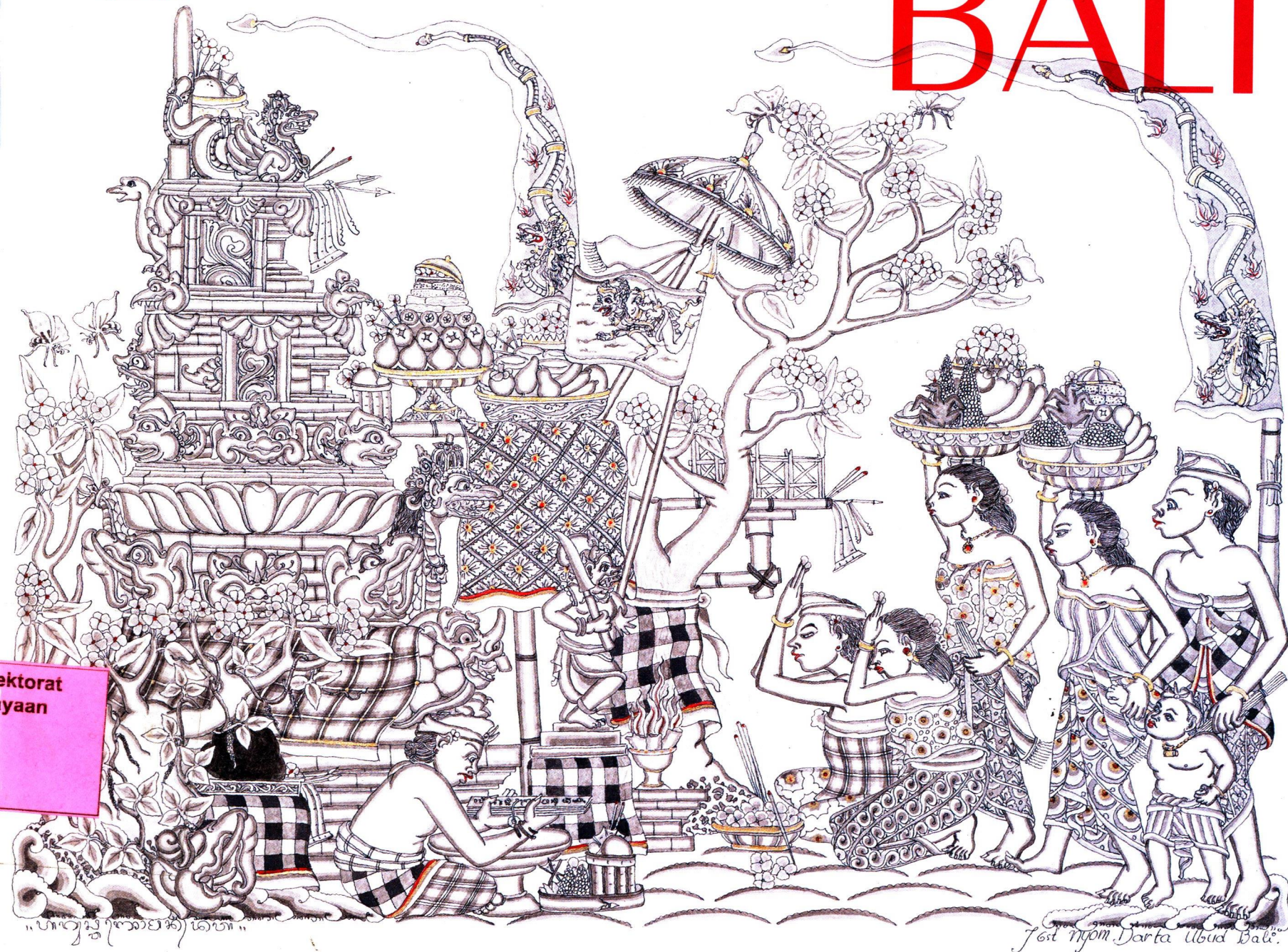


TIME, RITES AND FESTIVALS IN BALI

I Gusti Nyoman Darta

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Georges Breguet





With Compliments

DIRECTORATE GENERAL OF CULTURE
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE OF
THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA



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Page 2. Against the background of a temple festival at Dalem Tenggaling temple, Bunutan, Kedewatan, Gianyar appears a *Barong* made of fruits (*pale gantung*). *Barong* is the protective deity of Balinese villages.

Page 5. Temple festival at Dalem Tenggaling temple, Bunutan, Kedewatan, Gianyar.

Page 6. Panyembrama "welcome" dance on the occasion of a temple festival at Alas Kedaton temple in Kediri. After arriving in a long procession with tall *gebogan* offerings and accompanied by *Barong* and *Rangda*—protective and negative deities—the women present a welcome dance to the visiting gods.

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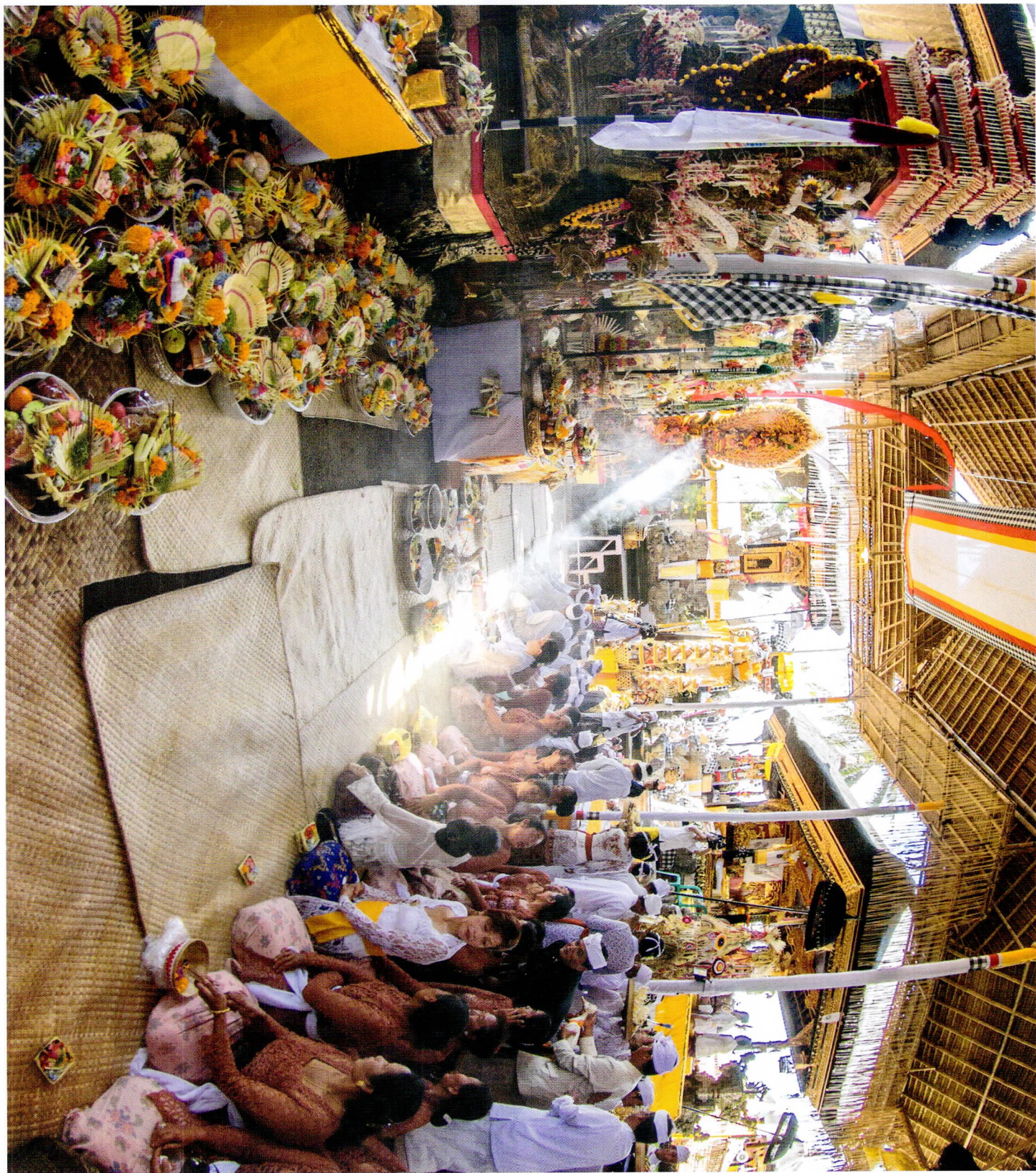
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MUSÉE D'HORLOGERIE DU LOCLE
Château des Monts







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FOREWORD

Today, I sit in my house in Bali, savouring this beautiful book. Today, in Bali, is a day to honour Saraswati, goddess of knowledge. A day when even the busiest, most educated people stop what they are doing, and go to pray and offer thanks for learning and knowledge.

This book is different—a book we can truly learn from with our hearts, because it goes to the heart of what makes Bali special. You may ask: Don't we know enough about Bali?

Well, I first came to Bali 50 years ago, still a student, very young. Here I met people who became my teachers for life. Later, as Minister of Tourism, Post and Telecommunication of the Republic of Indonesia, it was my job to bring dignitaries to Bali. I did this maybe a hundred times. And I kept learning each time. Now I have come to live here, and I am learning still.

This book, which explains how a fantastic myth is linked to the Balinese notion of time, and through that, to the whole complex of Balinese rites and festivals, demonstrates that there is no end to discovery of this world-famous island—and beyond.

Bali is unique, yet Bali is part of Indonesia. The story and concepts at the heart of the Balinese calendar are local versions of a narrative found across the archipelago, especially in Bali's sister island of Java. Thus, they exemplify our country's motto, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* – Unity in Diversity.

Although the calendar system is key to a true understanding of Balinese culture, little has been written about it, and no one until now has given due attention to the relation between the myth of Watugunung and the island's ritual system. Even less is known of the peculiarities of the calendar and micro-culture of the village of Tenganan Pegeringsingan. By filling those gaps, this book significantly enhances our knowledge.

The book's appeal is also artistic. As such, it owes much to the talent of its illustrator, who was, through the medium of drawing, one of the writers' main informants. This collaboration between writing and illustration was made possible by the magic of a friendship grounded in a shared love for Bali and for Indonesia. A bond that enabled illustrator and writers, Indonesian and foreign, to "merge in spirit" and make an important contribution to the preservation of Indonesia's cultural riches—which we must proudly carry forward into the future.

Learning takes time. No matter how little or how much you already know, you can learn a lot from this book. I hope you too will take the time to savour the rich knowledge offered within it.

Joop Avé
Kuta, Bali

Opposite:

Collective *nyekah* ceremony in Sanur: symbols of the souls of the dead on their way to take on the status of deified ancestors.

PREFACE

Jean Couteau and Georges Breguet

Time, Rites and Festivals in Bali is the outcome of the long-time collaboration of three friends: Swiss scientist and museum consultant Georges Breguet; Balinese artist, healer and teacher I Gusti Nyoman Darta; and French writer and cultural observer Jean Couteau.

The seed for this publication was planted in the wake of the new millennium, when the Swiss Musée d'Horlogerie du Locle (Watch Museum of Le Locle) acquired, upon Georges's suggestion, an important collection of Balinese *tika* (wooden and painted calendars) owned by French collector Dominique Gardan.

In 2002, the museum decided to produce, under Georges's direction, an exhibition and a catalogue on the collection. The catalogue—a hardcover book entitled *Un autre temps, les calendriers tika de Bali* (© Somogy éditions d'art & Musée d'Horlogerie du Locle, 2002)—comprised 20 specially commissioned illustrations by Darta on Balinese rites of passage, and an analysis of the Balinese calendar system by Jean.

During and after our work on this catalogue it became clear that whilst almost everyone knew something about the extraordinary traditional culture of Bali, with its never-ending cycle of rites and festivals, hardly anyone knew much about the (equally extraordinary) traditional calendars that regulate Bali's ritual life.

So it was that we decided to work on an English publication that would build upon the French-language exhibition catalogue, to give the general public a thorough yet accessible presentation of the Balinese calendar system and related festivals and rites.

We thought it would be best to organise the book around a visual axis—to be provided by Darta's illustrations—accompanied by an explanatory text. So, many new illustrations were commissioned to cover the whole range of life-cycle rites and more.

Once each series of drawings was completed, we asked Darta for a detailed explanation of its contents. Based on this, an overall explanatory presentation of the images in a logical sequence was developed. Most of these texts were written by Jean, then reviewed by all three of us.

Then, to enhance the appeal of the book to a broad, international

audience, the text of the English translation of the original study was significantly revised, reorganised, and expanded. New diagrams were designed; a different series of illustrations of wooden and painted calendars was selected; and Ida Bagus Adnyana (Gustra) lent his keen, informed eye to the project and complemented Darta's drawings with vivid photographs of the rites in action today.

The book is structured into two parts, with four chapters each. Part I discusses the Balinese calendars and concepts of time. Part II then explores how the calendar system applies in practice.

Chapter 1 provides a lively discussion of the relative and cyclic nature of time from a Balinese point of view, highlighting how Balinese ideas of historical time differ from modern Western ones, and how their notions of time relate to natural and stellar cycles, cosmology, and beliefs about the transmigration of ancestral souls.

Although some short writings by foreign cultural observers on Balinese calendars exist, they are limited in scope. None have paid attention to the seminal role of the incest-centred myth of Watugunung—recorded on *lontar* (palm-leaf manuscripts) by generations of Balinese scholars—which accounts for the origin and composition of Bali's main ritual calendar. Drawing upon these local sources, Chapter 2 presents the myth and its cultural importance for the first time in English.

The dramatic story of Watugunung is unfolded: how he unwittingly enters an incestuous relationship with his mother, who, upon discovering the transgression, goads her son to challenge the gods. The gods defeat Watugunung, but instead of killing him, make him lord of the calendar. The story is then analysed, underlining Watugunung's significance as a culture hero who initiates not only human consciousness of time, but also the incest prohibition and other principles of civilised social life. Further nuances of meaning are exposed by comparing the myth of Watugunung to the classical Greek myth of Oedipus.

Chapter 3 explains the workings of the two main traditional calendars of Bali. The first—and primary ritual calendar—is the 210-day, rule-based Javanese-Balinese *Pawukon* calendar, composed of overlapping cycles of

one-day to ten-day “weeks”, including the seven-day weeks named after the heroes of the Watugunung story. The second is the Balinese variant of the Indian Hindu *Saka* calendar, which consists of 12 lunar months, and, unlike the Pawukon, has numbered years.

Chapter 4 provides a brief exposé on ways of organising everyday time prior to the diffusion of the 24-hour clock on Bali, including: the names, symbols and functions of different phases of day and night; their division into variable-duration units; and measuring devices and terms used for brief activities and time intervals.

Chapter 5 describes the main Balinese-Hindu festivities regulated by the two calendars, including those that fall on conjunction dates in the Pawukon cycle (when certain propitious days of the different-sized weeks coincide), and those that fall on or directly before or after the full and new moons in the Saka lunar cycle.

Chapter 6 offers an account of the rites of passage traditionally performed at each transition in a Balinese individual’s life—from conception to birth, birth to death, and beyond—to guide the person, as a microcosm of the universe, to live in harmony with the principles of cosmic order.

Ritual practices in Bali vary, with the most marked differences found between lowland villages influenced by the 14th century Javanese Majapahit invasion, and “Bali Aga” highland villages that remained aloof of this influence and retained their cultures, including unique notions of time. Chapter 7 discusses the day cycle, calendar and related ceremonies of the most famous Bali Aga village, Tenganan Pegeringsingan.

Chapter 8 gives readers a glimpse of Balinese divination and the Balinese “horoscope”, that is, the schemes and illustrated charts used to determine auspicious days to undertake important activities, based on the intersecting values of multiple time units in the calendar system, as well as a person’s day of birth.

Chapter 9 concludes the book with a brief reflection on the evolution of the Balinese calendar from past to present, and prospects for the future survival of “Balinese time” in the global village.

This book combines two approaches. The first, which may be called

analytical or anthropological, is applied to the study of the myth of Watugunung and its comparison with the myth of Oedipus. The interpretation of the myth is primarily that of the author. The second approach, which may be called descriptive, involves the depiction and explanation of the two traditional calendars and their related rites and festivals.

It must be underlined that this text does not pretend to exhaust the topic of the Balinese calendar or to reveal any global truth about Balinese culture. Balinese spiritual traditions consist of a blending of the ancestor cult, animism, and Hindu-Buddhist notions, which varies widely according to place, caste and educational level, or, as the Balinese say, according to *desa, kala, patra* (place, time and conditions). Most of the information provided here comes from and pertains to the Ubud, Gianyar area, with the exception of the information in the chapter dedicated to Tenganan Pegeringsingan village in Karangasem.

In sum, this book is neither an academic work nor an art book, although it has a few features of both genres. It is rather a hybrid cultural offering that brings together the talent and work of several people who are united in their love and respect for the culture and people of Bali.

A note on the handling of Balinese terms in the book

The spelling of Balinese names and words in this book follows conventions now used in Bali for the transcription of Balinese script into Roman characters. However, nothing being strict in this matter, one can read, in modern Bali, the word Kliwon spelt as Klion, Soma (Monday) spelt as Çoma, and the word Redite spelt as Radite. Except when quoted, words of Sanskrit origin are given in their modern orthography: for example, Saka rather than Śaka. When Balinese nouns are used, no final “s” is placed on them to indicate the plural, as if they were English words; the plural may be inferred from the context. Balinese terms are italicised and explained the first time they occur in the text of each chapter, but they are not italicised in subsequent occurrences within the same chapter.

Pages 12-13:

Ngusabe Sumbu festival in Timbrah, Karangasem: a procession of *pratima* effigies crossing rice fields on their way to the sacred spring where they will be cleansed.

PART I: TIME

"God, who is nothing but time ..."

Friedrich Hölderlin





Does time matter? And which one?

Be patient and wait, wait! This is the recurrent challenge and fate of Westerners who spend a few years in Bali. Yes, time here lacks the rigidity and sense of scarcity that so often complicates Westerners and breeds anxiety in our busy lives.

Time in Bali may be upsetting for the opposite reason. Even if there is a regular rhythm—in fact there are several—to regulate rites and festivals as well as agricultural activities, everything else obeys (or has obeyed until recently) a far more flexible management of time, which Indonesians call *jam karet*, or “rubber time”. Things are changing now, though. But is it a welcome development? We are not so sure.

No single word exists in the Balinese language to express the equivalent of the word “time” as a concept of duration. Modern Balinese commonly use *tempo* or *waktu* (time) or *jam* (hour) which are Indonesian words. They use *kali* to ask for the precise moment in time: *Kali napi* (what time is it?).

Does this mean they are casual when it comes to time? This is certainly the impression one may get at first. The following incident, which took place ten years ago, tells it better than anything.

It was the end of the academic year at the School of Fine Arts in Denpasar, and the students were scheduled to be tested. Well in advance, the hour for the test had been agreed by all, the lecturer turned up at the appointed hour, and waited for the students at a *warung* (food stall) near the school. It was pouring rain and his wait lasted for quite a long while. Then, Arif, a Javanese student, arrived, followed by Stefanus, a student from Flores. Finally, at long last, Bagus, a Balinese student, appeared. All smiles, Bagus declared that the remaining Balinese students would not show up for at least another hour because of the rain.

Similarly, don't expect people, especially the elderly, to know how old they are. When asked her age, an old woman might disclose, without embarrassment, that she had her first period at the time of *Gestok*, the 1965 Communist coup.² A man may confide that his father was “chasing the skirts (or sarongs) when the Japanese landed in 1942” before adding,

“He must be a hundred by now!” Age as such is unimportant. It is evaluated with reference to major events, such as volcanic eruptions, earthquakes and political upheavals. Such events serve as milestones rather than a year identified by a number.

Yet, even though ordinary Balinese give the impression of being unable to calculate their ages or to give an absolute value to time, the same people are extremely precise in calculating time as far as their upcoming ritual obligations are concerned. They can tell you with accuracy the span between such and such festival. They will know that in precisely two days' time there will be the bi-monthly purification ceremony of *Kajeng-Kliwon* or that the next festival in such and such village temple will be held in 25 days and in another temple, in 42 days.

As the above anecdotes suggest, the cumulative, linear progression of time is relatively unimportant in Bali, even though it is recognised in one of the two traditional Balinese calendars—the luni-solar *Saka* calendar which begins in 78 CE, and was diffused to Bali from India in the second part of the first millennium.

Far more important than linearity is how propitious any moment of time is and what qualities it possesses, as defined by: the time of day or night when it occurs; its position in relation to the lunar cycle; and above all, its position and character within the rule-based, 210-day cyclic *Pawukon* calendar, which was probably established following the invasion of Bali by the Javanese Majapahit empire in the 14th century.

All of these cycles—the *Saka* and *Pawukon* and day cycles—combine to form the traditional Balinese system for reckoning time (*pedewasan*), which constitutes the core subject of this book.

New signs of modernity are apparent, of course. Modern time reckoning is accepted with nonchalance, and it is increasingly present, as it governs most of the activities of the modern Balinese economy. Today's Balinese, like all Indonesians, use for all modern purposes the Gregorian calendar and 24-hour clock, even though the most affluent may wear a Swiss gold watch and the poor, a Japanese plastic digital watch. Yet they continue to use the old ways to think about and mark time for the purposes of life that matter the most.

From myth to history

When referring to the distant past, Balinese time is mythic. It is personified as Kala, the god of time, son of the Supreme God Siwa. Kala was born from Siwa's fallen sperm, as the latter was overcome by desire for his consort-cum-*sakti* (feminine counterpart), the goddess Uma. Like the Greek god Chronos, Kala is a man-eater.³ He must be placated by offerings and *wayang* (shadow puppet theatre) performances. Kala, and his feminine counterpart Kali, are also words that refer to Balinese demons, and the term "disaster" is translatable by *sangkala*.⁴

In terms of mythic time, the Balinese also refer to the classical Hindu cycles of the world (*yuga*), but apart from Brahman priests and men of letters, the four yuga cycles are generally reduced to two: *Kali Yuga*⁵ (destruction) and *Kerta Yuga* (prosperity).⁶

Mythic time is the realm par excellence of the wayang puppet theatre, which performs local versions of the Mahabharata and Ramayana epics. In these stories, which hark back to the early days of Indianisation, gods and semi-divine and human heroes of Indian origin are found side by side with clowns from Javanese-Balinese folklore.⁷

This mythical past also coincides with the time of heroes and villains such as Maya Denawa, whose story of defeat by the Hindu gods is the founding legend of the central cycle of festivals of the Balinese Pawukon calendar, *Galungan-Kuningan*, and, more importantly, the time of the culture hero Watugunung, whose story, told in Chapter 2, explains the origin of this calendar.

With the advent of inscriptions and literature, time seems to take on a chronological dimension. Yet, the dating of these texts, given in the year of the Saka calendar, is not as impersonal or linear as it would be in the West. Dating seems instead to be avoided. The dates given are hidden within an esoteric system of equivalences between words and figures known as *Candra Sengkala*. They appear in the form of short sentences with lines to be deciphered backwards and rendered into dates. Each word must be read with a value attached to it within a complicated system of divination.

For example the sentence "*Sirna hilang kertaning bhumih*" refers in a coded way to the traditional date of the fall of Majapahit—the East Javanese kingdom and maritime empire whose nobility and warriors invaded Bali in 1343 CE. It reads from the last word backward: *bhumih* (earth) = 1; *kerta* (prosperous) = 4; *hilang* (disappear) = 0; and *sirna* (vanish) = 0. Thus, 1400 Saka, or 1478 CE.⁸

Balinese royal chronicles (*babad*) are no clearer when it comes to historical chronology. Their main purpose is not so much to tell history proper as to establish the legitimacy of powerful people or clans in a mythical past by linking them through descent to a point of origin, or *kawitan*, which is related to the world of the gods and ancestral deities. Many *babad* take as their historical points of origin, beyond divine references, the times of Majapahit. Most Balinese claim descent from one or another of the Majapahit invaders and organise their rites around his temple of origin.⁹

Another important time period recorded by the *babad* is that of Waturenggong's reign in the 16th century, particularly in relation to his semi-legendary chaplain, Dang Hyang Nirartha, a migrant from Java who undertook the reformation of Balinese religion. Yet another key period is that of the dissolution of Balinese unity at the end of the 17th century, when many of today's Balinese royal families came to power.

No dates are attributed to the events related in these chronicles. Sometimes the only date to be found is at the end of the palm-leaf manuscript (*lontar*) where the chronicle is inscribed: the Saka year and Pawukon day and week references are given, but this is usually the date of the completion of the manuscript. Thus these *babad* refer to times that are as much mythical as historical.¹⁰ Their key episodes are staged as theatre performances on the occasion of temple festivals and other ceremonies.

When it comes to more recent historical events, they are indeed dated historically, using the Gregorian calendar. Yet, it is interesting to note that elderly people, to depict such events, do not refer to a date, but to a situation or event of such magnitude that it takes on cosmic significance.

Thus, the period of Balinese independence, which lasted until the Dutch took over North Bali in the 19th century and South Bali in the early 20th century, is an era globally named *dugas gumi nu enteg* (the time when the world was quiet). Regarding the period following the take-over of South Bali by the Dutch in 1906–1908, they will recall *gejer gumi Bali* (the big earthquake that shook the island of Bali, even though this happened in 1917. Similarly they will talk of the pre-WWII years as *dugas regen* (the time of the regents).²¹ As Lovric puts it, “time is described rather than stated.”²² Dating is to them irrelevant.

Time and nature: Agricultural and stellar cycles

Long before the rice-farming people of Bali (and the neighboring island of Java) adopted or developed any calendar, their time was regulated by agricultural cycles, based on close observations of the seasons in relation to the movements and positions of stars in the sky.²³

It was not the “Plough” (or “Big Dipper”) of the Ursa Major constellation that formed the “Plough” of Balinese farmers, but a group of stars of the constellation of Orion. The reason is as follows: since Java and Bali are close to the equator, the constellation appears on its side, and Orion’s belt (Almitak, Alnilan and Mintaka), together with three of the four outer stars ((Saiph, Rigel and Bellatrix, excluding Betelgeuse), make up a constellation that looks like a traditional plough (*tenggala* or *wuluku*) and is known locally as *Bintang Wuluku*.²⁴

The changing appearance of this constellation over the year, together with that of the Pleiades (*Kartika*),²⁵ was traditionally used to regulate the seasonal activities associated with agriculture, and more specifically, the cycles of rice cultivation on both dry and wet land.

For dry-land rice, in pre-modern days, the beginning of the new agricultural year²⁶ corresponded to the first appearance of Kartika and Wuluku in the pre-dawn sky (heliacal rise²⁷). This happens around the time of the June solstice (during Saka months Kasa or Karo). At this time the celestial plough is upright, just like regular ploughs when in use. The

observation of the dawn apparition of the first star of Kartika, followed by the apparition of Wuluku, was still common practice by a couple of *pemangku* (temple priests) from Besakih (the mother temple of Bali) in the 1980s. They interpreted their observations with the help of a calendrical text called *Wariga Surya Sewana*, and decided the date for the opening of the local agricultural cycle accordingly.²⁸

Three months later, with Kartika and Wuluku rising progressively earlier each night, came the onset of the rainy season and the time to prepare tools and maintain and repair water channels ahead of the first wet-land rice cycle. When Wuluku eventually rose at sunset (acronical rise), generally in November or December (or the Saka month Kaenam), and thus looked once again upright, this meant the time had come to sow the rice in the nursery and start ploughing the fields: it was the opening of the first wet-land rice season (*kerta masa*).²⁹

A month or so later, around the time of the December solstice (during the Saka months Kapitu or Kawulu), came the time for the fields to be harrowed and the seedlings to be transplanted into the fields. At that time of year Kartika and Wuluku could be seen rising increasingly higher in the sky after sunset, with their culmination (highest point in the sky) occurring at dusk.³⁰

Around four months later, when the rain had stopped and the rice had ripened, the harvest of the first rice crop could begin.³¹ This season was marked by the celestial plough appearing progressively lower in the western sky after sunset. It looked as if it were upside down, “like a farmer’s plough when the work is done.” Soon afterwards, Kartika and Wuluku disappeared completely (heliacal set) until they appeared again later and thus opened a new annual cultivation cycle.

Of rice and men

Natural elements are, in Balinese thought, perceived as analogous in structure and life process to Man. Both are considered as *bhwana*, or “cosmos”, seen in a dynamic, cyclic perspective. Nature belongs to the macrocosm, or *bhwana agung*, and Man, to the microcosm, or *bhwana alit*.



Watching the sky

This drawing shows two priests observing the positions of the stars of the Wuluku and Kartika constellations. The plough-shaped Bintang Wuluku is visible in the sky in the upper left of the picture. The Kartika constellation, which would be located further to the left, is outside the illustration proper. Other stars considered unimportant to the Balinese are not shown. Wuluku is reflected in the basin water, and the squatting man will note its position on the *lontar* leaf in his hand: is it vertical (*jegeg*), tilting slightly (*sendeh*) or inclining to the east (*ngorokang kangin*)? It remains for a traditional astronomy specialist to interpret the data so that relevant agricultural decisions can be made. Notice the owl, symbol of the night, to the upper right.

"Since life can only arise from a living being," comments Ottino, in a study on the agricultural rites of Bali, "the apprehension of the land as a living being is deduced daily from the fact that plants grow and crops mature, and that human beings regularly return to the earth after death." About rice, Ottino further adds:

"Both human beings and rice share the same destiny. They are similarly born from the earth, bear fruit, mature and eventually die, returning to the timeless and undifferentiated domain of the sky before coming back to this world and begin another cycle anew. Conversely, events such as the emergence of new seedlings from the grains at the beginning of the cycle, and the sublimation of the whole plant into the panicle at the end, inform people's appreciation of the cyclical dynamism of life itself. Like the grain of rice, which, to germinate, must first be severed from the plant, so human being[s] must die in order for the first generation to be born. The perceived analogies between the two cycles create [a] web of meaning according to which the distinction between people and the rice is blurred..."²²

This cyclical analogy between Man and Rice is one of the founding elements of the Javanese-Balinese Pawukon calendar. The traditional slow-growing variety of rice (*padi taun*), now rarely planted, takes 210 days to mature. This corresponds to the 210-day cycle of the Pawukon calendar, which, as we shall see, is the basis for the distribution of almost all Balinese rites.²³

The history of rice cultivation

Paddy cultivation was introduced to Bali in the first millennium BCE. As noted in the description of the stellar cycle above, it is traditionally linked to the astronomical year and to the succession of dry and wet seasons. The dry season usually begins in May and lasts until October, whilst the wet season runs from October to April. However, important discrepancies may occur from year to year due to various factors, in particular to recurrent changes in sea currents across the Pacific (La Niña and El Niño).

Initially cultivated on dry fields (*ladang*), paddy has long been cultivated

on irrigated rice fields (*sawah*). This led to the constitution of irrigation societies (*subak*) that organise the distribution of water through a complex system of rites and collective work.

The first species of paddy (*padi taun*) introduced to Bali were of slow growth with a cycle of 210 days. New species were later introduced, which made two crops a year possible. The species used for the first crop (*kerta masa*) had a growth cycle that was two weeks slower than those used for the second crop (*gagadon*).

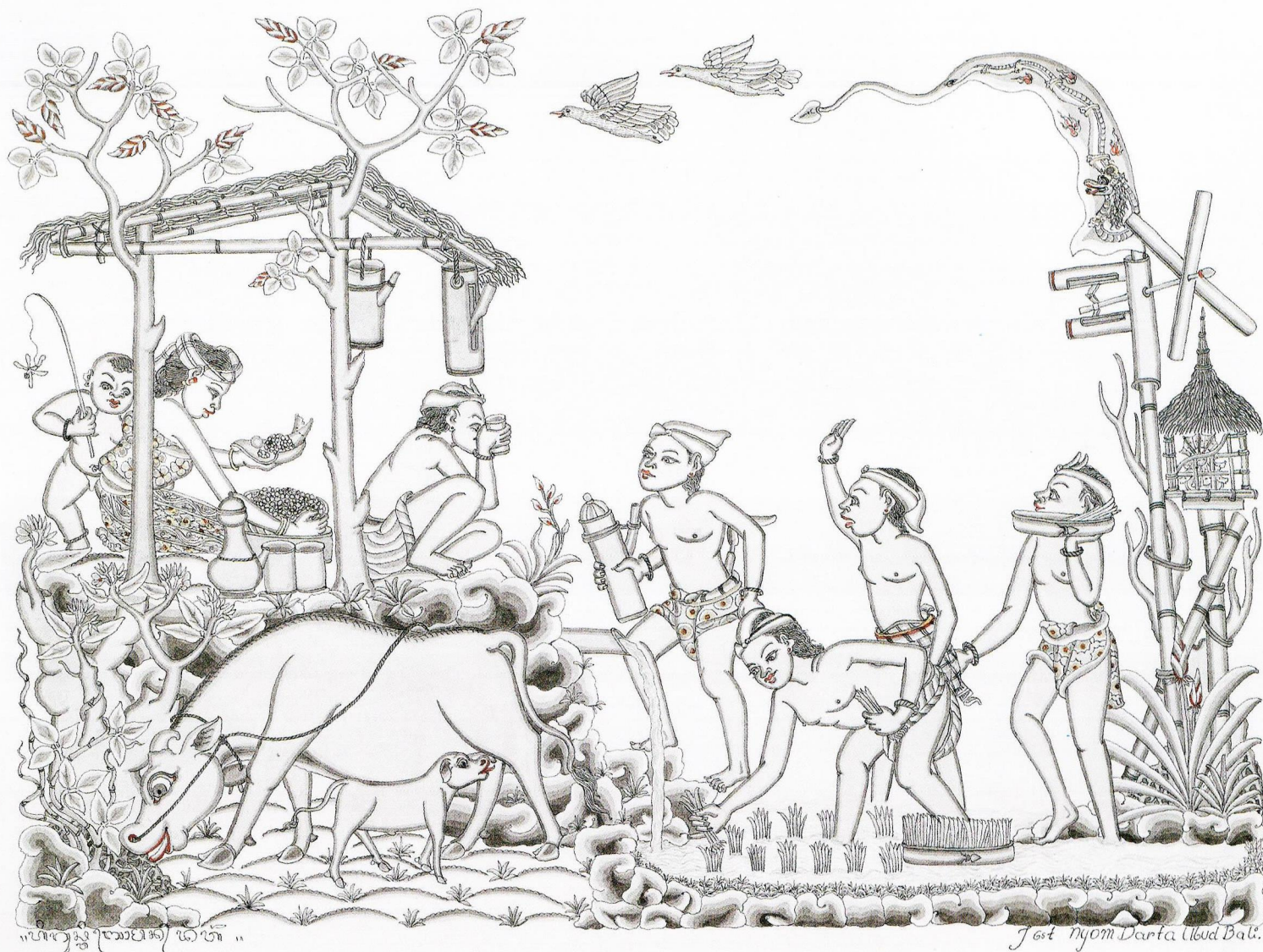
Since the 1970s, these traditional species have for the most part been replaced by hybrid species that can give up to three high-yield crops per year. In the present discussion we are not talking about these hybrid species, many of which no longer correspond to the traditional time cycles, and are also criticised for ecological reasons.

The coordination of the traditional wet-rice cycle

In the traditional wet-rice cycle, rice fields are prepared and cleansed followed by the flooding of the fields and replanting of young seedlings. This process differs significantly from place to place, according to the location and ecological conditions of the rice fields.

For example the replanting takes place in December and January in mountainous areas, in February on the middle slopes, in March and April on the lower plains and in May by the beaches. However, as Lansing (1987) has demonstrated, it is of paramount importance that the rice cycles be coordinated among rice fields on a large scale, and hence across a broad territory. Two main reasons for this are to optimise the use of water at the end of the rainy season, and to achieve the best possible pest control.

From one rice growing season to the next, there is a fallow period of roughly one month between plantings, and if this period occurs at the same time on a large scale it prevents pests from easily spreading from one rice field area to the other. This is only possible if the surface cultivated is large enough and includes one or several *subak* working in coordination with one another.



Planting the rice

The main scene is the planting of rice, which usually happens toward the end of the rainy season for the first crop. The woman to the left is bringing food to the workers. One of the men squats, eating. A cow is resting after ploughing. Notice the bamboo receptacles used to carry water, in the middle; and the wooden drum (*kulkul*), just underneath the roof. To the right is the "head" of the rice field shrine (*ulun carik*) with a bamboo rod (*andong*), that is used to separate water into two flows, and a crackling wind-wheel (*pinjek*), used to scare birds.

The management of water for the rice cycle has to be decided at the highest level of the irrigation system, that is, for most of South Bali, at the Ulun Danau temple on Mt. Batur. This temple, dedicated to Danu, goddess of the lake, holds sway over no less than 204 downstream subak, functioning as the “mother temple” of those units.

In the past, the priests of Ulun Danau used to send hand-written invitation letters to the respective subak leaders (*pekaseh*) to attend the full-moon ceremony at the temple at the end of the rainy season (in the tenth month of the Saka calendar year), during which the chronological distribution of water among the subak units would be set. Owing to discrepancies in the readings and adjustments made to the lunar calendar by the priests of different kingdoms in pre-colonial times, the invitations also made mention of the Pawukon day corresponding to the full-moon ceremony date. From that point onward, all decisions taken, such as those pertaining to the second rice planting, also followed the Pawukon cycle.

Steps of the wet-rice production cycle

Land preparation is the first step of rice growing: the farmer must plough the soil, overturn it and level it before bringing in irrigation water (*betengin*). Many tools are used for this purpose: hoe (*pacul*), spade (*sorok*), leveler (*tulud*), long knife (*penampad*), a pull-by-pull leveler (*lampid*) and a plough (*tenggala* or *waluku*), the shape of which inspired the naming of the Wuluku star constellation that guides the timing of the steps in the production cycle.

While the soil is being prepared, a nursery is set up on a small plot of land. The seedlings come up after six weeks. At this point the fields have already been irrigated, and the transplanting (*tandurin*) can take place.

All sorts of weeds grow in the rice fields. They must be regularly weeded out. Natural fertilisation is done through various means: duck herds, the burning of left-over stems, and so on. Growing rice is related to water and associated with the female world. But it is men who are in charge of this part of the rice cycle. While waiting for the rice to ripen, farmers

make scarecrows (*lelakut*) to protect crops from sparrows and other birds. They also set up crackling bamboo noise-makers (*kepuakan*) with the same purpose. When the panicles are ripe, harvest can begin. This is always a moment of joy, but also, hard work. Farmers harvest using a rice panicle cutter (*anggapan*) and a sickle (*arit*). They also use a special tool (*penatapan*) to level the paddy bundles and string (*pangeran tali*) to tie them tight.

After the harvesting, the bundles are taken to the granary (*lumbung*), usually located in the farmers’ private compounds. Women carry the bundles on their heads whereas men carry them on the shoulder with a palanque (*sanan*). The last phases of the rice-cycle work to dry and process the grain are usually done by women in the family compound. After being stored in the lumbung, the paddy is processed into rice through successive phases of winnowing, sieving and pounding. The storing of rice is linked to the sky and thus associated with the male world, although it is women who are in charge of this part of the cycle.

Time and the person: The wandering of the Balinese soul

Aside from agriculture, another foundation for the cyclical notions of time that the Balinese hold comes from their cosmology, which blends elements of animism together with the cult of the ancestors and Hindu-Buddhist religious ideas.

According to Balinese cosmological theory, best known in the lowlands and among the highest castes, every person, as a *bhwana alit*, or microcosm, is composed of a soul and a body which correspond to their (macro)cosmic equivalents: the Ultimate Divine Soul, called *Paramatma*, and the Five Cosmic Elements—fire, water, earth, air and ether—known as *Panca Maha Bhuta*.

Further, every soul is subject to a transmigration process (*samsara*). Incarnation, which binds the soul to the body, is deemed a hellish condition that everyone should strive to interrupt, thus achieving *moksha* (*moksa* in Balinese) or ultimate enlightenment. At the end of each incarnation, the individual soul and body rejoin their cosmic equivalents.

On the right are the spirit house (*Sangghah Dewa*) of the female spirit of rice, Dewa Nini, and offerings being made to Dewi Sri, the goddess of rice, just before starting to harvest. The effigy of the goddess is here attached to a big tree trunk next to the head-shrine of the rice field with the offering (*Nini Pantun*). This effigy is made using a handful of paddy straws, which must be androgynous (*kedri*)—composed of male and female panicles. The harvest may not start before proper respect has been paid to Dewi Sri. Here, the woman to the left is shown gathering paddy straws, whereas the one to the right has collected enough to carry it back to her home granary (*lumbung*). Notice the crackling wind-wheel to the left.

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Pounding the rice

The mechanical treatment of paddy is something relatively new, even though it is now commonplace. Until 20 years ago, most rice was pounded by hand as shown in this picture. Notice the lumbung carved on the pounding stone (*lesung*). The woman in the centre left is winnowing the rice grains.

Failure to achieve moksha upon death means that the soul is still bound to the chain of samsara.

Everything starts for each person, as a bhwana alit, above the mountainous heights in the “Old Country” (*tanah ane wayah*). There, reside the gods who come down for visitations during temple festivals, during which they are entertained with food and dances. And there too dwell, provisionally, the ancestral souls, still “subject to desire and hunger”, who will eventually (re)-incarnate back into their family lineages, or as the Balinese say: “send their shadows to earth to ask for rice (mepewayangan nunas bas).” And it is also back to this origin place that these ancestral souls will return after death.

According to this scheme, death is not the end of the line, but a gateway to another cycle of birth, within a timeless cycle that encompasses the whole cosmos. The gods create the cycle of time to provide the divisions and movement necessary for humans to live in accord with principles of cosmic order. For only then can they eventually, after many incarnations, merge with the Sublime Void of the World, Sang Hyang Embang (one of the many names of God)—beyond the illusory limits of time itself.

Cosmic time

In keeping with the precepts of Balinese cosmology, the purpose of the traditional Balinese calendar system (*pedewasan*) is not to keep chronological track of human events, but to organise time so as to delineate the ritual behaviour deemed necessary to preserve cosmic order—both at the levels of the bhwana alit and the bhwana agung.²⁴

In this context, it is the quality, not the quantity, of time that matters, and determines the propitious moment for any rite. As anthropologist Clifford Geertz puts it, the Balinese calendars “don’t tell us which day we are in, but what sort of day we are in.”²⁵

Geertz also says²⁶ that Balinese time is divided into “full” and “empty” time. Yet the Balinese have no real “empty” time. Their calendar system consists of overlapping units, all charged with divine and demonic

influences of varied power.²⁷ Their perceived time accordingly pulsates in a way that is partially regular, partially irregular, as it hovers between the many forces that inhabit it.

It pertains to everyone to try to understand this system and to adapt their behaviour as closely as possible to the pulsating temporal rhythms to which they are subject, in order to properly harmonise their microcosmic selves to the macrocosmic forces that surround them.

This means that no important event or action should be undertaken without considering the quality of the day(s) or moment(s) on which it should be scheduled, based on a complex body of knowledge related to calendar divination (*Wariga*). There are auspicious and inauspicious days and moments, not only to hold rites, but also to start a business, plant rice, leave on a journey, chose a good rooster, start a new carving, put a roof on a house, and more.

Meanwhile, the social scope of the rites prescribed by the calendar system is astounding. Some ritual events, on holy days called *rerainan gumi*, apply to the whole Balinese community, and take up between one-fourth and one-fifth of the time.²⁸ Others apply to specific groups or communities, variously involving the family, clan, village, kingdom and rice irrigation society, all of which are living microcosmic units complete with their respective temples and congregations. These events include principally *odalan*²⁹ or temple “anniversaries” that may last from one to ten days or more.

Considering that every Balinese is an active member of six to ten different congregations, the time they spend on ritual events increases accordingly. To this should be added the days consecrated to rituals of the life and death cycle, also regulated by the calendar: pre- and post-birth rituals, *otonan*³⁰ (“birthdays” in the 210-day cycle), weddings, tooth filings and death rituals.

Pedewasan-related concerns indeed literally saturate the flow of Balinese time, making it—in a mirror reversal of the philosopher Hölderlin’s image of “God, who is nothing but Time”—into a “Time which is only God”. A time pervaded by sacred rituals. In short, humans do not so much manage time as they are managed by it.

CHAPTER 2 THE MYTH OF WATUGUNUNG

The Watugunung story

The myth of Watugunung has different versions, but the arc of the story remains the same, even if the names of some characters or places change. Precise times and distances are irrelevant. Again and again, the storyteller keeps his audience enchanted with the story, even if they already know it by heart, for this is the story of the gods and heroes whose names indicate the weeks of the Balinese Pawukon calendar.³¹

Once upon a time, there was a king named Dang Hyang Kulagiri³² who ruled over the kingdom of Jelasanggara. He had two wives: Dewi Sinta Kasih, the daughter of the high priest Gadiswara, and Dewi Landep, the daughter of Dang Hyang Pasupati, lord of Kundawipa.

Sinta became pregnant, and everyone in the kingdom prayed for a son to be born to succeed Kulagiri. Great rejoicing took place in Jelasanggara, whereupon Kulagiri went to the sacred mountain Mahameru to meditate, as was the custom under such circumstances. The king's duty was to thank the gods for granting him an heir and to implore them to bestow the child with supernatural powers.

The meditation lasted longer than usual and the date of the birth was approaching. Sinta and Landep were distressed at the thought that the king would not be present when his heir was born, which was considered an inauspicious omen.

The women decided to leave for the sacred mountain in search of Kulagiri. They rode a cart specially suited to Sinta's condition and drawn by two mules familiar with the narrow paths leading to Mahameru.

Before long, Sinta felt the first pains of childbirth. The party interrupted the journey and stopped near a large rock where Sinta rested, while Landep prepared to help deliver the baby. Soon Landep became unable to assist Sinta any longer. The baby kicked his mother's womb with such force that a violent storm erupted, with thunder and lightning and gale-force winds.

The frightened women implored the gods for help. Brahma, the god of fire, appeared and helped with the delivery. A child was born: a huge baby boy with a remarkably red complexion.

The god comforted the women: "Women! The storm has subsided. You must take care of the child now, for he will grow in strength and power. I predict that he will become invulnerable. You must name him Jabang Bayi, as he is a newborn child, but later he will be known as Watugunung, which means 'stone' and 'mountain', in remembrance of his birth on this large rock on the slope of the sacred mountain."

The god of fire continued predicting: "Watugunung will be the almighty overlord of the lands around the sacred mountain. The twenty-twenty princes who now rule over these lands will challenge him but they will eventually become his vassals. Neither giants nor men nor beasts, neither fire nor the wind of the cyclones will ever overpower Watugunung. Only one with the power to stalk the whole earth in three giant steps, one who has a tortoise head and is armed with the five nails—namely, Wisnu, the god of water—will do so."

Thus spoke the god of fire, then he vanished into the air.

Sinta and Landep found solace in the words of the god. They rode back home with the newborn Jabang Bayi and gave him tender loving care. However, they were amazed at the speed of his growth. At only seven days of age, Jabang Bayi could talk. And he was always hungry, always asking for more food.

"Please, mother," the child would cried, addressing Sinta, "I want more rice."

"More rice? I have just given you plenty," his mother replied.

Jabang Bayi then turned to Landep and implored, "I'm so hungry. Will you give me more rice?"

Landep spoilt the child with more food. And Jabang Bayi grew bigger and bigger. At ten days of age he could walk! He was ill-tempered and threw tantrums on every occasion. The women were exhausted.

One day, Jabang Bayi, clinging to his mother's sarong, again asked for food. Sinta lost her patience.

"More rice? You want more rice?" she cried. "Well, take this!" And she smacked the child on the head with the ladle she was using.

Jabang Bayi ran out of the kitchen and left the palace screaming and cursing his mother. He produced a noise louder than the sound of the gong in a temple. Sinta and Landep tried to catch him, but he was already out of reach.

"He'll be back soon and we'll nurse the wound," said Landep.

But the child never came back.

Jabang Bayi had fled to the sacred mountain, hoping to find his father—the lord of the mountain Giriswara.³³ He soon reached the slopes of Mahameru. Once there, he meditated, and became a man.

As Jabang Bayi prayed, sitting crossed legged on a large rock, the supreme god Siwa,³⁴ who had witnessed his devotion, came down from his celestial abode and spoke to him.

"Jabang Bayi, from now on I shall call you Watugunung, in remembrance of the place on the sacred mountain where you were born. I praise your devoutness, but I have the feeling that there is something you want to ask me."

"Oh Batara Siwa, my master, I want you to give me the power to rule over these lands," said Watugunung, stretching his arms over the horizon.

Siwa made a sign and said: "I will grant you your wish, Watugunung, so that the prediction made to your mother when you were born is fulfilled. Indeed, you will rule over the kingdoms all around the sacred mountain, and indeed, you will overpower all of the twenty-twenty lords who now rule these lands. You will fear neither the giants nor the men nor the beasts, nor the fire nor the winds of the cyclones."

"Oh Batara Siwa," Watugunung asked, "can you tell me how and when I shall meet my destiny?"

"You will face death when you confront a monster with the head of a giant turtle and the *panca naka* (five nails). On this very day, my child, remember what I have predicted: your time has come ..."

With that pronouncement, Siwa disappeared. His vanished figure was replaced by Mount Siwagunungphala, the cosmic lingam.

Watugunung went his way so that the predictions would come true. He reached the kingdom of Himalaya, which was ruled by Ukir,³⁵ lord of the mountain. Covered with dust from the road and tired of walking under the scorching sun, he came to a river, and decided to rest and bathe.

Once in the water, Watugunung heard the voice of a woman singing a beautiful song. Intrigued, he approached to behold where the singing came from. When the woman saw Watugunung gazing at her with great lust, she cried for help, and her husband, who was working in a rice field nearby, came to help.

Outraged at Watugunung's behaviour, the man threatened him with his scythe. Others, who were working not far away, were attracted by the commotion. They realised what had happened and rushed to tell the king that a man in the river was trying to seduce a married woman. King Ukir and his men came and challenged Watugunung, but he overpowered them all. As it had been written, Watugunung would conquer the world.

Ukir surrendered, as did all of the other princes (*wuku*) who dared challenge Watugunung. Together with Ukir, they numbered 27: Kulantir, Taulu, Gumbreg, Wariga, Warigadian, Julungwangi, Sungsang, Dungulan, Kuningan, Langkir, Medangsiya, Pujut, Pahang, Krulut, Merakih, Tambir, Medangkungan, Matal, Uye, Menail, Perangbakat, Bala, Ugu, Wayang, Kulawu and Dukut.³⁶

Watugunung now ruled all the lands around the sacred mountain. When he was not hunting or inspecting work in the rice fields, he spent his time in his palace with his entourage.

One evening, as they gathered in the main hall of the palace, Watugunung said, "My lords! Would you tell me, whom should I choose to be my wedded companion? For the future of my kingdom, I must father a child to succeed me."

"Oh Watugunung! In the kingdom of Jalasanggara, are not one, but two princesses, who would be worthy of becoming our queen." Thus spoke Dungulan, one of the princes assembled in the room.

"I thought those princesses were already married," said Watugunung.



Sinta hitting young Watugunung

The illustration shows Sinta hitting her son with a long bamboo ladle. The scene takes place in the kitchen. People say this is why mothers may not beat their children with kitchen instruments. Notice the *plangkiran* offering shrine attached to the left post.

Dungulan replied that, indeed, the princesses had been married, but both their husband and their only son had mysteriously vanished.

That night, Watugunung dreamt of the two princesses. The next morning, his decision was made: he would send one of his princes to the kingdom of Jalasanggara and ask the princesses to become his wives. If necessary, he would fight for them!

The two princesses, Sinta and Landep, resisted Watugunung's overtures. So, he went to war. The princesses lost the battle, surrendered, and became his wives and queens.

Some time afterwards, Watugunung, upon returning from the hunt, rested under the awning of the palace. He asked Sinta to comb his hair, as was the custom. As she ran the comb through her husband's hair, Sinta made a discovery. On the top of his head, there was a scar. So strange was its shape that she concluded it could only have come from the ladle she had struck her son with, so many years before.

Too confused to proceed any further, Sinta pretended to be tired, and asked Landep to finish the job. She also instructed her to carefully examine the scar. Landep did better: she asked Watugunung what had caused the scar.

"When I was a child," Watugunung replied, "my mother struck me because I was hungry and I wanted more rice."

As soon as she finished her task, Landep went into Sinta's room and reported the conversation. Both women now realised with horror that their husband was in fact their son and stepson!

Watugunung noticed a dramatic change in the deportment of his wives. He asked them, "My sweet ladies ... what has happened to you so suddenly? You look sad and dejected. Tell me what is the matter."

Sinta spoke first. "Oh our lord! We have both had a strange dream in which we saw ourselves getting older, while you retained the strength of youth. We think that you should take another wife to satisfy your desires and bear the son you expect."

Watugunung protested. Yet he was curious to know: who was this other wife in his queens' dreams?

"We dreamt that you should marry Nawang Ratih," Landep replied.

"What?" cried Watugunung, "Do you mean Wisnu's wife, the spouse of the god of water?"

"You have named her!"

Watugunung was shocked. It was inconceivable to think that he could covet the wife of a god! He was unaware that Sinta and Landep knew the true origin of the scar on his head and were ashamed of the incest. Sinta and Landep had also learned that, if Watugunung were to marry a god's wife, this would make him a god himself, and thus, the stain of incest would be cleansed.

Watugunung, having reviewed the situation, summoned one of his counsellors, Warigadian. He instructed him to go to the kingdom of the gods and ask Wisnu to part from his wife Nawang Ratih.

Wisnu was furious. How could a mere mortal dare to covet a god's wife? He told Watugunung's ambassador to return to his master and tell him that if the king was so impudent as to ask for his wife, he should come himself and fight for her. Should he, Wisnu, loose the battle, then Watugunung could marry Nawang Ratih.

When Watugunung was told Wisnu's words, he marshalled his troops and wuku allies. Nothing was spared in the preparation of his army for a battle that would be the mother of all battles.

Wisnu, being a god, was aware of Watugunung's reaction, and he too prepared his own troops for the mighty clash. And indeed, his troops were a formidable lot, comprised of all the principal inhabitants of the abode of the gods, including the *sapta rsi* (seven seers), the *panca rsi* (five seers), the *caturlokapala* (four lords of the directions of the compass).

When the two armies met, the confrontation was terrifying. The soldiers fought fiercely for a whole day, from sunrise to sunset. The dead were counted by the thousands. All the wuku princes had been killed and, as nothing had been settled that day, the armies repaired to their quarters to rest for the night. The fight was to resume the next day.



Sinta discovers the scar

Watugunung is shown here lying on his couch while his wife—who is also his mother—combs his hair, and, upon discovering the scar made by the ladle, awakens to her fate as an incestuous mother. Witnessing the scene are Durga the goddess of destruction, to the left, accompanied by her demon companions (*rencang*), and Siwa, to the right, riding his vehicle, the cow Nandini. Durga is actually Siwa's wife Uma, who was turned into a demonic goddess after betraying Siwa with the herdsman Rare Angon (who was actually Siwa in disguise).

Meanwhile, Wisnu was despondent. Many gods had been killed and, until then, no one had ever resisted him. He confided in his father-in-law Wrespati, who suggested that Wisnu should dispatch his brother-in-law Lumanglang to the land of the mortals. Lumanglang, whose name means “he who sees”, could take the form of a spider, so it would be easy for him to spy on Watugunung. Based on what Lumanglang learned, they would decide on what tactics to take when the struggle resumed.

Lumanglang entered the tent where Watugunung and his wives rested. Sinta and Landep had just asked their husband to tell the story of the battle and the origin of his supernatural powers.

“My sweet ladies,” Watugunung said, “if I tell you the secret of my supernatural powers, which was revealed to me when I meditated on the slope of the sacred mountain, you must keep this secret to yourselves, or I shall die.”

The women promised not to tell. Watugunung told them that only the god of water could overpower him, when he took the shape of a monster with the head of a giant turtle and armed with the five nails. Lumanglang, who was hiding behind a pillar in the tent, did not lose a single word of the conversation. He returned to the realm of the gods and reported to Wisnu what he had heard.

The next day, the two armies resumed the fight. To his dismay, Watugunung found himself facing a monster with the head of a turtle and five lethal nails. He realised that his time had come. The armies soon ceased fighting, to watch the single challenge between Watugunung and Wisnu.

The struggle raged for a long while. Try as he might, Watugunung could not overcome the formidable nails. No sooner had he severed one or two of the nails, they grew anew to lash him again. He was losing too much blood. Finally, he was defeated. Wisnu threw him to the ground, where he lay, mortally wounded, like a jackfruit that explodes after falling from the tree.

On the following day Watugunung's corpse was defiled. The next day, Watugunung's body was dragged on the ground. And the next day, Batara Buda brought him back to life. But barely an hour later, Wisnu killed him again. The next day, Siwa revived him once more.

Realising that Wisnu was planning to kill Watugunung yet again, and intended to continue this infernal cycle indefinitely, Siwa said: “Wisnu, forget the idea of killing Watugunung. Each time one of us will resuscitate him. For with him dead, the lessons we must teach mankind will never be conveyed to the generations to come.”

Wisnu argued: “Oh Batara Siwa, I must kill Watugunung, for great were his sins. He has lusted after a married woman, he has married his mother and his stepmother, and he has coveted the wife of a god. This is too much to be tolerated in the world of the mortals!”

Siwa said: “It is true that Watugunung has committed all these abominable sins. It shall not be permitted, henceforth, to covet anyone else's spouse or to marry one's own mother. But let us punish Watugunung in another fashion.”

Wisnu then addressed Watugunung: “Every six months—counting thirty-five days each, that is, 210 days—you shall be impure.”

Watugunung repented and asked for forgiveness. “So be it, according to thy will, Oh Wisnu,” he said. Yet, he implored, “Please, when I fall into the depths of the seas, might I warm the world, so mankind does not shiver with cold any more? When I fall on the land before the harvest, might I bring the rains with me, so that crops do not wither? And might it be that, henceforth, mankind knows what happened to me so the gods' teachings will be heeded?”

After Watugunung was sentenced, Siwa resuscitated the 27 wuku and the panca rsi. All the gods descended from the sacred mountain to earth to purify Watugunung. Ganesha, the elephant god, gave mankind the *Wariga* (knowledge of the calendar/time and calendar-based divination) so that they would know what is good and what is evil.

Then the gods wrote down this story, and thus, established the *dewasa* or *pedewasan*—the god-given calendar system, with Watugunung as the lord of the calendar. They distributed the 27 wuku, in addition to Sinta, Landep and Watugunung, to form the 30 seven-day weeks of the 210-day *Pawukon* cycle, which begins with the incestuous mother, Sinta, and ends with the incestuous son, Watugunung.



The separation

Siwa is shown here separating the incestuous mother, to the left, from the incestuous son, to the right—the action which institutes the notion of time in Bali. Siwa rides his godly vehicle, Nandini, and holds the *ganitri* rosary, symbol of time, as well as the *pecut* whip, symbol of punishment. Notice his hands, held in the position that denotes speech in Balinese dance.

Watugunung: Bali's culture hero

If we analyse the myth of Watugunung from a psychoanalysis-slanted, anthropological perspective, a few things clearly stand out.

The myth is, at first sight, a classically Freudian, sex-laden incest story. The signs are found throughout the plot: The incestuous hero is separated from his father and mother at a young age. Like Oedipus, the tragic figure of ancient Greek mythology who kills his father and eventually marries his mother, Watugunung too defeats his father (Kulagiri/Giriswara/Ukir) and marries his mother (Sinta). In both myths, the hero's transgressions throw the abode of the gods into chaos.

Symbolically, all of the alternate names for Watugunung's father refer to mountains: Kulagiri, which means "mountain range", Giriswara, which mean "lord of the mountain" and Ukir or Wukir, which means "mountain" in Old-Javanese. The mountain is a clear phallic symbol (lingam), which also associates Watugunung's father with the god Siwa. Balinese commonly recognise both Giriswara and Ukir as symbols of Siwa.

Sinta hits her infant son on the head with a big wooden spoon, another phallic symbol. As for the long wound Sinta catches sight of on her adult son's head, it is a classic vaginal symbol (yoni), as is the river in which the women whom Watugunung tries to rape are bathing. The name Watugunung itself, which means "stone mountain", can also be seen as a phallic symbol. Finally, there is the presence of the god Siwa, who is the cosmic phallic symbol par excellence. In short, many elements of the myth allude to sexual symbolism in the Freudian sense.

One notices too, that the sexual transgressions of the hero do not go unnoticed. One of the principal characters of the myth is the "witness god" Sang Hyang Lumanglang (he who sees), who is said to be a form of the sun god Surya. So apart from its sexual symbolism, the story symbolically depicts the origin of Balinese society as it emerges into the light from the dark pit of the world before time.

Before the victory of the gods over Watugunung, the world is in chaos. The family as an institution is not yet structured: Watugunung's mother

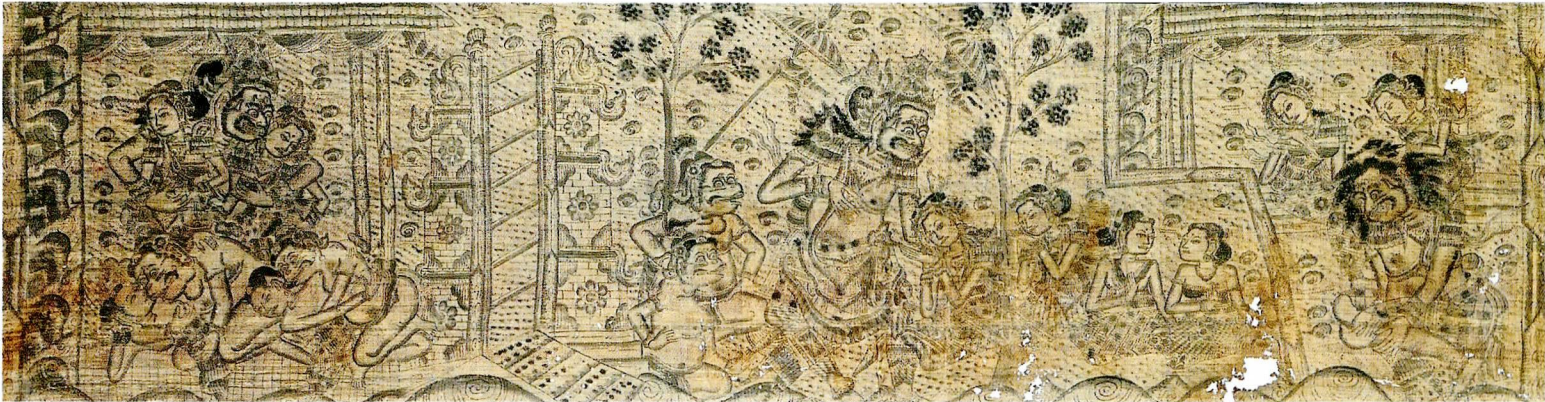
Sinta is violent toward her infant son and badly wounds him on the head; Watugunung then leaves his mother; and previously, the father abandons his family. Sexual life is in total disorder, even wild: powerful men like Watugunung can rape women at will. Political life too is in turmoil: war is ubiquitous and a violent man like Watugunung can become conqueror of the world, including the kingdom of his own parents.

