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Ph.D May 1988

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RHETORIC AND REALITY: THE HIDDEN NIGHTMARE

**Myth and Magic as Representations and
Reverberations of Morbid Realities**

by

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Thesis submitted to the University of Sydney
Department of Indonesian and Malayan Studies
in fulfilment of the requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

February 1987

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines a wide spectrum of ideas and practices which constitute what I term the Balinese magico-medical system. For the sake of analysis, the system has been viewed at two levels: the individual-domestic and the community-state levels. Within these, notions of supernatural power, the content and structure of the witchcraft system and expressive cultural forms — graphic, pictorial, sculptural and literary representations — are integrated and investigated. The study draws upon data derived from local medical and historical writings, Dutch colonial medical reports and field research. First, I identify morbidity as a substantive issue alluded to in the Balinese symbolic system and redressed through action, mainly ritual and symbolic. The study then explores the symbolic, factual and conceptual aspects of disease. The impact of disease upon cultural forms becomes the central argument of the thesis.

Using as an hypothesis the proposition that symbolic representation and local descriptions of disease manifestations are the direct result of the factual significance of disease in Balinese life, it was possible to uncover specific connections between disease entities (as presented in Western medical discourse) relevant to the Balinese bio-medical experience and ubiquitous and significant features of Balinese culture. A familiarity with local disease taxonomy and medical semiology permits an understanding of the meaning behind masks, part-animal and part-human artistic representation and the peculiarity of the form and style of Balinese dance. In a ritual context, these cultural forms can be seen as embodiments of biological transformations having as their objective protection a dynamic reversal of the disease process and the preservation of the human organism. They variously encapsulate pathological processes, aspects of historical event and epidemiological disaster.

At a theoretical level, the thesis advocates that greater analytical attention be paid to biological factors in the shaping of human culture. It also demonstrates that an awareness of other ways of defining experience and understanding of other systems of knowledge and substantive themes of culture can be gained through local textual material as well as oral tradition. The concerns to which local magico-medical writings are a response and the problems which they seek to resolve are only thinly hidden in metaphor and rhetoric.

Errata

Table of Contents. **'strait'** not 'straight'

p. 8. **'strait'** not 'straight'

p.15. **'lived'** not 'livid'

*p. 17. (line 3) add **'(September 1, 1937)'**

* p. 44. (para 3, line 2) 'greater or lesser' not 'greater and lesser'

* p. 57. (line 8) **'waning'** not 'waxing'

p.79. (3rd para) **'disease'** not 'diesease'

p. 84. (3rd para.) **'fluid'** not 'bluid'

p.110. **'padanda'** not 'pedanda'

p. 204. (para 1 & 2) **1970** not 1973

p. 211. (last line) should be **3097** not 3907

*p. 217. (last para) after 'Scheube (1903)', add **'as Yap notes'**.

p.264. (2nd line) before 'status' add **'for the'**.

p. 308. (4th line from bottom) **'obstetric'** not 'obstetic'.

p. 321. **'agni'** not 'angi'.

p. 360. (4th para) **'referred'** not 'referred'

p. 379. (2nd last para) **'possibly' after, not before '— — —'**.

p. 389. **'towards'** not 'of'.

p. 390. (2nd para) **'ing'** not 'ion'.

p. 390. (3rd para) **'— — —'** not ';;'.

*p. 392. (line 17) '(p.273)' should read **'(see Shankman 1984:273)'**.

p. 429. (middle of 2nd para) delete 'is'.

*p. 437. (line 7) **'circumambulation'** not 'ciramulation'.

*p. 456. (line 4) **'1985'** not '1979'.

*p. 461. (line 6) **'Mads'** not 'Made'.

Table of Contents

Preface		1
PART I: Inceptions and Cognitions		
1.	Introduction: The Problem and the Methodology	7
	i) Theoretical Axioms and Conceptual Straight-Jackets	8
	ii) Eclectic Borrowings and 'Dialectical Drifting'	10
2.	Data Sources: Trials and Testimonies	17
	i) Fieldwork: Some Reflections on the Intrusion Illusion and Moments of Serendipity	18
	ii) Local Textual Material: Magico-Medical Texts	35
3.	Conceptual Configurations	42
	i) Magic (<u>Sakti</u>): A Kind of Totality	42
	ii) Conceptual Flaws and Impoverishment of Conceptual Complexities	45
	iii) Towards a Dialectical Reversal: The Sea, The Source of Life-Restoring Water (<u>Amerta</u>)	49
	iv) Magically Dangerous (<u>Tenget</u>) Space: Temples Graveyards and Other Ambiguities	51
	v) Magical-Mystical Time (<u>Kala Ala-Ayu</u>)	55
	vi) Critical (<u>Panes</u>) Occurrences and Magically Dangerous (<u>Pingit</u>) Events	60
	vii) Beyond (The Problem of) Good and Evil: The Potency of the Divine Demonic	63
4.	Orientations: The Magico-Medical Complex	67
	i) The Philosophical Doctrines Underlying Balinese Magic and Medical Theory	67
	ii) Ontological and Aetiological Conceptions of Disease	88
	iii) Magical Therapy: Sound Supplication and Representation	95
	iv) The Provenance of the Balinese Medical Tradition	99
5.	Attitudes and Thematic Modes: The Substance of Their Rhetoric	104
	i) Knowledge Knowing and Exhortations to Secrecy	104
	ii) Fluidity Transformation and Triadic Phasing	111
	iii) Mantra: The Powers of Utterance (<u>Sabda</u>)	116
	iv) Mystical Participations	119
	v) <u>Bharawa-Bharawi</u> Cults: The Supremacy of the 'Left-Hand Path' of Tantric Practice	127
	vi) <u>Bhuta-Kala</u> (Demonics) as a Metaphor for Nature Disordered	133
	vii) The Disease Burden: Spectres and Specifics	140
	Interpolation: Realms and Levels of Operation and Action	149
PART II: The Domestic Level of the Magico-Medical System		
6.	Healers (<u>Balian</u>) and Their Clients	155
	i) Spirit-Raising (<u>Maluasang</u>): The <u>Balian Katakson's</u> Powers of Mystical Participation	160
	ii) Profiles of <u>Balian Usada</u> (Literate Healers)	174
	iii) <u>Balian</u> and Issues of Ethics Ideologies Legitimacy and Power Politics	188
7.	Possession Affliction (<u>Babainan</u>), An Imputed Culture-Bound Syndrome: Race Renounced, Culture Arraigned	198
	i) <u>Babainan</u> : Case Studies	200
	ii) The Creation and Path of the Pathogen (<u>Babai</u> Spell)	203
	iii) The Medical Semiology of an 'Exotic' Syndrome	209
	iv) The Problem of Not-Yet-Understood Ethno-Medical Phenomena: The Comparative Case of Javanese <u>Latah</u>	217
	v) Models of Madness: Paradigms and Platitudes	222
8.	Witchcraft: The Domestic Nightmare	230
	i) The Craft of Witches (<u>Leyak</u>) and Their Levels of Competence (<u>Pangiwa</u> and <u>Pamoroan</u>)	232
	ii) Encounters with <u>Leyak</u> : The Incitement of Suspicions and Killings	240
	iii) The Symbolism of Viscera-Sucking Child-Devouring Witches: The Domestic Nightmare	245
9.	The Mystique of Woman and the Pre-eminence of Female Deities	251
	i) The Power and the Danger of Female Pollution (<u>Sebel Gede</u>)	254
	ii) Women as Healers, Women as Witches	256
	iii) Double Peril: The Confluence of Circumstances <u>Sebel</u> and <u>Sakti</u>	264

PART III: State-Community Level of the Magico-Medical System: Between Myth and Magic

10. Sakti as The Power to Rule and the Responsibility to Protect Human Well-Being	272
i) Trance Possession Cults: Strategem or Artifice?	277
ii) The Descent of the Deities (<u>Bhatara Turun Kabeh</u>)	282
11. Masked Complexities: Enactments of Historical and Medical Mythology	287
i) The Poetics of Metamorphosis: Giant Puppets (<u>Barong Landung</u>) and the Death of a Demonic Giant with Powers of Self-Transformation (<u>Mayadanawantaka</u>)	289
ii) The <u>Rangda</u> Mask and the <u>Rangda</u> Myth: An Historical Nightmare	300
iii) The <u>Barong</u> Mask (<u>Sang Kala Gede</u>) Ruling <u>Raja</u> and an Offering to Demonic Forces (<u>Bhuta-Yadnya</u>) named <u>Galungan</u>	310
iv) Serpent Lotus Tigers and Bamboo Cylinders: Motifs of an Historical Legend A Form of Tantric Yoga and a Trance Possession Ritual (<u>Sanghyang Bungbung</u>)	317
v) <u>Ratu Gede Macaling</u> (The Great Fanged King) and Epidemic Cholera ('King Cholera')	325
vi) <u>Baris</u> Exorcistic Dances and Martial Imagery	335
vii) Cult Protective Masks: The Parameters of Their Powers and Participation	340
12. Trance Exorcistic Dances: Parody With Rhyme and Reason	356
i) 'Crude Earthy Happenings': The So-Called 'Folk Sanghyangs' (Animal and Object Trance Dances)	356
ii) Simulated Stabbing Trance Exorcistic Dance (<u>Ngurek</u>) and Perceptions of Pain	364
iii) The 'Horse Spirit' (<u>Sanghyang Jaran</u>) Fire Trance Exorcistic Dance Burning Extremities (<u>Tangan Suku Pakajutjut</u>) and a Disease Named <u>Tuju Jaran</u>	368
iv) <u>Sanghyang Dadara-Dadari Sanghyang Deling</u> and <u>Kecak</u> : A Metaphysics of Gestures	370
v) 'Audacious Grotesque and Bizarre' Curiosities in the Plastic Arts	375
vi) The 'Ghost Spirit' (<u>Sanghyang Mamedi</u>): The 'Most Eerie' of Them All	380
vii) The Potency of Metaphor and Mimetic Play	387
13. Medical Semiology and the Semiotics of Dance	395
i) The Balinese Construction of Disease	395
ii) What's in a Name	398
iii) Animal Mimicry and the Vocabulary of Dance	403
iv) Tendencies Towards Dissociation in Dance and Representation	408
v) The Language of Dance The Rhythm of Disease.	412
Conclusion	425
Reflections of Morbid Realities	426
'A Fear-Haunted People'	428
The Impact of Disease Upon Culture	432
Glossary	435
Bibliography	441

PREFACE

What is truth? A moving army of metaphors, metonymies, and anthropomorphisms, in short a summary of human relationships that are being poetically and rhetorically sublimated, transposed, and beautified until, after long and repeated use, a people consider them as solid, canonical, and unavoidable.

Friedrich Nietzsche *Werke* 1956, Vol.3:311

Epic in scope and dramatic in event, epidemics have been deadly foes of mankind. Disease has been one of the most powerful agents of human tragedy.¹ Anxious disquiet can express itself in mythology and cults of magic. This study will demonstrate an assertion that Balinese medical mythology and constructions of witchcraft and the demonic are associated metaphorically and metonymically with the symptomatology, pathological mechanisms and the perceived aetiology of disease. What O'Flaherty (1984:260-61) has observed of Indian thought -- that metaphor is a typical way of viewing the world -- is also true of the Balinese 'way of knowing'. Metaphysical truths are explained in bold or philosophical metaphors based on an equation of microcosm and macrocosm. The view that things are forever in a state of flux reveals a distinct awareness of the precariousness of existence, or alternatively, reveals a view of the world influenced by that actuality.

On Bali, the predicament of disease and untimely death has prompted a vast explanatory mythology. Textual and cultural data presented here suggest that a conspicuous proportion of the most characteristic ethnographic features of Bali -- temples, offerings, trance possession, dance form and style and sculptural representations -- originate in or are reflections of the problem of morbidity. Cults of demonic deities and rites in the form of imitative magic and metaphorical allusion are cultural evidence of this response.

Boon (1977:222-3) proposes that the place of death perhaps constitutes the 'major, enduring, almost substantive' theme in Balinese traditions; that corporeal death is what 'cultural forms are most frequently about'. Disease, I suggest, constitutes another such theme. Yet few subjects are more distinguished by their absence from the anthropological and historical discourses on Bali than those of morbidity and mortality. The myth, magic and ritual, as celebrated in the ethnology of the island, remain separated from the reality (or even the magico-mythical scheme) of things morbid. That 'the most elementary problems are the hardest, not only to solve, but even to see', according to Northrop Frye (1963:16), is a well recognized 'principle of thought'.

Conclusions arising from my previous research on Balinese historical literature² prompted initial awareness of the predominance of magical power (henceforth referred to as sakti or kasakten in the Balinese perceptual-conceptual system. Comments made by the late Professor C. Hooykaas in his book **The Balinese Poem Basur: An Introduction to Magic** (1978) further inspired my decision to research the subject and identify the human experience and concerns encoded in Balinese magic and myth. Hooykaas acknowledged that his book was no more than a prologue to a relatively unexplored subject of great importance to the Balinese; one 'full of difficulties' in terms of the language of the texts and access to traditional practitioners (pp.105-6). In another introductory book into Balinese magic, dealing this time with magical drawings, Hooykaas (1980:6) commented that, in spite of the extent to which magic dominates daily life, study of the magical aspects of Balinese religion is lacking. Furthermore, there is a pronounced gap in our knowledge and understanding of the literary aspects of magic and of the magical graphic art. Practitioners of magic have been misrepresented. Concerning the frequent and ubiquitous ritual supplications to demonic powers (henceforth referred to as bhuta-yadnya), almost nothing has been written (p.3).

Nevertheless Hooykaas did not recognize the possibility of the important link between Balinese magic and Balinese medical theory and practice. Possibly because they transgress the boundaries of a single scholarly discipline, magic and medicine have not received the kind of attention extended to religious, social or political phenomena. Even so, magic is a subject to which almost any study of Bali bears some passing reference. Popular writings sensationalize and misrepresent it. Scholarly writings do not contextualize it within the problem which generates it. The phenomena warrant a more sober, yet imaginative, extensive and well-researched study and questioning. 'The world of learning', Hooykaas (1978:106) concluded, 'is looking forward to a revealing book on Balinese magic, this time written from the inside'.

I have attempted to pursue Hooykaas's recommendations in several ways. Through observing the activities of practitioners of magic and by conducting extensive interviews with them and their clients, I gained a contextual understanding of the subject and the presuppositions and concerns motivating magical activities. By familiarizing myself with the magico-medical texts studied and used by these practitioners, I learned more about both the actual and conceptual aspects of disease. Therefore, it was necessary and useful to focus on patterns of morbidity and mortality, the nature of disease pathogens and their effects upon the human organism. Information concerning these was gleaned largely from local texts, the contents of which I assimilated with Western nosography and epidemiological data where there were discernible parallels. This strategy was, in part, for the sake of allowing discourse to proceed, but also for the purposes of gaining some understanding of the nature of the disease problems which have motivated such a plethora of magical activity.

In the reading of magico-medical literature, I needed to acquire a degree of basic background knowledge of epidemiology and medical semiology. It was necessary to try to identify, at least tentatively, the types of diseases which were being described in medical mythology and medical treatises, and being thwarted, circumvented or exorcized in the various forms of verbal, graphic, implemental and imitative magic

I was studying. In this process I was to learn more about the actual problems of morbidity and mortality and to realize the nature and extent of the empirical relationship between bio-medical events and myth and magical rites. It became apparent that the complex system of symbols and metaphor and the paraphernalia used in disease-containing rituals and trance exorcistic dances were more than deflections of exotic irrelevancies. Rather, they were reflections of real (though perhaps exotic in terms of Western experience) forms of morbidity, their signs and symptoms and the aetiological conceptions concerning them. My attention was directed to the dynamics operative in a mode of perception and to another wisdom and system of medical knowledge not yet fragmented and impoverished by the powers and colourlessness of abstract reasoning characteristic of empirical sciences (see Jameson 1971, 1981; Dowling 1984 on Jameson). Rather it was a way of knowing guided by a sense of imagery and conveyed through a web of metaphoric and metonymic associations. This recognition led to a protracted period of study in order to uncover empirically the hidden order of the Balinese magico-medical system; an enterprise often 'powered by obsession and sparked by serendipity' (to borrow from O'Flaherty's [1984-298] exposé of her scholarship on Indian myth).

Fieldwork in Bali was carried out from May 1981 to April 1982 and for a short periods in 1983 and 1986 under the sponsorship of Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan, Indonesia. An Australian Commonwealth Research Award provided some financial support. My field research would not have been at all profitable or productive without the cooperation and tolerant good-will of traditional healers (henceforth referred to as balian) and their clients, village officials, temple priests (henceforth pamangku), as well as doctors from the Faculty of Medicine at the University Udayana. To them I owe an enormous personal and intellectual debt. I am grateful to my sponsors dr. Nyoman Adiputra and Professor I Gusti Ngurah Bagus for their help and cooperation. Without the kind assistance and indulgence of my every request given by the late Ida Bagus Beratha, the prebeker of Sanur and his secretary, Ida Bagus Mayun, I would have witnessed fewer magical enactments and understood considerably less than I now do concerning Balinese medicine and magic. I also remain ever grateful to my friends Made Sunandri and Budi for their interest in my work, their help with the Balinese language and their readiness to accompany me on excursions I hesitated to undertake alone. I wish to express grateful acknowledgement to a special few people. Boy Joseph, Jamie Mackie, John Darling, Vivienne Kondos, Michael Allen, Hildred Geertz, and especially Mira Crouch and Craig Reynolds for their guidance and encouragement at various stages of this project. Friends and colleagues who have read drafts and offered helpful comments include in particular Mira Crouch and Tigger Wise, and also Wendy Solomon, Arlette Filloux, Raechelle Rubinstein, Adrian Vickers, David Stuart-Fox and Annie Bettington. I am grateful also to Robyn Wood, who not only typed the manuscript with great efficiency, but also guided me on technical matters involved in the production of the volume. Thankful recognition is offered to Albert, Michelle, Kathryn, Jenny, Melissa and Michael Lovric who lent their various skills. Fieldwork and years of research have made demands upon family funds, and, more significantly, upon the time I might otherwise have given them. For both challenging me and reassuring me through difficult phases, I thank my supervisor, Tony Day.

The thesis is divided into three parts. Part I provides theoretical and conceptual background and clarification relevant to analyses and interpretations of Balinese magico-medical phenomena developed in Parts II and III. Each Chapter is oriented to a different but related aspect of magic and morbidity and raises different theoretical issues. The scholarship on particular issues of theoretical concern is addressed as it arises along the line of argument. However, some of the general problems and issues raised in the thesis, those of the outsider's perception, paradigms and constructions, are challenged specifically in Chapters 1 and 3. In Chapter 1, I present a broad outline of my central proposition concerning the place and role of myth, magic and morbidity in Balinese society and their relationship to culture. An appreciative assessment of the strategies and the texts of certain thinkers in the fields of philosophy, anthropology and literary criticism acknowledges my indebtedness to them. Some subjective reflections upon my involvement with, reaction to and handling of data sources, namely field research and local magico-medical texts, are offered in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3, I define the parameters of sakti and associated ideas and actions. On the basis of textual material and ethnological observations, I attempt a redefinition or reconstruction of the Western construction of Balinese magical ideas and practices. I set up a model of sakti and related concepts to which I apply empirical data in Parts II and III. An identification and description of what I perceive to represent the philosophical doctrines underlying the Balinese magico-medical theory and practice is presented in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 gives a resumé of themes of culture, alternative to those such as cosmological dualisms, and identifies their inherent logic and consistency.

Part II concentrates on the individual or domestic level of society, the medical system and magical practices. Part III turns to the state and community level of the magico-medical system. Historical mythology related to matters of morbidity, cult demonic figures, masks, large-scale rituals and magical exorcistic dance enactments are investigated. In the concluding chapter, I assert my central argument -- the impact of disease upon culture and symbolic form.

Themes and directions have arisen spontaneously from the data. Earlier chapters form the basis for later ones. Later chapters substantiate the formulations of earlier ones. No attempt has been made to accommodate the data to a single hypothesis, a social theory or a political ideology. It has not been my intention to investigate and evaluate traditional healing methods and techniques. The precise details of rites and the exact elements of ingredients of offerings and medical concoctions, of necessity, assumed secondary importance. Only a team of researchers and specialists could document these.

This is not a philological study. No standard Balinese orthography has been attempted. In phrases or passages cited, the spelling is that of the original transcription. Some transcriptions include diacritical marks. Others do not. To simplify the matter, diacritical marks are omitted altogether. For the sake of some degree of uniformity, I have been guided generally by the spelling in the Kawi texts. The plurals of Kawi and Balinese terms have not been anglicized; hence balian may refer to one or several traditional healers. The key terms in this thesis find no precise equivalents in the English language; to use 'magical power' for the term

sakti or 'magically powerful and dangerous' for the terms tenget and pingit is unnecessarily awkward as well as semantically inadequate. Therefore, I retain the use of the Balinese terms in preference to otherwise inadequate English renditions. A glossary is provided. I have altered or disguised the names of actual persons who feature in the ethnography. Illustrations are intended both as a form of documentation and as a visual reference and cross-reference.

The superimposing of fragments of texts or aphorisms at the head of chapters, at the end of them, or sometimes interspersing themes within chapters, is a device consciously borrowed from or modelled upon the writings of Geertz and Boon. These citations or testimonies sometimes encapsulate the essence of the forthcoming discussion. Sometimes they are intended to comment upon it. Sometimes they capture the theme of a chapter rhetorically, but they are not intended as mere rhetoric.

One of the difficulties encountered in understanding and writing about Balinese magic and morbidity is that magic encompasses a totality of thought and the fear and the fact of morbidity testifies to one of the most basic and primeval of mankind's concerns. One cannot say anything without thinking the totality. This text is unavoidably lengthy.

PART I

INCEPTIONS AND COGNITIONS

The peculiar difficulty of dialectical writing lies indeed in its holistic, "totalizing" character: as though you could not say any one thing until you had first said everything; as though with each new idea you were bound to recapitulate the entire system.... There is content, for dialectical thought, but total content....

Jameson *Marxism and Form* 1971:306

Chapter 1

Introduction: The Problem and the Methodology

There are indications that established ways of theorizing the forms of scholarship have been rendered redundant by the strength, scope, cogency and impulse of the philosophical investigations and the penetrating wide-ranging analyses of exponents of new critical theory — neo-Nietzscheans, neo-Marxists, Neo-Freudians — possessing a formidable combination of intellect, erudition and insight. Their texts are not history, anthropology, sociology or political science of the axiomatic heavy-gaited strain. They philosophize history, historicize philosophy and philosophize anthropology or execute any variation upon these in a manner designated to raise the level of debate and understanding by continually disturbing the exaggerations and depreciations well-trodden methodologies have vouchsafed for us. This discourse incides a methodology which is, according to Anderson (1983:16) 'more epistemological than substantive in character'. It transcends the drab emphasis on, and exaggerations of, modes of production, social arrangements and political domination of empiricist writings and aspires to the historical reflexivity — the study of conceptual configurations and operations — characteristic of dialectical thinking. It can dissolve problems of ideological preference.

The fact is that we are, as Dowling (1984:10) has expressed it, 'in the midst of an explosion in theory'. It encompasses a useful polemic and tactical strategies in which there is a self-consciousness of what it is that we do as well as what others have done and an awareness of the object of investigation (its fragmentation) and of the question of totality (of thinking it). Dialectical thinking in the Geertzian intellectual enterprise is 'the understanding of understanding' (1983:5) impelled by an awareness of the difficulty of dealing with images conveyed by symbolism; the 'mirroring upon mirroring' and the 'dazzle of reflecting reflections' (1980:107). In the Jamesonian sense, it is 'thought about thought' or 'thought aware of its own intellectual operation' (1971:53-4). It is framed in historical reflexivity whereby both the object of investigation and the conceptual operations applied to it are historically problematized. This, Jameson argues, can lead to a system and theory of literary interpretation which is also a theory of history and culture. Cultural artifacts such as magical rites, like texts, can be viewed and interpreted as symbolic expressions and resolutions of actual and intolerable dilemmas.

This new transforming method and critical theory, this "assorted semiotics and dialectics", as Boon (1982:112) refers to them, derange the postulations, and should disturb any complacency there may be in current literary, anthropological and historical methodological modes in Balinese studies. Semiotics relies on devices (symbols) 'that keep cultures (like languages) dialectically removed from deterministic

mechanisms' (p.115) and 'ensures against (!) explaining away cultural variation' (p.120). The endeavour becomes one of enlarging understanding of conceptual entities and perceptual categories thus eluding reductionism of 'exotic' (other) forms of structuring phenomena and ways of knowing. 'Fact', as Susanne Langer (1942:267) wrote, 'is not a simple notion'. What Boon (p.121) has said of semiotics, is applicable to new critical theory in general; it 'traffics in genres' by crossing and transforming disciplinary boundaries. The development of separate fields of anthropology (and then social, cultural, medical, psychoanalytic), political science, sociology, history (and then social, political and intellectual), philosophy and philology, all competing with each other and against the natural sciences, in some cases, for the largest slice of the cultural action in the academic industry has, to some extent, obfuscated the issues and deproblematized the deficiencies. The philosophical investigations inherent in this kind of methodology cause us to question our particular assemblage of techniques and pat assumptions.

(i) Theoretical Axioms and Conceptual Straight-Jackets

Anthropology follows the Baconian tradition of evidence first, and problems and theories disguised as conclusions later, according to Jarvie (1964). He exhorts the value of stating the problems first. The problem (and the challenge) in this study of Balinese medical magic is that the Balinese do not organize their experience and conceptual-perceptual categories or construct their magico-medical matters according to the generally accepted tenets of anthropological theory. Much of the magical healing and trance possession ritual phenomena examined in this study do not 'fit' neatly into the established anthropological paradigms. There are not even clear correspondences with that of Malaysia and Java where one might expect affinities or similarities.

A vast literature of Western misrepresentation of the meaning behind the Balinese ritual complex and the nature and content of the belief system has developed in part owing to an indifference to or an ignorance of the total system of knowledge, its implicit assumptions and complex webs of relevancies. The trend in early Dutch scholarship was: if the purpose of some ritual seemed uncertain, call it a fertility rite or a harvest festival; if an art form or dance seemed odd or grotesque, attribute it to a native 'playfulness'; if nomenclature and classificatory systems proved difficult, term them 'meaningless'. Later, a largely American school of anthropology and psychoanalytical interpretation which constructed a 'Balinese character' moulded by unique child-rearing practices, yielded a culturalist explanatory paradigm.⁴ I agree with Freeman (1983:48) that the doctrine of absolute socio-cultural determinism which excluded consideration of nature, formulated by Kroeber, Lowie and Boaz and 'proved' by Margaret Mead in Samoa and Bali has been 'intellectually stifling'.⁵

There are four major assumptions, some more entrenched than others in the literature on Bali, which are challenged or refuted through the data yielded and the methodology pursued in this study: first, the Western construction of Balinese cosmology as one based upon binary oppositions in the form of cosmological dualisms of mountain and sea, gods and demons, good and evil, and so forth; second, that the sea, in

Balinese thought, is the source of evil and disease, a proposition which emanated from the assignation of the mountains and the sea as cosmological antipodes; third, that the many and major magical periodic and seasonal rites originate in a concern with agricultural fertility and abundance, that they represent 'thanksgivings' for good harvests directed to some kind of monotheistic almighty god, that they demonstrate the victory of good over evil; fourth, that there is a popular peasant (commoner) religious culture significantly different, ideologically and in praxis to an elite scriptural one of the ruling gentry (triwangsa). In this paradigm, cultural artifacts (rites, texts, art works, for instance) are imputed to function either to legitimate the ruling elite or to voice the dissatisfaction of subordinated commoners.⁶

The first two axioms are largely the formulations of early Dutch scholarship⁷ and the presuppositions of popular and some academic literature on Bali. The third originates in Western scholarship and is reaffirmed in nationalistic reformist literature. I maintain that these constructions have remained the basic and unquestioned assumptions concerning Balinese culture upon which later researchers (there are notable exceptions such as H. Geertz, C. Geertz, J. Boon and M. Hobart) have continued to base their theories and interpretations of cultural phenomena. These four issues recur at various levels in the body of this study where I present substantiations of my refutations through literary and ethnographic evidence.

However, my central argument also challenges the major theoretical orientation in medical anthropology which posits that illness is a social construct. The analytical presupposition that illness is a culturally constituted experience demands almost exclusive focus on the socio-cultural parameters of magico-medical systems. The main thrust of medical anthropology has been to investigate the impact of social structure upon disease and to demonstrate the postulate that socio-cultural factors govern types and frequencies of disease, the construction of disease and responses to disease (see Logan and Hunt 1978, for example). The major message has been that theories of disease cannot be understood apart from an understanding of social predicaments of groups holding them (see Fabrega 1977, Kleinman 1980, Landy 1977). Medical myth and magic have been used primarily as social structural data (see Lévi-Strauss 1982). Medical symbolism and classificatory systems have been posited as reflections of social organization (see Frake 1977). Similarly, the concern in studies of trance possession and exorcism is with their relationship to social arrangements. It is argued that possession is used in competition for status, wealth and power -- psychologically for emotional release or as compensating vengeance against oppressive spouses (see Hamer 1977, for example).

Possibly as an over-reaction to the scientific study of disease as a purely bio-medical phenomenon, theoretical orientations in medical anthropology focus almost exclusively on the socio-cultural parameters of illness, often with particular emphasis on political and economic factors (see Connor 1982a, for example). Cultural enquiry has not yet focussed on disease patterns and the bio-medical aspects of illness which influence the socio-cultural construction of disease. Each of the themes of Balinese culture -- demonology, trance possession, witchcraft and sorcery -- which I have identified as being inherently linked to the magico-medical complex, have been analysed and interpreted rather too distantly from

the circumstances in which it arises, namely, illness and death. Much has been written on the sociology of witchcraft, for example. We have extended little thought in the direction of its bio-medical dimensions and the possibility of a pathogenic imperative. The axiom that disease is socially constructed forecloses fruitful enquiry just as much as does that statement that it is biologically constructed. For it is quite possible that magical powers, demonic forces, witchcraft and sorcery themselves contain explanatory paradigms.

I will demonstrate that the interrelationships which magico-medical phenomenon have with pathological realities and epistemological assumptions are more important than any congruence they may have with political ideologies. It is logical that a local medical system should reflect cultural patterns and be consistent with social practices. The explanatory mythology and cults of magic woven around the predicament of disease, I will show, are at least as complex as the aetiology, pathogenesis and pathogenic processes involved in disease itself. The resources of the physical environment, an abundance of vectors of disease which influence the pattern of morbidity in a tropical ambient may impose significant limitations upon cultural forms and determine particular cultural concerns and themes. The content of a traditional medical system can then reflect these substantive issues, that is, societal and individual survival, perceived, at times, to be threatened by a heavy burden of endemic and devastating epidemic disease. Of course, social solidarity, status and aggrandizement may also rate as concerns at the same time.

I posit that illness is expressed in pathological terms as well as cultural idioms, and that associated symbolism and metaphors derive from clinical manifestations and perceived pathogenic processes. My interest lies in indigenous observations and ways of knowing and encoding and in mediations. I seek the metaphorical and metonymical affinities in bio-medical and philosophical schema over sociological and technico-economic schema.

On the assumption that a dialectical understanding of local conceptions and constructions is a necessary prerequisite to an adequate sociology of such things, I have sought more to break codes and seek relational meanings than to formulate laws and paradigms. My feeling is that understanding can best be reached through recourse to indigenous conceptual configurations, imagery, myths and rituals than through an application of sociological and anthropological theories. I will argue the influence of disease upon cultural representations from within a frame of reference of local philosophical presuppositions, recorded experience, observations of the pathological process, classificatory system and encodings. Balinese myth and magic are expressive of more than a socio-cultural dialectic. Critical clues to substantive themes of Balinese culture and to the substance of the cultural response to disease are found in the assemblage of artifacts, techniques and recorded observations which form the Balinese magico-medical complex.

ii Eclectic Borrowings and 'Dialectical Drifting'

Epistemologies and methodologies can be variable, plural reflexive - like texts, like cultures (Boon 1982:152).

The philosophical and methodological aspects of this study draw inspiration and acknowledge eclectic borrowing from the writings of Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, Friedrich Nietzsche, Ion Jarvie, Dan Sperber, Michael Polanyi, Fredric Jameson, Clifford Geertz, Bruce Kapferer, James Boon and Mark Hobart. Since I have used the ideas and theories of these scholars in a somewhat arbitrary manner, I outline here some of the central problems they expose and the solutions they put forward. My indebtedness to other thinkers is acknowledged at the various levels of the following investigations. Because Lévy-Bruhl's formulations have aroused little appreciation and much unwarranted criticism,⁸ I allot some space to outlining aspects of them salient to this study.

Lévy-Bruhl's writings⁹ foreground the pervasiveness of the epistemological problem. He was interested in the sociology of knowledge, ethno-linguistics, the use of metaphor and the special role value of myth. The fact that traditional societies hold distinctive systems of belief, which are inherent in their conceptual framework and reflected in their languages, was first recognized and emphasized by him. According to Eliade (1965:100), interest in myth and symbols was stimulated, to a large extent, by Lévy-Bruhl's writings and the controversies they aroused.

Lévy-Bruhl identified five principles of a traditional mode of thought. First, its mystical orientation; pre-eminent concern is focused upon the supernatural. Collective representations predispose to the perceiving of beings, space and objects as having mystical properties. Mystical experience, thus, has as much, if not more, authority and value than the other. The supernatural is the affective category; invisible powers are the essential principles of whatever happens. The fact of illness, for example, is evidence of pervasive supernatural forces. The representations of supernatural powers are varied -- deities, demons, spirits, witches. A quest for defence and protection prompts the awe and anxious disquiet characteristic of communications with such forces. Analysis of this power is difficult. There is no starting point to account for what power is. It is there. It is efficacious.

Second, it is not conceptual in the manner of modern, Western thought. There are abstract terms in the languages and concepts are formed, but they are neither precise tools of discursive thought nor rigid frameworks. Concepts are not used to organize the existing body of knowledge or to acquire new knowledge. Knowledge is accumulated rather than organized. Concepts and representations are juxtaposed rather than classified. There is a system of figurations rather than of order. Things are felt qualitatively not quantitatively. There is a sense of participation with, rather than a predilection towards, conceptualizing the universe.

Because mystical thought juxtaposes rather than classifies, incompatibilities and contradictions do not arise. This illustrates a third characteristic of a traditional mode of thought, its fluidity. The special thought role value of myth familiarizes members of the culture with representations of a world where fluidity dominates, where there are transformations and an absence of laws positing the fixity of forms. Mystical and mythical experiences are only qualitatively distinct from ordinary experience; hence, the impression of chaos and confusion in myths, and their apparently unordered content. There are, in them, juxtapositions, transformations, repetitions, and imitations. In fact, it

is myth which has demonstrated the powers of transformations. Myths and rituals patently reveal these processes of thought. Memory is more important than abstract reasoning.

A fourth characteristic, indifference to secondary (that is, natural) causes, is a direct consequence of the abovementioned. In seeking explanations for illness and untimely death, indifference to the chain of secondary (natural) causes does not deny the laws of nature and the mechanism of natural causation. Less significance is merely attached to them. The how of an occurrence is of no great concern. Supernatural forces are responsible and their help is required in any remedial activity. Mystical causality is felt intuitively through presuppositions.

A final formulation in Lévy-Bruhl's writings is that called 'participation'. He described participation as a datum rather than as a relationship. 'To be' is 'to participate'. It is a condition of existence. He postulated that all human minds were capable of apprehending participation and mystical experience but in modern Western societies these were no longer 'felt'. When they do exist, they do so more as a social deviancy. They are anachronistic.

Lévy-Bruhl first became interested in different modes of thought when he read a translation of a text by a Chinese philosopher and found it completely incomprehensible. Having struggled with traditional Balinese texts, historical and medical mythology and medical treatises, I can appreciate the nature of Lévy-Bruhl's early frustration as well as the strategy he devised in order to preserve the sense of the ideas presented. His observations and formulations dissolve evolutionary notions of primitive 'irrationality', superstition and ignorance. Reasoning takes place within different categories to those of secular scientifically-oriented thought, but the logical mechanisms are the same. Lévy-Bruhl did not claim that his theory of mystical orientation and participations could do more than guide an appreciation of other perceptions of reality and of the internal logic and consistency in other ways of defining experience. His primary aim was to identify the complex body of ideas which directed attitudes and behaviour rather than merely to interpret behaviour itself. He was attempting to eradicate Western misrepresentation of phenomena not-yet-understood. According to him, the posing of problems, uninformed by indigenous epistemologies, is, like the analysis and conclusion it yields, artificial (1975:151).

Michael Polanyi, a philosopher and a scientist, is one of the few who have appreciated the depth of Lévy-Bruhl's reflections. Like Lévy-Bruhl, Polanyi seeks to find a way out of the problem of being forever locked within one's own knowledge and logic and of constantly appealing to this in order to arbitrate meaning and interpret other expressions of knowledge. Polanyi perceives a logical oddity in the nature of human knowledge arising from the fact that human knowledge is of two kinds, explicit or formulated knowledge, as set out in writings, and tacit or unformulated knowledge. Whereas only explicit knowledge can be critically reflected upon, it is the tacit powers of the mind which are decisive and which predominate in all human thought. Processes of understanding, including understanding of symbols, involve purely tacit processes. Nothing uttered or written can mean anything in itself. Polanyi also introduced the distinction between the two kinds of awareness which comprise tacit knowledge, focal and subsidiary, in which the subsidiary awareness (not

to be confused with subconscious awareness) of a thing endows it with meaning. This also applies to perception (1958).

Polanyi went on to apply his theory of personal knowledge to anthropological method. Since there is an unavoidable act of personal participation in all explicit knowledge of things, the implication for the social sciences is that scholars tend to interpret cultural phenomena in terms of the categories with which they are themselves familiar. Cognitive judgements are based upon one's own tacit knowledge and subsidiary awareness. Furthermore, one is constantly misguided by the implications and semantics of one's own vocabulary. Polanyi is critical of the kinds of methodology which, for the sake of some kind of scientific detachment, adopt all kinds of labyrinths and subterfuges to avoid sounding naive or unscientific. Cultural enquiry, he maintains, requires involvement with, not detachment from, other knowledge. Cultural interpretation requires detachment from one's own cultural assumptions and a participation with another kind of knowledge. Symbols carry within themselves perceptions and interpretations of events and original meanings and values. A search for meaning is then a search for associations.

Polanyi's theory of knowledge based on tacit knowing rejects the idea of the existence of a strictly explicit knowledge (1969:144). Tacit knowledge can be possessed by itself but explicit knowledge relies upon it being tacitly understood and applied; the conclusion being that all knowledge is either tacit or rooted in tacit knowledge. Tacit knowing or understanding is thus achieved through an act of 'indwelling' (p.160). The cognitive process in both the traditional and the modern mind is rooted in the same principles but the results, conclusions, and interpretations of reality differ because traditional thought is based generally upon more far-reaching integrations unacceptable to the modern mind (1975:132).

Sperber (1979) likewise advocates a deeper analysis of the epistemological bases of cultural phenomena. According to him, the most interesting cultural data are those which are not made explicit, that is, tacit knowledge. Symbolism originated in, and symbols represent tacit knowledge as distinct from explicit knowledge. He ascribes symbolism a greater significance than that of an instrument of communication; communication plays a role but symbols are more than a mere means of communication. He thus rejects the exegetical and the psychoanalytical as well as the structuralist views of symbolism; the first, because it posits at the outset a set of symbols as given in a culture, and claims that interpretation is possible through special knowledge, and the second because it posits a set of interpretations as given in the unconscious. Both leave the logic of the relationship indeterminate. According to Sperber, structuralists do not have a theory; they merely invent a 'party game' by setting out sets of oppositions and inversions in balanced matrices (p.64). The semiological approach, he sees as inadequate, for it fails to recognize that symbolism does not have its own system of signs; it uses already existing and established signs, acts and utterances. Decoding symbols is a matter of discovering a relevance rather than of finding meaning (p.113). Sperber subscribes to the notion that there is no irrational symbolism. There is 'only poorly-interpreted symbolism'. Symbolic import lies in the representations which express symbolism. 'All keys to symbolism' Sperber postulates, 'are part of the symbolism itself', so that symbol interpretation itself does not yield meaning (p.50).

Sperber does not purport to construct a theory of symbolism, but a metatheory. The meaning of symbols is not available to the outsider through intuition, obfuscating research tactics or Western theoretical constructions. His formulations and resolutions of the problems he raises necessitate and direct a reaching beyond the constraints of theory. Myths, rituals and behaviour are approached in the same way (p.147). It is a matter of organizing symbols, of placing them in a context and seeking relational meaning, not merely interpreting them. He advocates an analysis 'from the inside out'. That which Jung termed the 'unconscious aspect', 'the language of the unconsciousness, dreams, and repressed instincts', and Freud termed 'repressed desires', 'primeval dreams and fantasies' to refer to aspects of symbolism, Sperber calls the tacit knowledge aspect of symbolism, a knowledge of the memory of things (pp.47-50).

Jarvie (1964) has addressed the problem of too much methodology; studies, he feels, have become 'bogged down in it'. This has distracted from the formulation of the issues themselves (p.xv). The academic exercise itself has assumed priority. Jarvie ponders whether social sciences have become enmeshed in the prevailing philosophical doctrine in methodology imposed by Francis Bacon, designated to escape the 'demon of error'; one should not get excited about other human cultures or systems of knowledge because this plays havoc with scientific endeavour. Efficient methodologies, he claims, can foreclose the pursuing of 'uncertain paths of imagination and insight'. 'The thing to do', suggests Jarvie, is not to 'inhibit imagination but to be very critical of its products' (p.6). 'The method is no substitute for simple inventiveness and imagination' (p.224).

Jarvie suggests a rethinking of the framework we impose upon a subject instead of rethinking within a framework (p.171). The method he advocates is 'a procedural convention . . . not a formula for getting the truth', one which encourages the presentation of 'bold and speculative theories' and exposes them 'to criticism to which they succumb'. That, according to Jarvie, is as much as we should ask from a 'method' (p.224).

The sensitive ethnography and the scope and power of the analytical perspectives of such scholars as Geertz, Kapferer, Boon and Hobart have yielded what I perceive to be unique insights into ways of understanding other cultures and intellectual traditions. Their writings have, in various ways, guided my thinking and encouraged my deviation from well-trodden but safe paths in cultural enquiry. I empathize with Kapferer's dissatisfaction with psychoanalytic interpretations in anthropological studies. I have profited from his insights into the nature of the divine demonic in Sri Lankan culture and from his formulations concerning the properties of symbolism in ritual and other magical activities.

Hobart (1983:33-6) urges a reflection upon the importance of indigenous philosophies in a search for understanding of cultures. The failure of the Western academic industry to understand other intellectual traditions is due, according to Hobart, to the imposition of categories and assumptions from our own philosophical tradition on to the ideas and action of another.

The writings and the tenor of scholarship of Clifford Geertz and James Boon evidence their involvement with the new intellectualist dialectic and critical theory referred to earlier. Both are self-confessed

(Geertz 1977:491; Boon 1982:114) semiotic anthropologists. In **Local Knowledge** (1983) Geertz hails an 'intellectual deprovincialization' where the 'posing of expositive questions' is no longer as alarming as it once was. He discerns the beginnings of an 'impingement of broader currents of thought' upon a 'snug and insular enterprise' (social science) as the writings of philosophers penetrate it (p.3).

In **Other Tribes, Other Scribes** (1982) Boon proceeds in a method which he describes as 'dialectical drifting'. His text, Boon tells us, draws inspiration from and is a response to Geertz's exhortations to abandon the uniformitarian view of human nature, to loosen well-fastened philosophical moorings and drift into perilous waters (p.xi) and navigate philosophical waters of cultural theory (p.27); echoings of Nietzsche's (1977:204-5) warning that the philosopher 'risks himself constantly' and 'plays the dangerous game . . . in an age where the remnant of philosophy 'arouses the distrust and displeasure when it does not arouse mockery and pity'.

Their texts do not foreclose further enquiry and thought. They promote them. Apart from their considerable literary skill, I appreciate their style — variously rhetorical, playful, deliberately obscurantist (?) — the arresting images and the abstractions they coin; in short, the challenge they offer to conventional anthropological texts and to the academic industry. How do 'we understand understanding not our own?' (cf., Geertz 1983:5). Their suggested strategy, and one I have endeavoured to pursue, is one of 'dialectical drifting' (Boon 1982) and of 'dialectical tacking' (Geertz 1980) between descriptions of magico-medical rituals, conceptual configurations, thematic modes, medical mythology and the natural history of disease in order to understand the thought, the knowledge and the experience expressed in cultural phenomena. Like Geertz (1973b:14), I use the concept of culture interpretively, as a context, not as a causal factor. An awareness and understanding of what the Balinese actually perceive, the lived dilemmas, the nightmares, the concerns and the semiotics informing magico-medical myth and ritual, are not impossible, only painstakingly slow, convoluted and methodologically profuse.

Notes - Chapter 1

1. See Zinsser (1935) in particular; also Henschen (1962); Cartwright (1972); McNeill (1979) and, specifically relevant to the present area of investigation, Owen's **Death and Disease in Southeast Asia** (1987).
2. Unpublished BA(Hons) Thesis, University of Sydney, 1979, 'An Approach to Balinese Historical Literature'.
3. The status of this new intellectualist dialectics and semiotics in Balinese studies has been examined elsewhere (Lovric 1986c).
4. Margaret Mead, who was at the forefront of the psychoanalytical and culture-and-personality movement, wrote relatively little on Bali in general and did no research in the field of culture and disease. However, her formulations of how things are in the field of cultural psychology and her rejection of the significance of biological, genetic and biochemical influences in favour of cultural determinism, have influenced subsequent studies, and they remain largely unchallenged.
5. For a more good-humoured critique of the semiotics, politics and poetics operative in the production of Mead's 'texts' on culture, see Boon 1985.
6. See, for example, Connor 1982; Vickers 1984 and Worsley 1984.
7. See, for example, Van der Kroef 1954, Swellengrebel 1960.
8. Most anthropologists, according to Pertierra (1983b) have misunderstood the spirit of much of Lévy-Bruhl's formulations; philosophers have had less difficulty, and have appreciated the value of the problems he exposed. He did choose an unfortunate phrase in 'primitive mentality' which has pejorative connotations for some. 'Modes of thought' along the lines used by Robin Horton and Jack Goody would have been more acceptable. I have retained the latter phrase in order to avoid the misconstrued one.
9. In his post-humously published **Notebooks (Les Carnets)**, Lévy-Bruhl sought to clarify, through qualifications, those of his original statements which had been misunderstood.

Chapter 2

Data Sources: Trials and Testimonies

Some of the problems with local textual material and the misunderstanding perpetuated by scholars who have not used them extensively are reflected in the following 'letter from the field' ^{(supplement), (1977)} written by Margaret Mead (1979:214) to her mentor, Franz Boas:

We barely touched the literature, which is for the most part in old Javanese that is only partially comprehended by Balinese scholars. But we have come right up to the edge of it, in work with the absolutely illiterate, with the partially literate and with the aspiring scholar who can tell what a sentence in the old palm leaf book means, but cannot translate literally more than half the words in the sentence. . . . It seems very clear that in Bali literature has served primarily to paralyze thought and to give everyone a sense of intellectual inferiority.

Such uninformed judgements of local literary sources deflect from the value of a rich data source which can and should complement field studies. Those whose illuminations concerning cultural complexities are absorbed primarily from field study might express concern about those who select theirs from local texts (lontar). Those whose investigations centre on textual material might imply the integrity of their particular enterprise and even vaunt their lack of reliance upon informants.¹ Are ethnology and textual study to be viewed as rival data sources? Ideally, neither should be viewed as subordinate to the other, as unworthy of regard other than in limited circumstances.

I regard the historical and medical textual material used in this study as testimonies and interpretations of real (lived) dilemmas and grave events. In the case of the magico-medical texts, I maintain that the predicaments of morbidity and untimely death are, to borrow from Jameson (1981:101), their 'absent cause'. In the philosophical perspective adhered to by Day (1981) in his study of Javanese literature, I seek a 'truly social and historical understanding' of Balinese historical mythology and medical traditions. Day sees nineteenth century Javanese poems as being 'totally concrete and historically determined', as being expressive of history and as transformations of themes of history (p.305).

Local literary sources stabilize. They force one to question pat assumptions. What indigenous literature provides, which is not found in the 'historically accurate' European texts and the 'sober' European ethnology, is the Balinese bias and perspective; their view of their problems, history and cultural predilections, and their meaning. To engage the illumination they imply requires the containment of restrictive strategies. The kind of dialectical semiotics referred to earlier, expounded by such writers on Bali as Geertz and Boon, admits the formulation of a methodology which transcends disciplinary boundaries between ethnography and philology. The use of local literary material supplemented with ethnology, I perceive as a means of supporting an integrative theory

of culture advocated by Geertz (1973b). One is forced to go beyond description and interpretation, towards philosophical investigation which can lead to an awareness of something at least approaching the totality, something less fragmented.

The ethnography in this study is based in fieldwork done in the village of Sanur in South Bali. The decision to make Sanur the focus of my field research was influenced largely by its reputation as a centre of literature and magic. Its geographical position, bordered by the sea on two sides, also influenced my choice. As an area exposed to tourist influences and being close to the capital Denpasar and to Western-style hospitals, it seemed like an ideal vantage point from which to view the interaction between modern and traditional medical systems. The village also presented something of a challenge. Well-meaning colleagues advised me to forget about Sanur and seek some 'unspoiled' location where I could find something worthwhile and interesting. My initial impulse proved correct. There was much yet to discover about Sanur (see Lovric 1986b).

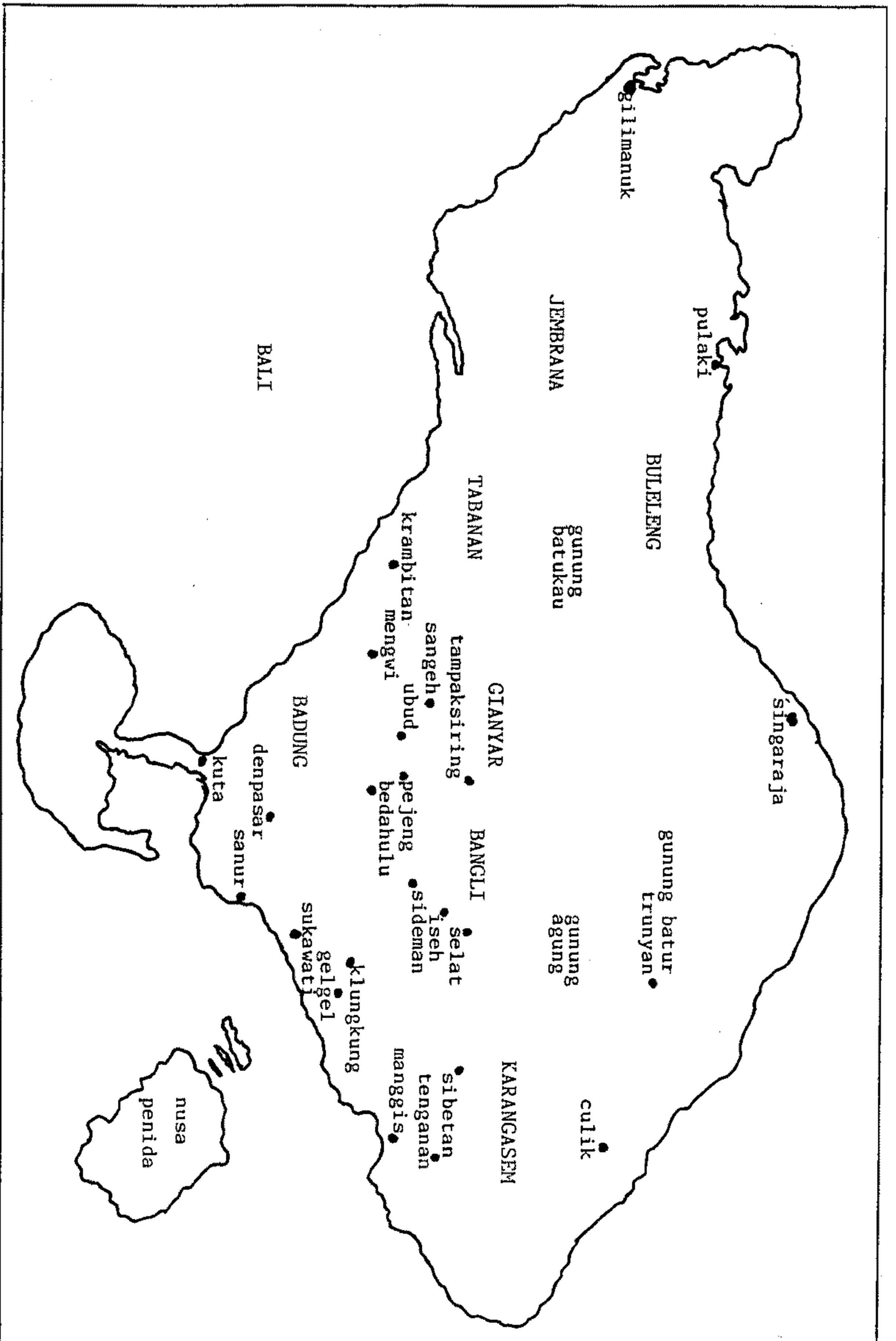
i) Fieldwork: Some Reflections on the Intrusion Illusion and Moments of Serendipity

. . . fieldwork is a messy business (Boon, *The Anthropological Romance of Bali* 1977:229)

Is anthropology a parodic pursuit and Bali a parodic culture?
(Boon, *Other Tribes, Other Scribes* 1982:170)

The Intrusion: There is a kind of ludicrousness involved in doing fieldwork. One flounders (or barges) in upon an unfamiliar scene. One dashes about by motor-bike or whatever mode of transport one dares, replete with camera(s), tape-recorder(s), notebook and pen and bearing gifts; sometimes chameleon-like, adorned in temple gear endeavouring to look inconspicuous and seeking the anonymity which the very reason for being there denies one. It is a unique learning experience, requiring one almost to suspend one's own life, ethos and reality as one attempts to participate in another and different version of it. In the early stages, and on numerous occasions even thereafter, I felt distinctly uncomfortable, sort of like an incompetent actor, if not a fraud, unable to cope with a role to which one has aspired or gained under false pretences. Clearly, there is a certain amount of pretence in such an enterprise. One does not fool anybody, least of all oneself. One cannot suddenly become Balinese and the most reasonable compliment that can be paid to one's hosts under the circumstances is to concede this temporary inadequacy, this sense of alienation in a cultural milieu which is not one's own.

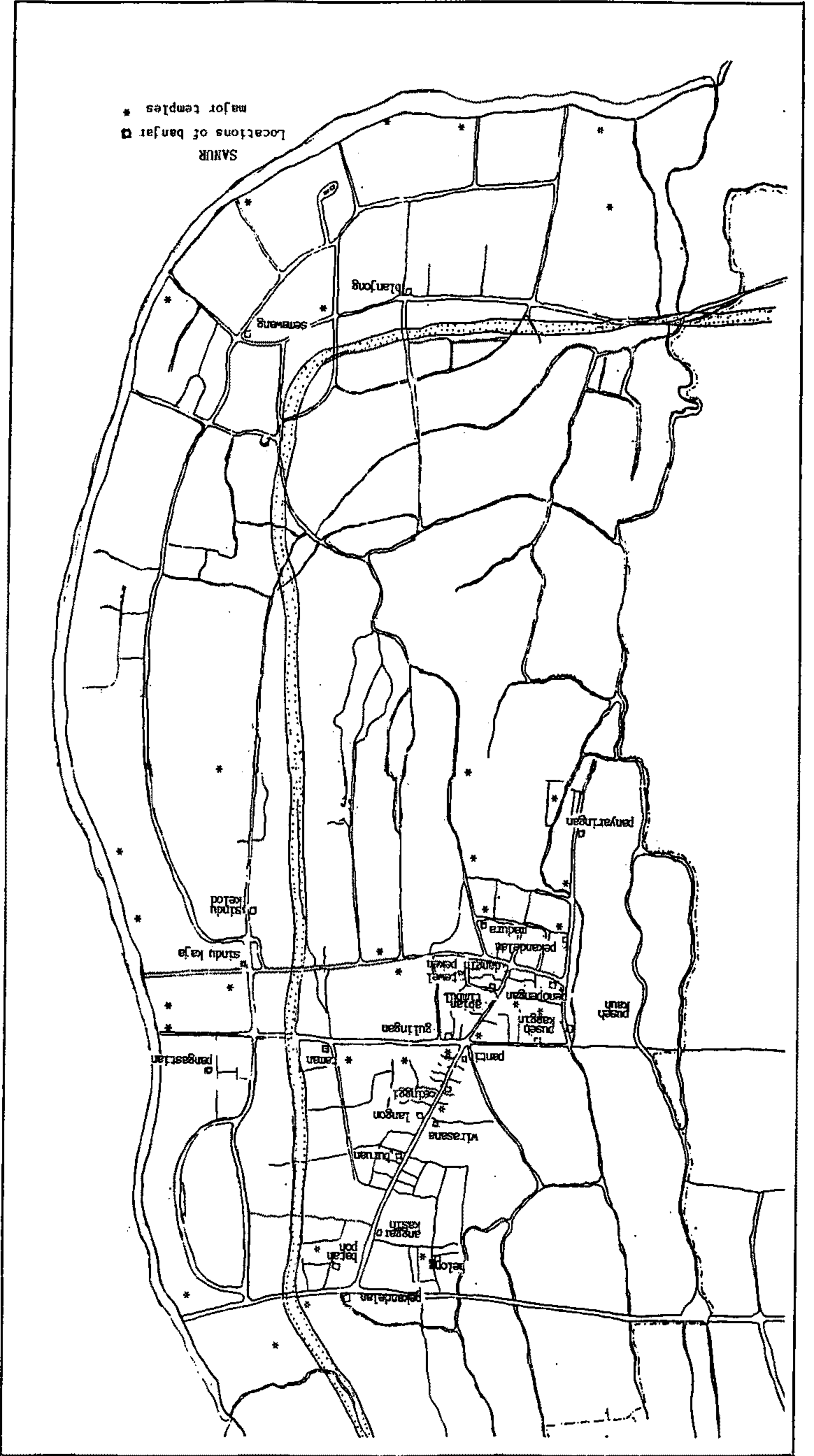
Interviewing balian was probably the most sensitive part of my research. Intruding upon their privacy especially in the early days of fieldwork, was a stressful and humbling experience. Identifying exactly who the practitioners of magic were in the village and locating them were also not easy matters. On my first interview with a balian which had been arranged through local government officials, I was accompanied by my sponsor, a doctor from the medical faculty and a government official. It took place under the most appalling conditions of background (rather foreground) noise. An unrestrained and uninhibited cock was causing noisy havoc among the hen population of the houseyard. A dozen or



so caged fighting cocks seemed to be participating vicariously and loudly, adding to the general mayhem. A pup was being fed milk from a bottle upon which a teat had been attached. Three male clients sat chatting with the balian. On the table in front of the balian there was a half-consumed bottle of beer and evidence of much tobacco consumption; all somewhat different to the atmosphere one might have anticipated. The government official intercepted most of my questions answering them himself through reference to national ideologies and slogans or simply by dismissing ideas as belonging only to a realm of kepercayaan (belief or superstition) leaving me utterly at the point of bewildered despair and the balian somewhat bemused, I felt, by the whole debacle. The most striking thing about the balian himself was the prosaic figure he cut, chain-smoking and consuming beer throughout what I saw as my ordeal. Things could only get better. Fortunately or fortuitously they did.

Did the pioneers of fieldwork like Margaret Mead never experience periods of self-doubt and inadequacy? Did they never regret the intrusion? I deem it of some relevance to point out the problems I experienced in the course of field research and to relate the manner in which I coped with some of them. Among the numerous texts produced about Bali there is no more than a passing reference, if that, to such difficulties. Boon (1977:229; 1982:4-9) is one of the few who have attempted to articulate the problems of doing fieldwork and who has questioned its products.² Have others been able to penetrate and decode cultures without ever encountering obstacles, frustration and discouragement? Perhaps the euphoria and confidence of completion allows all else to fade into obscurity. Objectivity is supposed to be the essence of 'good' fieldwork. Since that is rarely attained, it may be useful to challenge the ideal itself. I found it helpful to try to identify and then to declare my bias, intolerance, fears and sensitivities; to admit to 'culture-shock' and at times delusions and disenchantments rather than to conceal them behind some patronising Panglossian attitude. Though intrigued by the subject of my research, at times, I came to loathe the situation I was in. In the past, doing fieldwork was not the individual ordeal that it is for most of us today. Much of the early ethnography on Bali was recorded by researchers who worked as a team comparing notes and observations, aided by a team of research assistants, secretaries and translators.

A research visa does not give one automatic entree into the confidence and trust of informants such as those I came to know (a little). I believe that the idea of total acceptance, of being 'one of them' or 'with them' is, at worst, cultural arrogance and at best a romantic notion entertained by those who would have it so. One remains a foreigner for as long as one remains in that ambience of investigation. The Balinese are not easily deceived. And on the subject of ego-effacement, and whether by way of conceding or boasting, at no time did I suffer the illusion, warned against by Geertz (1977:492), that I had actually achieved some inner spiritual correspondence with the Balinese; that I could actually think, feel and perceive as they do. Even so, I did sometimes have difficulty maintaining the detachment and dispassion I felt I ought to exercise. There are, of course, degrees to which outsiders are accepted. The Balinese seem to have grown accustomed to the boldness, simplicity or crass ignorance of foreigners in matters of protocol. Some may not perceive the point of my problematizing the issue.



SANUR
Locations of banjar □
major temples *

Blanjong

Semawang

Puseh

Kledong

Kaja

Kaya

Kaya

Kaya

Kaya

Kaya

Kaya

Kaya

Kaya

Kaya

Kaya

Kaya

Kaya

Kaya

Kaya

Kaya

Kaya

Fieldwork does constitute an intrusion into another culture. I never ceased to question the propriety of such cultural prying. Previous visits to Bali and a reasonable understanding of some aspects of Balinese culture had not prepared me for an ambitious undertaking of having face to face contact with the island's notorious and eminent practitioners of magic. Memories of the early cultural faux-pas made either through ignorance or lack of perspicacity do not fade as readily as one might wish. Whether being viewed as a curiosity, an anomaly, a prodigy or an ignoramous, one learns patience, forbearance and humility.

The Setting - Sanur: At the time of my fieldwork, Sanur had a population of 15,493. Of this number, 13,493 embrace the religion of Bali known as Agama Hindu Dharma. 1,170 are Muslim, 107 are Buddhist, 121 are Catholic and 175 are Christian (Statistics [Statistik] Desa Sanur, 1981). There are no churches in Sanur. There is one mosque and some forty major temples (pura). The village is comprised of twenty-four banjar (hamlets) and it is divided into two Desa Adat, Sanur and Intaran.

The major pura which I managed to locate and identify are named: Blatri, Dalem Kedewatan, Kembar, Kembang, Segara and Kayangan in Pekandelan; Surya in Batan Poh; Surya in Belong; Tangguh Suron in Buruan; Maospait in Singgi; Taman Segara in Panti; Pantaran (also named Dalem) and Siwa Dampati in Taman Sari; Dalem Segara Alit in Sindu Kaja; Rambut Siwi in Penopengan; Pasakan and Agung in Dangin Peken; Dalem Sindu (also named Dalem Desa), Dalem Patal and Tanjung Sari in Sindu Kelod; Dalem Batur in Pekandelan (Intaran); Dalem Kembar, Kayangan and Dalem Mimba in Madura; Batur Kelod and Pegunungan in Puseh Kauh; Mentig and Telaga in Puseh Kangin; Giri Kusuma (also named Dalem) and Gemara Geseng in Semawang; Tambok, Lankang Hidung, Blanjong, Dalem Suud, Dalem Pangembah, Merta Sari and Tirtha Mpul in Blanjong (see map opposite).

Cults of sakti, trance possession, demonic masks and witchcraft which dominate Balinese constructions of disease and death were all well represented in Sanur. The literate and oral traditions which inform these cults were also prominent there. However, it should not be construed that the findings from this study reflect only the state of magico-medical arts and crafts in Sanur. Balian resident in Sanur receive clients from all over Bali and themselves travel all over the island at the request of clients. Likewise, residents of Sanur might seek consultations with practitioners of magic outside of Sanur. Although field research centred in Sanur, it was not confined to this village. Whenever an opportunity presented itself to talk with balian through personal introduction, I took advantage of it. Some of my observations and interpretations of the cult masks are based upon observations of rituals held in other villages.

An inventory (inventarisasi Ind.) of balian in the village of Sanur supplied to me through the secretary of the village head listed only fifteen names (Table 1, overleaf). This was a useful starting point. It included the better known balian. Apparently, balian had been requested to register with banjar heads (klian). There seemed no compulsion to do so and few had complied. Through a prolonged search the list grew to include thirty-two balian of one type or another. Only about five of them could be classed as famous (or infamous) practitioners of magic. From these, I have drawn most of my data.

Table 1
Inventory of Balian in the Village of Sanur in the District of Denpasar South, 1981

No.	Name	Age (yrs)	Sex		Address	Level of Education (grade)	Type of Dukun* (source of learning)	Av. No. of patients per day	Area of influence
			(m)	(f)					
1	I Wayan Loka	50	*		Br. Taman Sari	3rd	Balian Usada	2	Sanur/Beyond
2	I Made Sipir	60	*		Br. Taman Sari	3rd	Balian Katakson	1	Sanur/Beyond
3	Ida Bagus Ketut Dauh	73	*		Br. Buruan	3rd	Balian Usada	3	Sanur/Beyond
4	I Wayan Rereh	70	*		Br. Belong	3rd	Balian Usada	2	Sanur/Beyond
5	I Nugri	50	*		Br. Belong	6th	Balian Usada	3	Sanur/Beyond
6	I Wayan Dura	48	*		Br. Pekandelan	3rd	Balian Katakson	1	Sanur/Beyond
7	I Made Rapung	60	*		Br. Belong	3rd	Balian Katakson	uncertain	Sanur
8	I Duarta	72	*		Br. Puseh Kangin	-	Balian Katakson	1	Sanur
9	I Wayan Kihen	56	*		Br. Madura	6th	Balian Katakson	uncertain	Sanur
10	Ida Bagus Sari	50	*		Br. Madura	6th	Balian Usada	1	Sanur/Beyond
11	I Kt. Sukerina	80	*		Br. Semawang	3rd	Balian Usada/Kabatinan	4	Sanur/Beyond
12	I Made Ampeng	48	*		Br. Puseh Kangin	6th	Balian Usada	1	Sanur/Beyond
13	Ida Bagus St. Kaler	56	*		Br. Penopengan	6th	Balian Kabatinan	2	Sanur/Beyond
14	Ida Bagus Made Sudarta	43	*		Br. Buruan	9th	Balian Kabatinan	2	Sanur/Beyond
15	Ida Bagus Gede Ruta	48	*		Br. Buruan	9th	Balian Kabatinan/Yoga Samadi	uncertain	Sanur

* dukun is the (Indonesian language) term for balian.

Initially, there were difficulties in gaining access to balian owing to the vagueness of directional information and to conflicting information. Some balian are known by several different names. Others have several places of residence or move residence frequently. Balian are not a class of informants to whom the outsider has ready access. Following closer acquaintance, some balian confided that they would have been reluctant to talk to me or to take my investigations seriously had I not been introduced by a village official. Was there perhaps an element of coercion in the procedure? I perceive that, at the beginning, this may have been the case. I had lived in Bali over eight months when I chanced upon knowledge of another balian not included in my survey living less than half a kilometre from my own compound. Only on a later visit to Bali did I learn that there was a female balian usada in Sanur whom I had also not included in my earlier study.

I approached each balian with a lengthy interview schedule. This was both time consuming and trying. It was of value in that some of the more glaring misrepresentations concerning magico-medical systems acquired either through secondary sources or my own misconceptions, were exposed. Where possible I attended at least one healing session conducted by each balian I interviewed.

A survey such as this gives rise to a consideration of the problem of selection. My choice of balian who were to become my main informants was not entirely guided by objective and bias-free criteria. In fact, it was largely subjective. For example, a combination of advanced age, a speech impediment and toothlessness, on the balian's part, and high noise (radio, cocks, hens, birds) and nuisance (a bevy of large dogs insistent upon extending to me the kind of attention and/or intimidation I did not welcome) levels about his houseyard deterred further interviews with one otherwise interesting brahmana balian usada. Another whom I perceived to be adverse to my intrusion was allowed the privacy he seemed to value. When I found that my presence interrupted proceedings more than I felt was comfortable for all concerned, or it seemed liable to precipitate a performance, I thenceforth avoided that particular balian. I was inclined to recoil from a few who took what I considered to be an inappropriate interest in my interest in them. I wished to avoid being instrumental in any change in the existing balance of power — supernatural and secular — within the village. Even more practical considerations, like the continued availability of balian, guided my selection of key balian informants. A few balian usada were distinctly peripatetic, travelling between islands as their services were requested.

Most balian incorporate elements of each type of healing technique in their repertoire; they may read a few usada, own a paica (gift of divine origin) and practise meditational concentration (kabatinan). There was no such entity as the 'pure' balian usada. The two or three who finally did become my key informants were already renowned and not in need of my attention in order to upgrade their status. One of these, an anak jaba (a person outside the caste system triwangsa), is referred to throughout as Jero Mangku. Three main factors distinguished him from other balian interviewed and influenced my decision to make him my key informant. First, he displayed little interest in my interest in him. He remained completely absorbed in his tasks and did not allow my presence to interfere. He was articulate, knowledgeable, unselfconscious and confident. Through a process of question and answer in which it was left to me

to delve the depths or alternatively, the superficiality of the concepts involved, I feel that I was able to extract a reasonably cohesive picture of Balinese medical theory and practice. The other was a brahmana. At the time of selection I felt that this difference in status might open opportunities to explore whether or not caste was a significant factor in the theory and practice of medical magic. It proved not to be.

I presented myself as a researcher interested in gaining an understanding of the philosophical doctrines underlying the Balinese magico-medical system, not in learning techniques of curing and causing disease. This was acceptable. Balian were generally bemused by foreigners who came in search of what they felt were miracle cures. Understanding and awareness must precede practice according to one of the basic tenets of Balinese medical theory. Not with all balian did I gain immediate acceptance and establish rapport. Not with any did I establish what could be described as a friendship. In fact, my key balian informant remained, for many weeks, totally indifferent (but not discourteous or adverse) to my presence. I think that his respect grew in direct proportion to the improvement in the quality of the questions I put to him. Hooykaas (1980:10) was correct in his expectation that balian would not be disposed to accepting non-Balinese as disciples. The most I ever hoped to establish was a reasonable rapport and mutual trust and respect with two or three balian whose activities I could observe and question. It may well be that to 'be initiated in their profession' would be 'the ideal situation' as Hooykaas suggests. On the other hand, I feel that it would be sheer arrogance or ignorance for a Westerner to presume that this is possible to accomplish, unless in a position to adopt another world view and system of knowledge.

To say that I worked with balian would be presumptuous. I was at all times no more than an observer. My participation was limited to accepting (with qualms)³ potions offered for me to sample. Only one balian seemed to want me to get more involved in the physical examination of his patients, and even so that involved no more than feeling pulse(s) (both wrists are checked) and occasionally feeling the pulsation of the babai under the surface of the skin in patients suffering the disease babainan. Others were more inclined to ignore my presence when treating patients but pleased to discuss the nature of their client's problems and why, as well as how, they reached the diagnoses they did and the treatment and prognoses after the healing session was concluded.

Rarely was an interview a private affair. But then rarely is a consultation with a balian by a patient or client a private affair. All and anyone seem to feel free to join in and endeavour to contribute to the discussion. My presence and objective were usually discussed. Balian told their clients about the kinds of questions I was asking. They willingly consented to my attendance when they were treating patients and to my interviewing them. In fact, most encouraged this. Only balian kabatinan (those influenced by Javanese Islamic ideas and practices) seemed less than open and some seemed resentful of my intrusion. Since their philosophies and practices lay outside my main field of interest, this presented no problem. I have discussed this matter elsewhere (Lovric 1986a).

Some of my interviews with balian who spoke only Balinese were conducted with the help of a Balinese schoolteacher to whom I shall

refer to as Putu. We communicated in Balinese and bahasa Indonesia. Whilst this arrangement may have hampered the establishment of direct rapport with the balian, it had the advantage of conducting a more relaxed atmosphere for both the balian and his clients. They related better to me through her. They seemed more comfortable when I was accompanied by a fellow Balinese to whom they could relate more easily. In these situations she also became, through her attitudes and reactions, a further source of data and understanding. Moreover, through her observations, things which may otherwise have eluded either my attention or comprehension, were captured. Things often happen without any overt exchange of words or signals, leaving one, at times, at a loss to know what if anything is going on, or even aware that something significant had in fact taken place before one's own eyes. It was Putu for instance, who observed a sabuk pengleyakan (a magical object in the form of a belt acquired to aid acts of bewitchment) half concealed among offerings on the shrine and thereby opened another avenue of investigation concerning the interrelationship between balian and leyak activities. It is not unlikely that, in many instances of observation activity, more can escape one's attention than enters it. Eliciting information can be an exacting business. Yet the measure of one's successes does sometimes overshadow the measure of futile efforts.

At the community level of the magico-medical system, I attended activities designated disease-containing rites (discussed in Part III). Individual healing rites and disease preventive rituals seemed less 'highly charged' than community rites. This probably related to the lack of music and other aids to participation with the supernatural such as masks. Community disease-containing rites involve music, mantra, song, dance, copious offerings, holy water and animal sacrifice -- auditory, visual olfactory and tactile stimulation of a high order. To be seen as successful and complete, there is the imperative that they are rame (busy). They are elaborate in form, complex in structure and dangerous (pingit) in their undertaking.

Photographing sacred masks when they were being animated in ritual proved to be an impossible feat. When attempts to do so failed, as they invariably did, Balinese attributed this to the sakti of the masks themselves and also to the magical power (pingitness) of the ritual event itself which defied attempts to capture them by ordinary technical means. I used to ask permission to do so from whoever seemed to hold some official position in the orchestration of the ritual. The usual response was 'Go ahead, but it won't work'. Invariably, they were right. When I told Putu about the compunction I had about photographing Mangku Jero when he went into trance in a temple, she interpreted this hesitation as a sign (cihna) of his sakti, my awareness of this and deference to it. It is, to an extent, unfortunate that some of the most interesting rituals were observed in circumstances unfavourable to close observation or recording on tape or on film. At the time a camera, a tape-recorder or even a notebook would have seemed to have jarred the 'magic' of the moment. The atmosphere -- eerie, ominous, exciting, expectant -- 'dictated' to some extent by sound of gamelan, the smell of incense and burning fragrant woods and the dim lighting, is intoxicating and does mesmerize.

There are many trying aspects of fieldwork; the lack of time and of resources to investigate phenomena as thoroughly as they should be,

the frustrations of ineffective communication, the exasperation arising from one's own ineptitude and the delusions and deficiencies of one's own perception of things. It is, I suspect, only natural that such exasperation has, on occasions, prompted researchers to apportion blame for the failure of communication to informants; their failure to articulate (to the satisfaction of the researcher) their taken-for-granted and their apparent inability to decode their own culture.

Informants and Field Methods:

The ethnographer does not, and, in my opinion, largely cannot, perceive what his informants perceive. What he perceives, and that uncertainly enough, is what they perceive "with" — or "by means of", or "through" . . . or whatever the word should be (C. Geertz 1983:58)

Time and again in the literature on Bali we read that informants were unable to provide the meaning or the symbolic significance of some ritual or cultural practice. Hooykaas used to decry what he took to be the fact that the Balinese did not know the meaning of or understand texts and rituals. Some ethnographers have likewise assumed that because they cannot find answers and explanations there weren't any or that meaning had been lost in antiquity. Should it be assumed that Balinese do not understand their rituals or culture because they fail to articulate meaning to the satisfaction of the outsider? As Hobart (1983:40) points out, questions such as 'What does it mean?' or 'What does it symbolize?' are products of Western lexical and semantic categories, not really useful in a different epistemology.

Most Balinese are willing to discuss their ceremonies with outsiders in broad and superficial terms. Beyond this, when pressed, they begin to intersperse hesitant statements with phrases such as 'I have only heard, I don't know', or 'It is from the past'. Anthropological misconceptions of Bali are, in part, a product of Balinese willingness to allow researchers to 'find' whatever it is they are looking for to substantiate some theory or other. Should their explanation satisfy the researcher then they are happy to have contributed to his satisfaction and to have the probing cease. However, I think that, most importantly, misconceptions arise from the ambiguous nature of symbolic forms in Bali and to the many layers of meaning attached to cultural representations.

Sperber (1979) has also articulated this problem. In the field, the ethnographer comes upon phenomena which are judged to be symbolic. Questioning frequently yields answers such as 'It is custom', 'It is from the past'. This does not satisfy the outsider who then persists until a 'more rational' (according to his rationale) answer is obtained (p.17). The informant has access to a multiplicity of ideas. The ethnographer grasps mere fragments. Only infrequently can an informant make explicit that which he knows implicitly about symbols or rituals which the ethnographer seeks to understand. It is also possible that informants do not wish to reveal secret, dangerous knowledge (kawruhan) to uninformed outsiders. Some matters, as texts warn, are 'pingit', not fit to be disseminated either by those who are not expert in the matter or to those who may lack the depth of understanding required to handle that which is kawruhan (see Chapter 5[i], concerning this issue). Then there is the philosophical teaching known as aywa wera. According to

this tradition, understanding of critical knowledge should proceed in stages and through a process of question and answer between one who seeks enlightenment and one who has knowledge of the lontar. The content and depth of the question indicates ability and readiness to advance to the next stage of understanding. The communication problem between a field researcher and informant then, is not only one of language but of knowing the kinds of questions to ask. Many Balinese initially tend to explain things in terms they know that their cultural inquisitors appreciate. They have been handling an abundance of them for decades. They even tend to repeat the rhetoric of Western scholarship for other Westerners.

Where an interaction between an ethnographer and an informant 'fails' because the latter 'fails' to make explicit that which may be known implicitly about his culture, it may be that it is the reliability and effectiveness of field methods which should be questioned, rather the ability of Balinese to articulate or think the 'way we do'. It could also mean that the ethnographer has not found the right person from whom to elicit information. It might mean that the questions posed are contextually meaningless. The paradox is that an in-depth knowledge concerning the matter about which one seeks to know more is essential. Only by framing the right question is it possible to obtain further enlightenment.

I do not condone but at times I emphathized with Hooykaas's (1973:3) disclosure that he resorted to informants only when the lontar failed him. A survey based on a questionnaire which I prepared with the objective of exploring attitudes to sickness and to balian among the local population proved to be ill-conceived. It became apparent after only a few interviews that one needed to establish closer rapport with people before pressing them with questions on such issues. I abandoned this enterprise without any significant loss as the same or similar information emerged contextually from participant observation of healing sessions. It was the testimony of balian which interested me most. In any case, clients generally referred me back to experts such as balian or pamangku as they themselves conceded a lack of knowledge and unwillingness to speculate on substantive matters like disease.

Indonesians in general display a fondness for listing things. Some balian, especially those who had some contact with members of the Hindu Parisada religious bureaucracy, were no exception. I had often to endure prolonged descriptions of well-described ethnographic features such as the temple system. What I had hoped to gain beyond this were expressions of what Clifford Geertz, following Max Weber, termed 'webs of significance', Sperber referred to as taken-for-granted and Polanyi referred to as tacit knowledge and subsidiary awareness.

Take, for example, the case of witchcraft, one of the elements of the magico-medical complex. It is a difficult subject. In the field, we collect a lot of heresay accounts and hear a lot of innuendo. The Balinese prefer to deal with the matter through anecdotal reference and to refer to leyak from past eras. For me, the frequency and intensity of witchcraft suspicions was, at first, staggering. Any discussion of illness and mention of death invariably leads to the matter of leyak, though Balinese are generally reluctant to utter the word itself. They speak of the matter in hushed tones and through cryptic references. Suspicions

are whispered and conveyed through euphemism or metonymy. 'Minab maduwe bojog' implies that someone might own a familiar in the form of a monkey and, by extension, probably practices harmful sorcery. There is a whole series of euphemisms used to avoid articulating words pertaining to witchcraft: 'sakit karya ala manusa' (sickness wrought by the ill-deeds of a human agent); 'uug-uugan uli samping' (disaster by concealed means), for example, indicate that sorcery is suspected in the case of illness and death. They have connotations of the involvement of human agency and supernatural powers. The English 'black magic' has proved a readily acceptable euphemism for numerous Balinese terms associated with witchcraft (pangiwa, pangleyakan, desti, papasangan, to mention some).

De Kat Angelino (1921:28) got hold of some lontar on pangiwa 'only after considerable difficulty'. Only following a lot of persuasion was Covarrubias (1937:241) able to get on to the subject of witchcraft with his informants. The 'very sight' of a lontar on pangiwa, according to Covarrubias, frightened his informants. It was only 'with certain difficulties' that he finally 'induced' someone to translate the text for him. And even then, Covarrubias claims, this person deliberately distorted the order of the syllables.

In the early stages of my acquaintance with them, balian foreclosed discussion of pangleyakan and pangiwa through statements such as 'I myself do not use it', in tones intended to discourage further questioning. They were also reluctant initially to show me their lontar or to talk about their paica. This was the stage at which I was still accompanied by a village official. This, to me, was information in itself. On no occasion did I attempt to force such issues feeling that the existence of such barriers was informative of the way in which magic and knowledge are 'handled'. In time, those with whom I established some trust and rapport initiated discussions in which they explained these matters.

Sometimes, it transpired that certain questions I put to balian had connotations of which I was unaware. For example, a query as to how many pupils a balian had, intended to elicit information concerning the continuity of the literate medical tradition, met with the guarded response 'ten dados' (it is not right). Practitioners of 'black magic', it seems, often attract many pupils and have large followings. The query could therefore be misconstrued as implying a balian in fact usually had 'black magic' affiliations. The tendency we sometimes have to read the wrong kind of significance into patterns of response to our kinds of questions presents another problem worth mentioning. When a query as to whether balian ever referred clients to other balian yielded a consistent negative reply, I could have interpreted this to signify estranged, even hostile relations between balian. Then one balian qualified his negative response by adding that it was unnecessary to do so because Balinese go of their own accord to other balian.

Possibly owing to the empirical nature of fieldwork observations, I do have, in this aspect of research, a 'horror of error' which is less absorbing in the interpretive aspects of textual study. The problem is that field observations tend to become a record of the way things 'really are' and then ethnological facts. It can be a simplistic and superficial way of establishing truths. Studies such as the one attempted here can become bogged down in the efforts to clear aside the rhetoric of Western constructions in order to see the location of indigenous rhetoric.

The Interference: Scholarship and my own research are indebted to the organizational skills and drive of earlier researchers in the field. One may remain sceptical of the authenticity of deriving descriptions and photographs of dances through commissioned performances arranged for these researchers by expatriate entrepreneurs, yet it is often the best we can get. Whilst making use of the results, one can but wonder at the resoluteness and interference involved in procuring their ends:

Soon after we had heard of the new sanghyangs, we were able to persuade the people to put on a trial performance of three kinds. They warned us that because it was not the season, they were likely not to succeed. But taboos and restrictions in Bali were not so stringent that they could not be got around by some sophistry or other (Belo 1960:203).

And their means:

At Sanoer also was an interesting performance of Baris Tjina, . . . and had they [the dancers] been divested of their hideous semi-European shabby garments much of the dancing would have been beautiful. The costume, however, is apparently inherent to the dance, for an attempt we made to see it in what we conceived to be more appropriate dress . . . proved a failure (de Zoete & Spies 1973:61).⁴

It has also been a long-standing practice among some resident expatriates and field researchers to set themselves up as the dispensers of Western medicines among the local population. It appears that it gave them an entree into the society. Illness and death were events in which the outsiders were welcome to offer advice and the cures they peddled were also welcomed. The Mershons built their house at Sindu (in Sanur) and 'in and out of the gates flowed a stream of Balinese visitors from near and far to ask for medicine they knew was freely given there' (Belo 1960:55). 'Tuan doctor' and 'nyona doctor', as they were called, apparently became the 'idols of the neighbourhood' (Covarrubias 1937:354). They were carrying on the work commenced by Covarrubias's wife Rose, who had earlier taken on the task of treating infected sores and thereby amassed 'a great circle of faithful friends' (p.353). Also, from the field (August 28, 1936), Mead (1979:179) wrote about her medical role:

A frail middle-aged woman with exquisitely delicate features squats beside my veranda. "Djero Bae [the title of assistant priests] is very ill. He is in his house and cannot come. He asks for medicine". I go in a hurry. Djero Bae Tekek . . . is the most intelligent man in the village, the calendrical expert and the one man who really thinks about ritual. If he should die the village would be an intellectual wilderness. . . . I find him lying on the dark platform bed which practically fills the dark little house. A terrible pain that comes and goes, that shoots into his leg. We fear kidney trouble of some sort but we have no medicine. I give him salts and rhubarb and soda and make a hot-water bottle out of the clay Dutch gin bottle, and he gets better. Three days later he is sitting all alone in the road in front of our house singing sacred songs because he is well again.

With this tradition of dancers, painters, ethnographers and sundry adventure-seekers assuming the role of healers and acquiring the status

of doctor in the field,⁵ I held some concern that I might be expected to conform. I was, so far as supplies were concerned, unprepared and by conviction disinclined to dispense Western drugs. Moreover, owing to the nature of my research subject I did not wish to be seen as offering alternative therapies to those dispensed by balian whose medical philosophy I sought to understand. Fortunately, I never did find myself in this quandary. No one ever did request Western medicines from me, perhaps because I did not initiate the dispensing of them in the first place.

'A Parodic Pursuit?': Boon (1982:170) seems to have captured the essence of the anthropological pursuit and of the study of Bali when he posed the question: 'Is anthropology a parodic pursuit and Bali a parodic culture?' The history of interpreting Balinese cultural forms 'smacks of Folly', Boon comments. He cites the example of methodological devices such as the stop-watch timing of plot sequences and coincidences of trance by ethnographers such as Mead and Belo 'in the land of jam karet' ('rubber time'). To other examples provided by Boon, I would add that of trying to use indigenous texts merely as imperfect data and attempting to write sequential chronological histories of Bali (or Java), lands of cyclical time. Therein, is not contained the sense of time, documentation and achievement enjoyed by ethnology-minded interlopers. From the field (September 1, 1937) Mead (1979:204) wrote:

WE can now move in and out of Bajoeng in half an hour, and in a three day visit there we took some 600 photographs, developed 1,500 photographs, covered three major ceremonies, photographed fifteen babies to record their present state and cured most of the same babies of bad eye trouble, scabies or dysentery. Then we came to Batoean.

'It is a complex and perplexing and perhaps overexciting existence', Mead confessed.

There might be something almost ludicrous about a method of study which permits the postulation of a model personality and a cultural character through 25,000 photographs of eight Balinese infants. Bateson and Mead did precisely this, and within twelve months to boot, in 1936. And that model personality remains in the ethnology, unchallenged and a testament to methodological devices which do indeed 'smack of folly'.

Whilst, objectively speaking, certain, in fact many, Balinese ritual spectacles contain all the ingredients of high farce, in no way does one ever feel moved to find such events amusing or funny. A kind of stupor or fearful excitement are the more usual reactions. Even the most prosaic of onlookers are not moved to ridicule, rather they are moved to awe or amazement; mesmerized by the vision of uncanny masks, intoxicating smells and haunting sounds of magical rites. I never did experience the difficulty (which Hooykaas 1980:6 felt was characteristic of the Western mind) of distinguishing 'whether a ritual procedure is magical, symbolic, or simply play'. Certainly, there are ludic elements and comic episodes, but rituals were never 'simply play'. Trance possession, exorcistic dance and mythological history do have a point and a purpose beyond mere Folly. The methodological devices and theories used to capture them, often do not.

Western fiction easily becomes Balinese ethnographic fact. Balinese rhetoric and mythological history, on the other hand, can easily become

misconstrued as Folly, a positive sense of the term notwithstanding. To take an example: it all seems to have started with Covarrubias (1937:329) and to have been repeated thereafter (see Howe 1984:213) that Balinese witches read 'white magic texts' in reverse. Undoubtedly, if one checks this out with the right informant, that being one familiar with Western scholarship, one would probably be told that this was indeed one possibility.⁶

Self-data

. . . fieldwork is an extremely personal traumatic kind of experience and the personal involvement of the anthropologist in his work is reflected in what he writes (Leach, 1961:1)

Everything that happens and everything that one experiences -- sights, sounds (even things that go bump in the night), personal interactions and reactions -- become data. As far as was reasonably comfortable and convenient, I engaged in what is termed participation-observation. I set up my own household in order that I would have the advantage of being a separate entity, not a paying member of someone else's household and possibly their 'exclusive property' (for this latter I found to be the case when I did live in such an arrangement for a few weeks early in the course of fieldwork). Neighbours and contacts felt free to approach me whether to sell, borrow or exchange goods, to pass on information or to offer advice. Together with the Balinese I employed, they became data. My situation itself generated data as I became an object of my neighbour's reactions and interpretations of my particular plight and problems. The information yielded seems trivial from the vantage point of the present. Yet, at the time the insights gained into the priority concerns and themes of Balinese culture proved invaluable in directing later textual study.

A few examples suffice to point to the kinds of things to which I refer. A few days after settling in, a neighbour approached me to offer advice relevant to my 'well-being' (rahayu) phrased in terms of preventing the possibility of getting sick. The houseyard had been unoccupied for some time which meant the likelihood of it having been 'overrun' by sundry supernaturals whose needs had not been satisfied. The services of a pamangku were indicated to make appropriate offerings (pacaruan) to forestall this danger. The houseyard lacked a shrine in the centre for Sanghyang Surya (Sun-Deity). Furthermore, the sanggah was not only in a bad state of repair but was also separated from the bale kaja by a small fence. Such negligences, I was warned, increased the risk of one becoming afflicted with illness (wenang kena gering). With my assent, my penjaga (Ind. nightwatchman-cum-gardener-lamplighter) to whom I shall refer as Dangka, was organized into putting the shrines into proper order and erecting a bamboo shrine for Sanghyang Surya. I was fortunate not to have been beset by disease problems which represent a very real part of the burden and precariousness of doing fieldwork in an environment which does not beget good health.

When I first employed Dangka and a housekeeper-cum-cook (whom I shall refer to as Desak) there was an understanding, or so I thought, that one or other would stay overnight. I had not realized the full consequences of selecting a houseyard in a banjar reputed to be occupied by mythically powerful forces (tenget). The nature of my field research involved late night or all night attendances at rituals. Both Desak and

Dangka came from outside Sanur and, as it transpired, were less than comfortable about living in the notoriously tenget village of Sanur. Only employment compelled them to do so. Desak made it absolutely clear that under no circumstances would she be daring (brani) enough to remain in my houseyard after dusk (sande kala). Dangka avoided stating a direct refusal but never complied with the terms of the arrangement either. As it happened, it mattered little and their reactions were revealing.

Initial awareness of the extent to which the fear of 'becoming ill' dominates the thoughts of the Balinese and directs much of the daily ritual activities came through early in the field experience. The numerous offerings, shrines in and about houseyards, the magical drawings (tatumbalan), spatial arrangements, the organization and qualification of time and interpretations of events all seemed to revolve about the preservation of human well-being in the face of ever-present threat and danger. When Desak and Dangka asked for time off to return home to their villages to attend odalan, the need to do so was not expressed in terms of devotionism or ethical or moral betterment but in terms of a pragmatic imperative — 'if I do not, for certain I will get sick'.

Once when I casually commented upon the level of odd noises during the previous night to Desak her immediate response was: 'of course, kajeng-kliwon is the reason why'. It also occurred to me then that another possible explanation for things going bump during the night had to do with the greater abundance of offerings necessitated on account of it having been kajeng-kliwon and the corresponding increased level of animal activity involved in the consumption of them. However, such responses intrigued me and I adopted a strategy of always expressing my concerns and relating experiences in order to see the kind of response they elicited. It made for a kind of spontaneity which is lacking in formal hypothetical question and answer interviews. It was all basic stuff, nonetheless, helpful.

Reaction to an account of how, during the night, I had heard the sound of gamelan gong, and had ridden in search of its source as far as a bridge on the borders of the village where I seemed to lose trace of it, was one of horror. That night also happened to have had magical significance. It was tilem (new moon). Such things, I was told, could be the allure of wong samar who entice people away from their homes cause them to get lost, confused, and to wander about aimlessly for days.

On one occasion, my daughter slipped down some stairs leading from the bale kaja and injured her ankle, slightly. This seemed to arouse more concern among the Balinese present than it did for her or for me. It was kajeng-kliwon, as someone remarked by way of explanation almost immediately. The matter was taken out of my hands. An anak lingsir (aged person) who lived nearby was fetched. She arrived and examined Melissa's foot, asked to be shown the place where she had fallen and then issued a series of instructions. I was sent to request some daun kelor (kelor leaves) from a neighbour who had such a tree growing in their houseyard. Dangka was dispatched to buy arak, and a visiting Balinese friend she sent to tell her granddaughter to prepare a canang (offering).

The anak lingsir made a pasty substance from the crushed daun kelor and arak. Meanwhile her granddaughter arrived with the canang and I was told to place some pipis alit (coins) on top. Before applying the pasty mixture to Melissa's ankle, the anak lingsir lit an incense stick

alongside the canang which had been placed near the bale kaja, and facing towards the east, offered homage. After the treatment, the canang was placed above the doorway leading into the bale kaja. (The pipis alit, equivalent to about twenty cents, was no longer on top of the canang).

Early the next morning, the anak lingsir and Dangka arrived to repeat the treatment. Dangka also brought a 'newly laid' egg, a young coconut and a papaya for Melissa's breakfast. I was struck by their concern and their generosity. The swelling around Melissa's ankle improved within twenty-four hours and it was decided that it would not be necessary to take her to a balian. It was decided, nonetheless, that a pangulapan (restoration rite) was essential. In order that Melissa would remain rahayu (safe and well), a pacaru, (ground offering) intended for bhuta-kala was also indicated. When one sustains an injury or shock, part of the life force can become 'loosened' and needs to be 'secured' again. The purpose of the pacaru was to encourage bhuta-kala to desist from interfering with the well-being of those whose houseyard they share. It was agreed that these rites should be enacted the following day before sande kala. I gave the anak lingsir the requested 3000 rupiah (about Aust.\$5) necessary to purchase the ingredients.

The main ingredients in the purificatory offering (panyucian) used in the ngulapin action was betel leaves. Other ingredients included rice, meat, spices wrapped in woven palm-leaf containers (jajaitan) of varied shapes. These were carried on a painted wooden offering plate (dulang). There was also an end section of a branch of a coconut tree which would be used (as a tutumpug) to strike the ground and a branch from the magically powerful dadap tree. We all put on waist cloths. The offerings were placed on the ground at the bottom of the stairs where Melissa had slipped. The anak lingsir uttered a mantra then sprinkled Melissa with water using dadap leaves. She then called 'Who is here?', to (in the high Balinese language) to which Melissa is told to answer her name. Following a few more questions and prompted responses to establish her presence and intentions, the anak lingsir struck the ground several times with the tatumpug. There were more ablutions. The ngupalan, having been completed, the anak lingsir massaged Melissa's ankle, this time with frangipani flowers, coconut milk and nangka (jackfruit).

One is sometimes asked (by Westerners) whether or not Balinese magic and healing techniques 'work' and if I myself believed in such things as magical intervention and witchcraft. These questions are not difficult to answer. The issues themselves seem irrelevant. Is it necessary to take a position between the poles of complete scepticism and over-indulgent belief? In the field, I came to sympathize and identify with the strategy Evans-Pritchard (1976:244) adopted while studying Zande witchcraft and magic:

In my culture, in the climate of thought I was born into and brought up in and have been conditioned by, I rejected, and reject, Zande notions of witchcraft. In their culture, in the set of ideas I then lived in, I accepted them; in a kind of a way I believed them. Azande were talking about witchcraft daily, both among themselves and to me; any communication was well-nigh impossible unless one took witchcraft for granted. You cannot have a remunerative, even intelligent, conversation with people about something they take as self-evident if you give them the impression that you regard their belief as an illusion or a delusion. Mutual understanding, and with it sympathy, would soon be ended, if it ever got started.

The Balinese never even considered that I might not believe or share their assumptions. Yet it is not really a question of belief either. There is no concept of human beings not assuming the existence of, or of knowing the non-existence of supernatural forces. Given their basic premises regarding the role of the supernatural, entrenched in a moment of time in their environment and participating in a limited way in their life style, I did more than merely tolerate their beliefs in the causative agents of disease and disaster. In a kind of a way, I also came to experience a fear of the unseen (niskala), to perceive the precariousness of existence and to rely on Balinese strategies of averting danger and preserving rahayu. I slept more easily at night knowing that the prescribed offerings had been completed around my houseyard and at the neighbouring temple ruins, living as I did in a banjar considered particularly tenget in that most tenget of villages, Sanur. Furthermore, on especially magically dangerous times such as tilem, puinama and kajeng-kliwon I was more aware of and alarmed by minor incidents, trivial mishaps than was usual or would be the case in my own environment when surrounded by people who shared and boasted a less mystically-tinged view of the world and events. One is in a state of temporary alienation from two realities. I think I shared Evans-Pritchard's strategy. I consulted balian, I requested holy water, I had the appropriate offerings placed about my houseyard. In time, dissent or scepticism were not intentionally concealed but rather spontaneously temporized and transmuted, as it were. The idea of magic, witchcraft and supernatural interventions in the lives of human beings was all pervasive and total in that environment.

Attitudes to outsiders having access to magico-medical lontar varied. Early in my research I had asked a village official who I was told was studying to become a balian usada to help me read a manuscript. My objective was to obtain his help in translating it into bahasa Indonesia and to perhaps have explained a few of the technical terms occurring in the text. This was to amount to another impasse. His Indonesian proved deplorable and my Balinese was not in the circumstances any better. The intellectual elaboration I had hoped for was not forthcoming but something, for which I was totally unprepared, did. The particular manuscript was a wrong choice on my part. It dealt with the symptomatology and treatment of the dreaded magically induced disease, babainan. The aspiring balian expressed concern that I should be in possession of such potentially dangerous knowledge. He said that balian would normally not be prepared to discuss this with those not initiated. At this point, the other people who until then had been only part of the inevitable audience which one's presence attracted, took a more active part in what became an interrogation. Where did I get such a manuscript? What possible interest does a university have in collecting such manuscripts? And so forth. I found fieldwork to be, above all, a humbling experience. And this is perhaps as it should be.

Techniques used to obtain information can be tendentious. On two occasions, I became a client. I consulted balian. At the time, this satisfied emotional needs and intellectual curiosity. Towards the end of my stay in Bali, one practitioner of 'black magic' one day suggested that I accompany him at a time and place to be determined to view for myself a leyak. The site chosen for the proposed meeting was a pura dalem at Renon, a known favourite haunt of leyak, I was told. The appropriate time was a kajeng-kliwon wrespati occurring the day before a buda-cemeng. The nearest such conjunction of days would have occurred on the third of June. Inopportunately (perhaps!) my research visa was to expire before that date.



Pura Tirtha Mpul, banjar Blanjong, Sanur. Coral stone figures such as the above are incorporated into the walls of the temple. It stands about half-way between Pura Merta Sari and the low-tide mark.

The Illusion: 'Doing fieldwork', as Boon (1982) remarks, 'has seldom brought forth a truly self-conscious ethnography and ethnology'. I empathize with Boon's attitude to fieldwork which is, as he describes it, 'playful'. He adjudges the exercise 'an ideal and action that should be simultaneously debunked and preserved'. In a discussion of fieldwork values Boon (p.17) writes:

. . . although we may board the plane, the assertion that we ever really get away, even in encountering the exotic, remains profoundly problematic.

The field [of symbols] affords a presumably privileged avenue of escape from the ideological cafe. . . . Traditionally, few field accounts . . . explored their own symbolic foundations as descriptions. Fewer still . . . explored their own nature as discourse. . . .

An 'oversimplified' and "'Baconian'" view of fieldwork' which 'sustains equally simplified confidence in its results' was promoted by the early work of Margaret Mead (Boon p.7). Following the popular acclaim of her study of puberty in Samoa, Mead was, as Boon continues, 'ready to wrap up New Guinea'. She wrote Ruth Benedict:

I am more and more convinced that there is no room in anthropology for philosophical concepts and deductive thinking . . . (Mead 1959:334)

And 'three days later the Tchambuli had fallen into the ethnographer's pocketbook':

I've had a tremendous spurt of energy and I've gotten the key to this culture from my angle -- got it yesterday during hours of sitting on the floor in a house of mourning. Now it's straight sailing ahead, just a matter of working out all the ramifications of my hunch (1959:334)

And so, 'even as the ink dried, Mead was off to yet another island, this time Bali' Boon (p.7).

Hobart (1983:39) also warns against the 'mistakes made by anthropologists with an indecent enthusiasm matched only by the happy certitude of their own insights'. In the course of field research, one collects much anecdotal material. One is bombarded with vivid impressions. These are often sufficient to allow one to develop strong opinions on a number of issues and to decide which are the substantive ones. For some, it permits the conviction that they have captured the key to the culture (and coincidentally, a substantiation of some hunch or theory) through 'a spurt of energy' and 'hours of sitting on the floor'.

As Jarvie (1964:29) has observed, the notion that there is something chastening about doing fieldwork, does persist. Geertz has been criticized for 'a lack of ethnographic groundedness' of his 'assertions' (Connor agreeing with Shankman 1984:271), as though 'being there' is proof and part of a scholarly contribution. Boon (1977:229), again has captured in his prose the essence of this argument:

The anthropological faith in the privileged nature of information resulting from a fieldwork experience demands thorough study in its own right. Although precision is hardly

one of ethnography's merits, the faith persists, and ethnographers tend after the fact to read into their fieldwork incontrovertible results. Yet, especially now that few colonial offices remain to shelter the roving anthropologist, fieldwork is a messy business, seldom successfully performed with the well filed fingernails of philologists. We first stumble into hopelessly unfamiliar surroundings and throw together some temporarily bearable way of life to maximize information input as many hours of each day as we can endure. Then later, by carefully delineating what we feel we have gotten to know, what improvements we claim to make over our forerunners!

Anthropological writings grounded solely on field research have produced a tendency to conformity of the type warned against by Boon (1982:14):

Radically differing cultures were paradoxically inscribed in disarmingly similar books. . . . What subtleties of other cultures has the discourse of the normative monograph obscured?

Serendipity: After a short period in the Balinese ambience, I became aware of how incompletely, even erroneously, Balinese ideas about the supernatural have been constructed by outsiders. The more I delved into it the more I recognized how little we know and understand. I also came to discern why it was that there were such gaps in our understanding and flaws in our interpretations. The problem, it is suggested, stems largely from the nature of research strategies and methodological frameworks which enforce fragmentation of the complex subject. I understood less about the nature of the Balinese involvement with the supernatural and the nature of the latter that I had hoped at the completion of field research. Yet, I had acquired, at least, an awareness of the complexity of the ideas and the realities of the experiences which inform magical beliefs and recourse to magical practices.

What I learned to understand most of all was something much more related to the 'natural' condition of mankind -- human nature -- that is that an individual born, reared and educated in a Western, secular culture and society does not share the same world view and view of the supernatural and man's relationship with it as one conditioned in a very different physical, social and cultural environment such as in Bali. This was, in essence, Lévy-Bruhl's much disclaimed and misrepresented theory. In forsaking much of the established theory of Balinese culture and in seeking explanations from practitioners of magic about behaviour I observed and rituals I witnessed, I began to gain a basic understanding of the meaning of magic in Bali. I then felt better able to try to read the indigenous texts -- the magico-medical literature -- used by the practitioners of magic. Earlier attempts to read these texts had proved abortive or produced grotesque meaningless translations. Field research was an invaluable supplement to textual research.

The problem faced by the field researchers is that each has a frame of reference constituted of his own assumptions and delimited by the nature and scope of data and ideological predilection. The final paradox of the fieldwork experience -- that empirical basis of a thesis -- is that it is encapsulated in time, place, and most of all, in chance, by serendipity and circumstance.

ii. Local Textual Material: Magico-Medical Texts

The two genres of indigenous texts used in this research are those classified as 'historical literature' which include Usana, Babad, Calon Arang and Dwijendra Tatwa, and those I have termed 'magico-medical' of which a number include the term Usada in their title. It is well to point out that there is no such clearly defined genre as 'magico-medical' in the classification of Balinese texts as it stands. When the Dutch established a Foundation for Balinese and Sasak manuscripts (the Kirtya-Van der Tuuk, now named Gedong Kirtya) in the early part of this century, experts in the field classified the manuscripts as follows (Hooykaas 1978:2-3):

1. Weda which consists of stuti and stava (hymns), mantra (incantations), and kalpa-sastra (ritual).
2. Agama (laws, ethics and conduct).
3. Wariga (textbooks/handbooks/manuals) such as tutur (cosmological and philosophical speculations, kanda (grammar, metrics and mythology), wariga (astrological tables), and usada (medical texts).
4. Itihasa (epics) which include kakawin (court poetry), kidung (poetry in Javanese metres).
5. Babad (chronicles/histories) such as pamancangah, usana (ancient histories), uug (histories of the disintegration of kingdoms), and historical tales such as Pararaton, Nagarakertagama and Calon Arang.
6. Tantri (folk tales).

While the 'magico-medical' manuscripts might fall into the category of Wariga (3), they also subsume knowledge of other groups of manuscripts such as those in group 1. Mantra and ritual prescription and proscriptions contain references to cosmological conceptions, philosophical assumptions and to historical mythology. The point is that the term usada does not encompass the scope of magico-medical manuscripts. The problem is not that they defy classification as a genre. I believe that, having fairly clear-cut and obvious boundaries, they do constitute one. They are basically handbooks of magic and medical practice and theory, generally (there is at least one exception) lacking narrative elements and any form of entertainment value or popular ethical prescription. The knowledge contained in them is intended for a restricted group of people. By their nature, they are more secret and magically dangerous (pingit) than other categories of manuscripts. The contents of these manuscripts are generally known only to padanda and balian.

The other genre of manuscripts used in this study, the 'historical literature' (5), which include usana (ancient institutions) and babad (dynastic chronicles), contains a miscellaneous collection of historical data, genealogies and mythology. They are primarily treatises on philosophical doctrine, cosmological and magical formulations, explanatory mythology and ritualism. The usana contain mantra, stuti, cosmological conceptions and aetiological tales. They are concerned not so much with religious ideas as with ritual procedures such as temple worship and voluntary trance possession. They contain numerous references to offerings such as aci-aci, banten and caru, forms of worship such as puja-wali,

madewa-sraya in temples (kahyangan) and at shrines (palinggih, padmasana), to bhuta-yadnya (offerings to demonic forces) such as galungan, ritual obligations to ancestors and prescriptions to avoid that which is potentially dangerous (panes) and to negate dangerously powerful occurrences. They detail the penalties of infringements (epidemics and death), the means of atonement for infringements and the rewards (rahayu) of adherence to prescribed ancestral traditions.

The themes of historical literature reflect the themes of Balinese culture -- devotion to ancestors and their traditions -- and reveal the pervasiveness of magical power in Balinese thought. Histories are woven around memorable events and disasters. They formulate the role of ruling raja and their responsibility in initiating the enactment of magical protective rites and disease-containing rituals.

The genre which I identify as magico-medical is vast both in its scope and in the number of extant lontar. The themes of this genre are also the themes of Balinese culture. They document the experience and the concerns of the society and account for the present attitudes and cultural solutions to the hazard of survival in the face of an apparently heavy burden of disease. From my reading of a number of manuscripts, the genre can be sub-divided into three categories, largely on the basis of content.

The first group could be referred to as tutur-type philosophical and medical ethical teachings. It includes the basic handbooks used by balian usada, a knowledge of which they must theoretically acquire before using other texts. This group would include manuscripts with titles such as Budha Kocapi, Kalimosadha, Kanda Mpat, Panca Mahabhuta and Aji Saraswati. To a large extent, these are the kinds of manuscripts from which I formulate my account of the philosophical doctrines underlying magico-medical theory in Chapter 4.

A second group of manuscripts, more technical in nature, is of the wariga (3) type in the sense of almanacs and divinatory manuals having titles such as Tenung Sapta-Wara and Penerangan. But the group would also include manuscripts with such titles as Pangleyakan and Pangiwa, which contain techniques for practising harmful magic and those entitled, for instance, Panulak Pangiwa, Pacarwan Mwang Panulak or Tatumbalan, aimed to avert or neutralize harmful magic. Descriptions of medicinal plants, their origins and their indication contained in manuscripts entitled Taru Pramana would also belong in this group.

A third group of manuscripts, which usually includes the term usada in its titles, constitutes handbooks on actual diseases, symptoms and signs, diagnostic categories and magical and herbal remedies. In the title, the term usada is generally followed by the name of the disease entity or subject being presented. In their present form, most usada are unsystematic compilations of miscellany.

It is not suggested that there is a clear borderline between what constitutes a philosophical text, one which contains only techniques of magic and a medical text. In general, it can be said that the principles of Balinese diagnostics, pathogenesis, aetiology and prognostics are contained in the first group of manuscripts. Yet, wariga and tenung manuscripts also contain information concerning secondary or precipitating

causal factors as well as prognostics. Sarana (requisite ingredients to achieve a magical goal), in the form of mantra, mystical syllables, magical drawings and requisite ingredients for offering, are common to all groups or manuscripts. There is a discernible difference between the language of the first group of manuscripts and that of the other two. There is a greater infusion of Sanskrit, Old Javanese and even Arabic in the former, whilst the language of disease symptomatology and medicinal herbs is more Balinese.

The usada differentiate a number of disease syndromes such as toxic neuropathies (upas, cetik), nutritional neuropathies (tuju) and infective neuropathies (tiwang). Justification for these and following assimilations of indigenous disease taxonomy with Western nosology, I provide at various stages of this study. While the symptoms, signs and various phases of a syndrome such as tiwang are described in usada, treatises on the pathogenesis of it would be found in the tutur-type manuscripts of the first group.

Disease entities such as smallpox (kacacar), leprosy (gering agung) and goitre (mala) are clearly differentiated in the usada and given separate textual treatment, in the sense that the name of the disease is contained within the title and the usada deals specifically and exclusively with that disease.⁷ Most usada are in the nature of compendiums giving brief notes on a variety of symptoms of a gastro-enterological, genito-urological, dermatological, musculo-skeletal or neurological nature. Obviously, these categories are those of Western scientific theory and practice. Usada do not display a systems approach to disease classification. Manuals on diseases of the respiratory system, the digestive system, and so forth, are not found. Various usada refer to respiratory and other disorders as isolated and specific symptoms and signs and prescribe methods to alleviate them. There are also usada devoted specifically to disorders of the central nervous system (Usada Buduh Usada Edan), in the sense of describing manifestations of derangement and of naming them. A form of possession affliction named babainan also receives separate textual treatment. Diseases of early infancy are described in usada entitled Usada Rare Kuranta Bolong. Male sexual impotence, infertility and obstetrical complications are matters included in Usada Rare Kuranta Bolong as well as in those entitled Usada Manak.

The rather conglomerate and amorphous quality of titles and contents may have probably resulted from unrestrained circulation and compiling of lontar themselves. Sections of several lontar selected to form a new one possibly accounts for usada entitled, for instance Usada Ganama (ganama means 'attain relief') and Usada Tegep (tegep means 'complete').⁸ Magico-medical lontar are prose writings and such writings, as Hooykaas (1964:34) experienced, 'tend to become shapeless conglomerations of more or less related material'. There are manuscripts with the same titles and different contents. There are manuscripts with different titles and the same contents. In a statement at the beginning, a manuscript may claim to be a treatise on a certain subject and then proceed to elaborate on another or several others. Some contain interpolations. It is now extremely difficult to determine date of origin and their original form. From an indigenous perspective, the magico-medical knowledge preserved on lontar is several centuries old. I believe that the 'borrowings' interpolations and conglomerate compiling, which constitute the manuscripts as we have them, are confined within the genre.

In local perception, the knowledge contained in magico-medical lontar belongs to the Goddess of Knowledge and Wisdom, Saraswati, who revealed it to or invested it in certain rsi or deified priestly figures whilst they practised ascetic meditation; Bhagawan Wrsapati's yoga produced knowledge of the mystical teaching (tutur) and Bhagawan Kasyaps's yoga resulted in the obtainment of the **Kalimosadha** and **Dharma Usada**. Bhagawan Mrecukunda's yoga produced knowledge of toxicity (gering wisya); Bhagawan Mredu's yoga caused the obtainment of such knowledge as **Wariga** and **Sundari Tenung**, that is, divinatory lontar (HKS XVI, 33). A balian informant ascribes a group of lontar called **Kadyatmikan** to the Goddess Ida Bhatari Swabawa of Pura Pulaki (see Chapter 11 [iv]). He described these as basic texts concerning purification or decontamination. Other balian attribute lontar knowledge to Padanda Sakti (alias Nirartha; see also Chapter 11 [iv]).

In the mythology on the origin of disease, it is related how the Goddess Durga and her cohorts disseminated diseases among the population to the point where the extinction of the world (Bali) was feared (Weck 1937:130-43). For that reason, Bhatara Guru called a meeting of all the gods except Brahma. It was decided that they should write usada so that there would be knowledge of the way to treat illnesses. Wisnu gave them the powers to do so. Seven sages then compiled the usada and gave them to Kasyapa who was then sent to earth to create balian and to give them the medical teachings. Thenceforth many of the diseases afflicting mankind were contained. Durga went again to Brahma and complained that her teachings were being challenged and were now less effective. Brahma told her that this was of her own making because she had been causing death indiscriminantly. The predominance and powers of female deities and the significance of names ascribed to magico-medical lontar are matters pursued in Chapters 4 and 5.

According to balian informants, the first magico-medical lontar, **Buddha Kocapi** was revealed by the Buddha. Then, the knowledge contained in the **Kalimosadha lontar** became known. They contain the fundamental knowledge on the origin, nature and explanation of disease as well as prescriptions for proper conduct of balian. Another group of usada are said to have been taught by specific deities. Accordingly, the **Usada Putih** was revealed by Iswara, the **Usada Spara** by Rudra, the **Usada Rare Kuranta Bolong** by Sangkara, the **Usada Sari** by Mahadewa, the **Usada Upas** by Bhagawan Kasyapa, the **Usada Babai** by Mahesora, and so forth. The creation of the powerful and destructive knowledge of the 'left-hand path' is ascribed to Brahma, the Creator.

I have not attempted a philological study of Balinese historical literature and magico-medical manuscripts. My objective has been to use this local textual material as a prime data source for a cognitive and interpretive study of Balinese magic and medical mythology. There are, as I see it, several possible approaches to the study and the use of indigenous literary sources. One is to seek the best possible translation from the least 'corrupt' version of a text.⁹ Another is to extract data and analyse this in terms of Western theories of power politics, ideologies and social relations. I favour a third approach, one of extracting meaning from texts and seeking its relational meaning consistent with local ideas, assumptions and concerns.

In Balinese literature in general and these genre in particular, it

can be said that words are given intensely metaphorical constructions which defy interpretation on a purely lexical level on what we call 'dictionary' terms. The genre also abound in words whose connotations are greater than their denotations. They contain obscure medical, cultural and historical values and references. The emphasis in this genre is on disease, its symbolism, its containment, and on the signs of impending death, rather than on health and quality of life.

Each text relies upon prior knowledge of another and of others as well as the realm of medicine and magic itself. They are not intended for the initiated or for one endeavouring to study them without a guru. Translation is not only a matter of finding an appropriate English equivalent for a word or a phrase but of finding a relevancy; or of decoding by finding the historical cause and experience, the philosophical assumption or implicit knowledge contained in the linguistic signs, as well as the procedures or rites to which the ideas refer. In the words of Sperber (1979:147-8), the strategy becomes one of identifying 'the particular epistemological status of the representations' which express the symbolism, 'the focalization that it triggers' and 'the evocation that accompanies that focalization'. It is a search from the inside out not the reverse.

Subject to one's surmounting some of the problems of translation, solving some of the riddles posed and the allusions implied, they are sources of knowledge and understanding of the burden of morbidity, the response and solutions it elicited. They have also proved a means of deciphering the semiology of the witchcraft complex, demonology and trance exorcistic dances — matters which evolve in the body of this thesis.

Some of the epidemiological data for this study are taken from colonial health reports (*Mededeelingen van den Burgerlijken Geneeskundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indie 1916-1920*) and recent WHO reports on health problems in developing regions. I scanned the Balinese Indonesian language newspaper *Bali Post* during my field study for relevant information. The writings of Julius Jacob, a Dutch medical officer who visited Bali a few times in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, also provided me with some ethno-epidemiological information.

Wolfgang Weck's *Heilkinde und Volkstum auf Bali*, published in 1937, is a basic and indispensable secondary source for the study of Balinese magico-medical manuscripts. This book, which represents a kind of compendium on Balinese medical art and philosophy, is based on information derived from some 256 *lontar* collected and translated by his team of researchers and translators. Weck's work is largely descriptive. I have endeavoured to complement it through an integrative study of medicine, myth and magic, connecting textual material with ethnographic detail and local knowledge.

Many of the formulations which will be presented in this study could not have commenced without the benefit of the ethnographic detail yielded by the research of others who have gone before me. Although my refutations indicate a critical attitude to existing scholarship on those aspects of Balinese culture pertaining to the magico-medical

complex, it is not my intention to dismiss the value of what others have done. Often times, my investigations have been stimulated by a sense of dissatisfaction with existing paradigms. Often, my arguments rest upon an antipathy to prior postulations. This has incited my strategy of tacking between local textual material, local knowledge and the texts produced about Bali. Given the nature of the dialectical methodology espoused here, opposing views are needed.¹⁰ Besides, they serve to dislodge any comfortable certitude one may hold that cultural investigations can ever be straight-sailing.

Notes - Chapter 2

1. Compare for instance the attitudes of Connor 1982a:6-18 and Hooykaas 1978:3.
2. Anthropological method literature does, of course, contain many references to precisely these problems. A classic in the field is Elenore Bowen's *Return to Laughter* (1964).
3. My concern was with the unhygienic preparation of them not the ingredients themselves.
4. Interpretation of the meaning behind these two forms of trance exorcistic dance offered in Chapter 12 [i] and Chapter 11 [vii] which help to explain local resistance to the interference.
5. Even more astounding is an account by Chegary (1955:100) in his *Bliss in Bali* where he describes how, in spite of the fact that his medical knowledge was 'practically nil', he became the 'hero of the village' when the large dose of analgesics (he felt that under the circumstances his 'cure must be spectacular') he dispensed to a sick woman, 'worked like a charm'.
6. On the improbability of this proposition, see Chapter 8.
7. The usual or likely onset, course and probable outcome of a disease is related in these medical treatises but this information is not sequential or systematically presented.
8. An example of a manuscript title and its introductory statement of contents clarify this point. HKS3024 *Usada Saparo* (saparo, I translate as febrile semi-consciousness) begins: *Nihan kawrubakena kadaden ing tiwange kabeh* (What follows is an account of the genesis of all forms of convulsive seizures). In this case the title and statement of contents are not conceptually incompatible; tiwang may be a sequela of sapara. However, the manuscript also touches upon such diseases as babainan, tuju, mokan and it lists mantra and ingredients for pacaruan. A note on manuscript HKS3536 (*Tenung Gring*) informs that it belongs within a lontar entitled *Kanda Mpat Baleyan*, and one on HKS3561 (*Tenung Sapta-Wara*) informs that it belongs within the *Usada Pamunah Cetik*.
9. In the manner of Hooykaas, for example. Without denying the extraordinary difficulty and arduousness of the task of translating voluminous amounts of indigenous writings and the credit due to Hooykaas for his great contribution to Balinese scholarship, I maintain that to present large sections of translated textual material out of context and without clarification of its relational meaning is, especially on the subject of magic and sorcery, to obfuscate if not misrepresent them. They do not provide insight or understanding and we are left with isolated bits of *curiosa*.
10. Elsewhere (Lovric 1986c), I have argued the merits of the kind of semiotic dialectic intellectual enterprise in Southeast-Asian studies which seeks to penetrate other modes of thought and ways of knowing and which seeks 'conceptual entities' over 'reliable facts'.

Chapter 3

Conceptual Configurations

. . . within structure there is not only form, relation, and configuration. There is also interdependency and a totality which is always concrete.

Jacques Derrida *Writing and Difference* 1981:5

Here, I wish to bring into focus the ideas in Balinese culture which belong to the sphere of sakti. I classify these facets of magical power and action in terms of their location in person, space, time, event, object and in beings labelled supernaturals. These latter could be called the agents of supernatural power or manifestations of it. My aim is to piece together a complex body of ideas and references. Fragmentary descriptions of magical practices which occur in the literature on Bali have not touched upon the underlying assumptions and the relational meanings of the varying aspects of them. Such an enterprise does involve the intermittent arraignment or critical examination of the established theoretical assumptions and conceptual straight-jackets referred to in Chapter 1. Understanding local categories and configurations can yield insight into why myth and magical rites assume the form they do and help us to locate the substance of their rhetoric. One of the problems inherent in this attempt to understand and expound upon conceptual configurations, philosophical orientations and thematic modes -- the objective of this and the following two chapters -- is that they are interwoven in a way which renders a linear explication difficult and its results superficial; hence the circularity, fluidity and drifting of my own text.

I begin with the notion of sakti, a generic term for magic but one more particularly applied to beings, human and suprahuman. I then digress to examine relevant deficiencies in our theories. I propose solutions in the form of dialectical reversals. I then return to magical phenomenon as it presents in terms of space, time, events and objects. Finally, I convert some of the identified conceptual flaws implicit in our problem of good and evil through a directive towards realization of the potency of the divine demonic, a recurring theme in my search for understanding of understanding.

(i) Magic (Sakti): A Kind of Totality

Magic . . . is a kind of totality of actions and beliefs, poorly defined. . . . We cannot know a priori its limits, and we are in no position to choose, with any certainty, those typical facts which could be said to represent the totality of magical facts (Marcel Mauss 1972:10).

No one definition can embrace the essence of sakti, convey its fundamental meaning or express its properties and parameters. Sakti is a complexity made up of several fluid notions, activities, states and qualities which merge into one another. It is a state of being and becoming as well as action. Sakti may acquire the form and function of a noun, an adjective and a verb. However, it generally occurs in only one other conjugation, ka-sakti-an (kasakten). As a verbal derivative of sakti, kasakaten indicates that something is bestowed by external agents. Sakti has no will of its own. Its presence in someone or something endows such beings or objects with supernatural potentiality, anonymous and ambiguous. Other terms such as sidhi and sandhi wisesa signifying magical power, occur alone or together with sakti: sidhi sakti; sidhi sandhi sakti; upaya sandhi, (usually meaning sorcery or magical deception); sidhi wisesa. Wisesa and sidhi also occur in other conjugations: kawisesan; mawisesa; kasidhyan. These terms, like sakti, generally apply to beings and artifacts such as masks, lontar or to concocted matter.

However, apart from beings and artifacts, other aspects of existence can be more than their apparent physical or abstract entities. To varying degrees and in a variety of ways, space, time and events participate with the supernatural or share the qualities of the unseen world. For these qualities and locations of magical mystical power, there are other terms in the Balinese language, namely tenget, panes, kala, pingit and pened. Rendered into the English language, these diverse states and locations are reduced to the one phrase, 'magically powerful and dangerous'.

Ascriptions of sakti apply to two main groups of people -- rulers and priests. Traditionally, sakti, as the power to cure, has been in the hands of a priestly group with no restrictions of caste or class. However, sakti is also the power to cause illness. Powerful balian are ascribed with it, but so also are leyak, a matter to which I return periodically. A leyak's wisya (toxicity) and mantra can be sidhi mandi (magically efficacious) as can be a balian's tamba (medicine) and mantra. At provincial levels, raja were expected to use their sakti for the benefit of the populace through the maintenance of traditions and the enactment of magical rites. Masks symbolizing protective demonic (bharawa) deities are sakti. Sakti is morally ambivalent. It is the possessor's actual use or abuse of it which determines its actual character. It can be used for whichever end the holder of it desires -- healing, harming, the welfare of the populace or the destruction of it.

Possession of sakti can lend invulnerability to the endangering effects of actions of similarly endowed persons as well as to that pertaining to space and objects. This invulnerability aspect of having sakti is considered important by balian informants. One cited the fact that a certain padanda had never been ill as evidence of the priest's great sakti. Anyone who succumbs to illness seems then, by definition, either to lack sakti or to have lost it. Patients who recover from illness are likely to accredit sakti to the balian imputed responsible for the cure. Healing implies the overpowering of the sakti of the causative agent. These statements are supported by ethnographic data provided in Chapter 6 in particular.

There are gradations in the level of sakti a person might possess. In a confrontation between two persons having sakti, the sakti of one

is not destroyed by the other, nor is its holder necessarily injured. Expressions used in textual sources, amagut kasakten or angluhurang kasakten, imply that an antagonist's hold is subdued through the 'defusing' or 'overriding' of their sakti by the sakti of another. Their sakti, not they themselves, is defeated (kasor). If allied to sakti, there is a tolerance of excessive behaviour. The acts of those with sakti are generally not judged. Even when the boundaries of what is excessive have been crossed and retribution is in order, the miscreant is not executed but submits voluntarily to 'release' (death) through the agency of magically powerful (sakti) weapons (see the Calon Arang legend (Chapter 11[ii]) or banishment into magically powerful (tenget) space (see the Macaling legend, Chapter 11[v]).

Sakti is obtained through ascetic endeavour and fervour (matapa-brata), yogic meditation (samadhi-yoga) or the possession of knowledge. It requires more than a passive acceptance on the part of the aspirant. It requires conscious and active conjuring. Part of a balian's and a leyak's initiation as practitioners of magic involves exposure to ambiguous supernatural forces in such magically dangerous space as graveyards. If they survive these ordeals, which would probably result in trauma for one without sakti, they demonstrate their ability to handle the powers which can harm or protect. People with sakti are themselves also reputed to exude mystical danger and are, for this reason, sometimes feared as well as revered by others (see Chapter 6[iii]).

The enactment of magical rites is not the sole prerogative of these groups who accrue sakti. All Balinese use magic to a greater ^{or} lesser extent. However, those who are sakti are able to intervene in things mystical with relative impunity. There is a perceived danger and a tendency for the supernatural to get out of hand. There is a corresponding fear of mishandling it. Possessing sakti above all entails 'doing things' — nyakitang (causing sickness), ngusadin (healing), ngaleyak (bewitching), ndesti (sorcerizing), ngarehang (testing magical powers). Sakti is not a passive virtue such as suci which is egoistic or self-fulfilling. These concepts are of a different realm, though not necessarily mutually exclusive.

Lontar are themselves suci. Their power is sakti. Suci is more a religious concept of the transcendental sphere, devoid of ambiguous connotations. Although ascetics, rulers and the literati may have better access to suci which can be derived from such acts as the erecting of temples or the composing of literary works, it is not the prerogative of these groups. All people and certain things enjoy varying levels or degrees of ascetic and ritual purity. It is a state but not one of power. It can fluctuate voluntarily through ritual misdeeds or negligence, or involuntarily through exposure to such human processes as birth, sickness and death, in which states one is sebel (dangerously impure and anomalous) (see Chapter 9). Being sebel renders one vulnerable to mystically-induced physical danger as well as a source of potential danger for others. A state of sakti renders one less susceptible to the destructive powers of others. Yet the concept of sakti does not exist as a separate entity either. It is interwoven with these and other facets and themes of Balinese intellectual traditions. It becomes intelligible only when it is viewed in relation to empirical activities, textual reifications and the particularities of the Balinese mode of thought and experiences.

There is an intractable problem for those whose research centres around the phenomenon of magic. Mauss argued the necessity of considering together, rather than as a series of isolated rituals, all those things which constitute magic. However, the nature of the academic enterprise itself does not readily permit this or even demand it. Magic is a vague term which has never been rigorously defined.

For these reasons, my feeling is that Hooykaas was not really justified, on either culturally ethical or scholarly grounds, in pressing to have published his **Drawings of Balinese Sorcery** (1980). These magical drawings, 'quaint', 'outlandish' or 'whimsical' as they might appear to the incognizant outsider, should not be exposed out of the context of the complex thought and the system of knowledge which informs them. The text accompanying the drawings is little more than an awkward apology for the incursion. It is indeed odd that the author (as he himself concedes) should presume to write about a subject to which he paid 'not the slightest attention when he lived in its country of provenance' (p.10). One may sympathize or empathize with the force of enthusiasm and fascination with his newly-discovered subject which precipitated his premature 'exposure' of bits and pieces of the vast amount of material on magic that he managed to acquire. One may also sympathize with the Balinese code of literary ethics (aywa wera) which warns against the mischief of premature and fragmentary divulsion of complex esoteric knowledge. All too frequently, Hooykaas (and regarding this he expressed regrets) resorted to facile explanations of a 'playful Balinese mind' and 'inexhaustible fancies' (p.1) in trying to explain magical drawings. This publication, in my opinion, does not do justice to the object of investigation (in fact, it damages it), the reader, and most importantly, the material. Sakti, and all that it encompasses, can not only be misrepresented, it can also be poorly presented.

Along the lines advocated by Jameson (1971:162), my objective has been to undertake to 'think the totality' which means to think not just what things mean but also how they work and are invested with allegorical meaning. Thinking the totality is essential in order to surmount the burden of intellectual assumptions and accepted ideas. I frame the conceptual operations concerning sakti and whatever other terms denote magic in such a way that their semantic richness and the codes and modes of signification which subtend them are neither lost nor ignored. A good way to begin is by releasing Balinese notions of the supernatural and thereby sakti and associated concepts from the constraints and conceptual straight-jackets imposed by Western metaphysics and explanatory paradigms.

(ii) Conceptual Flaws and Impoverishment of Conceptual Complexities

Ask a European what the **Mahabharata** is about and he will probably say, 'The battle between the Kurus and the Pandavas.' An Indian might give the same answer, but most Indians might say, 'It is about dharma.' What is foreground for one is background for another. (Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, 1984:128).

There is inevitably something deficient in the tools we use in our self-imposed task of interpretation. Clifford Geertz (1961:498-502) has noted 'severe conceptual defects' in early Dutch ethnography, for all

its 'scholarly integrity'.¹ The reason for this, Geertz links with theoretical axioms which underlie the modes of analysis employed. One of these is the 'ur-society' concept: the idea that there is a quasi-ancestral form of social organization and that there exists in 'primitive societies' an exact congruence between the structure of social life and the pattern of cosmological ideas. This is presumed to allow one to make deductions and predictions about one on the basis of the other. For 'wholly arbitrary reasons', Geertz continues, the form of the 'ur-society' is assumed to have been one of dual organization and the associated cosmology has been assumed to be dualistic. It is, as Geertz states, a 'rigorous dualism' which has been assigned to Balinese religion and magical phenomena. The philosophical tradition this dualism encapsulates is more a curious combination of Judeo-Christian theology and primitive tribal totemism than the particular fusion of Hinduism, Buddhism, Tantrism and indigenous traditions which, those not tethered to established axioms, might seek to investigate. It all seems to go back to Dutch structuralism (see, for example, Josselin de Jong 1977). Van der Kroef (1954:855), abetted by Swellengrebel (1948, 1960), writes:

Javanese society consists probably of two moieties. . . .
 The wayang presents the confrontation of two sets of characters, derived in part from the Indian Mahabharata, on the one hand the Kaurawas, on the other the Pandawas. . . .
 The puppets of the left, which represent the 'evil' nefarious Kaurawas are usually coloured red. . . . The first group is 'avaricious', the other is 'unbending', . . .

The very same pattern is found on Bali, and in incredible complexity. . . . The great antithesis in the Balinese world view is first of all evident in the contrasting roles played by the natural environment, more specifically, by mountains and sea which symbolize upper and under world. 'For the Balinese therein is projected the great antithesis which dominates all existence: life and death, day and night, fortune and misfortune, blessing and curse' (Swellengrebel 1948:34). The mountains constitute the beneficent direction of the world; from them comes water, a symbol of life. The direction of the sea is downward, associated with calamity, sickness and death.

So, it became a theoretical axiom, established in Dutch structural anthropology and perpetuated thereafter, that the Balinese cosmological order is one based on dual classification and cosmological dualism. Swellengrebel attributed to Balinese cosmology an antithesis between kaja (north), connoting mountain-ward and its antipode, kelod, (south), connoting towards the sea. Successive scholars of Bali went on to construct more binary oppositions classified within these terms. Almost, if not all important phenomena have been confined within this so-decreed fundamental antipode: male and female; life and death; day and night; full moon and new moon; light and darkness; uranic and chthonic; purity and impurity; pura puseh and pura dalem. Even the cult protective masks, Barong and Rangda (the symbolism of which I decode in Chapter 11[ii and iii]) and the two kinds of priests, padanda and pamangku as well as the philosophical doctrine rwa bhineda (discussed in the following chapter) have been included in the list of Western-perceived dichotomous categories of good and evil, sacred and profane, auspicious and inauspicious and so forth, imputed to be representative of a basic antithesis between mountains and the sea. The mountains are purported to be the abode

of the gods and the source of fertility, well-being and all things positive. The sea is supposed to represent their antipode; to denote all that is evil, ominous, negative, and to be the abode of everything demonic. Anything from dance and masks to the vagaries (illness) and realities (life and death) of nature have been confined and explicated within this neat paradigm of dichotomous categories.

Ideas of binary oppositions and fundamental antitheses might structure Western metaphysics. I contend that they do not structure Balinese metaphysical notions and system of knowledge. And binary oppositions do not imply equality or complementarity. It will be shown that there are values and powers associated not only with kaja and kelod but with each direction and with environments other than the mountains and the sea. But it is a conceptual error to interpret this differentiation in terms of oppositions, even complementary ones. Furthermore, in matters concerning the symbolism of time and space, distinctions such as auspicious and inauspicious, pure and import, uranic and chthonic (as defined, for example by Ramseyer 1977 or Bandem and de Boer 1981) are not sound bases from which to interpret Balinese ways of qualifying time and orienting themselves in space.

In Christian ideology, darkness is connected morally with death, evil and sin. Black is the colour of death and that worn for mourning the dead. Churches are decked in black on Good Friday to signify death, and in white on Easter Sunday to signify Resurrection. In Balinese colour symbolism, black has neither a connotation of evil nor is it specifically associated with death, demonic forces or with witches. White or yellow, in fact, are their funerary colours, and white is a colour of witches. The deference extended to both black and white separately and together (as the magically powerful black and white check called poleng) pertains to their power, mystical and amoral. Moreover, creatures of the dark (night) -- cats, bats, owls, cecak, toket -- are not assessed as devilish or sinister. They are appraised as having special ambiguous powers and qualities.

While the concepts of magic (or power) may, in the Western context, be reducible to terms of black and white, evil and good, Balinese terms of magic -- sakti, tenget and so forth -- imply no such dichotomous categories. Therefore, I am not sure that Hooykaas's rendition of kawisesan as 'white magic' is not misleading. Although it is often used in a positive sense of protection, it is applied primarily to beings of a demonic nature. A tatumbalan (magical spell) can be mawisesa (K532:8a). Bhuta leyak wisya who have the power to spread illness are instilled with fear when confronted with the great magical power (dahat mawisesa) of certain tatumbalan. Durga is mawisesa, Sang Sidapati is a bhuta mawisesa. In a magical spell to make clear weather (panerangan), named Kaputusan Jambul-Kuning, the mantra reads: Ih I am Ki Jambul-Kuning Wisesa . . . escorted by I Lenda, I Lendi, dete, detya and raksasa. All are wisesa (HKS1763:2a).

The Balinese have conceptions of magic and power and of space which are, to borrow from another text and context (Zimmer 1956:13), 'foreign to the sociological and psychological thinking of the West'. Even so, the problem has not significantly impinged upon scholarly complacency and acceptance of Western constructions. Take the case of Sanur and its notoriety as a centre of magical power. This has been wrongly

Barong Landung and Rangda masks installed on a dias by the edge of the sea at Sanur during a malasti ritual.



(notwithstanding its conformity with the antithesis axiom) attributed to the fact that the village is bounded on the east and the south by the sea. This is supposed to have necessitated elaborate rituals to negate the evil forces lurking in the sea. The Balinese are supposed to fear the sea, to turn away from it and to sleep with their feet towards the sea (Lansing 1979) — to prove it perhaps! The sea and the seaside, I argue, are significant, but as sources of power — supernatural and ambiguous.

(iii) **Towards a Dialectical Reversal: The Sea,
The Source of Life-Restoring Water (Amerta)**

. . . dialectical thought . . . aims . . . not so much at solving the particular dilemmas in question, as at converting those problems into their own solutions on a higher level, and making the fact and the existence of the problem itself the starting point for new research (Jameson 1971:307).

The villagers, priests and healers of Sanur are somewhat bewildered by the revelation that they regard the sea as the opposite in quality of the mountain, as the abode of all evil and impurity and as the source of disease. As they explain it, the sea is the source of all life and of knowledge (tastra) and of amerta. It is agung (high) and suci (pure) and the abode of high deities such as Bhatara Baruna, Bhatara Wisnu and Bhatara Kala who, like all supernaturals, have benign as well as demonic aspects. It has the capacity to absorb all kinds of pollution yet remain itself pure.

All yadnya (dewa-, rsi-, pitra-, manusa- and bhuta-) involve a ritual purification at the sea (malasti, also named melis or makiis). Sakti masks and arca (ornaments of the deities) are periodically taken to the sea for malasti rites. On the day of tumpek wayang which occurs every thirty weeks, all masks, gamelan instruments, wayang puppets and dancer's headdresses are taken to the sea for purificatory rites. On the day of the ninth new moon (tilem kasanga) of the Balinese calendar, all masks and arca are taken to the sea to obtain tirtha kamandalu, the essence of holy water in the centre of the ocean.

The power and the danger (sebel) kindled by the birth of twins of the opposite sex poses a threat to all residents of a village. According to a lontar (HKS1833), a ritual purification (palukatan) with water from the sea or a well in a pura dalem will control the danger and cause it to abate. Human physical remains are purified through water and fire. In the final stage of the ceremonial disposal of the human corpse (sawa prateka), the ashes remaining after cremation are thrown into the sea or into a river flowing into the sea for final purification in a ceremony named nganyut. Before sunset on full moon, a group of padanda istri (brahmana priestesses) can be seen bathing on an isolated part of the coast at Sanur. According to Mershon (1971:51) padanda istri must bathe in the sea at certain times.

Ritual purification, the release from mala (stain or virulence) by means of water is a dominant element of Balinese religion, Agama Tirtha (Religion of Water) and of healing rites. Water has revivifying powers. The most potent water is that obtained from the sea. Nirartha, the legendary priest-healer, first taught the cure of illness through charmed

A domestic malasti held by members of a kin group to purify the ritual regalia to be installed in a newly-renovated house-temple. Offerings, including the obligatory white duck are being carried out to the low-tide mark.



water. Under the protection of balian who are sakti the sick are sometimes taken to seaside temples at magically powerful times and given life-restoring water from the sea (see Chapter 6[ii]).

After smallpox epidemics passed, arca had to be taken to the sea in order to rid the earth of all mala (virulence) and to obtain rahayu, we learn from an Usana Bali lontar (HKS2243). Furthermore, according to an edict (pawarah) of Sanghyang Yama, the melis must include a pangleb (the sacrifice of a live animal to the sea). A white duck is appropriate for a pangleb for Bhatara Baruna who abides in the sea. If the words of Sanghyang Yama are not adhered to, all those conducting the ceremony (karya) will die an unnatural death (mati salah pati) or will experience 'living death' (urip tan urip) (perhaps an allusion to leprosy, an unmentionable disease, (see Chapter 11[i]) and each day suffer pain.

Lontar which have been rendered illegible through age and wear are copied on to new tal palm. The owner must then dispose of the old lontar ceremoniously. Before it he will place an offering consisting of coins (pipis bolong), a white duck, a white chicken, a coconut, white rice and black rice. He then incinerates the lontar and throws the ashes into the sea, because all Knowledge (Sang Yang Aji), I was told by this balian informant, originates in the sea and should be returned there. Like depths, the sea has connotations of secrecy, potentiality and danger, but also wisdom. The sea, according to another Usana Bali (HKS29,10) is the source of we rahayu (water of well-being).

Nevertheless, the literature on Bali relentlessly continues to inform us that: 'The Balinese have always looked away from the sea'; for the Balinese 'the sea has always been a realm of horror' (Mrázek 1983:14); the sea is regarded 'as the home of all evil and pollution' (Forge 1980:221); 'the sea is kelod, intrinsically dangerous and malevolent, a place to avoid' (Lansing 1979:79); 'the sea is the region of impurity, and for this reason leper colonies are planted there. It is from the sea that demons come, bringing disease and pestilence' (de Zoete and Spies 1973:89).

In another scholarly discourse (Zimmer 1947:34) not intent upon establishing a mountain-sea dichotomy, we learn that the sea is the abode of Wisnu and that transformations are worked by waters:

. . . the waters are understood as a primary materialization of Vishnu's Māyā-energy. They are the life-maintaining element that circulates through nature in the forms of rain, sap, milk, and blood. . . .

Boundless and imperishable, the cosmic waters are at once the immaculate source of all things and the dreadful grave. . . .

The ocean represents the "Alogical Immense." It is an expanse, dormant in itself, and full of all potentialities (p.202).

Zimmer is here interpreting the role of the sea in Indian thought within the framework of Indian philosophical traditions. In medieval Christian imagery, the sea symbolized the world and its perils, cruel and implacable. It was perceived as the abode of dangerous monsters and hybrids (Cavendish 1975:10). The dragon, in Western mythology, was the great composite monster of chaos whose abode was the sea. In Hindu-Balinese conception, the naga (serpent or dragon) is associated with primordial waters and

amerta, powers to bestow fertility and heal illness, to absorb the water's essence and bestow in upon mankind (see Bosch 1960:136). In the explanatory traditions of Vedic scriptures, the juices of herbal plants and resins of trees flowed into the ocean and the waters of the ocean transformed into milk (elixir) from which the gods attained immortality. The waters, are said to be naturally pure, to have cleansing power, to contain all remedies. They are attributed powers of production, regeneration, perpetuation and protection of life. Further, they are said to hold, even to be, amerta. Waters possess these qualities or they emanate from them through an immanent force called rasa, 'living substance' or 'essence' (Bosch 1960:60).

The quest for life-giving, life-restoring water (amerta) is a theme of various Old Javanese texts known in Bali. In the Adiparwa, the deities and demons (dewata and daityaddanawa) cooperate to secure the amerta contained in a white water pot (swetakamandalu) in the middle of the ocean. In his incarnation as a tortoise, Wisnu descends into the depths of the cosmic ocean and with the cosmic mountain on his back and the cosmic serpent Basuki entwined about the mountain, churned the ocean. From it the amerta emerged. It was seized by the daityadanawa but finally retrieved by Wisnu who through his powers of self-transformation, was able to trick the daityadanawa.

The Nawaruci, a sixteenth century prose text, concerns the journey of Bhima, a mystic who goes in search of the amerta. After his failure to locate it at the top of the mountain, Bhatara Indra advises him to seek it in the depths of the ocean. In the centre of the ocean Bimaruci is confronted by a naga. He then arrives on an island where he enters the belly of a dwarf named Dewaruci. In the belly of the dwarf, Bimasuci receives understanding and supreme knowledge and obtains the amerta; hence his name Bimasuci, 'Bima the Purified'.

As we can see, textual and ethnological data do not substantiate, in fact contradict, the Western construction of Balinese conceptual categories. Balinese explanatory mythology does not contain an ethical hypothesis that there are mountain-dwelling virtuous gods who are the bringers of fertility and health and sea-dwelling evil demons who are responsible for disease, death and disaster. Perhaps it is the Balinese externalizing conceptions of epidemic diseases (discussed in Chapters 11 and 13) which prompted the idea of the sea as the source of disease. Epidemic cholera, for instance, is said to originate on the island of Nusa Penida, across the sea (see Chapter 11[v]). Perhaps, early ethnographers witnessed the frequent and elaborate ritual activity at the seaside and assumed that the Balinese perceive the sea to be in need of regular placation.

Be that as it may, no Balinese who is aware and circumspect would choose to live close to the sea. Like such environs as forests and mountains, the seaside is tenget — space in which ordinary mortals would not dare to live. Besides this prudent avoidance of entanglement with mystical forces lurking in tenget space, the people of Sanur offer more practical reasons why they do not settle close to the sea. The land there is less fertile. Strong winds from the sea can cause illness. Living by the sea is simply not conducive to health or wealth. Even though some do bathe by the sea for therapeutic, purificatory or recreational purposes, most are unable to swim. There is nothing irrational in the Balinese fear of

A nyanyud (washing away), the final phase of a maliqya (deification of deceased ancestors) held at the seaside at Sanur.



the sea itself. In any case, most would not venture into the depth of the sea or to the height of a mountain for that matter. These are not man's space.

In every generation there arises a balian who is referred to as a balian saged, that is, one renowned throughout Bali for his healing powers. Such a person is invariably said to reside either in a village by the sea or in mountains; in space especially tenget. According to information procured by Covarrubias in the 1930s, leyak hold their contests by the seaside. They also hold their assemblies on Gunung Agung. The point is that leyak, balian and others in quest of sakti, meditate and mediate wherever there is a concentration of uncontrolled powers — by the sea, in forests, in graveyards and on mountains. The sea is inhabited by demons and deities as are other magically significant environments. Offerings are placed by the sea so that the bhuta-kala who dwell there will feel less inclined to emerge and threaten and well-being of local inhabitants. Elaborate offerings to bhuta-kala who dwell on top of Gunung Agung are made periodically for the same reason. Mindful of some Nietzschean wisdom:

Let us beware of thinking the world is a living being. . . . Let us beware of attributing to it heartlessness and unreason or their opposites; it is neither perfect nor beautiful, nor noble, nor does it wish to become any of these things; it does not by any means strive to imitate man. None of our aesthetic and moral judgments apply to it. . . . Let us beware of saying that death is opposed to life (Nietzsche 1974:109).

The matter and the problem can profit from a more detailed understanding of Balinese conceptions of magical (tenget) space.

**(iv) Magically Dangerous (Tenget) Space:
Temples, Graveyards and Other Ambiguities**

In Bali, there is no objective description of space, in the sense of cartography or environments — seaside, mountain, lake, forest, sawah etc. All of these, as space wherein human beings do not dwell, are subjectively 'different' and tenget. Tenget signifies a mystical milieu where powerful forces concentrate. Unusual landforms and geological formations attract the attention of supernaturals and mystical powers. They become their abodes and are tenget. Supernaturals gather wherever there is some peculiarity of topography or vegetation and claim it as their space. Places where two rivers meet and where a river meets the sea are magically and ambiguously powerful (tenget). Marginal space, such as crossroads, land bordering graveyards, temples or sawah, is also tenget. Space wherein human beings have been killed, murdered or buried, or a dwelling has burnt down becomes tenget or panes (lit. hot). In short, space in which the unusual and the extraordinary are found, is or becomes tenget.

Unusually large trees such as keput, pole and beringin are themselves and the immediate space they occupy, tenget. They should not be cultivated or allowed to grow within houseyards. Large trees are invariably found within temple enclosures or in graveyards. To some extent, it may be that the erection of temples and the siting of graveyards was influenced by such trees, a presence which itself connotes a clustering

of ambiguous powers. Large trees which are not found within temple enclosures or graveyards at least have a shrine erected nearby. Furthermore, they are given daily ritual attention by those who live within their vicinity. They may not be lopped without ritual, nor may their presence be ignored with impunity.

Bridges constitute tenget space, not on account of the structures themselves, but the ravine they span. Preternaturals such as tonya and gamang exert considerable influence in this space. Those lingering there become their prey (tatadahan). This, I was told, was the reason why accidents, suicides and murders occur around bridges; hence the protective, awesome and demonic statues which stand at the threshold of bridges. Space designated for human habitation and use is always enclosed or walled in as a kind of magical protective barrier to the confounding of space. Sometimes, entire villages are enclosed by walls. Tatumbalan and sculptural representations of the powerful and protective demonic reinforce the barriers at entrances.

Some villages and banjar, by virtue of their topography, vegetation, inhabitants or historical events which have occurred there, are more tenget than others. Sanur is one such village. Experts in the art and craft of magic reside there. Some banjar in this tenget village are also more tenget than others. Blanjong, on the southernmost point of the Sanur, is one such very magically powerful (tenget pisan) banjar. There are a number of remains of ancient sanctuaries built from black coral in the form of step pyramids in Blanjong. Some of these antiquities are no more than clumps of stone or an area (and often a large tree) encircled by stones with a shrine in the centre. But none are overlooked by inhabitants of the banjar. Those upon whose houseyards they border place offerings there daily. Pura Blanjong, one of the four major temples in the banjar, is sited upon the space where the boat (jong) of a legendary figure with great sakti split into two (belahan); hence the name of this temple and the banjar (belahan jong becomes blanjong). In the course of enquiries about the temple relics and some remarkable sculptures in a cremation ground temple (pura pamuunan) in Madura, another very tenget banjar, I was given local versions of past historical contact with ancient Java and the island of Madura (see Lovric 1986b).

The selection of temple sites, as Ramseyer (1977:113-4) states, is not arbitrary. However, with his postulate that this selection conforms to the 'familiar (in terms of Western interpretive strategies, it is suggested) uranian and chthonic spatial fields'. Ramseyer manages, like others before and after him, to fit the village temple system (kahyangan tiga) within dichotomous categorization; the pura puseh (navel temple) is uranian, is kaja (aligned to the mountains where pure gods and good men meet) and the pura dalem (death temple), by contrast, is chthonian, is kelod (located seaward) 'where the black influence of unpurified souls can be neutralized' (p.114). From what has been proposed previously concerning the mountain/sea -- pure/impure dichotomy, predictably, I propose other considerations in the selection of temple sites. It is less sociologically complex than Western constructions of Balinese notions of space suggest. Hobart has also questioned the validity of anthropological theories which stress social determinism and the sociological basis of Balinese symbolism indifferent to the intrinsic and observable properties of nature (1978a:23-4).² Local historical texts and ethnographic evidence indicate that 'tengetness', and that implies the intrinsicities of nature as well



Cock-fight in the Jeroan, Pura Dalem, Banjar Taman (October 6, 1981).

as epistemological presuppositions, determine above all if and where a temple should be erected. Take, for example, the case of a temple named Peti Tenget:

On his way to perform yoga-samadhi at Pura Ulu-Watu [ulu watu means protruding rock], [the legendary] Nirartha came upon some bhuta who hid in fear of the priest renowned for his great sakti. Nirartha reassured the bhuta and appointed one named I Bhuta Ijo [ijo means green] to guard his betel-nut box during his absence. The place where I Bhuta Ijo resided was tenget, for it was on the outskirts of a village and access was difficult. For that reason, the place was named Tegal Peti Tenget [tegal meaning field and peti sirih-box]. Whenever villagers happened into that space they became afflicted with serious illness. When they sought the help of Nirartha, he explained that this was because the bhuta who occupied that space were liable to cause illness to any person who intruded upon it. A solution was found in the erection of a temple on the site and in the regular placing of offerings for the bhuta as a means whereby potentially harmful powers could be redirected to protective ones. The temple was named [and exists today as] Pura Peti Tenget.³

Likewise, the imputed categorization of space in general, and the two temple courtyards (jeroan and jaba) in particular, as sacred and profane, also fails to capture the full significance of the way in which the Balinese apportion values to different kinds of space and environments. Cockfight, an impure, profane, chthonic activity in 'polarized' interpretations, take place in the inner courtyard (jeroan) as well as in the outer courtyard (jaba). Cult demonic masks are venerated within the jeroan and placed high on shrines prepared for them. Dances for the demonic are enacted in the jeroan and the jaba of temples. Offerings for bhuta-kala are placed within and outside temple enclosures.⁴

Temples are sites around which and within which unmanifest forces gather and where sakti human beings such as balian, pamangku and leyak seek mystical participations in order to gain favour or avert disaster. The supernatural is the affective category and responsible for both. Balinese are certainly aware of and practise caution in regard to spatial orientation. But by no means does this imply an absolute avoidance of certain directions and space. It indicates a vigilance and caution in the ritual utilization of supernatural influences. Deliberate or inadvertant intrusion into tenget space especially at times ambiguously powerful (kala ala-ayu), to become a voluntary or involuntary participant in a magically ominous ritual event (pingit), renders one vulnerable to affliction. Only those endowed with sakti may venture into such space at such times and actively participate in pingit events with relative impunity. They may even seek to gain some advantage through the exercise.

There is no evidence other than that fabricated by Western analytical constructions to suggest that 'the black influences of the dead are restricted by the rites in pura dalem' (Goris 1960:107). Rituals are not enacted in pura dalem merely to neutralize or restrict 'negative evil' influences. Such space is selected because the power there can be appropriated and transiently captivated. Hanna's (1976:136) suggestion that these temples could be a starting place from which to explore the

A principal shrine in Pura Dalem Pangembah, banjar Blanjong



role of magic in Balinese society may be worth pursuing. They do represent what Sperber and Polanyi have referred to as the most valuable kind of cultural data — that which is not made explicit. Is a pura dalem simply a 'death temple' as the rendering of the name into European languages leaves us with? Although it may appear as 'a veritable museum of witchery' (de Zoete and Spies 1973:89) or as 'a kind of 'witches lodge' (p.87), it is obviously much more than this.

The term dalem does not mean 'death'. It signifies 'within', 'profound' and 'depth'. Nevertheless, associations with the powers (rather than 'negative evil' or 'black influences) of death do exist. Durga, the Goddess of Death, has special affiliations with pura dalem. But no death rites take place within pura dalem. Ancient sakti rulers, who are now deified ancestors, often had the word Dalem included in their titles.⁵ Many of Sanur's temples include the word dalem in their names. This, I was told, was because they were erected or used by former rulers. Some of those close to the sea are said to have been places where rulers meditated and where their purified ashes were placed before being thrown into the sea. From Usana Bali texts (e.g. HKS1974) we know that temples such as Gunung Kawi contained the ashes of the rulers of the Warmadewa dynasty. These temples thus became powerful repositories of magical strength.

One of these dalem temples of Sanur, Pura Dalem Pangembah, is located on the sandy shore in the most south-western part of banjar Blanjong. This very small, unprejudicing temple consisting of only one partly enclosed space is a frequent focus of community ritual and individual attention. Stories of encounters with the supernatural within this particular tenget space abound in Sanur. It has a special affiliation with Pura Dalem Ped on the island of Nusa Penida, the abode of I Gede Macaling, the deity of cholera. The pura is on the circuit of the Rangda from Geria Penopengan in Intaran, Sanur and a Rangda from nearby banjar Suung (outside of the desa, Sanur).

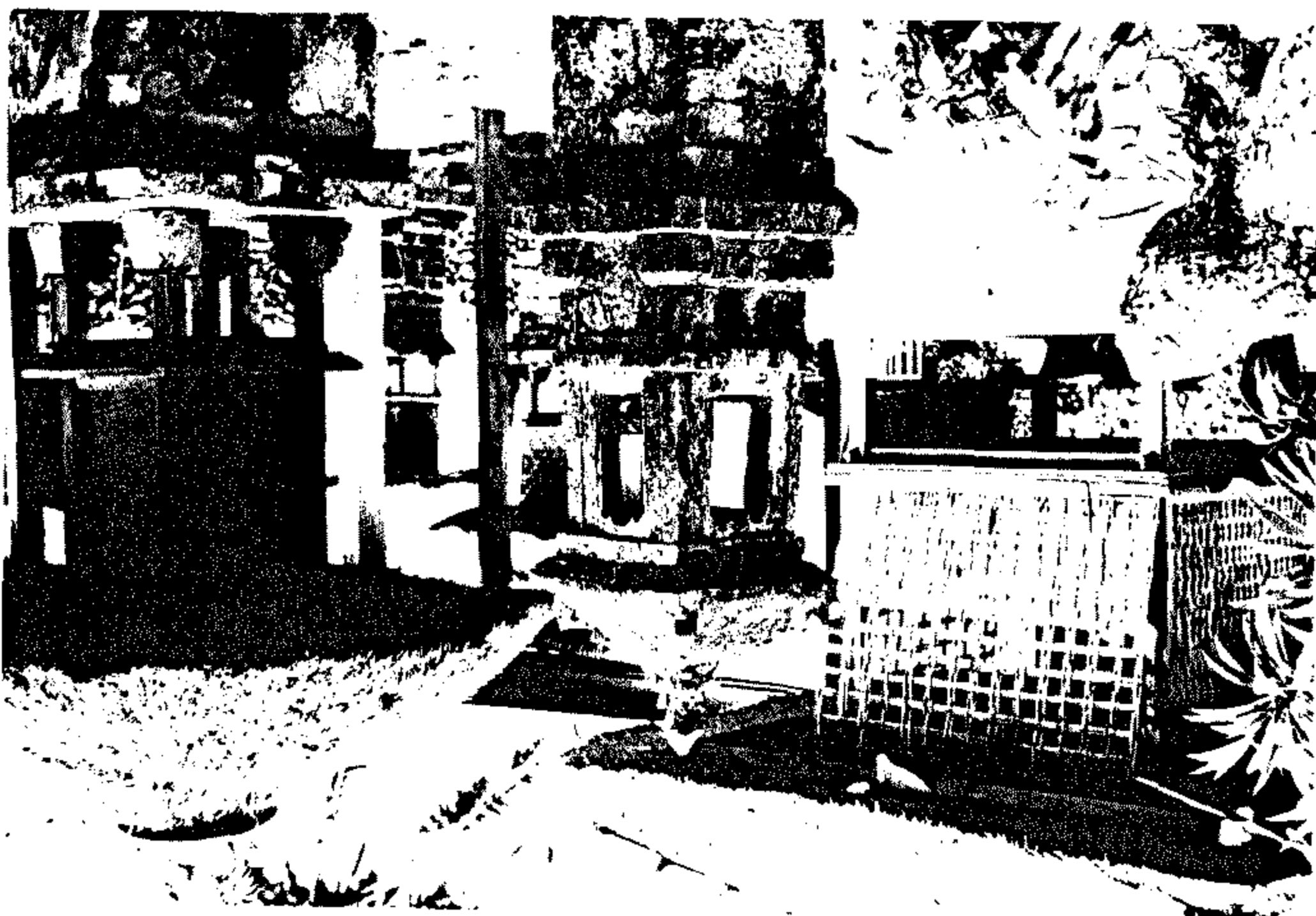
Pura Dalem Suud, almost due north of Pura Dalem Pangembah, is surrounded on all sides by muddy swamps and thorny bushes. It is also renowned as an especially tenget temple. Only the very strong attempt to meditate there, I was told. Those not so endowed with physical and spiritual strength who attempt to do so, become disorientated. People have been known to die there, I was also told.

It seems likely that pura panataran in the state temple system (Pura Dalem Ped is one such temple), as places where the magical powers of deified rulers are invoked, could be the equivalent of pura dalem in the village temple system (kahyangan tiga). I am inclined towards Boon's (1973:107) deduction that pura dalem find a certain equivalence in the candi (temples) of Java. In some candi, the purified ashes of deceased rulers were enshrined in order to lend magical strength to the ruler's descendants and to the continuing well-being of the realm and its subjects. As Stutterheim's (1956) investigations have shown, there is clear evidence of a funerary cult in ancient Java. Upon death, the corpse was cremated and part of the ashes were thrown into the sea. The remainder were preserved to be 'placed in a candi' (cinandi). Together with precious metals, the ashes were placed in casks and buried in candi which became sepulchral monuments. There are clear references in the Pararaton and

Pura Dalem Patal, banjar, Sindu Kaja, Sanur



Pura Merta Sari, banjar Blanjong, Sanur



Usana Bali to funerary cults of deceased rulers (see Lovric 1979:229). **Candi**, the generic term for temple in ancient Hindu-Java, derives from the Sanskrit candika, one of the names of Durga, the Goddess of Death. It is thus highly probable that pura dalem and their symbolism originate from a period of strong Hindu-Javanese influence on Bali such as there was during the reign of Erlangga in the eleventh century. This matter is discussed further in the context of 'mystical participations' (Chapter 5[iv]).

What is unequivocal is that pura dalem are magically powerful, and ambiguously so. Some, such as Pura Dalem Mimba in banjar Madura, also share their space with other very tenget pura kahyangan (another abode of Durga) and pura mrajapati (graveyard temples) or pura pamuunan (cremations-ground temples). Local historical and magico-medical texts contain references to semi-legendary figures with great sakti as well as high deities who dwelt for various periods of time in graveyards (setra, sema), cremation grounds (pagesengan, pangulu setra, lit. end of the graveyard) or pura dalem. Brahma, Durga, Mpu Bharadah, Budha Kocapi, Kalimosadha, Kalimosadhi, Jayakusunu as well as Calon Arang (Rangda) and her pupil leyak were all denizens of the graveyard or cremation grounds.

An **Usana Bali** (HKS XXIX,10) prescribes the presentation of offerings to Bhatara Kala and the completion of a homa traya (three-fold fire sacrifice) at graveyard temples (setra agung) at times when the whole country is afflicted with epidemic illness (jagat kagringan) and there is chronic illness. The enactment of the **Calon Arang wayang** aimed to contain the ravages of epidemics takes place in graveyards or pura dalem. When regular medical and magical remedies fail to bring relief, balian may direct relatives of the afflicted to fetch medicinal ingredients from vegetation in pura dalem or graveyards. Relics, such as pot sherds, in fact, anything retrieved from such tenget space, embodies mystical powers.

In religious and philosophical traditions which exhibit a strong inclination to Tantrism, as do the Balinese (a major postulate in this study, and one which I argue more specifically in Chapter 5[v]), death temples and graveyards represent space par excellence for participating with the supernatural. They are places where ties with the visible (sakala) can be unleashed and mystical participations with the invisible but real (niskala) can be attained. Thus temples are erected to acknowledge, to control and to harness the ambiguous magical potency diffuse in certain space. Those of any mythical path and motivation can use such venues for magical rites. The same applies to magical time (kala).

(v) **Magical-Mystical Time (Kala Ala-Ayu)**

Early ethnographers and visitors on Bali tended to record the irritations they experienced on account of apparent Balinese indifference to punctuality and the 'march of time'. Perhaps by way of vindicating the vexation he felt on account of a 'long wait' for a 'monotonous performance' (an enactment of a kris dance (ngurek) in the village of Kuta, Chegary (1955:50) writes:

We were Westerners, with a different notion of time. Heredity cannot be denied. Our forebears have bequeathed us a sense of measure and logic, a need for change and desire for variety that do not exist in these latitudes.

. . . [dances] are fascinating to start with, and then . . . never seemed to end. To us what we have seen is seen. Once it is registered we require something new. . . . The boredom and discomfort which came creeping over us was obviously unimaginable to the surrounding, raptuous crowds. . . .

For the Balinese, time has a subjective and qualitative value, not an objective, quantitative commodity value. They do not mark time, watch time or count time passing. They participate with its qualities and its powers. It is near impossible to elicit information from the Balinese as to the precise time (hour) of scheduled wayang or magical dance enactments. This could be because the hour at which such rites commence is of no significance; it is the kind of time (the qualities of the span of time) which is significant. It could also imply a matter of avoidance. The rites themselves have attendant dangers. They are pingit. By their very motion, they attract mystical forces of ambiguous dispositions (see Chapter 9[iii] on the notion of a 'double peril').

No one word in the Balinese language corresponds semantically with the English 'time'. Time is personified as Kala, a miscreation of Siwa and his sakti (in the sense of female creative power) Uma. Kali, the feminine form of Kala, signifies the power-of-time and the powers of disintegration, having Durga as its prime referent. Thus, words for time (kala and kali) also refer to powerful demonic deities. The term 'disaster' is translatable as sangkala. Certain demonics are addressed as Sang Kala.

Some Balinese use a calendar based on wariga texts which contain information essential for the completion of ritual duties. Many seem to remain aware of the quality of time by reference to the waxing and the waning of the moon. When points of reference are needed in time-reckoning, periodic rituals such as galungan serve as a frame of reference. Past time is referred to in terms of events such as yuga Majapahit, yuga Blanda, yuga Jepang (the period of the last Hindu-Javanese kingdom, the Dutch and the Japanese respectively) or saudan Jepang (the period following Japanese occupation), as units of time or an expanse of time, not as a durational thing.

The particularity of Balinese notions of time is reflected in local historical writings. It is also apparent in language. The period of the day not the hour, the conjunction of days not the discrete day itself, the quality of the week not its sequentiality and the inherence of the month not its interim, are significant. The precise measurement of time is unimportant; hence dates, as markers of precise time do not exist in local historical texts. In some recent recompilations they have been added, as a token to Western historical method, I suggest. Traditionally, time is described rather than stated.

Words and phrases used to refer to time do so in terms of: its mystical potentiality (kalikala, kaliyuga, kalisenggara); the quality and power in points of transition and thresholds in time (sande kala, sande kaon, kali sanja, all meaning 'dusk' and kali tepet, referring to midday or kala sampun lingsir, referring to sunset; vague sequences of time (wekasan, awasana, arawas-rawas punang kala); a vague passing of time (anuli, aneher, dlaha); and the vague past (purwa kala). All of these conventional phrases relay the sense of circular rather than a linear perspective of time which lends the impression of an eternal chain of events and the permanence of roles, if not of those who play them.

Balinese reckon time according to two traditional calendar systems. The Hindu-Balinese calendar consists of twelve lunar-solar months each of 29 to 30 days calculated from new moon (tilem) to new moon. The first phase of 15 days (beginning at new moon) corresponds with the Indian suklapaksa (lit. white wing), the waxing phase of the moon. The days of this phase are called tanggal. The second phase, beginning at full moon (puinama) corresponds to the Indian krishnapaksa (lit. black wing), the waning phase of the moon. The days in this half-month are called panglong. Thus panglong 1 is the first day of the decline of the moon. Panglong 15 is the day of a new moon.

The Javanese-Balinese pawukon calendar or permutational calendar of 210 days consists of 30 seven-day weeks called wuku. Each wuku is named -- from the first, named sinta, on to the thirtieth, named watugunung, when the cycle begins again with sinta. The year has no months. It has six thirty-five day periods called tumpek, that is, five seven-day weeks. Each of the periods is based on the coincidence of the five-day (panca-wara) and seven-day (sapta-wara) weeks. The thirty-fifth day of this combination is called tumpek.

Parallel to the seven-day week, there are a further nine different cycles of day names -- a ten-day week (dasa-wara), a nine-day week (sanga-wara), and so on down to a one-day week (eka-wara), all running concurrently. All of the names have associated mystical qualities. The three-, five-, six- and seven-day weeks are of major significance. Most yadnya are scheduled around this system. The four-, eight- and nine-day weeks are used for certain forms of divination. This calendar defines not what time it is but what kind of time it is. Kajeng (the third day of the three-day week), kliwon (the fifth day of the five-day week), buda (the fourth day of the seven-day week) and guru (the third day of the eight-day week) are all particularly significant and magically powerful, and even more so when any of these coincide. Such coincidences are termed rarainan. Rituals cluster around these times.

There is an average of seven rarainan per lunar month in the Balinese calendar year of 210 days. These include tilem, puinama, kajeng-kliwon, buda-kliwon, buda-cemeng and anggara-kasih. Other coincidences of days which occur in specific wuku have special significance in that these times are devoted to offerings and homage aimed to secure the well-being and the protection of a specific sphere of the human environment. Buda-kilwon, in the wuku sinta, is named pagerwesi (iron). At this time, Sang Hyang Pramesti descends to earth, and together with the dewata nawasanga, performs yoga-samadhi to secure the safety of the world and its contents. In pura dalem and graveyards rituals are enacted to strengthen the human species. Offerings are made to the panca mahabhuta (the five great bhuta) so that they do not cause harm. On redite-paing in wuku dunggulan, named penyekeban, Sang Hyang Tiga Wisesa (The Powerful Trinity) commence their descent to earth where they will become bhuta-galungan and be prepared to receive mankind's offerings. Human welfare is especially under threat at this time. On soma-pon in wuku dunggulan, named penyajaan, Sang Kala Tiga (The Demon Trinity) appears. And so on.⁶

On kilwon, which occurs every five days, special offerings for the well-being of the family are placed at the sanggah (house temple) and above sleeping platforms. There are also special offerings named pasuguh for Sang Bhuta Bucara, Sang Bhuta Bucari and Sang Durga Bucari. On

kajeng-kliwon, the same offerings together with one consisting of five-coloured rice, brem (rice wine) and arak (distilled brem) are placed around the houseyard, at the entrance and immediately outside the enclosing walls of the houseyard. If these offerings together with one for Durga-Dewi are not completed, the three Bucari request Durga-Dewi's permission to cause affliction; Sang Bhuta Kala 'enter' the human residents and the followers of Durga-Dewi 'devour' them (allusions to mental and physical affliction).

Of all the ambiguously powerful conjunctions of days, kajeng-kliwon, which occurs every fifteen days, seems to assume importance over others — with the possible exception of tilem and puinama. It is an ideal time at which to seek medical attention and magical therapy. In fact, for people suffering certain illnesses, it is imperative to do so on this day. It is also a dangerous time at which to die. Corpses should not be buried or cremated on kajeng-kliwon. Sorcerers who wish to create babai are likely to seek such corpses. Leyak prize the cloth placed over the genitals of one who has died on kajeng-kliwon. Babies who die at this time may be buried but rituals at pura dalem, pura kahyangan and pura mrajapati must accompany the burial. Relatives should also attend the grave for three days as such corpses are also prized by leyak for the creation of babai (a disease spell). Birth on kajeng-kliwon is equally a matter of concern. Prescribed means of circumventing the uncertain danger vary according to the precise kind of kajeng-kliwon on which death or birth occur. Take, for example, the case of one born on saniscara-kajeng-kliwon in the wuku watungunung. Saniscara, the seventh day of the seven-day week, in Balinese cosmology, is located in the north. There is therefore an identification with Bhatara Wisnu and black-coloured offerings — black being the colour of Wisnu — should be made. Black coconut leaves (klepan) form the basis of the offering. Kajeng and kilwon together have a numerical value of 8. This dictates the form of another ingredient of the offering, a white duck. Watungunung is the wuku in which Bhatara Saraswati was born. This necessitates a further long list of offering ingredients which include four kinds of holy water and four kinds of flowers. This information was quoted to me from a lontar entitled Baya Palekadan (Birth-time Dangers).

On the other hand, kajeng-kliwon is the ideal time, in fact, the most frequently prescribed time, on which to gather and administer medicants and magical spells. For instance, a potion used in the treatment of tiwang (convulsions) should be administered on kajeng-kliwon panglong (Usada Ganama). It is also the prescribed time on which to treat a skin disease named bulenan and the appropriate time at which a pangastan rare (a magical prescription in the form of a mantra and a weapon inscribed on a piece of tal palm) should be hung above a sleeping baby. Together with the administration of purified water on the baby's forehead this is a means of protecting the life of an infant threatened by disease (piutung rare gring; HKS2972). Kajeng and kliwon are also favoured times for the gathering of herbal ingredients. The corresponding numerical value of a time can also influence the number of ingredients included in a concoction.

Those made ill through pangiwa and pangleyakan (sorcery) suffer most acutely on rarainan, especially kajeng-kliwon and usually seek medical and spiritual assistance at that time. Medicines and mantra are considered to be more effective if dispensed at these times. Five

fresh baby crabs together with tamarind and five scoops of water, empowered with a mantra and consumed on kajeng-kliwon, is a prescribed means of producing viable offspring for those who have failed to do so (HKS3454). Usada (e.g., HKS3488) also specify times (such as prawani) and circumstances under which people should refrain from having sexual intercourse as it can lead to male impotence. Pasah and prawani are also not ideal times for healing activity. Balian prefer not to use their sakti on these days as they are puntul (not powerful enough) as well as kapastu (cursed) by the Goddess Saraswati. Mantra do not work well at such times. Moreover, if balian do use mantra and modre (mystical syllables) at that time, they risk the diminution of their sakti. On these days balian usada do not even make the customary offerings in their healing chambers (tongos ngastiti) or to their lontar. Balian katakson do not divine the cause of illness (malusasang anak gelem) on pasah, prawani or inkel-wong. Dangu is not an appropriate day on which to change residency. Saniscara-kliwon, the conjunction of the seventh day of the seven-day week and the fifth day of the five-day week, is an inappropriate day for a wedding. It is named kala-durga, being the time when Siwa and Durga come together.

The day itself is divided into five parts (mrita, sunya, kala, pati and linyok) and there is a whole range of proscriptions concerning these periods. Midday and midnight are periods over which the transcendent Power of Time, Bhatara Kala, rules unchallenged. Times of change and points of transition are times of ominous obscurity. Humans are vulnerable at times when power is at its height; hence they avoid venturing out then. They avoid bathing, working, setting out on a journey and even sleeping around midday and dusk. Days themselves have different properties. Each day has at least ten different influences (ala-ayu) upon it. Each week and each set of weeks are qualified in terms of the influences arrays of aligned spirits imply.

There are magically powerful and dangerous constellations; times when numerous offerings are indicated. However, the selection of time does not always involve the avoidance of dangerous time. The objective is to harness, while placating, the powers which converge at certain calendrical constellations and transitional times. Certain times forebode well for some undertakings but not for others. Before attempting to arrange anything important or new, Balinese seek the advice of a person with expert knowledge of wariga literature, not only in order that the enterprise might succeed, but also that their well-being might not be threatened through embarking on a new venture or crossing a threshold in the first place. What is of importance and concern is the correct and careful handling of powerful time and the observation of prescribed ritual procedures.

Balinese reality is codified in such a way that events are not viewed in terms of temporality. Temporal distinctions which are made in the language generally imply the successful completion of a responsibility (most frequently a ritual one [see Lovric 1979:84-6]). Balinese are aware of and mark the succession of days but chronology is of no significance. The process of 'becoming' is significant.

The 'conceptual oppositions' postulated to be 'fundamental to Balinese culture' (Howe 1981:226) do not structure Balinese conceptions of time any more than they do Balinese conceptions of space. Time is not dual

A structure erected by the side of a road near a large tree and shrine where blood was spilt in an accident.



or oppositional. Howe's (1981:226) assertion that 'Kala is an evil and wholly imperfect demon' and therefore time (kala) itself is a 'wholly negative conception' in Balinese thought, represents a gross oversimplification and a judgement of ethical thinking. It denies further investigation of the interrelationship between Balinese constructions of the divine demonic and the transcendent power of time.

As Geertz (1966) has argued (and Howe has disputed), time is essentially non-durational. The Balinese display a circular rather than a linear, durational or oppositional perspective of time. Time is cyclical and has magical mystical qualities. It is not accurate to talk of 'good time' and 'bad time' as Howe does (pp.227-8) or lucky days and unlucky days. Dawn, midday and purnama are not auspicious, and in contrast to dusk, midnight and tilem. They all have the same qualitative characteristics. They are magically powerful and dangerous times, and ambiguously so (kala ala-ayu). Not in all systems of knowing does 'evil' lurk in the darkness and at tilem and 'virtue' abound in light and at purnama. The times at which leyak lurk about and bhuta-kala tend to be most active are also times when those sufficiently endowed with sakti will seek to participate with mystical powers in tenget space. A contextual understanding of the way in which the Balinese conceive of time and use it is provided through ethnographic material in Parts II and III of this study.

(vi) Critical (Panes) Occurrences and Magically Dangerous (Pingit) Events

What is unexpected and extraordinary never comes about merely by accident; nor will it have any connection with regular secondary causes. On the contrary, it is in itself simple evidence of the fact that some supernatural agency is at work (Lévy-Bruhl 1983[1935]:154).

Some events or happenings, which are of themselves unwelcome, are ominous signs which could denote impending illness for the person or group involved. To be the victim of a person running amok (ngamuk), to be attacked by an animal, have a cecak fall upon one, be touched by an earthworm, be soiled by animal excrement, for example, render one vulnerable to further woe. Ritual remedies are required to redress the situation. Certain sounds occurring in the still of the night such as dogs barking incessantly, indistinct drumming, clapping or pounding, are ominous and suggestive of restless, dissatisfied spirits. 'Un-natural' death such as suicide, accident or murder is named mati salah pati. The space in such deaths occur is rendered panes. In an accident where blood is shed, as long as the victim remains unconscious, relatives keep vigil (matanjab) at the scene of the accident to ensure that the blood is not appropriated by someone of ill-intent such as a leyak. A symbolic structure consisting of a cauldron of unhusked rice, coconut frond, burning coconut shells covered by net is erected to protect the site. Later, a pangulapan ritual is enacted to neutralize the panes occurrence.

A houseyard or a piece of land can be 'pinched' (kapes) or a 'squeezed' (kapitan) between two magically powerful things such as geria, buried stones or certain types of vegetation such as papaya trees or bamboo. This exerts an unambiguously dangerous influence. Such circumstances could be construed as remote causes in the event of illness among members

of a family. Events such as the collapse of a house shrine, a kitchen or a rice granary, for no apparent reason, the birth of deformed animals, a coconut dividing into two portions of identical weight or the birth of a single piglet all constitute panes events. However, lontar which list these dangers (e.g., HKS1974), also provides details of ritual solutions whereby the danger can be neutralized: deformed animals should have their throats cut and be wrapped up and thrown into the sea; the equal coconut halves should be burned, damaged structures should not be used in their blighted state, and the wood of damaged trees should be burned. For each critical event, bhuta-yadnya should be arranged at the scene of it.

Other more ambiguous events attract attention and require mediation. Human emissions of unusual characteristics indicate the presence of potent uncontrolled mystical forces. This is, I suspect the reason why historical texts (e.g. HKS2165) informs that a sakti ruler named Dalem Sagening took as a wife a village woman because she had shed 'sweetly perfumed blood', and why another, Sri Aji Dalem, also took a wife a pasek (a non-triwangsa title group) woman because of the extraordinary quality of her urine; the ground upon which she urinated became heated.

If transportable, oddities in the form of stones, driftwood or coral, find their way to temples or household shrines. Unusual objects or natural objects found in an unnatural environment are ascribed mystical powers. Once these powers are 'proved', such objects are termed paica (gift of supernatural origin). A type of healer known as balian paica use their paica as divining objects. The paica lends its owner the power to diagnose illness and also provides the inspiration as to the cause of the affliction and the form of therapy needed to cure it. Paica may be in the form of a stone, a ring, a kris or a medicinal substance. A balian katakson practising in Sanur also owed a paica in the form of several river stones of varying sizes and colours which he kept in a vat of water. Another had two rings, the white stones of which he had found in a pura dalem. Another kept a coconut frond which had fallen near his tongos ngastiti on kajeng-kliwon. A balian usada also kept a bottle of oil which he had retrieved from the sea at a magically significant time. Paica are thus differentiated from another class of magical objects referred to earlier, namely sacred masks, weapons or musical instruments. The latter artifacts become endowed with magical energy by virtue of the fact that they are the receptacles of a taksu (medium spirit) which endows them with a life of their own or through association with their sakti owners.

As we have seen, the source of mystical powers lies in the unusual, the marginal and the transitional. This may be of person, space, time or object. Mediation, whether in the form of circumvention of the potential danger or the utilization of the beneficence of the potentiality, is indicated. Yet, active interference with and the handling of things sakti, in space tenget, at times similarly differentiated, is itself a magically dangerous (pingit) enterprise and undertaking. Calculated participations with the supernatural are acts of daring involving danger of a mystical nature. Yet, to ignore it all is certain to invite unharnessed disaster (sangkala).

When, for example, wood is required from a magically powerful kepuh tree for the purposes of fashioning a sacred mask, a pamangku's services and sakti are needed to handle the matter. Trance exorcistic

enactments must follow strictly prescribed lines. Otherwise, there can be devastating consequences for those taking part and even for those passively participating. Dancers in pingit trance enactments are, for that reason, usually pamangku. Dancers are ritually purified and smoked with incense before inviting possession by deities of ambiguous dispositions. Those in the state of sebel (menstruation, for example, induces such a state) may not even attend such magical enactments, largely, I propose (see Chapter 9[iii]) to avoid a clash of uncontrolled powers. As well as attracting the deities and demons which they seek to entertain or ameliorate, magical rites can attract miscellaneous uncontrolled forces in the form of unnamed spirits, divine and demonic, and leyak. The 'pingitness' of magical rites may be one of the reasons why they seem to begin and end abruptly. They are rarely scheduled for a fixed time. There is no clear beginning or conclusion. They are carefully supervised and, to some extent, orchestrated by temple officials.

There is a kind of 'closed circuit' quality (referred to by Mauss 1972:112) operating in Balinese magical conceptions and practices. The magically powerful is ambiguous. It can only be handled by those with sakti, and then, only through magically dangerous (pingit) procedures in space peripheral to ordinary life at magically appropriate times. To dabble with the supernatural and survive the encounter, one must be sakti, be in possession of a paica, be aided by a taksu or have knowledge (kawruhan) of the supernatural realm. Only those who are sakti and have knowledge and wisdom would dare to read lontar on magico-medical matters. Mantra, medicines, amulets and spells are imbued with power through the intermediary of one with sakti. The recipient's role is largely a passive one.

In his study of Azande magic, Evans-Pritchard (1976) found that the idea of magic was so total and pervasive and had such authority that it escaped all doubts. Its reality and effectiveness was never brought into question. Magic, by definition, cannot fail. This observation is applicable to the form and context of Balinese magic. The abundance of endemic, sporadic and epidemic disease, the frequency of episodes of illness and high mortality rates, confirm the existence of supernatural forces and the pervasiveness of sakti within the human environment. The apparent failure of a balian's cure to take effect or of a pamangku's bhuta-yadnya to reverse these patterns do not offer challenges to the existence of sakti. If magic does not appear to work, the cause is attributable to counter-magic of a greater potency, to some error in the place or time selected for the magical enactment or in the procedure followed in the rite itself. The power that causes affliction also cures it. They are undifferentiated. The outcome of an episode of illness depends on the weakness or strength of the antagonist as well as host resistance. Whatever the outcome, the initial premise is confirmed.

The foregoing discussion does not allow the presumption that the Balinese are basically animists. In their scheme of metaphysics, the supernatural manifests itself in certain space, objects, through certain events and at certain times. Things which stand out within their own category are not imputed to possess a soul. Because they are differentiated through circumstance or event, they become the receptacles — the inevitable and appropriate ones — for invisible life force. It is superfluous to say that the Balinese believe in magical power. They display a healthy respect for it and a fear of it, but little or no curiosity, that being

something in which outsiders may indulge. Investigations of Balinese metaphysics which avoid simplistic categories of good and evil and other oppositional notions can reach a deeper understanding of meanings, contexts and the problems interpenetrated through local conceptual configurations.

(vi) **Beyond (the Problem of) Good and Evil:
The Potency of the Divine Demonic**

We persist in disregarding the power of violence in human societies; that is why we are reluctant to admit that violence and the sacred are one and the same (Rene Girard 1977:262).

In Christian theology, the New Testament posited Satan (the Devil) as a cosmic power of evil and arguably provided a solution to the problem of evil. Satan, being wholly negative, accounted for all evil, had it assigned to him and became a personification of it. I am not convinced that Balinese constructions of cosmic powers seek a solution to the problem of evil or even that there even exists an ethical proscription of evil itself.

Others, however, have fewer qualms about mixing cosmologies. Positing an 'unending conflict between forces of good and evil' as a pervasive theme of Balinese religion, Hooykaas (1973a:10) felt sufficiently justified (from his perspective of good and evil) to entitle a chapter of his *Kama and Kala*, 'Kala, the Evil to be Defeated'. Covarrubias (p.275) also deemed Balinese deities and demons to be banded into 'two opposing factions', equivalent to good and evil and right and left. And with scholarly consistency and consensuality, the characters of magical dance dramas were imputed to be irreconcilably posed in conflict 'as opposing forces of good and evil like those of *Paradise Lost*' (McPhee 1966:18). Howe (1984:193-222) attempts to describe the structural order of Balinese supernaturals by reference to hierarchical ranking and what he discerns as 'distinctions'. He contrasts what he perceives as the 'egotism' of demons with the spiritualism and altruism of gods. In this scheme, the gods are imputed to be alus (refined), pure and the 'rejectors of self-gratification' (p.208).

