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'POLITICS OF THE CENTER' IN BALI'S CULTURAL PERIPHERY: TRANSFORMATIONS OF POWER IN AN OLD-BALINESE 'VILLAGE *MANDALA*'

by

ANGELA FRANÇAIS-SIMBÜRGER

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1998

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

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ABSTRACT

"POLITICS OF THE CENTER" IN BALI'S CULTURAL PERIPHERY: TRANSFORMATIONS OF POWER IN AN OLD-BALINESE VILLAGE MANDALA

by

Angela Français-Simbürger

Adviser: Professor Jane Schneider

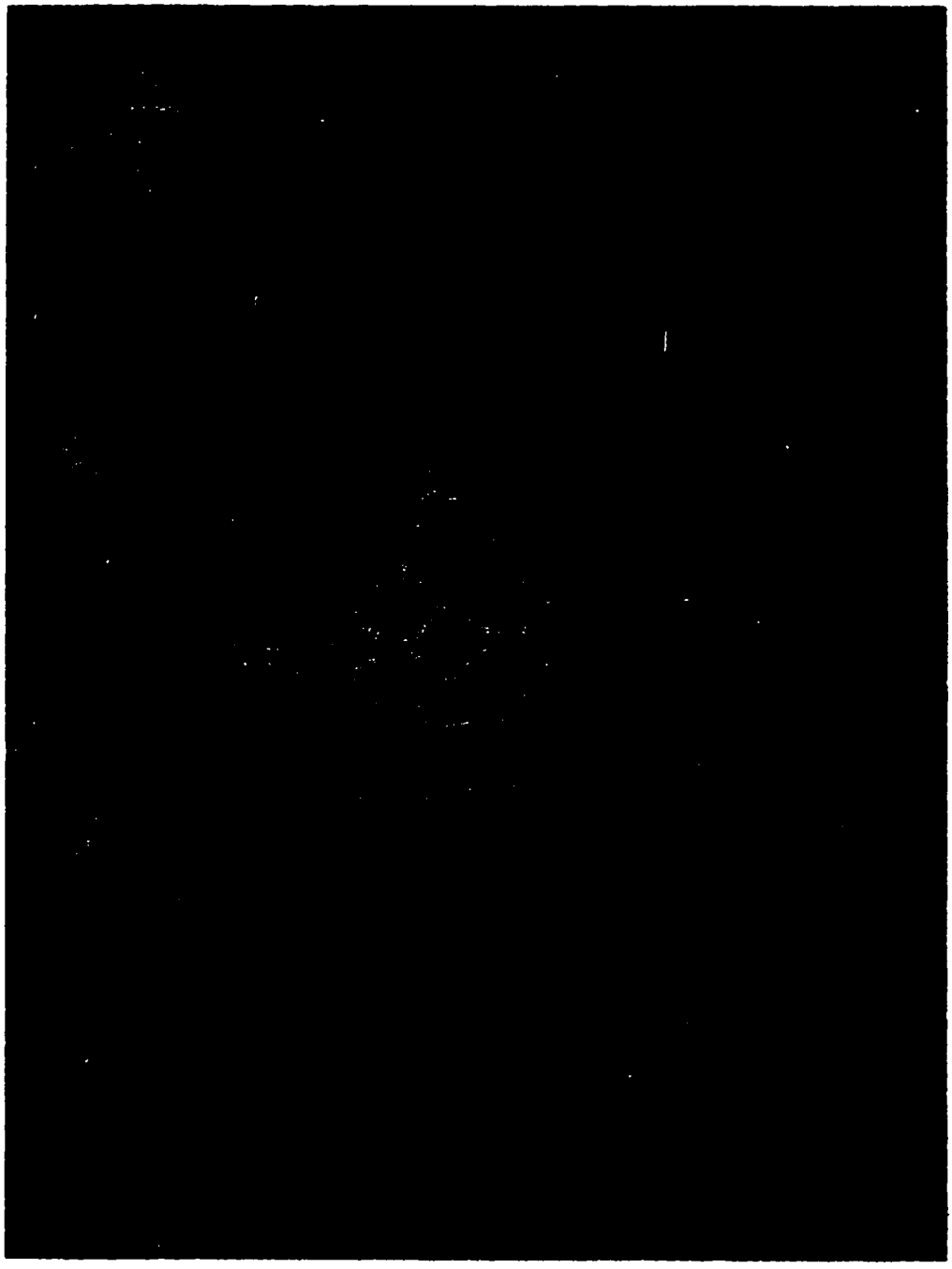
In the anthropological study of Bali, the underlying analytical framework has been characterized by a stereotypical, and sometimes misleading division of Balinese culture into discrete categories of Old-Balinese or "Bali Aga" and Hindu-Javanese types of social organization. This study, based on anthropological fieldwork in eastern Bali, takes a different approach by challenging this "ideal type" framework, and by illustrating the dynamic interaction which historically existed between Old-Balinese and Hindu-Javanese segments of Balinese society. Focusing on a network of nine geographically dispersed Old-Balinese villages whose ritual, social, and economic ties are imbued with the *mandala* worldview based on the Indic idea of a perfectly still and potent center surrounded by an active periphery of satellite-communities, this dissertation questions earlier anthropological conceptions of Old-Balinese culture as peripheral to, and largely disconnected from, the cultural, political, and economic currents which have shaped the island's vibrant social history.

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In addition to, and integrated with, its detailed account of the primary features of this multi-village network, which is centered on the Old-Balinese community of Tenganan Pegringsingan, famous for its double-ikat textile tradition, highly developed ritualism, and extraordinary cultural conservatism, this study considers current political, economic, and cultural transformations as this network is drawn ever closer into larger national and global spheres of power. International tourism, which is now being introduced on a massive scale to Bali's easternmost regions, is one arena where the village *mandala's* preexisting center-periphery relations are currently being renegotiated, contested, and reaffirmed. By viewing macroprocesses of capitalist expansion and national integration and microprocesses of reaffirmation of local identity and history as mutually implicative, this study is intended to blur the boundaries between the global and the local. In addition, it gives an ethnographic account of a moment in time when eastern Bali's most ancient villages undergo fundamental changes due to the intensifying pace of national integration and development, ever more stretching the limits of the network's resilience.

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To the memory of the people of Tenganan



Detail of a *geringsing lubeng* cloth depicting the *mandala* motif
Source: Hauser-Schäublin, Nabholz-Kartaschoff, and Ramseyer 1991, p.116

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My fieldwork in Bali was made possible by many individuals and institutions to all of whom I owe deep gratitude. First and foremost I wish to thank the people of Tenganan who, for many years, have shared with me their knowledge and wisdom, and who have welcomed me with their characteristic generosity and warmth. They have introduced me to their culture and community with patience, care, guidance, and good humor. "Matur suksema" to all of you who have been such wonderful hosts, teachers, and friends. My greatest debt is to I Nyoman Sadra and Mangku Widia. Without their dedication, friendship, and support, this project could have never been completed. Unfortunately it is impossible to acknowledge by name all the other individuals who have personally contributed. In keeping with the communal and egalitarian spirit of Tenganan, and to ensure the privacy of those involved, I have thus chosen to express my gratitude to certain groups of people, rather than to individuals. Thus I wish to thank Tenganan's *adat* and *dinas* leaders for allowing me to live in their marvelous village, and especially all the members of my wonderful host family for inviting me into their home, for letting me participate in their daily lives, and for sharing with me the happy as well as the difficult moments of fieldwork. My deepest gratitude further extends to those friends who have become my key informants, who have supported me for many years and who have shaped not only my perceptions of Tenganan, but also my views of life in general. I also wish to thank several young Tenganese women who have acted as my assistants during certain parts of my fieldwork, in particular my

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INTRODUCTION

ENDURING IMAGES OF 'CENTER' IN A DECENTERED WORLD: THE POLITICS AND POETICS OF AN OLD-BALINESE 'VILLAGE *MANDALA*'

Bali, a tiny dot in the center of a string of islands which stretches from the Southeast Asian Mainland to the west to the Melanesian archipelagoes to the east, has long seduced Western travellers and anthropologists with its vibrant culture based on an intriguing mixture of Indic and Pacific influences (Boon 1977, Vickers 1989). Located in the very center of the Indonesian islands, Bali has become one of the most intensively studied sites in this vast, transitional, Indo-Pacific region. Within Bali, however, most of the anthropological research has focused on the highly elaborated Hindu-Javanized cultural forms of south-central Bali. By contrast, the equally interesting regions of the central highlands and eastern Bali, which have preserved distinctly "Old-Balinese" cultural patterns (based on communal land tenure, gerontocratic socio-political control, and absence of *triwangsa* castes) have not only remained marginal in the island's political geography, but have been relegated to the peripheries of anthroplogical exegeses on Bali as well.

The study of the Old-Balinese village of Tenganan Pegringsingan is in some respects an exeption to this pattern. Contrary to other Old-Balinese villages which have been largely by-passed in the anthropological discourse on Bali (for exceptions see Reuter 1995, Wälty 1997),

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Tenganan has attracted a fairly large amount of attention from western and Balinese scholars alike. This is largely due to the village's unique double-ikat cloth production as well as its general cultural conservatism. Characterizations of Tenganan include "Bali Aga" (original Balinese) with its pre-Hindu connotations (e.g., Wirz 1928, Covarrubias 1937); autonomous "village republic" (Korn 1933); "genetic isolate" (Breguet 1980); and "megalithic" survival (Darsana 1991). Sometimes epithets like "secluded cult community" and "society of the chosen" (Ramseyer 1984) have been employed. More generally, Tenganan has been characterized as being "strikingly divergent from other Balinese villages" (Boon 1977, also Lansing 1983), and as "a community as atypical as it is interesting" (Geertz 1967).

Yet, despite all this research and attention (for but a partial overview see Stuart-Fox's comprehensive bibliographic compilation [1992:705]), scholars have remained puzzled by Tenganan's striking and intriguing differences from other Balinese villages (of both the Old-Balinese and Hindu-Javanese varieties). Not only are their explanations of these divergencies inconclusive (e.g., for a concise summary of such partial explanations see Lansing 1983: chap. 6 and notes to chapter 6); they have failed to integrate their research on Tenganan (as well as on Old-Balinese communities in general) into the wider conceptual and theoretical currents that have shaped the anthropological study of Bali (for recent attempts to remedy this regrettable situation see Lansing [1983: chap.6] and Barth [1993: chaps. 5 and 6]). It is therefore the aim of this dissertation to move Old-Balinese culture from the peripheries of anthropological analyses of Bali into center-stage.

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Tenganan: The Elusive 'Mandala Village'

Arjun Appadurai, in his short but important essay "Theory in Anthropology: Center and Periphery" (1986), has pointed to a problem to which he refers as "gatekeeping concepts" which continues to plague anthropological theory, and which is of special relevance to this discussion of the marginalization of Old-Balinese culture in the anthropology of Bali. In their attempts to simplify complexity, to localize human behavior, and to describe "otherness" through certain key concepts, anthropologists have set up "prestige zones" that have come to stand as reified metonyms for certain geographic areas or societies: e.g., hierarchy in India, honor-and-shame in the Mediterranean region, filial piety in China (Appadurai 1986:357). For Bali, "theatricality" and "status" have emerged as the major "gatekeeping concepts" in the post-colonial era.

In line with these models of Balinese culture, Balinese nobility was portrayed as being preoccupied with the elaborate ritual displays of status and caste differences while the social organization of commoners was characterized as "pluralist collectivism" (Geertz 1972, 1980). Geertz's descriptions and interpretations of Balinese society, which have significantly influenced the direction of the anthropological research on Bali, focused primarily on the heavily Hindu-Javanized regions of the island. By contrast, Old-Balinese culture and village organization, which did not fit the cultural involution model tended to

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be dismissed as incidental, marginal, and atypical (e.g., Geertz 1980:47). Not only did Old-Balinese elements become theoretically dislocated from mainstream Balinese culture, Balinese society as as a whole was portrayed as largely disconnected social strata where "elite and populace can hardly engage in vital interaction" (Schulte Nordholt 1996:7).

The model of Balinese society as a hierarchy of essentially disconnected parts, was not only applied to socio-economic caste- and class-based hierarchies, but to the island's cultural history as well. Thus modern Balinese culture was perceived as divided into two basic historical strata: an older, indigenous layer of Old-Balinese or "Bali Aga" (generally glossed as "original Balinese") culture surviving in Bali's mountainous regions of the central highlands and in the eastern and northern foothills, and a superceding stratum of Hindu-Javanized culture concentrated in the central and southern regions from which it hegemonized the rest of the island. This "layer-cake" view of Balinese history, society and culture has reinforced the earlier typecasting of Tenganan as a static, self-contained, inward-oriented "Bali Aga" "village republic," insulated from the most important of the Hindu-Javanese institutions -- most notably the court-based cultural forms of the divine king cult centered on the pre-colonial *mandalic* state. (In this Indian-inspired model of state organization, a single, all encompassing source of power embodied in a charismatic and authoritarian ruler stood at the center of the state which was conceptualized as concentrically widening circles of graded influence, power and potency [e.g., Heine-

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Geldern 1963, Tambiah 1976, Errington 1989].)

Yet, as this dissertation will attempt to illustrate, such a rigid distinction never existed. Concepts like "*mandalic* state" and "village republic" which first arose in the politically charged context of Dutch colonialism (Schulte Nordholt 1991, Warren 1993) have become powerful "gatekeeping concepts" that continue to influence the anthropology of Bali. While they served to illuminate certain significant differences between Old-Balinese and Hindu-Javanese forms of social organization, they have sidestepped equally important areas of cultural cross-fertilization and continuity. They have thus contributed to Tenganan's stereotyping as the archtypical "isolated, Bali Aga village republic" (for a recent example of such lingering images see Sentosa 1994), obscuring an essential feature of Tenganan's socio-economic organization, namely its defining role in an extended inter-village network.

In contrast to this earlier conception, this study proposes that Tenganan and a number of surrounding Old-Balinese villages constitute a special form of "multi-village community" (a concept borrowed from Jones 1968), a "field of power" (a phrase borrowed from Wolf 1969) modeled in some of its salient features after the *mandala* worldview. As this dissertation will show, Tenganan's social, ritual, and economic organization historically extended far beyond the village's borders. As a ritual and economic center within a regional network of nine Old-Balinese villages, Tenganan created its own *mandalic* sphere of power in counterpoint to the regional royal court. By focusing my analysis on these inter-

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connections, Old-Balinese culture emerges as a dynamic, counterhegemonic current that has shaped Balinese culture throughout history.

Levelling Centrism: Tenganese Conceptions of Power

> Ideology may mediate contradictions, but it cannot resolve them.
>
> (Wolf 1982:390)

Tenganan's earlier characterizations have also veiled the interactions which occurred on the symbolic level between worldviews based on political hierarchy and those centered on an egalitarian ethic of communalism. By focusing on Tenganan's unusual structure of power which combines in a unique manner Hindu-Javanese conceptions of centrality, hierarchy, and exclusion with Old-Balinese notions of inclusion and sharing, reinforced through an ethic of communalism and egalitarianism, I underscore the important point recently made by Boon (1990) that Bali represents a "transitional zone" between the dualistic and levelling structures pervasive throughout eastern Indonesia and the hierarchical, centric systems predominant in western Indonesia (Errington 1990). In this respect, Tenganan's "dualistic centrism" (a concept borrowed from Errington [1989] who uses it to describe Luwu power structure) provides the key for understanding the village's exceptional historical status within Bali. It also illuminates, more generally, the transformations of power which characterize Bali as a whole.

In addition, Tenganan's power structure offers interesting insights into the workings of the "inner conflicts of tradition" (a con-

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cept borrowed from Heesterman 1985), driven by the never-resolved internal contradictions between hierarchical centrism and levelling dualism (similar internal tensions exist in many "traditional" complex power structures in other parts of Southeast Asia and elsewhere in the world [e.g., Leach 1970, Petersen 1982, Lloyd 1965]). The Tenganese have ingenuously drawn on the Hindu-Javanese *mandala* concept to express and negotiate these contradictions. As an ideology of both inclusion and exclusion, it involves at once the poetics (symbolisms) and politics (exercise) of power. Because Bali scholars have been influenced by the predominant cultural models according to which *mandala* ideology was the exclusive domain of the royal courts and their Hindu-Javanized entourage circles, the symbolic and instrumental use of this concept in a decidedly Old-Balinese and village-based context raises new questions about the social paradigms which have been used to describe Balinese society and the the pervasive power which "gatekeeping concepts" continue to exert on anthropological theory.

The 'Village Mandala' as Enduring Model of Power Relations in the Context of Nationalism and Capitalist Expansion

Benedict Anderson, in his famous essay "The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture"(1990:17-77), has described how traditional Javanese ideas of power and ethics have shaped historical and political processes under Indonesian nationalism. Centripetal ideas of power based on the *mandalic* worldview have been carried over into modern politics. In con-

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trast to these classical *mandala* conception of state, rulership, and society, Tenganan's village *mandala* confers the locus of power not to a single person but to a group of "core villagers" who form an oligarchy, in control of the community's economic, social, and spiritual resources. In charge of maintaining Tenganan's ritual purity and administering its substantial land holdings, their sphere of influence extends far beyond their own settlement, encompassing eight other Old-Balinese villages and one small satellite community which are tied to the center through certain ritual and economic obligations. It is important to note, however, that this relationship is not hegemonic in an absolute sense as each of these communities maintains its own sphere of autonomy within this network.

The *mandala* concept of a seemingly static, invulnerable, sacred center of perfectly aligned and balanced forces, surrounded by a peripheral circle of ritual-economic satellites works well to capture this inter-village network, as it does to conceptualize the wider spheres of power of the Hindu-Javanese courts during the pre-colonial period. It also continues to shape Tenganese self-identifications and social actions as the village is drawn into larger spheres of political and economic power defined by the Indonesian nation-state, Balinese regional interests, and processes of internationalization and globalization. By employing self-images of static centrality derived from Bali's pre-colonial Hindu past, villagers recast "modernity" in a local idiom which they use to talk about both development or change, and tradition or cultural preservation. In other words, the *mandala* concept not only

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continues to shape the villagers' relations with each other internally, but also structures their external relations with the peripheral villages, Balinese religious and civil authorities, the Indonesian nation-state, and finally, global markets of international tourism. It is a highly relevant framework for the Tenganese, who deploy it as occasional leverage against the modern, bureaucratic state to articulate and defend local interests, and conversely in processes of integration to authenticate and legitimate these larger forces. As a local idiom of power, the *mandala* concept continues to give meaning to and to structure the complex web of new articulations which are emerging in the context of regional and national integration, globalization, and transnational processes of capitalist expansion. These transformations may take on new significance in light of the currently unfolding economic crisis which has begun to grip Indonesia as well as other nations in the region. I should like to mention in this context, that this dissertation was written prior to the country's economic downturn of late 1997. Yet early signals of an impending era of political and economic instability were already evident in the public discourse surrounding some of the events I describe.

Fieldwork: Theoretical Approaches, Methodological Issues, Ethics, and Field Experiences

In the past, scholarly views of Bali have tended to focus on cultural approaches which emphasized the stability, uniformity, and

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harmony of Balinese society. By contrast, more recent studies are beginning to reassess and sometimes contradict these earlier perspectives by focusing on the complexity, dynamics, and episodic violence which are embedded in the island's historical and political processes (e.g., Schulte Nordholt 1996, Robinson 1995). Recent theoretical focus has also shifted from internal toward external processes as shapers of historical and political events. The central themes in this dissertation draw on both of these trends by viewing local processes of identity, tradition, and change against larger national and global arenas of political and economic change.

During 18 months of fieldwork in eastern Bali, I attempted to focus in on the mutually defining processes of localization and globalization through research questions that addressed their interrelatedness. In the first six months, I focused mainly on how power and prestige are locally defined through various intersecting and overlapping structures and processes which continue to lock a group of nine Old-Balinese villages into a "mandala of power." In the later part of my fieldwork I began to draw on comparative analyses in order to highlight center-periphery contrasts between Tenganan and Bugbug, one of the villages in the *mandala's* periphery. I also began to focus more closely on external processes of transformation such as nationally guided village development and international tourism, exploring how they played out locally, how they affected the village-network with its center-periphery relations, and their consequences for the distribution of power within Tenganan itself.

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A major concern throughout this study has been to use an integrative approach to cultural change which synthesizes symbolic processes with political and economic transformations, bridging the gap between "micro- and macro anthropologies" (Hannerz 1986). Viewing actor-oriented strategies of local experience against the larger background of global and national transformations, I have sought to mediate between oppositional categories such as "tradition" and "modernity." Most important, I do not treat tradition as immutable and static but as being continuously reinvented and reconstructed (Hobsbawm 1983, Roseberry and O'Brien 1991). Robertson's concept of "glocalization" (1995) has also been useful in this context as it stresses precisely this increasing interconnectedness and mutual implicativeness of global and local arenas and focuses on processes of reconstruction, reorientation, and reauthentication of local history and identity in the ever-shifing contexts of national and global integration.

While the village of Tenganan has been the primary locus of my research, I had no intention to conduct a "village study." Rather, I was interested in the complex web of interrelationships which Tenganan maintains with the network of surrounding villages, as well as with the bureaucratic state and the global flows of capital, tourists, and commodities. In fact, I intended to shatter earlier views of Tenganan as an autonomous "village republic" and the anthropological myth of Old-Balinese villages as entirely inward-oriented, bounded entities largely disarticulated from those currents which shape wider Balinese society. In what follows I emphasize the social complexity and variability as

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well as the dynamic power of these villages in participating in modern Balinese society while maintaining an alternative cultural identity -- and this in light of the ever-intensifying efforts on the part of the bureaucratic state to "indonesianize" and standardize local traditions (e.g., Kipp and Rodgers 1987, Dove 1988).

From January to December 1994, and from March to September 1995, I conducted anthropological fieldwork in Bali. As Clifford reminds us, since its beginning, this mode of research has always been defined by a delicate balance of objectivity and subjectivity, with the ethnographer negotiating this permeable boundary through a process which is explicitly based as much on personal experience, participation, and empathy as on formal, "objective" methods (1986:13). My own field experience certainly reflects many of these ambiguities, the more so as I lived in close contact with a community which has safeguarded itself from overly close intrusions of outsiders throughout its history. My acquaintance with Bali and Tenganan, the village in question, had long preceded these eighteen months of fieldwork, however. I first visited Bali in 1981 and Tenganan in 1983 when my husband and I travelled through Indonesia. Subsequently, I conducted informal fieldwork for my M.A. thesis over several months from 1987-1988. During this time, and subsequent return visits, my husband and I forged close personal ties with several Tenganese families, friendships which have endured and deepened over all these years and which go far beyond the fieldwork experience itself. The Tenganese have had a long and generally positive experience with foreign and Balinese anthropologists, and have been

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open-armed, warm, and generous in accepting my presence from the beginning. However, it took many years before they slowly, but gradually, gave me access to some areas of knowledge that have traditionally been safeguarded from outsiders. I feel immensely grateful for this trust, which I do not intend to betray in my ethnographic descriptions.

While residing in Tenganan in the household of a "core village" family, I made numerous visits to all the other villages within the network. Although transportation has been greatly improved in the past few years, these visits in some cases still involved extended travelling on foot, by bicyle, on the back of moterbike taxis, and in the small public minibuses which pass through the mountainous hinterlands of eastern Bali. My husband's periodic visits came as a great relief as I enjoyed then the luxury of a rented private car.

Daily life in Tenganan, in the midst of a caring circle of "family" and friends, was centered around the "mechanics of fieldwork," daily interviewing, compiling of charts, transcribing of notes, and thinking of how to make sense of all the information which quickly accumulated on my small desk in growing stacks of papers and computer print-outs. Since my research questions had been phrased out of my long, previous experience of Tenganan, I did not encounter major unforeseen shifts in the orientation of my work as is common with other novice field workers. This is not to say, however, that I did not get some taste of the destabilizing surprises that can plague anthropological fieldwork in Asia as elswhere when political regimes try to confine research through bureaucratic red-tape and censorship. For example, the

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political leaders in one village, due to the nature of my research focus, at first tried to restrict me to public "question and answer sessions" with village officials and, failing that, to contain my circle of informants to a few hand-picked individuals. Only with time, and only to a much more limited extent than I had hoped, was I able to break through these barriers.

Besides such difficulties, my fieldwork held many pleasures, the greatest of which was living in Tenganan, a village blessed with great natural beauty and the extraordinary charm of its inhabitants. Like my Tenganese friends, I greatly looked forward to the ceremonial occasions which interrupt daily work routines and punctuate the flow of time. I joined the other villagers in their anticipation of the periodic, great festivals and family rituals during which the whole village comes together in communal activities. Getting up before dawn and joining the other villagers in the communal meeting houses, I had a chance to become a more or less accomplished "coconut grater" (an activity reserved for women, while men chop up the meat of the freshly slaughtered pigs). I greatly enjoyed joining in some of the informal, communal meals which inevitably followed these occasions. Women patiently guided my inexperienced hands in weaving foodplates and offerings from palm leaves and I felt a true sense of achievement when I finally managed to construct my own cone-shaped offerings from a variety of fruits and flowers and to balance them precariously on my head while carrying them on the long, winding stone paths to the temples. There they were received by the village priest and deposited amidst the multitude of other offerings on bamboo platforms in front of the altars.

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Daily life in the village not only meant enjoying the preparation of ceremonies, temple prayers, and the occasional late-night dramatic dance performances that marked major temple festivals. I especially looked forward to the early evening hours when I joined the other members of my host family in the kitchen area in the back of the house to prepare the evening meal. Crowded together around the stove, these occasions provided an opportunity for joyous laughter and teasing, as well as for catching up on the latest stories and gossip about village life.

Besides participant observation, I drew on a variety of formal, standard anthropological methods such as structured, semi-structured, and open-ended interviews, oral histories, census-type surveys, the charting of kin and other group affiliations, and making sketches to illustrate various types of spatial organization. For interviews in Tenganan and Bugbug, my sampling technique generally began with a wide range of informants (in respect to gender, age, and socio-economic background), then narrowed down to a few "key informants." In the other villages I relied more on in-depth interviews with specialists in the specific areas I was interested in. In addition, I followed current events in the media and collected relevant newspaper articles (from both Indonesian and English-language papers) on topics ranging from cultural identity to tourism. From the senior member of my host family, an expert on traditional literature and knowledge, I learned more about the ancient palm-leaf manuscripts and their treatises on Balinese cosmology and historiography.

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Observation (supplemented sometimes by photographic and video documentation) of both formal village events (e.g., occasions of visiting officials, rituals, formal village meetings and discussions) and informal daily behavior proved to be an invaluable tool as it allowed me to triangulate information derived from these various sources. Like other anthropologists, I quickly became aware that there often is considerable discrepancy between what people say and what they do, and between what they say they do and what they actually do. I found some of these inconsistencies between ideal and actual behavior, and between discourse and action, especially interesting as they guided me toward those culturally sensitive areas or stress points where values are contested and renegotiated. Throughout my fieldwork, I looked thus not only for patterns of behavior but also for conspicuous breaks in these patterns (a technique to which I was first introduced by Dr. Rena Gropper, my M.A. advisor and long-time friend at Hunter College). My extensive acquaintance with Tenganan has allowed me to reevaluate my earlier findings and to judge events from a diachronic perspective. I believe it has yielded a much more fine-grained insight into the dynamics of current changes than a one-time fieldwork period would have permitted.

Although I did not have a full-time, permanent assistant, I drew on the help of several young women from Tenganan who assisted me during various stages of my fieldwork (initial interviewing, transcription of tapes, compilation of survey-data, and gathering information which would have been difficult to obtain through direct questioning). One young and exceptionally gracious Tenganese woman also assisted me during much of

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my initial interviewing in Bugbug. Her help was invaluable, especially in gaining the confidence of new informants. A close friendship with a young woman from Banjar Pande, the non-elite section of Tenganan which will be described in Chapter Two has opened up many areas of village culture which, I believe, would otherwise have remained closed to me. Most important, it helped me to gain deeper acceptance among the residents of Banjar Pande despite my close association with the "core village." I also profited immensely from all the members of my host family: the "grandfather's" many teachings of traditional Tenganese values and his accounts of events which, although they happened long ago, continue to influence current village affairs; the long and close friendship I share with my host and the many informal, and usually very animated discussions on a wide range of topics; and his vivacious "outside" wife who not only looked after my physical well-being but also introduced me to her native family in Bugbug, my second major field site; and the family's three young children through whom I was able to observe the intensive process of enculturation into Tenganan society. In addition, I forged lasting friendships with other Tenganese who have become some of my most valuable "key informants."

Although I enjoyed the occasional visits of Western friends and researchers who came to the village, I felt little need to leave Tenganan and the charming house in which I lived for recreational excursions to Bali's more Westernized centers. On my "days off," I relied mainly on my circle of Tenganese and Balinese friends. As far as the recording of information is concerned, I have found that tape-recording

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did not prove as helpful as I initially had anticipated as it tended to "freeze" many of my Tenganese informants into standard answers rather than offering more genuine responses. Therefore, I relied on tape-recording only in other villages, and only during some of the more tightly structured and formal interviews. My preferred method of recording was simultaneous and consecutive note-taking, a process with which most of my informants felt much more "empowered" and comfortable. All the interviews were conducted in the Indonesian language which I supplemented with Balinese as I slowly became more familiar with this highly complex language, as well as with idiomatic terms from the local Tenganese vernacular.

Finally I would like to point out that the biggest problems in my fieldwork and dissertation writing experience were not of a methodological but of an ethical nature. I would have liked to have offered a much more personalized and contextualized account of the experiences and current events that are transforming Old-Balinese villages in eastern Bali today, and to give a fuller and more direct representation to the wide range and the complexity of voices which call for expression. However, I often felt that I should refrain from doing so because I believe that the political and social climate in Indonesia and Bali at the moment is not yet conducive to a more open, public dialogue. In addition, Old-Balinese village culture is still very much defined by a discourse rooted in ideologies of harmony and consensualism which downplay all forms of tension and conflict. In this environment, in which social harmony is the only legitimate expression of social con-

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sciousness, discordant voices are easily seen as open expressions of dissent and as agressively anti-social behavior. Using pseudonyms for the villages and individuals involved in this study is not a viable alternative in this particular case, for obvious reasons. In order to safeguard the privacy of informants, I have therefore, in most instances, not rendered direct quotations and transcripts from interviews, but instead, have "veiled their voices" by phrasing their specific opinions and experiences in terms of the larger, and more general conflicts which affect current shifts and redistributions of power within village society. Although such a method does raise questions over the validity of ethnographic representation, it is, nevertheless, in my view, preferrable to the possible negative consequences which local participants in the "ethnographic encounter" might endure from their fellow villagers, or for the repercussions they might face from various structures of authority.

Organization of the Dissertation

The organization of the dissertation in some ways reflects and replicates the fieldwork experience, starting in the center of my field research, in Tenganan, then moving outward in concentrically widening circles from the local, to the regional, and finally to the national and global arenas.

Part I of the dissertation offers an introduction to the ethnographic setting and to some of the theoretical issues which accompany

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my reconceptualization of Old-Balinese culture. It describes all the primary features (ritual, cosmological, social, and economic) of the village *mandala*, a network of nine Old-Balinese villages and one satellite community, in the eastern Balinese region of Karangasem. Chapter One offers a general introduction to Southeast Asian and Balinese conceptions of power. Drawing on works by Errington (1990) and Boon (1990), it introduces Bali as a transitional zone within insular Southeast Asia where western Indonesian centric and hierarchical conceptions of power overlap and intermesh with eastern Indonesian dualistic, non-hierarchical systems of power and prestige. Tenganan's own system of power is presented as one example of this "dualistic" or "levelling centrism." Portraying Tenganan with its surrounding network of Old-Balinese villages as a "village *mandala*" challenges the conventional view of Old-Balinese culture as having been bypassed by the larger religious and political influences of Hindu-Javanization which transformed Balinese culture from the 14th century onward. Instead, it focuses on the dynamic tension within Balinese culture between Old-Balinese levelling mechanisms and Hindu-Javanese structures of social hierarchy which led to a great degree of variation within modern and Old-Balinese forms of village organization.

Chapter Two introduces the center of this village *mandala*, the Old-Balinese village of Tenganan. My ethnographic description of Tenganan is presented from the perspective of the local *mandala* worldview in which centrality has been created by transforming the village's spatial, religious and social order to conform with the Hindu

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ideal of a *mandalic* "mesocosm." I show how centrality has been legitimized through identification with Bali's earliest period of Hinduization, and maintained over time through a variety of structures and a complex boundary control mechanism that involves social, ritual, and economic aspects.

Chapter Three offers a closer look at the perplexing range of variation which exists in the social organization of Old-Balinese villages in eastern Bali and the different ways in which the ever-present, internal tensions between levelling and hierarchical mechanisms have found their historical, socio-ritual, and economic expression. It then explores the village network's center-periphery relations which are organized through a complex web of intersecting and overlapping organizational frames combining in a composite way elements from cosmology and ritual, geography and topography, hydrology and irrigation. These frameworks which negotiate between horizontal (reciprocal) and vertical (hierarchical) spheres of power, organize and structure the ritual and productive relations between a group of Old-Balinese villages which are geographically dispersed but culturally interconnected.

Part II attempts to further deconstruct the anthropological myth of Old-Balinese villages as anachronistic "survivals" of Bali's pre-Hindu past. This section of the dissertation examines current processes of change in Tenganan as this village and its surrounding network is drawn into larger national and global spheres of political and economic power and influence. It explores the dialectical nature of the globalization process in the local village arena, as it moves

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simultaneously in opposite directions, toward homogenization and heterogenization.

Chapter Four deals with those processes of change which continue to (re)produce Tenganan's cultural heterogeneity and difference from the rest of Bali. This chapter shows that, contrary to the local and popular conception of "tradition" as static and immutable, it involves a constant repositioning of the self within the larger economic and bureaucratic structures of power. In order to uphold its cultural self-vision of a seemingly static center, Tenganan is caught up in continuous revisions and reconstructions of identity, history, and *adat* (customs), and in an ongoing process of renegotiation of its cultural boundaries.

While Chapter Four focuses on those processes which continue to differentiate Tenganan from the rest of Bali, Chapter Five examines the opposite trend toward the village's cultural and economic integration in the regional and national culture and economy. Nationally guided programs of village development, religious standardization, and education are leading to the greater bureaucratization of local institutions and draw the village more firmly into national spheres of authority and power. In brief, the dialectic dynamic between cultural, political, and economic distinction and integration arises from outside and inside the local culture.

In Part III the background against which local processes of identity and change are viewed is shifted again, this time from the national to the global arena. All four chapters in Part III examine

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international tourism and its multidirectional and often contradictory impacts on local communities. Tourism, as it has often been observed, is of a highly ambiguous nature, engendering processes of change and integration as well as processes of cultural and ethnic distinction, and a loosening as well as a reaffirmation of cultural boundaries. Tourism is also an ambiguous force in another respect, as it mutes within local communities some of the previously existing social and economic inequalities while opening up new fields of opportunity and arenas of differentiation.

Chapters Six and Seven examine how these dialectic processes affect the distribution of power in Tenganan, the center of the village *mandala*, while Chapters Eight and Nine deal with processes of change in the context of tourism in Bugbug, one community in the network's periphery. These two final chapters highlight significant contrasts in the impact of two very different types of tourism (small-scale, locally controlled versus large-scale "elite" tourism) on local communities. Moreover, they illustrate how outcomes are shaped by significant differences in the preexisting, local power structures due to the differential articulation of these communities in the *mandala* network and within Bali's regional political economy. As a result of these factors, the impact of tourism has been more diffused in Tenganan where its economic benefits are more widely shared among all members of the community, compared to Bugbug and other localities in Bali. The chapters reemphasize the importance of grounding anthropological analysis of the global-local conjecture in the lives of individual actors and in specific events

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within local communities in order to avoid overgeneralizations as well as stereotypical or misleading accounts of tourism's exploitative, or regenerative, force.

In the Conclusion the reader is reminded of the remarkable, yet often invisible, powers of Tenganan's "village *mandala*," which for so long have culturally and economically interconnected a group of geographically dispersed Old-Balinese villages. In my view, it is this network which has provided them with the resilience to maintain an alternate cultural tradition within Bali while accomodating many of the forces which have affected them throughout Bali's long history. Today, this resilience is, however, put to greater and greater tests by the current, ever-quickening pace of economic development and modernization -- a quest from which even Bali's most peripheral regions can no longer escape.

While the narratives of local experience presented in this dissertation do offer glimpses of "multivocality," they can never present complete contexts of local viewpoints as they are always grounded in my own experience as an outside observer whose field experience is structured by its own set of power relations that involve academic training, bureaucratic structures of the host country, and the complex interpersonal relations between the "observer" and the "observed." My account of local events thus does not put forth any claims of "ethnographic authority" or "objective truth." Instead, it is but one additional voice in the emerging multiplicity of discourses which surrounds the ongoing process of cultural production in Bali.

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PART I

THE 'VILLAGE *MANDALA*' AS A BALINESE MODEL FOR POWER RELATIONS

Conceptual Reorientations: From 'Village Republic' to 'Village Mandala'

Bali ranks among the world's most studied sites. Yet most of the anthropological literature has concentrated on the heavily Hindu-Javanized regions of the island, giving only incidental attention to a cultural subgroup, commonly referred to as "Bali Aga" or "Bali Mula" (generally glossed as "original Balinese"), or "Bali Kuno" (Old-Balinese). Their villages are concentrated in the central highlands around lake Batur and in the eastern Balinese region of Karangasem. While not ethnically distinct, their social organization diverges in some important aspects from the structural and cultural patterns found in lowland Balinese communities (Howe 1989, Lansing 1983). Once believed to be the last remaining survivors of Bali's aboriginal, pre-Hindu past, these "anomalous" villages have remained "one of the enduring mysteries of Balinese ethnography" (Lansing 1983:113). Yet they have been deemed too inconsequential and anachronistic to warrant a deeper investigation into their role in Bali's cultural development.

Early Dutch ethnographers accepted (rather uncritically) the oversimplified Balinese view of their own history according to which Bali's dark ages ended with the Javanese conquest of the island in 1343 A.D., marking the beginning of Balinese "civilization" and splendor.

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According to Balinese and anthropological accounts alike, this conquest set in motion the fundamental cultural reorientations (i.e., Hindu-Javanization) of Balinese society from which no one was excluded, except a view archaic "village republics" located in the most isolated and remote sections of the island. Their survival was generally explained through their marginal articulation to the Hindu-Javanized court-centers which sprang up after the Javanese conquest throughout the wet-rice producing south-central, lowland regions. While some scholars, in subsequent years, have refined their conceptions of these villages somewhat (e.g., from their earlier portrayal as "pre- or non-Hindu-Balinese" to "non-Javanized Hindu Balinese" [Swellengrebel 1984:31]), it has not been until recently that anthropologists have taken a more critical (and perhaps less biased) look at the "Bali Aga" and their role in Balinese history. For example, Reuter's recent research indicates that "Bali Aga" highland villages once formed the center of Bali's earliest Indic kingdoms (a fact confirmed by the earliest written royal edicts dating from the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. which were found in these villages, relating them clearly to these early highland state-centers)(Reuter 1995, also see Lansing 1983). Reuter's work further shows that these villages forged extended "alliances around a number of regionally important temples," networks which have persisted to this day (1995).

In light of these recent findings, it is perhaps less difficult for Bali scholars to accept the view presented here (which grew out of my long acquaintance with Tenganan), that similar networks also exist among eastern Bali's ancient villages. Tenganan, the most famous and

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most conservative old community in this area has presented to scholars even more of an enigma than the other "Bali Aga" villages, as it was -- unlike Bali's highland communities -- neither remote nor poor. Rather, it was one of eastern Bali's major landowning communities and was located in the midst of Karangasem's royal domain and wet-rice producing region. In fact, as Korn has rightly emphasized, Tenganan was able to maintain a special relationship to the courts *because* of its exceptional wealth (Korn 1984:362ff, Lansing 1983:156-157). This fact alone can not explain, however, Tenganan's own fascination with its tradition, nor does it shed any light on this village's high degree of elaboration of Old-Balinese cultural patterns. Only by transcending the earlier conceptual and theoretical constraints of classical "village studies" by focusing not on a single community but on the interconnections *between* villages, does the amazing complexity of Old-Balinese social organization emerge.

It becomes evident that since pre-colonial times, Tenganan's power has reached far beyond the village's physical boundaries. It included not only physical aspects but extended into the realm of spiritual potency. This potency was harnessed through the *mandala* network which connects Tenganan ritually, socially, and economically to a group of Old-Balinese villages which surround it within a radius of 20 kilometers (Korn does mention this inter-village network, but only in passing [1932:28-29; 1984:362-368]). Tenganan, with its ritual and cultural elaboration of Old-Balinese features of social organization, and an Indian-derived double-ikat textile tradition which is absent in

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the rest of Southeast Asia (Bühler, Ramseyer, and Ramseyer-Gygi 1975/76) represents the center of this inter-village alliance. Life in this center, as Ramseyer has rightly stressed, is organized around a highly complex social and ritual system, devoted to keeping the ancestral, mythical Hindu community of *Paneges* alive and in a state of perfect cosmological harmony and purity.

Tenganan thus decidedly has its historical roots in Bali's early Hindu period. Taking these Tenganese cultural self-visions as the sole descendants of Bali's original, supreme Hindu community (whose social and ritual order is described in some detail in the ancient palmleaf manuscript *Usana Bali*) into account, it is much less difficult to accept the local Tenganese view that their village and the surrounding network is modelled after the Indic *mandala* ideal of a static, potent center surrounded by a dynamic, well-balanced periphery, even if this view challenges the conventional view among Bali experts that *mandala* spatial organization was restricted to Bali's Hindu-Javanized court centers.

Part I of the dissertation focuses on the cosmological, ritual, social, and economic features which define Tenganan and its regional village network. It attempts to illustrate that the conceptual boundaries between "Old-Balinese" and "Hindu-Javanized" strata of Balinese society have been much more permeable than the anthropological literature has suggested in the past and that the use of Indic conceptions of space and cosmology may have shaped Balinese village society since the ninth century, long before the era of Hindu-Javanization began on the

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island. Karangasem's Old-Balinese villages are an important part of Bali's vibrant cultural tradition, a tradition shaped by indigenous, early Indic, and Hindu-Javanese socio-religious currents.

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CHAPTER ONE

ORDERING THE UNIVERSE: CONCEPTIONS OF POWER IN SOUTHEAST ASIAN CONTEXTS

CONCEPTIONS OF POWER IN MAINLAND AND INSULAR SOUTHEAST ASIA

"We in Euro-America now take for granted that 'power' names a secular relation between people. Many other humans live or historically lived with very different notions about power and effectiveness" (Errington 1990:41). Southeast Asia has long served in the anthropological literature as a prominent example of just such a cultural region where ideas of power, prestige, and potency differ drastically from its Western counterparts. As Errington (1990:5) has so poignantly stated:

> We in Euro-America tend to identify power with economic control and coercive force: any status or prestige not linked to it we tend to conceptualize as empty prestige, mere symbolism. We also tend to identify "power" with activity, forcefulness, getting things done, instrumentality, and effectiveness brought about through calculation of means to achieve goals. The prevalent view in many parts of island Southeast Asia, however, is that to exert force, to make explicit commands, or to engage in direct activity - in other words, to exert "power" in a Western sense - reveals a lack of spiritual power and effective potency, and consequently diminishes prestige.

As Anderson reminds us, Javanese cultural tradition emphasizes not the active demonstration and exercise of power, but instead the signs of concentration of power, the ability to absorb this power from the outside and "to concentrate within himself apparently antagonistic opposites" (Anderson 1990:28). Underlying this Southeast Asian view of

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power is the deeply rooted connection between the cosmic energy of the universe and the socio-political world of humans. Pervasive parallelisms between macrocosmos (the universe) and microcosm (human life) have for centuries informed all spheres of social life in Southeast Asia: from politics, statecraft and ritual to gender relations, marriage exchanges, the spatial arrangements of cities, villages, and houses down to conceptions about the human body and the causes of illness and health. This intrinsic unity or correspondence between macro- and microcosmos informs the world view of peoples of mainland and insular Southeast Asia, from animistic, tribal cultures of the highlands to the Hindu-Buddhist state-level societies of the lowlands (Russell 1989, Errington 1990, Tambiah 1977, Atkinson 1989).

TRANSFORMATIONS OF POWER: CENTRALITY VERSUS DUALITY, AND HIERARCHY VERSUS COMPLEMENTARITY

Much of the literature on Southeast Asian worldviews is focused on a basic set of contrasts. On the mainland, this takes the form of upland/lowland oppositions (Woodward and Russell 1989) while in insular Southeast Asia it has been phrased in terms of outer/inner island contrasts (Geertz 1963). Upland cultures on the mainland are briefly characterized by an economic system based on swidden cultivation, a political structure ranging from egalitarian village communities to hereditary chiefdoms and by a religious tradition rooted in animism, ancestor worship, fertility cults, and formerly headhunting (Woodward and Russell

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1989:13). By contrast, lowland cultures are primarily Theravada Buddhist, hierarchical state-level societies based on wet rice cultivation (Woodward and Russell 1989:2).

The situation in insular Southeast Asia is somewhat more complex. Geertz (1963) based his division of Indonesia on purely ecological contrasts. He distinguishes between the wet-rice producing, Hinduized, and heavily populated, hierarchical state-level societies of the inner islands of Java and Bali versus the sparsely populated outer islands of Sumatra and eastern Indonesia characterized by swidden agriculture (which tend to coincide as well with animistic, tribal, dualistic, non-hierarchical social systems). Errington (1990:1-58) took a more inclusive approach to insular Southeast Asia dividing the region somewhat differently into the "Centric Archipelago" and the "Exchange Archipelago." According to Errington, the "Centric Archipelago" comprises the Philippines, Malaysia, and parts of Western Indonesia (Java, Borneo, and Sulawesi), while the "Exchange Archipelago" includes Sumatra as well as eastern Indonesia (Lesser Sunda Islands and Moluccas).

According to this scheme, both regions overlap on the island of Bali which thus represents a transitional zone exhibiting elements of both systems (Boon 1990:209-233). Each of these two regions is characterized by distinctly different conceptions of power, prestige, and potency. Despite the great diversity in economic, religious, and social organization of societies in the "Centric Archipelago" which range from the more egalitarian slash-and-burn, tribal societies to the hierarchical, Indianized wet-rice producing states, they do share a similar con-

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ception of power: a substance-like energy emanating from a unitary source and radiating outward from a single center into the surrounding periphery. In the Indianized regions of Java and Bali this conception of power became infused with the Indic "mandala" (Sanskrit: 'circle') notion of a still, passive, yet highly potent center represented by the divine king and his capital, and an active, moving periphery of concentric circles of entourages, audiences, and tributary regions (Wolters 1982, Heine-Geldern 1963). Rulers of these "galactic polities" (Tambiah 1977) were in Wolter's view "men of prowess," less concerned with the actual exercise of power than with its accumulation and concentration (Anderson 1990:43). This continuous effort of attracting power to the center has led Geertz to describe the classical 19th century Balinese polities as "theatre states" in which power served pomp rather than pomp serving power (1980). Errington has characterized this spatial "mandala" of a still, unmoving, potent center and an active, forceful, turbulent periphery as a "geography of potency" (1990:284-294). Within it, social difference is hierarchically coded according to each person's distance from this center (Errington 1990:40).

By contrast, a different set of ideological constructions of power and potency pervades the "Exchange Archipelago" of eastern Indonesia and Sumatra. According to Errington (1990:45-47), these societies are more "level, egalitarian, or nonhierarchical precisely because they have no mechanisms or institution for transferring prestige or potency (such as noble titles or 'noble' blood) from one generation to its descendants" (1990:45). Power and potency are thus not ascribed

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but achieved and are open to everyone (1990:46). In these societies, potency tends to be conceived as dualistic and social, political, and ritual life is organized along left-right, inner-outer, and male-female oppositions.

Despite these regional, ecological, religious, and socio-economic differences, there seems to be, however, an underlying worldview rooted in the centrality of power, potency, and fertility shared throughout Southeast Asian mainland and insular societies which fits well with either hierarchical or egalitarian social organization (Tannenbaum 1989:69). Thus, Anderson's description of the Javanese conception of power as a concrete, homogeneous, substance-like energy of constant quantity, not linked to morality or legitimacy (1990:19-23) reverberates in Tannenbaum's characterization of Shan conceptions of the universe on the Southeast Asian mainland (1989:71-74). In her article on Shan transformations of power, Tannenbaum stresses an underlying continuity in upland and lowland worldviews despite the ecological, religious, linguistic, and social differences which characterize each region. I would like to extend Tannenbaum's argument even further, beyond the mainland, by applying it to insular Southeast Asia as well. As the example of Bali illustrates, hierarchy/centrism and complemenarity/dualism are not as mutually exclusive as our Western Worldview would lead us to believe.

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"DUALISTIC CENTRISM": A BALINESE CONCEPTION OF POWER[1]

Bali, wedged between the large islands of Sumatra and Java to the west and the Lesser Sunda Islands and Moluccas to the east, has long attracted anthropological attention due to its dazzling culture. Bali's unusually elaborate cosmology, blending a vast body of Indic conceptions of state-making and notions of the universe with an older, dualistic Indonesian tradition, is merely one of many expressions of Bali's famous cultural complexity. Within Errington's (1990) classification, Bali is not only geographically, but also conceptually, wedged between the "Centric Archipelago" to its west and the "Exchange Archipelago" to its east. Both of these cultural zones meet and overlap on Bali -- a transitional region.[2]

This scholarly idea of centrism being a mere permutation of dualism fits well with emic, Balinese beliefs of cosmology and power. The Balinese share with other Southeast Asian peoples a basic conception of power as a concrete, homogeneous force whose quantity in the universe remains constant. Hildred Geertz (1991:184) has described this most general and instrumental form of power (*sakti*) as follows:

> *Sakti* is a diffuse divine or cosmic energy, which is formless, spaceless, without personality, timeless, and intangible, but which can fragment or refract and take lesser manifest forms and move about in limited spaces. When manifested, *sakti* is very tangible. Human beings know *sakti* by its effects in the immediate world of experience (*sakala*).

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Sakti can be used for either positive or negative purposes and is thus a competence which is morally neutral (Geertz 1995). According to various Balinese healers I interviewed in Tenganan, lesser manifestations of this all encompassing attribute '*sakti*' include '*angkot/kaot*' (healing power obtained through magic); '*aeng*' (power obtained through magic which is not used for healing but as protection against sharp, penetrating objects); '*wibawa/prabawa*' (individual power/charisma based on good, moral conduct which can be seen as "radiating from the person's face and is expressed in refined [*halus*] behaviour [*penampiran*]"; '*angker/tenget*' (power manifested in magically dangerous places such as crossroads. A person confronted with this power feels "*mereng meneng*" [uneasiness, fear, awe]). Still other forms of power are '*taksu*' (divine power bestowed on artists and orators which enables them to draw the attention of an audience), and '*bayu*' (lit. 'wind', a physical power, which is not linked to spiritual power and which is, therefore, in the local worldview, of lesser importance).

'Rua Bhinneda': The Balinese Principle of Dualism

While *sakti* in its ultimate, intangible, non-manifest (*niskala*) form is unitary and indivisible, its lesser manifestations are often expressed through dualisms, such as mountainward/seaward, east/west, right/left, male/female, inner/outer, high/low, sun/moon, sky/earth, water/fire, to name only a few. However, in contrast to eastern

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Indonesia where ancestral potency tends to be seen as permanently and irremediably fractured (Errington 1990:54), in Bali, this division of original, unitary potency into two opposite, yet complementary, poles is never permanent but tends to be immediately reabsorbed into a third, connecting and central element which transforms duality into an all encompassing, tripartite division. Like in Java, a person's ability to "concentrate within himself apparently antagonistic opposites" (Anderson 1990:28) is one of the intrinsic qualities of a person who has *sakti*. "Immense power is generated through the fusion of these opposites," one of my Balinese friends explained. Balinese refer to this unitary overcoming of dualistic tendencies as "*rua bhinneda*" (*rua, ruwa, rwa* means 'two,' *bhinneda, bineda* means 'difference' or 'opposite'). These conceptions of dualistic power are pervasive in esoteric teachings relating to cosmology, magic, and healing (Weck 1986[1937]:39-52), as well as in traditional political and social village structure (particularly Old-Balinese village organization which combines both dualistic and hierarchical elements). In Bali, dualism, while being seen as an inevitable aspect of cosmic unity, is never permanent or absolute but is always mediated by the desire to create perfect oneness and unity through the fusion of these opposites. In Balinese cosmology this is expressed in the concept of *windu* (Kawi: *wa* = sun, and *indu* = moon), the absolute center and circle of emptiness created through the fusion of opposites (Weck 1986:70); and the union of *purusa* (male principle) and *perdana* (female principle). This metaphysical ideal of "dualistic centrism" is also expressed in Bali's social and political life where dualistic

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structures never exist in isolation of hierarchical and centripetal systems of power.

'MANDALA': THE ULTIMATE SYMBOL OF COSMIC UNITY AND SOCIAL HIERARCHY

The Concept of 'Mandala'

'*Mandala*' (Skrt: "circle"), also referred to as '*yantra*' in Hindu philosophy, is a geometrical composition or "power diagram" widely used in Indic cultures as an image for meditation, as a principle expressed through ritual, and as a model to shape the natural environment in order to harness and concentrate the powers of the universe. According to Hindu-Buddhist doctrine, the world consists of a circular, central continent, Jambudvipa, in the center of which rises Mount Meru, the cosmic mountain and center of the universe. It is surrounded by seven oceans and seven continents, which are, in turn, enclosed by an enormous mountain range (Heine-Geldern 1958:2). This arrangement of the universe into a core (*manda*) and an enclosing periphery (*la*), or satellites surrounding a center, has found a multitude of cosmological, socio-political, artistic, architectural, and spatial expressions throughout South and Southeast Asia (e.g., Tambiah 1977:69). Images based on this worldview are widely used throughout Asia in Hindu, Buddhist, and Tantric religious traditions (Khanna 1979). Tantrism, in particular, which offers "a shortcut to liberation (*moksa*)" from the endless cycles of death and rebirth, has drawn heavily on the use of

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magico-mystical diagrams (Lindenbaum 1979:2). These representations are generally referred to as *mandalas* or *yantras*. They consist of "a circle separating a particular area from its surroundings, which then consecrated becomes purified for ritual and liturgical purposes" offering protection from malevolent forces (Stutley and Stutley 1977:178).

Mandalic images thus typically consist of a center, the "dot" (Skrt.: *bindu*, Bal.: *windu*), surrounded by a peripheral circle which in turn is enclosed by a square with four sacred gates opening to the four cardinal directions. Power flows out from the static center into a dynamic perihery, and finally returns to the center again, strengthening and reconcentrating its potency (Khanna 1979:9-12). Above all, however, a *mandala* is a dynamic "cosmogram", a map of the universe in its "process of emanation and of reabsorption" (Tucci 1961:23), a "geometric projection of the world reduced to an essential pattern," a "paradigm of cosmic involution and evolution" (Tucci 1961:25).

Mandala ideas do go, however, beyond the sphere of specific culture-bound, religious conceptions and practices and can be found in many parts of the world (e.g., in Mayan and other American Indian cultures). Carl Gustav Jung (1972[1959]) has pointed to the wider, transcultural, psychological significance of *mandalic* images as "archetypes of wholeness" and attempts of selfhealing which may occur during certain psychic states of disorder and confusion relating to conditions of psychic dissociation (e.g., in stages of dream, trance, and certain cases of schizophrenia). These images of geometrical design spring, according to Jung, not from conscious reflection but from instinctive

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impulse, in a pan-human attempt to "put together apparently irreconcilable opposites and bridge over apparently hopeless splits"(1972:5). Thus, on the psychological level, *mandalic* images are an attempt of the human psyche to reunite ever distinct opposites and to reintegrate dualism within an all encompassing centrism by transforming principles of disintegration into principles of reintegration, and dualistic opposition into centric "wholeness" and "oneness." If Jung is correct and *mandalic* designs, as bases for cosmological and socio-political organization, are an expression of the human subconscience, it may explain why *mandalic* principles are found not only in Indic state-level societies but also in simpler, tribal cultures outside the Hindu-Buddhist sphere of influence (Tambiah 1977:69, Atkinson 1989:8-11).

Balinese culture has been heavily influenced by Hindu-Buddhist thought. Like so many other South and Southeast Asian peoples, they have shaped their spiritual, social, and physical worlds in line with the principles of the *mandala* worldview. The Balinese *nawa sanga* (Old Jav.: *nawa*, Bal.: *sanga*, both mean 'nine') or "rose of winds," arranges the universe into four cardinal and four intermediate directions, each one represented and guarded by a specific deity and symbolized by a specific color, magic syllable and sign (appendix C_2). At the center is Sanghyang Tunggal or Siwa, the hermaphroditic principle that unites all of the directional powers into a unified whole (Covarrubias 1937:296). All oppositions manifested in the *rua bhinneda* are thus resolved within the center, the *windu* which -- by containing everything -- becomes empty and still. The *nawa sanga* notion of the universe (which synthesizes not only

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dualistic oppositions but also tripartite and, by extension, five-, seven-, nine-, and eleven-partite divisions [Weck 1986:37-80]) is expressed in virtually all spheres of social life in Bali from conceptions about the human body to rituals and offerings, and the spatial layouts of houses, temples, and towns. As a *mandala*, the *nawa sanga* is imbued with even greater potency because it not only integrates dualistic principles (two, four, and eight part divisions) with centric conceptions (three, five, nine, and eleven unit divisions), but also has a dynamic capacity to generate these transformations through pulsating evolution (expansion) and involution (contraction).

The Mandala as a Political Model of Centric Power

> The Royal Capital in Majapahit is Sun and Moon, peerless;
> The numerous manors with their encircling groves are halos around the sun and moon;
> The numerous other towns of the realms...are stars and planets;
> And the numerous other islands of the archipelago are ring-kingdoms, dependent states drawn toward the royal Presence.
>
> (Nagarakrtagama, canto 12, stanza 6, quoted in Geertz 1983:131)

This idealized description of a Javanese '*negara*' (a Sanskrit loanword originally meaning "town" but extended in the Indonesian context to signify "palace", "capital", "state", and "realm" [Geertz 1980:4]) presented by Prapanca, a Buddhist monk living in the fourteenth century at the Javanese court of Majapahit, offers a glimpse into the

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medieval Southeast Asian worldview modelled after the Indic "doctrine of the exemplary center" (Geertz 1980:13). Here, the divine god-king (*cakravartin*) is situated in perfect stillness in the realm's center, the heavenly palace at the center of the capital, which in turn is enclosed by entourage circles and tributary regions. According to this principle of "graded potency," power flows in a straight line downward from the gods to the king down to his subjects, and from the center outward into the periphery, so that "'court-and-capital is at once a microcosm of the supernatural order -- an image of...the universe on a smaller scale'-- and the material embodiment of the political order" (Geertz 1980:13).

By the first half of the second millenium A.D., the map of Southeast Asia had already been transformed from ranked chiefdoms to "a patchwork of often overlapping *mandalas* or 'circles of kings'" (Wolters 1982:16). There is still considerable debate over the exact nature of this transformation from hierarchical chiefdoms to state-level "galactic polities" (Tambiah 1977). Internal political dynamics rather than external conquest, and "prime movers" such as long-distance trade or irrigation, may have been instrumental for this step (Wisseman Christie 1995:235-288). Furthermore, this transformation may have been more fluid and less unilineal than historical accounts suggest. As Tambiah has pointed out, "galactic polities" of the classical period were inherently unstable and under constant threat of rebellion, usurption and dissolution because these early state-level societies lacked a mechanism for the transfer of power through legitimate, orderly succession (1977:81).

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Thus, it is not surprising that local rulers enthusiastically embraced and glorified the Indic ideal of "divine kingship" and "*mandalic* power" as legitimizing tools for transferring achieved status into a more permanent system of ascribed status.

Bali is a case in point for such an internal conversion from ranked chiefdom to *negara*. As other regions of mainland and insular Southeast Asia during the first millenium A.D., Bali was marked by increasing efforts spearheaded by local rulers but carried out by the population at large to transform a stratified society ruled by chiefs in such ways as to conform with the Indic worldview of cosmology and statecraft. Both Lansing (1983) and Geertz (1980) have stressed such local initiatives in the selective adoption of Indic ideas (such as "divine kingship" and the introduction of monastic cults). Geertz (1980) places the locus for these changes in the courtly sphere (expressed through increasingly intensive ritual displays), whereas Lansing underscores the instrumental role of an increasingly complex temple system "which managed everything from the control of irrigation to the rituals of a Balinese version of the Hindu caste system" (1983:7). Both emphasize, however, that Bali was "Indianized by the power of ideas" (Lansing 1983:23) rather than through material forces such as conquest or trade, and that this process was achieved through sustained, local and voluntary initiative and enthusiasm.[3] It is the totalizing effect which these ideas, centered on *mandalic* notions of power and statecraft, had on Balinese society (expressed in cosmological, ritual, spatial, socio-political, architectural, and artistic terms) which transformed

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Bali from the peripheral and marginal backwaters of Southeast Asia into one of the most culturally vibrant and complex "galactic polities" which Asia has ever known. By the ninth century A.D., this transformation was well on its way -- long before the island's subjugation to Majapahit power in 1343 A.D. which set in motion its extended period of Hindu-Javanization (e.g., Ardika and Bellwood 1991, Lansing 1983, Ramseyer 1977:55 ff, see also Kulke 1991). Royal edicts from this time onward begin to employ the concept of *mandala* when referring to the state's cosmological and political domains.[4]

In the literature on Southeast Asian political organization of the classical era, *mandala*-type polities are generally linked to courtly centers. These were marked by an elaborately graded political and social hierarchy based on the unequal distribution of spiritual and material power. However, contrary to the common perception that the "*mandala* were a phenomenon of the lowlands" and that "the Sanskrit tongue was chilled to silence at 500 meters" from the court centers (Wolters 1982:32, quoted in Atkinson 1989:10), the 14th century Javanese manuscript Nagarakrtagama offers a very different view. Besides the elaborate description of the royal center of Majapahit, it also mentions a group of eight religious communities, the so-called "*mandala* or 'sacred ring' communities" located outside (or rather at the periphery) of the courtly sphere of political influence, in the distant Hyang mountains of central Java (Nag. canto 32 and 78, in Pigeaud 1962:485,247). These "*mandala* communities" which are also described in detail in two other manuscripts of this period, the *Tantu Panggelaran* and the *Pararaton* (Pigeaud 1924,

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1962:247), were divided into two groups of four sanctuaries each, the *caturbashma* ("Four Ashmarks Sacred Ring communities") and the *caturashrama* (the "Four Hermitages" group). Despite their apparent political marginality, these sacred communities which followed a Shivaitic cultic orientation, were held in high esteem by the royal court and were granted a special semi-autonomous status as indicated in the Batur Charter, an edict which was issued by King Hayam Wuruk (Pigeaud 1962:412-415,485) that I note below.

The important status of these communities, which were intimately connected with agriculture (*mangashrayeng thani*) and rural religious traditions (Pigeaud 1962:247), is underlined in the elaborate description of a royal visit to Segara, one of these *mandala* sanctuaries (Nag., canto 32). There are striking continuities between Segara and Tenganan (Pigeaud 1962:98,486; Bühler, Ramseyer and Ramseyer-Gygi 1975/76:55-57) which I will discuss in more detail in the following chapter. What is important to note here is the fact that Indic *mandala* notions of power, based on the idea of cosmic unity, were not restricted to the sphere of political influence of court centers but were also incorporated into older, village-based conceptions of cosmic and social order. Such "village *mandalas*", of which Tenganan may be the last surviving example, indicate that the process of Indianization was multi-layered. While, on the one hand, Indic models were used by native rulers to impose hegemonic power relations on local populations, local village communities also transformed themselves according to *mandalic* principles and thereby legitimized their resistance to the political encroachment

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of the court-centers.

Such a truce of mutual recognition of power between a *mandalic* court-center and a *mandalic* village-community is evident in the Batur Charter. This edict was issued by King Hayam Wuruk for the *mandala* communities of Segara and Talun and offered "recommendations" rather than "orders" concerning the religious obligations of these communities in response to their previous dissent to royal authority. Pigeaud concluded that the king's visit to Segara in 1359 A.D. (which is described in great detail in the Nagarakrtagama) was not a show of force but a sign of peace and mutual respect (Pigeaud 1962:415). As we shall see later, Tenganan's history and special status as *perdikan desa* exemplify a similar process in Bali of court-based expansion of political and religious hegemonic power engaging with village-centered counterhegemonic accomodation and resistance. It should be stressed again, therefore, that *mandalic* imagery, as a legitimizing tool, was not restricted to the royal courts, but was used, in some cases, by village-communities as well -- an important fact which is often overlooked in the anthropological literature on Bali.

The Mandala as a Spatial Model

As noted earlier, a *mandala* is a geometrical composition which is believed to create a power field. By drawing *mandalic* images on the ground, or by building temples, palaces, and cities according to

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mandalic principles, formless cosmic energy could be drawn into this space circumscribed by the circle of the *mandala*.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, in contrast to Western notions of political power, Southeast Asian rulers of the classical period were less concerned with the political exercise of authority than with its metaphysical accumulation, concentration, and ritual display (Anderson 1990:23,43). For example, in 19th century Bali, "political power inhered less in property than in people; was a matter of accumulation of prestige, not of territory" (Geertz 1980:24). If it is correct that the basis of power lay in its symbolic expression rather than in its material exercise -- that "power served pomp, not pomp power" (Geertz 1980:13) -- the creation of these symbolic forms of power and their ritual enactment and spatial expression must have lain at the very center of politics and statecraft during the classical period. By modifying the natural environment in ways to conform with the metaphysical principles of the *mandala*, sacred space could be created, and its potency harnessed. Thus an omnipotent center could literally be created by drawing a "magic circle" on the ground and by fencing this consecrated space from the outside. By building their palaces, temples, and cities as microcosmic replicas of the macrocosmos, Southeast Asian rulers were able to claim their spiritual and political hegemony over political rivals.

By the second half of the second millenium A.D. the Indian subcontinent and mainland and insular Southeast Asia were dotted with kingdoms, temples, and cities, all built in accordance with principles of

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the *mandala's* "sacred geography" (Tambiah 1977, Levy 1990, Pieper 1977, Heine-Geldern 1963, Errington 1989, Geertz 1980, Pigeaud 1962). In addition, societal structure was conceptualized in terms of spatial metaphors (Hanks 1984). For example, in the pre-18th century *mandala* states of Cambodia, "society was organized into horizontal castes/classes or vertical 'entourages/ circles'", all centered on the ruling monarch, who stood at the pinnacle of the social structure also occupied the spatially most central position within his palace, capital, and kingdom (Ebihara 1984). In ancient Burma, Cambodia, Java, and elsewhere, the royal palace became the symbol of the celestial Mount Meru, and the ruler the incarnation of God Indra, Shiva, or Vishnu. The king's four principal and four secondary wives represented the four cardinal and intermediary directions. Their living quarters were arranged correspondingly within the palace around the inner sanctum of the king's quarters. Capital and empire were divided into four sections, each one administered by one of the four chief ministers, corresponding to the four *lokapalas*, the guardian deities of the four cardinal directions. The cosmological and spatial division of the realm was then transmitted down (or rather outward) through various levels (or concentric circles) extending into the furthest periphery consisting of 32 provinces or vassal states, which together with the supreme ruler at the center corresponded to the 33 gods at the summit of Mount Meru (Heine-Geldern 1963:6).

Similarly, in 19th century Bali, the palace of the highest ranking ruler, the king of Klungkung, was arranged as nested spaces around a

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center which symbolized the most sacred, potent, central, and interior position within the palace itself, the whole kingdom and, by extension, all of Bali (Geertz 1980, Geertz and Geertz 1975, Wiener 1995). As in other Southeast Asian states of the pre-colonial period, noble houses in Bali were in continuous competition with each other over the control of power. Control of ritual, manpower, irrigation water, territory, and external trade all played a role in the extent to which a ruler could claim political hegemony over his rivals (Schulte Nordholt 1991:7). However, as in other "galactic polities," power was never absolute and stable but forever shifting (Tambiah 1977), giving Balinese kingdoms their ever changing, transient contours (e.g., Geertz and Geertz 1975:119-123, Vickers 1989:62-64).

> The paradox of nineteenth century politics in South Bali was that successful leaders could enhance their authority only through delegating their power. Therefore the *negara* could never become a strong and stable state with a power monopoly at the centre. As a result South Balinese society witnessed an ongoing process of oscillation between royal centres and local powers or satellites.
>
> (Schulte Nordholt 1991:7)

At the same time, spatial organization based on the *mandala* worldview was, as I have argued, by no means restricted to the royal sphere. Spatial expressions of *mandalic* principles pervade all spheres of life in Bali, ranging from conceptions of the human body, spatial layouts of rooms, house yards, temples, villages, and towns to seating arrangements in village councils and the placement of offerings during

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rituals. Hauser-Schäublin (1993:288) has described three major principles which define the conception and use of space in Bali:

> The first is the principle of the geographical orientation with its principal axis *kaja/kelod* (upstream or mountainwards/downstream or seawards), with preference given to the direction of the mountain which is associated with ritual purity and high social standing. The second axis is east/west, in which the easterly direction is valued more highly than the westerly. Mountain-east is considered the purest and ritually the highest direction there is. (Socially it is the most preferred one; this becomes visible, for example, in seating arrangements where the highest ranking person is allocated that place).
>
> A second principle, called *tri angga* on the model of the three parts of the human body, divides everything into three zones: *utama* (high or also head), *madya* (middle or body) and *nista* (low or leg). Often *puri* and *pura* are organized according to *tri angga*, by consisting of 3x3 compounds in the case of a *puri* [royal compound, my insertion], or three courtyards in the case of a temple [*pura*, my insertion]. The first courtyard in a *pura* is the lowest, often associated with netherworld deities, the last the highest and ritually purest.
>
> The third principle puts emphasis not only on the direction of the windrose, but also on the importance of the centre which combines all other potentialities. It is the principle of *nawasangga* [sic], the eight directions of the gods, with Siwa in the centre, uniting all elements of the gods surrounding him.

Each of these three principles consists of a horizontal, as well as a vertical component. In the south-central region of Bali, which was under heavy Hindu-Javanese influence since the 14th century, vertical expressions of these three principles are stressed in order to convey a hierarchical, caste-based worldview. For example, persons of higher social rank occupy elevated seating positions during social and ritual meetings, temple-shrines are hierarchically ordered according to the

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number of superimposed, pagoda-like roofs (*meru*), offerings can reach the height of several feet, and the height of burial towers convey the social rank of the deceased. By contrast, horizontal spatial arrangements are emphasized in Old-Balinese regions where the process of Hindu-Javanization was less pervasive. For example, during village-council meetings all participants are seated at equal height but in descending order from *kaja/kangin* (mountainward/east) to *kelod/kauh* (seaward/west) according to social rank. Temple-shrines have only one roof, offerings are generally low, and cremation towers are absent from death rituals.

Despite these differences in emphasis, neither the horizonal nor the vertical expression of space can claim universality in any part of Bali. As Hauser-Schäublin has stressed, "in Bali the meaning of verticality does not prevail over that of horizontality, it is rather the idea of a *Knotenpunkt*, a multi-dimensional nodal point, uniting, and at the same time pointing away, in all directions that constitutes the concept of a centre" (1993:293). Hauser-Schäublin attributes this mandalic conception of space to Hindu-Javanese influences which she contrasts with the pre-Majapahit dualistic spatial organization which was prevalent in Bali prior to the 14th century (using Tenganan as exemple). In Chapter Two I will argue, however, that in the case of Tenganan such dualistic principles are always mediated through a center, transforming most dualisms into tripartite divisions (for example in village layout with three parallel main streets and houseyard layout based on the principle of *tri angga*). Although the village is often characterized as the archetypical archaic, non Hindu-Javanized "village republic," we will

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see that the Tenganese draw precisely on the idea of a central, yet invisible, node (forming the center of a space defined by the four village gates) which is surrounded by nine visible, but secondary nodes (each one charged with supernatural power) formed by the geometrical grid of three lengthstreets and three intersecting crossroads, in conceptualizing their village as a *mandalic* center of cosmic power (appendix C_2). In other words, the situation in Bali is highly complex and not very clear-cut as even villages which follow a decidedly Old-Balinese social pattern like Tenganan, combine elements of both centric and dualistic conceptions of power and space.

THE OLD-BALINESE VILLAGE OF TENGANAN PEGRINGSINGAN: AN "EXEMPLARY" VILLAGE CENTER IN BALI'S CULTURAL PERIPHERY

Several years ago, when I first became intrigued by Tenganan's internal and external power relations, I interviewed a Tenganese healer (*balian*) on local conceptions of power. I asked him to sketch and explain to me the village layout and Tenganan's relationship with other Old-Balinese villages in the area. He went first to fetch one of the family's heirlooms, a double-ikat ceremonial textile with the *geringsing lubeng* motif, a cloth exclusively produced in Tenganan[5] (for several beautiful examples of this particular motif see Hauser-Schäublin, Nabholz-Kartaschoff, and Ramseyer 1991). Woven into it is a pattern of the macrocosmos: a large, central star-shaped image surrounded by a number of smaller celestial bodies. The large central star motif

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(representing the sun in the macrocosmic context) consists of a small cross in the center, surrounded by a square with four ornamented rays pointing outward in the four cardinal directions. The Tenganese describe these rays as protective "scorpion tails" (*teludu*). Shifting from the macrocosmic to the mesocosmic level of symbolism, my informant explained that this central star is also a representation of Tenganan, whose power lies in its spatial layout which he sketched on a piece of paper as a cross (*swastika)* surrounded by a square with four gates opening into the four cardinal directions. He then positioned the eight Old-Balinese villages with whom Tenganan maintains ritual and socio-economic relations at the eight directions of the compass, surrounding Tenganan like an enclosing circle (appendix F_1). He referred to this idealized design modelled after the *nawa sanga* (the eight-directional "rose of winds" mentioned earlier) as "*mandala.*" He emphasized that Tenganan's power can only be maintained "as long as the center remains still and strong and the periphery is well balanced." After the priest of the village sketched a similar drawing, I was convinced that the Tenganese see their village as nothing less than a "galactic polity," a center of power, and a microcosmic representation of the universe. This raises two important theoretical sets of questions concerning: 1) the position of the so-called "Bali Aga" villages in mainstream Balinese culture, and 2) the position of Tenganan within "Bali Aga" or Old-Balinese cultural tradition.

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The Enigmatic "Bali Aga" Redefined

Howe has pointed out (1989:47) that anthropological scholarship in Bali has undergone a recent, dynamic shift from earlier ahistoric, structural-functionalist community studies to more historically and regionally grounded writings. These new approaches, which correspond to larger currents in anthropological theory, emphasize process (rather than structure), and tend to focus on the cultural and social construction of realities which point toward open-ended, fragmented, multivalent histories and political and economic interdependencies. These studies also tend to be more reflective in their attempts to capture the full complexity of modern Balinese society. New foci include subjects such as transformations in Bali's socio-religious and political structures (e.g., Schulte-Nordholt 1991, Lansing 1991, Warren 1993, H. Geertz 1991, Wiener 1995), changing Balinese perceptions of tradition and modernity (e.g., Vickers 1996 which presents papers from the Third International Bali Studies Workshop in Sydney 1995), changing Western representations of Bali (Boon 1977, Vickers 1989), and broader, regional variations in Balinese social organization (e.g., Barth 1993, Howe 1989).

Despite these recent shifts toward a more dynamic and inclusive portrayal of Balinese culture, there still remains an uneasiness and reluctance in fully incorporating into these analyses one section of Balinese society, the so-called "Bali Aga,"[6] concentrated in upland and eastern Bali. In contrast to mainland Southeast Asia, where recent

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analytical frameworks explicitly focus on the inclusive interdependence and dynamic interaction of upland and lowland cultures, and where both are seen as transformations of one larger, underlying cultural tradition (Russell 1989), in Balinese studies, as mentioned earlier, "Bali Aga" cultural forms continue to be treated as isolated anachronistic survivals from Bali's dark ages, only marginally articulated to the island's mainstream culture. In the past, within the political context of Dutch colonial control over Bali's royal centers, these villages were romanticized as pre-Hindu-Javanese, egalitarian, democratic "closed corporate communities" (a concept used by Wolf [1957] in the Javanese and Mesoamerican contexts). Together with their romantization, however, also came social stigmatization as early writers such as Wirz (1928) and Covarrubias (1937) enlivened their idealized descriptions of the "original Balinese" with rumors of human blood sacrifice and cannibalism (Vickers 1989:116-117). In the following decades, despite shifts in the local, post-independence political discourse toward ethnic inclusion and multiculturalism, mainstream Balinese views of "Bali Aga" culture continue to be informed by these earlier, often distorted accounts. Similary, more recent anthropological references to "Bali Aga" culture continue to be influenced by these lingering images of strangely static, inward-oriented communities, only marginally articulated to mainstream Balinese society (e.g., Lansing 1983, Geertz 1980). While this continuing stereotypical portrayal of "the Bali Aga as cultural isolates automatically denied them recognition as the co-bearers and even the forebearers of the much celebrated civilization of modern Bali" (Reuter

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1995:2), it has also spurred renewed research which is beginning to reevaluate this fascinating subtradition of Balinese culture.

Contours of the "Bali Aga" Debate

> One of the enduring mysteries of Balinese ethnography has been the existence of a group of villages which appear to diverge in several important ways from the pattern of social order common over the rest of the island. In the Balinese language, the inhabitants of these anomalous villages are called wong Bali Aga or wong Bali Mula ("Mountain Balinese" or "Original Balinese". Everyone else is termed *wong Majapahit* ("Majapahit People").
>
> (Lansing 1983:113)

The above description captures two enduring myths in Balinese historiography: (1) the local Balinese view, that Bali was a largely unpopulated island prior to Majapahit colonization in the 14th century and that except for a handful of remote mountain villages all of its present inhabitants are descendants from the Javanese conquerers, and (2) that the present survivors of these "original Balinese" represent a somewhat curious and anomalous exception to Balinese mainstream culture.

Early Dutch administrators and scholars such as Berg, Liefrinck, Korn, Grader, and Goris picked up on these local perceptions of Balinese history and identity and on the basis of it constructed an ideal, bipolar model of Balinese village society based on the degree of Hindu-Javanization to which local communities were supposedly exposed following the Javanese conquest. According to this model, new-type villages tended to be seen as "degraded forms of a once integral *dorpsrepubliek*"

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(Warren 1993:19). Korn's (1932) division of Bali into "old Balinese" and "*apanage*" regions was based on the argument that Hindu-Javanization proceeded from the top down and from the royal centers outward, whereby Balinese rulers would give certain regions (mostly newly occupied regions) as "*apanagegebieden*" to their relatives and vassals who would then administer these regions in the name of the local ruler (Schaareman 1986:3).

Korn's top-down scheme of the Hindu-Javanization process later became the center of controversy due to its "evolutionary" and "diffusionist" connotations (Boon 1977:54-58). Geertz, in particular, has forcefully argued that the process of Hindu-Javanization may have been less of a "top down" process than Korn and the Dutch school imagined, but rather a two-way interaction between court and village whereby villagers themselves would be as much attracted to the pomp and magnificence of the royal centers facilitating the courts' political and cultural hegemony over village society (1980:46-47). Geertz, however, fails to explain why some villages seemed to remain more aloof than others to the courts' splendorous attractions despite close spatial proximity, choosing instead to adhere to an older cultural tradition, or, as the case of Tenganan suggests, even to create a regional counter-hegemony to the court. Geertz' dismissal of the continued vitality of these villages as being only of marginal importance to mainstream Balinese society (1980:45-47, 1959:1012) can only be understood as a reaction to the earlier Dutch overemphasis on Old-Balinese village isolation. However, as Lansing has observed, dismissing the "Bali Aga"

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question from anthropological discourse "does not dismiss the Bali Aga, who are, after all, chiefly celebrated for their determination not to disappear" (1983:113-114).

As Warren has pointed out in her review of Balinese village structure, a few recent scholars have "reasserted some of the important contributions and conclusions of the Dutch school" (1993:19-20). Schaareman (1986:1-5), Guermonprez (1991), Ottino (1994), Howe (1989), Reuter (1995), and Wälty (1997) have all stressed the importance of Old-Balinese organizational features "for understanding Balinese society and culture more generally" (Warren 1993:20). Breaking down the older dichotomies between hierarchy and egalitarianism, they, in turn, have argued for a greater focus on the continuities between old-type and new-type Balinese villages by illustrating instead that hierarchial structures permeate all layers of Balinese society, including the presumably egalitarian "Bali Aga." In addition, egalitarian levelling mechanisms are not restricted to "old style" mountain villages but are also present (though less strongly expressed) in the hierarchically organized "new style" lowland communities. Whether these structural hierarchies are emphasized or deemphasized in a given community depends further on the particular economic system (which may favor either individual or communal landownership) and on locally interpreted ideologies which either stress or mute social distinction. Tenganan is a particular interesting case as both processes -- a heightening as well as a downplaying of hierarchy -- are crucial for the village's survival as a *mandalic* center and separate cultural group within modern Bali.

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In addition, Schaareman's work has helped to clear up some of the confusion which surrounded the terminology of "old style" villages. He has asserted that "Old-Balinese" structural elements may also prevail in villages that are not necessarily inhabited by "Bali Aga" people (1986:5), a conclusion which my own research in eastern Bali fully supports. In the eastern Balinese region of Karangasem (where Schaareman also conducted his fieldwork) there is considerable structural variation, even within the old-type communities themselves[7] (Chapter Three will examine this variation more closely).

In my view, the distinction between old-type and new-type does not need to be dismissed, however, as it still serves as a useful conceptual framework provided we take it less as rigid, ideal types than as two endpoints on a continuum of structural elements which may combine in countless different ways. Boon's (1990) approach to Indonesia's hierarchical and dualistic kinship systems as different permutations of a single, underlying cultural configuration (see note 2) offers useful insights which may be also applied to this context as it focuses less on the differences than on the continuities between the hierarchical Hindu-Javanese and the dualistic Old-Balinese forms of social organization.

Tenganan Pegringsingan: From "Dorpsrepubliek" to "Village-Mandala"

With the demise of the early Dutch school, there came a shift of focus away from old-type Balinese villages and "Bali Aga" cultural forms with, however, one exception: the village of Tenganan Pegringsingan

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located in eastern Bali. Tenganan has attracted more attention than any other Old-Balinese community both as the ideal type "village republic" and as an unusual divergence from the typical "Bali Aga" pattern. In his monograph De Dorpsrepubliek Tnganan Pagringsingan (1933), Korn, a lawyer and administrator in the Dutch colonial service, described in detail Tenganan's social, juridical, and economic structure based on gerontocratic control and communal landownership. With his eye for idiosyncrasy and detail, however, he also noted Tenganan's distinctive features which set it apart from the Bali Aga villages of the highlands, as well as from the other Old-Balinese villages of the surrounding region of Karangasem which he treated in more detail in Het Adatrecht (1932). According to Korn, Tenganan was able to maintain religious, legal, and economic autonomy manifested in a special relationship with the court centers, not because of geographical isolation but due to its special status as *perdikan desa* and its exceptional wealth (1984[1933]:362-368]).

Tenganan's other distinctive feature is its double-ikat textile technology derived from India which does not exist anywhere else in Indonesia. The resulting *geringsing* cloth is one of Bali's most sacred textiles, highly valued for its alleged curative and protective powers (Bühler, Ramseyer and Ramseyer-Gygi 1975; Ramseyer 1984, 1991). More recently, Tenganan has again attracted attention due to a special enzyme found in the gene pool of its population which is believed to originate in India and which could not be verified for other parts of Bali, Java, and eastern Indonesia (Breguet 1980, Breguet and Ney 1995:14). This has

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led Breguet to the conclusion that there is a direct genetic and genealogical link between the founders of Tenganan and an ancestral Indian stock (Breguet and Ney 1995:14-15), a link which is also stressed in Tenganan's mythological history. It seems ironical, however, that the community which has most become the symbol of "original Balinese" culture in both anthropological and popular Balinese discourse, may, in a historical sense, in fact be one of the least indigenous communities in Bali. This, once again, underlines Schaareman's argument that "most of the villages of the so-called "old Balinese" area do possess a more traditional, indigenous Balinese structure, particularly if one compares them with those from eastern Indonesian regions - `but this does not mean that such "old Balinese" villages are inhabited by "Bali Aga"(my emphasis)(1986:5).

Conclusion

Most of the anthropological debates on Balinese social structure have focused on the tension between hierarchy and equality (Warren 1993:68-71). In the ethnographic literature, both of these organizing principles have been treated as largely mutually exclusive and oppositional categories. Hierarchical, court-influenced structures, permeated by unequal power relations of the wet-rice producing lowlands, have been juxtaposed to egalitarian, dualistic forms of social organization and values which are found in a small number of Old-Balinese "village republics" located in the mountainous regions. This dualistic framework has

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recently been expanded to include a third and transitional zone exhibiting elements of both (Howe 1989:47-48). While Howe does shift the emphasis from centric hierarchy, which has long held center stage in the anthropological discourse of Bali, to the more egalitarian institutions and value systems which seem to permeate a larger geographical region than was previously recognized, he nevertheless adheres to a model which does not fully recognize the interwovenness and overlap of these hierarchical and egalitarian institutions and ideologies. By contrast, Warren (1993:71) has argued for recognition of the much greater extent "to which this alternate 'egalitarian' complex has pan-Balinese cultural and institutional referents." She stresses, instead the "parallel significance" of hierarchical and dualistic cultural and social practices in mainstream Balinese culture. It is important, however, to recognize not only the extent to which egalitarian elements permeate modern Balinese institutions, but also, and conversely, the degree to which centric and hierarchical structures and notions of power have filtered into the Old-Balinese cultural complex. Ottino, drawing on Danandjaja's ethnographic account of the "Bali Aga" village of Trunyan, has stressed precisely this point: "Notions of hierarchy here," she writes, "far from being restricted to the Tri-Wangsa castes, are seen to permeate all layers of Balinese society, including the supposedly egalitarian Bali Aga." She goes on to say that although hierarchy infuses all facets of Trunyan village life, "it appears that the egalitarian values for which the Bali Aga have become famous constitue an ideology fostered by the village which enables it to retain its position and its identity within

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Balinese society as a whole" (1994:515). Her conclusion is given further weight by Reuter's study on ritual networks among Bali Aga villages in the same geographical region. He illustrates the former centrality of this region which was the first in Bali to become involved in early state formation, and therefore "not surprisingly, the last to fall under the cultural influence of the 14th century invaders from Majapahit who styled themselves as the bringers of civilization" (1995:3). It is equally important to note that in a cultural system where seniority is equated with purity, the "Bali Aga" themselves have never accepted their current marginal status within Balinese society but consider themselves as the last defenders of an older, and thus purer, Hindu tradition and political order (e.g., Lansing 1983, Reuter 1995).

"Bali Aga" stereotypes have violated the Tenganese sense of self-identity for they consider themselves to be the sole descendants of the "wong Paneges," the supreme Hindu community of Bali's mythical past. They have defended their cultural autonomy throughout history despite Majapahit encroachment, Dutch hegemony, and intrusions of the nation-state. And they have recently chosen as official emblem and symbol of their communal identity the *mandalic* star motive of the *geringsing lubeng* which is now displayed in the office of the village headman (*kantor kepala desa*). To the Tenganese, the *mandala* conveys both sameness and difference, an ideology of unity and equality within the center itself and, at the same time, the center's hierarchical dominance over the periphery. The following chapters will illustrate how this express-

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ion of "egalitarian centrism" is being sustained in the spatial, ritual, socio-political, and economic spheres.

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NOTES

Chapter One

[1] The phrase "dualistic centrism" is borrowed from Errington (1989) who used it in the context of Luwu power structure.

[2] Focusing on kinship, Boon has emphasized this transitional position of Bali (1990:209-234). He argued that Bali's endogamous ancestral houses with their ideal of incestuous twinship-marriage represent a transformation of the exogamous ancestral houses of eastern Indonesia. By conceptualizing the cognatic systems of hierarchical societies as a transformation of the unilineal descent and alliance systems of the more level societies of eastern Indonesia, Boon bridges the theoretical gap between the "Centric" and the "Exchange Archipelago". Like Tannenbaum in her analysis of mainland Shan transformations of power, Boon rejects the conceptual separation of hierarchical and dualistic systems as mutually exclusive categories. By treating them as a conceptual whole, his approach stresses, instead, the underlying continuities which link both systems.

[3] While there is no evidence of external conquest in the early archaeological record, there are indications of trade links between India and Bali dating to the first century A.D. (Ardika 1995).

[4] I kindly thank Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin for drawing my attention to the use of the *mandala* concept in some of the earliest royal edicts from northern Bali such as the Prasasti Sembiran.

[5] It is interesting to note that *geringsing lubeng* (*geringsing* = "no calamity" or "free of illness"; *lubeng* = "star") textiles are first mentioned in the fourteenth century manuscript Nagarakrtagama (Pigeaud 1962:24 Vol.II). Gold ornamented *geringsing lobheng-lewih* textiles were used as curtains in the royal carriages of the Majapahit ruler Hayam Wuruk on the occasion of a royal procession into the outlying provinces of the realm (canto 18, stanza 4). The fact that it was this particular *geringsing* with its striking *mandala* motive which was used, illustrates the alleged potency of these textiles in harnessing cosmic powers for the king and his entourage. Gold embroidered *geringsings* were also highly valued in the royal courts of nineteenth century Bali for their exceptional significance in conveying the owner's or wearer's prestige and high status and their alleged curative and protective powers (e.g., Maxwell 1990:149, Ramseyer 1991:117). It is quite plausible that these textiles served a similar function in Majapahit Java, conveying the ruler's high status and shielding him from possible harm while leaving the safe confines of his palace and capital.

This sacred cloth *geringsing lubeng* is also mentioned in the palmleaf manuscript entitled "Tantri Kamandaka". According to its story, Sang Perabu (Raja Sri Aji Dharma Swami) went hunting in the forest together with his followers. He wore his keris (dagger often

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embued with special magical powers) and a *geringsing lubeng luhur* (the *lubeng luhur* motive contains three large central stars instead of the usual two). He also wore a *sabuk geringsing* (a long and narrow, circular band with uncut threads) with the *sanan empeg* motive, tied in a double loop around his neck and waist in the *kusuma guna* style. In Tenganan, male members of the village council and youth organizations still wear *geringsing* belts in this fashion whereby one longer loop is draped around the neck and the smaller loop around the waist, with two small loops hanging down in front. In Tenganan language this style is called "*tangkong*". For the Tenganese is symbolizes the *mandala* as it represents a cross (four loops arranged around a center) when put flat.

[6] "Bali Aga" or "Bali Mula" is generally glossed as "original" or "mountain" Balinese. While villages which exhibit distinctive "Bali Aga" structural features tend to be concentrated in Bali's upland regions (above the wet-rice belt zone), villages with similar social organization exist also in eastern Bali. Here, in the Karangasem region, they are dispersed over a wide range of ecological environments: from the wet-rice producing coastal plains and the fertile foothill regions up to the mountainous slopes of Gunung Agung. Balinese in this region tend to use the term "Bali Aga" only when referring to Tenganan which they consider to be the only "original Balinese" settlement in the area. By contrast, when Tenganese refer to themselves and to other old villages in the region, they tend to prefer the term "Bali Kuno" ("old, ancient Balinese") or "desa kuno" ("ancient village"), thus avoiding the sometimes derogatory connotations of "Bali Aga". Tenganese are well aware of their mislabeling as "original Balinese" as they consider themselves to be not indigenous Balinese, but rather pre-Majapahit immigrants. Most importantly, they do not recognize genealogical or affinal ties to any other Balinese groups including the so-called "Bali Aga". I have adopted the Tenganese preference, referring to 'old type' village organization simply as "Old-Balinese" and thus avoiding the anachronistic connotations which the term "Bali Aga" tend to convey.

[7] For a detailed description of 'new type' village organization I refer to Geertz' famous article (1959) and Warren's more recent evaluation of village structure (1993).

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CHAPTER TWO

THE QUEST FOR CENTRALITY: THE OLD-BALINESE VILLAGE OF TENGANAN PEGRINGSINGAN AS A *MANDALIC* CENTER

CONSTRUCTING CENTRALITY: THE VILLAGE AS A 'MESOCOSM'[1]

Sacred Space and Divine Social Order as Culturally Constructed Demarcations

> On the highway linking the Balinese capital Den Pasar with the seat of the regent of Karangasem, the small village of Nyuhtebel lies two miles to the west of the steep slope of Mount Bugbug, and from there a poorly maintained country road runs northward to the valley communities of Pasedahan and Tenganan Pegeringsingan. Few people realize that that insignificant road leads to a world full of curiosities and mysteries, a world of relics from earlier ages, albeit that the past they represent is not so inexorably dead as that of the treasures from the Egyptian valley of the kings.
>
> (Korn 1933:1, translation 1984:303)

Notwithstanding that Korn wrote in the romantic genre of his time, visitors who come to Tenganan today (typically by air-conditioned car or bus via the paved motor road), are still struck by this sense of mystery conveyed by the scenic setting of the village amidst hills covered by lush tropical vegetation and a certain feeling of timelessness imparted by the ancient-looking thatched roof buildings and the wide streets rising over several platforms where herds of sacred water buffaloes rest under shady trees or graze freely, and where children play undisturbed by cars.

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The *desa adat* ("custom village" referring to the inhabited village area and surrounding territory, defined by traditional law and characterized by a village charter and the *Kahyangan Tiga* temple complex; for further discussion see Boon 1977, Geertz 1980, Schaareman 1986, and Warren 1993) Tenganan Pegringsingan (646 inhabitants/160 households) is located in the southeastern part of Bali in the district (*kabupaten*) of Karangasem, 65 kilometers to the east of Bali's capital Denpasar, and 17 kilometers to the west of the regional capital of Amlapura (appendix A_1). Together with the four neighboring communities (*dusun*) of *desa adat* Dauh Tukad, *desa adat* Gumung, Bukit Kangin, and Bukit Kauh/Kaja, the *desa adat* Tenganan Pegringsingan forms part of the larger, administrative village, the *desa dinas* Tenganan (governmental, administrative village)(3,650 inhabitants). In this chapter, I shall only be concerned with the *desa adat* Tenganan Pegringsingan to which I may refer in abbreveated form as "Tenganan." It is situated 70-80 meters above sea level at a distance of five kilometers from the coast, embedded in a valley formed by two parallel mountain ridges, Bukit Kangin ("eastern hill") and Bukit Kauh ("western hill") stretching from the sea to the south in the direction of Gunung Agung, Bali's highest volcano and cosmological center, to the north. Gunung Agung's foothills, Bukit Kaja, enclose the valley on its northern side (appendix A_2). This U-shaped basin surrounding the village from the east, west, and north, not only protects the commmunity from the natural elements (e.g., the lava flow from Gunung Agung) and, in former times, from possible hostile attacks, but also offers a plentiful environment supplying the Tenganese

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with a rich variety of forest and agricultural products fulfilling the community's material and ceremonial needs. Despite these protective hills to the north, east, and west, Tenganan should not be seen as a geographically isolated community as it is connected by road (asphalted since 1975) to the nearby coastal region and is in close proximity to the neighboring villages of Pasedahan and Dauh Tukad.

Tenganan is by Balinese standards a wealthy community with a village territory of 840 hectares, most of which is highly productive agricultural land (580 hectares of non-irrigated garden and forest land, and 255 hectares of irrigated *sawah* land). All of the irrigated land lies outside the valley proper, to the east, beyond Bukit Kangin (appendices A_3 and A_4). Part of this territory is communally owned and administrated (150 hectares of dry land and 158 hectares of irrigated land), the remainder being passed on within individual families through patrilineal and matrilineal inheritance. The *desa adat*, however, also maintains final authority over this privately owned land.

Today, as in Korn's time, the only major approach to Tenganan is from the south via the country road connecting the village with the coastal mainroad. Two other villages, Nyuhtebel and Pasedahan, are located along this road which ends at Tenganan. In relation to these other villages, Tenganan's location is thus most *kaja* (i.e., closest to the cosmological center, Gunung Agung).

The inhabited area of the village proper (the area within the four village gates) is, as Korn has pointed out, "completely different from the ordinary Balinese village in appearance" as it forms a sharply

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defined rectangular space of approximately 500 meters in length and 250 meters in width, and thus "gives the impression of being a compact settlement built according to a preconceived plan" (1984:304)(appendix A5). In former times, the area within the four gates (only three of which are still in existence today) was sometimes referred to as *kraton*, a term which is highly unusual in a village context as it is exclusively reserved for royal palaces (Korn 1932:29). This rectangular space is divided from east to west into three distinct sections, each of which forms a *banjar adat* (hamlet, residential unit defined by customary law): the three large parallel streets climb from *kelod* (seaward) direction over several terraced platforms toward *kaja* (mountainward),[2] the direction of Gunung Agung which is looming to the north of the village. Public buildings are aligned along the center axis of each street. In addition, three smaller crosslanes divide this rectangular space into grid-like sections: two smaller sections of approximately 125 meters in length in the north and south, and a square area of approximately 250 meters each way in the center (see appendix A3). It is this central area which is circled during certain ceremonial occasions. To the Tenganese, this "circling of the square" symbolically represents God Indra, who, in Tenganese cosmology (as in early Vedic Hinduism), signifies the centrality of all directions and the unity of all gods (a place which in later Hindu cosmology is allocated to God Shiva). Toward the outside, this sacred space is protected by the four large gates (*lawangan*) embued with special magical power which point toward the four cardinal directions "like the protective tail of a scorpion," referred to by the

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Tenganese as "*jaga satru*" (Bal.: *jaga* = to be aware, to protect; Kawi: *satru* = enemy), as their function is to protect the village from harmful and dangerous forces (for a more detailed treatment of the symbolic use of space in Tenganan see Français 1989:44-73, Sentosa 1994:chap.5). Seen from the inside, these four gates physically and symbolically create an enclosure of "safe space," a sacred area in which all powerful cosmological forces are perfectly aligned and balanced. This *mandala* layout, which in the case of Tenganan is based on a grid-like design of rectangles and squares surrounded by the four gates, creates a "magic circle," a boundary which separates this inhabited area from the polluted, unordered, and dangerous space beyond the gates (the cemeteries, gardens, and forests).