The peak of these cumulative disorders is Watugunung's act of incest with his mother, immediately followed by his mother's awareness of the enormity of this act as a transgression of divine order. That is, only the gods are allowed to commit this kind of act. And Watugunung is not a god, but a human. What results from his transgression is nothing less than total cosmic chaos. Which translates into Watugunung's subsequent actions: he feels that he has become the equal of the gods, and can wreak havoc on the world, rape women, and even provoke Wisnu, the ultimate guardian of the world's stability.

Wisnu's intervention re-establishes cosmic order and returns Watugunung to his original status. Yet, instead of being killed by the god, Watugunung is enlightened through an epiphany, and then made the master of the calendar and guarantor of the prohibition of incest. So he turns from destroyer, rapist and threat to the gods, into a tool through which the gods obtain stability in the world of men.

Stability is achieved through a set of transformations that are concomitant with the appearance of the calendar. The creation of the calendar by the gods after Watugunung's defeat also corresponds to the onset of the prohibition of incest. This is the first enlightenment. The incestuous mother and son now occupy opposite ends of the Pawukon cycle. Sinta, is at the beginning of the cycle, while Watugunung is at its end. They are formally separated, and at the same time cleansed, by the epiphany at the apex of the cycle, which falls on the day of Saraswati, goddess of knowledge.

Saraswati does not symbolise knowledge in the narrow sense of the word, as mere "learning". Rather, she symbolises human "Consciousness". The most deeply entrenched and universal manifestation of consciousness



Above:
Watugunung
Drawing on Balinese cotton.
This traditional drawing shows three scenes from the story of Watugunung. To the left, Watugunung captures Sinta and Landep, unaware that they are related to him. Disorder prevails, as shown in the sexual scene below. In the central scene the two women pay homage to Watugunung. Incest will be consummated. To the right Sinta discovers the scar and becomes aware of the incest.
Unknown artist.
70 x 250 cm.
19th century.
Collection of Nyoman Gunarsa Museum

Previous Wuku cycle			New Wuku Cycle		
Kulawu (28)	Dukut (29)	Watugunung (30)	Sinta (1)	Landep (2)	Wukir (3)
Incest between son and mother Disorder No consciousness of time No organised sexual and social life No rites Nature / Fertility Demonic / Chthonian					

Right:

The Fall of Watugunung

Having made incestuous love with his mother, Dewi Sinta, from whom he had been separated at an early age, Watugunung is goaded by her to attack the abode of the gods and ask for the hand of Wisnu's consort. But he is defeated by the god Wisnu in the latter's multi-headed demonic form. The Supreme Deity Siwa-Atintia is witnessing his fall. He will prevent Watugunung from being killed though, and make him instead the guardian of the 210-day Pawukon calendar, of which Watugunung will be the last week, and Sinta the first week of the next cycle, son and mother being separated by the last day of the calendar—the day of Saraswati, the goddess of knowledge, and thus, enlightenment.

I Gusti Nyoman Lempad.

Bedulu, Blahbatuh (1862-1978).

32 x 22 cm.

Ink, Tempera on Paper.

Collection of Museum Rudana

Opposite below:

The separation between Watugunung and Sinta in the Pawukon cycle

This table sums up peak moments of the Pawukon cycle related to the myth of Watugunung. The cycle is split into two. The finishing cycle is to the left. The act of incest and battle following it take place in the last week, which is named after Watugunung. The last day of that week commemorates the hero's enlightenment, and is devoted to Saraswati, goddess of knowledge. The new cycle is to the right. Its first week is named after the incestuous mother, Sinta, who is now separated from her son. The first day of the first week, called Banyu Pinaruh, is the day of the hero's purification.



among human beings since the origin of humanity is the awareness that sexual life in the family and social environment have to follow rules, to be regulated: sexual intercourse must not be forced upon any woman and must not take place within the nuclear family, especially between mother and son—like Sinta and Watugunung before their enlightenment.

Thus, the origin of the incest prohibition, as it appears in the story of Watugunung's epiphany and development of a human "consciousness", can be understood as the first fully human step of prehistoric humans, the step through which the *homo* became fully *sapiens*. In Freudian lingo, it is the eruption of the "super-ego" in human life.

Further down the line, the prohibition of incest was the first step in the setting up of a legal system, and therefore marked the onset of the organisation of social life. Saraswati day, the day of the goddess of knowledge, thus also celebrates the mythical foundation of social organisation.

Of course, implicitly related to the above, is the appearance of the "consciousness of time" as a divine gift, when Siwa appoints the enlightened Watugunung as lord of the Pawukon calendar.

An important point must be emphasised here, which will be underlined again later on. This is that Watugunung's revolt, far from ending in a victory over the gods, ends in his surrender to the gods. Watugunung, the symbol of Man revolting against the gods, ipso facto, turns against religion, but at the end of the day, defeated, he "understands", receives faith and consciousness, and returns to the fold of religion to eventually become the definer, as lord of the calendar, of all its ritual activities. The majority of Balinese rites are indeed defined by the rules of this calendar.

The myth, through its story of incest and revolt, tells us something about the inception of self-consciousness in Man. In his revolt, Watugunung begins to feel he is autonomous from the larger cosmic world, but when he is defeated it is not "liberty" that he finds, but an epiphany that leads him to throw away his autonomy or individual consciousness, to rejoin the very system against which he had revolted.

The ultimate teachings of the myth are unambiguous: Cosmic order must be preserved at all cost! Man as microcosm (*bhwana alit*) must obey the ritual requirements necessary to preserve this order. He must therefore organise his action by holding the right rites at the right times, as determined by the Pawukon calendar and Wariga divination system. He has given up all liberty and autonomy.

In conclusion it can be said that the myth of Watugunung marks the inception of a whole range of consciousness-related human characteristics. Man appears as a primitive *homo* who gives up his animal-hood to adopt the features of human-hood and fully become a *sapiens*: the prohibition of incest; the dawning of a consciousness of time; the establishment of social norms and legal rules, and a religious ideological system.

These features, however, are not presented as universal characteristics of the human anthropos. They are rather those of Man in Java/Bali, as the Balinese view him, at the dawn of civilisation. In that sense, Watugunung is the "culture hero" of Bali—the character who civilised Bali.

Oedipus and Watugunung

From the Balinese (and Javanese) perspective, the only possible type of Man is that symbolised by Watugunung. Yet, Western tradition proposes a different type of Man, as symbolised by the hero of a myth that is quite similar, yet has different consequences—the myth of Oedipus.

The Oedipus myth

The Oedipus myth, immortalised by the playwright Sophocles, is one of the most famous stories brought down from Greek mythology. It is also undoubtedly the most famous incest myth of all.

The myth proper is thought to issue from Classical Greece (1000–700 BCE). It was elaborated into a structured narrative in Sophocles' 5th century trilogy of "Oedipus King", "Antigone" and "Oedipus at Colonus". The core story, found in "Oedipus King", can be summarised as follows:

In days of yore, in the old Greek city of Thebes, ruled King Laios and his consort queen Jocaste. Laios was worried, because he had been forewarned by the oracle of the Apollo shrine at Delphi that he would be killed by his own son, who would then seal his fate by marrying his own mother.

In the hope of preventing this augury from becoming reality, when Jocaste bore a son, Laios had the child's ankles pinned together so he could not crawl, and gave the boy to a servant to abandon on a nearby mountain so that he would die of exposure.

However, overcome by pity, the assigned executor relented. He instead passed the boy on to a shepherd from Corinth, a city founded by Sisyphus. The Corinthian, a subject of the king, in due course brought the child to his royal master, Polybus, who raised him as his own child.

When he became an adult, Oedipus heard that he might not be the king's biological son. He too consulted the Delphi oracle. She repeated the augury, telling Oedipus that he would kill his father and commit incest with his mother. But she did not tell him who his biological father was.

Hoping to elude the prophecy, Oedipus left his Corinthian parents and went wandering about the country. But the hand of fate was unavoidable. At a three-way crossroads, Oedipus encountered an impatient charioteer who whipped him into making way. A fight ensued, during which the charioteer was killed: Oedipus unwittingly killed his own father.

Oedipus then took the road to the city of Thebes, only to be confronted on the approach to the city by a horrible Sphinx—a monster with the head and bust of a woman, wings of an eagle, and lower body of a lion. This Sphinx possessed and killed all travellers unable to answer her riddle: "What is the name of the being who has four legs in the morning, two at midday, and three in the evening?"

No one had ever been able to answer the riddle before Oedipus. But the hero rightly understood it was a metaphor and gave the logical answer: this being was none other than Man himself at the three phases of his life—childhood, middle age and old age. Upon hearing Oedipus' correct answer, the Sphinx leaped from her promontory into the sea, killing herself and freeing Thebes from her scourge.

Oedipus then headed for Thebes, where he was welcomed as a hero, since he had managed to defeat the Sphinx. As the city was leaderless, its king having disappeared, Oedipus became king and married Jocaste, who, unbeknownst to him, was in fact his true mother. The couple had three children.

Several years later, a terrible epidemic fell upon the city. To discover the cause, an oracle was consulted: he said that it was because the killing of King Laios had remained unpunished. Oedipus, unaware of his deed, promised to find and punish the culprit. Meanwhile a witness of Laios' killing came forward and testified that Oedipus had indeed killed his father Laios and married his mother Jocaste. So the original oracle was proven right.

Upon hearing the truth, Jocaste hung herself, and Oedipus blinded himself. But the new king Creon deemed that Oedipus' continued presence was besmirching the city, and Oedipus was expelled by his own sons. Assisted by his daughter Antigone, Oedipus then went wandering across Greece, saying: "No god will ever speak for me."

The comparative meanings of the two myths

The Oedipus myth played a prominent role not only during the times of Classical Greece (5th to 4th century BCE), but also in the history of Western thought during the first part of the 20th century, when the Oedipus complex—based upon Sigmund Freud's interpretation of the myth—became a cornerstone of Freudian psychoanalytic theory.

The Oedipus complex is understood as the repressed desire to "kill one's father" and "engage in sexual intercourse with one's mother". This translates for the son into a revolt against the father and an unbridled love for the mother. This complex became the foundation on which Freud built his theory of the subconscious, and hence, the basic framework of psychoanalysis.

According to this theory, people who reveal themselves unable, or late, to overcome the Oedipus complex—which usually takes place during adolescence—have difficulty adapting to adulthood, and they experience

interpersonal communication problems as well as difficulty fitting into social life. These emotional knots eventually crystallise into neurosis or psychosis. The Oedipus complex, fundamentally male, has a female equivalent, characterised by the daughter's conflict with the mother and irrational love for the father.

The purpose of this writing is not simply to compare the myths of Oedipus and Watugunung from a psychoanalytic perspective. This would indeed be possible, as the myth of Watugunung shows many signs of a latent Oedipal structure. But beyond the Oedipal aspect lies another point for comparison: it is the way the two myths approach the position of Man in the world. Thus, even though the comparison drawn below at times touches on psychoanalytic aspects, it is mainly anthropological.

The myths of Oedipus and Watugunung share many common features, both at the level of the structure of the story and at the level of its symbolic details. Freud's belief that the Oedipal complex is universal finds fertile ground here. Let us give a short inventory.

Both Oedipus and Watugunung "interrupt" their relationship with their biological father. Oedipus is first abandoned by Laios. Then he unwittingly kills Laios. Watugunung too, is abandoned by his father, the mythical lord of the mountain, Giriswara (another name of Siwa). He later defeats Wukir (the mountain) who in some versions of the story is associated with Giriswara.

It is also worth remarking that both Oedipus and Watugunung are related, in childhood, to mountains—phallic symbols. Oedipus is taken to the mountain to be killed by one of his fathers's trusted men. Watugunung is born at, then flees back to, the foot of a sacred mountain where Siwa is thought to reside, and he also gains mystical power (*kesaktian*) by meditating there.

Both Oedipus and Watugunung are wanderers, both before and after they commit incest. Their incest takes place as the result of the gods' will. In the case of Oedipus it is an oracle who announces the curse to befall him: he will kill his father and have sexual intercourse with his mother. In Watugunung's case it is the Lord of the Mountain himself who announces

the upcoming greatness and fall of the hero: he will be defeated by an incarnation of Wisnu, which is a sign that he will have transgressed the order of things (through incest).

An additional shared sign of symbolic importance is that both Oedipus and Watugunung become kings before they commit incest. And the incest, an act up to then restricted to the realm of the gods, when performed by an ordinary man, brings godly disfavour and woes upon the world of humans. In Oedipus' case the sign of the gods' curse is that Thebes is hit by a plague and infertility. In Watugunung's case, his transgression translates into an attack on the abode of the gods and a war with the gods, which he loses.

In both cases it is the incestuous mother who, when she discovers the transgression, unleashes the havoc that befalls the hero: Jocaste kills herself, while Sinta hatches a plot that leads to her son's defeat by the gods.

Yet despite all these structural and symbolic parallels, the two myths are fundamentally different in several regards. The first, and perhaps primary difference has to do with their mythical status.

The Oedipus myth tells the story of a human being and his family in a real kingdom, with a real topography and a no less real, albeit vague, historical background. The story is thus known as a legend, and has almost the status of historical reality; it deals with people and issues clearly presented as human, with only a thin shroud of supra-human symbolism. It belongs to a saga of semi-historical, semi-mythological heroic figures who are constructed as archetypes for human behaviour. It clearly shows a people, the Greeks, who, even though they are still subject to the whims of the gods and the hand of fate, are in their historical evolution gradually pushing the gods aside to bring forward full human consciousness. This is indeed what the Greek miracle of civilisation is all about, under the pen of some of its first and earliest exponents, the great Greek tragedians in particular.

In contrast, the Watugunung myth depicts a story whose characters are still fully enmeshed in a mythical environment (and whose narrative knot has not been deciphered by a genius such as Sophocles). The location is indefinite. Even though it does not belong to classical Indian mythology it

is set in the midst of mythical kingdoms located in the Indian Hindu middle world (*madiapada*) of humankind.

In some versions of the story, Watugunung is the direct son of a god, the lord of the mountain and thus, Siwa, begotten from a liaison between the god and a human woman, thus similar to a Greek hero such as Heracles. He can access the abode of the gods, even attack them. Yet the fact that his transgression with his mother is not accepted and that he is repelled as an equal of the gods shows him as a human to be, as the symbol of Man.

As seen above, the two myths differ in a variety of ways. But what is most interesting is to look at what those differences reveal about the cultural differences between ancient Greece and Bali, between the emerging Western culture of Classical Greece and Eastern culture of Indian and Indian-influenced societies.

At the level of the reactions of the two characters toward the gods and religion, the two myths show totally opposing views of the position of Man in the cosmos.

Oedipus clearly represents and symbolises Man. Apart from the structure of the story proper, as depicted above, this fact is further made obvious in the solving of the Sphinx's riddle by the hero: it is Man who crawls as a child on four feet in the morning, walks on two feet at midday as an adult, and totters with a stick as an elderly man in the evening. Oedipus rightly sees the riddle as a metaphor. He is able to objectify the most horrendous reality he has ever faced, in the form of the nightmarish Sphinx, and so, to uncover the human truth this nightmare contains—a fact later studied by Freud.

When, after many doubts and clues, Oedipus finally finds out that he truly is an incestuous parricide and he watches his mother kill herself, he understands that he is the victim of the fate he has long tried to escape. He blinds himself out of helplessness. Expelled from Thebes, he then goes wandering about the world in an aimless quest, looking for a truth that his blindness prevents him from grasping. But he gains in wisdom, and, in Colonnus, after meeting Theseus, the mythical king of the Greeks, he dies, "taken without a pang, without grief or agony," because there is no understanding to be had.

Oedipus' attitude is characterised by scepticism regarding religion, and eventually, equanimity regarding his fate. "No god will speak for me," says Oedipus at the end of "Oedipus King", when he departs on his wanderings. In "Oedipus at Colonnus" Sophocles similarly harps:

"He was not destroyed by a thunderbolt from heaven nor tide-waves rising from the sea, for no such things occurred. Maybe a guiding spirit from the gods took him, or the earth foundation gently opened and received him with no pain. Certain it is that he was taken without a pang, without grief or agony, a passing more wonderful than that of any other man."

This attitude portends the stoicism of the 4th and 3rd century BCE. Understanding the godly is irrelevant, Sophocles tells us. What matters is to accept one's fate as a human being and the existing order of things. No god will speak for us humans.

It seems clear from the above that Oedipus is a typically "Western" character. Not unlike Sisyphus, the founder of Corinth, who is condemned to ceaselessly roll his stone up the mountain only to see it roll down again, Oedipus is marked by a fate over which he has no control. Yet he is rational in his behaviour and in his analysis of the reality, as shown in his handling of the riddle of the Sphinx. When he becomes the victim of fate, he accepts it, yet he does not yield to despair. He carries on. He does not repel religion, but does not embrace its truth either. He is in a position of blindness, solitude and angst. Unable to understand the purpose of life, he nevertheless stoically faces it.

Thus, the Oedipus myth, especially as it appears in Sophocles' trilogy, can be construed as one of the starting points of the anthropocentrism typical of Greek classicism and the West. Oedipus is the prototype of Man as an individuated being. He is separated from the cosmos, rational, and ultimately "free", but also blind to the meaning of things, and so, subject to perpetual existential doubt.

The situation of Watugunung is altogether different. True, unlike Oedipus, Watugunung openly revolts against the gods by attacking them. But this does not mean he is against religion per se. In fact, unlike Oedipus, who, before his act of incest, faced the most awesome reality, the riddle of

the Sphinx, in a rational and non-religious way, Watugunung, after leaving his mother, prepares himself for the reality of life by meditating at the foot of the mountain. Thus, he seeks protection and power, which is eventually granted to him by Siwa, his hidden father.

Furthermore, after Watugunung's incest with Sinta and Landep, not only does he remain ignorant of it, unlike the women, but he assaults the abode of the gods to gain recognition as their equal. By being incestuous, albeit unwittingly, he has behaved like a god, and wants "confirmation" of this godly status by marrying Wisnu's wife Nawang Ratih. He shows supreme insolence, because no human, even a hero, may marry a female deity. In all his actions, Watugunung always remains in the sphere of the religious; he questions neither fate nor religion.

Watugunung's attitude is the opposite of that of Oedipus, who not only becomes aware of his incest, but is able to objectify it and, through his wanderings, to distance himself from religion ("no god will speak for me") and gain equanimity and wisdom ("taken without a pang, without grief, without agony").

Watugunung's journey to awareness functions at another level too. Oedipus' journey symbolises the endeavour of man to free himself from the shackles of religion and thus grow into an autonomous and rational individual, even if it means he is blind and haunted by angst. But Watugunung never tries to achieve rationality. His consciousness is more basic: it denotes the passage from animal-hood to human-hood.

When, defeated by Wisnu, Watugunung is brought back to life, in his ultimate epiphany he embraces the rhythm and rites of time, of which the gods now make him the guardian. At the same time he gives up his egotistic arrogance and accepts all the rules that the gods devise and place within the calendar. In other words, he makes a total turnaround: from rebel against the gods into the enforcer of religious rules.

So, in the Watugunung story, the shock of incest is not overcome by having its main perpetrator turn into an increasingly autonomous and rational individual, after Oedipus' example, and in line with the Western ideal. Rather, it is overcome by having the main perpetrator turn into an

enlightened proponent of religious truth, whose epiphany is celebrated at the end of each 210-day cycle of the calendar, on the day of Saraswati, goddess of knowledge, hence consciousness.

On the whole, the differences between the two myths and their heroes are clear.

The myth of Oedipus can be construed as one of the founding myths of Western anthropocentrism, which shows Man in the process of discovering rationality, and hence, striving to gain autonomy from the divine.

The myth of Watugunung can, on the contrary, be construed as the founding myth of the Javanese-Balinese version of Eastern "cosmocentrism". It shows the dawn of civilisation—the initial spark of human consciousness that brings about the structuring of time and early social organisation, along with the emergence of culture, the rites. It never brings, however, the kind of individuation and distancing toward the religious that characterise the Oedipus myth.

On the contrary, the spark of human consciousness, symbolised here by the epiphany of the culture hero, Watugunung, invites humans to organise their smooth integration into the cosmic order of things, that is, to organise human life in relation to a ritual-based, calendar-determined way of managing their time and activities.

Implicit here is the Balinese notion of a dialectic between the microcosm (*bhwana alit*) and the macrocosm (*bhwana agung*). Man, or *bhwana alit*, is a duplicate of the larger cosmos. Made of the same physical and spiritual components, he must control his actions (karma) in such a way as to merge into the waiting macrocosm at the end of his lives, through a process of moksha (total dissolution of individuality, or release from rebirth).

So the consciousnesses experienced by Oedipus and Watugunung respectively are of two different natures.

In the Javanese-Balinese tradition represented here by the story of Watugunung, the hero's consciousness is an epiphanic enlightenment that leads Man, barely aware of being Man, to dissolve back into the order of things. It translates into a cosmic understanding of the world and Man's place in it.

On the opposite end of the spectrum, Oedipus' consciousness is that of the rational Man separate from the world. It leads directly to Plato's hermeneutics, Descartes' rationality of the subject, and the tradition of modern scepticism from Nietzsche and Heidegger to Sartre and Derrida.

Finally, we can also conclude that Oedipus and Watugunung symbolise not only two choices of attitude toward the religious—that of Greece in the West and Bali in the East—but two choices of attitude towards life: whether we are going to treat life, in all of its trials, as something we must stoically face, or whether we are going to, instead, surrender our lives to the divine.

Watugunung and agriculture

Another complementary but more speculative interpretation can be made of the story of Watugunung with regards to the 210-day calendar and its links with agriculture.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the 210-day calendar cycle is probably related to the ancient cycle of rice cultivation.³⁷ Many of the calendar festivals are clearly linked to agriculture and fertility. Furthermore, the text of the original manuscript of the story, adapted here, provides a few more clues to support this conclusion.

Siwa is the male lingam, as is too his "son" Watugunung, the "mountain stone". In some Indian texts Sinta is associated with Sita, who is the daughter of the earth.³⁸ Meanwhile Landep, which means "sharp", represents agricultural tools, and during the week named after Landep, offerings are made to agricultural tools.³⁹ Therefore, the incestuous coupling of Watugunung with Sinta can be construed as a symbol of the cosmic union of the heavenly mountain (Watugunung) with the earth (Sinta) and, the fertilisation of the latter by the former.

After this natural union-cum-incest, however, mediation is needed. To be fertile, the earth needs water. Hence, the role played by Wisnu, who rules over water, and by his consort Dewi Sri (Nawang Ratih), who rules over rice and other plants. Wisnu's mediation is translated in the story by

Watugunung's defeat and return to the human world that his incest has defiled. It is also translated by the separation, through Siwa's intercession, between what had been cosmically united by the incest: Sinta, the earth and Watugunung, the mountain.

If the fertilisation of the earth calls for an incestuous, supra-human union, its cultivation (through irrigation and so on) calls, on the contrary, for the separation of the incestuous partners and the installation of a human order and culture. The connection between the two orders: supra-human and human, or macrocosm and microcosm, is made through the intercession of Watugunung, who thus becomes not only the protector of the calendar, but of the whole agricultural system. The story is clear on this point:

"Every six months, counting six times thirty-five days, that is, 210 days, you shall be impure," Wisnu says.

To which the repentant hero replies: "Please, when I fall into the depths of the seas, might I warm the world, so mankind does not shiver with cold any more? When I fall on the land before the harvest, might I bring the rains with me, so that crops will not wither? And might it be that, henceforth, mankind knows what has happened to me so the gods' teachings will be heeded?"

Watugunung is, therefore, not only Bali's culture hero, but also, Bali's agriculture hero.

CHAPTER 3 THE CALENDARS

Introduction to the *pedewasan*

Two traditional calendars make up the *pedewasan* (Balinese calendar system). The first is the rule-based, cyclical *Pawukon* calendar, which is of Javanese-Balinese origin, and dates back 1,000 years or more.⁴⁰ The second is the luni-solar *Saka* calendar, derived from the Indian Hindu calendar of the same name, which begins in 78CE.

The historical conscience of the Balinese is largely regulated by the lunar cycle of the Saka year of 354 or 355 days, which also regulates the rhythms of agricultural tasks, some temple festivals, and rituals directly related to the full moons and new moons.

However, it is the 210-day Pawukon (also called *Wawukon*), which is the main organiser of ritual time in Bali, even though it does not correspond to any stellar cycle. A repeating cycle with no numbering from an initial year, it regulates most rites and holy days in Bali. It is also used for choosing dates for any undertaking of importance—be it an exorcism, the construction of a house or temple, the carving of a sacred mask, a wedding, cremation, or tooth-filing ceremony.

Before proceeding to explain the Pawukon and Saka calendars in detail, it is important to note that each time unit within both of these calendars has its own unique characteristics, reflecting its position on a special compass rose called the *pangider-ider*.

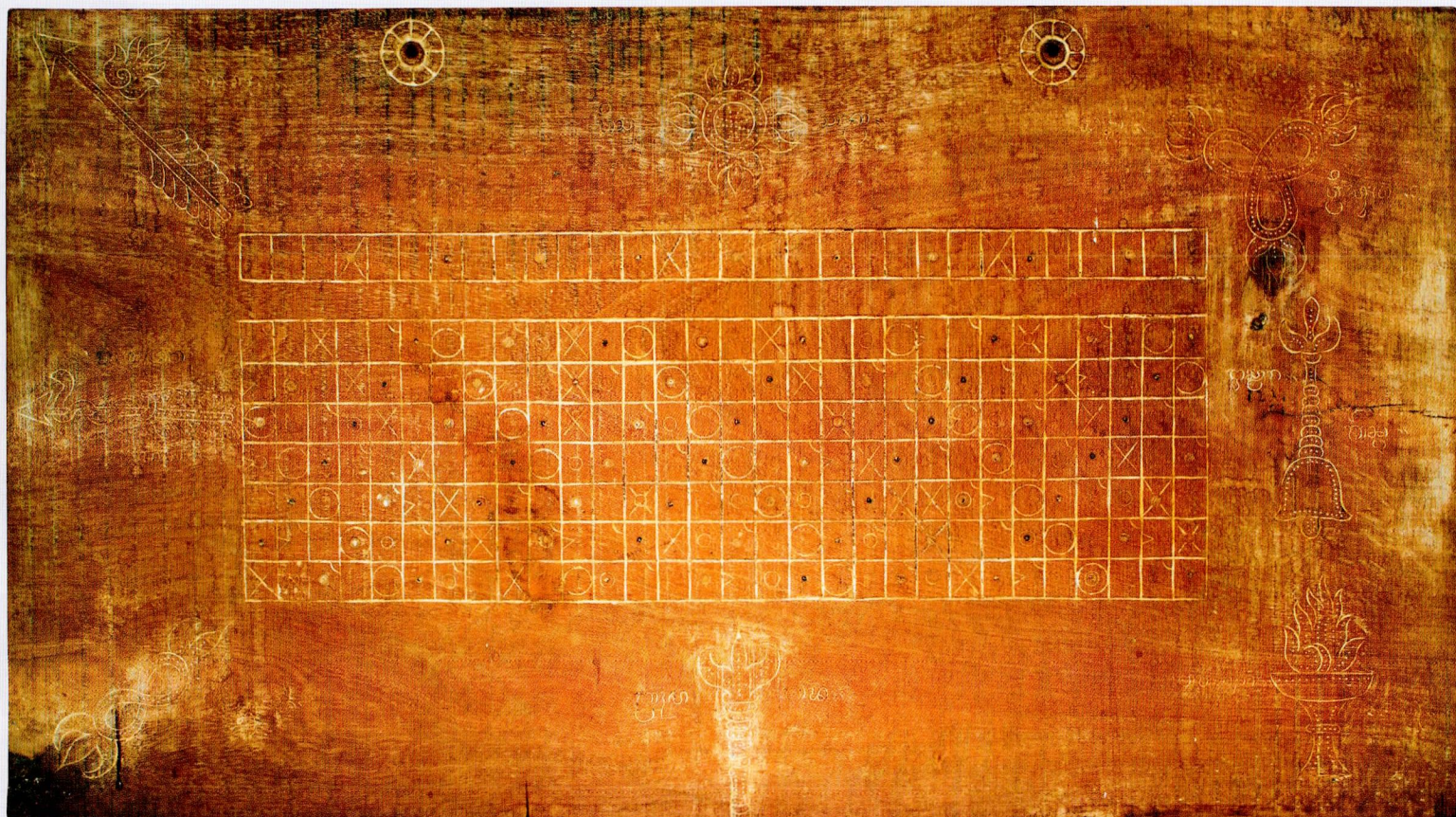
The *pangider-ider* is an indigenous classification system-cum mandala⁴¹ in which the four cardinal directions, four intermediary directions and centre of the compass are each associated with particular sacred numbers (*urip*); particular gods, and their weapons and vehicles; elements of nature; colours of the spectrum; mountains of the island; and parts of the body; as well as all the components of the calendars.⁴²

Wariga—the body of knowledge related to the calendar and calendar-based divination⁴³—uses these mystic correspondences to ascertain the value of any given day, whether auspicious or inauspicious, for a particular undertaking or event (*dewasa-ala ayu*).

Given the esoteric nature and complexity of this knowledge, which is compiled in palm-leaf manuscripts (*lontar*), only certain specialists, such as high priests (*pedanda*), village priests (*pemangku*) and healers (*balian*) know how to interpret and apply it. Ordinary people consult such calendar specialists when they need to determine dates for special undertakings.

Several kinds of wooden or painted charts have been devised to visualise the calendars, known as *tika* and *pelelintangan*, in addition to *pelelindon*. Examples of *tika* are discussed in this chapter, while examples of *pelelintangan* and *pelelindon* are presented in Chapter 8.

Nowadays, however, the most common visual reference is the modern Balinese calendar. Printed as a wall calendar, it can be found in almost every home and shop in Bali. There is one page per month, with the Gregorian calendar dates inserted into squares together with the names of key Pawukon and Saka time units, along with their main divinatory references. (See p. 222 for an illustration and more details of the modern printed calendar).



Above:

Large wooden tika

Hardwood (jackfruit) with lime.

A large classical etched tika (centre) surrounded by etched drawings, all heightened with lime, depicting the weapons of the nine sacred directions (nawa sanga). Clockwise from noon: discus (*cakra*), trident (*trisula*), thunderbolt bell (*bajra*), incense burner (*dupa*), club (*danda*), mace (*moksala*), serpent lasso (*nagapasa*), and elephant goad (*angkus*).

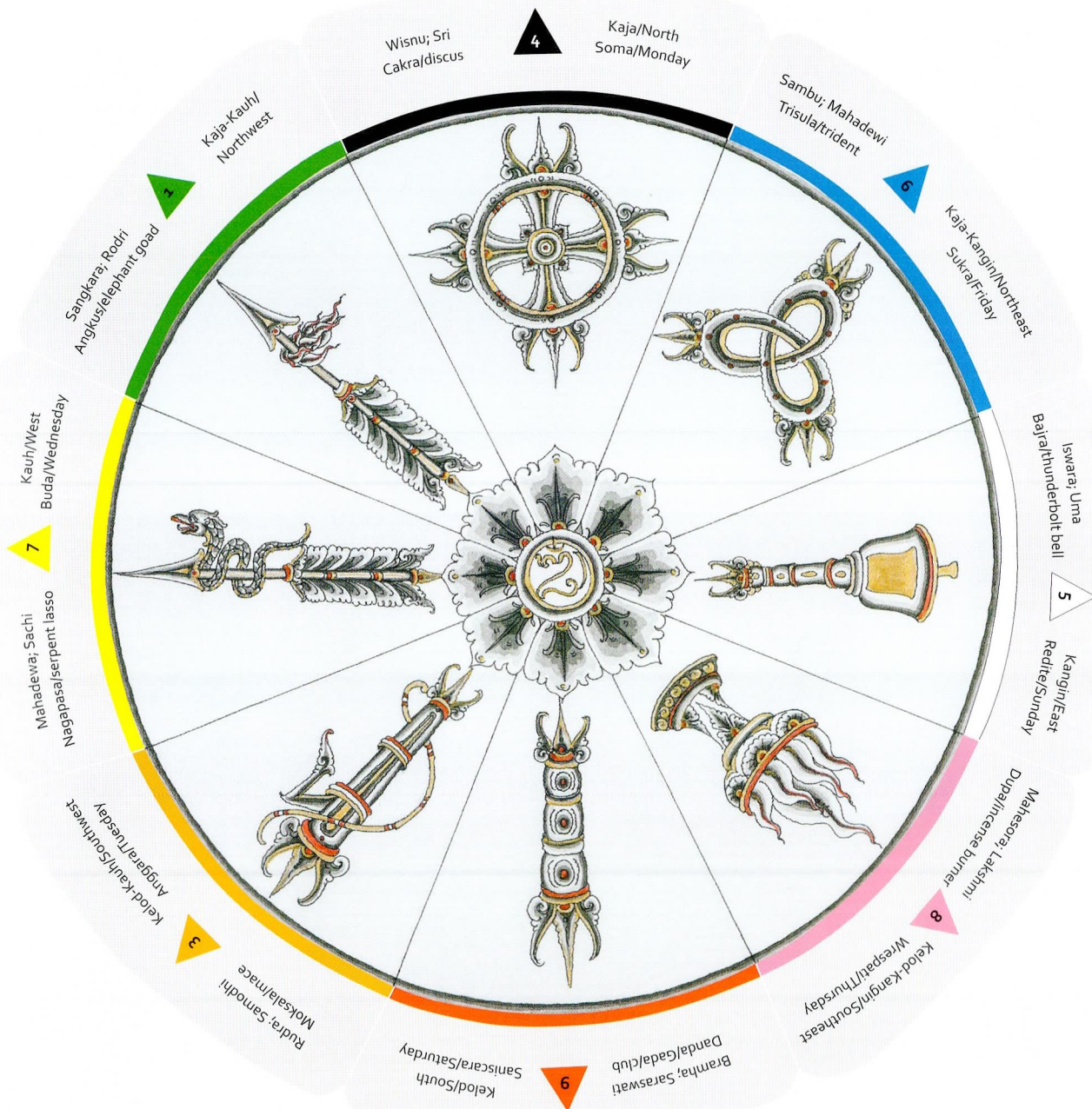
No decoration on the back.

51 x 93 x 1 cm.

Tabanan, Central Bali.

Middle of the 20th century.

Private collection.



Left:

Nawa sanga mandala

The nawa sanga is a sacred "compass rose" or mandala of the world. This circular nawa sanga features the deities and their weapons (shown as drawings here as well as named in English and Balinese), colours and magic numbers (urip – in the small triangles) and days of the seven-day week corresponding to each of the eight cardinal directions. At the centre is Siwa: his colour is multi-coloured, his weapon is the lotus (padma), and his number is 8.

In fact, all aspects of reality can potentially be mapped onto this compass, including time units, body parts, sounds, letters, animals, plants, demons, mythical heroes, and so on. For a more complete inventory of correspondences, including time units, see table on the right.

Opposite:

Nawa sanga correspondences, including elements of the calendar system

This table shows the same elements as the circular nawa sanga (left) plus others, including elements of the Balinese calendar system related to each of the nine sacred directions: the wuku weeks, the wewaran weeks and their corresponding days, the Saka lunar months (sasih), and the Saka lunar days (tithi) of the waxing/ waning moon (pananggal/panglong).

Direction	Kaja North/Upstream	Kaja-Kangin Northeast	Kangin East/Downstream	Kelod-Kangin Southeast	Kelod South	Kelod-Kauh Southwest	Kauh West	Kaja-Kauh Northwest	Tengah Centre
God	Wisnu	Sambu	Iswara	Mahesora	Brahma	Rudra	Mahadewa	Sangkara	Siwa
Goddess	Sri	Mahadewi	Uma	Lakshmi	Saraswati	Samodhi	Sachi	Rodri	Durga
Weapon	Cakra (discus)	Trisula (trident)	Bajra (thunderbolt bell)	Dupa (incense burner)	Danda/Gada (club)	Moksala (mace)	Nagapasa (serpent lasso)	Angkus (elephant goad)	Padma (lotus)
Vehicle	Garuda (king of birds)	Wilmana (demonic bird)	Gajah (elephant)	Macan (tiger)	Angsa (goose)	Kerbau (buffalo)	Naga (dragon)	Singa (lion)	Lembu (bull)
Colour	Black	Blue-Grey	White	Pink	Red	Orange	Yellow	Green	Multi-coloured
Temple	Ulundanu	Besakih	Lempuyang	Goa Lawah	Andaksa	Uluwatu	Batukaru	Puncak Mangu	Besakih
Demon	Taruna	Pelung	Jangkitan	Dadu	Langkir	Jingga	Lembu Kanya	Gadang	Tiga Sakti
Letter	A	Wa	Sa	Na	Ba	Ma	Ta	Si	I/Ya
Urip (number)	4	6	5	8	9	3	7	1	8
Ekawara day	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Luang	-
Dwiwara day	-	-	Menga	-	-	-	Pepet	-	-
Triwara day	Beteng	-	-	-	Pasah	-	Kajeng	-	-
Caturwara day	-	Sri	Laba	Jaya	Menala	-	-	-	-
Pancawara day	Wage	-	Umanis	-	Paing	-	Pon	-	Kliwon
Sadwara day	-	Aryang	Urukung	Paniron	Was	Maulu	Tungleh	-	-
Saptawara day	Soma (Monday)	Sukra (Friday)	Redite (Sunday)	Wrespati (Thursday)	Saniscara (Saturday)	Anggara (Tuesday)	Buda (Wednesday)	-	-
Astawara day	Uma	Sri	Indra	Guru	Yama	Ludra	Brahma	Kala	-
Sangawara day	Urungan	Tulus	Dangu	Jangur	Gigis	Nohan	Ogan	Erangan	Dadi
Dasawara day	Duka	Sri	Pandita	Raja	Dewa	Manusa	Pita	Raksasa	Suka, Manuh
Wuku week	Ukir, Dungulan, Tambir, Wayang	Kulantir, Kuningan, Medangkungan Kulawu	Tolu, Langkir, Matal, Dukut	Gumbreg, Medangsia, Uye, Watugunung	Wariga, Pujut, Menail	Warigadian, Pahang, Prangkabat	Sinta, Julungwangi, Krulut, Bala	Landep, Sungsang, Merakih, Ugu	-
Sasih (Saka lunar month)	Kasa	Karo, Katiga	Kapat	Kalima, Kaenam	Kapitu	Kawulu, Kasanga	Kadasa	Desta, Sadha	-
Tithi (Saka days) Pananggal (waxing moon) Panglong (waning moon)	3 11	4 12	5 13	6 14	7 15	8	1 9	2 10	-

The Pawukon calendar

The 30 *wuku* weeks

The 210-day Pawukon calendar consists of 30 seven-day weeks. Each of these weeks is named after a *wuku*—one of the noble characters from the Watugunung saga—and has a corresponding deity and geographical direction on the pengider-ider along with an urip, or sacred number.⁴⁴

The names of the 30 *wuku* weeks and corresponding deities, in order of appearance on the calendar, are as follows :

	Wuku name		Corresponding deity
1.	Sinta	-	Yamadipati
2.	Landep	-	Mahadewa
3.	Ukir (Wukir)	-	Mahayekti
4.	Kulantir	-	Langsur
5.	Taulu (Tolu)	-	Bayu
6.	Gumbreg	-	Cakra
7.	Wariga	-	Asmara
8.	Warigadian	-	Maharesi
9.	Julungwangi	-	Sambu
10.	Sungsang	-	Gana
11.	Dungulan	-	Kamajaya
12.	Kuningan	-	Indra
13.	Langkir	-	Kala
14.	Medangsia	-	Brahma
15.	Pujut	-	Guritha
16.	Pahang	-	Tantra
17.	Krulut	-	Wisnu
18.	Merakih	-	Surenggana
19.	Tambir	-	Siwa
20.	Medangkungan	-	Basuki
21.	Matal	-	Sakri
22.	Uye	-	Kuwera
23.	Menail	-	Citragotra
24.	Prangbakat	-	Bisma
25.	Bala	-	Durga
26.	Ugu	-	Singajalma
27.	Wayang	-	Sri
28.	Klawu	-	Sadana
29.	Dukut	-	Baruna
30.	Watugunung	-	Antaboga

The *wewaran* cycles

What makes the Pawukon a one of a kind calendar is that it has not only one, but ten different types of “weeks” or cycles, known as *wara*. Each *wara* is composed of a different number of days, ranging from one day to ten days. All ten *wara* run simultaneously through each Pawukon cycle, and together they make up the *wewaran* system.

Thus, the seven-day *wuku* week discussed above is only one of the “weeks” of the *wewaran* system. It corresponds to the seven-day week (*Saptawara*) and is thus also similar to the standard week of the Gregorian calendar. It is also the only one in which the individual weeks are named.

The names of the ten kinds of *wara* making up the *wewaran* system are:

Ekawara	-	one day
Dwiwara	-	two days
Triwara	-	three days
Caturwara	-	four days
Pancawara	-	five days
Sadwara	-	six days
Saptawara	-	seven days
Astawara	-	eight days
Sangawara	-	nine days
Dasawara	-	ten days

Together, the days of the ten different *wara* add up to 55 days, each day with a name and meaning of its own as well as a position on the pangider-ider.

The names of the days of the wara and their meanings

The names⁴⁵ of the days in each wara of the wewaran system are as follows:

Ekawara, the one-day week: the day is called *Luang*, which means “empty”.

Dwiwara, the two-day week: the days are called *Menga* and *Pepet*, meaning “open” and “closed” respectively.

Triwara, the three-day week: The days are called *Pasah*, *Beteng* and *Kajeng*. *Kajeng*, a day dedicated to demons, is particularly inauspicious. *Pasah* means “market day”. *Bedeng* means “plenty of water”, and refers to irrigation. The Triwara may refer to a traditional market-day cycle among neighbouring villages.⁴⁶

Caturwara, the four-day week: The days are called *Sri*, *Laba*, *Jaya* and *Mandala*, meaning prosperity, profit, victory and territory. *Jaya* is repeated three times just before the great holiday called *Galungan*.

Pancawara, the five-day week: The days are called *Manis* (*Umanis*), *Paing* (*Pahing*), *Pon*, *Wage* and *Kliwon* (*Klion*).⁴⁷ These words are very likely of Javanese origin and associated with an old market-day cycle.⁴⁸ The qualities of these days are those of the gods corresponding to them on the pangider-ider—*Iswara*, *Brahma*, *Mahadewa*, *Wisnu* and *Siwa*. *Kliwon*, associated with the centre of the compass rose, is the most propitious. Following is *Manis*, which occupies the east and therefore the position of the rising sun. Most festivals fall on one of these two days. *Paing* and *Pon*, corresponding to the south and west respectively, are “associated with human life and ancestors and are suitable for events such as subak meetings.”⁴⁹ The least propitious day is *Wage*, which is associated with death.⁵⁰

Sadwara, the six-day week: The days are called *Tungleh*, *Aryang*, *Urukung*, *Paniron*, *Was* and *Maulu*. Wayan Gina⁵¹ gives the following meanings and values for these days: *Tungleh*, “not lasting” and *Urukung*, “exterminated” are considered dangerous days, and *Aryang*, “lean”, is deemed unlucky. On the other hand, *Paniron*, “imitation”, *Was*, “healed”, and *Maulu*, “in height” or “increasing”, are lucky days.⁵² Ottino, referring to village rituals, gives a more precise presentation of the *Sadwara*:

“The *Sadwara* is associated with good fortune in a way that relates human destiny to the ebb and flow of natural forces in the environment. The first day, *Aryang*, carries a value of dryness and suffering, *Urukung*, mould and decay, *Paniron* is associated with burgeoning and breaking out (of buds), *Was* has a value of healthy, growing and whole, *Mahulu* is associated with flowering and fruition, and *Tungleh*, aged—if a tree: losing its leaves.”⁵³

Saptawara, the seven-day week (which makes up every *wuku*-named week): The names of the days are the same as those in the ancient Sumerian hebdomad, which became Romanised in the West. Each day of the week is named in its Indian version after a planet in the solar system: *Redite* is Sunday, the day of the Sun; *Soma* is Monday, the day of the Moon; *Anggara* is Tuesday, the day of Mars; *Boda* or *Buda* is Wednesday, the day of Mercury; *Wrespati* is Thursday, the day of Jupiter; *Sukra* is Friday, the day of Venus; and *Saniscara* is Saturday, the day of Saturn.

The days of the *Saptawara* are at the core of the visual representations of the *Pawukon* in illustrated *tika* and *pelelintangan* charts. Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Saturdays are favourite days for temple festivals, but interestingly, from the point of view of agriculture, things are different. According to Ottino,⁵⁴ Friday, associated with *Sri* and northeast, is the most propitious day. Sunday and Monday are also auspicious, while Tuesday and Wednesday are associated with death and the ancestors. This is a good example of how a single unit of time may have dual value, according to the context or type of event involved.

Astawara, the eight-day week: The days are called *Sri, Indra, Guru, Yama, Ludra* (or *Rudra*), *Brahma, Kala* and *Uma*. These are all names of gods from the Hindu-Balinese pantheon. *Ludra* (*Rudra*) and *Kala*, named after two destructive gods, are particularly inauspicious. The days named after *Sri*, the goddess of rice, *Guru* and *Uma*, his spouse, and *Brahma*, are very auspicious. Those named after *Yama*, the keeper of hell and warrantor of justice, and *Indra*, the king of the gods, are more ambiguous. The day *Kala* is repeated three times ahead of *Galungan*.

Sangawara, the nine-day week: The days are called *Dangu, Jangur, Gigis, Nohan, Ogan, Erangan, Urungan, Tulus* and *Dadi*. They refer to the following traits, respectively: origin (a long time ago), neither good nor bad, small quantity, joyful, hesitation, vengeance, cancellation, continuation and success. *Dangu* is repeated four times at the beginning of the *Pawukon* cycle.

Dasawara, the ten-day week: The days are called *Pandita, Pati, Suka, Duka, Sri*,⁵⁵ *Manuh, Manusa, Raja, Dewa* and *Raksasa*. These days refer respectively to: wisdom (priest), leadership, joy, contrariety, femininity, obedience, humaneness, charismatic like a king, virtuous/god-inspired, harsh, wicked/demon-inspired.

Conjunctions of auspicious and inauspicious days

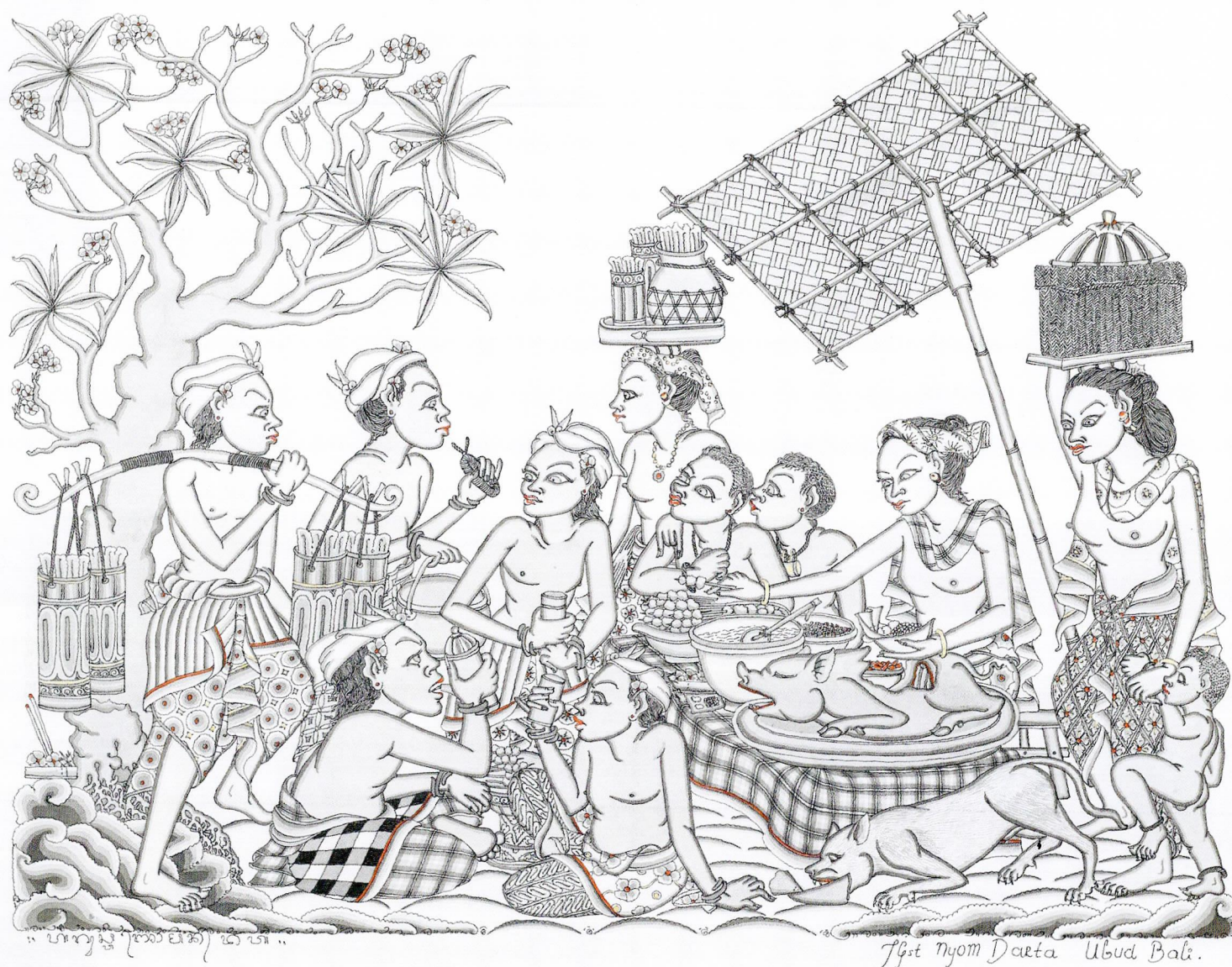
Each of the 55 days of the various *wara* is assigned a sacred *urip* number, along with having an auspicious or inauspicious quality according to its position and correspondences on the *pangider-ider*.

On any given day in “real time” up to ten different days—from each of the ten *wara*—may coincide. The conjunctions of their various qualities will determine the general quality and relative “strength” or “weakness” of the actual 24-hour period concerned.

The main Balinese rituals are designed to fall on the “strong” days in the *Pawukon* cycle. The conjunctions of certain highly auspicious and inauspicious days of the three-, five-, six-, and seven-day weeks are the ones considered to be particularly important.

For example, *Kajeng* in the three-day week coincides with *Kliwon* from the five-day week every 15 days, and this conjunction day, known as *Kajeng-Kliwon*, is a day of ritual exorcism. *Kliwon* from the five-day week also coincides with *Saniscara* from the seven-day week every 35 days (one *Pawukon* “month”), or six times during the complete 210-day *Pawukon* cycle. *Saniscara-Kliwon* conjunction days, also known as *tumpek*, are special days for honouring various kinds of things of value, including weapons or metal objects, musical instruments, livestock, and others.

Chapter 5 provides a detailed exploration of the holy days and holidays that fall on the various important conjunction days throughout the *Pawukon* cycle.



Market

In many Balinese villages life is punctuated by the market (*pasah*) day which falls traditionally on Pasah, the first day in the Triwara three-day week. The illustration shows several scenes: a man is arriving at the market shoulder-carrying large bamboo containers of palm-wine (*tuak*). Meanwhile, a woman is shown selling roast suckling pork. Notice also the plaited rectangular bamboo parasol. In the middle, three seated men are chatting and drinking palm wine.

Below:

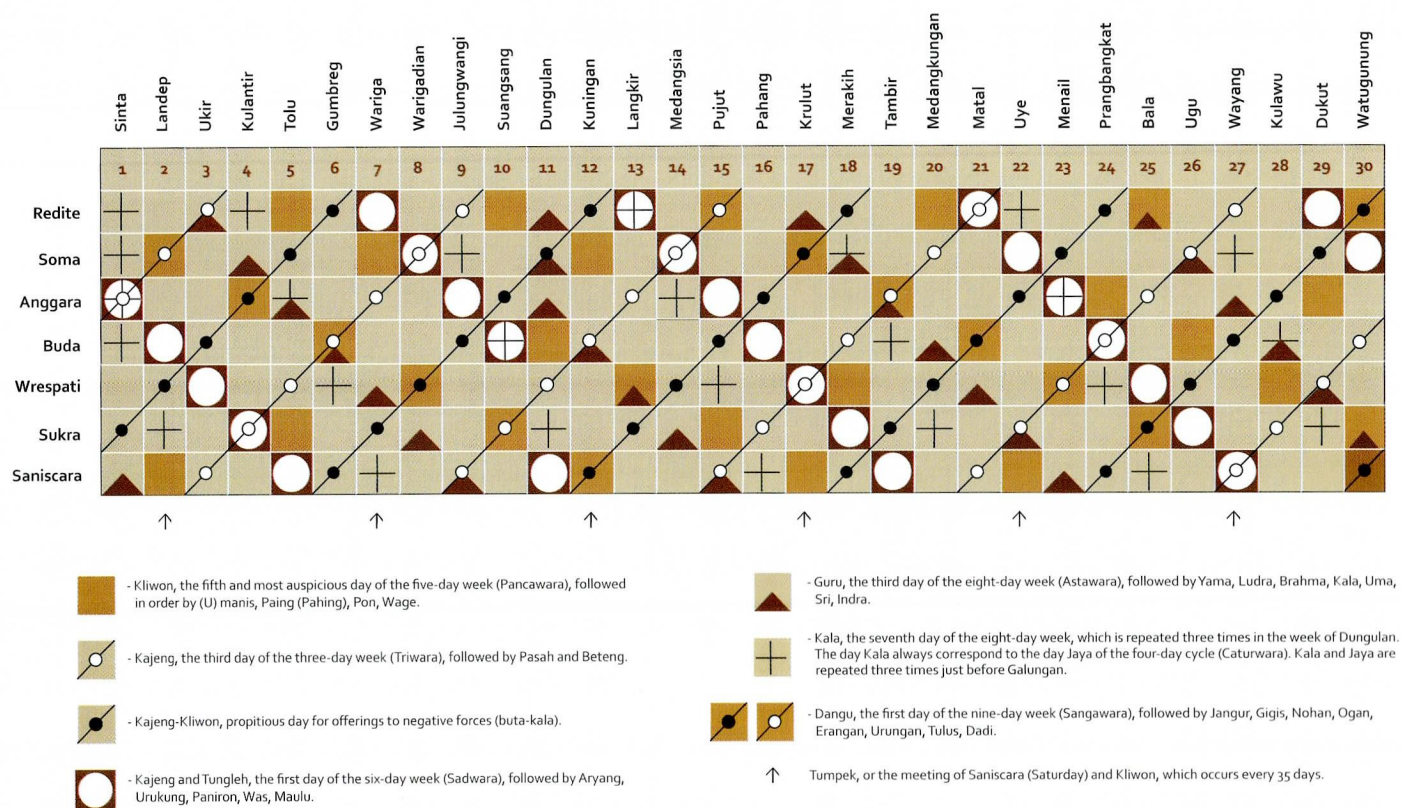
Tika chart I

Source: Covarrubias (1937)

Understanding the wewaran system: Tika charts

Clearly, the wewaran system makes the Pawukon calendar complicated. Fortunately, as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, various types of charts have been devised to visualise it. The first is the *tika*, carved of wood or painted on cloth, which is usually made to facilitate the reading of the whole 210-day Pawukon.⁵⁶

The usual tika shows the 30 weeks of the Pawukon cycle horizontally, and the days of the seven-day week vertically. It is designed to be read from left to right and top to bottom. The boxes of the tika are coded to focus attention on important conjunctions. The most remarkable patterns of recurrence are immediately visible thanks to this coding, as shown on the diagrams accompanying the tika illustrated in this book.



Several different types of tika charts exist, which may vary in their codes and in the particular wara they illustrate, although several important conjunctions are almost always included. We show two examples below (on pages 48-49).

Tika chart I, the most "classical", presents codes for the reading of days from all except the one-, two-, four- and ten-day wara. Tika chart II presents different codes for the same as well as different days of the system, plus codes for reading the four-day wara. It also highlights conjunctions that are important for "horoscope" interpretations of personal character and the forecasting of auspicious/inauspicious dates.

Below:

Tika chart II

Source: Wayan Gina (1992)

	Sinta	Landep	Ukir	Kulantir	Tolu	Gumbreg	Wariga	Warigadian	Julungwangi	Suangsang	Dungulan	Kuningan	Langkir	Medangsia	Pujut	Pahang	Krulut	Merakih	Tambir	Medangkungan	Matal	Uye	Menail	Prangbangkat	Bala	Ugu	Wayang	Kulawu	Dukut	Watugunung
	1 *	2	3	4	5	6	7 *	8	9	10	11	12	13 *	14	15	16	17	18	19 *	20	21	22	23	24	25 *	26	27	28	29	30
Redita	⊗	☾	•	⊗	⊕	⊕	⊙		•	⊙	⊕	⊕	⊗		⊙	☾	⊕	+		⊙	⊙	⊗	⊕	⊙		•	☾	⊕	⊕	
Soma	⊕	⊙	☾	⊕	+		☾	⊙	⊗	⊕	+	⊙	☾	⊙		⊕	☾	⊗	⊕	•	☾	⊕		☾	⊕	⊗	⊕	+	⊙	
Anggara	⊗		⊕	☾	⊗		•	☾	⊕	+			•	⊗	⊕	+		☾	⊙		⊕	+	⊗	⊙	•	☾	⊕	+	⊙	☾
Buda	⊗	☾	+		☾	⊙		⊕	⊕	⊗	☾	•		⊕	⊕	⊙		•	⊗	⊕	⊕		☾	⊙		⊕	⊕	⊗		•
Wrespati	⊕	⊕	⊙		•	⊗	⊕	☾		☾	☾	☾	⊕	+	⊗	☾	⊙	⊙	⊕	⊕	⊕		⊙	⊗	⊕	+		☾	•	
Sukra	⊕	⊗	☾	⊙	⊙	⊕	⊕			⊙	⊗	☾	⊕		⊙	•	☾	⊕	⊕	⊗	☾	•		⊕	☾	⊙		⊗	⊕	
Saniscara		⊙	•	☾	⊕	⊕	⊗	☾	•		⊕	☾	⊕		☾	•	⊗	☾	⊕	⊙		☾	⊕	⊕	⊗	☾		⊕	⊕	



Ingkel, applies to the whole wuku (week)



Kajeng from the three-day week (Triwara)



Mendala from the four-day week (Caturwara), followed by Sri, Laba, Jaya



Kliwon from the five-day week (Pancawara)



Maulu from the six-day week (Sadwara)



Guru from the eight-day week (Astawara)



Dangu from the nine-day week (Sangawara)



Ingkel, applies to a single day



Semutsadulur: inauspicious for cremations, good for meetings



Kala Gotongan: inauspicious for cremations, good for beginning an activity

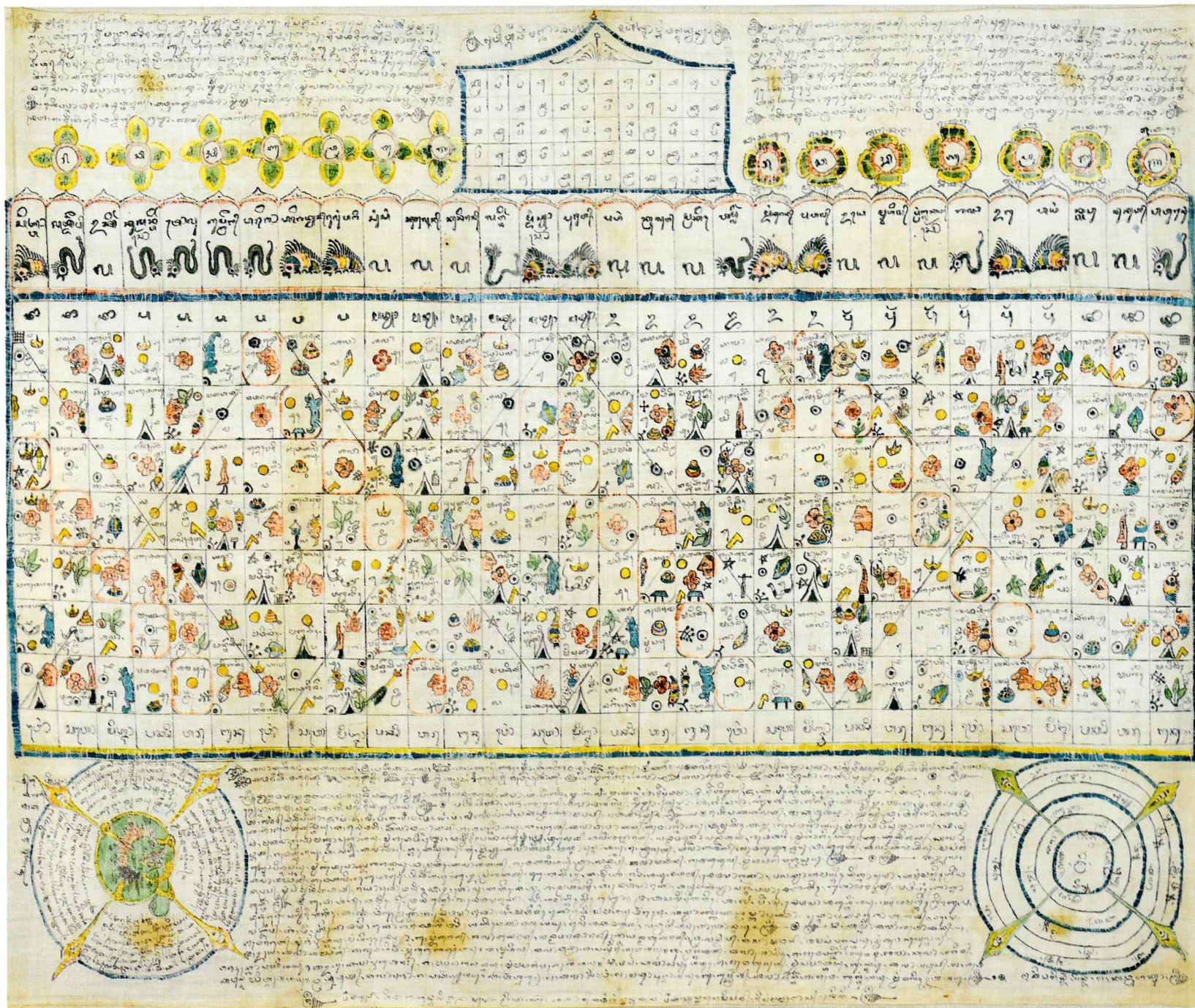


Taliwangke: inauspicious for important ceremonies, good for agriculture



Soma Arijang: unfavourable for sexual relations

Dates with special divinatory meaning:



Irregular patterns in the wewaran system

The reading of the Pawukon is more complicated than it appears at first sight from the tika charts, due to irregularities in the distribution of days from some of the wara. The one-day, two-day and ten-day weeks present oddities, as their days do not appear regularly distributed in a row. As for the four-day, eight-day and nine-day weeks, their computation within the 210-day calendar produces a remainder. Several adjustments have to be made to compensate, which translate into the repetition of the same day of the same wara several days in a row.

