offering to the ancestors on the day of Kuningan by the members of the village Pasek groups

pura
generic name of the Balinese temples

Pura Bedugul
temple of the subak dedicated to Uma/Dewi Sri

Pura Dalem
one of the Kahyangan-Tiga dedicated to Durga/Batara Dalem

Pura Desa
temple of the desa adat consisting of the Pura Puseh and the Bale Agung

Pura Luhur Batukau
ancestral temple situated north of Wangaya Gede functioning also as a state temple for Tabanan and Badung and as a temple of agriculture for the province-wide subak of Tabanan

Pura Puncak Kadaton
ancestral temple located on the summit ledge of Gunung Batukau

Pura Puseh
temple of origins of the desa adat - inner yard of the Pura Desa

Pura Sada
forest temples consisting of babaturan, believed to have been used in the past as places of hermitage for the kings of Tabanan

Pura Siwa
temple of a padukuhan dedicated to the memory of the founding dukuh, functioning as a descent-group temple and the temple of an association of the disciples of one school of esoteric doctrines
Pura Ulun Suwi
main temple of the subak dedicated to the deified forces of water

pusaka
ancestral heirloom of a family or a community consisting usually of sacred texts, keris, stones, cloth or miscellaneous small objects

Rangda
mask representation of the deity of the Pura Dalem as a witch who fights the Barong in a ritual dance during the festivals of the Pura Puseh and the Bale Agung

regu
suka-duka team

rukun
peaceful and harmonious living and order, a fundamental ideal of the desa adat which is based upon the values of cooperation, mutual help and tolerance

rurub luhur
white cloth stretched on a frame above the platform during the ritual bathing of a corpse, on which are inscribed magical letters symbolizing the spirit and the soul of the deceased

sadaran
male trancer

sadripu
six basic drives or instincts thought to be essential for survival, which are curbed ritually during the filing of the teeth

sadwara
six-day week associated with the ebb and flow of the fertility of the land and the stages in the course of the human life

sakti
power to control the supernatural world which is acquired through yoga and ascetism; magical power associated with an object, a feature of the natural environment or a person

samar
supernatural being used as a familiar by a magician, usually for the purpose of harming others

sanggah
temple of the domestic houseyard

sanggah gede
extended family consisting of a group of actual or potential heirs to an ancestral estate of rice-fields, and their families; the temple of this extended family
sanggah kamulan/sanggah kabuyutan
shrine in the domestic temple dedicated to three levels of ancestry: male, female and from the sun (Surya)

sanggah surya
temporary shrine erected in the eastern corner of a houseyard for the performance of the funeral rites

saptawara
seven-day week associated with the seven planets which are thought to influence human life

sari
essence

sarin banten
money placed on the top of an offering to round off the purpose of that offering; traditionally should be a Chinese coin but is often replaced nowadays with ordinary coins or a note and doubles as a fee for the officiant

sarin taun
presentation of four sheaves of padi taun to Pura Pekendungan in Tanah Lot by the subak of Piling to ensure freedom from pests and diseases in the forthcoming agricultural season

saya
work teams made up of some members of the kerama desa or of the kerama subak, specifically for the preparation of a temple festival

sebel
state of pollution of women during menstruation; state of pollution of the human community of the desa adat following a death or the birth of twins (cf. also leteh).

segehan
offering designed specifically to dispose of the chthonian spirits before a ritual or before beginning a task involving an alteration to the environment; offering given to the chthonian aspect of the Kanda Mpat as food

sekah
effigy of the spirit and soul of the deceased which is cremated during the rite of ngerorasin

sekaha
permanent or temporary, voluntary or compulsory association of people created for a concrete purpose

sekala
the physical world, the world of substance, temporality and forms, the world perceived by human beings

sentana
male heir

sentana rajeg
daughter elevated to the status of heir by her father
sisia

disciple of a guru, status of a person who requests tirta from a pedanda; sisia Batukau: status given to the villages located on the adat territory of Gunung Batukau, who fetch tirta from the ancestral temples of the mountain (cf. siwa below)

siwa

an elevated or remote ancestor; another term for guru; status of the pedanda from whom someone requests tirta (cf. sisia above)