There are problems of imputing to Balinese constructions of the supernatural categories which are characteristic of Western and Judeo-Christian religions. There is no universally applicable principle of righteousness and goodness. The presuppositions and values implicit in doctrines such as the Garden of Eden, Original Sin, the Resurrection and Redemption do not have universal referents. The thought underlying Balinese constructions of cosmic powers shares the tendency in Eastern religions identified by O'Flaherty (1980); in no apposite sense are gods good and demons evil. The perfection of man or of deities is not presumed (p.12). Any confrontation between deities and demons cannot represent a conflict between good and evil because these moral categories simply do not apply (pp.77-8). Deities and demons are not directly concerned with each other or with human moral or ethical conduct. They merely demand deference. Moreover, Balinese are not concerned with the morality or virtues of deities and demons but with their power and the ambiguous nature of that power. It is not a case of lofty, exalted, high-minded deities aligned against apolaustic, iniquitous demons. Neither align to oppose,

oppugn or objurgate the other. Both belong to the realm of the divine.⁷ In ritual, benevolent gods are not beseeched to intervene and protect mankind from the malevolency of demonic ones. Deities as well as demons can be dangerous, capricious and maleficent. Both have the potential to create havoc and violence. The demonic is, however, most frequently invoked to contain it. Deities are rarely evoked as the bringers of agricultural fertility and abundance. That exists a priori. Concern is with deterioration, crop failure, famine and with disease, the end and most fearful result of the dreaded cycle of deterioration.

The religious orientation underlying Balinese cults of sakti (which include the art of healing and the craft of witches) derive in part from forms of Mahayana Tantrism and Hindu Saktism. The role of Durga, the Goddess of Death, cast as the Ratu ing leyak kabeh (The One who rules over all leyak), the importance of mystical formula (mantra), of magical drawings (rarajahan), the graveyards, death temples, crossroads, seaside and mountains as the foci and locations of rites of exorcism as well as for conjuring sakti, all suggest Tantric traditions. In the Balinese context, cults of sakti are more an acknowledgement than a celebration (cf., Kapferer 1983) of the powers of the demonic. This is consistent with Tantric tendencies which postulate that the attainment of bharawa-bharawi is the highest ideal and the most difficult to attain.⁸

How can the purported good versus evil and associated dichotomies be reconciled with a Tantric tendency in Balinese rites in which demonic power (bharawa-bharawi) and symbolism is used to neutralize or subdue 'evil' (in the sense of epidemiological disasters)? The Answer may lie in a deeper understanding of the Balinese system of metaphysics and a widening of the frame of reference wherein it is analyzed and interpreted. Historical mythology, the cult protective demonic deities, and the ritual contexts within which they operate, discussed in Chapter 11, allow such insight into the phenomenon.

As I see it, philosophical systems (ways of knowing) differ in the importance they attach to the demonic as well as to the power they impute to it. In the case of Bali, preferences are discernible in the prominence of the demonic the grotesque in artistic representations and in ritual orientation and regalia. Bosch (1960:223-4) places notions of right and left in a preference orientation, obvious in archaeology, of two cosmic plants, the lotus and the fig-tree. The lotus corresponds with soma (water). The fig-tree (vanaspati) corresponds with agni (fire), and expresses the style of the wild and demonic inherent in the Lord of the Woods (Vanaspati), and in the nature of gods in their terrifying (kroda) manifestations. Bosch also noted that whereas the architecture of Central Java (in the Borobudur and Prambanan, for example) reveals a preference for the lotus style, in East Java and on Bali the kroda-vanaspati style predominated. Moreover, the preference for the terrifying demonic became increasingly prominent on Bali.

In her work of Nepalese Hindu conceptual schemes, Kondos (1982) has shown that, contrary to established scholarly paradigms, binary oppositions, do not operate there either. Persons, events and things are dynamic, that is, within 'a processual framework' (p.275). It is significant that an assumed dualism operating in Hindu-Buddhist thought originating in India superimposed on indigenous dual classification, constituted part of the 'evidence' used to designate the Indonesian cosmologies to have been based on dualism.

Supernaturals represent an enigma beyond human ethical ascription. Qualifications such as good and evil venture to establish it as a substantial when it transcends definition in anything other than local terms of reference. Balinese conceptual schemes of two-in-one (rwa bhineda), triads, notions of fluidity and transformations (maya) and becoming (mandadi) (to be discussed in the following two chapters), can represent appropriate tools of analysis. These schemata, it will be shown, repudiate boundaries. For in Balinese thought, death is not opposed to life. Reflective of a cyclical perception of time, history and beings, they are viewed cyclically not as polarities.

In Balinese ethics related to sakti and in texts, there are no 'sinful' deeds, only errors of omission or cognizance and wrong doings occasioned by a lack of wisdom, of foresight (awidya) or through ignorance (tan wruh), imprudence (tan awisesa) or of losing control of emotions and succumbing to uncontrolled anger. Deeds are not categorized as either sinful and evil or as good and virtuous. They are neither morally deplored nor applauded.

It might be suggested that Balinese ethics are fundamentally pragmatic; evil is only relevant insofar as it distracts from the realization or preservation of well-being. Witch power is feared, not because it is perceived as being inherently diabolic or 'left', but because it is dangerously powerful and diabolical. It has the potential to unleash illness, suffering and death. Also, meditation and asceticism are good insofar as they render one invulnerable to the malignant intents of others who possess sakti. Furthermore, they can lead the soul to a state of release from earthly existence. The question of good and evil remains in Balinese thought, as it does in Hindu thought, 'a philosophical haze and insolubility' (O'Flaherty 1980:370), not amenable to Western analytical realities and solutions in the form of schema of dual classifications and dichotomous categories.

Balinese magic is primarily a means of controlling the unnatural and the abnormal, and of preventing ambiguous mystical forces from working against the interests of human well-being; in fact of mobilizing such forces to work for human welfare. It is within the context of the conceptual configurations formulated here that I seek to extrapolate the philosophical basis of the Balinese magico-medical system in the following chapter.

Notes - Chapter 3

1. **Bali: Studies in Life, Thought and Ritual** (edited by Swellengrebel) does indeed have the antiquated tone Geertz mentions. Yet the axioms established in this text continue to represent the premises from which most studies of Balinese life, thought and ritual commence. Notable exceptions are found in the writings of Hildred Geertz, Boon, Hobart and Geertz himself.
2. Hobart consistently raises the problem of contradictions inherent in Western constructions of a Balinese dual classification.

3. An account taken from **Dwijendra Tatwa**, HKS2632:32b.
4. It could be argued that there is a kind of differentiation implied in the different quality of offerings made to deities and demons. Sajen or banten, offerings intended for deities and deified ancestors, contain plant matter and animals considered suci such as ducks and geese. Pacaru, the name of offerings for demonics, primarily include ingredients of an animal origin. Notwithstanding Belo's (1949:10) statement (one repeated thereafter) that offerings for demons (pacaru) are placed outside the gate of sacred inner courts (jeroan) of temples so that they remain outside, in fact, pacaru are placed within the jeroan as well as outside, on mountains and by the sea. I am also not certain that a distinction of pure and impure should be construed from the quality of banten and pacaru. It may be also a matter of different paths and different processes. In this respect, I refer to the Gagang Aking-Bubukshah legend. Gagang Aking (meaning Dry Stalk) was a Sivaite ascetic who consumed only plants. His brother, Babukshah (meaning Glutton), a Buddhist Bharawa who followed the 'left-hand path' of indulgence, consumed food of animal origin. He reached 'heaven' on the back of a tiger, ahead of Gagang Aking who had to travel there clinging to the tail of the tiger. Cognizance of the categories of other epistemologies is intended, not a directive to an explanatory analogy.
5. e.g., Dalem i Bheda-Ulu, the ruler of Bedulu known from Usana Jawa texts. Rulers of Gelgel and Tabanan, for instance included the term Dalem in their titles (see Babad Arya Tabanan). Some of Durga's titles also include the term. Nirartha's daughter, Bhatari Pulaki is also known as Dalem ing Malanting.
6. See Sunar Agama for further details.
7. The difference between deities and demons is therefore not one of kind or inclination, degree or virtue. Vengeance is not the prerogative of demons and protection of deities. Demons are not destroyed by deities. At most, one diverts or overrides (ngaluarang, magut) the powers of another. Exorcism does not aim to annihilate demonic powers; only to return balance and harmony.
8. The centrality of Tantric elements in the Balinese magico-medical system is taken up again in Chapter 5. There, an attempt is made to decode the semiology of that most ubiquitous aspect of the Balinese demonic, bhuta-kala, sometimes also referred to as bhuta-kala-dengen.

Chapter 4

Orientations: The Magico-Medical Complex

But after all, what great doctrine is there which is easy to expound? The ancient sages never put their teachings in systematic form. They spoke in paradoxes, for they were afraid of uttering half-truths.

(Kakuzo Okakura *The Book of Tea* 1964:19)

What follows does not constitute a definitive account of the complexities of the Balinese magico-medical system. My objective here is to identify the varying interrelated threads and themes which tend to present (to the outsider) as fragments of a poorly understood totality. Taken in isolation from the tenets of Balinese medical theory, Balinese magic and medicine is not an intelligible field of study. Furthermore, the medical theory is itself a part of a wider philosophical and intellectual system.

This chapter is an expository one intended as a foundation upon which subsequent analysis will presume and rely. The data presented here can also increase our understanding and embolden exploratory investigations. Accounts of Balinese conceptions of disease causation in section (ii) and therapeutic principles in section (iii) complement the largely theoretical formulations in the first part of this chapter. In the final section (iv), I examine the question of the provenance of the Balinese medical tradition.

The formulations presented here are based primarily upon textual material. In order to expound the medical teachings presented in section (i), I have sifted through a large number of Kawi magico-medical manuscripts of the category earlier (Chapter 2[ii]) identified as philosophical-ethical in nature. The remaining three sections are based on a variety of Kawi manuscripts although those earlier identified as usada have held most relevance to the enterprise. Field observations and some secondary source material supplement data derived from manuscripts.

(i) The Philosophical Doctrines underlying Balinese Magic and Medical Theory

I propose a number of philosophical doctrines (or medical teaching) inherent to the Balinese magico-medical complex:

Bhuana Agung, Buana Alit (Cosmological-Anatomical Correspondences); Sarira Kadyatmikan (The Mystical Manipulation of Syllables within the Body); Kawisyan (Toxicity);

Genta Pinara Pitu (The Seven Facial Orifices); Sastra Sanga (The Nine Bodily Orifices); Aji Saraswati (Knowledge of Mystical Syllables); Tanya-Lara (Questioning the Affliction, Non-Clinical Diagnosis and Prognosis); Tengeran ing Pati-Urip (Signs of Death and Life); Taru Pramana (The Efficacy of Plants); Rwa Bhineda (The Two-in-One Principle); Trisakti (The Three Powers); Kanda Mpat (The Four Appurtenances of Foetal Development); Panca Mahabhuta (The Five Constituents of the Living Human Organism); Kalimosada-Kalimosadi (Kali's Five Great Medicines); Budha Kocapi (Perception and Vigilance).¹

I perceive these philosophical teachings as particular ways of understanding, interpreting and expressing a pervasive aspect of existence — life-threatening disease, anomaly, abnormality and dysfunction, and their resolution either through death or recovery. These doctrines, I see as epistemic idioms for the aetiology, pathogenesis, diagnostics, treatment and prognostics of disordering of the human organism.

Fragments of and references to these doctrines occur in numerous manuscripts. They are not presented in easily comprehensible sequential form. They are not clearly named or expounded. References are made to them without naming. Naming occurs without explanation. Each teaching contains elements or threads of others and implies knowledge of other textual expositions on the subject. The teachings coalesce, subdivide, extend, intertwine, merge and juxtapose with each other: two unitary opposites (rwa bhineda) become three powers (trisakti, triaksara trinadi, tripramana); three powers (trisakti) become five elementals (panca mahabhuta, panca durga, panca brahma); five mystically powerful symbols (pancaksara) become ten forces (dasa bayu) which become one (OM); four properties of foetal development (kanda mpat) become five constituents of the living organism (panca mahabhuta); aji saraswati becomes and is kadyatmikan. And so on.

The following outlines of the fifteen philosophical doctrines (listed above) and attempted explications vary in degrees of length and depth, a product of my own limitations rather than of something inherent in the teachings themselves. The ethnographic data contained therein is dense and may not be of immediate relevance to some. Consistent with my espoused objective of dialectical writing, the ranging of this kind of qualitative data is part of the holistic 'totalizing' enterprise wherein awareness (even only peripheral awareness) of Balinese ways of knowing guides interpretations of local explanatory paradigms and life-protecting rituals examined in Parts II and III. It should be pointed out that the correspondences I make here between indigenous medical theory and Western scientific knowledge are not for the purposes of an evaluation of the former, of establishing their 'truth' value. The main propositions of this study rest upon a realization of the validity of Balinese observations of biological phenomena and recordings of the disease problem.

1. The Bhuana-Agung, Bhuana Alit (Macrocosm, Microcosm) doctrine, also called bhuana mabah, can be rendered as a system of cosmological and topographical anatomy. Affinities exist between the macrocosm and microcosm. Deities and demons have equivalents or affinities with elements belonging to the world of man -- numbers, colours, sounds, metals, parts of the human body, and so forth. Human anatomy and

physiology (bhuana alit, lit. the small world or bhuana sarira, lit. the bodily world) are conceived as being bound to other mystical and physical systems, as a microcosmic version of the macrocosm. Deities and demons are assigned to different parts of the cosmos, nature and the human body. As well as having assigned places with specific organs, high Hindu deities, Brahma, Wisnu, Mahadewa and Iswara, are associated with blood and heat, bodily fluids, bones and tissues, and breath respectively. A long mantra prescribed to accompany the administration of medicine to the sick provides a list of deities and their places within the body. It begins:

OM, if you [the offending pathogenic agent] desire to devour
the heart, Bhatara Iswara will not allow you to do so. . .

Another nineteen names of deities and the protective role they play in relation to specific bodily parts, are listed in the same manner. Brahma protects the liver, Ludra (Rudra) the large intestine, Kala Sayuta the thighs, Mreta Wisesa the blood, Metri the muscles, Mretanjala the bone marrow, Baruna the nose, Kwara the ears, Indra the eyes, Kombala the hair, and so on (HKS I,10).

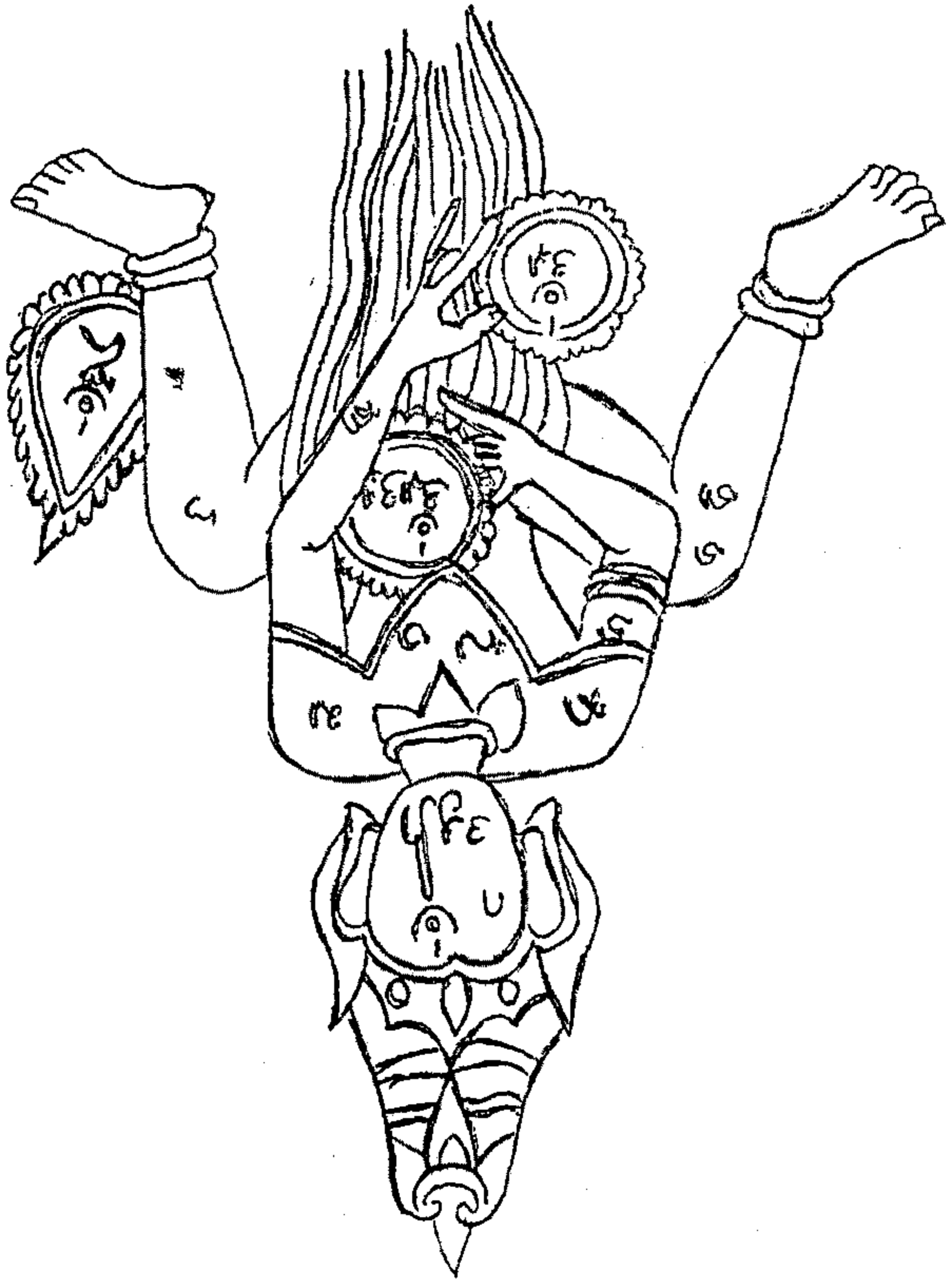
A life-restoring mantra to be used on puinama and tilem for the purposes of lustration and purgation provides another rendering of the assignment of deities to bodily parts: Antabhoga in the lower limbs, Mula in the anus, Cakra in the upper limbs, Nungsari in the tips of the hair, Karna in the ears, Gaglang in the eyes, Ludra in the nose, Wunwunan in the mind. And so on (HKS XVI,33).

Organs, attributes and elements are named in terms of associational relationships or through metaphorical correspondences with cosmological and topographical features. The total human organism is referred to as a world (jagat buana), as a state (nagara) or as the earth (bhumi). The seven cosmic worlds (sapta bhuana) find correspondences with the features and organs of the upper part of the body, the seven underworlds (sapta patala) find them with those of the lower portion of the body, the seven cosmic oceans with seven bodily fluids or excretions and the seven islands with flesh, bones, hair, nails, teeth, vessels and muscle. Each feature and element of the human organism also has a counterpart in nature: bones with trees; nostrils with wells; body hair with grass; mouth with caves; vessels with waterways, and so on. Thus the body is a universe in miniature, with lakes, rivers, mountains, oceans, vegetation, wind, sun and rain, and subject to fires, floods and drought. Each cosmic element has a correspondence within the human organism: the earth with solid bodily matter -- flesh, bones, skin, teeth, hair; water with bodily fluids -- blood, saliva, urine, sweat; fire with appetite, passion and also fevers; wind with movement and breath; ether with bodily orifices. All of this reverberates with other doctrines such as kanda mpat, panca mahabhuta, genta pinara pitu and sastra sanga.

Just as the nawa sanga (nine deities) or sastra sanga combine with the two deities (or powers) of the nadir and zenith to become the ekadsara-rudra or ekadasa-aksara, 'eleven powers', so do the pancaksara or pancadurga combine with the durga of the nadir and zenity to become the sapta durga (seven durga) who have assigned places in the human organism.

As well as being topographical and cosmological, these associations

A rārajāhan displaying specific syllables in the body (Pangsin Sabuk HKSI946).



are established in cultural domains and with space and time. Legendary figures from Balinese mythology have prescribed places in the body. In a teaching named **Kawruhan Durga** (Mystical Knowledge of Durga) (HKS3268:18).

Blood becomes Ratna Manggali, becomes Calon Arang.
Calon Arang is in the uvula in the throat.
I Ratna Manggali is in the space to the left of the uvula.

The cosmic mountains (gunung bhuana) and some of those of the Balinese landscape, the state temples (padma bhuana, kahyangan jagat), the graveyards (setra) celebrated in Balinese mythology, the thirty seven-day weeks of the Balinese calendar and the three-day, five-day, seven-day and eight-day weeks are all given correspondences in the human organism and in the macrocosm (HKS3324). These various associations I have illustrated diagrammatically.

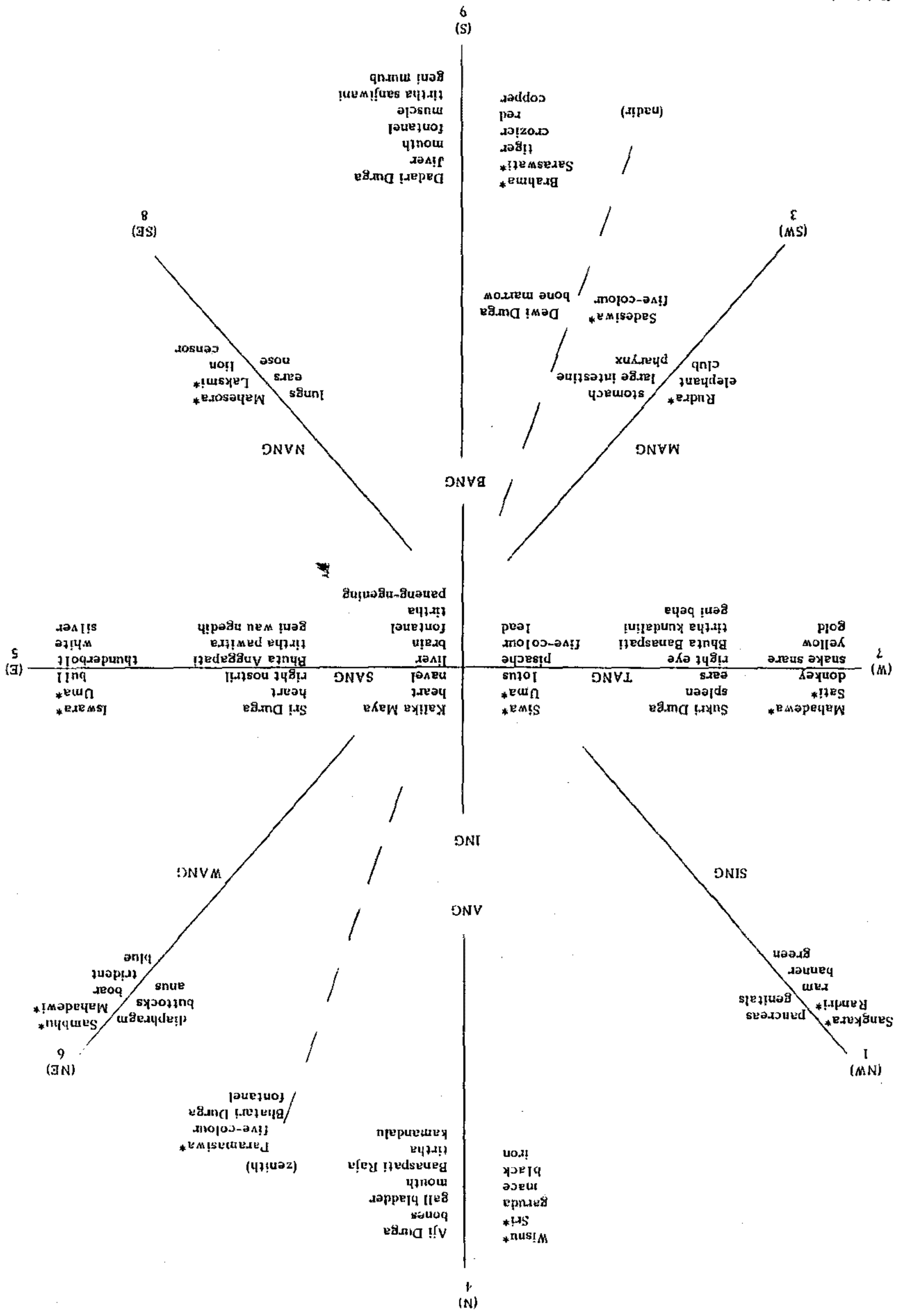
From my reading and observation of traditional medical practice, there is no evidence of attempts to classify organs into different systems such as respiratory, digestive etc. There is a lexical elaboration of principal organs and bodily elements. The total human organism is named, among other things, kahyangan, (temple) and three vital organs, the heart, the liver and the gall bladder, are named palemahan tiga (three courts of a temple). They have a variety of other designations. Arteries, veins and nerves are named under one term, urung-urung. Even so, qualifiers such as gading (urung-urung gading, the golden channels, i.e., the spinal nerves) and references to the nadi (three principal arteries) indicate some system of differentiation.

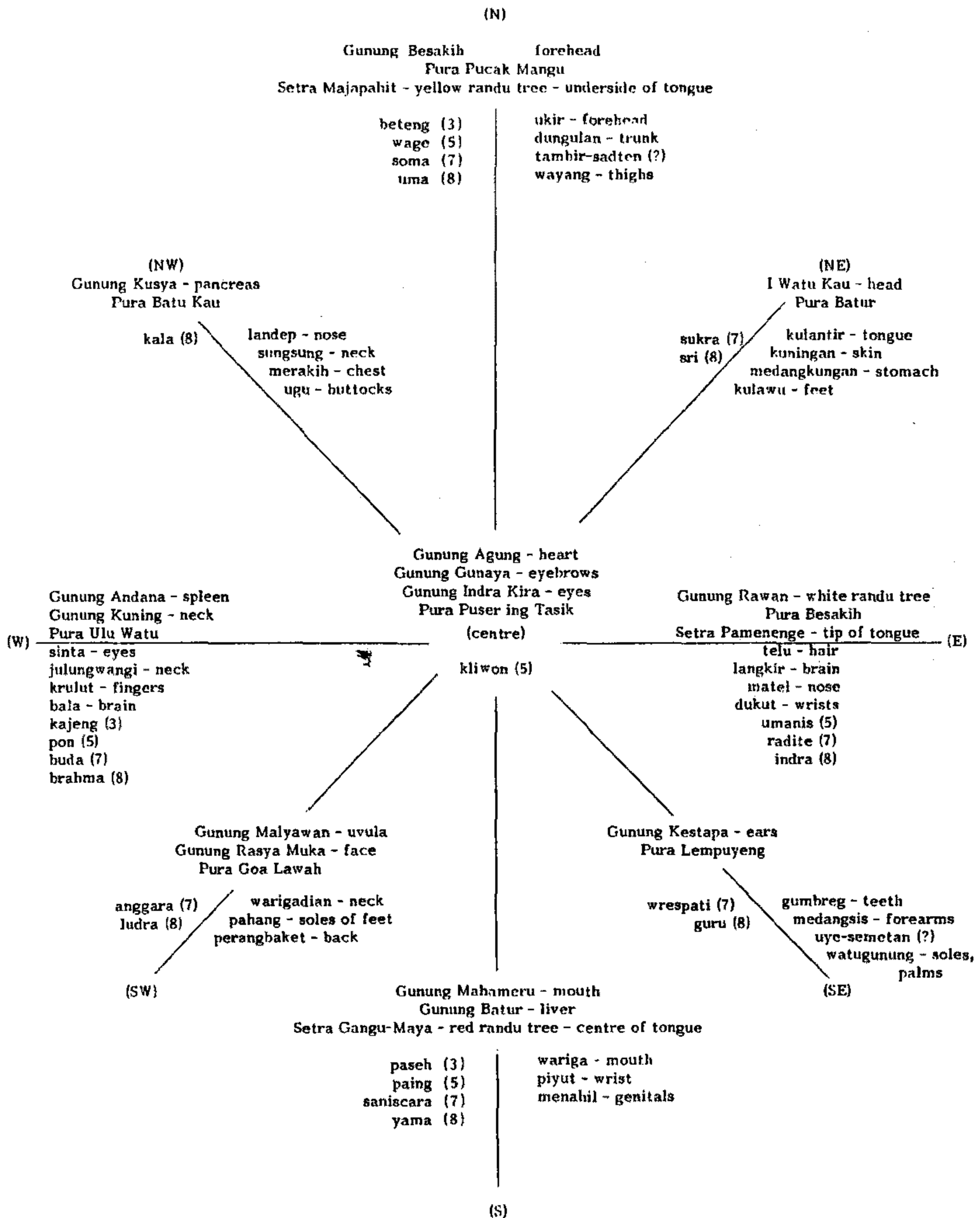
2. The Sarira Kadyatmikan (Mystical Manipulation of Aksara in the Body) conjoins with the Buana Agung, Bhuana Alit teaching. Aksara possess inherent magical powers which can be manipulated by those with knowledge of their position in the body and their potentiality. The objective of the manipulation of magical sounds is always to influence the course of the events to which they are directed. Aksara have their own metaphysical powers of life and death, and fire and water -- SA BA TA A I, the five-fold fire formula and NA MA SI WA YA, the five-fold water formula. Together, they are called the dasaksara (ten mystical syllables). The dasaksara, also named suksma wisesa punggung-tiwas, must be known by one who seeks to administer to the sick:

SAM is in the heart, is white and is Bhatara Iswara.
NAM is in the lungs, is brownish-pink and is Bhatara Mahisora.
BAM is in the liver, is red and is Bhatara Brahma
MAM is in the large intestine, is orange and is Bhatara Ludra.
TAM is in the spleen, is yellow and is Bhatara Mahadewa.
SIM is in the pancreas, is green and is Bhatara Sangkara.
AM is in the gall bladder, is black and is Bhatara Wisnu.
WAM is in the diaphragm, is blue and is Bhatara Sambhu.
IM is in the middle lobe of the liver, is five-coloured and is Bhatara Siwa.
YAM is in the upper lobe of the liver, is five-coloured and is Bhatara Guru.

Balian usada use their own life force (bayu) to manipulate the metaphysical powers of the aksara to effect cure or relief of physical distress. This manipulation of mystical syllables through one's own life

Deities *
 Their vehicles, colours, metals:
 Sapta Durga
 Organs and tissues of the body:
 Panca Mahabhuta
 Panca Tirtha
 Panca Geni





Gunung Bhuana, 'Cosmic Mountains' *

Padma Bhuana (Kahyangan Jangat), 'State Temples'

Setra Ring Sarira, 'Graveyards in the Body'

Wuku Thirty 7-day weeks

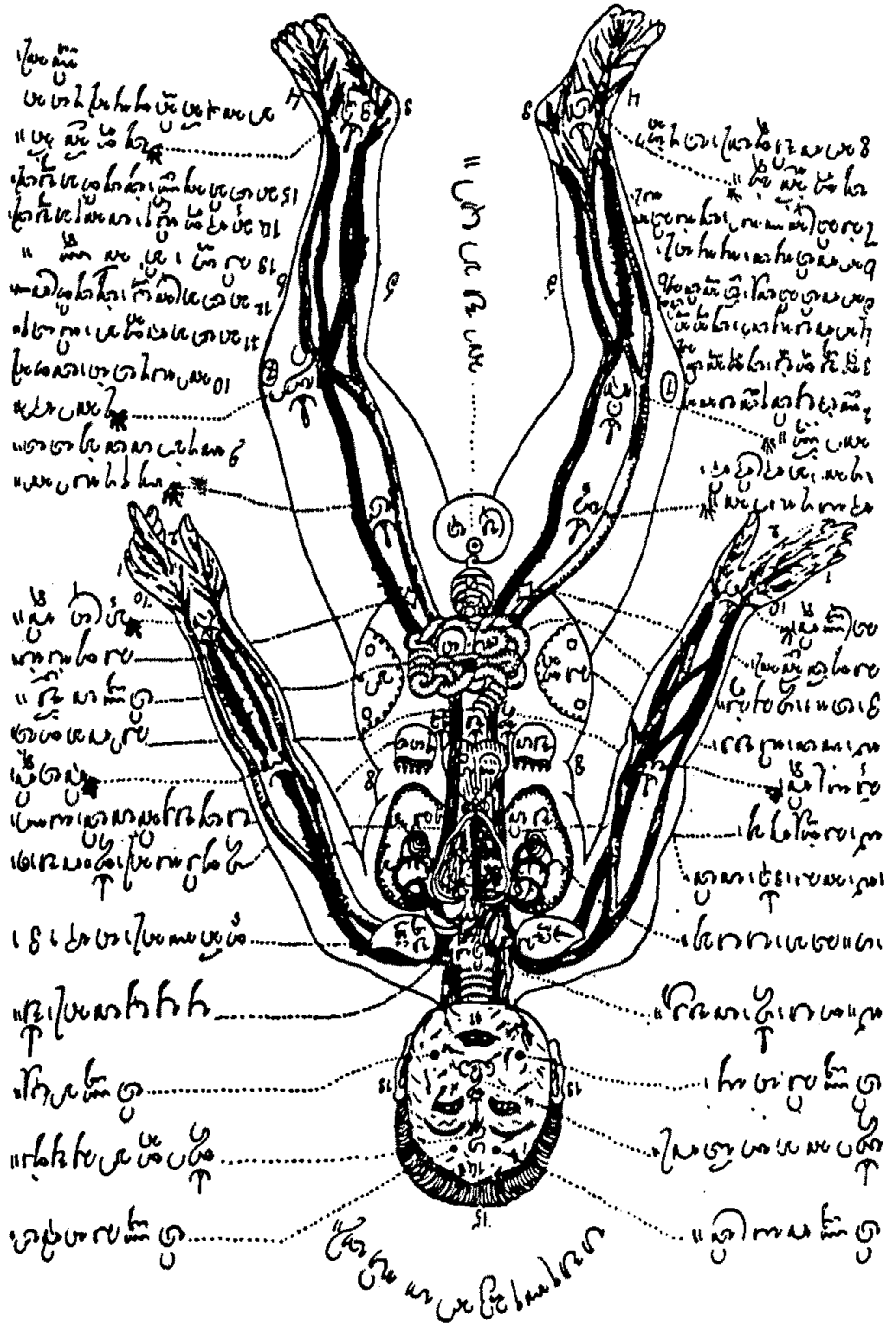
Tri-wara '3-day week'

Panca-wara '5-day week'

Sapta-wara '7-day week'

Asta-wara '8-day week'

Location of the aksara in the human body (Taken from Hooykaas, 1980b).



force is called babayon (from bayu). A balian's bayu, like the aksara, are ten in number; hence they are referred to the dasabayu. The following formula for the use of babayon is taken from a manuscript entitled Wisada (HKS3439). A sarana consisting of cinnamon, uncooked rice, gamongan (a tuber) is first procured. Then the balian utters the mantra:

Ih, you venerable ancestral spirits who are white in form,
your life force ascends.

Those who formerly moved from Mrajapati [the graveyard
temple] make your abode within this person.

All of you who are past kin should come and lend your life
force [babayon] to this sick person.

You have metaphysical powers.

Remember this earthly realm.

It should be thus. It should be thus. It should be thus.

ONG, be cured.²

The dasaksara transmute to become five syllables, the pancaksara:

WAM merges with AM to become AM in the gall bladder,
the colour black and Bhatara Wisnu.

SIM merges with TAM to become TAM in the spleen, the
colour yellow and Bhatara Mahadewa.

MAM merges with BAM and becomes BAM in the liver, the
colour red and Bhatara Brahma.

NAM merges with SAM to become SAM in the heart, the
colour white and Bhatara Iswara.

IM merges with YAM to become IM in the middle of the liver
and becomes five-coloured.

These pancaksara further amalgamate to become three, the triaksara:

SAM merges with BAM to become AM, having the form of
Brahma in the liver, the quality of fire and the colour red.

TAM merges with AM to become UM, having the form of
Wisnu in the gall bladder, the quality of water and the colour
black.

YAM merges with IM to become MAM, having the form of
Iswara in the heart, the quality of wind and the colour white.

The triaksara conjoin further to become rwa bhineda:

AM becomes ANG, the mother

UM becomes AH, the father

MAM contracts into emptiness and becomes windu in the
form of ONG.

(K532)

As sarira dyatmika, the dasaksara, are also a formulation of another
doctrine, that of death and life (pati-urip):

SA is sawara; sawa- [corpse] means pati [death]; -ra is raga
[body].

BA is bhatara [deity].

TA is taya [unmanifest].

A is aksi [to see or behold]; aksi means manon [vision].

I is idep [mind]; idep is adnyana [intellect].

NA is nasi [rice] nasi is mreta [sustenance].

MA is manusa [the living human organism].

SI is Siwa.

WA is apadang [vision]; apadang is mata [eyes] which mati [die].

YA is bhatara.

The dead body has the form of bhatara taya [the unmanifest deity].

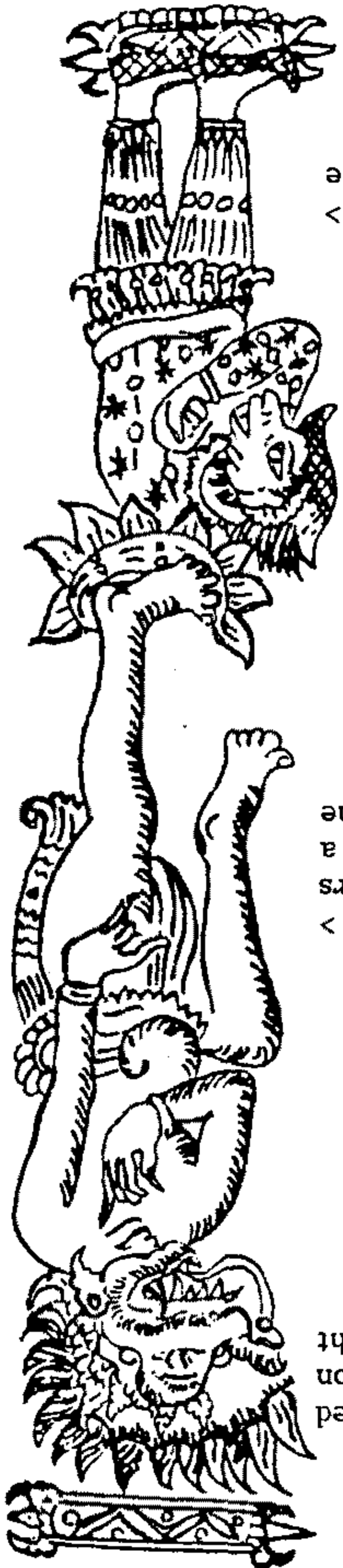
(HKS3842:2b)

The esoteric speculations which might be made upon this cryptic encoding are perhaps many, and intended to be so. In the variations and themes on the four plus one (panca), the five plus two (sapta), the eight plus one (sanga), the five plus five, and the nine plus one (dasa) and the nine plus two (ekadasa), the human organism and its associations and analogies with the eleven directions and their influences is the primary referent.

3. Kawisyan (Toxicity): The Western scientific concept of physiology has no clear counterpart in Balinese medical philosophy. Normal functioning of the body seems to be taken for granted. It is something about which the texts do not speculate. There are, on the other hand, extensive observations and speculations on the abnormal functioning of the body; pathological processes, deterioration and breakdown of normal internal humoral balance and equilibrium. There are also perceptions of mechanisms operating within the body to neutralize the disease process; in the body's defence against infection. Local medical writings posit invading powers entering tissues and initiating the disease process and the body's mechanism of defence; the production of 'antitoxins' which act upon intruding virulent micro-organisms. Such perceived pathological processes can be designated by the Balinese term kawisyan (from wisya meaning virulence or poison) which is frequently used in connection with the disorder associated with disease. The many factors which determine what happens when a potentially harmful micro-organism attacks or attaches itself to a new host — the pathological response, immune response and anti-body production — obviously are not clearly and scientifically delineated as such. There are, however, perceptual-conceptual terms within the Balinese phenomenological system which express such reactions, responses and reversals, identify symptom complexes and formulate principles of how abnormal conditions arise in the tissues.

This teaching seeks to explain such pathological responses as the elevation of body temperature, abnormal pulse rates, heart beat and respiratory rates, the phenomenon of inflammation and the redness, heat and the pain associated with it. Such reactions as hiccups, sneezing and coughing, symptoms and signs such as pain, aches, cramps, blood-shot eyes, jaundice, blood in the urine, faeces or sputum and purulent discharges are construed as indicative of humoral imbalance, disorder and abnormality. Clinical-pathological correlations are made. Symptoms and signs are linked with pathological and structural changes within the body; in the locomotor system, the nervous system, the tissues and the viscera. A theory of the pathogenic mechanism involved in the advent of infection or toxicity and the resolution of this, in either recovery or death, is formulated. But this intrusion or assault and the responses are formulated in terms of activities of deities (unmanifest forces) residing and transmogrifying within the structures of the body. Deities or their incarnations, through their payogane (powerful meditations), initiate or precipitate pathological processes or counteract them. This indigenous knowledge of pathogenic processes and immune response mechanisms is cast in mystical terminology; in terms of unseen causal power. Obviously,

Depictions of the powers involved in pathological processes and the body's resistance to infection (Paribhasa K173).



> Sang Yudadanawa (also named Lare Indeng), a mutation (dadi temahnya) wrought by Bhataras Sangkara.

> Ki Reweh, whose powers initiate a pathological change in the tissues.

> the antidote, Pandita Pitara.

> Ki Sugiyam, the antidote to Ki Reweh.



a causal relationship between toxins produced by bacteria and the body's production of antitoxins in a defense reaction against them, is not, as such, posited. 'Micro-organisms' and 'lymphocytes', they are not called. A textual example illustrates the nature and the terminology of this explanatory discourse:

The signs of the condition named dharma pangalah are as follows:

The afflicted raves and then becomes dazed. The whites of the eyes are yellowish. The body is weak, the skin is mottled. The afflicted is only half-conscious. After ten days there is a convulsive seizure [aniwang] and death may occur. This condition is incurable.

The genesis of the condition arises because the vessels are completely damaged. They are eaten away by rah mati [lit. dead blood; perhaps congealed blood or contaminated blood is signified]. The rah mati, penetrated by wind [bayu lurah] moves from vessel to vessel and then settles in the stomach where it changes into steam. This then transforms into lara indeng [lara means illness; indeng means 'aimless roaming or running'] and there is mental derangement.

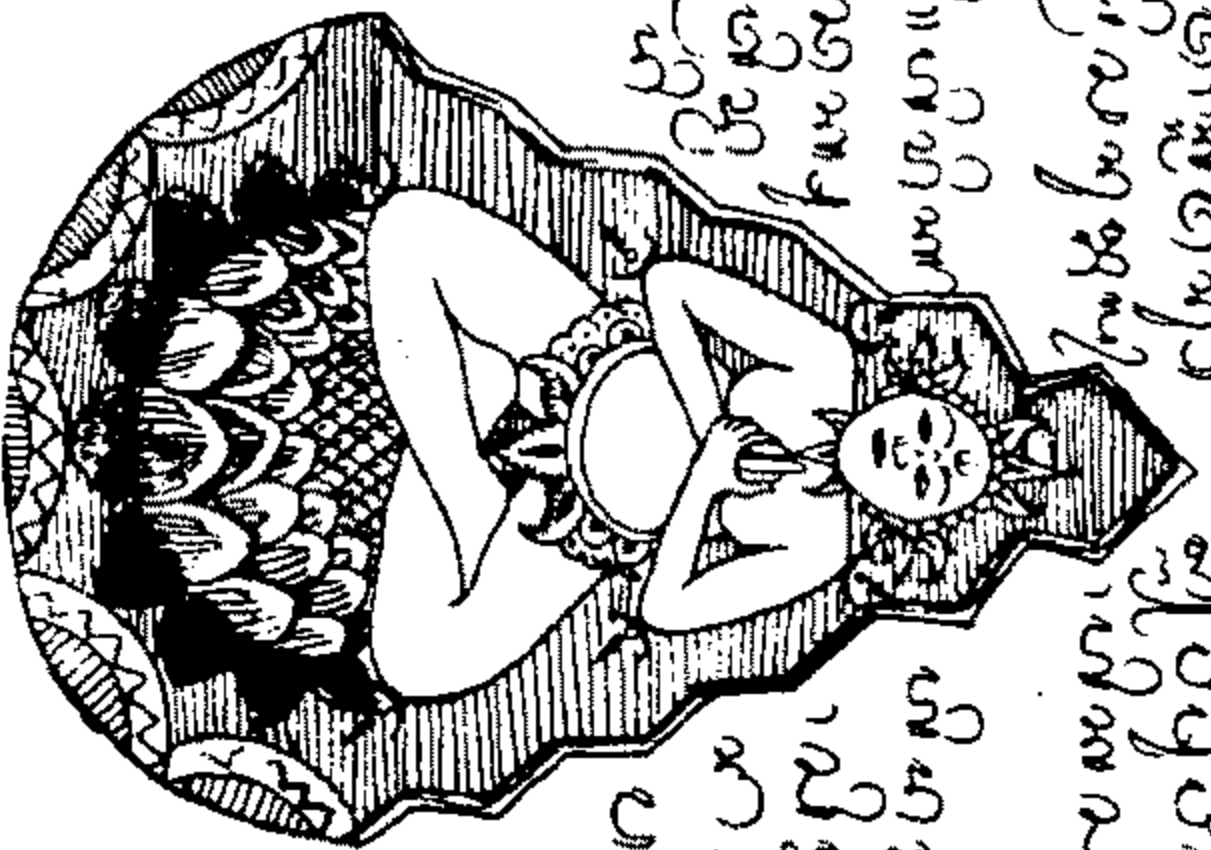
It is Sang Yuda Danawa who incarnates [angadakaken] this abnormality. There is sweating in the large intestine. This fluid is in discord with wind [bayu malem] which is also in that organ. The perspiration transforms to become Yuda Danawa. Yuda Danawa's normal abode is in the root of the tongue. He is also manifest as Bhatara Sangkara. There is one named Pandita Pitara who is the antidote . . . (K173:33a).

The various mystical forces responsible for the pathological changes or involved in counteracting them are generally names and described along such lines as:

Ki Reweh incarnates in a pathological condition named gering panes jajawatan [a febrile condition]. Ki Reweh has black eyes and blue body and normally abides in that part of the body names imal weka [?]. Ki Sugyan, who has yellow eyes, red hair and an abode in the joints of the body, is able to counteract the powers [anglabahin payogane] or Ki Reweh. (K173:2a).

It does not seem valid to propose a theory of humoral pathology along the lines of that of the Indian Ayurvedic tradition. All bodily fluids, secretions and elements or constituents are variously implicated in pathogenesis and the pathological process. There does not appear to be a theory of three or four vital humors. Blood, bile, water, phlegm, saliva, urine, semen, fats, oils, gaseous matter and wind all feature in pathological explanations. Morbid processes are attributed to such things as: bodily fluids becoming heated, contaminated, putrid or foul-smelling, overflowing normal channels and penetrating the domains of others, mixing and changing form; morbid humors collecting or becoming trapped, lying dormant and contaminating surrounding tissues or being blown around the body by morbid winds and gases and being forced into tissues and organs. In short, the obstruction of the smooth and regular flow of fluids, the blocking or malfunction of ducts and vessels, the abnormal force of winds and gases out of place and the permeation of vessels and nerves by toxins (wisya) and their diffusion into muscles, bones and organs represent the significant principles of pathology. Clearly, there is a

Handwritten text in a script, likely Malayalam, surrounding the illustration of a seated figure. The text is arranged in several columns, with some lines appearing to be in different directions or orientations, suggesting a specific reading order or a particular dialect. The script is dense and appears to be a form of shorthand or a specific regional dialect of Malayalam.



Guru Aji Saraswati (Taken from Hooykaas, 1980b)

physical component in this 'mystical' theory of pathology. Disturbances can be initiated by exposure to extremes of temperature or a sudden transition from one state to another such as from inactivity to exertion. A textual example (K173:32a) illustrates this natural level:

Strenuous exercise leads to profuse sweating. Should one attempt to alleviate this discomfort by bathing in cold water, perspiration ceases suddenly. The skin becomes cold causing internal disturbance. The lungs are the site of this derangement, for Sang Nini Pati dies there.

Signs of internal bodily dysfunction, according to basic medical treatises, *Usada Dalem* (HKS XI,16) and *Usada Sapara* (K174), are to be found in the eyes, body temperature, respiration rate and the sounds of the voice. The expression within the eyes, whether or not they are dull and lifeless or burning, the movement of the eyeballs and the colour of the sclera all provide important diagnostic and prognostic clues. The emphasis on eye diagnosis here is not related to iridology, the method in alternative medicine of diagnosing disease by an examination and assessment of iris topography. An examination of the whole eye is important. Knowledge of the location where the heat or the cold concentrate within the body is essential to treatment. Respiration rates and heart beat are indicative of whether the body is afflicted internally by an excess of heat or an excess of cold. The rate is measured according to each wrist and the quality of air from each nostril is assessed, for each side reveals different diagnostic and aetiologic clues. Concern is with the quality and strength of the pulse and respiration as much as the actual rate. The properties of the pulse and respiration -- whether slow, sluggish, thick, heavy, erratic -- also indicate the aetiologic agent responsible for the illness.

4. Genta Pinara Pitu: In a ritual context, genta pinara pitu refers to the tinkling of the padanda's or the sengghu's bell (genta) which is divided into seven parts. In the context of healing, according to some sources of information, it refers to the seven (pitu) openings in the head and the indications of disease associated with each of them. Genta pintara pitu is also known as sapta rsi, the teachings of the 'seven sages' responsible for disease. For each rsi who generates a morbid condition, there is another who can counteract its influence.

5. Sastra Sanga: the Sastra Sanga, literally, 'the nine syllables' or 'nine symbols' refers to the nine bodily orifices and the mystical meditation upon these openings, the mouth, two eye sockets, two ear drums, two nostrils, an anus and genital passage. They are also named the nawa sanga or nawa dewata, 'the nine deities', that is, the eight deities of the cardinal and half points with Siwa at the centre. Other features of the human organism such as organs are also brought into association with the nawa sanga. There are nine orifices, nine syllables and nine sets of knowledge (sastra sanga).

6. Aji Saraswati, the teachings of the Goddess of Knowledge and Wisdom, Saraswati, essentially refers to the locations of the mystical syllables in the various organs and tissues of the body and the deities associated with them. It is also the knowledge of the ritual procedures whereby a balian can control the functioning of the human organism through control of these mystical syllables or aksara in the body. Through yoga-samadhi, knowledge or the aksara and the recitation of them, a

balian usada can observe the passage of the soul in the body and initiate the healing process. Mystical forces within the body are aroused through the correct utterance of aksara by those who know their precise position within vessels, organs, space or faculties. Aji Saraswati is thus the essence of modre; the symbols and knowledge of them (sastra), that is, the aksara (triaksara, pancaksara and dasaksara) within the body. The manipulation of these aksara for the purposes of healing, as we have seen, is referred to as sarira kadyatmikan.

7. Tanya-Lara (Questioning the Affliction -- Non-Clinical Aetiologic and Prognostic Signs): At one level of the diagnostic procedure, balian use a form of divination based primarily on incidental omens related primarily to spatial orientation, the quality of time and body language pending as the afflicted seeks a consultation with a balian. Consistent with the emphasis in Balinese medical philosophy in general, it is the causal factor rather than the nature of the affliction which is of prime importance. Knowing the cause informs the implications and indicates treatment and the prognosis. Some examples from this very extensive teaching serve to elucidate its form and content. From a manuscript entitled Tenung Sapta Wara:

If the afflicted arrives on the day radite with the symptoms of blurred vision and dizziness, Bhatara Kala is involved. A caru should be made. . . . If the afflicted arrives on the day saniscara and is suffering symptoms of poisoning, witchcraft is involved. A magical spell [papasangan] has been placed in food or drink. A caru should be made.

From a tanya-lara excerpt in a manuscript entitled Usada Ganama:

If the afflicted arrives on the day paing, a dengen is in the house. The problem is caused by a ancestor who has been 'covered' [kurung; probably in the sense that its space has been violated]. The demonic form responsible is a bhuta maulun asu [a dog-headed bhuta]. The antidote is a bhuta-kala ngadang [intercepting bhuta-kala]. A caru formed from ingredients which are red in colour should be placed on the path south of the houseyard.

From a Tanya-Lara section in Usada Sapara:

If the afflicted arrives on the day wage, Wisnu has caused the illness [anlaranin]. If the afflicted arrives from the east, it is a complicated illness. Death is possible. If the afflicted arrives from the south, recovery is likely, if from the west, death is probable and if from the north, the afflicted will recover.

A variation on this form of diagnostics, as its name, tatenger ing wong angudang balian, implies, concerns the semiotics of body language of the afflicted -- touching specific parts of the body, posture and gait -- or incidental events occurring at the time the afflicted approaches the balian. The body language referred to is mainly in the manner of touching, whether one's hair, facial features, limbs, abdomen etc., whether clenching hands, folding arms, either in front or behind the back. For example, to arrive with the hands clenched behind the back indicates that the illness was caused by kala-dengen on the demand of Bhatara Durga. Such an illness is a complicated one and death is likely. A caru should be placed in the houseyard and Hyang Durga Dewi should be invoked.

Invited chance or oracular diagnosis through such methods as dealing coins or cards and reading the resulting configurations is also described in texts and practised by balian usada.³ Certain dream motifs are omens of impending illness or death, or a warning that agents are acting to perpetrate harmful magic against the person experiencing disturbing dreams. The basic objective of tanya-lara is to expose the ultimate cause of illness and to determine why a particular person or family has been beset by it.

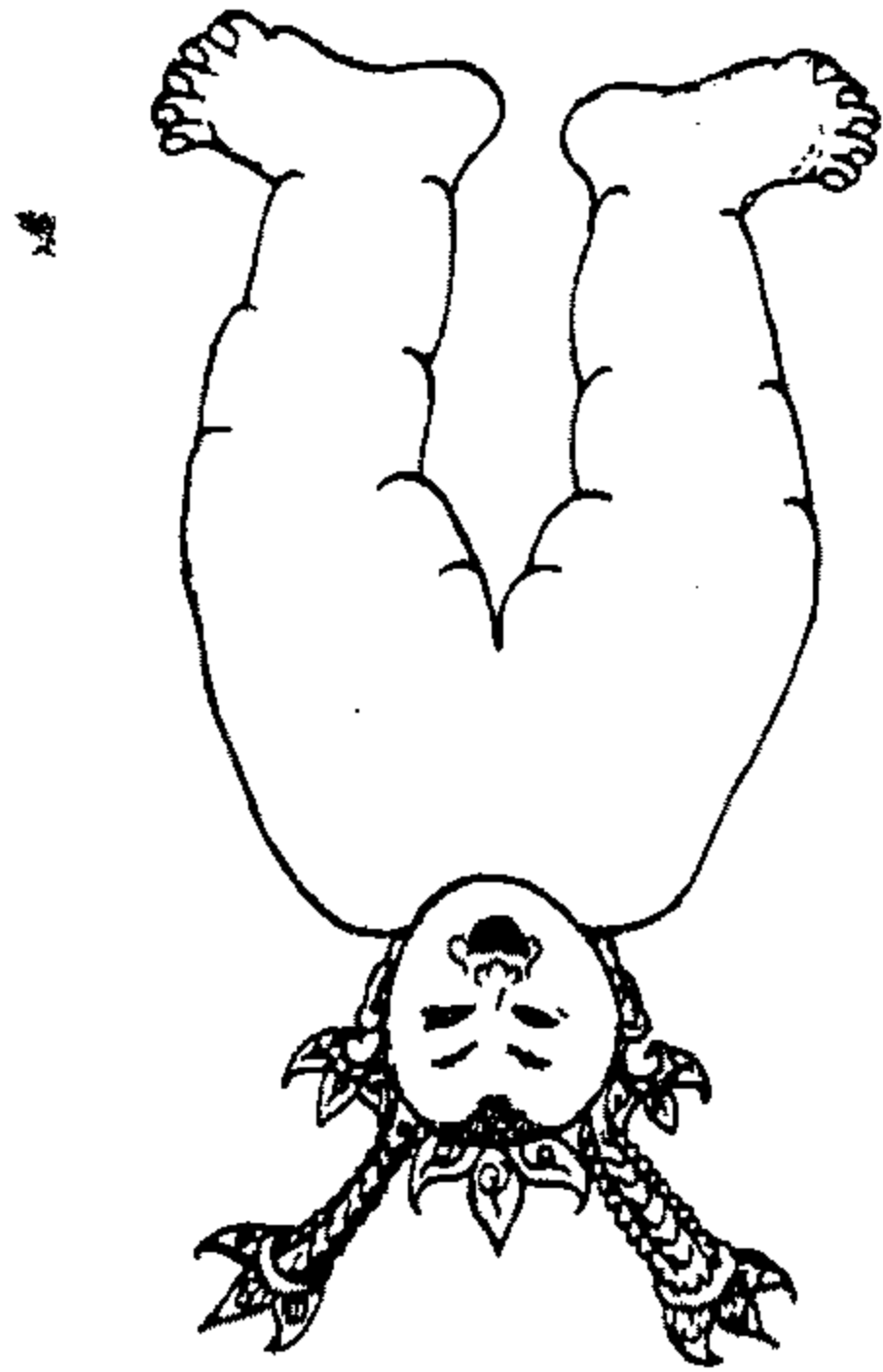
8. Tengeran ing Pati-Urip: This is the knowledge of the signs of death and life (pati-urip). Usada list clinical symptoms and behavioural signs which are indicative that an illness is a terminal one; that death is imminent. Characteristically, clinical symptoms of impending death and adverse prognostic signs manifest primarily and most revealingly in the eyes;⁴ their colour, lesions about them and the expression or lack of it in them. Stabbing pains in the eyes or ears, facial palsy, a gaping mouth, wet or oily body hair, excessively hot or cold, clenched, throbbing or trembling hands, swollen lower limbs, yellowish or bluish palms or soles are all listed as adverse prognostic symptoms and signs.

The 'sounds' of death -- difficult or noisy respiration, described in onomatopoeic words such as krodok-krodok, krik-krik, and vocalizations such as moaning (dekes-dekes), sobbing (sengi-sengi), use of expletives aduh-aduh -- also form part of the assessment criteria used in prognosis. The preoccupation of the dying with touching, grasping, or groping parts of the body or clothing, represents another important sign of impending death. When the signs and symptoms indicative of impending death are unclear a sirih test may be used; sirih is prepared, a mantra uttered over it and then it is given to the afflicted to chew for a short while. It is then taken from the mouth and the saliva is squeezed from it. If the saliva found is red in colour then the afflicted should be given further treatment. If the saliva is bluish in colour, they should not be treated as this is a sign of impending death. The most adverse prognostic sign is construed when the saliva squeezed from the chewed betel is thick and murky. Death will ensue the same day (HKS3524).

Death is explained in terms of deities leaving the body: if the abdomen is rigid, Sanghyang Sakula-Sadewa and Sanghyang Mretyu-Jiwa have left the body; if the mouth is agape and the face twisted, Sanghyang Atma has been taken away by Dewa Yama; if the afflicted loses consciousness at intervals, there is a startled expression in the eyes or they are lifeless, Sang Komara-Gana and Sanghyang Komara-Kedep have left the body (HKS3524); if a person is not of advanced years and does not respond to treatment, it is because Sanghyang Urip-Prana has left the body (HKS3488; HKS3524).

When a balian has ascertained the fact of imminent death through knowledge of confirmatory signs listed in lontar, mantra and rarajahan may no longer be used. When disease does not respond to herbal treatment and magical treatment, it is time to cease magical therapy. Medicinal substances may still be administered to relieve physical distress but mantra should not be ministered over them. Attempts should not be made to prolong life and delay the moment or inevitable death (HKS3524). Passive euthanasia is not an option; there are no mechanical life-support systems. Surgical procedures are also not a part of the Balinese medical tradition.

Representation of a medicinal plant
(Taken from Hooykaas, 1980b)



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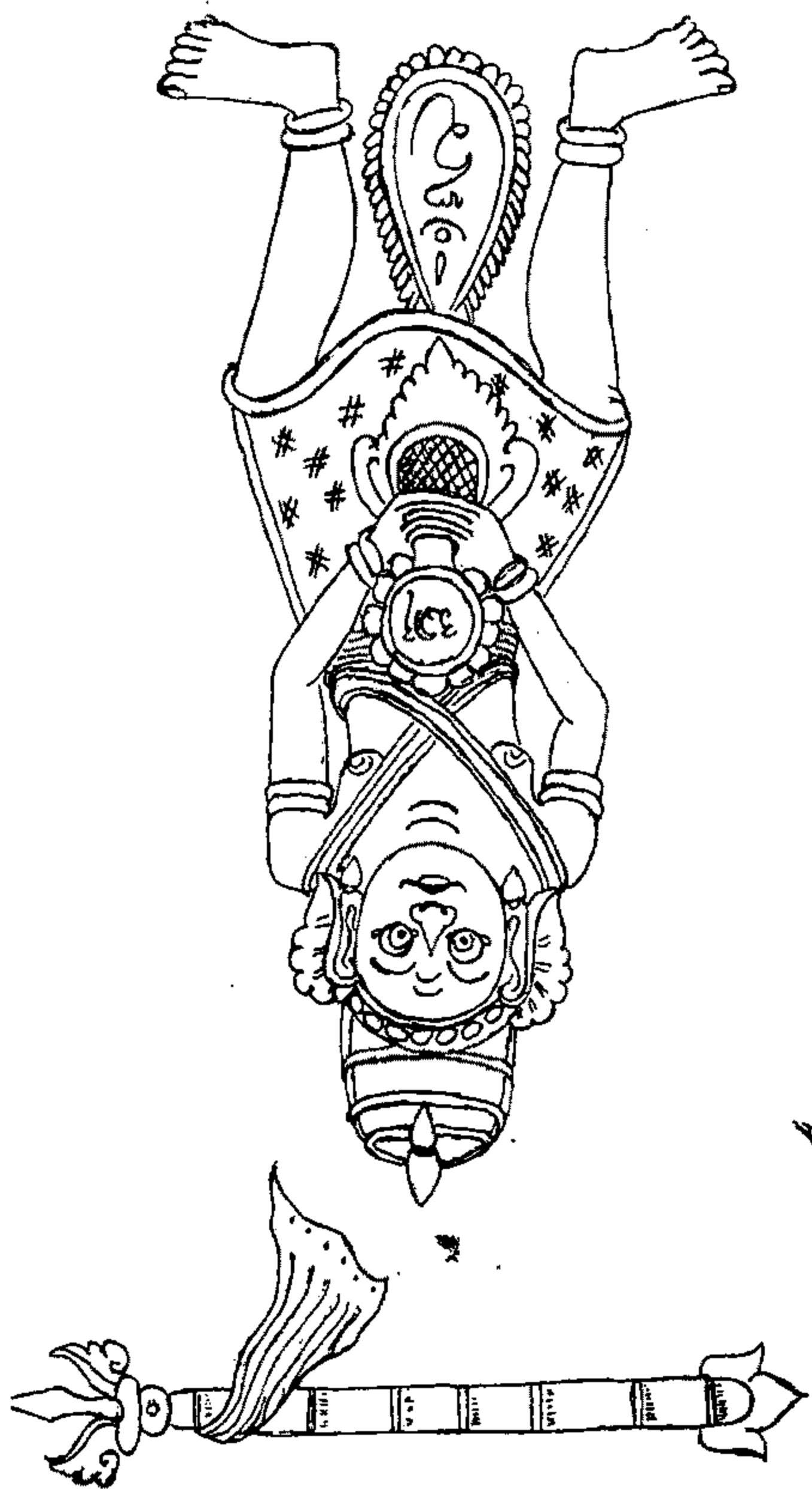
Predictably, the signs of death and life teaching is not couched in terms of definitive statements and predictions. Rather, allowance is made for change fluidity and infinite possibilities within the realm of existence and death.⁵ For example, under the heading of the signs of death and life, a text may list several related signs which indicate almost certain death and even predict the number of days for which the afflicted will survive in such a state of physical deterioration. Then, a prescription to treat the symptoms follows this prognosis of almost inevitable and immanent death. This may indicate that the balian must judge each case on its own terms and take account of the totality of each situation. This fluid prognostic prediction may simply allow for individual and constitutional variation, for the self-limiting nature of some illnesses from one perspective and for the ambiguity and unpredictability of magical interventions from another. Texts do not state this to be the case.

Tengeran ing pati-urip is thus a form of divination and a form of prognosis. But the objective of this teaching is not to forecast the outcome of an episode of illness. It is intended as a form of guidance for balian so that treatment in the form of magical intervention does not proceed beyond that which is medically reasonable in view of mankind's ultimate fate — death and rebirth.

9. Taru Pramana (The Efficacy of Plants): Taru Pramana is the title of a lontar. From the written as well as the oral tradition there is a narrative concerning the origin of this lontar. The narrative also constitutes an account concerning the origin of knowledge of herbal therapy. Mpu Kuturan attempted to cure the many people afflicted with illness. In spite of his treatment they died. Their illnesses had been created by Mpu Kuturan's older brother, Mpu Bharadah, a follower of the Budha Kocapi sect. Mpu Kuturan then performed yoga-samadhi in the cremation ground. Bhatari Siwa revealed (mawarah-warrah) knowledge of each plant and tree to Mpu Kuturan. The knowledge was dispensed in the form of a dialogue between Mpu Kuturan and each individual plant. For example, when questioned about its properties, the young coconut (nyuh gading) replies: 'I possess healing properties. I am able to cleanse the mind and the body. I am a creation of Brahma' (HKS3499).

10. Rwa Bhineda: This medical teaching expounds the intrinsically two-fold nature of all things, of man and of nature. Rwa means 'two', bhi- refers to mother and father, neda signifies 'difference'. Rwa bhineda is also death and life (pati-urip). In the Balinese formulation of this unity-duality or philosophical equation, death (pati, dur-) precedes life (urip, ga-); destruction precedes creation. The creative principle and the destructive principle are one and the same. The graveyard is the focus of human life and of death. It is south, the direction of Brahma, the creator and it is the direction of fire.

Rwa Bhineda is also fire and water, the moon and the sun. It is the two suns (surya kalih) located in the eyes. It is the two syllables, ANG and AH. ANG is in the left eye, has the nature of fire and produces cleansing purificatory water named tirtha kamandalu. AH is in the right eye, has the nature of wind and produces the purificatory water named tirtha pawitra. AH is also in the cleft of the forehead where it is named Hyang Tunggal. These aksara find other referents and locations.



Rarajahan representation of Rwa Bhineda
(HKS1946).



Rasa (perception) and angen-angen (cognition) which, together with idep (mind), sabda (communication) and bayu (energy), are part of the five-fold medicine (kalimosada), are also manifestations of rwa bhineda. Rasa and angen-angen sustain the other three. They actuate each other. They are a two-fold unit, two but one. Idep, sabda and bayu are created by the fusion of the power of the mother (AH) with the power of the father (ANG). Together they are usada (medicine). Sleep is water surrounded by fire. Death is fire surrounded by water. Disease is an embodiment of sleep, and the reverse. Medicine is an embodiment of wakefulness and life, and the reverse. All are equally powerful. AH from the mother is water. ANG from the father is fire.

Rwa bhineda is then kalimosada-kalimosadi and two sets of five syllables (pancaksara, pancabrahma); SA BA TA A I, having the nature of fire and heating properties and representing the power of the father; NA MA SI WA YA, the pancadurga, having the quality of water and cooling properties and representing the power of the mother. Hence, in medical therapy, illnesses which are symptomatically hot and dry are caused by the father and are treatable by the powers and properties of the mother. They complete and perfect each other.

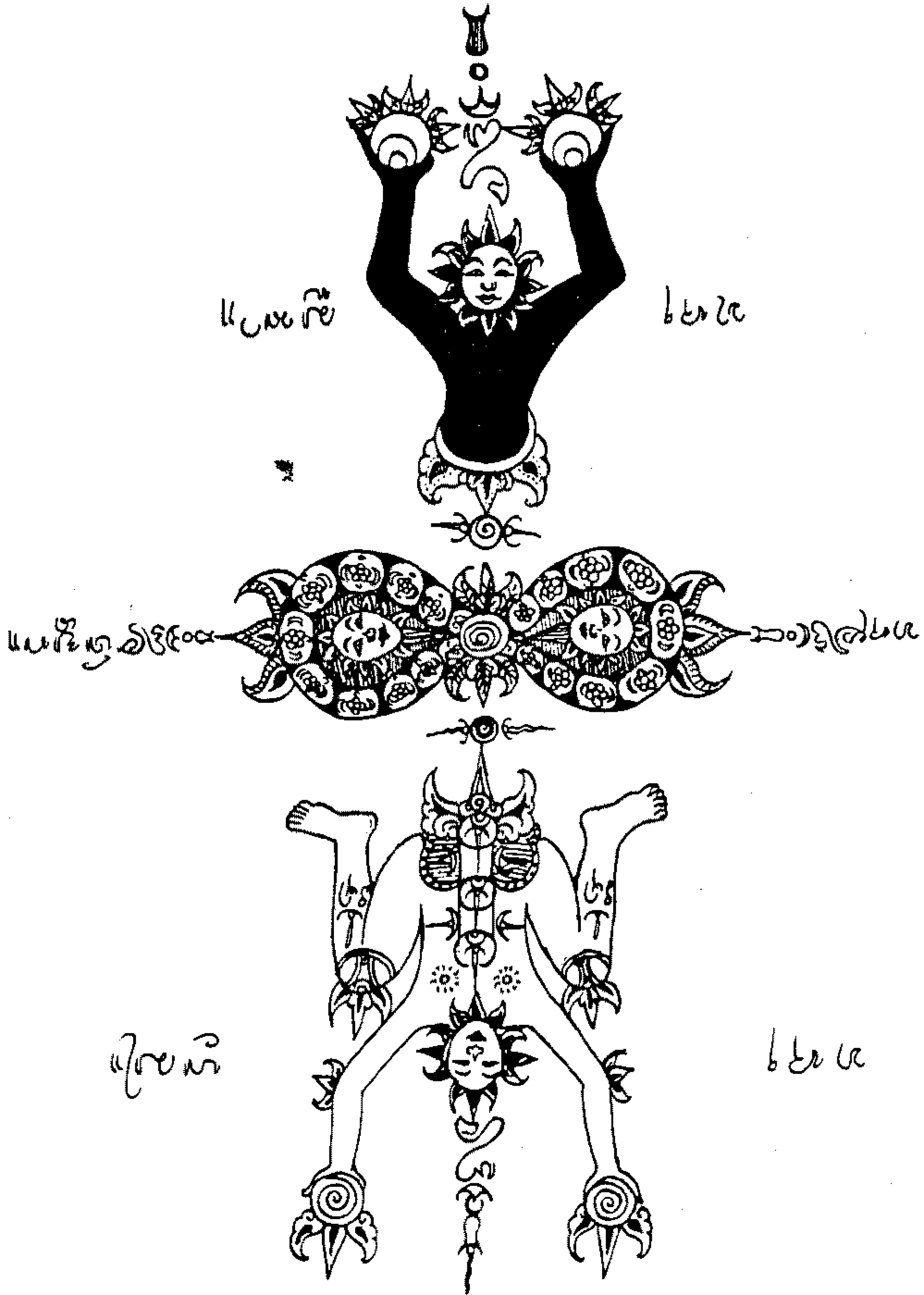
Rwa bhineda is thus sets of two powers; antidote (tamba, usada) and disease (gering), mother and father, water and fire, cold and hot, death and life, sleep and wakefulness (sirep-atangi), leyak and balian. The rasa (here meaning 'essence') of each is the same. They are the same in sakti. Medicine (usada) is manifest as wakefulness and disease is manifest as sleep. No one element is in itself complete. Oneness consists of many. Apparently antagonistic principles such as life and death, medicine and disease are one and the same and of the same source and origin. The ovum and the sperm comprise one atma, that is, soul or life, regardless of the gender of that life created.

The essence of conception seem to feature prominently in the rwa bhineda formulation. The mother and the father, male and female creative principles and the ovum and the sperm are juxtaposed with numerous other inseparable but differing elements such as the sun and the moon, fire and water, Brahma and Wisnu (as fire and water), and so forth.

The female creative principle, the ovum (smararatih, sidhisakti), red in colour and named I Meme, is also juxtaposed with the earth (Ibu Perthiwi) named I Sumur Ireng (Black Well) and with the moon. The male creative principle, the sperm (smarajaya, sidhirasa), white in colour and named I Bapa, is juxtaposed with the sky named Batu Tunggal (double rock) and with the sun. From the mother-ovum (also named Sang Hyang Meleng) comes the life force (atma) named I Kirit which, as exhalation, is named Ibu Sakti Pramana. From the father (now named Sang Hyang Seleng) comes the life force named I Pita which, as inhalation, is named Sang Hyang Menget. United, they are breath. From the mother comes the blood and the amniotic sac. From the father comes the placenta and the amniotic fluid. The two syllables AH and ANG become rwa bhineda so that there is death and life. Atma, dewa and kala unite to become one in the human entity.

Frequently, from the two, a third arises. From panes-nyem (hot and cold), comes sebaa (cool). Sleep is the joining of death and life, fire and water, father and mother. The dasaksara, also called dasendriya

၂၀၀၀ ခုနှစ် ဝါဆိုလပြည့်ကျော်



(ten senses) become the two sets of five aksara (pancaksara and pancabrahma), reducible also to the three syllables (triaksara) and ultimately to ANG and AH. In meditation, the powers of the mother and those of the father are joined in windu, a symbol of the combined biological power of the two life principles, male and female, within the one body.

Rwa bhineda is a variation on the themes of the two-in-one principle and the common origin of apparent opposites. Even so, it should not be seen as a variation of some formulation of binary oppositions or complementary opposites based upon cosmological dualism. It is perhaps best described as a philosophical equation, the ambivalence, mystical transcendence and conjunction of apparent opposites. Mystical unions of the two-in-one or each-in-both is a fundamental principle of Tantric traditions (Zimmer 1946:60,197). Like Durga, rwa bhineda implies transcendence of all contradictions; within each is both. Like other medical teachings, rwa bhineda is anthropocentric.

Texts such as Aji Saraswati do not contain an exposition of the principles underlying this teaching. They merely contain numerous examples of the fact of rwa bhineda. Likewise, balian usada comply to one's request for explication of the rwa bhineda doctrine by offering examples and instances of it. Here, I have merely listed some of those instances implying the intrinsicities of rwa bhineda.

11. Trisakti (Three Powers) has numerous referents: Sanghyang Tiga Sakti, the Divine Trinity which has at least two sets of triadic referents Brahma, Wisnu and Iswara and bhuta-kala-dengen which are the 'life of the world' (urip bhuana); the trinadi which refers to the three principal body channels (nadi) named Ida, Pinggala and Susumna. Trinadi also refers to: the liver, the gall bladder and the heart; fire water and wind; the syllables ANG, UNG and MANG; and the sun, the moon and the stars. The defining qualities of material existence are three, idep, bayu, and sabda. A pangurip bayu formula to restore physical strength consists of a mantra:

ONG the vitality of life return to the bayu, sabda idep.
 ONG Sang Mpu Pradah, descend from your abode.
 Bring tirtha as an offering to I Calon Arang.
 Mpu Pradah proceeds to the spinal nerves and to a space in the heart.
 Ni Ratna Manggali in the adnyana abang [? red intellect] is named I Lingga.
 Ki Calon Arang in the lungs is named I Sari.
 Mpu Pradah is named idep.
 Ni Ratna Manggali is named bayu.
 Mpu Pradah is named sabda.
Sabda becomes Wisnu in the tip of the tongue.
Bayu becomes Brahma in the centre of the tongue.
Idep becomes Hyang Guru in the root of the tongue.

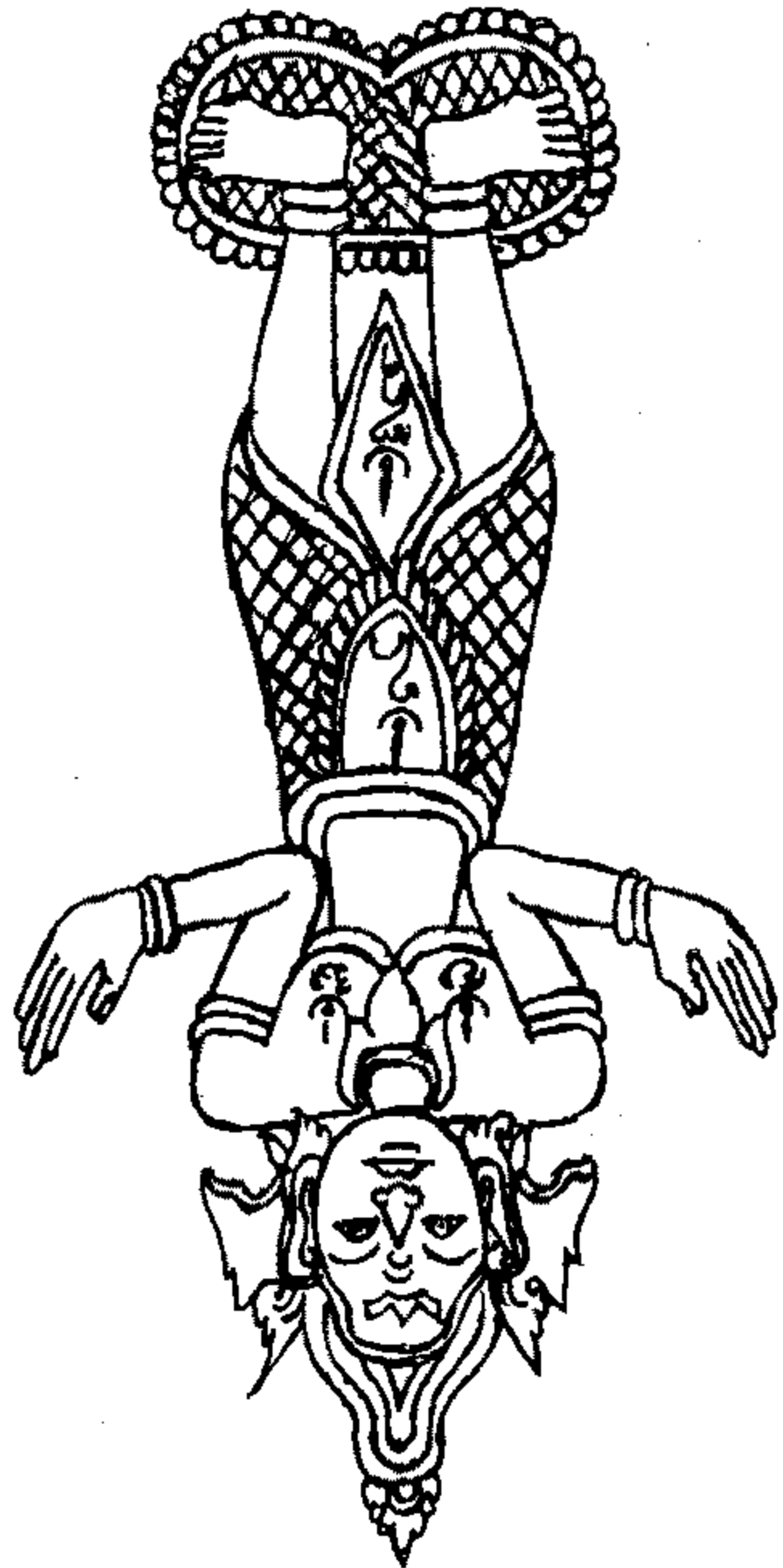
(HKS3268:17)

Sanghyang Tiga Sakti exist in the macrocosm (bhuana agung) and in the human organism (bhuana alit). In the macrocosm, they are, among other things, the pura puseh, pura desa and pura dalem. The pura puseh is Sanghyang Yogiswara, is I Ratu Mas Manik Merik, is the human heart and is the faculty of communication (sabda). The pura desa (or pura bale

Sanghyang Trinati



Triaksara



agung) is Sanghyang Titah, is also I Ratu Mas Ayuman, is the kidneys and is physical energy (bayu). The pura dalem is Sanghyang Dewa Merta, is also I Ratu Manik Angkeran, is the liver and is the faculty of reason (idep). Each has an aksara or modre. The teachings is also part of that called sarira kadyatmikan.

As the cosmos is divided into three strata (triloka or tribhuana), bhur-, bhuwah- and swar-loka (earth, sky and beyond), so the human organism is formed of three levels (tri-sarira), sthula-, sukma- and karana-sarira (material, body, immaterial body and reason). Together with rasa and angen-angen, the trisakti (idep, bayu and sabda) are five. Thereby, they merge with the kalimosada⁶.

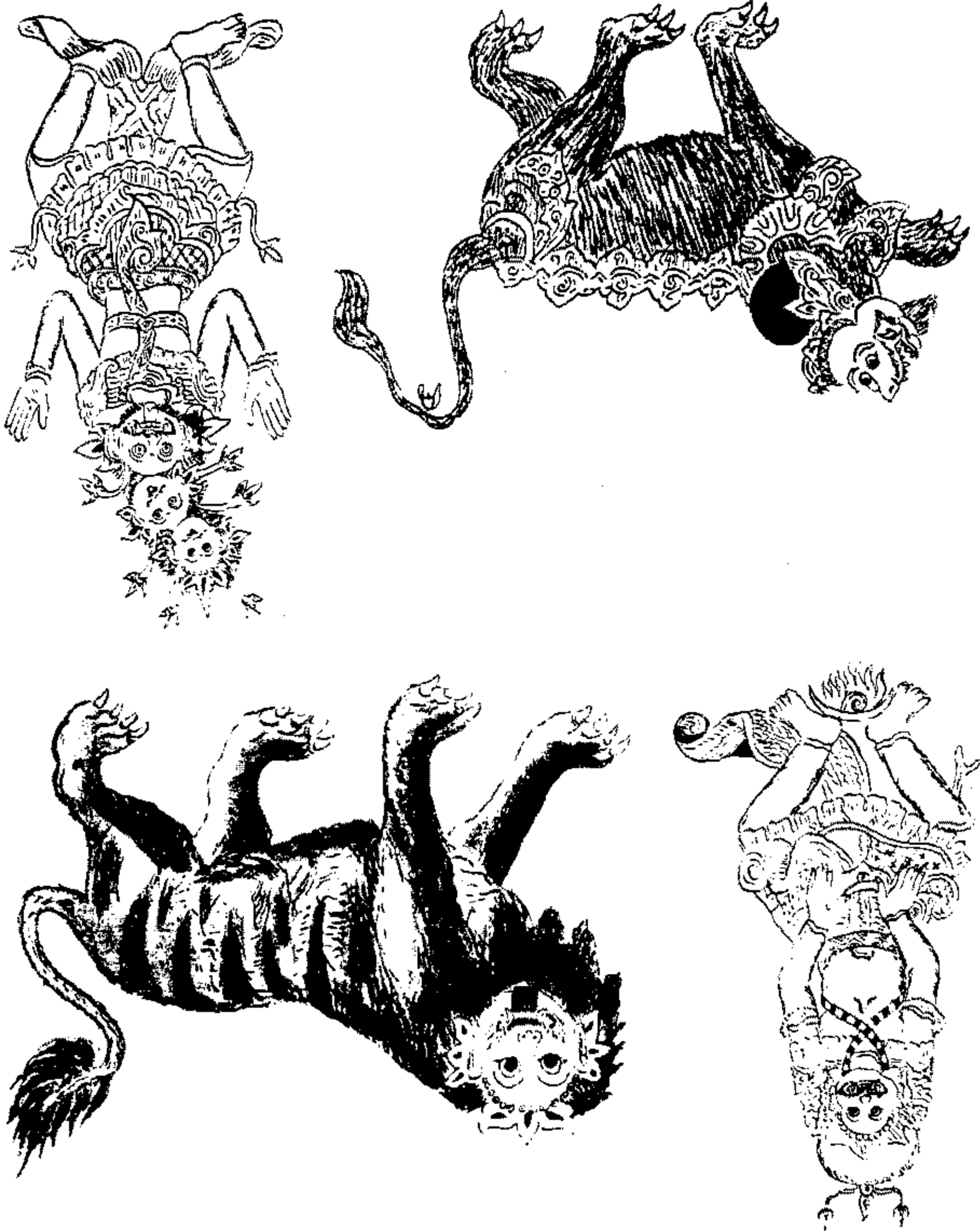
12. Kanda Mpat: At their most essential physical level, the kanda mpat are the four (mpat) appurtenances of foetal development and birth (kanda), placenta, amniotic fluid, natal cord and blood. At another level, they are the four spiritual siblings of each human life. As the personified appurtenances of physical birth, the kanda mpat are named Banaspati Raja, Banaspati, Mrajapati and Anggapati. Together with the individual self they constitute the panca mahabhuta (the five great bhuta). They remain with the individual from the moment of conception until death. They are both physical and mystical. Collectively, they are called siddha sakti. They are the rasa essence of combined male and female powers. They are also referred to as the catur sanak, nyamanya patpat (also meaning four siblings) and as sang kala catur (the four kala). The kanda mpat are also associated with the bija AUM and with the pancaksara SA BA TA A I.

The life cycle of the kanda mpat is, in theory and in fact, the cycle of human conception, foetal development, bio-medical history and death. Documentation of the existentiality of the kanda mpat begins with conception, called Sanghyang Ardanareswari. Development begins at the moment the ovum (kama bang or kama ratih) from the mother unites with the sperm (kama putih or kama jaya) from the father. The embryo thus formed is named Sanghyang Malumut and is referred to as lumut ing batu (the moss in the womb). At one month, there is a single cell (apulung sih), having the form of the sun and the moon. The embryo is named Sanghyang Maya Silimun or Sanghyang Rimana. At two months, bayu, sabda and idep, join together. The embryo is called Sanghyang Wongkara-maruncing. At three months the panca wara (lit. the five-day week, perhaps the five senses) are manifest. The embryo is called Sanghyang Kama-molah. At four months, the dewata nawa sanga (probably the nine bodily openings) are apparent. The embryo is called Manik-sambrah. At the fifth month, the akasa (the sky) and perthiwi (the earth) are as one (perhaps a reference to the mind and the body). The foetus is named Sanghyang Kamareka. The limbs, genitals, buttocks, eyes, nose, mouth and ears are formed.

At the sixth month, one of the kanda mpat emerges from the father. It is red, has the form of blood and is called Babu Lembana. The foetus is called Sanghyang Suratha or I Lare Kuranta. At the seventh month, the second kanda mpat, having the form of the amniotic sac and being yellow in colour, emerges from the mother. It is named Babu Abra (or Babu Bragonjon). The foetus is then called Sanghyang Malumut. At the eighth month, the third kanda mpat, having the form of amniotic fluid, being white in colour and named Babu Ugyan, emerges from the father.

A depiction of the Kanda Mpat (Taken from Weck, 1937)

Ballische Darstellung der Kanda empat nadi (abgezeichnet aus dem 'Turur kanda empat' durch den Balier I Pura Pasek)



The foetus is named Sanghyang Kama-geger. At the ninth month, the fourth kanda mpat, having the form of the placenta, being black in colour and named Babu Kakere, emerges from the mother. At the tenth month, the foetus, then named I Lababahi, separates from the womb named Sanghyang Sari-kuning and Sang Bayi is born together with its four siblings, the amniotic fluid now named Sang Dengen, the blood, now named Sang Kala, the umbilical cord, now named Sang Preta and the placenta, now named Sang Anta. (These are all names of demons.) The foetus is then named Sang Legaprana. After the birth process is complete, the kanda mpat become I Jalahir, I Makahir, I Selahir and I Mokahir.

At the age of three years, the names of the kanda mpat change to Sanghyang Anggapati who resides in the east, Sanghyang Mrajapati who resides in the south, Sanghyang Banaspati who resides in the west and Sanghyang Banaspati Raja who resides in the north. When Sang Legaprana is at the stage of development of being able to move, its name changes to Sanghyang Nala-ghombang. When mother and father are able to be seen, its name becomes Sanghyang Astiti-jati and Sanghyang Menget. When able to think, its name becomes Sanghyang Rajawa. When able to communicate, its name becomes Sanghyang Heta-heto. When able to roll over, it is named Sanghyang Taya, when able to crawl, it is Sanghyang Wonang, and when able to sit up, it becomes Sanghyang Bhatara Guru (Kanda Mpat Sari; Tatur Kanda Pat, HKS X, 23).

In other manuscripts (eg., HKS3324) the new-born is named I Kuncung, the amniotic fluid is named I Jabrang, the blood, I Yalang, the amniotic sac, I Sugyan and the placenta, I Malih. In another (HKS3268), they are named Ki Anung, Ki Pada, Ki Alas and Ki Bodo and the infant (rare) is named Ki Jenar. In another (K174), under the subtitle Iki Kaputusan Kanda Mpat, which constitutes an instruction on the way to cause disease symptoms to dissipate by coercing them to the outside of the body from the internal organs, the kanda mpat are named I Cungka, I Pager, I Tangke and I Pagah. Here they are juxtaposed with Brahma, Iswara, Wisnu, Sanghyang Dharma, Raja Rawana and Bhatara Guru.

The fact that kanda mpat is not a static teaching but a principle which accounts for change, transformation, development and dysfunction, is evident in the various subtitles affixed to the kanda mpat doctrine: kanda mpat sari where sari means 'essence'; kanda mpat rare where rare refers to foetal and infant development; kanda mpat bhuta and kanda mpat dewa referring to the unmanifest, potentially malignant and potentially protective elements (bhuta and dewa) which constitute the human organism. These are separate lontar titles but the essence of each is the same. The term nadi meaning 'to become', sometimes attached to and qualifying kanda mpat (e.g. kanda mpat nadi) illustrates the sense of change and process implicit in this doctrine. The naming and renaming lends the same evidence:

Hyang Amija is the blood
 Hyang Amadosa is the placenta
 Hyang Amidoro is the natal cord
 Hyang Adhumyo is the amniotic fluid
 Bhuta Kakawah is the amniotic fluid
 Bhuta Ludira is the blood
 Bhuta Harihari is the placenta
 Bhuta Saliweh is the natal cord

(HKS IV:8)

During the later stages of life, through meditation and ascetic practices, the kanda mpat can transform through their maya potential. For instance, as Ganghyang Korsika, Sanghyang Ganga, Sanghyang Metri and Sanghyang Kurisia, they have the potential to become Iswara in the east, Brahma in the south, Mahadewa in the west and Wisnu in the north. But they may also become bhuta-dengen, a tiger, a serpent and a crocodile. Furthermore, Anggapati can leave through the mouth, go to the heart to become Bhuta-putih and Iswara in the skin. Mrajapati can leave through the nose, go to the liver to become Bhuta-Bang and Brahma in the flesh. Banaspati can leave the body through the eyes and go to the spleen to become bhuta-kuning and Mahadewa in the vessels. Banaspati raja can leave through the ears and go to the kidneys to become bhuta-ireng and Wisnu in the bones. Through enlightenment, the kanda mpat can become bhagawan (sages):

The blood becomes and is named Bhagawan Mercu-kundha, in the flesh and in the south.

The placenta becomes and is named Bhagawan Wrespati, in the vessels and in the west.

The natal cord becomes and is named Bhagawan Tatulak, in the bones and in the north.

The amniotic fluid becomes and is named Bhagawan Panyarikan, in the skin and in the east.

Finally, they can become and be named Sang Suratma, Sang Jogormanik, Sang Jogormanik, Sang Dorakala, and Sang Mahakala.

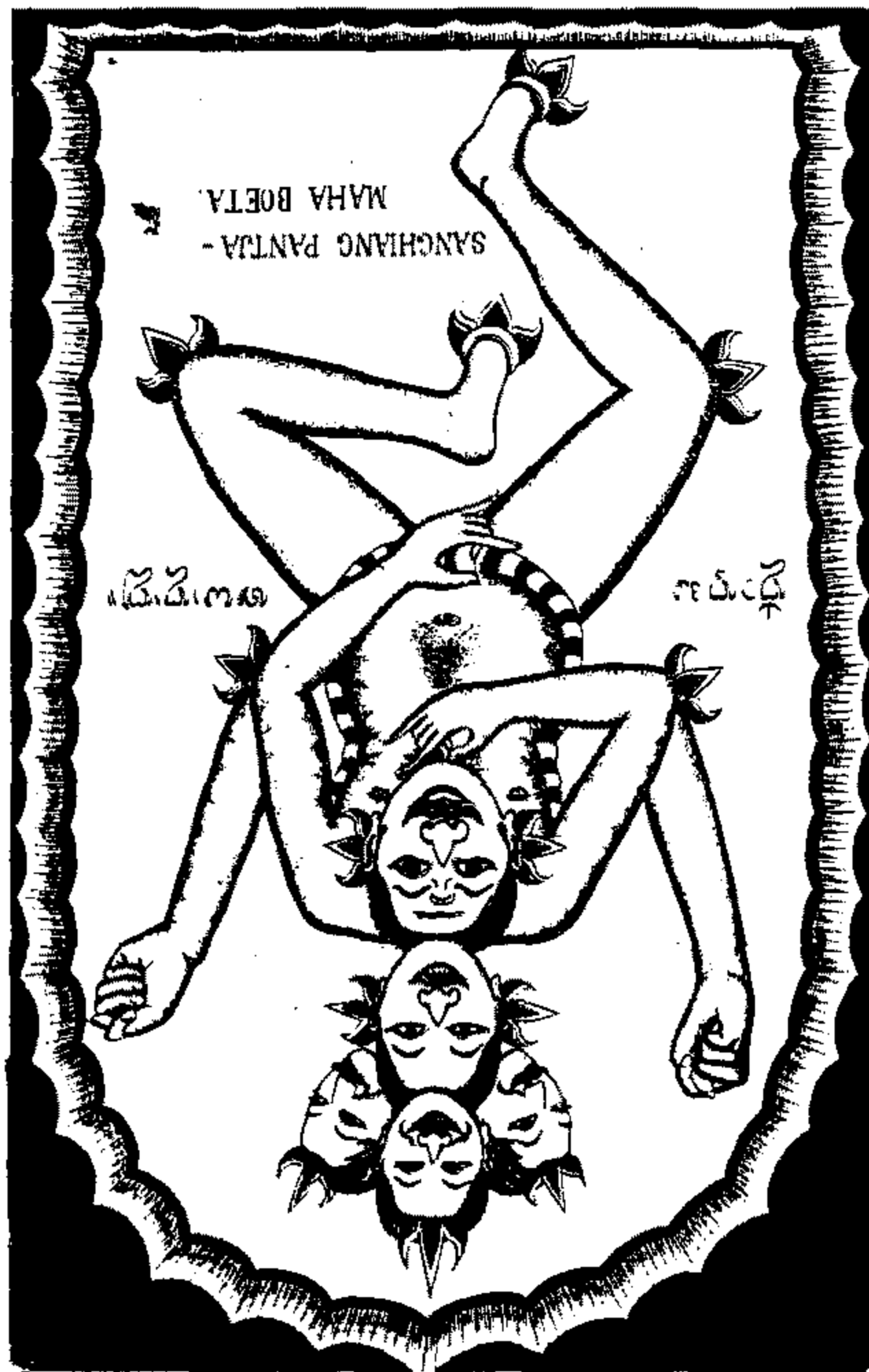
(HKS IV:8).

Numerous lontar wholly or partially devote attention to the kanda mpat. This abundant documentation includes, besides the naming of them, instructions on the proper disposal of the physical manifestations of them (the concomitants of the birth process) and ritual prescriptions to ensure that these mystical participating appurtenances which can influence the state of their owner's physical and mental well-being are kept under control. The placenta, the most tangible, and conceivably, the most important of the four, is the object of most of this ritual attention. Together with some blood and amniotic fluid, it must be placed in a young coconut shell, wrapped with sugar palm and buried in front of the sleeping pavillion. A few drops of the mother's milk must be allowed to fall on the earth (Ibu Perthiwi). On a tal palm leaf, a mantra must be written entreating Ibu Perthiwi to take care of her relative and sibling. Over the burial site, a bamboo shrine must be erected, or else a dadap tree planted (HKS3268). Because the kanda mpat have the potential to cause illness in their elder sibling (angeringin rakanira), that is, the human organism if they are not understood (tan uninga) and given attention, they should also be protected with offerings (HKS XVI, 33).

The ritual ingredients assembled and buried with the placenta -- salt, kemiri, oil, saffron, black sugar palm -- and the dadap leaves in which they are wrapped, as well as the string which binds them, have metaphorical associations with specific forms of disease which may manifest in the human organism in the early years of life, that is, with infant morbidity. According to the Tutur Kanda Pat (HKS X, 23), for instance, salt (named I Garem) is associated with (in the sense that it can manifest as (mamurti) diseases of early infancy named guwam and empuk. Kemiri (named Sang Tikmaya) can manifest as morbid swelling (beseh). Oil (named I Lisah) can manifest as dysentery (mising). Saffron

A representation of Panca Mahabhuta (Taken from Weck, 1937)

Symbol des Panca-Mahabhura (Zeichnung von A. A. Gde Raj)



(named Sang Kamajaya) can manifest as diseases named mejen (a gastro-intestinal illness) which may later develop into sarab (sprue). Black sugar palm is associated with respiratory illnesses and spasms, dadap leaves (named I Jajil) with sarab and string with worm infestation. Awareness of the way in which the symptomatology of specific diseases can influence the selection of ingredients used in rituals has enabled me to decode the symbolism of specific trance dances discussed in Chapters 11, and 12.

This composite and much abbreviated account of the development of the kanda mpat outlines the kind of understanding balian usada are enjoined to acquire and the information which, according to medical lontar, should be known (kawruhakena) by one who attempts to intervene in unnatural bodily processes. The kanda mpat doctrine is superimposed upon that of the panca mahabhuta.

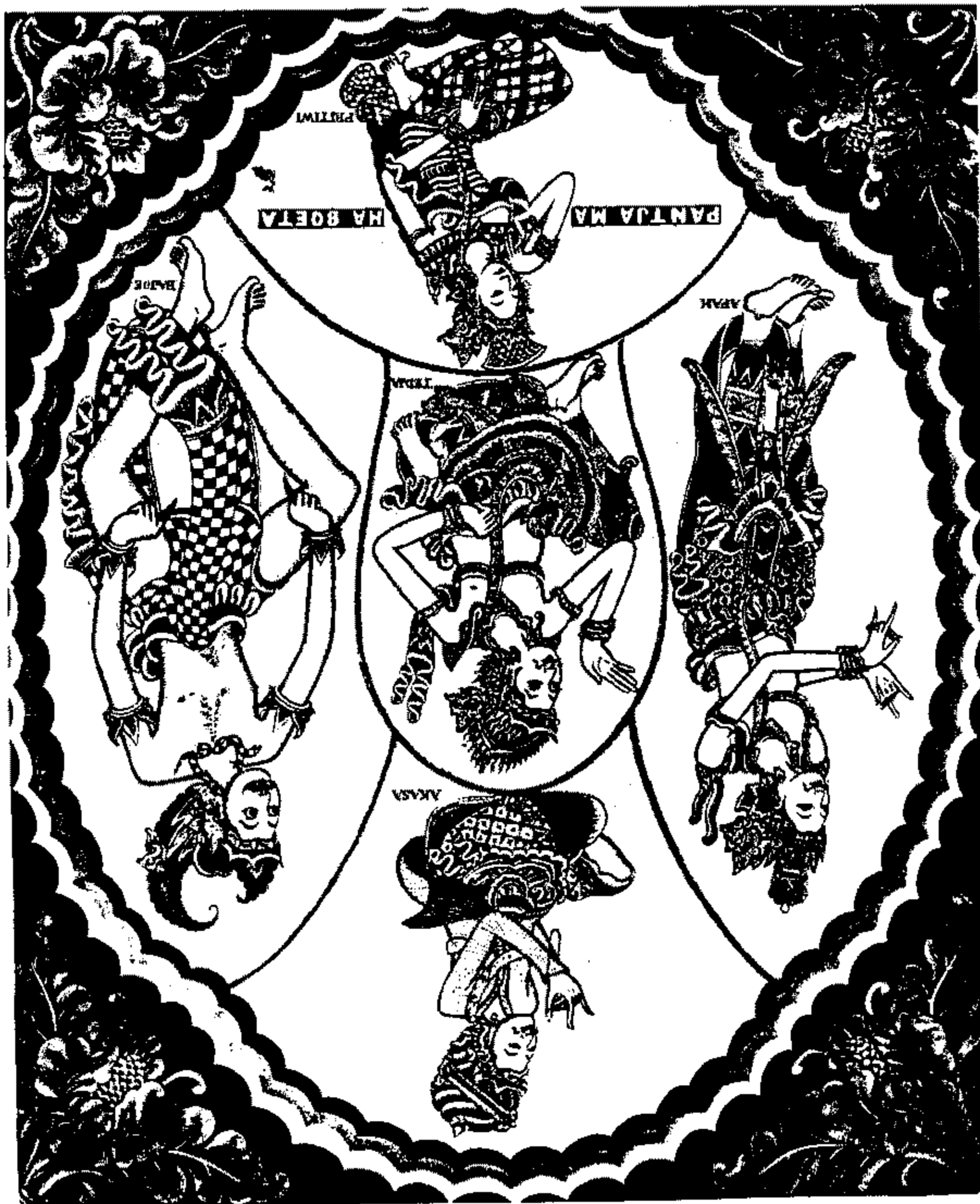
13. Panca Mahabhuta: Earth, water, fire, wind and ether, the five basic elements and constituents of life are known in Balinese medical philosophy as the panca mahabhuta. As the macrocosm is comprised of solid matter (soil and rocks), of liquid matter (oceans, rivers and lakes), of heat or fire, of gas (air and wind) and of ether (fumes and odour), so is the human body comprised of these elements. Bones, skin and flesh represent the solid matter and derive from the element earth (perthiwi). Blood, fat and other body fluids represent the liquid matter and derive from the element liquid (apah). Body heat and colour represent and derive from the element fire (teja). Breath and bodily winds (flatus, belching) represent and derive from the element gas (bayu). Bodily odour represents and derives from the element ether (akasa). The five great elements, the panca mahabhuta thus form the macrocosm (bhuana agung) and encompasses all bodily (bhuana alit) elements. The panca mahabhuta are also amniotic fluid, blood, natal cord and placenta, that is, the kanda mpat, together with bodily self. Like the kanda mpat, the panca mahabhuta have many names, many forms and they undergo transformations.

In the foetal stage of human development, the panca mahabhuta are the amniotic sac, foetal blood, the natal cord, the placenta and the foetus itself. From birth, they are the skin, the vessels, the tissues, bone and bone marrow. They are also the senses -- sight, smell, hearing, touch and feeling. They are the colours white, red, yellow, black and five-coloured. Also like the kanda mpat, they are variously identified with dewa, demons and sages. They also have associations with various locations in the body and the physical and cultural environments.

The five great elements, named Sang Bhuta Anggapati, Sang Bhuta Mrajapati, Sang Bhuta Banaspati, Sang Bhuta Banaspati Raja and Sang Bhuta Dengen respectively, are also: named Bhuta Putih (-White), Bhuta Bang (-Red), Bhuta Kuning (-Yellow), Bhuta Ireng (-Black) and Bhuta Panca Warna (-Five Colour); have abodes in the pura sabak, pura sada, pura puseh, pura dalem and pura desa where they bear the titles I Ratu Ngurah Tangkeb Langit, I Ratu Wayan Tebeng, I Ratu Made Jelawung, I Ratu Nyoman Sakti Pangadangan and I Ratu Ketut Petung respectively. (These designations incorporate caste titles and birth order names, while the distinguishing elements in the titles -- Tangkeb etc., connote a protective, guardian role); have the form of skin (named segara agung tan patepi, 'the limitless ocean'), blood (named tampak ing kuntul ngalayang, 'path of the flying swallow'), flesh, vessels and bone marrow in the body;

A representation of the Panca Mahabhuta as deities (Taken from Weck, 1937)

Die Panca-Mahabhuta (als Dewa's) in balischer Darstellung. Akasa = Himmel (Raum), Apah = Wasser, Telsja = Licht (Feuer), Baju = Wind (Kraft), Pritiwi = Erde (Zeichnung von A. A. Gde Rat)



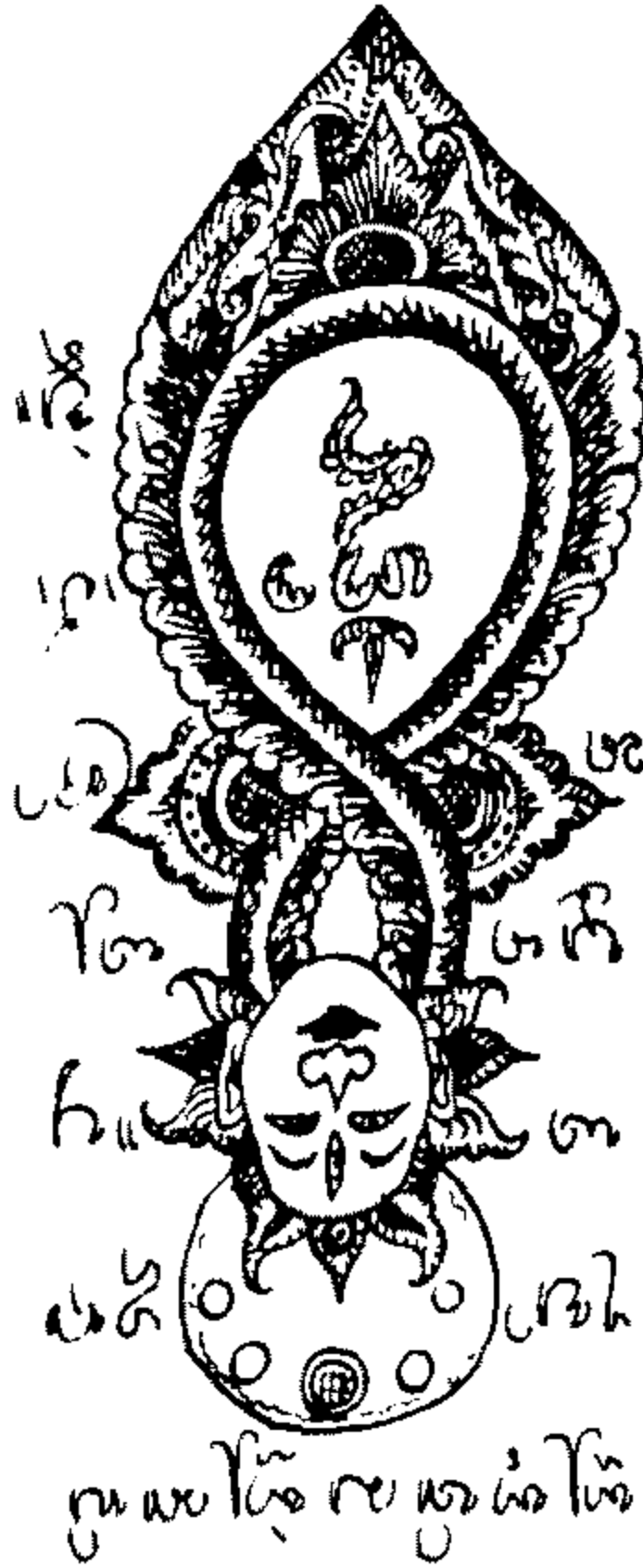
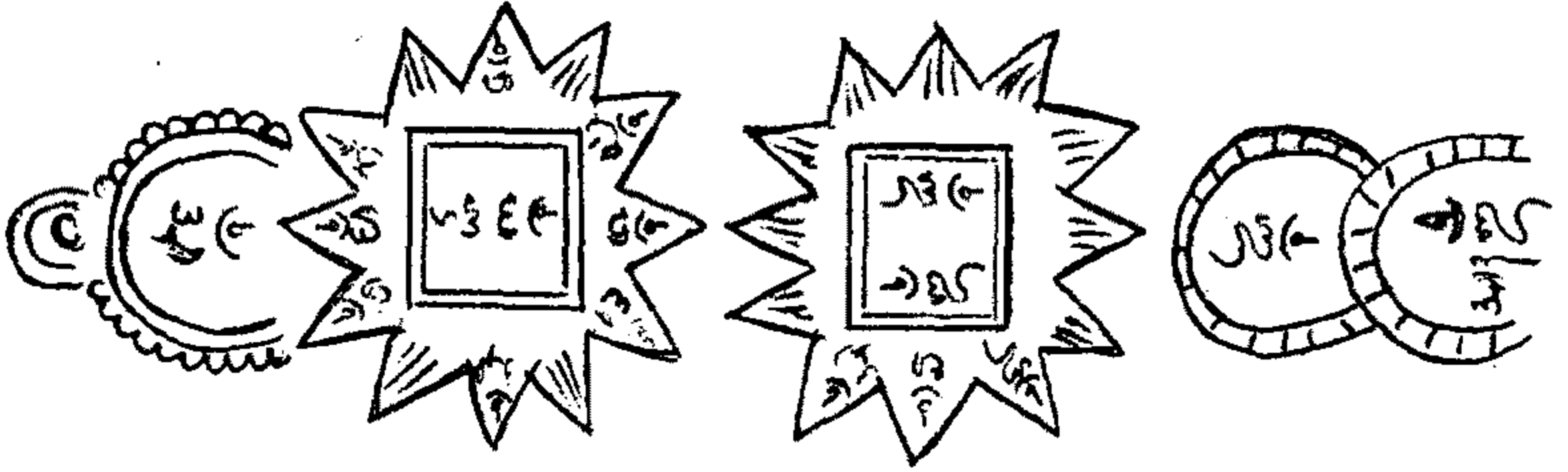
are guardian of the soil, sawah and animals, forests, roads and vegetation, houseyards, fields and gardens, graveyards, rivers and large trees, and market places and shrines respectively; manifest as amerta sanjiwani, amerta kamendalu, amerta mahatirtha, amerty kundalini and amerta pawitra in which forms they have the power to remove virulence from the body in the form of perspiration, incinerate infective substances through fever, neutralize illnesses transmitted through magical agency (desti, paspasangan), control diseases of the urino-genital system and control the respiratory system respectively; and can manifest of Iswara, Brahma, Mahadewa, Wisnu and Siwa respectively. Thus, as the element water, the first mahabhuta is associated with illnesses in which there is profuse sweating. The second, as the element fire, is associated with fevers. The third, as solid matter, has the ability to remove toxicity from the internal organs and dispatch it to the surface of the body. A fourth, as the element ether, removes virulence through the vessels and the fifth, being associated with wind, governs breathing. Upon death, the panca mahabhuta dissolve and are then named panca tan matra (the inert five); only the incorporeal spirit, the atma remains.

Each mahabhuta is associated with and represented by a sacred syllable (aksara) and has a mantra which is uttered a specific number of times during rituals aimed to reverse the disease process. Each is also given offerings comprised of ingredients appropriate to its colour, form and function. In Balinese magico-medical graphic art these five great elements are represented in human symbolic form.

The panca mahabhuta doctrine is contained within the kanda mpat. The two are inseparable. One is juxtaposed with the other. Both have as their focal referents the personified metaphysical forces and the spiritualized physiological components of the human organism during development and throughout its struggle to maintain existence.

14. Kalimosada-Kalimosadi: Kalimosada-Kalimosadi is the name of a teaching, a text and balian. Kalimosada-Kalimosadi is also the five (kalima) forces of the human organism, sabda, idep, bayu, rasa and angen-angen, which are also manifestations of rwa bhineda. Kalimosada, from the Sanskrit 'mahausadha' refers to the 'five great medicines' given by Kali (Durga), the creator and curer of all disease. Various Budha Kocapi, Usada Sari and Kalimosada manuscripts contain a narrative concerning two balian who were famous for their ability to treat infections (gering wisya). However, the order of their knowledge was such that they knew little about the symptoms and signs of disease (tatenger ing gering). They knew only the potency of medicants and therapy. This serious limitation in their knowledge became manifest when each of them had a patient die whilst they were actually administering treatment after having assured the onlookers that their relatives were not in danger of imminent death (HKS3524).

The repercussions of their actions proceeding from a deficiency of knowledge sets the scene for an explication of important teachings handed on to them by a renowned balian. The two balian discussed their errors of judgement and decided to seek guidance and instruction from Budha Kocapi. First, they practised yoga-samadhi at the cremation ground which was also the abode of Budha Kocapi. Then they went to Budha Kocapi and told him how they had been 'overwhelmed' (kasoran); their patients had died during the course of treatment. They requested that they might become his pupils.



Depiction of Kalimosada-Kalimosadi
(Taken from Hooykaas, 1980b)

15. Budha Kocapi: Budha Kocapi is the name of the first balian usada. He came to Bali following the triumph of the Islamic religion over Hindu-Buddhism and the fall of Majapahit. His name is linked to the Buddhist religious sect (agama budha) on Bali. The Budha was reputed to have had knowledge of medicinal plants. I am aware of at least three indigenous encodings in the term budha kocapi: (1) budha is cognate with budhi and means 'mind', kocap- means 'aware' and -pi means 'truly'; hence, budha kocapi means 'one who is truly aware'. (2) budha refers to sleep which is equatable with a state of death, koca is cognate with kaca and means 'wakefulness' or 'vigilance' and pi- is from pitara meaning 'soul'; hence together budha kocapi means 'the soul should be vigilant during sleep'. (3) budha is cognate with budhi meaning consciousness and signifying Sanghyang Urip (life), kaca- meaning 'eye' signifies 'sun' and 'death' (lina), pi- signifies pitara (ancestral soul) and 'life' (urip), bu- is connected with death (pati) and kocapi is connected with life (urip); they are the syllables (sastra) within the body (raga).

All are feasible within the context and complexity of Balinese medical philosophy. A balian who knows the secret teachings and has achieved perfect wisdom (kasidhan wisesan), is able to 'see' (to know) when I Kulisah (the soul in the form of a small child) is about to leave the body, that is, when death is imminent. Such an informed balian is aware of the oneness of life and death, medicine and disease and wakefulness and sleep.

Budha Kocapi is thus also the name of a medical lontar, a philosophical doctrine and a famous balian usada. From a Budha Kocapi text (HKS3524) comes the following extract concerning the elevation of an adept of yoga-samadhi to the role of a powerful healer:

One named Budha Kocapi performed yoga-samadhi and tapa in the cremation ground [setra pagesengan]. So powerful was his meditation that his mind, released [from earthly bounds] affected the seven levels of the universe and the heavens causing Hyang Bhatara Siwa to descend to a shrine within a temple and meet with Durga [Hyang Nini Dalem]. Siwa instructed Durga to go to the cremation ground and reward Budha Kocapi's asceticism by granting him whatsoever he desired.

Budha Kocapi requested knowledge of the universe and the human organism [bhuana agung and bhuana alit] and paramount supernatural powers [sidhi-sandhi-sakti] in order that he might become immune to any kind of curse. He also requested knowledge of whatever should be known and understood concerning illnesses; knowledge of the meaning and origin of all types of poisoning [upas, cetik, racun], of convulsive illnesses [tiwang], venereal diseases [moro], of magically induced illnesses [desti, teluh, taranjana] and disease spells [pamali] and the ability to diagnose impending death.

Durga agreed to endow him with this knowledge and placed upon his tongue a mystical syllable, for the tongue is the location of the Goddess of Knowledge, Saraswati. Durga then uttered the mantra:

OM Sanghyang Kedep on the underside of your tongue,
Sanghyang Saraswati in the centre of your tongue,
Sanghyang Iswara is in the tip of your tongue,

Sanghyang Kundimanik is in the back of your tongue,
 Sanghyang Nagamilet is in the muscles of your tongue,
 Sanghyang Manikastagina is in the skin of your tongue,
 The Dewata Dewa Siwa is your strength,
 Dewa Brahma, as the syllable ANG, is in the liver,
 Dewa Wisnu, as the syllable UNG, is in the gall bladder,
 Dewa Iswara, as the syllable MANG, is in the heart.

Budha Kocapi was warned not to disclose this secret knowledge indiscriminantly. He was instructed how to concentrate his thoughts so that he might know the essence of the pancaksara, their form being:

NA is in the nose. MA is in the mouth. SI is in the eyes.
 WA is in the trunk. YA is in the ears.

He was also taught the form of the ONGKARA in the body:

nada is in the gall bladder; windu is in the liver;
Ardhacandra is in the spleen

He was taught how to concentrate upon these aksara and he became renowned as a person having sidhi-sandhi-sakti. He had knowledge of the power of mystical syllables, the meaning of pain and illness, the signs of death and of life, knowledge of Siwa and of the powers of meditation and asceticism.

In this medical doctrine, we have references to some primary and characteristic themes of the magico-medical system, namely, mystical participation with the unmanifest powers in tenget space, all-powerful female deities, Durga and Saraswati (death and life are the property of the former and life-defining, life preserving syllables are the property of the latter), the power of knowledge and the primacy of sakti as the power to contain and cure disease.

The Budha Kocapi teaching is also a exposé on some of the ethics and regulations involved in the art of healing. This occurs in the form of instruction through question and answer between Budha Kocapi and the two balian, Kalimosadha and Kalimosadhi. Firstly, Budha Kocapi explains the code of ethics and the bonds which tie teachers and pupils together and their mutual responsibilities. He warns them against being careless or displaying weakness when treating patients. He relates the dire consequences of failure to determine the cause and origin (sangka) of a disease. He also instructs them on diagnostic procedures and tells them to always examine the eyes of the sick person in order to determine whether the illness is one which is characteristically hot, cold or non-febrile.

Some basic understanding of the philosophical doctrines underlying Balinese magico-medical theory and practice is essential for the present study. These medical doctrines are a part of a complex explanatory system. They constitute the basis of the Balinese construction of disease and its aetiology, course and resolution. They are as essential to an understanding of this as the principles of anatomy, physiology, pathogenesis and immunology are to Western medical theory and practice. Clearly, the parameters of these teachings are not those of Western medical knowledge. The contents do not accord with Western scientific principles and knowledge of anatomy, physiology, pathology and immunology. They

do, however, evidence a complex body of ideas, ways of knowing and a system of knowledge displaying an internal logic and consistency.

Consistent with the nature of Balinese classificatory and metaphorical thinking, the universe and the human organism represent philosophical equations, a unity, not opposites and not dualities. Empirical knowledge of the workings of the universe, of nature disordered or natural calamity are applied to an understanding of the principles governing the structure and function of the human organism. However, there is little or no elaboration as to how the normal body is structured and how it functions. This is of less significance than principles governing disintegration of structure and of malfunction. Concern is with the pathological process, pathogenic agents and mechanisms and with disease symptomatology and causation.

(ii) Ontological and Aetiological Conceptions of Disease

A number of the previously outlined medical doctrines encompass an extrapolation on the origin and causes of disease. Budha Kocapi expounded upon the nature of disease when instructing his pupil balian:

Sanghyang Tiga, Brahma, Wisnu and Iswara are the essentiality of both the macrocosm and the microcosm. Sanghyang Tiga has the form of baleyan [balian], of disease [gering] and of non-sickness [geringsing] in both the universe and the human organism. Sanghyang Tiga create all, both virulence and palliation. When in the macrocosm, they reside in the east, the south and the north. In the microcosm, Brahma . . . incarnates as energies [gunan] appetite [pangan] and strength [kukuh], Wisnu . . . incarnates as breath [bayu-pramana wisesa] and Iswara . . . incarnates as mystical power [sandhi-sakti]. . . .

There are three forms of balian [here, probably meaning 'medicine'] for three kinds of illnesses because there is Sanghyang Tiga who are the teachers of all priests, of bhuta-kala-dengen, pamali, sapulung [ghosts], tuju, tiwang, moro, desti, teluh, taranjana, pitra and dewa. Sanghyang Tiga dwell also in the joints [sarwa sandhi]. They contemplate and thereby beget all three kinds of illness, three kinds of medicine [tamba] and three kinds of cures [balian]. Having transformed themselves, they multiply and become manifold. With the consent of Hyang Wisnu, Bhagawan Mrecu-Kunda begets chills [gering nyem] and bhuta-dengen become his pupils. Bhatara Brahma possesses medicine, hot and fiery in nature, which will effect a recovery from the cold watery illnesses begat by Wisnu. Bhatara Brahma consents and allows Bhagawan Siwa-Gandhu to beget fevers [gering panas] with the assistance of his pupil Ni Rarung. Bhatara Wisnu holds medicine which has cooling properties to bring about recovery. When Bhagawan Kasyapa begets illness, he does so with the consent of Bhatara Iswara and the assistance of his pupils, bhuta-breganjeng. They beget fire and water illnesses, those which are neither hot nor cold [afebrile illnesses, gering sebaa jampi]. Sanghyang Tiga Sakti know the medicines which will cure disease.

Ratna Srenggani and Srenggani-Wilis, twin daughters of
Bhatara Brahma (Paribhasa K173).



In order to overpower the terrifying powers [pamurtian] of Sanghyang Tiga Sakti, a balian must, through concentration, resolution and firmness, unite in his body Sanghyang Tiga Swari, that is, Ida Bhatara Siwa who acquiesces to Bhatara Iswara, Sanghyang Sadasiwa who acquiesces to Bhatara Wisnu and Sanghyang Pramasiwa who acquiesces to Bhatara Brahma. All are empowered to beget disease in the four worlds [catur bhuana] and to create all forms of medicine. There are three forms of disease [chills, fevers and non-febrile] because Brahma abides in the nine mystical syllables [sastra aksara sanga], Wisnu abides in the ongkara [OM] and Iswara abides in the [genta pinara pitu].

(HKS3524)

In the Usada Sari Bodacapi, Budha Kocapi explained to his pupils that disease has always existed in the world. Bhatara Brahma created diseases and bhuta-kala, who disseminate them, were created by his yoga. The yoga of Wisnu produces medicine (tamba). To the question of who ratifies death, Budha Kocapi answered that the female twins, Ida Ni Ratna-Srengga and Ni Srengga ing Wilis, creations of Brahma, vouchsafe death (68b). Representations of these twins appear in a Paribase text (K173) dealing with toxicity.

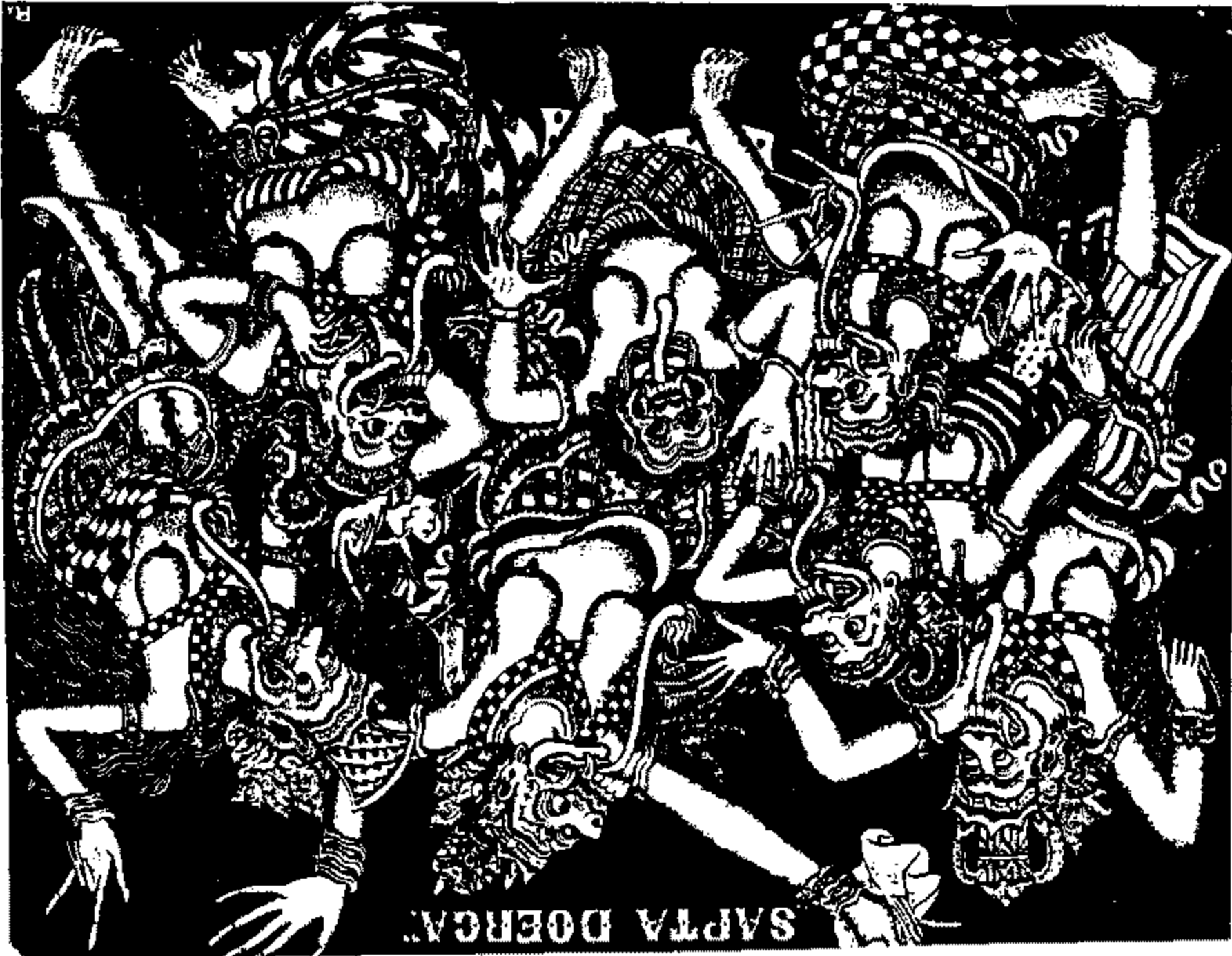
Deities in their demonic forms are also implicated in the mythology which relate the origins of disease in the world. The lontar Tuttur Kayuktian relates the emergence of Bhatari Durga, her entourage and bhuta-kala, and describes their capacity to wreck havoc upon the community through disease and death. The following is a précis of my translation of Weck's (pp.130-35) account of the legend:

Uma, the wife of Siwa, became impatient with their crying son and physically abused him. Siwa cursed Uma causing her transformation into the demonic Kali Durga, with long hair, round glowing eyes, a fiery tongue hanging loose, pointed teeth, and having a high-pitched scream. She was then thrown head-first to earth where she landed in that position; hence another of her names, Bhatari Nungsang [Upside-down]. The graveyard in which she found herself was already inhabited by a female demon named Kalika Maya whose custom it was to devour corpses. At that time people lived according to prescriptions so few were afflicted with disease; hence there were not sufficient corpses to satisfy both of them. Therefore, they sought the help of Brahma whose shrine was near the graveyard and who had himself drawn power from the souls of the dead. They performed yoga and Brahma appeared. He told them to go to pura dalem and gave them control over all bhuta and the ability to teach pangiwa to those who desired to study it. Through this teaching one could become a leyak and cause all kinds of illnesses among the population. Brahma gave them lontar called Aji Pustaka, and Ugig Padengenan. They were free to use this power as they chose to.

Durga then summoned her five siblings from the beyond and transformed them into her own image. They were named Sri Durga, Dadari Durga, Raji Durga, Sukri Durga and Dewa Durga. Together with Bhagawati [Durga] and Kalika, they became the Sapta Durga [Seven Durga]. The newly arrived

A representation of the Seven Durgas (Taken from Weck, 1937).

Bharati Durgas entellit den versammelten Durgas ihre Aufträge



five were named Panca Durga [Five Durga]. Durga herself designated that together they should incite the proliferation of ten forms of virulence and ten forms of indisposition [dasa mala, dasa wigna].

Then Bhatari Durga-Dewi gathered together all the durga, kala, bhuta and their followers, as well as dogs, owls, hawks and crows, the sounds of whom have special significance. Thus their appearance and characteristic howls, hoots and sounds at specific times signal the presence of disease-bearing forces.

Bhatari Durga-Dewi ordered the five new durga to dance and then issued them with their tasks. Sri Durga was clothed in white and sent to the east accompanied by bhuta-bhuti. From there, in the form of a white wind they enter water and food and cause illnesses. Dadari Durga, clothed in red, was sent to the south, and in the form of a red wind and accompanied by an entourage enters villages and causes illness by penetrating bodily orifices. Sukri Durga was sent to the west and from there, in the form of yellow wind, flaming fire or gleaming golden dust, strikes the body directly or through food and water. Raji Durga was sent to the north, and accompanied by an entourage enters villages in the form of a black wind. Dewi Durga disappeared into the earth in order to rise up as a mountain of steam bringing disease. Bhatari Durga ascended to the sky and then descended as wind entering the human body through orifices in the head. Sang Kalika Maya remained on the earth and, in ghostly form, enters human dwellings, appearing in front of entrances, in beds and under pillows as people sleep, sitting on their legs causing fear and sickness.

A story in the Tantu Pangelaran also implicates Durga as the perpetrator of disease. Caught in the spell of creation, Uma suddenly transformed. She grew larger and developed tusks. Her eyes glowed and discharged a frightening fiery brilliance. She was then named Bhatari Durga. Abomination befell everything upon which she gazed. When Siwa saw this, he transformed himself into his bharawa form of Rudra, and together with the bhuta-kala, they created disease.

Another legend states that once plants did not bear fruit, water contained no virtue, and the atmosphere carried disease. Many people died of starvation and disease. To help mankind, Brahma descended to earth as a Naga Anantabhoga (ananta meaning 'endless', bhoga meaning 'sustenance'). Wisnu also descended to earth and became Naga Basuki (basuki meaning 'safe and well'). His tail was in the form of a mountain and his body was in the form of an ocean. Iswara followed and entered into the atmosphere and became Naga Taksaka with wings. And so the air was purified and beneficial to man.

However, after a time mankind began to take his well-being and prosperity for granted and neglected the Trimurti. Brahma cursed the earth so that the essence of the soil became contaminated (wisya) and there were plant diseases and plant-borne illnesses. Wisnu cursed water sources so that the essence of water became wisya and there were water-borne illnesses. Iswara cursed the air and there was atmospheric contamination and air-borne illnesses.

There is much more in the local tradition on this theme -- the wrath and malignant intent of supernaturals, on the one hand, and their propensity to reverse the process of malignancy and preserve human existence, on the other. An interesting feature of the above legends is the extent to which they elaborate the existence of disease in the world -- the various forms of disease and the varied modes of transmission of infection.

The predisposition of the human organism to disease is explicit in the kanda mpat and panca mahabhuta philosophical doctrines:

With birth, there is disease. Sanghyang Wisesa [soul/life] emerges from the pirata kala dengen. . . . It should be known that elements of living matter [manusa ikang a reference to kanda mpat and panca mahabhuta] manifest disease. . . . There is Sanghyang Nini Sewa-Gotra, Kaki Sewa-Gotra [a reference to the rwa bhineda doctrine], placenta, amniotic sac, amniotic fluid and blood. Through these, disease can disseminate in the body (HKS3324).

And also, from the manuscript entitled Tatur Kanda Mpat (HKS X,23) we find the concomitants of birth equated with potential disease-inducing agents, preta, kala, dengen and anta. They can generate disease within the human body (ika magawe gering maring awak sarira).

Thus, from the moment of conception until death, the material body is seen to contain within it unmanifest essences (called preta, kala, dewa, sanghyang and so forth) conjoined with material matter. In the disease process, the potentiality of these 'supernaturals' or unmanifest essences are apparent in the abnormality of clinical symptoms and signs of disease as well as in the healing process which brings a return to normal structure and function.

Statements regarding the construction of disease in non-Western medical systems such as the Balinese tend to oversimplify local intellectual traditions. In our efforts to differentiate 'other' or polar type conceptions of disease causation, it is easy to fuse ontology, aetiologic events and actions, agents and mechanisms implicated in local constructions of disease, and to fuse these factors with imputed motivations (the envy, for instance, of the reputed agent responsible for procuring and laying a disease-inducing spell) to create something of a conceptual morass. Thus, Rivers (1927) stated that the primitive's concepts of disease causation could be grouped into three classes: human agency, the actions of supernatural beings and natural causes. Clements (1932) postulated four basic concepts of disease causation; soul loss, violation of taboo, intrusion of harmful substances and witchcraft. Bean (1981:25-51) outlines changing concepts about disease causation in a kind of evolutionary framework of ideas from magic and sorcery, at one end of the spectrum, to the ecologic concept of disease. The latter is a composite notion wherein internal and external forces act and react (p.47).

The problem inherent in placing a technologically primitive society such as Bali at the lower end of this spectrum of 'enlightened and unenlightened' thinking (where it might be presumed to belong since magic and sorcery are undeniably important explanatory categories) is that it suggests limitations of cognitive scope and abilities. It also denies the keenness of human powers of observation and logical elaboration regardless of modes of thought and epistemological presuppositions.

Sensitivity to unmanifest aspects of existence does not preclude the possibility of perspicacious observation. The foregoing outline of the principles of Balinese medical theory constitutes evidence of the complexity of the local construction of disease. In order to avoid misrepresentations, both the one which oversimplifies non-Western concepts of disease aetiology to the point of rendering them trivial and the one which confounds the issues, I shall set out the various layers of meaning, levels of causation and intervening factors involved in the Balinese explanatory model.

To begin with, the often-quoted statement in the ethnography of Bali that the Balinese believe that witches cause disease, does constitute an oversimplification. Witchcraft may represent one of the mechanisms involved in the disease process. Witches may act as agents of disease, possessing as they do sakti through which interventions to alter the normal state of being are possible. However, any one of a number of other factors or a combination of them might be involved in the explanation of a single sickness episode. It is never simply the result of some purposive act of malice on the part of a human agent who has purchased a spell and used it on someone else or of soul loss or of spirit intrusion. Conceptions of disease aetiology do not embody a one-to-one relationship between a single causal agent and disease. The existence of a more complex interaction of many factors is realized. Agents such as witches have the power to spread disease through their knowledge of ingredients needed to concoct a disease-inducing spell but the disease, as we have seen, exists a priori in the realm of possibility of human existence.

From an examination of the ethnographic literature, Allan Young (1980:108-9) has proposed two polar types of explanatory or medical systems, an externalizing and an internalizing belief system. An externalizing system makes aetiological explanations for sickness. It aims to identify pathogenic agents, motives and events outside the body. Pathogenic agents are purposive, often human or anthropomorphic. Diagnosis is concerned with discovering the event in the victim's life which precipitated the action against him by a pathogenic agent (witch, sorcerer, ancestral spirit, for example). This system, typical of traditional societies, incorporates simple functional explanation such as soul loss.

An internalizing belief system assigns importance to physiological and functional logic explanations. It aims to identify events inside the body such as disturbed or abnormal organ functioning. Diagnosis concentrates on interpretation of signs and symptoms, their form and sequence. Explanation is physiological. Western medicine is an example of a highly internalizing system. Ayurvedic is another instance of an internalizing belief system.

The Balinese system (as evidenced in the medical doctrines outlined earlier) incorporates features of each of Young's models. Neither externalizing nor internalizing explanations dominate. Physiologic dysfunction is linked with extrasomatic influences and events. Disease is externalized and detached from the victim but diagnosis also depends upon observation of symptoms and signs in order to differentiate diseases, and upon body language (the Tanya-Lara teaching) to identify pathogenic agents and make prognostic statements. The system also differentiates sign and symptom complexes as does the Ayurvedic system, for example. Balinese constructions of disease are discussed further in Chapter 13.

The internalizing aspects of the Balinese system I have discerned from such texts as *Paribasa*, *Budha Kocapi*, *Kalima Usada* and *Usada Bang*. It may also be contained in *lontar* with other titles as well. Pathological processes responsible for lesions, malfunctions and clinical manifestations are the result of the activity and powers (*payogane*) of unmanifest 'beings' within the tissues and organs. Each creator has a counterpart who attempts through their *payogane* to override the virulence created by the powers of the first. This, of course, represents the already discussed doctrine named *kawisyan*. It can be viewed as a construction of the internal mechanism involved in the disease process. Internal aetiologic factors are also implied in other philosophical doctrines such as *kanda mpat*. Constitutional vulnerability is determined by such things as the state of the personified elements which form the human organism, the *kanda mpat*, *panca mahabhuta*, *rwa bhineda* and, in early infancy, the 108 *bajang* (discussed in Chapter 12[v]).

Bharawa deities such as Kala become the executioners involved in the dissemination and distribution of disease. Kala is the 'devourer' of those who do not exercise sufficient caution in their daily lives. Illness or death caused by negligence or a lack of ritual redress in the event of dangerous happenings befalling the individual or family is referred to metaphorically as 'being devoured by Sang Kala'. There are various versions of the role of Kala in the infliction of pain and disease (see Hooykaas 1973a:171-217). Details differ but the theme of time, ambiguously powerful and dangerous, constituting a factor in disease causation, remains the same. Depending upon the degree of ambiguous power inherent in the²kind of time (the day) of birth, one might display a constitutional susceptibility to illness. Those born on the day named *sukra-manis* are likely to experience frequent episodes of illness. Those born on *sukra-buda* have a tendency to suffer an illness named *buyun ati*, the symptoms of which are a distended abdomen and jaundice. And so forth.

Also relevant to disease aetiology are the food taboos (*braton*) associated with specific birth times:

One born on Ra [Radite, the first day of the seven-day week] should not consume *be julit* [type of fresh-water fish], *kakia* [shark], *balego* [?], *waluh* [a kind of pumpkin].

If this prohibition is violated there will be much sickness, *ngebus* [fever], *ngibuk* [fever delirium], *nguyon* [irritability], sore eyes, madness, confusion headache, pains in the loins and the feet. . . . [HKS3498].⁷

This mystical (unmanifest) 'hereditary' factor is also implicit in the significance attached to the quality of birth time and in the notion of an adverse or unpropitious composition of the family into which one is born. For example, a family comprised of four male children, of one male child and one female child, of twins of the opposite sex or of one child, the survivor of many other siblings who have died, predicate a proclivity to woe, which, in the Balinese context, usually implies illness. Being the last-born of twins is likewise an ominous beginning and implies constitutional predisposition to disease. The notion of 'genetic inheritance' is implicit in the *maluasang anak cenik* trance seance ritual enacted on behalf of newborn in order to contact the reincarnating ancestor (see Chapter 6[i]).

Extreme emotional states, exposure to extremes of temperature, incorrect lifestyle and poor diet are recognized as external aetiologic events. To bathe at sunset and to undertake physically exerting work at midday are considered unwise for natural as well as mystical reasons. These are the times when bhuta-kala are particularly active. The system recognizes an association between emotional stability and physical well-being. States of depression, stress and anxiety render one vulnerable to entry by spirits, to bewitchment and to the triumph of supernatural agents of pathogenesis over their supernatural counterparts within the tissues and organs of the body.

When several members of one household are struck by illness it is often imputed to dissatisfied bhuta-kala who participate with members of the household by virtue of sharing their living space. The term gering pakarangan is used to refer to maladies the cause of which are attributed to non-compliance with building regulations and specifications (asta kosala-kosali) designed to secure the well-being of the family through the creation of a harmonious correspondence and participation with the environment and environmental spirits. This code specifies materials, measurements, location, and the spatial arrangement of dwellings. Houses should not be built on land formally the site of temples or graveyards, for example. Certain qualities of soil can predispose members of a household to illness. Sites at the end of tracks, at crossroads or with difficult access should be avoided. Sharing a boundary with a pura or a geria can have a negative influence upon those who dwell in such situations. There are numerous examples of potentially endangering qualities and characteristics of space which is to be avoided as a home site. Any one of the above factors can constitute part of the external or remote cause of illness affecting the individual or the family group.⁸

The factors involved in the aetiology of disease are therefore proximate or internal as well as remote or external. The Balinese theory of well-being and illness recognizes 'genetic make-up' (or a conceptual equivalent thereof) as an essential factor in the development of disease and also the fact that lifestyle can affect an individual's susceptibility to disease. It accounts for what Western medical theory would call the random effects of microorganisms of disease and constitutional predisposition. The philosophical metaphysical doctrines account for selectivity why disease microbes (or spirits, deities or demons of disease) affect one person and not another, or even one family or population and not another. Disease is never represented merely as an act of fate.

In Western medical discourse, disease is an abstract concept. Organisms responsible for pathogenesis -- viruses, bacteria, protozoa etc., -- interact with structures and elements within the human host to produce a particular set of disorders, derangements, abnormalities and disease. I suggest that this Western scientific premise is recognized in Balinese medical theory. The philosophical doctrines already outlined evidence this awareness of the complexity of the disease process. There are different ways of perceiving aetiologic and pathogenic agents and mechanisms, and of representing them. The germ theory of disease is not rejected. From the Balinese perspective, the scientific ecologic conception of disease and the supernatural aetiologic one are not mutually exclusive.

Balian provide the afflicted with explanations of illness in terms

of several different, sometimes overlapping, categories of causative actions, omissions or improprieties. Causes frequently overlap or are sequelae. For instance, a balian may divine birth time as a causal factor which is then linked to a natural cause such as a related food allergy or exposure to the elements. Alternatively, a balian may diagnose over-indulgence which is itself a result of birth date. However, both represent only a part of the total explanation. Humoral imbalance facilitates access of virulent influences. Diagnosis and aetiology are thus sought through an assessment of the physical and psychological peculiarities of the individual and their relationship with the social and spiritual environment. The natural and the mystical are invoked at different but not oppositional levels of interpretation. Why illness befalls a particular person is explained and understood in terms of natural causes and constitutional predisposition.⁹ At another level these natural factors have mystical referents. Witchcraft, sorcery or spirit intrusion may be invoked to explain the mechanism. Leyak, bhuta-kala and various supernaturals can be ubiquitous agents of disease. Pervasive, ambiguous supernatural power (sakti), manifest in person, time, space and events, represents ever-present sources of threat but also of remedy to bring about a return to normality (see Chapter 3).

(iii) Magical Therapy: Sound Supplication and Representation

Contained in the magico-medical literature is a wealth of formulae -- verbal (mantra), implemental and instrumental (sarana) and graphic (rarajahan and tatumoalan) -- to either render the powerful powerless or to harness the powers of the powerful, whether of deity, demon, person, time, space or circumstance, and thereby restore balance, order and normality within the human organism. Therapy is largely aetiologically derived. It reflects the Balinese concept of disease causation and the several levels of it.

The afflicted is not immediately bombarded with several forms of treatment. The first phase in therapy is to relieve clinical symptoms. Medicinal herbal concoctions, decoctions, potions or ointments (tamba) are the requisite magical ingredients (sarana) used to effect the desired transformation at this level of therapy. These substances are administered orally, as nasal or eye drops, or applied externally as powder, oil or paste. Some forms of medicinal liquid or powder are spat or blown from the mouth of the healer onto specific areas of the body.

The majority of substances prescribed as medicine are of vegetable origin -- roots, leaves, flowers, bulbs, buds, bark or fruit. Ingredients are measured in handfuls, grains, numbers of leaves or buds, finger or hand-span lengths. Weights are measured against coins. Garlic and salt are common ingredients often used as coadjuvants with other plants. Vegetable substances such as betel leaf and areca nut are chewed and the red-coloured saliva is used to mix together other ingredients. So far as I could ascertain, the gathering of medicinal plants is not accompanied by ritual. However, the quality of the time at which they were collected and the nature of the space wherein they were obtained are significant and often stipulated. Just how extensive and effective the Balinese materia medica is, I am not certain. I had neither the knowledge and expertise nor the resources necessary to attempt such as study. In a limited survey of twelve houseyards in the vicinity of where

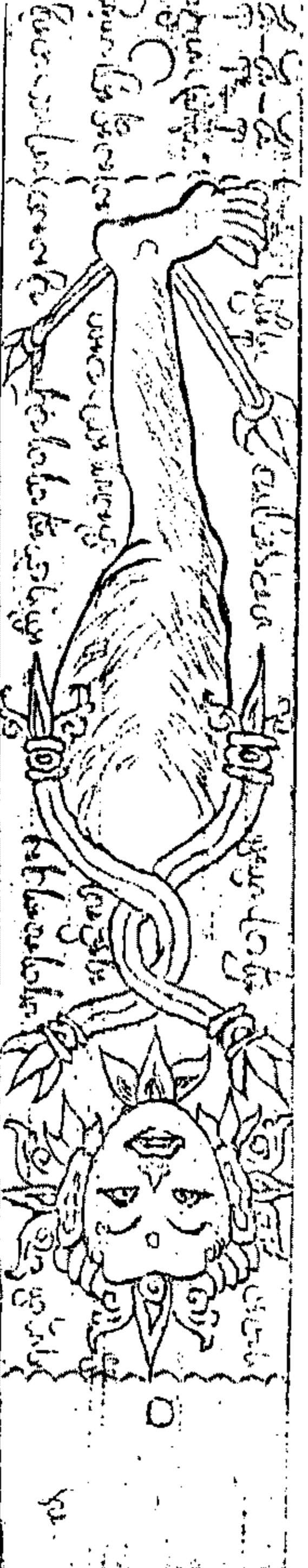
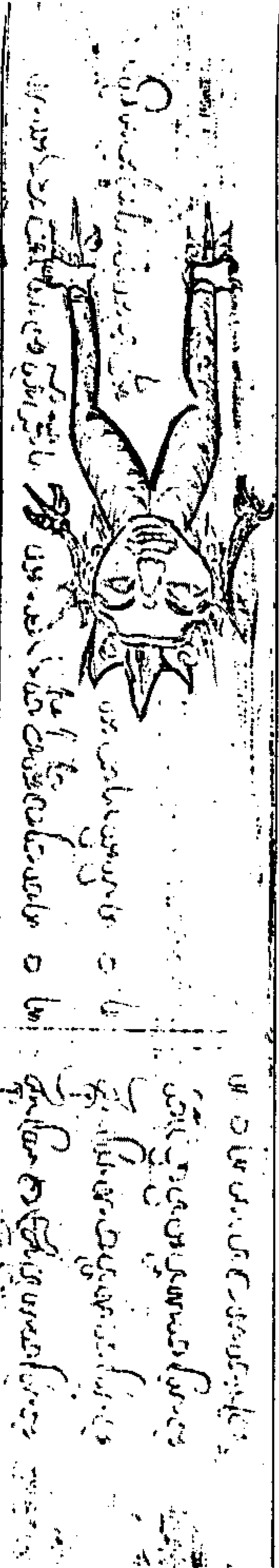
I lived, I collected the names of some forty plants identified by village residents as medicinal and used, not necessarily under instruction of a balian, to relieve physical discomfort. The symptoms most commonly referred to included difficult micturition, vomiting and diarrhoea, skin rashes and menstrual pain.

A smaller number of therapeutic ingredients listed in the usada are of animal origin. These include bones, tusks, fur, skin, urine and faeces. They are not always ingested. Generally they form part of a sarana. Rubies and slithers of gold are the most commonly used mineral ingredients. There is a basic difficulty in even identifying medicinal ingredients. Their names, especially those of animal origin, cannot be taken at face value. Tanduk cicing is not, as the term would suggest, 'the horns of a pig'. It is a variety of small banana. Polon kebo which would translate as 'the brain of a buffalo', is, in fact, a coconut seed. Lidah buaya (Ind.) is not 'the tongue of a crocodile' and kumis kucing (Ind.) is not 'the cat's whiskers'. Tampak liman is not to be taken at its literal meaning of an 'elephant's footprint'. On the basis of these disjunctions between the literal meaning and the actual reference in the above examples, one should at least question whether animal ingredients such as the tail of a white monkey (ikuh lutung putih) which, together with some vegetable extracts, is prescribed in a treatment of the loss of ability to make meaningful utterances (HKS3488), actually has this literal meaning. The urine of a black horse together with the faeces of a black goat and that of a mouse smeared on the eyes, mouth, nose and ears as a treatment for neurological symptoms (edan), may not really refer to animal excretions. On the other hand, another textual instance involving the use of animal faeces together with boiled coconut oil in a medicinal concoction applied to the eyes in a phase of a disease of infancy named inja, stipulates that the faeces should be obtained from a red cock which has died in a cock-fight (HKS12,14). This does suggest that a literal meaning is intended here. The inclusion of offensive substances in sarana could be intended to act as an inducement to the spirit responsible for the ailment to make a hasty exit from the body.

The pharmacopoeia is used to treat the clinical manifestations of disease, fever, cough, pain and so forth. The real (supernatural) causes are engaged and negotiated through the powers of sound (mantra), supplication (sarana) and representation or graphic magic (rarajahan). Mantra are generally backed up by sarana, mainly in the form of offerings (pacaruan) consisting of food (tatadhan) or other ingredients appropriate to the form of the spirit or bhuta-kala responsible. The doctrine of signatures or homeopathic principles (like curing like), especially colour signature, is a distinctive characteristic of sarana.

The utterance of syllables, words and phrases and the recitation of formulae (as we have seen in the above account of the fifteen philosophical doctrines) and even texts can all serve magical purposes. A mantra is always preceded by the syllable OM or ONG. The triaksara AUM signifying Brahma, Wisnu and Iswara, together represent Siwa. In texts, the terms munyi (sound) and sabda are sometimes used to connote that a mantra or magical syllables follow. Mantra are uttered or muttered. End words or phrases, often of obscure meaning, are repeated, usually three times.

Part of a balian's ability to change the course of an illness episode



is inherent in his control over his own kanda mpat and panca mahabhuta. Through this control, a balian is able to influence the morbid processes affecting a patient. One in control of his kanda mpat is called a manusa sakti (a human with supernatural strength). Such a balian is able to effect a dissolution of the morbid process and effect recovery by establishing liaison with and control over the kanda mpat of the afflicted. As the lontar on the kanda mpat teaching state, knowing their names, positions and their attributes permits the cure of disease (wenang amarisuda ikang gering, HKS3324).

We gain some idea of the way in which certain people endowed with sakti can use and manipulate their own kanda mpat from a writing used by pamangku, in a section subtitled Tutur Suksman ing Pamangku (HKS1952):

It should be known how to draw within oneself all of one's mystical siblings [sanak]. They should all be drawn into your body and absorbed.

Babu Lembana embodies Anggapati, entering through the mouth and going to the heart.

Babu Abara embodies Mrajapati, entering through the eyes and going to the liver.

Babu Sugyan embodies Banaspati, entering through the nose and going to the gall bladder.

Babu Kakered embodies Banaspati Raja, entering through the ears and going to the kidney.

After you have concentrated your thoughts upon them all, they should all emerge. Each of them has a syllable.

They have the potential to induce well-being or to cause harm [patma magawe ala ayu].

When that is completed give to them amerta.

AH is the sound for the offering of the water of immortality.

Your sanak [siblings] sit on your left shoulder, your right shoulder, your head, your back and keep guard over your person.

Send them to the front, to the right, to the left and behind to guard over you. Give them amerta. Your body is named I Tutur Menget.

The balian concentrates and conjures an image of the spirit responsible for initiating the pathological process in the body and its counterpart who can act as an antidote. Knowledge of their abodes, distinctive garments, colours, headdresses or hair ornamentation (geleng) and their mystical syllables empowers the healer to manipulate them and induce a reversal of the disease process. The objective of all these forms of therapy is to weaken, neutralize and exorcize noxious elements within the body or the immediate environment. Simultaneously, therapy is directed to remote causes through appropriate offerings, the rectification of ritual omissions, neglect or transgressions. A later phase in treatment aims to restore and augment the strength of the afflicted through rarajahan, either ingested or worn and tatumbalan, either buried in the houseyard or placed about the living quarters.

Rarajahan are drawn or inscribed on paper, cloth, bark, tin, copper, gold, silver, pot-sherds, cooking utensils, animal skins, coconuts, dadap leaves or sirih leaves. A mantra is uttered over them. They may be destined for burial, placement within a dwelling, above a sleeping place or below it, under a fence, by an entrance, placed in a belt (sabuk), worn around

the neck, the wrists or the ankles, thrown into the sea or a river, or burnt and the ashes swallowed with water. Like any other aspect of Balinese magic, they are of ambiguous intent. There are those which protect, those which cure and those destined to cause affliction.

Sacred syllables, also called modre or aksara kadyatmikan, are uttered in mantra and used graphically as rarajahan. They are usually enclosed within geometric shapes or configurations. The ongkara which is made up of the triaksara ANG, UNG, MANG symbols of the trisakti, Brahma, Wisnu and Iswara, is a ubiquitous feature of rarajahan. Visual reference to the imputed agents, mechanisms and effects of the disease process, whether in graphic and sculptural form or through the expressive mode of trance dance, is a prominent feature of the Balinese magico-medical complex. This assertion is evidenced in Chapters 5[vii], 7, 8, 11 and 12 in particular.

The numerous specific actions or objectives of mantra and other magical formula are explicit in their names which state their intentions. There are magical formula to: summon the physical strength of the afflicted (panudang bayu wong); redeem the afflicted (panebus wong gering); protect the afflicted (paneduh agring); counteract (pamapas); reverse (pamalik); neutralize (pamutut) or render powerless (pamunah); obliterate all ill intention (pangasih); guard a houseyard (panunggun karang); induce conception (pangurip kama, pangurip manik); augment male virility and procure an erection (panglanang, pangakas pasta, pamanjang pasta); prevent miscarriage (pangandeg ngalabuang rare); render the foetus viable (pangentel rare ring jero weteng); secure the delivery of a dead foetus (panyadak rare mati ring jero weteng); protect the life of the new-born (pangraksa jiwa rare); relieve obstructed delivery (pageger rare suwe tan metu), to mention a few examples. A large number of magical formulae are directed to the problems of infertility, fecundity, neo-natal, infant and maternal morbidity, matters which arise in the context of issues examined in Chapters 5[vii], 7, 8, 9, 11[ii] and 12[vi].

The most common forms of offerings used in healing procedures are called pacaruan. These are usually intended for the demonic. They are often placed on the ground or on specially constructed platforms. A pacaruan offered on behalf of a person suffering a prolonged illness and not responding to herbal medicine could include, for example, a pile of rice, a chicken and a form of offerings called canang daksina, sprinkled with arak and placed in the houseyard at night. Ritual ablution with holy water (palukatan) is a ubiquitous element of all healing procedures.

Whether the outcome of magico-medical therapy is recovery, persistence of symptoms or death, the explanatory system is not called into question. All confirm the initial premise that unseen forces within and outside the body influence the state of well-being. The fact that intervention sometimes fails simply confirms the validity of the initial premise regarding disease causology: there is powerful magic; there are unseen forces; they are ambiguous in nature; access to them is not confined to those with benevolent intent. Dire outcomes confirm the magical superiority of the causal agents, mechanisms and the creators of physiological dysfunction within the body in those particular instances. A highly internalizing system such as the Western scientific system would attribute failure to the body's immune response system to cope with the infective agent. Recovery or death can be explained by the same

initial premise: the potency of sakti. Sickness and recovery emanate from the same source. Sakti is both life-restoring and life-threatening.

The Balinese construction of disease thus encompasses a broad spectrum of ideas and meaning. Some are not incompatible with Western scientific concepts. The difference, however, between those for whom the supernatural is the affective category and those for whom it is not, is the construction of the unseen powers (supernaturals) wherein explanation of abnormality, disease and disorder is sought. Several means may be employed to alleviate the derangement which disease implies but magical sound, supplication and representation are generally imperative.

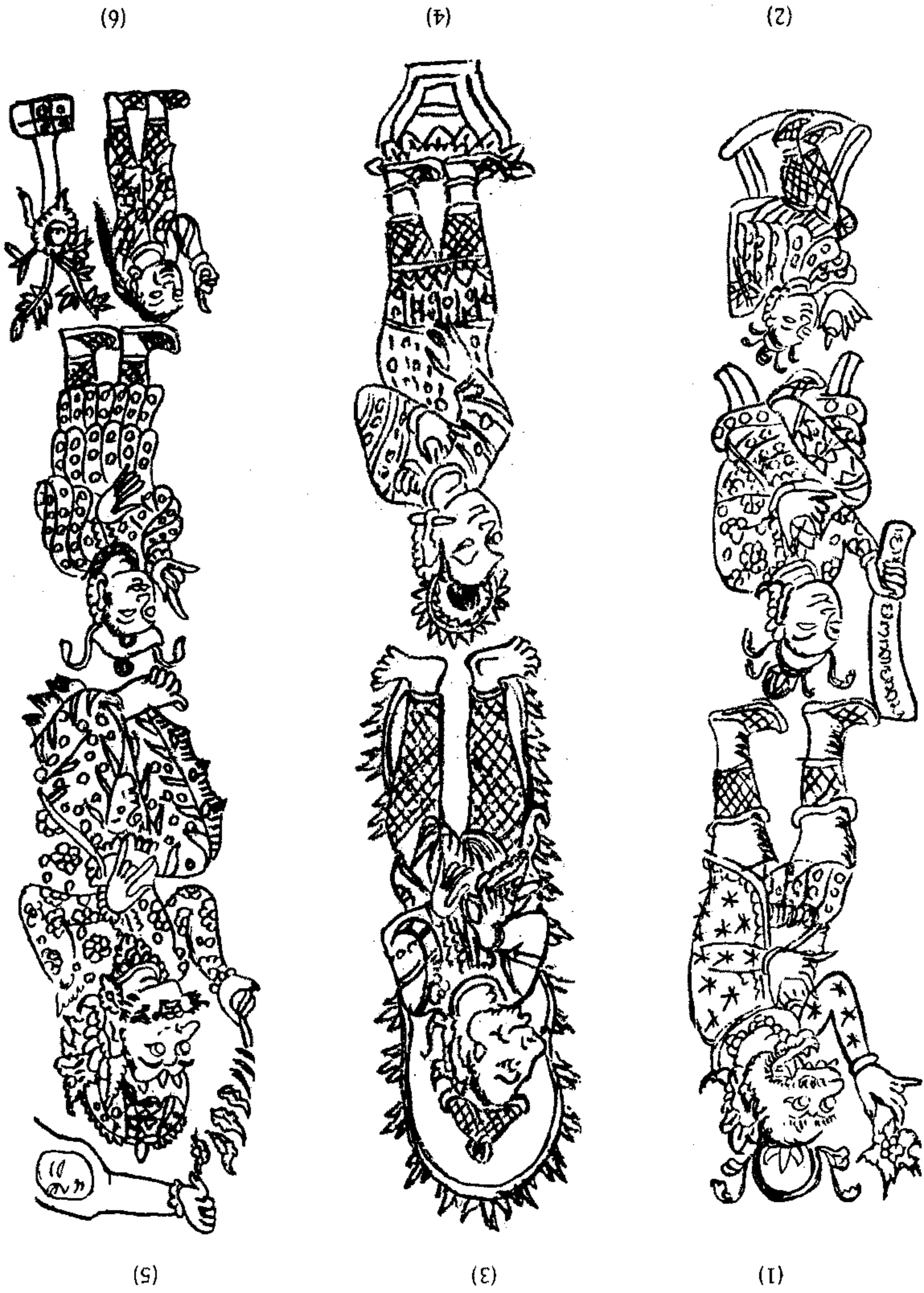
As in the natural environment, there are deities and demons within the human organism involved in the processes and resolutions of disease, whether as micro-organisms or antibodies. They do not represent polar opposites. Neither could exist without the other. The human organism ceases with their exit. Both function to sustain it. Pathogenic processes as well as immunological and healing ones indicate the activities of these unmanifest powers. Even so, there is, as we can see, a natural component in this theory of pathology. Furthermore, no separation of the 'natural' and 'mystical' is implied.

(iv) The Provenance of the Balinese Medical Tradition

The preceding orientation into the Balinese magico-medical system establishes some basis from which to look at the question of the provenance of Balinese medical traditions. Pigeaud (1967) classified the magico-medical texts as part of a Javanese-Balinese tradition. Hooykaas (1970:76) judged that some texts 'show that they originate from outside the Balinese world', that others were 'written by Balinese who had absorbed thought from Indonesia, India, Europe and America', and that others had been written in English by Indians and translated into Balinese by Balinese. The only other reference in the secondary literature to the origins of the Balinese medical traditions of which I am aware (Muninjaya 1982) labels them Ayurvedic. Let us examine briefly the merits of each of these propositions.

It seems that in his cursory reading of manuscripts, Pigeaud noticed some Islamic titles or names of spirits in mantra, and on the basis of this, classified them as Javanese-Balinese. However, as Pigeaud (Vol.1:270) himself also observed, a genre of literature called usada containing writings about medicine and magic does not exist in Javanese literature. Javanese manuals on medicine, magic and numerology, called primbon, reveal a very different orientation and reflect Javanese Islamic beliefs, Muslim cosmology and contain Arabic charms and references to a Muslim spirit pantheon. Whilst some Arabic words and phrases have found their way into the Balinese magico-medical texts, there is no evidence of an Islamic influence upon the Balinese medical tenets expounded earlier in this chapter. Some of these do display an affinity with an Indic medical tradition. The more philosophical-ethical among the texts which I have included in the magico-medical genre (see Chapter 2[ij]) contain terms of Sanskrit origin and display a greater tendency towards Old Javanese grammatical structure than do the medical treatises (I have differentiated

Spirits of Chinese and Indian appearance and attire involved in the pathogenic process (Paribhasa K173).



(1) Sang Kala Gagakgora, a mutation wrought by Bhatara Brahma
 (2) Widyadara Suta, an offspring of Widyadari Jatayu
 (3) Sang Widyadara Candula
 (4) Bhatara Sunya
 (5) Resi Beda, a mutation wrought by Bhatara Sangkara
 (6) Suta Partisiwa, a mutation wrought by Parta Buddha

as usada) on diagnostics and treatment, which are almost wholly Balinese in language and semantic content. The terminology and construction of magic, witchcraft and sorcery is characteristically Balinese.

Pigeaud (Vol.I:67) found no evidence of leyak belief in Java. He also arrived at the conclusion that witch belief and exorcistic rites assumed a more prominent role on Bali than did comparable ideas and cults on Java, either in the pre-Islamic period or afterwards. Furthermore, local tradition dates the magico-medical texts to around the seventeenth century, the post-Majapahit period.

I feel that attempts to date the Balinese medical traditions or establish their provenance through the few references which do occur in texts to such things as spirit with Arabic-sounding names, spirits dressed in characteristic Chinese or Indian garb or the advice of a Dutch physician (one instance of which I am aware) are not valid. In mantra and rarajahan, Javanese influences are discernible but I would not agree with Hooykaas (1974:113) that they are 'strong'. The references which do exist relate principally to historical and cultural ties between the two islands in the pre-Islamic era and the historical mythology which these affiliations initiated. Arabic-sounding names and terms in mantra, it is suggested, indicate local awareness of the presence and local assumptions concerning the potency of Islamic magic; its anomalous and dangerous 'otherness'.

From my reading of magico-medical texts, I am unable to appreciate Hooykaas's suggestion of a European influence on Balinese thought. Inasmuch as texts are copied and recompiled, there are inevitable deletions and interpolations which allows for occasional inclusions of medical data indicative of other knowledge. For example, a reference to a herbal treatment for a rifle wound in Usada Tegep (HKS XV,49) and another to a Dutch physician and his recommended treatment for hepatitis, do not, in my view, constitute evidence that the usada dates from the colonial era when gunshot wounds became a problem or that Western medical theory was infiltrating the local tradition. It does demonstrate that additions were sometimes made and that copying and recompiling has continued into recent times.

If it is to be aligned with any of the three main streams of medical traditions that originated in the Chinese, Mediterranean and South Asia civilizations, the Balinese would clearly be most broadly comparable with that of South Asia. By way of demonstrating the pluralistic nature of medical beliefs and practices in India, Leslie (1976:359-60) distinguishes nine categories: (1) Ayurvedic medicine of the Sanskrit classic texts; (2) Yunani medicine of the classic Arabic texts; (3) The syncretic medicine of traditional culture which evolved among learned practitioners from the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries; (4) Professionalized Ayurvedic and Yunani medicine which combines syncretic past traditions with cosmopolitan medical knowledge and instructions; (5) Cosmopolitan medicine, often called allopathy in South Asia; (6) Folk medicine which is another traditional cultural medicine whose practitioners include supernatural curers who are mostly part-time healers. This tradition has a learned dimension and concepts based upon humoral pathology, cosmological speculations and magic practices; (7) Popular-culture medicine which is an amalgam of concepts and practices; (8) Homeopathic medicine; (9) Learned magico-religious curing.

While neither the classic and professionalized Ayurvedic and Yunani medical systems nor the cosmopolitan medicine are found in the Balinese tradition, traces of Leslie's other categories, most notably his 'folk medicine' (6), characterize the pluralism of Balinese medical beliefs and practices. Homeopathic therapy and learned magico-religious healing are also prominent features of the tradition, however, it is with the earlier Vedic medical literature and tradition of India, where the focus is on healing through magical rites (see Dunn 1976:148) that I perceive a strong affinity. The collection of hymns known as *Atharva Veda* were intended as spells to cure disease, to expel demon spirits and to act as charms to protect human well-being (see Garrison 1966; Basham 1976). Demons, the personified agents of disease, loom large in the *Atharva Veda* as they do in the Balinese tradition. In both traditions, pathogenesis is perceived as the result of activities of demonic spirits which can be expelled from the body through the right magical formula and herbal therapy. The ultimate cause of disease is ascribed to unseen forces.

In the *Atharva Veda* tradition, knowledge of anatomy derived from observations of animal sacrifices. Water was the most important element in all curing procedures. Its cooling and healing properties were considered essential. The system of colour signature was an important part of *Atharva Veda* pharmacopoeia. Jaundice, for example, was treated with yellow lotus root. Offensive substances included in magical concoctions were intended to induce the demon spirit to leave its victim. Ritual and treatment had one primary objective — to expel from the body the intruding spirit of disease causing the physical or mental distress. This was effected through ritual propitiation and exorcism. Incantations are addressed to deities and demons. Garrison (1966:143-55) concluded that, although the original intention might have been magical, there are instances in Vedic medicine which have 'rational' aspects.

Much of this kind of thought and action is inherent in the Balinese tradition. Similarities between the Balinese construction of the minor demonic spirits (*bhuta-kala*) and the demons of the *Atharva Veda* tradition, I mention in Chapter 5[vi]. It is suggested that some features of the Balinese tradition reveal closer affinities with the Indian *Atharva Vedic* than the later Ayurvedic tradition. This is not to argue that there is a direct adoption of *Atharva Veda* ideas. To begin with, the complex body of thought evidenced in the previously identified philosophical doctrines indicate the prominence of local knowledge and an elaboration of theory beyond that found in the *Atharva Veda*. Furthermore, Balinese magico-medical texts contain technical terms which, together with the prominent features of magical therapy, indicate a strong Tantric orientation (a matter pursued in the following chapter).

I also hesitate to compare the Balinese version of humoral pathology (*kawisyan*) directly with the Ayurvedic tradition. For one thing, in the Balinese teaching abnormal functioning and pathological processes are imputed a more metaphysical basis than a physical humoral one characteristic of Ayurvedic medical texts. Certain other philosophical doctrines such as *rwa bhineda*, *panca mahabhuta*, *bhuana agung*, *bhuana alit* and *trisakti* have obvious affinities with Indic traditions but not necessarily the Ayurvedic one.

The Ayurvedic medical texts transcended what Basham (1976:22)

The Ayurvedic medical texts transcended what Basham (1976:22) terms 'the crude superstitions' of the *Atharva Veda*. Their authors, according to Basham, 'would never have approved the popular ideas which affect the masses in many parts of India down to the present day'. The Ayurvedic medical texts are a highly organized body of knowledge associated with actual physicians. Unlike the earlier *Vedas*, they do not constitute an impersonal collection of knowledge (Garrison 1966:144). The texts build one upon another and proceed to greater detail and supplementation. In the first major Ayurvedic texts, the *Caraka* and *Sambhita*, religion and magical practices continue to play an important role. However, they also elaborate a new approach to healing which is more secular, primarily humoral and one centred on drug therapy and diet. The prevention of disease through proper diet and hygiene is emphasized. The *Susruta Samhita* Ayurvedic text describes surgical procedures. Another authoritative text, the *Vagbhata Samhita* continued 'the rational and secular traditions of the system', according to Dunn (1976:148). Susruta, the author of the text on surgery, derived his knowledge of anatomy from dissections of human cadavers. The Balinese system is clearly not of this order and orientation. What is outstanding about the Balinese system is the degree to which medical theory and practice integrate with other cultural phenomena and are in fact the essence of the cultural pattern. This postulation is demonstrated in the following chapter and in Chapters 13 and 14.

Notes - Chapter 4

1. The content of some of these doctrines, namely kanda mpat, panca mahabhuta, rwa bhineda, triaksara and sarira kadyatmikan (as 'Die Magischen Schriftzeichen'), have been documented by Weck (pp.37-80). Hooykaas has borrowed from this material and provided English translations in his writings.
2. In a second stage of the babayon, the forehead of the afflicted is splashed with water, as the balian utters:

IH, white bayu, come forth from the east and
comply.
Enter into the heart.

And so forth, listing the ten bayu, their colour symbols and positions in the body.
3. The use of oracles in the manner described by Evans-Pritchard among the Azande is not a feature of Balinese divination, which is also not generally prophetic. In the case of the Azande, the reactions of chickens or termites to questions or potions is significant. They are asked a number of yes/no questions. They may be fed poison. Their death or otherwise determines diagnosis, treatment and witch suspicion issues.
4. See also Chapter 5[i] on the primacy of the sense of sight.
5. This point is also taken up in the following chapter.

6. The significance of triadic phasing is also a theme taken up in the following chapter.
7. Dietary restrictions applicable to those born on the other six days of the seven-day week and the illnesses resulting from an infringement are also listed. Then, a means of neutralizing (pamari-suddhanta) the prohibition and redeeming (tebusin) the one involved from dire consequences is offered. Negotiation offerings (tawur) should be made and holy water obtained from a padanda on the otonan (birthday according to the 210 day Balinese year) of the child.
8. Chapter 3[iv] deals with Balinese conceptions of space. Chapter 6[ii] provides case studies in which these conceptual configurations are contextualized.
9. On the point of naturalistic concepts in Balinese construction of disease it is interesting to note Balinese judgement of the health and deaths of Dutch officials with whom they were in contact and in conflict. In the **Rusak Buleleng** text which relates the first military encounter between the Dutch and the Balinese on Balinese soil, one Dutch military official (Tuan Besar) died from acute gastric illness (sakit ngalahut). The fact that he was prone to 'excessive anger' (kalintang kroda) is implicated in his untimely demise. An excessive consumption of alcohol is likewise implicated in the illness (ngalahut) from which a general dies. The untimely death of a third general is imputed to a curse (**Rusak Buleleng** 1:46, 1.48, 2:89).

Chapter 5

Attitudes and Thematic Modes: The Substance of Their Rhetoric

The recognition of the intimate relation between symbolism and experience, on which our whole criticism of traditional problems is based, is itself a metaphysical insight. For metaphysics is, like every philosophical pursuit, a study of meanings.

Susanne Langer *Philosophy in a New Key*, 1942:85

Balinese magico-medical data yield substantiation of much of Geertz's interpretive commentary. In particular, this data support his comment that there is no justification for seeing non-western primitives 'as simple pragmatists groping for physical well-being through a fog of superstition' (1983:74). The issue is not whether or not there is an elementary form of science operating in traditional medical theory or whether notions like sakti and witch and possession cults are ideologies. What is interesting is the degree to which they are systematized, their internal logic and their relevancy to the actuality of life experiences. In Geertz's terms, what is interesting is that 'common sense dimension of culture' (p.75). I view the magico-medical complex as a cognitive system in its own right, not as part of a political strategy or ideology. Here, I identify a number of core ideas and orientation relevant to an understanding of Balinese medical myth, magic and ritual, as well as to modes of classification and evaluation. The following seven sub-titles in this chapter are intended to encapsulate the essence of these posited threads and themes of Balinese medicine, magic and culture.

(i) Knowledge Knowing and Exhortations to Secrecy

Texts of a magico-medical nature differ from other genres in that they do not generally commence with a 'request for forgiveness' (pamabah) in case of error or unwilful mishandling. They begin with warnings concerning the imperative of knowing mystical teachings and of acting with care and caution when using magical power. In the eyes of the local population the balian's unique status arises firstly and most importantly from the fact that they 'know' (wruh). They have special knowledge and understanding of things unnatural, especially of those supernaturals who share man's immediate environment and are involved in his present pragmatic concerns. This 'knowing' gives balian special ability to deal effectively with supernaturals and allows them to advise others how to do likewise. Their ability to cure probably rates after this.

In usada it is stated that the philosophical doctrines must be known if one intends to treat the sick and prescribe medicines, for these are the rasa (essence). One must also know the powers of the mantra and the form and significance of offerings. A text (HKS2183) warns of the consequences of directing herbal therapy and uttering mantra on behalf of one suffering a disease named babainan whilst not knowing the three levels of severity (nista, madya, utama) of babai (the pathogen); the babai could turn upon the balian himself causing disease and death.

It is primarily the abnormal which is of magico-medical interest. Writings are not concerned with anatomical structure and normal functioning of the human organism. They focus on the abnormal and unnatural and upon preventing it or reversing (mutarang) the pathological process. The Usada Manak (manak means to give birth), for instance, is not about the practice of midwifery. It is concerned with problems of infertility, misconception, miscarriage, stillbirth, maternal and neo-natal morbidity and mortality. The Usada Bang, which deals with the mystical and abnormal processes involved in pathological change, commences with the warning that the usada should not be used unless the aksara are known and before offerings have been made and homage (puja wali) paid to the aksara. One must have first acquired knowledge of how to read and pronounce the aksara and already know the genta pinara pitu, sastra sanga and budha kocapi philosophical doctrines. Failure to comply with these regulations renders curing efforts futile (tan siddhi) and could lead to great disaster, even death (ila-ila estu urip tekaning pati palanya, HKS3266).

An important part of the power to cause and cure illness derives from the power of knowledge, specifically of knowing names. As part of a living thing, a name participates in the power of its referent. Magical rituals involve both action in the form of dance, or offerings and utterances in the form of naming. In the context of ritual action, knowledge of the names of disease-causing and disease-curing spirits and of their sounds or syllables invests one with coercive powers over them. Things of magical persuasions generally have several names; wherein lies some of their own power. Knowledge of these several names also constitutes the overriding power of balian when healing or exorcism is the objective of a ritual. Knowledge of the means whereby one can seek the spiritual guidance of the kanda mpat, and thereby control physiological dysfunction and metaphysiological functioning, is the basis of balianship. This knowledge principally involves knowing the names of the kanda mpat and of their associates, the panca mahabhuta and of knowing their qualities and capabilities.

The following mantra from a text entitled Usada Kawruhan Ring Raga (HKS 1,10:15), is illustrative of importance of knowing and naming in healing ritual. The text states that it contains that which should be known concerning the body prior to the application of medical treatment. In the example cited, witch power is being challenged through naming:

The power of leyak is begat by Dewa Sumadang Kala and composed in Pulo Manyjeti.

The seed of leyak form the basis of the underworld.

It is known that Dewa Sumedang-Tala has the form of all leyak.

I know your origins.

Your father's name is I Maku,

Your mother's name is Ni Anggek Ulen,

Your powers are a gift of Bhatari Durga,
 Your teacher's name is Iblis,
 Your grandmother's name is I Put Makasar,
 Your grandfather's name is I Resia Bali.
 I know that your ancient origins are in the land of Lemah Tulis.
 You settled in Tal Sari. Your name is I Mas Sekar.
 I know the nature of your transformation [kadadon].
 Bhatara Kala is your protector.
 I know when you change position. You move to the eyes, to the
 ears, to the mouth. You go to the anus.
 I know all. Everything about you is known to me.
 OM ANG

Statements of knowing (aku wruh) are part of the threat, confrontation and strategy for the dismissal of intruding disease spirits. Knowing names, origins and the genealogy of offending spirits is essential for mantra effectiveness. The magico-medical lontar begin, end and are frequently interspersed with instructions to dispense the contents of lontar only with care and caution (aywa wera), as well to know and be aware of (kawruhakena) the detail contained therein. A significant proportion of that which 'should be known' concerns the names of spirits, the names of their abodes and the names of the morbid changes they initiate through their powers. For example: elingakena namanya swang-swang [babai] wruhakena genahnya, 'the names of each babai should be remembered and the places wherein they reside should be known' (HKS2183).

Everything significant (which probably implies almost everything or excludes almost nothing) in the Balinese environment is named. Since many things are perceived to be in a state of flux, and most important things are perceived to be in a state of transformation, names constantly change. Things are named and renamed. There are numerous examples of name-giving and name changing. The naming of the kanda mpat and panca mahabhuta are two cases in point. In specific stages of pitra-yadnya, the name of the soul of the deceased changes: following the nyekah ritual, it is named Sang Pitra; following the mamukur ritual, it is named Sang Pitra Widhi; after the maligya, the soul becomes Sang Widhi Wesa Pitara; and following the ngilwer rite, it transforms to Sang Parama Maya Pitra. The more significant they are in terms of existential concerns, the more things and beings are endowed with a variety of names. The Goddess of Death, a legendary priest-healer (Nirartha) who obtained mystically powerful knowledge (kadibyajnana), the organs and structural components of the body and the disease process are all subject to name elaborations and changes. Few plants, especially those of medicinal and ritual importance, have only one name. Dadap is also known as kayu taru sakti. Kepah is also called buyung-buyung putih. Pule (Pole) is also named taru agung and kladi. The Taru Pramana (HKS3499) lists some 150 plants together with their alternative names.

It is in reference to the human condition, particularly indisposition, that I have found most striking evidence of this cultural predilection to naming and renaming. In texts which discuss the metaphysics of the pathological process, organs and structural components of the body are referred to by designations which imply metaphorical correspondences or morphological and functional relationships with natural phenomena. Naming, in this context, may also depend on correspondences with artifacts (such as temples) characteristic of the cultural environment. The precise

part of the anatomy intended by such designations is rather vague. Dictionaries are of no help and balian either do not know or do not choose to reveal exact identifications. Explanations which were forthcoming were not always consistent. One identified a structure referred to in texts as kayu agung (large tree) with the heart. Another identified it as the spinal column. The intestines, normally referred to as usus, are named alas agung (the great forest). The joints, normally referred to as sarwa sandi, are designated paigel-igelan (dancing) in this discourse.

It is not only things which are the object of this naming elaboration. Actions, states and circumstances of space and time are also extensively named. The disease state and process, of course, lends itself amply to description through denomination. Pathogenic, symptomatic, aetiologic, diagnostic and prognostic criteria are each distinguished by naming. Naming is by nouns in absolute constructions, in possessive constructions, in phrase-like constructions, in compounds or in verb constructions which function as nouns or names. The labeling of disease symptomatology and diagnostic categories are discussed in Chapter 12 in the context of trance exorcistic dance and further in Chapter 13. Some examples of pathogenic criteria labelling have been given in the previous chapter in a discussion of kawisyan. A few examples of the naming of aetiologic and prognostic criteria follow:

A piece of land upon which there is a single large stone jutting out from the soil is named amnyeliking[?]. This constitutes a dangerous situation and can cause sickness among those who dwell in such space [Bhama Kretih 2:31].

To become ill through punishment inflicted by deities is named gering kapongorang. Illness resulting from the occupation of space imputed to be tenget is named gering kabeh tonya (illness associated with the presence of numerous unseen spirits). Dire prognostic signs are named such things as anglumut ing gunung (moss on the mountain), ula walihan i babad (the serpent returns to the forest) or watu-matakep (enclosed rock) (HKS3051).

Hobart (1983) has made some important observations concerning Balinese organization of knowledge and knowing relevant to this subject of knowing and naming. Like Hobart, I have also observed that ordinary Balinese are disinclined to boast knowledge of something with any degree of certainty. They demur from claiming knowledge or understanding of things with metaphysical connotations (which again, in the Balinese ambient, includes almost everything); 'kone kewanen, ten uning' or 'kocap kewanen sing nawang' (I have only heard, I don't really know) are frequent riders accompanying information elicited from non-priestly informants or those who have not undertaken to read lontar. These disclaimers are, at times, accompanied by the suggestive comment that 'a padanda would know' (yakti padandane uning) or 'maybe a balian would know' (minabne mangku baliane uning). As Hobart notes, it is a basic assumption of Balinese culture that the ability (and, I add, the responsibility) of knowing things is unequally distributed. It is the business of padanda pamangku, sengguhu, dalang and balian to know things. It is also their task to be able to name all entities and events relevant to human existence.

'The Balinese language', as Hobart (p.38) also notes, 'allows distinctions of degrees of certainty'. There are words for active knowing (uning, nawang), for passive knowing or hearsay knowing (kone, kocap)

and for 'believing' (ngugu, ngega). However, in my experience, the concept of believing is rarely used. Any notion of 'blind conviction' is also absent. There is generally citable evidence (wukti) for what is known. The evidence may be circular; something is certain because it is written in a lontar or it is known from the past (saking purwa). This is proof of truth not just belief. Hobart also refers to another 'weaker' term for knowing, meturah-turahan, which, he feels can be glossed with 'guess' (p.39). Another term for knowing, wruh, occurs primarily (perhaps exclusively) in lontar. The term implies not only knowing but also understanding. It is the highest form of knowing.

Hobart interprets an aversion to making categorical statements and reluctance to lay claim to absolute knowledge on the part of the ordinary Balinese as an image of Balinese hierarchy; the 'hierarchy of knowledge' often closely paralleling 'the hierarchy of beings'. Humility, according to Hobart (p.38), 'is one of the bases of what one can know'. This may be so. Even so, I perceive another or an additional motive underlying this disinclination to undertake to enunciate truths, namely that of deference to the power of knowledge itself and to the powers which names evoke. The humility is aroused less by deference to status or hierarchical ordering of human beings but more to metaphysical grading. In my field research experience, the high caste, elite and powerful (even doctors and padanda) did not hesitate to refer some enquiries about metaphysical matters to balian, low-caste ones or otherwise. Disclosures concerning things belonging to the realm of what is considered sakti, tenget, pingit or pened, can only be made with impunity by those endowed with magical power (kasakten) and therefore able to handle the possible consequences of alluding to powers of ambivalent dispositions. In Balinese thought, to reveal or state origins and even to mention names of things with magical potentiality is to challenge them. Certain names and words have powers independent of the motive of persons uttering them. A fear of summoning the power concerned or encapsulated in a name would account for a voluntary avoidance of terms associated with magic, a preference for euphemisms and a disinclination to utter certain names such as Ratu Gede Macaling, the demonic deity of cholera. Even those endowed with sakti might hesitate to utter certain names outside a ritual context.

My research supports another proposition Hobart makes concerning the primacy of the sense of sight. Analogous to the hierarchy of knowledge, Hobart perceives a hierarchical ordering of the senses. Sight is the sense of most consequence and import and hearing the least (p.39). Both in clinical and non-clinical diagnosis, that which balian usada see as well as that which the eyes of the afflicted reveal, are of paramount significance. Nevertheless, all senses are significant and used in the physical examination of the sick. The sounds of sickness, for example, the unnatural, abnormal and discordant sounds produced through the vocal cords, the sounds of audible gastro-intestinal disturbance and of respiratory distress (as mentioned in the previous chapter), are all noted and named as part of diagnostic evidence. The semantics of the naming of an illness, in turn, influences or dictates the form of the sarana. These matters are discussed further in Chapter 13[i].

When one interrelates this local construction of knowledge with the primacy accorded the sense of sight and, by extension, of reading lontar, the cognitions and internal logic directing the categorization

of knowing and naming -- the means whereby the unknown becomes known and controllable through the powers of vision and reading lontar which are the storehouse of esoteric (yet practical) knowledge directed towards the human condition -- becomes more intelligible (to us, the outsiders).

However, to return to the problematic issue of a hierarchy of knowledge analogous to a hierarchy of being as perceived by Hobart, I raise another issue, that of secrecy and the guarding of knowledge. There is some misrepresentation in the secondary sources concerning the nature of so-called 'classical texts' and issues of secrecy. Forge (1980:222) claims that lontar were 'essentially secret' and that the action of the Foundation of the Gedong Liefrink-van der Tuuk (Gedong Kirtya) in exposing and making available lontar held in geria and puri 'met with some opposition'. Connor (1982a:190-5) who posits dichotomies between padanda and 'their gentry clients' and 'peasant balian and their peasant clients' (p.125), also between 'textual learning' and 'popular understanding' and between 'traditional elite orthodoxy' and 'popular religion' (p.195), claims that there was a privileged access to sacred texts and religious cosmology. Connor further postulates that before the opening of libraries such as the Gedong Kirtya 'secrets of cosmic control were jealously monopolized by the privileged few' and that this 'literate elite' consult and 'selectively interpret' the contents of lontar for a peasantry 'largely illiterate in the classics' (p.193).

