

The Prince of Nusa Penida redeems his vow¹

A *Prèmbon*

(*Arja* – Balinese sung dance-drama with some characters masked)

The Balinese originals of the words in bold were considered by the commentators to be *wayah*, ‘old’ or ‘mature,’ and to require particular skill in the use of language.¹ Often this was Old, or Middle, Javanese, or *kawi*.ⁱⁱ

Underlined words were regarded as being Indonesian; and double-underlined words as Balinese, but in the special vocabulary of actors (*basa pragina*) and not in ordinary use.

Where, in the commentators’ view, what is said is elliptical, I have added their evaluation of what is needed to make sense in parentheses. Where an utterance has been cut short by an interruption (*nungkak*, work not finished), it is indicated as ‘...’ with their estimation of roughly what should have been said in parentheses.

Relevant information and actions on the stage are in italics, as are words in the original Balinese.

The Cast

Ngakan Déwa Madé Sayang	Panasar
I Madé Sura	Wijil and the minor roles
Ni Murdi	Mantri
I Midep	Liku

The characters in order of appearance:

Panasar	Punta, a servant at the court of Nusa Penida
Wijil	Kartala, also a servant at the court and the younger brother of the Panasar
Mantri	Sri Aji Palaka, the prince of Nusa Penida
Liku	Luh Wedani, the wife of Sri Aji Palaka and the daughter of a <i>Bendésa</i> , a village head, in Nusa Penida
Bendésa	A village head and father of Luh Wedani
Banjar Tua	An old villager on his last legs
Klian Nusa	A ward elder from Nusa Penida

¹ Revised March 2008.

The PANASAR comes on stage and performs his opening dance (Panglembar). The first part is delivered from behind the curtain. He comes on stage and sweeps around it as he sings.

PANASAR: (*He sings*)

**His bearing is calm and soft,
His radiance when he comes out,
Removes a dark cloud from the palace.
I shall not be content until I become one with him
And am safely shielded.
(Until then) I shall feel thrown away and deserted.
The source of my fulfilment is as far away to me
As if it were the great market in Betawi,
I feel hopelessly confused
10 At (the thought of) meeting him in a moment.ⁱⁱⁱ**

(He suddenly notices the audience.)

Oh! Good Heavens!² Please may I offer my **apologies** to all of you who have been kind enough to come.^{iv} I trust that you will all enjoy good health and happiness. As a Hindu community, we should always pray that we shall all find peace.^{3v} How are we to achieve this on the occasion of a religious ceremony like this?⁴ Come, let us offer our faithful devotion together in order to ask for the grace of God.⁵

All of us living on this island cherish our artistic and cultural life. Oh! I implore you all to share in taking care that what's needed is done when it is time for *Barong* processions,^{6vi} so that we can ensure that our artistic life continues to flourish. How do we do it?⁷ What's the way to bring it about? (For instance) it's kind of you to put on this play.^{vii} Also, Ladies and Gentlemen, it's good of you to come and watch, **because** if we ourselves

² His expression of astonishment is at finding himself in front of the audience. The sudden exclamation (*ngabiahang*) is to fix the spectators' attention (*ngampigang/ngedetin pikayun*), which tends to stray during the opening song as the words are in *kawi* and inaudible anyway. It also helps to focus his own concentration on making his rôle of servant seem realistic (lit: 'live', *urip*).

³ In the last part of the sentence, he makes his words sound like *kawi* and so 'old' (*wayah*), mature and wise. The way he subsequently specifies the audience and the nature of the occasion is important.

⁴ According to the commentators, this utterance has two purposes (*tetujon*), which hinge on the word *jalaran* which here connotes 'strategy, the means of achieving something, an instrument to'. First temple festivals should provide the occasion for performing theatre. Second the Panasar is using the performance as an occasion to retell part of the history of Nusa Penida and as a means to instructing the audience in various matters. *Karya* is the broad term for most kinds of work for a religious ceremony, here a temple festival. It has connotations of what should be done, public duty.

⁵ The designation of Divinity as 'most excellent' **paramawiśeṣa** is a common way of referring to the supreme deity, Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa (Divinity as the power of fate, **widhiwaśa**). On the notion of service and its rewards, see the footnote below.

⁶ This is a *panglèmèk*. He is warning against the trend of villagers not bothering properly to carry out *unèn-unèn*, the processions and dances of giant puppet-like figures, *Barong*, which take place in the month of 35 days after the festival of Galungan in the Balinese-Javanese calendar (see Goris 1960: 124-26; on *Barong* Belo 1949). This temple festival took place during Galungan. *Ngulatiang* connotes 'to look for, watch, need, do'. It is agentive: it indicates watching out for what one needs or should need and the steps one should take to fulfil that need.

⁷ In the commentators' view this was clearly intended to be 'What should one use as an opportunity?' *Pokok* may be 'capital', 'basis', but also 'opportunity, reason'.

aren't going to appreciate and look after the arts, who else are we to tell to do so?⁸

That's the reason that guests now come here; that tourists come from all over the world.⁹ What is it they are really looking for? Is it not **solely because of** your arts, your skill at crafts, your wisdom and knowledge of **all sorts of** art objects? That's the reason then that tourists come – what's this? Two of them have turned up. (*He then says in English.*) 'Welcome, good afternoon, thank you. I hope you glad see here.' I know a couple of words to use to start up a conversation. Well, now people from overseas enjoy watching, but we've all grown indifferent. Don't let it be like that. If we can make it as it is here this evening, I shall feel happy and proud to address you. Isn't that as it should be? I hope that we can manage to treasure our arts **for ever** and make them even better than they are now.^{viii} (*He starts singing a nonsense song, playing on words which end in 'èk'.*)

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Pffart, Pffart. A cricket falls down.
A second-born child turns up riding a bicycle.
He steals a duck, gets put in chains,
And chokes to death.^{ix}

(*The Panasar then switches from addressing the audience to outlining the state of affairs in the story which is about to be re-enacted. At the same time he switches from High Balinese to Low, except when referring to the prince of Nusa Penida, an island off the coast of South East Bali referred to throughout what follows simply as 'Nusa'.*)

The realm of Nusa has been different ever since the reign of His Royal Majesty, who was crowned Sri Aji Palaka – and may I be pardoned for my effrontery in mentioning his name.^x Well, the land of Nusa is famous. It's famous for being dry, but ever since He came, it's changed and the country is different. Before you couldn't get anything to grow. Now the landscape in Nusa is green.^x

⁸ There was said to be a difference here between the purpose, *tetujon*, and the point, *tetuwèk*, of what was said. The purpose is to show the actors' appreciation at people paying to put on a play, and also to point out that if the audience do not treasure their arts, who will? The point contains a *panglèmèk*. If the audience wish to put on such a play, they should also be prepared to ensure the future of Balinese theatre.

Ida Dané is the polite form of address when the audience may consist of people from different castes. *Ida* is *singguh* and *dané* is *madya* or Middle Balinese. Perhaps 'Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen' would be more precise, but the expression is used so widely that it would be inappropriate here. Correspondingly the Panasar refers to himself when addressing the audience as *titiang*, the self-abasing (*ngasor*) term for 'I' appropriate to speaking to high castes, meetings and other public occasions, sometimes whether high castes are present or not.

⁹ The Panasar uses my presence at the play as a means (*talenan*) to make his point. As will become obvious, he assumes that I do not speak Balinese.

¹⁰ The original referred to 'trees', but the commentators corrected me when I supposed that this was so and said that it referred to everything which grows, plants and trees alike here. Ketut Sutatemaja added that one could plant, but it just didn't grow. They also stated that this was clearly indirect praise, *pangajum*, of the then President, Suharto, who has laid great emphasis upon technological development. In Bali village society, this is reflected in improvements in agriculture and irrigation.

Again there was said to be a difference of purpose and the point in saying this. The purpose is to draw attention to the improvements; the point is to praise Sri Aji Palaka (and so the President) for his intelligence as shown in his ability to govern well.

Apart from that, people have progressed and have all been enthusiastically pursuing knowledge, which is the reason that schools have sprung up all over Nusa in the villages. That's why now everyone is equally clever. It fills my heart with pride and happiness to be a retainer in the court here. (*He calls out to his fellow servant, Wijil, who is slow to respond.*) 'Tut! 'Tut! 'Tut! 'Tut! WIJIL! Your elder brother's younger brother!^{xi}

WIJIL: Yes, Yes, Yes! I'm my elder brother's younger brother, I'm here! Yes, Yes! What is it?

PANASAR: Get a move on!¹¹

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(*WIJIL enters and does his Panglembar. They then begin to talk over the state of current affairs (angucap-ucap) and so fill in the background to the plot.*)

WIJIL: What do we have to talk over?

PANASAR: The majesty of the court in the land of Nusa.^{xii}

WIJIL: It feels very different now, brother, **everything** here in Nusa. From the time you started to work here, God has graced Nusa.

PANASAR: That's so.

WIJIL: Do you feel good working here?^{12xiii}

PANASAR: Yes.

WIJIL: But it's a case of the visible and invisible.^{13xiv}

PANASAR: Why's it visible... (and invisible)?^{xv}

WIJIL: The electricity's dead!

PANASAR: Huh!

WIJIL: This is a sign of the visible and invisible.^{xvi}

PANASAR: Do you know what its purpose is?

WIJIL: Well, what?

PANASAR: This is still within the framework of the public holiday of the New Year.¹⁴

WIJIL: Ah.

PANASAR: Fire should be extinguished, shouldn't it?

WIJIL: Yes.

PANASAR: Now the electricity has been cut off. While it was the New Year, it was on!¹⁵

¹¹ This is close to the rather archaic expression: 'Look sharp'. The Panasar's purpose is to point out that it is now day and Wijil is still fast asleep.

¹² This is deliberately ambiguous (*ngèmpèlin*). He is both speaking within the framework of the plot about serving the court of Nusa and performing during the temple ceremony in front of Pura Duur Bingin. The word I gloss as 'work' is *ngayah*, a term which is used both for taking part in any collective work, religious or otherwise, and also for doing service in a court.

¹³ Wijil deliberately invokes a philosophical distinction, which seems to have nothing to do with the subject in hand, but which develops the ambiguity of his previous statement. He is about to begin a *wewangsalan*, an indirect criticism which works by allusion. In the course of so doing, he hits another target (*sasaran*), by indirectly telling off the committee in charge of organizing the performance for being badly prepared. The mains electricity supply had gone dead shortly before the play began, but they had still not managed to put up pressure lamps and the stage was very dark.

¹⁴ *Dalam rangka* is a much-used expression in New Order public pronouncements which may be glossed as something like 'in the framework of'. The Panasar's sentence comes across as deliberately pompous and ponderous, as he sends up officialese. As noted, the temple festival fell across the New Year, Nyepi, in the solar-lunar calendar, on the central day of which there is supposed to be silence (*sepi*) and no flame is to be lit, which includes no electric light.

¹⁵ 'Is that how they do things here?' In other words, things are the wrong way round. The electricity should have been off on New Year's Day, not the following day. There are several implications. It impugns the villagers for failing properly publicly (but implicitly privately too) to observe the day of silence, Nyepi. As the festival was held across the

- WIJIL: The electricity's just gone off. Our revered lord – what do you call him, the boss – here is running all over the place.¹⁶ 'Where are we going to borrow pressure lamps?' If they can't borrow pressure lamps, we can't manage to perform the play. Kiddies' dances. Huh! Good Lord!¹⁷ (*The actors spot someone, crouching to keep their head height low out of respect, carrying the first of several trays of coffee to the orchestra.*) Ah! It's just struck a chord about serving the coffee.
- PANASAR: What on earth are you talking about?¹⁸
- WIJIL: Only just remembered when the play began to bring in coffee for the musicians.¹⁹ So that's how they do things here.²⁰ Look, isn't it odd.
- PANASAR: What is?
- WIJIL: The black stuff.²¹
- PANASAR: (*In surprise.*) Oh!
- WIJIL: (*To the orchestra.*) But you can say what you would like to drink – I'm only speaking of all the low caste players.²²
- PANASAR: (*To one of the players sitting to the front of the orchestra.*) Have your coffee first, Handsome.²³ Now, don't be shy, get a move on. That's right!²⁴

day of silence, the organizers were doing things oddly. Indeed, at the time, guidelines as to what people could and could not do during Nyepi were growing much more rigorous. It is therefore quite possible that the actors, who worked in the provincial capital, were telling off the locals for being indolent and careless, which fits with the tone of the Panasar's opening speech.

¹⁶ Again a neat double reference (*ngèmpèlin*). First, it takes up the storyline again. The prince of Nusa is distracted because he has no heir, and is travelling all over the island to temples to pray for a son. Then the storyline is broken again as the actors refer back to the lack of organization surrounding the evening's performance. This is an allusion to the prince of Pisangkaja who was also the village administrative head (*perbekel*) and who had sponsored the *prèmbon* in the first place. He could be heard intermittently running around backstage giving orders to get pressure lamps ready in a loud high pitched voice. The second possibility is brought to the fore by the next sentence which caricatures the prince's search for alternative lighting. *Sesuwunan*, which I have glossed here as 'revered', is from *su(w)un* 'to carry on the head', and so 'respect, revere' and is used of both deities and kings. *Panyeneng* refers to the senior person, the person in charge.

¹⁷ This is a sardonic reference to the dances with which the evening began, performed by local small children. The point is that distinguished actors were kept waiting for hours, without having been advised beforehand that there were previous features arranged. Astute organizers appreciate that they are inviting distinguished and exceptionally verbally dexterous actors and go to great lengths to avoid being humiliated publicly from the stage. The prince, who fondly, if inaccurately, regarded himself as a commanding figure (hence the sarcastic reference to 'the boss'), was quite out of his depth to the point that he seems not to have realized quite what a fool he was being shown up to be.

¹⁸ Wijil's last remark again has a double reference, but on the face of it is somewhat unclear. *Makebiah* connotes both 'suddenly to remember' and, of an orchestra 'to strike a sudden chord'. So the Panasar invites Wijil to explain what he is talking about. This is both because the word order in Wijil's last sentence was confused (as is his next sentence) and because he is acting as a foil, to enable Wijil to develop his criticism. Wijil's point is that the coffee should have been served to the musicians before the performance began and is drawing attention to how late it was in coming. The commentators thought the muddled word order was deliberate, because thereby it concealed somewhat what would otherwise have been a blatantly critical remark (*wewangsalan*) about the prince.

¹⁹ It is left open whether Wijil has just remembered about coffee, or the organizing committee; as is whether it is only after the orchestra began playing that they served coffee, or only after the performance had started did anyone remember that they were supposed to serve coffee.

²⁰ 'It's a pretty funny way of doing things.' The implication is that this must be a rustic custom. Literally the sentence reads something like: 'This was (how it was done), meaning that's what's appropriate.'

²¹ I.e. the coffee in the glasses.

²² His first sentence was in Low Balinese, so he immediately qualifies the reference of his statement to exculpate himself indirectly in case there are any high caste players in the orchestra.

²³ '*Bagus*', 'handsome' is *basa madya* or *basa pasar*, 'Middle Balinese' or 'market language'. After Wijil's slip, the Panasar is careful to aim at a respectful speech level.

- WIJIL: People are usually shy when they meet girls.^{25xvii} Mind you, if they like one another, it's hard not to slip off together. Don't pay any attention to what I just said. Now, what's most important is that we get ready first for our master, Sri Aji Palaka.²⁶ Oh dear, brother. He keeps on weeping; he keeps on running around all over the place in search of a way out.²⁷
- PANASAR: That's because of the weight on his mind, 'Tut.
- WIJIL: Oh dear! That's true!
- PANASAR: You and I have followed him here, there and everywhere, praying for a solution.
- WIJIL: Oh! How terrible he must have felt. How many years was it that he was **overwhelmed by distress?**²⁸
- PANASAR: 'Tut!
- 100 WIJIL: Yes! Yes! Yes!
- PANASAR: One can't fault our great *Sovereign*.^{29xviii} Didn't he have an heir in the end?
- WIJIL: He then accepted the village head of Nusa's gift of his daughter, Jero Mekel Wardani, wasn't that so?³⁰
- PANASAR: That's so.
- WIJIL: For twenty years he didn't have a haircut.³¹
- PANASAR: What, what? How's that? What's that about a haircut?
- WIJIL: A haircut. (*Pretending to be puzzled*) What was I just talking about?
- PANASAR: He had an heir.
- WIJIL: Yes. Then he had a child. Good Lord! How would it have turned out **in the end** for the land of Nusa if he hadn't had a child to succeed to the throne.
- PANASAR: We both felt pity for His Majesty's distress.
- WIJIL: (He had) exhausted the temples in Nusa.³² He looked after all the shrines.

²⁴ *Geres-geres*, 'go on, go ahead, get a move on', is used of guests who are feeling embarrassed at drinking what has been put before them. It is also used at the time of a marriage, when the couple has to go to a third party's house (*ngarorod*) prior to the formal ceremony to the young woman if she is feeling shy.

²⁵ I.e. 'not under the present sort of circumstances.' He then briefly warms to his theme that, even if people appear shy, if they are attracted to one another, they soon find an excuse to get and sleep together. He then dismisses what he has said, leaving it suitably unclear whether it is only his last remark or all his criticism as well. Such crowded temple festivals, when everyone is caught up in the entertainment and ancillary activities, are ideal occasions for young couples to slip away together. It is not unusual, when stepping into the bushes to relieve oneself, to come across couples cavorting. As so often in Balinese theatre, one sentence has several targets.

²⁶ The sentence includes the word *Sih*, which I leave untranslated. It is one of several words used to *nyeken-nyekenang raos* to emphasize or confirm what is being said (*kata penegas* Warna et al. 1978: 528).

²⁷ *Kabèré-bèré* suggests being in a constant state of suffering and striving the whole time to escape from it.

²⁸ **Kasuksèkèl sajroniṅ ring anṅga sariran Ida**, lit: 'distressed/downcast all of him, in mind and body. **Kasuksèkèl** seems to be a variation on **suksèka**, O.J. sad, downcast (suffering from heartache?).

²⁹ **Nyakra Werdi** was said to be both *kawi* and a term specially used by actors. The commentators and the Panasar glossed this as 'He who rules the world', the verb form of Skt. and O.J. **cakrawarti** 'world-ruler, sovereign, supreme'.

³⁰ Kt. Sutatemaja volunteered the view that, from the context, this was not a marriage of mutual attraction, but that the village head, *Bendesa*, who was until that time the person effectively in charge on the island, offered his daughter to Sri Aji Palaka to do whatever he saw fit with (*kanggiang napi*). This way of imagining and treating people is a more general theme in Bali than is usually recognized in the sanitized and romanticized accounts right up to the present.

³¹ This is a deliberate slip. Wijil said *perut*, which is a very short haircut; whereas what he intended to say was *putera*, a son. *Perut* is also 'stomach' in Indonesian.

³² This is deliberately ambiguous (*ngèmpèlin*). What Wijil literally says is: 'the temples in Nusa are/have been completed/finished/exhausted'. The commentators took this to refer to the prince having prayed for help in obtaining an heir at all the temples in Nusa. The sentence can equally be read however as 'the temples in Nusa are finished/exhausted'. The disparity becomes interesting because the sentence is repeated three times during the play.

PANASAR: (He prayed) everywhere he thought there might be powerful deities.³³

(The servants move gradually towards discussion of what needs to be done (*mapaitungan*) before they go to wait upon their prince.)

WIJIL: Alas! Of course you cannot escape pleasure, pain, danger and death, it's an inevitable part of being human.³⁴ Come on, let's get our act together and get the plot moving, so that the musicians don't get bored.³⁵

PANASAR: Yes.

WIJIL: Get cracking!

PANASAR: 'Tut! Get cracking!

WIJIL: Yes!

PANASAR: 'Tut, 'Tut!

WIJIL: What, me? Me? Me?

PANASAR: Huh!³⁶

WIJIL: Yes!

PANASAR: Don't stray far.³⁷

WIJIL: What's that?

PANASAR: Don't go far.

WIJIL: (*Looking round in the direction of the food stalls.*) There aren't any. None.³⁸

PANASAR: What aren't there?

WIJIL: Where are the rice cakes?³⁹

The significance of the latter reading is discussed in detail in the analysis. This turned out to be one of the very few occasions when the ethnographer may have got something right. When I asked the actors, they confirmed that they had deliberately referred to the parlous state of the temples in Bali as a result of the failure of government to fund their maintenance. The issue was all the more sensitive in that Balinese perceived government as investing heavily in building mosques in Bali for Muslim immigrants.

³³ The term used is *tenget*, which refers to places which are considered particularly dangerous, eerie, fearsome. This is usually because it is associated with some being who is *sakti*. The Panasar's purpose was said to be to confirm Wijil's account. The point was to make it clear that the prince had been too all the temples in the region which he thought to be efficacious for this purpose.

³⁴ Balinese commonly order the items in a list or progression from the least important to the most. Here, after happiness, there are three forms of suffering in increasing degree.

³⁵ The key word here is *'ingkup'* – helping one another along. It is a key term in theatre where so much depends on the ability of actors to support, feed one another lines and so forth. A similar relationship should pertain between actors and orchestra, but is obviously rarer on one-off occasions like this. Wijil's remarks were aimed as a comment about, and to, the orchestra players who were leaning back and looking tired and slightly bored at the time.

³⁶ While this might seem repetitive to English ears, the commentators regarded this as a *penyeken raos*, an affirmation of what was said.

³⁷ An expression often used in the theatre genre, *Gambuh* (see de Zoete & Spies 1938: 134-43), usually said of person trailing behind, or too far in front. The standard reply is: duran doh 'I'm not far off', see below. There is a play on the difference between theatrical styles in different genres here.

³⁸ Wijil hears *ajedoh* ('don't go far') as *'ada godoh'* 'there are fried bananas'. As the line is not clarified, evidently the actors assumed that audience would get the pun without need for elaboration, because Wijil goes straight on to another food (see next footnote).

³⁹ *Jaja uli* is a kind of reddish-brown cake made with a mixture of ordinary and sticky rice flour with palm sugar, steamed in a sieve. It is also a well known obscene (*cabul*) pun on vagina, *'teli'*, which produced howls of laughter from the audience. There is a song which consists simply of the names of four kinds of cake (*Jaja uli, jaja gina, satuh, iwel*), and which boys used to sing to girls out in the fields or where they could not be seen, as if they were singing to themselves, but so they were heard:

*Jaja uli, Jaja gina.--> Ngelah teli, lakar géna?
Satuh, satuh, iwel--> Katuk, katuk, gimbel.*

- PANASAR: What's that about rice cakes?⁴⁰
- WIJIL: There aren't any fried bananas here. Where would we find them? Where would you find fried bananas in Nusa? Will rice cakes do?⁴¹
- PANASAR: This character is even more stupid than the kids in kindergarten. Ajedoh! (Spelling it out very slowly.) DON'T...GO...FAR...AWAY.
- WIJIL: Oh! How are you supposed to reply to that?
- PANASAR: I am not far off.
- WIJIL: Hey! What's the problem? If you had answered like that earlier, it would have been much easier, wouldn't it? I'm not far off. We have close ties here. So let us pray to His Reverence here in Dur Bingin, isn't that how it should be?^{42xix}
- PANASAR: 'Tut!
- WIJIL: It's me! I'm not far off.
- PANASAR: Hey! What's that?
- WIJIL: Bah! Even though I said 'I'm not far off', I'm wrong again. (*The pressure lamps were fading and someone came on stage to pump them up again.*) Even the pressure lamps are dead.⁴³
- PANASAR: We really are looking to establish relations with people here.
- WIJIL: How come?
- PANASAR: Listen you!
- WIJIL: I'm listening.
- PANASAR: (*Imitating the rigid style of school teachers under the New Order.*) Before you are asked a question, it is forbidden to reply.
- 150 WIJIL: Oh! Now what?
- PANASAR: If you answer...(before being asked)
- WIJIL: What? What? What?
- PANASAR: You lose a hundred marks.
- WIJIL: Oh! Like a quiz show.
- PANASAR: 'Tut!
- WIJIL: It's me!
- PANASAR: Don't stray far.
- WIJIL: I'm not far off. I'm not far off. Off far not.⁴⁴
- PANASAR: Let's get ready.
- WIJIL: Ah!
- PANASAR: Get ready.
- WIJIL: What?
- PANASAR: Get ready.

She's got a cunt, what's it for?
 Fuck her, fuck her, pinch her hard.

Pinching a woman after intercourse is considered vain and dismissive (*begug*).

⁴⁰ The Panasar at once confirms what Wijil said and veers the subject away, so that the reference stays oblique.

⁴¹ The implication is that there are plenty here. This is a reference both to there being large numbers of *jaja uli* in the offerings in the adjacent temple and to the large number of women – and so vaginas – in the audience. This remark went down particularly well with the women present.

⁴² Wijil speaks of 'having family', a polite way of speaking of the relationship established by them dancing in *Tengahpadang*. Slightly later the Panasar confirms (*ngawiaktiang*) what Wijil says.

⁴³ Nothing I can do is right. It seems I have even put out the lights.

⁴⁴ He reverses the words for a laugh.

- WIJIL: Uh! Speak for yourself, I'm ready. I'm surprised at how clever the musicians are. That's enough now. (*He claps his hands, which is the usual signal to the musicians to pause.*) Stop! How tired your hands must be – I mean the low caste players, so don't get me wrong.⁴⁵ We've only just arrived. My Lord, I beg your permission, how many dances were there before we began?⁴⁶ A few, only eight! Good heavens! We've been dressed up since nine o'clock.⁴⁷ It was terribly painful. Let's not talk about that.⁴⁸ You know how happy I am, brother?⁴⁹
- PANASAR: (*Jokingly.*) No, I don't.
- WIJIL: The musicians have only just stopped now.⁵⁰
- PANASAR: Oh! Why's that so?⁵¹
- WIJIL: It is **as if** the distinguished members of the orchestra understood my signal.
- PANASAR: Uh!
- WIJIL: Why have you only just stopped?
- PANASAR: Stopped?⁵²
- WIJIL: We are working as one. What do you call it? **The two are complementary and inseparable**, like male and female.
- PANASAR: Oh! Did they stop because they understood?
- WIJIL: Yes!

⁴⁵ As he used the low Balinese for 'tired' and 'hands', recalling his earlier slip he immediately qualifies himself by making it clear that he is referring only to low caste people (*jaba*) to avoid offence. He starts this short speech with praise for the musicians before turning to another indirect criticism (*sesimbangan*) of the organizers, because of how long they have been forced to play without a break.

⁴⁶ The commentators remarked on the elegance of this double-edged reference. As the servants are on the point of waiting on the Prince of Nusa, 'we've only just arrived' can be taken as either part of the plot or the criticism, as can the exculpation. If the Prince of Pisangkaja, who is the target, decided to take offence or legal action, the actor is technically covered, because he could say that he was referring to the background to the plot and the Prince of Nusa. This is not as thin as it seems, because such events are not normally recorded. So recollections of what was said might differ. Also later there are references to festivities in the court of Nusa. Wijil says, literally: 'how many *Lègong* did your servants dance?' – *Lègong* being a famous dance for pre-pubescent girls. As the children's dances beforehand had not actually included a *Lègong*, he could claim that he couldn't have been referring to these. In view of what he goes on to say, I questioned whether this would really wash, but the commentators assured me that it did. On the problems anthropologists create for performers of such oral theatre by recording and publishing what is actually said, see Fabian 1991.

⁴⁷ The commentators read his ejaculation as confirmation that his aim was indirect criticism *nyimbinin* or *ngawangsalang* of the prince or the organizing committee. *Arja* and *Prèmbon* dance costumes are very tight, especially around the torso and they are most uncomfortable to sit around in. So, once they are dressed, actors want to get on with the performance. The point is that they should have been told that there was an earlier programme, then they would have made up and dressed later.

⁴⁸ The Balinese is hard to gloss in English. To the commentators the last and the following sentences were an effective denial of bad feelings, by saying that he feels happy. This is *nyilitang reraosan* 'tying up speech' so the point is not too evident, but so that the purpose carries over. At this point in the commentary I remarked that I was finding this pretty hard going. Ktut Sutatemaja replied: '*Tuan wikan marateng, tiang wantah ulam*, You are good at cooking, I am only the raw materials', i.e. it is up to my skill to make what I can of what they say.

⁴⁹ It is deliberately ambiguous whether he is referring to the pleasures of performing in Tengahpadang or of being a servant in Nusa.

⁵⁰ In fact they had stopped at his signal earlier. It heralds a new attack on the organizers.

⁵¹ He acts as if he hadn't seen Wijil's earlier signal. The effect is as if he were speaking on behalf of the orchestra and also to affirm that the actors realize how tired the musicians be. Because the signal was visible to the audience, the commentators said that this could not therefore be a *wewangsalan*, but was *masajaan* (low) *ngawiaktiang* 'affirming what is so'.

⁵² Yet another reaffirmation through a rhetorical question.

- PANASAR: (*They start a section of moral advice (ngalèmèkin). It's sort of a proof of 'Unity and Conformity'.*⁵³)
- WIJIL: That's right.
- PANASAR: This is the reason that now...
- WIJIL: That it's...(fitting to harmonize)
- PANASAR: **Your own religious duties with your personal obligations to the state.**⁵⁴
- WIJIL: Everyone who is ruled by Sri Aji Palaka in the land of Nusa is free to follow their own religion.⁵⁵
- PANASAR: What is right should be taught and broadcast to the whole of society.
- WIJIL: The basis of the religion we share is in philosophy. Having a philosophy doesn't produce results by itself though. There should be a moral code to actualize that philosophy.⁵⁶
- PANASAR: That's not yet enough.
- WIJIL: That's not yet all that's fitting. There needs to be art and there's something else, which we call 'rites'.^{57xx}
- PANASAR: That's so.
- WIJIL: (*He starts a folk etymological analysis of the word upacara, 'rites'.*) What's the significance of *upa*?^{58xxi}
- PANASAR: What does that mean?
- WIJIL: '*Upa*' resembles what we would call 'energy', '*cara*' refers to 'each to his own'. The ways we achieve it are different, but the aim for all of us is to serve the Almighty.⁵⁹

⁵³ *Persatuan dan Kesatuan* (Unity and Integrity) was a very popular New Order slogan repeatedly endlessly and it even appeared on state television before all news broadcasts. A gloss which captures something of the totalitarian sense of the repetition might be 'Unity and Conformity'. In the context of the play, the Panasar was referring to at least the following: the need of the congregation to work together to ensure a successful temple festival, the necessity of actors and musicians working together, the importance of people being able to cooperate more generally in society. The most interesting point is that although everyone had heard the phrase thousands of times, they had little idea what it connoted and were totally uninterested.

⁵⁴ Kt. Sutatemala pointed out immediately that it is left open which religion is being discussed. He said he understood this as signifying that in every region, people should be free to worship according to individual proclivity or local cultural usage. I asked whether this could refer to the problems of the division of state and religion. (I had in mind the Christian idea of rendering unto God what is God's and unto Caesar what is Caesar's.) The commentators rejected the idea immediately and pointed to the next sentence.

⁵⁵ They saw this as a rhetoric question (*ngèdèngang sakadi matakèn* 'showing as if asking'). 'Is it right or is it not right?' The implication being that it is right. The illocutionary force here is instructive (*nganikain*): Wijil is telling them that this is how it should be should be so.

⁵⁶ The term the actors used was *tattwa* (q.v.) which tends to be glossed in Indonesian as *filasafat*, 'philosophy'. The commentators saw the term here as referring particularly to the background to religious doctrine (*agama*). *Tattwa* however has broader connotations, which include metaphysical presuppositions. The performers touch here on the recurrent Balinese emphasis on the vacuity of theory without practice. *Tata susila*, a moral code in practice is the means of bringing the theory to actuality and specifying it. On Balinese ideas of agency and on the complex nature of *laksana* (q.v.) as both action and sign, see Hobart 1991b: 122.

⁵⁷ The commentators distinguished the purpose which is to indicate what else is required in a religion from the point which is that rites are incomplete without art, here theatre performances.

⁵⁸ The use of what I call 'folk etymology' is very popular in Bali, and is especially valued in theatre, where it is considered a good technique for explaining what lies behind a word or notion and fixing it in people's minds. The Balinese expression which I gloss as 'etymologizing' is *ngarereh saih keruna* 'looking for the similarity between words'.