Let's take a closer look at the distribution of days of each wara across the 210-day cycle:

The day Luang (meaning "empty") of the one-day week (Ekawara), seems at first like a paradox. In fact, not all the days in the calendar are Luang.

To find a Luang day, the urip of the day in the seven-day week is added to the urip of the same day in the five-day week. If the sum of the two magic numbers is an even number, then the day is a day without Luang. However, if the sum is an odd number, that day is a Luang day. For example, take Redite-Paing: $5 + 9 = 14$. The sum is an even number, thus "empty" of Luang. But Soma-Pon: $4 + 7 = 11$, gives an odd number, therefore it is a Luang day.

The two-day week (Dwiwara) also presents an oddity. The computation of these days is the same as for the one-day week, by adding the urip of the day according to the seven-day week and five-day week. If the sum is an even number, it is a Menga day; if the sum is an odd number, it is a Pepet day. Thus, the Luang day of the one-day week always coincides with the Pepet day of the two-day week.

Practically, the sequence of Menga (M) and Pepet (P) days gives the following result, in the first 35 days of the Pawukon cycle, starting from Redite in the first wuku, namely, Wuku Sinta: MPPPPPM, PMMMPMP, MPMPMPM, MMPMPPP, PPM MMMM. Since the computation is based on the seven-day and five-day weeks, this same pattern occurs every subsequent 35 days.

No problem is presented by the three-day cycle (Triwara) since 210 is a multiple of three.

A difficulty arises with the four-day week (Caturwara) and the eight-day week (Astawara), as both have a residual number of two days when fitted into the 210-day cycle. A repetition occurs to compensate for the residual at the beginning of Wuku Dungulan. In the four-day cycle, Laba is followed by three successive Jaya days, two of which are the extra days. Similarly, in the eight-day cycle, Kala is repeated three times before the cycle resumes its normal course.

Since 210 is a multiple of 5, 6 and 7, the five-day week (Pancawara), six-day week (Sadwara) and seven-day week (Saptawara) are in perfect accord with the 210-day cycle. They are at the heart of Balinese divination by numbers, and their reading is easy.

However, the nine-day week (Sangawara) is three days short at the completion of the full cycle. This difference is compensated by adding three extra Dangu days from the nine-day week to Wuku Sinta, the first wuku of the new cycle. That is, the day Dangu in the normal sequence is followed by three extra Dangu days, before the normal next day of the nine-day week, Jangur.

The ten-day week (Dasawara) is the most irregular of all weeks. As in the one-day and two-day weeks, no regular pattern is apparent. The ten days seem to be haphazardly distributed over the calendar without any logic. The only recurrent pattern is the repetition of the same combination of Dasawara days every 35 days.

The key lies, again, in the urip. You can find the Dasawara name of a given day by adding its urip in the five-day week (Pancawara) and its urip in the seven-day week (Saptawara). If the total is 10, it is Pandita; if 11, Pati; if 12, Suka; if 13, Duka; if 14, Sri; if 15, Manuh; if 16, Manusa; if 17, Raja; if 18, Dewa and if 19, Raksasa.

Opposite:

Tika with Wariga symbols

Painted on canvas.

The centre of this tika is organised to indicate the best days for every possible activity, for example, building, planting rice, making a kris, making fishing rods, etc. Each square is filled with several symbols indicating the nature of that particular day. The symbols, auspicious and otherwise, are explained in the lower part of the painting.

The vast esoteric knowledge encoded in such a calendar could only be interpreted by experts, who were paid for their services.

Unknown artist.

Central Bali, circa 1930.

90 x 109 cm.

Private collection.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
Sinta	Landep	Ukir	Kulanir	Tolu	Gumbreg	Wariga	Warigadlan	Julungwangi	Sungsang	Dungulan	Kuningan	Langkir	Medangsia	Pujut	Pahang	Krulut	Merakih	Tambir	Medanglungan	Matal	Uye	Menail	Pangbanglat	Bala	Ugu	Wayang	Kulawu	Dukut	Watugunung
1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4
2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2
4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3
1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4
2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	3	2

CATURWARA (four-day week)

1st day 1 Sri 2nd day 2 Laba 3rd day 3 Jaya 4th day 3 Mandala

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
Sinta	Landep	Ukir	Kulanir	Tolu	Gumbreg	Wariga	Warigadlan	Julungwangi	Sungsang	Dungulan	Kuningan	Langkir	Medangsia	Pujut	Pahang	Krulut	Merakih	Tambir	Medanglungan	Matal	Uye	Menail	Pangbanglat	Bala	Ugu	Wayang	Kulawu	Dukut	Watugunung
1	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	8	7	6	5	4
2	1	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	5	4	3	2	1	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	8	7	6	5	4	3
3	2	1	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	8	7	6	5	4
4	3	2	1	8	7	6	5	4	3	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	8	7	6	5
5	4	3	2	1	8	7	6	5	4	1	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	8	7	6
6	5	4	3	2	1	8	7	6	5	2	1	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	8	7
7	6	5	4	3	2	1	8	7	6	3	2	1	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	8

ASTAWARA (eight-day week)

1st day 1 Sri 3rd day 3 Guru 5th day 5 Ludra 7th day 7 Kala
2nd day 2 Indra 4th day 4 Tama 6th day 6 Brahma 8th day 8 Uma

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
Sinta	Landep	Ukir	Kulanir	Tolu	Gumbreg	Wariga	Warigadlan	Julungwangi	Sungsang	Dungulan	Kuningan	Langkir	Medangsia	Pujut	Pahang	Krulut	Merakih	Tambir	Medanglungan	Matal	Uye	Menail	Pangbanglat	Bala	Ugu	Wayang	Kulawu	Dukut	Watugunung
1	5	3	1	8	6	4	2	9	7	5	3	1	8	6	4	2	9	7	5	3	1	8	6	4	2	9	7	5	3
1	6	4	2	9	7	5	3	1	8	6	4	2	9	7	5	3	1	8	6	4	2	9	7	5	3	1	8	6	4
1	7	5	3	1	8	6	4	2	9	7	5	3	1	8	6	4	2	9	7	5	3	1	8	6	4	2	9	7	5
1	8	6	4	2	9	7	5	3	1	8	6	4	2	9	7	5	3	1	8	6	4	2	9	7	5	3	1	8	6
2	9	7	5	3	1	8	6	4	2	9	7	5	3	1	8	6	4	2	9	7	5	3	1	8	6	4	2	9	7
3	1	8	6	4	2	9	7	5	3	1	8	6	4	2	9	7	5	3	1	8	6	4	2	9	7	5	3	1	8
4	2	9	7	5	3	1	8	6	4	2	9	7	5	3	1	8	6	4	2	9	7	5	3	1	8	6	4	2	9

SANGAWARA (nine-day week)

1st day 1 Dangu 3rd day 3 Gigis 5th day 5 Ogan 7th day 7 Urungan 9th day 9 Dadi (this purple stands for multi-coloured)
2nd day 2 Jangur 4th day 4 Nohan 6th day 6 Erangan 8th day 8 Tulus

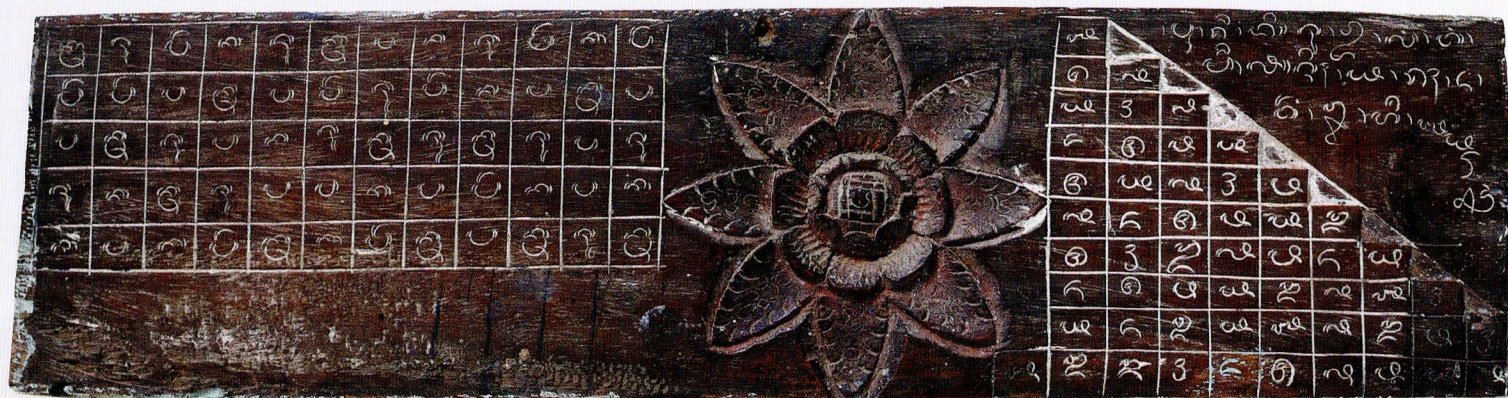
The irregular patterns or anomalies of the repeated days of the four-day and eight-day weeks as well as the nine-day weeks are not random, not without meaning. They symbolically underline the special significance of the Galungan-Kuningan series of festivities in the middle of the Pawukon cycle, and of the "New Year" of the cycle that begins with Wuku Sinta.

The Galungan-Kuningan festivities are all about achieving a balance of positive and negative forces. Jaya, of the four-day week, means "victory". It is associated on the pangider-ider with the god Iswara (Siwa). Meanwhile, Kala, of the eight-day week, is the negative form of Siwa. So Jaya is a "positive" day, and Kala is a "negative" day. The balance of positive and negative is achieved exactly on the day of Galungan, immediately following the sequence of triple Jaya and triple Kala days.

Similarly, the repetition of the four Dangu days (sometimes called *Dangupat*) to mark the start of the new cycle in Wuku Sinta is rich in symbolic significance. Dangu, in old Javanese, means "the time of origin". The fact that the Dangu days appear where they do confirms the separation between the incestuous son and mother as the origin of cosmic order and consciousness of time in human society. The first Dangu day coincides with *Banyu Pinaruh*, the day of purification following immediately after the day of knowledge; the last Dangu day coincides with the festival of *Pagerwesi*, which means "iron gate".

Additionally, the first day of Wuku Sinta also corresponds to the first day of the two-day, three-day, four-day, six-day, seven-day, eight-day, and nine-day weeks. Only the one-day, two-day, five-day and ten-day weeks do not begin on this same day.

Right. Three charts showing the irregular distributions of the caturwara, astawara, and sangawara (four-day, eight-day and nine-day weeks). Colours correspond to the nawa sanga.



Above:

Classic wooden tika

Teak wood, red pigment (*kinicu*), and lime.

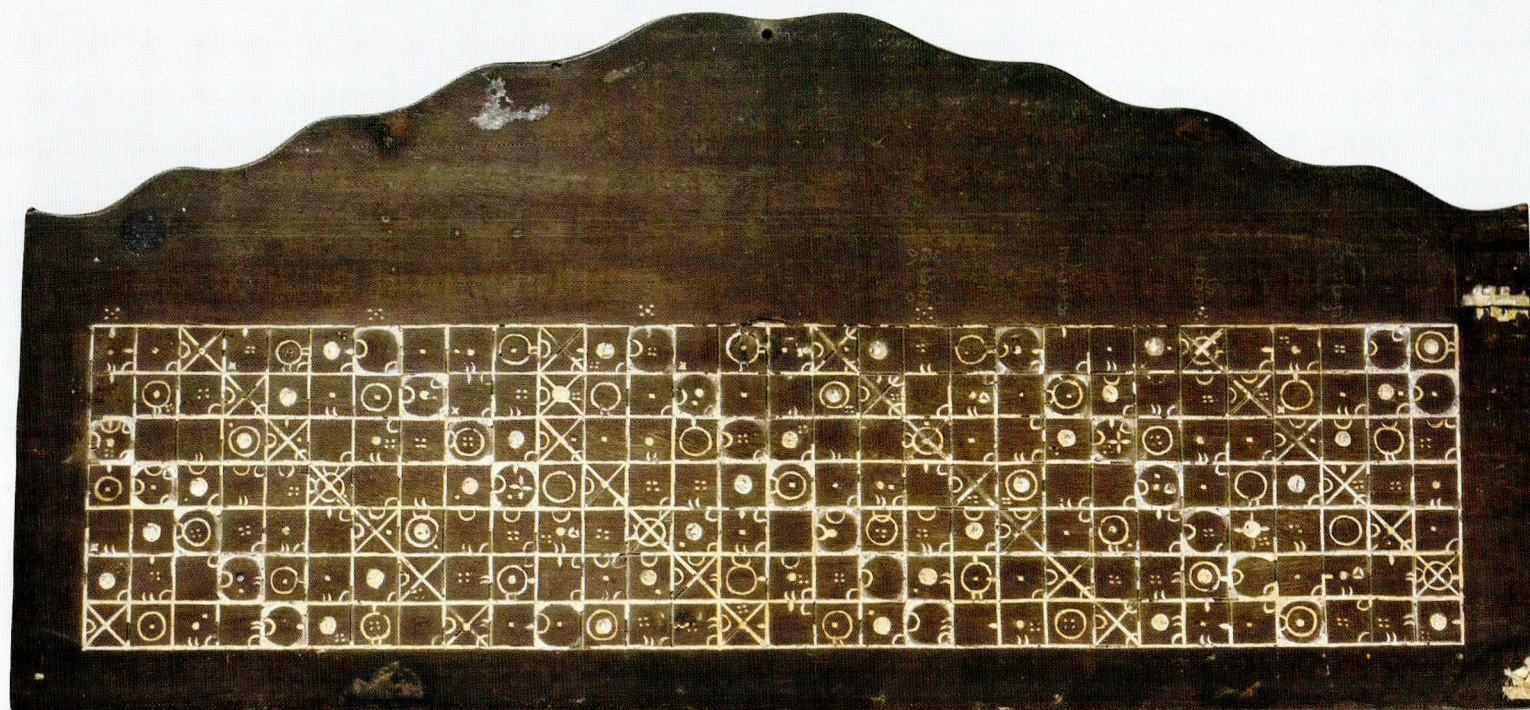
On the back (illustrated here) in the centre is a carved flower symbolising the nawa sanga with mantras inscribed on its petals. On the right, a triangular diagram shows the ten wewaran, and on the left is a rectangular diagram with inscriptions in Balinese, enhanced by lime. On the front is a classic engraved tika calendar (not illustrated here). This tika belonged to a high priest (pedanda).

43 x 11 x 2 cm.

Gianyar, Central Bali.

First quarter of the 20th century.

MHL collection (inv. 2425).



Above:

Classic wooden tika

Hardwood with lime.

A geometric pediment crowns a very informative classic engraved tika enhanced by lime. The *ingkel wong* (see the Wayan Gina tika chart for explanation) are indicated above the tika by a symbol consisting of five points.

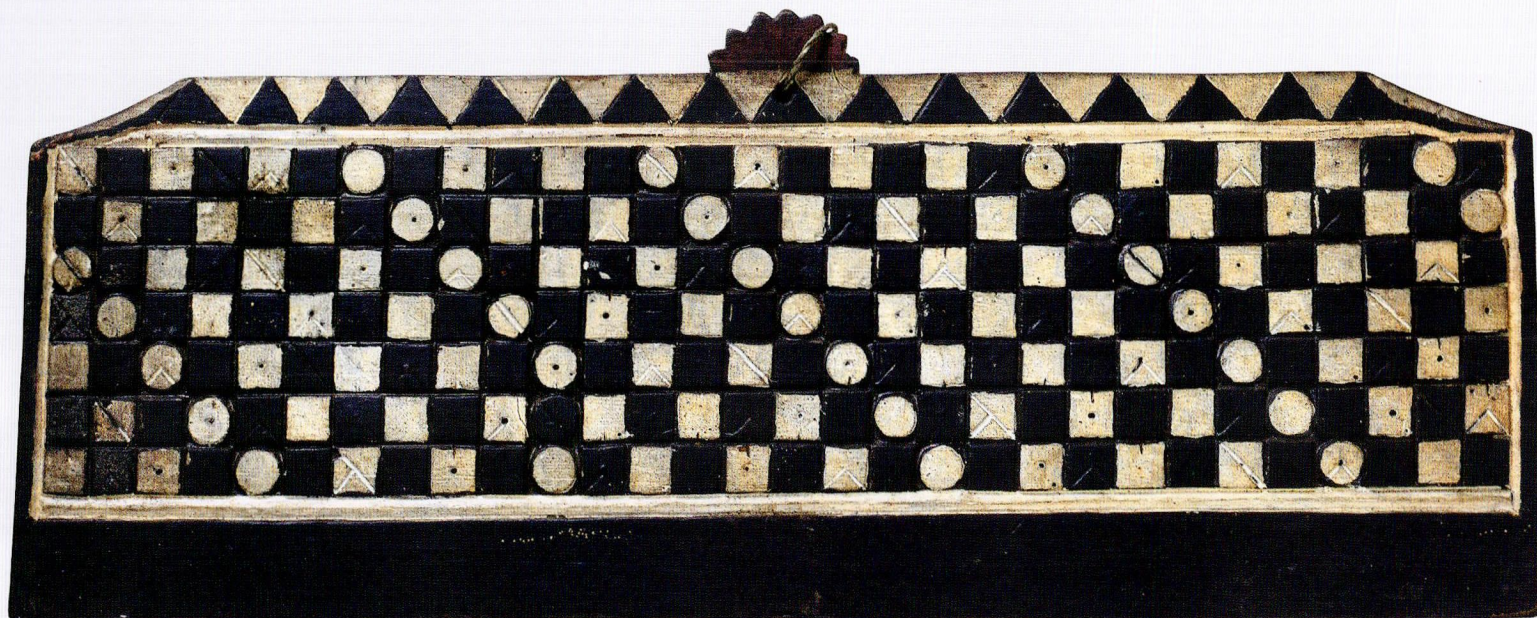
No decoration on the back.

43 x 19 x 1 cm.

Ubud, Gianyar, Central Bali.

Second quarter of the 20th century.

MHL collection (inv. 2447).



Above:

Classic wooden tika

Light wood with pigments and lime.

An engraved and painted tika crowned by a simple pediment. The result obtained by the use of alternate black and white colors is very decorative, albeit not very informative.

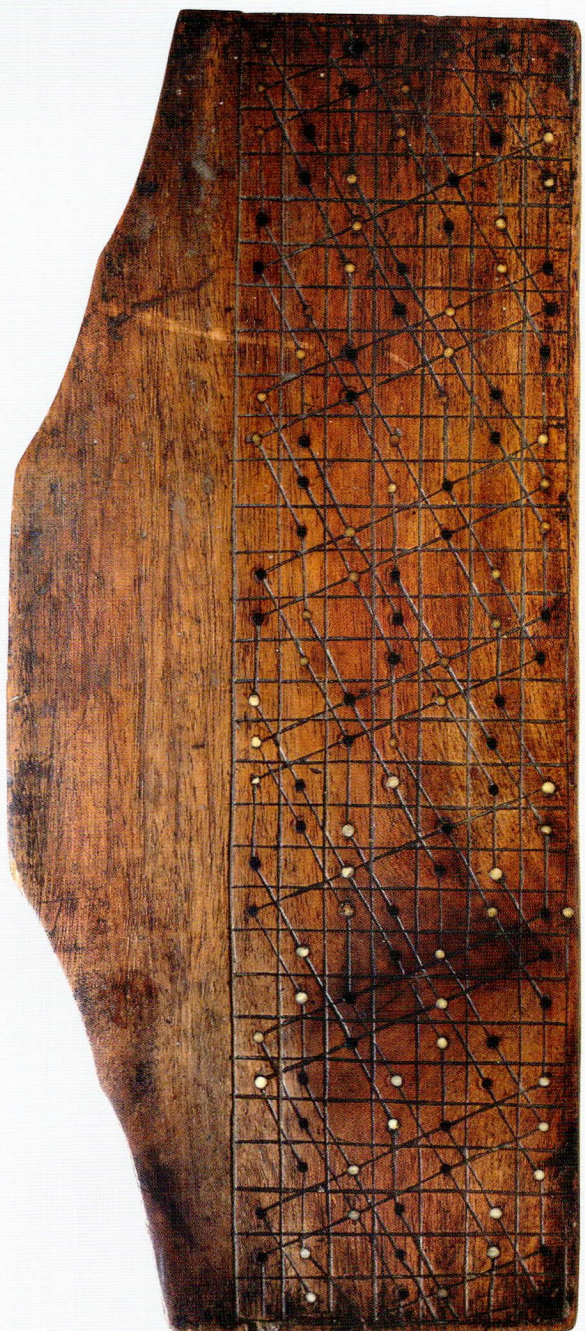
No decoration on the back.

40 x 16 x 1 cm.

Gianyar, Central Bali.

Second quarter of the 20th century.

MHL collection (inv. 2428).





Opposite (above):

Classic wooden tika

Hardwood with horn and brass fragments.

A stylised engraved tika crowned by a geometrical pediment.

On the back, an engraved nawa sanga (not illustrated).

29 x 12 x 1 cm.

Karangasem, East Bali.

First quarter of the 20th century.

MHL collection (inv. 2430).

Opposite (below):

Classic wooden tika

Brownish-red hardwood, with an iron hook (4 cm) and bone fragments.

A geometric pediment crowns a classic engraved tika enhanced by bone fragments.

No decoration on the back.

44 x 19 x 1 cm.

Tabanan, Central Bali.

Second quarter of the 20th century.

MHL collection (inv. 2456).

Above:

Classic wooden tika

Hardwood with red and white pigments and gold leaf (*perada*).

On the pediment a carved and painted decoration shows two winged dragons holding a crown over a lotus flower symbolising the nawa sanga. The pediment crowns a classic engraved tika.

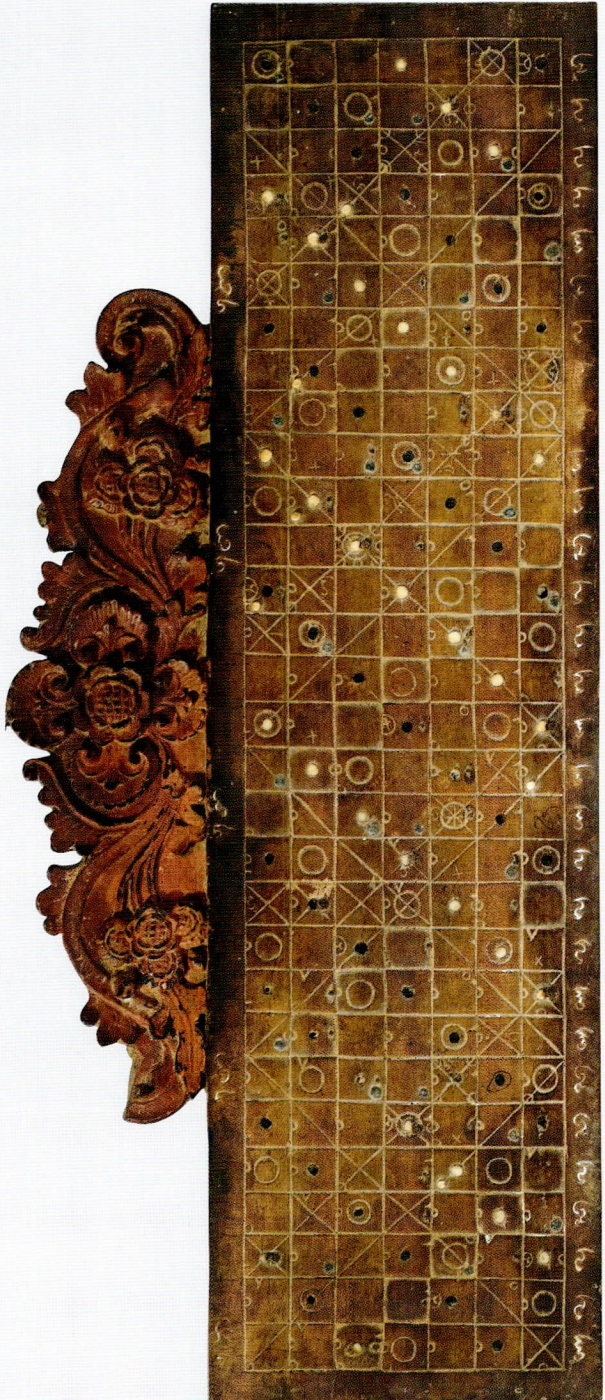
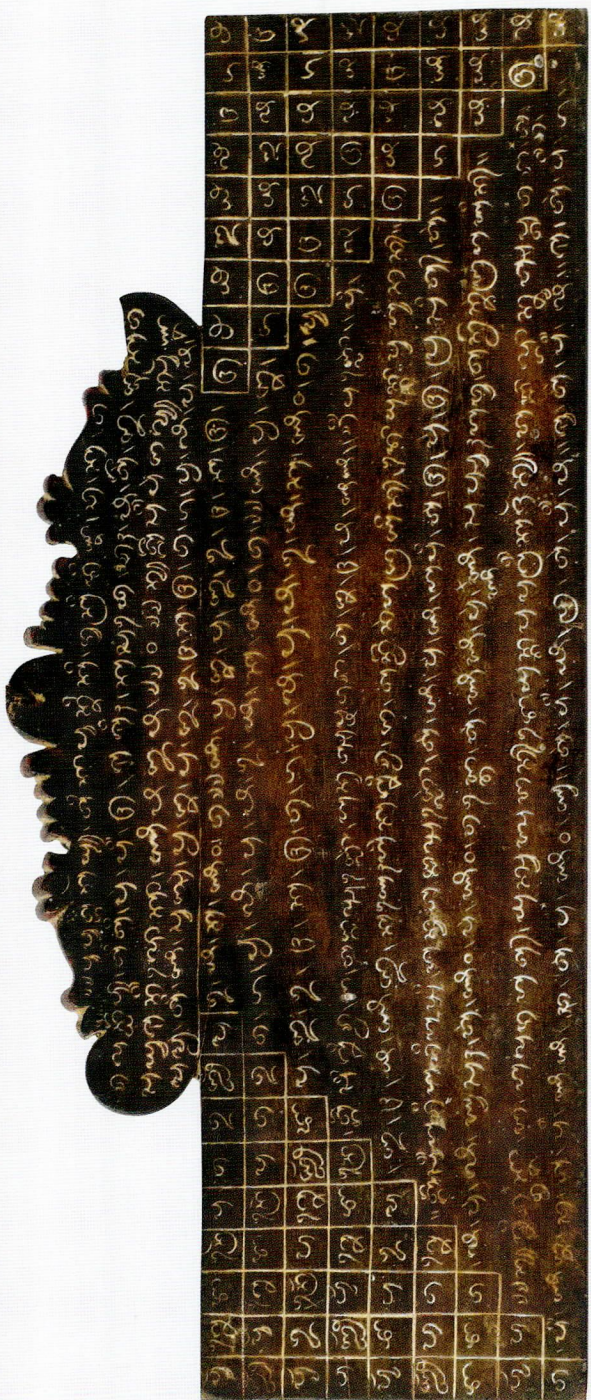
No decoration on the back.

58 x 28 x 2 cm.

Karangasem, East Bali.

Second quarter of the 20th century.

MHL collection (inv. 2473).





Opposite:

Classical wooden tika

Brown wood with iron hook (3 cm), bone fragments, red pigment (*kincu*), and lime.

On the pediment, a carved floral decoration (*patera*) heightened with *kincu*. The pediment crowns a classic engraved tika calendar enhanced by nails, bone fragments and lime.

On the back, an etched text in Balinese and two triangular charts heightened with lime.

17 x 41 x 1 cm.

Buleleng, North Bali.

Second quarter of the 20th century.

Private collection.

Above:

Decorative wooden tika

Brown wood with iron hook (1 cm) and nails, red and white pigments, and gold leaf (*perada*).

The pediment has a carved floral decoration (*patera*), with a demonic mask in the centre, flanked by *karang* type decorations on both sides. The engraved tika occupies a central place above two rectangles containing a thunderbolt bell (*bajra*) as well as an engraved Balinese text (left) and an incense burner (*dupa*) with another Balinese text (right). All the decorations are heightened with *perada* and pigments.

No decoration on the back.

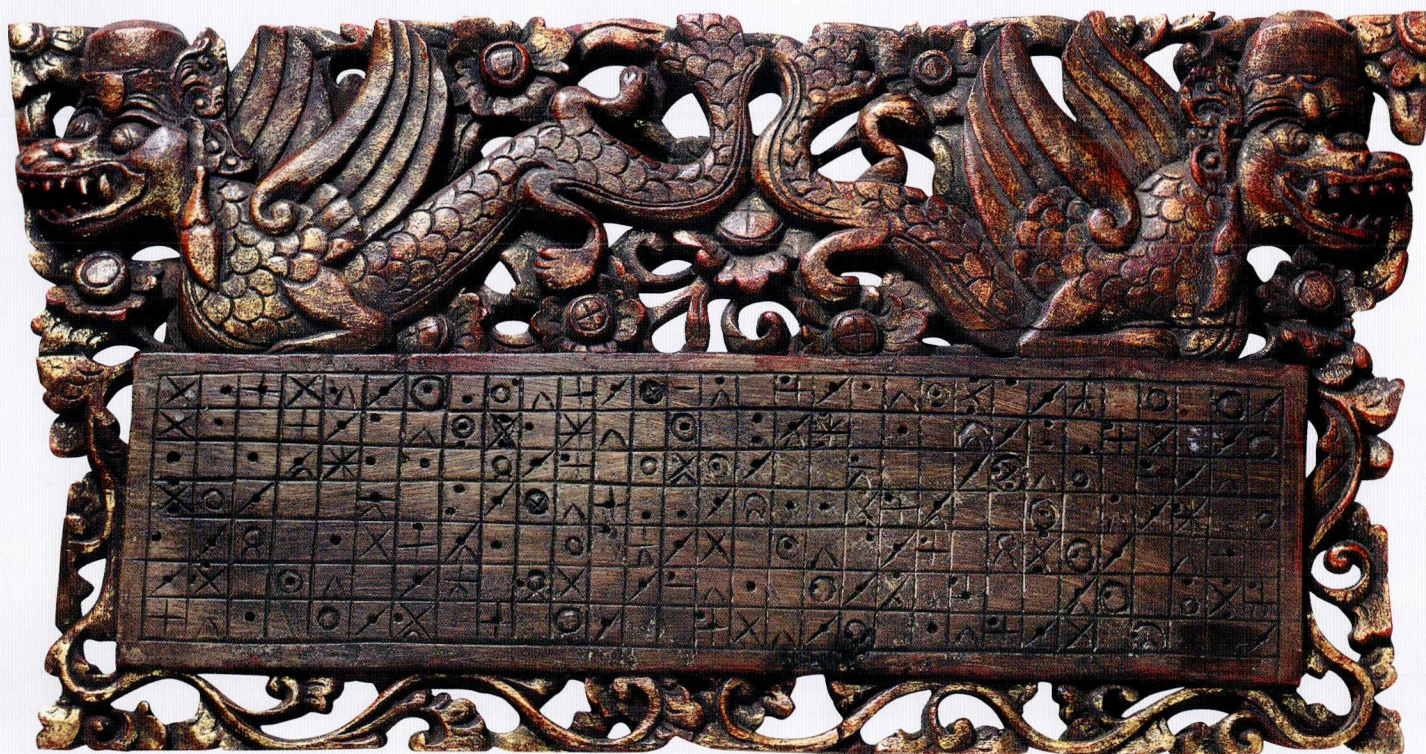
32 x 70 x 10 cm.

Nusa Penida, Klungkung, South Bali.

Third quarter of the 20th century.

Private collection.





Opposite:

Classic wooden tika

Hardwood with horn and metallic fragments, red pigment (*kinicu*) and lime.

The carved pediment, in the form of a pair of wings, crowns an engraved tika which is unusual in that it is designed to be read from right to left.

On the back are a variety of recognisable engraved patterns: a pangider-ider, a naga and several diagrams, one of which features a symbol resembling a bird's head.

36 x 17 x 1 cm.

Gianyar, Central Bali.

Fourth quarter of the 19th century.

MHL collection (inv. 2324).

Above:

Modern wooden tika

Brown wood with gold leaf (*perada*) and pigments.

A large elaborately carved pediment shows two naga, lotus flowers and a floral design, above an engraved tika in the centre.

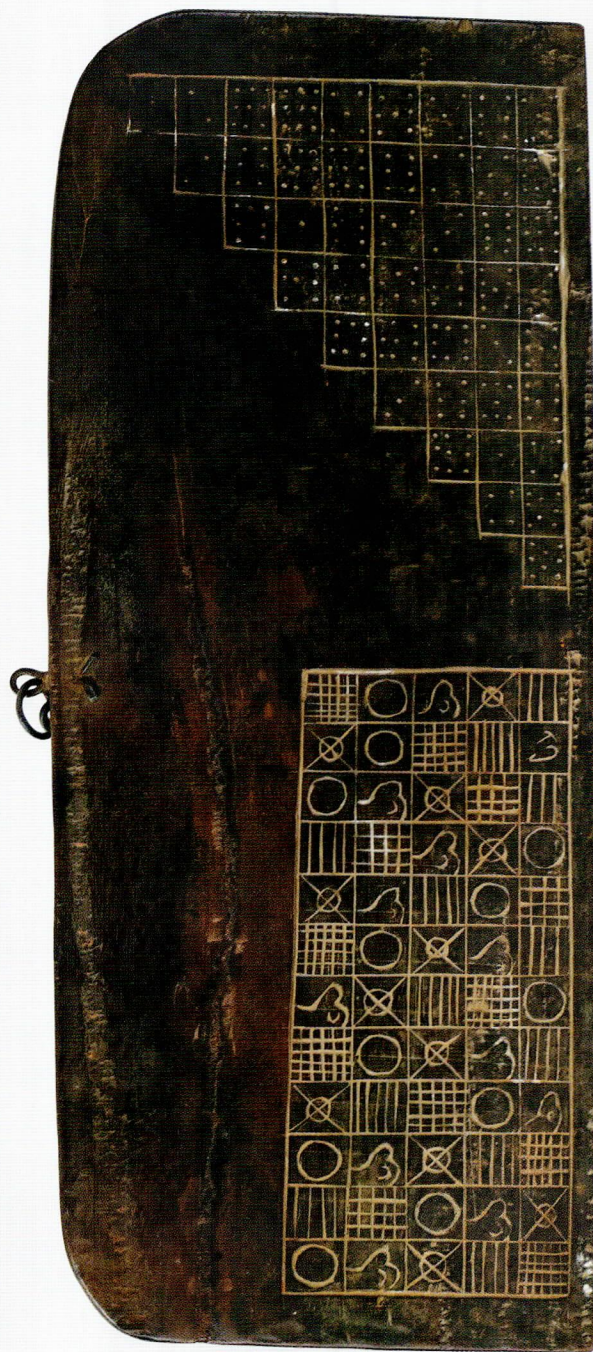
No decoration on the back.

49 x 24 x 2 cm.

Ubud, Gianyar, Central Bali.

Third quarter of the 20th century.

MHL collection (inv. 2474).





Opposite:

Classical wooden tika

Hardwood with an iron chain terminated by a hook (7 cm), iron nails, pigments and lime.

On the pediment, a carved and painted decoration shows two naga (Basuki and Anantaboga). The pediment crowns a classic engraved tika calendar enhanced by nails and lime. A series of dot-filled squares above the tika shows the urip (magic number) of each wuku week. On the back, an etched rectangular chart and an etched triangular chart show the urip of each day of the different-sized weeks (wara)

14 x 36 x 1 cm.

Buleleng, North Bali.

First quarter of the 20th century.

Private collection.

Above:

Classical wooden tika

Hardwood (jackfruit) with iron chain terminated by a hook (16 cm), bone fragments, red pigment (*kincu*) and lime.

Composed of two rectangular plates: the upper one is filled with carved decorations—butterflies, flowers and a monkey—enhanced by kincu and lime, along with a bone fragment etched with Balinese letters; the lower one bears a classic engraved tika enhanced by bone fragments and kincu

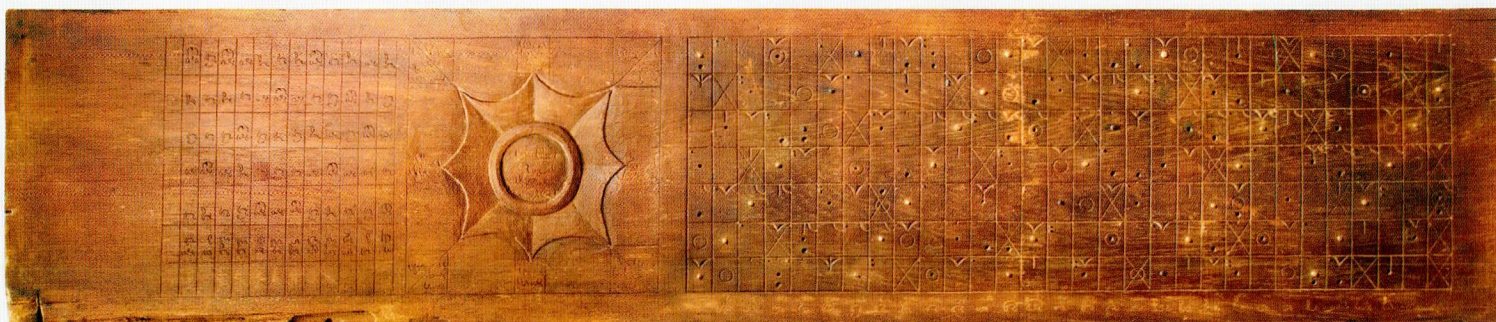
No decoration on the back.

19 x 30 x 1 cm.

Central Bali.

Fourth quarter of the 19th century.

Private collection.



Above and detail:

Tika on a wooden architectural plank

Hardwood, with iron nails and bone fragments.

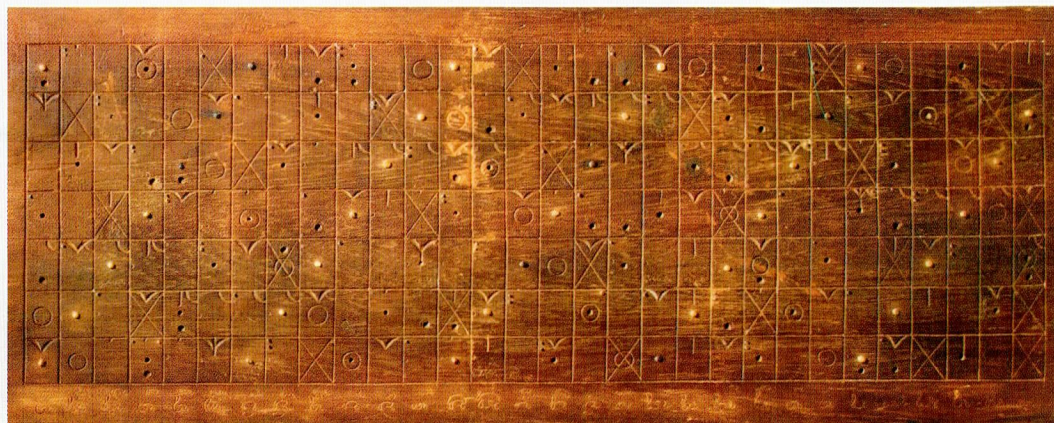
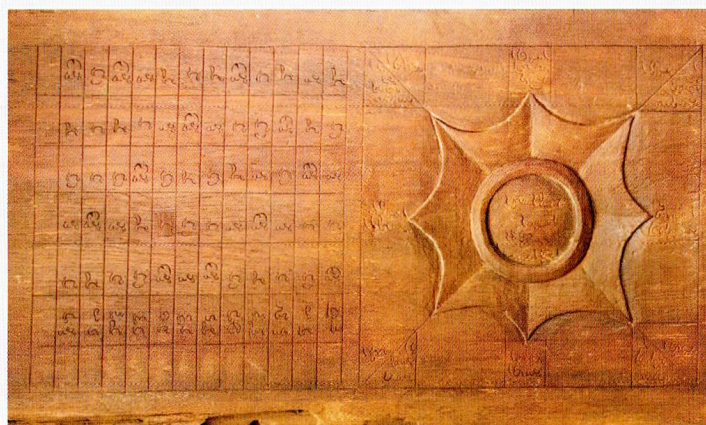
An engraved nawa sanga symbol (centre) is flanked by an engraved tika enhanced by iron nails and bone fragments (to the right) and an engraved chart (to the left). This calendar was immovable as it was inset in the wooden structure of a house. No decoration on the back.

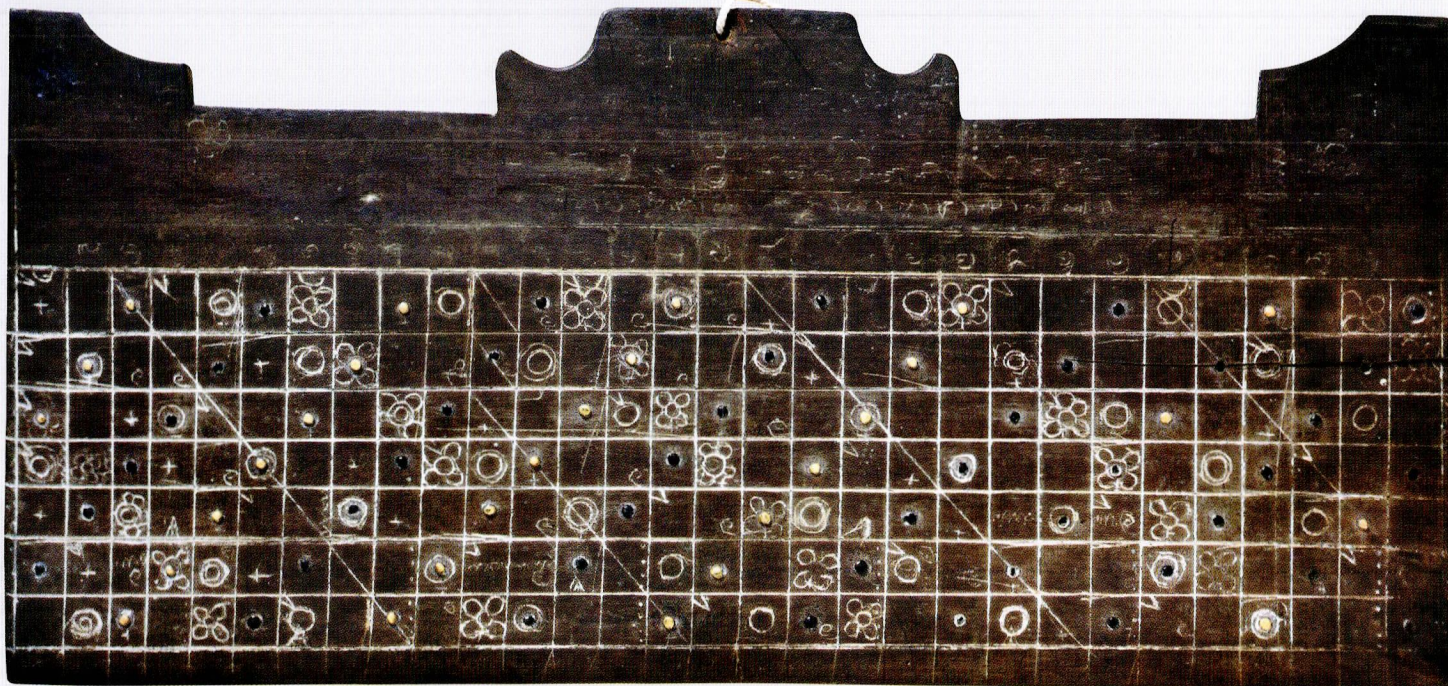
33 x 160 x 2 cm.

Karangasem, East Bali.

Second quarter of the 20th century.

Private collection.





Above:

Classic wooden tika

Hardwood with horn and metallic fragments and lime.

Below a geometric pediment is a classical engraved tika enhanced by horn and metallic fragments and lime.

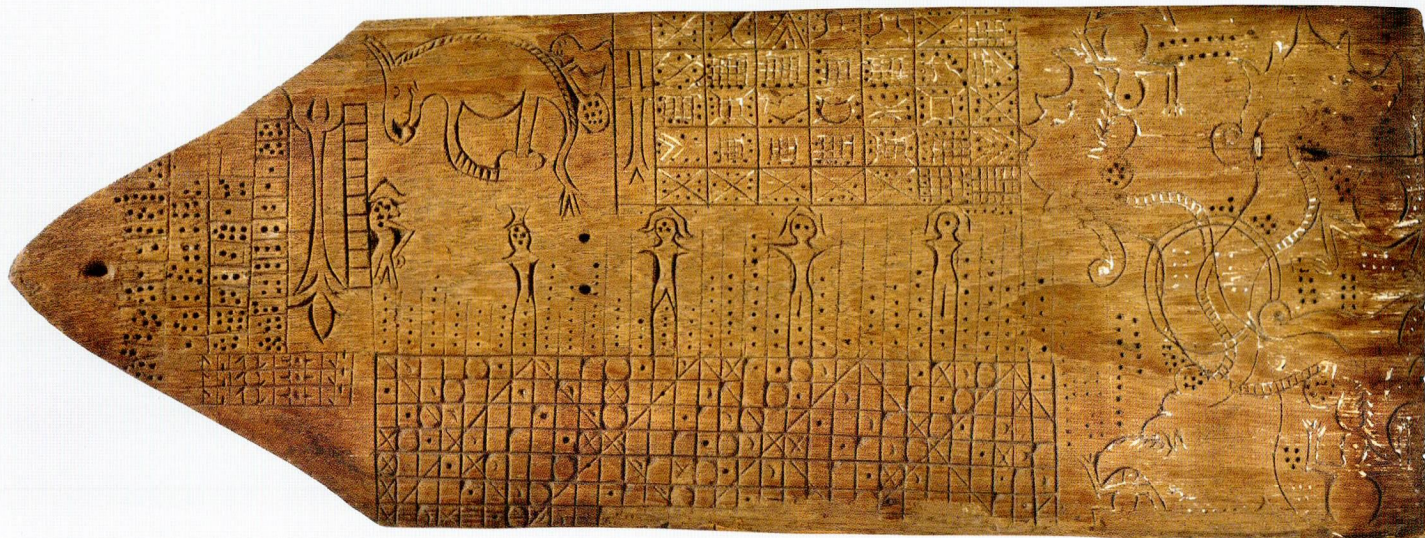
On the back is a rectangular etched diagram (not illustrated).

37 x 17 x 1 cm.

Denpasar, Badung, South Bali.

Second quarter of the 20th century.

MHL collection (inv. 2443).



Above:

Javanese wooden tika

Hardwood and lime.

The board is pierced with three holes: the one at the far left could be used to hang the calendar on a wall, and when it was so hung, a string could be passed through the pair of holes closer to the centre to suspend a kris from the board.

The board is covered with etchings, some of them enhanced by lime. The etchings on the front, illustrated here, include a 35-day (5 x 7) diagram (top centre) and a classic tika (bottom).

Six anthropomorphic figures indicate *ingkel* (weeks with prohibited activities).

On the back (not illustrated here) are numerous etchings of animals and more diagrams.

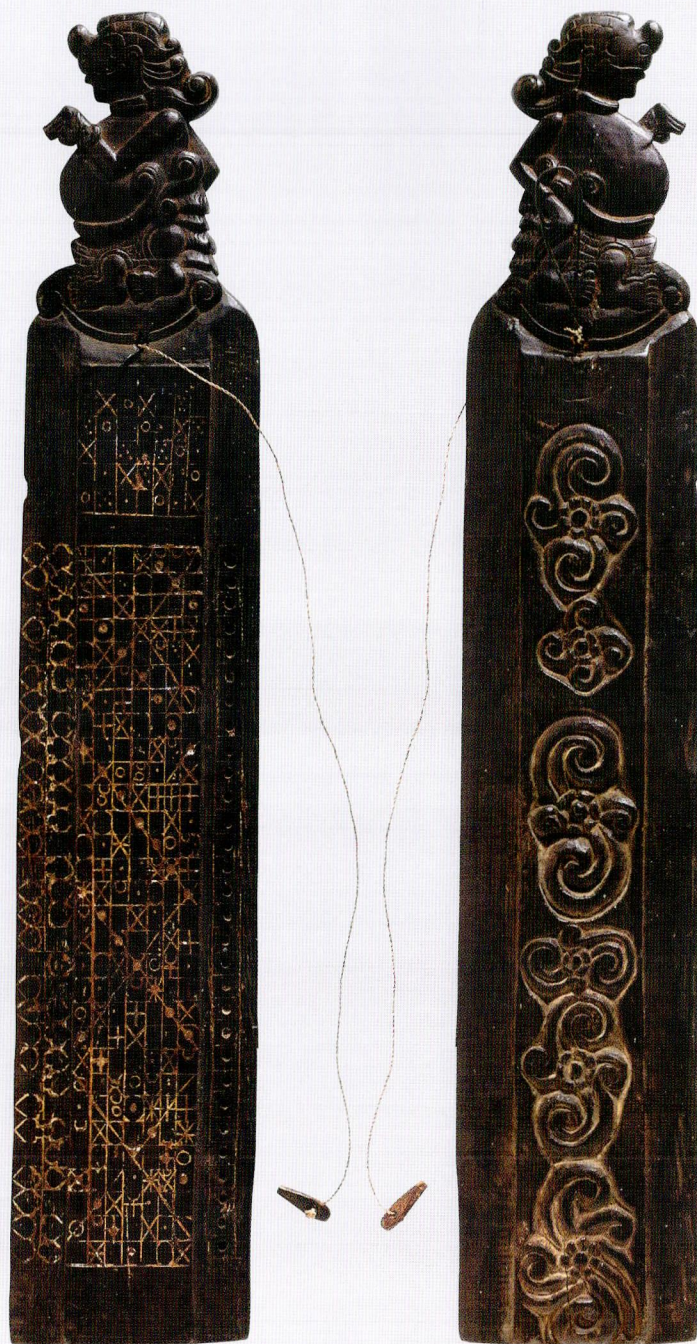
This object is evidence that the Pawukon calendar was still in common use in East Java a hundred years ago.

70 x 26 x 1 cm.

Jember, East Java.

Fourth quarter of the 19th century.

MHL collection (inv. 2576).



Left:

Classic vertical wooden tika

Hardwood with string and lime.

On the top is a carved figure of Merdah, one of the two servants on the good side in the wayang kulit shadow puppet theatre, then a 35-day (5 x 7) diagram, followed by a classic tika chart. Most of the etchings are enhanced by lime.

On the right is a series of 30 holes representing the 30 weeks of the Pawukon calendar. The little piece of wood attached to the string can be placed in one of these holes as a reminder. On the back is the other side of the carved figure of Merdah and carved floral decorations.

Vertical calendars are only encountered in the eastern part of Bali and in Lombok where they are popular.

56 x 11 x 2 cm.

Karangasem, East Bali.

First quarter of the 20th century.

MHL collection (inv. 2531).

The Saka calendar

The Saka calendar was introduced during the Indianisation of the Indonesian archipelago. Named after a Scythian dynasty that once ruled over Northern India, the Saka era starts in the year 78CE. Thus, the Gregorian calendar year 2000CE corresponds to Saka year 1922. With the exception of a Sancaya era in the eighth century, the Saka year was in force in the Indonesian archipelago until the introduction of Islam, when it was replaced by the lunar year of the Islamic calendar, which is counted from 622CE, the year of the *hegira* (the Prophet's migration from Mecca to Medina). Bali is the only location outside of India where the Saka year is still observed.

The Balinese and the Javanese have a rather vague memory of the Indian origin of the Saka year. The word *Saka*, for them, is associated with a legendary guru, the wise man Aji Saka.

"The legend of Aji Saka," says Lombard, "is the story of a Brahmin's son—using a name later to become that of the Saka era—who came from India to Java and took residence in Medang Kamulan (near Purwodadi). He first fought away all the giants who were holding sway over Java and then underwent to organize and civilize the country: he married a local woman and created the Javanese writing."⁵⁷

The Balinese luni-solar Saka calendar defines the official occurrences of the new moon (*Tilem*) and the full moon (*Purnama*) each month, as well as their adjustment to match the natural lunar cycle. It also defines the quality of the lunar days (*tithi*) associated with the waning or waxing of the moon. And finally, it adjusts the lunar year to match the length of the solar year, which is based on the revolution of the earth around the sun. So the days and months follow the lunar system, while the year follows, or rather adapts to, the solar system.

The Saka months and days

The Balinese Saka calendar has twelve lunar months, called *sasih*, with 29 or 30 lunar days each. The names of the months refer to their numerical order, except the last two months, which have retained names of Sanskrit

origin. Thus we have: 1. *Kasa*; 2. *Karo*; 3. *Katiga*; 4. *Kapat*; 5. *Kalima*; 6. *Kaenam*; 7. *Kapitu*; 8. *Kawulu*; 9. *Kasanga*; 10. *Kadasa*; 11. *Jyaistha* (or *Jhista* or *Desta*); and 12. *Asadha* (or *Sadha*).⁵⁸

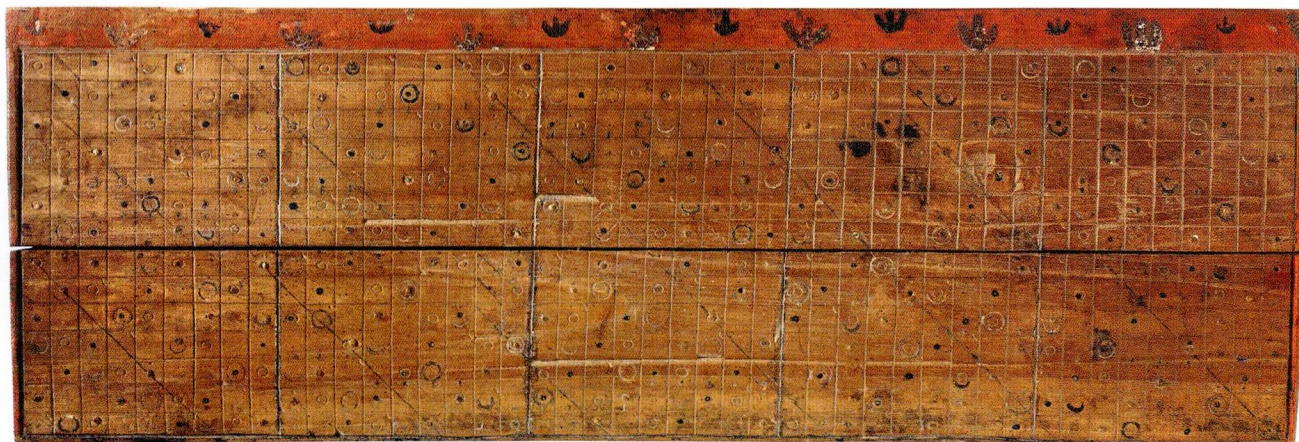
The *sasih* and *tithi*, like all elements of the Balinese calendar system, are located on the Pangider-ider, with their corresponding urip sacred numbers. (As shown in the last two rows of the Nawa sanga chart p.43).

Each month goes from one new moon (*Tilem*) to another and is divided into two parts, respectively "clear" (*sukla*) and "dark" (*kresna*). First, there are 15 days corresponding to the period of the waxing moon (*tanggal*, or *penanggal* or *suklapaksa*), computed from the day following the new moon until the day following full moon/Purnama. Then come the fifteen days corresponding to the period of the waning moon (*panglong* or *kresnapaksa*) until the next new moon/Tilem.

However, this 30-day cycle doesn't match the real lunar cycle (*candra*), which, from one Tilem to another only comprises a little more than 29 lunar days (*tithi*), precisely 29.531 days. To balance this discrepancy, the Balinese have devised an original system. One lunar day is "suppressed" every nine wuku, that is, every 63 days. When this occurs, the length of the *sasih* month is shortened to 29 days.

In Balinese calendar terms, this means that on the "suppressed" day, two *tithi* are compounded on the same day. For example, *panglong* (or *tanggal*) 6 and 7 are combined on a single day. The sequence becomes: *panglong* (or *tanggal*) 1-2-3-4-5-6/7-8-9-10-11-12-13-14-15. This "suppression" of days is called (*pa*)*ngunalatri* or *pangalihan*, and normally falls on a Wednesday.

According to Balinese calendar expert Made Suatjana, the *ngunalatri* cycle (also known as *nemu gelang*), based on the movement of the moon, occurs every 1890 days, and computed on this basis, the median length of the Balinese *sasih* month becomes 29.5313 days, a difference of only 0.002 percent from the actual astronomical lunar cycle. This system is not perfect and from time to time needs further adjustment. One then "suppresses" yet another day by accumulating three *tithi* on the same day. The Balinese month concerned is then reduced to 28 days.



Left:

Wooden *nemu gelang* calendar

Hardwood (jackfruit) with horn fragments and pigments.

Consisting of two wooden boards joined together by pegs, this wooden calendar was used to calculate the 1890-day *nemu gelang* or *ngunalatri* cycle, which links the Pawukon and Saka calendars, and informs calendar experts when to "supress" days (by merging two or more days) in the lunar Saka calendar so as to adjust it to match the actual astronomical lunar cycle. The chart is divided into two rows of five rectangles, each representing the seven days of the week vertically, and nine wuku weeks horizontally. All together they comprise a 630-day cycle (*apalangtaka*) which repeats three times to form a complete *nemu gelang* or *ngunalatri* cycle.

69 x 23 x 1.5 cm.

Central Bali.

First quarter of the 20th century.

MHL collection (inv. 2577).

Balinese calendar specialists, however, disagree as to when such further adjustments should take place. Some say every 128 lunar years, others, every 119 solar years. Some lontar even say that it should occur whenever a calamity hits Bali. According to Made Suatjana, who bases himself on astronomical computations, it should be every 122.47 years. This should have last occurred on November 4, 1998. But following a decision of Balinese authorities, it was shifted to the end of the year 1999.

The Saka year

The Balinese Saka year is based on the natural 365-day cycle of the sun (or 366 days during bi-sextile years, commonly known as "leap years"). Meanwhile, the annual cycle of the 12 Balinese lunar months is: $12 \times 29.53125 = 354.375$ days. Thus, there is a difference of 11 to 12 days between the two systems, which amounts to more than one *sasih* month over a three-year period.

To compensate for this discrepancy, an additional (intercalary) month (*nampih sasih*) is inserted between the regular *sasih* every three years or so. For instance, on the Balinese calendar for the year 1999, an extra

month called *Nampih Desta* was inserted after *Sasih Desta*, following the new moon in May. In 2001, a *Nampih Katiga* was similarly added in after *Sasih Katiga*, following the new moon in September.⁵⁹

The Balinese Saka year is computed to start around the spring equinox, on the day after the new moon nearest to this equinox. This is the first day of the tenth month, *Sasih Kadasa*, immediately after the new moon of the ninth month, *Sasih Kasanga*. This Balinese Saka New Year, called *Nyepi*, is a day of complete silence.

How to explain the oddity that *Nyepi* falls on the tenth month and not the first, in accordance with the numerical order of the *sasih* months—which would make the cycle start with the month *Kasa*, around July-August? The most plausible explanation is that the month *Kasa* indicated, in pre-Indianized times, the onset of a solar cycle of agrarian origin. According to Damais,⁶⁰ it might have been established based on observations of a group of stars of the Orion constellation known as *Wuluku* in Balinese. The first ten months of the agricultural cycle would have been followed by a period of rest, called *hapit* (squeezed), waiting for the resumption of the next cycle of months one to ten.

An illustrated journey through the Saka year

The Balinese luni-solar Saka year runs in parallel with the cycle of seasons, even though there might be small variations from one year to the next, or variations in the seasons from one area to the other.

In the following 12 plates I Gusti Nyoman Darta gives his visual interpretation of the activities that characterise each month, as he knows them to be practised in the Ubud-Gianyar area of Central Bali.

Sasih Kadasa (tenth month)

Usually falls in March ⁶¹

Among the numerous oddities of time in Bali is the fact that the Balinese Saka New Year does not open with the first month of the year but the tenth. Furthermore, it is not celebrated in revelry, but with *Nyepi*, the day of total silence, which falls on the day following the new moon (Tilem) closest to the vernal equinox and marks the first day of Kadasa.

This month otherwise signals the coming of the dry season. Yet, while the rains lessen in the lowlands, it may still rain heavily in mountainous areas, causing “Kadasa floods” (*blabur Kadasa*). In the lowland plains, people replant rice for the first crop of the year. Many flowers bloom. Tuber plants are harvested. Optimism prevails. It is the month most praised by poets.

Kadasa is arguably the most important month of the Saka calendar. On the full moon, fifteen days after Nyepi, falls *Batara Turun Kabeh* (the visit of all gods) at the mother temple of Besakih on the slopes of Mount Agung. Many other temples also have festivals to celebrate their anniversaries (*odalan*) on this day.

Ahead of such temple festivals, one may encounter colourful processions on the roads, of villagers carrying golden palanquins and brandishing flamboyant banners and umbrellas as they head for the sea or a nearby river to cleanse the effigies (*pratima*) of their village temples. Once the cleansing is done, they go back, accompanied by music, to their villages, bringing with them the water that mantras will later turn into holy water (*amerta*) for use in temple rites. This processional ceremony, *mekiis Kadasa*, is shown in the illustration. Notice the decoration of the chest containing the pratima, in particular the beautiful water dragon (*naga*). Another naga is drawn on the long banner (*umbul-umbul*).



Sasih Kadasa (tenth month)

Sasih Desta (eleventh month)

Usually falls in April

On this month the dry season comes, and with it, the harvesting of plants island-wide. It is the best moment to plant tubers (*pala bungkah*) and “hanging vegetables” (*pala gantung*). Rice is still growing in the paddies.

Desta, also called Jyestha, is considered the best period of the year for meditation and the study of magic. It is sometimes, by a play on words, called the month of *desti*, or black magic. Black magic, and endeavours to placate it, are linked in Balinese lore with the temple of death (*pura dalem*) and adjacent cemetery as well as the nearby *mrajapati* shrine, the places where Siwa’s demonic consort the goddess Durga and her disciples rule. She is most famously invoked during the *Calon Arang* dance, during which performers go to the cemetery to (symbolically) exhume a rotting corpse and endow themselves with magical powers.

The illustration presents, as is common in Balinese art, both the visible and invisible worlds, in a scene that obviously takes place in a cemetery. On the visible side, in the lower middle part of the work, one sees the figure of a woman addressing prayers and offerings, a standing cane in particular, to Durga. She is asking the demonic goddess for the magical powers needed to become a *leyak* (witch/shapeshifter). Durga accepts, but she makes her own demands: the sacrifice of the child, who is shown cuddled in the arms of the goddess. All the other characters are Durga’s demonic companions. Notice the young boy next to the praying woman. He has a tail, which means he is in the process of turning into a monkey *leyak*.



Sasih Desta (eleventh month)

Sasih Sadha (twelfth month)

Usually falls in May

The sun is relatively far to the north. The dry season is setting in, along with the heat. Toward the end of Sadha, though, the nights become fresher. On an auspicious day (*mantanin*), the rice is stored in the granaries (*lumbung*) and new seeds are selected.