This spatial *mandala* is activated and expressed in motion on special ritual occasions when complex circular movement patterns in clock- and counterclockwise direction are performed by the members of the village council and youth organizations. For example, during the *nyangjangang* ceremony (performed on the first and second day of the declining moon cycle [*panglong* 1 and 2] in the fifth month of the Tenganese calendar), the three sacred *selonding* orchestras are carried on two consecutive evenings in clock- and counterclockwise direction through the village and are played at street intersections and in front of sacred buildings. During the first evening of the ceremony, when the members of the "bachelor/boys organization of the seaward meeting house" (*teruna temu kelod*) set out with their sacred instruments in counterclockwise direction, "they open up the passages so that the *bayu* (wind,

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energy, potency) can flow freely." On the following evening, when the bachelor organizations of the central and mountainward meeting houses (*teruna temu tengah* and *teruna temu kaja*) circle the village in clock- and counterclockwise direction with their *selonding* orchestras and finally meet in the narrow, southern crosslane "it is like two weapons (*senjata*) symbolizing *dharma* (Skrt: law, duty) which meet and clash." Finally, this cycle is completed when the male members of the village council (*krama desa*), also divided in two groups [the eastern and western flank], circle the village one last time. Through these movement patterns, accompanied by the sound of the sacred instruments, the village has been purified and exorcised from malevolent forces and cosmic order, balance, and harmony has been restored through *windu* (the Balinese symbol of emptiness and stasis).

These circular movements in clock- and counterclockwise direction around a central point (the intersection of the *kaja-kelod* [north-south] axis symbolizing the flow of wind and the *kangin-kauh* [east-west] axis symbolizing the path of the sun) are a defining feature of Tenganan's highly esoteric "cult of Indra" much of which remains shrouded in mystery and secrecy (for more details on Tenganan's ceremonial symbolism see Français 1989).

Within the village proper, each of the three ascending main streets is lined by two rows of houseyards of uniform size and shape (appendices B_1 and B_2). As Korn has noted,

> one's attention is particularly attracted by the unbroken row of serried roofs of coconut leaf and palm fibre on either side of the streets. At first sight they seem to form one long house, because of the peculiar

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> location of the dwellings and other buildings in the compounds.
>
> (Korn 1984[1933]:304)

Spatial orientation within each houseyard is not toward *kaja* (mountainward) as in most other Balinese villages, but inward, toward the center of each main street. Thus houseyards along the eastern side of each street form a mirror image of houseyards on the western side of the street. The arrangement of buildings within each houseyard is identical and follows the cosmological principle of *tri angga*[3] (Bal., Skrt., *tri* =three, *angga* = body). This is because in contrast to the rest of Bali, in Tenganan, the main symbolic reference point is not *kaja*, but the central axis of each main street along which all the communal, sacred buildings are aligned. Orientation is toward this axis, as people sleep with their head pointed toward the center, and the most sacred buildings within each houseyard are located closest to this axis while the less pure spaces are furthest away from it (for further description of the spatial layout of Tenganan houseyards and its cosmological significance see Français 1989:64-71, for an architectural treatment of space, see Sentosa 1994, Runa 1993, Fakultas Teknik Universitas Gadjah Mada 1994).

In Indic town planning of the classical period, a variety of *mandala* designs were used. The Indian architectural treatise *Manasara* mentions eight possible systems for urban design, each of which is based on cosmological principles (Pieper 1977). Two of these designs are circular, five are square, and only one is of rectangular shape. The rectangular design, referred to as *Mandala Dandaka* (appendix C_1), is of

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particular interest as it shows significant correspondences to Tenganan's spatial layout, in both its actual and idealized forms (appendix C2). (The drawing in appendix C2 was originally made by a Tenganese healer and shows the macro-meso-micro cosmological correspondences between the nine directional Hindu deities [*dewa nawa sanga*], their correspondences to the nine crossroads in the actual village layout and to specific organs in the human body)(compare also with Weck 1986:239 and Hooykaas 1974:149.)

In addition, Tenganan's terraced layout is reminiscent of ancient Balinese temple complexes (e.g., Pura Besakih) as well as of Old-Javanese mountain sanctuaries. Even more intriguing, there appear to be striking similarities between Tenganan and Segara, one of the so-called *mandala* communities of 14th century Java described in the Nagarakrtagama (Pigeaud 1962:98,486; Robson 1995; Bühler, Ramseyer, and Ramseyer-Gygi 1975:55; Français 1989:11). Canto 32 of this ancient manuscript describes a royal visit to this 'sacred ring' community which was located in the midst of the wooded hills of the Hyang mountains in eastern Java, at a four-day distance from the capital of Majapahit. As the poet Prapanca describes "its layout [was] bewilderingly beautiful" (Robson 1995:canto 32/stanza 2). Uniform rows of houses with black palm fibre roofing were arranged along the terraced platforms in a "most awesome" way (Robson 1995:canto 32/stanza 6). Although the sacred bathing place and artificial pond attracted the poet's attention, he was especially impressed by the abundant use of black palm fibre (*duk*) for the roofing not only of the temples, but of houses as well. Male and

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female members lived in this community addressing each other as "*kaki*" and "*endang*" (grandfather/grandmother or brother/sister). He describes the "sisters" as beautiful and skillful, free of blemishes and impurities, and "familiar with the Shiva world while still in the material body" (Pigeaud 1962: canto 32, stanza 6). These women impressed their royal visitors with their stately dances as the leader of the community, a high priest, the "*sang hyang mandala*" (Pigeaud 1962:413), presented the king with cloth offerings (Bühler, Ramseyer, and Ramseyer-Gygi 1975:57).

Segara was one of four sacred "ash mark" communities (*caturbashma*) all located in the surrounding hills (Pigeaud 1962:248). They derived their name from the ashmark (*bashma*) which the members put on their faces or bodies (Pigeaud 1962:247). In his commentary, Pigeaud himself drew the conclusion that these idyllic communities of anchorites bear a noticable resemblance to Tenganan Pegringsingan (1962,vol.IV: 98 and 486). Indeed, all the striking elements in the poet's discription of Segara are also distinctive features of Tenganan and might impress any visitor who comes to this village today (e.g., the idyllic forest surroundings, the long rows of identical houses with roofs of black palm fibre, the sacred sign of the ashmark (Teng.: *anggi*) which the women of Tenganan's village council (*krama desa*) wear on the forehead on ceremonial occasions, the sacred bath (*Kayehan kaja kauh)* and the temple sanctuary of *Pura Penateran Yeh Santi* with its mythological, holy spring to the north of the village. We might also note the sacred dances of girls and women (*abuang*) dressed in *geringsing* cloth, the community's

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strong sense of being of "one blood and one family," and the fact that the lineage which supplies Tenganan's priestly leader is, like in ancient Segara, referred to as *sanghyang*. But most of all, it is this community's continued devotion to its unique ritual tradition, as well as the centrality of the *mandala* concept to Tenganan's body of esoteric knowledge and the mystery and secrecy with which it is treated by the members of this community, which leaves little doubt in my mind that there is indeed a historical connection between Tenganan and these *mandala* communities of ancient Java.[4]

The Tenganese have gone to great length to shape their physical environment to correspond as closely as possible to the cosmological principles of the *mandala*. The degree to which the physical structure of the village coincides with the metaphysical structure of the *buana agung* (the macrocosmos) is in the Tenganese view a direct expression of the village's potency as a spiritual center. A comprehensive code of *adat* laws protects the natural environment, the physical structure of public and private spaces as well as the social and ritual order. Tenganan's cultural conservatism (which includes these social, ritual, eonomic, and spatial arrangements) can only be understood within the context of this "sacred geography" which comprises both physical (*sekala*) as well as intangible, metaphysical (*niskala*) elements. According to local perception, Tenganan's social and spatial order are a direct expression of cosmological perfection. In the local view, maintaining their society in this perfect state of balance through the generations ensures the continued flow of power toward the center and is until today one of the

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primary objectives of the *desa adat.* According to Tenganan's present priestly leader:

> It is the ancestral heritage of this community to reach the goal of *windu* (the *mandalic* center) which represents perfection, harmony, balance and oneness through emptiness and stillness. In this state, all oppositions are dissolved and replaced by unity. This goal can only be reached through ritual and social service in the community and through the preservation of the village's social and physical structure.

One Tenganese friend expressed a similar vision of his village when he told me that as a young boy he was reminded by an old lady never to forget the "true meaning" of Tenganan. According to her, "...there is no greater happiness than to be born and die in Tenganan, because Tenganan *is* perfection."

Another informant stressed Tenganan's social order as the basis for its power:

> Tenganan is very powerful (*kramat*) because of its philosophy of communalism and egalitarianism which is expressed in the code of village laws (*awig-awig*). The common good (Indon.: *kepentingan umum*) always must come first. We show our egalitarian thinking in the uniformity of our houses, in our temples without *meru* (multiple roofs), absence of caste, low offerings, and social position through seniority. In Tenganan, in contrast to Bali, perfection lies in simplicity.

In order to maintain this ideal of perfection over the years, the Tenganese followed a comprehensive and strict code of traditional law, transgressions of which in serious cases resulted in expulsion from the "core village" (see also note 5). For Tenganan is divided today into two spatially and socially distinct sections: (1) a "core" (with a current population of 317 inhabitants) comprising all residents of the

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western and center streets (Banjar Kauh and Banjar Tengah respectively), and (2) Banjar Pande[5] (329 inhabitants) which includes all residents of the eastern street. Banjar Pande forms a socially and economically marginalized community made up on the one hand of former "core villagers" and their descendants who were expelled from the "core village" due to transgressions of Tenganan customary law (*adat*), and, on the other hand, of immigrants from other parts of Bali. It forms the *mandala's* "inner periphery", confirming by its mere presence the "core village's" status as an exemplary center, while at the same time also challenging this very power and centrality. I will deal in more detail with Banjar Pande's peripheral status at the end of this chapter and in subsequent chapters.

"Core village" membership is restricted to the descendants of the village founders and is guarded by strict "core village" rules of endogamy. Since the 1920s, outside women from some selected title groups have been permitted to marry into the "core village," but, unlike native women, are excluded from the village council. Social life in the "core village" is highly regulated by *adat*. Only if both marriage partners are born in the "core village," were members of the youth organizations, and are without mental or physical blemishes or handicaps, can they join the village council (*Krama Desa*) which is comprised of all married couples whose children are still unmarried. Council members devote their lives to ritual and social service within the community. As Korn has noted:

> The *desa* [i.e., the "core village"] is the supreme community, which devotes itself to the service of the gods, summoning the whole population to cooperate for the purpose. Except on the occasion of a few specific religious

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> ceremonies it is impossible for elements from outside the *desa* to participate. Anyone who marries a man or woman who is not from the village and thus acquires alien family ties loses all rights in the *desa* and must either live in the immigrant *banjar* of Pande or in Kestala, the hamlet for exiles. Shortcomings towards the *desa* are considered as shortcomings towards the gods, and those guilty of them are punished, often by being stripped of all their possessions and set outside the village. The Tengananese begin to prepare themselves for the service of the gods as children, as adolescent boys and girls they go through a whole course of training, and as married men and women they are expected to fulfil all religious obligations -- a difficult task, as will be seen (Korn 1984 [1933]:317).

As this description indicates, one of Tenganan's most distinctive features is this elaborate mechanism of boundary control set up to maintain "core village" socio-genetic, economic, and ritual exclusivity. Tenganan's social structure[6] (which will be treated in greater detail below) combines two essential elements: (1) a variety of levelling mechanisms which ensure an egalitarian distribution of power and resources within the "core village" itself, and (2) an effective boundary control mechanism which enforces "core village" hegemony over Banjar Pande, and which asserts Tenganan's centrality within all those Old-Balinese communities that constitute Tenganan's periphery. Tenganan's system of land control, whereby all income from communally owned land flows back to the "core village" for ritual consumption, and whereby all private landownership is restricted to "core village" residents, provides the material foundation for the "core village's" social control mechanisms[7].

Social hierarchy within the "core village" is minimized through various levelling mechanisms (such as absence of *triwangsa* castes and

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powerful title groups [*dadia*]). Thus, within the "core village", forms of ascribed status are downplayed while achieved status through seniority, and the sharing of political power and economic wealth by all "core villagers," are emphasized as social ideals. By contrast, status and class distinctions between the "core village" and Banjar Pande are stressed in village discourse and clearly visible, there being a striking division of labor between these two sections of the village. Life in the "core village" has traditionally been centered around the administrative tasks pertaining to Tenganan's large village territory, around "spiritual labor" (i.e., the maintenance of the divine order through the enactment of complex ritual cycles), and around the production of Bali's most sacred and famed ritual cloth, the double-ikat *geringsing*. Thus, the "core villagers" constitute the *mandala's* corporate center, a spiritually-based community of closely related families responsible for the community's sanctity, potency, and purity. In addition, they also form an economic "corporation" whose members own and administer, whether collectively or individually, all village land. The actual cultivation of this land, however, is not performed by the "core villagers" themselves, but by the residents of Banjar Pande and those surrounding communities which form the *mandala's* periphery.

Mytho-historical Legitimization of "Core Village" Power

The Tenganese self-perception as a community embued with sacred power and a divinely ordained mission to maintain and guard the purity

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of its people and its land -- and thus contribute to the sacredness of Bali as a whole -- is supported by a variety of mytho-historical sources.[8] The most important of these is, in the local view, the *Usana Bali* (Ancient History of Bali), a manuscript dating from the 16th century, which was written at the Javanized court of Gelgel by Nirartha (a Javanese Brahmanic priest also referred to as Wauh Rauh) (Swellengrebel 1984:24). A special version of this scripture was found in Tenganan and is still kept as part of the sacred village regalia. This Tenganese version not only gives the standard account of a legendary battle between God Indra and the Old-Balinese heathen and despotic King Mayadanawa who resided in Bedulu.[9] It also refers to a sacred settlement called Paneges, the ideal Hindu community of ancient Bali, and its inhabitants, the "*wong paneges*" (people of Pangeges), the followers of God Indra, who assisted the gods in the defeat of Mayadanawa (Koesnoe 1973). According to the *Usana Bali*, through meditative exercise God Indra created the ancestral couple of *Kaung* and *Keling* ("Male" and "Female") from whom the *wong paneges* descended. The Tenganese consider themselves to be the sole direct descendants of the *wong Paneges*, who are believed to have been settled in the Bedulu-Pejeng area, Bali's royal center until the Majapahit conquest in 1343. (It is possible that there is a historical connection between Paneges and the present village of Teges which is located in this area.) Ritual dress, offerings, and the ceremonial cycle defined by a special calendar (only used in Tenganan) of the Desa Paneges are described along with the divine commandment that the social and ritual order of *Paneges*, as a microcosmic

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reflection of the Hindu cosmic order, are to be followed and preserved unchanged, a task which the Tenganese have taken upon themselves and have followed to this day (Ramseyer 1984:192-196).

Modern-day Tenganese cultural identity is still deeply influenced by this mytho-historical mission to keep God Indra's kingdom alive through the continuation of this ritual tradition described in the *Usana Bali*, and through the preservation of Tenganan's spatial and social order. The fear that divine wrath would strike not only the Tenganese, but could have negative consequences for all of Bali should the Tenganese change their ancestral heritage, is still widespread among Tenganan's older generation, as the following statement by one elderly informant exemplifies: "If Tenganan's sacred order should cease to exist, all of Bali will be threatened."

Beyond the mytho-historical events described in the *Usana Bali*, there are, however, other indications that the Tenganese are indeed the descendants of a unique ritual community that underwent a number of migrations before settling at their present location.[10]

A mythical story widely known in Tenganan, which explains how the Tenganese acquired their disproportionately large village territory, further underlines the link between Tenganan and the ancient kingdom of Bedulu. According to one version of this myth, the *Wong Paneges* were given their present territory by the Dalem Bedulu ('king of Bedulu' whose name the myth does not specify) in gratitude for finding the ruler's horse named Onche Serawa[11] which was to have been sacrificed in an *asvamedha* ritual but had escaped.[12] (For a more detailed account of

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this story which exists in various different versions see Korn 1984:307-309; Bühler, Ramseyer, and Ramseyer-Gygi 1975:57; Darsana 1982; Français 1989:8-10). Continuing ritual ties between Bedulu and Tenganan commemorate this event.[13]

The Tenganese firmly believe that their historical origins lie in Bedulu. However, they have also kept alive a more distant historical connection to an "origin point beyond the sea." Some Tenganese believe this to be Java, while others refer to India (a claim strengthened by Tenganan's Indian derived double-ikat textile tradition [Bühler, Ramseyer, and Ramseyer-Gygi 1975], as well as the recently discovered genetic links [Breguet 1980]). In this version, their ancestors came to Bali by boat and were shipwrecked on Bali's rugged eastern coast. A large rocky outcrop at Candi Dasa, called *batu manggar* ("rudder stone"), is supposed to symbolize the rudder of this ship (Darsana 1989). According to some villagers, several splinters of wood deriving from the ship are still part of the highly sacred ritual objects kept in Tenganan's Bale Agung. During the *Mantuk Dewa* ("return of the gods") ceremony of *Usaba Kasa* (in the first month of Tenganan's ritual calendar), these splinters, together with other ritual objects, accompany the deity from *Pura Puseh Sembangan* on its return from the *Bale Agung* to *Pura Puseh* after a three-day ritual visit. The members of the *Seka Daha* (girls' organizations) sing a sacred farewell song to the returning deity in front of *Pura Puseh* which, according to Tenganan's oral history, alludes to a journey from Java to Bali that their ancestors undertook in the

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distant past (explanations in brackets were offered by my Tenganese informant):

dong bedet tanahe dini
(the people want to come to this land)

jeg-jeg ku dini di Bali
(to settle here in Bali)

herang-herang san jua kene
(they want to stay here)

haor sinenguang prahu
(they don't want to board the ship again)

jap ma ngelilus
(they are already left behind by the ship)

ampehang ke dangin pasih
(which is leaving to the east of the beach)

banku herang san jua kene
(it is not suitable there [in Java])

aku ne sukayan mati
(I have the wish to die [if I have to return to Java])

On another ritual occasion (in the seventh month of Tenganan's calendar), this ancestral journey from Java to Bali is again commemorated. During the exorcistic *muhu-muhu* ceremony, a small raft, referred to as "*prahu*" (boat) is built of bamboo and stocked with offerings and young live animals outside the eastern village gate, and is brought in ritual procession to the *Pura Dalem Kangin*. It has also often been noted as an oddity that Tenganan's house temples (*sanggah kemulan*) face towards the sea (*kelod*) rather than toward the mountain (*kaja*) as in the rest of Bali. While all Tenganese agree that their ultimate

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origin point lies to the south, somewhere beyond the sea, its exact location remains unclear.

Finally, there are a number of royal edicts[14] dating to the 11th, 12th, and 14th centuries which were issued to villages in the Karangasem region and mention a community named Tranganan or Tanganan, located in the vicinity of Ujung (circa 25 kilometers from Tenganan's present location). The oldest of these edicts, the *Prasasti Ujung* (Goris 1954, edict no. 357), dating to 1040 A.D., specifies that the people of Ujung (Jung Hyang) do not need to participate in formal council meetings taking place in the village of Tanganan unless they are informed beforehand. If Tanganan fails to inform them, they do not need to pay a fine (presumably to Tanganan). Members of the village council (*krama desa*) and *Teruna* and *Daha* (Youth Organizations) of present-day Tenganan still visit Ujung in the sixth month of the Tenganan calendar, worshipping at Ujung's *Pura Manikan.* According to the temple priest of Pura Manikan, Mangku Nengah Rata, the people of Tenganan, in the olden days, brought offerings first to the beach at a location known as Tanjung (near Ujung) before going to Pura Manikan. Mangku Rata learned from his father that "a very long time ago there was a village named Tanganan at this location near the beach." When I visited this spot with the priest of Tenganan, Mangku Widia, fishermen living in the area confirmed that there was a former settlement called Tanganan near the beach, at a nearby spot called "*Batu Tiga*" ("Three Stones"). According to a popular story which many people throughout the region of Karangasem told me, the people of Tanganan (or Tranganan) eventually moved away from this loca-

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tion because they were repeatedly threatened by a huge fish (*ikan pasuh*).

The *Prasasti Prasi* (1148 A.D.), an edict attributed to the king Sri Maharaja Sri Jaya Sakti, also refers to a settlement named Tranganan whose territory borders the village of Besan (which may refer to a village of the same name near the Klungkung-Karangasem border). A settlement of similar name, Tranggana, associated with the powerful 11th century Buddhist reformer Empu Kuturan, is also mentioned in the *Babad Usana Bali Pulina*, kept in the village of Sidemen (Ramseyer 1984:195).

Finally, the *Prasasti Tumbu* (1325 A.D.), another ancient edict, issued by Raja Sri Bhatara Mahaguru Dharmmotungga Warmmadewa, mentions again a settlement called Tranganan. The *prasasti* refers to a royal decree stating that the village of Tumbu (located near Ujung) had to pay a tax or religious contribution to Tranganan, to be used for a ceremony honoring Bhatara Banuka (the deified king Udayana Warmadewa) during the months of *Caitra*, *Asuji*, and *Margasira* of the yearly calendar. It appears that the village of Batu Raya, perhaps present-day Seraya, had forced Tumbu to pay this tax to Batu Raya instead of to Tranganan. According to the decree, all the taxes and contributions for the ceremony of Bhatara Banuka which Batu Raya had falsely collected from Tumbu had henceforth to be submitted to Tranganan. Tumbu was formally released from any obligations towards Batu Raya.

I visited the village of Tumbu together with Mangku Widia, (the priest of Tenganan). Tumbu's traditional village leader (*klian desa adat*) confirmed that in ancient times, his village may indeed have been a tributary village to Tenganan because a deity from Tenganan (*Betara*

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Bagus Tenganan) continues to be worshipped in one of Tumbu's temples (*Pura Pemaksan*). The priest of Tenganan was amazed to learn this news, as the people of Tenganan are not (or not any longer) aware of the possible connection between the two villages. However, Tumbu's oldest resident, Kaki Rami, still remembers that when he was a young boy he had heard from old people that in former times the people of Tumbu came to Tenganan for the yearly *Usaba Sambah* ceremonies.

While it is impossible to reconstruct Tenganan's early history from these fragmentary, and often conflicting sources, it seems clear that a Tenganese community existed well before its move to its present location, which may have been sometime in the 14th century.[15] Significantly, Tenganese self-images today are still tied to an ancestral, religious community called Paneges. Whether, when, and where Paneges actually existed is of less importance than these people's knowledge that power originating from God Indra flowed down in a straight, uninterupted line, through the ancestral couple of *Kaung* and *Keling*, the *wong Pangeges*, and the founding members of Tenganan's ten lineages, to each successive generation until the present. Tenganese narratives of mytho-historical events as well as village rituals all stress this flow of power which encompasses the creator-god, the deified ancestors, and the living community -- a flow which may be invisible but which is nonetheless real as it is the legitimizing link between a distant past and the present. History to the Tenganese (as to other Balinese) is less the succession of actual events than the cosmological ordering of time. A perfect alignment of the two axes, "sacred time" and "sacred space,"

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creates an ideal social matrix. Each individual occupies a very particular location within this matrix which defines his or her exact status within Balinese society. The Tenganese rival the Balinese nobility in their constant preoccupation to maintain centrality by keeping this matrix of sacred time and space in perfect balance. Although not demonstrating centrality through lavish embellishments of material culture and the ritual display of wealth and power (for which Balinese nobles are famous), they evoke it through the elaboration of an older ritual tradition and features of social organization which reach back into the time prior to Bali's Hindu-Javanization.

MAINTAINING CENTRALITY THROUGH CENTRIPETAL STRUCTURES AND PROCESSES[16]

From the preceding discussion it is evident that in Bali not only royal centers modelled themselves after the cosmological features of the *mandala*, but that a village-based society such as Tenganan found this model equally useful for obtaining and maintaining a privileged position. The processes by which the Tenganese claim and illustrate centrality (e.g., the ordering of space and time), are not focused on status competition with other Balinese groups, however, but rather are focused inward. This inward-orientation (not be mistaken as isolation) is expressed in an elaborate social, economic, and ritual mechanism which combines three important features already noted above: (1) the levelling and sharing of status and power within the "core village"; (2) an elaborate system of boundary control mechanisms ensuring the core

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group's exclusive control over Tenganan's spiritual, social and economic resources, and (3) links between Tenganan and a wider inter-village network within which it assumes the central position. In the remainder of this chapter, I will address the first two of these mechanisms, while Chapter Three discusses the third.

The most important elements of internal levelling and boundary control are restricted, communal landownership; exclusive *geringsing* cloth production; an endogamous marriage system; emphasis on achieved status through seniority and deemphasis of ascribed status through amnesia of caste-like distinctions; and finally, graded ritual exclusivity. We will see that these are interrelated, complementing and reinforcing one another to insulate the "core village" ritual community from outside penetration.

Ascribed versus Achieved Status in the "Core Village"

Anthropological studies of Balinese social organization are pervaded by the notion of an underlying polarity between the intensely hierarchical structures of the wet-rice producing, Hindu-Javanized lowland communities and the more level "Bali Aga"-type villages of the highlands. According to this model, social hierarchy based on status ranking of patrilineally inherited, non-localized caste and title group membership is a major organizational feature, and status competition a major preoccupation, of the Hindu-Javanized lowlands. The antipole to this lowland "cultural involution" (in the famous phrase of Clifford

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Geertz) is believed to lie in the supposedly more egalitarian and democratic mountain villages with their dualistic, levelling Old-Balinese social structure.[17] As I argued in Chapter One, this "ideal type," bipolar view, tends to obscure the variation and overlap which exists throughout Bali (e.g., the various levelling mechanisms in lowland communities and the various asymmetric, hierarchical relations in "Bali Aga"-type villages).[18] It is precisely these everchanging permutations and recombinations of hierarchical and levelling structures which, in my view, give Balinese society its tension and dynamism.[19] The structural side of this tension between hierarchy and egalitarianism is played out in Tenganan first and foremost around the suppression of ascribed status -- the "forgetting of one's lineage."

Consider first the structures of ascribed status. Tenganan society is divided into ten lineage/ancestor groups. According to oral history, the present inhabitants of the "core village" (i.e., the residents of Banjar Kauh's center street and Banjar Tengah's western street) are the direct descendants of the ancestral couple *Kaung* ("male") and *Keling* ("female") created by God Indra and their descendants, the original village founders.[20] These ten lineages, generally referred to simply as "families" (*pakurenan*), are divided into a right flank (*panengen*) and a left flank (*pengiwa*) of five lineages each.[21] Like other Balinese, the Tenganese consider their social order as a reflection of the cosmic order which in turn is expressed through spatial location. In the *Pura Batan Cagi* (appendix D1), one of Tenganan's old-style temples located in the south of the village, an arrangement of 11

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stone altars represents a spatial matrix of this social order. In the western section of the temple grounds, there are ten altars, dualistically arranged in two rows of five each, symbolizing the ten core lineages of the village founders. An 11th altar, *Sanggah Mulanda* (from *mula* = beginning, origin) representing God Indra (Korn 1933:39, Darsana 1983:3-6), is placed between the two highest lineages which are believed to symbolize the Hindu deities Brahma and Wisnu, and which, according to Korn (1984:330), are associated with the two legendary religious reformers Sang Kulputih and Empu Kuturan. The Tenganese thus spatially and symbolically represent their social order as follows:[22]

PENGIWA (left flank)		PANENGEN (right flank)
	Sanggah Mulanda (Indra)	
Ijeng (Wisnu)		*Sanghyang* (Brahma)
Batuguling		*Batuguling Maga*
Embak Buluh		*Prajurit*
Pande Mas		*Pande Wesi*
Bendesa		*Pasek*

Membership in these ten core lineages is partrilineally inherited. Today, only five lineages remain (Sanghyang, Ijeng, Batuguling, Prajurit, and Bendesa) -- the others have died out or are in the process of "becoming extinct."[23] According to Korn (1984:332), the actual village founders derived exlusively from the first six lineages (three from each side). I agree with this view since these six lineages only exist in Tenganan and seem to be absent in the rest of Bali. By contrast, the two *pande* groups as well as the *pasek* and *bendesa* lineages constitute important Balinese commoner groups which may have been incorporated later into the village core, perhaps in the course of

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increasing Hindu-Javanization during the 15th and 16th centuries. This would explain why the *pande*, *pasek* and *bendesa* occupy the lowest ranks in Tenganan's hierarchy despite their prominent position in the rest of Bali, and why their stone altars in the temple are set somewhat apart from the first six altars.[24] Although free intermarriage and residential movement is permitted within the two *banjars* which form the "core village", to this day, most of the families who trace their ancestry to these ten lineages live in Banjar Kauh (the western mainstreet) where all the important temples and communual buildings are concentrated.

Some of these title groups are linked to certain ritual functions. The position of highest ritual leader, the *Mangku Desa*, is open only to members of the right-flank *Sanghyang* lineage[25] which also provides the *mekel* or ritual leader for the *teruna nyoman* initiation rituals of young boys (this ritual is described in Chapter Three). According to tradition, the highest ritual position of the *De Mangku/Nini Mangku* couple can only be achieved once the *Mangku Desa* has climbed the seniority ladder in the *Krama Desa* (village council) to the first and highest position. Then, after a special purification ceremony, (similar to that undertaken by Bali's high caste *pedanda* priests who must undergo a symbolic death and rebirth before they can assume their ritual functions), he is allowed to claim the title of *De Mangku*, the highest ritual position in the *Krama Desa*, and gain access to the seven houseyards which must be set aside for his personal use. The *De Mangku* does not, however, have the right to confiscate unoccupied plots of land as Korn claims (1984:331).

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Following the dualistic principle of Old-Balinese social structure, once the *De Mangku* position has been filled, the left-flank *Ijeng* (or *Ngijeng*) lineage provides, in counter-balance, a second ritual leader, the *Subak Desa* or *De Ngijeng*. (A male member of the *Ijeng* lineage is eligible for this title if he has reached the *Bahan* or *Luanan* ranks in the *Krama Desa*). Once chosen, he completes the set of six top *luanan* positions of ritual advisors in the village council. Since, however, these two top ritual positions of *De Mangku* and *De Ngijeng*, which are charged with special ritual potency and high social status, are tied to the seniority principle, they have been empty for more than a hundred years, and are represented in the village council by symbolic objects during ceremonial meetings and rituals. It is important to note that each of these positions is shared by husband and wife and that both male and female aspects are symbolically represented. As for the other lineages, their ascribed status positions do not translate into greater access to spiritual power or material privileges.

It appears that there was a time in Tenganan's history when the social trend was toward hierarchical distinction and ascribed status rather than toward levelling.[26] Remnants of caste-like structures and ideology still exist today. Yet the "core village" population (including those members who trace their lineages to the village founders) make a concerted effort to mute these status distinctions in everyday life. As in Korn's time, practically all core villagers today are extremely reluctant to talk about lineage hierarchies, generally emphasizing that "castes" (*wangsa*) are absent in Tenganan, that all core villagers are

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equal and must go through the same seniority-based ranking system in the youth organizations and the village council, regardless of their ascribed position. Only a small percentage of core villagers (approximately 15%) still trace their ancestry to one of the ten founding lineages, the remainder having "forgotten their lineage." Only, after much probing do some villagers admit in privacy that, indeed, these ten lineages represented an elite with *triwangsa*-like status, a core within the "core village," and then they insist that the distinction was without social consequence as it did not entail any special privileges, and that it is best not to think, let alone talk about such things.[27]

What, then, are the remnants of a caste ideology which are still visible today? Although not openly admitted, it is still believed that the most sacred and potent form of marriage is second cousin (*mindon*) marriage within the same lineage or within the same level of the 5-tier hierarchy (i.e., alliance exchanges between the right and left flank at each level), and that marital unions of lower ranking men with higher ranking women will result in the illness and violent death (*salah pati*) of one or both of the parties concerned.[28] Similar calamities can be expected if an "orang biasa" (Indon.: "commoner," referring to a core villager "without a lineage", i.e., a core villager who is not part of one of the ten founding lineages) marries a "gadis dari wangsa" (Indon.: "a girl who belongs to a caste", i.e., from one of the ten founders' lineages). Although officially, Tenganan customary law allows these forms of marriage as long as they are contracted between "core village" families, such informal restrictions, which are con-

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sistent with the general Balinese preference for title group/caste endogamy and hypergamy (Boon 1977:119-144), in the past further restricted the choice of socially desirable marriage partners from an already small pool of "core villagers." (For more details on the Tenganese marriage and kinship system see Ariani 1979, and Breguet 1980.) Social pressures caused by a steady population decrease within the "core village" (this demographic transformation is treated in greater detail later in this chapter and in Chapter Four), resulting in the loss of some lineages, may have been one of the factors in addition to changes in the larger national, political climate which today emphasize an ideology of democracy in contrast to the caste ideologies that accompanied the monarchical political structures of the past. Whatever the case, Tenganese today consistently deemphasize ascribed status distinctions, stressing instead more egalitarian values of "core village" unity and equality.[29]

The Order of Time and Place: Achieved Status through Seniority

> Bali Aga culture is built on a view of time as the great bringer of order, the order of slow and predictable changes. This view is proclaimed in the language of ritual and dance and exemplified in all phases of social life.
>
> (Lansing 1983:125)

The Tenganese, like other Old-Balinese groups, exemplify the above view that social order is created and maintained through "structures of cyclic progression" (Lansing 1983:115) which are expressed

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through the enactment of endless cycles of predictable, gradual, and slow change (expressed ritually and socially) in order to join and harmonize the natural world, the universe, with the social world of humans. The Balinese have devised a complex calendrical system in order to keep track of these repetitive and intersecting cycles of time, based on the permutational Hindu-Javanese *wuku* calendar and the Hindu solar-lunar *saka* calendar (Lansing 1983, Covarrubias 1937, Eiseman 1990). Tenganan again stresses its separate cultural identity from the rest of Bali (Old-Balinese as well as Hindu-Javanized culture) by following its own, unique ritual calendar, part of which is described in the ancient palm leaf manuscript *Usana Bali*. It is a special version of the Hindu *saka* calendar, dividing time into daily, monthly, yearly, and 3-year cycles, each of which consists of a phase of growth and decay and is punctuated by special rituals (for a more complete description of the Tenganese calendar and perception of time, see Français 1989:33-35, and Eiseman 1980).

The principle of seniority or generational status, paramount in Tenganan village organization, is one of the main forces driving this wheel of time through its slow, predictable, and forever repeating cycles of social life. It moves each individual from birth to death through fixed stages in a hierarchical order defined not by caste and descent but by an orderly progression of ritual steps, each of which confers social status which is symbolized spatially through a hierarchy of places through which each individual passes in the course of his or her lifetime. Each child born in the "core village" first has to com-

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plete a number of purifying rituals which prepare it for membership in one of the three boys/bachelor and three girls organizations (*sekaha teruna* and *sekaha daha*).[30] These six youth groups, each of which is organized by seniority, have several important functions. They permit formal interaction between young people of opposite sex through institutionalized, ritual relations between the boys and girls organizations,[31] and they prepare Tenganan's youth for their later duties in the *Krama Desa*, the council of married couples. In addition, the three boys/bachelor organizations play an important role in intervillage relations as they ritually link Tenganan to some of the Old-Balinese villages which constitute its *mandalic* periphery[32] (see Chapter Three).

The next and most important step in a young person's life is marriage and entry into the *Krama Desa*, or village council. Membership in the *Krama Desa* is restricted to persons who are free of physical and mental handicaps, have been members of one of the youth organizations, and live in monogamous "core village" marriages (i.e., both husband and wife were born in the "core village.") A newly-wed couple enters the council at the lowest position and then gradually moves up as higher positions become vacant, until their retirement (when one of their children marries, or one of them dies), or until they reach the highest position. After retirement from the village council, the couple joins the *Krama Gumi* and is put on a waiting list for the advisory body of *Klian Gumi* (lit. "leaders of the world") consisting of the five most senior retiree couples. After death, a person's seniority or generational status is even reflected in the cemetery which is divided into

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appropriate sections (Français 1989:150). A person's current status in these seniority hierarchies is expressed through ritual dress (Bühler, Ramseyer, and Ramseyer-Gygi 1975; Ramseyer 1984), spatial position during formal meetings of the youth organizations and village council, and linguistically through formal codes of speech and address (Français 1989:159-163). Tenganan's formal seating arrangements, which vary according to each specific ceremony (see examples in appendices E_1 - E_6), convey the community's high degree of socio-ritual complexity which is unusual for Old-Balinese villages in the Karangasem region.

"Core villagers" who do not meet these stringent requirements for *Krama Desa* membership or who have retired from the village council (e.g., "core village" men who have taken an outside wife from one of the permitted title groups, or men who have taken a second wife) form a separate group called *Gumi Pulangan* (Bal.: "*pulang*" = to throw or toss out). While the social restrictions and ritual requirements for members of this group are somewhat lighter, they are nevertheless subject to the multitude of village regulations and must fulfill their exactly prescribed ritual and social duties.

Traditionally, internal political, economic, and ritual power lay exclusively with the village council. However, during the colonial period, its legal and political authority was severely curtailed by the Dutch (Korn 1984:355-361), a process which has continued in the post-colonial period under the Indonesian nation-state. In the ritual and economic fields, however, the *Krama Desa* still wields considerable power. It is in control of all communal lands and reserves ultimate

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authority even over privately owned land (see below). Traditionally, all internal matters were decided by the six *klian desa* in accordance with the comprehensive laws defined in the *awig-awig* (village constitution). This legislative body, which like the council itself, is based entirely on seniority, makes its decisions after consultation with the other council members (for details on the decision-making and fining process see Korn 1984:354-361, Français 1989:83-87).

In Tenganan, as in much of Indonesia (Errington 1990) power is considered unitary. However, as in other Old-Balinese villages (Barth 1993:76-91, Lansing 1983:115-123), unitary power in Tenganan is always also intrinsically dualistic as it can only be achieved through the fusion of opposites. This is reflected in the *Krama Desa* in the role of the husband/wife pair, the "*bulu angkep*" (*bulu* = body hair; *angkep* = fusion of two things), which is the basic political, social, and ritual unit (Français 1989:99-101).[34] This union of the married couple is considered sacred and may not be severed. Divorce is therefore prohibited by *adat* law. Couples, whose marriage is irretrievably broken may live separated. In such cases, *Krama Desa* membership is usually terminated. Similarly, polygamy is frowned upon and results in the couple's expulsion from the *Krama Desa*. Married women in Tenganan, as members of the village council, participate fully in ceremonial council meetings, often occupying the seats closest to the deity (see appendices E_2 and E_3 as examples): they have the authority to make political decisions on matters concerning women; and they are the primary decision-makers in questions of village rituals. As stipulated in the village charter, they can

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own and inherit land on a par with men (the largest private land owner in the village today is a widowed woman who acquired many of her holdings after the death of her husband.)[35]

The idea that power in its final expression is unitary, but consists of two complementary halves which together form "oneness," finds further expression in the organization and formal seating arrangements of the *Krama Desa* (as well as all youth organizations) which is divided into a eastern (right) and western (left) side. However, unlike other villages with Old-Balinese structure (e.g., Sukhawana and Jullah) where these two halves are often permanent moieties (Lansing 1983:117-120, Barth 1993:78), in Tenganan all members move up from the lowest left position towards the highest right position alternating back and forth between the two sides. At each hierarchical level, the left and right positions form one ritual and functional task-sharing unit.

The *Krama Desa* is structurally and functionally divided into several group positions arranged from top to bottom (see appendix E1)(for a more detailed account see Wartawan 1989:210-310, Korn 1984:344-349, Ramseyer 1984:200-203, Breguet 1980:107-110, Français 1989:79-87), each position being filled by a married couple:

1. *Luanan* (positions 1-5)(from *ulu* = head, high; *luanan* = towards the head, upstream, towards the top). (Ideally, the *de ngijeng* would constitute the sixth couple). As the highest members in the council, their function is advisory. They are called to communal meetings and meals (*pesangkepan*) when everything is ready and are addressed in formal and polite speech.

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2. *Bahan Roras* (positions 6-17)(*bahan* possibly from *ngebah* = to cut off, [i.e., a defined section of the council] or from *baan* = board, plank [i.e., the plank which was used in former times to record administrative matters [Schaareman 1986:98]; *roras* = twelve). For decision-making purposes, this group subdivides into *Bahan duluan* (positions 6-11)(*duluan* also derived from *ulu*) or *Klian Desa*, who wield the greatest power concerning all internal village matters and are present at the daily evening meeting (*sangkep ngelebang*), and the *Bahan tebenan* (positions 12-17)(*teben* = the opposite of *ulu*, downstream, downward, low). The two top positions of the *bahan roras* (couples no. 6 and 7) fulfil the function of ritual leaders (*tamping takon*). Each of the *bahan roras* serves as *penyarikan* (scribe) by rotation for one month per year and is then in charge of attending the nightly meeting and sounding the big, sacred slit gong (*kulkul*) each morning, officially announcing each new day.
3. *Tambalapu Roras:* (positions 18-29)(from *melapu* = to punish). This group is also subdivided into two sections, the *tambalapu duluan* (positions 18-23) and *tambalapu tebenan* (positions 24-29). The four *saya*, messengers or "village criers," who call the council members to the meetings and who walk through the village each night calling out the council's messages (*ngatag*), are drawn from this group by monthly rotation. After their nightly round, the day has officially ended and all villagers may now close their doors for the night. The *Tambalapu* carry the biggest work load during village ceremonies, the women preparing offerings and the men butchering the sacrificial

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animals and preparing the ritual meals.

4. *Pengeluduan* (downward from position 29)(possibly from *ngeludin* = to break). These are the junior members of the council who have not yet moved up into the official ranks. Each couple must wait its turn to move up as older, and more senior members retire. Their function is to assist the *Tambalapu* in their duties.

Social levelling mechanisms such as recognition of seniority status, absence of permanent moieties, dualistic sharing of power, privileging of the husband-wife bond, and deemphasis on descent groups (which are furthermore village-specific and thus lack any status-enhancing, external ties), all reinforce each other in forming a fluid, constantly changing, yet orderly system of achieved hierarchy. Such fluid, inclusive hierarchies, based on "the order of time" (Lansing 1983:113), seriously delimit the power of permanent status groups or elites based on descent and other forms of kinship organization, and the attempt to concentrate power within any such group.

Centripetal Economy as the Basis for "Core Village" Material Power

As in many small scale, traditional societies around the world, social life in Tenganan is conceived as a complex and interwoven network of social and cosmological relationships indivisible into separate spheres of economics, politics, or ritual. Given such a holistic worldview, the Tenganese regard their village economy, and particularly their village land, within a religious context of divine sanction

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(Daduarsana 1989, Français 1989: 113-136), this in turn legitimizing "core village" material exclusivity and socio-ritual hegemony.

Tenganan's system of landownership forms the material foundation for a community which follows a system of intense ritual worship. The Tenganese have developed a uniquely effective system of land control which has two basic functions: (1) to concentrate all material, land-based wealth within the "core village," excluding Banjar Pande residents as well as any outsiders from landownership, and (2) to level this wealth within the "core village" itself, preventing excessive concentrations of land within any one social group (kinbased or otherwise). Similar to landed elites in other traditional societies (e.g., Rose 1992), the "core village" legitimizes its position of power internally through an ideology of harmony and consensus, and externally through a complex web of boundary mechanisms (e.g., divine sanction, "core village" endogamy, ideology of purity and pollution, and traditional law). I will discuss these boundary mechanisms, which are also crucial in reinforcing Tenganan's cultural identity, in Chapter Four.

As I have described Tenganan's system of land distribution in greater detail elsewhere (Français 1989:113-136), I will only recapitulate its most salient features here. Tenganan's village territory comprises 838.88 hectares of highly productive, agricultural land, of which 580 hectares are non-irrigated garden and forest (*tegal*), and 255 hectares are irrigated rice paddies (*sawah*). This makes the village one of the wealthiest in Bali. A large portion of this land is owned by the *desa* collectively (150 hectares of dry land and 158 hectares of

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irrigated land), the remainder being passed on within individual families through bilateral inheritance (i.e., sons and daughters inherit from both parents.) It should be emphazised, however, that the *desa*, as a collective institution, also reserves final authority over this "privately" owned land (e.g., by traditional law the village council has the authority to settle inheritance disputes, confiscate land from expelled "core villagers," reclaim land from childless couples after their death, and collect fines if villagers transgress any of the numerous laws concerning the use of private land.) This division of village land into communal holdings (corresponding to 25% of all dry land and 63% of irrigated land) and privately owned land (corresponding to 75% of all dry land and 37% of all irrigated land) acts as a levelling mechanism, as "core villagers" who possess very little private land still obtain individual shares from the communal land as long as they hold a position within the *Krama Desa*, and as it restricts the access of kin groups to village lands. Traditional law, however, does not limit the total amount of private land any one kin group can own, so that a certain degree of unevenness in the distribution of private land has developed over the years. Seen from a longterm perspective, however, this is insignificant: individual land-owning families go through cycles of land accumulation and dispersal depending on number of their offspring in each generation. Bilateral inheritance and strict prohibition of adoption are specific mechanisms, which seem to exist only in Tenganan and are enforced by local village law (*adat*). They ensure the internal redistribution of land in each generation.

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While Tenganan shares the basic features of communal land-ownership with other Old-Balinese villages (e.g., Lansing 1983:117, Bateson and Mead 1942:59, Barth 1993:chap.5; for villages in Karangasem see Schaareman 1986, Korn 1932), holdings are more complexly ordered due to this village's greater communally oriented ritual needs. Thus, Tenganan's communal land is subdivided into five categories according to particular usage:

1. *Laba Pura:*

   A total of 95.825 hectares, of which 83.295 hectares are *tegal* and 12.530 hectares *sawah*. All income (in the form of cash as well as produce) is reserved exclusively for the use of temples (for ceremonies and ritual related expenses).

2. *Duwe Desa:*

   108.345 hectares of land (46.545 hectares dry land and 61.800 hectares irrigated land) reserved for the use of the village council (*Krama Desa*). The *sawah* produce approximately 1,200 kilogramms (=12 *karang*) of rice/year which is used for *desa* ceremonies and a yearly share called *tika* ("once a year") which is distributed to all *Krama Desa* members according to their hierarchical group position.[36]

3. *Duwe Desa Sekaha* (also referred to as *Sekaha Carik* or *Sekaha Suci*):

   A total of 94.710 hectares (21.135 hectares dry land and 73.575 hectares irrigated land). This land is considered to be under communal ownership even though shares are privately owned and are bilaterally inherited. The total harvest is divided into equal parts which are then distributed to the shareholders who may use the produce for

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their own consumption or sell it at market price (today, the rice is usually sold on the open market by a village co-op before the harvest and the income is then distributed among the shareholders.) In order to assure easier access to this land and a more equitable distribution of income, the *desa* restricts the amount of income any one individual can derive from irrigated *duwe desa sekaha* to three parts or shares per *tempek* (organizational unit of irrigated land). Currently, only 5% of all "core village" families do not derive any income from *duwe desa sekaha*. These families are allowed access to communal dry land (*tegal*), which they are allowed to work to ensure sufficient family income. Landless families are further permitted to take coconuts and other fruits from communal land for their own household consumption without "repayment of any kind." The *desa* does not receive any income or rent from *sekaha* land.

4. *Duwe Desa Teruna*:

   A total of 7.180 hectares of *sawah* set aside for the three boys/bachelor organizations (*Seka Teruna*). Rice and cash income from this land is used for *teruna* ceremonies.

5. *Pauman:*

   3.890 hectares of *sawah*, originally set aside for the use of the royal court of Karangasem (Chapter Three deals in greater detail with the *pauman*). Produce and income used to be reserved for the court's ceremonial needs. Since the abolishment of the monarchical system, all income from this land is distributed evenly to all mem-

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bers of the two *pauman* organizations whose members comprise all married men of the "core village" and Banjar Pande Kaja.

As I have argued, this pattern of land distribution guarantees a at least a minimal degree of wealth to all families within the "core village" (see also Chapter Six, note 8), as well as a smooth supply of produce and cash for the *desa's* communal and ritual needs. However, despite the introduction of high-yielding rice varieties in Bali during the "green revolution" (Lansing 1991), increasing yields have not kept up with the rising cost of living and living standards. Therefore, many "core villagers" find it necessary today to supplement their income from agriculture by participating in the national and international economy (e.g., through private enterprises or government employment).

"Core Village" Endogamy as a Mechanism for Boundary Control

In Bali, as in other parts of the "Centric Archipelago" (Errington 1989 and 1990), centripetal marriage is the socially most desirable form of marital unions. As Boon has so eloquently demonstrated, in Bali, "rival houses compete to become primary centers rather than mutual exchangers" through descent group endogamy, ranging from a preference for first cousin marriages to the most extreme form of high-caste centripetal marriage, "incestous twinship" (Boon 1990:209-234; also see Boon 1977:119-144; Geertz and Geertz 1975).

In Tenganan, where all "core villagers" consider themselves to be of "one blood" or "one family," "core village" endogamy structurally

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equals descent group (*dadia*) endogamy in the rest of Bali. Corresponding to Bali's increasingly exclusive categories of patri-parallel first cousin (father's brother's child) marriage and royal twin marriage, the most preferred and ritually purest form of marriage in Tenganan is second cousin (*mindon*) marriage within the same lineage or the same title group level (i.e., bilateral second cousin exchange between right and left flanks at each hierarchical level). In contrast to the rest of Bali, though, first cousin marriage is considered too close and dangerous and is strictly forbidden by village law (article 16 of the village constitution stipulates that such a union results in expulsion from the entire village, even though in practice couples may only be expelled from the "core village" and may thus settle in Banjar Pande).

Breguet has illustrated in his extensive genetic and demographic research that due to the extrememly high level of endogamy in Tenganan's "core village," the "inbreeding coefficient between two second cousins is the same as the one between two first cousins in an exogamic population like the one of Banjar Pande" (Breguet and Ney 1995:6). According to Breguet and Ney, "core village" endogamy was extremely high in the past (99% between 1876 and 1925, with only two cases of exgamous marriage) and was strictly enforced by village law. In 1925 the village constitution was amended to specify that in addition to women from the neighboring village of Ngis (one of the *mandala's* peripheral villages, see Chapter Three), any woman (or, more precisely, any virgin) belonging to the *Pasek, Pande* or *Triwangsa* groups may marry into the "core village." This loosening of restrictions led to a slight

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increase in exogamous unions (11 cases or 8% between 1925 and 1979)(Breguet and Ney 1995:5). Between 1979 to 1994, however, the rate of exogamous marriages (i.e., the union of a "core village" man with an outside woman) has sharply risen (again 11 cases, but now corresponding to 31% of all marriages in this period).

As exogamous marriages have continued to follow a sharp upward trend, the village has lost an increasing number of women who marry outside (reflecting the increasing shortage of marriageable young men in the "core village"). Between the 1950s to 1989, only seven "core village girls married outside, while between 1990 and 1996 there were ten cases, which corresponds to 50% of all marriages contracted within the "core village" during this time period. (I will return to this issue of demographic change and its possible causes again in Chapter Four.) What is important to note here is that this increase in the exogamy rate has not resulted in a more permeable social and genetic boundary between the "core village" and Banjar Pande, since marital unions between "core village" men and Banjar Pande women continue to be forbidden by village law and result in expulsion from the "core village."

"Core village" endogamy continues to be one of the corner stones of Tenganan's centripetal structure, counteracting the continuous centrifugal pulls affecting "core village" centrality and unity. Boundary control mechanisms such as "core village" endogamy and control over productive resources act in synergy with levelling mechanisms, counteracting hierarchical and elitist processes within the "core village" itself. An ideology of social equality and harmony, processes of

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genealogical amnesia, and achieved status through seniority backed by a legal apparatus of traditonal law, all form part of a system which stresses social solidarity and tries to minimize internal division and differentiation in order to preserve the whole "core village" community as a single social, economic, and ritual unit which, as a whole, enforces and enjoys its elite status.

The Recentering of Power through "Core Village" Ritual

Unlike most state-level "galactic polities" which tended to be politically unstable and under constant threat of internal rebellion and external conquest, Tenganan's village-based *mandalic* order has proven to be of great stability, due perhaps, to the different nature of its power which was never politically expansionary, but was, instead, grounded in ritual and economic strength. Like *mandalic* states, however, which supposedly achieved and maintained centrality less through the instrumental exercise of power than through its symbolic display (e.g., Tambiah 1976, Geertz 1980), Tenganan also relies heavily on "ritual involution." Because its rich ritual tradition has been stressed elsewhere (e.g., Korn 1933; Bühler, Ramseyer, and Ramseyer-Gygi 1975; Ramseyer 1977, 1984, and 1991; Breguet 1980; Wartawan 1989; Français 1989), I would like here only to briefly mention two features which the Tenganese consider to be the most elemental expression of centric power, namely the enactment of stasis through the orderly progression of ritual cycles, and through the balanced movement in opposite direction.

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The Tenganese, even more than other Balinese, place great emphasis on the cyclical movement of time whereby each cycle is punctuated by a phase of growth, followed by a phase of decay. The calendrical cycles are compared to cycles of human life with their phases of growth and decline, and each transition between phases is ritually marked. For example, the daily cycle, ritually announced every morning by the 21 beats of the large, sacred *kulkul* (slit gong), is divided into the cycle of growth, defined by the morning hours of the rising sun (*semengan*), and compared to a young boy. Noon (*jeg jeg ai*) is a dangerous moment of transition. Then, the phase of decline begins which ends at dusk (*peteng)* and is compared to an old man. Night is the time of death followed by dawn, the time of rebirth when the cycle begins anew. Each month (consisting of 30 days, defined by the lunar cycle) of the Tenganese calendar is similarly punctuated. All months (*sasih*) begin with the day and ritual of *pati panten* celebrating the beginning of the monthly cycle and are divided into two phases of equal length (15 days each) following the waxing (*tanggal*) and waning *(panglong*) phases of the moon. On the transition day of full moon (*purnama*), the "day of perfection," all three sacred *selonding* orchestras play in the village.

The yearly cycle, consisting of 12 months, similarly follows a natural progression from birth to death. During the *Usaba Kasa* ceremonies of the first month (which usually falls into late January/early February) the birth of a baby god is celebrated. In the third month (*sasih ketiga*), offerings representing toys are placed

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throughout the village as gifts for the young god. The great *Usaba Sambah* ceremonies of the fifth month celebrate the height of life and fertility (as they traditionally coincided with the first yearly rice harvest). In the sixth month (*sasih kenem*), the cycle of decay begins and in the seventh month (*sasih kepitu*) all evil is exorcised from the village along with polluting influences in the great *muhu-muhu* ceremony. In the tenth month (*sasih kedasa*), special rituals celebrate old age, before the year draws to an end in the 12th month (*sasih sadda*).

In addition to these climactic ritual moments of transition which represent the meeting point of opposite forces and are potentially dangerous if not kept in balance through offerings and ceremonies, each month of the Tenganese calendar is filled with numerous other communal ceremonies so that hardly a day goes by where "core village" women cannot be seen sitting together under shady *bales* (open pavillions) busy preparing offerings. While the women and men of the *Krama Desa*, as well as the members of the youth organizations, carry the heaviest ritual load, these *desa* ceremonies still involve the whole "core village" community, drawing them together for the service of their gods. In addition to these communal *desa* rituals (for a complete listing of all communal ceremonies see Wartawan 1989:270-310, and the schedule of ceremonies which is issued by the village each year), family ceremonies (e.g., birth, marriage, death, and coming of age ceremonies which are all strictly defined by customary village law) also require the cooperation of the whole community. Usually all "core village" and Banjar Pande families participate in the preparations and subsequent festivities

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(guest lists of 1,000 people or more are not unusual, as outside Balinese are also invited to these events).

In addition to time cycles as an expression of the *mandalic* circle, the Tenganese, perhaps more than any other Balinese, place great importance on balanced, circular movements in opposite direction in order to recreate the ideal of stasis, thus achieving cosmic unity through the centering of opposite forces. Particularly during the *Usaba Sambah* ceremonies of the fifth month, the most important and dangerous moment of transition as the yearly phase of growth draws to an end, countless processions and circambulations of the village and its most important ritual buildings are performed in clock- and counterclockwise direction by male and female members of the *Krama Desa* and the youth organizations. In these movements around a fixed center (which may be the inner section of the village as defined by its length and cross streets, or a sacred building, or the tree of life symbolized by the *bungan base* (betel flower offering), or one of the five sacred *anyunan* (large ritual swings), clockwise movement is perceived as "going outward" away from the center, and is associated with the beginning of a ceremony and with the negative, left, west, and female elements. Conversely, anti-clockwise movement symbolizes "going inward", towards the center, the end of a ceremony, positive, right, east, and male (Français 1989:36). This Tenganese reversal of the usual Hindu association of clockwise movement with positive, auspicious, and male versus counterclockwise with negative, inauspicious and female (Stutley and Stutley 1977:295) may point to Tantric influences known to have appeared in Bali

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around 1000 A.D. There are also other mytho-historical and cultural indications which may point towards Tenganan as a cultic community influenced by a highly esoteric and secretive version of Tantrism. For the moment this connection has to remain speculative as Tantrism, because of its close association with magic and sorcery continues to be an obscure and little studied aspect of Balinese religion (Kempers 1991:53-54, Hooykaas 1980, H. Geertz 1994).

Finally, I would like to briefly mention Tenganan's five ritual swings (*anyunan*) whose symbolic significance I have described in more detail elsewhere (Français 1989:37-40). The *anyunan* represents Tenganan's "wheel of life," which is put into movement during the highly sacred and secretive *nganyunang lokan* ("the turning of the world") ceremony held on the evening before full moon (Bal.: *purwani*, Teng.: *pebani*) in the fifth month marking the transition to the monthly and yearly phases of decay. During this ceremony the sun, the earth, and the social world of humans are ritually rejoined into cosmic "oneness" through the swinging of a special *mekumeligi* (purification) offering by the *teruna* (members of the afore-mentioned boys/bachelor organizations), containing the elements of fire, water, and earth, as well as symbolic representations of the ancestral human couple. While this ceremony might easily be considered a "key symbol" (Ortner 1973) of Tenganan's ritual center orientation, my Tenganese informants would always stress that it is not any single ceremony, offering, or ritual object that holds such special status or performative validity, but the sum total of all the

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ceremonies performed within the 12-month cycle which may achieve *"windu,"* the ideal of cosmic unity, centering, and stasis.

CHALLENGING CENTRALITY: CENTRIFUGAL FORCES

Banjar Pande as the Mandala's Inner Periphery: Social, Demographic, and Economic Contrasts

As mentioned earlier, Banjar Pande is a spatially, socially, and economically segregated and marginalized section of Tenganan village. Its residents occupy the two rows of houseyards situated along the easternmost street. The visual contrast between it and the "core village" is quite striking. Along the western and center streets are well-maintained houseyards, many of which exhibit a certain level of affluence and the trappings of modern consumerism such as TV antennas and large satellite dishes sticking through their traditional-style thatched roofs. A multitude of communal buildings and temples are interspersed. In contrast, cramped and poorer conditions still prevail in many of Banjar Pande's homes where overcrowding is becoming an increasing problem.[37] However, as I will describe in later chapters, these depressed socio-economic conditions are improving due to the influx of capital from the tourist industry as well as various government sponsored social and health reforms.

Banjar Pande (70 households) is in itself subdivided into two socially distinct sections, Banjar Pande Kaja, in the past referred to

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as Tenganan Tengah, and Banjar Pande Kelod whose 17 houseyards were reserved for immigrants from other villages. Due to population increase, Banjar Pande Kelod residents now occupy 40 houseplots. Residents of Banjar Pande Kaja are former "core villagers" and their descendants who transgressed village law and who were consequently expelled from the "core village."[38] Banjar Pande Kelod residents, by contrast, are the descendants of landless and generally poor immigrants from other Balinese villages (*wong angendok jenek*) ('*wong*' = person, people; *angendok* derived from '*angen*' or '*kangen*' = mercy, pity; '*jenek*' = continuous) who were permitted residency in Tenganan in return for their physical labor. Ritual functions in the "core village" which are considered polluting are also restricted to Banjar Pande Kelod residents (e.g., the priest [*dukuh*] officiating at "core village" death rituals is exclusively drawn form Banjar Pande Kelod, as is the subserviant function of *Nandes* within the village council). Intermarriage between "core village" and Banjar Pande (Kaja as well as Kelod) residents is strictly prohibited and results in permanent expulsion from the "core village." Furthermore, all Banjar Pande residents are excluded from both private and communal ownership of any village lands. Most of them, until very recently, have derived their income almost exclusively from working as sharecroppers or tenant farmers (*penyakap*) in the gardens owned by the "core villagers."

In contrast to the social and economic boundaries which separate the "core village" and Banjar Pande, residents of Banjar Pande Kaja and Banjar Pande Kelod interact freely. They participate together in the

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Krama Banjar, and have formed their own youth organizations (*seka teruna* and *seka daha*). The *Krama Banjar* consists of all the married couples of Banjar Pande, although -- following the wider Balinese pattern -- only men participate in the monthly meetings. Strictly under the authority of the "core village's" *Krama Desa*, it organizes and manages Banjar Pande's ritual and social events. In addition, intermarriage between the *kaja* and *kelod* sections of Banjar Pande is permitted and frequent as is village exogamy. This open marriage structure was also evident in the past. According to Breguet's long term demographic study, between 1901 and 1978, 43% of Banjar Pande marriages were exogamous. This rate has risen further in recent years (1979-94) to 56%. In addition, in contrast to the "core village," there are no restrictions on polygamy and divorce, both of which happen frequently (Breguet and Ney 1995:6).

Despite the overall social and economic cohesiveness of Banjar Pande as a separate community, there are differences in the ritual sphere between Banjar Pande Kaja and Kelod. As former "core villagers", Banjar Pande Kaja residents, although cut off from participation in "core village communal" rituals, continue to follow "core village" private ritual practices (e.g., rituals related to birth, coming of age, marriage, and death). By contrast, there is greater variety in Banjar Pande Kelod's ceremonial traditions which follow outside Balinese patterns. In addition, Banjar Pande Kelod members have formed their own *Patus* organization responsible for death ceremonies, and participate in extra-village ancestor group networks (*dadia, pemaksan*) which connect them to other communities in the region (e.g., Kestala, Bugbug, Ngis,

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Tanah Aron, Tunggak, and Bungaya, among others). Banjar Pande Kaja residents, on the other hand, tend to derive certain economic privileges from their continuing family ties with "core villagers" which crosscut the formal boundaries dividing "core village" and Banjar Pande.

Finally, one of the most interesting consequences of the complex web of boundary control mechanisms set up by the "core village" are the striking demographic contrasts that have evolved between the "core village" and Banjar Pande (Breguet 1980, Breguet and Ney 1995, Narendra 1981/82), and which will be treated in more detail in Chapter Four. According to Breguet's diachronic study of demographic change, the "core village's" sharp population decline at the beginning of this century and very slow increase in population between 1962 and 1994 has put it in serious danger of longterm survival as a "genetic isolate." The "core village" population, due to its small size and its cultural restrictions on immigration and emigration combined with strict endogamy rules, prohibition of divorce, and restrictions on polygamy, is highly susceptible to such factors as increase in mortality rates due to epidemics and disease, temporary imbalances in the number of male/female births, outmigration, and, more recently, birth control, which would otherwise be of less serious consequence. By contrast, Banjar Pande's population, unhindered by social restrictions such as endogamy and monogamy, has shown a steady and strong growth rate over the past 30 years[39] (Breguet and Ney 1995:8).

Reflecting these differences in population dynamics are the differential fertility rates in both sections of the village. Even before

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the introduction of the national family planning (KB) program (which has gained high international acclaim for its success), the "core village" showed a very low fertility rate, in stark contrast to Banjar Pande whose rate followed the general Balinese pattern[40] (Breguet 1980:141). Chapter Four will address some of the larger historical, political and economic changes which affected Bali at the turn of the century and which may have led at that time to a strengthening of the "core village's" border maintainance mechanism, a complex which involves Tenganan's land, ritual, and marriage system. It is this cultural mechanism which continues to separate the "core village" from Banjar Pande and which is responsible for their diverging demographic paths. Both Part II and Part III will explore further the ever-increasing challenges which the "core village" faces in its efforts to maintain ritual, social, and economic hegemony and centrality[41] as current social and economic changes are beginning to blur some of its boundaries with Banjar Pande, forcing it to renegotiate its status as a *mandalic* center and its boundaries of social and economic power.

The Ambiguities of Centrality

> The galactic polity as a totalization is not ... a smooth and harmonious entity but one ridden with paradoxes and even contradictions.
>
> (Tambiah 1976:91)

Social, economic, and demographic changes within the "core village" are many. At a minimum they include: population decline, decrease

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in endogamy, increasing number of "core village" women marrying outside, outmigration of young people due to changes in Bali's employment structure, heightening status competition between "core village" families due to a recent cash inflow from tourism, lack of interest on part of the young generation in maintaining their demanding village tradition, diminishing "core village" autonomy due to increasing penetration of traditional (*adat*) village institutions by the *dinas* (government) structure, and changes in Tenganan's unique ritual tradition due to Bali's Hindu reform movement.

Beyond these decentralizing forces which unfold as local communities become incorporated into larger national and international spheres of economic, political, and cultural power, there are also internal dynamics of change arising from structural tensions which exist and are everpresent within traditional cultures, the "inner conflicts of tradition" (Heesterman 1985). Tenganan's central "inner conflict" is the continuous tension created by a system of power which combines structures that internally level and redistribute power and wealth within the "core village," while, at the same time, maintaining an elaborate system of boundary control which ensures hegemonic concentration of power and wealth within this "core." This structural tension between hierarchical concentration and levelling redistribution of power is reflected also on the normative level where a strong ideology of internal (i.e., "core village") egalitarianism and social harmony exists side by side with an exclusionary ideology (separating the "core village" from Banjar Pande), centered on conceptions of hierarchy, purity, and centrality. Tenganan's

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internal Old-Balinese structure which stresses egalitarian values, and its *mandala* network with its elitist, hierarchical philosophy are able to combine both of these seemingly contradictory processes. In fact it is the village's own, and perhaps unique, solution for addressing and negotiating these ever present *internal* contradictions and tensions.

Banjar Pande as the *mandala's* inner periphery, captures perfectly the ambiguities of "core village" centrality. While on the one hand contesting and challenging the core's absolute power, it also -- somewhat paradoxically, by its mere existence -- displays and confirms this very power and centrality, since "there cannot be any center without a periphery." Banjar Pande is a community which is becoming increasingly aware of its ambiguous existence and is struggling to find and affirm its own cultural and economic identity within modern Bali while continuing to maintain close ties to the "core village." Although Banjar Pande's past arose from local conditions of power, its present and future are inexorably linked to larger national and global processes, as we will see in Parts II and III of the dissertation.

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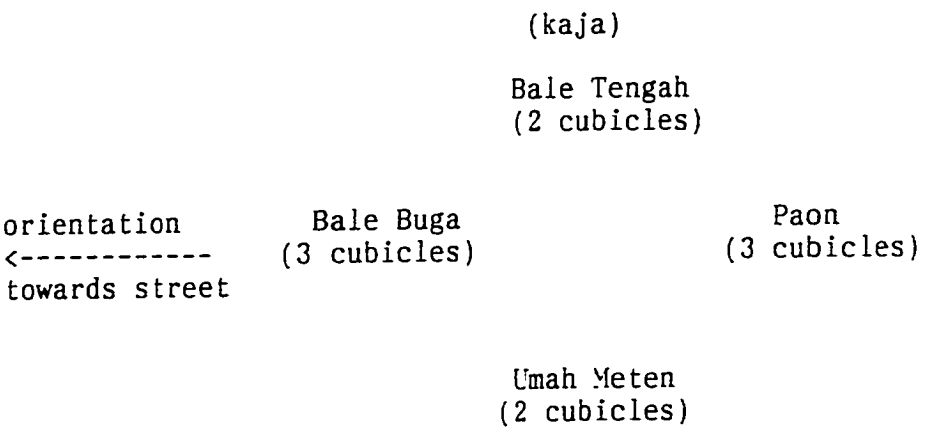
NOTES

Chapter Two:

[1] The concept of 'mesocosm' is borrowed from Robert Levy (1990) who uses it to convey the symbolic ordering of space in the Nepalese town of Bhaktapur. The Balinese share with the Nepalese the Indic conception that spatial layouts of temples and towns constitute a 'mesocosm' -- a mediating link between the microcosmic world of the human body (*buana alit*) and the macrocosmic world of the universe (*buana agung*). The Tenganese, in particular, conceive their village and houseyard layouts as sacred mesocosmic reflections of the universe which must be preserved unchanged.

[2] In Tenganan, this *kaja/kelod* axis of the three main streets corresponds exactly to the north/south direction of the compass.

[3] The Tenganese compare their village layout to the macrocosmos which is idealized in the *mandala*. Each houseyard reflects the same cosmological principles, only on a smaller scale. The Tenganese conceive the houseyard as a human body which is divided into three zones of graded purity: (1) *utama*, the head and purest part of the body, represented by the entrance gate *(jelanan awang)* or the "mouth," the ceremonial building consisting of three cubicles (*bale buga*), and the house temples (*sanggah kelod/kemulan, sanggah kaja*); (2) *madya*, the trunk of the body, is represented by the *bale tengah* which consists of two cubicles (the one located closer to the house entrance being reserved for death and the one further away from the entrance being used for birth) and the *umah meten* (sleeping and living quarters), and (3) *nista*, the lower part of the body, represented by the kitchen (*paon*) and the impure backyard (*teba*) where pigs are kept. In addition, the houseyard is also a reflection of *windu* (the mandalic center-point) represented by the cross-like spatial arrangement of buildings and the number of cubicles within each building. Below is the schematic example of a houseyard located on the eastern side of the street (houseyards on the western side being the mirror image):



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The total number of cubicles is important since according to Tenganese esoteric teachings, the number 10 can be split into its two components (1 + 0) and can thus be reduced to 1 (which symbolizes the unity of all deities (Indra, the complete cycle of life and death), which can in turn be reduced to 0 (*windu*, the symbol of emptiness and perfection). Thus, in Tenganan cosmology, each houseyard is a microcosmic reflection of the village, which in turn is a *mandalic* representation of the universe. Thus, any changes at the microcosmic level would engender changes in the wholeness of the village and at the macrocosmic level. In the Tenganese view such changes would be highly dangerous and could result in calamities and illness which then afflict the community as a whole. In order to prevent such changes, an elaborate code of restrictions and prohibitions pertaining to spatial arrangements of houseyards and buildings is to be followed by each family. Transgressions are subject to fines levied by the village council.

[4] It may be of interest to note that there may be a connection between the names of the mountains in East Java where these *mandala* communities were located (Hyang and Ijeng) and Tenganan's two highest ranking lineages which are called *Sanghyang* (which in Bali is also the honorific form of address for deities) and *Ijeng*.

[5] According to oral history, in olden days Banjar Pande was called Banjar Kangin (eastern village ward) and may have been an integral part of the "core village." Its name may have changed after the Tenganese lineages of metal and gold smiths died out (or migrated to Desa Bratan near Singaraja, [Korn 1984:332]). The village council subsequently permitted a metal smith family from Tungkak to settle in the immigrant section of Banjar Kangin whose name, over the years, changed into Banjar Pande. It is not clear when its northern section (Banjar Pande Kaja) became an exclusive settlement for expelled "core villagers." To this day there is no local term for "core village" or "core villager" which may indicate that the social division into "core" and Banjar Pande occured well after the village was first settled. Some Tenganese (as well as many outside Balinese) refer to the "core village" as Tenganan Pegringsingan, excluding Banjar Pande. I have followed, however, local Tenganese *adat* experts who insist that Tenganan Pegringsingan refers to the whole area within the four gates and thus includes the "core village" as well as Banjar Pande.

[6] For a detailed description of Tenganan's social organization I further refer to Korn (1984:317-343), Wartawan (1989:160-310) and Français (1989:73-113).

[7] Also see Korn (1984:325-328) and Français (1989:313-337) for a description of Tenganan's structural features pertaining to land distribution and wet-rice cultivation.

[8] As systematic and comprehensive archaeological and historical research into Tenganan's past is lacking, and most of Tenganan's village records were destroyed in the great fire of 1841 A.D., a reconstruction

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of village history so far remains at best sketchy and conjectural. Ramseyer's research of Tenganan's textile technology, Breguet's genetic research, local myths, and historical texts, however, point to a series of migrations before settling at the present location.

[9] Ramseyer (1984:195) notes that the Tenganan version of the Usana Bali consists of an older part dealing with the creation of the world and the village of Paneges which probably dates to the reign of the East Javanese king Airlangga (1010-1049 A.D.) and the powerful Buddhist reformer Empu Kuturan, and a later part dealing with a great battle between God Indra and Mayadanawa written after the 14th century. It is generally assumed that this legendary battle represents a metaphor of the Hindu-Javanese conquest of Bali which took place in the 14th century and ended with Gajah Mada's great military expedition in 1343. Gajah Mada's victory over the Balinese ruler in Bedulu ended Bali's period of political autonomy which, from then on, was governed as a dependency of the East Javanese realm of Majapahit (Swellengrebel 1984:16-24, Ramseyer 1977:55-56, Kempers 1991:33-50). According to this line of thought, the mythical figure of the godless Balinese king Mayadanawa is believed to be the last king of Bedulu, Paduka Bhatara Sri Astasura Ratna Bumi Banten. The "Babad Pasek Kayuselem" (for a copy of this manuscript I would like to thank Thomas Reuter) which also recounts the same events, places Mayadanawa into an earlier period, two successions after the historical ruler Cri Jayapangus (1177-1181 A.D.) which would correspond to the reign of Bhatara Guru Cri Adikunti Ketana (1204 A.D.). It is interesting to note that in the Pura Jero in Tenganan, a legendary prime minister named Tunjung Biru, who, according to legend, served in Bedulu under the reign of the Masula-Masuli twins, is worshipped. The Tenganese believe that Tunjung Biru was originally from Tenganan (or Paneges). The temple's name "jero" (a honorific address for commoners), indeed, underlines that it is devoted to a deified ancestor. According to the Babad Pasek Kayuselem, the Masula-Masuli twins (who, like Mayadanawa, are considered to be mythical characters since no edicts or inscriptions with their names have been found so far) reigned in Bedulu following the defeat of Mayadanawa.

However, other scholars link the epic battle described in the Usana Bali to historical conflicts of an earlier era. Bühler, Ramseyer, and Ramseyer-Gygi point to a legendary conflict which is believed to have occured in the tenth century when the Hindu Reformer Sangkulputih (who plays a prominent role in the Usana Bali) called on General Endra Jaya Singha Warmadewa from the Javanese kingdom of Mendang Kemulan to defeat the despotic Mayadanawa who ruled at Bedulu. Endra, together with thousands of followers landed on Bali's southern coast. Together with Balinese defenders of their faith, they succeeded to defeat Mayadanawa (1975:57). According to I Gusti Ngurah Swastika, a Balinese archaeologist, this tenth century conflict (referred to in the manuscript Purana Bali Dwipa) symbolized an emerging rift between Shivaitic Hinduism (represented by the Warmadewa king Indra) and Buddhism (represented by the Balinese ruler Sudodana)(personal communication). Historical and archaeological records indicate that in the period between the 8th and 11th centuries A.D. a profusion of both Shivaitic-

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Hindu and Mahayana-Buddhist sects flourished side by side in Bali after which time Buddhism declined (Ramseyer 1977:37-54, Kempers 1991:33-67, Lansing 1983:24-28).

[10] Ramseyer (1984:195) maintains that a village named Tranggana which is mentioned in various ancient edicts and manuscripts is the place where the Wong Paneges first settled. He believes that Tranggana was located on the coast of Candi Dasa (5 km from the present location), but was later moved inland (*ngetengahang*) due to constant land erosion. *Ngetengahang* (Bal. "towards the center, inward") would give rise to the current name Tenganan (also see Korn 1984:309).

[11] The name Onche Serawa may be a linguistic corruption of "Ucasrawa", the name of a mythical white stallion in the Indian Epic Mahabarata which sprang from the sea of milk which the gods had churned in their act of cosmic creation (Eiseman 1990:63-67).

[12] According to one version of the myth, God Indra, after defeating the godless king Mayadanawa in a great battle (presumably the battle described in the Usana Bali) wanted to purify the whole island of Bali in the greatest of all sacrificial rites, the *asvamedha* (horse sacrifice). However, the sacrificial horse escaped. According to another version (recounted to me by Tenganan's priest, Mangku Widia), the king's horse, a white stallion with black tail named Uncesrawa, escaped in battle. The Wong Paneges, led by *I Pekatik* (the king's groom) were sent out in eastern direction to search for it. They finally found the horse dead near the beach of Candi Dasa. This spot is still marked today by a large, rocky outcrop (*batu jaran* or "horse stone", sometimes also referred to as *batu manggar* or "rudder stone" alluding to another myth according to which this rock represents the rudder of the ship which brought the Tenganese ancestors to Bali). After receiving a report of the horse's death, the raja of Bedulu sent his *patih* (prime minister) in order to verify the claim and to reward the Wong Paneges for finding the horse (according to one version of the myth, the prime minister in question is no one else but the earlier mentioned Tunjung Biru [Team Peneliti 1982/83]). The raja's order was that all the land within reach of the dead horse's smell would be awarded to the *Wong Paneges*. They walked a great distance, yet the smell of rotting flesh still lingered. The groom had secretly cut off a piece of the rotting flesh and carried it with him hidden in his pocket. Finally, they came to a place in the forest named today "*Pengulap ulapan*" (Bal. *ulap* = to call someone). The deity of this sacred place said: "It is enough until here." After this, the horse's body was cut up into pieces which were then placed as sacred markers throughout the territory. Today, large, odd-shaped stones named after the various body parts of the horse still mark these spots and are still revered by the Tenganese as sacred places (Français 1989:9; Darsana 1991). They are visited by the villagers on special ritual occasions. These sacred stones, together with a large number of small shrines and temples are allegedly embued with great potency (*kramat*). To the Tenganese, they represent special "power points" in a cosmological landscape, symbolically transforming the village territory into a map of

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"sacred geography."

13 According to Tenganan's oral tradition, ritual ties between their village and Bedulu have existed uninteruptedly since the *Wong Paneges* left Bedulu many centuries ago and settled at their present location. A small shrine, *Sanggah Uduan*, located next to Tenganan's Bale Agung, is dedicated to "Betara Bedulu." However, in former times, these ties were of a more inofficial nature whereby individual Tenganese families would go on a pilgrimage to *Pura Dalem Pengastulan* at Bedulu on the day of *Manis Kunigan*. Then, according to the accounts of older Tenganese, approximately 80 years ago, "Betara Bedulu" requested (through a trance medium) to move to a new location outside the northern village gate. Consequently, a large temple was built and named *Pura Dalem Pengastulan* or *Pura Anyar*)(*anyar* = new) after the temple in Bedulu (note: the name "*pura dalem*" in this case does not denote "death temple" but refers to the ruler of Bedulu, whose title was "*dalem*"). This subsiduary temple in Tenganan could now serve as a more suitable resting place for the visiting gods from Bedulu. Some time after this, the *Bale Agung* (the great meeting hall of the village council) in Bedulu burned. The people of Bedulu believed that the fire was caused by the gods of the temple who demanded a strengthening of the ties between Tenganan and Bedulu. As a result, upon the request of the village elders of Bedulu, formal ritual ties between the two villages were established. Until this day, these ties continue to flourish and are periodically reinforced through mutual formal visits of village delegations on the occasion of temple feasts. The ritual visits from Bedulu are always joyfully anticipated in Tenganan. On the occasion of a great cleansing ceremony in Tenganan's Pura Dalem Pengastulan following extensive repair work in 1994, a great delegation from Bedulu complete with its famous dance troupe visited Tenganan to participate in the ritual. The evening's highlight was a dance performance by the visiting guests from Bedulu in the temple's forecourt. (In recent years, the Tenganese were asked to worship at the larger yearly ritual held in Bedulu's Pura Desa instead of, as previously, at Pura Dalem Pengastulan.)

14 I very kindly thank I Ngurah Tara for graciously sharing his extensive knowledge about Balinese epigraphy and history with me, and for his excellent Indonesian translations of the *prasastis* from Ujung, Prasi, and Tumbu.

15 There are indications that the Tenganese lived at their present location at least since the 14th century. Some years ago, several stone plates with sculpted *lingga* attributed to the 14th century were accidentially unearthed from a small mound near Tenganan's *Pura Puseh* ("Navel" or "Origin Temple") during the construction of a footpath.

16 There is a large body of literature which deals with various centripetal and centrifugal structures of *mandalic* Southeast Asian states. I found Tambiah's (1976) classic article on "galactic polities" and Errington's (1989) presentation of Luwu power structure as an interplay of opposing centrifugal and centripetal forces particularly useful

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for conceptualizing cultural, historical, and political processes in Tenganan. I hope to illustrate in this study that the "galactic polity" model is not only applicable to state structures but is equally valuable to conceptualize village societies which are located within these states. The case of Tenganan as a small village-based center encompassed by a larger state center, illustrates some of the symbolic and material transformations (e.g., the elaboration of Old-Balinese structural features) which had to occur in order to ensure the smaller center's stability and separate identity within the inherently unstable and culturally absorbing environment of Bali's *mandalic* states of the classical era.

[17] Some of the villages whose organizational features are considered to be most typically of the "Bali Aga" variety (e.g., Sembiran, Sukhawana, Jullah, Trunyan) are of great antiquity. Some of the oldest edicts (*prasasti*) dating to the classical period (9th - 12th centuries) were dealing with these communities (Lansing 1983, Goris 1954). These edicts were generally addressed to the "*Ra Ama*" or "*Krama*" ("honored elders")(Lansing 1983:115). To this day, the *krama desa* (assembly of village elders) based on gerontocratic seniority and notions of origin and core (which, in turn, are often tied to shares in communally owned land) remains the central and most important institution in these villages (e.g., Lansing 1983:chap.6, Howe 1989). Earlier focus on these inward-oriented structures, however, has led anthropologists to overlook the equally important external, regional networks which connected these communities (e.g., Reuter 1995).

[18] Howe (1989:50) extended this bipolar model into a tripartite classification of Balinese social structure into (1) a lowland, southern zone defined by highly hierarchical structures based on ascribed status (e.g., caste and caste-like groupings), (2) a central highland region pervaded by more egalitarian structures (e.g., by a replacement of caste hierarchies with seniority hierarchies), and (3) an intermediate zone in which elements of both, hierarchical and levelling structures, coexist. Howe, like most other scholars, sees differences in topography resulting in different local economies (e.g., wet rice production vs. dry crop cultivation) and the degree of court influence as the major forces behind this variation.

[19] How this tension is played out in these two contrastive settings differs according to the differences in the structural mechanisms which exist in "Old-Balinese" style villages compared to the "new style," ordinary villages which predominate in the lowlands. In the latter, hierarchies are primarily based on ascribed, patrilineally inherited status such as caste (*warna*) and title group (*soroh, dadia*) distinctions while in the former, asymmetrical relations are typically expressed through achieved status based on seniority, purity, notions of a common core and origin point (*kawitan, kemulan*) which in turn are closely related to administrative and religious functions within the village (e.g., Ottino 1994). In addition, these shifting, achieved status hierarchies tend to be reinforced by anti-caste, egalitarian

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ideologies (Guermonprez 1987, quoted in Howe 1989:50). In the "new style" (generally lowland) villages, these levelling processes are less evident, but they are nevertheless also present (e.g., in the democratic structures of the neighborhood wards [*banjar*] and the many task-based organizations [*sekaha*] which typically exist in these villages)(Warren 1993: chap.1).

[20] Exceptions to this rule of "core village" descent are those women (from selected outside castes and descent groups) who are permitted by Tenganese customary law to marry into the "core village," as well as the members of the *Pasek* clan who were "imported" from the neighbouring village of Ngis several generations ago after the Tenganese *Pasek* lineage had died out.

[21] Korn refers to this hierarchical division into 5 ranks as *pancha wangsa* (five castes), a term which is not (or not any longer) used by the Tenganese themselves, who tend to decidedly downplay the hierarchical connotations of these "caste-like" distinctions by stressing instead "core village" egalitarianism and unity.

[22] According to Tenganese sacred knowledge, this arrangement entails the essence of Tenganan's socalled "Indra cult" (*aliran Indra*) which local experts express in typical Balinese fashion in numerological terms whereby: 10 (lineages of the core founders) -> 5 (ranks) -> 3 (*trimurti* which in Tenganan is the unity of Indra, Brahma, and Wisnu) -> 2 (right and left flank, the ancestral couple Kaung and Keling) -> 1 (Indra). Thus, 1 = 10 (Indra, the progenitor of the Tenganese "becomes one" with the 10 lineages of the village founders), which is 1 (Indra, unity) + 0 (*windu*)(emptyness and perfection). Tenganese interpret these numerical transformations as proof that all hierarchies can be transcended, and that division and difference in social life must be overcome in order to achieve social harmony and the ultimate goal of *windu* (the *mandalic* center of stillness, emptyness, and perfection).

[23] Lineage membership as of 1985 is as follows:

Sanghyang : 1 family (4 male descendants)
Ijeng : 1 family (2 male descendants)
Prajurit : 3 families (1 family without children, 1 family with 2 sons, 1 family has been expelled)
Batuguling : 1 family (1 son, his status is unclear as his father has been expelled)
Bendesa : 12 families

The *Pasek* lineage is not originally from Tenganan and is not formally considered to be part of the "core village." According to this family's oral history, seven generations ago, after the local Tenganese *Pasek* had died out, one *Pasek Gelgel* family was brought in from the outside. As the *Pasek* holds an important ritual function in the village council, the Tenganese village administration, at the time, had requested a replacement from the raja of Karangasem. (It is equally possible, however, that the raja insisted having one *Pasek*, as the head of local village administration, in each village in Karangasem.) Tenganan

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is an exception in that the *Pasek* group never held administrative and political powers, and that its ritual functions are also very narrowly delimited. Since the village of Ngis has close ritual and social relations with Tenganan (see Chapter Three), it was decided to import one family from Ngis' most powerful title group, the *Pasek Gelgel*. They were alloted two houseyards in the "core village" next to the *Bale Agung* (the communal building for village council meetings). Despite this most favorable location, they are not formally members of the "core village" but instead participate in the community organizations of the immigrants from Banjar Pande Kelod. As, over the years, this family has grown into five separate housholds, they asked the village for additional empty houseyard plots, a request which was declined by the village administration. As a result of overcrowding, some of the younger family members have moved out of the village and have become successful entrepreneurs in the tourist sector in Candi Dasa.

In contrast to the *Pasek* members who maintain their ancestral links to Ngis and to the island-wide *Pasek Gelgel* ritual and political institutions, the Tenganese *Bendesa* families do not have any outside connections with other *Bendesa* or *Pasek* groups on the island and do not worship at any of the regional *dadia* temples. They do, nevertheless, hold special claims to one of Tenganan's village temples, the Pura Ulun Swarga, which the *Bendesa* consider as their *paibon* temple. *Pura Ulun Swarga* ("temple of the heavens") has thus a dual function as a *desa* temple where "core village" rituals are conducted, and as a *paibon* for *Bendesa* ancestor group ceremonies.

Only one more lineage dyad, the Batuguling/Batuguling Maga (according to one informant the name Batuguling Maga is derived from Batuguling Bali Aga), has its own family temple, the Pura Batuguling, on public space. This temple is not used for village rituals and thus functions as a proper *paibon*. In addition, the Batuguling also maintain special ritual ties to one of the *desa* temples, the Pura Raja Purana. During the Usaba Sambah ceremonies of the fifth month, one male member of the Batuguling family, acting as this temple's custodian (*kapih*), fulfills special ceremonial functions. (Originally, this function was held by the Batuguling Maga group, but was taken over by the Batuguling family after the Batuguling Maga branch had died out.)

It should be mentioned that Tenganan also has four "*dadia*" temples (*Pura Dadia*), which are, however not linked to any specific lineage or title group. All "core village" families participate in the *odalan* ceremonies, and officiating priestesses are chosen through a trance medium from those elder women who are retired from the *Krama Desa*. This inclusive function of *dadia* temples is not particular to Tenganan but is also found in the "Bali Aga" villages of Sembiran and Jullah where *dadia* are "neither optional nor competitive" and where "the potential hierarchy within and between *dadias* is not permitted to develop (as it does elsewhere in Bali)"(Lansing 1983:123).

[24] Tenganese today are unable to offer more information on these lineages. Written records dealing with the origin and different functions of these lineages were destroyed in the fire or 1841 which also burned the village charter. Of all the lost manuscripts, only the vil-

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lage charter was rewritten. The hint by one Tenganese that a copy of the *lontar* dealing with the Tenganan lineages was still in the possession of the Gusti family of the neighboring village of Pasedahan could unfortunately not be confirmed by the head of this family.

25 While generally a male member of the *sanghyang* lineage is chosen for this function, it is not forbidden for a female member of the lineage to hold this position. This is consistent with gender roles in Tenganan in general where women inherit equally to men and fully participate in social and ritual functions either in their own right or substituting for their husbands whenever necessary. As a general rule in Tenganan, achieved seniority status takes precedence over inherited rank, which in turn, takes precedence over gender.

26 Members of the Sanghyang, Ijeng, and Prajurit lineages all claim affinal ties to the raja of Klungkung. According to a local legend, a common ancestor, a young woman from Tenganan, was taken by the raja of Klungkung as his wife. However, soon after, jealous co-wives accused her of practicing black magic since she was never willing to give up Tenganese ritual practices which differ from the rest of Bali. The raja expelled her and she returned to Tenganan where she gave birth to the raja's son. *Sanghyang*, *Ijeng*, and *Prajurit* members all follow certain food taboos which are in connection with this legend. *Sanghyang* and *Prajurit* are further set apart from all other "core villagers" (including the *Ijeng*) by burying their dead in a separate cemetery, the "*Sema Prajurit*," also called "*Sema Kauh*" (Western Cemetery) as it is located to the west of the village. (The main cemetery, "*Sema Kangin*" (Eastern Cemetery), lies, as its name suggests, beyond the village's eastern border.)

27 One informant (himself a member of one of the top six original lineages), cautiously admitted that, indeed, these lineages represented the "higher castes" within the Tenganese social system. But he added immediately in a more assertive voice that "of course there is no caste system in Tenganan" and that the ten lineages do not represent a hierarchical order, but a simple division of different social tasks (e.g., *Sanghyang/Ijeng* as the ritual leaders, Prajurit as the warrior-defenders of the village, *Embak Buluh* as the architect builders [*undagi*], supplemented by the smith clans *Pande Wesi* and *Pande Mas*, and finally the *Pasek/Bendesa* in charge of certain administrative tasks). (I was unable to obtain any information concerning the functions of the two *Batuguling* groups.) But then he went on to relate the ten lineages to different parts of the human body whereby *sanghyang* are its head, *ijeng* its neck, *batuguling/batuguling maga* its armpits, *prajurit/embak buluh* its arms, *pande wesi/pande mas* its trunk, and *pasek/bendesa* the legs. It is difficult to overlook, however, that this functional division is highly reminiscent of hierarchical *wangsa* ideology according to which Bali's population, like the body, is divided into head (the *brahmana* priestly caste), arms (the *ksatria* warrior/ruler caste), trunk (the *wesia* administrator caste), and legs (the *sudra* agriculturalist/artisan caste). This indicates that Hindu-Javanese *warna* ideology had certainly

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penetrated Tenganan, rearranging an older, dualistic social structure into hierarchically ordered social classes. However, in contrast to most other areas of Bali, this ideology has never gained precedence over a more egalitarian ideology based on seniority and a shared, common origin.

[28] Like in other parts of Bali, in Tenganan hypogamous marriages are considered as socially undesirable and cosmologically dangerours. The tragic stories of such unions between women from the *sanghyang* and *ijeng* lineages with lower ranking men are still told in the village. To the Tenganese such ill-fated marriages resulting in the premature or sudden death of one of the partners are vivid examples of the wrath of ancestral deities which may strike anyone who transgresses the "natural order."

[29] Errington has referred to this centripetal process of "forgetting one's genealogy" as "the politics of memory," which in Luwu society is played differently by members of the elite and by commoners. The elite legitimizes its power through long genealogies linking gods and potent ancestors to the present generation. These genealogies are under constant revision in response to current political realities, thus "depleting the past of its historicity." In contrast, commoners tend "to forget" their genealogies, which as a result are shallow and narrow (Errington 1989:231). In Bali, similar processes are at work. While noble houses go through great length to demonstrate their centrality and supremacy in relation to each other and to the rest of Balinese society, commoners tend to employ teknonymy as a means of genealogical amnesia (Geertz and Geertz 1975, Boon 1977). The Tenganese neither follow the high-caste pattern of genealogical politics which would fracture their society into competing ancestor groups, nor do they employ the low-caste strategy of teknonymy, using personal names and nicknames instead. In Tenganan, generational status is indicated through the use of general kin terms and terms of address often followed by the personal name whereby, for example, an older male person will be addressed as "*kaki*" (grandfather) by all the young people in the village. The Tenganese thus stress a common ancestral source and interrelatedness of the whole village population rather than membership in a particular lineage. Again, the aim is to downplay differences in ascribed status and to emphasize instead achieved, generational status. Many of my informants strongly avoided questions probing the obvious contradiction between hierarchical lineage structure and egalitarian ideology (e.g., questions such as: "How can the Tenganese be so undisputedly certain that some of the core lineages have died out if the vast majority of the population has forgotten their lineage?", or "Why do some people remember their lineage and others do not?"). Only under great secrecy will core villagers admit that there is indeed a hierarchical distinction between "*wangsa*" (high caste) and "orang biasa" (commoners) within the core village, a distinction which does not, however, translate into special privileges and which is strongly downplayed in social and political village life. By contrast, villagers will proudly explain that their village institutions are truly democratic as they erase all social distinctions founded on

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ascribed status, recognizing instead only hierarchies based on achieved status through seniority.

30 Idioms of kinship, birth order, and gender are used to stress close ties of reciprocity and complementarity, as well as hierarchy (seniority) between these social organizations (as well as the sacred buildings associated with them). As in other Old-Balinese villages, these social relationships reflect the natural, cosmological order whereby the pantheon of village deities (some of which are kept secret to outsiders) associated with each of these social groupings symbolizes and legitimizes hierarchical as well as complementary formal sets of relationships (see Ottino [1994:481-517] for a detailed analysis of Trunyan's centripetal, village-based temple system). In the Tenganese view of their village cosmos, the village council of married citizens, the *Krama Desa* (and its sacred long meeting pavillion, the *Bale Agung*, see appendix D_2) is conceptualized as the "parents," and progenitors. The *Bale Agung*, a long and open structure with a foundation of uncut, rough stones (symbolizing seniority and its status as one of the village's first sacred buildings) and thatched roof of black palm fibre, occupies the southernmost position in *Banjar Kauh*. The three boys or bachelor organizations (*seka teruna*) named after their respective meeting pavillions (*petemu*) which are smaller versions of the *Bale Agung* (but built on brick foundations symbolizing their junior status), represent three sons ranked according to birth order and spatial location of the three *petemu*. The *Teruna Temu Kelod*, representing the oldest son, occupy the southern (seaward) meeting pavillion, located directly north (mountainward) of the *Bale Agung*, followed by the *Teruna Temu Tengah* (the second born son) with their meeting pavillion to the north of *Petemu Kelod*, and the *Teruna Temu Kaja* (the youngest son) with their meeting pavillion to the north of *Petemu Tengah* (for symbolisms related to their spatial arrangement see Français 1989). Membership in either one of these organizations is patrilineally inherited. Similarly, the three girls organizations (symbolized as three daughters) which do not own public meeting houses but, instead, meet in specially selected family homes (*subak*), are named and ranked according to birth order, the *Daha Wayah* representing the oldest daughter, the *Daha Nengah* the second born daughter, and the *Daha Nyoman* the youngest female offspring. These social institutions are central to Tenganese cultural identity and to Tenganan's village-based, centripetal religious system. For a more detailed description of these youth organizations and their socio-ritual functions see Wartawan (1989:189-209), Korn (1984:334-339), Ramseyer (1984:197), and Français (1989:90-94).

31 This basic male-female (i.e., brother-sister) dyadic relationship of complementarity between the three boys and three girls organizations is crosscut by two other formal sets of relationships: (1) the *pengundang* (lit.: invited guest) relations which individual *teruna* (members of the three bachelor organizations) maintain with one of the three girls organizations (whereby the oldest son always inherits his father's *pengundang* relation), and (2) the *warang* (Bal.: relation between parents whose children are married) relations which envolves one

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seka teruna and one *seka daha* (the *Daha Nengah* maintain *warang* relations with *Teruna Temu Kelod*, the *Daha Nyoman* with *Teruna Temu Tengah* and with *Teruna Temu Kaja*). The *Daha Wayah*, which also receive daughters from outside mothers married into the "core village"- and are consequently considered as less "pure" -- do not maintain any *warang* relations. Both *pengundang* and *warang* relations are highly ritualized and formalized through ritual visits, often accompanied by formal meals and mutual exchange of gifts.

32 The *Teruna Temu Kelod* maintain formal relations (*warang*, sometimes also referred to as *pelinggih* [Bal.: "seat" referring commonly to a temple shrine where a deity takes its seat] relations) with the village of Tanah Aron, the *Teruna Temu Tengah* with the villages of Ngis and Dauh Tukad, and the *Teruna Temu Kaja* with Kestala (see Chapter Three). These formal relations include official visits on ritual occasions accompanied by communal meals and exchange of gifts.

33 Village exogamy (i.e., marriage between a core village man and an outside woman from *Triwangsa* castes, *Pasek*, and *Pande* ancestral title groups) results in exclusion from the village council but not from the "core village." All other exogamous unions (including unions between "core village" women and all outside men, and between "core village men" and women who do not belong to any of the above groups, including all women from Banjar Pande) are strictly prohibited and result in expulsion from the "core village."

34 The importance of the couple as the nuclear social unit in Bali generally has been stressed by Geertz (1973:376) who described it as "the fundamental social building block" of Balinese society. In villages which exhibit Old-Balinese structural forms in which the *Krama Desa* is the central social and ritual institution, this emphasis on the husband-wife pair is even more heightened. In Tenganan, as in most other conservative villages, only monogamous, married couples can be members of the *Krama Desa*. Upon entering the council, they must choose a common "family name" or rather a "couple name" as this name is not passed on to their offspring. This new name is registered in the village records and is used for offical reference, as well as in daily life. Polygamy or death of one marriage partner, which fracture or terminate this union, results in expulsion or rather retirement from the village council.