⁵⁹ '*Bina paksa bina paksi*' is a well known Balinese proverb, reminiscent of the French '*chacun a son gout*' or the German '*jedes Tierchen sein Pläsirchen*'. More literally, the Balinese is 'different birds, different groups (factions, parties)'. A variant is '*paksi bina paksi*', glossed to me as: 'different birds like different foods'. The reference here is

- PANASAR: Oh!
 200 WIJIL: This is the reason there are acts of worship.⁶⁰ That is what religion in Nusa is about. We are both astonished at – what do you call it? – at our Lord's organizational expertise.^{xxiii} Acts of worship have their **origin in the Three Obligations**.⁶¹
- PANASAR: There are three debts.
 WIJIL: There are three. Gratitude is due **because of God's grace**, which is why you can never be free of the debt. This is evident in **the Three Sources of Well Being**.^{62xxiii}
- PANASAR: These three should properly be articulated.
 WIJIL: Properly be articulated with one another.⁶³
 PANASAR: For example?
 WIJIL: **There are three sanctuaries**. Temples should be looked after so they remain in good condition.
- PANASAR: Everything we receive is the gift of Divinity.
 WIJIL: Don't be sad if you can only make a small offering. How much do you think you have received (from God since you were born)?⁶⁴
- PANASAR: That is the reason that first of all you pray to God. You should remember that.
 WIJIL: Right! That's one: **sanctuary**. (The second is) **living space**, which is the **whole area** where we have our homes, and (where we) live.⁶⁵
- PANASAR: Our houses should also be built according to the proper requirements.^{66xxiv}
 WIJIL: There is another one after that. There is **the populace**, in other words human beings. They should behave appropriately to the **human condition**.^{67xxv} Just so you and I...(know). Dear! Oh, dear!⁶⁸

that different people put effort into following different religions. *Bayu* here connotes effort in achieving some goal. Wijil uses the phrase *Ida Sang Hyang Widi*, one of the most common contemporary designations of Divinity, which is intended to parallel terms for Divinity in other religions in Indonesia, notably Islam and Christianity. The point is the one recognized in Pancasila of there being different ways of worshipping God according to different religious traditions.

⁶⁰ *Yadnya*, which I have rendered as 'acts of worship' is a wide-ranging term see below.

⁶¹ The **Tri Rēṇa** is one of a number of expressions which is being promoted by the Parisada Hindu Dharma organization as part of giving Balinese a new and clearer religious and cultural sense of who they are ideally supposed to be *vis-à-vis* other ethnic and religious groups in Indonesia (see *rena* below). A term which is similarly being promoted occurs below, namely **Tri Hita Karaṇa**. Literally this is 'the Three Causes of Well Being'. However **Karaṇa** is often used in Bali with a rather Aristotelian sense of cause and is perhaps closer to 'the constituent conditions of'. So I have rendered it as 'sources'. The **Tri Hita Karaṇa** formed the subject of a television programme in the series *Mimbar Agama* (Religious Forum) on state television in which different religious groups develop key religious, philosophical and ethical points.

⁶² The actors run rapidly through three different tripartite classifications, almost as if they were transformations of one another. They only develop the third briefly.

⁶³ Wijil re-affirms (*ngawiaktiang*) the truth of what the Panasar has said.

⁶⁴ I.e. one is inevitably in God's debt, because it would be impossible to reciprocate Divine providence in full. The commentators were agreed that here *sari* was 'sustenance, food', but the sentence reads better perhaps without including the term.

⁶⁵ The **Tri Parhyayan** was the subject of a religious television programme broadcast in July 1991, which took an identical, but more expanded, reading.

⁶⁶ *Adung* is 'appropriate, in its right place'. There are complex rules for the layout of pavilions within a compound and for the appropriate measurements of each and the distance between them. These are spelled out in detail in a series of manuscripts, the **Asta Kosali(a)** (see. Davison 2003).

PANASAR: What's up?

They start to prepare for the next scene, attending court (Panangkilan).

WIJIL: We mustn't be late. It's good to have a master like ours who's – what do you call it? – so well organized and prepared.

PANASAR: It is.

WIJIL: He's taking charge of the ceremony. Let's pay court. Let's pay court.⁶⁹ Come along, let's welcome him.

PANASAR: Yes Milord, Your Majesty, my Master. My noble Lord. You who **rule over the world** here in Nusa, is that not so?⁷⁰

WIJIL: That's right. I await your command, so that I may follow. Please.

SRI AJI PALAKA: (*He sings to begin with from behind the curtain and sings throughout.*)^{xvii} Do not let your contributions flag.⁷¹

PANASAR: **Truth always triumphs in the end.**⁷²

SRI AJI PALAKA enters and dances his opening dance, Panglembar.

WIJIL: May your stupid servant beg a favour? Life in Nusa has been hard right from the beginning.⁷³

⁶⁷ The commentators were clear about the drift of the sentence, but felt unsure about glossing **tatwam asi** (which was wise, as the term is singularly complicated. Add reference now to Richard Fox's work on **tatwam**.) They said the phrase was about finding the course of action appropriate to being human. This was fairly close to two more specialist readings (see the footnote to the Balinese text) where it was glossed as 'I am you, you are me', a statement of the mutual relatedness of all humans and so the need for action in that light (see **tatwam** below). Ron Inden notes that **ewam** = always comes out in the end.

⁶⁸ Wijil breaks off his discussion at this point. Rather irreverently I wondered if this was because he didn't know more, and pointed to his having also not completed elaborating the two previous tripartite schemes. I was instantly corrected. That wasn't so. He broke off to avoid being thought *cècèl* 'nit-picking, long-winded, pedantic' and not to be accused of delivering a lecture. They noted that in shadow theatre too, the puppeteer stops before exhausting a theme. Anak Agung Pekak said that you should never carry on anything too long, otherwise the audience becomes bored. You aim to keep their appetites unsated. If you have had your fill of some food however good, it rapidly becomes tasteless. Wijil's final ejaculation is of shock (*kesiab*), because he has just remembered that he is late to wait upon his master. This is also a signal (*ciri*) to next actor to appear on stage they have finished and she can prepare to come out.

⁶⁹ *Matur* is the proper term for calling to wake someone eminent up, or disturbing them, before actually addressing them.

⁷⁰ The last statement is prefixed with *maka* from *satmaka* which is usually given in dictionaries as 'as if' (e.g. Warna 1978: 503). It looks distinctly odd though to speak of the ruler of Nusa Penida *as if* he ruled, when the whole point is that he does. The use of such qualifiers is discussed in detail later.

⁷¹ *Dana punia* is a phrase used specifically in reference to the performance of rites, to indicate a special contribution above and beyond the standard outlay required of participants. It is what is surplus to ordinary expectation, which often takes the form of money from the rich, or offering relevant special skills if one has them, or simply labour from the poor, who have nothing else to offer. At some theatre performances, where the cost of hiring the troupe has already been borne, the organizers invite the audience to offer *dana punia*, to donate as much as they can, or wish to. It happened on the evening of this play.

⁷² CHECK THE SANSKRIT. The Panasar was *nyandarin* 'acknowledging, supporting, accompanying, responding to' his master. It is inappropriate not to acknowledge a royal statement (indeed to a statement made by anyone), a task which falls properly to the Panasar, as the one who underpins what it going on. Failing him, the orchestra may respond by playing briefly. In daily life one may be said to *nyandarin* someone when they emerge after a sleep, or come into the compound, by acknowledging their presence, q.v. Note that the song is not sung in its entirety then translated, but the servants paraphrase and elaborate after each line.

- PANASAR: Yes! Do ask (why).
 WIJIL: Please speak, Noble **One**, who has long **ruled** this country! (*Wijil then breaks to paraphrase (ngartiang) the line of Sri Aji Palaka's song*) 'My good man, even though it's now very late,⁷⁴ we still have a chance to discuss religion, because life is **based** on religion.'⁷⁵
- PANASAR: All life is merely a brief flash.
 WIJIL: Only that.
 PANASAR: So that it shouldn't be in vain, learn what's good.⁷⁶ Isn't that what we should ask about?
 WIJIL: It is. My Noble Lord, how should I, as a humble human being, avoid falling short in my contribution?
 PANASAR: Contributing what I can.
 WIJIL: What is the (non-material) benefit, and to whom?^{xxvii}
 PANASAR: To whom should you...(pray for grace)?
 WIJIL: That's right! That's what we should ask.
 PANASAR: That is what your servants beg, M'lord.
 SRI AJI PALAKA: Praise God.
 250 WIJIL: 'My dear chap! My dear chap!'
 PANASAR: What's going on?⁷⁷
 WIJIL: 'Don't fool around when working. Don't listen to idle speech (denigrating the importance of performing ceremonies).⁷⁸ It is rites I am speaking of. You should never be finished with them. There is none other, as you mentioned earlier, than God.'
- PANASAR: One's supreme devotion should be to God. Apart from that, to whom else?
 WIJIL: That's right.
 PANASAR: To whom should you make offerings? Please tell us.
 WIJIL: So our train of thought is not broken. Please continue.

(The gamelan enters and plays a passage so loudly that Sri Aji Palaka's words are drowned out. He stops and waits for the orchestra to quieten down before continuing.)

SRI AJI PALAKA: Homage to ghosts, spirits and the dead.

⁷³ Wijil's purpose is to ask him to explain to them why the land should always have been so stony and what they should do to improve matters.

⁷⁴ This seems to be a double reference, both to the performance and to the conversation being late at night. From what follows, it is also possible there is the implication that people leave it till late before thinking about serious matters and taking the appropriate steps.

⁷⁵ *Paman* is often glossed as 'uncle', but the term of reference and address in Balinese is (*i*)*wa*. It is often encountered in theatre, where it is used by aristocrats as a friendly and affectionate form of address for their ministers or high functionaries. Sri Aji Palaka shows his respect to the Panasar and Wijil (although one should note it is Wijil who phrases it this way) who are not high officials in so addressing them. As it is used by royals, usually when speaking somewhat formally, it has a certain stiffness which is not entirely lost in translation here as 'my good man' or 'my dear fellow'.

⁷⁶ According to the commentators, this has at least three referents. First, behave (*malaksana*) morally. Second, be good to one's friends and relatives. Third, do not shirk one's public responsibilities, such as work for ceremonies.

⁷⁷ The Panasar acts as if it is Wijil who is speaking to him, not as paraphrasing his master's words.

⁷⁸ The referent here is *yadnya*, i.e. reasons for not undertaking large ceremonies. This passage greatly pleased the commentators, who pointed to its pertinence to Tengahpadang. The *désa* authorities there failed to perform the rite of *Ngusaba Nini*, a large ceremony which should be held every five to seven years, but which, presumably on grounds of cost and effort, has now been delayed for over fifteen years.

- WIJIL: Yes. Yes. Yes.
- PANASAR: This is the first time I've asked about this. M'lord, apart from God, to whom else should you make acts of worship?
- WIJIL: To whom?
- PANASAR: 'To ghosts and spirits, my dear fellow. Humans should also perform rites for them too.'^{xxviii}
- WIJIL: Didn't they just perform that during the New Year ceremony?⁷⁹
- PANASAR: Yes.
- WIJIL: There is also **Pañca Wali Krama**. That's the turn of the ghosts.⁸⁰
- PANASAR: The sequence of worship.
- WIJIL: Ceremonies to spirits.
- PANASAR: Which are offered?
- WIJIL: Before worshipping gods. The rite of **All the Gods Descend**⁸¹ is concerned with the **prosperity** of the country.⁸² That is how it should be.
- PANASAR: Indeed.
- SRI AJI PALAKA: So that they don't disturb the world.
- WIJIL: Oh! Good Lord.
- PANASAR: Do you know?
- WIJIL: What?
- PANASAR: Why people perform rites?
- WIJIL: Yes.
- PANASAR: To ghosts and spirits.
- WIJIL: The most important is the rites. Well!
- PANASAR: So that ghosts and spirits won't... So that ghosts and spirits won't cause discord. So they won't cause damage.
- WIJIL: Ah! So that they will be prepared to assume their proper place in the world.^{xxix}
- PANASAR: So that the world will be in peace.
- WIJIL: That is why you offer them tribute.^{xxx}
- PANASAR: That's correct.
- WIJIL: 'Tribute' is a name for payment. '*kala*' is a name for strength. (Also remember) to recompense the energy used by the body, that's the **Pañcamahabhuta**.⁸³

⁷⁹ Wijil gives the date in the Balinese calendar (Buda Kliwon Paang) on which the rite of *Nyaga-Nyaga* (see notes) had just been carried out that year. It is the rite on the day before *Nyepi* itself of placating *buta kala* with offerings, prior to their dismissal from the village lands. *Buta kala* are sometimes spoken of as kinds of invisible being. On other occasions, and more philosophically, *buta* are the elements of all matter, and *kala* the source of energy (see note on *kala*). For lack of suitable equivalent terms in English, provisionally I gloss *buta* as 'ghost' and *kala* as 'spirit'. However Balinese do not have developed ideas about ghosts as spirits of the dead such as those in Java.

⁸⁰ **Pañca Wali Krama** is a large rite, held in the temple of Besakih, which is often now spoken of as the 'central' or 'Mother' temple of Bali. It is one of the largest rites of *butayadnya* and should be held every ten years.

⁸¹ **Batara Turun Kabeh**.

⁸² Like **Pañca Wali Krama**, **Batara Turun Kabeh** is held once every ten years in Besakih. As Wijil points out, it occurs after and is to gods not demons. The expression may also be used of other irruptions of Divinity into human affairs (see Lovric 1987: 282-86).

⁸³ Here the actors switch from an anthropomorphic representation of the nature of *kala* and *buta* as kinds of invisible, marauding beings to redescribe *kala* as energy, and so expanding the idea of what the rites of *butayadnya* as a whole imply. In the doctrine of **Pañcamahābhuta** these last are represented as an acknowledgement of the source of human sustenance and energy by the return or recompense, in sacrifices, of a small, but select, quantity of complex matter to elemental form.

- PANASAR: That's true. It isn't mistaken.⁸⁴
- SRI AJI PALAKA: In the world, effort can bring about **good deeds**.⁸⁵ The manifest and non-manifest worlds are really (what is important).⁸⁶
- WIJIL: Yes! There's a lot to that. 'My good man. If you are going to perform rites to the unseen world, if you do not do so in this world first, you aren't going to succeed'.⁸⁷
- PANASAR: That's so.
- WIJIL: Ceremonies (to) the unseen world require effort first. You require good deeds first.⁸⁸
- SRI AJI PALAKA: So the world will be prosperous.
- WIJIL: Lord, yes.
- 300 PANASAR: That is why good actions in this world and the other (depend) of course on **the proper conduct of He who commands the world**.⁸⁹
- WIJIL: Of course.
- PANASAR: He should work to bring about order, so that the world may attain a state of 'tranquillity'.⁹⁰
- WIJIL: Of course that's what you should strive for.
- PANASAR: Nowadays, it's about how leaders should exert themselves so that you can have a society which is just and wealthy.⁹¹
- WIJIL: There's a lot to that. That's the proper duty (of a leader). That's how it should be.
- SRI AJI PALAKA: **All village heads, war leaders and senior officials**.

⁸⁴ The Panasar confirms Wijil's comment.

⁸⁵ This sentence caused the commentators difficulty because they did not know what **anerti** meant (which, when asked later, Ni Murdi glossed as 'to do good deeds'). They said that they thought its general sense was 'humans were still causing disturbances in the visible world'.

⁸⁶ Recognition of the difference between and inseparability of the two realms is what are really important.

⁸⁷ This paraphrasing (*ngartiang*) caused the commentators much amusement because of the way in which Wijil side-stepped an ambiguity (*jejangkitan* q.v.), which is not easy to put into English. Sri Aji Palaka's words are '*mayadnya niskala*' which is literally 'perform rites invisibly', whereas its intended reference is to 'perform rites to the invisible'. Granted the constraints of the metre of his song, such ambiguities are inevitable. The way in which Wijil clears up the ambiguity was appreciated, because it is a favourite pastime of Balinese to play on such ambiguities and he was closing down the possibility. Rites are of this world, only their result is immaterial, *niskala* (on Balinese usage of the terms *sakala* and *niskala*, and on the non-material outcome of action, *suksema*). The commentators went on to point out that it isn't just the rite which takes place in the manifest world, but also all the organization and agreement needed to complete a ceremony. If this is not properly attended to there are quarrels (*biuta*), a not uncommon occurrence in practice.

⁸⁸ You cannot perform ceremonies without work first! The commentators reckoned that there is the additional implication of people needing to work well together in *kertian*.

⁸⁹ This is, of course, the king. The commentators added that this required the ruler to take the initiative (*mamucukin*) by *ngadegin kakaryan* (see adeg below), and that it applied just as much locally when the one in command was the village or ward head. Déwa Madé Sayang took the view that the task of the one in charge was to act as witness (*saksi*). On the duty, or conduct proper to a ruler, see Worsley 1972: 37-82.

⁹⁰ Such order requires that the king institutes a proper division of labour, in which the high castes and especially the king bear the heavy costs, and the populace supply what they have, namely their labour.

⁹¹ This last phrase is in classical New Order speak. However it is turned round to become advice (*panglèmèk*) to present-day leaders to reflect on their obligations not just the perquisites of office and to remind them that any successful undertaking requires all sorts of different people, including the common populace. This was taken by the commentators as a reference back to the mutuality stressed earlier on, for example between the manifest and non-manifest worlds. The extensive use of Indonesian words here is designed to show the relevance of what is being said to the contemporary scene and to make clear who is the target for the reference.

- WIJIL: (*As if he had forgotten something.*) Hey! 'My good man, if you are going to carry out ritual – and what's more in the foremost temples in Bali – you can't just do it with words, but it should be done with good actions. It should be done by what you might call everyone contributing equally.'⁹²
- PANASAR: That is why you should inform...
- WIJIL: Yes.
- PANASAR: **All the leaders. Distinguished ministers.**
- WIJIL: That's right.
- PANASAR: So that all those involved discuss the undertaking before giving instructions.⁹³
- WIJIL: When taking on such work, you need to be **thoughtful**.⁹⁴ To be efficacious (one must fit in with) the place, occasion and circumstance.⁹⁵
- PANASAR: With the circumstances.
- SRI AJI PALAKA: **The high priests** also take part.⁹⁶
- WIJIL: Yes. That's as it should be.
- PANASAR: (*Sings*) (If led effectively) **the populace** will be prepared to participate.^{97xxx}
- SRI AJI PALAKA: (*Sings but inaudibly*)⁹⁸
- WIJIL: Well.
- PANASAR: How's that?
- WIJIL: My good man. If you perform rites, there are three parts to what's called the **Three Key Rôles**.⁹⁹
- PANASAR: Ah! Yes. The **Three Key Rôles**. First:
- WIJIL: There is the person who does the work of organizing the ceremony, **the person who makes the offering**.
- PANASAR: Second?
- WIJIL: There is the person who takes responsibility for (the work), the offering expert and society working for the common good.¹⁰⁰
- PANASAR: Yes, and third?

⁹² That is all the people, without reckoning division by caste or superiority.

⁹³ The term here is *niwakang* on which see the endnote on stages of organizing major undertakings.

⁹⁴ The term – or rather what they understood it as referring to – excited much interest from both commentators and specialists, because they felt it was central to successful management. For more on *panglokika*, see above.

⁹⁵ After giving the version outlined in the sentence above, the commentators rephrased the matter a different way. If one was thoughtful, one would be effective and people would follow and adapt their orders to fit local conditions. If the leaders did not know local conditions, how could they possibly get their orders to work in practice? On the significance of *désa kala patra* see endnote.

⁹⁶ **Sang Putus** is one who has reached close to perfection, an expression which the commentators identified with Brahmana high priests, *Padanda*.

⁹⁷ By way of paraphrase the Panasar sings a sentence parallel to Sri Aji Palaka's, but stressing the importance of good leadership to ensure the people will participate.

⁹⁸ Sri Aji Palaka's song is one used regularly by Ni Murdi when dancing the part of the *Mantri*. This line is superfluous, does not fit and would break the rules of rhyme. Ni Murdi is very skilled at extemporizing such lines and it would seem that she did so on this occasion. As it was inaudible under the sound of the orchestra, it is not possible to say what it might have been.

⁹⁹ The term used was **Tri Mangalanij Yajña**. According to Déwa Madé Sayang these are: the officiating priest (*pandita*), the witness (*saksi*) and the offering expert (*tukang banten*). The act of witnessing is not passive, but suggests taking ultimately responsibility for what happens, see Hobart 1990: 107-20.

¹⁰⁰ Sosial connotes 'charitable, without thinking of the cost to oneself, working for common good'.

- WIJIL: There is **the high priest**, who is also known as the **spiritual teacher**, upon whom **it depends to bring the results about**, the one who completes the rite.^{101xxxii}
- PANASAR: There should be all three. Every time you carry out work, there should be **the Three Key Rôles**.
- WIJIL: That is why Hinduism teaches there are steps. Even if there are high priests, even if there are offering specialists, (if) there are no people to take on the work, it still won't be harmonious.¹⁰²
- PANASAR: Whoever you talk it over with (will say the same). Isn't that so?
- WIJIL: Ask! That is why we ask.¹⁰³
- SRI AJI PALAKA: Don't run about aimlessly.
- WIJIL: Don't be confused.
- PANASAR: Don't go rushing about all over the place in confusion.¹⁰⁴
- WIJIL: Do not think that night time is bad. That is why you perform the New Year rite of *Nyepi*, to still your **whole person** and purify it.¹⁰⁵
- PANASAR: Yes.
- WIJIL: This is when you should **gather your thoughts**.
- PANASAR: That's right! That's right!¹⁰⁶
- SRI AJI PALAKA: The populace should carry out the work.
- WIJIL: Get up, that's why there are... (*Then he breaks off to leave the way for Panasar's song.*)
- PANASAR: (*He sings*) The populace should carry out the work.
- 350 WIJIL: That's why you should do your own job well. Don't argue with your companions over who does what, so you won't fight with your neighbours and relations. Right! Brother, ask again, ask (for further elucidation).¹⁰⁷
- PANASAR: (*He sings*) **Noble Lord who is like Pañji in inspiring affection**.¹⁰⁸ (*He stops singing.*) *Heavens!* M'lord, my revered prince. Why are you up so early like

¹⁰¹ The commentators considered **brāhmaṇācārya** to be *kawi* and therefore elegant expression for high priest. First they said that (ā)śraya was praying to Ida Sang Hyang Widi, then they specified it more closely. *Sraya* was like making electrical contact to the non-manifest (*niskala*).

¹⁰² On hearing the last phrase, Anak Agung Pekak said that this was *nyek-nyek bebaosan* q.v., the end of this part of the discussion.

¹⁰³ That is why one should ask, so we (and, by inference, the audience) can understand what lies behind performing rites.

¹⁰⁴ The point (*tetuwek*) is that one should direct one's thoughts to the practice of religion.

¹⁰⁵ **Anḡa śarira** is literally a reduplication of 'the body', but is widely used to encompass the totality of what makes up a human, including notably the mind which is not split from the body as in many European dichotomies. Wijil is drawing a parallel (*saih, minekadi*) here. *Nyepi* is like night, which is good. During the day one works, at night one has the opportunity to stop. One cannot work night and day, that would be exhausting.

¹⁰⁶ At night, wherever one is, one should concentrate on oneself, unite or harmonize one's thoughts (*nyikiang pikayun*), because it is quiet. That is why hermits (*Sang Biku*) seek quiet. The commentators added that, if one focuses one's thoughts and stops letting them wander, one soon falls into undisturbed sleep. On the other hand, it is not good if one's thoughts are too calm (*bes (e)ning*) because one would just sleep, or if they are too excited (*bes putek*, literally 'muddied'). Working without a break leaves one confused.

¹⁰⁷ Wijil's exclamation *Aduh!* is to affirm that what he says is the case. He is referring to envy over the allocation of specific tasks during ritual work. Behind this are broader issues. First it is wrong for a leader to do the work of an ordinary villager. (The example the commentators gave was a minister doing a servant's job.) Second he is alluding to more general envy over relative position and status, and so to watching out for anything which can cause envy and jealousy (*pamerih*) in local affairs.

¹⁰⁸ I have had to gloss this slightly loosely in line with the commentators' and actor's rendition (see footnote on *raga*). The commentators considered it a form of praise of Sri Aji Palaka who is like (*pinaka/ngaraksa*) the eponymous hero

- this? Perhaps there is something about which you wish to address to your subjects. Please, please. Speak, My Lord.
- WIJIL: Please deliver your speech.
- SRI AJI PALAKA: **You cannot escape the coexistence of opposites.**^{xxxiii}
- WIJIL: Uh! My dear chap. My dear chap.
- PANASAR: (*He sings*) **There is no one who is constantly happy (or good).**^{xxxiv}
- WIJIL: That's true. Just like the saying.^{xxxv}
- PANASAR: How's that?
- WIJIL: 'You can't get free from what they call "the coexistence of opposites". Seriously, my good fellow.'
- PANASAR: That's just how it is: life consists of good and bad being inextricably intertwined. No one encounters good the whole time in this world.
- WIJIL: Yes! There's much in that. There's much in that.
- SRI AJI PALAKA: You can feel the suffering change.¹⁰⁹
- WIJIL: Like the song. 'The future fruits of your actions. If you've suffered, you'll be happy in due course, when the pleasure's over, pain.'
- PANASAR: Things have turned about.¹¹⁰ 'Tut!
- WIJIL: You can't just seek what's pleasant, you can't evade what's nasty. For sure it's **the results of your previous deeds, my previous deeds.**
- PANASAR: Like what happened to our noble master.¹¹¹
- WIJIL: That's right. That's right.
- PANASAR: 'The reason they say things change about, my good man, is my own misery before.'^{xxxvi}
- WIJIL: That's true. That's true.
- SRI AJI PALAKA: (Which has become) happiness now.
- PANASAR: That's right. The suffering our Lord and Master went through, he now feels changing into a state of **elation.**^{xxxvii}
- SRI AJI PALAKA: Accept the grace of God.¹¹²
- WIJIL: He has spoken. 'There is no reason for my **joy** other than **the blessing of my offspring**, which is of course the generosity **conferred, gift**, of the Almighty, the sublime Reverence.'
- SRI AJI PALAKA: There is someone **as** successor **for the long-term future.**¹¹³

of the Pañji stories in his capacity to engender affection or loyalty (here **smara**, *semara*). The flattering comparison with Pañji is common in such plays. However a closer examination of princely character instantiated in Pañji is, as Vickers has shown (2005), far from the romantic ideal which westerners and now often Balinese place on it.

¹⁰⁹ I have rendered this sentence with something approximating the ambiguity with which the commentators interpreted it. Although later it becomes clear that the prince is now happy, this only becomes apparent later. As they explained it, when one has experienced suffering and danger, one's feelings change: a reference to the fact that when one is young one is carefree and does not reflect much on life. One does so only after marriage, the struggle to make a living and the consequent worries, when one starts to pay attention to what is said in theatre and other sources of advice and reflection on the conditions of human existence. Only then did they link the sentence to the idea that even suffering is not constant that one can sense the state of affairs change.

¹¹⁰ An illustration is the way that night and day succeed one another.

¹¹¹ His own torment at not begetting a son is used as an example (*kanggiang conto*) q.v.

¹¹² He uses the term *nyuwun* for 'accept, receive', which is literally 'to carry on the head', because it is so precious a gift. It is also said to be carried on head, because how it will manifest itself is not yet clear. (You cannot see what you are carrying on top of your head.) It is a *pica niskala*, a non-manifest gift, which one can sense, but is not apparent. The commentators were clear among themselves that, because it was not yet clear, it was appropriate to use the term **gargita** about it. Quite why they felt that **gargita** should be used in this way, I was not able to establish.

- PANASAR: My dear chap! This is because of the grace of the god in the Bat Cave...¹¹⁴
- WIJIL: Yes. At the Bat Cave in Bali.
- PANASAR: There I paid homage in the hope of receiving help, because my problems had not grown less. How many years had I been married without having a son?
- WIJIL: (He had) exhausted the temples in Nusa, been to many doctors.¹¹⁵
- PANASAR: That's correct.
- WIJIL: He prayed (at all the main temples), but did not think of asking at the nearest temple.¹¹⁶ Don't blame yourself for any failure which might have caused it.¹¹⁷
- SRI AJI PALAKA: That is why I am now arranging to fulfil my vow to God.
- PANASAR: Because that is what he prayed for, when he went all over the island. How many promises, how many vows do you think he had made? Now he has succeeded in getting a son in his **image**.^{118xxxviii}
- WIJIL: First, a son was born.
- PANASAR: Yes.
- WIJIL: Second, it's necessary now to fulfil the – what do you call it – the vow, which was made.
- 400 PANASAR: Yes.
- WIJIL: It's different from how you and I, brother, can easily settle our debts in this world. You can't just sort things out in the other world that way.¹¹⁹
- PANASAR: If we have debts here, we'd better pay them.
- WIJIL: It's right to pay, so we can feel satisfied.
- SRI AJI PALAKA: So that I shall always be accompanied by God...
- PANASAR: Indeed! It's quite right that you should do, as our noble Lord does with his vow, because he has managed now to have a son.
- WIJIL: (*Wijil speaks as if he didn't know of the birth of a son.*) Hey! What? A son?
- PANASAR: (*The Panasar is astonished that he seems not to have known.*) Hoy! Where've you been all this time?
- WIJIL: That's what he asked for from the start, isn't it? But you can't do much just with males. There's more in the world than that you know.¹²⁰
- SRI AJI PALAKA: The reason we should now confer is...
- PANASAR: My good man, let us go now to ask forgiveness in all the temples.
- WIJIL: Right.
- SRI AJI PALAKA: Because it sounds like my wife is here.
- WIJIL: It sounds like it.
- PANASAR: It's none other than the wife, Luh Wedani.¹²¹

¹¹³ Once again the expression **pinaka** is introduced here. It reads adequately in English as 'as', but the stress may be on the fact that the child is not yet heir. The sentence then stresses that the succession will last for ever.

¹¹⁴ The bat cave, Gua L(el)awah, is one of the best known temples in Bali, on the coast just opposite Nusa Penida. It is generally reckoned one of the *Sadkahyangan*, six most important temples in Bali. For more details, see below.

¹¹⁵ This the second occurrence of the expression *telah puraé*, the temples were finished, see above.

¹¹⁶ I.e. Gua Lelawah.

¹¹⁷ This sentence is cryptic. The commentators agreed that the first part: 'Don't be like that' refers to the prince blaming himself. The problem of the second part is *kawit*, which may either be 'cause, origin', so the cause of the problem lies in the failure to perform ceremonies at Gua Lelawah; or it may be 'heir, descendant', so failure to produce an heir. The commentators concluded that the latter was probably what the actors had intended. But either made sense.

¹¹⁸ *Kadi anggan Ida* is 'like him, in his image'. This is *nyinggihang*, elevating the person referred to.

¹¹⁹ As Ktut Sutatemaja put it: one cannot ask a god for a cigarette, or to excuse errors.

¹²⁰ Wijil uses the term *isin gumi* 'the contents of the world', i.e. both male(s) and female(s).

¹²¹ The Panasar is deliberately ambiguous so as to set up a joke for Wijil.

- WIJIL: Your good lady?¹²²
 PANASAR: That's right.¹²³
 WIJIL: Huh!
 SRI AJI PALAKA: I am startled by a faint sound.¹²⁴
 PANASAR: Listen.
 LUH WEDANI: (*She sings loudly from offstage.*) Husband husband, husband husband husband, husband husband husband, husband, husband husbaaand.¹²⁵
 WIJIL: Oh dear.
 PANASAR: What's that?
 WIJIL: Even though it's the middle of the night, someone in Tengahpadang seems to trying to flog their wares.¹²⁶
 SRI AJI PALAKA: What is that delicate sound I hear?
 PANASAR: Do you think that's an itinerant peddler? What could possibly be turning up making such a racket? 'Oil oil, oil, oil' like that. You know oil is expensive, so it must be an oil merchant.¹²⁷
 LUH WEDANI: Hubby hubby hubby hubby, it's me-e, little me-e here, I'm here, hubby.
 WIJIL: I heard. 'Husband husband husband husband, I'm here, it's me-e'¹²⁸. Oh dear! Good Lord! It's too much.
 PANASAR: Who do you think this might be?
 SRI AJI PALAKA: It is a close friend of Punta's.¹²⁹
 WIJIL: It's a good mate of yours, is it?¹³⁰
 PANASAR: What friend of mine might that be?
 WIJIL: She's yours, is she?
 PANASAR: Aah! It must be a close relation of yours from Kèndran who has turned up.¹³¹
 WIJIL: Eh! Who?
 PANASAR: A friend from Kèndran, I think.
 WIJIL: Aah! A girl friend!¹³²

¹²² It is difficult to render Balinese title distinctions into English. *Jero Mekel* is a polite, but appropriate, form of address to a low caste person (*jaba*, one who lives outside the court), who marries a high caste male, and so becomes a titular 'insider' to the court (*jero*). *Bekel* is literally 'means, assets'. As a title *Jero Mekel* is used of important low caste figures, especially local leaders, and of women who have married into court families, a woman of substance?

