

NAWASANGA: PATTERNS OF BALINESE COSMIC ORDER

An Ecological Approach to Balinese Religion

Patriluis Patriwirawan

Introduction

Background of the Study

Sang Kulputih, 'the Holy Hermit' of Majapahit (Java) founded Pura Besakih, Bali's chief temple, and officiated there as a priest, practising asceticism, and reciting prayers. Therefore, the god Pasupati decided to send his son and daughter to Bali and to transfer a part of Mahameru, the mountain of the gods there. In Bali, the two children of the god were given the names of Mahadewa and Dewi Danu and the peak Mahameru became the mountain of Gunung Agung.

Mayadanawa, the native king of Bedahulu, Bali, disturbed the offering ceremonies. Sang Kulputih begged Mahadewa and Dewi Danu for assistance and the latter called on the gods of Jambudwipa: Indra and their father Pasupati. Upon obtaining the promise of the god's help Mahadewa marched with the divine hosts against Mayadanawa. The latter was defeated after a fierce struggle; and following a long pursuit, was finally put to death. A number of sacred places in the Balinese landscape are associated with these events. After the end of the struggle, Pasupati himself came to Bali and set affairs in order, regulating the temple system and the like. Then he returned to Jambudwipa with his retinue.

Supported by historical events relating the flight of many thousands of Madjapahit Hindu priests, nobles, soldiers, artists and artisans from Java to Bali to escape their Muslim conquerors in the fourteenth century, the foregoing data, a simplified version from the Balinese manuscript USANA BALI, fit into a general picture of Hinduization of the Bali island. Since then Bali has been considered by many as the last stronghold of Hinduism in the Indonesian archipelago.

This tradition colors the accounts of the first westerners who visited the island: John Crawford visited North Bali (Buleleng) in 1814, Sir Stanford Raffles in 1815 and Friedrich in 1845. They felt that the Balinese religion had originally been a duplicate of Hinduism, and what was not in line with the Hindu religion did not matter. A similar opinion prevailed among other scholars, who dealt only with the Hindu aspect of Balinese religion.

Since 1930, reactions against the Hinduistic view of the Balinese religion have appeared. Covarrubias says that centuries of religious penet-

ration did not convince the Balinese that the *Bataras* (Hindu gods) were their gods. The people continued to appeal to their infinitely more accessible local *dewas* to give them happiness and prosperity (1950:289). Jane Belo described the religion of the *jaba* which holds 90% of the island's population*: religion to the *jaba* means regular offerings to ancestral spirits in one's own *sanggah* or household temple; offerings to the gods of the village temples, under the tutelage of the *pemangku*, (a priest also of *jaba* caste); propitiation of demons and bad spirits on the roadside before the house, at the crossroads, the graveyard (1970:350-351). H.G. Quaritch Wales concludes that the religion of the Balinese people is "a system that is far removed from the Hindu (1974:105)."

Problem and Objectives

The foregoing section can be summarized into two contrasting views concerning the Balinese religion. One group stresses the Hinduization of the indigenous elements. For them the religion of the Balinese is Hinduism. The other group emphasizes the Balinization of the imported elements, whether they came from India, Java or other countries. For this group, Balinese religion is animism or ancestral cult.

In this case, Swellengrebel's statement in studying Balinese culture is important. What he says regarding Balinese culture can also be said about Balinese religion:

Research workers. . . realized that in the peculiar culture which had developed in Bali, the indigenous was at least as important as the imported, and that both parties had to be heard if a proper understanding of the culture as a whole was to be obtained (in WERTHEIM, 1960:26).

If we want to have a proper and adequate understanding of Balinese religion, we have to deal with the indigenous elements as well as the imported ones. But, if in studying Balinese religion the indigenous elements have to be taken into account, the question is what are those indigenous elements; where they came from or how they came about. To have an adequate understanding of these indigenous elements necessarily involves the problem of their origin.

*It is true that more than 90 percent of the Balinese are *Sudra*, the fourth and lowest Hindu Caste called in Bali *jaba* or outsiders. This is to distinguish them from the Brahmana, Ksatria and Wesya, who claim descent from the Hindu Javanese invaders of Majapahit, conquerors of the island in the fourteenth century. These *jaba* are, then more 'insiders' than outsiders, the real Balinese (Belo, 1970: 350).

Taking an ecological approach, this study attempts answers to these questions. Something is said to be indigenous if it has originated in, and is produced, growing or living naturally in a particular region or environment. If *Nawasanga*, the patterns of Balinese religion and life, has originated and has been influenced and shaped by the island's habitat and environments, then *NAWASANGA* is *INDIGENOUS*.

The study tries 1) to describe the natural environment of the island of Bali, which has produced and shaped *Nawasanga*; 2) to describe and to analyze *Nawasanga*, the indigenous elements and the principles of Balinese religion; 3) to expose its logical, cause-effect relationship with the habitat of the environments, and finally 4) to determine the role that religion plays in the Balinese socio-cultural system. Before we proceed to our discussion, it may be helpful to be familiar with some terms utilized in this paper.

Explanation of Terms

Nawasanga is derived from the Sanskrit word, *nawa*, meaning "nine", and from the Balinese word, *sanga*, also meaning "nine". *Nawasanga* then is ninefold or a division or partition into nine. According to Balinese beliefs, the universe is arranged and patterned after a compass with eight cardinal points and its center (see: diagrams). This *nawasanga* is used as a symbol indicating how the universe is ordered.

By "ecological approach" the writer means to explain Balinese religion in terms of ecology or environments. The physical setting and environments partly determine and contribute to the emergence and development of the ritual behavior and religious life of the Balinese people.

By religion is meant a system of transcendental beliefs and practices through which the people establish relationships with the supernatural. Since in this study we are dealing with the religion of the Balinese people, the application of our definition is adapted to the Balinese concept of religion. For them, religion is concrete, action-centered, and thoroughly interwoven with the details of every day life (Geertz, 1973:175). And also for them, there is no a clearcut distinction between religion and magic. What concerns them are rituals.