To begin with this latter claim first: magico-medical literature, as with much other, is not open to interpretation, nor do Balinese attempt this (see Geertz 1973a:412-53, Boon 1984:165-9, Lovric 1979:166). Access to magico-medical lontar is not the prerogative of any particular caste group. It is available to all willing to exert the effort to learn to read it and then commit themselves to long periods of study, meditation, asceticism and abstinence. Only a small literati actually know lontar, but accessibility is delimited through literacy not exclusion. There are, in any case, oral as well as literate modes of communication and transmission of lontar knowledge. Literature, as part of a living tradition, is shared by all Balinese. Myth is not inert, but a living force constantly reified by magical rites. Episodes of legendary history from Usana Bali and Babad are enacted in dance-drama, oral-drama and wayang. The magico-medical lontar, which comprise a large proportion of classical texts, are read by padanda and balian exclusively, but on behalf of their clients of all castes who, to varying degrees, gain knowledge of its contents. The issues upon which the lontar focus represent continuing concerns for all.

Few Balinese would seek physical access to lontar or commence copying them without prior spiritual preparation. Ownership and knowledge of lontar involve responsibility and demand caution. It is suggested that what Forge perceived as opposition to the indiscriminate exposure of lontar through the efforts of Dutch scholars in the 1920s was not confined to geria and puri. It would also have come from jero (residences of non-ruling ksatriya and wesya) and from umah (residences of those outside the triwangsa system). Lontar ownership is, in fact, extensive. I also propose that resistance to the interference such actions constituted (from a local perspective at least) might well have been motivated, in part, by the potentially mystical dangers assigned to these fountains of powerful knowledge.

Those wishing to study magico-medical lontar must have reached maturity and must first undergo a ritual consecration (mawinten) for the protection of themselves and those about them. They must be guided by a guru who acts as the mediator of the knowledge and power. The undertaking is fraught with mystical danger. Before practising, balian usada undergo a period of isolation and practise yoga-samadhi in temples throughout Bali. In the Budha Kocapi, the example is set for balian to practice austerities, asceticism and meditation in cremation grounds and other space tenget in order to accrue more sakti. Exhortations to secrecy and the prescribed and proscribed use of lontar relate to the sakti nature of lontar. Dire consequences impend a lack of awareness and caution, insensible treatment or neglect. One of the lontar in the collection of a balian usada informant was purchased from a colleague upon whom he happened in Pura Dalem Ped. Serious illnesses suffered by the balian and his family were imputed to the fact that the lontar had been neglected by him. It had not been hung correctly. Nor had it been given prescribed offerings on odalan Saraswati. The exercise book compilations of miscellaneous medical notes copied from lontar retain the Balinese script. The form in which outsiders such as myself gain access to these lontar, namely transliterations on typewritten manuscripts, would be devoid of mystical power and danger, in Balinese perception, I suspect. Part of the potency of lontar derives from aksara themselves. Possession of lontar and knowledge of their contents raises one's spiritual status but does not alter secular political status or power. Like padanda, balian usada may not be buried upon death. They must be cremated directly. This is because of their special relationship with learning and knowledge and thereby Goddess Saraswati.

There are exhortations to secrecy in the lontar. They do not pertain to privilege and prerogatives of access. A tradition encapsulated in the expression aywa wera, 'do not reveal indiscriminantly' implies the power and danger of knowledge. This secrecy could be interpreted as a means of maintaining the effectiveness of magic -- secrecy being a necessary prerequisite for magic -- or it could indicate that there is some professional jealousy involved in guarding the secrets of the trade. According to Endicott (1970:19), this latter represents the motivating factor in the case of Malay magic; 'sharing knowledge would diminish the importance of magicians and the demands on their services'. As I see it, the prime reason for secrecy lies within the assumption of the ambiguous potency of magical words and actions. They can easily get out of control through mismanagement. Fear of mishandling the supernatural and the dire consequences imputed to ensue from doing so is an important theme and concern in the enactment of magical rites.

Injunctions contained in the words aywa wera are not so much to keep knowledge secret as to warn against divulging potent formula and esoteric teachings indiscriminantly to those not in a state of spiritual and intellectual readiness to receive and comprehend them. This perceived need for awareness and wisdom is also apparent in the prescribed preparations and procedures involved in the initiation, enactment and completion of rituals.

Texts (e.g. K173) warn that certain aksara and philosophical teachings should not be read and certain healing procedures should not be commenced until the healer has first paid homage and placed offerings (pujawali) before the aksara. If this is not done, not only will treatment be

ineffective, there will be dire consequences (ila estu) for the balian and for others. Asceticism and abstinence should be practised before certain kaputusan (a type of mantra) imputed to be extremely mystically dangerous (pingitakena utama dahat) are used. Prior to using the Kalima Usada lontar, a balian must first practice austerities (matapa). Should these instructions be ignored, the perpetrator can suffer mental derangement (buduh) and great calamity (upadrawa) could ensue. Most texts contain similar warnings on the use of aksara or particular lontar and prescribe appropriate preparations in form of matapa, mabrata and yoga-samadhi for those intending to do so.

Throughout the texts, warnings are frequent and persistent in relation to diagnostic procedures: aywa ima, 'don't be negligent'; waspadakena, 'one should be cautious'; poma aywa pido, 'be careful, attentive and without uncertainty'; poma sira aywa lali maring wawayanganing lara, 'be careful not to neglect the signs of the illness'; poma yen angangge puniki, 'be careful when using this'; awasakena puuhnya, aywa ta waspada ri warnaning puuh, 'pay careful attention to the smallpox pustules, do not fail to take careful note of the form of the pustules'. All medical treatises are interspersed with admonitions enjoining balian to: be certain of the nature of the symptoms and signs of disease; know the cause of the illness, whether occasioned by bhuta-kala, leyak and so forth; and be ever alert and careful when diagnosing skin diseases and in differentiating leprosy. On the use of rarajahan and tatumbalan, there are also caveats: the consequences are very powerful; do not become confused and make errors of judgement. Other mystical knowledge and formulae are so ambiguously powerful and dangerous (pingit, apened) that those using them should not eat offal of any kind prior to handling them. They should not reveal them to those lacking the spiritual powers necessary to handle them, boast about them or even make allusions to them.¹ Indiscriminate revelation of magical formula can render them ineffective, according to one text.² If ineffectiveness is not the consequence, then grievance will be.³

The secrecy and concealment is not then a matter of jealously guarding knowledge. It is rather a matter of care and precaution and an acknowledgement of ambivalent powers. Ambiguity is the intrinsicity of the philosophical doctrines underlying magico-medical practice. The ambiguity of the elements of existence and the proclivity for change — for being and becoming (andadi) both itself and another — predicate the motivation to knowing, naming and 'mystification'. Elements are not oppositional and they are more than complementary. They are never static. Their potentiality for transformation is their inherency. It is ultimately this inherent ambiguous power and the capacity for change which 'should be known' (kawruhakena) by those who aspire to practise the art and craft of medical magic.

(ii) Fluidity Transformations and Triadic Phasing

Myths familiarize them with the representations of a world where fluidity dominates (Lévy-Bruhl *Notebooks* X:170).

Zimmer's (1947:25) definition of sakti encapsulates its essential significance in the Balinese context:

The noun sakti is from the root sak, signifying "to be able, to be possible," Sakti is power, ability, capacity, faculty, strength, energy, prowess; . . .

Things or beings with sakti have great powers of fluidity. Those with sakti sometimes also have maya power. Maya is the power of self-transformation, the power to assume diverse shapes and forms. It is illusion, trickery, artifice and sorcery (p.24). In the local literary tradition, those ascribed maya power are usually powerful demonic beings, rulers or leyak. There is a standard description of and reference to such personages in usana and babad texts:

In the ancient past there was one with unbounded sakti [sakti tar pahingan] and powers of self-transformation, having sharp fangs and tusks . . .

They are attributed with metal spurs on their feet, bulging eyes, and imputed to make smacking noises like the sound of lightning with their mouths. Sakti-maya powers are ascribed to deities such as Durga, Bhatara Kala, demonic rulers such as Mayadanawa and Dalem Bedaulu, and to their ministers, Kala Gemet and Pasunggrigih (see Babad Dalem HKS1358, for example).

'Maya is Existence'. It is 'the supreme power that generates and animates' and 'the dynamic aspect of the universal Substance'. It is simultaneously 'effect (the cosmic flux), and the cause (the creative power). In the latter regard it is known as Shakti, 'cosmic Energy' (p.25). In Tantric philosophy Shakti, the Goddess, the feminine active principle, is the natural cause of the Universe, the Maya that evolves the differential elements and beings and produces the world (pp.205-7).

Sakti implies and entails action — ngusadin (curing), ngaleyak (bewitching), angyogaken gering (initiating the disease process), amagut payogane (counteracting powers) — to bring about change or to reverse it. As a state, kasakten signifies the power to perform magical actions through participation with supernatural forces. The verb 'to be', as used in the Balinese magico-medical context, primarily expresses the notion of 'becoming' or of transformation. The forms in which it occurs in texts — andadi, matemahan dadi, dadi temahnya — signify this action and change. In Lévy-Bruhlian terms, 'being' has no independent existence; it is a part of a state of 'becoming'. This theme and process of changing and becoming (metamorphosis) is evidenced in the naming, renaming and manifold names which refer to a unitary concept, persons, places, objects and the state of being; the state of well-being to a state of disease represents a prime and conspicuous experience of change and 'becoming'. Things are fluid. Nothing is unalterably fixed. Spirits, deities and demons, the prime causal agents in the fluctuations of existence, defy definition and determination. They have an existence of 'becoming', of illusions and of transforming rather than being. They are mobile, not confined. They mutate and merge. Bhuta-kala, when decontaminated by caru can become widyara-widyari and gandharwa-gandharwi. The non-linear or cyclical mode of thought inherent in constructions of beings and things becoming something else or assuming new embodiments is unlike the analytical linear thinking which emphasizes the polarity and the fixity of opposites. In Balinese medical philosophy, therefore, medicine (tamba) and disease (gering) are one and the same. Medicine transforms (andadi) disease and disease transforms medicine (HKS3524).

This emphasis upon change and transformation acknowledges the precariousness of existence and the uncertainty of the final outcome of an illness. The persistence of symptoms indicates an inability of magical intervention to bring about a reversal of the pathological process initiated (in such instances) by superior mystical forces. Mental derangement (buduh dadi temahnya), changes in the state of consciousness (aniwang) and death are the likely outcomes of irreversible changes in bodily structure and function (see for example, K173).

It is in the use of sarana that transformational processes in healing strategies are most apparent. Animals such as reptiles and amphibians in which metamorphosis is apparent and dramatic are used as part of the paraphernalia to initiate a desired change or transformation. For example, a sarana used as a means of hastening delivery of the after-birth in the case of prolonged labour, consists of snake skin together with garlic and dadap buds tied together with black thread. This is immersed in water in a coconut shell container and brushed five times on the fontanel.

In the febrile phase of smallpox the victim is drenched with water to relieve distress. When, due to extreme thirst, the afflicted tries to lap the water by repeatedly poking his tongue in and out, the phase of the disease is named puuh nanipi (snake smallpox). These circumstances call for the procurement of the skin of a frog and skin of a snake. These would be reduced to ashes and a mantra such as the following would be uttered:

Now, Sang Puuh Nanipi, here is sustenance.

The incinerated skin of a frog and the incinerated skin of a snake is offered to you. Do not continue to make this person ill.

Part of the transformation from the state of abnormality to one of normality involves the strategy of making offerings of exchange and substitution (caru labaan) to the mystical forces responsible for the dysfunction as a substitute or exchange for the internal organs, blood, and tissues of the afflicted. A caru wong-wongan, for example, consists of cooked rice shaped to resemble a human form. This is offered to mystical forces so that its essence may be devoured and the afflicted is left alone. The form of the verbal magic uttered over medical concoctions before they are administered also articulates this perceived transformatory nature of magico-medical therapy. Thus we find in this context expressions such as: It is truly as it is thus described. This is truly how that illness is. Herewith is the wherewithall which should bring about a remission initiating a transformation (anglabahanana gering ika matemahan mandadi).

As Kapferer (1983:7) points out, there is no need to relate rituals to prevailing socio-political culture. Rituals express a particular cultural logic. Further, ritual itself is transformative and transcendence is an aspect of transformation (Kapferer 1984:13). The objective of healing rites is to effect a transformation of the state of illness to the normal state of well-being. The relationship between the Balinese construction of disease and the semiotics of healing rites is discussed more extensively in Chapter 13.

In the strong Tantric orientation which underlies Balinese

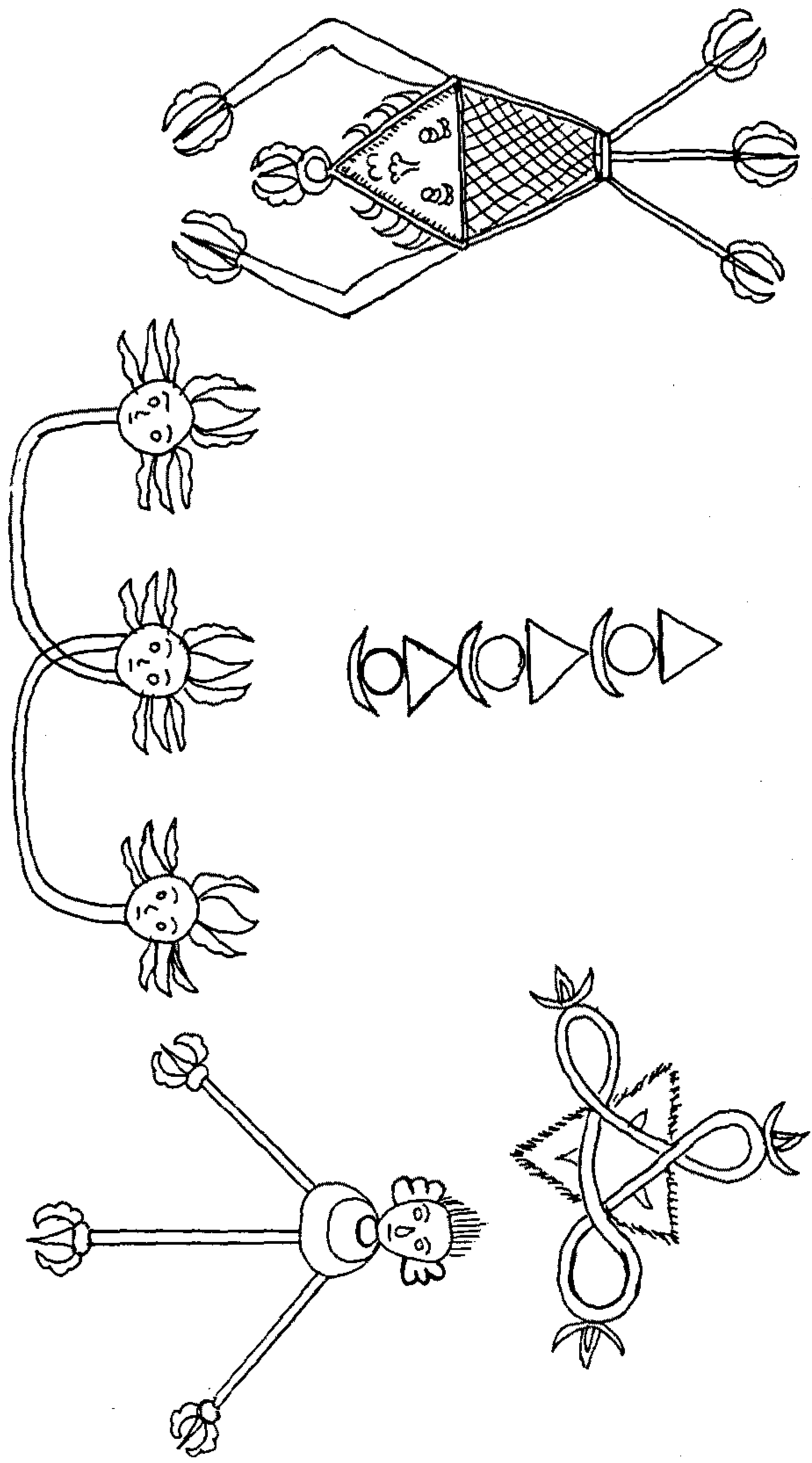
magico-medical theory and practice, sarana and healing rituals which aim to effect transformation through transcendence predictably involve strategies which utilize the ambiguous powers of space which is tenget. A fragment of pottery obtained from a graveyard and inscribed with a mystical syllable is an example of a sarana prescribed for the skin ailment named ila. A sarana in the form of an action -- the placement of offerings in a graveyard and a death temple (pura dalem) -- is part of the strategy for the reversal of an affliction of infancy in which the cranium is grossly enlarged and there is a prominent head lag (subdural haematoma?). Such space yields the opportunity for dynamic transformation. Death is directly confronted and its powers invoked. Rotting decomposing corpses in graveyards breathe and betoken the dynamic process of putrefaction, renewal and rebirth.

The naming of clinical manifestations of disease testifies to a perception of resemblances and correspondences between specific disease signs and symptoms and phenomena in the plant and animal kingdoms. Analogies are perceived both in a physiologic sense and in one of properties. They affect the form of treatment strategies such as sarana. This perception of resemblances, metamorphoses and resolutions presupposes a tautology. It recognizes the dialectical propensities of the human organism, of nature and of morbidity. It also testifies the dialectical propensities of the human mind. Naming and healing strategies create metaphors and metonymies through which events become transmogrified and a transformation takes place. Dialectical reasoning, a property of human mental processes is expressed in magic as well as in Marx (Murphy 1976:87). Schemes of binary differentiation, though critical tools in Western analytical strategies, are not the principles inherent in Balinese perceptions of life, that is, of foetal development, birth, growing and dying. With the benefit of intervening description and elucidations, I am able to articulate this proposition more clearly in Chapter 13.

Kondos (1982:242-4) has identified the Hindu approach to the world as being essentially processual. Cycles which progress in three phases are propelled by three guna forces (qualities of human nature) attributed to the female principle, the goddess Sakti. This state of things being in continual flux and the process of continual transformation, Kondos terms a 'processual approach'. She also demonstrates the centrality of the triadic guna scheme (rajas, sattva, tamas), the underlying powers and propensities of the gods corresponding to phases or processes of creation, maintenance and disintegration as well as their applicability to important aspects of Hindu life.

Endicott (1970:198) concluded that triadic divisions seemed to be the basic ordering principle in Malay magical ideas; there is a tendency there to differentiate in sets of three. The triadic phasing of rituals and the tendency to classify by the differentiation of three parts or processes of equal status and of the same source, are conspicuous in Balinese magico-medical theory and practice as well. The 'conceptual interdependence' of matter and essence, the two planes of existence, expressed 'in the idiom of power', identified by Endicott (pp.176-7) as a principle of organization underlying 'the complex reality that is Malay magic' (p.179), holds for Balinese magic. As in the Hindu and Malay tradition, dual classifications are not prominent. Between two categories, there is usually an intermediate one.

Triadic Motifs in Rarajahan



The three-phase sequence in the structuring of Balinese ritual activity -- utpeti (arousal or creation), sthiti (integration or transformation), pralina (disintegration or dissolution) -- are also central to the structuring of other ideas and practices. Deities and demons and their representations frequently present themselves in triads (trimurti, trisakti, sang kala tiga, bhuta-kala-dengen, triaksara, ANG-UNG-MANG) embodying the dialectics of existence -- creation or synthesis, embodiment or synthesis, differentiation and reversion, dissolution and resolution.

Triadic phasing is particularly prominent in magico-medical phenomena. The philosophical doctrine trisakti, earlier discussed, illustrates this. The defining features of human beings are three, bayu, sabda and idep. Their potential arises at the moment of conception, disappears at death, and is disturbed during states of disease. The coexistence of these three qualities distinguishes man from beast and defines what it is to be alive. Life implies activation of these vital principles. Illness indicates a dysfunction of any or all of them. Death implies a dissolution of them. The triaksara are located in the vital organs (padarman tiga) which are also three in number. There are three principle body channels (trinadi). Death and disintegration (mapralina) has three forms: atma, pitra and pitara, that being the state of being without essence (tan parama), without senses (tan parena) and without form (tan parupa) respectively (HKS3842).

There are three types of human suffering (wong lara), male, female and haemaphrodite or eunich (kedi). Possibly in recognition of sexual anomalies, Balinese seem to classify human beings in terms of three genders; two biological sexes and an intersex, those with anomalous genitalia or secondary sexual characteristics. Such recognition is persistent with other aspects of Balinese thought; it is normal that the abnormal occurs. Reaction to such anomaly is not merely one of horror. The abnormal can invoke awe. Attention is focused upon its patterning and upon the consequences for mankind. Another triad consists of the male and the female principles together with the product of their union. Disease is also three-fold in form -- wind, water and fire. Illnesses are also of three types, hot, cold and afebrile. Fevers are classified as hot (panes, kebus, baang), cold (nyem, kuwa, asrep) or non-specific (panes-tis, cliyak-cliyak). Hot illnesses are male, cold illnesses are female and cool illnesses are kedi (HKS3524). There are three types of medicine (tamba), namely, that which has cooling properties, that which has heating properties and a third form which has neutral properties. Finally, there are three types of medical treatises, Usada, Dharmausada and Kalimausada. Medical therapy also displays triadic phasing -- medicine, mantra and rarajahan. Interestingly, rarajahan themselves also display distinctive triadic motifs (see opposite). Triangles, trisula, tri-segments and triplicates are common. There is also a tendency to the use of three dimensions such as triangle, circle and crescent in a diagram. ONG, the primordial symbol of sound, called ongkara consists of three parts: a lingga in the form of a triangle symbolizing the male principle; ardacandra, a crescent symbolizing female creative powers; and windu, a circle symbolizing the hermaphrodite and completion. ONG, like key phrases or words of mantra, is uttered three times.

A theory of tripartite ordering principles implicit in triadic phasing in not proposed as an alternative paradigm to that of dualism in binary oppositions argued against earlier. I merely perceive these to be more

consistent with the recognitions and perceptions of magico-medical theory and cultural matrices. Something more could be made of this observation. The thought and sensitivity displayed in tripartite ordering and symbolism articulate with and are a logical projection of the fluidity of being; life is essentially processual. Mythic conceptions grasp qualitative contrasts but resolves them as one essence. Separate forms merge from one complex undifferentiated whole (see Cassirer 1956:14). The logic of mythic thinking is the logic of multiple meanings, representations and repetitions (Langer 1942:237 quoting Cassirer). In the light of these basic principles, we can better understand a mode of thought in which affective experiences such as sickness and pain are not interpreted as a persistent contrast to well-being and comfort. Crises, like moods and emotions, fuse one into another, as do sleep and wakefulness. The human organism is a highly structured and functional unit. Tensions, mediations and resolutions are continual and continuing. The human condition, like the natural environment, is constantly changing. There is not just life and death. There is birth, growth, degeneration, disintegration and rebirth. Conceptions of nature and of the human body are formulated in terms of mystical concentrations of forces or potencies.

As Langer (1942:43) writes, the human brain is constantly carrying on a process of symbolic transformations of experiential data. Fluidity and transformations and the dialectical nature of triadic phasing, one might suggest, are formulations of sense perception. Sense-data are primarily symbols (p.21). Cassirer (1946:42-4) posits a common root of mythic and linguistic conceptions. Mythical and verbal thought are guided by the same spiritual motives. The same form of mental conception -- metaphorical thinking -- is operative in both (pp.83-4). Cassirer's elucidations allow us to grasp the logic in the use of rhetorical names; the substitutions of names for parts of the whole. They are a type of metaphor. Metaphor is also manifest in the changes names continually undergo. Naming and renaming, as already mentioned, is a product of perceptions of the fluidity of forms, and, I now add, of symbolic transformations.

Cassirer (p.45) also identifies the Word as a primary force holding a supreme position in mythical cosmologies. The spoken Word is venerated. It precedes action, for it is an instrument of creation. Magic power dwells in the Word, that is, in sound (Bal. sabda). From a Vedic perspective (Saraf 1974:141), one shared by Balinese cosmogony, sabda and sakti are primal causative forces. Together with energy (bayu), they mutually reinforce. The Balinese approach tries to express the coherence of differentiated elements. It does not seek to isolate various elements which combine a whole. It does not seek the definitive or the linear progression, but fluidity and circularity. Mantra, the implementation of sound symbols, imply the permanence and power of sound and the process of continual transitions.

(iii) Mantra: The Powers of Utterance (Sabda)

Sounds are important in ritual. Music is a critical component at certain stages of rituals. Gamelan and the chanting of kidung are essential aspects of community rites enacted for the purposes of human well-being. Vocal sounds are vital ingredients in the therapeutic procedures in healing practices at the individual level of the medical system. The tone of voice

of a person in trance possession alters significantly. The use of mantra is ubiquitous in all Balinese ritual and is an integral part of most of them. All acts of magic are accompanied by mantra, either spoken aloud, whispered or muttered. Medical mantra are often accompanied by magical drawings (rarajahan). Many of the most powerful mantra (often termed kaputusan, meaning 'mystical resolution') are named, often after specific authors to whom they are attributed. The semi-legendary Mpu Bharada, Dukuh Jumpungan and Bhatari Pulaki, for example, have mantra named after them. The poem Basur refers to numerous mantra by name. Through the use of her many designations, mantra often include references to Durga, the ultimate expression of bharawi power and therefore the controller of all other. The names of other mantra include references to specific bhuta-kala. Many are simply invocations to deities of the Hindu-Buddhist pantheon or to local deified legendary figures such as Mpu Kuturan or Nirartha.

The utterance of mantra is a vital part of magico-medical therapy. In order to appreciate the significance of mantra in medical magic, one should be aware of the nature of mantra and the meaning assigned to them in Balinese thought. A mantra is not a form of prayer, but a magical power or formula in the form of sound. There is nothing devotional in mantra. Part of their power lies in the allusions they broach and the subtle insinuations they imply. Mantra address imputed disease-causing spirits directly whilst weaving subtle strategies. They constitute an artful contrivance scheme in that they state or allude to the 'whence and whither' (sangken-paran) and the form of spirits while deploring the disorder and derangement their deviations and transformations cause. They combine the evocative and the emotive and they contain elements of abuse, entreaty and persuasion.

Mantra are addressed to powerful agents of ambiguous persuasions such as Durga and her followers. The following mantra is translated from a medical treatise on toxic neuropathy (Usada Upas HKS XI,4:10a):

The following is a means of counteracting all forms of toxicity [wisya], most especially all forms of upas which will be overcome through this.

Sarana: fresh water

Mantra: ONG Ra Nini Bhatari Durga, your five children are named Durga, Dewi, Kalika, Dagumati, Uragei.

When the illness originates from the graveyard, it should return to the graveyard.

When the illness arises from the pabajangan [graveyard of newborns], it should return to the pabajangan.

When the illness originates in the ravine, it should return to the ravine.

When the illness originates at the crossroads, it should return to the crossroads.

When the illness originates in the sea, it should return to the sea.

When the illness originates in the forest, it should return to the forest, because I know your ancient origins, your mother and your father and from whence you came.

Bhatara Kala is your father and Bhatari Durga is your mother.

ONG Bucara-Bucari, Bhuta Jaksa, Bhuta Jaksi, Bhuta Ija, Bhuta Kala, Bhuta Tua, Bhuta Dadan, Bhuta tan Katingalan, do not devour the flesh, the skin, the vessels, the blood, the

bones, the marrow, the liver, all of the abdominal organs of this person, because I am Bhatara Guru.
I know how to make bhuta disperse. . . .

Together with sarana (offerings) mantra represent what Pertierra (1983a:329) has described elsewhere as a kind of 'contractual supplication'. Furthermore, they assume that bhuta-kala share man's conceptual moral order. In the mantra they are named and threatened. Their awesome powers are ridiculed but nevertheless acknowledged. They are offered a bribe -- rice, meat and sometimes money -- so that they may desist from devouring human organs and sapping human physical strength.⁴ Mantra are specific in their intent. Spirits are left in no doubt as to what is required of them. In an event of abdominal distension and constipation a mantra goes:

ONG Si Be Julit [a species of fish] enter into the stomach of this person. The pathogenicity [lararoga] should be eroded and should merge as faeces and urine. poma, poma, poma (HKS3240:9)

Mantra encompass verbal sympathetic magic, puns and onomatopoeic phrases. Some consist only of a few syllables or a string of apparently meaningless words. This apparent intelligibility and nonsensicality (to the uninformed) is perhaps part of their power. Mantra imply secret, esoteric and dangerous knowledge. As Schoterman (1979:337) has commented:

Anyone not versed in Tantric texts and their contents might be inclined to regard mantra as mere meaningless mumblings. Words like OM, HRIM, etc., do not have any specific meaning in the true sense of the word, in fact, but possess symbolic value.

The objective of mantra is to establish contact (mystical participation) with and to confront offending spirits causing disease by addressing them directly, by identifying them and revealing their qualities, their abodes and, most significantly, their origins. To know this is to have power over the course of the illness. The power of mantra is further believed to lie in the magical effect of pronouncing inherent truths. The intention of exorcizing mantra is to persuade, coerce, modify, and neutralize the offending spirit and thereby counteract the effects of the disease. The utterance intends to compel the actualization of the wish expressed. This is generally that the offending spirit should return to its natural abode and allow the human organism into which it has intruded to return to its normal functioning. A mantra is, above all, a power with magical efficacy.

As is the case with other forms of magic, mantra lend themselves impartially to any use and for any purpose (Avalon 1974:83). They involve ambiguity and are morally neutral. They can be used either to invoke or dismiss divine and demonic forces, to confront, to invoke or to accuse. One may be killed, cured, injured, rescued, inflicted or exorcized by a mantra. Mantra are also used in the worship of deities and the veneration of deified ancestors through their relics and legacies -- their scriptural, inscriptural and archaeological remains (lontar or temples, for example). Here, mystical participation with the powers of the deities addressed is also intended.

(iv) Mystical Participations

To be, to exist, is to participate (Lévy-Bruhl *Notebooks* I:16).

The notion of sakti implies that human beings participate in the divinity of deities and demons. The magico-medical emphasis in the Balinese mode of thought is related to a propensity towards perceiving all things, events and beings, past and future, as participating in the ongoing affairs of the living. Balinese are 'tied to' or 'participate with' all existences, manifest or immanent and unmanifest or transcendental, that is with kin, community, the deceased, ancestors, descendants-to-be, spirits, time, directions, space, dwellings, names and appurtenances.

Lévy-Bruhl used the term 'participation' as an abstraction to refer to something for which he could not find an appropriate term (see Chapter 1(ii)). The Balinese term kaiket (lit. being tied) expresses the semantics of Lévy-Bruhl's formulation of 'mystical participations' as they present in the context of the magico-medical system in this culture. Being kaiket is a defining principle of being Balinese.⁵ I perceive it primarily as a cosmological principle and an epistemological assumption. A philosophical implication of participations is shared by hermeneutic theory; the whole is more than the sum of its parts, the parts of the whole participate with the whole, and the part, in certain circumstances, is the whole.

Lévy-Bruhl described various forms of participation. He named one form duality-unity, that is, the qualitative identification of two beings or objects. There being no rigorous concept of individuality, no individual has the primordial and essential characteristic of being one. The individual exists only through being, at the same time, other than itself, by being one and many at the same time, that is, by being a centre of participation. There is also participation of appurtenances or intimate participation. The individual and his appurtenances are one and the same thing. There is consubstantiality. The part is the whole. What affects a part of the body affects the person of whom they are a part. Words are likewise appurtenances of what they designate and thus of their presumed power. Lévy-Bruhl also described what he termed 'essential participations': participations between the individual and his family group, deceased ancestors, the community, and the natural forces within his environment, however these are perceived.

Another form of participation Lévy-Bruhl described as imitation of mythic precedents: participations which function through the power of myths. In myths he perceived absolute and unequivocal proof of participations. Myths which recount origins and transformations are the reason-to-be of participations. The question of whether or not myths are true histories does not even arise since, a priori, the totality of the mythical world is real and mythical experience, like mystical experience, is as valid and more highly valued than any other.

The previously identified magico-medical doctrines, collectively and individually, quintessentially express the concept of participations. Each teaching contains elements of all others. Each is tied to another and to others. Magico-medical theory and practice is based upon philosophical doctrines which posit a web of macro-micro relationships and mystical participations. The human body (bhuana alit) is a receptacle of the supernatural and a replica of the universe (bhuana agung). Deities,

divine and demonic, are tied to mankind. They are assigned locations within the human organism as well as in man's environment. They participate with directions, space, time colours and the topography. 'All is created by man because man is possessed (kasurupan) by deities. Otherwise nothing could happen. Man is divinity manifest (manusa wenten dewa sakala), as a balian informant expressed the concept. As a microcosmic organism, man is a counterpart of the macrocosm, of nature. Participations express a sensory awareness and intuitive knowledge of this. Nature is not independent of the supernatural (Lévy-Bruhl, Notebooks I:12).

The perception of being kaiket with nature is evidenced in the large number of temples erected where there are extraordinary natural phenomena, for this is where supernatural forces are want to lurk. Temple structures acquire significance as temporary receptacles for visiting deities. Temples, as focal places of attention, derives from two basic assumptions concerning the supernatural: the well-being of the community is dependent upon proper maintenance of places of worship and of regard for ancestral traditions; contact with the ambivalent supernaturals, who congregate in space which is tenget such as that upon which temples are erected, is likewise imperative to human well-being. These assumptions are expressed in the Usana Bali texts (see Chapter 3[iv]). Each household, banjar, village, association has its own temple in which contact is sought with deified ancestors and cult deified legendary figures. The building of temples and the maintenance of them is perceived as a necessary means of maintaining protective contact with the unseen but real forces which influence human welfare. Assumptions concerning the supernatural allow, in fact prescribe, direct and frequent participations with deities, demons, ancestral and miscellaneous spirits. Participations are sought through offerings, trance possession, magical masks, shrines and dance. Spirits are not, therefore, a realm of existence apart from man. There are no impenetrable barriers between the two. Deities enter the world of man. Life is the only barrier to man achieving an unmanifest (niskala) existence, that is, a transition to the realm of the supernaturals.

Supernaturals respond to human utterances, music, dance, deeds and offerings. There is a mutual dependence. Man is the mediator and the vehicle for the revelations and the desires of deities and demons. They are invited into the world of man through the intermediary of people who are sakti and objects such as masks which are sakti, at times and in space magically powerful. Sakti accounts for and allows mutual participations. The various and multiple manifestations of the supernatural with which the lives of human beings are intertwined render participations an imperative. Conceptions and constructions of disease, topographical and cosmological anatomy, voluntary trance possession and involuntary affliction possession and the panca-yadnya (five types of sacrifices) are all expressions of the fact and the desirability of being kaiket. The ritual binding of space (paideran, nyatur desa, dig-bandhana) through the placing of offerings and the uttering of mystical syllables in the four, five, seven, nine or eleven directions, as well as the drawing and use of rarajahan or yantra, can be seen as forms of 'tying-up' and as a means of mystical participations. The objective of yoga-samadhi is to unite the individual soul with the cosmic soul or mystical principle.

Daily offerings (nitya-yadnya) are made for bhuta-kala after rice has been cooked. Offerings are also placed each day in the house temple

(sanggah, pamrajan), in the kitchen for Brahma, by the well for Wisnu, in the centre of the courtyard for Siwa Raditya, at the entrance for the bhuta-kala and on the ground for Sanghyang Perthiwi. These offerings are yet another way of 'tying-up' unmanifest presences and participating with them. A person is tied to or participates with the space and dwelling within which he normally abides. To move house or spend time elsewhere necessitates ritual action in order that one remains rahayu. The simplest of such rituals involves hitting the ground three times in order to release one's spiritual appurtenances (kanda mpat) so that they may follow.

A person is tied to the by-products of his own birth (kanda mpat). Being has no reference to time. It is apprehended as an existence and a whole, but in terms of attributes not absolutes, and of participations with other beings and things. No person is discreet or self-contained. All beings have attributes outside themselves. As Ward Keeler (1976:121) has observed, Balinese do not differentiate or graduate individuals, they 'combine people in interlocking sets'. In his analysis of what he identifies as a depersonalization conception of personhood and a detemporalization conception of time, Geertz (1966) demonstrates how an elaborate repertoire of designations and titles and a qualitative rather than quantitative conception of time structures the realization of the former. Indeed, such muting of the individual and of temporal time vouches for existence through participation. Beings are what they are by virtue of participation. The symbolic form of birth order names, kinship terms, titles and so forth used to refer to persons implies fluidity and continuity rather than the fixity of non-participating units of existence.

An example of participation with appurtenances is found in a recently compiled historical text, Puputan Badung (Sargah XIV): the Raja of Tabanan surrendered to the Dutch and was imprisoned by them after the fall of the royal houses of Badung. Under the threat of permanent exile to Lombok, the raja and his son took their own lives. Because the Dutch had confiscated his kris, the raja was unable to follow the cultural norm, run amuck (ngamuk) and terminate earthly existence (puputan) in what had become an intolerable situation. The raja's only recourse was to end his life by stabbing himself repeatedly with a steel knife normally used in the preparation of sirih. His son swallowed a large amount of opium. However, before ending his earthly existence, the raja cut off his hair and fingernails. These appurtenances, together with his ceremonial garments (kempuh sasongketan), he sent to his puri to be burnt along with the puri itself. In the words of the text, these things represented more than possessions: they were part of his spiritual complete being. Whatever affected them would also affect his spiritual existence (sang pasaning urip mami pangiket jiwaku). Taking his own life was preferable to exile and being 'cut-off' or denied participation.

Persons with sakti whether they be rulers, priests, healers or witches often have a mystical participation with an heirloom (kaliliran), usually in the form of magical weapons, musical instruments or lontar. The special qualities, names and fates of such regalia become tied reciprocally with that of their present owners. The acquisition of such heirlooms and the intimate participations with the supernatural which ownership entails is a common theme of historical literature (babad, usana, Calon Arang, for instance). This intimate relationship between a ruler and his magical weapon is a recurring theme of the Babad Arya Tabanan. In one particular narrative, the disappearance of a ksatriya's watang (lance,

but the term also means corpse) is seen as the reason for the death of the ksatriya, while the loss itself is attributed to the owner's ignorance and lack of caution. After the corpses had been collected from the battlefield by their families, one remained. Upon examination, this corpse/lance (watang) was found to be I Sandang-Lawe, (the name of) the lance that had disappeared at the time of its owner's death. The babad concludes this story with the statement that the watang (corpse/lance) was taken back to Singasana, the capital of the kingdom of Tabanan where the fallen ksatriya had once ruled.

Some individuals interact or participate with supernaturals in more specific, intimate ways through specialist roles or in culturally defined ways. Some are possessed (karauhan) by deities and given instructions concerning the well-being of the community. Some are recruited to the role of healer through possession by a taksu. Others are given magical objects (kaicen paica) through which they acquire powers to heal. Having good fortune is interpreted in this participation-conscious society as being favoured by supernaturals (kasenangi wong samar). All manner of phenomena, from rapid growth of hair, sudden acquisition of wealth to finding of unusual objects, can be interpreted as signs that the human object of the events has been chosen for more intimate or direct participation with unseen forces.

There are also varying 'informal' participations with the supernatural by individuals. A small wooden shrine I came upon in the middle of some mangrove swamps behind Pura Pangembah in Blanjong was constructed by 'an Ida Bagus' at the request of some wong samar from the nearby temple, so the story goes. In the banjar in which I lived there are numerous clumps of stones where local people place offerings and claim a special participation with sundry wong samar. Such examples, I believe, are not peculiar to Blanjong.

Accounts of wong samar participations illustrate both how mystical participations echo as well as express beliefs and how visible realities and unseen forces are intertwined (in accordance with Lévy-Bruhl's formulations). They also reveal the role and reason of wong samar in the Balinese construction of the supernatural. For example, a brahmana sadeg of Sanur claims to be on familiar terms with the wong samar who frequent Pura Dalem Pangembah. He often meditates there on the nights of tilem and pujama when they sometimes reveal themselves to him. He describes them as being white in colour with big stomachs and having only one eye. It was he who had built a shrine in some swamps behind the pura 'at the request of these wong samar'.

During my time in Sanur, a retaining wall built to prevent encroachment of the sea was being reinforced. One morning, the story goes, the Javanese workers arrived to find some forty people kneeling in prayer with heads bowed touching the ground (a Javanese Islamic form of worship). They were deemed not to be Balinese for there was a variety of shades of colour in their hair. The Javanese workers fled in terror and sought an explanation for this event from my informant who explained that the apparent interlopers were wong samar. The site is very tenget. Twice the sea had risen pushing the temple further inland whilst each time the temple structures had remained intact. On the most recent occasion when an unusually high tide had 'pushed the temple inland', caru (offerings) had been placed between the high tide mark and the

pura. It appeared that the retaining wall was being built directly on top of these caru. The remedial measures involved shifting the wall a little further north (inland) toward the pura.

The capturing or ensnaring of innocent people by wong samar is a commonly reported occurrence on Bali. It is perhaps the negative aspect of their ambiguity. Yet, curiously, it does not seem to arouse much fear among the Balinese. It is generally taken as a sign that the people concerned are chosen objects of the wong samar's attention. On one occasion while I was living in Blanjong two young girls had gone missing for two days. When they were found they remembered nothing. The explanation offered, apparently to the satisfaction of everyone concerned, was that they had been taken by wong samar . . . by motor cycle!

An aged balian from a village in East Denpasar claims to have acquired his 'fortune' -- a hectare or so of sawah and thousands of kepeng (pipis bolong) -- from wong samar 'friends'. He frequently meets with them down a ravine on the banks of a small river next to a large rock and under a bridge -- space into which no Balinese would dare to venture unless they had the surety of supernatural protection that this balian enjoys. He has been called upon to locate bodies of people who have met their death in these environs. Such hard-to-find bodies have been, it appears, hidden by the wong samar who reveal their location to the balian. In the past, however, he himself had been tested and tried by the wong samar and had apparently qualified for more intense mystical participations.

Providing a bewildering mass of cultural phenomena and literary themes with a formulation and a referential term gleaned from indigenous philosophical reflections does point the way to an appreciation of other presuppositions and ways of knowing. They allow us to understand phenomena in terms of categories other than those such as secular power politics or legitimization of status, within which we make cognitive judgements and form interpretations. We see other viable determinations of behaviour and cultural predilections and become aware of substantive themes other than those with which our own tacit knowledge renders us familiar. Doubtlessly, one could fill a volume with identifications and further explorations of the Balinese concept of 'being tied', 'tying up', and having 'mystical participations' with the totality by virtue of being a part of it in the immutable chain of existence. The instances cited above are merely those which have arisen in the context of my area of study. I conclude the discussion of this particular cognitive theme with a further elaboration on what Lévy-Bruhl termed 'essential participations'. This form of participation is closely linked with another prominent theme of Balinese culture, that of ancestor veneration which in turn, provides the impetus for a drift into the issue of genealogies and of babad and their role function.

Existences are of reciprocal dependence. Living or dead, one belongs to a kin group and to the community. Only in a biological sense is the individual's existence separate from that of the group. Existence does not cease with death. Death merely involves a transmutation, a change of form. This symbiotic participation between the living and the dead is both mystical and concrete. Assumptions concerning the role of deceased ancestors -- that they represent a source of danger or, alternatively, are a protective force -- reinforces the maintenance of continuity and

the mutual dependence of the living and the dead. Relations between them are close and complex. The well-being and the very existence of family groups, lineages and social groups and communities is dependent upon the goodwill of its dead members. The deceased, in their turn, depend upon the living 'to cut' or 'untie' (mapegat) the threads which bind the soul to the material body. Nevertheless the spatial separation of the corpse from the soul does not imply that the dead person no longer exists. In Lévy-Bruhlian terms, the corpse is effectively the deceased and is given attention as such. The deceased is in the grave, in the land of the dead, and the spirit remains in the vicinity of the place in which it was formerly resident. There is, what Lévy-Bruhl termed, multi-presence. Actions thus exercised on the corpse, react directly on the spirit, as there is also participation between the spirit and the corpse. Rituals concerned with the dead reveal this ubiquitousness or splitting of the individual. Concern with the dead and continuing participation in a new state of existence is demonstrated in the material nature of goods placed on graves. Cigarettes, clothing and food are sometimes placed upon graves. A bamboo shrine is erected by the grave and relatives place offerings there daily for twelve days after burial. They visit the grave again after forty-two days.

Fellow members of the banjar, as well as the relatives, are affected by the death of a member. Death occasions the ritual pollution (sebel) of one's kin and community for varying periods depending upon the closeness of the tie. Members of the banjar are sebel for three days. The family is sebel for twelve days. The nature of it changes, but participation between the deceased and the community continues. Balinese notions of participation between the living and the dead are well-illustrated in the trance seance rituals known as maluasang pitra (summoning the deceased for communication) and maluasang anak cenik (summoning reincarnating ancestors) discussed in Chapter 6[i].

Involvement with each other's life cycle rites indicates another particular form of participation. Each Balinese family has an inherited 'tie' with a particular lineage of padanda and a royal house. This 'tie' involves reciprocal attendance at life cycle rites. The tie with padanda is referred to as nyiwa (from Siwa). Padanda supply holy water (tirtha) for their sisia or followers. The followers of padanda and of royal lineages have ritual and material obligations such as to assist at or be present at the spectacular rituals they may hold. On the other hand, their followers or (former) subjects have the right to have their own uncremated dead ritually purified at the cremation ceremonies of their spiritual leaders.⁶

Consultations with balian to determine the ultimate (that is, unmanifest) cause of frequent or prolonged bouts of illness among family members often lead to the suggestion that ancestors have been neglected or some or other ancestor has been overlooked. Balian may recommend repairs to ancestral temples or a search through lontar for possible forgotten ties. As well as those with one's own kin group, ancestral ties with former raja and their temples, if severed or forgotten, could deprive the living of the participation and protection ritual attention would otherwise ensure. In order to venerate ancestors, secure their magical protection and allay their wrath, one must know their names, their genealogy, their former locations in space and their past deeds. This is the significance I place on the writing and recitation of babad. They represent an essential link between the living and the dead.

The production, recitation and recompiling of ancestral lore in babad is, I propose, a prime expression of mystical participation. These activities acknowledge the magical powers of deified ancestors, express the desire to venerate ancestors and function to perpetuate participation. A derivation of the term babad, babadang means 'tying together'. Babad means 'line' (of descent) according to Balinese informants. Balinese express a fear of becoming kapegatan suluh, of being 'cut-off' from their forebears⁷ or having an 'extinguished genealogy' (Hinzler 1976:47). Because the production or recompiling of the Babad Buleleng followed upon disorder and political change and its narratives were structured on a genealogical framework, Worsley (1972) concluded that the babad functioned as a social charter. Drawing on the evidence that two other babad (Babad Bla-Batuh and Babad Arya Tabanan) were compiled during similar circumstances — the time of permanent Dutch presence — Worsley concluded that Balinese babad act as charters of legitimation. If babad are seen to have this function, the question must be raised as to whose approval is being sought. If the agent with whom the writers were seeking to justify their position is some temporal, secular authority — the Dutch — why are these 'charters of legitimation' concealed (often in temple shrines), sacred manuscripts?⁸

As previously demonstrated Balinese epistemology emphasizes fluidity and transformations. Within a cyclical and processual view of the world, dialectical reversals are perceived as inevitable and part of the immutable cycle of existence. Images of existence stress process. Myths and texts such as babad do not assert a state of perfect equilibrium. They state and explain deviation from the ideal. They recognize the transience of stability and order as well as the transience of conflict and chaos. In the case of the latter, concern is focused on the maintenance or re-establishment of links with powerful agents of change — ancestral deities. Change is forever anticipated. At one point on the trajectory, the Dutch may have been the immanent agents of change, but transcendental powers were the real authors of it. Perpetuation of power, status and well-being can only be assured through supernatural agents. Babad conciliate change by explaining it. They simultaneously re-establish participations with ancestral deities with whom ties might have been jeopardized in the chaos. A fluorescence of babad writing following change would represent a logical means of preventing a possible extinction of genealogies.

Whether or not rulers are 'legitimate' (have a legitimate dynastic claim), babad relate their deeds and misdeeds, their failings and improprieties as well as their achievements. Babad recognize the non-realization of perfection. Deviation from the ideal, nevertheless, does pose problems. The deeds of human beings, especially sakti ones, can induce danger, whether or not they are perpetrated with the intention of doing so. It could be through the power of the word, of aksara and literature, that babad effect the restoration of cosmic order and continuity of the link between the living and the dead. Even texts having titles such as uug (destruction) or puputan (dissolution) are not just narratives about struggle, conflict and destruction. They relate the fact of conflict and threatened chaos but they emphasize ancestral traditions and the completion of prescribed rituals. They list lines of descent, origins, names and the spatial location of puri. They refer to disintegration, but emphasize reintegration.⁹

Stutterheim (1956) drew an analogy between the wayang kulit and its symbolic significance and the Javanese candi, the tangible remains of a royal ancestral cult. He postulated that some candi were monumental tombs. Portrait statues of deceased royal personages were placed in the base of these candi above a pit in which their ashes had been placed. These were subject to periodic ritual and candi were places for establishment of contact with deified ancestors. Literary and archaeological evidence attest to such a cult in ancient Bali (see Lovric 1979:131,228-9). The significance of temples as places of communication with deceased rulers and invocation of their magical protective powers is known from ethnographic evidence on Bali. Awareness of the prominence of temples as sources of magical protective powers and thus places of sought participations allows one to better understand the significance of babad narrative¹⁰ concerning the desecration of a state temple (kahyangan) by a rival power. This act of aggression constituted an attempt to dislocate and cut-off the enemies source of magical power and protection. The act was not answered with vengeance. Endeavours were directed towards restoring shrines and maintaining communication with the deified ancestors venerated there by conciliating the insult and nullifying it.

The reason why Stutterheim was justified in positing an analogy between wayang kulit and candi lies in their common ground and function — an ancestor cult and an epistemological assumption which renders participations with ancestral powers an imperative. Through wayang enactments, ancestors in the form of shadows communicate and lend magical support to their descendants (McPhee 1970:155). I suggest further analogies. The production and recitation of babad, the erection and ritual revivification of sepulchral monuments (candi) of ancient Java, the erection of ancestral temples and periodic ritual held there known as 'inviting the deities to descend' (discussed in Chapter 10) and wayang enactments all attest to a cult of ancestor veneration and affirm participation and continued existences.

Like candi and pura, lontar represent a tangible link between the living, ancestors and descendants-to-be. They are symbols and sources of magical power. Interestingly, in its introduction (manggala), the writing of a kakawin is described as 'erecting a candi' (Zoetmulder 1974:188). Thus analogies between literature, whether in the form of a poem or a babad, and a temple come also from within the local tradition. Like wayang enactments, babad originate in epistemological presuppositions concerning the nature of existence. This commonality of cause and essence would explain why the kayun (from kayu, meaning tree), the stylized tree or mountain used in wayang to create the scene — the land of souls (ancestors) — is sometimes referred to as babad (McPhee 1970:155). The kayun (gunungan or babad) represents a 'tree of life' or gateway to the supernatural. In Rotinese culture, according to Fox (1971:43), the recitation of genealogies (babad) is, in fact, described as the bringing down of the ancestors and a recitation of a genealogy is an invocation of ancestors.

Themes from babad are enacted in masked dance drama (topeng) in the context of rituals. Wayang also occurs in a ritual context. When linked to the total configuration of intellectual life and other cultural phenomena such as trance possession, wayang enactment, magical dance drama, the erection and maintenance of temples and the writing, the

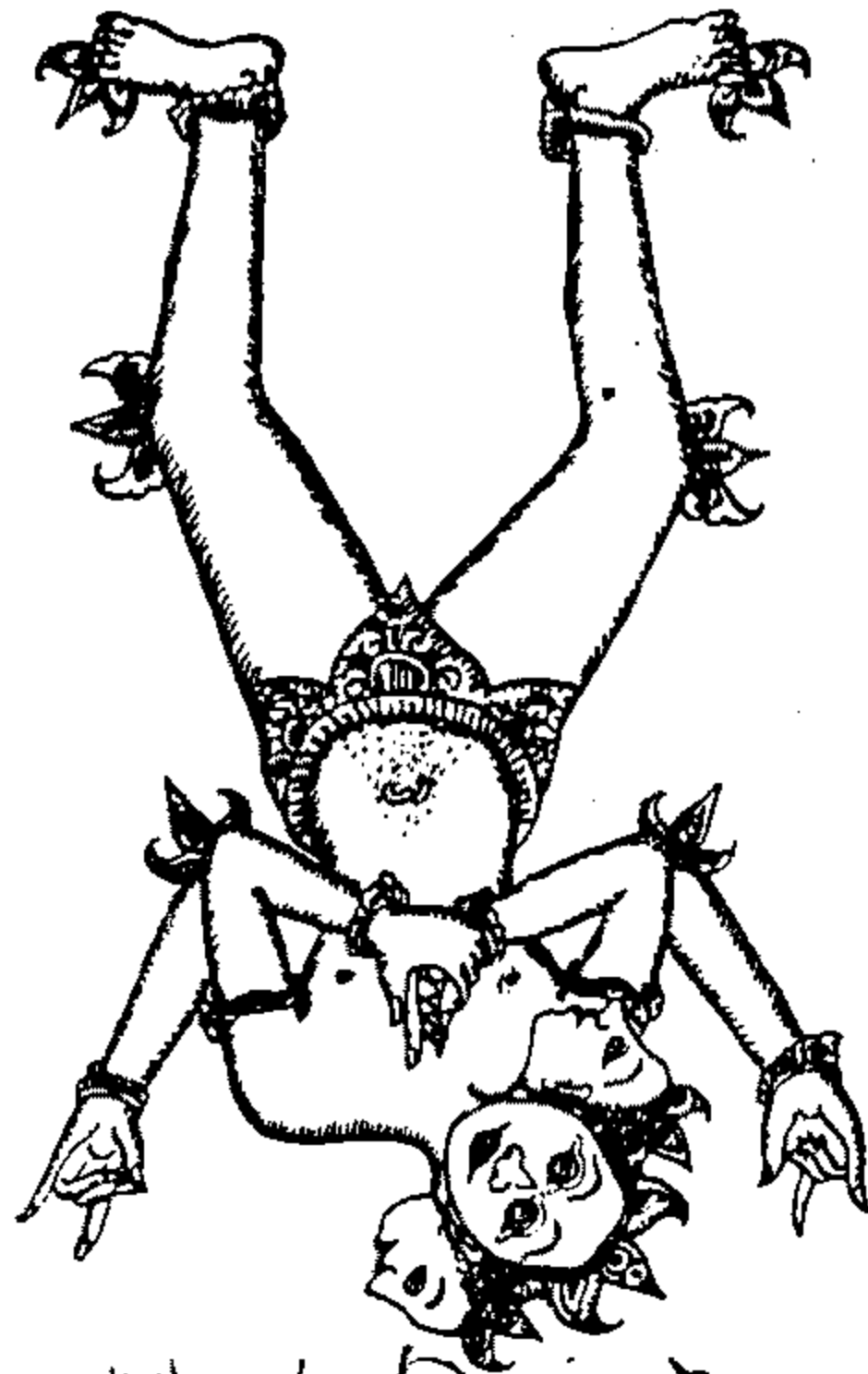
Deities in their Terrifying aspects
(Taken from Hooykaas, 1980b).



Brahma-Murti



Rudra-Murti



Vishnu-Murti

Vishnu-Murti

recitation and the recompiling of babad can be seen as rituals to be enacted not merely documentation to assert claims. As long as the dead remain significant in the lives of the living so do their histories, genealogies, origins, traditions, instructions and their exploits, virtuous or otherwise. As a form of participation, the composition and periodic exposition of babad acknowledges the unity and symbolizes the dictates of existence.

Any attempt to identify and explain one tendency in the Balinese magico-religious complex invariably relies upon a degree of awareness of other orientations and themes (such as those already identified) which constitute the conceptual frame of reference. The Balinese ritual idiom in which mystical participations with supernatural powers are sought project the Tantric orientation in Balinese religion or at least one of the tendencies in the Balinese version of the Tantric tradition. Other Tantric tendencies such as bharawa-bharawi cults are also conspicuous.

(v) Bharawa-Bharawi Cults: The Supremacy of the 'Left-Hand Path' of Tantric Practice

Tantrism is not so much a sect as a tendency (Lannoy, 1976:171).

A now deceased brahmana priest and poet of Sanur was reputed by local balian to be the most sakti living man on Bali. He was also said to be the most pure (suci). Relatives alleged that he was well over 100 years old. His physical body bore witness to a terminal degeneration of the gross body. For some time before his death, local balian commented that his jiwa or nawa sanga had already left his body and he remained alive only through his infinite sakti. Because we are now in the kali yuga (the era preceding dissolution), they said he would not moksa (disappear without trace) as did Nirartha, the legendary priest-poet-healer to whom this padanda displayed notable resemblance. Some surmised him to be a reincarnation of Nirartha. According to one of his daughters (herself a balian usada), the priest had in his lifetime reached that level of spiritual elevation known as mabharawa (having terrible or demonic powers) analagous to the highest and most difficult path in Tantrism, the transcendence of human nature, needs and motivation. As evidence of the fact that he had gained the status of bharawa, she related how before he became a padanda he could (and indeed had gone to the graveyard alone at night in order to) mareh by which is meant lying in a grave, assuming the form of a rangda and 'consuming' a corpse. This he was able to do without fear or consequence. Another balian usada related a similar account of how the padanda had pursued the 'left-hand' path (pangiwa) and had become bharawa, but had not deviated to the dangerous path of destruction which those who acquire this power are prone to do if they succumb to what is in Balinese thought the most dreaded of passions -- anger (kroda). Mabharawa, the balian explained, meant 'nunas ica ring setra' which means 'to worship or request a boon in the graveyard'. There is an obvious reference here to a Tantric deliverance idea of performing one's own mortuary rites. It calls to mind a Nepalese Tantric practice described by Pott (1966:78). The priest breathes life into a corpse by uttering mantra over it. Once the corpse is aroused, the priest holds it firmly. It will try to escape and in the critical moment of the struggle, the priest will seize the tongue of the revitalized corpse and bite it off. The body then falls lifeless once again. Through this ritual practice, the priest attains siddhi, 'supreme power and insight'. Should a priest attempt such a dangerously powerful procedure and fail, he and his

participating pupils are 'devoured' (by death). In a graveyard scene in the *Calon Arang* legend (see Chapter 11[ii]), the *Rangda* (a widow-witch) and her pupils raise to life a corpse and then ritually slaughter it in order to obtain a fresh corpse to present as an offering to Durga so that they might conjure up more magical potency. The Tantric tone in this motif is clear. A Tantric orientation in Balinese magico-medical theory and practice is conspicuous. In fact much of the symbolism in the ritual complex, plastic arts, and cults are explicable in terms of Tantric preferences and predilections.¹¹

Saraf (1974:135-41) sees some justification for tracing the Hindu Tantric tradition back to a Vedic counterpart; its metaphysics, ontology and symbolic representation being, in essence, parallel to Vedic thought, belief and ritualism. Though there is some shift in emphasis, this implies a cultural continuum, an indigenous substratum of perspective and orientation impressed by and modifying other forces while preserving its essential genius. The shift is primarily one of emphasis. This is also the position favoured by Bhārati (1970). An alternative view proposes a 'folk' genesis, a development from a Little Tradition rather than from an indigenous literate or textual one.

This piece of comparative ethnography lends further significance to my earlier proposition that the Balinese literate medical tradition displays strong affinities with Vedic thought and scriptures. The idea of the Tantric tradition as a child of the Vedic tradition does help to explain the strong Tantric and Vedic perspective and orientation I have identified in the Balinese tradition. Whether or not this indicates a borrowing, diffusion, or parallel development, I would not hazard a guess. Whatever may be the facts, the Balinese substratum, I suggest, has directed the process of selection and development of new forms and forces. I also suggest that disease and death, two substantive themes of Balinese concern and culture, have directed a Balinese preference for protective symbolism, the predominance of powerful destructive deities and the precedence of female deities.

In Tantric cults (the term *tantric* is from the scriptures called *tantra*) the energies of the female deities who sat on the left-hand side of the god were invoked; hence the term 'left-hand path'. The worship of the female principle was central. The goddess or *Sakti* is the creative force, inseparable from Siva (Siwa) and the preservative energy of Brahma. *Sakti* is divine energy in its dynamic aspect. Tantrism stresses bisexuality or the principle of the two-in-one. Cults of magic, magical utterances and female deities are characteristic of Tantric Buddhism and Hindu Saktism. Divine ambivalence, the dreadful-yet-benign and the divine-yet-malignant, deities with terrible or *kroda* manifestations are dominant motifs in symbolism and mythology. Vital power is externalized in forms wrathful and terrible (*bharawa-bharawi*) which can control the cosmos. Through their *sakti* and *maya* powers, deities transform themselves and assume *pamurtian* (fearsome) aspects, having multiple limbs, bulging eyes, sharp fangs and exuding flames. *Bharawa-bharawi* cults are also known as *mahakamapancikam* (the five great passions) prescribe the indulgence of passions as a means of transcendence. The unimpassioned consumption of all kinds of meat including human corpses (*mamsa*), of all kinds of fish (*matsya*), bodily posturing such as standing on one leg (*mudra*), indulgence of sexual passion (*mauthuma*) and the attainment of dissociation through consumption of inebriating liquids all have as

பெரிய காளி

மேலே

(2)



(3)



(1)



1) Durga-Dadeweng (taken from Hooykaas, 1980b).

2) Another representation of Durga-Dadeweng (also from Hooykaas, 1980b).

3) Durga-Demba, a means of reversing magically-induced diseases (*desti, teluh, taranjana*) and curses (HKS2074).

their ultimate objective the increment of the magical power and strength of the practitioner.

Some of the earliest archaeological evidence of Tantric ideas and practices on Bali date from the ninth century and are associated with Tantric Buddhism (Stutterheim 1936). An early form of Tantrism in which Sivaite elements predominate and bharawa images of the ancestral deity Bhima are most typical, is evident from archaeological remains in Pura Kebo Edan in Pejeng. Gonda (1975:24) cites evidence of a saktist Tantric bharawa cult on Java in the thirteenth century. Under the influence of the sakti cult, rulers were entombed as ardhanari (as Siwa and his Sakti). The objective of sakti cults was the accrescence of supernatural powers through sorcery, incantation and the powers of the 'left-hand path'. Archaeological remains such as the candi Singosari and literary evidence (for example, the themes of Tantu Pangelaran, Sudamala, Bubuksah, and Calon Arang) suggest that in the eras of close cultural-political contact between Java and Bali (during the reigns of Erlangga in the eleventh century and Kertanagara in the thirteenth), a version of Hindu Saktism and Buddhist Tantrism, bharawa cults fused the indigenous elements prevailing on Java and Bali. Kertanagara of Singosari who colonized Bali in 1284 was known to be a follower of the Kala-Cakra sect of Bhairawa Buddhism. He was deified as Siwa-Buddha and immortalized in a bharawa image -- terrifying, awesome, naked, corpulent, with bulging eyes, fangs and having human skulls as his insignia.

Both the Buddhist and the Hindu Tantric traditions distinguish a 'right-hand path' and a 'left-hand path' (Pott 1966:177). Yoga-samadhi and tapa were part of both streams. Both paths are present in the Balinese version of Tantric traditions. What I perceive as the importance and predominance of the 'left-hand path' and the bharawa tendency is possibly a reflection of its closer association with magic or kasakten. Sakti implies action, transformation and reversal, that is, it implies those things encompassed in the concept of bharawa-bharawi.

An elaborate ritual complex associated with the graveyard or cremation grounds, deities depicted iconographically as females in ferocious poses of terrifying (bharawi) nature or conjured up as personifications of powerful mystical forces and used for protection or the reversal of virulence are prominent features of Balinese magico-medical practice. Mantra, backed by sarana, intend to render ineffective (pamugpug) and reverse (pamutarang) virulence through activating and mobilizing the destructive powers of a vast array of supernaturals dissociated from the sphere of ordinary existence. A mantra named Sang Hyang Kala Agni (HKS3268) exemplifies a Tantric version of the doctrine of signatures, of confronting power with power or virulence with virulence. The forces animated and named in the following mantra are notorious agents of disease and proliferators of virulence:

ONG, you become the prey of Durga.
 I stand in the centre of the graveyard.
 One leg swings away from the body.
 I become replete with supernatural potency.
 Thunderous noise ensues.
 Squalls dart to and fro in fear.
 Flames leap out, together with all others of the same ilk,
 Ni Gandi, Ni Lenda, Ni Lendi, Ni Larung, Ni Masawadana,
 Ni Guyang, Ni Weksursa.

(continued from previous page)

Another representation of Durga Dadaweng. A rarajahan used to protect infants (HKS2354).



Also Bhuta Kala, Bhuta Dengen, Picaca [flesh-eating demon],
Anja Anja [head-standing spirit], Bhuta-Bhuti, Bhuta-Yaksi,
 Ni Calon Arang become the power of the sunda [?], the magical
 drawings named Ni Jaran Guyang, papasangan, porodan,
papendeman, tuju teluh taranjana,
 Vileness, lilimbangan [?]
deyot deyot deyot

Ni Calon Arang cackles in the east and those in the east are
 subdued.

Ni Calon Arang cackles in the south and those in the south
 are subdued.

Ni Calon Arang cackles in the west and those in the west
 are subdued.

Ni Calon Arang cackles in the north and those there are
 subdued.

Ni Calon Arang sways and moves about the middle of the
 graveyard.

Those there are stultified and thwarted

. . .
 AH AH AH
 IH IH IH
 AH AH AH

A Tantric saying goes: Shiva administers poison in order to neutralize
 the poison (Lannoy 1975:364). Many Balinese forms of therapy are
 homeopathic, operating on the law of similarity; of confronting like with
 like, virulence with greater virulence or power with greater power. The
 theory is shared by a tendency in Tantric practices elsewhere. From
 a Tantric poem Cittavisuddhiprakarana, cited in de Bary (1958 Vol.I,
 p.196):

What must we do? Where are to be found
 The manifold potencies of being?
 A man who is poisoned may be cured
 By another poison, the antidote.

Water in the ear is removed by more water,
 A thorn by another thorn. . . .

Let us return to the apparently macabre, certainly esoteric bharawa
 cult practice described at the beginning of this section. Understanding
 why a highly renowned padanda should be purported to have enacted
 a ritual involving the 'devouring' of a corpse is aided by an awareness
 of the underlying Tantric philosophy and of the supremacy of the 'left-hand
 path' which involves bharawa practices. The above cited Tantric poem
 continues:

So wise men rid themselves of passion
 By yet more passion.
 As a washerman uses dirt
 To wash clean a garment,
 So, with impurity,
 The wise man makes himself pure.

It is explicitly stated in the Tantras that the 'left-hand path' (niwrtti)
 may not be followed before the 'right-hand path' (prawrtti) has been
 successfully completed, and even then it should only be attempted under
 the expert guidance of a guru (Pott 1966:142). While the 'right-hand path'

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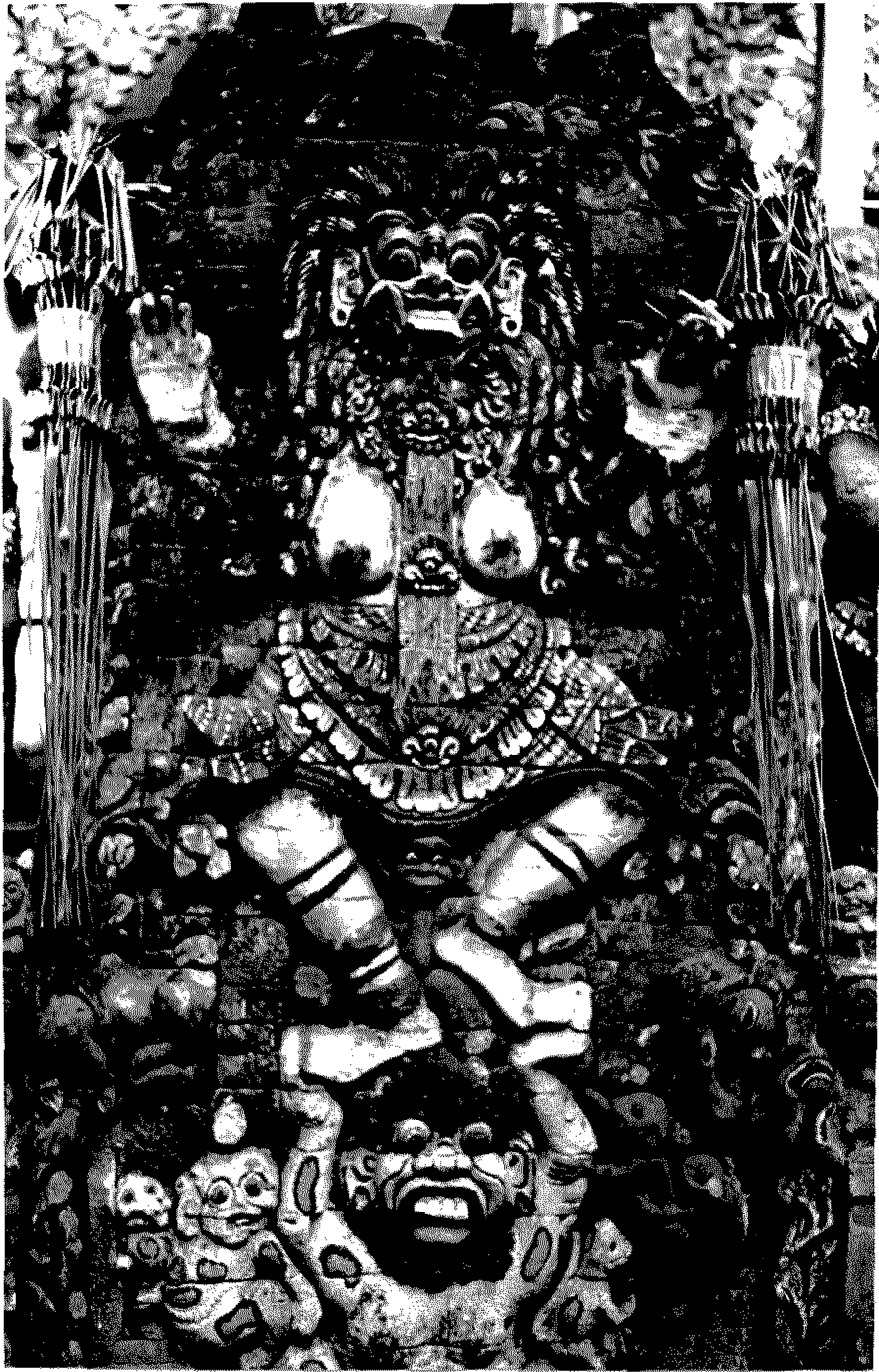
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suppresses passions, the 'left-hand path' seeks temptation in order to master it and rise above it. The objective is 'egolessness'. The adept is progressively released from the bonds of 'becoming', that is of samsara (reincarnation). He becomes detached from everything; ethically indifferent, ashamed of nothing, neither hating nor fearing, no longer bound to kin or community. One's goals are attained 'through and by means of nature, not by rejection of nature'. All notions of guilt or 'sin' must be surmounted (Zimmer 1947:59). In the course of things, the practitioner becomes a denizen of the graveyard, dead to the material world and existing in perpetual samadhi. Like the graveyard, the heart is burned of all passions and left to Devi-Kali-Durga (Pott 1966:25).

According to Pott (pp.138-9), notions of direct contact with terrifying deities, destruction of the ego and self-annihilation naturally evoke associations with graveyards, places where the material body disintegrates and the space wherein material ties with the material world are severed. However, in the Balinese version of Tantrism, graveyards are essentially places of action. In magico-medical rituals, as well as in art and in literature, graveyards and cremation grounds are places where the horrific-yet-divine is confronted. Instructions are received and revelations are made there. Destruction as well as reversals and reintegrations are wrought there. It is space wherein participations with supernatural forces are sought and achieved. It is through an exploration of the themes and tendencies of Tantrism and understanding of their Balinese variants that we can gain a closer understanding of the pre-eminence of the goddess of death and destruction, Bhatari Durga (discussed further in Chapter 9).

Durga has a variety of names referable to her various forms, attributes, actions, locations in space and powers. In Pura Dalem, Durga is known by the name Bhatari Giri Indraputri. In Pura Pamuanan, at the cremation ground in the graveyard, she is Ida Sang Hyang Bharawi. In Pura Mrajapati, near the graveyard, she is Bhatari Jatu Tunggal. When menstruating, Durga goes to Pura Kahyangan (near the Pura Dalem), and there she becomes Bhatari Durga. She remains there for three days and then moves to Pura Mrajapati to complete her own revivification. Then her name changes to Bhatari Gangga Gori, and in such form her task is to give life-restoring water (amerta). In the magico-medical lontar and historical mythology, Durga is referred to as Hyang Ra Nini, Bhatari Nini Dalem, Bhagawati, Sang Hyang Sapuh Jagat, Durga Kalika, Durga Wisesa, and Durga Dewi, to mention some of her designations. Granted that an abundance of names attributed to something signifies its importance and primacy within a system of knowing or knowledge, the Balinese Durga is unequivocally a symbol of paramount importance.

Zimmer (1947:205-7) describes Durga's identifications with other major goddesses. When she is with Ganesa, she is known as Saraswati. When she is with Brahma and Wisnu, she is named Nariana. When she is with Siwa in the mountains, she is known as Bhatari Giriputri. In the forest, she is Chandi. In the sawah, she is with Wisnu and is named Sri. With her lover, Siwa, she is named Uma. When Kala is her consort, Durga is Kali, the Power-of-Time. She is transcendent night, emaciated voracious and gruesome. She is sakti, the feminine and active principle, the natural cause of the universe, the maya that produces the world and that evolves the differential. These are reflections of Tantric philosophy. The extent to which they apply to the Balinese construct of Durga is problematic. However, that does not of itself undermine the validity of entertaining the thought that Durga is the Supreme All-Encompassing force in Balinese



Durga in Pura Kahyangan

metaphysical speculations. Ethnographic and textual material examined in this study support such a notion.

To refer back to previously identified philosophical themes and perceptions of the Balinese magico-medical tradition, Durga is another instance of the rwa bhineda principle, of the fluidity of form, symbolic transformations and mystical participations, and, as destroyer, controller and creator, another realization of the trisakti doctrine. Durga also encompasses another theme; she has many names and she 'knows'. Having knowledge of all existential matters and changes, she is a formidable but also a discerning foe. A comment made by a balian concerning Durga's role in the proliferation of disease seems to reiterate the particularity of the Balinese evaluation of knowledge referred to earlier. Knowledge is power and implies responsibility. The balian reasoned that one made ill by Durga is less unfortunate than one made ill by bhuta-kala or leyak of a low order (that is, ignorant of literature). Durga has perspicuity and wisdom, while the other are ignorant, lacking in awareness, indiscriminate and therefore excessively dangerous.

Disparate as they may be to the all-powerful, all-encompassing Durga, bhuta-kala are introduced at this point, for I perceive them to represent (like Durga) a critical component in the web of symbols and metaphors which structure existential concerns and reflect somatic experiences. Leyak which are also projections of some basic reality are discussed in the context of domestic crises in Chapter 8.

(vi) Bhuta-Kala (Demonic) as a Metaphor for Nature Disordered

. . . the demonic, that morbid possibility of being . . .
(Kapferer, 1983:1).

Balinese magico-medical theory posits sets of supernaturals and preternaturals. They exist in many forms, from a complex pantheon of deities and demons, to live magical spells such as babai and pamali created by sakti human beings from magically potent and pathogenic ingredients. The postulate of supernaturals, as we have seen, is part of several philosophical doctrines which underlie Balinese medical theory: panca mahabhuta, 'the five great elements'; kanda mpat, 'four spiritual siblings'; and rwa bhineda, 'two-in-one principle', in particular. The origins and forms of these supernaturals are many and various: the issue or manifestations of high gods and goddesses; spirits of the dead, of peoples long vanished and of legendary heroes; the troubled souls of those who have died unnatural deaths; and the souls of those who have led an 'un-natural' life such as those who have been endowed with extraordinary sakti.

Mindful that any attempted classification of this plethora of supernatural forces must remain tentative, I propose three categories of those who are of another order to that of the high gods of the Hindu-Buddhist pantheon, but who are, nevertheless, in some cases, manifestations or emanations of high gods. Confining myself to Balinese terminology, there being no semantic equivalents in the English language, I propose first a group of metaphysical forces which include those generically named bhuta-kala-dengen, dewa-dewi and sanghyang. A second

group, named wong samar, mamedi, tonya and gamang which are seen as wandering souls, ancestral spirits or environmental spirits, could be termed pre-naturals. A third group includes spells or spirits named babai, pamali, tuju, teluh, taranjana and bajang which are also disease categories. Those of the first two categories are potentially benign and potentially malignant. They are concerned with and intervene in the morbid possibilities of the human condition. Their goodwill needs to be actively retained and their potential malignity needs to be actively assuaged. Those of the third category are unequivocally pathogenic in nature and intent.

In the Purwa Bhumi Kamulan (HKS2286), the origin and form of bhuta-kala is described as follows:

Bhatara Guru (Siwa) and his Sakti, Bhatari Uma [Durga] performed yoga from which the dewata panca rsi [five sages] were created. Rsi Korsika, created from the skin of Siwa, was sent to the east and became dengen. Rsi Gargha, created from the flesh of Siwa, was sent to the south and became mong [lion]. Rsi Metri emerged from the vessels of Siwa and was sent to the west and became ular [snake]. Rsi Kurusya emerged from the bones of Siwa and was sent to the north and became buaya [crocodile]. Rsi Pratanjala who emerged from the marrow of Siwa was sent to the centre. Bharati Durga concentrated all of her energy and created kala in masculine and feminine form. They were named brengkala-brengkali, genaka-genaki, gondhala-gondhali, betala-betali, kundhala-kundhali and kala-galungan. Bhatari Durga again meditated and the ocean was dissolved and its contents filled the earth. From this yoga, creatures of all forms and colours were created - duyung [sea cow], kuluya [shark], be buntek [a species of fish] and innumerable others [all species of fish]. Whilst Durga continued to perform yoga gazing upon the world, Bhatara Guru descended to earth and transformed into kala having the roar of a lion, with eyes shining like twin suns, nostrils like twin wells and a huge long body; a form beyond comparison which filled the whole world.

Also, kala, manifest as male and female, are called bhuta-bhuti and yaksa-yaksi. These pre-eminent blood-suckers later become dewa-dewi, dengen, detya and danawa, also bekalika-bekaliki, pepelika-pepeliki, having forms which are either gross or diminutive. In the mountains and in the forests Bhatara Kala exists as bhuta sabagkala, in the wood of trees as banaspati, in the earth as kala wisesa, in the sky as singakasa, in stone as bhuta laksmi, at night as bhuta wisnu pujut, during the day as bhuta abang, in the hollow of bamboo as kala ngundung, in the entrance to the houseyard as dora kala, in dwellings as hyang maharaja, in sanggah as bhuta suci, in steps as kala graha, below sleeping places as bhuta bulek, below floor mats and mattresses as bhuta delik, in doors as gamulingakasa and bhuta neleplep, in the sanggar as kala candi, in roofs as kala membah, in fences as kala nginte, in pillars as kala ngintip, in rivers as bhuta ngandang, on roads as bhuta ngegel and in wells as bhuta ngilo.

Clearly, there is a blurring of distinctions between deities and demons, as well as between one form of the demonic and another. Philosophically, dewa are bhuta are kala. Power is the critical attribute

of each. There is clear agreement on the reality of supernaturals and of their importance in the lives of the Balinese, though some obscurity concerning the classification and differentiation of them. The impossibility of verifying their existence through visual means raises no problems. That which is intangible is often 'more real'; the wind cannot be seen, the heat of the sun cannot be seen, nor can the deceased be seen, lightness and dark cannot be felt, yet they are 'all real', was the way in which a pamangku expressed the logic which precludes questioning of the unmanifest categories of existence. 'The appearance of air, water, fire and earth does not reveal their reality or their potentiality', the pamangku added. Such questioning aside, Balinese do not question the existence of the supernatural, or, more accurately, they do not consider its non-existence.

The power possessed by these vagrant, volatile supernaturals is not of the same character as that acquired by human beings, that is, sakti. Their power is innate. They are not generally said to have sakti. They have a kind of circumstantial potentiality. Bhuta-kala are assigned the role of guardian spirits. Given the right circumstances, they protect. They live in closest proximity to human beings. As well as within and about human habitats, forms of bhuta-kala exist within the human organism. The panca mahabhuta medical doctrine, for example, embodies this premise.

Preternaturals such as wong samar are allocated principally to space peripheral to human activities. They occupy forests, rivers, ravines and bridges -- places through which humans pass but do not linger. There are prescribed ways of relating to these spirits. Avoidance is the most commonly advocated means of preserving well-being which may be threatened through uncontrolled contact with them. Do not look at them, do not answer their calls, do not venture out at night and avoid being in their space are the kinds of recommendations Balinese informants offer in order to elude harmful influences. Preternaturals are also an ambiguous category as well as being ambiguous in nature. They seem to be imputed to have certain qualities of character and moral and immoral judgements. This is hardly surprising as they are supposed to be the wandering souls of human ancestors. They are, one might say, the deified human just as demons and deities are the humanized metaphysical. Wong samar are given to uncontrolled anger. They can deceive and inveigle. On the other hand they can represent a source of healing, power or wealth for those favoured (melik) by them. Some Balinese are selected to participate more intimately with wong samar, in a communication which is generally to the advantage of the person selected (see section iv of this chapter). The term pamelik denotes such a person.

Preternaturals, such as wong samar and tonya, however, cannot be clearly differentiated either spatially or in terms of identity from bhuta-kala. In a manuscript (HKS3324), certain named tonya are assigned a place within the houseyard:

The tonya who exerts power in the sanggah is named I Setan.

The tonya who exerts power in the houseyard is named I Bincal.

The identity of tonya and bhuta can even become fused:

The tonya who exerts influence at the entrance to the houseyard is named I Bhuta Bragenjeng.

Sanghyang Baya Asmara (HKS1935)

Rarajahan



Another tonya bears the name of a legendary historical figure:

The tonya who exerts influence in the kayangan temple is named Mpu Kuturan.

Further evidence of the ambiguous nature of the demonic lies in the fact that supernaturals of such a disposition can be called upon to neutralize the ignominy of leyak as the same text also indicates:

What follows is a means of buying off [pangulih-ulih] a person who creates desti [a disease-causing spell] and tuju babahi [disease category].

The sarana: On the horn of a goat inscribe the rajah ANG ANG ANG.

Also make a caru of nasi soka, arak and the flesh of a pig, procured from the houseyard and having one large and one small testicle.

Having had the following mantra uttered over it, the sarana should be buried in the garden.

Mantra: ONG Sang Bhuta Prajapati, if there are leyak babai occupying this place, a human who is causing illness.

You should ensnare them, poma poma poma

Because you know this person who causes illness you should amend their former deeds.

ONG, siddhia astu, wariwastu wastu.

A rarajahan of a bhuta sucking its fingers and toes (bhuta anyepsep lima-batis) is part of a sarana prescribed for the treatment of one suffering the magically-induced illness named desti-tuju-teluh-taranjana-leyak (HKS3907).

One of the fears associated with these classes of supernaturals is in mishandling them. Texts are explicit on the dangers inherent in and consequent upon doing so. The various orders of priests, particularly balian, know the locations, affinities and names of those who share the human environment, as well as the kinds of offerings required to keep them captivated and genial. These spirits are irascible, but not intrinsically evil. Only when ignored or offended do they become obstreperous. Then, they must be sobered through more elaborate offerings (pacaruan). Those thus endangered must be symbolically decontaminated through ablutions with purified water.

Offerings for the demonic (bhuta-yadnya) range from the daily saiban, which includes rice and a little of each food cooked, to a ceremonial extravaganza named ekadasarudra. Saiban are placed by each bale, the well, the cooking device, in the centre of the compound and at the entrance to the compound. Bhuta-kala are, to an extent, parasitic, and they can be pathogenic forms of life.

For what then are bhuta-kala a metaphorical allusion and of what are they a symbolic resolution in magico-medical thinking and understanding? Kapferer's (1983) explication of Singhalese conceptions of the demonic is a helpful guide to an understanding of the Balinese bhuta-kala phenomenon. However, I pursue a more biologically-based view of the demonic and its symbolism.

Kapferer describes the demonic as 'multitudinous beings', as 'multiple refractions of the principles underlying the structuring of the cosmic

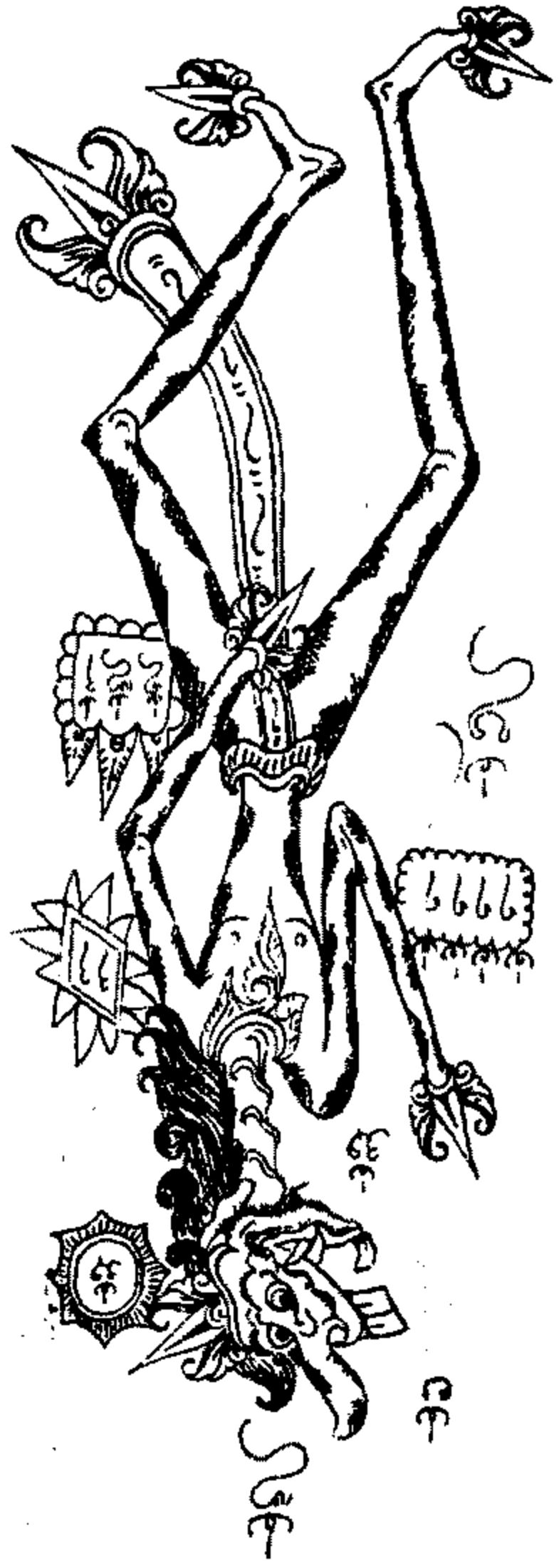
order', and as 'the unmitigated representations of nature' (p.116). He defines the demonic ultimately as a representation of 'culture disordered'. In the Balinese context, I would propose that bhuta-kala are a representation of the potentiality of nature disordered, or more precisely of the human organism disturbed or diseased. The difference between Kapferer's interpretation and my own may be no more than a quibble. One might argue that 'nature disordered' is 'culture disordered', and the reverse. The human organism is, after all, an intrinsic part of Balinese cosmology as well as nature.

Kapferer sees the demonic as a particular construction of reality in which the signs of physical, mental and social disorder are as much metaphors of the demonic as they might be the real or objective motivation behind a demonic conception of reality (p.9). Related Balinese data suggest that bhuta-kala are a particular construction of reality — abnormality and derangement, physical and mental. These are anthropomorphized in the demonic. The social disorder, which assumes importance in the Sri Lankan conceptions, does not bear the same relevance in the Balinese construction of the demonic. As already proposed, demons and deities transcend issues of human social and moral concern. They cluster rather around the vicissitudes of life and dynamic natural and biological processes and around issues such as the perpetuation of lineages. I heed Kapferer's warning that we should not deny an interpretation of the demonic 'as a phenomenon in and of itself' and that we should entertain the possibility of a two-way rather than a one-way causal relationship between disorder and conception of the demonic (p.9). My suggestion thus far is therefore that the Balinese conceive of the reality of abnormality and morbidity, demonically.

Obeyesekere (1970:97-102) would argue that illness is defined and disease symptoms are expressed through demonic possession and in a religious idiom. He stresses the importance of socio-cultural and psychosociological factors in what are after all primarily bio-medical problems and therefore fails to even consider what it is that demonic possession affliction itself might express. (This matter is pursued in Chapter 7.) Neither Balinese constructions of disease nor of the demonic are reducible to sociological idioms. I will demonstrate the proposition that pathological processes influences definitions of illness, the expression of the demonic and religious idioms. Bhuta-kala are a pathological representation.

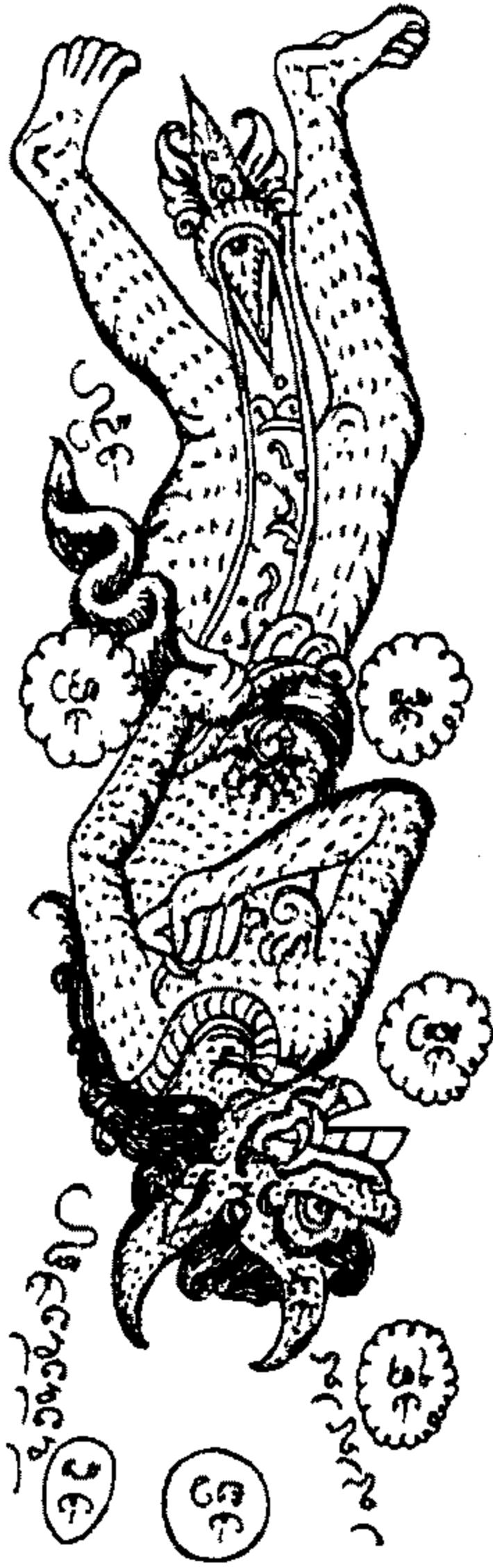
Kapferer also perceives a disease element in the Sinhalese construction of the demonic in terms of a two-way process. 'Physical and mental disorder as metaphors for the demonic and the demonic as the metaphor of physical and mental disorder' (p.87). However, he sees non-material society and culture, whereas I suggest disease and abnormality, as the foci of the symbolism. Bhuta, a Sanskrit term, means 'that which exists', 'material' or 'element'. Bhuta-kala are, in essence, the five elements — earth, water, fire, wind and ether (the panca mahabhuta). These are the essence of the human organism. Their link with either culture or society is tenuous and circumstantial.

Gordon (1949:205) also noted a striking resemblance between ancient perceptions of the aetiology of disease in general and the 'modern doctrine of biologic pathology' of the type I am proposing here. Both perceptions concede extraneous unmanifest infecting agents whose numbers are legion,



> Kala Kidul

> Bhuta Jaka Tua



Rarajahan (HKS2171)



> Sanghyang Gana

> Bhuta Ganggo



with specific modes of attack and a predilection to certain tissues and organs. They abide in and can permeate air, water, soil, heat and wind. They thrive in decomposing flesh. Environments favourable for the assemblages of demons are often those which are known to be perilous for humans. In the branch of Western medical discourse called bacteriology, the biologic factors which both sustain life and produce pathologic conditions would be called microbes. Microbes are only potentially lethal to human hosts. Like bhuta-kala, they are an inevitable and necessary part of the living organism. Like any other aspect of Balinese metaphysics, bhuta-kala cannot, in any consistent significant sense, be assigned to 'our' category of 'evil'.

Hordes of bhuta-kala or various shapes, having diverse potentials and existing in certain environments as well as the human organism are assumed to have human needs. Food and even money is offered to them. Whilst these particular supernaturals live in a kind of parasitic relationship with their human hosts, they are not offered discarded food. They receive only freshly-prepared food. They are not generally inculpated in crime on a human ethical level, that is, suspected of theft, vandalism, lying or cheating. They are not within the human moral order. They are associated with dangers inherent in the natural environment. They inhabit space which is tenget and congregate at times which are magically dangerous. Their activities, potentially threatening to human well-being, increase at transitional times of day such as dusk (sande kala), at transitional phases in human life such as birth, at the change of seasons, and during the wet season — times and circumstances when there is a correlative susceptibility to disease and death.

Bhuta-kala are edacious and querulous and fractious if ignored or neglected. They are feared but not despised. They can be loathsome, but they are not loathed; inglorious, abhorrent, of repugnant appearance, and indictable for ignominious deeds, yet not shunned or forsaken. There are bhuta-kala of spotty, mottled, muddy and ruddy complexion. There are those which are gross in appearance, absurd in form and having the facial features or limbs of animals. Some have swollen noses or thick lolling tongues. Some are overly thin or emaciated. Others are overly obese or oedematose. The textures and colours of the skin of bhuta-kala cover a range of abnormalities which present analogies with the variety of skin and hide which exist in the animal world. Some are red, the colour of blood, or yellow, the colour of jaundice. Others are green, the colour of bile, brown, the colour of excreta or vomitus, or black and blue, the colour of anoxia and cyanosis. Their breath is foul, their posture grotesque and their gait ludicrous. They can be foul-smelling and they can appear inebriated or demented. It is indeed as Covarrubias (1937:276) and Howe (1984:204) have said, they are the epitome of what is kasar (uncouth), and diseases do flourish when their numbers multiply unchecked. However, the context of their 'lack of refinement' is not social and it is of more than aesthetic concern. They are the epitome of gross pathology. Their appearances cover the whole spectrum of morbid phenomenon.

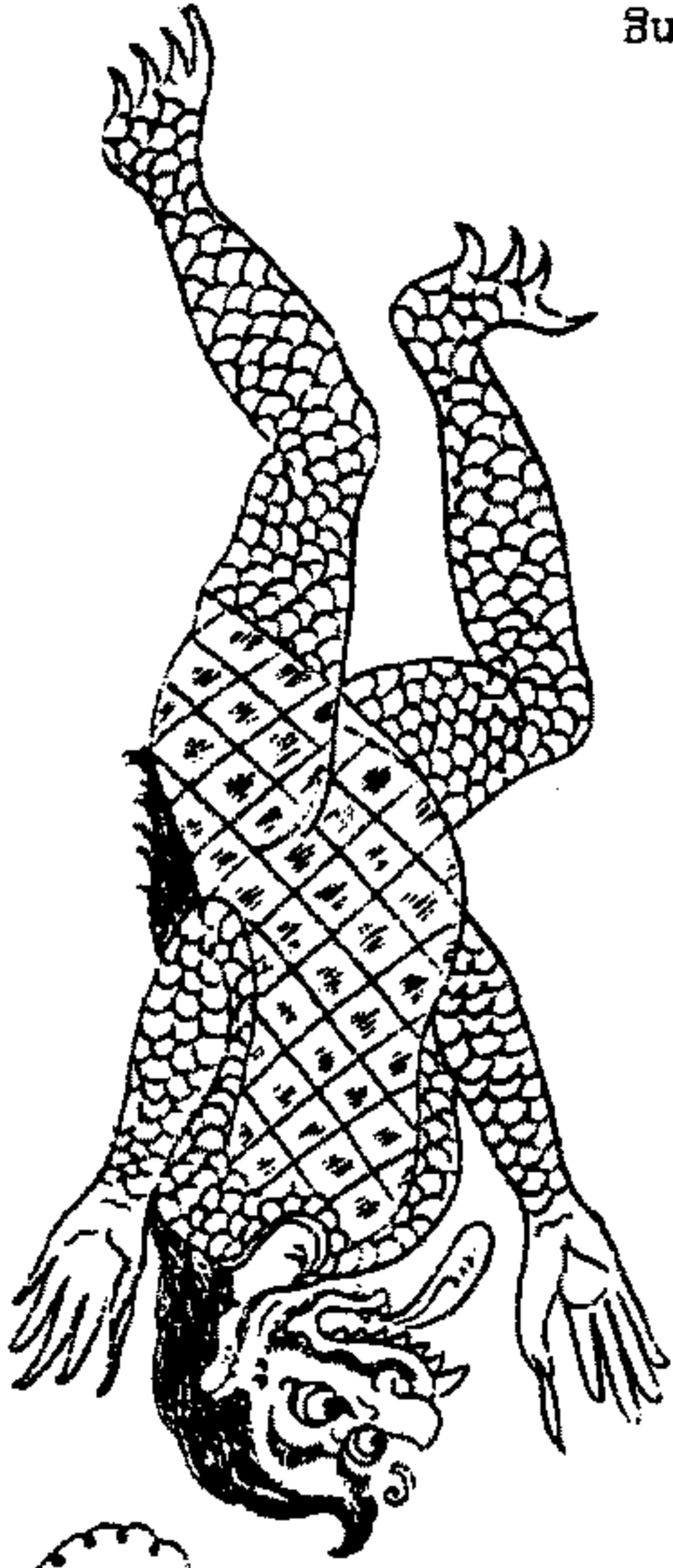
As well as their generic bhuta or kala class names these 'morbid possibilities of being' have distinguishing names. Many names encapsulate the distinguishing feature of the kind of morbidity the demon encodes. There is a bhuta ulad-alid, one who has a 'maggoty' complexion and a 'fishy' odour. Bhuta ulu-asu has 'a head like a dog', bhuta ulu lembu has a 'head like a cow', and bhuta ulu kuda has a 'head like a horse'. Bhuta



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Sanghyang Jungil Mungmang
(taken from Hooykas, 1980b)

Bhuta Ngadu-ada



Handwritten notes and a small circular stamp containing the word 'Camb'.



Handwritten text in a script, possibly Khmer or Thai, located around the figure.

Rarajahan (HKSS2171)

Bhuta Bajra Kaya



Bhuta Kadempol

ugal-agil is 'wobbly'. Then there are others such as: bayu-bajra-sakti (bajra means 'thunderbolt') who 'burns' his victims; kala tuwa and gagendu tuwa who suck the blood of their victims; jaka tuwa (aged youth) who is broomstick-thin and has part-human and part-animal features. The names, deeds and appearances of these last mentioned three might be tropes for fever, anaemia and rapid aging associated with emaciation respectively.

Names such as: kala lepek (staggering); kala nintip (half-closed eyes); kala nelep (eyes fixed to one side); kala nelik (stare wide-eyed); kala edan (mental derangement or loss of control); kala nundang (support one's chest, as a sick person does); kala grahang (seize hold of); bhuta mingmang (vertigo); bhuta jingkrung (body arched); bhuta lengoh (reel and sway); bhuta gudug basur (gudug is the name of a skin disease and basur means 'swollen abdomen'); bhuta beteg (oedema); bhuta bongol (deaf); bhuta pengeng (vertigo); bhuta bangsel (swollen); bhuta salah-rupa (misformed); kala rumpuh (paralysed); kala kilang-kilung (wander aimlessly); bhuta balabuh (uncontrollable somnolence); bhuta muyang-mayang (withered); and bhuta macek (stabbing), to present a selected few, clearly encapsulate things morbid not moral. However, Hooykaas (1974:69-70) translated lepek as 'sacred', nintip as 'nosey', nelep as 'peeping', nelik as 'spy', edan as 'lust', nundang as 'enticer', grahang as 'snatcher'.¹² Using Hooykaas's translations, Howe (1984:207) interpreted some of the above names as indicative of the vice and anti-social misdeeds of bhuta-kala thereby confining their predispositions and activities to the spheres of social order and etiquette. My alternative translations and interpretive propositions arise from a familiarity with these names and the bhuta-kala bearers of them in magico-medical texts from which they derive and wherein they present as part of medical semiology.

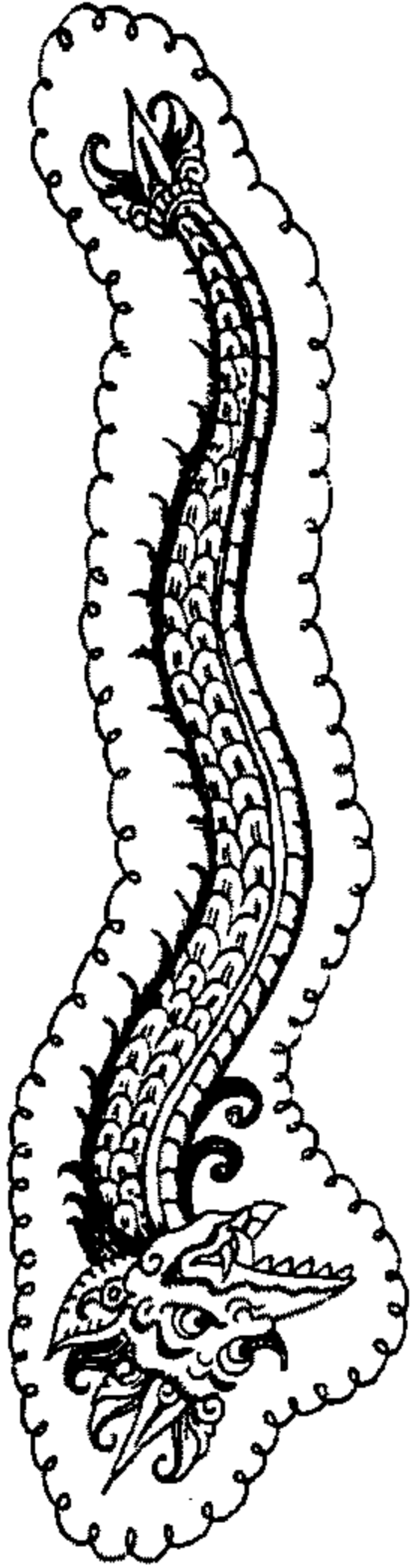
The above is not a fully representative list of names ascribed to bhuta-kala. They are also named after animals (e.g., kala mong, (lion) kala), by calendrical terms (e.g., bhuta langkir [the thirteenth wuku], numbers (bhuta siu, 'one thousand bhuta) and even states such as bhuta karang suung (deserted houseyard) or bhuta siluman (metamorphic bhuta). There are giant bhuta (bhuta danawa), headless body bhuta (bhuta gowang), demon-spirit bhuta (bhuta yaksa) and there is a bhuta named after the specific pathogen, pamali (bhuta pamali). The most powerful bhuta who incarnate as disease pathogens are named preta (ghost-like) kala dengen, bhuta ajil (?), bhuta saliwah (half-black and half white or unmatching), bhuta ludra (terrifying; ludra is also the name of the fifth day of the eight-day week) and bhuta ari-ari (human placenta) (K286). Bhuta bang (red bhuta), bhuta sweta (white bhuta) and bhuta ireng (black bhuta) are the offspring of the union of Durga and Rudra (Siwa in his terrifying form).

On the other hand, there are bhuta-kala named suci (purity), asih (compassion), mukti (pleasure), jaya (victory), candra (moon), padma (lotus), pracintya (the unimaginable) dharma (piety) brahma (a high deity), cakra (the wheel, Siwa's weapon) and rangga mirah (ruby melody). Howe (1984:207) concedes that from his interpretive stance he is unable to explain the existence of such 'anomalous' names of bhuta-kala. From my perspective, the existence of bhuta-kala bearing names generally indicative of positive qualities is not problematic. Within the framework of my encoding of the semiology of bhuta-kala as a metaphor for microbiotic activity within and about the human organism, there is no

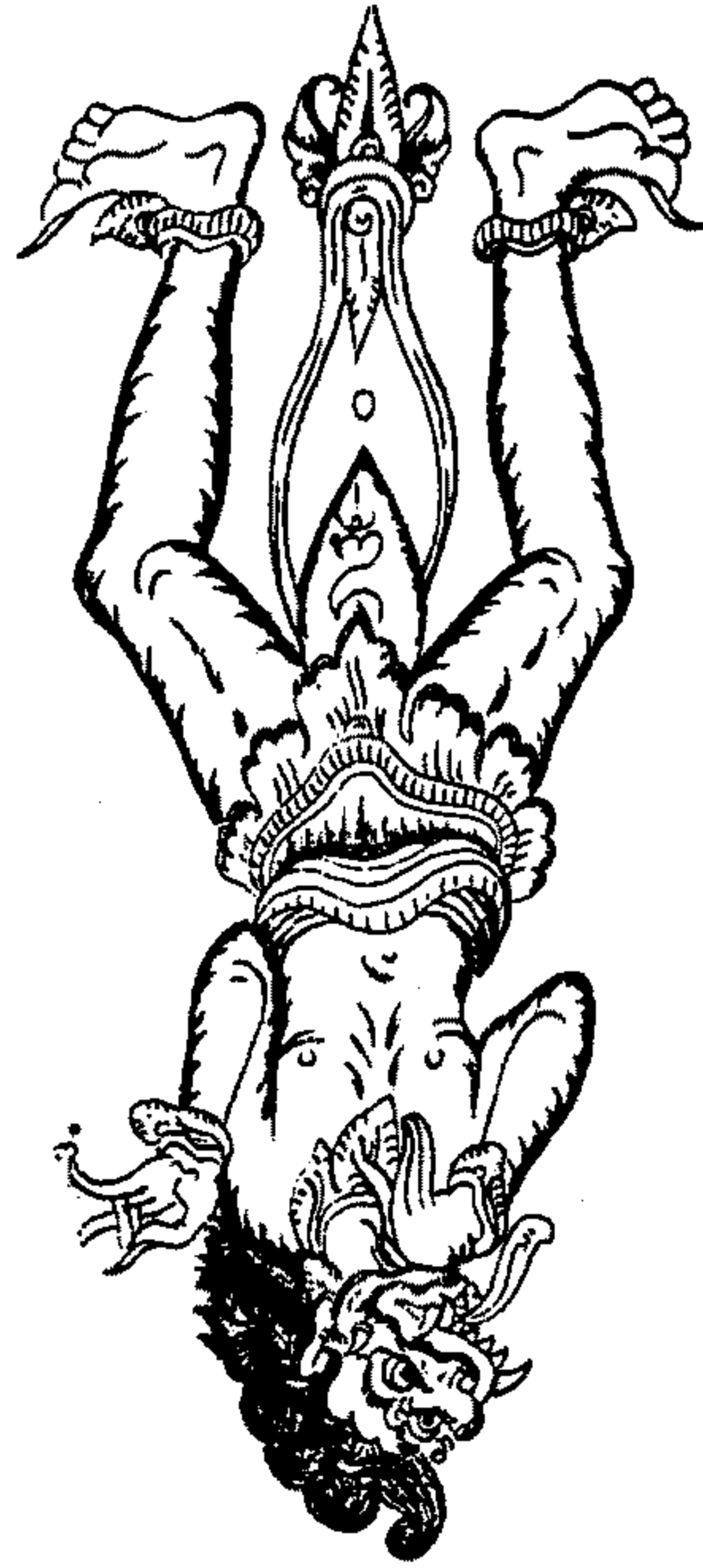
Sanghyang Bhuta
(taken from Hooykaas, 1980b)



Kroda (Angry) Kala
(HKS2171)



Pamungkem (Clenched mouth) Kala (HKS2171)



anomaly other than that which is inherent in the nature of microbes themselves. Pathogens and their hosts co-exist for prolonged periods. The response of the host immune system often permits mutual survival. Bhuta-kala exists in hordes and live in closest proximity to man. Pasteur demonstrated that bacteria occur in greatest numbers in the immediate vicinity of man. Sir Patrick Manson (1899:57), the 'Father of Tropical Medicine', stated that 'the great underlying principle of tropical disease . . . [is] the interdependence of man and beast in the manner of pathogenic germs. The point is, there are different ways of knowing and other systems of recording observation.

The panca mahabhuta medical teaching (see HKS2557; HKS2901) explains the locations of specific bhuta-kala within the human organism. For example, there is a bhuta galah (pole) in the neck, kala lungguh (at rest) in the heart, bhuta sula (sharp weapon) in the navel, bhuta rumpuh (paralysis) in the lower limbs. Bhuta depak (kick), who is robed as a bhatara, is in the soles of the feet. Kala pracintya, kala sumarambah (?), bhuta gedi (evacuation), bhuta tambeng (obstruction) and bhuta mangsa (devouring) exists in the lower abdomen. According to the teaching, 'dewa signify mantra, kala signify danger (durgama) and danger signifies death'. Dewa oscillate and mutualize with (kalawan) kala for they exist as one (mahurip tunggal) (HKS2557:7). 'Dewa and kala live together as one because the human organism embodies both. Both dewa and kala empower (angawe kawisesan) the human organism (HKS2557:9). As with other aspects of Balinese metaphysics, bhuta-kala cannot simply be assigned to a category of evil. Dewa and bhuta-kala cannot be separated. They are of the same metaphysical reality. What Spiro (1967:259) has said of nats in the Burmese context, applies to bhuta-kala in the Balinese. They are indifferent to the moral conduct but susceptible to the ritual endeavour of human beings.

The daily, periodic and seasonal offerings for bhuta-kala are not in the nature of rites of exclusion or exorcism. Rather they demonstrate the recognition of their inevitable presence and power. The objective is to keep them contented and make good their contentment in order that they do not become irascible and disturb mankind's natural state of well-being. As medical texts such as (HKS XIX,18:38a) warn:

If there are no caru in houseyards, bhuta-kala become impatient and blood-thirsty and are inclined to feed upon [anadah] and cause illness [nyakitang] among occupants of the dwelling. There is death and suffering and endless sickness. There is desolation and decimation. The owners of the houseyard no longer exist. Each day the acquisition of edification diminishes because Bhatara Durga is no longer welcomed. Poma. This should be remembered. If caru are made, all the bhuta-kala extend their favours. They do not become angry and blood-thirsty. Human beings do not perish and suffer. Infants are safe from life-threatening diseases. The owners of the houseyard and all the occupants are safe and can enjoy a long life.

Only when they have been grossly neglected and have subsequently withdrawn their protection, and sickness and distress reign over a household or a community, are there rites of expulsion as well as the normal conciliatory ones. The objective then is to return things to the normal order implicit in the relationship between human beings and potentially

Rarajahan

Bhuta Rimpus, used as a means of protection against (pangijeng) smallpox. Rimpus has a meaning of binding hands and feet and also of 'catching' (Drawing taken from Hooykaas, 1980b).

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බුදා රිඞ්පුස්



maleficent metaphysical forces. The core of mankind's obligations to bhuta-kala is to 'feed' them in order that they might not, in the form of life-devouring diseases, 'feed upon' the human organism. In Balinese medical theory, the spirits of disease (pathogens) are perceived as invading forces or parasites which extract their nourishment and sustenance from the human body eating away internal organs. Physiological responses such as fever, inflammations, rashes and sensory and mental clinical manifestations are perceived as the end result of internal chaos or the 'eating away' of tissues. Like many animals -- lions, dogs, cats -- disease microbes are carnivorous.

Bhuta-kala display both animal-like and human-like features. They participate intimately in the physical and the metaphysical. As I discern it, they are exaggerated forms of human deficiency, deformity and dysfunction. They provide a metaphor, an embodiment of the processes and the effects involved in disease, namely, the deviation from what is normal, human and natural, sane and salubrious. They are linked to the content and form of disease -- transformations, changes of colour, shape and behaviour, and changes in sensory and motor function. The demonic encapsulates the abnormality and the grotesqueries of morbidity (cf., Kapferer 1983:91). I also suggest that the abnormal and the grotesqueries of disease have influenced the iconography of the demonic. Demonology personifies morbid phenomena. Local constructions of disease aetiology and the experience of disease symptomatology concatenate and conflate in the demonic. A blend of salubriousness and potential malignancy, bhuta-kala are a part of human bio-medical affairs and concerns. The human organisms cannot live without them and may not survive if they become fractious. Like the human organism and the microorganism, mankind and bhuta-kala are forever locked in an uneasy symbiosis.

Here, I propose and periodically in the remainder of this thesis I will demonstrate that Balinese conceptualize and actualize morbid phenomena through bhuta-kala, animal spirits, part-animal and part-human representations and through witches (leyak) who assume animal forms. Animal behaviour, anatomy and physiognomy provide ready and apt analogies with the symptoms and signs of diseases, especially the disfiguring ones and those affecting the central and peripheral nervous systems which are a significant part of the burden of disease experienced in harsh tropical environments.

(vii) The Disease Burden: Spectres and Specifics

The Balinese appear, therefore, to have elaborated a culture 'saturated' with disease themes and concepts. To what extent does this reflect an actual burden of morbidity and mortality? Early histories relate the arrival of religious leaders from Java and their legendary treks across Bali during which many of their followers perished through disease. The building of temples by such leaders became one of the earliest means of securing protection against disease. Rsi Markandeya, a Yogi from India, arrived on Bali from Java in the eighth century. On a trek through Bali to clear new areas for habitation he led a contingent of 800 (or 8,000) followers. However, epidemic disease spread among them halving their numbers. He returned to Gunung Agung, where, in a state of meditative trance, it was revealed to him that because he had cleared

the forest without first having conducted a ceremony, disease had become rife among his followers.

Before commencing a second journey, Markandeya and his followers performed a ritual at a place called Basuki (meaning rahayu) to seek protection. (Basuki became Besakih). They settled in Sarwada (now Taro). But before commencing to clear the land they buried five different metals (panca dhatu), gold, silver, copper, bronze and iron. They then built a pangastawa (temple), now known as Pura Agung Taro. An inscription in this temple mentions this religious leader (Mengenai Pura Kahyangan Jagat 1982:10).

In this context, I consider myths as historical phenomena, on the assumption that natural or historical events represent starting points of myths or that historical events and interpretations of them may be incorporated into mythological tales. In other words, epidemics might well have prompted myths and such responses as the building of temples and the ritual preparation of space prior to erecting dwellings.

A seasonal pattern of illness has long been recognized by the Balinese. Usana Bali texts contain warnings to this effect. The wet season is referred to as the epidemic season (masan sasab marana; masan grubug). The changing of seasons, also a hazardous time for health, is named sasih nyebaa (months of having fever). Sasih kanem (the sixth Balinese month) is the time of the change of seasons -- from dry to wet. Sasih kapitu (seventh Balinese month) is the time of 'greatest darkness' (peteng dedet). It is also the time of Siwa-ratri (the night of Siwa) when people must be particularly cautious and aware of danger (HKS2069). Sasih kaulu (eighth Balinese month) is characterized by strong winds, violent thunderstorms and heavy rain. Sasih kasanga (ninth Balinese month) marks the climax and the transition.

Bhama Kretih and Pacarwan Mwang Panulak (HKS XIX, 18) also describe a seasonal recurrence of epidemic illnesses (masan gumi grubug), deadly epidemics (gering kamaranan), sporadic outbreaks of febrile illnesses (gering ngebus) and illnesses involving disturbances of the nervous system manifesting in uncontrolled and bizarre behaviour, expressed through such terms as gering nia panas uyang, anglempuyeng and gering anglayang.

Seaside villages (desa ring pinggiran sagara), according to these texts, are especially susceptible to the effects of epidemics during the wet season and at the change of seasons. Epidemic diseases are not remedied through the methods of treatment contained in usada. They are perceived as being created through the virulence (kawisyan) of such deities as Bhatara Baruna, Kala Bhatara Tengahing Sagara and Ratu Gede Nusa (Bhama Kretih 23:12; HKS XIX, 18:34b; HKS IV, 8:3a). Judging from a number of references to rites intended to prevent or curb outbreaks of disease in seaside villages, there was in all probability a higher prevalence of certain diseases among populations residing on the coast. This would certainly have been the case with malaria known to occur prominently in lowland areas.

Rituals specifically intended to avert epidemic or neutralize the effects of an outbreak of illness take place during the wet season, from the sixth to the tenth months of the Balinese calendar, that is, from about October to March. On the day of full moon, November 12, 1981,

there was a ritual held in the seaside temple, Pura Merta Sari. Throughout the day the local population brought offerings to the temple. It was not, I was told, an odalan and indeed this was not the scheduled time for the temple's odalan. It was named aci-aci, references to which, in the form of expostulation on the dire consequences of neglecting them, occur in Usana Bali. However, in the texts the purpose or context of aci-aci is not clear. My informants on this occasion said that the objective of the aci-aci was to request well-being for the people of Sanur during the dangerous wet months.

At the beginning of the wet season there is also an increase of house and fence repairing activities (mamasang sawen). Magical drawings are hung on specially constructed shrines just outside the entrance to the houseyard. The placenta (ari-ari) buried in houseyards are given magical protection (diisi pandan). Many people wear bracelets and/or necklets of red, black and white thread and Chinese coins (pipis bolong). The colours represent Brahma, Wisnu and Siwa respectively and the coins represent the soul (atma). Panangluk marana ceremonies commence in the sixth Balinese month and terminate in the ninth with the tawur agung. Efforts to avert or neutralize a major disease epidemic during the wet season involve rites which include an annual propitiation of I Macaling, Bhatara Dalem Ped (see Chapter 11,[v]).

While it is here postulated that textual and ethnographic evidence suggest that the burden of disease was highest in the wet season, lontar such as those entitled Tingkah ing Agering and Pacarwan mwanng Panulak clearly prompt the suggestion that disease was a persistent and ubiquitous problem. Lontar describe illness symptoms characteristic of each of the twelve lunar months, name the deities associated with them, list the propitiatory offerings necessary to avert and contain them as well as stipulate the space in which they should be placed:

In sasih kasadha (the twelfth month) and sasih kadjesta (the eleventh month), there are febrile illnesses; trembling, lameness, skin diseases and much sickness. Caru should be placed on the path in front of houseyards. Invoke Sang Bhuta Kapingaran in sasih kasadha and Sang Bhuta Pangawan in sasih kadjesta. Sang Bhuta Jaksa brings the illnesses.

In sasih kadasa (tenth month), people suffer stabbing pains in the abdomen (gering sasadukan), gering rarancaban (murderous and suicidal running amok), and gering anglayung (taking flight, aimless running). Caru should be placed on the path outside the entrance and in houseyards, Sang Kala Triyut and Sang Kala Daramangsa should be summoned.

In sasih kasanga (ninth month), there is sudden illness, vomiting and diarrhoea. Extremely severe and lethal forms of disease prevail (gering marana). Caru should be placed in the four cardinal directions and the centre of the village (manca desa). Sang Bhuta Sura should be invoked.

In sasih kaulu (eighth month), there are febrile illnesses and people suffer painful swellings. Caru offerings should be placed outside the entrance of houseyards. Sang Bhuta Kala Ngadang should be invoked. In the eight, ninth and tenth months illnesses strike suddenly and many die. Bhatari Durga creates these illnesses. Offerings should be placed in graveyards

and Pura Kahyangan, Pura Dalem, Pura Puseh and Pura Bale Agung. Holy water (tirtha pangenteg) should be solicited in order to secure the survival of mankind (urip manusa).

In sasih kapitu (seventh month), Bhatara Rudra is accompanied by Bhuta Ulas-Alid. There is sudden illness and gastro-intestinal illnesses. Caru should be made on the path outside houseyards. Sang Bhuta Djanggitan should be summoned.

In sasih kanem (sixth month), Bhatara Mahesora descends. People suffer fatigue and lethargy (gering marapah). Caru should be made for Sang Bhuta Siluman on the main roadways.

In sasih kalima (fifth month), Bhatara Sangkara descends. People suffer from colds and headaches. Caru should be placed by the sea for Sang Bhuta Mangsa.

In sasih kapat (fourth month), Bhatara Mahadewa descends. There are febrile illnesses and people suffer from festering wounds, ulcers and swellings. Caru should be placed on the seashore. Sang Bhuta Samayapati should be summoned.

In sasih katiga (third month), Brahma, accompanied by Bhuta Banaspati, descends. People suffer from febrile illnesses, weakness, lethargy and fatigue. Caru should be placed in front of the entrance to houseyards. Sang Bhuta Wilis should be invoked.

In sasih karo (second month) Wisnu, accompanied by Bhuta Ireng, descends. Many suffer stabbing pains (gering kakuwek) in the abdomen and sides of the body and chills. Caru should be placed on the path in front of houseyards. Sang Bhuta Bhumi should be summoned. In the second, third and fourth months, there is gering sasab marana (all kinds of sicknesses) and pamali (colic), Sang Hyang Tiga Sakti brings these illnesses.

In sasih Kasa (first month), Iswara, accompanied by Bhuta Tibakok, descends. Many infants suffer illnesses. People suffer fevers and abdominal illnesses. Caru should be placed on the path in front of houseyards. Sang Bhuta Ngadang Samaya should be summoned.

Tutur Usana Dewa (HKS 68,7:21b) specifies the month and day upon which rituals should be held in specific temples, as well as the reason for the imperative; to ensure a normal life expectancy:

In the third month, on anggara-kasih at seaside temples.

In the fourth month, on buda-kajeng in Pura Desa and on buda-wage in Pura Puseh.

In the fifth month, on buda-umanis in Sad Kahyangan [state temples].

In the tenth month, on purnama in Pura Ulan ing Empelan and Pura Ulun ing Carik [irrigation temples].

Deterioration in health (ten rahayu) and death (kojanya) are the proclaimed consequences of failure to comply with these prescriptions.

Impressions conveyed by the texts are that epidemics left the population decimated and depopulated entire regions. High infant mortality and low life expectancy combined with this to make the extinction of lineages an expressed concern. Later Dutch medical reports confirm that disease, low life expectancy and high infant mortality was the health

predicament faced by all Balinese, rulers and ruled. Rulers and priests were, and remain, involved both spiritually and physically with their subjects and followers, attending each other's rites of passage and dispensing or receiving holy water, instruction and advice. There was not the kraton/village distinction generally posited to have been characteristic of Hindu Java. Leprosy and smallpox certainly did not discriminate between the elite and commoners. There are babad accounts of rulers and their kin having these diseases.

Julius Jacobs (1883), a medical officer who visited Bali several times in the late nineteenth century to supervise smallpox vaccinations, was far from impressed with the Balinese life-style, customs and standards of health and hygiene. He painted an unequivocally negative picture of Balinese health standards. Even the Balinese character, so celebrated by ethnographers a few decades later, he condemned as a contributory factor to high morbidity rates.

Among the elite, he found a high incidence of natural impotency which he attributed to the use of opium and to venereal diseases associated with promiscuity. A high incidence of still-births and high infant mortality rates he also attributed to venereal disease. According to Jacobs, the average Javanese villager lived under more sanitary conditions than Balinese raja. As well as being generally appalled at the 'unhygienic' conditions of puri, he was generally unimpressed by the standard of local gastronomic skills and inclinations and disgusted by the 'mess' they served as food (p.234).

Among the population as a whole, he observed high levels of infectious diseases, parasitic disease, fevers, paralysis, leprosy, goitre (in the mountainous regions), malaria (especially in the lowland areas), skin diseases, tuberculosis, sprue, influenza and childhood infections — measles, diphtheria, whooping cough. Smallpox and cholera, he mentioned as the major epidemic diseases (p.114).

Vague Dutch colonial attempts to alleviate the disease problem on Bali through smallpox vaccination coincided with punitive military expeditions against uncooperative Balinese raja. This, in turn, coincided with ship-borne cholera epidemics. Opium-induced morbidity, concomitant with colonial welfare endeavours, was a legacy of the expansion of the opium trade on Bali following the Dutch conquest of North Bali in the nineteenth century (see Schulte Nordholt 1981). Death and debilitation among the Dutch military forces and their generals who came to Bali to subjugate the uncooperative raja was mainly through the agency of disease not combat injury (see Hanna 1976:46). The Balinese raja signed contracts periodically drawn up by the Netherlands government between 1840 and 1939 aimed at establishing Dutch sovereignty over the Balinese. Contracts notwithstanding, the Balinese continued their historical custom named karang tawang (salvage rights) which the Dutch saw as piracy. The smallpox immunization programme was initially only as successful as attempts to control the raja. Smallpox immunization was introduced into Bali in 1858. Indonesia was declared smallpox-free in 1974, just 115 years later. Medical acculturation on Bali has not been rapid. Nor has the disease burden changed significantly over time.

In the 1930s, a long-term visitor on Bali, Covarrubias (pp.352-3) wrote:

(?) plague	specific Epidemic	gering marana pates-tis kacacar massan gumi grubug
smallpox		
epidemic cholera		
widespread deadly illnesses	Non-Specific Seasonal and Sporadic Epidemic	gering kamaranan, daya marana lara-marana, sasab-marana gering kadadak
sudden illness		gering gajah uyang, gering panes uyang
respiratory infections, malaria		sadesa-desa lara mutah-mising tan kena tulanngan, lara mutah-mising amati-mati janna
viral diarrhoeas, dysenteries		
leprosy - lepraematous and tuberculoid, indeterminate leprosy	Endemic and Ancient	gering agung ila mala gondong
iodine deficiency disease (goitre)		
febrile toxæmia	Overwhelming Infections (causing severe, usually fatal toxæmia)	(ka) wisaya(n) panes-nyem kawisa kurang beteng kawisa tarpana pangetan
birth trauma: intracranial damage	Diseases of Neonates and Infants	rare nguwas, rare bolong
infantile beriberi, tetany of newborn, sepsis of newborn		sarab
(?) cerebral or spinal cord birth injury		blahan
(?) pelagra		blarangan (also called gringsing because of redness and hyperpigmentation of skin)
(?) fulminating meningococcaemia		blayuran
(?) riboflavin deficiency disease		gwan
oral thrush		rare tiwang
neonatal tetanus		rare jampi
tropical sprue		sawan
febrile convulsions, infantile tremor syndromes		kangsuban
infantile tremor syndromes, meningitis		inja
whooping cough		wing
diphtheria		kuwa
neonatal jaundice, malaria		siksikan, kulliran, cacingan
worm infestation		tiwang
tetanus, rabies, bacterial meningitis, viral encephalitis, hepatic failure, severe febrile illnesses, epilepsies		tuju
beriberi, pellagra, burning extremities syndrome, nutritional oedema, pulmonary tuberculosis, tuberculous infections, malignant diphtheria, severe parasitic infections, tropical sprue, grave dengue, severe dysenteries, general infections/disease, viral arthritis		upas, cetik
botulism, arsenic poisoning, plant poisoning, poisonings from venomous animals		babainan
peripheral neuropathies, parasitic infestation, post-febrile filariasis		buduh, edan
acute mental disturbances: cognitive and perceptual impairment		mokan, pammali, antu
ear, nose and throat infections, influenza, typhus, typhoid fever, bacillary dysentery, amoebic dysentery, amoebiasis: dysenteric and non-dysenteric forms, viral enteritis, heavy intestinal nematode infestation, mumps, measles, diphtheria, choleric malaria, falciparum malaria		jampi
(?) riboflavin deficiency, tropical sprue		boncol, rudig, busul boroq, brung, bongkek, pagintil
faruncles and carbuncles		kurap, kusta, radgradan, koreng, badasa, cebleg gudug
scabies		parang
yaws		

. . . despite the appearance of being an unusually healthy race, the Balinese are victims of many serious afflictions for which they know no cure. Worst among these are the widespread venereal diseases. . . . The violent rainy seasons bring epidemics of tropical fevers and malaria takes lives, especially of children. . . . The Balinese . . . are disturbed by the prevalent skin diseases, from the ugly but harmless kurab, a skin discolouration produced by a parasitic fungus, to itches, framboesia, and tenacious tropical ulcers. . . . People after middle age complain of "bone trouble" . . .

Theunissen (1940:161) reported that 'murderous epidemics' of cholera, smallpox, malaria and the plague 'ragged' among the population of the Dutch East Indies in the early twentieth century. He also reported a high incidence of typhoid, dysentery, diphtheria, goitre, meningitis, parasitic infections, beriberi and eye diseases.

From local medical treatises and historical and medical mythology it has been possible to identify the prominent features of the disease problem on Bali over time. For the sake of discourse, I have transposed local documentation of diseases and classification of symptom complexes into a Western-type nosological system (to the extent that this is possible and probable). The chart opposite combines Balinese and Western medical terminology. The Western medical equivalents offered in the right-hand column for the Balinese medical terms in the centre column, are tentative. This is by no means a definitive listing of Balinese disease taxonomy. However, it is a necessary beginning to an identification of the nature and dimensions of the disease burden and how information is organized. It is appreciated that there will be a margin of error in the above attempt to equate formally indigenous terms for illnesses and diagnostic categories with those of Western nosology. This should not deter the attempt. Future revisions will be easier by having a starting point.

The question could be raised as to the extent to which the above construction accords with what seems to have been epidemiologically probable in terms of 'reliable' data. In the medical reports of the Dutch colonial government, most of the above-mentioned diseases are listed either as being endemic or occurring either sporadically or in epidemic form throughout the Indonesian archipelago. One may assume that they occurred prior to Western documentation of them.¹³

Needless to say, there is no evidence of a systems approach to disease classification in the local system or of a differentiation of viral, bacterial, protozoan and fungal or infective pathogens. By no means are the generic categories of diseases listed above presented in usada in an ordered sequence as clearly distinguishable entities or syndromes. They occur as a series of named phases of a disease entity (such as tiwang, for example). I compiled lists of those symptoms and signs categorized under each generic term and assimilated these through a long process of trial and error with Western medical diagnostic categories.¹⁴ There are categories of diseases such as smallpox and leprosy which are precisely differentiated. Others such as tiwang and tuju are extremely broad. They are generic terms used to differentiate a cluster of symptoms and signs perceived to be related.

The usual (dictionary and secondary sources) translations of tiwang as 'convulsions' and tuju as 'gout' or 'rheumatism', whilst not incorrect,

do not reveal anything like the full implications and references of these two disease categories. The term tiwang encompasses a range of diseases in which convulsive seizures can be a conspicuous feature of the clinical condition. Convulsive states which occur in varying proportions may occur in association with a number of aetiologic conditions including epilepsies (constitutional, genetically determined ones or those symptomatic of organic disease), tetanus, rabies, bacterial meningitis, hyperpyrexia, cerebral malaria, hepatic failure or smallpox. In short, tiwang can represent the neurological consequences of any number of viral or bacterial infections, parasitic infestations or poisonings which can lead to a profound dysfunction of the central nervous system.

The term tuju encompasses a range of nutritional deficiency diseases affecting the central and periphery nervous systems; nutritional peripheral neuropathies such as beriberi and pellagra and possibly Wernicke's encephalopathy and ankylosing spondylitis. Arthritis associated with infections and diseases of the musculo-skeletal system also come under the term tuju. Severe dengue or breakbone fever and venereal diseases have also been subsumed under the tuju label.

Categories like mokan, pamali and antu are difficult. There is much overlap in terms of described symptomatology. Abdominal and epigastric distress, swellings, stabbing pain, cramps, colic, vomiting and diarrhoea feature prominently. Stabbing pain in the ears and a bloody purulent discharge is the only prominent symptom which distinguishes mokan from the other two categories. Enlarged testis, usually a complication of mumps, but a condition which may accompany syphilis or any acute infections, seems to be peculiar to the antu category. I was unable to differentiate the precise forms of disease intended under each of these generic terms. Obviously, most of the diseases listed above as suggested equivalents to mokan, pamali and antu were not recognized as distinct disease entities. Jampi is also difficult. Oral, cutaneous and corneal lesions described under the label jampi suggest riboflavin deficiency disease whilst the orolingual lesions, nausea and gastrointestinal symptoms, also described, suggest tropical sprue.

Balinese disease classification recognizes that disease is a dynamic process. Complicated forms of diseases of the mokan, pamali, antu or jampi category will move into tuju or tiwang classification. For example, bloody emissions, rectal prolapse, purulent discharges from bodily orifices, abnormal micturition or defaecation and gross swellings which are possible complications of diseases subsumed under the former categories, become symptoms of the tuju category. Manifestations of acute mental disturbance will be given buduh or edan labelling. Severe impairment of consciousness and profound collapse will place the disease in the tiwang category.

There is a great deal of cultural elaboration -- myth, magic ritual and medical documentation -- woven around diseases such as leprosy, smallpox, cholera and diseases of the tiwang and tuju categories. These are diseases which have spectacular and frightening presentation, cause gross disfigurement or excruciating pain. These become the dread diseases. They either sweep through the population having mortality rates or they have high endemicity patterns. It is suggested that tuju and tiwang have constituted a significant part of the disease burden and they are culturally significant in that the clinical manifestations -- somatic, sensory and motor symptoms and mental changes -- were spectacular and frightening.

They concerned and they distorted qualities of the organism which distinguish it as being most distinctly human. Gross pathological changes raised spectres of animality. These matters I examine fully in Chapter 13. The conspicuous features of these syndromes I discuss and analyse in the context of trance exorcistic dance in Chapter 12.

Research on this subject has yielded some largely unsolicited material on grave social problems. One issue concerns the apparent heavy burden of disease experienced by the Balinese in the past as well as the present. A facet of this burden is the apparent high incidence of psychoneurological morbidity. It is suggested that one of the reasons why demonic affliction possession is prominent and a recurrent theme in definitions of illness is to be found in an empirical correspondence. Illnesses involving the nervous system leading to altered states of consciousness, disturbance of cognitive abilities and reasoning faculties and motor activity constituted a significant feature of the burden of disease on Bali. Some basic awareness of the particular nature of the types of diseases experienced by the population and the way in which they have been classified in the local medical tradition is a necessary basis for further demonstration of the impact of disease upon Balinese culture.

Notes - Chapter 5

1. Aywa mangan iwak jajron salwire. Aywa wera mwanng sumbar ila-ila dahat, kewala awya nyumbungang tutur iki. Dahat mautama pangwruh iki, den apened ngangge (HKS2183:9b).
2. Pingitakena kojar ing sastra, bwat utama, tan sidhi wera, pamwara tan sidhi palanya (HKS1961:20b).
3. Utama temen aywa wera mapwara ala (22b).
4. Analogical mode of thought and mimetic action are also operating here. These aspects of sarana are discussed more extensively in Part III.
5. Lansing (1974) perceives kaiket as one of the most important words in the Balinese vocabulary and asserts that much of the error apparent in the neo-Freudian analyses in Western scholarship derives from the failure to recognize the importance of the concept of kaiket. Although Lansing sees it as a religious idea relevant to interpretations of ritual and myth, he accords primary significance to it as a principle with strong economic ramifications. In developing the idea of kaiket as 'mystical participations', I take a different direction.
6. See H. and C. Geertz (1975:29) on this point.
7. Part of the great dread associated with leprosy derives from the religious consequences of affliction, which is the curse to non-existence; to be banished, cut off from participation with the living both in the present and the immediate future through reincarnations. To have leprosy is to be denied human existence (tan dadi manusa jati).

8. Elsewhere (Lovric 1979:171-6, 226-9) I have demonstrated that the prevailing theory that babad are charters of social or political legitimation is inadequate as it fails to explain the totality of thought babad production and preservation expresses. See also Day 1978.
9. See Lovric, 1979:177-206.
10. Babad Arya Tabanan and Babad Buleleng (see Worsley 1972), for example.
11. As well as a lack of understanding of Tantric philosophy, there is the danger of misrepresentation of unfamiliar motifs and of the apparent celebration of the demonic and the demonization of deities.
12. In Vedic medical treatises with which the Balinese medical tradition shares certain characteristics, particularly in the role ascribed to demons in disease, the term graha (see grahang above) refers to a class of demons who seize their victims (usually infants) and cause emaciation and death. In the Atharva Veda (1.12), a demon named grahi grips the joints of his victim causing burning pain in the limbs (Stutley 1980:17). There also, fever is personified as a short, hairy dark-coloured being, clothed in red, with glowing red eyes, a tawny beard and a huge gaping mouth.
13. See, for example, The Yearly Health Reports, MBGD, 1911-19, 1920.
14. It is not feasible to expend space here justifying my entire construction. Let us therefore at least take my postulation of tuju as, among other things, an equivalent of nutritional neuropathies, diseases or syndromes resulting from a lack of essential nutrients in the diet, especially of vitamins of the B complex group. As well as food consumption, bacterial, viral and parasitic infections are involved in the pathogenesis of nutritional deficiency diseases (Edington and Gilles 1976; Peters 1963). Infections interfere with both the intake of food and the absorption of essential nutrients. Beriberi (the word itself derives from the Malay biri-biri meaning 'sheep', probably having an associational meaning of 'stiff gait' characteristic of sheep and an early symptom of the disease) remains a major disease in Southeast Asia where polished rice is the staple diet. It was first described on Java in the seventeenth century. Even though it is rare to see cases in hospital wards, it still ranks fourth as a leading cause of death in the Philippines, for example (Spillane 1973:17). Beriberi occurs sporadically and endemically. It can be precipitated by infection and pregnancy. Although it is not infectious, 'epidemics' have been noted when there are outbreaks of diarrhoeal disease in a malnourished population. Apart from the unknown quantities concerning neuropathies in the tropics, it seems obvious enough that epidemiologically tiwang-type disorders were a significant part of the disease burden of Bali. Febrile illnesses, poisoning and infections, which may produce a disturbance of cortical function resulting in convulsions, were all present.

Interpolations: Realms and Levels of Operation and Action

. . . [the study of thinking/"ethnography"] is (or, anyway ought to be) an historical, sociological, comparative, interpretive, and somewhat catch-as-catch-can enterprise, one whose aim is to render obscure matters intelligible by providing them with an informing context.

Geertz *Local Knowledge* 1983:152

Balinese magico-medical cults display what Mandelbaum (1966:1174-86) has described elsewhere as a kind of mystical pragmatism; a materialistic attitude to life and a mystical view of it. Although the procedures of rituals are of a spiritual nature, their purposes tend to be wholly material. Their objectives are generally clear, definite and geared to achieving practical results. The parameters of Balinese magical belief and practice extend into the spheres of birth, living, death, after-life and rebirth. Depending upon the source of the motivation and the objective of the ritual, one might propose two complexes in the Balinese magico-religious system, one pragmatic or immanent (*sakala*) and the other transcendental (*niskala*). In the context of everyday life -- being born, living and surviving -- magico-religious beliefs and practices arise in real and grave pragmatic concerns. They display a this-worldly orientation aimed to resolve immanent predicaments. The metaphysics of this complex is essentially a by-product of initial premises about the supernatural, its unbounding influence upon the well-being of mankind and a related construction of disease aetiology. As Mary Douglas (1966:89-91) has expressed this idea, 'a practical interest in living and not an academic interest in metaphysics' engenders such conviction. A view of the world arises in response to particular practical problems. Douglas suggests that metaphysics is a product of urgent social concerns. One could also argue that pragmatism is likewise a consequence of bio-medical ordeals and anxieties.

In the second sphere, the transcendental, the fundamental issues of human existence and survival in the material world are transcended; magical forces are more peripheral. Rites are more personal and their motivation and objective arise in a quest for liberation, a release of the soul at death and a concern with being reborn well. They are directed beyond this world, often to a change in spiritual status.

In the modern Western medical system two interdependent sciences have emerged to deal with the problems of infections and disease. Immunology is concerned with the responses of the individual to invasion by disease microbes and the physiological or immunological processes by which they might be overcome. Epidemiology deals with the large-scale phenomenon of infectious diseases. Its concern is with the community as a whole and with public health measures.¹

In the traditional Balinese medical system, scientific principles of immunology and epidemiology are unknown. There are no public health measures in the Western sense. Nonetheless, the meaning attached to disease and the responses and solutions it invokes are based upon a complex body of theory and knowledge. There is clear indication of an understanding of the non-infectious and endemic nature of some diseases and the infectious or communicable nature of others. There is a differentiation of an individual or domestic level and a community level of the magico-medical system.²

For the sake of analytical clarity I thus propose here two realms of magico-religious action, a pragmatic and a transcendental, as well as two levels of the magico-medical system, an individual level and a community or state level.

Of the five categories of rites (panca-yadnya) which the Balinese differentiate, the pitra-yadnya (for the dead) and the rsi-yadnya (priestly inauguration) fit into the transcendental complex. Padanda are the prime specialists in such rites. Padanda always conduct their rites from an elevated position, washing their feet before commencing procedures, thereby severing their connection with the earthly sphere and transcending it. Nevertheless, padanda also have important tasks in the pragmatic sphere as makers of tirtha (holy water), an indispensable ingredient in all magical rituals. The remaining three yadnya, the dewa-yadnya (for deities), bhuta-yadnya (for demonics) and manusa-yadnya (life-cycle rites) constitute the pragmatic complex. The 'trade-off' with supernaturals -- offerings (yadnya) -- is expected to yield immediate returns; a reasonable life-expectancy and viable off-spring. This is the sphere in which notions of sakti predominate and in which mystical participations are simultaneously sought, felt and feared. Beings, space, time and events imputed to be magically charged are ritually acknowledged and their potentiality either used or neutralized. In Sperber's terms, magical forces are objects of focal and subsidiary awareness and of tacit knowledge.

At the community level in this pragmatic sphere the Tantric elements in Balinese religion are prominent. The Goddess Durga predominates. Bharawa aspects of Hindu deities are sculpturally represented and cult demonic deities are represented through magically-powerful masks. Balinese religion, as Geertz (1973d:175-6) has commented, is only broadly Hindu. It is 'action-centred', a characteristic of Tantric practice. It is interwoven with daily life, and it displays a 'metaphysical nonchalance' (p.176).

A variety of practitioners of magic including sengguhu (exorcist specialists), dalang (wayang manipulators), pamangku and balian share the responsibility of handling supernatural forces in the pragmatic sphere. Their rituals are directed towards the physical environment and its supernatural forces and are motivated by the vicissitudes of life and present contingencies. These practitioners understand and know best how to intercede and participate intimately with a vast array of supernaturals. Pamangku act as intermediaries between the village community and deities, partly by means of their propensity to be possessed (karauhan) by them. Balian do not mediate on behalf of the entire community³ unless they simultaneously (as a few do) the office of pamangku. Leyak as well as balian operate in this pragmatic realm and primarily (though not exclusively) at the domestic level of the magico-medical system.⁴

This categorization of pragmatic and transcendental realms should not be taken to imply that the magico-mystical cults and the mythology which informs them constitute a popular peasant ideology different to some 'other' which is exclusive to an elite or literate gentry. They are traditions adhered to by members of all classes and castes. Epistemological assumptions concerning the role of the supernatural and the rituals which proceed from these presuppositions do not comprise a distinctive complex.⁵ The two realms share the same idiom of belief. Equal importance is attached to both, but at different stages of life. The pragmatic can be seen as predominant by virtue of the fact that living is the present experience and the maintenance of well-being is the present concern. It is usually the old and retired who, in theory, seek closer communication with a transcendental omnipresence and thereby release from mundane existence through ascetic practices. Monastic institutions organized around chastity, celibacy and meditation for the young have never been dominant on Bali (see Boon 1982:202). The fact that life and death are defined in metaphysical terms does not imply that expectations exceed that which is 'naturally' possible. Balinese do not aim to acquire through their magical rituals a disease-free environment or even rain in the dry season. The Balinese are not mystics in the sense or to the degree it may be assumed.⁶

Notes

1. See Burnet and White (1978:1-21) for further particulars.
2. Geertz and Geertz (1975:158) also perceived a notable distinction between the domestic or individual and the public or communal domains of social action.
3. According to Suparlan (1978), in the past, the Javanese dukun's ritual activities were directed toward both the individual and community spheres. Islamic prohibitions on non-Muslim ritual and the eventual equating of such rites with backwardness led to the dukun's exclusion from the community sphere. To what extent, if at all, these factors could have altered the level of operation of balian is uncertain.
4. There is, of course, considerable overlap between domestic and community therapeutic and prophylactic ritual measures. The daily bhuta-yadnya become more elaborate each five days on kliwon, and more elaborate still each fifteen days on kajeng-kliwon and at tilem and purnama each month. These bhuta-yadnya also assume the dimensions of community rites in that the offerings are not confined to the houseyard and pamangku and village officials are involved in the completion of prescribed rites in temples and in tenget space. Other bhuta-yadnya such as galungan, which occurs every 105 days, and nyepi and panangluk marana, which occur every 210 days, are clearly community rites though they are observed at a domestic level as well.
5. This constitutes something of a contrast to the operations of religious complexes in Burma, as described by Spiro (1978). Spiro maintains that the premises underlying Burmese supernatural nat belief system and ritual are incompatible with the metaphysics, ethics and ethos of Theravada Buddhism. He views them as two distinct religions. One addresses itself to pragmatic problems such as illness and finds solutions in ritual whereas the other is a soteriological religion in which suffering is an existential problem.
6. On the other hand, Hooykaas's (1980a:6) suggestion that the Balinese initiate magical rituals because they 'want to conform', to 'show off their hospitality', to 'prove they can afford them', because they 'do not want to be considered "spoil-sports"', or because they reason 'that one never knows' is perhaps carrying the pragmatic explanatory paradigm too far.

PART II

THE DOMESTIC LEVEL OF THE MAGICO-MEDICAL SYSTEM

Hopping back and forth between the whole conceived through the parts that actualize it and the parts conceived through the whole that motivates them, we seek to turn them, by a sort of intellectual perpetual motion, into explications of one another.

All this is, of course, but the now familiar trajectory of what Dilthey called the hermeneutic circle, and my argument here is merely that it is as central to ethnographic interpretations, and thus to the penetration of other people's modes of thought, as it is to literary, historical, philological, psychoanalytic, or biblical interpretation . . .

C. Geertz *Local Knowledge* 1983:69

Foregoing chapters have attempted an exposition of Balinese bio-medical experiences, conceptual configurations and categorical schemes which inform cultural themes and motivate cultural predilections. Penetrations of other-perceptions and other webs of signification can promote more plausible ethnographic interpretations than might otherwise proceed from our empirical investigations of symbolic systems informed primarily by our own philosophical propositions and analytical realities. In line with the interpretive approach to other symbolic systems advocated by Geertz (1973b:14) my primary objective in this section is to advance an understanding of the magico-medical system by conveying some sense of the 'normalness' and the 'banalities' of Balinese culture even while directing attention to the 'particularities' of it.

Testimony of the way in which we cling to conceptual dualisms (and mindful of my earlier criticism of the binary opposition device of structuralist method prominent in the Western construction of the Balinese classificatory system) for analytical purposes, I devise several categories of them -- transcendental-pragmatic, community-domestic, altruistic-egoistic and high-low (pangiwa-pamoroan) -- in the spheres of religion, the levels of the magico-medical system, distinctions of trance possession and the levels of witchcraft and sorcery respectively. Within these I endeavour to order and clarify data. The classifications which I make are useful only insofar as they contribute to that endeavour.

Part II concentrates on the individual or domestic level in the pragmatic sphere geared to immediate anxieties through the role of practitioners of magic (balian and leyak) and the petitions of their clients, the procurers of their spells. The family unit has an abundance of obligations to ancestral spirits, spirits of past inhabitants of their local area and to the numerous supernaturals sharing the environment. The balian's art of healing, the concerns of their clients and the crafts of witches and sorcerers pertain to this domain and level of operation and action. The interface between balian and leyak, the principal practitioners of magic, is fluid. This will become obvious in the following chapters.

The ideas and actions of balian in general and those literate in the magico-medical texts in particular are reviewed in Chapter 6. In this chapter I also contextualize an earlier-identified theme of culture, kaiket (mystical participation) and an altruistic form of voluntary trance possession through case studies of trance mediums (balian katakson). Profiles of individual balian usuda intend to demonstrate how the logic of the system articulates in the everyday life of practitioners of magic and their clients and coincidentally to demonstrate and endorse the validity of the conceptual configurations, orientations and themes expounded in Part I. In the final section of this chapter, I examine the assertions of previous scholarship pertaining to balian and their role relationship within Western analytical abstractions like legitimacy and counter-ideologies. A form of non-volitional possession (affliction possession), babainan an organic illness according to local perception, but an exotic culture-induced reactive syndrome, according to social theorists, is discussed in Chapter 7. This leads into a discussion of the Balinese system of sorcery and witchcraft and the bio-medical context of witch fears in Chapter 8. In Chapter 9, I challenge the Western academic construction of women in traditional societies and offer an alternative frame of reference within which to explore the notion of ritual pollution (sebel) and the roles of woman in the healing bewitchment complex.

Chapter 6

Healers (Balian) and Their Clients

The term balian has been variously translated as witch-doctor (Belo 1949; Hooykaas 1980), medicine man (Belo 1960) and seer (Boon 1977). Taken together these definitions come close to an adequate transposition of meaning into the English language. A balian's art and craft are based upon specialist knowledge, inspiration and the possession of sakti. They combine functions, skills and techniques which are magical, religious, curative and preventative. An appropriate term to designate such a personage does not exist in Western medical or religious systems.

Balianship is not a public office. Balian do not have an occupational title along the lines of banjar head (klian) or village head (prebekel), for example. Balian are rarely referred to as 'balian' and never addressed as such. They are addressed with honorary titles 'Jero Mangku' or 'Mangku' and differentiated by the name of the banjar in which they reside or else by a landmark or geographical feature of the area where they live. Anak lingsir (aged person), a term of respect connoting wisdom, is another title probably used to avoid the connotations implicit in the word balian.

There are four kinds of balian found in Sanur: balian usada who are literate in the magico-medical texts; balian katakson who diagnose illness and prescribe treatment while in a state of trance (katakson); balian paica who derive their power to diagnose and cure through a supernaturally-endowed object or an heirloom; and balian kabatinan, a relatively new group (and a rapidly expanding one) whose healing practices are cast in a style patterned on contemporary Javanese Islamic spiritualism. Balian range from a number of part-time specialists at one end of the spectrum to irregular part-time amateur dabblers who may, in time, either fade into obscurity or achieve fame or notoriety.

The total number of balian (thirty-three) located in Sanur does not include two apprentice balian usada who profess an interest in following the profession and who, at the time of fieldwork, were compiling compendiums of medicine by transcribing selected excerpts from various lontar into exercise books. It also does not include the wives of balian usada who have learnt some healing techniques from their husbands whom they sometimes assist. Although the role of balian manak (midwife) is still important in other districts of Bali, this is not the case in Sanur. There was only one engaged in active practice, atypically, a woman and Javanese besides. She was referred to as a dukun bayi, the Javanese-Indonesian term for midwife. According to village authorities there were no others. Local people said that there were still a few old balian manak practising in Sanur. I did not seek them out. There were also four balian sonteng in Sanur. These are not healers but ritual specialists who generally conduct otonan (birthday rituals).

The majority of balian were either rice farmers or fishermen. A few were involved in the tourist industry; one was a hotel owner, one a hotel cleaner and one owned an art shop. Formal education backgrounds ranged from none to senior high school. Most had not completed primary school. Their ages ranged from 28 years to 95 years with the average age about 50 years. Estimates of the average number of patients attended per day was difficult to obtain. This was not due to the irregularity of their practice but the Balinese construction of time. There are times at which it is not appropriate to dispense magico-medical assistance and other times such as kajeng-kliwon when interventions are deemed to be either imperative or most effective. Estimates of the average number of clients seen on such days (rarainan) ranged from 5 to 30.

Most balian lived in modest houses. A couple of balian kabatinan had electricity and telephone connected and owned motor vehicles. Some balian lived within easy access. Others lived in dense forest settings. A few had their place of practice separated from their places of residence. What distinguishes a balian's houseyard from that of the average villager of comparable caste and economic status is the ornateness of the house temple and the number of shrines (palinggih). Some of these are for deities associated with temples from where their taksu originate. Others may be for cult deities (like Bhatara Macaling) who are invoked in healing ritual. A balian would also have a shrine for Ratu Nyoman Sakti Pangadangan, a papatih (minister) of Durga and also one of the kanda mpat as well as one of the panca mahabhuta (see Chapter 4[i]).

Many balian have a section of hair which is very long and matted. They claim that it has grown that way almost overnight. It is considered to be one of the signs of the calling to the practice of healing. Ideally, balian should wear a headdress (udeng or desta), a sarong (wastra) and a waist cloth (selempat) whilst attending patients. They receive and treat their clients in a three-walled roofed structure situated in the eastern part of the houseyard; a bale dangin in the home (umah) of an anak jaba and a sarenan dangin in the home (geria) of a brahmana or the puri or jero of a ksatryia or wesya. These 'consulting rooms' were generally small, modest and dirty (though it must be remembered that in tropical climes almost everything but tourist hotels can appear that way). Most balian and all balian usada have a special place or structure called a tongos ngastiti or tongos nunas ica (place for requesting help) which is located north of the bale dangin and south of the sanggah. It is generally a small, dark, poorly ventilated (if ventilated at all) and mosquito-infested structure. In it, balian store their ritual objects, casks of holy water and paica. Lontar owned and used by balian usada are suspended at head level on a wall. Some balian also keep a supply of materia medica here.

By the nature of their work, balian need to possess a high quality of intellect and a high level of physical well-being. Those who do not meet these criteria, do not last long in the profession, it seems. Most of those interviewed appeared to me to be among the most reflective and charismatic members of the community, qualities which they share with many pamangku. Interestingly, most displayed little or no special artistic or musical skills or inclinations, which is not the case with shaman generally (see Eliade 1972). In the case of all but one, who was interested in kakawin, balian usada confined their literary endeavours to the magico-medical lontar and these were the only type of lontar they owned. Their knowledge of historical mythology derived from the oral tradition.

Clients requesting a consultation bring a small flower offering (canang) which includes a number of coins (sasantun). After the deities whose powers are invoked in curing rites have partaken of the essence (sari) of the canang, balian may accept a portion of the sasantun. Lontar stipulate the correct proportion -- between one-quarter and one-third (HKS3524). A sum of money, generally between 200 and 500 rupiah, is usually added. This is voluntary. Later consultations may require more elaborate offerings like canang tabungan and canang daksina.¹

Most Balinese under any kind of distress seek advice and help. Basically, they want to know if the problem is the result of witchcraft, ritual neglect, ancestral wrath or the discontentment of bhuta-kala. They also go to balian to have ominous dreams or events interpreted and to seek protection from illness. Covarrubias (1937:351-2) observed that the 'Balinese attach great significance to any sort of physical sickness' and that this constitutes a favourite topic of conversation. McKie (1969:166) formed the opinion that the Balinese reveal strong hypochondriacal tendencies, are preoccupied with their own life crises as well as with those of others and that they they are more afraid of disease than Europeans are. This latter may be so, and be so for good reason. Several Western-type doctors with whom I discussed the issue were of the opinion that the average Balinese could not be described as being in a state of good health even when not clinically ill. Rather than suggesting that the Balinese are either hypochondriacal or health-conscious, I would incline to an opinion that they are familiar with the predicament of illness and are therapy-conscious. An overview of the nature of the disease burden has been presented in Chapter 5(vii)).

The symptoms most commonly complained of by patients include acute or chronic pain in the lower limbs, fatigue, weakness, difficulty in walking, headache, abdominal or epigastric discomfort. Bouts of fever and diarrhoea are common. Few of the patients seeking treatment looked to me to be seriously ill or distressed. This is, in itself, understandable as the seriously ill would probably require consultations at their homes or would be taken to hospitals, they and their relatives being willing. Many clients expressed fears of having to undergo surgery or of dying in a hospital.

A certain amount of medical treatment is dispensed by people who are not even semi-professional healers. The initial reaction to the onset of symptoms is to seek relief through available known medicinal plants in one's own houseyard. Alternatively, the advice of a neighbour, usually an older person, is sought. When relief is not rapidly forthcoming, some may go to a clinic or a doctor 'to get an injection' (alih tamba suntik), as they express it. When the outcome is not cure or remission of symptoms, or there is a worsening of them, specialist balian assistance is sought. By this stage, the afflicted or more commonly his kin, will have become convinced that the illness is in need of magico-medical intervention.

Generally, the more highly educated or Westernized members of the population (who are often non-Balinese) tend to seek Western-type medical treatment directly. Some of these, nevertheless, do consult balian should the illness persist or be of a specific nature in which the remote cause needs to be revealed. I have noticed instances where those with professional status (especially Western-type doctors) avoid dealing directly with balian (perhaps feeling that this may compromise them).

Nevertheless, some do have consultations through the intermediary of a relative who also carries through the balian's recommendations.

In a state of continuing uncertainty and unresolved illness, when both traditional therapy and modern medical treatment have failed to provide relief or cure, people are more inclined to turn back to traditional medicine and to persist with it. The system does provide epistemologically credible explanations as to why the illness persists, and even if death is the outcome, why this is so; such is the self-confirming nature of a system of knowledge, even one involving magical belief. Balinese from all levels of society 'know' (it is not a matter of belief or superstition; see Chapter 5[i]) that there are illnesses which are outside the expertise of Western-style medicine and that man's normal state of well-being is periodically endangered by mystical forces, the nature of which balian have expert knowledge.

One frequently hears of people feeling ill and having been examined by Western-style doctors who are unable to find any evidence of disease. Such incidences confirm the nature of magically-induced disease as perceived by balian and their clients. That a doctor could not even 'see' let alone identify the illness is proof positive that it is a magical, nonetheless real (organic) disease (see discussion of babainan, Chapter 7). Clients often relate accounts of sakti balian of renown who, even if they had not succeeded in curing such obscure illnesses, had at least been able to 'see' them. Clients do not display any doubts about balian or their ability to diagnose illness. No one expects a one hundred percent success rate in the curing of disease. Opinions about the powers and capability of any one balian were remarkably consistent.

Consultations are rarely private affairs. The number of participants in a consultation is seldom less than two. A patient is usually accompanied by kin and/or neighbours who remain with him throughout the consultation and therapy. One or more of the accompanying clients tell how in their opinion the illness commenced and developed. They do so in subjective and value-laden terms describing such things as dreams, fears, recent exposure to the elements and domestic problems and conflicts currently being experienced. Most venture a suggestion as to causes and volunteer anecdotal evidence to validate their opinions. After asking a number of questions, the balian finally makes a pronouncement which generally leaves everyone nodding in agreement. No one seems to remain unconvinced that the diagnosis is the right one and that a solution is under way. It sometimes seemed to me that there was little overt compassion and solicitude for the patient himself. It was more as if the situation itself was the centre of attention. Case studies will bear out this observation.

The social interaction is less formal and there is more interpersonal interaction than generally occurs between Western doctor and patient. Yet, in no way does this distract from the degree of deference clients display towards the balian's spiritual authority. Clients do not discuss balian freely. Their powers (sakti) are, after all, of an ambiguous nature. Balian are regarded with respect (expressed through terms of address) and with fear. Clients take care with personal cleanliness and dress neatly when visiting balian. All wear waist cloths in the presence of balian.

Within reason and cognizant of times at which travel is proscribed,

clients drop in any time for consultation. The busiest hours are between eight and eleven in the morning and three until five in the afternoon. Those who travel long distances are prepared to wait around for any number of hours if the balian is absent. This does not happen frequently as relatives of patients usually seek a pre-consultation with balian to arrange an appropriate time at which to return with or on behalf of the sick relative. To quite an unexpected degree, balian work by appointment. Consultations at the homes of the sick also happen through prior arrangements. One or two members of the family come to the balian's home to discuss the problem and arrange the time when they should return and accompany the balian. Clients also arrange the transportation -- usually a borrowed or chartered vehicle.

All Balinese -- urban dwellers as well as rural dwellers, the elite, the educated and the peasantry -- seek the help and advice of balian as some stage in their lives and in particular circumstances. The fact that most clients are from the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum and are anak jaba is of no real significance; most Balinese belong to these categories. Patients are not only the poor, the old, the powerless or the tradition-bound. Nor are they mainly women. A distinction needs to be made between client and patient as many people seeking a consultation do so on behalf of others. Diagnosis and even treatment may take place without the patient's presence or even knowledge in some cases. Frequently, women consult balian on behalf of spouses, parents, children and siblings. A balian's clientele is not confined by caste, class, status or district. Most have a mixed clientele.

It would be incorrect to assume that Balinese resort to traditional healers for economic reasons or because alternative Western-style medicine is not available. Whilst the financial rewards from healing to balian is modest, the economic cost involved in traditional medical therapy for patients and clients can be higher than that incurred in visiting local health centres or Western-type doctors. While the actual consultation 'fee' (sasantun) is nominal, the expenses incurred in the fulfilment of prescribed ritual therapy (such as restoration of shrines, placement of offerings, and so forth), may be (and generally is) considerable. Balinese also travel long distances to seek a particular balian renowned for their sakti. Many of the clients of Sanur balian come from afar. Travel itself can involve considerable expense.

The pattern of referrals or cross-referrals is simple, or more correctly, spontaneous. Most patients are referred to a particular balian or brought to him by relatives or neighbours. Of their own volition, clients generally consult two or more balian and a doctor simultaneously in the event of a serious or prolonged illness. In the case of some illnesses, balian refer patients to doctors 'for injections'. They do not refer patients to other balian. Doctors generally know and acknowledge the fact that many of their patients use the traditional system simultaneously, but generally do not admit to referring them to balian. There is a small matter of contention here (which is, perhaps, not all that perplexing given the delicacy of interactions between two medical traditions) -- balian claim to have patients referred to them by doctors.

Medical eclecticism is rife on Bali. Depending upon the severity of the symptoms and the persistence of the illness, Balinese can make use of at least three types of healers, simultaneously. They may use

a balian katakson for an inspired diagnosis, for they are perceived to have closer participations for ancestral spirits perhaps implicated in distress situations. They may also seek ritual advice and medication from a balian usada and, for good measure, an injection from a tukung suntik (Ind.), as they sometimes refer to doctors.

Techniques of healing vary according to the knowledge and the source of the power of the balian. Patients seemed willing to ingest a variety of inedible substances -- ashes, beads, flakes of gold, precious stones -- and to go to any length of trouble to effect remission or cure. Clients move readily from one balian to another even during the course of a single episode of sickness. In cases of accident involving fractures or sprains, Balinese may go to a hospital for an x'ray and to a balian uwut for treatment. Once relief for the injury has been obtained, the question will inevitably arise as to why the accident occurred and the guidance of a balian katakson or a balian usada is indicated. Members of the family take the patient or go themselves to find out the cause of the accident and to obtain some form of magical therapy. Meanwhile, and even thereafter, the doctor's medicine will not be discontinued. An assumption holds that the balian's magic will help it work.

For the most part, clients are unaware of the content of magico-medical literature. They have a broad understanding (perhaps more accurately an awareness) of some of the medical doctrines, principally kanda mpat and panca mahabhuta. Some are familiar with generic disease terms such as buduh, upas, mokan or tuju. They do not demonstrate an awareness of the names used in the usada to designate and qualify the changing phases of an illness. They do not seek any depth of understanding of pathogenesis, diagnosis or even prognosis. Their concern is with identification of the essential (supernatural) cause. The rest is specialist knowledge -- no significant difference to the attitude of the average Western patient. The patient's role is a passive one. Antidotes and amulets require no knowledge or action on the part of the receiver. Balian, however, have a more active and ambiguous role. Their powers extend over the crucial aspects of life -- birth, disease and death. They are involved with both the procurers and the victims of magical spells and supernatural interventions. In the following two sections I focus on the interactions between healers and their clients.

(i) Spirit-Raising (Maluasang): The Balian Katakson's Powers of Mystical Participation

Selected cases of the different types of maluasang illustrate its significance.² The examples also highlight previously identified (see Chapter 5) thematic modes and contextualize points already made concerning Balinese constructions of disease in Chapter 4[ii]. Primarily, the material demonstrates the importance of the theme of participation (kaiket).

1. Maluasang Pitra (12/1/82)

The day is anggara (tuesday), the third day of the seven-day week, also named ulung-wong, of the seventh Balinese month (sasih kapitu), in the week (wuku) named ukir; it is not one of the magically dangerous days (kala ala-ayu). I arrive at 8.00a.m. at the houseyard of a female balian katakson, referred to here as Batur Sari. Together with a female

assistant, Batur Sari is preparing offerings which are placed on a table in the open bale where she conducts her consultations. A container of burning fragrant wood is placed nearby. Then a tatabuhan, a libation of a mixture of arak (palm wine) and brem (rice wine) is sprinkled around the shrines near the bale. Batur Sari leaves and returns later bathed and dressed completely in white with a poleng waist cloth and a paste of crushed rice and flowers (bija) on her forehead and temples. The safety of the consultation area is secured with more libations (tatabuhan), sticks of incense and flower-scented holy water.

From the appearance of the ritual clothing (rarantasan) on a silver container (bokor) placed upon the table it appears that the first consultation will be a maluasang pitra, that is, a summoning of the spirit of one deceased. A family group of fourteen (eight women, four men and two children) settle in front of the bale dangin where Batur Sari is now seated behind a large table which is covered with offerings of various forms. She asks if they want to maluasang pitra to which they answer 'Inggih' ('Yes' in high Balinese).

One may maluasang pitra three days after death if the corpse remains in the houseyard, forty-two days after burial or twelve days after cremation. The principle objective in seeking a participation with the deceased is to ascertain the real (mystical) cause of death, for which reason the seance is alternatively named nunasang pejahan (ask about the death). The day before the consultation the relatives perform a ritual in the sanggah, at the crossroads, the graveyard and the pura kahyangan. An already purified spirit of a deceased relative is asked to join them in the anticipated communication with the recently deceased. When the relatives are still sebel following the death, offerings are placed outside the temples. The rarantasan brought to the maluasang pitra is usually ceremonial clothing in the case of the not-yet-cremated and white cloth for the already-cremated.

The ablutions having been completed, the balian asks the clients the location of their pura kahyangan. They name one in the district of Gianyar. Then, prefaced by a kind of vocalized loud clearing of the throat (which signifies immanent possession by the possessing spirit), Batur Sari utters a long mantra through which she requests those invoked to show her the path (dadi margi):

ONG Ratu Ayu Alit
 Taler [also] Bhatari Alas Pulaki
 Taler Matur Uning [I also seek knowledge from]
 Ida Ratu Gede ring Pura Dalem Ped [Macaling]
 Taler Ida Bhatari Sri Gilih Lambih, Pangulun Sawah
 Taler Ida Bhatara Dalem Krisan ring Pedungan
 Taler Bhatara Sadana
 Taler Bhatara ring Pura Dalem, Tepian Pangadangan
 Taler Ratu Ayu Alit ring Pura Dalem Mengwi Pucuh Kebon Gumi
 Taler Ida Bhatara Dalem ring Samudra [Kala]
 Taler Ida Ratu Madering Pura Kahyangan
 Taler Bhatara Mrajapati
 . . .

Batur Sari then sends the group to place burning incense around the shrines and to make more ablutions with arak and brem on the ground.

A woman and man pour some coffee from a flask into a cup and place this together with a few cigarettes on the ground. Batur Sari then holds her hands over a pasupan of smoking sandalwood and incense, rubs them together, closes her eyes and pauses. She then begins to sway slightly and nod her head before uttering another mantra:

ONG, Ratu Ayu Alit, now perhaps he who rules in the pura kahyangan will grant the request that the soul of the deceased will communicate.

In a normal voice, she says to the clients:

Your sawa-pitra [soul or spirit] has come. Your Sang Pitra is a male?

Client: Inggih [yes]

Batur Sari: Your father died in the hospital? [Bapa matine di dokter?]

Client: Inggih

Batur Sari: You have not yet performed a ritual to release his spirit from the hospital? [Durung ngulapang ke dokter?]

Client: We have already done so [Sampun]

Batur Sari sends some of the group to make more tatabuhan at the entrance to the houseyard. The others are kept busy chasing the fowls and dogs from the offerings. When they return she chats to them and comments that their sawa pitra has facial features similar to those of one of the children. She also asked whether or not he owned a ring. The wife answers that he did but she has not brought it along with her. 'It doesn't matter, I only ask', says Batur Sari.

Batur Sari again placed her hands over the pasupan, closes her eyes and a few seconds later begins the loud rasping throat clearing which announce taksu possession (katakson). After a brief episode of something between crying, moaning and grunting, she speaks in an altered high-pitched tone of voice punctuated at times by the vocalized throat-clearing.

The following dialogue between the sawa-pitra (through the mediumship of the balian) and the relatives is a verbatim account of the seance. When Batur Sari was possessed, the summoned spirit of the deceased sawa-pitra spoke directly to those seeking communication:

Sawa-pitra [to his son]: Why do you seek to communicate with me. What is it? Why am I being sought? What is happening in Bali now? Tell me so I know.

Through the mediumship of Batur Sari, the sawa-pitra cries and moans for a few seconds and then speaks to his wife:

Sawa-pitra: You want to ask about the cause of my death.

The sawa-pitra asks for some coffee because he feels thirsty. Satisfied, he continues:

Sawa-pitra: Mother, children and siblings, now listen to my story. I am confused here. I don't know where the north and the south are. Which direction is the west, I don't know. If you want to know about my death, you must already know that I died in the hospital. I died

because I lost a great deal of blood. My first-born child, you are here. My younger sister, you are also here. And so is my brother-in-law. Now all of you listen to my story. Earlier you all went to the graveyard to look for me [bapa] and now you have come to Batur Sari in order to put things in order. What is happening at home at present? What do you want to know from me?

One of the clients: We want to know where you are and why you died. What was your misdeed? What did you do wrong?

There is another interlude of crying-moaning from Batur Sari/Sawa-pitra.

Sawa-pitra: You know that I died because I was ill. The illness was most evident in my stomach. Balian Bali and balian dokter were unable to cure the disease I suffered. You remember? Just how many kinds of medicine altogether was I given. And yet the disease did not disappear. Finally I was taken to the hospital again. I did want to go on living. I did not die because I was punished by deities. You should listen to me now. In the past, I was bleeding from the mouth, you remember?

After further sobbing the communication continues:

Sawa-pitra: Now that I am dead don't let there be conflict in the household. Keep close to each other. You hear my words? The name of the sickness which led to my death is tuju desti papasangan. You hear that? But you must not make any trouble. When I was alive I looked after everyone -- family, neighbours and the village community. I was honest and just. You should know that it was three people who made my sickness [nyen nyakitang iceng ajaka tatelu]. Now I ask for a comfortable place here from Bhatara Mrajapati. I have a good position here. I am a cock-keeper [tukang kurung] in the Pura Mrajapati. I can deal with those who made me sick from here. They will lose money. I myself will curse them to do so. Is there anyone who says that I have debts owing to him? I don't have any unpaid debts.

Wife: Why do you say that? There are debts.

Sawa-pitra: That was the case. I borrowed money on the sawah. The money was used to repair the house. I didn't spend it gambling.

Wife: I want to get the sawah back and pay back the money to the person from whom you borrowed it.

Sawa-pitra: Don't worry about that. If he doesn't come to the house, don't go looking for him. Don't attempt to return the money in case you give it to the wrong person. I don't want to give the name of the person to you. There was no formal agreement. Do you hear that?

One of the group: Did you borrow money from someone in our banjar or from outside it?

Sawa-pitra: I borrowed it from somebody in the banjar, but not from a relative. Only when you have enough money saved up, should you pay back the debt. I didn't sell the sawah. I only mortgaged [magadiang] it. I have a good place here. Don't make trouble in the household. Do you want to ask anything else?

Wife: I only want to know about your death.

Sawa-pitra: Before, I told you that I died because of tuju desti papasangan,

an illness made by man [sakit gaenan manusa]. But don't make trouble. Wayan, bapa is dead, don't make trouble for your mother. Don't make her angry. The persons responsible will be dealt with by me [bapa].

The group then seemed satisfied. The trance possession had ended without apparent farewells or formalities. There were no further questions to Batur Sari. It all seemed clear to them and they left.

Revelations arising from maluasang-pitra can be quite disturbing for the relatives. A balian told of a case where the summoned pitra revealed that it was in a state of extreme distress for its physical body had been mutilated after death in a practice named kuku rambutan. It revealed that after death its eyes, tongue, ears and genitals had been cut off by a balian and its own father and grandmother. The family were already suspicious because, it was alleged, the balian had refused to allow them to wash the corpse after death. Perpetrators of kuku rambutan are imputed to take these appendages as an offering to a graveyard and to devour them in order to acquire sakti-kakabelan, a form of sakti which lends invulnerability.

Some client informants said that Balinese are generally alarmed about having relatives die in hospitals or being taken there following accidents. They are afraid that organs might be removed for transplant operations. Such things are, in Balinese conceptions of person (and related notions of kanda mpat and panca mahabhuta), incomprehensible and spiritually destructive, as they leave the soul disturbed and in turmoil. They said that such desecrations of the unity and sanctity of the human body are sometimes revealed when relatives recall the spirit of their dead in maluasang pitra seances. The souls (atma) of these victims are in torment (sengsara) and weep bitterly as they complain to their relatives.

In a maluasang pitra the taksu acts to assist the coming of the pitra who then speaks directly to the family members. However, there are also cases when the pitra does not choose to communicate directly with the relatives. The balian katakson merely conveys the essence of her own participation with the deceased. In other words, it is the taksu, not the pitra, who then speaks with the relatives. The procedure, in such instances, is not punctuated by the crying and moaning described in the above seance.

2. Nunasang Pejahan (17/2/82)

The stated objective of this maluasang was to request knowledge of the cause of death (nunasang pejahan). A brother-in-law (referred to henceforth as ipah) of the deceased, accompanied by ten members of his household, initiated the seance. The balian katakson (referred to here as Candra Sari), a woman of about forty years, practised in the village of Abian Kapan in Denpasar.

Firstly, she asks the group how many kitchens (kuren, implying separate households; see Geertz and Geertz 1975:47-59) there are in the houseyard and then if they have come to 'maluasang anak mati' (an alternative expression for 'contacting the spirit of the deceased'). Deliberately or otherwise, the clothing which would have provided the clue as to their particular objective is concealed under a bench.

It is eventually established after much discussion that the deceased had lived alone, that is, she 'owned' one of the two kitchens in the household. She was unmarried and had not borne any children. She had been pleasant, generous and well-loved by her sister's husband and family. Through the taksu the message is conveyed that the deceased does not request that her physical remains be cremated. She does not wish to put them to any expense. An early cremation is not deemed necessary because she does not have any descendants. She has an older brother also deceased and if, at a later date, he is to be cremated, she asks that she may be cremated on that occasion. Meanwhile, her living relatives should take what they wanted of her personal belongings. Then, also through her taksu, Candra Sari proceeded to reveal a number of facts concerning the life and the death of the deceased:

Candra Sari: She died in the bale dangin.

Ipah: That is right.

Candra Sari: Then a masodah pujung ritual must be completed. Even though she was ill she kept working right up until she died?

Ipah: Yes, she did.

Candra Sari: She is more contented dead than alive. When she was alive she was always sad.

Ipah: Yes. Why was she always so sad?

Candra Sari: Because she worried so much about her death and who would pay for her cremation.

Ipah: We liked her so much. I did not want her to die.

Candra Sari: She was not very old when she died, nor was she all that young.

Ipah: That is correct.

Candra Sari: Although she was seriously ill for a long time, she pretended that this was not the case.

Ipah: Yes, I thought so.

Candra Sari: The reason she died was because she was suffering a very severe disease. She does not want to say that it came from a human agent. There was a person who was envious of her. There was uug-uugan uling samping [euphemistic language for witchcraft, meaning literally 'disaster from the side']. But you should not be concerned with this. When she was alive she always gave away whatever money she had. Is that right? You know why, don't you . . . so she would gain love and be cared for. Her corpse was extremely clean wasn't it?

Ipah: Yes, that is right.

Candra Sari: She was very clever at making offerings [sajen-sajen], wasn't she? She used to move about like this, didn't she? [gesticulating and making facial expressions imitative of those of the deceased].

The clients agree that this was indeed a clever impersonation of their deceased friend. Candra Sari returns to them the offerings they had brought along and tells them to place them in the bale dangin where their friend had died. She also tells them that the woman would reincarnate within their family.

Whilst the overt function of maluasang pitra is to find out the nature of the supernatural forces responsible for the death of the relative whose spirit is being summoned, there is clearly some comfort and reassurance for the grieved through the communication. Like mystical experiences, such participations are indifferent to the determinants of space and time and independent of physical impossibility. They are based on the assumption that all things have an invisible as well as a visible existence. The dead can be in the grave and in the spirit-world, communicating to relatives their wishes concerning cremation and the possibilities of reincarnation while still remaining themselves in the realm of the supernatural. Lévy-Bruhl (1926:308) defined this principle of thought as an expression of 'participation of multi-presence'. In the Balinese context, it is as Lévy-Bruhl might have observed, death is accomplished by degrees. The physical binds are severed (pegat) in stages. The spiritual ones are eternal. The dead pass into another realm of existence. Their souls (pitara/pitra) have many lives to lead.

Shortly after birth, an identification of the reincarnating ancestor and communication with the spirit of that ancestor are sought through the mediatory powers of a balian katakson. Once communication has been established, the reincarnating ancestor (sang dumadi) speaks directly to the family through the balian. This form of spirit-raising is called maluasang anak cenik (also maluasang dumandi). The following case, as will become apparent, is not typical of this type of seance.

3. Maluasang Anak Cenik (12/1/82)

Only two participants, the grandmother (henceforth dadong) and the mother's brother (uncle; henceforth paman) were present. Generally, there is a much larger gathering of relatives. The mother does not normally attend, nor does the baby. For the first forty-two days following birth, they are both spatially confined. They are sebel. (I examine the relationship between birth, sebel and confinement in Chapter 9.) The uncle had participated in an earlier maluasang to such an extent that I had wrongly assumed that he was part of that group of clients. Seances, like other consultations, are rarely private matters. This one was again conducted by the balian katakson referred to here as Batur Sari. The family were from Sanur. These circumstances were uncharacteristic in that people do not generally choose to maluasang through a spirit medium in their own district. They feel that the prior information the medium might have of their affairs could interfere with the mystical participation they seek.

Following libations, burning of incense, the utterance of mantra similar to that of an earlier described seance, Batur Sari announced that a female ancestor was coming. Whilst not yet in a state of possession she asked why members of the father's family were not present. Then, without waiting for an answer, she went into trance. The reincarnating spirit (Sang Dumadi) spoke directly to the family using not the first person singular 'I' (Tiang) but bayi meaning 'new-born'. In the following exchange, for the sake of clarity I use the intended 'I' instead of bayi.

Sang Dumadi: I come from afar.

Paman: From where?

Sang Dumadi: From the east, far away. I have come here from afar but no one from there came here to offer me rice. I have not been

acknowledged by the father. You are caring for me. I have been brought back to this world. My name is (. . .). Mother is unmarried and still very young. She lives with her parents because my father does not acknowledge the fact that I am his child.

Paman: Even after legal action he refused to admit to being the father.

Sang Dumadi: But it is good that you look after me. Although he doesn't want to admit to paternity, I look like him. I am not sickly. I am beautiful and I am female. I have a birthmark?

Dadong: Yes, on the back.

Sang Dumadi: Look after me well. Don't be angry with me and scold me. Tell mother not to blame herself or have any regrets.

Judging from the change in the tone of voice the trance possession and participation with the reincarnating ancestor was suspended for a few minutes. Batur Sari spoke to the uncle and grandmother about what they had just heard. The uncle told her that the baby was being 'adopted' by a brother-in-law.

In such cases as this when the natural father is unknown or refuses to legitimate the child through marriage to the mother, it is usual for a member of the family, usually a brother-in-law, to stand in as the official father. They told Batur Sari that there would be a masakapan (marriage) whereby the child would be 'connected'. During an ensuing discussion, I was told that in certain villages when such a willing male family member is unavailable, the mother may be 'married to a kris' in order to secure a 'connection' or binding (banda) for her child. We may perceive legitimacy as being crucial. I suggest, however, that the Balinese perceive the issue of 'being tied', of having an 'essential participation' as the imperative issue.

Back to the matter in hand. Batur Sari uttered a mantra over water. She gave this to the grandmother and instructed her to give the baby five drops of it to swallow. The remainder was to be splashed on the fontanel of the baby. Batur Sari commenced the vocalized clearing of her throat indicating a continuance of the trance. She uttered the usual mantra invoking first of all, Ratu Ayu Alit. This time the uncle asked the pitara (the word he used) what it required on the occasion of the infant's first otonan (birthday, that being 210 days after birth). The pitara answered that it did not require anything. And there the trance seance ended.

Basically, the purpose of this form of participation is for the benefit of the new-born child, as the seance will reveal potentially threatening situations which may bear upon the child's present and future well-being. Unredeemed misdeeds or unfulfilled vows in the previous life of the reincarnating ancestor can influence the health status of the new-born. In the context of maluasang, reincarnating ancestors might request wayang or dance enactments, even naming specific dalang and dancers. They might ask for renovations to a certain shrine or request a ritual in which a suckling pig is roasted. As can be discerned from the above dialogue, it was an ancestor from the father's side who was reincarnated in the baby on whose behalf the participation was sought. It was the father's great grandmother (buyut nini) who had reincarnated in the female child. However, reincarnating spirits are not ruled by gender lines. A male

child may reincarnate from a female ancestor and a female child may likewise reincarnate from a male, according to Batur Sari.

Substantial offerings must be prepared and a whole series of ritual procedures need to be carried out even before the actual maluasang itself. Those who come to the balian katakson to maluasang can usually be recognized by the large basket (keben) which they carry. This contains various offering ingredients such as rice, eggs, coconut as well as the requirements considered necessary for the spirit being called. There is very little exchange of information concerning the nature of the maluasang between the clients and the balian. It is left for the balian to know or be inspired as to what is required and whose and what kind of spirit is sought. In the case of maluasang anak sungkan (a seance to diagnose the cause of illness) the sick person may not even attend. However, all is not entirely left to inspiration. The content of offerings and the rarantasan brought by clients, in themselves signify specific intentions. The final cases of maluasang details some of the preparations and inspirationally-derived treatment intended to resolve a persistent affliction.

4. Maluasang Anak Sungkan (19/2/82)

Fifteen-year old Nyoman, the sick one (anak sungkan), was not present. Her mother, aunt and two sisters attended. According to their descriptions, Nyoman's left leg was grossly swollen as a result of a number of boils on her thigh. She had already been treated in hospital 'with injections', but the boils, the swelling and the intense pain persisted. The doctors 'would not say what the problem was'. The family suspected that it was sorcery, probably of the acep-acepan (perpetrated by powers of concentration) type.

The day prior to the consultation, the family had made offerings at the sanggah, the crossroads, and at a pura with which the family is especially affiliated; the grandfather was once the pamangku there. This was to assist the passage of the taksu and ensure a participation which would provide an understanding of Nyoman's illness. The balian katakson with whom they had arranged the maluasang was the one previously referred to as Candra Sari. The mother was of the opinion that the family had aroused the envy of a certain neighbour because of the success her children were enjoying at school and in their work. Nyoman was the third-born in the family of three surviving children. An older sibling and a younger one had died in early infancy. The mother felt that although the envy was not directed specifically at Nyoman, she was the one who had succumbed to affliction because she was more passionate and easily aroused to anger. This made her vulnerable. Yet, on another level of their way of understanding and interpretation of the illness, they wanted to know if the family as a unit had done something wrong or been negligent.

Ritual libation, the placement of offerings and the lighting of incense completed, Candra Sari spoke to the family. She first asked if there was a pamangku in the family. Nyoman's mother answered that this was so and Candra Sari told them that they should not let him go off wandering as he does. (The old pamangku was indeed reputed to 'hang about' with wong samar by a river near where they lived.) The family did not know this balian. As far as they were concerned, she knew nothing about them. Yet this remark about the grandfather surprised only me. The following diagnostic dialogue through trance possession then took place:

Candra Sari: You have come to maluasang anak sungkan?