¹²³ The punch line to this comes slightly later.

¹²⁴ The seeming oxymoron is part of setting the scene for the far-from-faint entrance of the *Liku*, Luh Wedani.

¹²⁵ Just as the prince addresses his wife with the usual Balinese familiar '*adi*' the term used for 'younger sibling', she uses '*beli*', 'elder brother'. Pronounced at a rattling pace with a drawn out last syllable the effect is more comic in Balinese than in English. Luh Wedani starts as she goes on, by playing on the limits of propriety. A royal wife might refer privately to her husband as *beli*, but certainly not yell it out in public.

¹²⁶ She sounds like an itinerant oil seller calling out her wares – 'oil, oil' (from *beli* → *oli*, oil).

¹²⁷ There had recently been a sharp rise in oil prices and itinerant vendors were going around selling it, but not, of course, in the middle of the night.

¹²⁸ *Wijil* is mimicking Luh Wedani (*ngojang*, cf. *noot-nootang* to copy unthinkingly; *nuutang* 'to imitate of movements, walking etc. '; *nulad* 'to imitate as an example of behaviour').

¹²⁹ The prince acts as if it couldn't be his wife, because she is calling out '*beli*' publicly.

¹³⁰ The aim is humorous, but as they know perfectly well who it is, *Wijil* and the *Panasar* are both being *tulah* 'impudent, too forward' to refer to the princess, their mistress, in this way. The servants adopt a rôle towards Luh Wedani as *Liku*, which resembles the *Désak* in *Arja* who speaks bluntly – and inappropriately – to the queen, *Limbur*. Even if she tells the unadorned truth, the manner of so doing is not proper, which is, of course, in theatre the point.

¹³¹ The *Panasar* 'breaks frame' as it were, because the commentators were unanimous that this was a private reference to a member of the audience – or at least about someone well known to the troupe – from the village of Kèndran, which is not far away. The *Panasar* is courting danger here, as we shall see, because *Wijil* carries the theme a stage further.

- PANASAR: Oi!
- LUH WEDANI: *Loli loli loli loli lulilu lila li...deng.*¹³³
- WIJIL: Now do you know that one?
- PANASAR: No.
- WIJIL: '*Lila lila lila lideng.*' If someone is *lila*, what's that? I think (it means) someone's mad.
- PANASAR: Yes?
- WIJIL: If someone is besotted, they forget themselves. *Lila* (means) something else. They can't talk about it (if they are mad). If they are too besotted and distracted, obviously they close their eyes and drop dead. Like in the saying; don't imagine it's got no meaning.^{134xxxix}
- 452 PANASAR: Oh! Is it a vendor coming?¹³⁵
- WIJIL: Ah!
- PANASAR: What sort of vendor?
- WIJIL: Who knows?
- SRI AJI PALAKA: I think you bought your headdress on credit.¹³⁶
- WIJIL: Oh dear!
- PANASAR: It could be, too.
- WIJIL: How come?

¹³² The specification confirmed the commentators' earlier suspicions. They decide that this is probably an in-joke among the troupe about someone, who was a previous partner, probably also from professional acting circles. When the commentators' heard the Panasar's reply: '*Aih!*', which is embarrassed surprise (*makesiab kimud*), they say that it is clear that Sri Aji Palaka and Wijil have set this piece up and it is an old (or present) flame of the Panasar, but he may not have realized that they knew about an intimate relationship. It is also a way of showing that the actors are clued up about local affairs, a way of being polite to the audience by showing that the big city professionals are aware of where they are performing.

¹³³ The words are meaningless in themselves (*keruna ten masulur* 'loose words'). There is a popular obscene song, sung by small boys in the streets, which plays on very similar words:

Lila lila, lila lideng (Nonsense words)
Teli mabulu, bakat ginteng. Hairy vaginal lips to be pulled/twisted.

One should note that nothing obscene is actually said by the actors, such a reading is left to be made (*kasertiang*) by the spectators.

¹³⁴ Wijil first uses the exact words of the opening line of the dirty song, then neatly turns the subject by playing on the words. Several of the plays are however left implicit. *Linglung* 'besotted' is linked conventionally to forgetting (*lali*) oneself, which is also the term used for 'being unconscious' (in both English senses), which Wijil draws out by sketching out the slippery path from being besotted to madness to unconsciousness (the reference to closing one's eyes) to death. *Lila* ('happy') is also linked by reversal of the syllables to *lali* (to forget). Another sense of *lila* is 'acting as if mad'. Wijil converts all this into a well known idea (but not one usually cited as such) namely: do not assume that the mad do not often speak the truth. The final reference is to Luh Wedani: don't forget yourself.

Should the exegesis seem overly intricate, I can assure the reader that all this was explained to me at length by the commentators. As I was concerned that the above account might be an over-interpretation of something much simpler, I cross-checked with other knowledgeable Balinese who gave similar explications. One should remember that these actors are full-time professionals and over the years have built up, or learned from others, a large repertoire of such pieces, and may use the same lines on different occasions to different audiences. Also, with a habit of regular theatre-going, audiences learn phrases, jokes, puns and the forms of indirection which are a central feature of theatre.

¹³⁵ The Panasar returns to the previous theme.

¹³⁶ I.e. It is the headdress dealer who has come to collect payment. The Panasar is wearing a headdress (*udeng*, the style is *dara kèpèk*, literally 'a half-paralyzed dove', because one of the two peaks at the front droops down). The commentators wondered whether there was not also a play on words. *Lideng* sounds not unlike *udeng*, so Sri Aji Palaka might have also been making a reference to the fact that the orchestra are wearing identical headdresses, as part of their matching dress. Such a way of showing that the actors notice what is going on around them is considered appropriate according to Anak Agung Pekak who was a professional actor all his life.

- PANASAR: 'Lila lila lila lideng'. I wonder who has turned up here with a headdress on credit?
- WIJIL: Hah.
- LUH WEDANI: (*She calls out loudly.*) Husband husband husband husband, its' me-e, little me-e. Husband, come here!
- SRI AJI PALAKA: Heavens! It is my precious jewel, my beauty.¹³⁷
- WIJIL: She's yelling her head off, it's (like) nothing other than...¹³⁸
- PANASAR: 'Little sister! Little sister! It's your precious one, It's your wife here.' Who on earth could it be turning up and shouting at the top of their voice?
- LUH WEDANI: Husband! Husband! Come and give me one.¹³⁹
- WIJIL: Wow! Good Lord!
- PANASAR: What's that?
- WIJIL: What she said was 'hubby, hubby, come and 'ive me one'.¹⁴⁰ What sort of language is that do you think? Snake speech?¹⁴¹
- PANASAR: (*He tells her off (ngawélang, nukèn).*) Although you've been in the court so long, you still use language like that.
- WIJIL: 'Retire', that's what you should say.
- SRI AJI PALAKA: Come quickly into the open!
- WIJIL: Oh! 'You are like my sweet treasure.' Come out here quickly.
- LUH WEDANI: (*She calls him to come to bed with her.*) Hurry up, come along hubby. Get a move on here. Oink, Oink, Oink!¹⁴²
- WIJIL: (*He parodies her.*) 'Hurry up. Oink, Oink, Oink.'
- SRI AJI PALAKA: You two servants. Go and wait on (your mistress).

(*Sri Aji Palaka exits.*)

¹³⁷ The prince is flattering his wife (a *pangajum*). The commentators paraphrased this as the thoughts of the prince for his wife are like a man who has much gold (*mas*) and jewels (*mirah*). The gloss is interesting, because he literally calls her 'my gold and jewels'. It seems to link with an aversion which the commentators often showed for the direct use of metaphor. Here they prefer a reading which involves a closer approximation to a possible situation: the prince is a rich man, his wife is not precious metals or stones. The Balinese attitude to metaphor or analogy (*pra(tiw)imba*) is discussed elsewhere.

¹³⁸ Wijil never completes the sentence so we do not know what he was going to compare her to. The commentators reckoned that strictly the last phrase should be preceded by 'like' (*sakadi*), which has the effect of converting a potential metaphor into a simile. The frequency with which actors fail to complete sentences and interrupt one another is a product of the dialogue being extemporized on stage.

¹³⁹ Literally she says: 'Come here and let's sleep together'. I give a slang translation here to catch something of the vulgarity of Luh Wedani's Low Balinese, which is a highly inappropriate way for any wife to speak to a prince, let alone a low caste wife, who is so far beneath him, she should always use elevated language.

¹⁴⁰ To amuse the audience and to avoid being coarse, Wijil slices the first consonant off *pules* 'to sleep (with someone)'. The omission of the first consonant, or even the whole syllable, is known as *raos badil*, which is used of the speech of small children, who clip words and crude syntax. The expression is also used of the speech of someone who cannot pronounce the letter 'r'. One should note that it is customary however to omit the first syllable of someone's personal name when calling them. One uses the full name if they do not respond or if one is angry.

¹⁴¹ The commentators considered this simply a jocular reference and were not aware of it having any further significance.

¹⁴² *Kaus*, the word she uses, is a *gèhgèhan*, 'a spontaneous exclamation'. It is also the noise made by a boar in rut, especially a rather inadequate one. (Warna says this is used of a pig which was not properly castrated, 1978: 195-96; on the significance of boars in Bali, see Hobart 1974.) The commentators reckon that there was no specific intention of imitating a boar here, but rather, because she is so happy at the thought of sleeping with her husband, she becomes confused (*sisu*), forgets herself and calls out nonsense. Too much happiness is said to lead to madness.

- WIJIL: What do you think? Are we going to let ourselves be treated like this?
 PANASAR: (*Sings*) I shall follow your **command**. Please **arise** M'lady.¹⁴³
 WIJIL: (*A man comes out on stage to pump the fading lamps.*) They are going to pump up the pressure lamps. Wait a moment so that in the confusion you do not bump into the man whose fixing them. I have another job to do before I can wait on you!
- PANASAR: So that your face will be clearly visible when you emerge. Isn't that as it should be?¹⁴³
- WIJIL: That's right.
 PANASAR: So it isn't dark. If it is, we'll see nothing and won't be able to tell your nose from your forehead.
- WIJIL: That's because (the light's) weak. Usually you're careful when it comes to pumping up lamps. It's used as a saying 'when it's fading (pump it)'.¹⁴⁴
- PANASAR: Because, if it is not light, when such a beautiful woman appears, your servants will not be able to appreciate how beautiful M'lady is.¹⁴⁵
- WIJIL: Yes! If I were talked about as if I were a stone.¹⁴⁶ Oh dear! Brother.
 PANASAR: 'Tut, 'Tut!
 WIJIL: What, me?
 PANASAR: If (only) I could – what d'ya call it? – get out of it all.¹⁴⁷
 WIJIL: You're going to leave?
 500 PANASAR: Yes.
 WIJIL: You want to ask to go now?
 PANASAR: Yes.
 PANASAR: You can't accept her food first and then refuse to wait on her. Huh! That's a fine way to behave.
- PANASAR: No, I don't feel comfortable serving her.
 WIJIL: You don't feel good about it, I don't feel good either. We are both servants though, so let's get on and serve.
- PANASAR: Huh!
 WIJIL: Let's take the bad with the bad, the good with (the bad).
 LUH WEDANI: Punta! Oops.
 WIJIL: What, me?¹⁴⁸
 LUH WEDANI: (What do you mean) 'What, me?'
 PANASAR: You're being careless in how you speak.
 LUH WEDANI: 'Jil, come 'ere.
 WIJIL: It is I.
 LUH WEDANI: (*She is angry.*) I know it's me you keep going on about. Oh yes!

¹⁴³ This is an oblique reference to the fact that Luh Wedani is being played by a male, which is evident from her voice.

¹⁴⁴ The saying (*sesenggakan*) has an obscene reference: when one is feeling weak, one gets one's energy back if one's wife wants one to pump (i.e. to have sex with) her.

¹⁴⁵ The sentence has two deliberately contrasting senses, which hinge in part on whom is referred to by 'servants', Wijil and the Panasar or the audience. The first is the straight reading which their mistress is intended to take as praise. The second is intended for the audience who can hear from Luh Wedani's voice that she is played by a male and therefore not beautiful at all. The latter is deliberately insulting, but avoids any direct intimation of this, as it would be improper to a *Liku* who, however mad or ugly, is a princess.

¹⁴⁶ The point is that one shouldn't say Luh Wedani is ugly, but should praise her.

¹⁴⁷ He wants to leave his service at the court (*mapamit sakèng puri*) because his mistress is awful.

¹⁴⁸ Luh Wedani calls the Panasar by his personal name (or at least what the royals normally call him), but it is Wijil who answers. The right servant can't be bothered to exert himself (*pikayuné ngekoh*) to answer such a mistress.

- WIJIL: Do I?
- LUH WEDANI: It's me you're gossiping about. I know! It's me you keep telling stories about, Oh yes! It's just me who you keep on plaguing with your lack of respect, Oh, yes! (*She gets carried away in her anger.*) It's me you've swallowed. Oh, yes! It's me you've gobbled up, Oh, yes!
- PANASAR: Carry on. Carry on.
- LUH WEDANI: What! From first thing in the morning you natter about me. During the day you natter about me. Right on into the evening you just natter on about me. I know!¹⁴⁹
- WIJIL: (*To the Panasar.*) Well. Now you've asked for it. Now you're getting – er – paid back (for what you did).
- LUH WEDANI: If you've had your fill of talking about me, you won't need to 'uzzle, will you?¹⁵⁰
- PANASAR: Wow!
- WIJIL: What did she say, brother?
- PANASAR: 'If you've had your fill of talking about me, you won't need to "'uzzle"'. That was it.
- WIJIL: "'uzzle", what sort of language is "'uzzle"?
- PANASAR: (*He clips his words.*) "'uzzle" is in the same family as "'uff yer 'uts".
- WIJIL: She seems to think I am a piglet.
- PANASAR: This is far too extreme a way to speak in a palace, to speak to your servants like that.
- WIJIL: It's like this. When our mistress used to go to school, she always went in on Sundays.¹⁵¹
- LUH WEDANI: Now, 'Jil.
- WIJIL: I am here.
- PANASAR: I am here.
- LUH WEDANI: Sit down. I'm about to make my entrance.
- PANASAR: Certainly.
- WIJIL: Certainly. Huh! We can't be slow. (*They seat themselves cross-legged on the floor.*) We're ready.
- LUH WEDANI: 'Jil.
- WIJIL: I am here.
- LUH WEDANI: Look and see if your elder brother is properly attired.
- WIJIL: Oh, dear! (*He scrutinizes the Panasar's sarong carefully to check if his underpants or genitals are showing.*) I have checked.
- PANASAR: What is it? Hey! I've done it, I've got myself ready.¹⁵²
- WIJIL: We're ready, we're ready.

¹⁴⁹ In other words, you are getting no work done, just gossiping and complaining about me.

¹⁵⁰ Your stomachs must be full from talking about me, so you won't need to eat. She clips the crude word for 'eat' (*(l)èklèk*) which I have rendered as (g)uzzle, because a play on clipped words follows.

¹⁵¹ In other words she only went in on Sundays, when there was no teacher there. The point is that she doesn't know how to speak properly in High Balinese.

¹⁵² He is seated properly for her arrival. The reference is to his genitals not showing. They are just making a joke about the fact that when men sit cross-legged, especially with baggy or inadequate underpants, one can often see their genitals, especially those of older men who pay less attention to such matters. The Panasar is portrayed as an ageing figure.

- LUH WEDANI: Take a butcher's. Isn't he sitting nicely? Look at how his torchlight is rolling to and fro on the floor.¹⁵³
- PANASAR: Oh dear! Are there really women like that?
- WIJIL: Ma'am. I beg your forgiveness, I am merely your ignorant servant, but that is no torchlight...
- PANASAR: Huh!
- 550 LUH WEDANI: What is it?
- WIJIL: It's only a gong mallet.¹⁵⁴
- PANASAR: Huh! A gong mallet! You're just joining in, don't take after her.
- WIJIL: (*To the Panasar.*) I'm getting fed up too.
- PANASAR: In front of everyone like that! (*To Luh Wedani*) Do not speak like that. It's weird of you to want to look at what should be kept out of sight.
- WIJIL: Of course your servants are wearing underpants. In fact I'm wearing sixteen pairs.¹⁵⁵
- PANASAR: Hurry up out.
- LUH WEDANI: Punta.
- PANASAR: I am here.
- LUH WEDANI: Shall I come out now?
- PANASAR: That depends on how you're feeling.
- WIJIL: Ooh.
- PANASAR: I really am sitting down out here. But she's talking about my torchlight again.
- LUH WEDANI: (*She makes funny singing-type noises, like someone who doesn't know the how the melody goes after the first two or three syllables, so she repeats them endlessly. The result is a very odd sound.*)
- WIJIL: Hey! Come on out now, just speak properly. It's easy.
- PANASAR: There's still no one out here yet.
- WIJIL: If you would only speak normally (instead of singing nonsense), it would be fine.
- PANASAR: Yes.
- LUH WEDANI: (*She sings loudly but inaudibly. She then pokes her face through the curtain with the slightly mad expression conventionally adopted by Liku.*)
- PANASAR: (*To Wijil.*) What have you spotted?
- WIJIL: I thought her voice would have got softer, but she just carries on.
- PANASAR: Do you know what that is?
- WIJIL: What is it?
- PANASAR: It's a broken tape recorder.
- WIJIL: Ah!
- PANASAR: It's falling apart.
- WIJIL: Oh dear!
- PANASAR: It's never been put out to dry.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ His torch is a reference to his penis, which she claims she can see, although she is still completely behind the curtain.

¹⁵⁴ The term is for the mallet of a small gong, *kempluk* or *tawa-tawa*, used in *Jangèr* and now in other gamelan.

¹⁵⁵ What are you talking about. How could you see anything?

¹⁵⁶ The continuous high humidity in Bali encourages damp and fungus which will grow on almost anything, including once a Nagra tape recorder of mine. Electrical equipment needs periodic exposure to the sun to dry it off, although

- WIJIL: In a moment I shall ask M'lady if we can dry it out tomorrow.
- PANASAR: The tape recorder's bust and the batteries are leaking. That's why the sound's so rotten.
- WIJIL: Oh.
- LUH WEDANI: (*She sings again, but her voice tails off like a cassette recorder with a dying battery.*) Inside the pavillionnnn...¹⁵⁷
- PANASAR: Wow! Why's there that weird noise? Come on. You can do better than that.¹⁵⁸
- LUH WEDANI: (*At that moment a dog saunters across the stage and sniffs behind the curtain, where Luh Wedani's head is still sticking out, then the dog disappears behind the curtain.*) Punta!
- PANASAR: I'm here.
- LUH WEDANI: There's a puppy after me, 'Ta, did you see that?
- PANASAR: Yes! (I told you to) watch out. No sooner do you turn up than there's a puppy after you. What do you expect if you haven't washed for three weeks? Why do you think dogs from all over the place have come to fight over you, Oh dear!¹⁵⁹

(*Luh Wedani carries on singing in a strange manner, with just her head poking out through the curtain. Then she makes several short sallies onto the stage, wagging her bottom, before retreating behind the curtain again each time, while the servants make comments.*)

- PANASAR: Where on earth did you pick up that dance? It's just like a pig's tail, wagging about in circles. First in forward gear, then in reverse. Come on. May Heaven protect me from such an over the top exhibition.¹⁶⁰
- WIJIL: Wow!
- PANASAR: Oh dear! Now she's rushing forwards, then she backs off again. Wow! Why's she doing that?
- WIJIL: All right. You've certainly made your entrance. So why are you going back out again?
- PANASAR: Oh.

(*Luh Wedani dances her opening dance (Panglembar), swirling madly around the stage.*)

- LUH WEDANI: *Aik-a!*
- PANASAR: Huh, Now she's going 'Aik-a!' What sort of sound is that?

village Balinese rarely do so. Déwa Madé Sayang, who plays the Panasar, often appears on radio and television. So he is familiar with the problem.

¹⁵⁷ The commentators remarked at this point that it is much easier to dance mad (*buduh*) characters, because every silliness or even mistake is laughed at, whereas the Panasar and Wijil must be *masulur* 'controlled, disciplined, accurate'.

¹⁵⁸ The Panasar is warning her (*ngalèmèkin*) here. As happens frequently in the following long scene, the warnings may be taken as part of the narrative, but are also aimed at preventing I Midep from going too far. As many audiences like slapstick and obscene humour, actors often draw out these scenes too long for the comfort of the other actors or discerning spectators. So it is common for actors to try and rein in others.

¹⁵⁹ The commentators laughed in appreciation at how neatly the actors wove extraneous events into the performance. The actors, they said, were *wikan ngaryanin daya dedadakan* (clever at lightning responses).

¹⁶⁰ This is an invocation aimed at protecting himself from the consequences of her actions (*karma pala*) which have apparently afflicted Luh Wedani.

- LUH WEDANI: Hah! That's the sound of a gecko, that is. Didn't you know?
 PANASAR: Woo!
 LUH WEDANI: I know how to do the noises of all the animals. If it's a small gecko outside its hole, it goes *gèdèg-gèdèg, gèdèg-gèdèg, ngongèk*.
- 601 WIJIL: Oh.
 PANASAR: Huh!
 LUH WEDANI: If it's a big gecko...
 WIJIL: If it's a big gecko...
 LUH WEDANI: An old one...
 PANASAR: Indeed.
 LUH WEDANI: Calling from inside its hole, it's a different call.
 PANASAR: Like what?
 LUH WEDANI: C'mere, C'mere, Give-us-a-quick'un.¹⁶¹
 PANASAR: Oh dear! When has a gecko ever actually sounded like 'C'mere, C'mere, Give-us-a-quick'un'?
- LUH WEDANI: Punta! Hey! I just have to look at your younger brother and he comes over all faint.¹⁶²
- PANASAR: Does he?
 LUH WEDANI: Huh.
 PANASAR: He often comes over all peculiar.¹⁶³
 LUH WEDANI: He's got a bad heart.
 PANASAR: (*To Wijil.*) Ooh! I reckon if you roll your eyes around so much, you'll go into your death throes.
- LUH WEDANI: 'Jil! Yoo-hoo!
 WIJIL: I'm here.
 LUH WEDANI: If you've got heart trouble, watch out for what you eat.
 PANASAR: Yes.
 WIJIL: What is it?
 LUH WEDANI: It is strictly forbidden to eat anything containing oil.¹⁶⁴
 WIJIL: Oh! Brother! Now I'm not allowed to eat anything with oil in it!
 PANASAR: Ask (more about it).
 WIJIL: Hold on a moment. So that I don't make a mistake and choose the wrong thing.
 PANASAR: That's right.

¹⁶¹ She gives an idiosyncratic version of a gecko's call echoing and finishes by combining onomatopoeia with a well known suggestive phrase. According to Balinese conventions of onomatopoeia, geckos sound nothing like that. The sentence does not quite make sense in Balinese. *Bèdèt* is to pull someone by the arm; *baang acepok* is literally 'give it to me once', which is a colloquial way of asking to have sex. Two years later this joke was still doing the rounds in theatre and I have even seen it in a broadcast play. I am not sure if I Midep was the first to use it.

¹⁶² Wijil is supposed to feel like fainting at being looked at by such a beautiful girl. The commentators promptly pointed out to me that this joke doesn't depend on it happening to be a male who is playing, but it depends on how they handle their rôles and set the situation up on stage.

¹⁶³ There is a play on words here. *Gelem-geleman* may mean 'often ill' or 'faint', but also to be weak at the knees because of sexual passion.

¹⁶⁴ I Midep plays the *Liku* in an occasional series of *Bondrès* (q.v.) sketches on television, each of which deals with some aspect of government policy towards developing Balinese society. The themes range from hygiene and healthy diet to the requirement to register domestic animals. In the present play he makes use of several such themes, starting with avoiding putatively high cholesterol oils (like coconut oil), but reduces them to absurdity by the end. The significance of this is discussed below.

- WIJIL: I know nothing, I'm just very stupid. What contains oil, what does not, if I might be so bold as to ask?
- LUH WEDANI: Which foods contain oil, don't ya know?
- WIJIL: That's it.
- LUH WEDANI: Kitchen stoves do, for example.
- PANASAR: Oh dear! Poor patient! "Doctor! What food contains oil?" Huh! Our mistress is pretty fine. "What contains oil – a kerosene stove!"
- WIJIL: (*Wijil behaves as if he is angry and tells her off.*) Really, what do you think I am? A diesel engine? This isn't about stoves. I thought you were talking about eating pork. If that's so, tell us about it? But it's just a stove! Let's just drop the whole subject.
- LUH WEDANI: (*She sings, but with no clearly discernible words, and does a comical dance during which one of the spikes of frangipani (bancangan) in her headdress falls out.*)
- PANASAR: Oh dear! She's gone so far that her headdress is slipping off and she hasn't even noticed. Wow!
- LUH WEDANI: Do you know what that dance is?
- PANASAR: Oh dear! She's lost her flowers and she hasn't even realized.
- WIJIL: Stick it in, brother. Stick it back in!¹⁶⁵
- PANASAR: What a really weird dance? She doesn't know it's fallen.

(*The Panasar picks up the spike of flowers and steps forward to put it back in place.*)

- LUH WEDANI: Now, don't do that!
- PANASAR: Certainly. Must make it better.¹⁶⁶
- LUH WEDANI: Look for the hole, there's one somewhere. (*The Panasar tries to insert the stem into the wrong place on the headdress.*) Hey! Watch out! Not like that.
- PANASAR: Wow!
- LUH WEDANI: This is a noble head, this is. Didn't you know?¹⁶⁷
- PANASAR: M'lady is too tall. How can I put it in, the flowers that is?¹⁶⁸
- WIJIL: Lower, Mum, bend lower.
- 650 PANASAR: I beg permission most humbly. Where do I put it? Here?¹⁶⁹
- LUH WEDANI: Yes! Just look around there, it's there somewhere, push it aside, you know.¹⁷⁰
- PANASAR: Push it aside, what am I to push aside?
- LUH WEDANI: Oh! Look for it there. You just stand there talking.

¹⁶⁵ This sets up the next obscene joke which start to develop two lines later.

¹⁶⁶ There is a deliberate lack of clarity here as to whether the Panasar is telling her to improve her dancing (so that it isn't so wild that her headdress starts to come apart) or whether he is referring to him wanting to straighten up her clothing for her.

¹⁶⁷ The simple pun works more or less in English too. *Sang Prabu* is both a very respectful term for one's head and a word for 'king'.

¹⁶⁸ The last phrase indicates explicitly that what he says is not to be taken as indecent. The remarks about her height are because I Midep is a strapping man, far taller than any of the other actors.

¹⁶⁹ He should in fact have asked permission (*nunas lugraha*) much earlier before touching his superior's head. His failure to do so exemplifies his attitude towards his mistress, but having made the point, he complies with what is appropriate.

¹⁷⁰ The last remark is likely to be understood by the audience as obscene. *Kebit-kebitang* is used of pushing up, or aside, a woman's sarong to look at or expose her genitals. The use of "'not'" confirms the point, both by being coarse and by indicating that they should know what she is talking about.

- PANASAR: There isn't a hole.
 LUH WEDANI: There is one there, but it's hidden.¹⁷¹
 PANASAR: Oh dear! I thought she was talking about the place for the flowers, but there isn't a hole. Uh! It's not clear.¹⁷²
 LUH WEDANI: Do you know the latest dance?
 PANASAR: No. What is it?
 LUH WEDANI: The one where you jump up and down. Do you know that one?
 PANASAR: What! The earthquake dance?
 LUH WEDANI: Yes. It is known as a 'break dance'.
 WIJIL: Uh! Is this the one they call '*berek dèn*'.¹⁷³
 PANASAR: No one here knows about it here except for this gentleman. (*She points at me and then at my companion.*) He knows too. The two of them. Madam too.
 WIJIL: Oh! It's true. (Only foreigners know about that) dance.
 PANASAR: The 'Break dance'.¹⁷⁴
 LUH WEDANI: That's it. But you pronounce it 'break dance', not '*berek dèn*'.
 PANASAR: What did I say?
 LUH WEDANI: 'Berek dance'.
 PANASAR: Huh.
 LUH WEDANI: How come your gob's so awkward? Hey! Tomorrow bring your gob back here. To make it more supple, it needs a good massage.
 PANASAR: Bring your mouth in for repair tomorrow.¹⁷⁵
 WIJIL: It's the first time I've ever heard of having your mouth massaged. That's getting your categories confused, that is.¹⁷⁶
 LUH WEDANI: (*She reprimands him.*) That's enough. You have no idea what's being talked about. I shall dance again.
 PANASAR: Certainly! Yes!
 LUH WEDANI: 'Yes!' What's that?
 PANASAR: Carry on.
 WIJIL: Yes! Oh dear! Ooh! Oh dear! Ooh!
 PANASAR: Hey! Why are you going 'Oh dear, Oh dear'?
 WIJIL: Oh dear!
 LUH WEDANI: Your brain's just stuffed full of grudges. Ha! I'd only just started dancing for a moment, and you were going: 'Oh dear, Oh dear'. Perhaps you'd prefer to play in the gamelan instead. Why not try it?¹⁷⁷ Ha! Your whole family's the same – never willing to be servants. Oh no! All the way back to your forefathers, none of you have ever been content with your lot!
 WIJIL: Hey!
 LUH WEDANI: I am serious, clear out of here. I can get hold of twenty-five servants tomorrow. I can get (better than you) just like that.

¹⁷¹ The sexual innuendo should be obvious.

¹⁷² Once again the Panasar manages to continue the narrative (it is the hole which is obscure) and signal that she may intend something else, obscene.

¹⁷³ *Berek dèn* is Wijil's rendering of 'break dance'. *Berek* is 'rotten'. *Dèn* in Balinese may be 'north of' or, less common, a call used to quieten cattle or water-buffalo (Warna 1978: 150).

¹⁷⁴ Everyone speaks of 'Berek dèn' except the Panasar who uses the correct English here.

¹⁷⁵ This exchange is conducted in the language of the garage and repair shop.

¹⁷⁶ *Solèh* is used of something quite inappropriate or out of place, often with the implication of confusing categories. It is used *inter alia* when talking about argumentation and glosses quite well as 'category mistake'.

¹⁷⁷ He wouldn't be able to answer her back if he were a member of the gamelan not an actor.

- PANASAR: (To *Wijil*.) You were asking for that.¹⁷⁸
 LUH WEDANI: It's true. Where do you think your ancestors have ever managed to find a peaceful resting place?^{179xli}
 WIJIL: Hey, now!
 PANASAR: Wow! Just take that in.¹⁸⁰
 LUH WEDANI: Did you think I needed you badly, did you think so?
 WIJIL: Oh yes!
 PANASAR: Carry on! Carry on!
 WIJIL: Well! Brother, I am not going to keep quiet.
 PANASAR: Yes.
 700 WIJIL: Oh yes! (*He turns to address the audience.*) Ladies and gentlemen, members of this community, I think that you have fallen short in carrying out New Year purification ceremonies. That is why you are being plagued with horrible ogres turning up here.¹⁸¹ She just keeps on yattering away.
 LUH WEDANI: Punta! Hey!
 PANASAR: I, M'lady.
 LUH WEDANI: I've been called a horrible ogress, d'ya hear! He's slick. He criticizes the whole time. All style and no substance.¹⁸²
 PANASAR: Yes! He's usually like that.
 LUH WEDANI: He called me an ogress! If I offered to have it off with him, he'd grab the offer soon enough.
 PANASAR: (*To Wijil*) Oh dear! It's payback time for saying she was a horrible ogress.
 WIJIL: Even if she asked me to have it off with her, it's going too far. After all, she's my sovereign...¹⁸³
 LUH WEDANI: (*She reverts to the theme of her being called an ogress.*) Well, it's true the little kiddies reacted just the same, Punta.¹⁸⁴
 PANASAR: What's that?
 LUH WEDANI: When I was going past just now.
 PANASAR: Indeed.
 LUH WEDANI: The children were astonished too. 'Wow! It's past the New Year ceremony.' Even though it's finished (they're talking about me as an ogress).
 PANASAR: Is that so?
 LUH WEDANI: I'm furious.
 PANASAR: ...That little children should be so brazen?