In Bali, witchcraft and illnesses, the latter often caused by the former, have both tangible and intangible remedies. This is the specialty of the healers (*balian*): Some of them, *balian-tetakson*, are known as intermediaries of the gods, spirits and erring souls. Officiating in trance, as shamans, they advise on ceremonies to be done to ward off misfortune, to send a lost soul back to its proper abode, or to prepare charms and counter charms (*jampi*, *rajah*). Others, *balian usadha*, or medicine-men, are reputed for their ability to identify plants with curative power and for their expertise in preparing medicinal concoctions—a task best undertaken during the month of Sadha.

The healing efficiency of the *balian* is believed to depend on the power (*taksu*) of their shrines, usually the ones in their own private family temples. On Saraswati day, the last day of the Pawukon cycle, villagers who have benefited from the help of *balian* visit them and their shrines with offerings in gratitude for their services.

The illustration shows, to the left, a *balian* reading a medicinal lontar manuscript while an assistant pounds the plants needed to prepare a remedy. To the right is a patient who is taking the medicine, surrounded by his family. The demonic characters who stand and crawl on the roof, as well as the dog to the lower right, are spirits and *leyak* from the invisible world, probably sent on an evil errand by a malevolent *balian* competitor.



Sasih Sadha (twelfth month)

Sasih Kasa (first month)

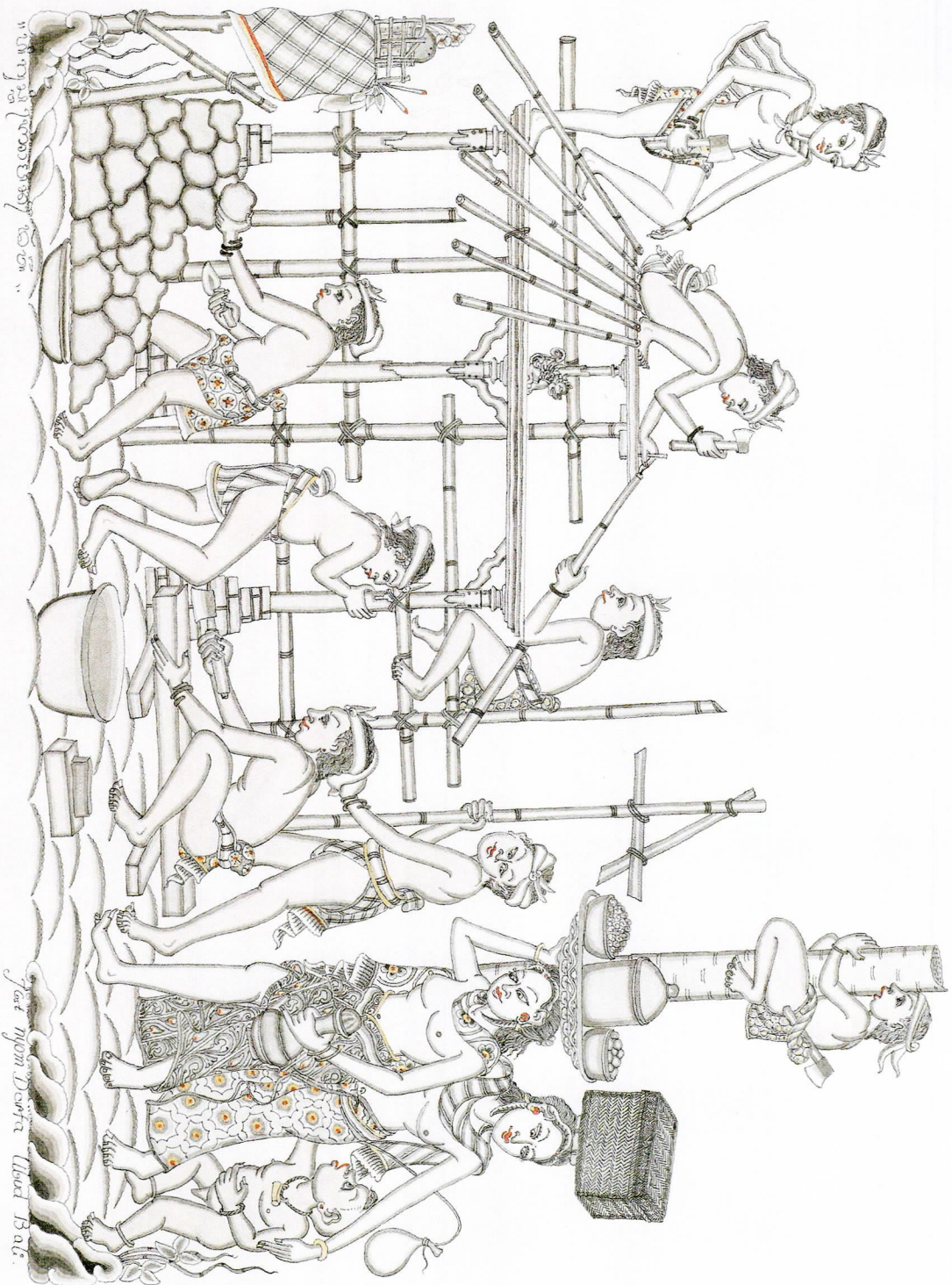
Usually falls in June

On this month the island approaches the peak of the dry season. Winds from the Austral winter brings bouts of freshness and even cold in the morning. Kites fly all over the sky. A proper period to plant peas and nuts.

This is also the favourite month to start constructing buildings. This illustration shows the way the Balinese traditionally help one another to build a house. The women bring food for their working husbands.

Balinese architecture is based on the understanding that Man is a microcosm and should strive for harmony with the universe. A Balinese house compound is laid out according to the physical proportions of the owner's body, using his foot, forearm, fingers, and outstretched arms as units of measurement. Thus, house and compound themselves form a symbolic microcosm.

Construction is done under the guidance of a local traditional architect (*undagi*). As shown in the illustration, only local materials such as bamboo, bricks and sandstone were traditionally used. Ropes were made from coconut fibre. Before building, people must follow a number of ritual requirements: sending the rice goddess back to the rice fields (*ngingsirang Batari Sri*); opening the field (*ngeruak*); exorcism (*mecaru*); "cleaning" the plot with an offering to the earth mother Pertiwi (*mersihang*); and taking the measurements explained above (*nyikut*). Proper days must also be found to initiate these activities, as well as to begin the actual work of cutting trees and erecting the roof. A big housewarming ceremony (*melaspas*) takes place upon completion of the construction.



Sasih Kasa (first month)

Sasih Karo (second month)

Usually falls in July

The month of Karo is the harshest on men's bones. The dry season fully sets in. In the morning, dew glistens under the reddish rays of the rising sun. Nights are fresh and there might be short rains. Mango is harvested.

This is the month during which, owing to usually fair weather, the preparation of collective cremations takes place. Such cremations apply to corpses already buried, sometimes years before. The rotting corpses are exhumed and their bones cleansed before the cremation, unless replaced by an effigy.

The illustration show the preparation of the sarcophagi. The bulls, however, are only for the nobility. Lower castes and kinship groups use lions and other animals, if any. The making of sarcophagi is supervised by an architect-artist (*undagi*) who personally handles the cutting and carving of the main decorative elements.

The illustration shows, to the right, a man carrying a wooden element to be stuck to the bull. Another, squatting in the middle, is chiselling decorative golden cardboards. Yet another, squatting on the lower left, is probably drawing a scene depicting the tortures of Balinese hell. A woman is bringing offerings. One notices a bee's nest hanging from the tree.



Sasih Karo (second month)

Sasih Katiga (third month)

Usually falls in August

During Sasih Katiga, the third month, heat sets in. Water becomes scarce and grass and leaves tend to yellow. This month is for this reason considered the most propitious for planting, not paddy, but dry crops. These crops are categorised into two main groups: *pala gantung*, literally “hanging crops”, which comprise fruits such as oranges and bananas, as well as cucumbers; and *pala bungkah*, literally “crops to break open”, which comprise all sorts of beans and tubers, such as sweet potato or cassava. This month is also the time for preparations to plant the traditional rice crop of the second agricultural season (*gagadon*) by getting the seedbeds ready for replanting.

The illustration represents a scene of ploughing, in preparation for planting *pala bungkah* to the left and *pala gantung* to the right. In the middle, the ploughing man has to weigh heavily on his plough, which is too light to penetrate the earth properly. To the left, one sees a man planting using a sharp bamboo stick. The sun god, supreme witness and source of life, is also there. Planting must be preceded by a small ceremony, because the plough is going to open the earth, goddess Pertiwi. As for the cow, it symbolises Siwa’s vehicle.



Sasih Katiga (third month)

Sasih Kapat (fourth month)

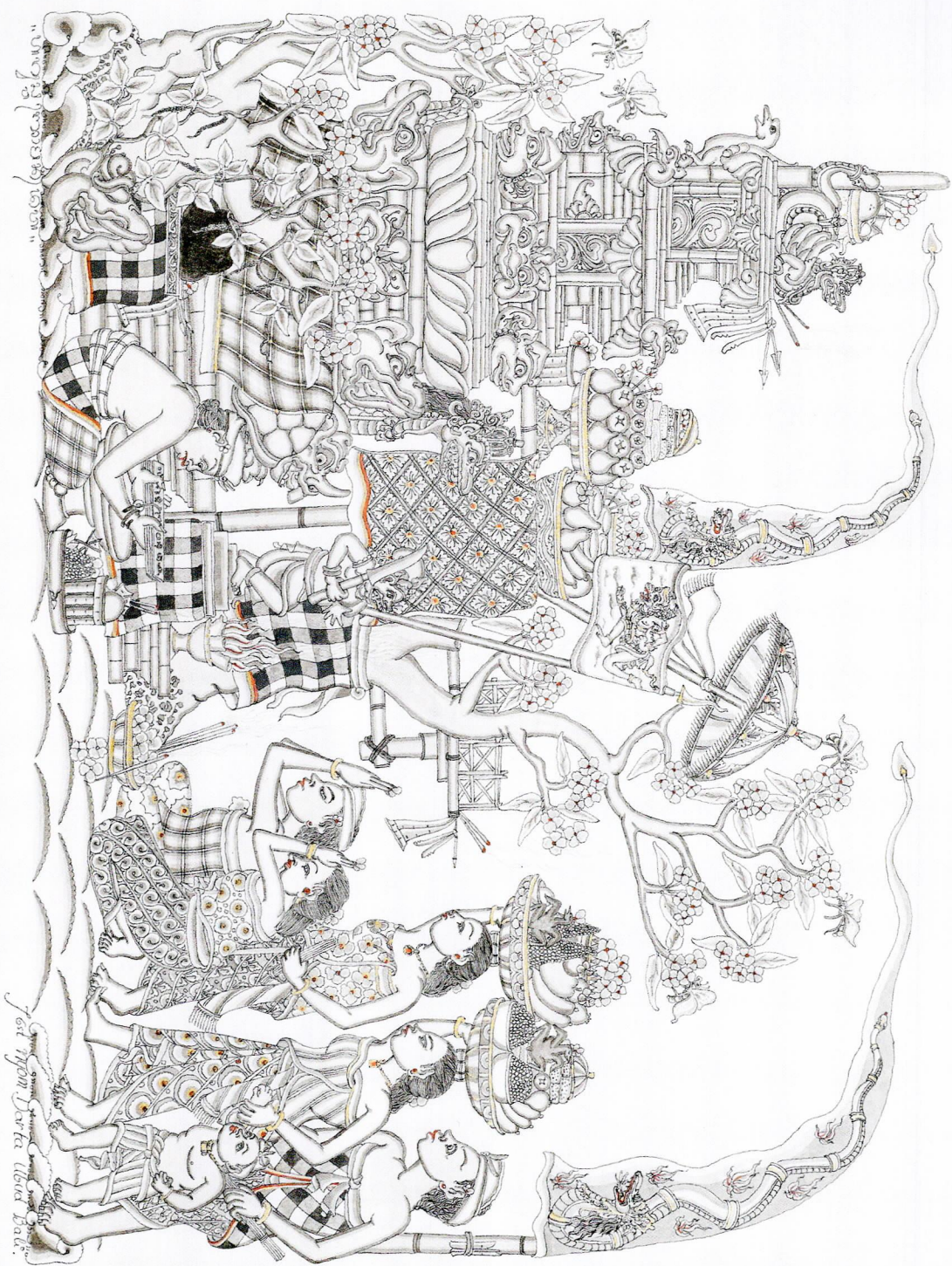
Usually falls in September

This month marks the end of the dry season and coming of first rains. Yet the rainy season is often late, and water becomes scarcer.

The Kapat full moon is a time when many temple festivals (*odalan*) are held, including the biggest ones, at Besakih and Pura Penataran Agung temples. It is also celebrated at each family's private temple.

The illustration shows a family at prayer at the main altar of their private temple, the *padmasana*, or seat of the lotus, viewed from its side. The padmasana symbolises the world, as it stands, like the cosmic Meru mountain, in the milky sea. From the churning of this sea spurts the water of eternal life (*amerta*). At the bottom of the padmasana lies Badawang Nala, the cosmic turtle, bearer of the world and symbol of the earth's magma. One can see its protruding mouth, just above the man reading a holy manuscript. Above the turtle is one of the two cosmic dragons Anantaboga and Basuki, symbolising water and earth. Just above it is the profile of Bhoma, symbolising the vegetal world. On top of the altar is an open seat—the seat of Siwa. Here one also sees the third dragon, Taksaka, symbolising air. At the back, seen from the side, one glimpses the Garuda-Wisnu and the holy goose. The elephant heads are simply decorations.

The padmasana and the trees are literally "dressed", signalling the presence of the gods in the temple. Two women carry offerings, which they will take home to eat after presenting them to the attending gods. A man and woman are praying with flowers. Their hands are raised at the level of the head, the part of the body corresponding to the godly. On the ground are a fire and offerings addressed to the earthly-demonic forces.



Sasih Kapat (fourth month)

Sasih Kalima (fifth month)

Usually falls in October

The rainy season is on, but it does not rain too much, nor is it too hot. Tomato, eggplant and chilli can already be harvested.

The fifth month is well suited for any rites of the life cycle (*manusa yadnya*). Here a tooth-filing ceremony is depicted. Upon entering adulthood the Balinese have to undergo this painful filing of their upper teeth and canines to signify that they will assert proper control over the pleasures that they will now be allowed to enjoy. They must for this purpose subdue six enemies within the self (*sad ripu*): desire, greed, anger, intoxication, confusion and jealousy. (See Chapter 6 for more information on the tooth filing ceremony).

The illustration shows a *sangging*, usually a non-ordained priest, filing a young man's teeth. At the foot of the bed, a woman holds a coconut that will be used to collect the saliva. Just below the patient one man is playing the gamelan while another man, and a woman next to him, are singing while reading from a lontar manuscript. The song and the music must be sweet and harmonious to subdue the demonic forces at work during the ceremony.



Sasih Kalima (fifth month)

Sasih Kaenam (sixth month)

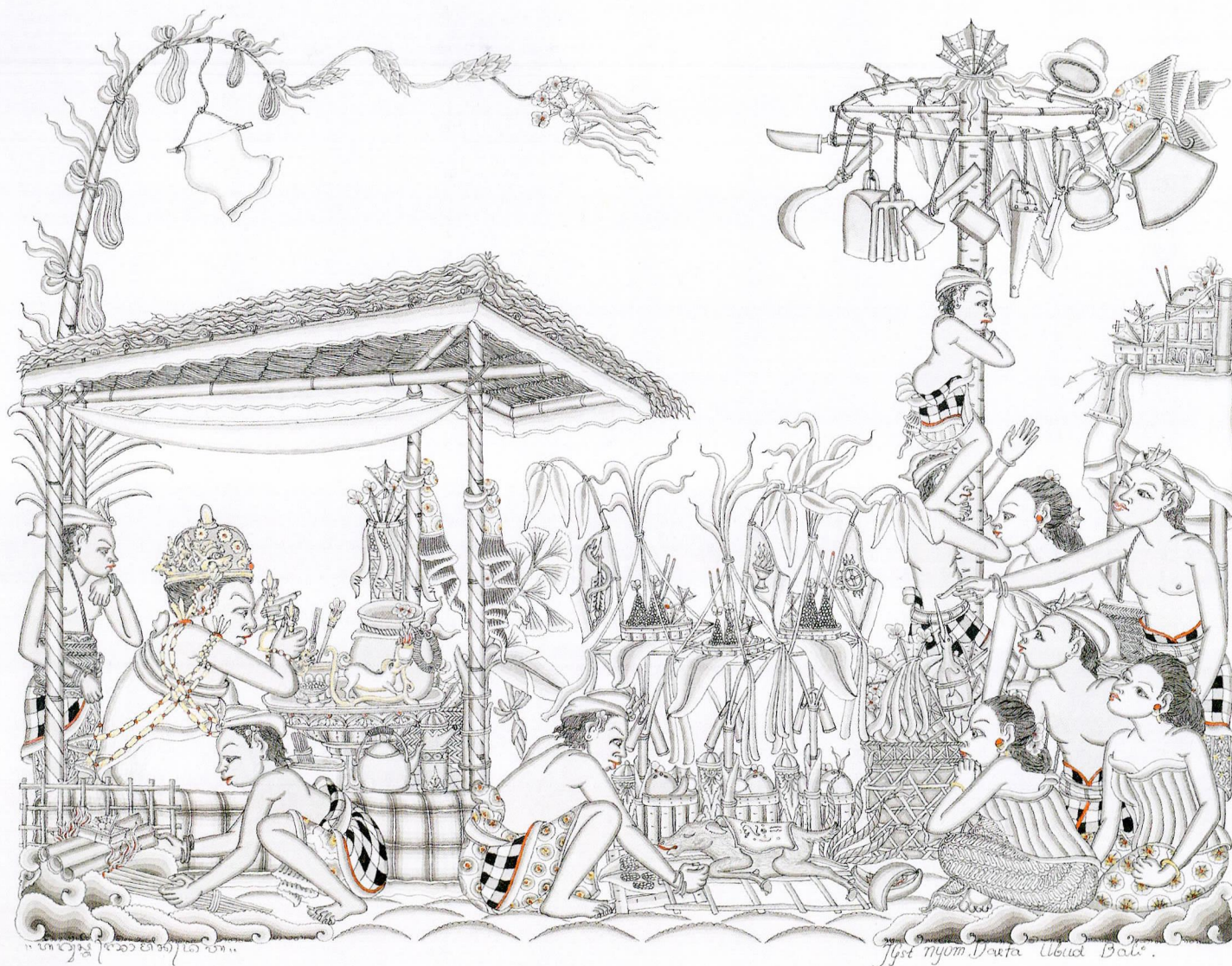
Usually falls in November

In Sasih Kaenam, the sixth month, it rains, and with bad, humid weather, accompanied by thunderstorms and lightning, all sorts of woes may befall the island. The weather is good, though, for the growth of leafy vegetables such as spinach and betel.

Even though life-cycle ceremonies are often performed during Sasih Kaenam, it is best suited for *buta yadnya*, rites addressed to the demonic beings (*buta*) that the Balinese call “companions of the gods” (*rencangan ida Batara*). The buta must be heeded and provided with the right offerings.

People believe that on this month the destructive companions who reside in the depths of the sea will come ashore and spread illness to humans and various scourges to crops and the environment—drought, rats, destruction of crops. When such calamities seem out of control, villagers undertake a cleansing (*nyangkluk merana*), under a priest’s guidance, which aims to send the demons back to the sea. They may also put thorny pandanus leaves at the entrances of their houses to prevent demonic forces from entering.

Most exorcist rituals (*caru*) take place in the family compound. The illustration shows a dual ceremony, a big *caru*, to the left, addressed to the buta, and a *mapedanan*, a ritual presentation of household instruments. The purpose of the *caru* is to neutralize buta influences in the self and in the world and transform (*nyomia*) them into positive, godly ones. This *caru* is performed by a Siwa high priest, recognisable by his tiara. On the right one sees family tools and implements hanging from what looks like a maypole. Men shoulder one another and scramble up a high wishing tree pole (*kalpataru*) to claim gifts at the top.



Sasih Kaenam (sixth month)

Sasih Kapitu (seventh month)

Usually falls in December

Kapitu, the seventh month, is the peak of the rainy season, with storms and floods. Together with Kawulu, the eighth month, it is the least pleasant time of the year.

This month is often chosen to undertake life cycle ceremonies (*manusa yadnya*) such as weddings. As usual, the day is chosen by the priest involved, either a high priest (*pendeta/pinandita*) or a village/temple priest (*pemangku*).

This is also the month with the shortest new moon night of the year, *Tilem Kapitu*, during which *Siwa Ratri* takes place—an all-night wake accompanied by prayers and readings of the holy “Siwaratri”, a classical Old-Javanese poem. This ceremony originates from India, where it is held on the longest new moon of the year, but because Bali is located in the southern hemisphere where the seasons are reversed, it is the shortest.

The illustration however, does not depict Siwa Ratri, but a wedding. This ceremony is described in more detail in Chapter 6. The crossed coconut (*takepan*) and nearby *mabiakala* offerings at the feet of the young couple indicate that the wedding has already taken place. The bride and groom are now standing in front of the priest, who is blessing them by sprinkling them with holy water (*majaya-jaya*).



Sasih Kapitu (seventh month)

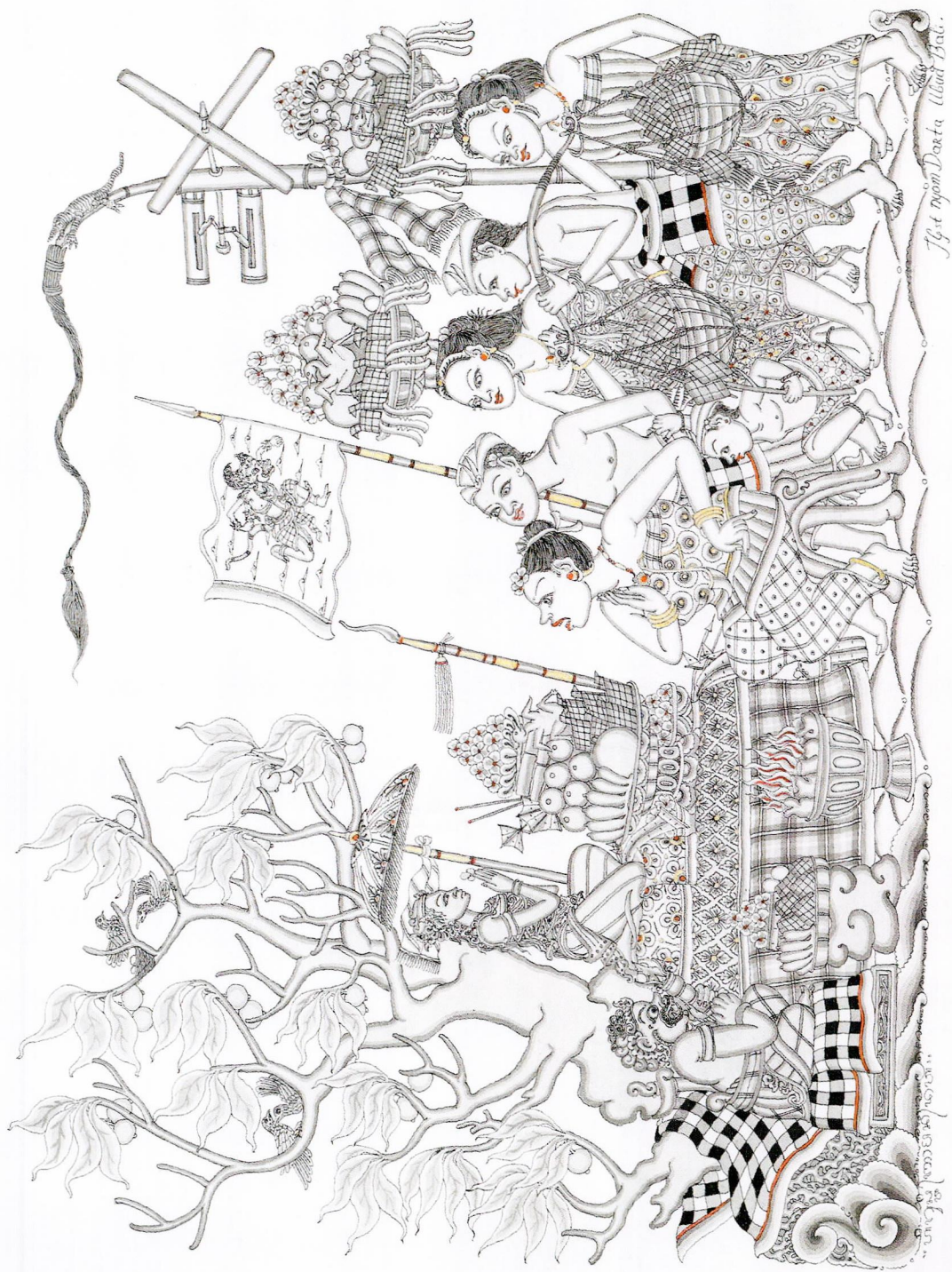
Sasih Kawulu (eighth month)

Usually falls in January

Sasih Kawulu, the eighth month, is known for its strong and sometimes stormy winds and rains. Flooding may occur. Look at the way the artist depicts the leaves of the tree to show the weather.

The main interest of the picture lies in the fact that the ceremony illustrates the animistic substratum of Balinese Hinduism. Small shrines—here a provisional residence (*penyawangan*) for the goddess of rice Dewi Sri, and her guardian (*bedogol*)—are frequent features of Balinese natural spaces, such as forests and gorges. One cannot miss seeing Balinese trees wrapped in black-and-white chequered cloth, a sign that the trees are inhabited by spirits. The villagers often present such shrines with small offerings, to placate the residing “owner” of the shrine (*duwe*).

The purpose of the ceremony shown here is to calm the winds, so there is a bigger set of offerings, together with a dance. Notice the bamboo vane and the banner featuring the Ramayana hero Hanoman.



Sasih Kawulu (eighth month)

Sasih Kasanga (ninth month)

Usually falls in February

Sasih Kasanga marks the end of the rainy season as well as the end of the Saka year. Clouds become rarer in the plains; it rains only occasionally; winds are irregular. Fruits ripen, especially *sentul* fruit. People also say that dogs are in heat (*cicing kasanga*). And the first traditional rice crop season (*kerta masa*) begins.

At the end of Sasih Kasanga, all the impurities accumulated during the year are symbolically cleansed. Effigies of village deities are taken to the sea for ritual purification, and a major exorcism occurs at the village crossroads on the new moon that marks the last day of the month.

Most impressive of all, upon sunset on this last day, is the parade of fantastic monsters, *Ogoh-Ogoh*, let loose by the thousands on Balinese roads. Some are giants from classical Balinese lore; others are bikers, terrorists, even AIDS microbes. All have fangs, bulging eyes, tangled hair, each more horrible than the one before. They are carried on the shoulders of up to 30 youth, who jerk this way and that to give the impression of a dance. They come out all at once, illuminated by torches, accompanied by demonic music (*bleganjur*). The parade lasts three or four hours, making it seem as if Bali has an inexhaustible pool of demons. The monsters eventually head for the cemeteries, to be burned. The world, cleansed of its demons, is then ready for Nyepi.

In this illustration, the monster is the lord of the sea Baruna, recognisable from the fish he holds. A banner features the monkey hero Hanoman fighting a giant.



Sasih Kasanga (ninth month)

THE DAY CYCLE

Everyday time

The Balinese day cycle doesn't start at midnight. It goes instead from one sunrise to the next. The course of the sun is the journey of the god Surya riding his chariot from one side of the horizon to the other. The day cycle's main division is between daytime (*lemah*) and night-time (*peteng*).

Daytime is defined by three "joints" or turning points (*sandi kala*) of the sun—at sunrise (*galang lemah*), at its zenith (*kali tepet*) and at sunset (*lingsiran*). These are moments of cosmic mutation, moments of danger, when it is inadvisable to move around or to bathe, for instance. Yet they are also moments when one may gain magical power. Some villages warn their citizens of these moments by striking a wooden signal drum (*kulkul*) in the village commons.

There are corresponding *sandi kala* of the night. Distinctions between relative degrees of light and darkness affect not only the day but also the night. At each point the situation of the moon gives a particular quality to the night. When the moon is at its zenith (*nyerepetan bulan*) is a moment of maximum danger. It is also the ideal moment for meditation if one wants to be endowed with magical powers.

The goddess Candra (pronounced Chandra) or Ratih, represents the moon. She is often depicted sitting in front of her loom, waiting patiently for the arrival of Semara the god of love, or expecting to be swallowed by the giant Kala Rauh, when there is an eclipse of the moon.

The complementarity between the sun and the moon is symbolised by the mythological couple Candra-Aditya (the luni-solar emanation of Siwa), who are the masters of light, and Durga (the demonic manifestation of Uma, Siwa's consort or *sakti*), who rules the forces of darkness. These pairs of opposites—day-night and light-darkness—are a manifestation of the Balinese principle of *Rwabhinna*, or the ultimate unity of contraries. The symbol of this unity is Atintya, God of gods, the Sublime Hermaphrodite.

This cosmic duality blossoms during the night. At dusk, "when the time to feed the pigs has arrived", witches (*leyak*) gather, hover and prepare to spread ill fortune. The darker the night grows, the greater the powers of evil become. Time for black magic is at its height when there is a new moon (*Tilem*), or full moon (*Purnama*). Then, the *leyak* gather around ponds and look at their own hideous reflections in the water.

Night, however, is also the time for meditation, and, most importantly, love. The goddess Ratih finds herself under the spell of the god Semara. The mortals who worship these gods are blessed. Lovers are recommended to wait for the moon to rise before cavorting. Beware of the new moon, though! Before heading home, the visiting lover should wait for the second crowing of the cock (*kruyuk pang pindo*), or the moment when the hens leave their roosts. For this is when Durga rounds up her disciples and returns to the realm of the invisible.

The two lovers are making love when they shouldn't: it is the night of the full moon. Thus, Siwa's son Kala the god of time—shown here with his demonic companions, an owl, a frog and a snake—submits the couple to his wrath. The flames are signs of his anger.

A day in the life of Ketut Somprong⁶²

The reddish rays of the morning sun are peeping through the foliage. A large, shimmering expanse of rice fields slowly appears across the horizon, stretching up to the foot of the big, still-clouded volcano to the north. Dew glistens on the leaves and the chirping of the birds announces the dawning of a new day.

The light of an oil lamp still flickers behind the shutters of a small cabin. A woman emerges. She walks to a backyard hut where she collects a few twigs and leaves for her morning fire. A *warung* (foodstall) owner, she starts cooking early, after which she places small *jotan* (offerings) near the fire, water jug, temple and entrance. Then a man comes out, yawning.

The woman calls out to him: "The cock has already chanted many times, *Beli* ("brother"—the usual term of address for a Balinese husband), so it's time you get up and go to work. I'll send you the rice later."

The man hurries, and, a few minutes later, having drunk his morning coffee, he is on the path to his work of the day.

Somprong is a woodcutter, the best in the whole area of Abian Gombal. In this village, there is no better advice or guess to be had than his on the hardness of a piece of teak or the price it will command on the market. He also knows best how to safely fell any tree and is able to cut it into the planks you need for the pillars of your *bale dangin* (eastern/ ceremonial pavilion).

But Somprong also respects his trees. After cutting down the trunk, he inserts a small branch on the stump and addresses a small *pejati* (offering), complete with the proper prayer, to the invisible owner of the place (*ane nruwenang gumi*).

"Oh, Lord," he says, "Don't be angry with me for cutting this tree. This is why I offer you these sacred perfumes (*wangi-wangian*)."

Somprong is also a born ecologist. For each tree he fells, he plants a sapling nearby, with another offering. Man—the little world (*bhwana alit*), he was often told as a child, should always strive to maintain the harmony between himself and the larger world of nature (*bhwana agung*). Somprong's steps are fraught with religious significance.

By 12 o'clock, his pocket is bulging with the earnings of his morning's work—15,000 rupiah, a good day. Somprong is back at his wife's *warung*, casually sipping his second coffee of the day. One hour later, he is snoring in a cot in the back of the *warung*. He doesn't even hear the laughter of the children as they come back from school.

By three o'clock, the heat is more bearable but Somprong is still sound asleep. On the other side of the compound, a man can be seen walking along the small, shady alley that leads to the entrance. He steps over the threshold, looks around, ties his sarong tighter around his waist for better countenance and enters the yard.

He goes directly to the small bale dangin pavilion. Empty. He hems. No reply. So he takes the small bamboo object that he has been holding in his hand, and looking around a last time, he hangs it off the edge of the roof. This task done, he crosses the compound again, this time toward the *warung*.

Only then does he catch sight of Somprong's wife, Men Songkeg. She is busy cutting thin slices of a banana trunk for the grub for the pigs.

He calls out: "Hey! Woman! Tell Somprong to come at sunset to the *banjar* meeting-hall for guard duties with the four others. I've hung the *urak* at its usual place."

And he steps past the small mud wall back into the alley. He is gone as fast as he came.

The man is Ketut Kaler, the *juru arah*, messenger of the banjar (neighbourhood association). His job is to inform people of upcoming banjar meetings or communal work 'bees'. The urak, written on bamboo or *lontar* (palm leaf), is the call to work, this time a call to *mekemit* (guard duty).

"Beli ! Beli!" shouts Men Songkeg, "it's time to wake up. Ceteg just brought the urak. You're on guard duty tonight. Tell the others."

"Kleng," Somprong curses aloud.

He jumps out of bed, fetches the urak at the bale dangin and goes over to Pan Cepeng's. From there Pan Cepeng takes it to Pan Kancut, Pan Kancut takes it to Pan Kocong, and finally, Pan Kocong takes it to Dollar. There it will stay for the rest of the day.

By the time the urak reaches Dollar, Somprong is dealing with more prosaic matters: He has already been squatting for 15 minutes, waist deep, in the small stream at the back of his house. His favourite moment. As the cold water glides past his thighs, he stares blankly in the distance.

Eight o'clock. The small group of men are sitting in the music pavilion (*sumanggan*) of the village temple (*pura desa*). Somprong has brought his machete, and the others, a wooden stick. They know that shrines have been vandalised in Kerta Singa. Several *pratima* (effigies) have disappeared.

"Thieves are everywhere, keep watch," the *klian* (head of the banjar) warned the villagers, some time ago.

Security matters apart, Somprong does not dislike being on guard duty. He can at least catch up on the local news with old Pan Kancut. He likes his stories about the "time of the regents", meaning the days before the Japanese occupation, when "the world was still quiet and peaceful", as Pan Kancut puts it.

"Certainly more than now, Somprong," he tells the younger man, "No one needed to guard the pratima in those times. We had more than enough to do simply guarding our girls."

They all laugh.

In the depth of the night. Somprong is half asleep on his mat, next to Kancut, when the beam of a torch light pierces the darkness. It is Ketut Kaler, the *klian*, who is coming by to check up on his men.

"Hey, old Kancut, aren't you too cold tonight?" he says, while counting the number of men.

"But where is Dabdab, Mr. Klian?" says Ceteg. "He's never around when we need the help of the banjar. I won't forget him. His corpse could well end up on the side of the road, together with the dogs."

"Don't be so fussy, Ceteg," retorts the *klian*, as he writes in his notebook: *Dabdab, fine: 500 rupiah.*

Then he carries on with his tour, checking right and left to see that everything is alright, and disappears into the night.

At four o'clock in the morning, Somprong is finally back home, and soon in bed. He covers himself with the blanket and prepares to sleep. There is a vague shuffle, and he feels someone rolling over to his side. The last thing he is aware of is a strange smell of pigsty.

In the meantime, the reddish rays of the sun are peeping through the foliage of yet another dawn.



Dance lesson

Young people spend time in the late afternoon to rehearse dance and music in the *wantilan* collective hall or another open space. As shown in the illustration, the dance master usually guides the students from behind, by holding their hands in such a way that they adopt the right gesture, or from the front, holding their hands in a reverse gesture. Learning processes in Bali rest on visual or kinaesthetic memory rather than analytical explanations: one imitates one's teacher.

The “hours” of the day: *Dauh*

In Bali, the units of time most similar to Western hours are the *dauh*. However, counting by *dauh* is relatively complex, since the *dauh* units are fractions of a whole that varies in duration, rather than fixed-duration units.

To complicate matters further, the day and the night are each divided in two cycles of *dauh*: the *panca dauh*, with five units, and the *asta dauh*, eight units. The *panca dauh* is the most commonly used, whereas the *asta dauh* is mainly reserved for divination purposes.

In the *panca dauh* system, five *dauh* are counted for the day and five *dauh* for the night. As the duration of night and day changes from one season to another, the daytime *dauh* are always different from the night-time *dauh*. Their median duration is two hours and 24 minutes. In the *asta dauh* cycle, the eight daytime *dauh* and eight nighttime *dauh* have a median duration of 90 minutes.

The Balinese word *dauh* literally means “a call”. Its nearest equivalent in English would be a “stroke of time”, or the “striking” of a clock. In the old times the wooden signal drum (*kulkul*) of the community used to be struck to mark the daytime *dauh* (*panca dauh*) and the striking of the drum, known as *dedauhan*, was also the call to corvée labour for the king.

There is no precise means of knowing which *dauh* one is in. So how does one cope? Traditionally, by approximation, that is, by guessing the *dauh* from the position of the sun or its shadow: approximately *dauh* IV, when it is *seng kauh*, inclined towards the west; *dauh* III, when it is *jegjeg matanaine*, high noon; *dauh* I or II when it is *seng kangin*, towards the east; and *dauh* V when it is *lingsiran*, or late afternoon. In the past, these approximations were assisted by sun dials of Javanese Muslim origin, although no contemporary traces of these dials are to be found. The visible phases of the moon are similarly used to compute the night-time *dauh*.

It would help if the order of the *dauh*, day and night, were parallel. But it is symmetrical: daytime *dauh* go from one to five, or one to eight, whereas night-time *dauh* are counted in reverse from sunset to sunrise. Supposing that the day and the night have an equal duration of 12 hours each, with sunrise and sunset at 6:00 am and 6:00 pm respectively, then the *panca dauh* and *asta dauh* would correspond to clock time as follows:

Panca dauh

For daytime:

Dauh pisan (I), from 6:00 am to 8:24 am

Dauh ro (II), from 8:24 am to 10:48 am

Dauh tiga (III), from 10:48 am to 1:12 pm

Dauh pat (IV), from 1:12 pm to 3:36 pm

Dauh lima (V), from 3:36 pm to 6:00 pm

For night-time, in reverse order:

Dauh lima (V), from 6:00 pm to 8:24 pm

Dauh pat (IV), from 8:24 pm to 10:48 pm

Dauh tiga (III), from 10:48 pm to 1:12 am

Dauh ro (II), from 1:12 am to 3:36 am

Dauh pisan (I), from 3:36 am to 6:00 am

Asta dauh

For daytime:

Dauh pisan (I), from 6:00 am to 7:30 am

Dauh ro (II), from 7:30 am to 9:00 am

Dauh tiga (III), from 9:00 am to 10:30 am

Dauh pat (IV), from 10:30 am to 12:00 noon

Dauh lima (V), from 12:00 noon to 1:30 pm

Dauh nem (VI), from 1:30 pm to 3:00 pm

Dauh pitu (VII), from 3:00 pm to 4:30 pm

Dauh kutus (VIII), from 4:30 pm to 6:00 pm

For night-time, in reverse order:

Dauh kutus (VIII), from 6:00 pm to 7:30 pm

Dauh pitu (VII), from 7:30 pm to 9:00 pm

Dauh nem (VI), from 9:00 pm to 10:30 pm

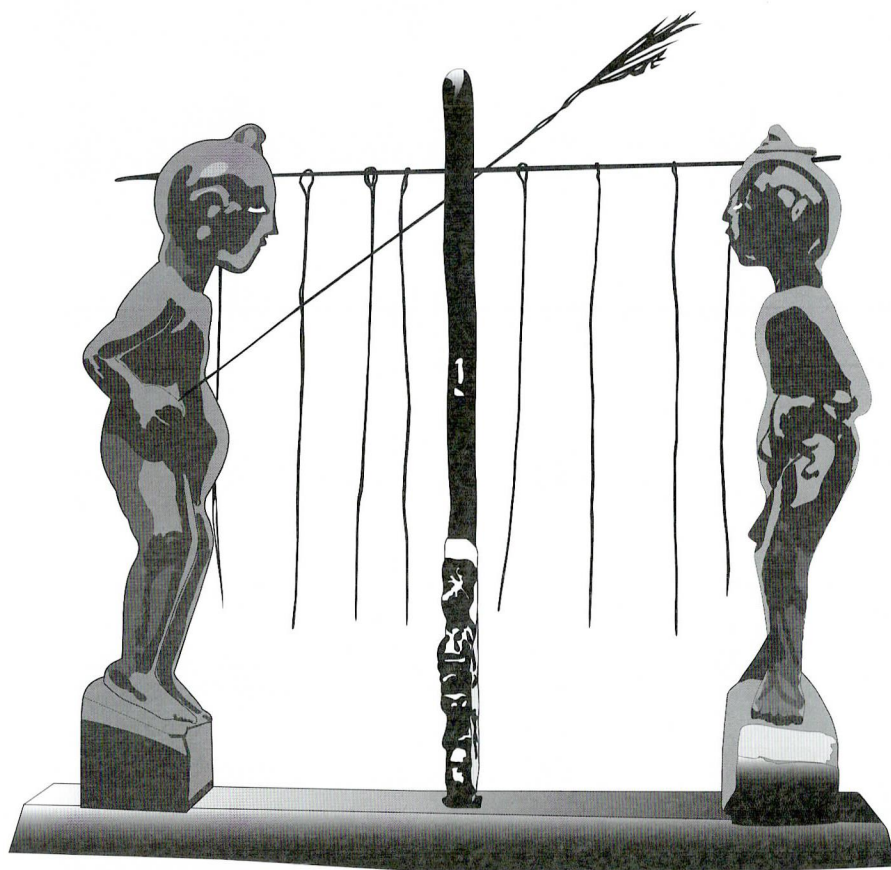
Dauh lima (V), from 10:30 pm to 12:00 midnight

Dauh pat (IV), from 12:00 midnight to 1:30 am

Dauh tiga (III), from 1:30 am to 3:00 am

Dauh ro (II), from 3:00 am to 4:30 am

Dauh pisan (I), from 4:30 am to 6:00 am



In 1937, Covarrubias⁶³ wrote that according to Friedrich, a mid-19th century observer, there used to be a special kulkul in a “clock tower” in Badung (the presentday capital city of Denpasar) on which the Balinese dauh hours were struck. And according to I Gusti Nyoman Darta, the dauh time was still struck in Ubud until the 1960s. Today, however, the dauh system is not commonly used anymore except for ritual purposes, although in some mountain villages, dauh time (panca dauh) is still struck by a kulkul.

Water clocks and winks: other measures of time

Despite the sophistication of their calendars, the Balinese never developed a clock to measure and display the hours of the day. However, they did invent various devices to measure brief lapses of time in particular, often ritual, situations. For example, they sometimes used a kind of hourglass or water clock, the *ceeng*, which is half a coconut shell filled with water that drips through a hole in the bottom of the shell. The time it takes for the water to spill out is the duration of a cockfight.

A similar type of water clock was used, together with a kulkul, to keep time during meetings of the banjar neighbourhood association.⁶⁴ Covarrubias⁶⁵ also wrote that labourers working the earth for communal purposes in the 1930s were paid on the basis of a time unit recorded by water clocks similar to those used in cockfights.

Otherwise, brief time lapses are referenced by analogy to particular actions. For example, *akejep* is “the time for a wink”. A short while is called *apakpakan base*, “the time it takes to chew a wee bit of betel”, and a long while is *apanyakanan*, “the time it takes rice to cook”. However, beware of someone asking you to wait for *akejepan barong*, “the time it takes the Barong to wink”, since the Barong is a mask and therefore, cannot wink! You may well have to wait forever ...



Left:

Balinese "water clock" timepiece

A timepiece depicting a man and a woman, both naked, playing in some kind of tournament: the man's right hand and woman's left hand hold the ends of a red coloured, gilded iron rod, from which hang eight iron wires. The man's left hand rests on his hip, and the woman's right hand holds an iron staff ending in a tuft of human hair. Between these two human figures is a crowned naga serpent (possibly Basuki or Anantaboga) with a high raised tail with red, white, black and gilded scales. All three figures are mounted on a black-coloured wooden base.

This timepiece was used as a mnemonic device, together with a half coconut shell (ceeng) or copper bowl with a hole in its bottom, to form a "water clock". To mark the passage of each of the eight time units (asta dauh) into which the Balinese day is divided, one of the eight iron wires suspended from the rod was shifted along. This occurred after the ceeng had emptied three times. The ceeng itself is not illustrated here. For a depiction of the ceeng in use, see the illustration (top centre) on p. 102. 30 x 26 x 8 cm.

19th century.

Collection of Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (RMV) - the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden (Inv. 1586-73).

Collected by W.O.J. Nieuwenkamp in Banyuning, Buleleng in 1906.

Opposite:

Drawing of the same Balinese "water clock" timepiece showing the hanging wires.



Cockfighting

The scene of a cockfight, with its various actors. Sitting on the platform are the officials directing the fight: one, in the middle, is preparing the *ceeng*, which consists of a half coconut-shell with a small hole in the bottom, to be placed in a basin of water and left to sink. The sinking time of the *ceeng* gives the unit of time for the fight. Another man, to the left, is about to hit a small gong (*kempul*) to begin the fight, while a third is recording the bets. Offerings have been made and the two cock owners are ready to start the fight under the watch of the referee (*sayu*), shown squatting to the right.



Cockfighting

Cockfights are offerings of blood (*tabuh tah*) required for some exorcist rites (*caru*), often as part of larger ceremonies such as temple festivals.

PART II: RITES AND FESTIVALS





Page 104-105:

Three days before Nyepi, the Saka New Year, a big ceremony known as *melasti* (also called *meliis* or *mekiis*) takes place, in which effigies of gods and ancestral deities are taken in procession across the village and to the sea or a river/lake to be cleansed.

Festivities in the Balinese calendars

As discussed in Chapters 1 and 3, the notion of holy days is relative in Bali: all days are charged with a varying proportion of demonic and divine power. Life is the realisation of a cosmic order. The calendars provide the orientation for arranging one's life in accordance with this order. They regulate a wide range of sacred rites and festivals.

Most of these festivities fall on days that correspond to conjunctions of certain days from the variously-sized *wara* or "weeks" of the 210-day cycle of the *Pawukon* calendar. Others are determined by moments from the lunar cycle of the 12-month *Saka* calendar, such as the new moon (*Tilem*), full moon (*Purnama*) or days preceding or following them. .

Among the calendar-based holy days, some, the *rerainan gumi*, are considered major holy days and are celebrated island wide. Others correspond to the *odalan* (anniversaries) of specific temples. Still others are celebrated across the island, without being considered *rerainan gumi*.

Celebrations of the Pawukon calendar

Conjunctions of Triwara and Pancawara days

The intersection of *Kajeng*, the last day of the three-day week (*Triwara*) and *Kliwon*, the last day of the five-day week (*Pancawara*) is called *Kajeng-Kliwon*. It occurs every 15 days, 14 times during the Pawukon calendar cycle.

Even though rituals linked to this day occur across the island, *Kajeng-Kliwon* is not considered a major island-wide holy day. It is simply an auspicious day for occult forces. Offerings—larger and more elaborate than the usual daily offerings—are made to all of the cardinal directions in houses and in temples. On the thresholds of these places, incense is lit and burned in coconut shells (*pasepan*) to ward off negative forces.

Numerous temple festivals and other religious ceremonies also occur on *Kajeng-Kliwon*, always doubling with other conjunctions.⁶⁶ Examples include *Anggarakasih Kulantir*, which falls on *Kajeng-Kliwon-Enyitan* during

Wuku Kulantir (wuku 4) on the 24th day of the calendar cycle; and *Tumpek Kuningan*, which falls on the *Kajeng-Kliwon-Kuningan* conjunction day, during *Wuku Kuningan* (wuku 12). *Anggarakasih Kulantir* and *Tumpek Kuningan* are further discussed later in this chapter.

Conjunctions of Pancawara and Saptawara days

Every 35 days there are recurrences of "strong" conjunctions of particular days in the seven-day week (*Saptawara*) and the five-day week (*Pancawara*). This 35-day cycle is sometimes called a *Pawukon* or *wuku* "month" (*sasih Pawukon* or *sasih wuku*). These important conjunction days include:

- *Buda-Kliwon*: the conjunction of *Buda* (Wednesday) and *Kliwon*;
- *Tumpek*: the conjunction of *Saniscara* (Saturday) and *Kliwon*.
- *Buda-Cemeng*: the conjunction of *Buda* and *Wage*;
- *Anggarakasih*: the conjunction of *Anggara* (Tuesday) and *Kliwon*;

These four conjunctions succeed one another every 35-day cycle in the following fashion. Ten days after a *Buda-Kliwon*, a Wednesday, there is a *Tumpek*, on a Saturday. This is followed four days later by a *Buda-Cemeng*, another Wednesday, which is in turn followed six days later by an *Anggarakasih*, on a Tuesday. A new *Buda-Kliwon* occurs 15 days later.

For a visual illustration of these intersections in the 35-day month, see the *pelelintangan* charts in Chapter 8.

During the course of the 210-day *Pawukon* cycle, only one such conjunction happens in any particular *wuku*. There are six occurrences each of *Buda-Kliwon* (on wuku 1, 6, 11, 16, 21, and 26), *Tumpek* (on wuku 2, 7, 12, 17, 22, 27), *Buda-Cemeng* (on wuku 3, 8, 13, 18, 23, 28), and *Anggarakasih* (on wuku 4, 9, 14, 19, 24, 29) per *Pawukon* cycle, or once every five weeks.

The dates of the *odalan* of most of the main temples on Bali are also based on these conjunction days. They also are the occasions for important pan-Bali holy days, or *rerainan gumi*, in the case of the six *Tumpek* as well as *Buda-Kliwon* in *Wuku Sinta* (which is the holy day called *Pagerwesi*) and *Buda-Kliwon* in *Wuku Dungulan* (which is the holy

day of *Galungan*). More information on these major holy days follows in the next section of this chapter.

Important temple festivals, however, are also celebrated on the morrow of these conjunction days, called *(U)manis*, except for Buda-Cemeng, which is not followed by a *(U)manis* day.

This does not preclude the possibility of other dates, though. Some temple festivals are held on different auspicious conjunction days, such

as *Wrespati-Wage* during *Wuku Tolu* (wuku 5) or *Soma-Paing* during *Wuku Warigadian* (wuku 8). And some holy days occur on conjunctions of other days of the Saptawara and Pancawara together with a certain day of the six-day week (*Sadwara*). For example, on the first day of *Wuku Sinta* (wuku 1) the holy day of purification called *Banyu Pinaruh* falls on a day that is a conjunction of *Redite* (from the Saptawara), *Paing* (from the Pancawara) and *Tungleh* (from the *Sadwara*).

Below:

Temple festival of Pura Agung Gunung Raung in Taro on *Buda Kliwon Ugu*. This temple is linked to the mythical presence of the Hindu missionary Maharsi Markandeya in the 8th century. Notice the fruit *Barong* to the left and the *sarad* symbol of the world offering to the right.





Temple festival

This illustration shows the atmosphere of a temple during an odalan festival. The principal shrine is to the left, whereas to the right are two huge offerings, a *sarad* to the right, and a *sate tunggal* to the left. These offerings symbolise the cosmic mountain, hence the world. On their lower part one can see the cosmic tortoise *Bedawang Nala*. The higher levels correspond to the godly. Notice the Hindu swastika to the right. The woman in the middle is bearing offerings that she will later take back to be consumed at home. The people seated on the right are singing a *kidung* song.

Holy days of the Pawukon cycle

The Pawukon calendar comprises many pan-island holy days, or *rerainan gumi*. All of these days are determined by various conjunctions of the wuku and *wewaran* systems.

The two most important cycles of holy days are that of the Pawukon “New Year” and that of *Galungan-Kuningan*. To these should be added the most important days for temple festivals, including Buda Kliwon, Tumpek, Buda Cemeng and Anggarakasih conjunctions in particular wuku, as well as certain days consecrated to a particular divinity of the Hindu-Balinese pantheon.

This section describes all of the *rerainan gumi* and major conjunction days in order of their occurrence in the 210-day cycle, beginning with those related to the Pawukon “New Year”.

The Pawukon “New Year” (wuku 28 – wuku 1)

The Pawukon “New Year” comprises a series of ceremonies that begins at least one week, and arguably two weeks before the end of the Pawukon cycle and continues until at least the third day of the new cycle.

The symbolism of the festival of Saraswati, as the day that marks the separation of the son and the incestuous mother, has already been discussed in the analysis of the myth of Watugunung in Chapter 2 and in the outline of the Pawukon calendar in Chapter 3.

As we shall see now, the ceremonies surrounding the Pawukon “New Year” follow, step-by-step, the process of purification and enlightenment experienced by the hero of the Watugunung story: from original purity, through purity defiled by incest, to defeat and punishment, enlightenment, and finally, purity restored.

Wuku Kulawu (28): State of original purity

The state of original purity is found on Wuku Kulawu, which is under the protection of Sedana, who is the god of material welfare and a manifestation of Wisnu.⁶⁷

On Wednesday—Buda-Wage-Kulawu—the god Sedana is worshipped, and no business may be done on this day.

Friday—Sukra-(U)manis-Kulawu (also a Kajeng day)—is consecrated to Sri, the goddess of rice.⁶⁸ No rice may be processed or sold on this day.

Wuku Dukut (29): Defilement of purity

The incestuous defilement and insult to the gods, Wisnu in particular, occurs on this week, during which no important celebration is held.

Wuku Watugunung (30), days 1–3: Defeat and punishment

Watugunung’s defeat and punishment are recalled during the first three days of Wuku Watugunung.

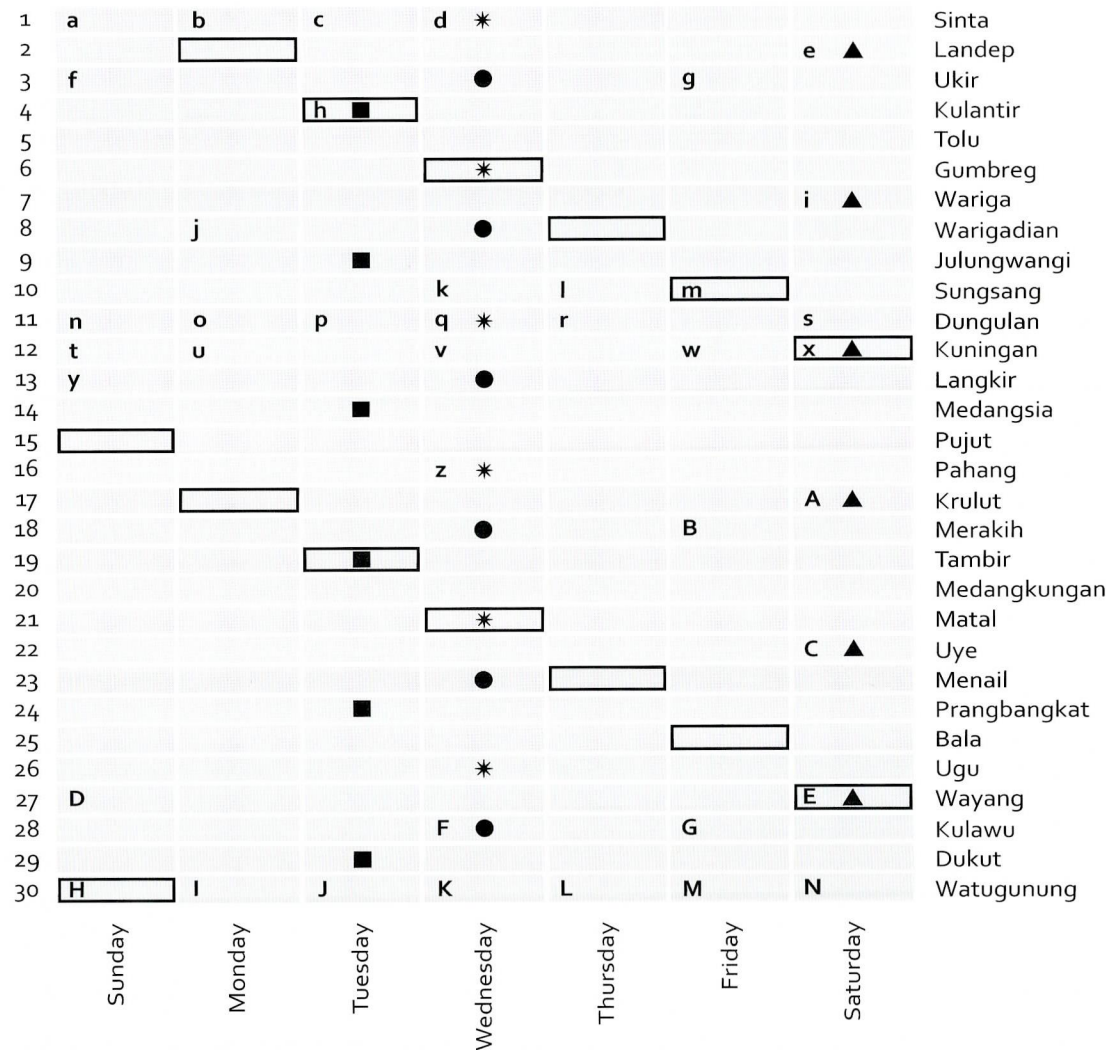
Sunday—Redite-Kajeng-Kliwon-Watugunung—is called *Pamelastali Labuh Watugunung*, meaning “the day of the fall of Watugunung”.

Monday—Soma-(U)manis-Watugunung—is called *Sandung Watang*, meaning “the day when the body is thrown to the ground”.

Tuesday—Anggara-Wage-Watugunung (also a Kajeng day)—is called *Paid Paidan*. It refers to the day when Watugunung’s body is dragged on the ground.⁶⁹

During these three days Bali is in a state of maximum impurity. Sexual intercourse is forbidden. It is also forbidden to sweep the floor or to tower above anything, for fear of offending the gods. On the Tuesday, women are also forbidden to comb their hair, probably a reference to the scene with the comb from the Watugunung story.

Distribution of Buda Kliwon, Tumpek, Buda Cemeng and Anggarakasih



▲ Tumpek (Saniscara-Kliwon) ■ Anggarakasih (Anggara-Kliwon) * Buda-Kliwon ● Buda-Cemeng (Buda-Wage) □ Kajeng-Kliwon

Pawukon "New Year" System

WEEK		QUALIFICATION	DAY	NAME	GOD	FESTIVALS OF THE PAWUKON CALENDAR	
WUKU	KULAWU (28)	purity	*			a	Banyu Pinaruh
		purity	*			b	Soma Ribek
		purity	*			c	Sabu Mas
		purity	F	Buda-Wage	SEDANA	d	Pagerwesi
		purity	*			e	Tumpek Landep
		purity	G	Sukra-Manis	SRI	f	Redite-Manis Ukir
		purity	*			g	Sukra-Manis Ukir
WUKU	DUKUT (29)	incest	*			h	Anggarkasih Kulantir
		incest	*			i	Tumpek Uduh
		incest	*	Anggarkasih Dukut		j	Soma-Paing Warigadian
		incest	*			k	Sugihan Pengenten
		incest	*			l	Sugihan Jawa
		incest	*			m	Sugihan Bali
		incest	*			n	Penyekeban
WUKU	WATUGUNUNG (30)	punishment	H	Pamelastali Labuh Watugunung		o	Penyajahan Galungan
		punishment	I	Sandung Watang		p	Penampahan Galungan
		punishment	J	Paid-paidan		q	Galungan
		revelation	K	Urip		r	Manis Galungan
		revelation	L	Penegtegan		s	Pamaridan Guru
		revelation - illumination	M	Pangeredanan		t	Ulihan Jawa
		illumination	N	SARASWATI =	BRAHMA	u	Pamecekan Agung
WUKU	SINTA (1)	purification	a	Banyu Pinaruh	WISNU	v	Buda-Paing Kuningan
		purification	b	Soma Ribek	SRI	w	Penampahan Kuningan
		purification	c	Sabuh Mas	SIWA	x	Kuningan
		purification	d	Buda-Kliwon Pagerwesi	SIWA	y	Manis Kuningan
		purity	*			z	Pegat Uwakan
		purity	*			A	Tumpek Krulut
		purity	*			B	Rambut Sedana
WUKU	LANDEP (2)	purity	*			C	Tumpek Kandang
		purity	*	Kajeng Kliwon		D	Wara Gemer
		purity	*			E	Tumpek Wayang
		purity	*			F	Buda-Wage Kulawu
		purity	*			G	Sukra-Wage Kulawu
		purity	*			H	Pemelastali Labuh Watugunung
		purity	*			I	Sandung Watang
WUKU	UKIR (3)	purity	e	Tumpek Landep		J	Paid-paidan
						K	Urip Kelantas
						L	Penegtegan
						M	Pengredanan
						N	Saraswati

TABLE: THE PAWUKON "NEW YEAR" CYCLE

On days on which the qualification is underlined, any kind of sexual activity is prohibited.

The upper and lower case letters in the column of the days are codes which are explained in the list to the right of the table entitled Festivals of the Pawukon calendar.

Wuku Watugunung (30), days 4-6: Toward enlightenment

The next three days of this week are focused on the process leading to Watugunung's enlightenment:

Wednesday—Buda-Pon-Watugunung—is called *Urip*, meaning "life". It refers to the "return to life" when Siwa resuscitates Watugunung after Wisnu has killed him.

Thursday—Wrespati-Wage-Watugunung—is known as *Penegtegan*, meaning "confirmation". It refers to the time that Siwa once again brings Watugunung back to life after Wisnu has killed him yet again.

Friday—Sukra-Kliwon-Watugunung—is called *Pangeredanan*, meaning "illumination" or "enlightenment". It refers to the time when Watugunung worships Siwa.

Wuku Watugunung (30), day 7: Illumination/enlightenment – worship of Saraswati

Saturday—Saniscara-(U)manis-Watugunung—is Saraswati Day, and relates to the day when Watugunung achieves full enlightenment, or illumination. It is the last day of both Wuku Watugunung as well as the whole calendar cycle. It is also the day when the goddess of knowledge Saraswati, as well as all the other gods, descend from their celestial abode and visit every temple in the island.

On Saraswati day, offerings are made to books and manuscripts, and worshippers also visit the priests and healers they may have consulted during the year and present them with ritual offerings. It is a day for the consecration of knowledge.

Wuku Sinta (1), days 1–4: Purity restored

On Sunday—Redite-Paing-Tungleh-Sinta—the first day of Wuku Sinta as well as the first day of the new Pawukon cycle, falls the holy day *Banyu Pinaruh*. Literally, *banyu pinaruh* means "separation by water" or,

according to a variant source, "water of knowledge". In both cases, the reference to purification is clear.

On this occasion, the Balinese go en masse to the sea or to designated water holes for a purification bath. The new start of the calendar demands the purification of the soul.