Review of Literature

This paper owes its inspiration to Marx's "*A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*". He conceptualized the sociocultural system as operating on two planes: the material basis, consisting of the physical environment and the forms of production and distribution through

which the society maintains itself, and the culture, which is an ideational superstructure rooted and dynamically dependent upon the material basis. Marx eloquently spells out his position:

In the social production which men carry on, they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society - - the real foundation, on which rise legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. *The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness* (1904: 138 emphasis added).

Marx's position has been supported by a recent study made by Alvin Gouldner and Richard Peterson. Using data from 71 pre-industrial societies, they attempted to determine which factor or factors, if any, have a determinative influence on what they call the moral order of society. They analyzed eleven factors, including kinship and sexual dominance, and were persuaded that "*technology is the single most influential factor, in that it predicts more of the variance in all of the other factors than does any other single factor* (1962:59)."

If Marx, Gouldner and Peterson inspired this study in a negative way; as a spring board, Gayton's "*Cultural - Environment Integration: External References in Yokuts Life*", gave a hint to a different approach. According to Gayton, a society's environmental setting may shape cultural concepts of time, space, and cosmogony (Helm 1962:634).

Rejecting one-sided explanations like sociological, historical, psychological, including the idea of a religious emotion or instinct and other supposed emotions like awe, love, fear, shame, as well as diverted sexual or social longings as the responsible factors in making man religious, Howells attempted to determine the more complex factors. He bases his theory on palpable facts about man and his past which tend to show that it is not one lone element within him, but rather his whole organism and life which predispose him to religious behavior, which cause him to produce religious ideas and then respond readily to them.

According to Howells, man is the culmination of a trend producing creatures capable in the highest degree of receiving and reflecting on stimuli from their surroundings, and of great sensitiveness in reacting personally and adjusting themselves thereto:

As far as he is able, man gains his ends by direct methods, using his hands, his tongue; scientifically, he brings changes in the world around him . . . Where this does not suffice to meet what he feels, consciously or unconsciously, to be his necessities, he is apt to make the adjustment not by changing his surroundings, but by changing himself. And the medium whereby he changes himself is religion (1962:23).

But human beings do not inherit their organized responses to environmental stimuli; they learn almost every item of behavior in which they engage. "As members of society, most of us see only what we expect to see, and what we expect to see is what we are conditioned to see when we have learned the definitions and classifications of our culture (Turner 1964:339)."

Everyone makes the chaos of the universe understandable and manageable in cultural terms. These cultural terms are learned categories called *cognitive categories*, that human groups use to interact with their environments, to impose order on the universe, and to inject meaning into their lives.

The incentive of utilizing the symbolic NAWASANGA in this paper came from Turner's above contribution and Geertz's "Religion As a Cultural System" (1973). Geertz emphasizes the symbolic element of religion, and how it provides a meaningful cultural context for individual behavior. For him religion is:

(1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic (1973:90).

Further, Geertz suggests a two-stage operation of anthropological study of religion: *first*, an analysis of the system of meanings embodied in the symbols which make up the religion proper and, *second*, the relating of these systems to socio-structural and psychological processes (*ibid.*:125).

Finally, his concept of the function of religion in society is also important:

Religion is sociologically interesting *not because* as vulgar positivism would have it, *it describes the social order* (which, in so far as it does, it describes not only very obliquely but also very incompletely), *but because*, like environment, political power, wealth, jural obligation, personal affection, and a sense of beauty, *it shapes it.* (*Ibid.*, 119, emphasis added).

Procedure

After exposing the problem and objectives and review of literature, this paper proceeds to the description of the island's natural environment

which sets problems of survival for the people. To survive, they develop certain forms of techno-economics through which they can change the environment. On the other hand, facing the unmastered aspects of environment, they change and adapt themselves to it by developing religion. The next section discusses the role that religion plays in the socio-cultural system