¹⁷⁸ According to the commentators his point is 'Careful. Do you really want her to make her so angry?'

¹⁷⁹ Because of your appalling behaviour, your dead relatives are probably all suffering in the underworld (*kasangsaraan*).

¹⁸⁰ I.e. Just realize how angry she is.

¹⁸¹ The Panasar is comparing the *Liku* to *Ogoh-ogoh*. These are grotesque figures made of bamboo with rice stalks for dress in the form of the queen of the witches (*Rangda*) or giants (*raksasa*), made by households for the festival, *nyaga-nyaga*, which is part of Nyepi.

¹⁸² *Gaya*, 'style', is originally an Indonesian word, but is adopted into Balinese in the expression *gaya dogèn* 'just style, slick, superficial'. It is used of young men who dress in modern style, but who are nothing behind the clothes. The Balinese equivalent, *agem dogèn* is 'all appearance, nothing behind it'. One of the lesser members of the court in Pisangkaja was nicknamed (*kaparadin*) Cokorda Agem (a play on the title Cokorda Agung) for this reason.

¹⁸³ *Wijil* would be embarrassed (*lek*) to take up the invitation, because it would be far beyond the bounds of propriety, both because she is his mistress (in the non-sexual sense) and because she is the wife of the prince. Even though she is a commoner by birth, it would be a caste offence. In fact such liaisons are not entirely uncommon.

¹⁸⁴ Again reality is juxtaposed with the play. She is referring to the children's astonishment behind stage at the sight of a man making himself up as a woman.

- LUH WEDANI: *(She points towards some children standing at the edge of the audience and makes noises, as if telling them off (ngèwèrin.) Ngèk ngok.*
- PANASAR: Oh dear! Gecko noises again: 'ngèk ngok'.
- LUH WEDANI: I'm pissed off, 'Ta.
- PANASAR: Indeed.
- WIJIL: Oh.
- LUH WEDANI: I'm half dead with rage.
- WIJIL: Hey! She's only just lost her temper and already she's half dead.
- LUH WEDANI: *(She starts to mimic a schoolteacher.)* Children are not allowed to be naughty.
- WIJIL: What! Is this supposed to be anger?
- LUH WEDANI: Children must work hard at school.
- WIJIL: Uh! Children must work hard at school?
- PANASAR: Have to be told what to do.
- WIJIL: Oh! Yes, teacher.
- PANASAR: Yes.
- LUH WEDANI: Never offend people.
- WIJIL: Oh.
- LUH WEDANI: Be industrious in helping your father with his work. Be industrious in helping your mother with her work.
- WIJIL: Oh.
- LUH WEDANI: But if your mother and father are working (away at it) together, don't help.¹⁸⁵
- PANASAR: Oh dear! Listen carefully to this advice. 'Children should be industrious in helping their mother and helping their father, but if mother and father are working (away at it) don't help.' Oh dear!
- LUH WEDANI: What's up? Did I make a mistake?
- WIJIL: You weren't wrong.
- PANASAR: But just don't carry on like that.
- WIJIL: That's right.
- PANASAR: Don't give children lessons that are full of rubbish!
- WIJIL: Yes! (Teach them) what's good, as if (you were starting with) a clean slate.¹⁸⁶

(Luh Wedani does a comic song, but no words are audible. The Panasar and Wijil stand well back from the proceedings, with the Panasar in front of the drummers in the orchestra.)

- WIJIL: Brother, brother, brother. Don't. The drummer is hidden. Move away from there. The drummer can't see, you're in the way. Oi!¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁵ If they are having sex, don't join in. The commentators laughed at how clever she was at twisting something so apparently innocent as homilies to children neatly into obscenity (*ipun wikan ngarereh pamargi makta ka cabul*).

¹⁸⁶ He literally says: 'a white sheet of paper'. The commentators understood this as having three references. First, teach them what is pure and unsullied (*ening*). Second, make sure that nothing obscene of the kind you have just mentioned is included. Third, you should start all over again. Although the English idiom I use is not quite right, it is better than the alternatives which come to mind.

¹⁸⁷ *Nengèng* is coarse. The drummer was I Kartama from Pisangkaja, who is a member of the Indonesian State Radio Gamelan. He had been invited to lead the gamelan both because he was local and because he knew the troupe well and could adjust the orchestra's playing to their pace. As he was of low caste, there was no caste offense in using *nengèng*. And, as a professional musician working in the same circuit, he took it as intended – as friendly banter. He laughed cheerfully in response. To make sure that there are no ill feelings, Wijil switches to High Balinese when referring to him in his next sentence.

750 PANASAR: Eh?
 WIJIL: Hey! What's it – he's (having to) look over here.¹⁸⁸
 PANASAR: Heavens! (Anyway) the drummer's got four eyes.¹⁸⁹
 WIJIL: No, this...
 LUH WEDANI: Don't you want to dance with me? I'm having to dance all alone like this.
 WIJIL: Really, brother.
 LUH WEDANI: Don't just pay attention to the drummer. (Pay attention to me!)
 WIJIL: Brother! If it were any other drummer...¹⁹⁰
 LUH WEDANI: This is how I dance by myself, like a dog hit by a motor-cycle. (*She starts to swirl around the stage, alternating leaps and spasms.*) Clear out of the way.
 PANASAR: Wow.

(*Her dance is so frenetic that she falls and rolls over several times. She then gets up very slowly, as if shaken.*)

WIJIL: (*To the Panasar*) Huh! I thought to myself what's that thing rolling around? Geddit?
 LUH WEDANI: Now come and dance with me. (*She proceeds to show Wijil how she wants him to accompany her.*) That's what it's like if I dance by myself. So come and partner me.
 PANASAR: Accompany her.
 WIJIL: Partner her.
 PANASAR: Accompany her dancing.

(*Wijil starts to dance with her, in the style used in ngibing, dancing with a woman in Jangèr, when the man imitates the movements of the woman and attempts to come as close to her as possible, but without touching.*)

WIJIL: This is like following a *barong*.^{191xiii}
 PANASAR: Oh yes.
 WIJIL: I'm accompanying you.

¹⁸⁸ *Berek* here is not used in its usual sense of 'rotten', but as an exclamation when one has forgotten a word for something. Wijil is saying that the drummer cannot see Luh Wedani who is centre stage.

¹⁸⁹ This is a quick-witted play on words. The two exterior ankle bones are called 'the feet's eyes' (*matan batis*) in Balinese. This seems at times not just to be treated as a dead metaphor because, when I raised the subject the commentators told me that, in some sort of way, the feet could see. How else could one walk so surely without looking down the whole time? The Panasar's retort is that the drummer has two pairs of eyes. If he can't see with the ones in his head, then he can with his feet. The Panasar returns to a variant of this joke below, when he nearly knocks over the microphone which I had placed on the front of the stage to record the play.

¹⁹⁰ No one else would manage to accompany someone as difficult as Luh Wedani. This is a reference again to I Kartama being part of their regular gamelan. I asked if this was praise (*ngajum*), to be told no it was not, because it was clearly speaking the truth (*raos wiakti*). This was the occasion on which it was most clearly spelled out that, while when one praises one is not supposed to lie (*mogbog*), there is a difference between accenting existing good qualities and saying what is demonstrably the case. Cf. Skt. **wyakti** 'visible appearance, becoming evident or known', and in O.J. additionally 'evidence, proof, clarification, explanation'. Similar but further senses are given for two other closely related terms: **sawyakti** 'evident, clear, universally known', and Skt. & O.J. **wyakta**, **byakta** 'evident, certain', 'manifested, apparent, visible'.

¹⁹¹ Luh Wedani's dancing is compared to, or – slightly more precisely – exemplified as (*kaumpamiang*), a *Barong Landung* (a giant female puppet carried by a man) when it goes promenading because she is so tall. On the epistemological and semiotic significance of the difference between comparison and exemplifying, see the endnotes.

(Wijil breaks off because her movements are too wild to follow.)

PANASAR: Who's going to?
 WIJIL: Who's going to accompany her?
 LUH WEDANI: Now! Wijil dance with me first.
 WIJIL: Yes, Ma'am.
 PANASAR: Ha! He's first.
 LUH WEDANI: Just so long as there's someone to keep me company.
 PANASAR: Huh! So I don't get in the way of the drummer, I'm off.
(He does a majestic sweep from beside the orchestra across the front of the stage, nearly knocking over the microphone with which I was recording the performance.)

WIJIL: Don't kick it (the microphone).
 PANASAR: Didn't you know? My feet have eyes.

(In her frenetic dancing she swings her arm down, then up to sweep his cloak (kampuh) aside and seize Wijil's genitals. He staggers back and doubles up, holding his crotch.)

WIJIL: What's this?
 LUH WEDANI: What's that?
 PANASAR: Oh Lord! It's a touch of his old trouble, it's come back.¹⁹²
 LUH WEDANI: Why did he half fall over? I was only dancing with him.
 PANASAR: Oh dear! The bloke's got no wind.
 WIJIL: Brother!
 PANASAR: Oh dear! Danger.
 WIJIL: Ow! Brother!
 PANASAR: Well he's finished selling rice.¹⁹³
 LUH WEDANI: How come?
 PANASAR: His weights are broken.
 WIJIL: I'm finished. That's as much as I'm dancing.
 LUH WEDANI: He only (danced) for a moment and his weights are already bust.
 WIJIL: Where is there a hand gesture like that in dance? *(He moves hands in imitation of the movement.)*^{xliii} I really just wanted to dance. *Plak! Gerès!* Oh dear, brother!¹⁹⁴
 LUH WEDANI: *(In disbelief)* Huh! I only hit you lightly. And that caused all this?
 PANASAR: You can't dance, can you?¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² It is quite common for *Liku* to dance like this. Such dancers are considered *pongah* 'without shame', but is far from a bad characteristic, because one cannot dance the rôle of *Liku* well if one is not. *Pongah* refers equally to actions and to her remarks which follow.

¹⁹³ This is the oblique start of a joke which is not easy to translate in the text. The brass weights used by merchants for weighing produce are known as *batun dacin* 'the stones of a scale'. *Batu* 'stone' is a common way to refer to testicles. You can't weigh things if the weights are broken: your sex life is ended if your testicles are smashed. It is close to a straight obscene reference, but you will note that nothing obscene is actually said.

¹⁹⁴ *Plak* and *Gerès* are Balinese onomatopoeia. The former is for a hand being put down on something, e.g. a drummer's motion when striking a drum. The latter is the reverse gesture of lifting a hand sharply, e.g. to catch something. Wijil is referring to the two hand movements in her dance. '*Plak Gerès*' is also used of the introductory preamble of the drums before one begins to dance.

WIJIL: Now you accompany her for a moment, so I can see.
 PANASAR: Right, I'll partner her.
 WIJIL: (*To himself.*) The accompanist is ill.
 PANASAR: Ready.
 LUH WEDANI: Ah! At last one with a bit more spunk.

(*The Panasar adopts a dramatic pose with arms raised, turns his eyes and head to the extreme right, then brings his head back, and moves his eyes, in five consecutive and sharply delineated steps right round to the other side. He says 'srèt' in time to the first movement and the five 'plaks' at each stage in the serrated return movement.*)

800 PANASAR: *Srèt! Plak-Plak-Plak-Plak-Plak.*¹⁹⁶
 LUH WEDANI: Don't lift your waistcloth, your underpants are torn.
 PANASAR: I only bought these pants yesterday in the shop, and (you say) they...(are torn).¹⁹⁷ Come along.

(*Luh Wedani sings again as before, while the Panasar adopts an exaggerated version of a Balinese martial arts (silat) posture.*)

PANASAR: I'm fully prepared, just like a *silat* expert. I've just got everything in order. (*Luh Wedani starts dancing again and advances on him. She tries to push his cloak aside, but he retorts by slapping her hand. She tries again, but this time he aims a high kick at her.*) Hey! She just approached and I hit her, 'Tak'. Then she attacked me again and I gave her a karate kick, 'Plak'.¹⁹⁸
 WIJIL: Ha! He managed to find...(a way not to get groped by Luh Wedani).
 PANASAR: (You've got to dance) differently with a stupid person. She just did this with her hand and (I went) like that. (*He rehearses his gesture.*) A clean knock-out. How I would just (like to) let a pickpocket...(try to take me).¹⁹⁹
 WIJIL: He wanted to dance correctly, but because (she dances like) this...(he was forced to follow suit).
 LUH WEDANI: (*She uses the Balinese sound for calling a dog.*) Com'ere, Com'ere.
 PANASAR: Who's she calling like that?
 LUH WEDANI: Who do you think? The two of you.
 PANASAR: Huh! That's pretty good, 'Com'ere, Com'ere'. She seems to think I'm Rover. It is all too clear that I am a human, I have a human face.

¹⁹⁵ The Panasar joins in making fun of Wijil. The commentators told me that what he was doing was part of *saling injukin pamargi* 'helping one another (to find suitable lines) to carry on the narrative', because it enables Wijil to tell him it is his go, while they think of how to develop the scene.

¹⁹⁶ The sounds are again onomatopoeic, this time of the orchestra which usually makes such noises to accompany dance. To make it funny the Panasar imitates the orchestra.

¹⁹⁷ This is *raos tugak*, 'interrupted speech', even if he does it to himself.

¹⁹⁸ 'Tak' and 'Plak' are the noises he makes to indicate the slap and kick respectively. Although he moves round in a *silat* pose, he refers to his kick as a named karate movement, 'the T kick'.

¹⁹⁹ He leaves his last sentence incomplete, but the commentators agreed that he was saying that a pickpocket cannot succeed against a *silat* expert. The commentators thought that there was a further point (*tetuwek*), namely that, if he said he could dance better than Luh Wedani, he would be said arrogant (*nyombongang raga*), so he does so indirectly, by drawing an analogy with a pickpocket (*kaimbayang sakadi tukang copèt*). The extra-narrative reference is that in real life he is a better dancer than I Midep. This was, in the commentators' view, correct, as I Midep can only do silly dances, but is celebrated for his quick repartee and skill at *double entendres*.

- LUH WEDANI: Ah! You can't joke with him. Hey! You're too finicky to be a servant.²⁰⁰ Do you want to be impudent to me? Look how many members of the orchestra are wearing blue.²⁰¹
- PANASAR: Huh?
- LUH WEDANI: Has anyone got the guts to oppose me? (*The gamelan was playing quietly. She clapped her hands (which is a signal to stop playing) and they stopped.*) 'Plak'! I've only just to do that and they all stop. Did anyone have the guts (to disobey)? See, try and count how many there are.
- WIJIL: Oh! They have all stopped. Don't pick up your mallets (again) or you'll get a beating.

(*The gamelan starts to play softly again. She claps once more.*)

- LUH WEDANI: 'Plak'! All I have to do is that and they stop. No one dares (go against me).
- WIJIL: Uh! It's true.
- LUH WEDANI: It puzzles me. I just clapped, why did they stop? At home, if you slap someone (on the thigh), they usually get cracking.²⁰²
- PANASAR: Wow! Oh! Does she ever say anything straight?
- WIJIL: We just get endless stuff like that.
- LUH WEDANI: (*She raises her forefinger.*) This. This is what frightens the players. They're frightened of this.
- PANASAR: What are they frightened by?
- LUH WEDANI: (*She thrusts her finger into the air several times.*) This. This. This.
- PANASAR: Oh! (They're frightened) by your new rings.
- LUH WEDANI: No! Here are five fingers. These are The Five Fingers.
- WIJIL: Oh! On your hand, is the Five Fingers that people are frightened of?
- LUH WEDANI: Its origin lies in The Five Gods.^{203xliv}
- WIJIL: Brother! Listen, this is turning into a Women's Family Welfare lecture. That's what it is.²⁰⁴
- PANASAR: (What's) *Pañca*?
- WIJIL: Five!

²⁰⁰ Her retort confirmed to the commentators that there was a moment of covert argument between the two actors and that I Midep's reply was that he couldn't take a joke and was too sensitive to be an actor.

²⁰¹ This is a reference to the fact that they are all wearing similar blue shirts. Although it may appear unrelated, she is developing her previous theme.

²⁰² A playful slap on a woman's thigh is often used by a male as an invitation to have sex.

²⁰³ Luh Wedani makes a play on various well known formulae based upon five-part classifications. Relating different schemes is this way is often used in public lectures, which is why Wijil accuses her of giving a public lecture (i.e. something one should not do in theatre). The formula of 'the Five Fingers' (*Panca Jari*) is her own invention for that evening, which she relates first to the complex cosmological notion of the **Pañcaśakti**, which is relevant here for its reference to great power, the power she attributes to her fingers in turn. She then relates them to the Pancasila, the five principles of the Indonesian state, then to the **Pañcaśraddhā**, the five central tenets of Balinese Hinduism, then to the *Panca Pandawa*, the five Pandawa brothers, who are the heroes of the Mahābhārata. Finally, in a *reductio ad absurdum*, she ends with a woman called 'Grandmother Pañca'. The effect is a glorious send-up of a certain kind of didactic discourse, which easily slips into seeming pompously solemn and profound.

²⁰⁴ Among the many government schemes for organizing and regulating social life, the organization of women into local groups for Education in Family Welfare, the PKK or Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga, was one of the most extensive. While it seems that it caught on in many parts of Bali, in Tengahpadang interest was fairly desultory and in Pisangkaja virtually non-existent and the invested funds had disappeared as well. When I asked what the acronym stood for, no one was sure.

- PANASAR: What's *sakti*?
 LUH WEDANI: Power.²⁰⁵
 PANASAR: On what grounds do you call it that?
 LUH WEDANI: The Five Powerful Fingers?
 WIJIL: The Five Fingers.
 LUH WEDANI: Look, were there any players bold (enough to resist it)?
 WIJIL: Oh! The Five Powerful Fingers. You just hold them up and the players stop?
 PANASAR: They're frightened.
 LUH WEDANI: If you look at the foundation of the state, it is the Five Principles (of the Indonesian State) which are powerful.
 WIJIL: Oh! The Five Principles are powerful, they constitute the basis of the Indonesian archipelago.
 LUH WEDANI: The 30th. September Movement was smashed.²⁰⁶
 WIJIL: Oh! Lord!
 PANASAR: Because the Five Principles triumphed.
 850 LUH WEDANI: In our religion you can find the **Five Beliefs**.²⁰⁷
 WIJIL: Ah! There are **Five Beliefs**. They are the five bases of us being truly religious and are grounded in belief.
 PANASAR: They are too.
 LUH WEDANI: They are powerful.
 WIJIL: Powerful.
 LUH WEDANI: **Wrongdoing** is defeated.²⁰⁸
 WIJIL: **Wrongdoing**. The **Five Pandawa** defeated that too.²⁰⁹
 LUH WEDANI: The Five Pandawa did indeed.
 WIJIL: In each case, it's the same: five.
 LUH WEDANI: As long as it's five, it's powerful. South of my place lives Dadong Pañca (Literally: Granny Five)!²¹⁰
 PANASAR: Oh dear! Huh! Beautiful! **The Five Beliefs**, The Five Pandawa, then south of my place lives Dadong Pañca!²¹¹
 WIJIL: What about Dadong Pañca?
 LUH WEDANI: Hasn't she got arcane powers?

²⁰⁵ As noted above, *śakti* implies 'power, ability'. In Bali, it has strong connotations of efficacy, which, conveniently, may be read into events and actions *ex post facto*.

²⁰⁶ This was the putative, but failed, *coup d'état* by the Communist Party of Indonesia in September 1965, a proclaimed aim of which was supposed to be doing away with the Pancasila. More recently the accuracy of this founding rationale and myth of the New Order has been called increasingly into question.

²⁰⁷ See Endnote 44.

²⁰⁸ **Adharma** is the antithesis of **dharma**, the divinely laid down rule of conduct. The **pañcaśraddā** are beliefs which help one to avoid failing to act according to religious law. She then turns this rather abstract formulation into one more immediately known to the audience, namely the rule of the Pandawa brothers in defeating their cousins, the Korawa, who she identifies with **adharma**.

²⁰⁹ His point is that the Korawa who neglected to observe the proper rules of conduct were defeated by the Pandawa who held much closer to it.

²¹⁰ Her name is literally 'grandmother (of) five'. In turning the discussion to someone with *Pañca* in her name, Luh Wedani reduces it to near nonsense, as the Panasar promptly notes below. Her interjection is however not entirely irrelevant, as she does go on to link *pañca* with *sakti*, because she seems to claim that Dadong Pañca is *sakti*, in the common Balinese sense that she knows how to turn herself into a witch at night (*ngaléyak*). As in daily life, especially at night, the actors do not actually use the word 'witch', *léyak*, but a euphemism, as one can use *kasaktian* to good or bad ends.

²¹¹ His aim is to make it clear that she is confused and gets distracted from talking about serious matters.

- WIJIL: If she comes here, we shall tell her (what you said).
 PANASAR: She has got them. I saw her at the crossroads last *kajeng klion*.²¹²
 WIJIL: What? Was she making an offering?^{213xlv}
 PANASAR: Yes.
 WIJIL: So you know.-
 PANASAR: How did Dadong Pañca's name come to be mentioned? I hope that your (Luh Wedani's) anus will be sucked out (by Dadong Pañca)!^{xlvi}
 WIJIL: Ah.
 PANASAR: I mean it.
 LUH WEDANI: The reason is (the number five) brings about power. (*She holds up her right hand, fingers extended.*) These have significance, these five do.
 PANASAR: Do they really have significance?
 WIJIL: What do? What is that?

(*In the following scene she flourishes one finger after another and gives an account of its significance.*)

- LUH WEDANI: This is the thumb.²¹⁴
 WIJIL: The Thumb?
 LUH WEDANI: It's a money extractor.
 WIJIL: Indeed?
 LUH WEDANI: This is the way of digging up money, the thumb is. If there isn't a mother at home, the household goes to ruin.²¹⁵
 WIJIL: Uh! Huh! There needs to be a mother; and the thumb is a way of getting money, brother.
 LUH WEDANI: (*She thrusts her thumb under the servants' noses.*) This is a money extractor, this is.
 PANASAR: How on earth?
 LUH WEDANI: Ha! You try going to the bank, if you haven't got a thumb print, will they give you money?²¹⁶

²¹² This is the calendrical combination of the three and five day weeks when witches (*léyak*) are thought to gather at night in the graveyard and people also put out offerings at crossroads.

²¹³ The previous statement and the question are both ambiguous. Many people, for example, local food vendors make offerings (the most common are *tipat*, *ajuman*, *canang genten*) and the commentators were not aware that one needed to offer a *canang* (a class of generally very small offerings) before transforming into a witch. For more detail on such beliefs, see the endnote. The statement tars her by indirect association or circumstantial evidence (my terms), in that crossroads are generally considered rather hazardous places. The commentators gave an analogy (*praimba*). If Déwa Pekak Balung were suspected of being a thief and something had been stolen from Ktut Sutatemaja's house, were Anak Agung Pekak to say, when the subject was mentioned that he had indeed seen him at Ktut Sutatemaja's on the day, it is easy to draw an unsubstantiated implication. This is however a form of argument frequently heard. Both statements are ambiguous and involve guessing or unreliable inference (*nurah*). They are not in themselves true (*seken* in Low Balinese, *wiakti* in High).

²¹⁴ She uses the Indonesian words for several of the fingers when introducing them. The first reason seems to be so that it would sound like a schoolteacher giving a class. Her caricature and the elegant allusion to obscene uses of the various fingers had the audience roaring with laughter. Two people confessed to me the next day that they had actually wet themselves they were laughing so much. The second reason is that, as with the present example of the thumb, *ibu jari*, 'mother finger', she proposes to play on the etymology.

²¹⁵ This is an apparent non-sequitur, but she is briefly onto another referent of Ibu, 'mother'.

²¹⁶ In the past in Bali it was standard procedure in the more rural banks especially, when either borrowing or taking money out of one's account, to have to provide a thumb print. Now it tends to be thumb and the three main fingers.

- PANASAR: Ooh! That's so actually. Try going to the bank and if you haven't got a thumb print, you don't get any money.
- WIJIL: It's true. I've also remembered, when our parents used to give us advice in the past: 'My dear, in the future, when you learn about (Balinese) custom, it is **like** a symbol.'^{217xlvii}
- PANASAR: Yes.
- WIJIL: **Like** a symbol of our religious feeling, our wish to have genuinely good relations with other people. This. (*He holds up his right thumb.*) It's true. Is it not used to greet guests. 'Please, go ahead.' It's true, this is what you use.²¹⁸
- LUH WEDANI: (*She holds up her right thumb, with her fist closed and her left hand under her right wrist bone.*) Like this.
- WIJIL: Indeed! That's so.
- LUH WEDANI: (*She raises the forefinger of her right hand.*) This. Do you know what this is?
- WIJIL: Oh dear! What's this?
- LUH WEDANI: This is the first finger, this is.
- PANASAR: That's right.
- 900 LUH WEDANI: It's the forefinger, this is.
- PANASAR: Yes.
- WIJIL: Correct.
- LUH WEDANI: This is used to help the ward head.
- PANASAR: How could that be?
- LUH WEDANI: This helps the village head.
- WIJIL: It must be pretty easy to be a head then. Is that really so?
- LUH WEDANI: This helps the sub-district head.
- WIJIL: Uh! Uh!
- LUH WEDANI: The village meeting hall is finished with this. This is used to help the committee. If this isn't around, the hall doesn't get finished.
- WIJIL: Hey! That's pretty weird.
- LUH WEDANI: The work doesn't get finished.
- WIJIL: Oh! How strange that it takes just one (finger)? I'm damned if I know.
- PANASAR: How can that be?
- LUH WEDANI: This is the strongest, this one.
- WIJIL: Now I'm completely confused.
- LUH WEDANI: Over there, the head is now ordering the members of the ward. (*She points her forefinger sharply in different directions.*) 'Hey! Go and do this task over there. Here, carry that over here.' Why is this used to point? (*She brandishes her fist. Then, while speaking the next sentence she repeats her gestures of indicating but using her fist, which gives little idea of what exactly she is*

²¹⁷ Wijil is affirming that the thumb may be attributed with different significance in different situations. For the moment I shall leave the Indonesian loan word 'simbol' (often *simbul* in Balinese pronunciation) as 'symbol', because the matter is dealt with in the discussion on signification and meaning. I would simply note two points here. First the Indonesian simbol (which is from the Dutch) occurs here prefixed by an Old Javanese qualifier **pinaka**, which sets the phrase apart from normal Balinese usage. As I have noted in discussing **pinaka** elsewhere, it suggests 'may be treated as'. Also the phrase is prefixed with the Balinese term *suba*, which indicates completed action. So the implication is of 'has been treated as'.

²¹⁸ When indicating something to guests or superiors, or simply as a gesture of respect in Bali, it is proper to point with the thumb of the right hand, the remaining fingers being closed as in making a fist. One may even nest the right hand in the left, or support the right wrist with the open left hand, to be politer still. After using simbol with a fairly diffuse referent, Wijil then specifies what a thumb is used for very tightly indeed.

pointing at.) You see. It's not usually like this. 'Take this and carry it over there.'

PANASAR: Oh! So that's what she's on about. Of course you use this forefinger to – er – point. Does anyone point like this. (*He imitates Luh Wedani's erratic waving of her fist.*)

WIJIL: Brother! At last I'm beginning to catch on. (*He raises his right thumb.*) This is the path of proper conduct. This is **like** the direction (we should take). The reason for our living is that, it is an undeniable truth that, while we are alive, we should search for what we take to be the truth. (*He raises his right forefinger.*) This guides our life. Nowadays it's **the government** which has authority.^{xlviii}

PANASAR: All our leaders (who) are right...²¹⁹

LUH WEDANI: All these have significance. (*She fans out her fingers, then raises only her middle finger (linjong).*) This, do you know what this is?

WIJIL: Ooh!

PANASAR: What's that?

LUH WEDANI: The middle finger. This is the court, this is.

PANASAR: Uh! Uh!

LUH WEDANI: This is the judge.

WIJIL: Oh.

LUH WEDANI: This is what determines, this is. This shouldn't be bent. (*She holds up her middle finger again and moves it closer to the first, then to the fourth finger.*) If something is right, it must be upheld, if something is wrong, blame should be attributed.²²⁰ (*She then crooked her middle finger. Her next two sentences were followed by gales of laughter, especially from the women in the audience after the first, from both men and women after the second.*) If this is bent, you can't get any work done!²²¹ Go and try, if your thing is bent, you can't get it to work.²²²

WIJIL: Brother!

PANASAR: Oh dear! She's right though!

²¹⁹ There is a double ambiguity here. What the Panasar says literally is: 'The person who is our leader is right'. The commentators however preferred to understand this as 'all the people who are our leaders, who are right...' At first sight the Panasar would seem to be praising Suharto, who was the President at the time. However this is unlikely, both in view of how the dialogue proceeds with a condemnation of corruption and the misuse of the law by those in power, and as Déwa Madé Sayang was well known as one of the most ferocious and outspoken critics of the régime. It looks more likely that this was *raos makilit*. Those who were naïve would take a literal reading and see this as straight support for the government. Those who knew more could read his statement in exactly the opposite manner: 'Those of our leaders who are right... (should be trusted, those who are not should not)' or something to that effect.

²²⁰ Her point is that the law must work honestly, without partiality, nepotism or corruption. Her purpose is admonitory (*ngalèmèkin*), because the legal system in Bali was widely known as being irredeemably corrupt and partial.

²²¹ Of all Luh Wedani's lines, this produced perhaps the most raucous laughter. It is an indirect reference to the fact that Balinese women use the middle finger of the left hand when bathing to wash their genitals (*mawajik*). My more down-to-earth anthropological colleagues sometimes express scepticism as to whether the fastidiousness of Balinese classifications are not a figment of ethnographers' overheated imaginations. While there is undoubtedly some truth to this on occasion, Balinese do have highly elaborated taxonomies, for instance of named movements of parts of the body – there are twenty-three different named kinds of eye movement alone. So it is not necessarily surprising that a particular finger should be considered proper for cleaning female genitalia. I hope that the audience's response makes it clear that this at least is not a figment of anyone's imagination.

²²² Of men, if their penises are flaccid, they cannot achieve sexual penetration of a woman.

- WIJIL: (*He holds up the middle finger of his right hand.*) This ... she turns into a court – meaning what fixes right and wrong. If you take what's known as the **Eight Vows of Action** (including the) **Vow of Punishment**, this is it.^{223xlix} What is right should be upheld, what is wrong should be singled out for blame. If this is not adhered to, the world will fall apart.
- PANASAR: It must not be allowed to be bent.
- WIJIL: It mustn't be bent.
- PANASAR: So that it continues to be straight and unbending.²²⁴
- WIJIL: Yes.
- PANASAR: But, if everything's always straight and unbending, that can cause problems too.²²⁵
- WIJIL: It's hazardous.
- PANASAR: You can't manage to go anywhere.
- LUH WEDANI: Ah! You just take everything that way. All you really think about is filth.
- 950 WIJIL: Hey!
- PANASAR: It's true.²²⁶
- WIJIL: You shouldn't... You shouldn't (talk like that).
- LUH WEDANI: (*She holds up the fourth finger (lèk) of her right hand.*) This, this, what's this? This, this?
- WIJIL: Now! That's the fourth finger.
- LUH WEDANI: Yes, that's the fourth finger.
- PANASAR: Oh! Is there also (a meaning)?
- LUH WEDANI: This is a bank, this is. A bank for storing things, this is.
- PANASAR: How come you call it a bank?
- LUH WEDANI: It's used as a store. This is.
- PANASAR: But how come you call it a bank?
- LUH WEDANI: Hey! Try selling unhusked padi in the rice fields...²²⁷

²²³ The commentators dwelt at some length on the **Aṣṭabrata** as the obligations upon the king to punish wrongdoing and to encourage what is right. Anak Agung Pekak linked it to what he called the **Niyamabrata**, as the specification of the named guidelines of proper human behaviour. He then promptly listed the first four of what are described in the *Upadeça* as the **Daśayamabrata** (as distinct from the **Daśaniyamabrata**, namely **Ānr̥ṣaṅsya**, **Kṣama**, **Satya**, **Ahiṅsa**, which he described respectively as not emphasizing one's own importance, helping people in difficulties, being honest in word and deed, avoiding killing. (A more detailed discussion of the **Aṣṭabrata** and **Yamabrata** is given in the endnotes.) According to more standard sources, the **Aṣṭabrata** are delineated in the Indonesian version of the **Rāmāyana** as the eight modes of acting appropriate to a ruler, each identified with the characteristics of a particular deity. The mode associated with Yama (who presides over the realm of the dead), the **Yamabrata**, stresses the duty of the ruler to punish his enemies without and within his domain. It is interesting that Wijil should pick on this aspect of government, rather than other, more benign, qualities. Discussion of the **Aṣṭabrata** was certainly popular at this time. A short essay on the **Aṣṭabrata** in development had been published in Denpasar a few months before (Sudharta 1988) and the annual address to KORPRI (the Republic of Indonesia Employees Corps) delivered to all local government officials in Tengahpadang was on the same theme.