Monday—Soma-Pon-Sinta—the second day of the new cycle, is called *Soma Ribek*, meaning "full Monday". Offerings are presented in the rice storehouses (*lumbung*) to the goddess of rice, Sri. It is also prohibited to sleep during the daytime on Soma Ribek.

According to Goris,⁷⁰ on this day: "the person who does homage with his face turned to the west will make a profit in business. Whoever turns his face to the northwest will find good fortune; to the east, misfortune and illness threaten him; to the southeast, he will experience pleasant things; to the south, he will be robbed; to the southeast he will acquire health."

Tuesday—Anggara-Kajeng-Sinta—is called *Sabuh Mas*, perhaps meaning "gilded gold". Offerings are presented to the protector gods of riches, in particular Sri's consort Sedana. The protector of the gold and riches is Mahadewa, the guardian of the west.

Wednesday—Buda-Kliwon-Sinta—is called *Pagerwesi*, meaning "iron gate", and marks the definitive closure of the cycle of purification. Offerings are presented to all the gods in their shrines, in particular to Paramesti Guru, the Supreme Teacher. Offerings are also presented to ancestral graves.

Goris says that on Pagerwesi: "The *pedanda* pay homage to the *linggam* as the symbol of Siwa." ⁷¹ He interprets this as a prayer for fertility, but Siwa as *guru* and *linggam* may well be a reminder of the incest and a warning against it. This makes sense since this day also marks the end of the period of celibacy imposed at the beginning of Wuku Watugunung.

On the *tika* (calendar charts) examined in Chapter 3 we saw that the first four days of the new cycle and of Wuku Sinta correspond to the four repeated *Dangu* days of the nine-day week. As noted before, this anomaly underlines the importance of the break with the impurity of Wuku Watugunung. *Dangu*, meaning "the time of origin", confirms that

this break, accomplished through the separation of the incestuous mother and son, is the origin of human order and consciousness.

The various celebrations and rites of the Pawukon "New Year" thus confirm the interpretation of the myth given here. The process of purification of the island thus parallels—through the enactment of the rites and taboos prescribed on these weeks—the process experienced by the culture hero Watugunung.

The last week of the calendar cycle is all about Watugunung's humiliation and defeat. He is thrown to the ground and then put to death, again and again, by Wisnu before being resuscitated, again and again, by Siwa and various other gods, and finally appointed master of the calendar by Siwa.

Also, at the beginning of Wuku Watugunung, sexual abstinence is required, a taboo that lasts until the fourth day of the new calendar cycle, Pagerwesi. Mother and son having been separated, there is a general prohibition of sexual relations for 11 days.

It is also interesting to note that when Watugunung is finally resuscitated on the last day of the calendar cycle, it is the day of Saraswati, Brahma's consort and the Balinese goddess of knowledge. When Siwa brings Watugunung to life, it indicates the hero's apotheosis and enlightenment by knowledge. Siwa makes him understand that in being appointed master of the calendar, Watugunung becomes the master of time, of the rituals and of culture.

As for human beings, by celebrating rituals that re-enact the process of defilement and ultimate illumination of their culture hero, they partake in his enlightenment and are purified by it.

Major holy days between "New Year" and Galungan (wuku 2–9)

During the next seven weeks of the cycle (wuku 2-8) there are a variety of holy days on special conjunction days (Buda-Kliwon, Tumpek, Buda-Cemeng and Anggarakasih) along with days consecrated to the worship of a particular deity.

Wuku Landep (2): Tumpek Landep

Saturday—Saniscara-Kliwon-Landep—is *Tumpek Landep*, a day dedicated to objects made of metal. The word *landep*, which is also the name of Watugunung's stepmother, means "sharp". This is a very important day for blacksmiths, the *pande*. Offerings are presented to *keris*, spears and other traditional weapons as well as to vehicles and modern appliances. On this day no sharp objects may be used. Special worship is addressed to Siwa in his manifestation as Pasupati.

Wuku Ukir (3): Worship of Batara Guru and Batari Sri

Sunday—Radite-(U)manis-Ukir—is a day of worship to Batara Guru, who is also seen, according to Goris,⁷² as one's father. Ukir is the Giriswara of the Watugunung story and, according to Simpen,⁷³ Watugunung's lost father. As Ukir opens the next 26 wuku down to Watugunung, its location here could also symbolise, besides fertility (the mountain), a barrier to incest by the father. Offerings are presented to Batara Guru on this day at the family's shrine of origin.

Friday—Sukra-(U)manis-Ukir—is a day of worship to Sri, the goddess of rice and protector of agriculture.

Wuku Kulantir (4): Worship of Mahadewa

On Tuesday—Anggara-Kliwon-Kulantir—yellow offerings are addressed in the family shrine to Mahadewa, the god of Gunung Agung, Bali's highest and holiest mountain.

Wuku Wariga (7): Tumpek Uduh

Saturday—Saniscara-Kliwon-Wariga—is *Tumpek Uduh* (also called *Tumpek Pengatag* or *Tumpek Pangarah*) a day dedicated to plants, particularly trees, which are dressed up in sarongs, hats, and even *keris*



Enlightenment of Watugunung by Saraswati

This drawing depicts the life of Watugunung and Sita before (on the left) and after (on the right) their enlightenment and restoration to purity by Saraswati, goddess of knowledge and consciousness (in the middle). There are many representations of Saraswati. In offerings she is sometimes symbolised by a small lizard (*cecak*) reputed to be able to talk to humans. There is also a more modern, Indian-influenced iconography in use, representing her as a beautiful woman with various attributes, as shown here. She holds a string of prayer beads, representing infinite knowledge; a stringed instrument (*rebab*) representing music; and a lontar, representing literature. The goose, her vehicle, symbolises the aptitude for knowledge; and the lotus, her base, is a classical symbol of the cosmos.

daggers, while offerings are presented to them on small bamboo shrines. Worship is addressed to Siwa in the form of Batara Sangkara, the lord of all crops. The words *uduh*, *atag* and *arah* all mean “announce” and on this day one notifies one’s crops that Galungan will be celebrated in 25 days time.⁷⁴

Wuku Warigadian (8): Worship of Brahma

On Monday—Soma-Paing-Warigadian—prayers are addressed to Brahma the creator. This is done with offerings symbolising the *paibon*, or Mother Earth Pertiwi.⁷⁵

The Galungan-Kuningan ceremonial cycle (wuku 10-12)

The ceremonies of the Galungan-Kuningan cycle are, to modern Balinese, the most important of the Pawukon cycle. They span 19 days between Buda-Pon of Wuku Sungsang (wuku 10) and the Tumpek in Wuku Kuningan (wuku 12). From Galungan, which falls on the Buda-Kliwon of Wuku Dungulan (wuku 11), down to Tumpek Kuningan, all the ancestral divinities come and visit their descendants. They are welcomed and celebrated in their “residences” in family temples and village temples. The Galungan-Kuningan ceremonial cycle runs as follows:

Wuku Sungsang (10): Sugihan

Wednesday—Buda-Pon-Sungsang—is called *Sugihan Pengenten*, meaning “the awakening of prosperity”. On this day, the tutelary protectors of the villages known as *Barong* (see drawing entitled “Galungan”)) begin “*nglawang*” (door-to-door tours) of their villages to placate negative influences.

On Thursday—Wrespati-Wage-Sungsang—offerings are made to ensure prosperity throughout the world. The name of this day is *Sugihan Jawa*, meaning “prosperity of Java” since Java was traditionally considered to represent the larger world or macrocosm.

The ancestors are invited to come down to Bali. They are addressed in this fashion: “Mai jani mulih. Uba yang ngaenang banten. Mai delokin damuh? Damuhe!” which is Low-Balinese meaning: “Come! come! I have prepared offerings for you. Come and visit your descendants.”

This call is addressed to the liberated souls, that is, those who, after cremation, have gone through the purification cycle and become ancestral deities. Offerings must also be made to other souls who are still hovering around the cemeteries in order to placate them.

The next day, Friday—Sukra-Kliwon-Sungsang (also a Kajeng day)—is called *Sugihan Bali*. It is dedicated to the purification of Bali, in preparation for when the ancestors will come down to visit their kin.

Wuku Dungulan (11): Galungan days

The first three days of Wuku Dungulan are dedicated to preparations for the festival of Galungan proper, which falls on the fourth day. These three days are of special importance, because *Kala Tiga* or “three demons” are thought to be visiting and may disturb the proceedings underway. During this wuku, the days *Kala* of the eight-day week and the days *Jaya* of the four-day week are repeated three times in a row. This warns that one must avoid the influence of the three demons of Galungan.

The first day, Sunday—Redite-Paing-Dungulan—is called *Penyekeban*, meaning that the demons are descending. Unripe bananas are burned in earthenware containers with some coconut as offerings. The bananas will also be used later as offerings during the festival.

The second day, Monday—Soma-Pon-Dungulan—is dedicated to and called *Penyajahan Galungan*, meaning “preparation of the offerings”.

The third day, Tuesday—Anggara-Wage-Dungulan—is called *Penampahan Galungan* meaning “slaughter”, as pigs are slaughtered. *Penjor*, long bamboo poles hung with elaborate palm-leaf ornaments, symbolising the cosmic dragon Anantaboga, are prepared and erected in front of house gates, and the shrines in the temples are decorated with pieces of cloth of various colours, each symbolising a different god.

These three days are marked by intense activity. Most of the work is done by women. They prepare the ritual food, weave the plaited offerings out of coconut palm leaves and organise the numerous offerings that will be presented to the divine visitors. There are always three types of offerings, for gods (*dewa*), humans (*manusa*) and demons (*buta*) respectively. But the men do not stay idle, they must prepare the penjor as well as building the small altars (*sanggha cucuk*) that go with the penjor. They also clean the streets in the village.

Wednesday—Buda-Kliwon-Dungulan—is the day of the festival of Galungan proper. All Balinese and their families visit the temples to which they are ritually affiliated and present their offerings. Offerings are presented with a short prayer and then taken back home and eaten by the worshippers. In fact, the gods only demand the “essence” of the offerings.

During the ten days between Galungan and Kuningan, during which the gods are in residence in the temples, there is a succession of other important days: Thursday—Wrespat-(U)manis-Dungulan—is a day to visit family and friends.

Saturday—Saniscara-Pon-Dungulan—is called *Pamaridan Guru*, the day for worshipping Batara Guru (Siwa), and the removal of the last Galungan offerings.

Wuku Kuningan (12): Kuningan

Sunday—Redite-Wage-Kuningan—is called *Ulihan Jawa*, meaning the day when the “ancestors from Java go back home”.

Monday—Soma-Kliwon-Kuningan—is called *Ulihan Bali* (“ancestors from Bali go home”) or *Pamecekan Agung* (“great nailing”). This holy day closes a period of danger: Offerings are made to placate the three demons of Galungan; they are literally “nailed” (pacek).

On Wednesday—Buda-Paing-Kuningan—the god Wisnu is worshipped.

Friday—Sukra-Wage-Kuningan—is called *Penampahan Kuningan*, meaning “slaughter (of pig) ahead of Kuningan”. Pigs are slaughtered for offerings and food for the following day.

Saturday—Saniscara-Kliwon-Kuningan—known as *Tumpek Kuningan*, is the last day of the Galungan-Kuningan cycle. On this day, it is time to send the ancestors who have been celebrated back to the invisible world where they belong. They are told, without further ado: “Mangkin mantuk ke kedituan!” (“Go back to where you belong!”). On this day, a great many festivals are held in temples around the island.

Wuku Langkir (13): Manis Kuningan

The following Sunday—Redite-(U)manis-Langkir—is called *Manis Kuningan* (even though it falls during Wuku Langkir). This is another day for visiting relatives and friends.

The meaning and importance of the Galungan-Kuningan cycle

How to interpret the Galungan-Kuningan cycle of festivals? What do they mean, and why are they so important?

Based on the classical text *Usana Bali*, it is often said that these festivals consecrate the victory of the forces of Good over the forces of Evil. This interpretation is based on a story of the primeval struggle between a Balinese king called Maya Danawa and the gods of the Hindu-Balinese pantheon.⁷⁶ The following is an abridged version of the tale:

Once upon a time, in the kingdom of Bedahulu, ruled a king by the name of Maya Danawa, strong and famous, the descendant of the seer Kasiapa and the Goddess of the Lake, Dewi Danu. But Maya Danawa was full of arrogance and conceit. He said that the truth lay within the self, and, thus, within himself. He would not heed the calls to prayers and offerings issued by Sang Kulputih, the holy priest of Siwa who resided in Besakih on the slopes of Mount Agung.

Because Maya Danawa had forbidden temple festivals and offerings, woes and evils were afflicting Bali at an alarming rate. Failing crops and raging epidemics were proof of the gods’ growing vexation. Eventually, Sang Kulputih asked for the gods’ assistance to defeat Maya Danawa. And



Galungan

Between the Galungan and Kuningan holy days, the Barong, tutelary protector of the village, is taken around to cleanse the land of destructive influences. There are several types of Barong. The most common is the *Barong Ket*, inspired by both the tiger and the lion. It is said to be *Raja Banaspati*, or "lord of the forest". The Barong represented in this illustration is the pig-headed *Barong Bangkung* or *Barong Celeng*, which has a similar function to that of the Barong Ket. It usually stops to perform from door to door (*nglawang*). A woman carries on her head a basket containing a mask of Ratu Sakti, the Barong's eternal foe, who is none other than the witch Rangda (a manifestation of Durga).



so, the gods, summoned from Jambudwipa by Pasupati (Siwa), came to Bali to attack the evil king, accompanied by their troops. All the gods were there: Wisnu, the Green Lord of the South, Mahadewa, the Yellow Lord of the West, and Iswara, the White Lord of the East. All had been summoned to destroy the evil king, under the orders of Indra, the king of the gods.

Maya Danawa was assisted by troops from all over Nusantara, including regiments of Sasak, Bugis, Sumbawan and Madurese soldiers. But despite their valour, there was not much they could do against the superior force of the gods. After their fierce encounter in battle, the king had to flee. In flight, he had further adventures that explain the names of the present-day villages and landmarks located along his mythical escape route.⁷⁷

Several interpretations of the story of Maya Danawa are possible. The common modern Balinese interpretation is that it is about the fight against the neglect of religion and wickedness. A few Balinese, however, interpret it as a story about the historical fall of Buddhism as the dominant political and religious power of the island, and of the Buddhist emphasis on individual enlightenment over the blind practice of presenting offerings to the gods.⁷⁸

Yet, completely different stories may also be invoked to explain the origins of Galungan-Kuningan. For example, in another part of *Usana Bali*, the foundation of Galungan is attributed to the mythical king Jayakusunu, who is said to have established these festivals to placate evil influences that were causing Balinese kings to die before their due age.

Yet none of these stories explain why the Galungan-Kuningan cycle seems to be even more important than the "New Year" cycle. In answer to this question, Goris speculates that the Galungan-Kuningan festivities once marked the end of the calendar cycle and ushered in a new cycle that began with Wuku Langkir.

In support of this theory Goris notes that the ancestors descend to earth, and reside in their shrines before returning to heaven, in four phases, each of which begins with a Kliwon day.⁷⁹ Further, the first days of the three most important wara (Saptawara, Pancawara and Sadwara) all fall on the first day of Wuku Langkir, right after Kuningan, whereas none occur on Banyu Pinaruh, the first day of the current "New Year".

This theory is debatable. Why emphasise, with Goris, the role of the Pancawara, Saptawara and Sadwara rather than that of the Wuku "New Year" as we do—especially since the first day of Wuku Sinta corresponds to the beginning of the cycles of six wara (all except Ekawara, Dwiwara, Pancawara and Daswara); and Wuku Sinta is also the occasion for the highly symbolic calendar adjustments discussed earlier (the four Dangu of the Sangawara).

Indeed, the word *langkir* is often associated in Balinese tradition with the idea of the mountain. One of the ancient names of Mount Agung, the largest and holiest mountain in Bali, is *Tolangkir*, the "Man of the Mountain". This may refer to the ancestor-cum-mountain cult, which holds that the mountain is the residence of the gods and the ancestor-deities. Every Balinese room is provided with a *pelangkiran*—a shrine set up just below the ceiling in the eastern-mountainward corner (*kaja*) of the room. Through this shrine offerings are regularly made to the gods and ancestral deities. Should we also relate this to Ukir and Wuku Langkir? It is perhaps too farfetched.

Goris misses the key role of the incestuous union and separation of Watugunung and Sinta as the foundation for the Pawukon calendar. As seen in our earlier discussion of the Pawukon "New Year", the incestuous union is an act of natural and thus, demonic fertility, which is then "humanised" by the introduction of the incest prohibition and human consciousness of time, which are then regulated by the ritual and agricultural calendar.

Both the Pawukon "New Year" and the Galungan Kuningan cycle are important moments of the calendar. To us, however, the primacy remains with the "New Year", even if the Galungan-Kuningan ceremonies, owing to their positive connotations of welcoming home the ancestors and praying for prosperity, have become more important than the ceremonies of the "New Year", tainted as it is by the ambiguity of the incest phenomenon.

The desire of the Balinese to attain prosperity may be fulfilled, through the Galungan-Kuningan cycle of rituals, only after the incest defilement has found its proper resolution through purification and enlightenment, as celebrated in the "New Year" cycle of the calendar.⁸⁰

Opposite:

Welcome of a Barong at the temple of Padang Dawa in Baturiti. On festival days, dozens of Barong that were endowed with their power at this temple come to visit it, accompanied by their Rangda nemesis.



Megibung

During important holy days such as Kuningan, the Balinese hold big collective feasts. In some villages, like the one shown in the illustration, they share the food on a big platter. Notice the bamboo shrine, to the left, a *sangah saksi*, seat of the Sun god, the ultimate witness (*saksi*).

Major holy days between Kuningan and the end of the cycle (wuku 16–30)

Wuku Pahang (16): Pegat Uwakan

Wednesday—Buda-Kliwon-Pahang—which is called *Pegat Uwakan*, formally closes the Galungan-Kuningan cycle of ceremonies begun in Wuku Sungsang. Sang Hyang Tunggal, the One Supreme God, is worshipped on this day. The last offerings are made to the still hovering deities, and the penjor are taken down from the fronts of houses and then burned. The ashes will be used as fertiliser for the next crop, confirming the link between agricultural prosperity and the cult of ancestral divinities. Meanwhile, the Barong, who have wandered for several weeks around the villages, go back to their temple residences for a long rest.

Wuku Krulut (17): Tumpek Krulut

Saturday—Saniscara-Kliwon-Krulut—is *Tumpek Krulut*, a day dedicated to protecting and honouring musical instruments, masks, costumes and other items of the Balinese theatre often stored in temples as sacred objects. On this day, they are taken out of storage, cleaned and presented with offerings.

Wuku Merakih (18): Rambut Sedana

Friday—Sukra-(U)manis-Merakih—is dedicated to the divine couple Sri and Sedana as manifestations of Wisnu, and protectors of fertility and wealth. Some manuscripts also associate this day with the god of love Kamajaya as the divine inhabitant of the shrine of origin (*sanggah kemulan tiga sakti*) in family temples.⁸¹

Wuku Uye (22): Tumpek Kandang

Saturday—Saniscara-Kliwon-Uye—is called *Tumpek Kandung* and is dedicated to cattle and other livestock. Cattle are bathed and cleansed with holy water. Men make special offerings for the game cocks and women for the pigs.

Wuku Wayang (27): Wara Cemer and Tumpek Wayang

Sunday—Redite-Wage-Wayang—is called *Wara Cemer*, meaning “the dirty day” as well as *Kalapaksa*, or “belonging to Kala”. Both names refer to the fact that this day opens the dangerous Wuku Wayang, during which Siwa’s son, the demonic god Kala, comes to life and threatens to devour children. During this day, it is forbidden to cut hair or to bathe.

To avoid Kala’s wrath, children born during Wuku Wayang have to be purified by a *sapuleger* shadow puppet performance usually held on Friday—Sukra-Wage-Wayang.⁸²

Saturday—Saniscara-Kliwon-Wayang—is known as *Tumpek Wayang* or *Tumpek Ringgit*. Offerings are made to shadow theatre puppets, musical instruments, costumes and masks. Tumpek Wayang is sacred for shadow puppeteers (*dalang*), who may not perform on this day. Prayers are addressed to the god Iswara.

Wuku Kulawu (28), Wuku Dukut (29) and Wuku Watugunung (30)

Because the holy days during the 28th, 29th and 30th wuku announce the coming of the new Pawukon cycle and are tightly linked to the phases of the Watugunung story arc, they are described above, at the beginning of this section, under the heading: The Pawukon “New Year” (wuku 28–wuku 1).

Celebrations of the Saka calendar

The celebrations of the Saka calendar are regulated by the waxing and waning cycles of the moon, as reckoned in the *sasih* (lunar month) system. Whilst the nights of every full moon (Purnama) and every new moon (Tilem) are occasions for ritual offerings and prayer, some are more important than others, as described below.

Nights of the full moon (Purnama)

On Purnama, people present offerings to the gods at the village temples, at their temples of origin, and at their family temples. Important temple festivals, usually related to agriculture (*usaba*), are held on *Purnama Kapat* during *Sasih Kapat* (fourth month), and on *Purnama Kadasa*, during *Sasih Kadasa* (tenth month) of the Saka year.

Purnama Kadasa (full moon of the tenth month): Batara Turun Kabeh

On Purnama Kadasa, a great festival takes place in the mother temple of Besakih, called *Batara Turun Kabeh*, meaning "All the gods come down to visit." It is indeed the biggest ceremony to take place in Bali every year. The Batara Turun Kabeh ceremony is linked to the *Tawur Kasanga* "cleansing" of the world that takes place fifteen days earlier on the dark moon of the ninth Saka month, just before the Nyepi New Year (see more on this below). Batara Turun Kabeh focuses on the central Padma Tiga shrine of the Besakih temple, which is dedicated to the three manifestations of Siwa as lord of the upper, middle and lower worlds respectively (*Parama Siwa*, *Siwa* and *Sadha Siwa*). The ceremonies of both Batara Turun Kabeh and Tawur Kasanga feature an extraordinary pageantry of rites, processions and dances.

Nights of the new moon (Tilem)

New moon nights are times dedicated to occult forces. Offering are made at the temple of death (*Pura Dalem*) found in each customary village. Many temple festivals are also held on this day throughout the island, often featuring performances in which the performers go into collective trances. The new moons of Sasih Kapitu (the fourth month) and Sasih Kasanga (the ninth month) are particularly important ones.

Tilem Kapitu (new moon of the seventh month): Siwa Ratri

Tilem Kapitu, the evening of the new moon of *Sasih Kapitu* (the seventh month, which usually falls in January or February), is the shortest new moon night of the Saka calendar year.⁸³ This night is called *Siwa Ratri* (or *Siwa Latrī*), meaning "the night of Shiva". It is a night of meditation aimed at cleansing personal impurities. People who participate stay awake the whole night. They pray, meditate and discuss holy texts in the temple of death (*Pura Dalem*) or temple of origin (*Pura Puseh*) of their village.

Barely known until 20 years ago, Siwa Ratri is now one of the most popular holy days in Bali. Siwa Ratri is inseparable from the story of the hunter Lubdaka, which is the principal object of reading sessions.⁸⁴ The story, known as *Siwaratri Kalpa*, goes as follows:

A hunter called Lubdaka lost his way in the forest just before dark on Tilem Kapitu. As the sun was setting, he was obliged to take refuge in a *bila* tree overlooking a lake. Tigers and other wild animals lurking at the foot of the tree would be sure to kill and eat him if he were to fall asleep and fall out of the tree. To stay awake and pass the time, Lubdaka plucked the leaves of the tree, one by one, and threw them into the lake. A big lingam, symbol of Siwa, emerged in the middle of the lake. So, although it was unintentional, Lubdaka inadvertently worshipped Siwa in his all night vigil. The god Siwa was pleased by the hunter's devotion. And Lubdaka survived the dangerous night unharmed.

In other variations on the story, the leaves fall on the ground, rather than into a lake, or, unbeknownst to Lubdaka, there is already a lingam shrine to Siwa under the tree where he takes refuge, and Siwa assumes that the leaves the hunter showers on it are offerings.

After Lubdaka died, Siwa granted him ultimate enlightenment, instead of sending him to hell as he deserved to punish him for his sins as a hunter who had killed innocent animals for his own pleasure. Lubdaka had been cleansed of his sins by his involuntary meditation on the shore of the lake.

Tilem Kasanga (new moon of the ninth month): Tawur Kasanga and Ngrupuk

On the eve of the New Year of the Saka calendar, that is, the new moon that ends Sasih Kasanga, the ninth month, people hold purification ceremonies to cleanse themselves of impurities accumulated during the past year.

A few days before year's end, effigies of village deities are taken to the sea or to a confluence of two rivers for ritual bathing and purification (*melasti*), then brought to the village temple (*Pura Desa*) to rest. On the last day, Tilem Kasanga, a major exorcism occurs at the main crossroads of each village. This exorcism, known as *Tawur Kasanga*, is officiated by a *Siwa* priest to address the gods in the heavenly world, a *Buda* priest, to address humans in the middle world, and a *Sengguhu* priest, to address the demons (*buta-kala*) in the netherworld. Then, all the effigies may return to their respective temples, and families make small exorcism ceremonies in their own compounds.

At nightfall, the demons to be placated are entertained. Hundreds of *ogoh-ogoh*, huge demon puppets—artistically crafted by several groups in each village youth over the past several weeks—now fill the roads. The monsters are mounted on bamboo scaffolding. Men and youngsters carry these bamboo palanquins on their shoulders, swerving and twirling and making a great deal of noise: this is the *Ngrupuk* parade, most impressive in the streets of Denpasar. (See illustration: “Sasih Kasanga” in Chapter

3). Eventually, after circling the village many times and meeting in mock battles at the crossroads, the monsters are paraded to the village cemeteries and burned. Now, cleansed of all demons, the community is ready for *Nyepi*, a day of total silence.

Every one hundred years or so, the festival of Tawur Kasanga takes a far more dramatic dimension in the festival called *Eka Dasa Rudra*, which was last held in the Saka year 1900 (the spring of 1979). The aim of this ceremony is the purification of the world, so that the balance between “good” and “evil”, or Siwa and Rudra (a demonic form of Siwa), may be restored worldwide.⁸⁵

Sasih Kadasa (tenth month): Saka New Year

The following day is the first day of Sasih Kadasa and hence, the first day of the new Saka year. Called *Nyepi*, it is the most important holy day of the Saka calendar. In sharp contrast to the noise of Ngrupuk, Saka New Year's day is a day of complete silence.

The silence of *Nyepi* is very serious: starting at sunrise, all activities must cease. Hence the mandatory and tightly enforced prohibitions: no pleasure, including sex (*mati lelangon*), no traffic (*mati lelungan*), no fire (*mati geni*), and no work (*mati pekaryan*). So there is no road traffic, and lighting is kept to a strict minimum. Satellite television broadcasting is temporarily interrupted. Foreigners who happen to be staying on the island are kindly, but firmly, requested to stay put in their hotels and must cope with minimum service. No planes are allowed to land or take off at the airport. A whole day simply filled with the barking of a few dogs, the shrill of insects and a long, long quiet.

On the following day, called *Ngembak Geni*, life in Bali resumes its normal course, beginning at sunrise.



Prayers at the beach in Lebu,
Gianyar, during a ceremonial
procession to cleanse effigies of
deities and ancestral spirits, with
Mount Agung in the background.



Siwa Ratri

The illustration shows the hunter Lubdaka threatened by a tiger in the middle of the night. He picks *bila* leaves and throws them on the ground until they accumulate to form a lingam, the symbol of Siwa. To the left are animals that the hunter has hunted and killed, vile acts which Siwa will cleanse Lubdaka for committing, as a reward for his night-long vigil of worship.

CHAPTER 6 RITES OF PASSAGE

Rites of the Balinese life cycle

As noted in Chapter 1, according to Balinese beliefs, each human being is a microcosm, literally a small world (*bhwana alit*). Since human beings are made of the same material and divine components as the macrocosm (*bhwana agung*) they should live their lives in accordance with principles of cosmic order. Only then can they reincarnate, and their souls eventually achieve, after many reincarnations, the condition of moksha—blending into the Sublime Soul of the World (Paramatma) or God; whereas their bodily components blend into the Five Cosmic Elements of matter (*Panca Maha Bhuta*).

Incarnation requires sex, and love. These are not abstract concepts in Bali, where the human microcosm is a duplicate of the universe. Human love is the meeting field of cosmic forces. The god of love Batara Smara and the goddess of the moon Batari Ratih are both believed to be at work within the individual, making possible the encounter of the forces of the macrocosm within the microcosm. The act of love is also spurred by the god of flirtation Sang Hyang Deleng (from *deleng*, which means “glance”).

When a man and a woman have sexual intercourse they physically unite “the red and white elements of desire” (*kama bang* and *kama petak*), symbols of the male sperm and female ovum, respectively. This act is accompanied by the descent (*numadi*) of an ancestral soul. The soul comes, according to different interpretations, either straight out of the mouth of hell, or down from the “Old Country”—the abode of both gods and ancestors, high above Mount Agung. From this fecundation process originates the *bhwana alit*, a human being who is a discrete cosmic unit, a combination of spirit and matter in time.

All phases of life, from conception to birth, birth to death, and death to the afterlife, are paralleled by rites of passage. The main functions and purposes of these rites are, successively: to fasten the soul into the body; to welcome it to the world; to take it harmoniously along the various stages of life; and finally upon death, to help it cast away all earthly bonds and rejoin the “Old Country” of its origins, where it waits to come down again in

a new incarnation, or merges in moksha with the Sublime Void of the World, Sang Hyang Embang—one of the many names of the Supreme God.

Let us start with the early stages of life. The sexual meeting and merging of the two *kama* beget Sanghyang Jabang Bayi (meaning “Godly Fetus”). The divine status of the fetus is due to the fact that the soul originates from the heavenly world. It will keep this attribute under changing names beyond birth; hence, newborn infants are often called “little gods” (*Dewa Alit*).

Upon the seventh month of pregnancy, a ceremony of “housing the soul” (*magedong-gedongan*) is held to formally welcome the soul in the womb of the mother. Then, directly following birth come a whole set of other “welcome” ceremonies (*penyambutan*): the birth rites proper, the burial of the four siblings (*nyama* or *catur sanak*, which correspond to four elements of the afterbirth), and a ceremony on the fifth or seventh day of life for the fall of the umbilical cord (*kepus pungsed*).

After that, come ceremonies at 12 days old (*ngrorasin*); one month or 35 days old (*mulanin*); 42 days old (*abulan pitung dina*), three months or 105 days old (*nelubulanin*) when the child’s feet touch ground for the first time, and six months, or 210 days old—a complete Pawukon cycle (*otonan*).

Upon the arrival of such a divine being as a baby, the parents try to identify its origins, that is, to find out who it is—which ancestor is incarnating. For that purpose, usually at the time of the 12-day ceremony, the parents consult a medium who summons the baby’s soul of origin.

It may be that more than one soul is incarnating a newborn. Sometimes two or more ancestors show up, each with their own pasts, names and features. It is commonly believed that, when this happens, there should ideally be at least one male and one female soul, symbolising the unity of opposites that make up a human being.

The incarnating souls may come from several generations back, each with one or more highly specific requests. As families want their children to grow up healthily and unimpeded, they go to great lengths to fulfil the requests of these souls. These range from requests for a yellow shawl (*saput kuning*), to requests for a shadow puppet show (*wayang*) or another sacred performance to be given at a specific stage of the child’s development.

In order to eventually achieve the goal of moksha, each developing person is expected to live in accordance with the principles of cosmic harmony. Practically, this means that he or she must strive to fulfil the three other goals of life: desire or pleasure (*kama*), wealth (*artha*) and virtue (*dharma*). Each of these goals should be fulfilled in order of priority based upon the stage of life reached: youth, married life, early old age, and the age of meditation, known as *brahmachari*, *grastha*, *wanaprasta* and *bhiksuka* respectively.

Kama, although one of the goals of life, must be exercised with caution and balanced by *dharma*. The need to control desire is most directly expressed in the tooth filing ritual (*mesangih* or *metatah*) which is normally supposed to be held during adolescence, although it is often postponed until later. The filing of the front teeth and canines symbolises the overcoming of a person's six "intimate enemies" (*musuh ing raga*), that is, the six main causes of "sin" (*sadripu*).

The controlled fulfilment of *kama* is further emphasised during the wedding ceremony (*mesakapan*), the apex of which is an offering addressed to the material forces (*buta sor*) that are the sources of various desires and temptations. This is done to ensure good offspring.

Later, during married life proper, priorities shift to *artha*, the accumulation of wealth—spurred by *kama*, but kept in check by *dharma*. Among other things, wealth is necessary to hold the death rituals people owe to their parents, who set off the incarnation process in the first place. The idea is that we repay our parents for giving us life and raising us by holding their death rites.

Upon reaching their fifties or thereabouts, and having had their fill of *kama* and *artha*, people are expected to consecrate themselves to *dharma*. Elderly people therefore divide up their inheritance, pass their responsibilities to their children and study scriptures. Some, if the family tradition allows it, may become priests.

Then people die, are cremated, and eventually reincarnate. The rites related to the different phases of death are no less complex than those that accompany the phases of life. The cremation ceremony (*pengabenan*)

begins the process of separating the soul from its material envelope, the elements of which end up in sea waters. This initiates the transformation of the dead person (*pitra*) into a deified ancestor (*pitara*).

This process is continued in the post-cremation ceremony (*nyekah*) during which a symbol of the body is burned and then disposed of in the sea. This is followed by still other rites, through which the deceased, now a deified ancestor (*dewa pitara*), is sent to the heavenly heights of the "Old Country" through a ritual pilgrimage by the family to the mother temple of Besakih, as well as clan temples and other important shrines on the island. The deified ancestor is ultimately enshrined in the family temple, to which he or she will descend for visits during temple anniversary ceremonies and other events, such as Galungan.

And so the life cycle revolves, human beings turning into ancestors, and ancestors turning into humans.

The Balinese identify five types of rites, defined according to their main function: rites addressed to the gods and other heavenly beings (*dewa yadnya*), rites related to the human life cycle (*manusa yadnya*), rites addressed to the dead (*pitra yadnya*), rites addressed to demons and earthly or underworld forces (*buta yadnya*), and rites related to the priesthood (*resi yadnya*).

All rites, whatever their main function, must be attended by three witnesses (*tiga saksi*): demonic/earthly, human, and godly/heavenly, corresponding to the inhabitants of the three layers of the world (*Bhur*, *Bhwah*, *Swah*).

Thus, a temple festival, which is a *dewa yadnya* rite par excellence, includes food offerings to humans (*manusa*) and is accompanied by a cleansing ceremony addressed to demonic forces (*buta*). Similarly rites of the human life cycle have sub-rituals addressed to gods and demons respectively; and exorcisms also have their godly and human sides.

An illustrated journey through the rites of life and death

The series of drawings that follows illustrates the rites of life and death through which all Hindu Balinese expect to go. The scenes depicted are based on practices found in the Ubud area of Central Bali.

Of course, actual rites may and do vary, as the Balinese say, due to “*desa mawa cara*”, meaning that customs vary from village to village. They also vary due to the fact that modernity compels changes. People are now usually born at a medical facility rather than at home; plastic objects are used to prepare rites, replacing the bamboo, earthenware and other natural implements shown in the drawings; and the burning of corpses at cremations is accelerated by using a gas burner.

Yet in spite of these innovations, the rites of birth, childhood, adult life and death still constitute the basic framework for the religious life of the people of Bali. And whilst the main life transitions (conception/birth/puberty/death) are determined by biological constraints on which the calendar has no direct bearing, the ceremonies related to these events are determined by calendar computations, largely based upon the 210-day Pawukon calendar. Only the cremation ceremony is influenced by the Saka calendar: *Sasih Karo* (the second month) is deemed propitious for cremations.

Finally, it should be noted that all Balinese rites are accompanied by offerings. Yet, offering is a generic term, which fails to account for the vast technical and symbolic complexity of these offerings. There are hundreds of different types, all with their own names, each endowed with a specific ritual purpose and laden with a special meaning.

Rites of life from conception to marriage

Conception

Although love-making is not a ceremony in the strict sense of the term, even it should take into account the auspiciousness of the time when it

takes place. For example, it is considered taboo to engage in sexual intercourse during the last week of the Pawukon cycle (*Wuku Watugunung*) and the first three days of the new cycle (up to *Pagerwes*). If a couple want to have a male child, intercourse should take place on even days; if they want a female child, it should take place on odd days (both *panglong* and *penanggal*) of the lunar Saka months.⁸⁶

The love-making brings together in an embryo the woman’s “red desire” (*kama bang*) and the man’s “white desire” (*kama petak*). The embryo receives the ancestral soul coming out of the Balinese hell or field of sorrow (*tegal penyangsaran*). Although it has been cleansed for some period of time, the reincarnating soul is one that has not yet fulfilled the conditions to achieve moksha, and is still bound to earth by an imperfect karma (the sum of its past life deeds). Also descending are various cosmic forces, in particular the 108 protective spirits (*nyama bajang*) and four siblings (*kanda empat* or *catur sanak*: Anggapati, Prajapati, Banaspati, and Banaspatiraja).

Pregnancy ceremony (*magedong-gedongan*)

The magedong-gedongan ceremony takes place when the embryo has given way to a Jabang Bayi—a foetus with a full human form, deemed to be solidly “installed” in its mother’s womb (*gedong* means “building”). The ceremony usually takes place six 35-day Pawukon months following conception, the precise day being chosen after consultation with a calendar specialist.

This ceremony is addressed both to the child and its spiritual guardians or siblings, the *kanda empat*, who have now taken a physical shape too: Anggapati has become the amniotic fluid, Prajapati the blood, Banaspati the vernix caseosa, and Banaspatiraja the placenta. These protective beings will spiritually accompany the child and then the adult throughout life.

They also correspond to various gods, deities and demonic beings who inhabit nature, the human body, and more generally, the cosmos. Their names change according to the age of the person they protect. Addressing

offerings to them aims not only to obtain a happy future life, but more generally, to maintain the proper balance between the human-to-be microcosm and the larger macrocosm.

If the mother has a miscarriage and the embryo already resembles a baby, it must be immediately buried, lest it bring woes to the family. The burial does not require any ceremony other than the presentation of a simple offering (*canang sari*). But the impurity lasts 42 days for the mother and 12 days for the father.

Birth and welcome ceremony (*mapag rare*)

Today, birth usually takes place at a hospital or midwife's clinic. But until 25 years ago, it took place at the parents' compound, typically in the part of the compound symmetrically opposed to the temple. Until the 1960s, most midwives were male (*balian manakan*), sometimes assisted by an elderly woman. Yet it was taboo for a male midwife to bring a baby into his own family.

Before the arrival of modern medicine, giving birth was a painful ordeal. But the *balian manakan* had his own remedies. If the woman had an excessive discharge of uterine liquid before birth (*beling ngemuh yeh*), she was given a concoction of vinegar and sour lime to drink. If, on the contrary, the discharge was insufficient to smoothen the birth path, then the *balian* gave her an amalgamation of young hibiscus leaves (*lolah don pucuk putih ane nguda-nguda mabejek*).

Women were not allowed to lie on the bed, for their uterine discharge, containing blood, was believed to bring further impurity (*leteh*). Instead they lay on the floor beside the bed. The unclean discharge was let to run onto a wide sheet of sugar-palm leaf sheath. The waste was later washed away using a container especially allocated for this purpose.

Often, a woman would go through long hours of labour. The normal treatment given by the *balian* in this case was very simple: palm oil, which had previously been used for frying a frisky kind of fish called *julit*, was taken orally. If this medication failed to speed up the birth, then the

ultimate step was taken: she was moved onto the bed, and the baby was believed to be the reincarnation of an ancestor who refused to be born on the floor. Probably, people said, because the baby was the reincarnation of a holy person (*ane mapawayangan anak marage suci*). After the baby finally made its entrance into the world, the *balian* cut the umbilical cord and then applied, on the severed end, an ointment—*don paya misi uyah macacak*, a mixture of bitter, green, squash-like vegetables and salt—to ward off infection and pain.

After this step—today as in the past—the father washes the remaining placenta (*ari-ari*) and places it with offerings and the other afterbirth materials (physical embodiments of the *kanda empat*) into a coconut shell or clay pot. After being inscribed with the proper holy letters and wrapped in cloth or coconut fibre, this small container is buried in front of the entrance of the north pavilion (*bale daja*) in the family compound, on the right side for a boy, or the left side, for a girl.

A black stone is then placed over the spot where the *ari-ari* is buried and a small pandanus is planted nearby. Over the next 42 days an incense stick or candle will remain lit on the site. A small bamboo shrine (*sanggha cucuk*) is also erected and dressed for the purpose of presenting regular offerings to various spirits (*buta*) and to the *kanda empat*, who will be the guardians and witnesses of the incarnated human for the rest of his or her life.

And the woman? After giving birth, the woman's belly is softly massaged to restore it to its normal condition, but she has to rest in a sitting position (traditionally, on the floor) for three days. During this period, she also has to eat from a split coconut shell instead of a normal plate. She is also to remain confined to the house compound for 42 days, during which she has to eat alone, apart from other members of the family. She cannot take part in other rites. The husband and the house are also considered impure (*leteh*).



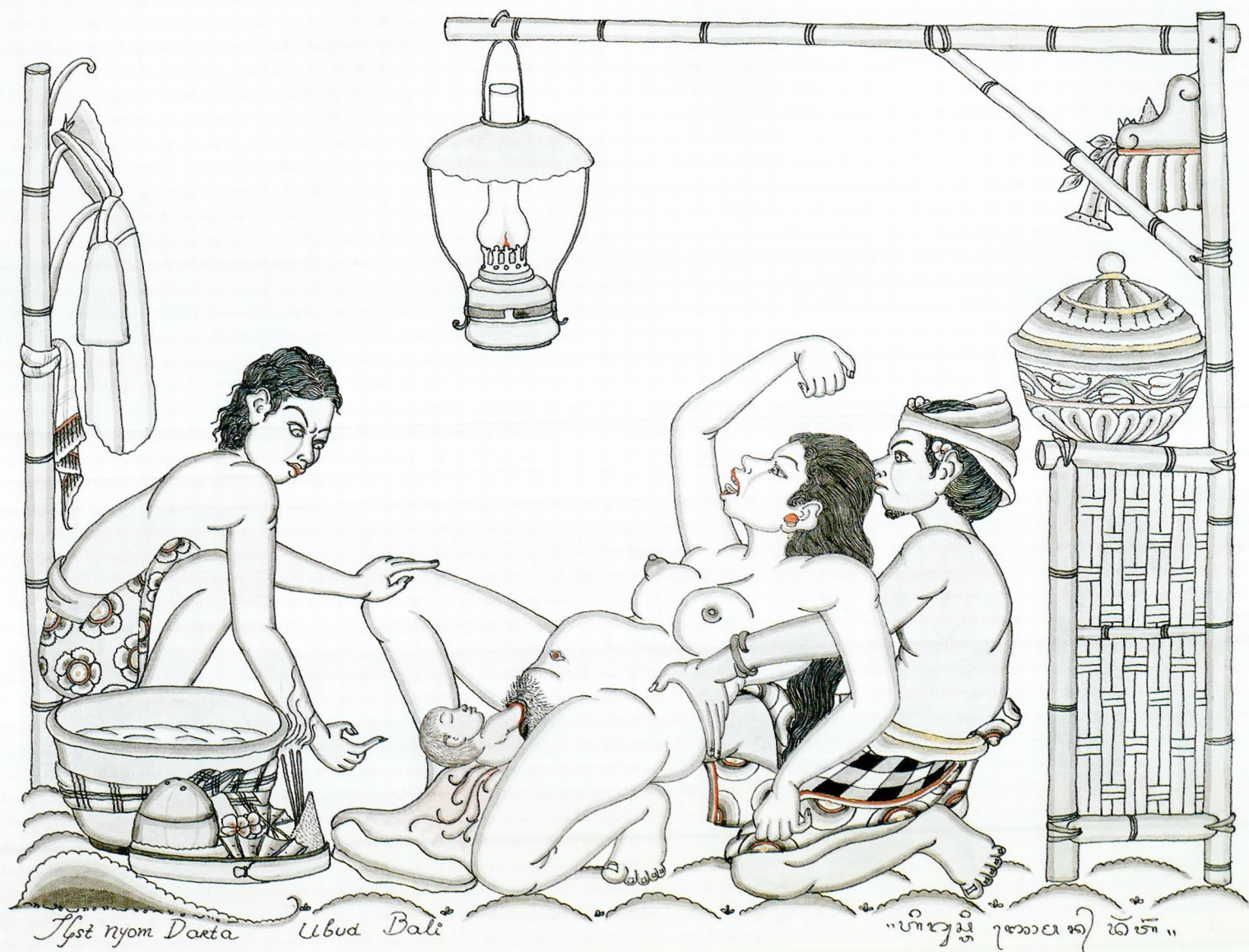
Conception

This illustration shows that love-making at the level of the middle world—inhabited by the human couple and nearby animals—is directed by cosmic forces, symbolised here in a bubble showing the god of love Asmara/Kamajaya, the moon goddess Ratih, and Atintya the Supreme inconceivable god, representing Siwa in hermaphroditic form, as witnesses to the process.



Pregnancy ceremony

This drawing shows a scene from a magedong-gedongan ceremony. A lontar is read, accompanied by a notification offering (*pejati*) to bless the pregnant mother and unborn baby. The small oil lamp signals the presence of Brahma, god of fire.



Birth and welcome ceremony

This drawing depicts a traditional birth scene, facilitated by a male midwife. Notice the basin to the left, which is used to wash the afterbirth, and the pejati notification offering nearby. To the upper right is a canang offering signaling that the ancestors are witnessing the event.

Ceremony of the fall of the umbilical cord (*kepus pungsed*)

A week or so after birth, the umbilical cord (*pungsed*) dries and falls off. It is then wrapped in a cloth and put in a small container. The dried cord is deemed to have healing power, and can later be crushed and soaked, for use as a medicine when the child is sick.

The ceremony proper consists of an ordinary offering to the earthly forces (*mabiakala*) and to the kanda empat. The child is deemed "clean" and separated from its kanda empat siblings. Other offerings are addressed to the god Hyang Kumara, protector of children, for whom a special shrine is set in the *kaja-kangin* (upstream-east) corner of the room. Hyang Kumara will protect the child until its first teeth come out.

The mother holds the baby and places cotton threads as protective bracelets around its wrists and feet. The father, whose ritual impurity lasts only until the fall of the umbilical cord, may address the god with a mantra that means: "Oh you, the One without eyes, without mouth, without nose, without desire, I beg you to cleanse all the impurities and demonic influences that cling to the body and send them back to their proper abode."

When the child is still a newborn, its fontanel, called *Siwa dwara* (Siwa's door), is not fully closed. Considered as the point of entrance into the body of divine forces as well as demonic forces, the fontanel is protected by applying a herbal paste (*loloh*) to it.

The first days of life are considered highly dangerous. Indeed, newborn infant deaths were frequent until 20 years ago. The baby is said to be subject to both temptations and attacks by all sorts of otherworldly beings. If the child dies very young, before 42 days, it is said to have remained untouched by the five senses (*panca indra*) and is therefore buried in a children's cemetery (*setra bebajangan*) instead of undergoing a cremation ceremony. Yet, proper offerings must be made, lest the child's soul become a deranged or lost soul (*atma kesasar*).

Twelve-day ceremony (*ngerorasin*)

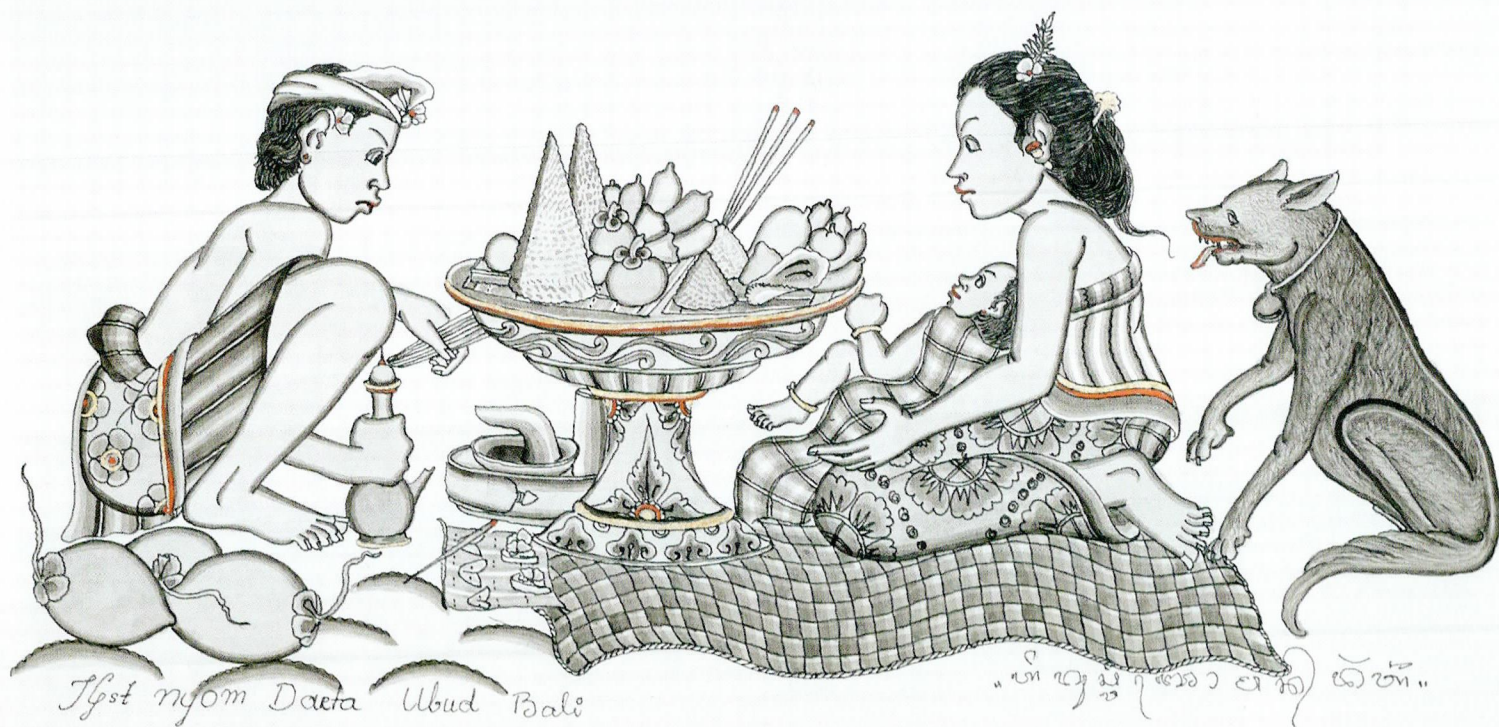
The *ngerorasin* ceremony held 12 days after birth has a peculiar importance. The child is thought to have survived its most dangerous period, when it was at risk of falling victim to some evil spirit (in fact an illness). Its soul is now well bonded to its body. The ceremony usually begins near the kitchen fireplace with the preparation of holy water. A simple canang sari offering is presented to Brahma, god of fire, accompanied by these words: "Oh, god Brahma, I ask of you this holy water (*tirta*), so that this baby may be happy, safe and have a long life."

Following that, another rite is performed near the well, the abode of Wisnu, and then the child is sprinkled with holy water in the family temple (*sanggha* or *merajan*). The ceremony is performed by a third party, usually a balian or priest, because the parents are still considered impure. The purpose of the event is to cleanse the mother and her baby of the impurities of the birthing.

Until the 12th day, the child has no name, as if its incarnation were not yet final. Now it may be named. The parents can choose the name themselves, seek the advice of a calendar specialist, or choose it on the basis of the information given by the shaman or medium, known as a *balian tetakson*, who is also usually consulted on the 12th day.

The parents of the baby usually consult with a balian tetakson who lives in a different village and presumably does not know the family. After receiving the offerings they bring, the balian enters a state of trance to find out which ancestor or ancestors are re-incarnating (*numadi*) and what their demands are, if any.

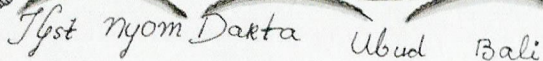
Some ancestors, speaking through the balian's voice, may ask for specific requirements to be met at the child's three-month or six-month ceremony, or to be offered a dance when the child reaches adulthood. Others might suggest a name for the child. The parents may accept the shaman's suggestions, or if they are unconvinced, reject them and consult another balian.



Ceremony of the fall of the umbilical cord

Depicted in the centre of the drawing is a tray with a welcome offering containing an egg, rice cones, three sticks of incense, and fruits. The man holds a Balinese jug, which he will use together with the nearby stone grinder to crush the umbilical cord.

This drawing shows a priest facing the baby's parents while sprinkling holy water with a bundle of coconut leaf shafts (*lis*) and a frangipani flower. The offerings on the tray include a young coconut, a small bowl of holy water, and a grilled chicken. On the ground behind the couple lie two offerings addressed to the earthly forces. The first (*segehan*) consists of ritual food, and the second (*api tekep*) of two pieces of burning coconut crossed over one another as a form of cleansing by fire.



Twelve-day ceremony II

This drawing shows a mother putting thread bracelets on her child's ankles and wrists. A penyambutan welcome offering is on a tray with rice, fruits and a chicken, while an api takep offering lies on the ground, to cleanse them of negative influences.

Forty-two-day ceremony (*tutug-kambuhan*)

The *tutug kambuhan* ceremony comes up 42 days after birth—one Pewukon “month” of 35 days, defined by the crossing of the five-day week (*Pancawara*) and the seven-day week (*Saptawara*), plus another seven-day week.

The purpose of the *tutug kambuhan* ceremony is to thank the 108 *nyama bajang* or protective spirits who have accompanied the *kanda empat* guardians from conception through birth. Now, after 42 days, their role is fulfilled and they must return to where they belong, lest they threaten rather than protect the child. They are symbolically replaced by animals that may not be slaughtered since they are there to protect the child.

The *tutug kambuhan* rite comprises a complex set of offerings addressed to earthly forces (*buta*) and gods (*dewa*) alike. A cleansing (*mabiakala*) is followed by an “invitation” to the *kanda empat* and *nyama bajang*, to thank them for having protected the child and let them leave. The child’s hair is then shaved. The ceremony is completed by prayers accompanied by the sprinkling of holy water (*tirta*) on the mother, father and child.

This completely cleanses the impurities associated with birth. After the *tutug kambuhan*, the mother may enter temples and participate in ceremonies again. The ceremony usually takes place in the kitchen, the symbolic abode of Brahma. It can also be held in the yard, facing downstream. On the occasion of this ceremony a shrine is placed next to the infant’s cot with offerings addressed to Dewa Kumara, the deity who will protect the infant until its first tooth appears. When the baby’s first tooth appears, another small ceremony (*ngempugin*) is held. A similar ceremony (*dapetan*) is also held when the child loses his or her first tooth.

Three-month ceremony (*nelubulanin*)

The *nelubulanin* ceremony is conducted 105 days after birth. It corresponds to half a Pawukon cycle or “year” based on the crossing of the three main types of week—*Pancawara*, *Saptawara*, and *Triwara* (5 × 7 × 3).

The *nelubulanin* ceremony is another in the series of post-birth purification rites, only much bigger than the previous ones. It may include entertainment and visits of family and friends with gifts. Upon the *nelubulanin*, the child is definitely entering the world. Any remaining impurity clinging to the child is cleansed. The ceremony is directed by an ordinary priest (*pemangku*) or *balian*, or, if the family can afford it, a high-priest (*pedanda*). If there are impediments, though, part of these rites may be postponed until the six-month or 210-day ceremony.

The most impressive part of the ceremony is the ritual bathing of the child, usually in a large clay container, which represents the primal ocean or the river Gangga. In this container are put items that symbolise aspects of the child’s future life: a palm-leaf manuscript (*lontar*) inscribed with Balinese script, representing intelligence and wisdom; Chinese coins (*kepeng*), representing the acquisition of wealth; grains of rice, representing daily work; and jewels, representing the burden of desire.

Before the child is bathed the parents have to perform a short ritual addressed to the *kanda empat*: the father, holding in his hands symbols of the *kanda empat*, followed by the mother holding effigies of these same four guardians, along with a relative holding the child, go, half-running, counter-clockwise around the houseyard three times. Each time they pass the container, water is sprinkled on the child and the effigies.

Then the mother takes the baby, and, saying: “my child is not that young any more, it is time he/she become a fully human person,” she immerses the baby in the container. The surprised baby’s hands grope for anything they can find. People say that what the baby picks up will determine the child’s future activities. On this occasion, the thread bracelets that were put on the baby’s hands and feet at the time of the fall of the umbilical cord are replaced by silver bracelets. A token meal of rice is also fed to the child, this being the first time he or she is given solid food.

It is usually during this ceremony that the child is given his or her formal name. This name, though, which often sounds like a Sanskrit name (Darmayasa, Sudirta, Wibawa ...), is rarely used. People prefer being called by the name of their order of birth (Wayan or Putu, Made, Nyoman, Ketut), or a nickname (Kocong, Dolar, Luweng ...) or a caste title such as Agung (for those of the Ksatria caste) or Bagus (for those of the Brahman caste). Once people have a child, they are commonly called Pan Agus (Agus's father) or Men Kocong (Kocong's mother).

There are many local variants of this ceremony, part or all of which might be shifted to the 210-day ceremony.

Touching the ground (*napak stiti*)

In this ceremony, the child is allowed to touch the ground (*napak stiti*) for the first time, accompanied by the following mantra: "Oh, baby, come down, come down and touch the ground, gold, money and all sorts of wealth are waiting for you." By these words the child asks to be blessed by Mother Earth (Hyang Pertiwi). Sometimes, to underline the fact that the birth and post-birth processes and rites are over, while the child is touching the ground for the first time, a bamboo-slat cock cage is put over the child for a moment before being withdrawn.

The *napak stiti* rite usually takes place either on the occasion of the three-month ceremony or, in some villages, the six-month ceremony (*otonan*). The celebrant is often a family priest, even though well-to-do families may engage the services of a reputed *balian* or high priest.

Two-hundred and ten-day ceremony (*otonan*)

Two-hundred and ten days is the full length of the Pawukon cycle, made of 30 individually named weeks, or *wuku*. It is also the amount of time it takes for the particular day when a person was born to repeat—that is, the same conjunction of days of the seven-day, five-day and six-day weeks on a given *wuku*.

So, if someone is born on *Soma* (Monday of the seven-day week), *Paing* (of the five day week), during *Wuku Menail*, then this same combination will recur every 210 days. This day, Soma-Paing-Menail, which is the closest equivalent to a birthday in the Pawukon calendar, is that person's *oton*. And the ceremony performed to celebrate it is called an *otonan*. The word *oton* comes from *wetu*, which means "come out".

Every Balinese knows which days of the various weeks their *oton* falls on, as well as the auspicious and inauspicious traits associated with it. Yet they usually don't know the true date of their Gregorian birthday, and, in villages at least, are often at wit's end when it comes to guessing their age.

Of all the *otonan* a person will go through, the first is the most important. It is through this ceremony that the semi-divine child definitively rejoins the human world. Accordingly, it is also the moment when the child is formally introduced to the neighbourhood community (*banjar*). It is often accompanied by a great feast to which representatives of all households in the community are invited. They come, bearing contributions of rice, coffee, sugar and incense, and leave bearing portions of pork sate and other food to bring home.

The Hyang Kumara shrine is pulled down—a sign that the child, after a final mantra addressed to the child god, will lose his semi-divine status and protection. From now on, all rites and ceremonies for the child will go through the ancestors' shrines in the family temple.

Other mantras are recited to fully "separate" the *kanda empat* from the fully incarnated human, and send them to the directions of the compass to which they belong. Thus Anggapati will go east, Mrajapati, south, Banaspati, west and Banaspati Raja, north.

Sitting on a bamboo platform, a celebrant is presenting a set of *penyambutan* welcome offerings. Behind the woman stands a bamboo shrine on which offerings are made to the *kanda empat* protective guardians. Notice the hens and pigs. In former times, a pair of animals, either a hen and cock, or sow and male pig, had to be stolen and could not be slaughtered after that, because they had become the child's guardians.



Three-month ceremony

This drawing shows a child being bathed in an earthenware basin set on top of a big stone mortar. The child will grope for the items put in the basin. To the right, the mother is holding a budding banana (*pusuh*), symbol of the baby, which she will dispose of in front of the house, thus signifying that the child is changing status.

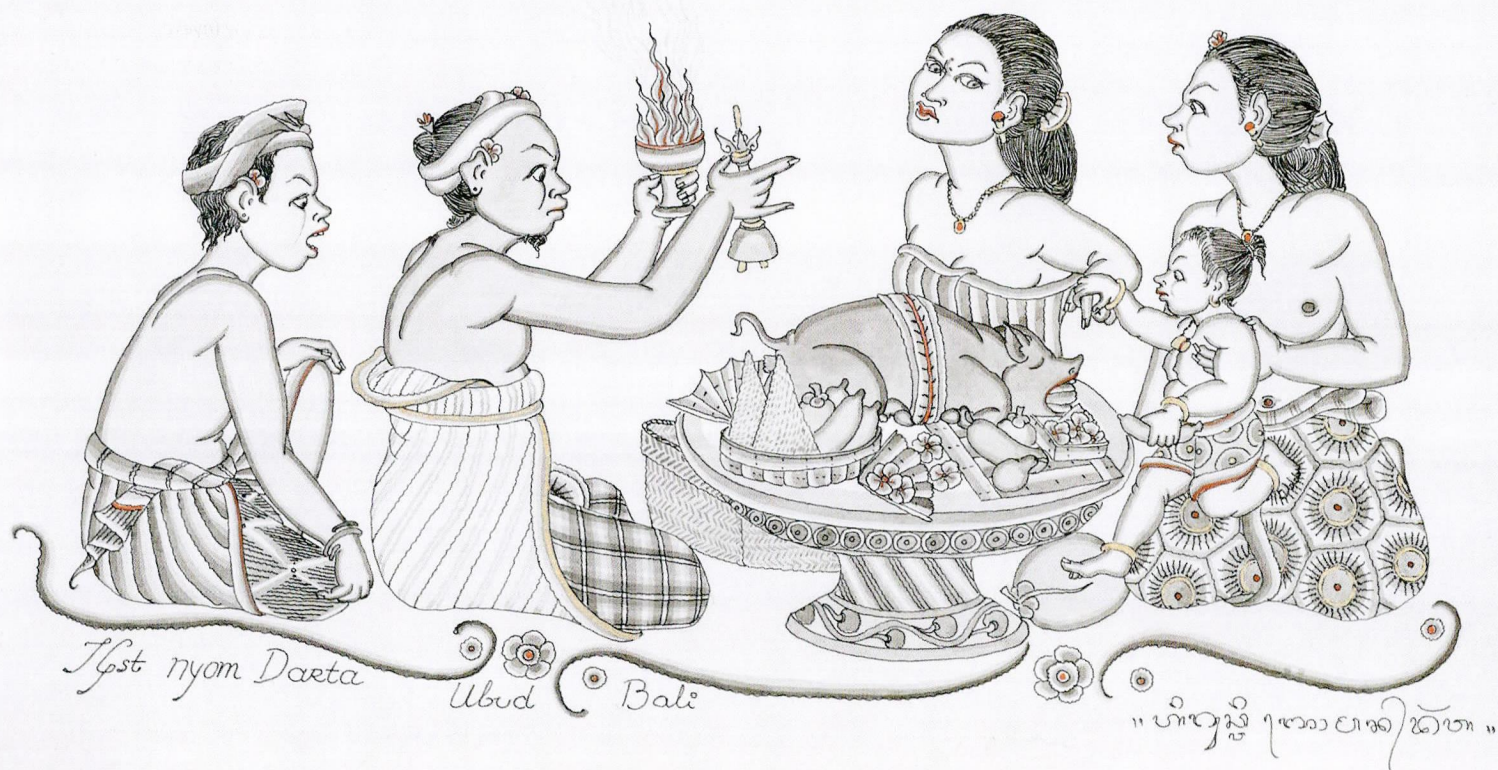


Touching the ground

This drawing shows a child being allowed to crawl on the ground for the first time while the mother keeps watch with a stick. She is carrying ordinary *peras ajengan* offerings on her head, while the father is daydreaming.