35 Compared to other Old-Balinese villages, this prominent public role of women is heightened in Tenganan and may be related to Tenganan's small population in relation to its large amount of material wealth (based on communal and private land ownership)(compare to Lansing 1983:chap.6, and Barth 1993:chap.5).

36 The *Luanan* receive one part of rice per year (= 12 months of Tenganan calendar), the *Bahan Duluan* receive, in alternation with the *Bahan Tebenan*, two parts and one part per year, the *Tambalapu Roras* receive two parts per year as these are typically families with young children who are in need for greater income, and as they carry the

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heaviest workload in the council. The *Pengeluduan* receive only one part of rice per year with the exeption of newly-wed couples who receive an initial share of two parts as they are in need of capital to set up a new household.

[37] The mean residential density in Br. Pande in 1994 was 4.91 residents/houseyard (329 residents distributed over 67 houseplots) as compared to the "core village's" considerably lower mean density of 3.30 residents/houseyard (317 residents distributed over 96 houseplots). Despite increasingly denser habitation in Banjar Pande where 64 of the available 67 plots are currently filled, and where neolocality can no longer be enforced, the *Krama Desa* so far has resisted Banjar Pande's request for provisionary use of some of the empty houseyards in Banjar Tengah (where 29 of the 69 houseplots are currently unoccupied). From "core village" perspective such a breakdown of the spatial boundary would be a serious breach against traditional law and would thus endanger the whole village's purity and sanctity. Adding new housplots to the existing village structure is also considered as a forbidden breach of the village's sacred spatial layout. (Nevertheless, there are indications that additional houseplots were set up in the "core village" in the last century [remnants of their stone foundations are still visible today] in order to accomodate a growing "core village" population.) The contrary case of "core villagers" setting up temporary residence in Banjar Pande is considered as less problematic and actually occurred around 1885 when one "core village" family took up temporary residence in Banjar Pande because all of the houseplots in the "core village" were filled at the time (Breguet 1980:118). In order to deflate potential outbreaks of tension between both sections of the village over inequitable distribution of living space and economic resources, the "core village" has agreed to build five shops on empty plots at the southern edge of Banjar Tengah (which is part of the "core village") and reserved them for the exclusive use of Banjar Pande residents.

[38] Similar processes of exclusion which have resulted in break-away new settlements of "social outcasts" have been reported for the Bali Aga villages of Bayung Gede (Bateson and Mead 1942) and Jullah (Barth 1993: chap.5). The situation in Tenganan is quite different, however, because of the "core village's" economic wealth and more privileged life style. Thus it was advantageous for the "core village" to keep Banjar Pande as a structural part of the *desa adat* Tenganan Pegringsingan since the "core village" continued to depend heavily on Banjar Pande labor (both as tenant farmers in the surrounding gardens and as a menial labor force within the "core village" itself). However, in addition to Banjar Pande, Tenganan has a second satellite community, Kestala, which was formed by Tenganan in the eighteenth century as a protective outpost against the agressive ruler of Sibetan who waged war with the ruler of Karangasem and in the process of this war also invaded Tenganan territory (see Chapter Three). However, Kestala has also served conveniently as a place for those exiles that could not even be tolerated in Banjar Pande and had to banished from the village all together (Korn 1984:363-64). I will deal in more detail with Kestala's historical and socio-economic ties to Tenganan in Chapter Three.

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[39] Drawing on Korn's data, Breguet has estimated that a peak of "core village" population size (circa 450 residents) occurred around 1885. As mentioned above, new plots had been added to the "core village" (along the northern cross street and west of Banjar Kauh) in order to accomodate this growing population. Breguet's demographic survey indicates a following steep decline in the "core village's" growth rate (Breguet and Ney 1995:6-7). By contrast, Br. Pande's population has shown a steady growth rate of about 20% between 1926 and 1994 and continues on an upward trend.

[40] According to Breguet's study, between 1940-1975, "core village" fertility rate was at a low 2.78 compared to Br. Pande's which was at 4.76 (Breguet 1980:141).

[41] In earlier decades there may have been a much higher population drift from the "core village" to Br. Pande. Prior to limitations of the *Krama Desa's* legal authority by the Dutch at the beginning of this century (Korn 1984) which continued after independence under the Indonesian nation state, expulsions to Banjar Pande may have been much more frequent than today. While the aim of these expulsions was the preservation of Tenganan's traditional social order, they have contributed to the population decline in the "core village" and thus, ironically, to the break-down of the "core village's" most important socio-ritual institutions. For example, one of the girl's organizations, the *Seka Daha Nengah*, no longer has members and is now only symbolically represented in village rituals, while a second girl's organization, the *Seka Daha Nyoman* are also threatened "with extinction" by the next generation. Similarly, two of the three bachelor organizations are also plagued by insufficient membership and are no longer able to fill all ritual positions. As each of these youth organizations has to fulfill a very specific function in Tenganan's highly complex and intricate ritual network, their decline is of a very serious nature which threatens to break apart Tenganan's holistic ritual order, and is thus of serious concern to all "core villagers."

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CHAPTER THREE

GRADED POWER: THE 'VILLAGE *MANDALA'S'* CENTER-PERIPHERY RELATIONS

THE 'VILLAGE MANDALA'S' OUTER PERIPHERY

The previous chapter indicated that Tenganan's village mandala consists of three distinct layers: (1) the center, formed by the "core village" of Tenganan Pegringsingan with its concentration of economic and spiritual power, (2) the inner periphery, formed by Banjar Pande (the marginalized community of former "core villagers" and landless immigrants) - as well as the tenant farmers living and working in the surrounding hills owned by Tenganan, and (3) the outer periphery, comprising eight Old-Balinese villages (*desa adat*) and one offshoot settlement, Kestala, which are economically and ritually linked to the center, surrounding it within a radius of 20 kilometers (appendix F_1 illustrates the idealized version of the *mandala* [after a drawing made by a Tenganese informant]; appendix F_2 shows the actual location of all villages included in the *mandala* network). The first part of this chapter will offer a short description of each of these nine communities highlighting their individual histories and their most salient features of social organization. These outlines convey the spectrum of variation in Old-Balinese village organization which exists in eastern Bali and

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the different ways in which the ever-present tension between hierarchical and levelling mechanisms are manifested.

The chapter's second part will focus on center-periphery relations which do not follow one single, organizing scheme but which are instead maintained through a variety of intersecting and partially overlapping, organizational frameworks.[1] I propose that this inter-village network represents a previously unrecorded alternative to: (1) the continuum between the decentralized, Hindu-Javanized "modern" variants of Balinese village structure described by Geertz (1959) and "Bali Aga" forms (Lansing 1983, Schaareman 1986, Korn 1932 and 1933), and (2) Balinese non-territorial groupings and networks based on temples and descent groups (e.g., Geertz 1959, Geertz and Geertz 1975, Lansing 1991, Reuter 1995).

I would like to stress that the village-network described here is not founded on the notion of a common origin. Instead, each of the participating communities emphasizes its own, separate identity, history, and field of autonomy. It is also not primarily a temple-focused network (although temples do play a role in some aspects of its organization) such as the one outlined by Reuter for "Bali Aga" highland communities (1995) but one that operates through ritual exchanges between *adat* institutions (such as the *Krama Desa* and youth organizations). As will be apparent, the network combines seemingly contradictory organizational elements: Hindu-Javanese *mandala* notions of graded centrality and hierarchy, and Old-Balinese concepts of dualism and reciprocity. It thus bears on recent characterizations of Bali as a transitional zone,

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"bridging an analytical gap" between the centrist societies of western Indonesia and the dualistically organized cultures of Eastern Indonesia (Errington 1990, Boon 1990).

Village Organization of the Outer Periphery: An Overview

Dauh Tukad

Of all the villages which make up Tenganan's periphery, the *desa adat* of Dauh Tukad (population 630) is closest to the center, Tenganan Pegringsingan (appendices A_3, F_2). It is reached by a short footpath from Pasedahan, the village which lies directly adjacent to Tenganan's southern border. The path crosses the Pandek, a small river running along Tenganan's western border. The village derived its name from this location to the west (*dauh*) of the river (*tukad*). Dauh Tukad forms part of the administrative village (*desa dinas*) of Tenganan. At an altitude of 60 meters, it is only a few hundred meters from Tenganan, and thus both communities share a similar natural environment as well as many elements of the ritual tradition that predated Bali's Hindu-Javanization. Dauh Tukad is a small, compact settlement with a village territory of approximately 200 hectares of forested dry land, half of which is communally owned.

Despite these similarities, Dauh Tukad's history is strikingly different from Tenganan's. While Tenganan Pegringsingan was able to largely preserve its political and cultural autonomy in the centuries following the Javanese conquest of Bali, Dauh Tukad's power was brutally

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crushed in the 18th century.[2] According to a local chronicle, the Prasasti Dauh Tukad,[3] the village was once the domain (*padukuhan*) of Dukuh Mangku, a potent and charismatic village leader. His territorial, political, and religious power was so strong that it became an increasing temptation for the raja of Klungkung who ordered the armies of I Gusti Ngurah Sidemen and I Gusti Timbul to destroy him.[4] Following the battle during which he and many of his followers were killed (the spot, which now is part of the village of Pasedahan, is still marked by a small shrine), most of Dauh Tukad's territory became fully incorporated in the royal domain. The neighboring village of Pasedahan was founded and placed under the political leadership of members of the Gusti Sidemen family. I Made Bendesa, who was allegedly the nephew of Gusti Ngurah Sidemen, was installed in Dauh Tukad as the head of the village council. His descendants are the village's political leaders today.[5]

While this violent struggle between the ever expanding Balinese state and the increasingly precarious village leaders ended the political power of Dukuh Mangku, his spiritual power was kept alive by the villagers.[6] Sacred sites associated with the leader[7] remain to this day a powerful symbol of Dauh Tukad's Old-Balinese identity, the villagers having preserved them despite being subjugated by the pre-colonial state.

The dramatic events surrounding the defeat and death of Dukuh Mangku and the subsequent political subjugation of Dauh Tukad have contributed to the curious mixture and coexistence of Old-Balinese and Hindu-Javanese cultural elements (the villagers refer to these simply as

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"Dukuh Mangku" versus "Majapahit" style) visible in temple structure, village organization, and rituals. They have also shaped the villagers' determination to preserve and strengthen all of their remaining Old-Balinese cultural traditions. And finally, they have influenced the attitudes of the local inhabitants toward state authority which they continue to view with a good deal of skepticism.[8]

Dauh Tukad's special history seems to be largely responsible for the syncretic forms of its social organization and ritual tradition which mixes Old-Balinese and Hindu-Javanese elements. For example, while *triwangsa* castes are absent from the village population, the *Bendesa* title group plays an important role in political leadership. In the *Krama Desa*, the highest position of *Bendesa* is inevitably held by a member of this group, and is thus ascribed and entirely dependent on lineage/title group membership. It is followed by four *klian* who are chosen (for an undefined period) by the other members (*kasinoman*) of the council. In addition there are 12 senior advisory positions (*klian lingsir*). During the monthly meetings (*sangkep*), which curiously take place in the *Bale Banjar* and not at the *Bale Agung* [9] as is customary in Old-Balinese villages, no strict, dualistic seating order is maintained. All married couples, after having completed the purification ceremony of *mekobok*, become automatically *Krama Desa* members (currently they are about 240 couples). In contrast to many other Old-Balinese villages where council membership is linked to a share in the communal land, in Dauh Tukad a newly entering couple does not derive any income from community land, this being land set aside for village ceremonies. In con-

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trast to Tenganan, couples who live in polygamous and exogamous unions are not excluded from the council, and female *Krama Desa* members (*roban*) never participate in the meetings. In summary, the classical Old-Balinese elements of a bipolar, gerontocratic structure based on paired officials and seniority ranking have been partially transformed to conform with Hindu-Javanese ideas of caste and descent-based hierarchies (e.g., Boon 1977:chaps.7 and 8; Ottino 1994).

Dauh Tukad's population is divided into a number of patrilinially inherited title groups (*dadia*). A person's membership is generally restricted to a single group even though some cases of multiple *dadia* alliances do exist. The highest ranking *dadia* of *Bendesa* are followed by seven other title groups, three of which consider themselves to be *Bali Mula* (Old-Balinese).[10] *Pasek* title groups are absent. Dauh Tukad follows the preferred Balinese marriage pattern of *dadia* endogamy and first cousin marriage (Boon 1977:119ff). Intermarriages with Tenganan Pegringsingan are extrememly rare despite the close proximity of the two villages. This is largely due to Tenganan's stringent endogamy law which permits intermarriage only with *triwangsa* and high-status commoner groups. Only two cases of Dauh Tukad women marrying "core village" men are reported (in one case the woman was from Dauh Tukad's Bendesa family). Reverse cases of Tenganan "core village" women marrying Dauh Tukad men are not known. In contrast to Tenganan Pegringsingan where women's property rights equal those of men, Dauh Tukad women are able to inherit land and property only as long as they remain unmarried.

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As in other old-style villages, traditionally no *pedanda* priests (high priests belonging to the *brahmana* caste) took part in Dauh Tukad's communal and private ceremonies. The villagers continue to obtain their *tirtha* (holy water) from Dukuh Mangku's holy bath, the *kayehan suci*. However, due to a continuing process of island-wide religious standardization, an increasing number of families now "feel ashamed" if they do not supplement the ceremonies required by local *adat* (e.g., tooth filing, marriage, and death ceremonies) with modern (often more lavish) Balinese-style elements for which outside *pedanda* priests are essential.

Dauh Tukad maintains ritual relations with only two villages, Tenganan Pegringsingan and Pekarangan, its satellite community (see note 3). Like Dauh Tukad, the latter has preserved the memory of Dukuh Mangku. In one of its temples, the *Pura Puncak Sari*, there is a shrine, the *pelinggih Dukuh Sakti*, which is devoted to this historical figure. Mutual ritual visits between the villagers of Dauh Tukad and Pekarangan keep the ancient ties alive. Up until the mid 1960s, Pekarangan also maintained ritual obligations towards Tenganan (Korn 1984:367). These *rampag* duties were, however, discontinued during the years when the PKI (Partai Kommunis Indonesia) enjoyed a large popular following in many Balinese villages, including Pekarangan (Robinson [1995] offers a detailed account of this dark era of Balinese history).

Ngis

The *desa adat* Ngis (circa 2,100 inhabitants) is located across Tenganan's western hill (*Bukit Kauh*)(appendices A_3, F_1, F_2) at an

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altitude of 75 meters. It can be reached from Tenganan by a steep foot-path leading across Bukit Kauh or by road which is a 12 kilometer detour as it first leads down the Tenganan valley toward the coast and then up again in the next valley. The *desa adat* Ngis together with the *desa adat* Pekarangan (the off-shoot settlement from Dauh Tukad mentioned above) forms the administrative village (*desa dinas*) of Ngis.

Ngis' name is derived from "alas nges" (*alas* = forest; *nges* = large, dense). It is located in the midst of a lush and mountainous forest environment which offers a plentitude of tropical fruits, timber, and other forest products. The village owns a total of 360 hectares of dry land of which 127 hectares are communal temple land and the remainder (233 hectares) privately owned by a core population of 55 families (descendants of the original founders). As in Tenganan, the *Krama Desa* reserves final authority even over this privately owned land as is stipulated in the village constitution (*awig awig desa*) dating to the year 1323 of the Hindu solar-lunar çaka calendar (1401 A.D.). That Ngis' historical roots reach back even further into the Old-Balinese period is indicated by its *prasasti*, a royal edict issued in Old Balinese language on 12 copper plates, only one of which is still preserved (Goris 1954, catalogue no.1004). Goris tentatively attributed it to Jayapangus, the Old-Balinese king of the 12th century. From these remaining fragments it appears that the edict was issued in order to clarify the village's duties and rights vis-à-vis the royal domain (it addresses issues such as taxation, law and safety, public works within the village, and ceremonies).

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Despite this epigraphic evidence, Ngis' Old-Balinese roots are deemphasized in local village discourse which locates the beginning of "official history" in the Hindu-Javanese period of the 15th century. It is locally believed that the village was then founded by its first "original settlers," 55 *Pasek* families, who were sent from Bali's first Javanized court at Gelgel to pacify the region and establish the court's order at the local village level. Today, all inhabitants of Ngis consider themselves to be the descendants of these Pasek migrants. From that time onward, local village leadership lay firmly in the hands of the politically and numerically dominant *Pasek Gelgel* group as the older dualistic order based on gerontocratic control became transformed into a politico-ritual system based on heredity. While this transformation seems to have occurred peacefully, there are, nevertheless, indications of tensions created by the superimposition of a court-based, central, hierarchical power on the older dualistic and democratic organization of village elders.

There are no high-caste (*triwangsa*) groups in Ngis but the *Pasek Gelgel* descent group has assumed *triwangsa*-like powers, asserting their control over village politics and land (e.g., land owned by childless couples can be claimed by the *Pasek Gelgel* after the couple's death). Higher forms of Balinese language, which consists of three major hierarchical speech levels, are also widely used in the village.

Ngis' population is divided into mutually exclusive *dadia* (patrilineal title/descent groups with an ancestral founder) most of which form part of the *warga Pasek*[11] and are linked to supraregional

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temple networks. Each group also maintains its own local *dadia* temple. While according to local history all of these groups were sent to Ngis by the raja of Gelgel presumably to pacify and Hindu-Javanize the region, it appears more likely that older, already existing status hierarchies slowly became transformed and incorporated into the new social order.[12] Each *dadia* has one core lineage whose members are represented in the *Krama Desa*. Unlike Dauh Tukad, there are no title groups in Ngis which consider themselves to be "*Bali Mula*" or "*Bali Aga.*"

This transformation from Old-Balinese dualistically organized, seniority-based hierarchies to ascribed status, based on patrilineal descent, is evident in Ngis' *Krama Desa* structure which combines both of these organizing principles. The village council (*Krama Desa Ngarep*)(from *arep* = front) consists of the 55 most senior married couples (this number is fixed). Membership is limited to one person per extended family and endures until the husband's death. If the wife dies, her ceremonial duties are merely taken over by another female family member. Each *dadia* is represented in the council by at least one couple. Unlike Tenganan where monogamy is one of the unconditional preconditions for *Krama Desa* eligibility, in Ngis polygamy does not stand in the way of membership.

Below the *Krama Desa Ngarep* are the *Desa Gumi*, consisting of all the other married couples. When a position in the *Krama Desa Ngarep* becomes available, the most senior *Desa Gumi* couple assumes the lowest position and the others move up. As in most other ancient villages of

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Karangasem, in Ngis *Krama Desa* membership is tied to access to communal village land. According to local history, when Ngis was founded by the 55 original families, the village land was divided into 55 parcels of even size. Each family received five *petak/saih* which over time became subdivided among all first-born, male descendants of each family. Before a couple can be considered for *Krama Desa* membership, it must have obtained one of these 55 parcels either through patrilineal inheritance or through purchase. Today, many families no longer have access to this land and, even if they do, the parcels are too small to provide subsistence, making it necessary to work as tenant farmers (*penyakap*) in Tenganan.

The council's four leadership positions are in the hands of the four dominant title groups who furnish the four leading *adat* officials. They are: (1) the *Jero Pasek*, chosen from *Pasek Gelgel* group, the official village leader in charge of administrative and legal decisions; (2) the *Jero Kubayan*, the ceremonial leader, chosen from the *Pasek Kubayan* descent group; (3) the *Jero Penyarikan*, the treasurer, from the *Pasek Penyarikan dadia* and (4) the *Jero Mangku*, village priest, from the *Pasek Tangkas* group. Council leadership is thus organized along descent lines. The remaining "ordinary" members are dualistically divided in the typical Old-Balinese fashion, into an eastern and western flank, depending on place of residence (i.e., members living east of main street sit in the eastern row during council meetings, while those residing in the western part of the village form the council's western flank). Other aspects of Ngis' social organization follow the general Hindu-Javanese

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patterns, in particular the exclusion of women from participation in council meetings as well as from property ownership, patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent, preferential first cousin marriage and *dadia* endogamy, absence of laws governing village endogamy, the general practice of cremation and the use of *pedanda* priests. Despite these cultural reorientations, however, Ngis has kept some of its Old-Balinese heritage alive in its ritual and musical traditions (e.g., the *daha malong* ritual and the use of *selonding* and *gambang* orchestras)(Schlager 1976). Socio-ritual relations with other Old Balinese communities (Tenganan and Bugbug) do reflect Old-Balinese patterns, as explored later in this chapter. Ngis' syncretic and transformational pattern of social organization is depicted spatially and architecturally in the main village temple, the *Pura Puseh/Pura Desa* (appendix G_1) where each of its four courtyards symbolizes a step in the transformation from Old-Balinese to Hindu-Javanese social order.[13]

Bugbug

Bugbug is located on the coastal plain at an altitude of 60 meters across Tenganan's eastern hill (*Bukit Kangin*) surrounded by the wet-rice region of Eastern Bali (appendices A_3,F_2 G_2). Ten kilometers from Tenganan, it is reached via the coastal main road. The two villages share a common border and were, according to Bugbug's oral history, "once a single territory given by the raja of Bedulu with the provision that it be divided fairly between them." However, so goes the story, the Tenganese used a cunning trick to amass a disproportionately large share

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of this land[14] (see Chapter Two for the Tenganese version of the same myth which -- not surprisingly -- does not mention Bugbug's claims to a larger share in the territory). Like Tenganan and Ngis, Bugbug is both a "custom village" (*desa adat*) and an "administrative village" (*desa dinas*). Holdings today comprise 1,156 hectares: 529 hectares of irrigated land (*sawah*) and 364 hectares of cultivated dry land (*tegalan*). Of this territory, 176 hectares are communally owned temple land (*laba pura*)(Laporan Profil Desa Bugbug 1992).

Bugbug is a compact and crowded settlement with over 7,500 local inhabitants and large expatriate communities in Singaraja and Denpasar. It is built in an unusual circular layout with the *Bale Agung* at its center and very narrow, walled alleys extending outward in a star-like pattern in all directions. High outer walls surround the village, giving the impression of an ancient, European-style medieval fortress-town. Indeed, Bugbug's history reaches far back into the Old-Balinese period. Its *prasasti* (royal edict), consisting of ten copper plates written in Old-Javanese language, is dated A.D. 1181 (1103 çaka) and is signed by the Old-Balinese king Çri Maharaja Haji Jayapangus (the same ruler to whom the edict of Ngis is attributed). It states that the king issued the *prasasti* to restore law and order following a period of village unrest. Bugbug's territorial boundaries and obligations are enumerated, for example to pay certain taxes and levies to the state, and to perform certain rituals. Also noted are the fines for transgressions, and the village's privileges (e.g., the right to slaughter buffaloes and cattle, the right to certain water sources, and the right to harvest certain

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forest products without prior permission from the state)(Budiastra/Museum Bali 1982/83).

According to local history, Bugbug's earliest beginnings reach back even further to a time when its present location was a swamp bordered by the settlements of Sebumi (or Sabuni), Lumbadang (or Luhun Padang), and Belong. After draining the area, these three settlements were consolidated into a single village named Bugbug. Local myths, some of which are ritually reenacted, recount these pre-historic beginnings,[15] as well as the agricultural and religious transformations which affected the village during Bali's gradual Hindu-Javanization process.[16]

As in the cases of Dauh Tukad and Ngis, Bugbug's social organization reflects this tension between its Old-Balinese foundation and the later introduced Hindu-Javanese elements, some of which are alluded to in myth (e.g., the uneasy relationship between the people of Bugbug and the Brahmana priest Ida Gede [see note 16]). While today there are no high-caste *triwangsa* families in the village, it is believed that in former times *Brahmanas* resided in one of its sections, named accordingly *Banjar Griya* (*griya* refers to any *Brahmana* residence).[17] Today, Bugbug's highest ranking families belong to the elevated *Bendesa* commoner group (in Bugbug also referred to as *Pasek*), consisting of two separate lineages, the *Bendesa Mas* (also called *Bendesa Kawan*) who have supposedly ruled Bugbug since ancient times; and the *Bendesa Kanginan* (also referred to as *Arya Dauh*) who trace their ancestry to I Gusti Mantu of Sibetan).[18] Both *Bendesa* families are linked through marriage alliance,

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and, aspiring to high-caste status, set themselves apart from the rest of the local population (e.g., by frequently resorting to High-Balinese language in their interaction with the other villagers). According to local accounts, in the distant past, the *Bendesa* village leaders supposedly also ordered a public burning of the written genealogies of all other descent groups in order to solidify their socio-political hegemony. Bugbug's other *Pasek* groups (e.g., both the more recent *Pasek Gelgel, Toh Jiwa,* and *Pulasari* varieties and the older *Pasek Tubuh, Kayu Selem, Dukuh Sakti, Tangkas,* and *Kubakal* groups) as well as its "Bali Mula" lineages (e.g., the *Sanghyang* who are believed to have originated in Bangli) are clearly subordinated to the two *Bendesa* groups which, to this day, retain special privileges as undisputed village leaders in both the *adat* and *dinas* spheres.

Considering this accumulation of power by the *Bendesa*, it is perhaps not surprising that Bugbug's *adat* structure, despite its ancient history, has been profoundly affected by the administrative, political, and religious influences of the traditional (pre-colonial) as well as modern Balinese state (for comparative material from other parts of Bali see Schulte Nordholt 1991, Warren 1993). These transformations were marked by a shift from authority vested in core group and seniority status toward a caste-like structure based on the monopolistic power of certain title groups. These changes are reflected in the structure of the *Krama Desa* which, as in Ngis, is now dominated by ascribed status positions.[19]

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Since the 1960s the traditional authority of the *Krama Desa* has been curtailed through its division into three separate bodies,[20] dealing with specific aspects of *adat* and village administration. Keeping only purely ceremonial functions, the council ceded power to two new institutions, gradually eroding the old gerontocratic structure. New political groups, based on shifting alliances between newly rising elites, government officials, and traditional high-status title groups have assumed greater presence. Women do not participate in the meetings of any of these three councils, nor do they inherit property, which is passed on patrilineally. Women have, however, retained some of their authority in the religious sphere as priestesses and trance mediums (e.g., the *daratan luh*).

Recent transformations in Bugbug's political structure were also accompanied by changes in the religious sphere. For example, most of the village's families today maintain links to outside *Brahmana* houses and follow modern Balinese cremation practises (i.e., the *Bendesa* and certain *Pasek* groups such as the *Pasek Gelgel* and *Pasek Pulasari* practise actual cremation of the corpse, while most older *Pasek* groups burn only an effigy). Only a few of the older descent groups (e.g., the *Dukuh Sakti* group) maintain their "*Bali Mula*" traditions of burying their dead and not using *tirtha* (holy water required for these ceremonies) from the *Brahmanic Pedanda* priests.

In contrast to Tenganan, Bugbug prides itself on always having been an "open community" welcoming outsiders regardless of their descent group affiliations and freely permitting *dadia* and village exogamy. Only

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the two *Bendesa* lineages set themselves apart from Bugbug's open marriage customs, by adhering more strictly to *dadia* endogamy (within each group and through patrilateral exchange between both groups). Residence patterns are patrilocal with many families often sharing one houseyard.

While Bugbug is a part of Tenganan's *mandala* relations, it also maintains its own temple-focused, ritual network (in which Tenganan does not participate). In addition to joining the villages of Bebandem, Jasri, and Ngis in the *Usaba Gumang* ceremonies, Bugbug maintains ritual relations with the village of Datah (in the local view, Betara Ayu Galuh of Bugbug's *Pura Puseh* is married to a deity from Datah). Ritual and social relations between Bugbug and Tenganan's Banjar Pande Kelod are particularly close (15 families from Banjar Pande Kelod maintain kinship relations with families in Bugbug and a shrine in Tenganan's Pura Banjar Pande is dedicated to Betara Gumang of Bugbug, see note 16). Although close kinship ties connect Bugbug with Banjar Pande, intermarriage between Bugbug and Tenganan's "core village" is infrequent. Currently, there is only one woman from Bugbug (from the *Bendesa Kanginan* group) married into Tenganan's "core village."

If Bugbug has undergone gradual but substantial changes in its social structure resulting in the considerable erosion of its egalitarian, seniority-based village organizations, in more recent times, change has become drastic. This is because of a multi-million dollar land contract which the village signed with international investors in 1991. Chapters Eight and Nine will deal in more detail with the impact of this luxury-hotel project on local village institutions.

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Timbrah

A short distance to the east of Bugbug, a small side road branches off the coastal mainroad, leading upward in northern direction, toward the volcano Gunung Agung. Timbrah (two kilometers from Bugbug) is the first village one encounters on this side road (appendices A_3 and F_2). At an altitude of 110 meters, it lies in the midst of fertile rice terraces. Together with the neighboring villages of Perasi (to the south) and Asak (to the north), the *desa adat* Timbrah with 2,148 inhabitants forms part of the new administrative village (*desa dinas*) Pertima (an acronym derived from the names of the three villages). The *desa adat* of Timbrah owns a territory of 290 hectares, most of which are *sawah*, including 11.7 hectares of communally owned temple land (*laba pura*). Some of the villagers work as sharecroppers on Tenganan *sawah* land.[21]

Timbrah's history also reaches back into the pre-Majapahit era. According to a local chronicle written on palm leaf (*lontar*),[22] the original settlement was called Patimah and was situated close to Timbrah's current location. This chronicle also describes the historical events which led to the gradual transformation of Timbrah from a "*Bali Aga*" settlement into a hybrid community which blends both Old-Balinese and Hindu-Javanese elements of social organization.[23]

According to this chronicle, a series of *triwangsa* settlers had to abdicate their *Gusti* titles and the accompanying privileges when they took up residence in Timbrah in the 18th century. Thus no high-caste

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title groups are found in the village today. However, through the *pauman* system (see note 23), the population continues to be stratified along former *triwangsa/sudra* lines. Members of the three immigrant *pauman* have assumed *arya* descent group names (e.g., Arya Gusti Abuan named after its founder), and thus continue to signal their quasi-high-caste status. More importantly, their privileged status position continues to be played out in village politics today. The descendents of the former *Gustis* hold key positions in Timbrah's *adat* and *dinas* organizations, and there are, as well, several elevated commoner title groups (*pemaksan*), such as the *Pasek Gelgel*. These are considered "original inhabitants," at least in a structural sense, since they are part of the *pauman desa* (see note 23).

Timbrah's *Krama Desa* structure, which gradually opened itself to accomodate newcomers, closely reflects Timbrah's immigration history. It consists of three layers: (1) the *Krama Desa Ngarep* forms a core group of villagers (membership is inherited within certain families; all married couples who belong to *Krama Desa Ngarep* automatically also belong to *pauman*, *banjar*, and *pemaksan* organizations and must have received one *sawah* from their *pauman* organization); (2) the *Krama Sesabu Desa Adat* consists of married couples who do not belong to the *Krama Desa Ngarep* through descent or because they have been excluded due to transgressions of village law (e.g., villagers born out of wedlock to Timbrah women); and (3) *Krama Sesabu Tamiyu*, recent immigrants, provided they are Hindu and have lived in the village for at least six months.

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Timbrah, like Bugbug, has followed government initiatives to standardize and fragment the *adat* structures of Balinese villages. Thus, in 1967, a new model was adopted which divided the *Krama Desa Ngarep* into two separate bodies. One is the *Krama Desa Prawayah* (lit. "the old ones") headed by the *Bapa Desa* (this position is sometimes also referred to as *Bendesa* and has been traditionally occupied by a member of the *Pasek* group). Its members make decisions concerning ceremonial and religous matters. Then there is the *Krama Desa Prajuru*, led by the *Klian Desa* (traditionally and until recently from the *Pasek* group), who deal with the material aspects of *adat* (e.g., the construction and renovation of temples and public buildings).[24]

As in the other old villages in Tenganan's periphery, there is a correspondence between the degree of Hindu-Javanization and the degree to which women participate in public political and religious village life. Although in former times women in Timbrah used to inherit land according to the principle of two parts for men, one part for women, the village, over time, has adopted the standard Balinese practice of excluding women from any such inheritance. The degree to which such exclusionary practices operate seem to be closely related as well to the degree of marriage restrictions. In Timbrah, which embraces an open marriage policy, there are no *adat* regulations pertaining to village or title group endogamy. This is in contrast to the system of Tenganan where bilateral, gender-neutral inheritance laws are offset by strict village endogamy.

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Cultural syncretism of Old-Balinese and Hindu-Javanese practices is also reflected in Timbrah's death ceremonies. The village has three cemeteries, the *Sema Alit* ("small cemetery"), the *Sema Gede* ("large cemetery"), and the *Sema Daha/Teruna* (which, like in other Old-Balinese villages, is reserved for unmarried youth). All of Timbrah's adult residents are first buried in the *Sema Alit.* Then, during the *ngaben* ceremony, for the part of Timbrah's population which considers itself to be *Bali Mula* (i.e., those families belonging to the *Pauman Desa*), the remains of the corpse are unearthed and reburied in the *Sema Gede.* Timbrah residents belonging to the three immigrant *pauman* follow the Hindu-Javanese custom of cremating the unearthed remains and throwing the ashes into the sea. High-caste *pedanda* priests are called in from the outside to officiate at these cremation ceremonies.

Asak

Following the road leading through Timbrah one kilometer further north, one arrives at Asak, a small village of approximately 1,000 inhabitants (appendices A_3, F_2). It is located at an altitude of 140 meters, in the center of Karangasem's wet-rice region (appendices A_3 and F_2). Like Timbrah, the *desa adat* Asak forms part of the administrative village of Pertima. The village territory consists of 150 hectares of land, the largest part of which is communally owned: 76 hectares are classified as temple land (*laba pura*), and 11 hectares as "*pahuman* land" which rests under the authority of the *banjar.* The remainder of the land is privately owned (mainly by the two dominant kin groups of *Pasek* and

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Pulasari (Schaareman 1986:89). In addition, 56 people from Asak work 36 hectares of Tenganan's *sawah* land on a share cropping arrangement. While there are no written records or myths alluding to the origins of the village, Asak's social and ritual organization, as well as its economic structure based on communal land ownership, leave little doubt of its ancient, Old-Balinese origins.

There are some interesting correspondences between the process of historical socio-political transformation in Asak and the previously described village of Bugbug. As in Bugbug, *triwangsa* title groups are absent although the dominant descent groups (*dadia)* of *Pasek* and *Pulasari* (in Asak also referred to as *Bendesa*) have assumed a quasi-noble status, setting themselves apart from other villagers by exhibiting *triwangsa*-like behavior (see Schaareman 1986:124-129) and exerting control in the political sphere. Unlike Bugbug, however, Asak has remained a relatively closed community with few immigrant-settlers. This may be a crucial factor contributing to the preservation of its strong Old-Balinese institutions and consequently for the limited, direct influence which the *Pasek/Bendesa* group is able to exert on the villages' core social institutions. To this day, the *Krama Saing* and *Desa Nyoman* (which together form the village council) dominate the socio-religious domain, operating entirely according to the seniority principle. While members of the two *dadia* fully participate in these *desa* institutions, they no longer hold special privileges. The fact that up until the 1940s, members of these two groups were allowed to enter the council at a higher position, skipping over the lower ranks, confirms my

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view that Old-Balinese villages like Asak and Tenganan in the past exhibited greater tendencies toward hierarchy than they do today.

Similar to Timbrah, Asak's population sees itself divided into "aristocratic" immigrants (members of the two *Pasek/Bendesa dadia* who make up less than 10% of the population) and the "*Bali Mula*" or "original inhabitants" who are organized into four "*kelompok*" (socio-political associations based on kinship and lacking extra-village ties). Marriage alliances closely follow this *dadia/kelompok* divide, with members of the two *dadia* intermarrying freely. While marriages between *dadia* men and *kelompok* women are socially acceptable, in the contrary case of a *dadia* woman marrying a "Bali Mula" man, the woman is said to be "thrown away" by her family (Schaareman 1986:124) (following the general Balinese attitude toward hyper- and hypogamy [Boon 1977:124 ff]).

Apart from these elite *dadia*, the remainder of the population achieves socio-political rank through the fixed, seniority-based hierarchies in the village's *adat* organizations. Like Tenganan, membership in these organizations is tied to specific land rights.[25] And as in other Old-Balinese villages, the couple is considered the essential socio-ritual unit within the village council (*Krama Saing*). Different from Tenganan with its strict monogamy laws, however, in Asak there are no overt prohibitions against village council membership of men with more than one wife so long as the man does not marry again while in office. As Schaareman has observed, this lack of overt prohibition may be due to the fact that polygamy is still exceedingly rare in Asak, with the exception of a few polygamous *Pasek* and *Bendesa* marriages (1986:104).

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As in Tenganan, women in Asak play an active role in the village's socio-religious hierarchies whether as council women (who participate in formal meetings), priestesses, ritual leaders, or advisors. Like Tenganan, their important ritual status is symbolized spatially in the structural position which they occupy during certain ritual council meetings. Male officials sit in pairs according to seniority, occupying two long rows headed by two male priests, the *pemangku dalem* and the *pemangku gede*. In this arrangement, the most sacred (*kaja*) position is occupied by the *sedahan desa*, a female priestess who is in charge of carrying out the most important rituals. She is assisted by the female *krama saing* who sit around her in a half circle (Schaareman 1986:112). As Schaareman has noted, she, "being female and a priestess,... mediates between two 'antagonistic', opposed male worlds, between the 'younger' and 'older' village elders, but also between the world of the gods and that of the humans. In this sense the female *saing* sit in the world of the gods during the ritual, whereas the male *saing* are seated in the world of human beings" (Schaareman 1986:112). This high, ritual status of women in Asak is consistent with those villages which have most stricly preserved the Old-Balinese gerontocratic social order (e.g., Tenganan, Sembiran, Jullah, and Sukhawana). Lacking Tenganan's vast land resources, however, here the high ritual status of women is not linked to property rights as it is in Tenganan. Unmarried Asak women inherit one half of what their male counterparts inherit, whereas married women are excluded from inheritance.

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Bungaya

Continuing on the road from Asak in a northern direction, one reaches the *desa adat* of Bungaya (approximately 1,000 inhabitants), located at an altitude of 200 meters and a distance of two kilometers from Asak (appendices A_3, F_2). It forms part of the much larger administrative village (*desa dinas*) of Bungaya (7,000 inhabitants) which owns a territory of 1060 hectares of land (330 hectares of *sawah* and 730 hectares dry *tegalan*). Due to population pressure and an uneven pattern of land ownership, part of Bungaya's population is dependent on tenant farming (there are currently 129 tenant farmers from Bungaya who work on Tenganan land).[26]

Bungaya's social organization warrants special interest as it exhibits a particularly strong instance of Old-Balinese institutions despite its very close historical ties to the regional royal court. The key to this apparent paradox may be found in Bungaya's history. According to local accounts, the village was founded by a group of court officials in the *Gelgel* period of the 16th century,[27] a time of forceful cultural reorientations based on Hindu-Javanese ideas of state, religion, and art. Dalem Baturenggong, *Gelgel's* most famous ruler, was perhaps the first Balinese king to transform his court, capital, and kingdom to correspond closely with the Indic idea of the "world ruler" at the center of the *mandalic* state (Vickers 1989:41-53). Existing villages were incorporated more tightly into the court's domain and new ones were formed in an effort to extend and solidify the power of the center

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(Vickers 1989:47). This process of political centralization and cultural Hindu-Javanization was accompanied by compiling village records in such ways as to conform to the new world view. It is not surprising therefore, that Bungaya, like Ngis, traces its official, historical origins to this time even though the structure of its village institutions point to an earlier period. If one may be speculative, Bungaya's historical beginnings, like Tenganan's, may be closely linked to an older court center which predated the Hindu-Javanese kingdom of Gelgel. Although much more historiographic research in this area is needed to prove or disprove such surmises, there are certain striking similarities between Tenganan and Bungaya which call for an explanation.

As in Tenganan, in Bungaya *Krama Desa* membership is restricted to a core group of villagers (the alleged descendants of the 40 mythical village founders, see note 27) who all reside in the central section of the village, the *Banjar Desa*. No other families are permitted to move into this residential area. The social and spatial boundaries surrounding this village elite were less pronounced in the past when the village was more homogenous and less open to immigration. In former times, when the population of the *Banjar Desa* decreased due to natural disasters or epidemics, residents of other village *banjars* were permitted to take up residence there, even becoming eligible for *Krama Desa* membership. Within the *Banjar Desa* today, there remains a small number of houses to the south and west of the *Bale Agung* whose residents consider themselves the true descendants of the village founders.

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Among all the villages in the Tenganan network, Bungaya is one of the most heterogeneous. Its residents include *triwangsa* (both *brahmana* and *wesia*), among whom one resident *brahmana* family, Griya Jungutan, is particularly well-known throughout the region of Karangasem for its alleged great spiritual power and influence on the King of Karangasem[28]. There are also Muslim immigrants from Lombok who were settled throughout the Karangasem region by the royal court following its conquest of western Lombok during the 18th century. They were allowed to take up residence in Bungaya's *Banjar Lebah Sari* (formerly called *Banjar Kedokan*). Up until now, these Muslim villagers even participated in Bungaya's greatest Hindu ceremony, the *Usaba Dangsil*. Like all other incomers, Bungaya's *triwangsa* residents are excluded from *Krama Desa* membership and do not take part in *desa adat* rituals.

Among the *Brahmana* residents of Bungaya, *Griya Jungutan* occupies a special position as it has received a plot of village land in return for its religious services to the village. In addition, there is a variety of commoner descent groups (*dadia*) (including various *pasek* groups such as *Pasek Gelgel*, *Pulasari*, and *Tangkas*) as well as a small group of nine families who are referred to as "*Bali Mula*" (original Balinese) who do not own houseyards but live in the gardens on the edges of the village. They are believed to have migrated from the highland area around Lake Batur and still maintain their ancestral ties with the village of Kedisan. Their social status within Bungaya is marginal, as they are prohibited from residing within the village proper and from joining the *Krama Desa*. They maintain their own highland ritual tradi-

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tions (e.g., they follow a "Bali Aga" style of death ritual during which the corpse is wrapped in white cloth and is buried in a wooden box called *bendusa*). Finally, there is one section of the village, Banjar Karya (formerly Banjar Ngangulang; from "*ngangul*" = homeless) which is set aside for social outcasts (villagers who transgress the *adat* laws). Unlike Tenganan, however, expulsion is not necessarily permanent; outcast villagers, if they repent and pay all necessary fines, may return to their original *banjar*. Despite this heterogeneity which also includes a wide range of commoner title groups, the core village elite has kept itself aloof from descent group competition as they do not belong to any organized *dadia*. They worship their ancestors in the Pura Jelawin (also referred to as Pura Kentel Gumi), which is considered to be one of Bungaya's oldest temples.

Despite the great profusion of different status groups (based on caste, title group, religion, and conceptions of core/origin) which have over time infiltrated Bungaya, the village has a decidedly Old-Balinese character rooted in the continued spiritual and political power of the *Krama Desa* and related institutions which continue to operate entirely on the Old-Balinese seniority principle. As mentioned earlier, *Krama Desa* membership is only open to married couples who live in monogamous unions and reside in the *Banjar Desa* (thus excluding all *triwangsa*, "Bali Aga", and other immigrants). Before a newly-wed couple can enter the *Krama Desa* it must be a member of the neighborhood organization, the *Krama Banjar*, and put itself on a waiting list.

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In former times, members of the *Krama Banjar* automatically moved into the *Krama Desa* as older members retired. But with the opening of the *Banjar Desa* to residence by non-core villagers, additional boundary control mechanisms were created in order to keep these new immigrants out of the village council. Now, before being accepted into the council, a couple has to undergo questioning by the *Klian Desa* about its family history and its knowledge of local *adat* in order to determine its eligibility for membership. Like non-core village status, polygamy and first cousin (*misan*) marriages also result in automatic exclusion, although village exogamy only restricts the couple from achieving the higher ranks of the council. Membership is for life (until one partner dies) unless the couple is excluded due to a serious transgression of *adat* laws. Each council member receives a plot of village land (20 *are*) except for the council leader and his deputy who receive one hectare and 75 *are* respectively. As in Tenganan and Asak, the council consists of a large number of fixed, seniority-based offices, each position being divided into a right and left flank official and associated with specific ritual duties and social privileges[29] (appendix G3).

During official meetings, all the male members of the council occupy their positions in the *Bale Agung* according to a rank-based, fixed seating order. They are headed, however, by the two female ritual leaders, the *Istri Kebayan Wayan* and the *Istri Kebayan Nyoman*. It is these two female officials who occupy the space which is most sacred (*kaja*) and closest to the presiding deity and the associated offerings. On ceremonial occasions, high ranking female council members (*De Manten*

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and *De Salah*) are also on the *Bale Agung* preparing offerings, without, however, participating in the *sangkep* (formal council meeting). All other female council members are seated in the nearby *Bale Daha* according to their hierarchical order. In Bungaya, as in Tenganan and Asak, the prominent status of women in the ritual sphere is particularly visible, as it is only the female senior advisors (*salah* and *manten*) of the council who officiate as priestesses during the great village ceremonies.

Like Tenganan, Bungaya raises several questions concerning Old-Balinese cultural identity and its "survival" into modern times. As mentioned earlier, there are certain parallels between these two villages. First, despite their decidedly Old-Balinese social organization, both Tenganan and Bungaya do not identify with the classical "Bali Aga" communities such as Trunyan, Sembiran, Sukhawana etc. Instead, they enact strong boundary control mechanims against them. In the case of Tenganan, intermarriage is only permitted with groups that "use and light the *damar kurung*" during their death ceremonies, even though the Tenganese themselves do not employ this bamboo lamp in their own burial rites. Through this *adat* prohibition the Tenganese effectively guard against intermarriage with other "Bali Aga", low-status commoner groups, as well as with the residents of Banjar Pande Kelod (see Chapter Two). The case is similar in Bungaya where its "Bali Aga" immigrants are also socially and spatially marginalized. In both Tenganan and Bungaya, core villagers claim descent from a group of court officials (in the case of Tenganan, the Old-Balinese court of Bedulu, in Bungaya the case is less clear, but

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villagers generally refer to the Hindu-Javanese court of Gelgel/Klungkung). In both villages the formation of powerful descent groups is minimized. Instead, the most important criterion for elite status (i.e., core village membership) is descent from the court-linked lineages of village founders.

It may be due to the mytho-historical articulation to these court centers (rather than their often assumed isolation), that both villages were able to maintain strong border control mechanisms and a complex gerontocratic structure which minimized later political influence of the courtly domain, even indirectly through the rule of court-imposed *Pasek* and *Bendesa* groups (as in Ngis, Bugbug, Timbrah, and Asak). Bungaya's case is particularly striking as it is the village within the Tenganan network which maintains the closest ties to the royal sphere (both through kinship -- one woman from Bungaya's "core village" married into Karangasem's royal family -- and through *triwangsa* settlers within the village). Yet, as in Tenganan (which has kept itself more aloof from courtly intrusions) Bungaya's core villagers have maintained complete control over spiritual and worldly village affairs.

Kestala

Continuing along the road in a northern direction, one soon reaches Kestala (approximately 600 inhabitants) which is located three kilometers north of Bungaya (appendices A_3, F_2). Within the *mandala* network, Kestala is the only community which is not an ancient, independent *desa adat* (custom village) with its own village territory and

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adat institutions (such as a village council and *Kahyangan Tiga* temple complex). Rather it is a satellite community and ritual dependency of Tenganan. Within Bali's modern administrative system, Kestala was part of the *desa dinas* Tenganan until 1963 when (following the earlier Dutch pattern) it became incorporated (again) as a *banjar/dusun dinas* in the neighboring administrative village (*desa dinas*) of Bebandem. Only in recent years has Kestala been allocated *desa adat* status. At an altitude of 250 meters, it is located along the western border of the region's wet-rice zone. Not owning any territory of its own, it receives two sections of its *sawah* land (25 hectares)(*Tempek Sangkawan* and *Tempek Sangkanginan*) for tenant farming from Tenganan. Today, there are 105 families in Kestala who hold such share cropping contracts (which are passed on within the same families from generation to generation). Kestala is thus completely dependent on Tenganan for its economic survival.

Kestala owes its existence as a satellite community of Tenganan to a political conflict between the powerful village of Sibetan (see below) and Tenganan, believed to have taken place at the beginning of the 18th century (Korn 1984:363). In the course of this conflict, Sibetan's rulers, aspiring to form their own kingdom, invaded and attempted to annex the neighboring Tenganan territory. The rulers of Karangasem perceived this invasion as a threat to their own political power in the region and assisted Tenganan in repelling Sibetan. In return, Tenganan had to cede some of its land and political independence to the kingdom of Karangasem (Korn 1984:363), and to erect a protective

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frontier settlement, Kestala, in order to guard the northern border of its territory against further incursions. According to its inhabitants, Kestala's name is derived from its history as a borderguard outpost (*kes* = force, strength; *tala* = land, territory), thus, "a settlement to strengthen the territory" (also see Korn 1984:310,326). Even so, a major war between Sibetan and Karangasem erupted soon after, during the reign of the fifth generation of rulers of Karangasem (A.A. Ketut Agung 1991:64-65). It ended in 1758 A.D. with the defeat and death of Sibetan's ruler, I Gusti Mantu, and resulted in the annexation of his territory by the royal court of Karangasem.

Following its foundation, Kestala was settled with families from Tenganan (mostly from Banjar Pande). Over the years, it became a frontier settlement not only in the political, but also in the social sense as "less desirable" persons from Tenganan (both from the "core village" and Banjar Pande) were banished to Kestala. These expatriates were soon joined by settlers from other villages in the region (e.g., Sengkidu, Ngis, Selumbung, Bebandem, and Asak). Today, most of the immigrant families who live in Tenganan's Banjar Pande Kelod maintain kin ties with Kestala residents. In addition, Kestala continues to maintain formal ritual connections with Tenganan's "core village"[30] and close religious bonds with Banjar Pande.

As an offshoot, immigrant community of relatively recent origin, Kestala's social organization is not as tightly structured as in the other villages of the network. Until recently considered a *banjar adat* (rather than a *desa adat*), it does not have a *Krama Desa*, but rather a

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Krama Banjar, a body with a more limited field of authority. Structurally, in fact, Kestala's *Krama Banjar* closely resembles the *banjar* organization of Tenganan's Banjar Pande. Like Old-Balinese *Krama Desa* structure, it operates through seniority-based, dualistic, hierarchical positions (each position consisting of a right and left flank official).[31]

There are various descent groups (*dadia*) represented in Kestala, some of which exist, as in Tenganan, in paired forms (e.g., *Prajurit/Tangkas, Pasek Gelgel/Pulasari*) while others form single groups (e.g., *Tutuan, Dalem Agung, Bedulu, Karang Buncing, Dalem Sagening, Dukuh Mas* [an offshoot from Bugbug's *Bendesa Mas*]). Depending on these *dadia* associations, both forms of death rites, burial and cremation, are practiced in Kestala.

Sibetan

The village of Sibetan, center of a once powerful domain, is located five kilometers to the northwest of Kestala, beyond the northern border of Tenganan's territory (appendix F_2). Lying at an altitude of 380 meters along the northern edge of Karangasem's wet-rice growing region, Sibetan's economy today is largely based on large-scale *salak* production, a fruit which thrives in the colder and wetter climate of the densely forested Sibetan hills. When the kingdom of Karangasem defeated the lords of Sibetan in the 18th century (see above), they took over their territory (which had stretched as far east as Tianyar). With the introduction of the modern administrative system, the "custom vil-

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lage" (*desa adat*) of Sibetan was divided into two administrative units, the *desa dinas* of Sibetan (7,300 inhabitants), and the *desa dinas* of Jungutan. Today, the *desa dinas* of Sibetan comprises twelve *banjar dinas* (smaller administrative units) with a combined land area of 1,200 hectares (912 hectares of which are cultivated gardens under private landownership, 131 hectares of which are privately owned *sawah*, and 135 hectares of which are designated as communally owned temple land [*laba pura*], set aside for ceremonial use by the *desa adat*).

According to two local palm leaf manuscripts (*lontar*), Sibetan's beginnings reach back to the 13th century when it was called "Kuncara Giri" ("top of the mountain"). The official historical account, however, begins in the 16th century, when the village came under direct rule of the kingdom of Gelgel. This chronicle cites a rebellion or "coup d'etat" at the court of Gelgel[32] in 1657 A.D. (1579 çaka) which led to the death and flight of many court officials, among them the prime minister's pregnant daughter-in-law, Ni Gusti Ayu Singarsa, who fled to Sibetan. Hiding in the forest, she gave birth to her son, I Gusti Abian Nengan, the founder of Sibetan's ruling dynasty. According to the chronicle, after growing up, he inherited from his maternal grandfather, I Gusti Ngurah Sidemen, a part of the large terrritory which stretched from Klungkung's eastern border all the way to Bali's easternmost tip, Tianyar, Kubu, and Culik (and which strangely also included Bugbug, located far to the south), excluding the then still small kingdom of Karangasem. His son, I Gusti Mantu, who succeeded him as rightful ruler of Sibetan, inherited this territory and changed the name of Kuncara

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Giri to Sebetan ("wisdom") which over time turned to Sibetan. Eventually, the ruler of Karangasem, feeling threatened by the ever increasing popularity and power of I Gusti Mantu, especially since he carried out many public works in irrigation, road building, and temple construction, finally defeated him in 1758 A.D. with the help of the *brahmana* priest Ida Pedanda Gede Jungutan from Bungaya (see above). Subsequently the territory had come under Karangasem's authority (for an account of the conflict from the perspective of Karangasem's rulers, see A.A. Ketut Agung 1991:50-53). Under Dutch rule, the village was later divided into the two administrative units of Sibetan and Jungutan, a division which persists to this day.

One of Bali's many fledgling kingdoms which arose during the period between 1650 and 1800 A.D. (following the decline of Gelgel in 1651 A.D.)(Vickers 1989:53-64), Sibetan has received a significant number of *triwangsa* settlers. Today, there are nine *wesia* and one *brahmana* descent groups (*dadia*) in addition to the thirty commoner *dadia* (five of which are *pasek* groups). This proliferation of *dadia* (some of which are linked to larger supra-village temple networks) in Sibetan compared to the other villages in the *mandala* network reflects a greater degree of influence of Hindu-Javanese principles of social organization with their emphasis on genealogies, origin point, descent, and caste (Geertz and Geertz 1975, Boon 1977). It is thus not surprising that even the Old-Balinese principle of core village membership based on the idea of a common descent from the village founders (which, in turn, is often expressed spatially through place of residence within a certain section

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of the village) has been rephrased more narrowly in terms of specific descent group membership. Thus, only members of the *Dadia Pasek, Tangkas, Gajah Para,* and *Bendesa* are eligible for *Krama Desa* membership and form a core group which automatically excludes all later immigrants (including *triwangsa*). Furthermore, only the sons and daughters of these four elevated commoner *dadia* are allowed to join the *daha* and *teruna* youth organizations. In other words, these four descent groups maintain exclusive rights to Sibetan's *adat* organizations, responsible for carrying out the yearly cycle of village ceremonies.

While Sibetan's *dadia* structure is largely defined by hierarchical principles of status based on notions of origin point (*kawitan*), caste (*warna*), and patrilineal descent, its *krama desa* structure still exhibits an older form of social organization rooted in a more permutational, fluid conception of hierarchy, expressed through dualistically shared, seniority-based status positions. As mentioned above, council membership is limited to four descent groups and is inherited within certain core lineages of these groups. Membership is by married couple and is for life. However, if either husband or wife dies, his/her place can be filled by another family member (e.g., a sister, brother, child). If a couple becomes too old to fulfill its duties on the council, it is replaced by one of their sons (usually the first born) and his wife. If the couple is childless, a male family member from the inheritance group (*waris*) or the larger descent group (*dadia*) is chosen as a replacement.

Put another way, the Old-Balinese principle of achieved rank based on seniority has given way in Sibetan's *Krama Desa* to fixed,

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hierarchical positions which are patrilineally inherited within certain lineages. The village council consists of 14 such positions arranged into a right or eastern flank (*subak kangin*) and a left/western flank (*subak kauh*). During council meetings in Pura Puseh's *Bale Manca Negara*, the male officials sit in two long rows with the council's leader (*klian*) occupying the highest northeastern (*kaja kangin*) position. The person in the second highest position, the *penyarikan* (scribe, secretary) occupies the place across from him (i.e., the highest northwestern [*kaja kauh*] position). Seated below them are the two officials occupying the third and fourth places (*saing* and *kebayan*). The remaining ten council members follow in two rows with the two messengers (*saya*) taking up the lowest eastern and western seaward (*kelod kangin* and *kelod kauh*) positions. Each of the 14 members receives a plot of communal land (*laba pura*). Female members of the council do not participate in any of the formal meetings (*sangkep*). Seniority, as an organizing principle, has not totally disappeared from the council, however, since every four years the *kebayan* position is replaced. While the holder of this office assumes the senior advisory position of *Manten*, the occupant of the number nine position in the council moves up to become the new *kebayan*. Thus, as in Bugbug, Timbrah, and Ngis, the *Krama Desa* in Sibetan combines positions of ascribed status based on descent with offices achieved through seniority.

Sibetan occupies a strategic geopolitical location as it is situated at the northernmost edge of eastern Bali's major rice producing region. Within its territory lies *Telaga Tista* (altitude 400 meters),

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the sacred spring which feeds the rice terraces belonging to all the other villages within this watershed (including Tenganan, Bungaya, Asak, Timbrah, and Bugbug). Without doubt, the power of the lords of Sibetan was based, at least in part, on their control (in both a physical and spiritual sense) over this spring. However, as Lansing (1991) has illustrated in detail for other parts of Bali, rulers were never able to claim total control since the mechanics of irrigation lay in the hands of local *subak* (irrigation) societies, which, in turn, were organized through hierarchical networks of "water temples" which operated largely independently of state control (Lansing 1987, 1991)(see later in the chapter).

Tanah Aron

Of all the villages in the network, the *desa adat* Tanah Aron lies furthest away from Tenganan (30 kilometers by road or 20 kilometers by cross-country footpath), high up on the slopes of Gunung Agung (appendix F_2). It forms part of the *desa dinas* Budakeling, located eight kilometers downhill from it. At an altitude of 950 meters, the village is well above eastern Bali's wet-rice zone and has a much harsher and drier environment than the lower-lying settlements. Up to the 1970s, the villagers scraped a meager living from dry farming based on staple crops such as dry rice and corn. In recent years, government programs have introduced new cash crops such as coffee and vanilla in addition to onion and garlic, as well as *salak* fruit. Nevertheless, the environment supports only a few small villages which lie far apart and are often

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connected only by footpaths. Electricity is only now being introduced into this region.

Tanah Aron (approximately 300 inhabitants) derived its name from this harsh environment (*tanah* = land; *aon* = ash). In 1963, during Gunung Agung's eruption, the village's land was destroyed by volcanic ash, lava, and mud flows from the crater which lies directly above it. More than 200 people fled and took refuge in Tenganan. Some families continued to stay on in Tenganan until this day, working as tenant farmers. In 1946, this remote village was the site of a major battle between Dutch forces and Indonesian freedom fighters (for a general account of these events see Robinson 1995:chap.7).

The *desa adat* of Tanah Aron owns a territory of 180 hectares of land, 35 hectares of which are communally owned temple land (*laba pura*). Since private landownership is very unequal, many families were forced to migrate and work as tenant farmers or sharecroppers in Tenganan and also in other regions of Bali. In addition, outsiders have begun recently to purchase land in Tanah Aron since local *adat* regulations do not effectively protect village land from outside ownership.

Despite Tanah Aron's geographical remoteness from Tenganan, the two villages have maintained very close ritual ties and relations of friendship. As mentioned before, in 1963, following Gunung Agung's violent eruption, virtually the whole village of Tanah Aron fled to Tenganan and stayed for over one year before returning home to their devastated land. Throughout this long period of famine and disease, a time during which thousands of Balinese died, the Tenganese, on their

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own initiative, offered shelter and food to these refugees. Today, many people in Tanah Aron feel that had it not been for Tenganan's generous help during this time of need, they, like so many other Balinese, would have perished. It is not surprising, therefore, that Tenganan is revered in Tanah Aron as a village of great generosity as well as exceptional spiritual power. One of Tanah Aron's priests (*pemangku*) came to Tenganan in 1963 as a boy and still lives there as a tenant farmer. He expressed his sentiments as follows:

> Tenganan has always helped Tanah Aron. The people of Tanah Aron are very grateful to Tenganan which we consider as our spiritual center. The people of Tenganan gave us life, they gave us shelter, food, and fruits from their gardens. They gave us whatever we needed [following the eruption]. It is always toward Tenganan that we turn for help. This relationship is very unequal. Tanah Aron will always be deeply indebted to Tenganan. The only thing we can offer in return, is to help bring fertility to Tenganan land [rerring to the *ngantah* ceremony discussed later in this chapter]. But this comes from the gods of Tanah Aron, not the people. But it is only that [ceremony] which we can give in return to Tenganan for its help.

Yet, as I was surprised to learn, this veneration for Tenganan long preceded these events of 1963, and is, in fact, linked to the earliest mytho-historical beginnings of Tanah Aron. According to a local myth,

> once the land of Tanah Aron was very dry and infertile so that nothing would grow except wild plants. Then, one day came a holy man, a hermit. He was unmarried and he said that he was from "Tengenan" and that he lived at Bukit Bisbis near Ujung.[33] He asked the people of Tanah Aron for permission to live and meditate in their forest. After one of his meditations, rain began to fall. However, it was a strange rain, not water but very fine ash. He thus named the village "Tanah Aon" ("land of ash"). He then told the villagers that during the dry season, they should take their gods on a pilgrimage to Tenganan and to the sea, "in order to make the land fertile."

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This pilgrimage (*ngantah*) is carried out to this day (see later in this chapter).

The hermit also built the village's first temple, *Pura Batur* (which is still visited by the Tenganese on ritual occasions).[34] Several other sacred spots in the village's natural surroundings are also associated with the holy hermit from Tenganan. Following its Old-Balinese beginnings, the village later came under the influence of a new wave of settlers who were closely linked to Bali's Hindu-Javanized court centers. According to local, oral history, many new settlers arrived, among them the *Bendesa*, *Pasek*, and *Tangkas* families who set up their own *dadia* temples. At the same time, the *kahyangan tiga* temples were built, the two *banjars* (village wards) *Tempek Kaja* and *Tempek Kelod* were created, the village constitution (*awig awig*) was written and the village ceremonies were set up -- all part of the general process of Hindu-Javanization. While the village does not have any written records dating to this period of transformation, there is a later edict (*prasasti*) inscribed on 19 copper plates, kept by the local *Bendesa* family, which recounts the war between Sibetan and Karangasem (see above) and defines the new boundaries of the victorious kingdom of Karangasem.[35]

Today, most of Tanah Aron's population forms part of the mutually exclusive *Pasek*, *Bendesa*, and *Tangkas* descent groups (most villagers are thus linked to the island-wide temple networks which these groups maintain). According to local family histories, the *Pasek* and *Bendesa* groups are believed to have come to Tanah Aron from Gelgel via the villages of Sidemen and Nangka, while the *Tangkas* group is believed

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to have arrived from Tangkas via Bidbid. Whereas the *Pasek* group maintains its own *dadia* temple in the village, the *Bendesa* share their temple with the *Tangkas* descent group. In addition, there are two more descent group temples (built in Old-Balinese style with offering platforms of natural, uncut stones) belonging to two unnamed groups which are considered by the other villagers as "newcomers because they lack political importance in the village." It seems equally likely though that these are the descendants of earlier inhabitants who were increasingly marginalized by later arrivals who, due to their higher status, also attracted a greater following. Despite these social differences, all villagers follow the same death rituals[36] and quite strikingly, Tanah Aron's "elite" descent groups display much less of the "high-caste" behavior so common among the lowland villages in Tenganan's network (e.g., Bugbug, Asak, Timbrah). Some of this more "egalitarian spirit" may be attributed the village's geographical isolation, its harsher environment and scarcer natural resources, all unconducive to the development of strong, hierarchical power structures. Tanah Aron's social organization thus supports the widely accepted thesis suggested by Leach (1970) for highland Burma and by Howe (1989) for highland Bali that "hierarchical systems are only as strong or as fragile as their economic bases" (Howe 1989:63).

Neither do Tanah Aron's *Pasek* and *Bendesa* groups (generally the carriers of court-based hierarchical ideology) exhibit any of the *triwangsa*-status displays of their lowland counterparts, nor is there the Old-Balinese "core village" solution to accommodate hierarchical

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structures within a wider egalitarian social system (e.g., Tenganan, Bungaya). This social openness is also evident in Tanah Aron's *Krama Desa* structure whose membership is accessible to all "couples who reside under one roof for more than one month regardless whether they are married or have sexual relations." Such couples must "*tangkep desa*" (register as *Krama Desa* members). Members do not receive any shares in village land upon entering the council.

While council membership is open to all residents regardless of their descent, the council's three leadership positions are inherited within certain families belonging to the three dominant descent groups: *Bendesa/Penguluning Desa* (council leader and priest), *Pasek/Penyarikan* (scribe and treasurer), and *Tangkas/Pengegak Ukum* ("judge" who takes legal decisions based on the village constitution [*awig-awig*]). Each of these officials is given a houseyard and a share of rice from the communal land in return for their services. In Tanah Aron, the Old-Balinese dualistic division of paired officials has thus given way to a tripartite system. The three male leaders, during council meetings, sit next to each other (with the *Bendesa* in the middle) at the *kaja* end of the council with one official to each side. They face toward *kelod* while all the other members sit ("free style") facing toward *kaja*. Women do not participate in council meetings, nor do they inherit property such as land or homes. One male and one female child per family are eligible to join the youth organizations (*sorpe muani* and *sorpe luh*).

Tanah Aron maintains formal ritual relations only with Tenganan. Informal social ties also connect the two villages since 1963 as several

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women from Tanah Aron (whose families resided in Tenganan's gardens as tenant farmers) have married into both the "core village" and Banjar Pande.

THE 'VILLAGE MANDALA'S' CENTER-PERIPHERY RELATIONS

Like state-level *mandalic* structures (Tambiah 1976:69), Tenganan's inter-village network is predicated on a combination of cosmological, geographical, and economic features. However, unlike "galactic states" which use these elements as conceptual frameworks to build up hierarchical, political structures, Tenganan's village network (which was once itself a part of a larger Balinese *mandalic* state) deemphasizes these hierarchical ramifications of center-periphery relations. Instead, a horizontal image of graded potency harmonizes with Old-Balinese conceptions of political, economic, and social processes (based on the notion of core groups, shared ritual and political authority, and communal landownership). Thus, while Tenganan's centrality undoubtedly implies hierarchy, this hierarchy is not absolute as each of the eight villages which forms its periphery, is an independent *desa adat* and thus has its own sphere of ritual and socio-economic autonomy. In other words, we are dealing here with a hierarchy built on dualistic reciprocity rather than exclusive, monopolistic power. The *mandala* image which serves to draw the semi-autonomous *desa adat* together into a larger, regional network, is ultimately a highly fragmentary and composite concept, not reducible to a single organizing feature. Loosely

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articulated, often overlapping, organizational frames combine diverse elements of cosmology and ritual, geography and topography, hydrology, reciprocal exchange, ancestor cults and temples, mythology and history (see also note 1). Although such a conceptualization of Balinese social complexity is hardly new or original (e.g., see Geertz' famous and seminal [1959] article on Balinese village structure, and MacRae's [1995] description of Ubud's cultural networks), it may be surprising to Bali scholars to find such variation and complexity in an Old-Balinese context. Old-Balinese culture, as I have encountered it in eastern Bali, and as the remainder of this chapter will illustrate, is much more adaptable, flexible, and permeable than it has often been portrayed in the anthropological literature. By forming a network of inter-village ritual, social, and economic alliance, these villages were able to increase, independently as well as collectively, their spheres of power and autonomy vis-à-vis the encompassing state, as well as the "new style" (i.e., Hindu-Javanese) villages which are interspersed within the same geographic area. Despite the many changes which have affected eastern Bali over the past centuries, this network has remained a viable instrument for the participating villages to maintain institutions and values central to Old-Balinese identity, while at the same time engaging in wider Balinese social, economic, religious, and political processes. Following are the most salient ritual, social, and economic features of the network's center-periphery relations.

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1. Sacred Geography

In Bali, as in other Hinduized regions of Southeast Asia, concepts of "geography" and "topography" exceed their direct and immediate secular connotations partaking of a *mandalic* model of nature and society (Tambiah 1976). This idealized conception of the world combines both dualistic and centric principles of organization. In cosmogenic representations of Bali, for example, the natural landscape is often rearranged to fit Indic inspired, cosmological models. Gunung Agung (lit. "great mountain") becomes *Mahameru*, holy mountain and seat of the gods, which, despite its actual, off-center geographic location, constitutes the cosmological center of the island, the "axis of the world" and ultimate point of orientation for every Balinese (for the juxtaposition of Bali's geographic and cosmogenic representations see Rein 1994:70-71).

Viewed from a horizontal perspective, Bali's "sacred topography" symbolizes the eight-directional, *mandalic nawa sanga* with Gunung Agung at its center surrounded by lesser, sacred mountains each associated with a particular, directional deity. This horizontal image is then overlaid, with a vertical image dividing the world into three tiers. First is the uranic sphere of the "upper world" (*swah loka*) represented by the heavens and high mountains, where gods (*betara*), deified ancestors (*dewata*), and purified souls (*pitara*) reside. Second, and dualistically opposed, lies the chthonian sphere of the "under

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world" (*bhur loka*), geographicallly represented by the oceans and crevices inhabited by evil spirits and demons (*buta, kala*)(Covarrubias:chap.9; Eiseman 1990:chap.1). Mediating between these poles is the "middle world" (*bhuwah*), the material, physical realm of life inhabited by humans.

The (often invisible) forces which shape this "middle world" originate outside of it, in the upper and lower realms. Thus, to the Balinese, the middle world, despite -- or perhaps because of its physicality -- is *Maya*, the world of illusion (Lansing 1983:52). It is dotted with "sacred spots" or "power points", areas of potential turbulance, where the forces of the upper and lower worlds cross and meet. Through ritual, these forces become temporarily visible, momentarily lifting the veil of illusion. Temples, small shrines, or simple offering platforms dot the Balinese landscape, marking such potential "hot spots" (e.g., cross roads, confluence of rivers, sacred trees, oddly shaped stones, etc.). Proper alignment with these supernatural forces is expressed through spatial orientation and layouts (of the body, houseyards, temples, villages, and towns) and is crucial for every Balinese, as a simple geographical mistake may become a cosmological error provoking anger and retaliation from the supernatural spirits with serious consequences for humans.

While this sketchy account can hardly offer more than a glimpse into the complexities and multivalent symbolism of Balinese conceptions of space and cosmology (for more comprehensive treatments see Hooykaas 1964, Lansing 1983, Hauser-Schäublin 1993, Eiseman 1990), it may suffice

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to place Tenganan's village-*mandala* into the wider context of "sacred geography". As outlined in Chapter Two, the Tenganese perceive their village cosmogenically as a *mandala*, a sacred "core" space, internally divided by the grid of intersecting streets, and externally delimited by the four gates acting as protective shields. Beyond this *mandalic* core lie the cultivated gardens and the cemeteries, representing a sort of twilight zone, a transitional space between the inhabited, tightly structured area of the village and the unstructured wilderness of the forests (also see Rein 1993:70-71). Even further beyond lie the eight surrounding villages, radiating outward in all the cardinal directions, connected to Tenganan through the power lines of ritual, social, and economic relations and thus integrating center and periphery into a graded, yet unified, domain of power. The Tenganese "core villagers" consider it to be their responsibility to keep this power flowing, pulsating outward from the center. The peripheral villages are responsible for its return flow. I now turn to the institutional frameworks through which this reciprocal flow of power is channelled.

A precondition for the unobstructed flow of power is, in the Tenganese view, the efforts of the "core village" to maintain the sanctity of the whole village territory. Ceremonial visits to its multitude of temples, shrines, and sacred stones, scattered throughout the village and its surrounding territory (appendix A_4), by members of the *adat* organizations periodically activate these power points. Offerings placed there harmonize the world of humans with the supernatural forces of the under- and upper worlds, restoring unity and balance. These

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ritual visits, which take place on specific days throughout the yearly ritual cycle, also serve to familiarize the younger members of the community with Tenganan's wide-reaching territory, to instill in them the spirit of "*trihitakarana*" (harmony between the individual, society, and nature), and to teach them respect and love for nature. The Tenganese today self-consciously protect their natural environment against human encroachment through a comprehensive system of local *adat* regulations, just as their ancestors did, and in 1989 the village received the prestigious *kalpa taru* award for nature conservation from the national government. This environmental sensitivity grows out of a ritual tradition that depends on a large variety of plants which grow on Tenganan land. In addition, the forests surrounding the village have augmented the community's subsistence base for hundreds of years. Sustainable management of natural resources is dependent on such long-term thinking and is enforced through a comprehensive code of written and unwritten customary laws (*adat*).

The process of learning the sacred geography of Tenganan's territory is best exemplified in the year-long *teruna nyoman* ceremonial cycle, in the course of which "core village" boys become fully initiated into the bachelor organization of their fathers and patrilineal, male ancestors. It takes place at irregular intervals (usually every five to seven years), once there is a large enough group of boys about ten to 15 years of age.[37] Throughout 19 months of initiation, the boys are placed under the spiritual guidance of the *mekel* (ritual leader), an unmarried young man chosen from the priestly *Sanghyang* lineage, who is responsible

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for their training in rituals, ethics, and etiquette. Preparations begin on the day of full moon of the first month (*purnama sasih kasa*) of the Tenganan calendar when the boys, at midnight, perform their first ritual visit to *Pura Puseh* in order to pray (*mebakti*) and request the blessings (*apang selamat*) from *Betara Pura Puseh*. They then sleep on the temple grounds, returning home the next morning before sunrise. During the following seven months, every three days (each day of *beteng*), the group journeys to a different temple within the Tenganan territory (see appendix A_4). Since some of these lie far away and can only be reached along isolated, mountainous footpaths, the boys' courage and endurance is put to a test. They must be careful not to be seen by anyone during their nightly excursions which end at the beginning of the eighth month with a final visit to *Pura Puseh*, when a special offering of *betel* fruits (*sajen base pamit*) is presented to the God of the temple along with requests for his blessings of the upcoming ceremonies. Then, on the day of full moon of the eighth month (*purnama sasih kolu*), the actual 12-month cycle of initiation begins. Within the next two weeks (between full moon and new moon) a series of climactic rituals transform the initiates from their highly vulnerable stage of "*ketekung*" (caterpillar inside its cocoon), during which the boys are not allowed to leave the safe space within the four village gates, into beautiful, large night butterflies or moths (*sumangyang*).[38] Only after this transformation has been completed are the initiates allowed to leave the village area.

Throughout the initiation year, the boys must sleep in their leader's house, serving him politely and addressing him in high lan-

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guage. They must wear ritual clothing called *pekemit* (lit."protection") consisting of a wrapped, calf length *batik* or *ikat* cloth (*kamben*) covered which a shorter black and white patterned cloth (*saput gotia*) and held by a woven belt tied in the symbolic manner of a cross (*sabuk tubuhan*). The costume is completed by a dagger (*keris, kadutan*) stuck in the belt, and a blowpipe (*tulupan*). The boys must also participate in all the rituals taking place in the meeting houses (*petemu*) of their bachelor organizations (*seka teruna*) and are formally introduced to the members of the three girls' organizations (*seka daha*), learning of their rituals and sacred objects. On certain ritual occasions they accompany the girls on their ceremonial visits to the outlying temples. Meanwhile, the young *teruna* continue to be instructed by their leader and senior peers in the complex Tenganan rituals, learning by heart the sacred, archaic texts (*sambodana*) and chants (*kidung*). (In former times, the boys also had to participate in the rice harvest in order to gain knowledge about the agricultural cycle.)

At the end of the initiation cycle, the young *teruna* take leave from their leader, promising to serve him throughout their lives, and are reminded by him to become responsible members of the community, respecting its ritual and social institutions for the benefit of the whole village. Thereafter they undergo additional life-cycle rituals before reaching adulthood and joining the inner community as "core villagers," obliged to preserve their village's sacred institutions and territory for future generations (for further description of the *teruna nyoman* ceremonies see Ramseyer 1978:104-107).

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2. Topography

Bali's geography, history, politics, economy, and social networks have all been shaped by its topography (appendix H1). Along the center of the island, a range of volcanic peaks stretches in an east-west direction partitioning it into a northern and southern half. Smaller mountain ridges divided by steep river gorges run longitudinally from this central volcanic spine toward the sea to the north and south, creating narrow, pie-shaped slices (appendix H2). In southern Bali, each longitudinal section forms a geographical, political, social, and economic unit, its valley settlements being closely connected to one another. By contrast, communication across the parallel sections is difficult, even today, as the road system continues to follow the old pattern of north-south connections. As Geertz has noted, Bali's pre-colonial, political processes were strongly shaped by this topography, giving rise to power struggles among many small, competing "galactic polities" (Tambiah 1976) defined by these two geo-political elements: cross-valley (east-west) interregional combat, and up-and downstream (north-south), intra-valley rivalry (Geertz 1980:21).

Within this wider geopolitical context (Geertz 1980, Vickers 1989, Boon 1977, Schulte Nordholt 1996), Tenganan's inter-village network encompasses a radius of approximately 20 kilometers and stretches across three parallel, neighboring valleys in an east-west direction, and from the southern coastal plain up to the high slopes of

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Gunung Agung in a north-south direction. Yet this village network followed an agenda very different from the pre-colonial states. Rather than competition, it maximizes cross-valley and uphill-downhill cooperation. It encompasses a large variety of terrains and several contrastive ecosystems, from the hot, dry coastal regions, through the irrigated, gently sloping rice-paddies, to the tropical mountain forests and the upper slopes of Gunung Agung with their cool climate and sparse vegetation. A great diversity of natural products grows within this region, ranging from timber and other forest products to a plentitude of seasonal, tropical fruits and intensively cultivated food crops. Many of these products form part of a ritual exchange system which is centered on Tenganan (i.e., villages within the network exchange with Tenganan, but not necessarily with each other). These formalized exchanges fall into two general categories: (1) the reciprocal, non-hierarchical, ritual exchange system called *warang* connecting Tenganan to the non-rice producing villages within the network, and (2) the hierarchical, irrigation-centered, feudal-like system of power relations which tie the network's rice-producing, peripheral villages to the Tenganese landowners residing in the *mandala's* center.

Warang: A System of Reciprocal, Inter-Village Power Relations

In Bali, social and economic relations are often carried out within an encompassing framework of ritual obligations. As Geertz (1972:37) has noted:

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> The Balinese have a passion -- that is the only word for it -- for organizing everything into specifically focused, highly corporate, structurally articulate, mutually independent, autonomous groups and then seeking to adjust relations among them in terms of a highly developed ritual system. This way of "doing things" runs through the entire society, from kinship and village organization to temple worship and state structure.

The *warang* [39] system described here differs from other Balinese socio-ritual networks which tend to be centered on specific temple- or descent groups (often based on notions of a common origin)(e.g., Geertz and Geertz 1975, Reuter 1995). *Warang* relations always involve entire villages (*desa adat*), rather than specific groups within them, and are organized through the village councils and youth organizations. Each village in the network stresses its own independent origin, history, and socio-ritual sphere of autonomy. Tenganan maintains bilateral *warang* relations with the *desa adat* of Ngis, Dauh Tukad, and Tanah Aron. Tenganan's daughter community of Kestala, which also participates in these *warang* relations, is an exception to the pattern in some respects. As already noted, Kestala is not an independent, old village but rather a secondary off-shoot settlement, ritually and economically greatly dependent on Tenganan. In addition, Kestala is the only *warang* community located within the wet-rice producing zone with an economy based almost entirely on rice-production. Its linkages to Tenganan are therefore of a dual nature: (1) through the reciprocal, ritual patterns of *warang*, and (2) through the hierarchical relations based on hydrology (see following section in this chapter).

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Bilateral *warang* relations between Tenganan and each of its partner villages are ideologically represented as non-hierarchical and mutually cooperative. They are expressed through reciprocal, formal visits by members of the respective *adat* organizations on the occasion of the great village ceremonies, as well as through mutual assistance on communal projects, such as the construction or restoration of temples and communal buildings. In such cases, assistance may be given, always free of charge, in the form of materials (for example timber and forest products which may be in short supply in a given village at a given time), or in the form of labor and/or expertise. In addition, informal, kinship-based relations have developed out of *warang* whereby women from Ngis, Tanah Aron, and Dauh Tukad have married into Tenganan's "core village." Following are some specific examples of the institutional frameworks through which these ritual and material exchanges are organized.

In the case of Tenganan, *warang* relations are carried out through its three bachelor organizations acting on behalf of the *Krama Desa*. The manner in which these relations are structured may indicate their historical sequence. Thus, Tenganan's most senior bachelor organization, the *Teruna Temu Kelod* ("bachelor organization of the seaward meeting house") maintains *warang* relations with Tanah Aron; its second most senior *teruna* organization, the *Teruna Temu Tengah* ("bachelor organization of the center meeting house") with the *Krama Desa* and *Teruna* organizations of Ngis and Dauh Tukad; and Tenganan's junior bachelor organization, the *Teruna Temu Kaja* ("bachelor organization of the mountainward meeting house") with Kestala.

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To illustrate the formal and informal aspects of *Warang*, let us first consider the case of Ngis. During Tenganan's fifth month ceremonies (*Usaba Sambah*), members of the *Krama Desa* come to Ngis to collect its obligatory contribution to the ceremonies. This tribute or tax is referred to in Tenganan as *rampag* (from *ngerampag* = to fetch) and in Ngis as as *"kelapa pengalo"* (*kelapa* = coconut; *pengalo* refers to a special offering which is made in Ngis and brought to Tenganan on the day of the water buffalo sacrifice, see below). It consists of 200 coconuts and *daun naga sari* (special leaves unavailable in Tenganan which are used by the female council members as hair ornaments during the *Usaba Sambah*) which the village of Ngis, according to traditional *adat* law (Tenganan's *awig-awig*, article 13), must submit to Tenganan (Tenganan collected a similar tax from the neighboring village of Pekarangan up to the 1960s, when Pekarangan unilaterally severed its ties to Tenganan [see also Korn 1984:367]).

Several days later, two members of the *Krama Desa Ngis* are inivited to assist in Tenganan's *Mati Ombo* ritual, the sacrifice of a male water buffalo (according to Ngis' oral history, Tenganan's herds of sacred buffaloes originally came from Ngis). On this occasion the *Krama Desa* members from Ngis present the *pengalo* (from *halau* = caretaker of lifestock) offering at Tenganan's *Bale Agung*. (It is believed that the deity Ida Betara Sangyang Raja Purana is the owner of the buffaloes, and that his blessings must be obtained before the animal can be sacrificed.) In olden days, this offering was placed on the ground and the first male buffalo to eat from it become the sacrificial victim.

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Today, the animal is selected several days before the ritual by the *Krama Desa* members of Tenganan, and taken to Tenganan's *Pura Raja Purana* and *Pura Kandang* (*kandang* = enclosure where lifestock is kept) to ask permission of the respective deities for the sacrifice. Several days later, the members of Ngis' bachelor organization are invited to participate in the *Kare-Kare* ritual fight organized by the *Teruna Temu Tengah*, which forms the climax of Tenganan's *sambah* ceremonies. In return, Tenganan is asked to assist in Ngis' greatest ritual, the *tabuh gentuh* ceremony which occurs approximately every 30 years, offering one water buffalo for sacrifice as well as capital and materials.

Informal ties also connect both villages. Many Tenganese families maintain ritual affiliations with two deities from Ngis, *Betara Gede Dangin* and *Betara Bagus Pejenengan*, maintaining house shrines (*sanggah kaja*) for them.[40] Social ties between both villages are further strengthened through affinal links. Moreover, up to the 1950s, intermarriage between Tenganan "core village" men and Ngis women were the only exception to Tenganan's strict endogamy laws (Breguet 1980:60-66). Finally, both villages assist each other with building materials for the construction of temples and public buildings (e.g., Tenganan obtains *alang-alang* grass for roofing from Ngis, while Ngis asks Tenganan to provide valuable *nangka* wood [Bal. *ketewel* = jackfruit tree] and mahogany wood). While the people of Ngis are proud to stress that their relationship with Tenganan is non-hierarchical, Ngis does occupy an economically dependent position vis-à-vis Tenganan, as 146 of its families derive their livelihood as tenant farmers on Tenganan land.

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Sometimes *warang* relations extend beyond the ritual framework into the fields of humanitarian assistance and crisis management, as exemplified by Tenganan's relations with Tanah Aron. Recall that this village is furthest away from Tenganan located on the remote, upper slopes of Gungung Agung. *Warang* relations between the two villages developed out of the mytho-historical connection described earlier in this chapter and are formally carried out through Tenganan's *Teruna Temu Kelod*, the bachelor organization of which the holy hermit was believed to have been a member. This mythical relationship is renewed every year when a Tenganese delegation comes to Tanah Aron for the *Usaba Ngapat* ceremonies, while members of the *Krama Desa* Tanah Aron visit Tenganan for the closing ceremony (*nyajah*) of *Usaba Sambah*. The highpoint in this ritual exchange occurs every seven years during Tanah Aron's *Usaba Goreng* ceremonies[41] when all of its village gods are brought in a great procession (*ngantah*) to Tenganan and then to the beach and the nearby temples, *Pura Candi Dasa* and *Pura Batu Madeg*. After presenting prayers and offerings at these sacred spots, the pilgrims return to Tenganan where they are offered food and accomodation for the night. The Tenganese join their guests with prayers and offerings for a plentiful harvest.

During one of these ceremonies (*narat*), rice grains provided by Tenganan are blessed and given to all tenant farmers who later sow them in Tenganan's fields guaranteeing their fertility. It is further believed that the land through which the *ngantah* procession passes during its long journey will be blessed with fertility. To underline the

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reciprocity of these ceremonial relations, a few days after this visit, a Tenganese delegation (made up of members from the *Krama Desa* and *Teruna Temu Kelod*) comes to Tanah Aron in order to participate in the *Usaba Goreng* ceremonies there. To the people of Tanah Aron, this *ngantah* pilgrimage is of great significance, not only because it keeps their spiritual ties with Tenganan alive, but because it offers them the only means to reciprocate for the generous humanitarian help which they received from Tenganan in 1963 following the eruption of *Gunung Agung* (as mentioned earlier in this chapter).

This case illustrates the flexibility of *warang* relations which, during a moment of crisis, developed into an efficient emergency support system organized entirely on the village-level without assistance from relief agencies or government institutions. Today, both villages continue to maintain close ties of friendship, assisting each other with the exchange of building materials (e.g., the high-altitude *cemara* pine wood, the traditional building material for Tenganan's large, ritual swings [*anyunan*], is provided by Tanah Aron, while Tenganan had offered *cempaka* wood for the seats [*joli*] of Tanah Aron's gods, new *geringsing* cloth for the wrapping of the god symbols after the old wrappings were stolen or destroyed in 1963, as well as highly valued black palm fibre and other materials for the rebuilding of Tanah Aron's temples).

Another important extension of ritual *warang* into the socio-economic field concerns the labor relations between Tenganan and its partner-villages. As already alluded to in the cases of Ngis and Tanah Aron, a large portion of Tenganan's tenant farmers in charge of

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cultivating the village's dry land, is drawn from its *warang* partner-villages. Tenganan's small population in relation to a large and spread-out village territory, and *adat* system requiring "core villagers" to make themselves available at all times for communal and ritual duties, render the village heavily dependent on the surrounding communities for agricultural work and other forms of manual labor. For example, the neighboring *warang* partner-village of Dauh Tukad provides much of Tenganan's non-agricultural work force for construction and domestic labor. Similarly, Kestala residents, in addition to sharecropping part of Tenganan's *sawah* land (see below), constitute a reserve pool of labor on which Tenganan can draw at any time.

These forms of labor are contractual and are set apart from the mutual obligations carried out under *warang* which are restricted to ritual contexts and are always given free of charge. For example, materials and labor provided by the *adat* institutions for construction of communal buildings and temples are offered freely and formalized through mutual, ritual visits on the occasion of each village's *sambah* ceremonies. Despite this distinction between contractual and ritual labor, however, the *warang* system tends to imbue all forms of socio-economic relations with a veil of ritual significance. This works in the interests of Tenganan which is thereby legitimized and maintained as a ritual community, supported by a feudal-like system of landownership. But it also works to the advantage of the peripheral, economically dependent villages, as it offers tenant farmers and laborers an ideology

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for non-hierarchical, ritual reciprocity which helps them negotiate patron-client bonds.

Because *warang* relations also provide an institutional, formal framework for ad-hoc risk-sharing and humanitarian assistance in times of crisis, they bear out some of the basic premises of the "moral economy" model offered by Scott (1976) in which the rights of landlords and tenant farmers are negotiated and morally framed (e.g., Keyes 1983, Feeny 1983). Certainly *warang* is an alliance between the *adat* institutions of autonomous, geographically dispersed villages which share a common Old-Balinese, cultural foundation, for the purpose of mutual assistance and cooperation. In addition, the *warang* network helps in the preservation and invigoration of communally-based, Old-Balinese village institutions.

Hydrology: A Hierarchical System of Power

Whereas *warang* relations ideologically emphasize non-hierarchical reciprocity and complementarity and are primarily restricted to the ritual exchanges between Tenganan and those villages in the network that are located outside the wet-rice belt of eastern Bali, a different set of formalized ritual and economic ties link Tenganan to the rice-producing villages of this alliance. These connections are based on property relations, hydrology and irrigation, and ritualized through a complex cult focused on rice (Rein 1994) and on the flow of irrigation water (Lansing 1991). Decidedly hierarchical power

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relations pervade the interactions between Tenganan -- a village of landowners -- and the peripheral villages Bugbug, Asak, Timbrah, Bungaya, and Kestala which provide the workforce for the cultivation of Tenganan's *sawah* fields. These relations are structured on three different levels: (1) the mechanical/technological level, (2) the administrative level, and (3) the symbolic/ritual level.

As mentioned earlier, Tenganan's territory, in addition to its 583 hectares of dry land (*tegalan*), encompasses 256 hectares of irrigated land (*sawah*), all of which lies beyond the eastern hill (*Bukit Kangin*), within the heartland of eastern Bali's rice growing region (appendix H_3). These rice fields, 63% of which are communally owned, are cultivated by farmers from the above mentioned villages.[42] As in the rest of Bali, these farmers are organized into *subak* (irrigation) societies responsible exclusively for the agricultural, technological, and ritual aspects of irrigated rice farming[43] (for Bali see Grader 1984; Geertz 1972; Lansing 1987,1991; for Tenganan see Korn 1984:325-328; Français 1989:113-126).

Contrary to popular perception, Tenganan's village constitution does not forbid the "core villagers" to engage in agricultural work. However, the geographical distance of the rice paddies from Tenganan, difficult access across hilly terrain, and the heavy ritual and communal requirements of all "core villagers" have prevented the Tenganese from being directly involved in the mechanical aspects of wet-rice cultivation. The result is a division of labor in which the physical work and some of the corresponding rituals are carried out by two organizations

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of sharecroppers (*sekaha penyakap* or *sekaha subak*),[44] while supervisory and administrative tasks lie in the hands of the Tenganese land owners who are organized into *sekaha carik* (also referred to as *duwen desa sekaha* or *sekaha suci)*[45] -- committees with ultimate authority over all aspects of the rice cultivation process.

Sharecropping rights to Tenganan's communal and private *sawah* land are generally passed on from generation to generation within individual families of farmers who are residents of these peripheral villages. Since the 1960s,[46] a series of land reforms has renegotiated the access of landless peasants to land, increased the size of their shares from one-third to one-half of the crop, and limited the maximum amount of irrigated land one person can own to 7.5 hectares. Before these reforms, the sharecropper's position was highly precarious, the moreso because landowners could terminate sharecropping contracts unilaterally. Today, such a termination of contract must be approved by the entire *sekaha penyakap.*

These productive relations of rice agriculture are interwoven with a ritual cult centered on fertility and irrigation. Within Tenganan's village network these rituals occur simultaneously at three ascending levels of organization: (1) at the individual village level, (2) at the inter-village level, and (3) at the regional level.

At the village level, until the "green revolution" of the 1970s, and the introduction of fast-growing hybrid strains of rice, Tenganan's yearly ritual cycle was closely coordinated with the natural cycles of planting, growing, and harvesting. The first crop of rice of a fast

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growing variety (*padi cicih*) was planted in the second month of the Tenganan calendar after the *Usaba Kasa* (rituals of the first month). These rituals celebrate the fruit season (through a plentitude of fruit offerings) as well as the beginning of the rice-growing cycle (symbolized by the *rejang* dances of the "rice souls" performed by young girls; Rein 1994). The planting of rice was marked by the *neduh* ritual to stimulate the growth of the young plants. Harvest time coincided with the month-long *sambah* ceremonies of the fifth month, in the course of which all communal granaries were emptied as the remainder of the last year's crop was used for communal, ceremonial consumption.

Specific ritual elements of *Usaba Sambah* are related to the cycle of growth and decay of both humans and plants (e.g., rituals involving the great swings [*anyunan*][47] and the sacrifice of the water buffalo). The climax of the *sambah* ceremonies consists of a ritual fight (*kare-kare*) whereby male opponents hit each other with spiky *pandanus* leaves. This ritual drawing of human blood (accompanied also by ritual cockfighting) used to take place just prior to harvesting (i.e., the sacrifice of the rice plant). After the end of the *sambah* ceremonies, the newly harvested rice was brought to the village. The harvest derived from communally owned land was stored in the communal granaries, and rice from privately-owned land was distributed to the individual shareholders. After a fallow period of a month, the second crop was planted in the seventh month and was ready for harvest in the tenth month, marked by the pre-harvest *mapak* ritual and the post-harvest *tangung tangungan* thanksgiving ceremony (see below). This second harvest was

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reserved for the yearly shares *(tika)* of the *Krama Desa* members. This agricultural cycle of two rice crops per year was preceded, however, by an even older system (*kertamasa*) based on one wet (rice) and one dry (e.g., peanuts) crop per year.

Up until the beginning of this century, the villages of Timbrah, Asak, Bungaya, and possibly Bugbug, all held similar *sambah* rituals which included the use of large, eight-seat, ritual swings (*anyunan*) and the sacrifice of a water buffalo. Due to the rising costs of these rituals, however, the month-long *Usaba Sambah* were replaced with the 5-day *Usaba Sumbu* which, nevertheless, has retained many of the fertility and harvest-related symbolism (e.g., one of the highlights of Bugbug's *Usaba Sumbu* is the *Aci Manggung*, a ritual whereby a bundle of rice sheaves is carried in a circle while palm wine [*tuak*] is poured out in front of it, symbolizing the fertilization of the rice goddess Dewi Sri, followed by a (sometimes hilarious) "fertility dance" between the old priestesses of the village with the young bachelors [*teruna*]).

At the inter-village leve, in the past, these *sambah* celebrations offered the opportunity for formalized, ritual visits between Tenganan and those villages in the network which provide the physical labor for its rice fields. In the case of Timbrah, the highlight of its *sambah* ceremonies was a pilgrimage *(ngantah)* to Tenganan, a custom which has long been discontinued.[48] Similarly, there are still stories which tell of ritual visits of the Tenganese to Bungaya.[49] In addition to such orally transmitted memories, the continued existence of shrines in the villages of Timbrah, Asak, Bungaya, and Bugbug, attributed to Tenganan

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deities, are remnants of a complex *sambah*-focused network that once tied the *adat* institutions of these villages to the landowning center, Tenganan.[50]

Beyond these bilateral ties between Tenganan and each of the rice-producing villages within its *mandala* complex, there is a larger, region-wide network of "water temples" (Lansing 1987,1991) -- a traditional system of water management -- linking all the *subak* organizations and villages of the watershed into a hierarchical system of productive and ritual relations. Lansing has argued that this "water temple" system provided a traditional, centralized mechanism for irrigation management, separate from the state. His study contradicts earlier views of Balinese wet-rice production as a last, surviving example of Wittfogel's model of the "hydraulic state" (Avinieri 1969:456; Wittfogel 1957:53-54; both quoted in Lansing 1987:326), as well as Geertz' *subak* focused, piecemeal approach to Balinese irrigation (Geertz 1972). Lansing's major insight is that the role of "water temples," as "managers of the regional terrace eco-system," far exceeds their religious, or symbolic functions. Instead, he has argued, by coordinating water distribution and planting schedules across whole regions, the hierarchical network of "water temples" is intimately involved in productive relations. As previous studies had focused either on the state or on *subak* societies as the operators of the system, the existence of larger "water temple" networks and their instrumental role in water management had been overlooked (not only by scholars but also by development planners and bureaucrats who continue to dismantle this traditional system, substituting modern,

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intensive production methods (Lansing 1987:339, 1991:chap.6). As a result, the instrumental role of "water temples" is becoming more and more restricted, and ritual and agricultural cycles are falling more and more out of synch. Today, in Tenganan's inter-village network, rituals organized by "water temples" are tuned to the rice-growing cycle only at the lower levels of the system. Rituals at the higher-level, regional temples are more and more infrequent and are in danger of being discontinued all together.

Starting at the top of the hierarchical system, "water temples" which serve Tenganan as well as all the other *subak* systems located within this watershed are in descending order as follows.

1. Pura Ulun Danu Songan:

At the highest, hierarchical level of the system, there are two temples, both devoted to the "goddess of the lake" and located high in the mountains, near the large *Batur* crater lake, Bali's ultimate, symbolic source of all irrigation water (Lansing 1991). The larger and more important temple, *Pura Ulun Danu Batur* (the focus of Lansing's study), serves the rice-fields of the south central region (Gianyar, Badung, and Bangli), while *Pura Ulun Danu Songan* heads the "water temples" of the eastern regions of Klungkung and Karangasem. In contrast to *Pura Ulun Danu Batur* which still plays a vital role in coordinating the large irrigation systems of central Bali (Lansing 1987, 1991), *Pura Ulun Danu*'s function today is largely symbolic (since eastern Balinese irrigation networks are much smaller, this highest, supra-regional level of coordination may always have been of lesser importance).

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2. Pura Bangkak:

This is the highest, regional "water temple" serving all rice fields within a single watershed in the Karangasem area (including all the villages in Tenganan's network)(appendix H2). It is located near the spring *Telaga Tista*, close to the village of Sibetan, which supplies the irrigation water for all the rice fields along its major water channel, the *Buhu* river. This temple's function is similar to the *Ulun Swi* (Head of the Terraces) or *Masceti* temples in central Bali (Lansing 1987:330). The highest, regional "water" ritual, the *Usaba Bangkak*, is performed at this temple ideally in 12 year intervals (however, in actuality, the ceremony is becoming even less frequent, the last one having been performed in 1981). The *adat* institutions of the following villages participate, in addition to the host village of Sibetan: Macang, Timbrah, Asak, Bungaya, Prasi, Bugbug, and Tenganan. In the case of Tenganan, the participants are the *Krama Desa* and the *Sekaha Carik* (the shareholders' committees).