Mother: Yes.

Candra Sari: Your own child?

Mother: Yes.

Candra Sari: Your third-born?

Mother: Yes, Nyoman.

Candra Sari: There is a child who is younger?

Mother: Yes.

Candra Sari: There is much swelling?

Mother: Yes there is.

Candra Sari: It is very red here [she indicates on her own leg where Nyoman's leg is red and swollen]. It is very swollen and extremely painful.

Mother: Yes.

Candra Sari: She has already seen a doctor and had injections. You thought that if you took her to a doctor and got an injection that she would surely recover quickly. But this is not the case. Your daughter is young and pretty, but now she looks like an old person because of the pain. Her sleep is much disturbed by the pain?

Mother: That is right.

Candra Sari: You have only one kitchen?

Mother: Yes.

Candra Sari: (to an older sibling): There are two grandmothers. The youngest is very ugly?

Made: Yes.

Candra Sari: There is a house to the north of yours?

Made: Yes.

Candra Sari: Who sleeps in the south-west part of the house?

Made: My younger sister [Nyoman] does.

Candra Sari: The walls have been repaired? [The mother is visibly shaken and disturbed. It appeared that she was remembering an earth tremor which caused the wall to collapse.]

Candra Sari: Your daughter's leg is shaking also like a volcanic eruption as if being devoured by a tremor because of the infection. Don't be afraid [to the mother]. You have cut the roots of a large tree growing on the northern border of your houseyard?

Mother: Yes, a sukun tree. The wall surrounding the courtyard was being destroyed by the roots of the tree so I cut them. My neighbour owned the tree but my wall was being destroyed by it.

Candra Sari: It was a beautiful tree. It was to the north. That is what caused your child's illness. That is what gave your neighbour reason to cause harm. The sukun tree itself was not so much tenget as its owner. The neighbour is envious of your family. Although the family is wealthier than yours, their children have not completed

school. Do you have a tunggun karang [stone shrine for guardian spirits of houseyard?

Mother: Yes.

Candra Sari: You must make a request [nunas ica] and place canang there so that your child will recover. When you place the offering say: 'Though I cut the roots of the sukun tree, if people ask your help to make my family ill, please do not grant their request and cause suffering to my household'. You have already taken your child to the doctor? The boils have already been pierced?

Mother: Yes.

Candra Sari: The sores appear to be superficial but they go very deep.

Mother: It is grandfather [kakek] and myself that she [the neighbour] hates.

Candra Sari: She hates the whole family. You must do a pangulapan ceremony where the sukun tree formerly grew and don't forget the canang for the tunggun karang. The neighbour often bewitches [acep-acepan] from that place where the tree formerly grew.

Candra Sari then listed ingredients for an ointment to be applied to the leg but told the mother to keep on using the one prescribed by the doctor as well. They were advised to make a sarana named nasi wong-wongan and place it outside the entrance to the houseyard. This sarana is made from cooked rice shaped into human form. The family told me that in a few days time they would also consult a balian usada to obtain other sarana and advice on ritual procedures to prevent further sickness within the family.

Another inspirational diagnostic trance, in which the afflicted himself participated, was called maluasang raga (raga meaning 'body' or 'self'). The patient, a man of about thirty years, was accompanied by two neighbours. In a dialogue with the patient it was established that he was sleeping badly, experiencing occasional pain and swelling in his abdomen and hands and that he had already been to a doctor 'for an injection'.

There was no physical examination. Through her taksu, the balian ascertained the cause of the man's physical distress. His houseyard was mbet meaning 'in a state of turbulence' (Panes has a similar connotation). It appeared that he lived in a newly-constructed house. Human bones had been found in the soil during construction of the house. Further questioning revealed that he had already had the necessary pacaruan completed and shrines erected. After another consultation with her taksu, the balian announced the ultimate cause of his affliction:

You are sick because there is a sanggah in a place far from where you now live. This sanggah has been neglected by you and it is now causing you trouble. You made an error in that when you moved you did not formally let it be known [ngaturang piuning] at your former sanggah.

The man agreed that this was indeed the case and the balian advised the time at which this omission should be redressed. In a series of short trance states, the balian gave him further explanations for his affliction and advice on how to overcome it:

The reason why you are so disturbed is that you did not take with you a little soil from your former sanggah to your new one. Your sickness is not caused through desti [sorcery]. You have a lot of money. You should not have forgotten these things. . . . Your household does not run smoothly. There is also disturbance at the place where you work. You are in conflict with many of those around you. The reason for all of this is that Bhatara Guru from your former sanggah has given many bhuta-kala free rein to disturb you.

When one moves house there are many ritual obligations which a Balinese must fulfil in order not to offend ancestral and environmental spirits with whom close participation is already established (see Chapter 4[ii] and Chapter 5 [iv]). The ngaturang piuning here refers to the removal of some soil from under or near the sanggah from the houseyard being vacated and the placing of it in the new sanggah in order to maintain the protection of the supernaturals concerned by not arousing their wrath.

In a final trance utterance, other contributing factors to the patient's state of illness emerged:

You make a great deal of money but you are not at peace with yourself. You are not very highly regarded by others. There have been serious ritual lapses on your part. There are many bhuta-kala about. It is not desti. You have gained material profit but you have been negligent. Your houseyard is very tenget. You should make an offering of lak-lak [a kind of cake made from rice flour] and a canang miuk-miukan [a type of flower offering] at the padmasana [lotus altar] so that you will not be occasioned further distress. Your houseyard is also panes because it is situated north of a geria and it is bounded by a pathway [rurung]. It is kapit [pressed] between a geria and a rurung. It is mbet and tenget and that is the reason why there is so much disturbance in the household. Certainly your house is physically comfortable and elaborate. But it is tenget. Each kliwon you should make an offering of kiping [a kind of cake] and biu mas [a variety of banana named 'golden'] and segehan panca warna [five-coloured cooked rice offering] because there are five dewa who reside there. Later today, at sande-kala you should splash holy water over yourself eleven times and swallow eleven sips of it also. Later, at 11 o'clock, make an offering of segehan poleng [two-coloured cooked rice] because at that time the bhatara and bhuta-kala who reside nearby will awaken. You will hear the sound of cecak. Offerings must be given so that you will be rahayu.

These final two cases of diagnostic possession illustrate theoretical propositions made earlier (Chapter 4[ii]) regarding the various levels of causation in Balinese conceptions of the cause of sickness. Individual temperament and relationships with the social and spiritual environments are significant in determining causation. All of the above cases are intended as data demonstrative of an earlier (Chapter 5[iv]) identified philosophical theme of Balinese magico-medical understanding, that of 'essential participations'; an individual is tied (kaiket) to his ancestors, descendants and unseen forces within the environment. An individual's well-being is influenced by the quality of these participations. The form and content of maluasang are thus determined and directed by philosophical

presuppositions and constructions of disease aetiology as well as the perceived needs of distressed individuals.

For Connor (1982a:148) there are other significances in maluasang:

. . . the spirit medium's seances perpetuate representations of a cosmos hierarchically ordered on the basis of ascribed rank, where those not sharing in title or divinity occupy a subservient position. The balian sustains acceptance of values which counteract opposition to the traditional elite (many of whose members are part of the contemporary elite). He/she does this by creating an atmosphere of fear and anxiety on the part of clients, engendered by the deities' anger, intransigence and omniscience.

There is an atmosphere of anxiety during maluasang. This is engendered by the significance of the biocultural aspects of the concerns which prompt clients to seek assistance in the first place as well as in the ambiguous nature of cosmic powers. What Connor asserts is essentially correct. The Balinese view of the supernatural including deified ancestors does place human beings in a lesser position (at least in terms of the direction of deferential behaviour) to the supernatural, but not in one of helplessness. There is also interdependence. Human beings are deferential but not powerless. Given the notion of sakti and the ability of some mortals to establish communication with, and exert some control over, supernatural forces, relief from distress and prevention of illness are anticipated and sometimes realized.

Another point worth mentioning again is that the balian's revelations of the supernatural cause of an illness or death do not represent alternative explanations to those of natural cause or organic illness. An independent account (say, from a doctor) that a person died in hospital of pulmonary tuberculosis does not give lie to a trance revelation that the person was bewitched through a spell which entered the lungs in the form of a knife puncturing them. Balinese conceptions of disease causation do not deny the reality of pathological processes. They do, however, emphasize the prominence of supernatural agency, of unmanifest forces precipitating the disease process (see Chapter 4[ii]).

To the extent that often neither the afflicted nor the persons suspected of perpetrating harmful magic are present at maluasang, they cannot be interpreted as mechanisms for the powerless to manipulate or manoeuvre along the lines of Lewis's (1966) construction of trance possession as a deprivation cult. The balian katakson is also not the Balinese cultural equivalent of a shaman in the generally accepted sense of the term. There is no magical flight, ascent to the heavens or descent to nether regions characteristic of shaman mystical journeys through other cosmic realms (see Eliade 1972). Balian are possessed (ka-taksu-an) by their personal taksu through whom there is mystical participation with other spirits in another realm of existence. Obviously, some balian katakson display some artfulness and some could be labeled egocentric or seen as charismatic exhibitionists. Even so, in a typical maluasang the atmosphere is not highly-charged. There is no frenzied ecstasy or histrionic exhibitionism. The balian remains at all times in control. Balian katakson do not seem to suffer inappropriate possession, nor do they become possessed outside the ritual context of healing. Batur Sari, for instance, frequently takes part in a temple offering dance called mendet.

On the several occasions I witnessed her dancing she did not go into trance even though, on some occasions, most of those dancing with her did.

From the little which has been written about balian katakson, it could be assumed that the balian katakson's vocation, like that of the shaman in other cultures, is always announced by a crisis, often in the form of temporary derangement associated with hysterical behaviour like that described by Ackernecht (1943), Lewis (1971) and Eliade (1972). Weck and Connor describe how, in their case studies, initiation into balianship for the balian katakson was preceded by fever deliriums in which the balian-to-be roamed about for weeks during which time they sought solitude in forests, graveyards, mountains or similarly uninhabited space. This psychotic phase often followed episodes of physical distress manifesting with, for example, nausea, urine retention, constipation, lameness, deafness. Even so, not all balian katakson relate that their call to spirit mediumship was signalled by an episode of physical and mental distress.

Here, I wish to make a point relevant to my overall argument and one unstated in the search for meaning inherent in the fever deliriums, wanderings and mental derangement experienced by some balian katakson. These episodes may be interpreted as signs of divine approbation and a kind of rebirth as the previous studies imply. They may also represent manifestations and spontaneous resolutions of severe episodes of sickness. Of course, a proportionate number of members of a community whose life-stories do not capture our attention and imagination because they do not become differentiated from the masses as objects of scholarly attention, probably sustain the same experiences.

A definite form of mental disease often followed malaria. This was due to the action of the toxins together with the debility which malaria produced. Malarial fever could be followed by a maniacal condition in which the afflicted could wander for weeks, miles away from their own villages. After recovery, their minds were often quite blank as to these wanderings (see Fitzgerald 1923:152; Samuels 1923:144). My point is that the initiatory experiences of balian katakson are likely to constitute more than cultural motifs. They could be based on morbid realities. This matter should be at least visible in our analyses and interpretations. Mental derangement is a potential phase in a number of diseases described in Balinese medical treatises.

In the Balinese construction of disease, illness does imply intimate participation with ambiguous supernatural forces. However, to term a 'psychotic episode' recorded to have signalled the call to spirit mediumship 'madness from the gods' or 'blessed madness', as Connor (p.50) does, is perhaps to misrepresent the meaning contained in the Balinese naming of phases and manifestations of mental derangement, in this case, buduh kadewa-dewaan. The balian katakson, whose life-story Connor recorded, named a particular phase of her illness 'buduh kadewandewan' (a slight variation in spelling); she invoked dewa, cried and demanded a number of offerings. From this information, Connor draws the conclusion that the affliction of the balian-to-be was interpreted (by the parties concerned) as 'madness from the gods'. Connor also draws the assumption that it was this which precipitated a public pronouncement that the woman was chosen to become a spirit medium and, moreover, that 'these judgements on her condition no doubt provided public

endorsement of her illness as 'blessed madness' and not just deranged behaviour' (p.51).³ I would point out that in Balinese medical treatises, a phase of mental derangement (indicative of organic disease) which manifests in uncontrolled and inappropriate invocation of deities (dewa-dewa), crying and speaking in a high-pitched tone as if possessed by deities (when one is not) is named buduh kadewa-dewaan. The problem of Western theoretical constructions based upon an inadequate understanding of local medical semiology is examined in the following chapter. For the present, the discussion turns to healers who have lontar knowledge but whose ability to cure, as will become apparent, also rests upon intimate participations with the supernatural.

(ii) Profiles of Balian Usada (Literate Healers)

Lontar-derived understanding of disease aetiology, pathogenesis and the means of reversing the pathological process is ascribed a high status. This is consistent with an earlier described cultural attitude -- the power of knowledge (Chapter 5[i]). Weck considered balian usada to be the 'real doctors' and the other types of balian to represent something like paramedics (*der Heilgehilfer*). In contemporary Bali, many balian combine the methods and magic of all types of healing. They may own a paica, read a few lontar, or have a spouse who does, and have a taksu as well. The following profile of Sanur's healers designated balian usada testify to this kind of therapeutic eclecticism. Circumstantial accounts of selected consultations illustrate the kinds of problems about which people seek the help of balian. They also serve to contextualize earlier theoretical statements concerning Balinese constructions of disease, the demonic and ubiquitous ambiguous powers.

Of the thirty-three known balian practising in Sanur, twelve of these are balian usada. These are:

1. A male anak jaba in his early fifties who has completed six years of primary school. He also works as a watchman in a government office in Denpasar. His grandfather was a balian usada. He has a taksu who comes from Pura Pulaki in North Bali (see Chapter 11[v] on the significance of this temple in healing activities). He sees about 25 patients on a rarainan.
2. A male anak jaba in his early fifties who has no formal education. He also works as a hotel domestic. Both his father and his grandfather had been balian usada. He owns a paica in the form of a semi-precious gem stone which he found in Pura Merta Sari after he had meditated there one night. He sees about 10 patients on a rarainan.
3. A male brahmana in his mid-seventies with no formal education. He has no other occupation. He is also a member of a kakawin reading group.
4. A male anak jaba in his eighties who has no formal education. He has three wives and three surviving children. In the past he worked as a rice farmer and had been a pamangku at Pura Siwa Dampati. He claims a taksu assigned to him by Bhatari Saraswati. On rarainan he sees about 20 patients.

5. A male ksatriya/wesia (he is known by the titles Anak Agung, a ksatriya title as well as I Gusti, a wesya title -- a case of upward caste mobility, perhaps through the acquisition of wealth judging from the apparent prosperity displayed) in his mid-forties. He also owns a paica in the form of a kris. His immediate male ancestors were balian usada. His younger brother also aspires to study magico-medical lontar. This balian attributed his own frequent and serious bouts of illness to the activities of other practitioners of magic who attempted to thwart his healing powers. He was sick and in and out of hospital for most of the period of my field research.
6. A female brahmana in her mid-seventies is referred to in a discussion of 'Women as Healers, Women as Witches' in Chapter 9[ii].
7. A male anak jaba who claims to be in his nineties. His appearance and physical and mental agility belie such an age. He works in the sawah for several hours each morning and again in the afternoon. He has five surviving children from four marriages. This was probably one of the most engaging and charismatic of all balian interviewed. He had long matted hair characteristic of the older balian which he claimed was a gift of 'Tuhan'. He used the kind of terminology which indicated an exposure to certain national or Javanese religious influences. He discussed Islam and the growing number of adherents on Bali, but without concern. He saw no obstacles in the way of the two religions merging together. He is confident that the Balinese religion is strong enough to withstand the infiltration of any amount of extraneous religious philosophy and to absorb it all. He had a marvellous sense of humour and displayed an uncommon irreverence by jokingly ridiculing everything from padanda, through ex-colonials, foreign and local academics and their earnest compulsion to acquire Balinese lontar, to the senseless unproductiveness of the ubiquitous formations of school children who are relentlessly marched along the treacherous roadsides (a familiar scene at the time). I was questioned about the other balian with whom I had some acquaintance. He had not a good word to say about any of them. Interviews with him generally lasted many hours. Unwilling to simply answer questions, he used to lead the entire interview and direct the lines along which it could develop.

His only surviving wife who was also a consecrated (kawintenan) balian assisted him in his practice. She could not read lontar but had acquired some knowledge from her husband. His brother and a son were also balian. The former was seriously ill throughout the time I was in Bali and is not included in the survey. This balian had a busy practice with around twenty to thirty clients on rarainan. I saw few clients bring canang and I saw no money exchange hands.

8. A male anak jaba in his late thirties described himself as a balian kabatinan-usada-taksu-paica. He was the third of five children of one of the four marriages of his balian usada father. His two younger and two older siblings died in early childhood having been, in his perception, afflicted by witchcraft. For this reason his name had been changed from Nyoman (the title name of a third-born child) to Made (the title name of a second-born child), 'to prevent further affliction'. This is not an uncommon strategy in the event of a high number of deaths among children within a family (see

Chapter 5[i] on the importance of names and also Chapter 13[i] concerning 'What's in a name?').

This balian referred to himself as a dukun because, as he explained, it was 'more nationalistic and Indonesian', whilst the term balian 'was a regional name'. He had many patients throughout the islands of Indonesia, especially on Java. He also boasted eight tattoos (unusual for Balinese) on his upper limbs and torso. These, he named and interpreted as: Tintia Kusumasari, a symbol of the Buddha; a swastika, skull and crossbones and a man-tiger, symbols of Bhatara Gana; Arjuna's weapon (because, like Arjuna, he was the third son), a symbol of invulnerability; and a cakra (disc) and a trident, symbols of Wisnu and Brahma. His paica was in the form of a large black stone which he acquired after meditating at the Pura Dalem Ped, Nusa Penida; he saw 'a yellowish shining light and then a very tall black figure like a Barong Landung appeared'. In this stone, he claims to see 'pictures like in a television set'. His eclectic style is also expressed in his dress which is rather more traditionally Javanese than Balinese.

9. A male anak jaba in his late forties who has completed three years of high school. Besides a few lontar, he also owns a paica in the form of a ring which he found in the graveyards at banjar Madura whilst meditating there. The invitation and the inspiration to become a balian usada, he attributes to a deity at Pura Dalem Pangembah. Some acupuncture needles which he keeps in an empty biro cartridge are a legacy of 'an American doctor' who visited him several times in order to learn traditional therapeutic techniques used by balian. As he explained it, the acupuncture needles are not used in the conventional manner; they merely serve as a medium for the transference of his own spiritual power and that of his kanda mpat to the patient.
10. A male anak jaba who has completed primary school. He claims to be ninety though his appearance and mental alertness would indicate that he is much younger than this. He reckons his age through his memory of a catastrophic historical event, the Puputan Badung (1908), which marked the Dutch takeover of South Bali. He recalls that at that time he was already grown-up. At the time of the Japanese occupation, he recalls that he was the pamangku of Pura Dalem Giri Kusuma. In his earlier years he was also a fisherman by trade. He had three wives and four surviving children.

The decorative style of a bale dangin in which he conducts his healing sessions typifies the impressionistic modernity-traditionalism of many contemporary Balinese houseyards in general — posters of European landscapes, hotel stickers, advertisements for various commodity goods, Balinese paintings, caged birds, an enchained monkey, a few caged fighting cocks and a few photographs of the balian himself, probably the legacy of past foreign visitors (my sojourn was to add to the collection). He only kept a few lontar in his tongos ngastiti. The rest he stored in another bale 'guarded by bees'. I was told that I would be able to view them on the odalan of Saraswati when they would be taken out and given offerings and ritual acknowledgement. In the normal course of events he worked from notes in Kawi script which he had transposed into

exercise books. These were freely placed at my disposal. The matter of secrecy and the guarding of knowledge I have discussed in Chapter 5[i].

Perhaps one of the most distinctive features of this balian was his capacity for alcohol -- without any signs of inebriation -- in the form of the local brand of beer. He was also a chain-smoker. I was told by some of his clients that this high consumption of alcohol and tobacco contributed to his invulnerability. He referred to himself as a balian usada-kakebalan. By many, he was considered to be the most famous balian in Sanur.

The remaining two balian, who became my key informants, complete the list of twelve balian usada located in Sanur. They are referred to here as Ida Lod and Mangku Jero. Ida Lod is a brahmana. He is reputed to use and dispense pangiwa and pangleyakan (witchcraft). Mangku Jero is an anak jaba, the pamangku caretaker of a set of Rangda and Barong masks as well as a balian usada. Some anecdotal material from interviews with these two balian and selected cases from their healing session drawn from field notes help to impart and project some facets of their work and philosophy of life.

Ida Lod co-ordinates his healing practice with a female balian katakson who also happens to be his sister-in-law. Ida Lod has had some formal modern education. He reads and writes Latin script as well as Balinese. He speaks a kind of Indonesian language -- an interfusion of Balinese and bahasa Indonesia. One particular occasion (19/1/82 kajeng-kliwon), as was always the case, Ida Lod welcomed me and told me about the patients he had already seen that day, the nature of their problems and how he had attended them. Most were chronically ill and had come for spiritual fortification. Others had recently recovered from illness and had come for ritual ablution (palukatan) because of the kind of time it was. There were about twenty clients sitting around waiting, most of whom were either accompanying a sick person or consulting Ida Lod on behalf of someone else. I present three selected cases.

1. Tuju Papasangan: A woman accompanied by her parents consulted the balian on behalf of her daughter who had recently received a salaried teaching position. The family lived in Gianyar. The daughter, it seemed, had developed a progressive paralysis of the lower limbs. Ida Lod had already diagnosed the illness as tuju papasangan, a magically-induced disease affecting the locomotor system (see Chapter 5[vii] on the possible biomedical significance of the tuju category of disease). The motive for the bewitchment was alleged to have been the envy aroused in the colleagues of the successful contestant for a salaried teaching position. The clients left in their canang 10,000 rupiah. They were to return on the following rarainan (that being pujama) by which time Ida Lod would have prepared a neutralizing magical spell to the value of the money deposited with him.
2. Guna-guna: The next case involved the perennial problem of the straying husband who had been enticed away through guna-guna (love magic) at the behest of a 'Javanese prostitute'. The client was the wronged wife who brought a photograph of her husband's seducer whom she wanted the balian to do away with. This, he

A ritual ablution (palukatan) conducted by a balian usada on behalf of a group of chronically-ill patients at the seaside near Pura Tirtha Mpul.



was unwilling to do. Instead, he suggested a sarana through which a separation would be forced. He advised her meanwhile to remain patient, sweet, kind and loving to her husband if she wished to recaptivate him. She left in her canang 20,000 rupiah with which Ida Lod explained he would buy gold required for the sarana. She was to return in a few days time. The sarana was to be buried in a graveyard on the night before kajeng-kliwon.

3. Protective Rarajahan: A client from Tabanan brought along his six-year old nephew on whose behalf he sought some kind of protective magic. The fear for the boy's well-being arose out of an incident which had occurred on kajeng-kliwon; someone 'had stolen a photograph of' (had photographed without consent) the child and then fled. It was assumed that this image of the child would be used by persons of ill-intent to cause illness. Both the mother and father of the boy suffered serious illnesses which were imputed to witchcraft. Many others in the same family had died. The boy was the sole surviving member of the lineage and stood to inherit substantial wealth.

A rarajahan was deemed the appropriate measure to counteract threats to the child's life. On a piece of bark, Ida Lod drew a rarajahan named Kala Durga. This rarajahan was then taken into the tongos ngastiti where it was 'given life' (dipasupati) through mantra and directed towards its purpose of keeping the child safe. The child was then bathed in holy water, given some to drink and 'smoked' with incense. The rarajahan was incinerated and the ashes were placed into a glass of holy water and given to the child to drink.

The child had remained passive, patient and uncomplaining throughout the consultation and the long period of waiting which altogether had lasted over three hours. No detail of the long medical and bewitchment history of his family were concealed from the child.

On the nights of tilem and purnama, Ida Lod sometimes takes a group of patients to the sea-side at banjar Blanjong to have offerings made on their behalf and be ritually bathed in the sea. These patients are those who are suffering particularly difficult and prolonged illnesses. Following the purification the group moves on to either Pura Merta Sari (preferred when purnama) or to Pura Dalem Pangembah (the temple of choice on tilem). In these healing sojourns, he is assisted by the female balian katakson referred to earlier.

When Pura Dalem Pangembah was the site of the ritual, the first stage was conducted by the side of a small river west of the pura. Numerous offerings were placed on the ground and these were encircled by sticks of burning incense. Each member of the group also had an offering and a stick of burning incense. After several minutes of mantra-uttering, incantations of deities and offering of homage, each person threw his incense and offerings into the river from where they floated rapidly towards the sea. A selected group then moved away downstream. They disrobed and immersed themselves in the river. Then we moved on to the temple where there were more offerings, mantra and acts of homage. The balian katakson went into trance. In turn, patients moved in closer

and she revealed to them the causes of their continuing illnesses. Neglect of ancestral shrines and incompletely or incorrectly performed death rituals were the usual pronounced causes of their failure to secure and return to the normal state of well-being.

Inter-island healing missions also constitute a conspicuous feature of Ida Lod's activities. These travels are confined to the islands east of Bali. His most recent mission had been to Lombok where he had spent nine days. He was summoned there by a pasek (caste group) family many of whose members were sick. Neighbours had tried to help them and had in the process themselves become ill. They were unable to eat or drink and were becoming progressively weaker. After he had been there for three days, Ida Lod had a divine revelation which indicated that he should lead the family northwards to a place in the mountains once visited by the legendary priest-healer Nirartha and where a temple (Pura Batu Bolong) was later erected. In this context, Ida Lod related part of the legendary history of Nirartha which was consistent with that which I knew from historical texts which deal with the treks of Nirartha across Bali and to Lombok and Sumba.

The eleven sick members of the family stayed in the environs of the pura for three days. Ida Lod meditated and the afflicted were bathed in holy water, given small amounts of it to drink and small portions of sticky rice porridge to eat. Gradually they recovered.

Ida Lod also told me of how several years earlier 'at the time of rebellions' he had been summoned to East Timor to treat a senior army officer. As it happened, by the time he arrived the man was already dead. According to reports, he had been deliberately poisoned with a potent potion called racun miang extracted from the resin of a certain forest tree. The officer's wife and four children were also ill and displaying the same signs -- alternating gross abdominal swelling and abdominal depression synchronized with the rise and the fall of the tide. Because the illness had been made through witchcraft, doctors had been unable to cure it, according to Ida Lod. The family knew this and for that reason they had sent for him. Some members of the family survived the illness. Others died.

Ida Lod was known to me by reputation for many months before I succeeded in gaining an interview with him. It was difficult to find someone able (? willing) to direct me to him. Part of the difficulty was due to the fact that he moved about a great deal. He had affiliations with several banjar and seemed to own a number of houses. I was also given misleading information concerning his whereabouts -- either that he had moved from Sanur or that he was no longer a practicing balian. I was also warned repeatedly, even after I began visiting his practice, that he was a very powerful practitioner of 'black magic' and had taught many people how to become leyak.

According to another balian's unsolicited assessment of him, Ida Lod knew more about pangiwa than he did about tutur (esoteric teachings in an unambiguous and positive sense); furthermore, he was not beyond providing clients with whatsoever they requested even by it a babai spell. Be that as it may, a reputation for practising 'black magic' does not seem to delimit the number of clients a balian attracts. It is a balian's success in healing or overcoming obstacles in the way of all kinds of human

endeavours which is considered significant. A balian is judged firstly and most importantly in terms of the limits of his sakti. A large number of Ida Lod's clients sought help for what they perceived to be magically-induced afflictions wrought by human agents.

Without any prompting, Ida Lod volunteered to me the information that he had studied pangiwa and that this made him better equipped to deal with the powers of those who used it to harm others. This explanation is consistent with my understanding of the role of pangiwa in the magico-medical system (see Chapter 8). However, he also told me that he had himself used pangiwa to create illness. Now, each Siwaratri he meditates in a pura dalem temple throughout the night to expiate his past actions.

In the context of this study, no significance should be read into the statement that the balian reputed to be a practitioner of witchcraft (pangiwa and pangleyakan) is of the brahmana caste. Allegations in reference to dubious activities of many balian, including anak jaba are made. Mangku Jero, however, was of apparently unblemished reputation. Mangku Jero is a pamangku and a rice farmer. He has no balian ancestors. He has had little formal modern education and is unable to read or write Latin script. He regrets this. He is also unable to speak the Indonesian language. This bothers him less. His literacy is confined to the magico-medical lontar. He has, nevertheless, a wide knowledge of traditional culture and historical mythology. He owns about thirty lontar but has read many others borrowed from his former padanda teacher.

Earlier in his life, he had been seriously ill and sought a maluasang raga with a balian katakson. In the course of the trance possession, it was revealed to Mangku Jero that he should become a pamangku. A few years after becoming a pamangku, he had the desire to become a balian usada. He made offerings to Ratu Ayu (a Rangda mask) and, in time, he was possessed by the taksu of the mask. This was construed as a sign that he was ready to commence studying the magico-medical lontar. To find a guru, he had gone to Pura Pati Tenget (a temple with which the priest-healer, Nirartha, has a special affiliation and a temple which has special association with bhuta-kala and wong samar). There, it was revealed to him that he should seek instruction from the renowned Padanda Made of Sanur. He explained that his bond with his guru was such that when the latter died (which he has in the interim), he would be sebel for seven days and would then have to undergo another mawinten ceremony.⁴

His view of himself is modest. His most extravagant claims relate to his special understanding of such earthly supernaturals as wong samar and bhuta-kala. He related that Padanda Made sometimes sought from him knowledge of these supernaturals. But Mangku Jero claims no superhuman faculties. He believes that his knowledge and ability to speak eloquently and fluently (as he does) are special gifts of the Goddess Saraswati and Dewi Pulaki (the deified daughter of Nirartha; see Chapter 11[iv]) and that his own sakti derives from the spirit (taksu) of one of the Rangda masks in his care.

Some selected cases from healing sessions conducted by Mangku Jero serve to illustrate aspects of the art of healing and the approach and expertise of this balian.

1. 21/10/81: The day was a conjunction of two rarainan, buda-kliwon-matal and kajeng-kliwon-uwudan. When I arrived at 9.30a.m., Mangku Jero had already seen ten clients. Another 15 were sitting in groups awaiting their turn. Some were relatives or friends, there to assume the responsibility of carrying out the treatment and to help elaborate upon the circumstances leading up to the sickness. Some were from Sanur. The others came from Bangli, Gianyar, Tabanan and Karangasem. They had various complaints, expressed in terms of symptoms and signs -- pain and weakness in lower limbs, lethargy, difficulty in breathing, urine retention, blurred vision and skin lesions.

He told me about a family in banjar Blanjong suffering from something which he described as 'sakitne takut wong gamang-gamang'. A number of those among the four generations who lived in the compound were being disturbed at night by supernaturals named wong gamang-gamang and were experiencing varying forms of physical distress and mental derangement. Mangku Jero had been consulted regarding the problem earlier that week and had arranged to make pacaruan offerings for the family on this day.

A few male and female members of the family arrived in a hired bemo (a kind of utility truck adapted to carry passengers and goods) to fetch Mangku Jero. In the back of the bemo there were several baskets (beken) filled with requisites for the pacaruan. These had been prepared earlier under the supervision of a brahmana female offering specialist. Mangku Jero carried with him a sarana in the form of a clay brick wrapped in white cloth to which a red hibiscus flower was attached. This, I had seen him preparing earlier. It had been taken to his tongos ngastiti where he had splashed it with holy water and uttered a mantra over it.

When I arrived at the houseyard in Blanjong, Mangku Jero was seated in a bale inscribing rarajahan on young coconuts and chatting informally with the family. In front of the shrine in the centre of the courtyard there was a prepared hole in the ground about an arm's length in depth. A bench beside it was covered with offerings of animal, vegetable and mineral matter of various shapes, sizes and complexity.

When a group dispatched to place offerings at the nearby Pura Merta Sari returned, in turn, each member of the family removed their upper garments and underwent a ritual ablution with water (palukatan) administered by Mangku Jero. After uttering a long mantra and sprinkling much holy water about the shrine and the hole, assisted by members of the family, he transferred the offerings, the brick sarana and the inscribed coconuts into the hole and covered them with soil.

This part of the ritual therapy designed to handle the family's problems lasted for around one and a half hours. Quite obviously, the expense incurred by the family would have been considerable. Mangku Jero later explained to me that the family's predicament had arisen in the first place because they had not properly understood how to handle the supernatural forces which surround their compound. Blanjong, the banjar in which they live, is reputed to be one of the most tenget in that most tenget or villages, Sanur. It is not densely populated. The banjar extends along the coastline and it is at the far end of the village boundary. The large number of temples found in Blanjong was further evidence of its magically dangerous aspect (see Chapters 2[i] and 3[iv] on this point).



A ritual purification during a domestic pacaruan

Mangku Jero further explained the family's medical difficulties by drawing an analogy between the behaviour of supernaturals and small children; if they are not cared for and given food at the right time, they become fractitious and cause havoc in the household. There was yet another contributing factor to the family's problem; the spatial arrangement of the compound was not strictly in accordance with the prescriptions laid down in the lontar, Asta Kosali. The entrance to the houseyard was in the wrong position.

When I visited the family several days later the atmosphere there was certainly more relaxed. Everyone looked considerably less dazed and distressed than they had previously. On this occasion, I also learned more about the family's medical history and their perceptions of significant contributory causes of their poor health additional to that of ritual carelessness diagnosed by the balian. It transpired that the grandfather (belonging to the second of the four generations sharing the compound) lived separate to the rest of the family in an enclosed area adjoining the houseyard. He explained that because his wife, his children and his children's children had suffered so many bouts of serious sickness over the years he had reasoned that this might, in part, be due to the fact of 'wrong marriage'. His wife was a matrilineal first cousin. He hoped that his removal from the compound might alleviate some of this medical problems.

There are any number of variations on this particular kind of medical problem and the techniques used to find the cause. Most forms of magical therapy aimed to bring about a reversal of the state of disease and the anxiety it brings, involve pacaruan.

2. 18/2/82, kajeng-kliwon: Five members of a family from Klungkung sought a consultation at the home of Mangku Jero. They wished to matenung raga, the balian usada's method of divining illness (equivalent to the balian katakson's maluasang anak sungkan and maluasang raga). It appeared that ten of the twenty people who lived in the houseyard were ill with varying complaints. Some were displaying signs of mental derangement -- running aimlessly and raving. One was suffering a form of tuju (pains and weakness in the lower limbs). Others had no appetite and were sleeping badly. The family had already had a prior consultation with Mangku Jero and the cause of the various afflictions had been attributed to the active presence of some harmful magic within the space the members of the household shared. As instructed, they brought along four soil samples collected from each corner of the houseyard. Mangku Jero examined, smelt and then tasted each sample. The soil from the northern and eastern points of the houseyard was found to be fine (luwung). The sample from the western corner was normal (madya), whilst that from the southern corner was 'really bad' (kaon). That was the place where a desti spell was likely to have been buried.

Apparently, when things go wrong within the confines of a family's living space and padestian is the divined cause, it is generally the case that the spell will have been buried in the southern corner of the houseyard, that being the space in which the magic works most effectively. This having been explained to everyone's satisfaction, arrangements were made for Mangku Jero to visit their compound at an appropriate time (that being the following tilem) to neutralize the spell and make a pacaruan.

During the same consultation session, between 8.00a.m. and 11.00a.m., a variety of clients came along in need of advice on all manner of afflictions and/or anticipated disturbances. A woman from Denpasar brought along her teenage daughter who was shortly to undergo a tooth-filing ceremony. They were each given a palukatan and provided with rarajahan. One was to be placed under the daughter's pillow at night. The other was to be placed under the mat upon which the girl would lie during the actual tooth-filing. This, I was told, would be a magically protective supplement to the geringsing cloth which is placed under the head of a person undergoing tooth-filing. Other clients awaiting their turn for a consultation with the balian enlarged upon this point. Masangih or matatah (tooth-filing, the thirteenth manusa-yadnya) marks a critical phase of life when one is especially vulnerable to disease. Even the ceremony itself is a dangerous happening (pingit). Around this time, people are often 'tested' with harmful magical spells like desti. That is at least one way in which diseases which first manifest around adolescence are explained.

An infant of about ten months was brought along by a neighbour because of a bad cough. Mangku Jero made a cursory examination of the child and prescribed a mixture of several varieties of leaves to be mixed with red garlic and rubbed on to the infant's chest. There was no ritual procedure in this consultation. It was only a first visit and neither serious nor sudden. If a speedy and spontaneous recovery did not ensue then magical therapy would be indicated and implemented.

Two male clients from Tabanan sought a joint consultation. Both were suffering generalized weakness, having bad dreams and losing a lot of money gambling. After some discussion, Mangku Jero diagnosed the cause of their problems as lying with their reincarnating ancestors (sane dumadi) who had not fulfilled certain vows before their deaths. The omissions could be redressed through the making of offerings known as mabayuh on their next otonan to their panca mahabhuta at the sanggah. From a lontar, Mangku Jero read a list of ingredients required for this ritual at which he would perform a palukatan in front of the sanggah kamulan (temple of origin) using water from seven payut (small clay pot) containing kepeng. Before leaving they were also given a sabuk which they had requested on an earlier visit to protect themselves from pangleyakan. They claimed to be feeling particularly vulnerable under the circumstances.

During the time I knew him Mangku Jero had reason to consult other balian on his own behalf. Whilst he was repairing a leaking roof in one of the bale in his houseyard he fell and sprained an ankle. He first went to a balian urut, a specialist in bone setting and muscle damage. He also went to the hospital to have the ankle x-rayed. The sequence, interpretation and resolution of this episode in Mangku Jero's life was interesting in the way it demonstrated the consistency in Balinese ways of knowing and the primacy of supernatural causation in all events.

There was no doubting that Mangku Jero's ankle was swollen and painful because he had sustained an injury in falling from a ladder. However, at another level of causation, he fell from the ladder because he had made a ritual error and at a magically dangerous time. He had made offerings to the sakti masks of which he is the caretaker earlier that morning. This was the usual practice at times such as tilem, which

it was that day. He had forgotten, however, that owing to a death within his family he was in a state of sebel and should have therefore surrendered this task to someone else not so endangered and endangering.⁵ He explained that the deceased relative lived in Jakarta and because of the lack of proximity and involvement with the normal death rituals it had been easy, though not defensible, to have violated the rules of avoidance associated with being sebel.

Several weeks following this accident, I arrived one morning to find building activity in Mangku Jeros houseyard. A new tongos ngastiti was being erected. It transpired that because his ankle was slow in healing he had sought a trance diagnostic consultation (maluasang raga) with a balian katakson. Actually he named it a maluasang batis; batis means 'foot'. From this trance medium he learned that his own taksu was displeased with him and that if he did not have his tongos ngastiti repaired his foot would remain swollen and painful for a long time to come. He was reminded through the balian katakson that although he had promised to repair the tongos ngastiti as soon as it was financially possible, he had failed to do so. When he had saved up the necessary money, he had purchased a cow instead. The tongos ngastiti was attached to the bale dangin and this was not in accordance with the code of building. It was also lower than the bale dangin so that when it rained water fell from the bale onto the tongos ngastiti, which also contravened the code. The new structure was being erected to redress this situation.

Mangku Jero is fetched by people from all over Bali to attend to the sick. He also attends patients on Lombok and Nusa Penida. He has only been to Java once on which occasion he became so 'disoriented, confused and disturbed' that he has vowed never to return there again. He related that even at the time clients had come from Surabaya to arrange to take him to Surabaya to attend a sick relative, he felt uneasy (sing luwung kenehne tiange) about the prospect of undertaking a journey into such an unfamiliar environment as Java. Nevertheless, he agreed.

On the day of his departure he instructed one of his wives to have prepared for him on his return a banten and yeh kumkaman (holy water in which fragrant flowers have been soaked and over which incense has been smoked). His clients took him by car to Gilimanuk. Initial discomfort was experienced on the ferry crossing to Java when he was placed in a position whereby boatmen were walking on a level over his head. Then, the ferry had passed under a bridge. Added to this, he was to stay a night in a multi-storey hotel where, again, others were stepping above his head. These circumstances contravene proscriptions which guard the sanctity and protection of those who hold the office of padanda, of pamangku and who read sacred lontar.

Despite his discomposure and anguish, Mangku Jero did manage to see the patient on whose account he had been brought to Surabaya. The patient was in hospital recovering from surgery. As Mangku Jero related it, after the consultation, he remembered nothing, not even his journey home, apart from 'seeing two suns in the sky'. When he arrived in Sanur he was semi-conscious. He did not even know his own home and was unable to walk. Through the revivifying powers of the ingredients prepared on his prior instructions, he was redeemed from this state and eventually recovered. Under no circumstances will Mangku Jero return to Java.

He feels quite differently about Lombok. In December (1981) he went there for four days to treat some Balinese residents. One member of the family was suffering a painful distended abdomen. Another was unable to walk due to pain and weakness in the legs. A third was suffering from a neurological illness termed inguh, displaying symptoms of madness and roaming far from his home for days on end. Mangku Jero had diagnosed the problem as lying in the family's ritual neglect of the Pura Mrajapati. Those who have deceased relatives in the graveyard should make certain offerings at this temple periodically. Some of these offerings had apparently been overlooked.

Perhaps one of the incidents which impressed me most about Mangku Jero was a case involving a European woman in an advanced stage of multiple sclerosis who came to Bali in search of a mystical alternative cure of her disease. She arrived at the houseyard of Mangku Jero one afternoon whilst I was interviewing him. Without attempting any kind of physical examination, he described the illness as one which had affected the nervous system, particularly the nerves of the spinal column. He named the disease tuju batang; a rare condition on Bali, he commented. Batang means 'trunk' probably an analogical reference to the spinal column. I surmised that he used the generic term tuju on account of the disorder of the locomotor system (see Chapter 5[vii]).

Despite the woman's repeated pleas for some kind of magical therapy, Mangku Jero refused to comply. He said that under the circumstances it was not indicated. He did provide her with a lotion made up of arak, rice water and jeruk nipis to relieve the extreme coldness which he assumed that she was experiencing in her limbs due to her condition. The only other advice he offered was that she should visit a Western-style neurologist. He insisted that at this stage and in the time available (she was due to leave Bali within a day or two) he was unable to do any more for her. The cause of her disease, as he explained it, lay with her panca mahabhuta; a predisposition to the disease was probably present since birth.

The following day, Mangku Jero volunteered further information pertaining to his diagnosis and the woman's predicament. He gave a description of her personality and general disposition which he had construed from things such as the manner in which she had approached the bale on her arrival, the quality of her hair, her eyes and her mannerisms. These signs, together with the brief socio-medical history, he had obtained from her were the basis of his diagnosis. Regarding his reluctance to offer her the magico-mystical therapy she so urgently sought, he explained that the time was inappropriate (it was not a rarainan) and that treatment must, in any case, be administered in stages and by careful assessment of the results of each form of therapy. He also felt that the disease was in such an advanced stage that a reversal was most unlikely.

I did not really expect that a balian of Mangku Jero's calibre and integrity would have claimed the ability to cure multiple sclerosis. I suppose though that what also impressed me was how closely, albeit in different terminology and conceptual categories, his assessment of the condition was not really incompatible with what is known of the aetiology pathogenesis and prognosis in respect of multiple sclerosis in Western medical theory. His summation of the woman's character

and temperament were also remarkably consistent with what I learned about her through other sources.

It is not my intention to set up comparisons between Ida Lod and Mangku Jero though undoubtedly comparisons do suggest themselves anyway. Matters influencing my selection of these two balian as key informants have been discussed in Chapter 2[i]. Ida Lod is one of a line of brahmana balian usada of Sanur. His caste status may give him some advantage over Mangku Jero. Ida Lod does seem to imply some special affiliation between himself and the brahmana priest healer Nirartha, which is something I have the hunch Mangku Jero would not presume for himself under any circumstances.

Mangku Jero does not appear to be involved in any kind of struggle for recognition or status. Balinese from all over the island travel to Sanur to seek consultations with him. His clientele included urban and rural dwellers, the elite, the educated and the peasantry, those from within the caste system (triwangsa) and those, like himself, outside of it (anak jaba). He lives in a modest compound. He works in the sawah for several hours each day.

Ida Lod's apparent assets would indicate that he is quite wealthy. On a short visit to Bali in 1983 a Balinese friend showed me a recently completed modern house and adjoining temple in a secluded part of the village said to belong to Ida Lod. Whether or not this presumed wealth derives from his practice as a balian is not known. It seems unlikely. Many of the brahmana of Sanur are independently wealthy landowners. Others have acquired wealth through their (contrary to caste ideals) entrepreneurial activities, particularly in the tourist industry.

Both are middle-aged, charismatic, confident and perceptive. They have a broad knowledge of local medicinal plants and they display a profound understanding of the frailties of human nature. They are self-assured but not arrogant. Neither were reticent in disclosing the 'secrets' of their profession and their methods of healing once a rapport was established and provided the right questions were framed.⁶

To a limited degree, specialization occurs among balian. To an extent, Mangku Jero specializes in children's diseases and in protective magic. He is primarily a ritual specialist. Ida Lod is primarily a specialist in domestic problems and the kind of emotional involvements which seem to lend themselves to sorcery and bewitchment.

It was not mere coincidence that the majority of Mangku Jero's patients and clients sought advice for afflictions which were imputed to have been caused through ritual neglect, errors in the arrangement of the houseyard or unfulfilled vows. Obviously, a proportion of the ritual tasks he is called upon to perform pertain to the fact that he is a pamangku. Even so, they do include things about which an ordinary pamangku would not have sufficient knowledge to handle without having studied magico-medical lontar. One could surmise that in other circumstances there is a great deal of cooperation between balian and pamangku.

On rarainan Saraswati, Mangku Jero fasts and meditates. He does the same on Siwaratri, his objective being to gain wisdom and

A balian usada consulting a medical lontar on behalf of clients. (Note his son observing the procedures nearby).



invulnerability. When he first became a balian he frequently made pilgrimages to famous pura all over Bali (Sakenan, Goa Lawah, Pulaki, and also Dalam Ped on Nusa Penida) in order to acquire sufficient sakti to protect him from the enemies one makes as a healer. In curing illnesses one provokes the anger and wrath of those who 'retail' them, he explained. Forever vigilant, Mangku Jero always mutters mantra as he walks along the roads of Sanur. At magically significant times, throughout the night he holds vigil (makemit) in temples reputed to be especially tenget. Ida Lod also observes this latter practice.

Mangku Jero explained that whereas balian generally have a special relationship with the mahabhuta or kanda mpat named Nyoman Sakti Pangadangan, he himself has one with that named I Gusti Ketut Petung who is the dewa of painters and artisans. He said that those who gained their sakti through Nyoman Pangadangan were more likely to be 'easily angered' (besus). He does indeed exude an air of serenity. In fact, his entire houseyard was pervaded by a sense of calm. There was not the sound of loud music and crowing cocks which contributed to the general state of pandemonium that was the usual state of affairs in the houseyards of some balian (see Chapter 2 [i]). His younger children often sat close by listening and observing unobtrusively.

He has two wives and six surviving children of these marriages. Interestingly, for he was among the more 'tradition-bound' of all balian interviewed, all of his children were born in a government birth clinic. Unlike Ida Lod, he wears his hair long and matted (gempel) in the classic balian style. It is always covered in a white udeng. He generally wears the white robes (sangkul putih) of a pamangku. His clients always brought canang and always wore waist cloths. The amount of money included in the offering never seemed to exceed 300 rupiah. When expensive ingredients such as gold, silver or gemstones were required for a sarana, unlike Ida Lod, he left it to the client to procure these.

Mangku Jero does not use any form of physical manipulation or massage on his patients. His patients in need of such procedures would go, of their own accord, to balian urut. He also does not use the fine gold needles employed by balian more influenced by Chinese or Islamic practices. He explained that for these needles to be effective, one would need to use Islamic mantra of which he has no knowledge. He added that, in any case, he had no wish to use 'kabatinan Islam'. Unlike the anak jaba balian usada whose views on Islam I present earlier in this section, Mangku Jero displays less willingness to compromise with Javanese Islamic ideas and practices.⁷

Although Mangku Jero is sometimes possessed (katakson) by the spirit of the Rangda mask during temple ceremonies, this does not occur whilst he is carrying out healing activities. Here, he relies upon his lontar knowledge. Even so, he does claim that his taksu lends him inspiration to read the lontar. He also explained that his secular diagnostic skills depended upon what he could perceive with his eyes or determine through his own senses of smell, taste and hearing. Knowledge of the significance of these signs he acquired from studying lontar.

Mangku Jero explained that in therapeutic procedures he

concentrates and calls to mind the mystical syllables named aksara dasa bayu. Through further meditative concentration these syllables are combined to become a unity. He then visualizes the nawa sanga within his body and calls upon their powers. The syllable uttered and the number of repetitions depend upon the nature of the illness. If heating therapy is required he utters ANG nine times. If cooling therapy is indicated, he utters NANG seven times; if neither heating nor yet cooling therapy is indicated, he utters UNG eight times. When using mystical syllables, he first seeks the permission of Sanghyang Aji Saraswati, of Bhatara Nawa Sanga and then of his own taksu. He terms his own powers of healing Ratu Pamuterang (from puter, 'to reverse') as they come from Ratu Ayu (the Rangda mask). He also calls upon the help of his own panca mahabhuta. This latter term and kanda mpat, he tends to use interchangeably.

Mangku Jero explained that the objective of magico-medical therapy was to reverse (mamuterang) the course of the illness. For this he uses mantra and the dasa bayu or dasa aksara ANG: UNG MANG SA BA TA NA MA SI WA YA, also called modre.⁸ When the illness is made through pangiwa he uses a kaputusan (to cut off) mantra. The supernatural help called upon to cure the illness depended upon the nature of the disease. In all forms of therapy he used holy water. When a patient is suffering beteg (oedema) of the legs (in the case of a form of tuju for instance) he may take that person to the seaside to request help (nunas ica). If an illness has been made through panestian, he is nunasica at the graveyard. If the illness is the result of an omission of responsibilities to dewa, he will nunas ica at the shrine to Sanghyang Surya (a shrine located in the centre of the houseyard), and if the illness is the result of an error involving Sang Pitara (deified ancestors), he will nunasica at the sanggah.

Ida Lod and Mangku Jero are well aware of the fact that their view of the world is not shared by all and that their way of understanding and way of knowing are not shared by all peoples. Mangku Jero's explanations are frequently prefaced by phrases such as 'yen cara tiange Bali' or 'sakadi ring Bali' (that is how we Balinese perceive it). Furthermore, an appreciation of certain Western medical procedures has not diminished their confidence in their own knowledge and their powers over unseen forces which affect human existence.

(iii) Balian and Issues of Ethics Ideologies Legitimacy and Power Politics

In the awig-awig desa which contain the principles of adat law, there are no regulations concerning balian, their rights, responsibilities and code of ethics or statements concerning the relationship between balian and their clients and balian and the community (Atmadja 1981:201). Such regulations are found, however, in the category of magico-medical lontar identified earlier (Chapter 2(ii)) as philosophical-ethical.

It is presumed that balian are motivated by altruistic objectives. Instructions do not mention moral conduct or considerations such as virtue, selflessness or goodness. The ideal balian is, above all else, wise, cautious and circumspect. One who lacks conviction in his own competence or who procrastinates places himself in a vulnerable position and endangers his patient (HKS3524). There is an implicit code of ethics among balian⁹ but no moral judgements are made of those who use sakti to cause illness

by creating magical spells which are then sold to clients. The obliging balian, likewise, makes no moral judgement of the client. Conduct has its own reward, as the karmapala religious doctrine teaches.

In the Budha Kocapi and Kalimosada lontar, balian are told to desist from attempts to prolong life when death is, according to certain known signs (tengeran ing pati-urip; see Chapter 4[i]), patently inevitable. They are also warned against continuing to administer medicine when it fails to relieve symptoms. A balian who does this is deemed to be no more than a balian jinah or balian beras; jinah means 'money' and beras means 'uncooked rice'. Both terms imply that such actions could indicate that as well as displaying a lack of judgement the balian seeks only material enrichment. Balian are never in attendance at death. The ethical precept already referred to condemns attempts to reverse the course of nature when it is clear that a person is about to die from a terminal illness or a critical accident. Such persons, of their own volition, remain away. Nowadays, some are taken to hospitals.

There is no way in which to assess the incomes of balian derived from healing activities. My impression was that they did not initiate a discussion of this subject because they considered it of little importance. Healing was not for them a business enterprise. Any wealth acquired as a balian was considered to be fortuitous, most commonly the result of a special relationship with supernaturals (usually of the wong samar type) who favoured them and who, through various means, thrust wealth upon them (see Chapter 5[iv]).

Balian do not feature prominently in art and literature. The few that are portrayed represent the intemperate, not generally the exemplary ones. Balian Batur, a leyak who spread a cholera-like disease which threatened the survival of the Mengwi kingdom appears in the babad tradition (see Chapter 11[v]). The Story of Basur (edited by Hooykaas 1978) is a kind of didactic story of two balian, one an arrogant charlatan and another, wise and honest. In usana and babad, rulers and their ministers use magical trickery and transformations (upaya-sandi, maya-sakti) to overpower their opponents. There is no mention of these spells having been procured through the interventions of balian.

Infrequently, reports of criminal charges or convictions against balian appear in the local Indonesian-language newspaper (Bali Post). In a period of over eight months, I read of two cases of molestation of female patients and one of manslaughter by occasioning the death of a woman whilst attempting to procure an abortion (Bali Post 2/9/81; 17/9/81; 5/2/82). Occasionally a balian katakson assumes sudden fame and gets newspaper coverage. I am not aware of any newspaper reports of balian usada, either on account of their fame or their notoriety.

These accounts and others (see Connor 1982a:397-8) notwithstanding, the proportion of fraudulent balian to those who are sincere seems minimal. Accusations of deception or malpractice (witchcraft and sorcery is another matter) are rare. It is possible that there is some 'quackery' or deception in certain practises of some balian, but probably not as much as there may appear to be to an outsider who does not share the philosophical premises of the observed participants in a healer-client interaction. What the practitioners of magic believe and what their clients believe are the same. As Fejos (1959:16) has commented 'Magic is honest. Those

who practise it believe in it. And herein lies the basic obstacle for Westerners in studying magic'.

It is necessary to my enterprise and strategy for promoting an understanding of the Balinese magico-medical system to counteract some of the assertions made by Connor (1982a) in her study of 'peasant balian'. Connor presents a view of two separate religious ideologies and cultural values — those of a subjugated class of balian katakson and other 'peasant intellectuals' different to that of a 'traditional literati' which includes balian usada (p.198).¹⁰ I share an opinion expressed by Geertz and Geertz (1975:2,10):

. . . all Balinese share the same general beliefs, the same overall world-view, the same broad ideas on how their society is, and should be, arranged. . . .

. . . The distinction between gentry and commoner is fundamental in Balinese social structure, but it is not paralleled by an equally sharp cultural distinction; both gentry and commoner, as well as Brahmana priest and layman, hold much the same religious beliefs and participate in much the same rituals.

Obviously, I do not subscribe to the notion of a peasant ideology and ideological position in a belief system different from those of an elite literati gentry postulated by Worsley (1982) and Vickers (1982), nor to that of a commoner ideology opposed to an elite one concerning the conception of sakti and the way it is manipulated postulated by Connor (1982a:297-8). In this proposed dichotomy, doctrines like kanda mpat, concepts like taksu and the use of offerings and trance possession rituals are posited to represent counter-initiatives of the peasantry and to be either ignored in classical medical and cosmological texts or eschewed by the exponents of these texts and the advocates of 'elite orthodoxy' (pp.203-6,227).

As an example of a counter-emphasis of 'popular religion' Connor (p.200) opposes esoteric textual knowledge of the kanda mpat to ritualistic control of them. She claims that the kanda mpat are conceptualized and manipulated in the medical texts differently to the way they are used in peasant balian rituals. Thus she contrasts the peasant balian katakson's 'ritualistic control of the kanda mpat' to the 'literate balian usada's ability to control the kanda mpat through long training in esoteric texts' (p.203). Along the same lines, Connor postulates the use of offerings and of taksu as an alternative, less institutionalized path of divine inspiration and as an alternative means whereby those illiterate in the classical texts can achieve communication with the divine and attain power (pp.203-6).

It is true a balian usada's understanding of the kanda mpat, particularly the naming of them as they undergo their many transformations, is extensive. This does not, however, involve any difference in the basic conceptualization of the philosophical doctrine itself. Moreover, knowing the names of the kanda mpat does not diminish the balian usada's reliance on ritualistic procedures. Also, as we have seen, many balian usada invoke the concept of taksu and claim to have taksu. The 'classical texts' referred to by Connor (*Usana Bali* HKS2069; HKS2265, for example) do make reference to the notion of taksu and

to the abode of the cosmological referent of trance mediums (balian katakson) in the Balinese Hinduized cosmology. For example:

Gunung Andhakasa, the abode of Hyang Tugu, represents the lingga [shrine] for the worship of balian engangan, katakson and pamangku.

The term katakson also appears in the Usana Bali. There are also descriptions of the shrines and images into which taksu, in the sense of possessing spirit, sometimes enter (HKS2020; HKS2165; HKS2997, for example).¹¹ In the Balinese historical tradition, rulers, high priests and temple priests have always used divine inspiration and meditation to attain sakti and satisfy needs. Historically and presently, inspirational trance, intimate participations with the kanda mpat, the use of offerings and ritual do not constitute the prerogative or counter-initiative of the peasantry. My feeling is that Connor draws an unnecessary distinction between balian usada and her 'peasant intellectuals', that is, those illiterate in classical medical texts. There is much overlap in practice. I maintain that there is absolute consensus in theory and there is one ideology and philosophical tradition expressed in the magico-medical system.

Having asserted that Geertz (in Negara) has described the meaning of sakti in terms of 'elite cultural values', Connor (p.297) condemns him for presenting what she posits to be a 'distorted view' of it and proceeds to argue that, in the hands of 'peasant intellectuals', sakti has a 'counter-ideological function' and that 'peasant intellectuals' invoke sakti to 'legitimate their influence' (p.298). In a similar vein, McCauley (1984:172) proposes that sakti underlies the 'ideology which legitimizes social inequality in Bali'. McCauley takes the cases of a brahmana balian and a commoner (anak jaba) balian and argues that while the role validates the social and economic position of the elite balian as well as that of his family and legitimizes his wealth and power, the role merely raises the status of the commoner as an individual and allows economic mobility. Whilst asserting that peasants adopt the role of balian and use sakti as a manipulative device to satisfy economic ambitions, that the elite use the role to bolster high status and that the concept of sakti reaffirms the idealized conception of social stratification, McCauley concedes nevertheless that, even so, the Balinese themselves see the causal connection in reverse; sakti gives high status and wealth.

I maintain that the traditional Balinese elite and the Balinese peasantry do not have distinctive cultural values and, as I have already argued (Chapter 5[iv]), legitimacy constitutes a focus of our analytical concern and not one of the threads in the webs of significance which form the Balinese symbolic system. It is suggested that the Balinese perceive social (as well as physical, intellectual and spiritual) inequality as being real and inevitable, hardly in need of legitimation or reaffirmation. Furthermore, balianship is not a guaranteed means to economic mobility. Nor is it a means of attaining political ambitions. Connor (p.209) also concedes that 'peasant intellectuals', in spite of their charismatic influence among individuals, have no real political power. More renowned balian often enjoy a greater reputation and attract a large part of their clientele from outside their home regions. They lack access to secular power even at a local level. Doubtless, there are some balian who are in a position to wield some influence in power politics if they become so inclined and if the opportunity and socio-political circumstances should arise. Thus far, there is no evidence of them ever having done so.

In terms of secular power, the balian of Sanur are not a united cohesive group. Their influence, of a spiritual not political or counter-ideological nature, is pervasive at a domestic but not at the village or state level. They are not active members of banjar or desa organizations. Their profession is not the basis for the acquisition of even spiritual power or anything beyond the domestic level of the magico-medical system.

Within the confines of my field study, the only instance in Sanur of a balian becoming a community leader involved a brahmana dukun kabatinan and his healing activities were subsequent to his political ambitions and success. To some extent, Balinese dukun kabatinan, not as balian but as members of kebatinan organizations, may be considered to be politically oriented. Kabatinan organizations seem to be subjected to some kind of security surveillance or scrutiny in that details of their affiliations and ideals as well as the names of their members must be registered with the secular village head.

The 'historical evidence' of alignments and conflicts between traditional bourgeoisie and balian 'peasant intellectuals' as part of ongoing processes of class formation and transformation, said to exist by Connor (p.253), I have been unable to locate. From my reading of local historical texts, alignments and conflicts have been between ruling houses and rival members of the same lineages. The most important and intense rivalries and struggles, as Boon (1977:170-1) has also observed, occur between social equals, within caste groupings and families:

Indeed, Bali reveals that general paradox of hierarchical systems: the most ardently antiegalitarian actors are often the lowest in the hierarchy. . . . And wherever a full range of status distinctions already exists, it is the lowest strata who insist on careful distinctions among the divisions of the upper strata. . . . The lowest commoners in Bali's hierarchy still tend to support classic distinctions among their betters.

Historically, balian have not been noted for promoting counter-ideologies, nor have they been involved in political activity or resistance in the manner of their Javanese counterparts. Javanese dukun, according to Hanna (1967 [1] :1-9) dabbled 'so promiscuously and powerfully in politics' that Sukarno, notwithstanding his dependence on their particular expertise, had their activities curbed; the bad dukun as opposed to the good dukun (a distinction left to be drawn by Sukarno's own dukun) were either put out of business or afforded residence in jails. Traditionally Javanese dukun have held antagonistic relationships with authority. They have a demonstrated ability to mobilize mass support and their authority has tended to increase during times of crisis.¹²

There are initiatives bringing about changes in the ideology and practice of Balinese religion which will in time probably have ideological repercussions on the magico-medical system. Shifts and conversions are promoted by religious bureaucracy functionaries and a reformist-minded new intelligentsia. The newly emerging, economically independent, articulate (in the Indonesian language and nationalist ideology) group who call themselves dukun kabatinan or preferably just plain mediators (perantara Ind.) are part of this trend. Their ideology encompasses a kind of pan-Indonesian ideal -- nationalistic, ecumenical and Java-centred. Connor has traced and analysed these new trends

including current initiatives to incorporate balian into the government health system with acuity (pp.271-86). Had she not aligned the so-called traditional literati including balian usada with the 'intellectuals of the contemporary bureaucratic state' (p.219) and implied a peasant and ritualistic religious ideology distinct from a textual esoteric one, we would perhaps have fewer counter-points in our analyses.

I maintain that historically there have been consensual values, orientations, religious cosmologies and ideologies among balian, be they literate, illiterate, gentry or peasantry. In contemporary Bali, this is also the case among those who agree to have themselves labeled balian. Emerging counter-ideologies making inroads into the traditional medical system arise through the initiatives of the reformist bureaucracy and the more Javanized element of the population. In class, economic, political and status terms, these are the new elite.

As Hanna comments, the Javanese have been particularly susceptible to the cult of the orang sakti. The Balinese have also been. The difference seems to be that in the Balinese version of political mysticism, sakti persons such as balian have not been prone to inspiring mass followings and wielding political power. The newly-emerging Javanese mysticism associated with the healer-seer-soothsayers of the kabatinan and the kebal type whose activities Connor (1982a:174-9) describes, may prove to be another matter. However, for the time being, it is my impression that the politics and preferences of this group are directed to the elevation of the centralist government nationalistic and Javanese Islamic ideals. Inevitably, even if not intentionally, this does induce the blurring of regional distinctions, more specifically it can bring about a subversion of the particularities of the Balinese magico-medical system.

Functioning as they do at the individual rather than the community or state level of the system, balian have been marginal to royal courts and power politics. In contemporary Bali, they are equally peripheral to the activities of the bureaucratic state. Were bureaucratic plans to upgrade and incorporate balian into the national health delivery system (conceived as a means by which to achieve the WHO goal of 'health for all by the year 2000') to materialize, the nature of their authority might change significantly.

However, to return to the more synchronic issues of legitimacy and the politics of sakti. Obviously, I perceive these from a different perspective to that of Connor and McCauley. Within the framework of Balinese perceptions, a balian either has clients and demonstrates some success in helping them or fails to attract clients and is then no longer reputed to have sakti and ceases to practise as a balian. Particularly in the case of balian katakson, powers to heal appear suddenly and may disappear (punah) the same way. Only for balian usada is healing generally a life-long occupation. The clientele balian attract is proof of their sakti. Legitimacy (if there is such an issue) is concomitant upon and arises in their apparent ability to participate with and influence the supernatural; to act as a spirit medium (which is something that all balian do) and to manipulate mystical forces to cure or cause (if that be the path chosen) human afflictions. The source of legitimacy of balian of any caste or type is unproblematic (for them). Epistemological assumption, local constructions of the supernatural and of disease underlie their legitimacy.

Whilst balian make extraordinary propositions concerning metaphysical powers inherent in certain beings, space, time and events, the main claim they make for themselves is that they understand the nature of these forces and how to deal with them. Balian do not accredit themselves with sakti as much as others do so for them. Nevertheless, persons who assume the role of a balian are, in effect, proclaiming temerity as they risk being challenged by those who wish to measure their own sakti against that of others. To protect themselves against the dangers they attract through the nature of their activities, many balian pursue a lifestyle which though not atypically Balinese, is more extreme. Most shun attention and keep largely to themselves. They visit seaside and historically renowned pura throughout Bali and on Nusa Penida. They fast, meditate and practise asceticism in places tenget. Many wear protective charms. Some continuously utter mantra. One drinks and smokes heavily which renders him 'hot' (panes) and therefore invulnerable (kebal). The intense participations with the supernatural experienced by balian, whether voluntary through the quest to gain magico-medical lontar knowledge or through possession by a taksu, lead to a change in status. The same applies to padanda, dalang and others whose office implies more intimate participations with the supernatural realm.

Rivalry or competition between balian, if it does occur, is expressed in spiritual terms. Under such circumstances, balian are assumed to be of different 'paths'; one is creating and selling a spell to cause an illness which the other is attempting to cure. When a balian himself suddenly falls ill or dies an untimely death, rumours are sometimes heard that the person was kasor (defeated) and had come to grief because he dabbled in magic which he was not sakti enough to handle.

One must go to a balian in order to learn pangiwa. In the words of a balian informant, it is only a balian who can ngelarang pangiwa (govern the use of pangiwa). Usually there are several balian involved in the operation. For example, a person goes to a balian who, in turn, may turn to his own guru for help if he does not feel he has sufficient sakti. In the past, I was told, there was such a sakti balian able to teach pangiwa. Eventually his activities were frustrated (kasisipang) by the deity from the Pura Dalem Ped (Ratu Gede Macaling); he was kamah Ratu Dalem Ped (devoured' by Ratu Dalem Ped), meaning his death was brought about by the protective demonic cult deity.

Particularly if one is afflicted by a powerful spell believed to be pangiwa, one is prone to eventually seek the help of a balian reputed himself to have knowledge of pangiwa. Sorcery is a mystical act and can only be controlled through like activity. The strategy in the case of bewitchment is to secure the help of a balian whose sakti is greater than that of the leyak of the balian who devised the spell instrumental in triggering the disease. If the intervening balian's sakti is greater than that of the adversary the spell is neutralized. Whatever the result, the sakti of neither is in doubt. Only if a balian is constantly and consistently overpowered (kasor) or fails to overpower would his sakti be doubted, the number of clients would decline and eventually he would cease to be a balian.

Balian sometimes become the object of aspiring leyak's sakti-testing activities. People who are in the process of acquiring sakti, it seems, need to constantly 'test' the strength of it. This is done by measuring

themselves against others renowned for their sakti. Balian, willingly or otherwise, are such 'testing grounds'. A balian katakson who also dabbles in lontar boasts a scar on his chest which he claims to have come by in such a show of power with leyak. The story goes that, having acquired sabuk-pangleyakan, three men invited him to a confrontation. They chose him over others because he was considered at that time to be the most sakti balian in the village. They had been told by their guru that if they succeeded their sakti would be considerably augmented. As agreed, he met them late at night in a graveyard. There he sat perfectly still. A flame glowed from his fontanel. The confrontation was of a passive nature. Likewise, his challengers meditated. In the months which followed, one by one, the three aspiring leyak died. No one could determine the nature of their illnesses. They themselves declined any medical intervention saying that it would be useless as they had been drained of their strength and death was inevitable. The wives and children of the deceased came to the balian to request his pardon for the indiscretion of their kinsmen.

Sakti demands deference, whatever the nature of the persuasions of its owner. Another balian told of how a leyak had placed a human skull taken from the graveyard in his tongos ngastiti in anticipation of defusing some of his protective suci and rendering him vulnerable. The balian's older brother removed the skull and placed it at the crossroads. Then, because the leyak was unable to penetrate her/his great sakti, s/he then turned attention to his children and his grandchildren. Many of his descendants died in infancy. Those who survived, suffered frequent bouts of sickness especially in childhood.

One of the tendencies in the Balinese mode of thought identified in Part I of this study, namely the blurring of distinctions between categories, is echoed in the notion of sakti and the role relationship between balian and leyak. Balian are the authorities on leyak, the teachers of them and/or are themselves leyak. If all suspicions concerning balian's relationship to witchcraft and sorcery are to be heeded, well over half of the thirty-three known balian practising in Sanur display a predilection to the potentially destructive and powerful 'left-hand path' of magic. The balian then are the leyak (or their teachers) as the deities are the demons (or their creators)?

There are a number of options upon which a study might focus and a variety of sources which can be used in attempts to fathom the particularities of other systems of knowledge and cultural practices and preferences. Without intending to be dismissive of other strategies which bring issues like legitimacy, social conflict, power politics and counter-ideologies to the fore, I centre my investigations on the local symbolic system, the webs of signification and the processes of other-knowledge (Geertz 1983:181-3). I apprehend and heed a warning concerning ethnographic investigations offered by Geertz (1973b:30):

The danger that cultural analysis, in search of all-too-deep-lying turtles, will lose touch with the hard surfaces of life . . . and with biological and physical necessities on which those surfaces rest, is an ever-present one.

Notes - Chapter 6

1. For further particulars concerning offerings used in healing, see Kaler, 1981.
2. Mystical participations through seance (maluasang) is the balian katakson's area of speciality. Balian usada practice forms of divining which, by their methods, is known as matenung. Knowledge of the procedure is derived from lontar called tenung. However, this is generally confined to diagnostics and prognostics. They do not maluasang pitra or maluasang anak cenik. In my experience, balian katakson renowned as adepts in the practice of maluasang were women. Women are said to be generally more skilled in it than men.
3. The question of how the woman was to legitimate her status as a healer was the centre of analytical concern here.
4. The concepts (sebel and participations) raised in this statement are discussed in Chapters 4[i], 5[iv] and 9[i].
5. See Chapter 9[iii] for elaboration of this statement.
6. See Chapter 2[i] on this point regarding informants and field methods.
7. On the infiltration of Javanese Islamic ideas and practices into the Balinese magico-medical system, see Lovric 1986a.
8. Formulations of these doctrines is provided in Chapter 4[i and iii].
9. Specifically, doctrines like Budha Kocapi, Kalimosadha-Kalimosadhi and Tengeran ing Pati-Urip; see Chapter 4[i].
10. Representation of the castes in the practice of healing is relatively even. Within the indigenous caste distinction categories of triwangsa and anak jaba, most of the illiterate balian (as Connor argues) are anak jaba or non gentry elite. So are most Balinese (over 92% of them). There are also illiterate triwangsa (including brahmana balian).
11. This issue is taken up again in the context of trance possession in Chapter 10.
12. Ka'Rachim (1901-1967), whose followers included Sukarno and other nationalist leaders, and Embah Suro (1921-1967), a politically inclined dukun-dalang, are two cases in point of dukun rising to national prominence. Embah Suro led a militant cabal of invulnerables (kekebalan) rumoured to have links with the outlawed communist part (PKI). At the time of Sukarno's political decline and the rise

to power of Suharto, virtually all persons with political aspirations or diffidence sought the help of dukun and heeded their pronouncements. Having survived the Gestapu assassinations, Suharto was rumoured to have buttressed his precarious dominion with dukun and shrouded his person with protective charms.

More recently, an issue of the Indonesian weekly magazine **Tempo** (7/3/81) in leading articles entitled 'Jember, Becak dan Berdarah' (Jember, Muddy and Bloody) and 'Matinya 'Boss Bromocoroh' (The Death of the Bromocoroh Boss) featured the story of a leader of 'invulnerables' whose murder precipitated a political witchhunt and slaying of a dozen or so practitioners of magic (tukang santet). Zaki, the murdered Bromocoroh 'boss', who styled himself on the legendary Sakerah from Ludrik drama, lead a group of 'invulnerables' (dugdeng) who assaulted, robbed and stole with apparent impunity. They were feared by all but confronted by none.

Chapter 7

Possession Affliction (Babainan), An Imputed Culture Bound Syndrome: Race Renounced, Culture Arraigned

. . . and the field of mental health is highly susceptible to fads and artifices of theory.

Alexander Leighton, 'Relevant Generic Issues',
Cross-Cultural Psychiatry 1982:214

It is still rare to find more . . . about neurology in a textbook of tropical medicine than an account of encephalitis, running amok, latah, koro, and tropical neurasthenia. Yet no physician visiting a hospital in the tropics can fail to be struck by the number and variety of neurological disorders waiting to be unravelled.

John Spillane *Tropical Neurology* 1973. Preface

Scanning the literature on culture and disease in developing regions of the world, one is struck by a peculiar paralogism. Ethnopsychiatric studies and psychodynamic anthropological formulations suggest that the ills of the impoverished are largely psychogenic, psychosomatic and culture-induced. A high frequency of mental disease, once linked to racial infantile mentality, is now imputed to a cultural personality generally predisposed to a poor tolerance of anxiety, to somatizing social distress and conflict, or else to acting out unresolved tension through aggressive panic or hysterical deviancy.¹ The high incidence of diseases manifesting mental symptoms among populations of Southeast Asia in general and the poor in particular is indisputable. But is a significant proportion of this morbidity actually due to a kind of cultural deficit and to flaws in social arrangements? What of the ecological, biochemical and genetic factors involved in the dynamics of mental disorder?

Unfamiliar magico-medical rituals and assumptions concerning the supernatural and a set of bizarre (unfamiliar) symptoms and signs denoting disorder of the nervous system among the local populations of colonized Southeast Asia attracted the attention and imagination of those who observed them or read about them. In the case of the latter phenomena, local names (amok from ngamuk, latah signifying nervousness, excessive and uncontrolled, koro, turtle, for example), were retained. Experts in the field, such as Yap (1967:173), considered it essential to integrate 'exotic syndromes' into recognized (Western) classification and standard nomenclature. When clinical manifestations were not directly equatable with anything described in Western medical experience, syndromes were labeled 'atypical culture-bound variants of reactive

syndromes' (p.175). Deviations from Western definitions of abnormality were aberrations.

Paradoxically, cultural explanatory phenomena such as witches and demons and related fears and anxieties, possession affliction syndromes and voluntary trance states, are all accommodated within this classification of culture-bound psychogenic psychoses.² The absurdity, I suggest, lies in the fact that in indigenous magico-medical experience and classification these are three clearly differentiated phenomena. Witch fear and anxiety (which pertains to illnesses of which they are imputed agents) is normal and rational. Involuntary affliction possession (such as babainan) is disease. Voluntary trance states are not. In terms of aesthetics and function, volitional, controlled possession states such as katakson are unlike non-volitional possession affliction such as babainan which is a manifestation of pathology. The fact that voluntary possession states (such as, in the Balinese context, katakson or karauhan and nados discussed in Part III) served the interests of the community, was no argument against their abnormality, or so Yap (p.175) ruled.

This ascription of abnormality and dysfunction to actions proceeding from epistemological assumptions, namely the involvement of supernaturally-endowed agents in the spread of disease and human mystical participation with the supernatural, together with the denial of a possible organic basis of unfamiliar forms of morbidity among different (Asian and non-Judeo-Christian) populations, promoted attempts to diagnose whole cultures psychiatrically, if not psychotically. Postulating a category of culture-bound syndromes vouchsafed the formulation that indigenous medical ideologies, repressive social structures and cultural predilections generate their own forms of morbidity. Studies have not led to a satisfactory understanding of all the problems and patterns of morbidity in Asian populations however. Instead, what they do highlight is a problem within psychoanalytically-oriented explanatory paradigms.

Whilst not even addressing the more complex issue of transcultural psychiatric research strategies, Ellard (1985:17) offered the following warning worthy of citation for its relevance to the present issue:

One of the deadly charms of psychiatry is that being a subject without boundaries it encourages the contemplation of large and complicated questions. This in turn provides an opportunity of reaching magnificent, all embracing answers, so reducing human complexity to such pellucid insights as to cause all to marvel. The unfortunate result is that not only does speculation proliferate while the answers remain elusive, but also after a time the speculations become mistaken for the answers, and we arrive at exquisitely fashioned shadows with no substance in them.

It is possible that some forms of culture-bound syndromes are atypical variations of Western forms of psychogenic psychoses. It is equally possible that they are morbid conditions without any clear Western medical counterparts. To confine the labeling of them within Western psychiatric nosology is perhaps to miss their actual as well as their putative significance.

The uneasy interface which exists between neurology and psychiatry (organically based and functionally based mental disturbance) in Western

medical discourse³ is not apparent in the study of syndromes such as babainan among Asian populations. Only one side is represented and it is in no way neurologically or even biologically inclined. There has been a one-way induction of conceptual frameworks, axioms and implications and a kind of reductionist relegation of mental phenomena, morbid and otherwise, to the familiar pronouncements of Western social psychiatry and psychoanalytical anthropology (cf., Surya 1969 on this point). Psychiatry's incursions into sociology, and the reverse, are reflected in the formulations. Mental disease has been a particularly fertile source of debate and disagreement. Allied to the notions of race and culture, it becomes an even greater polemic, one to which I shall return in the final section of this chapter. Now, I turn to the case of Balinese babainan, a culture-bound functional disorder according to above formulations, but labeled aetiologically as possession affliction and defined as organic illness in indigenous medical theory. With reference to Javanese latah, I use the lesser known (outside Bali) babainan in order to question the validity of the manner in which first race and then culture have been arraigned as significant contributory factors in the genesis of disorders which essentially belong to the category of phenomena-not-yet-understood.

(i) Babainan: Case Studies

In Balinese cognizance and medical discourse, to be afflicted ('entered by', kapanjingan) a virulent, live magical spell called babai through the intermediary of a leyak (pangleayakan) is to suffer an organic illness named babainan. Depending upon the peculiar nature of the 'invading organism' (babai) and the tissues or organ wherein it settles, symptoms and signs ranging from mild physical discomfort to severe mental stress ensue. The disease may present as an acute episode, quickly resolved or, more frequently, as a chronic illness with acute episodes. In terms of diagnoses by balian — and less than 2 percent of the population have their illnesses diagnosed by Western-style doctors⁴ — it is among the most frequently occurring diseases. It is also one of the most feared and dreaded. It is often found in association with other locally-described diseases, generically termed tuju. The disorder is not of recent origin. Usada describe the aetiology, pathogenesis, clinical manifestations and prescribe the treatment for babainan. A few case examples from fieldwork data serve to convey some notion of the form and context of babai affliction:

1. Kajeng-kliwon 20/11/81. The illness from which a man in his middle fifties was suffering had been diagnosed as babainan. He was from the district of Tabanan and was a practising pamangku. His main symptoms were weakness, palpitations, aching pains in the limbs and difficult micturition. He had already been to a health clinic (Puskesmas). Allegedly, the cause of his discomfort had not been determined nor had any diagnoses been suggested. He had already consulted the balian usada (whose healing session I was attending that day) several times previously. Because it was kajeng-kliwon, he had come for spiritual fortification. The severity of his symptoms tended to fluctuate.

The man together with his wife were ushered into the balian's tongos ngastiti and seated on a bench in front of the shrine. After placing offerings on the shrine, sprinkling holy water about the room and lighting incense sticks, the balian uttered a mantra invoking a long list of deities of both benign and terrifying natures. He then drew a rarajahan on an

ordinary piece of paper (from an exercise book) and handed it to the man to hold for a few seconds before he burnt it. The ashes were placed in a glass of holy water and given to the man to drink. He was then given to eat three slices of banana into which slivers of gold and tiny pieces of ruby had been pressed. After this, the balian took a black peppercorn and pressed it into each of the man's finger tips in turn. He was searching for evidence of the area of activity of the babai. As the procedure induced no pain, the babai was deemed to be no longer active in that portion of the body. The balian took a piece of black wood (identified by him as suleman suki), held it over burning incense, breathed upon it and then placed it between the man's third and fourth toes. He pressed the two toes inward against the piece of wood. The man writhed in apparent pain and cried out. This was, it seemed, the point of entry and the focus of activity of the virulent babai. The balian continued applying what did not seem to me to be very strong pressure to the toes for a few seconds longer and the man continued to moan and cry out begging him to cease. The operation was repeated on the other foot. There was less reaction.

Finding the exact location of the babai and compelling it to acknowledge its presence, which it had done through the cries of the man, was not tantamount to a resolution of the sickness. It was only the beginning. The man would return several times more to build up his own strength and resistance. Ideally, in time, the babai would concede defeat and announce its intention of relinquishing its hold on the body. The couple were both sprinkled with holy water and given some to swallow. The balian placed his hands on the man's forehead for a few seconds and then gave him burning incense to inhale. This stage of the treatment was completed. I was told that this was a very severe case of babainan. The babai had been created on Lombok. At times the man suffered nervous symptoms such as moodiness and disorientation when the babai moved from the lower part of his body up to his head.

2. 24/1/82. A woman in her early thirties and her husband were consulting a balian usada-paica-kabatinan. They were from Ubud. The woman had three children, the eldest of whom was seven. She had been ill on and off for seven years and had been to the hospital 'for injections', but to no avail. Her illness had been diagnosed by the balian as babainan, but of a 'different' form. He named it babai bangkrut because she was deplete of energy and power. Bangkrut is a term borrowed from the English term 'bankrupt'. The husband explained that his wife was often drowsy, listless and inattentive. The woman herself complained that she felt weakness in her legs and experienced severe pain behind her eyes and sometimes in her head.

Apart from the additional use of paica in the form of a black stone and a collection of smaller stones of various colours as divining objects, the treatment procedure was essentially the same as that already described. The balian also applied a concoction consisting of oil from a species of freshwater fish (be julit) and spices to the woman's eyes. Pain behind the eyes was the symptom which apparently bothered her most. She cried out during this operation and then kept spitting for some time after. I was told that if there had not been a babai there she would not have experienced such violent reaction. The pepper and wood application to the hands and feet had not elicited any pain reaction. The babai had already moved from those locations.

3. Kajeng-kliwon (21/10/81). An eighteen year old male from Mengwi was diagnosed as suffering from babainan desti. This name referred to the mechanism (desti) whereby he contracted the illness. The affliction was also named babai bongol because at one stage deafness (bongol) represented the dominant symptom. In another phase of the illness, that of active delirium, he had run away aimlessly. The illness had then been named edan kereng ideh-ideh, a term which describes that particular manifestation of mental disturbance (edan). In this stage of the dynamic process the boy was in an abnormally agitated and frightened state (edan medi-medi polah). He could not be persuaded to leave a bale in which he had incarcerated himself.

The balian usada who had been fetched to handle this particular crisis coaxed the boy to emerge from behind the locked door. The boy looked dazed and disoriented. I learned later that, in what had seemed to me to be no more than confused muttering, the babai had acknowledged and named its owner (allegedly a local balian). The babai requested that a ritual be conducted at the graveyard on its behalf. The request was agreed to and fulfilled. The babai 'disappeared' and in time the boy became symptom-free.⁵

4. An informant who knew of my research interests brought along a friend who had recently been afflicted with babainan to talk about it with me. The friend, a twenty-three year old woman, was employed in a local hotel. After some initial prompting she related the events surrounding her illness with a kind of detachment one might expect of a disinterested spectator. She had been feeling quite well (rahayu) and then one night shortly after going to bed she suddenly started raving and hallucinating. She remembered that before going to bed she had been watching a boxing match on television. She was admitted to hospital under a doktor syaraf (nerve doctor) and 'given injections'. The visual and auditory hallucinations and the raving ceased. She was discharged from hospital but the symptoms recurred 'around kajeng-kliwon'. She was then taken to a balian usada and given the standard treatment. Apart from the disturbance of consciousness, she also remembered that when she was in the acute stage of the illness her body seemed to be grossly enlarged and at times she was unable to walk.

5. Anggara-kasih, kajeng-kliwon (1/1/82). A married couple from Bangli were both suffering babainan. At the stage at which I first met them at the home of a balian usada the husband's symptoms were apparently less severe and treatment was being directed towards the wife who had just recovered from a phase of the illness in which she had suffered severe mental symptoms. The balian examined the woman. From what I was told, the most significant or alarming revelation from the examination was that her liver was greatly enlarged. He took a stick of incense and dipped it into some kind of oil and placed it under the woman's eyelid. She immediately began to scream and cry. After a short time she became calm and was then given a holy water ablution. The balian consulted a calendar and told them to return for another treatment in three weeks time, on anggara kasih, tilem kaulu (new moon of the eighth Balinese month) at which time he would prepare a sarana. This would be placed under the gate of the compound to prevent the intrusion into their living space of spirits intent upon causing further illness. Just before they left, the woman asked the balian to place his hands upon her for a few seconds in order to prevent the spell from reactivating within her.

6. A woman aged around fifty accompanied by a neighbour consulted the above balian usada on the same day. This was her third visit. She had been sick for two years during which time she had consulted fifteen other balian, several 'doctors' (which can simply mean health clinics) and been in hospital to have a growth removed from her stomach. She was extremely weak, listless and vague. The balian told me that she was suffering chronic babainan and that the prognosis was not good. On this occasion, he did a fairly superficial physical examination of the woman. He felt the lymph nodes in her neck and under her arms and pointed out to me the swellings which he said were indicative of babai intrusion. He palpated her abdomen and then felt around her forehead and he then breathed deeply over it. From his tongos ngastiti, he fetched a liquid concoction, breathed into it and gave it to the woman to drink. Then he cupped his hands together, placed them over her head and breathed into them. This charismatic type healing is not a form of therapy to which I have found reference in usada. However, the objective of such treatment, as the balian explained it, was consistent with the kanda mpat medical doctrine. He was lending his own spiritual strength (kanda mpat) to the patient. Consistent with Balinese conceptions of the power of certain conjunctions of days, kajeng-kliwon is the optimum time both for the creation of babai spells, the working of their virulence and the neutralization of it.

The ravings of the babainan sufferer are not considered to be their own but those of the atma babai (living babai spirit). The objective of sometimes violent questioning and treatment is to induce the babai to name its purchaser, or less frequently its owner-creator. The latter is usually considered too sakti to be confronted in such circumstances. No formal redress is sought by the balian and no moral judgement is pronounced. I only heard of one case in which the identity of the creator of a babai was revealed, and then, not by personal name but by the name of his geria.

There would be every reason to suggest that a balian could use the forced confessions of a babainan victim to his advantage by discrediting his colleagues if competition on a secular level were a conspicuous element of balianship. I have argued (Chapter 6[iii]) it is not. Accusations leveled at other balian in the case of the affliction merely acclaim that person's sakti and knowledge in having been able to raise a babai in the first place. The sociological significance of babainan, I suggest, lies in its imputed aetiology and treatment strategies — the complex of suspicions and manipulations inherent in illness episodes and the powers of the creators of babai on the one hand and those able to rescind the power of the babai, on the other. I forego such an analysis in favour of a more cognitive study and a search for the meaning of the phenomenon itself and the medical data which local texts yield. For the present, let us look more closely at the nature of the imputed virulent agent.

(ii) The Creation and Path of the Pathogen (Babai Spell)

The term babai is cognate with bayi meaning 'foetus'. It denotes a magical spell, the most potent form of which is concocted around an aborted foetus, a stillborn infant or a placenta. A babai is not of ambiguous nature. Its virulence is unequivocal. Its reason-for-being is to induce disease in its human host. In some respects babai is not unlike the Malay

concept of badi (see Endicott 1970:69-83) which is the differentiation of the vital principle, the first differentiated aspect of the foetus or soul substance. The bodies of still-borns are likely to have badi. It originates in the blood with which it has an intimate connection. Badi is variously conceived of as an 'evil principle', as 'morbid matter' or a 'live spell' which remains in the event of unusual or violent death. It may leave one corpse and enter and reanimate another or something else. The Malay badi, according to Endicott, represents the loss of control; the crucial boundary between life and death. Its exceedingly malignant, marginal and uncontrollable nature renders it as an object of fear. The only ambivalence associated with badi (and the same applies to babai) is that it does not clearly belong within either the category of supernaturals or humans.

However, babai also share characteristics with the Malay pěleşit which is a familiar spirit, not a free spirit like hantu for instance. A pěleşit is acquired through the magical manipulations of a corpse of an infant who was the first-born of first-born parents. It is kept in a bottle and is fed upon the blood of its owner whose servant it becomes. The owner's commands generally involve inflicting sickness. Pěleşit affliction is a common form of spirit affliction during pregnancy. The pěleşit is imputed to enter the body through the feet causing the victim to scream with pain and lose consciousness. The pěleşit, like the babai, is exorcized through mantra and demands that it should reveal, through the mouth of its host, the identity of its 'parents' (owners). If this fails to elicit a confession, the Malay bomor (shaman) applies pressure to the fingers and the toes of the afflicted and carries out an interrogation until the pěleşit finally confesses and agrees to leave (Gimlette 1923:42-3; Endicott 1970:57).

As we have already seen, marginality and ambiguity are characteristics of things magically powerful and dangerous in Balinese thought. Foetal material, post-partum blood and menstrual blood, matters which pertain to life and procreation, are imputed to represent the most potent sources of power for the creation of babai (see also Chapter 9). Other raw material around which babai can be created, such as the water used to wash a corpse, rank lower. Less potent babai can also be created from the brain and pieces of skin from the hands and feet of a homicide victim. Through mantra and offerings, the soul of the deceased is summoned. The aspiring sorcerer-babai owner enters into an agreement with the spirit and makes a drawing of an infant, then arranges the pieces of brain and skin upon this in their appropriate positions. More offerings are made, the drawing is burned and the ashes are placed in a container. This is buried in a graveyard and left there for forty-two days after which it is retrieved and taken to the crossroads where it is buried for a second time, again for forty-two days. During this time of internment it is deemed to absorb some of the life force of those who pass over it and thereby grow larger and stronger. Finally, the owner takes it to the sea where it is bathed and purified by Bhatara Wisnu, then to the pura puseh to receive a blessing from Bhatara Iswara and then to the pura dalem to receive a blessing from Bhatari Durga. After a further 210 days, it is a bayi without a kanda mpat. It is a babai (Weck, 1937:209). The products of miscarriages also procured for the purposes of creating babai are likewise placed in containers and buried in graveyards, spiritually nurtured, given offerings each kajeng-kliwon, tilem and purnama as well as manusa-yadnya rites. They are also finally taken to pura mrajapati, pura

kahyangan and pura dalem where, through the intercession of Bhatari Durga, they receive their power and privilege and become her representatives. Such information concerning the actual procuring and raising of a babai⁶ testifies the extent to which the phenomenology of the symptom complex, which the Balinese term babainan, has influenced an elaboration of its aetiology.

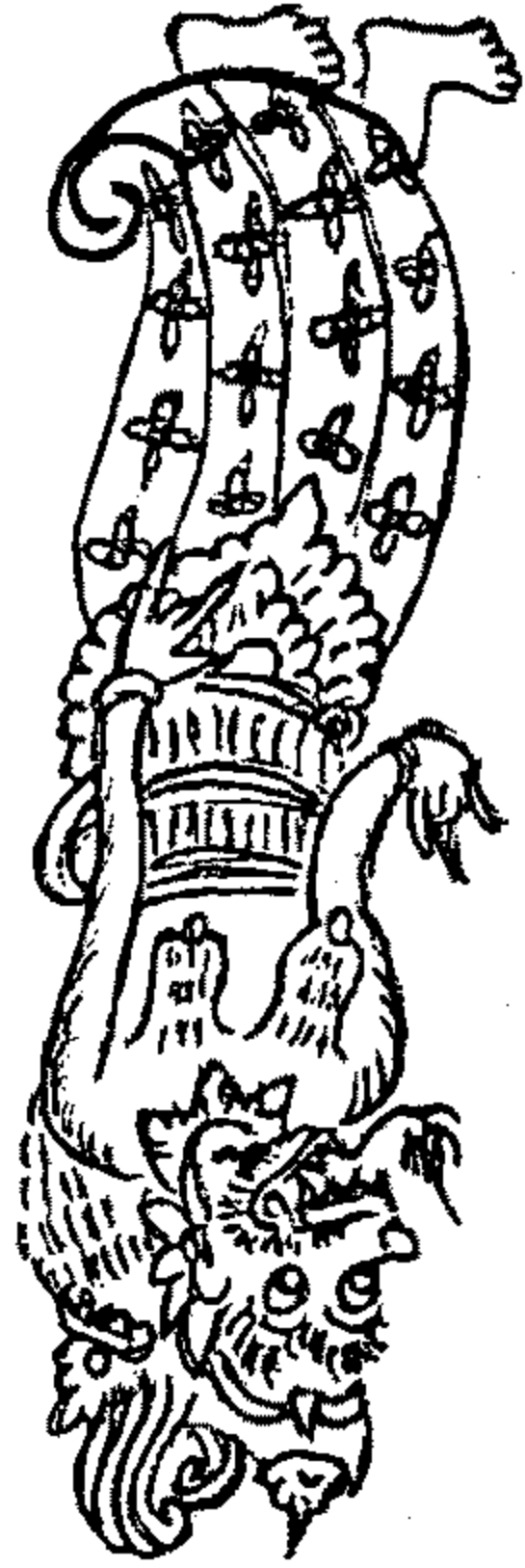
The owners of babai are perceived to be persons who have expended considerable time, money and ritual endeavour in procuring material and rendering it magically effective. Such owners may or may not be balian. Whichever the case, they would be designated leyak. Ordinary persons can buy a babai spell and receive instruction on its use from the owner. Such a person would also be described as a leyak but of a lower order and status (pamoroan) (see chapter 8[i]), without knowledge, discrimination or discretion. It is actually the soul substance of the babai or one of its siblings, not the babai itself, which enters the person afflicted.

Lontar on babainan warn balian that only those with sufficient wisdom should attempt to treat symptoms induced by babai because there are some forms of babainan which should not be treated. All of the names and specific properties of babai should be known. Before commencing to treat a person afflicted, a balian must harness the unmanifest powers of their own kanda mpat or mahabhuta kala. That part of the non-material self named I Lega-Prana must transform into a bhuta named Sang Buhawa who has the form of a babai and is able to counteract the virulence. The kanda mpat and Sang Buhawa are summoned through offerings placed on various shrines (sangguh kawitan, sangguh cukcuk, sangguh tutwan). An extensive list of ingredients for requisite banten include such items as internal organs of chicken, pig meat, fresh blood and rice (HKS2182:7b). To know the form of the ratu of babai, a balian must perform a ritual (makarya) at a sanggar tawang and construct a lingga (phallic image) for the babai-dewa. Offerings should be placed there and homage should be paid to all babai. Balian attempting to cure babainan are themselves perceived to be thereby endangered. Protection is therefore sought through mantra such as:

ANG Bhatari Maha-Dewi [Durga], you are offered provisions for the purpose of decontamination and the desire for protection through sidhhi-sakti, for here there are manifestations of dewa, bhuta and dengen.

Though treatment aims ultimately to rid the body of the babai, immediate expulsion is not considered to be a possibility. First, the balian prescribes a sarana in the form of medicinal therapy, offerings and mantra to deities of fire such Agni and Brahma. A gradual weakening of the babai's hold within the body of the host is anticipated through this therapy. An extinction or even permanent extrusion of the babai is not presumed a likely resolution to babainan affliction. It is not the task of the treating balian to destroy the babai or its creator.

Sarana prescribed to prevent, contain and reverse babai affliction are numerous. There are tatulak (a means of defence against), panyengker (a barrier against), pagesengan (a means of incinerating), pamancut (a means of washing away), pangalah (a means of overcoming), and so forth. Requisite ingredients are copious and expensive. They consist of ingredients of animal, vegetable and mineral origins, either buried, formed into a potion or applied to the vulnerable or afflicted. A panusdus (smoking)



Bhatari Girinata



treatment for persons afflicted with babai (wong kena babai) aimed at bringing about a diminution (pangundurangi) in the strength of the babai requires the following copious list of ingredients:

sumangah (a variety of large, red ant); sidem (a small black type of ant); balwang (baluan, ?chameleon); semut api (fire ant); bok (hair); tulang macan (tiger's bone); tulang lwan (cranium bone); tulang bwaya (crocodile bone); tulang jadma (human bone); patola-sutra (silk woven cloth); gringsing wayang (double-ikat cloth of a design named wayang); wekan kemben cepuk-sari (the name of a kind of woven cloth used as a robe); inggu (asafoetida); wret solas jinah (an amount of money to the value of eleven); galuga (a plant containing a red colouring substance); jadap wret jinah 33 (an amount of money); menyan arab (burning incense); wret jinah satus slae (money to the value of one hundred and twenty five); krikan kawu-bulu ring setrane (scrapings from the hairy part of a coconut shell [found] in a graveyard); akah teki (roots of a species of grass with tuberous roots); padang gulung-gulung (? a species of grass, the blades of which tend to roll); padang mrak (? peacock-feather grass); lun sema (? lung 'a shoot' [found] in a graveyard); lun peken (? sprout from market-place); lun jalan (? sprout from roadside); lun pempetan (? sprout from crossroads); pada solas tusukan tusuk kreng tududana sampat (? eleven strong pointed spikes from a worn-down broom); talin kawung (thread from dry leaves of aren palm); tali padi (? thread from grain); lungan gancan (fragment of instrument for winding thread); krikan plangkan bangkung (scrapings from the wooden collar of a breeding cow); krikan lalangkahana (scrapings of earth from the entrance of a dwelling); krikan kulkul banjar (scrapings from the banjar kulkul (tower bell)); krikan sasakan bale-agungne kaja-kangin (scrapings of the floor in the north-eastern section of the bale-agung).

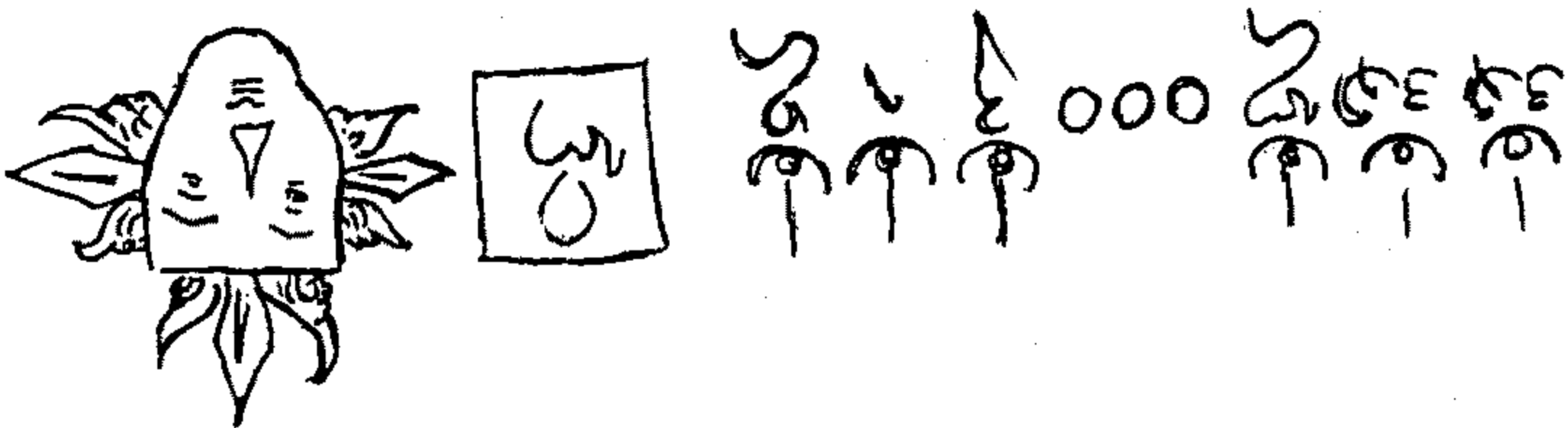
Before the panusdu treatment is applied, the afflicted should be sprinkled with water by a widowed person. The water should be procured from a place where two rivers meet or from the sea. Whilst being splashed with water the afflicted should face toward the kitchen. This having been completed, the panusdu therapy should take place in the middle of the night, again with the afflicted facing toward the kitchen in front of a caru offering consisting of a chicken having red, yellow, white and black feathers (sata brumbun) as well as a caru in the form of panca sanak (a bhuta-yadnya sacrifice consisting of five kinds of animal species such as dog, goat, goose, pig and cow). Then banten should be offered to Sang Hyang Agni commanding the babai to withdraw and to acknowledge itself.

The above is the supreme (utama) form of a panusdu therapy. The balian (referred to here as sang dudukun) is warned of the dire consequences of failure to handle the procedure with the utmost caution and prudence. If this is not done the balian himself is in danger of 'being visited' (kasinggahan), by the babai. This could lead either to the death of the balian or an impairment of mental faculties as the balian 'is devoured' (kapangan) by the babai (HKS3013).

In the numerous forms of babainan sarana, allusions to a flaming (murub), burning (geseng) and fiery (gni) resolution of babai intrusion



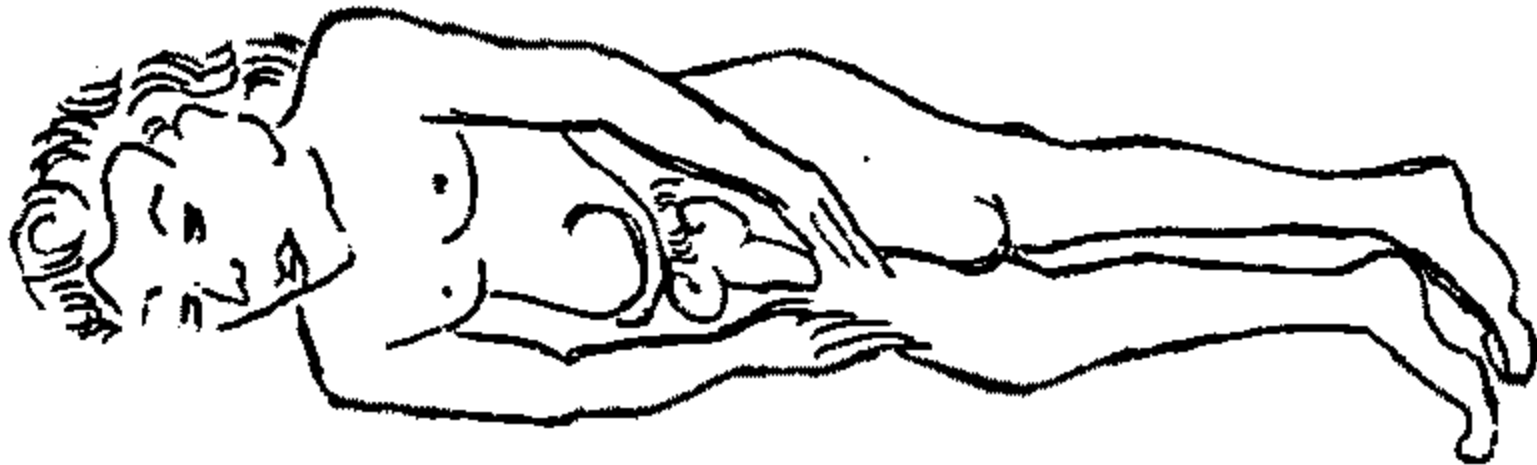
Tatulak babai, means of repelling a babai spell



Pagesengan babai, a means of incinerating a babai spell



Tatulak panyengker babai, a means of obstructing the path of a babai spell.



Rarajahan jadmamuan (human male), a back-up for the above syllables.

are prominent. In the form of therapy called tutuhan, the babai is expected to react to the heat and burning caused by the concoction applied to the eyes of the afflicted. Pagesengan babai include mantra invoking deities with the element of fire (gni or murub) included in their names. Mantra are frequently addressed to Brahma whose colour is red and whose quality is fire:

OM supreme fire, flaming sun, burn the atma of the babai.
 Burn everything. Burn all that is harmful.
 OM Brahma, ignite in my right eye.
 OM Brahma, ignite in my left eye.
 Sang Hyang Brahma Sakti, ignite in the centre of my right eye.
 My magical strength (siddhi) returns
 Burn burn burn (K422; HKS3124)

OM I concentrate my thought and transform into Sang Hyang Sumeru

My flames reach up to the sky for I have the form of Bharawa-Gni [Terrifying Fire].

All of the created virulence within the body of the afflicted is burnt.

Because I am the Ratu of all Durga's sakti, all desti, teluh, taranjana, leyak, of all powerful spells buried in the ground, of spells created through thought, all spells causing seizures [panyawan], all spells causing disturbance of speech [pangumik, 'raving'], and of all setan babai, I am able to reverse all begotten virulence to whence it came.

If you are setan babai, go home all of you so named and suck the blood of your own mother and the inner organs of your own father.

Remain with all those who contrive pain and affliction, with those who gave you your commands.

Their bodies should become your sustenance.

If you do not obey, you will be incinerated

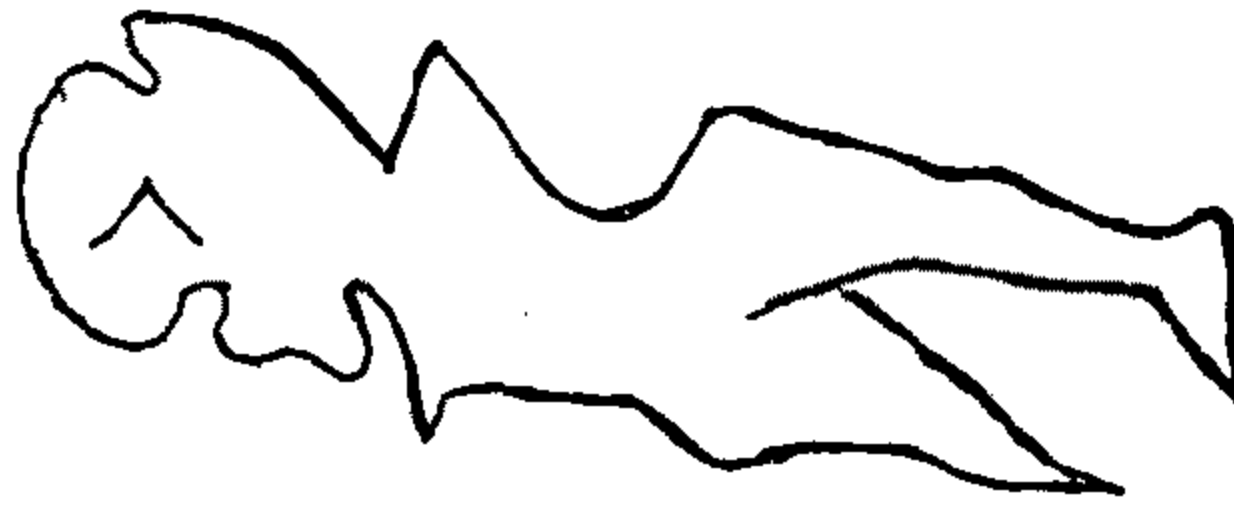
poma poma poma

ONG ANG ANG Blazing Sun, Rudra-Gni, Brahma-Dewa
 (HKS2183:20a).

It will be remembered that a person undergoing panusdus therapy is directed to face towards the kitchen that being the direction of Brahma and of fire.

Rarajahan, used in association with mantra to expel or incinerate babai, display a fairly distinctive but limited range of motifs. Mystical syllables and geometric forms based upon the emblems of the deities of the nine directions (nawasanga) feature prominently. Mystical syllables are usually found in association with a flaming human head. The depiction of the head varies in form from one manuscript to another. Inscribed upon copper, they represent a means of burning the babai within the body or within the boundaries of the houseyard. A means of forming a protective barrier against babai (tatulak panyenger babai) consists of syllables inscribed upon a type of snail (tambuwisi) as well as a back-up sarana in the form of burnt ornamental plants (andong) and rarajahan of a human male (jadma-muani) implanted at each corner of the houseyard (HKS3124). Composite human-animal representations of demonic appearance such as Mpu Sanghyang Rsi-Gana and Bhatari Girinata (an appellation of Durga) are used in conjunction with mantra invoking the

Rarajaan



Rarajaan Bawange (bawang means 'onion') to be buried below the floor where the afflicted sleeps, as part of a sarana intended to neutralize a babai spell (HKS3124).

Sang Utii Bungeng (Restless Confusion) responsible for a form of toxicity which induces mental disturbance including anxiety, restlessness, uncontrolled movement, deafness and muteness (K173).



Sang Lareprana (Lare = Rare and means both 'infant' and 'pain' or 'illness'), who carries a number of plant roots, a tail of a white monkey and two infants, is the antidote to the toxicity induced by Barong Sarba (see Chapter 11[!!!!]) (K173).



powers of high deities so that the virulence of the babai is extinguished (kaputusan) (K422:10,5).

To prevent the access of babai into a houseyard (pangihid babai ing karang), a piece of copper one hand-span in length and three fingers in width on to which a rarajahan of the Yama-Raja figure is inscribed, should be buried in the middle of the yard. The Yama-Raja figure is also variously depicted, and is, like the latter two rarajahan, a conspicuous part of the imagery of physical and mental pathology. The mantra accompanying such a rarajahan goes:

OM Maya Bacari [?Bucari, a high Balinese term for babai],
 Babai Gni, Ratu Babai, you should be prudent.
 Retreat from this place, for my house is surrounded by a
 wall of fiery sakti
 I originate in Hyang Sapuh-Bwana [an appellation of Durga].
 I know all about your assumed guises [kadaden], for I am the
 Guru of all that is fearsome (HKS2183:21a; HKS3124:4a).

Perhaps the most distinctive rarajahan associated specifically with babainan is that named bawange (depicted opposite). It should be inscribed upon an onion and buried below the sleeping platform (batan longan) of one possessed by babai (karangsukan babai). The accompanying mantra, introduced in the text as a sapa (curse or admonishment), is brief and enigmatic:

ONG Kaki Swagotra, you ascend towards the tongue of my
 infant poma poma poma (HKS3124:4b)

Kaki Swagotra denotes a male kinsman. Some similarity to a developing embryo (the position and unequal development of limbs notwithstanding) or a malformed one might be intended.

The presumed existence of people capable of acquiring the knowledge and the means of creating babai and thereby insidious and debilitating forms of disease among individuals is an obvious source of anxiety among the population. Those imputed to have these powers generally reside in centres of magic such as the village of Sanur or on the nearby island of Lombok. There are descriptions of babai created on Lombok through the sexual union of male and female leyak. Such babai might have the form of an infant with a grossly enlarged head, exhibit facial and cranial features of a cat or a monkey and produce a cry reminiscent of sounds normally produced by ducks. Animal imagery is a constant element in Balinese medical phenomena. It is a matter which is taken up in Part III.

At this stage, what does invite thought and begs elucidation is the prominence of human stillbirth, miscarriage and missed-conceptions (menstrual blood) in indigenous aetiologic conceptions. What perceptions and realities might impel the motifs? The mystical power of the human embryo, the mystical potential of menstrual blood and the anomalous nature and magical potency of a fresh human corpse in general and of a stillborn in particular are discernible themes of Balinese magico-medical theory and practices. Material thus far presented and that which follows supports this assertion.

Interestingly, supernaturals who participate with humanity in voluntary trance possession are commonly 'child-like' in manner and name (Dewa Alit, Rare Angwon). Infants or 'small humans' (anak cenik)

also feature prominently in graphic representations of mystical agents involved in the pathogenic process (see figures below the rarajahan bawange referred to above). The key to the symbolism in the rarajahan bawange itself may lie in a specific form of foetal malformation perceived to be caused by amnion rupture during gestation. Foetal digits or members (such as a foot or an arm) can become entwined by the fibrous strands resulting in constriction bands and leading to partial or complete amputations. The subject of amniogenic foetal malformations is one of the oldest medical mysteries (Torpin 1968:4).

Possibly, the peculiar status of the unborn foetus (anak alit, rare), neither ordinary human nor supernatural, is the basis of this particular archetype and analogical signification. The semiotics of babai as a supernatural pathological agent might be understood through the notion of projection and dialectical reversal. Babai is a projection of a reality -- high infant mortality rate, miscarriage, foetal malformations, stillbirths and infertility -- superimposed upon or transcoded within another -- a ubiquitous and analogous form of morbidity which commonly manifests only after puberty. In Chapters 11[ii] and 12[vi], it is argued that the symbolism in other prominent cultural representations also encode and express morbid realities.

Local understanding and theory of babainan is based upon intimate experience and keen observation. Forasmuch as the disease is attributed, at one level of causation to babai (an 'irrational' proposition in Western scientific thought) this is not reason to discount local classifications and symptomatology as being devoid of clinical significance and relegate the syndrome wholly to the psychosocial arena.

(iii) The Medical Semiology of an 'Exotic' Syndrome

A manuscript transliteration (HKS2183) of a Balinese lontar is entitled Tingkah ing Ngubah Babai, 'Procedure for the Raising of Babai'. It commences:

I Anggapati, I Mrajapati, I Banaspati, I Banaspati-raja, I Iblis, I Setan, I Cili Mareka, I Cili Gendruk, I Mlata, I Gantil, I Yama, I Muhamed.⁷ It is they who transform to become babai. All of them, leyak-desti, leyak-teluh, all are representatives of potent supernatural powers [wisesa].

Hence, there are babai without form, without abodes, emerging through desire, through thought, through the mind, the breath and speech [idep-bayu-sabda], through esoteric teachings [tutur-gaib].

Their form is that of I Ruman, I Saraman, I Sutra, I Brahim, I Buk, I Baher, I Bodo, I Dulah, I Dumilah, I Pukuturan, I Serser, I Jungkuh, I Jinjin, I Bongol.

Knowledge of the unmanifest potent endowment of babai which produce disease (kawruhan kawisesan ing babai angawe gring) continues:

I Mrajapati becomes [dadi] pamali causing stabbing pain, returns to its place of origin and becomes the babai named I Truna Bagus causing pain and manifesting as an illness named lara buh [swelling affliction].

I Anggapati becomes dengen and settles under the chest causing migratory severe stabbing pain. It eventually settles in the abdomen and then returns to its abode in the soil and an illness named tiwang appears.

I Banaspati has the ability to cause a disease which presents as lara sumuh linjun (?). There is profuse sweating disturbed vision, weakness and swellings. I Banaspati returns to its origin in the atmosphere.

I Banaspati-raja has the power to spawn a disease which appears in the form of itchy skin lesions and swellings on the skin.

I Amad is able to create a disease in which symptoms persist for many years.

I Jantil creates disease which presents as dysfunction of the vessels of the body and of the bone marrow [tengah ing walung].

Iblis and I Setan cause mental derangement in people possessed by babai [karanjangan babai].

If the afflicted person reels and prances with rhythmic feet and bodily movement [angigel], I Cili Mareka has caused the disease.

If the afflicted person cries and screams, I Mlata has created the disease.

If the afflicted person raves and rolls about, I Cili-Gendruk has made the disease.

If the afflicted person remains silent, withdrawn, quiet and mute and is oedemic, I Bongol has made the disease.

If the afflicted person compulsively utters incantations [mamantra] and prays [maweda] using meaningless phrases [prajalamut pangucape], Sang Ermas, the ratu of all babai is responsible for the disease.

I Sesar creates a disease which causes the afflicted to shake and tremble.

I Jungkih creates a disease which causes the body of the afflicted to become rigid and tense [walikaten].

I Jinjin creates a disease which manifests with confusion.

I Buk creates a disease which manifests with tingling sensations and pain in all the joints.

I Samaran is able to cause a disease which renders the mind blank [idep mati].

I Bodo causes generalized pain [lara karoga-rogan].

I Dulah creates distension of the abdomen.

I Sutran is able to cause coughing and the production of blood-streaked sputum.

I Brahim causes all kinds of symptoms.

I Ariman is able to cause death.

When a wide range of symptoms and signs are displayed by the afflicted, the illness is named I Mas-Rejek-Gumi who has thirty dynamic

manifestations. Each pursues a different pathway, settles in a different location in the body and causes changing symptoms. Texts state that there are thirty-three forms of babai and a similar number of locations in the body where they are apt to settle. The signal cue about the differences in kind pertains to the form in which the disease presents and the location of distress in the body.

Balian also refer to other babai names according to the symptoms they cause. Babai Dewa causes its host to speak in a high-pitched voice and to pray all the time, that is, act as though possessed by a deity (when one is not). Babai Amuk causes its host to speak crudely, act defiantly, seize weapons and attack others randomly and without cause. Babai Ganjah causes a loss of memory and aimless roaming. Babai Asmara causes uncontrollable and unprovoked laughter. Babai Negul causes pain in the chest. The most potent babai, alleged to originate on Lombok, enters the body and causes gross swelling of the abdomen.

Another text on babainan, sundry neurological and somatic symptoms and herbal treatments, entitled Usada Sasah, lists a further group of babainan manifestations: confusion, hazy vision, ringing sensations in the ears, coldness (beginning in the feet and gradually enveloping the whole body), fear, terrifying visual hallucinations, epigastric and abdominal pain, uncontrollable crying and yelling followed by withdrawal and unnatural quietness.

The usada states that the illness has no one single cause as manifestations and presentation of it are varied and manifold. It may begin in the lower abdomen (siksikan) with sharp pain as if something sharp is being thrust into that part of the body. The pain appears suddenly and recurs intermittently. It may move to the centre of the abdomen. If this is not treated by one who knows the nature of babai sickness the condition worsens. A swelling like a twin banana fills the abdomen and there is much pain. Then it moves on to the liver. There is much pain and the victim loses consciousness. When the babai moves to the head, the afflicted becomes dizzy, hallucinates and behaves like one insane (wong buduh), raving and delirious. Such a person may fall into a state of unconsciousness. Upon recovery, the babai may move to the abdomen causing intense sharp gastric pain. When the neck becomes the location of the babai, it becomes swollen, stiff and sore. The vessels in the neck become rigid and swollen and the afflicted is unable to speak. Feelings of suffocation and choking and a loss of consciousness may follow. If the tongue becomes the location of the babai the afflicted behaves like one possessed by deities (wong kadewa-dewaan polahnya). Such a person speaks in a high-pitched sweet tone. They are weak and lethargic and they stagger when walking. The name of these forms of babainan are tuju babai desti, babai papasangan and tuju teluh taranjana (K422; HKS113,7; HKS2184).

The maintenance of normal body temperature (lack of fever) is a defining feature of babainan, according to balian. The major manifestations classified as belonging to the babainan symptom complex do not generally occur during the febrile phase of an illness. This feature seems to differentiate babainan from tiwang and to place it closer to syndromes included in the tuju category. There is patently some overlap which has been observed and documented. Lontar titles such as Usada Tuju Desti Babai (HKS3997) certainly evidence the association. In both

categories of disease, there are manifestations of central nervous system disturbance and sensory and motor manifestations of peripheral neuropathy (progressive paralysis, paraesthesia, for example).

Have the Balinese fabricated this symptom syndrome and diligently recorded it in their medical lontar? Or have they observed a seemingly related spectrum of disorders with mental, sensory and motor symptoms and recorded them under the generic aetiologic name babainan, as they have done in the case of tuju and tiwang for instance? In Balinese medical theory, the syndrome is not mere psychogenic reaction.

To transpose this indigenous recording of a syndrome into Western medical parlance, babainan manifests with physical, sensory or mental symptoms, or all three. The most characteristic somatic features of the disease are swellings, often of the abdomen, partial facial swelling and palsy, migratory sub-cutaneous nodules, often located around the neck or limbs and itchy skin lesions. Pain, weakness and partial, temporary and recurrent paralysis are the major symptoms and signs. Sensations of numbness, tingling, burning and prickling are common. Pain, of a sharp, shooting or stinging quality, is located most frequently in the epigastrium lower abdomen, neck, throat, eyes, head and joints. Mental symptoms cover a wide range of perceptual and cognitive impairment and distortion of consciousness ranging from partial loss of awareness to complete confusion, stupor and temporary loss of consciousness. Tremors and partial and generalized spasms described under the generic diagnostic category of tiwang are generally absent from the babainan symptom complex. Violent motor excitement, nodding of the head, rhythmic moving of the eyes, grasping and sucking reflexes, characteristic of tuju and tiwang symptomatology, are also absent from local descriptions of babainan.

The multi-dimensional babai is the imputed initiator of a wide spectrum of pathologic conditions. Babainan, the symptom complex itself, enjoys remarkable notoriety. It is not a highly communicable disease. There is no mention in the usada of epidemics with associated high mortality rates (kamaranan) of babainan. It is endemic in nature and a common cause of morbidity. Balian concede that it is one of the most difficult to treat of the theoretically curable diseases. They claim that some people afflicted with the condition can recover in a few days while others can remain afflicted for months, years or a life-time. Balian do not consider babainan to have a higher prevalence rate among women. For each doctor who was of the opinion that it did have, there was one who was of the opinion that it occurs equally among the sexes. It is generally agreed that women experience babainan for the first time after puberty. It is not a disease of neonates and infants. It occurs only rarely among children.

Balian usada handle most cases of babainan. Some sufferers go to balian katakson and increasing numbers go to balian kabatinan. Western-type doctors do not generally claim to understand the disease. Some refer to it as 'sakit Bali'. The syndrome is not described in the Western medical textbooks upon which they rely for their knowledge. 'Scientific' interest in indigenous medical textual knowledge does not extend much beyond a search for possible benefits of 'unknown' (miracle) herbal remedies.

A non-Balinese, local Western-style doctor told me of how she had treated and cured a case of babainan 'Christian-style'. The afflicted, a woman in her mid-twenties, had been complaining of severe pain in all of her joints. One night she was brought to the doctor's surgery in a state of acute delirium. According to the doctor, it had taken six people to hold the raving woman down. The doctor gave the woman an injection and then 'used the strength of God' through her own person and recited Christian prayers. The woman slept for two days and awoke 'cured'. This doctor was of the opinion that the 'Balinese religion contributed to babainan because of belief in evil spirits'. In her estimation, since balian cannot distinguish between neurosis, psychosis and epilepsy, they lump them all together and call them babainan.

Only on the basis of comparative data and the trend in studies referred to earlier can it be suggested that psychodynamic theorists would posit that Balinese medical ideology, concern with witches and demons and social repression have created a culture-bound reactive psychosis. In the limited range of discourse on the subject, babainan is situated in the ethnopsychiatric model of 'madness'. This model would reject a bio-medical paradigm for the study of psychiatric morbidity but support the Laingian psychological credo that mental disorder should not be regarded as disease but as an intelligible reaction to insane sociocultural arrangements; those diagnosed as suffering from physiological dysfunction are actually the 'blessed mad' with special insight. In such a frame of reference, babainan symptoms are posited to represent 'one response to a wide range of transient and ongoing stress situations in Balinese social life' and the condition is a means of releasing violent emotions strongly suppressed in the context of culture (Connor 1982b:785).

A non-Balinese, self-taught Western-style psychiatrist practising on Bali (personal communication) does not consider babainan to be the exotic syndrome it is alleged to be. He feels that the term covers a wider field than psychiatric illness. Many sudden acute illnesses, he feels, can be classified as babainan. He also proposed that there may be two forms of babainan, an organically based one and a functional one.⁸ This may represent a satisfactory compromise explanation for the syndrome.

Leaving aside for a moment the manifestations of mental derangement, let us look at the sensory and motor symptoms of babainan alongside such clinical categories as peripheral neuropathies and parasitic diseases the aetiology of which is associated with infection and with the nutritional rather than socio-cultural deficiencies. In the tropics, the causes (besides beriberi and pellagra which I have identified as of the tuju category of disease) of peripheral neuropathy are legion, even though uncertain (Maegraith 1984:334). The invasion of the human body by helminths (parasitic worms) may cause symptoms ranging from skin lesions to dementia.

Obscure spastic paraplegias presenting with slight sensory impairment, which cannot be identified on the basis of standard classification of known disorders of the nervous system, are common in South India (Taori and Iyer 1973). Paraplegias of unknown origin are also reported from parts of Africa. They are believed to be nutritional in origin and present with paraesthesiae in the extremities, weakness, clumsiness, fatigue, burning sensations and pain (Weatheral 1983:21,149-57). Weakness, reversible and recurrent paralysis,

paraesthesiae, spontaneous pains of an aching or stabbing character and the odd symptom of 'restless legs', signal disorders of peripheral nerve function in Western neurological discourse.

The syndrome of tropical ataxic neuropathy, described in certain Asian and African communities, commonly present with various forms of paraesthesiae in the extremities. Blurring of vision, ringing sounds in the ears (tinnitus), deafness, weakness, unsteadiness of gait and colicky abdominal pain are common symptoms. The syndrome may result from dietary deficiencies, viral infections or primary genetic factors. The condition generally affects males and females equally around the fifth decade of life (Weatherall et al., 1983:21,154). A juvenile form of motor neurone disease, where the average age of onset is 15 years, has been described in South India. The condition is characterized by weakness of the limbs, difficulty in swallowing, atrophy of the tongue and bilateral (nerve) deafness. Observable and palpable twitching of muscles in the extremities is common (Wadia 1983:21.152). The clinical presentation of some cases of babainan and the symptomatology of babainan as presented in local medical writings could suggest possible pertinency and parallels with these kinds of real physiological stress.

Sensory impairment in polyneuropathies usually involves the hands and the lower limbs -- the so-called 'glove and stocking' pattern. Sensory loss may affect joint positional sense and cause blunting of pain, touch and pressure sensations. Loss of the protective effect of pain sensation can generate ulceration and joint degeneration. Paraesthesiae, a dominant symptom of peripheral neuropathy, are usually of a tingling nature (pins and needles) but may also involve thermal sensations, usually burning, though they may also be of a chilling quality. Touching the skin can aggravate paraesthesiae. Stimuli normally not painful can cause an unpleasant sensation and even mildly painful stimuli such as a thorn prick can give rise to an abnormal intense response. Repeated stimulation at the same place may cause pain to spread widely and reach an intolerable intensity.

It will be remembered that part of the babainan diagnostic strategy employed by balian involves pressing a stimuli in the form of a peppercorn or a sharp piece of wood against the skin of the fingers, toes or soles of the feet. Pain of unbearable intensity arising from such prolonged stimulation indicated the presence of the pathogen (babai). Lontar on babainan also describe the use of peppercorns in the examination of babainan victims. Over the peppercorn, an appropriate mantra is uttered and it then becomes a diagnostic tool through which the balian traces the position of the babai within the body. They are pressed into the finger tips or the soles of the feet in order to arouse the babai. Presuming that these practices (also described in Malay medical practice) are expressive of some neuropathological disease and of recorded observation, I suggest that a classic peculiarity of a frequent symptom has been encoded in a traditional magico-medical technique.

One might also wonder if the migratory swellings or nodules, also part of the confirmatory symptomology of babainan, pertain to reactions to infections with parasitic nematodes (worms). Moderately severe cases of larval hookworm disease produce visceral symptoms, marked weakness, rapid fatigue, dizziness, tinnitus, headache and palpitations. Severe infection causes an intensification of the symptoms together with oedema,

abdominal distention, epigastric pain, abnormal perverted taste (pica and geophagia), breathlessness, paraesthesiae, depression and syncope. Paraesthesias, consisting of exaggerated sensitivity to touch, are a clinical expression of other nematode infections.

The high motility of immature worms in human gnathostomiasis commonly cause transitory painless migratory subcutaneous swellings which usually subside spontaneously and recur several times each year for as long as the disease lasts. This may be years. The worms may migrate into the eyes, the urinary tract, the intestine or the lungs. Invasion of the nervous system causes severe incapacitating illness, severe sharp agonizing pain in the trunk or a limb, often followed by sudden paraplegia and urinary retention, impairment of consciousness and respiratory failure.

Human infestation with the encysted larvae of the pork tapeworm (taenia solium) is characterized by variable and unpredictable symptoms of motor and sensory disorder and painless subcutaneous nodules due to the localization of calcified cysts. Cerebral cysticercosis, caused by the dying and/or degeneration of the cysts which have invaded the brain, manifests with violent headache, visual disturbance, neck stiffness and clouding of consciousness of an intermittent nature. Seizure, focal (Jacksonian type of epilepsy) or generalized, is the most common presenting symptom. Episodes may occur at monthly or yearly intervals. Cerebral infestation may cause mental disturbance as well as convulsions. The psychiatric symptoms may develop as an isolated syndrome. They vary widely from simple hallucinations, slow-mindedness, emotional disturbance to confusion, apathy, global amnesia and dementia. These may be transient or develop progressively. The fatality rate in untreated symptomatic cases exceeds five percent. The survival time varies from a few minutes to thirty-five years from the onset of the first symptom (Warren and Mahmoud 1984).

Filarasis, a highly prevalent form of worm infection produces in different hosts a broad range of clinical manifestations. The fleeting tissue oedemas, erythemas, swellings and changes in lymphatic vessels, characteristic of filarasis, might suggest that it too could have been classified under the generic term babainan. Thus, it is suggested that a variety of disorders may be diagnosed as babainan. I have merely raised some possibilities worthy of consideration.

Shifts in rubrics can ventilate the dialectical semiotics implicit in Balinese codification of an 'exotic' syndrome. I have shifted into this Western medical frame of reference because I perceive no alternative means through which to investigate the problem of a not-yet-understood-phenomenon and the epistemological basis of babainan symbolism. I recognize another way of knowing, another epistemology and another way of encoding reality. Using a method advocated by Sperber (1979), I have placed the symbolism of babainan in a context and I have sought relational meanings. I believe that I have uncovered a relevance.

The proposition of physiological aetiology should not be seen as contradicting the Balinese construction of babainan, for this itself has constituted my primary analytical data. It is essential to think about other ways of knowing and the thought structuring cultural expressions and elaborations woven around the disease experience and to seek to understand the understanding and logic in other classificatory systems,

descriptions of symptomatology, diagnostic processes and forms of treatment. These matters, as I have endeavoured to demonstrate, are not empty symbols. When similar motifs and symbols in local constructions of disease are found as they are among other peoples at a similar level of development and vulnerable to similar microbes and the effects of malnutrition and infection, possibly acting synergistically, some consideration can be given to the capacity of pathological process itself to inspire symbolism.

A related matter I wish to foreground is the lack of understanding of tropical neurology. Exceedingly complex problems await neurological research in tropical Asia (see Wadia 1973; Spillane 1974; Edington and Gilles 1976; Brown and Voge 1982). Knowledge of the diseases affecting the nervous system is meagre and data are fragmentary. There is a high incidence of some recognized neurological conditions and of as-yet-undescribed conditions:

Thus the overall neurological scene is different. The assemblage of clinical material is more glaring than in a temperate environment and the diagnosis is often harder to achieve. The visitor's outstanding impressions are likely to be two-fold: the gross affliction of the stricken and the obscurity of many of their illnesses (Spillane 1974:269).

Parasitic infections of the nervous system through the invasion of the body by protozoa, metazoa and helminths are endemic in tropical regions.

Descriptive neurology, like psychiatry, is largely based upon experience in temperate climates in technologically advanced cultures among nutritionally advantaged populations where sanitation measures are adequate and parasitic infections are now common. Even the limited range of colonial medical investigations and interventions on small and unrepresentative samples of the colonized population yielded an awareness of obscure forms of morbidity. The science of neurology was in its infancy. Valid as any other hypothesis is that syndromes such as babainan express gross manifestations of central nervous system and peripheral nervous system dysfunction no longer familiar to Western nosography or perhaps never a part of the repertoire of symptomatology of nervous disorder in temperate Western regions.

Approaches based on the hypothesis that syndromes such as babainan are psychosocial in origin and therefore a product of cultural dysfunction are perhaps a consequence of the tendency of social sciences to avoid physiology (see Fabrega 1977:274; Freeman 1983:294). There have been few advocates of physiological causes. There have also been few studies of the syndromes from perspectives other than in vogue, psychodynamic ones. Even within the social sciences, studies have been competitive rather than complementary. Each discipline has been want to claim them as their own.

Lacking a body of scholarship from which to problematize outside Western constructions of not-yet-understood-phenomena, I use the well-studied (a great deal has been written about it)⁹ case of another culture-bound syndrome, that of latah, through which to demonstrate these assertions. In reverse to the circumstances of babainan, there is an extensive literature on latah, but no indigenous data.

(iv) **The Problem of Not-Yet-Understood Ethno-medical Phenomena:
The Comparative Case of Javanese Latah**

The unfamiliarity of forms of morbidity encountered by Europeans in colonized regions sometimes presented an affront to their entrenched code of ethics and etiquette. Interest in and concern for their medical implications came much later. In 1803 Winterbottom (cited in Spillane 1973:6) described what was later named African trypanosomiasis:

The Africans are subject to a species of lethargy, which they are much afraid of . . . it is called sleeping sickness. . . . The patient commonly has a ravenous appetite . . . squinting . . . convulsions . . . small glandular tumours in the neck. . . . The disposition to sleep is so strong . . . even the repeated application of the whip is hardly sufficient to keep the poor wretch awake.

Bali eluded close scrutiny by colonial medical personnel. There is no mention in the colonial medical literature of babainan. The colonial medical discourse on culture-bound syndromes such as latah and amok was carried out largely by medically-trained observers. Whilst acknowledging the importance of infections, especially malaria, as exciting causes, they retained the notion of some residual (evolutionary) endogenic psychical processes as being contributory.

Latah is a specific symptom syndrome characterized by an abnormal startle reaction, fearfulness, loss of control, hypersuggestability and temporary dissociation. Pallor, palpitations, shaking, groping and scratching movements with the hands may also be present. A disturbance of language ability in the form of a decomposition of language or meaningless utterances or lavatory babble (coprolalia), fornication babble (pornolalia), involuntary blurting of crude sexual terms, phrases or suggestions, echo symptoms such as verbal mimicry (echolalia) and bodily mimicry (echopraxia) as well as automatic obedience can all be confirmatory signs of the affliction. The immediate exciting causes may be auditory, visual or tactile. The symptoms may be preceded by an initial dream, sometimes of an erotic nature. Kindred startle reaction phenomena have been observed elsewhere in Southeast Asia (e.g., bah-tshi in Thailand, yuan in Burma, mali-mali in the Philippines) and beyond ('jumpers' among the French Canadians of Maine e.g.).

Ecological and bio-medical factors and the possibility of organic dysfunction of the nervous system in latah crises were briefly raised and duly dispensed with in favour of postulated innate racial psychical qualities and crises related to 'untrained mentality', 'infantile-primitiveness' and such-like (van Loon 1921; Theunissen 1921; Fitzgerald 1923). Scheube (1903) ^{an ~~also~~ note} included latah along with sprue and dysentery under a chapter title of organic diseases of tropical regions. Manson labeled it a 'pathogenic disease' peculiar to 'barbarous and semi-civilized countries' and to the 'weak-minded of the advanced ones' (Yap 1952:517-24). Clifford (1898) whose main claim to authority on the subject rested on the fact that he lived among Malays, criticized medical interpretations of latah for lacking what he perceived as humanistic concern. He provided the alternative explanation that the Malay character was rooted in morbid nervousness (see Winzeler 1984:83-5). Travaglino (1920:38) concluded that the Javanese and kindred races were 'psychotically and morbidly emotional'. 'That latah is due

to suggestion in an impressionable, neurotic, and weak-minded person is now the general opinion', wrote Fitzgerald (1923:155). In the spirit of the time, people exhibiting signs of disturbance of the nervous system (including epileptiform illness and encephalitis) were all classified as lunatics. The colonizers built a lot of lunatic asylums and confidently postulated that all their health problems would soon be overcome if only the natives would learn to be 'more like us' and would wear shoes.

Yap a British-trained psychiatrist, who has written extensively on culture-bound syndromes, saw latah as a form of fright neurosis, culturally determined and maintained among those hypersensitive to fright and those whose defenses are limited by the level of their cultural and technological development (1952:560). He suggested that the adoption of a constellation of bizarre behavioural symptoms was the only recourse available to 'psychologically disorganized individuals' and to those with 'weak egos':

The untutored person in Malay society, especially in the case of females, is a shy, retiring, unaggressive, self-effacing changeable and colourless person, with little individuality (p.553).

In a more evolutionary (racial) paradigm, a colonial observer explained fright reactions and assumed higher frequencies of them among women thus:

. . . The higher a people is civilized, the more controlled are its affect-reactions; we also see the more intellectually developed individual stand farther away from the "wild" type than the undeveloped. These latter have a more "infantile" way of reacting; therefore the civilized man stands farthest away; the woman whose entire psyche remains at a more infantile stage than that of the man (strongly emotional, suggestible etc.), in the same way shows a stronger affect reaction. Thus it is not surprising that especially the primitive woman of the lower classes shows pathological anomalies in this direction: . . (van Loon 1924:315)

In an article entitled 'Contributions to the Knowledge of Indian Psychoses', Theunissen (1921:78) posited 'important differences' between 'less developed people' and 'more cultured man' and concluded that 'from an intellectual point of view' the average native mind was inferior to the European mind (p.85); it was 'slow and poor in ideas' (p.79). Furthermore, Theunissen maintained that the natives' apprehensions related to belief in evil spirits were relevant to their character and their mental diseases. Nevertheless, he held that intoxication and infection were the direct cause of psychoses (p.81).

Apparently, the odd neurologist who happened upon the scene classified latah as a neurological disease (due to degeneration of the brain) and thereby, in Yap's (1952:524) judgement, departed from intelligent psychological speculation. The latter speculations would make much of the initial 'sexual' or 'phallic' dream involving dismembered, erect and gross penises and proceed with a Freudian interpretation of sexual frustration and repression and posit the dream, its imagery and imputed cause (sexual frustration etc.) as precipitating factors in the emergence of latah. This seems to me to be a case of confusing the effect with the cause. Vivid, frightening dreams can constitute prodromal symptoms

of organic psychosis. Like Kenny (1978), I would also relate the significance of the content of the initial disturbing dreams to local constructions of disease spirits and magical symbolism. Interestingly, in an earlier colonial observation, sexual repression was not seen to be an issue:

There might be said a good deal about the erotic manifestations of the confusional Malay: I only will mention that very frank utterance is given to all his erotic thoughts, that however onanism is seen very seldom indeed. Perhaps a consequence of the absence of repression? (van Loon 1922:218)

Chance observations of colonial medical and administrative personnel, visitors and ethnographers do not constitute epidemiological data. Yet from such sources the accepted pronouncements are that: latah occurs primarily among Malays and that there are higher frequency rates among women; those in subservient social positions are more vulnerable. Little substantive material or new data have been forthcoming.

Hildred Geertz (1968) argued the congruity of latah with Javanese culture and suggested that the symptomatology was determined by cultural tradition and was 'unconsciously meaningful' as an inversion of Javanese cultural values and ideals of appropriate behaviour. Interpretations along the lines of Lewis's (1966) thesis of female deprivation cults were not, as one might have anticipated, stifled by an ethnographic detail established by Geertz, namely that Javanese women do not endure a subservient position or play a restricted role. Most Javanese women, including women who suffer latah, are self-confident and assertive (Geertz, p.103). Pfeiffer (1968:37), on the other hand, arraigned a cultural stereotype -- the submissive, inert torpid character of the Malay race in general and of the Malay woman in particular. Pfeiffer posited a parallel between the surrender and passivity of the latah state and this image of the Javanese woman.

Rejecting the 'disease' model of latah and discounting possible bio-medical elements, Kenny (1978, 1983) defined latah as a meaningful cultural reaction to low status and social marginality and a means of overcoming it. He perceived latah as a 'putative mental disorder' rooted in Javanese metaphysical conceptions. (This is true of all diseases, and should not, I argue, deny their reality.) Having disposed of any lingering biological determinants in latah, Kenny argued that it was primarily theatre performance, dramatic mimesis in the manner of a parody of social norms by lower status women; a kind of socially-sanctioned obscenity (kasar behaviour) in contrast to culturally preferred refinement (alus behaviour). Thus, he saw latah symptomatology as a 'peculiarly appropriate means of communicating . . . marginality to others' and a device whereby lower status and distress are acknowledged and surmounted (1983:160).

Murphy (1972) attempted a quasi-epidemiological study of latah and amok in order to demonstrate his hypothesis that they are a by-product of social problem-solving; they tended to increase when the imperative for adaptive change was highest (p.50):

. . . latah appeared relatively suddenly during the second half of the nineteenth century, spread quite rapidly among the populations most exposed to European influence, and then moved in a wave fashion away from these centres, so that today it is virtually absent in the locations where it

was first observed but is present in more distant locations where it was previously absent. . . . and in areas from which it is disappearing the residual subjects seem less intelligent than the earlier ones (p.47).

With a limited understanding of the phenomena themselves and on the basis of outsiders' fortuitous encounters with clinical cases, can we know anything significant concerning the incidence and prevalence of latah or of age and sex frequencies? Can we judge the whole from a limited knowledge of a small unrepresentative sample of the population who come within the orbit of operation of the ethnographer or who found their way into institutionalized care in the colonial era? Murphy proposed that not only were there significant changes in the incidence and prevalence but that even the symptomatology itself changed over time, acquiring a psychiatric character previously absent. These changes, I would suggest, pertain to differing perceptions, perspectives and physical locations of the researchers. The impression that latah eventually acquired a psychiatric character 'previously absent', might well have much to do with the expansion of the discipline itself with the emergence of socio-psychiatry.

As Leighton (1982:217) has commented, the epidemiologic work on these disorders is weak to non-existent. Estimations of frequency are vague. When numbers are used they are 'numerators without denominators'. The finding that there are high rates of mental disorder among the lower socio-economic levels of society may say more about the composition of the population than anything else. The cross-cultural occurrence of latah-like syndromes was labeled a 'theoretical paradox' by Geertz (1968), deemed to be irrelevant by Kenny (1983) and held to be non-paradoxical and of neurophysiological relevance by Simons (1980).

Among the various Asian populations in which culture-bound syndromes were observed in those groups who came within the orbit of researchers, there is a marked similarity in symptomatology; a combination of non-neurological symptoms and of neurological symptoms and signs. Strange visceral sensations, pain, churning of the stomach, fear, flushing, tachycardia and vertigo, dismissed as somatization of emotional problems in the dominant discourse, are manifestations of the varied and complex auras produced by temporal lobe seizures in a neurological one (from which perspective studies have not commenced), symptomatic of the physiological consequences of cerebral disorder. Temporal lobe epilepsy, indicative of a lesion in the temporal lobe of the brain may be mistaken for a wide range of neurotic and psychotic manifestations of functional mental disorder. Cognitive abnormalities include disturbances of speech, thought and memory and inappropriate speech. The involuntary use of stereotyped words and phrases and strong affective experiences, most commonly anxiety, fear, depression, guilt and anger, are of an extreme order. The affect experience it usually stereotyped and crude (Lishman 1980:314). Epilepsies are the most common form of neurological disorder. Medically, they are symptoms of underlying organic pathology rather than a specific (recognized) disease.

The initial symptoms of a seizure -- sensations of numbness, tingling, or of a part of the body shrivelling up, abnormal visceral sensations (most commonly a peculiar pain in the epigastrium), distorted perception, intense fear in which one may feel dismembered or run beserk -- are termed

'aura' in Western medical discourse. The same symptomatology constitutes a significant part of the Balinese vocabulary of disease and the anxiety associated with it. In Balinese medical theory, such symptomatology pertains to an invasion of those structures in the head which organize thought, feeling and action.

The symptomatology of culture-bound syndromes described in case studies and some of that of babainan described in local medical sources seems to me to be more expressive of a universal human neuropathological potential (see Sechrest 1969:329) rather than an indication of conformity to a pattern of 'going mad' related to cultural sanctions and predilections. That they occur among peoples at a similar stage of technological backwardness, facing similar forms of environmental stress, high rates of morbidity and low standards of hygiene could be vital analytical data. From the narrow perspective of psychodynamic formulations, one could gain the erroneous impression that among the populations of Southeast Asia, there is an inordinate number of hysterical, paranoid, neurotic hypochondriacal maniacs who are predisposed to a poor tolerance of anxiety and who tend to somatize their emotional tensions and act out unresolved tensions through flights of aggressive passion, panic or fatuous euphoria.¹⁰

Against views which deny a place to neurophysiology in the genesis and expression of latah, I would argue that latah behaviour, like the mental symptoms displayed in babainan, constitutes a radical departure from social norms and standards of etiquette in any culture. Feigned or simulated insanity or somatization of mental or social distress might account for some cases of diagnosed latah and babainan, but not for all the individuals so affected or for the babainan syndrome itself as it is described in local medical treatises. Judgement, self-control and discernment are as highly valued in Asian societies as they are elsewhere. Loss of control or awareness and disorientation are not states to which people normally aspire. The notion of women taking recourse to bizarre behaviour indicative of mental derangement to improve their lot, does not even provide a logical explanation. Besides, what exactly are the afflicted supposed to gain from feigned derangement? Most are long term sufferers. They do not enjoy it. In fact, the afflicted suffer extreme discomfort and helplessness (Yap 1952:550). Moreover, the behavioural symptoms relate to activities of the brain not to culture or to social facts. Kenny's (1978) statement that some latah women become clowns at weddings does not, as I see it, offer rhyme or reason for the disorder or for feigning it. Nor is there any verifiable causal relationship between women being latah and women becoming clowns at weddings. The latah predicament broaches as many (or more) problems for the sufferers as it could possibly resolve. If repressive social structures and interpersonal conflict (the salience of which are not doubted) were conducive to the genesis of culture-bound syndromes and their symptomatology, one might perhaps expect an even higher incidence, and unless culture is completely maladjusted, one might also anticipate some real advantage for the afflicted. I dare say many observed latah sufferers were experiencing problematic social relationships and stress at the time of affliction. Few people in any culture secure for themselves a stress-free existence.

(vi) **Models of Madness: Paradigms and Platitudes**

The 'outlandish' races discovered through colonial penetrations and enterprise became the objects of European efforts to define mental disturbance among 'more civilized races'. Thus Sigmund Freud, *Totem and Taboo* (p.15) wrote:

Primitive man is known to us by the stages of development through which he has passed: . . . and through remnants of his ways of thinking that survive in our own manners and customs. Moreover, in a certain sense he is still our contemporary: there are people whom we still consider more closely related to primitive man than to ourselves, in whom we therefore recognize the direct descendants and representatives of earlier man. We can thus judge the so-called savage and semi-savage races; their psychic life assumes a peculiar interest for us, for we can recognize in their psychic life a well-preserved, early stage of our own development.

Freud posited correspondences between taboo customs and the symptoms of compulsive neurosis (p.48). Decades later, analogies and comparisons within an evolutionary framework were still being sought, as the following statement from Yap (1951:324) indicates:

We must finally mention an important psychiatric generalization which affirms that there is an analogy between schizophrenic and primitive ways of thought . . . the analogy between primitive savage thinking and the regressed schizophrenic thinking is often striking.

From the beginning, psychiatric and a significant proportion of anthropological research in Asia was initiated for the purpose of studying cultural influences on the frequency and symptomatology of mental disorders. In some quarters the physical and biochemical differences between population groups used as criteria for racial classifications came to be regarded as having psychological implications and intellectual and behavioural correspondences.

Anthropological research on Bali conducted by Bateson and Mead and Belo was initiated by a request from the Committee for the Study of Dementia Praecox (now called schizophrenia) for a cultural study which could lead to a better understanding of the condition. A reconnaissance of Balinese mental health was also part of the objective. The choice of Bali for this comparative study was determined by the presupposition that the culture was one in which a significant percentage of the population, while exhibiting many of the overt behavioural characteristics and 'test responses' associated with schizophrenia in Western cultures, were able to lead normal lives and function within the dissociated mode of functioning expected in that society (see Belo 1970; Bateson 1970; Mead 1970, 1979).

These researchers maintained that in the study of Balinese trance and ritual they had encountered thought processes of the same order as those which psychoanalysts had described in schizophrenics and had compared to primitive archaic thought. Belo (1970) applied performance tests (such things as sorting out what goes with what) to trance mediums in order to see if the tendency to think in 'complexes' (which are

substituted for abstract ideas) characteristic of schizophrenics was also a tendency among Balinese trance subjects. Mead and Bateson described psychopathological tendencies, posited culture and child-rearing and socialization techniques (such as teasing and withdrawing) as causal factors in their psychogenesis and designated them as standard forms of emotional release or repressed aggression and so forth. These postulations and explanatory paradigms are re-examined in Part III.

Mental illness has captured the imagination of those for whom the poignancy and the spectacle of clinical manifestations of dysfunction of the nervous system are no longer a conspicuous part of their pattern of morbidity. Madness has been assigned a peculiar status by the Western social scientific industry. Foucault aspires to capture 'untamed madness', madness 'in its most vibrant state', rejecting, as Derrida (1981:34) comments, bio-medical data in favour of popular notions from unverifiable sources.¹¹

In a critique of Freud, his writings and his disciplines and in reference to fashions and trends in psychoanalytical theory, Brewer (1982:685) exposes an alarmingly simple reason for the preeminence of psychodynamic theories and the non-assertiveness of the neuropathologic view:

The phrase "the devil has all the best tunes" was surely created with Freud and his disciples in mind. Who could hope to compete with penis envy, castration anxiety . . .

and I would add with catchy cliches like Laing's 'the blessed mad with special insight' and 'culturally-sanctioned escape-hatches for the repressed', or 'flight into illness'. Along with culture and personality theory Freudian and Laingian ideas prevail. For those who choose to reject a bio-medical paradigm in the study of mental illness, variations on the Laingian credo -- do not adjust your brain, there is something wrong with your racial mental endowment, your culture or your society's philosophical assumptions -- are available to legitimate this stance. Does the conspiracy implicit in the trend of the 1960s that 'the brain, uniquely among all organs, does not go wrong' (Brewer 1982:686) remain? Encapsulated within metaphysical aetiology, the Balinese have a medical model of madness. Neurological and non-neurological diseases share similar aetiological options and metaphysical and pathological mechanisms.

Impairment of the faculties of intellect and judgement, loss of control, inability to differentiate the appropriateness of behaviour and speech (madness or insanity, in latter-day terminology) are locally defined as abnormal and of the same order as somatic symptoms of disease. Such symptomatology is generically labeled edan or buduh. It may occur as a phase of other generic categories (tuju, tiwang, upas) or in the febrile phase of any illness. All abnormality, whether primarily affecting the physical component of the body or the mind, is termed illness (gering). Balinese concepts of mental disturbance share a perspective found in classical Ayurvedic theory: mental derangement is explained without any reference whatsoever to psychodynamic theory (Obeysekere 1977:161). Mental disease is the result of morbid humors. The intrusion of pathological agents (however they are perceived) is the basis of disordered mental function. Edan (or buduh) is a potential phase in any dynamic morbid process and it is dominant in some forms of disease. While there is no obvious description of mental derangement due to brain lesions, there is a theory of pathogens (be they a babai or that responsible for tiwang,

for example) moving to the head, the location of mind (idep), language ability (sabda) and perception and cognition (angen-angen), and precipitating disturbance and disorganization.

Balinese medical theory does not have a category of mental disorders of a psychogenic origin corresponding to neurosis, phobia, hysteria, paranoia, fear psychosis and hypochondriasis. States of fear, anxiety, depression and agitation are normal reactions to life's stresses. Prolonged exacerbation of these natural states for no apparent reason are not labelled deviant or abnormal psychological reactions. On the mind-body issue, Balinese medical theory would share the neurologist's position of psychophysical monism. There is no mind/body dichotomy. Psychiatry is a Western phenomenon. In Balinese medical theory, the mind (idep) is an inseparable part of the living organism. It does not exist independently of the body (or act against it). The soul (atma) is another matter.

Madness (edan) can afflict any group including infants, a matter which should undermine the notion of psychosocial origins of mental symptoms like fright (edan medi-medi polah), listlessness (edan doyan aturu), or abnormal grasping and groping (edan anigtig). Do infants suffer psychiatric stress? (see Chapter 12[v]). Of course the range of abnormality of affective, perceptive and cognitive experience an infant can express is limited. The point being made is that Balinese medical theory does not differentiate linguistically or conceptually 'madness' expressed in a person running beserk (edan manglalawang) or displaying aphasia (edan ujar tan ujarnya; edan pati jlamut-munyi) or other forms of behaviour characteristic of culture bound-syndromes, from blurred consciousness (edan idep mati) or loss of consciousness (edan aniwang) which are clearly indicative of neuropathological defined disease.

I am not arguing that nature, in the sense of neuropathology, is an exclusive alternative to socio-cultural factors. Obviously, specific behaviour patterns, life-style and ritual practices determine the content of symptomatology and, to some extent, account for the degree of conformity displayed in the syndromes. An individual sustaining a grave assault to the central nervous system in an urban Western society is unlikely to scramble up a tree to evade would-be captors, to flourish a kris or to hallucinate the fantastic images peculiar to the Balinese visual landscape and iconography. Indeed, the vocabulary of madness does have a strong cultural content. In states of excessive excitability or loss of control, Balinese sing kiding (buhuh angidung), invoke deities of the Balinese cosmology (buduh anucape dewa-dewa) and act as though possessed by them (buduh kadewa-dewaan). The abnormality of such behaviour is defined only by the inappropriateness, undirectedness or excessiveness of the activity. To run amok, and stab one's opponents and finally oneself on a battlefield (puputan) is not classified as madness (buduh). To run amok (ngamuk-muk) as an individual, without any real cause, is abnormality indicative of pathology. When Javanese and Balinese act with undirected, unprovoked hostility and run amok, they often do it with a kris. Chinese are inclined to do it with a chopper. However, the form of this disorganization pertains to brain activity. Because the symptomatology of mental disorder is expressed in a cultural idiom and reflects metaphysical assumptions, the condition is not culture-induced and explicable in terms of culture only or principally.¹² The concept of culture as used in this context promotes a blurring of the truism that all human beings have the same neuropathological potential. It becomes

a kind of platitude. Attention is drawn away from the actuality of disease problems facing peoples of developing Asia and focused upon the imputed proclivity of 'culture-types' to express dissatisfaction and aggression through feigned affliction and to somatize mental distress.

Predictably, theoretical notions on mental disorders have run almost parallel to those on the phenomenon of spirit possession and witchcraft. The paradox is that, from a Western vantage point -- theoretical and philosophical -- trance possession, witch phenomena and exotic expressions of mental derangement do indeed contain elements of theatre, performance or histrionics and strategies against repression. The fact that, from an indigenous perspective and way of knowing, trance possession is a form of participation with the supernatural (admittedly more intense than, say, receiving the Holy Eucharist), that the metaphorical allusions in witch phenomena are part of an explanatory paradigm (see following chapter) and that witch-induced babainan is real (organic) disease, are not of much theoretical significance to an enterprise intent upon using the concept of culture as a causal factor rather than a context in which to interpret phenomena. Notwithstanding the cultural elaborations woven around babainan, the syndrome itself is not simply a product of culture.¹³ Disease is mediated through a system of symbols (call it culture) but the nature of the pathogen directs the form which cultural representations (the symbolism) take. This is the reason why babainan is constructed differently to say smallpox or leprosy (see Chapters 11[i] and 13[i]).

Since, for some, the criterion of an anthropological discourse requires a power polemic, it is suggested that a critical one could be found in the politics of medical research directed largely towards the artificial prolongation of the lives of the more affluent whilst the diseases afflicting the mass of the world's population thrive. The diversion of attention to the role of culture and imputed psychosocial tendencies among population groups in relation to diseases presenting with mental symptoms shirks consideration of the ecology of poverty¹⁴ and survival in a harsh tropical and unsanitary environment.¹⁵ The neurological system is particularly susceptible to damage from nutritional deficiencies and the kinds of infections which are rife in such an environment. There is accumulating evidence that foetal and infantile malnutrition, anaemia (resulting from parasitic infections) and catastrophic infections associated with febrile convulsions have a deleterious effect upon the developing brain that time does not heal. Acute and chronic infections can present with behavioural disturbances when lesions occur in the frontal lobes of the brain. Vitamin deficiencies and malnutrition can present as acute organic psychoses. Infection-induced psychoses are also likely to be more prominent in tropical Southeast Asia than in temperate regions (Orley and Tsuang 1983:24-48). Most infectious diseases interfere with the body's intake of food and capacity to absorb it. Malnutrition lowers resistance to infections. They act synergistically, that is, they induce morbid consequences surmounting the effects of the sum of the two separate conditions. Although genetic susceptibility may also be pertinent, nutritional deficiency has been held contributory to various (obscure) neuropathies. The notion of a 'lethal synthesis' (see Peters 1963), people suffering malaria, parasitic disease, infections and malnutrition, could be relevant to the aetiology of this not-yet-understood-phenomena.

It is suggested that because certain 'bizarre' (unfamiliar) syndromes were described among 'exotic' (other) different Asian populations there

was little intellectual encumbrance upon the construction of a set of 'atypical reactive psychoses' which was able to confine them within Western psychiatric nosology and contribute associated exotica first to racial personality and intelligence and later to culture personality.

Studies of culture-bound syndromes such as latah are worthy of a study in their own right for what they reveal of a shift from the renounced racial-determinist argument to a cultural-determinist one wherein the content of the imputed contributing factors remain basically unchanged: a racial type in a lesser evolutionary stage of psychical development and vulnerable to 'imbecility' and 'primitive reactions' in the presence of 'more cultured races' in one, a cultural personality predisposed towards feigning forms of madness to surmount crisis and repression in the other -- either the hapless, helpless victims of their mental endowment or of their socio-cultural endowment. On the one hand, there have been efforts to classify demonic, witch and trance possession cults as psychopathology and to apply scientific-sounding labels to them thereby detaching them from their epistemological framework. (These matters receive more attention in the following chapter.) On the other hand there has been a tendency to confine bio-medical phenomenon like babainan within the thought of a Western socio-culturalist discourse.

Anthropological research in this area in particular highlights the nurture-over-nature triumph referred to by Freeman (1983). Culture, that 'common-sense' factor in human experience (see Geertz 1983), is maladaptive, even pathogenic. It could be suggested that the concept of biological race has been replaced by a more quibbling one of cultural race. There is a danger of cultural stereotyping along the lines once rightly condemned as racial stereotyping. Studies have used the same data sources and drawn conclusions which inevitably reflect the disciplinary interest and commitment of the particular researcher as well as the changing aetiologic view -- culture not race -- of the Western academic enterprise. Studies have not led to an expansion of knowledge of Asian medical problems or experience. Granted the present state of our knowledge of tropical neurology, the use of the phrase culture-bound syndrome in the acquired sense of culture-induced, seems to me racist and prejudicial to Asian populations, even if unintentionally so.

While a consideration of the effects of culture, in the sense of customs or life-style, on the transmission of disease may be justified, there is good reason to advocate restraint upon formulations arraiging culture as causative, at least until further studies of tropical neurology have been undertaken and local medical knowledge has been examined. I anticipate being arraigned (by some) for overstating my case or for replacing one form of reductionism with another. So long as the pendulum remains in motion, some further understanding of the totality and its complexities may vindicate our errors.

Notes - Chapter 7

1. See e.g., Stoller 1969; Wittkower and Termansen 1969; Obeyesekere 1970, 1977. See also relevant articles and reviews in **Transcultural Psychiatric Research** 1968-1983. Leighton and Murphy (1961) extracted from the literature eleven theories arguing for culture as causative of mental disease (Leighton 1982:216). The reason for the supposed somatization of mental illness is that psychological symptoms suggest mental illness, supposedly a heavily stigmatized domain, whereas 'the legitimacy of physical illness is not challenged' (Kleinman 1980:35). Illness then is 'a coping strategy, according to Kleinman (p.123) and a 'legitimated mechanism for personal and interpersonal problems' (p.125). Certain indigenous medical ideologies, according to Obeyesekere (1977:165,178) are anxiety-producing. They generate 'cultural illnesses'. He further proposed that there was a widespread tendency among Asians in general and women in particular to somatize their psychological conflicts and social distress.
2. According to Leff (1981:16) manifestations of possession states are virtually indistinguishable from rank symptoms of schizophrenia. Kennedy (see Weidman 1969) postulated that a witchcraft ideas system is analogous to paranoid delusion and that the witch is a madman, psychotic and mentally defective.
3. In Western classification of disease there is a dichotomy between neurology and psychiatry. Partly a result of historical accident, the two split apart and interdisciplinary rivalry set in (Trimble 1981:xiv). The largest group of disabilities known to scientific medicine are labeled psychoneuroses. When no specific neuronal or other organic pathology is known to be responsible for such disorders, it is assumed that there is none. Hence these disorders are considered personality reactions or emotional imbalances and are labeled psychogenic and contrasted to disorders which are organic or somatic in nature.
4. See **Bali Post** 22/10/76.
5. I have no data as to whether or not the cured were actually cured or for how long they remained symptom-free. Patients move from one system to the other and from one balian to another. I could only manage to maintain continuity with the balian themselves.
6. See Weck pp.205-12 for further detail.
7. Such names, as well as also those in mantra, incorporate obvious references to an Islamic magic tradition, possibly a Javanese one. However, ethnographic data on babainan also suggest that the awareness of Islamic magic evident in construction of babainan might also derive from a Sasak Islamic magic tradition from Lombok.

8. The 'functional' form, he sees as a 'cultural model for a breakdown, a safety-valve' or a 'socially-sanctioned way to explode'. He is up-to-date with the Western psychodynamic discourse on mental illness in developing countries, particularly the formulations of Kleinman. That these syndromes are socially sanctioned seems to me to be a redundant judgement. They are so to the same extent as is any illness or similar dire inevitability of human existence.
9. For a review of the literature on latah see Winzeler 1984.
10. See, for example, Stoller 1969; Obeyesekere 1977.
11. Positing the frequency with which writers, painters and composers have 'succumbed' to madness Foucault (1979) invokes a model of madness as a measure of non-sense of the world and a manifestation of access to truth, rebirth, inspirations and hallucination. He refers to the 'works of madness' of Nietzsche, Van Gogh and Artaud as if to imply that their madness generated their insight and genius. Through their works of madness, madness acts as a mediation, forcing the world to question itself and making it aware of its guilt; 'the world finds itself arraigned by that work of art and responsible before it for what it is' (p.289). In his history of madness, Foucault endeavours to dispel objective medical aspects of madness. Yet, it was the dissolution of their perceptual and cognitive abilities which finally denied expression to the genius of these three particular denizens of the world of madness.
12. See Leighton 1982:219-20 on this point.
13. The indictment of culture as contributory in the generation of disease has been aided by the oft-quoted example of kuru, a neurological disease found among the Fore and neighbouring peoples of the Eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea. Kuru is a degenerative disease of the central nervous system caused by a slow virus infection. The mechanism of the spread of kuru was found to be linked to the ritual consumption of the brain tissue of deceased relatives. Women who handled infected corpses and children (to whose physical needs women attended) were the group with the greatest exposure to kuru-infected tissue (Gajdusek 1973). Obviously, ritual practices did not create the morbid entity. They merely influenced the transmission of the disease and the distribution pattern.

The fact that hookworm disease is found predominantly among rice farmers (working in mud and night soil where vectors of hookworm disease thrive) does not satisfy me as a substantiation of an argument for the impact of culture upon disease. Like the proven relationship between malaria and sickle-cell trait (a gene responsible for the production of sickle-cell anaemia gives immunity to malaria), the high incidence of hookworm infection among rice farmers tells us about the influence of ecological factors on the distribution of disease and the impact of life-style on the frequency of disease. The cultural practice of applying unsterile concoctions to the umbilicus at birth and cutting the cord with an unsterile bamboo instrument demonstrably aids the transmission of tetanus. It does not cause tetanus. It may be that concern with high neo-natal morbidity stimulated the practice in the first place. Perhaps, vulnerable avenues of infection were even recognized. The problem

in my perception of the cultural determinist theory might well be no more than one related to definitions of culture itself.

14. I refer to poverty not as an economic principle in abstractions like supply and demand, but rather as a humanitarian notion in terms of scarcity, physical deprivation and increased exposure to disease.
15. On the misguided assumption that a tropical climate was favourable to the respiratory system, tuberculosis sufferers were sent to the Dutch East Indies. The belief that a tropical environment begat good health was soon found to be ill-founded. The ravages of the harsh environment eventually brought medicine to the forefront of colonial imperial concern. Disease may not have prevented economic exploitation of tropical regions but prolonged residence in the tropics did impose a heavy toll upon the lives of the colonial interlopers, despite their better living conditions and nutritional status. Jacob Bontius (1592-1631) who first described beriberi died on Java of the disease after four years service there. In fact a long line of physicians perished in the tropics (Spillane 1974:268). Morbidity and mortality facts and figures among colonial officials in the Dutch colony certainly indicate the reality of the old 'wilting away of the white man in the tropics' adage. Even so, contradictory opinions concerning the health of peoples of tropical Southeast Asia and the effects of the climate existed simultaneously. On the one hand, there was the image of the hearty noble savage living a carefree existence and on the other, a lethargic, ignoble, neurotic primitive.

Chapter 8

Witchcraft: The Domestic Nightmare

And it is as part of this tissue of common-sense assumptions, not some primitive metaphysics, that the concept of witchcraft takes on its meaning and has its force. . . . Witchcraft does not celebrate an unseen order, it certifies a seen one.

C. Geertz *Local Knowledge* 1983:79

Witchcraft is an obscure and dark matter. My objective here is to refer it to the substantive themes upon which it most frequently hinges, namely sickness and untimely death. I shall attempt to illuminate the Balinese version of witchcraft by directing attention towards the matter of how tenebrous it actually is. Familiarity with local medical knowledge and textual formulations of the witchcraft ideational system integrated with practical (empirical) field data incites investigations focusing upon local 'common-sense assumptions' and lived disquietude. It is suggested that Balinese witch ideas and imagery are primarily expressive of bio-medical experiences and these constitute the concerns in which the concept of witchcraft takes on its meaning and assumes its proportions and from which the structure of the witchcraft system derives its content, form and operational themes. Moreover, local epistemological assumptions and disease experiences render witch imagery and activities intelligible and the fear of witches comprehensible. In other words, the witchcraft ideational system and related attitudes and behavioural patterns are common-sense responses to a certified natural disorder. Not only is the system internally logical and contextually rational, it encodes an actual abnormal state of affairs to which the human condition is relentlessly subjected. And witches and/or their grotesque familiars, like other disease-inducing agents such as bhuta-kala, encapsulate morbidity, its symptomatology and its consequences. This postulation is a departure from well-trodden paths and usual paradigm of witchcraft analysis and interpretation.

My argument here is that the phenomena of witchcraft and sorcery (the differentiation of which I will presently address) have been largely miscast. Scholarly attention focuses on the behavioural consequences of belief in witches and fear of them, witch accusations and persecutions and the status of witchcraft itself, generally from the outside perspective of what Marwick (1982a:11) terms 'our incomplete emancipation' from belief in magic.

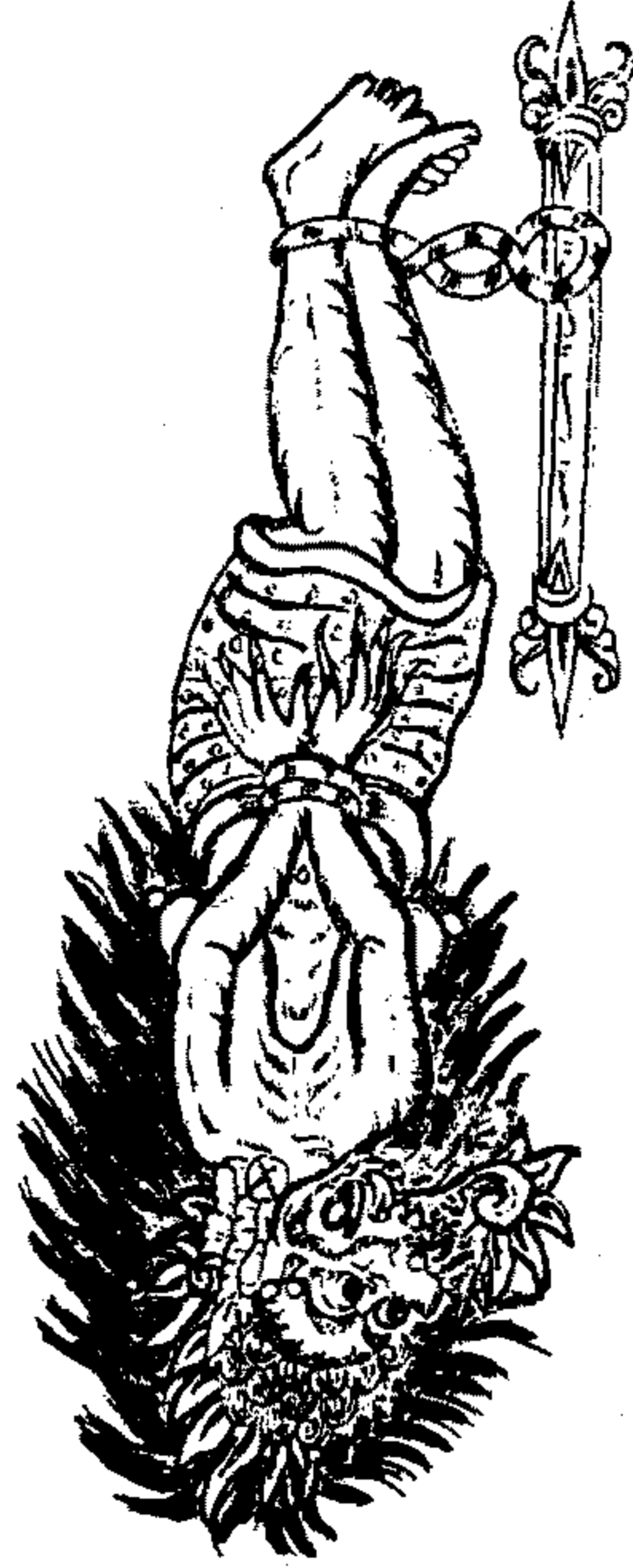
Evans-Pritchard's 1937 study of Zande witchcraft has had a seminal influence on definitions of witch phenomena. However, his concern with the sociology of knowledge, local perceptions and the coherence and totality of witchcraft conceptions, are not reflected in the direction which the ethnology of witchcraft has since taken. Crick (1982:352-6)

is critical of the kind of 'conceptual laziness' and lack of semantic investigations which have permitted witchcraft to exist as a topic separated from the particularity of the whole conceptual configuration in which it operates within a cultural system. A mass of disparate phenomena have been subsumed under the label of witchcraft and fitted into established theoretical frameworks. As Crick also argues, subsequent work on the topic has not done justice to the 'theoretical pregnancy of Evans-Pritchard's study'. It is suggested that the intellectual stultification in studies of witchcraft may also derive from the limitations of the kind of data collected or sought. Witch accusations have been the primary data used to formulate theories concerning the whole phenomenon. Oracular and divinatory techniques used to detect witches and procure vengeance constitute the usual supplementary data.

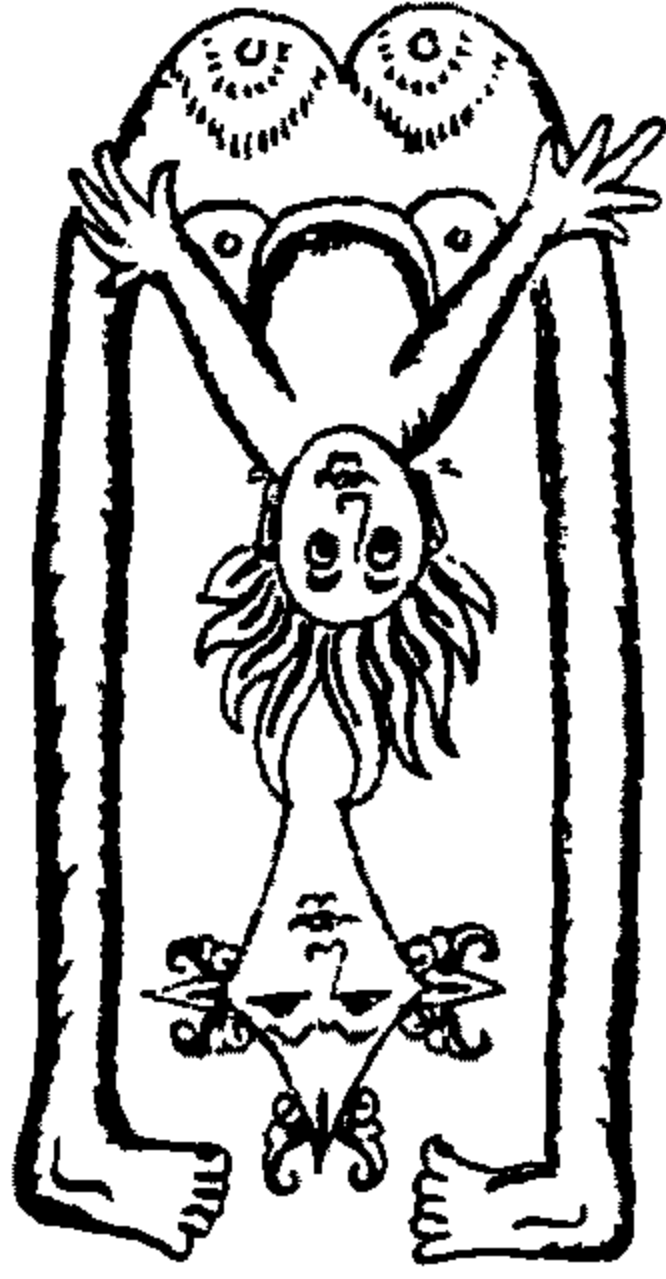
Studies of witchcraft over the past half century have not greatly advanced our understanding of the phenomenon. As Crick (p.346) has suggested, the subject needs to be 'analytically dissolved into a larger frame of reference' wherein 'the nature and the dimensions of the field by which "witchcraft" is constituted', are located. Crick suggests a semantic analysis of indigenous conceptual fields and a more detailed ethnography as a means of overcoming the deficiencies of sociological generalizations and the theoretical shortcomings of structural-functionalism. This will entail a shift from an emphasis on psychosociological generalizations to a search for meaning. We see the obvious and real domestic and social tensions and conflicts but we can fail to recognize the hidden, nonetheless real, domestic nightmare alluded to in the apparently bizarre and fantastic symbolism of witches and their proclivities. More attention might be extended towards decodifying the semiotics of the witch and of witch activities, that witches transform themselves into animals, suck the blood of their victims, stab them in the abdomen, hack open their insides, eviscerate them without leaving a trace on the skin, for instance. Analysis might focus on the interrelationship between the substance of prevailing patterns of morbidity and mortality (the frequency of early infant death and the age and sex frequencies of diseases, for example) and the location of witch fears and suspicions.

Douglas (1982:105-25) has posited a relationship between witch-dominated cosmologies and a sedentary life style of agriculturalists. Witchcraft beliefs, she argues, express a dualistic philosophy between warring forces of good and evil and a division within humanity fostered by the experience of living in small, closed communities. Seeking sociological insight into the problem of evil, Douglas explores the relationship between natural symbols (defined as those based on bodily processes) and social experience. She concludes that 'there are no natural symbols; they are all social' (p.xx). I suggest an exploration of bodily metaphors and their relationship to bio-medical experiences and conceptions of disease. My approach, thereby does divert attention from the problem which Douglas's division within humanity poses; the notion of a kind of morality play involving 'utterly vile men' and 'pure good men' (p.125). It might be suggested that if witch-cosmologies are rare among nomadic hunters and herders as Douglas states, then this might be linked to population density factors and patterns of morbidity. These matters together with local constructions of disease aetiology are factors which seem to me to be all relevant to an analysis of witch beliefs and the symbolism of witches and their familiars. These matters are infrequently raised and rarely elaborated upon in studies of witch phenomena.

Pangejukan desti (a means of restraining desti).



Leyak gundul (gundul means 'bare' or 'bald'), a pakakas panyengker karang (a means of frustrating potentially harmful influences operating around the houseyard).



Theories of witchcraft and sorcery based largely on the ethnography of tribal and non-literate societies are of limited relevance to the study of cognate phenomena in a non-tribal, literate society like Bali. In the Balinese version of witchcraft, neutralization of the harmful powers of witches and the content of the bewitchment (the sickness), not the divining of witches and vengeance, are the primary foci of concern and cultural elaboration.

I do not set out to argue a universal theory of witchcraft or to create a model of the Balinese system of witchcraft. The phenomenon probably differs widely, not only in terms of philosophical traditions but also according to the particularities of geographical, historic, epidemiological and ecologic experiences. The one constant may be the nature of specific disease organisms and their effects upon the human organism. Be that as it may, our understanding of witchcraft systems in general might benefit from a study such as this which endeavours to overcome the deficiencies inherent in analysis of witchcraft without due regard for conceptual configurations and semantic categories of local magico-medical systems.

(i) **The Craft of Witches (Leyak) and Their Levels of Competence (Pangiwa and Pamoroan)**

The leyak cult is full of rowdy sexual manifestations; leyaks appear naked and with tremendously exaggerated sexual organs that emanate fire. Like the witches of the West, they fly naked over housetops and hold orgies and black masses (Covarrubias, p.344).

I wish to avoid generalities which posit universal manifestations of witches as well as the nonsense implicit in fanciful descriptions. The Balinese witchcraft system has little in common with the self-indulgent, psychotic or thrill-seeking aberrative behaviour associated with the fringe occult cult of modern Western society. Broomsticks, black cats, covens and cauldrons are not the stuff of Balinese witches. The image of the witch in the West as an old hag with warts on her nose flying over roof-tops on a broomstick is not the image of Balinese witches. Leyak are not necessarily old, ugly or female. And white not black is often their colour of choice. They have no certain physical characteristics which betray them as leyak. Their uniqueness is their extraordinary power of transformation and transmogrification. The differences between witchcraft in the Balinese context and that of other societies are not absolute, but there are important particularities of Balinese ideas which are significant. For instance, there is no sexual or erotic theme (witch lovers, incubus) in the Balinese variant.

Like balian, leyak are not a cohesive group. Their strength is not in their numbers or in their unity. There are reports of leyak gathering together on occasions but this is not in the idea of a witches' coven. It is to test each others sakti. The implication here is that some may be dispensing harmful magic and the others may be balian attempting to counteract it. Even so, neither side would claim a monopoly on virtue or morality. Normally, balian and leyak do not confront each other directly. They challenge the products of each other's power. A balian's activities most frequently involve making defences against bewitchment or

unwitching. An act of magic inspires and requires further acts of magic, ideally of greater potency. The role relationship between leyak and balian and the politics of sakti has been discussed in Chapter 6[iii].

Evans-Pritchard drew a distinction between two types of magical power exercised by human agents — witches, who possess innate powers and sorcerers who use learned techniques. Witchcraft then is a purely psychic act possible through inherent mystical powers while sorcery is a deliberate employment of magical spells; Macbeth's 'nightmare' was induced not by witches but by sorcerers.

True witches, in the sense of Evans-Pritchard's formulation, do not exist on Bali. There are no practitioners of magic who are able to work their spells as a result of a purely inherent capacity. Sakti is an essential ingredient in witch activity. Some may be born with an innate predisposition to the easier accumulation of sakti but most achieve it only through active endeavour. Some leyak have a certain birth-date which facilitates the transition to the status of becoming one. In this respect they qualify to be called witches. However, in order to become active practitioners of magic, they must also acquire some knowledge, in which respect they are also sorcerers, according to the Evans-Pritchard scheme.¹

A powerful birth-date (rahina otonan sakti) such as anggara-kasih tambir, the birthday of Bhatara Durga constitutes such an inherent quality, especially for females. No one is actually born with the skill. It is more a matter of some being born in a time which equips one with a greater potential for acquiring sakti and through this, knowledge and skill. Legends such as the Calon Arang and Balian Batur would suggest that there is a fear that children may inherit witch qualities from their parents, but powerful practitioners also draw their pupils from further afield. The Calon Arang's pupils were not her children. Whilst some of the legendary Balian Batur's sisya were his/her (the sex of this personage is not clearly stipulated) own children, another thirty-four of them were not.

In the Balinese context, witchcraft terminology itself indicates a distinction between two forms of witchcraft activity based primarily upon degrees of power and of knowledge. A lower form of leyak activity is named pamoroan, from moro meaning 'greed', by some accounts, and from buron (pamuroan) meaning 'animal', by others. Such practitioners act out of spite. A higher, literate form of leyak activity called pangiwa, from kiwa meaning 'left', refers to magic of the 'left-hand path'. There are also grades within these levels of leyak capability and efficacy. One balian informant listed what he termed the sadtatayi (six dangerous powers) in their order of potency as follows: pangiwa, pamoroan, paneluhan, panaranjana, panestyau and pangleayakan. These are more akin to sorcery than witchcraft.

Terms applied to leyak activity are employed in different conjugations to indicate the actor, the magical activity and the result. A leyak assumes the form of a leyak (ngaleyak) and harms through pangleayakan. 'Real' leyak can transform themselves into any of a number (some say thirty-five) different forms. Within the leyak class system, an inferior one would have the power to transform into such low animal forms as dogs or pigs (usually white in colour). Leyak are normal people who are able to transform themselves. A cat, for instance, which is not

Pictorial representation of a leyak conjuring power by dancing around a bamboo shrine (sanggah cukcuk) erected in a graveyard for that purpose (Taken from Weck, 1937).

Mittelnächtlicher Tanz um den sanggah cukcuk
(Zeichnung des Ballers A. A. Gde Rat)



a cat but a transformed leyak, is called a meng kadaden. The superior ones can transform themselves into garuda and rangda. They can transmute, transmogrify and transport truncated members of their bodies which assume an active existence and powerful presence even while dissociated from the whole person. A decoding of this kind of animal symbolism (which is not confined to witch phenomena) is attempted in Chapter 13.

A special affiliation with Durga is essential and is the essence of pangiwa. The other deities of pangiwa are Brahma, Kalika, and Sang Kala Tiga. Those who wish to learn pangiwa must request permission to do so and seek help (nunas ica) from these deities. The essence of the pangiwa level or leyak teachings is contained in the Durga Purana Tatwa lontar (Weck 1937:189). To learn the teaching, one must first surrender oneself to Durga. At midnight one must go to a graveyard and there erect a sanggah cukcuk (a three-pointed bamboo shrine) in the soil and make offerings to Durga. Then there are a number of other prescriptions to complete initiation and elevation to the status of leyak of the higher order, such as standing on the left leg with the right suspended at an angle of precisely 90° and dancing around the sanggah cukcuk from left to right.

Leyak, no matter how great the sakti they acquire, remain under the domination of Durga. It is she who allots them their tasks or allows them to initiate the spread of epidemic disease. De Kat Angelino (1921:8) found that the Balinese were of the opinion that a leyak who completed the tasks allotted by Durga would rise to higher levels and eventually attain divine status. In the lontar Siwa Nirmala, it is said that those who fulfil the lontar pangiwa will receive a golden meru in Nirwana. This is all consistent with Tantric theory of the power of the 'left-hand path' (cf. Chapter 5[v]).

Leyak and pangiwa are subjects about which almost any study on matters Balinese includes a few statements. Some statements, merely by reason of their inclusion in the literature, have achieved the status of fact, even when evidence is lacking or has never really been presented in the first place. One such ubiquitous and disputable statement is that leyak learn their skills by reading lontar backwards, from back to front, or left to right, or some such thing.³ 'Reading in a reversed order is black magic and aims at reversing the Cosmic Order', wrote Swellengrebel (1960:51). This is puzzling since there are lontar titled pangiwa as well as pangleyakan and panestian which may be studied by padanda, balian and aspiring leyak. There is no mention of reversing the order of reading these or other lontar.