²²⁴ The repetition of the theme of need for the law to be administered fairly was a *panglèmèk* to any officials present, who might be tempted to apply it to their own benefit.

²²⁵ If a man goes out in public with an erection, that's problematic because it's both obvious and uncomfortable.

²²⁶ It is true what I said was obscene, but I was just following you.

²²⁷ This is a reference to the increasing frequency with which farmers sell their harvest direct to dealers on the spot rather than transport it home for storage in domestic granaries. The combination of alternative, and more profitable, forms of wage labour and new yields of rice during the 1980s has had the consequence that, instead of harvesting their own land, most farmers now contract the work out. They also dislike the taste of the new rice and, where they can afford to, they sell it and buy 'Balinese' strains (*cicih*), which they consider to have a superior taste and to be more nutritious.

- PANASAR: Yes.
 LUH WEDANI: Then buying a ring... You'd obviously put it here. (*She points to her fourth finger.*)
- PANASAR: Oh!
 LUH WEDANI: (If) you have a gold ring, you put it here. (*She then points to her other fingers.*) People don't put it here.²²⁸
- WIJIL: Huh! Not so, yesterday I saw someone with gold rings on their toes.²²⁹
 LUH WEDANI: Oh. That would be an ice-vendor, that would. Someone with a frozen brain.²³⁰
- WIJIL: Huh! She always wants to be best, she can't lose. (*The first sentence is to himself, the second to Luh Wedani.*) Indeed, it is true.²³¹
 LUH WEDANI: (*She holds up her little finger.*) This, what's this?
 WIJIL: That, what's that?
 PANASAR: Yes!
 LUH WEDANI: This.
 PANASAR: A little finger.
 LUH WEDANI: This is the little finger.
 PANASAR: Does it also have a use?
 LUH WEDANI: Woo! This is the most important of all. This is what makes it possible to...
 PANASAR: What's that?
 LUH WEDANI: Clean the whole country, clean the towns, clean the villages, clean the wards. It is this that brings it about.
- PANASAR: That. How can a little finger clean a village?
 LUH WEDANI: That's in the external world. It's different if we're talking about the human body. This is used to clean up your carcass.²³²
- PANASAR: Oh! In the body?
 LUH WEDANI: Try and see if your nose is dirty. (*She holds up her little finger again and imitates cleaning her ears and nose.*) This is used for drilling dirty ears. This is what's used to clean the hole. (*She then tries to stuff her thumb up her nose.*) Now, if you used this to drill out your nose, you'd burst it!²³³

²²⁸ Curiously this started the commentators reflecting on wearing rings. In the past, it was not unusual to wear a ring shaped rather like a leech on one's first finger. Temple priests (*pamangku*) still wear often them on the first finger of their left hands (the hand used to hold the bell (*bajra*), they ring during the performance of rites.

²²⁹ This is a critical comment to the habits of western tourists, which have been copied sometimes by trendy young Balinese, especially in the famous beach area of Kuta.

²³⁰ This is a *bladbadan* q.v. The punch line is *nyem-nyeman*, which means to have a screw loose, not quite all there, a few sandwiches short of a picnic. *Nyem* also means cold and wet, to have too much liquid in the body. So Luh Wedani leads into the punch line with a play on two senses of '*nyem*'. 'A frozen brain' is a poor gloss, but it is impossible to translate, but most of the audience seemed to get the reference immediately.

²³¹ The commentators thought that Wijil's first sentence had two references (*raos asiki, tetujon kakalih*). The first is overt and part of the plot. The second is a direct critical remark about I Midep always insisting on capping everyone else's jokes and having the last word.

²³² This is a reference to recent government publicity about civic responsibility, with a special eye to tourism, which is enshrined in a neo-Sanskrit formula, the *Sapta Pesona*, seven injunctions, such as keeping public spaces clean and tidy, being polite (to tourists) etc. Luh Wedani extends the idea to the body and compares it (*nyaihang*) to the world at large.

²³³ This reduced the audience to gales of laughter. The following evening when the commentators were talking about the highlights of the evening, they picked on this as a neat example of how nothing obscene was said, but the vast majority of the audience would have interpreted it as such. They found the idea of sticking something large into a small orifice very funny and pointed to the obvious connections with a large penis and a tight vagina. Months later, when I

- PANASAR: Oh dear!
- WIJIL: It fits too. If you take it **as a symbol**, it's as if everything in our lives is embodied in **symbols**.²³⁴
- PANASAR: She is clever at getting things to fit.
- WIJIL: Of course this is the reason that religious **life has its origin in symbols**. The designs of crematory coffins **originate in symbols**. All speech **originates in symbols**. M'lady of course is the descendant of wise people.
- LUH WEDANI: I'm the head of women's family welfare education, that's why we're so advanced.
- WIJIL: Who is?
- LUH WEDANI: Me.
- WIJIL: Is there a family welfare education programme in Nusa?
- LUH WEDANI: Me.
- WIJIL: Is there a '*Flower Planting*' project in Nusa?²³⁵
- 1000 LUH WEDANI: Me.
- WIJIL: Is there a 'Living Kitchen' programme?²³⁶
- LUH WEDANI: Me.
- WIJIL: Oh!
- LUH WEDANI: Mo.²³⁷
- WIJIL: Because...
- PANASAR: Everything.
- WIJIL: If it's (anything good) she says 'Me, Me'. If it's anything bad, it's 'Mo'.²³⁸
- LUH WEDANI: It's because of him. This creature's an idiot. 'Me-ing' like that.
- PANASAR: What is that?
- LUH WEDANI: It's true. (*She returns to her theme about local economic development.*) You have been told now that this year there is going to be a 'Village Competition'...
- PANASAR: That is correct.
- LUH WEDANI: A 'Living Shop', a 'Living Chemist's', a 'Flower Garden'. Now remember those.²³⁹

was carefully working through the play word by word, they denied that this had any obscene referent at all. To judge from the spectators' laughter, they managed to find something titillating in it.

²³⁴ Wijil uses the term *pawakan* here, which the commentators explained as follows. What is given form in the manifest world (*sakala*) may be used to talk about (*ngaraosang*) or explain (*nerangang*) something else. Nothing is that way in itself, that is why Wijil says **pinaka** (which they glossed as *dados nganggiang sakadi*) 'may be used as' a *talenan*, 'a block, a means to' talk about something else. One might note that Wijil here speaks of 'symbols' as *pawakan* 'embodied' or 'taking (having) the form of'.

²³⁵ *Karang kitri* is one of a number of recent government projects to encourage the planting in house compounds of flowers used for offerings (*banten*), which includes such flowering plants as the cananga, hibiscus, rose, gardenia and poinciana, but not others, like frangipani or champak, because especially the latter can grow into trees too large for the average compound.

²³⁶ Dapur hidup 'living kitchen' refers to another government programme. This one includes useful spices and ingredients for cooking (*kebutuhan di dapur*) like ginger, lesser and greater galingale, turmeric.

²³⁷ Having used *Cang*, the low form of 'I' or 'me', she does a play on words, saying '*cung*' instead, which is a nonsense word.

²³⁸ If it's bad it's nothing to do with her.

²³⁹ Instead of *reductio ad absurdum*, for a change Luh Wedani starts by inventing an absurd government programme, a 'Living Shop' is both a parody and a *rerenggaan* (embellishment). When I asked whether there were such a programme, the reply was 'what would one plant? Cigarettes?' The 'Living Chemist's' consists of a range of herbs and medicines in popular use as broths, unguents etc. The 'Flower Garden' was thought by everyone I spoke to be the same as *Karang*

- WIJIL: Oh dear!
- LUH WEDANI: (*She then speaks as if delivering a command.*) 'Plant this' I tell you.
- PANASAR: My wife goes almost every day to the village meeting hall.²⁴⁰
- LUH WEDANI: There is not a single plant in your house. People have reported you (and) Ma Bigbonce.²⁴¹
- PANASAR: Hey!
- LUH WEDANI: I asked Ma Bigbonce: 'You, why have you come here?' Just like that. "Ma'am, it is like this, Ma'am. I can't manage to plant anything at home. Whatever I put in Pa Bigbonce pulls out again." Everthing she plants, he pulls up. "Oh yes. I stick it in, he pulls it out; I stick it in, he pulls it out."²⁴²
- PANASAR: Oh dear! This is over the top. 'Tut!
- WIJIL: What me?
- PANASAR: How very stupid Ma Bigbonce is to let on about it, to go and report it to her mistress.
- WIJIL: It didn't occur to her not to blurt out the truth, that's what's called a straight person. That's why you have to be careful talking with a straight person. They don't know what's secret, what's they ought to keep quiet about.²⁴³
- PANASAR: But it's actually correct. After planting it, I pulled it out again because I made a mistake.
- WIJIL: How come?
- PANASAR: Usually you're supposed to plant the root facing downwards. I planted the crown in, brother.²⁴⁴
- LUH WEDANI: Hah! You're a fool. How did you manage that?
- PANASAR: Oh dear!
- WIJIL: When you plant a root vegetable, you should inspect (which side) the shoots (come out) of the root (which is top and which bottom).
- PANASAR: That was what I had in mind. But, after planting it, if you don't pull it out again, if you carry on – er – and never pull it out, you don't feel good either.²⁴⁵

Kitri discussed earlier. What the male commentators shied away from telling me was what Ni Madé Pujawati subsequently noted, namely that Warung Hidup is a euphemism for brothel, a place where the merchandise is living.

²⁴⁰ This is where the women's groups always meet to discuss and organize government approved projects.

²⁴¹ Luh Wedani suddenly introduces the Panasar's wife, giving her a comical name. (There is no established name for her in theatre.) It is a teknonym, Mèn Jantuk is 'Mother of (a child with) a protruding forehead (*jantuk*)', which I have rendered as closely as English allows under the circumstances. Pace Clifford Geertz (1966), teknonyms are rarely used around Tengahpadang (except among families of smiths) and Luh Wedani is using one, because it allows her to make a joke. Anak Agung Pekak remarked that this was *baos nadak sara*, a sudden and unexpected interjection, because it is not usual to name her.

²⁴² The *double entendre* which turns the final reported remark of the Panasar's wife into an obscene, but indirect, reference should be obvious.

²⁴³ Someone who lacks the guile or wisdom to keep quiet is often known as *belog polos* 'decent and stupid', an honest but simple person, for example the sort of person who volunteers the information unrequested that he has seen a friend chatting up a young woman (or man). Granted the frequency with which Balinese do keep quiet about so many matters, it is interesting that *belog polos* is in many ways considered rather an admirable, if idiotic, way to behave in a wicked world.

²⁴⁴ This is another *double entendre*, *muncuk* is often used as the term for the head of the penis.

²⁴⁵ By dragging out the sentence, the Panasar is giving an oblique signal (*masesèrèt*) that the utterance also has a sexual reference. It is to spending the entire night having sex with one's partner, especially when one is married. Of this the commentators remarked '*napi gunanè?*', 'what is the use (what is the point)?' Apart from the fact that there are likely to be small children around (a perennial problem of married couples), even if you do, you will be tired next day. Worse still one might sleep though a *kukul bulus*, an emergency call of the village slit gongs (for theft, fire, assault etc.), when

- LUH WEDANI: By goodness! He does go on.
 WIJIL: Yes, indeed.
 LUH WEDANI: Oh dear! You really are a fool. Do you know that you are supposed to teach her? That the house should be neat, that it ought to be beautiful, that it should all be attractive to look at.²⁴⁶
- WIJIL: Brother.
 PANASAR: I really can't organize my wife. Since, Ma'am, you've become the head of Women's Family Welfare, you can tell my wife what to do.
 WIJIL: Properly it's your job to tell her.
 LUH WEDANI: I have told her. (*She turns to Wijil.*) On a different subject, your wife, Ma Podge...²⁴⁷
- PANASAR: Hey!
 1050 WIJIL: It's my turn now. (*The previous sentence is to the Panasar. The next to Luh Wedani.*) That route is barred.²⁴⁸
- LUH WEDANI: (*She refers to a previous conversation with Wijil's wife, as will become apparent.*) It's true, I've told her not to. 'Don't put your money on the football pools' (I told her). So she then went and put it on a lottery instead, or whatever it's called.
- PANASAR: Did she?
 LUH WEDANI: That's what happened.
 PANASAR: (*To Luh Wedani.*) Did her husband join in too?
 LUH WEDANI: Man and woman.
 PANASAR: Huh! These are people who live for gambling.
 LUH WEDANI: Ha! Ma Podge asked me.
 WIJIL: What did she ask you?
 LUH WEDANI: "M'lady, I can't manage to restrain him. I just love it, I bet too." "So, what do you do? Have you ever had any?" that's what I said. (*She fails to complete her question properly, so opening herself to the reply which follows.*) "Oh. No! But my old man has it the whole time, I keep on getting it."²⁴⁹
- PANASAR: Oh dear!
 WIJIL: Huh! She has managed to get right down to basics.²⁵⁰ Indeed, now we have done with what's wrong, what falls short, please Ma'am tell us about something edifying.²⁵¹

it is a strict obligation to turn out armed no matter what. It would also be *nulurin indria* 'following one's sensual inclinations', with the risk that one might forget oneself (see the critical comments made earlier in the play to Luh Wedani forgetting herself above.). To have no limits (*wates*) to the indulgence of one's sensual desires, as most acts without limits, is considered bad.

²⁴⁶ This refers not just to the house, i.e. the various pavilions which make up a Balinese compound, but to the living area as a whole, i.e. the *palemahan*, which was discussed earlier when explicating the **Tri Parhyajan**.

²⁴⁷ This is another teknonym – Mother of Fatty. *Kembung* is 'swollen'; as a teknonym, it is a slang expression for the mother of an obese child.

²⁴⁸ He does not want Luh Wedani to start talking about his wife, especially not in the light of how she has spoken about the Panasar's wife.

²⁴⁹ Luh Wedani *keni jejangkitan*, she gets caught on a play on words, because her speech is *kirang mataled*, inadequately grounded. I have glossed a Balinese pun as best I can. Luh Wedani asks: '*Taèn nyai ngukup?*' 'Have you ever won/put your arms round him?', but does not add 'the lottery', so it is unclear which sense she has in mind. Wijil's wife assumes it is the latter and replies: 'he puts his arms around me (in bed). I keep getting (his penis) the whole time'.

²⁵⁰ He literally says that she has got right down to the roots in digging up (obscenities).

²⁵¹ Wijil cuts into (*nugel*) her story, with the aim of indicating that that is quite enough dubious talk. Once again this both fits the narrative and is a signal to I Midep not to make the audience think they are just making jokes and

- LUH WEDANI: This is the reason now...
- WIJIL: Yes.
- LUH WEDANI: In the rice fields. Even in the rice fields I get to organize everything.
- WIJIL: Oh!
- LUH WEDANI: Even down to the pests.
- PANASAR: (What about) agriculture?
- LUH WEDANI: Your garden should use intercropping.²⁵²
- WIJIL: Oh! What is that?
- LUH WEDANI: Multiple husbandry.
- PANASAR: What's Multiple (animal) husbandry?²⁵³
- WIJIL: Oh! Easy, just get a husband and recycle him.²⁵⁴
- LUH WEDANI: You're a certified imbecile.
- WIJIL: Hey!
- LUH WEDANI: In multiple animal husbandry, when you rear chickens, remember to fence the chickens in, don't let them run free, or your neighbours will yell at you.
- WIJIL: Oh!
- LUH WEDANI: Cage your chickens correctly. After you have a chicken cage, underneath the chicken cage, there should be a pigsty. Beside the pigsty, manage to make a pond, so that everything will be useful. Put your chickens there and their shit will be eaten by the pigs.
- WIJIL: Oh!
- LUH WEDANI: When the pigs shit, it will be washed away into the pond.
- PANASAR: The fish will – er – get it.
- LUH WEDANI: The fish will eat it.
- WIJIL: Oh!
- LUH WEDANI: After that, when the fish shit, you can eat it!
- WIJIL: 'You can eat the fish shit!' He's supposed to eat shit.
- PANASAR: What!
- WIJIL: So, that's right. And let my shit be eaten by... (Luh Wedani).
- PANASAR: Ah.
- WIJIL: Now, let's not go that route. I propose the motion that under the pigsty...
- LUH WEDANI: Right.
- WIJIL: Under the pigsty, there are fish, the chicken shit is eaten by the pigs, the pig shit is eaten by the fish. I beg to move that under the pond there should be a frying pan.
- 1101 LUH WEDANI: What are you on about?
- WIJIL: So that there is only one lot of work. Then you can fry the meat straight away. It's too... (neat and tidy).

forgetting the story (*cècèl*). In life, such a statement would be admonitory (a *panglèmèk*). The commentators added though that it is very easy to play to the audience, especially when they are clearly enjoying the repartee, and forget to get on with the story.

²⁵² This is yet another government scheme, in which different plants are grown at different levels. For instance, below coconut palms, one plants shrubs (like coffee), then smaller plants (like tomatoes and chillies), then root crops. It is also known as Perternakan yang berfungsi ganda 'multiple function husbandry'.

²⁵³ This is a programme to maximize the use of resources through a food chain. For example, chicken excrement is fed to pigs, pig faeces are recycled into fish ponds and then to fertilize water hyacinths, which can be used for manure.

²⁵⁴ There is a double pun in Balinese which is not easy to render. Tumpang sari is the Indonesian for intercropping, but *tumpang* in Balinese has among its senses 'to pile up on top of' and *Sari* is *inter alia* a common personal name. So Wijil takes this as 'pile the lot on top of Sari'. I have made a similar, but less intricate, pun off the Indonesian.

- LUH WEDANI: You're really a prize idiot. That's called Multiple Animal Husbandry.
- PANASAR: Oh.
- LUH WEDANI: Now there is Multiple Plant Cropping.
- PANASAR: Is there anything else about horticulture?
- LUH WEDANI: If you own coconut palms...
- PANASAR: Yes.
- LUH WEDANI: Below them you should put – now what's appropriate? – if you plant cloves...
- PANASAR: You should put in sweet potatoes.
- LUH WEDANI: Keep on hoeing it, the sweet potato. If you plant maize, put in sweet potato. Then you can harvest maize, and harvest sweet potato.²⁵⁵
- WIJIL: Oh! That's what goes well together.
- LUH WEDANI: Don't plant one here, one there.²⁵⁶
- PANASAR: Below the coconut palms, put in root crops, beside the root crops put in maize.
- WIJIL: Yes.
- PANASAR: Beside the maize put in monkeys!²⁵⁷
- WIJIL: Oh! That's wrong! Beside the maize plants, rear chickens.²⁵⁸
- PANASAR: Wow!
- LUH WEDANI: The chickens have to be caged. I have organized everything. If you plant vanilla, the way people do now...²⁵⁹
- PANASAR: Indeed.
- LUH WEDANI: It's a natural non-mineral gas export.
- PANASAR: That is correct.
- LUH WEDANI: Plant it in straight lines and in between put in *salaks*.
- PANASAR: Oh dear! Yes. That's ripe, that is.
- WIJIL: Ah.
- PANASAR: 'Put *salaks* in (between) the vanilla.' So that when you harvest vanilla, you get caught by *salak* thorns!²⁶⁰

²⁵⁵ Maize is eaten in highland areas of Bali, but rarely in Tengahpadang, as it has mostly been considered an inferior food, but valuable as animal feed.

²⁵⁶ The result will then be *magenep*, a broad mixture.

²⁵⁷ Then the monkeys will eat it all up first. This is *sakadi ngèwèrin* 'as ridicule'. The Panasar is making fun of the earnest advice of Luh Wedani and Wijil, and less directly ridiculing well-meaning, but not always practicable, government development schemes. He is alluding to a difficulty, much discussed by farmers in Tengahpadang. It is that such policies are worked out in the higher reaches of the bureaucracy and rarely take account of variation in local conditions. As farmers were quick to point out about other agricultural initiatives the results of following instructions could be disastrous. For instance, there was a scheme for annual triple cropping. After two wet rice harvests, the plan was to plant a dry crop. However in the very uneven land round Tengahpadang, such schemes which might work on the flatter plains to the south, would result in the collapse of terraces when they were re-flooded.

²⁵⁸ The results would be equally disastrous, because they will eat the maize too.

²⁵⁹ This is at once good advice and setting up an obscene joke. Vanilla grows well in Tengahpadang and has a high market price. However, vanilla, *panili*, is assonant with *teli*, 'vagina' in Low Balinese (*suruk* in High and *sarira* or *baga*, when one is speaking really elevatedly; cf. O.J. *śarīra* 'body' and *bhāga* 'portion, division'). The other plant name sometimes paired with vanilla is *salak*, which rhymes with *celak* 'penis' in Low Balinese (*purus* in High Balinese and Old Javanese). *Salaks* are a curious fruit found in Bali, Lombok and East Java, shaped like a very small pear with a brown stiff skin like snakeskin. The plant is like a small palm covered with rather sharp thorns.

²⁶⁰ Here the Panasar is confirming the implicit sexual reference (*ngawiaktiang sané cabul*), by developing the theme. Getting caught on *salak* thorns refers to getting pubic hair caught in the entrance to the vagina during intercourse, which hurts. As the commentators pointed out when they stopped laughing, nothing obscene is actually said at any

- WIJIL: It's true.
- PANASAR: If our esteemed agricultural engineer is in charge, somehow it always lands up being about things like that.
- WIJIL: No, Brother. Don't take it that way. Try thinking about it carefully. There's some truth in what she says. Because these days there's not enough land to go around, it has to be used as best possible.²⁶¹ It's true too, don't take it the wrong way.
- LUH WEDANI: What an idiot!
- WIJIL: It's true, Brother, I have managed that before now...²⁶²
- PANASAR: Oh yes! What Ma'am has to tell us is too clever (for me to understand).
- WIJIL: Carry on, carry on. What else is there?
- LUH WEDANI: (*She sings her next three lines.*) **My happiness overflows.**
- WIJIL: Ah.
- LUH WEDANI: I am happy. Why am I so happy?
- WIJIL: My dear fellow.²⁶³
- LUH WEDANI: My husband adores me.²⁶⁴
- WIJIL: Oh dear!
- PANASAR: And why precisely should that be so?
- WIJIL: Ah.
- LUH WEDANI: (*Suddenly angry*) Because your gob just stinks of carbide! How come?²⁶⁵
- PANASAR: Oh dear! It seems it's become a ripening pit for bananas.
- 1150 WIJIL: Brother. She finds fault with everything we say.
- LUH WEDANI: My husband and I think the same way, care for each other and can settle our differences harmoniously.
- PANASAR: With your husband.
- LUH WEDANI: Long ago my parents gave me advice.
- PANASAR: Indeed.
- WIJIL: Indeed. What was it?
- LUH WEDANI: 'My beautiful lady...'²⁶⁶

point. As they put it: '*panonton sané mikayunin puniki maresidayang ngaraosang cabul*, 'the spectators who think about this can manage to say it is obscene'.

²⁶¹ The commentators were critical of this sentence. They said it was incomplete and so empty (*gabeng*), because it was not clear what the land was useful (or useless) for. Wijil should have added that it is to be used for people to feed themselves (*ngamertiang raga*).

²⁶² As he does not finish the sentence, it is not entirely clear whether Wijil is trying to say that he has managed to make good use of his land or has also interpreted Luh Wedani as obscene when she was not necessarily being so.

²⁶³ He is affirming what she says (*ngawiaktiang*) and adding to whom these remarks are addressed, because she doesn't.

²⁶⁴ *Sayang* is sometimes glossed as 'love', but may have the sense of affection towards a child (which indeed is the example in Echols & Shadily 1989: 485, who give such a gloss). It connotes 'pity', affection, caring for'. This usage is exemplified below, when Wijil refers to Luh Wedani's concern (or lack of it) for her servants. I have phrased it more strongly because the humour here depends on Luh Wedani exaggerating.

²⁶⁵ Carbide is used in Bali for soldering and for the forced ripening of fruit like bananas in pits. The result is inferior in taste and many Balinese have started to worry about how healthy it is.

²⁶⁶ The terms used were *ayu* (beautiful) and *Déwa* (god) which are wonderfully inappropriate of a low caste child. The audience greeted Luh Wedani's statement with laughter and snorts of disapproval. Instead of using self-abasing language about herself (*ngasor*), in this putative conversation she elevates herself (*nyinggihang raga*), or rather gets her own parents, or father, to do so. The parent would probably say something like '*Cening*', 'little one', as does Wijil when he corrects her. The commentators thought that he added *ayu* because of the prince's apparent devotion to his wife.

- WIJIL: (*Wijil steps in to say what she should have.*) 'Little one, beautiful little one...'
 LUH WEDANI: 'If, in the future...'
 WIJIL: 'Supposing that it should happen...'
 LUH WEDANI: 'Someone wishes to take My Lady (in marriage)...'
 WIJIL: 'Uses you...(as a wife),'
 LUH WEDANI: 'My Lady should respect her husband...'^{li}
 WIJIL: Ah!
 LUH WEDANI: 'If you don't respect your husband, if you stand up to him...'
 PANASAR: Right.
 LUH WEDANI: 'When you come to die, you will go to the lowest pit in hell and you will be reborn as a worm.'
 WIJIL: Oh dear!²⁶⁷
 PANASAR: Indeed!
 WIJIL: (*He sings*) **Because this person is also excellent.**²⁶⁸ **The reason is this...** So, when you have become a full human being, you should not act arbitrarily, overbearingly and without due reflection arbitrarily or act senselessly. So, when you have become a full human being...^{269lii}
 PANASAR: Lord! Ma'am (you should go along with this).
 WIJIL: Oh! That's right.
 PANASAR: We should believe this as what our forebears have pronounced. We would not dare to disagree.²⁷⁰
 LUH WEDANI: This is the reason that I respect my husband; my husband also respects me too. As for you, your wife (should) respect you and you respect your wife.²⁷¹
 PANASAR: Indeed. I hope it will turn out like that.
 WIJIL: Of course, of course.
 PANASAR: For a long time we have just fought.
 LUH WEDANI: Don't argue with one another. If you get money coming, say a thousand, give it to your wife to save. If you get two thousand, give it to your wife to save.
 PANASAR: I have – er – given it...²⁷²
 WIJIL: Oops!
 LUH WEDANI: Don't use up (whatever you get) by yourself. Women like saving. You try going for a week without ever depositing your thing!²⁷³

²⁶⁷ His aim is to affirm (*ngawiaktiang*) what she says.

²⁶⁸ Wy. Arka argued that humans are also excellent, not just Gods. So the statement is quite in order.

²⁶⁹ Although Wijil's sentence was cut off, the commentators were agreed that it should read something like: 'now that one is old, what is the proper correct was to act as a human (*sesanan manusa*)?' The commentators volunteered an interesting explanation of Wijil's failure to finish his sentence. Anak Agung Pekak pointed out that experienced actors rarely finish their discourse on a serious subject like this completely. It is said to be *cècèl* 'long-winded, pedantic', if one does so. The spectators are liable to become fed up and ask one another whether the actor thinks he or she is reading a text (*makakawin, mabasaan*). Is this not supposed to be a play (*sesolahan*)?

²⁷⁰ This is knowledge which has been handed down verbally (by *śabda*, speech) from one more learned forbears and constitutes one means of acquiring right knowledge (*pramāṇa*, see Hobart 1985b: 113-15).

²⁷¹ If there is mutuality (*saling asah, saling asih, saling asuh*), this is the proper end result.

²⁷² For once the Panasar stumbles and is careless (*ngacuh*) in saying *ngicèn*' which is elevating oneself. He should have said *ngawèhin*, which is to give to an equal. His purpose in saying this is to indicate that he has done as Luh Wedani says.

²⁷³ The commentators (who it must be recalled were all male) said that they felt the first statement to be a fair representation of the position, with the exception of women who were gamblers! Luh Wedani caps it with a neat play on words. The sentence can be read either as: 'Try going for a week without ever putting your things in storage', or 'Try going for a week without unloading your semen'. *Kingsan* is 'to save, store, deposit', with the additional sexual

- PANASAR: Hah! I'm deliberately going to deposit the profits I made from selling statues, and save half the money... (*He breaks off because he suddenly realizes the second possible interpretation of what Luh Wedani said.*) Hey! Now that's different, a whole week without depositing!
- WIJIL: Its' true too, Brother.
- PANASAR: Oh dear!
- WIJIL: People are like that.
- LUH WEDANI: We haven't yet finished chatting, (but) I think my beloved husband is arisiiiiing.²⁷⁴
- WIJIL: That's why... (*His words are interrupted by Sri Aji Palaka singing off-stage.*)
- SRI AJI PALAKA: (*To Luh Wedani, who dashes headlong for the curtain.*) I am quickly approaching...
- PANASAR: Hey! Why the rush? Heavens!
- WIJIL: Where's the priest got to? She's careering all over the place by herself.²⁷⁵
- LUH WEDANI: You're a fool! I'm so graceful. Can't you see? I'm sooo graceful.
- WIJIL: Oh dear! Indeed so!
- 1200 SRI AJI PALAKA: I wonder who is bantering out there?^{liii}

(*Sri Aji Palaka enters*)

- PANASAR: Who does Your Lordship think it is? It is your lady wife, who is like the full moon.²⁷⁶
- LUH WEDANI: Wow! My dear chap, I'm gob-smacked.²⁷⁷
- WIJIL: Don't say gob-smacked', it's 'AST-ON-ISH-ED'. (*He pronounces the word carefully and loudly.*)
- LUH WEDANI: Among the aristocracy it's 'gob-smacked'. Only among the common people is it 'astonished'.²⁷⁸

implication of deposit semen. She deftly offers an alternative way of understanding the word for 'thing', *barang*, namely *bang*, which is seminal fluid (*bang putih*, white fluid, is semen; *bang barak*, red fluid often identified in some way as blood, is considered to be a woman's contribution to conception. The commentators thought this funny and percipient. They waxed lyric on the fact that women became very crotchety (*bradas-brodos*, *ambul-ambul* if they were not given sex regularly (they used the word *kakingsanin* 'be deposited in'. This is a partial view, because the women I have talked to on the subject argued precisely the same about men, saying that men became very bad tempered if their wives did not sleep with them for a few nights.

What the commentators appreciated above all, as they made clear, is the skill at which *pragina puniki ngarereh lakar* (*galah, selah ngenahang raos cabul* 'these actors found the raw materials (opportunity) to get in obscene usage'. As they noted several times during the commentary, people get quickly bored of moral advice and instructions on how to behave, so they get the more serious part to stick by breaking off frequently. People accept it more easily if truth (*kawiaktian*) is mixed with jokes.

²⁷⁴ She draws out her last syllable for comic effect. Luh Wedani is also indicating two things at once. She is indicating that she has run out of ideas of what to say and is looking for help, and so is signalling to Sri Aji Palaka to prepare to come on stage.

²⁷⁵ Wijil is referring to Luh Wedani's deliberately ungainly and uncontrolled careering across the stage by returning to the comparison of her with a *Barong Landung*. When a *Barong* goes promenading, it should be accompanied by the priest of the temple where it is kept.

²⁷⁶ For once, the Panasar is praising (*ngajum*) his mistress, presumably because his lord and master is present.

²⁷⁷ She is astounded to hear him being so complimentary about her after being so rude earlier. The word she uses *lengkejut* is Denpasar idiolect for the normal word *tengkejut* 'startled, surprised, astonished'. *Lengkejut* is both parochial and, to some ears, too much like slang. So Wijil promptly corrects I Midep. According to the commentators, there is a definite touch of putting him down here. As I found it hard to render the nuances of the slip in Balinese, I have used an expression which at least catches something of the extent of the slip.