The climax of the ritual consists in the sacrifice of a water buffalo, which used to be offered by the royal house of Karangasem.[51] After the animal has been killed with a *kris* by the *Klian Desa* of Sibetan in the *Pura Bale Agung*, its body is split open and spread out flat. Then cloths of different colors supplied by all the participating villages[52] are arranged on the animal's body in a mandalic pattern inspired by the *nawa sanga*.[53] This offering is then consecrated to the God of *Pura Bangkak* and the Goddess of the Lake, *Dewi Danu* "who makes the waters flow" (see also Lansing 1991:73-77). Tenganan's contribution

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of a *geringsing* cloth is placed in the highest and most central position within the offering. Its combination of the three sacred colors and double-ikat method of weaving symbolizes the very essence of the whole offering and ceremony, namely to create "oneness" through the symbolic reintegration of all the constituent elements within the "irrigation cosmos," and thus bestows fertility and prosperity on the land. In the social context, the *geringsing's* central position alludes to Tenganan's central role as the major landowner within this regional, hydraulic network.

In addition to this largest, 12-year cycle of regional ceremonies, there are annual rituals linking all the villages within the irrigation network. *Usaba Maturan Pekelem* takes place at the near-by small spring lake of *Telaga Tista* (which is believed to be owned by the God of *Pura Bangkak*), and *Maturan Tangung Tangungan* is a thanksgiving ritual performed by the members of the *Krama Desa* of all the participating villages. Tenganan's members of the *Krama Desa* join the other villages in bringing *pemuja tanggung tanggungan* [54] (offerings consisting of bundles of rice sheaves suspended from a carrying pole) to the top of *Gunung Agung* during one year, and *Pura Besakih* (Bali's highest ranking temple) during the next year, followed by ritual visits to *Ulun Yeh Telaga Tista*, and, for the Tenganese, to *Pura Dalem Pengastulan* in Bedulu, and *Pura Sri* in Tenganan. In Tenganan, this five-year cycle is called "*memargi*" ("to walk"), and is followed by another five-year cycle referred to as "*ngubeng*" ("to stay in place") during which the local, Tenganese subsidiaries of Bali's major temples are visited.[55]

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3. Pura Subak:

This temple, serving one whole *subak*, is a new addition to eastern Bali's hierarchy of "water temples." Following government reforms with their attempts of standardization, this level of ritual organization was recently added in the Karangasem region. It corresponds to the central Balinese *Ulun Carik* (head of fields) temple and is used for rituals carried out by the *sekaha subak*.

4. Bedugul:

This is a small temple at the location where irrigation water is channelled from a larger canal (*jelingjing*) into smaller canals (*cakangan*) serving the individual terraces. There may be one or several of these temples in each *tempek* (organizational unit connecting several terraces, see note 45), depending on its size. Rituals associated with the growing cycle of the rice plants[56] are carried out by the farmers whose fields are located in this *tempek*. In the case of Tenganan, these life stage rituals for rice plants are conducted by the sharecroppers. In some cases, the offerings required for these rituals are provided by the Tenganese landowners.

5. Sanggah:

This is a small shrine made of bamboo or cement which is located in each individual *sawah* (plot) where the farmer may place his offerings during each major stage in the rice-growing cycle.

For the Balinese, as for other peoples of Southeast Asia, agricultural work is not merely the performance of technical tasks, but rather "a meaningful series of interactions between social groups and

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the natural world... structured by the sequence of agricultural rites" (Lansing 1991:6). In the case of Tenganan's inter-village network, the process of wet-rice production engages power relations between land-owners and tenant farmers, between irrigation societies and village institutions, and between "water temples" and their congregations. No one group can claim total control over irrigation: all are an integral part of the interlocking *mandalas* of power.

Today, however, this complex web of inter-village relations is in imminent danger of being torn apart. There are currently rumors of a development plan which would convert substantial areas of this rice-growing region into large-scale hotel complexes. Most of the land in question is already within the larger boundaries of the "Candi Dasa Tourism Development Area" (Hassall et al. 1990, Draft Final Report, Vol.II:76-89) (appendix I_1), one of the 21 special "tourism areas" (*kawasan wisata*) officially designated for hotel development in 1988 and 1993 by Bali's governor (appendix I_3)(Picard 1996:66 ff). Earlier restrictions on development in the region, imposed by the first World Bank/UNDP Master Plan, were later revoked in the second UNDP plan (Picard 1996:66 ff; Part III of the dissertation will deal in more detail with these issues). According to the new rumors, Jakarta-based investors and land speculators, backed by international capital, have already begun their assessment of the region for the possible conversion of 3,000 hectares of *sawah* land into a luxury hotel resort, similar to mega-resorts already existing in other parts of Bali (see Chapter Eight).

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In other words, it may be of little consequence that this very region has been designated as one of Bali's "agricultural conservation areas" under the "Bali Sustainable Development Project" of 1992 (appendix I2). Should the rumors materialize, the villages of Bugbug, Asak, Timbrah, Bungaya, and Tenganan would be directly affected by sales and/or long-term alienations of irreplaceable village lands. As in so many other parts of Bali and the developing world, the economic benefits to the local people would come with great costs. In addition to the massive impact on the agriculture-based economies of the villages, there are more subtle, but not less disruptive, repercussions for the ecosystem of the entire area as well as for the cultural cohesiveness of these ancient and unique communities. Should the plan go forward and massively guided, large-scale "elite" tourism spill into one of the last strongholds of Old-Balinese culture, Bali, "the paradise" and "island of the gods," would yet come another step closer to becoming the "Hawaii of the Far East," its unique cultural and natural heritage being sacrificed for the benefit of short-term profits.

3. Sacred Cloth: The "Geringsing" as a Medium for the Flow of Power between Center and Periphery

One of the most important means for the symbolic centering of power within Tenganan, as well as the flow of sacred potency from the center to the periphery, is the *geringsing* cloth. This textile, famed throughout Bali and ancient Java for its prestige value as well as for

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its alleged magical, protective, and curative powers, is to this day exclusively produced by the women weavers of Tenganan (Ramseyer 1984, 1991, also see Gittinger 1979, Maxwell 1990, Khan Majlis 1984). For the Tenganese, the power of their cloth lies in its spiritual connection to their founder deity, God Indra (who, according to local legend, bestowed the exclusive gift of *geringsing* weaving on the Tenganese women) and is based on the perfect balance which is achieved through the combination of the two most powerful cosmological principles, the dualistic *rua bhinneda* and the centric *mandala* (see Chapter One). This sacred combination of dualism and centrism is expressed through the double-ikat method of tie-dyeing and weaving, in the gradual, almost magical, transformation of the white color into red and black, and in the combination of these three sacred colors into cosmological *mandala* motifs. The *geringsing* thus combines the magical power of ancient Indonesian cotton warp-ikat cloth with the prestige value of Indian silk double-ikat *patolas* (e.g., Maxwell 1990:175ff; Bühler, Ramseyer, and Ramseyer-Gygi 1975/76; Hauser-Schäublin, Nabholz-Kartaschoff, and Ramseyer 1991). It is therefore uniquely suited to confirm and legitimize Tenganan's elite status within the inter-village network and to underline its charisma as a community with special spiritual powers, protected by its creator god Indra. At the same time, the *geringsing*, as the material embodiment of this intangible potency, serves as the preferred medium for symbolically integrating center and periphery into a cosmologically, socially, and economically connected sphere.

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In the context of this larger, inter-village system of material and spiritual exchange, material wealth (e.g., rice and other forms of agricultural produce) stream from the periphery inward to Tenganan, whereas spiritual potency symbolized by the *geringsing* flows in the opposite direction. Previous studies on the socio-cultural functions of the *geringsing* have mentioned, but not examined in detail, this very important aspect of this sacred cloth as a long-distance communicator of power (see Ramseyer 1991). In the Old-Balinese villages which constitute the network's periphery, *geringsing* cloth is highly valued as the preferred "clothing for gods" (i.e., wrapping [*wastra, pengangge*] of god symbols [*jempana, apilan, joli*]). In contrast to Tenganan, the *mandala's* center, where the *geringsing* is the most visible item in ritual clothing (e.g., Ramseyer 1984), in the peripheral villages, *geringsing* cloth is often considered too powerful and sacred (and thus too potentially dangerous) and sacred to be worn by humans as opposed to the deities.

For example, in the village of Ngis nine of the 17 major village deities are wrapped in *geringsing sanan empeg* cloth.[57] Similarly, in Bugbug, all of the nine major gods[58] as well as eight lesser deities "wear" *geringsing* cloth. Some villagers have commented on the alleged exeptional powers of the *geringsing* which make it so eminently suitable as "clothing for gods" yet potentially dangerous for ordinary people to wear. In Bugbug, if a villager has to swear an oath, he or she is draped in *geringsing*, in the belief that the power of the cloth will destroy any person who does not speak the truth (the *geringsing* thus serves a similar function to the Bible in Western culture).

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Bugbug actually is involved in one aspect of *geringsing* production. All of the indigo (*taum, tahum*) dyeing (a process referred to by the Tenganese as *ngames*) is carried out by two families in Bugbug. In former times, in addition to Bugbug, there were also indigo dyers in Batu Madeg (near Abang) who worked for the Tenganese weavers. Article 8 of Tenganan's village constitution forbids the growing of indigo on village land (in the past it was also prohibited to cultivate onions and garlic whose similar properties -- most notably their pungent odor -- are associated with the underworld). As in Sumba, Tenganese refer to the plant and its putrefying smell as impure (see Hoskins 1989, Schneider and Weiner 1989:9). By contrast, indigo grows in great abundance in the dry climate of Bugbug where no similar prohibition exists. Bugbug residents characterize the *geringsing* as the major symbol for the relations of brotherhood which connect their village with Tenganan. Similarly, *geringsing* is also used as wrapping for god symbols in the villages of Asak[59], Timbrah[60], Bungaya[61], and Tanah Aron.[62]

In the past, Tenganan used to provide *geringsing* cloth free of charge to the peripheral villages if a wrapping needed to be changed. Today, however, it is difficult for these villages to obtain inexpensive *geringsing*, let alone *geringsing* given free of charge, since the cloth is now in high demand with foreign collectors, Indonesian dealers, tourists, and well-to-do Balinese, leading to dramatic price increases and shortages of high-quality pieces (see Chapter Seven). This commoditization process, along with the general inflation costs for rituals, sadly is contributing to a gradual replacement of *geringsing*

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with single-ikat imitations and other types of cloth which Tenganan's peripheral villages can afford more easily.

In many of these villages, *geringsing* cloth is also used for healing purposes, and for the "*sanan empeg*" ceremony which is conducted when both the older and younger siblings of a child die. During the ritual, a *geringsing* with the "*sanan empeg*" ("broken yoke") motive is put around the surviving child's shoulders as protection against illness and death. Similarly, in Dauh Tukad, parents of a seriously ill child may make a vow for their child to wear a *geringsing* cloth around the shoulders during the initiation ritual (*meteruna, medaha*) should he or she recover from the illness. While the use of *geringsing* for healing purposes is common throughout Bali (including in Bali's royal courts).[63] in Tenganan itself *geringsing* is not used directly in healing ceremonies.[64] However, it is an indispensible part of all communal and individual family rituals and thus protects the wearer throughout his or her life (and death), especially during moments of transition when stability and balance are temporarily disrupted and a person is particularly vulnerable to negative forces. (In addition to Tenganan's *geringsing*, dung from Tenganan's sacred buffaloes is also considered by some Balinese to be a potent medicine.)

Like any powerful symbol, the *geringsing*'s meanings are multivalent. For the Tenganese, it symbolizes the continuous thread between the living community, their ancestors, and their creator-god Indra. Within Tenganan, it serves to convey subtle status differences within the village's socio-ritual hierarchy, while to the outsider, it signals

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that its wearer is a member of the ritual community of Tenganan Pegringsingan (Ramseyer 1984). For Balinese outside Tenganan, the *geringsing* is a treasured object which combines magical, ancestral powers of cotton ikat cloth with the prestige-value of a luxury textile. To villagers within the *mandala* network, the *geringsing* symbolizes the flow of power connecting them to Tenganan. During ceremonial visits to their tributary villages, members of Tenganan's *Krama Desa* and youth organizations, dressed in *geringsing* cloth (supplemented with golden flower headdresses for girls and women and bejewelled golden *keris* for men) signal their central position within the network, while at the same time bestowing the protective and healing powers of their sacred cloth on the whole region. In pre-colonial times, Tenganan's spiritual power even extended into the royal court's domain. According to one of the grandsons of the last king of Karangasem, important ceremonies at the court were not allowed to begin until the members of Tenganan's youth organizations had arrived at the palace in their ceremonial *geringsing* costumes. While this particular custom is no longer observed, the *geringsing* remains to this day the most powerful symbol of Tenganan's charisma as a community, respected for its own cultural identity and spiritual potency (Français 1993).

4. Royal Spheres of Influence: Centers within Peripheries

In the anthropological discourse on Bali, one of the major explanatory frames for the continued "survival" of Old-Balinese culture

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was the supposedly marginal relation of these villages to major court centers (e.g., Howe 1989). Korn, as well as other early Dutch scholars, argued that villages which preserved Old-Balinese social and economic traditions had lived in relative isolation from courtly spheres of influence. Lack of penetration of hierarchical, court-based political power and ideology, remote geographic location, non-rice producing economies based on communal land tenure, were all considered to be primary factors in their continued existence. Korn and the Dutch school further emphasized a distinction between the so-called "apanage" regions (Hindu-Javanized villages mostly located within the lowland, rice-producing regions of south-central Bali, which were supposedly fully subordinated to the royal courts' domains of power) and Old-Balinese regions of the central highlands, as well as parts of northern and eastern Bali which remained largely outside these courtly spheres of influence (Korn 1932). Although Geertz forcefully challenged the Dutch "isolationist theory," given Bali's small size and long history of Hindu-Javanization (1980, 1959), he himself did little to advance an alternative view of Old-Balinese villages, dismissing them as "a handful" of random variations arising from their location in marginal, mostly mountainous environments (1980:45ff). Geertz (as Schaareman [1986:1-5] asserts) may indeed have conflated Korn's distinction of "apanage" versus "Old-Balinese" regions with the more common distinction between "Hindu-Javanese" and a small number of so-called "Bali Aga" villages located mostly in the highland region. While Schaareman does assert that these two sets of oppostions are not coterminous, and that

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Old-Balinese elements within mainstream Balinese culture are much more prevalent than Geertz would be willing to admit, he himself also does not propose an alternative explanatory framework to account for the hypothesized wider distribution of villages with decidedly Old-Balinese characteristics.

By selecting as the unit of analysis not individual, Old-Balinese villages but a network of communities, integrated through social, ritual, and economic ties, we can better view them not as marginal but as a counterbalance to the pre-colonial court-based spheres of influence. Rather than impute "anachronistic survivals" to them, we see them actively participating in the wider Balinese culture and economy. As I have already argued in Chapter One, Tenganan, as well as the other villages within this network were far from the isolated "closed corporate communities" which the Dutch imagined them to be. Schaareman (1986:29) has described the web of social relations of one of these villages in Tenganan's periphery as follows:

> ...there exists a complex network of relationships of varied nature, and the place which a person (or a village) occupies within this network is of substantial importance to the structure, as are the contents or the effective forms of these relationships. The puri [royal palace] is central in this network; most threads finally lead -- either directly or indirectly -- to the puri. That within this network exist various other networks of second and third degree does not constitute an essential difference to this principle....It should be noted, however, that these structures of power are of such complexity, and are split up by so many, overlapping networks, that conditions of strong, centralized power are totally out of the question.

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Bali might best be imagined as a conglomerate of many overlapping and often inclusive domains of power focused on temples, villages, towns, markets, descent groups, and --in pre-colonial times-- royal courts, thus creating an endlessly nested pattern of centers within peripheries (see Boon 1977:155-156). From Tenganan's perspective, the widest and most inclusive circle of power was constituted by the royal court of Klungkung. In the Balinese perception of their history, Klungkung and its rulers, represented the "center of centers" -- at least in a spiritual sense -- even after the break-up of the island into many small, competing kingdoms in the middle of the 17th century (Vickers 1989:45-64) and Klungkung's annihilation by the Dutch forces in 1908 (Wiener 1995:Part II). While to most Balinese, Klungkung represents their symbolic link to Majapahit Java, the Tenganese see Klungkung's royal court as the rightful successor to Bedulu, Bali's centralized kingdom in the pre-Hindu-Javanese period. Maintaining close ritual ties with Bedulu to this day, the Tenganese have looked toward Klungkung in times of crisis, such as after the burning of the village in 1841 A.D. The village leaders at the time requested permission from Ida I Dewa Agung Putra, Klungkung's ruler, to rewrite their village constitution which was destroyed in this fire.[65] As Korn stated (1984:364), the Tenganese considered the ruler of Klungkung as the rightful successor of the ruler of Bedulu who granted Tenganan its charter and its special status of autonomy (*perdikan desa*), and thus the only king whose authority the Tenganese fully recognized.

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By cultivating their ties to Bali's highest ranking court, the Tenganese have successfully downplayed the authority of the lower-level, regional court of Karangasem (for a history of the royal house of Karangasem see A.A. Ketut Agung who is himself a member of this dynasty [1991] and Schaareman [1986:29-42]). Enacting a policy which might best be characterized as detached engagement, they long held the regional court's political authority at arm's length while participating in bilateral ritual exchange[66] and military alliance against their common enemy, the rulers of Sibetan. As Korn states, this alliance unfortunately cost Tenganan some of its territory -- several rice fields as well as a mountain ridge leading down to *Pura Candi Dasa* which Tenganan had to cede to the court in exchange for military assistance. Tax payments to the court and soccage service were also imposed at that time (see Korn 1984:362-366). Yet, despite these concessions, Tenganan enjoyed a large measure of political independence from the regional court up until the time of Dutch takeover in 1895.

One member of Karangasem's royal family describes the former relationship between Tenganan and the court as follows:

> The Puri has always considered it as a special honor to have Tenganan within its domain because the Tenganese have kept their ritual tradition alive. The Puri's influence over Tenganan was very limited, and it respected the Tenganese wish for independence. In olden times, Tenganan used to have its own "government" with which the king of Karangasem did not dare to interfere. The Puri and Tenganan had two very different missions: the Puri's mission was military and expansionary while Tenganan's mission was spiritual, to preserve a pre-Majapahit form of Hinduism. Its political mission was purely defensive, to protect its territory and boundaries from outside intruders. Its cultural mission was inward oriented to protect its tradition from outside

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> influence. Tenganan was a 'free village' [*desa bebas*] because it did not submit to religious sects which later gained power in Bali, and because it did not submit to Majapahit's influence. Tenganan had a unique power due to its special ceremonies and the *geringsing*. This is why Tenganan had to be respected -- because it is a special village with a unique religion and a special mission.

This view reflects well the idealized and romanticized image which outsiders generally have of Tenganan as an isolated community with special powers. In reality, however, Tenganan was always engaged in a cultural dialogue with "Majapahit" and other "outside" forces (and, in fact, could never afford not to be engaged). Instead of submitting to these influences, however, it developed its own domain of power rooted in Old-Balinese cultural forms and institutions, in counterbalance to the Hindu-Javanized regional court with whom it competed not only over the spiritual aspects of power, but over access to land and agricultural labor as well. However, while Tenganan may have elicited greater respect from the *puri* and may thus have enjoyed a greater degree of autonomy than the other Old-Balinese villages in the region, their political stance was similar -- to engage with the court in reciprocal, ritual relations while attempting to minimize court intrusion in internal village affairs. Schaareman (1986:41) has emphasized exactly this point when he writes: "the success and failure of both *puri* and village rituals depends on mutual obligations: the cooperation and influence of both is indispensable." He then continues to defend Korn's *dorpsrepubliek* concept against Geertz' critique of Korn's isolationist argument. According to Schaareman, the notion of *dorpsrepubliek* "is not

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incompatible with the idea that the villages were never completely cut off from the *puri* or the state (or empire); this division in fact never existed" (1986:41; also see Warren 1993:97).

I would like to push Schaareman's contention even one step further. Bungaya, which of all the villages within the network, maintained the closest relations with the court of Karangasem, also has a particularly strong and decidedly Old-Balinese *Krama Desa* structure. It seems to me that it was not despite its close relations with the court but because of this close association, that Bungaya's *Krama Desa* was able to maintain considerable authority concerning all internal village affairs. As we have seen, Bungaya not only has *triwangsa* residents but a *Muslim* population as well. Yet local *adat* leaders with personal, high-level ties to the court were able to exert considerable influence in traditional village institutions, working for the strengthening and preservation of these institutions rather than for their demise. In other words, for eastern Bali at least, classical explanations of the persistence of Old-Balinese cultural elements do not hold (i.e., isolation from courtly spheres of influence, geographic remoteness and marginal articuluation to Bali's wet-rice economy)(also see Howe 1989). Instead of considering Old-Balinese communities from the still popular perspective of their lacking certain features, we ought to shift our focus and look more closely at the forms of their active engagements within their own inter-village networks and their position vis-à-vis the pre-colonial, royal state. My data indicate that Old-Balinese villages, far from their popular characterization as passive observers, were actively engaged in

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these wider networks, attempting to control to a greater or lesser extent, the degree of penetration of these spheres of power into the internal socio-political organization of the village.

Within Tenganan's village *mandala*, it was Bungaya which constitued the central node of the network's court-village relations (in addition to the bilateral, reciprocal ties which connected each of these villages individually with the regional court). The structural framework for these relations was the *pauman* (or *pahuman*) system which finds its ritual expression in Bungaya's *Usaba Dangsil* ceremony. The *pauman* structure, which is specific to the region of Karangasem, was introduced in the 17th century by the royal court of Karangasem. It required that each village which possessed *sawah* land had to set aside certain tracts of it for the ritual requirements of the royal court. The administration of this acreage was placed into the hands of "*pauman* organizations" consisting generally of all married heads of household in each village (172 villages in the Karangasem region had such *pauman* organizations). *Pauman* membership was tied to ritual, corvée labor, and soccage obligations toward the court (for details on individual village *pauman* see Schaareman 1986:88ff, Korn 1932:34-43/Indonesian Translation, Korn 1933:76ff). In the case of Tenganan, which has two such organizations (whose membership is comprised of all married, male heads of households in the "core village" and Banjar Pande Kaja), according to the villagers, a total of 3.8 hectares of *sawah* land was given by the royal court to Tenganan. In return, rice and other produce from this land could be claimed by the court for certain rituals. In addition, the

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Tenganese had to provide *tuak* (palm wine) for royal ceremonies. Today, the harvest derived from this land is sold and the income is evenly distributed among all its members (see also Chapter Two).

In addition to contributing the material requirements for ceremonies held at the royal court, *pauman* organizations were responsible for contributing to a large ceremony taking place in Bungaya in intervals of approximately 15 years, the *Usaba Dangsil*, which may last from 42 days to one year. Eight villages (Bungaya, Tenganan, Bugbug, Asak, Timbrah, Bebandem [including the communities of Kestala, Kayu Putih, and Macang], Ujung Sari, and Batu Dawa), as well as the royal houses of Klungkung and Karangasem, participate in this ceremony which extracts huge expenses (in the form of materials, labor, and cash) from the host village, Bungaya. As Bungaya presently prepares for its next *Usaba Dangsil*, all of its temples must be repaired and all families with small children must have completed the "otonin" (six months) ceremony for each child before the *Usaba Dangsil* can be performed. Each of the participating villages as well as the two royal houses are represented by one *dangsil* (a tall structure representing the multilevelled, superimposed roofs found in temples and cremation towers). These odd-numbered roofs symbolize Mahameru, the cosmic mountain and axis of the universe (Kempers 1991:75) as well as the Hindu-Javanese social hierarchy. Thus, the royal house of Klungkung (the "center of centers") is represented by eleven roofs (the highest number signifying the eight directions plus center, up, and down), the royal house of Karangasem is represented by a *dangsil* with nine roofs, and the each village by a seven-roofed struc-

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ture. Each village as well as the two royal courts provide materials and cash payments for its *dangsil* [67], all of which are assembled in Bungaya by the members of the *desa adat.* During the climax of the ceremony, each *dangsil* is carried by members of the *pauman* organizations from each village from the Pura Bale Agung to Pura Penateran in Bungaya. Children from the royal house of Karangasem join the *teruna* and *daha* of Bungaya during this ceremony, symbolizing the close ties between this village and Karangasem's former rulers.[68]

Court-village relations extend far beyond the few examples given here. However, I believe that they suffice to illustrate that it was the active engagement of these Old-Balinese villages with each other, the royal court, and Bali's mainstream culture with its rice-based economy (an engagement, operating, however, within the limits of the effective boundary control mechanisms set up by each of these communities), rather than their often described and assumed marginality, passivity, and isolation which was and continues to be responsible not only for their continued physical survival, but more importantly, for their cultural viability within modern Bali.

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NOTES

Chapter Three:

[1] For this section of the chapter I draw on Graeme MacRae's (1995) conceptualization of Ubud's cultural institutions as intersecting and overlapping networks which extend far beyond the local context linking geographically dispersed communities to each other and to wider regional political and economic forces. Earlier treatments of supraregional cultural networks by Geertz (1959) and Lansing (1987, 1991) have also informed my conceptualization of Tenganan in the context of its wider, inter-village *mandala* structure.

[2] I would like to thank I Dewa Catra for his help in clarifying the chronology of the events described in the Prasasti Dauh Tukad.

[3] According to local accounts, the original *prasasti* written on palmleaf (*lontar*) describing the events surrounding the defeat of Dukuh Mangku was brought to Pekarangan (35 families from Dauh Tukad are believed to have fled during the defeat of Dukuh Mangku to an area near Ngis, founding the village of Pekarangan, taking some of the original village documents with them). At a later point in time, the king of Karangasem allegedly ordered the people of Pekarangan to bring him the *prasasti* which he then destroyed by crushing it with his feet. Consequently, the people of Dauh Tukad made a new copy (from memory) which has supposedly been borrowed by a Brahmana from Sidemen and has not been returned until this day.

[4] If it is correct to assume that this conflict took place in the mid-18th century it would coincide with the reign of I Dewa Agung Gede Putra, the second raja of Klungkung. For this information, I kindly thank I Dewa Catra, a leading expert on Balinese historiography and himself a descendant of the Gusti dynasty from Sidemen.

[5] The historical events which took place in Dauh Tukad offer a very different picture of the process of Hindu-Javanization in Bali than has generally been portrayed in the anthropological literature (e.g., Geertz' [1980] famous account of the Balinese state of the classical era as a polity consumed with the theatrical display rather than the instrumental exercise of power, and Hindu-Javanization as a largely peaceful, "from the bottom up" process desired by the villagers themselves who were attracted by the court's splenderous displays). While Geertz' characterization, which challenges earlier Dutch "from the top down, hydraulic despotism" image of the Balinese state, may be correct for the central heartland regions, it seems to be a less adequate model for Karangasem, a region lying at Bali's cultural, political, and economic periphery. The Dauh Tukad events illustrate that Balinese kings were more than eager to exercise intrumental power in enlarging their territories and in consolidating their political power by subjugating any local village leaders who stood in their way.

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[6] Following Dukuh Mangku's defeat and death, one of his major temples, the *Pura Rambut Tiding* (*rambut* = hair, high, head; *tiding* from *tihing* = bamboo) located on the slopes to the west of the village, was destroyed leaving only its foundations. Villagers, nevertheless, continue to pray and leave offerings at this sacred spot. The young people of Dauh Tukad have recently expressed their intention to collect funds for the reconstruction of this temple which has become a symbol of Dauh Tukad's cultural identity. The second major temple associated with Dukuh Mangku, *Pura Rambut Petung* (*petung* = bamboo) lies directly across the valley's eastern slope (forming the east-west axis symbolizing the path of the sun, important in Old-Balinese spatial organization), has been taken over by the new settlement of Pasedahan which was founded following Dukuh Mangku's defeat, but is still visited by Dauh Tukad's *adat* organizations on ceremonial occasions. A *pesimpangan* (temporary resting place) for the major deity of this temple has been constructed in Dauh Tukad's *Pura Puseh* (temple of origin) and in Tenganan Pegringsingan.

[7] Another sacred site associated with Dukuh Mangku, the *Kayehan Suci* (sacred bath) is still preserved to this day. A ritual visit to this spot forms part of the marriage ceremony of Tenganan's "core village." The bride, accompanied by her family, ritually cleanses herself in the purifying water of the Kayehan Suci. Following this, she performs the *ngantih* (spinning) ceremony in a private home of Dauh Tukad.

[8] The village has recently stood firm against government pressures to asphalt the the main road within the boundaries of the village proper. The villagers have argued that this would change the traditional appearance of their village and would interfere with certain aspects of their local *adat*. In contrast to other old villages in Karangasem, where stone ramps have been replaced by asphalt roads, Dauh Tukad has set an example for the need for more local, active participation in the process of adapting wide-reaching government programs to specific village conditions. The villagers have succeeded in their efforts and today the asphalt road ends at Dauh Tukad's southern border. This community, which in many respects models itself after Tenganan Pegringsingan, enjoys encreasing popularity with tourists who come to see the village's traditional architecture.

[9] Dauh Tukad is the only Old-Balinese-style village which I encountered in the region of Karangasem, where the village council meetings are not held at the Bale Agung. According to the villagers' accounts, in olden days (i.e., before the defeat of Dukuh Mangku) the village's northern boundary was at the spot where the Bale Agung now stands. After Dukuh Mangku's defeat, new settlers from Sidemen were brought in by the raja. They settled in the area north of the old boundary and formed their own *banjar* (village ward). Subsequently, a Bale Agung was built at the border between the old settlement (now called Banjar Kelod) and the new immigrant section (Banjar Kaja). However, this new Bale Agung is not used, as one would expect, for the meetings of the

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Krama Desa (which consists of all married couples from Banjar Kelod and Kaja), but instead functions as meeting house of the young, unmarried men (*teruna*). By contrast, the Krama Desa, holds its meetings at the Bale Banjar located within the territory of Banjar Kelod. The villagers theorize that prior to Dukuh Mangku's defeat, the original Bale Agung may have been located at this spot and may have been destroyed in the course of the events. By continuing to hold their meetings at this sacred spot, the villagers found a formula for overtly adopting the new political order following Dukuh Mangku's death while at the same time continuing their own politics of passive resistance.

[10] The three Bali Mula *dadia* (Dadia Panti Dajanan, Dadia Panti Delodan, and Dadia I Tada) differ in their burial rituals from the four other *dadia* (Dadia Panti Bedaja, Dadia Puri Kanginan, Dadia Kelod Kangin, and Dadia Sabah). However, members of the seven *dadia* may intermarry without restrictions.

[11] As Boon (1977:171-172) has stated, the term "Pasek people" (*warga Pasek*) refers to an organization of elevated *Sudra* ancestor groups who claim having descended from *Brahmana* stock and who came to Bali with the 14th century Javanese conquerers. According to popular *Pasek* lore, they were put in charge to oversee and implement the process of "Majapahitization" at the local village level after the *Brahmanas* proved themselves to be incompetent to carry out this task and were replaced by the *Pasek* who from then on claimed special rights to ritual and administrative offices at the village level (Boon 1977:171). However, as might be expected, the historical events may have been much more complicated and ambiguous than this idealized account of Balinese history suggests. There are, indeed, some *Pasek* groups (e.g., the *Pasek Kayu Selem*) which are part of an older cultural tradition which precedes Bali's Majapahit period. A palmleaf manuscript which is kept in Ngis attempts to deal with this ambiguity by delineating two separate *Pasek* migrations, the first one directly from India from which all Old-Balinese status groups (including the older *Pasek* clans) are descendants, and a later second migration via Java to which the most prominent and influential *Pasek* groups (e.g., *Pasek Gelgel* and *Pasek Pulasari*) trace their ancestry.

[12] Ngis's *Pasek* groups include *Pasek Gelgel* (the largest and most powerful group), *Pasek Padang Subadra*, *Pasek Kubayan*, *Pasek Togog*, *Pasek Ketewel*, *Pasek Tangkas*, *Pasek Pulasari*, *Pasek Kebon Tubuh*, *Pasek Penyarikan*, *Pasek Dukuh*, as well as two other elevated *Sudra* groups entitled *Arya Gaja Para* and *Arya Karang Buncing*. The Ngis-exclusive *Pasek Kubayan* and *Pasek Penyarikan* groups may be the result of a realignment of an older seniority-based status hierarchy with the new *warna* ideology of the royal courts and their entourages which stresses idealized descent as the basis for social position and status. In Old-Balinese social organization, *kabayan* or *kebayan* generally refers to the highest position of ritual and administrative leader in the *Krama Desa*, a position generally achieved through seniority (Lansing 1983:115 ff).

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By contrast, in the Hindu-Javanized region of Tabanan, it does refer to ascribed status based on descent (Boon 1977:161). In Ngis, the Kubayan and Penyarikan offices conflate these two Balinese principles of status based on ritual and political office versus status based on ancestral descent (Boon 1977:161). The *Pasek Dukuh* group, by contrast, no longer fulfills any official socio-religious duties as these have been replaced by the services of outside *Brahmana Pedanda* priests who are now called upon to officiate at Ngis' death ceremonies.

[13] This temple complex consists of four successive courtyards oriented along the *kelod* (seaward) - *kaja* (mountainward) axis. The most *kaja* courtyard (*Natar Batu Madeg*) represents the historically oldest part of the temple with Old-Balinese style shrines of rough, natural stone platforms dedicated to the gods of Mount Sumeru in Java. According to local, oral history, this part of the temple symbolizes the first origin point in Bali (*Batu Madeg*, a hilly outcrop at the nearby coast of Candi Dasa) for the people of Ngis, who, like the Tenganese, believe to have arrived from Java by boat at this location. The adjacent courtyard in seaward direction (*Natar Pura Puseh*), in the local view symbolizes the transformation from Old-Balinese of Majapahit Hindu-Javanese socio-ritual order when each village was required to construct a "proper" origin temple (*pura puseh*) with multiple-roofed shrines *(pelinggih)* built of wood into which the gods and deified ancestors are believed to descend and take their seats (*melinggih*) during ceremonies. Continuing in seaward direction, the next courtyard (*Natar Pemaksan*) with its shrines for the founding lineages represents Ngis' hierarchical order of descent groups, while the most seaward courtyard (*Natar Bale Agung*) with its communal meeting pavillons for the *Krama Desa* and bachelor organization (*teruna*) symbolizes the village community as a holistic entity.

[14] According to the Bugbug rendition of the myth (for the Tenganese version see Chapter Two, note 12), "Once the raja of Bedulu journeyed on horseback from Bedulu to the region of eastern Bali (now Karangasem). As it was a very long ride, the horse died of exhaustion. The king ordered the people of Bugbug to bury the horse. Later, as the horse's corpse began to rot, a bad smell emerged from the burial site. The raja decreed that as far as the smell would reach (presumably not very far), the territory should belong to the Tenganese (or *Wong Paneges*) in gratitude for their services to the king (the Bugbug version does not specify which services). However, the Tenganese cut a piece of the horse's meat and carried it around with them as they went with the king's official through Patitan (the southern forests), under heavy rain. Then they went north to Celagi Manis, Babi Tumu, Naga Sungsang, and then through Gumung and Seked. Finally, they passed 'Batu Kowek,' a large stone, named after the loud noise it emitted. The Tenganese became afraid and did not dare to go any further. Now, this whole area belongs to Tenganan. Then the king told both villages to live peacefully as neighborly brothers and to help each other if in need. Because of their sibling relationship, Bugbug may ask black palmfibre (*duk*) for temple roofing from Tenganan. As a sign of their sincerity, the people of

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Tenganan later built a shrine for Betara Gumang in Pura Banjar Pande and the people of Bugbug built a shrine for Betara Ayu Sambah, a deity believed to have originated from Tenganan. Until now, when the people of Tenganan go to worship to Pura Gumang, they are exempt from paying *"penanjang batu"* (a toll or tax) which is collected from all other worshippers."

[15] To this day, the main entrance to the village is called "*Jalan Telaga Ngembeng*" (*telaga* = spring; *ngembeng* = swampy). According to a local myth, a giant man, named Teruna Bali, arrived and promised the inhabitants of the three settlements to drain the swamp so that one large village could be built. In return, he requested to be fed by the villagers. However, he overstayed his welcome and demanded to be taken care of by the villagers, even after his task of draining the area had been completed. Finally, the villagers decided to kill him by throwing him into a deep pond and stoning him. However, he would not die, until finally he told the villagers the secret to his vulnerability. He ordered them to use betel leaves (*sirih*) and lime (*kapur*) instead of stones. Before dying, he made a final request, namely that the villagers enact the *wong-wongan* (Bal. *wong* = person) ceremony in his honor. Each year, during the *Usaba Sumbu* ceremonies, this ritual is performed whereby a large human head is painted with chalk on the central village square and is circled by the *daha* (unmarried girls) eleven times in clockwise direction.

[16] According to another local myth, some time after the foundation of Bugbug, a holy Brahmana priest from Java, named Ida Gede, arrived. He saw that the people worked the land with simple wooden tools and primitive techniques. So he enlisted the help of the gods of Gunung Agung to bring water to the village, and he taught the people to use more advanced agricultural methods (presumably wet-rice production) and animal husbandry. But, like before in Bugbug's history, again tensions erupted between the villagers and the newcomer, this time because some people showed disrespect to the holy man by bathing in his holy pond (also a site for his meditation, believed to be near the present *Pura Gaduh* which has a shrine dedicated to Ida Gede) and drinking its water. The holy man became greatly enraged over the villagers' impertinence, but, nevertheless, built the *Pura Puseh* before leaving Bugbug with 120 of his followers, to settle on the island of Sumbawa, in the region of its great volcano, Gunung Tambora. Then, one day, Ida Gede disappeared and a voice from heaven informed his followers that he had attained "*moksa*" (complete liberation of the soul). After his death, Ida Gede became deified as "Betara Gede Manik Kecatur," generally simply referred to as "Betara Gumang" and a temple, *Pura Gumang*, was built in his honor high on a hill above Bugbug. After Ida Gede had left the world, his followers decided to return to Bugbug where they founded the *Krama Desa Ngarep* (the village council), which, to this day consists of 120 members. According to the villagers, Ida Gede's mythical voyage to Sumbawa is still enacted in a ceremony during which a small raft is constructed from the leaves which enclose the flower of the coconut tree (*keluping*).

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It is quite likely that this migratory event actually happened. In the 16th century, Bali's "golden age" (i.e., during the Gelgel period), under the reign of Dalem Baturenggong, the Balinese state extended far beyond the island's boundaries, from East Java to the west to Lombok and Sumbawa to the east (Vickers 1989:41). To this day, Ida Gede's temple, the *Pura Gumang*, is an important center of an inter-village ceremonial network which connects Bugbug with the villages of Bebandem, Jasri, and Ngis. Every two years during the full moon of the fourth month (*purnama sasih kapat*) a great "*perang dewa*" (fight of the gods) is performed in this temple which is located on top of a steep hill near Bugbug. According to a myth which was told to me in Bugbug, *Betara Gumang* had two children: one son (*Betara Bandem*) and one daughter (*Betara Ayu*) who were supposed to marry. However, Betara Ayu refused her brother because he was bald, and ran off to marry instead a handsome, young god from Jasri, with whom she lived happily ever after. This greatly enraged Betara Bandem and led to the "fight of the gods." In the ritual staging of this fight, the gods of Bebandem and Jasri with their respective followers act as the opponents, while Bugbug, in the role of mediator, tries to keep peace between them. The gods from Ngis and their followers do not participate in the fight but witness it as impartial on-lookers and arbitrators. According to a slightly different version of the same myth which I was told in Ngis (and which explains Ngis' participation in this ceremony), *Betara Dukung Gumang* had four children: the oldest was a son (*Betara Gede Manik*), the bald god whose shrine is in the village of Bebandem), the second a daughter whose shrine also is in Bebandem, the third a daughter (*Betara Ayu Nganten* who married the god from Jasri and whose shrine is in Jasri)(*nganten* = to marry), and the fourth also a daughter, *Betara Ayu Ketut* who is married to a god from Ngis (*Betara Gede Dangin*) and whose shrine is in Ngis' Pura Puseh (*pelinggih Betara Ayu Bugbug*). I would like to extend special thanks to I Ketut Alit for sharing these stories with me.

[17] Villagers say that these *Brahmana* residents left Bugbug a "long time ago" because the people refused to acknowledge their social superiority and to pay them the necessary respect (e.g., addressing them in high language). It is possible that this story is related to the above myth of Ida Gede.

[18] There are two versions of a story explaining the origins of this *dadia*. According to the first rendition, the fiancée of *Bendesa Mas* was taken by Gusti Mantu, the lord of Sibetan, the new fledgling "kingdom" to the north of Karangasem. (Gusti Mantu reportedly died during his defeat by the *raja* of Karangasem in 1758.) After they married, Gusti Mantu took another wife from the royal house of Karangasem. He granted his wife from Bugbug (who already was pregnant) her request to return to live in her village, under the condition that if she bore him a son, the child would be returned to Sibetan. A son was born. However, the child refused to live with his father, and the *raja* finally conceded that the child would live in Bugbug provided that he would be the founder of a new *dadia*, the *Bendesa Kanginan* (A.A. Ketut Agung 1991:53). According to

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another version of the story told to me by a member of *Bendesa Kanginan* family, Gusti Mantu's wife fled to her home village of Bugbug after her husband was defeated and killed by the Raja of Karangasem in the final battle in the Sibetan/Karangasem war (which ended in 1758 with the death of I Gusti Mantu and Sibetan's incorporation into the quickly expanding kingdom of Karangasem). (Also see Vickers 1989:58-60 and A.A. Ketut Agung 1991:50-53.) The *Bendesa Kanginan* family maintains to this day ritual relations to Sibetan's Gusti Jelantik family and Pura Garba near Sibetan.

[19] Bugbug's original village council, consisting of 120 members, the *Krama Desa Ngarep* (from *arep* = front) in the past dealt with all village matters related to traditional law and religion. Formerly, the council's five top positions were inherited within certain descent groups: (1) the *Klian Desa* (the council's leader from the *Bendesa Kanginan* group), (2) the *Jero Bendesa* (the council's deputy leader, chosen from the *Bendesa Mas* group), (3) the *Jero Subak* (the treasurer, from *Pasek Pulasari*), (4) the *Petilik* (inspector, either from *Pasek Gelgel* or *Dukuh Sakti* group, informants do not agree on this point), and (5) the *Penyarikan* (secretary, from *Dukuh Sakti* group). Since the new structure has been implemented, all of these positions, except the *Bendesa*, are filled through general election which takes place every five years and is open to all male *Banjar Adat* members)(see note 20). The remaining members consist of eight *luput*, 12 *kesinoman* (messengers, by rotation), and the *prewayah* (all couples with same- and opposite-sex twins who must commit themselves to lifelong service to the community). Council membership is open to all married couples who own one of the 120 plots of communal, irrigated land (*saih ayah-ayah/sawah ayahan desa/carik medesa*) ranging from 10 to 20 are in size (1 are = 100 square meters). These plots can be bought and sold freely within the village, except to new residents who live in the village for less than six months. One person can have a maximum of four plots. Council membership is for life or until the plot of land is sold (the husband may continue even if his wife dies since women hold no special functions in the council). Polygamy does not exempt from council membership. Only children of couples who are members of the *Krama Desa Ngarep* are able to join the organizations of unmarried boys and girls.

[20] In addition to the *Krama Desa Ngarep*, whose monthly meetings are held at the *Bale Agung*, there are now two new councils: (1) the *Prajuru* (formerly called PALIMAN), headed by the *Klian Desa*, is now the body with most power as it has final authority over all village matters; all of its members (currently about 60) are chosen by its elected leader, the *Klian Desa*, and (2) the *Nayaka* (formerly called BAMUDA) whose membership is drawn from the *Banjar Adat* organizations and is chosen by the members of the *Krama Desa Ngarep* and *Krama Banjar*, responsible for the execution and implementation of all *Prajuru* decisions. Under this new structure, the person holding the *Klian Desa* position, is thus able to exert unprecedented power. Currently this position is occupied by a member of the *Bendesa Mas* group who also holds the position of village chief (*kepala desa*) within the *dinas* structure.

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[21] Currently one half of a hectare (50 *are*) of Tenganan's *sawah* are worked by farmers from Timbrah in return of half of the share. These *penyakap* contracts are generally inherited from father to son.

[22] This manuscript offers the unlikely village founding date of 118 çaka (196 A.D.). As palm leaf *lontars* are often rewritten (and revised) in the process, copying mistakes are common. It is likely, however, that the origins of the village of Timbrah, like other Old-Balinese villages in the area, reach back into the early centuries of the second millenium (the authentic date may have been 1118 çaka). According to the chronicle, the original settlement was at Lebat Apit Geger, a small hill, close to the current location. This site (located near the border to Tenganan's territory) is called today Uma Beten Nyuh (*uma* = rice paddy, *nyuh* = coconut), since there are now *sawah* fields in this area. However, stone foundations of a cemetary and possibly a temple are still visible today. The site has remained sacred to this day and is marked by a small temple and holy bath, Pura Toya Empul.

[23] According to the *lontar's* account, all of Timbrah's original inhabitants were "*Bali Aga.*" Following an (undated) eruption of Gunung Agung (Gunung Toh Langkir), the original settlement was inundated by the ensueing mud flows and was consequently moved to its present location. The account then jumps to the year 1680 çaka (1758 A.D.) when the first wave of high-caste settlers arrived in the village. First, I Gusti Bija arrived from Gelgel with 30 followers and settled in *Uma Sampyang* in the eastern part of the village. A short period later, the second wave of 35 immigrants arrived from Gelgel with I Gusti Ngurah Anakan Toya and settled in the *Uma Biu* region of the village. Again, some time later, a third wave of 18 settlers came with I Gusti Teja (originally from Bangli) from the nearby village of Subagan, followed by his son Ki Tuhung and 36 followers. They settled in Timbrah's *Uma Beten Nyuh* and *Uma Lambuan* regions. At this time, the chronicle continues, the village council consisted of 75 "Bali Aga" couples. Each of the three *Gusti* settlers with their respective followers formed three seperate *pauman* associations. (Such *pauman* associations exist in many villages of Karangasem and refer to all share holders in a communally-owned plot of land given by the royal court whose income is reserved for court ceremonies. However, in Timbrah, *pauman* organizations have taken on some of the characteristics and functions of descent groups as they serve as the main structure for social stratification [e.g., *pauman* membership is mutually exclusive and is patrilineally inherited; each organization has its own temple]). In response, Timbrah's original inhabitants organized their own *pauman* group, the *Pauman Desa*. According to the chronicle's account, three years after the arrival of the first high-caste settlers, in 1683 çaka (1761 A.D.), an important village meeting took place which marked the beginning of a new social order as the old ceremonial calendar and positions in the *Krama Desa* became transformed in order to conform with the larger socio-religious changes taking place in Bali at this time. The village council no longer was the exclusive domain of the

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"Bali Aga" core group but came under the authority and leadership of the *Bapa Desa*. New *banjar* (residential neighbourhood) organizations were formed at this time. *Banjar Sesabu Tamiyu* was set aside for any further immigrants. In addition, village borders were determined and the *Kahyangan Tiga* temple-trinity of *Pura Puseh/Pura Desa/Pura Dalem* became established. And lastly, the village was given its new name Timbrah (derived from *"Patimah Tambra"* = foundation of the world)(Ketatuan Desa Adat Timbrah 1992:5-7).

[24] All the positions within the *Krama Desa Prajuru* are filled for a period of five years by general election. By contrast, membership in the *Krama Desa Prawayah* is for life (and must be confirmed by the *Krama Desa Prajuru*). If either wife or husband dies, or if the husband takes a second wife, membership is terminated, and a new couple from an eligible pool of "core villagers" is chosen to take up the vacant position. Even before 1967, when this new structure was adopted, the *Krama Desa Ngarep* did not operate on the seniority principle. If any of its 27 positions became vacant, it was filled through general election by all the other *Krama Desa* members. All positions were open to all core villagers (i.e., members of the four *pauman* organizations). Like in other Old-Balinese villages, male members sit during formal meetings in the *Bale Agung* in two long rows according to their rank. They are headed by the *Bapa Desa* and *Kubayan*, followed by four *Klian*, one *Penyarikan*, and four *Buyut*. The remaining 16 positions are reserved for messengers (*saya*) who do not sit during council meetings. The *Krama Desa Prawayah* (as the successor of the old *Krama Desa Ngarep*) remains the village's most sacred organization whose members must remain pure in order to be able to perform the most sacred ceremonial tasks. They alone are permitted to hold their monthly meetings (on each day of the full moon) in the *Bale Agung*. Council women, however, do not participate in these meetings, but perform other important religious duties. Only the children of the *Krama Desa Prawayah* and *Krama Desa Prajuru* are permitted into the organizations of unmarried girls (*Daha Adat*) and boys (*Teruna Adat*).

[25] Upon marriage, the couple automatically becomes member in one of the two *banjar* organizations (territorially based neighborhood organizations) and the *sesabu* organization (comprised of all members of the two *banjar* organizations), each with its own ritual requirements and duties (Schaareman 1986:85). At the same time, the couple is inscribed on a waiting list to receive one plot of communal land. Only after having obtained this plot is the couple eligible for membership in the two village council organizations, the *Krama Saing* and the *Desa Nyoman*. In the past, the couple had to wait (often a considerable period of time) until a plot of land became available either through death or resignation of another *pauman* member (Schaareman 1986:89-90). In the 1960s, due to population pressure, land shortage in Asak had reached a critical point and had led to an explosive political situation as well as to serious conflicts with Tenganan, which as a community, is the major landowner in the region. As a result, the size of communal plots

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in Asak was reduced from ten to five *are* in order to ease the pressure (Schaareman 1986:90). In recent years, land shortage has declined somewhat due to the combined impacts of land reforms, outmigration, and family planning. Today, a couple generally receives one of the 100 plots of *sawah* land (each has a size of ten are) immediately or shortly after marriage, and is thus able to join the junior ranks (*Desa Nyoman*) of the village council. Like in Tenganan, the couple then moves up the seniority ladder as older couples retire from the council until they enter the *Krama Saing* (the actual council of elders) with its 24 positions. Like in Tenganan, the council is divided into an east and west flank of paired officials. Each couple, starting at the lowest (left/seaward) position zigzags upward alternating between eastern and western flanks until it reaches the highest position of *Debahan Wayan*. Like in Tenganan and Bungaya (see below), each position is associated with specific titles, ritual duties, and privileges (Schaareman 1986:95-102).

[26] As in the case of Asak, the combined pressures of population growth and land scarcity have led to periodic tensions with Tenganan, the last of which occurred in the early 1960s when the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) gained increasing popularity in Bali. Since then, outmigration (e.g., through the national transmigration project), land reform, birth control programs, combined with slowly increasing possibilities for alternative employment have helped to alleviated this volatile situation.

[27] I would like to thank Ida Bagus Ketut Rai of Bungaya for telling me the following myth which begins with a powerful king (*dalem*) who ruled the whole island of Bali. "One day, he requested a rare type of coconut, called *nyuh aya* because of its large size (*nyuh* = coconut; *aya* = large), which was needed for an important court ceremony. He sent out his palace guards (*prajurit arya*) to find this rare specimen. Finally, in the region where Bungaya is now located, the men came upon a strange, huge flower. They marked the spot and continued on their search for the coconut which they finally encountered near Besakih, Bali's greatest temple. They needed 40 men to carry the coconut to the court. In gratitude, the king asked them to express a wish. The men requested to be granted permission to start their own village at the spot where they had found the strange flower "*bunga aya*" (*bunga* = flower), from which the village Bungaya derived its name. The 40 palace guards divided the territory given to them by the king into 40 parcels of land, one for each *prajurit*. In honor and gratitude to the king, Bungaya's 40 founders decided to periodically perform a big ceremony, the *Usaba Dangsil*." To this day, the court of Klungkung (as the successor of Gelgel's court) and the regional court of Karangasem participate in this ceremony which is held approximately every 20 years. The villages of Tenganan, Asak, Timbrah, Bugbug, Batu Dawa, Bebandem, and Ujung Sari are also participants in this greatest regional ceremony. Bungaya, like Tenganan, Ngis, Bugbug, Asak, and Timbrah, owns a *selonding* orchestra (an archaic form of *gamelan* instruments which exist only in eastern Bali's oldest

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villages), which is considered extremely sacred and is only played for the *Usaba Dangsil*. According to a popular story, told both in Tenganan and Bungaya, "a long time ago, when Tenganan already had its three sacred *selonding* orchestras (Tenganan is the only village in Bali which owns more than one of these rare orchestras which are believed to be charged with supernatural powers), the *selonding* god appeared again in the sky above Tenganan to bring yet another one of these sacred orchestras (this time for Tenganan's *Bale Agung*). However, when the villagers and children assembled in the streets, shouting excitedly as the sacred instruments descended from the sky, the god took off again and descended instead in Bungaya" (for a comprehensive study of Old-Balinese *selonding* music see Schlager [1976], for Tenganan specifically, Ramseyer [n.d.]).

[28] According to a local legend, it was the *Brahmana* priest from this family who first spiritually defeated I Gusti Mantu from Sibetan before he could be physically killed by the *raja* of Karangasem (see the section on the village of Sibetan in this chapter).

[29] In addition to this right/east-left/west division, the council is further divided into a mountainward/upper section of senior advisors and ritual specialists (*manten* and *salah*) who no longer participate in any physical work carried out by the council members and who no longer receive income from communal land, and a seaward/lower section of active members of paired (senior/right and junior/left) officials led by the *De Bahan Wayan* (council leader or "*klian*") and his deputy, the *De Bahan Nyoman* (responsible to supervise construction and repair of communal buildings and temples). They are followed by 5 *Goak Dulu* positions (the actual work force), followed by the apprentice section of 2 *Tegag Sarat*, 1 *Tunda*, and 5 *Sinoman* positions on each side. Like in Tenganan and Asak, new members start at the lower left side and zigzag upward as higher positions become empty, until reaching the *De Bahan Wayan* position. Then, however, after having officiated at the important *Upacara Dalem* (ceremony at the death temple), the *De Bahan Wayan* moves straight up into the highest advisory position of *De Manten* or *De Salah* while the former occupants of these posts move down into the lowest advisory rank and are now able to fill any of the priestly positions (carried out by the female members of the council). In Bungaya, these right/left and upper/lower divisions are associated with the two Hindu priestly traditions which coexist in Bali (the left side and lower part of the council symbolizing the "*boda*" (buddhist) line while the right/upper part is associated with the *Siwa* (shivaitic) orientation. (In Bali's syncretic form of Hinduism, both Shivaism and Buddhism have blended into a single religious tradition. Priests of both sectarian traditions are from the *brahmana* caste, whereby "the Buddhist priest is considered to be the younger brother of his Shivaite counterpart" [Kempers 1991:55]. While *pedanda boda* [high priests of the *boda* sect] are in the minority, both, *pedanda boda* and *pedanda siwa* are considered as complementary and indispensible in certain rituals, often officiating side by side in the same ritual. One of Bungaya's neighboring villages, Budakeling, is one

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of the last *pedanda boda* strongholds in Bali.) Each council member undergoes this transition from *boda* to *siwa* as he/she moves from the active part of the council to its advisory section. This transition is symbolized in male *Krama Desa* members by a change in hair style (from the untied, shoulder length hairstyle of the *Boda* high-priests to the topnot of the *pedanda siwa*). As in Tenganan and Asak, members of the council's upper ranks must follow many prescriptions in their daily lives pertaining to spiritual purity (including strict dress codes, sexual abstention, food prohibitions, and travel restrictions).

30 In 1995 an incident took place which involved a renegotiation of Tenganan's "core village" socio-ritual boundaries. In order to elevate its status, Kestala initiated even closer ties to Tenganan's "core village." While previously *adat* leaders from Kestala paid a ceremonial visit to Tenganan's Banjar Pande's temple on the occasion of its yearly temple festival during Tenganan's fifth month, Kestala requested to be granted permission by the *Krama Desa Tenganan* to also bring offerings to Tenganan's *Bale Agung* and *Pura Puseh*. Since both of these are "core village" temples (and thus closed to outside worshippers), this proposal had stimulated considerable debate in Tenganan's *Krama Desa*. It put the *Krama Desa* in a very difficult position since even the residents of Banjar Pande are restricted from worshipping in these temples (in the case of *Pura Puseh*, Banjar Pande residents, like all other outsiders, may not even enter the temple grounds). However, since Kestala's request was considered to represent "divine volition" (i.e., it had been expressed through a trance medium [*sedahan*] from Kestala), the *Krama Desa* felt it had little choice but to concede and to bend its strict rules. Whether this incident will lead to further weakening of the "core village's" ritual and social mechanisms of boundary maintainance remains to be seen.

31 These positions are from top to bottom: *Subak I, II* (the ritual leader and his deputy), *Penyarikan I, II* (the scribe), *Klian I, II* (the leader pertaining to *adat* questions), *Penguraban I, II* (carry out the physical work connected to rituals), *Saya I,II* (messengers), *Taki* (planning of ceremonies) and *Takon* (execution of ceremonies), *Penangkilan* (assistant of village priest), followed by all the other members (*kerama*). After officiating three times at Kestala's yearly *Usaba Sambah*, the *subak* officals retire and the remaining members move one step up the seniority ladder.

32 According to Western historians, the dates given in indigenous Balinese chronicles appear to be often unprecise or contradictory (Creese 1991:251). Thus the Sibetan manuscript may refer to one of the many rebellions which took place under the rule of Baturenggong's son Bekung in the second half of the 17th century (a period marked by Gelgel's decline). According to Creese's interpretation of the Balinese and Dutch manuscripts of the time, the year 1657 would correspond to the beginning of the reign of Bekung's nephew and last ruler of Gelgel, Di Made (Creese 1991:254, Haegerdal 1995).

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[33] I am very grateful to Mangku Karba who told me this and other stories concerning Tanah Aron's history, which he had learned from both his grandfather and father. While this myth cannot be historically substantiated, it nevertheless offers support for the theory that there was a settlement called Tanganan (or Tranganan) near Ujung which was later relocated and moved inland (see Chapter Two). Unfortunately, there are no stories in Tenganan which would substantiate that presentday Tenganan is indeed related to this ancient village of Tanganan which appears in several edicts of the Old-Balinese period (see Chapter Two). However, as mentioned earlier, the Tenganese do take a yearly pilgrimage to a temple near Ujung without being able to explain the reasons for this.

[34] This temple is consecrated to Dewi Danu, the goddess of water. However, there is also a shrine which, in particular, is associated with the hermit from Tenganan. It is called *Bebaturan* and is dedicated to the goddess Giri Putri (more commonly known as Durga, the consort of God Siwa in his manifestation of god of destruction (associated in Bali with the Pura Dalem or "death temple"). Before its restoration, the temple used to be constructed of rough, uncut stones (similar to the temples of Tenganan). According to the local myth, the holy man from 'Tengenan' told the people of Tanah Aron to obtain the holy water (*tirtha*) for their death ceremonies (*ngaben*) from this temple, a custom which is observed to this day.

[35] Villagers today are unable to read the edict as it is written in *kawi* language. They believe that it dates to the time of the Majapahit conquest of Bali and was issued by a Majapahit king referred to as Prabu Sakti. During the colonial period, the villagers kept the 19 copper plates hidden because they feared confiscation by the Dutch. According to Ida Bagus Ketut Rai from Bungaya, a local *lontar* expert, who had a chance to examine the plates, the edict was issued by the royal court of Karangasem following its conquest of Sibetan, describing the new, extended boundaries of the kingdom of Karangasem. As a consequence of the defeat of Sibetan, Tanah Aron, as well as the other villages in the region, now fell under the jurisdiction of Karangasem.

[36] Tanah Aron's death rituals combine elements of both, Old-Balinese burial rites and Hindu-Javanese cremation practises. The corpse, wrapped in white cloth and a mat, is buried with the head pointing east (in the direction of Gunung Lempuyang). At a later date, an effigy is made and ritually cremated. Its ashes are then placed into a cremation tower (*wadah*) and brought to the sea where they are released into the waters of the ocean. These local burial customs differ from the death ceremonies of *Pasek*, *Bendesa*, and *Tangkas* groups in lowland villages who generally practise cremation of the corpse or bones. My Tanah Aron informants offered as reason for this divergence that it is not allowed in Tanah Aron to burn a corpse because the village lies above a temple belonging to another village (the Pura Gunung Sari belonging to the village of Butus). Although the temple was destroyed during the 1963

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eruption and has never been rebuilt, the sanctity of its former location persists and would be polluted by cremations taking place above the temple. A more important status marker than the actual cremation of the corpse is the use of the *damar kurung* (a bamboo lamp, employed in *triwangsa* and elevated commoner group death rites) which all of Tanah Aron's descent groups use. Another divergence from lowland death rites of elevated commoner groups (such as the *Pasek*, *Bendesa*, and *Tangkas* groups) involves the services of *brahmana* high-priests. Since in Tanah Aron the holy water (*tirtha*) required for all death ceremonies is obtained in Old-Balinese fashion locally from the Batur temple, high-caste *pedanda* priests are not used in these rituals. However, many villagers draw on the services of such priests (both of the *Boda* and *Siwa* varieties) for other private family ceremonies.

[37] Preconditions for the ceremonies to take place are: there must be candidates from all three boys organizations, the initiates must be without physical or mental handicaps born to "core village" families. Two brothers cannot be initiated together, except for twins who must be initiated at the same time and are symbolically treated as a single person (e.g., only one offering is given for both). If a death occurs in one of the initiate's families after the seventh month, the child is disqualified and must postpone its initiation until the following *teruna nyoman* ceremonies. All rules and regulations conerning the *teruna nyoman* cycle are recorded in the *awig-awig teruna nyoman*.

[38] These climactic rituals proceed in three stages. First, on the morning of the "*gegedong*" ceremony (which is repeated two times), the initiates' heads are shaven and their teeth are "filed" (this tooth filing, in contrast to the rest of Bali, is merely a symbolic act during which the teeth are lightly tapped rather than filed; actual filing only takes place if it is specifically requested by the initiate). After this ritual purification, the initiates are now ready for their ceremonial visits to the three girls' organizations (*subak daha*). However, they are considered as very vulnerable as they enter into the first stage of their metamorphosis, the "cocoon stage," and are shielded from view by a large bamboo cage (*gedong*). The climax consists of a great fertility generating "mud ritual" (*mesabatan*) during which the senior members of the boys organizations (*pengawin* and *teruna bani*) throw a mixture of buffalo dung and mud on the *daha* (members of the girls' organizations) who must passively endure this ordeal. This ritual, which is repeated two more times, seems to be unique in Bali and may be linked to an Indian belief according to which "mud" and "fertilizer" are the children of the fertility goddess *Sri* (Rein 1994:134). The second stage, the "*metamyang*" ritual (*tamyang* = rattan shield used in Tenganese warrior rituals) represents a partial opening of the cocoon. On their visits to the girls' organizations, the initiates' upper bodies are visible, while the lower half of their bodies are protected by the large rattan shield which each one of them carries. The third stage, the "*melegar*" ritual (from *legar* = exposed, naked) symbolizes the final step in the metamorphosis from pupae into moth, as the initiates are now fully visible on their rounds to the houses of the three girls' organizations.

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[39] In Balinese language the term *warang* has two meanings: (1) it is a kinship term referring to the relationship between parents whose children are married, and (2) a common capital fund established through marriage. Thus, *warang* implies a reciprocal relationship between two affinally linked families. In the case of the *mandala* network it similarly refers to a relationship of formal reciprocal exchange in ritual contexts based on a strictly defined set of mutual obligations. These ties, however, also extend into more informal social spheres. Villages linked through *warang* ties generally consider themselves to be friendly neighbors and ritual partners who will assist each other in times of need. Finally, within Tenganan itself, *warang* also refers to the formal ritual ties (also based on reciprocal exchange) between the boys' and girls' organizations (*seka teruna* and *seka daha*)(see Chapter Two).

[40] Korn's (1933) description of a typical Tenganese houseyard does not include a *sanggah pesimpangan* (a temporary resting place for an outside, visiting deity). Most of these shrines were erected by Tenganese families since the 1960s (typically with the help of an outside trance medium). According to Ngis' oral history, Betara Gede Dangin whose shrine stands in Ngis' Pura Pemaksan, as well as Betara Bagus Pejenengan (who has a shrine in Ngis' Pura Puseh) were once powerful healers (*balian*) and protectors of the environment. These deities are feared both in Tenganan and Ngis for the destruction and illness they can allegedly cause if angered.

[41] *Usaba Goreng*, which lasts for 11 days, is named after the fried (*goreng* = to fry) cookies which form part of the offerings. Up until 1991, *Usaba Goreng* used to be held at irregular intervals. The timing depended on a sacred, old *cempaka* tree which was standing in Tanah Aron's Pura Puseh and which had survived several gunshots during the battle with the Dutch. Whenever the branches which pointed to the south started to bloom, *Usaba Goreng* had to be held. (By contrast, if the branches pointing to the north bloomed, *Usaba Ngungsung* had to be performed. When the branches to the east bloomed, it was taken by the villagers as an auspicious sign which indicated fertility of the land, while the blooming of the western branches was an ominous sign predicting illness and bad harvests. Then the *pepajeg* purification ceremony had to be performed. If the upward branches bloomed, the villagers expected a long draught.) When this tree died in 1991, the village decided to hold *Usaba Goreng* every seven years.

[42]There are also sharecroppers from the administrative village (*desa dinas*) of Tenganan and other communities (e.g. Gumung, Macang, Bukit Kauh, Bukit Kaja, Bukit Kangin, Papung, and Bebandem) which are not part of the inter-village network.

[43] The *subak*, as a physical, territorial entity, is a well-defined unit of terraced, irrigated land which derives its water from a

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single main canal (*telebah gede*). It is subdivided into several, increasingly smaller units (*tempek, percil, sawah/tanding/carik*). In addition, each *subak* is a technological unit defined by the collectively owned dams (*empelan*), large canals (*pengelima*), and many smaller canals (*jelingjing* and *cakangan*) leading to the individual terraces (*sawah*). Finally, the *subak* refers to an "irrigation society," a socio-ritual unit comprised of all the farmers and sharecroppers who cultivate this area of land and who, collectively, carry out the water management within this region.

44 Tenganan's rice-producing land is organized into two *subak* (largest organizational unit), *Subak Sangkawan* (135 hectares) located to the west of the Buhu River, subdivided into eight smaller organizational units (*tempek*), and *Subak Nagasungsang* (120 hectares) located to the east of the Buhu River, also subdivided into eight *tempek* (appendix A3). The tenant farmers working this land are organized into two *subak* organizations corresponding to these two land areas. The membership of each *Sekaha Subak* (in the case of Tenganan also referred to as *sekaha penyakap* ["organization of share croppers"]) is hierarchically organized into three leadership positions (*sedahan agung, sedahan*, and *pekaseh*) filled by supra-local government officials (not present during local meetings), followed by two paired, locally elected positions (*bawong sanak, saya penyarikan*, followed by all the other tenant farmers (*anggota*) working the land within each *subak* area. The members of these two "irrigation associations" perform three major functions relating to the physical and technological aspects of rice production: (1) they perform the agricultural labor for the rice fields located within the *subak's* boundaries, (2) they are responsible for the construction and maintainance of all local waterworks (dams, canals, weirs, and tunnels), and (3) they coordinate and oversee the allocation and distribution of irrigation water within the *subak* system. In addition, they unilaterally perform rituals linked to the rice growing cycle and participate together with the Tenganese *sekaha carik* in major rituals performed in the regional "water temples" (Français 1989:127-135).

45 These *sekaha carik* are administrative and supervisory organizations comprised of all those individuals (*nyangkepin*) who own shares (*asangkepan*) (both terms are derived from "*sangkep*" = ceremonial meeting) within a certain *tempek* (a defined subunit of irrigated land deriving its water from a single large canal [*pengelima*]), as well as members of the *Krama Desa*. *Carik* refers to the smallest subunit of individual plots (usually a single terrace) also called *sawah, kecoran*, or *tanding*. *Sekaha Carik* are a uniquely Tenganese addition to the Balinese productive and symbolic relations of irrigation (for Bali see Geertz 1971:27). Shares of communal land can be both inherited or bought by "core villagers." Shares are limited to three per nuclear family. However, this restriction can be circumvented since a shareholder can buy up more shares under someone else's name in return for part of the income. This is not done in secrecy even though the actual owner does not appear in village records. Women can be the "actual" owners of shares but are

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restricted from "official" ownership (i.e., their names are not listed in the village records) and do not participate in the official meetings of share holders. (This regulation may be nothing but an accomodation to Bali's patrilineal structure which excludes women from property ownership. In Tenganan, some of the largest share holders, at the moment, are in fact women. These female land owners wield considerable power within their families.) Each *sekaha carik* (which in the Tenganese view is a sacred institution), in addition to its physical supervisory function also fulfills a religious role, comprising within its larger membership of shareholders a "sacred institution" (*sekaha suci*) formed exclusively by *Krama Desa* members. The structure of each *sekaha carik* thus consists of three offices restricted to *Krama Desa* members (the *subak* or leader and the *penyarikan* (secretary/scribe) who must be drawn from the senior *Krama Desa* officials of *luanan* or *bahan*, and the *saya* (messenger) position which is restricted to those members of each *sekaha carik* who hold junior positions in the *Krama Desa* (*tambalapu* and *pengeluduan*). In addition to placing the relations of production into a religious context, this combined religious and administrative function of the *sekaha carik* also emphasizes that <u>all</u> land in Tenganan, even if in private possession, is ultimately under the authority of the *desa* and its religious, communal institutions.

[46] Prior to these reforms, sharecroppers were largely at the mercy of landlords. Korn states that sharecroppers' rights could be withdrawn by the landowner after each harvest and that a case which occurred in the 1920s when the sharecropping rights of the *desa adat* of Gumung were cancelled by Tenganan (1984:326).

[47] In Tenganan, five such swings are erected during the *sambah* ceremonies. Ramseyer, in an unpublished manuscript, has related these swings to an Indian fertility rite in which the swinging of the virgin girls is believed to generate vigorous growth of the crops. In addition, in the Tenganese *nganyunang lokan* ceremony already mentioned in Chapter Two, in the swinging of the purifying *kumeligi* offering, the world with its first inhabitants is recreated, and the primeval elements of the cosmos, earth, sun, and sky are reunited, recreating cosmic order and generating fertility.

[48] Older people in Tenganan remember having heard that on several occasions, following the visit of the gods from Timbrah, many Tenganese became afflicted with a skin disease (*krek*) produced by microscopic organisms which cause an itchy rash. It is not clear, however, if it was these outbreaks which contributed to the discontinuation of *ngantah*. In addition, there are more personal, social ties between both villages. Timbrah (as well as Bugbug) received young Tenganese women who became pregnant out of wedlock. If no man in the village would assume paternity, these women (as well as their offspring) were permanently banned from Tenganan. Living in Timbrah and Bugbug, some of them were able to marry locally. Their descendants still live in Bugbug and Timbrah, keeping alive informal ties to their ancestral families in Tenganan's "core village."

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[49] According to local history, *sambah* ceremonies were carried out in the Pura Masan Ujung during *sasih karo* (the second month of the çaka calendar corresponding approximately to August). People in Bungaya still tell a story according to which *sambah* festivals originated in Bungaya. The people of Tenganan came to Bungaya to participate, until one year, there was a huge flood near Bungaya which prevented the Tenganese from entering the village. According to the story, it was then, that the Tenganese decided to hold their own *Usaba Sambah*. This story, which is (not too surprisingly perhaps) unknown (or untold) in Tenganan, challenges Tenganan's status by declaring Bungaya as the most ancient ritual center in the region. Mythical stories such as these, which assert a village's ritual primacy, are common in Karangasem and attest to the fact that Old-Balinese villages frequently interacted and competed with each other over ritual centrality even though their primary objective was undoubtedly to preserve their own ritual spheres of autonomy.

[50] In the case of Bungaya, the Tenganese deity is male and referred to as "Betara Bagus Tenganan" ("the handsome god from Tenganan"). While his main shrine or "permanent resting place" (*pelinggih*) (from *melinggih* = to be seated) stands in Pura Penateran, a "temporary visiting place" (*pesimpangan*) (from *simpang* = to visit) is also maintained in Pura Puseh. Neither in Tenganan nor in Bungaya was I able to find out more about this deity. In Timbrah's case, the Tenganan deity is female. Her name, Dewi Nganten Tenganan ("the married goddess from Tenganan"), may indicate that she is a deified ancestral goddess of more recent origin (ancestral gods are usually referred to as *dewa* if male, and *dewi* if female, rather then as *betara/betari*, a term more often used for major village gods and deities of the Hindu pantheon)(for a more detailed discussion on such classifications see Schaareman 1986:53). Dewi Nganten Tenganan (who may possibly refer to an actual person from Tenganan who married into Timbrah, see also note 48) is considered as the spouse of Dewa Muter Ing Jagat "the God who turns the world" (referring to the Indian creation myth of the Mahabharata of the origin of the world, i.e. the "churning of the ocean" [for an account of this myth see Eiseman 1990:63-67]). Their shrines stand in Pura Pemaksan Jagat (referring to the origin temple of a corporate kingroup). In Tenganan, nothing further is known about this deity. Finally, in the case of Asak, the female deity from Tenganan is called Dewayu Mas Tenganan ("the beautiful golden goddess from Tenganan") who is believed to be married to Betara Puseh Nyoman ("the junior god of origin"). Her shrine stands in Asak's Pura Bale Agung and is visited by the Tenganese *Krama Desa*, *Teruna*, and *Daha*, all dressed in ritual *geringsing* cloth, each year on the occasion of her *odalan* (festival day) on the day of full moon of the sixth month of the Tenganan calendar. (A few years ago, the *Krama Desa* of Asak decided to reciprocate with a formal, yearly visit to Tenganan during Tenganan's first month ceremonies, the *Usaba Kasa*.) In Tenganan, people tell the story that this deity was once a living person who was expelled from the village because she was an

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albino. People in Tenganan eagerly point out that this is why today there are albinos in Asak rather than in Tenganan. According to another version, she was expelled because of a torn earlobe (both cases are considered as severe physical handicaps, disqualifying the individual from entering any of Tenganan's *adat* organizations). The Asak side of the story, not surprisingly, overlooks the physical appearance of the goddess, stressing instead, that she brought with her a significantly large "dowry" of land to which, henceforth, the people of Asak had cultivation rights. In the case of Bugbug, it is believed that one deity referred to as either as male by the name *Betara Gede Sambah*, or as female under the name of *Dewa Ayu Sambah*, whose shrine stands in the *Pura Desa*, is related to Tenganan. No further details seem to be known, however.

[51] When the royal court of Karangasem decided to no longer participate in this ceremony, it donated land to the village of Sibetan. As its name, *labuh pekeboan* ("buffalo land"), indicates, it is the income derived from this land which is now used by the village to buy the water buffalo for the ceremony.

[52] These cloth contributions are as follows:
Sibetan : *kamben poleng*, checkered white and black colors
Macang : black color
Timbrah : *kamben piraksak*, white, yellow, red, and green colors
Asak : *kamben graha*, white and red colors
Bungaya : yellow color
Prasi : *kamben angsoka*, white, black, red, and green colors
Bugbug : white color
Tenganan: *geringsing lubeng*, *mandala* motif with white/yellow, red, and
black colors
For this and the following information (note 53), I would like to thank Ida Pedanda Gede Pasuran of Sibetan.

[53] The textiles are placed on the buffalo's body which is split open and spread out flat in the following manner:
jaw : *kamben poleng*
ears : black cloth
neck : *kamben graha*
feet : black cloth
tail : yellow cloth
center of the body, piled on top of each other from bottom to top: white, *piraksok*, *angsoka*, *graha*, yellow, *geringsing*.

[54] The Tenganese version of the offering (*pemuja tanggung tanggungan*) contains four types of rice sheaves (*padi*)(white *taun abayan* and *padi gaga*, black *injin*, and red *kentan barak)*in the three colors symbolizing the Hindu trinity of gods. In addition the offering contains 16 types of twigs with leaves, and a container woven of leaves (*bimbinan*) containing uncooked rice (*beras*).

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[55] Pura Penateran Yeh Santi with its stone altar for the Gods of Gunung Agung is the local representation of Besakih, Bali's mother temple. If, for any reason, offerings can not be brought to Besakih, they can be dedicated here. Similarly, Tenganan's Pura Dalem Pengastulan is a subsidiary of the Pengastulan temple of Bedulu.

[56] Geertz (1972:30) describes seven ritual stages in the growing cycle which are also basically followed in eastern Bali:

1. water opening (*amapeg toja*)
2. terrace opening (*njamu ngempelin*)
3. planting (*mubuhin*)
4. purifying the water (*toja sutji*)
5. "feeding" the gods with holy water and other offerings (*ngerestiti ngrahinin*)
6. budding of the rice plants (*membiju kukung*)
7. this stage (*ngusaba*) consists of three phases: "yellowing" of the rice, harvesting, and placing the rice into the granary.

[57] These deities are: Betara Gunung Agung, Betara Ratu Puseh, Betara Gede Dangin (who may be a local manifestation of Betara Gumang), Betara Ayu Ketut Bugbug (married to Betara Gede Dangin), Betara Dalem Kelod, Betara Dalem Kangin, Betara Ratu Pasek, Betara Ayu Maspait, and Betara Manik Budak (son of Betara Gede Dangin and Betara Ayu Bugbug). (Note that all male and female deities are commonly referred to by the villagers as "*betara*".)

[58] These deities are: Ida Ratu Bagus Besakih, Betara Gede Gumang, Betara Gede Wayan, Betara Bagus Muter, Betara Tulus Swargan, Betara Bagus Blambangan, Betara Bagus Jura Margi, Betara Pasek, and Betara Lingsir Puseh.

[59] In Asak, six deities (among them Dewa Puseh Nyoman and Dewi Ayu Mas Tenganan) are wrapped in *geringsing*.

[60] In Timbrah, *geringsing* is used as wrapping for eight deities: Dewa Nganten Tenganan, Dewa Nganten Bungaya, Dewa Nganten Saren, Dewa Muter Jagat, Dewa Beten Bingin ("Betara Gede"), Dewa Mayun, Dewa Muter Anom, Dewa Maospait. According to people in Timbrah, in the past, if the wrapping for the deity from Tenganan needed to be changed, Tenganan would provide a *geringsing* cloth free of charge. While this may not be the case any longer, there are, however, still weavers in Tenganan who feel a special moral obligation to offer their *geringsings* at very reasonable prices (i.e., far below the market price) for such occasions.

[61] In Bungaya, *gerinsing* wrappings are used for two village deities, Betara Lingsir and Betara Delod Pasar. In addition, six deities participating in Bungaya's greatest ceremony, the *Usaba Dangsil*, "must be dressed in *geringsing*". For each *Usaba Dangsil*, the old *geringsing* wrappings must be replaced with new ones. As Bungaya is currently

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preparing for the next *Usaba Dangsil*, the village is faced with great financial difficulties and is considering to settle, for the first time, for the much cheaper single-ikat *geringsing* imitations (these *endek* textiles are not produced in Tenganan but in the villages of Sidemen and Ngis [Hauser-Schäublin, Nabholz-Kartaschoff, and Ramseyer 1991:27-30]).

62 All of Tanah Aron's eight major village gods have *geringsing* wrappings (*penggange*). These are: Betara Giri Putri, Betara Bagus Geni Jaya, Betara Yangtugu, Betara Jaya Ningrat, Betara Puseh, Betara Ratu Ayu, Betara Ratu Bagus, and Betara Ida Bagus Penyarikan. In 1963, following the eruption of Gunung Agung and the desertion of the village, all of these antique wrappings disappeared and were presumably stolen. With the help of Tenganan, all of them have been replaced with new *geringsing*.

63 The royal house of Klungkung owns double-ikat Indian *patola* cloth as well as its Balinese counterpart, the *geringsing*. *Geringsing* cloth intended for royal courts were often embroidered with gold thread, thus combining the ancient ancestral powers of cotton *ikat* with the prestige value of the supplementary weft brocades which they now resembled. Both *geringsing* and *patola* textiles are used for healing by Klungkung's royal family. Many people still come to Ida Dalem Pemayun (the royal family's highest ranking member) to request threads from these cloths for medicinal purposes. In the Puri Kelodan (the oldest house of the royal court of Karangasem), *geringsing* is used for the "*sanan empeg*" ceremony. The royal houses of Karangasem further employ *geringsing* in their death rituals. A *geringsing* cloth is placed on top of the cremation tower (*wadah*) on its way from the palace to the grave yard. While in principle, this *geringsing* should be burned along with the tower "to guide the soul toward heaven," it is generally removed before the tower is burned and can be reused in subsequent death rituals. In addition, *geringsing* cloth is an important ingredient in royal tooth filing ceremonies where it protects the initiate from potential harm. During royal wedding ceremonies a single *geringsing* cloth is placed over the shoulders of bride and groom symbolizing the unity of the couple, drawing them into a circle of power and bestowing on them protection and fertility. Here the *geringsing* fulfills a similar function as the "*dodot*" batik cloth during royal weddings in ancient Java which enveloped bride and groom in a shroud of cosmic power, making the couple metaphorically the the center of the universe (Achjadi 1989:151). Karangasem's royal families also sometimes rely on the potency of the *geringsing* cloth for healing purposes.

64 In Tenganan, the most common method of traditional healing involves simple water which has been purified through its consecration to the earth goddess, Ibu Pertiwi, at the house temple (*sanggah kemulan*). This water is then transformed by the *balian* (traditional medical practitioner) through the use of special *mantras* (magical syllables) into a medicinal potion which is drunk by the patient (for a detailed description of this method employed by the Tenganese healer and

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former village chief, I Tanggu, see Weck 1986 [1937]:29-33). The same method described by Weck, is still widely practised in Tenganan today by a descendant of I Tanggu as well as by the other healers.

65 Article 24 and 25 of Tenganan's constitution (*awig-awig*) recount these events. Article 25 states that the people of Tenganan, after informing the royal court of Karangasem (led by I Gusti Gede Anglurah Karangasem), went to the royal court of Klungkung to request permission to write a new charter.

66 Representatives of Tenganan's village organizations were invited to attend royal ceremonies at the court. In return, the king was invited to the closing ceremony of Tenganan's Usaba Sambah. In addition, the king and other members of the royal family attended large cockfights which were staged in Tenganan during the second month of the ceremonial calendar.

67 It is each village's *pauman* organization which is responsible for financing part of the ceremony. Each *dangsil* is named after the location of the *pauman* land in each village. In the case of Tenganan, its *dangsil nungnungan* is named after the *pauman* rice fields from which the village's contribution to the ceremony is derived. In the past, the Puri Karangasem carried a large portion of the financial burden of the ceremony. Currently there are preparations going on for the next *Usaba Dangsil*. However, the distribution of costs between villages and royal houses is still under discussion.

68 This close link goes back to the very beginnings of the court of Karangasem when one of its founding members, I Gusti Arya Batanjeruk (former prime minister of the kingdom of Gelgel under Batu Renggong [ca. 1520-1550, Creese 1991:236-260] who headed a revolt against Batu Renggong's son and successor Bekung, was forced to flee together with his brothers and hid in Bungaya where he died in 1556 (according to some sources in a battle against Gelgel, according to others in an attack by his pursuers)(Schaareman 1986:36, A.A. Ketut Agung 1991:32-33). A shrine in Bungaya's Pura Penateran is dedicated to I Gusti Batan Jeruk.

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PART II

THE DYNAMICS OF TRADITION: TRANSFORMATIONS OF POWER IN TENGANAN

Theoretical Reorientations: Globalism, Localism, and Cultural Identity

> Most local cultures worldwide are products of a history of appropriations, resistances, and accomodations. The [present] task...is...to revise ethnographic description away from the framing of the cultural unit toward a view of cultural situations as *always* in flux, in a perpetual historical sensitive state of resistance and accomodation to broader processes of influence that are as much inside as outside the local context.
>
> (Marcus and Fischer 1986:78, quoted in Barth 1993:339)

Barth, in his protrayal of Balinese society as a "luminous mosaic" of highly complex and diverse organization (1993:9), has attempted to capture the extraordinary variation and complexity that is constantly generated on this small island. Focusing on processes that keep Bali in a state of flux, he reverses the earlier "steady state" images of Balinese culture as a whole of carefully articulated parts. However, he -- like so many scholars before him -- characterizes "Bali Aga" culture as a timeless, passively static tradition, defined by the *absence* of certain institutions (most notably caste and kingship) which he attributes (like his predecessors), to their supposed location outside the royal realm (1993:228). As we have seen in Part I, in the case of Karangasem, such a view is historically questionable. Inter-village networks were, I argued, an important "coping mechanism" actively

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initiated by the Old-Balinese villages in their attempt to both resist and adapt to broader changes.

While Part I of the dissertation attempted to define the main features of the village network and the nature of its center-periphery relations (involving, among others, relations with the royal domains), Parts II and III deal with current processes of change, as this inter-village network is drawn into larger national and global spheres of political and economic power. Part II describes the processes of change which are currently unfolding in Tenganan, the *mandala*'s center, while Part III presents center-periphery contrasts in the context of international tourism.

Globalization, like earlier processes of change, does not move in a unilinear direction, but is a highly dialectical phenomenon, constantly producing new ambiguities and contradictions as it unfolds. As some theorists currently argue, it simultaneously engenders processes of homogeneization and processes of heterogenization, mutually implicating the "global" and the "local" (Robertson 1995:27). Chapter Four concerns this dynamic, examining the production and reproduction of difference in Tenganan in the context of national development. It focuses on the ongoing processes of de- and reconstruction of Tenganan identity, a (re)positioning of the self within the larger economic and bureaucratic structures of power (Wood 1984, Friedman 1992). This process of repositioning involves renegotiations of Tenganan's cultural boundaries (i.e., the "core village's control over ritual, land, and fertility) through the (re)construction of its history and *adat* and can be directly

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observed in the village's demography which has produced very different dynamics in the "core village" versus Banjar Pande.

In this ongoing process of cultural renegotiation, tradition -- far from the often presumed static connotations it entails -- emerges as a dynamic force, driven by its own internal contradictions or "inner conflicts" (Heesterman 1985). In Tenganan, this internal dynamic is centered on the continued tension between two basic cultural mechanisms: processes and structures of hierarchical concentration of power, versus processes and structures for the levelling of power. Tenganan's boundary control mechanisms are constantly readjusted in dialogue with this inner dynamic. Globalization, development, and modernity are not so much external forces which impinge on static and passive local communities, but rather new and expanded "opportunity fields" in which these ever-present "inner conflicts of tradition" are questioned, contested, and renegotiated.

Chapter Five examines current processes of change in the context of these pre-existing "inner conflicts of tradition." As a multi-directional phenomenon, cultural change involves modernization, homogenization, rationalization, and bureaucratization at one level, and cultural difference and the reaffirmation of local identity at another level. Local culture is, in the words of Marcus and Fischer, "always in flux" (1986:78), moving back and forth between resistance and accomodation, continuously responding to forces lying inside and outside the local context. This view reverberates well with the local Tenganese conception that "perfect stillness" is neither a natural nor a passive

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state but can only be achieved and maintained over time through continuous, controlled movement in opposing directions. "Stasis," in the local view, is "the perfect balance of all directional forces."

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE PRODUCTION AND RENEGOTIATION OF CULTURAL DIFFERENCE IN TENGANAN PEGRINGSINGAN

RECONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF "THE GLOBAL" AND "THE LOCAL" IN ANTHROPOLOGICAL THEORY

This chapter is concerned with the formation and practice of cultural identity in Tenganan in the context of globalization, Indonesian nationalism, and the revitalization of Balinese cultural identity. Identity, as Friedman (1992:837) has pointed out, is a question of local empowerment, dehomogenization, and dehegemonization within the Western-dominated, global arena. Processes of self-identification thus form one of the nodal points where "the global" and "the local" intersect through "the interaction between locally specific practices of selfhood and the dynamics of global positioning" (Friedman 1992:837).

Before addressing the structural and symbolic mechanisms which are involved in the historical reconstruction and practice of identity in Tenganan, it is necessary to first outline some of the key issues in a major debate over social change and the problematics of modernity which is currently unfolding in the social sciences. The aim of this discussion is to redefine processes of globalization and localization within the context of the post-modern world. Over the past decade, globalization, as a general framework for conceptualizing current eco-

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nomic, political, and cultural macro-processes of change, has increasingly taken center stage in social theory in general and in anthropological and cultural studies in particular (Kearney 1995; Featherstone 1990; Featherstone 1995; Featherstone, Lash, and Robertson 1995; Gupta and Ferguson 1992). Since the beginning of the 1990s, globalization has become perhaps *the* most influential paradigm, building upon earlier theories of transformation (of both, Marxist and post-modernist orientation) which had focused on change as *either* a homogenizing *or* heterogenizing force, and as either a largely internal process or as the outcome of struggles between competing nation-states (Featherstone and Lash 1995:2). Globalization as a gloss for social, economic, cultural, and demographic processes which take place within particular nations but which simulatneously transcend spatial and temporal boundaries of nation-states through increasingly intensive and complex "global flows" (Appadurai 1990) has deep-reaching implications for anthropology which is typically concerned with ideas of "community", "identity, and "the local" (Kearney 1995:548). The conceptualization of change has thus shifted from a process occurring within the bounded spaces of centers and peripheries (e.g., models based on World System and Dependency Theory) toward a process defined by multidirectional, unbounded, and interpenetrating cultural, global flows (Appadurai 1990).

Contours of the "Global - Local" Debate

When the paradigm of globalization first gained prominence, two competing models of culture change emerged (Featherstone and Lash

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1995:1-24; Featherstone 1995:6). The first theoretical framework, derived from the Marxist inspired Dependency and World Systems approaches, operated on two interwoven, yet somewhat contradictory premises. First was the implicit assumption that globalization is leading to an overall process of world-wide, convergent cultural development in which dominant, Western core cultures extend hegemonically outward into Third World peripheries, obliterating heterogeneous, local cultures and histories in the process (note how this underlying assumption of convergence lingered on from earlier modernization perspectives). Second was the classical functionalist and Marxist view that globalization has to be understood as a dialectical process in which changes occurring at one side of the "world system" provoke divergent, and often contradictory changes on the other side of the system. These continuously arising divergencies tended to be seen, however, within the context of systemic, universalistic, homogenizing macro-processes (e.g., the spread of commoditization, world capitalism, mass media, etc.).

The discussions among this first generation of globalization theorists (as an example see the debate between Wallerstein and Boyne in Featherstone 1990) gave way to a second generation who focus increasingly on globalization as a process of divergence, often disputing not only notions of homogenization and convergence but the very idea of development (Featherstone and Lash 1995:4). Inspired by the reflexivity of postmodernism, this new generation does not subscribe to the idea of the assumed homogenization, hegemonization, and compression of global space and culture, but instead uses globalization as a frame-

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work in analyzing processes of deglobalization, localization, differentiation, and contestation -- a space "within which different cultures meet and clash" (Featherstone 1995:6). They thus shift the emphasis from questions of cultural domination and absorption to issues of redefined localisms and processes of revitalization of ethnicity and cultural identity. Globalization now comes to be seen less as a unilinear, inevitable process of totalizing, hegemonic integration into which local cultures inevitably become submerged, than as an ever shifting, fluid mosaic of localities, cultural juxtapositions, disjunctions, as well as hybridizations transmuting all conventional spatial and temporal boundaries. As Appadurai has informed us, this "new global cultural economy" can no longer be understood in terms of "center-periphery" or "push and pull" models and theories, not even of the most flexible and complex nature, which have emerged from Marxist and neo-Marxist theories (Appadurai 1990:296). The inadequacy of these earlier frameworks has led to new attempts to transcend this debate of global homogenization *versus* heterogenization by focusing instead on the ways in which *both* tendencies are *mutually* implicative (Featherstone and Lash 1995:27). The question, thus, no longer is <u>whether</u> these two processes are interrelated, but <u>how</u>.

Rethinking Globalization

Within the current geopolitical context of declining Western hegemony, globalization can no longer be conceived "in terms of the

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dominance of a single center over the peripheries" (Featherstone 1995:12) but rather in terms of kaleidoscopic shifts of power as new, competing centers emerge and new blocks of power begin to form "new sets of interdependencies" (Featherstone 1995:13). Within this new political and economic environment, globalization, rather than producing hegemonic uniformity, does seem to set the stage for global differentiation and pluralism. In this emerging "polyphonic" discourse, Western powers no longer can claim political, economic, and cultural dominance over the rest of the world, a world which increasingly is "talking back", forcing -- perhaps for the first time -- the West to listen (Featherstone 1995:13). Within this expanding environment of political pluralism and multiculturalism, new and interesting theoretical frameworks are emerging.

The first of these is Robertson's "glocalization" theory (1995:25-44) which strives to overcome the "heterogeneity-homogeneity" and "global-local" divide so long a feature of globalization discourses. Eschewing models of the superposition of global processes on local contexts, Robertson emphasizes processes of "global institutionalization," in which there is a global creation of locality and construction of cultural particularism. In his view, localism is thus not a reaction to globalization but an *inherent* condition of it. This process is partially market driven as "diversity sells," leading to the "invention" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983) and "imagination" (Anderson 1983) of tradition and locality (e.g., the proliferation of ethnic stores and catalogues in Western countries, ethnic tourism, etc.), and partially politically

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motivated as minority groups assert their voices and claims within global and transnational arenas (e.g., various UN sponsored, international conferences on a broad range of issues such as the environment, human rights, the status of women, and grassroots approaches to development). Robertson concludes that the very "form of globalization is currently being reflexively reshaped in such ways as to increasingly make projects of *glocalization* the constitutive features of contemporary globalization" (1995:41).

While Robertson focuses on the creation of *multiculturalism* through global institutions, others see globalization in terms of *interculturalism*. Pieterse (1995:45-65), for example, argues that globalization engenders hybridization and new forms of syncretism in which "forms become separated from existing practices and recombine with new forms in new practices" (Rowe and Schelling 1991:231, quoted in Pieterse 1995:49). Appadurai (1990:295-308) has referred to these newly arising connections and disjunctures as "global flows"[1]. Like Appadurai (1990:307) who sees as the central feature of global culture the "politics of mutual effort and sameness and difference to cannibalize one another", Pieterse stresses the relations of power and hegemony which define "the politics of hybridity." "Hence hybridity raises the question of the *terms* of mixture, the conditions of mixing and [the type of the] mélange" (1995:57). On one end of this continuum we find "assimilationist hybridity" in which "the centre predominates," while on the other end we find an hybridity that blurs, destabilizes, and challenges the center, its categories, and canons (1995:57).

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One such cultural field within which processes of accomodation and contestation unfold is "the practice of identity" (Friedman 1995:86-89). Friedman, however, challenges the idea of hybridization as *dis-authentication* of Third and Fourth World Identities, and theories of hybridization as symptoms of the crisis of modernity which is currently unfolding in the core (Featherstone and Lash 1995:6). Rather he examines the production of "identity" and "identity spaces" within the political context of the crisis of Western hegemony, "in which the 'people without history' (Wolf 1982) can begin to use Western and indigenous symbols to contruct their own identity-spaces" (Featherstone and Lash 1995:7). For Friedman, the "practice of identity" represents one of the major arenas where global and local forces meet and interact. "Making history," as a way of producing identity, occurs through this interaction of "locally specific practices of selfhood and the dynamics of global positioning" (1992:837). Thus, for Friedman, the practice of identity is "about the identification of an existential world, the attribution of meaning to the world, to objects, persons, and relations. This practice identifies the self as it identifies the world" (1995:86). However, Friedman's study of Greek and Hawaiian identity formation also reminds us that the pertinent cultural elements which are selected for the construction and practice of local identity always depend on structural positioning within the larger "world system".

A "coming to terms" with a new world of economic disorganization, political disjuncture and cultural polyphony is the common theme underlying all of the new approaches to globalization and has become one

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of the central concerns for writing "ethnographies of late twentieth-century modernity," a modernity marked by the decline of ethnographic authority (Clifford 1983). As Marcus puts it, "such primordial phenomena as traditions, communities, kinship systems, rituals, and power structures continue to be documented [but] can no longer, in and of themselves, serve as the grounding tropes which organize ethnographic description and explanation" (1992:312). In this postmodernist environment of temporal and spatial deconstruction, Bauman (1995) adds, the "search for a centre that holds" lies at the very heart of the human condition, a search which is carried out not in "the macro-spaces of globality" but in "the micro-spaces of community" (Featherstone and Lash 1995:11). As a response to the need for a stable center in an age of rapid change, we find of having the latest postmodernist trend, a return to community. Communities "as bestowers of identity" through the invention of tradition act as the new "imaginary centers made real" (Featherstone and Lash 1995:12).

RETHINKING CHANGE: THE 'DYNAMICS OF TRADITION'

While the globalization debate primarily focuses on concepts such as "identity" and "community" as the major frameworks within which "locality" is being constructed and renegotiated, "tradition" itself, as an inherent element of local identity, has been somewhat overlooked in the discussions. This is not to say, however, that conceptions of tradition have not undergone fundamental redefinitions as well. "Tradition"

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versus "modernity" was one of the central problematics of earlier theories of development. In particular, Modernization Theory, which arose in the polarized political cold war climate after World War II, and which continues to influence Western policies of development and foreign aid, has shaped our image of tradition as static, immutable, and "backward" and as the primary obstacle to progress or "moving ahead." However, this hegemonic and western-centric view of "tradition" and "development" was challenged first by Marxist and neo-Marxist perspectives (most notably by the Dependency Theorists and World Systems School) which presented the first major critique of Modernization Theory from the position of Third World "peripheries." These challenges were followed by a range of alternative approaches (many of which find their expression in various "indigenous" and "grass roots" movements) which are no longer based on Euro-American models of change but on non-western perspectives (e.g., Wiarda 1988, Pitt 1976, Tolba 1987).

With this theoretical shift, the concept of "tradition" also underwent a 180-degree turn from its earlier definition as an "obstacle" to change which must be overcome or removed by modernity to a "glorified symbol" of a no longer existing pre-colonial past.[2] Hobsbawm and Ranger's important book The Invention of Tradition (1983), which lays to rest conventional conceptions of tradition as ancient and static, and which focuses instead on "tradition" as a dynamic force shaping and legitimizing new political structures, emerged within this new and shifting theoretical environment.