The same scholarship refers to 'white magic' or 'beneficent magic of the right' and employs the Balinese term panengenan (right-hand path) in this context of black versus white magic. I have not heard balian use this term in the specific and limited sense of 'white magic', nor is the term used in the magico-medical texts in such a sense. If one is correct in interpreting pangiwa ideas and practices within a Tantric tradition, then, logically, panengenan would refer more appropriately to ascetic and meditative practices such as Devi-Kundalini yoga (see Chapter 11[iv]). The counter-magic, protective or beneficent magic used by balian and described in lontar consist of mantra, sarana, rarajahan and tatumbalan contained in lontar under captions such as panulak pangiwa, pangalah panestian signifying 'antidotes'.

Leyak do, however, utter certain mystical syllables in reverse form. The sample given to me is as follows:

life: d d d

death: ɔ̄ ʷ ɛ̄

to cure: ʷ ʷ ʷ
3) ʷ ʷ

to harm: ʰ ʰ ʰ

The objective of uttering AM AH is opposite that of uttering AH AM. It is a matter of life and death. Perhaps this reversal of syllables initiated the misunderstanding, if there is one. If there is not one I remain confused as to why pangiwa and pangleyakan lontar should exist when leyak are supposed to read other (which other is nowhere mentioned) lontar in reverse. A manuscript transliteration of a pangiwa lontar (HKS1961) commences:

This is a pangiwa teaching, exalted and supreme. It is named Tri-Maya-Murti-Sakti.

A mantra follows:

OM I concentrate my mind and I am an embodiment of Brahma
Wisnu Iswara, I exist within the whole world, all the dewata
all the bhuta and within all their contents.
I have the form of fire, I have the form of water, I have the
form of Elixir of Life because I am the sakti of the world.
I embody Sang Hyang Tri-Purusa-Sakti.
I am arrayed in the ornaments of Hyang Iswara-Murti.
I am arrayed in the ornaments of Hyang Wisnu-Murti.
I have the appearance of Kala-Rudra-Gni.
I am upright like a meru.
Fire flows forth from my mouth.
OM Brahma-Gni, blazing, shining, burning tri-coloured flames
reach up to the sky.
All breathing creatures are forced to sleep. Bhatari Durga
does not weep.
All the Kala embrace my feet and beg that they might live
and be given life.
Life-restoring water (mreta-jiwa) is dripped upon them by
me.
All the bhuta-kala live.
All the bhuta are my feet.
All powerful leyak are my feet.
Well-being and happiness is extinguished in the three worlds.
I am the force of life, of all leyak.
OM bhur, bwah, swaha. All three worlds are drawn together
in me because I am an embodiment of Sang Hyang-Utarayana,
because I am an embodiment of, and I have the form of Sang
Hyang Bayu-Wisesa.
I have the form of Sang Hyang Arnawa, the ocean.
AM, fire, UM, water, MAM, wind amrta.

This is followed by a panglesunya mantra. Panglesunya has a meaning of 'the means of abating or causing to recede'. This may refer to the reversal of the above mantra, the means whereby the practitioner of pangiwa resumes normal form:

OM Dasa-Gni (Tenfold Fire) reunite with Dasa-Bayu (Tenfold Breath) within the body and then recede.

This is to be uttered at the intersection of three paths where a sanggha cukcuk is erected. An offering (banten) of rice piled to form a cone (tumpang) and a roasted red fowl are also necessary requisites. Homage has to be made toward the east and after that one must concentrate upon Hyang Brahma in the liver (HKS1961).

A Mystical Dissolution Teaching of the Left-Hand Path of Sang Hyang Siwa (Pangiwa Kaputusan Sang Hyang Siwa) named **Brahma Sumeru** is the most excellent and the essence of all pangiwa:

OM I concentrate my thoughts and assume the form of Sang Kala-Rudra-Gni-Murti.
 I have nine heads.
 My eyes number one thousand.
 The sun and the moon are my eyes.
 The stars are my robes, black clouds my hair, the jewelled rings of the sun my ear-rings, Hyang Basuki my arrow, Naga Taksaka my bracelet.
 My feet are two thousand bhuta.
 I am as tall as Mount Sumeru.
 My breath is as a weapon in the form of wind.
 Everything is aglow through the glow of my body.
 All the dewata are manifest in my body.
 Bhatari Durga represents my fearsome aspect.
 White clouds are my mantle and a rainbow is my waistcloth.
 Because I am a manifestation of Brahma Sumeru, white flames emit from my heart, red fire emits from my liver, yellow fire from my kidney, black fire from my gall-bladder.
 There is a glowing fire in my navel. AM.
 The flames converge in the centre of the liver and then move to the siwadhara [fontanel].
 It penetrates the fontanel and flames as the fire is emitted and rises to the sky in one thousand glowing layers.
 The brilliance of glowing fire swallows up the world.
 OM the whole world sleeps.
 The whole world is concealed.
 My mind penetrates the entire world.
 Every breathing thing is deprived of breath.
 The entire world is silent. It sleeps.
 I fly across the sky and come to reach the sun and the moon.
 I devour and bring life to the dead.
 The heavens are all mixed within me and revolved by me.
 Sang Hyang Surya shines below me.
 I sit at the summit of Gunung Agung.
 I am venerated by all the gandarwa-gandarwi.
 All the dewata in the sky are manifest in my body.
Bhuta, leyak, all bhuta pay homage to me because I have the form of Sang Hyang Brahma-Sumeru.
 AM AM AM (HKS1961; HKS3438).

In the following extract from the texts, we have a reference to the well-known pictorial and graphic representation of dismembered body parts and the glowing light manifestations of leyak. The mystical capacity and powers to achieve such self-dismemberment, provided the text order of detail is sequential, derives from the attainment of the **Brahma-Sumeru pangiwa** teaching above:

My head floats from my body and Ki Bhuta Kakawah [Spider Bhuta] emerges. From my floating fontanel, now, as a result of the concentration, a glowing light, Ki Bhuta Rudira [Blood Bhuta], Ki Bhuta Ari-Ari [Placenta Bhuta] emerge.

This is followed again by a panglesunya, a mantra to end the transformation:

OM Catur-Brahma return to my body and recede.
All bhuta return to the fontanel.

This mantra is to be uttered in front of a sanggah and must include tumpang, the flesh of a roasted red cock, red fruits and suci asoroh (a form of offering) 'all complete'. Then the text contains a warning against negligence, and instructions that at the time of uttering the mantra one should be clothed completely in white upon which the words Ludra-murting-langit are written.

Another mantra, named **Brahma-Maya-Murti**, uttered in order to achieve transformation and powers is, in essence, the same as that translated above. In addition, the adept has tusks seven fathoms long, teeth two fathoms long and a tongue which hangs four fathoms in length. Whilst the Pangiwa Brahma-Sumeru mantra invoked primarily the powers of fire, this one draws upon the powers of the wind and the waters.

. . . all the contents of the earth are within my body. Wisnu in my left side causes the White Garuda to emerge. Iswara in my right side causes the Kala-Mretyu to emerge. Brahma in my liver causes the One Thousand Tigers to emerge. Mahadewa from behind causes the eight-hundred bhuta to emerge. Yama in my mouth causes the One Thousand Maya, and all the bhuta, yaksa, dengen to emerge, because I am Hyang Gni of the whole world, because I have all the wind [bayu] of the world, because I embody the ocean, I embody Prabu.

AM UM MAM, the world is my body. OM OM OM sisi bawantu rastu.

The kasaktian necessary in order to practise pangiwa can be requested at the dalem-pangulun setra (death temple in the cremation ground), then at the pura desa bale agung, then at the sanggah kawitan (temple of origin), for it is Sang Hyang Tiga (Divine Trinity) who bestows the power to practise pangiwa. When this is completed, one is able to practise all kinds of pangiwa. The text then lists the numerous ingredients of the offerings to be placed at each temple. The deities invoked, the space frequented and the powers used by leyak, as we can see, are all indiscernible from those used by practitioners of magic who use their powers to affect the cure of disease. Thinking about Balinese forms of magic in terms oppositions of deities and demons, good and evil or white and black, as already indicated, does not advance our understanding of it.

Consistent with Western predilections to dichotomies, scholarship constructed the concept of black magic with white magic as its opposite. I do not share Howe's (1984:213-4) view of pangiwa and panengenan as conceptual oppositions; as a dichotomy of animals or leyak, on the one hand, and gods on the other. For one thing, the practitioners of pangiwa do not assume the form of base animals. Those who study pangiwa do not necessarily (if ever) reject, ipso facto, the teachings of the 'right-hand path'. There is no issue of morality involved in magic. Furthermore, rather than being through the study of pangiwa, literally and metaphorically 'in the dark', as Howe puts it, they are 'in the know' (see Chapter 5[i] on the power of knowledge).

Among the mantra and techniques studied by literate witch-sorcerers, I have selected a few examples to illustrate the tone of their aspirations and powers.³ In historical mythology, practitioners of pangiwa wrought havoc upon the whole community. They could gather numerous followers and even threaten the survival of kingdoms by depleting them of their most valued resource: that being subjects. The story of Macaling, the deity of epidemic cholera, and the Calon Arang, a leyak extraordinaire of the pangiwa type, creator-propogator of a disastrous epidemic, illustrate this point (see Chapter 11[v & ii]).

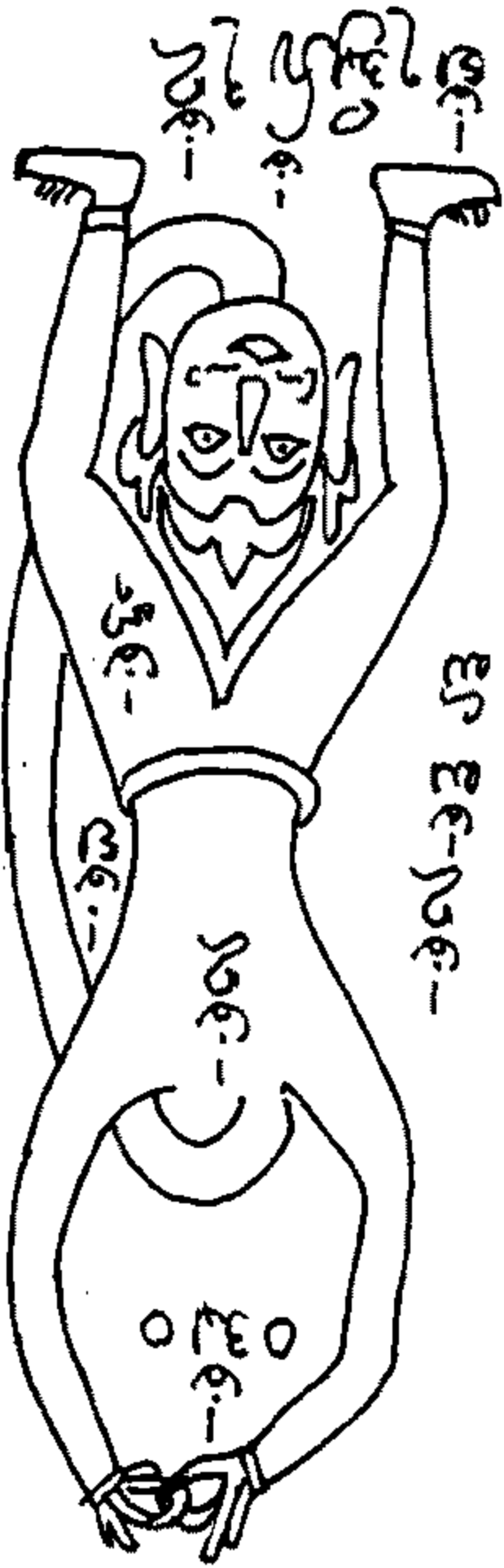
The lower orders of leyak (pamoroan) are capable only of inducing illnesses amongst their own kin, colleagues or close neighbours. They are not attributed with powers to instigate devastating epidemics on a Bali-wide scale. Their activities are primarily confined to the individual level of the magico-medical system and to endemic diseases. At the worst, they disseminate epidemic diseases amongst members of their local communities. To the extent that they lack awareness, discernment, and most importantly, knowledge, lower leyak are considered to be dangerous and capable of unmitigated greed.

In order to become a lower order leyak (pamoroan) one needs to acquire a sabuk pangleayakan which is a belt made from black and white cloth (poleng) or white cloth into which magical drawings and mantra are placed as well as certain other 'secret ingredients' such as metals. Such a sabuk is procurable from a balian and is custom made. It must fit with the would-be leyak's birth date. If this is not the case, no matter how powerful the sabuk is, it will not work and in fact may even prove injurious to its owner. The sabuk pangleayakan is kept 'coiled like a serpent'. Balian were generally reticent on the subject of sabuk. There are sabuk, as we have seen, worn for protective purposes, also called sasikapan. Both types are procured from balian and, when activated, are worn about the waist.

At this lower level of operation and competence in craft of bewitching, there are mantra, sarana and rarajahan specifically designated for physically harming human beings, in fact for 'extracting the life' (panawutaning wong) of intended victims (referred to non-specifically as 'si anu'). Mantra refer to such things as: the castration of si anu; the stabbing of si anu in the abdomen, the navel and the legs; causing pain in the hands, a change in the colour and appearance of the person, the nostrils to become pinched together, the intestines to wither, separate from the body and to rot away, the bones and muscles to 'die', or the head, the intestines, the hair and the marrow to become detached from the body and be dispatched to the graveyard. This information lends

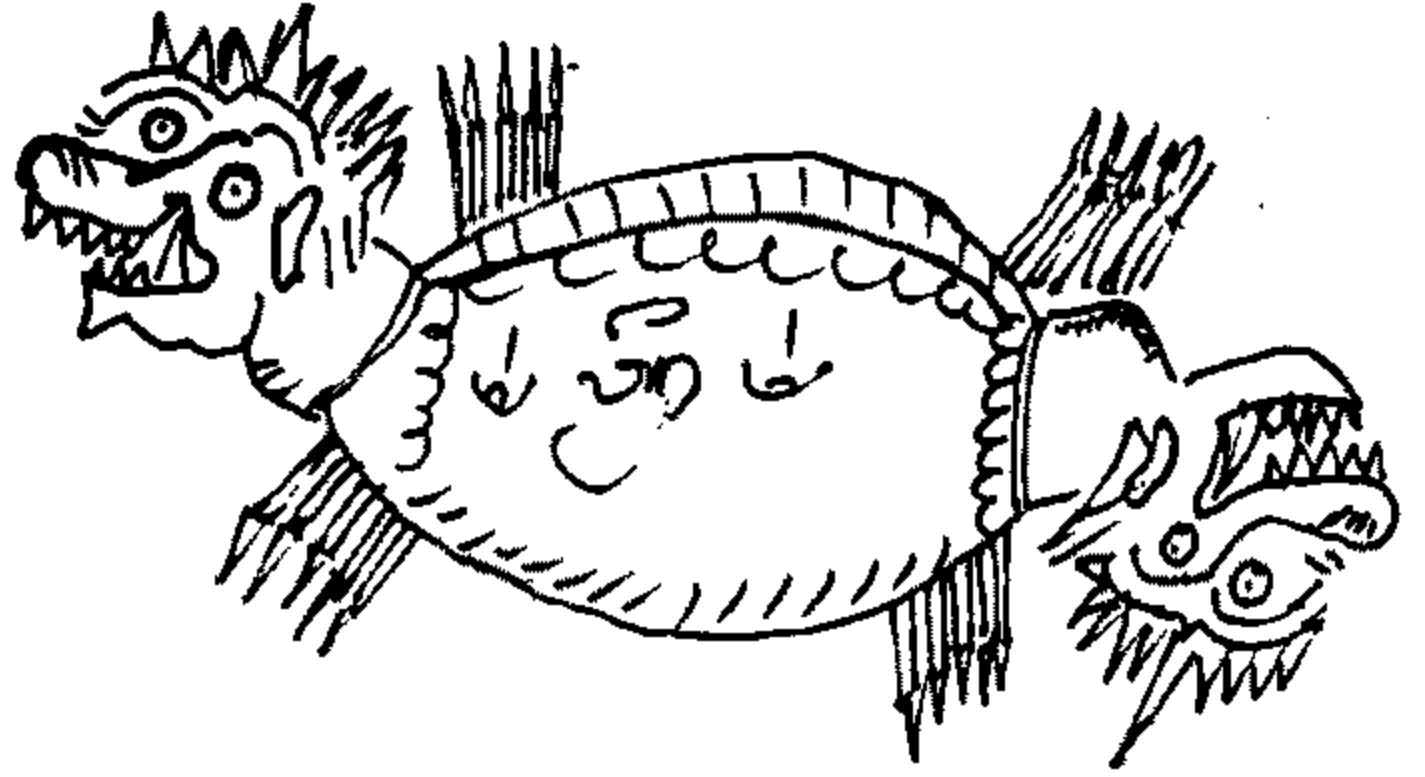


A spell named Jaran Guyang (Trembling Horse) used to 'extract the life' (pangawutan) of a foe by causing bhuta to enter internal organs, thereby initiating signs of madness (Panestian HKS4191).



ER EE-NOE-

I Belang Guyang, the name of a disease-inducing spell which, used in conjunction with the Uia Raja spell below, is able to induce death (HKS XIV, 9).



Sang Uia Raja, a spell able to induce intense illness through the will of Bhatari Durga and the activities of bhuta-kala in devouring the flesh. It must be buried near the sanggah of the intended victim (Pangiwa HKS XIV, 9).

some understanding of the ideas which have inspired artistic representations of dismembered body parts suspended upon trees in graveyards.

The objective of these panestian spells -- physical discomposure (binasaka) and death (pejah) -- is explicit in mantra, expressed through maledictory statements as: moga wastu si anu mati; OM Durga Kala Joti, Kala Kali kaya we (?h) aku ri kapatiane wongko; wastu si anu matemahan mati (HKS4191). The sarana which may include such things as thorny bushes or crushed bones together with the appropriate rarajahan are generally buried, often in graveyards. The rarajahan feature dismembered bodies, composite animals, composite human and animals. They are usually named, though the names themselves seem to refer not only to the drawing but also to the type of ailment being inflicted upon the victim and to the mantra itself. Therefore we find symptom complexes such as Iblanguyeng (I Blang Uyeng), Sang Ula Raja, Ki Cambra Berag, I Bhuta-Kala or I Jaran Guyang which are also the names of mantra, of rarajahan and of disease spirits. In other instances the terms are disease signs and symptoms.⁴

In Chapter 4[ii], I proposed that Balinese conceptions of disease causation were more complex than is generally assumed; it is not a matter of leyak or bhuta-kala or loss of soul and so forth causing disease. This assertion has already been demonstrated, to some extent, in the context of my interpretation of the symbolism of bhuta-kala in Chapter 5[vi]. In any illness, a number of circumstances in the form of agent, mechanism and constitutional predisposition contribute to pathological changes which lead to a state of disease. In my endeavours to piece together the threads and themes which constitute the Balinese witch complex, my earlier formulation has been substantiated: the witch may be the author of disease and death but s/he relies upon knowledge of techniques, circumspection in using them, as well as upon other agents like bhuta-kala and even forces which reside within the intended victim. These have to be summoned and rallied into precipitating and completing the pathological process. Thus part of the I Jaran Guyang mantra reads:

. . . come all you bhuta and leyak, attack and devour the life [jiwane] of this person. Enter into the tissues, the vessels and the bone marrow. Shatter everything causing infection and poisoning [upas] (HKS XIV 9:19b).

A panawutan mantra rallies the ambiguous powers of the human placenta (ari-ari) personified as the barong to assist in impairing the function of the human body through incinerating (geseng, possible signifying fever) it:

. . . I emerge from the placenta and become Barong Selem [The Black Barong] with tongue protruding. I incinerate si anu, [who] dies without obvious cause, unable to be helped by balian of any kind . . . (HKS4191:13b).

Mantra of this panestian persuasion frequently end with a curse that balian attempting to reverse the spell should themselves become confused and incapacitated.

Contrary to Howe (1984), I would not classify leyak as supernaturals. One of the difficulties in doing so bears upon the question of the balian-leyak equation. Balian are clearly not classified as supernaturals.

Both are human agents with sakti not innate supernaturalism. The concept of sakti allows for the existence of supernaturally endowed human beings capable of magical acts and provides the cognitive basis for assertions that one 'has been bewitched' (katimpa leyak) or sorcerized. Furthermore, imputed leyak remain living members of a community (the corporeal body and the soul are still united). They act as normal members of the banjar, perform their daily and community ritual tasks and try not to draw attention to themselves. Their beginning and their final demise are human, even if often violent. Unlike deities and demons, they do not create disease, they merely acquire powers to precipitate it in chosen victims or to spread it amongst members of the community. In some circumstances, it will be shown, they transform themselves into pathological representations or the diseases they seek to initiate or disseminate.

(iii) Encounters with Leyak: The Incitement of Suspicions and Killings

Leyak seem to be recognized or known from the circumstances of an encounter with a person alone in a remote place late at night or an animal out of its natural habitat. The Balinese are concerned with the tangible or sensory evidence of witches, less with their psychic energy. A noise, a smell, an object or animal out of place or character -- things tangible -- incite fear by arousing anxieties about witch activity. The discovery of spells in the form of everyday objects together with a mantra and offerings might indicate that a harmful spell has been uncovered. The perceptions seem to be something like: when one feels something, hears something or senses something, but sees nothing, it may at best be a wong samar and at worst a leyak who will eventually reveal itself in its transformation. In one sense, leyak seem to evoke more perturbation than do supernaturals. Leyak are human beings. One can never be confident of being able to avoid them. Supernaturals like wong samar or bhuta-kala can be controlled and they are more spatially confined within man's environment.

Most Balinese have a tale to recount of an uncomfortable nightmarish encounter with leyak in one form or another, from pigs to pillows. Leyak are most frequently sighted as balls of fire hovering over newly-buried corpses, the dying, women in labour and new-born infants and children. Local accounts of leyak proclivities serve to convey some sense of the content of witchcraft ideas. For example:

A middle-aged woman lived in a house on the crossroads, space where no ordinary bhuta-kala and leyak-fearing Balinese would dare to reside. She had never married and had no children. She was considered to be very sakti and probably a leyak. The local children feared her. Those whose journeys to and from school entailed passing by her house took extra precautions. They always protected themselves by placing one hand over their genitals and back passage, the other across their mouths and noses and by squinting, thereby blocking all orifices and preventing the entry of spells cast by the supposed leyak.

My informant felt and did likewise. But she was curious and having a grandfather who was a balian with a large clientele, she was, in her own words, more informed, and audacious than most about such things.

She befriended the woman and when the opportunity arose she climbed up and looked inside a keben which was always kept high on a shrine in the houseyard. Inside the box, she found the evidence: a sabuk pangleayakan.

Two accounts of leyak activity collected by Weck convey a sense of the imputed consequences of leyak's magic and the physical sensibilities which arouse the suspicions of the perpetration of harmful magic in the first place:

1. On his way home, a young man became confused and disorientated. When a huge bird swooped down upon him he sought refuge under a bridge. From there he peered out and saw no longer a bird but a rangda. He remained under the bridge throughout the night and then at daylight returned home, pale and without physical strength. Throughout the following night, he was feverish and delirious. Three balian summoned to attend the boy all failed to effect a cure. A leyak, sometimes in the form of a ball of fire and sometimes in the form of a monkey, seen about the houseyard was deemed responsible for the illness. It was also perceived that the balian had been overcome by the greater sakti of the leyak.

Finally, the family consulted a padanda, who, when he heard of the past events, declined to go himself to the houseyard and instead prepared some holy water to be administered to the afflicted boy. As the latter was being offered the water to swallow, the family noticed a foetus-like form about the size of a kris point in the glass. This was taken to indicate that the powers of the leyak had now encroached upon the houseyard and even into the holy water.

The now comatose boy was taken to the home of a relative who had in his houseyard a special shrine for Bhatara Sakti (Nirartha). Leyak were supposed to be unable to enter this houseyard because of the shrine's power. One night the boy began to talk in the high Balinese language and requested some medicine from Bhatara Sakti because his attacker was approaching from the south-east in the form of a teluh (human form with large face and bulging eyes). The boy seized a kris and began stabbing wildly (ngamuk-muk). His mother was sent to fetch ingredients growing in the south-east section of the garden from which to prepare the requested medicine. A short while after her departure they heard a cry and found her on the ground unconscious. She was rubbed with garlic. When she regained consciousness, she related how she had seen an old crippled woman with fiery eyes carrying a large knife and dressed in black cloth which was trussed up to her knees. Such a leyak was known as a teluh or tuju teluh and this form usually appears during the daylight hours (Weck pp.195-7. My translation and synopsis).

2. Over a relatively short period of time, a large number of deaths had occurred in a family (probably due to tuberculosis, according to Weck). After one of the sick children experienced a disturbing nightmare in which she saw a papasangan suspended

above her head, the family decided to search the houseyard suspecting that the deaths in the family were probably due to human agency.

The search revealed pieces of cloth upon which there were magical drawings. It transpired that the papasangan, as it turned out to be, had been placed there by a grandmother who had once lived in the compound but had since moved elsewhere. Even so, she was in the habit of returning there each kajeng-kliwon when she would make offerings, light incense and utter mantra over the now-discovered papasangan in order to activate its power. Until the advent of the child's nightmare, the family had assumed that the grandmother had been activating a magical spell to prevent illness.

They consulted a padanda and learned from him that the inscribed cloths were, in fact, intended to produce the opposite effect to containing the spread of disease amongst the family. The drawings were panestian. It was also ascertained that years previously the grandmother was known to have frequently visited places where magic was practised widely. The conclusion therefore was that the grandmother was in fact a leyak. In order to maintain her powers and reach an even higher level of competency she needed to make blood offerings each year in the form of a dead relative. Thus, it was construed that it was the grandmother who had been instrumental in all the deaths in the family over the past number of years. The padanda burned the cloths and uttered counter-magical mantra over them. The family moved house (Weck pp.190-2. My translation and synopsis).

More significant and disruptive than the usually posited problems of caste and class conflict are the conflicts related to rivalries, jealousy and envy within families and among designated 'equals'.⁵ These, together with inheritance disputes and indebtedness, are perhaps the negative aspects of an extended family pattern of living, overcrowdedness and a lack of privacy. Whatever the state of mind and body or the circumstances, the fear of being bewitched and becoming ill is ever-present and an expressed concern among most Balinese. If one is not doing well in business, in love, socially or scholastically, one's well-being is also perceived to be under threat. Balinese seek counter-magic to overcome a most commonly perceived cause of such a state of affairs -- witchcraft. On the other hand, if one is doing well, is upwardly socially and economically mobile, then one is likely to seek protective magic, fearing disease-inducing magic will be directed against oneself or one's family by those whose envy they might have aroused through their success.⁶

Most Balinese volunteer the information that they perceived that they themselves or some members of their family have been, at some time, the victim of a leyak's harmful powers. Victims perceive themselves as having been bewitched by someone whose envy or anger they have unwittingly or otherwise aroused. The frequency of expressed fears that one is being envied or is disliked by fellow Balinese is striking. This negative perceptual stance -- so and so is envious of my success and may attempt to frustrate it by casting a disease-inducing spell upon me or a member of my family -- motivates people to seek protective magic.

Balinese generally approach each other with a wary attitude, suspicion and fear of inadvertently offending or arousing hostility. They display caution when interacting with fellow villagers and with strangers. They take no one at face value. The most warm and gentle of people may be the most vicious. The most abrasive are probably prone to anger and also represent a danger to the well-being of those with whom they have contact. In a society where everyone knows what everyone else is doing and is interested in it, such traits are observable features of interpersonal relations. From my observation, the Balinese are as prone to interpersonal conflict and hostility as any other population group. However, accusations, criticism and aggression or hostility are less blatant or open. That is not to say that they are suppressed, merely to suggest that direct confrontation is avoided and magic and counter-magic may be part of the reason why aggression and defence need not be overt.

Besides the strains precipitated within families through the imputed Balinese predisposition to envy and jealousy, a large proportion of domestic tensions arise over inheritance disputes and indebtedness. When demands for repayment of a loan or the payment of a debt coincide with illness on the part of either the debtor or the debtee, the afflicted is likely to suspect that the pressure to either pay or be repaid has prompted the other party to resort to witchcraft. In fear of life, the decision is adopted to do away with the party suspected of using disease-inducing magic.

Suspicious regarding witchcraft and occasional homicides related to these suspicions invariably occur among close kin and in situations of sickness and death. One hears allegations of the death of children being brought about by a spell cast by the child's own grandmother or even its own mother. De Kat Angelino (1921:23) reported a case in the 1920s in which a suspected leyak was slain by her family because she was alleged to have been responsible for ten deaths among its members.

Newspaper reports involving homicide on Bali are frequently cases of domestic homicide. Invariably, witch suspicions are involved. The victim of the homicide is likely to be a person imputed to be able to bewitch (bisa ngaleyak) and the self-confessed slayer will usually plead that he believed either that his own life or the lives of his children were being endangered by the slain suspected leyak.

As his defence for hacking to death his sixty-year old first cousin, a forty-five year old claimed that his victim had been suspected of causing repeated episodes of illness in his children which ended in their having to discontinue attending school. As the father related the event, he was returning home one afternoon having been to another village to sell fire-wood. From a distance, he felt the gaze of the woman (his cousin) upon him. Then when she appeared in front of him, his whole body felt weakened. He lost consciousness and fell to the ground. When he recovered consciousness she had disappeared, having transported herself to another place. He pursued her and struck her on the head with his wood-chopping implement thereby killing her. He then presented himself to the village head to whom he explained his motive (**Bali Post** 1/7/81).

A case of matricide also arose from fear of threat to person. A twenty-two year old man pleaded guilty to having slain his mother. His defence was that she had been able to execute magical spells (bisa

ngaleyak) for he suffered frequent bouts of illness and therefore she must have been responsible (*Bali Post* 5/1/82).

According to another newspaper homicide report (*Bali Post* 13/2/82), the body of a sixty year old male suspected leyak had been badly mutilated, suggesting a ritual slaughter by several people. The battered body of the victim had been shorn, disembowelled and so forth. Motivations beneath abuse of this kind might emanate from the perceived need to 'cut off' (pegat) the soul of the leyak from the corporeal body, a process hastened by dismemberment. Dismemberment of the corpse can hasten decomposure and thereby the defusion of the leyak's uncontrolled destructive powers. This postulate is one I formulate more fully in the following chapter.

From the tone of the newspaper reports on these homicides, the perpetrators exhibit relief rather than remorse over their actions. The killings are roughly executed, often violent and generally blatant: direct non-magical slaughter of imputed witches by their imputed victims. Notwithstanding reports of witch-slayings such as these, it is leyak suspicions, not killings or accusations, which are rife on Bali. Generally, efforts are directed towards neutralizing a leyak's offensive magic through counter-magic. Desperate homicide is merely one certain way of doing so. A relative few resort to it. Most seek the help of others such as balian renowned for having sakti which may at least equal that of the imputed leyak.

Balinese cite the doctrine of karma-phala (deeds have their own just rewards) as evidence that man does not need to avenge his fellow man. The objective of counter measures is to reverse maleficent magic, not to destroy its creator. There are few attempts to apprehend its perpetrator. The risk would be perceived as too great. Consistent with the tendencies in Balinese political culture (see Geertz 1980), the ultimate concern is reconciliation or reversal.

Persecutions of witches and witch-hunts such as those which culminated in Europe in the seventeenth century and the hunting down of practitioners of magic as described in the ethnology of south and central Africa (see Marwick 1982) are unknown on Bali.⁷ There is a conception of a witch-hunt but this is a mystical witch-hunt, termed ngarehang (see Chapter 11[vii]). I have not heard of people being officially interrogated as a result of witchcraft allegations. Any social condemnation or persecution practitioners of magic could incur is likely to be muted by the fact of their sakti. It is enough to forestall and reverse the harmful forces set in motion by their powers.

Witch activities and suspicions of practitioners of witchcraft are subjects of hushed gossip and speculation among villagers in particular. They, after all, are the section of the population more prone to disease. Witchcraft suspicions and accusations peak when the fear and anxiety concerning leyak peak, and both of these are concomitant with outbreaks of illnesses which affect many members of the community. These are the circumstances which most frequently trigger the suspicion. Proximity to the inflicted inspires indictment.

What are the precise haunts and habitats of leyaks and the occasions where their presence is feared and realized? The answer, as any descriptive study of the phenomenon will tell, is that they are to be found in

graveyards, at the moment of death, at the hazardous time of child-birth, when endemic diseases peak and when epidemics rage. Nowadays they are also reputed to lurk around hospitals where the sick, weakened and dying congregate. Their activities are generally nocturnal. Where illness and death lurk, so do leyak.⁸

Prevailing psychosociological theories of witchcraft postulate manifest (e.g., witchcraft is a means of expressing anti-social tendencies, of disposing of one's enemies or of 'being mean) and latent (e.g., witchcraft is a means whereby the poor, the powerless and low class women can vent hostile impulses and get attention) functions of witch beliefs (see Kluckhohn 1982:248; Lewis 1976:13). On the basis of Mead's Balinese material (and her interpretation of it, I suggest), such explanations are held to be valid for Bali, according to Kluckhohn (p.251). Witchcraft ideas themselves are alleged to cultivate suspicion and hatred as well as produce anxiety and fear and generate overt interpersonal aggression and social conflict detrimental to mental health. Behavioural patterns in witchcraft-ridden societies are held to be indicative of paranoid views of reality and of the world (see Weidman's 1967 Review of Kennedy; Leighton 1982:223). In the transcultural psychiatric discourse fear of witches is labeled 'phobia' or 'malignant anxiety' and judged to be irrational and even pathogenic (see Yap 1967:76-7). These are the extremes of the kinds of formulations on witch phenomena which have prompted my earlier assertion that the phenomenon has been miscast.

The question is, if witchcraft constitutes (as I suggest) a cognitive system which encapsulates magico-medical theory and experience as well as psychosocial problems, can such a system itself be pathogenic? Witches are magically endowed beings with malevolent intent. But the pathology exists, as it were, a priori. Witches are part of an explanatory system for the apparent pattern of disease affliction among closely-knit population groups. A high incidence of disease confirms their power. Given the initial premises and the disease experience the fear cannot be labeled paranoia.

**(iv) The Symbolism of Viscera-Sucking, Child-Devouring Witches:
The Domestic Nightmare**

Leyak have been described as 'vampires' and 'werewolves' (Covarrubias 1937:322) who 'suck the blood of sleeping people' and who 'are particularly fond of the entrails of children'. They prey upon babies and live on flesh and blood. Why do witches and their familiars take the precise forms they do and why do anxieties concerning witch activities focus on particular times in the human life cycle?

In his study of Cape Nguni witch beliefs, Hammond-Tooke (1982) has also pondered the question of the image of witches and their familiars. Not unlike the Balinese version, Cape Nguni witches and familiars fall into categories of animals, humans with animal features and deformed or grotesque human forms. Borrowing from psychological theory, Hammond-Tooke interprets the imagery in terms of 'mediatory constructs'. The symbolic meanings derive from a 'cognitive dissonance' between the constructs that people have of the nature of things (e.g., correct relations between the sexes) and the realities of social life. Thus conceptualizations of familiars as women in marked sexual terms and

A representation of a leyak associated with stabbing pain characteristic of the tuju category of disease (Photograph taken from Weck, 1937).

Abb. 24, 'Teluh', (Zeichnung des Ballers A. A. Gde Rai)



the marked sexuality in witch belief, he interprets as a means of 'portraying and objectivizing' inter-sex conflict, men's guilt about it, women's subordinate status and men's uneasiness about women's resentment concerning their sexual deprivation (supposed to be confirmed in the imagery of witches taking demon lovers and the compensatory enormous penis one form of familiar carries over his shoulder). Male consternation also arises out of the ambiguity of the woman's role; despite their subordination, deprivation and so forth, they dominate the hearth and fertility is located in them (pp.368-9).⁹ Familiars in the shape of ambiguous monsters with the ability to change shape and to metamorphose are interpreted by Hammond-Toole as a symbolic means of mediating the experience of dissonance between the cultural construct that kinsmen are loyal and the actuality that kinsmen are potentially dangerous; they are capable of bewitching and they are the most likely to do so, for their attitude is ambiguous (p.372).

I also perceive the significance of dissonance and discrepancy in conceptualizations of witches and their familiars. However, I would not confine interpretations of this to the psychosociological level of analysis. The uneasiness evident in particular cultural forms within symbolic systems can also represent projections of physiological distress. The conceptualization may be 'saying' something about the result of bewitchment -- pathological changes, disease and the transformations it can cause. The dissonance is between the ideal state of being, namely well-being -- looking, feeling and behaving distinctly human -- and the realities of morbidity which entail and incite opposite states. Images of leyak and their familiars, it is suggested, encapsulate medical semiology. Imputed leyak, their activities and proclivities -- that they attack those parts of the human organism most vulnerable, namely blood, viscera, the gastro-intestinal tract and the head (the nervous system), that their blood-sucking, viscera-mutilating activities leave their victims pale, weakened and wizened -- reflect the actuality of clinical manifestations of disease frequencies and distribution. A commonly-held contention amongst Balinese that the first-born are especially 'prized' by leyak merely reflects a fact of paediatric experience. Forasmuch as witches do not exist in the Western scientific tradition, the bio-medical reality of the lived nightmare witches reify can easily elude our attention. It has certainly escaped our interpretive schema.

The Balinese witch-sorcery complex clusters around such events as infertility, impotence, miscarriage, still-birth, sickness and death. Many of the hazards to life inherent in pregnancy and childbirth, and the realities of neo-natal and maternal deaths and high infant morbidity and mortality, are cast in the idiom of witchcraft. The witch is an envisagement of the dire possibilities which mitigate against normal birth, growing up, reproducing and growing old.

The nature of leyak transformations -- animals, half-animals half-human, humans with flaming or burning extremities, heads and orifices -- suggest that disease symptomatology is encoded in them. Let us look more closely at the two forms of transformations assumed by leyak referred to earlier, namely tuju teluh and taranjana. As a tuju teluh, a leyak appears in human female form exaggerated in size and dimensions, suggestive of distorted body image which can be the result of febrile visual and sensory hallucinations. The face is swollen and the eyes are red, fiery and glistening, also signs of pathology. It carries a sharp knife

Painting of a leyak exhibited in Puri Lukisan Museum, Ubud
(from photograph courtesy of John Darling).



with which to pierce the abdomen of the victim, suggesting sharp stabbing pain. Tuju, as we have seen (Chapter 5[vii]), is the name of a disease category into which diseases manifesting with sharp, stabbing pain, oedema and frightening symptomatology such as the coughing of blood and nervous system derangement are classified. The term teluh refers to disease-inducing magic. The vomiting of blood, for instance, can be a symptom of upas (poisoning) and is named upas teluh (HKS XI,4).

As taranjana, leyak also assume human form but remain invisible or appear as shadows and attempt to strangle their prey. The victims of such apparitions are poisoned. The sensation of 'being choked' is also a symptom of a form of poisoning named metik medang-arungan (HKS3496). In usada, pain in the neck, inflammation, inability to swallow and the feeling of being choked are described as signs that one has been afflicted by witchcraft (keni kakriyan wong ala; HKS3240).

Leyak, like bhuta-kala, have grotesque forms. Everything about witches and bhuta-kala is abnormal (in relation to the normal state of well-being of the human organism) because disease is abnormal. It eats away flesh and the viscera, as do witches. It causes abnormal exudation from the bodily orifices. Bodily orifices are a perceived foci of witch attack. The physical traits of witches and demons are grotesque parodies of human physical degeneration, pathological lesions, decay, purulence and virulence.

The witch image is the stuff of hallucinations and nightmares. Hallucinations and nightmares can also be signs of the disturbance of normal neurological function or part of the prodromal stage of certain acute diseases. Illusions or hallucinations can be based on misinterpretations of severe painful sensations expressed in such metaphorical accusations as: someone or something is stabbing my abdomen; breaking my back; burning my extremities; ripping out my insides; sucking my blood. Delusions of danger and persecution by human agents with supernatural powers can be easily elaborated from interpretations (given the epistemological presuppositions they can hardly be designated misinterpretations) of painful symptoms and grave signs of life-threatening disease. 'Delusions' of danger or persecution can be so intense that the afflicted takes suicidal or homicidal action as in the case of ngamuk, referred to in the previous chapter.

I recapitulate the main points of the argument presented here. The primarily psychosociological approach which has dominated studies of witchcraft has confined the phenomenon within the realm of social morality and conflict. Yet the ideas, content, structure and form of witch beliefs and witch activities would seem to express and point to something beyond such concerns to even more substantive ones. Clearly, witchcraft is, as Krige (1982:263) states 'something more than meaningless superstition'. Yet studies of witchcraft do not generally succeed in demonstrating this proposition. The witch does more than merely 'enable men to account for their failures and frustrations', as Krige (p.263) postulates.

As symbols, leyak could be argued to represent scapegoats upon which the Balinese hang their desperation concerning life-threatening diseases. It could be said that the Balinese fear leyak (and bhuta-kala) more than the illnesses themselves, in which case they might be perceived

to constitute a diversionary mechanism of some kind. The witch may well be described as a convenient anxiety object. But to assert that witchcraft beliefs exist because they channel hostility or deflect hostile impulses displacing aggression and facilitating emotional adjustment, as, for example, Kluckhohn and Nadel (1982) do, is to overlook the matter of their inception and the dimensions of the existential issues precipitating disquietude.

Witchcraft does, as Evans-Pritchard (1976:84) has said, 'express the collective nightmares of a community'. But the stuff of these nightmares are not issues of morality or social cohesion. Witches 'eating inner organs' and 'devouring babies' and so forth, are metaphors for pathogenesis. Concern is not with perceived anti-social activities of leyak. It is with pathological ones for whom leyak and their proclivities are metaphors and metonyms.

Philosophical presuppositions concerning the powers of leyak obviously contribute to attitudes of wariness and suspiciousness of kin and fellow villagers, but why postulate psychopathological consequences? Against this, I would suggest that negative feelings and hostilities flourish in full force in Western societies where witch beliefs hardly exist. Conflict and tension, wariness of kin and colleagues and muted hostilities are symptoms of the human condition, not only of witch-ridden societies.

Tensions between siblings, co-wives, in-laws, neighbours and colleagues manifest themselves in witchcraft and occasionally homicides, but invariably (in the Balinese context) they do so when sickness and death occur. Suspicion of bewitchment will naturally be directed towards those with whom the afflicted or their parents, in the case of children, have problematic relationships. There are always issues upon which motives can be projected. The realities of morbidity are in themselves sufficient to create anxiety. The will to survive is basic and fundamental. Concern is focused on afflictions and the resolution of them as much as on imputed witch agents of affliction. The two are interactive. Even so, without the former, the latter would not have assumed and could not maintain their notoriety. Endemic diseases are at least as rife as interpersonal conflicts and communicable diseases are as lethal as community hostilities. The fact that infants and children are frequently the victims of witches would seem to contradict theories of social marginality and the socio-political significance of who is bewitched, and argue for the medico-biological significance of bewitchment. The frequency of witchcraft and sorcery suspicions and accusations, then, indicate not only tensions in social relationships, they indicate physical stress. To whom the suspicions are directed is an index of the degree of tension characteristic of a relationship and the frequency of interaction. But this is something which can be gauged without a study of witchcraft. The direction of these tensions would, I expect, be universal.

If one is to seek significance in the fact that the socially disadvantaged are more prone to affliction through witchcraft, then the exposure of this group to the ravages of disease through the nature of their occupations, standard of living (rice farmers and hookworm disease, for instance) and nutritional status cannot be ignored. In other words, the vulnerability of this group to infection and deficiency diseases should be part of the analytical data considered in formulations of the meaning beneath witch belief. That the typical victims and the suspected

are usually the poor and the powerless and that witchcraft assumes a higher importance among the lower classes, reflects patterns of morbidity. This is the social location of the vulnerable. Peak incidences of witch accusations may accompany social and political disruption. Scarcity and physical deprivation, deficiency disease and lessened resistance to infectious diseases are also concomitant with social and political upheaval. The actuality of illness is the crucial link in the chain of events which brings witchcraft to prominence. Witchcraft and sorcery are part of the cultural response woven around the problem of disease and death; they are part of an explanatory system. The witchcraft complex is a paradigm in which disease, its specificity, age and sex incidence and frequency, is given symbolic representation. Leyak, like bhuta-kala, present threats to life, not merely to social solidarity or moral order.

As Bateson and Mead (1942:17) remarked, the actual disruption of social and domestic life due to belief in witchcraft is very slight, if at all. It is, 'like illness and death, a part of life'. Witchcraft and sorcery express the biological concerns of the group -- its survival. They are related to things intense and personal in human experience. As Geertz (1983) perceived, there are common-sense assumptions which give the concept of witchcraft its force. The social drama enacted in witchcraft suspicions and accusations, I suggest, fades into obscurity alongside the magico-medical one the domestic nightmare certifies.

Notes - Chapter 8

1. Evans-Pritchard's distinction notwithstanding, I find it more appropriate in the Balinese context to retain the use of the term witch for leyak. Sorcery might more usefully be used to describe the activities of some balian and of course some leyak, who may or may not practise as balian.
2. It is perhaps from a misreading or through reading more into a textual reference to the Calon Arang's book of knowledge (pustaka) that the idea of pangiwa meaning 'reading back to front', arose:
 Mpu Behula informed Sang Mahacanta (Mpu Bharadah) that this was the sacred manuscript [pustaka] of Calon Arang. Sang Mahamuni [Mpu Bharadah] then took hold of the manuscript which contained knowledge [sastra] of the means of obtaining transcendent powers [kayogyan]. It was indeed concerned with the attainment of great sakti [kasiddhyan]. The pustaka contained the ultimate knowledge of agama. However, these had been used towards other objectives by the Calon Arang, namely magic of the 'left-hand path' [pangiwa] to destruction [dady ангиwa mareng gělěh] (Calon Arang, Verse V:24-34, Poerbatjaraka [1926:126]).
3. In deference to the preferences of the host culture I deliberately refrain from presenting a panestian or pangiwa teaching in complete (and therefore powerful) form. A better understanding than has been available until now can be achieved even without doing so. As already mentioned (Chapter 2[i]), some Balinese express concern regarding the usurping and indiscriminate dissemination of this kind of knowledge.

4. Blang = dappled; ureng = dizzy; ula = snake; cambra berag = thin dog; jaran = horse; guyang = rolling on the ground. The fuller significance of these names becomes apparent in my analysis of trance exorcistic dance in Chapter 12.
5. Connor (1982a:252) proposes that 'sorcery is conceived as a means of acting upon the envy that institutionalized relations of inequality generate'. I would argue that envy generates more in personal relationships than in class conflict. Witches and sorcerers arise among all ranks of all classes as do their victims. Acts of bewitchment do not generally occur between unequals.
6. I observed that the educated, upwardly mobile Balinese women experience some anxiety related to their distinctiveness and deviation from a cultural norm. Anyone who becomes conspicuous by excellence, ambition or achievement makes a display of individuality which may arouse envy.
7. There is supposed to have been a 'witch-hunt' of some magnitude on Bali after the attempted coup and massacres of 1965. These claims I have only heard from Western observers. No Balinese is willing to be drawn into a discussion of any aspect of the notorious Gestapu Affair or its aftermath.
8. The fact that new-born babies and infants are the most susceptible of all to witch affliction should play havoc with psychosociological theories of witchcraft. It does not; the item is not often mentioned.
9. Alternative interpretations pertaining to woman's role and status and sexual imagery in witch representations are offered in the following chapter as well as in Chapter 11[ii].

Chapter 9

The Mystique of Woman and the Pre-eminence of Female Deities

Woman is, to primitive reflection, one of the basic mysteries of nature. In her, life originates. . . . She is the Great Mother, the symbol as well as the instrument of life.

Susanne Langer *Philosophy in a New Key* 1942:191

Asian cultures are purported to define the female role as inferior (see, for example, Obeyesekere 1960:102-2). The Western academic construction of women in traditional societies as the credulous victims of dominant husbands and male relatives reflects Western intellectual concerns of our time. An observed high frequency of possession affliction amongst lower class women led to the afflictions themselves being defined as deprivation cults and interpreted as vehicles through which women protest low status and manipulate the dominating sex (see Lewis 1971:31). The numerous restrictions and prescriptions pertaining to pregnancy and parturition are mounted as evidence of a male conspiracy to control women. Social distress and deprivation, inferior coping ability and sexual frustration are supposed to predispose women to the kinds of functional neuroses also supposed to be rife among women in Freud's Europe (see Lewis 1966; 1976; Obeyesekere 1977). Some of these formulations positing the subjugation of woman and implying women's wretched ineffectiveness in society. I have already questioned and disputed. The matter warrants restatement. If deprivation is an issue, then the enervating and debilitating effects of physical deprivation, repeated pregnancies, miscarriages, birth trauma and puerperal sepsis are as salient as purported sexual deprivation or psychosociologically based repression.

In the case of Bali, the sociological formulation of female inferiority is not tenable. Through an investigation of the Balinese concept of *sebel* (inadequately translated as 'ritual pollution') and its connotations, I draw attention to woman as a symbol of life and as an instrument of it, to the preponderance and prerogatives of woman and to the powers inherent in and associated with 'being *sebel*', a state with which women have closer and more frequent affiliations. Here, I argue not so much against the above-mentioned construction of women in traditional societies as against the postulated powerlessness of women. But first, let us look again at a pre-eminent deity in the Balinese magico-medical system, the all-encompassing Durga. The precedence of female deities is conspicuous in this system.

Similar to the Indian Tantric representation of Durga as Kali, the Balinese version of Durga is cast in Tantric form, paradoxical and gruesome. The Goddess is iconographically represented with an elongated protruding tongue, dripping blood and draped with entrails and 'devouring' babies. She is a denizen of the graveyard. She expresses what Zimmer (1941:215) has described as 'the implications of the Hegelian dialectic'.



Pura Mrajapati, banjar Madura, Sanur

Statues (left to right):
Sang Kalika, Bhatari Jatu Tunggai, Sang Suratma

She expresses the realities of life; nature bestowing life, sustaining it and stealing and devouring it again. Death and disease are the terms of birth. Durga-Kali is the horrific aspect of Uma-Parvati. Durga is an aspect of the Two-in-One principle, life-bearing and life-extinguishing, life-nourishing and life-draining. Durga is fearsome and annihilating, but only relatively so. Destruction is part of the transformation which makes renewal and life possible. Because she is Ratu Desti (The Controller of Virulence-Inducing Magic) and Ratu Leyak, she is able to overpower all other destructive forces. The Balinese Durga is a symbol and a symbolic transformation, and another instance of the rwa bhineda philosophical doctrine. There is no unequivocally benign, immaculate virgin figure of Roman Catholicism here. Durga is above all a figure and a symbol of power.

Durga as an embodiment of divine cosmic energy, in the form of serpent or supreme power in the human body, a Tantric concept termed Devi-Kundalini or Kundalini-Sakti, is also known on Bali. A form of Kundalini yoga, a practice of the 'right-hand path' of Tantric tradition conceived Durga (as Devi) as a coiled serpent at rest at the base of the spine. This manifestation of Durga power is invoked in the context of community healing rites discussed in Chapter 11[iv].

While the gods of the Hindu trinity, Brahma, Wisnu and Siwa, are each associated with one temple (the pura bale agung, pura puseh and pura dalem respectively), Durga is associated with three kinds of temples, pura dalem, pura kahyangan and pura mrajapati or pamuunan. In Pura Mrajapati in banjar Madura in the village of Sanur, there are three Durga-like statues aligned together. According to information elicited regarding these statues, the first represents Durga as Bhatari Jatu Tunggal whose task it is to regulate, from the graveyard, the 'going' or 'exit' and the 'coming' or 'entrance' (death and life) of mankind. The second represents Sang Kalika (a follower of Durga/Rangda) whose task is to take care of the souls of the dead. The third statue represents Sang Suratma who has the task of noting and counting the number of dead. Those taking corpses to the graveyard must stop at the temple to report the death to these temple guardians. The statues are of the bharawi nature, corpulent, bulging eyes and fanged. Two have large breasts. The third has a conspicuously swollen lower abdomen suggestive of full term gestation. The balian informant from whom the names and tasks assigned the three statues was obtained also gave the meaning of the Balinese Durga concept consistent with the Sanskrit meaning. Dur-, he explained meant 'departing' and -ga meant 'arriving', for Durga signified death and life. The two-in-one, destructive-creative, devouring-protecting nature of the goddess is a significant aspect of the symbology of the Goddess of Death in Bali. 'That, beyond which there is nothing, is Durga' (Devi Upanishad V 27-8 quoted by Kumar 1974:22).

Is the primacy accorded the Balinese Durga tantamount to a form of Saktism, the worship of the Female Principle of (Sakti) as known in India? The origin of the sakti cult is shrouded in mystery in India also, according to Kumar (1974:v). There, the term sakti refers to the creative powers of female deities and means power. Goddesses activate or actualize the powers of gods. In specific regions and periods of Indian history, worship of sakti or female deities is thought to have surpassed that of male deities (Kumar 1974:vi). According to Bhārāti (1970:205), an indigenous powerful feminism gradually encroached upon the Vedic



Durga in Pura Dalem

doctrines of Aryan invaders reasserting the supremacy of female deities. Besides this resurgence of perceptions and orientations in the indigenous substratum, Saraf (1974:140) states that the idea of female precedence is present in a seminal form in references in the Vedas and Upanishads.

One may ponder the extent to which the primacy of the goddess Durga evident in Balinese thought and ritual implies an Indian origin and a parallel development. Only a systematic comparative study of saktism in the Indian context and its counterpart on Bali could provide insights into such intriguing puzzles. However, what is certain is that female deities, namely Durga and Saraswati, feature prominently in the Balinese magico-medical tradition, in cults of magic, sorcery and trance possession and in mystical manipulations of the powers of sound. Whilst Saraswati is associated with the principles, intellectual vistas and metaphysics of the magico-medical system, Durga is more intensely involved in the actions and dialectics of its metaphysics. The cultic mask of Rangda, styled upon Durga and infused with the feelings, paradoxes and imagery encapsulated in the figure of Durga, is a tangible representation of the powers and predominance of Durga. A female ancestral deity, Bhatari Pulaki also plays a prominent role in the magico-medical tradition. She is invoked by balian during mystical utterances. Shrines in many seaside temples are devoted to her and lontar and mantra are attributed to her. She is the prime power invoked in a community trance possession ritual known as Sanghyang Bungbung (discussed in Chapter 12 [iv]). Bhatari Pulaki is also a fearsome goddess. In the context of this ritual, she assumes an identity with Durga.

Durga is a composite goddess linked with both Siwa and Brahma. Fierce yet benignant, she is the awesome dynamic master of mordacity and the controller of leyak and bhuta-kala. She is creative energy, omnipotent and omniscient. Depicted in bharawi form, Durga is the ambiguous benefactress. On Bali, Durga has assumed all three roles of the divine trinity (trimurti). She is the creator, the destroyer and the protector. The Goddess Saraswati presides over knowledge, wisdom and speech.

In the context of healing and bewitchment, the worship of female deities surpasses that of male deities. In the context of medical philosophy, the abstract idea of the cosmic principle, the source of all creation and annihilation, as in India, is conceived of as female. Goddesses are the creators of the essentials of existence -- of food (rice, associated with Dewi Sri), literature (knowledge, associated with Saraswati) and disease and death (controlled by Durga).

To drift back to the matter of the Western academic industry's construction of women in tradition societies as the beduped victims of male superiority. Miller and Branson (1984), aligning themselves with this cross-cultural paradigm, assert that the Balinese notion of sebel functions to legitimate the subordination of women. Having translated the Balinese terms suci and sebel as 'pure' and 'impure', they define the concepts in terms of 'hierarchical opposites' (p.6) and reduce the connotations within the concept of sebel to easy (for us) notions of dominance and subordination. A social construction of gender through an ideological practice of unpaid labour in the domestic sphere is supposed to legitimize male political and ritual superiority by defining women as potentially dangerous thereby allowing them to be exploited and devalued in the public sphere and ensuring their subordination thus promoting male dominance.

I shall not insist that this interpretation is false. The material and analysis presented here should demonstrate that it is implausible and that issues of dominance, subordination and legitimacy are of peripheral significance. For the present, it is suggested that there is no basis for the assumption that sebel is imposed by men and controlled by them. Women certainly do not express resentment or feelings of subordination on account of restrictions placed upon them through states of sebel.

By reason of its spectacular changes, the moon is an apt feminine symbol, wrote Langer (1942:190). More volatile than the unvarying sun (a male symbol), the moon is a typical 'condensed symbol'. The paradigm within which I view Balinese women and their propensity to states of sebel here is one akin to the Hindu conceptual scheme recognized and identified by Kondos (1982:242) as an essentially processual one. Oppositions, especially hierarchical ones, are less relevant.

The Balinese differentiate and name various classes of sebel. The state of sebel generated through menstruation is named sebel gede, 'the great pollution'. Giving birth and being born induces a state of sebel named sebel panca mahabhuta (a reference to the five elements of existence). The state of sebel engendered by death within a family is named sebel sesana (obligatory pollution). Transitions -- menstruation, birth and death -- thus generate states of sebel. Furthermore, menstrual blood, the embryo, aborted foetus, the neonate and the cadaver constitute ambiguous and dangerously powerful ingredients from which disease-inducing spells can be concocted.

There are restrictions placed upon those in a state of sebel. Some of the most intense proscriptions are placed upon women, more specifically upon those of child-bearing age. Even so, what else besides male imperiousness might the need to restrain women and associated vigilance express? As we have seen thus far (more specifically in Chapter 3), the Balinese deal with ambiguities inherent in transitional states and in anomalies positively in that they define them and both avoid and actively confront them in order to protect human well-being and control the danger they are perceived to entail.

(i) The Power and the Danger of Female Pollution (Sebel Gede)

Douglas's (1966:94) interpretation of pollution in terms of disorder, powers and dangers is applicable to the Balinese notion of sebel. Douglas views pollution as 'uncontrolled power' and a 'particular class of danger' (p.98). Danger exists in transitional states, passes with time and meanwhile can be controlled by isolation and ritual. Obscure unclassifiable elements and states of being are considered polluting and are credited with ambiguous powers. By implication, transitions, transformations and interstices between categories are out of normal patterning and have a potential for indefinite and limitless patterning. It is recognized that this disorder is potentially destructive to existing patterns but it also has a potentiality and this is recognized in ritual (p.94). It is also recognized in taboos and prescriptions. Sebel, it is suggested, symbolizes both danger and power.

In Lévy-Bruhlian terms, concepts of sebel relate to the affective category of the supernatural. Anomalies and transitions confirm other

levels of existence. Sebel connotes potential bewitchment. Unlike the case of things pingit, space tenget or the kali aspect of time, the 'contagion' or danger inherent in sebel is not confined in space and time. The peril is inherently diffuse.

Apart from menstrual blood, normal exudations from the human body do not generate a state of sebel. By virtue of what Lévy-Bruhl termed participation of appurtenances, they are dangerous but only to the well-being of their owners, and only if procured by someone intent upon their bewitchment. There, they work through the principle of contagious magic. I perceive a clear distinction between physical states of defilement associated with sickness and states of sebel. There is, for one thing, no inherent ambiguous power in states of sickness nor in the excretions and abnormalities pertaining to that state. Sickness is an abnormal but not an extraordinary condition. The excreta and emissions of the sick are not imputed with powers. The spilt blood of an accident victim is a source of danger only to its owner. The anxiety is that it may be gained by someone (a leyak) to gain access to the person's life force now vulnerable to extinction and especially susceptible to bewitchment.

On the other hand, following Girard's (1977:34-7) ideas, it can be said that any form of bloodletting evokes dread. The very physical metamorphosis of shed blood -- its viscous quality as it flows and its congealed state after it has been shed -- renders it a provocative ambiguous symbol. It is logical that menstrual bleeding and the bloody process of birth (and these are perceived neither as disease nor trauma) should prompt taboos. The most intense restrictions are placed upon those involved in the processes of procreation the by-products of which are, in the local conceptual scheme, the most potent. Women straddle the zones of ambiguity and of death and life -- still-birth and live-birth, misconception and conception, miscarriage and parturition, barrenness and fecundity, menopause and menarche. But these are not to be seen as binary oppositions. Fecundity gives rise to a state of sebel through birth. Infertility gives rise to a state of sebel through menstruation. Menstrual blood is both a sign of fertility and a sign of missed conception. Women are more frequently, more regularly and more directly involved or implicated in activities which render them or others sebel and which unleash uncontrolled ambiguous powers. Through copulation, they are even the receptacles of male semen. Whether as daughters, sisters, wives, mothers or widows, women interact and participate intimately with the mystical forces and sources of ambiguous power. They are not especially in control of them. Thereby lies an added danger. But they do have access to them. Women have access to the essential and dangerously powerful afterbirth -- the placenta, the umbilical cord and associated foetal membranes (amnion and chorion) and the blood expelled from the uterus after the foetus. They also have access to the by-products of abnormal gestation -- aborted embryos and stillborn foetuses.

The special mystical and dangerous status assigned to the placenta over other components of after-birth is doubtlessly related to a universal human realization of the placenta as one of the awesome marvels of nature, the prenatal tree of life. Embedded in the uterine wall, the branching vessels of the placenta are rooted to the mother's womb, to maternal substance, like the roots of a tree. It is Banaspati Raja, the lord of the forest -- a fusion of tree and beast. Imagery using the tree archetype -- lord of the forest -- expresses the intrinsicity of the placenta in the maintenance of pregnancy and the promotion of normal embryonic development.

The placenta embodies both maternal and foetal potentialities and mysteries. Lontar (e.g., K286/5) prescribe that the placenta be placed in a special coconut shell container be given a mantra, a rarajahan and buried. A fire should also be lit over it to prevent leyak from appropriating it and thereby threatening the life of its owner.¹ When safely disposed of, it can protect the vulnerable new-born infant. A shrine should be built over the burial site or else a dadap tree should be planted over it. A placenta expelled in an abnormal manner such as during the second stage of labour together with the delivery of the baby have even greater mystical significance and can be used for magical means.

Uncontrolled ambiguous powers arise not only in the dangerous crossing of boundaries or in marginality. They also arise in transformations (maya). Women are biologically more prone to change. Like deities and demons, in fact, like all things with supernatural potentiality, woman has innate powers of transformation or faculties for 'becoming' (andadi) and for 'change' (angadakaken) through the cycle of menstruation, conception, parturition and menopause. Furthermore her potential for transformations is conspicuous. She is both the power and the danger -- creation, sustenance and destruction.

Women are objects of a greater number and more intense ascriptions of sebel because they are more innately and periodically extra-ordinary. This is partly predicated by the important Tantric element in Balinese religion and the Tantric approbation of female sexuality and fecundity. Women play dynamic roles, whether as menstruating virgins, sexual partners, the bearers of children or the source of sustenance for suckling infants.²

There is uncontrolled perilous power in states of sebel. As a harbourer of ambiguous power, a person in a state of sebel is a potential threat to natural order and community well-being. The state of sebel and the restrictions applicable to those in that state record and affirm the danger inherent in sebel-causing events and the ambiguous powers they unleash. It seems to me that the potentially dangerous mystical reproductive and maya powers of women are merely controlled or contained per se for the protection of the community as a whole. These notions are predicated by assumptions concerning the nature of the supernatural and manifestations of its presence. I see sebel restrictions, not as a matter of male efforts to dominate women or keep them subordinated, but as one of human vulnerability and even male impotence as the uncreative, 'the unfruitful animal' (Nietzsche 1977:83). Balinese men are reputed to live in fear of marrying a female who may one day aspire to learn pangiwa and use it to dominate them. They fear that their wives may study pangiwa and then teach it to their female offspring and use the male members of the family as sacrifices to Durga in exchange for knowledge.³ Woman 'mawak' (is an embodiment of) Brahma, according to an explanation of woman's affinity to pangiwa offered by one balian informant in a probable reference to her powers of procreation as well as the qualities (such as that of fire) which woman shares with Brahma.

(ii) Women as Healers, Women as Witches

Theoretically, Balinese women are not denied access to the healing profession or excluded from magico-medical literacy. The fact is, however,

relatively few women become balian. Even the practice of midwifery (balian manak) has not traditionally been the province of women on Bali. All but the spirit medium (katakson) category of balian are also almost exclusively the domain of men. As balian katakson, women's healing activities are confined and their years of practice and prominence limited. Inspirational power is generally not life-long.

There are obvious practical reasons why Balinese women are not well represented in the healing arts especially in those areas which require long periods of study and apprenticeship to a teacher. In Balinese society, a significant proportion of the domestic, religious and economic burden falls upon women. They also display competence in these matters. In the assumptions which underpin Balinese constructions of disease, there are also factors which explain why women are not encouraged and women themselves do not seek to become educated in the indigenous magico-medical literature. Illness is a supernatural event and healing is a magical art. In healing ritual, the terrible (bharawa) aspects of deities are invoked. Those who study the magico-medical literature which includes lontar on pangiwa, as well as acting as healers, can choose the more powerful 'left-hand path' from which can easily stray and become a creator par excellence of disease and calamity on a community-wide scale, as did the widow-witch in the Calon Arang legend. Women, according to Balinese experts in the field, display a predilection and greater skill in the practice of pangiwa than do men. There are witches of both sexes but tales of women's skills and prowess seem to dominate in reports. A woman can learn the skills of witchcraft 'more quickly because she menstruates', one balian explained. Women have powers and are predisposed towards adopting more oblique mystical means of doing things.

A legend related to me by a balian goes as follows:

It is told that the Bhatara Nawa Sanga met to discuss the plenitude of the world [Bali] with the sun, the stars, the moon, food, animals and so forth. While the meeting was in progress, Durga, who was at the time menstruating, joined the company of the deities. Her menstrual blood dripped to the ground in front of them causing great consternation among them. She was then cursed to become a human being and was sent to earth. There, Durga had the pura dalem and pura kahyangan built for herself. In her human manifestation, Durga is named Ratu Waluh [Royal Widow]. She is also referred to, under these circumstances, as Matah Gede, an expression used to signify a female royal personage with great sakti. In this manifestation Durga has many followers, that is, sisia durga.

By virtue of inherent prepotent biological capacities -- menstruation, conception, pregnancy and child-birth -- are women perceived to have immanent access to the magically powerful and dangerous by-products of these processes? Are women then tacitly excluded from access to certain textual knowledge because they are biologically more prone to states of pollution (through the shedding of blood) which unleash fearful dangerous power which can expediate transition to the practice of witchcraft and sorcery of the highest order, or do they themselves fear and shun access to powerful knowledge for the same reason?

The only female balian usada in Sanur had been renounced by her padanda father and was ostracized by her family. Several explanations

exist as to the reason for the estrangement. Some said it was because the woman married below her caste. All three of her lower caste husbands are since deceased; predictably, there are murmurings of 'uug uli samping' (one of the many euphemisms for bewitchment referred to in Chapter 2[i]). There are other stories of how she attempted to use her knowledge of pangiwa to make her father ill.

As the woman herself tells it, as a child she displayed a natural aptitude for learning, and developed an outstanding ability to read and understand the variety of categories of literature in her father's vast collection of lontar. She became a padanda istri. When, however, she expressed an interest in studying the magico-medical lontar her father discouraged this. Notwithstanding his disapproval, she went ahead and became proficient in these lontar also. The father and family expressed their disapprobation by disclaiming kinship afflictions with her. She expressed neither animosity towards her father nor bitter resentment concerning the objections and denunciation of her decision to study magico-medical lontar. She spoke highly of her father's intellectual virtues and acknowledged his sakti. So far as exhortations against women studying these particular lontar were concerned, she spoke objectively about this in terms of women's mystical pre-eminence and her own special status.⁴ Notions of repression, she did not express. She tells that although she is a padanda she may not use the title Padanda Istri because she is no longer a brahmana (having married below her caste to an Anak Agung). Instead she has the title Ratu Istri Rsi.

This demoted brahmana woman claims to have translated many lontar for the Parisada Hindu Dharma organization and for the arts faculty of the local university. Though renowned as a scholar of traditional literature, her illiteracy in Latin script has prevented her from gaining official recognition for her work, it appears. Some of those she once taught have now earned the title of professor, I was told. With persistent and gracious good-humour she said that her skills had merely earned for her the title, 'the mobile lontar' (rontal majalan), an allusion to the depth of her knowledge. That she had herself been unable to own many of the lontar of which she had such a depth of knowledge was something about which she did express a degree of exasperation. She had no hope of inheriting any of those in her father's collection due to the estrangement (besides which private collections of this type have been eroded and continue to be eroded by the impact of the zeal religious and academic institutions have in acquiring lontar). At the time I interviewed the woman, she was no longer able to read owing to failing eyesight, and sadly, she did not seem to have at her disposal any means of facilitating medical help which might have relieved her distress, for she requested that I send her some spectacles from Australia when I returned there.

The presence of this woman was not made known to me through official channels or through the village grapevine. I happened to learn about her from a resident expatriate. Was there a conspiracy of silence here similar to a conspiracy of disinformation concerning the brahmana balian, Ida Lod (discussed in Chapter 6[ii])? I dare say, newly-emerging ethical prescriptions related to aspirations toward national modern identity and an ecumenical religious outlook, which first of all equates witchcraft and sorcery with primitive superstition and then seek to de-emphasize the phenomena themselves, contribute to the low profile which both of these persons were given. This demoted brahmana balian usada is

reputed to have been, in her earlier years, one of the most powerful practitioners of the pangiwa in the history of Sanur. By inference, she seems to have strayed off the path of using pangiwa knowledge for personal transcendence and to have practised potent harmful pangiwa skills.

There are cognitive factors in the epistemological presuppositions concerning the nature of the supernatural and conceptions of disease aetiology as well as the foci of illness itself which contribute to the frequency of witchcraft suspicions being directed principally toward women. The Balinese construction of disease imputes illnesses to supernatural causation and attributes the agency of disease and mechanisms through which disease is caused to unmanifest ambiguous powers inherent in certain by-products to which women in states of sebel have access. Women's biological make-up allows them an aptitude to acquire transformations and affords them access to witch material. Their domestic role allows them a greater opportunity to perpetrate it.

My argument here has been largely inspired by Kapferer's (1983) idea of women's centrality in the household and neighbourhood. Women, Kapferer argues, express the 'fragility of the cultural order' (p.110). Eschewing functionalist sociological and psychodynamic arguments and interpretations, Kapferer offers a convincing explanation as to why women are especially vulnerable to demonic possession afflictions. Through their centrality in the nature/culture dialectic, women are the 'linch pins of culture' (p.108). As a function of their symbolic identity and their 'cultural typification' (p.92), which places them in a special and significant relation to the demonic, they are 'highly vulnerable to demonic attack and sensitive to disorders in their domain of influence' (p.110). This is a common-sense cultural understanding. I apply Kapferer's idea to women's vulnerability to witch suspicions hopefully without distorting the sense of his argument.

In the Balinese context, women are indeed in an invidious position in marital and domestic conflicts instigated through husbands' taking of second wives, having mistresses, by indebtedness, inheritance and land disputes, in-law tensions and perturbation triggered by sickness and death within a family. Through their centrality in the nature/culture dialectic, referred to by Kapferer, women also operate in, indeed dominate the realm of illness and death; they are the linch pins of and they express the fragility of the bio-cultural order. Like the numerous bhuta-kala and leyak, illness and death are domestic and principally household affairs and problems.

The position of women in Balinese society is problematic. They do occupy positions of authority and status. They have autonomy in the ritual and economic spheres. Yet they are also primarily oriented to the essential domestic sphere and matters and their own essentialness -- the survival of the family or of a lineage. They play key roles in production, sustenance, maintenance and protection of the family unit and in reproduction. Their social ties are often confined to their kin and neighbours. Their primary responsibility lies in the household. This is also the realm of sickness and death. Women also operate in the market place where food is handled, in the home where they handle food and where it is consumed by the family and in warung where they prepare food and sell it to a predominantly local clientele. Food-poisoning and illnesses caused through the ingestion of infected food and water are among the most common forms of morbidity and they are generally imputed to be witch-induced.

A man is entitled to take more than one wife and may therefore have wives and children spanning several decades. The death of a wife does not leave a husband in a marginal position. Women, on the other hand, are not entitled to more than one husband. No matter how young they may be at the time of a husband's death, they infrequently re-marry. Widowhood thus leaves a woman in a more peripheral position than it does a man, whether or not she is beyond active sexuality and the reproductive stage of life. A woman can be without a husband and dependent children at a relatively younger age and for a longer period of life than a man. Widows then can be highly ambiguous and doubly so. They are marginal to the rest of society. They participate with the powers of pollution occasioned by both death and their continuing menstruation. Given the early marriage age, many women can have grandchildren by the time they are in their early forties.

These factors, it is suggested, contribute to the inevitability of women becoming the suspected perpetrators of witchcraft. Simply, they are there. Women, by reason of their higher life expectancy rates and their lower age, generally outlive their husbands.⁵ Having sustained the hazards of infancy, pregnancy and childbirth, women do have a longer life expectancy than men. Frequently, wives are a decade or so younger than their husbands. Through their life-style and exposure to environmental and occupational health hazards, men (their husbands, fathers, sons and brothers) are more vulnerable to such forms of morbidity as venereal diseases, tuberculosis, tetanus, parasitic infections. Children (their offspring) are also prone to high morbidity rates. Their own children and their children's children will in all probability experience more frequent and more severe sickness episodes than they themselves at this stage of life. As well as outliving their husband, they will (given the trend in infant mortality) outlive a number of their offspring. Women, as wives, as widows and as grandmothers, are available as targets of suspicions and covert accusations of having bewitched their husbands, children, step-children and grandchildren and of having brought about their deaths.⁶

In short, women play the vital role in the domestic sphere, the one in which the most persistent intense conflicts and tensions are played out and in which acute and chronic illnesses have their impact. Women are 'on the scene' and are the logical targets of witch suspicions. They have mystical powers, the opportunities and circumstantiality. Women are not generally suspected of being instrumental in such things as crop failure or accidents which occur away from the home and the hearth.

A study of the Balinese magico-medical system exposes significant social problems. Many of the domestic problems over which clients consult balian arise from social norms; men tend to take second wives and produce progeny which contribute to additional domestic conflict and inheritance disputes. When women take lovers, ensuing problems remain largely their own. The difficulties of affinal relationships in a patriarchal virilocal society, the practice of polygyny, the status of plural wives and status rivalry between siblings and half-siblings provide ample scope for domestic tensions and numerous possibilities concerning perpetrators of witchcraft when illnesses occur. Husbands who gamble, do not work, incur debts, take second wives, who 'are ensnared' (katimpa guna-guna) by fortune-seeking (generally 'Javanese prostitutes', according to the wronged parties) and who neglect parental responsibilities and dissipate wealth, initiate many of these social problems. Women, on the other hand, present

as the force of stability in the marriage, the family and the economy. Interestingly, a commonly-mentioned type of lower-level leyak activity (see Chapter 8[i]) is that of a wife who purchases a spell from a balian which will bring a wayward husband into line and make him afraid of her.⁷

Two anecdotal case studies serve to illustrate the circumstances in which witchcraft suspicions arise in relationships subject to tensions and the sequence of medical and non-medical events involved in the creation and resolution of domestic crises:

1. Witch-Induced Paralysis: I first saw Wayan on November 10, 1981. She had been an in-patient in the household of the balian usada for three weeks and at that time she was walking with the aid of crutches. It appeared that she had been ill for three months. Initially she suffered from lethargy, dizziness and an inability to stay awake for long periods. Her legs grew progressively weaker and finally she was unable to move her body from the waist down. She had been treated by a Western-type doctor following which there was some improvement, then a relapse. When she was brought to the home of the balian she was unable to walk and was suffering severe pain in her hips.

Wayan's younger sister stayed with her most of the time to help look after her and to collect and prepare the various medicinal herbs prescribed by the balian. Each day she was taken to the beach to wade in the water and to have her legs buried in the sand for a period of time. She was also taken to the doctor each week for an 'injection to help her maintain her physical strength'.

Wayan's main symptom, paralysis (rumpuh), was diagnosed as a manifestation of babainan, a witch-induced affliction (see Chapter 7). The balian, the father and Wayan herself interpreted the illness in this way. The balian claimed to know who had bewitched (ngaleyakin) Wayan but would not reveal the name of the person because he did not wish to 'make trouble' (ngae uug). Wayan herself volunteered the information to me that she knew it was her step-mother who had made her ill. Her father, she explained, had taken a second wife two years earlier. Her own mother suffered frequent bouts of illness, also induced by witchcraft, Wayan stated. The step-mother, according to Wayan, 'hated' her and as the eldest of the six children of the first marriage, she had become the target of the woman's wrath, along with her mother. I had the distinct impression that Wayan felt that the step-mother would cause some kind of affliction upon each of her younger siblings in turn. Given the high incidence of morbidity among the Balinese, it seemed clear at the time that the imputed woman-witch would become the target of many more suspicions and accusations within the years to come.

Three months after I first saw her, Wayan was being prepared for her return to her own home. She could by then walk slowly without the aid of crutches. She expressed some

anxiety about her imminent discharge from the balian's care, for she felt that her step-mother would surely bewitch her anew. Before going home she was to be given a protective sabuk. However, a few weeks after this conversation I heard on the gossip grapevine which typically operates among clients, neighbours and family around the hub of balian activity that Wayan's father and his second wife had separated. The step-mother was pregnant with her second child which Wayan's father did not believe was fathered by him.

The second case does not actually even involve illness directly. It merely offers interesting insights into the dynamics operating in situations when men become besotted and balian direct their magical expertise to reversing what is perceived as bewitchment by the object of the infatuation.

2. Bewitched and Besotted: (21/10/81). The client in this case was a twenty-two year old university student accompanied by a male fellow student. She was consulting a balian usada on behalf of her parents, more particularly, her wayward father. As she perceived the problem, her forty-six year old father had been afflicted with guna-guna (a form of infatuation or love bewitchment). It appeared that her father was involved with a Javanese woman as a result of which he was neglecting his wife, children and mother by staying away from home for prolonged periods of time. When he did return he was generally unwell and in a state of near stupor. The previous night, the father had announced to the family that he intended to take a second wife, namely the Javanese woman friend. The family were convinced that this woman was a prostitute, a fortune-hunter and a bewitcher of the besotted man.

Having listened to the client's story, the balian asked a few questions about the state of the houseyard, the temples and the family's adherence to various ritual prescriptions and proscriptions. These all seemed to be in order. Then he asked the names of the father and the new wife-to-be. These, he wrote in Balinese script on to a piece of paper (torn out of an old exercise book); the father's name on the right and the woman's name on the left. On another sheet of paper he wrote the father's name and the mother's name. He took the pieces of paper into his tongos ngastiti where he sprinkled them with holy water and flowers and then uttered a mantra over them. The client was instructed to return home with the papers and when crossing a bridge to take the paper with the father's and the woman's names on it and tear it in halves, thereby separating the names. The woman friend's name was to be thrown into the river below the bridge. The other piece of paper with the names of the father and mother were to be burned and the ashes placed in the father's coffee. The daughter was also told to make special offerings in the sanggah for three days. If this did not work she was to come back in a week.

Apparently it didn't. I next saw the same client at the home of the balian usada consulted in the above case on the same day as I first met Wayan. As commonly happens, the

daughter had decided to consult him because he was a known expert in these matters. He diagnosed that the father had been afflicted with a particularly potent form of Islamic guna-guna. He gave the daughter a small jar of oily substance to put in the father's coffee and a rarajahan to place above his bed. For her own protection, the daughter received a blessing with holy water and a mantra.

Between this and a third consultation the client had apparently returned for some more oil for the father's coffee, at which time she had been instructed to bring along a twin banana. Treatment was now to be directed toward the mother to help her to remain calm and patient. The balian drew a rarajahan on a piece of paper, sliced the banana and placed slivers of gold and copper on the pieces and then uttered a mantra over both the rarajahan which was to be burned and placed in the mother's coffee and the banana slices which were to be given to her to eat.

At a later consultation, the balian instructed the client to bring along a garment belonging to the second wife (the marriage had taken place) which was stained with her menstrual blood. Together with a rarajahan, this was to be burned and the ashes were to be placed in the father's coffee. About this time, the father suffered an abdominal illness (coincidental to all that extraneous material in his coffee, we must assume) and had himself consulted a balian who diagnosed an illness made by Islamic magic. Allegedly, having relieved the father of some of his wealth, the Javanese woman had worked some disease-inducing magic against him and then returned to Java. The family were advised to make a number of offerings (of the pacaru variety) to secure their living space from other intrusions, being as they were in such a vulnerable state. They were also advised to have a long since deceased grandfather cremated as soon as possible.

These cases obviously offer data worthy of more far-ranging sociological analysis than can be attempted within the frame of reference here. While they are by no means typical of the range of problems in which accusation of witch activity among women arise, they do point to the social structural position of the second wife as a 'logical' target for witch suspicions and to the problems which the practice of polygyny incites in terms of domestic conflict.

To return to the primary contention being put forward in this chapter, I maintain that to assert that women either resort to witchcraft or are accused of bewitching because they are the powerless subjugated (by men) sex is too narrow a perspective. First, it denies the prepotency of witch phenomena in local epistemology and second it ignores the real substantive problems which engender witch ideas. A further understanding of the thought and system of knowledge informing the concept of sebel and women's special affinity with it might be gained through exploring the interrelationship of sebel and other conceptions of magic.

(iii) Double Peril: The Confluence of Circumstances Sebel and Sakti

Menstruating women should not come within the presence of padanda, pamangku or balian status and function of these priests connote sakti. Menstruating and post-partum women should not enter pura. Human corpses and bones should not be placed within a pura complex. The act of sexual intercourse within a pura exposes the entire community to danger (HKS2243). There is a heightened danger in the coalescence of two sources of ambiguous power inherent in such circumstances as death and life, menstrual and post-partum blood or sexual intercourse in the tenget space of a pura (see Chapter 3[iv]).

The ideology of sebel and sakti as well as related conceptual configurations -- tenget, kala ala-ayu, pingit and panes -- are closely interrelated. Sebel-producing events generate similar anxieties concerning the potential danger in ambiguous uncontrolled powers and circumstances. In the context of the transitions and transformations which existence dictates, birth, giving birth and being born, death and contact with a fresh corpse and the dying, place those directly involved as well as those tied to existences other than their own by virtue of the datum of participation, in jeopardy. Death, birth and, I suspect, sexual intercourse by virtue of the potential for procreation, situate the participants between categories, temporarily out of normal patterning, a position fraught with consequences. As previously argued (Chapter 3), birth is not viewed as an auspicious event and death bears more than simply the stigma of an inauspicious event. I do not perceive a purity (suci) -- pollution (sebel) antithesis or binary opposition of a sacred-profane or culture-nature type operative in the concept and locations of sebel phenomena. The contexts and circumstances applying to states of sebel do not indicate that being sebel is consequent upon a purity ideal.

It makes sense to interpret sebel restrictions and circumspection through reference to Douglas's formulation of pollution as a particular class of danger. Leach's (1972:49-50) emphasis upon the powers of pollution is also salient in respect to sebel configurations.⁸ It is not simply that certain exudations and states of putrescence are impure or polluting. They are powerful. The avoidance of confounding the dangers and powers concomitant with states of sebel with those inherent in the tenget space or pingit events is a strategy of circumventing a class of powers or a double peril. It is a matter of degrees of ambiguity and the wider community in peril.

Disquiet concerning the confluence of two forces of ambiguous nature is apparent in restrictions applying to women. In some villages in Bali it is taboo for women to visit graveyards. Visiting a compound where there is a newborn baby (under 42 days if a first-born and under 12 days otherwise) renders a person sebel for 24 hours (Mead 1979:164-5). Women may not wear sakti masks or dance the roles of the Rangda or Barong because they 'are often sebel'. Women in a state of sebel panca mahabhuta may not take part in the washing of a corpse.

Within my postulation of sebel and sakti as double peril there is a simple logic in this restriction. Participation with a sebel event, a sakti person or object such as a mask and intrusion into tenget space of temples or graveyards within a limited span of time, are avoided. The restraint on women in a state of sebel panca mahabhuta taking part in the washing of a corpse guarantees a similar avoidance of a double peril.

Natural happenings — menstruation, birth, death — yet not abnormal ones like sickness render people in a state of sebel. However un-natural birth and un-natural death renders all concerned (through the datum of intimate participation) highly sebel and also brings the community into peril. The birth of twins of the opposite sex is un-natural birth, and like freak births, renders the whole village sebel for 42 days. My double peril explanatory paradigm helps to uncover meaning here also. The position of the unborn and newly-born is ambiguous. It is both highly vulnerable and dangerous. Twins are even more vulnerable and twins of opposite sex, like stillborns, break patterns and categories and belong even more obscurely to an unclassifiable category. Un-natural death also constitutes a double peril. Anecdotal literary references to un-natural death provide a reference point from which to interpret attitudes to corpses, their imputed dangerous potency and the ritual handling, and in some cases, dismemberment of them.

In the *Puputan Badung* (Sargah VI:11-7), an Anak Agung is stabbed to death by an Ida Bagus who is his favourite retainer. The assassin is alleged to have been bribed by the Dutch to carry out this act. In the turmoil within the puri which followed the assassination, the Ida Bagus is pursued through the puri, captured, abused, ridiculed and beaten to death with sharpened bamboo sticks. Finally, his corpse is taken to the crossroads and cut up into tiny pieces.

A similar fate befalls a would-be assassin of a raja in the *Babad Arya Tabanan*. Mershon (1972:221-227) tells of the fate in death of a powerful balian named Ni Badri who was suspected of practising witchcraft. Following her mysterious death, she was immediately cremated so that all of her corporeal remains were obliterated. Although an anak jaba, she was given a cremation cask in the form of a bull, normally a prerogative of the brahmana caste. The objective was that as Siwa's mount, the bull (nandi) would exert its strength to release Ni Badri from earthly ties.

The dangerous potency associated with death emanates from the corpse. It remains a source of ambiguous power and peril until the process of physiological decomposition is complete. Bateson and Mead (1942:243) observed that the degree of intensity in the removal from the graveyard and ritual carrying of the corpse (ngarap bangka)⁹ to the cremation ground increased with the newness or freshness of the corpse. The intensity of ritual dismemberment of a corpse such as we see in the above anecdotes is also likely to increase with the degree of ambiguous danger associated with the corpses of persons who perpetrated vile deeds and themselves met violent un-natural death. They are highly sebel. The objective of the violence and the upgrading is to sever the connection the deceased have through their corporeal remains with the vulnerable living and to nullify the uncontrolled ambiguous powers inherent in a fresh corpse. Ritual violation of the corpse hastens disintegration and decomposition.

Endicott (1970:66-73) interprets cognate Malay funerary rites and the disposal of the corpses of those whose death and transition to another state of being do not follow predictable patterning along these lines. People who meet violent deaths are a source of potential peril. Parts of their body are liable to be procured for the purpose for concocting virulent spells. In 'normal' death and 'normal' living and dying there is time for the soul to make a smooth transition from the state of living

to that of death. Those whose deaths incite violent ngarap are liable to be those who have, in their lifetime or through their death, inspired both fear and awe. Many are likely to have been ascribed with sakti. Their corpses continue to arouse fear and awe. Ceremonies performed on corpses following 'normal' death aim gradually to sever the ambiguous connection the corpse maintains with the living. The ritual 'cutting off' (mapegat) is still necessary but there is no imperative to hasten it and immobilize the corpse. Cremation returns all elements (panca mahabhuta) to their origins. Ni Bhadri's immediate cremation ensured final dissolution.

The carrying of a corpse, especially a not-yet-decomposed one, from the graveyard to the cremation ground constitutes another of those doubly dangerous and ambiguously powerful events in which Balinese, given their philosophical presuppositions, have no option but to participate. People who, by the very circumstances of their involvement with the deceased, are sebel, are handling the source of their 'sebelness' and they are doing so in space which is tenget. Almost everything associated with a graveyard is magically powerful. The space is tenget as are the plants and trees which commonly grow there. The cadavers laid to decompose there are material from which spells can be made. Those who dare to linger there are sakti. Rituals enacted there are pingit. But it is also the place where reversals are worked and decomposition and dissolution are possible.

There are other instances of ritual proscriptions related to sebel predicated to avoid the coalescence of double ambiguity and danger. Corpses, for instance, are not taken to the graveyards at magically powerful times like kajeng-kliwon. Birth and death at this time also constitutes a doubly perilous event. The act of reading lontar is fraught with danger. In the Saraswati texts there are mantra specified for utterance before commencing to read them. Women should not handle or read lontar whilst menstruating or during the forty-two days following child-birth. Balian usada store their lontar and other sakti objects in space (their tongos ngastiti) designated for this purpose. Menstruating women may not enter there. A balian usada who also uses his tongos ngastiti as a sleeping area explained that since his wife had reached menopause and both of them were old and no longer sexually active their sleeping there presented no danger. From these examples one might conclude that an interaction or even contact between two uncontrolled ambiguously powerful domains constitutes a double hazard better avoided.

There are also categories of animals which may not be offered in sacrifice (yadnya) in pura. These include snakes, frogs, insects and animals which fly in the air. The common characteristic and defining attributes are that such animals can be seen to have powers of transformation or transition which place them within the dangerously powerful class of things ambiguous. Snakes shed their skin, frogs transmute, as do insects. Birds are transitional in having powers of flight as well as being bipedal. Like birds, amphibious creatures also transgress boundaries.

Those who are in a state of sebel should not attempt to participate in trance exorcistic dances. On the rare occasions when trance dancers sustain injury from kris during the ngurek (ritually simulated self-stabbing), it is frequently because they are in a state of sebel (a fact they might have overlooked) and should not even be in the pura in the first place.

Furthermore the spilling of their blood in that tenget space then endangers the whole community gathered there. This could explain one of those 'disturbing' items of curiosity in the literature on Bali, namely people sucking up the blood of a trancer who has drawn blood during ngurek (see Belo 1960:150). The action could be intended to avoid the dangerous spilling of human blood in the pura by ridding the space of it quickly. An interpretation of the meaning of the dance itself is presented in Chapter 12[ii].

Here, I have attempted to demonstrate the way in which the concept of sebel interpenetrates with feminine symbolism in that they share the quality of transitoriness which induce states fraught with consequences. In juxtaposing states of sebel and the mystique of woman I have undermined the notion of a purity-pollution ideal and emphasized the powers and the perils of transformations. Exploring these linkages can help us to follow other patterns of thought and action as well as the problems and dilemmas embodied within them.

Douglas's (1966:29) condemnation of suggestions that rituals of pollution could have a latent hygienic basis as a kind of prosaic medical materialism notwithstanding, I do propose that they are directed by practical observations and tacit knowledge. They might well have some adaptive value besides. The confinement of the new-born, parturient women and those in closest contact with the deceased have undeniable value in terms of protecting the susceptible and preventing the spread of contagious disease. It is not argued that sebel is no more than a kind of quarantine designed to reduce danger to public health through contagion. For one thing, death pollution (sebel sasana) works even without physical proximity or contact of the kin with the deceased. It is a part of the datum of participation mentioned earlier. Pregnancy and post-parturition taboos, it is suggested, reflect pragmatic and transcendental concerns of both sexes -- producing viable offspring without which the cycle of rebirth and hence final release is not possible.

My conclusion is that there are powers in sebel and these are primarily a woman's responsibility. In other modes of reflection where ways of knowing are informed predominantly by natural symbolism, woman is, as Langer observed, perceived as the symbol as well as the instrument of life. Men are in awe of the innate powers that the processes and transitions in which women are intimately involved, generate. Women are themselves apprehensive of potential perils and the magical use to which by-products of states of sebel can be put.

All of this has relatively little to do with an ideological construction of gender aimed to keep woman in a position of subordination and to render her exploitable. Sexual inequality is a fact based primarily on the fact of differences. It is not, I believe, an explanatory fact in itself. The unique status of woman, her biological and social structural position in the most significant social unit, the family, might constitute a basis for an explanatory paradigm.¹⁰ I am suggesting intricate links between biological factors, socio-cultural life-style hazards and philosophical presuppositions concerning the nature and the role of the supernatural. These factors inform notions of sebel and woman's special affinity with ambiguous mystical powers.

Notes - Chapter 9

1. The distress of sick babies crying at night is attributed to the presence of leyak who are attempting to 'steal' the buried placenta, the possession of which facilitates seizure of its owner's soul (life). Their influence can work by the principle of the law of contagion. A leyak may inflict harm upon the newborn through acquiring access to the placenta with which the baby continues to have a mystical participation. The threat is most imminent at the moment of birth. It is, one may say, inherent in the process: 'At the moment of birth I Leyak Gundul emerges' according to the Kanda Pat Rare lontar. The Kanda Mpat philosophical doctrine (outlined in Chapter 4[i]) is the reference point and context of these matters.
2. Allen (1982:1-20) also sees these states, women's sexuality and transformations peculiar to women as powerful dynamic roles. However, in the Indian context, he sees them as being in need of male control. In the Balinese context, I see them as simply being in need of control.
3. See Weck 1937, p.195, 203 on this point.
4. I remembered that a balian informant had told me that a most potent babai spell could be made from the menstrual blood or from an aborted foetus of a padanda istri.
5. The life expectancy at birth (that is, the number of years an Indonesian may expect to live when born) is 48.7 years for males and 51.3 for females (Population Facts at Hand, United Nations Fund for Population Activities, 1980).
6. Leyak are most frequently imputed responsible for infectious diseases which tend to spread within a family and those which can display a familial pattern.

A single houseyard may hold two to three families. The houseyards of high Triwangsa caste groups may contain up to twenty households. One brahmana houseyard encountered by Geertz and Geertz (1975:48), for instance, had over forty-five nuclear families.
7. Technically such a person should not qualify to be called a leyak at all. (In Western society she may be designated a bitch rather than a witch.) Although since some magical activity on the part of the purchaser is necessary to activate the spell, she could be on the way to becoming a leyak.
8. I acknowledge the anomaly inherent in my borrowing of the ideas postulated through structuralist methods used by Douglas and Leach whilst not following their basic approach.
9. Connor (1979:104) interprets ngarap bangka, which she translates as 'corpse abuse' as a 'cultural mediation of aggression'. I suggest that this interpretation rests upon Western explanatory schemata and ignores local concepts like sebel as well as the whole Tantric element in Balinese ritual practices in general and death and graveyard practices in particular. It is, of course, possible that some may avail themselves of the opportunity to express hostility.

10. Crouch (1985:101) has noted similar assumptions concerning woman's fundamental links with nature and supreme importance to society in images of women in Serbian epic poetry.

PART III

STATE-COMMUNITY LEVEL OF THE MAGICO-MEDICAL SYSTEM:
BETWEEN MYTH AND MAGIC

The Balinese, not only in court rituals but generally, cast their most comprehensive ideas of the way things ultimately are, and the way that men should therefore act, into immediately apprehended sensuous symbols - into a lexicon of carvings, flowers, dances, melodies, gestures, chants, ornaments, temples, postures, and masks - rather than into discursively apprehended, ordered sets of explicit "beliefs." This means of expression makes any attempt to summarize those ideas a dubious business. As with poetry, . . . the message here is so deeply sunk in the medium that to transform it into a network of propositions is to risk at once both of the characteristic crimes of exegesis: seeing more in things than is really there, and reducing a richness of particular meaning to a drab parade of generalities.

But whatever the difficulties and dangers, the exegetical task must be undertaken if one wants to be left with more than the mere fascinated wonderment -- like a cow looking at a gamelan orchestra, as the Balinese put it. . . .

. . . Neither the precise description of objects and behaviour that is associated with traditional ethnography, nor the careful tracing of stylistic motifs that is traditional iconography, nor the delicate dissection of textual meanings that is traditional philology are in themselves enough. They must be made to converge in such a way that the concrete immediacy of enacted theatre yields the faith enclosed within it.

C. Geertz Negara 1980:103-4

Part III turns to the state and community level of the magico-medical system, to the large-scale rituals and magical exorcistic dance enactments. Even more feared and dreaded than illnesses which afflict the individual are those which strike the community as a whole and threaten seriously to decimate the population. Epidemic disease is often attributed to ritual neglect on a community and state level. Fortuitous or wilful damage or destruction of pura or sakti objects or theft of the latter are also likely to unleash pestilence on a community-wide scale. Texts list numerous examples of events or happenings which constitute threats to community well-being and presage the outbreak of epidemic illness: if a sacred image (acra) is damaged by a falling tree; if an owl hoots continuously in a puri; if dogs gather and howl throughout the night; if wasps gather and drone throughout the night sounding like people weeping; if crows screech and squawk in the evening, 'there will be no end of severe illness'. The world (jagat), that is, Bali, 'will be afflicted with dangerous diseases', Usana Bali (e.g., HKS XXII, 14) tell us.

There are portents of impending epidemics specific to happenings in griya, puri or umah (residence of anak jaba). The violation of a raja's kayangan through the impact of a falling tree, flood, earthquake, fire, the event of someone dying in it, running amok in it, people having sexual intercourse in it, the spilling of blood in it or the discovery of human bones in it, must be ritually neutralized to prevent epidemics. For all these dire events, there are mantra and caru prescribed to counteract the threat. The limitations of herbal medicines in the prevention and treatment of epidemic diseases is recognized:

It is an indication of epidemic illness when people suffer from illnesses which cause fever and shaking and death; when there are illnesses for which there is no available relief; when many die from these illnesses; when all forms of usadi are ineffective; when every household is affected (HKS XXII, 14:4a).

It is an indication that the population is beset by deadly epidemic when all of those afflicted with the disease die from it and when animals also die of the disease (HKS2243:33b).¹

The great dread pestilences, with their characteristic spectacular and frightening presentations and legacies of disfigurement and decimated populations, have been recorded and interpreted in the Balinese magico-medical tradition. Questions which interest me are why the myths and magical cults have assumed the form they have and why the complexity and extensiveness of the response. Why was it that so much creative endeavour and energy was directed toward the averting or containment of epidemic? Was the predicament of morbidity and mortality experienced by the people on the island such that the existence of the civilization itself was perceived, at times, to be threatened?

In Chapter 10, I look at sakti in the context of the power to rule and the responsibility to protect subjects and thereby the realm. I present textual evidence which offers an endorsement of Geertz's model of the 'theatre state' and his interpretation of Balinese polity. In chapter 11, I look at ritual themes or symbols, their legendary historical referents and trace their interrelationship. What are the myths behind the symbols and what is the historical, mythological and epidemiologic experience behind the myth? What is the 'absent cause' (Jameson 1981:101) which motifs and images in myth and ritual express? There are what one may

term mythic reflections of history (natural and/or political and social), and there are ritualized enactments of medical mythology. There are also what I have termed cult protective demonic deities, often represented by sakti masks. I have endeavoured to go beyond the standard explanations which posit the legitimizing and the political or social aggrandizement function of these cults, masks, rituals and myths to trace the ideas and experiences which might have informed their specific forms. Chapter 12 looks at some ethnological curiosities in Balinese arts, so-called animal and object trance exorcistic dances and some sculptural representations. I decode their semiology and seek to demonstrate the mimetic quality of these dances and representations and thereby restore their contextual logic. In chapter 13, I posit the relational significance of artistic motifs, dance form and style and morbid realities.

Chapter 10

Sakti as Power to Rule and Responsibility to Protect Human Well-Being

In semi-historical texts which relate the early history of Bali, and in prescriptive ones such as **Bhama Kretih**, a causal relationship is assumed between human welfare on the one hand and the proper enactment of rituals, the maintenance of temples, devotion to ancestral deities and the propitiation of a vast array of supernaturals on the other. It was incumbent upon the ruling raja (sang amawa rat ing Bali) to mount periodic and large-scale ceremonial spectacles, dewa-yadnya, pitra-yadnya and bhuta-yadnya, considered crucial to the well-being of subjects, to the continuous and harmonious participation with ancestral spirits and to the survival of the realm. The religious efforts of pamangku were likewise directed to such protective ends:

For you pamangku should bring offerings to the deities so that there is abundance and Bali is well-populated. Rulers and their ministers are responsible for the enactment of rituals to contain widespread illness and death [mangda angawe adoh ikang sasaba marana] (HKS1959,2:40).

Premonition as to the dire consequences -- widespread disease and death -- of a ruler's neglect of prescribed rites is explicit. This leaves little doubt as to the imputed purpose of large-scale state rituals. Neglect provokes the wrath of deities, demonic and otherwise, and causes them to withdraw protection. In times of pestilence, ritual measure (aci-aci sasab marana) must be continued (HKS2997).

If the sasayut abaya-kala agung offerings are not made during the dangerous week of dungulan by 'he who rules the world of Bali', according to a caveat in a **Usana Bali** (HKS2987:37a), the ruler will die within two years of assuming office, he will be without descendants and Bali will be depopulated for ten years. There are numerous dire predictions of the consequences of ritual neglect of this sort. They invariably express concern with human well-being. **Usana Bali** admonishments read:

At the time of the seventh full moon, caru should be made for deceased ancestors. These should be completed by the time of the following new moon, for when such offerings are not completed, all kinds of illnesses rage endlessly throughout the land, and the realm will be no longer (HKS2265:2a).

If the kahyangan are not cared for and are allowed to fall into disrepair, Sang Ratu [the ruler] and his subjects will experience disease and death. All of the ruler's descendants will be burned with tumpur [leprosy] and there will be discord. The realm will collapse, overwhelmed (HKS2243:20a).

When rulers defy the wishes of the deities and neglect rituals, they become angry [kroda] and the population is decimated (Usana Jawa, HKS2051:33).

If the great ceremony, the ekadasa rudra at Besakih, is not completed by the ruler of Bali, ruler will oppose ruler, Bhatari Danu will be angered, there will be widespread infectious disease and a high death rate among new-born infants (Usana Bali, HKS2243:27).

The Bhama Kretih (23,21-24,25) likewise states that it is the task of the ruling raja (sang bhupala rumakseng rat) to carry out disease-containing and life-preserving rituals for the safety of his subjects. He is also deemed responsible for the completion of dewa-yadnya and for purificatory offerings within the puri on behalf of the population to free the land of virulent matter. Much of this text is devoted to the listing of ingredients necessary for these yadnya and in specifying the space in which they should be placed, as well as the kind of time at which this should be done.

A Tutur Usana Dewa (HKS1396:1) advises the enactment of homa-traya, 'three-fold fire offering', when Bali is in the midst of epidemic. When the land is struck by epidemic all the raja should invoke and worship (angarcana) Bhatara Siwa-Ditya and plead for the survival of mankind (aminta urip ing jagat, lit. plead for life in the world). Further, there is an onus on the raja, at such times to mount panca-wali-krama (a large scale bhuta-yadnya) at Pura Besakih in order that the world will be safe (rahayu). If this is not done, the land will remain in a state of disaster and the threat to its existence will continue (Widhi Sastra Roga Senggara Bhumi, HKS XXII, 14).

Direct causal explanations for catastrophic disease are not sought outside the Balinese sphere of cognizance, outside Bali itself, nor in terms of natural causes only. They are confined within the local world view in which supernatural causation is accorded primacy and the concept of sakti is a prime explanatory paradigm.

To what extent is Anderson's (1972) formulation of Javanese ideas of mystical power (kasakten) in traditional political culture analogous with that which applies to the Balinese context? Anderson's formulation is based upon an analysis of kasakten as the power to rule, as the outstanding power and quality attached to rulers. He defines kasakten as the divine energy which animates the universe. Power, in the Javanese

context, according to Anderson, is a concrete existential reality manifest in person, nature and object. It is morally ambivalent. There are no ethical issues involved in the accumulation of it. Power can be mobilized through asceticism, yoga meditation, and absorbed through regalia such as magical weapons and sacred instruments. It is also manifest as a glowing light (teja) or divine radiance (wahya), sometimes visible on the visage of a ruler.

Thus far, Anderson's identification of the bases of Javanese ideas of power and political culture have parallels in the Balinese. Anderson goes on to equate the two broad types of historical epochs, jaman mas (golden age) and jaman edan (mad age), seen as times of order and disorder, with an oscillation between periods of concentration of power and periods of its diffusion. In the case of Bali, according to textual evidence at least, there is not a causal relationship posited between the diffusion of power and of disorder. On the contrary, there is a causal relationship between the excessive accumulation of power and the misuse of it, or failure to assume the responsibility it entails, and disorder. Disaster was most likely when there was a concentration of sakti and when the holder of it was negligent. A ruler who possessed extraordinary sakti (sandhi-sakti, sakti pisan) and also displayed great personal greed, fearlessness and arrogance presented a vital threat to the well-being of subjects and the survival of the realm. The accumulation of great sakti, a deviation along the powerful 'left-hand path' of Tantric practice or the indulgence of anger and fearlessness could usher in epidemics which interrupted normal agricultural prosperity and abundance. In a labour-intensive mode of production people were an essential resource.

If Anderson is correct in his assertion that in Javanese conceptions of power, sakti is finite, that it exists in limited quantities, that it is constant in total quantity, and that the concentration of sakti in one person implies a diminution elsewhere, then here we have another important distinction between the two political cultures. Neither textual nor ethnographic evidence would support such a proposition of sakti as a finite entity in the case of Bali. In fact, infinite exorbitance characterizes sakti. The accumulation of sakti has no inherent limits in terms of who or how many others have it. The strong Tantric orientation in Balinese conceptions of power mediates against the applicability of the Anderson proposition that indulgence in passions diffuses sakti. In Tantrism the reverse applies.

Besides differences of emphasis in religious orientation, these distinctions in ideas of sakti between Java and Bali may arise in their differing referents assigned to sakti in each political culture. In ancient Java, sakti referred primarily to the divine magical power of the ruler. It was the central concept of divine kingship. Sakti was linked to the queen-goddess who had dual referents, the Indian Sri-Laksmi, consort of Wisnu, and the Javanese Dewi Sri, the rice goddess. The possession of the dynastic female was a pre-requisite to the exercising of sovereign power. The queen was the sakti of the ruler and their union allowed divine energy to be actualized (Weatherbee 1968:ch.8).

In the Balinese context, such concepts of divine kingship do not wholly apply. While the concept of sakti is also linked to a goddess, in this case it is to the powerful and demonic Durga, the Goddess of Death. Her power, as we have seen, is also linked to the power to heal, to control

death and life, not to the secular or the divine power to rule. The Balinese state connoted a magico-religious welfare system not a politico-economic one. Literary evidence and archaeological remains indicate that there was on Bali, as on Java, a cosmological basis of kinship, a funerary cult of kings and a cult of divine ancestors. These cults as I have argued earlier (Chapter 5[iv]), like the writing of babad, imply the maintenance of the essential link between the dead and the living. They represent an assertion of mystical participation with the sakti of deified ancestors and an invocation of their protective powers. I firmly oppose the standard view that rulers sponsored artistic and ceremonial enactments and chartered the exploits of their ancestors in order to demonstrate their ideal character or their legitimacy.

In usana texts (e.g., HKS2165), rulers and priestly figures are sometimes ascribed perpetual or transient supernatural powers of vision, audition, discrimination, and extraordinary active powers of self-transformation (maya), of assuming weightlessness, of subduing passions in others, of expiation and of healing. Such holders of sakti were prone to 'disappear into nothingness' (amor ring sunia) or 'the unimaginable' (acintya) upon death.

Within the narrative structure and genealogical mode characteristic of the historical literature discussed here, we gain some understanding of the properties of sakti and the ways and means of conjuring or concentrating sakti. In the usana there is an emphasis on the accumulation of sakti by means of yoga, meditation and asceticism. These means continue in the babad though they may be less central. Pusaka (heirlooms) such as sacred weapons, masks and musical instruments are conveyors of sakti. Their powers are absorbed by their owners and their loss or destruction signifies an indiscretion, act of negligence, or lack of wisdom on the part of their owner.

The acquisition and special characteristics of magical weapons are common themes of babad. Such weapons are pusaka or kaliliran and they are part of the royal regalia. Their latent power is available to their owners. This intimate participation of a person with his sakti object, as well as the relationship between acts of indiscretion, loss of pusaka and death (already discussed in Chapter 5[iv]) are important themes of historical literature and they should perhaps feature more prominently than they do in our interpretations of Balinese political culture.

I cite as excerpt from a babad to exemplify these locally perceived linkages:

Sang Nata Singasana did not know [tan wruh] of the act of sorcery [pangupaya sandi], and lacking circumspection [niswiweka], he met his death. His lance named Ki Sandang-Lawe disappeared, no longer a participating part of him [tan pajamuga] (Babad Arya Tabanan, K1791/13:26b).

Informed awareness and powers of discretion, rather than moral virtue, are the qualities deemed essential to survival of ruler and realm. A ruler was expected to be, above all, wise and discerning and diligent in the building and maintenance of temples and to adhere to established conventions. Balinese kingdoms were not defined territorial units. Realms consisted of subjects whose loyalties the ruler could hold and whose well-being the ruler could protect. Claims over allegiance were, by the

nature of worldly strife and the vicissitudes of life, tenuous. But there was a spiritual bond and mutual dependency between the puri and the village.

Textual and ethnographic data examined in this study support Geertz's (1980) interpretation of the polity of Bali as 'an alternative conception of what politics is about and what power comes to . . . one based not on coercion, violence or domination, or for exacting surpluses' (p.135). I also find in Geertz's concept of the 'theatre state' a highly relevant paradigm within which to understand the Balinese construction of sakti as the power to rule, the protective role assigned to rulers and 'ritual-infested' character of the Balinese realm. However, as I see it, Geertz's vision of the sensory, symbolistic and theatrical (p.124) operations of the Balinese state tends to be too abstract and to lack referents. I aspire to breathe life into Geertz's idea of a theatre state by providing it with a substantive issue framed in local references.

Geertz, as I see it, is substantially correct in his observation that ritual extravaganzas, the stupendous ceremonies, sacrifices, temple festivals and purificatory rites were not mere aesthetic embellishments designed for the aggrandizement of rulers or to demonstrate their legitimacy, or 'means to political ends'. They were, as Geertz says, 'metaphysical theatre' (p.104) and 'as much a form of rhetoric as they were a sign of devotion' (p.102). They were 'an assertion of spiritual power', and I add, an acknowledgement of the responsibility such power entails, namely participation with deceased ancestors and other supernaturals through prescribed rituals conceived imperative to the survival of the state in the face of population-threatening endemic and epidemic diseases, a low life expectancy and childlessness. 'Theatre' state politics, textual forms, ritual, myth and dance drama reflect neither deep religiosity nor exploitive power. They are complex commentaries on each other (see Geertz 1973a:ch.15; Boon 1982:204). The main function of state rituals, as Forge (1980) also perceived, was protection. They were directed towards human welfare and consumed more time and effort than any other state activities: hence, the prominence of tales which relate the origins of rituals, the founding of temples and the documentation of links with ancestors and their traditions and the completion of prescribed rituals which constitute the substantive content of historical mythology.

But what is the precise nature of the 'theatre' to which Geertz refers? He describes only two expressions of it, a tooth-filing (a manusa-yadnya) and a cremation (a pitra-yadnya). His argument would have been better served through reference to the bhuta-yadnya spectacles such as ngusaba-desa, ngusaba-nini, panangluk-marana, galungan, tawur kasanga, panca wali krama, ekadasa rudra, trance possession rituals involving cult masks and community and state exorcisms. The fact is that Balinese do fall ill suddenly, severely and frequently, infant morbidity and mortality rates are high, people tend to succumb to disease in the wet season. Epidemics have raged on Bali (see Chapter 5[vii]). Do events confirm convictions or have convictions been impressed through events? It is intelligible that around the reality of morbidity, the endemic, periodic and epidemic forms of it -- the crucial the inevitable fact of living -- a complex pattern of explanatory mythology and magical ritual should develop. The challenge is to apprehend this myth and magic and to decode them within the framework which Geertz's notion of 'theatre state' conveys to me. I begin by examining trance possession, for this is an integral

part of the myth and rites analysed in later chapters. Firstly, I will critically examine the constructions placed upon trance possession by Western interpretations of the phenomenon.

(i) Trance Possession Cults: Stratagem or Artifice

Several forms of trance possession or states of dissociation occur among the Balinese. Belo (1960:2-5) divided Balinese trance into seven types according to its practitioners: 'doctor mediums' who suffer some 'hysterical syndrome' as a prelude to practising; 'institutionalized mediumistic practitioners' connected with temples; 'impersonators' who animate masks and are entered by the 'gods of the mask'; 'fighting, self-stabbing abandoned trancers'; 'occasional trancers' who get 'carried away into dissociated states of trance and bouts of self-stabbing'; child trance dancers of the sanghyang type; folk trancers of the animal sanghyang type.

From my research into the subject these seven categories should be incorporated within a four-level classification according to the type and function of the trance or dissociated state and the implications of indigenous labelling:

1. Karauhan, a term used to indicate possession by a named deity. The possessed are usually pamangku or the wearers of sakti masks in the ritual manipulation of them.
2. Nadi or Nados, terms which signify 'becoming' or transforming. Trance exorcistic dance is of this order of possession.
3. Katakson, meaning 'possessed by a taksu', a specific tutelary deity; an inspirational type of trance used by balian for diagnosing and curing.
4. Kapanjangan Karangjukan, terms which refer to possession affliction. Magically-induced illnesses frequently cause behavioural changes in which dissociated states are part of the symptom complex. Babainan (kapanjangan babai) is such an affliction.

There is no generic term for trance possession but there are numerous terms to refer to types of possession in their various ritual and magico-medical contexts. These four types of trance possession are not of the same conceptual order, and the last mentioned, is of an entirely different conceptual order to the others. It is an involuntary form of spirit intrusion and is classified by the Balinese as a form of morbidity. For this reason I have handled it separately in the context of affliction possession in Chapter 7. The other three types of possession are voluntary, controlled and altruistic. They are sought and completed by selected mediums on behalf of others or the community as a whole. The Balinese language contains a wide range of terms to express possession and thereby clearly differentiates possession by named (often cult demonic) deities (karauhan), possession by a medium helper spirit (taksu, katakson), and the identification and creation of spirits of disease (nadi, nados). Central to all of these voluntary forms of possession is the notion of participation with supernaturals for the purpose of obtaining counsel, knowledge and practical advantage, namely human welfare.

For the sake of presentation, the spirit mediumship type of trance, katakson, has also been discussed in Part II in the context of healing at the individual level of the medical system. Here I intend first of all to review and discuss the literature on possession in general and then to return to a discussion of the first type of trance possession, karauhan, on the basis of textual material and ethnographic data. From there I begin new chapters on disease-containing trance possession rituals in which both the phenomenon of karauhan and that of nadi/nados are contextualized and re-interpreted as elements of ritual and representation and as solutions in the Balinese magico-medical system.

Similar to the case of witchcraft, there is a high degree of consensus in studies of trance possession. Interest has largely focused upon the psychological or socio-political status of the individual who succumbs to trance possession. Possession has been viewed as aberrant behaviour, a displacement mechanism symptomatic of frustration or as a mode of aggression or compensation. It has been almost consistently analysed and interpreted in terms of protest cults or corrective domestic or social mechanisms essentially concerned with the enhancement of status. When individuals who are deemed weak, deprived and repressed do it, it is protest and a means of gaining relief and benefit. When those not deemed weak and powerless do it, it is a means of legitimating their status (see Lewis 1971, for example). It is an hysterical primitive reaction, according to Pfeiffer (1969:46), and an acceptable explosive behavioural outlet for impoverished masses, according to Kiev (1961). Yap (1960,1967) judged most instances of possession as forms of functional psychoses. These matters have been touched upon in Chapter 7 (see section [v] in particular). It is of some significance (and relevance within the following discussion) that initial anthropological concern with Balinese trance arose in convictions concerning importance of cultural aspects of schizophrenia.

Studies of Balinese trance have relied upon the cross-cultural theories of possession and the mechanisms supposed to operate in trance. This has produced, I contend, spurious interpretations. The peculiarities of Balinese trance dance were related to the Western construction of the psychological trend in the population, namely a pattern of equanimity, a lack of overt passion and a pattern of frustration in early childhood. Trance possession, constrained within this paradigm, was interpreted as an expression of emotion, otherwise suppressed and paralysed. Bateson and Mead (1942) postulated that there was a tendency in children to look for climaxes of affection and anger and that among the Balinese these impulses were socially repressed and frustrated. They then concluded that trance behaviour was a return to patterns of behaviour which had earlier been inhibited and extinguished. Even while acknowledging an awareness that one could not be sure that a mechanism familiar in a Western culture would necessarily apply to the Balinese, Belo (1960) nevertheless inclined to the same hypothesis in stating that 'habitually repressed anger finds vent in the trance state' (p.224). And further: 'It is not impossible that when the Balinese go into trance and have a violent fit of what they think of as anger, they are indulging in the luxury of an orgy of unfamiliar emotion' (p.224). Others essentially agreed as is evidenced in the phrases they used to explain Balinese trance possession; 'suppressed stresses' and 'frustrated impulses of a violent nature' as well as a 'release from inhibited tensions' (Holt and Bateson 1970:328). McPhee (1970:301) explained trance possession as 'agonized ecstatic release'.

And with a few more clichés borrowed from psychoanalytical theory, Belo, citing the consensual insights of her contemporaries (and, it will be shown, our own contemporaries), appears to have wrapped up Balinese trance possession and dissolved its complexity; trance, in her view, represents an emotional expression whereby the Balinese acts out the frustrations sustained in childhood, the considerable anxiety ingrained in early life through child-rearing practices and the emotions suppressed in normal social intercourse (pp.223-5, 255). Trance states, Belo added, provide the Balinese with an opportunity to be angry and crazy (p.223).

And some forty years after their inception, these formulations remain unchallenged, in fact, reiterated by Connor (1979) and Mrázek (1983) and celebrated by Shankman (1984). Socialization techniques in infancy, according to Connor, inhibit anger and aggression so that 'by the time the child is five or six years old, most expressions of anger have been curbed. One often observes at this age a brief period of violent tantrums before cultural modes of coping with frustration have been fully internalized' (pp.113-4). My observations would prompt me to posit that childhood temper tantrums are universal and so are the socialization processes and the maturity which eventually contain such outbursts. But Connor was here attempting to compare ritual trance with a cultural practice termed ngarap-ngarapan (from garap meaning 'to carry', in this case the corpse to the graveyard) which she coined as 'corpse abuse', a practice posited to be motivated by fear and aggression.² Cast in this framework, trance becomes a means by which the Balinese 'mediate aggression' and express 'strong emotional impulses' (p.105).

Connor (1982a:219) asserts that ritual possession is ignored in 'the classical manuscripts of religious cosmology and healing' (p.219) and that lontar generally 'are silent on the subject' (p.242). This is incorrect. Possession is, in fact, an important theme in lontar. But this misconception, together with an assertion that there is a lower incidence of possession among the brahmana caste, is the basis for Connor's thesis that possession (along the lines of Lewis 1966,1971) represents a 'counter-ideology promulgated by peasants and lower classes'. In short, and consistent with established theories, trance possession becomes the means whereby the repressed, the poor and the socially and spiritually underprivileged have their day and their way. Mrázek (1983:98) comments that 'trance excitement and trance hysterics are due to a communal psychosis and passion for the play', that the Balinese use trance to challenge the limits of their individual and social existence and that 'playing with fire' (as in the sanghyang jaran trance dance discussed in Chapter 12) 'represents an adventure' through which they 'find courage and self-confidence'. (He would probably agree with the statement made by Covarrubias (p.204) back in the 1930s that 'the Balinese love night life'). And all of this is supposed to account for why the Balinese have a facility and propensity for dissociation and have chosen to encode historical and medical mythology and semiology in complex trance possession rituals and why the trance dances assume the forms they do?

To further update this review of trance possession scholarship and the state of thinking about it, I turn to a recent critique of the work of Clifford Geertz on Bali in *Current Anthropology* (1984,25[3]:261-79). Whilst taking Geertz to task and controverting his espoused interpretive and ideographic approach to culture, Shankman and his supporting commentators attempt to explain Balinese trance phenomena by locating

it in the body of comparative material collected by Bourguignon and her associates. In these studies, different forms of trance are linked with socialization practices and social hierarchies. There is, as Shankman informs us (while disfavouing the insights of Geertz in relation to the comparative 'scientific approach' of Belo) a body of comparative material available on trance. I question its presumed relevance.

Shankman finds Bourguignon's findings relevant to Balinese trance mainly on the grounds that Bali is a populous, stratified agricultural society, one in which are found some of the 'key variables' described in Bourguignon's explanation of trance, namely psychological mechanisms, and sociological and ecological variables. As Dutton (p.272), one of the dissenting commentators in the same article writes, to identify a society as agricultural is not to take account of ecological determinism. Why, for instance, has the burden, spectrum and geographical variation of disease experienced by a population rarely been considered in interpretations of trance phenomena? Probably, part of the answer lies within the fact that this is not the kind of data to which social scientists normally gain access or even seek. And what of sensitivity to epistemological issues?

I agree with Geertz (1973:36-49) that a comparative approach to Balinese trance does little to advance understanding and fails to explain the particularity and peculiarities of the Balinese phenomenon. In fact, Balinese trance phenomena would seem to represent an ideal type case from which to argue against a comparative pseudo-scientific approach in anthropology and one in which to seek identification of the cultural, ecological and bio-medical unique, to seek understanding of Balinese understanding of these variables. Comparative anthropology has produced a number of neat paradigms and semantic categories assumed to have universal relevance into which almost any cultural phenomenon can be fitted and joined in a sometimes unholy marriage. Confirmation of theoretical formulations rather than new insights, as O'Flaherty (1981:3) would agree, prevails.

The case of Balinese trance possession does not fit comfortably into any of the establish theoretical paradigms. Even if it should satisfy one criterion, inevitably, it fails to meet another. Take, for example, Mary Douglas's (1982:74) proposition that trance states are feared as dangerous where the social dimensions are highly structured, but welcomed where this is not the case. The weaker the structuring of the society, the more trance will be approved in Douglas's view. Balinese social structure is complex and stratified. Trance possession is feared as dangerous. It is equally welcomed as it is perceived as essential to human well-being and it is culturally approved. Voluntary ritual possession is based upon the premise that supernatural beings can and do take possession of human beings under certain circumstances. These supernaturals are invited to do so. Possession is consciously sought and induced. The occasionally or regularly possessed are integrated, normal members of their community.

I would also take issue with the view that possession belongs to the domain of popular culture. Dance drama possession rituals are largely the responsibility of the village organization. However, it is pertinent to point out that such organizations are not exclusively anak jaba or peasant-controlled and that possession does not exist separate to some

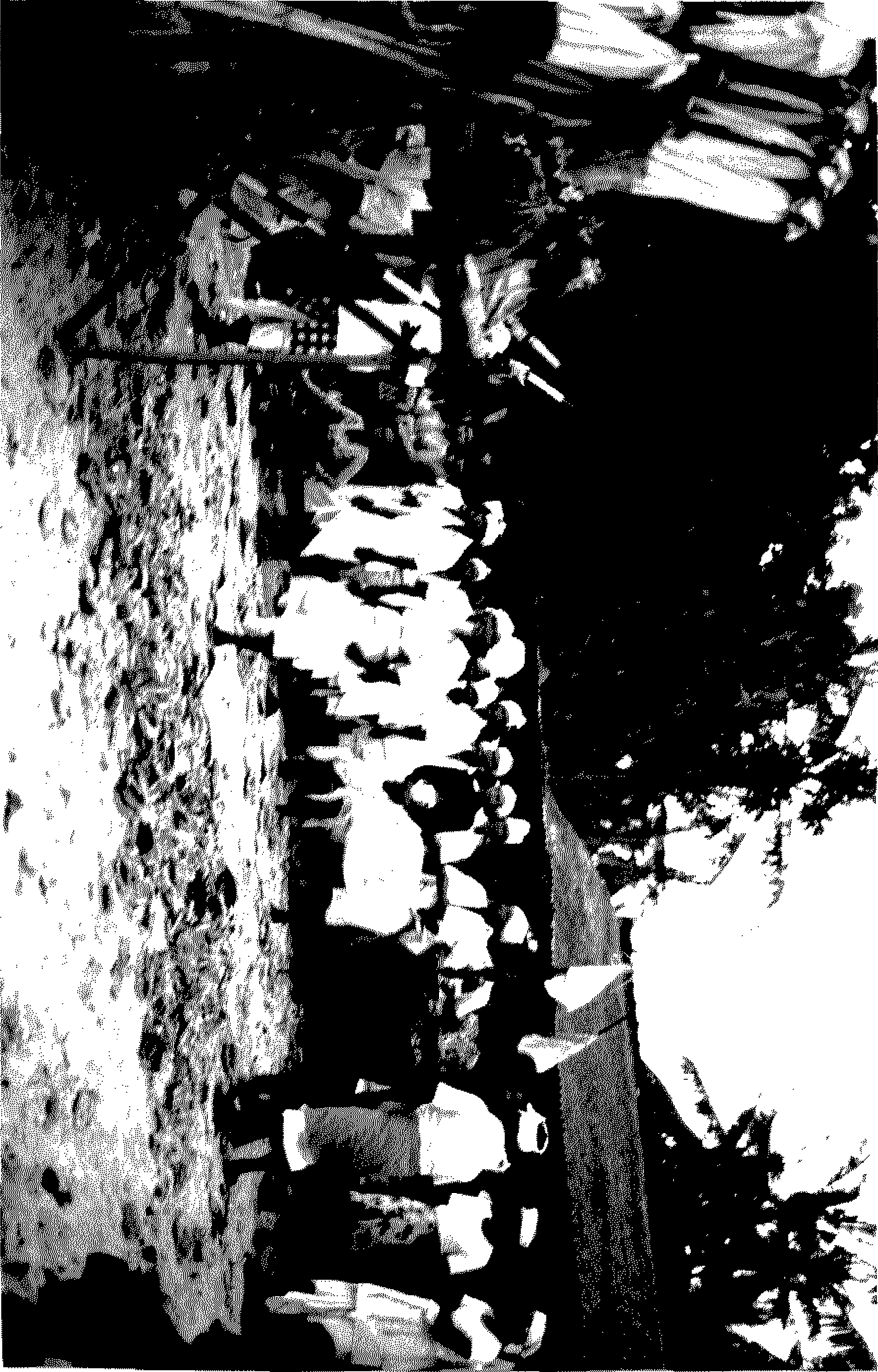
courtly culture or ideology. It was, in the past, the responsibility of ruling regional princes to initiate protective rites which involved dance drama and ritual possession. The cult masks used in some possession rituals, it will be shown, recall and invoke the powers of legendary heroes and deified rulers.

On Bali, men, women, the aged, the middle-aged, adolescents, and small children can become directly and indirectly involved in ritual trance possession (as well as possession affliction). Data from the village of Sanur will show a relatively high incidence of brahmana involvement in trance possession as well as in cults of magic and witchcraft. Even padanda have been known to become possessed in the context of rituals. It is true that there are elements of fear, anxiety and powerlessness which can prompt and promote recourse to trance states. Dissociative states may be related to rigid social hierarchy and socialization practices, but they do not, I argue, originate in the context of these. Are Balinese society and culture so dysfunctional that they invent or create problems, namely fear and frustration and emotional and spiritual repression among their members, and then devise a method and means -- trance possession -- to resolve them? Balinese social life may well be fraught with conflict, as is social and domestic life in any cultural context. This and psychoanalytical arguments to explain the motivation of trancers in no way account for the specificity of content, context and paraphernalia used in trance dance and drama and ritual possession.

Labeling possession in terms of psychopathology and reducing it to the idiom of sociopolitical theories does not seem particularly useful or valid in its given epistemological as well as epidemiological contexts. Insight may be gained from an exploration of the phenomenon in its own terms. Spirits or possessing deities are real and so is their interest in the human organism and their influence upon it. Trance is primarily an attestation of the power of deities and demons, their participation in the lives of human beings and their willingness to concede to requests and coaxing. Balinese seek through possession something more pragmatic than a higher level of consciousness, status or prestige. They seek well-being and human survival. From Western sociopolitical and psychodynamic perspectives, possession is one thing. From indigenous ones which posit the existence of spirits who, in one instance, enter people and wreck havoc, and in another, help a return to well-being, it is another; a part of reality, neither political nor pathological delusion. Studies stress the individual role satisfaction and benefit when, in fact, in all forms of trance the individual is anonymized. Trance possession is altruistic. It is done on behalf of others or the community as a whole. It is not a question of alternate roles or opportunities for individuals. To become entranced constitutes a muting of the individual self. Here, I would not agree with Geertz (1971:32) that it is to 'cross a threshold into another order of existence'. It is more a matter of the supernatural descending, in fact of being invited to descend so that individuals or the community may benefit from the participation involved. It may reflect a desire on the part of individuals for advancement of religious or social status and prestige. Even so, Balinese do not lightly initiate a venture which involves participating directly with acknowledged powerful forces of ambiguous dispositions. Fear prevents them from doing so.

Post-trance interviews with participants by researchers (such as Belo) has yielded little beyond that they had no recall or statements

A madatengan trance possession ritual held on the beach at Sanur.



that they experienced anger at the time of trance. It was perhaps the recurrence of this reference to anger which provided the compost for the notion of 'frustrated development' and 'released emotion' to develop into prime explanations of Balinese trance that they have become. I have also found that anger is a characteristic response of trancers when questioned as to their trance experiences. Anger, in the Balinese context, has a meaning beyond that of passion of mind prompted by a sense of wrong or wrath. Anger implies, above all, a loss of control or disintegration of mind, a dangerous state to which to descend.

If trance possession exists to provide an outlet for repressed personal drives, aggression and unfulfilled desires — never mind that it is the balian or exorcist not the afflicted who become possessed and trance dances are enacted not for the magical effect upon the dancer but the participating community — is one to assume that such traits of character and problems are regionally confined? To an extent, trance dance is. To apply labels such as hysteria and schizoid behaviour in reference to possession raises false analogies and misleading interpretations. From an indigenous perspective, no form of voluntary trance possession is abnormal.

To return to Shankman's critique of Geertz, I contend that Geertz has justifiably argued against the use of grand cross-cultural abstractions and causal laws in attempts to understand such phenomena as trance possession. To be challenged for the scope of his ethnographic contribution to the study of Balinese trance, as he is in this article and commentaries, is highly tendentious. Geertz did not, from my reading of him, offer an account of Balinese trance, merely some perceptive and imaginative comments and suggestions for research and approaches to the Balinese forms of trance. If Geertz failed to 'explain Balinese trance' as Shankman and his collaborators validly claimed he did, at least he refrained from invoking empty labels and paltry explanations which foreclose further questioning and enquiry.

To suggest, as I will, that the incidence of ritual possession can be a gauge of the incidence, prevalence and the nature of real physical stress or exacting physical conditions, is to take cognizance of local epistemological assumptions, ecological factors, epidemiological ones as well as social and cultural ones. I posit that trance is a part of a complex configuration of perceptions, experiences, constructions, reactions and references relating to human welfare. I favour the descent into detail and the foregoing of 'misleading tags' and 'empty similarities' advocated by Geertz (1973c:49).

(ii) The Descent of the Deities (Bhatara Turun Kabeh)

Karauhan is the term most commonly used to refer to the possession of human beings, usually pamangku, by named or identifiable deities, in temple complexes or other tenget space such as graveyards. The pamangku becomes the vehicle of a deity (sometimes a deified ancestor or ruler) and makes utterances concerning further or future enactments and offerings which should be completed in the interests of community welfare. The tradition of ritual possession is referred to in the Usana Bali. As described in these manuscripts, temple possession occurs in three phases; the deities descend and enter arca (images), candi (temple

structures) and joli mas (golden throne), then pamangku and finally, in the mapajar-surak (Barong trance dance and stabbing dance), they enter the sadeg (temple-shrine caretakers). The texts describe what is, until this day, the sequence in temple possession ritual. The following is a composite account drawn from several manuscripts (HKS2987:4b; HKS2069:5b; HKS2265:5b; HKS2020:5b):

When the bhatara possess [malingse] the arca [images] they are given supplication by the whole community. The bhatara are carried on the shoulders of the people. When the deities enter human beings, they create a taksu. When they descend into the shrines [sanggah], all the people pay homage.

When the deities descend at the time of wawalen mapajar [the so-called Barong dance], there is much activity. Many become entranced and there is surak [the stabbing dance]. There are aci-aci [temple offerings]. It is an odalan [temple ritual]. When the bhatara descend to the joli mas they are carried by the people.

When the bhatara descend at the time of wawalen [ritual], all the people are afraid.

Ida Bhatara Sakti reveals [through trance utterances] the nature of insubordinations [ritual negligences].

From the same lontar we learn that Kulputih, a sage from Majapahit, institutionalized the tradition of trance possession in Bali and set the pattern of temple trance behaviour which is more or less adhered to in present-day Bali. Through asceticism and meditation, Kulputih gained knowledge of the ways of deities, offerings, rituals, the use of fragrant woods and incense and the sources of purificatory holy water. Through this knowledge he was able to secure participation with the deities on behalf of the population.

For seven months Sang Tapa Hyang (Kulputih) performed tapa and through this all seven levels of the universe were moved and in the south in Gunung Andakasa, the abode of Bhatara Hyang Tugu, a shrine was created, a place of invocation and inspiration for balian engengan and balian katakson (trance mediums). Kulputih went to Besakih where he built a kahyangan (temple) and each day he sought the protection of the deities (madewa sraya). Finally, Kulputih became possessed while in the temple. The tone of his voice became high-pitched and gentle like that of a dewa alit (small deity). He wept, sobbed violently and laughed whilst possessed:

After he became pamangku at Besakih, there came a stream of water from the south. It was named Toya Sindhu and it became the means whereby purification at tilem and purnama could be accomplished.

Because Kulputih gained knowledge of the ways of the deities, the means of preserving order and the well-being of mankind, and of offerings for the deities, on purnama and tilem of the fourth Balinese month [kartika], the bhatara all descend into the world of man.

They are the sakti of the world.

They are named Bhatara Triguna.

The world is kasakten when the bhatara descend.

When the bhatara assume possession [malingse], all is rame in the world of man.

People dance and there is power in the world.



An entranced pamangku in the context of a madatengan ritual held on the beach at Sanur.

Usana Bali manuscripts (e.g. HKS2264) advise that incense and fragrant wood should be burned so that the fumes rise up and invite the bhatara and their entourage of dewa to descend into the temple. Human beings are then cleansed by the holy waters of the bhatara causing all dasa-mala (ten forms of virulence and blemish), created through the curse of those who are sakti, to be removed and affliction to disappear.

The decision to mount trance dance enactments and ritual parading of sacred masks to prevent or neutralize disease epidemics usually appears to arise from the trance utterances of pamangku or, as the Usana Bali state, 'one who knows the ways of deities and of intercession'. Pamangku can be male or female, and be of any caste. Most are anak jaba, as are most Balinese. They organize and conduct the presentation of offerings in temples especially on the occasions of odalan and bhuta-yadnya and dewa-yadnya held in temples. The office is sometimes hereditary, but not by birth alone can a person become one. Transformation to the status and responsibility of pamangku sometimes occurs through inspirational trance (in this context often termed kasurupan). Becoming possessed in a temple enclosure or other tenget space is often the first sign that a person is intended to assume the spiritual responsibility of mixing with the ambiguous unseen forces, especially if possession occurs repeatedly and the spirit identifies itself. These possession episodes are usually controlled and take place at a particular phase of a ritual. Entranced pamangku are treated with deference, sometimes cajoled, but their utterances are heeded. Pamangku are usually referred to by the name of the pura of which they are the caretaker (for example, Mangku Merta Sari or Mangku Pura Dalem), or wherein they were first possessed.

In manuscripts on the pamangku's responsibilities, their ritual, mantra and offering ingredients, known by such titles as Aji Kusuma (Flower Teachings), Kusuma-Dewa (Flowers of the Deities) and Gagelaran Pamangku (Handbook of Pamangku), it is said that a pamangku is able to be firm and resolute in his intentions and has knowledge of the dewa and bhuta-kala in the universe and the human organism (bhuana sarira) because one named I Rare Angwon (lit. Small Shepherd) is manifest in his body and penetrates his life force (bayu), utterances (sabda) and thoughts (idep). Texts emphasize the imperative of understanding and having knowledge of the ways of deities and warn against the dangers of heeding utterances of those who are ignorant or not yet inaugurated (mapodgala). Such imposters, the texts state, should be fined by the ruler for any deception because such actions can cause the destruction of temples and thereby bring disaster upon the population in the form of all kinds of diseases occurring in epidemic proportions (e.g., HKS2987; HKS2020). Pamangku must make offerings (aci-aci) and distribute holy water. One who does not know or does not understand the prescriptions, according to the texts (eg., HKS1959), is dazed, confused and uncertain. In such circumstances the deities will not descend.

The deities are invited to descend (udang bhatara turun kabeh) and elaborate preparations are made in order that they might do so. Purification of temple regalia intended for divine usage, burning of incense and aromatic woods, music, chanting and an offering of dance (mendet) are all intended to entice the supernatural to manifest itself and momentarily participate in the realm of man, to instruct, guide and remind man of the necessary precautions to preserve the well-being of the community. The deities descend, accompanied by relatives and the

widyadara-widyadari and all the illnesses experienced by mankind are made to dissipate. There is a profusion of kasakten in the world of Bali when the deities descend and this can be utilized by the ruler for the well-being of the realm so that it remains well-populated (HKS2264; HKS2069; HKS XIX,15).

In such space as temple sites, the presence of supernaturals is imminent even when they are not expressly summoned. However, powerful, often demonic (bharawa-bharawi), deities are frequently invited to descend (nedunang) and through mediums they advise the community upon measures necessary for welfare. Trance utterances generally concern the times at which the cult masks (discussed in the following chapter) should be paraded, rituals should be held or the types of offerings required. Trance possessions are also a means whereby the cult deities reveal their needs. They may require a new shrine or special ingredients to be added to their offerings. They may be dissatisfied with some ritual recently enacted or one neglected altogether. Lapses in ritual observances and even unsuccessfully completed ones are judged to bring retribution. The demonic deities withdraw their protection. In my experience, high deities such as those known as the nawa sanga, the gods of the nine directions, are not assumed to represent possessing deities. Those who generally descend and enter mediums, shrines and masks, represent ancestral deities, deified cultural heroes and the spirits of the sacred mask. As will be discussed in the following chapter, these are the characters of historical literature and medical mythology.

Utterances, that is, the advice they contain, are elicited through a process of question and answer, a usual form of obtainment of important knowledge on Bali. In the mass trance happenings (surak or ngurek in the secondary sources), which sometimes 'erupt' at a certain stage of mapajar (Barong mask dance rituals) only one or two of the entranced are selected for special attention. The rest are said to be possessed by miscellaneous deities or bhuta-kala and are left alone (often writhing on the ground) to sort themselves out. In a short while they recover, usually after holy water is poured over them. The selected few are coaxed, indulged and questioned in order to ascertain what it is that the visiting deity desires so that this can be satisfied and it will continue to play its protective role.

On the occasion of certain temple rituals, the senior pamangku of the village gather in a ritual known as madatengan. After some time spent in meditation, preparation of offerings, burning of fragrant woods and incense, libations with arak and the chanting of the kidung Warga Sari through which the participation with deities is secured, in turn, the pamangku go into trance and make utterances. Madatengan are generally held in the jeroan of pura. I have witnessed one at the seaside in banjar Sindu, Sanur. On this occasion, following the assembly the pamangku secured kris and proceeded to nyurak. Following this, they held lances and enacted a mabyasa (a baris type trance dance characterized by a rigid posturing and exaggerated high-stepping gait) and scattered caru with the lances, which is all part of the ritual called klincang-klincung.

Towards the conclusion of a madatengan held in Pura Dalem Mimba, banjar Madura, Sanur in which the Barong and Rangda from Griya Penopengan participated, the pamangku adjourned to Pura Mrajapati



Pura Mrajapati, banjar Madura, Sanur

(above): The temple sculpture before the madatengan trance ritual.

(below): The replacement sculpture.

and then to the graveyard. The Rangda mask was also taken along and placed among the entranced pamangku. I did not have the equipment necessary to record these utterances but some weeks later a new statue of a legendary hero-type deity appeared in the Pura Mrajapati where one of the pamangku had been possessed and had his utterances heard during the earlier madatengan. A local balian usada said that the replacement sculpture had been ordered by a possessing deity during a madatengan held there.

Some requests are more mundane. At another madatengan happening in a Pura Dalem in another village, a pamangku was entered by the spirit of a Barong Landung (Tall Barong) mask named Ratu Cupak. Ratu Cupak was cross because a certain food item had not been included in the offerings presented before the mask. The food in question, a particular type of peanut, was secured, the possessed pamangku/Ratu Cupak greedily devoured the peanuts and the possessing spirit departed. Cupak, the mask's legendary namesake, was a notoriously greedy personality.

The incidence of karauhan varies from region to region, village to village and even from temple to temple. In some temples in Sanur it seemed inconceivable that a few, at least, would not karauhan. Even so, whilst possession was anticipated and hoped for, there was never complete certainty and confidence that it would eventuate. Belo (1966:10) has made the same observation. Karauhan represents tangible evidence that all is rame and assures the protection of the community. It is considered crucial to the successful completion of certain pingit rituals such as ngarehang, the testing of the sakti of a newly-repaired Rangda mask in a graveyard. It is to the mythology and trance possessions associated with the cult masks that I now turn.

Notes - Chapter 10

1. Possibly a reference to the plague which struck animals along with the human population.
2. Alternative interpretations of the practice ngarap-ngarapan or ngarap bangka have been offered in Chapter 9[iii].

Chapter 11

Masked Complexities: Enactments of Historical and Medical Mythology

Both dreams and myths draw their vocabularies from certain intense moments in actual human experience, but it is art that transforms those moments, bringing them from the private realm of dreams to the public realm of the myth.

Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty
Dreams, Illusions and Other Realities 1984:4

In Balinese thinking, the classical epidemic diseases are things extraneous and identifiable. Each disease entity is given an image, even a personality and biography. Disease is seen as a process the course of which can be modified and the impact of which can be lessened through appropriate magical procedures. It can not, even so, be obliterated. The trajectory whereby each of the major epidemic diseases have been conceptualized involves complex relationships between ecological and geographical determinants, cultural factors and biological and historical variables; hence the complexity and the varying cultural biographies of the classic pestilences such as the plague, leprosy, smallpox, iodine deficiency disease (goitre) and epidemic cholera.

Epidemic diseases such as smallpox and cholera are perceived afflictions divinely-demonically ordained. They are assigned their own deities. This does not, however, preclude the matter of other supernatural and human agencies operating in the proliferation of the virulent organisms. The Dewa of Majapahit, under the auspices of the Demon Trinity (Sang Kala Tiga) and Bhatara Budha, is imputed to have brought smallpox to Bali (see Lovric 1987). Ratu Gede Nusa (alias Bhatara Macaling) is imputed to control the spread of cholera on Bali. In Balinese conceptions, bhuta-kala or humans with supernatural powers such as leyak are in a position to proliferate it among the population. Calon Arang (Rangda), a royal personage having great sakti and a practitioner of pangiwa, was able to spread a plague-like pestilence. However, even Calon Arang relied upon the divine magnanimity of Durga in order to do so.

Indigenous historical literature records the deeds of certain personages, often rulers, with great sakti who misused this power or neglected rituals thus provoking havoc on a community scale. Such disorder could take the form of epidemic on a Bali-wide scale. These powerful demonic rulers are finally subdued by some counter-magic, magical trickery or sorcery (upaya-sandhi), either in the form of an object attributed with sakti (a kris, for example) or a person possessing greater sakti as well as wisesa (circumspection and wisdom). Deified in death, these demonic beings become devotional cult figures whose intercession is invoked for the protection of the living. In the explanatory mythology,

epidemics are vouchsafed through the disfavour of such demonic cult deities or deified semi-legendary figures whose qualities, dispositions and destinies are encapsulated in their names. These beings are simultaneously the creators of epidemics and the agents of containment of their severity. Sometimes protective, they can also assume their bharawa-bharawi aspects, become destructive and claim victims. They allow practitioners of maleficent magic to perpetuate their deeds, but retain the power to control the scope of these activities.

Much more than high Hindu gods, these cult demonic deities are decidedly and unequivocally involved in the mundane lives of mankind. They are given the status of deified cultural heroes and the titles of royalty (Ratu Ayu, Ratu Gede) and of deified rulers (Bhatara). The distinguishing characteristics of these demonic cult figures are their magical power, their fear-provoking presence and their omnipotence. The symbolic paraphernalia (masks) associated with them, are kept in space tenget, in pura or in shrines within the confines of geria.

There are three forms of cult demonic masks used exorcistically in ritual possession, the Barong Landung or Tall Barongs, the Rangda mask and the Barong mask. Raging epidemics have often, according to reports, precipitated the decision to fashion cult masks. These mask representations are not normally referred to by the Balinese as Barong Landung, Rangda or Barong. Reference is made to them through honorific titles such as Ratu Gede, Jero Gede, Ratu Dalem, Ratu Ayu, Ratu Niniang, Ratu Mas, Ratu Ayu Gede, or Ratu Lingsir. In Usana Bali the Barong is also referred to as Sang Kala Gede (The Great Kala).

Thus far only the Rangda and the Barong masks have been analysed, and even so, this has been done outside their total context. Fragments of their complex symbolic totality, the mapajar-masolah (so-called Barong dance) or the Calon Arang dance drama have been presented as if they were the principle (if not only) rituals associated with these cult protective masks, then used in the analysis and interpretation of the whole phenomenon. The sequence in these two dance dramas has been well described by many writers (Bateson and Mead 1942; Belo 1949; de Zoete and Spies 1973; Lansing 1979; Bandem and de Boer 1982). I will not repeat this information here insofar as it is not necessary to the present intent.

I examine these cult masks separately and attempt to place each in its historical-mythological context. This strategy permits a vision of how epistemological presuppositions shape interpretations of historical and epidemiologic experiences. Local medical manuscripts, medical and historical mythology and outside epidemiological data have directed the mode of presentation and the framework in which I analyse these cult demonic figures and their symbolic representations. Masks, puppets, myths, rituals and classical pestilences are made to converge in such a way as to reveal the network of associations enclosed within each of them (the kind of exegetical task and method of dialectical tacking recommended by Geertz 1980, 1983). Thus the Barong Landung cult mask-puppets I bring into association with the tenth-century legendary Mayadanawa and seek their relevance to the local experience and conceptualization of an ancient scourge, leprosy. I place the Rangda mask within the mythological context of the Calon Arang and seek the relational meaning between the Goddess of Death (Durga) which the mask symbolizes and the horrific epidemic disease (The Black Death)

Barong Landung (Bhatara-Bhatari Gede) of banjar Sindu Kelod being given offerings and homage. (In front: the pamongku caretaker of the masks.



which the myth recalls. The meaning beneath the Barong mask, I also seek 'from the inside-out' through the legend of a ruler's concern with a pattern of low-life expectancy, endemic and debilitating disease and a bhuta-yadnya named galungan. The symbolic significance of a disease-containing trance dance enactment called Sanghyang Bungbung becomes more accessible when I identify the association between its content and a motif in the life-story of the legendary priest-healer, Nirartha and, in turn, the latter's association with a scourge of his time, smallpox. Finally, I look at the cult demonic deity named Ratu Macaling, the god of cholera who has a mythology woven around him which is almost as spectacular as the biography of 'King Cholera' (as this dreaded epidemic has been designated in Western medical discourse) itself. Annual bhuta-yadnya spectators, panangluk marana and tawur kasanga, examined within the context of deadly epidemic, have their original (pre-anthropological mythologizing) meaning restored.

(i) **The Poetics of Metamorphosis: Giant Puppets (Barong Landung) and the Death of the Demonic Giant with Powers of Self-Transformation (Mayadanawantaka)**

[In] . . . an inquiry into the logical connection between an historical event or a natural event the first slight deflection into myth is important and fruitful. . . . If we have a mythical series about a giant, there is no point in inquiring who the historical prototype of the giant actually was. But it is important to understand that the image of the giant is due to a deflection or embroidery of a story about a human being of extraordinary size. The initial stage of transition from a natural event to a mythical tale is also important because it reminds us that the supernatural and extraordinary elements in myth are the result of deflection, not the other way round (Munz When the Golden Bough Breaks 1973:40).

The Barong Landung is a set of gigantic, male and female mask puppets. They are also known by the name dawang-dawang, a term which, like landung, means 'tall'. The male mask is black with bulging eyes, prominent and conspicuously even teeth, parted in a peculiar grin. The female mask is yellowish-white in colour and the puppet wears clothing which, like her facial features, is characteristically Chinese, not Balinese.

The imaging of the Barong Landung I see as deflections and reflections of the myth Mayadanawantaka, 'The Death of the Demonic Giant with Powers of Self-Transformation'. In no single Usana Bali is the legend related completely. Even within one text, it is related periodically, not in a linear sequence. One of the more complete versions is found in the Usana Bali Maydanawa (HKS2020). The following synopsis of the legend of Mayadanawa who ruled Bali from the region of Pejeng probably around the tenth century is drawn from several manuscripts (HKS2243; HKS1927; HKS2165; HKS2069; HKS2264; K497/2 V6; Prabu Majadanawa).

At the time of the coming of the kali-yuga [the age of chaos], Bali was ruled by the daitya [terrifying powerful beings]. All were in fear of the ruler who had sharp tusks, large prominent teeth, bulging eyes and black skin. When he died, he was

succeeded by his son who had the same appearance as his father. He was also said to have been created by the cosmic union of Kasyapa [in the Indian tradition, the progenitor of mankind] and Dewi Danu, the queen of the daitya [a Balinese deity associated with lakes]. Through the practice of matapa-brata [asceticism], he also acquired great sakti and maya [self-transformatory] powers; hence he became known as Sri Aji Mayadanawa. His many ministers, especially his chief minister, Kalawong, acted without fear [agul-agul]. Mayadanawa became so intoxicated with his own power that he began to resent having to make offerings to his ancestors in temples. And he ceased paying homage to the deities at Besakih altogether. Mayadanawa acquired a Chinese wife [putri Cina] with whom he became so infatuated that he neglected temples and the rituals a ruler was expected to enact on behalf of his subjects. So enamoured of his wife was Mayadanawa that he even cut off his tusks when requested to do so by her. He then decreed that all people, both male and female, should thenceforth have their teeth filed and levelled before marriage.

When his Chinese wife became stricken by a disease for which there was no cure [tan ana usadi mawaras], Mayadanawa sought the help of the deities of Tolangkir [Gunung Agung]. Because they showed no compassion, he became enraged and challenged their powers. He forbade his subjects to make any further offerings. No one dared to transgress his order. After his wife died, Mayadanawa had all the necessary death rituals completed and then, grieved and disturbed, he withdrew into himself. Crops failed and there were deadly epidemics throughout the land. Bali became desolate [tis-tis]. All temple rites [pali-pali, puja-wali and aci-aci] ceased. All was in a state of chaos because ancestral traditions had broken down.

Accompanied by all the pamangku, Kulputih went to Besakih and sought communication with the deities. Mahadewa and Dewi Danu descended into a shrine. They replied to a request for help in overpowering Mayadanawa by sending the army of the god Indra to Bali. In the confrontation which ensued, Mayadanawa and Kalawong fled from village to village. Through their maya powers they assumed such forms as nymph [widyadara], young coconut leaves [busung], breadfruit [tumbul], a large bird [manuk agung] and rice plants [padi] in order to elude their pursuers. Mayadanawa also used his powers of sorcery [amasang upaya-sandi] and the mantra named Aji Wejig to create a spring. Water flowed from the seven levels of the underworld [sapta patala] into it so that whoever drank this water would either die or become severely debilitated. In order that his footsteps would not be heard when leaving the area, Mayadanawa stepped on the sides of his feet and placed them aslant on to the ground. The place then came to be named Tampak Siring [Step Aslant].

Members of Indra's army became thirsty and drank from the spring. Many died or became ill. Indra and Mahadewa thereupon created a spring of life-restoring water [tirtha amerta] which became known as Tirtha Mpul. The afflicted drank from it and recovered.

Finally, the forces of Mayadanawa became scattered. Only he and Kalawong remained. They then assumed a new embodiment, that of a paras stone. This was struck by the arrow of Indra and blood flowed forth from Mayadanawa's mouth, ears and torso. The blood formed a river named Toya Patanu which was then cursed by the deities and was renamed Toya Mala [virulent liquid] as it had a potential to cause leprosy [gering agung]. This water was prohibited from use in building, rice irrigation and bathing. Crops irrigated by it would not be edible and people drinking it would suffer illness.

Mayadanawa's spirit was placed in a young coconut shell and left on the slopes of Gunung Agung. From the flower of the coconut came forth twins, a male and a female named Masula and Masuli. From their eventual union came another set of twins, one of each sex, who also married and bore twins of the opposite sex. Bali was ruled for seven generations by the offspring of such incestuous unions until the last male of the line named Tapa Ulung broke the pattern by refusing to marry his dark sister. He inherited the extraordinary magical powers of Mayadanawa.

In a variation of this myth (HKS1833:5a), Masala and Masuli are created through the yoga of Wisnu when a ruler-priest named Kuturan, who was without descendants, wished to return home to Budha's heaven (Budha-laya). They married but produced no children. Masula then married an anak jaba who bore him a son named Tapa Ulung-Sri Gajah Wahana Sakti who also had maya powers, being able to change the form of his head at will. But this is another deflection.

On the basis of epigraphic evidence it has been suggested that this Sri Aji Mayadanawa may be Sri Candrabhaya Singha Warmedewa who ruled Bali from 956-974 AD (Bali Post 15/3/82). Some of the oldest examples of Buddhist and Sivaite temples have been found at Pejeng and Bedulu where this line of rulers and the mythical figures are said to have had their centre of power. The locations mentioned in the myth are certainly known in Bali. The foundation of the sacred spring, Tirtha Empul, located at Tampak Siring, is mentioned in inscriptions. A sacred stone enshrined in the village of Manukaya dates the founding of the spring as 926 AD (Holt 1967:169). The Patanu, the cursed river, is one of Bali's principle rivers. For many years the river was not used for irrigation, bathing or drinking. In the 1920s, the curse was considered to have lapsed and the river was declared free of the curse and ritually rendered useable again (Bernet Kempers 1977:122). The names of the places to which Mayadanawa and Kalawong fled, Tumbul, Manukaya and so forth, incorporate the name of the animal or object into which they transformed themselves. They are names of villages in present-day Bali. The village in which a transformation was effected was given a name relevant to the form of the transformation. These various metamorphoses recall those of the buffalo demon slain by the goddess Durga (Devi Mahisasuramardini). Transformations, as Zimmer (1947:193) has commented, are a prime example of 'the mythological trait of externalization or projection'. Maya-power is used to project vital energy into new forms.

The mythic detail concerning Mayadanawa's Chinese wife and her affliction with an incurable disease is not included in many of the Usana

Bali texts I have consulted. Nor is it well known in oral tradition. Finding such a personage in the literary material tends to support my earlier suspicions that the Barong Landung cult figures and the Mayadanawa myth were related; that the former is a deflection of the other. There is certainly no mistaking the Chineseness of the female Barong Landung. Mythic and mask motifs pertaining to the male cult figure -- the blackness, prominent, even teeth -- also correspond. There is also the matter of the Putri Cina's incurable disease. In medical treatises, leprosy is described as a disease which cannot be treated or cured. When leprosy becomes, as it does, the dread event occasioned by the spilling of Mayadanawa's blood, its relevance to the intense human experience which prompted the myth, becomes even more conspicuous. This is not, however, to suggest that these particular cult deities are associated specifically or exclusively with leprosy.

I use the case of leprosy, a disease endemic in Bali and a likely referent of a motif in the Mayadanawa myth to illustrate my previous proposition that there is no standard Balinese conceptualization of classical pestilences. The perceptions, understanding and ritual responses peculiar to leprosy (the cultural biography of leprosy) reflect complex interactions between epidemiological factors and historical factors as well as cultural ones and the peculiar nature of the pathogen itself. These factors influence mythological reflections and deflections of tragic events.

Leprosy varies clinically along a spectrum from lepratous to the tuberculoid. There is a third type referred to as 'borderline' where the disease displays features of both. An early 'indeterminate' form can later develop into one of the three. Thus leprosy may present with an indefinite clinical picture. Indeed many dermatological conditions may erroneously be diagnosed as leprosy. The incubation period may be as long as three years or even several decades. Although not hereditary, the disease has been observed to occur in families.

There is no specific Balinese term for leprosy because ultimately it is unmentionable; early and indeterminate forms of leprosy are designated by the term ila meaning dangerous. There are also terms which refer to: the magnitude of the disease, gering agung, 'the great illness'; the colour or form of its dominant signs, geseng tumpur and ila mangsi which indicate the burnt or blackish colour of the skin of a person with leprosy; the obvious determining signs of skin sloughing off and altered facial features and limbs, tutumpur-agung; and the social and religious consequences of contracting the disease, tan dadya manusa jati, 'to be no longer a human being', that is, to be the 'living dead' (urip tan urip).

Leprosy is also referred to metonymically as Culik Daki, the name of the 'spirit' residing in the human organism that initiates the pathological process. The word culik has a meaning of 'to touch with the finger tips'. In usada consulted by Weck the name of this 'spirit' appears as Cukil Daki. Both cukil and daki have a meaning of 'filth'. Had the meaning of culik not had some relevance to an early symptom of leprosy, the loss of light touch (the feel of cloth, for instance), I would have been inclined to attribute the difference between culik and cukil to an error in the copying of usada. 'Filth' is also relevant to the pathology of the disease. Maggots, faeces and flatulence are also implicated in various cultural conceptualizations of the aetiology of leprosy. Culik Daki resides

in the large intestine, has black hair and yellow eyes and red body. Through his payogane (yogic meditation), the morbid changes are initiated:

There is dead blood [a blood clot?] in the abdomen. There is dead heat in the centre. It changes into hot liquid and goes to the heart, liver and gall bladder. There is also wind which continuously moves about during sleep and drives the hot liquid to mix with the dead blood in the three organs. The tissues there begin to rot, become foul and transform into putrid liquid. After a time, maggots emerge and cause pain in the limbs and in all the joints. Because the flesh is being eaten away inside the body, there are changes in the appearance of the skin. This phase lasts for a long time and then the maggots penetrate to the surface of the body. Their presence is manifest through the appearance of raised spots on the skin. If these lesions respond to treatment, then the illness should be named ila. If, after some time the lesions transform into something named uler babrasan [uler is a kind of rice cake], the maggots have penetrated and are eating away the bone marrow, the vessels, the flesh and the fat. The afflicted feels as though ants are crawling over the surface of the body and stinging. There is itch, throbbing, stabbing pain and a feeling of being scratched with bristles of bamboo. If this persists the disease is then named gering agung (HKS3048:2b; HKS3268:7).

Usada also state that Culik Daki is himself created through the mixing of semen and menstrual blood. The idea of contracting leprosy through sexual intercourse during menstruation is also fairly common. In Chinese medical mythology, the poison of flatulence initiates virulence. It penetrates the body and finally changes into maggots which attack the intestines, stomach, heart, liver and kidneys.¹

There is also a spirit named Sang Ganapada (one meaning of which is 'earthly'; gana is also the name of a demonic demi-deity, an offspring of Siwa) who resides in the spleen, has green hair, a white body and red eyes. He has the power to challenge the sakti of Culik Daki. Usada on this 'great disease' warn against naming the illness until diagnosis is certain. Once diagnosis has been made, radical measures follow. The victim may no longer be treated and is excluded from the village community and banished to the outskirts of the village, to a forest or seaside depending on the form of the leprosy. Even the victim's name may no longer be mentioned. Water that has been in contact with the leprosy victim may no longer be used, not even to irrigate crops. The purificatory rites of cremation are denied until a specified lapse of time which is dependant upon the caste status of the victim. However, in life neither the disease itself nor the rules of social and religious ostracism discriminate in terms of caste.

In Babad Arya Tabanan (K1792 2/13:20b) an eighteenth century ruler of Tabanan, Sang Nata of Singasana (Tabanan), after the death of his wife, changed his name to Prabhu Winalwan (widowed). He contracted an unusual illness. When signs of ila kebum (spotted ila) appeared on his body he handed over his subjects to his two sons and retired into the forest because he was suffering from 'a great disease which could not be cured' (gering agung lara tan kena tinamban). He performed tapa near Gunung Watu Kau. However, the disease abated.

The diseased skin sloughed off and was buried. A shrine was erected on the site. The ruler's name was then changed to Batara Makules. Kules means 'shedded skin of a snake'. He resumed his role as ruler and eventually died of old age. Another historical ruler, Dalem Pamayun, is said to have suffered from a disease in which his nose, fingers and hands rotted away and fell off. This was considered a divine punishment for gross misdeeds. His story is part of the Topeng (masked chronicle dance-drama) repertory (de Zoete and Spies, p.301).

Let us return to the Mayadanawa legend while remaining on the subject of leprosy. After the eventual subdual of Mayadanawa, Indra instructed the village leaders and temple priests on the correct observation of rituals and the imperative of preserving ancestral traditions:

All of you punggawa and pamangku, I give you these instructions. Do not transgress the power of the deities. Should you do so, you will be cursed by them. You will be afflicted with tutumpur agung [leprosy]. You will not be reincarnated as human beings. Furthermore, should you fail to offer devotion in the temples, each of you and all of your descendants will be likewise afflicted. If you fail to make ceremonial offerings, tutumpur agung will spread among your kin (HKS2265:46b).

Elsewhere in Usana Bali texts, leprosy is again presented as a curse of the gods:

If the kahyangan [temples] are allowed to fall into disrepair, are damaged and not restored, the ratu [rulers] will meet their death, together with all of their subjects and their descendants. All will be afflicted with geseng tumpur [leprosy] (HKS2243:20a).

Usada on leprosy state that the disease should be diagnosed only by balian usada, these being defined as healers who have knowledge of Saraswati (the Goddess of Knowledge). Usada list numerous forms of skin afflictions which may be confused with leprosy and warn that errors of diagnosis render not only the balian but also his kin liable to affliction with the disease.

These textual references to leprosy are, in certain respects, reconcilable with Western concepts and knowledge. The fact that leprosy has a wide clinical spectrum and that it is difficult to distinguish early cutaneous signs from other skin diseases is recognized in the usada; hence much cautionary advice to balian. Warnings to village leaders, temple priests and balian that their kin as well as they themselves could be susceptible implies a recognition of the tendency for leprosy to occur in families. Finally, the historical personages and circumstances referred to in the myth indicate that leprosy is a disease of antiquity on Bali as elsewhere.

There is, as far as I know, no creator-protector demonic deity imputed to be responsible for leprosy and therefore no one to whom masked ritual enactments are directed to contain this pestilence. In this respect, the biography of leprosy differs remarkably with that of cholera. Goitre, another (endemic) disease of ancient origin, is also the specific subject of usada. Leprosy is perceived as a curse of ancestral deities, an interesting contrast to smallpox which is perceived as a gift of the god of Majapahit,



The female Barong Landung figure (taken from de Zoete and Spies).

that is, the last ruler of the Hindu-Javanese realm before it collapsed under the impact of Islam and, as I have suggested elsewhere (Lovric 1987), before the arrival of smallpox epidemics on Bali.

To return to the masks, the Barong Landung. In their dance-drama ritual (mapajar), the Barong Landung sing rhymes in dialogue and enact what could be described as a love dance and comic flirtation. Because the songs were judged to have 'explicitly sexual overtones' (de Zoete and Spies p.115) or 'obscene allusions' (Goris and Dronkers 1953:187), their ritual has been categorized as a fertility rite. The legendary love and infatuation the besotted Mayadanawa felt for and rained upon his Chinese bride who died from a terrible disease would seem to represent a logical explanation. The fact that courtship or love songs are found in rituals which patently have nothing to do with marriage, is not an oddity once one is aware of the mythical history and the role relationship between the two Barong Landung figures. There is no evidence for the assumption that the ritual dancing and parading of these cult figures functions to secure agricultural abundance and animal fecundity. Physical impotence (the result of debilitating disease) and childlessness could be the concerns of songs with sexual overtones. Yet there are other resonances in the female Barong Landung mask worthy of investigation. I would suggest that anthropological and historical understanding of associations between myth, masks and rituals can be enhanced by the broad frame of reference the range of Balinese data presented here provides.

My proposition that there are significant relevancies between local experiences and interpretations of dreaded diseases on the one hand, and mythical events and the ritual manipulation of masks and puppets on the other, draws support from an insight into the nature of myth provided by Langer (1942:175). Tragedy, not utopia, is the typical theme of myth. And further, personages of myth 'tend to fuse into stable personalities of supernatural character'. Thus names become epithets linking deities to different cults. Whether or not literally believed, myth is taken as historical fact or as 'mythic' truth.

If one were to propose that the iconography of the female Barong Landung and the related myth express within themselves a dialectic (what Geertz [1966] might describe as an un-Hegelian one) that has biological connotations, the anatomical peculiarities of the mask would lend testimony. The yellowish-white colour of the skin, the deep wrinkles, the thickened, corrugated quality of the protuberant forehead, the thick nodules in the eyebrow region, the scantiness of eyebrows and the enormously elongated earlobes, are all part of facial disfigurement characteristic of lepromatous leprosy. This is not sufficient to suggest that the mask might be a pathological representation of leprosy. However, given the reference to her death from an 'incurable disease' (to my knowledge, leprosy is the only disease designated as such in Balinese medical theory) and these anatomical peculiarities of the mask, there are clear indications that the ideas which the symbols (the myth and the mask) present, are human and probably tragic.

Gross deformity and disfigurement, not death, are the fear-inspiring aspects of leprosy. I would argue that it is the uniqueness of the leprosy infection and the peculiar spectrum of symptoms and signs which have intervened in cultural constructions of leprosy. This, I have already



Balla Coala Dzonokwa mask (Milwaukee Public Museum of Milwaukee County)

The Swaihwé and Dzonokwa masks (taken from Lévi-Strauss, 1982).



*Safish (Musqueam) Swaihwé mask
(University of British Columbia
Museum of Anthropology)*

demonstrated to some extent through ranging local Balinese medical data. Now I wish to explore other biological connotations in myths and possible pathological representations in masks through reference to the ethnographic data yielded by Lévi-Strauss's study of masks and myths in *The Way of the Masks* (1982).

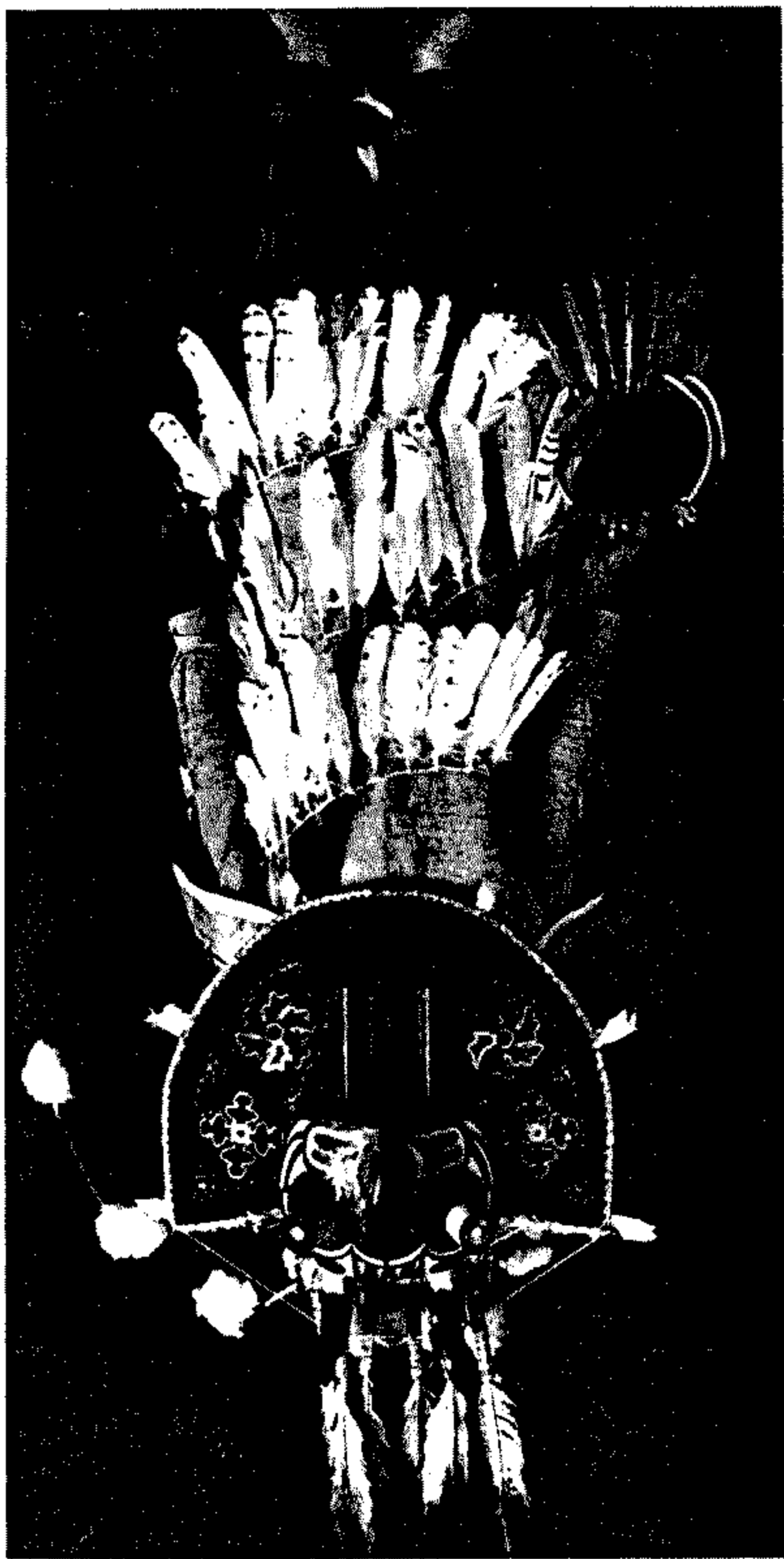
In a structuralist study of masks and associated origin myths of the Indians of the Pacific Northwest Coast, Lévi-Strauss (1982) selected two sets of masks, the *Swaihwé* (used by a number of tribes who inhabit coastal British Columbia) and the Dzonokwa mask of the Kwakiutl, which he posited to be oppositional. The *Swaihwé*-type masks are generally whitish in colour, full of protrusions, have huge protruding tongues and bulging eyes. Several small birds' heads may border the face. Noses are either absent or are replaced by a bird's head. Lower jaws sag or are missing. The masks are generally named by references to animals like duck, raven, owl, salmon and beaver. The masks have affinities with earthquakes, winds and coppers. In fact, they display a double affinity. They also have one with convulsive seizures and skin diseases. The masks are used in ritual and are credited with the power to drive away diseases (pp.22-3; 203).

Partly for the sake of brevity, I leave aside the data on the Dzonokwa mask. It seems to me that it is not necessary to set up an oppositional model in order to decode the symbolism of either mask. My investigations and decodings of analogous Balinese phenomena prompt me to suspect that, like each Balinese mask, the *Swaihwé* mask (similarly the Dzonokwa mask) expresses within itself features of a dialectic which has strong biomedical connotations. Here, I focus on the *Swaihwé* because of what appears to me to be an association with appalling skin diseases; hence its relevance.

There are various versions of myths relating to the origins of the *Swaihwé* masks. They tell of youths afflicted with leprosy or malodorous skin diseases who are ostracized by the group, relate how a she-toad heals a leprosy sufferer and dispenses coppers and how a leprosy sufferer catches a salmon which transforms into a frog or how the disease leaves the body in the form of a frog. They also describe toadfish seized by convulsive seizures or relate how fish, frogs and amphibians of various types act as mediators for afflicted humans.

In one myth associated with the origin of the *Swaihwé*-type mask, a youth afflicted with leprosy, his body covered with sores and swellings and emitting a foul odour, is rejected by his family. He throws himself into a lake where he encounters some mysterious creatures whom he contaminates with his saliva. They suffer convulsive seizures. Then, in exchange for his own cure, he cures them. Transferred back to land, he seeks out his sister (with whom, in Lévi-Strauss's analytical frame of reference, there exists a potentially incestuous relationship). On her instigation, they go back to the lake and cast a line which brings the mysterious water creatures to the surface. They give the sister the *Swaihwé* mask, a costume of feathers and some rattles, then return to their watery abode. The sister enters into a (prescribed) exogamous matrimonial alliance and the mask is passed on through her line.

The mask confers power to cure skin diseases and convulsions. Rattles made from empty shells are part of the ritual regalia used in



Cowichan Swaihué dancer holding peten shell rattle (from Curtis, The North American Indian, vol. 9, Historical Photography Collection, University of Washington Libraries)

The Swaihué mask and costume (taken from Lévi-Strauss, 1982).

rituals involving the manipulation of the mask. Interestingly, the smell of the mythical character is compared to the noise of the rattles.

These are the kinds of ethnographic data which Lévi-Strauss presents but leaves unexplored. He conceded that the plastic justification of the masks escaped him (p.10). This seems to have made it necessary to set up an oppositional relationship between two sets of masks and then a series of oppositional codes related to the myths and the masks - protrusions/cavities, black/white, birds/fish, uranic/chthonic, social order/asocial spirits, incestuous associations/marriage at a good distance, and so forth. The biomedical aspect of motifs in the myths and the symbolic allusions in the anatomical peculiarities in the masks to these motifs also failed to attract his interest.

Lévi-Strauss looked for (and found) a sociological code and sought (and found) socio-economic connotations in the masks and associated myths. Arranging this kind of data he was able to conclude that the myths expressed a social dialectic and that the masks were a means of avoiding sibling incest, promoting profitable matrimonial alliances and sanctifying and perpetuating social inequality (p.115). He concluded that one type of mask (the Dzonokwa) represents an asocial spirit and constituted a systematic inversion of the Swaihwé-type mask which incarnates social order (p.62).

My analytical categories and interpretive approach obviously differ to those of Lévi-Strauss. Influenced by the dialectical method of Hegelian philosophy (Leach 1985:13), Lévi-Strauss uses myth, mask and rituals as social structural data and analyses them as attempts to mediate contradictions and resolve problems of social organization. His interpretations, I would suggest, involve a philosophy of idealism which gives less emphasis to problems of human suffering (the tragic element), explained or expressed in myth and mask, and mediated through the ritual use of masks and the re-enactment of myths. In our inclination to take a moral stand in respect of things like social inequality or the social arrangements of those under scrutiny, we can instinctively seek out moral attitudes and values as being the determining motivations shaping mask and mythic motifs when there are more tangible and immediate motivations and concerns.²

Consider the network of associations in the symbolism of the Swaihwé mask and mythic motifs: malodour and fish (characteristically smelly); sores and fish or amphibians (characteristically having textured skin, scales, lumps, mottled colouring or spots); the odour of the afflicted and the noise of shell rattles; animals which are denizens of lakes and rivers, are of aquatic origin or else are denizens of both the land and the sky, that is, with 'powers' of transition.³ Consider also the probable connotations of absent noses and sagging or missing jaws.

The signs of leprosy include itchy, scaly skin, mottled lesions and ulceration and swelling under the tongue. Ulcerating skin lesions ooze blood and pus and exude a strong odour. Skin, muscle and bone are gradually 'eaten away'. The nose, ears, toes and fingers literally drop off and the jaw can disappear. The eyes become immobilized and staring, the ears can become long and pointed and the hands and the feet, clawed. The strong odour (characteristically 'fishy') associated with leprosy, the scaly skin, the nodules and swellings, and the transformations through which

the appearances of the afflicted undergoes in the course of the disease, all evoke metaphorical allusions to fish, amphibians, reptiles and birds.

Leprosy displays a pattern of high endemicity. The social stigma attached to leprosy is probably universal. It is easily understood why the victims of leprosy have been called the 'living dead'. Remedies have ranged from the eating of the fruits of the chaulmooga tree or the eating of frogs to bathing in mud. In many cultures the laws of leprosy required victims of the disease to sound clappers to warn others of their approach, to utter the ignominious cry 'unclean, unclean' and to wear specific clothing. An ancient test for leprosy involved pouring water over the body of a suspected victim of the disease. If the water ran off 'as from bird's feathers' a diagnosis of leprosy was confirmed (Geigy 1969). Aetiological ideas -- that incest can cause leprosy, that sexual intercourse during menstruation and that the disease is inherited -- also occur cross-culturally (see Fiedler 1966).

Clearly, when one is aware of some of the ideas and understanding held by peoples pertinent to transfiguring diseases, there are no empty metaphors in the myths or the masks or the ritual manipulation of the latter. Associations between things like coppers, shells and masks may have socio-economic connotations, as Lévi-Strauss posited, but they also have biological ones. Scabs and sores of leprosy have anatomical equivalents in coppers and empty shells. Typically, a tuberculoid skin lesion is large anular and has a dry scaly surface. A 'saucer the right way up' is the analogy used in Western medical discourse to describe this type of lesion in profile. Another type of leprosy lesion is compared to an 'upturned saucer'. Metaphorical associations between skin diseases like leprosy and fish, reptiles and amphibians, and to a lesser extent, birds, are also common to many cultures. The metaphorical affinities, I suggest, relate not only to the nature of skin lesions and their natural analogies with the appearance of these creatures but also to the propensity of these creatures to undergo transformations or to be transitional. Both the involuntary transformations involved in the pathological process and the ones which will bring about a return to well-being through ritual in which the masks play an instrumental role seem intended. It should be mentioned here that others (see Jordaan 1985:107) see similar linkages between skin diseases, masks (or puppets), rituals and snakes. However, this is generally interpreted to be suggestive of a 'snake-cult'. I maintain that the implications are more penetrating than this.

The Swaihwé mask and associated origin myths furnish us with a resource with which to delve into the perceptions which have formed other symbolic systems, in particular the semiology of disease. Juxtaposing medical and ethnographic data on leprosy with mythic motifs and mask iconography as I do here only partially explains the justification of the latter.⁴

There remain such important symbols as the bulging eyes, the lolling tongue, the birds, birds' heads and bird feathers, the convulsive seizures and the mask's association with volcanic eruptions. However, I still maintain that the key to the symbolism is still to be found in the mask and its associated myth rather than in schematized oppositional relationships of a socio-economic nature proposed by Lévi-Strauss. These could, of course, be present alongside the biological concerns.

The Swaihwé-type masks and associated origin myths, I suggest, display a double affinity. We have, in the myth, a boy with leprosy who contaminates mysterious water people with convulsive seizures through his saliva and then cures them in exchange for his own cure and a mask which is then used to exorcize leprosy and convulsive seizures. Let us take the as-yet-unexplained elements of the mask and the myth, the bulging, staring eyes, the protruding tongue, the bird ornamentation, the mythic hero's exuded saliva, the feathered costume and associations with meteorological phenomena, in that order, and look at their relationship with convulsive seizures.

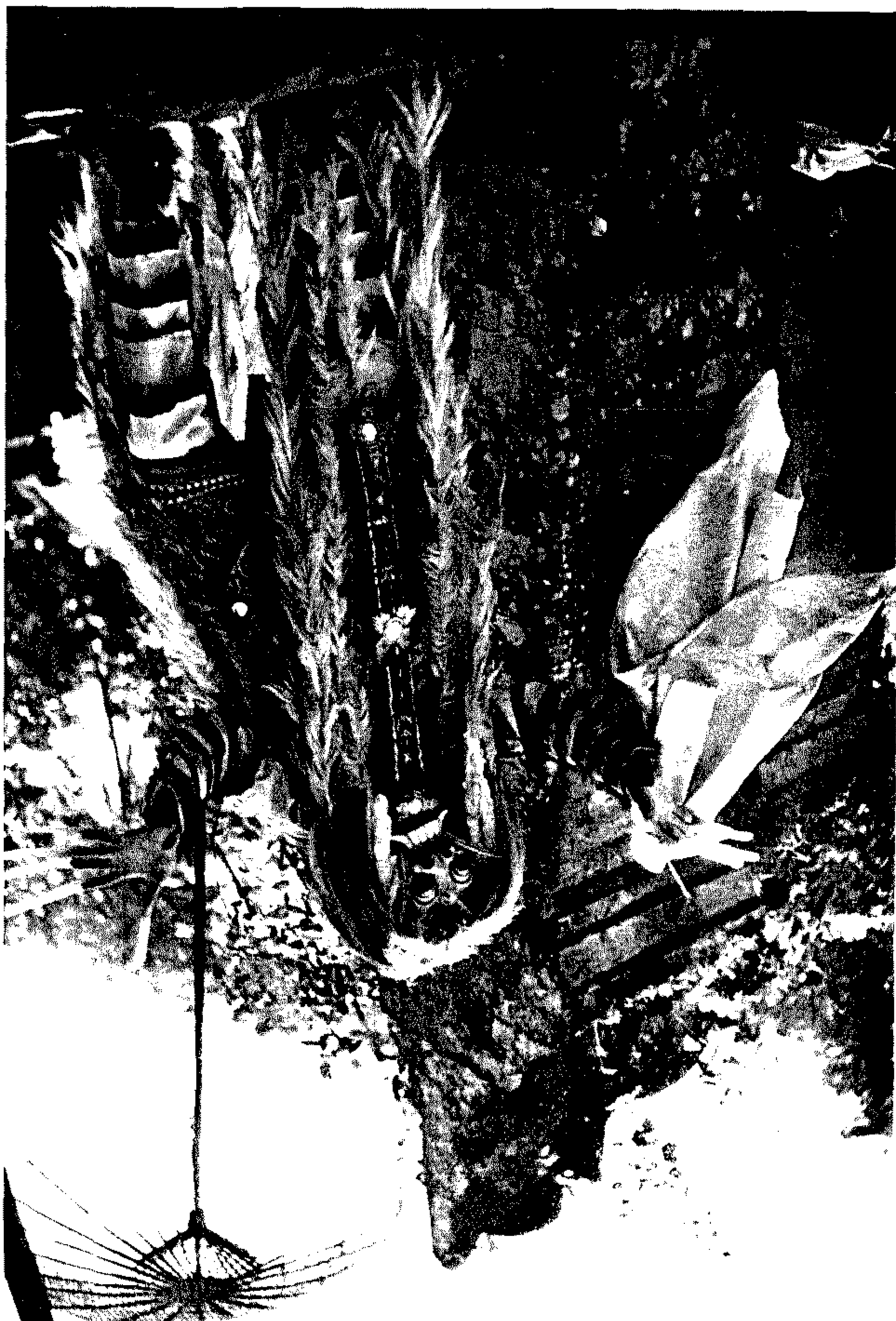
Complications following infections can lead to convulsive states. Convulsions are a sign of meningitis, for example. Protruding eyes (exophthalmus) is a prominent sign of meningitis. However, epilepsies are the most important and feared forms of convulsive attacks. In the petit mal form of epilepsy, the eyes have a staring position. In a grand mal epileptic attack, the tongue may protrude and saliva may dribble from the mouth. In some societies saliva dribbled from the mouth during a fit is believed to be a source of infection (Orley and Tsuang 1983). An association between birds and meteorological phenomena and convulsive seizures is perceived in many cultures. The natural allusions are also evident in Western medical descriptions of these seizures. Epileptic convulsions evoke winged movement typical of birds. A flapping tremor with arms outstretched like wings is characteristic of the neurological signs of hepatic failure. In petit mal seizures, the eyelids 'flutter'.

Aetiological conceptions and treatment strategies may vary across cultures, but they also contain common elements. Birds and meteorological phenomena are apparent. There are prohibitions on the consumption of fowl by epilepsy sufferers. Epilepsy is believed to be caused by the intrusion of a bird-like spirit. Chickens are waved in front of a person having an epileptic fit. Among the Fipa of Southwest Tanzania, epilepsy is treated with a medicine concocted from a bush bird (Willis 1977:282). Among the Gimi of the New Guinea Highlands, a mountain-dwelling demonic spirit who controls storms and lightning is also perceived to be responsible for inducing convulsions (Glick 1977:65). Significantly, in Western medical discourse, the term *aura* (breath of air) is used to describe the initial symptoms of a convulsive seizure. The visual aura of a grand mal seizure may consist of flashes of light or balls of fire. The aura does invoke an image of 'the quiet before the storm', that is, the convulsive seizure which can be 'of demonical fury' (Lennox 1955:1489).

Conceivably, the mask could also contain within itself an oppositional code -- its own antithesis. Leprosy and convulsive disorders are two very distinct forms of morbidity. Leprosy affects the peripheral but not the central nervous system. In the case of convulsive seizures, the reverse applies. The feathered costume worn by the manipulator of the Swaihwé mask could allude to both leprosy and convulsive seizures; leprosy because of the altered texture of the skin and the claw hands and feet already mentioned. Possibly, the bird's feather diagnostic test also had a wide application. I have already illustrated a three-way birds-storms-epilepsies association.