- WIJIL: Heavens!
- PANASAR: She's got it together. 'Gob-smacked' indeed!²⁷⁹
- WIJIL: That's worth ninety percent.²⁸⁰
- LUH WEDANI: (*She sings and makes as if to collapse.*) Oh, I'm going to collapse...²⁸¹
- PANASAR: (*He imitates Luh Wedani's gestures and intonation.*) Oh! 'I think I'm going to faint.' Just like that, Oh dear!
- LUH WEDANI: How come you have just **arrived**?
- PANASAR: (*He tells her off (ngèwèrin) for her improper style of address to the prince, by spelling out what she should have said.*) 'I have come to pay homage.' (Noble) Sugriwa is about to present himself before **Lord Rama**.²⁸²
- LUH WEDANI: I'll bash your brains out. (*She promptly starts to imitate the sound of a monkey and dance with her hands waving above her head.*)
- WIJIL: Hey! Now she's putting in grunts! She's up to her tricks again.²⁸³
- LUH WEDANI: What do you think it is? Ballet?²⁸⁴
- WIJIL: (*He realizes that Luh Wedani is now really angry and tells the Panasar to keep quiet.*) Belt up you.
- PANASAR: (*This is a private conversation between the Panasar and Wijil.*) She's over the top in paying her respects like that. Oh, no! Shouldn't it be like Sugriwa? '**Certainly, Sugriwa should be forgiven.**' Oh dear! It would be better (to speak respectfully) like that.²⁸⁵

²⁷⁸ Luh Wedani neatly covers herself and manages to avoid public embarrassment at her mistake (nyalit ring kaiwangandané) by elegantly making a joke of it. The professional actors among the commentators appreciated I Midep's speed of recovery and remarked to each another that he was quick at manipulating words (gelis nyliwegang bebaosan).

²⁷⁹ She has a way of slithering out of things. This is at least as much an exchange between actors, and an aside about I Midep, as it is part of the narrative.

²⁸⁰ Wijil uses a classroom or game-show idiom to express his appreciation of I Midep's skill at turning his mistake to advantage.

²⁸¹ She is overcome by the sheer handsomeness of her husband, Sri Aji Palaka. She is being too brazen (*pongah*), which is required of a good Liku. There is of course an extra twist in that the Mantri is played, as is conventional, by a woman, while the Liku, less usually, is played by a male.

²⁸² In the formal context of the court, as a wife greeting her husband she should say something like: '*titiang tangkil pedek ring Beli Agung*'. He draws a parallel (*ngimbayang*) between her fainting in the presence of her husband and the monkey king Sugriwa in the Ramayana when he comes to pay his respects to Rama. Sugriwa is noted for *ngasor pisan*, abasing himself in the extreme on these occasions. The Panasar treats Luh Wedani's behaviour as similar not, as might have been interpreted, as overcome with passion. The analogy (*praimba*) is not a comparison (*saih*), because Sugriwa's behaviour is only known by report. For a proper comparison it would have to be manifest (*wiakti*) in the visible world (*sakala*).

²⁸³ Luh Wedani treats the analogy as a strict comparison, as if she were being called a monkey. There is a criticism here, because, according to Balinese conventions of dance, a woman should not raise her arms above her head. Also she is behaving inappropriately in front of her husband, the Prince.

²⁸⁴ Sendratari is a fairly recent form of theatre, which is usually glossed as 'dance-drama' or ballet'. In Bali Sendratari has been developed by the Balinese Academy of Arts (STSI, now the Institute of Arts, ISI) using stories from the Mahabharata and Ramayana. Unlike other genres the dancers do not speak. The commentary and all the speech is provided by a single performer, known after shadow theatre as the *dalang*, 'puppeteer'. This last is a formidably skilled and difficult task. Déwa Madé Sayang, who plays the Panasar here, is the person at the time of writing who was chosen perhaps the most often to provide the voices for the big public (and televised) performances of the Dance Academy.

²⁸⁵ The sentence is slightly obscure. The commentators read this as 'I Sugriwa truly beg forgiveness'. Once again he is telling I Midep off, but at the same time is making fun (*nguyonin*) of her within the play's narrative. Kutut Sutatemaja noted that this is also a *pangajum* of *mantri*, because Luh Wedani is compared to Sugriwa paying homage to the court of Rama, so Sri Aji Palaka is like Rama. Also she should speak to him in equivalently humble tones.

LUH WEDANI: I shall wait until... *(She suddenly starts to scratch her torso furiously, as if she had just been bitten by mosquitoes.)* I'm being attacked, attacked, attacked!

(Luh Wedani turns her back on the audience, bends forward and very publicly scratches her behind.)

PANASAR: Oh dear! I feel sick. Have you ever heard of breaking off, while paying respects 'I shall wait until...'?

SRI AJI PALAKA: *(He sings, but the words are drowned by the orchestra.)*

(Luh Wedani continues scratching. She then raises the prince's cloak, takes a good look underneath, then farts loudly.)

PANASAR: Hey! Hey! Don't! Keep still. Keep still.²⁸⁶

WIJIL: You're quite right, Brother.

(Luh Wedani starts to walk backwards across the stage with arms outstretched, farting intermittently. Wijil, who is facing the other way, does not see her at first.)

PANASAR: Danger!

WIJIL: What? What's the danger?

PANASAR: This is fine behaviour, walking backwards. Only in a tourist area would an arse go 'please'!²⁸⁷

WIJIL: How's that?

PANASAR: 'Please'. Like that. She blew it into my face.²⁸⁸

SRI AJI PALAKA: You are too thoughtless towards your servants.

WIJIL: It's true, she is too thoughtless.

PANASAR: Yes.

WIJIL: Where are her manners? *(He addresses the prince.)* Surely her servants will be cared for now.²⁸⁹

(Luh Wedani dances round the floor, staggering (masrandang-masrèndèng) with her arms stretched out and threatens to go off the stage or crash into the prince and servants. Each time she overshoots, so the latter try to guide her back onto course.)

PANASAR: Hey! Hey! West, west, west! Oh! North, north, north! Oh!

WIJIL: East, east, east!²⁹⁰

²⁸⁶ The commentators remarked at this point that it is much easier to play the mad Panasar (*Panasar buduh*) than the straight one (*Panasar manis*, literally 'sweet Panasar'). The mad characters always grab the limelight.

²⁸⁷ The Panasar treats the sound of farting as the English word 'please', pronounced 'plis'. The usual onomatopoeia for farting is *prut* or *prit*. In High Balinese, or when needing to refer to the sound of a person of high birth farting, it is *priit*.

²⁸⁸ The Panasar's aim is that she should learn to say 'please', not to go around farting at people.

²⁸⁹ He feels reassured by the prince having noticed and warned his wife that the servants must be properly cared for (*sayanganga*).

²⁹⁰ A truism of Balinese ethnography is that Balinese are very sensitive to the importance of directions for a wide range of purposes, and use the points of the compass even for fine distinctions of placement. Whereas two British mechanics

- PANASAR: Up, up, up. Down, down, down. This is beautiful, it's like tuning – er – like tuning a what d'ya call it (a television set)?
- WIJIL: Like playing computer games.²⁹¹
- PANASAR: Like a robot.
- SRI AJI PALAKA: Who has creamy white skin?²⁹²
- PANASAR: 'My dear, who has creamy white skin?'²⁹³
- LUH WEDANI: That's me.
- WIJIL: Indeed.
- SRI AJI PALAKA: Who has a slender waist?

(Wijil imitates Luh Wedani's dance and he feels out to take her hand (ngusudin) to guide her. But she sweeps him in front of her.)

- PANASAR: 'She's creamy white.' Ha! The conductor's driving the bus.²⁹⁴
- SRI AJI PALAKA: Her face is perfectly formed.

(Sri Aji Palaka takes Luh Wedani (who is far larger than he) by the arm. She turns her face up towards him and leaves her mouth hanging open (ngaang). Then she starts to open and close it (kemuk-kemuk) like a fish.)

- PANASAR: Hey! I wonder what's this? Why's she doing that? Someone who has been caressed by her husband can do better than that. Don't behave like a fish gobbling fish food.²⁹⁵
- 1250 SRI AJI PALAKA: Who has small plump breasts?²⁹⁶
- PANASAR: *(He sings)* 'Whoever is it who has small plump breasts?' *(He reverts to speaking.)* Hold on! There's nothing there! What plump breasts? She's as flat as a pancake!²⁹⁷
- LUH WEDANI: Huh! You idiot! That ain't so. They might look flat now. That's because someone spent all last night sucking them dry. Look!²⁹⁸
- PANASAR: Hey! What do you think they are? Do you think your breasts are rice cakes?²⁹⁹
- SRI AJI PALAKA: Who has luxuriant hair?
- LUH WEDANI: Yes! Did you hear, Punta? Wheee! Did you hear that?³⁰⁰

under a car would give directions by 'to the left, to the right', Balinese normally use cardinal directions. One should note however that Balinese cardinal directions are based upon quite different principles to European (Hobart 1978).

²⁹¹ Although the word computer is not added, the commentators were fairly sure that this is what was being referred to. Such games have become popular among the children of rich Denpasar families.

²⁹² The prince is complimenting (*ngajum*) his wife.

²⁹³ The Panasar paraphrases (*ngartiang*) the prince's words. This time, because they are in Balinese, what he says is almost identical to the prince.

²⁹⁴ He is referring to the fact that, rather than Wijil helping to direct Luh Wedani, it is she who is pushing him around the floor. This is not difficult as she is substantially larger.

²⁹⁵ The pouting gesture (*kemuk-kemuk*) is considered a sign of a person, more often a woman, indicating that she is upset or in a pet (*ngambul*). Here she is full of wonder (*ngon*) at him being so handsome.

²⁹⁶ The ideal form for a woman's breasts is often compared to the shape of a yellow coconut. There are a number of songs of praise of beautiful women which elaborate on their various physical attributes. The shadow puppeteers of Sukawati are particularly famous for their skill in weaving these into songs (*rérébongan*).

²⁹⁷ This is an extra-narrative reference to the fact that Luh Wedani is being played by a male.

²⁹⁸ She leaves it deliciously unclear whether this was by her child or by Sri A. Palaka.

²⁹⁹ Breasts do not disappear completely when eaten unlike a small cake.

- PANASAR: Indeed.
- LUH WEDANI: My husband is astonished. Who is this pretty girl with the two plaits?³⁰¹
- PANASAR: Indeed. Oh dear! 'Who is the pretty girl with two plaits?' Oh! It's supposed to be you. That's what took me by surprise.
- SRI AJI PALAKA: Like clouds promising gentle rain.³⁰²
- PANASAR: Like clouds full of rain.
- LUH WEDANI: Husband, husband! Don't flatter me like that. If someone hears, I shall be embarrassed – geddit?³⁰³
- PANASAR: Oh dear! That's just like an owl calling out that someone's pregnant.
- LUH WEDANI: Punta! Hey!
- PANASAR: It is I.
- LUH WEDANI: Punta! Hey! When you get home, do you compliment your wife?
- PANASAR: I have never complimented my wife.
- LUH WEDANI: Huh! So that's how it is. Is that how you are with your wife? So every time you return home, your wife puts on a face like an eel trap and pouts her mouth, she does.³⁰⁴ Hah! Her sarong is filthy dirty, her sash is torn, she's braless. And what do you do about it? Ha! Punta, Ha!^{305liv}
- PANASAR: As to Ma'am, what (do you think)?
- LUH WEDANI: As for men...
- PANASAR: Yes?
- LUH WEDANI: They like taking mistresses...
- PANASAR: Hey!
- LUH WEDANI: The men are not to blame, they aren't.
- PANASAR: Who is at fault then?
- LUH WEDANI: The woman's to blame.
- PANASAR: How come?

³⁰⁰ She is telling the Panasar who has been criticizing (*nyacadin*) her, that her husband admires her. The effect is of saying 'So there!' You see how he feels.'

³⁰¹ She is praising herself (*ngajum dèwèk*). Girls' wearing of plaits dates from the introduction of schools. Usually one wears a single plait (*masocang*), two is a recent innovation among younger children and is a sign that one has not yet a boyfriend (*maduwé tunangan*). Girls normally stop having their hair in plaits when they leave Middle School (S.M.P.). Previously young women wore their hair in a looped bun (*papusungan* or *pusung gonjèr*).

³⁰² This is a well known analogy (*praimba*) for talking about someone's countenance (*tata wedana*, cf. the Panasar's opening song). In song clouds are used to suggest being full of promise, but also sadness (*sebet*). The expression is used as to compliment someone as having tranquil (*lepdep*) features. Interestingly the inverse is 'clear' (*cedang*), which applied to a young woman suggests. Clouds associated with sadness; but also *lepdep* = *kalem* = compliment about features. A face which is clear (*cedang*) is sometimes said to be *ngalinyar*, and is used of a girl who is fickle or flirtatious (*nglanyir*).

³⁰³ The first part of this is an appropriate response to praise, but Luh Wedani ruins it, by her final remark (*Puk*), of which Anak Agung Pekak noted that, in context, it made her disavowals *bes ngagenang*, 'too calculated'. *Puk* is vulgar and inappropriate, which enables the Panasar to give it another reading as the sound 'Puk' of an owl calling, which, if it calls in one's compound, is a sign that someone there is pregnant. As among most Austronesian-speaking peoples, Balinese recognize a range of kinds of birdcall as potentially significant, although the attention which they pay to them varies.

³⁰⁴ She always makes an angry face. *Ngenang bubu* is 'to fit an eel trap', the mouth of which is considered to pout like an angry person.

³⁰⁵ So why are you not angry?

- LUH WEDANI: If she doesn't know how to look after her husband properly at home, isn't he going to go off to the neighbours for a tasty little something? As for me, I know how to look after my husband.³⁰⁶
- PANASAR: Oh!
- LUH WEDANI: If he is still in the village square...
- PANASAR: What then?
- LUH WEDANI: At home, I already have a grin on my face.³⁰⁷
- PANASAR: Huh! That's overdoing it. Your husband is still in the village square and Ma'am is already smiling in the palace. Well? If I had a wife like that and I was in the market, still in the market (I mean), and my wife was already smiling at home, people would start crowding around (and asking) 'when did you get driven mad?'³⁰⁸ Oh no! That's what would happen.
- LUH WEDANI: You just don't think. Your wife should look after you properly, don't you realize?
- PANASAR: Oh! Is that how to serve your noble husband?
- LUH WEDANI: That's it. Doesn't he appreciate me? I know how (to look after him), I do.
- PANASAR: Huh!
- LUH WEDANI: As soon as I have got up in the morning, (I serve him) coffee with milk, a soft boiled egg with white pepper.³⁰⁹
- PANASAR: Oh! That's a complete recipe to include white pepper. That is in the morning?
- 1300 LUH WEDANI: That's in the morning. When I was engaged... did you know me when I was still a young woman?³¹⁰
- PANASAR: Why?
- LUH WEDANI: It's just that my face has always been like this.
- WIJIL: Like what?
- LUH WEDANI: Just wobbly.
- WIJIL: Hah!
- LUH WEDANI: If I did not fulfil the specifications no one would have wanted to take me. I wouldn't have looked for a man. Do you know what the first requirement is?

³⁰⁶ The commentators said that, to prevent her statement being inconclusive (*gabeng*) she should properly have added 'so that he is happy'. *Amik-amikan* are tasty tidbits, but not real food (which requires a solid rice base. The commentators then started to argue among themselves as to whether one could feel full or satisfied on such snacks alone. Anak Agung Pekak concluded the discussion by saying that such tasty morsels are highly enjoyable, but encourage desire (*indriya*) and need to be distinguished from the staple foods which provide the energy for work.

³⁰⁷ She is ready to welcome her husband and is already looking attractive. The expression implies being dressed up as well. There are three terms for 'to smile' from a delicate smile to a broad grin as follows: *kenyus* → *kenyir* → *kenyum*. Her smile is therefore fairly broad.

³⁰⁸ *Bebainan* is a peculiarly nasty affliction, often in the form of insanity, brought about by someone using medicines against one. *Bebai* are manufactured by unscrupulous practitioners of Balinese indigenous medicine and make use of human foetuses (for details, see Lovric 1987: 198-229; Weck 1937: 204-15). The commentators also reckoned that an additional point of the Panasar's words were that outsiders do not just wander into a court, so they would neither see one sitting there smiling, nor would be in a position to ask such questions as whether one had gone mad or not.

³⁰⁹ Balinese usually eat rice in the morning, among poor families, cold rice left over from the night before. The menu Luh Wedani serves is not Balinese at all, but is an imitation of breakfast in the big tourist hotels on the beaches at Sanur and Kuta.

³¹⁰ According to the commentators, this should properly be '*buin pidan laadné matunangan*' 'when I was formerly engaged (still unmarried)'. Otherwise it is *mabatis bèbèk*, like a duck's foot, i.e. ambiguous (*ngèmpèlin*), because it is not clear that she has ceased to be a spinster. It was also considered to be Badung idiolect, *Basa Bebadungan*, which is often less carefully articulated than in the other regions of south Bali.

- ³¹¹WIJIL: Indeed.
- LUH WEDANI: Submit a letter of request!³¹²
- WIJIL: Huh!
- LUH WEDANI: Second: be prepared to submit to a trial period of three months.³¹³
- PANASAR: It's very severe to apply for a job with the condition that one must submit to a trial period of three months.
- LUH WEDANI: Be prepared to take up any possible position.³¹⁴
- PANASAR: Carry on.
- LUH WEDANI: Do you know what's 'be prepared to take up any possible position'? Did you think it was anywhere in the archipelago?
- Panasar: Doesn't it mean anywhere in the archipelago?³¹⁵
- LUH WEDANI: No.
- PANASAR: What then?
- LUH WEDANI: 'Be prepared to take up any possible position' means: 'on the right, on the left, on top or underneath.'³¹⁶
- PANASAR: Oh dear! I thought it was to agree to go wherever one was posted.
- LUH WEDANI: Did you know that men these days are different?
- PANASAR: How so?
- LUH WEDANI: Men, of course, say one thing but think another. If they see a small child in the street, they think of their children back home.
- WIJIL: Oh! And so?
- LUH WEDANI: If they meet a pretty girl in the street, they forget they have a wife at home.
- PANASAR: Huh! Don't imagine there aren't exceptions to that one.
- LUH WEDANI: That's why when I was looking for a man, I asked him: 'My dear, do you love me, my dear? What kind of love is it, my dear?' Do you know what modern love is?³¹⁷
- PANASAR: No. What's that?
- LUH WEDANI: In the morning he meets her...
- PANASAR: Yes.
- LUH WEDANI: At midday he sweet-talks her, that night he creeps (into her bedroom).
- PANASAR: Oh dear! Where on earth did you get such a ragbag of formulae? 'Modern love in the morning!'
- LUH WEDANI: There's guerrilla love, just so you know.
- PANASAR: What's that?

³¹¹ If she didn't know how to look after a man well, no one would have wanted to marry her. She deliberately uses the language of offices and bureaucracy to create anachronism.

³¹² Luh Wedani refers to the stages of love and marriage in the verbose and stilted language of the formal protocols which were so striking a feature of Indonesian bureaucracy. The first stage is that the Prince has to submit a written love letter to woo (*ngalemesin*) her. The contrast with the actuality of most Balinese love-making is delightful.

³¹³ 1. It has become practice in some organizations to engage staff on a trial basis in the first instance.
2. This also refers to the increasingly common practice, especially in towns of a couple sleeping together fairly openly before marriage.

³¹⁴ 1. Be prepared to go on a posting anywhere within Indonesia. This is a common requirement of official postings.
2. Be prepared to have to adopt unusual sexual positions.

³¹⁵ He uses the Balinese and Indonesian word *arti* here.

³¹⁶ She collapses the two simultaneous themes into the sexual. One should note though that, as usual, nothing explicitly indecent is said.

³¹⁷ It is significant that she does not use a Balinese word here, which poses problems (see above), but the Indonesian *cinta* for 'love'. It makes it easier of course to introduce the idea of 'modern love', but the development of the joke does not require it until this last reference.

- LUH WEDANI: Guerrilla love.
 PANASAR: What's that?
 LUH WEDANI: At night you shoot your load, in the morning you run off.³¹⁸
 PANASAR: Oh dear! It's true too.
 LUH WEDANI: If it's me and my husband, then it's nail love, I wouldn't go along with (anything else).
 PANASAR: Oh! What's nail love, Ma'am?
 LUH WEDANI: Don't you know what nail love is?
 1350 PANASAR: I don't.
 LUH WEDANI: Nail love: even if it's cut, it constantly grows back again.³¹⁹
 PANASAR: Yes! That's how it should be.
 SRI AJI PALAKA: She is truly the only one I compliment...

(The rest of the prince's song is lost, because he touches her gently on the upper arm from behind. She slaps him playfully (nampokang) on the arm and pushes him away coquettishly (ngambul akidik).)

- PANASAR: *(To Luh Wedani)* Don't do that.
 WIJIL: Oh dear! All your subjects will laugh at you.

(Luh Wedani sweeps majestically round the stage. During this Wijil exits.)

- LUH WEDANI: I'm stylish, look.
 PANASAR: That's right. You start with a dance, take it too far, get taken to the loony bin.³²⁰
 LUH WEDANI: You're an idiot.
 SRI AJI PALAKA: This is of course what is most important in the world as it is nowadays.³²¹
 PANASAR: It is just as if the Goddess Sri were incarnate in M'lady.
 LUH WEDANI: Do you know what makes me like Sri?³²²
 PANASAR: What does?

³¹⁸ Balinese here can carry the implications, as in English, of 'shoot your wad'. By report, which for obvious reasons I was rarely able to verify, pre- and extra-marital sexual relations were very common when I first did fieldwork in the early 1970s. These were engaged in at night, when at best a compound would probably only have one or two tiny paraffin lamps. According to the gossip (which I did cross-check carefully) something like a third of married people and most young persons over the age of twenty or so, were reputed to have sexual partners outside marriage. With the advent of electric lighting and government propaganda, according to gossip the incidence has dropped off and people say that they are ashamed of how they used to behave.

Balinese incidentally are familiar with the idea of guerrilla warfare, both from their involvement in the struggle for Independence against the Dutch and from the presence of an anti-government movement in the 1950s, in which guerrilla fighters actually shot people dead in Tengahpadang.

³¹⁹ The expression is her own invention. Just as a finger or toe nail regrows after cutting, a good relationship recovers from fights and the couple make up again.

³²⁰ Bangli is where the hospital for the seriously mentally disturbed is in Bali and is used metonymically as a popular way of referring to what to do with lunatics. The play is from *solah* (dance) to *solèh*, inappropriate speech or behaviour, see above.

³²¹ What was said about personal relationships earlier is true. His aim is to confirm that he thinks that she looks after him well. He is also implicitly contradicting the Panasar by suggesting that her behaviour towards him is appropriate.

³²² Déwi Sri (Sri) is the partner or aspect of the God Wisnu. In Bali she is popularly known as the goddess of rice. O.J. **sri** is 'splendour, radiance, beauty; good fortune, prosperity, wealth'. Luh Wedani treats such states as producing happiness, even if her grounds for feeling this are different.

LUH WEDANI: I am so very happy. For a long time my husband has been everywhere praying (until they had a child).
 PANASAR: Yes.
 LUH WEDANI: (He had) exhausted all the temples.

(The curtain at the back suddenly starts to jerk about. It is Luh Wedani's father, the village head of Nusa (Bendésa Nusa).)

PANASAR: Oh dear! I think that it is...
(Her father enters. He is a very old man, bent slightly over and vainly trying to get the mortar of his betel-nut pounder into its slot.)

LUH WEDANI: *(She sings in the metre Ginada)*³²³ Oh! I apologize father.
 PANASAR: Heavens! He really is old!
 LUH WEDANI: Father. What's all this about then? Coming out now you're old, I told you to stay at home.
 PASEK BENDÉSA: *(He misses his betel-nut pounder yet again.)* Good Lord!
 LUH WEDANI: Hey! Father. Hey! You're missing it, you're missing it. You keep on missing.
 PANASAR: Oh dear!
 PASEK BENDÉSA: Little one! I am old, aren't I? But it's still proper for me to come and pay my respects.
 PANASAR: Come on give him somewhere to sit down.
 LUH WEDANI: Yes! Sitdown, sitdown, sitdown, sitdown.
 PASEK BENDÉSA: Oh dear!
 PANASAR: He really is an old man.
 PASEK BENDÉSA: Don't take what I say amiss.³²⁴
 PANASAR: *(Referring to the Bendésa continually missing his betel-nut pounder.)* Why can't you get it straight at all? Ha!
 LUH WEDANI: Hey! Hey! That's the hole, look for the hole!³²⁵
 PASEK BENDÉSA: Little one! Although you've married and became a lady of the court, you shouldn't snap at your old father like that. Now I am old I sometimes miss the target. In the past, when I was still strong, I had the necessary to produce you. I was firm and I never missed.³²⁶

³²³ The standard metre for Ginada is: 8a, 8i, 8a/o, 8u, 8a, 4i, 8a.

³²⁴ His purpose is saying this is in order not to create offense with the prince. He is afraid that his speech and style of addressing the prince may be inadequate and muddled (*pati kacuh*) and so fall short of what is proper. It is a frequent concern of Balinese, especially the older ones, that their High Balinese will be inadequate to the task of addressing persons in high position. Throughout my fieldwork I have been encouraged to speak High Balinese (and am addressed in it), even by villagers who use Low Balinese among themselves. The reasons for this are complicated, but one is that I should learn to be able to use the elevated forms which are *de rigueur* to address priests and people in the larger courts properly.

³²⁵ Fairly obviously the spectators can be read as obscene (*dados kabakta ka cabul*).

³²⁶ The Balinese carries the *double entendre* better than English here. *Kenceng* is both 'strong' and 'firm, taut'. So the *Bendésa* can imply the sexual reading of the last sentence quite easily 'I was firm (rigid) and never failed to score' as well as 'I was strong and never missed (my betel-nut pounder)'. This is made easier still by the deictic *anak*, which is both 'this' (an oblique reference to his penis) and 'person', here 'I'. On *lakar* which I have glossed as 'necessary'. 'Wherewithall' might be an alternative. On *lakar*, see the Endnote.

- LUH WEDANI: Stop pounding away, you keep on missing, keep still.³²⁷
- PASEK BENDÉSA: Little one. If I'm not allowed to pound away...³²⁸ My friend!
- PANASAR: What?
- PASEK BENDÉSA: If I can't pound away three times a day, I don't feel good.
- PANASAR: Indeed. That is so. The habit of chewing betel makes your teeth strong.
- PASEK BENDÉSA: (*He addresses the king.*) Your old retainer begs your indulgence. I, the village head here in Nusa, am old, but only in years. I have been full of awe to see how my noble Lord has governed, together with my daughter, whom you have elevated.
(*He seeks implicit affirmation from the Panasar*) Is that not so), my friend? I have heard news that your revered Majesty **who rules the country** are to fulfil your vow, **because** you have received a gift from the God in the Bat Cave. What are your actual plans? Should you be bantering with one another like this? Should you be playing around like this? It is time for the temple festival. Are you going to complete the task by fooling around with each other? It is important that this old man...³²⁹
- PANASAR: Good Lord! You are quite right to mention this. My Lord, your minister has a reminder for you.³³⁰
- 1401 SRI AJI PALAKA: This is just the preamble.³³¹
- PANASAR: Oh dear!
- PASEK BENDÉSA: What? What?
- PANASAR: (*He paraphrases (ngartiang) the prince's previous words.*) 'Do not draw the wrong impression from my relaxing here with my wife. You say we are just bantering, but that is not so. I have given due thought to the matter of paying off my debt, because I have succeeded in begetting an heir.'
- SRI AJI PALAKA: **Because** everything has been prepared.
- LUH WEDANI: Father, do not be sad. Everything is in order, I've done it all. What's more, I've planned it down to the last detail.
- PASEK BENDÉSA: **I understand now I have heard what (the prince) said**, my friend.³³² (*Then to the prince.*) I beg your indulgence, do not let your anger rise, my honourable Lord. I am old only in years. If these years (of experience) are worth anything, may I **be bold enough to indicate to you**,
- PANASAR: That seems fitting.

³²⁷ The purpose of this statement is to further the second obscene reading. 'Stop having sex, you usually can't get it up any more, so lay off.'

³²⁸ He is referring to feeling bad at being told that he should not pound his betel-nut – or have intercourse – any more. The *Bendésa* refers to the Panasar, whom he does not know but is obviously a mature man, therefore almost certainly a father as 'Pan Cening', 'Father of little one', an inspecific teknonym. Teknonyms have largely gone out of fashion in the part of Gianyar where I work, if indeed they were ever in general use. However old people referring to one another slightly formally, do use them. It is too artificial to render straight in English, so I have made what seems to me a more suitable, but not entirely satisfactory, gloss.

³²⁹ The job of reminding the high and mighty of their serious obligations is a well established rôle of servants in life. It may be exemplified fairly straightforwardly in theatre as in this instance, or be parodied as the Panasar and Wijil do with Luh Wedani.

³³⁰ The Panasar refers to the *Bendésa* as *paman* because he is also a *patih*, a minister of state.

³³¹ The purpose of the prince saying this is to indicate that one should not proceed straight to work without discussion first. *Panglengkara* is 'introductory discussion' (cf. glossary). It is not appropriate on undertaking some major work, when guests are invited, to proceed straight to the activity to hand, but one should chat, joke and offer food first.

³³² There is a curious reference to '*Singgih* (like *Ainggih*) to tell the orchestra to play louder (*ngabiahang gamelan*). [Recheck the original tape to see if it is audible.]

- PASEK BENDÉSA: But only **humans are engulfed by passion and ignorance**.³³³ If they were enveloped in **goodness** that would be fine, so that they are not irrevocably overwhelmed by **desire and sloth** and forget their worship. People just say that they will do the work, but nothing gets done.³³⁴ Now, if **my turn** to help has come, if it is time to press ahead, I shall go and ask for assistance from my kith and kin.
- PANASAR: Yes!
- PASEK BENDÉSA: All your subjects in Nusa should come and perform service.
- PANASAR: So that they may also participate **while it is the right moment to complete the fulfilment of the vow**.
- PASEK BENDÉSA: Right. We should get on with the festival in Pura Dalem Mengwi.³³⁵
- PANASAR: Indeed! It so happens that the temple festival is on now. My Lord will also be there.³³⁶
- LUH WEDANI: Father. Do go to the palace and have a coffee. Don't go wandering off, and don't keep on begging pardon.
- PASEK BENDÉSA: I feel so happy that my daughter has married (so well). I'll just go to the palace where they're making coffee.
- PANASAR: Right. Stay there, don't...(go wandering about).
- SRI AJI PALAKA: I shall treat you as an advisor for this occasion.
- LUH WEDANI: Did you hear, father?
- PANASAR: You are to be regarded as an elder. (*He then paraphrases the last words of the prince.*) 'I ask your help to ensure that my act of worship is successful.'³³⁷
- SRI AJI PALAKA: You should advise me of my every mistake.³³⁸

³³³ The commentators gave as a gloss of **kaliput** as *karangsukang*, 'to be entered by, to be afflicted by' (cf. O.J. **rajsuk** 'to enter'), which is a very strong term used, for instance, of someone running amok (*karangsukang kala* 'to be overcome by a *kala*, to be overwhelmed by one's own crude energy and to forget oneself). **Rajah** and **tamah** are the second and third **guṇa**, the constituents of everything in creation, the first being **sattwa** 'goodness'. For a more extended discussion of these three, see Hobart 1986: 148-9; and for the Pāñcarātra Vaishnavas in Kashmir, see Inden 1985. It is *only* humans who are so engulfed. Animals are not: they just eat, sleep fight etc. but do not know greed and darkness, *kapetengan*. The reason is that humans are constituted of the **Pañcamahabuta**. However they are also capable of thought, *idep*, as well.

³³⁴ The commentators added that this was an appropriate critical comment (*panglèmèk*) of the sort of people who profess to be religious (*maagama*), but are very lazy about actually doing what is required in practice.

³³⁵ The *Bendésa* actually says Pura Dalem Mengwi, the royal temple of Mengwi, but reference is also intended to Pura Duurbingin, which is where they are performing. According to the Babad Dalem Sukawati, the royal chronicle of the Cokorda Sukawati, Pura Duurbingin was built in Tengahpadang on the orders of the prince of a branch of the Cokorda clan from Sukawati who moved (*késah*) from Mengwi. So, even though it now the temple is treated as a special temple supported by the five eastern wards of Tengahpadang, according to the Babad Dalem Sukawati metonymically at the least it constitutes a royal temple, *Pura Panataran*, although it is not treated as such now. The actors are both playing it safe and elevating their host, who is a Cokorda. It is not quite clear how the troupe knew that Pura Duurbingin was founded by royal command. Although such news has been rumoured in the region for many years, it was only during a reading of the relevant parts of the Babad Dalem Sukawati in Pura Duurbingin in 1979 that it was broadcast to a big local audience. Such news is not very likely to have reached Denpasar. The commentators felt that the information was most likely given to the troupe during the discussion when they agreed to perform. It is usual for the actors to ask for background information on the location and any special reasons for the performance before they play. The founding of the temple would be obvious and important information, as one would not wish to dance without knowing if there were special factors or risks involved.