Third otonan (Pawukon anniversary) celebration led by a temple priest (in white). The hair of the child (to the right) will be totally shaved.





Two-hundred and ten-day ceremony

In this illustration of activities at a child's first onton, a pemangku low priest officiates, welcoming (*mapag*) the child into the realm of full-fledged humans. He holds a *genta* bell and a *pasepan* fire. The offering is a roast suckling pig.

Puberty ceremony (*munggah teruna/daha*)

This ceremony celebrates puberty, marked for the girl by her first menstruation, and for the boy by a change in his voice. Following this introduction to adolescence, boys and girls become members of the community youth associations (*seka teruna/teruni*) through which they will manage their onward passages into adulthood.

The ceremony indicates that as an unmarried virgin (*brahmacari*) the young person is prepared to submit to the cosmic influence of the gods Semara and Ratih, the male and female symbols of love and sexual union. The offerings differ for girls and boys: the girl's main offering refers to the letting of blood (*tabuh rah*), while the boy's emphasise his potency (*ngraja singa*).

Since the young girl's menstrual blood is considered impure (*leteh*), she must undergo a short period of seclusion. In some cases, her mother has her taste "seven ritual flavours" that constitute a symbolic initiation to the pleasures of adult life.

Tooth-filing ceremony (*metatah/mesangih*)

The *metatah* or *mesangih* ceremony involves the filing of six teeth in the upper jaw, namely the two canine teeth and four incisors. It is believed that pointed teeth connote animal and demonic character. This is associated with the story of Kala Tatwa.

Kala, the lord of time, was born when the semen of interrupted sexual intercourse between Siwa and his consort Uma fell into the sea. Siwa agrees to recognise Kala as his son only after he has cut his canine teeth. Thus, access to God is possible only for those who control their animal nature. The ceremony is also related to the story of Siwa burning the god of love Semara and the moon goddess Ratih.

Tooth-filing is said to give people proper control over six private enemies (*sad ripu*): desire (*kama*), greed (*loba*), anger (*kroda*), intoxication (*mada*), confusion (*moha*) and jealousy (*matsarya*). In theory, it should be done before marriage, but may in practice be delayed. Nowadays, because of the great expense involved, the tooth-filing ceremony is usually done collectively by an extended family group—most often on the occasion of a wedding or a post-cremation ceremony (*nyekah* or *mukur*).

After prayers in the family temple and purification, the young people, hair freshly cut, and all dressed in beautiful new white and yellow attire, lie down on the cots specially prepared for the occasion in the ceremonial pavilion of the selected family compound. Head pointing upstream, they lie on a symbolic representation of the god of love Semara and his consort Ratih as a sign that the time of sexual union is approaching. They may not move from there before the ceremony is over, lest "danger" ensue.

The "patients" are handled one by one. The rite begins with sacred *raja* letters being written on the body—teeth, chest, forehead, navel and thigh—by the *sangging* priest in charge. He uses a red ring for this purpose. The mouth is held wide open using a piece of sugar cane. Then the filing takes place, following which the patient bites hard on a betel leaf. Spitting is forbidden, except into a coconut provided for this purpose and usually held by the mother.

Once the filing is done, the youths are handed a mirror so they can look at what has become of their teeth; the filing is usually superficial. They are also given six flavours to taste, a sign that they have now entered adulthood. Another set of prayers completes the ceremony.



Puberty ceremony

This drawing depicts a priest performing a mabiakala cleansing rite for a pubescent girl. He holds in his hands a small vegetal holy water sprinkler (lis). Between him and the girl is a set of offerings comprising rice cones (*tumpeng*) and pejati notification offerings. These offerings lie on a sort of basket (*sok*), which the girl is going to kick, thus symbolically repelling the demonic forces that will tempt her with the coming of adolescence.



Tooth-filing ceremony

The drawing represents a young woman looking in a mirror at her filed teeth. The sangging priest who has just finished filing her teeth still holds the file in his right hand. On a stool next to her head are some of the other implements used during the ceremony: a water bowl, a coconut with its upper part chopped off, for spitting; several files and a triangular *kwangen* offering whose shape and colour symbolise the Hindu trinity (*trimurti*) and lords of the directions of the compass. She holds another *kwangen* in her hands. On the ground is a *penanjung* offering to keep evil influences away during the rites.



Tooth-filing ceremony (*mepandes*/
metatah).

Wedding ceremony (*mesakapan*)

Marriage marks the passage of the young man and woman to the second stage of life (*grahasta*) during which they will try to find a new balance between the three goals of life (*triguna*): desire (*kama*), wealth (*artha*) and virtue (*dharma*). They will fall under the influence of *kama*, but try to control it through *dharma*, so as to properly accumulate the wealth needed to raise a family. Only in the next stage (*wanaprasta*) the “forest stage” will they fully focus on *dharma*.

There are several ways to enter into marriage (*pawiwahan*). In the first, *mapadik*, the marriage is organised by the family, who always try to find their son or daughter a spouse from the proper caste and kinship group. In this case, there is a complex set of social procedures to follow before the wedding proper: a proposal or request to marry (*mepadik*) leading to engagement; the fetching of the woman (*mejauman/mulih nelok*) at her house, where she takes leave of her ancestors (*mepamit*); and the wedding ceremony proper (*mesakapan*), during which the bride is introduced (*mapiuning*) to her husband’s ancestors in his family temple.

More common today is *ngerorod* or *merangkat*, the elopement of the girl, chosen either to circumvent the girl’s family’s objections, or to marry at cheaper cost. In this case, a respected intermediary informs the parents of the elopement. In the face of a fait accompli, they usually relent. The girl then takes leave of her ancestors only after the actual wedding ceremony.

Another traditional type of marriage is *meglandang*, or forced elopement. It has been banned by the authorities since Dutch times, but, in the case of *ngejuk* (taking), it cannot be totally ignored. This is when, after forcing a girl to have sex, that is, raping her, the youth takes responsibility for his act, and asks her to marry. She may refuse to accept

her fate. Otherwise, shame and social pressure, accompanied by the proper mantras and the help of a reputed *balian*, compel the girl to yield to a marriage that often ends up in divorce or infidelity.

Yet another type of marriage is the *nyentana*, through which a family without any male heir (*sentana*) adopts the son-in-law as their son. The adopted groom must give up his bonds to his natural ancestors to look after his wife’s.

The actual wedding ceremony begins with a series of *mabiakala* offerings on the ground at various points in the house compound; these offerings are specially addressed to the earthly forces (*buta*). Then the bride and groom mimic several aspects of their future life as husband and wife. The symbols mainly relate to the loss of virginity, and to fertility, as well as to marriage as an economic institution.

As prayers are intoned, the newlyweds circle clockwise three times around a group of offerings, the groom carrying goods hung on a shoulder pole, the bride, goods in a basket on her head. As they walk they break through a thread stretched across their path, and the bride stomps on a coconut. Then they enact a mock market scene in which the bride, squatting on a coconut, “sells” food and cloth to the groom in exchange for Chinese *kepeng* coins; then they eat together, feeding each other in public.

After this, the bride and groom retire to bathe and change into new clothes. In the past this involved bathing in the river and throwing away their old clothes. The second part of the ceremony then unfolds. The priest blesses the couple on the ceremonial pavilion, and they go into the family temple to pray and receive the blessings of the ancestors.



Wedding ceremony

In the wedding scene shown in this drawing, the groom, in the centre, carries farm produce, while the bride carries a basket containing things she is going to sell at the market. The groom holds a short broom, ready to beat his wife should the need arise. Meanwhile, she gets ready to cut the thread, thus releasing money. A spinning wheel, a small stool, and a mortar are in wait for her: Balinese women are never idle. A priest, with his bell, stands in the back. One can also see a takepi offering—two crossed half-coconuts—below the thread, and, in the rear, a priest jingling his bell.



Adult life and ritual obligations

Just as Balinese individuals are considered to be fully incarnated humans only after their first otonan, they become fully adult only upon marriage. They then become “old” (*tua*), as people used to say, and as such, full members of a household (*pekurenan*), through which they also become full members of the village community (*kerama desa*).

A *pekurenan* is the union of male (*purusa*) and female (*pradana*), in conformity with the *Rwabhinna* principle of generalised cosmic dualism—spirit/matter, day/night, male/female, tangible/intangible, good/bad.

Bali is a patriarchal society, so when it comes to the distribution of roles within the couple and within the village, power rests with the male. Only men participate in the meetings of the *banjar* (sub-village level neighbourhood community), usually held once every lunar month or once every 35 days, according to the calendar of reference.

At *banjar* meetings, community issues are discussed, mainly but not only pertaining to customary ritual matters. The work decided during these meetings is then divided up to be carried out by male and female work units, respectively. The men cut the wood and bamboo needed to make platforms, bamboo walls and other ritual implements. They also slaughter animals and prepare ritual kebabs and food and offerings made of meat. Whereas the women are entrusted with the preparation of all the other offerings—both those plaited of coconut leaves and those made of coloured rice flour dough—which accompany every ceremony.

The activities decided by such meetings occupy a large proportion of available time. Further, all Balinese are part of interlocked communities that constitute as many congregations, each with its own temple and ritual paraphernalia. So *banjar* members are typically not only members of a larger village (*desa*) community consisting of two or more *banjar*, but also at least three, and sometimes more, village temple congregations.

Additionally, villagers may also be members of an irrigation society (*subak*) if they own land, and a kinship organisation (*merajan gede, dadia*), and other royal and territorial temple congregations (such as *pura penataran*). They are enmeshed in a web of social relations and obligations that frames, but also extends well beyond, the fields of their economic activities.

This web of social links entwines the Balinese *pekurenan* in an unending cycle of ritual duties (*ayahan*) and other social duties. No week passes without a husband and wife participating in the preparation of a village temple festival here, being on call to the *banjar* to give a hand at a princely cremation there, or being a guest at a tooth-filing or other extended family ceremony somewhere else, not to mention having to prepare a village exorcism (*rsi gana*) ... In their own homes, they also must take care of daily offerings; full moon, new moon, and *Kajeng-Kliwon* offerings every 15 days; and *odalan* ceremonies in their family temples every 210 days.

As time passes the married couple have children, for whom they conduct all the relevant rites of passage: birth rites, otonan, tooth-filing and weddings. At marriage, daughters “take leave” of their fathers’ ritual networks and are received into their husbands’. They lose all rights to their fathers’ properties as well. Male heirs on the contrary carry on with their fathers’ networks and duties as well as inheriting from the latter. People tend to spoil their male children, who will be the ones to finance and undertake their parents’ cremations.

Opposite:

A ceremony to ask for a woman's hand in marriage at Puri Banyuning, Bongkasa, in Badung. Someone is dispatched to “open the door” of the princess’ bedroom by symbolically knocking three times on her door. The rite is accompanied by a song telling that when the time comes, after the wedding, the woman will open her door.



Banjar meeting

To the right, a man strikes a kulkul wooden slit drum. It sounds "tong", then from the opposite side of the drum, "ting", followed by quickly repeated but weakening "tong-tong-tong-tong". These sounds summon the married male villagers to attend the meeting. They come one by one, each hanging their lontar-leaf summons (*urak*) on a decorated wooden hanger (lower left). After most *urak* are in place, the *klian* (banjar leader) fills two pierced coconut shells (*ceeng*) with water. When no more water drips from the hole of the smaller *ceeng*, latecomers will pay half a fine (*dosa*); those who arrive after the big *ceeng* is empty will pay the full fine. The meeting is inaugurated by untying the knot of the rope on the platter (in the middle), which lies next to some offerings addressed to the gods, as well as a betel kit. Offerings to the earthly forces (*buta-kala*) are on the ground. Upon closure of the meeting, the *klian* will store the *urak* in a box (visible in the centre) and disband the meeting while the men chew the betel.



A Rsi Gana Exorcism

This drawing depicts a purification ceremony in a Rsi Gana exorcism, which usually takes place after an unexpected catastrophe or death, or other events attributed to intangible (*niskala*) forces. The god invoked for his wisdom and protection at this purification is Gana, Siwa's elephant-headed son by the goddess Durga. Gana is better known in the West under his Indian name, Ganesha. Gana is drawn on the flag to the right, and an image of the Supreme God Atintya (Siwa in a protective function) on the other flag.

Offerings addressed to the chthonian forces are on the ground (right), while offerings to the Sun god (Surya) are on the bamboo shrine (middle). The standing woman (middle) carries a pejati notification offering to present to the gods. Another woman (left) holds a daily *saiban* offering basket. By her feet are three bamboo sticks that will be struck to scare the demons. The man squatting between the women strikes a bamboo bell. Other men (right) hold bamboo sticks, a broom and *sanggah cucuk* bamboo structure with a similar purpose. A high priest (pedanda) should be present to lead the rite, but is not visible here. The people will turn three times around the shrine counter-clockwise while striking bamboo and singing: "*Budal kala ngrauhang sesari*" (go back home, demons, enter the offerings).

***Ayahan Banjar* (neighbourhood collective work) ⁸⁷**

During adult life, the Balinese have to participate to numerous collective activities, called *ayahan*. The most important take place at the level of the *banjar*.

The *ayahan banjar* or “neighbourhood working-bee” corresponds to a broad range of demands. Sometimes the banjar community initiates the duty. An example could be when cleaning and security duties are needed. At other times, a working session will be held at the request of a member who needs help for a cremation or a kinship temple festival.

It may also originate at the village level, for example when the different banjar provide the work-units needed for the preparation of the village temple festivals, as the banjar members are also members of the main village temple congregations: the *pura desa* (village temple), *pura puseh* (temple of origin) and the *pura dalem* (temple of the dead). Finally, the *ayahan* working-bee may also be called up by the authorities for purposes such as the building of a road or attendance at a speech on family planning.

The working groups are suited to the importance of the task. For events such as cremations, the whole banjar is involved, but for minor occasions, only sections of the banjar, called *tempekan*, are called up.

A big or regular *ayahan* is usually discussed in the meetings, which the banjar community holds every month of the Balinese wuku calendar system, every 35 days. The call to meet is announced by the beating of the *kulkul*—a wooden slit-drum.

“*Ida dane sareng sami!*” (Gentlemen!) begins the *klian dinas* (official head of the banjar as a village government unit), “We have here a request from the district head to participate in the making of a mud road between the hamlet of Dauh Tukad and the market of Ambengan Kauh. He asks us to supply ten men for fifteen days. As Indonesian citizens and supporters of economic development, we cannot refuse this request.”

Then it is the turn of the *klian adat* (head of the banjar as a customary law institution), to speak:

“We have also received a request from the families of the Kebon Tubuh clan. The bodies of their dead have been waiting for a long time in the cemetery and they believe the souls are still enslaved by Batari Durga—*Kari ngaturang ayah ring Batari Durga*. We have been asked to help in the preparation of their collective cremation, which will take place on the day Manis Kajeng of Wuku Ugu, two months from now, as decided by the high priest.

That is not all. As you are already aware, eight days from now, our young men will be called up to “throw away” (*ngutang*) the body of the *anak lingsir* (elder) from the palace of banjar Ambengan. The cremation tower is going to be nine tiers high. Five banjar will participate so it should not be too much work. We owe our respects to the old man because of our position as *panjak* (serfs), and because of the fact that he fought for us during the Revolusi (war of independence).”

Once the discussion is over and the decisions are reached by consensus, smaller meetings (*paum*) follow to discuss the implementation of the various projects, particularly in relation to the quantity and type of labour requested, examining the smallest details.

Sometimes, only men’s work (*ayahan muani*) will be called up while at other times women’s work (*ayahan luh*), will be requested. Often, couples are involved (*ayahan luh muani*). Unmarried people, who are not yet full citizens of the village, do not normally take part in the work, except for limited purposes such as dance, welcome, etc. ...

The *ayahan banjar* is not always a scheduled event. Emergencies such as death are unpredictable. Banjar customary laws (*awig-awig*) have stipulations for all contingencies, and each banjar citizen knows exactly what to do as a matter of habit.

Emergencies are announced by the pounding of the *kulkul* drum. The accelerated pounding (*kulkul bulus*) means that there is a great danger like a fire, murder or someone running amok. All the men come out with their swords or a kris.

Upon the repeated three-beat striking of the wooden drum, people know that a fellow banjar member has died. A messenger will follow, bringing news of who has died. Men get ready with their machetes, saws and other woodcutting tools, while women prepare rice, white cloth and sometimes, money.

Next, they all go to the deceased's house to work together. The work itself varies according to the family's decision of whether the corpse is going to be buried, cremated right away (*mekingsan di api*) or preserved with chemicals while awaiting a later cremation.

The ayahan work, which is implemented under the direction of the klian, is often physical work. Some men dig, while others cut and split wood, preparing the many provisional shrines, fences or other wood and bamboo implements. Yet others prepare the vegetables and meat needed for the food. The women prepare the offerings under the guidance of a Brahman woman or another specialist.

Everyone, with the exception of the high priest, is expected to participate in the collective work and be willing to dirty their hands, although some duties are light, such as assignments involving dance, music and security. The duty is allocated according to a person's talents whenever possible.

If, for example, a high priest is needed the banjar member considered to have the best command of High Balinese will be entrusted to visit the holy man and beg him to "descend" (*tedun*) and visit his followers.

Participation in ayahan duties is obligatory, although it is possible to have oneself replaced by a family member, or by payment. Attendance is a serious matter. When ayahan work is taking place, the klian checks up on who is present or absent (*ngetos*) and who is misbehaving. He will air his findings in public, during the next collective monthly meeting. Fines will be announced if necessary. While these fines are never big, the shame can be unbearable, especially if one is reputed to be indolent, or even worse, dishonest.

"I Made Kiul," the klian may say, "was caught eating the *lawar* food he was cooking. Fined Rp. 200! Ketut Dollar stole Rp.1000 which was destined to buy a lamp. He is fined five times the amount, Rp. 5000."

This goes on, taking up the first half of the banjar meeting. Such respect of discipline is strongly advocated by its members, particularly the poorest ones and those belonging to the lowest caste groups. Even if the customary law is not formally broken, banjar members do not easily forget or forgive lapses in acceptable behavior, particularly in relation to ayahan work for death rituals.

Those who are too often replaced or fined had better beware. When it is the turn of the "negligent" member to need the help of the others, they may not show up, or even worse, in the case of a death, they may "accidentally" drop the body in a roadside gutter. The only way to compensate for neglecting banjar duties is by a show of over-generosity in repairing temples, paying for dances and the like.

Ayahan participation exacts a cost but also entails privileges, particularly in relation to food. Villagers bring uncooked rice, coconuts and other implements, but they expect food and polite treatment in return. The "higher" the family receiving help, the higher the expectations, although there is a minimum defined by banjar customary law.

The banjar members do not so much judge the food as the family who is putting on the ceremony. If the family is high caste, one of the highbrow types with a reputation for stinginess, it is in for trouble, as the banjar members may start looking for faults. This is one of the reasons why powerful families are especially tense during big ceremonies such as cremations. They can put on a big show only with the help of their fellow villagers, but, by doing so, they also put themselves at their mercy. They had better be generous and behave, or else!

The banjar, the Balinese say, is an association for the sharing of *suka* (joy) and *duka* (pain). The ayahan working-bee sees to it that the banjar serves as a tool for social harmony and conformity.

Growing old wisely

When people grow old, they remain participants of community working-bees as long as their health allows. Yet, when they weaken, they know when to withdraw from active life and hand over their social responsibilities to their heirs. They then enter the *wanaprastha* period of “withdrawal into the forest”, meaning that they focus on religion and holy texts, sometimes to become priests. They often take up residence in the ceremonial pavilion of the family compound (*bale dangin*).

All this time, however, they may remain engaged in domestic activities, making household items or participating in jobs such as coconut-oil making, chicken and pig breeding, or vegetable growing. Old age in Bali signifies power rather than decrepitude. Instead of being “ruled” by the younger members of the family, they “rule” everybody and their commands are absolute.

As everywhere throughout the world, the main function of Balinese grandfathers and grandmothers is to look after their grandchildren, teaching them good manners and telling them educational stories. This is good for both generations. The children need instruction, while the elders long for communication.

Rites of death

Death engages a new phase in the cycle of the soul. The two types of components of the person—the five elements, on the one hand, and the incarnated soul on the other—which once merged in love making, have now to return to their respective origins. They have to be separated. The physical body (*stula sarira*) will end up in the lower part of the world, in the sea, to eventually merge into the five elements. The soul (*sukma sarira*) is expected to rejoin the spiritual forces, gods, ancestors and accompanying deities who symbolically dwell above the mountainous heights.

The ceremonies of death are complex, and of many varieties, either due to local traditions, or to different statuses and circumstances. Thus, upon

death, the corpse may be preserved in wait for the cremation, which is what high-status families usually do. Or it may be buried; burned without a ritual cremation; or it may have disappeared. The cremation will take place with or without a corpse, accordingly. In the first instance the remains will be dug up, in the others, the body will be represented by an effigy.

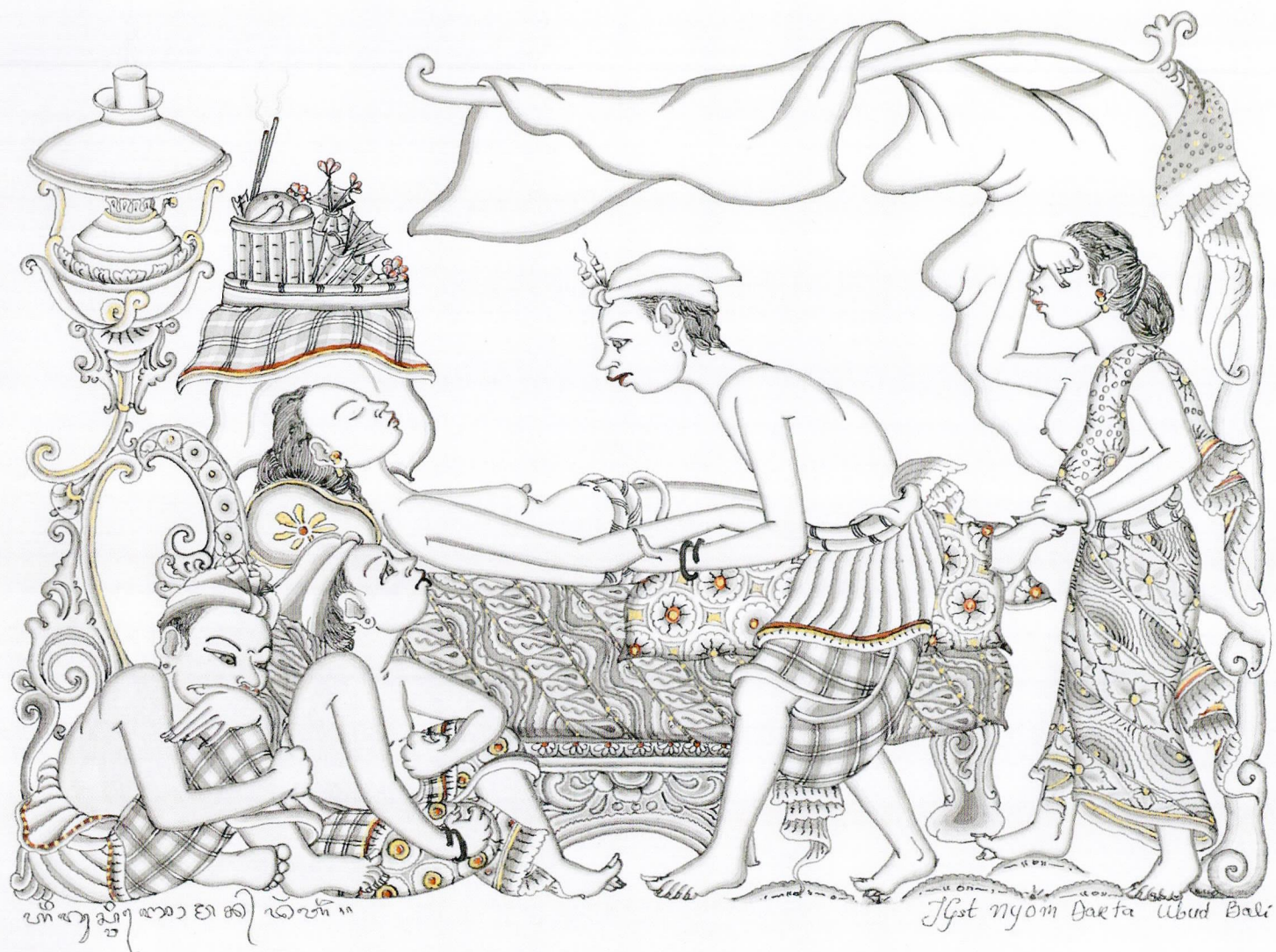
When someone dies, not only will the family members consult with one another to define the type of ceremony to take place, but, more importantly, they will also consult the newly deceased through a medium (*nunas di baos*). The dead person, whose soul is still deemed to be around, will usually make demands pertaining to the grading of the upcoming cremation—superior (*utama*), medium (*madia*) or modest (*nista*). Or they may make a particular demand to be fulfilled during the cremation, such as a set of clothing: “*Cening, yen cening lakar ngabenang pekak, baang pekak sarwah putih saperadeg.*” (“Oh, my children, if you want to hold a cremation for me, buy me a set of white clothes.”).

In any case, the grief of the family and kin will be handled, and thus softened, by a multiplicity of ritual activities. It is usually only upon completion of the rites of symbolic release (*nyekah* or *mukur*), when the dead person has become a deified ancestor (*dewa pitara* or *dewa hyang*) that the expression of emotions is allowed.

Bathing the corpse

The first rite to which the deceased is subjected is bathing (*manyusang*), which is undertaken by the close relatives of the deceased, assisted by a priest. All first-degree relatives are expected to participate in washing, massaging, dressing, oiling and perfuming the body, and more distant relatives and friends who feel moved to do so can join in too.

Not all the dead undergo a cremation right away after death. The richest families, as well as the members of some high-caste groups, may postpone the cremation until a propitious day. This might be months after the death. In the meantime, the body is kept lying in state.



Death

This drawing depicts a woman who has just passed away. Her relatives are grieving even though they may not cry, lest it disturb her soul. Her soul is still hovering in the vicinity of the corpse, and a *sanggah urip* is set next to the body as its symbolic seat. In the presence of death, no grief should be manifested. As one saying goes: "Da kanti yeh peninggalan kena ked ke sawa, sang pitra lakar nemu jalan ane belig" ("Don't let tears touch the corpse, lest the deceased find a slippery road to heaven").



Bathing the corpse

The corpse is bathed using a basin of water in which flowers have been scattered. Next to it is the symbolic food for the deceased which, at the end of the rite, will be put on the ground, since the body will eventually rejoin the earth goddess, Pertiwi. Two offerings addressed to the buta—a burning tekepan coconut husk and a segehan offering—are also laid on the ground. To the left of the corpse an un-ordained Brahman priest (*wulaka*) officiates. He sprinkles holy water on the face of the deceased while uttering a mantra. A piece of cloth with holy syllables on it is placed over the genitals of the deceased. If the latter is a woman, this is done by a female relative; if a man, by a male relative. The cloth hanging above the scene is the *leluhur* symbol of the ancestral world that the soul is going to rejoin.

Lying in state

After the bathing ceremony, the body is laid in state facing the impure western-downstream (*delod-kauh*) direction. The cremation, with all its ritual paraphernalia, might take place in a few days, or it might be postponed for months or years. If the body is not disposed of immediately, it is kept (*mesekeh*) in the ceremonial pavilion (*bale dangin*) and preserved in formalin.

Meanwhile, to prevent it from “running wild”, the soul is neutralised by offerings in the nearby shrine for the non-purified dead (*sanggar pitra*). When the time comes to begin the cremation rites proper (*ngwangun karya*), a sort of lampion (*damar kurung*) is set up outside the compound in which the death rites will take place. All this requires offerings and rituals, and, thus, a sometimes huge amount of money.

Temporary burial

Although some families may directly cremate the corpse, most bury the corpse (*makingsan di bumi*) or burn it provisionally (*makingsan di api*), waiting for a collective cremation to take place at the level of the banjar or kinship group (*warga*).

The burial, even though provisional, cannot be done without proper ceremony. This would invite the soul to turn into an erring soul (*atma kesasar*), a cause of illness and disorder. Before the burial the family goes first to the Prajapati temple of the dead to present a “notification” offering (*piuning*), entrusting the soul to the goddess of death, whom it will faithfully serve (*ngaturang ayah*) while waiting for the exhumation of the body.

After the body has been ritually bathed and dressed it is taken in procession to the cemetery to be entrusted to the custody of the goddess of the earth, Pertiwi, under the watchful eyes of the guardian of the

cemetery (*sedahan setra*), Surya the sun god, as Ultimate Witness, and many others.

And there the body will rest—for months, or even years—until it is awakened and unearthed to be cremated.

This is the purpose of the awakening ceremony (*ngendag*), which is followed by the ritual opening of the grave (*ngagah*). The remains of the corpse are then collected, washed (the flesh taken away), and accompanied by an effigy, “reconstituted” to make it suitable to be cremated. This is an ordeal for family members; many today prefer to replace the unearthed corpse with an effigy.

Preparing the bade

The *bade* (pronounced ba-day) is the structure used to carry the corpse from the compound of the deceased to the cremation grounds. It might be a simple palanquin, or an 11-tiered tower in the case of cremations for members of the nobility.

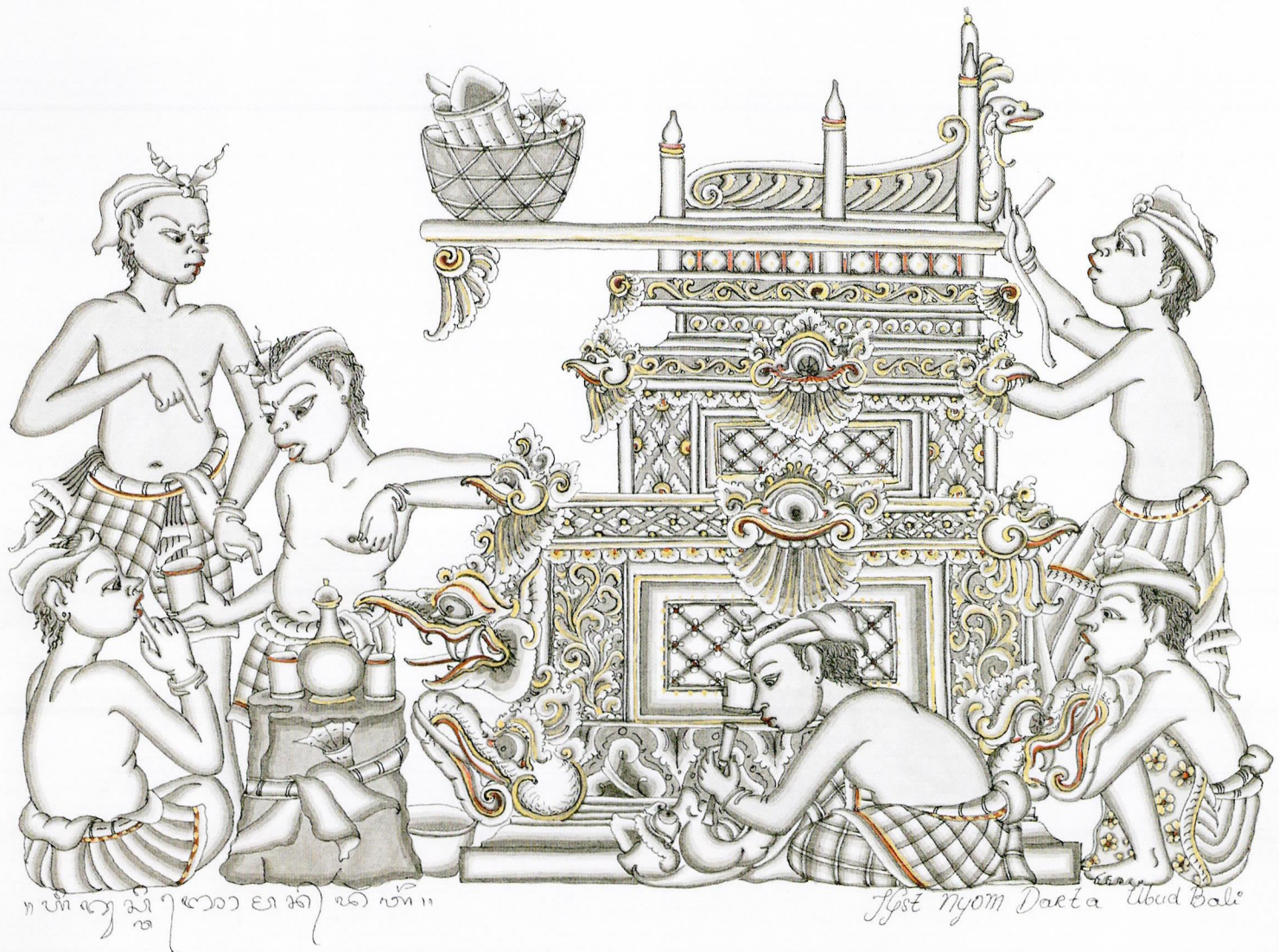
The size of the bade is determined using measurements based on the body of the dead person, according to the principles of cosmic harmony stated in the *Asta Kosala Kosali* (a Balinese system of architectural rules similar to Feng Shui).

The type of bade made will depend on the grading of the cremation to take place and the status of the deceased. The higher the caste, the taller it is and the more tiers it has, always an odd number (3, 5, 7, 9, 11). The pagoda-like structure of the bade symbolises the structure of the world: its tiers represent the heavenly world (*swah loka*), its base the earthly/demonic world (*bhur loka*) and its middle part the middle world of humans (*bhwah loka*). The corpse will be laid on a platform on this middle part. Various materials are used for the bade: bamboo, wood, papier-mâché, and silk or cotton cloth.



Lying in state

This drawing depicts the normal situation when a body lies in state. The lampion, visible to the extreme right, is set up outside the compound. On the body, with a small oil lamp inside an empty egg shell, is the *angenan*, which symbolises the presence of the soul. The oil is obtained from a priest. The *pengawak* symbol of the body is held by the man standing to the upper right; it will later be put next to the body. Beside the *angenan* and *pangawak* are a number of other offerings and implements which each have their own function. On the lower left, a *tabunen* fire has to be kept alive throughout the time the corpse lies in state. Close to it is a basket of fruit to symbolically feed the deceased. Next to the fruits a coconut *takepan* fire is burning, with two sticks of a *segehan* offering abutting it. Just below the bed is a big basin containing rice: this rice absorbs the liquid that drips from the decomposing body; in some mountain villages this rice is eaten by the relatives of the deceased. Near the feet of the corpse are kept clothes and other implements symbolically related to the deceased, who is treated as if he or she were still alive. The offering attached to the pillar above the woman's head is the "residence of life" (*sanggah urip*).



Preparing the bade

The drawing depicts a scene of men at work on a very simple bade that has no tiers. On top of the palanquin is the bed-like platform on which the corpse or effigy of the deceased will be laid. A *santun penjejer* offering, signalling the ritual work in progress, is visible at its foot. At the head of the palanquin appears the beak of a goose. This animal symbolises wisdom, because it can feed itself from muddy waters, like a wise person does in life. Other elements of the illustration are the decorative motifs, which represent the life forms of the middle world: the elephant head motif (*karang asti* or *karang gajah*), the crow's head motif (*karang guak*) and fern leaf motif (*karang simbar*).

Preparing the sarcophagus

In addition to the bade, relatives must also prepare the sarcophagus (*wadah* or *petulangan*) in which the body will be burned, sometimes with the help of a specialist (*sangging*). The *wadah* is made of the light, easy to carve wood of an albazia tree trunk and provided with a removable cover to allow the corpse to be inserted by banjar and family members upon arrival at the cremation grounds. The wood structure is wrapped in velvet cloth and adorned with paper filigree decorations in gold and other colours.

The type of sarcophagus made depends on the status of the deceased and the priest who is going to officiate. Most take the form of a cow or bull, the vehicle of Siwa, but it may also be a lion, an elephant-fish (*gajah mina*) or a simple box. The animals are intricately detailed down to their very explicit genitalia; sometimes they are equipped with a movable penis. The bases are also decorated with ink drawings of scenes of the tortures of hell, also quite frequently laden with sexual connotations.

The relatives, banjar and clan members are kept busy for weeks for the preparation of a cremation, especially if it is the cremation of a powerful person or a collective cremation. Apart from the tower and the sarcophagus, they also have to prepare several effigies and a great variety of offerings and other implements to accompany the dead on their voyage to the "Old Country" of the ancestors (bamboo structures, clothing, agricultural implements, *ukur* effigies assembled out of Chinese coins, and *adegan/pangawak* effigies). Almost all the elements used are made of plant materials—particularly bamboo and coconut (plaited leaves, chiselled shells and fibres).

But those called up also have other, no less important duties, such as contacting the priest, fetching the different holy waters to be used from particular springs and temples, as well as preparing food for workers and guests. Not to be forgotten, is finding the right people to play ritual gamelan music and recite holy manuscripts in song. Everything proceeds following a tightly defined division of labour and schedule, determined by the banjar and the clan. Meals are freely and generously distributed to participants and guests—hence the tremendous costs of the cremation.

"Throwing away" the body (*pengutangan*)

Pengutangan, or the moment when the body is brought to the cremation ground, is the most visible, spectacular and best known phase of the cremation ceremony. It may involve a crowd of anywhere from one hundred to one thousand participants and spectators. Big or small, the basic principles and steps are similar.

The body (or unearthed remains, ashes or effigy of the body), kept until then in the ceremonial pavilion (*bale dangin*) is transferred to the bade by male members of the family after a short "leavetaking" ceremony. After installing it in the bade they lay on it a magical drawing inscribed with holy letters (*rurub kajang*). It then passes under control of the banjar members, who collectively carry it to the cemetery (*setra*), the least pure part of the village, where it is to be burned. There, the family take charge again to perform the final rites with the help of a priest.

This trip to the *setra* is accompanied by a procession of other people carrying all the offerings and implements—the *petulangan* (and *naga* for very high-ranking individuals), ritual clothing, various effigies—which will all be discarded in the *setra*. This takes place with the musical accompaniment of a mobile orchestra of musicians playing portable gamelan instruments. Whenever the bade and *petulangan* reach a crossroads, and upon arrival at the cremation grounds, they are made to circumambulate three times counter-clockwise, to symbolise the earthly trajectory of the body.

The villagers carrying the bade are in fact "throwing away" a mass of impure dead matter and its accompanying demonic *buta*. Hence the name given to the event: *pengutangan*, or "throwing away." This gives them total control. They can treat, or mistreat, the corpse (or effigy) according to their mood and their opinion of the deceased and his or her family. Carried by entranced men, the body may be shaken and the cremation tower toppled.

For example, we heard of an incident 20 years ago when a corpse was thrown on the roadside and stabbed through its shroud, in the groin. The deceased man had been accused of raping a young girl a few years earlier. It would be difficult for him to attain the expected release after such

treatment. Thus, death is an occasion for the exertion of social control. The living are told to “watch out and beware.” On rare occasions, the roads of the village and to the cemetery might be “closed” to the dead person. The body then rots in the family compound until the family make amends and pay the required fines.

Burning the corpse (*pembasmian*)

On their way to the setra, the bade and procession turn counter-clockwise at each cross-road and upon arrival at the cremation ground. The sarcophagus, or *petulangan*, meanwhile, has been set under a special bamboo structure, the *bale basmian*. The sarcophagus is cut open, and the corpse (or effigy) transferred into it from the bade by the relatives.

Next, a cloth wrapping (*ulantaga*) containing ten sacred letters corresponding to parts of the body is unfolded and laid upon the head of the deceased or the effigy. Then, all the holy waters (*tirta*), kept in small earthenware pots, are poured one by one onto the body: *tirta pengembak*, fetched by a legal heir of the deceased (*sentana*) from a three-branching stream; *tirta penglukatan*, to cleanse the body of impurities; *tirta pengentas*, to facilitate the passage into the netherworld; then, the remaining holy waters from the family temple, the clan temples, the various village temples and the Prajapati shrine of the guardian of the cemetery.

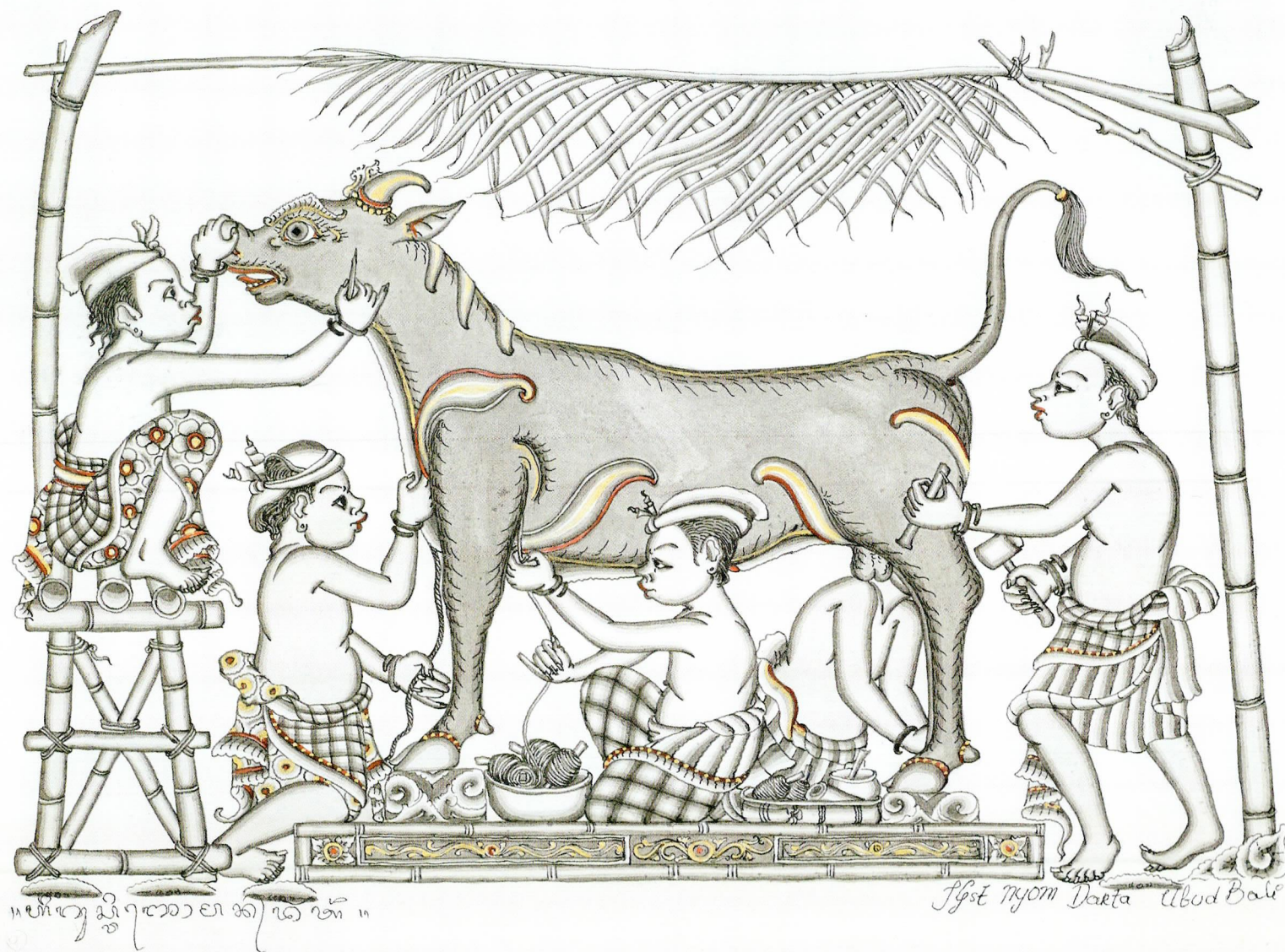
After this the pangawak symbolising the body, and the symbolic residence of the soul (*angenan*) as well as holy drawings (*kajang*) are all laid on the body along with a lot of cloth and provisions. The sarcophagus is then closed, and a burning torch, prepared by the high priest, is handed over to a *sentana*, who sets fire to the whole structure. Also present are offerings addressed to Mother Earth Pertiwi and a set of *peningkeb* offerings to symbolically activate the fire.

Crushing the bones (*penguyegan*)

Once the body, or its effigy, has been burned, the bones or effigy leftovers are collected and washed, then arranged in such a way as to make up a simulacrum of the body (*pangrekan*), with a head, torso, feet and hands. This figure is then thoroughly crushed by each family member in turn, one at a time. The remains are collected using a ritual spoon (*sidu*) and inserted into a young yellow coconut (*bungkah nyuh gading*), in preparation for the journey to the sea or river, where they will be discarded.

Fetching holy water (*ngening*)

For the cremation ceremony as well as the various post-cremation rites, all sorts of *tirta* or holy waters are required, all of which are prepared and “blessed” in their own ritual way. For many of these, the actual water originates from a small river temple (*pura beiji*) usually located on a river gorge or on the lower slope of a valley where a clean water (*toya ning*) spring spouts. It is only upon completion of a blessing rite, performed by a *balian*, temple or high priest, that *toya ning* is turned into *tirta*, of which there are many types—*tirta pengembak*, *tirta pengentas*, and so on.



Preparing the sarcophagus

This illustration shows a group of relatives preparing a bull sarcophagus which is going to be the vehicle of the high-caste person being cremated.

The making of bull and lion
sarcophagi for an upcoming royal
cremation in Kedewatan, Gianyar.



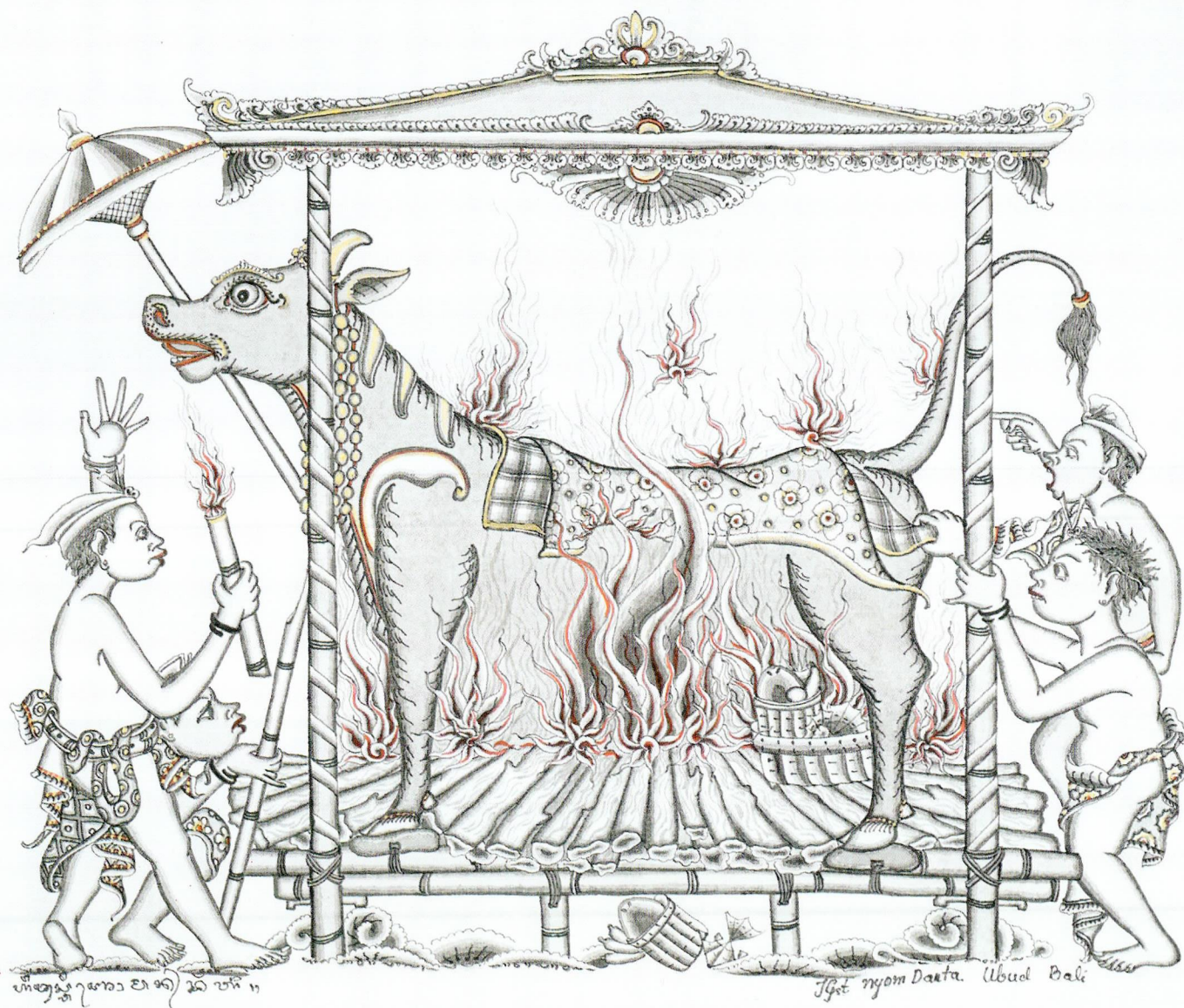


Cremation towers, which are used to collectively carry the corpse to the cremation grounds. The number of tiers on the tower is a sign of status; the highest (11) signal a royal cremation. The cremation tower represents the world, in which the human corpse is set in the middle, between earthly and natural elements below, and heavenly ones, symbolised by the tiers, above. The grotesque figure with outstretched wings represents Bhoma, symbol of the natural world.



"Throwing away" the body

This drawing shows a simple bade carried by banjar members. On the left, a woman is holding a sort of spear (*tulup*) to open the road to the dead person's release, and against her bosom, she carries a pangawak symbol of the body. The tulup usually leads the procession. On the bade, a relative who is a legal heir of the deceased (*sentana*) is holding a stuffed bird of paradise, symbol of heaven, and releasing a chicken. Another man stands next to the corpse. On the right a roast suckling pig is shown pierced from end to end. Notice the clothes hanging next to the umbrella. Usually a long white cloth (*lancingan*) is unfurled from there, and held on its sides by the long line of relatives of the dead.



Burning the corpse

This drawing shows the moment when the sentana sets fire to the bull. Notice the offering addressed to the goddess of the earth Pertiwi just below the bull.

Bulls, vehicles of Siwa, are often used as receptacles (sarcophagi) for the corpses to be burned.





Crushing the bones

In the middle of the drawing, we see a male heir crushing the bones remaining from the cremated body, assisted by two women relatives. Below the bench where they are sitting, one can see the basin that has been used to cleanse the bones. The water is gone, though, and in its stead an *api takepan* offering and incense sticks have been lit to ward off negative influences. The bamboo structure on the right is a *sanggar tawang*, addressed to the sun god Surya as witness of the ceremony.

To the left of the two sitting women are a *pemerasan* offering and two small figurines that represent a male and female pair of sailors with a small wooden boat: they will accompany the soul and its remains to its new abode in the realm of the dead. The boat containing the ashes will be released to the sea or a nearby river. In Balinese lore it is said that the soul, not yet released, is entrusted to the god of the sea, Baruna. Many also say that it is at sea that the tortures of hell take place. (No illustration is given here of this ceremony, but a very similar one is illustrated in *Releasing the sekah into the sea*).



Fetching holy water

This drawing depicts a group of people, headed by a pemangku temple priest, fetching the *toya ning* (clean water) spouting from the rocks to the left. The temple sits next to the river. The pemangku, recognisable by his cane and headdress, will perform the *anteban* prayer that accompanies the fetching of water for the upcoming post-cremation ceremony. The two women behind him carry *ajuman* and *pejati* notification offerings. More interesting is what the man at the back is carrying: coins are inserted in the long bamboos on his back as compensation to the gods, in case any offerings are missing. In front of him the head of a duck protrudes from a basket; it symbolises the mythical Garuda bird's flight in search of *amerta*, the water of immortality.

Post-cremation ceremony (*nyekah/meligia*)

The post-cremation disposal of the ashes into the river or the sea is not the end of the death rites. What disappeared into the sea were only the remains of the physical body (*stula sarira*) made of the five material elements of the world, or Panca Maha Bhuta. The soul, even though it has been entrusted to the lord of the sea Baruna, is not yet fully released. In its own way, it still sticks, in the water, to its material envelope. Thus, to fully complete the separation, a new series of rites is undertaken—*nyekah*, also called *mukur* (or *meligia* for royal families). This ceremony usually takes place 12 days after the cremation, or on another appropriate day decided by a priest or medium (*balian tetakson*).

The *nyekah* process is a sort of repetition of the cremation process: call back the soul to inhabit an effigy, burn the effigy, collect the ashes, and throw them into the sea or river once again. The ceremony is usually done collectively, except by royal families. It is also common for a large number of commoners to *ngiring* (accompany or join) a *nyekah* ceremony undertaken by aristocrats.

The rites begin at the beach or river where the cremation ashes were released. The soul is literally called back (*ulap*) and made to symbolically enter an effigy prepared for its “residence”. The making of this effigy is itself an interesting ceremony, called *ngangget don bingin*. It is prepared by a priest using leaves from the *waringin* tree, the tree of life of Indian mythology and one of the key symbols of the Indonesian state.

Using a bamboo pole at the extremity of which is attached a knife that cleanses impurity (*sudamala*), and accompanied by music, the leaves are ceremoniously made to fall onto a mat. The leaves that fall facing the ground will be used to make male effigies and those that fall facing the sky will be used to make female effigies. More leaves are employed for men than for women (66 versus 54).

Back at the ceremonial compound, with the help of bamboo frames and other implements, the leaves collected are plaited into effigies, called *sekah/puspalingga*, each of which becomes, through prayers from the

priests and the sprinkling of holy water, the provisional residence of a soul of the dead. The peak of the rite comes three days later, when the effigy is circumambulated clockwise (*mapurwadaksina*) three times around the *bale peyadnyan*, a symbol of the world.

This clockwise procession represents the upward movement of the soul towards the gods; it is the opposite of the downward path followed by the counter-clockwise circling of the cremation tower. Accompanied by priestly mantras, it symbolises the imminent change in status of the soul, from the soul of an ordinary dead person (*pitara*) into a divine soul (*dewa pitara* or *dewa hyang*).

This is still not the end of the rites, however. A paper lamp (*damar kurung*) is installed to mark the living presence of the soul. Ritual food is presented to it. A fully ordained priest (*pandita/pinandita*) then reads mantras to release it to its new status (*muput karya*). The families involved pray to the gods and Widhi the Supreme for the desired transformation to take place without any problems. *Pendet* and other dances are performed. Eventually the *sekah* effigy is burned, thus symbolically separating the spiritual and material components of the deceased once again.

Again, as in the cremation, the ashes of the effigies are gathered and recomposed into yet another effigy to serve as the physical residence of the divine soul to be. This effigy consists of a coconut shell on top of which is set a small figurine (*makasturi*) wrapped in a cloth. This effigy will then be ceremoniously released into the sea, usually the day after the circumambulation.

Releasing the *sekah* into the sea (*nganyud*)

The ceremony of release into the sea (*nganyud*) is very similar to the one that takes place immediately after the cremation, except for the bamboo tower structure (*bengku*) on which the *sekah* is carried. The relatives of the deceased, wearing white headbands, carry the *sekah* to the beach and throw it into the sea.



Post-cremation ceremony

This drawing shows the circumambulation rite as it takes place in royal families. This cow is white, a reference to Nandini, the sacred vehicle of the god Siwa. It is for this reason endowed with golden horns. At the head of the procession is a sentana relative who holds a bamboo spear (tulup) said to open the way to heaven (*Sunialoka*). A three-color (*tridatu*) rope, symbol of the Hindu trinity, links the procession's participants to one another. The young boy holding the reins of the cow symbolises the godly herdsman, Siwa's incarnation in the classical Balinese story, *Rare Angon*. The cow and the herdsman are guiding the soul toward its new status of *dewa pitara* or *dewa hyang*. The *sekah* effigies proper, several of which are shown here, are carried by the two women at the rear of the procession.



Releasing the sekah into the sea

In this nyekah scene, one can see three sekah. Two are already in the boat—one set on a plank, and one carried on a woman's head—while the third appears on top of the bamboo tower structure (bengku). This reminds us that the nyekah is usually a collective event. Notice that the bengku is decorated with symbols similar to those found on the cremation tower: the cosmic turtle, the naga dragons, the figure of Boma. Notice the offerings and the tulup spear carried by a man. The scene takes place in Sanur, as indicated by the Balinese writing on the sail.

The nyekah effigy of the dead is being released into the sea in a final separation of the soul from the body's earthly elementals.



Hell or Paradise?

In Balinese lore, it is during the journey of the soul into the sea towards release (after the cremation and *nyekah*) that it spends time in hell or paradise. Upon arrival at the gateway to the place where the dead sojourn, the fate (karma) of each soul is decided by the judge of souls, Sang Suratma. According to the sins accumulated during the person's life, which are written on a lontar carried by Sang Suratma, his or her karma will differ, and harsh or light punishment will be meted out accordingly. The torturers of the dead (Cakrabala) are the minions of Sang Hyang Yama, the lord of hell.

Nyegara-gunung, mendak nuntun and ngelinggihan dewa pitara

The *nyekah* is not the last ceremony to which the soul of the dead are subject. For the soul to achieve ultimate release, three important ceremonies remain to be implemented.

The ceremony of *nyegara-gunung*, as its Balinese name suggests, involves the two poles of traditional economic and ritual life: the sea (*segara*) and the mountain (*gunung*). Close family members (*sentana*) perform on this occasion a ritual "notification" visit, with the required offerings, to a temple that embodies the meeting of these two elements (usually Goa Gajah temple a few kilometres east of Klungkung, even though they may also go to Tampak Siring or to Pura Gunung Lebah in Ubud, temples located at the meeting points of a hill and a river). They carry an effigy of the dead (*daksina lingga* or *puspa lingga*) to which the soul

of the dead, already cleansed, has been symbolically called back (*ulapin*) from the sea to inhabit.

Upon completing the *nyegara-gunung* rites, and using the same effigy, the relatives must make a final tour to all the temples to which the family is ritually linked through kinship and other local affiliations. This is called *mendak nuntun*. Most important to visit are a series of shrines located in the Besakih complex: the Dalem Puri temple; Titi Gonggang, a symbol of the bridge souls must cross during their sojourn in hell; the Tegal Penangsaran, a symbol of the hellish "field of tears"; the Marga Tiga, a three-way crossroads; the Ulun Kulkul, as a sign that a new soul is presenting itself for judgment; the Goa Raja; and the Pura Besukian, resting place of the cosmic dragon Besuki.

It is only after visiting those shrines, presenting them with a *pejati* offering and praying, that the relatives may go to their clan temple (*pedharman*) at Besakih and symbolically forward the soul of their deceased parents or other loved ones to the abode of their origins. Upon completing these visits, they return home, but not directly to the house of the dead person. They must first visit their village temples and local kinship temple(s), again with offerings and prayers.

Back home, the ultimate and most important task awaits them: *ngelinggihan dewa pitara*, the enshrinement of the soul of the deceased in the ancestor shrine (*rong telu*) of the family temple, males to the right, females to the left.



Hell or Paradise?

This drawing shows two souls on the left escaping the tortures of hell by riding away on a naga dragon. But two others on the right have a less enviable fate. They are in the hands of a Cakrabala demon, one of the minions of the god of hell Yama, who prevents them from riding the dragon to heaven.



The Tortures of Hell

This drawing represents the Balinese hell and its tortures (*atmaprasangsa*). The demonic character to the right is Sang Suratma, the guardian of hell. Written on a *pandanus* leaf manuscript are the sins of the dead who present themselves to him, pleading for mercy. He punishes them according to their faults during life: lightly if their karma is light, harshly if they are sinners and criminals. Traditional illustrations always show women as the preferred target of the demonic Cakrabala; Bali is indeed no women's paradise. On the left are two of the most common tortures inflicted on sinners: those who have spoken ill of others during their life are showered with kris daggers as they pass under the kris tree. A woman is breast-feeding a giant worm. Her sin is to have borne no children.



Ngelinggihan dewa pitara

This drawing illustrates the ritual process of enshrining an ancestor. Two shrines are clearly visible. To the right is the main ancestor shrine (rong telu) composed of three chambers that correspond to the male, female, and hermaphrodite principles as well as to the Hindu trinity of Brahma, Wisnu and Siwa. It is also the seat of Batara Guru, one of the names of God the Supreme, who is also the Father. The other shrine is the *kamulan taksu*, through which one connects with one's cosmic soul. To this shrine is affixed a bamboo structure made to receive the offerings. Between the rong telu and taksu shrines is a bamboo sanggah cucuk shrine, the provisional residence of the witness god Surya. A priest is addressing prayers with mantras and a bell in front of the rong telu, while a sentana relative, standing to the left, prepares to bury the sacred effigy he holds (*daksina pelinggih*) behind the rong telu.

Nakti

After the soul is enshrined in the family temple, it becomes an ordinary ancestor and is henceforth addressed with all the ritual offerings related to ancestor worship, during temple festivals (the 210-day anniversary of the family temple), ancestors' visits during Galungan-Kuningan and so on.

It may happen, however, that people, usually a barren couple, address offerings and prayers to the *rong telu* or *kemulan taksu* to ask the ancestors to come down and incarnate in the beseeching woman's womb. Examples of such requests, known as *nakti*, are found in classical literature, such as in the opening verses of the famous poem, *Sutasoma*. It is still a common practice today—demonstrating the enduring nature of the belief that the transmigration of souls takes place within the same kinship group.

The *nakti* proper is always preceded by the presentation of a *pejati* offering to the family's *rong telu*, the three-part shrine that is the seat of Batara Hyang Guru, from which the two supplicants take holy water to sprinkle on themselves. Their request for a child follows, in approximately these words:

"Ratu Batara Batari, melarapan peswecan Ida Batara Guru, titiang nunas mangda prasida Dewa Hyang titiang meteja ring dewek titiang, mangde titiang medruwe perti sentana, angge penerus kahuripan." ("Oh male and female ancestors of ours, through the blessing of Batara Guru, we beg you to bequeath to us your light (soul) so that we may have an heir as a continuation of our life.")