Now to return to the Mayadanawa myth and the Barong Landung masks which prompted this digression into other perceptions and expressions of ways of structuring understanding of human affliction.

Rangda as it appears in the ritual context of a Calon Arang enactment or a masolah (taken from de Zoete and Spies.).



In the Balinese data pertaining to leprosy there are no references to animal representations. This is curious as it is certainly not the case with most other forms of morbidity described in usada. But then there are no exorcistic rites directed towards the cure of leprosy either. It is unmentionable and is perceived as being incurable.

Apart from the anatomical characteristic of the female Barong Landung mask, which, on the basis of a reference in the myth to her having died from an incurable disease, the most striking feature of the mask is the 'Chineseness' of the figure represented. The Chinese connection in the myth is not without precedent. References to Chinese princesses occur in the Javanese babad tradition. Also, two Balinese inscriptions dating from the tenth century mention a deified ancestral deity of Chinese descent named Bhatara Da Tonta who was the son of King Dalem Solo from Java. One of these inscriptions (Trunan A1) grants the inhabitants of the village of Trunyan (a Bali Aga village) the right to build a temple for Bhatara Da Tonta. Another (Trunan B) decrees that the huge tall statue of Bhatara be venerated, bathed and covered with a yellow powder at a certain month in the Balinese calendar.⁵

Other well-known semi-legendary figures in Javanese mythology are imputed to have been afflicted with skin diseases. Nyai Lara Kidul, the Goddess of the Southern Ocean, Ragapadmi, a legendary princess from Madura and other mystical figures such as Ni Po, Nyi Pohatji, Nyi Rara Suci (sometimes called Sang Palangka, 'the Spotted One') and Nini Towong Kuning are all associated with some horrible skin disease (conceivably leprosy) as well as with healing and protective rites, with disease, water and widyadari (recalling motifs in the Mayadanawa myth, in particular his transformations and the contamination of the water). They are also associated with snakes or fish, or are described as having snake-like appearance (Jordaan 1985:99-116). Images (also in the form of puppets) of Nini Towong Kuning and Nyai Lara Kidul (like Da Tonta) are greased with yellow powder when used in rituals. Personages of myth do tend to fuse and names become epithets alluding to common concerns. Goris and Dronkers (1953) noted the existence of a Barong Landung foursome, the two regular ones, a prince and a princess names Cili Towong Kuning, the name of the princess associated with skin disease from Javanese mythology.

Skin diseases are a well-known mythological motif in Southeast Asia as elsewhere. Doubtless, there are substantive reasons why this is so. Leprosy is perhaps the most ancient disease recognized by man. It is also one of the most feared and poorly understood of the great pestilences. The most memorable is perhaps the plague to which I now turn through the intermediary of the Rangda mask and the Calon Arang myth. I return to the matter of the Barong Landung cult masks in the final section of this chapter.

(ii) The Rangda Mask and the Rangda Myth: An Historical Nightmare

The 'spectacularly theatrical' trance manipulation and 'dancing' of the Rangda mask (masolah) is, as Geertz (1971:29,31) comments, 'not merely a spectacle to be watched but a ritual to be enacted'. In order to understand the imperative of this ritual enactment we need to trace the thought and experience symbolically expressed in the mask and the rituals. The interpretive (rather than causal) understanding I seek here

pursues a decodification of the mask itself, its association with Durga, the strong Tantric orientation in Balinese magico-medical thought and the tragic, not utopian, theme of the Rangda myth, the Calon Arang. Calon Arang (Widow-Witch), an Old Javanese historical legend of devastating pestilence, is set on Java during the reign of Erlangga (AD 1010-1042). There are variations on details of this tale. The following is a composite synopsis drawn primarily and sometimes quoted directly from the version edited by Poerbatjaraka (1926:110-80) and Riwayat Empu Bharadah:

Mpu Bharadah was a priest of the bharawa sect of Tantrism. His daughter, grieved over the death of her mother from a severe illness and continually taunted by her step-mother and step-brother, finally left the household and went to be with her mother in the graveyard. There, she saw jackals fighting over corpses of bodies which had already been devoured by magically-induced diseases. She saw a male infant feeding from the breast of its dead mother. She then went to the part of the graveyard where her dead mother had been cremated, sat on a stone under a kepuh tree. There she vowed to remain until her own death. Her father concurred with her decision and had a hermitage built for her in the graveyard.

At this time, Erlangga ruled in Daha. He was a just and wise ruler and the realm was prosperous and safe. Then things suddenly changed. A rangda [widow-witch] named Calon Arang, who had acquired great sakti through the study of pangiwa from lontar, lived also in Daha. When her anger was aroused by the community, the rangda committed herself to invoke the powers of Durga and seek her permission to spread disease and death over the land. With her manual on magic and accompanied by her pupils Weksirsa, Mahisawadana, Lenda, Lendi, Gamdi, Guyang and Larung, the rangda went to the graveyard to pay homage to Durga and invoke her help. They all danced. Some squatted. Some stood on one leg. Others stood with their tongues protruding and their eyes staring. Then Durga appeared with her followers and they all danced.

The rangda then requested Durga's consent to spread pestilence and decimate the population [aneda tumpuraning wwang sanagara]. Durga agreed but instructed the rangda to control her anger and confine the disease to the periphery, not to take it inland to the centre of the island [aywa pati tekeng tengah]. Throughout the night, the rangda and her leyak followers danced in the graveyard and at the crossroads. Before long, villagers began to fall ill and die. People carried away corpses to the graveyard only to be themselves carried away a short time later. People suddenly experienced fever and chills and died [makweh pejah gringnya panas-tis].

Erlangga ordered the rangda's death, but all attempts on her life failed. Her sakti was such that she could not be killed by ordinary means. Consequently, an even greater degree of anger was aroused within her. Together with her leyak, she returned to the graveyard. There, they took the corpse of a man who had died on tumpek kaliwon [a day of magical import], tied it to a kepuh tree [also of magical potency], and breathing upon it, they brought it back to life. They then

sacrificed it to Durga. They slit the throat and, in the blood which flowed forth, the rangda soaked her hair which became matted with the dried blood. The body was then disemboweled and the rangda draped the entrails about her neck. She placed the liver behind her ear like a flower. The freshly slain corpse was then presented as an offering to Durga and all the bhuta-kala inhabiting the graveyard. Durga assented to a request from the rangda to spread the pestilence throughout the whole kingdom including the centre.

Presently people throughout the land fell ill and died. There were corpses piled up in the graveyards, in the rice fields and on the roads. Others were left in dwellings to putrify. Leyak would enter houses through gaps in the wall as people slept. Some villagers fled their villages seeking escape to villages not affected by the deadly epidemic [tan kamaranan]. Dogs barked continuously and devoured corpses. Crows screeched and squawked overhead as they circled the corpses before pecking at them. In the empty houses, flies buzzed about continuously. Observing the people deserting the affected villages, the bhuta-kala called out to them to remain because the pestilence had passed and the village was safe. Many, nevertheless, chose to flee. And because of this, they did indeed perish. Those who heeded the warning and remained, escaped death.

Erlangga and his ministers realized that their weapons were useless in the face of the rangda's great sakti. Brahmana priests were summoned to perform a fire-sacrifice [homa-yadnya] through which the means of containing the epidemic would be revealed. The priests lit the fires and meditated throughout the night. Siwa, in a manifestation having four upper limbs and a third eye, appeared above the flames and told them to seek Mpu Bharadah, one who was adept in yoga and had gained knowledge [yogiswara] and who dwelt in the hermitage in the graveyard.

Mpu Bharadah yielded to their request and sent his pupil named Bahula to marry the rangda's daughter. Through this alliance, Bahula was able to secure knowledge of the source of the rangda's extraordinary powers which had induced the epidemic. The source transpired to be a manuscript of incantations which the rangda customarily took with her to the graveyard each night to augment her powers. Bahula obtained possession of the manuscript and passed it on to Mpu Bharadah who read it and then instructed Bahula to return it.

Armed with this knowledge Mpu Bharadah confronted the rangda whilst she was supplicating Durga at the graveyard. She was unable to annihilate him with the flames she issued from her body. Finally, the rangda requested Mpu Bharadah to exorcize and expiate her in order that her soul might be liberated.

After the demise of Calon Arang, Mpu Bharadah instructed Erlangga to have a temple built in the village where she had lived so that expiatory offerings could be made and the destructive powers of her spirit could be propitiated.

The final episodes in the historical myth relate Erlangga's decision to abdicate and retire to the forest to lead a life of asceticism and the division of the realm between his two sons.

Elsewhere (Lovric 1987:120) I have suggested the possibility that the pestilence described in the *Calon Arang* has some association with the spread of the highly fatal plague bacillus in Asia in the eleventh century. The imagery of a horrifying epidemic in the myth, particularly the presentation of the illness, does echo certain epidemiologic and historical facts concerning the plague. Reputed to be the most devastating scourge of all time, the plague or Black Death, as it was sometimes called, spread from Asia in the eleventh century and climaxed three centuries later, recurring sporadically thereafter. The onset of the disease is abrupt, beginning with a high fever and chills, followed by rapid prostration. Death may take place within thirty-six hours of the onset of symptoms. As the plague bacillus is an organism of low viability outside the body of a human, a rodent or a flea, the plague dies out spontaneously as the population is decimated.

From epigraphic evidence, it is known that in 1017 a serious catastrophe (*pralaya*) the nature of which is not specified, led to the destruction of a Javanese kingdom and the death of the king, Dharmawansa Teguh (Erlangga's father-in-law) and prompted Erlangga to seek refuge in the mountains for some years. The cause of the tragic events remains a matter of conjecture. Erlangga succeeded his father-in-law as ruler in 1019 and he is said to have rid the country of a woman endowed with formidable power similar to a *rakshasi* (female demon) in 1032 (Bernet Kempers 1977:49). An epidemiological disaster may well represent one of the historical causes for the collapse of a kingdom and the retreat of Erlangga. The war-pestilence sequence is frequent in history. It is possible that the events of 1017 and 1032 have been conflated.

Although unknown in contemporary Java, the *Calon Arang* is of great cultural and magico-medical significance for the Balinese. There are various versions of the myth in written, dance-drama, pictorial and *wayang* forms. Balinese interest in a pestilence in eleventh-century Java is not strange considering the fact that at the time there were close cultural and political ties between the two islands centering on the key figures in the myth. Erlangga was the son of the Javanese queen Gunapriyadharmapatni (Mahendratta) and her Balinese consort Dharmadayana Warmadewa (Udayana). The identity of the *Calon Arang* is a more contentious issue. According to contemporary Balinese, she is Erlangga's mother, Mahendratta, who ruled Bali together with her husband Udayana. When her husband died, Mahendratta, now a widow (*rangda*), was suspected of having practised witchcraft in order to procure his death and was banished to the forest by her son Erlangga. In the forest, she studied *pangiwa* and conjured up great *sakti* through which she brought great pestilence. An identity of the *Rangda* with Durga was established in death. According to Stutterheim (1936), a sanctuary near Kutri in Gianyar possibly represents the sepulchral monument of the notorious royal witch who, in death, was deified and identified with Durga; this is implicit in her funerary designation Durgamahisuramardini. Given the characteristic fluidity of myth and the fusion of deities, demons and the deceased, it was but a short transition for the *rangda* to come to symbolize Durga.

Though a subject of horror, the plague has also been a rich source of literary stimulation and pictorial representation in the past. The plague, almost certainly labelled the Black Death because of the severe cyanosis it causes in its victims, erupts in crises generally resolved only in death and social chaos (Artaud 1974 V.4:7-20). The horrors of the Black Death are further accredited with having provided the compost for the seeds of terror to germinate into cults of witchcraft. The philosopher-playwright, Artaud, held a notion of the disease as a kind of psychic entity.

An enactment of the Calon Arang dance-drama displays all the features of a grotesque parody of a population ravaged by a plague-like pestilence. The initial scene features agonized people fleeing from villages affected by pestilence. It is always enacted at night, near a graveyard or a pura dalem. The mood is tense and eerie. In a farcical birth-scene depicting the delivery of a still-born, leyak crowd ominously about and eventually steal the corpse. In a graveyard scene, people carrying their dead and grave-diggers are tormented and menaced by leyak. The audience is captivated by terror, horror and hilarity, trembling with both fear and uneasy laughter.

It is conceivable that an initial encounter with so horrific a pestilence as plague became a never-to-be-forgotten event, like leprosy, unmentionable and unresolvable save through masks and rituals which immortalize its occurrence and function to prevent its recurrence. There is, to my knowledge, no specific term for the plague. It is not the subject of a usada.

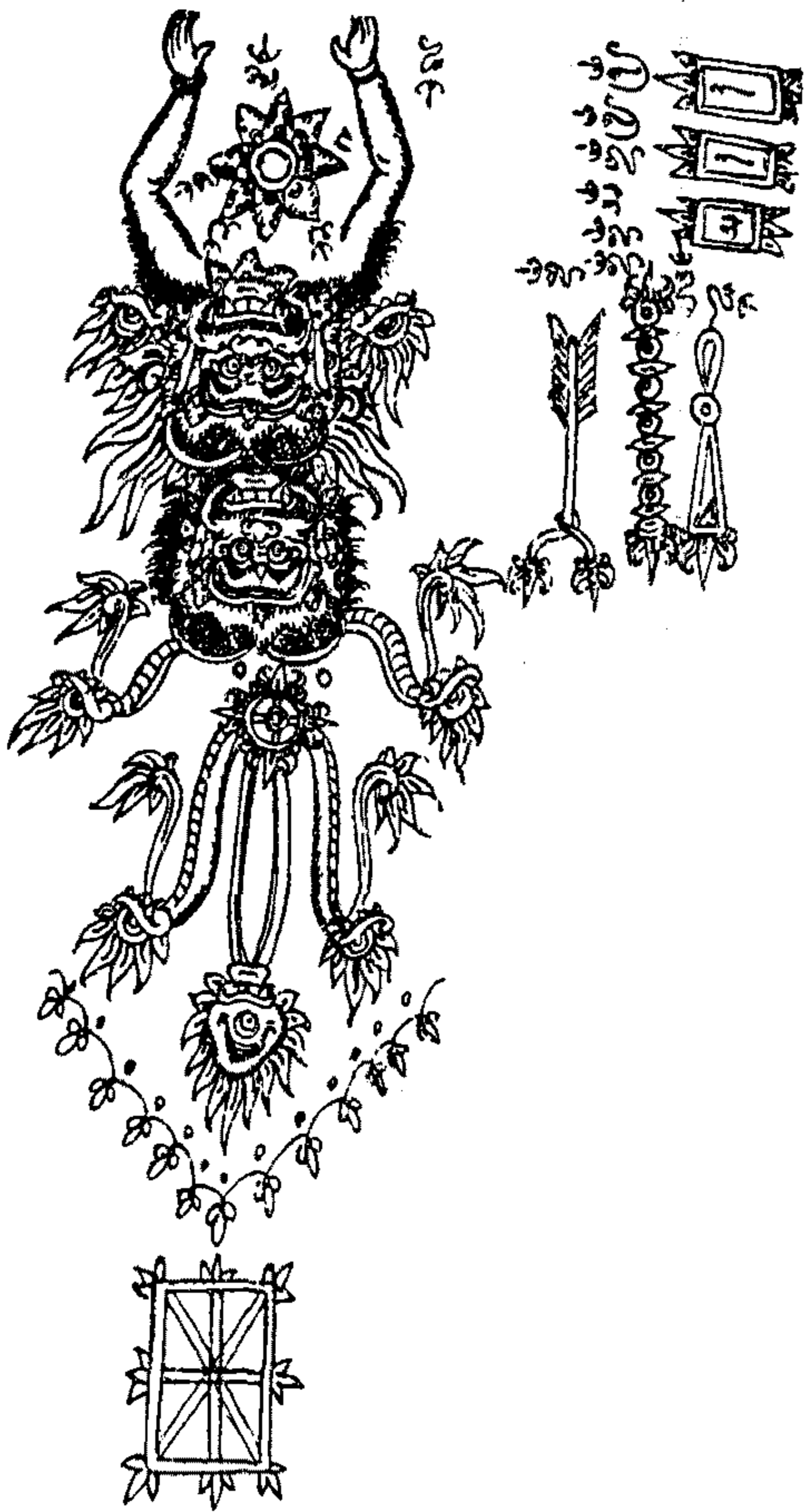
Almost any Balinese will say that the Rangda mask is a symbol of Durga which, given appropriate deference and offerings, will protect the population from epidemic disease; if it is not given such deference, the mask will allow disease to recur with unbridled fury. The Rangda/Durga mask also has the power to control leyak, which is the reason an entranced Rangda mask wearer, when taken on a ritual parade or to a graveyard, calls out 'mai, mai leyak' (come, come leyak), and 'I am the one who rules over all leyak' (aku Ratu ning leyak kabeh).

Wayang enactments of the Calon Arang aim to circumvent dangers to the community posed by those who have sakti (such as leyak) and use it to spread epidemic. Such wayang enactments are usually held in the centre of a rice field or the edge of a graveyard where bhuta-kala and leyak are liable to congregate. Not all dalang would dare, or deem themselves sakti enough, to enact this myth. One must have both the physical and spiritual endowment necessary to be able to summon bhuta-kala and leyak and to control them by counteracting the dangers that such pingit events may bring. A dalang meeting these requirements, as a further precaution, is purified with holy water (palukatan) by a padanda before commencing. The magically powerful kepuh tree and dadap branches secure the space in which the mythical-magical enactment is held. The powers of Durga in all such protective rites are summoned in mantra such as the following:

OM, I concentrate my thoughts, I am Sanghyang Kaputusan
Durga.

I am Sri, I am Uma, I am Gangga, I am Saraswati, I am
Sanghyang Bhatari.

I am Kalika, I am Bhatari Kali, I am Bhatara Kala, I am Bhatara
Sapuh-Jagat.



I am Bhatari Bharawi Durga, returning within to become
Bhatara Dalem.

I am the ruler in the world, the ruler of Durga.

All you Durga should make obeisance to me.

OM sidhi astu.

OM white leyak, red leyak, yellow leyak, black leyak.

Gather together in the centre of Ajnyana-Wisesa.

Become five-coloured leyak, having such forms.

Because I am the guru of desti, the guru or all leyak,

I am an embodiment of Durga-Murti.

Pay homage to me all of you leyak, poma, poma, poma.

(K611:12b)

The depiction of Durga as Rangda (or the Rangda as Durga) is a common feature of Balinese temple sculpture. Grader (1969:156) has interpreted the theme of such depictions in terms of 'sexual lust' and related it to a cult of fertility. He also interpreted the motifs in moral terms; the depictions evoke a magic protection 'against dark passions'. Invariably, attempts to explicate the Rangda figure and decode the symbolism have been made outside of the context of the myth and the concerns it recalls and expresses; hence we find such unintelligible, because dislocated, identifications as 'the blood-thirsty, child-eating Rangda' (Covarrubias p.326) who engaged in 'the abominable practice of feeding upon the blood of pregnant women and the entrails of unborn infants' (Hanna 1976:135). Or else we have the gratuitous spinning of exotica implicit in such constructions as the Rangda mask representing 'the monster within each of us . . . acting out hatred and violence', as the commentary in the film *The Mask of Rangda* puts it.

In the course of questioning informants concerning the meaning behind the Rangda mask and the Barong mask, researchers generally have been struck by the way the subject of illness arose and the obvious anxiety and fear expressed in this regard. Disease invariably invokes the question of witchcraft. Since bewitchment immediately invokes in the minds of Balinese and Western inquisitors alike an association with the Rangda cult mask, the fear and anxiety expressed by the informants was projected upon the Rangda as 'the fear aspect of the mother figure . . . a symbol of direful, teasing mother figure' (Bateson and Mead 1942). Trance involved in the Calon Arang, mapajar and masoloh were perceived to represent a catharsis -- a ritualized release of rage against the potential perpetrator of evil, the bewitcher. Through it, the Balinese are supposed to express their feelings about the mother-role (dissociated teasing and systematic discouragement of inter-personal emotion). And Bateson and Mead pushed this Rangda-Barong-child-rearing correspondence still further; vis-à-vis the Rangda (witch) there is always a Barong (dragon), just as vis-à-vis the teasing unsatisfying mother, there is the playful, satisfying father (p.38). The antics of the Barong in trance enactments, cast into this scheme, illustrate the gentle nature of the doting father. And the trance seizures of the masked figures are an equivalent of infantile tantrums (pp.34-8).

For Belo (1949:17), the Rangda embodied dangerous aspects of female senility and was an expression of the parent-child relationship and an embodiment of fear. Belo also proposed that religious rivalry between Sivaism and Buddhism was symbolized in the two masks, and further that the Rangda rituals were a means of acting out suppressed anger and reinforcing social solidarity. Le Cron Foster (1979:187) perceived

a blurring of the male-female distinction in the Rangda-Barong but interpreted this along the lines that the Rangda's limp, lolling tongue is symbolic of 'a lifeless and impotent phallus in contrast to the erect phallic tail of the Barong'!

Such theories and decodings of the symbolism seem anachronistic and inappropriate within the context of Balinese culture, the myth and morbid reality. Obviously, there are many layers of meaning. I suggest that the grotesque figure of the Rangda also embodies the morbid and psychic dimensions of disease and the spirit of pestilence cast in a Balinese mould of Tantric philosophy. The fear aspect, I agree, is present, but it pertains to something more real and immediate than a teasing mother. It seems to me that efforts to reconstitute the aesthetic code in the Rangda and the semantic one in the myth would be well-directed to local archetypes and profound experiences. Local representations of Durga/Kali, Tantric mystical techniques of utilizing the ambivalent powers of graveyards and corpses and the realities of life (disease and death) would seem to constitute keys with which to commence a decoding of the symbolism. Characteristic symbolic features of Durga have been identified in the context of bharawa cults and pre-eminent female deities in Chapters 5[v] and 9[i]. In what follows, I project this encoding on to the Balinese cult mask said to represent Durga.

The name Durga (Rangda) contains within itself two aspects of existence. The word durga, as a healer informant reminded me, means 'going and coming', 'death and life', for its component syllables dur- and ga- have this meaning. This etymology is, of course, another expression of the two-in-one Tantric mystery and power, rwa bhinda. Within the Rangda, there are four elements (kanda mpat) named Banaspati, Anggapati, Mrajapati and Banaspati Raja; pati means 'death'; angga means 'body', mraja means 'enclosure'; banas means 'forest'. There are other layers of meaning encapsulated in the aesthetics of the Rangda mask. A key to the symbolism in the scattered bones and skulls which are part of the imagery of the mask is to be found precisely in these remnants of material existence, in the pathology of morbidity and mortality. They are a metaphor for disease and dying, the face of death and the vision of putrefaction.

Rangda, the major protective cult deity, referred to by the Balinese as Ratu Ayu, appears to originate in the experience of horrific calamity. The Rangda in her graveyard garb of blood and entrails is the characteristic representation found in the plastic and pictorial arts and in dramatic enactments of the myth. With her panting, flaming and protruding tongue, her bulging eyes and matted hair, the Rangda seems to suggest, among other things, embodiments of the great goddess Dewi in her bharawi aspect as Kali, the great Black Goddess smeared with blood and Durga, the Haunter of Graveyards. The extent to which the Rangda vividly recalls, and perhaps memorializes the morbid appearance of plague, may derive particularly from the pathological features, either actual or distorted, ascribed to plague corpses -- the numerous discreet and confluent haemorrhages, the bulging, wide-open eyes, protruding tongue and perforated abdomen associated with sudden rapid death.

Durga/Rangda is grotesque and fear-provoking and there are elements of metaphysical fear and a cosmic struggle in enactments of the Calon Arang myth. This has little to do with a fear of teasing mothers and



One of two statues of Durga figures grasping infants, found at the entrance to the jeroan of the Pura Dalem, Sanggeh.

senile barren females, human morality or struggles between virtuous gods and incorrigible demons. There is symbolism, artistic and literary. It is imitative and protective. In no society, so far as I am aware, do envy and frustration, occasioned by senility and sterility prompt such acts of revenge as child-killings, as earlier interpretations imply. Stealing and 'devouring babies' is not, to my knowledge, a custom practised in any extant culture. The meaning beneath the cult mask relates less to human issues of morality than to ones of morbidity. Furthermore, the mask encapsulates the fear of devastating epidemic diseases such as the plague provoked. It is a means of mystical participation and control. The Rangda mask is a receptacle for the power of Durga. Enactments of the myth are perceived as a magical means of preventing or containing epidemics. What Margaret Mead (The Mask of Rangda) interpreted as a symbolic death and rebirth in Calon Arang enactments, I would interpret as another instance of the triadic phasing in Balinese rituals -- utpeti, stithi and pralina -- the arousal or awakening, the participation with cosmic forces the mask represents and the final dismissal or severing of the spirit's hold. The cult of Durga as the supreme demonic protective deity and cults of sakti and witchcraft, the prime symbols in Balinese perceptions of disease aetiology and cure, and the focus of attention in the event of epidemic, appear in context in the semi-historical legend, the Calon Arang.

Another important aspect of Durga/Rangda which arises from both the myth and the mask imagery of Durga/Rangda as a 'devourer of babies' warrants comment. Sculptural representations found in pura dalem sometimes feature Durga/Rangda 'devouring' (or grasping) infants. In the pictorial representations of leyak scenes in Calon Arang paintings, the victims being 'butchered' are babies or young children. Infants also feature prominently as residents of graveyards. The corpses of infants ravaged by disease are referred to in the various textual versions of the Calon Arang. A birth-scene in which a delivered child is still-born or dies shortly after birth is a regular motif in Calon Arang magical dramas.

Four of the ten scenes in an ider-ider (painted cloth friezes)⁶ representation of the Calon Arang depict macabre graveyard grotesqueries featuring leyak and dying and dead infants. In the first scene in this sequence, the body of an infant is surrounded by the Rangda and her pupil leyak. The ornamentation, posturing and fiery emanations from the heads and joints suggest an iconographic rendering of a mantra invocation of the bharawi powers of Durga/Rangda (see Chapters 5[v] and 8[i]). Another scene depicts two leyak cutting the throat of an infant who is lying face downwards with wrists and feet bound. Another leyak grasps the infant by the legs. Blood streams from the body into a bowl. Other leyak are engaged in disemboweling the body, hacking up the flesh which is then placed on a chopping board. Some of the flesh is placed in another container. Other leyak pound the flesh. Curiously, except that here we do not have pig flesh and blood, we have all the preparation and ingredients for the making of the symbolic ritual food known as lawah. And, in another scene the infant is trussed up 'like a piglet' and being presented as an offering to Durga. Another scene depicts leyak menacing people carrying corpses to the graveyard. One group of people is carrying a bier. A member of another group is carrying an infant-size shrouded corpse.



Scenes iv and ix from a series of paintings of the Calon Arang legend (from the Forge collection of paintings held at the Australian Museum, Sydney).

To identify exaggerated extremes such as these and interpret the flagrant semiotics -- animal-like facial features, glazed eyes, tongue protrusion and fiery flaming bodies -- in terms of 'gross overaccentuated aspects of secondary sex characteristics' (Mead 1970:205), as having 'connotations of aroused female sexuality' (Forge 1978:item 35) or as 'a mother figure . . . consumed with envy and frustration' (Le Cron Foster 1979:186) is to reduce the complex concept of Durga to the outlandish and ludic. Following a postulation made by G. Foster (1972) that 'babies and the ability to bear them, are major causes of envy', Le Cron Foster went on to posit that Rangda eating babies and the entrails of unborn babies 'is one indication that procreation is a major source of envy' among the Balinese. Flourishing, as she does, a white cloth, supposed to represent a baby sling (Bateson and Mead 1942:175), according to Le Cron Foster (p.189), the Rangda devours babies in order to exact revenge because she can no longer bear them.

The white cloth which covers the Rangda mask when not activated, and which is sometimes flourished during her dance (masolah), is called a kudang (headcloth) and sometimes an anteng (cloth worn across the breast). It is complete with magical syllables and diagrams. If it does also incorporate a reference to the sangkal or aled-aled, the cloth used to wrap newborn babies, then this reverberation is an integral part of the gross parody being depicted. The key to the symbolism contained within the stock of horrors associated with Durga/Rangda is contained within the symbolism itself. A decoding of artistic and literary motifs of the fearsome goddess of death devouring infants and of the gruesome butchering of babies might begin with some consideration of the actual fate of many newborns, namely devouring disease and death. Balinese refer to rampant disease in terms of a foraging predator, ngamah gering; ngamah means 'to eat' (of animals), 'to devour', or 'to search for food'; gering means 'disease'. They also use the expression mati amah gering, meaning 'dead, devoured by disease'. If the cult of Durga/Rangda is to be proclaimed a cult of the macabre, as it might be, it is because the human experiences to which the symbolism points are indeed un-natural, ab-normal and macabre, even though inevitable and eternal. Zimmer (1947:215) would say that Durga/Rangda is 'destruction incarnate'. But what is this nebulous 'destruction'? S/he is death and life incarnate. S/he brings forth life in the form of the newborn, sustains them or devours them. The blood and entrails are symbols of death in the disintegration of the human organism through disease.

One could, therefore, see in the imagery some cryptic reflections of the anxiety and fear arising from a major survival hazard -- the historically high infant and childhood morbidity and mortality rates. The numerous prescriptions and proscriptions related to pregnancy and birth and the magical protective rites clustering around the first one year of life and punctuating the following four years have empirical correlations, namely, the hazards of survival. The factors mitigating against a newborn surviving the first five years of life were great on Bali as elsewhere. In developing countries nearly half of the deaths occur in children under five years of age (Evans et al 1981:1117). Balinese medical treatises on diseases of children and obstetric emergencies (Usada Rare Kuranta Bolong) document, and the numerous manusa-yadnya rituals which cluster around the first one year of life confirm and seek to control, the hazards associated with the process of birth and the various life-threatening diseases which become manifest in the neonatal period

(arbitrarily taken as the first six weeks of life), the first six months (when the digestive system is both immature and easily deranged) and between one and three years (with the increasing high incidence of infectious diseases due to the expansion of the social circle).

My observation that the early manusa-yadnya rituals happen to be scheduled at precisely the time or months of life when particular specific disease entities generally have their onset was further strengthened when balian informants referred to the age incidence of early infancy diseases described in the usada through their association with particular manusa-yadnya rites. A balian katakson referred to the deaths of four of her children as having occurred around the time of particular manusa-yadnya rituals. My conclusion is that manusa-yadnya are scheduled at the times they are because experience has prompted an awareness of the onset of particular life-threatening diseases at particular stages of development and transition. Infantile beriberi, for example, a highly fatal disease, has its onset at about nine to twelve weeks of life. Infantile spasms indicative of gross cerebral pathologies have their onset generally between three and seven months of age, with a peak onset at around six months. By the age of six months, an infant will have been subjected to eight of the fourteen manusa-yadnya rites an individual undergoes in a lifetime. These are scheduled at seven months' gestation, at birth, around the third day of life, the seventh and twelfth days of life, at three months and at six months. Another is held at one year and others are held at three years and around seven years. They seem to both celebrate the survival of the infant beyond the critical moments of life and the passing or approach of certain bridges or hazards faced in infancy. They might also acknowledge and proclaim the precariousness of life in early infancy.

As I decode the flagrant semiotics, the myth and the Durga/Rangda cult figure stand as a metaphor for the physic dimensions of a particularly virulent form of the plague embodying its morbid dimensions -- the swollen, panting tongue, glazed, inflamed eyes, perforated abdominal cavities yielding intact organs. Artaud (1974:12), acutely and sensitively attuned to an 'inner nature' in the pathology of the plague, was also inspired to juxtapose the 'unprecedented organic disturbance' (p.10) heralded by plague with myth and with theatre:

Thus all great Myths are dark and one cannot imagine all the great Fables aside from a mood of slaughter, torture and blood-shed . . .

Theatre, like the plague, is made in the image of this slaughter

. . .

Like the plague, theatre is a crisis resolved either by death or cure. The plague is a superior disease because it is an absolute crisis after which there is nothing left except death or drastic purification . . . (p.20).

I see the Rangda mask as a mask of death, itself a force as powerful as life. Its iconography is representative and expressive of both the metaphysical and pathological dimensions of 'a superior disease' and 'an absolute crisis'. Another, and possibly added level of meaning, the Rangda and leyak activities in paintings and the comic scenes in mythical enactments of the Calon Arang become parodies on the vicissitudes of life in a harsh and unhealthy tropical environment. High infant morbidity and mortality, in particular, and a short life expectancy, in general,



The Barong cult mask and costume (taken from Goris and Dronkers, 1953).

were the norm. As Boon (1982:141) has commented in another context: '... little is playful and nothing is trivial, even cultural play is deep play'.

(iii) The Barong Mask (Sang Kala Gede) Ruling Raja and an offering to Demonic Forces (Bhuta-Yadnya) named Galungan

Compared to the Rangda, 'notions of who (or 'what) the Barong is', are, as Geertz (1971:34) commented, 'equally diverse and even vaguer'. Capturing, as it does, the imagination of almost anyone who has observed Balinese rituals, the Barong has been perceived as everything from a 'warm, puppy-like' and 'playful father' (Bateson and Mead 1942:38; Mead 1970:203), a 'clumsy bear' (Geertz 1971:31), a kind of 'super placenta' of the whole village (Ramseyer 1977:114), to a 'complex symbolic statement' in which its tongueless mouth represents a 'vagina' and its 'uterus back and erect tail' embody 'youthful sexuality of both sexes' and 'playfulness' (Le Cron Foster 1979:188). Somewhere between these extremes we may begin to understand what the Barong symbolizes by exploring the location and substance of its rhetoric.

Within the frame of reference used here, the Barong is not viewed as a representation of 'right', 'light', 'good', 'masculinity', or as the antipode of the Rangda. My focus will be on the interrelationships between the plastic characteristics of the Barong masks, the vocabulary of the Barong trance dance and associated origin myths as well as the counteractions expressed within these. Thus I seek to think the totality of this cult mask in its own right. The search for meaning will explore the varying contexts within which the Barong 'acts' and the medical mythology it may 'reenact'. I shall return to the issue of who (or what) the Barong (Sang Kala Gede) cult demonic figure is or represents. Meanwhile, I wish to contextualize the cultural artifact by placing it within its own complex historical and medical mythology.

As Sang Bhuta Kapingan, the Barong is the fourth of the five elements (panca mahabhuta) within the body which arise at conception, assist in development and can be implicated in pathogenesis. As it is the colour black, it is also named bhuta ireng (black bhuta). Its abode is in Pura Dalem, and there it is named I Ratu Nyoman Sakti Pangadengan. The Barong is also the placenta (ari-ari), one of the four personified spiritual forces and concomitants of physical birth (kanda mpat) and one of the five components of a living organism and existence, which transposes it back to the panca mahabhuta again. As the human placenta, the Barong is Banaspati Raja, and as Banaspati Raja, the Barong is 'Lord of the Forest'. As one of the panca mahabhuta, the Barong is 'Lord of the Graveyard', of streams and rivers and of supernaturals such as tonya and detya who dwell in such places. Pictorially, the ari-ari is given the same representation as the Barong cult figure, or should one perhaps reverse this, and say, the Barong is iconographically represented as the placenta. Mershon (1971:42) saw the shaggy, stringy body of the Barong as representative of the veins and arteries in an afterbirth. As Sang Kala Gede, the Barong is also identified with Kala. The archetypal Kala, an offspring of Siwa and Uma, is a voracious agent of disease and death. It has the roar of a lion, eyes like shining suns, a huge and long body and has a form beyond compare. The visage of Kala is undifferentiated from that of Bhoma (a demonic son of Wisnu and Bhatari Perthiwi).

Kala-Bhoma heads, a ubiquitous feature of temple architecture, are also found decorating gateways and the entrance of bridges as protective symbols, for these mark space of ambiguous power and danger. As a class of supernaturals, kala are often presented as the miscreations of deities manifest as sperm; hence there is one bearing the name Sanghyang Manikkaya, manik referring to sperm and maya meaning 'transformation'. The most commonly found type of Barong mask, known as Ket or Keket, is not traceable to any known animal (though it does bear considerable resemblance to a lion) and seems likely to have its origins in the Kala-Bhoma image.

The caretaker of a set of Sanur masks passed on to me a narrative (which he said, derived from the Tantu Panggelaran) relevant to the Barong's symbolic significance. Sanghyang Trimurti (Brahma, Wisnu and Iswara) descended to earth in order to mediate with Durga and Rudra who were decimating the population through the diseases they were creating. The Trimurti contrived a dance-drama called telek barong (also called tarian jauk) and a musical drama called arja in which they presented a parody on the perpetrations of Durga and Rudra. They endeavoured thereby to urge them to regain their awareness and return to their benign forms. Sanghyang Trimurti also instructed the population in a protective ritual called ngalawang in which the Barong was to be paraded through the village past the gates (lawang; thence the action, ngalawang) of each houseyard, so that the bhuta-kala would cease their disease-spreading activities and would flee or else enter the Barong.

In banjar Taman, Sanur, a mapajar-masolah is always preceded by the masked jauk-sandaran dance enacted by eight dancers, four of whom (the jauk) wear red masks and four of whom (the sandaran) wear white masks. According to an explanation of this dance given to Neuhaus (1937) by the renowned Padanda Made, the jauk represent embodiments of the mystical syllables SANG BANG TANG and ANG, that is, the umbilicus, the heart, the kidney and the gall bladder, the fiery elements of the body. The sandaran are embodiments of the watery elements, NANG MANG SING and WANG, that is, the lungs, abdomen, liver and throat. Together with the two syllables ING and YANG, which remain within the Rangda, these constitute the dasaksara (see Chapter 4[i]). In the dance, the two separate sets of elements (jauk and sandaran) unite and become the four pati; anggapati, mrajapati, banaspati and banaspati-raja (one set of names of the kanda mpat). The first becomes bhuta, the second transforms into Rarung (a pupil of Calon Arang) who summons leyak after having transformed herself into a tiger. The third, banaspati, transforms into kala and then into a naga and summons bhuta-bhuti. They assist the Rangda to control the magical powers of those who intend to spread pestilence. The fourth, banaspati-raja, transforms into the Barong.

References to both the Barong (as Sang Kala Gede) and the mapajar occur in Usana Bali. This tends to indicate the cultural uniqueness of the phenomenon as well as its relative antiquity. In these texts it is related that at a time of pestilence, Giriputri (Durga) appeared to a ruling raja named Jayakusunu and told him of the need to make offerings in the week (wuku) of dungulan in order to entice the demon trinity (Sang Kala Tiga) to enter the Barong (Sang Kala Gede). The following is a composite synopsis of this legend drawn from several manuscripts (HKS2165; HKS2265; HKS2020; HKS2987; HKS2264):



(left): Bhatara Tiga, a manifestation of Bhatara Ewan responsible for a specific life-threatening pathological process in the body.

(right): A composite human-bird-danawa figure and twin sons of Bhatara Siwa able to act as an antidote to the toxicity produced by Bhatara Tiga.

(K173)

For a long time after the death of Mayadanawa, there was no ruler on Bali. Then, finally, there was a ruler named Sri Sakti Jayakusunu. He became ruler following a series of rapid successions. All previous rulers had died prematurely and without descendants.

Much of the population had also fallen victim to deadly diseases [jara-marana]. Jayakusunu's subjects were few in number as the population had been depleted through widespread disease. Because of this, Jayakusunu sought the help of the deities. He went to the graveyard and paid homage to Giriputri Ra Nini [Durga] throughout the night requesting her protection. She appeared, and Jayakusunu requested from her the means to a long life and rule, relief from jara-marana and a means of warding off epidemic diseases.

The goddess told Jayakusunu that the reason for the untimely deaths of so many rulers and their offspring and the proliferation of deadly diseases [tinibanan marana] among his subjects was to be found in the fact that ancestral temples and shrines had been neglected and allowed to fall into disrepair and that there had been no caru abaya-kala offerings made in the week of dungalan. His subjects were dying, Durga told him, because they were becoming possessed by Sang Kala Tiga named Bhuta Galungan, Bhuta Dungulan and Bhuta Amangku Rat. She told him that in the dangerous week of dungulan offerings should be made when the bhuta-kala are particularly active, by the sea, rivers and other sources of water.

Durga's prescription for the containment of disease and death also included instructions on the erection of penjor (decorated long bamboo poles) and the hanging of lamak (plaited palm-leaf decorated with abstract or stylized human forms) outside each houseyard and in all places where people gathered. She presented Jayakusunu with a mantra which was to be uttered whilst placing the offerings for Sang Kala Tiga (also named Kaki Bragalungan) on the ground:

OM Kaki Bragalungan, Bhatara Kala, Bhatara Jablung, the
bhatara who rule the world [bhatara amangku rat].

Bhatara Enjer-Enjer, Bhatara Yama, Bhatara Nadah.

Do not devour anyone.

Here is your food offering . . .

Another version of the mantra (HKS2987), invokes the same bhuta, Kaki Bragalungan, and requests them not to disturb human beings, identifies their form and colour (as yellow not black), and asks them to accept a food offering so that human life is retained and people return to a state of well-being, no longer afflicted by disease and pain.

In order that the Sang Kala Tiga might be enticed into Sang Kala Gede (the Barong), it is paraded (malancaran) around the village and made to pause at entrances to houseyards (lawang) during the week dungulan. If these measures were not adopted, Jayakusunu was warned that his realm would be depopulated (sepi) for ten years. Dungulan is the name of the eleventh of the thirty seven-day weeks (wuku) of the Javanese-Balinese calendar of 210 days. It once coincided with the change of seasons, a dangerous time in terms of illnesses. According to the Usana

Lontar depiction of a Barong named Barong Sarba. Bhatar Sangkara manifests (anyjutiha) in such a form (Paribhasa K173).



Bali, it is a time of great danger (masan abaya-kala). The name of this ritual prescribed to ward off the threat of deadly seasonal disease is galungan, a title of the disease-proliferating demons. Galungan is also known as sasayut abaya-kala-agung (the great abaya-kala offering). The responsibility for its completion, in the past, rested with the ruler of the realm.

Galungan is a prolonged ritual which is completed over a period of six days. Human well-being, as the following synopsis from the Sunar Agama indicates, is clearly the objective of this bhuta-yadnya:

On the day named panyekeban, Sanghyang Kala Tiga Wisesa commence their descent to become Bhuta Galungan and to receive offerings prepared for them by mankind. People, especially pamangku, must be cautious and alert so that they are not entered by I Bhuta Galungan. It is a dangerous time when human welfare is in jeopardy. The following day, panyajaan, is a time when people should meditate and free themselves of passion because on this day Sang Kala Tiga appear. The next day, named panampahan, is a time when offerings and animal sacrifices should be made at the crossroads and in houseyards, for Sanghyang Kala has now become Sang Bhuta Galungan. They have the potential to harm the population or they can protect it. On this day the danger culminates. Abaya-kala offerings, aimed to secure the well-being of individuals, should be made so that people have a long life and are undisturbed by illnesses. On the day named raya galungan, people should practise yoga-samadhi in order to secure the well-being of the world and its contents. On the day named umanis galungan there should be purificatory rituals to further secure the safety of the world of man. On the final day, pamaridan-guru, further offerings should be made to secure well-being and long-life.

On the night before raya galungan, Barong masks are taken to the graveyard to request a renewal of supernatural powers from Bhatari Durga.

The fact that this bhuta-yadnya has been described as a kind of 'All Saints Day' and interpreted as a 'Thanksgiving' for agricultural abundance (see Gorris, Swellengrebel, Mead, for example), or a celebration of good over evil, reflects the consistency of misrepresentation concerning the emphases in Balinese magical rites and cultural concerns. From textual references alone, clearly neither the Barong nor galungan warrants constriction within grand cross-cultural explanatory paradigms of totemism, harvest festivals or victory celebrations.

Data derived from the magico-medical literature provides further clues which allow new insights into the meaning beneath the Barong cult mask and the reason why the trance dance of the Barong takes the form it does. In other words, what is it that the Barong is enacting, externalizing and exorcising? We might begin by examining a particular spirit dwelling within the human organism and responsible for the pathological processes leading to febrile illness, named Barong Sarba.

The term sarba has no clear contextually appropriate meaning. However, the illustrated form of this Barong Sarba is patently similar

to the cult Barong figure as well as to textual illustrations of Banaspati-Raja, one of the four spiritual siblings of birth. In Balinese medical manuscripts, pathogenesis and the resultant toxicity are expressed through the term wisya or a derivative, kawisyan (see Chapter 4[i]). It is within this context that the term barong and the pictorial representation of Barong Sarba occurs. The relevant textual reference (K173:18a; HKS3255:23a) reads:

There is a pathological prefigurement [pratingka ing wisya] named Bhuda-Sarani, the conformation of which should be known. There is pallor and the skin is mottled. The pulse throbs rapidly. The body is weak and hot. The breath from both nostrils is heavy. The eyes are inflamed and the eyeballs rotate. There is unquenchable thirst, excessive salivation, profuse perspiration and nausea. This will continue for ten days and then the sclera may become yellow. The name of this symptom complex is wisya katara [manifest toxicity].

The genesis of this toxicity lies in the dead yellow blood which concentrates together being blown along by red wind [bayu abang]. The affected blood then penetrates vessels and causes pain and the illness, wisya katara.

It is Barong Sarba who accumulates the power [angyogaken] to make this illness. Barong Sarba's domicile [palemahan] is within the jambongan roro [? 'two vessels]. Barong Sarba has the head of a danawa [giant demon] and the body of an animal . . .

Who is able to expurgate [marisuda] the creative power [payogane] of Barong Sarba in order to allow recovery?

It is Sang Lareprana whose abode is inside the spleen. Sang Lareprana is of yellow appearance and has red hair. But the task of healing is not completed by Sang Lareprana alone, for across his shoulders Sang Lareprana carries two babies [rare roro] who become the means of counteracting Barong Sarba.

Sang Lareprana is depicted, as stated, carrying two small persons who are suspended across his shoulders. Ingredients for the offerings to be given to Barong Sarba, as well as ingredients for medicinal concoctions, are then listed.

One could argue that the symptoms and signs listed here under the name wisya katara (manifest toxicity), created through Barong Sarba, are too vague and indeterminate to be correlated with any one described disease entity. One could equally argue that they are, even so, highly suggestive of hepatitis, yet, even more, of malaria. Malaria is a febrile parasitic infection characterized by chills, fever and sweating. The skin appears pale. The pulse is rapid. Symptoms vary according to the type of parasite responsible for the disease and to host resistance. Vivax or tertian malaria is the most common and most likely to recur. Generalized joint pain, muscle soreness and low grade fever are followed (after about twelve days) by febrile paroxysms. This is followed by a cold stage in which the teeth chatter, the pulse is rapid and weak. There is uncontrolled shivering and shaking, and occasionally, nausea. A hot stage, in which sensations of intense heat, hot, dry skin and severe headache usually occur, follows. Finally, there is a sweating stage in which there is an abrupt onset of profuse perspiration, drowsiness and general weakness.

The spleen is enlarged. Acute mental disturbances are also common in malaria. After an initial acute attack, the disease has a tendency to become chronic with occasional relapses. These occur when exoerythrocytic parasites persisting in the liver reinvade the blood stream. Relapses are most likely to occur following exposure, and they are frequently timed with a change of climate. Malaria has a peak incidence in the wet season.

My grounds for deliberating on a correspondence between wisya katara, the toxicity created by Barong Sarba, and malaria should become obvious through a close reading of the given extract from the usada and these few details about a particular form of toxicity named malaria. Epidemiological facts concerning malaria reflected in the Jayakusunu myth, in the galungan bhuta-yadnya, and in the ritual parading of the cult mask at the changing of seasons and throughout the wet season, and the concerns these express (childlessness, a high incidence of disease and high death rates), push an association still closer. This parasitic infectious disease has had profound effects upon the health and reproductive capacity of human populations. Throughout history, it has been a major cause of death. Of all infectious diseases, 'it has caused the greatest harm to the greatest number' (Burnet and White 1978:232). Malaria kills about ten percent of its victims directly and contributes to the ill health or death of many others by decreasing the immune system's ability to resist other infections (Friedman and Trager 1981:113-22). Malaria has played a major role in human history. In the twentieth century, it became the major health priority of the Dutch medical service in the Indonesian archipelago.

Be that as it may, there is no intention here to reduce the meaning behind and beneath the Barong cult mask, trance dance and its rituals to the epidemiology of malaria alone. There are other conspicuous aspects of the semiotics of the masks, their names and the vocabulary of the trance exorcistic dance of the Barong which remain to be deconstructed and reconstituted.

From Weck (p.200) we have another piece of the puzzle 'of who (or "what") the Barong is'. Leyak with special knowledge of the teaching called pangiwa barong sepak (sepak means 'kicking'), a behavioural trait of the entranced Barong cult mask, are said to be able to transform themselves into the form of a Barong. In this form, the body becomes heavy and feels hot, the breath is fiery and the fangs grow long. I have earlier proposed that leyak, in their transmogrifications, sometimes encapsulate morbidity. Within this frame of reference, there may be some recall of Barong Sarba through the barong sepak. A comparison, not an equation, is suggested.

Then there is the form of the Barong masks themselves and the semiotics of the Barong's 'dance' to be decoded. It is here where the Barong's associations with morbidity become even more explicit. While the Barong mask in the form of an unknown lion-like animal named ket or keket is the most well-known of the Barong masks, these do occur in several other animal forms:⁷

barong bangkal, 'boar barong'; barong macan, 'tiger barong';
barong gajah, 'elephant barong'; barong meyong, 'lion barong';
barong lembu, 'cow barong'; barong kidang, 'deer barong';

barong jaran, 'horse barong'; barong asu, 'dog barong'; barong kambing, 'goat barong'; barong kebo, 'buffalo barong', barong puuh, 'quail barong'.

The mapajar dance of the Barong has been aptly described by McPhee (1970:303) as 'a capricious blend of moods'. In dance, the Barong is temperamental, sometimes nervous and afraid, sometimes biting, snapping its jaws, grinding its teeth, quivering, shaking, shivering. Its teeth chatter, it moves restlessly, it kicks and it stamps. It moves its head from side to side and up and down. Sometimes, it almost swoons. Sometimes, it moves slowly and sometimes its mood changes to one of feverish agitation. These are the characteristic antics of the Barong in trance. Geertz (1966:60) perceived the essence of the Barong's trance enactment when he described it as a 'mystical, metaphysical and moral standoff'.

Why these particular animal representations and what relation do they have to the specific moods, emotions and pantomime expressed in the Barong's trance dance? One could begin by looking at animal representation in a closely related context, namely disease taxonomy and symptomatology where, in fact, the same animal names occur. We can look, to begin with, at the animal naming assigned to the constitutional symptoms displayed in the prodromal phases of febrile infectious diseases such as smallpox and in the sub-classifications of the category of infectious neuropathies which, in Balinese nosology, are termed tiwang.

The animal names applied to the initial symptoms of feverish restlessness, itch, irritability and the neurologic signs and consequences of high fever (ocular disturbances, shivering, and so forth) of smallpox include:

bangkal, 'boar'; macan, 'tiger'; gajah, 'elephant'; meyong, 'lion'; sampi, 'cow'; manjangan, 'deer', jaran, 'horse'; asu, 'dog'; wedus, 'goat'.

Masks of the cult Barong may take precisely these forms, it will be recalled. Another mask form, that of the puuh (quail), occurs in the usada as a generic term to refer to the phases of smallpox. The name of the lion-like Barong mask, the ket, or keket and the Sanskrit word bharuang (bear) and the word barong itself also occur in the usada in the naming of symptom complexes. There is an interesting consistency in the spectrum of symptomatology designated by this group of barong-animal qualifiers. It is generally characteristic of fever and chills caused by a number of infectious diseases which, indigenous medical treatises would indicate, were endemic on Bali and displayed a peak seasonal incidence.

To illustrate more graphically these consistencies and what is possibly a conversion of medical semiology into exorcistic dance choreography, I cite examples from usada of the kind of labeling fevers and chills elicit:

tiwang barong: nervous, shivering, jerky movements, head nodding and moving from side to side and swooning.

sarab barong: restless, shivering, twitching, trembling.

tiwang bharuang: heavy stiff body, startled, clawing and crying, wide staring eyes, swooning.

puuh kumandangan [ghost]: grinding teeth; turning and twisting violently.

tiwang ket: biting and snapping, feet moving back and forth.

tiwang macan: restless, biting and scratching.

puuh kidang: nervous and restless, wide staring eyes, delirious.

tiwang jaran: head moving to and fro repeatedly; baring teeth.

puuh kebo: eyes wide and wild; nervous, shaking, head nodding from side to side.

tiwang asu: biting and snapping.

tiwang meyong: stabbing pain at night; eyes wide open; body stiff and rigid.

puuh manjangan: severe itch; frightened, vacant look in eyes.

Clearly, there are motivations explaining the almost pathonomonic behaviour exhibited by the entranced Barong alternative to what Geertz (1973c:53) described as the 'misleading tags' and 'empty similarities' sometimes proposed in interpretations of who or what the Barong is. The animal aspect of the Barong, as I have shown, has little connection with the principles of animistic totemism. The animal aspect, it is suggested, pertains to physiological processes, disease symptomatology and analogies with animal morphology, physiognomy, behaviour, modes of locomotion and sensory characteristics.⁸

The containment of the severity of disease is the explicit motivation behind Barong mask rituals and the creation of masks. Balinese magic is largely mimetic. It is surprising that the meaning behind both the form and style of the masks and the exorcistic rituals in which they are used has been sought almost everywhere but in the concerns the masks, myths and rituals themselves acknowledge. A search for meaning should continue. My investigations now turn to a trance exorcistic dance in which only the Rangda mask operates.

(iv) Serpent Lotus Tiger and Bamboo Cylinders: Motifs of an Historical Legend a Form of Tantric Yoga and a Ritual (Sanghyang Bungbung)

For insofar as dialectical thinking is thought about thought, . . . such self-consciousness must be inscribed in the sentence itself. And insofar as dialectical thinking characteristically involves a conjunction of opposites or at least conceptually disparate phenomena, it may truly be said of the dialectical sentence what Surrealists said about the image, namely that its strength increases proportionately as the realities linked are distant and distinct from each other (Jameson 1971:53-4).

An attempt to decode the symbolism in a trance exorcistic dance and disease-containing ritual popularly known as sanghyang bungbung (spirit of the bamboo cylinders) and a search for meaning behind an 'encounter with a serpent' motif in the historical myth of the legendary Nirartha, point to a mutual convergence of the ritual and the myth, as well as to a reification of a 'right-hand' microcosmic form of Tantric yoga.

Visual imagery, as Moore (1977:26) has commented, develops parallel to a literary tradition. There is an iconography, a creation of images



The Dewa Alit (Sanghyang Bungbung puppets) in their shrine in Pura Dalem Desa just prior to their 'awakening'.

The Dewa Alit, accompanied by the Rangda mask on their ritual procession along the seaside to Pura Dalem Patal.



or a writing of images. This need to construct visual representations may be regarded as an aspect of man's need to symbolize. Images often share the same basic character of symbols and often have subordinate symbols associated with them. In attempting to understand the thought and the motivations expressed in apparently distinct and distant phenomena linked here, I am impelled by an awareness of the kind of 'mirroring upon mirroring' and 'the dazzle of reflecting reflections' (to borrow from Geertz 1980:107) conveyed by the symbolism in the myth and the ritual.

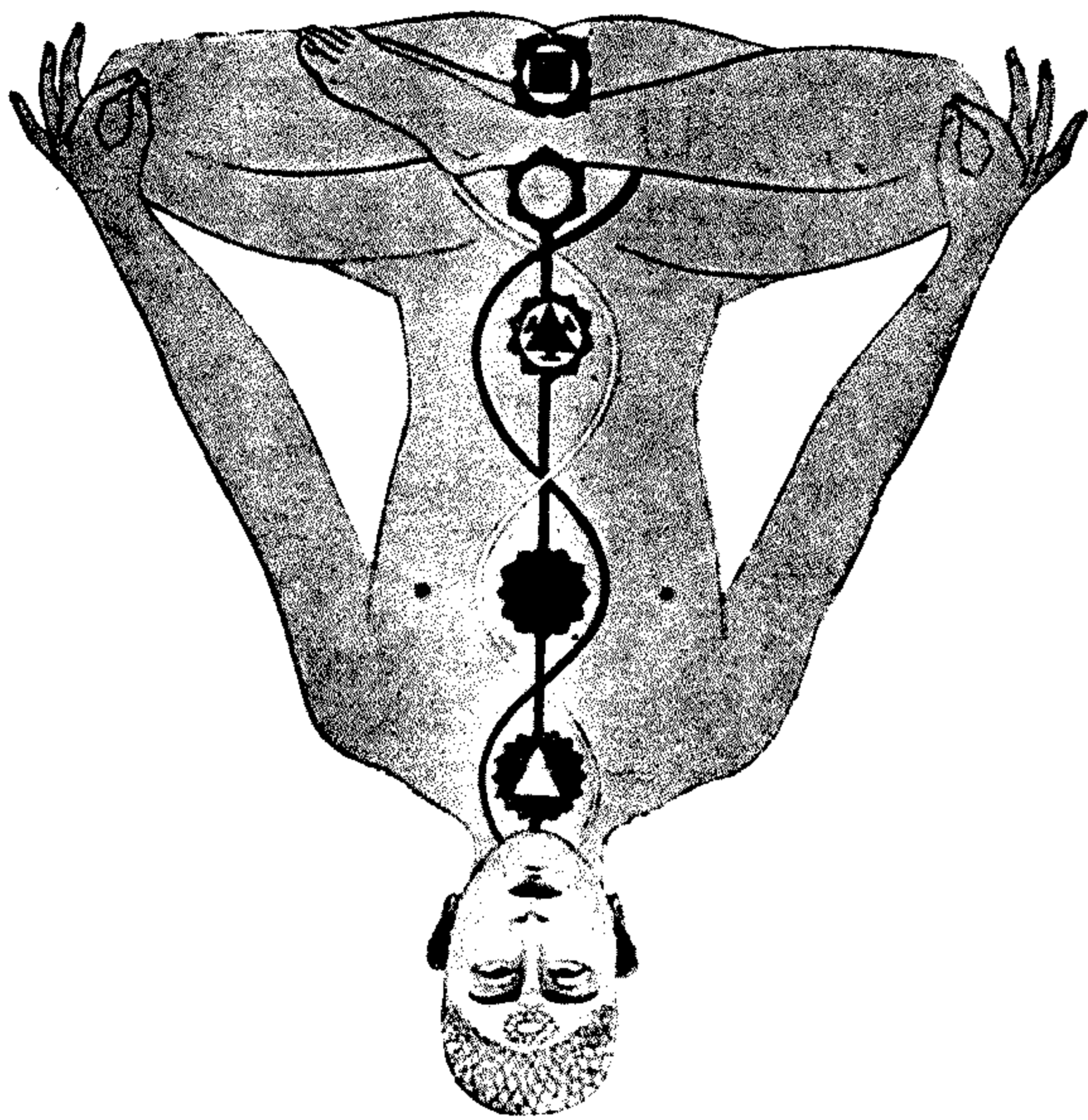
The investiture of the fearsome Goddess of Pulaki (the deified daughter of the legendary Nirartha) in the seaside temple, Pura Dalem Patal, in banjar Sindu Kelod, Sanur is known through oral tradition. Whilst walking along the beach, a woman was approached by an aged woman who instructed her to inform the padanda of Sindu that the Goddess of Pulaki wanted to visit Pura Dalem Patal and that a shrine should be erected there for that purpose. An enclosed shrine (gedong) within the pura was built immediately. On the following odalan of the pura, the arrival of the Goddess of Pulaki was made manifest through the possession (karauhan) and trance utterances of a local pamangku. The Goddess had arrived with a retinue of three tigers, one black (macan ireng), one yellow (macan gading) and one striped (macan poleng) (Belo 1960:268-9).

In a later trance utterance, it was also revealed that the Goddess had twelve followers referred to as dewa alit (small deities). These were given a material representation in the form of twelve sanghyang bungbung figures. Puppet figures were fashioned from bamboo cylinders (bungbung) and draped with red and white cloth. Their faces were carved from wood and painted gold. Golden headdresses were affixed. These were, and are still, installed in another temple in Sanur, Pura Dalem Desa, in which a Rangda mask is also enshrined.

These puppet representations or dewa alit are also referred to as 'flowers' (sekar). Most of them also have flower names -- I Ratu Sekar Sandat, I Ratu Sekar Gadung Melati, I Ratu Sekar Tunjung-Beru, I Ratu Sekar Teleng, I Ratu Sekar Minyeng. Other names ascribed to them include Dadari Supraba, Dadari Tilotama, Desak Raka (Desak is a title and Raka means Elder Sibling), Desak Rai (Rai means Younger Sibling), Manik Teja (Flowing Jewel), I Bhuta Gigi-Rangab (Many-Fanged Bhuta). I Bhuta Siu (One Thousand Bhuta) and I Bhuta Kemong (Gong-eyed Bhuta).⁹

This so-called sanghyang bungbung ritual is generally enacted between the fifth and the tenth months of the Balinese calendar, that is, during the wet season, and on the nights of the full moon and the new moon. On the night of the new moon of the fourth Balinese month (tilem sasih kapat), there is a rite of arousal called matangyan, an awakening of the dewa alit so that they may keep vigil over the people of Sanur during the wet months when disease is most rampant. The rites also include an animal sacrifice to the sea. Having been aroused, the dewa alit, together with the Rangda mask representing the Goddess Durga, are ritually paraded to the sea (malasti) to have their powers recharged. They are then installed in Pura Dalem Patal, given offerings, and later the same night returned to Pura Dalem Desa. They remain in this state of activation or arousal (nyeneng) until the full moon of the tenth Balinese month (puhnama sasih kadasa) when they are returned to a state of quiescence.

Locations of the cakras or lotuses (taken from Avalon's *The Serpent Power*).



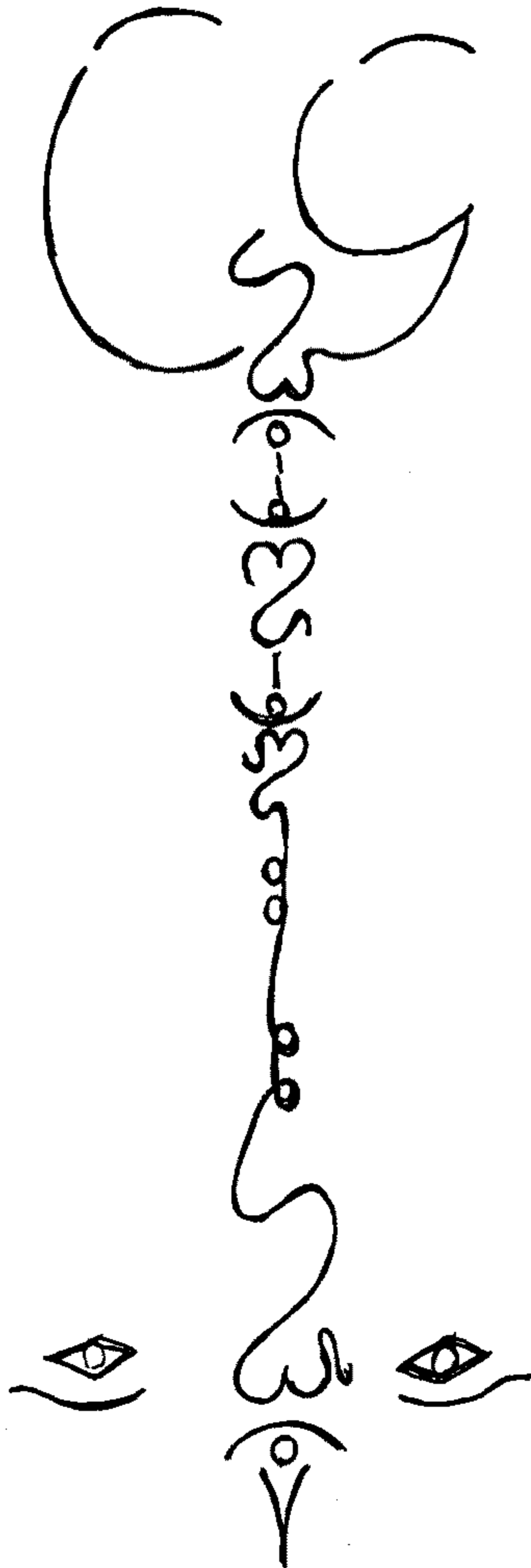
In a particular form of Tantric yoga known as Kundalini-Yoga or Kundalini-Sakti, which Avalon (alias Woodroffe) termed 'Serpent Power', the supreme omnipotent power in the body, Kali (a name of Durga) is aroused through yogic meditation. The intention of this microcosmic form of yoga is to awaken Devi-Kundalini (Durga) in the lowermost cakra (nerve centre), also referred to as 'lotus' (padma). Cakra means 'circle' or 'wheel' and kundul means 'coil', while kunda means 'cavity'. Once aroused, Devi-Durga ascends along the spinal cord through the other five cakra, the bindu (point) and unites with Siwa in the sahasrara (lit. 'one thousand') at the crown of the head. In a state of quiescence, Devi-Kundalini (signifying 'that which is coiled') or the Serpent Power, is coiled like a serpent in the muladhara (lit. root stool) in the lowermost part of the abdominal cavity between the anus and the genitals. There, she blocks with her head the entrance of the susumna, one of the main nerve channels (nadi). The nadi, of which there are thousands on either side of the vertebral column (meru), are the conduits of the vital bodily forces (prana). There are three main nadi. Ida, on the left of the spine, is pale and has the nature and qualities of the moon. Pingala, on the right has the nature of the sun and is red in colour like the pomegranate flower. Susumna rises in the base of the spine and links the muladhara with the sahasrara. It has the nature of fire.

The cakra are conceived as having the form of lotus, each with its own function, colours and syllables. The swadhisthana (one's own abode) cakra depicted as a six-petalled lotus is orange-red or black in colour. The manipura or manipadma (jewelled lotus) cakra is symbolized by a ten-petalled bright yellow lotus. The anahata cakra, situated in the heart region is depicted as a twelve-petalled lotus and is the colour of the banudhuka flower. The vishuddhi (shuddhi means 'purification') cakra is symbolized as a purple lotus of sixteen petals. The ajna (to know and follow) cakra, symbolized by a two-petalled lotus, is located directly behind the eyebrow region and is silver in colour. The bindu, represented as a crescent moon, is at the back of the head and is red and white in colour.

When first aroused, Devi/Durga is black in colour and fractious. On her ascent upward along the spine, she passes through the 'flower-strewn path' of the cakra piercing each in turn, rendering them latent (laya). The organs are reduced to inactivity and the functions performed by them cease so that the whole body becomes cold and chilled as if dead, apparently lifeless like a corpse. When the sakti power reaches the sahasrara, intense heat is aroused. The head glows a golden yellow (teja). Then Devi-Kundalini is brought down again to the muladhara and returned to rest. The body then returns to its normal colour. The Serpent Power is normally in a quiescent state.¹⁰

Historical texts such as the Dwijendra Tatwa and Usana Bali relate how the legendary Siwaite-Buddhist priest-poet-healer, alternatively known as Nirartha (The Unmanifest), Dwijendra (The Twice Born) and Padanda Sakti Wau Rauh (The Newly-Arrived Magically Powerful Priest), crossed to Bali following the Islamization of Java. The themes of the Nirartha legend which interest me here are those of his 'encounter with a serpent', his healing powers and the installation of his daughter, Ida Swabhawa (Swabhawa means 'countenance'), as the fearsome Goddess of Pulaki in a temple in north Bali. The following represents a précis of that part of Nirartha's biography which contains these motifs:

Instructions on the performance of
Kundalini Yoga in Balinese manuscript
Aksara Rajah (K948).



Accompanied by his wives and children, Nirartha entered into a forest. There, he encountered a great serpent (naga ageng). He entered into its mouth and once within the cavity of its abdomen he perceived lotus, white, red and black in colour. Nirartha plucked the lotus. Behind his right ear was a red lotus, behind his left ear a black one and on his body, a white lotus. Then Nirartha re-emerged from the serpent appearing emaciated. The serpent disappeared. The colour of Nirartha's body changed to a red colour, then to a black colour and finally to a golden colour. Then it returned to normal colour. The transformation of Nirartha's appearance and visage caused his wives and children to scatter in terror. His eldest daughter, Ida Ayu Swabhawa, remained lost for some time after Nirartha had traced the others. When eventually found, she had become a dewati [supernatural being], no one longer of the visible world [wus amindha niskala]. Nirartha conveyed secret knowledge [rahasya-ajnyana] to her and she became the Bhatara ing Malanting, the Goddess of Pulaki.

After this, Nirartha travelled on and arrived at a village named Gading-Wani where an epidemic was raging and decimating the population of the village. Nirartha instructed the inhabitants on the use of purified water prepared in three separate containers, white, yellow and black in colour: one of silver [sangku perak], one made of earthenware [priyuk] and a coconut shell [sibuh]. He uttered mantra over the water which was then deemed efficacious as an antidote for those suffering disease [panawar ing wang gring]. The purified water was then sprinkled in the four directions [nyatur desa] and offerings were placed on shrines in those directions. The inhabitants were also directed to make offerings of prepared betel-nut [ganten] in the four directions at dusk [sande kala] as a means of thwarting the powers of bhuta-kala to spread disease and as an antidote against further epidemic [panulak ning bhuta-kala ikang angdani lara]. Nirartha likewise instructed people on ritual to contain an epidemic in a village of Rambut Siwi.

When her father left her in a village north of Rambut Siwi to go to Gelgel, the daughter [the Goddess of Pulaki] became angry and cursed the village together with its inhabitants to be destroyed by fire. When the head of the village pleaded with her to revoke the curse she would not yield, but instead granted powerful protective mantra (HKS1987; HKS2165).

Through evidence of textual references (e.g., HKS1915:1b) and rites performed by Balinese priests it is clear that Devi-Kundalini Yoga is known on Bali. According to Pott (1966:295), the rousing of the Devi-Kundalini in the muladhara, her elevation through the susumna up to the sahasrara and her re-descent in order to accomplish another ascent together with the jiwatma (cosmic soul) is followed in the pranapratishta ceremony, a rite performed by padanda. The jiwa is exhaled through the nostrils and projected onto a yantra. The padanda holds flowers in his hands which become infused with his breath and thereby the Devi enters the flower yantra.

Yoga is essentially a magical mystical quest for powers. The yogin 'dies' and is 'reborn'. The acquisition of magical powers (sidhi-sakti) is the ultimate objective. The yogin who arouses the Serpent Power achieves purification of the elements of the body (bhuta-suddhi) and the eight-fold powers (asta-sidhi). Accomplishment of Kundalini-Yoga produces amerta (or soma), the purificatory life-restoring water (Pott p.186).

Points of reification and resemblance in and between the form of Kundalini-Yoga, the serpent-lotus motif in the myth and the content of the ritual and the colour symbolism are striking. The Dwijendra Tatwa text states that Nirartha became possessed of supernaturally powerful mystical knowledge (kadibjnyana) and of the eight supernatural powers (kastheswaryan). He acquired the power of creating amerta and went on to teach these powers to others throughout Bali, including the ruler of Gelgel.

Bosch (1960) interpreted the lotus-naga motifs in Hindu-Buddhist mythology and cosmology as fire and water. The cosmic lotus rising from the primeval waters appears as the tree of life; the lotus springs from the padma-mula (the root of the cosmic lotus) as the germ of life, the golden agni (fire). The substance of the germ of life, amerta, is identical to both agni and soma. Rasa soma, 'the essence of the waters', is associated with the naga, 'serpent' and rasa-agni, 'the fiery essence' is associated with the creative breath. Bosch explored the association between the lotus and the serpent as an affinity of the serpent to the lotus based on the morphological resemblance of the body of the serpent and the lotus-stalk. He posited a metamorphosis of the lotus-stalk into a serpent, naga, having its origins in the lotus-stalk. The muladhara corresponds with the padmamula, the susumna with the stem rising from the mula and ida and pingala correspond with the two lateral branches which wind upward from the padmamula. Thus Devi-Kundalini represents the nagi or serpent, a pre-eminently aquatic animal, and symbolizes the feminine element of the waters (p.92).

Bosch also quotes an example from Bali of the umbul-umbul, a cloth pennant on which a serpent figure is described over the entire length. The fact that the serpent has nodes on its body at regular intervals Bosch interprets as suggestive that the Balinese were aware of the naga-lotus-stem similarity (p.135). Together with ceremonial umbrella (pajeng), umbul-umbul are used to escort sakti masks when being moved. Umbul-umbul are also used to mark ceremonial (invariably tenget) space in which masks such as the Rangda are ritually activated. A Durga (Rangda) association with serpent (naga) is evident in Balinese imagery and graphic art. Bosch states that morphological resemblance led to the agni and soma qualities of the stalk's sap being transferred to the serpent, the stalk's counterpart. So the snake became the bearer of these properties. The serpent is related to the waters. The agni qualities of the serpent lie in the teja (golden glow) of the serpent's poison (p.137).

Whatever the exact points of equivalence once referents of symbolic motifs in legends such as Nirartha's serpent, lotus, and the transformation experience and the powers that he acquired subsequent to this have been identified, the myth is no mere inert fantasy. The ritual is far from a vague and arbitrary fantasy formed by empty symbols.

Durga riding on the head of a serpent
(Pangtiwa HKS2027).



The ritual is known only (to 'us') from its occurrence in Pura Dalem Desa and Pura Dalem Patal in Sanur. The twelve sanghyang bungbung or dewa alit, as they are referred to by the Balinese, are kept enshrined in Pura Dalem Desa. In another shrine in the same pura, there is a Rangda/Durga mask referred to as Ratu Ayu Mas (The Golden Goddess Ruler). A third significant element in what I perceive to be a ritualized myth, the Goddess of Pulaki, has her shrine in nearby Pura Dalem Patal by the sea. Thus the elements in the ritual include: the fearsome Bhatari Pulaki, the deified daughter of Nirartha, known from the legend to have a bharawi aspect; her three tiger followers; a retinue of twelve dewa alit or 'flowers' in the material form of puppets, the sanghyang bungbung; and a powerful Rangda mask, Ratu Ayu Mas, representing Durga and, perhaps, the golden glow of serpent power.

According to the pamangku of Pura Dalem Desa, the sanghyang bungbung trance exorcistic dance was devised 'long, long ago' when there was much sickness in the village. It was not only the kind of sickness such as there is now, like grubug (epidemic cholera) and panas-nyem (malaria), but also kacacar (smallpox), he added. I was also told by other residents of the village that during a smallpox epidemic 'around 1950' the dewa alit were aroused and danced (nyejer) for many months. On those occasions, very small children became possessed by the spirits of the dewa-alit. Invariably, those who 'danced' (nyejer, lit. 'to tremble') the dewa alit would go into trance. The Rangda/Durga mask was worn by a pamangku who became possessed by the spirit of Bhatari Pulaki. According to an account of the ritual by Belo (1960), those who become possessed by the tiger spirits, behave like tigers, crawling on the ground, growling and devouring offerings.

The associations between the myth, the ritual and attributes of the supernatural, especially terrifying (bharawi) aspects of it, I venture, relate to natural events and Tantric orientations and practices. First, tigers were once a part of the natural landscape. The were-tigers of Pulaki, the region whence Bhatari Pulaki originates, are legendary. The associations of Durga, the bharawi form of goddess in Tantrism, is well-known. Siwa's Sakti, in the form of Durga, is arrayed in golden yellow and rides upon a tiger in a fierce and menacing attitude (Dowson 1968:86). The terrible wrath of Durga is sometimes imaged as a ravenous tiger (Zimmer 1947:189). In Tibetan tales, Durga is sometimes depicted as wearing a tiger's skin (Pott 1966:90). Durga is also depicted wearing yellow and riding a tiger. Bubukshah, a legendary adherent of the 'left-hand path' of Tantrism, rides to the heavens on the back of a tiger. All these associations are Tantric. Tantric symbolism, I suggest, was known to the Balinese. Pamangku and balian informants, I also found, were familiar with the practice of Kundalini-Yoga.

What I am attempting is to find some partial explanation for the employment and manipulation of specific motifs in community disease-containing rituals and to explore correlations between ritual symbols and motifs in myths, once referents for the motifs have been suggested and their Tantric significance realized. In the sanghyang bungbung we have a trance exorcistic ritual with a literary content, which invokes the powers of fearsome legendary figures, who, in life displayed great sakti, and who in death, were deified as terrifying but protective deities. We have in the ritual, dewa alit with golden faces, named as and after flowers. We have tigers, an act of matangi (awakening, arousing and activating) for the purpose of restoring or preserving well-being.

In the Nirartha myth we have a serpent and a lotus which are part of Tantric imagery as well as the acquisition of powers including those of containing disease through the creation and use of holy water and offerings. According to Bosch (1960:60), amerta did not always have the function of granting eternal life (as the elixir of immortality). Originally, it was a magical means of sustaining life and providing a protection against illness and death. What I am suggesting, therefore, is that Nirartha's mystical and apocalyptic encounter with the naga, his finding of the lotus and his transformation is a symbolic representation, call it an allegory, a cryptic allusion to Kundalini-Yoga. And in the matangyan ritual of the twelve dewa alit or 'flowers' we have a symbolic representation of the arousing and elevation of the Devi-Kundalini (Durga/Bhatari Pulaki) along the flower-strewn path of the cakra or lotus, as well as a cryptic allusion to the myth. Magico-medical literature reveals evidence of local familiarity with the practice and terminology of Kundalini-Yoga (see, for example, manuscript HKS1915 which commences with the caption Turunakena Mreta Kundalini and a diagram. The three nadi, ida, pingala and susumna (the three main channels or vessels), microcosmic counterparts of macrocosmic rivers represented as female deities and the symbols of moon-sickle, sun-disc and flame representing the 'secret cakras' (Pott 1966:132 citing from Goris 1926) are also part of Balinese semiology.

There remains another element in the ritual, namely the bamboo cylinders (bungbung), which may or may not represent hollow symbols. Bamboo is a ubiquitous and widely used and useful resource found in abundance in the environment. The fact that the ritual is sometimes referred to as sanghyang bungbung may also represent no more than a convenient or useful term of reference to the twelve puppets of 'little deities' (dewa alit) fashioned around bamboo cylinders. However, considering the reports of very small children (anak alit) becoming possessed in this particular ritual and its association with smallpox, a disease known to have a high mortality rate among the very young, I do venture to raise the thought of mythical links.

The day tumpek wayang in the week (wuku) named wayang is an ominous time on which to be born, for that is the birth time of the all powerful, all-producing, all-annihilating Kala. Children born at such a time have exorcistic rites enacted on their behalf on their first birthday (otonon) in the form of a wayang sudamala (a puppet enactment of the story Sudamala, 'Released of Virulence') as a means of neutralizing constitutional vulnerability to disease associated with this birth time. Offerings are placed in front of the infant and the dalang utters the mantra Sapu Leger (Moerdowo 1977:112). Sapu Leger is also one of Durga's many appellations. There are many and various legends (and versions thereof) concerning children born at such time being relentlessly pursued by Kala who is intent upon 'devouring' them. Following a series of unsuccessful attempts to elude their relentless pursuer, the prey finally seeks, escape in a scenario where a wayang is being enacted by a dalang. Refuge is sought and found in none other than the bamboo cylinders of one of the musical instruments which are a part of the gamelan accompaniment to the wayang enactment. Kala follows his prey and devours, instead, the offerings.¹¹ Infant vulnerability to mortal illnesses, which I posit to represent the concerns expressed in these legends, may not bear direct relevance to or be of focal significance in the sanghyang bungbung ritual. I merely raise other problems and possibilities by

identifying a legendary referent and a substantive issue (the problem of infant morbidity) for bamboo cylinders.

Since any associational significance between the sanghyang bungbung ritual and the Nirartha myth have not until now been perceived, or at least stated, the two have not been juxtaposed and analysed for relational meaning. Since the Tantric orientation in Balinese religion has been seldom perceived and rarely given place in analysis and interpretation,¹² the full significance of this ritualized myth, as is the case with those already discussed and those which follow, has not been realized. The serpent-lotus motif from the Nirartha myth which I highlight, when it has been picked up from secondary sources, has been interpreted along the legitimacy line of explanation. Separately, the ritual motifs (or at least two of them, the dewa-alit and the Rangda mask) have been interpreted along the lines of the good versus evil confrontation paradigm. Consistent and consensual with the prevailing theory of the legitimizing and ideological function of texts and ritual which dominates the few studies there are of Balinese mythological history and rituals.¹³ Young (1980:255-6) for example, interprets the serpent-lotus motif thus: Nirartha was 'swallowed by a naga' but because his powers are superior to those of the serpent, he is 'undefeated'; so the narrative functions to demonstrate Nirartha's 'superior power and exemplary status' and the ruler, Dalem Watu Enggong, learns the procedure of ritual purification and the use of holy water in an attempt 'to validate his position'.¹⁴ Belo (1960:185) analysed the ritual (if she was familiar with the myth, she did not mention it here as having any relevance to the ritual) in terms of the usual dichotomies (good-evil, kaja-kelod, celestial-chthonic) opposing the 'horrific Durga', the female 'chthonic element' to the 'innocent child-like' dewa-alit. She used the positioning (kaja-kelod) of the shrines housing the dewa-alit and the Rangda/Durga mask in the temple as evidence supporting her interpretation of an 'overt act of confrontation of two opposing principles'. Actually the dewa-alit shrine is positioned kaja, but technically, the shrine which holds the Rangda/Durga is in the eastern (kangin) position, which does, I guess, put it south (kelod) of the dewa-alit, thus allowing for dichotomies and neat paradigms of this sort.

I see these forms of trance possession as symbols, as reflections or reifications of perceived participations or encounters with the supernatural (see Allchin 1977:2-3 citing Tillich). They refer to another and other manifestations of the supernatural in space and time. Through these rituals there is actual participation in the powers of that which is symbolized. In the case of this ritual, it is the Kundalini-Yoga of Nirartha and the healing powers of fire and water, knowledge of which was acquired through the Tantric form of yoga. Thus I interpret the narrative motif as an allegory of Kundalini-Yoga. In historical mythology, a ritual (Kundalini-Yoga) is 'disguised' as 'text' and in the ritual (sanghyang bungbung), historical mythology is reified and enacted.

Nirartha was thus a healer and an expounder of the means of maintaining temporal well-being, a pragmatic concern. He instructed the community on the practice of ablution and drinking of holy water and its use in three vessels, white (silver), yellow (pottery) and black (coconut shell). He exhorted travellers to stop at temples on their journeys and rulers to build temples in remote places for the protection of travellers. He also instructed people on the need to build temples in places tenget and on the 'containment of disease' (panangluk marana)

so that the people might enjoy long life (HKS1987). He exhorted the making of offerings for environmental spirits and taught the means of containing epidemic diseases through rituals called panangluk marana. These means and methods of preserving and restoring human well-being represent the most distinctive aspects of the strategies of the preventative and therapeutic procedures in present day Bali. Nirartha's role in the sphere of medical magic is thus significant. The legend and the events and solutions the legend expresses have had a seminal influence on the content of magico-medical practice and rituals, particularly, though not exclusively, at the community level of the system.

(v) **Ratu Gede Macaling (The Great Fanged King)
and Epidemic Cholera (King Cholera)**

. . . Lévi-Strauss has claimed that "behind all sense there is non-sense" . . . but perhaps the best that one could claim for this fandangle is that "behind the nonsense there is sense" even if it is not the sense of ordinary conversation (Edmund Leach 1985:32).

A mantra, **Kawisesan I Macaling**, which invokes the 'mystical powers' of I Macaling from Nusa Penida reads:

ONG I concentrate upon Ratu Macaling Sakti,
All-powerful wheresoever he is.
The most excellent one in the centre of the ocean
Having as an abode of golden structure with a jewelled peak.
Invincible, invulnerable to all virulence, poison and disease
caused by fire, earth, atmosphere and the sky and from
wheresoever.
I am worshipped by all that is harmful, fierce and potent.
I Macaling from Nusa am I.
I Macaling seizes and controls all that is terrifying, all that
which is extraordinary, all that is magically dangerous.
All pay homage to I Dalem-Sakti because I know all of you.
I know your teacher because I am I Macaling, ratu of all kala
of all bhuta or all pamali, of all that moves.
I have the form of a detya
I am black like a well,
I have eyes like twin suns
I have tusks fathoms long . . .
I know about the whole world
I am ratu of all leyak. All are afraid of my sakti . . .
I rule the ocean and the mountains
I contrive all things cruel and tenget.
I annihilate fire.
I make disappear all that is sharp or bent, lakes, extraordinary
mountains, magically powerful mountains.
All becomes undifferentiated.
Come, all that is fiery, all that is harmful, all bhuta, disease,
pain, poison, all go to the south.
You do not dare to defy I Macaling.
I know all about you.
Come and be gone. I know all there is to know about you.
Yellow bhuta, you retreat to the west. You arise in the liver
You dare not [defy] I Macaling.
Black bhuta, retreat to the north. You arise in the kidney
. . .

Poma. Retreat all of you.

ONG because I am the bhuta in the centre of the ocean, sakti mawisesa . . .

Who would defy I Macaling who is able to destroy the whole world.

...

Return to your places, you are incinerated by I Macaling, annihilated by Dalem Sakti in the Centre of the Ocean (HKS1489/17:1b).

A demonic protective deity is venerated in community rituals to contain the severity of anticipated cholera epidemics on Bali. In Balinese thought, this cult figure, known variously as Bhatara Dalem Ped, Bhatara Nusa, Ratu Gede Macaling (The Great King Macaling) or just Macaling or I Macaling, is specifically associated with cholera. His abode is outside Bali, in Pura Dalem Ped on the arid island of Nusa Penida which lies east of central Bali. Curiously, there are no masks or cult images representing Macaling as there are those of similar cult deities. Balinese are loath to utter the name Macaling and few dare to discuss his origin. When drawn into a discussion, Balinese refer to his deeds in vague terms and name him through the honorary Indonesian term of reference, beliau, and always in hushed tones. His awesome and frightening presence is perhaps too immediate to risk offering offence.

Cholera became the scourge of the nineteenth century world as the plague had been of the fourteenth. Pandemics originated in the Indian sub-continent and travelled along trade routes. Wars, festivals and pilgrimages increased the spread. Typically, the infection would be introduced at a sea-port and from there spread inland. 'King Cholera', as the disease has been called, was also one of the great epidemiological controversies of the nineteenth century. The literature on cholera is voluminous. Miasmatists attributed the disease to some evil force afloat in the air. Atmospheric variation was another popular theory. In an article entitled 'Atmospheric Phenomena in Relation to the Prevalence of Asiatic Cholera' in a magazine called Topics of the Day (1863:46-7), the author, Hingeston, spelled out his particular convictions in the following terms:

Now, it was at this very time, when the fatal cases of cholera in a modified form were reported, as just stated, that the atmosphere presented the phenomena peculiar to the cholera epidemic. The 23rd of February was, meteorologically, the most remarkable day of all; the wind was from the north-west, the sky covered with cirro-strati, particularly at noon, and the electricity negative while a calm prevailed. The air was moist and chilly. . . . There was also present that peculiar mistiness, of a dim grey colour, which obscures everything. . . . The Asiatic cholera is a peculiar disease, and the accompanying condition of the air is peculiar also.

On Bali the wet season is the cholera season, referred to as masan grubug. Grubug originally meant 'epidemic' but it has come to refer specifically to cholera epidemics. Epidemic cholera is associated with atmospheric changes and high winds believed to originate in the abode of Macaling and a kind of military invasion in the form of bhuta-bregala (demons). They are imputed to move like waves across the sea from Nusa Penida. Cholera death is named mati prajani (sudden death) or kambil Macaling (taken by Macaling). I Macaling seeks out his victims from among those who have not been vigilant in carrying out their ritual obligations.

To my knowledge there are no usada on epidemic cholera. This may indicate that it was not a severe epidemiological problem at the time the usada were composed. There are, however, references to seasonal epidemic cholera and to I Macaling in Usana Bali such as the following:

There should be caru to contain the gring kamaranan [deadly illnesses] occurring in the sixth, seventh and eighth months. In these months there are gastro-intestinal illnesses, mutah mising [vomiting and diarrhoea], lelengedan [dysentery], pejen [diarrhoea] causing many deaths. At this time I Macaling contrives sasab marana [widespread disease]. Caru should be placed in houseyards.

Requisite ingredients for these caru and mantra to be uttered whilst placing them are also listed. Part of one such mantra reads:

. . . Here is your sustenance.

Do not poison people through the food they eat and the water they drink.

Do not cause illness among people here on Bali.

poma, poma, poma.

You have been given your propitiatory offering (HKS2243:34b).

Offerings to the King of Cholera, Ratu Gede Macaling are placed by the sea.

Cholera does in fact result from the consumption of large doses of cholera-contaminated food or water. A cholera epidemic is not usually spread by direct person to person contact. It occurs under prevailing unsanitary conditions. Low standards of living, absence of sewage and clean drinking water promote the circulation of cholera vibrio. The virus can survive for long periods in crude sewage.

Much of the legend surrounding Macaling derives from oral tradition. There are lontar which contain the name Macaling in their titles and consist of mantra invoking his powers and revealing the origins and parameters of them. In a manuscript entitled Usana Pulo Nusa Ki Dukuh Jumpungan (HKS1928), Macaling is one of a number of descendants of a powerful dukuh (hermit priest), all of whom are accredited with great sakti and who occupy tenget sites on Nusa Pedida. Macaling's abode is in Peped (cognate with Ped); hence his title Bhatara Dalem Ped. A long mantra lists the lineage of the dukuh and the respective manifestations of his descendants in temples and organs in the body as well as their weapons: kris, whip, machete, swords and lontar. The text also lists mantra, Ki Dukuh Jumpungan or I Macaling, designed to neutralize the power of the deities and demons from Nusa Penida and dangerous magic in a village which causes it to become sepi and the people to be afraid to venture out. There is also a mantra for dwellings deemed to be tenget.

As I have mentioned, the Balinese are reluctant to discuss the god of cholera. Only after many months of association did a balian usada from Sanur volunteer to relate a tale of origin to me of which the following is a much abbreviated version:

A powerful ruler of Karangasem once inadvertently consumed human blood and thereby acquired an insatiable appetite for more. Each day the old people of the kingdom were taken

to his palace and slaughtered to satisfy his demands. Eventually, the gods began to fear that the population would become so depleted there would be no one left to prepare their offerings. A ruse was devised whereby the king was forced to leave Bali. First, he went to the sea and there devoured all unwary sea-farers and fishermen so that no one dared to venture out to sea again. Then he went to Nusa Penida and was given an abode in the temple of Dalem Ped.

Within the explanatory mythology surrounding such cult figures which seeks to connect them with deities of the Hindu-Buddhist-Tantric-Balinese pantheon, the god of cholera, Ratu Gede Macaling, is Bhatara Kala (a deity with a manifold identity) also known as Bhatara Tengah ing Segara (The Deity in the Depths of the Ocean) (see Weck 1937:154-5). As such, he has the form of a monster with long canine teeth and terrifying appearance and lives on the island of Nusa Penida. His task is to protect the population of Bali so long as it does not neglect prescribed devotional rituals; otherwise, he allows cholera to rage and to decimate the populations of the villages. There are various versions of this origin myth, the essence of which goes:

Siwa and his wife were frolicking by the sea. Siwa became enamoured of his spouse and desired sexual intercourse with her there and then. She resisted but was nevertheless ravished by Siwa and in the struggle Siwa's sperm fell into the ocean. There, it developed into the form of a Kala with a fearsome appearance. And there it created such pandemonium, demanding to know who it was and what its origins were, that other high deities descended in answer to its distress. It was given the name Bhatara Kala and an abode on the island of Nusa Penida, as well as the task of watching over the people of Bali. When he wished to visit Bali, Bhatara Kala's abode was to be the Pura Dalem Kahyangan. Should rituals be neglected, Bharata Kala was entrusted with the power to create grubug.

In the babad tradition, one comes across an I Macaling, a pupil of a balian named Ki Balian Batur, who was notorious as a perpetrator of widespread illnesses in central and south Bali. Interspersed between episodes relating various conflicts between ruling princes and rival princelings, in babad such as Babad Mengwi, Babad Pasek, Babad Dalam Sukawati, Babad Timbul Sukawati, there is a story of a Ki Balian Batur. Details vary, but the essence is as follows:

When the ruling prince of Mengwi, I Gusti Sakti, refused to submit to the authority of the Maharaja of Klungkung, the latter summoned a renowned balian with sakti named Ki Balian Batur, who was the son of a sengguhu [exorcist priest]. The balian was responsible for an illness which spread from one part of the kingdom to another causing many to die. People fled inland to the capital Mengwi. The pupils [leyak] of the balian who helped him to spread the illness were people who had been exiled by the king, and who had come to Balian Batur for protection.

When the troops of I Gusti Sakti tried to kill Ki Balian Batur with a kris pusaka [magically powerful hierloom] of Mengwi, he told them that the only weapon powerful enough to destroy him was the pusaka owned by the raja of Klungkung. This

was a rifle named Ni Narantaka and the bullet named Ki Seliksik. The balian submitted joyfully to his execution by rifle.

A powerful pupil of Balian Batur, named I Macaling, went to live in a village on the east coast. There, he used his sakti to make travellers and merchants who stayed overnight in the village ill with ngutah bayar [cholera]. A person who knew powerful countermagic was sent to deal with I Macaling. He devised a competition in which the loser would have to leave Batuan. Through trickery, I Macaling lost and left Bali, as agreed, to settle on Nusa Penida. After that the merchant trade increased, and Bali was safe [rahayu] and crowded (rame).

In Babad Timbul Sukawati there is a description of I Macaling, as he appeared before the son of the Dewa Agung of Klungkung. The apparition was said to have had a beautiful face, stylish appearance and to have been attired in intensely yellow clothes. Sri Aji Sirikan was given a lontar, Ki Pangasih Jagat (The Protector of the World) by I Macaling who said that he was prepared to become the 'shield' (protector) of the region. A shrine to I Macaling as Bhatara Pura Dalem is said to have been constructed in a pura on a beach at Er Jeruk, south of Sukawati. De Kat Angelino (1921:28) relates how he 'managed to get possession of a lontar' devoted to the warding off of magical powers of leyak. It was said to have been written by the semi-legendary Nirartha and to have been given to one I Gusti Sakti of Mengwi after two villages, Er Jeruk and Bungkal, on the east coast of Bali, had been decimated through diseases spread by Ki Balian Batur. The lontar is also entitled Ki Pangasih Jagat.

In the Balinese mode of thought and conception of time and person, the identification of Macaling with an historical figure of one era does not preclude identification with several others. It is the role, not the individual, which is significant. Motifs in the myths may indicate the probable historical time and circumstances of cholera. The practitioner of magic responsible for a cholera-like illness could only be destroyed by weaponry of foreign origin, a rifle, which had been added to the sacred regalia of the royal lineage of Klungkung.

The characteristic pattern of the spread of cholera is present in the myths. The epidemic created by Ki Balian Batur commences around the coastal villages. The travellers and merchants arrive in coastal villages with cholera. There is perhaps, in the rifle motif, some allusion to an idea that cholera is a disease which can only be cured through foreign-type methods of fighting disease. Indeed, none of the balian I interviewed were inclined to treat the symptoms of cholera. It is an affliction which they always referred to as a tukang suntik (Ind. tukang means 'tradesman' and suntik means 'injection'), a common designation of a Western-type doctor. Their medicine, balian comment, is 'much quicker' in the case of cholera.

The circumstances of history and the mythology woven around Macaling, the god of cholera and around Nusa Penida are, in any case, very complex. There has been contact between Bali and Nusa Penida since antiquity. A Balinese ruler whose name appears on a stone inscription found in banjar Blanjong, Sanur, is said to have successfully undertaken an expedition against his enemies in Gurun in 917 A.D. Gurun has been

identified as Nusa Penida (see Stutterheim 1936). Gurun is also mentioned as one of the island tributaries of Majapahit (Pigeaud 1960-63, Vol.III:17, Vol.IV:33).

An implication of a study of the topographical geometry of an ancient temple, Candidasa, in south-east Bali by James (1973) is that the island of Nusa Penida may have represented a point in a more ancient topographical orientation than the Indic cardinal one. He found that in this temple complex, shrines looked towards the sea and every element in the complex was oriented to others, to the landscape and was on axis with Nusa Panida. None of the axes followed the cardinal points. Nor were they oriented to the sun, but rather each temple was oriented to Nusa Penida.

In oral tradition there are ancient historical links between ancient kingdoms along the east coast of Bali and Nusa Penida. A legendary tunnel is said to run from Pura Puseh ing Jagat, Pejeng, to Pura Saab on Nusa Penida. The antiquities in this region of Nusa Penida are also said to bear remarkable resemblance to those of Pejeng. Pura Dalem Ped itself has an unusual feature in its quadrangular garden and pond, in the centre of which there is a small shrine. Pura Taman, one of the state temples of Mengwi (from whence one of the legendary I Macalings originated), has a similar garden-pond (Grader 1960a:179). Pura Dalem Ped is also said to be one of the sad-kahyangan (six state temples) of the former kingdom of Klungkung. It is also called Pura Panataran Ped, indicating that it was established by royal authority. In the textual tradition, Nusa Penida is tenget space. It is also a place to which members of royal families suspected of acts of treachery or liable to exact revenge for wrongs done to them were exiled by those holding power on Bali (see Babad Dalam Sukawati, for example).

Even today, Balinese, especially those with priestly status and responsibilities, particularly balian, but also those with secular power, status and responsibilities, make journeys to Pura Dalem Ped in order to meditate there. Many Balinese who do not belong to these groups go there to make offerings and to request well-being and a normal life span. If, when inspecting the province of Nusa Penida, government officials from Bali need to stay overnight, they may makemit (keep vigil) and pay homage in the temple throughout the night, according to a local newspaper report (Bali Post 10/10/76). Apparently, no expense is spared in efforts to maintain this particular pura in good repair. It is always extraordinarily neat, according to the same report. Government officials commissioned the replacement of the old roof of each of the palinggih with ijuk (now a relatively expensive building material) and the installation of a new palinggih at the cost of half a million rupiah following 'strange happenings' in the pura during a particular makemit undertaken in Pura Dalem Ped.

There is some justification for the western designations of Nusa Penida as 'the home of violent and evil demons' (de Zoete and Spies, 1973:89) and as 'the lair of all evil forces, illnesses and troubles' (Swellengrebel 1960:38). However, there is also another dimension and other complexities in Balinese thinking about disease, evil and power which mediates against simplistic constructions of the subject of evil demons and life-threatening disease and the relationship between the two. As elsewhere, epidemic cholera appears to may be a relatively recent

pestilence on Bali. But the god of cholera and his abode have a notoriety which extend back to other times and extraordinary events. Furthermore, Macaling's capacity for evil is less significant than his potential to mount action which can reverse the course of this particular form of disaster.

During the wet season and particularly the change of seasons Macaling is liable to assume his bharawa form and claim many lives. As cholera time approaches, the Balinese make special offerings (aci-aci) at local temples. Many wear talismans. Householders erect bamboo shrines from which white cloths with rarajahan are suspended. Pandanus leaves on which magical syllables have been inscribed are buried below the shrines. It is interesting that precisely these procedures are prescribed in Usada Kacacar (medical treatise on smallpox) to contain the severity of smallpox epidemics. Panangluk marana rituals were also once directed against that more ancient epidemiological disaster. In present day Bali cholera poses the most imminent threat to human well-being and constitutes the major disease of an epidemic nature. Through these same measures it is anticipated that Macaling can be persuaded not to claim too many victims.

At the beginning of the wet season, around the new moon of the sixth Balinese month (tilem sasih kanem), many villages hold elaborate malancaran as part of the panangluk marana rituals. The Rangda and Barong are paraded around the village at night. The kukul summons the villages and a representative from each houseyard is expected to participate. In the darkness (no lights may be lit), a procession proceeds around the boundaries of the village. The Rangda leads the procession, the people follow and the Barong guards from the rear. The Rangda 'dances' and challenges the leyak summoning them to appear ('mai, mai leyak'). At intersections, a group of villagers may enact the so-called 'stabbing dance' (nyurak). Such malancaran-panangluk marana, but on a smaller scale depending upon the enormity of the disease threat, may occur at intervals throughout the dangerous wet months.

In the village of Sanur, the wet season begins with a three-day ceremony called Karya Ngusaba Desa: Panangluk Marana (A Ceremony to Safeguard the Village: The Containment of Death). It appears that such a ceremony has been held in Sanur at the beginning of the wet season for as long as people can remember. 'Long ago', I was told, 'a cholera epidemic began in Intaran whence it spread over the whole of Bali. It was as though a tumultuous war was raging'. The movements of Macaling during the wet season are documented in a lontar, the contents of which were related to me:

On the first night of the panangluk marana, held on the last day of the fifth Balinese month (sasih kalima), Macaling and his army of bhuta-bregala arrive on the beach at Sanur and sleep there. During the second night, they check to see that all the necessary offerings and precautionary rituals have been completed. Should they have been neglected, Macaling may ask for twenty-five victims. He and his troops then continue to Denpasar [the capital, inland and west of Sanur] where they may request as many as eighty victims. From there, they move across to Java and then to Sulawesi. On tilem kanem (around December) they arrive back on Bali and another panangluk marana is held on the beach at Lebih, Gianyar for the region as a whole.

Lebih lies on a direct line from the capital of Gianyar to the central point of Nusa Penida (van der Kaaden 1937b). A similar panangluk marana ritual is held in nearby Kramas on the coast and in Pura Goa Lawah in Klungkung.

The end of the wet season is marked throughout Bali by a bhuta-yadnya called tawur kasanga (more commonly referred to as nyepi). Nyepi (lit. to make quiet) or sipeng is actually the fourth and final phase of the tawur kasanga which is held over four days in wuku langkir around the new moon of the ninth Balinese month (tilem kasanga). The other elements of this bhuta-yadnya consist of: makiyis or malasti, the ritual purification of sakti masks and ornaments in a parade to the seaside; nyejer, the installation and honouring of deities (arca and masks) in Pura Bale Agung for three days; tawur or pacaruan, elaborate offerings at graveyards, crossroads, on beaches and at village boundaries culminating with noisy and frenzied rites which mark the return of Macaling and his army of bhuta-bregala to Nusa Penida. Nyepi is a day of absolute stillness. All activity is suspended. Fires may not be lit (amati-geni), no work should be performed (amati karya), no noise should be made (amati lelangan) and people may not leave the houseyard (amati lalungan). The term sipeng refers to the prohibition on fire, light, noise and movement.

Nyepi may be interpreted as an elaborate subterfuge designed to trick Macaling into believing that Bali is not populated (rame) enough to warrant a return visit. Alternatively the absolute stillness presents a contrast to the frenzied activities of the previous days and is intended to ritually restore a desirable balance most conducive to well-being.

Juxtaposing the biography of Macaling and accounts of cholera alongside descriptions of seasonal bhuta-yadnya as I do here helps us to understand their interrelationship. Yet, in Western scholarship on Bali, panangluk marana, arguably because disease has never constituted an analytical element of cultural interpretations, has not been thought of as a rite devised to control specifically human disease. Scholars (van der Kraaden 1937a, Hooykaas 1973b, for example) have designated panangluk marana, this elaborate schema of operations and mystical participations in which Balinese from all levels of society participate, as rituals to promote a good harvest and to minimize disasters in the form of 'pernicious plagues of rats emanating from Nusa Penida'. Thus Hooykaas 1973b:4-5 writes:

We used to find in a country of the Western sphere that shortly after harvesting time provincial authorities keep a thanksgiving day. The Balinese, certainly not less keen on having a good harvest . . . , annually take steps to promote their harvest by trying to forestall disasters or at least to minimize them. . . . To that purpose in Gianyar and Klungkung rituals of nangluk marana are held; perhaps elsewhere as well. Marana in Sanskrit means 'death', nangluk is Balinese and means 'exclusion'. . . . According to popular belief the devastating mice take their origin from fishes, approaching from the island Nusa Penida to the south-east. Therefore the ceremonies are held at the shore.

According to Balinese usada texts, marana means 'disease', or more often 'deadly disease' (see for example, Usada Dalem HKS XI:16). In spite

of his recognition of elements of a serious concern to human well-being, seasonal illnesses, the high temperatures preceding the change of seasons and irregular showers of rain conducive to widespread dysentery and malaria, van der Kaaden (1937a:125) nevertheless contributed to the Western construction of panangluk marana as a response to 'pernicious plagues afflicting crops, emanating from Nusa Penida'. That the much-feared Pura Dalem Ped was honoured as a source of protective influences remained to him both remarkable and puzzling.

In a discussion of panangluk marana in the context of wet rice agriculture, Hobart (1978:76) notes that depredation of pests is rarely severe. Added to this, panangluk marana, he also notes, is held in Gianyar 'when the rice fields are empty anyway'. And why, he asks are these efforts confined only to one of the annual harvestings? It may well be that part of the discrepancy which Hobart has identified between the timing of agricultural crises and the timing of ritual remedies lies in the inaccurate designation of the function on the rituals such as panangluk marana in the first place. A narrow perspective of the role of Macaling and Nusa Penida in Balinese perceptions of cholera epidemics, together with observations and interpretations of increased ritual activity at the seaside at the change of seasons accounts, in part, for the popular misconception that the Balinese believe the sea to be the source of all evil and disease (see Chapter 3). But the point to be made here is that panangluk marana and tawur kasanga are offerings for demonic powers. In south-east Bali, at least, they are specifically aimed at the appeasement of the protective cult demonic figure, Bhatara Macaling, alias Bhatara Dalem Ped. Although designated bhuta-yadnya, they include elements of dewa-yadnya. Offerings are made to ancestral deities who are invited to descend (undang turun bhatara kabeh) to the arca and the palinggih in pura. They are feasted and entertained along with the bhuta-kala. The offerings (pacaruan) at the crossroads, etc., are intended to satisfy the sanghyang bhuta-kala-dengen so that they will return to their assigned space and not disturb human beings. Special offerings are also assigned to the ancangan (demon spirit) of Ratu Gede Macaling.

As I have already argued, Balinese conception of supernatural disease causation do not preclude the existence of a real problem and a pragmatic approach to the resolution of it. There is a logic and sound rationale behind the concern with health expressed in these seasonal protective rituals which focus on Macaling, cholera and Nusa Penida. The wet season is preceded by strong winds. Snakes and scorpions move in closer to living areas (personal observation). Much of the fruit brought across from Nusa Penida, jambu, juwet and mangga, has fallen from trees in the wind and rain and is fly-blown, rotting and probably contaminated with sewage. Things and dwellings are chronically damp. Canals flood. Water is contaminated with sewage. Cholera does in fact have a seasonal pattern related to the seasonal cycle and epidemics can peak in the wet season and generally do. Cholera epidemics have played a decisive role in crystallizing concern with public health and environmental pollution throughout the world. Threat to the local tourist industry through reported cholera epidemics poses a new and worrying dimension in the 'national war against cholera' (an expression gleaned from local newspaper reports on cholera) especially for those who live from the profits of the industry.

In Indonesia, the case mortality rate for cholera has dropped from over sixty percent in the 1950s to less than ten percent today (Bali Post

4/12/76). Along with disease-containing magical rites, Western-type public health measures are also in evidence. People are urged to keep the environment clean, not to eat unwashed fruit and vegetables and not to drink unboiled water. They are cautioned upon, and heed the imperative of, rapid rehydration if cholera symptoms appear. This does not, however, imply that any of the magical rites associated with the containment of epidemic cholera have been declared redundant or that Macaling is superfluous in conceptions of its aetiology. In any case, the biography of The Great Fanged King (Ratu Gede Macaling) does not exhaust the complexities of the Balinese construction of cholera. There is, for instance, the martial imagery associated with epidemic cholera yet to be explored.

In the 1880s Robert Koch discovered the organism responsible for the so-called 'King Cholera', 'vibrio comma', so named because it resembled a tiny comma, no less. Koch's research, in the words of Longmate (1966:226), also revealed that:

. . . the repository from which it set out periodically on its destructive march across the world were the tanks in parts of the Ganges delta from which the natives drew their drinking water. . . . 'Cholera does not come into being spontaneously — out of nothing. It is a disease that attacks only those who have swallowed the comma bacillus' . . . and while warm, damp conditions, like those prevailing in so much of India, suited it very well, dryness, heat and disinfectants were all effective against it [my emphasis].

Koch was eventually celebrated as one of the great 'conquerers of cholera' (p.227). However, cholera is still regarded as 'potentially having a world-wide distribution against which constant sanitary vigilance is needed' (Dieuaide 1955:246). The emphasis added is intended to draw attention to the use of a military metaphor. It is characteristic of any discourse on epidemic cholera. I wish to explore in the following section of this chapter a possible reason for this. Military or war metaphors are prominent in Western medical discourse on cholera. Perhaps, it is the peculiarities of the infection itself and its effects upon the human organism which prompt the metaphor. An epidemic disease, as Hackett (1984:134) remarks, describes a situation where a large number of cases occurs all at once 'in a kind of explosion' on the people.

Epidemics have inspired the development of particular form of music in some regions of Bali. For instance, in Tabanan, a form of gamelan called bungbung gebyag is said to have come into existence at a time when the region was ravaged by illnesses. It was decided that all the bronze gamelan instruments should be buried and only bamboo ones, the bungbung gebyag, should be used in ritual. Nektek is another music and dance form which may be peculiar to Tabanan. It is also thought to represent a specific ritual response to a cholera epidemic. The majority of the instruments are made of bamboo cylinders. The sound, 'tektek' is made by hitting together any two objects of the same kind of material — wood with wood, bamboo with bamboo, stone with stone, for example. A nektek is initiated by a few and eventually the whole village joins in so that all is alive and bustling (rame) again (Sarpa 1976:11).

According to the reports of Weck's informants in the 1930s, the cholera season was a fearful time. People retired upon nightfall. The

streets became deserted. The notion that activity and noise, be it dance and/or music, serves to distract from a sombre, fearful atmosphere and the tension which raging epidemics engender, is fairly common and perhaps age-old (see Zinsser 1935, Cartwright 1972). It is suggested that the Balinese recognized many of the epidemiological facts concerning cholera and recorded them metaphorically and metonymically in myths, ritual and Macaling himself, as well as in certain forms of baris exorcistic dances to which the discussion now turns.

(vi) Baris Exorcistic Dances and Martial Imagery

We call it 'explanation', but it is 'description' . . . We describe better . . . we explain just as little as any who came before us . . . we have not got past an image or behind it (Nietzsche 1974:112).

The above extract of Nietzschean philosophical reflection is invoked in response to two (though there could be any number of other) descriptions and explanations of baris exorcistic dance.

One is struck by the semblance of a visionary encounter. The dancer seems to challenge his enemy from afar with gestures and sometimes with wild cries. . . . The Baris dancer threatens or cowers before no imagined foe; he only tests the power of his wide-opened eyes. He reads no oracle on his outspread fingers, he only admires his hands; and when he seems to scan the horizon he is only displaying another aspect of his triumphant and glorious manhood (de Zoete and Spies, p.168).

At Sanoer also was an interesting performance of Baris Tjina [Cina], in which two groups of young men . . . took part in what was obviously a war-drill and mock battle. They danced with rusty swords and riding-whips, with considerable variety of steps and movement, and had they been divested of their hideous semi-European garments much of the dancing would even have been beautiful. The costume, however, is apparently inherent to the dance, for an attempt we made to see it in what we conceived to be a more appropriate dress, i.e., in the boelet or short loin-cloth worn for Pentjak, proved a failure (de Zoete and Spies, p.61).

In some types of baris, the dancers execute what has been described as stylized mock-battle. In others, they appear to imitate the antics of animals. A few can best be described as ceremonial, slow trance processions. There are some thirty forms of baris. Some are named according to the 'weapon' held by the dancer. Others are named after animals. A few are named according to the characteristic attitude or the dress of the dancer. The remainder are named after ordinary objects. The following is a list of names of baris compiled from a variety of secondary sources. Some are peculiar to specific regions of Bali:

Baris Tumbak, a long lance; Baris Panah, an arrow; Baris Cekutil, a shield; Baris Cendekan, a spear with a short shaft; Baris Gede (great), a long lance; Baris Presi, a shield; Baris Tamiang, a round shield; Baris Klempa, a shield; Baris Derma,

a shield; Baris Gayung, a bamboo ladle; Baris Jangkang (stiff), a bow and arrow; Baris Bajra (club), a trident; Baris Juntal, a type of lance; Baris Demang (bald head; also the name of a character from Gambuh dance drama), a short curved sword; Baris Jojor, a type of lance; Baris Kekupu (butterfly), dancers carry fans; Varis Chelatik (a rice-bird); Baris Elo (prancing like a bird); Baris Nuri (parrot), dancers wear a costume made from parrot feathers; Baris Luntung (monkey), dancers pose like monkeys and carry tree branches; Baris Irengan (Blackish), dancers represent black monkeys and hold tree branches or black spears; Baris Kuningan (yellowish), dancers wear a yellow costume; Baris Omang (the name of a bhuta from Nusa Penida, also of a net for catching butterflies [also called jauk; see Section iii of this Chapter]), a shield; Baris Poleng (black and white or blue and white checkered cloth), a checkered-painted lance; Baris Tekok Jago (the squawk of a cock), dancers dress in poleng and gringsing cloth, hold a checkered-painted lance and 'imitate' the strutting of a rooster; Baris Cerek Gowak (a small tail-less bird something like a quail), dancers wear only a loin cloth; Baris Gowak (crow), dancers wear a black costume with black scarves across their shoulders and carry long black spears; Baris Dadap (a magically powerful tree), dancers hold a boat-shaped shield (or a shield-shaped boat) made of dadap wood; Baris Mendet (a slow ceremonial processional dance also done by women), dancers carry different forms of offerings and incense; Baris Cina (Chinese), dancers wear shabby semi-European costumes and hold swords, ropes or whips; Baris Tuan (foreign), is similar to Baris Cina; Baris Bedil (rifle), dancers hold rifles; Baris Bandreng (eyes fixed and angry), dancers hold short spears.

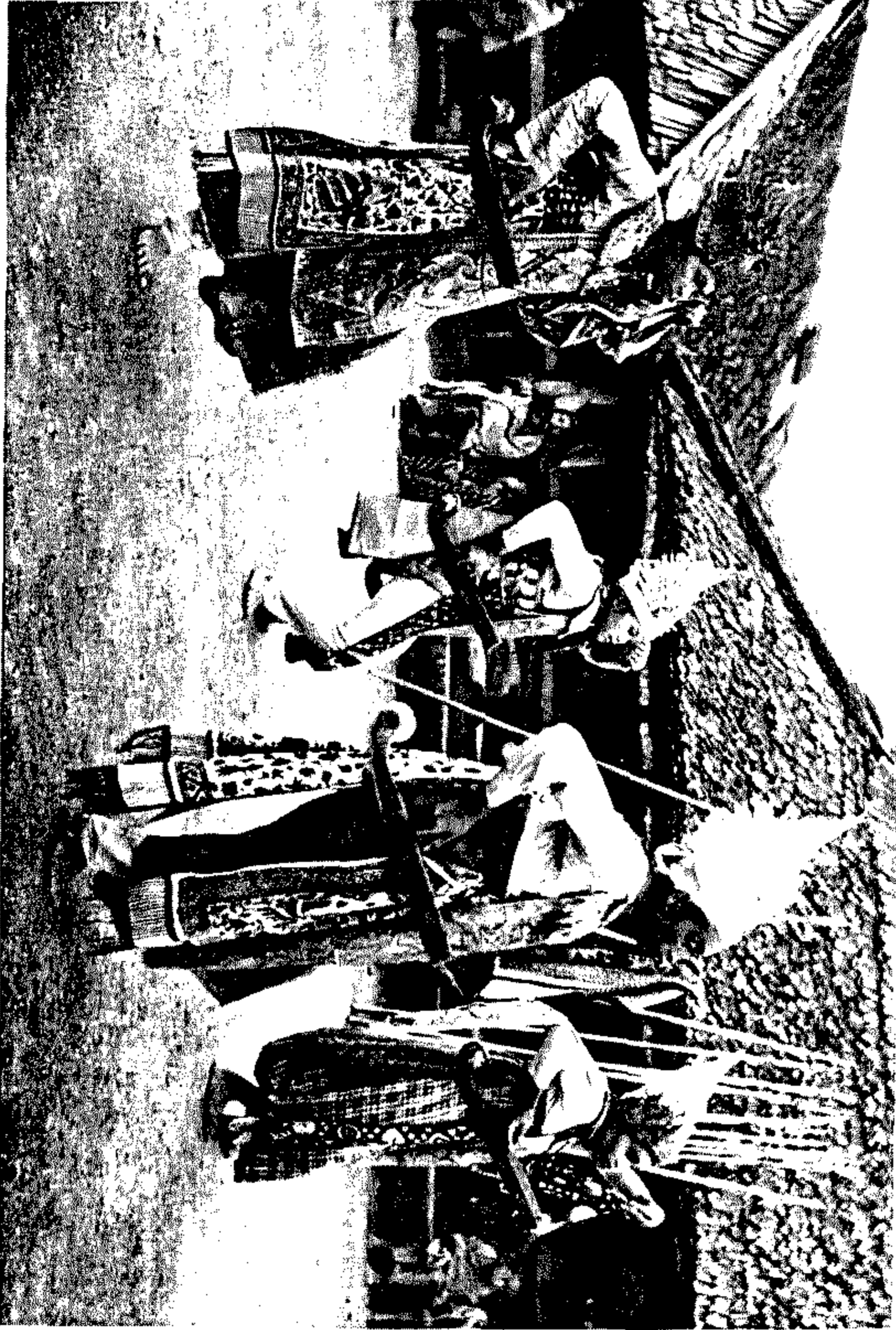
The idea that this group of trance exorcistic dances represent secular war dances or warrior drills seems to date from Holt's (1967:288) observation of the word babarisan ('line' or 'formation') and a list of seven different types of babarisan in the Kidung Sunda. This identification of baris as warrior dances thus seems to rely on some uncertain reference to military formation in a Javanese kidung. I should like to pose some questions. Why should such a large group of dance forms have arisen in response to a war theme on Bali? Why are they enacted in temples in times of pestilence? Why are they imputed to have an exorcistic function if they are merely displays of warrior skills in the secular sense?

As Geertz and Geertz (1975:24) wrote:

A lord's power over his subjects was sharply circumscribed by customary law. He had the right to expect the subject to fight in war for him, but these 'wars' were commonly short, fighting often stopping at nightfall or, sometimes, with the first death in battle, and only rarely did they involve extended campaigns.

The Balinese state was embodied in the people, not property or territory. Therefore, territorial encroachment was no stimulation to conflict. Military operations which, by their nature, involved a heavy loss of life, would not be entered into lightly in a realm whose survival depended upon the number of subjects it boasted. Warfare, when it did occur, was never a prolonged affair, according to Geertz (1973e). From reports

Baris Dadap ritual trance dance
(taken from *de Zoete and Guilan*)



of his informants, they 'mostly consisted of a series of brief lance and dagger skirmishes'. They were not the epic style battles of literature. There were no bows and arrows. Shields were not generally carried. Lances were the principal weapons. Those engaged in combat wore white sarongs. Wars were brief and happened suddenly. Fighting generally ceased when one or two were killed. The longest battle recorded lasted no more than a month. Fifty people were killed in it (Geertz pp.334-5).¹⁵ According to Jacobs (1883:114-5), wars were miniature guerilla affairs, in fact, no more than a series of pilferings, burnings, and a few skirmishes. The Balinese were no great warriors. In the punitive military expeditions mounted by the government of the Dutch East Indies against the ruling raja, most of the loss of life on the part of the Dutch was due to disease not the warrior skills of the Balinese.

The Balinese had culturally-defined techniques for dealing with disputes, which involved deliberate avoidance of both the enemy and the issue, as the Dutch were to experience in their attempts to assert control over the Balinese raja and their subjects. Themes in Rusak Buleleng and Puputan Badung exemplify this. Traditionally, wars between raja involved elements of mutual avoidance, according to information collected by Bateson (1973:102). The function of fortifications was to present a deterrent. They symbolized recognition of a conflict and a constraint to fighting.

It is not suggested that the war theme was absent from Balinese literature, only that war does not appear to constitute so prominent a cultural concern as to have created the response that imputing to baris dance the function of martial drill seems to suggest. In fact, many of these dances have been objectively described as not very war-like in feeling. War was not, I suggest, an important enough theme of Balinese culture to have warranted a spate of dances immortalizing its warriors. Furthermore, if baris are war dances, why are the movements not suggestive of martial tactics, but suggestive of animal movements and metaphysical fear? Why are the costumes not typical of battle arrainment? Why are 'weapons' never brandished? And finally, why, when named after animals, are such non-illustrious (in a martial sense) ones as butterfly, quail, rice-bird, monkey invoked or imitated? There is, to my knowledge, no evidence, either in the form or the circumstances of baris, that they were war dances in the conventional sense of the term. The 'weapons' are not flourished but held vertically or horizontally throughout an enactment. Moreover, the dances consist 'in posturing with weapons or in stylized imitation of animals' (McPhee 1970:302). The dances are known to have had an exorcizing function (Covarrubias p.23).

To return to a known problem, that of cholera and its military metaphor. Here is where the key to the martial imagery in some forms of baris may lie hidden. In such a metaphor and associated medical mythology we might explore the notion of what Jameson (1971:309) has described elsewhere as:

. . . the dialectical reversal, the paradoxical turning around of a phenomenon into its opposite. It can be described as a kind of leap-frogging affair in time, in which the drawbacks of a given historical situation turn out in reality to be its secret advantages.

Of course, the war-pestilence sequence is a known fact of social history. I juxtapose a fact of history with one of mythology. Weck found

The Bhuta-bregala (taken from Weck, 1937).

Die Bregalas auf ihrem Zuge durch die Dörfer (Zeichnung des Batters A. A. Gde Rat)



that in North Bali there was, in the minds of the people, a connection between war and cholera. According to Van Eck (1878), the Balinese considered that cholera epidemics always followed the arrival of foreign vessels from Java at Singaraja. After the old Dutch warship the *Arjoena* arrived in 1878, there was in fact a cholera epidemic. There had also been one in 1868 following a Dutch military expedition against Banjar in North Bali. Julius Jacobs (1883:3-4) noted that the Balinese were not pleased with the arrival of his ship, an old Dutch warship the *Watergeus*, and that the feared cholera epidemic had indeed followed his arrival in 1881.

Among the Balinese of central and eastern Bali, there is also an association between epidemic cholera and a kind of military invasion, but in this case the invading army is in the form of *bhuta-bregala*, the 'warring' army of Ratu Gede Macaling. The 'army' moves across the sea like a wave, wielding mattocks, ropes, machete, hewing knives, flaming coconut fronds, shields, chopping boards and *lontar* (Weck p.158). When they arrive in a village, they become invisible like the wind and no less real. They seek out their 'offerings' (victims). They hack at the abdomen and seal up the anus so that the abdomen swells up and there is excruciating pain. They then move on to another victim and do the same. In turn, they return to each victim and simultaneously pull out the cork from the anus and the spirit (life) from the body. Victims experience terrible pain and diarrhoea. Death is rapid (Weck pp.155-6).

According to Weck, the fear and dread experienced by the people during the cholera season made them prone to hallucinations and led to a proliferation of fantastic stories such as the following one:

During the cholera season three youths were tending cattle in a field when suddenly two of them saw a huge figure approaching them. Overcome with fear, they ran and hid, calling a warning to their companion who had not noticed the figure approaching. The figure struck the unwitting youth and then disappeared. Other villagers working nearby saw nothing. The victim also said that he had neither seen anyone nor felt anything. But at that moment he was suddenly seized by excruciating abdominal pain and fled. Upon arriving home he began to vomit and purge. Death was rapid. [My translation and synopsis].

Two other cholera stories involve, in one case, a 'very tall human', and in another, 'a refined human wearing a hat'. Each carries a basket and a long thin knife with which they intend to cut out the insides of villagers upon whom they chance (p.156). These descriptions are curiously suggestive of European presence and style. I refer the reader back to de Zoete and Spies's description of (and puzzlement concerning the image behind) the style and mode of an enactment of *Baris Cina* (*Tjina*) at the beginning of this discussion.

In certain *baris*, the dancers don Western-type garments, wear hats and shoes and carry rifles. One of these *baris* is named *baris cina* or *baris tuan*. *Cina* and *tuan* both signify 'foreign'. The 'weapons' used in *baris dadap* are boat-shaped shields (or shield-shaped boats) made from the magically powerful *dadap* wood. These 'boats' contain tiny flat figures. Could these various motifs bear any significance and relation to the known historical circumstances concerning cholera, foreign intrusion and medical folklore?

Could certain types of baris reflect Balinese conceptualization of cholera epidemics? Less likely, does the reverse apply? Baris are enacted by 'armies' of male dancers. There are notable correspondences between the 'weapons' used in some baris and those carried by the invading bhuta-bregala of cholera folklore who bring cholera to Bali and those of Macaling's kinsmen from Nusa Penida. These 'weapons' include such things as clubs, lances, ropes, sickles, shields, and, in the case of the bhuta-bregala and Macaling's kinsmen, lontar. The bhuta-bregala also carry mortar and pestle. These latter objects could be allusions to the classic characteristic 'pulverized' appearance of cholera-induced bodily exuditions (cf., Section ii in this chapter). The garments worn in some forms of baris are the black and white check (poleng) sashes and loincloths, also worn by the bhuta-bregala.

The signs and symptoms of cholera are dramatic. The rapidity and manner of cholera death is impressive. Following an episode of incessant vomiting, abdominal cramps and copious diarrhoea, the so-called rice-water stools appear. Rapid dehydration follows. The victim turns black and blue from superficial capillary bleeding. The tongue, lips, and finger tips turn blue. The mouth is dry, the eyes sunken, the voice hoarse. Breathing is rapid and occurs in deep gasps. Tremblings, twitching muscles and painful cramps especially in the lower limb add to the gross spectacle. Due to the heavy water loss the victim 'shrinks into a wizened caricature of himself' (Hackett 1984:130). Untreated severe cholera can lead to death within eight to ten hours. Cholera epidemics were indeed memorable events for the survivors of them.

Here, I juxtapose a composite description of the characteristic body language and vocabulary of baris: terrible wide-staring eyes, wild astonished glances, face grimacing or solemn or unparticipating; head held stiff or shifted from side to side, or deep in the shoulders; fingers spread, taut and quivering; upraised shoulders are curved like wings; the body shaking and trembling; slow steps forward and back; one foot lifted and held in the air; long stances on one leg; the body more and more tense (Covarrubias p.231; de Zoete and Spies pp.56-60,167-8; McPhee 1970:3).

The characteristic fearful expressions, tense poses, rigidly outstretched limbs of the baris dancer, and the strange hoarse, high-pitched cries which accompany a change of dance position, are certainly analagous, to some degree, with the painful muscular cramps of the limbs and abdomen characteristic of cholera as well as the imagery in cholera folklore of abdomens being struck with sharp weapons, flesh being torn apart and stabbing pains. It is suggested that the association between war and cholera in the minds of the people reflects the facts of history (Western intrusion concomitant with the first outbreaks of epidemic cholera) and the epidemiology of cholera and that some forms of baris are a mimetic play on the whole dramatic action; in terms of their exorcistic operations and function, implicitly they contain their own antithesis. They evoke a dialectical reversal.

Regardless of whatever discernible links there may be between the style and form of certain baris and Balinese experience and construction of cholera, it is not suggested that possible associations with disease are confined to cholera. The stiff, rigid gait characteristic of baris and the peculiar eye movements are possibly imitative of the

prominent symptomatology of other prominent forms of disease such as tuju. Mimetic magic of an exorcistic nature seems to me to constitute a key to the semiotics of these dances. This proposition is supported in the following two chapters.

If some forms of baris are secular war dances I am unable to decipher the manner in which they functioned as such. I am able to indicate through analogies how some form of baris operate in the context of healing. For example, in the baris gowak (crow baris) and the baris poleng, the dancers 'imitate' crows and squabble over or steal eggs which are placed out as offerings. From usada on smallpox (HKS VII, II; HKS3452), we know that when, in the course of the smallpox infection, the afflicted suffers sharp stabbing pain in the ears, utters raucous cries and his mouth is agape or crooked, that phase is named puuh gowak, 'crow smallpox'. In this event, an offering of four eggs placed next to the victim becomes the prescribed means of detaching the hold of the spirit responsible for the distress. Another clear example of correspondence is in the case of baris bandreng. In usada, the term occurs as paliatnya masawang ambandreng-bandreng meaning 'eyes fixed in a stern angry expression'. It is a sign of tuju named tuju rasa which possibly refers to a sign of syphilis. In the baris bandreng, the dancer holds a short spear and adopts a stern countenance with fixed staring eyes.

On two occasions (October 26 and 31, 1981) during field research, I came across enactments of baris tuan (alternatively named baris cina by informants) in a clearing in banjar Blanjong. There was no audience. The troupes of dancers literally fled the moment they had completed the dance. (It was night and Blanjong is considered to be one of the more tenget banjars in Sanur). Subsequent inquiries revealed that the dances had been commissioned (ngupah) by families on the advice of balian as part of the therapy -- a type of exorcism -- as many members of the family were suffering gastro-intestinal illnesses. The fee for the enactment was 7000 rupiah (about Aust\$10), I also learned.

In the course of baris mendet, which are a necessary element in every temple ritual, there is a special homage made towards the south-east, to Bhatara Ratu Gede Macaling in Pura Dalem Ped. In fact, in most rituals related to human well-being, offerings are made to this deity who is assigned the role of creator and container of epidemic cholera. In the village of Sanur at least, he is feared and frequently venerated. His name is also included in the invocations of deities by balian before they commence their healing rites. The 'Great King' Macaling embodies a recent epidemiologic disaster which has been intertwined with more ancient legends. The cult masks, Rangda and Barong and the Sanghyang Bungbung exorcistic rite (discussed earlier in this chapter) which have been conceived in other epidemiological disasters are, nevertheless, ritually intertwined with the supplication and appeasement of the god of cholera.

(vii) Cult Protective Masks: The Parameters of Their Powers and Participations

Most (if not all) writers on Bali have been intrigued by the Rangda-Barong masks or have had their initial interest in the culture sparked by an encounter with them. So familiar, hackneyed and

predetermined is the popular and Western construction of the phenomenon of Rangda-Barong that even in the *British Medical Journal*, in an article entitled, 'Temples, Tubes, and Plastic Bags' (Dunea 1982) does one find reference to 'the evil Rangda' and 'the good spirit Barong . . . locked in a fierce struggle since time immemorial'. Most analyses have sought meaning in 'the conflict'. I am not sure that this 'conflict' is not itself a product of the conventions of a philosophy of idealism in our methods of analysis and interpretation.¹⁶ There are no Balinese terms which come to mind in connection with the antagonistic powers of the cult demonic masks or their being engaged in a confrontation with each other. It has been only through designating a contrast that Western interpretive theory has been able to establish and perpetuate the notion and construction of the Rangda and Barong representing some eternal conflict between evil and good and the Rangda embodying some kind of archetypal moral lesson on the horrors of evil. The Barong pitted against the Rangda provides good performance, but it is not, I would suggest, the essence of mapajar and masolah enactments in their original inception and in the Balinese frame of reference. The very act of juxtaposing the two cult masks and the antipodal scheme imposed upon this may well be no more than a schism indicative of Western interference and ethnography, but one which the Balinese, with characteristic compliance, tolerate. It is, after all a schism which allows their religion to be presented as being no different to Christian theology and Islamic teachings with which, given the present internal politics (see Chapter 6[iii] and Lovric 1986a), things like masked rites must learn to become transmuted in order to survive at all.

According to Danandjaja (1980:294), in the remote (largely unstudied) Bali Aga village of Trunyan, the Rangda and Barong are of the same category, that of pangiwa. Various conceptions, themes and layers of meaning have probably been incorporated into the mapajar-masolah enactments over time. Whatever their original meaning, they have probably had cultural interpretations of other events -- historical, mythological and epidemiologic -- interwoven into them.

As we have seen, early studies and interpretations of these cult masks tended to overlook the bio-medical concerns expressed through masked rituals in favour of explorations of associations between culture and personality and child-rearing practices. I have argued that attempts to explicate these cult masked figures and their mythical referents through extensions of Jungian and Freudian psychoanalytical theories -- evil taunting mother figures and indulgent loving father ones, sexual dissatisfaction and senility anxieties -- are anachronistic and contextually meaningless. If there are grave problems in the relationship between men and women on Bali, I have not observed any evidence of this in either field research or in textual material. I fail to see anything in the Balinese child-mother relationship which is not, to some extent, universal or anything in the child-parent relationship which differs remarkably from that which can be observed in any other non-industrialized society where an extended family situation is still the norm. Moreover, since relationships of such nature are not generally given a supernatural dimension why should they, on Bali, provoke elaborate responses and supernatural solutions? By contrast, that which the Balinese profess to fear and about which they display considerably anxiety -- illness and untimely death -- are given a supernatural dimension. These are metaphysical events, demanding supernatural representation and solution.

As Forge (1973:190) has proposed, masks should probably not be seen only as representations but also as relationships, 'with meanings at several levels including the unconscious'. On a vertical level, masks do act as implements of mystical participation. However, can they also be seen as serving sociopsychological purposes on a horizontal level by integrating people in times of crises as Mead, Belo and others argue? The Balinese data generally supports Turner's (1980:162) rejection of the 'flat' view of ritual, the notion that ritual is primarily rules and rubrics (p.160) and that it can be understood as a set of mechanisms for promoting group solidarity (p.162). Data presented here do not support Gunawan's (1982:69) conclusion that Balinese rituals conducted in response to epidemic disease represent a means of maintaining social cohesion. Social cohesion seems to me to be little in need of ritual reinforcement. Numerous religious and social institutions as well as the kinship system ensure this already; in fact they disallow social disintegration on any significant scale. On the other hand, certainly public rites may well help to curb anxiety. They do provide a diversion for the community's fears. Mass gatherings allay the reality of things being sepi and the streets being sunya which are the effects epidemics have upon communities. But this, I suggest, is not their reason-to-be.

They are also not great sacrifices of thanksgiving for bountiful harvests, rituals to secure bountiful harvests or to eradicate plagues of rats. They are sacrifices and offerings for disease-bearing bhuta, aimed at securing human well-being. Geertz is demonstrably correct in his assertion that state rituals (which is what many of these rites are) did not function in nineteenth century Bali to support political power. There is much in the nature of community disease-containing rituals and the assumptions underlying them to support another of Geertz's (1973e:334-5) propositions, that the pre-colonial Balinese state implied a world order of a magico-religious nature, not an economic-political system. The Balinese state was primarily a device for the enactment of mass ritual. What Geertz did not mention, was that these state rituals were directed primarily and essentially towards human well-being. The state, one might say, still exists for the enactment of rituals even though a new meaning, one consistent with the ideals of a unitary nationalistic state, is being superimposed. Nevertheless, the fact that these bhuta-yadnya have acquired a quasi-secular political tone today does not distract from the reality that the essential forces involved and invoked belong to the unseen realm in terms of space, time, actors and agents.

The classical realm and royal protective patronage may have lapsed. However, their ceremonial spectacles, the 'theatre state' live on, as do cults of divine (often demonic) ancestors. Once mounted by ruling raja, in colonial Bali, they were enacted under the authority of Dutch-appointed regents (some of whom were raja). In present day Bali, they are authorized and attended by secular government officials such as the governor and bupati, who are advised by religious bodies. They are enacted, as they always have been, by padanda' pamangku, sungguhu and dalang who are sufficiently sakti to risk entanglement with the supernatural forces these rituals arouse and call forth. In the event of epidemic in the Klungkung region, the former Raja of Klungkung still assumes some responsibility either by actively participating in disease-containing rites or merely by lending his presence (Suryani 1981:388). I expect that this kind of royal assumption of responsibility

in community and state 'theatre' is not confined to one former provincial kingdom.

The Balinese do not anticipate a complete annihilation of the scourges periodically visited upon human populations. The outbreak of an epidemic and sporadic eruptions of endemic diseases do not, ipso facto, suggest that magical prophylactic rituals have been ineffective. It may indicate that other magical forces who draw upon the same sources of sakti have, for a time, triumphed. On another level, it may be construed that, had rituals not been enacted in the first place, case mortality rates could have been even higher. It is not presumed that state and community rituals will obliterate the existence of disease, only that they will mediate its eruption and contain the severity of its incursion and onslaught.

The severity of the disease menace does not seem to have driven Balinese to flight from infected areas. Perhaps, for demographic, geographical, economic and religious reasons, this has not been a recourse open to them. They remained and developed an elaborate response and ritual solutions -- offerings, temples, magical dance and drama enactments, demonic cult masks and bhuta-yadnya. These community and state prophylactic and therapeutic rituals could be considered to be vaguely analogous to the public health system in the Western scheme, but on a metaphysical plane (unmanifest agents of virulence and immunity), the one at which disease is conceptualized.

As I have demonstrated, enactments of masked rituals and dances to contain disease, recall episodes of the legendary history of Bali and of drastic events, and in doing so, they invoke the powers of semi-legendary ancestral figures renowned for their sakti in life and deified and imputed with demonic (bharawa) powers in death. There is an important historical dimension in ritual and in myth. The point is that the significance of the particularities of protective cult figures the Barong Landung, the Rangda, the Barong and Ratu Gede Macaling and the content of the exorcistic dance ritual, Sanghyang Bungbung, can be gleaned from motifs in the legendary histories as well as from in the rites themselves.

Dances have been formed, masks have been carved and exorcistic seances devised upon information revealed through trance utterances at times when villages were struck by deadly epidemics. The entranced appear to have been cognizant with the literary themes. The objective of the rites is to neutralize threats to human welfare and the invocation of the bharawa powers of legendary figures appears to be the perceived means of doing so. As Boon (1984:166) has commented, 'to enact, cite or even refer to a text is to activate its power'.

In all of the described trance possession rituals and dances, Durga, symbolized by the Rangda mask, is present. Rituals are enacted in space tenget, at times kala ala-ayu. The paraphernalia used is sakti. The decision to mount them comes through trance utterances of pamangku who are sakti, and to whom cult demonic deities have revealed the sarana to preserve human welfare. The rituals are themselves pingit. They are generally held in remote places in the late hours of the night or the early hours of the morning. They are intended to stir up magical powers. For this reason, branches of dadap are secured around the space of enactment. Taru sakti, as dadap is also called, is imputed to have purificatory and cooling properties and is thus a prime ingredient for the purposes of 'cooling' the tenget space and the pingit events.

Looking at cult masks in terms of relationships as well as representations and the horizontal level of meaning as well as the vertical one (of participation) as recommended by Forge (1973) does promote an appreciation of my proposition that what they embody is more human and tragic than social and utopian. Previously, I discounted the significance of social cohesion as an instigating factor behind the ritual manipulation of masks. In the foregoing discussions of masks and rituals I have brought into view the extent to which masks are pathological representations. The following, largely descriptive data, will illustrate the parameters of the powers of cult masks and the complexity of their relationships with each other and other supernaturals of Balinese cosmology.

The Barong are 'just like human beings', as the Balinese tell. There is a network of familial relationships between the masks and the various temples. Temples visited by the masks on their ritual circuit are determined by these relationships. There may well be socio-political manoeuvres operating within this cult mask phenomenon which have yet to be explored. Rangda masks from other villages are sometimes brought to temples in Sanur. For example, a Rangda (Ratu Gede) from Pura Tasikang in the village of Suung regularly visits Pura Dalem Pangembah in banjar Blanjong. In some villages, though not in Sanur, Barong and Barong Landung move from houseyard to houseyard and pause for special ritual offerings at specific ones among them. The Balinese tend to relate these activities directly to their concerns with well-being, and the longer pauses to past illness disasters within particular households, or sometimes to the presence of a particular sakti member in the family.

There are two sets of Barong Landung in the village of Sanur, one in banjar Sindu Kelod and the other in banjar Panti. The Sindu Kelod Barong Landung are housed in a structure within a building which seems to be, in part, a bale banjar and, in part, a pura. Their caretaker names the building Pura Dalem Suka Sari. The local people refer to the giant puppets as Ratu Gede and the place wherein they reside as Pura Dalem Sumerta. The wood used to make the masks was obtained from Pura Kahyangan in the village of Sumerta. The other set, named Ida Bhatara Ratu Gede Agung, are enshrined in Pura Taman Sagara, a single court temple. The gedong in which they are housed is the focal point of the temple.

There are, perhaps, many versions of how the two sets of masks came to be. The following is one explanation given to me:

One night a brahmana youth was sleeping in the bale desa. Before him appeared a very large figure with black skin, a strange face but with a friendly expression. The vision informed the youth that he wanted an image made of himself from talenan and kapak wood. In a state of trance possession, the youth commenced to fashion the mask. When the vision was satisfied with the image of himself, he disappeared into the night. The youth then heard chanting and laughter in the distance. He went to investigate and there before him appeared another form, this time a tall female. She however, had whitish skin, thin lips and eyebrows, slanted eyes, a prominent forehead and elongated ears. She wore a printed blouse like those worn by Chinese women. The vision also requested an image to be made of herself to complement the male one already completed. This, the youth also completed

before morning. He was found asleep by villagers to whom he related what he thought had been a dream.

The other set of Barong Landung masks is said to have been made by an ancestor of the late Padanda Made of Sanur:

A large piece of wood with an impression worn in one side was found by the family on the seashore. The wood was taken back to the geria and the ancestor who was a skilled mask-maker became possessed by a spirit which revealed that the wood had come from Pura Dalem Ped and had been sent to Sanur by Batara Dalem Ped. Whilst in the entranced state, the ancestor saw an image of the male and female Barong Landung figures which he then fashioned from the wood.

A dreadful cholera epidemic was raging on Bali at the time. The mask was a gift from Bhatara Dalem Ped, empowered to protect the people of Sanur and to lessen the impact of the epidemic. Such is the fluid nature of myth that the Barong Landung are amenable to having their protective influence directed to more recent 'intense moments in actual human experience' (O'Flaherty 1984:4), namely cholera, whilst their 'vocabulary' is, I believe, drawn from earlier historical events or disasters.

Over the ages, the two 'Tall Barong' have been joined by representations of other deified ancestors who have been likewise assigned a protective role. In the village of Peninjoan, Badung, for instance, there are five Barong Landung. An equally tall male mask figure with a red face named Ratu Ngurah Cupak and a male and female representing Mantri (the Prince of Koripan) and Galuh (daughter of the ruler of Daha) of slightly shorter stature, all characters from the arja drama, form a formidable fivesome.

The 'excessively impersonal nature of Balinese deities' noted by Bateson (1973:106) is applicable only to the high Hindu deities and then only relatively so. The Balinese have cast Durga into an intimate presence and personality. In the sense of participations in trance possession, Hindu high gods have not been interwoven into Balinese magico-medical mythology. The sometimes egregiously human character of the cult demonic deities, stands in contrast to that of Hindu deities who, as Bateson says, 'in lacking deed . . . lack personality'. The cult demonic deities not only have personalities and deeds, they have needs and greeds. Even so, they are intimately approachable, even though not beyond reproach. Their positions are defined from the mythology which relates their deeds. Their needs are attended to in periodic rituals.

The tall red-masked Ratu Nguruk Cupak (Barong Landung) obviously derives his identity from the legendary Cupak, the twin son of a brahmana woman who was raped by both Brahma and Wisnu whilst on her way to the sawah to bring food to her husband. It was their first month of marriage, a time during which physical work is proscribed from those of the brahmana caste. The rape of the woman was perceived as the consequence of this transgression. The elder of the twin sons thus conceived, Cupak, was Brahma's offspring. He was lazy, boastful, ugly, greedy and cunning. His brother, from Wisnu's seed, was diligent and handsome. A Cupak character also appears in a masked form in gambuh

dance drama. The mask here has only one eye which is half-closed, one enormous tooth and a hare lip. His hideous appearance was imputed to have been the result of his mother's having eaten magical mushrooms during pregnancy. This Cupak was banished to the forest where, through meditation, he rid himself of his appalling disfigurement (de Zoete and Spies 1973:143-9).

The sets of masks sometimes, but by no means always, operate together. A Calon Arang enactment may be preceded by a mapajar of the Barong Landung. Bateson and Mead (1942:37) observed that vis-à-vis the Rangda there is usually a Barong. They also reported to have found many Barong without Rangda. In Sanur the reverse applies. There are three Barong in Sanur and fourteen Rangda (or Rangda disciples). It may be that the cult of Durga/Rangda is stronger in Sanur than elsewhere on Bali. Their space and the parameters of their powers in the village is fairly circumscribed.

In banjar Pekandelan, there are two Rangda, a white one named Kalantaka (Death of Kala) and a black one named Kala Mertiu. They are generally activated in Pura Dalem Kadewatan and are housed in a temple opposite. According to a local informant, they were originally from Mengwi and were surrendered to the kingdom of Badung when Mengwi was defeated. The black wood from which Kala Mertiu is made appeared in the middle of a river following an extraordinary rising of the river's level. The local population requested permission from unmanifest powers to take possession of the wood. This was granted; the river dropped allowing them to do so. The mask was created following a trance utterance in which the taksu asked for an image to be made. I know little else about the activities of these two masks as my research concentrated on the more southern banjar in the village which form the desa adat Intaran.

A Rangda named Ratu Biang (Queen Mother) is housed in Pura Sagara Alit (also known as the Pura Manik Tirtha Sari) in the grounds of a large hotel complex in banjar Sindu Kaja. The wood used to fashion this mask is also said to have been found in Mengwi. A local ksatriya balian katakson's taksu is identified as that of this particular Rangda though this woman never actually handles the mask itself. Of its own volition, it is said, this Rangda sometimes leaves the temple enclosure and wanders about the grounds of the hotel. The space on which it is built is very tenget. Ratu Biang has an affiliation with I Ratu Gede Selem, a Barong from banjar Singgi.

Four Rangda and the black Barong named I Ratu Gede Selem are enshrined in the jeroan of the Pura Maospait, banjar Singgi. One of the Rangda masks named Andreganom, has the form of a monkey and is said to be male. They mapajar and masolah in the wantilan adjoining the temple. The body of I Ratu Gede Selem is made from black crow feathers obtained in connection with an extraordinary event.

Two Rangda and a Barong are housed in a bale which is part of the Geriya Penopengan, Intaran. They are taken on ritual processions to temples in the southern-most banjar in the village, Blanjong and Madura. They are reputed to have been made long ago by a very sakti brahmana for whom whatsoever he desired appeared before him. The wood used was obtained from the seaside.

Four Rangda and one Barong are enshrined in a bale in the outer courtyard of Pura Siwi Dampati in banjar Taman. The principle Rangda mask is named Ratu Ayu Gede and the other three are named Candra Bharawi, Kalika and Giriputri, which are all designations of Durga. The wood used to make these masks was obtained from Pura Goa Lawah in Klungkung and Pura Dalem Ped on Nusa Penida. The Barong is named Ratu Ayu. It was carved from a huge piece of wood which was found 'glowing' on the seashore where it had been washed in by the tide. The 'secret' name of Ratu Ayu, revealed when its wearer was entranced, was also volunteered — Langlang Bhuana. The word langlang has a meaning of 'caution', and bhuana means 'world'. In view of its protective role, this designation is comprehensible. The use of the female title 'Ayu' for Barong supports my contention that the gender of the masks is neither distinct nor significant. There are no clear dichotomies; perhaps there is a fusing of male-female principles or a transcendence of opposites as expressed in the rwa bhineda doctrine. The remaining (fourteenth) Rangda mask is enshrined in the jeroan of Pura Dalem Desa (also known as Pura Dalem Sindu) in banjar Sindu Kelod.

The most famous mask-maker in Sanur was a padanda who was also a guru to many of Bali's balian usada. The Rangda mask from banjar Taman, referred to as Ratu Ayu Gede, was made many centuries ago by a padanda from Batu Bulan. Although the present caretaker of the Taman masks is an anak jaba, most of those who preceded him in the task were members of the brahmana caste. The 'dancing' of the cult masks can be an hereditary task. In Sanur, a relatively large proportion of the sadeg or pamangku who wear the cult masks during trance possession happen to be of the brahmana caste.

The masks do not represent a cult of commoners opposed to some scriptural orthodoxy of an elite triwangsa. All sections of the society participate in these cults. The possession of sakti is the most important determinant of the degree of direct involvement in the handling of the cult masks.

The wood used to fashion masks is generally procured from huge trees found growing in graveyards, from pura dalem or other temples of renown. Thus, the very size of the trees put them beyond the norm and credits them with sakti, while the space wherein they grow, being tenget, contributes to their potential power. The wood used must be light, strong, termite-resistant and unblemished. The tree from which it is taken must be in perfect condition. Pule (pole), waru taluh or kepuh (randu) usually meet such criteria. Despite the quality of craftsmanship the masks display, aesthetic and artistic merit are not the principal reason for this care; the supernatural may be displeased with anything less than perfect and may vent its wrath if insulted with an inferior creation.

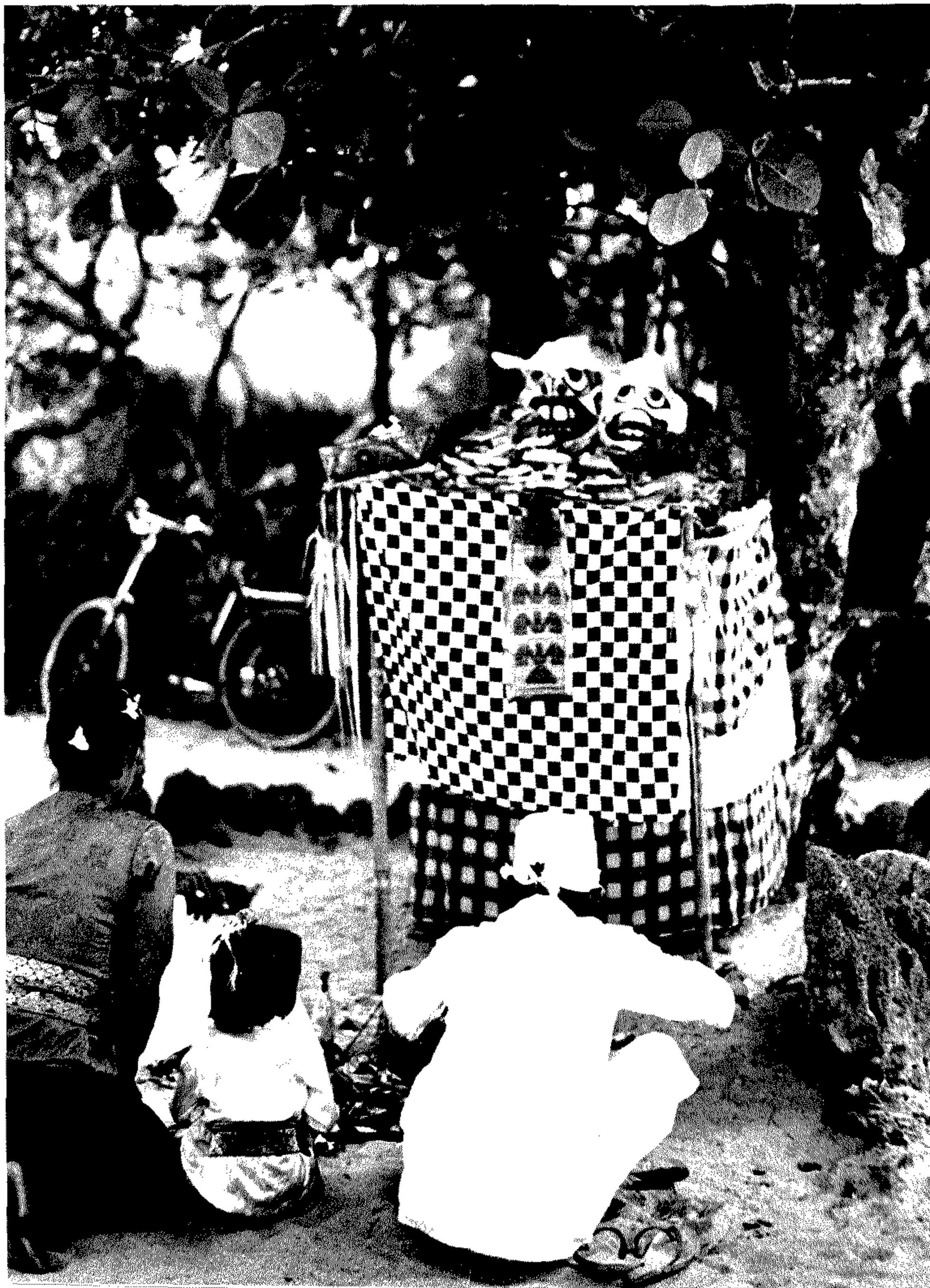
The masks are objects of reverence, veneration and fear. Whilst not in active use, they are kept, generally unseen, in temple enclosures. Daily offerings are placed before them whether or not they are in the process of being activated. At magically powerful times, more elaborate offerings are made. On full moon and new moon, hibiscus flowers are placed behind the ears of the Barong and on top of the boxes in which the Rangda masks are enclosed. Each 210 days, a caru pamiak bhuta-dengen offering is made before the masks so that the 'threatening spirits' (ancangan-ancangan) belonging to them do not interfere with human

welfare. When not activated, the Rangda mask is covered with a white cloth which signifies that it is not in a state of arousal. Only a pamangku would dare to remove this cloth, but before doing so, he would make appropriate offerings and request permission from the taksu of the mask to initiate an active participation. The decision to activate the masks generally comes through an order (pamuus) from the mask itself, either in a trance utterance or a dream visitation. The pamangku in charge of a set of masks said that he himself never 'danced' (manyolahang) the masks. He only makes the offerings. Those who dance the masks must undergo a mawinten before attempting to do so. The back part of the Barong can be worn by any person. When being transported from one temple to another, the masks do not have to be carried by pamangku or sadeg.

A further complexity within the cult masks lies in the concept of taksu, one I have not fully explored. According to a pamangku-balian informant (his information was substantiated, though not made more comprehensible, through observations during the ritual parading of masks), Rangda masks may have taksu elsewhere and beyond the masks themselves. Outside Pura Dalem Patal, there is a shrine for Men Gobleh where the taksu of one of the Rangda masks from Taman is said to reside. This shrine is about 160 centimetres high and has two faces carved from coral embedded on top and facing towards the sea. Both the statue and the taksu itself are named Men Gobleh. The pamangku-balian mentioned is also himself a receptacle for the taksu of one of the other Rangda masks of Taman. It appears that the presence of receptacles of taksu of the masks is one of the reasons why there are periodic pauses in ritual processions of masks. These various shrines are usually in the vicinity of extraordinary topographical features.

In the Balinese ritual context, masks are used as a means of mystical participation and transformation rather than as means of transportation to another realm. The wearer does not cross the threshold into another realm of existence or achieve magical flight. Masks are also not used to conceal or disguise the wearer or to confer magical power on him. The onus is on the spirit (taksu) to enter the mask, not the wearer to achieve transcendence. This passive nature of this type of trance possession in which the Rangda/Durga mask is involved is evident in the passive verbal constructions ka-rauh-an and ka-taksu-an. The mask-wearer is relatively insignificant. He only momentarily becomes an intermediary whereby participation in the potency of the supernatural is achieved on behalf of the community. Even so, as an instrument of the mask's ambiguous potency, the wearer is in peril and needs to be purified for his own sake and that of the participating community. For this reason masks should not be worn by one who is sebel as this could occasion the kind of 'double peril' already discussed in Chapter 9[iii]. It is imperative that the wearer of the Rangda mask become possessed by the spirit of Rangda/Durga during the ritual manipulation of the mask, otherwise the community at large as well as the wearer himself are endangered, for failure of the mask-wearer to become possessed would indicate that Durga, the 'Controller' (Ratu) of all dangerous ambiguous forces aroused through the very enactment of the ritual, is not participating and protecting.

Newly created or renovated masks are subjected to elaborate ceremonies of purification, animation and transformation which render



A shrine in the outer court of Pura Dalem Patal where the taksu of one of the Rangda masks from banjar Taman resides.

them receptive to spirit (taksu) entrance. The final stage in the transformation and installation of a mask as a protective cult deity involves a ritual testing of the mask in a graveyard in a ceremony known as ngarehang.

On the occasion of a ngarehang ritual where two of the Barong Landung fivesome from Denpasar were being tested following repair, a Rangda and a Barong mask also participated in the happening. In a later phase of this ritual renovation and testing, the Barong Landung named Ratu Ngurak Cupak, when activated (possessed) by its taksu, behaved in a generally gluttonous fashion, demanding peanuts and greedily consuming them along with large quantities of arak. Without even attempting to do justice to the complexity and scope of this ritual, I mention a few episodes from it.

The two gigantic puppets were 'worn' in ceremonial procession to the graveyard and walked three times around the tree from which the wood used to fashion the masks had been obtained and also from where new wood had been taken to carry out the repairs. This phase was called nyembar signifying the requesting of the spirit to enter the masks. Accompanied by the other tall barongs and the Rangda and the Barong, they returned to a nearby Pura Dalem where, among other things, the Rangda, the Barong and the giant puppets were again donned by pamangku. They left the temple together with pamangku and a few villagers confident enough to participate at close vantage. The accompanying cult masks assumed positions around the most tenget space in the banjar; the Rangda in the graveyard and the Barong at the crossroads. Separately, the Barong Landung moved away into dense growth in an uninhabited area by a river. All others sat in quiet and darkness for what may have been about half an hour. Then, voices could be heard in the distance calling 'mai, mai leyak' (come, come leyak). Before being finally caught and subdued the mask puppet testers had run almost a quarter of a kilometer around the banjar. They were taken back to Pura Dalem and there, still entranced, the pamangku were questioned and cajoled by the other pamangku. One complained (on behalf of the possessing taksu) that the recent offerings prepared for them were not of high enough quality. It also expressed a desire to return to Pura Dalem (where they were then being celebrated) at galungan. Asked why the female Barong Landung had nothing to say, the pamangku/taksu replied that he spoke on behalf of them both. It was concluded that the masks had been successfully restored and had received the taksu necessary to sustain their mystical power which proclaimed them as protective cult objects.

Whilst I was carrying out field research in Sanur two of the Rangda masks from Taman were also repaired. The entire process lasted over many days and proceeded through several stages, some of which I relate here. This information, albeit in condensed form, serves to advance our understanding of magical protective role in which Durga/Rangda is cast as well as how that intended role operates.

Before repairs commenced, offerings, the essential ingredient of which is a young coconut (daksina), were prepared. These were placed in the pura gedong parerepan where the masks are enshrined. The taksu of the masks were then invited to enter the daksina and remain there whilst repairs were carried out on the masks themselves. The daksina remained installed in place of the masks during this operation. Once

repairs were completed, the masks were returned to the pura and the taksu were requested to once again return to the masks in a ritual known as mapasupati, 'bring to life', conducted by a padanda.

When an appropriate time approached, which was kajeng-kliwon tumpek ringgit (5/12/81), preparations were made for the critical ritual testing (ngarehang) of the masks. By nine o'clock on the morning of that day, the temple courtyard was already busy with people bringing offerings. The doors of the bale in which the masks are kept were open and the masks were exposed. (The Rangda masks are normally concealed in closed boxes.) Elaborate caru were scattered about the ground which was also strewn with burning coconut husks. Early in the afternoon, accompanied by pamangku, a gamelan group and village residents, all of the Rangda masks and the Barong were paraded to the seaside for a malasti ceremony. On the way, the procession paused at a small crossroads temple where offerings were placed and incense was lit. When they reached the beach, the masks were placed on a dias by the sea. A chorus chanted verses from the Warga-Sari and holy water was distributed by pamangku. After about an hour, the masks were then taken into the nearby Pura Dalem Jumenang and the two renovated Rangda masks were placed on elevated shrines there. The Barong remained 'seated'. Several people, including the pamangku caretaker of the masks went into trance. Some became violent and were forcibly restrained. One or two were questioned and cajoled in the usual manner. It was then late afternoon. This was the first time I have witnessed trance possession during the daytime. Until then, I had incorrectly assumed that it was a 'nocturnal' phenomenon. In fact, daytime trance possession also occurs in Pura Blanjong and doubtless in many other temples throughout Bali.

On the return procession, pauses were made and offerings and incense were placed at significant topographical features such as huge trees and crossroads where there were small shrines. Upon return to the home temple, the masks were ceremoniously replaced, further offerings were made. Then, lemonade and cold bottled tea were passed around.

Later the same evening, village residents returned to the temple courtyard. A padanda was preparing holy water. This was distributed among the people by several pamangku. Kneeling before the exposed masks in Pura Gedong Parerepan, people received the holy water and paid homage. A miscellaneous collection of pamangku, male, female, old and young, enacted a mendet dance. By this time there were only about a dozen people remaining in the courtyard. At about an hour before midnight, accompanied once again by pamangku and a gamelan group, the masks were moved a few metres down the road to the Pura Dalem Panataran. By midnight, there were about 200 people including children gathered in this temple.

The sadeg who were to test the masks sat before the main shrine, already donned in the striped Rangda costumes. They were being doused with holy water and having mantra uttered over them and incense and fragrant woods smoked before them. At around one-thirty in the morning, one of the mask-testers accompanied by about twelve people, mostly pamangku carrying one of the encased but exposed masks, left for a village graveyard situated close to the sea. The man who was to test the remaining old (lingsir) and 'most sakti' Rangda mask (Ratu Ayu Gede) was jokingly introduced to me, at this stage, as 'the one skilled in Dutch,

German, English and Rangda languages' (duweg mabasa Belanda, Jerman, Ingggeris miwah basa Rangda). He was a brahmana and a kite-maker by trade. The task of mask-tester was, in his case, an hereditary one. His father and his grandfather, who later became padanda, had done so in the past. The man was rather withdrawn on this occasion, kind of brooding but in no way agitated. Just how uncharacteristic his manner and behaviour was, I learned several days later when I interviewed him at his home. There, he was a most gregarious person. And his English was amazing -- an extensive lexicon entirely devoid of grammatical structure. He could recall little of the events about to be related, apart from a feeling of intense heat and anger.

By kind indulgence on the part of the prebekel of Sanur, I was invited to accompany a small group to the graveyard for the actual ngarehang. Women generally do not choose to participate, even in an observatory role, in this phase of the affair. We walked across the road to a sema bajangan (from bajang, a spirit associated with infant disease and death), a graveyard reserved for the burial of still-borns, those who die before the cord is severed and those who die before shedding their milk teeth. There were no signs to indicate that this was a cemetery. I had, in fact, passed it by several times without realizing that this was the case. It was walled by tall trees and clumps of bamboo. There was no light, no music. Ratu Ayu Gede was carried on top of its container. Someone was carrying a piglet in a hessian bag. Others carried offerings. No one spoke. It was all rather tense. We had moved to the far end of the graveyard close to (from the sounds heard) a stream of running water. A sanggah cukcuk (a triangular bamboo shrine) was discernible. A small group moved in close to the shrine. The prebekel, also a brahmana, was generally supervising the procedure. The offerings were placed before the shrine. The mask-tester sat on the ground in front of the mask. The prescribed sacrifice of an uncastrated male piglet (nyambleh kucit butuhan) was effected. Blood pouring from the slit in its throat was collected into containers made from bamboo leaves. Then everyone sat in stillness and silence for what seemed like a long time. Suddenly there was a sound of much shuffling. The mask-tester was lying outstretched and completely stiff. He was placed in an upright position and the Rangda mask was placed on his head. He began uttering incomprehensible (to me) words and phrases. Whether because he was being forcibly restrained or not, I could not tell, but he did not run about the graveyard as is generally the case in ngarehang. A light appeared at the entrance of the graveyard which guided us out and back to Pura Dalem Pantaran.

A now quietened Rangda, supported by two pamangku, stood facing the entrance to the temple. The other Rangda had not yet returned. This seemed to be causing some consternation. Inside the jeroan the gamelan was playing. The atmosphere was tense and still. A group of men stood in front of the central shrine with their eyes fixed on the entrance through which the Rangda was to enter. An old man was dancing alone and very slowly. Both inside and outside the jeroan, there was the same strange atmosphere of absolute vigilance yet total procrastination.

This was one of the many occasions during field research that I coveted omnipresence. I chose to remain inside the jeroan at this stage. The doors leading to the jeroan were suddenly closed from the outside. Another long, tense silence, then the tone and intensity of the gamelan changed and increased. The gates were flung open and Ratu Ayu Gede appeared and stood there motionless. All eyes were either focused upon her or deliberately averted. A man lurched forward flourishing a white

cloth. Then the group of men standing in front of the central shrine followed brandishing kris. There was a frenzied skirmish. Some ran towards Ratu Ayu Gede, stopped short and commenced to simulate self-stabbing (ngurek). Some among those not entranced attempted to control those who were. Those not brandishing cloths and kris looked on in terrified silence. The gamelan ceased and sobriety and quiescence gradually returned. Much holy water was splashed upon those still writhing on the ground. The rest of the becalmed gathering, including the Rangda, had moved to the central shrine and were having holy water administered to them. The ngarehang had been successfully completed. The masks 'worked'. The sadeg had become karauhan and the presence of the masks in the temple had aroused spirits to enter the kris-bearers. And these spirits had been successfully subdued by the power of Ratu Ayu Gede.

Various informants told of ngarehang held in the notoriously tenget graveyard in banjar Madura which were more 'hebat' (Ind. sensational). One person reported to have actually seen a flame glowing from the mask as it was being placed upon the head of the sadeg (I had seen something similar at the ngarehang at sema bajangan and assumed it to be nothing more than someone using a flashlight in order to put the mask in place.) Some also related ngarehang affairs in which the state of possession was not forthcoming and the sadeg had themselves been attacked by leyak whilst in the graveyard and had subsequently become seriously ill or died. According to a pamangku, such failures signify that the sadeg (or juru ngarehang) was not sakti enough and should not have attempted the enterprise in the first place.

Given the nature and complexity of Barong and Rangda activities, references and meaning, it would seem obvious that their meaning transcends issues of human morality or normality and reaches to the issues and the complexities of abnormality and transformations. Each is an example of and a personification of medical doctrines like rwa bhineda, kanda mpat and panca mahabhuta. Neither cult figure is limited to the dictates of a gender role. The femininity of Rangda is primarily metaphysical; creative by reason of powers of destruction and destructive by reason of powers of creation. The Rangda figure is intertwined within the mysteries of the female cosmic principle. Both the Rangda and Barong are transfixed yet transfigured by their own ambivalence. They are symbols. They are expressions of a human desire to identify, materialize and participate with cosmic energies. It is suggested that both the realities and conceptions of abnormality, ambiguity and the immaterial, in short, the processes of creation, deterioration and destruction, are subjectivized in these masks. Like deities in general, the Rangda and the Barong are neither unequivocally good nor unequivocally evil. The Rangda challenges and controls leyak in graveyards. The Barong roams villages and absorbs into itself other potential agents of disease such as bhuta-kala. In a sense, both cult figures are objects of dread and veneration. Each has the capacity to draw within itself uncontrolled agents of destruction within the environment and to transform them in order to ensure a minimum of destruction. In terms of Girard's (1977:202) postulation that violence and the sacred are one and the same thing, their supposed potential for evil is their power. And, as Girard (p.284) also suggests, 'wherever there is potential for dangerous change, the remedy lies in ritual'. Dangers, both 'real and imaginary that threaten the community are subsumed in the ritual itself (p.94). Ritual acts of violence, as Girard comments, require 'a certain degree of misunderstanding'. One may add, that they

(taken from Noosten and Konigswald, 1936)

leprosy, yaws, harelip
(left to right)

Masks of sickness



are, by their very nature, also ambiguous. The masks are not only fear-inspiring, they are fear but they also encapsulate a solution.

Primarily, I see these masks, like other art forms yet to be discussed, as reflective of a perceived desire to identify and understand cosmic and organic forces operating for and against the human organism, the survival of lineages and the population in general the community itself. Moreover, the ritual manipulation of masks and the myths thereby re-enacted are, to borrow from Boon (1982:229) a 'metaclassification . . . a classification of classifications', and an example of the way in which a culture like Bali is 'autodislocated' (p.213). Like Boon, I borrow from Geertz (1966:65): 'in an ordinary, quite un-Hegelian way, the elements of a culture's own negation are, with greater or lesser force, included within it'. Each mask, or in the case of the Barong Landung and sanghyang bungbung, each set of masks and associated historical myth contains within itself its own negation (antithesis) and a potentiality to transformation or dialectical reversal. Each is a discourse. Each expresses within itself a dialectic. This, I have attempted to demonstrate in foregoing analyses of each mask.

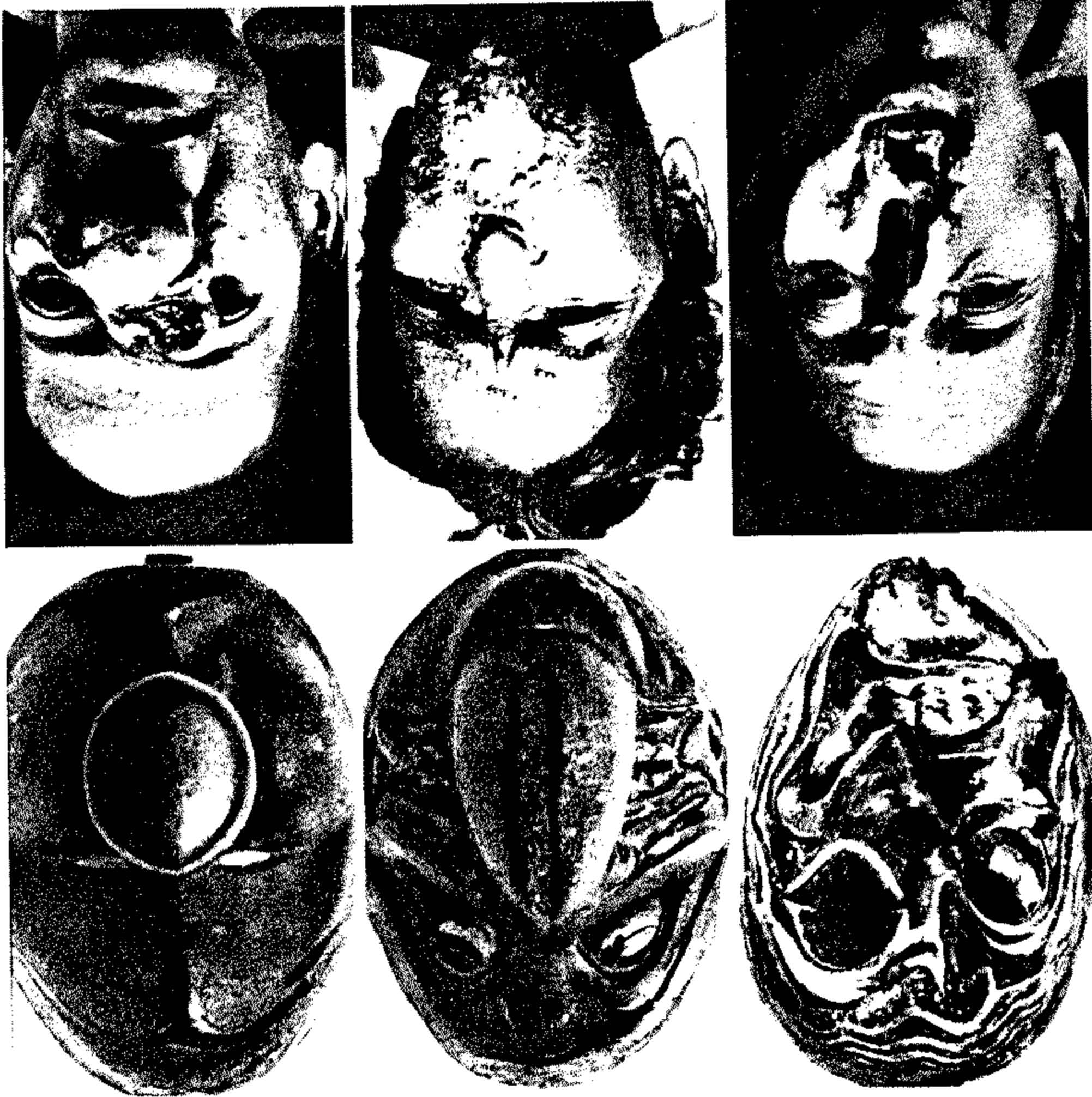
The creation of masks generally reflects the Balinese predilection towards expressing important notions and concerns tangibly, through concrete representations. They are prime examples of Lévy-Bruhlian forms of mystical participations. Masks enable direct and immediate contact or intimate participation with the invisible but affective supernatural. The prominent feature of these masks is their sakti quality. This is able to bring about the necessary transformation of an object into a vehicle of a spirit. As O'Flaherty (1984:3) has noted, transformations are 'at the heart of myth'. They are also at the heart of the ritual manipulation of masks.

Notes - Chapter Eleven

1. Weck (1937) quoting Romer (1907).
2. Foucault (1979) for instance, interprets the images and values attached to leprosy and the segregation and social exclusion of leprosy sufferers as indicative of 'moral' attitudes towards leprosy. He also judged victims of the disease to be society's scapegoats.
3. See Chapters 5[ii] and 9[iii] on this point of the power of transitions.
4. It is worth noting that a group of medical officers working in the Dutch East Indies in the early decades of this century observed a similarity between the iconography of certain masks and the gross disfigurement characteristic of certain diseases. These observations were documented in a paper entitled 'Maskers en Ziekten op Java en Bali' (Noosten and von Konigswald 1937). Eight different masks were juxtaposed with facial portraits of people suffering specific disfiguring diseases such as leprosy, rhinosclerosis, framboesia and cancer. They concluded that the masks had strong medical implications; they were clearly recognizable, albeit stylized representations or images of gross pathology. No suggestions were

(continued from previous page)

(left to right)
cancer, rhinoscleritis, rhinoscleritis



offered concerning the function of these masks. There are still to be found in Bali roughly carved masks representing deformities of facial features, pathological swellings and facial paralysis (bengor) known to be prevalent on Bali.

5. See Danandjaja (1980:170) for further detail.
6. Forge Collection, Australian Museum.
7. Etymologically, the word Barong is posited as a transformation of the Sanskrit bharwang (bear) (Neuhaus 1937). Because he felt that the use of animal forms represented in the Barong mask 'could point to no other possible explanation', Neuhaus postulated that the Barong cult figure dated back to the old Polynesian totemism. However, from an ecological point of view alone, the probability of the other animal masks originating in a form of totemism, does not hold. In totemistic societies, masked dancers use masks representing their totem-animals in order to venerate the totems and to obtain a greater abundance for game. This is clearly not the objective in the use of animal masks on Bali. The Balinese were probably never dependent upon hunting for their subsistence, and certainly were not so around the time when masks were first devised.
8. On Bali, the use of cult masks is confined to the community level of the healing system. Balian do not generally include cult masks among their healing paraphernalia (see Chapter 6[iii]). In some African societies and among the Singhalese of Sri Lanka, masks may be used by healers to cure diseases affecting individuals. A red painted mask (the colour of fever) may be worn by a healer to cure someone suffering a febrile illness, for example. The spirit of the disease is urged to leave the afflicted person and is lured into the mask and the healer then expels it. The pantomimic and transformatory processes, I suggest, are similar, although, in Balinese mask exorcisms, it seems that the pathognomonic representation is more elaborated.
9. See Neuhaus 1937 and Belo, 1949, 1960 for further descriptive detail. The ritual was first described by Neuhaus in the 1930s and later by Mead, Belo and de Zoete and Spies. They state that the ritual is unknown outside of Sanur. I am not sure that we can be certain of either the exclusiveness or the ubiquity of anything on Bali simply on the basis of what ethnographers have managed to record.
10. I base this description largely on the writings of Avalon (1974) and Pott (1966). The terminology used to describe Kundalini-Yoga is Sanskrit.
11. See Hooykaas (1973a:171-217) and Moerdowo (1977) for lengthy accounts of the various versions of these legends.
12. An observation also made by Boon (1982:185-6).
13. For example, Worsley 1972, 1984; Young 1980; Connor 1982a; Vickers 1984.

14. Drawing support for the interpretation from Worsley's (1972) legitimation theory.
15. See also Worsley 1972, Covarrubias and de Zoete and Spies.
16. Mindful of the degree of Western interference in the directions of Balinese arts already mentioned (Chapter 2[i]), it is not impossible that the original authors of the conflict good-versus-evil theories have named the rules and then devised the game for them. Belo herself (1949:28) hinted that the Barong-Rangda antithesis and antagonism was a recent phenomenon.

Chapter 12

Trance Exorcistic Dances: Parody with Rhyme and Reason

But, to reach these conclusions, one must undertake an impassioned 'hermeneutic circle'; one assumes a code, which is verified against a simile, whose metaphorical transformations are appraised in advance; or one starts from the simile in order to infer a code that makes it acceptable; . . . Analyzing further this process of trial and error, we would realize that we are dealing with multiple inferential movements: Hypothesis (or abduction), induction, and deduction.

Umberto Eco *Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language* 1984:101

Trance exorcistic dance on Bali was elaborately studied in the 1930s. Funding allowed team research and provided for research assistants as well as the possibility of 'commissioned performances' which (although one may deplore the interference such ordered 'performances' implied) have provided extensive descriptions of the content and structure of trance dance rituals. Whilst I do not agree with the conclusions yielded by this research in regard to the meaning and function of these dances, I owe much of my descriptive data to the collective efforts of those who witnessed many more enactments than I.¹

My interest is largely in the vocabulary of these dances and the semiotics of their aesthetics. I explore the process of metaphorical production through reference to the Balinese mode of thought and ways of knowing in order to determine meaning and the ideas which the exorcisms willed through the dances signify. Consistent with objectives in the previous chapter, I seek to elucidate the value of the metaphors used in trance exorcistic dances and the dynamics of the mimesis which is a part of the sequence in the semiotic network these dances encapsulate.

To suit my mode of analysis I have divided the dances into five groups. A discussion of some related 'curiosities' in the plastic arts intersperses analyses of the dances. The final section comments on the significance of the metaphor and mimetic operations in trance exorcistic dance and offers some general conclusions on the problems of approaches to Balinese trance phenomena.

(i) 'Crude Earthy Happenings': The So-Called 'Folk Sanghyangs' (Animal and Object Trance Dances)

In the 1930s Colin McPhee (1970:320) observed that:

In more remote parts of the island one may still find sanghyang 'dances' in which youths or men in trance 'become' deer,

monkeys, serpents, or even swine. Their performances . . . are fantastic and hysterical transformations, executed with violent and at times quite terrifying realism. They are . . . a necessary though psychopathic detail in the picture of the dance and its function in Bali.

Mrázek (1983:92-3) described the same trance exorcistic dances as 'rather crude happenings, and sometimes frighteningly violent'.

In the 1930s Walter Spies, Colin McPhee, Margaret Mead, Jane Belo and others 'stumbled upon' what were described as 'crude earthy performances' of the sanghyang exorcistic type of dance in villages in east and north Bali. The origin and significance of these trance dances remained a mystery to the team of anthropologists and their consultant psychiatrists and resident expatriates, in spite of their efforts to elicit explanations from native informants. The typical response from the latter was that 'there had always been sanghyangs', that 'they were from the past', that 'they were secret and magically dangerous' (pingit), and they belonged with the worship of Dewi Sri (one of the many designations for the Goddess of Death, Durga, a fact perhaps not recognized by the team members for the clue it was). What the research team found most remarkable about these exorcistic animal trances was the perceived inventiveness in the variety of dance forms, the names and the paraphernalia used in them and the characteristic Balinese charm, insouciance and carefree simplicity displayed in a tendency to 'obscenity and innocence' (Belo 1960:219,225).

These sanghyangs fall into two types. In one, the dancer enacts the role of and is transformed into the animal represented in the name of the trance dance and in the attire worn by the dancer. In the other, a small animal representation or a simple object or implement is tied to the dancer's finger, hand or arm. In both types, the dancer goes into trance and imitates the behaviour of the animal represented or performs actions appropriate to the object involved. In the case of the object sanghyang, a trembling commences in the part of the limb to which the implement is attached or else the object itself is made to vibrate and tremble through the manipulation of strings attached to it. The dances generally end in partial or generalized seizures.

In commissioned performances, the psychiatric member of the team would examine the dancers before, during and after the seizures and test pupillary reactions and limb reflexes. These examinations yielded the information that there were pronounced physiological changes and localized changes in the limb upon which the 'animal' or object had been tied. The final seizure, they were advised, represented 'an uncoordinated discharge of low-level cerebral enervation' (Belo p.255). All this seemed to qualify the trance possession behaviour to be labeled (according to Western psychiatric terminology) 'hysteria'. Predictably, the final seizures were compared to sexual excitement.

The names of these trance possession dances witnessed by Belo and others included:

sanghyang celeng (pig); bojog (monkey); dongkang (toad); penyu (turtle); lelipi (snake); kuluk (pup); jaran putih (white horse); jaran gading (yellow horse); mamedi (ghost); dadari (spirit); seriputut (puppet made of palm); capah (piece of

woven palm); sela prau (a vegetable); sampat (broom); lesung (rice-pounding mortar); kekerek (small bamboo object); teter (three-forked stick); lilit linting (coiling); sembe (oil lamp); tutup (pot lid); panyalian (rattan wand); kidang (small deer).

The research team found the 'players so good and the trances so convincing' that they sometimes persuaded the Balinese to 'put on their show' in commissioned performances so that they did not always have to wait until a calendrical event came about 'to see the action' (pp.125-30).

Some familiarity with the form and the content of these animal and object trance dances is necessary background to my decoding of these so-labeled crude, earthy performances:

In the sanghyang lesung trance dance, a draped miniature rice-pounding mortar (lesung) is wrapped in a cloth, manipulated by participants and 'made to dance'. The same action is done upon a three-forked stick (teter) in the sanghyang teter dance.

In the sanghyang sembe, two lamps (sembe) made of bamboo and clay and having burning wicks are attached to a piece of rope, which is stretched between and secured to two dadap branches. Two male dancers clench the dadap branches causing the rope to vibrate and the lamps to tremble. Finally, the dancers go into trance and have convulsive seizures.

Two sets of tal palm and grass puppets (seriputut), each with a second puppet superimposed upon the first, are similarly suspended between dadap branches in the sanghyang seriputut. In this dance the dadap branches are secured into the soil. Two male dancers each hold on to the rope with clenched hands. They make jerky, irregular movement and tremble and vibrate the rope, the intensity of which causes the puppets to 'move feverishly'. One of the dancers goes into a 'violent spasm' making 'convulsive kicking motions'. The other dancer sits upright on his haunches. There are rapid rhythmic contractions in his thighs as his body moves up and down. This trance was described by the Balinese as being 'most pingit'. The materials used in the making of the puppets had to be gathered in secrecy and the puppets themselves had to be made by aged persons in the confines of a house.

Two girls enact the sanghyang panyalian. They hold rattan wands (panyalian) upright and twirl them rapidly. At a certain point, the rods are let loose and they remain twirling in the air. In another version of this trance, the girls are brought into trance through 'smoking' with burning incense and chanting. They then dance on rattan rods while surrounded on each side by rows of women and men chanting. In the sanghyang lilit linting, two young girls spin palm-leaf weavings so that they 'coil around' (lilit linting). From time to time the girls 'go limp'. There are no convulsive fits in this trance.

The dancer has a little broom (sampat) replica attached to his finger in the sanghyang sampat trance. Two dancers each hold a three-forked stick and have puppets of tal palm attached to their little fingers in the sanghyang sela prau. A piece of shaped bamboo (kekerek) threaded through a bamboo cylinder, bound with cloth and fitted with bells is tied to the little finger in the sanghyang kekerek. The eyes of the dancers

are wide and staring throughout. There is a sustained nodding of the head and rotating of the hands. Finally, the dancers jump into a pile of firewood. An ordinary pot-lid (tutupan) together with bells is attached to the dancer's hand in 'a rather dull show' (Belo p.214) named sanghyang tutup. The activity involved in this dance consists in banging (with the lid) against any object encountered. The dancer's mouth is in a fixed position and the lips are pursed. It ends in a convulsion.

Another group of these sanghyang trance dances displays a variation in the vocabulary of action and reaction. In the sanghyang kuluk, a small dog (kuluk) fashioned from grass and wrapped in a black cloth is bound to the palm of the dancer's right hand. The hand then begins to twitch and tremble. The 'dog' leads the dancer aimlessly about, walking, squatting, crouching and falling. Throughout, the participating members of the community call to the dog to 'go away' (ceh-ceh). Finally, the 'dog' reels over to one side and falls, upon which villagers shout, 'the dog is dead'. The 'dog' is unfastened from the dancer leaving him shaking and trembling.