Heesterman further builds upon this new notion of "tradition" as a medium for change. In his book The Inner Conflict of Tradition

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(1985), he challenges the conventional view of Indian villages as "traditional, autonomous village republics," demonstrating how this concept has become an ideological cornerstone for colonial political interests (1985:180ff)(for a similar approach to history and politics in colonial Bali see Schulte Nordholt 1991, 1996). Heesterman's book is also interesting for the insights it offers into the workings of the "dynamics of tradition." He contends that changes in Indian society evolve less from institutional forces but from an ever-present "inner conflict" or tension between the Hindu ideal of world renunciation and the realities of social existence. In each historical epoch, this essential "inner conflict" in Indian tradition is played out anew, which leads Heesterman to his conclusion that modernity is not about the "supersession of tradition or the superimposition on it of a different order" (1985:25), but merely a new and expanded arena in which the ever-present "inner conflicts" of Indian society and culture are reexamined, contested, and renegotiated.

THE RENEGOTIATION OF DIFFERENCE IN TENGANAN AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE GLOBAL-LOCAL CONJECTURE

Drawing on these recent theoretical insights that (1) "globalization" and "localization" (as well as homogenization and heterogenization) are not inherently oppositional forces but the mutually defining aspects of a single process (Robertson 1995), and (2) that globalization is merely a new and expanded arena in which the pre-

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existing "inner conflicts" of local traditions are renegotiated (Heesterman 1985), we now return to Tenganan to examine processes of change which are conditioned by larger global and national fields of power currently unfolding in the local sphere. Part I of the dissertation has outlined some of the cultural, social, and economic forces that continue to maintain Tenganan as the central node within a regional inter-village network. The Indic *mandala* model, through which this network is organized, represents a major local, cultural mechanism for negotiating the ever-present "inner conflicts of tradition" both within Tenganan itself and between the village and its surrounding periphery. These "inner conflicts" revolve around the themes of concentrating versus levelling power and the containment versus the flow of power, expressed in the ever-present conflict between Tenganan's cultural ideals of "stasis," cultural distinction, and biological isolation, versus the socio-economic realities and necessities of change and integration. These basic, unresolvable dilemmas are symbolized in the *mandala* image of a static center and a dynamic periphery and are institutionalized through a complex boundary-control mechanism which negotiates and "localizes" larger forces of socio-economic change and integration. These two mutually defining "inner conflicts of Tenganan tradition" represent the local stage on which globalization is played out and define the parameters within which global or national forces are locally evaluated, reworked, contested, accepted, and resisted.

Tradition, to the Tenganese, is not merely the idea of a sacred, immutable, ancient order which must remain intact, but also a context

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for challenging, accomodating, and interpreting the new and the modern. Vickers has recently described the process of renegotiation of Balinese identity in terms of a "contradiction between the way that Balinese have embraced the new and, at the same time, have been caught up in a process of looking backwards" (1996:30). While the Balinese habit of "being modern" through embracing "tradition" may indeed seem contradictory for the outside observer, I believe, it is much less so for the Balinese themselves who merely renegotiate the parameters of what it means to be "traditional" or "modern." As Vickers notes, for a Balinese to be modern may simply mean to build a larger house temple or to hold a grand style cremation (1996:30-32). If we accept the premise that tradition does have an internal dynamic of its own, then we also can no longer assume that "development" and "modernization" are massive, external forces which are superimposed on passive local cultures. Instead, modernity is but a new and expanded context within which pre-existing, "inner conflicts of tradition" are reworked and renegotiated.

The "Politics of Difference": Cultural (Re)constructions of Tenganan Tradition and Identity[3]

> Self-definition does not occur in a vacuum, but in a world already defined.
>
> (Friedman 1992:837).

In the case of Tenganan, this "externally defined world" consists of several layers: (1) the international, global arena characterized by the global cultural, political, and economic "flows" (Appadurai

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1990)(one of these global flows which is of major consequence for Tenganan is international tourism, which will be addressed in detail in part III of the dissertation), (2) the national arena defined by the cultural, political and economic agenda of the Indonesian nation-state (e.g., Wood 1984, Kipp and Rodgers 1987), and (3) the regional, Balinese arena with its own cultural claims for a distinct Hindu identity within this Muslim dominated polity (e.g., Geertz 1973:170-189, Vickers 1989:175-213, Schulte Nordholt 1991, Warren 1991,1993). Yet within Hindu-Balinese society itself, there are subgroups which are struggling to define, claim and maintain their own identities (e.g., Barth 1993; Lansing 1983, chap.6; Reuter 1995). These subgroups include Balinese Muslims and Christians as well as the "Bali Aga" (the so-called "original Balinese").

International tourism, with its continued search for the most "exotic" and presumably most "untouched" elements within Balinese culture, has targeted specifically the "Bali Aga" villages -- which have been marketed in the tourist literature as a Balinese equivalent of the Southeast Asian mainland hill tribes -- precisely because of their marginalization within mainstream Balinese culture. The Tenganese have become perhaps the most prominent example of one of those "most isolated and traditional" micro-cultures within Bali which have been singled out as "obyek wisata" (tourist object) by national and international development planners (Wood 1980:570, Noronha 1976). As for other cultural sub-groups in Indonesia which have been targeted by tourism (e.g., Volkman 1990), Tenganese reformulations of history and identity take place

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not only in dialogue with the state, but with what Volkman calls a "distinctive 'tourist gaze'" (1990:91). Chapters Six and Seven will deal in more detail with this process of "touristification" (a phrase borrowed from Picard 1993:72) of Tenganan culture.

Yet the construction of Tenganese cultural identity is not only a form of accomodation to larger national and international arenas of power but is also a means of local empowerment and "dehegemonization" of these larger spheres. The process of (re)constructing the past in ways which are meaningful in the present thus becomes largely a question of "(re)positioning the self" within structures of international, national, and sub-national fields of power (Wood 1984, Friedman 1992). The Tenganese, in their attempts to position themselves within Balinese society, draw on a variety of cultural mechanisms. The first of these is the usage of mythology and history as instruments of legitimization. This is the same strategy which the Balinese have employed in their cultural claims vis-à-vis the Indonesian nation state, redefing their identity in religious terms as the cultural guardians of Java's Hindu-Buddhist past (Geertz 1973:170-189). Balinese cultural identity, as the last stronghold of Hinduism in a Muslim dominated nation, in turn affects the definition of Indonesian national identity which stresses its Hindu-Buddhist heritage and deemphasizes Islam (Wood 1984:365).

Similarly, the Tenganese define themselves as the guardians of Bali's mythical Hindu past, as the sole descendants of the "*Wong Paneges*," a spiritually pure people, who were created by God Indra. Recapitulating this myth which was described in Chapter Two, this

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primordial Hindu community lived in the sacred settlement of *Paneges* and devoted itself entirely to the worship of complex Hindu rites. The mytho-historical text *Usana Bali* ("History of Bali") describes the threat to this idyllic world order by the godless and despotic king Mayadanawa and his eventual defeat by God Indra who restored Hinduism in Bali. Those parts of the *Usana Bali* which refer to the settlement itself and its ceremonial cycle (and to which the people of Tenganan still adhere) have become a blueprint for the symbolic construction of the present village of Tenganan as a *mandala* community devoted to spiritual purity and ritual exclusivity (see Ramseyer 1984).

This sense of cultural uniqueness combined with a strong feeling of sharing and community, as well as the responsibility to continue the sacred order passed down from God Indra to the people of Paneges, has become the center of Tenganan's cultural construction of identity and has been conveyed to me in countless interviews and conversations with many "core villagers" and residents of Banjar Pande Kaja, regardless of their current social and economic position within the village. The following quotations from individual Tenganese villagers may serve to convey this strong sense of a unique, shared history and the resulting duty to their community.

> We must never forget what it means to be from Tenganan, what it means to be born, to live, and to die in Tenganan. We must never forget the meaning of "wong Tenganan" [person/people of Tenganan]. The needs of the community always must come before the needs of the family or the individual. For example, parents are expected to leave their small children at home when they are called to the *Bale Agung* [for communal work, meetings, or ceremonies]. Even if there is a death in the family, the duty at the Bale Agung always comes first. A person

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may not even be able to attend the death ceremony of a close relative if his presence is required at the *Bale Agung* at that time. For example, a *luanan* [five highest positions in *Krama Desa*] is not allowed to become *sebel* [polluted] according to our *adat* laws. Therefore, when there are ceremonies at the *Bale Agung*, he or she cannot participate in any death ritual, even of a close family member. The duty to the *Bale Agung* always comes before the duty to the family. (Priest of the "core village")

In Tenganan there is the strong feeling of being of one family or of one blood. This feeling does not exist in other villages. For example, if a family here has a ceremony, all the people in the village are invited to join. Besides, Tenganan's ceremonial system itself is also different. In contrast to the two general Hindu varieties in Bali [referring to the "Siwa" and "Boda" orientations in Bali Hinduism] Tenganan follows *aliran Indra* [cult of Indra]. Indra is the god of war, and also the god of water and lightning. Many of our ceremonies here are linked to Indra. The other Balinese see Tenganan as "Bali Aga" and sometimes think of us as pre-Hindu. They don't know that we are the true descendants of God Indra. To be from Tenganan is something very special. But we should not boast about it. (Teacher)

Tenganan's greatest strength lies in its sense of community which is based on spiritualism and religion. We share what we have. Life here is regulated by the *awig-awig*. It is difficult for leaders to impose their own ideas. Individuals in Tenganan can not stick out too much. Tenganan society as a whole is strong. Our power [*wibawa*] is communal. The desa has the strength of *adat* [traditional law]. People who don't obey the *desa* are punished and isolated, even from their own family. Life for such people is like being dead. (Business man)

Tenganan is different from all other villages in Bali. The symbol of Tenganan's identity is the *adat* [traditional law] which expresses our feeling of community, togetherness, and being of one family. For example, it is not allowed in Tenganan to avoid or not to talk to certain people when there is a communal meeting. Also it is written in the *awig-awig* [village constitution] that it is not allowed to use strong language during formal meetings [*sangkep*] at the *Bale Agung*. The laws here are set up in such a way that the needs of the community always come first, before the needs of individuals. For example, one cannot say that one is busy and excuse oneself from the communal meetings. Even if people are

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ill they have to participate in communal tasks. If they don't, they are fined. Even if someone dies at a time when there are meetings or ceremonies at the *Bale Agung*, everyone except the closest family still has to participate at the *Bale Agung*. One can be excused, but one is fined. If someone dies here, the whole village comes to the house of the deseased. Outside of Tenganan, people only fulfill social obligations toward specific social or religious organizations. It is not the *whole* village which participates. If there is an important cause we all come together. For example, if a house burns in Tenganan, the whole village turns up to help. There is no one who does not participate. This feeling of working together is still strong. In Pasedahan [the neighboring village], when a house burned a few years ago, only family and friends showed up. Here we all come together to protect our village, if necessary until death. (Lawyer)

The symbol of our identity is our history, especially pertaining to the *Usana Bali* and the "myth of the horse" [see Chapter Two/note 12 for an account of this myth]. *Betara* Indra and the *geringsing* are also symbols of our identity. The feeling that all the space within the four gates is sacred is also part of our identity. Our whole social structure, the physical layout of village and houseyards, our ceremonies, our own calendar, the sacredness of the *geringsing* are all part of our identity. (Village chief, anthropologist)

Our identity is linked to our "*wibawa desa*" [power of the village] which depends on the layout of the village and the houseyards, and that the ceremonies are performed according to the schedule [set by Tenganan's ceremonial calendar]. In other villages, ceremonies can be delayed or stopped if necessary. Here, this is not allowed to happen. For example, once, there was the request [by the government] to change the timing of the *kare-kare* ritual [to accomodate the schedule of a visiting official]. The village refused. Even if the president would ask, we regretably would have to refuse. The ceremonies here must be performed at the proper time, no matter what. (Government official)

What is most different from other villages is Tenganan's religion, especially with respect to death ceremonies. People here are put into the grave naked. This is the essence of *agama Indra* [the religion of Indra]. We have to return to *Betara* Indra the same way as we are born. There is also a biological difference. *Kaung* and *Keling* [the Tenganese ancestral couple] were created by God

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> Indra. They were pure people. To preserve this purity, marriage has to be within the village. There is the feeling here that Tenganan is "*paling suci*" [most sacred and pure]. Unfortunately, all the *lontars* [palm leaf manuscripts] which could attest to this, burned in the great fire [referring to the fire of 1841 which destroyed large parts of the village, including the *Bale Agung* where most of the records, including the village constitution, were kept]. (*Lontar* specialist)
>
> The Tenganese see themselves as "*orang suci*" [sacred and pure people]. This is documented in the *Usana Bali*. However, people here don't like to admit this because they fear that they might be viewed as conceited. Outside Balinese still see Tenganan as strong and powerful. This power is based on the *adat*, the ceremonies and the structure of the village. Some people, including *pedandas* [*Brahmana* high-priests], to this day don't dare to enter the village through the gates. [This refers to a story commonly told in the village according to which in the past, *brahmana* priests and other visitors used to avoid the gates because they feared their magical power. Today, the main access to the village is through a small, and magically neutral, side entrance]. (Lontar specialist).

While for the Tenganese the process of "self identification" is primarily a matter of sharing solidarity and of situating their community within the history of Balinese Hinduism as the sole descendants and defenders of a primordial, sacred "Hindu-communitas," for other Balinese (including many Balinese researchers) and for the tourist market, identity is more a matter of simplification and classification. Thus, to outsiders (researchers and general public alike), the Tenganese are but one example, albeit a divergent one, of "Bali Aga" culture (which often carries the connotation of "primitive" pre-Hindu or non-Hindu), or, at best, the exception which confirms the rule of "Bali Aga" traditions. This label has confused many Tenganese. They point out that although sharing certain characteristics of social structure with the

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other "Bali Aga," they do not maintain social or ritual links with any of the classical highland "Bali Aga" groups. In fact, Tenganan *adat* law specifically prohibits intermarriage with any of these groups. Tenganese further stress that they are the "people of God Indra", with Indra being a decidedly Hindu deity.

Contrary to outside Balinese who see in the Tenganese a rare example of Bali's "indigenous" population, the Tenganese believe that their own origins lie in Java or even beyond, in India, a claim which has been strengthened by the more recent anthropological studies of Tenganan's biological make-up (Breguet's genetic studies [1980, 1995]) and its textile technology (Ramseyer's research on *geringsing* [1983, 1984, 1991, also in Bühler et al. 1975/76]). These views stand in stark contrast to earlier ethnographic material which either focused on Tenganan's Old-Balinese elements of social structure (Korn 1933) or which echoed popular outside Balinese conceptions of Tenganan as a magically powerful, isolated community where strange rituals of human sacrifice take place and where human blood is used to produce the most powerful cloth in all of Bali (e.g., Wirz 1928:4-5, Covarrubias 1936: 17-25).

The tourist industry, with its insatiable appetite for the exotic, has fed on these exaggerated, distorted, and often misplaced images of Tenganan. Ironically, however, it was partly due to these distortions that the Tenganese felt the need to open their community and their rituals to outsiders (anthropologists and tourists alike) in order to assert their cultural claims and their right to be "traditional" and

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"different" without being labelled "primitive", "backward", "pre-Hindu", or "strange." Today, one of the greatest challenges for the community is to respond to inside and outside social, political, economic, and demographic pressures, renegotiating its boundary control mechanisms so as to conform to official Indonesian and Balinese ideas of "Hinduism," "progress" and "development," while maintaining their own cultural viability and identity. The reinterpretation and redefinition of *adat*, or "codified tradition," lies at the heart of this problem.

Renegotiations of Cultural Boundaries through 'Adat'

Adat, generally glossed as "customary law," but with its wider connotations of "tradition" (i.e., community-based organizational institutions, practices, knowledge, and power) has been the focus of a large body of anthropological studies on Bali, beginning with the Dutch school (most notably the work of Korn [1932]) up to the present (e.g., Warren 1991,1993; Schulte Nordholt 1991) and is too vast a subject to be reviewed here (for the most recent and comprehensive treatment, see Warren 1993; for other parts of Indonesia see, for example, Bowen 1988). Tenganan figured prominently in the earlier Dutch discourse on *adat*, as the archtypical "dorpsrepubliek" which subsequently, for colonial administrators, became the model of the imagined "Balinese village" - an egalitarian and socio-economically self-contained "closed corporate community" (a phrase employed by Wolf [1957] to describe traditional Javanese communities)(on the use of the "village republic" concept in

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colonial discourse see Warren 1993:28ff; Schulte Nordholt 1991:11ff). Leaving aside for the moment the political implications of the lingering "dorpsrepubliek" image in both colonial and postcolonial contexts, as well as the anthropological debate which it spurred between Dutch and American scholars (see Schaareman 1986:5 and Warren 1993:18-20 for an outline of this controversy), I would like to focus here on only one aspect of Tenganan *adat*, namely its symbolic and institutional power to create a "shared identity" for Tenganan "core villagers."

The remainder of this chapter will concentrate on three intertwined aspects of Tenganan *adat* which together have formed an effective "boundary control mechanism" (a concept first developed by Barth [1969]): namely, communal control over (1) land, (2) ritual, and (3) fertility. The exercise of power in each of these areas is coming under increasing pressure from both inside and outside the community. How, under these stresses, does the "boundary mechanism" continue to work to reinforce Tenganese perceptions of a separate identity within Bali? In contrast to processes of local differentiation and distinction, Chapter Five will explore the simultaneous, but opposite, movement toward Tenganan's integration into larger global, national, and provincial fields of power, and some of the new counter-identities that are emerging from the triangular intersection between local *adat*, national development, and Balinese cultural reformulations.

Tenganan's extensive *adat* laws (village-specific laws, some codified in written form in the *awig-awig* [village constitution], others transmitted orally from generation to generation) pertain to: (1) the

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natural environment (e.g., use of village land, prohibitions against growing certain plants, restrictions on cutting living trees and collecting certain fruits before they fall naturally, the specification of plants to be employed in Tenganan rituals); (2) the field of social interactions (e.g., issues pertaining to marriage, reproduction, and death, relations with Banjar Pande and with tenant farmers living on Tenganan land, a progressive system of fines for legal transgressions); (3) property rights regarding communal and individual property (e.g., questions relating to inheritance, prohibitions on divorce and adoption, restrictions on remarriage, prohibitions on the sale and pawning of private land to non-"core villagers"); and (4) issues concerning the religious sphere (e.g., the conduct of rituals, ritual clothing, pollution and purification, the use of sacred and communal buildings, ritual requirements and duties, especially for "core villagers", and ritual obligations which other villages have toward Tenganan). The village constitution (*awig awig*),[4] comprised of 61 articles, covers much of these grounds, especially the specification of transgressions and their corresponding fines.

Tenganese villagers feel that their extensive system of *adat* laws was set up by their ancestors and sanctioned by the Balinese rulers in order to ensure Tenganan's political and religious autonomy as a sacred community. In their view, *adat* derives its legitimization from the flow of power (which is believed to have originated in the creator God Indra) connecting the supernatural world of gods and ancestors to the natural environment and the social sphere of the living members of

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the community. *Adat* thus represents perfection and wholeness, a symbol of *trihitakarana* (harmony between gods, people, and nature), a Hindu concept that has recently gained great popularity in Bali, perhaps as a Balinese counterpoint to the national ideology of *panca sila* (belief in God, nationalism, humanity, sovereignty of the people, and social justice).

Beyond these universalistic philosophical underpinnings of *adat*, Tenganan's village regulations fulfill a second important function, namely to ensure the redistribution of wealth within the "core village" (achieved through communal control over village and private land, bilateral inheritance, prohibition of divorce and adoption, and severe restrictions on polygamy) while at the same time limiting outsiders (including residents of Banjar Pande) from gaining access to this internally shared wealth. This is achieved through "core village" endogamy, prohibition of adoption, strict expulsion laws, and the absolute prohibition against selling or pawning communally and privately owned land to "non-core villagers." In other words, *adat* erects a protective socio-economic shield around the "core village" based on strict communal control over ritual, land, and fertility. The effectiveness of this boundary control mechanism vis-à-vis both Banjar Pande and the outside derives from the interlinkage of these three elements, and is evident in the very different demographic dynamics which have occurred over the past one hundred years in the two sections of the village.

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Situating 'Adat': Political, Economic, and Cultural Factors in Tenganan's Demographic Transformation

According to Breguet's long term genetic and demographic study of Tenganan, the population dynamics in the "core village" and Banjar Pande have followed two very different paths (Breguet 1980, Breguet and Ney 1995). The "core village" population, peaking at an estimated 450 residents around 1885, then declined steadily, reaching a low of 269 residents in 1968 before climbing slowly back up to the current figure of 317. By contrast, Banjar Pande's population, during the same period, was on a steadily upward trend from an estimated 188 residents in 1926 (Korn 1933) to 329 in 1994, even surpassing the "core village" population in 1990 (Breguet and Ney 1995:6-7). Although both populations have currently leveled off due to the institution of national family planning, these divergent patterns are intriguing. Breguet's (1980) study indicates that the "core village" decline was not due to biological or genetic factors arising from prolonged endogamy as might have been expected from such a small, genetic isolate. On the contrary, "primary sterility" was lower in the "core village" [7%] than in Banjar Pande [12%], and in wider Bali [8%](1980:144). However, during the decline there was a marked drop in fertility in the "core village" in women older than 25 (which did not occur in Banjar Pande or outside) and which is comparable to a population practicing birth control (notwithstanding that the national family planning program had yet to be intro-

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duced)(Breguet 1980:139). Besides having a lower birth rate (2.78 versus 4.76 in Banjar Pande), and a lower fertility rate for women over the age of 25, the "core village" had a higher incidence of female outmigration (its endogamy laws required that out-marrying women leave the village permanently), delayed marriage, and infant mortality (a probability factor of 0.61 in "core village" versus 0.59 in Br. Pande and 0.71 in Bali)(Breguet 1980:147). In addition to all of the above factors which influenced its population decline, in the early 1960s, following the eruption of Gunung Agung, the village was hit by a smallpox epidemic which resulted in the loss of 36 lives.

This decline in the "core village" population was followed by an increase over the past 30 years, coinciding with Indonesia's economic transformation under President Suharto's New Order government which embarked on a vigorous program of national economic development (Hill 1994:61-71) resulting at the village level in improvements in public health and education. Breguet and Ney attribute the increase mainly to a fall in the death rate (especially for infants and small children under the age of five) motivated by an improving standard of living and better health conditions (1995:8-9). Another factor I would like to add is the marked change in the "core village" value system pertaining to premarital sex. While in the past, an extremely high importance was put on viriginity (to the extent that girls who were already engaged were not permitted outside the house alone), it is not uncommon now that parents encourage premarital sexual activity in their children in order to "facilitate" "core village" marriages. Even so, Breguet and Ney are con-

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cerned for the demographic future of the "core village," particularly in light of the current enthusiastic use of modern birth control methods, increasing outmigration of women, and the difficulty of balancing out naturally occuring demographic fluctuations in a context of heavy restriction on exogamy and polygamy (Breguet and Ney 1995:10).

Although Tenganan's "core village" population dynamics present a somewhat unique demographic pattern due to a combination of cultural, economic, and biological factors, Banjar Pande's situation follows the general Indonesian and Balinese trend of transition from a high feritility/high mortality regime to lowered fertility in recent years thanks to government programs which target family planning, health and sanitation, education, as well as increasing economic opportunities (especially through tourism). It is important to note, however, that despite recent improvements of the living conditions in Banjar Pande, this section of the village still lags behind the "core village" with respect to income, standard of living, and higher education. The divergent demographic patterns of the two sections of the village prior to these national programs (i.e., population decline in the "core village" versus population increase in Banjar Pande) clearly reflects the socio-economic class and status barrier that divided the "core village" from Banjar Pande (as well as outside Bali).

Class-based differences in demographic patterns are common also in other societies but may be played out very differently according to the specific local, historical contexts. For example, Schneider and Schneider have shown in their study of demographic transition in Sicily

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that in the pre-capitalist period, family size roughly corresponded to wealth, an equation which became reversed under the rise of capitalism (Schneider and Schneider 1995:179-201). Thus, whereas in 19th-century Sicily, the landed gentry enjoyed large families (due to high fertility and lower mortality), in the landless peasant class high fertility was offset by high mortality. With the incorporation of Sicily into the larger structures of capitalism, the gentry reverted to a different behavioral strategy, namely to lower fertility through delayed marriage and birth control practice, in order to maintain a favorable articulation between demography and economic resources. Schneider and Schneider emphasize hereby the importance of examining demographic changes in light of larger historical, political, and economic transformations and their differential class-related impact within a society.

If we view Tenganan's demographic picture from this historical perspective, the differences in the "core village's" and Banjar Pande's demographic evolution become more understandable. The "core village's" sharp population decline in the early decades of the 20th century (the wider socio-economic factors of which remain unexplained in Breguet's work) occurred at a time of great political upheaval in Bali when Dutch control tightened over the whole island and when "the time when the world was stable" (as the Balinese refer to the pre-colonial period)(Vickers 1989:132) came to an abrupt end. "States, districts, villages, labour, and rice farming were all subjected to Dutch 'rationalization', and in the process Bali was drastically reorganized," beginning a period of impoverishment and underdevelopment (Vickers

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1989:132; also see Schulte Nordholt 1991,1996; Pollmann 1990; Robinson 1995). An increasingly powerful colonial government levied an ever-heightened tax burden on the rural population, inducing a build up of political and social conflict among the Balinese population along class and caste lines (Robinson 1995:14).

This situation of quickly deteriorating social and economic conditions was further aggravated by natural disasters (most notably the earthquake of 1917), followed by an island-wide spread of disease and animal pests which resulted in the loss of human life and starvation. Then came the world depression which led to a sharp decline of Bali's exports (Vickers 1989:134). While we do not know the exact impacts of these larger transformations on Tenganan, it is hardly unlikely that the village, whose entire subsistance was based on agriculture, was not severely affected (older people still relate stories, from their parents and grandparents, of famine affecting the village in this period). We also have the report of Korn (1933) documenting the Dutch government's increasing interference into the village's internal affairs, severly curtailing the authority of the *Krama Desa*. The village council,in turn, reacted by banishing all those individuals who -- under Dutch protection -- challenged the *desa* decisions (particularly on questions relating to Tenganan's marriage laws). Korn reports that Tenganan's large degree of legal autonomy, which had been honored by the Balinese rulers throughout the pre-colonial period, became severely restricted under the Dutch. The situation came to a climax in the 1920s, when the *controleur* of Karangasem proclaimed that Tenganan's *adat*

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institutions were fraught with corruption and were "exercising a reign of terror" by "punishing insignificant *adat* violations with exorbitant sentences" (Korn 1984[1933]:349), a claim which Korn (although himself a member of the Dutch administration) forcefully disclaimed in his meticulous description of the workings of Tenganan's *adat* institutions and jurisdiction. When talking to residents of Banjar Pande today, it becomes obvious that many of their ancestors were expelled from the "core village" in the early 20th century, because of the application, it would seem, of Tenganan's well-grounded *adat* laws. While it is no longer possible to reconstruct the exact nature of these cases, it is obvious that with the tightening of Dutch control and the quickly deteriorating economic conditions, the village underwent a traumatic change and that this was the wider context for an increased population movement from the "core village" to Banjar Pande. Economic anxiety within the "core village" surely exacerbated the drift, since expulsion to Banjar Pande is permanent and results in the loss of all access to village land of the expelled person and his/her descendants. At the same time internal tensions in village politics, marked by a tightening of the "core village's" boundary control mechanism vis-à-vis Banjar Pande, were heightened, consistent with local responses to wider political and economic transformations occurring throughout Bali at the height of Dutch rule. As Robinson has noted, these transformations "created a pattern of political affiliation and consciousness that divided Balinese over essentially internal issues, rather than one in which they were united behind some broader cross-class consciousness of Balinese ethnicity,

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regional identity, or Indonesian nationalism" (1995:51). It seems likely that the tightening of the "core village's" boundary control mechanism at that time launched it on its path towards population decline in the following decades.

In the post-independence period and after the institution of the New Order government in 1966, the demographic evolution of both the "core village" and Banjar Pande continued to be conditioned by the interaction of local *adat* with Bali's wider political and economic transformations. In 1993, as part of a study I carried out for Georges Breguet on some of the underlying causes for the recent demographic transformations, I interviewed some 50 women ages 20-40, in both sections of the village regarding issues pertaining to marriage, family, and birth control. My report (see below), excerpted in Breguet and Ney (1995:12-14) underlines that different cultural dynamics, arising from different socio-economic conditions and constraints, are at work in each section. For example, in question relating to changes in marriage practices, I wrote, with reference to the "core village":

> Almost all women I interviewed chose their marriage partners by themselves and felt that arranged marriages belong to the past. Some stressed, however, that parents' agreement continues to be important, especially in cases of pre-existing family relations (e.g., second and third cousin marriages). In response to the questions on the influence of *adat* on the decision of marriage, the overwhelming majority remarked that they saw no problem with Tenganan's marriage regulation (village endogamy, prohibition of first cousin marriage) since they did not feel that it constrains their own choice of a marriage partner [it should be mentioned, however, that many women have left the village recently to marry outsiders, see Chapter Two for more details]. Most respondants felt that as long as there is "free choice" and parents do not interfere in their children's deci-

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> sion, *adat* is not a problem. The most important step for most women seems to have been the change from arranged to "free" marriage, a transformation which was accomplished gradually, without any changes in the *awig-awig*.

My later observations indicated, however, that there can still be considerable pressure exerted by parents on their children, influencing choice of partner and time of marriage, especially as the number of possible marriage candidates in each age cohort is small and parents continue to be very anxious to prevent their children from marrying outside.

> Some younger women remarked that the loosening of the "core village's" exogamy restrictions (which pertains only to men, who can now marry outside women of high caste and high-ranging commoner groups) does put Tenganan women at a disadvantage as increasing male exogamy is leading to an internal shortage of marriageable young men. Since girls do not have the same option as boys to choose an outside partner, internal competition increases and girls who fail to secure a husband thus face two unsatisfactory choices, either to remain unmarried, or to marry outside the village and be "thrown away" by their families. Some women stressed the positive side of Tenganan's *adat*, protecting them from divorce and polygamy, and offering them a strong social position.

Regarding questions pertaining to reproduction, family planning, and desire for children, I wrote:

> The most overwhelming impression is the strong desire on the part of almost all respondents, in both "core village" and Banjar Pande, to have only two children. While this uniform response certainly reflects the success of Indonesia's strong family planning program, the underlying causes for reduced fertility may differ in the "core village" and in Banjar Pande. In the "core village" several respondents stressed that this desire for small families is not a new phenomenon, but that the ideal family size has always been two or three children. This view was confirmed by older informants who stressed that

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this desire for a small family long preceded the more recent national ideal of the "two children family." It appears therefore that the family planning program merely facilitated the implementation of this ideal. In my own view, specific socio-economic conditions in the "core village" (e.g., internal redistribution of a fixed communal land area, relative economic security of K.D. members, neolocality, endogamy, fixed number of houseyards, heavy ceremonial duties, and a relatively small amount of children needed to provide for parents in old age) seem to have conditioned Tenganan's "opportunity structure" in such a way that to have many children has always been a liability rather than a wealth.[5] This trend toward small families may have been reinforced by the socio-economic upheavals of the colonial period. Thus, in my view, in the "core village" there has long been a latent demand for a small number of children which long preceded the availability of modern birth control methods.

In contrast to the "small family ideal" of the "core village", in Banjar Pande, as in the rest of Bali, the desire for small families seems to be a fairly new strategy, promoted by the government and reinforced by wider social and economic changes due to development and modernization, similar to the situation in other developing countries. This change in reproductive attitudes in Banjar Pande, and the ensuing drop in fertility, reflects, in my view, that residents in Banjar Pande are exhibiting the ability to take advantage of education, new economic opportunities, and improvements in health care (some of the answers clearly show that the desire for higher standard of living is stronger than the desire for larger families). By contrast, "core villagers" have always enjoyed easier access to new opportunities due to their privileged socio-economic position within Tenganan.

Another factor conducive to low fertility (especially in conjunction with the other factors mentioned above) in both "core village" and Banjar Pande, is Tenganan's inheritance law which treats boys and girls equally. The vast majority of couples (especially in the landowning "core village") show no special preference for boys or girls. In contrast to the rest of Bali, Tenganan couples with two daughters do not need "to try again" with the hope of conceiving a male child.

Finally, there do not seem to be any religious factors which might interfere with the successful implementation

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> of the family planning program. Bali-Hinduism, as opposed to Islam and Catholicism, has no prohibition against birth control, which may explain why Indonesia's family planning program shows its greatest success in Bali.

Concerning questions relating to the practice of contraception, my report indicated:

> Most, if not all, women who were interviewed (in both "core village" and Banjar Pande) saw birth control as a welcome relief from the burdens of too many children and unwanted pregnancies. The availability of modern birth control methods is assisting them to take greater charge of their reproductive as well as productive lives, freeing them from endless housework and enabling them to contribute more fully to the household economy. While most women I interviewd are clearly ready to take advantage of these new opportunities, the actual socio-economic environment is still very limiting (e.g., female students who get pregnant are not able to finish their studies but are expected to get married quickly and to stay at home, and employment opportunities for women -- especially for married women -- are still extremely scarce).

The very different demographic dynamics of the two populations living side by side within a single village underline the recent call within anthropology (Greenhalgh 1995) for "whole demographies" which contextualize reproductive behavior not only in biological and socio-economic terms but which consider historical, cultural and political factors as well. Situating fertility in Tenganan in this manner explains both the unusual demographic situation in the "core village" where local *adat* forms a system of boundary control and where less children have always meant "larger individual pieces from a shared pie," as well as the changing situation in Banjar Pande from a marginalized community of landless laborers where more children offered greater security toward an

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entrepreneurially oriented economic structure in which smaller families are more advantageous. Thus parents now invest more economic resources (e.g., pertaining to child health and education) in a smaller number of offspring.

The above mentioned divergence in Tenganan's demographic evolution arise from the differential class-based articulation of the "core village" and Banjar Pande to wider Balinese historical, economic and socio-political processes. This connection is locally negotiated through *adat* which continues to define the parameters of the "core village's" boundary control system. This mechanism, however, has a certain, built-in elasticity through which the community adjusts itself to the wider socio-economic forces. In the case of Tenganan, the control over land and fertility (both linked to ritual exclusivity) is one of the major junctions where the marcro-world of regional, national and global processes intersects with the micro-world of individual and local agency, and where wider historical, economic, cultural, and political forces are reshaped to meet very specific local requirements.

Constructions of Tenganan Identity: Insiders' versus Outsiders' Viewpoints

Since the beginning of this century, Tenganan has attracted attention from a variety of outsiders such as foreign and native Balinese scholars, government officials, and tourists, all of whom have attached various labels to the community according to the specific his-

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torical, political, and economic circumstances of their time. As mentioned earlier, some of these images have contributed to the "exotization" of Tenganan and are marketed enthusiastically by the international tourist industry.

Tenganese conceptions of their own identity, while being influenced and shaped by these outside constructions to some extent, are also partly at odds with them. Less concerned with labels and classifications, they see identity rooted in a conception of their community as "a single family," replete with feelings of solidarity, reciprocity, the sharing of spiritual potency and material wealth, and the commitment of each individual to the needs of the whole. This difference in outsiders' and insiders' constructions of Tenganan identity are also reflected in contrasting conceptualizations of modernization and cultural conservation. Indeed, recent changes have stimulated lively discussions within the village concerning these questions.

As we have seen, for many Tenganese, the essence of their identity (Indon. *cirikhas*) lies in their *adat*, rituals, village institutions, strong sense of communalism, and the spatial layout of their village and houseyards. Outsiders by contrast, are mainly concerned with the village's physical appearance as building styles change and mud walls are replaced by cement. To insiders, it is the structure of the houseyard that matters -- its arrangement of buildings, the number of cubicles within each building. These must remain undisturbed, as it is these internal elements which have cosmological significance and confer

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magical protection over community and family (e.g., new buildings must follow the exact outline of the older stone foundations beneath).

While most Tenganese agree on the elements of tradition that are considered essential to the village's survival as a sacred community, there is some room for negotiation of these parameters. The debate, moreover, is shaped by the village's power structure. As Vickers has pointed out, "for Balinese, the issue is not that there is a single form of the modern, but that discourses of the modern are about who is authorized to act in Balinese society, that is these discourses are part of a set of power relations" (1996:35). In the case of Tenganan, village discussions revolve less around "what is modern" than "what is traditional" within the specific Tenganese context. The views of individuals who hold leadership positions within the local *adat* structure carry great weight, especially if they also hold offices in the modern administrative *dinas* hierarchy.

For example, one area of discussion concerns current plans to restore the large village gates which are constructed in the traditional style of unbaked mud bricks and are believed to offer magical protection from outside dangers. One junior member of Tenganan's village council has expressed the problem as follows:

> The village wants to be *maju* [progressive]. People here don't want to live today like a century ago. However, we like to believe that only the surface [*kulit*, "skin"] changes while the essence [*inti*] remains the same. But, what really constitutes the essence is sometimes difficult to determine. For example, in the case of the village gates [*lawangan*], we have to ask ourselves: What is their function? Is it symbolic? Or are they a real weapon of defense? This has to be decided by the six village leaders [*klian desa*]. Their decision depends on

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> the strength and the politics of each one of them. It is important to keep in mind, however, when any decision here is made, that the common good [*kepentingan umum*] always has to come before individual needs and aspirations.

Another council member offered a similar view at the same time underlining the negotiability of concepts such as "tradition" and "change":

> Most changes in Tenganan today are just superficial and do not yet touch the essence of the village. Tenganan is just like a ball with glue on the outside. If this ball is thrown in the sand, it looks like sand. If it is thrown on the soil, it looks like soil. However, its essence [*intisari*] has not changed. The essence of Tenganan consists of its ceremonies, the *geringsing*, the layout of village, houses, and temples, and the four gates. If these disappear or change, the power [*wibawa*] of Tenganan will disappear. How to preserve the essence despite the many changes, this is the central challenge for the village. We are searching for a way. For example, now there are discussions in the village council over the restoration of the village gates. It has been suggested to use cement on the inside to make the gates stronger, and plaster them with earth outside so their outward appearance remains unchanged. But we are not sure what really is the essence of these gates. Is it the magical charm which is implanted or is it the whole gate? Is there a connection between earth [in the form of unbaked brick] and Ibu Pertiwi [the earth goddess] who may protect the village? If this is the case, then the whole material of the structure should not be changed.

Outside of the council, a similar split is evident. Some residents express fear that baked brick and cement will destroy the magical potency of the gates, while others insist that the use of new materials will not interfere with the power of the gates as long as their magical charm remains in place. Such questions may seem rather inconsequential to an outsider, but they cut at the very heart of Tenganan identity.

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Whatever the outcome of the debate over the gates, the decision in this case rests with the local authority of the village council. There are other areas, however, where village tradition comes into conflict with government development programs. Faced with the enormous task of administering the world's fourth most populous country, a sprawling archipelago of great cultural and linguistic diversity and a population deeply divided by geographical, religious, and ethnic barriers, the 'New Order' government led by President Suharto has made it its priority to limit this diversity through social and cultural codification. Legitimization of this strategy is sought by promoting the national ideology of *pancasila*, which has become "the 'ideological obsession' of the government and the basis for state control of social movements" (Bowen 1991:126, quoted in Guinness 1994:272). "Adat is frequently characterized by the government as stagnant tradition to be modernized or transformed to allow development to take place" (Guinness 1994:273). Thus, one focus of the government has been to standardize Bali's multitude of local *adat* traditions and "to 'synchronize' them with national priorities," thus allowing the state to penetrate into local village matters (Guiness 1994:273).

While this permeation occurs in all domains (religious, administrative, economic, and political) and in all Balinese villages (see Schulte-Nordholt 1991, Warren 1993), it takes on a special twist in Tenganan, which has been designated by the government as an official "tourist village" (*desa wisata*). At the same time that some government programs proceed in "modernizing" and standardizing Tenganan, other

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policies select certain aspects of "Tenganan culture" to be "preserved" and marketed for tourism (Chapters Six and Seven will deal with these issues in more detail). These often contradictory demands have, not surprisingly, led to considerable confusion among the villagers about "what it means to be 'modern' and 'traditional' at the same time," and how to reconcile the government's agenda for modernization and development with the demands of the tourist industry (which includes government offices, independent tour operators, and the tourists themselves) for Tenganan's "museumization" as a living example of Bali's pristine "Bali Aga" past. Those Tenganese individuals who simultaneously occupy *adat* and *dinas* positions, are particularly caught in a bind in trying to satisfy what are often conflicting demands.

In many cases, potential conflicts between *adat* and *dinas* can be avoided or worked out, enabling Tenganan to be indeed both "modern" and "traditional," but only as long as the government restricts its "modernization" programs to areas such as education or health. Yet even within such narrowly defined parameters there can be contestations, for example over "traditional" and "modern" perceptions of what constitutes "dirt" or "cleanliness." Here local ideas of pollution and purity can come into conflict with the state's programs on village hygiene. In the course of implementing a recent government program to improve public health, officials labelled the droppings of Tenganan's free wandering, sacred water buffaloes as "dirty" and called for removing the animals from the village. The Tenganese, far from accepting such offical views on "cleanliness," have argued that the buffaloes are an important part of

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Tenganan's cultural "essence" (Indon. *cirikhas*), that the droppings dry quickly and are highly valued by other Balinese for medicinal purposes, and that tourists love to see the picturesque animals grazing in the wide village streets. (In fact, it is the buffaloes which keep the streets clean from natural debris like leaves, left-over offerings, or fallen fruits). In this case, the Tenganese were able to use their double status as a "unique, traditional village" and "tourist object" to press their own demands on the government for leaving this part of Tenganan tradition untouched. Even so they felt they had to demonstrate their good will and desire to compromise by appointing someone to clean the streets of buffalo droppings each morning. One young Tenganese man has expressed his feelings on the subject as follows:

> In the area of health and hygiene, Tenganan has accepted the government program. Now all houses have a bathroom or toilet. People use birth control and have their children immunized. However, our own ideas about cleanliness and dirt differ sometimes from the government's ideas. For example, the government considers buffalo droppings as "dirt," as a sign of backwardness which is not suitable for a village which is a tourist showcase. Yet we see the buffalo droppings not as "dirt" but as a potential healing agent. These droppings are not "dirty" because they dry fast and disintegrate very quickly.

Similarly, the government's request for Balinese villages to plant flower gardens in front of homes in order to "beautify villages" has been circumvented by the Tenganese who have opted to plant more "sacred trees" in the village streets instead (such trees are typically found in Balinese temple grounds), thus underlining and reviving the traditional idea that in Tenganan, in contrast to other villages, the entire area within the village gates is considered sacred and must be

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guarded from pollution. In addition, the trees offer the much needed blossoms which are essential for Tenganese offerings and ceremonies. Similarly, Tenganan has rejected the government plan for Balinese villages to erect Balinese-style entrance gates (*candi*)(usually made of cement and painted with a bright red color), arguing that they already possess their own traditional village gates (impressive, tall structures built of unbaked mud bricks and covered with a roof of black palm fibre). Nor have they built the office of the village chief (*kantor kepala desa*) in modern bungalo style (typical for government builings in other Balinese villages), opting rather for a walled Tenganese houseyard consisting of several buildings and open pavillions. Their choice of materials (red brick) and ornamentation, however, reflect wider Balinese architecture rather than traditional Tenganan style. This blending of local and outside stylistic elements was a conscious choice on the part of the Tenganese in order to differentiate the modern government institutions from their traditional *adat* structures. In their interaction with government officials, Tenganese village leaders have pressed the authorities to recognize that Tenganan needs a special approach to village development and preservation, one that is sensitive and respectful of its special history and tradition, and which builds on already existing village institutions. Such a course would restrict the imposition of central authority by encouraging local initiative and participation in the wider political processes, even if local expressions of community, identity, and autonomy are, at times, at variance with government ideas of what constitutes "tradition" or "progress."

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Communalism: A Tenganese Approach to Change

As we have seen in this chapter, processes of change in Tenganan are mediated by two opposing forces: those which promote cultural distinction and those which foster cultural, political, and economic integration within larger Bali and the Indonesian nation-state. In summarizing the preceding arguments briefly, processes of Tenganese cultural differentiation are expressed through mytho-historical claims for a culturally distinctive identity within Bali, and are supported by a social structure rooted in traditional law (*adat*). Central to the ideal of Tenganan as a sacred community created by God Indra, and maintained in a state of cosmological and social perfection and harmony, is the boundary between "core village" and Banjar Pande. This distinction is expressed (1) symbolically in terms of the village's spatial division into core and periphery, (2) socially in terms of ritual exclusivity based on "purity of descent," and (3) economically in terms of class-based property relations. In each domain, the division is enforced and maintained by strong boundary control mechanisms involving "core village" control over fertility, ritual, and land. While the relationship between "core village" and Banjar Pande is rooted in notions of hierarchy, inequality, and social difference, structures of social organization within the "core village" stress reciprocity, complimentarity, economic sharing and social unity. *Adat*, a system of traditional law, parts of which are encoded in the village charter (*awig-awig*), supports this

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social structure and sets the limitations for processes of socio-economic change.

As we have seen, local *adat* is reinforced through a value system which stresses social uniformity and unity by deemphasizing personal status differences through an ideology of social, biological, and spiritual "oneness and togetherness." This "core village" unity is strengthened by a ritual system based on exclusivity and purity and the high cultural value which is placed on communal sharing. An economic system based on communal land ownership supports both ideals of ritual exclusivity and communalism. It enforces the continued sharing and redistribution of agriculturally-based wealth within the "core village," ensuring relative economic stability for all "core village" members, and emphasizes the social boundary between the landowning "core village" and the landless Banjar Pande.

In addition to its function as a boundary control mechanism, communal authority over land, village administration, and ritual has, for centuries, set limits on the degree and direction of change in Tenganan. It is not surprising therefore, that many "core villagers" feel that the strength of their *adat* is the most important heritage which must be preserved in the future. One informant has expressed this as follows:

> Communal control is the key to understanding the process of change in Tenganan. For example, communal land ownership has limited outside business influences and has left the Tenganese in control of changes, especially those associated with tourism. Outsiders can not buy land here or open shops. They can only leave items on commission for sale, but the shops are owned by Tenganese. It is the Tenganese who hold all the economic

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> power here. This is thanks to Tenganan's *adat* which protects this communalism and which is the most important asset for the next generation.

In addition to sharing economic power, informants have stressed that the most pressing task which the Tenganese must face is to preserve the feeling of community and social "oneness" in the midst of socio-economic change so that it can continue to act as a control mechanism for rising individualism and consumerism which they consider the biggest threats to Tenganan's cultural survival. In their words:

> It is important to preserve the spiritual aspects of Tenganan as they form the basis for the material cultural elements. Most important of these is the feeling of togetherness [Ind. *perasaan persamaan*] which we express through communal duty and work. Our village philosophy, that the community always comes before the individual, is the most important thing which we must preserve. Government programs of village preservation focus on the physical structure of the village [referring to a government program of building stone footpaths throughout the village]. But what is most important are the non-physical foundations of our culture. These have to come before anything else. And this preservation of Tenganan cultural values has to come from within, not from without. Therefore the most important task is to instruct our young people to preserve the spiritual aspects of our culture.
>
> This strong feeling of community and social unity is what is most special in Tenganan and it strongly influences the process of change. It gives cohesion to our community even in times of rapid social and economic changes.

However, this very strong sense of social unity is put to new tests by rising consumerism; outside education, employment, and residence; religious standardization; government controlled development and political homogenization. The next chapter will deal with some of these changes which put new strains on the community, opening up preexisting possibilities for tension within the "core village" itself

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as well as between the "core village" and Banjar Pande. These ever-present, potential areas for conflict are expressed on the spiritual, social, political, and economic level in terms of tensions between indivdual aspiration and communal sharing, and on the structural level between mechanisms which promote the levelling of power and those which are conducive to its hierarchical accumulation.

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NOTES

Chapter Four:

[1] Appadurai has identified five major structural dimensions of such "global flows" to which he referred as "ethnoscapes", "mediascapes", technoscapes", financescapes", and "ideoscapes"(1990:295-308).

[2] The idealization and glorification of "tradition" has recently found new expression in Third World countries in the form of various neo-populist movements which invariably build upon the utopian vision of a pre-colonial past rooted in egalitarian, harmonious, traditional village society. For example, Gandhian populism has found a revival in India's recent ecofeminist movement (most notably in the work of Vandana Shiva, 1989).

[3] This phrase is borrowed from Gupta and Ferguson (1992) who examine cultural identity in the context of increasing deterritorialization.

[4] In contrast to many other Balinese villages whose *awig-awig* were not put in written form until recently, Tenganan has had a written charter since at least two hundred years (and most probably considerably longer), as it was destroyed together with the other village documents during the fire of 1841 A.D. These events relating to the burning of the village and the destruction of most written records, as well as to the subsequent rewriting of the *awig* are documented in articles 24 and 25 of the present constitution.

[5] There are two other factors which may have influenced the "core village's" lower fertility pattern: (1) there may have been a progressive intensificaton of ritual activity (as more temples were added to the village and rituals became more complex) which may have affected especially the members of the *Krama Desa*, who as the village's ritual specialists, may have been required to remain free of sexual pollution during extended ritual periods; and (2) the intensive production of *geringsing* cloth throughout the first decades of this century. The possible relation between *geringsing* weaving, which is so demanding of adult, female skilled labor, and the apparent curtailment of childbearing, would warrant further examination.

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CHAPTER FIVE

DEFINING THE "MODERN": PROCESSES OF CULTURAL INTEGRATION IN TENGANAN PEGRINGSINGAN

Competing Discourses of Modernity and the Question of Cultural Authority

Within the past 30 years, Indonesia, the world's fourth most populous nation, has made a remarkable transformation from a country plagued by wide-spread poverty, overpopulation, and a crumbling economy to a major regional economic and political power (often presented in the international arena as a showcase for tackling these problems). The violent events of 1965, from which President Suharto's New Order regime emerged as the uncontested state power, are generally seen as the major watershed and turning point in the country's political economy (Bresnan 1993). Since its beginnings in 1966, the 'New Order' regime has pursued two major objectives: (1) to strengthen central control over regional and local political processes through the penetration of a wide range of national government agencies into the regional and local levels, resulting in the "golkarization"[1] of local village politics, and (2) to implement a policy of vigorous economic development and modernization financed by the Indonesian oil boom of the 1970s and vast amounts of foreign aid (Schulte Nordholt 1991:22). The result is a 500% expansion of the Indonesian economy over the past 30 years (Hill 1994:xix).

This double-edged policy, using economic development as an instrument for asserting central control over political power, has

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affected Bali in several ways. As Schulte Nordholt has demonstrated in his study of the effects of state control on Balinese ritual, the national-regional dialogue on modernization is pervaded by the paradox of the New Order state which "emerges as a modern state aimed at economic development while [simultaneously creating] a timeless, traditional means to assert its authority"(1991:41). It has attempted to neutralize one of the greatest dangers of economic liberalization, namely the increasing popular pressure for an opening of the political process which, of course, could endanger the power monopoly held by the central state.

Following the earlier Dutch example, the Indonesian state has opted for a differentiation on the local level between *dinas* (government, administration, which in a wider sense means politics) and *adat* (customs, tradition) as well as *agama* (religion), in order to "limit popular participation in politics." At the same time, however, "for its own purposes it recognizes that on a higher level politics and religion (or ritual) are inseparable and actually make for a useful and powerful unity" (Schulte Nordholt 1991:41-42). Even more than the colonial state before it, the New Order national government has been extremely successful

> in defining and controlling the frameworks within which and the language by which the population is allowed to express itself, and especially in defining the 'forbidden areas' of popular participation. By 'de-politicising' Balinese society and incorporating 'traditional' Balinese items such as *adat* and large rituals, it has successfully grafted state-interests in the regional Balinese context (Schulte Nordholt 1991:42).

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In Bali, discourses on modernity and tradition, in dialogue with state hegemony, are "expressed in preponderantly religious terms, the meaning of which is jealously guarded by government agencies" as well as by the Balinese elite, which dominates these agencies at the regional and local levels (Schulte Nordholt 1991:42). Local protests or contestations typically draw on government approved *pancasila*, *adat*, and *agama* language, but are of limited impact. As Schulte Nordholt (1991) and Warren (1993:278-287) have shown, this is because

> they remain caught in the dominant discourse, rigidly monitored by the state, regarding religious well-being, development and social stability, [thereby largely excluding issues of] rapid economic and social changes.... the penetration of large amounts of capital by Jakarta-based investors, the increasing class division between those who have made large profits during the last decade and those who are forced to survive in the margin (Schulte Nordholt 1991:42-43).

By reworking and coopting local institutions and traditions through the *pancasila* rethoric, the central government has set the stage on which local contestations and adaptations are played out. As Warren argues, in these competing discourses, typically state ideology becomes the legitimating ground for the assertion of local claims (1993:281-86). These claims, as well as the resulting discourses about modernity and tradition, however, are increasingly defined and articulated at the village level by those individuals whose power is authorized by the state -- which once again places the state center-stage in village affairs.

Indonesia is a country of tremendous cultural and natural diversity. Forging a unified nation with a strong national identity out of this cultural mosaic of local traditions has been one of the principal

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aims of the central state (Kipp and Rodgers 1987:1-31). National unity was to be achieved through various strategies of homogenization involving religious standardization, economic development and nationally guided education and health programs among others, all of which increased the interwovenness of governmental institutions and traditional village organizations. In the course of this process, western scientific, technical, and managerial knowledge tends to be overvalued while local forms of knowledge and village-based institutions and cultural practices become gradually eroded and devalued, shifting the balance of power further and further away from local institutions (Hobart 1993:10, also see Apffel Marglin and Marglin 1990).

Tenganan is facing the increasingly difficult task of negotiating its own cultural boundaries within an environment defined by (1) Indonesian national integration, and (2) regional Balinese efforts to forge their own separate identity within the Indonesian nation-state. Tenganan's cultural reorientations are shaped, in other words, by the two larger processes of Indonesian nationalism and Balinese regionalism (which, in itself, is a countermovement to national integration). They are above all in dialogue with integrative forces such as religious standardization and nationally guided village development programs with deep consequences for the village's religious, socio-political, demographic, and economic structure.

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Religious Transformations in Tenganan

Anthropological studies on recent changes in local religious traditions in Indonesia have shown that such changes must be understood within the context of three intertwined levels: international, national, and local (Kipp and Rodgers 1987). In the case of Bali, a fourth -- regional -- level is salient.

Since the Indonesian nation state was founded in 1949, it has been the national level which has set the stage for all regional and local discourses on religion. Central to the process of national integration and homogeneization has been the creation of a civil state religion, *agama* (the Sanskrit term for religion), one of the "five pillars" of the national ideology of *pancasila*. *Agama* represented a compromise between proponents of a Muslim nation state and those who opposed this idea (most notably the founders of the state, Sukarno and Hatta). The compromise entailed making Indonesia an expressly religious nation without, however, elevating any particular faith to be the state religion (Kipp and Rodgers 1987:17). In many parts of Indonesia, the government further encouraged the abandonment of local (often tribally based) religious traditions in favor of a unified nationalist ideology and one or another of the monotheistic "world religions" such as Islam or Christianity (Atkinson 1987:171-186). Local cultures responded either by submitting to these national aims (e.g., through religious conversion) or by reorganizing their local faiths in ways that corresponded to

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the national requirements for *agama*, lobbying the national government for recognition. The Balinese have chosen this latter path of what Geertz (1973) has called "internal conversion," a process of rationalization leading to the official recognition of Bali's "*agama tirtha*" (holy water religion) as part of the greater Hindu faith (Geertz 1973:170-189). Effectively manipulating the international level in linking their belief system to Indian Hinduism and pan-Hindu movements, the Balinese have scored at the national level. Transforming their religion through a series of "internal" systematizations and rationalizations (Geertz 1973) to match the demands of Indonesia's new civil state dogma of *agama*, they have successfully set the stage for other minorities to follow suit in their struggles for religious or ethnic recognition (for specific examples see the various contributers in Kipp and Rodgers 1987, as well as Hefner 1985).

The internal reorganization and standardization of Bali Hinduism, however, has had serious consequences for village-based religious traditions within Bali which must now retransform themselves in accordance with Balinese religious institutions, such as the government-linked *Parisada Dharma Hindu Bali* (e.g., Bakker 1997). In achieving this aim, the *Parisada* is devoted to the task of reforming Balinese religion (e.g., temples, prayers, religious dress codes, and rituals) in dialogue with both Indonesian Islam and Indian Hinduism (Bakker 1993:225-291).

To summarize, in Bali, as in other parts of Indonesia, religion has become one of the primary tools for political legitimization, which leaves those minority groups whose belief systems do not conform to the

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state ideology of *agama* in danger of being marginalized and politically suppressed, especially in moments of political volatility. In order to avoid these repercussions, some Indonesian minority groups "who do not yet have a religion" (Kipp and Rodgers 1987:21) have resorted to conversion to one of the state recognized world religions such as Islam or Christianity, while others have managed through "internal conversions" to restructure their own belief systems so as to conform to the principles of *agama*. The now officially recognized category of "Agama Hindu" has become a refuge for some of these ethnic and religious minorites (e.g., some Toraja and Dayak groups) who have gained official recognition of their local faiths under the label of Hinduism (Volkman 1987, Weinstock 1987).

Following the official endorsement of Bali Hinduism by the Indonesian Department of Religion in 1962 (Geertz 1973:189), processes of uniformization, systematization, and rationalization continued. Soon, however, local suspicions concerning the distinct anti-ritualism of the *Parisada's* reforms manifested themselves in counter-reformation surges of mysticism and ceremonialism, a "reenchantment" of the world, as Boon has put it (1977:215). It is interesting to note that this renewed mysticism is less a left-over remnant of traditionalism than a newly emerging reaction to the rationalization process, expressed in the form of a mystic counter-rationality on the part of those elements in Balinese society which feel most alienated by elitist *Brahmana*-dominated *Parisada* aspirations. In the absence of an organized counter-reformation movement, however, it remains up to each individual subgroup to redefine its local belief system not only in counterpoint to Islam, Christianity,

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and the national "civil religion," but also in dialogue with Bali's Hindu reform movement.

Inevitably, religious reform in Bali today lies at the heart of the political process, in which both the New Order state and Bali's religious and political elite are dominant. As Schulte Nordholt has recently suggested, it is perhaps ironic and paradoxical that the central state's control over Balinese society has occurred through a deliberate "de-politicizing" of it. State-sponsored great rituals are presented as "purely religious and hence non-political events," but they nevertheless "are thoroughly political manifestations in which the impersonal state can display regionally recognizable authority, and the success of the New Order and the role of the president and the governor as guardians of the comprehensive order can be celebrated" (Schulte Nordholt 1991:42).

For Old-Balinese villages such as Tenganan, both the state and *Parisada* have sought to transform indigenous religious elements to conform with "modern" Balinese Hindu religious principles, leading to a series of "internal" Tenganese reformulations of their own "*agama Indra*" which involve changes in both village and house temples, and in ritual and prayer. These transformations have resulted in accomodation (leading to various forms of hybridization) but also in passive resistance. It is the rejected components which warrant special attention as they define Tenganan's identity, highlighting this community's cultural differentiation from other Balinese villages. Atkinson, in her discussion of Wana religious change (1987:171-186), has illustrated this process of partial

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transformation, as those elements which contrast most sharply with the dominant world view are "selected" for rationalization while others are not, reflecting their differential articulation to the dominant power structure.

Tenganan's ritual tradition is strongly practice-oriented with a minimal degree of philosophical rationalization. This lack of dogmatization, combined with numerous religious taboos which continue to safeguard essential elements of mystical and esoteric knowledge from outside intrusion, have assured the "multivocality" of Tenganan religious symbols, especially in an environment of the relative weakness of *Brahmanic* influence. Since the esoteric knowledge which surrounds Tenganan's rich ritual tradition depends heavily on individual mystical experience and intuition and is tacitly transmitted within families, between healers and their students, and between senior and junior officials in village institutions, it is open to individual interpretation. Such a non-hegemonic, orally based religious tradition has been highly advantageous in the past, as it could easily be reinvented and reinterpreted in each generation without any one group within the "core village" being able to claim exclusivity over spiritual and ritual knowledge. However, it has proven very difficult for the Tenganese to rationalize and rhetorically defend their religious tradition vis-à-vis questioning officials (not to mention the growing number of quizzical Balinese and foreign researchers, as well as tourists). The foregrounding of Indra as the village's tutelary Hindu deity and the linking of village institutions to the Hindu trinity of Brahma, Wisnu, and Siwa,

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has been one attempt by the villagers to communicate their religion to outsiders in ways which conform with official representations of Bali Hinduism. It has also diverted attention from Tenganan's village-specific deities whose knowledge is safeguarded from outsiders in order to protect local sanctity. In addition to veiling and reinterpreting local religious practices in accordance with modern Hindu symbols, other outside elements have also been incorporated (e.g., the increased usage of flowers, mantras, and mudras by the village priest).

A second form of adaptation has been the addition of new village and house temples to Tenganan's older temple structure. It appears that the village has dealt with earlier movements of religious transformation and rationalizaton (e.g., the Hindu-Javanization following the Javanese conquest of Bali in 1343) in similar ways. One example is *Pura Yeh Santi* ("holy water temple")(for a map of the temple see Français 1989:153), an ancient forest sanctuary located to the north of the village near a sacred spring which is considered to be one of Tenganan's most magically powerful (*tenget*) places. This, like some of the other Tenganan temples, whose enclosing walls and offering platforms are of natural, uncut stones, is more reminiscent of an ancient Polynesian sanctuary than of a modern Balinese temple. It is most likely that in the course of Bali's Hindu-Javanization process this temple was transformed into a local subsidiary or representation of Bali's highest ranking state temple *Besakih*, and was renamed (and possibly enlarged) into *Pura Yeh Santi Penateran*. The near-by *Pura Puseh* ("navel" or "origin" temple)(for a map of this temple see Français 1989:152), also in Old-Balinese style, may

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be another example of this earlier religious transformation when each village was required to have a "proper" *Kahyangan Tiga* temple complex consisting of an origin temple (*Pura Puseh*), a death temple (*Pura Dalem*) and a "village temple" (*Pura Desa*) with a *Bale Agung* in order to qualify for the status of "custom village" (*desa adat*). Tenganan's original "origin temple," however, seems to have been *Pura Batan Cagi* (appendix D_1) with its stone altars for *Betara Indra* (*Sanggah Mulanda*)(*sanggah* = shrine; *mulanda* from *mula* = beginning, origin) and the ten village founders, located at the southern entrance of the village (see Chapter Two).

A second wave of temple additions followed when a whole range of new temples were added within the village proper. All of these temples, which are built of brick rather than natural stones, have been incorporated into the Tenganese ceremonial calendar.[2]

Finally, there was a last wave of temple building which began around the turn of the century when *Pura Dalem Pengastulan* (a local subsidiary of the Bedulu temple mentioned in Chapter Two) was built in "modern" Balinese style to the north of the village near *Pura Puseh*. According to older villagers, it was the resident "God from Bedulu" whose small shrine was located near Tenganan's *Bale Agung* who requested -- via a trance medium -- the building of a new and larger temple. The last addition to Tenganan's public temples occurred in the mid-1960s after *Gunung Agung's* eruption had caused wide spread crop failure, famine and disease. In order to avert further chaos, the villagers built another "modern style" temple, *Pura Sri*, also close to *Pura Puseh*, this

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time in the honor of *Dewi Sri*, Bali's rice goddess. It appears, however, that the decision to build this temple was further influenced by the widespread religious transformations which began in Bali at this time, following the national recognition of Bali's religion in 1962. The architecture of these two latest additions, the schedule and conduct of their festivals, and the forms of prayer, offerings, ritual dress, and structure of ceremonies all follow the wider Balinese pattern. Appropriately, the Tenganese refer to these ceremonies and temples as "Bali style" rather than "Tenganan style" (for more details on Tenganan's temples see Français 1989:58-64). The ceremonies associated with all temples except *Pura Dalem Pengastulan* and *Pura Sri* (whose *odalan* festivals are calculated according to the Balinese *wuku* calendar) follow the Tenganese calendar. If it happens that "Tenganan-style" and "Balinese-style" rituals coincide on the same day, "Tenganan-style" ceremonies are always given precedence and the festival for the "Balinese-style" temple is rescheduled.

Contrary to the general conception of Tenganan's temples as static and archaic "survivals" of an earlier period, it is evident that they have undergone many changes over the past centuries and have never existed in isolation from the larger processes of religious transformation which have shaped Bali for over one millenium. The addition of new public temples has, however, further increased the already heavy ritual burdens of the village population. Members of the *Krama Desa* in particular, who bear the primary responsibility for the proper conduct of all public rituals, are, during peak ritual seasons, pushed to their limits

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of physical endurance. While it appears that Tenganan, as an extreme example of Bali's "ritual economy," has reached its saturation point for public rituals, there seems to be, quite amazingly, still room for ritual intensification or "involution" in the private sphere.

One mechanism for the intensification of such private, family-based rituals is the addition of new shrines to the already existing house temples. Traditionally, each Tenganese houseyard had one house shrine (*Sanggah Kemulan)* (from *mula* "origin"). This shrine, also named *sanggah kelod* because of its orientation toward the sea (which in Tenganan corresponds to south), is devoted to the Hindu trinity of Siwa, Wisnu, and Brahma in their forms of Betara Guru (a manifestation of Betara Siwa, in Tenganan also sometimes associated with God Indra, see note 3), Ibu Pertiwi (the earth goddess and consort of Betara Wisnu, the god of water), and the sacred fire Semida (associated with Brahma, the god of fire). Whereas three generations ago, most families only had this one house shrine, now all houseyards in both the "core village" and Banjar Pande have additional shrines. Referred to as *sanggah kaja*,[3] these are set up in a mountainward, northern orientation, opposite the *sanggah kelod*. Most of these newer shrines are temporary resting places (*pesimpangan*) for two deities from Ngis (mentioned in Chapter Three), *Betara Bagus Pejenengan* and *Betara Gede Dangin*. But in addition to these, many families have recently (within the past decade or two) added additional shrines devoted to a wider range of deities with whom they initiated and maintain ritual ties. These ritual associations are based either on descent (deified paternal and maternal ancestors) or on

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occupation (e.g., tutelary deities for metalworking, market or trading activities, the healing of humans and life stock). "Unnatural" occurrences such as the birth of twins (both same and opposite sex) also warrant a special shrine at the *Sanggah Kaja*. Very recently, some families have even begun to add new shrines to the *Sanggah Kelod* as well.

The process by which new shrines are added to the housetemple builds on the Balinese perception that the line between life and death is transitory and permeable, with communication flowing freely across it. Trance mediums (*sedahan*) are specialized in establishing and negotiating this connection between the physical and nonphysical worlds (Belo 1960; Connor, Asch and Asch 1986). In Tenganan, as in the rest of Bali, families generally decide to establish contact with the spirit world if there are unusual occurrences that cannot be explained from a purely experiential or intellectual perspective. The most common examples of such unusual events are: strange persistent illnesses which are commonly attributed to black magic, wide-spread epidemics which claim many lives in the village (like the smallpox outbreak mentioned in Chapter Four), the finding of a strange object which is believed to be the repository of supernatural powers (*kramat*)(e.g., a stone of unusual color or shape, an old Chinese coin, an old ceramic vessel, or a piece of rough gold), the loss and "magical" reappearance of such an object. In these cases a *sedahan* is called in from the outside (many families in Tenganan use a well-known medium from the neighboring village of Tauman) who establishes contact with the spirit world through trance, identifies the disturbing spirit (usually a disgruntled ancestor, in some recent

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cases also a deceased female ancestor who married outside the village and whose spirit now wishes to return to her native Tenganan family by requesting a shrine next to the *sanggah kemulan*).

Recently, with the increase of trading activities within Tenganan (especially due to tourism), many families have built shrines in honor of Balinese deities associated with marketing and trading (e.g., *Betara Rambut Sedana* and *Betara Mas Melanting*). Through these deities the family establishes ritual ties to temples outside Tenganan (e.g., the family is required to participate in the *odalan* ceremonies at the deities' main shrine which may be located in the regional capital of Amlapura, or even further away). While in the past, such supralocal ritual ties were highly restricted, the Tenganese are now increasingly following the general Balinese pattern of establishing and maintaining a variety of such connections which act to draw Tenganan more tightly (communally and individually) into island-wide ritual networks.

Besides these religiously triggered reasons for Tenganese families to establish new house shrines, there are some underlying social motivations. As Tenganan's *adat* prohibits the formation of mutually exclusive corporate descent groups (*dadia, pemaksan*), the elaboration of family shrines serves as the primary medium for the promotion of inter-lineage competition for prestige and status. Large family shrines, especially if they are built in elaborate "modern" Balinese style, make a social statement attesting to this family's economic wealth, its "worldliness" and social skills within the wider Balinese arena of far-reaching ritual ties, as well as its spiritual

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potency through its success in dealing with the supernatural forces. It is not surprising, therefore, to find a correlation between elaborate family shrines, wealth (especially "new wealth" from tourism), and social status (especially within new, often government-related power structures). However, there is also a tension arising between the "nouveau riche" segments of Tenganan society and the old Tenganese elites which based their status not on the ritual display of wealth but rather on the downplaying of materialism. This tension will be further explored in connection with tourism in Part III. What I would like to stress here, in the context of the "Balinization" of Tenganan religion, are the increasing interlinkages between religious developments in larger Bali and those in Tenganan. It is important, however, to view these religious interconnections within the larger context of tensions developing between a communally-oriented village structure which inhibits the formation of new status groups and the aspirations of newly emerging "business-elites" who, on occasion, challenge the older, seniority-based power structure.

While religious changes within Tenganan are largely defined by various mechanisms of accomodation to larger Balinese processes of change (which have in turn developed through their dialogue with national and international spheres of power), there are also certain elements of Tenganan culture which, so far, have not been open to negotiation as they cut to the core of Tenganan identity. One example is the refusal, so far, to make stylistic changes in the most important temples and public buildings. According to the villagers, in the 1970's,

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government-linked religious agencies suggested giving Tenganan's *Bale Agung* a more contemporary "Balinese" look by painting its wooden structure in red and gold colors. To the Tenganese, the *Bale Agung* (appendix D_2) is the most central place for worshipping village ancestors and deities, and its ancient structure touches on all the essential elements of local cultural identity (the prescribed use of uncut stones for the foundation, the arrangement of the large, wooden pillars and wooden planks which define spheres reserved for the deities and for the seniority-based hierarchical groupings of the village council, the long roof of *duk* [black palm fibre] which further marks the structure as a sacred building). In short, the very power of the *Bale Agung* depends on its structural layout and use of materials believed to be imbued with sacred potency. This power is manifested in the building's ancient character and simplicity which needs no further adornment of color or elaborate carving. In fact, in the Tenganese view -- which, in this case, sharply contrasts with outside Balinese perspectives of stylistic esthetics -- such changes would only diminish and detract from the building's sacred power. Thus, the suggestion of painting their most treasured communal possession was flatly rejected.

In the 1990s, similar rejections are given even more weight, the villagers having learned to shrewdly appeal to Tenganan's status as an officially designated "touristic object" whose ancient character must be preserved in the interest of "economic development." Thus the village has rejected the suggestions of the *Parisada* to "rehabilitate" its old-style temples of *Batan Cagi*, *Pura Gaduh*, and *Pura Petung* by replacing

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natural stone walls and foundations with more "modern" materials such as brick or cement. In the case of the recent restoration of *Pura Puseh*, the villagers did opt, however, for a compromise by deploying "just a little bit of cement" as binding material for the outer walls which were reconstructed in the old style from natural, uncut stones.

The already mentioned government plan to remove Tenganan's sacred water buffaloes from the area inside the village, and the plan by the tourist industry and its government sponsors to stage Tenganan's great ritual fight (*perang pandan, kare-kare*) as part of the yearly Bali Arts Festival held at Denpasar, have met with similar outrage, resulting in flat-out rejection by the village. Village leaders have argued that visitors are welcome to witness Tenganan rituals as long as these ceremonies are performed in their proper context of time and space.

Regarding the Bali Arts Festival, compromise with the government has been achieved in one respect. Although the opening of the festival tends to coincide with Tenganan's *Usaba Sambah* ceremonies, the village has agreed to allow one half of the members of Tenganan's youth organizations to participate in the Festival opening, wearing their traditional *geringsing* clothing, while the other half remains in Tenganan performing sacred village rituals. Although permitting young people to take part in the opening procession, however, the village council has not allowed them to perform the sacred *abuang* dance which continues to be reserved only for village ceremonies.

Similarly, the village administration has rejected permission to use any of its three sacred *selonding* orchestras as well as the

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bungan base ritual offering outside their proper ceremonial context, which remains restricted to Tenganan. (Replicas of these instruments have been made, however, and have been used for teaching purposes in Denpasar and elsewhere). Village leaders have also refused to follow the government restrictions imposed on Balinese villages on the day of *Nyepi* (the day before the Balinese New Year when it is forbidden to make noise, light fires or use electricity, or to travel) by arguing that Tenganan has its very own day of *Nyepi* which marks the beginning of Tenganan's yearly cycle whose timing does not coincide with the wider Balinese calendar.

While the Tenganese realize that the preservation of their culture involves constant accommodation and change, they feel that they must be the masters of this change. As one young Tenganese man put it:

> We are the owners of our culture and we always feel guilty about new changes. We are afraid that changes will anger our gods and ancestors. We feel that the structure [referring to both to its physical and non-physical elements] of our village is very complex, powerful, and sacred. Our relations with the spiritual world are influenced if we change the physical structure of our village, temples, and houses. This structure was made by the gods and must not be changed.

Religious change in Bali today is imposed by a bureaucratic system of national and regional religious institutions which reach down into village life as they attempt to standardize rituals and beliefs. While certain aspects of village ritual, labelled as *adat* (as opposed to *agama* [religion]), are officially exempt from this uniformization (e.g., Kipp and Rodgers 1987:1-31), the larger process, which involves religious education in the schools, the revival of large state-sponsored

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rituals, and the compilation of detailed village ritual inventories, is double-sided: it serves on the one hand to integrate Bali firmly into the nation-state's civil religion policy, while on the other hand it heightens the "ethnic" awareness of the Balinese as a religious minority in a Muslim-dominated state. It is these religious processes on the national and regional levels which will continue to set the stage for religious transformations at the local level.

The Bureaucratization of Tenganan's Village Institutions through Centrally Guided Economic Development and Modernization

Indonesia's economic policy under the 'New Order' regime over the past 30 years has followed a rigorous plan for national economic development. As a result, the country's economy has been marked by sustained growth on both the national and regional levels (Hill 1994:54-114). However, the push for regional-specific development programs with the aim of decreasing regional inequities has figured importantly in the country's five-year development plans (REPELITA)(for a critical assessment of 'New Order' economic policies over the past thirty years see Vatikiotis 1993, for a general overview of Indonesia's regional economic structure see Hill 1994:110-111). While the 'New Order' regime has earned international praise from institutions such as the World Bank and United Nations for its efforts in poverty alleviation and population control, it has also attracted increasing international and domestic criticism for the accumulation of political power and economic wealth by

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a small elite and the general lack of priority given to local participation in the political and economic process (Vatikiotis 1993:32-59). Government rhetoric does emphasize local participation and self-reliance as the pillars for village development, but actual policies reflect a more paternalistic attitude based on social control and political and economic guidance of local populations (Warren 1993:238ff, Bowen 1986). As Warren has shown for Bali, the bureaucratization of local village institutions has placed local government firmly under central control (1993:239). "Top-down" approaches continue to dominate local political processes in Bali and provide the framework for "village development" which leaves increasingly limited possibilities for local initiative and decision-making even, as in the case of Tenganan, in the presence of strong traditional, community-based structures used to handling all aspects of village administration.

As we have seen, Tenganan, as an officially designated "tourist village" (*desa wisata*), has received special attention for centrally-guided "village development" projects aimed at showcasing it as "traditional" and "progressive" at the same time. Local village discourse is defined by the ambivalent aims of this government agenda which exerts a considerable amount of confusion and stress on the community as it tries to satisfy different and sometimes contradictory political and economic agendas. These include (1) local, internal concerns to continue Tenganan's unique cultural tradition with its elaborate structure of village organization based on communal political and economic control, (2) government demands for village development (which includes social,

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economic, and health-related issues), and (3) demands of the national department of tourism and the international tourist industry which markets Tenganan as one of the last, living examples of "traditional, pristine Bali culture" untouched by "Western" development and consumerism. These contradictory demands have resulted in shifts of power within Tenganan as individuals who are simultaneously linked to *adat* and *dinas* structures play an increasingly important role in village politics and in the creation of new, hybrid village institutions, leading to the political marginalization of the traditional seniority-based *Krama Desa* (village council). These structural changes also have resulted in the creation of a certain vacuum of power between a large variety of competing internal and external interests.

This shift in political environment in which older alliances based on kinship and seniority can be enhanced and further "empowered" by political ties to the *dinas* structure is compounded by changes in the village economy from an agricultural and communal system rooted in horizontal bonds toward a mixed economy based on agriculture and tourism, in which access to cash plays an increasingly important role. Villagers now realize that Tenganan's traditional communal institutions, which safeguarded the interests of the "core village" for so long, are no barrier against individual profiteering (from both inside and outside the community) unless they are adapted and revitalized to deal with the new political, social, and economic realities. In the political field, Tenganan faces the challenge of redefining its spheres of autonomy and exercise of efficient control within the boundaries set by both *adat* and

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dinas. Within the social field, modern education and changes in the traditional endogamous marriage pattern must be integrated into the cultural ideal of "core village" unity. And in the economic field the village is faced with modern market forces and government guided "development" programs. According to most Tenganese, their most difficult and elusive problem is to come to grips with a new value system which condones consumerism and individual gain at the expense of communal service, shared responsibility and social and economic collectivity.

As mentioned above, in Indonesia, economic village development is centrally guided and is part of a master plan for economic development (REPELITA) which is issued every five years. These central guidelines are then adapted to specific regional and subregional conditions and are issued by the corresponding government offices at each level (*pemerintah daerah tingkat I, II*). Within the province of Bali, each administrative region has its own Office for Village Development (*Kantor Pembangunan Desa or BANGDES*) which issues its own adaptation of the central REPELITA plan (REPELITA Daerah Tingkat II Sektor Pembangunan Desa) and which restates the various principles contained in the government philosophy of "harmony and balance between government and village" -- in particular the principles of *swadaya* (self-help) and *gotong-royong* (communal cooperation) within the village institutions of *banjar* and *desa* (REPELITA VI Daerah Tingkat II Karangasem Sektor Pembangunan Desa). As Warren has noted, *swadaya* has been part of Indonesia's rural development policy since independence, and in Bali has been used to draw on the potentials of Balinese traditional community

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institutions which were organized along *seka*-type, horizontal bonds (1993, chap.6).

This model of active community participation is in my view sometimes overstated in the anthropological literature. At least in the case of Tenganan, it does not, in fact, confer authority over development projects to the already existing village organizations. Instead, new local organizations have been created by the Indonesian government within the *dinas* structure in order to handle these projects at the village level. The most important of these new structures are the "Council for the Maintainance of Village Society" or LKMD (*Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa*) and its supervisory "Village Consultative Council" or LMD (*Lembaga Musyawarah Desa*). Both councils are headed by the *Kepala Desa* (village chief within the *dinas* structure). The LMD must approve all village development proposals presented by the LKMD before they can be submitted to the *Kantor Bupati* (office of regional district head) for ratification. LMD membership includes Tenganan's five *Kepala Dusun* (leaders of village wards within the *dinas* structure), the secretary, as well as persons with close ties to the *dinas* structure. The LKMD's leading positions are filled with former government officials and individuals with strong links to the regional government structure.

In the case of Tenganan, the LKMD, through its ten subcommittees, is in charge of the administration and allocation of a yearly budget of approximately 50 million rupiah ($25,000), about half of which is obtained from government funds allocated through the two village development programs ("*Desa Tertinggal*" and "*Pembangunan Desa*"),

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and half of which is derived from tourism. The LKMD has also been put in charge of administering additional government funds (170 million rupiah) which were allocated in 1994 to Tenganan under the "*Desa Tua/Desa Wisata*" program officially designated *desa wisata* ("tourist villages")(e.g., Tenganan, Trunyan, Panglipuran, Sebatu). These funds were used by the village for the construction of stone paths and the improvement of water sanitation. In addition, when Tenganan received a telephone line in 1994, it was one of the first villages in the region of Karangasem, which could enjoy the new conveniences of the global communications era. Tenganan's larger shop owners were among the first to take advantage of this new opportunity which also facilitated the introduction of the credit card system.

Far from Tenganan's traditional communal *adat* organizations which, due to the seniority principle, represented a true cross-section of the population, and whose leadership was shared by the six *Klian Desa*, thus preventing a monopoly and misuse of power by a single individual, both LMD and LKMD are hierarchically organized and consist of the representatives of a new elite of village bureaucrats acting as "big men" (*tokoh*) with close ties to the *dinas* structure. This elite, which is well-educated and well-spoken, increasingly dominates village affairs and local politics. The resulting shift of power is also evident on the symbolic level, as more and more village matters are now moved away from the communal meetings of the *Krama Desa* held at the *Bale Agung*, and are conducted instead at the Office of the Village Headman (*Kantor Kepala Desa*). In other words, an increasing number of village issues which were

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formerly discussed within the sacred *adat* structure of the *Krama Desa* in the sacred space of the *Bale Agung*, and which were thus embedded within the strict moral code enforced by this traditional institution, are now lifted out of this moral/religious context.

This transfer of political authority from the sacred to the profane sphere, combined with the hierarchical structure of the local *dinas* institutions in which a single person can assume a disproportanately large amount of power, has contributed to unfortunate recent events involving allegations of mismanagement and diversion of communal funds by village officials. Whether such incidents will lead to constructive changes at the structural level (i.e., a clearer division between the legislative and executive branches of *dinas* village institutions, and the reempowerment of Tenganan's *adat* organizations) remains to be seen. Because village politics is increasingly a matter of external rather than internal ties, this seems unlikely.

These recent developments are particularly regrettable, because more than most villages in Bali, Tenganan is fortunate to have preserved a comprehensive traditional structure for the management of local political, economic, environmental, and social issues. Yet, these traditional organizations are being increasingly appropriated and marginalized by government institutions. Thus, while Balinese villages are still portrayed (not only in the dominant government discourse, but also in many anthropological studies)

> as 'democratic' entities, the majority of the local population is virtually excluded from the formal political scene. In the process of state penetration, or *dinasisasi* of village government, local support for the

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> village leaders has become largely irrelevant, because their future depends on the higher levels of the government bureaucracy (Schulte Nordholt 1991:25).

This does not mean, however, that local emotions of discontent cannot be voiced and state penetration in local village affairs cannot be minimized. In Tenganan, as in other Balinese villages, such local strategies of contestation usually involve appeal to the supernatural, higher authority of village deities and deified ancestors who may express their discontent and anger if certain, government decreed changes are implemented. People can also appeal to *pancasila* principles and thus turn state rethoric back against the state itself (e.g., Warren 1993:279ff, Schulte Nordholt 1991:25-26). In addition, the Tenganese are becoming adept players in an even wider sphere, international tourism. They have begun effectively to use the ambiguous quality of tourism as an agent both for change and for cultural preservation, to defend community interests and to reject certain government projects or adapt them to their own needs (Part III of the dissertation will deal in more detail with such issues.)

While government politics provides the larger arena in which local (primarily kin-based) alliances and divisions are played out anew (the position which players take in current political issues can, in fact, often only be understood in the context of family politics and internal conflicts which sometimes reach back several generations), it also provides the opportunity for communal solidarity. This solidarity can take the form of opposition on some specific issues in which the community comes together to oppose government policy (one such current

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issue is the question of entrance tickets for tourists, see Chapter Seven), as well as solid community endorsement for the government party in times of national elections. Wider class and caste relations in Balinese society intersect here with specific local conditions.

Tenganan historically occupies an ambiguous position within Balinese society as a wealthy community of landowners which considers itself to stand outside Bali's caste system (which does not prevent other Balinese, however, from labeling the Tenganese as part of Bali's *sudra* group which forms about 95% of the total population). Tenganese "core villagers", as a wealthy commoner (i.e., non-*triwangsa*) group, supported the Indonesian nationalists during their struggle for independence in the 1940s, thus siding against Karangasem's ruling families who had continued to defend caste privileges and had taken an antirepublican stance (continuing to support Dutch political interests)(e.g., Robinson 1995:14ff). During the 1950s and early 60s, when the rising power of the PKI (the Indonesian Communist Party) became an increasing threat to Balinese landowners, the Tenganese again sided with the PNI (Indonesian Nationalist Party) which they felt best defended their interests against rising PKI demands for land reform (demands which were supported by the peasant organizations). This class struggle within larger Balinese society did not find open expression, however, within Tenganan itself. Although latent tensions may have increased between the landowning "core village" and landless Banjar Pande, Bali's economic condition had deteriorated so badly that Banjar Pande was completely dependent on the "core village" for its survival. Thus, for the

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residents of Banjar Pande, open opposition seemed to be out of the question (although the PKI's social and economic agenda may have resonated with the concerns of Banjar Pande residents, its official following remained negligible), especially since family and patron-client ties continued to crisscross the class boundary between the two village sections. The larger national conflict did, however, pit Tenganan against some of the villages in its periphery (such as Asak and Bungaya) which openly challenged Tenganan's landowning rights and engaged in open, physical confrontations with Tenganan's "core village." During the violent political conflict which followed the alleged communist coup in Jakarta in 1965, and which produced a particularly fierce and bloody massacre in Bali (estimated to have cost 80,000 lives, amounting to 5% of Bali's population)(for the most comprehensive analysis of the political and economic forces which shaped this conflict in Bali see Robinson 1995), no Tenganese lives were lost (in Bali, the overwhelming number of victims in the massacre were on the side of the PKI and its sympathizers).

President Suharto's New Order Government was born out of this conflict and has since emerged as the uncontested central power within Indonesia, a power which has been supported by Tenganan during the general elections. The basic premise of state legitimacy and authority has thus remained unquestioned by the Tenganese who see the government as the guardian and provider of social and economic stability and order. And it is, after all, the quest for stability and "a center that holds" which has always been at the heart of Tenganan politics.

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Processes of Cultural Transformation in Tenganan: The "Bureaucratization of the Mind"

Central to the policy of national economic development of the New Order government has been an equally vigorous process of cultural transformation aimed at changing local cultural institutions, values and beliefs in such ways as to better reflect the central government's ideals of "progress" and "modernity." Government policies which are aimed specifically at "cultural development" (e.g., in the fields of art, architecture, and literature) and the creation of an official national culture involve, on the one hand, the continued foregrounding of classical Javanese cultural elements, and, on the other hand, the celebration and "reinvention" (to borrow Hobsbawm's famous phrase) of local, cultural tradition. This process of revival of certain selected regional cultural elements (underlining the nationalist and populist themes of 'unity in diversity') has been employed by the central government in an effort to counteract any "excessive foreign influence" and "Western-style consumerism" which inevitably accompany the process of economic liberalization and development. As Hatley (1993:48-69) and others (Matheson Hooker 1993) have shown in the context of art and theater, the celebration of conservative social values based on hierarchy and courtly traditions are put to the service of the contemporary state, its officials, and Indonesia's ruling elite (Hatley 1993:49-50).

However, while the "guided" expression of regional culture is encouraged, perhaps to "prevent regional, ethnic, linguistic, and reli-

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gious differences from taking on political force" (Geertz 1990, quoted in Matheson Hooker and Dick 1993:5), the more direct expression of local opinions through village performances is viewed by government officials with some trepidation. For example, a late night performance of *wayang kulit* (shadow play) which I attended in Tenganan in 1994 was observed by an outside police official (dressed in civilian clothes to attract less attention). Tenganan's yearly *kare-kare* ritual fight is similarly surveyed by the police and army, whose duty it is "to protect" the local population and visiting tourists from any possible outbreaks of violence. It appears that this fear of renewed violence is actively cultivated by the government in order to legitimize military and police presence during local cultural performances and thus guard against any possible open expressions of criticism or politically motivated cultural identity.

Perhaps the most pervasive yet least visible influence of government policy on local populations lies in the field of education. Schools represent the primary forum for the dissemination of national political propaganda and for transforming local tradition from within. For the Tenganese, the introduction of the modern school system, has brought changes on various levels. First, it has shifted the responsibility for education from the traditional village institutions to the national government. Tenganan's children today begin their day with the raising of the Indonesian flag in the school yard and the singing of nationalist songs. They are no longer instructed to read and write by their parents or their elders in the youth organizations, but

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by teachers from outside Tenganan. They are taught the values of nationalism, modernization and citizenship, and are often made to feel ashamed of their local traditions, which tend to be represented as archaic and "backward" and thus in need of "modernization" and reform.

As many of the "core village" children continue education beyond the grammar and middle school level, their school schedules often conflict with their duties within Tenganan's *adat* organizations. Many teenagers live outside the village in Amlapura or Denpasar with the families of friends or relatives in order to cut down on long commuting times as there are still no senior high schools (SMA) in the vicinity of Tenganan. This outmigration of the young (even if only temporary), together with changes in the value system of young people, is met by the older generation of Tenganese with fear that they are losing control over their children, and thus over the future of Tenganan. The most widespread concern of older people is that, as parents and other relatives take on the ritual responsibilities for their absent children in the youth organizations, much of the traditional knowledge will no longer be transmitted to the younger generation, becoming lost as the older members of the community pass away. In addition, older people feel that, for the first time, children have lost interest in preserving Tenganan's ritual tradition, a tradition which no longer is embedded in the daily lives of youth, but which more and more stands in contrast to it. A typical Tenganese sixteen year old boy may arrive by bus or motorcycle from his temporary home in Denpasar (the capital which is located 65 kilometers away) in jeans and T-shirt and may then put on his *adat*

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"costume" to attend a ritual in his youth organization (most elements, including the prescribed offerings, having already been prepared by his family before his arrival), rushing off again to be ready to attend school in Denpasar the next day. There is little time to socialize with old friends in the village or to learn all the difficult tasks which are involved in any Tenganan ritual and which can not be acquired elsewhere. In addition, village life seems to be less and less relevant to the future of a young person who knows that there is little chance for him to pursue a promising career unless he is willing to move to urban centers in or even outside of Bali that offer employment (Tenganese girls do not yet have such a choice to make as they are expected to marry, stay home, and bear children as soon as they have completed their education.)

It is regrettable, but not surprising, that the young Tenganese "core villagers" are facing a real dilemma in planning their future. As many "core village" families are wealthy enough to afford high school and university education for their children (higher education is valued equally for boys and girls in the "core village"), they realize that this involves decisions pertaining to marriage (young people with higher education also tend to marry exogamously) and later employment (only few university graduates find it satisfying to choose *Krama Desa* membership over an outside professional career). Thus, many "core village" teenagers today associate later full-time life in Tenganan with "backwardness" and "traditionalism" and find it no longer reconcilable with the model life of a "modern Indonesian" to which they have been taught

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to aspire in school. Older Tenganese feel that the generational conflicts between parents and children are much more pronounced today than ever before, and they believe that they are loosing control over their children and Tenganan's future. Without such control, Tenganan's cultural continuity is put into question.

This sense of crisis is much less pronounced in Banjar Pande where modern education conflicts much less with local *adat* (e.g., Banjar Pande youth are less restricted in their marriage choices as "core village" endogamy rules do not apply to them and they are not subjected to the same social pressures as "core village" youth if they decide to live outside the village). Thus, while in the "core village" the desire for higher education has brought not only benefits but also problems (especially in combination with other economic and social factors), putting the community's long-term cultural survival into question, for the economically and socially marginalized population of Banjar Pande, modern education is becoming an important step for the young generation to overcome some of the limitations imposed upon them by class and status barriers.[4]

The Politics of Control versus the Politics of Participation

The differential impact of modern education in the "core village" versus Banjar Pande underlines two important points: (1) even within such a small community as Tenganan Pegringsingan, centrally guided development programs can have very different effects on various

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groups, depending on the articulation of these groups to the local class and prestige structure (a similar case can be made for the differential impact of the government birth control program on the two sections of the village as we have seen in Chapter Four), and (2) Tenganan, due to its very special demographic, cultural, and economic structure, warrants special care from government planners to tailor any community development program to the special and different needs of the "core village" and Banjar Pande. (Such a micro-approach to village development would be beneficial not only to the local community but also to the government which profits from Tenganan's function as as an official tourist village.) Rather than uniformly imposing development programs from above, greater local participation from *adat* leaders, especially during the planning and decision-making process, is crucial if Tenganan is to have a chance for long-term cultural survival.

Specifically, national programs pertaining to higher education and birth control need to be evaluated in terms of the microprocesses within Tenganan itself which differ significantly in the "core village" and Banjar Pande. Notwithstanding that centrally guided development programs have had apparent success in the fields of health, village economics (see Part III), and education, their efficiency could be greatly enhanced through local participation. So far, rather than empowering local village organizations, these national development programs have shifted the balance of power from local *adat* leaders to *dinas* officials and from traditional village organizations to central development planners. This shift has hampered the full success of some of these programs

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in their local micro-contexts which tend to differ from one section of the village to the other, and which cannot be effectively negotiated without broad-spectrum local participation. It is the strengthening rather than the weakening of traditional village organizations which is imperative if government funds are to be used effectively for meaningful community projects which address the most pressing and sometimes very different needs of the two sections of Tenganan.

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NOTES

Chapter Five:

[1] 'Golkarization' refers to the process by which the state party GOLKAR dominates regional and local village elections (Schulte Nordholt 1991:22-23) thereby "extending its hegemonic sphere to every level of society" (Warren 1993:280).

[2] These temples include, among others, the *Pura Dalem Kauh* (the "Western Death Temple), *Pura Dulun Swarga* (the "Temple of the Heavens", associated with the Bendesa lineage), *Pura Dadia Dangin Bale Agung* (the "*Dadia* Temple East of the Bale Agung"), and the *Pura Raja Purana* (which has associations both with the village charter; its deity, Sanghyang Raja Purana, is considered to be the guardian of Tenganan's water buffaloes, which are believed to have originally come from Ngis. While the historical connection between Tenganan and Ngis cannot be reconstructed, it may have its roots in an early event when both villages were granted charters, possibly by the Old-Balinese king Jayapangus to whom the Ngis charter is attributed. According to Bühler, Ramseyer, and Ramseyer-Gygi (1975/76:57), it is this king who is enshrined in Tenganan's *Pura Puseh Sembangan*.

[3] Originally only few families, among them the priestly Sanghyang lineage, had a *sanggah kaja*, which was dedicated to Gunung Agung. A second early type of *sanggah kaja* stands in Banjar Pande Kelod, in the houseyard of the *dukuh* (the priest officiating at Tenganan's death ceremonies), referred to as *Pura Majapahit*. Holy water (*tirtha*), an essential purifying ingredient in Tenganan's death ceremonies is derived from this temple. Concerning the second type of house temple, the *sanggah kelod*, one "core villager" told me the following story which had been transmitted orally from generation to generation:

> When Indra was not yet a god but a living person, a king, residing in Bedulu, it was enough for the people of Tenganan to have a small shrine [near the *Bale Agung*] devoted to him. But after Indra went to heaven and became a god, the people of Tenganan had to build a *sanggah kelod* in each houseyard.

This story explains the association, which, according to some villagers, exists between God Indra and the *Sanggah Kelod*. This house shrine, however, is today more commonly associated with Betara Guru/Betara Siwa. There is a second story, told to me by the same person, which sheds some light on the central role of Betara Indra in Tenganan cosmology as the supreme deity which controls the cycle of life and death, a role associated with God Siwa in the rest of Bali. It also alludes to the origins of the above-mentioned *Pura Majapahit*, as well as to the association between Betara Indra (whose symbol in Indic cosmology is the lightning bolt) and Tenganan's "Kaki Kilap" ("Grandfather Lightning"), the ancestral messenger of God Indra who is "called down" once a year in a special ceremony held during the seventh month. After a ceremonial meal

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consisting of nothing but small plates of salt offerings, is prepared in his honor at the *Bale Agung*, "Kaki Kilap" is called by the two ceremonial leaders (*tamping takon*) and asked to participate in the meal.

> Before the time when there was a *Pura Majapahit* in Tenganan, it was Kaki Kilap who took the people of Tenganan to the after world and the world of Majapahit. When a person died in Tenganan, Kaki Kilap came down in a big noise and took the person with him. For example, once, a very old man was sitting at the communal rice barn, when there was a very loud noise in the sky and Kaki Kilap descended and took him away. It was after this event, that the raja decreed to build a *Pura Majapahit*.

People in Tenganan often mention that they are not afraid of thunder and lightning because they feel protected by God Indra and "Grandfather Lightning". When asked about the meaning of Indra, people answered that they return to God Indra after their death. It is also significant that this story specifies that *Pura Majapahit* was built upon the raja's orders indicating that Tenganan, like other Balinese villages, was subjected by the state to the process of Hindu-Javanization which began during the Gelgel period.

[4] A comparative survey of changes in education in both the "core village" and Banjar Pande, which I conducted in 1995, indicates that the education gap which exists between the two sections of the village is closing, especially in the younger male population. Three age groups were surveyed: Group I (16-26 years old), Group II (27-37 years old), and Group III (38-48 years old, the first generation born after Indonesian independence). For Group III, the educational gap between "core village" and Banjar Pande is most pronounced: 36% of the "core villagers" versus 13.5% of the Banjar Pande population in this age group had senior high school and/or university education. This indicates that following Indonesia's independence and the implementation of national education programs, "core villagers" were more quickly able to take advantage of these new possibilities while Banjar Pande residents in the 1960s and early 1970s still lacked the economic and social resources for higher education. For Group II (27-37 years of age) the gap between both sections of the village had already narrowed to 62% ("core village") versus 44% (Br. Pande) as both continued on their upward trend. In Group I (16-26 year olds) the gap seems to widen slightly again (68% in "core village" versus 41% in Br. Pande). Thus while the "core village" continues its upward trend, Banjar Pande, after its initial rise, is now on a slight downward curve. The major reason besides Banjar Pande's continuing class constraints, is the differential social and economic position of women in the two sections of the village. In the "core village", the relatively high social status of women and their economic position as property owners is reflected in the high value which parents put into the education of their daughters. While in the 1960s and early 70s the gender gap was still pronounced in the "core village" (56% of all men versus 5% of all women in group III have completed senior high school),

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it had significantly decreased by the late 1970s and early 1980s (the male/female ratio is 77%:45%) until by the late 80s and early 90s young women with senior high school and/or university eduction have overtaken their male peers (the male/female ratio now is 64%:71%). By contrast, in Banjar Pande, which follows the general Balinese pattern of preference for male children and patrilateral inheritance, and where -- in contrast to the "core village" -- daughters may marry freely outside the village, the higher social and economic value of male children continues to influence parents' decisions on their children's education. Thus, if choices are to be made, Banjar Pande parents consistently select their sons over their daughters for higher education. While girls' education in Banjar Pande has increased from 0% in group III, to 17% in group II and 23 % in group I, it lags far behind the spectacular increase of girls' education in the "core village" (from 5% in group III, to 45% in group II and 71% in group I). A continuing slow upward trend in girls' higher education can be predicted for the future, especially since family size in Banjar Pande is decreasing due to the national family planning program, and as Bali's employment structure continues to open up to women.