A sign is expected to appear if the request is granted. The couple take leave after saying their parting prayers to the sun god, to Sang Hyang Widhi the Supreme God, and Batara Guru. Upon completion of the *nakti*, the couple are expected to return home and make love after again addressing proper prayers to Batara Hyang Guru and the ancestors. Hence the cycle of life is enacted at two levels at once: procreation and reincarnation.



Nakti

The illustration shows the couple saying their prayers before taking leave. One can see sets of Chinese kepeng coins on the offering tray. These coins are a ladder to the gods, as is the smoke rising from the offering. Visible within the smoke are ancestral souls ready to come down and incarnate. The two eggs, symbols of the male semen and female ovum, will be eaten at home along with the two coconuts.

CHAPTER 7 TIME, RITES AND FESTIVALS IN TENGANAN PEGERINGSINGAN

Opposite:

Daha (unmarried young women) in full geringsing dress on their way to a ceremony of the fifth month (Usaba Sambah).

Introduction

We have several times in this book emphasised the variation in ritual practices from one Balinese village to another. The greatest discrepancies are found between those villages that were Javanised in the wake of the Majapahit invasion of Bali (1343 CE) and those—mainly mountain villages commonly known as “Bali Aga” or “Bali Mula”—where the Javanised high culture of the lowlands had little if any impact. Sometimes qualified as autonomous “republics” they each have their own histories and cultures.

The most famous of such “Bali Aga” villages is arguably Tenganan Pegeringsingan, which is located in the district of Karangasem in southeast Bali. Set 7 km from the sea at an altitude of only 40 metres, the village is nestled at the foot of a natural amphitheatre at the head of a long valley ringed by hills that isolate it from its surroundings.

The village’s territory of 1,105 ha. consists of dry land (*tegalan* 600 ha.), irrigated rice-fields (280 ha.) and secondary forests. No member of the community may work the rice fields. This chore is handled by sharecroppers from neighbouring villages. The main crops are rice, tubers, corn, coconuts, fruits, sugar, and palm wine. Animal breeding is restricted to Balinese cattle (outside the village), and black pigs (at the rear of houses), as well as water buffaloes and fighting cocks (for ritual purposes).

What most strikes the visitor is the architectural unity of the village, which forms a large quadrilateral 500 metres long by 250 metres wide. This quadrilateral is divided into three wide parallel streets bordered by houses, oriented in the sacred direction running from the sea (*kelod*) to the volcano of Mount Agung (*kaja*). In sum, the village structure is comparable to a mandala.

As an “Old-Balinese” community, Tenganan is characterised by communal land tenure, government by a council of elders, and the absence of high-caste (*triwangsa*) status distinctions. It also produces a unique handwoven cloth known as *geringsing* (see box at the end of this chapter).

Its religion too is markedly different from that of the rest of Bali: Batara Indra is their creator-god, and the Brahma-Siwa-Wisnu trinity is not

worshipped. Rather than being cremated, the dead are buried facing the earth with the head pointing seaward (*kelod*), since the sea is considered the origin. Part of the ritual for the deceased soul involves a black boar that is sacrificed and eaten by relatives. After a succession of ceremonies the soul eventually merges with the ancestral souls of the heaven of Indra (*Indraloka*).

The origin of this community is the object of many debates. A bronze inscription dated 1020 CE, well before Majapahit, mentions it under the name of Tranganan. Based on its origin myths, its founders probably arrived by boat: contrary to other parts of Bali, the family origin shrines (*sangguh kamulan*) face the sea. Another source of evidence is the presence of genetic markers associated with India,⁸⁸ so information carried by the genes supports the information transmitted by the myths.

Last, but not least, Tenganan has its own day cycle, calendar, and calendar-related rites and festivals, which are briefly presented here.

The Tenganan day cycle

Each morning, since time immemorial, when the light of dawn first strikes the hilltops west of the village, the village secretary (*penyarikan*) opens the new day with 21 beats of the mighty slit gong at the *Bale Kulkul*. Here, as in the rest of Bali, the day traditionally begins with the morning, and the night is part of the day before.

The task of the secretary, clad for this purpose in a ritual dress, is important and must not suffer any misstep.

This is why, before beating this huge, 2.5 metre high gong, he touches it with the palm of his hand “to fetch the sound”. Then he grabs the handle of a square mallet and slams it with all his strength against the hollowed tree-trunk body of the drum.

The new day can only begin after exactly 21 strokes, at intervals of 10 to 15 seconds; a mistake in counting would be inexcusable. To prevent this from happening, a counting frame hangs from the roof beams with 21 spheres that are pushed from one side to the other after each stroke.





This rite, which takes place every morning between 6:00 and 7:00 am, is called *megetok kulkul*.

The people of Tenganan have given special names to the main moments of the rest of the full day cycle, based on their knowledge of their physical environment.

At around 9:00 am it is *apatin tulup*, meaning “appears to have the length of the blowpipe” because the sun which has risen above the eastern hills appears to be at a blowpipe’s distance from these hills.

At around 10:00 am, when the height of the sun above the hills has increased, the sun is said to be *apatin tumbak*, meaning “appears to have the length of the great ceremonial lance”.

At around noon, when the sun is at its zenith, one uses, as elsewhere in Bali, the term *jejeg ai*—“the sun is at the vertical”.

After noon comes a system of daily time reckoning, peculiar to Tenganan, which uses a basic gnomon or solar clock based on the architecture of the village. To fully grasp the situation, it is essential to know that in the large, north-south oriented central alley of *Banjar Kauh*, the western part of the village, are located four large traditional buildings used for meetings and ritual purposes.

From south to north, these four buildings include: the *Bale Agung*, which is the forum, assembly house and temple of the village council of active married village citizens (*Kerama Desa*); the *Bale Petemu Teruna Temu Kelod*, which is the meeting place of the bachelor organisation of the south; the *Bale Petemu Teruna Temu Tengah*, meeting place of the bachelor organisation of the centre; and the *Bale Petemu Teruna Temu Kaja*, meeting place of the bachelor organisation of the north.

To gain access to the three bachelor meeting places one has to climb the stairs in the centre of the east side of each building—five stairs in the case of Bale Petemu Teruna Temu Kaja, and six stairs in the other two buildings.

All of these stairs are under the morning light when the sun is to the east. However, after noon time, the sun is in the western part of the sky. Between noon and 1:00 pm the shadow of each of the three buildings hits

the vertical pane of the highest step (*liblab*). Thus, this period of time is called *embonin a liblab*—“the shading of the first step”.

Then, at around 1:00 pm, it is the vertical pane of the second step (counted from the top of the stairs down) that finds itself in shadow, a moment called *embonin duang liblab*—“the shading of the second step”.

At around 2:00 pm, it is the pane of the third step that is in shadow, so this moment is called *embonin telung liblab*—“the shading of the third step”.

We must note here that the Bale Agung does not have stairs, but two stone ramps. However, a few meters from the northern ramp, and facing it, there is a rectangular stone called *tabuh-tabuhan* which has been there, according to tradition, since the founding of the village. Similar stones are also found facing the stairs of the three bachelor meeting buildings. The name *tabuh-tabuhan* probably refers to the fact that palm-wine is poured on them (*tabuh*) during some ceremonies.

Thus, at around 3:00 pm, the moment when the shadow of the Bale Agung touches its stone, is called *embonin tabuh-tabuhan*.

Later, at around 6:00 pm, when the sun disappears behind the western hills, comes the moment called *ngerorogang-ai* or “disappearing sun”. Following that is the turning point (*sandi kala*) of the setting of the sun, and, in the past, the moment of *menek damar*, when one lit up ancient bamboo coconut-oil lanterns (*sanglekan*).

At around 9:00 pm, the village council send four criers (*saya*) to make a nightly round of the village (*ngatag saya*) to convey council instructions to the community and to keep watch over village security for the night.

At midnight, all is quiet, with the possible exception of a few hens. This is called *tengah lemeng*—“the middle of the night”.

Between 3:00 and 4:00 am, the moment when the first reddish light appears to the east and cocks start crowing (*mekekruyuk siap*), is the moment called *galang kangin*. One must wake up if there is a ceremony to prepare, such as a ritual feast using pork meat, or any other ceremonial task announced by the crier the night before.

If during the night, one talks about the moment when the sun will rise over the eastern hills the following day, one uses the word *endag-ai*—“dawn”.

Opposite:

View over one of the boys’ meeting places (Petemu Kelod); the shadow on the stairs indicates the time of the day.

But the moment everybody is waiting for is signalled by the 21 strokes to the sacred kulkul that mark the beginning of a new 24-hour period (in modern time counting), in a system that has lasted hundreds of years in Tenganan and is likely to last for an indefinite time in the future.

The Tenganan calendar

The Tenganan month

The main units of calendric time reckoning in Tenganan are what we may call "months", of which there are 12 a year for two successive years, and 13 every third year.

As in the Saka calendar in the rest of Bali, the first ten months are named by their numbers, from the first to the tenth months: 1. *Kasa*, 2. *Karo*, 3. *Ketiga*, 4. *Kapat* (+ *Kapat Sep* every three years), 5. *Kelima*, 6. *Kenem*, 7. *Kepitu*, 8. *Kolu*, 9. *Kesanga*, and 10. *Kedasa*.

The names of the last two months are *Desta* and *Sada*, which are not numbers. According to both Korn and Covarrubias⁸⁹ the Tenganan villagers claim that those last two months were given to them as a gift by the mythical holy priest Begawan Seganin Ening.

During the first year of the three-year cycle, all the months have a regular length of 30 days. During the second year, *Desta* and *Sada* have only 26 days each; and during the third year, there is a supplementary month (*Kapat Sep*) with 27 days, while *Desta* and *Sada* have only 28 days each.

The first 15 days of each month are those of the rising moon and collectively called *tanggal* (as elsewhere in Bali). The 14th day is called *Pebani*, while the 15th is called *Purnama*—"full moon" as elsewhere in Bali. The next 15 days are those of the waning moon and collectively called *hud* in Tenganan (whereas elsewhere in Bali they are called *panglong*). The 15th day of the waning moon is called *Tilem*—"new moon" as in the rest of Bali.

Yet, the waning moon period has some oddities. Although there are always 15 *tanggal* days of the rising moon, there are not always 15 *hud* days of the waning moon. In the two months with 26 days there are only 11

hud days; in the month with 27 days, there are only 12 *hud* days; and in the two months with 28 days, there are only 13 *hud* days.

Those oddities explain why the so-called full moon (*Purnama*) and new moon (*Tilem*) of Tenganan do not correspond, except by mere accident, to the astronomical full and new moons celebrated in the rest of Bali, and the rest of the world.

For example, July 3rd 2012 was in the rest of Bali the full moon (*Purnama*) of the first month (*Kasa*) and 15 days later, on July 18th, fell the new moon (*Tilem*) of the same month. But in Tenganan, the full moon (*Purnama*) of the sixth month (*Kenem*) was celebrated on June 29th, and the new moon (*Tilem*) of the same month was celebrated on July 14th. Thus, it seems that in Tenganan, it is ritual demands that determine the lunar calendar, not the veracity of calendar and astronomical rules.

In the rest of Bali, *Kajeng-Kliwon* corresponds to the conjunction of the third day (*Kajeng*) of the three-day week (*Triwara*) with the fifth day (*Kliwon*) of the five-day week (*Pancawara*) of the *wewaran* system of simultaneous multi-length weeks.

But Tenganan does not traditionally use the complete system, only the *Triwara* and the *Pancawara*. The Tenganan *Kajeng-Kliwon* is imperatively fixed on the 11th *tanggal* and *hud* days of the month during the first two years of the three-year cycle, except on the last month of the second year, which has only one single *Kajeng-Kliwon*, falling on 15th *tanggal* day.

During the third year, it is a little more complex, because, during the four first months, as well as during the supplementary month, *Kajeng-Kliwon* falls on the fourth *tanggal* and *hud* days, whereas during the next seven months it falls on the seventh *tanggal* and *hud* days. But on the last month of the third year, it falls on the ninth *tanggal* and *hud* days.

Then the three-year cycle starts all over again with the same positioning system for *Kajeng-Kliwon*—owing to the fact that this three-year cycle has 1,095 days, during which the once every 15 day *Kajeng-Kliwon* conjunction occurs 73 times. Unlike the full moon and new moon days, the days of the *Kajeng-Kliwon* conjunction are the same in Tenganan as in the rest of Bali.

The Tenganan year and three-year cycle

The third and fourth largest time units in use in Tenganan are the year and the three-year cycle. As suggested above, the first year of this cycle has 360 days, the second 352 and the third 383, which makes a total of 1,095 days for the whole cycle, and a yearly average of 365 days.

The difference from the astronomical year of 365.242 days, albeit minimal, adds up year after year. Every four Tenganan years or so, it adds up to one full day, meaning that the Tenganan calendar has lost one day relative to the Gregorian calendar. And the gap increases as the years go by. For example, the day of tanggal 1 of the first month (Kasa) of the first year of the three-year cycle fell on February 4th in 1960, and fifty-one years later, in 2011, it fell on January 22nd.

It is possible that in the past the Tenganan elders had some sort of regulation mechanism to synchronise their calendar with that of the rest of Bali. What we know of the history of Bali and Tenganan suggests that their calendars may have been aligned in the late 14th century, in the days when the Bedahulu-Pejeng area was the centre of resistance to the Javanese invasion of Bali, and Tenganan was strongly linked to the kingdom of Bedahulu.⁹⁰ However, today the regular Balinese Kasa month begins around the June 21st solstice, whereas in Tenganan Kasa begins around January 22nd—150 days out of phase with its hypothetical point of origin.

To keep chronological track of the years, Tenganan people use the Balinese Saka year. For example they refer to the big historical blaze of 1841 CE by calling it the 1763 (Saka) blaze. But it is important to bear in mind that in Tenganan, time is largely understood as cyclical, repetitive and eternal. The order of the world, such as it was when Indra created it, must remain unchanged. A local anecdote illustrates this well. It is said that until the middle of the 20th century, whenever a stranger visited the village, one wiped off any trace of his or her passage.

Festivals in Tenganan Pegeringsingan

In 2012, the population of Tenganan Pegeringsingan was 310 people. Twenty-seven couples of the community constitute the members of the *Kerama Desa*—the village council. Men may not work the rice fields nor women to go to the traditional market. This enables them to devote considerable time to the communal ritual activities dictated by local adat customary law and scheduled on the local calendar.

The Tenganan three-year cycle includes 200 community ceremonial days, which amounts to roughly 20% of social time. On top of this, of course, are the various rites related to the life and death cycles, although these rites of passage are not covered here. It is impossible in the limited context of this chapter to cover the whole gamut of ceremonies, so only the main calendar events are presented below. The peak of the ceremonial calendar in the fifth month is recounted in detail to give an idea of the intricate complexity of the activities.

To quote Ramseyer, in his aptly titled book, *Theatre of the Universe* (2009), the purpose of Tenganan's ceremonies is "... remembering the Creation and the keeping of the cosmic balance in the world as created by [the] god Indra."

The main actors of this "theatre of the universe" are the following groups:

- The active married males of the village council, or *Kerama Desa*, which meets in the Bale Agung;
- *Kerama Desa Luh*, the village council wives, who specialise in making offerings;
- Three bachelor associations, namely *Teruna Temu Kaja*, *Teruna Temu Tengah* and *Teruna Temu Kelod*;
- *Teruna Nyoman*, a temporary bachelor association for young initiates;
- Three associations of unmarried (virgin) young women, namely *Daha Wayah*, *Daha Nengah*, and *Daha Nyoman*;
- *Daha Cenik* (or *Miik*), the group of premenstrual girls;
- *Jurugambel*, the music masters in charge of ritual music (*selonding* and *gambang*).

The following Tenganan calendar ceremonies can be identified:

Opposite:

Daha girls praying at a hill shrine during Usaba Sambah, accompanied by Teruna boys (three of whom can be seen in the middle).

Patipanten and sambodana

On the first day of each Tenganan month a ceremony takes place at the Bale Agung, the temple-cum-meeting place of the Kerama Desa. Called *patipanten*, which means “death and birth”, this ceremony marks the ritual change of the month together with the related redistribution of roles and tasks for the next month.

Tenganan has the peculiarity of owning an important corpus of ritual texts (*sambodana*) that have to be memorised and transmitted orally by the different social actors of the community, that is, the three male youth clubs (Teruna Temu Kaja, Tengah and Kelod), the three female youth clubs (Daha Nengah, Nyoman and Wayah) and the male members of the Kerama Desa.

The sambodana texts contain mnemonic references to ritual activities, and their recital at these monthly meetings functions as a sort of recap of the ceremonies of the upcoming month.

Purnama, Tilem and Kajeng-Kliwon

Offerings are made at the Bale Agung for each Purnama and for some Tilem. People also makes more common offerings in their compounds on each Kajeng-Kliwon.

Aside from this, a variety of lunar-calendar based communal ceremonies take place in particular months.

Sasih Kasa (first month): Usaba Kasa

During this month a cycle of ceremonies named *Usaba Kasa* takes place. It celebrates the birth of a divine child at the Pura Gaduh temple and the several days' visit of the god-king Sri Aji Jaya Pangus at the Bale Agung. The festival starts on the full moon and lasts seven days.

On the first day, the gods descend to the physical world of their origin: Paneges, the primeval village of Tenganan created by Batara Indra, who

is also creator of the first pair of ancestors, respectively called *Kaung* and *Keling*. The following day, gods are worshipped at the Pura Puseh Sembangan and then accompanied to the Bale Agung for ceremonies involving numerous offerings. During this day and the next, villagers perform sacred cult songs (*kidung*) and dances, including different types of *rejang*, at different places in the village, wearing each time different outfits and always accompanied by sacred selonding music.

The members of the Kerama Desa and the Kerama Desa Luh are involved in these ceremonies, as well as the members of the three Teruna, who execute a ritual *mresi* dance. The return of the gods in procession to the Pura Puseh Sembangan is followed by two more days of dances and selonding music. This is when the seduction dances (*abuang sekati*) between members of the Teruna and the Daha are performed.

Sasih Karo (second month)

For one week starting from the third day of the rising moon of Karo, women wearing ritual dress and carrying offerings go in procession to the various village temples to request the gods' blessings on the upcoming harvest.

Sasih Ketiga (third month)

On the full moon of Ketiga, the positions of the members of the Kerama Desa are reorganised to take into account changes such as deaths and marriages. Daha and Teruna also worship at all village temples with selonding music.

Two days later, for two days, the ritual gambang gamelan is carried around the village and holy music is played at several locations. At dusk, the Teruna carry the selonding through the settlement and play in front of the Daha clubhouse. Abuang dances featuring palm wine libations are performed by the Teruna, *abuang luh* (female dances) by the Daha, and *abuang sekati* by a Teruna and Daha couple, accompanied by selonding music.



Opposite:
Going on the swing during Usaba
Sambah.

Sasih Kapat (fourth month)

On the full moon of Sasih Kapat, there is a three-day temple festival (*odalan*) at the Pura Dalem Pangastulan, which is connected to the village of Bedahulu in Gianyar regency. As noted above, Bedahulu was the location of an old Balinese kingdom and shares some common (mythic) history with Tenganan.

Sasih Kelima (fifth month): *Usaba Sambah*

Sasih Kelima, also known as *Sambah*, is the most important month of the ritual calendar. *Usaba Sambah*, the ceremonies held throughout this month, mark the climax of the ritual year. During the concluding year of the three-year cycle, a special set of these ceremonies is held, called *Usaba Sambah Muran*.

As described by Ramseyer: *Usaba Sambah* is “a many-layered ritual of renewal which re-enacts the creation of the world, dramatically activates the settlement and its inhabitants every year, [and] with that makes them experience, temporally and spatially, the cosmos, and lets them understand and feel the metaphysical quality of their existence.”⁹¹

New moon to full moon

On the third day of the waxing moon, rituals are held at temples to ask for the gods’ permission and blessings to perform *Usaba Sambah*. On the fifth day, an *odalan* is held at the Pura Puseh Sembangan, accompanied by selonding music.

On the ninth day, *mati ombo Sanghyang*—“the slaughter of the divine water buffalo” is conducted by Teruna Temu Kelod. Late afternoon, the Kerama Desa Luh and designated members of the Kerama Desa request the god Batara Sanghyang Raja Purana to descend to the Bale Agung for a three-day ceremony. Men from Ngis, a neighbouring village, dance *abuang* and present offerings.

The 12th day features closing rites and the departure of the god back to Pura Raja Purana. Then the Teruna and their associates set up the five ritual ferris wheels (*ayunan*).

Full moon

On the day before the full moon (Pebani), members of the Daha Cenik request holy water at the northwest spring and meet to prepare offerings. All Teruna Nyoman participate in *majak-ajakan*, a ritual to escort and carry new candidates of the youth organisations. In the evening, the *ayunan* are ritually purified and turned three times *kaja*, (mountainward), and three times *kelod*, (seaward). Later that night, Kerama Desa and Kerama Desa Luh members meet to throw food and drink to each other.

During the day of the full moon, the Daha groups get holy water and meet; all new Daha members participate in the *majak-ajakan* ritual and are swung on the *ayunan*. However, this is also a day of grief, because only one day after his arrival, Ida Batara Dharma Kamulan, the god of primeval law and order, passes away, and this unexpected death must be met with rituals of purification.

Full moon to new moon

The first day of the waning moon is the day of the *mulan saat* ritual. In the morning, the Kerama Desa Luh go to the Bale Agung wearing *geringsing* clothing. Some members remain nearby, while others go to invite high-ranking members of the Kerama Desa to join them and are invited into the latter’s homes for refreshments. The ritual leader of the Kerama Desa (*tampingtakon*) and the Kerama Desa Luh and their guests don ear ornaments made of betel chew ingredients. In the evening, they go *kaja* to *kelod* and ritually drink *tuak* and dance *abuang* at each meeting place (*bale petemu*).

Meanwhile, the Teruna of Temu Kelod, dressed in white uniforms, carry the selonding in *nyangjangan*, a procession around the village that is linked to the cult of the dead god, but they do not overtake the Kerama Desa and associates, who go to a meeting at the Bale Agung. The



jurugamel and tampingtakon cut off the head of a previously slaughtered pig for offerings.

In the middle of the night, members of the Kerama Desa dance abuang, while other members, daggers drawn, sit opposite them. The next day is the *mulan daha* ritual. Late in the afternoon, the Daha members, dressed in full gerinsing outfits, go from kaja to kelod, stopping at each bale petemu to ritually drink tuak and dance abuang luh in front of a richly decorated mirror.

The Teruna Temu Kaja and Temu Kelod, dressed in uniforms, along with their associates, carry the selonding in a second nyangjangan procession, while the Kerama Desa embark on a third nyangjangan procession from the opposite direction, heading towards the Raja Purana temple. Several Teruna Temu Kelod steal meat before being captured by the other Teruna and taken to the Bale Petemu Kelod. Later, at the Bale Agung, the Kerama Desa negotiate their release. This is followed by a ritual reconciliation meal at the Bale Agung.

On the morning of the fourth day of the waning moon—or the third day, every third year—the Kerama Desa, the Teruna Temu Kelod, and the wife of the chief of the Pasek clan pray and present special offerings at the various temples accompanied by selonding music.

Every third year, the fourth day is the day of the *muran desa* ritual. The Kerama Desa and 12 middle-ranking couples of the village council invite low-ranking members to participate in rituals and dance abuang. Six Teruna from each bale petemu plant banana trees near the Bale Agung, take part in the meeting, and prepare offerings at the Bale Agung. The middle-ranking couples wear geringsing and the low ranking members wear white clothes. In the afternoon, the middle-ranking men sit with drawn daggers on the west side of the grounds before the Bale Agung as the low-ranking women dance abuang luh.

A master of ceremonies stands in front of a small altar and receives a special offering of leaves, coarse hand-spun cotton thread, Chinese coins, and betel-chew ingredients, then goes from kaja to kelod to each bale petemu to ritually drink tuak and dance abuang, accompanied by selonding music.

During the evening of the fourth day—or the seventh day every third year—symbolic fighting takes place, known as *kare-kare* (or *mekare*, or more popularly, *perang pandan*). This is a ritual blood-drawing battle, using shields and thorny screw-pine (*pandanus*) leaves as weapons, staged by the Kerama Desa near the Bale Agung, accompanied by gambang music. Beforehand, a ritual meal is prepared by the Kerama Desa Luh and shared by the Kerama Desa and their guests at the Bale Agung.

The fifth day is the day of *maling-malingan*—a mock thief ritual. Two Teruna Temu Kelod members, playing the roles of people from outside (*Wong Jawa*) steal meat from the Bale Agung and are chased by two members of the Kerama Desa; then their roles are reversed. Garments made of dried banana leaves are tied onto the captured thieves, who are then adorned with necklaces, bracelets and daggers all made from pig meat and fat. They are then paraded around the village to each Daha meeting place and fed cakes and sweets. The master of ceremonies receives offerings. Daha and Teruna meet at their respective bale petemu. At dusk, the Daha dance abuang luh once more, accompanied by selonding music.

On the sixth day, the settlement is visited by the deity of Majapahit, with an entourage of demons and spirits who will be expelled two months later during an exorcism ritual. At dusk, the Teruna perform a dance called *abuang kala* at their bale petemu grounds, circle the bale three times, then sing kidung.

The ninth day every third year is the day for the *muran teruna* rites. The day before, each Teruna invites a Daha to take part in the ceremonies. Daha are then called *Uran* and wear white clothing and elaborate hair ornaments. Each Teruna Temu group wear differently-coloured outfits. All have geringsing belts. They dance abuang with the Uran at the Bale Petemu Teruna, then sit kelod with daggers drawn, then change places to form pairs. They then go to each bale petemu to ritually drink tuak together. After this all Teruna and Uran meet to prepare offerings. Before sunset, the Uran dance abuang luh facing a *bungan base samah* offering, heavily decorated with betel flowers, symbolic of the tree of life.

During the 8th day—or 11th day every third year—there is again, in the afternoon, a symbolic kare-kare (without real fighting) on the grounds of Bale Petemu Kelod. Then the Daha Cenik, wearing full geringsing outfits, are swung on the ayunan. This is the *ngestiti* ritual.

During the next three days an important odalan is held at Pura Banjar, the temple of Banjar Pande—the eastern residential area outside the walls of Tenganan, which is inhabited by people banished from Tenganan (for marrying someone from outside the village and other violations of village customary law).

During the 9th day—or 12th day every third year—the Daha, wearing flowers made of young coconut meat in their hair, perform *kamel* rituals dedicated to the uncultivated areas outside Tenganan at different temples. In the morning, a real kare-kare fight is held on Bale Petemu Kaja grounds, accompanied by selonding music. Wounds are treated with local medicine, and participants feast on cakes and sweets afterwards.

During the 10th day—or 13th day every third year—libations are poured out at the Bale Petemu Tengah grounds and the Teruna dance abuang, followed again by the last kare-kare fights, which are open to anybody, even strangers, to participate. Then there is an abuang dance by members of the Kerama Desa, circling three times and pouring out libations. The Teruna and jurugamel sing kidung in the presence of the Kerama Desa and other important guests, then the Daha come down from the north to swing on the ayunan.

The great Usaba Muran is almost complete: “Quiet and ritual gravity have returned to the village, uranian and chthonic elements merge into a holistic ritual of cosmic unity, of renewal, and the ritual purification of man and territory.”⁹²

In the evening, a ritual called *nguling*—“to turn around the bungan base”—is held at each Daha meeting place. First, abuang dances are performed by Daha and Teruna; then the Daha, holding each other, sing and do a ritual circling dance, turning around the bungan base to selonding music. During the 11th day—or 14th day every third year—another *nguling* with dance and music is held. On the 15th day, the new moon, all the gods return to heaven.

Sasih Kenem (sixth month)

On the first day of the rising moon, at a meeting of the Kerama Desa, *jambal* offerings made of balls of rice are presented and the ayunan are dismantled. On the fifth day, a *nyajah* closing ritual for Usaba Sambah is held. Brahman-Buddhist families from Budakeling village and special guests from Tenganan are invited.

On the 10th day, once every three years, special rituals are held to honour the jurugamel, during which animals are slaughtered for offerings. On the day of the full moon, the Kerama Desa and Daha worship at Ujung village and at the Pura Desa in Asak village.

On *Kajeng-Kliwon-Uwudan* (the day following the full moon) special *sanggah* altars are erected in front of each home. A meeting of the Kerama Desa is held at the Bale Agung to prepare kilap offering made of rice with salt and pork for the *maceleng lebang* ritual, in which a pig has its throat cut, is released, caught, and then slaughtered for offerings.

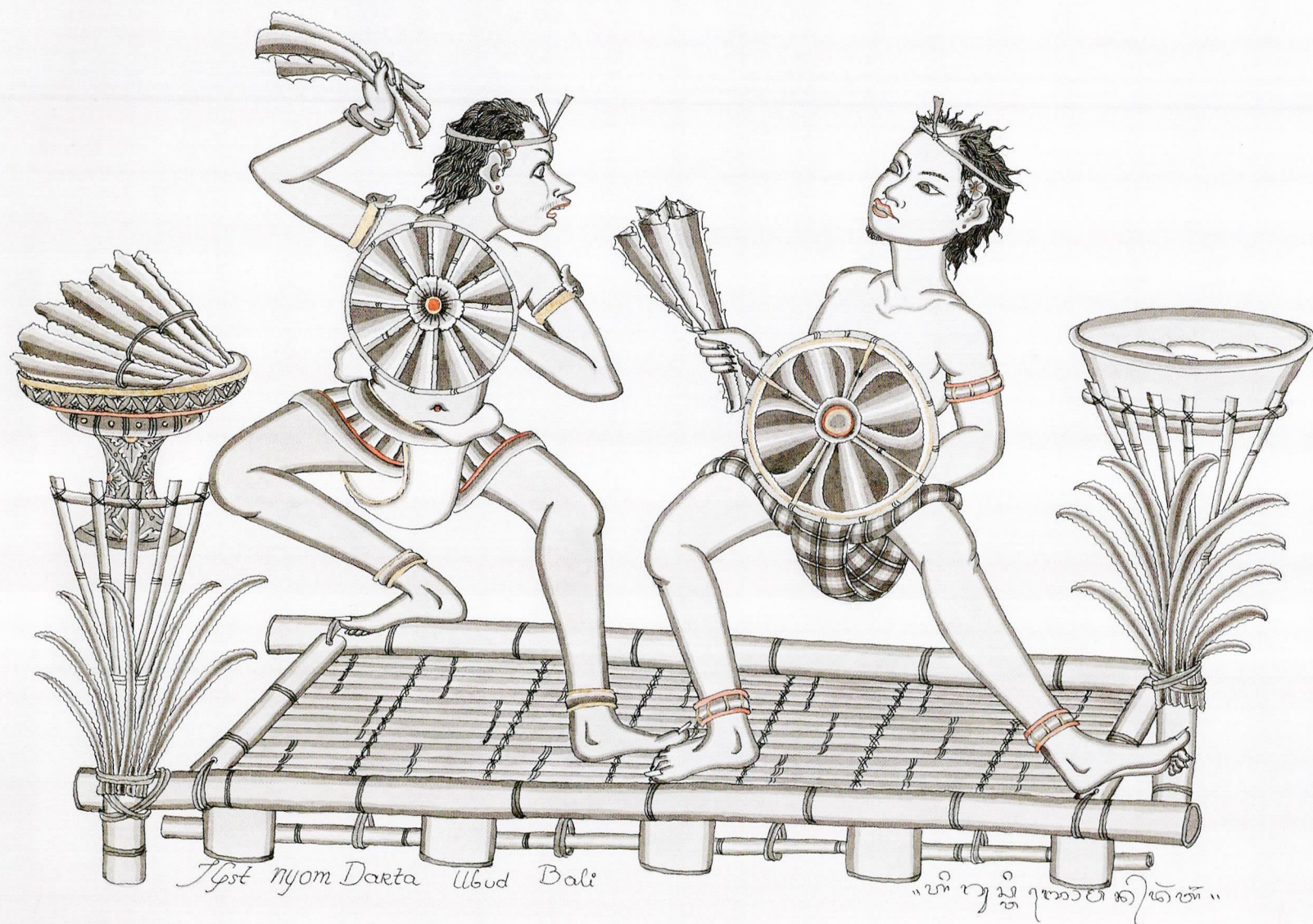
Sasih Kepitu (seventh month)

On *Kajeng-Kliwon-Enyitan* (the day before the full moon) a ceremony is performed, similar to that done on *Kajeng-Kliwon-Uwudan* the previous month, with the difference that the altars are now called *sanggah tengah*. The day before *Kajeng-Kliwon-Uwudan*, the Kerama Desa make, in the eastern cemetery, a *prau-pravan*—an offering made of wood branches and decorated with leaves that looks like a sailing vessel—to be taken to the Pura Dalem Kangin the next day.

The day of *Kajeng-Kliwon-Uwudan*, in the morning, *sanggah kajeng-kliwon* altars and *mamedi-median* statues made of vegetable materials and representing spooks are erected in front of homes and public buildings. The *maceleng orosan*—“ritual slaughter of a pig”—is then done by the Kerama Desa and *kilap* offerings are prepared.



Pandan duel during Usaba Sambah



Kare-kare fights

To ordinary visitors of Tenganan, the apex of the village rites are the kare-kare fights, in which fighting men, wielding thorny pandanus leaves, are expected to draw blood from their adversaries. In fact, these ritual duels come as a final sacrifice towards the end of a month-long series of rites of the fifth month of the local calendar.

Opposite:

1. Weaving *geringsing* (double ikat).
2. A member of the Kerama Desa Luh wearing *geringsing lubeng* dances *abuang* in front of a mirror during the *mulan saat* ritual during *Usaba Sambah*.

Just after noon, when all is ready, the *muhu-muhu* ritual starts. The *kukul* drum is struck by the Teruna as a group of Kerama Desa Luh, children, and the *tampingtakon* ritual leader of the Kerama Desa carrying a spear, enter Tenganan from the *kaja* gate. From a distance, the drainage holes beneath the main pavilions and the *mamed*-*median* statues are stabbed three times, after which the children destroy the statues with poles. The procession continues on down to the *kelod* gate beyond the Pura Batan Celagi, where the group throw stones while shouting to ward off evil spirits. The *kukul* beats gradually slow down.

During this time a calf is ritually slaughtered at the Pura Dalem Kangin. When the group returns from the *kelod* gate, the two *tampingtakon*, one for the Kerama Desa, one for the Kerama Desa Luh, carrying large ceremonial knives, stop at the Bale Agung grounds and call out three times for Kaki Kilap—"Grandfather Lightning", another name for the god Indra—to come and participate in a meeting. While the calls are made, the *prav*-*pravan* is pulled three times by Kerama Desa members until it falls off the edge of an altar at the Pura Dalem Kangin. After the meeting the Kerama Desa celebrates the festival at the home of the *tampingtakon*.

Sasih Kolu (eighth month)

On the fifth day of the rising moon, *sanggha gedebong*—altars made of a banana tree planted upside down in the ground, its base end decorated with palm-leaf cutouts—are erected in front of each home. The ceremony is performed by the Daha and Teruna. The Kerama Desa meet at the Bale Agung to prepare offerings to be presented at the Pura Gaduh.

On the 7th and 8th days, and again on the 15th day (Purnama), the three Teruna meet at their respective *bale petemu* and circle the village, arriving at the Wantilan (village meeting hall), with those of Temu Kaja on the west side and those of Temu Tengah and Temu Kelod on the east. They throw duck-egg sized *bongkot* bulbs or *pinang* fruits at each other. Meanwhile, the Daha sing *kidung* songs during rituals at their clubhouses accompanied by *selonding* music.

Sasih Kesanga (ninth month)

On the day of the full moon, offerings are presented by the Daha Wayah at Pura Candi Dasa, followed by a walk on the beach. Positions in the Kerama Desa are shifted. Offerings coloured red with the blood of pigs are prepared at the Bale Agung and presented at the Pura Gaduh to the sound of the *selonding* music. On one of the days after Purnama (*Anggarakasih* or *Kajeng-Kliwon*) the Kerama Desa and Daha Nyoman to go to the seashore.

Sasih Kedasa (tenth month)

On the tenth day of the waning moon, the Kerama Desa builds an offering platform on the east side of the Bale Agung. In the *mapag*, a ceremony to welcome deities, the Kerama Desa, former members of the village council, and the Daha meet to worship and present offerings accompanied by *gambang* music. The next day, the offerings are taken home. On the full moon, *odalan* take place at diverse temples.

Sasih Desta (eleventh month)

For three days starting from the tenth day of the waning moon, an *odalan* is held at Pura Dulun Swarga with offerings and *gambang* music.

Sasih Sada (twelfth month)

For three days from the tenth day of the waning moon, *odalan* celebrations are held at Pura Jero and Pura Dulun Swarga, directed to the elders and parents.

Other Calendar Ceremonies

Aside from the ceremonies depicted above, several others, linked to the more general Balinese Pawukon and Saka calendars, are also celebrated in Tenganan. This means that the ritual specialists of Tenganan must master no fewer than four calendars: the Tenganan calendar, the two general Balinese calendars, and, of course, the international Gregorian calendar.

The production of geringsing textiles

No discussion of Tenganan Pegringsingan would be complete without mentioning its famous geringsing textiles. Urs Ramseyer, who has dedicated to these textiles a full chapter of his monograph *The Theatre of the Universe. Ritual and Art in Tenganan Pegringsingan*, reminds us that the god Indra is not only the tutelary god of the village but also the divine designer of these magical textiles, which play an important role in all Tenganan rituals, and are among the most spectacular examples of hand-woven textile arts ever made.

Geringsing are produced by what is known as the *double ikat* method. This entails an extremely demanding and time-consuming process, by which both the warp threads and weft threads are dyed in complex, multi-coloured patterns before being woven together on a back-strap loom.

The time spent to make a single geringsing textile may span several years, owing to the complexity of the dyeing process, as well as the making of the natural dyes themselves. This process, writes Ramseyer, is only possible in a community in which the ritual theatre "... is primarily dominated by cosmic, indefinitely flowing and perpetually repeating time. Sacred time refers to eternity and divine creation ...".

Another interesting element of geringsing related to the topic of time and calendars is the representation of stars, possibly including one or several star constellations—as yet unidentified in our research—in the iconography of the geringsing patterns, particularly the most famous one, *geringsing lubeng*. It is possible that such textile motifs refer to an astronomical knowledge that once existed but has since disappeared in Tenganan.



BALINESE DIVINATION, "HOROSCOPES" AND ILLUSTRATED CALENDARS

Introduction

As we have seen, the traditional Balinese calendar system plays a crucial role in regulating what happens when in Balinese life. The calendar system is very complex, and the body of knowledge about it, known as *Wariga*, is very esoteric. So, before scheduling any important event, people will generally consult a Wariga expert well versed in the art and science of calendar-based divination, to find the best possible date for the undertaking concerned.

Divination is based on the values attributed to the different units of time, or temporal elements, in the Pawukon and Saka calendars as well as the day cycle, and to the intersections of these many elements with each other.

The value attributed to each element depends on the *urip* (sacred numerical value) and other characteristics—gods, wayang characters, demons, trees and other elements of nature—corresponding to it, as defined by its position on the *pangider-ider* compass rose. Each element may be classified, accordingly, as either mainly auspicious (*dewasa ayu*) or mainly inauspicious (*dewasa ala*).

The main purpose of a calendar-based divination session or reading is to choose the most auspicious date for an undertaking. An auspicious date will warrant its success, whereas if the date is inauspicious, the individual must be dissuaded from proceeding. Once again, the cosmic order is not to be disturbed.

The kind of reading made depends on the relative importance of the event, task or activity to be scheduled.

To determine good days to conduct ordinary daily activities, it may be enough to consider the auspicious or inauspicious qualities of the *wuku* (seven-day weeks named after the *wuku* or nobles of the Watugunung story) and of the *urip* of the days of the five-day week (*Pancawara*) and seven-day week (*Saptawara*) whose intersections make up each 35-day *wuku* month.

These variables give a general indication of how auspicious or inauspicious a particular date may be, and how to behave accordingly.

It is possible to glean such information by reading the modern, printed Balinese calendar found in every home and office.

However, these indications are highly sensitive to multiple influences. The value of a particular date changes according to the days from the other different-sized weeks that intersect it. The value of a date according to the Pawukon calendar may also be accentuated or mitigated by its value in the Saka calendar.

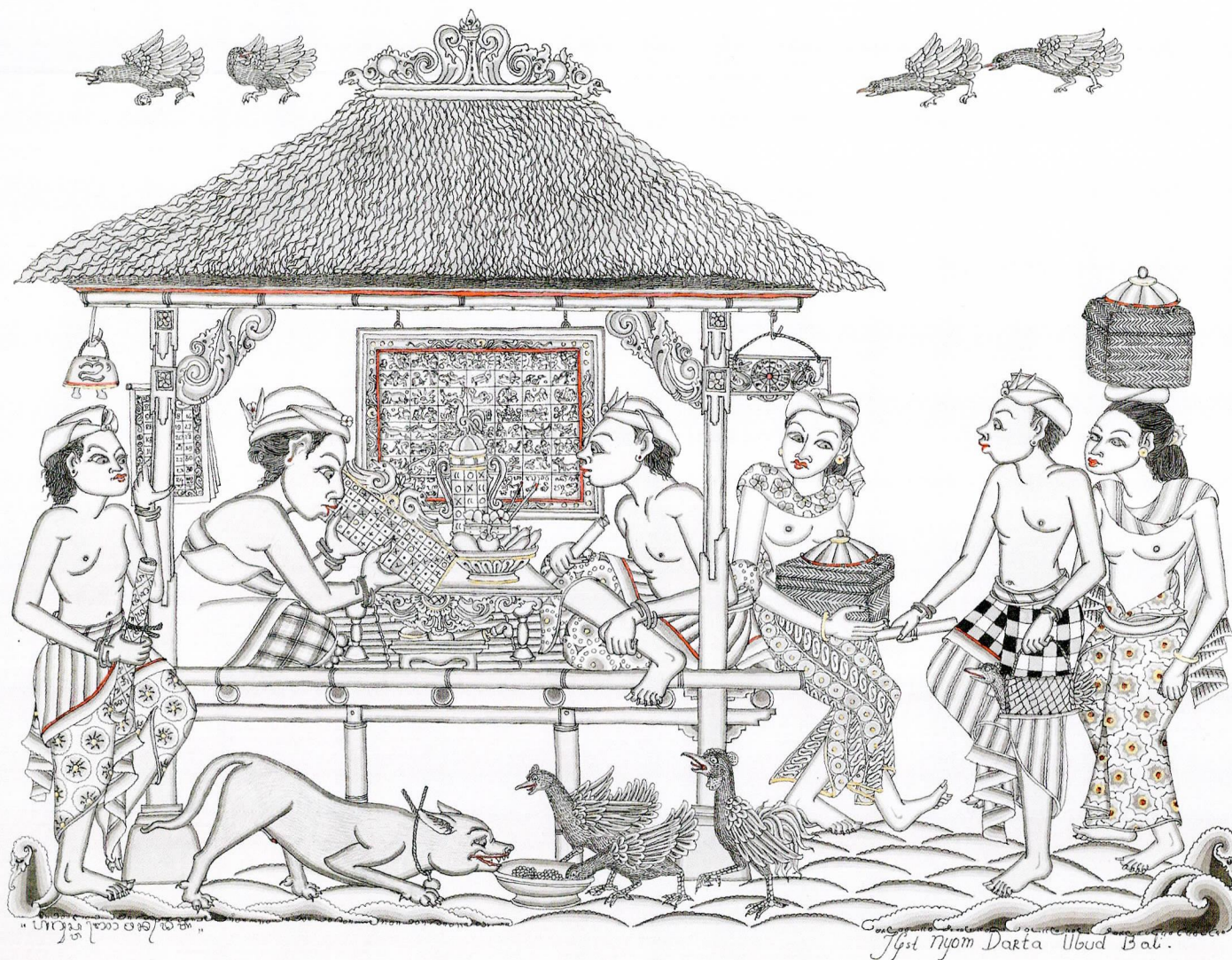
On top of that, no day or moment is fully auspicious or inauspicious, absolutely holy or absolutely ruled by demonic forces. The same day that is auspicious for a temple community to hold a festival or cleansing ceremony may be inauspicious for an agricultural community (*subak*), and it may be auspicious or inauspicious for different individuals, depending on what day they were born.

Therefore, for more important events, say, a cremation, all of the variables associated with all of the time units at play must be taken into account. This includes the quality of the *wuku* and the quality of the day in all of the concurrent cycles of the *wewaran* system; the qualities of the *tithi* (lunar day), the *penanggal/panglong* (days in the cycle of the waxing and waning moon respectively) and the *sasih* (lunar month) of the Saka calendar; and also, the units of the 24-hour day cycle (*dauh*)—to determine the right time of day or night for specific activities during the event. People consult a calendar expert to sort out this kind of information.

It is usually impossible to find a perfectly auspicious moment. The global quality of the moment chosen is defined by weighing all the elements against one another, in the following order of priority:

The value of the *wuku* is stronger than that of the *wewaran* days; the *panglong/penanggal* position is stronger than that of the *wuku*; the *sasih* lunar month is stronger than the *panglong/penanggal* position; and the *dauh* moment of the day stronger than the *sasih*.

Finally, people say, the *Ning*, or "Void", is stronger than the *dauh*—meaning that nothing is ever completely certain: all circumstances are dictated by intangible (*niskala*) forces, so no outcome can ever be entirely predicted.



Consulting a calendar specialist

This drawing shows a family consulting a priest about the most propitious time to hold a ceremony. One sees the priest dressed in white to the left, holding a wooden *tika* chart in his hands, while a painted *pelelintaan* chart hangs in the background. Another *tika* is visible behind the head of one of the women, and a modern printed calendar to the left. A set of *pejati* offerings stands on a platter between the two men. These offerings are made to ask the goddess of knowledge to guide the priest.



Below:

A Wariga lontar manuscript

Unknown artist.

27.5 x 3.5 x 2.5 cm.

Ubud, circa 1970.

Private collection.

Opposite:

Classical wooden wariga charts

Black hardwood. etched on both sides with lines heightened by lime.

On either side of this board are various texts in Balinese and Wariga-related charts of auspicious and inauspicious days, engraved and accented with lime. The chart at the bottom of one side (above) shows two rows of seven cells, each representing the seven days of the Saptawara week. The first row symbolises these days during the period of the waxing moon (tanggal) while the second symbolises the same days during the period of the waning moon (panglong). The numbers in the triangles indicate favourable days for different kinds of activities, e.g. those on the left in each cell show good days to make money.

The chart at the bottom of the other side (below) shows two rows of six cells, representing the 12 months (sasih) of the luni-solar Saka year. The numbers in the triangles indicate favourable days for other activities, e.g. those on the right of each cell show good days to cultivate land.

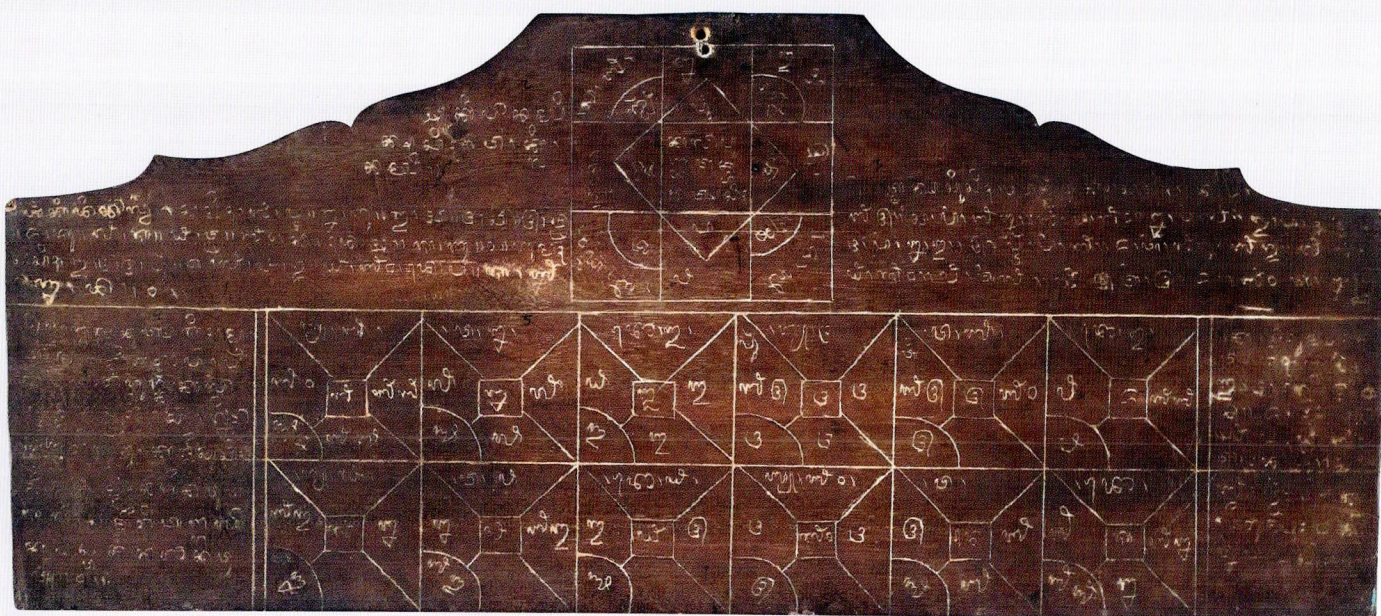
Only Wariga specialists are able to fully decipher these kinds of charts.

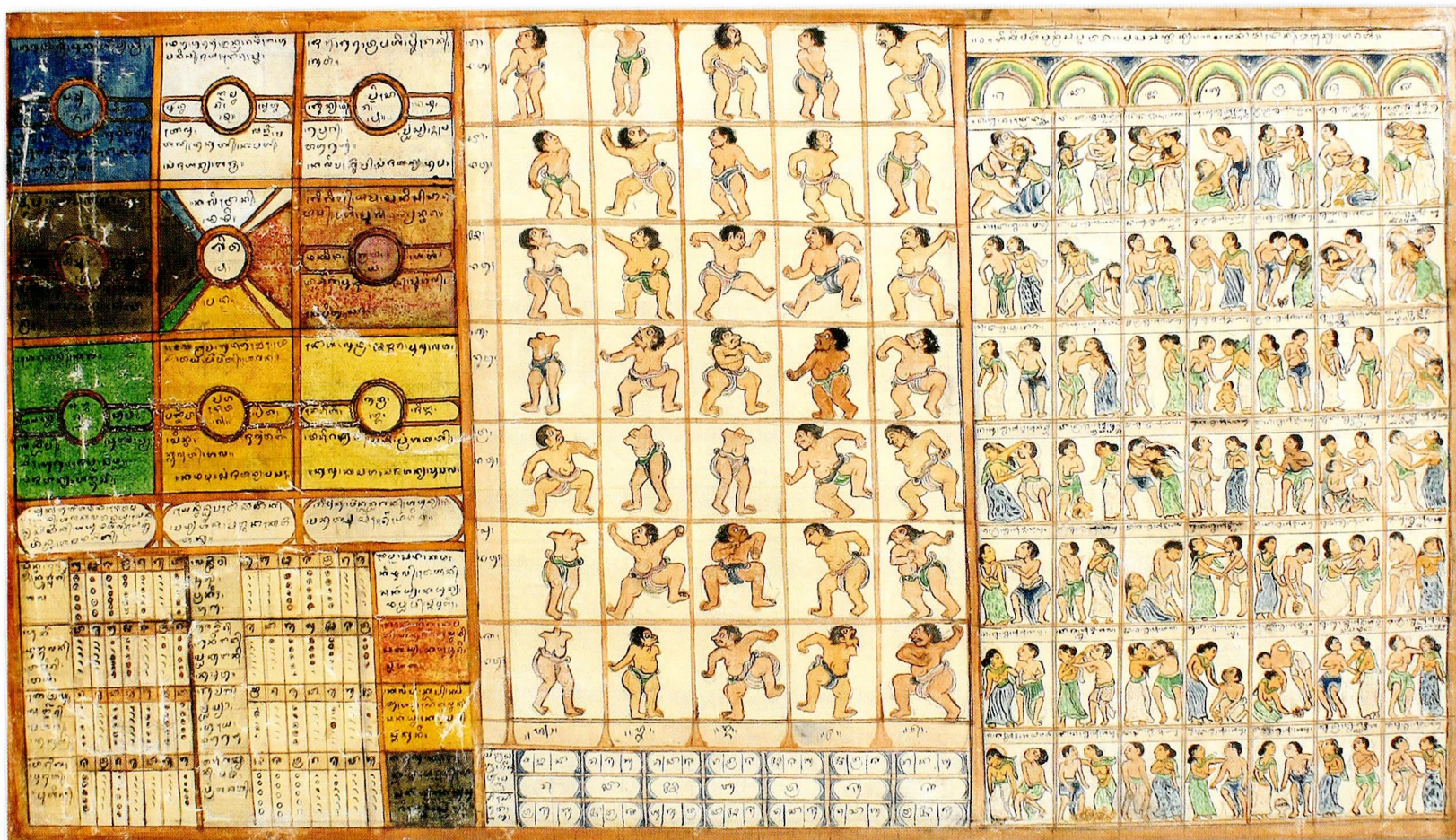
16 x 38 x 0.5 cm.

Buleleng, North Bali.

Second quarter of the 20th century.

Private collection.





Above:

Wariga charts for matchmaking

Paint on canvas.

These divination charts relate to auspicious/inauspicious days for meeting the right mate, based on various combinations of days of the seven-day week (Saptawara) and times of day (dauh); and for marrying the right mate, based on conjunctions of Saptawara days and lunar days (tithi) of the Saka month (sasih).

Unknown artist, Central Bali.

49 x 87 cm.

Circa 1930.

Private collection

Pawukon “horoscope” charts

Pelelintangan

Calendar-based divination is also used to forecast a child’s likely character attributes and future, to predict whether two individuals will be compatible in romance or marriage, and to specify what offerings should be made to alleviate the sickness or other misfortune that has afflicted someone—based on which day in the Pawukon cycle they were born.

Readings of personal character are commonly based on *pelelintangan* charts, which identify 35 “star signs” based upon the 35-day cycle of the Pawukon “month”. A *pelelintangan* reading is similar in function to, and sometimes called, a “horoscope” even though it is not strictly based on astrology.

When determining auspicious dates for a purely personal undertaking, the person’s character attributes will be taken into consideration in addition to the other variables mentioned above.

It would take volumes to explain the Balinese divination system.⁹³ Following are some examples of illustrated charts based on the schemes most frequently used as sources for divination, including: *Pelelintangan* “horoscope” charts; charts of lucky and unlucky days for common activities based on the Pawukon calendar; *pelelindon* “earthquake calendars” and other charts based on the Saka calendar; charts based on the day cycle; and the modern printed calendar.

The *pelelintangan* is a chart of personal character based on which of the 35 possible intersections of the five-day week (Pancawara) and seven-day week (Saptawara) in any wuku month coincides with the person’s day of birth.

Pelelintangan are generally painted on cloth, or drawn on wooden calendar (*tika*) representing the 35-day cycle. The days of the Saptawara and the days of the Pancawara are laid out in a grid of seven columns and five rows.

On the header row, general attributes for people born on each of the seven Saptawara days are shown: a god, a tree, a letter, a character of the wayang puppet theatre, a bird and an animal. On the footer row are represented seven demons (*buta*) corresponding to the Saptawara. In between are the 35 intersections of the wuku “month”, with the seven days of the Saptawara running horizontally from left to right, and the five days of the Pancawara running vertically from top to bottom.

Each square of the *pelelintangan* is given a “star sign” (*lintang*), with a corresponding illustration.⁹⁴ Personal character is defined by the interpretation of these attributes along with the corresponding value of the urip of the Pancawara and Septawara days that intersect on the square concerned. No matter what date, month or year you were born according to the Gregorian calendar, your day of birth will match one of these 35 options.⁹⁵



How to read a pelelintangan

Listed below are the general attributes associated with each Saptawara day, and the star signs for each of the 35 Saptawara-Pancawara conjunction days typically depicted in pelelintangan, along with brief summaries of common interpretations of these signs. The number after each conjunction day indicates the position of the corresponding square in the pelelintangan charts shown in the illustrations. The numbers proceed from the second row to the sixth row in each column, with one column for each day of the seven-day week, moving from Sunday, at the left, to Saturday, at the right.

Opposite:
Pelelintangan
 Paint on canvas.
 Artist: Pak Dita – Gianyar school.
 130 x 170 cm.
 Third quarter of the 20th century.
 Private collection.



Sunday – *Redite*

God: Indra
 Wayang character: *mantri* (minister)
 Tree: *ambulu* (*Ficus infectoria*)
 Bird: *beo* (*Gracula religiosa*)
 Animal: garuda (mythical bird)
 Demon: elephant

Redite-Umanis (1): the sign is an upside-down demon (*Kala Sungsang*). Does not heed advice, and contradicts his or her guru's opinions. Should not be entrusted with important tasks. Stubborn but helpful.

Redite-Paing (2): the sign is an elephant. Courageous, dedicated and hard working. Has many children and gets wealthy quickly. Might appear arrogant or opiated. Congenial, has many friends, many enemies too.

Redite-Pon (3): the sign is a dagger (*patrem*). Argumentative, but also a diplomat, appreciates luxury. Conscious of being gifted; carries a risk of unnatural death (*salah pati*). Cannot succeed in important tasks. Stubborn but helpful.

Redite-Wage (4): the sign is a plough (*tenggala* or *wuluku*). Gifted farmer. Likes meditating, generous. Gets richer with time.

Redite-Kliwon (5): the sign is a headless corpse (*laweyan*). Small in height, a gambler and rough tempered. Difficult to get on with.



Monday – Soma

God: Sri
Wayang character: *galuh*, princess
Tree: *pule* (*Alstonia spectabilis*)
Bird: dove
Animal: lion
Demon: dog

Soma-Umanis (6): the sign is a coconut tree (*kelapa*). Gets rich from the products of coconuts. Keen farmer, patient and honest, likeable. Lacks wit, which causes problems.

Soma-Paing (7): the sign is a comet (*kukus* or *dupa*). Gets rich quickly and poor equally quickly. Has difficulty finding a spouse; if successful, one of the spouses dies. Good farmer, patient, honest, lacks wit.

Soma-Pon (8): the sign is sadness (*kiriman* or *akikirim*). Suffers due to the faults of others. A good farmer, patient, honest, appreciated by others. Very stupid, which makes him or her sad.

Soma-Wage (9): the sign is a cow (*lembu*). Seldom happy, poor since childhood, often sick. Dedicated to and precise in his or her work. A good farmer, patient, honest, sensitive, appreciated by others.

Soma-Kliwon (10): the sign is an empty cart (*pedati puyung*). Gets rich easily but is often a victim of burglary. Faithful to family and friends, easy speaker and friendly. A good farmer, patient, honest, appreciated by the others. Lacks wit, which is a hindrance to his or her undertakings.



Tuesday – Anggara

God: Brahma
Wayang character: a giant (*Yaksa-yaksi*)
Tree: *rendu* (*Eriodendrum anfractuosum*)
Bird: raven
Animal: wolf
Demon: horse

Anggara-Umanis (11): the sign is a horse (*kuda*). Open minded and ambitious. Slandorous and does not mind his or her own business. Must take care not to upset people. May earn a good living but also lose a fortune due to bad health.

Anggara-Paing (12): the sign is a crab (*yuyu*). Bad tempered, knows how to get organised, wealthy throughout life. Must pay attention to undertakings, though a hard worker. Likes to help people but is not disinterested.

Anggara-Pon (13): the sign is a dog (*asu*). Hard worker, audacious, heroic and wise. Gains people's confidence, makes many friends and is appreciated by people in high places. Must pay attention when dealing with other people so as not to upset them.

Anggara-Wage (14): the sign is a heavily loaded junk (*jung sarat*). Likes to study and is a hard worker, temperamental, easily upset, lends money but does not know how to get it back. Not to be entrusted with complicated tasks because it might provoke his or her ire.

Anggara-Kliwon (15): the sign is a wild boar (*depat* or *sidamalung*). Pleasant to deal with; if a woman, may die giving birth, if a man, may die of unnatural causes. Is interested in conversation but full of reproach for other people.



Wednesday – Buda

God: Wisnu

Wayang character: Merdah

Tree: *ancak* (*Ficus religiosa*)

Bird: pigeon

Animal: snake

Demon: raven

Buda-Umanis (16): the sign is sadness (*lintang ngeling*). Lives a simple life and likes to help other people, is just and wise but often minds other people's malice, struck by bad luck.

Buda-Paing (17): the sign is an elephant fish (*gajah mina*). Has a happy and prosperous life, is an extremely wise person, but minds other people's business, sometimes arrogant and vindictive.

Buda-Pon (18): the sign is a rice barn (*lumbung muyung*). Can get rich if he or she heeds divine words, is sensitive to flattery and likes to show off. Likes to parade his or her riches, is polite and moderate, somewhat vindictive.

Buda-Wage (19): the sign is the Kartika star (*lintang Kartika*). Appreciated by other people, relatively well off and likes to show it, polite, obstinate and vindictive. Stingy but acts wisely.

Buda-Kliwon (20): the sign is the cremation of corpses (*atiwa-tiwa*). A glib talker, polite, gets angry easily. Happy in his or her family life but the children will die and this causes family disputes.



Thursday – Wrespati

God: Siwa

Wayang character: Twalen

Tree: banyan (*Ficus indica*)

Bird: peacock

Animal: cat

Demon: man

Wrespati-Umanis (21): the sign is a broken hoe (*sangka tikel*). Born under bad luck: whatever he or she uses, it does not work or it breaks. Social but likes flattery and minds other people's business, absent-minded.

Wrespati-Paing (22): the sign is a measurement mistake (*salah ukur*). Indifferent, stubborn, ambitious, spendthrift and clumsy with other people.

Wrespati-Pon (23): the sign is a cremation tower (*bade*). Open and ambitious, likes to show off, is just but hard. Poor during childhood and may die young.

Wrespati-Wage (24): the sign is a water jug (*kumbha*). Ambitious, intelligent and hard working, wise, sensitive to flattery, gets easily upset.

Wrespati-Kliwon (25): the sign is a dragon (*naga*). Very ambitious, know-it-all, gets easily upset and can be offensive, spendthrift.



Friday – Sukra

God: Uma
Wayang character: Sangut
Tree: kayo putih (*Mangifera indica*)
Bird: egret
Animal: goat
Demon: cow

Sukra-Umanis (26): the sign is the hatching goose (*angsa makeem*). Honest and likes to help other people, successful, spendthrift but too generous at times, gets easily upset when contradicted.

Sukra-Paing (27): the sign is a torn net (*bubo bosor*). Courageous, amiable, honest and appreciated by other people, bad tempered. Becomes rich but loses these riches through illness.

Sukra-Pon (28): the sign is a broken boat (*prahu pegat*). Irregular and inconsistent in work habits and ideals, unsteady, hesitant, often sad or worried, yet kind and gentle towards others. Tends to gamble, likes to show off his or her possessions.