Somewhat similar is the sanghyang lelipi. A snake (lelipi) is fashioned from grass and together with bells attached to the fifth finger of the dancer's right hand. The 'body' of the snake stretches along the dancer's arm. The arm upon which the snake is attached is held outstretched and shaking. The dancer crawls along on his stomach. Finally, he falls backwards in a 'sort of convulsion' lying on his stomach with his legs outstretched and his left hand clutching his chest. This sanghyang is also reported to have been very pingit. No one was permitted to witness the collecting of the grass used to make the snake. A great danger to the dancer was perceived to exist in the event of his coming into contact with people or with water in the preparation for the trance and during the course of the enactment. If this were to happen, the dancer, it was said, would become very ill and suffer sensations of pins and needles (semutan) all over the body. In other versions of this snake sanghyang, alang-alang (grass) is twined around the hips of the dancer and formed into a long 'snake' at the back.

The sanghyang penyu is also said to be especially pingit. A tall bamboo pole is stuck into the ground and a sort of wheel through which a string is passed is attached to the top of the pole. A turtle (penyu) fashioned from woven split bamboo about twenty-five centimetres in diameter is attached to the string. The two ends of the string are secured to the index fingers of the two dancers. As their hands begin to tremble, the turtle is made to rise up the pole, trembling as it does so.

In the sanghyang kidang trance, the dancer jumps about like a deer (kidang) to the accompaniment of songs chanted by the community chorus. In the sanghyang bojog, dancers are attired in black sugar-palm fibre. First they begin trembling and shaking and then engage in what Belo describes as a general kind of 'monkeyness'; they become hyperactive, noisy, furious, hysterical. They kick, they bite and they jump about. Their trances also end in convulsive seizures.

The sanghyang celeng trance dancers behave like pigs (celeng). They are also attired in black sugar-palm fibre which is formed into a cowl. Once in trance, the dancer falls to his knees and goes into a crawling position. He does handsprings, swings his legs in the air in a semi-circle. He drinks water making a slobbering noise, grunts loudly,

wallows in the dust and mud thrashing his limbs about wildly. Finally, the dancer 'falls into a fit' with powerful convulsions shaking his entire body. The head is thrown back and the body is arched backwards. There is a tense expression on the face, the lips are pursed. There is gasping and panting, 'like a person near the climax of sexual excitement', or so Belo (p.208) reads the semiology.

Thus, as the case may be, the entranced dancers activate objects which are made to twitch, twist, turn, vibrate and finally collapse. Alternatively, twitching and tremblings commence in a finger, a hand or an arm, or the dancers are possessed. In fact, more accurately the dancers 'become' or 'create' (nadi, nados) animal spirits and in an entranced state they mimic what are seen as animal movements. The dancers have faints, funny turns and finally go into a fit. That this is so, is clear and indisputable. The question remains, why this particular vocabulary of action and antic?

There has been little or no attempt to date to decode the symbolism in these dance enactments or to explore the possibilities as to why these dances have assumed the form they have. Why are the vocabulary and style of the dances so peculiar? Along with other forms of trance, they have been interpreted in terms of the 'Balinese character' or through psychosociological theories. They are supposed to demonstrate the Balinese propensity for inventiveness and sense of comic and exist to integrate the community in times of threat and to act out village strife. They may well evidence such qualities and assume such psychosociological functions. However, I will argue that these imputed exhibitions of a carefree existence of a fun-loving people more likely evidence concerns other than those familiar to Western observers. Grim events (a hidden nightmare) of a bio-medical nature and the response, which is a bio-cultural one, are encoded in the trance dances themselves, the associated paraphernalia, the space and time in which they are enacted, as well as in the particular groups who enact them. The disorder is perceived in metaphysical terms and resolved through metaphysical solutions, namely trance exorcistic dances which I believe act as spirit-raising seances designed to confront and expel spirits (sanghyang) of ambiguous dispositions.

In a previous discussion of the disease burden experienced by the Balinese over time, I isolated two significant disease categories, tiwang and tuju. From my reading of a number of Usada Tiwang medical treatises, I learned that the term tiwang encompasses a range of nervous system disorders which display symptoms commonly referred to in Western medical vernacular as 'fits, faints and funny turns' and in which convulsive seizures are a major clinical manifestation. There are some one hundred or so forms or phases of tiwang named in the usada. Besides names of animals, plants, or objects, there are also names derived from actions such as dragging, staggerings and images from nature such as heavy rain, wind and so forth. Tiwang naming, designating symptoms of the condition, finds exact or semantic equivalences in the naming of sanghyang trance dances, as seen from the following:

tiwang jarang (horse); -lutung (monkey); -bawi (pig); -dongkang (toad); -empas (turtle); -naga (serpent); -asu (dog); -kumandong (ghost); -kidang (deer); -ketungan (rice-pounding mortar); -kekeb (lid); -nyalian (rattan pole); -janganan (vegetable).

Other names include: jangat (bark); papah (young palm leaf); sikep (kite); jajaringan (net); bidak (sail); sumangah (a large red ant); grita (octopus); lindung (eel); as well as dengen, moro, mokan, barong for which there are no possible English equivalent terms. As the language of the usada is Balinese, a language with three levels, the name of the same animal often occurs in different forms; monkey as lutung, monyet, bojog; horse as kuda and jaran; snake as ula, lelipi and sometimes nanipi or naga; dog as cicing or asu, and sometimes as cambra, meaning 'thin dog' (Usada Tiwang K286, for example).

There is little doubt in my mind that the twitchings, tremblings, rigidity, limpness, abnormal posturing, squatting, staggering, falling, rapid eye movements, head nodding and hyperexcitation 'acted out' in the sanghyang dances or encapsulated in the names of them, mimic the constitutional symptoms described in association with the named phases of the tiwang symptom complex. Symptoms of central and periphery nervous system disorder may range from twitchings and spasms to convulsive seizures. 'Of various shapes and horrible' was how Aretaeus described epileptic seizures. It is hardly remarkable that such catastrophic and frightening to behold clinical manifestations should elicit a range of ritual activity. As these dances are overtly a means of averting or dispelling diseases, why not the vocabulary of disease to do so? Trance dance is concerned with the exorcism of diseases. In neuropathies such as tiwang and tuju there are varying degrees of central and peripheral nervous system derangement; hence the apt analogies of almost demonic fury and 'crude and frightening violence' observed in the trances.

Convulsions (tiwang) may result from a disturbance of cortical function associated with such conditions as febrile illnesses, tetanus, poisoning and parasitic infestation, all a prominent part of the Balinese disease spectrum. Acute bacterial infections and persistent viral infections may be accompanied by generalized seizures. Pathologic unconsciousness may be transitory or prolonged. It may vary from semi-consciousness or stupor to profound unconsciousness or coma. The potential for fits is present in every human being provided the threshold is sufficiently lowered. Epilepsy is the most important and common chronic neurological disorder. Epileptic seizures may be generalized or partial.

In epileptiform illnesses alone one finds a whole range of visual, olfactory and audible hallucinations, faintings, fury and altered states of consciousness — symptoms and signs no less spectacular than those displayed by the trance dancers in rituals of exorcism. I posit that the trance dances in which the morphology and behaviour of animals such as the pig, dog, monkey or toad, for instance, are seemingly mimicked, specifically image or codify natural indices of grand mal epilepsy, tetanus and rabies.

In grand mal epilepsy, the seizure is more or less bilaterally synchronous. There is a sudden loss of consciousness, preceded by rigidity and accompanied by an 'epileptic cry' or 'grunt', followed by tonic rigidity and generalized clonic jerking. There is profuse sweating and rapid cyanosis. Dribbling of saliva may occur. The eyes are rotated to one side and the mouth is twisted to one side due to a facial spasm. The upper limbs are drawn to the main axis of the body at the shoulders and flexed at the elbows and wrists. Fingers are flexed at the metacarpophalangeal and extended at the interphalangeal joints.

Once referents are decoded, imagination aroused and perception triggered, it takes little to see the rhyme and reason beneath these 'crude and earthy' enactments. In Balinese medical semiology, the phase of grand mal epilepsy in which the body is cyanosed, there is excessive salivation and dribbling, smacking noises with the mouth and manic rolling in the dust, is named tiwang bawi (pig tiwang). The morphology and characteristic behaviour of the pig -- its blackish colour, slobbering, grunting and tendency to wallow in dust or mud, constitute an analogy and a codification which subsume the mode of signification of the trance exorcistic dance. When, in a form and phase of tiwang, the eyes are in a fixed stare, there is rolling in the dust and the upper limbs are flexed and flapping, the name tiwang penyu (turtle), is appropriately applied.

Symptoms characteristic of tetanus -- irritability, restlessness, raised eyebrows, a wild, stern expression on the face or the mouth in a fixed grin -- are named tiwang lutung (monkey) in the usada. In the trance dance called monkey, the dancer behaves in a general kind of monkey fashion and wears appropriate attire. Tetanus, popularly known as lockjaw, is characterized by a prodromal phase of restlessness, hyperirritability and severe cramp-like pain. Tonic spasms ensue. Spasm of the facial muscles may lead to either pursing of the lips or to a retraction of the angles of the mouth causing the classical grotesque grinning or sneering expression referred to as risus sardonicus. The eyebrows may be elevated due to a spasm of the frontalis. Tetanic spasms affecting the respiratory muscles, if prolonged, can lead to anoxia and cyanosis, sweating, fever and severe abdominal pain. In medical semiology, stabbing pain, stinging sensations, abdominal cramps and a generalized spasm are named tiwang nanipi (snake tiwang). Tetanic spasms may be initiated by an external, auditory, visual or tactile stimulus. It will be remembered that in the very pingit snake trance, the paraphernalia used in the trance had to be collected in secret and the trancer had to avoid contact with people and with water during the enactment. Disregard of this injunction would cause the trancer to become ill and experience sensations of 'pins and needles'.

Trance dancers perceive themselves, as do others, as being exposed to the risk of disease or death in the event they are not sufficiently protected during enactment. Holy water ablution and mantra fortify them to withstand the spiritual and metaphysical bombardment to which they are subjected in trance. Balinese informants relate incidents in which trancers, through a lack of circumspection or in disregard to injunctions holding against whom may enact trance, have had their health or lives jeopardized through direct participation with ambiguous magical powers.

Other injunctions operated in these animal trances. Persons recently bitten by a dog or a monkey or who had sustained a wound through injury could not enact the dances. This cannot but arouse some thought and speculation concerning Balinese observations and precognition of the transmission of diseases such as tetanus and rabies. Tetanus bacilli are commonly found in soil, dust, animal and human faeces. Spores may enter either traumatically or through cultural practices. Rabies, an acute viral infection characterized by profound dysfunction of the central nervous system, is almost invariably fatal. It is communicated to man by the bite of an infected animal, most commonly a dog or a monkey. In the early stages, attempts to drink, and later, even the sight of water,

precipitates spasmodic contractions of the muscles of the mouth, pharynx and larynx. Of course, in the Balinese context and perceptions of the supernatural, implicit double danger (see Chapter 9[iii]) -- that inherent in directly participating with ambiguous spirits and that implied in having succumbed to attack or injury (nothing happens fortuitously) in the first place -- may also explain these injunctions.

Excessive salivation and a distended abdomen, the former suggestive of rabies, elicits the name tiwang dongkang (toad tiwang). Inability to swallow and pressure on the throat 'as if being strangled', is named tiwang lintah (leech tiwang). The prodromal phase of rabies is also marked by nervousness, restlessness and acute sensitiveness to light and sound. The condition is marked by periods of irrational, often maniacal, behaviour. The excitation phase may last until death.

The second basic type of trance dance in which an animal representation or an object is tied to the dancer's upper limbs finds referents in the medical semiology of the same groups of disease, though in different forms of them. The twitchings and tremblings of the dancer's fingers, hands and arms or the manipulation of objects causing them to twitch and tremble represent simulations of focal or partial epileptic seizures and localized forms of tetanus. These are frequently followed by a generalized convulsion; also enacted in the final stage of the trance. In partial or local seizures, the initial abnormal discharge may remain localized, for example in the clonic, rhythmic twitching of a finger. This may occur in bursts or paroxysms. It may spread in a sequential manner, along the same side of the body as it starts (the so-called Jacksonian march), from the finger to the wrist, to the forearm, to the upper arm. Local forms of tetanus usually begin in a limb. Rigidity is the most prominent manifestation. Local spasms begin in the muscles in the part of the body where the wound responsible for the toxic state was incurred. Intermittent or persistent spasms spread to neighbouring muscles and sometimes to other limbs, the head or the trunk. There may be one-sided jerking of limbs or rotation of head and eyes to one side. The analogical signification of this medical semiology is encoded in such naming as:

tiwang nyalian (rattan wand): the fingers and the arms tremble and there is shooting, stabbing pain.

tiwang sikep (kite): limbs twitch, kick, lash out; the whole body trembles; there is pain.

tiwang kupu-kupu (butterfly): there is fear and nervousness; there are jerky movements and trembling.

tiwang udang (shrimp): limbs kicking, body rigid and trembling; eyes upwards; head thrown back (K286; HKS1865; HKS3481).

It is transcoded in the vocabulary and the naming of this second type of trance dance.

Some of the primary and most conspicuous clinical features of the group of diseases generically termed tuju relevant to the mimicry in trance dances include pain in joints, pain in the limbs of a deep stabbing nature, pain in the hands and feet of a burning nature, tingling and 'pins and needles' sensations, cramps, stiffness, itch, swellings, peculiar gait, inability to move normally, and finally inability to move at all. Gastro-intestinal symptoms include constipation, bloody stools and

prolapsed rectum. Epistaxis and bleeding in the mouth, from the anus, vagina, penis, as well as blood in the urine are also part of this tuju symptom complex.

The naming of symptom complexes follow the usual lines already described in the case of tiwang; 'turtle', 'crab', 'scorpion', 'adze', 'cleaver', 'hanging loose', 'fixed into the ground', and so forth. Stiffness and rigidity in the whole body and stabbing pains is named tuju brancak (brancak is a small chopper or cleaver). A swollen body and tearing pain in all the joints is named tuju lintah (leech tuju). Swollen joints is named tuju sepang (sepang is a species of tree). Pain in all the joints and inability to move is named tuju tinjeh (tinjeh is a species of fish with an ovoid body, white in colour and having black spots). Stiffness and pain in the lower limbs, and inability to move with ease is named tuju tajus (tuju means to fix something into the ground). A prolapsed rectum (metu bol) is named tuju pleg (?). An itchy, stinging feeling all over the body, inability to sleep and restlessness is named tuju jauk. A jauk is an instrument for catching insects. It is also the name of a dance (see Chapter 11[iii]).

The clinical manifestations of the tuju category of illnesses, of which the above represent a small sample, are more relevant to ethnographical curiosities in the plastic arts examined later in this chapter. The various clinical entities which I believe the Balinese have designated under the generic term tuju have already been listed (see Chapter 5[vii]). Here, I provide some details of the conspicuous features of some of these entities which seem particularly relevant to the vocabulary of the sanghyang dances already described and to those yet to be discussed in this chapter.

There are four recognized clinical types of beriberi: polyneuritic or dry beriberi, in which pain and paresthesia (pins and needles, numbness and tingling) and progressive muscle weakness in the extremities are the principle complaints; oedematous or wet beriberi in which there is marked, rapid, sometimes gross oedema and cardiac symptoms; infantile beriberi (discussed elsewhere); and cerebral beriberi (loss of control over the voluntary movements) oculomotor signs and aphasia (loss of language ability). A cerebellar stance and gait is characteristic. Deranged mental function in the form of disorders of sense perception, severe confusion and stupor can occur.

Extreme pain and aching in the lumbar region, in the lower extremities and in the joints is characteristic of dengue or breakbone fever, another disease entity of the tuju category. Bleeding from the nose, uterus and gastro-intestinal tract may also occur. Dengue fever gives rise to a diverse set of symptoms. Severe headache is localized behind the eyes. Pain, extreme, severe and often of a stabbing or sharp nature, is also characteristic of other forms of tuju and of tiwang. It is for this reason that I now turn briefly from the animal and object sanghyang trance dances to Balinese perceptions of pain and to a trance dance designated 'the stabbing dance'.

(ii) Simulated Stabbing Trance Exorcistic Dance (Ngurek) and Perceptions of Pain

Trance dance enactments such as mapajar and masolah involving the cult masks, and the Calon Arang dance drama generally involve a

moderate degree of mass trance participation in which men, women and (occasionally) children go into trance, obtain (or are given) kris and proceed to simulate 'stabbing' by pressing the kris to various points of the body.

A ngurek trance dance, which took place in Pura Agung, Intaran, Sanur on April 17, 1938 and was described by Mershon, comes to us via Belo (1960:263):

. . . she closed her eyes, and the muscles of her forehead contracted as though she were in pain . . . a decided scowl on her face, and then her clenched fists began to shake, and she began convulsively to pound her thighs with her fists. Her hips rose and fell so that she was lifted from her sitting position with the pulsing movement suggestive of sexual response.

And from Margaret Mead's notes, Belo (p.157) wrote:

The action of the body also, forming a complete arc, her belly lifted two and half to three feet of the ground, was suggestive of a sexual spasm.

Finally, Belo's (p.103) description of a male ngurek trance dancer's agony and ecstasy:

. . . he went into trance, he hurled his body into the ngurek motions, bending his back into an arch as he pressed the point of his kris against his breast . . . with a wild look in his eye, emitting great throaty shouts from lips extended like a singer's.

Mead, Belo and their fellow researchers became interested in what they perceived as a difference between the female and the male modes of 'doing ngurek'. In the feminine mode, they noted ('scientifically') 'the pelvic thrust was lacking or rudimentary' (Belo p.156). Such analyses arose in what they identified as sexual undertones in ngurek and their interpretation of the kris (in this context) as a phallic symbol. The violent seizures, clenched hands, shouts of 'aduh! aduh!' (expletives to express pain, incidentally) and facial expressions of 'painful ecstasy' were all construed to be 'very sexual' (p.157). When men did it, these were indicative of 'sexual climax'. When women did it, it was indicative of 'orgasm-not-quite-reached'!

The high-pitched shouts, wide apart and bent knees of the women, the forward bending movement and withdrawal of the pubis, different to the writhing behaviour of the male, indicated to Bateson and Mead (1942:168) 'a close relation between this trance behaviour and sexual climax'. Belo described the women ngurek dancers who went into violent trances as 'aged, particularly ugly, humble mousey women'. Upon the fact and the mode of their trance and 'self-stabbing' Belo imposed the construction that these represented a compensation for the fact that 'life was cheating them of some need' (p.157). Nevertheless, Belo (p.121) did state that she was not attempting a direct correspondence between trance behaviour and sexual activity, only that the former was suggestive of the latter:

When I state that a given item of trance behaviour was suggestive of sexual activity, it is not because I wish to convince the reader that the sexual drive is at the bottom



Ritual stabbing (ngurek) trance dance (taken from Meerloo, 1962)

of the whole sequence, but because I can think of no better way of describing an act which to the observer was most strikingly characterized by this very implication.

The actuality and implications of local bio-medical problems, the metaphysics and aetiologic conceptions thereof and the reactions, responses and simulations based upon the former did not seem to have entered the thinking of observers of unfamiliar behaviour or into the frame of reference used in analysis and interpretation. While Belo observed an 'analogy to sexual excitement' in these trance 'crises', she also suspected that 'at a deeper level, libidinal as well as ego drives were operating' (p.4). Bateson and Mead (p.35), more convinced that ngurek trance behaviour symbolically completed the 'cycle of childhood trauma and rejection', likened the 'plot' to a sequence of stimulation and frustration imposed upon Balinese children by their mothers which leads on to tantrums. Once an idiom of belief has been established in the ethnography (as the mother-child relationship had been) all else becomes automatically accommodated to fit the entrenched paradigm.

A few decades later, there is a little variation on the theme. Ngurek is 'a reversal of the penetration/introjection sequence in coitus'. The kris is the phallic element, the body under attack is female. There is withdrawal/rejection, a reversal of the coitus model and analogical with childbirth. Man deals with woman through sex, hence attempts to stab the Rangda with the phallic kris. The Rangda thwarts penetration, and the shame of attempting to penetrate the mother leads to suicidal self-penetration, 'this time not sexual but suicidal', and so forth (Le Cron Foster 1979:191-2).

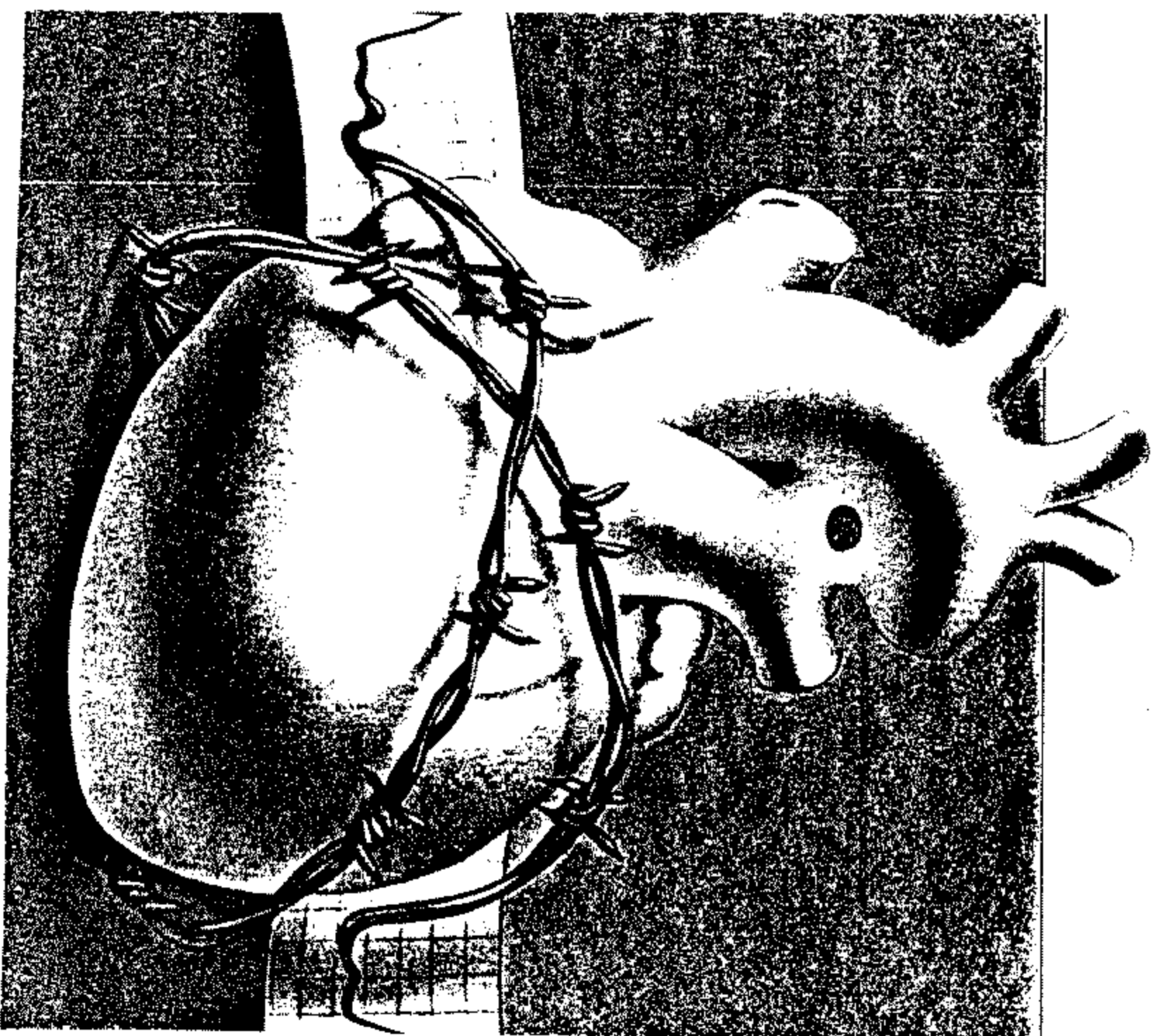
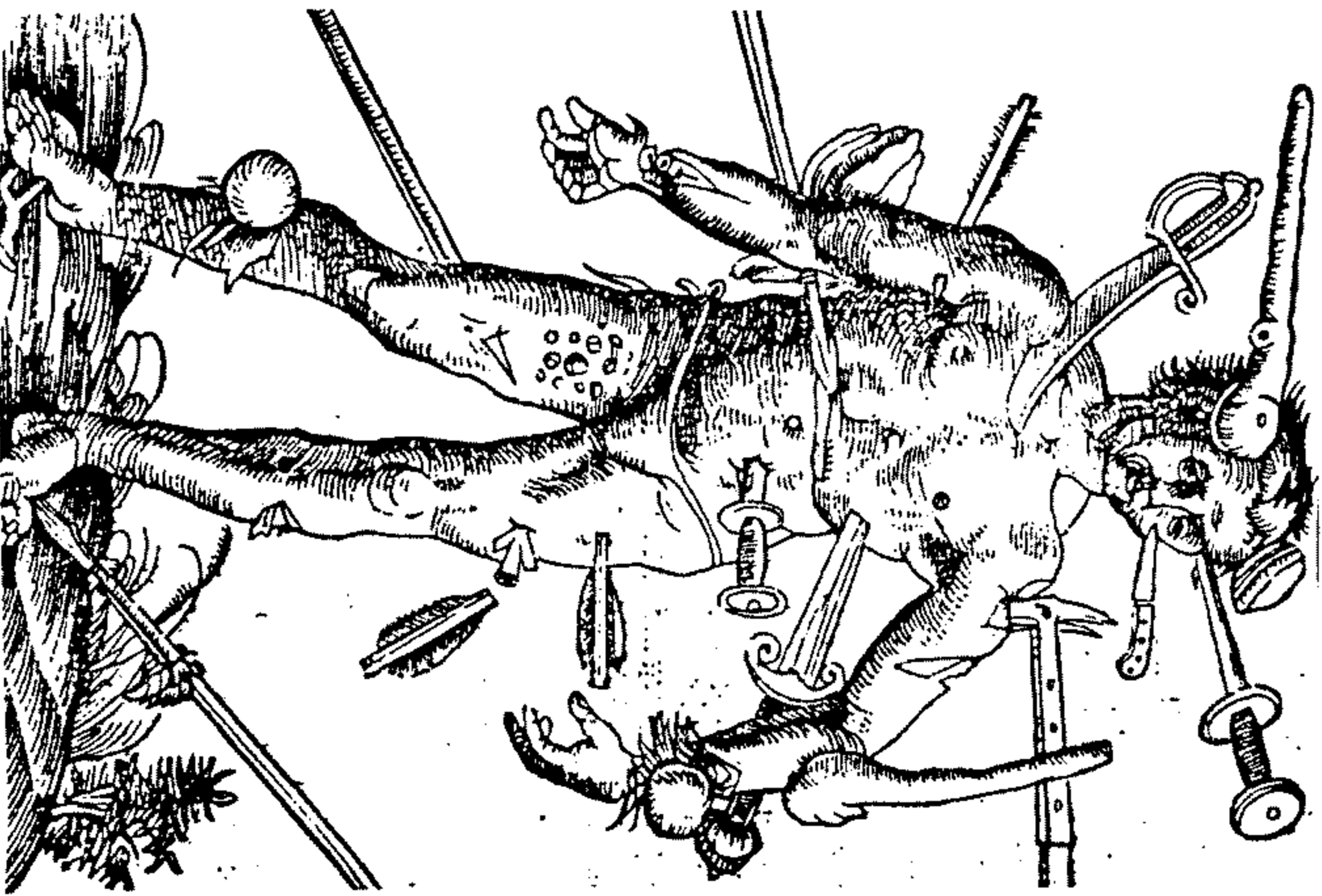
And so it goes. Shankman (1984:267) concurs with both the construction and the perversion; socialization anxiety constitutes the psychological mechanism operating in a 'sex role performance' and 'self-inflicted suffering' of ngurek trancers. Bateson and Mead (p.3) were equally convinced that ngurek served to relieve the anxiety of the entranced and the onlookers. It could be construed that Covarrubias (p.216) was on a slightly different track when he described ngurek as 'violent self-sacrificial dances in which the performers simulate self-torture with knives . . .'

From the ngurek trance dancers Belo (p.128) elicited the information that at the time of entrancement their feelings were that they were being attacked by kala (disease-bearing demons), in various parts of the body, the arms, legs or all over. As they explained, their bodies felt 'sick' at the time (p.105). Belo used the word 'sick'. The Balinese term for 'sick', lara, (similarly, the Indonesian term sakit) is used to signify both 'sickness' and 'pain'. I cite a textual example:

When there is stabbing pain causing writhing and rolling about
[Yening angurek laranya jumprat-jumprit] the following mantra
should be uttered:

ONG Sanghyang Indra, made all disperse
tiwang kebo, cease
tiwang jaran, cease
tiwang bawi, cease
You are arrogant [ko sipok]
I am arrogant [aku sipok]
ONG sharp and burning [taja-tajo]
Come and disperse [teka lwar] (HKS3481:102).

> The quality and location of chest-pain associated with angina as illustrated in an article in *Modern Medicine* 29(10), 1986.



< From a drawing by Paracelsus (1536).

The term ngurek (angurek) means 'sharp or stabbing pain'. Let us look briefly at the matter of pain, the most common and portentous symptom of disease and physical trauma.

Pain is usually described in terms of its quality. The intensity or duration is generally of less significance. The time at which it arises is significant in some medical philosophies. There are striking differences between skin and muscle pain, usually described as stinging or pricking, pain arising in the viscera, usually described as stabbing and pain arising in the joints which is usually described as throbbing or shooting. These distinctive qualities of pain are probably universally discernible. These are, at least, the qualifying terms in which such forms of pain are described in both the western and the Balinese traditional medical disclosures. Descriptions of the quality of pain are not in abstract terms in either medical system. The quality of the pain itself, its clinical manifestations, invokes analogies of being stabbed, exposed to fire, pricked with thorns, bitten or stung by insects. The form and even the content of these analogies do not derive from the particularities or specifics of the cultural milieu. Those suffering pain frequently and instinctually describe it by such characteristic expressions as stabbing, burning, jabbing, squeezing, gnawing, throbbing and so forth. On the other hand, the designations of the instrument of the stabbing, sharp pain as a kris instead of say, a carving knife or the pricking agent as bamboo or pandanus and not rose thorns, are culturally specific. One may wonder what else Paracelsus's (1536) depiction (opposite) may symbolize.

In the *Atharva Veda*, sharp pain is imputed to the action of Rudra's spear (Garrison 1966; Stutley 1980). Once again, I make the point that illness is not merely socially or culturally constructed and folk medical taxonomies are not (as some, for example Frake 1977:188, would have it) merely cultural phenomena. The nature and quality of pain itself can influence perceptions of reactions to and even responses to pain. A search for a means of relieving pain is human, universal and instinctual. While its threshold may be the same in all cultures, reactions to pain may differ widely. They may be stoical or excessive. Pain has considerable emotional overtones. This is not to be denied.

Terms used in usada to refer to pain of a stabbing character characteristic of such prominent categories of disease as tiwang, tuju pamali, mokan and antu are numerous. Severe paroxysms of pain of a stabbing quality are particularly characteristic of peripheral neuropathies, the Balinese tuju category of illnesses. As well as the term ngurek, one finds amacek-macek, ngancuk-ancuk, tuwek, tunggek, suduk, tebek. The location of the pain, the prominent pain points on the body, include the chest, epigastrium, abdomen, lower abdomen, ears, eyes, forehead and the joints in the upper and lower extremities. These are also the points at which the kris are pointed in ngurek trance dance.

Those who ngurek are named panugtug. Their trance is of a different order to that of the sadeg who are generally possessed by named deities. A panugtug is entered by any of the miscellaneous spirits, bhuta-kala-dengen, the cohorts of the Barong. As these are, in fact, spirits of disease, that those entered by them should 'simulate' stabbing (pain) has a logical basis and purpose. Bhuta-kala-dengen who are responsible for the 'stabbing pain' are controlled and subdued by the overriding power of the Rangda and sent on their way. As in mantra the spirits are asked

to come (teka), to manifest themselves through the trance behaviour of the ngurek trancers and then to leave (lwar). This so-designated violent simulation of self-torture with sharp piercing implements is purposeful and meaningful. It is a simulation of sensations of pain and its quality — stabbing and piercing. Simulation implies identification, control and anticipation of relief.

Like walking on burning coconut husks or on blades, I suggest that simulated self-stabbing relates primarily to pain; the experience of it, perceptions of pain as a symptom of disease and conception of aetiologic agents and events. I also refer back to the indigenous imputations of the function of trance exorcistic dances in the first place, namely, to rid the body of disease and thereby the paroxysms of pain that disease kindles.

(iii) **The Horse Spirit (Sanghyang Jaran) Fire Trance Exorcistic Dance
Burning Extremities (Tangan-Suku Pakajutjut)
and a Disease Named Tuju Jaran**

Based on Artaud's description of Balinese dance Pronko (1967:22) wrote:

When he had fallen into trance the priest began to trot back and forth through the glowing embers, kicking the coals with his bare feet. As the Ketjak chorus chanted on one side he would trot toward it, then would be called back through the fire by the chorus at the other side. . . . It could be classified only loosely as a dance for there seemed to be no pattern, no choreography or stylized movements. Had the trance lasted too long it would have become tedious, for the artistic means were not sufficient to exercise their magic upon the non-believer. But we were impressed at the end of the performance when the priest fell over stiff on the ground
. . . .

The sanghyang jaran or 'horse trancer' either dances astride a bamboo pole to which a horse head, fashioned from straw and cloth, is attached or else has a similarly-fashioned horse head attached to his waist. It is generally enacted by pamangku. Shaking and trembling, the barefooted dancer 'acts like a horse'; prancing galloping about, stamping, kicking, winnying and neighing . . . through burning coconut husks. Sometimes, the dancer crouches down and also runs his hands through the burning embers, then crams some into his mouth (Belo p.213; de Zoete and Spies p.78-9). It has been noted that in some villages the female sanghyang dadari trancers, at some stage in their trance, also subject their bare feet and hands to contact with prepared burning husks.

Few constructions have been put upon this particular trance exorcistic dance. I incline to some extent with Pronko's (p.22) explication that 'here was a purely ritualistic performance intended to store up the good influence of the gods'. The explanation implicit in the statement of Bandem and de Boer (1981:14) that entranced pamangku dance barefooted through burning embers 'to test and prove the depth of their trance', I find less convincing. What does then constitute a less paltry explanation; one which does less damage to the subject, seeks a hidden cause and acknowledges the imputed function of this exorcistic dance?



Sanghyang Jaran Trance Dance

Rarajahan. Sang Lare Sutasiwaguna who knows how to effect deliverance (wruh anglabain) from the toxicity produced by one named Sang Sutasiwa which causes swellings (moka) and burning (panas-jaruman; panas-gegetum) (Paribhassa Maha Santha Pariksa HKS X, 70).



A syndrome known as 'painful extremities' or 'burning-foot syndrome' in which painful burning feet is the outstanding complaint was first reported in Western medical discourse from prisoner-of-war camps in east Asia. It may occur in association with nutritional or toxic neuropathies, or alone. Burning pain in the extremities is an early symptom of nutritional deficiency diseases such as beriberi (the Balinese tuju category) and also of arsenic poisoning (the Balinese cetik or upas category). Bilateral burning sensations of the feet and hands, tongue and pharynx are advanced symptoms of another nutritional neuropathy, pellagra. The diseases affect both males and females. Deep aching in the soles of the feet eventually spread to the toes and the instep. The pain can be of a tingling nature though most frequently it is of a burning quality. Pain is especially severe at night. There is some relief to the pain through movement. Excessive sweating is also characteristic. Hands may also become involved. As the disease progresses, there is a weakening of the hand grip and wrist drop. A sensory deficit frequently leads to the development of ulceration as a result of the elevated threshold to various stimuli and a loss of the protective effects of pain. If Wernicke's Encephalopathy is conjoined, there is bilateral abducens ataxia of gait, lateral gaze palsy and nystagmus, in short, there is a loss of control of voluntary movement and disturbance of normal eye movement.

There are a number of terms in the usada which describe pain of a burning quality such a suledan, (stab with hot embers), tutuh, (burning) or (ignited). Burning feet (suku pakajutjut) and burning extremities (tangan suku pakajutjut) are a conspicuous part of the symptomatology of the tuju category of diseases in the local medical texts. Burning, stabbing pain in the feet and tingling sensations spreading to the hands is described as a form of tuju differentiated at tuju geni (fire tuju), for example (Usada Tatempan HKS XII, 14).

In medical treatises which describe the panca mahabhuta, horse, fire, feet, hands and mouth networks of symbolization occur. Jaran gading (yellow horse) who abides in the liver, leaves the body through the navel. Jaran gading (green horse) who resided in the spleen leaves the body through the sole of the left foot. Geni-ludra (ludra's fire) resides in the heart and leaves the body through the mouth. Bajra Geni (fiery thunderbolt) who resides in the liver, leaves the body through the finger tips. Naga api (fiery serpent) who also abides in the liver, leaves the body through the soles of the feet. This is to mention but a few from two Panca Mahabhuta manuscripts (HKS2557; HKS2901).

What then could be the correlation between an odd-toes ungulate, the horse (jaran), the dance and the symptomatology of forms of tuju? Characteristic features of the horse are its hooves, the almost continuous movement of them. When threatened, horses tend to trot to and fro in a nervous fashion, when they experience discomfort, they become restless and kick their legs. They are purblind, that is, they can't see straight ahead (they have lateral gaze). And, finally, they sweat a lot. The characteristics of the horse trance dance provided above suggest these associations. So also do the symptoms of certain forms of tuju already noted above. Here, I add one further correlation; the symptoms of a syndrome called tuju jaran, begin, according to the usada, in the soles of the feet. The limbs move about restlessly and there is excessive perspiration. A lateral gaze palsy can develop in phases of certain tuju illnesses.

A pharmaceutical company advertisement appearing in Australian Medical Journals. It illustrates sensations associated with pain of a burning nature.

When the burning which frequently accompanies U.T.I. makes your patient feel like this...



CITRAVASCENT
BRINGS FAST RELIEF OF THE
BURNING AND URGENCY



Subject to an acceptance of the notion that the vocabulary and paraphernalia of trance exorcistic dance enact or simulate the symptoms and signs of diseases being exorcized, we can understand how the peculiarity of the actions and antics in other sanghyang dances fulfil the same function and encapsulate the similar sense. Comparable to the way in which dancing on burning coals and 'behaving like a horse' is imitative of specific manifestations of diseases named tuju jaran (horse tuju), the climbing of a ladder formed of kris blades by the sanghyang dadari female dancers (the variation of trance dance into which the discussion now moves) simulates the sharp pains in the extremities also associated with diseases labeled tuju. It is understandable that Pronko found that the 'artistic means' of these dances 'were not sufficient to exercise magic upon the non-believer'.

(iv) Sanghyang Dadara-Dadari Sanghyang Deling and Kecak:
A Metaphysics of Gestures

Quoting from Margaret Mead's notes, Belo (1966:194) wrote of the sanghyang dadara-dadari:

[the dancer's] expression is a little drawn and pained, like that of a tired child. Yet the writhing motions . . . suggest an agony or an anguish in its intensity . . .

The sanghyang dadara-dadari, also referred to as sanghyang widyadara-widyadari and the sanghyang deling dances are enacted by pre-pubescent girls who are addressed as sanghyang. Dadara(i) and widyadara(i) are terms which refer to a class of supernaturals of a generally ambiguous disposition. While the sanghyang are dancing, a male chorus sit rigid and tense alternatively uttering 'low inarticulate sounds', 'high-pitched wailing cries', a 'monotonous pattern of syllables' — 'chak-a-chak-a-chak' — or 'bursts of mocking laughter'. Sometimes the chorus writhes and trembles with 'queer angular posture'. Hands are raised quivering into the air. Fingers twine or stretch upon 'preternaturally extended arms'. Finally, the members of the kecak chorus collapse, prostrate on the ground. Such is a description of the so-called 'monkey dance' (drawn largely from de Zoete and Spies pp.80-5).

Meanwhile, another chorus sings songs. At one stage the entranced sanghyang are carried on the shoulders of two men about the village. Sometimes they distribute holy water or list ingredients for herbal cures for ailing members of the community during this parade. In the course of their dance enactment, they move through prepared burning coconut husks. In some enactments they are led to a high platform by way of a ladder formed of kris blades (McPhee 1970:319).

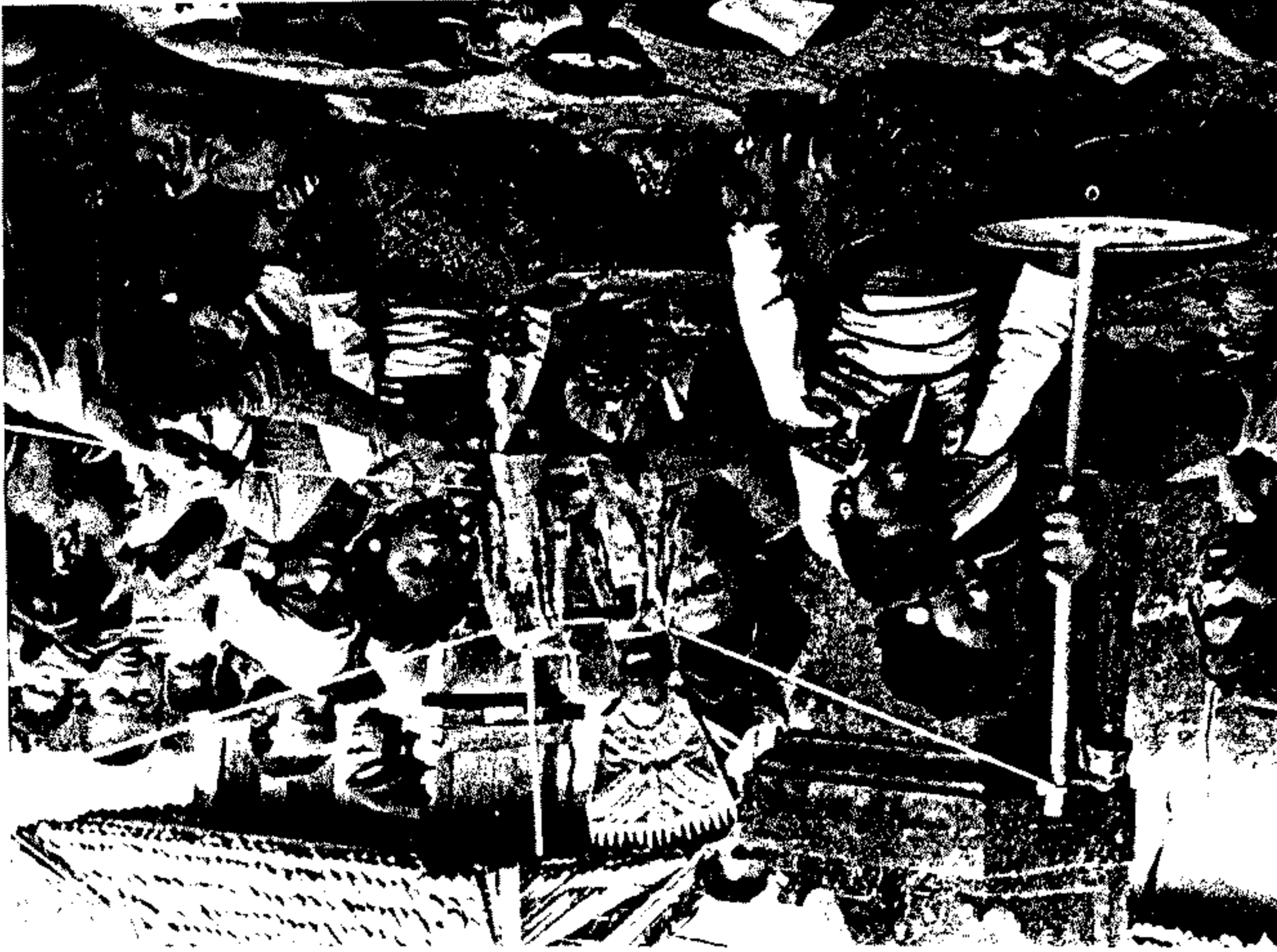
A smallpox mantra in an Usada Kacacar (Medical Treatise of Smallpox, HKS VII, 11) is addressed to hyang dadara hyang dadari:

ONG hyang dadara hyang dadari, descend to the world of mankind.

ONG behold the form of your countenance, dewi become powerless ketimin (?) such is the behaviour of the people who are ill they obtain purifying water . . .

A mantra used in the treatment of mental derangement (buduh and edan) begins:

The girls fall limp as they go into trance.



Sanghyang Deling dancers holding vibrating sticks to which the puppets are attached by string.



ONG Ra Nini Prewoni, Ra Nini Durgadewi, Ra Bhatara Hyang
 Kaki, Ra Nini Langlang-eling [confusion and derangement],
 Your entering and possession should cease for [the afflicted]
 has been ritually cleansed and redeemed.
 Return to your normal abode.

...

The same mantra concludes:

You should now leave,
 Because [the afflicted] has already been cleansed.
 If you do not depart you will indeed die
 I incarnate as widyadara-widyaradi (HKS3268:28).

These examples of mantra from usada are given with the objective of demonstrating the significance of dadara(i)-widyadara(i) in Balinese magico-medical thought. The terms have wider connotations than those implied in the usual translation of them as 'celestial nymph'.

As with other trance dances, the movements and behaviour of the dancer and the language of the dance are dictated by the words of the songs chanted by the community chorus. In these songs, the supernaturals or spirits are invited to come and make their presence known through the dancers actions and behaviour. Then they are dismissed. They are requested to go home (munggah, 'to ascend').

Comparing the performance of legong, a secular dance form styled on this sanghyang trance dance, Belo (p.192) made an observation the implications of which she was perhaps peripherally aware; the trance sanghyang 'is of a different order and is probably from a different neurological level'. There is little available description of the exact vocabulary of the sanghyang dadara-dadari. A protruding buttocks stance, rhythmic swaying, closed eyes, limpness and falling limply backwards are generally characteristic of the dance. There are more detailed descriptions of the style and movement of the somewhat similar sanghyang deling dance.

The term deling means 'wide open' or 'staring eyes'. The word is also used to refer to wooden puppets such as those used in the trance dance. Two puppets are strung to a cord which is then tied to two sticks. Having been induced into a trance state, the two dancers take hold of the sticks which are vibrated causing the girls' arms to become rigid and then to shudder and tremble. A spasmodic tremor begins in their arms. Then, their shoulders begin to jerk. They swoon and fall backwards (into supporting arms). They begin to sway wildly, then slowly and then wildly again. Their eyes blink and their eye-lids flutter. They bend over to one side with the heads almost to the level of the ground. The arm on the side to which the body is curved is flexed, the hand flexed backwards at the wrist and with palm inward. The other hand is rotated outward and the arm is slowly extended outward and backward in a movement called kotes-kotes in legong (Belo p.192). The head rolls back on the neck. The whole body is flexed. Then they do a 'back bend', the body bent over 'in an arc like a drawn bow', called ngelayak. Sometimes this is done whilst the dancers are being carried on men's shoulders. Their heads move from side to side in a movement called engot-engot (Belo p.193). Sometimes they fling their arms downward and back to the side of the body, in a movement similar to the one which the Balinese name

tajungan. They may twist their heads and turn their bodies from side to side 'as if dissatisfied' (Belo p.187). They may raise their arms high over their heads, 'an unusual gesture for the Balinese' (Belo p.187) in side to side motions. The feet move in quick, short sidesteps named sreg-sreg.

From further descriptions of the language of this trance dance we learn that the dancers assume the 'buttocks-extended stance' (Belo p.184). They dance with half-closed eyes or alternatively with wide-open eyes. Their movements have a listless quality. They may take a step forward with one leg crossed in front of the other, then fall limply with head thrown back. They strike awkward poses, with a hand pressed against the thigh, palm upwards, fingers flexed upwards, remaining quite limp in that position. There are almost spasmodic attempts to dance. When they begin to move it is 'as if suffering intense pain . . . trembling all over and swaying faster and faster, their heads rolling'. They make 'inarticulate sounds'. They brush the burning coconut husks with their hands (Covarrubias p.337). All witnesses of this particular dance noted the fact that the girls enacting this deling trance displayed irritability, petulance, capriciousness and were exacting while in the state of trance. Sometimes they behave with unusual violence, stamping, clapping, 'dancing jerkily and convulsively' (Belo pp.187-9; Covarrubias p69).

I now refer the reader to medical data and the Balinese disease burden, in particular to a syndrome known as chorea minor or Sydenham's chorea (named after the person who first described the condition in the Western medical discourse) and to some focal and partial epilepsies, symptomatic of organic disease. Coincidentally, these also have an onset in pre-adolescence, a peak incidence between five and fifteen years and a higher incidence in females of this age group.

Chorea minor is an acute toxi-infective disorder of the nervous system, often reported with or following upon acute infections. It may develop as a complication of an infection, especially those of childhood such as diphtheria. It has also been linked to such infections as typhus and to malaria. It is a disease of childhood most commonly affecting children between the ages of five and fifteen. It is found more frequently in girls. There is a seasonal peak incidence. The disease is usually self-limiting and transient. The term chorea comes from the Greek alluding to 'dancing'.

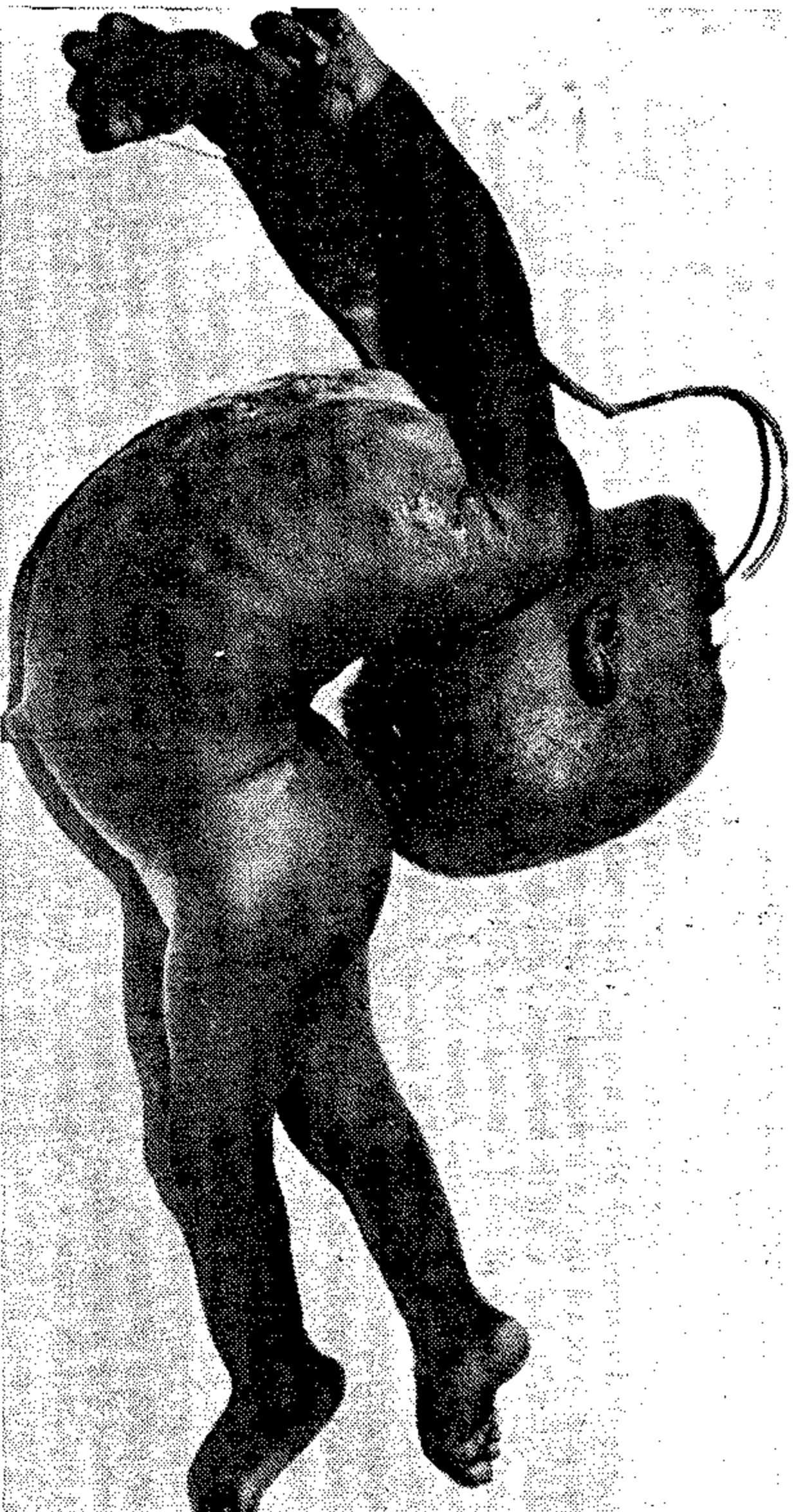
The disease is characterized by choreiform movements — involuntary and excessive jerking movements, spasmodic jerks, incessant restless motion and a tripping, staggering gait. It first manifests as clumsiness, restlessness and fidgetiness, head-rolling, head-turning and tongue protrusion. The main symptoms are weakness and loss of control over voluntary movements (ataxia). Movements are abrupt, rapid, irregular and purposeless. Facial movements include frowning, raising eyebrows, pursing lips, grimacing, bizarre movements of tongue and mouth. Eyes may roll from one side to the other followed by the head. In the upper limbs there is movement in all joints, continual extension and flexion. Elbows may be flexed, fingers grasping or clenched. The arms may be flung out in full extension. There is a flexion of the wrist and an over-extension of the metacarpophalangeal joints. The fingers are straight and apart and the thumbs are apart and over-extended. Another common feature of chorea is the so-called pronator sign; when the arms are held

Sanghyang Deling dance movement
(taken from de Zoete and Spies).





Sanghyang Dadara-Dadari Trance Exorcistic Dance (taken from Meerloo, 1962).



Acute bacterial meningitis with opisthotonus in a 2-month-old baby

Taken from *Documenta Geigy*, 1975, 'Tropical Paediatrics' by A.G. Boohere.

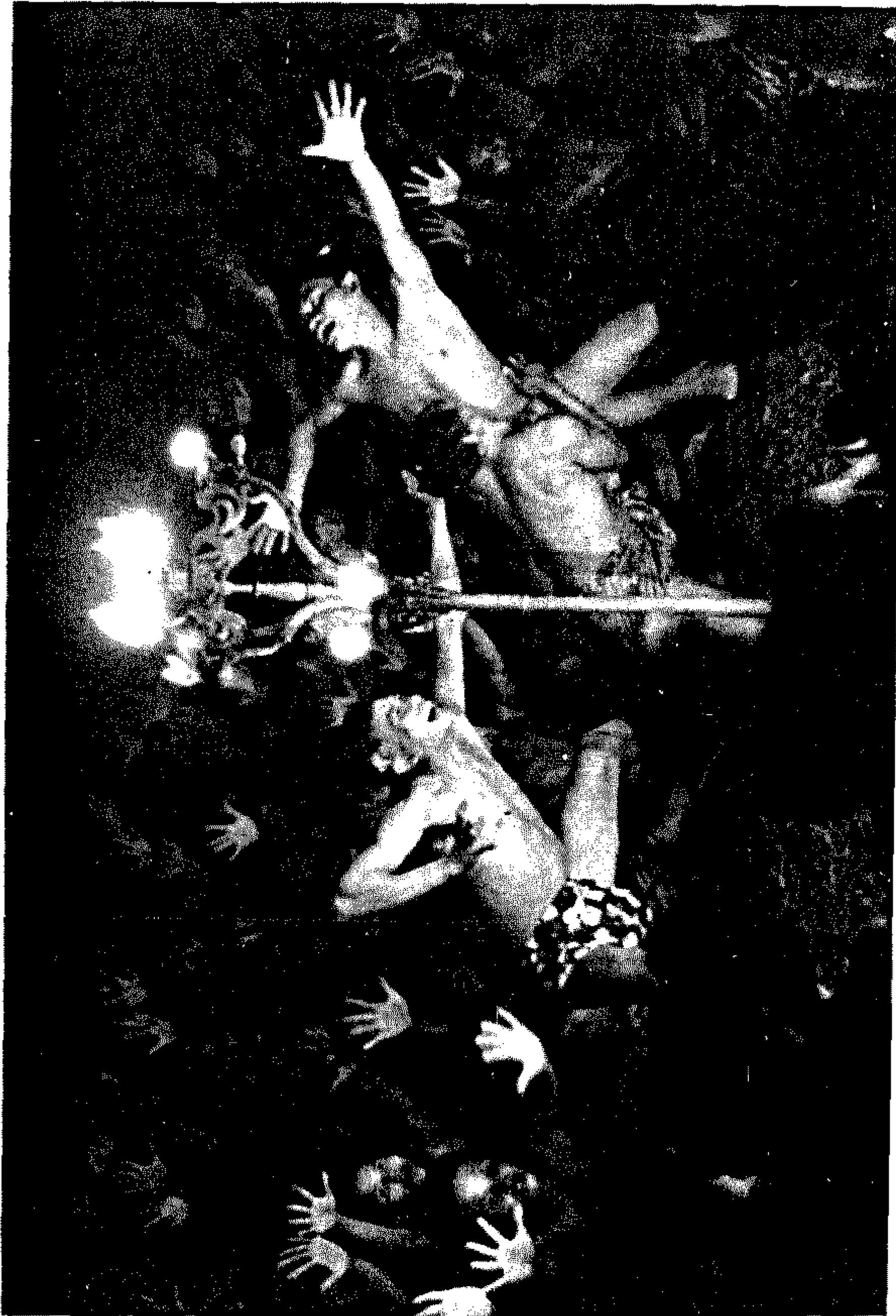
vertically above the head or outstretched, there is an irregular flexion and extension movement of the wrist and the forearms are markedly pronated, while the thumbs are dipped. The choreic hand posture is characterized by partial flexion of the wrist, hyperextension of the metacarpophalangeal joints and an extension of the fingers. The fingers are held apart and the thumb is hyperextended, abducted and 'dipping'. Movement in the lower limbs is less conspicuous. Mental symptoms include, restlessness, irritability, emotional outbursts and instability, hysterical outbursts and delirium (see Brain 1962; Vick 1976; Hayden 1981).

It is also possible to interpret the particular 'grotesque' features of the vocabulary of the dadari-deling trance dances by interposing them with clinical manifestations of a generalized absence called petit mal and to partial seizures such as the Lennox-Gastaut syndrome, adversive seizures and temporal lobe or psychic seizures. Petit mal is characterized by myoclonic jerks (brief, shock-like muscular contractions) and akinetic (drop) seizures, a dazed or staring expression, head nodding and flickering or fluttering of the eye-lids. In severe attacks there may be a loss of postural control. Drop seizures, common among children, may involve a momentary loss of consciousness, loss of muscle tone and falling to the ground. Repeated bilateral myoclonic jerks, sometimes of considerable severity in which the child may be thrown to the ground by the violence of the jerks, is characteristic of the Lennox-Gastaut syndrome. In adversive seizures, version is usually away from the hemisphere in which the abnormal cells responsible for the condition lie; hence the name 'adversive'. Eyes are deviated to one side, followed by the head. Sometimes, the whole body may turn on its whole axis, often with an elevation and adduction of the arm (Sutherland et al., 1980).

Finally, I present here the characteristic features of temporal lobe epilepsy, also termed complex partial seizure or psychic seizure, which I postulate to be relevant to an interpretation both of the sanghyang dadara-dadari and sanghyang deling trance dances, and also, in some respects to the so-called kecak or monkey trance dance often held in conjunction with the former dances. Temporal lobe epilepsy is the most common form of partial seizure and is marked by episodic bizarre behaviour. It may give rise to a variety of symptoms. Psychic symptoms range from a partial loss of awareness to complete confusion, stupor and disturbance of memory and sensation and distortion of consciousness. Picking at or fumbling with the clothing is common. There may be associated personality or behavioural changes; irritability, tantrums and outbursts of rage.

These symptoms and signs correspond with the actions, antics and behaviour of the sanghyang enacted by prepubescent females. Other characteristic features of psychic seizures also seem to have referents within the context of these particular dances, that is, with the 'fits, faints and funny turns' of the male kecak chorus referred to earlier; their tremblings, cries, laughter, paroxysms of fear and inarticulate sounds, half-closed eyes, dissociated expressions, and final collapse.

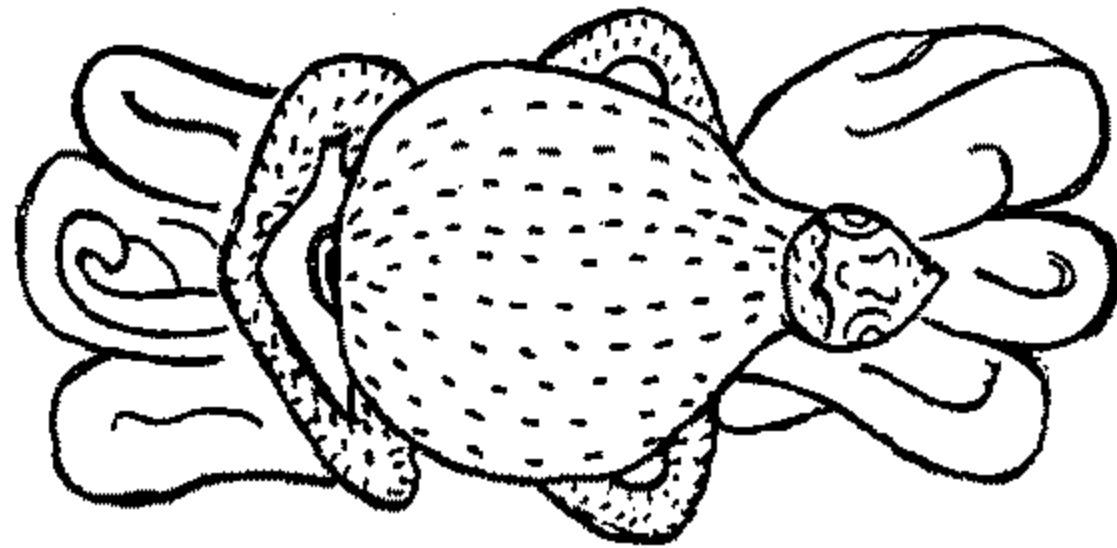
Somatic hallucinations, often described as fear, may commence in the epigastrium and rise to the chest and throat. Gustatory hallucinations involve the mouth and lip in involuntary tasting, sucking and swallowing and smacking and pursing of the lips. Perceptual illusions lead to the utterance of unintelligible sounds and paroxysms of laughter



The Kecak Trance Exorcistic Dance
(taken from de Zoete and Spies).



Rarajahan togog (image) (HKS XIX, 18)

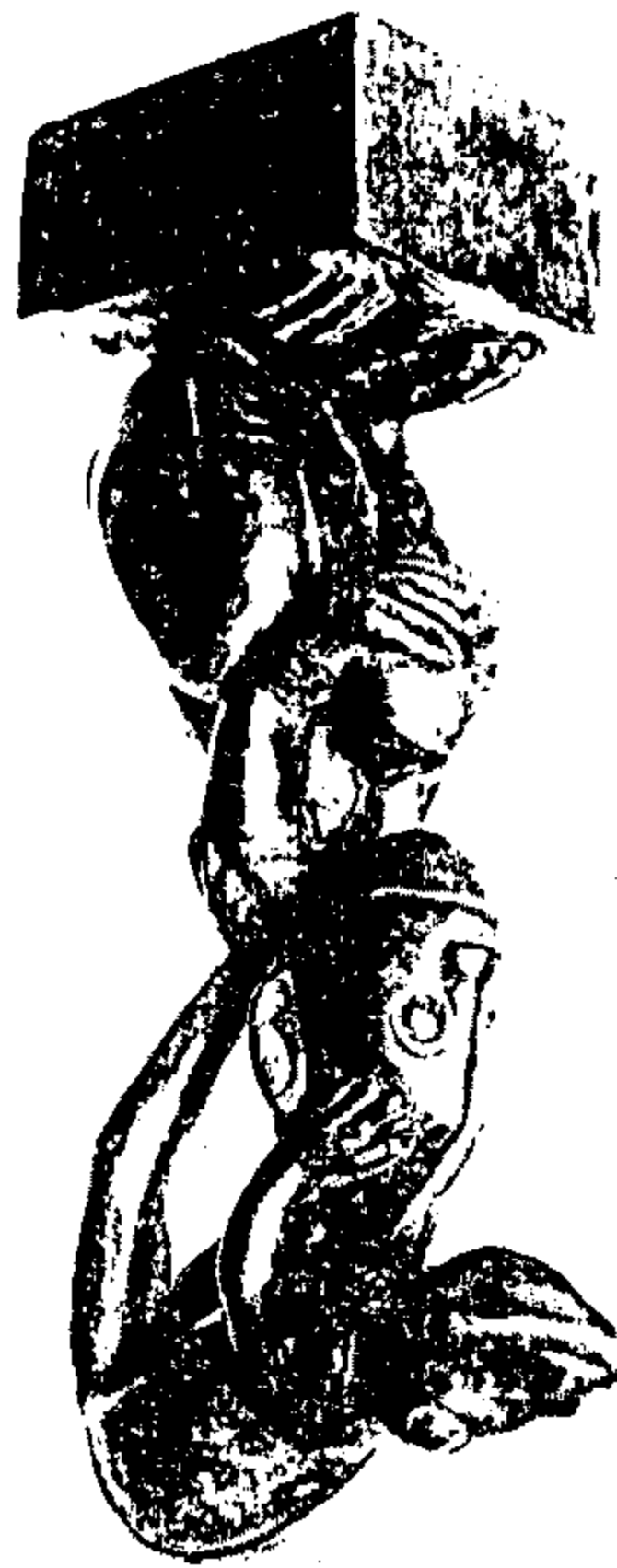


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386
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Rarajahan dongkang makehem (brooding toad) (HKS3891)



Rarajahan named Sang-Trisula-Bujana-Teguh (HKS1935)



Wood-Carving from Sebatu

and fear. Owing to a disturbance of memory, there is sometimes a forced recall of scenes, words or phrases.

The kecak trance dance seems to inspire its observers to wax lyrical to an even greater extent than do other trance dances which themselves, by no means, fail to elicit a search for analogies in nature, animals or meteorological phenomena. Trying to recapture the magic, the disintegration of human body language and the intensity of the kecak, de Zoete and Spies (pp.80-82) wrote:

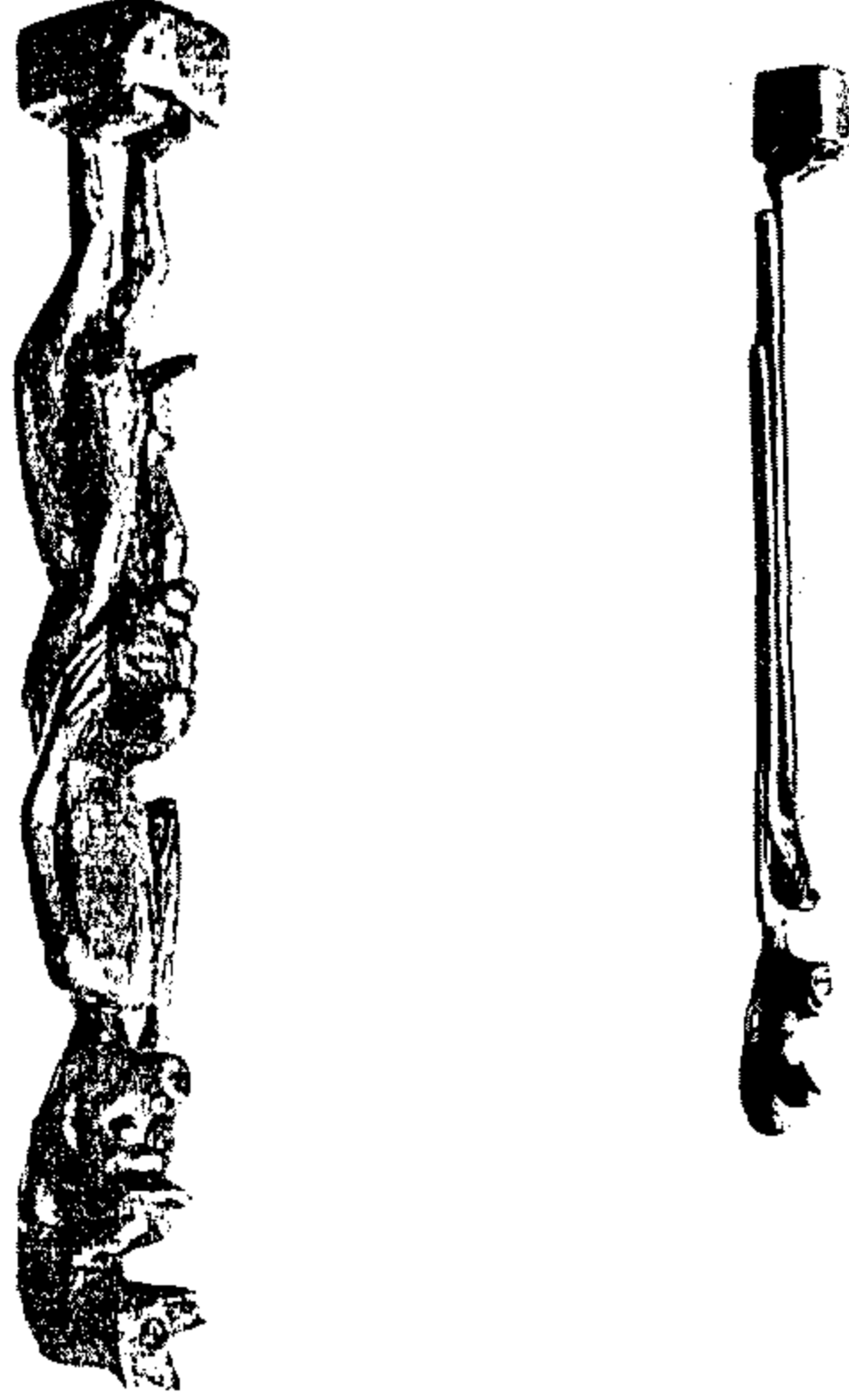
. . . They begin to sway; low inarticulate sounds break from them. . . . The swaying grows and grows till suddenly the heaving mass bursts open with a roar, like a crater in eruption scattering fragments. Circle upon circle they fall backwards, the full-blown flower of a volcano [an image borrowed from a lady Mendl]. . . . hands drift to and fro like tentacles of sea-anemones on the tide. . . . The horror grows . . . with preternaturally extended arms . . . 'tjak-a-tjak-a-tjak' . . . bursts of mocking laughter. . . . Hands leap up, a figure is there above them, erect but rising, but rising, rising, rising. He stands like a statue, motionless and aloof. . . . He sinks vertically, and broods like some monstrous toad with wide-spread legs and arms. . . . There is an impression of some tremendous happening hinted at but not defined.

One can find a meaning behind the gestures, sounds and antics of the kecak beyond descriptions of its general 'monkeyness' and 'toadiness' and inert analogies with nature. I am reasonably certain that the shuddering and shivering movements of the kecak trance dancers were not 'originally aimed at warding off the dangers of the jungle' as Meerloo (1962:19) writes.

Beyond the manifestations of psychic seizures I have already presented here one might also find in kecak a simulation of a specific symptom in much the same way as ngurek seems to simulate the sensations of stabbing pain. In global aphasia, due to an organic lesion in the speech centre of the brain, speech is limited to phonated, inarticulate or recurrent utterances or the use of meaningless words (like tjak-a-tjak-a-tjak, for example). However that may be, there could be others factors involved. Partial or focal seizures commence by the activation of a group of neurons, most usually in the index finger, the thumb, the big toe or the angle of the mouth. The incidence of Jacksonian motor seizures is highest in the lips and in the fingers. One of the meanings attributed to kecak is 'opening and closing of the lips'. In a Jacksonian seizure, a sudden contraction of many muscle groups can cause a sudden flexion of the trunk, neck and extremities. This is often accompanied by a laugh, then a straightening of the body and a fall backwards.

In the coming-out-of-trance period, trance dancers tend to adopt an expression of the mouth for which, according to Belo (p.119), the Balinese have the special term: bujuh. The mouth is projected forward and the lips form a circle. Belo noted a tendency among many trancers to take on this expression. When questioned as to the meaning of the term bujuh, a balian usada informant replied that 'sick people often do it'. Indeed they do. Most typically, pursing of the lips occurs in a tetanus fit owing to a spasm of facial muscles. During periods of impaired awareness in many epileptiform illnesses there may be an almost constant movement of the mouth.

Wood carvings from Sebato showing similar expressions.



Photograph taken by Gregory Bateson showing the common tendency of trancers to adopt the bujuh (lip protrusion) expression (taken from Belo, 1960).



Belo also recorded that the Balinese use the term neglepat to refer to the trance fits in the animal sanghyang trances. This term was unknown among the Balinese of whom I enquired. They were, on the other hand, familiar with a strikingly similar term ngalepek, meaning 'fall unconscious'. The term is found in the usada with this meaning, for example: if one falls unconscious (ngalepek), the name of the illness is tiwang bangka (corpse tiwang, K638). There are also terms in the usada to describe contortions of the body similar to those in the sanghyang dances. In the final convulsive seizures in the dances, the trancer arches his body backwards 'in an arc' (Belo p.255). Comparably, in usada when the arms are flexed, the lower limbs rigid and bent and the body is arched back to the point of almost falling (layah), the illness is named tiwang dengan (demon-spirit tiwang). When the head is thrown back (magulu mangsul), the illness is named tiwang edan (edan, means mental derangement). The arching back of the body is a prominent part of the vocabulary of the sanghyang deling. At least two other terms occur in the usada to designate this symptom of central nervous system disturbance, malengkur gigir and lukuh.

From his limited exposure to what he termed 'the metaphysics of gesture' in Balinese dance, Artaud (1974:41) wrote 'there is a horde of ritual gestures in it to which we have no key'. It seems to me that we may well have a key in the medical analogies and correlation presented above. We may merely have failed to seek the keys to the gestures in the most obvious place, that is in the realities of the symptoms of disease and in the Balinese metaphysical construction of illness. As McPhee (1970:318) has commented, 'dance performances in trance demand a special study. They have nothing to do with set choreographies, and musical forms'. This is a subject to which I return in the following chapter.

(v) 'Audacious Grotesque and Bizarre Curiosities' in the Plastic Arts

An initial awareness of a reference to the tiwang and tuju categories of disease in the sanghyang trance dances was prompted by a familiarity with indigenous medical treatises and system of disease nomenclature; the naming and renaming of phases of an illness episode. Subsequently, previously concealed impulses in other ethnological curiosities, this time in the plastic arts, began to become manifest. Some part-animal, part-human wood-carvings found in the village of Sebatu in Bali described and illustrated by Kleiweg de Zwaam (1941) exhibited a similarity of representation and expression with both the sanghyang dances and indigenous disease nomenclature. Bateson and Mead also collected some one thousand or so similar carvings from Sebatu and other mountain villages some of which are now in the American Museum of Natural History, New York. From a footnote in Belo's Trance in Bali (1960:202), it appears that Bateson had also pointed out a parallel or semblance between the sanghyang trance dances and these carved figures. My recognition occurred independently to that of Bateson.

A few descriptive examples of the collection of carvings held in the New York Museum (viewed by me in 1983)² seem indicated at this point:

Human-like figure with knees flexed and having animal-like teeth.

Human-figure with right leg contorted to the back of the head, having a monkey-like face, one hand holding the head and a grossly distended abdomen.

Male figure in a supine position with distended abdomen and testicles.

Figure with male genitalia, female breasts, distended abdomen, right leg flexed and drawn away from the main axis of the body.

Small human figure riding astride a fish.

Human figure with bared teeth astride an amphibian-like animal.

Part-animal, part-human figure with bared teeth and protruding tongue.

Figure with a human body and an animal-like head.

Figure with an animal body and a grotesque human-like head.

Male figure with a protrusion at the front of the cranium, swellings around the neck and hands grasping the lower abdomen.

Female figure with large drooping breasts and an animal-like face.

Male figure with distended abdomen.

Two animal-like figures with human stance and human-like visage, embracing (or copulating?).

Male figure, ram-rod thin having grossly enlarged testicles supported by his hands.

Crouched male figure with hands clasping head and having a segmented cylindrical protrusion from the anus. (Illustrated in the context of a discussion on the sanghyang mamed in the following section of this chapter.)

Half duck, half-human figure.

Human figure with swellings around the neck, stooped over and holding a stick.

Male figure with enlarged testicles and in an upside-down position.

Heron-like bird consuming a large worm or an eel.

Female figure with lower limbs slightly flexed, grasping abdomen and having the head of a rooster.

Female figure with animal-like head (maybe cow, maybe deer), knees slightly flexed, grasping lower abdomen.

Female figure with animal head, upper limbs held up above head.

A number of these carvings feature human torso and lower limbs with wings in place of upper limbs and bird-like heads or facial features. A few are reminiscent of the ghostly female figure called Men Bajang who is a spirit associated with diseases of infancy.

When it was suggested to Margaret Mead, then in the field, that a study of Balinese gesture would be a worthwhile project, she wrote back to her mentor that such a study was already part of her enterprise. And further that:



Named Kala Miyung
by a balian usada.

Sanghyang-type Wood Carvings from Sebatu.

(Taken from Ramseyer, 1977)



We have about 1,000 little grotesque carvings which are full of points about posture and balance.... It is the sort of problem that needs fine analysis at home (March 29, 1938, Letter from The Field, 1979:212).

In a letter³ (a copy of which I obtained) accompanying the presentation of some of these carvings to the museum, Bateson wrote that the 'bulk of the collection' belonged 'in the category of casual whim, pieces made idly almost just to pass the time'. Bateson also informed the Director of the museum at the time that such carvings would 'normally' become 'kitchen ornaments or children's toys'. This explanation I find untenable given the nature of the carvings and Balinese indifference to household ornamentation of this type and to children's toys at the time. Part of the letter reads:

They represent the sort of incidental casual humorous art which is normally neglected in collections which concentrate on objects of traditional beauty and importance, and have the same relationship to the religious art of the Balinese, that the jokes told in low Balinese have to the courtly speeches of princes and princesses in the shadow plays and operas.

Bateson went on to explain that the collection was made primarily for the purpose of amassing 'concrete data' on Balinese attitudes to the human body. And from that perspective, Bateson felt that the collection was, at that time, unique. The letter continues:

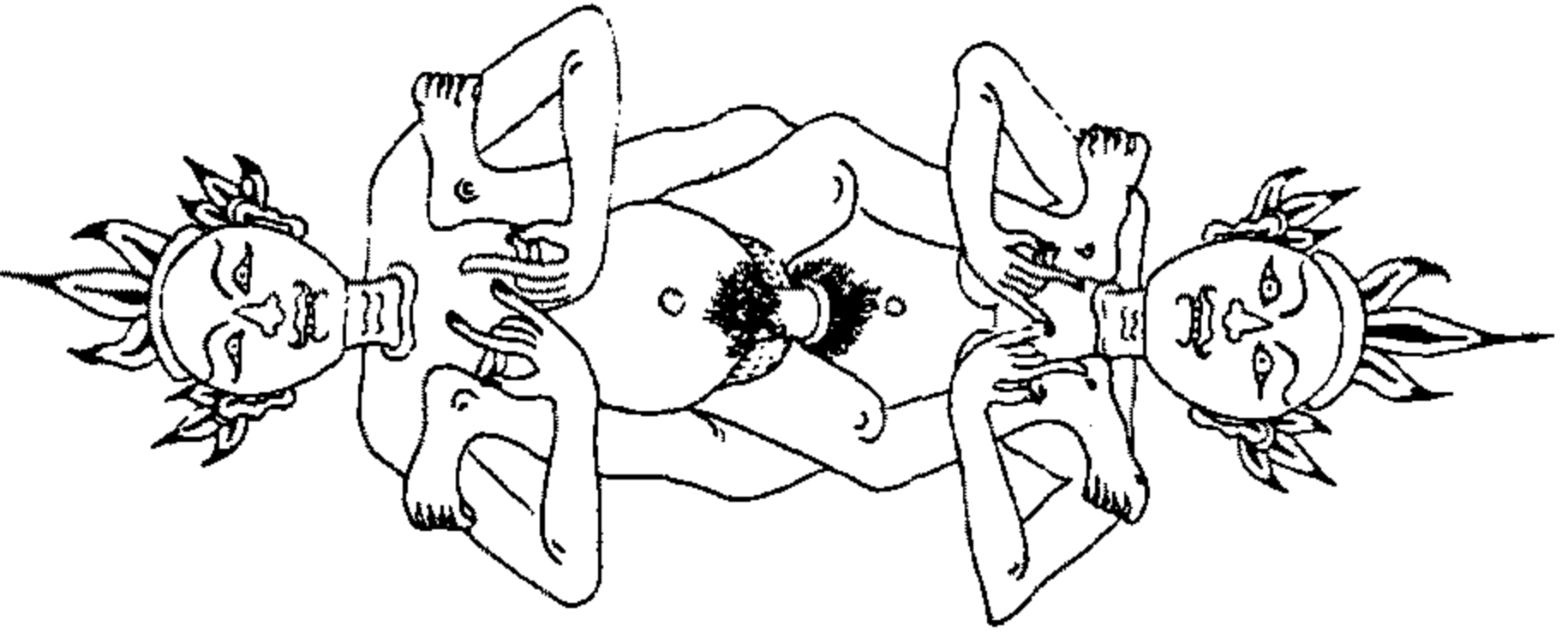
As many problems of the interpretation of Balinese culture, in which kinaesthetic rote learning, dancing and music are so important, hinge upon attitude towards the body, this mass of data forms a solid and enduring supplement to other types of observations and records, particularly in a culture where the people are singularly non-verbal and inarticulate, so that it is necessary to rely on behaviour and artefacts without extensive supplementation from introspective verbal reports.

Awareness of the extent and content of local medical writings might have allowed better informed anthropological observations and interpretations of this solid data. The wider perspective local writings present might also have convinced Bateson of the misrepresentation inherent in referring to the Balinese as inarticulate.

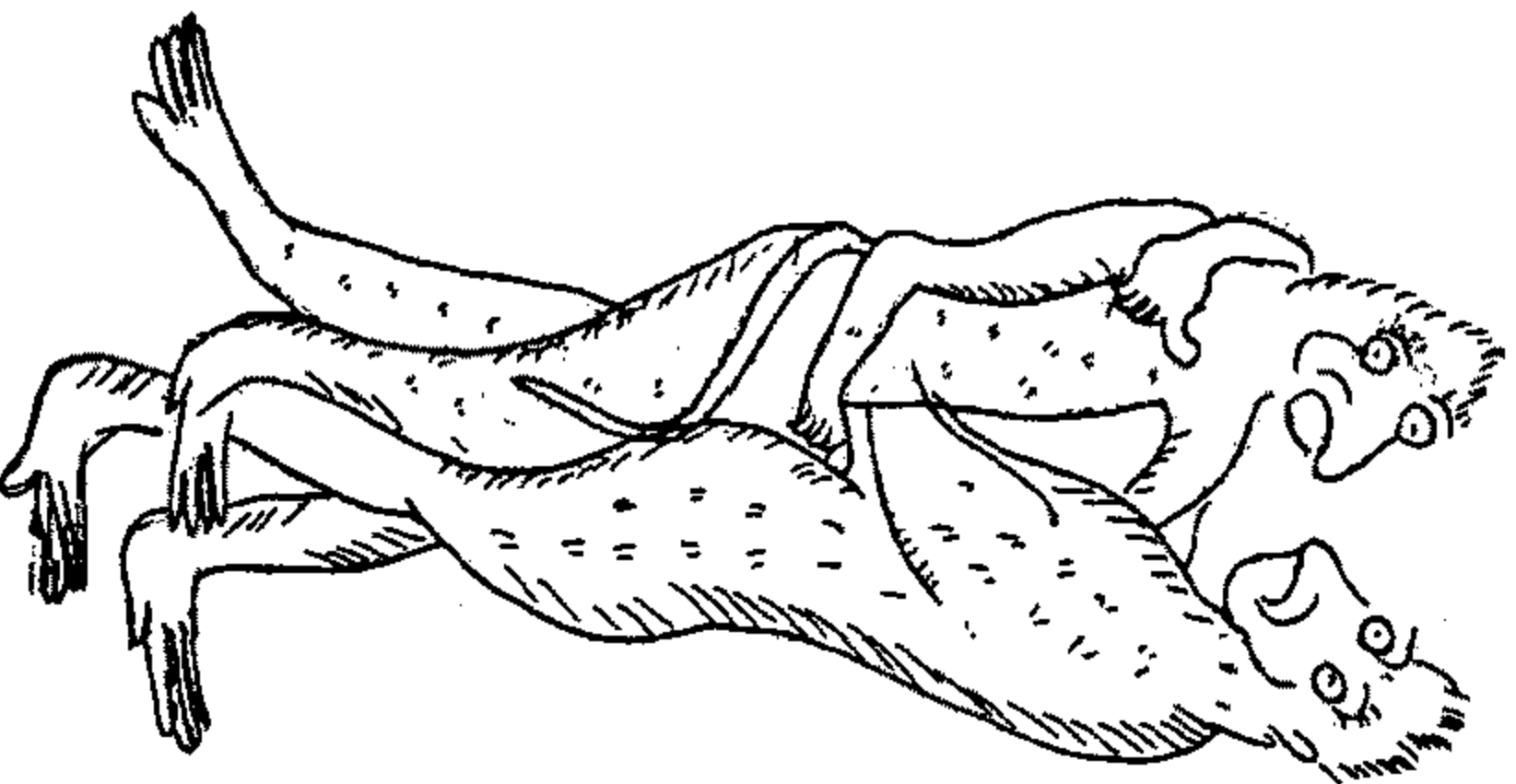
Although Kleiweg de Zwaam provided illustrations of only twenty-one of the Sebatu carvings, his descriptions of the subject matter and tendencies in others of the same type, is informative. They are of the same origin and type as those in the Bateson museum collection. Most are part-animal, part human, having attributes of both classes. Some are seated in crouched positions, in elbow-knee or knee-chest positions. Others are juxtaposed with animals, are ram-rod straight or broomstick thin or have grossly distended abdomens, or else hold something resembling a gong over the abdomen. Hands are either outstretched or grasping that part of the abdomen which in usada is termed ulu ati (epigastrium) or the siksik (lower abdomen), both of which are conspicuous pain points in diagnostic texts. Lower limbs are either bent up to the chest or slightly flexed. In one illustrated carving, the head is thrown back and the back is arched backwards is an attitude particularly representative of the opisthotonos phase of tetanus as well as of other infective neuropathies.



(1)



(2)



(3)



(4)

- (1) I Bhuta Siwa Sidapati, means a protection (pasikepan) during the epidemic season (masaning grubug) (Pacarwan Muang Panulak, HKS XIX,18).
- (2) (Taken from Hooykaas, 1980b).
- (3) A means of protecting infants against deadly disease (Usada Rare, HKS3483).
- (4) Aksara Rajah HKS1915.

Mouths and facial features are often the focal features of particular carvings. The mouths are either agape, slanted, or fixed in wide grotesque grins. Teeth are clenched or bared. Lips are either pursed or beak-like (patisol-sol, in usada diagnostic terminology).

Other carvings (not illustrated by Kleweg de Zwaam) were deemed 'of very erotic' nature, 'too crude to illustrate', from which the collector 'turned away from shame' (p.154). That these carvings may have held some magical significance for the Balinese was an idea that occurred to Kleiweg de Zwaam, but one which was rejected out of hand. That they might have magico-medical significance was not even raised. He saw the Balinese as merely childish and shameless, ready to perceive the amusing and ludicrous and to depict it. The carvings were the grotesque, bizarre and highly imaginative creations of a people bent upon fun, or so it was concluded (p.152,155). Belo held a similar opinion. The 'audacious grotesque subjects' represented in the carvings expressed no more than the 'free fantasies' of a group of unskilled villagers working outside the tradition (p.203). 'A sudden burst of creativity had at some time given rise to a whole gamut of improvisations' Belo (p.202) confidently concluded. Ramseyer (1977:244) also perceived them as fanciful creations but at least allowed the possibility of something more than this:

The sculptural work from the village of Sebatu (Gianyar) used to be not only highly imaginative, it also expressed a very strong creative originality that was closely related to the conceptions of a presumably functional, early Balinese folk art.

In the efforts to place them within the cross-cultural comparative framework as was a priority of research in the time, Kleiweg de Zwaam felt that, to an extent, they recalled the pre-historic art of Southern France and North Africa and also the paintings and drawings of Hieronymus Bosch, Jan de Cock and Brueghel (p.156).

A balian usada to whom, for the purposes of clarification or confirmation, I showed some illustrations of the carvings, identified (in the form of naming) some of them as various bhuta-kala. The one I designated earlier as a representation of opisthotonos, he named Tiwang Belagodo. In the graphic form in which I presented them to him, they were, of course, no different to magical drawings (rarajahan). Rarajahan, of what some may perceive to be a 'very erotic nature', are found in the medical treatises on diseases of infancy, problems of fertility, pregnancy and birth complications. A rarajahan prescribed for excessive crying throughout the night of a newborn, depicts two composite animal-human figures embracing possibly ^{copulating}. Similar composite figures are depicted in rarajahan designated to intervene when the placenta fails to discharge following delivery of the foetus (HKS3483).

Without attempting a one-to-one correspondence I here list further examples of tiwang and tuju symptom complexes and draw attention to the animal naming, the analogy of form which would have prompted the naming and rendered it significant, a signification and precognition which I believe has impelled the composite animal-human sculptural representations under discussion. I suggest that the three-way correspondence of signification works something along these lines: a phase in an episode of illness in which the mouth is agape and/or raucous crowing noises are emitted from the mouth, will be named 'crow'. The

Sanghyang-type wood-carvings from Sebatu and names supplied by a balian usada



Tiwang Belagodo



Bhuta Kubayi



Bhuta Kreket Nyoman Sakti



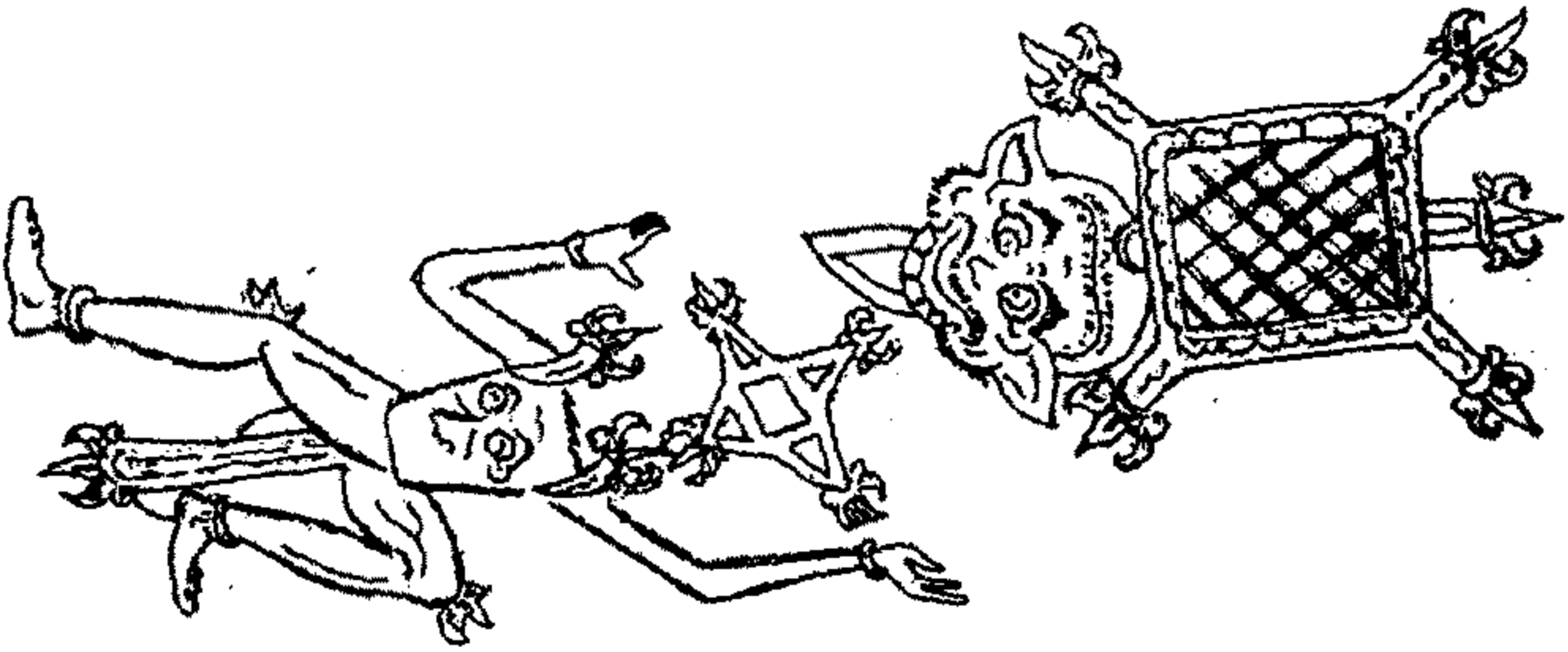
Panyak Kalika



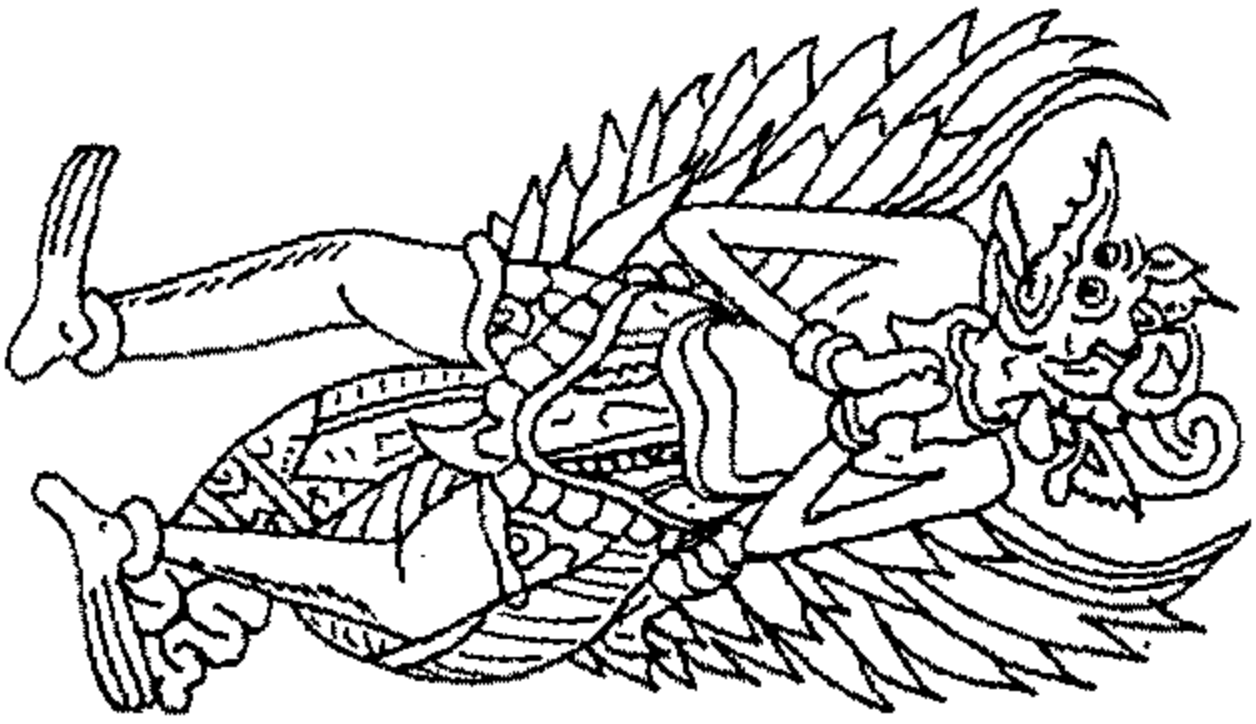
same symptom complex will be represented sculpturally as a human in association with a bird or a crow or a composite human-crow figure having a bird-like mouth and wings in place of arms. A phase in an illness episode generically referred to as tiwang in which there is excessive salivation, the eyes are moving rhythmically from side to side and the head is nodding from side to side may be called tiwang banteng (cow tiwang) and represented sculpturally as a figure having human torso and limbs and a cow-like head. Abdominal pain which causes the afflicted to alternatively flap hands, to stretch out arms or to grasp the abdomen will be named garuda (a bird), and be represented in the plastic arts as a human figure having bird-like wings. Flexed lower limbs, distended abdomen, epigastric pain and clenched hands elicits the naming tiwang ketungan (rice-pounding mortar). Possibly, the distended abdomen elicits the analogy with the rice-pounding mortar. Carvings such as those with hands clutching particular pain points or seeming to have gong-like (maybe they are mortar-like) abdominal distention have a similar referent. Emaciation and excessive twisting and turning of the body provokes labeling such as fish (often be julit). Human figures astride fish or other animals or in totem-like arrangements with animals in the carvings may express and represent this kind of symptom complex.

I have in mind such aspects of medical semiology as ocular palsies and nystagmus of cerebral beriberi, the protruding eyes (exophthalmus) of meningitis, elevated eyebrows due to spasms of the frontalis in tetanus or the sensitiveness to light in rabies; also the clenched teeth (lockjaw) which results from the spasm of the masseter muscles, the pursing of the lips and the classical, grotesque grinning or sneering expression referred to as risus sardonius as a result of the spasm of facial muscles and the excessive involuntary opening of the mouth characteristic of tetanus, the open mouth and vacant expressionless look in infantile tremor syndrome and the spasmodic contractions of the muscles of the mouth in rabies. I also have in mind the tense and bulging fontanel and adder-like protrusion of the tongue associated with intra-cranial damage in the newborn, the maldevelopment of the bones of the nose and of the legs of congenital syphilis. The extreme and persistent abdominal distention, progressive emaciation, glossitis and mouth lesions associated with tropical sprue, the abdominal distention, oedema, bulging fontanel and head retraction of infantile beriberi, the abdominal distention and rectal prolapse associated with parasitic infestation disease, can all be seen to be represented in these grotesque carvings. Cramps in the neck and the extremities and the body gesture in response to such pain, the stiffness and rigidity of the neck, abdomen and extremities causing the adoption of a peculiar ram-rod position associated with tetanus and finally (though I am certain the demonstrations do not necessarily end here) the neck and back backward arching (opisthotonos) of cerebral beriberi, meningitis and tetanus, are suggested in these carvings. These, I suggest are the grotesqueries or abnormalities which suggest analogies with animal morphology and behaviour as well as the blurring of the distinction between the two normally distinctive classes of beings.

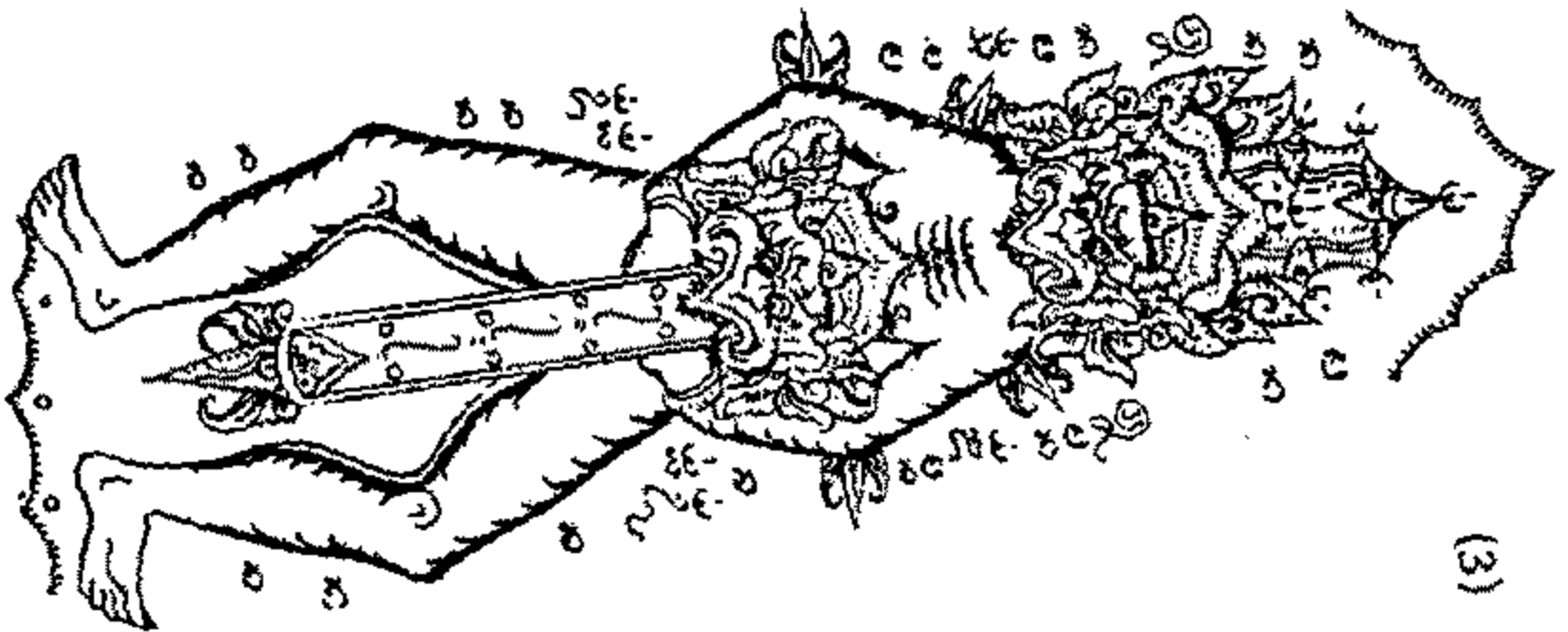
I see these carvings as pathological representations. The deformities, protuberances, grotesqueries, animalized humans and humanized animals are highly stylized representations of pathologically induced states. There is imagination here but it is neither gay nor entirely fanciful. The carvings may indeed, at one level, demonstrate the jovial side of the Balinese character as well as their capacity for associative thinking and



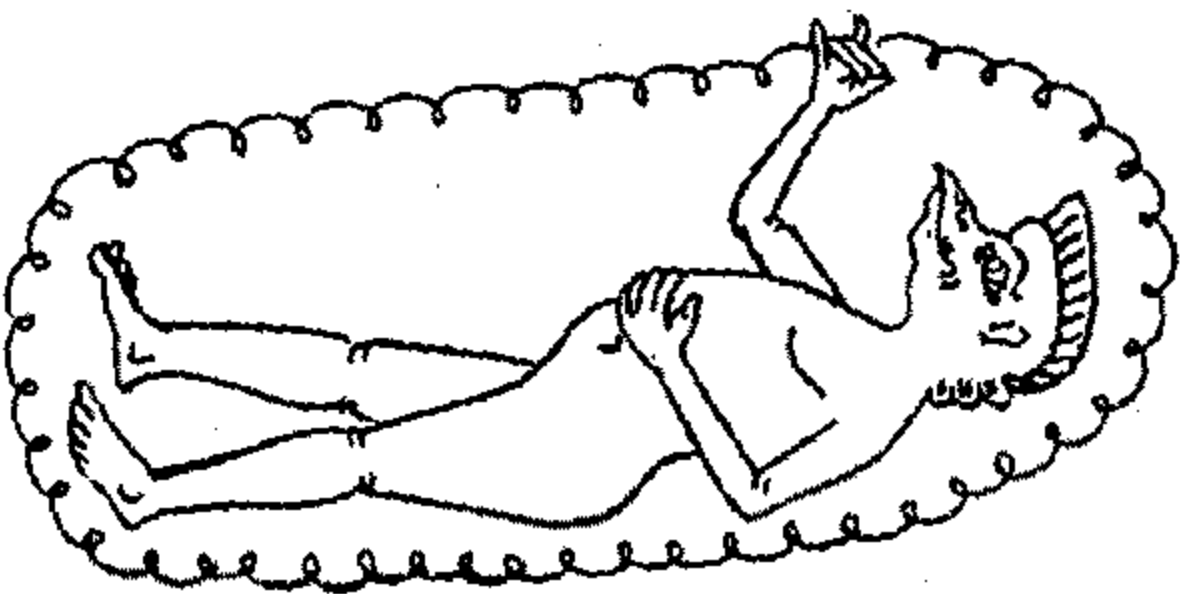
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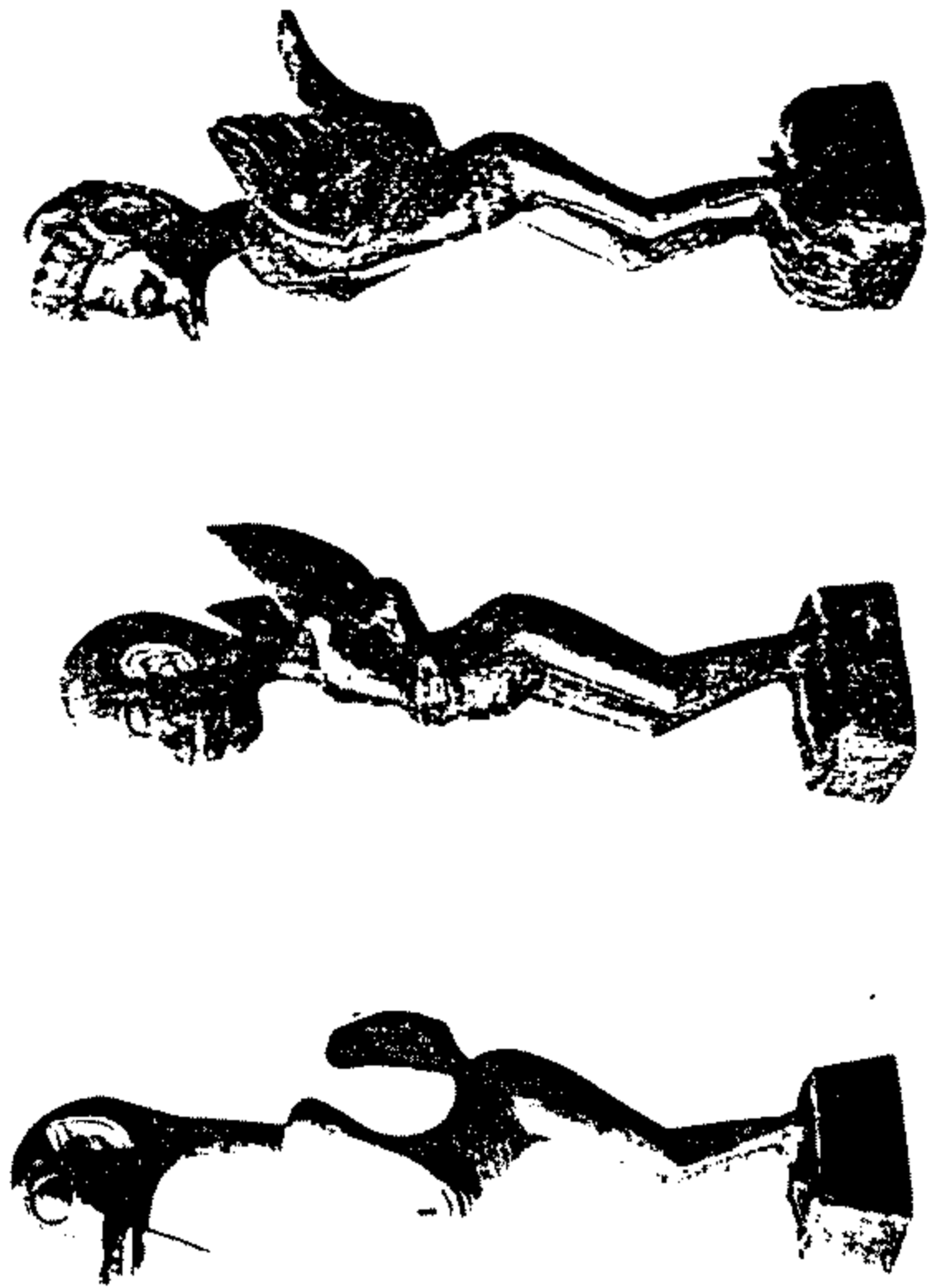
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- Rarajahan
- (1) Sanghyang Nila-Sotti, a means of destroying (pamupug desti around houseyards (HKS1935/K611).
 - (2) (Taken from Hooykaas, 1980a).
 - (3) Sanghyang Gana-Locakra, a means of containing (panulak epidemic (grubug) (HKS2171/K1413).
 - (4) Sang Bhuta Sidapati, a means of protecting (panunggun houseyard (K532).



From the Museum of
Natural History Collection

Sanghyang-type Wood Carvings from Sebatu



- (1) Sanghyang Iswara-Semar (HKS1935).
- (2) Tatalak Tujū-Teluh (K1356).
- (3) Sang Natasuta has the power to act as an antidote to the toxicity induced by one named Sang Bannusuta (K173).
- (4) Bhuta Tiba Kechen (taken from Hooykaas, 1980b).
- (5) Rarajahan used to treat an infant afflicted with worm infection (HKS3483).
- (6) Sanghyang Mutya-Pati.
- (7) Kebo sarira wong (buffalo with human form) (HKS 14,20).

Rarajahan





Sanghyang-type Wood-Carvings from Sebatu

(see rarajahan (5), opposite)



symbolizing. They do not, I maintain, indicate either a carefree existence or a casual attitude to life.

Be this as it may, questions remain. Why did Balinese carve these grotesqueries and what function did they serve? Did the particular carvings described and illustrated here which are now held in Western collections ever have a ritual use? Field research may reveal some answers along these lines. However, I am inclined to feel that there may already exist too many layers of meaning as well as levels of interference imposed and impressed upon whatever was their original inspiration. Nevertheless, I am convinced that it is disease which has inspired their form. Whether or not they were used for magico-medical purposes must remain a matter of conjecture. I suspect that they may have had (maybe still have) some magical significance and that whatever the fantasies which were being expressed were, they were not free but impelled by realities of life which included a heavy burden of disease. In the illustrations opposite I have juxtaposed examples of the carvings with Balinese rarajahan for the purposes of demonstrating the similarity of form. I am also suggesting a similarity of function.

A large number of these carvings are stored in the American Museum of Natural History, New York together with an analytical card catalogue, and photographs of the figures in six different positions. In the words of advice to the Director of the museum in 1946, they were organized for, and await study. And there they remain, to my knowledge, as yet unstudied. It is suggested that it is not only upon Balinese 'gesture' and attitudes to the human body as recommended by Bateson and Mead that such a study should focus, but rather upon attitudes to pathological changes to which the human body is susceptible.

(vi) The Ghost Spirit (Sanghyang Mamedi): The 'Most Eerie of Them All'

At this point I wish to return to a descriptive account of another of the 'weird' sanghyang-type trance dances, the sanghyang mamedi (mamedi is roughly translatable as 'ghost'), designated by Belo as the 'most eerie' of all of the trance dances. A male dancer wears a loincloth trussed up between the legs and has daubs of lime powder across his forehead, nose, wrists, upper arms and ankles.

His trance is induced through smoking over dried horse dung. Once entranced, he then engages in what has been defined as a 'specific set of fanciful motions', sometimes weird, sometimes stealthy and sometimes 'obscene' (Belo p.210). The dancer enacts that which the song chanted by the participating community dictates: The following excerpts from the songs represent my (sometimes revised) translation of the Balinese language version of the songs provided in Belo (pp.211-12):

Sang Wewe, Sang Wewe [an address to the mamedi]
 We invite you, we invite your presence [in/as] infants.
 Infants request that you should descend.
 We invite you and request your presence.
 Sang Wewe, Sang Wewe, Ira ngoendang ngoendang rare.
 Rarene ngoendang pitoeroen.
 Ira ngoendang ngoendang toeroen.

The following verse reads:

Song katak, song lindoeng
Song lele, song be djoelit,

It is possible that Sang, a form of address was intended instead of Song which has a meaning of 'hole', though 'holes' would not be contextually inappropriate since the animal spirits addressed, namely frog (katak), eel (lindoeng), catfish (lele) and the freshwater fish (be djoelit) have associations with holes. Also what follows in the same verse, is a reference to another kind of 'hole', the djit (bottom; Belo's translation, 'ass').

Song katak, song lindoeng,
Song lele, song be djoelit
Swaying and chanting [metandang, mekidoeng]
Stopping, sticking finger to the anus.

To the words, the dancer moves in a squatting position, swaying from side to side, fingering the ground, and finally bringing his finger around to 'the point of his behind' (to point to his anus) in what Belo and Mershon perceived as the 'obscene gesture', and what de Zoete and Spies (p.271) discerned as acts accompanied by 'filthy language'.

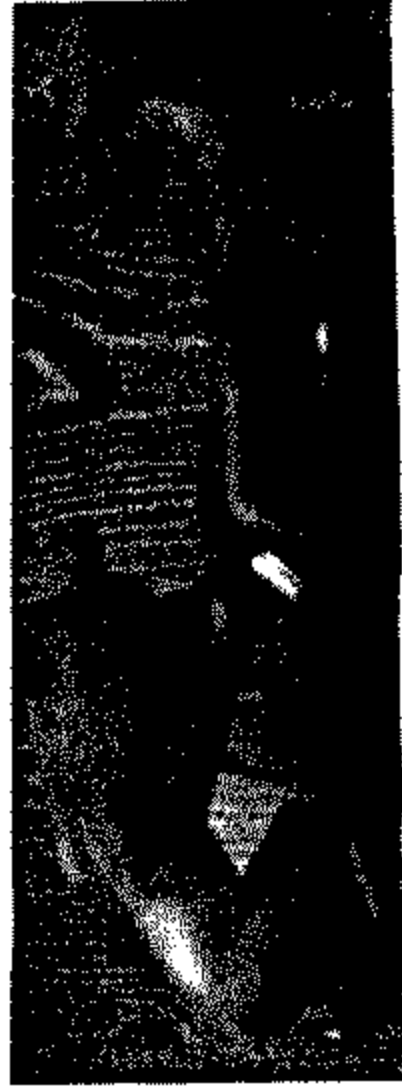
To another verse, the dancer stands erect, with one leg extended out, prances forward and then, suddenly, sits cross-legged on the ground, then, rises and repeats these actions, while the community sings:

The mamedi refuses the candlenut tree
Toro, Toro [a sea-creature] is under the bila tree
The mamedi is twisting and spinning
I Toro comes, his legs are criss-crossed.
Memedi toelak tingkih,
Toro, Toro batan bila,
Memedine mengantih,
Tekal Toro djeg mesila.

To another verse of the song, the dancer squats on the ground cross-legged and very slowly describes a circle in the air with an extended finger. He then points his fingers to the ground, daubles them along the ground and finally puts them to his mouth:

Through the night s/he twists and turns,
Like a twirling spindle,
Whether unspun thread or a basket.
Ngeeeek!
Mengantih ira iwengi,
Peradene sebit soenting,
Apa tengsoel apa pandjen,
Ngeeeek!
The merchants trade in salt.
Seaweed from the beach.
The trader's stomachs are shrivelled up,
Stopping, eating rice.
Pengaloe dagang oejah,
Kereregan di pesisir;
Pengaloe basangne lajah,
Mereren medaaran nasi.

Sanghyang-type wood-carving from Sebatsu showing a human-like figure with a protrusion from the anus. From the collection held at the Museum of Natural History, New York.



Taken from Warren and Mahmoud, 1984).

Rectal prolapse in a Bangladeshi child with acute sigmoiditis. The rectal mucosa was easily reduced by gentle manual manipulation and the child made an uneventful recovery. (Courtesy of Dr. Mujibur M. Rahman.)



In a description of this trance given by de Zoete and Spies (p.271) the entranced dancer was carried to a graveyard where he sat in a squatting position swaying from side to side, then stood erect with one foot raised and made a circle in the air with an extended finger. His arms were flung up in the air, his hands flapped back and forth, palms forward. To what Belo describes as 'the graveyard song', the trancer moved stiffly in a tip-toeing prance. At another stage, he would hurl himself backwards with one leg bent and the other extended and trembling, while the whole torso remained rigid. Following spasmodic contortions of the body, the trancer would fall in a fit. And the chorus would sing:

Men Bajang goes to the graveyard
 Inviting the mamedi to appear
 The white-toothed memedi
 You are coaxed to come near
 It is so desired
 Sleeping from time to time with knees drawn up to the chest
 Bearing a small metal gong pressed flat, bearing weight on
 one leg.

Men Badjang loeas ke setra
 Mangoendang ngoendang memedi
 Memedi gigne poetih,
 Irik irikin itjang,
 Itjang njak teken ia,
 Adedengkoer epeng epeng
 Nikoel kempoer madedengser

Men Bajang is a female spirit well known in Balinese medical magic and mythology. She haunts the graveyards (named setra bajangan) reserved for the corpses of infants who die before having lost their milk teeth. Belo was probably unaware of this salient fact as she translated Men Bajang as 'mother of Bajang', does not identify her special association with infant morbidity and mortality, finds the lyrics of the songs 'meaningless' and fails to identify the context and concealed nightmare impelling the ritual's 'eeriness'. In Balinese medical folklore mamedi are specifically associated with perceived (and real) hazards to life during early infancy and childhood.

I leave that for a moment and return on a previous tack. Within my particular frame of reference and familiarity with indigenous medical tradition which informs magical disease-containing rites such as sanghyang mamedi, some part of the apparent senseless, crude or obscene gestures in this dance make sense to me. To begin with, that which may be most contentious, the explicit gestural reference in the dance and the song to the anus: flatulence, diarrhoea or constipation, prolapsed rectum are prominent symptoms of a number of diseases of infants described in the usada (and known to Western medical science). I have in mind the severe flatulence, chronic diarrhoea and the voluminous, gassy and foul-smelling stools and emaciation characteristic of tropical sprue (an enteropathy of unknown origin). Rectal prolapse is a common complication of tetanus, of whooping cough (pertussis), as well as forms of parasitic infections prevalent in the tropics. Exceptionally massive lower bowel infestations with whip-worm (trichuriasis), for instance, can cause bloody diarrhoea and prolapse of the rectum especially in malnourished children (Warren and Mahmoud 1984; Maegraith 1984). Rectal protrusion, it will be recalled, was depicted in one of the carvings described earlier.

The other and various fits, faints and funny turns in this trance dance find collations with or allusions to reactions to physical pain or distress. Take, for example, the 'extended leg' posture and the stretching, flexing, squatting, twitching, fingering and fits described as part of this trance dance. Infantile spasms, a particular variety of generalized (symptomatic) epilepsy, induced through gross cerebral pathology such as that caused in cerebral birth trauma, has on onset between three and six months of age. The initial symptoms include nodding preceded by a general restlessness. In a type of seizure termed 'salaam' which is peculiar to infancy, there are flexor spasms of the neck and limbs. There is a brief, sudden symmetrical jerking of the whole body which is usually held in flexion. The arms are thrown out and the head is bent forward on to the chest; hence the designation 'salaam' or 'jackknife'. One leg may extend at the hip. These spasms are frequently preceded by a cry or a smile (Sutherland 1980:21). I refer the reader back to some of the 'weird' movements and actions 'performed' by the trance dancer.

Those images from nature and life — things like eels, fish, holes, baskets, emaciated traders and 'trading' — which occur in the songs accompanying the sanghyang mamedi trance exorcism, may find referents in the magical practices surrounding pregnancy, the early infant manusa-yadnya rites and the symbolism of infantile morbidity and mortality. For instance, as a magical inducement to safe delivery of the foetus and a facilitation of the process, expectant women may be presented with an eel in a kind of conical-shaped basket in which there is a hole to allow its escape.

In Balinese medico-magical theory, there are within every live embryo, elements, collectively called nyama bajang (bajang siblings) which sustain life and succour other concomitants of embryonic development, the nyama mpat or kanda mpat (placenta, umbilical cord, amniotic sac and amniotic fluid) and the panca mahabhuta, the five elements (fire, water, earth, air and ether) of which the human organism is composed (see Chapter 4[i]). The nyama bajang are 108 in number and they are all named. There are, for example bajang named bukal (bat), kebo (buffalo), lutung (monkey), sampi (cow), yeh (water), tukad (river), deleg (a kind of fresh water fish), be julit (a kind of fresh water fish), yuyu (crab) and papah (young coconut leaf), to mention a few. There is also one named colong which is signalled out for special attention in the early manusa-yadnya rites. Colong means 'stealth'. The verbal form nyolong means 'to steal'. After birth, the nyama bajang forces are considered no longer functional in the capacity of development and sustaining of life. They have, in fact, the potential to 'disturb' (syab) the well-being of the infant and precipitate disease processes. The underlying premise is that Men Bajang in the form of bajang colong is prone to 'stealing' (nyolong) the soul (life) of neonates and the newly-born. Men Bajang's activities are confined to this vulnerable group. The medical treatises which deal specifically with the problems of birth and infancy, the Usada Rare Kuranta Bolong, contain mantra, sarana, rarajahan as a means of defence against the many and named afflictions which are prone to attack neonates, post-puerperal women and infants. The term bolong in Kuranta Bolong can mean a 'hollow' sack or tree (kuranta); an analogical reference to the uterus perhaps. The uterus has other names such as pagedongan which is a small shrine used to house ritual objects, or wadah pianak (infant's resting place). Bolong can also refer to the 'hole' (in the head); a reference to the unclosed fontanel of the new-born perhaps.

These usada refer to certain ailments of early infancy by the expression 'the infant afflicted by Men Bajang' or 'the infant threatened by Men Bajang' (rare kasyabin Men Bajang).⁴ There are also more specific types of bajang illnesses, named, as usual, according to clinical manifestations. The latter are often in the form of abnormalities of cry and disturbed sleep patterns. If an infant cries incessantly around dusk, the discomposure is named bajang temeraka. If the eyes of the infant are staring, the disturbance is named bajang desti. If the infant cries incessantly and the eyes are shut tightly, the name bajang dadakan applies. Part of the prescribed sarana in the event of distress occasioned by Men Bajang (or the bajang) is the sprinkling of lime powder (apuk bubuk) about the infant's sleeping place, in each corner of the bale and along the pathway (HKS3483). Here, I refer the reader back to the lime powder smeared over the body of the mamedi trancer.

I have already identified (see Chapter 5[i]) the prime disease categories of the newborn and infants encompassed in the indigenous generic terms sarab, nguwus, sawan, gwam, wing, inja, blahan. Of these, the diseases or symptom complexes included within the term sarab seem to constitute a prominent cause of morbidity and mortality. Whatever the precise nature (in Western nosology) of the symptom syndromes included under the term sarab, they undoubtedly constitute(d) a source of concern. At the commencement of labour pains, a prescription called 'a means of ensuring the survival of the foetus' (pangurip rare ring jero) is recommended in Usada Rare (HKS3487, for example). Over the water prepared for the bathing of the delivered baby, utterance of the following mantra is prescribed:

I am the white tiger setting off towards the ravine.

I command and devour until dead all that comes from Java in the form of sarab bangke, sarab banyu, sarab uci-uci, sarab bojog, sarab beruk, sarab kebo, sarab dongkang, sarab naga, sarab angin, sarab pamali.

All of you should not direct your wrath toward the body of this infant.

ONG Sang Hyang Kembang Kuning [Yellow Flower] guard over the infant (HKS3487:8a).

The mantra is repeated over the placenta when it is being buried for, according to the usada, the illness named sarab together with that named blahan cause the deaths of many infants. Like the bajang, the forms of sarab are 108 in number. Perhaps there are echoings of the latter in the former . . . or the reverse. The names of forms or phases of sarab include:

sarab latih (snare sarab) there is stifled whimpering

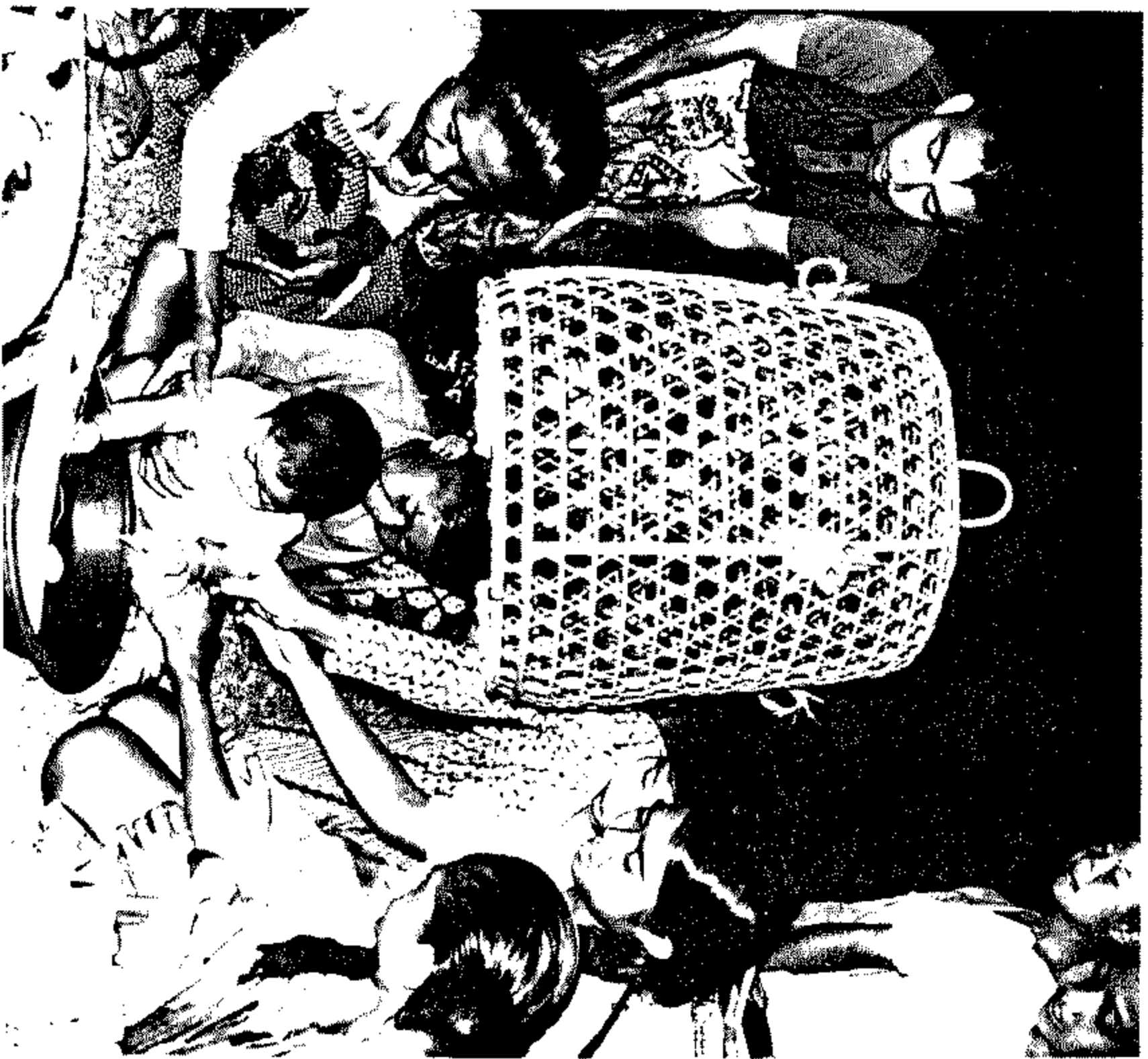
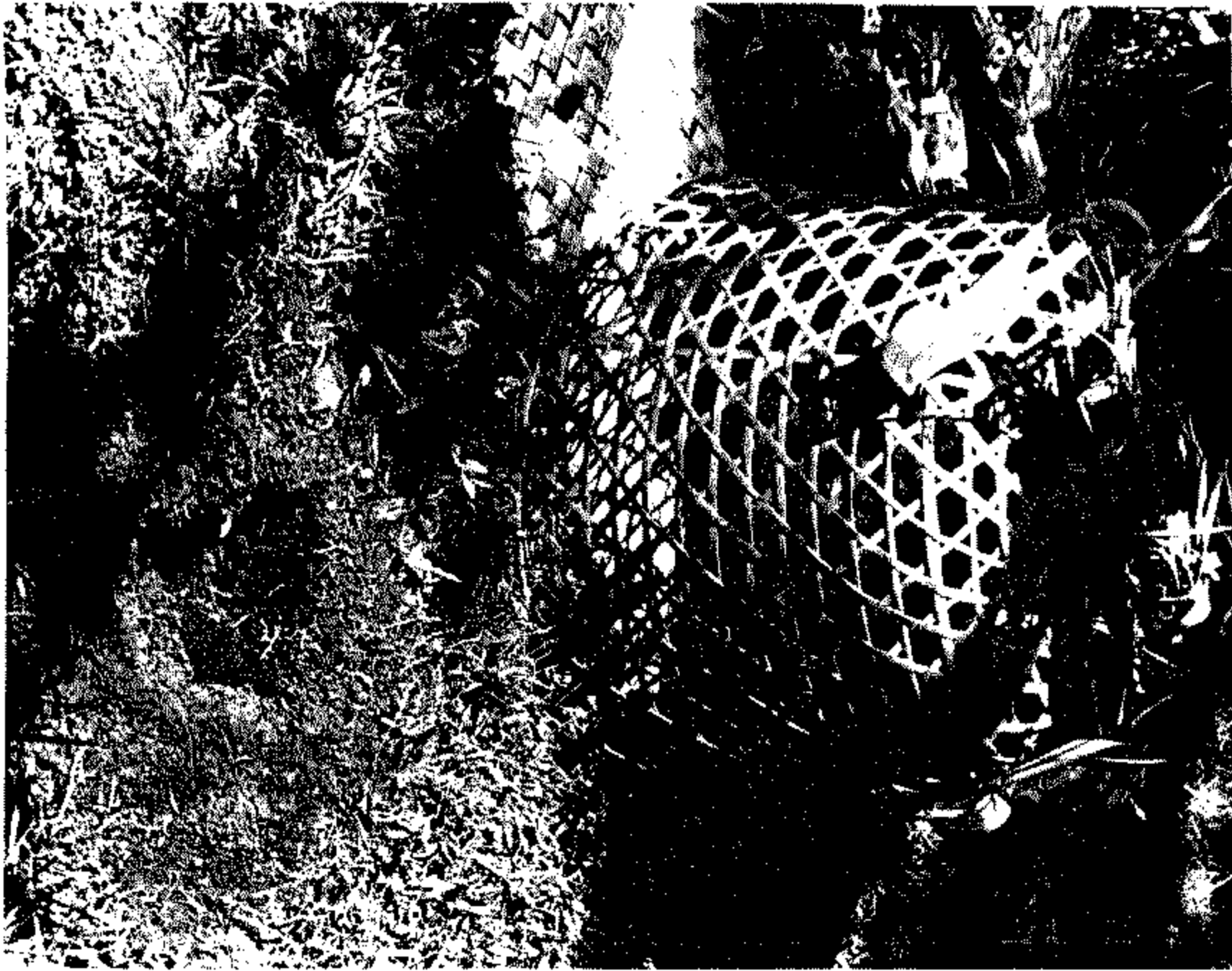
sarab angin (wind sarab) the abdomen is distended

sarab barong (barong sarab) there is restlessness, twitching, trembling

sarab banyu (water sarab) the skin is pallid, wrinkled and pimply.

Alongside these named and qualified lists of symptoms and signs, there are lists of non-specific symptoms such as profuse or persistent nasal discharge, localized twitching, abdominal distention, weight loss, failure to thrive, diminished urine secretion, peculiar whining, swellings, skin and mouth lesions, hyperpigmentation of the skin (red, muddy,

A 105 day manusa-yadnya showing the infant under the woven basket
(taken from Hooykaas, 1973).



multi-coloured), muscle spasms and excessive opening of the mouth. Other names assigned to sarab include crabs (yuyu), sea, flower-bud, bird, colour names such as yellow, black, red and white, objects such as stone and peg, cloth such as geringsing, spirits such as pamali (which is also the name of a disease entity itself) and more obscure ones such as 'ancestral spirit stealing' (pitra manyolong, from colong). Associated symptoms include all of those mentioned as presenting clinical manifestations of infantile spasms or 'salaam' seizures. Flatulence, criss-crossing of the hands and feet and maldevelopment of the nose and/or buttocks are also mentioned. The spectrum of symptoms and signs mentioned in the Usada Rare texts, suggest to me that the term sarab encompasses a rather wide range of serious diseases peculiar to infancy or having a higher incidence among children. These may include such disease entities as tropical sprue, a severe form of thrush, infantile beriberi, congenital syphilis, the early signs of neonatal tetanus. When convulsions occur, the disease is then named tiwang or sawan.

The forty-two day manusa-yadnya is named tutug kambuhan meaning 'the attainment of forty-two days' (from conclusions reached in an earlier analysis in Chapter 11[iii], an achievement in itself). Kambuhan is from kambuh which means 'relapse'. Thus, an averment of the age specific period when certain diseases become manifest, also referred to in a previous discussion, may be indicated in this naming. This forty-two day rite, is also named macolongan for its objective is also to release the infant from the nyama bajang influences which can predispose to disease. Macolongan refers to the 'theft' of two several day-old chickens, one of each sex, which function as substitutes for the infant. They are sacrificed to the nyama bajang. Further elaborate rituals and offerings are prescribed to protect the lift (jiwa) of the infant from potentially lethal disease. A sanggah should be erected over the buried placenta upon which banten are placed and a mantra addressed to Sang Bhuta Ari-Ari (the placenta). Other banten should be placed at the beji (bathing place), by the infant's sleeping place, at the family's temple of origin (sanggah kamulan), in the houseyard, below the bale and at the graveyard. When 'afflicted by bajang' (kena bajang), part of the sarana to ward off the influence can include, according to usada prescriptions, a striped cockerel for a male infant so afflicted and a red hen for a female infant so afflicted.

The three-month manusa-yadnya is named nyambutin, meaning 'taking hold' (of the life of the baby). In a phase of this rite called sok suddha-mala, 'cleansed of virulence', a young child seated on a stone over the ground nurses the infant. A large plaited basket is suspended overhead. In another phase of this rite, an earthen-ware vessel filled with water is placed on top of a stone rice-pounding mortar. The water contains gold and silver ornaments, precious stones, small fish or crabs and a 'garden' fashioned from woven coconut leaves and flowers. Other ritual ingredients include a bamboo cylinder and a puppet fashioned from a stone, an egg and a vegetable. The baby is carried three times around the 'garden' and then bathed in it. A phase of the three-month and six-month manusa-yadnya ceremonies for infants is named majang (from bajang) colong. Male and female puppets named Malipa and Malipi, fashioned from palm leaves and husks are 'traded' for the living infant on whose behalf the ceremony is enacted. The puppets are provided with appropriate characteristic sexual organs. The male, for instance, has an exaggerated penis and 'pubic hair'. At the completion of the ritual, the puppets are discarded into running water, either into the sea or a river.⁵

Rarajahan rare kwa (an infant with the disease kwa or kuwa)
(Usada Rare HKS3483).



Hooykaas (1973;1980) recognized the symbolic and magical significance of these rites but conceded an inability to locate it. A consideration of bio-cultural bio-medical factors allows us to posit Men Bajang and the 'stealing' (nyolong) of infants as metaphorical euphemisms for disease and death in early life and majang colong as a magical inducement to the sustainment of the hazards of infancy and to the attainment of puberty and completion of procreation.

I posit that this particular trance exorcistic dance is a reflection and a statement of a reality -- high infant morbidity and mortality and a means of mystical participation with forces responsible; a symbolic resolution of a lived dilemma. In the poorest regions of low-income developing countries, one half of all children die within the first year of life.⁶ In Indonesia, fifty percent of all deaths occur in children between birth and five years (Soejonojahja 1976). Like myths, rituals also draw their vocabularies from intense moments in actual human experience.⁷

A mantra to attract, control and divert the attention of Men Bajang prescribed in usada (HKS XIV:20:32a) for an infant displaying signs of an illness caused by Men Bajang reveals to me the same signification and sense, concealed within apparent non-sense, as do the verses of the sanghyang mamed songs:

Perhaps it can be that these beings of yours, male and female
should be given compassion.

Whether sent into the garden,

Into the pitch black,

Follow me wherever I go.

Perhaps it can be that if Men Bajang is here and intends harm,

The male and female beings are given compassion.

Come, do not be defiant.

Come, do not be defiant.

Come, do not be defiant.

Yan ana akira-kirane, anak ingsun lanang wadon
kinasih,

kon i mwa keben,

i badeng blang uyang,

tututin aki saparanku,

yen ana memen Bajang, ala paksa akita-kira,

anak ingsun lanang wadon kinasih,

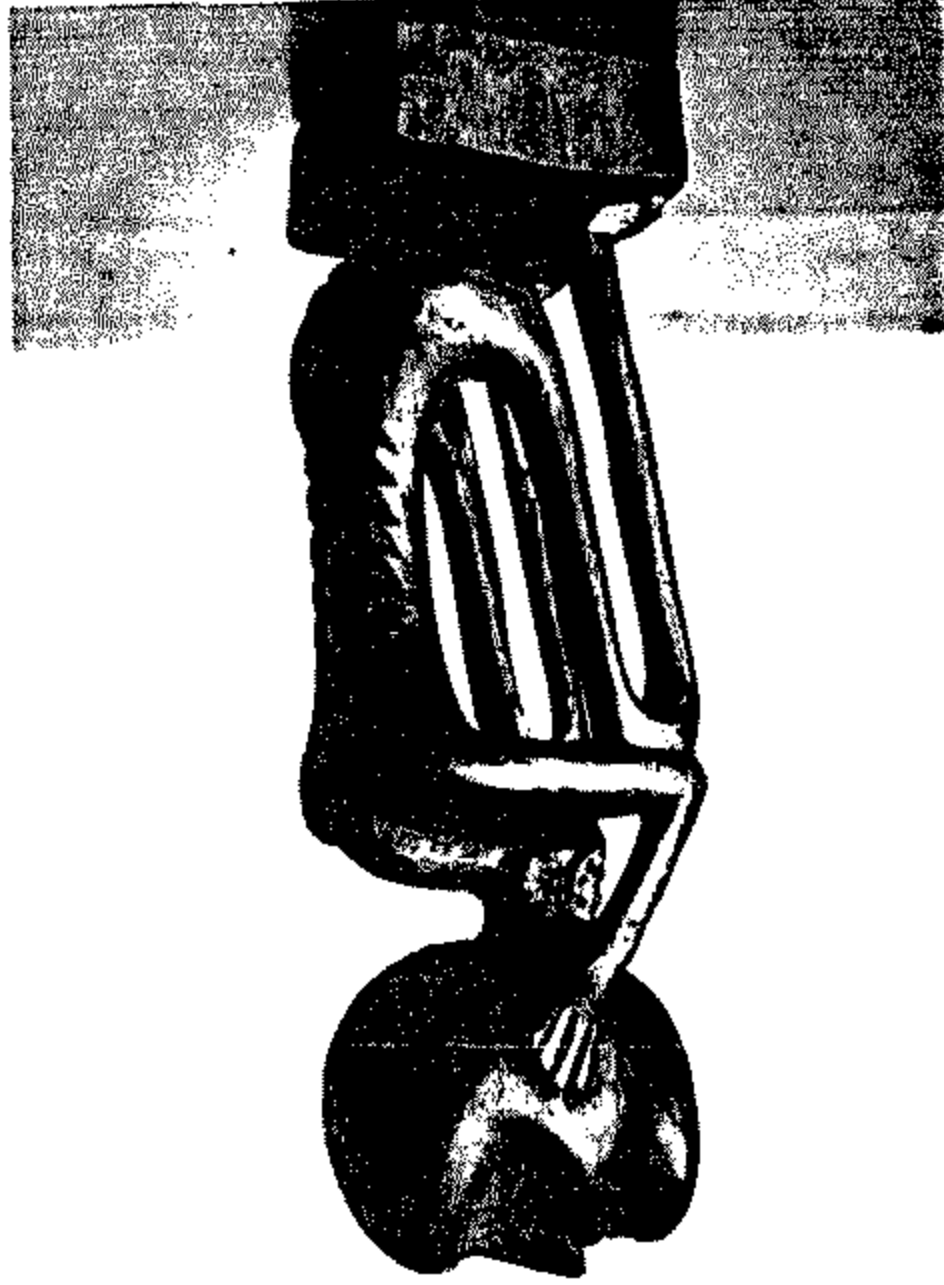
Teka, tulak

Teka, tulak

Teka, tulak

On a short field trip to Bali in October 1986 I visited the area in which the animal and object sanghyang trance dances and the related carvings are best known. In the village of Sideman, initial enquiries about the sanghyang dances led to my being directed to a padanda from Geria Ulag Punya. From an interview with this padanda and the supplementary comments provided by members of a group of interested onlookers (such as which usually gather around under these kind of circumstances; see Chapter 2[i]) I learned that there were four types of sanghyang known there, namely -dadari, -jaran, -panyalian and -bawang. The last mentioned, the sanghyang bawang (onion sanghyang), is not included among those previously mentioned. This dance appears to proceed along similar lines as the sanghyang penyu in that the onion is manipulated by means of

Carvings of the pangleng type
found in an art shop in Sebati,
in 1986.



string attached to it. Also, layers of the onion are gradually peeled off and discarded.

In the village of Duda, I was directed to a group of men constructing a cremation casket (patulungan). In addition to those previously listed, they named two other forms of object sanghyang trance dance -- sanghyang ceeng and sanghyang saab. They involve the ritual manipulation of a coconut scoop (ceeng) in the case of the first and of a lid used to cover rice (saab) in the second.

In neither village have there been enactments of sanghyang trance dances over recent years. All informants expressed concern that the songs which are a necessary accompaniment of the dances, may have been forgotten. Apparently they are, as I had suspected, as vital to ritual enactment as mantra are to certain forms of magico-medical therapy. I was told that should there be a recurrence of widespread disease amongst the population it would be imperative to put the sanghyang exorcistic dances into operation once again; hence the concern about a possible disappearance of knowledge of the songs. I believe that recordings of these songs have been collected and they may have to look no further than the Western repositories of Balinese knowledge.

A related avenue of enquiry concerning the 'audacious' wooden sculptures (see section [v]) in the village of Sebatu also served to confirm the validity of earlier interpretations. This time I was directed to a wood-carver in Sebatu to whom I showed a xerographic copy of some of the carvings concerned. To my enquiry as to where I might find such objects, the carver replied that I might find some still buried in the earth in various houseyards. They were, he said pangijeng, that is, a type of tatumbalan or rarajahan used to protect people against disease and also to contain the severity and incidence of it. In the past, he said, similar representations were also made from stone. He showed me two carvings among his collection which, he said, were similar to the pangijeng type. He also expressed considerable interest in acquiring the photocopied picture of the statues and producing a set of the carvings for me. I left him my address and he came to Denpasar the following day to make a photocopy of my photocopy for he wants to reproduce these statues as he feels they may sell in the tourist market!

(vii) The Potency of Mimetic Play and Metaphor

Imitation equals participation (Lévy-Bruhl Notebook VI:112)

Trance dances are pantomimic in that they imitate natural biologic processes, the abnormal and often rhythmic movement which is part of the disintegration of normal human body language. I suggest that trance dances function as spirit-raising seances in which the spirits of diseases are invoked, invited to participate, are cajoled and then dismissed. Contact or participation is achieved through trance possession. The desired exorcism is contrived and realized by simulation of the destructive powers of the causative agent; by enacting an image of its potentiality and thereby reducing its effectiveness. In Balinese conceptions of disease, such tactics are tantamount to controlling the spirit responsible for the disease process and thence the disease.

These trance possession dances are then imitative or mimetic magic according to the principle of sympathy, one of the principles upon which magic is based as first formulated by Frazer. Like produces like and like cures like. An effect resembles its cause, inferring that a direct effect is actualized by imitating it. These are, of course also the basic principles of Tantric magic. Sympathy, imitation, parody and transformation are features and objectives of these magical rites. The actualization of the metaphysical entity is achieved metaphorically through an act of mimesis, both through imitation and representation in the act of transmogrification (implied in the trance term nadi or nados) in trance possession. That which is enacted constitutes an elaborate parody, a mimetic display of the powers and effects (symptoms and signs of morbidity) of the spirit invoked and imitated. This combination of magical rite and mimetic play to confront threatening powers transforms or transmutes the morbid process. Spirits (sanghyang) are analogized, celebrated, and anathematized in order to effect a return to normality.⁸

At the level of individual healing, the balian's redressive methods involve verbal and graphic magical manipulations. Verbal magic (mantra) incorporate elements of address, exposure through description and a plea. An offending spirit of disease is identified, indulged and dismissed (requested to 'go home'). The balian's healing rites also include graphic magic of yantra in the form of magical drawings (rarajahan). These may be simple geometric shapes or may take the form of composite human-animal figures, elaborately costumed and wearing headdresses. They are generally fearsome in appearance and form. They are based also on the law of similarity. There is an obvious similarity of form and function between the magical curing rites of the balian and the trance exorcistic dances. I suggest that the symbolic mimetic magic of these trance dances represents an enacted form of mantra and yantra.

In the songs chanted by the participating community during the trance seances, the spirits are addressed and their attributes and behaviour are described through cryptic references to animals and natural imagery. Finally, they are dismissed and asked to 'go home'. These songs seem to function as magical spells which contribute to the objective of identifying the spirit and removing the danger. In mantra found in the usada and used by balian some of the spirits of disease addressed do, in fact, have names such as those found in the names of the dances. We have already seen that dadara-dadari are also names of spirits addressed in mantra used by balian. The lyrics of the so-designated 'unintelligible' and 'filthy language' songs and balian's mantra have much in common. They contain neologisms and nonsense syllables, repetitions and alliteration and references to bodily functions, to animals, ghosts and graveyards. The symbolism has real and morbid referents.

Those who first documented these trance rituals were frustrated by the responses to their questions concerning the nature of the entering spirits. To questions as to exactly who enters the sanghyang, 'gods or demon', they received the reply that 'they can't be separated' (Belo 1960:219). What the inquisitors had not realized or accepted was that it was not simply a question of beneficence and maleficence but an issue of power, of like challenging like and of participating with the fierce but powerful demonic and its ambivalence. The term used in the trance dance rituals to describe the coming out of trance, that is, the expelling of the possessing agent, is ngaluarang. The term also occurs

in the usada to refer to the expelling or overpowering of one spiritual agent responsible for pathogenesis by its spiritual counterpart, for example:

Sanghyang Parigni has the power [payogane] to expel [angluarang] the magical power [kasaktene] of Sanghyang Ganapati (HKS3268:8,20).

This euphemism of exorcism of demons or spirits of disease, such as addressing them as sanghyang, occurs also in the Atharva Veda.

Geertz (1971:32) has noted that a large proportion of the Balinese exhibit an 'extraordinarily developed capacity for psychological dissociation'. It is true that there is an intense expectation, susceptibility and, maybe, a constitutional predilection to trance. I argue that Balinese assumptions concerning the supernatural and disease aetiology and the perceived imperative of participating with causal agents belonging to this realm constitute the greatest stimulus to trance possession. The potentiality for trance experience could be great simply because it is anticipated, highly esteemed and actively sought.

Nevertheless, patterns of morbidity and disease prevalences might also contribute to the facility and proclivity of dissociational states. The Balinese are not strangers to the repertoire of symptoms and signs associated with altered states of consciousness. In fact, as previously demonstrated, they are very familiar with them. The spectrum of diseases experienced include a range of illnesses which manifest with neurological symptoms including altered states of consciousness. There is a remarkably large number of terms in the Balinese language to refer to impairment of consciousness states. This alone may indicate the frequency and range of neuropsychiatric morbidity. Whether or not this capacity for dissociation and trance behaviour has analogies in Western categories of psychogenic psychiatric disorders is difficult to judge and not really significant within the context of my line of exploration. On the basis of my data, I am inclined to reject any hypothesis which would label trance behaviour as indicative of culturally-induced neuroses (see Chapter 7 on this point). Even so, given Polunin's (1977:96) definition of hysteria there may be some cognitive advantage in thinking about trance possession as a form of 'conscious' hysteria to coin a phrase. Polunin defined hysteria as 'a condition in which the subject manifests morbid phenomena which are subconsciously motivated simulations of organic disease'. Hysteria and trance states, he suggests, have much in common. 'In both there is an alteration of the function state of the body induced by suggestion'. Of course, what I am suggesting here is that the ritual simulation of morbid phenomena is consciously motivated even though there may be no longer be a focal awareness that this is the case.

Apart from a propensity for dissociation, exactly just what induces or triggers trance possession is difficult to determine precisely. From my observations, it is precipitated by a highly charged emotional and mystically-loaded atmosphere and a barrage of auditory, olfactory and visual stimuli. There is a cumulative mounting of excitation and tension, largely induced by the tone and rhythm of the gamelan and the accumulation of olfactory stimulation through various burning fragrant woods and incense. There are obviously special melodies or musical motifs which serve as a cue for trance. Almost simultaneous with the commencement of mass trance, there is an intensity of rhythm. The tempo also increases. Without any reference to my intentions, several

times I played a recording of gamelan at the time of mass trance during a Calon Arang enactment and each time, Balinese companions remarked 'karauhan music'. I have also observed temple officials signalling the gamelan orchestra to cease (or alter) the musical motif, either because the trance stabbing frenzies (ngurek) were getting out of hand or else because there had been enough of it and it was time to pass on to the next phase of the ritual.

The visual spectacle of masks in the half-light of kerosene lamps and even the dim light of weak voltage electricity, where it is connected, the hypnotic effect of the movement of dance and repetitions may all constitute a part of a trigger or cue to dissociation. Being there, and unless immune to the intensity of such stimuli, makes one feel that trance is almost inevitable. It does excite a kind of magical spell or an illusion of one on all but the most prosaic or phlegmatic of observers. What more must it do to the participants. If there is some psychological and physiological manipulation involved in trance possession, then, all Balinese are party to the manipulations and manoeuvres. Otherwise one must pose the question of just exactly who is manipulation, whom?

The space in which trance possession rituals are held — temples, graveyards, the seaside, open courtyards, is tenget. The events enacted are themselves pingit. Then there is the pre-dance ritual atmosphere of quietude, isolation and restraint of sensory stimuli, expectantly and abruptly shattered and extinguished by a virtual bombardment of stimuli. All of this can precipitate an intense reponse in a form of behaviour which, while it is violent and feverish, is also unimpassioned and assuaging.

The foregoing analysis and postulation concerning trance possession accounts for the seasonal variation in the enactment of trance dances, the varying geographical distribution of trance and the age and sex variation and specificity of trance dancers. I have used classical epidemiological parameters: time, the cyclical or seasonal pattern of certain infectious and endemic diseases; person, the people at risk, the age and sex distribution;⁹ and place, the geographical location or distribution used to detect variations in the trend of communicable diseases, to account for the timing, subjects involved and the regional variation in trance on Bali. The fact that some houseyards had their own sanghyang trance dances, that they occur in some villages and not others and that they are enacted at specific times and by particular age and sex groups are explicable in terms of the familial, regional and seasonal incidence of neurological diseases. These trance dances could be regionally confined because the types of morbidity they seek to exorcize are likewise regionally confined.

Let us look, for example, at the epidemiology, age and sex incidence associated with tetanus. Tetanus has been recognized as a clinical entity since antiquity. It is found in increasing frequency in damp, warm climates. Its prevalence is greatest in tropical regions and in rural areas. It is caused by the introduction of clostridium tetani spores into a wound either traumatically or as a result of cultural practices such as unsterile poultice applications. There is an adult, puerperal and neonatal incidence of tetanus. In adults, tetanus affects males more than females, perhaps owing to the nature of male activities. Tetanus bacilli are commonly found in soil, dust and animal and human faeces. Prevalence is greatest in the rural areas of tropical zones where soil is fertile and highly cultivated

and the population of people and animals is substantial. Striking differences in incidence occur in neighbouring areas. There is also a seasonal variation in the incidence of the disease.

Many diseases exhibit marked variations in severity at different ages. The age incidence in convulsive disorders is a case in point and provides further data from which to draw inferential evidence of the relationship between the vocabulary of trance dance and of specific disease entities or syndromes, as well as why certain age and sex groups are selected to enact certain trance dances. The incidence of convulsions is high in infancy and early childhood. The variety of forms is also more extreme in this age group. Meningitis, for instance, has a particular frequency in infants and is a significant cause of morbidity in children one to fourteen years. Febrile convulsions have a peak incidence between six months and two years and are most likely when an infant is approaching six months. Obviously, infants do not actively participate in trance dances. Such vulnerability is acknowledged in the manusa-yadnya rites which concentrate around this period of life. I suggest that the 'eerie' sanghyang mamed is enacted on behalf of infants.

Many neurological disorders become manifest in childhood and adolescence. The 'salaam' infantile spasms generally cease around three years only to be replaced in the susceptible, in many instances, by grand mal epilepsy. Epilepsy is more a problem of childhood than adulthood. Females suffer epilepsy slightly more than males do. Though males are more commonly affected by febrile convulsions than females, recurrence of febrile fits is more common in females. Petit mal epilepsy is most common in childhood and in females. Onset is usually in pre-adolescence. As a general rule, seizures have onset from the third to the fifteenth years of life, or pre-pubescently. Thus the usual sebel-suci (profane-purity) explanation of why pre-pubescent females are selected to enact sanghyang dadari-dadari and sanghyang deling trance dances may represent only a fragment of the picture and explanation. The particular vocabulary of these dances I have linked with the most characteristic symptoms of those forms of neurological disturbance which have a higher incidence among this age and sex group.

There is, therefore, the possibility that members of these groups who appeared most vulnerable to the disease syndromes represented in trance dance were those selected to enact the trance possession on behalf of their groups. It is not, however, suggested that the facility for dissociation on the part of individuals involves in controlled possession is directly associated with the individual's medical history. It is not remarkable that disturbances of the nervous system, a network which pervades the whole body in a two-way connection controlling motor, sensory and visual impulses, speech, psychic and mental functioning, should be of vital and predominant concern and prompt an elaborate ritual response and solution.

In concluding, I return to Dutton's defence of Geertz against Shankman and supporting associates:

Shankman claims that a "comparative scientific approach to Balinese trance has a good deal to offer", and he pits Belo and Bourguignon against Geertz, who "describes the situation but is unable to explain it". And what does Shankman serve

up to us as a model for a methodologically rigorous and theoretically fruitful example of explanations of the Balinese trance? It is the assertion that in engaging in wild behaviour during trance states the Balinese are providing an outlet for their "unfulfilled desires". As Shankman glosses Bourguignon, this view has it that "trance is a widespread, culturally-constituted defence mechanism". People slither on the ground, behave like animals, and eat excrement, and we are offered the "methodologically rigorous" explanation that they are acting out their unfulfilled desires. This is what Shankman deems the "scientific approach", though he does add that most stale of anthropological maxims, that "much more work needs to be done" on the subject. Much more indeed! It would be difficult to come up with an "explanation" more tired, more paltry, than one which invokes "unfulfilled desires" and "defense mechanisms" to account for something as extraordinary as the trance of Bali (p.273). see Shankman 1984:273)

Balinese informants have generally co-operated with researchers and allowed the latter to document their trance possession rituals and dances. The ethnography is not lacking in extensive descriptions of the phenomena. The 'scientific' approach used by Belo, Mead and associates and their interpretations of Balinese trance possession, I also find generally inadequate and unsatisfactory.¹⁰ This may stem, in part, from the fact that their approach fails to account for and decode the symbolism inherent in the forms of trance possession. They describe the various and varied forms of trance dances 'scientifically', even measuring angles of kris, distances of bodies from the ground and procuring psychiatrists to measure reflexes and so on. Their explanations and theories concerning trance possession have manifestly short-circuited the actual complexities of the connection between the content and the explicit purpose and objective of trance exorcistic dance. Ethnographers who described these dances all agreed that the dances had been instituted and enacted in response to the threat of widespread disease and that they were deemed a means of warding off this threat (e.g., Belo, pp.180,189). Yet, instead of endeavouring to continue analysis along the trajectory of the hermeneutic circle, they went off on tangents and sought and applied anthropological theories of the day to the phenomenon, divorced from and insensitive to the realities of disease and local conceptions of cause and containment. My argument, I suggest, does decode the symbolism and relates the peculiar forms of trance back to the ideas which are said to have prompted them. Pathological factors may seem less romantic in notion than others. And the anthropological image of Bali, as Boon (1977) has demonstrated in another context, has always been something of a romance. Even so, to give prominence to bio-medical factors is not to deprive dance and trance of their metaphysical meaning. It is, in fact, to proclaim it. Disease is a supernatural event as well as a medical one and it calls for supernatural interventions through magical rites in the event of its occurrence.

Notes - Chapter 11

1. Through the courtesy of John Darling I have viewed film rushes of sanghyang trance dances shot in the village of Duda. These are to be part of a series of films on Balinese ritual to be screened on ABC television Australia.
2. I am grateful to Hildred Geertz who arranged for me to view these carvings and who accompanied me while I did so.
3. Reg. No. 41025 March 8, 1946. Catalogue No. 70.0/8786-9881, Museum of Natural History, New York.
4. In his analysis of Malay magic, Endicott (1970:60) describes a class of spirits related to familiars named 'birth demons'. These include one named bajang, a particularly terrifying demon who is liable to attack during childbirth. The bajang assumes the form of a pole-cat and causes fevers and convulsions in infants. The languir which develop from women who have died during childbirth take the form of owls and suck the blood of infants. Pontianak, who also assume an owl form, are transformations of stillborns. Another birth demon, the penanggalan, assumes the appearance of a bodiless head with trailing entrails. Neonates, babies and young children are the preferred targets of the attacks of the bajang and related demons.
5. For more detailed descriptions of these manusa-yadnya see Catur Yadnya and Upacara Manusa Yadnya (Bib.1[ii]); Hooykaas 1980.
6. World Bank Health Sector, Policy Paper 1980:10. Malnutrition poses a particular threat to children. It contributes to premature births and abnormally low weight at birth, both of which in turn are direct causes of many infant deaths (p.22). Faecally related and transmitted and airborne diseases, the contamination of food, water or soil with human waste and malnutrition account for the majority of deaths among children below the age of five and among the poor (p.14).
7. In my survey of balian practicing in Sanur in which I attempted to extract brief biographical details of each healer, I was struck by the indications of high infant mortality rates. The number of children who died in early infancy in many cases outnumbered those who survived. For instance, one balian had had twelve children of whom only three survived. In the case of another, only three of ten children were living. Other figures were less dramatic.
8. See Kapferer 1984 for a more elaborated analysis of the transitional, transformational processes operating in rituals.
9. There are three phases of human life that are liable to high mortality. Vulnerability is at its highest at the two ends of the life scale. Adolescence and young adult life is the third susceptible phase (Burnet and White 1978:97-9). Death rates are relatively high in infancy, low between five and fourteen age period and the rise again in the fifteen to nineteen period.

10. 'Being a pig, a toad, a snake, or a creepy spirit are all enactments of the feeling of lowness in a very literal, childish, and direct manner', wrote Belo (1960:223). The foundation of all trance phenomena was 'an urge to be low', Belo concluded.

Chapter 13

Medical Semiology and the Semiotics of Dance

Medical semiology is the study of the symptoms and signs whereby illness is manifest. In preceding chapters,¹ I have probed the extent to which the observable features of the human organism in a state of abnormality have influenced artistic representation and the construction of disease itself. Incidentally, by exploring metaphor as an expressive mode and an instrument of knowledge and arguing its cognitive value and its association with mimesis, I believe I have demonstrated Eco's (1984) notion of metaphor as rhetorical activity. I have relied heavily on an indigenous medical classificatory system and distinctive cultural thematic modes (see Chapter 5) to support my propositions. Here, I continue that trend and further specify the interrelationship between Balinese medical semiology and the meaning of dance. However, firstly, I shall elaborate further on the local construction of disease and reiterate the significance of naming² in the magico-medical system. These elucidations provide a basis from which I offer interpretive explanations of the Balinese attitude to animality and the often observed tendency towards dissociation characteristic of Balinese dance, among other things.

(i) The Balinese Construction of Disease

In Balinese medical theory, diagnostics rely upon clinical manifestations of disease, the symptoms and signs (tengeran and wawayangan). Aetiology and prognosis are determined from a diverse set of circumstances considered related to the individual such as birth time, ritual responsibilities and orientation in time and space. Gestures, stance, posture, gait, behaviour, mannerisms, facial expressions, bodily contortions, voice changes and mental states, signs implied in such terms as solahnya-, warnanya- and tingkahnya gering as well as tengeran and wawayangan gering, are all appraised. From these observations the generic name of the illness is determined. The use of anatomic names along the lines of hepatitis, nephritis and pneumonia, do not occur. Generic terms such as tiwang, tuju, mokan, sarab and so forth demarcate a spectrum of symptoms and signs and establish categories. Qualifying terms added to these generic ones split them into different forms within the one disease category and into phases within the same disease. In terms of Western disease nosology, in the first instance, the Balinese are 'lumpers' and in the second, they are 'splitters'. Epileptiform illnesses, tetanus, rabies and meningitis, which fall into the generic category of tiwang, are differentiated by the nature of specific symptom complexes and the naming thereof. The term tiwang designates the acute potentially terminal phase (convulsive seizure) of each of them. Similarly, beriberi is not clearly differentiated as such. Only the generic naming implies a local recognition of the fact that it is broadly classifiable within the category, tuju.

Determination of disease aetiology involves establishing: the supernatural force or event precipitating the illness episode; the pathophysiological processes within the body which have lead to the clinical manifestations; a diagnostic statement through which the illness is assigned to a particular disease category and given a generic name; and the mode of transmission of the virulence and the human or superhuman agency involved. Aetiology and diagnosis are interrelated. Both are established through clinical examination, divinatory and behavioural signs. Medical theory identifies aetiologic events, pathogenic agents, agents of transmission and the mechanisms involved in transmission. Natural and supernatural aspects of causation are not distinctive. They are part of a continuum, not explicitly of multiple causation but of implicit multiple mystical and natural participation.³

To use terms and their significance borrowed from Bean (1981:39-40), Balinese construction of disease involves a physiologic or functional concept in that it explains lesions and malfunctions, and a nosographic concept in that it involves observation of the disease in the sick person: looking, seeing, smelling, tasting as well as examination. This nosographic concept, in indigenous terms, is patengering gering and wawayangan gering, the observation and assessment of clinical manifestations of disease.

Disease is viewed as something abnormal, unnatural, supernatural and extraordinary. It is an unnatural state of deficiency, excess, imbalance of the elements of existence -- earth, air, fire, water, ether (panca mahabhuta). In this way, the Balinese theory shares the Platonic concept of disease also referred to by Bean (p.40). Disease may be precipitated by any number of external, internal, physiological and psychological factors, agents and mechanisms.

The system also displays characteristics of the ontologic concept of disease. Illness is interpreted as something alien, as an invasion of the victim's body, mind and life force. One or any number of the triadic qualities which constitute a human being, sabda, idep or bayu (power of communication, mind and strength) can be affected by disease microbe intrusion. Within this concept, disease is given an identity; it is personified. It is also externalized and detached from the afflicted person. This notion of detachment or dissociation, I shall return to later in this chapter.

Disease nomenclature is geared to dominant symptoms and signs, causation and pathogenesis. The nature of the disease organism and its effects upon the human organism inspires nomenclature. Smallpox (kacacar) is named from its dominant sign, vesicular eruptions (cacar). Chronic neurological disorders (e.g., epilepsies) and acute infective neuropathies (e.g, tetanus) are named by their dominant sign, that is, seizures (tiwang). Some names are aetiologic: the disease is named after the cause which may be specific such as poison (upas). Some, such as worms (cacingan), are natural. Others are unnatural or supernatural indicated in such nomenclature as tuju desti or tuju papasangan, for example. A neuropsychiatric syndrome of obscure origin, babainan, is named after its imputed aetiologic agent, a live spell called babai; the cause of the disease becomes the disease itself. Leprosy is referred to by various terms. One of these, tutumpur, refers to the burning and loss of facial features and appendages. Another culik daki, refers to the spirit imputed responsible for initiating the pathogenic processes. Neuropsychiatric

symptoms, for example, cognitive or perceptual impairment, changes in personality and other complex aspects of behaviour, are designated by a variety of generic terms (e.g., buduh, edan) made specific through qualifiers; thus buduh doyan angigel refers to 'dancing mania' or dancing in inappropriate circumstances. There are numerous composite terms to refer to disturbances of intellectual functioning and impairment of consciousness, for example buduh ngurak-arik (raving), buduh salah ulat (hallucinations) or tan meling ring dewek (semi-conscious).⁴

Each illness elicits several qualifying designations appropriate either to the symptomatic components displayed in the changing course of the disease, the morbid state itself or to a partial likeness, affinity or analogy with a different class of phenomenon either of the first two suggests. The names of these qualifiers are derived primarily from the world of nature, the animal and plant kingdoms. Pathologic changes, location and the nature of pain, facial and bodily contortions and distortions, abnormalities of speech and voice, behaviour and altered states of consciousness find ready analogies in the morphological and anatomical features of animals and plants as well as in meteorological processes, landscape and geomorphology. Alternatively, animal metamorphosis, physiognomy, morphology, behaviour, atmospheric (wind, rain, mist etc.) and botanical phenomena provide ready tropes for the sequential or changing patterns exhibited in most diseases. In short, phases of disease are named after almost everything within the Balinese environment with which people are familiar. Metaphorical correspondence of the human organism with nature is the basis of Balinese principles of anatomy, pathology and treatment as well as disease labeling and diagnostics. For instance, the eyes are analogous to the sun and the moon, the blood vessels to waterways, the flesh to earth and the breath to wind, the aura of a major epileptic seizure is analogous to an electric storm, convulsions are analogous to earthquakes and seizures to volcanic eruptions. Furthermore, there are vital organs within the human organism just as there are vital parts of a landscape.⁵

Names from the plant kingdom include those of trees, shrubs, climbers, grasses, flowers, reeds, rushes, ferns, herbs, yeasts and moulds. They may refer not only to a plant category but also to various stages of plant growth. However, the most important category of naming derives from the animal kingdom. Names used are selected from all divisions of the animal kingdom, from large wild mammals to worms, and from all categories, domestic, forest and remote. Tropes are found in the animal kingdom for some of the most prominent and significant symptoms and signs of disease, namely, behavioural changes and abnormal stance and gait indicative of nervous system involvement. Dermatological changes, eruptions, lesions and gross swellings and cyanosis and nocturnal distress and unintelligible sounds uttered by the sick find analogies in animal modes of locomotion, characteristic behaviour, feeding behaviour, reactions to stimuli, body temperature and colouring, co-ordination and agility or lack of it, skin or hide texture, speed of locomotion and movements, both normal and in moments of distress or threat, either in the role of the aggressor or submissor. In the last mentioned, we have a whole new vocabulary of form and attitude in such matters as hair standing on end, bared teeth, chattering of teeth, arch-back posture or limp crouching.

Skin lesions involving changes in colour may be named simply by

Setting sun sign. Characteristically, infants with hydrocephalus cannot look upwards and this gives rise to the setting sun' appearance of the eyes.



(Taken from Update 4(9) 1986)

colour ascription. Multicolour patches on the skin evoke analogies with (and naming after) cloth such as poleng or geringsing (or does the reverse labeling apply in the case of the latter?). The varied appearances and contrasts in skin diseases, for example, rashes, sores, inflammations, discolouration, hyperpigmentation, papules, macules and vesicles, naturally invoke analogies with matter from the plant and mineral kingdoms. Crusting, scaling, maceration, desquamation, mottling and wrinkling of the skin's surface inspire animal naming, especially that of fish, amphibians, reptiles and birds. Their characteristic skin surfaces -- scales, hides and plumage -- colouring and spotting accommodate various cutaneous lesions, hyperpigmentation or loss of pigmentation.

Some may feel that the jargon used in Western scientific medical discourse stems from a conscious effort to mystify the healing profession. I would not agree. Medical terminology allows for concise dialogue and is conducive to greater precision, provided the terms are clearly defined and understood by those who need to rely on them. The Balinese medical discourse has no such precise language. It does not contain neologisms in the sense of the coining of new words or idioms. It relies on the use of simile and metaphor to distinguish and differentiate. Ready analogies between the world of nature and disease symptomatology do exist. In fact, Western medical discourse also sometimes draws on obvious analogies. Descriptions of abnormalities of stance and gait refer to animal analogies (e.g., 'equine gait', 'dromedary gait') and even to household objects, as in 'scissors gait'. We also find vegetable analogies with vegetable matter in the 'cauliflower-like growth' (of primary yaws)⁶ and animal ones again in the 'adder-like protrusion of the tongue' (in intracranial haemorrhage). A skin disorder caused by vitamin A deficiency which manifests with dryness, scaly and grey-coloured skin is called 'toad skin'. An infant sustaining birth injury to the spinal cord lies in a position which can be best, and is, in fact, described as 'frog-like'. Obvious analogies are also found in meteorological and atmospheric phenomena. The aura preceding epileptic seizure is likened to 'the first gust of a storm' (Cecil and Loeb 1955:1490). The name 'larval' epilepsy is applied to a so-described 'masked' epileptic attack in which the afflicted exhibits changes of behaviour rather than a true fit. A sign of cerebral birth trauma is designated 'setting-sun' because of the fixed positioning of the eyes. Numerous other examples could be cited, and not necessarily only from a medical discourse . . . 'lying there like a hippopotamus. His testicles were so large they were just a little larger than a normal soccer ball', comes from Hank Nelson's *Prisoners of War, Australia under Nippon* (see Hastings, 1985).

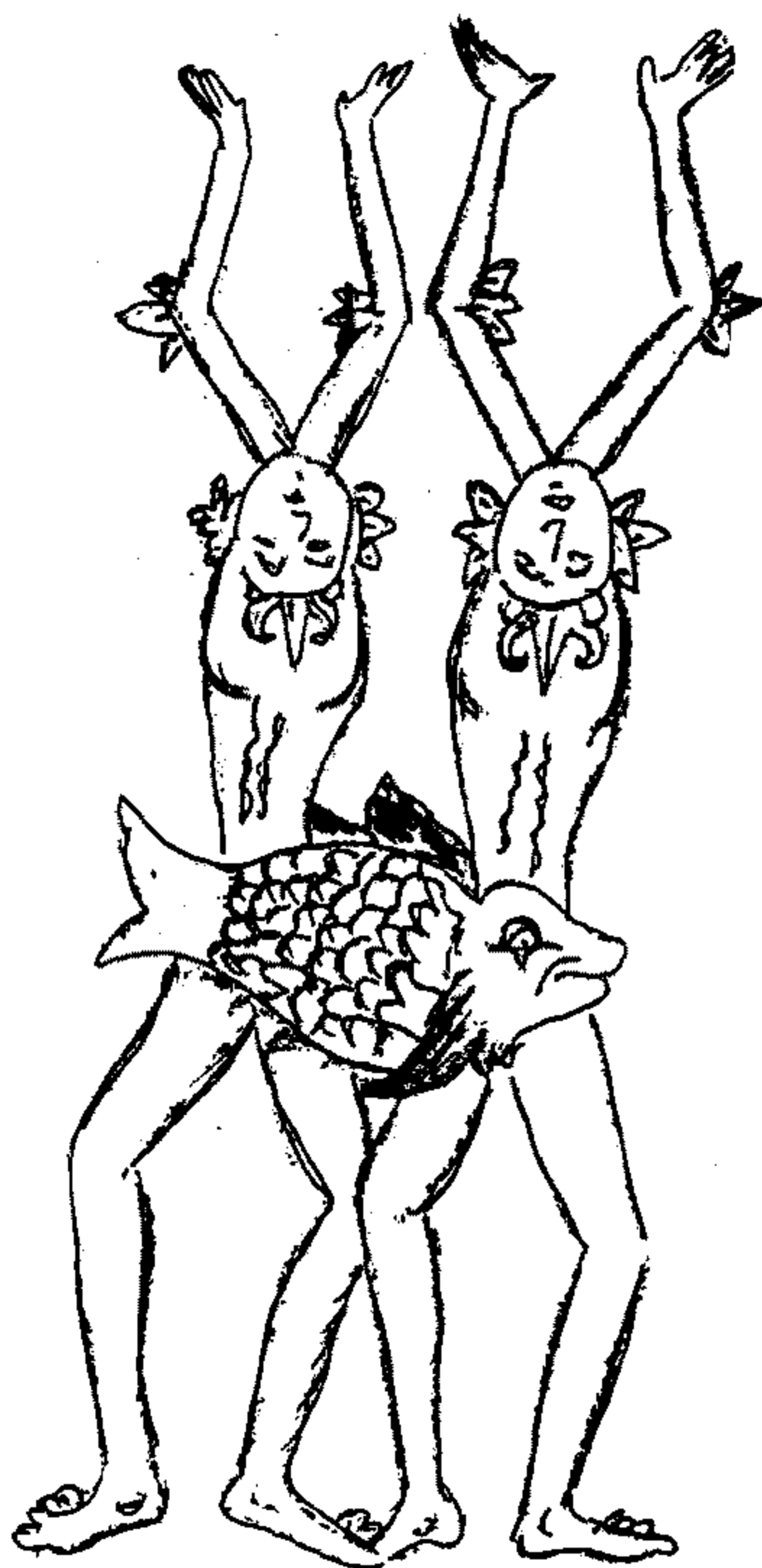
(ii) What's in a Name?

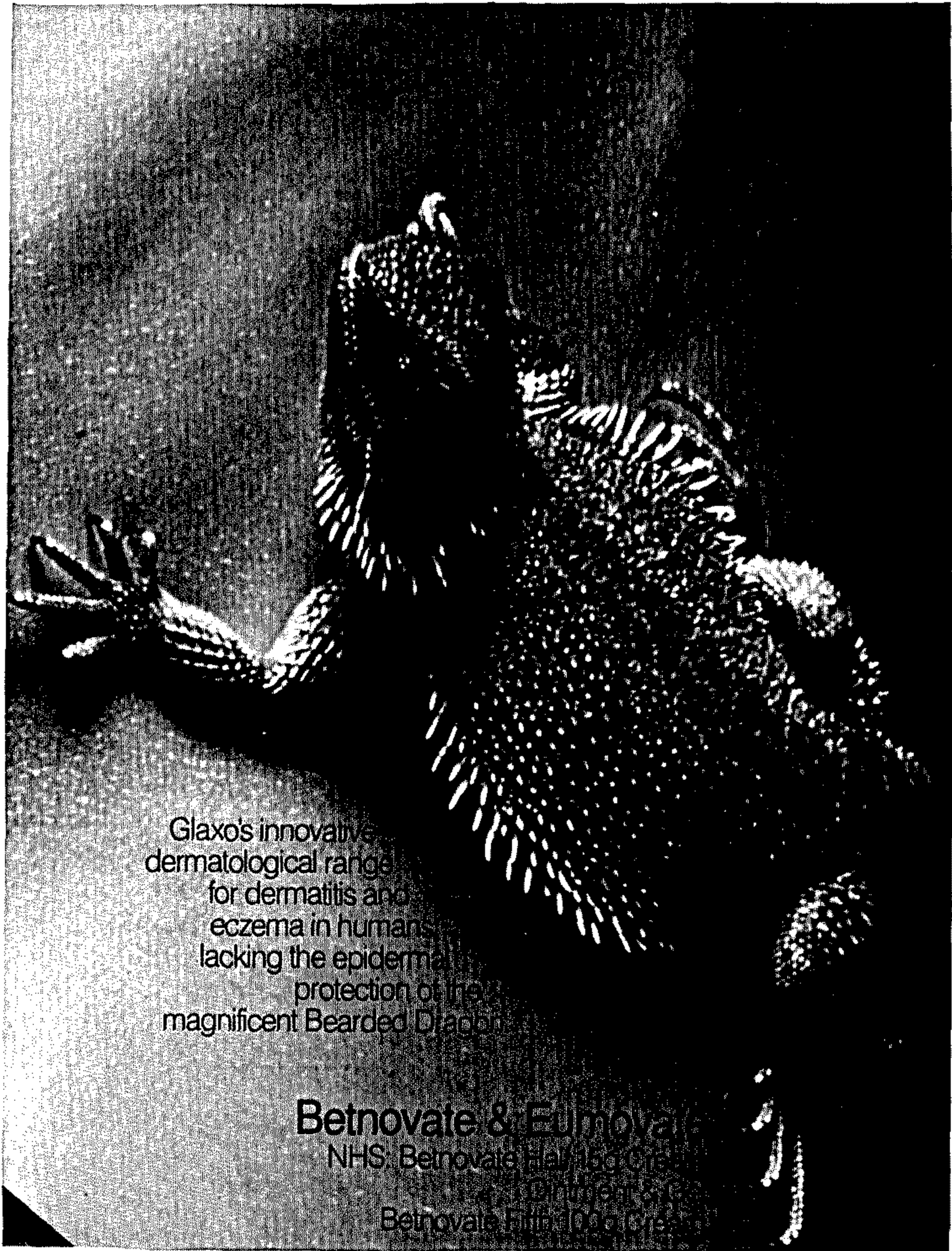
As we have seen, in the Balinese magico-medical system, disease-inducing agents are attributed with qualities similar to those of human beings, animals, plants, objects and natural phenomena and are named accordingly. It is the nature of the disease symptomatology which suggests the analogies and allows the ascriptions. The fact that lameness (or partial paralysis), for example, invokes images of birds is evident in phrases such as angrumpuh (bird-like paralysis) and in the naming of disabilities through reference to birds, often flightless ones such as ducks. Analogies can occur at several levels. In children, the uninhibited or the non-stoical, hyperacute pain can induce a winged flapping arm movement, reeling, even running in circles. Disturbance



Sanghyang Guru-Taya >

The figure should be drawn on a piece of frog-skin and thrown into the sea.





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(continued overleaf)

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Smooth Muscle Spasm?



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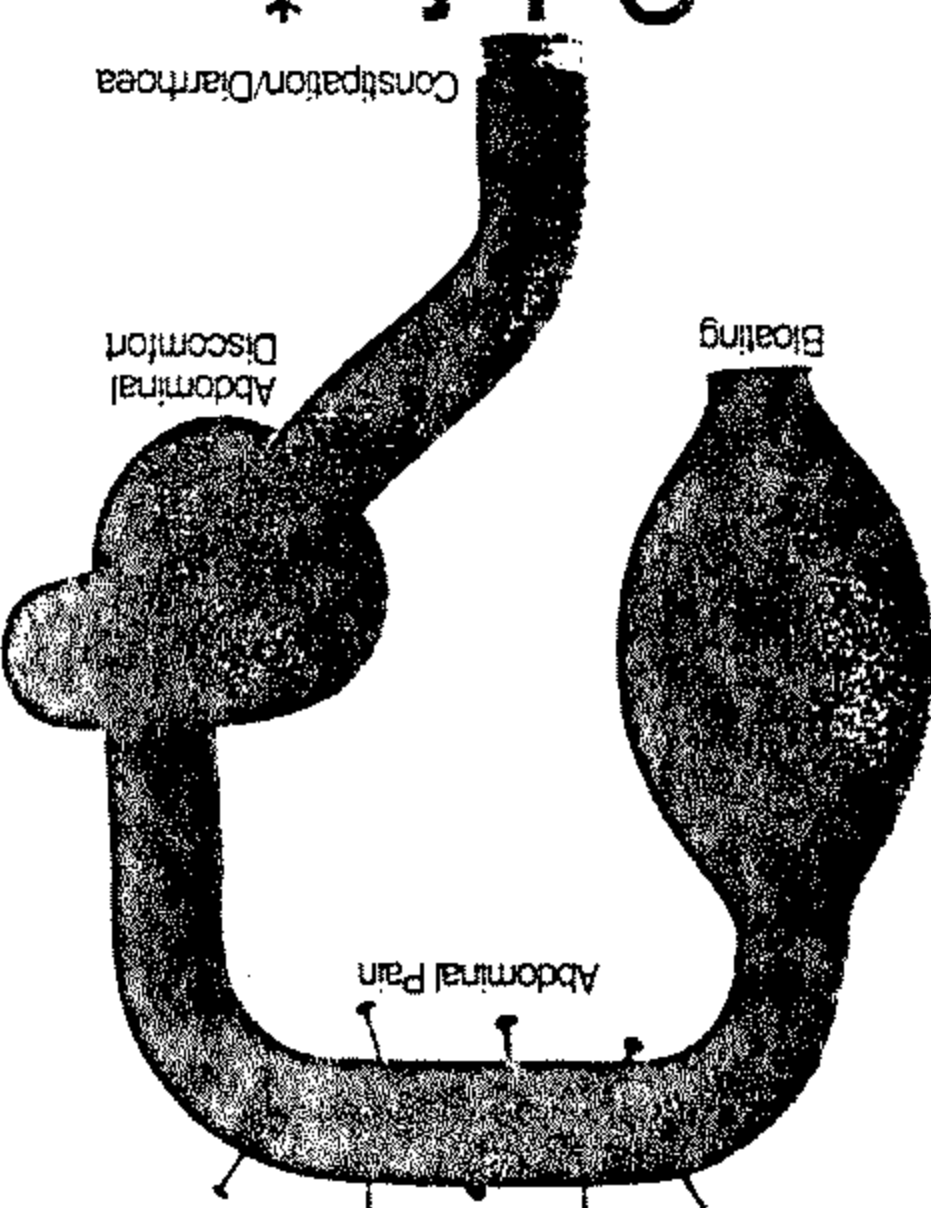
when insomnia first presents
(Mogadon)
(Hydroxyzine)

when insomnia presents difficultly
(Rohypnol)
(Flunitrazepam)

sleep disturbances?



Colofac* TABLETS
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 Irritable Bowel Syndrome.



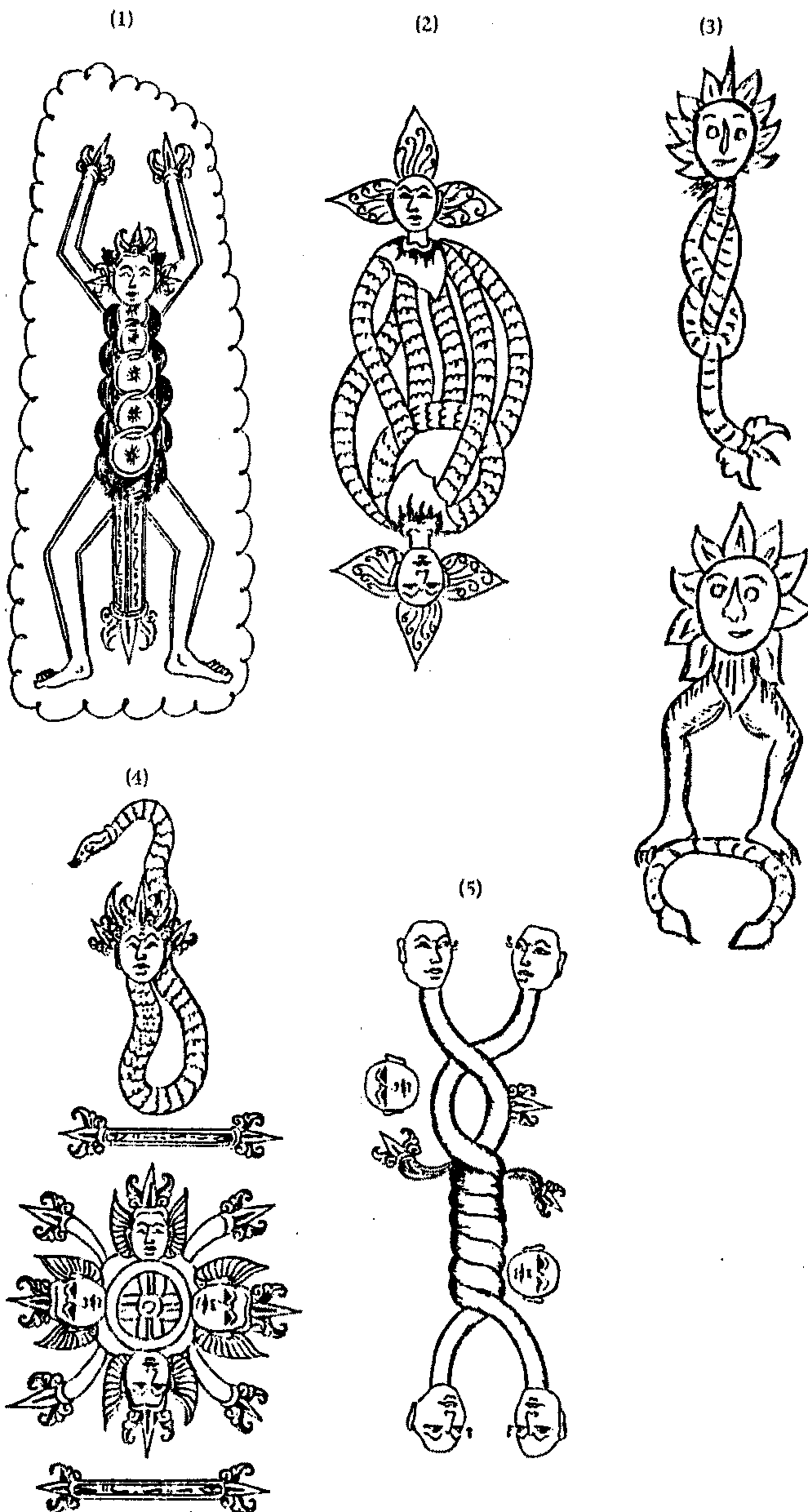
Abdominal Pain
 Bloating
 Abdominal Discomfort
 Constipation/Diarrhoea

WHEN STRESS BUILDS UP TO CREATE TENSION HEADACHE



MERSYNDOL
TABLETS

QUICKLY BREAKS THE VICIOUS CYCLE OF STRESS TENSION PAIN



Rarajahan which suggest the derangement and abnormal sensations associated with disease

- (1) Sang Kula Sadana, to be buried outside the entrance of houseyards as a means of reversing (pangulih) desti (HKS1935).
- (2) A means of invoking compassionate protection (pangasih) (HKS2074).
- (3) Tatulak Kacacar, a means of reversing smallpox affliction (HKS3452).
- (4) Sang Maya Siluman, to be drawn on lontar as a means of neutralizing (pamutuh) desti (HKS2074).
- (5) (Taken from Hooykaas, 1980a).

of the central nervous system does induce vertigo. Disturbance of the peripheral nervous system may present with the feeling of 'pins and needles' or of ants or insects crawling over the body (semutan from semut meaning 'ant' in Balinese terminology).