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PART III

TOURISM: A NEW ARENA FOR THE CONTESTATION OF POWER

Internationnal Tourism within the Global-Local Conjecture: Methodological Reorientations

Within the Anthropology of Tourism, much of the earlier debates focused on the effects or the impact of tourism on local communities, and the actual, perceived, and potential contribution of tourism to economic development (e.g., Smith 1989). Besides the evaluation of economic benefits and costs of international tourism to local communities, these earlier studies were often conducted in order to help policy makers and development agencies in their decisions. Yet, the double-edged nature of tourism as a development strategy soon became apparent. While some studies emphasized changes of cultural disintegration and loss of identity in the wake of tourism, others aimed at disproving such claims, stressing the revival and strengthening of local traditions under the tourist influence (e.g., the Greenwood/Young debate in Wilson 1993). Both sides in these debates treated culture or tradition as an immutable object, leading to a critique within anthropology not so much of tourism (which has often been hailed by economists and developers as a softer and presumably more benign form of development [de Kadt 1979, Hoivik and Heiberg 1980, Lanfant 1980]) as of the conceptualization and treatment of culture as a "thing," a concrete, bounded, and homogeneous entity

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acted upon by outside forces (for an assessment of the problematics of these earlier tourism studies see Hitchcock, King, and Parnwell [1993: 4-12]).

With the recent emergence of "globalization" as the increasingly influential new paradigm in social studies (Featherstone and Lash 1995:1), and the renewed focus on cultural complexity and fragmentation, identity, and change (Featherstone 1995), the culture concept itself has undergone a profound transformation from a reified *object* to a more situational, variable, ever-changing *process*. As a result of this reconceptualization, tourism can no longer be simply viewed as an exogenous force exerting an economic and socio-cultural impact on relatively static and presumably passive local communities but as a dynamic process unfolding *from within* these communities, raising new questions of identity, locality, tradition in the context of globalization (Lanfant 1995:1-10).

Today, tourism is no longer conceptualized as a unidirectional or monolithic process (e.g., economic First World centers impacting Third World peripheries) but rather as a multidirectional movement which engenders new ambivalences and tensions along each turn (e.g., Lanfant 1995:4). Locally, this tension expresses itself in two simultaneous, yet opposite movements, one being generated by the need for change, integration, mobility, and modernity and the other by the desire for reaffirmation of identity, tradition, and cultural difference. Tenganan serves as a particularly vivid example of a culturally conservative community turned "tourist object," and of how these two processes interact and

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play out locally. Identity lies at the very center of this globalization/indigenization dynamic which, in the case of Tenganan, acts as a "double-edged" weapon (Lanfant 1995:14) deployed in the name of global and national integration and/or as a counterweight to the power of world capitalism, the post-colonial nation-state, and (on occasion), Balinese regional interests.

Clearly, concepts like "locality" or "local community" no longer carry the connotation of a passive arena in which extraneous forces become unleashed, thereby overwhelming, destroying, or corrupting "primordial" local traditions, but, instead, they are now perceived as a necessary and active ingredient in the process of globalization. The chapters in Part III will explore some of the local cultural reorientations engendered by tourism in the context of this tension between globalization and indigenization. The process of Tenganan's "touristification" (a phrase borrowed from Picard 1996:11-14), in itself the outcome of these two simultaneous but opposite movements, is examined in Chapters Six and Seven. Chapters Eight and Nine compare these transformations occurring presently in Tenganan to those unfolding in Bugbug, one community in the periphery of Tenganan's *mandala* network. Significant cultural differences in the treatment of identity between these two villages in the process of globalization highlight the importance of paying close attention to locality in the study of tourism. It will be argued that these differences are due not only to recent shifts in Bali's tourism policy (which are decided at the national level), but

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also also to differences in the local power structures of the two villages and their differential articulation within the *mandala* network.

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CHAPTER SIX

LOCALIZING GLOBALIZATION: INTERNATIONAL TOURISM AS AN ARENA FOR ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL CHANGES IN TENGANAN

The History and Politics of 'Cultural Tourism' in Bali

> 'Culture' is the focus of the touristic promotion of Bali: tourism in Bali is 'cultural' tourism. Consequently, Westerners, Indonesians and Balinese alike fear its demise, anxiously asking the question: 'can Balinese culture survive the impact of tourism?'
>
> (Picard 1993:71)

Bali has long been an irresistable "object of desire" in Western imagination as the encapsulation of oriental splendor, as an exotic mini-paradise teeming with Hindu gods, deified ancestors, and a beautiful, peace-loving, and artistic people engrossed in staging the most splendid rituals while living in harmonious balance with each other and nature. How this romantic and seductive image of Bali as "island of the gods," "morning of the world," and "last paradise" has been skillfully created and manipulated by Westerners (including early travellers, anthropologists, artists, and -- last but not least -- the Dutch colonial administration) during the first half of this century, has been the subject of intense interest in the "anthropology of Bali" (for extensive treatments see Boon 1977, Vickers 1989, and Pollmann 1990).

Western fascination with Bali's cultural treasures as well as the fear of their imminent demise has not been lost on those who con-

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trolled Bali's political destiny. Following the brutal Dutch takeover of the island at the turn of the century, which resulted in the traumatic and spectacular sacrificial death (*puputan*) of hundreds of Bali's nobility and marked the end of the island's traditional social and political order (Vickers 1989:chap.4, Wiener 1995), the colonial administration, in order to ease its own conscience and calm the international outrage, embarked on a policy of cultural preservation.

This "Balinization" or "Baliseering" went hand in hand with the promotion of international tourism on the island (Picard 1996:20-27). The early image-makers who included orientalist Dutch scholars, American anthropologists, a lively international community of resident artists, and tour operators, as well as colonial administrators, sought to globalize Balinese culture. To do so, they had to erase Bali's earlier, less seductive, pre-colonial image as an island of shipwreck-plunderers, fearless, amok-running warriors, and slave- and opium-trading, widow-burning despotic princes (Boon 1977, Vickers 1989, Picard 1996, Pollmann 1990). After the demise of the Dutch colonial empire and the formation of the Indonesian nation-state, Bali played an important role in the creation of a national cultural identity as the Hindu "mother culture of Indonesia." Thereby the ongoing dual process of "Bali's Indonesianization" and "Indonesia's Balinization" began (Vickers 1989:175). As Picard has so vividly demonstrated, Balinese culture and its "touristification" is the product of a "dialogic interaction" between the Balinese people and a wide range of national and international audiences, which has

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"rendered the Balinese self-conscious about their 'Balineseness'" (Picard 1993:72-73; also see Vickers 1996:1-37).

By the early 1970s Balinese culture not only had become a marker of national and regional identity, but increasingly figured as the central element in the national development plans for the island.[1] Following the inauguration of an international airport in 1969, the Indonesian government launched a comprehensive effort to open up the island to international mass tourism as part of Indonesia's concerted push for economic development in which Bali was to play a central role. Presumably the Balinese authorities had little influence over these decisions, which were taken at the national level (Picard 1995:51). Similar to the economic policies of other countries in the region which have also opted for tourism as a major source of foreign exchange (Hitchcock, King, and Parnwell 1993:1-31), in the early 1970s, Indonesia's central government launched a large-scale effort, guided and financed by the World Bank,[2] to implement a comprehensive master plan for the development of tourism in Bali.

In the early 1990s this original master plan was followed up by a second "comprehensive tourism development plan" sponsored by UNDP and the Indonesian government. While the earlier plan aimed at developing certain strategic beach areas for large-scale tourism, the second plan attempted to extend the same development strategy to Bali's other regions.[3] By this time, annual tourist arrivals had already climbed from fewer than 30,000 in the 1960s (Picard 1995:50) to 1.9 million, 60% of whom were foreigners (Hassall et al. 1992, Annex 3 "The Tourism Sec-

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tor":1). On a small island of 5,600 square kilometers with an already high population density (almost three million inhabitants), it might be expected that some of the obvious economic benefits (whose distribution to this day, however, remains uneven, Picard 1995:51) are countered by equally important economic, cultural, social, and environmental costs (e.g., the alarming rate of depletion of valuable farm land, increasing water shortages, large-scale real estate speculation by non-Balinese, growing economic differentiation within Bali, and the intensifying fears of the Balinese -- voiced increasingly in the local press as well as in academic conferences -- of losing control over their destiny, becoming politically and economically marginalized within their own island)(for the most recent comprehensive assessment of the socio-economic effects of Bali's tourist development see Picard 1996:39-90).

The role of culture in the development of tourism has always been of central concern in the ongoing debates over tourism's impact on Bali and continues to occupy international development experts and national policy makers (as an example see Hassall et al. 1992, Annex 6 "Culture"). From the first tourism initiatives of the Dutch colonial period to the later decision by the Indonesian government "to trade in the island's charms in order to refill the state coffers" (Picard 1995:51), Bali's cultural splendors were seen as the one defining asset which set it apart from all other island tourist destinations around the world -- destinations with which it had to compete for visitors in an increasingly tight world market. In the original master plan for tourism development, "culture" (in particular its religious and artistic

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expressions) was highlighted as Bali's most valuable resource, which had to be carefully sustained, revitalized, manipulated, and protected from "outside contamination." An initial strategy was to create tourist beach enclaves such as the Nusa Dua resort area, remote from Balinese village life. Carefully staged cultural events during which foreign visitors were presented with "official" and edited cultural representations (such as the dances performed in these tourist centers and certain rituals promoted in the island's Calendar of Events) were made available to tourist audiences through an evergrowing number of international as well as Balinese "culture brokers" and tour operators.

With the continuous, centrally-guided proliferation of tourism, as outlined in the UNDP plan, this highly contradictory and ambiguous policy of promoting Balinese culture while at the same time attempting to "protect" it from the presumably polluting influences of the West (a case in point is the theme of an international conference on cultural tourism convened by the Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta in 1992, "Universal Tourism: Enriching or Degrading Culture?" [Nuryanti 1992]) becomes increasingly dubious. Yet master planners and policy makers continue to hail cultural tourism as a benign panacea for Bali's economic development, as the following passage from the last UNDP report indicates:

> Globalization processes today affect all agrarian societies in transition to other economic activities. Bali has the advantage of a viable tourism option. It does not have to embark upon massive industrialization. Rather through tourism, the opportunity has arisen to participate in economic activities which value culture and the environment. In fact, sustainable international

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> tourism relies on images of pristine environments and unspoiled cultures.
>
> (Hassall et al., Annex 6 "Culture", 1992:21)

Bali today presents a picture which is far removed from the "images of pristine environments and unspoiled cultures" which are envisioned by development planners and marketed by the tourism industry. Paradisical visions are increasingly superceded by images of severe environmental stress as garbage and discarded plastic bottles continue to pile up in tourist areas and villages alike, and as green rice paddies are replaced at an alarming rate by hotels and other buildings which threaten to transform a "pulau taman" (garden island) into a "pulau beton" (island of concrete)(Picard 1996:187).[4]

In the midst of these changes, only some of which are accompanied by the rising voices of discontent of Balinese environmentalists and intellectuals (the most prominent recent example being the public outcry generated by the BNR hotel construction which was widely debated in the Balinese newspapers during 1994 and 95, see Chapter Eight), the Balinese are beginning to reassess and question their identity, the essence of their "Balineseness." As one might expect, both culture and tourism figure prominently in this discourse. On the academic level, the anthropological discussions have moved beyond the earlier contention that Balinese culture has been put under siege by tourism and modernization (e.g., the position taken by Hanna in the 1970s) and "that the Balinese were mistaking the commercial attractions they present to tourists for their genuine cultural traditions" (Hanna

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quoted in Picard 1995:57). The counter-position, most notably taken by McKean and widely promulgated by policy makers, popular writers, and the tourist industry, was that tourism, far from destroying Balinese culture, was in fact revitalizing and strengthening it (McKean quoted in Picard 1995:57). In response to Hanna, McKean claims that the Balinese have a long history of successfully coping with outside cultural influences by borrowing those elements which they find suitable and remolding them into a uniquely Balinese cultural style (McKean 1973, 1989:119-138).

Taking issue with both Hanna and McKean, Picard has developed his sophisticated analysis of the complex interaction between Balinese culture and tourism (1996[1992], 1993, 1995). According to him, the question about the *impact* of tourism on culture is "misleading for it implies that international tourism is an external force striking a local society from without, whereas the issue really is to elucidate how the touristification of a society proceeds from within" (Picard 1996, abstract on front cover). Picard thus intentionally sets out to blur "the boundaries between the inside and the outside, between that which belongs to culture and that which pertains to tourism" (1996, abstract on frontcover), and between "cultural tourism" and "touristic culture." In his view, cultural tourism has turned "culture" "into the interface between Bali and the outside world," and Balinese culture into a commoditized trademark as well as the marker of Balinese identity (1995:61). For Picard the real issue is thus not the question of boundary maintainance (notwithstanding that much of the Balinese discourse is

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centered precisely on that), but "the problem that the Balinese are now prisoners of a cultural image promoted by the marketers of Bali as a tourist paradise. In as much as they are expected to display evidence of their Balineseness, the Balinese run the risk of becoming signs of themselves" (1995:81).

Tenganan as a "Desa Wisata": Caught between Indigenization and Globalization

> Examples of relatively isolated cultural groups in Southeast Asia being partly integrated economically through tourism include the hill tribes of northern Thailand; the Toraja in central Sulawesi, Indonesia; the Igorots in central Luzon, Philippines; and the Ibans and Kayans near Kuching and along the Rajang River in East Malaysia. An additional dynamic leads to the singling out of the most isolated and traditional groups within these populations. For example in Bali, the original Balinese (Bali Aga) villages of Tenganan and Trunyan are now common tourist stops [my emphasis].
>
> (Wood 1980:570)

When Wood wrote this article in 1980, Tenganan, while already well-known to scholars, textile collectors, and well-informed tourists for its *geringsing* cloth and presumably "original Balinese" culture, was still far from its present situation as an official "tourist village" (*desa wisata*). This label implies the marketing of a whole community as a living museum of Bali's ancient history and traditions. Tenganan was chosen precisely because of its traditionalism, catering to the romanticism in particular of Western tourists in their search for the authentic (e.g., Cohen 1988). It is generally advertised in the popular

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tourist literature as one of the most conservative villages of the *Bali Aga* tradition, and is visited by over 25,000 tourists per year.[5] In addition to Tenganan, a few other villages (Trunyan and Panglipuran among them) were also declared *desa wisata* (Picard 1996:189, Fakultas Teknik Universitas Gadjah Mada 1994), and thus became official symbols of Balinese history and culture.

The need to create "authentic enclaves" within Bali where tourists could still experience "the true Bali" which had been so vividly described by early visitors and which had captured Western imagination (e.g., Krause 1988[1920], Covarrubias 1937, Powell 1982[1930], and K'tut Tantri 1960, among many others; for a critial review see Boon 1977, Vickers 1989, Pollmann 1990, and Lindsey 1997) became increasingly pressing as the island became transformed by international mass tourism and massive economic development and commercialization in the 1980s and 90s. Tourism planners and tour operators thus set out to develop Bali's own brand of "ethnic tourism[6]" (similar to Thailand's hill tribe tourism) as part of the tourism diversification program envisioned by the second UNDP master plan. Tenganan had long served as a destination in Bali's "alternative tourist" itineraries which catered to more enterprising travellers and "educational" tourists with scholarly aspirations, among them many who were despaired by and wanted to escape Bali's increasing touristification. Now, however, through deliberate government decisions, the village would become an important part of the island's tourism development program. The Indonesian government, at once concerned with the preservation of

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cultural enclaves within Bali, and their subsequent marketing to a more specialized sector of tourism, conducted a feasibility study on the cultural and touristic "potential" of Tenganan and Trunyan, those two villages which were considered the most isolated, quaint, and authentic (often with the connotation of "primitive") examples of Bali's pre-historical and historical past. This study, carried out by the Fakultas Teknik of Gadjah Mada University of Yogyakarta (1994) on behalf of the national department of tourism, was specifically concerned with assessing the cultural potential of both villages for tourism development.

It should be noted that Tenganan, although located within the boundaries of the *kawasan wisata Candi Dasa* (the wider tourism development area of Candi Dasa), had been explicitly excluded from hotel development under the 1992 UNDP master plan (Hassall et al. 1992, Draft Final Report Vol.II:77)(appendix I$_1$). Although the Gadjah Mada team included one noted architect from Tenganan, the implications of the study were quite unclear at the time and are only now becoming evident to the villagers, who suddenly find themselves singled out as the archtypical "Bali Aga" village.[7] As a result, Tenganan's ceremonies are becoming widely publicized in the tourism literature and the island's "calendar of events" and bus loads of tourists visit the village each day. For the Tenganese, their supposedly "vanishing way of life" is all at once widely exposed, publicized, and often distorted (e.g., in national and foreign television programs, international guide books, and travel magazines).

This sudden mass-market exposure is attracting not only the "tourist gaze" in its search for cultural authenticity, but also the

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more intent look of government development planners who have their own ideas of what Bali's "traditional culture" should be like and how it should be marketed. Given the simultaneous quests for "preservation" and "development," the lives of the Tenganese are today caught up in a set of bewildering contradictions as they try to make sense of decisions taken by outsiders on their behalf, and as their world becomes both more global and more local. Not surprisingly, questions of identity and change figure prominently in their discourse. It is certainly ironic that they are made to feel more self-conscious of their traditionalism and "Tenganeseness" at precisely the time when the concurrent quests for modernization and national integration stand high on the political agenda, and when traditionalism is seen as contradictory to these aims. Perhaps even more than any other Balinese, the Tenganese see tourism as a double-edged process which pushes them in two seemingly opposite directions -- indigenization and globalization -- at the same time. In the case of Tenganan, tourism enhances local processes of both socio-economic integration and cultural distinction. "Touristification" thus implies internal reorientations that are inherently contradictory. The remainder of this chapter will explore the ways in which tourism is contributing to Tenganan's integration into the global and national economy (leading to a range of social and cultural changes at the local level). Chapter Seven will examine the opposite (but simultaneous) process of cultural differentiation and the role tourism is playing in the heightening of Tenganan's identity.

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International Tourism as a New Arena for Economic Opportunity and Cultural Integration in Tenganan

Tourism, the world's largest industry, with its compression of space and time, its invention of traditions, and its heightened production and consumption, in particular the "production of commodifiable experiences" (Kearney 1995:555), has become the embodiment of postmodern experience (for a vivid description of these processes in the context of tourism in Dharamsala, India, see McGuckin 1997). The often mentioned "tourist gaze" as an expression of touristic consumption not only shapes the experience of the postmodern tourist, but his/her "object of desire" as well. By attempting to make sense of this new experience of life as a "tourist object," local actors reshape their economic and social lives in interaction with the "economic and cultural conditions of global capitalism" (Kearney 1995:556). Tenganan, as one arena where these local and global forces interact, is particularly interesting, as it illustrates not only how tourism transforms local communities but, perhaps more importantly, how local communities can forcefully shape international tourism in order to make it more compatible with local preexisting economic and social conditions.

Tenganan's complex system of boundary control, codified in a comprehensive body of *adat* laws, has produced a remarkable type of localized international tourism, quite different from other parts of Bali. Despite the fact that the village receives more than 25,000

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tourists each year, resulting in a considerable amount of income (in 1994 tourism generated $15,000 in entrance contributions alone which go to the community as a whole, as well as thousands of dollars in private income for village entrepreneurs), Tenganan has maintained a strong sense of community. One Tenganese explained to me the special character of tourism in Tenganan as follows:

> First, the type of tourism we have here in Tenganan is different from other places in Bali. Tourists come to Tenganan because of its very unique culture and *adat*. Second, the way tourism is received in Tenganan also differs from other Balinese villages. Again this is because of Tenganan's very special *adat*. The motto here is "everything for Tenganan." Tenganan's *adat* determines how tourism is handled here: this includes everything from regulations concerning our land to the sacredness and purity [*kesucian*] of our village. The small size of our houseyards also acts as a limiting factor [shops can only be set up within the houseyard and must not disturb the traditional arrangement and function of the buildings, my insertion]. Ubud and Kuta [two of Bali's major tourist centers] are also *desa adat* but the situation there is very different from here, especially as far as it concerns the degree of commercialization and land use.

These remarks allude to some of the important differences in the ways tourism has been received in Tenganan compared to other Balinese villages such as Kuta, Sanur, or Ubud, where the widespread sale and contracting of village land has occurred and where there is a build up of an entrepreneurial sector largely controlled by non-locals (Balinese, other Indonesians, and foreigners), resulting in massive in-migration, local dispossession, and environmental degradation (e.g., Hussey 1989, Noronha 1979, McTaggart n.d.). Tenganan has, so far, evaded most of these common problems associated with tourism. Due to its strict land

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laws which effectively prohibit the sale or contracting of both communally and privately owned land to outsiders (including other Balinese), its endogamy rules which prevent the immigration of non-village males and limit the influx of outside women, and its extremely strong sense of community reinforced through *adat* laws which severely restrict the residence of outside Balinese within the "core village," Tenganan has effectively prevented non-local entrepreneurs from gaining access to its tourism sector. All of these boundary control mechanisms (which were in place long before tourism entered Tenganan), and which, in large part, have been supported by the government, have enabled the villagers to maintain local control over tourist revenues and prevent capital flight.

Tenganan's autonomy is, however, eroding. At present the government is attempting to force the village to replace the current system of voluntary visitor-contributions with fixed-fee entrance tickets. Whereas under the current system, the government does not derive any tourism-related income from the village, under the new regulation it would receive a certain percentage of the entrance fees. There are also government-sponsored plans to build a museum in Tenganan. Villagers realize that tourism is leading to a restructuring of their relationship with the state. While this involves greater government intrusion into village affairs (which inevitably entails a loss of local, political autonomy), it also provides the Tenganese with a new leverage against other forms of state intrusion which they can employ to their own advantage (e.g., see Wood 1984).

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Besides shaping the village's ties to the state, tourism also engenders a rearrangement of economic relations. In fact it is affecting the distribution of property and wealth as well as other economic arrangements, both within and between the "core village" and Banjar Pande. As we have seen in Chapters Two and Three, the "core village's" traditional economic basis was formed by a complex and heavily regulated system of communal and private landownership which assured a fairly large degree of internal sharing and redistribution of wealth. At the same time, a comprehensive system of boundary control has guarded this wealth from seeping outside. Bilateral inheritance and certain ownership restrictions had assured its internal circulation from generation to generation, guaranteeing each member of the community at least a certain amount of access to both communal and private land.[8] As tourism entered this broad-based system of landownership, it added a supplementary income and much needed source of cash revenue. While one or two decades ago, agriculture formed the primary source of livelihood for almost all members (90%) of the "core village" population, new sources of income have now been added to household economies, such as outside employment (mostly as teachers and government officials) and tourism related activities (such as weaving, basket making, and trading).

Today, one half of the "core village" population (47 out of 96 households) is directly involved in tourism-related activities. These include the production of handicraft items such as the *geringsing* and other local textiles, baskets, and *lontars* (inscriptions and drawings on palm leaves, recounting ancient Hindu epics such as the Ramayana). The

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creation of these craft items involve both genders: women produce textiles while men make *lontars*, and both men and women manufacture baskets. In addition to their involvement in the production of these handicrafts, many families have also set up small "artshops" within their houseyards. Most Tenganese "core villagers" favor these home shops over outside kiosks since it allows them to carry on their normal activities (such as housework, childcare, and the almost ever-present, laborious preparations for ceremonies) while selling to tourists who drift in and out throughout the day. Many visitors I interviewed also responded favorably to this arrangement since it offers them a more personal and intimate view of Tenganan life and it assures them at least some degree of face-to-face interaction with the local population.

Yet, behind the facade of the quaint-looking art shops, there is hidden the increasing competition between families and neighbors over access to tourists. In order to attract the ever-searching "gaze" of their tourist-visitors, enticing them to enter their homes without appearing too eager (to the tourists as well as to the watchful neighbors), Tenganese have shown great ingenuity. Their strategies include the conspicuous arrangements of brightly colored pink or yellow fighting cocks in wicker baskets, or exotic caged birds and monkeys, near the entrance of their homes; having some family members sit outside, preferably on an ancient-looking stone seat, deeply engrossed in weaving a basket or drawing miniature paintings on *lontar* leaves, seemingly oblivious to the crowds gathered around them; or playing romantic tunes on a bamboo flute or the *rantang* (a bamboo xylophone) as soon as some

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visitors are in sight. Tourists, with their insatiable appetite for the "authentic experience," rarely realize (or choose not to realize) that these are sophisticated sales strategies and not "traditional" elements of village life for which they can, however, be easily mistaken. Both tourists and locals happily engage in such staged encounters of "unstaged authenticity."

Banjar Kauh, Tenganan's western main street, where all the large communal buildings and temples are located, is the major attraction for sightseers. It quickly became also the new commercial center of the village. Many tourists, however, especially those on guided group tours, visit only its larger shops (all of which are exclusively operated by Banjar Kauh residents). Most of these shop owners have entered into special arrangements with the outside guides who bring their groups directly to them, in return for hefty commissions. Residents in this section of the village suddenly had a disproportionate advantage over their neighbors in Banjar Tengah (the central main street) which attracts much fewer visitors. In Banjar Kauh, 38 out of 56 households derive income from tourism (corresponding to 68%). Almost all of these (35) sell to tourists directly through the "art shops" set up in their homes.

In contrast, in Banjar Tengah, only 12 out of 40 households gain profits from tourism (30%). Only five of these sell to tourists directly in their homes. These shops are much smaller and their owners complain that it is very hard for them to compete with their neighbors in Banjar Kauh, not only because the number of visitors is lower in this

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part of the village, but because most tourists already have completed their shopping in Banjar Kauh by the time they walk through Banjar Tengah, typically on their way out of the village. Therefore, residents of Banjar Tengah have little choice but to leave items on consignment for sale with their relatives in Banjar Kauh. These consignment arrangements, of course, decrease the profit margin of the owners.

Obtaining direct access to tourists has become such a priority for many "core villagers" that it is affecting the residential pattern. In accordance with local *adat*, Tenganan's residence rule is neolocal, which means that soon after marriage each newly-wed couple has to establish its own household. In the past, young couples preferred plots as close as possible to their parents' homes, while now they tend to choose a location which is favorable for tourism. Therefore, many newly married couples try hard to establish their residence in Banjar Kauh where the economic prospects are much higher. Ten years ago, many of the house plots in Banjar Kauh (whose number is finite and may not be changed according to village regulation) were still empty. Today this section of the village is fully occupied.

In contrast, in Banjar Tengah many plots are vacant. Here most of the remaining residents are older people and families who derive their income through outside employment unrelated to tourism. In other words, a new form of differentiation is emerging within the "core village" itself between those families who are able to fully tap the tourist market (most residents of Banjar Kauh) and those who lack this direct access because of the location of their homes (residents of Ban-

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jar Tengah). In addition, poorer "core villagers" (in both Banjar Kauh and Banjar Tengah), because they lack the capital to set up a well-stocked "art shop", are also feeling left behind.

A second form of differentiation is emerging within the "core village." Active members of the *Krama Desa* (village council) whose time is primarily occupied with religious and administrative duties find themselves at a disadvantage vis-â-vis other "core villagers" who are not (or not any longer) members of the council. Less encumbered by the strict regulations and demanding ceremonial schedule, these "core villagers" have more time to devote to economic enterprise. Within only a few years, a new entrepreneurial elite has begun to emerge out of the margins of the traditional elite system, made up of "core villagers" who have already retired from the council (due to the marriage of their children) or who had been excluded (due to exogamous or polygamous marriages, or because of a physical or mental handicap). This group (whose members tend to be closely related) has been joined by one other very successful group of entrepreneurs, the *Pasek* clan whose members reside in the "core village," but as immigrants from Ngis, are considered and treated as social outsiders. Setting up the first "art shops" in the village, these new entrepreneurs began to earn increasingly large amounts of cash primarily from the sale of textiles (both locally produced and imported from other Indonesian islands by mostly non-Balinese traders who visit the village regularly) as well as other handicraft items (most of which come from other parts of Bali and Java).

With the rising demand for these handicrafts, Tenganan's ancient art of *geringsing* weaving underwent a vigorous renaissance (see

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Chapter Seven). In addition to the revival of the ancient practices of textile and *lontar* making, new "traditions" (such as basket making) were invented by enterprising "core villagers" in order to satisfy the rapidly growing tourist market. As noted above, although in the early 1980s there was only a handful of tourist shops (their owners today form the top end of the entrepreneurial class), by the early 1990s most "core villagers" are either directly or indirectly connected to the tourist trade.

Yet Tenganan's *adat* laws do set some boundaries to this mushrooming commercial development. For example the village council (many of whose members also derive some income from tourism but to a lesser extent than the "new entrepreneurial elite") has restricted tourist shops within the village to private homes (no new buildings are allowed to be constructed within the village proper with the exception of five recently built kiosks at the southern edge of Banjar Tengah, set aside for Banjar Pande residents). Restaurants and lodging facilities for tourists within the village itself have been forbidden -- a restriction that, so far, has been supported by the government (earlier government plans to set up accomodations for high-paying tourists who wish to experience village life first hand have been revoked). While most residents support these regulations, conflicts arise from time to time as some shop owners push the boundaries, challenging the power of the *Krama Desa*.

One ongoing area of contention between the village council and the larger entrepreneurs has been the extension of tourist shops from

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inside private homes into public spaces. Some store owners had set up tables and chairs in front of their homes to serve drinks to tourists, had hung textiles outside, and even used the walls of sacred buildings as convenient "billboards" for advertisement and display. Periodically, the *Krama Desa* takes action (such as in August 1994) by giving a deadline to these businesses to remove all makeshift structures and wares from public spaces. Most recently, these interventions have become increasingly half-hearted, it being more and more difficult for the village council to draw the line between changes which are permissable and prohibited according to local *adat* and to effectively enforce its decisions. Some of the entrepreneurs have altered the interior of their houseyards in order to better accomodate commercial activities (thereby challenging those *adat* laws which regulate houseyard layout and building structure), and continue to extend commercial activities into the public spaces in front of their homes. An ever increasing number of young men have set up small, makeshift tables in the street all along Banjar Kauh where they produce and sell palm leaf manuscripts (*lontars*), as well as small trinkets. As many of these vendors are from Banjar Pande, the section of the village with the least direct access to tourists (see below), the village administration, so far, has not interfered with their incursions into public space.

In earlier years these commercial activities were more limited and were more easily containable. The council (whose members were not yet directly involved in tourism) assumed a stricter stance and followed through its orders with concrete and decisive action (even calling in

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the police on occasion). Store owners were forced to comply with council decisions. Now the council lacks the resolve for open confrontation and thus seems to be losing an uphill battle against those who continue to openly defy its authority. In addition, there is no clear consensus within the village whether these tourism-related matters should be handled by the *desa adat* (i.e., the village council) or by the *desa dinas* (governmental village administration) with the result that some of these issues are being pushed back and forth from one to the other in order to avoid taking any decisive action. Although small in number (less than ten families) and still lacking overt, political power in village affairs, the newly rising entrepreneurial elite has begun to undermine the authority of the *desa adat* and has slowly but persistently begun to push the boundaries of village law.

Recasting Power and Prestige through Tourism

In Tenganan, social status has traditionally been defined by a combination of three factors: (1) personal position within the village council whose hierarchy is determined through seniority, (2) family status (based partly on individual "charisma" and leadership ability, and partly on title group), and (3) lineage-based economic power grounded in landownership. In addition to these more traditional status markers, higher education (i.e., a university degree), and government employment or close linkages to the *dinas* structure have, in recent years, become increasingly crucial for achieving personal power and

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prestige. While individualistic forms of power are gaining in importance, there remains a pronounced village ideology stressing communal values of social uniformity, equality, sharing, reciprocity, and selfless community service, which forcefully downplays individualistic shows of leadership, wealth and power. The following remarks of villagers point to some of the emerging conflicts:

> In Tenganan, one negative effect of tourism is the increasing commercial activity which goes on in public areas. This makes the village look like one big shopping center. It also affects the *kesucian desa* [Indon. "sanctity or purity of the village"]. But shops inside the house are also not a perfect solution because they affect the *kesucian rumah* [Indon. "sanctity of the house"]. For example, some people hang textiles which have already been used, for sale near the house temples or in the *Bale Buga* [the houseyard's ceremonial building]. This pollutes the sacred areas within the house. With tourism, the very shape of the houseyard is also beginning to change. For example, in some homes, the *Bale Buga* no longer has a raised platform and separate cubicles as it is prescribed by *adat*. To have everything at floor level makes it easier for tourists to walk around and to see the merchandise. But it is against Tenganan tradition and can bring bad things, not only to the family, but to the whole village.
>
> Many people in the village talk about the preservation [Indon. *kelestarian*] of our tradition. But their behavior is contrary to what they say. Some of the big shop owners are reluctant to follow the decisions of the *desa*. The *Krama Desa* sometimes even has to call in the police to carry through its decisions. Yet we don't want to do this too often because it brings open conflict. This is why it is so important to have public discussions [Indon. *rapat umum*] to talk about differences and to avoid conflict.

Clearly members of the new entrepreneurial elite find themselves in a difficult position. Most of the large shop owners are former members of the village council and thus are a part of the traditional elite system. Most are

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also small-scale landowners. Yet, in the course of their lives, some of them have also experienced some degree of marginalization (e.g., due to a polygamous marriage, an outside wife, a physical impairment which disqualified them from council membership in the first place, or a more outgoing, individualistic, "achiever personality" which is generally frowned upon by the community). Thus, their social position is both inclusionary and exclusionary at the same time. While still part of the traditional "core village" system, they are also marginal enough to escape being too constrained by it.

Today, power and prestige are contingent on a combination of factors which involve both material aspects such as landownership, tourist business, higher education, and government employment, as well as non-physical aspects such as spiritual forms of power and charisma. Individual actors who desire to position themselves within this structure try to forge ties (e.g., through marriage) in order to interconnect as many of these factors as possible. To give just one example, a large tourist shop owner married his son to the daughter of an astute business woman (who is also a major landowner and accomplished *geringsing* weaver), whose well-educated older son holds an important government position within the village and is married to the daughter of another major female landowner; her younger son is married to the daughter of one of the village's most influential politicians with close links to the regional government. Having family ties to *Krama Desa* members is also crucial for capital-rich shop owners, who hope to informally influence village affairs through lobbying.

Members of the "new entrepreneurial elite" are well aware that in Tenganan, material wealth (from tourism or otherwise) does not convey, by

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itself, high social status. Rather, this wealth has to be first transformed into "spiritual potency." This can be achieved both in the communal arena through generous contributions to the village on the occasion of ceremonies or for the repair of temples and public buildings, and in the private arena through the building of elaborate, Balinese-style house temples and the performance of lavish family ceremonies. In a society like Tenganan, however, where both public and private spheres are heavily regulated by *adat*, and where any individualistic aspirations and displays of wealth and power are frowned upon, members of this new class have found it quite difficult to sanitize their wealth in these ways. Perhaps more than most other members of the community, they are open to public scrutiny and criticism (e.g., the whole community takes notice if a wealthy shop owner does not himself participate in communal work but sends a [supposedly paid] representative). And it is not without an openly expressed hint of glee that some people noted that the village council was recently unable to accept a generous gift of tiles, to be used in the restoration of a village temple, from a wealthy business man -- one who happens to be in open defiance of the council's order to remove the roofing of his newly remodeled home because it does not conform to *adat* laws -- as the tiles were "too modern," and thus unsuitable.

In other words, despite the many changes, Tenganan remains a community where public pressures toward conformity (which are, in extreme cases, still backed by shunning and even expulsion from the "core village") remains a powerful and viable instrument of social control. Despite the influx of capital through tourism, and the village's integration into larger national and provincial political spheres, the "core village" still retains its cultural

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roots as a community of equals, bound together through religious, kinship, and economic ties. However, there is also much fear on the part of many villagers that in the end, rising individualism and consumerism will destroy this communal spirit. These apprehensions are not only expressed by the older generation, but by some younger members as well as can be seen by the following remarks of a young man:

> Before, when Tenganan was not yet a "*desa wisata*" [tourist village], the feeling of social oneness and togetherness was very strong. Then, there was little economic and social differentiation. Before, when the village needed to restore a temple, it would simply invite "*undagi*" [Old-Balinese term for those craftsmen knowledgeable in the material and spiritual aspects of wood working and carpenting] from Banjar Kauh and Banjar Pande. The village would provide the building materials and the *undagi* would give their knowledge and labor for free. This has changed already and the village now often has to pay for these services. The changing economic situation due to tourism is the reason. Today, people prefer to have an art shop rather than work as *undagi*. This brings higher and easier income. Before, illness was the only excuse not to work when one was called by the *desa*. *Undagi* work still enjoys a certain social status, but art shop ownership brings greater profits and is beginning to have also higher social status. With tourism, economic differences become larger and competition is on the rise. Related families work together to increase their income. For example, related families, who also often live close together, will try to undersell their products and then share their gain. A feeling of social unity still exists, but soon it will exist only among those who are left behind, among those who are poor.

In addition to the concerns over rising individualism and consumerism, villagers have expressed over and over one overwhelming fear, the loss of control over their youth. Tenganan's young people, more than ever before, are exposed to an "international youth culture" which defies parental authority and the constraining boundaries set by

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Tenganan's *adat*. In the pursuit of higher education, today many Tenganese leave the village at a young age to temporarily live in Denpasar, Bali's urban center, or even in Java, where they are exposed to what the older generation considers to be the morally corrupting influences of modern life. While exposure to mass media, increased geographic mobility, and changes in the educational and employment structure may be the primary causes for the drastic changes in young people's lives, tourism all too often bears the blame for the impending "moral degradation."

This view of tourism -- which often serves as euphemism for what is assumed to be Western cultural values -- as the major polluter of Balinese culture and religion remains prevalent not only among villagers but also among the Balinese intelligentsia and is widely disseminated through the media and through seminars. While it is inherently difficult to separate the cultural influences derived from tourism from other effects of modernization, many older Tenganese perceive a direct link between the increase of materialism and individualism and the decrease in communal values and lack of interest in *adat* on the part of the young people. In particular, young, unmarried males are considered to be more vulnerable as they are more likely to be influenced by the seductive and hedonistic "free spirit" culture advertised by the tourist industry and celebrated in the tourist centers of Kuta, Sanur, and more recently in Candi Dasa, the fledgling resort located only a short distance from Tenganan.

Compared to Banjar Pande and other villages in the neighborhood, only very few young men (and no young women) from the "core vil-

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lage" have sought employment in hotels and restaurants in these tourist centers. However, there are numerous possibilities for young people in the "core village" to either meet tourists directly or to experience some aspects of tourist culture through their friends who live and work in these centers. Tenganese parents become particularly alarmed when, recently, such "close encounters" between young men from Tenganan (from both the "core village" and Banjar Pande) and tourists resulted in liaisons that took some of the young men abroad on visits to Europe, America, and Japan. Since tourist centers such as Candi Dasa also act as convenient decoys for what are generally considered to be "establishments of questionable reputation" with free gambling, drinking, and prostitution (many of which are operated and frequented by Balinese rather than foreigners), it is hardly surprising that young males who were brought up in Tenganan's traditional and puritan environment are especially vulnerable to these "modern" diversions, which sometimes end with disastrous consequences (as recently for one Tenganese who ended up in hospital with life-threatening injuries from a motorcycle accident that happened on one of these nightly sprees to Candi Dasa). Incidents such as these confirm the conviction of many villagers that tourism is a double-edged blade which must be handled with great care as it can bring not only benefits (exclusively seen in economic terms) but social and spiritual costs (such as the much feared dangers of pollution, moral degradation, and physical illness). Homophobic sentiments reverberate especially strongly in the "core village," and are reinforced by government rhetoric (e.g., in campaigns against AIDS which is portrayed

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in the local media and advertisements primarily as a "tourist illness").

Redefining the Periphery: Tourism as an Agent for Change in Banjar Pande

While the largest part of tourism activities in Tenganan are centered in the "core village" (and particularly on Banjar Kauh), there are also new developments which redefine the existence of those living on the margins of Tenganan society. The residents of Banjar Pande, as described earlier, have been economically and socially marginalized under a traditional system of property relations which divides the village into "core village" landholders (who traditionally constituted the social and religious elite), and the socially and economically subordinate, landless residents of Banjar Pande. With the help of tourism, which has opened up new employment possibilities, Banjar Pande has begun to break this old cycle of dependency. In interviews, many Banjar Pande residents stressed that nothing has affected their lives in recent years as much as tourism. While just one short generation ago, almost all residents had scraped together a meager living by working for the "core villagers" as tenant farmers, manual laborers, and household helpers, today over a third of the households derive income from tourism directly, with a much larger number of families profiting from this new wealth indirectly through reciprocal exchanges carried on within extended families and between households. One young resident of Banjar Pande has explained changes in the patron-client relationships between "core village" and Banjar Pande as follows:

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> Most people of Banjar Kauh [used as a euphemism for "core village"], especially the members of the *Krama Desa*, are still traditional in their thinking. People who are powerful in the village, especially people who own a lot of land, or business men who own large shops and who have capital from tourism, use people from Banjar Pande for their own needs. Like this they built up relationships [i.e., patron-client bonds]. Powerful patrons make people dependent. For example they want them to work in their gardens or in their homes, and to help in the house if there is a ceremony. In these relationships, the patron is always from Banjar Kauh (i. e., the "core village"] and the "*penyakap*" [tenant farmer or client] is always from Banjar Pande or the "gardens" [i.e., outsiders working as tenant farmers for "core village" landlords]. However, many people in Banjar Pande today are not content any longer to be "*penyakap.*" The income from tenant farming today is not enough anymore to live. Now people in Banjar Pande want freedom from their patrons, they prefer to work for tourism. If Banjar Pande people work for Tenganan Pegringsingan [another euphemism for "core village"] they get just enough income for daily living expenses like food, but it is not enough for a better life, the education of their children, or to go to the doctor.

Increasing numbers of Banjar Pande residents have been able to break out or losen these ties of clientage through family-based cottage industries, such as the production of baskets, *lontars*, textiles, and musical instruments. Most of these handicraft products are sold to tourists locally. Some residents have also established themselves as suppliers of these goods to large hotels in other regions of Bali, including some of the most renowned luxury resorts. The resulting influx of capital has created opportunities for other members of the community not directly involved in the tourist trade. Many families, for example, are rebuilding their homes, which raises the demand for local construction workers; new foodstalls operated by Banjar Pande women have sprung up throughout the village, as families have more money available for

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grocery shopping; and a chicken farm operated by one of the most enterprising members of Banjar Pande has generated employment for other villagers. Even such esoteric specialists as local *balian* (traditional specialists in healing and magic) have profited from this new influx of wealth, extending their clientele to include not only local villagers, some of whom are willing (and able) to spend considerable amounts of money on magic potions, but also wealthy outsiders. Even representatives of the luxury resorts sometimes seek their services (e.g., to prevent rain if important ceremonies are conducted by these hotels).

As mentioned earlier, several residents of Banjar Pande operate tourist shops in the southern part of the "core village's" Banjar Tengah and in the parking lots at the entrance to the village. All the people from Banjar Pande I interviewed felt strongly that their lives are much better now because they were able to break loose from the economically and socially constricting ties of tenant farming and their complete dependency on the "core village". These new opportunities not only generate better income and are physically less demanding (tenant farmers and their families have to climb up and down the steep hills of Tenganan several times per day, usually carrying heavy loads of palm wine [*tuak*], wood, or water), but they also have added pride and self-confidence to a section of the population which used to be voiceless and lived completely in the shadow of the "core village."

These developments have, however, not erased the old status and class barriers which continue to divide the two sections of the village. As one young woman from Banjar Pande put it:

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> People in Banjar Pande are still very aware of the social difference which exists between us and the people from Banjar Kauh [i.e, the "core village"]. We have no land and no capital and we are very aware of our lower status. For example, men in Banjar Kauh take a wife from outside the village, yet they cannot marry a woman from Banjar Pande [referring to the "core village" endogamy laws which allow intermarriage between "core village" men and outside women from high castes and high status commoner groups, but which categorically prohibit intermarriage between "core village" and Banjar Pande, my insertion]. Because of this, there is very little personal contact between young people of opposite sex from Banjar Pande and Banjar Kauh [the "core village"]. Although life is better now in Banjar Pande, we are still far behind. People here have not yet become "*maju*" (progressive, developed, wealthy) like the people of Banjar Kauh [i.e., the "core village"].

Many residents of Banjar Pande, while grateful for the changes which tourism has brought them (in contrast to the "core village", few voiced concerns about negative side effects), also feel that their continuing marginal position within the village (socially, economically, and spatially) has prevented them from fully taking advantage of these new opportunities. Most tourists do not visit Banjar Pande and are not even aware of its existence. Being somewhat removed from the "tourist trail" centered on Banjar Kauh, Banjar Pande's disadvantageous location is compounded by the lower educational level of its residents (fewer of whom speak Indonesian, and only very few of whom have sufficient knowledge of English), and the much more limited capital they have available to invest in tourism-related enterprises. Apart from those residents who own their own kiosks and those who sell *lontars* in Banjar Kauh (as mentioned earlier), they still have no direct access to tourist wealth but must rely on the "core village" shop owners to sell their products and

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content themselves with much smaller profits. They feel that it is this indirect articulation to the tourist economy which prevents them from participating on an equal basis with their privileged "core village" neighbors.

Yet, despite these obstacles, the people of Banjar Pande have exhibited an amazing amount of dynamism, ingenuity, determination, and perseverence in their struggle against economic and social constraints. Their efforts are beginning to pay off as there are already signs that some of the old, and until recently very clear cut, class barriers between the two sections of the village are starting to cave in. It is too early to speculate, however, whether this decrease in economic differentiation between Banjar Pande and the "core village" will engender changes in the social barriers as well. So far, there is no indication that the "core village" is willing to cede any of its religious and social privileges.

Summarizing the previous argument, the example of tourism development in Tenganan illustrates that tourism can have very variable effects on even such a small community as Tenganan. Older class and status barriers continue to play a role in modern economic development, and different social groups within the village experience the benefits and costs related to tourism very differently. While the economic class boundaries between Banjar Pande and "core village" may have become blurred due to the influx of tourism-generated wealth, new forms of economic differention are emerging within the "core village" itself between those families who are able to fully tap the new resources and those who

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cannot. Traditional class and status barriers, residential pattern, educational level, family ties, and a tradition-bound system of village duties all interact to influence the degree to which individual Tenganese are able to rise in the new opportunity fields which tourism has opened up. Notwithstanding these differentiations, in Tenganan the economic benefits derived from tourism are more widely distributed throughout the whole community than in other villages which experienced similar development (e.g., Bugbug, see Chapters Eight and Nine). Similarly, some of the negative social impacts commonly associated with tourism so far have been less pronounced in Tenganan due to the continued strength of its traditionnal communal institutions.

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NOTES

Chapter Six:

[1] Balinese intellectuals, religious leaders and administrators have drawn on a conception of their culture which likens it to a tree whose roots are the Hindu religion (*agama*), whose trunk are the customs and social organization (*adat*), and whose flowering branches are the artistic expressions and inspirations (*seni*). This image of Balinese culture has also been used by development planners (Hassall et al. 1992, Annex 6 "Culture"; also Bagus n.d.:4). As Picard has noted, this blending of religion, customs, and art represents not only the essence of Balinese identity but has developed into its trademark. Thus Balinese culture no longer is the exclusive property of the Balinese, but has become a "'tourist capital' which confers on its tourist product a decisive superiority in the competition with other destinations in the area" (Picard 1995:56). In Picard's view, it is this blurring of lines between culture as a "capital" to be marketed, and culture as ancestral "heritage" which contributes to the "touristification" of Balinese culture.

[2] The original master plan for tourism development in Bali was drawn up, upon the request of the Indonesian government, by a French firm (SCETO), and was sponsored by the World Bank and financed by the Indonesian Government and UNDP (Picard 1996:45). According to Noronha who acted as the cultural advisor for the Bali Tourism Development Board, SCETO's entire approach was based on "quantity rather than quality" as the "sole acceptable criterion for measuring its success is the return of invested capital" (Noronha 1979:194). Thus, only lip service was paid to cultural concerns as economic questions outweighed the consideration of social and ecological investigations (Noronha 1979:194). The World Bank master plan laid the ground for Bali's "elite tourism" as it emphasized the construction of the Nusa Dua Resort area with its large luxury hotel complexes (with a 7000 room capacity), supplemented with the upgrading of the already existing resort areas of Kuta and Sanur (to a capacity of 2,500 rooms)(Noronha 1979:194). As SCETO considered contact between tourists and Balinese as "potentially harmful," any changes introduced by the master plan were supposed to "reinforce, not detract from traditional Balinese social structures" (Noronha 1979:195). The master plan was thus promoting agressive, large-scale tourism development with the justification that Balinese "tradition" and culture could be safeguarded from the polluting and detrimental effects of tourism through the setting up of a boundary control mechanism intended to minimize social interaction between tourists and Balinese. According to Noronha, the master plan was oblivious to the fact that such massive tourism development "was beyond Balinese capabilities," that it would extend control to outsiders, that leakages of tourism revenues would occur, and that therefore, the "dynamic sectors" of Bali's economy would be controlled by non-Balinese nationals and foreigners (McTaggart, n.d.:245). According to McTaggart, the master plan

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was instrumental in changing the direction of tourism in Bali, from the earlier small-scale, spontaneous, locally controlled tourism (e.g., Hussey 1989) to large-scale, centrally controlled "elite tourism." This form of development raised concern not only among Balinese intellectuals (e.g., Bagus n.d., Universitas Udayana and Gerard Francillon 1975) for the impact of mass-tourism on the culture of Bali, but also among government officials. These misgivings suggested the need to redirect Bali's tourism policy to be more sensitive and beneficial to local needs, giving rise to the often heard motto "Tourism for Bali, not Bali for Tourism." Yet, as foreign, national, regional, and local interests are increasingly pitted against each other, such slogans remain largely polemical (e.g., for a variety of examples see Picard 1996:186-197).

[3] This second master plan sponsored by UNDP and the government of Indonesia whose final report was issued in 1992 (Hassall et al. 1992, INS/90/021) aimed at diversifying tourism throughout the island. While this plan tried to correct some of the shortcomings of the first master plan, it nevertheless continued to operate within the same top-down development paradigm as the earlier plan. While the first plan favored a "quantity over quality" approach, the second plan emphasizes sustainability and a "high quality approach" (which in fact means "elite tourism"), aimed at "protecting the environment" and at "maximizing cultural expression" (Hassall et al. 1992, Chapter 1:1). In addition to readjusting the emphasis from economic to cultural and environmental variables, its second major objective was decentralization by creating 15 new "tourism development areas" (*kawasan wisata*), geographically dispersed throughout the island (see appendix I3), each with its own "distinct character" or "theme" (transforming Bali, as some critics have suggested, into one single "theme park"). (As already noted in Chapter Three, in 1993 the number of these 15 *kawasan wisata* has been subsequently increased to 21 through the Governor's "Spatial Arrangement Plan for Tourist Areas" [Picard 1996:66], with an additional two areas in the planning [corresponding to the eight shaded areas in appendix I3].) The plan further extends this "theme" idea to sites designated as "tourist objects" (*obyek wisata*), turning Bali's most treasured symbols of cultural heritage such as religious sites (archeological, historical, and contemporary) into tourism commodities. In addition, several villages with distinct cultural characteristics, among them Tenganan, were officially labelled as "tourist villages" (*desa wisata*), with the same implications for their marketability to an international and national audience of visitors. In order to offer "protection of ecosystem integrity and biodiversity," the plan recommends the creation of an extensive system of natural parks and reserves, which will then form the basis for the development of "nature tourism." Notwithstanding that this second master plan takes into account previously neglected issues such as the environment, culture, village development, women, and health, their actual implementation has fallen far short from the outline of the plan's lofty goals. This is not surprising if one examines some of its underlying premises. First, concerning the emphasis on "quality tourism" the plan states that its "first priority is to attract high spending

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tourists, many of whom are sympathetic to Bali's culture and environment." In practice, this elitist bias has led to wide-spread sale and contracting of sparse land to non-Balinese, and the mushrooming of luxury hotels not only in beach areas but in interior farmland regions throughout the island. Far from preserving the environment, these large-scale hotel and condominium projects have led to the alarming rate of disappearance of agricultural land (1000 hectares of riceland disappear each year [Picard 1996:186]), serious water shortages in villages due to the construction of swimming pools and golf courses, and ever-increasing mountains of non-renewable waste. Second, the extension of massive, large-scale tourism development throughout the island, with its staggering projection of six million tourists (four million international and two million domestic) (Hassall et al. 1992, Report Synopsis:3) for the coming decade on a tiny island with less than three million inhabitants which already has one of the highest population densities in the world, can only be considered a complete mockery of the goals outlined at the beginning of the report which claim to be sensitive to Bali's cultural heritage and environment and beneficial to its population.

[4] As Picard so vividly describes, recent efforts by the Indonesian government to reverse this trend of environmental destruction through "tamanisasi" ("gardenization") has taken a perplexing turn as beautiful, old trees along roadsides and in towns and villages, are cut down in order to be replaced by "artificial gardens (*taman*) which make copious use of painted concrete (*beton*) to the most hideous effects" (Picard 1996:187).

[5] The regional tourist office in Karangasem listed the total number of visitors for 1993 at 25,666 (23,895 foreign and 1,771 domestic tourists)(Dinas Pariwisata Kabupaten Daerah Tingkat II 1993:22). I believe that the actual number of domestic tourists is much higher (see note 7).

[6] The label "ethnic tourism" is used here in the sense defined by Wood (1984:361) as a form of tourism with a "direct focus on people living out a cultural identity whose uniqueness is being marketed for tourists." He contrasts "ethnic tourism" with "cultural tourism" which he defines as a type of tourism "where the role of culture is contextual, where its role is to shape the tourist's experience of a situation in general, without a particular focus on the uniqueness of a specific cultural identity" (1984:361). According to Wood, all tourism in Bali is of the "ethnic variety." I would argue, however, that it is difficult to draw a clear line between these two categories as Balinese culture is marketed as both a distinctive (ethnic) marker of the Balinese people as well as a cultural heritage of Indonesia's Hindu past. Wood draws a second distinction, however, which is more useful in the context of Bali and Tenganan. He sets apart "primary" and "secondary" forms of tourism (of both the ethnic and cultural variety), whereby the secondary forms may consist of specific villages, communities, or performances which imprint a sense of uniqueness and which

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supplement other forms of tourism in the area (e.g., beach or nature tourism). The marketing of Tenganan as a living museum of Bali's long lost past (even though Bali's past most certainly looked quite different from modern-day Tenganan), and as a distinctive culture within modern Bali (based on its textiles, architecture, and rituals) make Tenganan an example of "secondary"-type tourism within Bali, with both "ethnic" and "cultural" components. In particular, Tenganan was to offer a secondary destination for the newly developed tourist resort of Candi Dasa which lies at a short distance of five kilometers from the village. Candi Dasa is one of the 15 resort areas (*kawasan wisata*) outlined in the 1992 UNDP report, intended to be marketed as an alternative resort to the buzzling southern tourist areas (with emphasis on its scenic setting and its surrounding natural beauty and as a gate for exploring the Old-Balinese villages within the area of eastern Bali)(Hassall et al. 1992, Final Draft Report, Vol.II:77).

[7] Today Tenganan is marked as a tourist site on most maps of Bali, and all of its major and minor ceremonies are listed in the "calendar of events" provided by the Balinese tourist office. It is included in the tour programs of most Balinese tour operators. In addition, foreign tour operators catering to low-cost mass tourism in Europe and Asia (such as Neckermann from Germany) include Tenganan in their Bali itinerary. Furthermore, thousands of school children from all over Bali, as well as from Java and other parts of Indonesia, are taken each year to Tenganan to receive an object lesson in Balinese (and Indonesian) history. Tenganan is also widely publisized in the Balinese and foreign press and television. It is not at all unusual for me to find the familiar faces of my Tenganese friends on postcards, in bookshops all over the U.S. and Europe, on videos and music tapes presented in museums and cultural institutions in the U.S., or in documentary films shown on national Indonesian and German television. While the Tenganese genuinely enjoy and are proud of the attention awarded to them nationally and internationally, they are also wary of sensationalist stories about their culture (which they vehemently deny to be true) but which are endlessly recounted by outside Balinese tour guides and which have found their way into the popular and tourist literature.

[8] It is difficult to ascertain exact figures on the distribution of privately owned land within the "core village" due to the fact that most members of the community are interrelated and that the inheritance system is bilateral. Thus, the death of each member of the community (male and female alike) is followed by lengthy meetings and discussions (both communal and private) to figure out the lines of succession and inheritance. These difficulties are further compounded by the fact that the system of distribution of *sawah* (wet) land is extremely complex due to formal and informal share holding arrangements. The figures presented here are thus but a very rough estimate of the distribution of dry land (*tegalan*). It does not account for *sawah* ownership which is regulated through shareholding arrangements. Most members of the community who own some dry land also have some shares in the wet land. In addition, mem-

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bers who own no or very little private land, but are members of the *Krama Desa* (village council) still obtain shares from the communal *desa* land. The survey I conducted in 1995 showed that 67% of "core villagers" owned between 3-15 hectares of dry land, 9% owned more than 15 hectares, and 24% less than 3 hectares.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

GLOBALIZING LOCALITY: INTERNATIONAL TOURISM AS AN ARENA FOR THE REVITALIZATION OF LOCAL IDENTITY IN TENGANAN

> Do the processes of modernization and development necessarily entail the 'passing' of the 'traditional' societies of Asia, Africa, and Latin America and a global process of cultural homogenization in the direction of the West? Are tourists missionaries -- or shock troops -- of Western modernity, destroying indigenous cultures in the process of seeking them out?
>
> (Wood 1993:48)

International Tourism and the Cultural (Re)construction of Identity, Tradition, and Authenticity

The above quote, taken from Wood's stimulating article on recent developments in the study of tourism (1993:48-70) highlights much of the debate in early anthropological research which focused on the *impact* (whether seen in positive or negative terms) of international tourism on local populations and traditional cultures and which continues to reverberate in much of the popular discourse on tourism.[1] Earlier anthropological studies on tourism's effects on local communities drew on modernization theory which placed "tradition" and "modernity" as contrastive, and essentially mutually exclusive, sets of opposites, and "culture" and "identity" as static conditions rather than dynamic processes (Wood 1993:50-52). By focusing on concepts such as "commoditization" and "authenticity," earlier analyses (e.g., the famous

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Greenwood [1977] study of a Basque festival), set out to document the destruction of authenticity through tourism and its consequent replacement with "staged" authenticity (see Wood's review, 1993:50-53).

These earlier positions which were based on the fundamental incompatibility of "authenticity" and "commoditization" were later refined and eventually contradicted by newer studies which emphasized that tourism does not necessarily destroy local meanings and spoil ancient traditions, that it may even revitalize certain cultural elements on the verge of extinction and thus aid in the strengthening and preservation of tradition (e.g., Cohen 1988). As already mentioned in the previous chapter, Bali has figured prominently in this debate. In particular McKean's study (1973, 1977) on tourism's revitalizing effects on Balinese culture has become infuential (perhaps as a convenient justification for massive tourism development) in national and international circles of policy makers and development planners.[2] These politicized repercussions of McKean's work coincided with the paradigmatic changes in the reconceptualization of tradition and authenticity which became now less viewed as static conditions against which change can be measured, but more in terms of symbolic processes which are continually created, reconstructed and assigned new meanings. They have moved the anthropological discourse away from slippery questions over whether or not Balinese culture was and is able to withstand the "impact", toward a much more multi-dimensional and sophisticated analysis centered on the problematics of Bali's "touristification" and how it

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is contributing to shape Balinese culture and self-images. The most notable examples of this new direction are Vickers' and Picard's work.

In other words, in recent years, anthropological concerns about the cultural effects of tourism on local communities have undergone a fundamental reorientation, away from tourism as an *external* force toward tourism as an *internal* process shaping (in often ambiguous and contradictory ways) ongoing cultural transformations such as the invention of tradition, and the reconstruction of authenticity and identity (issues which had been pioneered by Hobsbawm and Ranger [1983]):

> Not tradition but its on-going symbolic reconstruction; not authenticity but its attribution; not inherited identities but relational, improvised and contested ones; not internalised values as much as available templates and strategies of action; not culture but cultural invention and local discourses -- the central questions to be asked are about process, and about the complex ways tourism enters and becomes part of an already on-going process of symbolic meaning and appropriation.
>
> (Wood 1993:66)

As Wood notes, this new dynamic and relational view of culture grew out of post-modernist discourse which treats cultural identity as "politically contested and historically unfinished" and as "always mixed, relational, and inventive" (Clifford 1988:9-10, quoted in Wood 1993:64). Both Picard (1993, 1995, 1996) and Volkman (1990) have stressed in their analyses of cultural and ethnic tourism in Indonesia the importance of viewing these processes within the larger framework of "cultural politics" which involves local actors, the international tourist industry, and the Indonesian state (see also Wood 1984). As Wood reminds us, tourism may not initiate these processes of cultural inven-

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tion and reconstruction but it may influence their outcomes (1993:70). Picard has taken the argument one step further, stressing that it is increasingly problematic to think of tourism in terms of "impact" at all. Rather it is an *integral* part of Balinese culture (Wood 1993:66). As Wood notes, "obviously, the degree to which tourism becomes, in Picard's [1990:74] words, an 'integral part' of culture *is a variable*" (Wood 1993:66, my emphasis). The real questions to be asked then, concern this variability, not whether -- but *to which degree* and *in which ways* -- tourism has become an *integral* part of Tenganan culture. The underlying causes for this variability are found in the dialogue of local cultural processes, national politics, and international tourism, all of which play a part in Tenganan's own game of "cultural politics."

In this chapter, I will focus on three major elements of Tenganan tradition which are being symbolically reconstructed and "reauthenticized" under the influence of tourism. Tenganan architecture, ritual, and the *geringsing* cloth have all been deconstructed and reconstructed through the process of touristification. As identity markers which the Tenganese use to represent themselves to each other as well as to others, their symbolic meanings are constantly debated, reworked, contested, and reaffirmed by members of the community. In this process of cultural production these three elements have become cultural icons or "key symbols" (Ortner 1973) of Tenganan culture. It is interesting, however, that in Tenganan this process of touristification has not resulted, as in other parts of Bali, in "staged" events, and that in fact the Tenganese, perhaps more than any other Balinese group, have

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strongly resisted the separation of their cultural markers from their original sacred context. While there is little doubt that Tenganan is being commercialized and "globalized" through tourism, the Tenganese have conversely used tourism for their own purposes as an effective devise for public relations and marketing to underline their own cultural concerns. Shaped by tourism, they have, conversely, also shaped tourism to better suit their unique community interests, one of which is to maintain a certain degree of cultural separation from the rest of Bali (see also Chapter Four).

In Tenganan, tourism has served as a convenient medium for highlighting a sense of community and identity that villagers attribute to their mythological history as the sole descendents of the *Wong Paneges*, the idealized Hindu community of Bali's distant past. International tourism, with its need for "pristine and untouched" cultures, has helped them redefine, contest, and refocus this cultural self-vision. As both Volkman and Picard have stressed in their work, such local "visions and revisions" (Volkman 1990) are shaped by national and regional "cultural politics," as well as by the expectations and "distinctive gaze" (Volkman 1990:91) of the visiting tourists.

By showcasing Tenganan as one of the most "authentic" examples of "Bali Aga" culture, the Indonesian government is attempting to diversify tourism in Bali and to market its peripheral, East-Balinese region of Karangasem as an alternative destination to the highly publicized and commercialized "involuted" Hindu-Javanese cultural regions of southern and central Bali. Not unlike "hill tribe tourism" on mainland Southeast

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Asia, which contributed both to the process of regional "indigenization" as well as to the homogenizing counterprocess of "nationalization" (Cohen 1982, quoted in Wood 1993:62), tourism in Tenganan and the wider region of Karangasem is being promoted as Bali's equivalent to mainland "nature tourism" and "indigenous culture tourism." The marketing of Tenganan as an example of the "aboriginal Bali Aga" village has contributed considerably to both, its "indigenization" as well as its "Indonesianization." At the same time as the international tourism industry is commercializing Tenganan's cultural difference, the Indonesian government is capitalizing on Tenganan culture (most notably its *gerinsing* textiles) as a resource for both national (Indonesian) and regional (Balinese) cultural heritage. Representatives of Tenganan's youth organizations participate each year in the opening of the Bali Arts Festival, and *geringsing* exhibitions have been sponsored by the Indonesian government both in the national capital and abroad in Japan. None less than the wife of Bali's current governor has taken up the role of Tenganan's "cultural ambassador" at these national and international events and has even promoted plans for the construction of a museum in Tenganan showcasing the village's famous textiles.

Tenganan in the "Tourist Gaze"

Since Indonesia's independence and Bali's inclusion in the nation-state, Tenganan's internal transformations are increasingly negotiated within these wider regional (Balinese), national (Indonesian)

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and international (global) arenas. As we have seen in previous chapters, improved communication, outside schooling and employment, national changes in village administration and law, land reforms, and Bali's Hindu reform movement, all had their effects on Tenganan. Yet the most visible, and perhaps most dramatic of all these changes has been the recent explosion of international tourism. Precisely at the time when the Tenganese are faced with pervasive changes due to national development programs, tourists flock by the thousands to the village to take a good, last look at the "vanishing images of traditional Bali".

Toby Volkman, in her seminal article "Visions and Revisions: Toraja Culture and the Tourist Gaze" (1990), has emphasized that ethnic tourism "is not simply a form of cultural appropriation, nor is it simply an activity of the West" (1990:91). Its "objectifiers" involve not only the "international capitalists who control the giant tourism industry" but also the "indigenous peoples caught up in complex relations with that industry,...., with tourists, and with major cultural, social, and political transformations at home" (1990:91). As Volkman goes on to point out, "tourism implies a distinctive sort of gaze. That gaze may become a model for local gazes too, put to work along with other kinds of cultural visions and revisions" (1990:91). Volkman's article is important not only because she pays extensive attention to the dynamic local historical and political background into which tourism enters, but also because she refocuses from the "tourist gaze" of MacCannell's Western capitalistic "leisure class" (1976) to the introspective gaze of the local actors -- who are both "tourist objects" and

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"reflective critics" at the same time -- and who reshape their own cultural visions in dialogue with both external and internal forces (1990:91).

Tourists come to Tenganan to experience something special and different from the rest of Bali: a close-up view of life in an ancient "Bali Aga" or "original Balinese" village, supposedly untouched (or at least "almost untouched") by modern civilization, where a close-knit community of people leads a traditional and harmonious way of life centered on their age-old rituals and crafts. Stepping through the narrow entrance gate onto the terraced stone-paved streets with their ancient buildings and temples is supposed to offer the world traveler both a glimpse into Bali's distant past and an "off-the-beaten-track" experience, a bit of adventure and history, all with the safety and convenience of an overtouristified Bali.

Most of the foreign tourists I interviewed during their short visits to Tenganan (which typically last less than one hour) felt that this was, indeed, a very unique experience. Some said that they had the impression that Tenganan was "one of the least touristic places" they had visited in Bali. They especially appreciated Tenganan's idyllic setting amidst green hills covered by tropical forests, the fact that they were allowed to walk freely through the village and into homes without being hassled or pushed to buy something, that they could observe people weaving the famous *geringsing* textile, making *lontars* and "traditional" baskets[3] in such picturesque, domestic settings. Some of the visitors were especially enchanted by the politeness with which they were treated

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by "the locals," as well as by their "certain aloofness" toward business,[4] which they felt made shopping in the village a much more pleasant experience than in tourist markets where one can feel overwhelmed by eager and sometimes overly agressive vendors. Most visitors also commented favorably on the "old look" of the village, its ancient architectural style of temples, public buildings, and neat rows of thatch-roofed houses set apart by wide, terraced streets. Tourists emphasized how much they enjoyed the village's atmosphere of peace and tranquility, the absence of motorized traffic, and the herds of water buffaloes wandering quietly through the streets or dozing lazily in the shade of huge *banyan* trees. One young couple (from USA and Germany) approached me to ask how to get more information about the village. I suggested taking a private tour with a local Tenganese guide. Afterwards they commented that they felt very lucky to learn so much not only about the village's physical sites but about its social structure, its strong sense of community and egalitarian values which reverberate especially with visitors coming from the overindustrialized, socially anonymous environments of western, urbanized cultures. They felt that, more than anything else, this strong communal spirit should be preserved. Other visitors I interviewed were so taken by the sense of timelessness, beauty, and an "inexplicable feeling of mystery" which the village conveyed to them that they intended to return for a longer visit with the hope of perhaps observing some of Tenganan's unique ceremonies, of which they had seen pictures in the village shops.

While many visitors felt that their expectations of Tenganan had been fulfilled, some left the village disappointed, finding it more

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touristic than the guidebooks suggested. They were unpleasantly surprised by the large number of shops and a population which "only seemed to sit and wait for the tourists to arrive." One Australian lady bitterly complained to me about the large satellite dishes and TV antennas which conspicuously stick out of the thatched roofs of some private homes (ironically most of these belong to the wealthy tourist shop owners), a TV set running in the *Bale Agung*, Tenganan's most impressive ancient structure, and -- above all else -- a Coca Cola sign she had spotted near one of the shops. She felt betrayed by the tour operator who brought her here because Tenganan was "not primitive enough" and "because it has already been spoiled by tourism."

Yet other visitors I interviewed were well aware of the contradictions of tourism, the dilemmas it entails for a village like Tenganan which is both traditional and touristic at the same time, and their own ambivalent attitudes towards its increasing touristification. One young woman remarked:

> I am really torn here. On the one hand I would like to contribute to Tenganan's preservation by not promoting Tenganan myself; on the other hand I am very eager to tell my friends to also come here and see this beautiful village for themselves.

A young couple from England on their first visit to Bali, expressed their contradictory feelings as follows:

> Tenganan should be preserved. The old houses and the cobble streets should be maintained. So far, the new blends with the old. We also liked the appearance of the village as a whole, especially the old entrance gates. Everything should remain as it is. But we also realize that tourism is needed here for people's income. We know

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> it is selfish and perhaps unrealistic, but we don't like to see Tenganan become a tourist object.

This is, of course, also the central dilemma for the Tenganese themselves who are torn between the often conflicting demands of the tourism industry, the government, and their own aspirations, all of which shape their ideas of tradition, identity, and modernity.

For example, the "tourist gaze" has heightened the Tenganese self-awareness of their "old style" houses, which flank both sides of the three main streets and look almost like longhouses because of the unbroken lines of identical buildings. The architectural uniformity and simplicity, symbolizing values of social communalism and egalitarianism, have become markers of Tenganan identity not only to themselves, but to their visitors and are marketed by the tourist industry as part of the "Tenganan consumption package." As these rows of uniform houses are increasingly interrupted by large "Balinese style" entrance gates, conveying the owner's individual status and desire for social distinction, and by "modern" cement walls, "traditional architecture" has become a focal point for internal discussions. Shaped by Tenganese self-visions, as well as by the visions of visiting high-level government officials and tourists, interpretations differ drastically between insiders and outsiders. All Tenganese seem to agree that the houseyard is a symbol of Tenganan identity as long as the traditional layout and internal arrangement of its buildings is maintained (see Chapter Four). As we have seen in Chapters Two and Four, the spatial arrangement of these houseyards, in the local view, is nothing less than a potent microcosmic expression of the Balinese macrocosm. Thus, the importance of the house

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lies in its spiritual essence (*inti sari*) as a *yantra* or *mandalic* image, a magic formula imprinted on space through the fixed arrangement and composition of buildings. To the Tenganese it this quality of the house, which is protected by local law, which must not be changed. The fact that the layout is always identical and that each houseyard is oriented toward the center of the street, further conveys the essential values of social unity and communualism, and spiritual "oneness" and center- (or inward-) orientation (Français 1989).

In the past, private homes served much less as markers of individual status. Therefore houses were essentially identical not only in respect to their layout but also in the outward appearance and furnishings of buildings which were constructed of the same natural materials. Today this uniformity of materials is disappearing while the homogeneity of the layout is still being maintained. To the Tenganese, the "preservation of these traditional houses" as defined by government officials and the tourism industry pertains primarily to the spatial layout and to certain structural elements of the buildings which are mandated by Tenganese traditional law (*adat*). However, these regulations (based on written sources as well as unwritten consensus) leave some room for individual innovation. With the influx of capital through tourism, many families have begun to rebuild and "upgrade" their homes, adding "Balinese-style" elements such as bigger, ornamented entrance gates as well as modern bathrooms and kitchens. In their remodelling efforts, they (like other Balinese) exhibit a real passion for modern, less perishable building materials, replacing the old mud brick walls with

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cement walls, and earthen or brick floors with shiny and brightly colored ceramic tiles. The roofing-screens covering the open spaces between the buildings were once woven from coconut leaves, but now sheeting made of plastic, corrugated iron, and asbestos is popular. To the consternation of many Tenganese, who feel proud of these "improvements" and like to show them off to their visitors, tourists find many of these changes shocking and destructive of what they see as "Tenganan's tradition." The villagers, somewhat puzzled by this reaction -- the tourists, after all, are the very embodiment of "modernity" -- are slowly beginning to realize exactly what tourists (as well as government agencies dealing with tourism, and tourist operators) mean when they speak of "old style" houses which should be "preserved."

Now, in Tenganan (as in other parts of Indonesia, most notably Sumatra and Toraja) traditional architecture has become such a valuable cultural asset, marketed as a "tourist object" (e.g., Volkman 1990) that the Tenganese are beginning to respond to these external demands by plastering their new cement walls with a thin layer of mud, thus conveying the "traditional, old style." Some of the younger village entrepreneurs (in contrast to the first generation of "nouveau-riche" shop owners who favored a more ornamented Balinese style [generally referred to as "Gianyar style"]) have even consciously refrained from modernizing their houses. While the older generation has remodeled their homes (within the narrow confines set by Tenganese *adat*) after the ornamented style favored by rich outside entrepreneurs and government officials, this younger generation is finding inspiration in the so-called

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"traditional Balinese style," also advocated by some of the new luxury hotels in the Ubud region which favor Old-Balinese stylistic elements and materials (e.g., Helmi and Walker 1995:180). Thus, in Tenganan, tourism, which pulls the community in two opposite directions simultaneously (toward modernization as well as toward museumization), has led to many architectural changes (even though these changes may appear minor if compared to other Balinese villages), but more recently has also given the impetus for the preservation of those elements of Tenganan's architecture which are not explicitly covered by the traditional *adat* laws (e.g., such as outer walls of homes)(for very detailed descriptions of Tenganan architecture as well as some of its recent changes see Runa 1993, and Sentosa 1994).

This ongoing symbolic deconstruction and reconstruction of stylistic elements (for examples see some of the quotations of individual Tenganese offered in Chapter Four) not only conveys changing ideas of identity but is also an arena for local power plays between members of the traditional elite and members of the "new entrepreneurial elite". As MacCannell (1984:388) has observed for ethnic groups undergoing touristification:

> When an ethnic group begins to sell itself, or is forced to sell itself, as an ethnic attraction, it ceases to evolve naturally. The group members begin to think of themselves not merely as people but as living representatives of an authentic way of life. Suddenly, any change in life-style is not a mere question of practical utility but a weighty question which has economic and political implications for the entire group. When the touristic definition of an ethnic group or community prevails, the group is frozen in an image of itself or *museumized*.

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One could argue that Tenganan's tendency toward "cultural freezing" or "museumization" long preceded the arrival of tourism. However, tourism with its influx of wealth, while on the one hand underscoring Tenganan's enthusiasm for "stasis and timelessness" as a cultural and religious ideal, has also provided the economic impetus and means for change. With Tenganan's inclusion in the global economy with its drive for individualism and consumerism, the private house in Tenganan no longer predominantly conveys the identity of the community as a whole but increasingly serves as a marker of private status as individuals experiment with new architectural styles and materials. As repository of individual, family-based power and prestige, private homes have, in recent years, become increasingly the focal point for internal discussion and contestation. Some members of the new entrepreneurial elite have used new architectural styles not only to signal their new wealth and to underline their individuality, but to openly defy some of those village laws relating to architecture. In Tenganan where strong communal orientations always outweighed individual aspirations, such new and overt expressions of individualism are considered not only as socially subversive and disruptive, but as potentially dangerous in a cosmic sense, as the following remarks by a villager convey:

> In Tenganan, the houseyard is an expression of "*tri loka*" [the three worlds]. The *sanggah* [house temples] and *Bale Buga* [ceremonial building] and *natah* [the yard] are for ceremonial use. This is where we communicate with the gods and ancestors. This part of the house represents the upper world. The *Bale Tengah* and the *Umah Meten* represent the middle world where the actual living, dying, and giving birth takes place. And then there is the unclean area at the back of the house, the *paon* [kitchen] and the *teba* [backyard] which represent

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> the underworld. With tourism, this traditional view of the house is changing. Now there are so many *kain* [cloth] hanging in all three areas of the house, that the structure of the buildings is hardly visible any more. Some people even hang textiles on top of the house temple. This is very polluting, especially if these cloths have already been worn. The structure of the house is also changing in order to accomodate tourism. Some people take off the raised platforms of buildings to make it easier for tourists to move around. Some people also have extended their homes into the backyard. However, there is still the belief that if a new house is built and does not conform to the traditional structure, the *undagi* [carpenter] building the house will be hit with illness, misfortune, or death. The structure of the house is like the structure of the body. The feet have to be at the bottom, the trunk in the middle, and the head on top. Each part has its specific function. That is what tradition prescribes.

In other words, in Tenganan, architectural experimentation and innovation, perhaps much more than in the rest of Bali, are subject to strong communal control and are an ongoing matter of communal discussion. Style (architectural or otherwise) is correspondingly less a matter of personal taste than of communal authority and power. It is little surprising, therefore, that architecture has become a major arena for the contestation and reaffirmation of this communal power. Some prominent members of the "new entrepreneurial elite" openly display a show of wealth and power through "Balinese-style" (this local characterization refers to the ornamented, over-elaborate style found in those regions of Bali which are heavily Hindu-Javanized) architectural elements which have they added to their homes, challenging the "traditional elite" in their defense of Tenganan's architectural simplicity and uniformity.

In one recent case, this new expression of stylistic individualism on the part of a wealthy entrepreneur particularly inflamed the

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village council. In their role as the guardians of Tenganan tradition, the council declared that certain elements of his newly remodeled house (such as the wooden shingle roof of the *Bale Buga*) blatantly violate Tenganan *adat*, which prescribes thatched roofing (either coconut or black palm fibre) for this building. So far, despite repeated appeals by the council to change the roof, the owner (himself a retired member of the council who only a decade ago was of modest means and is now one of the wealthiest entrepreneurs of the village) has continued to challenge the council's power, to the extent that even his son has recently withdrawn his council membership (such withdrawal is still considered as one of the most serious steps an individual can take during his/her lifetime). It is ironic, however, that his house, with its expensive black pebble-stone outer walls and richly ornamented and guilded woodwork, more than most other private homes, is attracting the "tourist gaze." It is not unusual to find large groups of tourists congregating in the street in front of this building taking photos of what they perceive to be the quint-essential "traditional Tenganan house." As Volkman has noted, "there is a tension between tourists' dependence on a constructed object and their desire and for something like 'authentic' or unmediated experience" (1990:102). Like Tenganan architecture which has been deconstructed and reconstructed as a symbol of local identity under the influence of the "tourist gaze," Tenganan ritual is undergoing a similar process.

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Tenganan Ritual as Touristic Performance

Bali's relations with the West did not begin "with a shot, but with seduction" (Boon 1977:10). The first Dutch visitors described Bali as an island which had "nothing to offer in the form of trade" but which had "other attractions," among them "a carefree way of life and comely women" (Masselmann 1963, quoted in Boon 1977:10), and above all, a vibrant religious tradition punctuated by spectacular Hindu rituals. While the allusions to sexual seduction in Bali's earlier image have been deemphasized under the Muslim dominated Indonesian nation-state, Bali's other image as "theater state" and "island of the gods" continues to thrive in the imagination of western anthropologists and tourists alike as an exemplary model of oriental mysticism and exoticism (Vickers 1989:194).

Bali's great ceremonial spectacles like cremations and large temple festivals are concentrated in the central part of the island and draw great numbers of tourists, leaving eastern Bali to seduce its visitors with quieter, but hardly less remarkable, religious events. Religious festivals in Karangasem's Old-Balinese villages offer a different kind of experience. As Lansing (1983:114) has remarked of "Bali Aga" culture, "the village itself is a single, holistic institution, and village temples represent component parts of this institution." Lansing goes on to explain that in contrast to the more Hindu-Javanized regions of Bali, temple ceremonies in these ancient villages convey a feeling of

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timelessness through "structures of cyclic progression" which are punctuated by the great village festivals and which "bring order to the Bali Aga universe" (1983:115).

According to Lansing, it is this endless repetition of ceremonial cycles which "invoke and display this vision of temporal harmony, which gives to life in these villages an extraordinary quality of timelessness" (1983:115). The festivals are indeed highlighted by the stately and slow group dances performed by the members of the unmarried girls and boys organizations (*daha* and *teruna*), in which every movement is tightly orchestrated and controlled (for the symbolic representations of these dances see Rein 1994, De Zoete and Spies 1973[1938]:46-66). This almost transcendental feeling of timelessness that these ceremonies evoke resonates with tourists, who seek to escape -- however fleetingly -- the hectic environments of their daily lives. As Volkman (1990:102) has noted, the tourism industry caters to this desire and tries to offer "timelessness" to its clients in the form of ritual. As she describes in the case of Toraja rituals, however, there are also problems, as it is inherently difficult to provide tourists with an "unmediated experience of the authentic" as unstaged events are extremely difficult to incorporate into tight tourist itineraries (1990:102).

The situation in Tenganan is similar to the Toraja case, insofar as rituals are not created or staged to attract tourists but rather are conducted primarily for a "local" audience of gods, ancestors, and villagers. However, in contrast to Tanah Toraja where family-based death rituals are the major tourist attraction, in Tenganan it is the large *desa* (community) rituals that draw the largest

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audiences. These ceremonies are listed in the Balinese Calendar of Events which is issued by the tourism board and distributed in hotels and tourist bureaus. The day and approximate time of the ritual is thus predictable. However, tourists still have to expect long waiting periods or may come too late, as the exact timing depends on a large number of foreseen and unforeseen factors. Tenganan communal rituals tend to be lengthy affairs, and only the more active moments such as certain dances or "warrior" performances are interesting for tourists to watch. In contrast to the staged performances of dance, theatre, and trance which are widely accessible in Bali, Tenganan offers the visitor a very different view of Balinese ritual: slow and solemn group dances such as the *rejang* performed to the delicate and haunting sounds of the archaic *selonding* orchestras, and communal ceremonial meals held at the great village pavillions where the living members of the community, their ancestors, and gods reenact "timelessness" through the continuous progression of ceremonial cycles. This experience is rooted in a social order based on seniority, age-groups, and village communalism and celebrates the cultural ideal of "perfect stasis" through the endless movement of interlacing daily, monthly, and yearly cycles.

How can these authentic rituals be marketed to a larger audience without destroying them through this very process of commercialization? This was the question government planners set out to solve when they decided in the 1970s to promote tourism as Bali's major cash economy and foreign exchange earner. The Balinese were once again reminded "that they hardly have a choice: they have no other wealth to exploit than

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their culture, no other products to sell than the artistic and ceremonial productions that had won their island such esteem among foreign visitors in earlier times" (Picard 1996:125). It is above all Bali's rich religious tradition, a blend of ancestor worship and Hinduism (with Buddhist and Tantric undertones), that has become its defining feature and major economic resource. Though vibrant, this tradition was considered at the same time to be fragile and in need of special "protection." Development planners, government agencies, and Balinese intellectuals alike addressed the question of how to make Balinese religion a sustainable commodity -- a product which could be fully exploited by tourism while at the same time being protected from its "harmful" influences -- and arrived at a conceptual division of Balinese ritual into "sacred" and "profane" spheres. Creating and defining this artificial distinction was the objective of a seminar convened by the Balinese cultural authorities in 1971, prior to the implemenation of the first tourism master plan (Picard 1995:58-60, 1996:152-163). One sphere labelled "*provan*" could be commercialized, while the other, defined as "*sakral*" was officially, at least, "off limits" to commercialization and tourist audiences through a decree issued consequently by the Governor of Bali (Picard 1995:59).

As a related endeavor, a tripartite distinction into "sacred," "cremonial," and "profane" was adopted for Balinese dance: (1) *tari wali* (sacred dances conducted in the inner court yard [*jeroan*] of temples for divine audiences, (2) *tari bebali* ("ceremonial" dances performed in the central courtyard [*jaba tengah*]), and (3) *tari balih-balihan* ("secular"

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dances presented for entertainment purposes in the temple's outer courtyard [*jaba*]). As might be expected, this artificial, previously nonexistent, conceptual separation (even after being reduced to a bipartite division by dropping the "ceremonial" dance category in 1978), did little to solve the problem of keeping "ritual separate from spectacle" and of "avoiding the 'profanation' of 'sacred' dances" (Picard 1996:163). Instead, it resulted in a great deal of confusion on the part of the Balinese public and its "official" representatives alike (for some examples see Picard 1995:61, 1996:152-163) who are now caught up in the futile project of protecting some aspects of Balinese ritual from commercial exploitation while offering other parts of it as touristic performance.

While government authorities overtly prohibited the presentation of *wali*-style, sacred dances "expressly for tourism purposes," they covertly sanctioned its commoditization by encouraging that tourist audiences be taken by bus into villages in order to experience sacred performances in their original setting (Old-Balinese rituals are officially classified in their entirety as *wali* style, and are thus explicitly excluded from commercialization). In reality, in the case of Tenganan, the government-controlled tourism department has actively promoted the village's sacred rituals for tourist audiences as all of Tenganan's communal ceremonies, even the most minor ones, are publicized in Bali's Tourism Calendar of Events (the village had little say about whether or not it wanted its rituals promoted). In fact, Tenganan's ceremonies have become the village's second major tourist attraction.

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Tour operators regularly bring tourists to the village in order to offer them the truly authentic experience of witnessing -- among other ceremonies -- the sacred *rejang* and *abuang* dances. These dances, like the larger communal rituals of which they are but one small part, also showcase Tenganan's equisite textile crafts, as the dancers are dressed in their most beautiful and valuable *geringsings*, and adorned with gold flower headresses and exquisite, traditional gold jewelry.

On the whole, the Tenganese do not mind such intrusions. On the contrary, they enjoy large audiences especially at these times as they feel they can present themselves and their village in the best light. During the ceremonies, tourists are allowed to walk about freely (temples and major public buildings are protected through signs warning tourists to stay out, and on a few ceremonial occasions a certain space is demarcated and placed off-limits to the visitors for the duration of the ritual). They mingle with the local spectators, and may photograph as long as they do not interfere directly with the performance. No special fees are charged; on the contrary, the hosts enjoy offering bits of ceremonial food and *tuak* (palm wine) to their more daring guests without any expectation of payment. In fact, any such payment would be insulting to the hosts. My Tenganese friends often remarked that they feel sorry for those tourists who are not lucky enough to visit the village during these great religious festivals as "they have come to Tenganan from such far away places and there is not much in the village for them to see during ordinary days when there are no rituals."

Sharing these great ceremonial occasions generously with their visitors, does not mean, however, that the Tenganese are willing to

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transform their most important and sacred possession -- their religious ceremonies -- into "staged tourist performances." In fact, they have strongly resisted all such attempts on the part of the tourism industry (e.g., to stage the *kare-kare* fighting ritual in Denpasar for tourist audiences, see Chapters Four and Five). In light of the above-mentioned government decree, they define all of their dances and ritual elements as part of the *wali* category, meaning that they can only be performed in the proper ceremonial context of place and time which is determined by Tenganan's *adat* laws and the village's own ritual calendar. As already mentioned, on one occasion the Tenganese have even resisted the requests of a high-ranking government official to delay the timing of the *kare-kare* ritual (which, in accordance with Tenganan cosmology, must be performed as long as the sun stands at the zenith) until his arrival so that he could witness the ceremony.

So far, it would seem, the power to control those elements of the rituals which are considered crucial and non-negotiable remains at the community level. However, the villagers fear that this autonomy might be eroding, especially if pending government plans to introduce a ticketing system for tourists are implemented (see Chapter Six). They have been steadfast up to now in their refusal to accept the government's proposal to charge fixed entrance fees for visitors with additional fees for still- and video cameras. This would be the first step, they feel, toward turning their culture and its ritual performances into a "tourist spectacle." No longer would they be "the owners of their village" and its culture, but would be turned into a commodity as

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a living museum and tourist object. The ticketing system would decrease the village's economic income, as a portion would go to the government. More importantly, the current system of a voluntary contribution which visitors may or may not leave at the entrance gate, underlines symbolically that in Tenganan (in contrast to most other sites in Bali) the "tourist encounter" is not a commercial contract between "performers" and "spectators" but an informal, non-contractual encounter between hosts and guests.

The Tenganese have understood something important which perhaps has eluded government planners and all those who have taken it upon themselves to "authenticize Balinese ritual," that the real problem is not to separate ritual from performance in order to enshrine and "protect" it against commercialization. (It is, paradoxically, the very same agencies that warn against the degradation of Balinese culture and ritual which are also promoting its commercialization.) The real issue concerns the distribution of power between the local community, government agencies, and the tourism industry. As long as the village can exert full and final authority over its culture and whether and how it should be marketed to a tourist audience, there is little danger that its most precious cultural possession, its ritual tradition, will become a "profane spectacle." As long as the Tenganese feel that they, and not the state or the international tourism industry, are the "owners" and custodians, their rituals will be in little need of "official protection." No one can make this point better than the Tenganese themselves, as the following remarks from a young "core villager"

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illustrate:

> We cannot free ourselves from the audience of tourists during our ceremonies. Tourists come here from very far to see our rituals, to take photos and video films. These tourists have only a very limited time in Bali and in Tenganan. They don't always come at the right time for our ceremonies. This is regrettable, but it is very important that the ceremonies here are not commercialized. The timing of our rituals cannot and must not be changed. We have to honor our guests, whether they are government officials or tourists, but we cannot change the timing of our ceremonies for them.

The "Geringsing": Sacred Cloth and "Tourist Object"

Perhaps more than any other element of Tenganan's cultural tradition, it is the *geringsing* cloth which has become the villages's most visible and famous cultural icon. To the Tenganese the *geringsing* is an embodiment of divine and ancestral powers believed to manifest themselves through the complex process of weaving tie-dyed yarn. It is furthermore a social marker which identifies its wearers as members of Tenganan's "core village" where it is a required ritual object and item of clothing in most communual and private ceremonies. As we have seen in Chapter Three, the *geringsing* also serves as a medium for the flow of sacred power from the center outward into those villages which form Tenganan's periphery. The *gerinsing's* extraordinary status among Bali's traditional textiles long preceded the arrival of tourism on the island. While tourism has not destroyed these earlier meanings, it has changed them in subtle ways, heightening the *geringsing's* role as Tenganan's identity marker, while simultaneously commoditizing it by making it

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available to a larger national and international audience of connoisseurs and collectors, art dealers, and tourists.

As already mentioned in earlier chapters, the *geringsing's* importance as a "textile of power" reaches back into the early years of this millenium when it was used by Javanese kings and their warriors to protect the wearer from dangerous malevolent forces (Bühler, Ramseyer, and Ramseyer-Gygi 1975/76). Through the centuries, the *gerinsing* has continued to be valued by Balinese kings and nobles as an item of prestige and luxury, and has been sought as well by commoners for its alleged magical and healing powers. Thus it can be presumed that from its beginnings, the *geringsing* has served multiple purposes, being produced for both an internal and external market; *geringsing* makers wove these "threads of power" not only for themselves but for an outside audience which included deities, royalty, and commoners (see Chapter Three).

Tenganan's *geringsing* production seems to have flourished throughout these many centuries up to the time of political upheaval in the 1940s (the Japanese occupation and subsequent struggle for independence), when the required raw materials were more difficult to obtain, and when daily life in Tenganan (as in other Balinese villages) became increasingly harsh due to food shortages, illness, and other socio-economic disruptions caused by the war. Tenganan's *geringsing* production, which depends on a certain level of security and affluence, allowing village women to spend parts of their day in weaving activities rather than subsistence related tasks, suffered greatly during these

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years. The severity of the interruption of the villagers' daily lives during the years of war, occupation, and the ensuing struggle for independence became apparent only later, in the 1960s and 70s, when the older weavers had died or retired and could not be replaced by a younger generation of *geringsing* makers. Tenganan's unique textile art was on the verge of extinction, as there remained only three older women in the village who were still knowledgable about the entire production process and only few weavers still practiced this ancient craft.

Alarmed by the imminent disappearance of Bali's most venerated cloth, the Swiss anthropologist Urs Ramseyer in the 1970s conducted extensive research in the village, recording the whole production process in detail and collecting some of the village's most exquisite antique *geringsings* for the Basel Museum of Ethnography. This scholarly interest was not enough by itself, however, to spur the process of revitalization. It was only with the arrival of increasing numbers of tourists in Tenganan from the 1980s onward that *geringsing* making took off again. By the mid-1990s, the number of expert weavers knowledgeable in the entire process had increased from three to 11 women (exclusively from the "core village"). They are assisted during various stages of the lengthy procedures by more than 30 other "core village" women, 15 women from Banjar Pande, and a few young women from outside Tenganan whose families work and live as tenant farmers on village land.

The number of women involved in textile production continues to grow, keeping up with the increasing demand of the tourism market, and *geringsing* making once again has become a desirable occupation for

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Tenganan's women. Weavers now earn a sizable monthly income (an accomplished weaver can gain as much or more than a mid-level government official). An increasing number of girls are even choosing not to pursue higher education but to become weavers instead. Some young women with university education even have decided to follow this path, as it assures them a life of financial independence and security within the village. Also, young women who remain unmarried and thus cannot become members of the village council, nevertheless can achieve high esteem as expert weavers, powerful patrons, and successful entrepreneurs.

In contrast to the past, where Tenganan's girls and women devoted only a few hours each day on *geringsing* making, today it has become a more specialized and exclusive activity, as many of them spend their entire day weaving in order to optimize their cash income. One weaver has explained tourism's influence on *geringsing* making as follows:

> Tourism has revived *geringsing* making. Before, there were only three or four families that still made *geringsing*. Now, because of tourism, there is a general feeling in the village that this aspect of Tenganan culture has to be strengthened. Girls become weavers now for economic reasons. Now people make two types of *geringsing*: those of better quality which they usually keep for themselves for ceremonies, and those of less fine quality which they sell to tourists. While it is good that many young girls want to become weavers now, there is also a negative influence which tourism had on *geringsing* making. Some people have sold the antique *geringsing* which they inherited. These can never be replaced. Now, many of these people don't know how to make new ones and they just borrow them for ceremonies. In this respect, the *geringsing* tradition has been weakened by tourism. But, as I said before, the positive thing is that now there are so many more women in the village who know how to make good *geringsing*. This means they can use these new pieces for ceremonies and preserve the old ones for their children.

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Today, newly produced *geringsing* textiles are sold not only in Tenganan's art shops but in hotels and stores throughout Bali. In addition, rare antique specimens, which occasionally come on the market, command exhorbitant prices and are searched for as collector's items by international museums and art dealers. Fine examples of this cloth have also been bought by members of Bali's political elite and have been showcased as an important part of Indonesia's cultural heritage at national and international cultural exhibitions. This heightened outside demand for high-quality and antique *geringsing* cloth is confronting Tenganese families with a dilemma. While the sale of a single heirloom cloth can, for example, finance the entire university education of a child, its sale also represents an irretrievable loss for the family. In the past, *geringsing* cloths had also been sold to outsiders (other Balinese as well as the occasional tourist or collector) but these were primarily imperfect specimens, or cloths which had been utilized during Tenganan's death rituals and were therefore unsuited for further ritual use within the village. As the need for cash income to meet the demands of modern life increases, and families are more and more drawn into a modern cash economy based on capitalist consumerism, it becomes increasingly difficult for many of them to resist the temptation of selling antique family heirlooms and replacing them with newly made *geringsing* cloths (collectors, many of whom visit the village regularly year after year are skilled in taking advantage of this dilemma).

Only a few years ago, there was a shortage of high-quality cloth suitable for ritual use in Tenganan. Thanks to the astounding progress

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made by younger weavers in the past few years, however, there are now abundant new cloths of fine quality. In response to both internal demand for high-quality *geringsing* and to changes in the tourist market which, having become saturated with low-quality cloth, is now eager for a higher-quality and more expensive variant, weavers are increasingly skilled and motivated to produce *gerinsing* of fine quality. They also have added new variations to the traditional patterns (similar variations were also common in the past, during the golden era of *geringsing* making which lasted up to the 1940s), and revived ancient motifs which had been discontinued with the help of photographs from museums, books, and private collections.