³³⁶ The Panasar is affirming at the same time that Sri Aji Palaka will attend the ceremony to fulfil his vow and that Cokorda Putera from Pisangkaja, for whom the play is the fulfilment of *his* promise, is actually there to witness it.

³³⁷ *Magehang* is 'to make something strong or unwavering' and so ensure the success of the enterprise in question.

- PASEK BENDÉSA: I beg your indulgence, I beg your indulgence! (I feel as if I had been) sprinkled with the elixir of eternal life.³³⁸ I beg your indulgence. I, the village head of Nusa, shall be **the thread which ties peoples' thoughts to the completion of what is required**, I crave your forgiveness.³³⁹ Whatever there is of **me** – what is it called – my very being, there is nothing I do not offer in devotion to your most revered Majesty.
- PANASAR: Yes! That is how it should be.
- PASEK BENDÉSA: Come on, my friend, let us prove that we can do the work.
- PANASAR: Indeed.
- PASEK BENDÉSA: So that there is **no ground for falling short**.
- SRI AJI PALAKA: (*To the Bendésa*) If that is so, I invite you to accompany me in carrying out the work.
- PASEK BENDÉSA: Indeed. (*To the Panasar*) Let us get a move on, my friend.
- PANASAR: Yes, indeed.
- PASEK BENDÉSA: I shall round up my kith and kin, all the Pasek Bendésa.³⁴⁰
- PANASAR: Let's go, let's go.
- 1450 SRI AJI PALAKA: (*To Luh Wedani.*) My dear, no one but I (am responsible). Had I not been warned by your father (I might have forgotten).
- LUH WEDANI: Just so, just so. It is useful that my father can tell everyone who should come to perform service at the temple.
- PANASAR: Indeed. I shall instruct your subjects now to follow (your orders) in carrying out the work.
- SRI AJI PALAKA: (*To Luh Wedani.*) My dear. Organize all the women.
- PANASAR: 'Ma'am, all the women are to be organized.'
- SRI AJI PALAKA: Minister, all the work force should get ready.³⁴¹

(SRI AJI PALAKA, *Luh Wedani and the Pasek Bendésa* exeunt. Almost immediately after an old villager (*Banjar Tua*) enters.)

- OLD VILLAGER: (*He sings and splutters inaudibly behind his mask.*)
- PANASAR: Hey! Look, a corpse has turned up!³⁴²

³³⁸ *Matutang* is 'to correct'. It is interesting that the commentators shied away from so forceful a term used about a royal incumbent in office, when I suggested that it should be used as such, granted that the prince had used it of himself. They were at pains to offer euphemisms which one would translate as 'inform' or 'advise'.

³³⁹ According to Déwa Madé Sayang: **bandha** is 'thread, rope', **ingaraniṅ** 'what is called', **pangikēt** 'what ties something', **śāsana** 'behaviour according to the rules of proper conduct' (cf. Skt. & O.J. **śāsana** 'doctrine, discipline, code, rules'; also 'charter, royal edict, any written book, scripture, teaching', Gonda 1973: 396-97. The addition by Balinese commentators of action according to such prescriptions is not surprising.). So the *Bendésa* wishes that he should be treated as the thread which ties the realm together. But he added immediately that this is *satmaka* q.v. The commentators read the Old Javanese identically, but said that the purpose of his saying this is that his function should be to fix the thoughts of the participants on the ritual work that they must do.

³⁴⁰ The Pasek Bendésa are one of seven large kin groups of *Sudra* Balinese, who claim high status, the Bendésa often because of their historical links with royalty as appointed village headmen.

³⁴¹ This version of *Pupuh Sinom Uug Payangan* seems to go as follows: a7, inaudible, a9, u8, i8, a6, a8, a8, a8, i9, i8, a8, é8, a8, u8, a8, i6, a8, a12, a7, i9, a8, a10. – To check, as this is different from the usual versions.

³⁴² In other words, someone who is on his last legs (*tongadi* or *kera pisan*). The commentators used both expressions. The first is a broken down old wreck, the latter is 'to be on one's last legs, extremely feeble'. There is a popular (bilingual) *bladbadan*: 'I'm/he's a Malay monkey' meaning 'completely exhausted'. *Bojog Melayu* → *kera*. Monkey in Malay is kera, which sounds like *kera*, 'extremely feeble' in Balinese, although the Balinese terminal '-a' is pronounced closer to 'ě'.

- OLD VILLAGER: (*He continues to make strange spluttering noises.*)
 PANASAR: Hey! (*The Panasar imitates the odd noises the old man is making.*) *Mèh, Mèh!* Oh dear! His exhaust pipe is bust, er... What is it? What is it? O.K., O.K.
- OLD VILLAGER: How come you haven't told me (about the ceremony)? (*The electric lights flicker.*) Ooh!
- PANASAR: Why the 'Ooh!?'
 OLD VILLAGER: What was that lightning just now?³⁴³
 PANASAR: Huh! It just flashed and he was startled.
 OLD VILLAGER: What was it that flashed? Oh dear! Oh dear!
 PANASAR: Why are you upset?
 OLD VILLAGER: I have nothing to offer at all now.
 PANASAR: Oh! (Of course not) because it is the day of the festival now.³⁴⁴
 OLD VILLAGER: Also it is very different, now that for the first time they have a son.³⁴⁵
 PANASAR: Right And so what do you reckon now?
 OLD VILLAGER: I thought, didn't I, if they didn't have a son for instance, I would offer myself, my body, to the court, that was it.³⁴⁶
 PANASAR: Huh! This is a confused bloke, a simple-minded farmer offering himself to the court as a son!
 OLD VILLAGER: Has the ceremony begun yet, Wayan?³⁴⁷
 PANASAR: Yes.
 OLD VILLAGER: I wouldn't want it thought that I, as his subject, did not appreciate our master's beneficence.³⁴⁸
 PANASAR: Yes! That's how it should be.³⁴⁹
 OLD VILLAGER: Oh dear! Wayan.
 PANASAR: Uh!

(*The old villager coughs like a person just before they die.*)

- PANASAR: Oh, No! He's died! (*He begins chanting a kakawin for the dead.*)
**'Now the time had come for him to die,
 He was a brave warrior who fought in battle.
 Let us speak now of Wirata...'**³⁵⁰

³⁴³ Because he is such an ancient villager, he does not know what electricity is.

³⁴⁴ The Panasar's point is that he is far too old to be able to help and furthermore it is too late to turn up with materials to be used in the festival (*aturan*) because it is about to begin.

³⁴⁵ The old villager's use of Indonesian is aimed at raising a laugh at such an old man using the new national language.

³⁴⁶ This line drew hoots of laughter from the commentators at the idea of that such a doddering, poor old villager could imagine that he could become the prince's son and heir. Not least, he is of *Sudra* birth and totally unqualified, as the Panasar immediately points out below. Anak Agung Pekak, who is himself a scion of the local royal family, expostulated at this: '*Awak suba ngalih silut ameter atenga.*' 'He needs sticking in the graveyard' (literally 'he should have a resting place a meter and a half long').

³⁴⁷ Because there is no suitable gloss in English I omit it, but the old villager addresses the Panasar twice as 'Wayan', the name for a first-born child among low castes and low ranking *Wésiya*. It is somewhat more familiar than a teknonym. Although the old villager does not seem to know the Panasar personally, such usage is not uncommon by much older persons to younger ones. In fact he switches thereafter to the teknonym 'Pan Wayan'.

³⁴⁸ He says this to show that, although he is old and decrepit, he still wishes to perform service for his master.

³⁴⁹ The implication is that all the prince's subjects feel that way.

³⁵⁰ Ben Arps glossed this as: 'Then while he returned, the brave man +?, Let us speak now about Wirata'. Wy. Arka: One cannot translate this literally, one must *ngalinggahyang/sutrayang* 'broaden it, decode it'. Ketut Sutatemaja also

Hey! His brain has started working again! He should get a move on and die. What is it? Do you think you can help with the work? (*The old villager starts is racked with coughing.*) Oh dear!³⁵¹

OLD VILLAGER: That's so, my friend. I shall die in due course.³⁵²

PANASAR: Huh! Of course, as humans are born, so they must die. Isn't that so?

OLD VILLAGER: How is the ceremony going? The main thing is that I am going to help.

PANASAR: Huh! They've already got the offerings organized in the temple.

OLD VILLAGER: The village elder is still to come. I'm off to help.³⁵³

PANASAR: Right! (*To the old villager.*) Call the elder so that he can take part in witnessing the payment of the vow. Right now!³⁵⁴ (*The old villager exits waggling his bottom as he goes.*) I must say, he has a lot of style for an ailing man. He can still manage to get off home. Huh! Waggling his arse around, indeed.

(*Enter the Village Elder (Klian Désa Nusa). He is wearing a dark reddish-brown mask with brilliant white moustache and eyebrows and speaks with a croaking voice.*)

VILLAGE ELDER: (*He sings in kakawin style*) **I shall tell about the Lord's descendants...**

PANASAR: Oh dear! This bloke's putting it on. Huh! What a face! Huh! (He moves) like a young man, but his moustache has gone grey, his eyebrows have gone grey. It's what you call a gay dog who's past it.³⁵⁵

VILLAGE ELDER: Who are you talking about, Wayan?

PANASAR: Heavens!

1500 VILLAGE ELDER: It's just me who has turned up here, there's no one else. Uh! I'm going to sit down first.

(*No sooner has the village elder sat down that he starts a curious shuffling movement till he is very close indeed to the Panasar.*)³⁵⁶

agreed that it should read: 'then when he died, the brave warrior the best in war'. It is a well known section from the **Bhāratayuddha** dealing with the mourning for the three sons of Sang Wirata, who fell in battle. It is sung at the time that corpses are washed prior to cremation or burial. Although this is not a normal part of theatrical repertoire, Anak Agung Pekak burst into song and sang a section of the *kakawin*. He had no difficulty in translating the *kawi*.

³⁵¹ Metonymy - here the link between brain activity and being alive - is not particularly common in Balinese. When I asked about this the commentators stressed that it was a matter of dealing with minimal functions, not with thought. The old villager has already reached *ngasèn*, the terminal stage just before dying, of which a particular kind of cough is a sign (*ciri*).

³⁵² In other words though, he plans to live for a long time still.

³⁵³ The first sentence is a signal to the audience that there is more to come and not to leave. The rôle of *klian désa* in village life varies from place to place. In Tengahpadang he is the head or elder of a ward who is in charge of matters to do with religion and local law and, as such, the deputy of the *Bendésa*.

³⁵⁴ Once again this last phrase serves two purposes. It is a call to the orchestra to start playing (*ngebiahang gamelan*). It is also an accompaniment to the exit dance (*ngebiahang igel*) of the old villager, as well as a way of getting a move on with what remains of the play, because it is now late at night.

³⁵⁵ See the endnote on *brapayas*.

³⁵⁶ The technique of shuffling on one's bottom around the stage seems to have been the invention of one of Bali's most celebrated dancers, now dead, I Pugra, the father of Ni Murdi who plays Sri Aji Palaka here. Even thirty years later when it comes to talking about actors and comparing present ones to past, it was interesting to see how often I Pugra's name was mentioned in effect as the yardstick against which male *Topèng* and *Arja* performers are often compared, almost inevitably unfavourably. His capacity to move at great speed across the floor while sitting, without seeming to move a muscle, and the style with which he played the part of the village elder was considered of a quite different class from the present actor's attempt.

- PANASAR: It's bloody hard to keep this bloke company! Huh! (*He starts to mimic (ngojaang) the village elder's words and gestures insultingly (nyacad). The village elder sits with his knee raised and his arm bent around it.*) "Here 'Yan," Huh! "Just turned up 'Yan." Hey! You could use a few manners. Don't lift your knee up like that! What is it? What do you want to talk about?"
- VILLAGE ELDER: (*As he talks he proceeds to shuffle along in a sitting posture and pursues the Panasar round the stage.*) Don't you remember me. I haven't seen you for ages. What's the news here? It's been a long time, how many years do you think it's been, that we have been serving His Majesty here in Nusa?^{357vii}
- PANASAR: Ah! Oh dear! I'm being pursued all over the place, it's breaking me up (trying to) talk to a bloke like this.
- VILLAGE ELDER: Can't you remember me? Can't you?
- PANASAR: What do you want then? You're just following...(me about).
- VILLAGE ELDER: Hey! Don't be familiar with me.³⁵⁸
- PANASAR: Oops! Who are you anyway?
- VILLAGE ELDER: I'm a Dukuh from Sakènan.³⁵⁹
- PANASAR: Oh!
- VILLAGE ELDER: My relatives live in Pecatu, by Uluwatu, in Kedongan. The reason I have relations in Paguyungan is that...³⁶⁰
- PANASAR: Oh! You were from Sakènan originally?³⁶¹
- VILLAGE ELDER: I used to be. The reason that there is a realm in Jimbaran stems from my inviting his Highness, Batu Putih, to rule in Jimbaran.³⁶²
- PANASAR: Oh! They you moved to Nusa?³⁶³
- VILLAGE ELDER: I came to stay in Nusa. That's the reason that my face is sunburned, I only had stones to fill my guts.^{364lviii}

³⁵⁷ The commentators remarked of this speech that much of this conversation was done off the top of the actors' heads (they used the Indonesian expression *di luar kapala*), as is most of the dialogue. The play was near its end and the actors were getting tired.

³⁵⁸ The village elder quite reasonably complains because the Panasar has just addressed him as '*cai*', the colloquial form for 'you', used between people who know one another well and inappropriate to use to someone you do not, or hardly, know. The Panasar has done so because he is fed up with the village elder nudging up to him the whole time.

³⁵⁹ The elder replies by giving his descent group and place of origin.

³⁶⁰ He gives a very full specification at this point of where he is originally from. It is the village of Pecatu, which, in case the Panasar does not know where it is, he adumbrates by referring to Pura Uluwatu, which is now designated as one of the six main temples, *ṣaḍkahyaṅan*, on the island. He completes his account by stating the administrative village (*perbekelan*) in which Pecatu is situated. Such specification is considered appropriate in order that the listener is able properly to fix the place. He appears to be about to give an account of the spread of the descent group (*lelintihan*) members when he breaks off (aposiopesis). Pecatu is at the southern tip of the island, beyond the airport at Tuban. Paguyungan is some way to the North, being north of Denpasar.

³⁶¹ Now obviously he is in Nusa Penida, because he is a village elder and servant of the court there. The Panasar refers to him here as 'Bapa', 'Father', which is a more appropriate mode of address to a man who is obviously of mature years.

³⁶² The commentators did not know the details, as it is the local history of Badung, but they presumed that some *Satriya* was invited by the local population to become their lord and ruler – a not entirely uncommon occurrence. His designation 'Batu Putih' is literally 'White Stone', behind which there is presumably again a story.

³⁶³ The question is not rhetorical, but implicitly asks why. The Panasar does not yet know of the village elder's background. Were he to he would just say 'right' (*patut*) or 'true' (*saja*).

³⁶⁴ Many people in Nusa Penida are indeed very dark because there is very little tree shade. Bali is the easternmost island of the Lesser Sundas to fall in tropical South East Asia, according to the Wallace Line. The islands further to the east have a more Australian climate and ecology, and Nusa Penida shares some of these features.

(The *klian* continues to edge the PANASAR around the floor until he is trapped in the corner of the stage.)

- PANASAR: Ah! Stay put, will you! Just keep still. You keep on doing that to me, you've got me in a corner.³⁶⁵ Enough of that. What really makes yer do this?
- VILLAGE ELDER: You're being familiar again.
- PANASAR: Oh! Hell! I forgot. It's because it's so seldom (we meet).
- VILLAGE ELDER: Don't you get it? The reason I was just like that is that the youth of today are different from youth in the past.
- PANASAR: Oh! Different now from in the past?
- VILLAGE ELDER: I'm getting on in age.
- PANASAR: How old are you?
- VILLAGE ELDER: Ninety.
- PANASAR: Wow!
- VILLAGE ELDER: Minus.
- PANASAR: What's the 'minus'?
- VILLAGE ELDER: Minus fifteen.³⁶⁶
- PANASAR: Oh, no!
- VILLAGE ELDER: But as for strength, I can still take you on.
- PANASAR: Ah. So you're still fit.
- VILLAGE ELDER: I'm still fit.
- PANASAR: Yes! This is how old people used to be, (when) the food was full of goodness. In the morning to the rice fields to hoe and eat all sorts of fresh leaves.³⁶⁷
- VILLAGE ELDER: Hah! Wasn't it delicious?
- PANASAR: We very rarely ate meat.
- VILLAGE ELDER: We very rarely ate meat, (we were like people) fasting. When I used to go off wandering, a shortage of food didn't matter.³⁶⁸

'To eat stones' is a well known expression which refers to trying to eke out a living on marginal land. Nusa Penida is very dry and stony. Similar expressions are used colloquially. As carving rambutan trees had become a major industry in Tengahpadang at the time of my last fieldwork, someone whose livelihood depended on this could say *maman tiang buluan dogèn*, 'I just eat rambutans'. We would say that such expression were metaphors, the commentators referred to it as *kasatmakaang*. As usual with expressions of this kind, they open up the possibility of *jejangkitan*. One may speak of eating stones and then cap it with *batun padi* or *batun kacang* 'the stones of padi' or 'the stones of beans', i.e. rice or beans.

³⁶⁵ The commentators were insistent that *wug* was 'in a corner', although it is usually 'wrecked, ruined'. In some contexts corners are considered bad places to be. Part of this seems to be similar to the English sense of 'being cornered', part according to Howe (1980: ?) is to do with the idea that any building is a field of flow and corners are points of stagnation. I found very muted agreement to this idea when I asked.

³⁶⁶ This game is often played by children of giving a figure with either 'minus' or 'plus' at the end. It is also used among government officials when talking among friends about salaries, e.g. I get Rp. 50,000 a month minus, minus Rp. 40,000!

³⁶⁷ It was common until some twenty years ago to collect fresh leaves and shoots from a range of edible plants which were often eaten raw. Government has stressed the importance of a healthy diet as part of its development programmes. The frequently heard slogan: Harus makan yang bergizi, 'You must eat what is nourishing' has been turned into a joke, when capped by '*yèn sing gisi karwan lakar ulung*', 'If you don't hold onto it, it will certainly fall'. This turns on a play of Indonesian *gizi* 'nourishment' and Balinese *gisi* 'to hold onto' something.

³⁶⁸ The purpose of this conversation is to explain to the young what life was like in the past (*ngèdèngang kawèntenan dumun*). One of the most striking features of working through the commentary was how often the commentators would return to the theme of the need to tell young people what life had been like, because nowadays so much was being

- PANASAR: Ah!
- VILLAGE ELDER: If I got to go travelling around villages, (although) there was little food (I was still happy).³⁶⁹
- PANASAR: What did you eat, vegetables? Was there much to eat?³⁷⁰
- VILLAGE ELDER: We were never short of rice or meat.³⁷¹
- 1550 PANASAR: How did you go short then?
- VILLAGE ELDER: Properly (we should have been fed) at nine o'clock, but it came at seven!³⁷²
- PANASAR: Ha!
- VILLAGE ELDER: Above all, what were we talking about?³⁷³
- PANASAR: Huh! What's that? What's that?
- VILLAGE ELDER: I was ordered (to present myself) by His Majesty.
- PANASAR: Ah yes.
- VILLAGE ELDER: It is Dukuh, of course, who underpin the work, that's our family's task. Now, about going to fulfil the vow...³⁷⁴
- PANASAR: Ah! What you say is most (appropriate).³⁷⁵
- VILLAGE ELDER: It's important His Majesty does not forget.
- PANASAR: Ah! About his earlier promise.³⁷⁶

forgotten or ignored with so many innovations. Instead people's expectations were becoming inflated (*mamurti kamomoan*). Among the most commonly mentioned subjects were growing ignorance of the Balinese language, sources of valuable nutrition and indigenous medicines. As the actors had mentioned food here, the commentators went on to consider why local government health centres (*Puskesmas, Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat*) rejected any use of Balinese medicine, instead of combining the two systems or using one or the other according to the nature of the illness. This led them to an interesting observation, namely that all mistakes are caused by humans (referring to what they viewed as mistreatment at the health centres).

³⁶⁹ This again struck a chord with the commentators, who remarked that this was true: they liked nothing better than travelling around, for instance, escorting a *barong* at the Balinese New Year festival of Galungan and forgot all about food when they did so.

³⁷⁰ The aim of this the exchange is to advise (*mituturin*) people to eat greens because people hve become fussy (*mumuk*, used especially of animals) about what they eat, in the sense of going for pleasant tasting items regardless of their nutritive value.

³⁷¹ The village elder had a covert aim in saying this. He was delivering an oblique criticism of (*ngawangsalang*) the quality of the food provided before the troupe danced that evening, by an unstated, but unfavourable, comparison (*saih*) to the harsh conditions of Nusa Penida. The commentators picked this up immediately, when there seemed nothing particularly amiss to me, except perhaps that suddenly there seemed to be enough food. That their reading was highly likely is borne out by the subsequent sentences, which they had not yet heard on playback. It does make the point, developed elsewhere, that there are serious limitations on Sperber and Wilson's (1986) attempt to derive an account of conversational implicature on propositional grounds. Like me they would have taken the statement at face value.

Actors apparently used to be much more forceful in delivering public *wangsalan*, not just at what they considered inadequate food, but even at such matters as inadequately modulated speech (*raos kirang*). In the past in particular, when one went to fetch a theatre troupe, let alone serving them food and showing them where to change, one was careful to delegate the task to someone whose command of High Balinese and skill in elegant and polite modulation of phrases would to avoid giving offence. Any sensed slights or inadequacies would otherwise be repaid by public humiliation when they performed.

³⁷² This is a reference to the food being presented late to the actors and also it would seem to them not being offered a fitting array of dishes. The times are reversed to avoid the criticism being too obvious (*mabuka*); like this it remains slightly oblique (*kaengkeb akidik*).

³⁷³ This signals that they are speaking seriously (*kaseken*) about the main plot again after ridiculing (*gagonjakan*) the organizers.

³⁷⁴ On *ngukuhin* 'to underpin, support', see above.

³⁷⁵ The Panasar is affirming that this is the key issue. I asked why they referred to the vow so often. The response was tht this was not entirely clear. They were certainly referring to it more often than the commentators would have expected. What seems to have been behind this is discussed immediately below.

- VILLAGE ELDER: (He had) exhausted the temples in Nusa,^{lix} including Sakènan, including Pulaki. He had prayed everywhere, as far as all the temples of the *Dang Kahyangan*.^{377lx}
- PANASAR: Aha!
- VILLAGE ELDER: All at once (he received a divine gift) close to his own palace at Pura Gua Lawah where he had asked for a wish to be granted. Now there is a son who one might say is now quite big. If you look for the equivalent in Balinese years, he is five years old. (*He starts once again to nudge up to the Panasar who backs off.*) Ha! Ha! Ha! I feel really glad that there is someone to succeed to the throne of Nusa in the future, that's how I feel.³⁷⁸
- PANASAR: It's bloody difficult talking to someone like this. He just doesn't know how to sit still.
- VILLAGE ELDER: My friend. Don't you know what it's like to be full of energy?
- PANASAR: Oh! That's because you have lots of energy, is it?
- VILLAGE ELDER: I might be old, but I'm (still) energetic like this.
- PANASAR: Don't put me on a par with you. I'm worn out.
- VILLAGE ELDER: That's true enough! Sit down then.
- PANASAR: And after that?
- VILLAGE ELDER: The High Priest has started performing the service; you (as a) servant, have you presented yourself there?³⁷⁹
- PANASAR: Oh! Has he mounted (his dais)?³⁸⁰
- VILLAGE ELDER: He has ascended into the *Balé Pawédan*.³⁸¹
- PANASAR: Ah!
- VILLAGE ELDER: Now I can only pray that everything (goes well), while they are performing the ceremony.³⁸²
- PANASAR: Yes.

³⁷⁶ The fact that the Panasar reiterates that the prince should not forget his promise suggests that what is being said is being used as a warning (*satmaka panglèmèk*).

³⁷⁷ This is the fourth reference in the play to the temples being finished, *telah pura* and, coming on top of the questions about why the fulfilment of the vow is so often repeated, it triggered a lengthy discussion, which is important in part as to whether this was a criticism of government. More significantly, it was indicative of one extreme in the sort of critical exchanges between the commentators and me.

³⁷⁸ The Javanese-Balinese calendar, which is used for most religious purposes, is 210 days long. So the child is therefore about three years old according to the Gregorian calendar. The phrase *yèn nyaihang* 'if you compare, if you look for an equivalent' was not strictly necessary and raises the question of whether this was a reference to the fact that the son of Cokorda Putera, who was paying for the play, was three years old.

³⁷⁹ The High Priest is an ordained *Brahmana*, a *Padanda*, who chants the invocations (*mawéda*) appropriate to the particular occasion. Normally this involves inviting the relevant deity to witness the specified offering to it.

³⁸⁰ The Panasar suddenly realizes how late it has become while chatting.

³⁸¹ Depending on whether the officiating priest is a *Padanda* or an ordinary temple priest, *Pamangku*, the pavilion from which they invoke the deities differs. Although it may vary a bit according to the temple layout, normally a *Padanda* is seated in the large, elevated *Paruman Agung*, while a *Pamangku* seats himself in the somewhat lower *Balé Peselang*.

³⁸² This statement touches on an important point, all too often overlooked in anthropological accounts. The term 'ritual', or 'rites' have come to have connotations of repetitive, 'expressive' or 'symbolic' acts upon the performance of which little actually depends, as again 'real', instrumental actions. Certainly for Bali this is a travesty of how Balinese view such matters. Far from being safe, expressive acts, rites of this, and indeed any, kind are fraught with risk that something might go wrong with potentially terrible consequences. Divinity, in whatever aspect, is not to be taken lightly. Burridge's argument that religion is about incompletely comprehended, and therefore highly dangerous, kinds of power seems to me to fit Balinese religion quite well (1971: 4-5). Vickers (1991) also makes a similar point about rites when he explores how the dangers of slaughtering a rhinoceros at the cremation of the king of Klungkung were represented in a Balinese text.

- VILLAGE ELDER: Now there's been an ordinance from the Department of Religious Affairs. You and I, (everyone in) the congregation, shouldn't wander around inside, or even outside, while the ceremony is taking place in the royal palace temple.³⁸³
- PANASAR: Oh!
- VILLAGE ELDER: Isn't that right?
- PANASAR: There have been guidelines (to that effect) from the organizers (of the ceremony).
- VILLAGE ELDER: Are there guidelines?
- PANASAR: There's an order that we should be ready to set to work hard.
- VILLAGE ELDER: What's more the whole of Nusa took an active part in the rite of *Pañca Wali Krama* for invisible beings, so all would be well.³⁸⁴
- PANASAR: Oh!
- VILLAGE ELDER: **Because** the date is approaching full moon (of the tenth month), it's time for (the rite of) *All the Gods Descend*, so that your thoughts feel good.³⁸⁵
- PANASAR: Oh yes!
- VILLAGE ELDER: That is why His Majesty is fulfilling his promise now. It's a suitable opportunity.³⁸⁶
- PANASAR: Oh! The High Priest has indeed mounted his dais.³⁸⁷
- VILLAGE ELDER: He has.
- PANASAR: Ooh!
- VILLAGE ELDER: That's why you should get going for the palace temple and go into – what's its name – the court.
- 1601 PANASAR: To witness the ceremony now.³⁸⁸
- VILLAGE ELDER: And put our hands together (in prayer).
- PANASAR: Yes!
- VILLAGE ELDER: **The path of devotion, the path of action.**³⁸⁹

³⁸³ The ordinance is designed to cut down gambling and other peripheral activities. It does not prevent serious participation, on the contrary. The village elder uses the Indonesian term umat here, because this is a provincial government instruction.

³⁸⁴ The aim of this statement is to make clear that, although Nusa Penida is off the coast of Bali, they participate fully in the religious activities on the mainland. On Panca Wali Krama see reference above. Here the commentators glossed *bebutan* as *sarwa samar* 'everything which is obscure (unclear)', a reference to the difficulty in knowing about being which are invisible. On *bhuta* see above.

³⁸⁵ The full moon of the tenth month of the Hindu-Balinese solar-lunar calendar is the date every ten years for *Batara Turun Kabèh* (see above) in Besakih. The expression *luwung keneh(é)* '(one's) thoughts feel good' is very widely used in all kinds of circumstances. It is often used of feeling good as a result of praying and taking part in religious activities. There are three words for 'thought' in Low Balinese (they are combined in High Balinese *pikayun*), which are used in slightly different ways. *Keneh* suggests thoughts linked with human desires and 'feelings'. So it neatly straddles the thought:feeling dichotomy which permeates so much European thinking. *Pemineh* suggests the process of ratiocination of what has been said or is going on and sometimes is close to 'opinion'. Finally *manah* may be used in place of either of the above, but also suggests 'reflection'; cf. Skt. **manas** and O.J. **manah** 'mind in widest sense as applied to all mental powers, spirit, mind, thought, heart, feelings', but also **manah-manahan** 'intention'.

³⁸⁶ The commentators were inclined to the view that it was more likely that Cokorda Putera (to whom this also refers) was doing so because it is the festival in Pura Duurbingin. The reference to it being the decennial festival in Besakih may have been out of politeness, because the child was three years old and temple festivals occur every seven months (i.e. every Javanese-Balinese year). To suggest that at least four such festivals had passed without Cokorda Putera redeeming his promise would imply his being dilatory.

³⁸⁷ The Panasar is stating what is the case (*ngaraosang sané wiakti*).

³⁸⁸ On the significance of witnessing, which is a crucial act in Bali, see Hobart 1991b: 107-14.

- PANASAR: Yes!
- VILLAGE ELDER: Come on, let's get to work.
- PANASAR: Let's go, hurry up.
- VILLAGE ELDER: But there is still this: should my friend or I have said anything which is overdone or which is inadequate.³⁹⁰
- PANASAR: That's so.
- VILLAGE ELDER: Don't take (what has been said) too harshly.
- PANASAR: Ah yes!
- VILLAGE ELDER: Above all, His Majesty, has made the gift (of this play) to complete the fulfilment of his vow to His Reverence in the temple of Dur Bingin.³⁹¹
- PANASAR: Above all the debt should not be listed in the beyond.
- VILLAGE ELDER: So that, if you stub your foot in the street tomorrow – Heavens! – (do not say) I wonder if (my offering) was inadequate. Do not wonder whether (too small a) religious ceremony is the cause (of the problem).³⁹²
- PANASAR: Let's go now.
- VILLAGE ELDER: Come on and arrange to tell the Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen (i.e. the audience, to prepare to worship). Come on, so we aren't late
- PANASAR: (*He sings part of a kakawin.*) **Oü . I offer homage to God and may it be witnessed by The Wise Ones in the Three Worlds.**³⁹³
- VILLAGE ELDER: It's (already) crowded inside the temple, very crowded.
- PANASAR: (*He continues the kakawin.*) **Outwardly and inwardly, your abject slave is faithful to (your Lordship) and there is nothing else.**³⁹⁴
- VILLAGE ELDER: Let us concentrate our thoughts on God, now that we can be said to be ...(finished).

³⁸⁹ According to the commentators **karmamārga** is the path to liberation through action (*antuk laksana*; **bhaktimārga** through the performance of rituals (*antuk yadnya*). So the composite of the two paths is giving combined with worship (*pangubakti kadulurang antuk yadnya*) (Check *pangubakti* here); because of the extent of God's grace (*pasuwécan Ida Batarā*) one has nothing more that one can offer than these two. (Check that fn. to Babnusa3.nte is fully included.) Also include references on the three paths, inc. **jñānamārga** in *Penuntun penjuluhan agama Hindu* p. 50-51; also *Pañcaçrada* p. 17-29; and *Upadeça* p. 35-39.

³⁹⁰ This is the start of the closing *pangaksama*, the apology for mistakes of omission or commission. Although this is notionally part of the plot, it is mainly addressed to the audience. They do not depart immediately because there remains matters properly to be clarified.

³⁹¹ It is the troupe who are the means to the fulfilment of the promise.