The Physical Environment

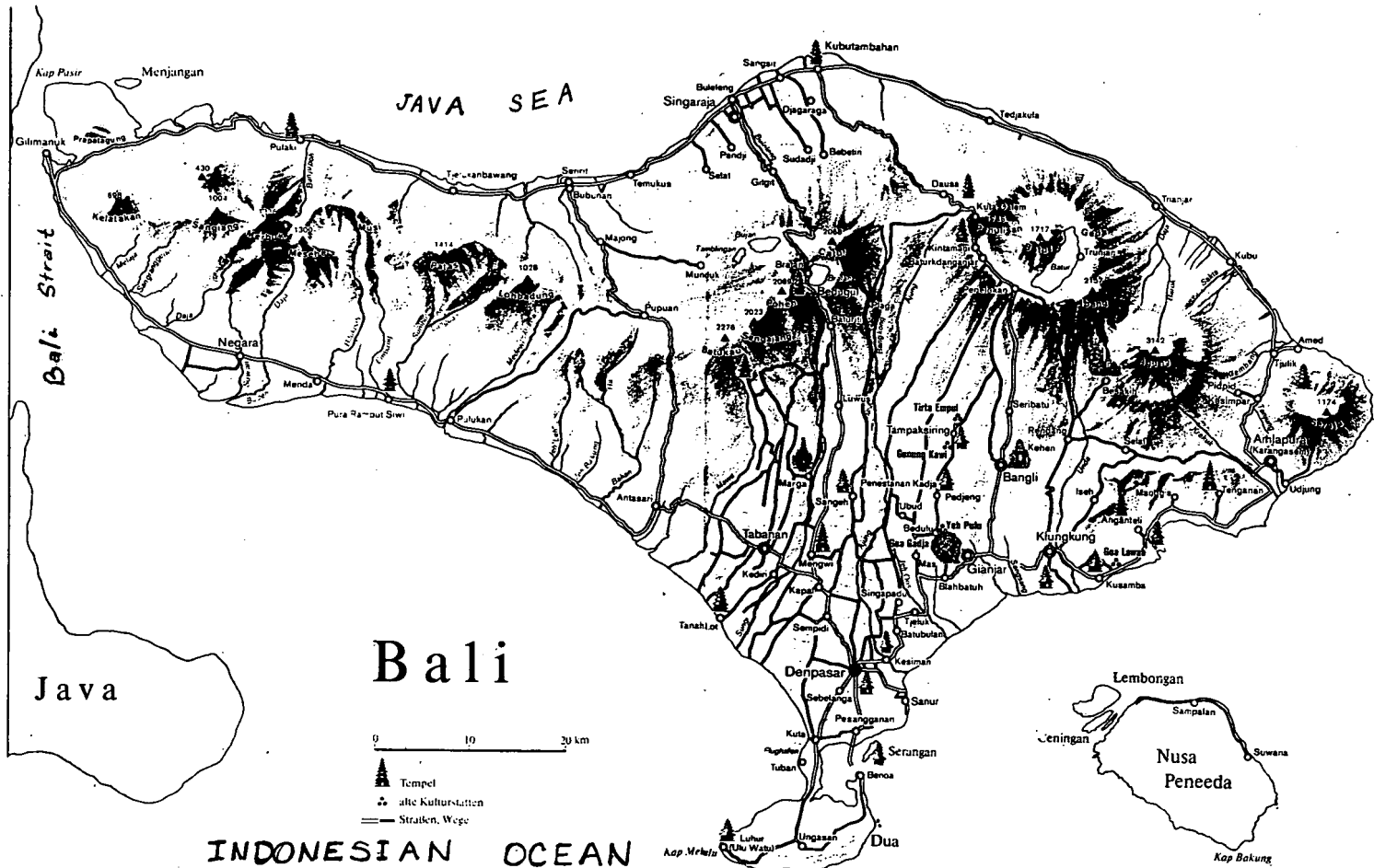
The Island

The Indonesian archipelago lies directly on the volcanic belt of the world. More than 300 volcanoes rise from the sea in a great chain of islands forming a continuous land bridge that links Asia with Australia. One of the smallest islands is Bali. Just eight degrees south of the equator, the island



lies east of Java, separated by a narrow Bali Strait, less than three kilometers wide and 60 meters deep. East of the island is Lombok island, separated by Lombok Strait, where there are some of the deepest waters in the archipelago. Flanked by the Java Sea to the north and the Indonesian Ocean to the south, Bali is a tiny island surrounded by seas.

Bali is one of the 27 provinces of Indonesia and it consists of 8 municipalities: Jembrana (West), Buleleng (North), Karangasem (East), Badung (South), Bangli, Klungkung and Gianyar. The whole island has an area of 3,620 square kilometers, with a population of 2,500,000 in 1977.



Kap Pasir Menjangan

JAVA SEA

Bali Strait

Java

Bali

INDONESIAN OCEAN

Lombokan

Nusa Peneda

Kap Bakung

Climate

As in all countries near the Equator, Bali has an eternal summer with warm weather, high humidity, and a regular variation of winds. The unbearable heat of the land is greatly relieved by sea breezes that blow constantly over the descending slopes of the volcanoes that form the island. The seasons are distinguished as wet and dry. It is wet from October through March, and dry during the remainder of the year. During the rainy season, the atmosphere sometimes becomes hot and sticky and the torrential rains can cause many landslides.

Soils

The landscape is dominated by a cluster of high volcanoes, whose craters are studded with serene lakes in the dark forest. There are six high peaks: Gunung Agung (3140 m), Gunung Batur (1717 m), Gunung Abang (2157 m), Gunung Batukau (2276 m), Gunung Pohen (2069 m), and Gunung Seraya (1174 m). Two of them are still active: Gunung Agung and Gunung Batur.

Bali's volcanic chain, stretching from east to west, divides the island in half. The northern region of Buleleng, a narrow coastal strip which quickly merges into foothills, produces Bali's main exports: cattle, coffee, and copra. The northern fields clothe the highlands with peanuts, cabbage, and onion. Prehistoric tree-ferns, elephant grass, and wild flowers hang from the steep cliffs which hug the roadsides, while tall pines and cypress trees soar high above the lower embankments.

The long green slopes of the volcanoes, deeply furrowed by ravines washed out by rushing rivers full of rapids and waterfalls drop steadily to the southern sea without forming lowlands. It is only natural that in a land of steep mountains, with such abundant rains, crossed in all directions by streams and rivers, on a soil impregnated with volcanic ash, the earth should attain great richness and fertility. Bali has the luxuriant vegetation of tropical Asia. This exuberance extends to the cultivated parts of the island, where the rice fields (*sawah*) that cover this overpopulated land produce every year, without great effort, two crops of the finest rice in Indonesia.

The lack of running water has kept the western part of the island (western Buleleng and Jembrana) uninhabited and wild. Another arid region of the island is the southern peninsula of limestones called *Bukit* (tableland) which rises to a height of 700 feet above the sea. This tableland is joined to the mainland by a low, narrow isthmus.

Water

As stated above, Bali is surrounded by seas. These nearby seas are notorious for sudden storms or typhoons; they were also known to be infested with sharks, barracudas, deadly sea-snakes and poisonous fishes that live among the treacherous coral reefs. Most of coastal Bali enjoys the natural protection of high cliffs and continuous coral reefs. Consequently, there is no natural harbor.

On the top of the volcanoes are four lakes: Natur, Bratan, Bujan and Tamblingan. There are many rivers, none of them navigable. The people only utilize its water for irrigation. Some of these rivers are: Unda, Ajung, Sungi, Balian.

Animal Life

In 1869, Alfred Russel Wallace discovered that the flora and fauna typical of Asia end in Bali, while the earlier, more primitive biological forms found in Australia begin to appear in the neighbouring island of Lombok. Here live the last tigers, cows (*banteng*), monkeys, woodpeckers, crocodiles, jungle cocks, deer, wild hogs and pythons. Oxen and water buffalo are used in agriculture while pigs and poultry are bred as domestic animals.