In some cases of naming, the labeling seems to work by simile. This is especially so in the cases of sensations, particularly sensations of pain. The sounds of sickness such as the rumblings in the abdominal cavity or sounds made as reactions to pain and physical or mental distress are likewise named by the use of simile. In this category of naming terms such as 'rasa' (feeling) or buka (as if) are used in the usada to create the simile. The following examples illustrate this:

If there are abdominal cramps and stinging feeling all over the body it is named tiwang nanipi (snake).

If there is an itchy feeling and pain as if being stung the name of the illness is tiwang jauk (instrument for catching insects).

If there is pain in the side of the body and a feeling of reeling, the name of the illness is tiwang iwak (fish).

If there is a sensation of something running in short rapid steps in the abdomen, it is tiwang bikul (mouse).

If there are cramps and the abdomen is producing a 'kriak-kriok' sound, it is named tiwang segara (ocean).

A rolling, reeling feeling is expressed as malulung rasanya, a spinning feeling, as mider-ideran rasanya and a swooning feeling, as buka pegat rasanya. The qualities of pain are described in terms of 'being stabbed', 'torn apart', 'pricked with thorny bushes' or 'bitten by ants' (or insects). This kind of naming through similes inspired me to consider that the ritual of vibrating of objects and puppets in sanghyang dances represented a simulation of similar sensations characteristic of the diseases being exorcized in the trance dances enactments.

To illustrate more clearly how the naming of phases of an illness episode applies in the Balinese medical system, I will take the case of smallpox which, being a distinct clinical entity and recognized as such in the local medical tradition, is less complex than the cases of tiwang and tuju. Smallpox a highly contagious febrile illness, can have a mild, moderate or a severe form. The initial phase of the illness is marked by fever, excruciating headache, irritability and restlessness. Sometimes vesicular and pustular focal eruptions follow. The Balinese term for smallpox, kacacar, incorporates the perceived cause and effects of the illness; the verbal prefix ka- indicates that the morbid condition, cacar (eaten away), is of external or divine origin. As mentioned in Chapter 11[i], smallpox is perceived as a divine gift brought to Bali by Dewa Majapahit, that is, the deified ruler of the last Hindu-Buddhist kingdom of Java.⁷

Medical handbooks, entitled Usada Kacacar deal exclusively with smallpox. The main types of the classical form of severe smallpox (variola major with the varied degrees of severity and range of clinical manifestations) are recognized in the usada. The fulminating, invariably fatal form marked by intense prostration, restlessness, gasping, mask-like face and wide-open eyes, the so-called 'black smallpox' (named after the blackish appearance of the skin due to confluence of eruptions), through to a mild type with initial pyrexia and sparse pustular eruptions, are distinguished in smallpox usada.

Rarajahan which suggest the derangement and abnormality associated with the disease state. Both are used as a means of containing epidemic diseases (HKS2171).

> Kala Braja-sindung, a terrifying manifestation (pamurti) of Giri Kusuma.



> Kaputusan Durga-Bharawa

Unlike the cases of tiwang and tuju, the term kacacar is not used as a generic term in differentiating phases and the various clinical manifestations of smallpox. The word puuh meaning 'quail' and, by symbolic extension (the colouring of the quail's plumage perhaps), 'pustule' is used. The typical constitutional symptoms of the febrile pre-eruptive stage can include marked personality changes, delusions and abnormal behaviour. These phases are differentiated and labeled by animal names. The pustules themselves are generally given the names of minerals, medicinal and aromatic plants, fragrant woods and spices.

The phase named puuh kambing (goat smallpox) applies when the sufferer's eyes are half-closed and move slowly from side to side. The name puuh manjangan (deer smallpox) applies if there are symptoms of severe itching and the victim utters cries at frequent intervals and the eyes display a vacant frightened look. Another phase is named puuh kebo (buffalo smallpox) when the head moves from side to side. When the neck is stiff and the hands reach up and stretch out, the phase is named puuh bukal (flying-fox smallpox). When the eruptions are evenly distributed over the body and have crusted scab displaying a black nuclei, the name puuh besi (iron smallpox) applies.

The puuh are further split into prognostic categories of good (puuh ayu), fair (puuh sedeng ayu) and grave (puuh ala). Collectively the signs and symptoms of smallpox are named candra mahala, 'the moon is dangerous'. The life-threatening varieties are named satus dwalapan (108). Dwal also has a meaning of 'decay'. The life-threatening elements which reside within man from the moment of birth (bajang) also happen to be 108 in number. In the early stages of illness, ritual effort is directed towards securing survival by manipulating (through mantra and offerings) the disease organism (sang puuh) so that it might take forms least threatening to the host.

Although the naming of phases of diseases according to animal names is prominent in the usada, and to this I attach much significance in my postulation of a similarity of vocabulary in dance and disease, there are many other disease names referring to non-animal forms and phenomena. There are for example, names referring to time, space, organic and inorganic matter, colour, motion, sounds and activities.

Sometimes the analogy between the name and the symptom is obvious, for instance:

If the body is shuddering and trembling, the name of the illness is tiwang lindu. Lindu means 'earth tremor'.

If the smallpox eruptions are itchy, the name of the illness is puuh beluluk. A sago palm fruit (beluluk) can cause itch. There could also be here an analogy between the appearance of the smallpox pustules themselves and the appearance of the beluluk.

If the pustules are red and seeping, the name of the illness is the puuh gandola. The gandola is a fruit with reddish colour.

Associations in other namings are less obvious, but not necessarily absent. When pain is severe at night or the symptoms increase in severity at night, the disease may be named after a nocturnal animal.

If there is vomiting and spasms in the limbs, the illness is named tiwang blabur. Blabur means 'rain in the dry season'.

Deep-seated pain in the joints is named tiwang sya (1000 tiwang). 'One thousand' might refer to the number of bones perceived to be involved. It might equally serve as some kind of qualifier of the intensity of the pain itself.

A symptom such as photophobia is described as 'being afraid of lamps' and named maling meaning 'a thief', the obvious association being that thieves generally operate at nighttime, in the dark and when lamps are extinguished.

A phase of another disease episode is named maling when the cramps involved occur at night and disappear during the day.

When there is pain in the lower limbs, they are stiff and unable to move, the illness is named tuju tajus. Tajus means 'to fix something to the ground'.

Each phase therefore has a name either descriptive (in the case of colours, for example) or representative (in the case of animal naming) of the phase itself. Naming includes actions such as: roll around; utter wild screams; be bent; be bunched up; set on fire. Then there are phrases such as: snapping turtle; hair hanging loose; fire of incense; selling merchandise, gaping mouth; white buffalo; crippled dog; thin dog; and elephant out of sight, which are also used in naming phases of disease.

Referring to the gending (tunes) of the Balinese angklung (musical instruments made of bamboo) of the old style of gamelan in Culik, north of Karangasem, Colin McPhee (1937:341) wrote:

The names of these gendings were charming and typically Balinese. Crow stealing eggs, monkeys embracing, hibiscus flower, waves, one hundred cash, fighting cats, -- such titles give us some insight into the kind of imagination and sense of humour of a people living a rustic, natural life. Many of these names seem traditional, for they were given in widely separated districts; they mean little, however, as either emotional or picturesque clues to the character of the music, for seldom do two gendings of the same name when obtained from even neighbouring villages, coincide either metrically or melodically. What's in a name? Many villages could not give the titles to the different pieces of their repertoire; I was considered quite odd in insisting on them. And one could not even be absolutely certain of having the same melody played when asking for it by name six months later. . . . [my emphasis added].

McPhee gives the following 'far from complete' list of titles:

crow stealing egg	<u>gauk maling taluh</u>
white horse	<u>jaran putih</u>
rearing horse	<u>jaran sirig</u>
face with black make-up (?)	<u>berong (barong?)</u>
fighting cats	<u>meyong megarang</u>
toad climbing banana tree	<u>dongkang menek gedang (biu)</u>
lizard crossing water	<u>lelasan megat yeh</u>
eel coming out	<u>lindung pesu</u>
burning elephant grass	<u>gelagah puwun</u>
monkeys embracing	<u>lutung megulut</u>

black-faced monkey (?)	<u>perong lutung</u>
waves	<u>ombakan</u>
cow drinking	<u>sampi nginem</u>
frog croaking	<u>katak ngonkek</u>
butterflies playing	<u>kupu-kupu metarum</u>
dragonfly humming	<u>capung ngumbang</u>
trader	<u>jero dagang</u>
yellow snail	<u>tumisi kuning</u>
one hundred cash	<u>pipis satu</u>
exiled Brahman woman	<u>dayu meselong</u>
flying-fox net	<u>jaring bukal</u>
sweet tamarind	<u>celagi manis</u>
smoke of incense	<u>asep menyan</u>
indigo flower	<u>kembang tarum</u>
hanging lily	<u>sekar sungsang</u>
gadung flower	<u>sekar gadung</u>
hibiscus	<u>sekar pucuk</u>
kamboja flower	<u>sekar jepun</u>

What indeed is in a name? McPhee may well have found a more salient answer to this question had he considered the ritual circumstances in which the tunes (gending) were used in preference to seeking descriptions of the tunes only. Angklung in Bali is ritually restricted to use as an accompaniment when carrying corpses to the graveyard. It is used therefore in the graveyards scene in Calon Arang enactments. There is also a curious, perhaps fortuitous, similarity between some of the names of the gending and the names of the sanghyang trance dances which in turn have affinities with disease nomenclature. Names of flowers such as those in McPhee's list also appear as names of the dewa alit in the sanghyang bungbung ritual described in Chapter 11[iv].

There is perhaps a similar inapparent meaningfulness in the naming of geringsing cloth, which also has confined ritual use and is of magical significance. The names of geringsing similarly mean little in terms of motifs or patterns. The word geringsing means 'free from illness' (gering means 'sick' and sing means 'not') which may imply that part of its magical property is in its powers to prevent or contain disease and death. Geringsing is an essential part of the ritual regalia in teeth-filing. The cloth is placed over the cushion upon which the head lies during the tooth-filing. It is also sometimes used as part of a sarana in the treatment of the sick. At death, the sexual organs of the deceased are covered with a piece of geringsing cloth (Ramseyer 1983:22). Each piece of cloth may be used only once for a given ritual purpose. The choice of cloth in terms of the motif in the weave will depend on the particular ritual occasion. However, the names of the cloths are not descriptive of patterns or motifs. The naming may, therefore, in some obscure way, relate more to the use of the cloth. There are twenty-four known motifs used in geringsing, the names of seventeen of which are popularly known. Semantic translation of these names is difficult and has proved impossible in some cases:

<u>wayang kebo</u>	buffalo <u>wayang</u>
<u>wayang putri</u>	female <u>wayang</u>
<u>patilikur</u>	twenty-four
<u>lubeng (lubang?)</u>	hole
<u>cecempaka petang dasa</u>	forty fragipani
<u>teteledan</u>	swallowed



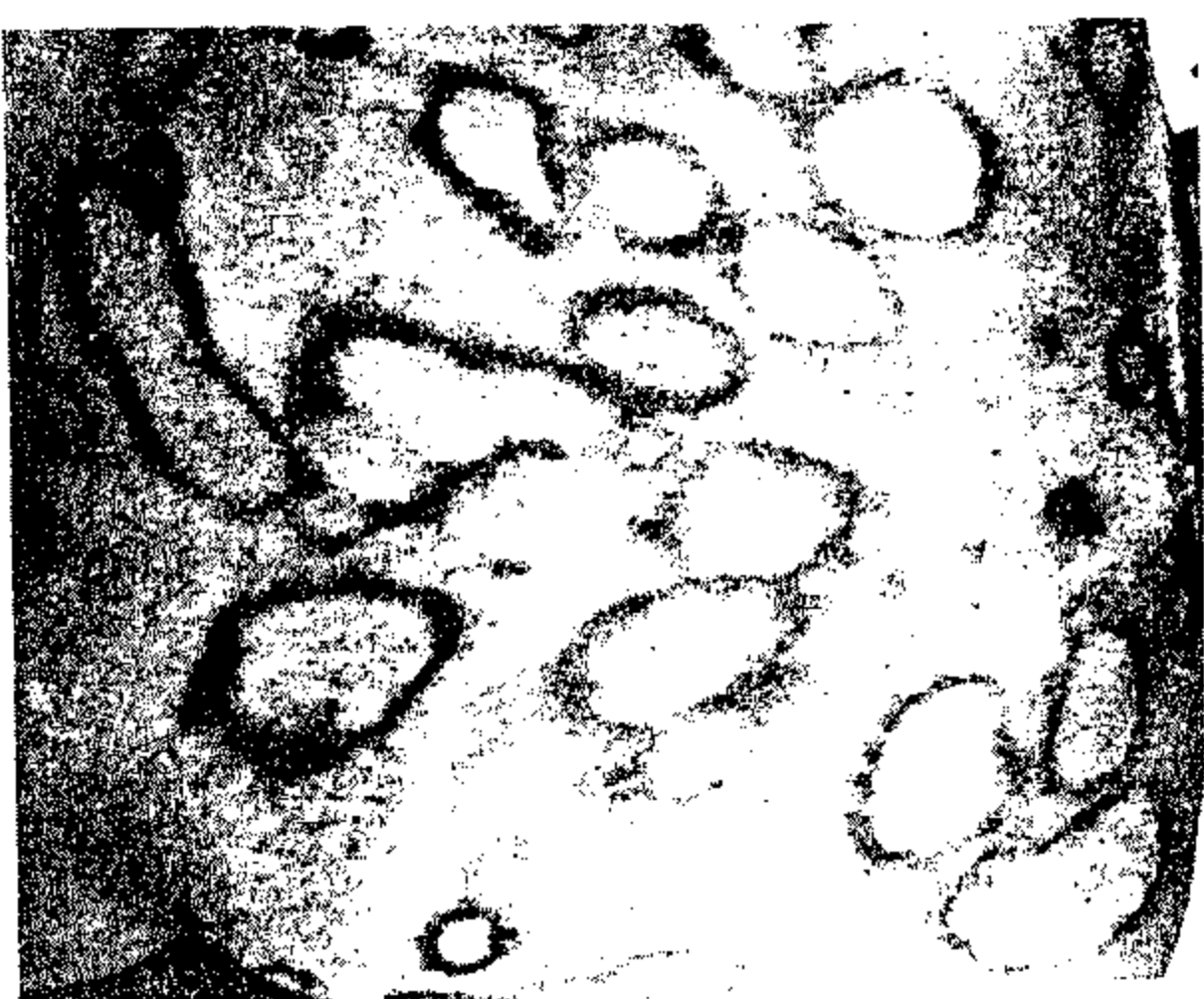
(1)



(2)



(3)



(4)

Active macules of lepromatous leprosy.

- (1) Rarajahan (depicted earlier in Chapter 5(vi) (note the texture of the skin and the absent appendages).
- (2) Rarajahan (note the texture of the skin and the claw-like paws.
- (3) & (4) The claw hands of leprosy. The skin surface of a leprosy sufferer (taken from Cecil and Loeb, 1955).

<u>taliddandan</u>	<u>tali</u> can mean: 'cord'; <u>dandan</u> can mean 'to lead'
<u>cemplong</u> (<u>cemplung?</u>)	to coddle a child or immerse something in water
<u>sida pegat</u>	cut off, temporary loss of consciousness (<u>usada</u>)
<u>parembon</u> (<u>prembon</u>)	the name of a dance form
<u>didingai</u> (<u>diding?</u>)	very fast
<u>dingding sigading</u>	Yellow-coloured screen (?)
<u>gegonggangan</u>	quarreling
<u>pepare</u>	(?)
<u>enjekan siap</u>	chicken's foot-print
<u>putri dadari</u>	female spirit
<u>sanan empeg</u>	broken yoke

The name sanan empeg is also used to refer to one who survives an older and a younger sibling. The geringsing motif is worn by such a person. The term geringsing wayang refers variously to the cloth itself, a mantra, a leyak who is a disciple of Calon Arang as well as to a disease also called blayarang in which the skin is mottled and heavily pigmented in much the same colouring as the geringsing cloth. It is a disease of early infancy and often fatal, according to a balian informant.

Clearly, all things culturally and biologically important are not only named, but named and renamed sometimes retaining several names. The idea of fluidity and transformation is prominent in the magico-medical system and naming recognizes this. Naming reveals a cultural propensity for the use of pun, verbal obscurities, double entendre, the juxtapositioning of symbols and powers of associative thinking. Simile and analogy express meaning and sometimes explain causation. What's in a name? Metaphor or symbolic allusion is the short answer. Naming is neither random nor insignificant. The naming and apparent mimicry in trance exorcistic dance, as I have demonstrated, is more than fortuitous. This can be explored still further.

(iii) Animal Mimicry and the Vocabulary of Dance.

In observing illness behaviour and disease symptoms and signs, the Balinese have been drawn to use similes and analogies with the animal world and with nature. Not surprisingly, Westerners observing Balinese dance have similarly been moved to seek analogies for dance style and movement in the world of nature and the behaviour of animals. So, we have descriptions of trance dances like the following:

. . . bafflingly complicated and as impossible to analyse in words as the running of a hound or the swimming of a fish (de Zoete and Spies, p.48 [of rejang]).

. . . whining cries like those of a puppy (p.77 [of sanghyang bungbung]).

. . . rapid bird-like side to side movements of the neck and continually fluttering fans (p.75 [of sanghyang deling])

. . . the swaying grows . . . suddenly the heaving mass bursts open with a roar, like a crater in eruption . . . [the dancers] rise . . . like a storm cloud (p.81 [of kecak]).

. . . with tiger-like grace . . . (Covarrubias, p.231 [of baris]).

Baris Poleng ritual trance dance (taken from de Zoete and Spies).



And in further pondering the apparent animal imitations in Balinese dance, de Zoete and Spies (pp.25-6) write:

In certain Balinese dances we find movements which not only remind us of animals but which have animal names, showing that the resemblance is a conscious one. . . . In Baris Poleng there is a definite imitation of birds, and we find a 'feather-ruffling' movement . . . a swooping movement named after a bird . . . a 'flying bird' movement and a particular manner of walking which is named after a crow. . . . The familiar movement of the neck from side to side, called engotan, which we find in every dance, is said . . . to be that of a bull looking from side to side. The Kecak is called . . . the Monkey-Dance because at a certain point the dancers become monkeys with remarkable realism of sound and movement. Could the dances in general way be said to imitate birds or animals? Probably not. . . .

But if one watches kittens at play or the exquisite evolutions of tropical fishes one is also reminded of many dance movements of the Balinese. . . . There is a great element of play in Balinese dance. . . . If the evolutions of tropical fishes . . . sudden accents, turns and doublings . . . seem to bear some relation to Balinese dancing, it is perhaps because the perfectly co-ordinated Balinese is the human exponent of a world where motion and emotion merge even more completely than in our vocabulary.

The fact that the Balinese dancer has grace and style and appears perfectly co-ordinated does not really explain why so much Balinese dance appears to imitate the behaviour and movements of animals. It merely explains how the Balinese dancer is able to create the resemblance not why they do so. An important clue as to why the imitations exist is, I suggest, contained within the notion of a merging of 'motion and emotion' referred to in the quoted passage above.

Possession by animal spirits such as the dog, fowl, snake, toad is not unique to Bali (consider the case of lycanthropy). It is described in the medical folk-lore of many cultures, Eastern and Western. Character changes, extreme personality alteration and uncontrolled behaviour, abnormalities of stance, gait, speech in illness provoke universally analogies with animals. The suddenness of onset of symptoms or the gradual and insidious changes, either way, suggest the invasion or possession of the human frame by something other than the former self. Animal metamorphosis was part of the perception of madness or psychic disorder in eighteenth century Europe. The rages, the fury, loss of motor and sensory control depleting man of characteristics specifically human probably precipitated the perception of the animality of neurological disorders in man.⁸ These points I have already raised in the context of my interpretations of the demonic (Chapter 5[vi]), possession affliction (Chapter 7), witch phenomena (Chapter 8) and animal trance dances (Chapter 13).

Apart from the dreaded epidemics and classical pestilences such as the plague, smallpox, cholera and leprosy with their spectacular symptoms and gross manifestations, prevalent endemic diseases involving neurological disturbance which the Balinese term generically tiwang, tuju and upas represent diseases in which the barriers between what

is human and what is animal can become blurred both in terms of behaviour and somatic distinctions. In the words of Spillane (1973:18) citing Lord Brain:

In one important respect neurology differs from all other branches of physiology and of medicine; it is concerned with that part of the human organism which is most distinctly human.

They have a substantial visual impact besides. It is the behavioural, motor and sensual abnormality of the afflicted which are acted out in Balinese trance dance not the appearance, nature and characteristic behaviour of animals as such. After all, what is more likely to have made the greater impression upon and had the stronger impact, to have captured the imagination of and instilled fear into the population, the antics of animals or the emotions and bodily contortions of the acutely or terminally ill.

Lest this rather crucial issue be insufficiently appreciated, I reiterate that the use of animal metaphor is not a substitute for rational reasoning. Science is also characterized by analogical thought and action. Contrary to others (Forge 1980b, for example), I do not accept that the Balinese display a great phobia and aversion to animality and constantly seek to emphasize the distinction between animality and humanity. Nor do I agree with Mrázek's (1983:98) suggestion that animalism 'is flirted with', or that animal trance dances represent 'a kind of light play of nostalgia for the purely natural life that has passed away'. In contrast to Howe (1984:206) I doubt that the Balinese conceive of the deterioration of physical and mental stability 'to some degree as a descent towards animality'.⁹ I maintain that in the normal state of well-being the distinction between humanity and animality is not an intellectual puzzle or central problem to the Balinese. Only in a state of abnormality associated with disease does it become a concern, then analogies are exploited in thought and in action; in medical theory, mantra, representation and in trance dance.

In trance possession dances, the more gross, bizarre and conspicuous features of neurological dysfunction, those symptoms and signs which betoken the break-down of distinctions between what it is to be human and what it is to be animal, are simulated. It could be similar to a notion conceived by Girard (1977:51) in relation to both Greek tragedy and primitive religion:

It is not the differences but the loss of them that gives rise to violence and chaos. . . . This loss . . . strips them of all their distinctive characteristics — in short, of their identities.

One of the most distinctive attributes of man and that which distinguishes him most from animals, in Balinese conception, are cognitive power and the ability to make meaningful utterances, that is, intelligible speech and to think clearly. The defining qualities of the living human being are sabda, idep and bayu. In a state of mental derangement due to disease involving the nervous system, the human being loses control over two of these defining qualities namely sabda (speech) and idep (mind, or thinking). The distinctively human erect posture, upright gait and purposeful movements can also be lost. Yet I see no evidence which suggests that there is a perceived 'descent to animality' or that it is this breaking of barriers between what is human and what is animal which constitutes the focus of concern and anxiety in Balinese conceptions

of disease. Perhaps by looking briefly at Balinese attitudes to animals there may be some clue as to why this may be so.

The Balinese cultural attitude to animals is somewhat ambivalent. While their lives are closely intertwined with domestic animals, animal encounters are not an intense part of the daily experience. They are not an essential source of food or of clothing. Apart from birds, they do not arouse an aesthetic and intrinsic interest. The dog is ubiquitous and plays the usual canine role of watch-dog, but in a different sense than is usual in Western society. They are not generally companions of man. Dogs in Bali are a community unto themselves, in a way they are not in Western society. Animals, even those potentially dangerous to man, such as snakes and wasps who share the immediate environment, do not appear to be viewed as enemies of mankind. There is a simple policy of avoidance of those harmful. Even vermin such as mice are tolerated. Though their potential to destroy crops is appreciated, there is a reluctance to kill them. Much ritual is associated with their extermination. It is generally hoped and expected that they will, of their own accord, leave the land and become absorbed by the sea.

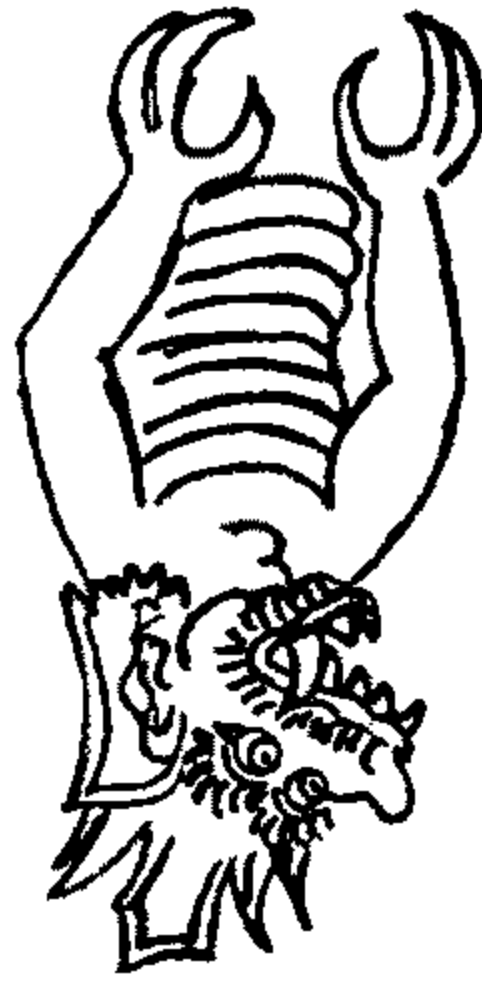
Animals are an important element of offerings and an essential ingredient of pacaruan. In the parcaruan panca wali krama bhuta-yadnya, for example, which is held every five years or in times of serious epidemic, a cow must be placed in an eastern location, a deer in the southern location, a doe in the western, a buffalo in the northern and a dappled goat must be placed in the centre (Brama Kretih 20:30). The panca sanake, another bhuta-yadnya, includes among its ingredients five animals, a chicken, a goose, a dog, a goat and a calf. The panca sate bhuta-yadnya offering consists of five chickens, one white in colour, one black, one red, one yellow and one multi-coloured one. Rituals conducted by the seaside must include a sacrifice in which a live animal (usually a duck) is immersed in the sea. In being chosen as the victims of such sacrifices, animals are imputed to be given an opportunity to upgrade their status in the next life.

The intensity of animal ritual involvement varies. Some are also the focus of rituals while others are not. Only a duck, because it is pure, may be offered to the Goddess Saraswati. Animals which change their form (frogs, for example), shed skin (snakes), fly in the air (birds, locusts), may not be offered in temples.¹⁰ The term sakti is not generally used in reference to animals as such, only to composite animal-human forms such as the Barong Sakti, so far as I can discern, is a superhuman quality, one not ascribed to animals. Even those animals associated with high deities, are not themselves imputed to have sakti. Animals do not appear to enter into the classification of what is magically powerful. Forest monkeys, cave bats and sea snakes acquire their distinction through being inhabitants of tenget space and, inevitably, the temple complex built around such space (see Chapter 3[iv]). Significance, generally ominous, is attributed to the calls, cries and activities of animals which share the immediate environment with humans. When dogs howl consistently at night, it is construed as a sign that bhuta-kala are dissatisfied and restless. If a crow flies about a dwelling in the late afternoon, it forebodes the imminent death of a member of the household. Cecak, as associates of the Goddess of Knowledge (Saraswati), are credited with wisdom. Should a person inadvertently cause the death of a cat or a goose, associates of Saraswati and Brahma, the carcass must be ritually cremated

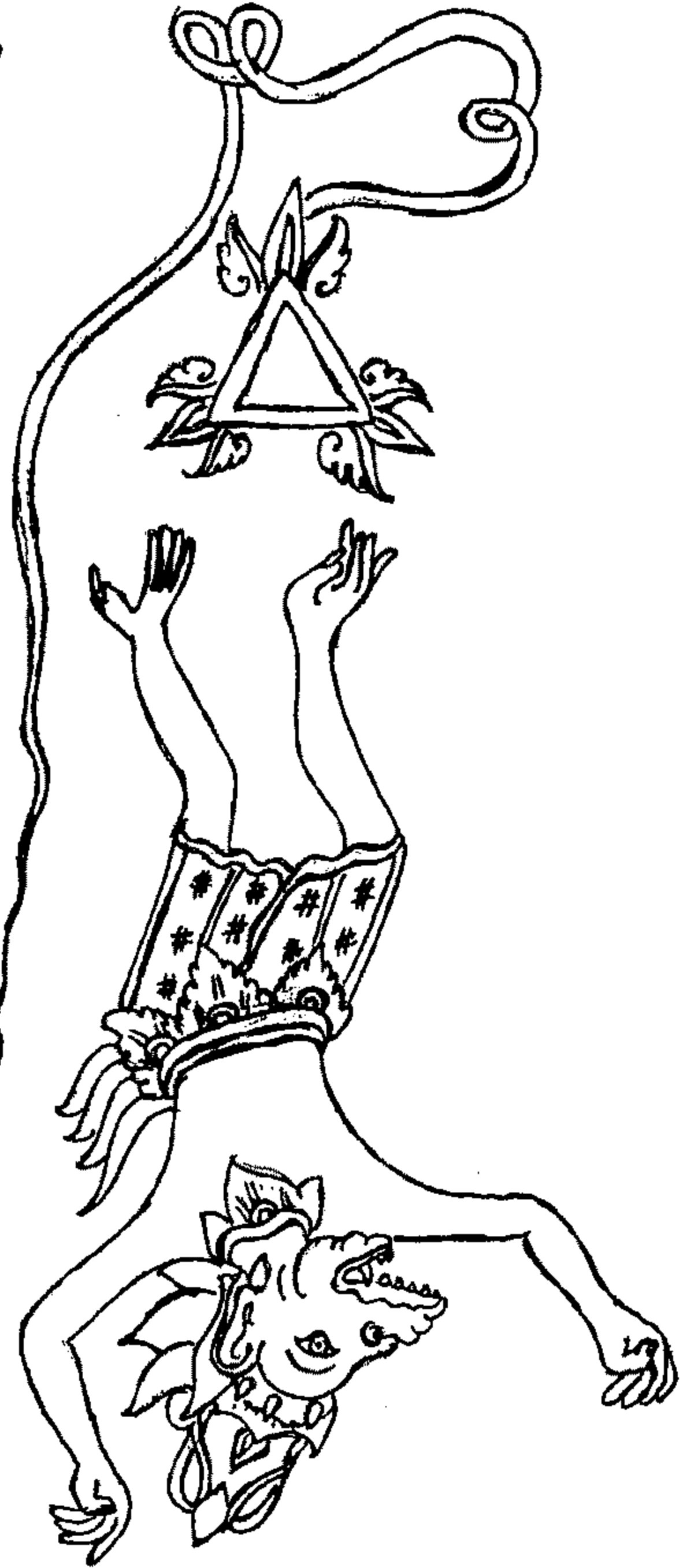
Rarajahan depicting the part-human part-animal quality of the human organism is a state of disease



HKS14,20



HKS IX, 94



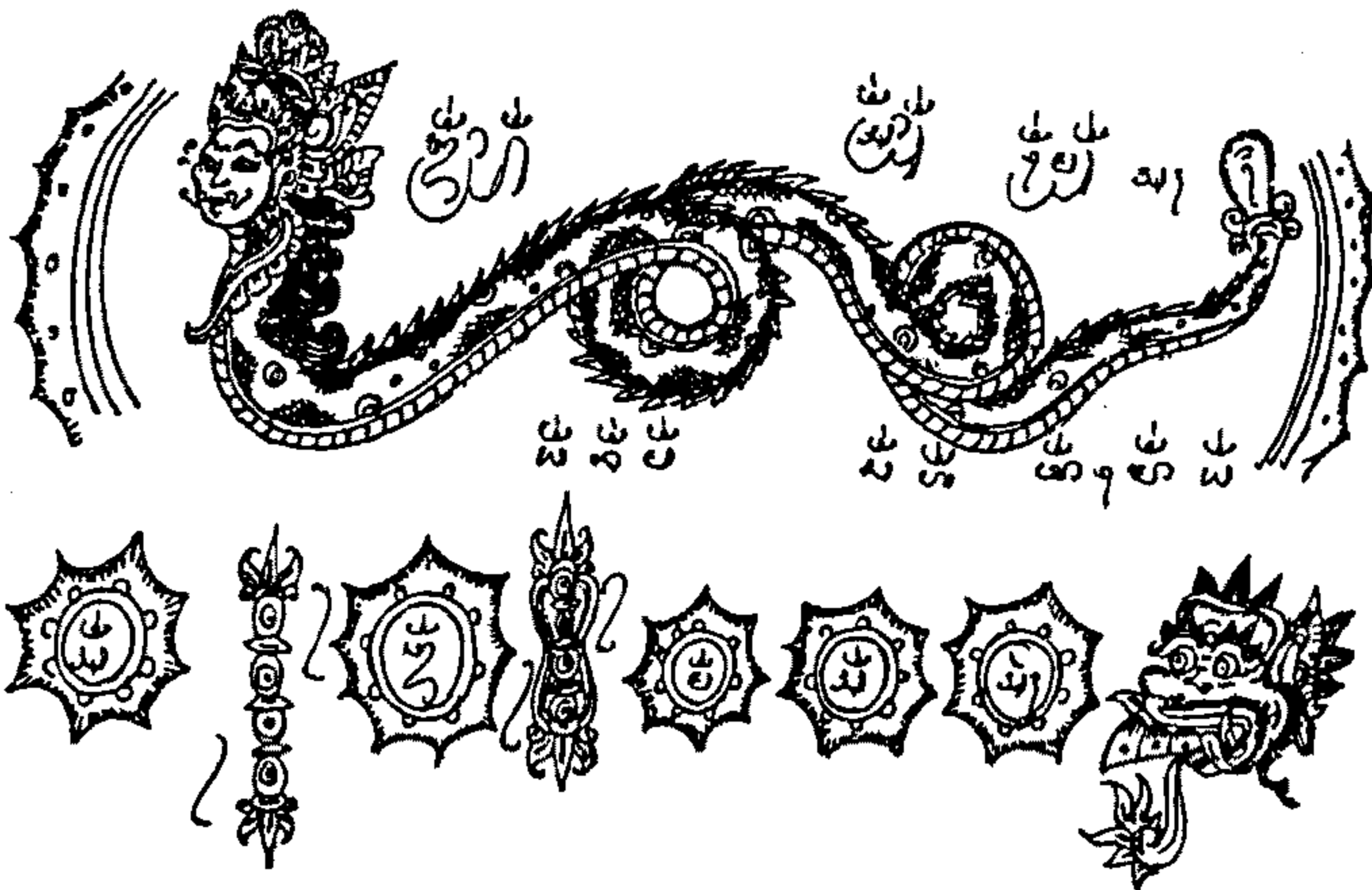
Pamada Gurga (HKS1946)



HKS2074



(Taken from Hooykaas, 1980a)



HKS1935

in order to avoid being cursed by the deities concerned. Once every 210 days, there are special offerings made on behalf of all animals domesticated by man. In a sense, all animals are esteemed.

Animal-human associations are seen elsewhere in cultural phenomena. The pictorial palalintangan calendar, based on the pawukon calendar and used for divinatory purposes, is arranged by the co-ordinating of the five-day week with the seven-day week, making thirty-five combinations. Constellations of deities, demons, animals, either individually or conjoined, trees, objects and actions are arranged in a chequered diagram.

In historical mythology animal names such as Kebo (Buffalo), Kuda (Horse) and Lima or Gajah (Elephant) are used in titles, usually to indicate qualities such as the steadfastness, strength or wisdom of their bearer. Representations of a black bull, a white cow, a winged lion or a composite fish-elephant are found as sarcophagi (patulangan). The mythological garuda bird, a boar or a bull are represented as vehicles of Hindu deities. The last ruler of Hindu-Buddhist Java, Dewa Majapahit has a special association with the deer. I think that these animal-human associations are all of a different level and order to the form of animality-abnormality I identify in the magico-medical system.

On another track of animality-humanity, one could think further about the cultural practice of tooth-filing, especially that of the canine teeth. Among certain tribal groups of East Africa where the mutilation of extraction of teeth has been observed, an inter-relationship has been posited between this practice and tetanus (Garruto and Willey 1967 unpublished data; Garruto 1982:584-5). It was suggested that the practice could represent a response to a high incidence of tetanus among the tribes; tooth evulsion allowed the insertion of a tube during the trismus (lockjaw) phase of a tetanus fit to prevent suffocation. In the case of Balinese tooth mutilation, this suggestion of a link with tetanus raised in my mind a more analogically motivated response or interference. If there at all, I would be inclined to see the practice as a magical preventive measure and response to the previously postulated high incidence and prevalence of tetanus and rabies rather than as a technical measure to relieve distress in the acute phase of the illnesses. The countenance of a rabies or tetanus victim, especially during the trismus phase of the illness, the sneering expression phase referred to as risus sardonicus in tetanus and the mad canine-like behaviour of the rabies victim, as we have seen, aroused in the minds of the Balinese similarities between human and animal categories. Could tooth mutilation then, at some stage in the development of the culture and responses to life-threatening events, have had as an objective the magical neutralization of blatant tendencies in human physiognomy to mirror that of animals to whose level of behaviour and appearance a tetanus or rabies victim was transformed in phases of these diseases they named tiwang asu (dog), tiwang bojog (monkey) and so forth? One textual explanation concerning the custom of tooth-filing, which has nothing to do with tetanus or rabies, has already been mentioned in the medical mythology surrounding Mayadanawa and the Barong Landung (Chapter 11[i]). However, that fact in itself does not preclude any other or many other possibilities. Present day official religious bureaucratic explanations for tooth-filing predictably focus upon issues of morality and the containment of sensual passions. Western constructed anthropological ones point to avoidance

or obliteration of any resemblances to animals ingenerate in the imputed Balinese abhorrence of animality.

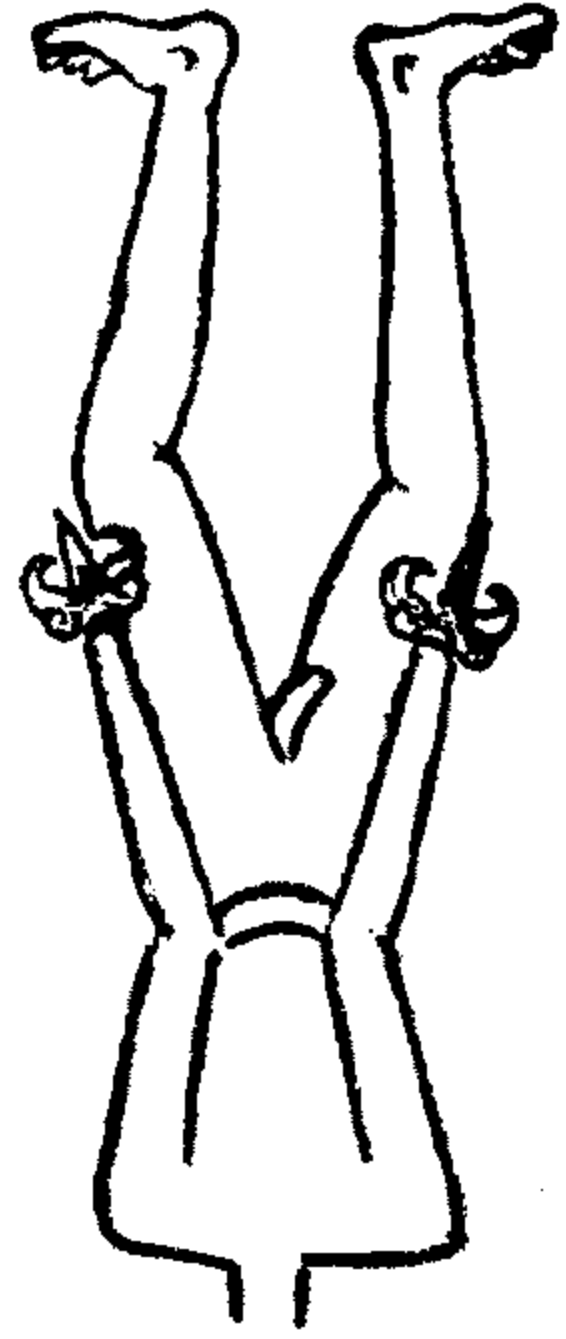
Given the nature of the problem, the provident course could be to abandon the presumption of a cultural phobia of animality and animal mimicry altogether. The style and movement of Balinese trance dance, it has been shown, do not directly imitate the antics and moods of animals. It is a matter of metaphorical allusions. The antics and contortions enacted by trance dancers are not strange. Representing as they do the clinical features of illnesses endemic in the community, they are (or were) familiar to the Balinese. They are often described through animal metaphors in usada and they are encoded in the vocabulary of exorcistic dances. Through the enactment of these dances control and exorcism are sought. These are the motivations which allow people, who clearly perceive (and are confident of) the normal distinction between what is animal and what is human, to wallow in the dust like pigs (in the sanghyang celeng trance dance), simulate behaviour characteristic of monkeys, snakes, birds and so forth and to attire themselves in animal form.

Knowledge of the names, nature and qualities of animal spirits is essential in magico-medical preventions and therapy for in therapeutics the metaphors are sustained, graphically in rarajahan (in part-human, part-animal depictions), in sarana (such as four eggs strategically placed within a courtyard on behalf of one afflicted and in the phase of 'crow smallpox'), food offerings¹¹ and in medicinal concoctions in which urine, faeces, skin and bones of animals are named as ingredients. At this level, I suggest, the metaphorical associations are more metaphysical, though not passive. The use of this cognitive mode is also more than expressive and a means of communication. It has important instrumental and transformational properties or objectives.¹² In Balinese medical therapeutics, names are significant as a medium of transformation, in effecting a return to normality. They sometimes dictate the sarana and the tamba (medicine). Offerings are appropriate to the nature of the animal or object named. Leaves and grasses would constitute important ingredients in sarana used in the case of puuh kambing (goat smallpox) and puuh manjangan (deer smallpox). Sarana are intended to work either sympathetically, as in the case of fruits suspended in a net above the afflicted in a phase of smallpox named puuh bukal (flying-fox smallpox) or antithetically, as in the case of the inclusion of a strand of cat's fur in the sarana prescribed in a phase of a disease named bikul (mouse). The animalistic quality of artistic representations is taken up in section iv.

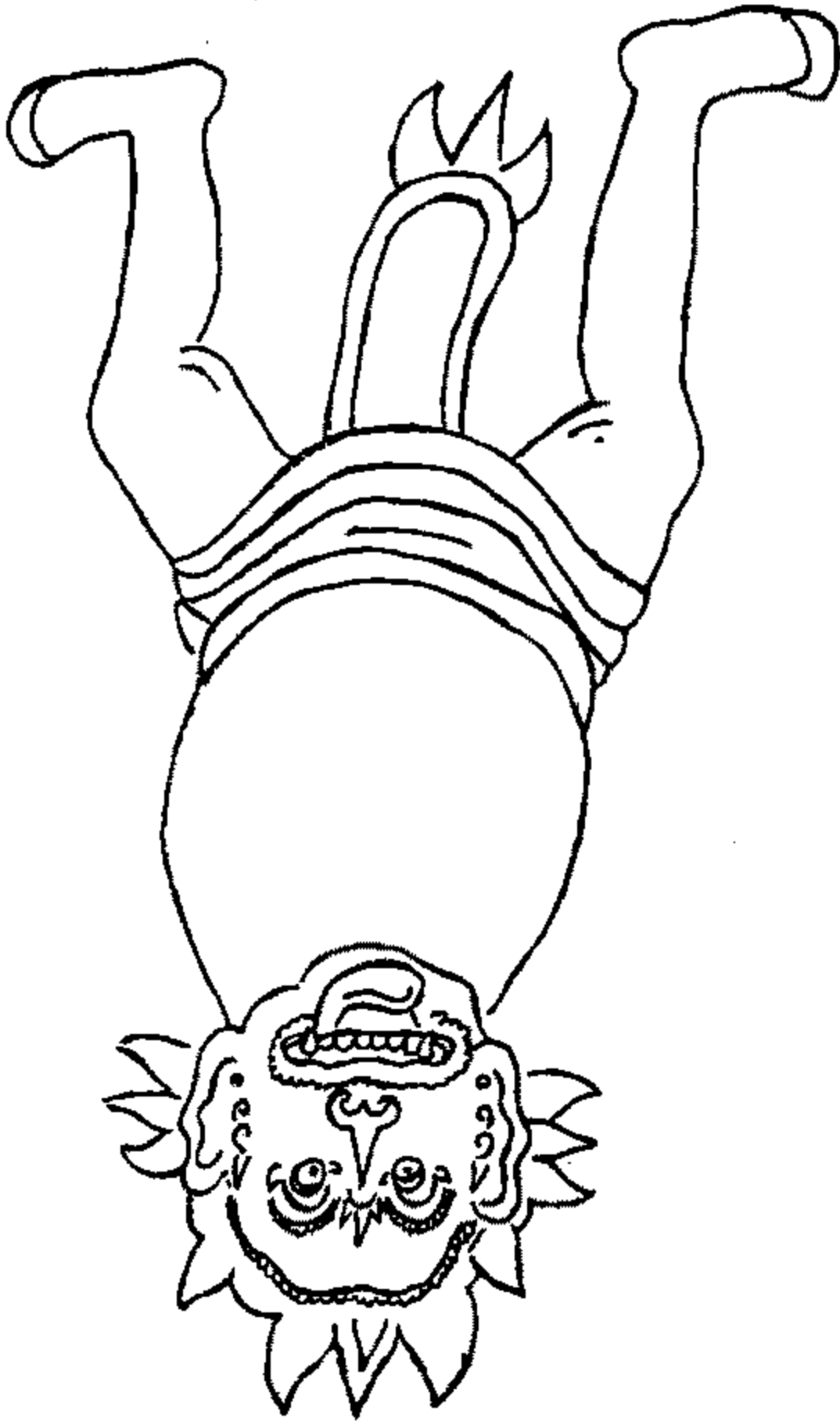
(iv) Tendencies Towards Dissociation in Dance and Representation

Detachment, dissociation and disintegration are aspects and tendencies common to Balinese magical therapy, trance dance and conceptions of disease. In a sense, partially through naming, illness behaviour and the disease itself are metamorphosed. Disease is dissociated from the individual in much the same way as the dancer has been perceived to be dissociated from the dance he enacts. This feeling of detachment is also said to characterize Balinese perceptions of the body. According to Forge (1980:232), the body is conceived as 'essentially a set of limbs, a torso, and a head only loosely articulated and almost capable of independent existence and definitely capable of independent movement'.

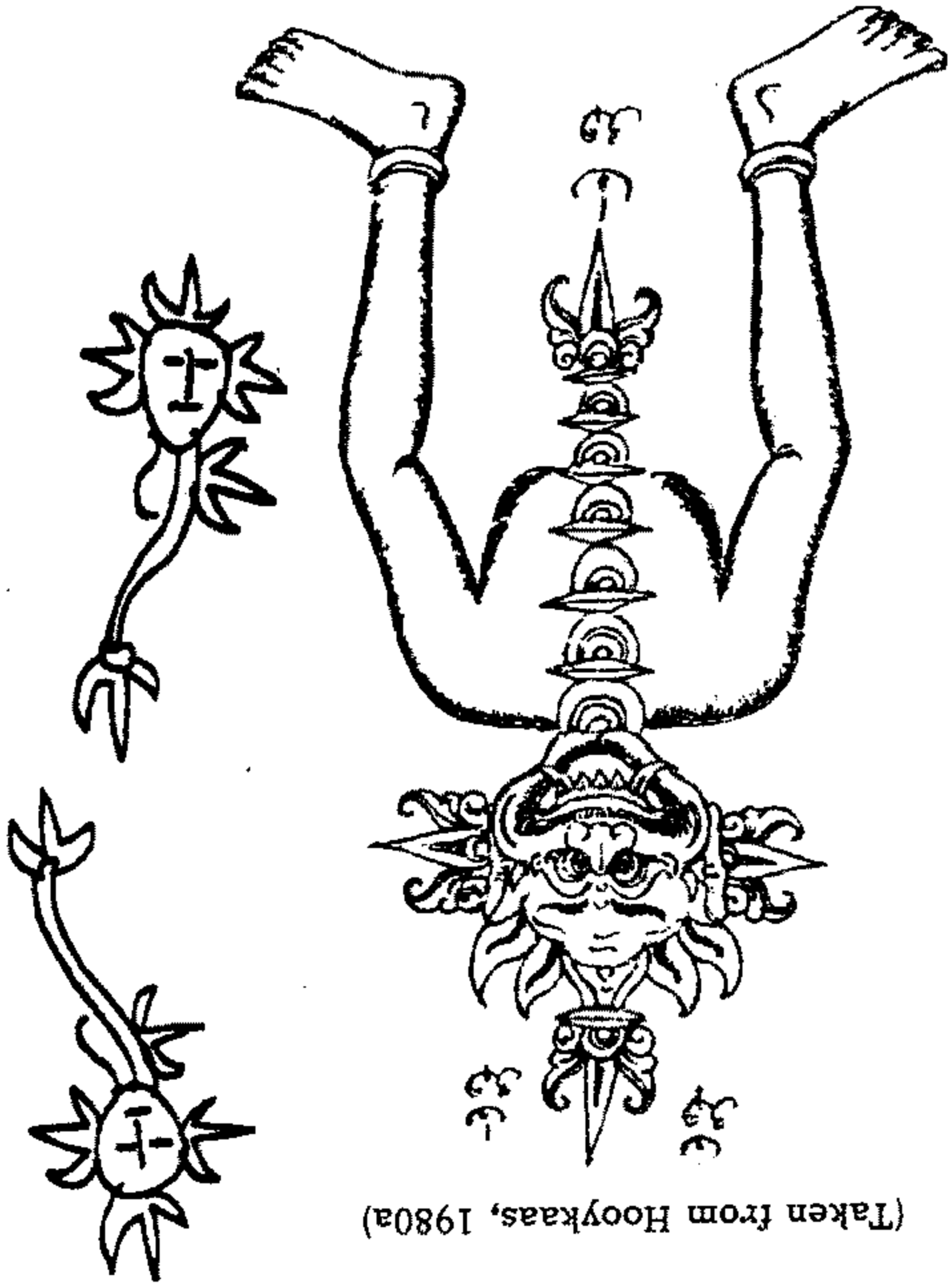
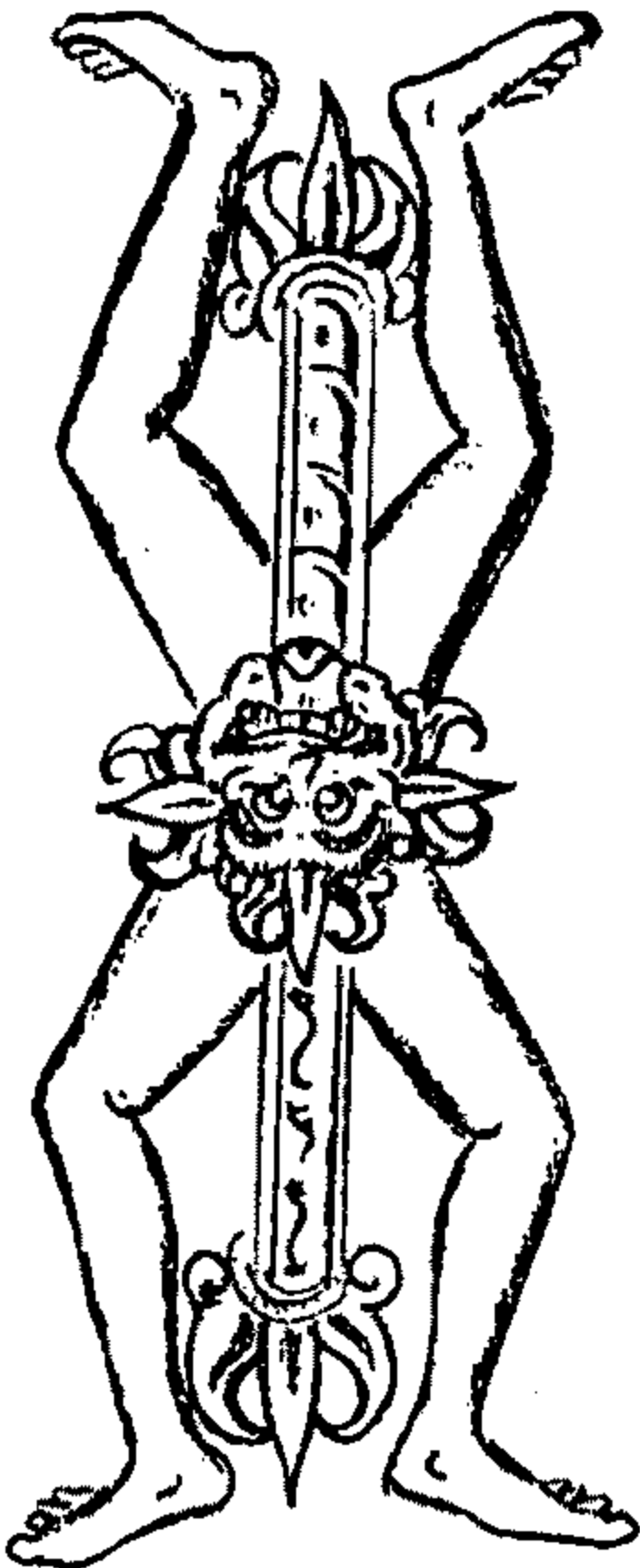
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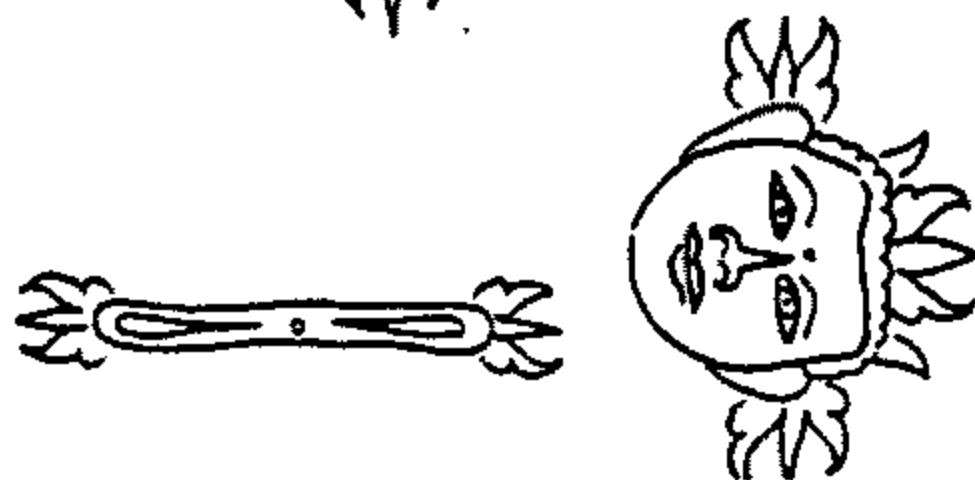
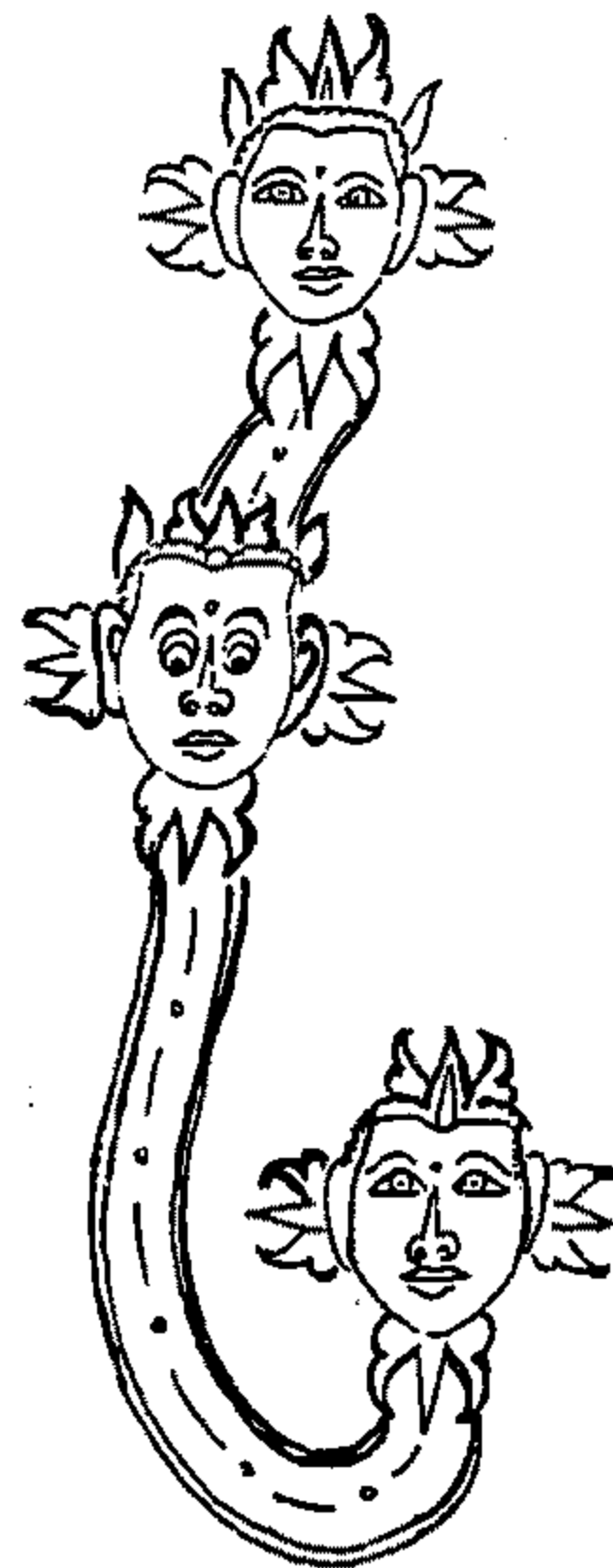
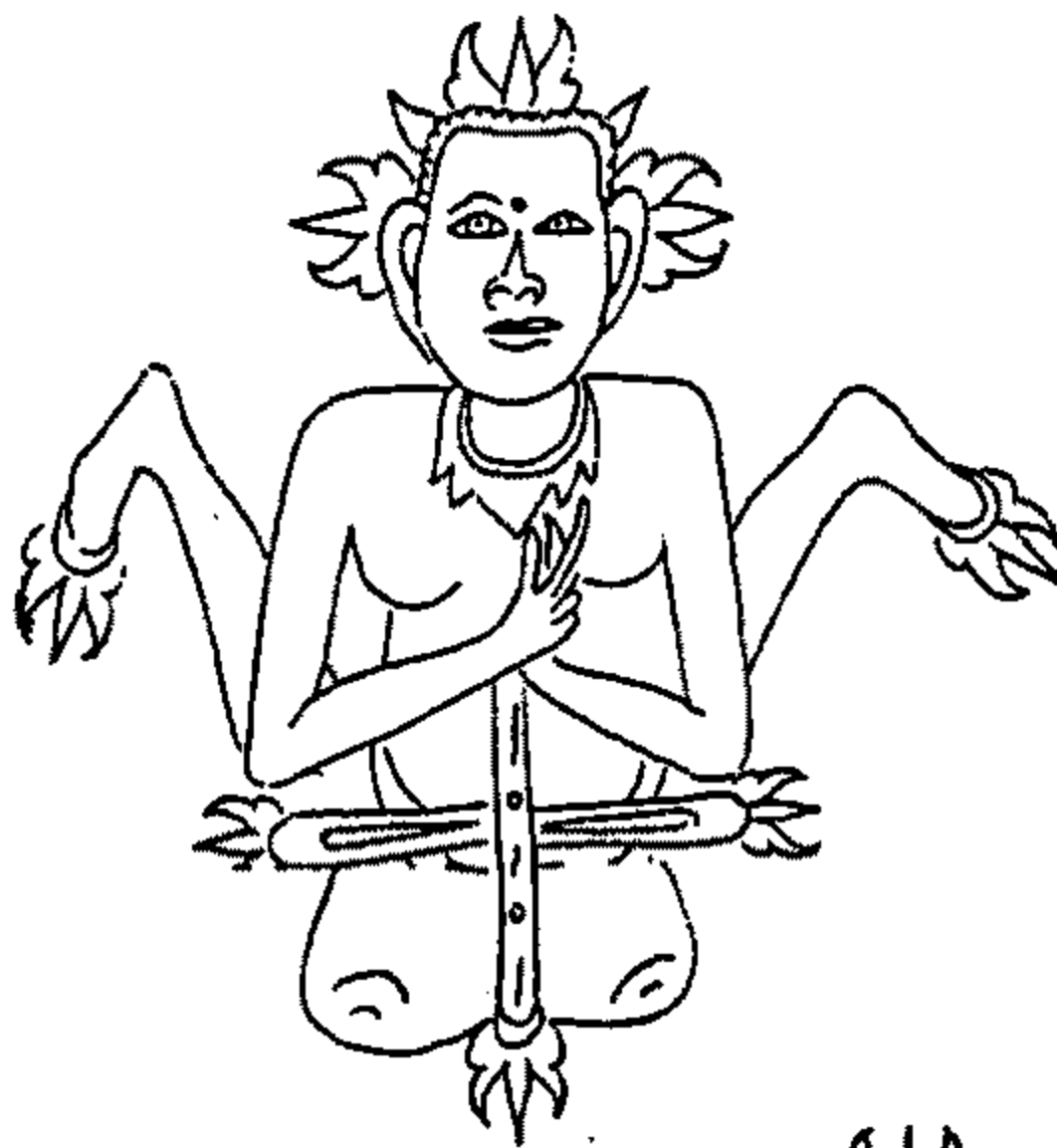
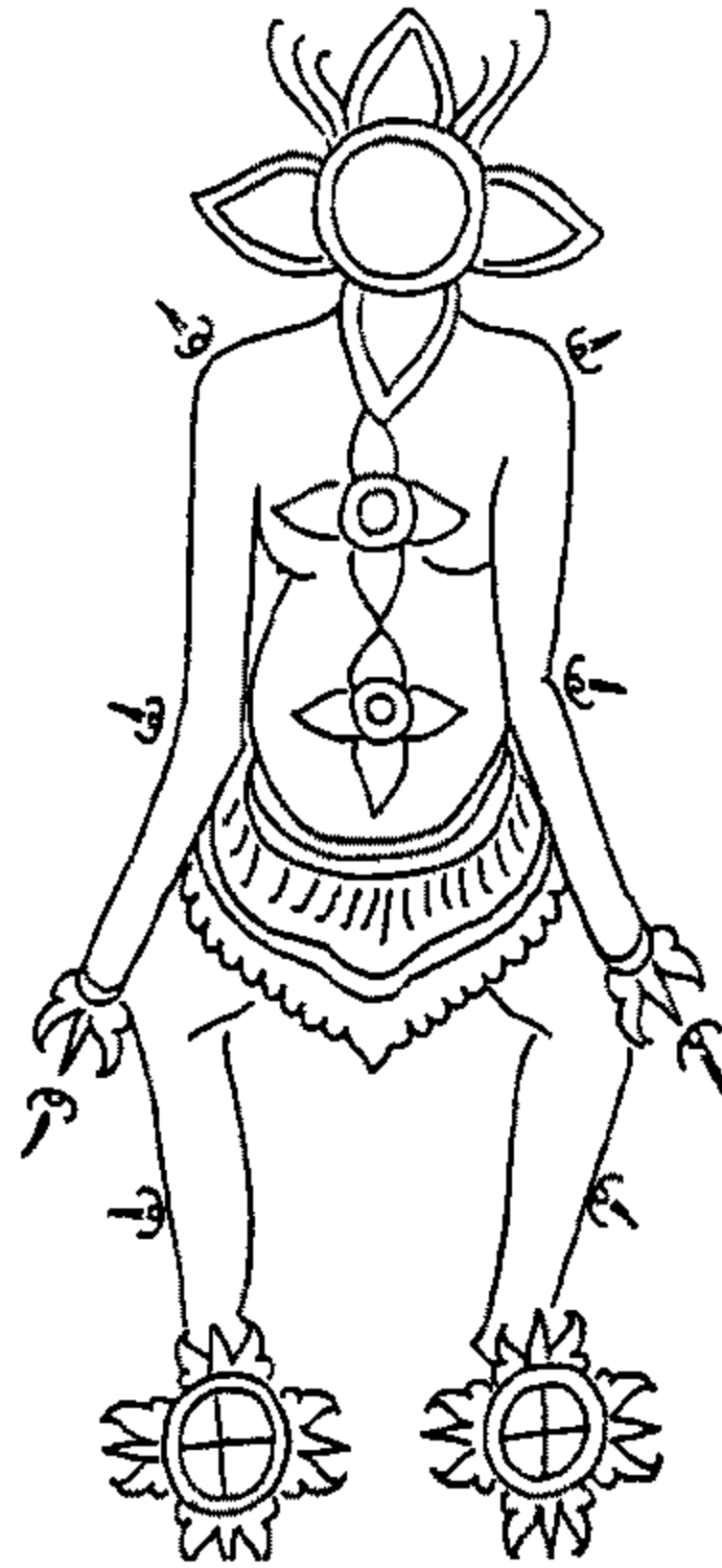
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(Taken from Hooykaas, 1980a)



Tatumbalan, to be buried in the houseyard as protection against leyak, dengen, bhuta-kala (HKS1271: HKS1946).

There is a deep awareness of the separate units of the body, as McPhee (1948:174) also observes.

In the Balinese construction of illness, diseases are entities with metaphysical existence of their own, manifest in separate and dissociated signs and symptoms, in behavioural changes and implicit in the internal pathogenic processes. Transformations, reversals and relapses rather than continuity are the noted characteristics of the disease process. The idiom of Balinese diagnostics and treatment, namely the description and treatment of symptoms one at a time and the isolation and detachment of parts of the body for attention and treatment is shared by trance dance. The body of the dancer moves in parts, not as a unit. There is a peculiar separateness of the limbs, the eyes and the head which appear to be disintegrated from the body of the dancer. Belo (1960:4) described this peculiarity of Balinese dance as 'unitary movement'. The whole body does not participate as it does, for instance, in folkdances of other rural societies. The eyes flicker, the wrist drops, the fingers stiffen. There are intermittent sharp sudden jerks of the head, of a limb, of the eyes. Such distinctive, disintegrating, dissociating features of trance dance have been noted by many (e.g., Bateson and Mead 1942:17; Holt and Bateson 1970:323-7; de Zoete and Spies 1973:24,67). Artaud (1974:42) was also intrigued by what he described as 'that systematic depersonalization' and the 'gestured metaphysics' of Balinese dance:

That mechanical eye-rolling, those pouted lips, the use of twitching muscles . . . those heads moving horizontally . . . those rippling joints, the angle the arm makes with the forearm, a falling foot, an arching knee, fingers that seem to come loose from the hand . . . fluttering wings. Our theatre has never grasped this gestured metaphysics (pp.39-40).

The use of only the part of the body contributory to sign and action is particularly symptomatic of the sanghyang dances. A notable feature of these is that an arm, a hand or one side of the body might be used in preference to other parts of the body. This is not all that remarkable and not at all without sense. In a sense, this is precisely the state of play and of pain in disease as it affects a living organism. Each part of the body is affected differently and some parts not at all. Affected parts react independently. The eyes may move rhythmically, the hands may twitch or flap, a leg may jerk, the toes may become splayed when such parts are no longer under the control of the central or peripheral nervous systems. Owing to the apparent patterns of disease and the spectrum of diseases experienced, the Balinese were not strangers to the symptom and indeed the repertoire of antics associated with pathological states, altered states of dissociation and uncontrolled movement. The feeling of dissociation may have yet another basis and referent. In the initial phase of some epileptiform illnesses, distorted perception may lead to a feeling of disembodiment, sensations of numbness, tingling or of parts of the body shrivelling up.

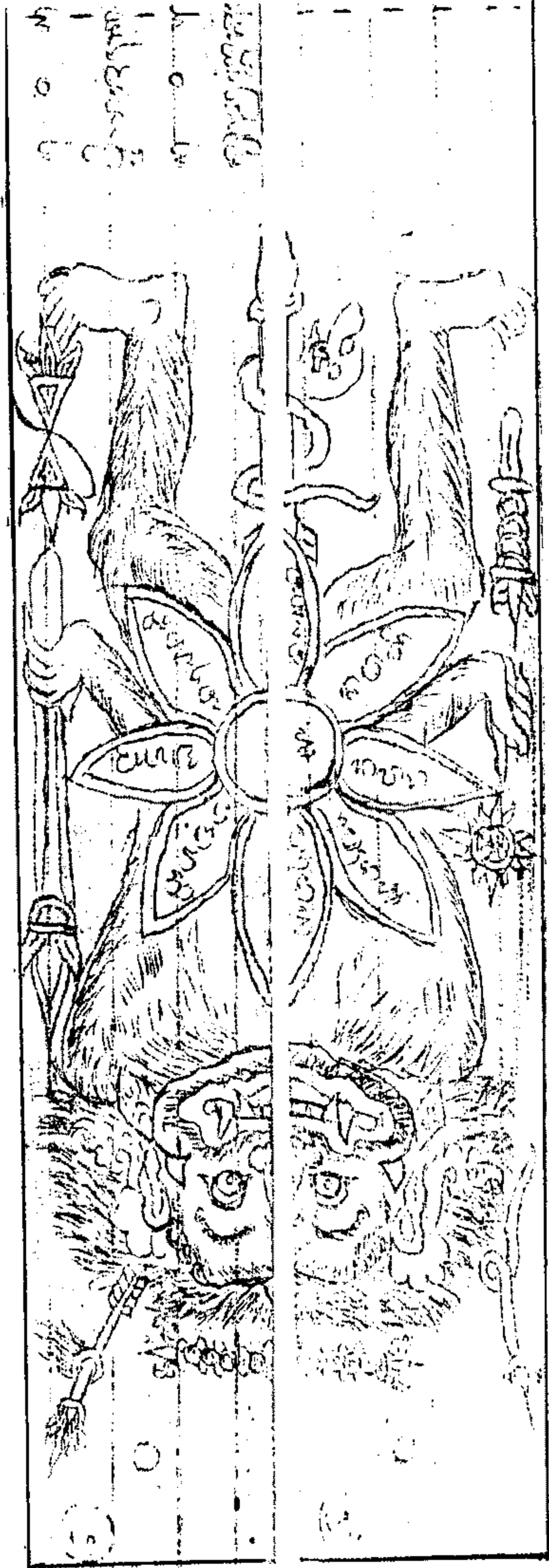
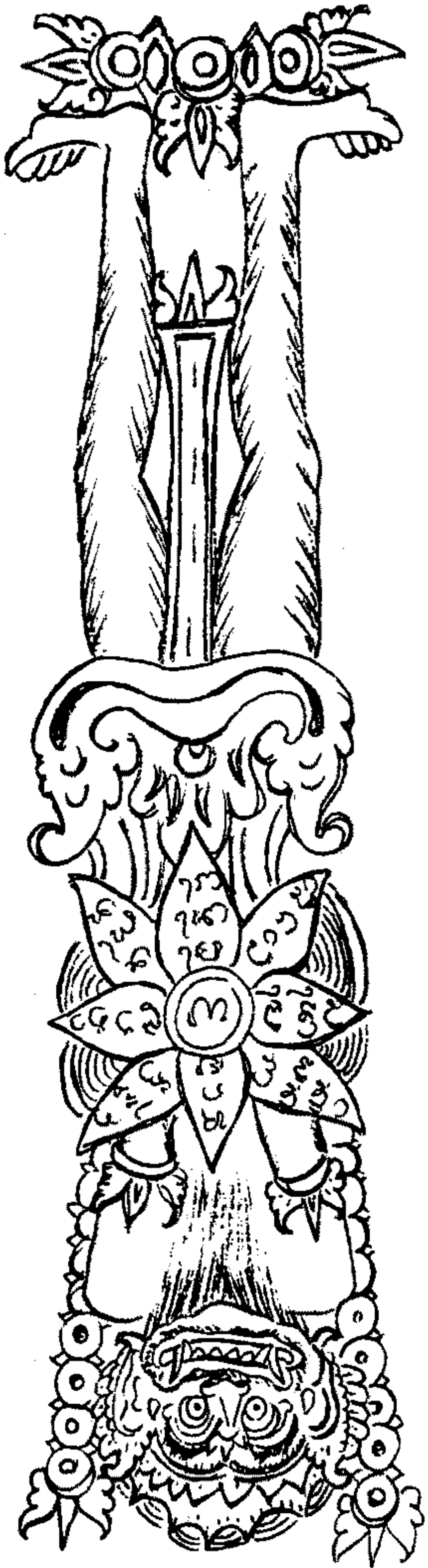
The Balinese dancer, I suggest, is disposed to feelings of dissociation and to expressing these perceptions. The paraphernalia -- masks, headdresses and costumes -- are entered by supernaturals, hence the characteristic detachment of the dancer who is a vessel for supernatural powers. It is this participation with mystical forces which, in Balinese thought, renders the enactment of trance dance imperative and effective in confronting disease. The individuality of the dancer, as McPhee

Rarajahan (Yama Raja figures) which might suggest depictions of distorted perceptions of body image (grossly enlarged body, feelings of disembodiment, for example) associated with diseases which affect the central nervous system.

balian usada

From a lontar borrowed from a

HKS2354



(1970a:300) realized, is of no importance. The dancer is, like the sick person, anonymized. Illness is detached from the person. Symptoms and signs are named. The form of the disease is externalized and each separate symptom is personified and acted upon. There is also a tendency to label the condition, not the person. For example, the Western concept of a leper, a madman, and AIDS sufferer, is not prominent. In any sickness, the disease itself is labeled, externalized and continuously re-labeled. The condition, not the person, is stigmatized. There is little evaluation in the Balinese medical thought of a person as either healthy or unhealthy. *This depersonalization of disease and its dissociation from its victim* is also evident in the way *usada* on diagnostics describe symptoms in terms like: 'if the feet are unable to move', rather than as one would anticipate in a Western medical discourse, 'if the patient is unable to walk'. Similarly, we have 'if the face is pale' not 'if the person is pale', or 'if, in the epigastrium there is pain as if being stabbed', not something like 'if the patient experiences stabbing pain in the epigastrium'. In this traditional medical idiom, the spirit, having gained entry and taken control, is able to gnaw the internal organs, stab, burn or devour, ending the normal functioning of the body in the location it chooses to remain.

It may be that the use of the term 'dissociation' in a context where in fact association or participation with the supernatural is constantly sought is questionable. On the other hand, it could be argued that it is the participation which permits the dissociation (of disease symptoms). Trancers impersonate spirits and the abnormalities their presences yield. Spirits are summoned and then requested to leave. Trance dance may be seen as a form of magical action, symbolic or mimetic identification, or mystical participation with spirits, in order to influence them. Dance creates a realm of disembodied vital forces and supranormal energies. Observations made by de Zoete and Spies (1973:20) and Holt and Bateson (1970:327), that the dancer is possessed by the role, dissociated from his own body and functions only as the vehicle of the dance and that detachment supplants emotion, does indeed make medical and magical sense.

The vocabulary of the following mantra likewise illustrates the tendency to dissociation, detachment of body parts and disintegration:

ONG Jreng Jreng Jreng . . .
 I become Sanghyang Durgakala Wisesa.
 I have tusks protruding outwards.
 I wear human entrails across my shoulder.
 A heart is my ear-ring.
 A liver is a flower ornament.
 A pancreas becomes my bracelet and anklet.
 I bathe in human blood.

. . .

I stand in the centre of the great graveyards of magical potency.
 My *sakti* is immense.
 I am given homage by Banaspati Raja.
 I am approached with deference by *bhuta pasacea*, *kalika*,
anja-anja, *detya*, *danawa*, *raksasa*, *njekpupu*,
reregek, *lawean*, *tangan-tangan*, *kumangmang*
 [names of animal-like and dismembered spirits]

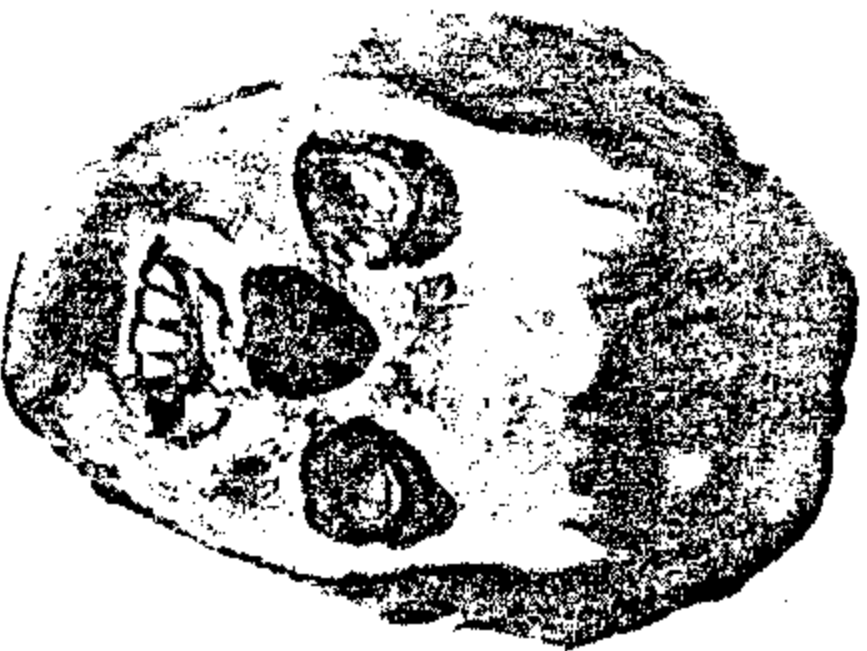
. . .

Distortions of the human visage through disease



Anterior cephalocele

(1)



(2)



Leishmaniasis tegumentosa with elephantoid swelling.

(3)

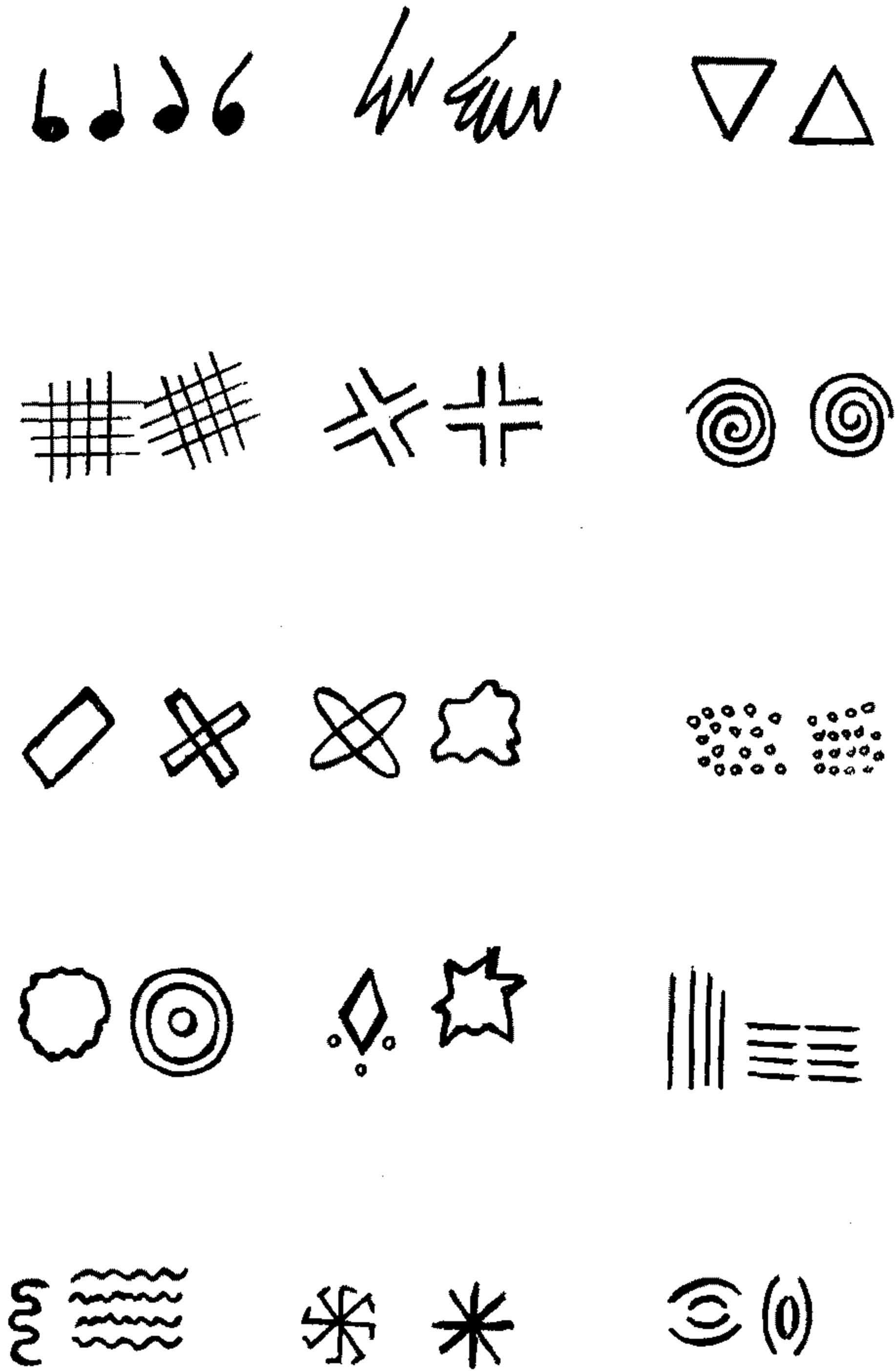
- (1) (Taken from Rodger, Eye Disease in the Tropics)
- (2) The head of a lepromatous leprosy victim (c.1880) (taken from Moller-Christensen, 'The History of Syphilis and Leprosy - an osteo-archaeological approach').
- (3) (Taken from Maegraith, Clinical Tropical Diseases).

All are thrown into confusion.
 Attracted, they come and are made dizzy.
 Eyes do not see.
 Ears do not hear.
 Mouths do not speak.
 Arms do not move about.
 Feet do not step.
 Livers do not function as livers.
 . . . (HKS3268:24)

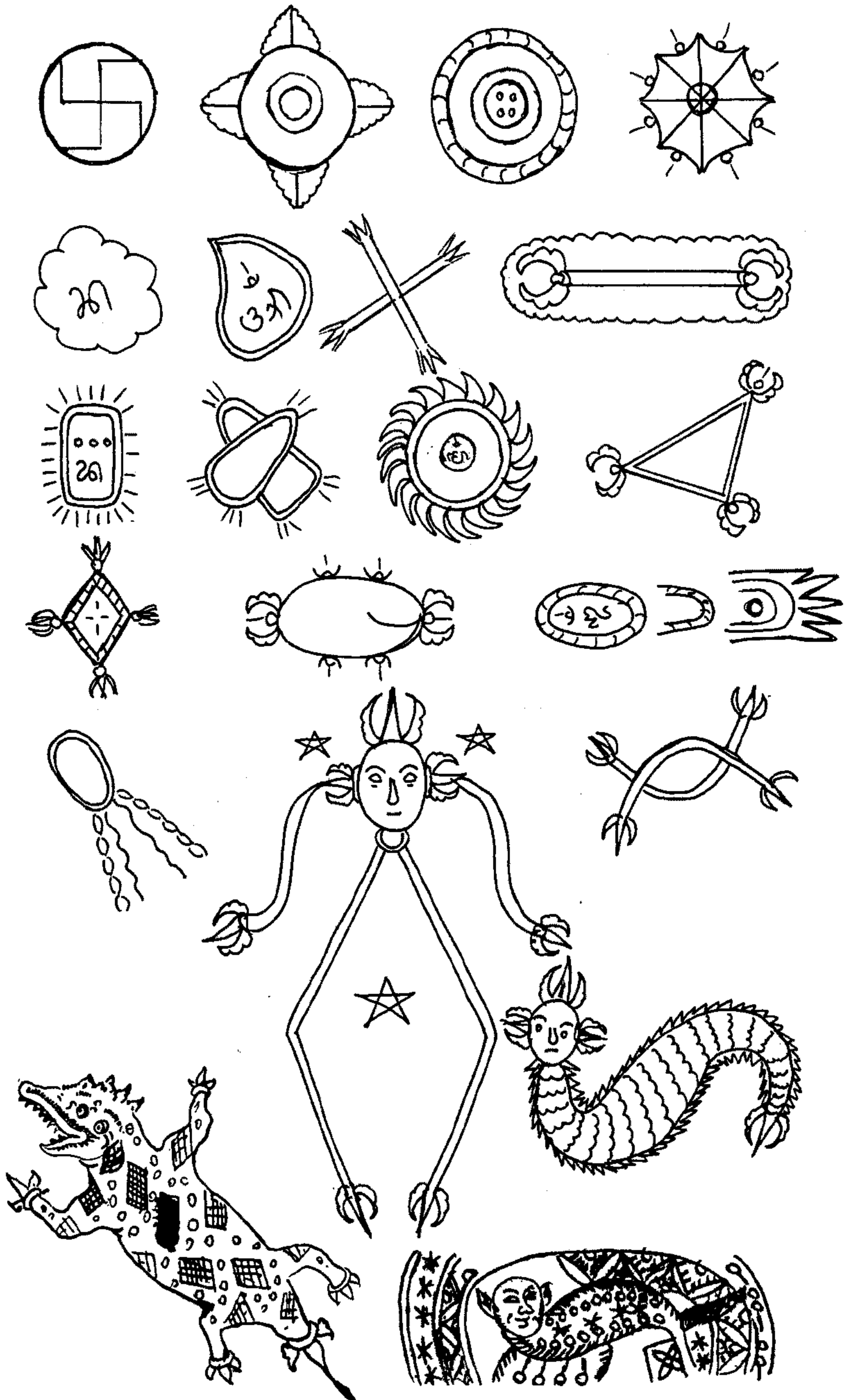
The possession is not used to describe parts of the body afflicted by the pathological process. References are made to the head, the leg, the fingers, the eyes and so forth as though separate parts of an organism or environment and independent of the whole. Rarajahan frequently take the form of dismembered and personified heads, limbs or torso, animated and with independent existence and movement. Likewise, we find spirits or bhuta-kala in the form of dissociated parts, such as gowang (a headless body), lawean (a torso without head), keketeg (a dismembered lower limb), nyapupu (a dismembered leg with facial features), tangan-tangan (a detached but mobile arm) or basang-basang (free-ranging entrails). It is as though each part of the body has the potential for independent existence, suffering and bewitchment. Leyak are able to detach members of their own bodies. They move without heads. Their heads move about unattached to the body. Their limbs do likewise.

In the state of disease, there is a dissociation of the illness from the person and an independence of body members. Two examples from medical treatises illustrate this. The Balinese term for 'continuously throbbing' is keteg-teg (from keteg meaning 'throbbing'). A spirit or bhuta represented as a dismembered arm or leg is called kaketeg (also from keteg). When the arms or legs are continuously throbbing, this sign of disease may be named siwa bajra (siwa's club) which is also the name of a bhuta (HKS3051). These macabre spectres are thus representations of conceptions of realities, of nature, that is, the human organism or parts thereof, disordered (as earlier proposed in Chapter 5[vi]). Leyak, it has been suggested (Chapter 8[iii]) encapsulate gross pathology. They are also credited with the power to change themselves into animal spirits. I seem now to be in a position to state more explicitly that the animalistic qualities of masks, carvings and rarajahan and the representations of bhuta-kala are inspired by gross human pathology. The human visage distorted by the effects of toxins, as seen in the illustrations opposite, provides a graphic example of the way in which diseases (especially those of tropical regions) may inspire the creation of masks. The representational type of rarajahan which depict composite human animal forms and the part-animal part-human sculptural images used in magical rites derive from conceptualizations of the 'spirits' of disease.

Rarajahan range from the simple cross (tampak dara) † called Sanghyang Siwa Raditya to composite animal-human forms, dismembered body parts or bodies discontinued at the chest or limbs. From the tampak dara comes the swastika (su-asti-astu, may all be well) ☸ which in turn gives rise to the padma (lotus), ☸ a symbol of knowledge and a means of acquiring purity and repose and to the cakra (wheel), ⊕ the weapon of Wisnu, the Protector. Variations on these basic forms are many. There are flowers, arabesques and star-like and geometric configurations (opposite). The geometrical and abstract form the rarajahan



Fifteen types of phosphene
 (taken from McDougall, 1977 after Kellogg, Knoll & Kugler 1965)



find obvious models in nature. Some models may also be found in cultural artifacts.

There are suggestions that phosphenes (also called visual hallucination or entopic phenomena) have inspired or at least influenced the vocabulary of symbolism of primitive art (McDougall 1977:396). Phosphene shapes, the luminous endogenous patterns usually experienced with the eyes closed, have been classified into fifteen types (p.394). These include arcs, lines, radials, circles, quadrangles, spirals and composite configurations. Phosphenes may be provoked by fatigue and incarceration in darkness. Toxins can produce phosphenes. Ritual techniques like fasting and meditation can also trigger phosphenes. I wish to draw attention to the way in which physiologic experiences or somatic influences are perhaps also a source of inspiration in the geometrical abstract configurational type of rarajahan. The idea of the human organism as a prime referential point has directed my decoding of the semiotics of dance and artistic representation as well as magical rites. Having made these points, I return to the vocabulary of Balinese dance in general and seek to explicate the genesis of its particularities.

(v) The Language of Dance The Rhythm of Disease

Cross-culturally, death has been depicted as a dancing skeleton. The phrase, 'the dance of death' requires no further explication beyond reference to what, under certain circumstances, are 'the throes of death'. The Balinese terms for 'to dance', ilen-ilen and ngigel-igel literally mean 'to move this way and that'. Both terms occur in usada to describe the contortions or uncontrolled movements of the sick. Questioned as to why different phases of illnesses were sometimes named after animals, a balian usada informant replied that it was simply a matter of the symptoms and signs displayed by the afflicted often resembling the characteristics of animals. Once satisfied that I was already familiar with Balinese disease nomenclature,¹³ he explained that the naming depended upon 'the ilen-ilen of the disease'.

It could be that, to an extent, human beings have a biologically based predisposition to dance. 'Dance' could be seen as a natural spontaneous expression of, or reaction to, pain and discomfort. There is, of course a boundary upon the phenomenology of movement and gestures as well as a limitation upon the repertoire of dance movement in terms of the contortions of the human body.

Dancing is, in fact, an ancient form of magic and an act of creation. It has a cosmogonic function in that it arouses dormant energies (Zimmer 1947:151-2). Levin (1983:86) suggests that before cultivated as an art dance was enacted in ritual space. Dancers were sacred vessels and possessed of various deities, wrathful and otherwise. It seems to me probable that originally all Balinese dance was, and much still is, magical in intent and motion. In certain contexts, it has been secularized and commercialized. It is important to realize the distinction between the art of dance the Balinese enact for themselves and that which they transcribe and recast for foreign resident and tourist taste and consumption.¹⁴ Of course, part of the vocabulary of trance exorcistic dance remains but not the original significance or intent. Elements of trance dance have been incorporated into dance performances devised

for secular entertainment (I am thinking particularly of the legong and the popular kecak-cum-Ramayana dances styled on sanghyang dadara-dadari and the trance kecak). These dance forms are another and entirely different matter and subject to the one being discussed here.

There is an extremely limited theoretical literature on dance. Dance has been almost totally neglected by philosophers (Levin 1983:85-6). In Copeland and Cohen's *What is Dance? Readings in Theory and Criticism* (1983), we have the most comprehensive anthology of writings on dance currently available. The Balinese dance data seem to defy compromise with any known theories on dance. It appears to have an identity of its own. Its style is totally different from Western and even strikingly different from Javanese dancing (the Javanese gamelan likewise differs substantially from the Balinese). The line in Balinese dancing is 'earthy' or horizontal, as opposed to the vertical line of classical Western ballet. The Balinese trance dancer remains grounded in human boundaries and vocabularies or movement even while participating with supernaturals. There are, to my knowledge, no lontar providing technical instruction on dance similar to the *Natya Sastra*, the canon of Indian dance. Hand gestures are not mudra with hieratic significance. Nor are they derived from Indian dance; gestures never stand for specific words or actions (Pronko p.19). Balinese dance is distinctive from other dance of Southeast-Asia. It is dramatically distinctive in its 'almost feverish intensity' (McPhee 1948:159). Holt (1970:80) conceded it 'futile' to attempt to make comparisons between Balinese dance and dances from other cultures. Of course, dance and drama occur all over the world, as do trance possession, music, mode of dress and any number of things. They are not marked by their conformity but indeed by their diversity, most of the time.

In no sense could one propose that the vitality of Balinese dance is used either to ensure agricultural abundance or to vitalize crops. Nor is it a fertility ritual of increment of animals or pasture. The aim of imitations of animals, as I have argued, is not to achieve animal potency or to evoke the protective powers of animals. I also reject notions of a residual animal instinct or emotional bonds between man and animals as in other societies, along the lines suggested by Lonsdale (1981:12). There is an idea of gaining control but this is over the spirit not the species of animal it resembles. Balinese dance is in no way an expression of gaiety or of instinctive exuberance. There is no spontaneous social or community dancing and no harvesting or other agricultural cycle dances. There is, however, a seasonal increase in the incidence of trance dance. This relates to a seasonal increase in the incidence of disease. When Balinese themselves commission dance or drama enactments on such occasions as birth time anniversaries, marriages or death rituals (pitra-yadnya), they are intended for magical protective purposes, for participation with mystical forces, not celebration.

The vivid impression Balinese dance makes upon spectators of it and the reactions of these spectators are revealing. Let us look at the particular tone of the vocabulary used to register such feelings and reactions:

Joy never finds expression on the Balinese stage . . . though sorrow does. . . . Passion except as anger has no place at all. . . . The absence of joy is certainly striking (de Zoete and Spies, p.24).

In Bali perhaps more than in any known culture, dance is central and organic to the life of the community (Pronko 1967:11)

Artaud (p.40) perceived the 'unleashing of physical fear' in Balinese dance. Pronko (p.48) perceived the rigid aspect of the body in trance as 'tensed by the surging of the cosmic powers attacking it'. Ever acutely sensitive to the metaphysics of Balinese dance, Artaud (pp.48-9) wrote:

Here we are suddenly in the thick of a metaphysical struggle and the rigid aspect of the body in trance, tensed by the surging of cosmic powers attacking it.

. . .

Miming, mental gestures, accenting, curtailing, settling, dividing and subdividing feelings, soul states and metaphysical ideas.

This quitescent theatre where objects about-face strangely before returning to abstraction.

. . .

We watch mental alchemy . . .

According to Pronko (p.31), Artaud 'managed through a brief encounter' with Bali 'to grasp the essentials of its dance and drama, and their firm integration within the life of the Balinese'. What Artaud perceived in the particularity of Balinese dance was:

. . . the feeling of a new bodily language no longer based on words but on signs which emerges through a maze of gestures, postures, airborne cries, through gyrations and turns (pp.38-9).

. . . a far more inborn sense than us of nature's total occult symbolism (p.45).

[a] natural philosophy of total gesture (p.45).

[and] a kind of Natural Philosophy, from which the mind has never been separated (p.43).

Just what is (or was?) the expressive significance of Balinese dance style and movement, the characteristic cries, shivering, trembling, swaying, flapping, winding, twisting, limpness, rigidity, jerkiness, flexed knees, clenched hands, rhythmic eye movements, half-closed eyes, wide-open eyes, the groping and grasping, the shuffling steps, the staggering? Albeit exaggerated or stylized, these are the quintessence of the vocabulary of neurologic morbidity. They are also the quintessence of the vocabulary of trance exorcistic dance. There may be logical, biological explanations for the apparent lack of joy and signs of a metaphysical struggle in Balinese dance, the 'mimicking of animals' and of natural phenomena as well as for awareness of certain parts of the body if one allows the assumption that language of Balinese dance derives from the inherent style and form of trance dance. Balinese dance gesture is more representational than expressive, more ritualistic than artistic; dance motifs are patterned and rhythmic, as are many of the symptoms and signs of disease. Dancing is (or was) an offering, an exorcism and a mimetic confrontation with the spirits of disease.



Kebyar Dance

The following pages of illustrations present the characteristic facial expressions, glances, eye positions and movements, as well as stances, gait and forms of locomotion. All plates are taken from de Zoete and Spies's Dance and Drama in Bali.

Baris Dancer





Kebyar Dancer

Geggong Dance enacted to melodies of the angklung such as that named 'The Toad on the Banana Tree', 'The dancer may represent the toad, and collapse backwards in extravagant pantomime' (de Zoete and Spies 1939:251).



Until now, only imputed sexual symbolism¹⁵ and inexplicable animal imitation have been posited to constitute the peculiarities of Balinese dance style. Artaud perceived something beyond these. The metaphysical and bio-medical aspects of the dance and the biocultural origin and development of dance in relation to its function can be further explored. Just as it is said that every movement in Balinese dance has a name, 'descriptive generally of itself, not of any expressive significance' (de Zoete and Spies, p.21), so it can be said that no sick person ever displays an unnamed symptom. The name is also descriptive of itself.

Names were applied to dance movements only when dance became a learned art taught in dancing academies, these themselves, primarily being a legacy of Western interference and the advent of a market for dance as entertainment. It is not, therefore, plausible to seek to find one-to-one correspondences between the current naming of dance movements and the vocabulary of disease 'enacted' in Balinese dance. Nevertheless, the names of some of the most distinctive movements and gestures in Balinese dance do correspond with the naming of prominent disease symptoms and signs, if for no other reason than that the names are descriptive of the actions. For example, ngejat (tremble or shake) is used in both dance and disease vocabularies. Other dance movements are named:

<u>ngelo</u>	zigzagging movement
<u>seleag</u>	body inclining to the side
<u>lelok</u>	falling to one side
<u>ngelung</u>	body flexed
<u>gegirahan</u>	arms held on a plane with shoulders, elbows higher than shoulders, fingers raised and trembling
<u>gulu wangsul</u>	movement of neck from side to side
<u>ngengget</u>	chin drawn up
<u>kipekan</u>	head moving from one side to another
<u>ngeletik</u>	little finger flickering
<u>jejering</u>	fingers trembling
<u>ngelukun</u>	wrist turning and twisting
<u>nabdab</u>	touching, grasping, groping
<u>ngetnet</u>	frightened, startled look
<u>mendra</u>	sidelong glance
<u>nyulengek</u>	look upwards
<u>nelep</u>	look out the corner of the eyes
<u>dedeling</u>	glance to the left and then to the right
<u>seledet</u>	flickering eye movement, eyes darting vertically or horizontally, eyebrows raised
<u>sreg-sreg</u>	short, dragging steps or tiny quick steps, heels raised
<u>tatayogan</u>	leg lifted high, heel swinging to opposite knee and returning to the ground on the ball of the foot; arms extended to maintain balance
<u>pemalpal</u>	fast walking, feet raised high and returning to ground in slanted position
<u>dadengk leng</u>	foot raised, toes curled up
<u>angsel batis</u>	stamping of foot

(Djajus 1980; my translation).

'Head nodding from side to side', termed engot-engot in dance terminology, is termed kipek-kipek in disease terminology. The latter term also occurs in dance naming as kipekan (looking from side to side). Ngejer (to shake, shiver or tremble) in disease terminology, is jejer in dance naming.

Trembling movements, termed anjejer or gumigel in disease description, are termed jejering in dance descriptions. Eye-flickering movements, termed seledet in the language of dance, are termed mata sakedap-kedap in the language of disease.

As previously demonstrated, dance movements can also simulate the sensations of disease, for example the sensations of whirling or rotation associated with middle-ear infection (mokan group of diseases), eye disorders, cerebellar disease and epilepsies and the burning or stabbing pains in the extremities, joints or viscera. The image (wawayangan) of the muscle pain and discomfort experienced in a type of toxic neuropathy named upas sigar mangsi (splattered soot poisoning), can be visualized, according to a diagnostic text on poisoning (Usada Upas HKS3268), as 'a mouse running in short rapid steps' (bikul maka padrut-drut).

What has happened is that in dance terminology descriptions of dance movements have become more poetically descriptive of the imitation of animal behaviour. For instance, in dance one finds the phrase kidang rebut muring referring to the movements of a dancer which appear to imitate the attitude of a deer pestered by biting flies. In disease terminology, such movement would be designated 'irritability' and 'restlessness' and the condition would be differentiated by the name kidang meaning 'deer'. Manaledeh (from tledeh) meaning 'wide open eyes', a symptom of tuju jaran, almost finds a correspondence in the dance term nlehteh with the same meaning. Gulu wangsul is the name of a neck movement in dance, magulu mangsul 'to throw the head back' — a symptom of tiwang edan is the form in which it appears in usada. Ogah-ogah, the dance term for 'assuming a posture like a crow', does not occur in the usada. However, there are symptoms named 'crow' when, for instance, the colour of the body is blackish, the mouth is wide open and emits raucous sounds characteristic of crows.

I have juxtaposed the vocabulary of movement, pose and gesture of Balinese dance with usada descriptions of disease symptoms and signs and names and, in turn, juxtaposed these with (a limited number of) descriptions of diseases in Western scientific medical textbooks. All that differs and, in the case of the first two, not always that, is the terminology. In Western medical jargon and terminology, we have bacterial, toxic and nutritional neuropathies and terms such as chorea, clonus, atonia, ataxia, nystagmus, aphasia, cerebral gait, exaggerated lordosis and so forth to designate diseases of certain bodily systems and the clinical features of these. In the Balinese medical discourse, we have terms like upas, tiwang and tuju to refer to the systems and qualifying names to refer to the clinical features. These names, as we have seen, are primarily animal or names drawn from images of nature (often nature disordered). In dance, these (clinical) features are expressed through what has been described as animal mimicry and allusion to the imagery of nature.

There appears to be almost no pose, gait, glance, sound, facial expression, attitude, antic or state of consciousness in the vocabulary of Balinese trance dance which I have not found to have some appositeness or concurrence with the symptoms, signs or sensations of disease entities or syndromes described in indigenous medical texts. The latter I have correlated with clinical conditions described in Western nosology. Even the fingering, grasping, groping and touching of parts of the body and clothing, the crys uttered in dance, the facial grimaces or pursing of

The limp, weak hand movement characteristic of the vocabulary of some forms of Balinese dance (taken from Belo, 1960)



Paraplegic beri-beri, showing wasting of the extensor muscles and wrist drop.



The limp, weak hand position associated with beriberi (taken from Wilcocks and Manson-Bahr, 1972).

lips symptomatic of trance dance (much of the vocabulary of which, as I see it, has been incorporated into later and other dance forms) find references in usada descriptions. These latter clinical manifestations are less prominent in Western medical diagnostics. In the era of technological diagnostic practice, they are probably lost semiology.

Clinical manifestations of smallpox and of convulsive seizures selected from usada further illustrate my argument:

puuh badak (rhinoceros smallpox): eyes half-closed, looking from corners of them.

puuh gajah (elephant smallpox): eyes wide-open, moving from side to side.

puuh kidang (deer smallpox); vacant countenance, frightened look in eyes.

puuh yaksa (giant smallpox): angry expression, wide-open eyes.

puuh kambing (goat smallpox): eyes half-closed; head nodding from side to side.

puuh pragusa (?): expressionless; beckoning with head.

puuh kebo (buffalo smallpox): nodding from side to side.

puuh bukal (flying-fox smallpox): neck stiff and rigid.

tiwang bojog (monkey seizures): eyebrows raised; restless.

tiwang bangke (corpse seizures); body stiff and rigid; wide-open eyes.

tiwang naga (serpent seizures): body spiralling and twisting.

tiwang udang (prawn seizures); body stiff and rigid; hands and legs quivering; eyes upwards.

tiwang garuda (garuda seizures): hands flapping weakly.

tiwang sawangan (ocean current seizure): body weak and limp.

At the risk of being condemned for overstatement, I would go so far as to suggest that the above clinical features are among the most characteristic features of Balinese dance posture and facial expression. Is there an issue of the chicken and the egg? It seems to me highly improbable that dance predated disease and that disease symptoms, signs and sensations described in usada were derived from dance movements!

The basic postures in Balinese dance, either weak and limp or rigid and stiff, (hypotonia and hypertonia in scientific medical jargon), are referred to as alus and kras in the new dance terminology. Some of the exaggerated postures approximate the stances adopted either to compensate for low muscle tone, in the case of alus, or those which result from muscular spasms, contractions, or a decrease and increase in muscle tone or to overcome postural imbalance, in the case of the kras.¹⁶ Some abnormalities of stance and gait, for example, the knees flexed, feet close together, flexed trunk and exaggerated lordosis, which involve a lowering of gravity to compensate for poor muscle tone, may be simulated primarily in the posture and gait assumed by female dancers. Others, for example, the straight, rigid posture, splayed toes (extensor plantar in Western medical jargon) are simulated primarily in the posturing and gait peculiar to male dancers. It is true that according to the conventions of decorum, females are expected to be alus and to favour weak, refined movements. To be kras and stiff may be qualities of 'maleness'. To an extent, this may limit the range of poses and the language of dance which a dancer may adopt. However, there may also be a sex-related incidence



Baris Gede Dancer

Baris Dancer



of diseases the clinical features of which could coincide with characteristic female and male dance movements.

Let us look at some of the features of abnormal stance and gait as described in Western medical texts:

Cerebellar Gait: of cerebral haemorrhage and certain nutritional neuropathies characterized by wide separation of the legs to correct instability and unsteadiness of gait.

Spastic Paraplegic Gait: each leg is advanced slowly and stiffly, slightly flexed at the knees, strongly adducted at the hips. There is a tendency for the legs to almost cross as they return to the ground. The gait is characteristic of one wading water.

Staggering Gait: characteristic of toxic or infective neuropathies. There is tottering, reeling, tipping forward then backward as balance is threatened.

Equine or High Steppage Gait: characteristic of peripheral neuritis (beriberi). The legs are lifted abnormally high to allow the feet to clear the ground and are returned on a broad base.

Waddling or Rolling Gait: lumbar lordosis (protruding buttocks) is accentuated. Steps are regular but uncertain. With each step, there is an exaggerated elevation of the hip. The upper trunk inclines to one side, then the other. This 'waddle' may combine with circumduction of the legs and walking on the toes.

Dystonic or Dromedary Gait: there is a position of exaggerated lordosis. Hips are partly flexed and there is a continuous flexion of one leg.

Chorea Gait: there are, often bizarre, squirming, twisting movements of the trunk and limbs as well as jerks of the head, grimacing and peculiar respiratory noises.

Gait of Sensory Ataxia: characteristic of spinal ataxia, chronic polyneuritis and syphilitic meningomyelitis. There is a wide separation of the legs. Each leg is flung abruptly forward and outward and lifted higher than normal. Each step is attended by an audible stamp of the foot. The body is held in a slightly flexed position.

Athetotic Gait: the body assumes grotesque postures. The head may be inclined in one direction, the lips may alternately retract and purse. One arm may be held aloft, the other behind the back. There is slow, writhing, involuntary movement, flexion and rotation of the wrist and fingers. Weight is carried on the toes.

Festinating or Haste Gait: the legs are stiff and bent at the knees. There is rigidity and shuffling movements. The arms are held as though in preparation for writing. The facial expression is unblinking and mask-like.

In the language of dance, the basic male stance and gait (typical of baris) consists either of open and bent or straight and rigid positions of the legs. The arms are generally held on a plane with the shoulders. Otherwise they are extended out and held rigid. The fingers are bent upwards from the metacarpophalangeals, separated and trembling. A slow, deliberate gait is accompanied by an inward and outward movement of the arms and a swinging step in which the heel of one leg swings in toward the knee of the other and returns to the ground on the ball of the foot. There is fast walking with feet raised high and returned to the ground in a slanted position. There may be sudden, quick short steps, a prolonged pose with a foot raised, knees bent and toes curled upwards.

Baris Pendet Dancer





Baris Presi Dancer

Baris Kakupu (Butterfly Baris) ritual trance dance



Each foot is raised high then returned to the ground with a stamp of the foot (Bandem, 1976:7). In the female rejang (also known as sutri in Gianyar) dance, 'as impossible to analyse as the running of a hound or the swimming of a fish', pronounced de Zoete and Spies (p.48), one arm is held outstretched and aloft, the body is immovable, the knees slightly bent, the eyes fixed on the ground.

Let us return again to look at more of the language of animality in Balinese dance such as:

. . . they all crouched down with one arm outstretched, winglike, and their heads moving obliquely from side to side, birdlike, a stylized imitation of a bird's movement. Yet . . . then again some attitudes . . . made one think of . . . Pharaohs . . . American Indian dances flashed to mind again. It is futile to make comparisons. But how can one otherwise convey impressions about so elusive a thing as a dance which cannot be fixed in words? (Holt 1970:81)

and juxtapose it with more of the vocabulary of neuropathies in Western medical knowledge and discourse such as:

The flapping tremor with arms outstretched (as well as jaundice) characteristic of neurologic involvement as a result of hepatic failure.

The winged flapping movements typical of birds which convulsions and some forms of epilepsy evoke.

The continuous, abrupt, jerky, involuntary, irregular and excessive movement called chorea.

The slow, twisting, writhing movements, primarily of the fingers, hands and wrists, called athetosis.

The rigidity of limbs, widespread clonus, athetoid and choreiform movements and the exaggeration of common acts such as grimacing or pouting or motor slowing (hypokinesia) typical of motor disturbances in various neuropathies associated with toxi-infective disorders of the nervous system.

The mask-like, expressionless face of the victim of a terminal type of smallpox with neurologic complications.

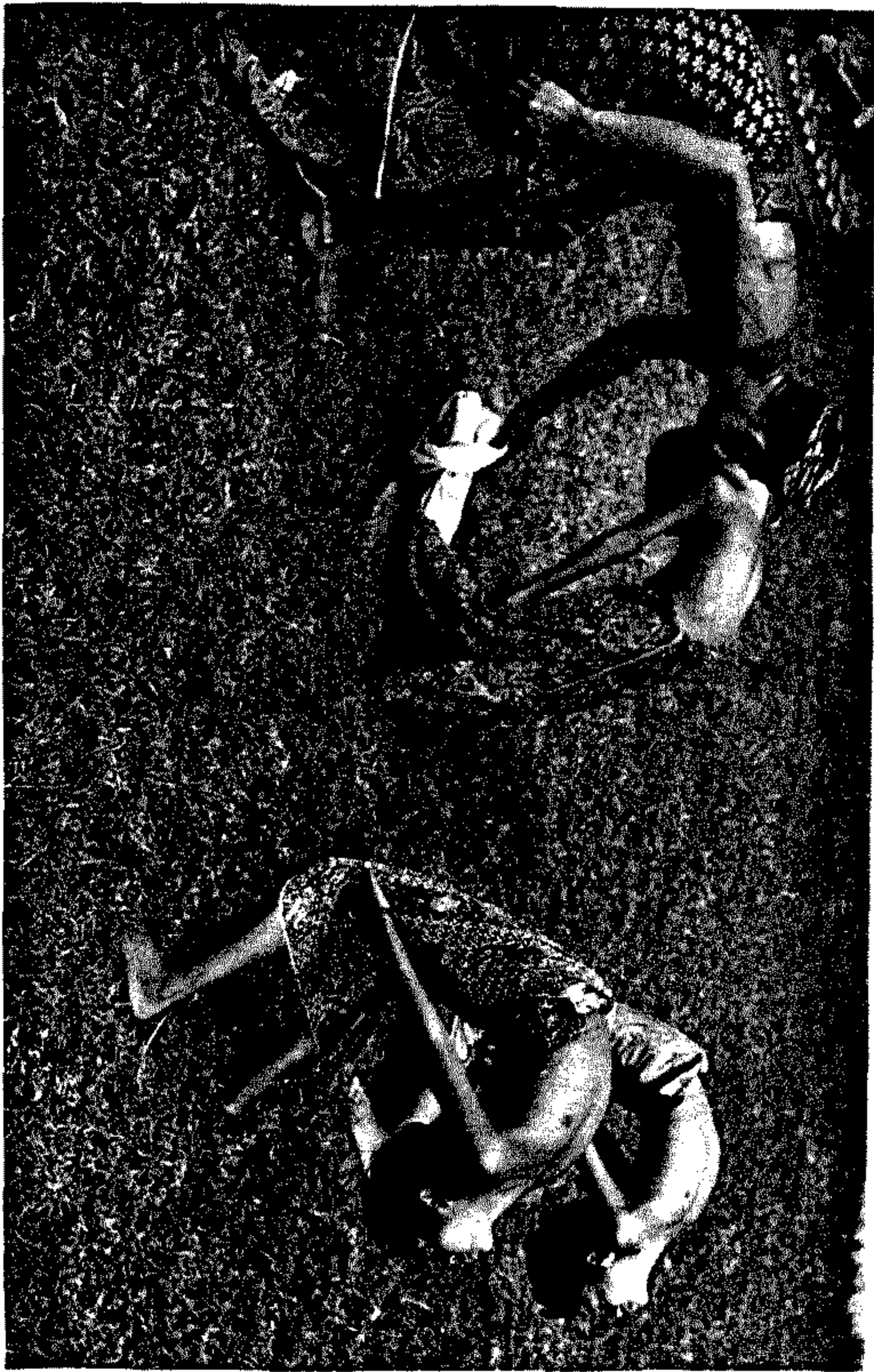
The abnormal posture, generally with a flexion of the upper limbs and an extension of the lower limbs for a few seconds or minutes, assumed in tonic seizures.

The symmetrical rigidity of the body in the tonic phase of grand mal epilepsy; the rotation of the head and eyes to one side; the adduction of the upper limbs and their flexion at the elbows and wrists; the bending of the fingers at the metacarpophalangeal and the extension of them at the interphalangeal joints and the adduction of the thumb to the other fingers.

Disturbances of ocular posture characterized by rhythmic oscillation of the eyeballs, either at the same rate in both directions or quicker in one direction than the other in horizontal, vertical or rotary movement, accompanied by a rotary movement of the head, called nystagmus.

A tetanic spasm of the muscles of the back causing the head and lower limbs to bend backwards and the arching of the body is termed

A characteristic movement of trance exorcistic dance, now taught as part of the vocabulary of dance used as a form of entertainment (photograph taken from de Zoete and Spies).



opisthotonus in Western medical terminology. In the language of Balinese medical writings the same gross symptom is termed lengkung gigir. The same spectacular action is part of the vocabulary of trance dance. The following is a description, not of Balinese dance posture, but of the clinical manifestations of the seizure in infantile tremor syndrome:

A posture like a bird with wings spread out is sometimes adopted. Arms are abducted to approximately ninety degrees at the shoulders. Elbows and wrists are fully flexed and there is pronation of forearms. In the hands there is ulner deviation and the fingers are fully flexed at each joint . . .

Below, I illustrate more graphically much of that which has been presented in the text thus far. The entries in the first column under the heading 'dance' point to the specific elements or composite parts of dance movement and style. The second column lists Balinese medical terminology as it collates with referents of dance language in the first column. The entries in column three under the heading 'Western Nosology' are not intended to align in one-to-one correspondence with the entries in column two. They are intended merely to demonstrate for those less familiar with diagnostic symptoms, signs and categories, the fact that the indigenous symptomatology in column two has real collations with that known and described in the Western scientific system. It is unnecessary to juxtapose the complete vocabulary of Balinese dance alongside that of disease terminology. They are, and this will be recognized by anyone familiar with Balinese dance, to a significant extent, one and the same.

There is a problem and something of a conundrum here. One is not only crossing and comparing two disparate epistemological systems as well as medical philosophical traditions and theories, using a modern, Western scientific one in order to make sense of the other, one is also crossing or jumping centuries. There are problems of anachronisms, epistemologies and epidemiologies. The matter may benefit from collation with other historical dancing phenomena, the so-called dancing manias of medieval Europe.

The dancing manias of medieval Europe, referred to variously as St John's Dance, St Vitus's Dance and Tarantism, emerged in the wake of the Black Death. Victims would apparently dance for hours in wild delerium and eventually fall to the ground in a state of exhaustion or altered consciousness (Hayden 1981). Paracelsus's observation in the sixteenth century that the excessive involuntary movement characteristic of dancing manias could be due to underlying disease involving the nervous system, earned him much abuse. Yet there must have been a physical disease in many of the cases, writes Zinsser (1935:82) because throughout the accounts there is frequent reference to nausea, abdominal swelling, pain, vomiting and prolonged stupor. Paracelsus introduced into the medical discourse the term 'chorea' to refer to the involuntary, irregular and excessive movement. He tried to classify the malady into three types: one which arises from imagination and represents dancing mania; a second which arises from sensual desires; and a third which has an organic basis. The phenomenon spread widely. Doubtless, according to Zinsser (p.84) the numbers of the 'truly affected' were enhanced by multitudes of the 'easily excited'. He felt that they were, in great part, the hysterical reactions of a terror-stricken and wretched population under stress and endangered. However, he also saw the likelihood of infectious diseases of the nervous system following great epidemics like the plague and smallpox (p.84).

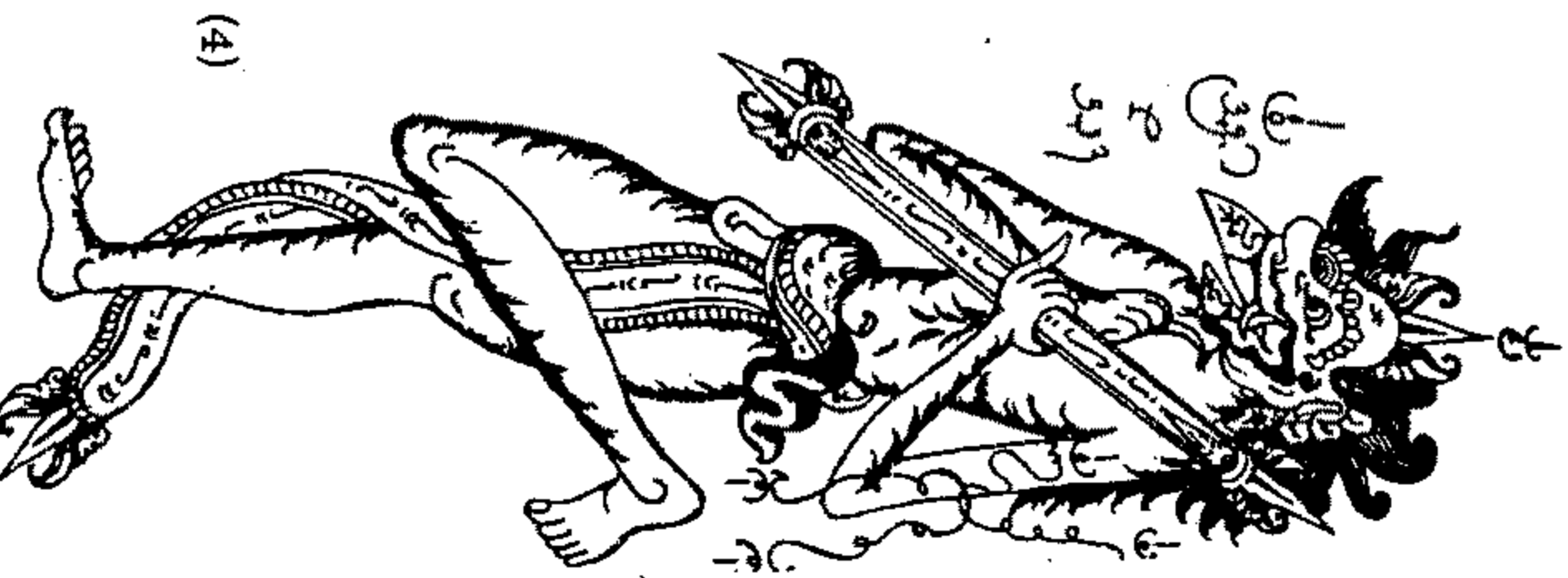
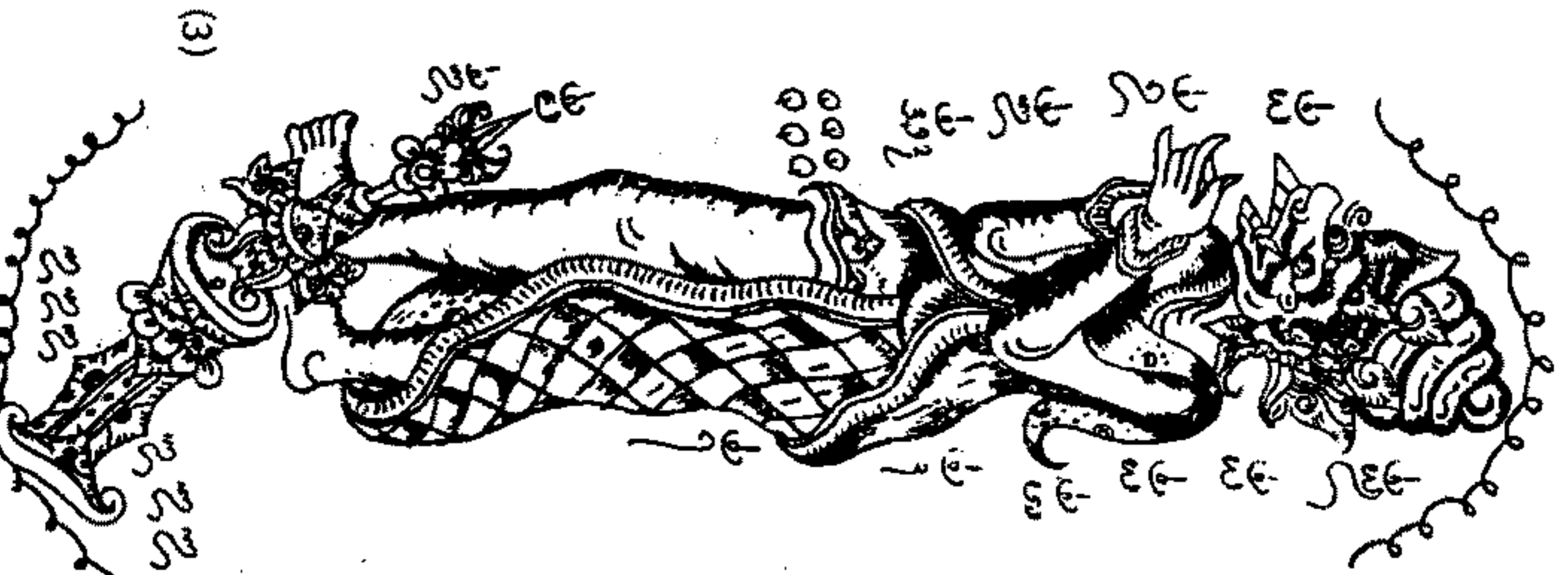
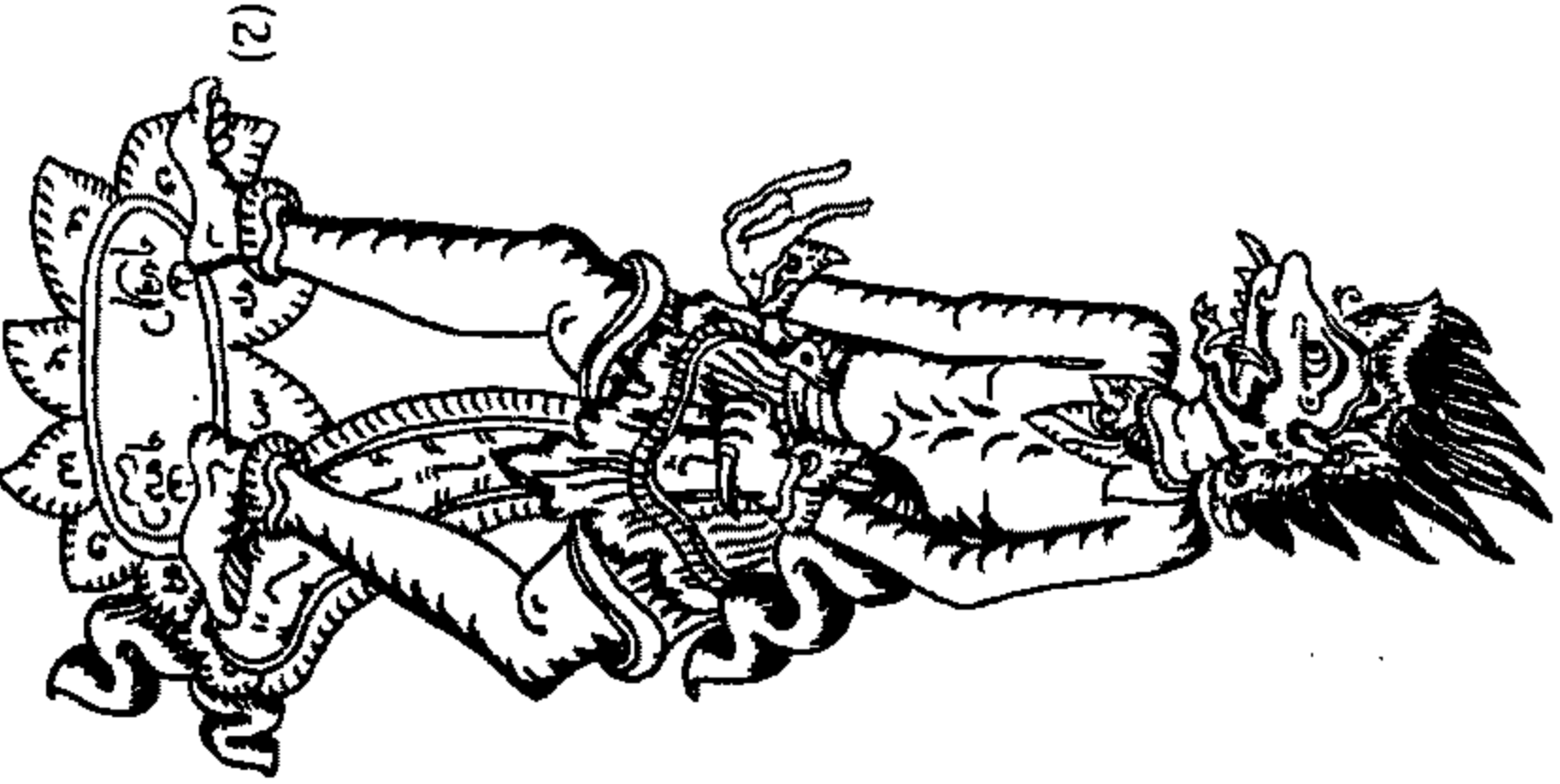
Dance

Local Disease Terminology

Western Nosology

weak/limp (alus style) rigid/stiff (kras style)	lesu lempor; tanpa bayu; kurru; grah; langu; mar lupa; luyu alus awaknya kekeng; jeh kekeh; walikaten; katos; lusu; kejeng; kenyat	hypotonia hypertonia; tonic spasm
head, neck and trunk movements	ileg-ileg (move head to left and right slowly); kipek-kipek (move head to left and right slowly); anglumbih (lower head); nguntul (head bent); majengatan (stiff neck); magulu mangsul (throw head back)	rotary tremors of head accompanying nystagmus athetoid type movements
facial expressions	kroda ambeknya (angry); jengis (stern); ngringgis (grin); mrengang (wild); palyatnya ambandreg-bandreg (angry); soca angarep-arep aturu (looking straight ahead-expressionless); ten eling tumingal (blank); doh lyatnya ngrawed/lyatnya ngajohin ('faraway' expression); mangliermandlepe (half-closed eyes, looking from the corner of them); sangan (eyes upward); ngidem (tightly shut eyes); sakedep (flicker/blink); soca manelik, manledoh, palyatnya nungah; mata martrak (fixed stare); magllehan (eyeball moving to left and right); delep-delep (look for corner of eyes); mauyeng-uyeng ring mata (eyes whirling); socanya luru (searching eyes); mangesating alis (raised eyebrows); kejit-kejit (repeatedly raising and lowering eyebrows); malodlod mata/mundak soca (bulging eyes); ngiap socanya (sleepy eyes); mlel-mlek socanya (shy look)	tetanic spasm risus sardonius petit mal seizures nystagmus oculogyricus exophthalmus myotonic dystrophia
eyes/glances	makret ngahet layah (rolling tongue); ngakes-akes bungut (biting); mamengor cangkem (mouth angled); cangkem patisoljol (mouth in shape of beak); ngajangit (bare teeth); cepak cangkem (smacking lips); nyebak cangkem (mouth agape); mangancing cangkem caket cadiknya (clenched teeth and jaws); mangamilmil cangkem (sucking); ngalepek (pursing of lips)	spasm of masseter or facial muscles trismus gustatory hallucination (temporal lobe epilepsy)
mouth	tan mari mangadoh (continuously uttering 'adoh'); nyerit (yell); suaranya metu kaya sigsigan (emitting sobs); nyakaok (high pitched cry); munyinya metu ngisu (gaspings); mangawuk (crying out); gregeh-gregeh sabda (whinnying sound); malolohan/nglbuik (deleterious raving); ngumik-umik (uttering incoherently); mapil-mapil (uttering meaningless phrases); anambat-anambat dewa pitara (rave evoking deities)	the epileptic cry involuntary cry or grunt in tonic spasm aphonia aphasia
sounds/utterances expletives beh, adoh peculiar cries and grunts repetitive uttering of syllables (ke-cak-a-cek-)	tangan ngurape (groping, searching with hands); patik ring karna (touching ear lightly and repeatedly); betbet ring karnya (pulling at ear); nabdab tangan megembehan (arms outstretched); jijos tangan (arms flexed); pagridip tangan (slow, sluggish movement of arms); tangan pakeber-ber (arms flapping); kukul tangan (arms flexed upwards);	forced and uncontrolled grasping (in central nervous system disturbance) fumbling with clothes (of temporal lobe epilepsy) athetosis
upper extremities hand movements touching/grasping writhing, stretching flexing		

	<p>elevated shoulders, twitching of limbs in poliomyelitis wrist drop (of beriberi)</p>	
	<p>pakripit jariji (fingers moving slowly); angwayang-wayang jariji (fingers quivering); gegemen tujuhe linjonge (second and third fingers clenched); nyingguk-nyingguk (elbows curved upward); tangan tan pabayu (arms limp and lifeless)</p>	
lower extremities	<p>lejah-lejuh (move limbs tensely); lesu suku/suku tan pabayu (weakness in legs); suku pagridip mungkah (legs lifted slowly); kukul suku ring dada (legs bent up towards chest); kekeh suku, tan molah (legs stiff, unable to walk); jeriji batis pakeber-ber (splayed toes)</p>	permanent Babinski sign
locomotion/gait	<p>ginggang (totter, waddle); langu agigis (stagger); anglangkahin (step, stride over); geder-gederan (walk fast); mametpet (moving and falling); amalayu (run about randomly); sriyat-sriyat (stagger, almost fall); molah suku gebyag-gebyug (falling over when walking); lumaku aning andagan, tiba ring siksikan (kicking feet out to opposing side when walking)</p>	<p>ataxia akinetic seizures chorea</p>
bodily contortions	<p>jojot (move in a crouched position) jangkel gikiran (back stiff, knees bent and buttocks protruding)</p>	lumbar lordosis
arc de circle	<p>lukuh/lengkung gilir (arched backwards); ingut (bent over); dungkul/jojos awaknya (body doubled up); anglulu mapulgan (roll oneself into a ball); jumprat-jumprit (tumble and turn upside down) babiulan sagenahnye (total spasm); babiulan saparanya (partial spasm); ngloso-losong; glibag-glibeg</p>	<p>opisthotonos generalised seizure partial seizure</p>
slow reeling twisting, writing movements rolling, gliding falling twitching, shaking, trembling, jerky movements spasms	<p>malinter gimbelan malulunan (roll, reel about); ngalulu ngamungguhahang: galeng-gililing; ngeter; kejet-kejet gumigel angejer mocak pakedut malayung kejut-kejut kejang mangekes manglinuh jlimuban</p>	<p>chorea clonus myoclonus acute dystonia tonic spasms</p>
	<p>vertigo: dizziness, sense of rotation, turning, unsteadiness; tendency to veer to one side</p>	



- (1) Aji Rambut Agung, a means of invoking the compassion of kala and bhuta.
- (2) A means of overpowering leyak and durga in space tenget.
- (3) Bhagawan Kala Dasamuna, a means of averting epidemics.
- (4) Durga Srawen, a means of attaining release from epidemic disaster.
- (5) Bhagawan Wisnu-Murti, a means of invoking a respite from a high prevalence of leprosy and epidemics.

Ergot of rye, one of the chemical compounds found in rye, commonly known as Lyserg-Saure-Diethylamid (LSD) was a probable physical cause which initiated the strange behaviour associated with the dancing mania of medieval Germany. LSD causes hallucinations and agitation. It also increases susceptibility to external stimuli one of which is rhythm. Agitation can frequently translate into dancing movement (Cartwright 1972:202-3). Tarantism (from which the name of the musical form tarantella originated) belongs to the same category. It is thought to have had little relationship to the bite of the spider (tarantula), though poisoning or toxic neuropathy could have been involved. According to Zinsser, description from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries indicate that many of the cases of tarantism could have represented diseases involving the nervous system which were probably of infectious origin. Some cases were suggestive of hydrophobia (rabies). Other described symptoms included melancholia and depression, sleeplessness, jaundice, vomiting, and diarrhoea. Involuntary and excessive motor activity with alternating laughter and weeping would lead to gradual loss of strength and semi-consciousness.

Aware that 'mere intelligence' could not grasp the 'secret levels' of Balinese dance and drama (and by way of explaining the reactions of Artaud to it, and the 'magical spell' it exercised) Pronko (pp.14,17) wrote:

The gestures of the dancers, their costumes, facial expressions, headdresses, all serve a kind of symbol. And like a symbol they must be vague, only pointing the way to some absolute or secret reality.

The universe suggested by the dance drama, like the world inhabited by the Balinese villager, is a magical one, for the metaphysical and supernatural are fundamental in Balinese society and religion. The natural and the supernatural are not two separate worlds, but different facets of the familiar everyday world.

There is another interesting correspondence between the Balinese construction of disease and that is in the attire of deities of spirits which reside within the human organism (and whose activities initiate or else counteract pathogenic processes) and the costumes of some types of dances. Particular significance is given to the headdresses of these spirits, likewise to those worn by sanghyang trance dancers. Some of the deities responsible for morbid changes are part-animal and part-human. Their counterparts (antidotes) if correctly summoned, and provided they have the necessary power (payogane), can override that of the spirit who has initiated the pathological process. Each of these spirits has a secret formula, a group of syllables or words which are uttered by a balian in order to exorcize or control the course of the illness (see Chapter 4[i] under the sub-heading 'toxicity').

Artaud recognized Balinese dance as a magical rite, as being expressive of 'great metaphysical fear' and containing themes of 'cosmic struggle' even though, so far as I can determine, the dances which he actually witnessed represented secularized (commercial) versions of traditional exorcistic trance dances. Artaud also perceived that dance did not exist to resolve the social and psychological conflicts of contemporary man. He felt the meaning was to be found in its 'lost magico-religious beginning' (Pronko p.29). Mead (Margaret Mead Archives



> Bodakala

> Batawang Nala

> Si Wangkawa

> Sang Jagal Tuwa



N5) suggested that Balinese trance phenomena was a result of the trancer identifying with a conflict between the 'witch and the beast' (Rangda and Barong) or between puppets or between the front and the back of a hobby horse. The last mentioned aside, there is some truth in this assessment. I feel the trance dancer is identifying with and allowing the self (body) to be used to enact a conflict, namely the one between the host and the disease organism, in Balinese medical theory perceived as a spirit often in animal form. Artaud, imaginatively and correctly, I think, perceived a metaphysical struggle.

It is generally said of Balinese dance and drama that they lack climax. It may be more accurate to say that they lack introduction and a finale characteristic of Western theatre. To pronounce trance dance as devoid of climax seems odd (to anyone who has witnessed the ritual) and also contradictory to other statements which describe the intensity of trance dance enactments. One can, in fact, draw an analogy between the climax of a trance dance and an acute disease episode — a crisis resolved either in death or recovery. When the Balinese celebrate death as they do and extend cremation and subsequent rites for the deceased into the spectacular events which they are, it is perhaps not remarkable that morbidity and its manifestations should be likewise exteriorized, acknowledged and similarly made into a spectacle.

Traditionally, Balinese dance is not performance. It is enactment, often used to exorcize disease or contain its spread. Part of the response to disease is to externalize it. One of the functions of dance is to act out the fear which disease provokes and simultaneously to exorcize the offending spirit. Dance is then a form of magic. Like mantra, it is a confrontation and circumvention capable of initiating a reversal. On the subject of thinking and real experience going separate ways but leaving marks on culture and language, Jameson (1971:83) wrote:

How many are the ideas of which we may say that we understand them conceptually, without remembering in any original sense what they mean.

Notes - Chapter 13

1. See Chapters 4[ii]; 5[vi]; 8; 11 and 12 in particular.
2. Discussed briefly in Chapter 5[i].
3. These notions have been elaborated in Chapters 4[i & ii] and 5[iv].
4. Psychoneurological morbidity has been discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.
5. Outlined in greater detail in Chapter 4[i] under the sub-heading 'Bhuana Agung, Buana Alit'.
6. As previously demonstrated (particularly in Chapter 12), an extensive use of analogies between disease symptomatology and household objects and vegetable matter in disease labeling is found in the tuju and tiwang group of diseases as well as in the naming of trance exorcistic dances.

7. For an interpretation of this association, see Lovric (1987).
8. See Foucault 1979:72-8,126 on animality and perceptions of madness. Foucault adopts a more moralistic attitude and sociological interpretation of these perceptions than I.
9. I also do not accept the commonly held assumption that the Balinese do not allow infants to crawl because it constitutes animal behaviour. There is certainly some adaptive value in preventing infants from crawling on ground surfaces which are obviously a source of infection.
10. The possible reason for this proscription is offered in Chapter 9[iii].
11. Contrary to the view expressed here, Stone (1983:971) suggests that in Nepalese healing rituals, the use of food alludes to breakdowns in ordered exchanges and human interdependency within the social order and represents a fundamental conflict in society. From my stance and view of the Balinese symbolism, the food ingredients in healing rites allude to physical breakdowns and the interdependency of man and his microbes.
12. Kapferer's writings on the transformational process in rituals (e.g., 1984) have directed my focus towards this issue.
13. As discussed earlier (Chapter 2[i] and 5[i]), the Balinese tradition of aywa wera operates against the easy transmission of understanding to the ill-informed.
14. In the 1950s, the PKI (Partai Komunis Indonesia) enthusiasts attempted to secularize Balinese traditional dance as a means of propagating a peasant culture and ethos. Peasant dances were contrived along the lines inherent in rural folkdance of Western peasant societies such as are found in Russia (see McKie 1969:95-6). Some evidence of this designed 'peasant folkdance' remains in secular dance.
15. In Chapters 11[ii] and 12[ii] I have presented a counter argument to that which posits that sexual symbolism is prominent in Balinese trance dance.
16. I am indebted to the late Professor Neville Stanley with whom, in the early stages of my research, I discussed my findings concerning a relationship between disease and dance. He suggested that I look at nutritional neuropathies as these would probably represent a prominent part of the disease burden in Southeast Asia generally. He had in mind the rigidity or limpness which he had observed as being characteristic of the limbs in Balinese dance.

CONCLUSION

My data and research methodology have prompted a critical examination of a number of axioms which, through the very reason of their entrenchment in the ethnography of Bali, have not been questioned and may prove difficult to unsettle. The binary opposition device of structuralist thought has been a prominent feature of Balinese ethnography as it has been in that of Indonesia in general. I have demonstrated that this application of structuralism has been an ill-considered theoretical basis for analysis and interpretation. Moreover, it has tenaciously frustrated understanding. On one hand, it has forced complexity upon cultural predilections which might have a simple and pragmatic explanation. In other instances, it has forced simplistic explanations upon complex phenomena.

I have formulated alternative propositions: philosophical equations, in place of binary oppositions and cosmological dualisms; the sea as a source of life and power and as the ultimate decontaminator, in place of the sea as the source of evil and death; the protective and therapeutic function of magical rites, and their inception in a concern for human well-being and survival, rather than a magico-technological function in agricultural endeavours; and finally, a literate tradition subsumed within an oral one in which (prior to religious reformist philosophies discussed in Chapter 6[iii]) all Balinese share the same religious ideology, ritual preferences and assumptions concerning the nature of the supernatural, rather than a dichotomy between an elite literate tradition and a commoner ritualistic one.

Throughout this study I have argued against the conceptual premise of separate realms of 'good and evil in never-ending confrontation' either prompting ritual and artistic representation or informing their contents. I have also maintained that there is no abstract ethical meaning or moral directive attached to the enactment of rituals or to the myths which inform them. Paradoxically, from the perspective of 'our' implicit assumptions but not 'theirs', the protective deities aroused (matangi) in rituals to secure human well-being are what we would label demonic in character and what the Balinese label pamurti or bharawa-bharawi connoting diabolic but inexorable proficiency. In the context of myths and magical rites (in Chapters 8, 11, 12) and through reference to local conceptual configurations (in Chapters 3[vii]; 5[v]) I have endeavoured to demonstrate this proposition.

Cognizant of the strong Tantric orientation, particularly Tantrism of 'the left-hand path', in Balinese medico-magic, I maintain that it is a matter of confronting virulence with virulence, that is, like with like. The objective is to exorcize disease organisms from the body through representation of the unmanifest powers responsible for them. Such spirits are represented, to some extent, through analogies with the physical and mental changes in human form and quality concomitant with morbidity.

The life and life-protecting, death and death-devouring themes of Balinese myth, magic and ritualism, graveyards, cremation grounds and death temples as the foci of rites of exorcism and revivification and the prominence of the Goddess of Death are all echoings of a Tantric tradition, cast in Balinese style. The twin themes of horror and hilarity, of the lurid and the ludic, of invoking extremes and of dialectical reversals, demonstrably features of the Balinese magico-medical tradition, are all characteristic of Tantric rites. It has been suggested that it is these Tantric tendencies which account for some of the particularities of the Balinese system.

These observations are worthy of note for there is a paucity of scholarship on Tantric orientations in religious systems generally. Tantric literature is vast and largely unexplored (Pott 1966:177). Writers such as Saraf (1974) and Bhārāti (1970) suggest that Tantric forms of religion have been purposefully neglected. In the case of Bali, the Tantric element in religion and magic is certainly an unexplored area of investigation. In view of the reformist efforts to define Balinese religion in terms of Hindu orthodoxy and to bring it into line with Islamic and Christian philosophers, one might suspect a deliberate neglect or even denial of the strong Tantric orientations in the magico-medical complex identified in this study.

The subject tackled is a complex one. I have endeavoured to piece together and present an integrated study of the many facets involved. I have sought to order the complexity, mindful of the danger of imposing a spurious order in the process of attempting to do so. One of the initial difficulties related to the fact that the subject defied anything other than a holistic totalizing study. It was necessary to lay the groundwork and to expose the complexity of the problem in order to bring the issue into focus. Witchcraft, trance possession, myth and magic are topics about which most writers on Bali feel compelled to make at least a passing reference. Until now, they have not been placed and interpreted within their context — medical theory and practice. None of these issues, including the magico-medical theory and practice itself, have received anything like an exhaustive study. Work on the subject should continue for decades, ideally, through the combined efforts of a team of researchers working in the techniques of anthropology, history, philology and medical science, guided by philosophical reflection and both through the methods of field research and textual study. The recapitulations and conclusions offered in the following pages constitute, in part, a commentary upon the directions my own investigations have taken.

Reflections of Morbid Realities

The works of culture come to us as signs in an all-but-forgotten code, as symptoms of diseases no longer even recognized as such, as fragments of a totality we have long since lost the organs to see (Jameson, 1971:416).

This study has involved the kind of dialectical drifting referred to by Geertz and Boon (see Chapter 1), in what is ultimately a search for an understanding of understanding. I have focused on the Balinese magico-medical system as an expression of natural (and pathologic) experience, the ordering and interpretive processes in epistemological

structures and ways of knowing through such things as language, classificatory systems and symbolic rites. The problem of the relationship between the system and epistemological structure, in this case, has been approached dialectically. I subjected my subject (the Balinese magico-medical system) to transformation and reification within another — a Western and scientific epistemological code — thereby deconstructing it, clarifying and decoding the interrelation between it, epistemological structure and morbid realities.

Clearly, the Balinese magico-medical system is not a weird compilation of erroneous observations and meaningless magic, the polar opposite to Western 'scientific' wisdom. Philosophical doctrines underlying Balinese medical theory and practice such as kanda mpat, panca mahabhuta, rwa bhineda or kawisyan (see Chapter 4[i]) constitute vague (perhaps very vague) counterparts to scientific biophysical and biochemical bases of physiologic dysfunction. Supernaturals and preternaturals — deities, demons, ghosts, spirits and witches — are part of a system of references, actions and reactions, explanations and solutions in the Balinese construction of disease, no mere religious idiom.

The scope of the intellectual perspective and the level of erudition negotiated by the new critics and their exponents referred to here (see Chapter 1[ii], in particular) can, I believe, help to perforate the barrier which has precluded dialogue between the humanities and the natural sciences; a dialectical semiotics, as Anderson (1983:83) writes, recognizes that the 'articulation of nature and history is uneludable'. A dialectic semiotics and the kind of interpretive approach advocated by semiotic anthropologists promotes this kind of search for interrelationships and intertextuality; a search for analogies between seemingly disparate discourses. I have used these writings as a springboard for investigations of my own material. I have attempted to interrelate local knowledge and intellectual constructs with natural history; hence to clarify and decode the relationship between epistemological presuppositions, structure and encoded realities, in this case, 'a hidden nightmare'.

The methodology eludes the risk of the trivialization of 'exotic' (other) forms of structuring phenomena and ways of knowing. It also emphasizes the logical function of signs and codes and their structural totality. It demonstrates Boon's (1982:121) proposition that 'cultural meaning is both context-laden and context-convertible'. It also inveighs against the kind of mechanistic 'escape tactics' such as counting and classifying condemned by Geertz (1973b:11). The dialectical reconstruction and 'rationalization' of the structural totality through the unmasking of metaphorical thinking and metaphysical encoding, which I have attempted here, salvages a traditional (non-scientific) medical discourse and intellectual tradition from being dissolved as 'fragmented fetishism', and renders its epistemological structure recalcitrant to designations of rhetorical irrelevance.

It is true that there are perceptual-conceptual variances between the technical code of the scientific system and the poetic, imaginative one of the Balinese system. However, both are logical codes. Signification is more or less (perhaps more in the latter) codified. Both are systems of hermeneutic interpretation (see Guiraud 1975:24). Even so, I wish to avoid any notion that I romanticize Balinese medical ignorance (in the sense of Western science). I recognize other observations, another

system of knowledge and another wisdom based upon a different way of defining experience.

The Balinese express the phenomenology of disease primarily in metaphor because that is their way of knowing. The predisposition to think in metaphor is, as we have seen, human, rational and universal. In neo-Freudian psychoanalytical theories, demons may be 'projections of hate and fear and of repressed 'atavism', witchcraft may constitute 'delusions projecting Oedipal ambivalences into father symbols', and magic might imply 'obsessional neurotic ritual'.¹ In Balinese medical theory, practice, experience and system of knowledge (as I have tried to demonstrate through this study), they are otherwise. The Balinese way of knowing posits as a major premise the existence of unmanifest powers which influence human well-being and who are themselves amenable to intercession through ritual action — even to the point of assuming protective roles.

Throughout this study, I have not been prompted by my data sources and the nature the evidence to remove analysis and interpretation from the bio-medical bases of the rituals, myths and artistic representations examined, demonic spirits as metaphors for pathogenesis, leyak as embodiments of aetiologic conceptions of disease and sometimes representations of gross pathology or manifestations of the morbid and psychiatric dimensions of diseases themselves. As well as representing the abnormality of, they express responses to fundamental threats to, existence. Local assertions that the activities of bhuta-kala and other unmanifest forces focus about tenget space, ominous times and transitional phases in the human life cycle, that leyak are attracted to foetuses, to the new-born, parturient women, the sick and the dying, constitute statements concerning the patterns of disease and the vulnerable groups. They are reflections and representations of morbid realities.

Things which arouse intense anxiety are naturally buttressed and shrouded in regular and periodic ritual. In the case of Bali many of the rituals punctuate early infancy, the changing of seasons, especially the coming of the wet season. It is suggested that the reason why many or more references to seasonal epidemic illness point to Macaling and cholera (see Chapter 11[v]) stems from the fact that cholera is the most recently experienced of the great epidemic illnesses on Bali. It seems to have subsumed some of the prophylactic and neutralizing ritual previously associated with such diseases as smallpox. Likewise, Macaling has possibly assumed prominence over other demonic deities of disease owing to the immediacy of the affliction accredited to him. Man and his microbes are both involved in a struggle for existence. All life is engaged in biological warfare. Epidemics recorded in Balinese medical mythology form part of the 'historical nightmare' immortalized in rituals associated with protective cult demonic masks. Endemic diseases encoded in the semiotics of bhuta-kala, leyak and sundry unmanifest powers attest the domestic nightmare.

'A Fear-Haunted People'

'If I do not return to my village to attend the Panangluk Marana, without doubt, I will get sick' (A Gianyar villager working in Sanur).

[Fear is] the driving force in human minds which begets an imperious demand for security in the world's confusion (Langer, 1942:158).

Notwithstanding its fame as 'The Last Paradise', and the image of the island as 'The Morning of the World', Bali appears to have been and some would say still is, 'a dangerous paradise' in terms of health. Given the degree of cultural elaboration woven around the predicament of disease and untimely death, there is much to support other epithets already established in the ethnography which portray the Balinese as 'fear-haunted people' who 'seek no joy in the arts' (Holt and Bateson 1970:329), who are taught from early childhood that the world is 'undifferentiatedly full of vague terror' (Mead 1970:337) and who have a character 'based upon fear' (Bateson and Mead 1942:47). This all stands in curious contradiction to the more romantic image of the Balinese as a carefree, insouciant people.

The style, complexity and variety of art and ritual forms have likewise attracted the attention of scholars generally. Explanations for these have been sought in psychoanalytical theories, specifically, the cultural personality, itself already constructed by Western scholarship. Mead (1970:337-9) proposed that artistic forms act as surrogates preventing the Balinese from ever realizing their misery; the childhood poignant fears and agony ~~is~~ experienced at the hands of the mother are not 'left to fester'. They are given expression in cultural forms. Bateson and Mead (1942) had, of course, already written the theory upon which this interpretation was to be based: the Balinese have fear instilled into them in the mother's arms; from the mother-child relationship, 'cherishing and thoughtfulness' are absent 'to an astonishing degree' and replaced by 'titillation and emotional exploitation' (p.12).

Textual and ethnographic evidence does indeed support the contention that the Balinese are a fear-ridden people. Yet, there are more salient bio-medical factors and epistemological explanations concerning what motivates this anxiety. The question is not whether or not this fear and anxiety are valid, rather, upon what are they focused? Given what is known of the tropical environment and its effects upon health, seasonal patterns of illness, the effects of devastating epidemics, standard of personal and environmental hygiene and sanitation, together with Balinese conceptions of disease, is this fear not related to a high incidence of debilitating and life-threatening disease, a high infant and maternal mortality rate and a low life expectancy?

The fear of becoming seriously or acutely ill appears to be a constant preoccupation of the Balinese villager and urban dweller and this fear directs much of the ritual activity which occupies a considerable part of the life of a Balinese. I have yet to encounter a Balinese who would deliberately or carelessly neglect rituals deemed necessary for the protection of himself, his family and the community or who would presume they could do so with impunity. Even the average Westerner attuned to the inherent dangers (real or imputed) of living on Bali, execute or pay to have executed on their behalf, the daily and periodic rituals and offerings imputed in the local tradition to be imperative to the maintenance of a state of well-being. The Balinese are competitive, primarily in building shrines, preparing offerings, dancing for the gods and so forth. From early childhood the Balinese are accustomed to witnessing sometimes violent states of altered consciousness in trance

dance rituals. They hear explanations of disease in terms of supernatural aetiology, pathogenesis and resolutions.

Field observations and local literary sources convey the impression that the Balinese (no different to others) do not live in utopian harmony with nature, supernaturals or with each other, but rather in fear of sudden, acute and prolonged illness, of divine vengeance or demonic wrath and fear of each other, arising from the conviction that much personal affliction is caused by magic (unseen powers) working through some human agency, usually one's kin, caste or neighbour. Harmony remains, nevertheless, an ideal if not a reality.

A tropical environment is not generally favourable for health, an unsanitary one even less so. Like vegetation, disease organisms thrive there. The devastating effect of epidemics in terms of depopulation is expressed in local texts through phrases and words like sepi denoting 'depopulated' or 'deserted'. The impact of such epidemics possibly accounts for the positive value placed upon things being rame, 'busy' and 'crowded' (with people) and a fear and dread of Bali becoming sunya, 'desolate' or 'deplete' (of people). The Balinese lived, and arguably, still do live in fear of the dreadful, silent solitude and periodic diminution of the population wrought upon the island. As we have seen (Chapter 11), during epidemics people tended to remain indoors. Streets were empty and appeared lifeless (sunya).

In contemporary Bali, rame is the expression used to indicate the 'success' of magico-religious events such as temple festivals, even cremations. The positive value attached to things being rame applies to crowds or an abundance of people engaged in frenzied activities — the making of music, enactment of dance, the ceremonial processions (malasti). This rame preference is also manifest in other aspects of the Balinese lifestyle (relations and friends attending consultations with balian) and art style (the 'busyness' in Balinese paintings, often filled with crowds of people as well as other forms of life), for example. Things being rame confirms that they are rahayu. Fear of illness is an important sanction against ritual neglect and the neglect of ancestral traditions.

The pain, deformity, derangement and abnormality associated with disease are given artistic and ritual representations upon which fear and dread may indeed be focused. Rituals and the arts allow an externalization of anxiety and fear and imply a means of dealing with the threat; that being protection and control. The Balinese are not reluctant to acknowledge fear. To be bold (brani) is not considered a virtue. At best it is seen as foolishness. To feign bravery, not to take protective measures and not to seek participation with powerful forces as a means of mediating their destructive potentiality are all equally foolish.

It is axiomatic that the fundamental will to survive is common to all organisms. The imperative to do so is manifest in certain actions, generally ritual and prescriptive. Communities tend to focus attention upon, and culturally elaborate, matters of crucial concern. These may relate to sustenance, in which case there is likely to be a cultural emphasis upon agricultural fertility, rainfall and their contingencies, drought and famine. Animal fecundity is another focus of concern related to sustenance. Bali's fertile volcanic soil, superb drainage and reliable rainfall have made agriculture less problematic than almost anywhere

else in the archipelago, including Java (Geertz 1980:8). For the Balinese, the perceived substantive danger of ritual omission is not that crops will fail or that there will be no rain but that epidemics will rage and deplete the population leaving insufficient people to tend crops and produce sufficient food to sustain life. Historically, people and their labour have been the essential resource. The debilitating effects of disease and the decimation of the population engaged in labour-intensive sawah cultivation have constituted a crucial issue and a theme of historical literature.² Similarly, motifs in visual representations do not display concern with animal fertility or fecundity. Protective symbolism is directed primarily towards the immediate physical well-being of the human population; human fertility, survival of the hazards of infancy, the attainment of puberty and successful procreation.

I have attempted to tackle the relationship between artistic form and style and the complexity of artistic expressions and basic cultural emphases, as did Margaret Mead, for example. I have realized and presented quite different explanations. I have made them upon the basis of ethnographic and textual evidence previously unknown to, or unnoticed by, Western analysts and therefore outside their frames of reference. Whilst I have disputed most of the interpretations regarding the meaning and function of Balinese trance dance, for example, my research acknowledges and confirms almost everything that has been objectively observed concerning the form and style of trance dance and the particularities of the vocabulary of Balinese dance. Only my interpretations of these distinctive particularities differ.

Furthermore, I believe that many of the art forms and rituals found on Bali which have been considered meaningless or cast into the 'ethnographic curiosity' basket are explicable in terms of the probable burden of disease with which the Balinese have had to cope and with the cultural solutions it evoked. I suspect that encoded in other trance rituals not discussed here (such as the Ayunan and Prang Duri known in Tenganan, the Keding Kling known in Gainyar, the Ding Dong known in Karangasem and the Berutuk, known in Trunyan) there may be similar symbols related, not to animal fecundity, agricultural abundance, totemistic rites, thanksgivings or initiatory practices (see Goris and Dronkers 1953; de Zoete and Spies 1973; Bandem and De Boer 1981), for which interpretations there is no clear textual or ethnographic evidence, but to man's own well-being, fertility and fecundity. The ability to produce live, viable offspring free of debilitating or life-threatening disease is not taken for granted. Numerous potions, lotions and magical formula to achieve erection of the penis, to vitalize the sperm and prescriptions and proscriptions related to child-birth found in usada would indicate that these constituted real concerns.

The consistent and frequent offerings and the enactment of most types of rituals (bhuta-, manusa- and dewa yadnya) are not directed towards transcendental goals, for reward in the hereafter or the prevention of punishment in it. Expectations are more immediate. Even so, an intrinsically pragmatic motivation does not necessarily stand in contradiction to mystical experience. This interpretation is not intended to reduce Balinese ritual and artistic endeavours to the level of secular pragmatism. The metaphysical is a fundamental fact of everyday life (not something taken out and celebrated on the Sabbath). An awareness of unmanifest forces pervades the world view, symbolic forms, the arts

and ritual. Even so, pragmatism prompts them. Disease, like conception, birth and death are perceived as metaphysical events as well as medical ones. Magico-medical means are used to cope with them. One cannot but be impressed by the apparent impact of disease upon culture. Naturally, there is a consistency between the Balinese construction of disease, the disease experience and culture. Disease is, after all, as old as man, and arguably, older than social structure.

The Impact of Disease Upon Culture

Understanding a people's culture exposes their normalness without reducing their particularity. . . . It renders them more accessible; setting them in the frame of their own banalities, it dissolves their opacity (Geertz, 1973b:14).

However much of their original meaning and function may have become obfuscated by the cognitive constructions of Western cultural brokers, entrepreneurs and scholars (of which Bali has had its share), alleged local ignorance and the promulations of present day bureaucratic religious reformists imbued with a spirit of nationalistic idealism, many of the most characteristic ethnographic features of Bali originate in the Balinese experience of morbidity and the meaning attached to it. Yet disease has never featured in research on this society. And the paradox does not end there. It continues in the discipline which calls itself medical anthropology. Indigenous conceptions of disease aetiology can easily be generalized to the point of rendering medical systems simplistic; a few points on demons, witches, soul loss and punishment by gods do not explain complex and logical (given the initial assumptions) explanatory systems. Agents of disease, mechanisms, processes and motives need to be differentiated. Much of the scholarly attention has been directed towards the responses that the burden of disease has provoked and to an analysis and assessment of indigenous solutions while the problem, the pathologic events, remain unknown and not-yet-understood quantities.³

Medical anthropological studies have postulated that ideas of illness are interrelated with the social system or the political economy, that illness is socially determined and that the basic patterns and values of a culture determine conceptions of disease causation which in turn directs therapy and prophylactic measures. In the case of Bali, I try to invert and reverse this proposition. Illness and disease are not simply socially constructed. Conceptualizations of disease(s) cannot be explained (and understood) primarily through social structures. My aim has been to relate ideas of illness to historical and epidemiologic experience, interpretations of these experiences and ultimately to epistemological presuppositions. My data support the proposition that the Balinese construction of disease (causation, prophylaxis and therapy) reflect particular bio-medical experiences shaped by ecological, geographic, historical and epidemiologic factors, interpreted from a particular view of the world and assumptions concerning the unmanifest powers as the prime agent in the life, well-being and death of human beings. I have indicated the ways in which these factual and conceptual aspects of disease have also shaped some of the basic patterns and themes of Balinese culture.

I do argue a kind of bio-medical determinism, but I do so within an ecological, historical, cultural and epistemological frame of reference and from the particularities of the Balinese experience. I suggest a

reorientation of approach to medical mythology and magic wherein the meaning behind the symbolism and the metaphorical development of this is sought in the problems in which they arise. These are not socio-cultural divisions, conflicts, competition and issues of legitimacy. I have found that the meaning behind the symbolism, the imagery, metaphor, utterances and paraphernalia in myth and magical rites pertains to the nature of the phenomenon which prompts them in the first place. This is disease. It is to Balinese constructions of disease, its aetiology, pathogenesis the process of diagnosis, prognosis and treatment together with applied knowledge of the objective realities of the phenomenon itself that I have turned for meaning, a closer awareness and understanding of the problems faced by a population group and the particularities of the cultural response. The myth and magic examined in this study inspires redressive ritual aimed not to cure the body politic but the bodies which comprise it.

I concede that my own predilection has been to perceive Balinese constructions of disease as part of a response to biological factors. An understanding of local knowledge gleaned from local magico-medical writings and supplementary field data have dictated the adoption of this stance. I accept that cultural customs can play a significant role as one of the interacting influences responsible for the transmission of disease. I merely postulate that environment, nutrition and poverty represent the causal factors in the aetiology of disease and emphasize the ecological problems of existence in a harsh tropical environment, especially for those locked within the vicious cycle of sickness, poverty, malnutrition and chronic ill-health. The major health problems facing people of developing tropical Asia are infection, parasitic infestation, and malnutrition. These are clearly bio-medical phenomena related, if anything, more to political issues (such as the distribution of national resources) than to socio-cultural ones. Elevated high frequencies, incidence, and prevalence of diseases affecting the nervous system, have little to do with race or social hierarchies. Viruses, bacteria, protozoa, parasitic worms and fungi thrive in an unsanitary environment and dominate the scene as much as do demons, witches, repressive social structures or teasing mothers and dominating males. Communicable diseases are at least as rife and more lethal than communal hostilities and conflicts. This is not to deny that disease does not have a massive sociological impact. But disease itself is and always has been abnormality. And that is how it is represented in Balinese medical ideology. These assertions I have argued in Chapter 7.

It has been shown that forms of morbidity, their grossness and awfulness, the distortions they inflict upon the body and the mind and the spectacular changes they induce in the somatic features of a human being account for some of the peculiarities and grotesqueries in artistic representations. Medical data have also directed me to postulate that the nature of disease pathogens which local medical writings would suggest have been part of the spectrum of diseases afflicting the Balinese people over time, their effects upon the human organism together with Balinese assumptions concerning pervasive mystical (unmanifest) powers as the prime causal category have influenced, perhaps, largely directed, the form and content of the demonic, witch phenomena, masks, carvings, graphic representations and the vocabulary of trance dance. The derangement and transformations concomitant with disease are encoded in their symbolism; they testify this and function to reverse it. It remains

for future research to determine whether or not the particular case of Bali indicates something universal about the impact of disease upon cultural representations and symbolic forms.

Focusing on the intellectual elaborations woven about the existential problem of disease has made me aware of Balinese sensitivity to both the biological foundations of human existence and the unmanifest powers operating in pathological processes which lead to disintegration of the human organism. The body, as Langer (1953:188) comments, is the most primitive symbol. I have directed attention to the importance of somatic influences on symbolic form; the human organism and the range of its potential morbid transformations as sources of cultural, particularly abnormal, representations. This could logically explain why many demonical symbols are pan-cultural. I have argued that illness, mental and somatic, is expressed primarily in a biological idiom and this influences cultural elaborations and solutions to morbid conditions. Causation and explanation are assigned to a metaphysical, often demonological, idiom but the representation of the demonic is influenced by medical semiology. Symbols, as Sperber (1973) observes, imply more than they reveal, though what they mean is almost always banal. The symbolism and the metaphorical development arise naturally from experience and natural processes which can be functionally abnormal. Magic, like disease, is curiously banal.

This study is limited to one ethnic group. Even so, the case of Bali does provide an argument against narrow sociological schemes and cultural determinist theories which ignore bio-medical factors. These, no less than the labeling of local medical systems as superstition (not knowledge), magic (not logic) and ignorance (not wisdom), can paralyze efforts to use traditional medical writings and magico-medical data in formulations concerning substantive themes and concerns of cultures.

Notes

1. See 'A Neurosis of Demonical Possession in the Seventeenth Century', in *The Collected Papers of Sigmund Freud*, 1923, quoted in *Studies in Parapsychology*, 1963, pp.91-125.
2. For some Western historical data concerning the effects of epidemics on the population see Jacobs (1883). See also Lovric (1987), especially footnote 42.
3. It may be valid to posit that the problem arises in the nature of the academic industry itself; separate disciplines and sub-disciplines competing with rather than interpenetrating each other. This matter I raised in Chapter 1.

GLOSSARY

- aben: also ngaben; cremation rites
- aci-aci: devotional, supplicatory ritual in temples
- adat: custom; customary law
- agung: great, large
- aksara: letter, syllables
- amerta: life-restoring water, the elixir of life
- amok: also amuk, ngamuk; uncontrolled movement and actions
- anak: person, human being
- Anak Agung: title applied to male members of the ksatriya caste
- anak alit: also anak cenik; lit. little human, i.e., a child
- anak jaba: lit. person outside (the triwangsa or caste system), i.e., a commoner
- anak luk: woman
- anak muani: man
- angen-angen: memory, cognition
- angklung: ancient bamboo instrumental ensemble
- arak: palm wine, often used as libation in rituals
- arca: ornamental (usually golden) image; a temporary vessel for visiting deities
- ari-ari: human placenta
- arja: operatic drama, sung usually in dialogue
- atma: soul, spirit
- awig-awig: village regulations
- ayu: lit. beautiful; also used as a female title
- babad: genealogical chronicle, history
- babai: spell usually created from a human foetus (bayi)
- babainan: possession affliction caused by babai intrusion
- bajang: young unmarried person; also Men Bajang, a female spirit associated with infant morbidity and mortality; sema bajangan, a graveyard for infants
- bale: pillared, roofed structure found within houseyards and temple complexes
- bale dangin: bale situated in eastern position in compound
- bale kaja: bale situated in northern position in compound
- balian: practitioner of medicine and magic
- balian katakson: trance medium
- balian usada: healer literate in local medical texts (usada)
- barong: term usually used to refer to certain types of masks; also a creature from medical mythology

- banjar: residential unit within a village (desa), hamlet
- banten: type of offering
- bayu: wind, breath, motor energy, life-force
- bharawa-bharawi: powerful, terrifying aspects of male and female deities
- Bhatara-Bhatari: male and female deities; deified ancestors; also titles
- bhuana: also spelt buwana bhuwana; world
- bhuana agung: the great world i.e., the universe or macrocosm
- bhuana alit: also bhuana sarira; (the little world) i.e., the human organism or microcosm
- bhuta-yadnya: rites to appease and seek the protection of fearful, terrifying powers, sometimes referred to generically as bhuta
- brahmana: the priestly caste and highest of the three castes (triwangsa)
- brem: rice wine
- buduh: mental derangement, madness
- Calon Arang: name of a widow-witch, an historical text and an exorcistic dance-drama
- canang: small simple flower and fine leaf offering
- candi: temples associated with a royal ancestral cult
- caru: also pacaruan macaru; ground offerings of widely varying degrees of elaboration from a few grains of rice to large mammals for powerful unmanifest powers
- cecak: small lizard-like creature, gecko
- Cokorda: ksatriya caste title
- dadap: species of tree held to have magical significance
- daksina: south; also a form of offering consisting primarily of a young coconut
- dalang: type of priest able to enact wayang and perform exorcisms
- dalem: lit. deep or within, often used in the title of a paramount ruler and in the name of a temple
- desa: village
- desti: also panestian, ndesti; a form of harmful magical spell consisting of various ingredients often concealed within the living space of its intended victim
- Dewa-Dewi: class of supernaturals; also used as a title for members of the ksatriya caste.
- edan: mental derangement, madness
- eka dasa rudra: bhuta-yadnya theoretically held every 100 years
- Galungan: bhuta-yadnya lasting 10 days occurring every 210 days
- gamelan: generic name for music and orchestra usually consisting of percussion instruments
- garuda: mythological bird
- gede: great, big; also used in titles
- gedong: enclosed stone or wooden structure found in houseyards and temples often used to house sacred objects
- geria: also geriya and griya; residence of a brahmana
- gering: also gring; disease, illness
- gering agung: the great disease, leprosy

- gunung: mountain
- guru: mentor, wise person
- Gusti (I): title of wesya caste
- Ida: honorific title usually applied to deities and members of the brahmana caste
- Ida Bagus: title used by male members of the brahmana caste
- idep: mind, thought
- ider-ider: painted cloth frieze
- ider-ideran: spiritual circumalation along the points of the compass
- jaba: lit. outside
- jero: lit. inside; also used as a title to indicate a special relationship with mystical powers and also applied to the residence of non-ruling members of the ksatriya and wesya castes; jeroan: inner court of pura
- kahyangan: temple (pura)
- kahyangan tiga: three village temples, usually named puseh (navel or origin), bale agung (the community meeting place) and dalem (usually rendered 'death temple')
- kajeng-kliwon: conjunction of the fifth day of the 5-day week and the third day of the 3-day week: a rarainan
- kala: time; also a demonic power
- kanda mpat: four physical and unmanifest component of human conception and development
- kapanjangan: also karangsukan; possessed, usually by unnamed powers
- kaputusan: mystical knowledge or revelation: decisive action
- karauhan: possessed, usually by named deities
- karya: ritual task or action; a word not traditionally used for secular duties
- katakson: possessed by a known mediatory spirit
- kawi: literary language of Bali
- keben: closed cane basket used for carrying offerings and ritual objects
- kepeng: lead or bronze Chinese coins with square hole in the middle, generally used in a ritual context
- kris: ceremonial dagger
- Kuningan: end of the galungan bhuta-yadnya marking the return of ancestral deities to their realm
- lamak: plaited young palm leaves decorated with abstract patterns or stylized figures and hung in temples, on walls and over images during specific rituals
- lawah: ritual food concocted from finely shredded raw pig meat, onions, coconut and chilli bound together with fresh pig blood
- leyak: also spelt leak; witch-sorcerer
- lontar: also rontal; palm-leaf manuscripts
- lukat: also palukatan, malukat; ritual ablution with purifying water
- malasti: also melis and makiyis; a ritual procession and purification of sacred objects in the sea or a water source which flows into the sea
- maluasang: seance; mystical participatoin

- Mangku: abbreviated form of pamangku used to address pamangku and balian
- mantra: whispered, spoken or written mystical formula
- manusa-yadnya: life-cycle rites
- mapajar: dance enactment of a sakti mask in temple enclosure
- marana: dead(ly) epidemic (see **Usada Paribasa**, HKS3268:1)
- maya: illusion; powers of self-transformation
- moksa: release from the cycle of reincarnation; death without leaving mortal remains
- Mpu: title applied to learned powerful priests
- modre: powerful syllables used in magic rites
- ngarehang: mystical witch-hunt and testing of a sacred mask
- Ngurah: title; guardian, protector
- Nini: grandmother; title applied to Durga
- Nyepi: from (sepi); bhuta-yadnya held at the end of the ninth Balinese month
- odalan: periodic (every 210 days) temple ceremony lasting one to three days during which time all those having affiliations with the temple take offerings, receive holy water and request continued protection from the deities whose powers are activated at that time; ritual regalia stored in the temple is taken to the sea for purification
- ongkara: designation of the mystical syllables AUM or ONG
- padma: lotus; also cakra, centres in the body
- padanda: high priest of the brahmana caste
- paica: thing given which is of mystical or divine origin
- pakaran: houseyard or compound; usually refers to the whole complex
- palinggih: altar; seat of deity
- pamangku: temple priest
- pamoroan: from morō; greed, destructive magic
- pamuterang: means of ritual reversal
- Panangluk Marana: rites for the containment of deadly epidemics
- panca mahabhuta: five elements of existence; fire, water, earth, air, ether
- Panca Wali Krama: bhuta-yadnya held every five years or more frequently during times of epidemic illnesses
- pangiwa: magic of the 'left-hand path'
- pangulapan: from ulap; restoration rite
- pasimpangan: repository for sacred objects
- penjor: bamboo pole adorned with offerings placed outside houseyards and temples during ritual periods such as galungan
- pingit: secret and dangerous
- pirata: spirit of the uncremated dead
- pitara: spirit of the cremated dead
- poleng: black and white cloth having magical properties
- pura: temple
- pura panataran: regional temple for the veneration of ancestors of ruling raja

- puri: residence of ruling members of ksatriya or wesya castes
- purnama: full moon
- rahayu: safe and well, not sick
- raja: ruler, authority
- rangda: lit. widow; often used as a generic term to refer to masks associated with the Calon Arang legend
- rarainan: from rahina (day); magically powerful days
- rarajahan: also rajah; syllabic, abstract, geometrical or figurative diagrams or drawings used with magical intent. Also called tumbal, tatumbalan
- rarantasan: requisite clothing for maluasang rites
- rasa: essence, perception
- Ratu: title of raja or deities
- rejang: ancient dance enacted by women and young girls
- Rsi: title of priests and of ksatriya high priests
- sabda: sound, voice, power of communication
- sabuk: waist cloth or belt complete with magically-charged objects and mantra
- sabuk pangleayakan: a belt acquired to aid the practice of witchcraft
- sadeg: temple caretakers who sometimes wear sacred masks and become possessed by spirits summoned during rituals; also called pangadeg
- sakti: also kasakten; magical power
- sande kala: dusk
- sanggah: generic term used to denote altars and temples in a compound
- Sanghyang: title used to address a wide variety of unmanifest powers of variable dispositions
- sarana: requisite ingredients to achieve a magical goal
- sawah: wet rice field or cultivation
- sebel: contagion, ritual impurity
- sepi: also sunya; silent, deserted, deplete (of population)
- setra: also sema; graveyard
- sirih: betel nut and lime mixture which is chewed
- sisya: pupil or follower of a priest or powerful leyak
- subak: rice irrigation association
- taksu: control or intermediary possessing spirit or force
- tatabuhan: ritual libation
- tatumbalan: also tumbal; magical drawing which is usually buried
- Tawur Kasanga: bhuta-yadnya held in the ninth (kasanga) Balinese month
- tenget: beset with ambiguous magical forces, (usually of space)
- tilem: new moon; last day of lunar month
- tirtha: holy water prepared by a padanda
- tiwang: convulsive seizures; generic term for infective neuropathies
- tongos ngastiti: also tongos nunas ica; lit. a place where requests are made, a balian's healing chamber
- triwangsa: lit. the three peoples; the three castes of Bali, brahmana, ksatriya and wesya
- tuju: generic term for a number of disease categories including nutritional neuropathies

tulak: also panulak; a potent means of defence, antidote
ulu: head, top, end
upas: generic term for toxic neuropathies
usada: medical treatise
usana: historical texts which also relate aetiological tales concerning
temples, ancient institutions and ritual practices
wayang: form of shadow-play usually with skin (kulit) puppets and enacted
in a ritual context
winten: also mawinten, pawintenan; initiation and consecration, usually
of a priest
wisya: toxicity, poison, infection
wong: person; also wong samar: invisible person
wuku: term which refers to the 30 seven-day weeks in the 210 Balinese
year
yadnya: ritual offerings; exorcisms; placations; protective rites
yantra: geometrical diagram of mystical potency
yoga samadhi: ascetic meditation

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

A. & N.Z. J. Psych.	Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry
BKI	Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. The Hague
JAMA	Journal of the American Medical Association
Djawa	Tijdschrift van het Java Instituut
FEATM	Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine
HKS	Hooykaas-Ketut Sangka manuscript collection
Ind.	Indonesian language
JMS	Journal of Mental Science
K	Kirtya (manuscript collection, Gedong Kirtya, Singaraja)
MBGD	Mededeelingen van den Burgerlijken Geneeskundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië
MDVG	Mededeelingen van den Dienst Volksgezondheid in Nederlandsch-Indië
RIMA	Review of Indonesian and Malayan Affairs
Soc. Sci. & Med.	Journal of Social Science and Medicine
TBG	Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. Uitgegeven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen
WHO	World Health Organization

(1) Primary Sources

(i) Kawi Manuscripts According to Title and Collection Number

HKS	Hooykaas-Ketut Sangka Proyek Tik. These are listed according to the numbers assigned to manuscripts by Proyek Tik. Some of this collection held by the University of Sydney are identified only by bundle and number, e.g. IX, 94 or 69, 11.
K	Gedong Kirtya Collection

Aji Saraswati	HKS XVI, 33
Aksara Rajah	HKS1915/K948
Babad Arya Tabanan	K1792/13
Babad Brahmana Kamenuh	HKS3233
Babad Dalem	HKS1358
Dharma Usada	HKS3488
Dwijendra Tatwa	HKS2632
Gaglaran Pamangku Sane Sampun Mapodgala	HKS1959
Gaguritan Kanda Mpat	HKS3541
Gaguritan Mayadanawantaka	K497/2 V6
Kadaden ing Janma	HKS3324
Kalima Usada Putus	HKS3511
Kalimosada Kurantabolong	HKS3021
Kanda Buana Ngadaden	HKS3331
Kandan ing Usada Cemeng	HKS3240
Kaputusan Sang Hyang Anala	HKS1966
Kawisesan I Macaling	K1489/17
Kawruhan Ring Raga	HKS 1, 10

Kusuma-Dewa	HKS1952/K3240
Pacarwan Mwang Panulak	HKS XIX, 18
Pakakas	K1356
Palalintangan	HKS3498
Panca Mahabuta	HKS2557
Panca Mahabhuta	HKS2901
Panerangan	HKS1763
Panestian	HKS4191
Pangalah Babai	HKS3124
Pangalah Babai	K269
Pangisin Sabuk	HKS1946
Pangiwa	HKS1961
Pangiwa	HKS2027
Pangiwa	HKS2274/K899
Pangiwa	HKS VI, 3
Pangiwa	HKS IX, 83
Pangiwa	HKS IX, 94
Pangiwa Catur-Winasa	HKS IX, 9
Pangiwa Kaluwung Gni	HKS X, 68
Pangiwa Panulak Desti	HKS3891
Pangiwa Sang Hyang Agni-Sabuana	HKS3848
Pangleyakan	HKS XX, 4
Panunggun Rare Muwah Panulak	HKS2354
Pararaton	HKS3473
Paribhasa	K173
Paribhasa Maha Santha Pariksa	HKS X, 70
Patengeran Sarab	HKS2687/K3254
Pawakan ing Aksara ring Sarira	HKS3842
Purwa Bhumi Kamulan	HKS2286
Taru Pramana	HKS3499
Tatumbalan	HKS1935/K611
Tatumbalan	HKS2074/K681
Tatumbalan	HKS2171/K1413
Tenung Gring	HKS3536
Tenung Sapta-Wara	HKS3467
Tingkah ing Agering	HKS IV, 8
Tingkah ing Babahi	HKS 47, 25
Tingkah ing Ngubah Babahi	HKS2183
Tumbal	HKS1721
Tumbal Bhuta Sidapati	HKS 69, 11
Tutur Aji Saraswati	HKS XXI, 14
Tutur Kanda Pat	HKS X, 23
Tutur Pangiwa	HKS XXVI, 7
Tutur Usana Bali	HKS1833
Tutur Usana Bali	HKS2264
Tutur Usana Bali	HKS XIX, 15
Tutur Usana Dewa	HKS 68, 7
Tutur Wekas ing Majapahit (Usada Kacacar)	HKS3452
Usada Babai	HKS3741
Usada Babaturan	HKS3013
Usada Bang	HKS3266
Usada Budha Kocapi	HKS XI, 10
Usada Buduh	HKS 113, 7
Usada Dalem	HKS XI, 16
Usada Dharma	HKS3488/K250
Usada Edan	HKS3558

Usada Ganama	HKS XVIII, 50
Usada Hireng	HKS3667
Usada Katjatjar	HKS VII, 11
Usada Kuranta Bolong	HKS3267
Usada Lara Kamatus	HKS3014
Usada Mala	K637
Usada Manak	HKS3206
Usada Pamunah Cetik	HKS3496
Usada Paribasa	HKS3268
Usadha Patatiwangan	HKS3940
Usada Punggung Tiwas	K144
Usada Rare	HKS2972
Usada Rare	HKS3483
Usada Rare	HKS3487
Usada Rare Kuranta Bolong	HKS3267
Usada Sapara	K174
Usada Saparo	HKS3024
Usada Spara	HKS3051
Usada Sari	HKS3454
Usada Sari Bodakacapi	HKS3524
Usada Sasah	K422
Usada Sawan	HKS XXI, 24
Usada Tatempuran	HKS XII, 14
Usada Tatenger	HKS3137
Usada Tegep	HKS XV, 49
Usada Tiwang	K286
Usada Tiwang	HKS1865/K638
Usada Tiwang	HKS3481
Usada Tuju Desti Babahi	HKS3097
Usada Upas	HKS XI, 4
Usada Wariga	K532
Usaddha	HKS V, 14
Usana Bali	HKS1987
Usana Bali	HKS2069
Usana Bali	HKS2119
Usana Bali	HKS2243
Usana Bali	HKS2987
Usana Bali	HKS2997
Usana Bali	HKS XXIX, 10
Usana Bali Bedahulu	HKS2165
Usana Bali Mayadanawa	HKS2020
Usana Dewa	HKS2372
Usana Jawa	HKS2015
Usana Pulo Nusa Ki Dukuh Jumpungan	HKS1928
Usana Ratu Bali	HKS1974
Widhi Sastra Roga Senggara Bhumi	HKS XXII, 14
Wisada	HKS3439
Wisada Cacar	HKS3138
Wisada Kusta	HKS3048

(ii) **Compilations of Indonesian Translations of
Local Writings According to Title**

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 10.10.76 ['Kisah' Makemit di Panataran Ped Suara-suara Aneh]
 19.10.76 [Membunuh Karena Tidak Mampu Bayar Hutang]
 22.10.76 [Baru 1, 2 pCt Rakyat Indonesia Yg Pernah Dilayani Dokter]
 4.12.76 [Muntah Berak Bisa Menyebar Sbg. Wabah]
 1. 7.81 [Diperiksa Bunuh Orang di . . .]
 18.11.81 [Mati Diracun]
 5. 1.82 [Dengan Dalih 'Ngeleak' Ibu Kandungnya Dibunuh]
 13. 2.82 [Pelaku Pembunuhan]
 23. 2.82 [Menyongsong Hari Nyepi Içaka Warsa, 1904]
 26. 2.82 [Gara-gara 'Cetik' Saudara-Kandung Dibunuh]
 15. 3.82 [Perlu Diteliti, Siapa Mayadanawa Sebenarnya, Bali 15 Th
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