In addition to this "upscale" production which requires a considerably longer period of dyeing as well as much greater expertise during all the stages of production, and which is thus in the hands of the most experienced weavers, cloth of lesser quality which satisfies the lower end of the market, is made by a steadily increasing number of trainees who work for expert patrons. Initially, the *geringsing's* commercialization led to a "dual production process" whereby a small amount of high-quality cloth was produced primarily for internal, ritual use and a larger amount of lower quality *geringsings* was made for the tourism market. While these lower-quality pieces are not mass produced, their production time has nevertheless been shortened from several years to several months, compromising quality for greater and faster economic gain. A sustained demand for textiles of lesser quality is, however, important as it provides novice weavers with sufficient income while

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they gain the years of experience and practice needed to produce master pieces. In the last one or two years, however, many weavers have remarked that tourists and shop owners are becoming more discerning, so that low-quality textiles are now more difficult to sell than the more expensive, finer pieces. Thus, production, in response to market demand, seems to be shifting back into its former direction when the name "*geringsing*" implied a textile of unique spiritual and aesthetic quality, one suited for an exclusive audience of gods, kings, warriors, as well as for the Tenganese themselves. The rising appreciation and demand for high-quality *geringsing* cloth, both for internal ritual use and external sale, has heightened its cultural value for the Tenganese. Families, once again, make it a priority to obtain fine pieces to be worn by them and their children during the large village rituals. This illustrates the point that commoditization does not necessarily destroy the meaning and uses of cultural products for the local population, but -- to the contrary -- may even heighten their value (Cohen 1988).

The Tenganese are dealing with the commoditization of the *geringsing* in a fashion similar to that of the touristification of their rituals. In their view, the *geringsing's* power is not diminished by its commercialization, as long as all the essential elements of the production process are maintained. Thus *geringsing* cloth is still produced today exclusively in Tenganan with essentially the same raw materials, methods, and tools as in ancient times. To the Tenganese, the *geringsing's* power and purity lies (1) in the double-ikat method whereby both the warp and weft threads are tie-dyed to form intricate patterns when

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woven together, (2) in the gradual transformation of the three sacred colors obtained through the use of natural dyes and the lengthy process of tie-dying, and (3) the patterns themselves (some of which are purely ornamental while others are believed to possess magical powers). In addition, there are some special requirements for cloth which is intended as a ritual offering: its warp threads must remain uncut (*meladung*, the uncut cloth itself is called *sabuk tubuhan*), and, during the tying process (*medbed*, Indon. *ikat*), the threads are bundled with natural plant fibres (*daun kubel* or *daun ibus*)(today plastic strips in different colors are generally preferred for tying as they are easier and faster to work with).

The only other change in materials is in the cotton thread. While in the past, cotton grown in the eastern Balinese region of Seraya (*kapas keling*) was used to make the cloth, it has been replaced by cotton (referred to as *kapas prahu*) from Nusa Penida (a small island off the southern coast of Bali) which is softer and more slippery. This cotton is sometimes mixed with imported cotton (*kapas Jepang*) which is less strong and more uneven in width. These new yarns, which are thicker and softer, make the weaving process easier, but -- according to some experienced older weavers -- do not aborb the color as readily and evenly, resulting in a coarser and less vibrant textile. Older weavers also deplore the tendency to produce smaller and narrower textiles (intended exclusively for the external market) which do not contain the whole pattern. As one accomplished older weaver remarked:

> Now there are many *geringsing lubeng* [a *mandala* pattern considered as sacred] which are made so narrow that they

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> no longer even contain the whole tail of the scorpion. Such a *geringsing* has no power, and, in my opinion, does not deserve the name "*geringsing lubeng.*"

Notwithstanding these changes, on the whole the Tenganese have continued to weave their *geringsing* cloth in much the same way as their ancestors did, believing that a weaver's mind must be calm and undisturbed (Indon. *sabar*), and her soul refined and gentle (Indon. *jiwa halus*), in order to produce a textile of fine quality and strong power. She must also be unhurried, as only threads which are properly prepared, neatly tied, and have undergone a lengthy process of repeated dyeing and drying (which can take up to many months and even years) will show the deep and saturated colors that, when woven into breathtakingly beautiful patterns, make the *geringsing* a sacred object of extraordinary potency as well as a world-famous "objet d'art." In other words, the *geringsing*, like Tenganan ritual and architecture, dispite its commoditization has essentially remained a sacred element of Tenganan's culture which continues to be anchored in its original cultural context. Today, as in the past, the Tenganese are fearful of divine wrath if this context is changed too drastically. While there are no prohibitions on selling the cloth to outsiders (Tenganese argue that *geringsings* had been sold outside the village also in the past, a fact also confirmed by Korn 1984[1933]:314), there are strong cultural boundaries which continue to protect the production process, as the following comments from Tenganan's priest, a leading authority on *geringsing*, convey:

> In the olden days, *geringsing* textiles also had a double function. They were made both for the use in Tenganan ceremonies and for sale to outsiders. People even came

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> from as far away as Lombok [the island which lies to the east of Bali] to buy *geringsing*. The meaning of the *geringsing* has not really changed with tourism because it is the use of the three colors and the method of double-ikat which make the *geringsing* sacred [*suci*], and that has not changed. Today, *geringsings* are still made with the same methods as before and are still used in our ceremonies. This is what is important, to maintain the traditional process of color transformation from white/yellow into red and then black. It is very important to maintain this natural process of coloring. If one wants to make great quantities of the cloth it is better to use the *endek* [single ikat] method. There one can use modern technology and artificial dyes, but for the *geringsing* the traditional method must be maintained.

Clearly, *geringsing* production has resisted some aspects of commoditization because of its spiritual significance and as it involves lengthy and complicated procedures for dyeing and weaving and depends on a very high level of skill and knowledge. For example, a weaver who substitutes or mixes artificial dyes with the natural ingredients in order to speed up the process -- and thus interferes with the natural progression of color transformation which is considered to be an expression of divine power -- is believed to be punished sooner or later by *karma pala*. Such fear of supernatural sanction continues to generate social pressures which act to define the boundaries within which change is permissable. The *geringsing*, like Tenganan ritual and architecture, despite their commercialization, have not escaped these boundaries. On the contrary, it is through the very process of touristification and the changes it generates that the Tenganese are redefining and reaffirming the meaning of their *geringsing* as the fabric of their lives, identity and culture.

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From Commoditization to Cultural Renaissance

As we have seen in this and the previous chapter, while tourism has engendered a certain degree of commoditization of Tenganan culture, it has also, simultaneously, led to a cultural revival and to the heightened awareness of Tenganan identity. As sacred spaces and objects are being appropriated and sometimes polluted by outsiders, the Tenganese are beginning to engage in a discourse over the effects of these changes on their culture (in both its physical and nonphysical aspects). Part of a wider dialogue, this discourse also involves the state at its national (Indonesian) and regional (Balinese) levels, international tourism operators, and the tourists themselves. The dialogue, at times, is wrought with misapprehensions and miscommunications as each party pursues its own political and cultural agendas. Thus, while the government pushes for village development and modernization on the one hand and village preservation on the other, the Tenganese engage with each other over the meaning of these new and sometimes bewildering concepts. These internal discussions are no longer informed primarily by Tenganese cultural models rooted in an ideology of uniformity and communalism, but also by ideologies of nationalism and regionalism and by the discriminating "tourist gaze" in its utopian search for pristine cultures uncontaminated by modernity.

It is ironic, perhaps, that Tenganan's touristification process has not only drawn the village firmly into the grip of the modern,

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global market economy, but reaffirmed its older status as a "mandalic center" within an Old-Balinese inter-village network. To the Tenganese it seems completely natural that a potent center, such as their village, should attract new and foreign audiences traveling long distances to visit this tiny community. In fact, in their eyes, large tourist audiences only publicly affirm the village's special status and continued power. However, they also realize that once again, and more than ever before, the village is caught up in its old dilemma between the idealistic desire for cultural distinction and inward orientation, and the practical need for socio-economic integration. In the past, the Tenganese have been masters at negotiating the fine balance between these two poles. Whether they will be able to do so in the future no longer depends solely on how they are able to confront and mold the forces of change to suit their own cultural ideals, but increasingly on the commitment of national and international institutions to value local cultural traditions on their own terms. Appreciating them merely because they contribute to the building of a national culture and the development of international tourism in Indonesia and Bali will not be enough. Tenganan to the Tenganese is neither a "historic artifact" nor a "tourist object" but a living community of people struggling to honor its cultural heritage while claiming a place in the new "global Bali."

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NOTES

Chapter Seven

[1] These earlier "impact studies" grew out of modernization theory which tended to equate "culture" with "tradition." Culture and tradition, under this paradigm, were considered as major barriers blocking the path toward modernization, obstacles which first had to be removed in order for development to be able to take place (So 1990, Nash 1984).

[2] McKean's conclusion that Balinese culture had been strengthened through "cultural tourism" has become a well-known example for tourism's alleged "softer" and "more benign" path to development (e.g., Smith 1989 [1977]). McKean's study also tended to reinforce the earlier stereotypical (and perhaps overly romantic and optimistic) image of Balinese culture as having absorbed foreign cultural influences since ancient times without ever losing its quintessential "Balineseness." More importantly, by promoting Bali as the "exemplary model of successful cultural tourism" (Picard 1996:112), it gave development planners a convenient justification for the aggressive tourism development which took place on the island in the 1980s and 90s (Picard 1996:100-113).

[3] *Lontar* writing is an ancient craft which was once practiced especially in the court centers and had flourished throughout Bali, but which has declined among the younger generation of Balinese, many of whom are no longer able to read and write the ancient script and language. This art of writing and drawing ancient mythical Hindu stories on the dried leaves of the *lontar* palm tree has found a vigorous revival in Tenganan under the influence of tourism. In addition to a few older men in Tenganan, who have great knowledge of the ancient scriptures and who have, for several decades, produced *lontars* of high quality for their own use as well as for museums and collectors, there has been within the past ten years a proliferation of *lontar* writing among Tenganan's young male generation (especially from Banjar Pande), who now produce smaller and simplified versions, showing short sequences from the great Hindu epics such as the Ramayana and Mahabarata, specifically for sale to tourists. The required raw material, the leaves of the *lontar palm*, exist in abundance in Tenganan's protected forests and are uncostly and easy to gather. Most of these young men, in contrast to the older generation of *lontar* writers, have very little knowledge of the ancient *Kawi* language and the ancient Balinese script and therefore prefer to portray epic scenes instead through miniature drawings. Each drawing is accompanied by several lines of text (copied from older versions of *lontars* which circulate throughout the village). In order to increase sales to foreign tourists, texts are now even translated and copied in foreign languages such as English, German, French, and Japanese. Unfortunately, this revival in *lontar* production has not, so far, stimulated increased interest on the part of young people, to acquire a greater knowledge in *kawi* and to learn to read and recite the ancient

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texts, despite the great efforts on the part of some of the older generation of the village's *lontar* experts.

In contrast to *lontar* writing, basket making is a recently "invented tradition" which developed under the influence of tourism. It was only 15 years ago that one family in the "core village" which had suffered economic difficulties, began to apply the ancient Tenganese skill of making rattan shields (used in the yearly *kare-kare* fighting ritual) to create a new craft. Today, Tenganan is famous for its wide variety of baskets and other small articles woven from *ata* (a vine-like plant growing in eastern Bali's forested areas) which can now be found not only in shops throughout Bali but also abroad: in the U.S. in "ethnic shops" as well as in department stores like Bloomingdale's, and in Europe, Australia, and Japan as well. This craft which, unlike *geringsing* and *lontar* making is not gender specific, has flourished so enormously that it provides a major source of income especially for people of Banjar Pande and tenant farmers who live on Tenganan land. In recent years, this new craft production has also spread to other villages in Tenganan's vicinity. Unfortunately, this explosion of production has led to a serious shortage of *ata*. Bali's own supply of this plant can no longer satisfy this growing cottage-industry and traders bring in the harvested, long, reed-like stems from as far away as Java, Lombok, and Sumbawa. Since the supply is running out even on these islands, the future of basket making in Tenganan is uncertain unless a sustainable harvesting of the plant can be assured.

[4] For most Tenganese "core village" families, tourism provides only an addition to the household economy which continues to be based on agriculture. Therefore, most Tenganese can afford a more "laid back" attitude toward business than many other Balinese whose entire livelihood depends on tourism. In addition, there have been many discussions at the village level about the image the Tenganese would like to project to tourists. For example, village leaders have asked families to teach their children not to beg and not to bother tourists. But, even more importantly, Tenganese culture places great emphasis on polite and refined manners. Etiquette is taught and practiced from early childhood and is enforced in the formal ritual meetings in the youth organizations and the village council where impolite behavior toward a senior results in fines, and, in more serious cases, in expulsion from the organization.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

TOURISM IN THE 'VILLAGE *MANDALA'S*' PERIPHERY: A CATALYST FOR CHANGE AND RESISTANCE

From Culture to Profit: The Politics, Economics, and Discourse of "Elite Tourism" in Bali

> Tourism has enabled Bali to generate employment, increase wealth and interact with both international and domestic guests...Strong tourism growth will not be sustainable over the long term, however. Natural resources, especially water and the fragile coastal areas, will face greater pressures. Stress on infrastructure will increase. Action is required now to ensure desirable outcomes in ten to twenty years. There are choices to be made which will critically affect the culture, environment and economy of Bali...An alternative is quality tourism. This is the choice the consultants recommend...The first priority is to attract high spending tourists, many of whom are emphathetic to Bali's culture and environment...The strategy focuses on international tourists because they spend on average, four times more than domestic tourists who use hotels, and much more again than those domestic and youth tourists who use friends, relatives or informal accomodation.The tourist product is Bali...Investment will be required to improve the product.
>
> (Hassall and Associates, Scott and Furphy, Pt Indulexco 1992, Report Synopsis, pp 1-2)

The above excerpt from the "Comprehensive Tourism Development Plan for Bali" (1992) sponsored by UNDP and the Indonesian Government marks the new context of current and future tourism development in Bali which is moving away from small-scale, locally operated and controlled tourism toward luxury mega-resort complexes which have sprung up all

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over the island in the past several years. In order to meet the plan's target of doubling the island's current capacity to four million international and two million domestic tourists by the year 2010 (a fourfold increase since 1980), the 15 tourism development areas (*kawasan wisata*) outlined in the plan were increased to 21 in 1993 (appendix I3), covering 1,437 square kilometers (one fourth of the island's total surface)(Picard 1996:66), and a 70% increase in the number of hotel rooms (mainly of the high-end luxury category) was approved. In contrast to other countries in the region which depend heavily on foreign investment, in Indonesia "the majority of capital invested in the hotel sector appears to have come from domestic sources" (Booth 1990, quoted in Sinclair and Vokes 1993:203).

This frantic pace of development takes place despite the low occupancy rates of present hotels, increasing land shortages and environmental depletion. The question, of course, is why? Development planners, government officials, and national and international land speculators and developers believe they found a magic formula for generating enormous profits under the protective mantle of sustainable, culturally sensitive, and environmentally friendly "quality tourism." The shared assumption is, of course, that "quality" and "wealth" are coterminous: the richer the tourist and the more money he or she is willing to spend ($1,000/per night is a not an unusual rate) in one of the island's five-star super-luxury resorts, the more culturally and environmentally sensitive the resort will be and the more its guests will manifest these same qualities. It is further assumed that the more

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luxury hotels are built, the greater and broader-based the economic benefits to the Balinese population will be (this formula is outlined in Hassall et al. 1992, Report Synopsis, p.10).

Indonesia is following other countries in the region such as Singapore, Thailand, and Malaysia in their attempts to make tourism into one of the largest foreign exchange earners (Hitchcock, King, and Parnwell 1993:1-31). Indonesia, where tourism currently ranks fourth in such earnings (after oil, gas, and textiles), is projecting that by the end of its seventh "Five Year Development Plan" (*Repelita VII*) in 2004, tourism will have reached its goal of 6.5 million foreign visitors/year bringing in $8.9 billion/year in revenues (compared to $3.35 billion in 1993)(Jakarta Post, Sept.8, 1994). While Indonesia is trying to diversify tourism into some of the outlying islands, Bali still ranks first among all the provinces in the country's number of visitors and foreign exchange income (Picard 1996:52-53). Picard estimates a total of four million tourist arrivals (both foreign and domestic) in Bali during 1994.

Today, much of Bali's economy revolves around tourism and its spin-off sectors. Yet, the distribution of income from tourism-related activities remains regionally skewed, the south-central regions of Badung and Gianyar receiving the largest shares. Karangasem, Bali's easternmost region, has been largely peripheral to the tourism sector, a factor which the UNDP plan tried to remedy through the creation of special tourism development areas (*kawasan wisata*) located along Karangasem's coastal strip. After a short boom period in the late 1980s,

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during which a large number of locally operated and owned small hotels sprang up in and around Candi Dasa, and Karangasem's first five-star, internationally owned and operated luxury hotel opened its doors, the region's tourism sector stagnated. Part of this may be due to a general slowing of the world economy, especially during the Gulf War years, but part of it is also due to the failure to develop the area in an environmentally sensitive manner. Today, Candi Dasa's once crystal clear waters are polluted by run-off sewage from hotels; the beauty of its once palm fringed beach has been destroyed by cement barriers which fan out into the ocean (erected in order to break the waves and protect the coast from erosion but which, instead, seem to have contributed to the destruction of the near-by coral reef); and its main street remains unprotected from speeding buses and trucks.

Candi Dasa, which only ten years ago was a quiet, small resort with only a handful of locally operated, low-cost bed and breakfast facilities, popular with those tourists and travellers who wanted to escape the crowded resorts of Kuta and Sanur, so far has not been able to make a smooth transition into the new era of "quality tourism" outlined in the UNDP master plan. Meanwhile, the neighboring fledgling resort area of Buitan has become handicapped by the building of a huge oil depot and a busy port where oil is transferred from large tankers to smaller ones for transshipment to ports throughout eastern Indonesia. The Candi Dasa - Buitan tourism region (appendix I_1) now has over 80 hotels ranging from low-cost inns of $3/night to luxury hotels ($150-1000/night). Even though hotels have mushroomed, their occupancy rate

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remains low, even during the peak seasons. Despite the fact that tourism development in the region of Karangasem has not taken off in the manner envisioned by its planners, land speculators (for the most part Jakarta-based Indonesian investors with close ties to the political elite and access to international capital) continue to buy up land, especially in coastal areas, for future development.

Balinese villagers have become wary of the alarming rate at which locally-owned land is changing hands to non-Balinese buyers but they have had little recourse to stop the trend of large-scale land acquisition.[1] Luxury hotel projects have begun to spring up all over the island. Typically, these resorts gobble up great areas of land (as the trend of these hotels is to move inland, hundreds of acres of valuable agricultural land are now converted each year into tourism resorts). These new luxury facilities typically include not only sprawling hotel and condominium complexes but also swimming pools and golf courses, notorious for absorbing large tracts of land as well as depleting the island's valuable and increasingly sparse water supplies, not to mention polluting the environment with chemical fertilizers. In addition to Bali's three already existing international golf courses, twenty more have been planned (Picard 1996:190).

At the end of 1993, public opinion, which had been smoldering for several years over the increasing rapaciousness of outside investors and their blatant exploitation of resources, did erupt into open opposition aimed at the construction planning for yet another mega-resort complex which would eventually cover 600 hectares of agricultural land. It

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was to be built near one of Bali's most famous and picturesque religious sites, the Tanah Lot temple, situated on a rocky outcrop on the southern coast in the region of Tabanan (appendix I3). Plans for phase I, the building of a huge luxury hotel and condominium complex called the "Bali Nirvana Resort" (BNR) by the Jakarta Bakrie Group (80% of which is owned by the British-based firm, Timeswitch Investment Ltd.) in close proximity to one of Bali's most revered sacred spots, had hit a vital nerve of the Balinese -- their religion. Opposition from Balinese intellectuals and Hindu leaders backed by students, as well as by local and foreign journalists, grew over the following months and found widespread public support in and outside of Bali. Balinese newspapers were filled with articles every day discussing the issue, Hindu groups held prayer vigils at Besakih (Bali's largest and most important temple), students and intellectuals organized petitions to the governor whose ambiguous position in the matter came under increasing public scrutiny and criticism, and several demonstrations took place in Denpasar which were put down by the police (Cohen 1994).

The "Bali Nirvana Resort" complex (later nicknamed "Bali Neraka ['hell'] Resort" by its opponents) was to be built in one of the 15 designated tourism zones (*kawasan wisata*) under the 1992 UNDP Master Plan (appendix I3), and was planned to consist of a 300-room Le Meridien hotel, 156 villas, and 380 condominium resort homes, as well as an 18-hole international golf course, at an estimated cost of $324 million (Cohen 1994; Picard 1996:193). The land set aside for it comprised 121 hectares. Forming a strip close to the temple, a large part of this

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acreage was owned by a Jakarta business man. Land clearing for the project seemed relatively easy as it did not involve the relocation of villagers. The area in question was highly productive *sawah* land, however, and some farmers resisted selling their shares. Eventually they gave in under rising pressure from local officials, who enforced their power by cutting off the supply of irrigation water to the area (Cohen 1994).

In the end, though, it was the issue of religion -- not land -- which galvanized public opinion to turn openly against the project. Its opponents argued that the resort's proximity to the temple would impinge on its spiritual sanctity. The Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia (PDHI), Bali's highest religious authority, decreed (with approval from Indonesia's president) under rising public pressure, that a minimum distance of two kilometers from the temple must be maintained for all buildings not related to religious activity. Because the BNR project, at 60-500 meters from the temple, lay well within this no-building zone, this decision should have resulted in the cancellation of the project or in its relocation further away. Instead, the project was only stalled for several months during which time the as yet unbuilt condominiums continued to be offered on the international real estate market; but it was not prevented from happening. Instead, in typical Indonesian fashion, a compromise was reached under the guidance of President Suharto, which involved a series of minor concessions on the part of the developers (such as dropping the temple's famous silhouette from the hotel's logo, relocating some of the resort's buildings further away from the temple, and constructing a small hill blocking the view of the

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temple from the hotel). With these extenuations, which were rumored to have been reinforced by the soothing effect of substantial "donations," the PHDI as well as other smaller institutions which had previously opposed the project, seemed satisfied, and the building of BNR continued undisturbed (Cohen 1994:28-33).

Although BNR became a highly publicized and politicized symbol of the struggle over tourism development in Bali in which the government (at its national and provincial levels), international capital, religious institutions, local grass roots organizations, and the Balinese public are all involved, other projects of similar scale have received very little publicity. For example, the construction of another mega-resort on the tiny off-shore island of Serangan, the site of another major temple, Pura Sakenan, and a resident village community completely dependent on this location for its subsistence (based on fishing and turtle farming), has attracted very little public interest. A short note in one of Bali's major newspapers alleged that the land was acquired from the villagers at a fraction of its value, and that the resident population had been forced off the land under the threat that the whole island would be flooded.

The almost complete silence over this case which involves considerable human suffering in addition to the desecration of a major temple (the island is too small to permit the required two kilometers distance between the temple and the resort) is as perplexing as the degree of fervor which was generated by BNR. Some observers attribute the lack of interest in Serangan to the alleged involvement in the pro-

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ject of the Indonesian army and/or members of the first family (rumors which have also surfaced in the Australian press). Cynical interpretations of the overwhelming opposition to the BNR project, suggest that being against it became almost an expression of "political correctness," such that many institutions and prominent individuals joined the movement at its later stages in little more than an effort to secure for themselves a slice of the promising "appeasement pie."

Beyond these more pragmatic considerations made by public figures in Bali to participate or not to participate openly in the BNR controversy, it has had wider repercussions for the way in which future economic development is perceived. Not only has the door been opened for a lively discourse over Bali's future, but wide-spread xenophobic fears and stereotypical images regarding Balinese spirituality as threatened by Western capitalism have been reinforced. Public discourse continues to deplore the corrupting influence of Western culture and foreign consumerism on Balinese culture and religion, somewhat deflecting attention from more self-reflective issues such as the role which Indonesia's and Bali's own economic and political elites have played in these events. There are, however, signs that the outcry over the profanization and desecration of Bali's temples by tourism development[2] is beginning to widen from moralistic and religious concerns to the larger socio-political and environmental issues which are at stake. One leading Balinese scholar and public figure has, for example, spoken out against the BNR project, but purposefully not on religious grounds. Pushing the debate beyond the usual (and often circular) arguments over tourism's

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threat to Balinese spirituality and morality, he has drawn attention to some of the serious environmental repercussions of projects like the BNR, such as increasing shortages and pollution of the island's vital and already scarce water supply, as well as soil erosion resulting from building golf courses in the midst of agricultural land. In addition, he argues that replacing rice paddies with golf courses disrupts an essential element in Bali's complex web of social organization, the *subak*, a communally based organization of rice farmers which organizes the distribution of irrigation water ("Battle of Bali" in the newspaper West Australian, Nov.5, 1994).

Although religion continues to be the rallying point through which the Balinese express their identity and existential fears of survival within a Muslim-dominated nation-state, the BNR debate, even if only implicitly, has touched off an emerging class consciousness which not only interconnects various strata within Balinese society, but which also forges fragile alliances between the Balinese and groups in other parts of Indonesia who face similar struggles. The Balinese lost the battle over BNR, but their demand for greater political openness in affairs concerning the future of their island has continued to be voiced publicly. Increasing public awareness and open expressions of discontent with trickle-down development (which has even further reinforced the alliance between bureaucratic, military, and corporate elites [Cohen 1994]) will make it more difficult in the future to proceed with mega-projects like BNR. Whether these events will lead to a broader revision and stricter enforcement of laws pertaining to land use, land ownership,

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and tourist development, and whether the Balinese public will have a greater voice in its future, remains to be seen.

Bias Putih: The Rise and Collapse of a Luxury Hotel Project in Eastern Bali

Five kilometers to the east of Candi Dasa, south of the village of Bugbug, between two rocky outcrops, stretches a beautiful, calm, palm fringed beach. Its gleaming white sand gave it its name "bias putih" (Bal. "white sand")(appendices G2 and I1). The beach and the clear ocean waters in front of it are filled with small, colorful outrigger fishing boats (*jukung*) with their bows carved in typical Balinese fashion into the form of the mythical elephant fish. Set back from the beach, amidst a coconut grove, the thatched roofs of a few small dwellings are barely visible. They belong to those fishermen and tenant farmers who make their meager living from the ocean and the barren, dry land at its borders. This scene is as serene as the images on postcards which continue to portray Bali as an island paradise untouched by tourism and modern development. It seems difficult to imagine this pristine oasis as the site of a luxury resort with a 200-room five star hotel, a 50-villa garden complex set between swimming pools connected by cascading water channels and surrounded by a 18-hole international golf course, complete with its own heliport. Yet, this is exactly what a group of developers had in mind when they decided to create the "Bias Putih Resort" project.

In 1990, at the height of the tourism boom in Bali, village officials in Bugbug were first approached -- through the mediation of a

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Balinese aristocrat who already had contracted land from the village at Bias Putih -- by an Italian woman who represented the Hong Kong-based Prasit Holding Ltd. As negotiations proceded, Prasit Holding Ltd. formed a joint venture with three other companies of land developers which together formed the P.T. Sanggraha Bias Putih. Two of these were Jakarta-based, one with allegedly close ties to the Ministery of Tourism, the third was owned by a British national. P.T. Sanggraha Bias Putih worked out a 30-year land contract with the villages of Bugbug and Prasi. The land under consideration comprised 123 hectares of both village-owned and private land, the largest part of which (80 hectares) lies under the authority of the village of Bugbug. Of these 80 hectares, 66 are communally owned temple land (*laba pura*) and 14 are under the private ownership of 56 Bugbug families. The remaining 40 hectares of land belong to the neighboring village of Prasi and are also communally and privately owned.

For the village of Bugbug, a special committee ("PANITIA Sembilan")[3] was formed which carried out all negotiations over village and private land with the local authorities and the P.T. Sanggraha Bias Putih (the village of Prasi organized and conducted their negotiations with the developers separately). After completion of the negotiations in 1991, a 30-year land lease (with optional extension) was agreed on for a total of over 9.6 billion rupiah (approximately US $5.3 million) plus an additional 6.5 million rupiah ($360,000) which was paid in donations to the village of Bugbug (to the PANITIA committee as well as to the *desa adat*), to various individuals involved in the negotiations, and to pri-

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vate cultural and religious institutions. Under the contract, the village of Bugbug was to receive a total of 5.142 billion rupiah (circa $2.5 million) in communal and private funds.[4] Payments were made for phase I of the project (which involved land set aside for the hotel and villas), while payments for phase II (land designated for the building of the golf course and access road) amounting to 2 billion rupiah (approximately $1.1 million) are still outstanding and, most probably, will never be remitted because the project already began to fall apart while still in its planning phases. To date, the village of Bugbug has received a total of 4.2 billion rupiah (approximately US $2.5 million) for the contract of both communally and privately owned land.

This contract was signed at a period when land speculation in Bali had reached its peak and when Indonesia's economy was booming, just prior to the time when bad loans pushed banks into bankruptcy, and when the newspapers began to be filled with scandals involving economic mismanagement, corruption, and commercial disputes. Soon after the signing of the contract, it became obvious to the villagers that there were problems with the Bias Putih Project. One of the three original companies which formed the P.T. Sanggraha Bias Putih, the P.T. Lupita Pusaka (the one believed to have close ties to the Ministry of Tourism) was in charge of finding an investor for the hotel project. When it failed to do so, the other two companies, P.T. Amanda Putri and Image Development pulled out of the project and sold their shares to three Jakarta-based firms which together formed a new holding company, the P.T. Grahara Prima Tigamas. Yet, this new company was also plagued with

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problems, as one of its shareholders, the P.T. Gunung Agung (also a shareholder of Jakarta's famous Mandarin Hotel [Lindsey 1997:297]), declared bankruptcy, and the second shareholder pulled out, which left the third founding company, P.T. Tigamas as the single remaining shareholder. P.T. Tigamas continued its efforts of finding a co-investor in the project but, until now, has failed. It is difficult to say whether the project has been abandoned or is merely postponed, but with each passing year the duration of the land contract diminishes, and so do the chances of finding investment partners.

The project has also been plagued by other problems. According to information which I obtained from various sources, it has not attracted investment because of a combination of difficulties:

> (1) The land contract covers too short a time period to obtain the large amount of capital needed for a project of this scope. Investors interested in the project demanded a contract of 50 years. New negotiations over the extension of the contract have not gotten underway as village officials in Bugbug feel that such an extension would be difficult to obtain from the villagers at this time.
>
> (2) Water supply remains a major issue which to this date has not been solved. The project requires a huge amount of water which is to be derived from three sources: wells, irrigation water, and a government owned water supply company.
>
> (3) Location is considered too remote from the airport. Indeed, Pasir Putih would be approximately 75 kilometers from the airport, ten kilometers further than the next closest luxury hotel in eastern Bali, Amankila, near Buitan/Manggis.
>
> (4) Some of the privately owned parcels of land on which the hotel is to be built are not included in the contract as some villagers, up until now, have refused to sign. Some of these parcels are strategically situated

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> (e.g., one is at the location where the hotel's lobby is to be built) and must be put under contract before the building can begin.

Although problems relating to the land contract may eventually be worked out with the villagers of Bugbug and Prasi, water shortage has proven to be the one obstacle which may be impossible to overcome. Hydraulics experts brought in by the developers were unable to discover any significant water sources in the area which could satisfy the huge demands for fresh water that a project of this magnitude requires. Like some other regions in eastern Bali, the Bias Putih area exhibits a weather pattern more similar to eastern Indonesia than to central Bali with its high annual rain fall. The Bias Putih area receives little rain, even during Bali's monsoon season, and has been able to support only sparse vegetation. Even if new water sources which could satisfy the resort's demand were to be discovered, the project might have a disastrous ecological impact on the whole region, especially on the villages and rice fields located to its north which periodically already experience serious shortages of water. Why this and the other fundamental problems were not sufficiently examined *before* the land contract was signed seems incomprehensible today. It is possible that the original group of developers involved in the contract negotiations were able to reap large profits by selling their shares to other developers, regardless of whether or not the hotel project would be realized. The rise and fall of the Pasir Putih project certainly is but one small example of the frantic climate of the early 1990s when Bali's land was "up for

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grabs" and hordes of developers descended on the island to compete fiercely for a share of the bounty.

Changing Tides in Bugbug: A Village between Accomodation and Resistance

When I first visited Bugbug in the mid-1980s, the village appeared to be a fascinating, ancient, fortress-like settlement, unfortunately plagued by problems of overcrowding, chronic water shortages, poor sanitation, and a general lack of funds to address these issues. Some of its temples and public buildings were in need of repair. Many of these shortcomings have been remedied with the capital which the village obtained from the Bias Putih project. As money, derived from the land contract, began to fill the village coffers, village officials embarked on the task of modernizing Bugbug. One third of the $2.5 million (1 billion rupiah) was set aside to buy new temple land near the village of Timbrah, and two thirds (2 billion rupiah) were deposited in banks. The yearly interest from this invested capital (approximately 260 million rupiah or $150,000/year) is set aside for village development. From this fund, each year, 55 needy Bugbug families receive the capital to build bathroom facilities in their homes. The village has also acquired its own drinking water project which supplies Bugbug with fresh, clean water, as well as a locally operated garbage disposal system. Its temples and communal buildings have been restored and now provide a showcase of wealth and splendor; village streets are swept clean; and flower gardens add to the general atmosphere of affluence.

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Yet beneath this shiny facade of new buildings and the placid faces of the villagers lie as yet unhealed wounds inflicted by the fierce competition over access to this new wealth which has torn deeply into Bugbug's social fabric. Increasing economic differentiation, allegations of corruption and embezzlement on the part of village officials, the jockeying for positions in the *adat* institutions[5] and committees dealing with village development projects have taken a heavy toll. In contrast to Tenganan, where capital from tourism has trickled slowly but steadily into the community and is spread widely among all its members, the impact in Bugbug was massive and sudden. It has divided the village into those who gained access to the new wealth, and those who were marginalized and excluded from it. It has increased factionalism, nepotism, and bureaucratization and has given unprecedented power to a small village elite. One villager expressed the situation as follows:

> Since Bias Putih, Bugbug is a rich village. But it is also a village which is more regulated now. Now there are so many more new programs and committees dealing with village development. For some families who were poor and who owned some land at Bias Putih, the standard of living has been raised. Some of these changes are good for the village because now development can be carried out. Before, it was also difficult to get enough money for the cremations. Now there is enough. Now the village's spiritual power is much stronger than before because there is more money spent on temple restorations and on ceremonies. Since Bias Putih, there are also many more *Krama Desa* meetings. This is because each member receives money, "insentif," each time he participates in a meeting [see note 5]. This "insentif" is justified because the *Krama Desa* now has a much heavier workload. But there is also much more corruption now. And the *insentif* is used by certain people to silence the *Krama Desa* members.

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The large amount of capital which was suddenly at Bugbug's disposal further increased the bureaucratization process at the local level. Those individuals who were well spoken and well educated and had strong ties to the *dinas* structure, in addition to their inherited social status based on kin-group affiliation and membership in the *adat* organizations, were suddenly in an unprecedented position of power as negotiators and mediators in the land deal, and as the custodians of a huge fund of communally owned capital. They were able to exercise their power by further consolidating the *dinas* and *adat* structures (see Chapter Three), by expanding the village bureaucracy through the creation of new committees in charge of the various aspects of village development, and by negotiating profitable contracts (with both local and outside contractors) on behalf of these committees.

In addition, outside governmental and religious institutions suddenly had a vested interest in Bugbug's development. As one villager recounts:

> The decision on how the Bias Putih money is to be used does not always lie with the people of Bugbug. Decisions are sometimes made outside the village. For example, the *kabupaten* and *camat* [regional and subregional governmental districts] sometimes request from the village "*dana punia*" [donations, contributions] for the restoration of major temples [*pura umum*] in the region of Karangasem.

Such requests for donations for regional projects, according to some sources, can run in the tens of thousands of dollars. While contributions on this scale increase the village's public status and prestige as a major donor and benefactor for Bali's public and religious institutions, they also tie the village closely into the regional bureaucracy.

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Bugbug today not only stands as a shining example of the "modern" and "progressive" Balinese village which is promoted by government rhetoric, but also as a vivid reminder of a darker side of development.

There is a small group of villagers who have experienced negative impacts on their lives as a result of their resistance to the Bias Putih Project. Some who own land at Bias Putih have refused to sign the contract despite the considerable hardship it has brought to them and their families. Four villagers who own a total of 1.4 hectares of strategically situated land (i.e., at the location of the future hotel lobby), have been steadfast in their refusal to lease their holdings. An additional five people who own land in the area where the golf course is to be built have also refused to sign the contract. This is the account of one of these men who felt that he has suffered so much injustice that he decided that his story should be heard:

> I was first a fisherman. Life was hard. I have six children. So I started a chicken farm on my land in Bias Putih. When I refused to sign the contract with the village I was forbidden to continue the chicken farm. I had to stop it. Now my family lives from farming the irrigated and the dry land we own. Since I have four children in university, one in senior high school, and one in junior high school, this income is not enough. My wife is selling fish in order to help our situation. But life will continue to be hard as long as the children are in school. At the time when the negotiations began, I did not want to sign the contract because I did not agree with the price which was offered which was 100 million rupiah. You see, at exactly the same time when the negotiations went on between the village and X [he named the Italian woman who led the negotiations], there was also another person interested to rent my land. He was a German who offered me 725 million rupiah for the land for a lease of 30 years.

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The former fisherman went on in his slow and halting voice, which expressed some of the pain he still feels when remembering these incidents, to explain how the events continued to unfold. When he made a counteroffer of 600 million to the PANITIA (who handled all negotiations on behalf of the individual landowners with the developers) and discussions went nowhere, he experienced increasing threats, intimidations, and pressures from village and government authorities. It was at this point that he felt very alone in defending his case as he knew he had no one to turn to for help or encouragement, except for a handful of fellow villagers in the same precarious situation as he. Even under the threat of being expelled from the village, he continued to hold his place. Finally, the Italian woman went into direct negotiations with him and they came to an agreement. The situation came to a head when the village officials learned about these direct negotiations and started also to raise their price. Shocked about this unexpected turn of events, the negotiator broke off her agreement with him, and the developers signed the contract with the village in a rush at the previously agreed price, with the reassurance on the part of village officials that, in due time, the remaining landowners could be "persuaded" to sign the contract as well.

When I asked him what happened to the German investor, my informant felt that he had been double-crossed. At the exact date and time a meeting had been arranged (through a mediator) in Denpasar between him and the investor, he was called to the police where he was detained for several hours. He never managed to arrange another meeting

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with the German. Since he is a very simple and shy man, he lacked the know-how to pursue the matter further. When asked about the reasons behind his resistance he responded:

> I did not agree at the time because I felt that the price offered was too low and because the *desa* was not *adil* [honest, fair]. I was at a point where I would have rather died than give in and give away my land. In the end, justice will be done and *karma pala* will take its course. It already has begun. Many villagers who deposited their money from the contract at the Bank Pasar Sadar have lost it [many villagers deposited their profits from Bias Putih at this bank because it offered higher interest rates but lost their fortune because the bank went into bankruptcy, my insertion]. Someone else had a terrible motorcycle accident [referring to a prominent village official who died in the accident, my insertion] and another person got very sick. This is the revenge of Betara Gumang who is very angry!

Besides those villagers who refused to cede their land to the authorities, there was also a small group of Bugbug residents living and working in the capital of Denpasar who voiced their concerns on how the negotiations were handled and expressed their opposition to suspected mismanagement and embezzlement of the communal capital. However, the village leadership had already consolidated their power by this time so that the objections of the Denpasar group remained without further consequence.

Despite these negative impacts on the village's social cohesiveness, most of the people I interviewed agreed that the village has gained immensely from the land contract and hoped that the hotel would be built, as this would provide for further economic opportunities. It is hoped that villagers will profit from the construction process by providing some labor and materials, as well as food and accomodation

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for the construction workers. Ideally some of Bugbug's residents will also find permanent employment in the hotel. And finally, it is hoped that the hotel's well-heeled tourists would come to Bugbug for sightseeing and to witness Bugbug's ceremonies. The village has begun to prepare itself for the arrival of this international audience. Young people are eager to learn and practice their English, and foreign language courses and dance instructions are held in the village in order to prepare for full participation in Bali's "cultural tourism" agenda.

The majority of villagers seem to welcome and hope for the actual building of the resort which, no doubt, would provide a certain economic stimulus to one of Bali's most peripheral areas where employment opportunities have remained limited. Even if the hotel is built, however, it remains doubtful that the villagers' dreams would be fulfilled. Since the original land contractors gave only oral promises of preferential employment to the villagers, and have long since disappeared, it is more likely that the Bias Putih project will follow the example of Bali's other luxury hotels. Typically, these up-scale resorts are highly dependent on foreign management and an outside staff. Balinese who find employment must have received first-rate training at Bali's hôtellerie schools and tend to be hand-selected from privileged and well connected circles of Balinese society. Goods are imported from Java and from abroad to satisfy the discriminating tastes of guests who are willing to spend more money in one day than many Balinese families earn in a year. In general, only some of the lower-level staff and menial labor (e.g., gardeners) are drawn from the surrounding villages.

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While many of Bugbug's residents are not willing to give up their hopes that the hotel will be built some time in the future, there is a group of people whose entire livelihood depends on this beach and the surrounding land. These are the fishermen who come here each day to set out into the sea on their small, brightly colored outrigger boats (most of these 400 fishermen live in the villages of Bugbug and Prasi and take the long walk to the beach each day in the hope to catch enough fish to sell and to feed their families). In addition, there are the tenant farmers who live in small bamboo huts on the land near the beach. They look into the future with some trepidation. The fishermen with whom I spoke said that the "Italian lady" who was in charge of negotiating the land deal had promised them that they could remain after the hotel was built and that some of them could even earn a good living by taking tourists on snorkeling and fishing trips. None of the fishermen I spoke with owned any land; their livelihood depends entirely on the sea. One man said: "We don't want to move, there is no other place for us to go. We did not receive any compensation so far, and even if we did, we still would not want to move." When I asked them if they could change their occupation and become farmers, they answered: "If we were given a *sawah* (plot of wet-rice land) we could learn to farm. That would not be a problem."

In addition to the fishermen who depend on this beach, there are approximately 15 families living on the Bias Putih land. Most of them scrape together a meager living as tenant farmers and they would most certainly have to resettle if the hotel was built. The situation of

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one man in his fifties, who lives with his wife in a simple hut with bamboo walls and earthen floor, is typical for most of the tenant farmers in the area. He described his life circumstances as follows:

> I was born on this land. My father also lived here as *penyakap* [tenant farmer]. My family originally is from Prasi. We work for a landowner from Bugbug. On this land (0.6 hectares) only coconut and bananas can grow because it is so dry here. Nothing else will grow. The coconuts are sold and the bananas are used for ceremonies. The living I make from selling the coconuts is not enough to feed my family. Therefore I also sometimes work [as day laborer, my insertion] in the *sawah*, and sometimes I fish. Our family has a house in Prasi. This is where my six children live. If the hotel will be built, the situation would be very difficult for us. We don't know where else we could go to earn a living. At the time when the contract was signed, no one from the *desa* or the developers came to talk to us and explain the situation. We don't know about our future. We don't know if we will have to move or not. So far, none of us has received any money or any compensation.

While most tenant farmers I spoke to feel similar uncertainty and fear over their future, there are others who look at the time ahead with bright expectation. One of them is a young man of 30 years of age who also works as a tenant farmer for a Bugbug landowner. The area he cultivates comprises only 0.3 hectares, but his standard of living is better. He inhabits with his wife and three children a larger and better built house than most of his neighbors. He explains:

> I have lived here with my family for five years. I am from Bugbug and my family has a house there. Before, this land was owned by Anak Agung Karangasem [a member of Karangasem's royal family, my insertion]. At that time, a different *penyakap* [tenant farmer] lived here. Then a man from Bugbug bought the land and we moved here. We live from planting and selling coconut and banana, and from a small chicken farm. I also fish sometimes. I am not worried about the future. We will move if the hotel is built. But I want compensation for the

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> house. I will have to get two million rupiah [about $1000]. I have heard that all the *penyakap* here will get compensation [Ind. *ganti rugi*] from the developers once the hotel is built. I have already prepared for the future and I bought 3 *are* [0.3 hectares] of land which will be converted into *sawah*. This land will be enough for my family to live on.

Besides the tenant farmers who work the land for an absentee landlord, there is a man in his forties from Bugbug who owns a parcel of 0.3 hectares on which he has lived for 15 years, together with his wife and seven children. He has already received money from the land contract, and his large compound with its well-constructed buildings reflects his more comfortable situation. He hopes that the hotel will be built, even if it means that he will have to evacuate the land and move back to Bugbug. He feels positive about the time ahead because he was told that all the people living at Pasir Putih will be employed by the hotel. He envisions his future as a hotel gardener. According to information given by the Kantor Bias Putih, a small office which the developers maintained near Amlapura, if the hotel gets built, all the tenant farmers will have to evacuate the land but will receive compensation. Most of the fishermen will also have to leave. Some of the tenant farmers and fishermen will be employed by the hotel as gardeners.

What is remarkable about the controversies that the Pasir Putih Resort project generated in Bugbug is that religious issues do not seem to have been in the forefront of village discussions. Neither the fact that the resort's hilltop commercial village is planned on the site where Prasi's cemetary is presently located, nor that one of Bugbug's village temples, the Pura Bias Putih, lies in the very midst of the

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planned hotel complex, seemed to have inflamed public opinion. Only a few people have voiced concerns about the temple's sanctity, protected by a mere ten meter non-building zone to which the developers agreed in the contract. The villagers seem satisfied with the written agreement that assures them free access to the beach and the right to conduct their ceremonies at the beach and at the temple. This does not mean, however, that some people are not concerned. One man from Bugbug remarked:

> The sanctity [Indon. *kesucian*] of the temple can not be maintained once the hotel is constructed because the temple will be located right within the hotel complex, near the beach. Later, when the people worship there, they are next to tourists who wear very little clothing, sunning themselves on the beach. This will make it very difficult for people to concentrate on their prayers. Until now, each *Usaba Desa* [village festival] and each *Usaba Gumang* [Bugbug's greatest ceremony which takes place every two years, see Chapter Three] the people of Bugbug go to this beach and this temple. Therefore, there is concern about the temple's continued sanctity once the hotel is built.

Such concerns have been outweighed, however, by expectations on the part of the villagers of the resort's positive economic impact on their household and village economy. One person who was instrumental in the contract negotiations has expressed hopes for the future which are similar to those of many other residents I spoke with:

> I, like so many other people here, hope that the hotel will be built soon. We feel that this will bring more income opportunities for the local people. For example, the construction workers will need accomodation and food, all of which can be provided by the village. There is also an oral agreement with the developers that local labor should be used in the hotel as much as possible. Also they have consented to provide free English training courses for the people of Bugbug. There is also a

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> signed accord that the imported construction workers will have to leave the area once the hotel is built. In order to prepare for tourism, the village leadership now puts emphasis on health and cleanliness in the village. Also, we have restored our temples and the ceremonial clothing for the members of our *desa* organizations has been improved. We hope that this will make our village attractive to visitors.

In contrast to the BNR controversy, which erupted over the encroachment of tourism and commericalism on Balinese religion and tradition, concerns about Bugbug's religion and tradition do not seem to have been at the center of local village discourse, and the regional religious authorities have been conspicuously silent on the subject of the Bias Putih project. This may raise some new questions (which scholars might attempt to answer in the future) about the extent to which religious reasons were used in the BNR controversy to harness and express the growing popular discontent with underlying non-religious issues such as Balinese ethnic identity within the Indonesian nation-state, and fears over Bali's economic disempowerment and political marginalization.

The case of the Bias Putih project is also interesting as it highlights some of the recent policy shifts toward large-scale luxury tourism taken at the national and international levels, and how some very deep differences between two types of tourism in Bali, the small-scale and locally operated village tourism such as in Tenganan and large-scale luxury tourism such as the Bias Putih project, can have a very different impact on local communities. In contrast to Tenganan where the socio-cultural impact from tourism has been much more diffused

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and the economic benefits have been relatively widely shared by all members of the community (see Chapters Six and Seven), in Bugbug the impact has been much more drastic, leading to sharpened social tensions and economic differentiation. In the concluding chapter, I will argue, however, that it is important to see these shifts and differences in tourism development always within the context of the pre-existing cultural diversity at the local level. The significant differences in the ways tourism has been handled in Tenganan and Bugbug (both in terms of its impact on these communities and the local responses to it) reflect not only differences in the scale of their respective tourist projects but highlight significant differences in their pre-existing socio-economic structures, cultural ideals, and -- last but not least -- articulation within the regional *mandala* network. In the concluding chapter, I hope to further illustrate how in this era of globalization, local structures and networks of power continue to influence the degree and direction of change at the local level.

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NOTES

Chapter Eight

[1] When, at one point during my fieldwork stay in Tenganan, a helicopter hovered over the village for several hours, the Tenganese became increasingly worried that it might be foreign or Jakarta investors scouting the area and that they might have put their eyes on Tenganan land.

[2] The commercialization of Balinese temples is hardly a new phenomenon as many of Bali's sacred sites have been marketed as "tourist objects" for years. Hundreds of visitors already have been streaming into temples like Tanah Lot each day for years. Like at the other major religious sites in Bali, a lively, sprawling tourist market (where visitors can buy anything from T-shirts to stuffed sea turtles) has sprung up outside the entrance to the Tanah Lot temple area. However, BNR opponents have argued that these small, locally controlled and operated enterprises -- unlike BNR -- "do not threaten the temple's cosmological primacy," but rather, that it is the foreign ownership and operation of the near-by resort which "would upset the harmony among man, god and nature" (Cohen 1994:29-30). This indicates that religious concerns over the temple's sanctity and possible pollution is but a thinly disguised expression of the deeper Balinese anxieties over outsiders upsurping their island. Such fears have been strengthened by the constant stream of Javanese migrant workers and their families into the island (setting up Muslim compounds all over Bali), by a growing Western expatriate community, and by the increasingly crowded conditions on the island which force many Balinese to leave their homeland for less populated areas in Indonesia under the government sponsored transmigration program.

[3] This PANITIA committee initially comprised 11 members, most of whom were well educated and part of Bugbug's elite. As one member died and one left the committee due to internal power struggles, it was the nine remaining members who conducted all negotiations on behalf of the *desa adat* and the landowners.

[4] The contract distinguished between three types of land. For grade I land (located closest to the beach), a price of 1.25 million rupiah/100 square meters (1 *are*)/30 years was negotiated. The price for grade II land (further away from the beach) was 900 000 - 1 million rupiah/*are*/30 years, and for grade III land (on the hills to each side of the beach) a price of 800 000 rupiah/*are*/30 years was agreed upon. The village authorities of Bugbug and Prasi considered this to be a very fair compensation for a piece of land which, because of its poor, sandy quality and dryness had very little economic and commercial value for them. In the case of Bugbug, for example, the village only had derived a yearly income of 150,000 rupiah/year from the communally-owned temple land in question. Due to the lack of water and poor soil quality, the

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land could only be used for growing coconuts and a small crop of peanuts, banana, corn, and mango. Thus, village authorities considered this land contract as an enormous boon for their village economy. They had little concern over the spiritual aspects of the matter since the developers had assured them that the hotel would honor free access to the beach for religious ceremonies and the small temple shrines located in this area. The village of Bugbug reinvested 1 billion rupiah to buy 9.4 hectares of new temple land (highly productive *sawah* land) located closer to the village. Income from this land is set aside for communal, ceremonial use. The remaining 2 billion rupiah which the village of Bugbug had received for its communal land were deposited at two different banks. Interest from this capital is used for village development projects.

[5] Traditionally, members of the *adat* institutions did not receive any financial compensation for their services to the community (in contrast to Tenganan, where each *Krama Desa* member obtains a yearly share from the communal land). After Bugbug acquired the money from the land contract, the *desa adat* officials decided that each member should be paid for each meeting he attends. There was some opposition from the rest of the population. It was felt that such a "salary system" completely contradicts the previous situation when *Krama Desa* members offered their services to the community without any expectation of compensation and even had to pay taxes (in return for his ownership of a plot of communal land) to the village. These tax revenues were used to cover the expenses for the communal ceremonies. Now expenditures for village ceremonies are paid for with the communal fund (derived from the land contract), as is the "insentif" fee of 10,000 rupiah/member/meeting (this is the figure from 1995 which may have been raised since) for the members of the *desa adat* institutions. In addition, all *adat* organizations have received a fund to buy new ceremonial clothing for their members and two new *geringsing* cloths from Tenganan for the wrapping of village deities. Critics of the new "insentif" system say that *Krama Desa* meetings are now held much more frequently and attendance is much higher, but efficiency has not increased. Guarded criticism is voiced even within the *Krama Desa*. According to one elder member: "Outsiders may think that Bugbug could do a lot of things with the money from Bias Putih. But actually this is not happening".

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CHAPTER NINE

THE "POLITICS OF STASIS" VERSUS THE "POLITICS OF CHANGE": CENTER - PERIPHERY CONTRASTS IN THE CONTEXT OF TOURISM

Tourism and the Question of Local Variability

> One of the problems in attempting to formulate a theory of globalization is of adopting a totalizing logic and assuming some master process of global integration is under way which is making the world more unified and homogeneous.
>
> (Featherstone 1995:102)

In the attempt to capture the complexities of macro-processes such as globalization it is easy to miss out on variability, not only in terms of the micro-localities where these macro-forces are played out, but also in terms of the variability which is contained within these forces themselves. As we have seen, tourism -- as one aspect of globalization -- is in itself a highly variable force. Even in a small locality like Bali, various and very different forms of tourism have been introduced at different times and continue to co-exist, giving Bali its idiosyncratic blend of "cultural tourism" and "beach tourism." Forms of small-scale, spontaneous, locally operated tourism enterprises not only continue to survive at the edges of large-scale, top-down tourist development projects but are prevalent in Bali's peripheral areas which have not yet been opened up to massive development. In addition to these

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variabilities within the tourism sector itself, the ways in which it is being integrated into local micro-cultures varies considerably.

Moreover, tourism contains within itself many ambiguities and contradictions. While on one level, it fosters the conscious blending of traditions and the crossing of boundaries, on another level it encourages the invention and reinforcement of some of these same traditions and boundaries. Acting simultaneously as both homogenizer and heterogenizer, it is at once a "destructive and re-constructive" process (McGuckin 1997:4). The ways in which tourism's own ambiguities, contradictions and complexities interact and are played out in a given locality depends on the dynamic interaction of local and inter-local networks of power with larger fields of national integration and international capitalist expansion. As McGuckin has emphasized, "the impacts of tourism are complex and contradictory and must be specified not only for each locale, but for each type of cultural production" (1997:4). Given this highly dynamic and interactive situation between "culture" and "tourism" (each of which is already a dynamic process in and by itself), it is little surprising to find two very different situations in two communities which are located in close proximity to each other.

Tenganan and Bugbug share certain underlying cultural and structural elements due to their geographic location in eastern Bali and their Old-Balinese roots. As Chapter Three explained, the history of both villages reaches back into the pre-Majapahit era, both share an absence of *triwangsa* castes and both have village institutions organized around age groups and seniority. Yet it is not these underlying

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similarities between the two communities, which consider themselves to be "*desa saudara*" (sibling villages), which are most striking, but their differences. While both villages seem to have been built according to a preconceived plan, their spatial layout is very contrastive and unusual for Bali. Bugbug is built like a European medieval fortress town in a circular pattern, with the high outer walls of houses forming an unpenetrable barrier toward the outside. This protective, circular outer wall is only broken by very narrow alleys which radiate outward from the interior, central square where the major temples and public buildings are located. By contrast, Tenganan's layout is highly linear with a rectangular area neatly subdivided into a grid-like pattern formed by its length and cross streets. In contrast to Bugbug's spatial compression, Tenganan's layout conveys a feeling of openness where, according to its inhabitants "the wind can flow freely" in lengthwise and crosswise direction. (This free circulation of "wind" or energy [*bayu*] is important to the villagers in both a cosmological and physical sense, as it helps to eliminate negative forces which can make the village "hot" [*panas*] and cause illness.) Yet, like Bugbug, Tenganan is clearly delimited from the outside. While in Bugbug the circle of houses with their high outer walls forms this boundary, in Tenganan it is the large village gates which offer magical protection from outside intrusion. (In addition, natural boundaries such as a deep river gorge and the surrounding hills add to Tenganan's defensive location.) Both of these layouts have cosmological significance as both, according to local perception, are variations on the *mandala* theme, and both offer an effec-

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tive defense mechanism against hostile attack. Together they stem from a time when Hindu-Buddhist conceptions of cosmology and space began to deeply affect Balinese ideas of religion, health, statecraft, social organization, and architecture. They also remind us that eastern Bali was a hostile and unpredictable environment where wars and quarrels between kingdoms and neighboring villages were frequent.

In addition to their shared roots in early Balinese history, both villages also own a large territory (over 800 hectares each), part of which is irrigated *sawah* land. However, in contrast to Tenganan, with its small population of 600 persons (only 300 of whom form the land-owning elite), and with its barrier against immigration in the form of strict village-endogamy laws, Bugbug is an open community, which since ancient times has received immigrants from other parts of Bali. With over 7,500 inhabitants and sizable expatriate populations residing in Singaraja and Denpasar, it is one of the largest and most densely populated Old-Balinese villages in eastern Bali. Whereas Tenganan distinguishes itself by its cultural and biological introversion, Bugbug residents are proud of their village's openness toward newcomers. Tenganan's leadership rests in the hands of an oligarchy of "core villagers" who consider themselves to be the descendants of the ten founding families, and who share their political power (through seniority-based hierarchies) and land-based wealth (through "core village" endogamy and bilateral inheritance). Bugbug's political organization is dominated by two *Bendesa* clans (*dadia*) who form a small elite group which patterns its behavior after Bali's high-caste *triwangsa* groups. In contrast to

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Tenganan, where the *krama desa* (village council) acts as the highest socio-religious authority, organized exclusively according to seniority-based ranked positions, Bugbug's *adat* structure is dominated by this small hereditary elite which holds exclusive rights to its top positions and which has socio-religious ties which reach beyond the village.

In addition to these internal structural differences which have emerged over time from the underlying, shared Old-Balinese pattern rooted in communal land tenure and gerontocratic socio-political control, both villages also differ in their articulation to the *mandala* network that interconnects Old-Balinese villages of the area through social, religious, and economic ties (see Chapter Three). Located at the center of this network, Tenganan concentrates economic and religious power. Bugbug is one of the eight villages (*desa adat*) which together form the network's periphery. (As described in Chapter Three, Bugbug, in addition, forms the center of another ritual network focused on *Pura Gumang*.) Arising from their differential articulation within this regional inter-village alliance, two contrastive power systems (which involve different forms of land tenure and different kinship and ranking systems) have evolved over time. In the case of Tenganan, a privileged community of landowners has the religious mission of keeping Bali's legendary Hindu community of the *wong paneges* alive. The underlying cultural theme which continues to animate this village's system of power is rooted in the Hindu *mandala* ideal of "a center which holds" and is translated into a cultural desire for stasis, permanence of tradition, and the careful control of all change. By contrast, Bugbug, a community

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which in the past had to struggle for its economic survival, and which occupies a peripheral position within the inter-village network and the regional economy, fosters a cultural climate desirous of change and challenging to the status quo.

When tourism came on the scene, it generated quite different outcomes in the two village environments. The most critical contrasts lay in the scale of the development and the degree of local control. As we have seen, in the case of Tenganan, tourism entered the village decades ago (even though on a very small scale) and increased gradually but steadily over the years. Yet its impact has remained diffused as this new source of economic wealth trickled in relatively slowly and is widely distributed throughout the whole community. Moreover, large-scale developers and outside entrepreneurs were kept out by the village's strong system of boundary maintenance, which allowed for the rise of a local entrepreneurial class with no previous experience of tourism. In addition, Tenganan's strong traditional village institutions have maintained a relatively large degree of local control over tourism revenues and village development (despite the fact that their power is eroding through increasing bureaucratization). As much as tourism has shaped Tenganan, the Tenganese, in return, have become skilled in shaping tourism in ways to make it suit their community's unique social structure and economic needs. Traditional *adat* mechanisms have filtered and dampened the impact of tourism as they place limitations on the direction of change and provide a mechanism for local empowerment which

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allows the village, at least to some extent, to assert its interests and its cultural identity within the provincial political sphere.

By contrast, the impact of tourism on Bugbug has been sudden, massive, and directed by outside large-scale developers. A huge amount of capital was injected suddenly into the community. But only a small segment of the population (a select group of the village elite as well as a small number of families who owned land in the Bias Putih area) profited directly from this new resource. Economic and social differentiation between those who gained access to and control over this new wealth and those who were excluded has increased. This uneven distribution of capital has led to internal tensions, factionalism and shifting alliances which involve the local village elite as well as outside private and governmental institutions. Apart from the land contract, Bugbug does not profit from tourism because, unlike Tenganan, it is not included in the itineraries of tour operators (there are, however, a few Bugbug residents who live in the Denpasar area and work in the hotel sector).

As we have seen, Bugbug's power holders (an alliance between members of the hereditary elite and a small group of influential individuals who tend to be well educated and well connected to the regional bureaucratic structure) were able to gain even greater political and economic influence through the management of a huge fund of communally-owned capital derived from the hotel contract. Unlike Tenganan's strong *adat* structure which continues to set boundaries to the processes of change and modernization, Bugbug's *adat* system had already undergone

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many changes prior to the arrival of tourism (see Chapter Three). The power and influence of the ancient seniority-based village hierarchies had already gradually eroded. In part these changes were due to local shifts in power (e.g., the hereditary elite dominating the top positions in the village council); in part they were government-sponsored (e.g., the splitting-up of the former village council into three separate *adat* institutions, facilitating the consolidation of power and the infiltration of the *dinas* structure into the *adat* system, as described in Chapter Three).

Finally, both villages also differ in their articulation to the national and provincial spheres of power. While Tenganan has been singled out by the government on the basis of its unique cultural tradition as "*desa wisata*" (official "tourist village") and model "Bali Aga" community to be marketed as a living museum of Bali's ancient past by the tourism industry, Bugbug, an over-populated village with much more limited material resources prior to the land contract and located in one of Bali's less developed, peripheral regions, could claim no such special privilege. Yet, this has changed since Bugbug has become, in local perception, "the richest village in the region" with a leadership which has a strong desire for attracting the government's attention through its development- and modernization-oriented political agenda. Today Tenganan's identity is rooted in Bali's distant mythological Hindu past, and government programs aim at museumizing it as a "model traditional Balinese village." Bugbug's identity (despite its equally ancient historical foundations) is firmly anchored in the present as the village

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seeks to transform itself into a "model modern Balinese village." Both communities have used tourism to construct these two very different visions of their past, present and future.

(Re)constructing Identity through Tourism: Contrasts in Village Discourse in Tenganan and Bugbug

There are also marked differences between Bugbug and Tenganan in the discourse which surrounds the issues of tourism, village development, and the role of tradition in the process of change. While each community considers the other as a "sibling village" (*desa saudara*), their ties of inter-village alliance do not preclude a certain friendly rivalry and competition. In particular, the villagers of Bugbug have always looked at Tenganan with a certain feeling of jealousy over its economic wealth, its unwavering sense of tradition, and its spiritual power. Now, the people of Bugbug feel, the tides have changed. Finally Bugbug can proudly show off its own cunning sense of "business" as it has outwitted clever, international developers. Transforming itself into an enviable example of a prosperous, clean, and modern Balinese community, it can be a "model village" held up by government authorities as a shining example to be emulated by other villages. Residents of Bugbug believe that now it is their community rather than Tenganan, which Balinese look upon with jealous admiration. One of the older generation of Bugbug residents expresses his sentiments of new found village pride as follows:

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> Since the Bias Putih land contract was signed, there have been many development projects carried out by the village of Bugbug. The temples were repaired, the streets were improved, and clean water was brought to the village. One billion rupiah [approximately $550,000] were spent by the village to buy new temple land near Timbrah and Bungaya. This year the village even received a bonus of 20 million rupiah [approximately $11,000] from the bank in addition to the yearly interests. Tenganan has lost the game because it does not want to change! Here in Bugbug, the *Bale Agung* [one of the three great village temples where the members of the village council hold their ceremonial meetings] has been restored. Beton was used for the restoration because it lasts longer. Now, the new *Bale Agung* is much better than the old one which was built with traditional materials. These are all good changes. "*Kebersihan*" [Indon. "hygiene, cleanliness"] and "*kesehatan*" [Indon. "health"] have been improved in the village. Because of all these changes, the village's power [*wibawa*] is now much stronger than before.

When asked if he felt that these changes had influenced Bugbug's tradition and *adat* (customary law), he answered:

> The process of change in Bugbug, in my view, is going in the right direction. In order for change to be positive, *tri hita karana* [the Hindu principle, which is now played up in the rhetoric of government and religious officials, is based on the harmonious relationship between gods, people, and environment, my insertion] has to be respected. Bugbug has done that. Therefore, the foundation of change in Bugbug is good. Some parts of the *awig-awig* [village constitution based on traditional village law] had to be modified in order to accomodate modern development. In Bugbug, the *awig-awig* was put into written form only after the Bias Putih contract was signed. The government hopes that the *adat* will not be influenced by tourism and by foreigners, and that our culture will remain strong. Government and religious agencies try to educate young people so that they are not too much affected by Westernization. The village will also help to revitalize those aspects of tradition which can be used for tourism. For example, Bugbug's *sanghyang* ceremonies [exorcistic rituals which envolve trance; e.g., Belo 1960:201-225; De Zoete and Spies 1973:67-85] can be marketed for tourism. Also, I was active in standardizing the traditional clothing [Indon. *pakaian adat*][worn by the members of the various *adat*

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> institutions, my insertion]. I also hope that Bugbug will use more gold in the headdresses of the *rejang dancers* [in contrast to Tenganan and Asak where dancers wear elaborate headdresses of gold flowers, the young girls in Bugbug traditionally use a headdress made of real flowers] and golden *prada* cloth [this heavily ornamented cloth was not used traditionally by Bugbug's *rejang* dancers; it is highly popular with dancers of Bali's former court centers and those who now perform for tourist audiences, my insertion].

Without any prompting on my part, at the end of this conversation he offered a comparison between Bugbug and Tenganan which he sees as overly traditional, untidy, and out of touch with modern times. His remarks, however, also reveal a certain envious admiration for Tenganan's self-assured, unwavering sense of tradition:

> Tenganan is a rich village, but it is behind the times. Bugbug's appearance [Indon. *wajah* = face] is very different. Bugbug now, after all the improvements we have done, looks more beautiful than Tenganan. Tenganan does not appear clean and neat like Bugbug. In Tenganan, there is still the dung of water buffaloes on the streets. Also, Tenganan's *Bale Agung* looks so simple, with no ornamentation, and untidy. Its foundation is made of natural stones, not of cement like in Bugbug. And when Tenganan recently got money from the government to fix the village streets, they did not even want to use asphalt, but instead just used rough stones which, again, look very old-fashioned and untidy. Tenganan has its story of how it got rich [alluding to the horse story, see Chapters Two and Three], but now Bugbug also has a story of how it became wealthy. Bugbug got rich by renting barren, useless land for a high price. Now, if this is not an even better story!

By contrast, Tenganese who visited Bugbug were shocked to see some of the recent changes in the village, especially by the "modern" appearance of the Bale Agung where some of the tradtional building materials such as *"teratag"* stones and unbaked brick have been replaced by cement. In Tenganan, such a change would be unthinkable and con-

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sidered foolhardy because of feared divine wrath which would put the whole community at risk. By contrast, the people of Bugbug feel that recent changes have improved the village's spiritual power. As another Bugbug resident put it:

> In Bugbug, the recent changes have strengthened the village's power [*wibawa*]. Most important for the increase of power was that all the big village temples have been restored. Also, now there is more awareness [Indon. *kesadaran*] on the part of the population. This consciousness is created by the Parisada Hindu Dharma [Hindu religious organization with ties to the government] through religious education. In Bugbug, all places of worship should be improved. Now that all the temples are restored and clean, this shows that there is more concentration on spiritual matters than before. Now we can come closer to God. The new design of the temples and the Bale Agung is more elaborate. This is important for the village's power. Here is a big difference from Tenganan where places of worship should not be disturbed and should remain unchanged.

Another Bugbug informant offered a similar opinion. He believes that Bugbug's power is now "incredibly strong" because more money is now spent on both village development and ceremonies, and "because the ceremonies are now more organized" [Indon. *teratur*]. Indeed, Bugbug's village officials seem greatly influenced by the guidlines given by the Parisada Hindu Dharma (which is vigorously reforming and standardizing Balinese religious traditions [e.g., Bakker 1997:15-41]). For example, they have followed the wider Balinese practice of using loudspeakers and specially appointed officials to supervise and direct large ceremonial events. Another villager, in his 60s, agrees that Bugbug's power has increased with modernization, arguing that development has strengthened *adat*:

> Now at least the people are present at the *Krama Desa* meetings because now they receive a "salary" each time

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> they attend.[1] Also, people here now think more progessively. Our village leaders have already discussed which elements of Bugbug culture can be marketed for tourism, once the hotel is built. We hope that it will be soon that tourists will come to our village. This will bring more work and more money.

Both in Bugbug and Tenganan, village discussions are focused on *adat* and tradition. However, while in Tenganan development is seen as a potential danger to tradition and threat to the village's power, in Bugbug modernization is believed to increase the village's spiritual potency. In Bugbug, tradition itself is conceived as more situational and dynamic than in Tenganan (e.g., recent government-induced changes in the *awig-awig* [village constitution] have stirred little local opposition, while Tenganan has been steadfast in its rejection of such government-induced revisions). In Tenganan, tourism is seen as beneficial only as long as it does not interfere too much with local tradition. By contrast, in Bugbug tourism is widely seen as a powerful incentive to remodel village tradition in order to "harmonize" it with processes of modern development. As one Bugbug resident, in his early 40s, remarked:

> People here are interested in the opinion of tourists. What tourists find good about our tradition we will preserve, and what tourists find bad, we will change.

In contrast to Tenganan, where the staging of any of Tenganan's ceremonies for tourist audiences is unthinkable and would not be tolerated by the village council and the population at large (see Chapter Seven), in Bugbug the staging of certain ceremonial events is considered less controversial. Even Bugbug's most tradition-minded resi-

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dents are not opposed to the idea of commercializing certain aspects of their religious traditions, as these remarks of an older villager illustrate:

> I do hope that the *desa* ceremonies [referring to the big communal rituals in which all villagers participate] will not be staged for tourists. Also the sacred orchestras, the *selonding* and *gambang*, should not be used for tourist performances. Most of the people here agree with me on this. But there are other ceremonies which can be staged, such as the *sanghyang jaran* [an exorcistic trance ceremony during which the participants assume the behavior of a horse]. Such ceremonies have already been performed for tourists in Bali. Balinese and tourists alike can hire a *sanghyang* troupe. These performances were always given by special order. It does not matter whether it is Balinese or tourists who order them. [The village is now trying to revive these old traditions and to reinstate these troupes specifically for commercial purposes].

In Tenganan, where all ceremonies are considered sacred (i.e., they cannot be lifted out of their ritual context of time and space), such views would be difficult to reconcile. Most Tenganese see the biggest threat to their culture as coming from rising materialism within the community itself. One Tenganese expresses sentiments which are widespread within the community when he places the benefits and costs of tourism into perspective:

> Tourism has brought many economic advantages to the people here. This is positive. However, these benefits come with a price. Higher income has increased materialistic thinking among the people here. This has a negative effect on the power [*wibawa*] of the village. Thinking about money affects the purity and sacredness of the village [*kesucian desa*] in a negative way. Therefore a positive change can become negative if people forget their traditional values. The power of the village depends on a strong sense of communal spirit and selfless service to the community. This is our real strength, not materialistic things.

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In Tenganan, concerns over purity and sacredness continue to loom large in village discourse on tourism. As one older Tenganese remarked:

> Tourism does interfere with the sanctity and purity of the village, whether we like it or not. Tourists step into sacred spaces, so automatically the power lessens. For example, pregnant women are not allowed to enter the *Subak Daha* [meeting house of the members of the girls' organizations, see Chapter Two], yet pregnant tourists might enter. Tenganan's oldest temples are off-limits to outsiders, even to the people of Banjar Pande. Yet, tourists might inadvertently enter and pollute these holy places. They also might witness secret ceremonies [generally, tourists are politely asked to leave during such moments, my insertion]. Sacred music pieces have been recorded [even though it is strictly forbidden by village tradition for these melodies to be heard outside the four gates, my insertion] and are now used at the Art Festival in Denpasar, and to greet government officials when they come to the village. In the olden days, before the "*waktu Jepang*" [referring to the years of Japanese occupation from 1942-46], each time after Muslims or tourists had come to Tenganan, the streets were swept clean and a cockfight was held in order to purify the village. Before, people also were afraid that the exhaust fumes from airplanes would pollute the gods. Today, our ideas about pollution have already changed a lot. But the gods are not happy and have already expressed their discontent, but the people don't listen.

Even though the Tenganese have adapted in many ways to the presence of tourists, concerns about pollution remain strong and express the underlying fear that changes now happen so fast and are so pervasive that they can no longer be controlled. Changes which in Bugbug seem to stir little controversy, are still unthinkable in Tenganan, especially if they concern the village's structure and ceremonies. As one Tenganese reminds us:

> The meaning of Tenganan is the "*jaga satru*" [the four directional village gates, often used as euphemism for

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> the village's *mandala* layout] which were given to us by Betara Indra. Betara Indra also gave Tenganan the plan according to which the village and the houseyards were constructed. And it was Betara Indra who bestowed on us the *geringsing* and our temples. Their meaning has not changed for the people here. Entering the gate of Tenganan means entering a temple [referring to the fact that all space within the four gates is considered as sacred in Tenganan, see Chapter Two]. We must make sure that tourists understand and respect this and that they dress and behave accordingly.

Ideas like the ones expressed above, have deeply influenced the Tenganese sense of identity and their purpose in life, which (at least for most members of the older generation) continues to be centered around the preservation of village tradition (in both its physical and non-physical aspects) for future generations. Thus tourism and development are generally considered as beneficial only as long as they do not challenge directly these cultural ideals. By contrast, in Bugbug tourism has become an effective strategy for challenging the status quo through vigorous modernization. While Tenganese tend to be somewhat perplexed (if not shocked) about Bugbug's recent "nouveau-riche" appearance, Bugbug's residents take pride in these changes which have -- in their view -- transformed their village into a "clean" and "modern" model village. Most Tenganese believe that their village's social and spatial order is the embodiment of cosmological perfection; there is therefore little need for change as it would only diminish their village's power. As in traditional Luwu society described by Errington, the Tenganese conceive order as an arrangement of static, potent places. Movement and change, unless they are perfectly controlled and balanced, are disturbances and a danger to this cosmic and social balance of forces (Errington

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1989:134-135). In the Tenganese, as in the Luwu worldview, "order is perfectly stationary, perfectly immobile, perfectly potent" (ibid.:135). While Tenganan's cultural ideal continues to be focused on "the centering and preservation of power" through "stasis," Bugbug's political aspirations are grounded in the "acquisition of power" and in challenging "stasis" through dynamic change in the form of vigorous development. Bugbug's residents tend to see Tenganan as hopelessly old-fashioned and steeped in anachronistic traditions, although they continue to secretly view it also with a certain envious admiration as a still powerful village-center which can afford to exhibit a certain degree of aloofness toward materialism and modernization.

The differences between the Tenganan and Bugbug approaches to tourism and change seem striking at first. After all, both villages have ancient historical roots, an Old-Balinese social structure, and are located within the same geographical region. When viewed from the perspective of the *mandala* worldview of a static center and a dynamic periphery (e.g., Errington 1989, Tambiah 1977), however, these differences are less astonishing. Their contrastive approaches to change underline the important, mediating role which local systems of knowledge and power play in the process of globalization. The fact that two Old-Balinese "sibling" communities exhibit such different approaches to change illustrates the danger of generalizations about the perceived or real "impacts" of tourism and development on local communities. Instead, it brings out the need to view tourism and change as processes which proceed from within society and whose outcomes are determined by the

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complex interaction of multidirectional (and often ambiguous and contradictory) local, national, and global forces. These multidirectional "flows of power" both create and blur the boundaries between inside and outside, and between the global and the local.

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NOTES

Chapter Nine:

[1] That most villagers profess these views in public does not mean, however, that criticism is not voiced in private, or in the form of jokes. One such village joke, which is popular at the moment, offers a more critical commentary on recent inventions, such as the new "salary system" for *Krama Desa* officials:

> It is a pleasure of being a member of the *Krama Desa* nowadays. When you hear the *kulkul* [slit gong which is beaten to call the members to a meeting] calling a meeting, with the first beating you are reminded of getting coffee, with the second beating of getting cigarettes, with the third beating of getting "*nasi bungkus*" [a meal of rice with various vegetable and meat trimmings wrapped up in a banana leaf], and then, with the last beat of getting 10,000 rupiah. But, whenever there is a call for '*gotong royong*' [communal work projects], why don't the *Krama Desa* members also participate more eagerly?"

Some villagers also are disenchanted by the current competition to gain positions in the *adat* institutions and in the committees which deal with village development, as well as by the endless rumors over diversions of communal funds under the cover of development (regardless of whether they are justified or unjustified). Yet, such concerns are also often expressed not directly but in the disguised form of a joke or metaphor (e.g., the current situation is likened to a "horse dropping which is shiny and smooth on the outside but rotten and hot on the inside"). Underlying are the very real concerns that the power and the spirit of Bugbug's traditional village institutions (in which people not only worked for free but often even contributed out of their own pockets) is being seriously eroded by growing materialism and individualism.

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CONCLUSION

THE 'VILLAGE *MANDALA*': A SYMBOL OF EMPOWERMENT FOR OLD-BALINESE CULTURE

> The grasp for power may mean its loss and the withdrawal from power its acquisition.
>
> (Anderson 1990:67)

Like the closing circle of the *mandala* itself, at the end of this dissertation we return again to the beginning of our discussion, to some of the fundamental differences between Western and Southeast Asian conceptions of power. As Anderson reminds us, in contrast to the West, in Southeast Asia it is not through the instrumental use of force that absolute power becomes manifested, but through perfect stillness and control. As he points out in his essay on Javanese conceptions of power, true power lies not in the "doing of things" but in the "nondoing," and concentration of power is intimately linked to purity and centrality, while its dissolution and diffusion imply impurity and pollution (Anderson 1990:19ff). Southeast Asian states of the pre-colonial era which were modeled after the *mandala* worldview of graded centrality and power, all, sooner or later, had to succumb to political instability and eventual dissolution (e.g., Tambiah 1977). By contrast, Tenganan's village *mandala*, like the "sacred ring" communities of ancient Java (Pigeaud 1924, 1960; Robson 1995) which arose in counterpoint to *mandalic* state power, had never put forth any claims to political authority but instead focused on non-totalizing and apolitical aspirations, on the concentration rather than the instrumental use of power

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and potency. It has survived Bali's political upheavals throughout history, overcoming the hegemonic aspirations to totalizing power of the pre-colonial Hindu-Javanese rulers as well as the Dutch colonial state.

This adaptability to external circumstances does not mean, however, that Tenganan and its surrounding network of Old-Balinese villages is not vulnerable to the fundamental changes which have begun to affect Bali on a massive scale, as villages give way to urban development, as rice paddies are transformed into sprawling hotel complexes and golf courses, and as ancient village institutions are being slowly but persistently eroded under the massive guidance of the central state and the forces of international capitalism. Many of these changes, which occur in the name of development and modernization, are affecting East Bali's old villages at a time when they are beginning to claim their rightful place in Balinese society and anthropology as the "powerful" (in the Southeast Asian sense of the term) custodians of the island's vibrant cultural history.

As, in the course of my fieldwork, the resilience and complexity of this village network began to unfold, I was reminded of the "invisible powers" of Bali's ancient, yet elusive, networks of "water temples" which were only recently discovered and have been so eloquently described by Lansing (1987, 1991). Like these complex, regional networks which for centuries have managed Bali's productive relations based on the control of irrigation, Tenganan's village network is a system of power relations so subtle that it can be easily overlooked by development planners and bureaucrats. Based on a complex web of productive and

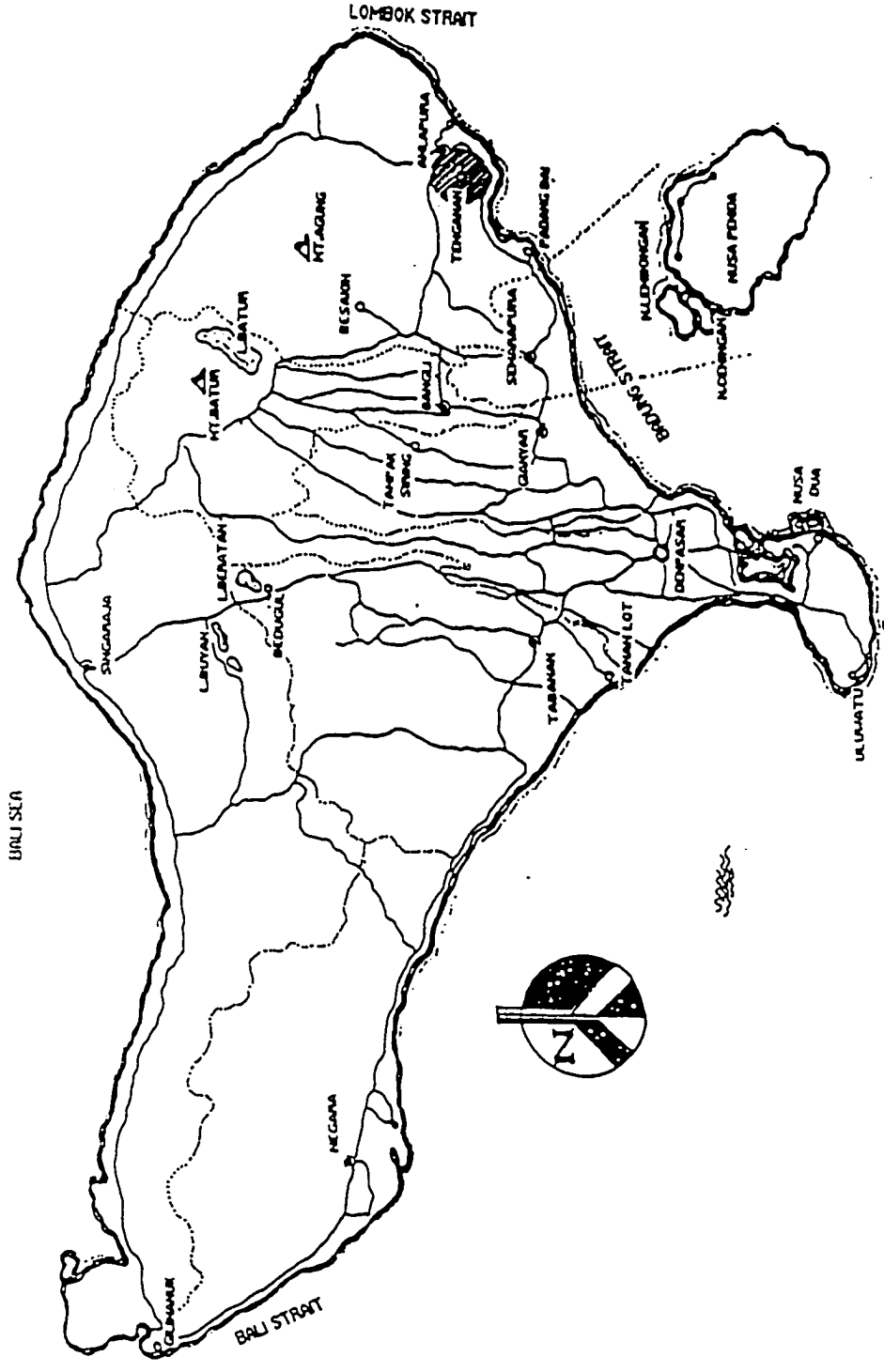
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spiritual relations which involves geographic, topographic, social, ritual, and economic elements, this "village *mandala*" is interlocked in "an ecology of collective representations" (a phrase borrowed from Wolf [1982:390]). Tampering -- even if done only with the best of intentions -- with but one aspect of it has wider repercussions which may irrevocably damage the complex patterns woven by these "threads of power." Like Tenganan's symbol of empowerment, the *geringsing* cloth, whose potency is unaffected by cuts or tears which may occur in the center, but whose powers are irretrievably lost once its side borders become damaged ever so slightly, Tenganan's "village *mandala*" may lose its power and resiliency once its supporting structure becomes undermined.