Nawasanga: Patterns of Balinese Cosmic Order

An Ordered World

In Bali, people usually give directions as follows: when greeted at the roadside. "*Jaga lunga kija?* (Where are you going to?)" someone should reply, "*Tiang ngelodang* (I am going to the south)" or "*Tiang ngaihang* (I am going to the west)." In everyday conversation, people would say, "Hand me the red flower *kaja* (north) of your knee." Or, "Take the *kangin* (east) pot to your sister, please", as well as "He lives two houses *kaja-kauh* (north-west)." All these are the expression of an awareness, that one always knows where the south and the west are. An awareness of being always oriented dominates Balinese thought and life. This awareness is rooted in their conception of the universe, arranged according to certain elementary principles of classification. In this way, by means of elementary principles of classification, out of a formless empty chaos, an orderly world was created. And points of direction were established to help orient human behavior.

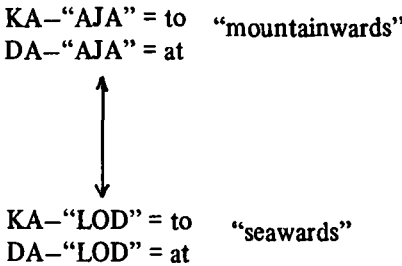
To be able to behave properly, one should know his place and attempt to arrange his life so that it is in harmony with the cosmic order, or at least

it does not run counter to it. A Balinese will try to imitate the cosmic order, to give that order form in his own life, because he believes that in such a way he will be able to obtain greater control over the complex of supernatural forces which dominate all life. But to attain all of these, one must be familiar with the proper principles of order and must have a good knowledge of how the world is ordered.

Bipartite Pattern: Cosmic Antipodes

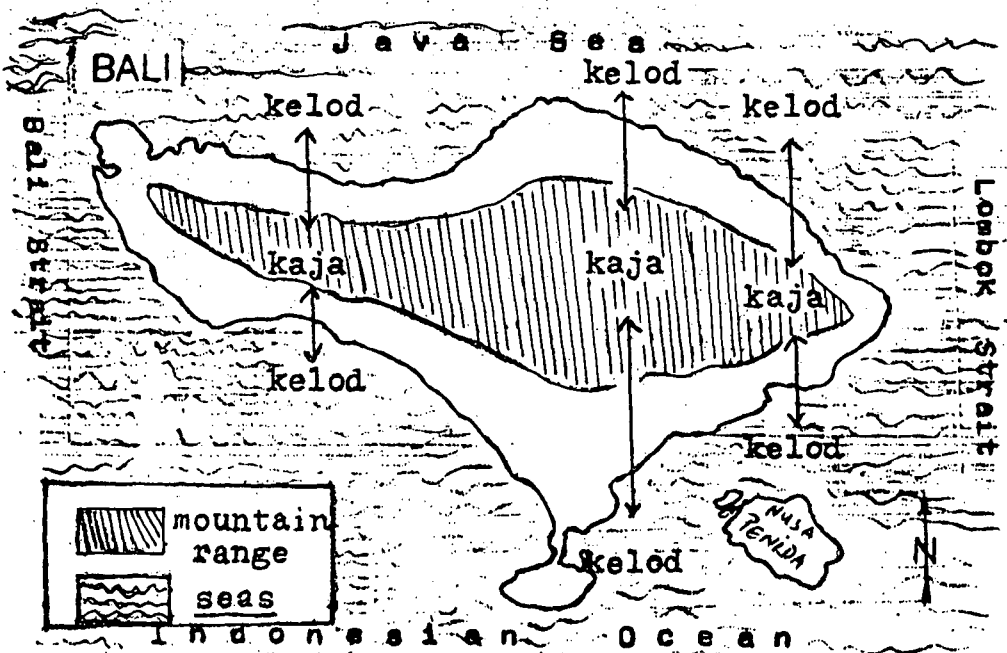
The Balinese farmer, who struggles to survive by sowing and reaping sees epidemics, natural catastrophes, birth and death and realizes that nature's infinite creativity is ultimately the consequence of opposing powers working together. On one side, there are the powers of fertility, the mountains and the upper courses of rivers, which fertilize the fields; from below, the receptive earth, in which growth and decay meet, and the sea, which washes illness and death on to the coast.

In accordance with what they could recognize in the process of plant growth and following the equally clear example of the cosmic quality, the indigenous Balinese society ultimately divides all phenomena – natural, cultural and social – into two categories that belong respectively to an uranian (heavenly) or a chthonian bound (netherworldly) sphere. The uranian sphere is called *kaja* and the chthonian sphere is *kelod*. *Kaja* is composed of the two elements ka (= towards), and aja (= in the direction of the interior, upstream); *kelod* consists of ka (= towards), and lod (= in the direction of the sea, downstream, 'laut' (Indonesian)).



As we have seen earlier, the central mountain range, stretching from east to west, dominates Balinese landscape. In southern Bali, the sea is to the south, hence *kelod* should be interpreted as meaning south. The interior, the upper reaches of the rivers, the mountains is to the north, and *kaja* con-

sequently becomes north. In northern Bali, the terms indicate exactly the opposite directions: there KAJA is south and KELOD is north.



In many places, the surrounding seas and the centrally-located mountains are a pair of visibly contrasting realities. The antithesis KAJA-KELOD, consequently, is not only a horizontal one, but also a vertical one. KAJA is associated primarily with the mountains. There are the large lakes with their reservoirs of fertility-bringing water. One expects all good things from the direction of the mountains. And from the concept 'mountains' to the concept 'heaven' is but a small step. Hence KAJA has acquired the connotation of 'favorable', 'divine', 'propitious': everything related to the upper world is associated with it.