Sukra-Wage (29): the sign is "debt-ridden" (*gelut utang/magelut*). Bad tempered and lacks flexibility, generous and ready to sacrifice himself or herself for other people, but poor and ridden with debts.

Sukra-Kliwon (30): the sign is a shrimp (*udang*). Intelligent, glib talker, has a good heart and pleasant nature. Suffers during childhood but becomes rich as he or she gets older.



Saturday – Saniscara

God: Durga
Wayang character: Delem
Tree: a variety of randu or kapok
Bird: owl
Animal: cow
Demon: buffalo

Saniscara-Umanis (31): the sign is a comical giant (*Begoong*). Knows how to appreciate other people's qualities, likes a life of luxury and minds other people's business. Whatever his or her intentions, is often accused of wrongdoing.

Saniscara-Paing (32): the sign is an arrow (*ru*). Courageous and feared by people, polite and gets easily upset.

Saniscara-Pon (33): the sign is a sunflower (*sungenge*). A good person, appreciated in high places, likes luxury and shows off his or her superiority.

Saniscara-Wage (34): the sign is quarrelling quails (*puwuh atarung*). Sometimes stiff in demeanour, likes to contradict and create disorder. Likes to show off his or her superiority, may become rich but is stingy.

Saniscara-Kliwon (35): the sign is a gaze (*pangelangan*). Amiable and polite, glib talker and wise. After marriage, often falls ill. Protects other people.

Right:

Pelelintangan

Tabing (wall hanging),

paint on bark cloth.

Artist: Unknown.

139 x 132 cm.

Circa fourth quarter of the 19th century.

Collection of Museum der Kulturen,
Basel (Inv. Ilc 21686).

Collected by Ernest Schlager in the

1930s; donated by Georg André

Schlager in 2001.

Photo by Peter Horner.

© Museum der Kulturen Basel,
Switzerland.

Note that the artist has here
interchanged three pairs of images with
one another—in squares 22 and 23; 27
and 28; and 32 and 34, respectively.



Right:

Pelelintangan

Langse (curtain), paint on cotton cloth.

240 x 192 cm.

Circa first quarter of the 20th century.

Collection of the National Museum of
Ethnology, Leiden (Inv. 4491-81).

Collected by Th. A. Resink in the 1930s.

Note that this pelelintangan has an
extra row on the bottom showing 12
deities, one for each Saka month, who
influence those born in each particular
month.



Personal character according to wuku of birth

1. *Sinta*: Jealous, hot tempered but good, amiable, protects other people, young looking, serious and organized in his or her work. May face danger when of mature age.
2. *Landep*: likes to meditate, intelligent, good-looking, hard in his or her orders but correct, generous, protects those in need, appreciated by the powerful. May be injured or killed by a falling tree.
3. *Ukir*: generous and good, good-looking, can do anything, delicate, polite, likes to show off, appreciated by his or her boss, likes the good life, does not like to be dominated. May be tortured.
4. *Kulantir*: hot-tempered, spends his or her time sleeping, likes the good life, dishonest, likes a fight, cannot protect other people, does not know how to save money, skilled at seducing other people.
5. *Tolu*: audacious, wise, glib talker, quick in his or her work, does not sleep a lot, happy in old age. Risk: being gored by a buffalo.
6. *Gumbreg*: honest, true to his or her word, expresses him or herself softly, protects his or her family, appreciated by high ranking officials, talkative, big income earner, generous. Risk: drowning.
7. *Wariga*: jealous, sometimes nasty, unsociable, has a difficult life but is liked by other people. Risk: being implicated in a scandal.
8. *Warigadian*: strong willed, likes pleasure, has a lot of responsibilities to face, good, knows how to get on in life but does not follow up. Risk: becoming the victim of black magic.
9. *Juluwangi*: likes to debate, people trust him or her, speaks softly, appreciated by other people, generous to those who obey him or her, favored by fate. Risk: being the victim of wild beasts.
10. *Sungsang*: confused, full of hesitation, good tempered, good worker, likes other people's riches, spendthrift and accepts tasks of dubious morality. Looks generous, but this is only a facade. Risk: being killed by a sharp weapon.
11. *Dungulan*: ready to help other people, sophisticated in language and character, not easily troubled, skilled at surmounting difficulties, likes other people's riches, often in a quandary, not very intelligent, does not succeed. Risk: quarrels with other people.
12. *Kuningan*: proud, intelligent and glib talker, hard worker, likes to be on his or her own, sometimes stingy. Risk: slumping into a furious ire.
13. *Langkir*: ill tempered, stubborn, noisy, creates problem for other people. Risk: being the victim of other people's nastiness.
14. *Medangsia*: gets angry on all occasions, likes worldly pleasures, refined in his or her speech, fears other people, protects poor people, wealthy, thrifty and wise with riches. Risk: being the victim of fire.
15. *Pujut*: quiet, sensitive, knows how to master his or her ire, good-looking, ambitious. Risk: being the victim of slander.
16. *Pahang*: talkative and always wants to have the last word, boastful, imprudent in his or her actions, helps people in need. Risk: being tortured.
17. *Krulut*: likes any task entrusted to him or her, does not speak much, chivalrous, pure in spirit, likes family and friends, branded with the seal of fortune. Risk: being poisoned.
18. *Merakih*: tolerates suffering, pure in spirit, knows how to tempt fate, shows respect to the ancestors, runs into danger while travelling. Risk: being drowned.
19. *Tambir*: talkative, depressed, cannot protect his or her family, envious, slanderer. Risk: falling victim to black magic.
20. *Medangkungan*: opinionated, true to his or her word, likes water, can get rich. Risk: being stabbed.

21. *Matal*: true to his or her word, good-looking, talks softly, liked by people in high places, favoured by fortune, has many friends. Risk: too many arguments with people.
22. *Uye*: arrogant and jealous, not always chivalrous, liked by other people, prudent in actions, does not hesitate to sacrifice him or herself for loved ones, lives to a ripe age, favoured by fortune. Risk: falling victim to other people's nastiness.
23. *Menail*: proud but knows how to make friends, prudent, hard worker, sober, does not seek honour. Risk: being stabbed.
24. *Prangbakat*: strong willed, shy, chivalrous, obeyed by others, lives to a ripe old age, hard worker, favoured by fortune, rather arrogant. Risk: Injury from falling.
25. *Bala*: always creates trouble, likes nasty people, approached by people in high places, rich but proud, socially ill at ease. Risk: being poisoned.
26. *Ugu*: stingy and selfish, unsociable, easily hurt, quiet, humble but jealous. Risk: getting bit by a snake.
27. *Wayang*: prudent, handsome, speaks softly, gets troubled, appreciated by other people, his/her orders are apparently easy to follow but pose problems. Risk: falling victim to slander.
28. *Kulawu*: honest, credible, easily moved, knows how to please, lives to a ripe old age, favoured by fortune but does not know how to keep his or her riches, not jealous. Risk: being poisoned.
29. *Dukut*: audacious and strong willed, understands quickly, appreciated by important people, prudent in his or her actions, and may become rich. Risk: being the victim of war.
30. *Watugunung*: ambitious, self-confident, not talkative, easily scared, very jealous, keen to live like a hermit. Risk: being tortured.

Other Pawukon "horoscope" schemes

Panca suda

The *panca suda* is a scheme consisting of seven categories of birth traits issuing from the overlaps of the five-day (Pancawara) and seven-day (Saptawara) weeks.

- *Wisesa Segara*, "the power of the sea", relates to Anggara Umanis, Redite Paing, Buda Paing, Saniscara Pon, Soma Wage and Sukra Kliwon. Persons born on these conjunction days are influenced by other people's mistakes but forgive them easily.
- *Tunggaksemi*, "the flower stem", relates to Soma Umanis, Sukra Paing, Wraspati Wage, Saniscara Kliwon. People born on these days are rather proud, not very congenial and always ready for a fight.
- *Satria Wibawa*, "the powerful warrior", relates to Wrespati Umanis, Saniscara Paing, Anggara Pon, Redite Wage and Buda Wage. People born on these days are chivalrous, honest and live in luxury.
- *Sumur Sinaba*, "the full well", relates to Redite Umanis, Buda Umanis, Soma Pon, Sukra Wage, Anggara Kliwon. People born on these days get easily angry, despair of everything but help other people.
- *Bumi Kapetak*, "the white earth", relates to Saniscara Umanis, Soma Paing, Redite Pon, Buda Pon and Wrespati Kliwon. People born on these days dislike travelling, are hard workers and like to meditate.
- *Lebu Ketiup Angin*, "the dust to the wind", relates to Wrespati Paing, Sukra Pon, Anggara Wage, and Redite or Buda Kliwon. These people are of unsteady opinion, and difficult to please. They live in poverty.
- *Satria Wirang*, "the humiliated warrior", relates to Sukra Umanis, Anggara Paing, Wrespati Pon, Saniscara Wage and Soma Kliwon. These people get easily angry, obsessed by their problems. Their good intentions sometimes have disastrous consequences.

Pawukon charts of lucky / unlucky days

Lucky days of the wuku

You can identify lucky days for agricultural activities and weddings in each wuku by adding the male, female, and hermaphrodite qualities associated with each day of the five-day, six-day and seven-day weeks, as shown in the table below.

Pancawara (five-day week)	Sadwara (six-day week)	Saptawara (seven-day week)
Umanis: female	Tungleh: hermaphrodite	Redite: male
Paing: hermaphrodite	Aryang: female	Soma: female
Pon: hermaphrodite	Urukung: male	Anggara: hermaphrodite
Wage: female	Paniron: hermaphrodite	Buda: hermaphrodite
Kliwon: male	Was: female	Wrespati: male
	Maulu: male	Sukra: female
		Saniscara: female

A given day of a wuku is considered lucky if it features one of the following three combinations:

- One male, one female, and one hermaphrodite
- One male and two females
- Three females

As an example, for Wuku Sinta:

Paing + Tungleh + Redite: two hermaphrodites and one male, considered unlucky.

Pon + Aryang + Soma: two females and one hermaphrodite, also considered unlucky.

Wage + Urukung + Anggara: one of each gender, considered lucky.

And so on ...

Ingkel days

Some days in the Pawukon calendar are considered inauspicious for certain, mainly agricultural, undertakings. There are two types, called *ingkel awuku* and *ingkel adina*.

The *ingkel awuku* cover the entirety of a seven-day week, from Sunday through Saturday, appearing in the following order: activities applying to people (*wong*), livestock (*sato*), fish (*mina*), poultry (*manuk*), plants and trees (*taro*) and bamboo (*buku*).

The *ingkel adina* only last a single day and they run in a different order and have three similar and three different names: *mina*, *taro*, *sato*, *patra* (related to plants and trees), *wong* and *paksi* (related to poultry and/or birds).

These ingkel adina days follow a cycle parallel to the cycle of the six-day week, starting with *mina* on the Sunday of Wuku Sinta. During this week, it is recommended not to conduct rituals or to indulge in economic activities related to any of the above-mentioned entities.

Auspicious days of the wuku

Tika charts mainly deal with auspicious days for weddings and agricultural undertakings.

1. Sinta:	Tuesday, Thursday
2. Landep:	Sunday, Saturday
3. Ukir:	Wednesday, Friday, Saturday
4. Kulantir:	Monday, Thursday, Friday
5. Taulu(Tolu):	Monday, Friday, Saturday
6. Gumbreg:	Thursday, Saturday
7. Wariga:	Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday
8. Warigadian:	Sunday, Monday
9. Julungwangi:	Tuesday, Wednesday, Saturday
10. Sungsang:	Monday, Thursday
11. Dungulan:	Sunday, Monday, Wednesday
12. Kuningan:	Monday, Friday
13. Langkir :	Sunday, Friday
14. Medangsia:	Sunday, Monday, Saturday

15. Pujut:	Thursday, Friday, Saturday
16. Pahang:	Tuesday, Thursday, Friday
17. Krulut :	Sunday, Saturday
18. Merakih :	Wednesday, Friday, Saturday
19. Tambir :	Monday, Thursday, Friday
20. Medangkungan:	Monday, Friday, Saturday
21. Matal:	Thursday, Saturday
22. Uye:	Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday
23. Menail:	Sunday, Monday
24. Prangbakat:	Tuesday, Wednesday, Saturday
25. Bala:	Monday, Thursday
26. Ugu:	Sunday, Monday, Wednesday
27. Wayang:	Monday, Friday
28. Kulawu:	Sunday, Friday
29. Dukut:	Sunday, Monday, Saturday
30. Watugunung:	Thursday, Friday, Saturday

Lucky/unlucky days according to *watek catur* and *watek panca*

If the urip of the day in the five-day week and in the seven-day week are added, then divided by four, one gets the *watek catur* according to the remainder, as follows: if the remainder is 1, then the day is *lelipi*, or snake, and you should avoid planting vegetables or fruit-trees; if it is 2, then the day is *gajah*, or elephant, a propitious day for animal husbandry; if it is 3, then the day is *sampit*, or cow, a propitious day for cattle breeding; if it is either 4 or 0, the day is *lintah*, or leech, a propitious day for the cultivation of creeping plants.

If the urip of the day in the five-day week and in the seven-day week are added, then divided by five, one gets the *watek panca* according to the remainder obtained, as follows: 1 = *gajah*, or elephant, propitious for husbandry; 2 = *watu*, or stone, propitious for building; 3 = *buta*, or demon, propitious for ceremonies addressed to underworld or earthly forces; 4 = *kaki*, or foot or man, propitious for erecting a wall or a stable, but unlucky for making marriage proposals.

Other important days for divination

There are a multiplicity of other intersections and computations that generate days with particularly auspicious or inauspicious value in the Pawukon cycle.

- The conjunctions of Pancawara and Saptawara days may give a positive or negative quality to a day according to the sum of their urip. For example, *Kala Gotongan* days, always three in a row, are obtained when the sum of the two urip is 14. We find this combination every 35 days in the Pawukon cycle (see Tika Chart II, p. 49). *Kala Gotongan* days are good for beginning a business, but no cremation should be held. *Semut Sedulur*, meanwhile, corresponds to those days whose urip sum is 13. These days are propitious for meetings, but no cremation or burial should ever take place on them. We also find this combination every 35 days (see Tika Chart II).
- Conjunctions of a certain wara day and wuku also give important days: for example, the day *Taliwangke* (see Tika Chart II) which falls on the following conjunctions: Wednesday in Wuku Landep, Thursday in Wuku Wariga, Friday in Wuku Kuningan, Saturday in Wuku Krulut, Monday in Wuku Uye and Tuesday in Wuku Wayang, thus, every 36 six days (6x6) except once, between Saturday Krulut and Monday Uye, when the interval is only 30 days. These days are propitious for the making of ropes and barriers related to agricultural work. It is not, however, propitious for the making of ropes for cattle or for washing or weaving. The conjunction may also be unique. For instance the conjunction of Wednesday of the seven-day week and Wuku Kulawu produces *Kala Awu*, a day that is propitious for making a plough, but unpropitious for erecting a building.
- Other days of importance are those combining a certain Pancawara - Saptawara conjunction with a certain day of the Saka lunar calendar. For example, the conjunction of Soma Wage with penanggal 1 and the conjunction of Buda Pon with penanggal 7 are called *Amerta Bumi* and are deemed propitious for a wedding, whatever the month.

- The wuku and lunar month combination may also be taken into account. For example, the conjunction of the Wednesday of Wuku Parangbakat with penanggal 12 in the Katiga, Kapat and Kalima lunar months also produces an Amerta Bumi day that is considered lucky for exorcisms and hair cutting, and indicates good health for anyone born on that day.

Divination according to the Saka calendar

Character attributes of the sasih lunar months

1. *Kasa*: illness
2. *Karo*: poverty
3. *Katiga*: simultaneous happiness and misery, numerous children to those born in this month
4. *Kapat*: wealth, numerous children
5. *Kalima*: prosperity
6. *Kaenem*: correct situation
7. *Kapitu*: ripe old age
8. *Kawulu*: not enough food
9. *Kasanga*: unhappiness
10. *Kadasa*: happiness
11. *Desta*: misery and shame
12. *Sadha*: illness

Pelelindon: Earthquake calendars⁵⁶

Pelelindon (or *pelindon*), often called “earthquake calendars”, are painted divination charts based on the 12 lunar months of the Saka calendar. They forecast in words and pictures what can be expected if an earthquake strikes during a given lunar month, and in some cases, during each of the days of the seven-day week as well.

Each month is associated with a god or goddess from the Hindu pantheon (although not all *pelelindon* agree on which god goes with which month). The painted scenes for each month illustrate and expand upon written predictions (possibly adapted from lontar texts). The predictions are generalised, and not necessarily negative; they clearly pertain to human health and agriculture.

Most *pelelindon* take the form of *tabing*—square paintings designed to be hung on walls as a backdrop for offerings, or stretched on ceilings above the raised platforms on which offerings are placed. The 12 months are typically arranged around the edge of the square, counter-clockwise, with an open space in the centre divided into nine areas (symbolic of the nine sacred directions, or *nawa sanga*), often used to illustrate predictions for the seven days of the week, plus a god and a demon.

In rare cases, they may be directly incorporated into the architecture of an important building, giving the artist a large space to use to depict the various predictions. This is the case with the *pelelindon* on the ceiling of Kerta Gosa, the hall of justice in ancient capital of Klungkung, which was painted by Pan Semaris from Kamasan for the renovation of the building in 1960. Each of the 12 months—their associated deities and predictions if an earthquake happens during the month concerned—is depicted in a series of rectangular panels along the fifth tiers of the inside lower portion of the roof. They cover all four sides of the open air pavilion, three months per side, running clockwise.

Right:

Painted ceiling pelelindon on canvas

Unknown artist, school of Kamasan.

circa 1880.

207 x 237 cm.

Private collection.

This is a classic example of a pelelindon designed to be stretched above the raised platform on which offerings are put. The artist has painted the 12 months of the luni-solar Saka year on panels running counter-clockwise around the edge, starting from the central panel on the right side: 1. Kasa; 2. Karo; 3. Katiga; 4. Kapat; 5. Kalima; 6. Kaenam; 7. Kapitu; 8. Kawulu; 9. Kasanga; 10. Kadasa; 11. Desta; 12. Sadha. Each panel depicts the deity corresponding to that month and a prediction of what political, agricultural, and/or health consequences can be expected if an earthquake falls on that month. The large central area is divided into nine squares, seven of which illustrate predictions for the consequences of earthquakes falling on each of the days of the seven-day week.

Details of painted ceiling pelelindon

(predictions based on Warsika 1986)

Opposite left:

Month: Sasih Kapitu

Deity: Batara Guru

Prediction if an earthquake happens this month: The government will be in trouble, the population will be confused and lose trust in the government.

Opposite right:

Month: Sasih Kasa

Deity: Betari Sri

Prediction if an earthquake happens this month: Peace.







Opposite:

Wide view of painted ceiling inside the roof of the Kerta Gosa pavilion, Semarapura, Bali.

The pelelindon/earthquake calendar (fourth row down) shows predictions for the consequences of earthquakes falling on particular months and days. The upper panels depict scenes from the *Bima Swarga* and other stories.



Right:

Details of the pelelindon painted on the roof of Kerta Gosa (predictions based on Warsika 1986).



Sasih Kaenam (month 6)

This panel is located on the south side of the roof.

Deity: Batari Durga.

Prediction if an earthquake happens on this month: There will be an epidemic, especially in densely populated areas.



Sasih Kawulu (month 8)

This panel is located on the south side of the roof.

Deity: Batara Parameswara.

Prediction if an earthquake happens on this month: No peace and the kingdom will be troubled.

Sasih Sadha (month 12)

This panel is located on the north side of the roof.

Deity: Batara Anantaboga.

Prediction if an earthquake happens on this month: Chaos, long drought, agricultural difficulties, bad commercial transactions will happen soon in the kingdom.



Sasih Kapat (month 4)

This panel is located on the east side of the roof.

Deity: Batara Brahma.

Prediction if an earthquake happens on this month: Peace and a lot of rain.

Qualities of the penanggal/panglong days

Each lunar day (tithi) of the waning (panglong) or waxing (tanggap/penanggal) moon has a corresponding attribute (object/plant/animal) and quality, defined by its position from 1 to 15. When there is a *ngunalatri* (compression of two days into a single day to adjust the size of the month) the number of the second day is the reference used.

For the tanggal days of the waxing moon: 1 = horse, 2 = deer, 3 = tiger, 4 = cat, 5 = cow, 6 = buffalo, 7 = rat, 8 = dust, 9 = dog, 10 = dragon, 11 = goat, 12 = palm tree stem, 13 = elephant, 14 = lion and 15 = fish.

For the panglong days of the waning moon: 1 = candle, 2 = eagle, 3 = coconut tree, 4 = buffalo, 5 = ghost, 6 = palm tree, 7 = shrimp, 8 = sea, 9 = the Southern Cross, 10 = honey, 11 = demon, 12 = snake, 13 = rice, 14 = worm, and 15 = the fibre of the palm tree leaf.

The qualities associated with these days are named in Old-Javanese, as follows:

For the pananggal days: 1 and 15 = *awidya*; 2 = *jaramerana*; 3 = *jati*, 4 and 5 = *upadana*; 6 = *tresna*; 7 = *wedana*; 8 and 9 = *sparsa*; 10 = *sedayatana*; 11 = *nama rupa*; 12 = *widnyana*; 13 and 14 = *saskara*.

For the panglong days: 1 = *awidya*; 2 = *jaramerana*; 3 and 13 = *jati*; 4 and 14 = *bhawa*; 5 and 15 = *upadana*; 6 = *tresna*; 7 = *wedana*; 8 = *sparsa*; 9 = *sedayatana*; 10 = *nama rupa*; 11 = *saskara*.

Those qualities, derived from the Old-Javanese meaning of their names, often with new connotations, may be interpreted as follows:

- *Tresna* (from *tresna* = love): negative to undertake a task, ill fortune and troubles ahead. A person born on this day is religious and wise, but has many enemies, is poor and generous.
- *Upadana* (from *upadhana* = kindness): neutral—people are ready to give a hand, but there is a tendency to waste energy and money. A person born on this day is amiable, religious and a spellbinding orator, audacious, generous, but lacks direction; generally happy.
- *Bhawa* (from *bhawa* = behaviour, character): negative—a lot of troubles are to be encountered; people who help are not to be trusted. A person born on this day is good-natured, audacious, reliable but strong-headed, insomniac and likes working in the fields.
- *Jati* (from *jati* = true): neutral—people are ready to help, but this doesn't ensure success. A person born on this day is good-natured, honest, trustworthy, well-liked, audacious, prosperous.
- *Jaramarana* (from *jara* = old and *marana* = unhappy): negative—conflict, illness or perhaps even death ahead; the god Kala is wreaking havoc. A person born on this day is clever, ill-tempered, chivalrous, loved by his or her family but has many enemies.
- *Awidya* (from *awidya* = unlearned): positive—happiness and success ahead. A person born on this day is smart and hard-working, a good orator, experiences short stints of unhappiness, but is generally successful, including with women.

- *Saskara* (from *sangaskara* = purification?): negative—all sorts of hurdles are to be encountered, with much sniggering and infighting. A person born on this day is well-off but often encounters all sorts of troubles; is well-liked, gifted for literature and architecture.
- *Widnyana* (from *widyana* = knowledge?): positive—owing to friends, it is easy to get what is needed. A person born on this day is happy, chivalrous, not well-off, but appreciated by priests.
- *Namarupa* (from *nama* = name and *rupa* = form): negative—many troubles ahead, much sadness and embarrassment; other people don't care. A person born on this day is smart and skilled, poor during middle age but then prosperous; has to wait a long time before having children; is disliked by many.
- *Sadayatana* (?): neutral—people give much love and attention, but work doesn't proceed smoothly. A person born on this day is full of ideas, jealous and ill-tempered; escapes danger and illness.
- *Sparsa* (from *sparsa* = sense of touch): very negative—troubles erupt everywhere; work is muddled and unfocused; all endeavours end up badly, whatever amount of money is spent. A person born on this day is broad-minded, a good debater, but jealous and evil; may get rich.
- *Wedana* (?): neutral—everyone helps without creating trouble and things run smoothly, but much money is spent. A person born on this day is a skilled worker, well-off and rather happy, polite and amiable, full of love towards others.

In divination, the waxing and the waning position of the moon, the urip corresponding to the day, and the quality attributed to the name of the panglong or tanggal are taken into consideration at the same time.

Auspicious times of day

The time units (*dauh*) of the Balinese day (our 24-hour day), as defined by the parallel *panca dauh* (five unit) and *asta dauh* (eight unit) cycles, are also taken into account to determine an auspicious schedule for an event. The two charts on p. 222 show the auspiciousness of the *dauh* in each cycle on each day of the seven-day week.

The codes in the Panca dauh chart are: urip = life (success); pati = death (failure); and gering = illness (difficulty). The codes in the Asta dauh chart are: ☀ = positive; ☹ = negative.

These charts by no means exhaust the *dauh* divination system. To determine the auspiciousness of a given moment of time, one may combine the information from the two different *dauh* cycles to come up with moments that are *ala* (negative) or *ayu* (positive) according to both.

Panca dauh chart

Panca dauh		Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Daytime	Night-time							
I. 6:00 am to 8:24 am	V. 6:00 pm to 8:24 pm	Urip	Gering	Gering	Pati	Urip	Pati	Pati
II. 8:24 am to 10:48 am	IV. 8:24 pm to 10:48 pm	Pati	Urip	Urip	Urip	Gering	Urip	Gering
III. 10:48 am to 1:12 pm	III. 10:48 pm to 1:12 am	Urip	Gering	Urip	Urip	Pati	Gering	Urip
IV. 1:12 pm to 3:36 pm	II. 1:12 am to 3:36 am	Pati	Gering	Urip	Gering	Urip	Gering	Gering
V. 3:36 pm to 6:00 pm	I. 3:36 am to 6:00 am	Gering	Pati	Gering	Gering	Gering	Urip	Urip

Asta dauh chart

Asta dauh		Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Daytime	Night-time							
I. 6:00 am to 7:30 am	VIII. 6:00 pm to 7:30 pm	○	☼	☼	☼	☼	☼	☼
II. 7:30 am to 9:00 am	VII. 7:30 pm to 9:00 pm	☼	☼	○	☼	☼	○	☼
III. 9:00 am to 10:30 am	VI. 9:00 pm to 10:30 pm	☼	☼	○	○	○	☼	☼
IV. 10:30 am to noon	V. 10:30 pm to midnight	☼	☼	☼	○	○	☼	○
V. Noon to 1:30 pm	IV. Midnight to 1:30 am	☼	○	☼	☼	☼	☼	☼
VI. 1:30 pm to 3:00 pm	III. 1:30 am to 3:00 am	☼	○	☼	○	☼	☼	☼
VII. 3:00 pm to 4:30 pm	II. 3:00 am to 4:30 am	○	○	☼	☼	○	○	○
VIII. 4:30 pm to 6:00 pm	I. 4:30 am to 6:00 am	○	○	○	○	○	☼	○



Reading the modern printed Balinese calendar

The modern printed Balinese calendar is a regular Gregorian calendar, except that the familiar seven-day weeks are laid out vertically, not horizontally. The header above the column for each seven-day week gives the name and number (1-30) of the wuku and name of its deity. The footer below the column gives the ingkel for that wuku.

Inside each square, the Gregorian date is surrounded by lots of other information, including: the name, number and key characteristic of the Saka lunar day and month; the names of the day in the two-, three-, four-, five-, six-, seven-, eight, nine-, and ten-day weeks; and the day's characteristics based on the intersection of the five- and seven-day weeks, type of ingkel, and perarasan and panca suda schemes.

Outside of the calendar grid proper are a list of dates of major holy days and temple festivals, and a list of auspicious/inauspicious activities (ala ayuning dewasa) for each Gregorian date.

Above:
Consulting a modern Balinese calendar.

CHAPTER 9 BALINESE TIME IN THE GLOBAL VILLAGE

"Time" as it is presently experienced and organised in Bali combines several contradictory notions of time, both cyclical and linear. These notions have appeared at chronologically different periods to answer natural and symbolic needs. Today's system of intermingling calendars—Pawukon and Saka, to which are now added the Gregorian calendar—bears witness to their historical layering.

There is little doubt that the first notions of time in Bali were indigenous and formed part of a common Austronesian-Nusantaran substratum. Navigational and agricultural in purpose, they rested on observations of the seasons in relation to the stellar system and of the cycles of nature in general.

We have noted several examples of this "primary" sense of time: in the agricultural aspects of the Watugunung myth; in the illustrations of the activities associated with the Saka months, particularly in the drawing showing a reading of the Tenggara-Wuluku constellation; and in the use of shadows cast by the sun in the village of Tenganan to define different times of the day.

Yet, another notion of time, also cyclical, is inherent to the cult of the ancestors, which is typical of indigenous cultures of the Indonesian archipelago and across Asia in general. This is the idea that ancestors have points of origin (*kawitan*) and that their souls come back for regular earthly visits during festivals. The myth of Watugunung and related Pawukon calendar of ritual cycles probably had their initial elaboration in Java in such a context.

Yet this myth and calendar could not have taken the forms we know today before the arrival of literacy to Java and Bali as part of their Indianisation in the first millennium. Indianisation brought the notions of cosmic dynamism with its recurrent eras (*yuga*) and of the reincarnation and transmigration of souls. Along with the introduction of writing and the establishment of kingdoms, it also brought the notion of linear historical time in the form of the Saka calendar. The encounter of literacy and the Saka year with the cult of the ancestors also made possible the appearance of genealogical chronicles (*babad*) with points of origin located in a mythical past.

We do not know when or how the Pawukon-Saka calendar system took on the sophisticated form it has today. It was likely after the Majapahit invasion of 1343 CE—as suggested by its absence in Tenganan—but possibly earlier. The myth of Watugunung is an obviously indigenous narrative—similar stories are found throughout the archipelago—but it was given new meaning by the introduction of Hindu gods to the story.

Elements of natural time and ritual time, cyclical and uncounted, thus coexist with linear historical time in both the larger context of macro-cyclical time and within the micro-cyclical time of an individual person's life. In the eyes of I Gusti Nyoman Darta and many other Balinese, these different kinds of time are not contradictory, but relate to different, complementary aspects of reality.

The purpose of ritual time, as defined by the ceremonies of the Pawukon cycle and those linked to the lunar rhythms of the Saka calendar, is to enable the individual, who lives in the tangible (*sekala*) world of nature and linear events, to eventually rejoin and blend into the intangible (*niskala*) world.

Yet today, this notion of time, with all of its complexity, must take into account the linear time of modern economics and modern history, in which units of time tend to have a neutral symbolic value as well as an economic value.

The seemingly "endless" time spent on preparing offerings and participating in rites and festivals in Bali is turned into a countable time through which offerings and ritual labour acquire economic value. The prevalence of this new, quantitative approach to time in people's lives is challenging the dominance of the qualitative approach to time inherent in the ritual cycle.

Village people, who now get a modern education, are often employed in the tourism industry, where they receive a salary. As guides or waiters, they cannot take part as they should in all village ritual activities. They pay fines for their absences, or delegate their duties to relatives or other villagers whom they have to remunerate. Similarly, it is now possible to purchase, from priests or other specialists, whole sets of ready-made offerings for

many ceremonies. In essence, this means a generalized monetisation of what was until recently unaccounted for, voluntary, or “free” ritual labour.

Furthermore, modern nation-building, systematic planning and, most importantly, the onslaught of technological innovations, with the internet as the frontline intruder, are quickly changing the pace of life, and perhaps transforming Balinese cultural memory. The scope of today’s Balinese is no longer limited to their island or even their nation, but, increasingly, is that of a global village in which information circulates simultaneously from all quarters. In this context, the local understanding of time finds itself, on its own turf, increasingly marginalised by a more global understanding of time.

Does this mean that cultural differences are waning? To a certain extent, yes. Many Balinese youths are now ignorant or indifferent to the cultural idiosyncrasies of their society, including its complex notion of time. Their culture is national and global rather than Balinese.

Yet, globalisation, particularly in an island “constructed” as a tropical paradise, is also leading in the opposite direction for many other young Balinese: a crystallisation of local identity, focused around what they deem key distinguishing features of their traditional culture and religion. In this context, the traditional calendar system has been digitalised and made accessible on the internet. It is now possible to get a Balinese “horoscope” reading or look up auspicious and inauspicious dates in the Pawukon calendar on a number of Indonesian-language websites.

On the whole, as “global time” and the global economy penetrate ever deeper into the core of Balinese society, Balinese time is not necessarily waning. It is instead finding itself enshrined in a secure niche position from which, alongside other aspects of the culture, it allows the Balinese to claim that their identity, and indeed their tradition, is surviving and even thriving. In a global 21st century world in which the media constantly laud Bali as an island of ever-living tradition, Balinese time is indeed likely to continue to function, albeit in a marginal position.

What is certain, however, to paraphrase Hölderlin, is that Bali is shifting from a situation in which “Time is only God” into one in which “Time is not only God”.



Above:
The Dutch introduced the modern notion of time in Bali when they installed this colonial public bell tower clock in the heart of Denpasar.



Kecak

Today, the *kecak*—which was originally a trance dance without the narrative (usually from the Ramayana) that today accompanies it—has become a popular entertainment performance for tourists and is also sometimes included a part of local temple festivals. Today's *kecak* dance was created in the 1930s through a collaboration between the Balinese master dancer Wayan Limbak and the German artist Walter Spies. The dance performance is pictured here in its modern form, as an accompaniment to the Ramayana story. Hanoman, the white monkey king of the Ramayana, is visible in the background.

Kecak dance at Tanah Lot temple.



APPENDICES





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Previous page 228-229:

The gods on their way back from Samuan Tiga temple in Bedulu, Gianyar on the occasion of the full moon of Desta, the 11th month of the Saka calendar.

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Opposite:

A temple priest addressing prayers and offerings at Pura Jati Batur, Bangli.

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ENDNOTES

- 1 "Gott, der nur Zeit ist", Friedrich Hölderlin, German poet and philosopher (1770–1843).
- 2 This is the popular name given to the *Gestapu* (Gerakan September 30), or 30 September 1965 Coup, a leftist military coup which was allegedly supported by the Communist Party and provided the occasion for Suharto's rise to power.
- 3 Kala is granted the right to eat people at certain times of day—sunrise, noon, sunset, and midnight. He also eats children born on the 27th week of the Pawukon cycle (*Wuku Wayang*). See Hooykas (1973: 159–306).
- 4 Lovric (1987: 56).
- 5 With reference to Kali Yuga, the time of destruction, the Balinese often say that "the world is old" (*gumi suba wayah*), which refers metaphorically to the association between Man and world as living beings. For a full presentation of Balinese cosmogony, see Hooykaas (1974).
- 6 The other intermediary phases, *Treta* and *Dwapara*, although commonly found in the palm-leaf manuscripts, are less commonly known in Bali.
- 7 These clowns represent the little people, but owing to their roles as advisors to kings and heroes, they are thought to represent ancient ancestral deities of indigenous origin. See more about this in Lombard (1996:134). On the syncretist role of clowns in Bali, see Hobart (1983: 159–170).
- 8 For a short depiction of the system, see Lombard (1996:101). A complete list of the equivalences between words and numbers is found in Pigeaud (1938:xi–xii).
- 9 The Majapahit invasion of Bali is a historical fact. The mythic aspect lies in the way the Balinese perceive the consequences of this invasion. Even though most Balinese claim Majapahit ancestry, the fact is that the invaders never constituted more than a small minority. Their number and power were nevertheless sufficient to set off a Javanisation process in the indigenous Balinese population.
- 10 One of the most famous chronicles, *Babad Pasek*, for example, opens with the enumeration of the main gods of the creation, beginning with the void, Sanghyang Embang, and continues down through the divine manifestations and human incarnations leading to the appearance of the Pasek clan and sub-clans.
- 11 For a thorough analysis of the relation between the Saka calendar and historical time in Bali, see Proutfoot (2007).
- 12 Lovric (1987: 56).
- 13 The information in this section is adapted from "Javanese Calendar" in Ruggles (2005: 207–208), with additions from Liefcrinck (1969), van den Bosch (1978), Ammarell (1988), Ottino (2000) and Stuart-Fox (2002).
- 14 Alternately written as *Huluku* or *Waluku* (Maas 1929), *Wluku* (van den Bosch 1978) or *Weluku* (Ammarell 1988).
- 15 The Pleiades, or *Kartika* or *Krettika* (Maas 1929), also named *Bintang Tujuh*, *Wuluh*, and *Guru Desa* (van den Bosch 1978) is an open star cluster in the Taurus constellation. In Bali, its annual cycle is from 22 to 34 days earlier than that of *Wuluku*.
- 16 It is also the start of the second wet-rice cycle named *gagadon*.
- 17 Stellar observational techniques are of two types, one based on fixing the heliacal apparitions of individual stars or constellations, the other based on observing their culminations. Heliacal apparitions refer to stellar positions with respect to the horizon when they are first or last visible in the twilight of dawn or dusk, while heliacal culminations refer to the times when particular stars transit the meridian (are at their highest altitude) at either dawn or dusk. Observations of heliacal culminations for calendrical purposes appear to be confined to the Malay cultural realm (Ammarell 1988).
- 18 Stuart-Fox (2002:183–184).
- 19 An exhaustive analysis of the use of the Orion cycle by the Balinese can be found in Pink (1993) in the chapter *Der Orion und das quasisolare Jahr*, pp. 79–96.

- 20 In Buleleng, the transplanting of seedling was decided by when the culmination of Kartika was observed (Lieftrinck 1969: 63).
- 21 The dry-land rice crop was harvested only once a year in December or January.
- 22 Ottino (2000: 55-56).
- 23 "The computation of time marks the interactions taking place between the microcosm of the human self (*bhwana alit*) and the macrocosm of the human world (*bhwana agung*), during one complete cycle of life processes" (Ottino 2000: 68). Also see Pigeaud (1967-1970, vol. I: 32). Other references linking the Watugunung myth to agriculture are found within the calendar festivals, most of which are related to agriculture and fertility. See "Watugunung and Agriculture" in Chapter 2 of this book.
- 24 The correspondence between these two levels is explicitly formulated in the myth of Watugunung, which explains the origin of the rule-based Pawukon calendar. As discussed in Chapter 2, this myth underlines the need to respect the obligations and taboos prescribed by the pedewasan in order to achieve cosmic harmony. Any infringement entails potential cosmic (and so, also human) disorder.
- 25 Geertz, C. (1966: 145-146). Geertz, however, made important mistakes. He found that the internal order of the Balinese Pawukon calendar had no meaning. He failed to appreciate the role of the Watugunung story as a founding myth of Balinese culture.
- 26 Geertz (1984:147).
- 27 One of the main principles of Balinese religious philosophy is that of the complementarity of opposites *Rwabhinna*, day and night, male and female, *pradana* (cosmic female), *purusa* (cosmic male or lingam), sun and moon, etc. Like the *yin* and *yang* of Chinese philosophy, these opposites always intermingle with one another.
- 28 In the 210-day Pawukon calendar Goris counts 32 holy days (see Goris 1983: 121) to which should be added seven full moons (*Purnama*) and seven new moons (*Tilem*).
- 29 A temple festival is the occasion for the multiple gods and other inhabitants of the invisible world to come and visit the middle world of mankind. Ancestors are greeted along with Sri, the goddess of rice, Sedana, the god of riches, and Siwa-Raditya. Included in their retinue are the divine companions of the gods and the demons. The gods have an earthly abode or *pelinggih* in the small, dollhouse-like shrines found in all temples in Bali. The temples "come to life" on the occasion of the odalan. The gods who visit are greeted and entertained with dances and fed with offerings. They are also bathed and lodged for the duration of the festival, which may last for a few days. The demons are presented with offerings as well. For further information on temple festivals, see Belo (1953) and Hooykaas (1977).
- 30 *Otonan* and *odalan* are two words that similarly mean "get out" or "be born" (from *wetu* and *odal*): the temples, as symbolic microcosms, are "living beings" subject to a similar cycle of rites as Man.
- 31 The version of the story told here is a literary adaptation, translated and rewritten by the author, from *Purwan Sang Watugunung*—a late 19th or early 20th century lontar (palmyra-palm leaf manuscript) of a Balinised Kawi (Old-Javanese) shadow puppet play (Lontar IIIb.287/15, Kirtya). Other versions exist, including *Tutur Medan Kemulan*, published in 2006 by Kirtya from a different, unreferenced manuscript. The most famous version of the myth is the Javanese one given in the *Babad Tanah Djawi* (see Olthof 1941). For abridged records of oral versions see Covarrubias (1936: 314-315), Berthier & Sweeney (1970: 165-167), and Simpen (1988).
- 32 The name Kulagiri refers to the notion of mountain. Zoetmulder (1982) translates Kulagiri as "mountain range". *Kula* also means descent. Kulagiri also appears under different names—Giriswara and Ukir—in different versions of the myth.
- 33 This is probably another name for Kulagiri, Watugunung's father (see Simpen 1988:4).
- 34 The original text talks of *Sang Hyang Siwabuddha Wesa*, a reference to the duality of Shiva worship and Buddhism in Balinese religion.

- 35 If we agree with Simpen (1988: 4), that Ukir, also written Wukir, is another name for Kulagiri, that is, that he is Watugunung's human father, we have here a classical revolt against the father, later followed by incest with the mother.
- 36 The names of the king and his 26 vassals, together with Sinta, Landep and Watugunung, are the names of the 30 seven-day weeks or *wuku* of the 210-day Pawukon calendar cycle.
- 37 See Pigeaud (1967-1970, vol. I: 32). Other references linking the myth to agriculture are found within the calendar festivals, most of which are related to agriculture and fertility.
- 38 Zoetmulder (1982:1775) associates Sinta with Sita. According to Bulke (1952), Sita is the daughter of the earth (Bhumija).
- 39 Additionally, Landep's father is, in the lontar Pasupati, "lord of the animals", another name of the god Siwa.
- 40 The oldest mention of the Pawukon system is found in the Sri Wawa inscription from Java, dated Saka 849 (927 CE); see Damais (1995:106). Damais (1995: 103) also mentions the existence of a double Pawukon, 420 day cycle (*ha temuang*) in an inscription dating from the 8th century.
- 41 The first mentions of this classificatory system in Indonesia are found in the 11th century Buddhist text *Sang Hyang Kamahayanikan*, and in the 16th century *Korawasrarama*. Damais has demonstrated that this Old-Javanese and Balinese classification system for associating colours and other elements with directions of the compass is indigenous to ancient Java and Bali and owes nothing, aside from a few names, to Indian and Chinese symbolism; see Damais (1995: 111-164) and Lombard (1990: 100-101). For a cosmogonic study of this system in Bali, see Hooykaas (1974).
- 42 As it rotates, the pangider-ider also represents the world and its parts, and ultimately, the essence of the divine. Other visual representations related to the pangider-ider are found in illustrations of the cosmic wheel (*swastika*) and the divine lotus (*padma*).
- 43 For an exhaustive analysis of the *Wariga*, see Pink (1993).
- 44 Interestingly, the names of the *wuku* are indigenous, whilst those of the corresponding deities are of Indian origin.
- 45 The names attributed to the days of the *wewaran* cycles below are of Indian origin in the case of the *Caturwara*, *Saptawara*, *Astawara* and *Dasawara* (with the exception of *Manuh*), while all the other ones, i.e., *Ekawara*, *Dwiwara*, *Triwara*, *Sadwara* and *Sangawara* are of Javanese origin (Damais 1995: 108). The exact meaning of most of the day names is unclear. We give here the meanings attributed by Balinese tradition.
- 46 Damais (1995: 107).
- 47 Only (*U*)*manis* has a clear meaning: "sweet". According to Damais (1995: 105), referring to Van Der Tuuk's dictionary, *Wage* means "partner" in the Osing language of Banyuwangi, while *Kliwon* comes from the Old-Javanese *liyū*, meaning "many".
- 48 See Ossenbruggen (1977).
- 49 Ottino (2000:68).
- 50 Idem.
- 51 Gina (1982).
- 52 Damais (1995: 105) confirms the meaning of *Paniron*, but says that *Maulu* comes from *wulu*, meaning "hair".
- 53 Ottino (2000: 68).
- 54 Ottino, idem.
- 55 This is not the same Sri as the one referred in the *Caturwara* and *Astawara*, which both refer to the goddess of rice and the idea of prosperity. Sri refers here to the idea of beauty.
- 56 Some *tika*, however, may show cycles other than the 210-day Pawukon cycle.
- 57 Lombard (1996:7).
- 58 The first ten months of the Saka calendar also have Sanskrit names: *Srawana* for *Kasa*; *Bhadrapada* for *Karo*; *Asuji* or *Aswina* for *Katiga*; *Kartika* for *Kapat*; *Mergasira* (*Margasirsa*) for *Kalima*; *Pausa* for *Kaenem*; *Magha* for *Kapitu*; *Phalguna* for *Kawulu*; *Caitra* for *Kasanga*; and *Waisaka* for *Kadasa*; the two other months have retained their

Sanskrit names: *Jhyaistha* or *Desta* for the eleventh month and *Asadha* or *Sadha* for the twelfth. See Goris (1984:116).

59 Balinese calendar specialists are constantly arguing among themselves about when the proper insertion of a *penampih sasih* should take place. Specialists debate which method should be chosen to add the additional month, the *nampih* method or the historical method. For further information, see Eiseman (2000:39-40).

60 Damais (1969:247).

61 Usually March, but it may be the previous or following Gregorian month, according to calendar computations. The same applies to the correspondences between the other *sasih* and the Gregorian months given here. There are no special activities during the occasional extra months (*sampih*).

62 Text by Jean Couteau originally published in *Bali Today I* (2005).

63 Covarrubias (1937:102).

64 For more about the banjar and banjar meetings, see Chapter 6.

65 Covarrubias (1937:86).

66 A good example of the elaborate rituals as well as taboos demanded or made possible during Kajeng-Kliwon (including a specific tie-in to the story of Watugunung) is given by Lovric (1988):

"Of all the ambiguously powerful conjunctions of days, *Kajeng-Kliwon* ... seems to assume importance over others, with the possible exception of *Tilem* and *Purnama*. 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* [mental illness] are likely to seek such corpses. *Leyak* [witches] 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*. 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 Watugunung*. *Saniscara*, the seventh day of the seven-day week, in Balinese cosmology, is located in the north. There is therefore an association with *Batara Wisnu* and black-colored offerings ... Black coconut leaves (*klepan*) form the basis of the offering. *Kajeng* and *Kliwon* together have a numeric value of 8. This dictates the form of another ingredient of the offering, a white duck. *Watugunung* is the week in which *Batara Saraswati* was born. This necessitates a further long list of offering ingredients which include four kinds of holy water and four kinds of flowers ... "

67 This is a personal interpretation based upon the position of the days consecrated respectively to *Sedana* and *Sri* on this *Wuku*, which is itself consecrated to *Sedana*. The previous week, *Wuku Wayang*, even though it is consecrated to *Sri*, the goddess of agriculture, is mainly under negative *Kala* influences—another illustration of the dual value, positive and negative, of any given moment of time.

68 Goris (1984:128) puts the same celebration of *Sri* on the Saturday. We have not been able to locate the cause of this and other discrepancies.

69 Goris (1984:123) puts the paid-paidan on *Soma-(U)manis*. He also links the dragging on the ground to an episode of the story when *Watugunung's* mother, upset at his behaviour, drags her young son (*Jabang Bayi*) on the ground. However, the dragging of *Watugunung's* body on the ground also occurs after his defeat by the gods in the versions of the myth that we have consulted.

70 Goris (1984:122).

71 Goris (1984:123).

72 Goris (1984:123).

73 Simpen (1988:4).

74 Goris (1984:123).

75 Goris (1984:124).

Opposite:

Barong and Rangda being taken to the sea for cleansing for mekiis before Nyepi, the Saka New Year.

76 Warna & Murdha (1986:72-88).

77 Maya Danawa tried to flee by walking in side-steps (Tampak Siring), and the place where he did this became the village of Tampaksiring; he then tried to transform into a bird and the place where he did this became the village of Manukaya (from manuk = bird); then into a coconut leaf (= busung) and the place where he did that became the village of Blusung. Outskilled, Maya Danawa tried a last ruse: he turned spring water into poison, and the gods, thirsty from all the fighting, drank heartily from the springs and were all killed except Indra. But Indra was not to be outwitted: He stuck two umbrellas into the ground, creating the springs of Tirta Selukat (purification water) and Tirta Empul (the spring water), whose water was then sprinkled to the gods and resurrected them—the sites of these water sources are to this day a famous pilgrimage in Bali. Maya Danawa tried again to flee, but he was killed by Indra's arrow. His blood became the water of the Petanu river. From that day on, people say: "Whoever dares to bathe in the Petanu shall be stricken down by illness, and whoever drinks it shall be poisoned." Thus, the Petanu river, due to his curse, was not used for irrigation purposes until recently.

78 See Warna & Murdha (1986: 91-92), and Goris (1984:126).

79 "On Friday (*Sukra*) *Kliwon* of the week of *Sungsang*, the holiday *Sugian Bali*, the deified ancestors, the *pitaras*, are believed to descend ... Five days later, on Wednesday (*Buda Kliwon*) of *Dungulan*, they are given their major offerings. Another five days later, on Monday (*Soma*) *Kliwon* of *Kuningan*, they return to heaven...Another five days later, on Saturday (*Saniscara*) *Kliwon*, falls *Kuningan Day*." (Goris 1984:126).

80 Further evidence for this may be found in the fact that Pagerwesi is to this day a more important holy day in North Bali than Galungan and Kuningan.

81 See Goris (1984: 128).

82 On Kala and the Sapuleger, see Hooykaas (1973:159-306).

83 In India, situated in the northern hemisphere, it is the longest new moon night of the Saka year, but in Bali, situated in the southern hemisphere, it is the shortest.

84 The custom of holding a "cleansing wake" to honour Siwa on Tilem Kapitu may have predated this story, but the latter has strongly influenced the holding of the ritual in modern Bali.

85 For a description of this exceptional festival in 1979, see Stuart-Fox (1982).

86 *Panglong* are the days from the full moon (*Purnama*) to the new moon (*Tilem*), whilst *penanggal* are the days from the new moon to the full moon. The odd panglong are 1, 3, 5, 7 and so forth, and the even panglong are 2, 4, 6, 8 and so forth after the full moon. The odd penanggal are 1, 3, 5, 7 and so forth, and the even penanggal are 2, 4, 6, 8 and so forth, after the new moon.

87 This is a slightly revised version of a story by Jean Couteau originally published in *Bali Today II* (2008).

88 Breguet (1980).

89 See Korn (1933) and Covarrubias (1937: 316).

90 Based on myths and imprecise historical chronicles, there seems to have been a conjunction of the two calendars around 1385, but this remains to be confirmed by hard evidence.

91 Ramseyer (2009:117).

92 Ramseyer (2009:145).

93 This chapter is mainly based on the Indonesian-language book on the Wariga by Gina (1992). It is far from exhaustive. A full explanation of the Wariga system would require several volumes. For an explanation in German, see the comprehensive study by Pink (1993).

94 Regarding links with astronomy, see Maas (1929). Forge (1978) notes that each lintang is said to be an actual constellation in the sky; although no one seems able to point out the named constellations, the name of the day is enclosed in a star shape in most pelelintangan.

95 You can look up your day of birth in the Pawukon cycle and its signs by keying in your date, month and year of birth at the top of the calendar shown at the following website: <http://www.babadbali.com/pewarigaan/pewarigaan.php>

96 Source: Forge (1978).



GLOSSARY

Glossary of selected Balinese terms

This list covers certain Balinese-language terms—related to time, rites and festivals—which recur in the main text or captions in certain chapters of this book without being re-defined each time. All of the many other Balinese terms in this book are directly glossed, or discussed in-depth on the page where they occur, or glossed on a previous occurrence on the same page.

Anggarakasih: The conjunction of *Anggara* (Tuesday) and *Kliwon* of the five-day week, one of the “strong” conjunction days of the *Pawukon* calendar on which major temple anniversaries and pan-island holy days occur.

bale: Various kinds of raised, open-air pavilions and platforms, including *bale banjar*, the halls in village commons where *banjar* gatherings are held; *bale dangin*, ceremonial pavilions in the eastern part of family compounds; *bale petemu*, meeting halls of the male and female youth associations in Tenganan Pegeringsingan; Bale Agung, meeting hall of the Tenganan council of elders.

balian: Term covering various types of indigenous Balinese healers (who also play priestly roles in certain rites), including: *balian tetakson* (trance mediums who act as intermediaries with gods, spirits, ancestors, lost souls), *balian usadha* (medicine men who heal using medicinal plant preparations), *balian manakan* (male midwives), and others.

banjar: Neighbourhood associations – one or more of which comprise each customary (adat) village – responsible for maintaining “cosmic order” in the community and for coordinating banjar members in fulfilling their community ritual obligations (*ayahan banjar*).

Batara/Batari: Terms of address for gods/goddesses, also known as *Dewa/Dewi*.

Buda-Cemeng: The conjunction of *Buda* (Wednesday) and *Wage* of the five-day week, one of the “strong” conjunction days of the *Pawukon* calendar on which many major temple anniversaries and other ceremonies are held.

Buda-Kliwon: The conjunction of *Buda* (Wednesday) and *Kliwon* of the five-day week, one of the “strong” conjunction days of the *Pawukon*

calendar on which major temple anniversaries and pan-island holy days occur, including in this case, *Pagerwesi*, *Pegat Uwakan* and *Galungan*—three of the most important pan-Bali holy days of the *Pawukon* calendar.

buta/buta kala: Demons, low spirits, earthly forces.

buta yadnya: Ceremonies addressed to demons, low spirits, or earthly forces.

canang sari: The most common, simplest type of offering made and offered daily in Bali, consisting of tiny plaited palm-leaf baskets or trays filled with symbolically significant bits of food, flowers, betel ingredients, and incense.

caru/mecaru: Rites of exorcism addressed to demons and earthly forces to cleanse land, buildings and other environments of unwanted malevolent influences.

daha: A term used to designate unmarried women and adolescent girls.

dauh: Variable-duration time units into which the Balinese day (our 24-hour day) was traditionally divided. The passage of time each day and each night is defined by two parallel cycles of five units (*panca dauh*) and eight units (*asta dauh*) respectively, and their duration varies according to natural variations through the year in the time span between sunrise and sunset, sunset and sunrise.

Dewa/Dewi: Terms of address for gods/goddesses, also known as *Batara/Batari*.

Galungan - Kuningan: Series of holy days, spanning 19 days, which comprise one of the most important ceremonial cycles of the *Pawukon* calendar, during which all ancestral divinities come to visit their descendants and are welcomed and celebrated in their “residences” in family and village temples across Bali.

Hari Saraswati: An important day to honour the goddess of knowledge and learning, which marks the last day of each *Pawukon* cycle, and separates the week (*wuku*) of Watugunung, the incestuous son, from that of Sinta, his incestuous mother, thus signifying the dawn of human consciousness of time, and hence, civilized life.

ingkel: Days or weeks considered unlucky/inauspicious for certain activities.

Kajeng-Kliwon: The conjunction of *Kajeng* of the three-day week and *Kliwon* of the five-day week in the *Pawukon* calendar, which occurs every 15 days. Considered to be fraught with occult power, this is a day of ritual exorcism, on which elaborate offerings are made to all of the cardinal directions in houses and in temples and outside their thresholds, to ward off negative forces.

kanda empat: Four spiritual siblings and guardians who protect individuals through their life cycles.

kerama desa: All married members of a Balinese village community.

kulkul: Wooden slit gong/drum used to notify village members of community meetings, deaths, ceremonial events, catastrophes or crimes (e.g. fire or theft), and also, traditionally, the passing of time during the day (*dauh* time units).

lontar: Traditional manuscripts made of dried, treated palmyra-palm leaves, incised on both sides with a knife, then blackened with soot to bring the script out, and bound together with string passed through holes in each leaf and knotted at the outer ends.

mabiakala: Offerings to demons and earthly spirits.

naga: Cosmic mythical dragons, notably including Anantaboga (symbol of water) and Basuki (symbol of earth).

nawa sanga: The “nine sacred directions” and their correspondences, which compose the Balinese “compass rose of the winds” known as *pangider-ider*.

odalan: Festivals held in every Bali-Hindu temple every 210-days, to mark the anniversary of the temple in the *Pawukon* calendar.

oton/otonan: One’s day of birth (*oton*) in the *Pawukon* cycle, which is celebrated every 210-days with a ritual (*otonan*), most elaborately on the first one, when a child reaches 210 days of age.

Pagerwesi: Literally meaning “iron gate” this is one of the most important holy days and marks the closure of the cycle of purification of the *Pawukon* “New Year”.

pangider-ider: An indigenous “compass rose of the winds” or mandala of the universe. The four cardinal directions, four intermediary directions and centre of this compass are each associated with particular sacred numbers (*urip*); deities and their weapons and vehicles; elements of nature; colours of the spectrum; mountains of the island; body parts; and all the components of the calendars.

panglong: Days of the waning moon (from the full moon to the new moon) in each *sasih* (month) of the *Saka* calendar.

penanggal (tanggal): Days of the waxing moon (from the new moon to the full moon) in each *sasih* (month) of the *Saka* calendar.

Pawukon: The 210-day, rule-based, Javanese-Balinese calendar that regulates most of Bali’s rituals, and consists of a system of overlapping cycles of one-day to ten-day “weeks” (*weweran*).

pedanda: Title for high priests, that is, priests of the Balinese Brahman caste.

pejati: Offerings to “notify” the gods of, and invite their blessings on the ritual being held. Consisting of arrangements of plaited palm-leaf, fruits, meat, rice and other ingredients, they are carried on a tray on the head, and are larger, more complex than daily offerings.

pelelindon (pelindon): Painted divination charts—or “earthquake calendars”—based on the 12 lunar months of the *Saka* calendar, which forecast in words and pictures what can be expected if an earthquake strikes during a given lunar month.

pelelintahan (pelintahan): Painted divination charts that depict 35 *lintang* (“star signs”), based upon the 35 possible conjunction days of the five-day week and seven-day week of the *Pawukon* calendar, and are used, like horoscopes, to divine a person’s character based on which of these conjunction days the person was born.

pemangku: Temple or village priests who are not of the Brahman caste.

pura: Bali-Hindu temples, including the temples found in every village, known as *pura dalem* (temple of death), *pura desa* (village temple), and *pura puseh* (temple of origin), respectively.

Purnama: The full moon.

rerainan gumi: Holy days regulated by the Pawukon calendar that are celebrated island-wide, including, but not limited to those included in this glossary (*Galungan, Hari Saraswati, Pagerwesi, Tumpek*).

Saka: Name of the Balinese luni-solar calendar, which was diffused from India and dates back to 78CE. Consisting of 12 lunar months (*sasih*), it regulates a number of important holy days and ceremonies which fall on or around full moons and new moons.

sanggah: Term for various kinds of shrines and alters, as well as the walled ancestor temples, filled with shrines, found in Balinese commoner homes (known as *merajan* in high caste family homes).

sasih: Lunar months of the *Saka* calendar year, consisting of 12 months of 29 or 30 days each, whose names refer to their numerical order, except for the last two months, which have retained names of Sanskrit origin: 1. *Kasa*; 2. *Karo*; 3. *Katiga*; 4. *Kapat*; 5. *Kalima*; 6. *Kaenam*; 7. *Kapitu*; 8. *Kawulu*; 9. *Kasanga*; 10. *Kadasa*; 11. *Jyaistha* (or *Jhista* or *Desta*); and 12. *Asadha* (or *Sadha*).

teruna: A term used to designate unmarried men and adolescent boys.

tika: Charts, carved of wood or painted on cloth, made to visualise and facilitate the reading of the *Pawukon* calendar. Most tika show all 30 weeks of the calendar cycle, using different codes in the individual boxes of the chart to focus attention on important conjunctions and particular patterns of repetition in the multiple, various-sized "weeks" that make up the calendar.

Tilem: The new moon.

tithi: The lunar days of the month in the *Saka* calendar.

Tumpek: The conjunction of Saniscara (Saturday) and Kliwon of the five-day week, an important conjunction day that occurs six times in each *Pawukon* cycle, each dedicated to honouring different things, including cattle and other livestock; musical instruments, masks, costumes and other theatre accessories; metal objects and weapons; trees and plants; visiting ancestors; and shadow puppet theatre.

urip: Sacred or magical numbers assigned to elements of the *pangider-ider*, including elements of the calendar system.

usaba: Generic term for festivals/ceremonies related to agriculture. Also the term used, together with the name of a lunar month, to identify specific ceremonial cycles in Tenganan Pegeringsingan, based upon the month in the Tenganan calendar in which the ceremonies fall. So, for example, *Usaba Sambah* is a month-long cycle of ceremonies held in the month called *Kelima* or *Sambah*.

Wariga: Body of esoteric knowledge pertaining to the Balinese calendar and calendar-based divination, inscribed on various palm-leaf manuscripts (*lontar*). This knowledge is held by specialists whom Balinese people consult when planning special events and activities.

Watugunung: Main protagonist of the incest myth that accounts for the origin of the *Pawukon* calendar, and hence, the lord of the calendar and the culture hero off/bringer of civilisation to Bali, as well as being the name of the last week of the *Pawukon* cycle.

wewaran: System of *wara*, or "weeks", ranging from one to ten days long, which run concurrently through each 210-day *Pawukon* cycle: *Ekawara* (one day); *Dwiwara* (two days); *Triwara* (three days); *Caturwara* (four days); *Pancawara* (five days); *Sadwara* (six days); *Saptawara* (seven days); *Astawara* (eight days); *Sangawara* (nine days), *Dasawara* (ten days). Each day of each *wara* has particular sacred correspondences and characteristics, so that their conjunctions on a given day determine its character and auspiciousness.

wuku: Title of the royal characters in the Watugunung incest myth that explains the origins of the *Pawukon* calendar, whose names are also those of the 30 seven-day weeks of this calendar: Sinta, Landep, Ukir (Wukir), Kulantir, Taulu (Tolu), Gumbreg, Wariga, Warigadian, Julungwangi, Sungsang, Dungulan, Kuningan, Langkir, Medangsia, Pujut, Pahang, Krulut, Merakih, Tambir, Medangkungan, Matal, Uye, Menail, Prangbakat, Bala, Ugu, Wayang, Kulawu, Dukut, and Watugunung.

yadnya: The ceremonies conducted in all rites of passage and on all holy days, which consist of five categories addressed to different beings and levels of reality, as follows: *buta yadnya* (for demons/earthly forces), *dewa yadnya* (for deities/divine forces), *manusa yadnya* (for living human beings), *pitra yadnya* (for the dead), and *rsi yadnya* (for priests).

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Carrying a roasted pork "to pay for a vow" (*naur soot*) at the Pura Pusuh (origin temple) of Sibetan, Karangasem.



Time, Rites and Festivals in Bali is designed to meet the needs of a broad range of readers. It will be a welcome addition to the libraries of all those intrigued by the traditional culture of Bali and its survival in modern times. It will also appeal more widely to all those who want to learn about different cultural notions of time, enrich their own personal perspectives of time, and create more enjoyable ways to mark the passage of time in their own lives.

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