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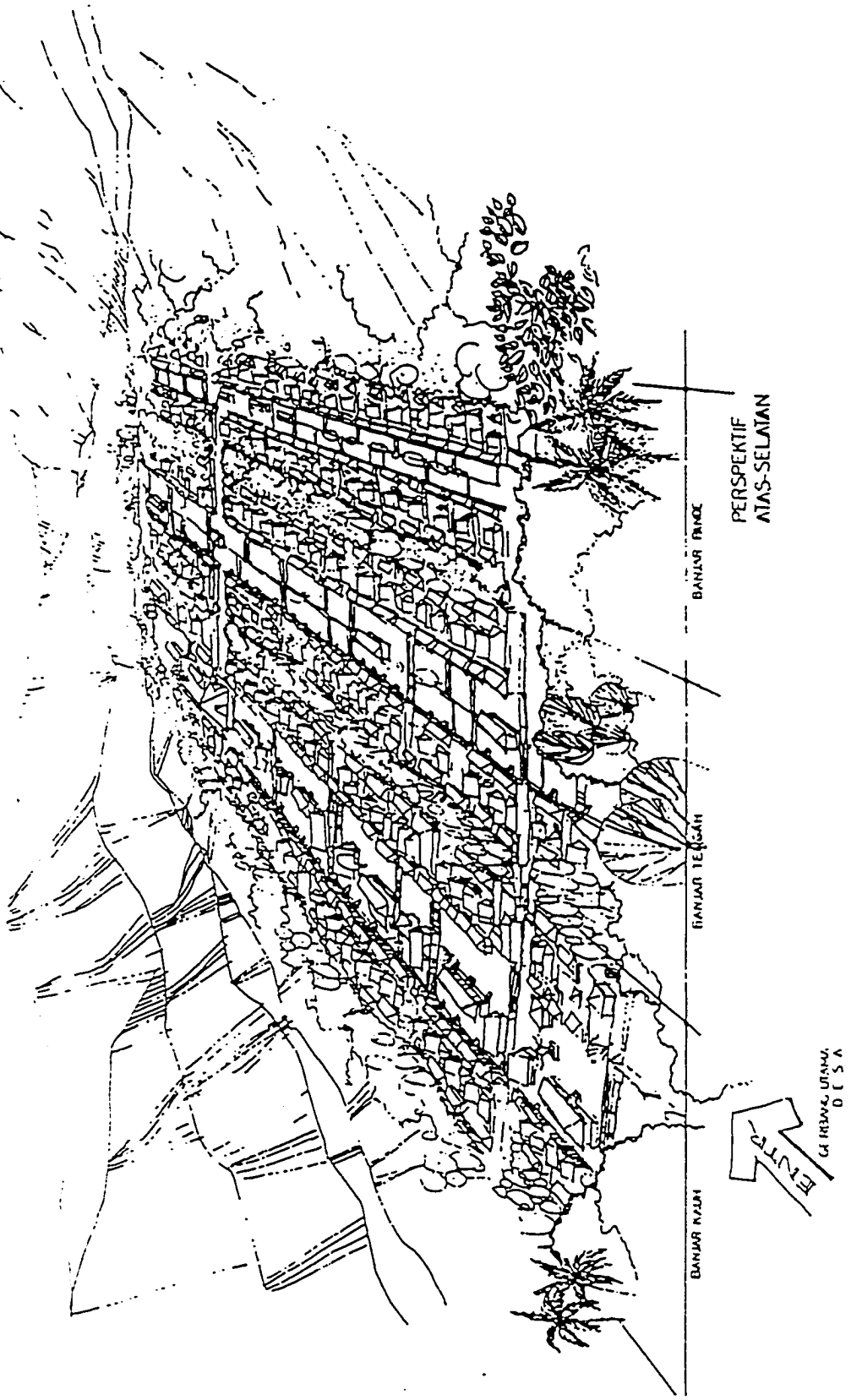
ILLUSTRATIONS

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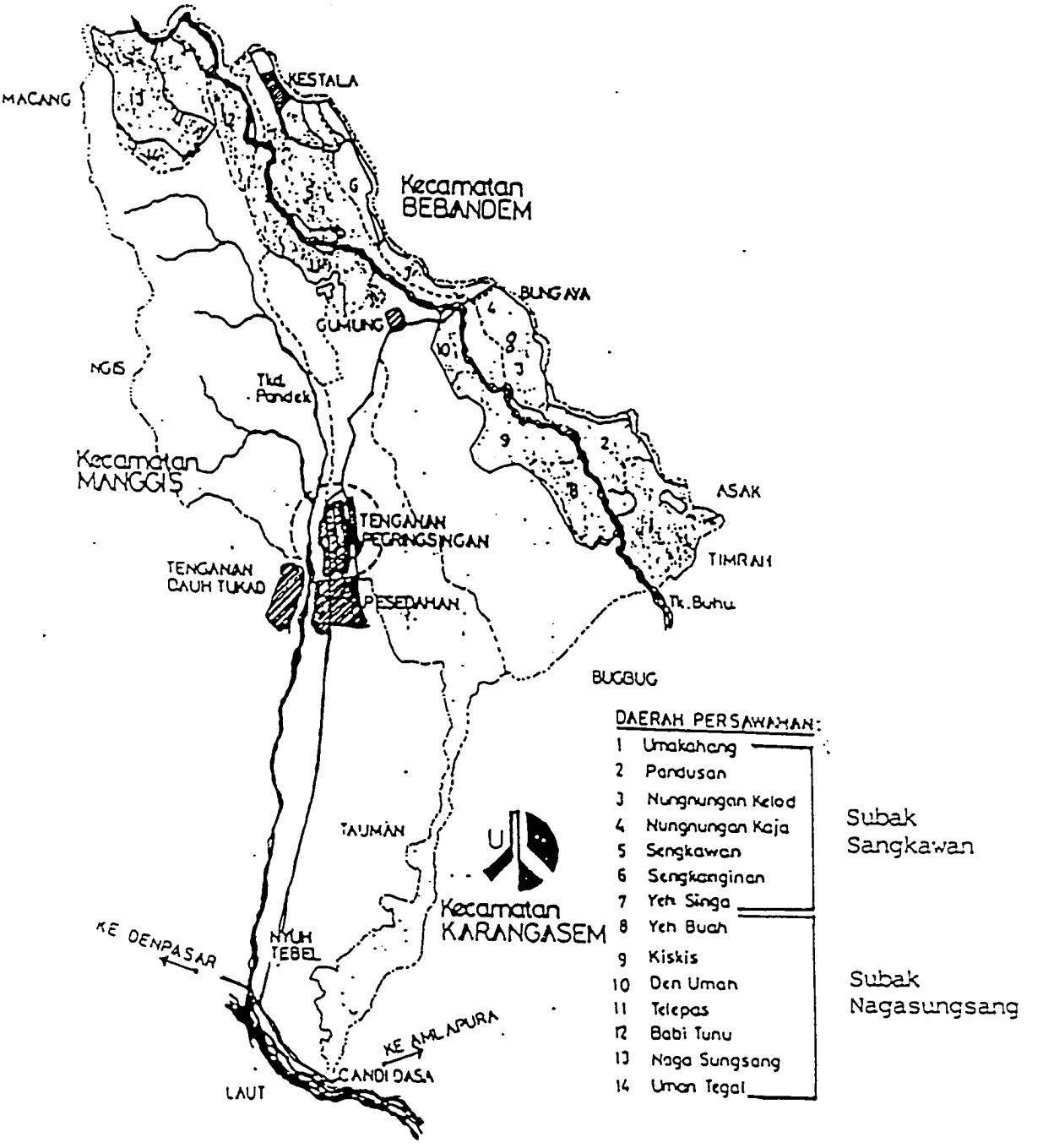
Map of Bali (drawing by Ir. I Nengah Sadri)

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Tenganan Pegringsingan (drawing by Ir. I Nengah Sadri)

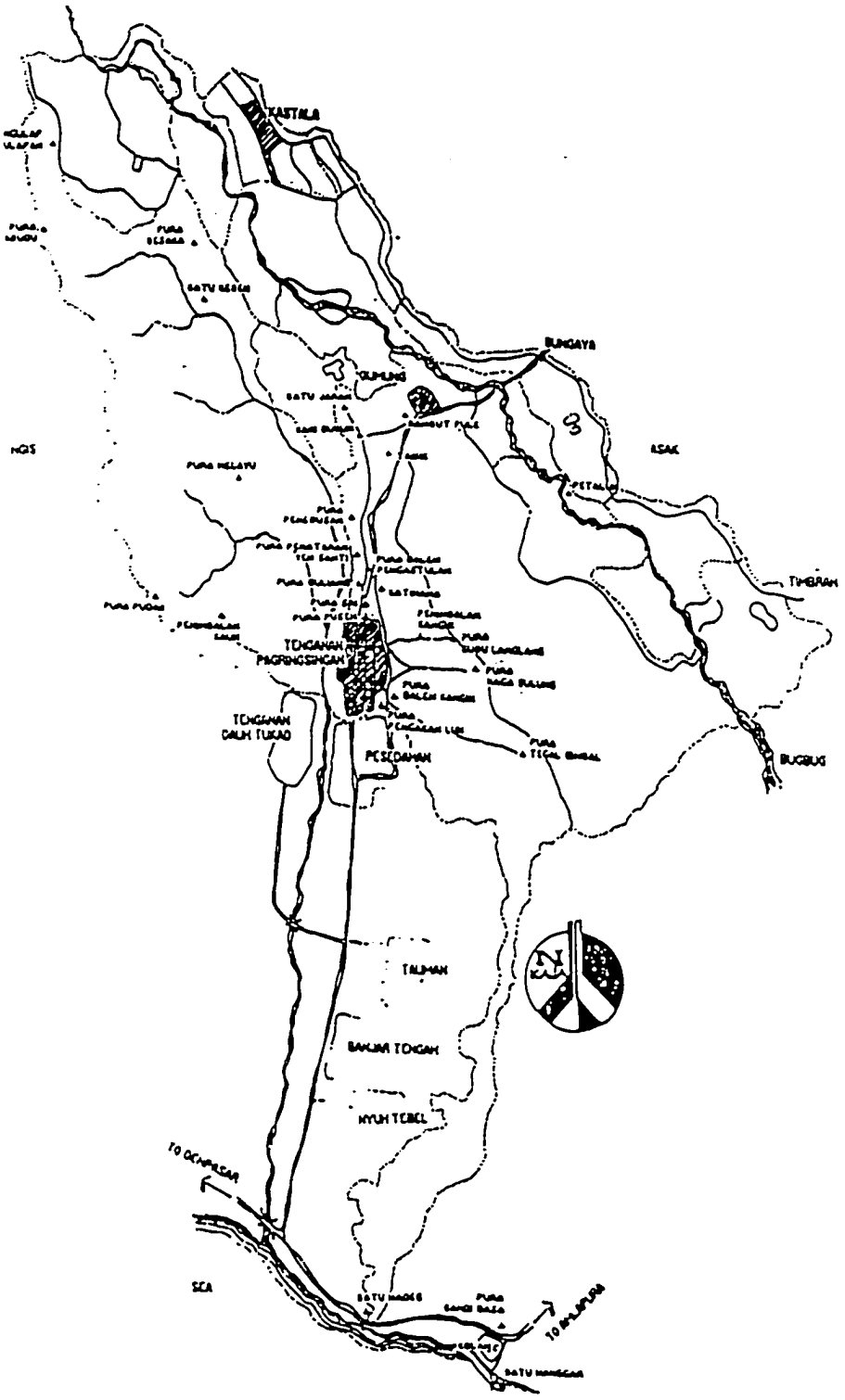
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PETA WILAYAH

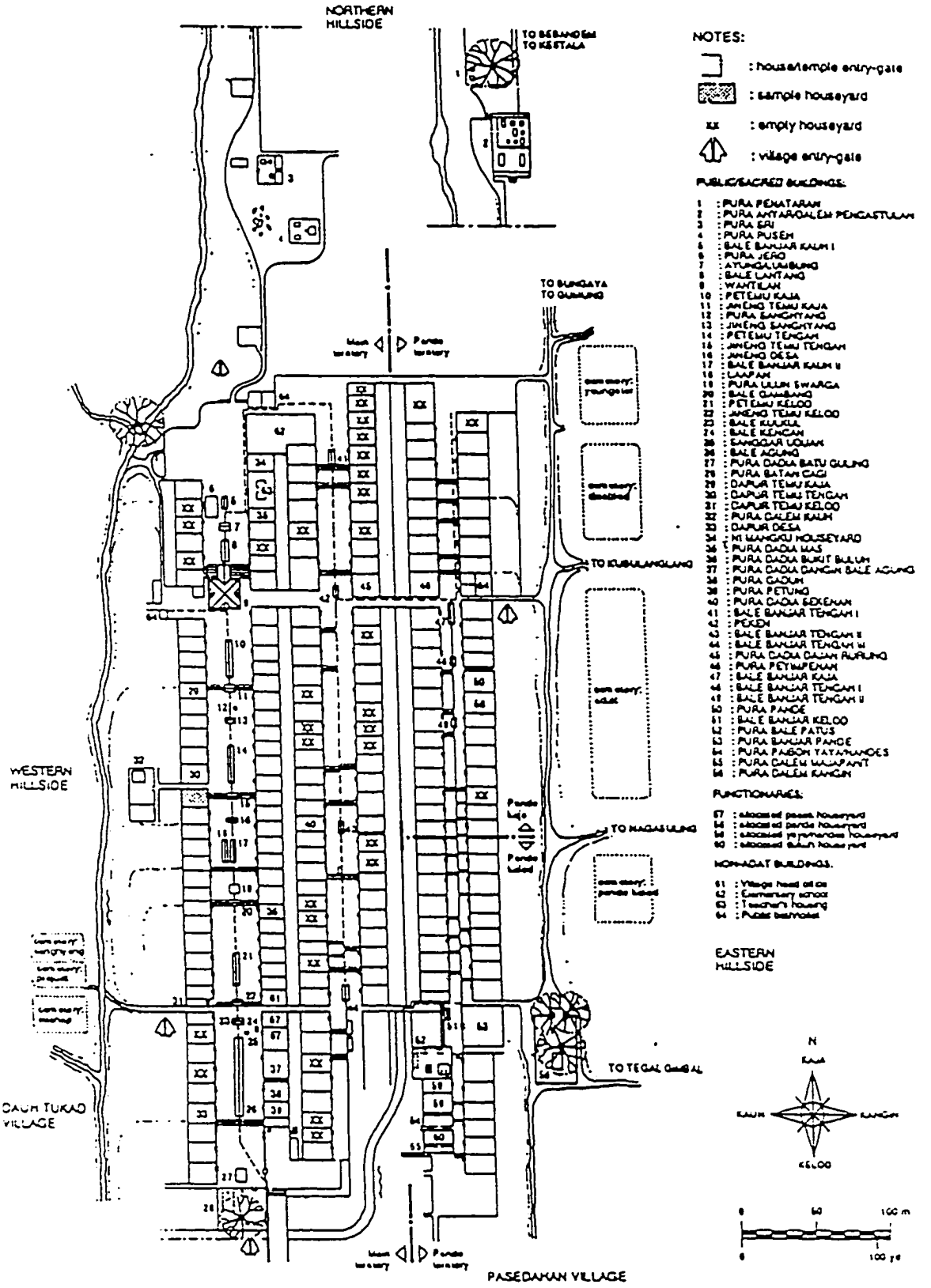
Map of Tenganan Territory (irrigated land is represented by shaded area) (drawing by Ir. I Nengah Sadri after Korn 1984 [1933], p. 308)

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Location of Temples within Tenganan Territory
(drawing by Ir. I Nengah Sadri)

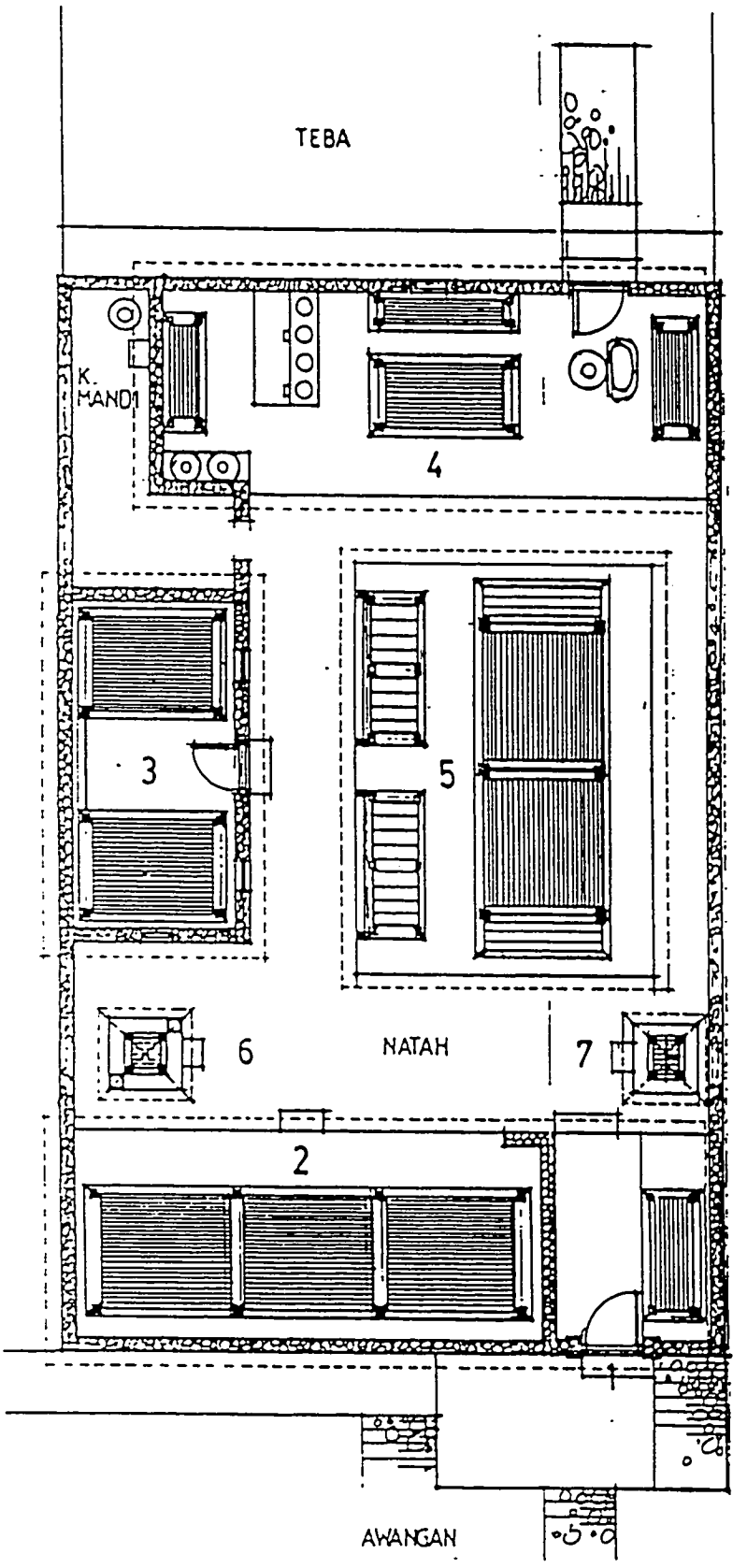
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Layout of Tenganan Pegringsingan (the drawing shows the arrangement of houseyards, public buildings, temples, and cemeteries)
Source: Sentosa 1994, figure 9

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APPENDIX B1

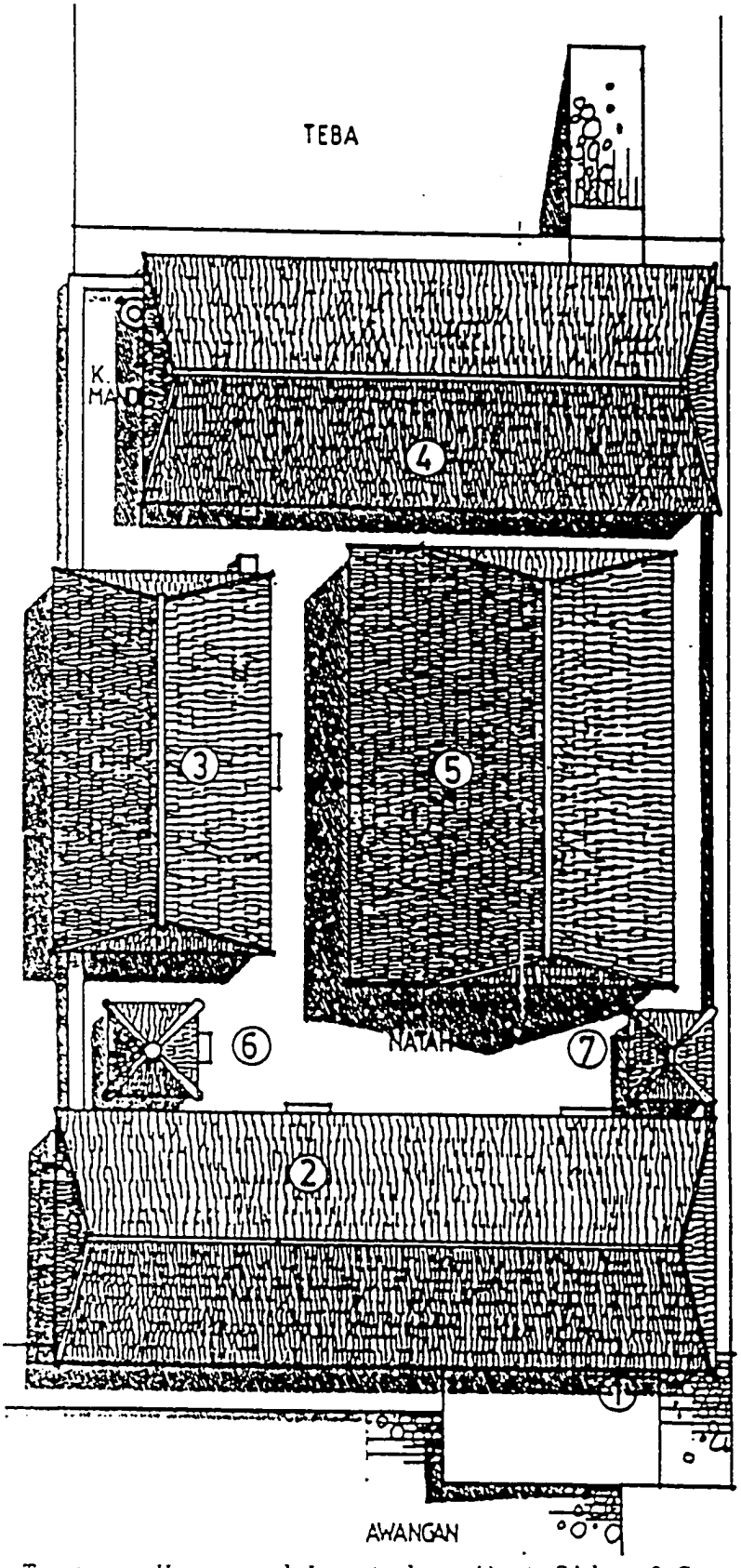


Remarks:

1. Jelanan Awang (entrance)
2. Bale Buga (ceremonial building)
3. Bale/Umah Meten
4. Paon (kitchen)
5. Bale Tengah
6. Sanggah Kelod/ Kemulan (house shrine)
7. Sanggah Kaja/ Pesimpangan (house shrine)

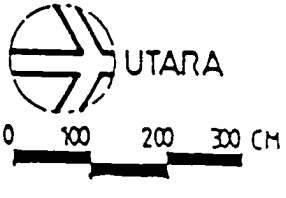
Layout of Tenganan Houseyard Located on West Side of Street
Source: Runa 1993, drawing IV.20

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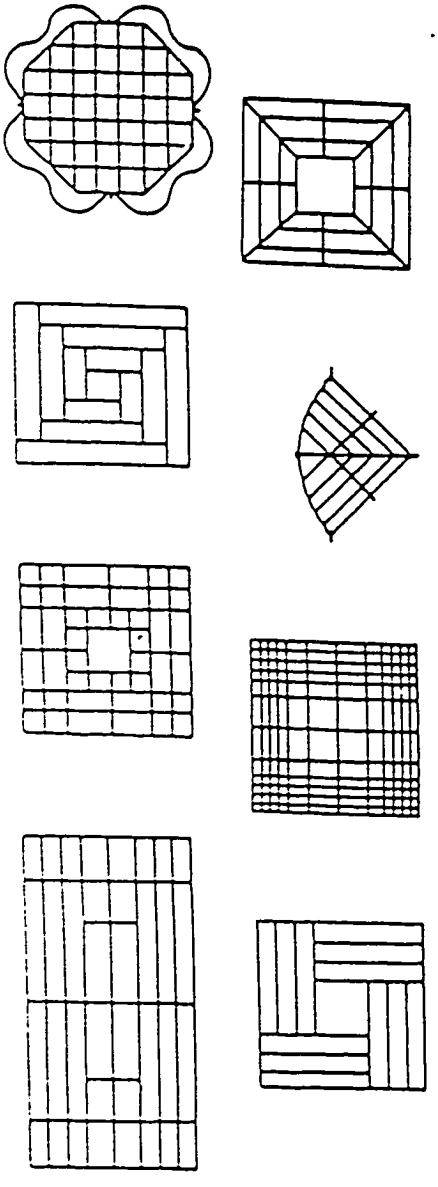
Remarks:

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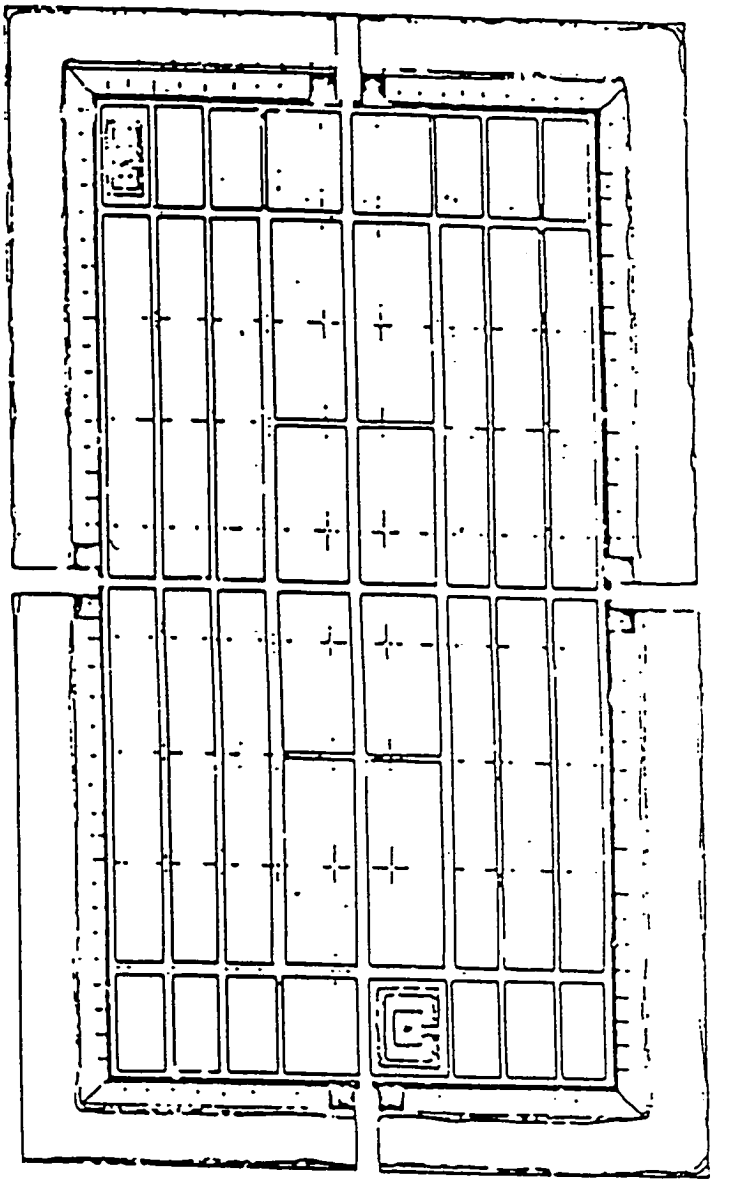


Tenganan Houseyard Located on West Side of Street
Source: Runa 1993, drawing IV.19

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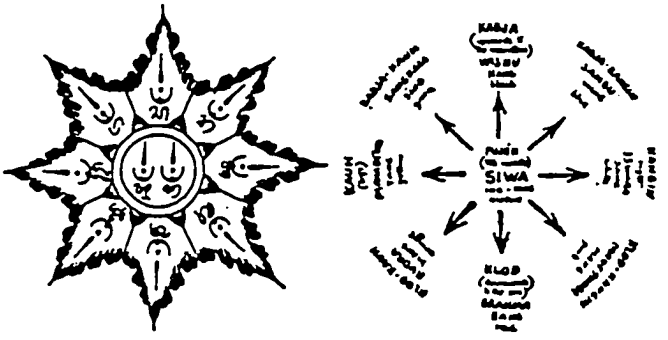
Eight *mandala* designs used for Hindu town planning



The *mandala dandaka* rectangular layout

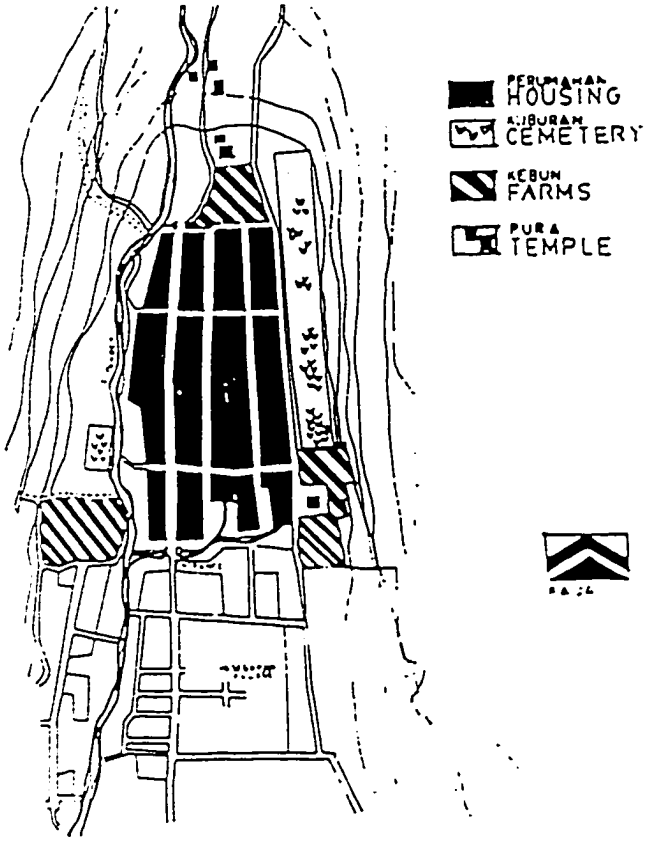
Source: Pieper 1977, p. 56

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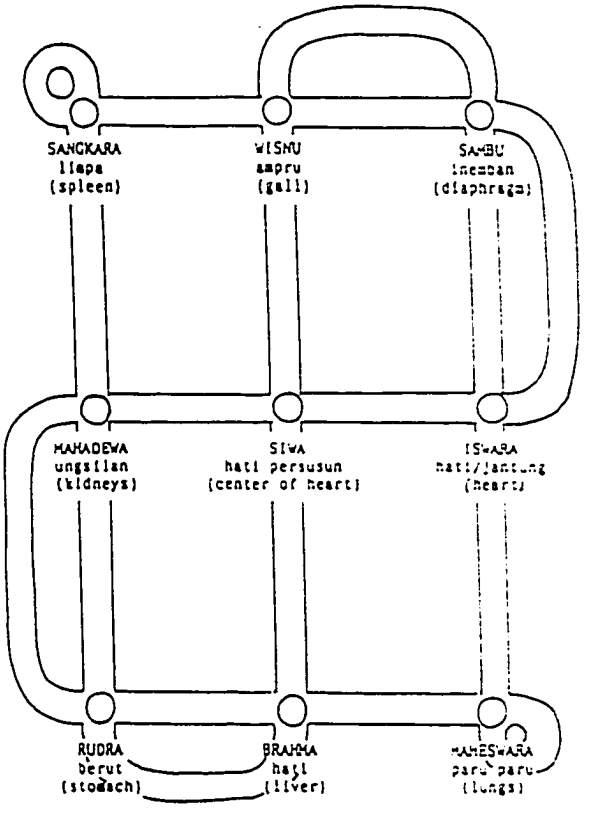


The Rose of the Winds, the *Nawa Sangga*, with the Cardinal Directions, Their Patron Gods, Their Corresponding Syllables, and the Colour of each

Source: Covarrubias 1937, p. 296



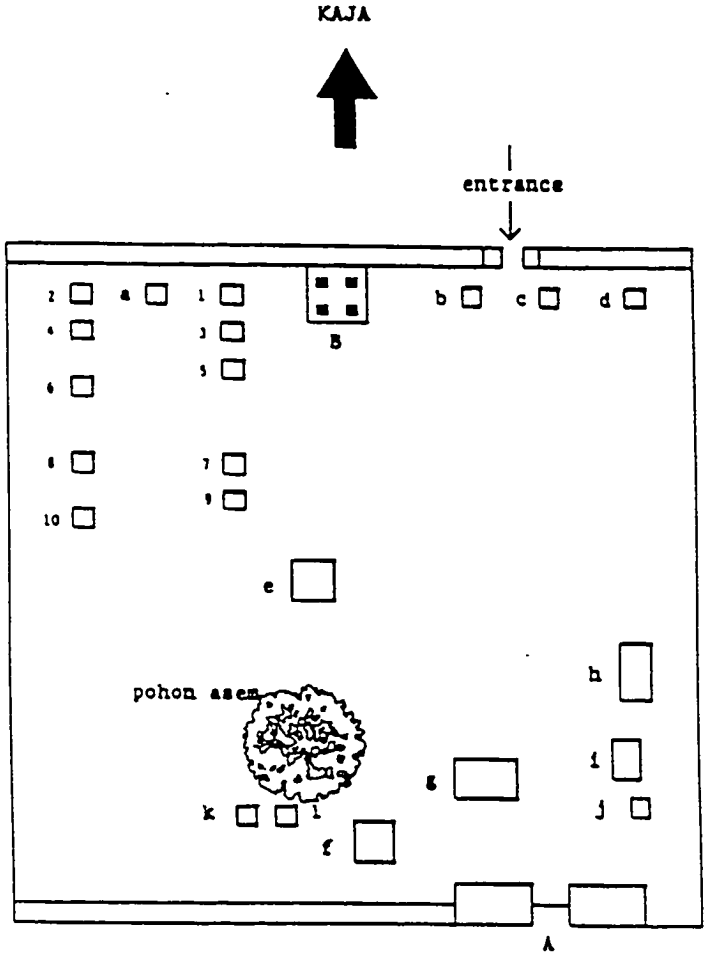
Actual village layout
Source: Budihardjo 1986 (fig. 13)



TENGANAN AS A MESOCOSM

Idealized layout of Tenganan as a *mandala* with the nine macrocosmic gods of the *nawa sanga* represented at the eight compass points and at the center, and their microcosmic correspondences in the human body
(after a drawing by a Tenganese healer)

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1. Sanghyang
2. Ijeng
3. Batuguling maga
4. Batuguling
5. Prajurit
6. Embak buluh
7. Pande besi
8. Pande mas
9. Pasek
10. Bendesa

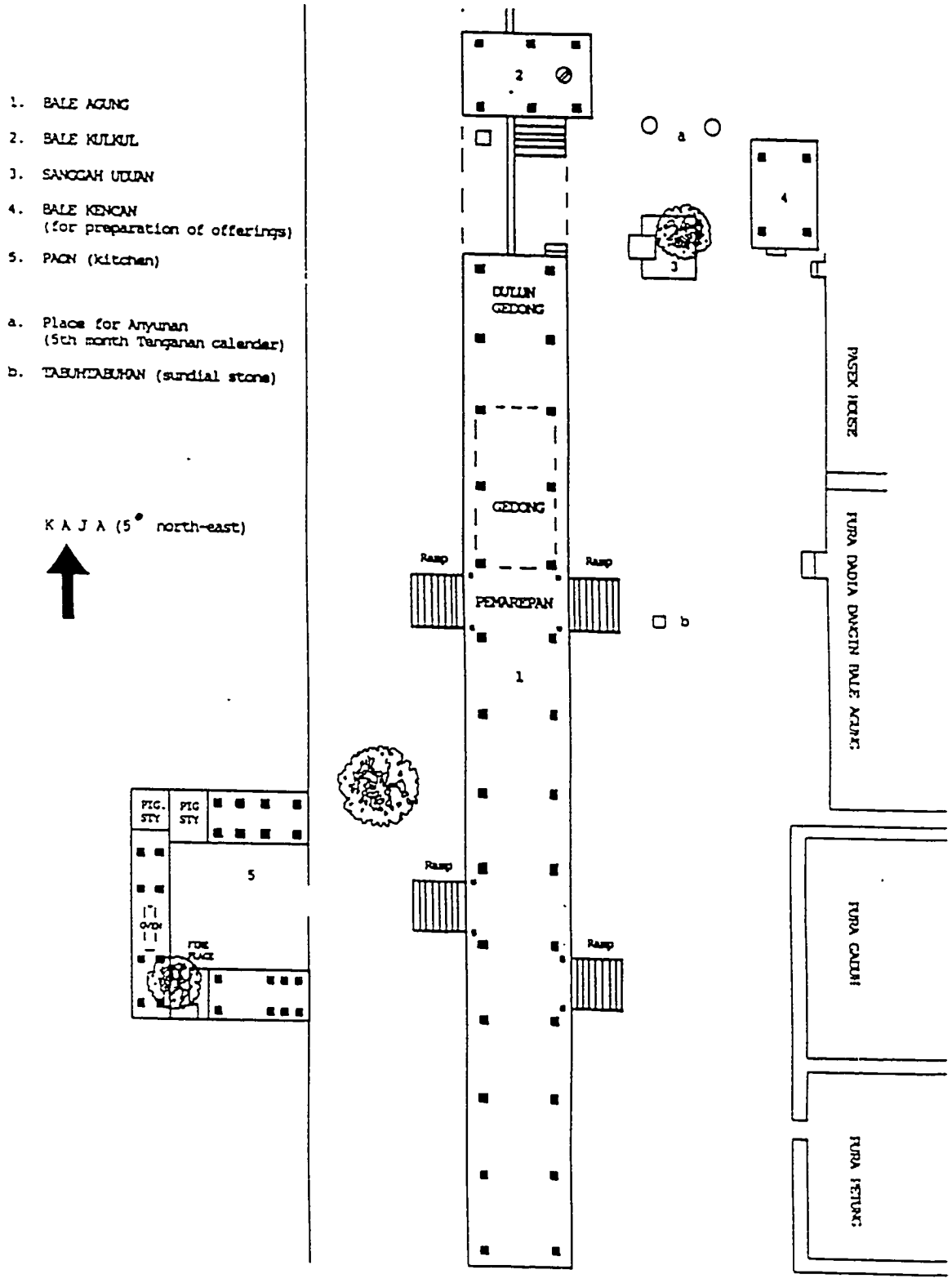
A. Lawangan (southern village gate)

B. Batara Penyarikan

a. Sanggah Mulanda (for Batara Indra)
b. unknown
c. Pura Paguntingan
d. Pura Dingdingai
e. unknown
f. Pura Pande (for invalids)
g. Pura Tengahing Segara
h. Pura Pakuwon
i. Pura Kehen
j. Pura Telaga
k. Pura Sumuh
l. Pura Celuk

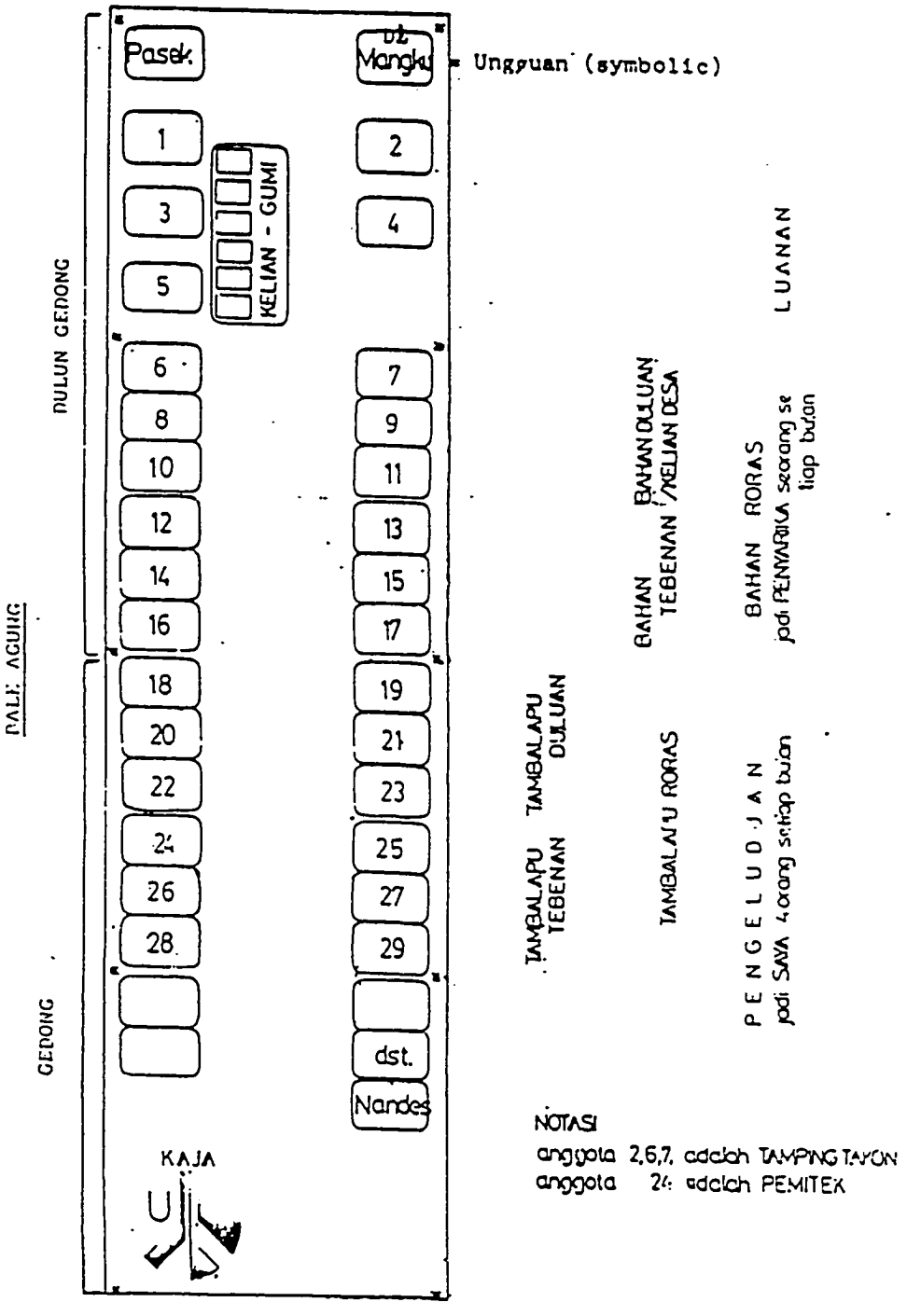
Layout of Pura Batan Cagi with the Stone Altars Representing God Indra and the Ten Founding Lineages
Source: Français 1989, p. 151 (after a drawing by Korn 1933, p. 39)

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The *Bale Agung* of the *Desa Adat* Tenganan Pegringsingan
Source: Français 1989, p. 154

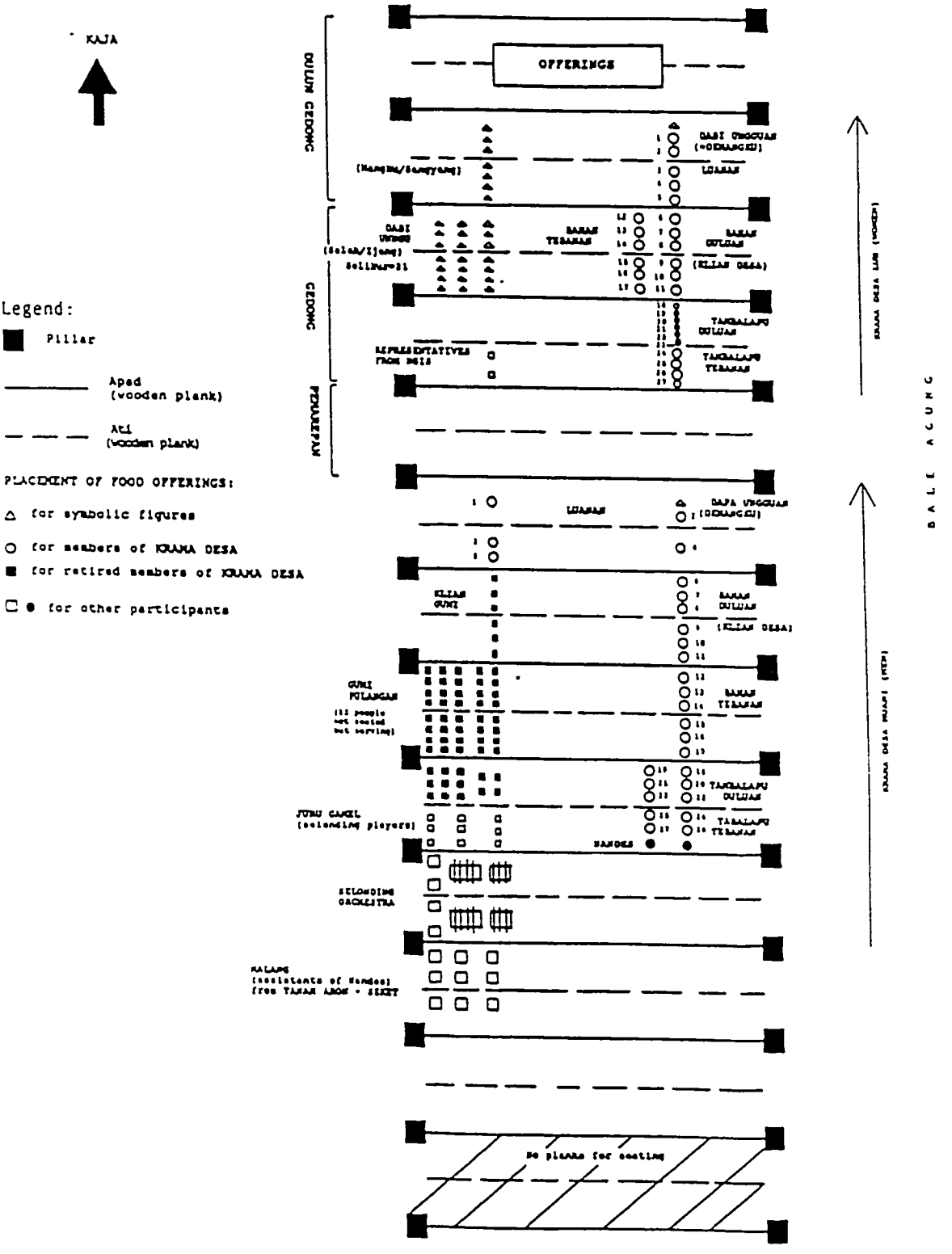
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The *Krama Desa* Seating Arrangement in the *Bale Agung* of Tenganan for *Pati Panten* (1. day of each month of Tenganan calendar)

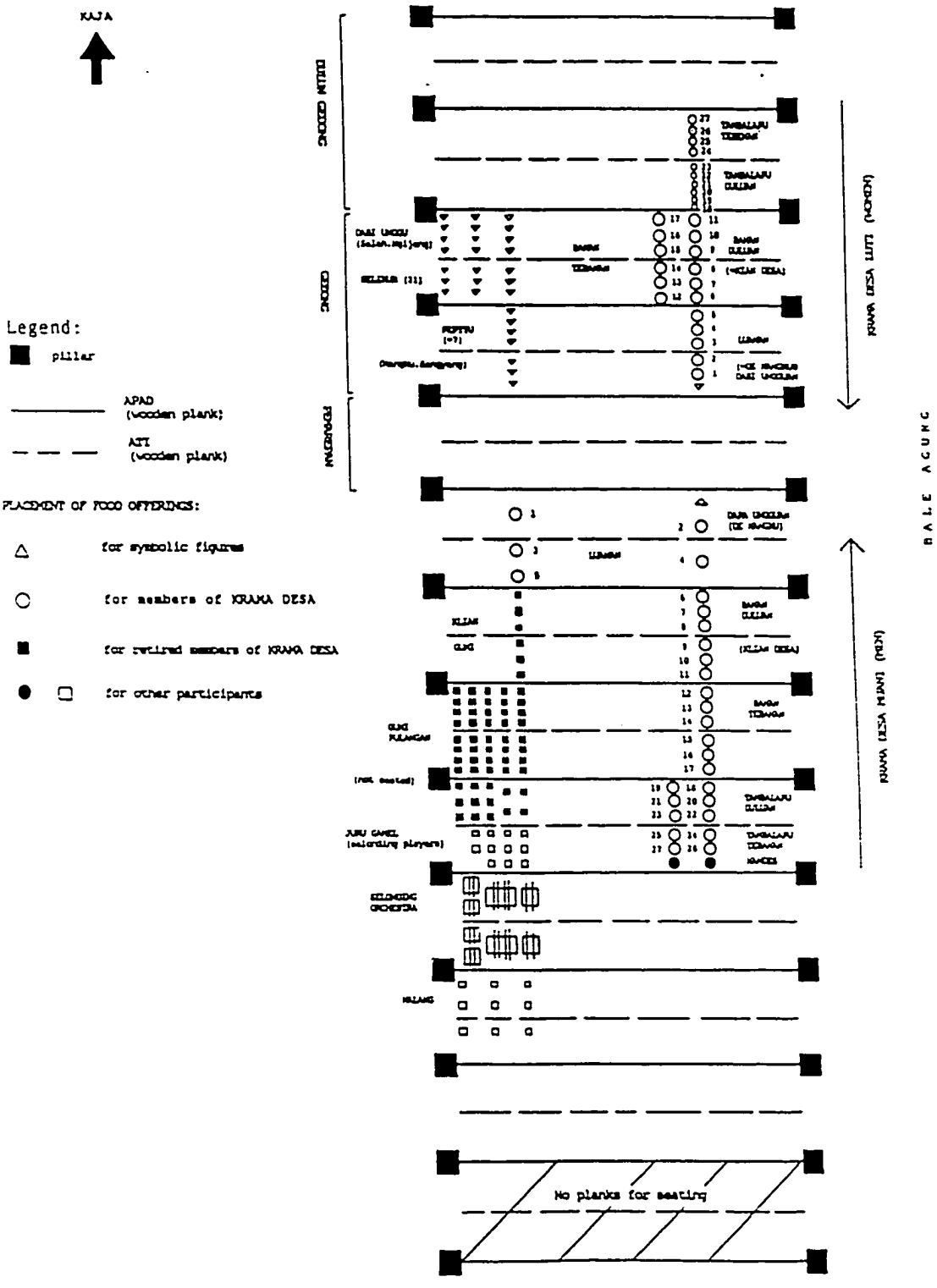
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APPENDIX E2



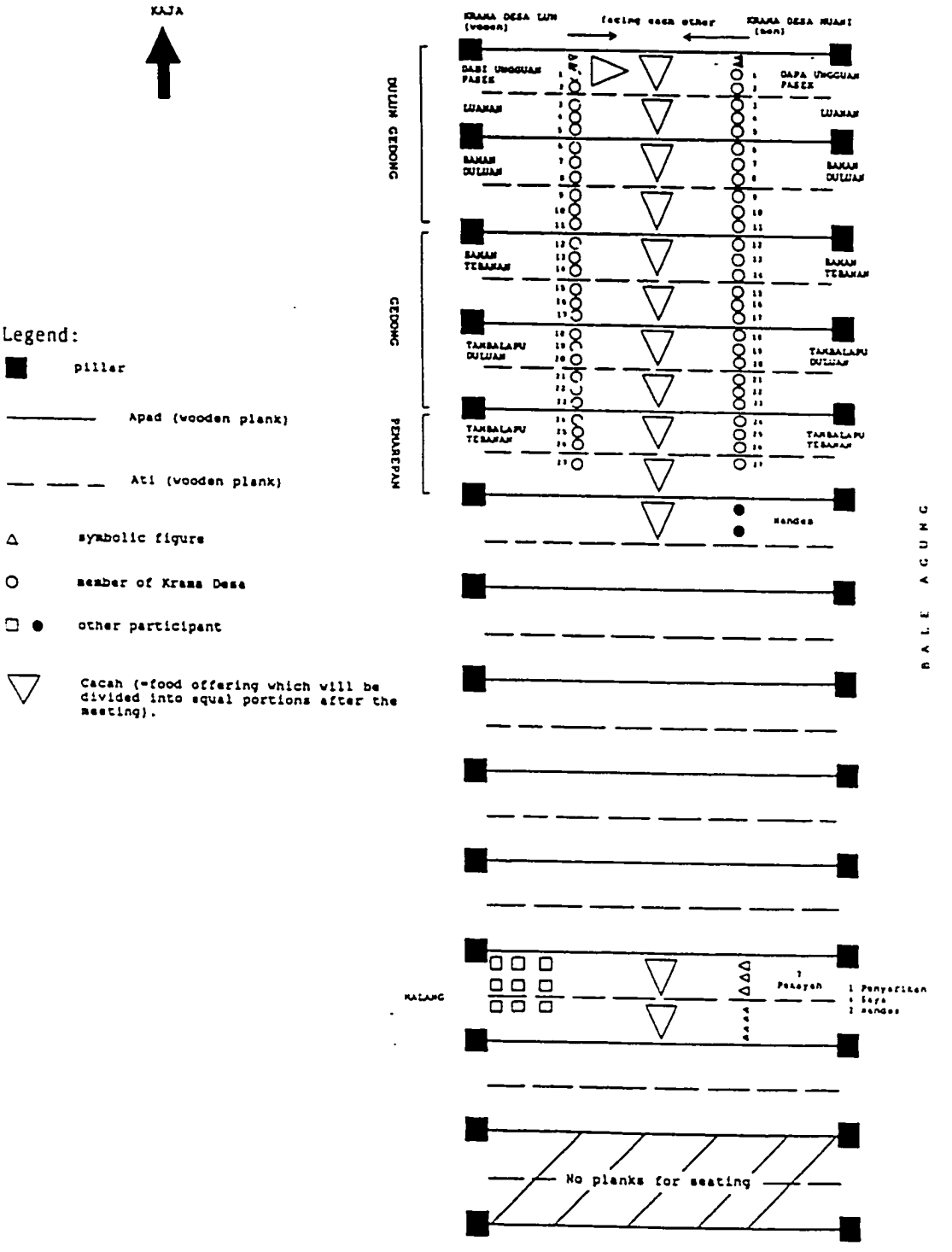
The *Krama Desa* Seating Arrangement in the *Bale Agung* of Tenganan for the *Mati Ombo Sanghyang* Ceremonies (5th month of Tenganan calendar)
Source: Français 1989, p. 160

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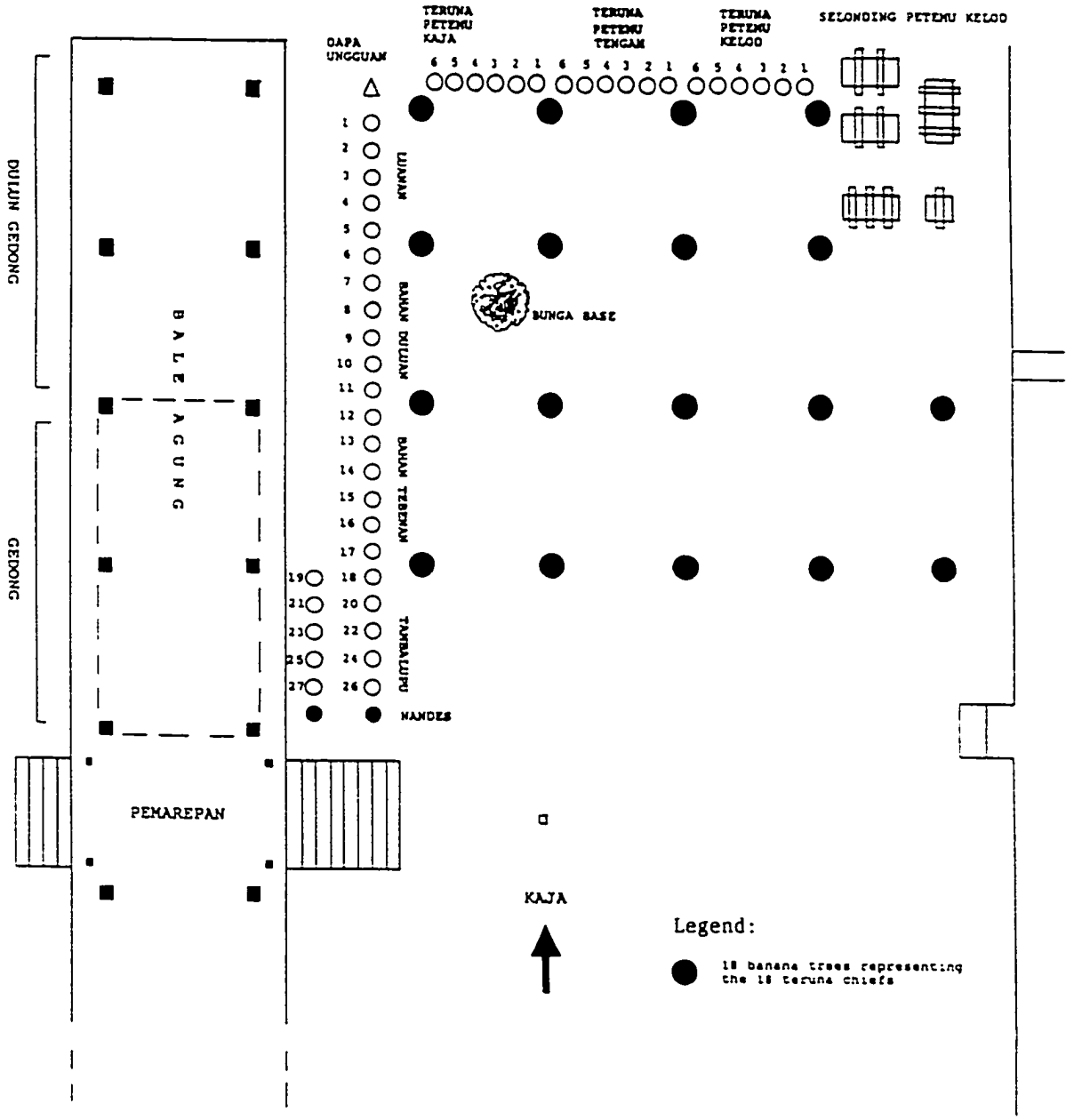
The *Krama Desa* Seating Arrangement in the *Bale Agung* of Tenganan for the *Mantuk Dewa* ceremony (12th day of 5th month of Tenganan calendar)
Source: Français 1989, p. 161

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The *Krama Desa* Seating Arrangement in the *Bale Agung* of Tenganan for the *Sangkep Nyacah* ceremony (16th day of 5th month of Tenganan calendar)
Source: Français 1989, p. 162

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The Seating Arrangement for the *Muran Desa* ceremony (5th month of every 3rd year of the Tenganan calendar)
(The male members of the *Krama Desa* and the chiefs of the three *Teruna* organizations are seated on the ground in front of the *Bale Agung*.)
Source: Français 1989, p. 163

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Remarks:

Seating order for KARE-KARE ceremony (5 month, 7, 11, 12, 13 day of second half: Tenganan calender) in BALE AGUNG, PETEMUKELOD, PETEMU KAJA and PETEMU TENGAH.

Legend:

■ pillar

——— Apad (wooden plank)

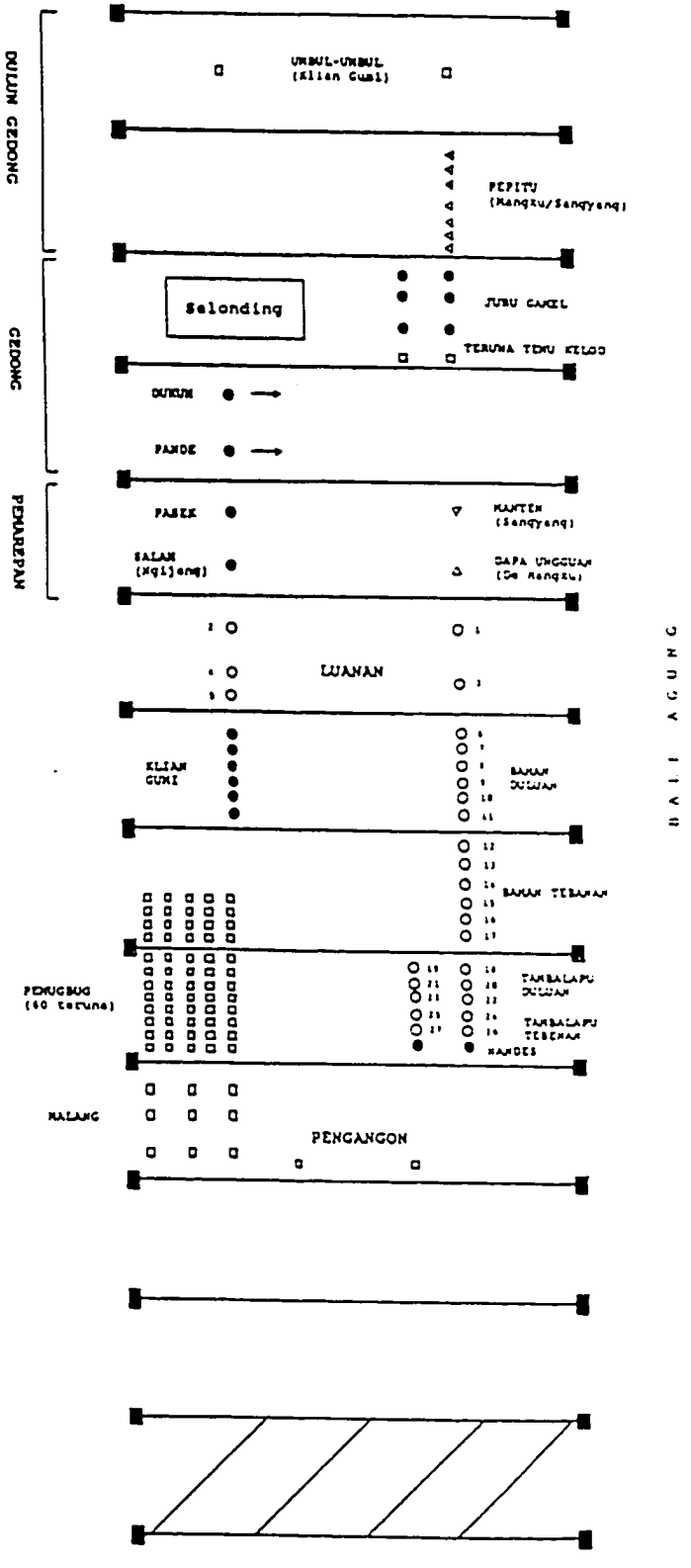
PLACEMENT OF FOOD OFFERINGS:

△ for symbolic figures

□ for members not actually seated

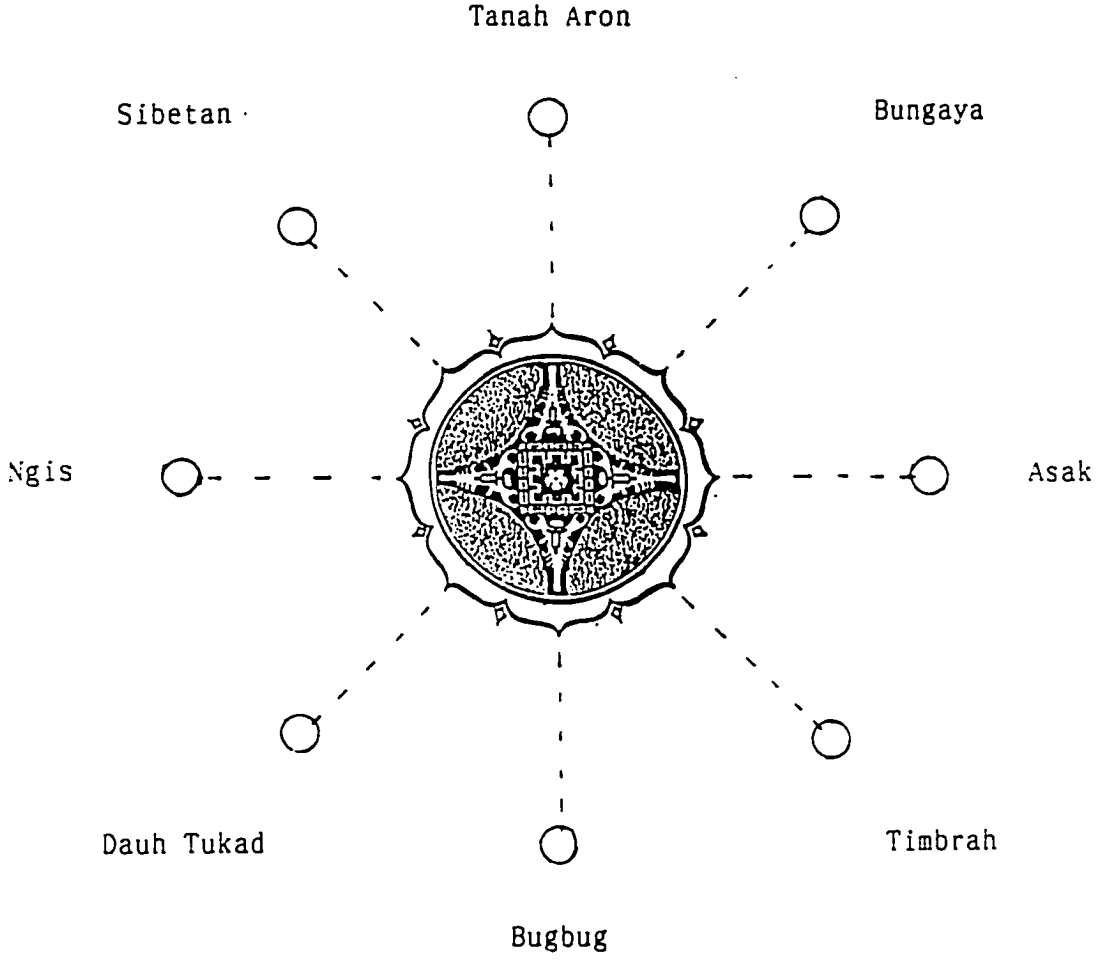
○ members of KRAMA DESA

● former members of KRAMA DESA + other participants.



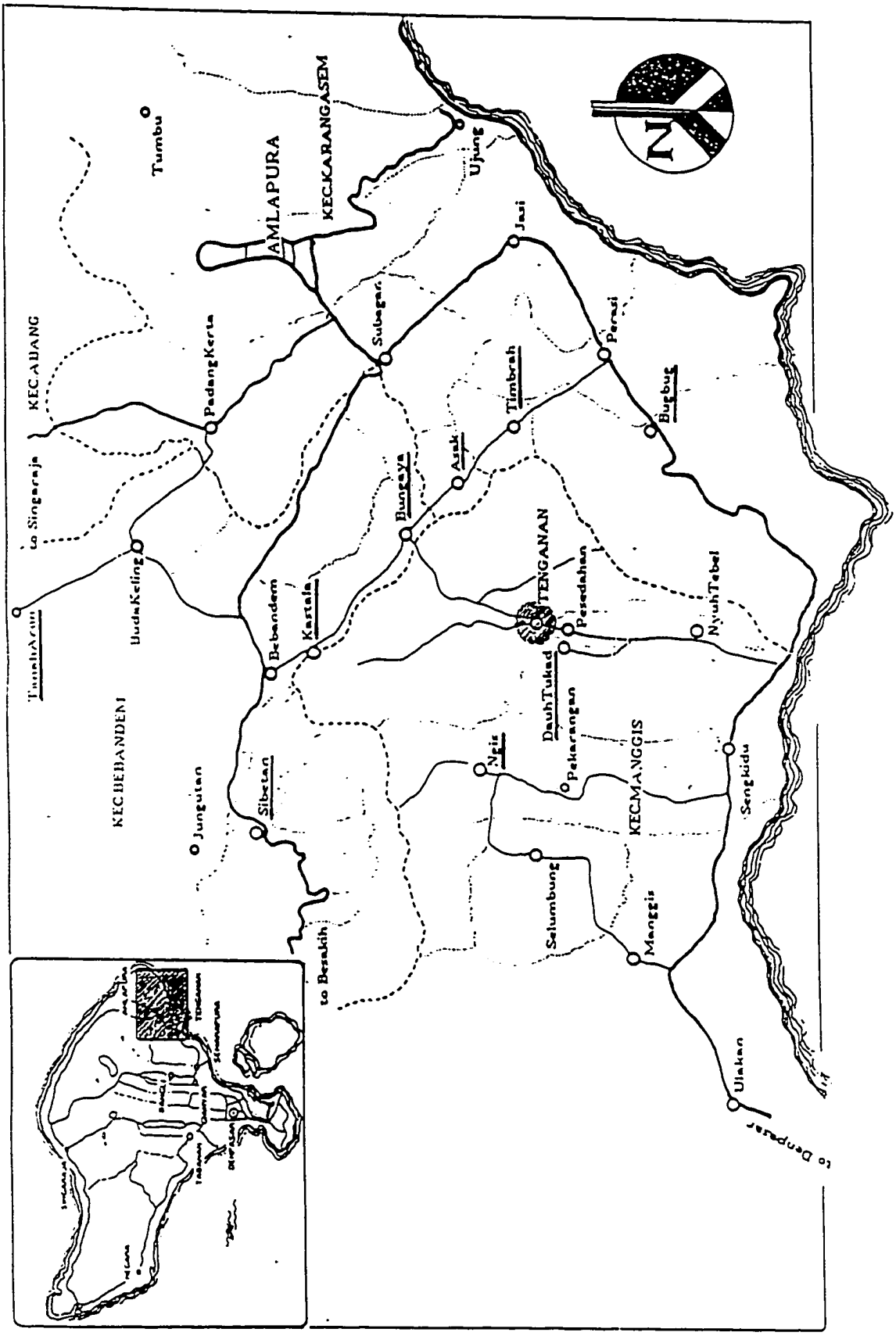
The *Krama Desa* Seating Arrangement in the *Bale Agung* of Tenganan for the *Kare-Kare* ceremony (5th month of Tenganan calendar)
Source: Français 1989, p. 164

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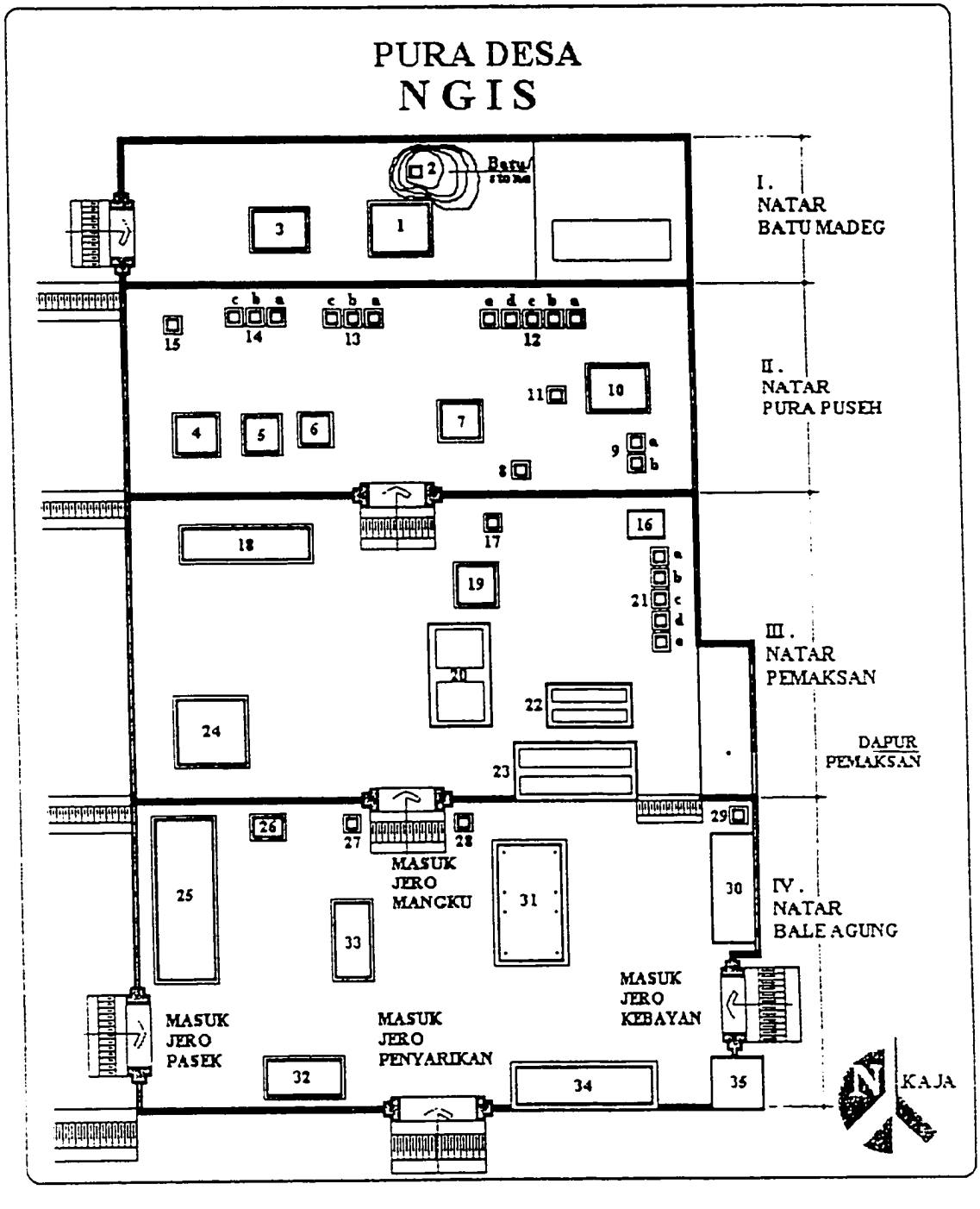
The Village Network in its Idealized *Mandala* Form
(after a drawing by a Tenganese ritual expert)

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Map Showing the Actual Location of All the Villages Participating in the *Mandala* Network (drawing by Ir. I Nengah Sadri)

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Layout of the Pura Desa in Ngis
(technical drawing by Ir. I Nengah Sadri after sketch by Français)

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PURA DESA
N G I S

I. NATAR BATU MADEG

1 Pelinggih Wisnu.
2 Pura Batu Madeg.
3 Peliangan (Tempat Sajen).

II. NATAR PURA PUSEH

4 Pelinggih Ida Ratu Pasek (meru 7 tingkat).
5 Pelinggih Ratu Betara Bagus Pejenengan.
6 Pepelik or Pengaruman (=Bale Harum).
7 Piasan (5 deities with gringsing are decorated here before they are brought to their shrines).
8 Taksu.
9 a Pelinggih Betara Gede Gumang.
b Pelinggih Betara Ayu Bugbug.
10 Pura Puseh.
11 Pelinggih Naga Basuki.
12 a Pelinggih Betara Bagus Mecitra (for penyakit tanah).
b Pelinggih Betara Ratu Kebayan.
c Pelinggih Betara Bagus Penyarikan.
d Pelinggih Betara Bagus Lingsar.
e Pelinggih Betara Bagus Mecaling. (penyakit binatang).
13 a Pelinggih Betara Gni Jaya (Lempuyang, Brahma).
b Pelinggih Betara Putran Jaya (G. Agung, (Siwa).
c Pelinggih Betara Dewi Danu (Batur, Wisnu).
14 a Pelinggih Betara Limas Sari.
b Pelinggih Betara Limas Catu.
c Pelinggih Betara Sri Sedana.
15 Betara Ayu Mas Pait.

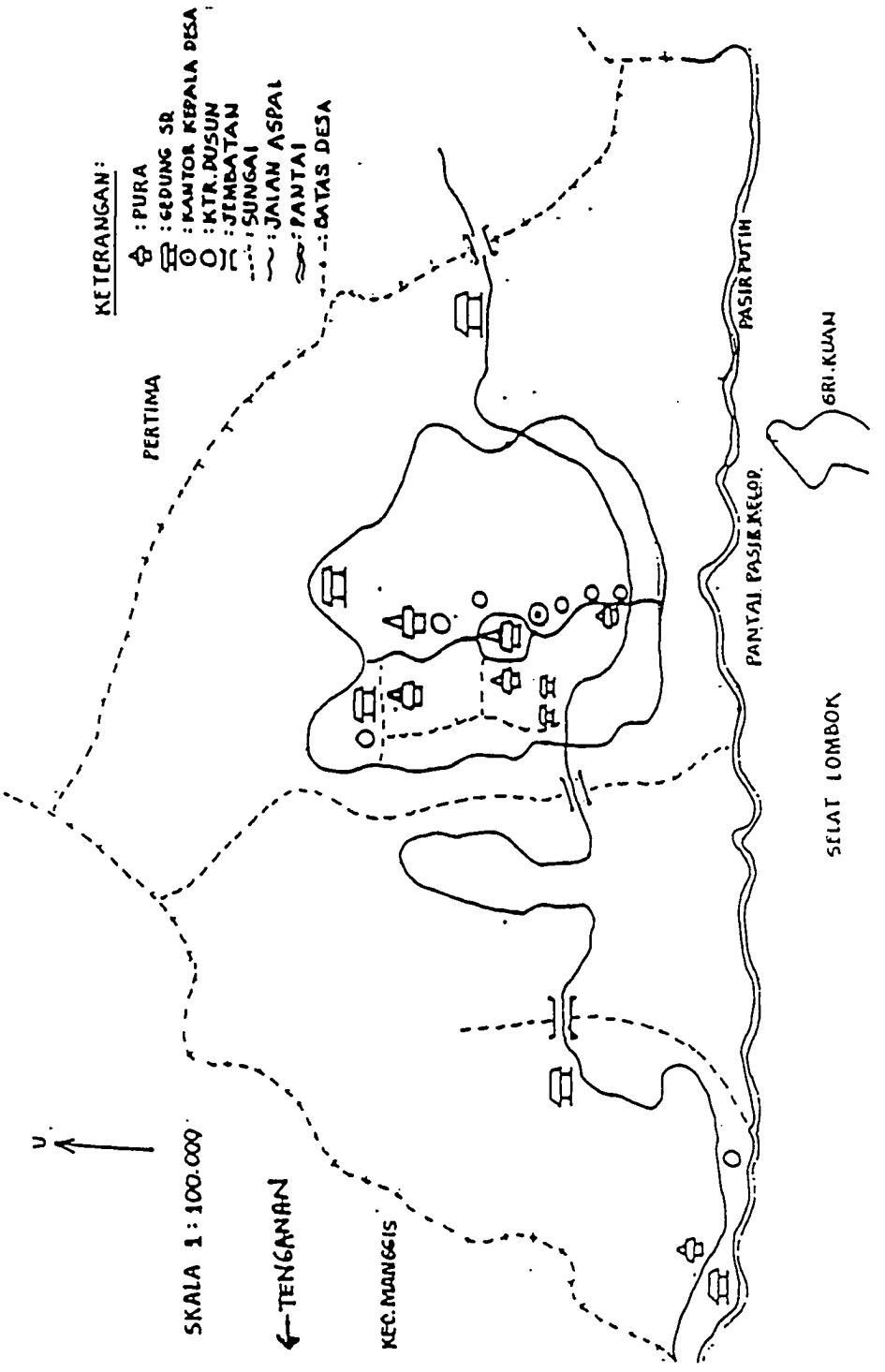
III. NATAR PEMAKSAN

16 Pelinggih Betara Gede Dangin.
17 Taksu Betara Gede Dangin.
18 Pengungan (sajen 4 kepala babi).
19 Piasan (4 deities with gringsing are decorated here before they are brought to their pelinggih).
20 Bale for sangkep of Jero Mangku and Klian Desa).
21 a Pelinggih Betara Dalem Kangin.
b Pelinggih Betara Bale Bang.
c Pesimpangan Betara ring Sumuh.
d Pelinggih Betara Agung.
e Pelinggih Betara Dalem Kelod.
22 Bale Pesamuan Krama Pemaksan.
23. Bale Kencan (here member receive their shares of nasi desa).
24 Bale Pejenengan (Pelinggih Betara Lingsir and Betara Selonding).

IV. NATAR BALE AGUNG

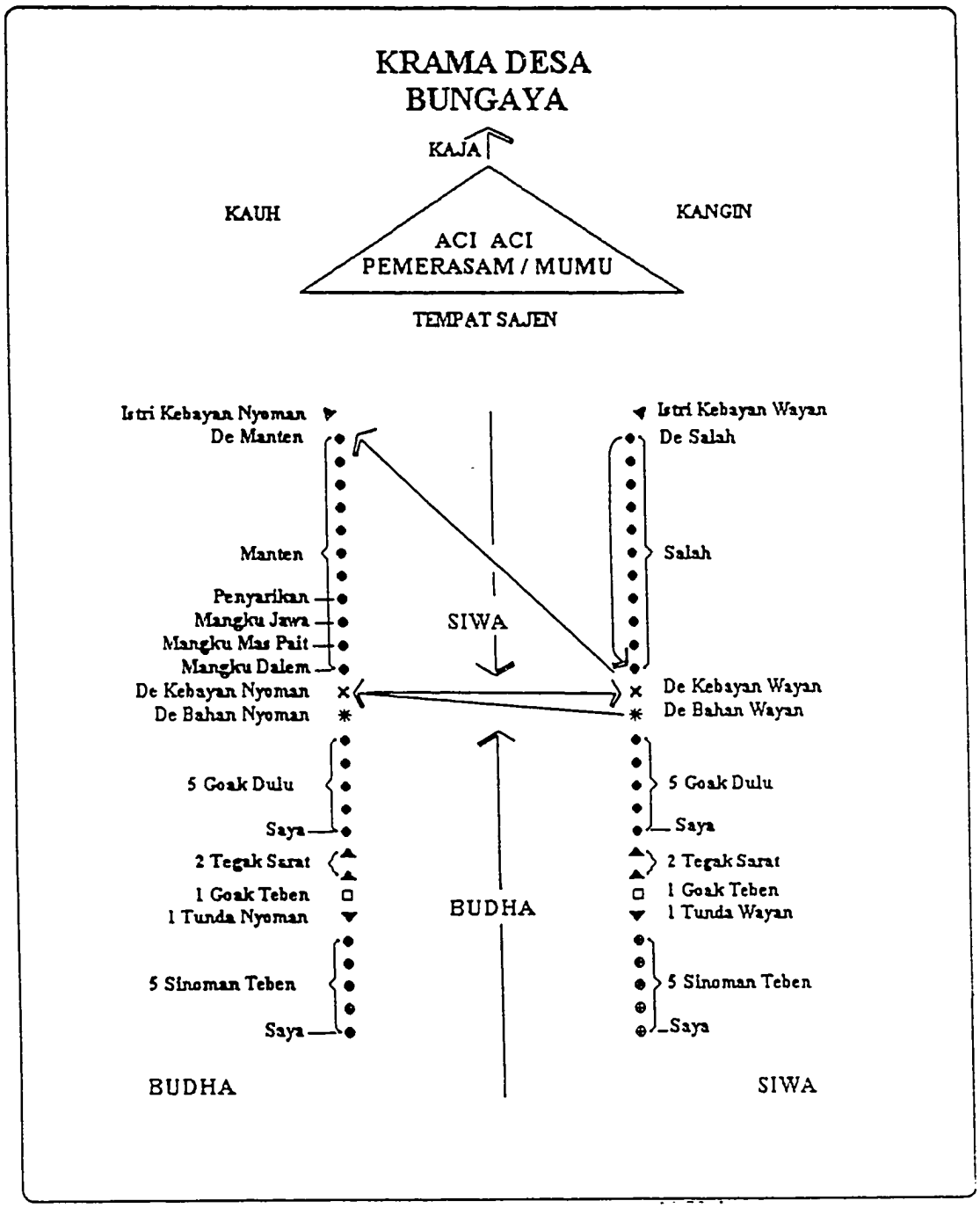
25 Bale Agung.
26 Patokan (for sajen).
27 + 28 Lawangan (Apit Lawang).
29 Taksu Betara Lingsir.
30 Dapur Desa.
31 Bale Teruna.
32 +33 Pengungan (is moved from location 32 to 33).
34 Bale Gong.
35 Bale Kulkul.

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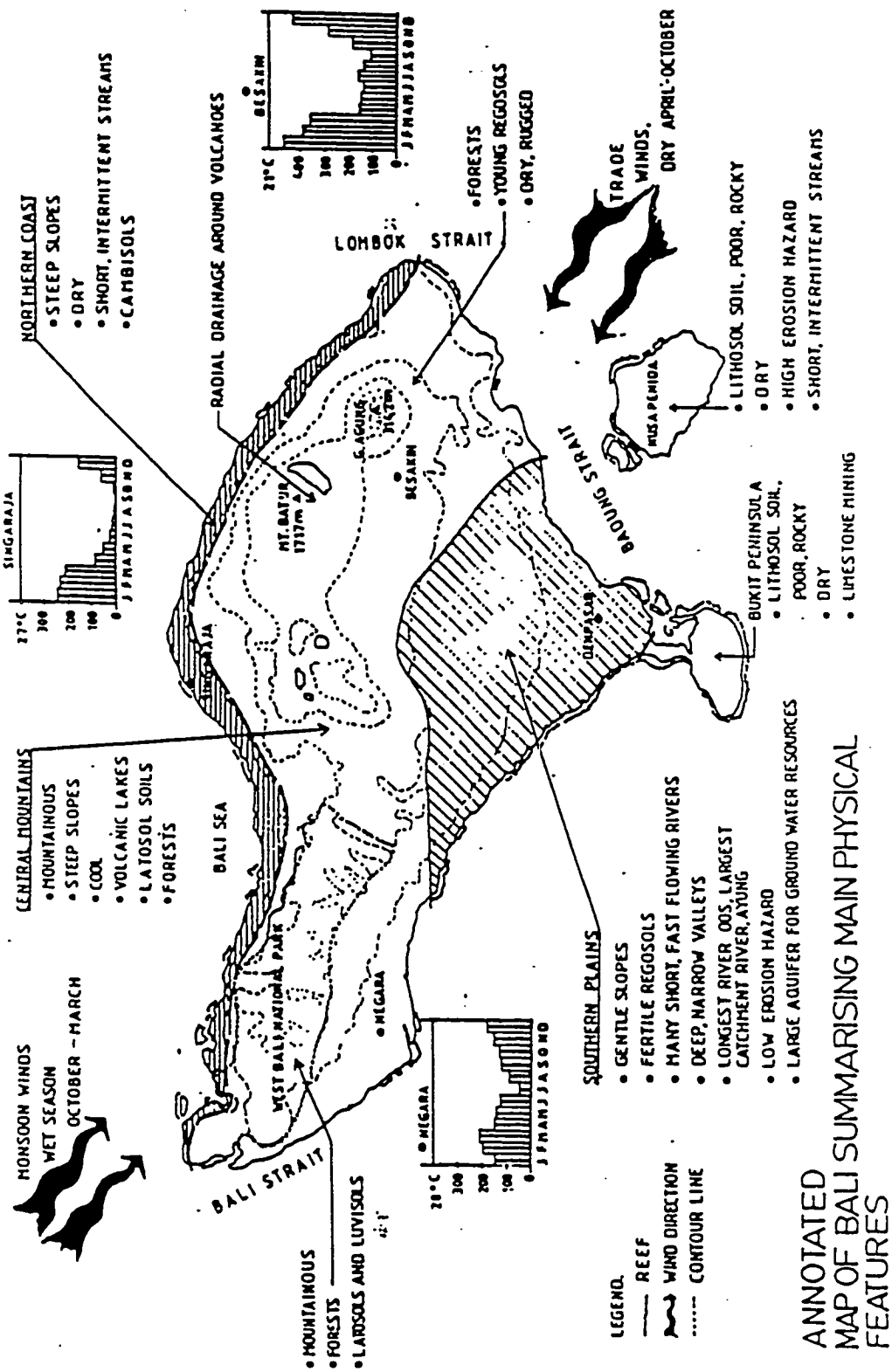
Location of Bugbug
Source: Laporan Profil Desa Bugbug 1992

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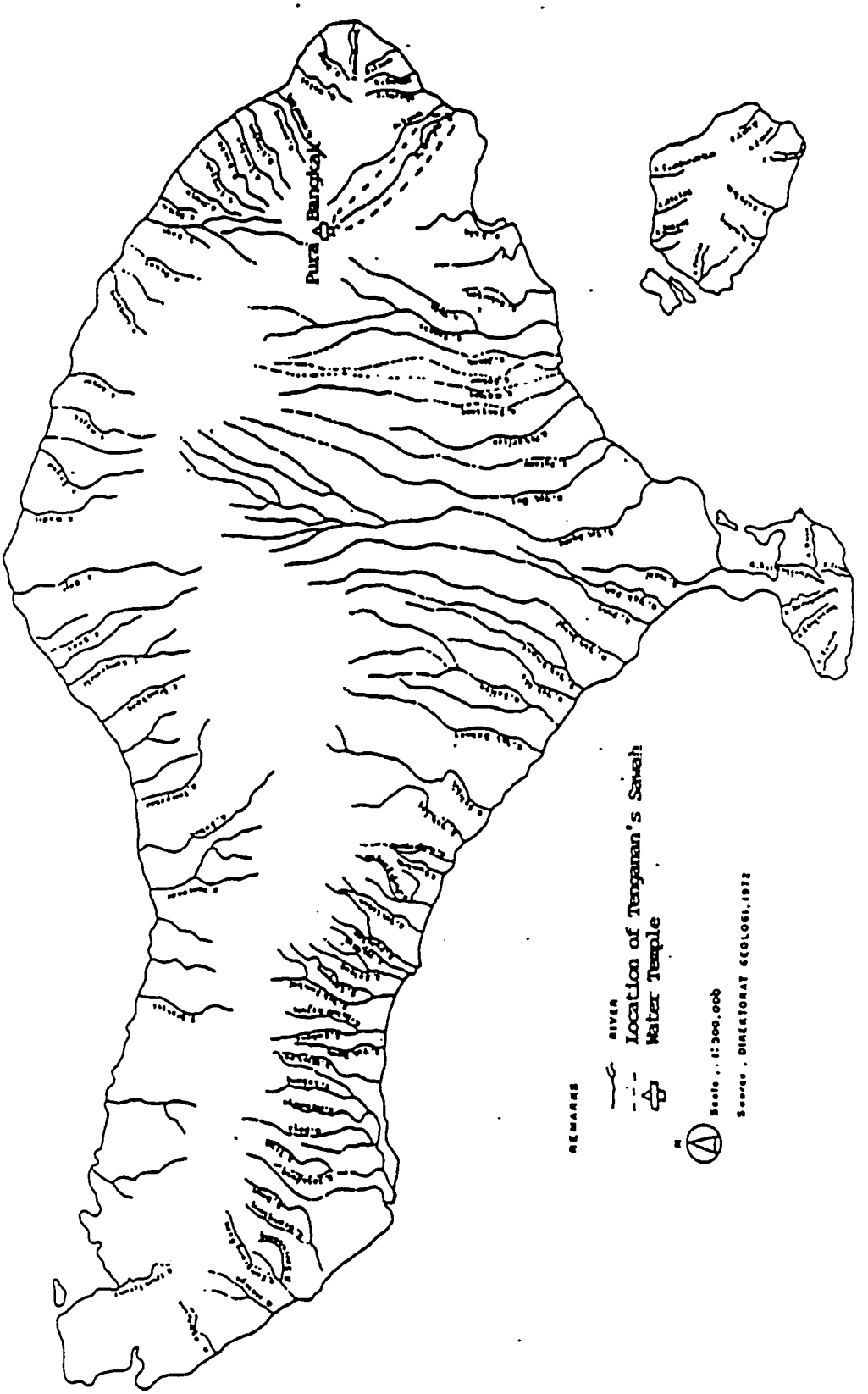
Seating Arrangements of the *Krama Desa* in Bungaya
(drawing by Ir. I Nengah Sadri after sketch by Français)

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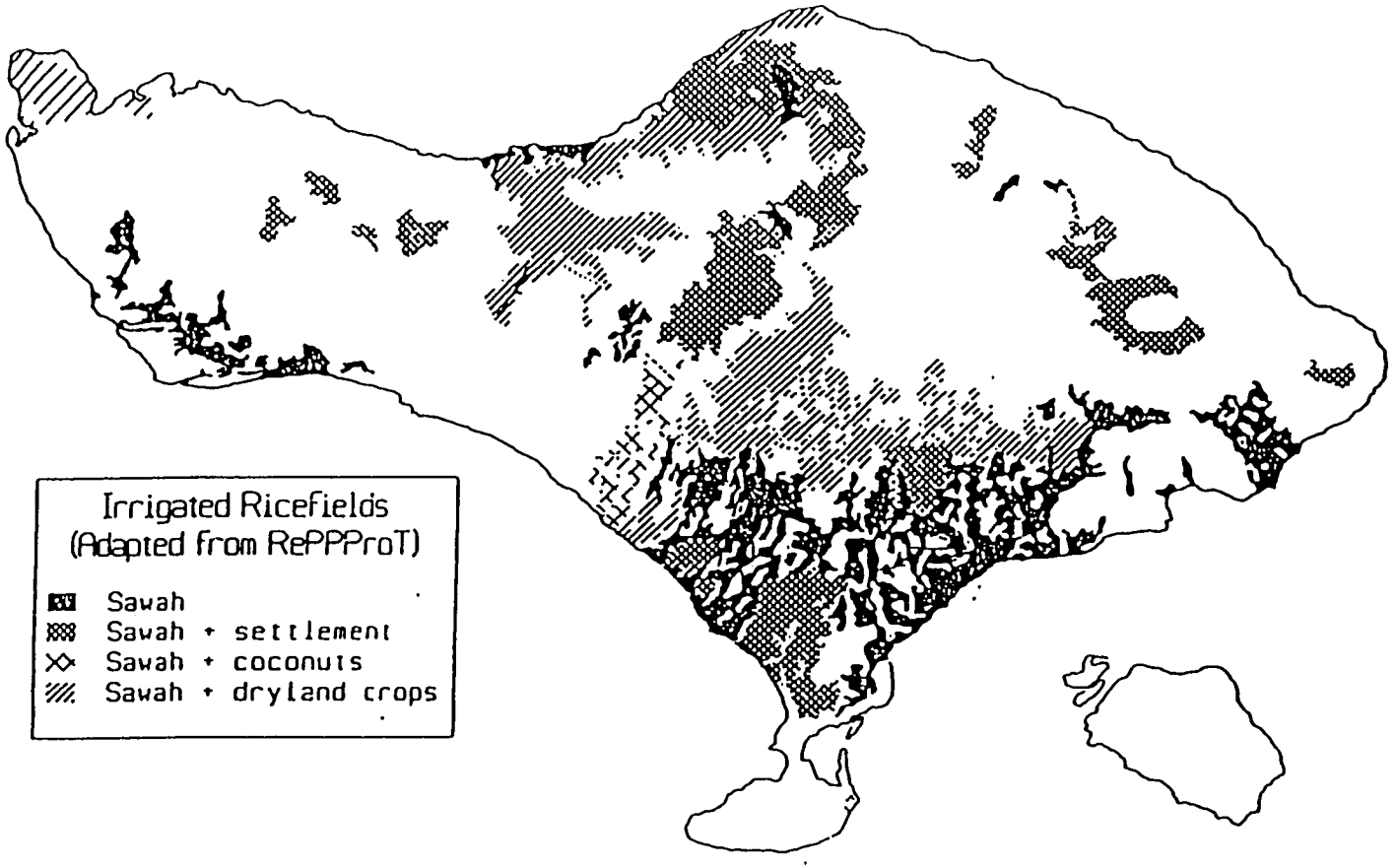
Source: Hassall and Associates, Scott & Furphy, and PT Indulexco 1992, Annex 1 "Geography," p. 4

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Map of Bali Showing the Main Rivers (with added location of Pura Bangkak and Tenganan's *sawah*)
Source: Hassall and Associates, Scott & Furphy, and PT Indulexco 1992, Annex 1 "Geography," p. 6

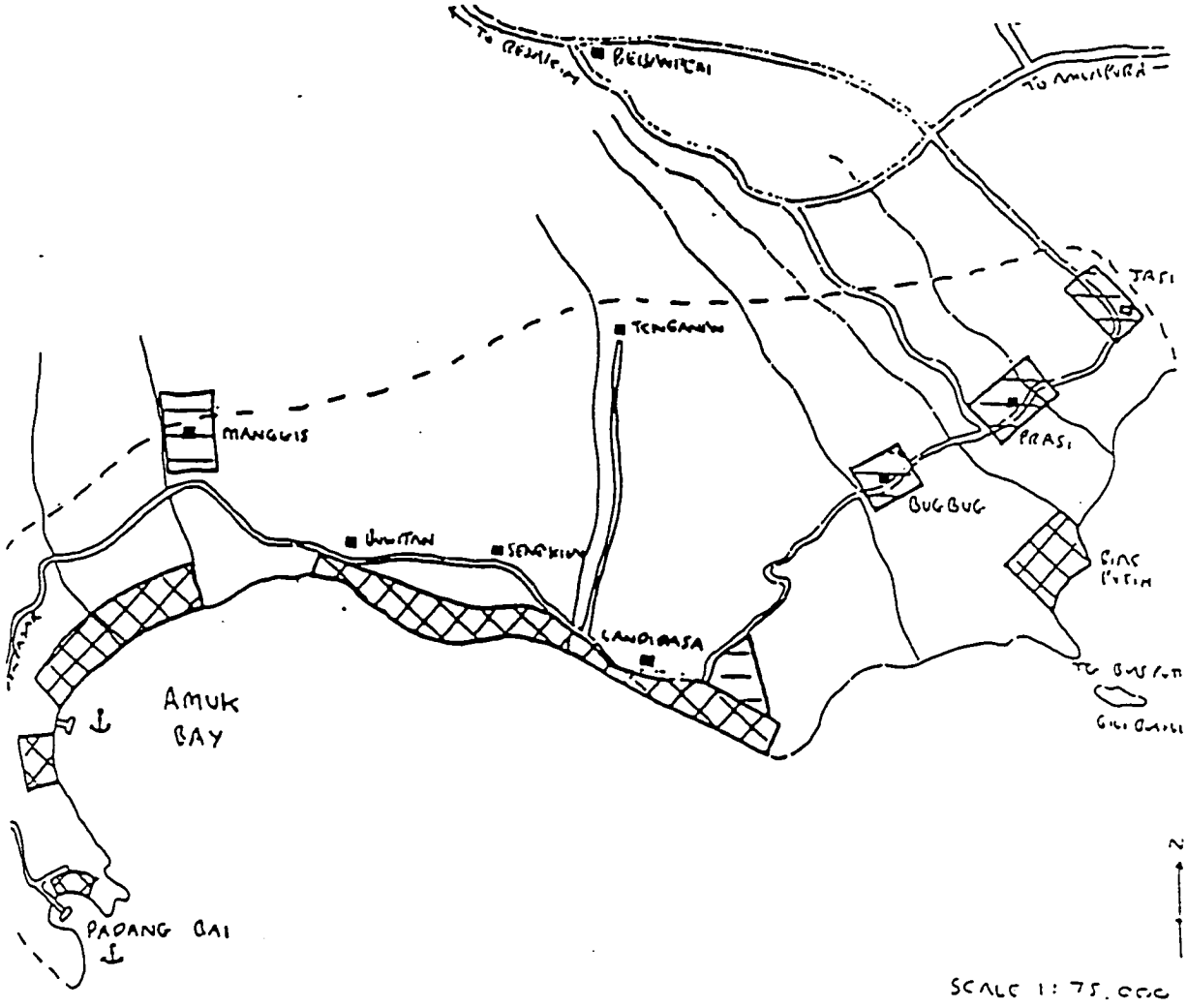
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Bali - Sawah by Type (c.1985)

Source: Hassall and Associates, Scott & Furphy, and PT Indulexco 1992, Annex 18 "Agriculture," p. 5

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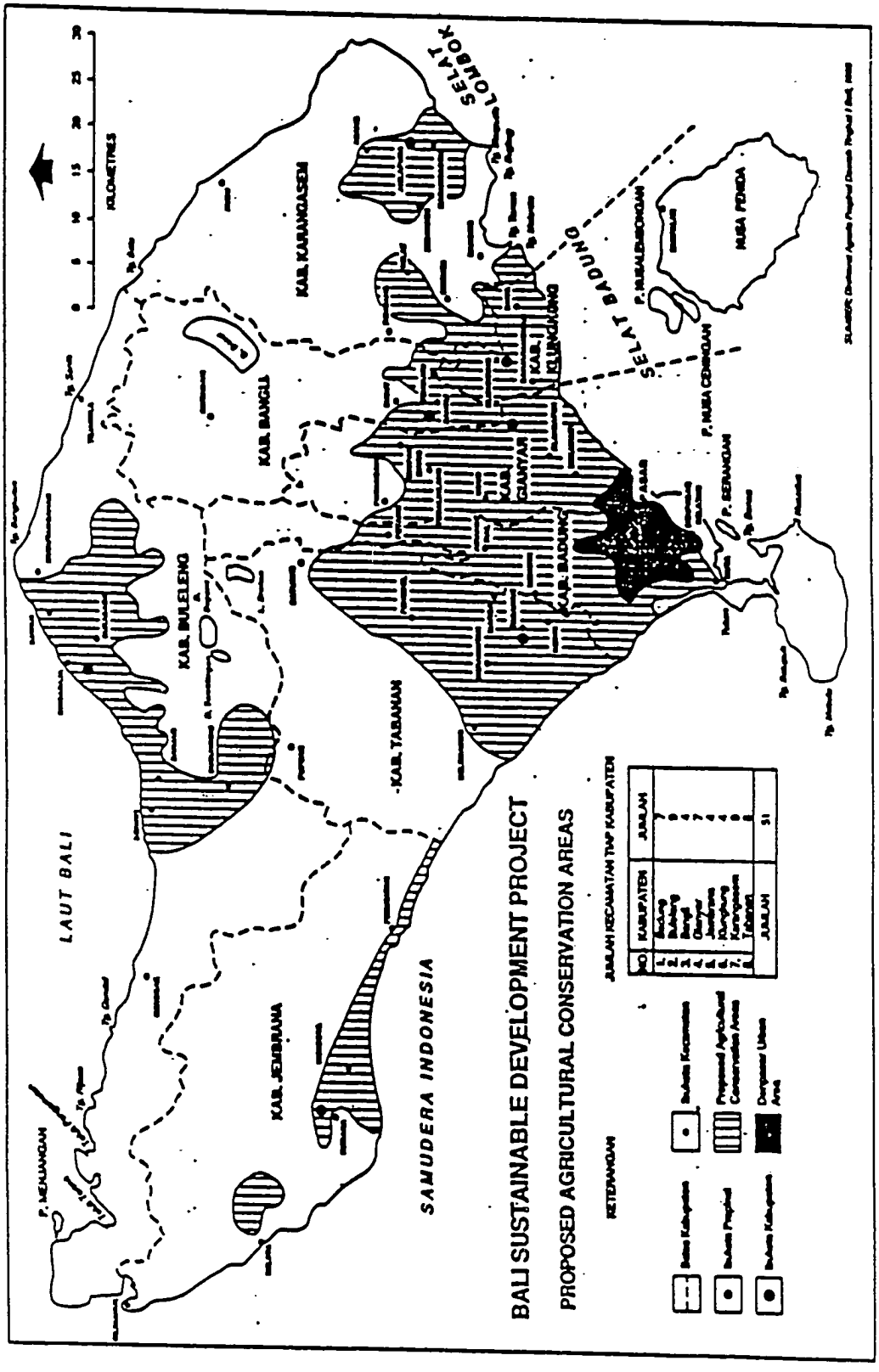
DEVELOPMENT PROPOSALS IN TOURIST PLAN FOR CANDI DASA

KEY

- Hotel Development Area
- Housing Area
- Boundary of Tourist Area
- Jetty
- Settlement
- Harbour

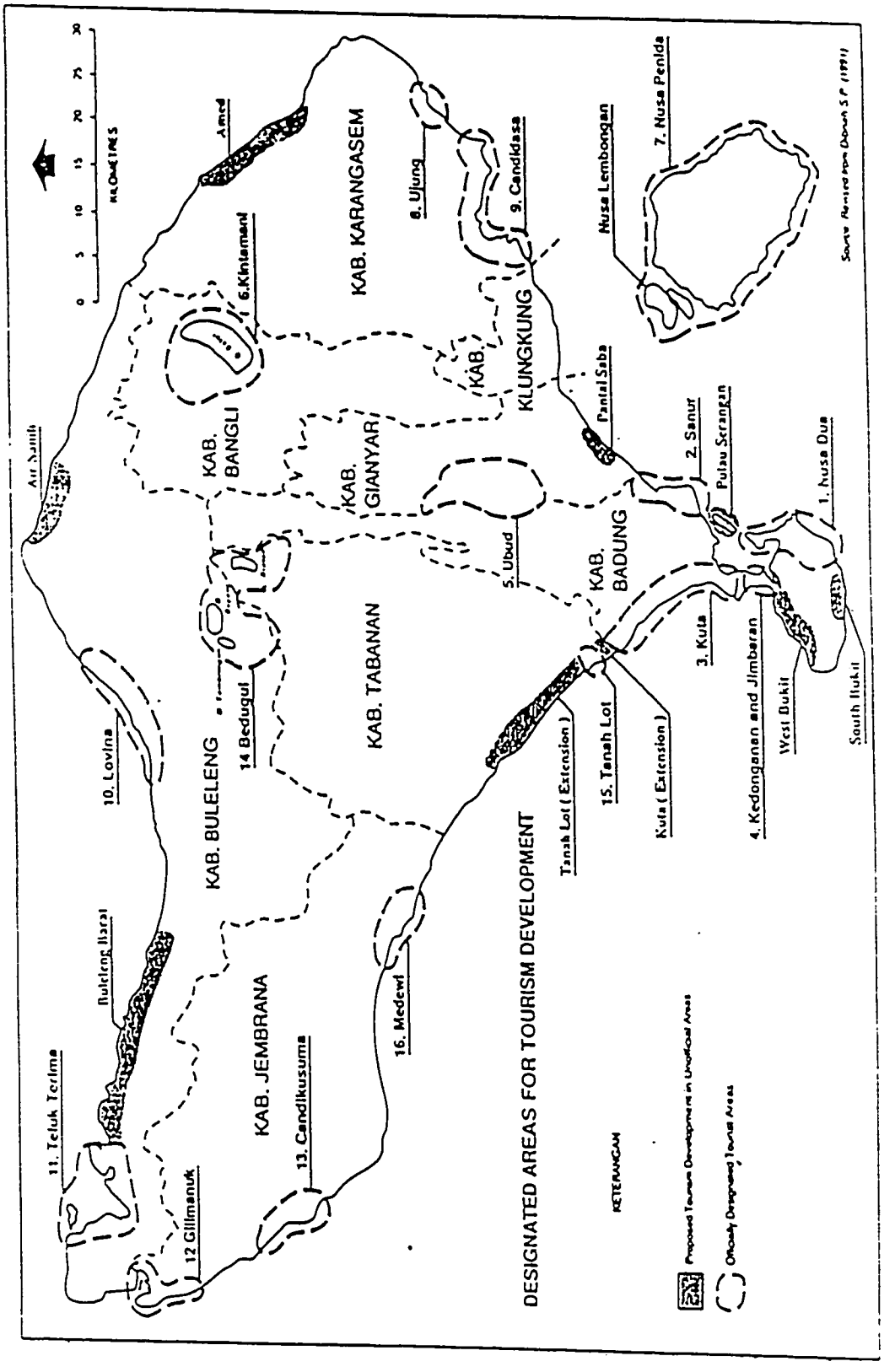
Drawing Showing the Location of Tenganan, the "Tourist Area" (*Kawasan Wisata)* Candi Dasa, Bugbug, and Bias Putih
Source: Hassall and Associates, Scott & Furphy, and PT Indulexco 1992, Draft Final Report, Vol.II: The Fifteen Designated Tourist Areas. p. 85

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Source: Bali Sustainable Development Project 1992, p. 47, figure 3

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Source: Bali Sustainable Development Project 1992, p. 22, Figure 2

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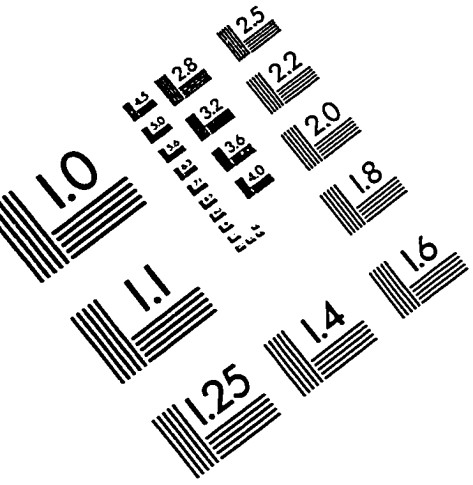
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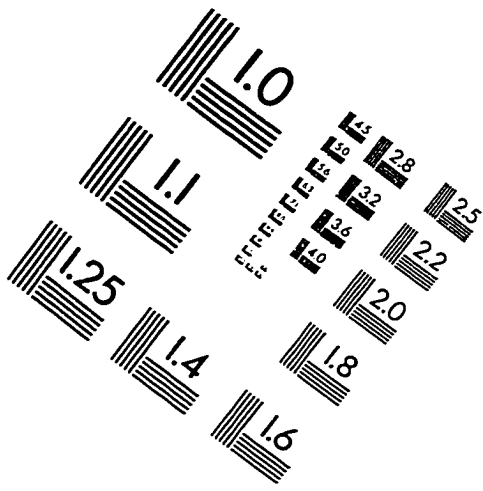
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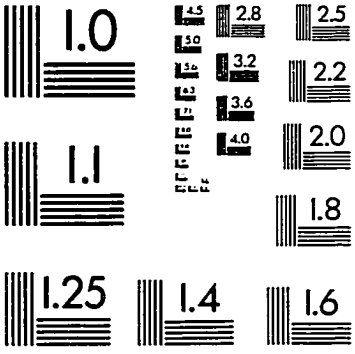
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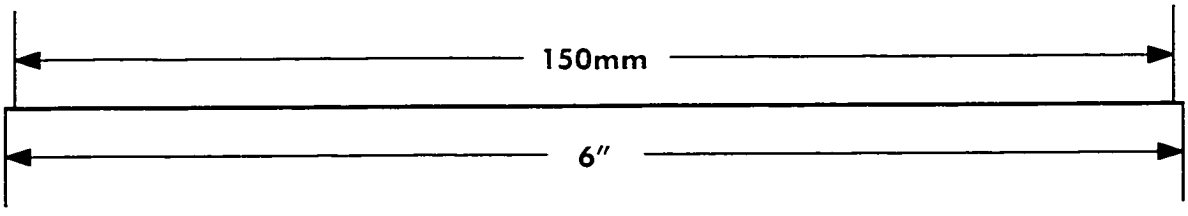
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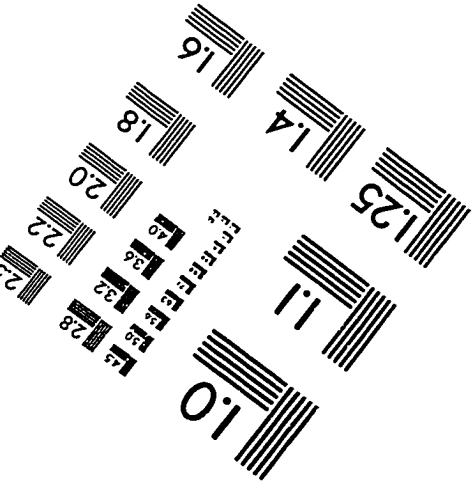
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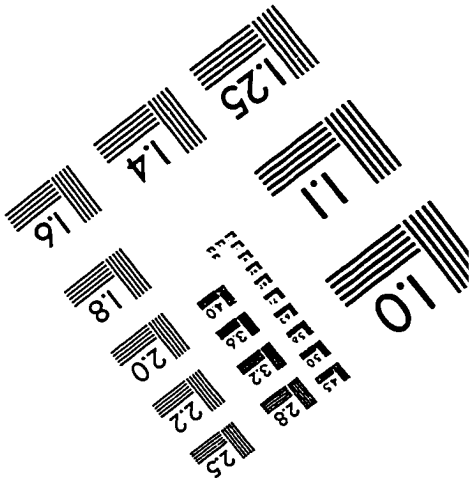












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