Its antipode is KELOD: everything earthly, everything unfavorable and ominous, everything demonic - in short, the nether world and its forces. For the eastern half of central Bali the island of Nusa Penida, to the south or southeast, is the den of all evil forces, illnesses, and troubles. There reigns 'the great lord with the fangs' (Jero Gede Mechaling), the cholera demon. Along the coast of Bali, ceremonies are held regularly in an attempt to ward

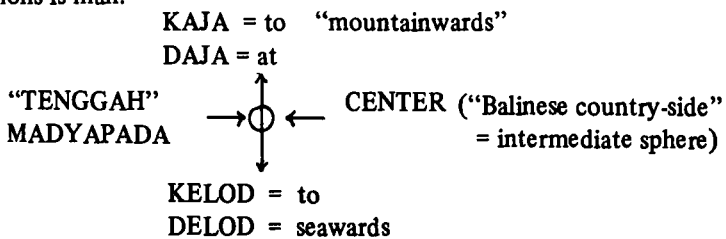
off these evil influences. There is, for instance, *Nangluk Merana* held for the region of Gianyar at new moon in the sixth Balinese month (in December), on the beach near Lebih, which lies in a direct line from the capital of Gianyar to the central point of Nusa Penida island.

The cosmic antipodes are of vast significance for the whole culture of Bali, and in particular, for religious life and activity. Things that belong to the forces of the upper world are brought in connection with the mountains and if one seeks contact with them, one turns in that direction. The KAJA part of the temple is dedicated to them. Conversely, things associated with the nether world are thought to be KELOD, together with offerings and ceremonies of that type. The word KEBAKTIAN or cult is used for both groups with a further distinction made between 'upward' and 'downward' cult. In the former, contact is sought with the forces of the upper world and the word 'worship' *mabante* may be used in the sense *do ut des* (*lat.* = "I give, so that you give back"). In the second, the powers of the nether world are placated and the word 'exorcism' (*'macaru'*) may be applied, in the sense *do, ut abeas* (*lat.* = "I give, so that you go away").

As stated earlier, what is constantly striven for is harmony between the two opposing elements of the universe. For clarity's sake, the two antipodal elements were set against each other as separate entities. In reality however, they cannot be conceived of as separate. They form a whole cosmos. They are complements, created to form one entity together. It is just that very completion, that unity of antipodes, which is constantly striven for. For the sake of harmony and unity, the two opposing antipodal elements have to be taken into consideration, a proper attitude towards both of them are sought in daily behavior.

Tripartite Pattern: Two Around the Center

The first pattern of cosmic order is the bipartite division, the opposing antipodal elements, KAJA and KELOD. Closed in between KAJA and KELOD between the mountains and the seas, lies the Balinese countryside. Between the upper and the nether world lies the MADYAPADA or intermediate sphere, also called MERCAPADA, the world of mortals. Between gods and the demons is man.



The transition from bipartite to such a tripartite division is not clear-cut. The intermediate element shares in both the extremes, and the two touch each other in that element. It may be described in this way: the bipartite division emphasizes only the cosmos, while in the tripartite division, the human elements in the cosmos; thus, the microcosmos within the macrocosmos, is also emphasized.

Some examples of triads in which the tripartite division is given form:

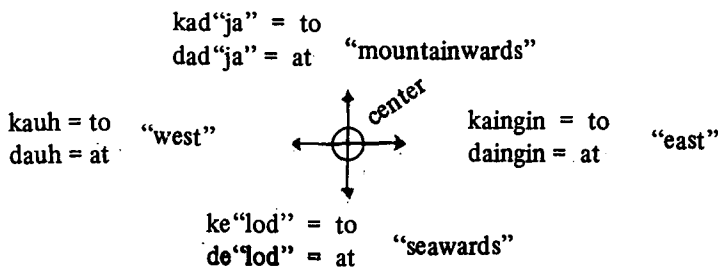
1.) In the village temple system, KAHYANGAN TIGA (three places for god to stay) an uranian navel temple or temple of origin ('pura puseh = navel) KAJA, an assembly hall where men and gods can meet for ceremonial meals ('pura bale agung' or 'pura desa') stands in the middle of the village, and a chthonian temple ('pura dalem') is located seaward and lower than the village. This village temple system is significant and very important in Balinese society as a social matrix. This will be discussed in the following section.

2) The same principle dominates the lay-out of a dwelling compound. The household temple or shrine where the deified ancestors of the family are honoured lies to the KAJA, the refuse heap to KELOD, and the dwelling houses between the two.

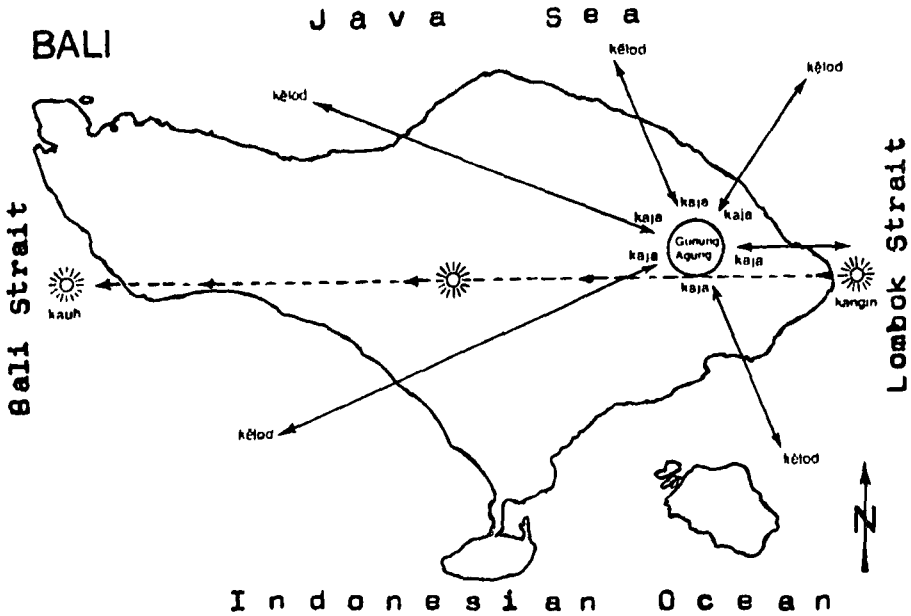
3) The structure of pagodas ('meru') in the inner court of the temple is dedicated to 'upward service': the stone base rests on a serpent and a tortoise, both of them nether-world animals. The multiple roofs of dark 'duk' (the fibre of the sugar palm) represent heaven, which is conceived of as having various levels. The middle section consists of a small wooden chamber, the contact place for the gods when they visit this world.