Sri

the goddess of rice, female personification of the fertile principle in the rice

sri-srian

woven palm-frond shapes used as hair for the Nini at the occasion of temple festivals

stitti

one stage in the human life cycle corresponding to social life and symbolized by the Bale Agung

subak

association of the farmers drawing irrigation water from the same reservoir; by extension, the village-based agricultural organization for the cultivation of irrigated rice

subak abian

recently founded cooperative-type association of farmers for the cultivation of dry-land crops

suka-duka

banjar-based association for mutual help in the performance of the human rites of passage

sutri

female trancer

tajen

cock-fight performed in a secular or ritual settings

tedun

state of trance during which the body of the trancer is entered by a deity or spirit

teben

lowest point of a well-defined environment, associated with the highest degree of pollution

tegen

unit of payment of the harvesters before introduction of wages, consisting of 3 ears of rice for each 18 ears cut by the worker

tembuku

piece of wood cut diagonally which is used for cutting off or allowing water through the irrigation channels; tembuku ayah: concrete dam of the reservoir where the water
needed by the subak for one season is stored, forming the limit of the subak's responsibility for the maintenance of the canalizations

**tempek**
sub-section of the subak

**tirta**
holy water consecrated during a ritual or for the purpose of performing a ritual; water believed to contain a spiritual essence known as amerta which, when sprinkled, poured or ingested has the power to bring about positive changes in the spiritual dimension of the recipient

**tukang banten**
woman specializing in making offerings who has undergone the rite of pawintenan and is officially recognized by the desa adat

**tukang mebat**
man in charge of the slaughtering of the sacrificial animals

**tunggal sumbah**
congregation of people acknowledging a common descent by paying homage to the same ancestor(s) during a ritual; another name for the sanggah gede

**tunggalan sanggah**
another name to describe the sanggah gede

**ubagabig**
woven-palm frond human-like effigy with male and female sexual characteristics used during the rite of ngusaba uma to represent the spirit of the rice

**ulun**
highest and purest point of a well-defined environment; ulun desa : shrine located at the uppermost northern end of the residential village, ulun carik : shrine located near the water inlet in the highest terrace of one estate of rice-fields

**uma**
generic name for rice land, can refer to the dry fields cultivated with padi gaga as well as the irrigated rice fields

**Uma**
goddess of the rice-fields associated with the benevolent aspect of Durga and the land cultivated with rice

**unun**
action of drying out the sheaves of rice above the kitchen hearth before taking them out to the threshing-mill

**upah**
wage; ngupahang : working in return for a wage
upetti
one stage in the human life cycle which is associated with birth and symbolized by the Pura Puseh

urip
life; numerological value of something; the number one when it is added to other numbers in astrological calculations to bring those numbers alive

urip-urip
to bring something alive a second time; to add spiritual life to an inanimate object; one stage in the consecration of tirta in a temple festival; the action of bringing a newly-built house, newly-bought or newly-repaired object in the rite of melaspas; the action of re-awakening the teeth after filing them in masangih (cf. also pasupati above).

urunan
individual contribution usually of food and raw materials made by the members of a group toward the performance of a ritual in the temple of that group

utama
highest level of ceremony for which it is necessary to slaughter a cow or a buffalo

uttarayana
period of the year running from the equinox of March to the equinox of September when the sun is located in the northern hemisphere of the sky

wakil ketua
assistant to the leader of the desa adat

watek/pawatekan
species, kind, race or nationality, category of people presenting similar characteristics; refers specifically to the spiritual identity of the members of a sanggah gede in relation to ritual pollution after a death or the birth of twins
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