Four Around the Center

At the right angles to the flow of power from the mountain to the sea and the reverse, there is a further axis, an EAST-WEST axis, determined by the direction of the rising (KANGIN, east) and the area of the setting (KAUH, west) sun.



With the rising sun, light, day, life – all uranian powers which can be associated with the mountain, height KAJA – come from the east. The combination of KAJA-KANGIN (north-east) is consequently the most sacred location in the Balinese world picture. Gunung Agung, the highest peak of the Balinese mountains, with Bali's chief temple on its flank, has that very location.

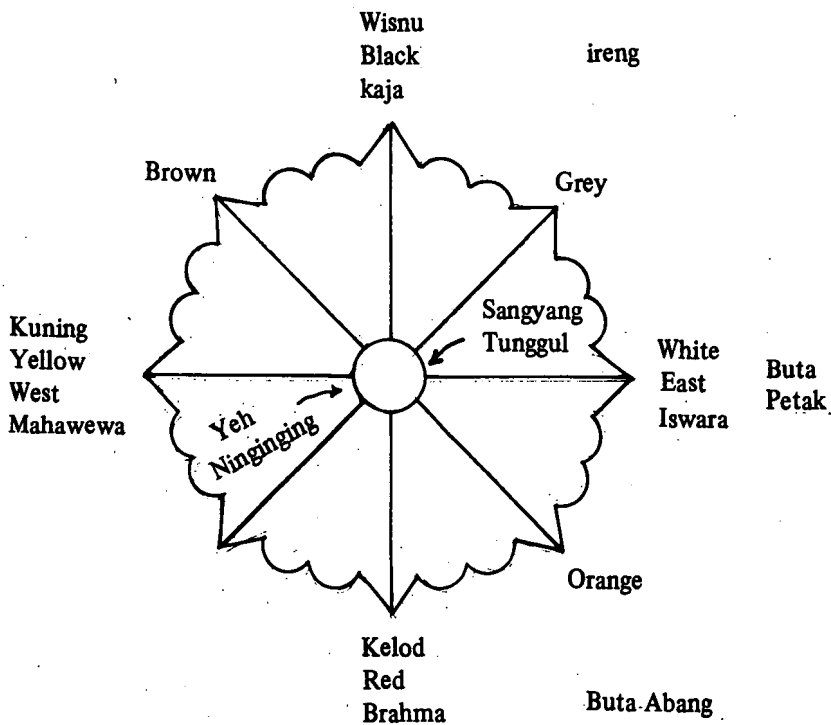
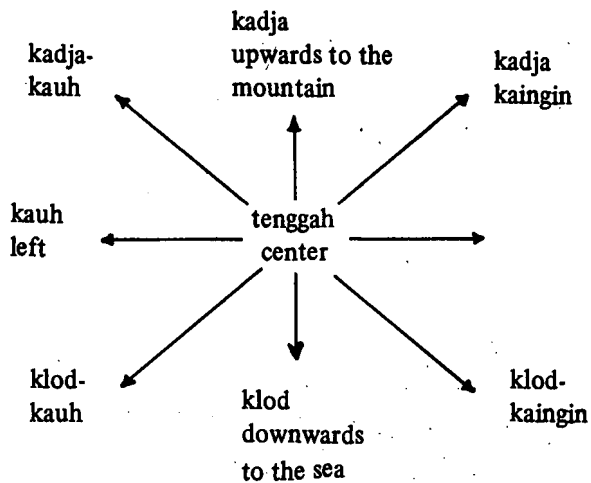


When the sun has passed its zenith and begins to move westward, it enters the chthonian sphere and becomes identical with KELOD, earth and sea. There the sun finally sinks into the underworld, where death and the end of all worldly things are.

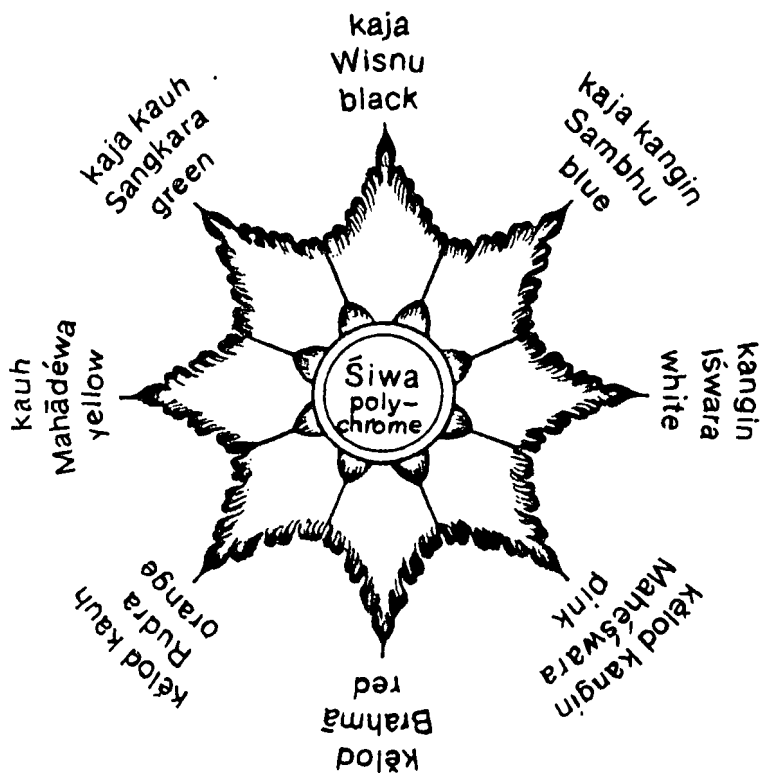
This fourfold pattern of the cosmic order plays an important role in the offering ritual. For example, it determines the arrangement of the altars and officiants and the composition and ingredients of the many offerings at the royal consecration. As regard the offerings, it goes into all sorts of details regarding fruits, flowers, leaves, animals, numbers, and so forth.

Eight Around the Center: NAWASANGA

As it was stated, NAWASANGA is formed by a combination of the Sanskrit word NAWA for nine and its Balinese equivalent SANGA. In this pattern, indigenous elements are combined with the imported elements. The Hindu gods appear as the guardians of the eight cardinal points.



A Hindu-Balinese diagram of NAWASANGA (taken from Lansing (1974): 55).



The most characteristic traits of the division are:

Direction	Divinity	Color
1. kaingin (east)	Iswara	white
2. kelod (south)	Brahma	red
3. kauh (west)	Mahadewa	yellow
4. kaja (north)	Wisnu	black
5. Tengah (center)	Siwa	varicolored
6. kelod-kaingin (south-east)	Mahe-swara	pink
7. kelod-kauh (south-west)	Rudra	orange
8. kaja-kauh (north-west)	Sangkara	green
9. kaja-kaingin (north-east)	Sambhu	blue

In the center is "SIWA", the undifferentiated god, the *Coincidentia Oppositorum*, the Absolute. In each of the eight directions are located a guardian. When "SIWA" moves north, he becomes *Wisnu*, which is to say, his personality is that of *Wisnu*. If he moves south, he becomes *Brahma*. *Brahma* and *Wisnu* have distinct personalities, histories, attributes and other things associated with them, but SIWA is that which *Brahma*, *Wisnu*, *Iswara* and *Mahadewa* have in common, namely, their divinity.

The borderline between the fourfold or fivefold system and the eightfold or ninefold cannot be sharply drawn. As the fourfold pattern, this eightfold one also plays an important role in the ritual and in the construction of the offerings. For instance, the pattern determines the colors of flowers and animals to be used in the offerings.

Relationship of Religion to the Socio-Cultural System

So far, Bali island's natural environment, which reveals dualistic opposing natural realities, mountains and seas, have been exposed. These dualistic opposing natural realities, experienced by the Balinese people, stimulated the emergence of their conception of the world as ordered or patterned. From a simple antipodal bipartition, taking root in the local natural environment, the cosmic pattern was developed into three, five and finally, into nine partitions which is called NAWASANGA. These NAWASANGA appear to have been influenced by Hinduism. In NAWASANGA, the indigenous elements are combined with the imported ones. Furthermore, these cosmic patterns or orders are actualized in or determine the Balinese people's ritual behavior or religion.

From what have been exposed, conclusions can be drawn. *First*, the given natural environment of the island of Bali has contributed to the shaping of the Balinese's conception that the world is ordered or patterned. *Secondly*, these patterns of cosmic orders become the underlying principles of Balinese ritual behavior or religion. The role of the religion in the socio-cultural system will be discussed in the following section.

Balinese Religion in the Balinese Socio-Cultural System

As said earlier, what concern the Balinese people are not belief systems but rituals. Religion for them is not merely and primarily creed nor is it mere piety. It is a public fact—there are few areas of human life which are not permeated with ritual significance. According to Geertz (1973: 176) there are three phenomena that make the Balinese religion ordered:

1) the temple systems; 2) the sanctification of social inequality; and 3) the cult of death and witches. For the writer, these can be reduced into one: the temple systems, which are sufficient for exposing the role religion plays in the Balinese cultural system.

The Temple System as Social Matrix.

In Bali, there are over twenty thousand temples, and this number does not include the houseyard temples of which there must be at least three thousand, nor the countless minor altars found at crossroads, springs, great trees, individual ricefields etc. All these temples, large and small, can be categorized into four systems: 1) family and clan temples; 2) the village temples (*'Kahyangan Tiga'*); 3) agricultural temples (*pura subak*); 4) district and state temples (Ramsyer 1977: 115, 129). Every Balinese adult has specific and demanding ties to at least three temples: family and clan or kinship temple (*pura dadia*), village temples and agricultural or irrigation temples (*pura subak*). The most important of these systems are the Three Village Temples (*Kahyangan Tiga*), which function as social matrix in the Balinese socio-cultural system.

Kahyangan Tiga: The Three Village temples

The Balinese villages, or *'desa'*, which are generally at least as different from each other as they are alike, possess a single structural feature in common: membership in a *'desa'* is defined by the *'Kahyangan Tiga'* (Three Village Temples) congregation to which one belongs. These groups of three temples, each of which comprises an indivisible unit, exist all over Bali. Every Balinese belongs to one and only one *Kahyangan-Tiga* congregation, and every one in the congregation belongs to the same *desa*. It is, however, generally recognized that the *'desa'* is the *'highest'*, most spiritual social assembly: the one closest to the gods. And its three temples *'Kahyangan Tiga'* are regarded as the essential pre-conditions for a *'village'* or settlement of any sort. The *'Kahyangan Tiga'* consists of the temple of origins (*Pura Puseh*), council place of the gods (*Pura Desa* or *Bale Agung*) and temple of death (*Pura Dalem*).

'Pura Puseh' (temple of origins)

This temple is the place where common, totally purified and de-personalized ancestors in their function as village founders and owners of the land are periodically received, worshipped, feasted and entertained. In many cases, relations to the Hindu Trinity, to the gods of cardinal direc-

tions, but above all to the god Siwa, who as sun and mountain god enjoys special worship, are also maintained here. This temple is uranian and always located KAJA (north).

'Pura Desa or Bale Agung' (Council place of the gods)

The temple of the council place of the gods (Pura Desa or Bale Agung) usually stands in the middle of the village. Its primary concern is with the fertility of the farmland in its neighborhood, most notably the irrigated rice-land. Because of its agricultural emphasis, the temple of the council place of the gods usually has, in addition to its local congregation from the residents surrounding it, also the support of one or more irrigation societies ('subak') from the nearby rice fields.

'Pura Dalem' (Death Temple)

This temple is chthonian, always located seaward, next to the village's cemetery. In this temple, the gods in their evil aspects are placated, together with the still-dangerous souls of the newly-dead of the village, who have been buried in the village's cemetery. The evil influence of the unpurified souls can be neutralized in the 'Pura Dalem', if people successfully establish a good relationship with the deity of this temple by properly executing sacrificial rites. This deity can then become a powerful tutelary god.

The Function of 'Kahyangan Tiga'

One extremely important function of the '*Kahyangan Tiga*' is essentially legal: in most '*Pura Puseh*', a written charter of the village is preserved a set of rules for behavior, some rituals; in short, a mode of life, is followed by the members of the congregation, or village.

The areas of social life which may be regulated by such a charter include: burial; cremation; the length of periods of mourning according to social status; closeness of kinship to the deceased and so on; requirements for membership in the component village councils; modes of public announcement of marriage and inheritance settlements and; prohibition of various specific acts which are considered defiling to the temple's territory. The document also details the particular fines to be levied for infraction of these rules. These regulations are considered sacred, and it is extremely dangerous to transgress them, for the wrath of the gods and the denoms will be brought down upon the entire population of the village.

'Banjar' (hamlet): the Organ of the Village and Kahyangan Tiga

As the implementing organ of the sacred demands of the *desa* and '*Kahyangan Tiga*', the hamlet ('banjar') becomes the main organization responsible for local regulation, preservation of general moral behavior, and thus, for the general public welfare.

Banjar (hamlet) is the basic unit of Balinese society, composed of a few dozen to several hundred nuclear families. There are usually several *banjars* in each *desa* or village. Each *banjar* has four principal organizations: youth groups for young unmarried men and women, the '*Banjar Suka-duka*' organization for married couples and the '*Banjar Alabaio*' for old people who are no longer heads of households.

For the Balinese commoner, the '*banjar*' is the most important single set of people in his life, outside of family and kingroup. It is his primary community: he lives from birth to death in it, the land for his house is lent to him by the village ('ancestors'), he usually marries within it, his work groups (such as for harvesting) and musical dramatic clubs are mostly recruited from within it. The ritual work required by the temples '*Kahyangan Tiga*' and the many mortuary ceremonies are very time-consuming and are all under the support of the hamlet. Festivities of a lesser, more private form, such as weddings, toothfillings and those connected with infancy, are usually invitational, and the guests are commonly members of a man's hamlet. Burials and cremations are matters of high sacred concern to the hamlet. At a death, the entire hamlet members are required to come to the bereaved family's courtyard, equipped with tools for making the litter and digging the grave. Roll is taken and fines are imposed for those who do not attend.

In short, the whole life activities and organizations of the hamlet, and of the village are regulated and shaped by the '*Kahyangan Tiga*' temple system. The same can be said about the relationship between the irrigation or agricultural organization and its '*pura subak*' temple system, between the family or clan and its '*pura dadia*' temple system and finally the relationship between the state and its temple system.

If one does not follow the regulations or does not perform the ritual duties for which one is responsible, he will be totally ostracized, not just from the temple congregation (whether family temple, village temple or irrigation temple), but from the family and the community as a whole.

Relationship with other aspects of culture

Balinese religion has not only shaped the social relations but has also

shaped the arts. The Balinese gods are unreservedly pleased with all kinds of art. They love the colorful art of the offering. They love music and have a fine ear, so that for different occasions, different melodies must be played and even completely different orchestras must be provided. The worship of the dead asks for forms other than the celebration of the anniversary of a temple. The gods are also fond of theatrical performances and dances. In short, religion in Bali stimulates the arts.

Reciprocal Interrelationship

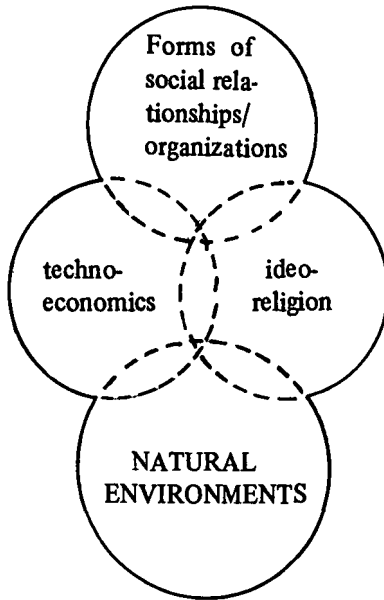
It is generally recognized in Bali that one must never convert all irrigable land into paddy-fields because portions should remain dangerous forest and divine temples. Environment shapes the religious concepts and ideas, and in turn, religion shapes and maintains the environment. Religion regulates and shapes the social relationships; while social relationships maintain and support religion. To preserve harmony, interdependent relationships must exist in the Balinese cultural system.

Summary and Conclusion

The Balinese people are sensitive to life's ecological advantages and limits. In order to survive, this sensitivity has produced not only technoeconomics but also religious concepts and ideas. These religious ideas are expressed symbolically and concretely in the directional orientation of villages, compounds, temples and altars. They are manifested more strongly in the people's ritual behavior towards ancestors, gods, spirits and demons. Finally, these religious concepts and ideas permeate the entire social structure, and almost every kind of social relationship, from the most collective to the most personal, as necessitated or validated by rituals.

The direct encounter and relationship of man-environments also contribute to the emergence of ideo-religion. This ideo-religion, beside technoeconomics, shapes the forms of man's social relationships or organizations.

It is also pointed out that all beliefs are ultimately grounded, in one way or another, in material conditions. They are not just 'floating around' in people's heads, but like other elements of culture, they are rooted in the basic material conditions of a group's existence. But it is not meant to say that the material conditions are the only factors that shape belief systems or religion.



Model of relationship between man and environment

Finally, for the writer, human nature is religious and religion is one. The particular contents of any belief system or religion are unique to every culture. This uniqueness is shaped partly by environmental settings, partly by cultural contact and partly by developmental process. The religious symbols change incessantly and vary from time to time from place to place. But the underlying principle, the symbolic activity as such, remains the same. Or put it in Burnst Cassirer's formulation (1944:99):

UNA EST RELIGIO IN RITUM VARIETATE.

Religion is one but in rituals it varies.

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