³⁹² Stubbing one's foot is often taken as a sign that one has been *kaélingang*, been reminded by unseen powers, of something one has omitted to do – here to fulfil the vow. His purpose in saying this is to make it public before witnesses, both human and divine that they have both danced there and that they have been asked to dance in completion of the vow. This is the formal act of public confirmation of the payment of what is due (*nyekenang indik ngaturang sesangi punika*). Draw a parallel to what is said at the start of *ngawacèn Babad Dalem Sukawati*.

³⁹³ There was a difference in Déwa Madé Sayang's rendition of this and the commentators'. As he spoke the words, I have used his version in the translation. The two sources agree up to **tiḡhalana dé Trilokaśaraṇa** which the commentators said they could only guess at and took this as 'from my condition in the three worlds' (namely **swargaloka** 'heaven' (**burbuah, suah**, the place of souls; **mērcapada** 'the world of men, earth'; and **kawah** 'hell'). They took this to be wherever I and my relatives are, which embraces the after-world. Déwa Madé Sayang took **dé Trilokaśaraṇa** to be 'by the Supreme Being' (*Sang Ngawisésané*) in the three worlds, namely Divinity.

³⁹⁴ The version of Déwa Madé Sayang and the commentators coincided here. **Wāhya (a)dhyātmika** was rendered by both as *sakala, niskala*, visibly and invisibly (non-manifestly). The commentators first suggested that **tanana waneh** referred to having no other master. They subsequently agreed with Wy. Arka, who said that it was 'there is no other, there is nothing else' in the sense that I have no other hidden feeling which I am not showing, my inside hides nothing not shown by my exterior.

- PANASAR: In the visible and invisible worlds I offer my homage, I hope that the redemption has been witnessed by our Lord (and by God).³⁹⁵
- VILLAGE ELDER: Yes.
- PANASAR: Because it is appropriate according to the promise.³⁹⁶
- VILLAGE ELDER: **The Three Who Act as Witnesses.**³⁹⁷
- PANASAR: Ah! The witness of fire.
- VILLAGE ELDER: The sun is **like** a great light (which illuminates the world).
- PANASAR: That's so!
- VILLAGE ELDER: Humans are witnesses in the form of society.
- PANASAR: Correct.
- VILLAGE ELDER: Demons witness the occasion (of the payment).
- PANASAR: It's so.
- VILLAGE ELDER: In that case, let's go.
- 1638 PANASAR: Indeed! That is all. For any omissions and commissions, we beg your forgiveness.³⁹⁸

³⁹⁵ Here the Panasar is paraphrasing the *kawi* in Balinese and also confirming (*nyekenang*) that the act has been fully witnessed both by those in this world and those beyond it.

³⁹⁶ This is the completion of the formal statement to indicate that the terms have been met in full. The commentators noted that Cokorda Putra must have given them details of the full terms of his vow. So the actors included this in order to ensure publicly that the terms had indeed been met. Were either party to have failed to spell this out, the whole act would have been in vain (*gabeng* 'empty, fruitless'). The commentators were also seriously worried about why the term *nyaksinin* 'to see, to witness' has been used, to whom it referred and where (i.e. in this world or beyond). They concluded that it must be Divinity who witnesses the fulfilment of the promise and the audience who confirm (*nyekenang*) in this world that it has been carried out. One might note the theme of the joint but hierarchical participation of two quite dissimilar kinds of witness.

³⁹⁷ The commentators found themselves in disagreement with the list produced by the village elder as to who the three kinds of witnesses were. Anak Agung Pekak said: '*yèning ngarereh ring sakala: pangayah, prajuru, pangogong (mangku). Ring niskala: geni, toya, kukus (andus)*, 'If one looks for them in the visible world, they are: the work force, the leaders and the priests. In the immaterial world, they are fire, water and smoke (or air).' On the last three cf. **pañcamahābhūta** see above. According to Déwa Madé Sayang, which version of the **Tri Pinaka Sākṣi** depends on whom is speaking. There are different views of the matter. He agreed with the commentators on the two well know versions and says he doesn't know where the actor who was playing the *klian* obtained his version. On **triupasākṣi** see *Tentang adat Bali* p. 117-20, also the section on who may and may not be a witness p. 103-6.

³⁹⁸ This is the second, and more formal *pangaksama*. To be complete the first part should be '*Wantah amunika ti(ti)ang nyidayang ngaturang ayah*', 'that it all that I am able to offer by way of service'.

ⁱ **General note on the commentaries**

The way in which the two commentaries with villagers worked out is discussed in detail elsewhere. Briefly the first, on the days immediately succeeding the performance, were with me in the role of listener and learner, as I struggled to cope with the nuances and jokes which I had completely missed during the cut and thrust of the performance itself. The commentators at times agreed, at times differed, over the significance they attributed to what was said. Their commentary, as well as disagreements and my questions and confusions, were recorded on six ninety minute tapes (so some nine hours of commentary). After the dialogue of the play had been typed up and when we found time two years later, having checked my notes and translated words I did not know, I worked through the play again with largely the same group of commentators. Passages where they felt that they could not be sure of the reference, such as which temples constituted the **Ṣaḍkahyaṅan** or the Sanskritized formulations of the Parisada Hindu Dharma (see below), about which most villagers say that they know little, were referred to the sub-district official representing the Ministry of Religious Affairs, Wayan Sadiya. To counterbalance this fairly 'official' reading, I Wayan Arka, the acknowledged expert in *kawi* (Old and Middle Javanese) in Tengahpadang, with whom I often worked, was asked what he made of the same sections and sentences or phrases in Old Javanese about which the commentators felt uncertain.

There were a small number of words on the tape which were unclear, almost all the songs of Sri Aji Palaka, because the orchestra had come in too loudly and drowned out his voice. I had two meetings with Ni Murdi who played Sri Aji Palaka and to whom I gave a copy of the tape and a printed transcript. After checking on the words which were hard to make out, we discussed her views on the performance in some detail. She was uncertain about some of the references made by the Panasar and Wijil. So I had a long discussion with Déwa Madé Sayang, who played the Panasar. I Ktut Sutatemaja accompanied me to all the meetings with the performers. At the end of the session with Déwa Madé Sayang, he asked me whether I felt that there were significant differences between what they had said about the play and what the actors said. I replied that clearly the actors knew more about the specialized references and could throw additional light on particular points, but there was substantial overlap in the kind of approach to interpreting what went on, especially with the views of Anak Agung Pekak and Ktut Sutatemaja, who had both been actors themselves. Details of the differences are discussed in the chapter on commentary. In the footnotes and commentary to this play, the views expressed are those worked out in the discussion between the four to six villagers who regularly participated and myself. Where someone else's view is included, I indicate whose it is. Where a view is my own and not shared by the commentators, that is also indicated. There is one major such difference, which is discussed in detail under note 58.

ⁱⁱ For book outline what Balinese understand by *kawi*.

ⁱⁱⁱ The song was paraphrased (*kaartiang* in the summer of 1991 as follows by Wayan Arka, with explication by Anak Agung Pekak and Ktut Sutatemaja in brackets.) 'His expression is soft (calm, handsome and with authority, *wibawa*) when he comes out (from his sleeping pavilion). (Whatever the state of affairs beforehand, it is as if the reflection of his radiance), caused dark clouds to vanish (from over the palace) so that it became clear (as if he had caused the transformation). (In those who saw him) he inspired a feeling of devotion, *bakti, tresna*). May I be bounded (by his protection, and so feel secure). May I live to a ripe old age (because I am so happy; were I sad I would wish for a speedy death). The holy water (the source of goodness) seems so far away, it might as well be in Batawi (Batavia, now Jakarta. I would be hard pressed to find something as good as this, the more so because I am a mere mortal who still shits). I feel hopelessly inadequate (and confused) at the prospect of his grace (shall my desires be fulfilled or not? Could I be as handsome as he?'). In 1992, after discussion of difficult words with Ben Arps, I asked Wy. Arka again, who commented on the difficult words, as given in the footnotes to the original text. The result looks very like a song to be sung by a woman to the object of her passion. Both Wy. Arka and Ktut Sutatemaja felt however that it was entirely appropriate to be sung by a male to his lord.

^{iv} This exculpation *pangaksaman* (O.J. *kṣama* patience, forgiveness) is the proper opening of many public activities, such as a theatre play, reading a text or above all making offerings. The performer begs forgiveness in anticipation for any excess or shortcoming. There is no single term for this opening section. It was sometimes assimilated to the **pangakṣama** by villagers, but was perhaps more often designated as a *panglengkara*, a sort of 'narrative introduction' (Zurbuchen 1987: 160; *lengkara* is the word used to gloss a 'sentence', a complete part of an utterance; *ngalengkara* is to explain something using carefully articulated speech; cf. O.J. **alēṅgkara** 'ornaments of style, artistic language' and **aṅlēṅgkara** 'to provide with an artistic form, depict').

^v The Panasar refers to the spectators first as a 'family' (*semeton*) in Balinese and then links both actors and audience as a 'religious community' (*Umat*, a term of Arabic origin) and as a family again, using the Indonesian terms. In so doing he structures a Balinese event in terms of broader contemporary national categories, notably those to do with religion. Balinese are sensitive about the long-contested issue of the recognition of their religion, often described as Hindu-Buddhism, in a predominantly Muslim country. The commentators felt that he was making the point that their religion

was on a par with all others. Perhaps more important, in the opening section part of the Panasar's task is to set out to define what kind of occasion it is, for what purpose and what are the limits of its scope and relevance.

^{vi} The Panasar, whose home village is some eight kilometres away, knows that the temple has a very famous and powerful (*sakti*) pair of *barong landung*, effigies of a giant male and female, well over two metres tall, each carried on the shoulders of a member of the accompanying voluntary association. The carrier also dances and sings songs which are usually obscene when they stop. It is very heavy work and can only be done for about half an hour at a time by any one person. He is making a reference to the fact that nowadays people are too busy making profits to ensure that *barongs malancaran*. EXPAND. This section starts a sustained *panglèmèk*. DISCUSS.

Refer to the often expressed concern of the older villagers in particular at the decline in the performing arts especially under the impact of tourism. Also ref. to television and to the effects of tourism on the material arts of Bali.

^{vii} This is praise (*ngajum*) of the spectators. If you were gamblers or such like you wouldn't. Add note about the interests of *bebotoh* at performances, i.e. it makes money. Here there is indirect praise for Cokorda Putera, the sponsor of the performance.

^{viii} The commentators reckon the Panasar is making a retrospective reference to the *unèn-unèn* and to being *Umat* Hindu. Apart from directly praising the audience, he is also making a contrast between the supposed continuing diligence of the more rural villagers with the increasingly dilatory attitude of townspeople and others in the areas affected by tourism and development, who are often considered to be too busy making money to wish to take the time off for their religious obligations. The Panasar is from the nearby village of Payangan and knows that the people of Tengahpadang are still, by comparison, fairly active in such matters. Whether this is straight flattery of the audience or is more was a point about which the commentators were divided.

^{ix} *Prèt sinunggèk, walang kèkèk angeteplèk,
Teka ia I Kadèk negakin sapèda simplèk,
Terus ngamaling bèbèk, laut ia maktètèk slekèk-slekèk.*

The song might be called an exercise in parechesis. *Prèt* is the Balinese onomatopoeic sound of a fart. *Sinunggèk* according to the commentators is simply an embellishment to carry on the sound of farting. *Walang kèkèk* is a kind of large green cricket, the species of which I have not yet been able to identify. *Angeteplèk* is probably a variation on *maketeplèk* 'to fall' with the Old Javanese verb prefix 'ang'. *I Kadèk* is an appellation sometimes instead of *Madé* for the second-born child, Balinese making much use of such birth-order names, or fratonyms. *Simplèk* is the brand name of what used to be the best make of bicycle in Bali. *Bèbèk* is the common term for duck. *Maktètèk* is to be bound in iron chains, *klètèk* being an iron bar with chains attached, used among other things for managing ferocious dogs. The term is well known because of a popular *bladbadan* '*macanglong cicing*, to be completely unconscious or unaware'. Literally it is 'a dog's pipe' i.e. a *klètèk* 'a bar to keep dangerous dog at a distance', which sounds like *nyalekètèk* 'to be completely unconscious'. *Slekèk-slekèk* is the choking sound made by person close to death. Although it is a nonsense rhyme, it is interesting that the song begins and ends with the sound of bodily exhalations.

^x His name, in effect a title, is *Ida Batara Ida Déwagung*. Both *Batara* and, slightly less elevatedly, *Déwa*, are the words for 'god', so the designation has the flavour of 'his Divine Majesty'. *Sugra, tabé pakulun*, the last two words are an exculpation, almost a mantra, to indicate that the speaker does not intend to be *tulah* (improperly bold, out of order) in mentioning the name. Beg permission. [Outline of Balinese ideas about naming.] Also note on *mabisèka* and the title of Cokorda/Cokor I Déwa. Also Déwa Sayang's account of the etymology of Sri Aji Palaka's name.

^{xi} This is when the Panasar calls Wijil. First several times he rattles off Wijil's birth-order name, Ketut (fourth-born), then more emphatically – and less politely – his personal name, and finally, rather comically, specifies it still further as 'your elder brother's younger brother', the comic effect being enhanced by 'younger brother' being in High Balinese and rather inappropriate. The series is of ever tighter specification. Wijil specifies which of all the possible *Ketuts*, then his own younger brother to remove any possible doubt as to who is being called. The commentators said there were two reasons involved: first so that the reference would be unambiguous (*seken*); second so his utterance would be *magenep* (ref. to *magenep*). The actors had been made to wait over-long before they performed and it is possible that Déwa Madé Sayang was indicating his irritation at his fellow actor for taking time to respond to the call to come on stage. It is also possible that this was simply a comic elaboration.

^{xii} Discuss the notions of (*ka*)*wibawa(an)* and (*ka*)*sakti(an)* and the link to *bawa* and *melik*. Side with Koentjaraningrat (1980: 133) versus Anderson (1972), Geertz (1973b, 1980). Indicate why 'mystical power', 'magical power', 'being a witch' are not desirable glosses.

^{xiii} Of this sentence the commentators remarked '*Puniki raos asiki, tetujon kakalih. Puniki mabatis bèbèk*. This is one utterance (speech), two purposes (directions). This is "duck's footing". It is interesting that they do not find it necessary to invoke the notion of 'meaning' (*arti* q.v.) as such at all here. The reference to 'duck's footing' is a *bladbadan* (q.v.). A duck's foot is wet and makes the earth under it sticky, *gèmpèl*. A second sense of *gèmpèl* (sometimes derived from a different use of the duck's webbed foot image, namely of covering a lot of ground at one

go) is refer ambiguously to something, *ngèmpèlin*. Discuss uses of *arti* in the actual text. [babnusa1.txt l 108, where it can be glossed as paraphrase, stands for; l 312 & 314; babnusa2. l 625 & 627, 723, 745, babnusa3.txt 466, 472.]

^{xiv} Refer in book to *wewangsalan* and *ngawangsitin*.

^{xv} Discuss the senses of *sakala* and *niskala* in Bali (Hobart 1985b, Wiener 1995). Also note that the order begins with the inferior item and proceeds to the superior.

^{xvi} 'Sign' here is *ciri*. Unlike the English, Balinese has a range of words for different relationships which English commonly distinguishes only between sign and symbol. *Ciri* is one of a number of terms for signification, used in a varyingly precise manner. It comes close to the term '*signifiant*' in Saussurean semiology, as it normally has a fixed referent, or *signifié*. cf. O.J. **ciri** 'sign, distinctive mark, evidence'. It is used in a weaker sense than *cihna* which tends to be closer to visible evidence which is proof of something, and so *nyihnyayang* 'to indicate demonstrate, prove'. cf. O.J. & Skt. 'mark, spot, sign, characteristic symptom' O.J. 'proof'. For more information on Balinese ideas of signification and interpretation, see Hobart, M. 1999.

^{xvii} Usually when young men meet young women are tongue-tied and embarrassed, *kimud*. Previously one would avoid girl/boy whom one fancied, by stepping off the path, to take a circuitous route, nowadays not of course. Discuss the use of *ngawangsitin* and other methods of *ngalemesin*; and give examples of songs.

^{xviii} The use of the term **Nyakra Werdi** 'world-ruling' for the princeling of Nusa Penida raises interesting and important problems. It is after all a small island of some thirty villages or so off the coast of Bali, which is itself a small, if densely settled, island. One reason, of course, is that the actors are simply praising (*ngajumin*) the prince and the expression is a peculiarly theatrical one, which is not usual in addressing royalty. It would be a mistake however to treat theatre as a genre quite distinct from those used in everyday life. Theatre, as noted, is considered by Balinese to involve *re-enacting, recreating or making manifest* a past which is no longer available except in its traces.

The imagery of the world-ruler cannot however, I think, be dismissed so easily. Nor am I comfortable with the popular academic model which treats a spatial model of centre and periphery as the central metaphor of Balinese politics. The whole problem is made the harder by the fact that our accounts of pre-conquest politics are highly selective and affected by prevailing, if changing, western images, which were more agentive than is often allowed, in that they were part of the question of what Europeans, especially the Dutch, were to *do* with Bali (see Vickers 1989). My point in this book though is that there are serious problems with trying to 'filter bias' (note the metaphor) out of earlier representations to arrive at the truth of the traditional Balinese state. I am interested rather in how theatre, among other genres, represents this past, and as what, to contemporary Balinese audiences and under what circumstances.

We have seen how some of the audience at least drew parallels between the prince of Nusa Penida and the President of Indonesia. The effect is not just to praise the present head of state through noting how the good government of the former resembled the latter. The identification serves to set up criteria by which to judge what is good and bad government, and what part the populace should properly play in a successful polity. By linking the present Indonesian government and its officials, whether national or local, with Balinese princes, the actors and spectators are invoking a long-running discourse on the religious, moral and pragmatic nature of authority (e.g. Worsley 1972: 37-82). From an observer's point of view, Bali may have been peripheral to the more powerful dynasties of Java, and these in turn to the totalizing politics of the Indian sub-continent (and, later, Near Eastern Islamic ones) and may now be just one small province in the nation state of Indonesia. As represented by the cast of the present play and as understood by some of the audience however, Bali participates in the world of Hindu politics and political discourse on however local a scale. An obvious point is that this participation sets them apart from their Muslim neighbours and provides them with distinctive criteria for evaluating and criticizing government.

^{xix} It will be evident that on several occasions the actors stress that the act of performing in the village has created a tie between them and the audience. This is often expressed here using the imagery of family. In fact, among more educated circles when one has a large number of guests at a function, it is now quite common to use the English (*family*), especially among high castes where the Balinese *semeton* may connote a little too much actual kin relations. A few lines later the Panasar uses the term *nyama*, which may connote both agnatic and affinal ties. Coupled with *braya*, it suggests kith and kin (for details of its use, see Hobart 1991a: 40-43). Balinese lay great stress on what degree and kind of relationship one has with someone and what one can ask or expect accordingly. Such relationships are built up of past acts. The point here is that the act of dancing establishes a degree of relationship with the audience. This is not simply a polite formula, as I discovered when I went to see the actors. We had a relationship by virtue of my being in the audience when they performed.

^{xx} At several points in the play, the actors use the expression *madan* (low Balinese) or *mawasta* (middle to high Balinese), which is literally 'is called, is named'. It is used, for instance, by Wijil in stating what is needed in religion. Sometimes this is simply to indicate the name that follows, as when he says: 'which we call ...'. More often, as when the Panasar says '*Sakanan ané madan tenget*', or Wijil in the speech just noted says '*ada ané madan buin abesik*'. In both cases this was glossed for me as 'thought to be', so the two phrases read 'everywhere he thought there might be

powerful deities' and 'there is thought to be something else'. As far as I can judge *madan/mawasta* in the sense of 'thought' tends to be used in fairly formal speech when one is qualifying how a phrase should be understood by listeners. There is an interesting connection between naming and thought (see Hobart 1991b). In lengthy discussions with Balinese about the nature of naming, they stressed that everything which had a name should exist (materially or non-materially). So naming something indicated that the thing named was thought to exist, by the speaker at least. I am not sure however that this exhausts the significance of *madan/mawasta* as 'thought to be'.

^{xxi} The sense of *arti* (and its Sanskrit root **artha**) is taken up in detail later. It is often glossed as 'significance', 'notion', 'sense, meaning', but also 'comprehension' (e.g. Gonda 1973: 109, 114, 481, 624). The range of senses of **artha** is significant. Zoetmulder notes that it is used with its Sanskrit senses of 'aim, purpose; advantage, utility; object of the senses; substance, wealth, money; sense, meaning', but significantly in Old Javanese derivatives **maṅartha** is 'to explain the meaning, interpret', **pinarṅarthakēn** 'to ask for an explanation for someone'. The closely related term **arṅhi** is given as 'meaning, explanation', and **aṅarṅhi** as 'to explain' (Zoetmulder 1982: 130-31). From a consideration of the Sanskrit and Old Javanese usage, it should be evident that **artha**, besides connoting 'wealth' or 'meaning', suggests 'aim, purpose, intention, object, use', but also 'facts, real state of affairs'.

(Among the compounds which illustrate the range of senses are: **indriyārṅtha** 'the *object* of the senses', **jayārṅtha** 'having victory as one's *object*', **kṛṅtārṅtha** 'one who has accomplished one's *end*', **nirarṅtha** 'useless', **padārṅtha** 'meaning, explanation, content', **paramārṅtha** 'the whole *truth*, the highest truth, the highest *reality*, the highest *good*...in reality', **daśaparamārṅtha** 'the ten highest forms of *good conduct*', **parikṅsarṅtha** 'with the *intention* to examine', **sārṅtha** 'according to the *facts*', **śubhārṅtha** 'good or virtuous *action as one's aim*', **yathārṅtha** 'according with *reality, the real state of affairs, the truth concerning*' (from Zoetmulder 1982, my emphases).

The relevance of this longish discussion of the Old Javanese is that, on my reading, similar overtones are discernible in Balinese uses of *arti*. (The other sense, wealth, is *arta*, so quite distinct.) It is not a static, or necessarily abstract, notion. At times, as is evident from the commentary, it is used sometimes in the loose sense which the English 'meaning' tends to have these days. On close examination of the tapes however, I was horrified to see that it tended to be I who introduced the term, and it was then picked up and reiterated by the Balinese present. They rarely used the term without my initiation, and made use of other expressions which do not connote meaning as such. *Arti* links neatly with the most used word, *tetujon*, 'aim, purpose, direction' and so 'intended goal of one's action'. So *arti* suggests meaning in the sense of 'the purpose in saying something', 'the actual state of affairs to which a word refers', 'intended reference', or simply 'what a word or sentence refers to'. It is interesting how often the verb form in Balinese, *ngartiang*, can appropriately be glossed as 'paraphrase', 'explain' (perhaps better 'explicate') or even 'elaborate on'. In many situations, it suggests putting a statement in its relevant context. In dictionaries *ngartiang* is usually given as 'translate', but this suggests a more static 'carrying across' of some essence, or the identification of real correspondences, than the uses of the term in Balinese suggest. One can *ngartiang* something from low Balinese to low Balinese, or high Balinese to high Balinese, let alone low to high and *vice versa*. It is a far broader process than 'translating'.

It is standard in theatre for the servants to *ngartiang* what their masters say, especially when, in the more 'classical' genres, the latter speak in *kawi*. To take the first example in the play (*ngartiang*), Wijil does not refer at all to Sri Aji Palaka's words, but actually gives the background to them. He refers in effect to the actual state of affairs in two senses: the performing of the play and the discourse within the play. First he explains the circumstances behind Sri Aji Palaka's statement. (Although the play is taking place late at night, it is an appropriate occasion to speak of religion.) Second he fills in the discursive context to what Sri Aji Palaka says about keeping up contributions to religious ceremonies. (To understand why Sri Aji Palaka starts like this, it is necessary to realize that life is based on religion.)

^{xxii} The repeated references in this play to problems of organization and management are interesting, because these are not themes which appear much in western writings about Bali. Balinese are represented in the academic and travel literature on the island in all sorts of ways, which tend to say as much or more about the writers than they do about the Balinese. Sometimes the impetus seems to be primarily concerned with ways of representing an 'Other' to contrast with, and against which to define, the writer's representation of his or her own society (Inden 1990; Vickers 1989; Hobart 1990). Sometimes the ostensible subject is to explore the way in which cultural differences lead to people seeing their lived-in worlds in different ways. Often such accounts involve presuppositions about human nature; and Balinese have been represented as being several quite different kinds of beings (Hobart 1986). More often than is generally allowed, such representations are agentive and have to do with a political agenda, which is rarely discussed publicly.

Perhaps the best known recent representation of the Balinese is Clifford Geertz's vision of them as constituted by their symbolic structures, which are often acted out dramaturgically. Description of the symbols is held to be sufficient to explain the nature of the society and action (e.g. 1966a, 1966b, 1973a, 1973b, 1980). The problem of executive rule

and administration is thereby reduced to the problem of 'stage-managing' public spectacles (1973b: 335; 1980: 13). Interestingly, such accounts at best flirt with images drawn from Balinese religious practice (e.g. Geertz 1980: 98-109). Western writers seem curiously loth to take seriously the commonly expressed Balinese view that religion is constitutive, directly or indirectly, of much of their lives. Part of the difficulty, I suspect, is that in a broad sense the authors come from what are effectively secular societies, in which religion is a specialized and largely compartmentalized institution. A second difficulty is that we know relatively little about Balinese religious practices, which are very complicated and very little studied, not least because one needs a command of languages and knowledge of what is going on on the ground, which defies almost all scholars. So scholars have turned their attention to historical texts, which being far fewer and, by definition, about the past are less likely to be contraverted by evidence.

What is striking in the present play is the stress placed upon religious observances and in particular on issues of organization. This is hardly surprising granted the frequency of temple festivals. As each settlement (*désa*) has several temples, most following the Javanese-Balinese calendar of 210 days and requiring up to at least a hundred thousand man-hours for their completion, the logistics and organizational demands of temple festivals on villagers alone are prodigious. This is quite apart from royal ceremonies and the whole business of ruling local polities (a task which has changed greatly, but not altogether vanished, in the post-colonial period). Another theme, which emerges less obviously in the play, is the Balinese interest in technique and technology, whether of the details of performance of rites, in agriculture (especially perhaps irrigation), in sculpture and indeed in the use of speech in theatre. If we must have stereotypes of societies, then there is a good case for representing Balinese as concerned with organization and technology. This is not because I place any faith in such broad depictions, which are inevitably ethnocentric, but simply to put a spanner in the works of the Bali-as-essentially-symbolic school.

[Paragraphs outlining some of the issues of management and organization in Balinese polities. Stress the extent to which our present attempt to resolve all organization through a management idiom, we tend to forget the overarching dialectic about the nature of value and rethinking things in a scale of forms in favour of a quantifiable accountancy vision of the future, which is by definition, like manpower planning but worse, pre-out of date. Note that a key element is deciding what sort of event is to take place, what are the limits of the consequences of the actions etc. just as occurs in the opening *pangaksama*. Note the link with Peirce's 3rds, which deal with the framing of relationships.]

More specifically, the commentators told me that it was very appropriate that the actors should discuss the whole problem of organization. They pointed out that the term *pikamkam*, which is rather elegant and used mostly these days in theatre, refers not just to overall planning, but to organizing the proper execution of work (*karya*). The sentence in the play is in praise of the king's ability to think of everything that is necessary, not just the original conception and planning, but of ensuring that the plan is properly and fully carried out (they return to this theme at length towards the end of the play). In the ensuing discussion the commentators wrestled with the relationship of several terms to do with organization. They distinguished them as follows:

- Ngadegin* This is the task of a king, prince or very senior figure. It is taking overall responsibility for the entire execution of some major work and being the aegis under which the work is undertaken. It is therefore not managerial but constitutes the conditions for the realization of some enterprise. There is a link to the idea of 'witnessing'. No major undertaking can occur without a senior or royal person being present. As I have argued elsewhere, the witness may be regarded as the agent of what happens and those who carry out the work his or her instruments (1991b: 107-14). *Ngadegin* also connotes to command (*magambel*) something and is often used with special reference to rites. *Adeg* in verb form connotes 'to stand, exist, establish', cf. O.J. *adëg* 'standing erect, being in function, reigning, being established'.
- Mapaitungan* Discussing the case for and against embarking on some undertaking, including questions of who is in favour, its advisability, as well as the main details of planning as to whom will be in principle responsible for what. The word is also used for deliberation, as when the Panasar and Wijil talk over things before waiting at court.
- Mapidabdab* The activity of more detailed planning of schedules, division of labour etc. The high Balinese is *pikamkam*, but the latter is not used now much in daily life.
- Niwakang* To give instructions to the personnel concerned about what is to be done after proper discussion of the organization of work. Also
- Mawarah-warrah* (cf. O.J. *awarah-warrah* 'tell, report, teach, instruct').
- Madabdabang* Organizing the actual execution of work on a day to day basis.
- Ngawasin* Supervising or over-viewing work. For example during temple festivals, it is the *klian dinas*, the government-recognized ward head who does this. By contrast, the head of the ward as a religious group, the *klian désa* is said to *ngétangang* the work (*karya*).

Ngétangang Being in charge, being responsible for the organization and running of some public activity.

An important quality in a successful organizer in Bali, as the play goes on to note, is *panglokika* (cf. Skt **laukika** & O.J. **lokika** 'worldly, belonging to ordinary life; ordinary men (opposed to the learned or initiated), the customary forms, how to behave, etiquette'). A more elegant term is *pangunadika* (or *pangunakika*, cf. O.J. **ūnādhika** 'the pros and cons (of an action), what to do or what not to do') used by those who study *kawi* or belong to groups which read texts *mabasaan*. The term used in the play is **śikṣa** or **ikṣa** - the terms were used interchangeably – which everyone glossed as some version of *panglokika* or *pangunadika* (O.J. **śikṣa** is 'learning; skill; instruction'). Its primary connotation for villagers is being thoughtful about the future and about others. To invite people to work on one's rice fields and not give them food and drink for hours is not to have *panglokika*. If leaders are, or have, *panglokika*, they fit the tasks to the people according to what they are good at and enjoy. One needs to know the situation very well to have real *panglokika*. Ktut Sutatemaja came up with a charming illustration. If he were to organize the work of people in another ward and therefore did not know the people, simply by an arbitrary division of labour, he might well tell Anak Agung Pekak (who is partly blind and in his mid-eighties) to climb a coconut tree to get leaves for offerings! That would be the absence of *panglokika*. Déwa Madé Sayang added that (**ś**)**ikṣa** was linked to *rasa*, which, as he explained it, suggested a feeling or sensitivity to how things really were. *Rasa* is an exceptionally tricky term which has a wide range of references and connotations in Balinese and Indonesian, as indeed it is in India, where it is sometimes presented as a general theory of the senses. In O.J. among its many senses are 'feeling, opinion, intention', 'how something is, (real) disposition or condition'. Wayan Arka added to these that it suggested the need to examine a situation carefully, and to be clear as to all aspects of something, before taking action.

^{xxiii} The passage is not easy to put into words even if the sense is fairly clear, because *rena* and *asung* have differing senses in Old Javanese and in Balinese. The commentators and the actors consulted came up with the interpretation above. The former put the emphasis on human happiness (*rena* being due entirely to the graciousness (*asung* 'sincerity') of Ida Sang Hyang Widi, for which one is forever in debt. But they also linked *asung* to human feelings of sincere gratitude (**rēna**) for God's gifts (**asun** 'to give') to Its subjects. The apparent double-reference of **rēna** and **asun** is less puzzling than might seem. Several times during the commentary, it was pointed out to me that if one does not feel happy, one is hardly likely to feel grateful and so aware of having any debt to someone; and that equally if nobody gives one anything, one has no reason to have sincere or genuine appreciative feelings towards that person. This became clear while discussing the related notions of *pangubakti* and *subakti*, the former being the feeling of devotion to God, the latter to the ruler or king (cf. O.J. **Paṇabhakti** 'to honour, revere, worship, pay homage, serve faithfully'; **subhakti** Skt. 'with great devotion [loyalty, reverence, love]). Characteristically one only has such feelings if one feels one has received favours or had one's wishes granted. If one does not, one feels nothing. As they put it: 'what is there to feel devotion or gratitude about?' The more general point is that it is the result of actions which count.

There has been some discussion about words to do with affection, loyalty and love. {Develop my argument with Boon on the uses of terms for love in Balinese, including Vickers's dismissal of Boon (2005). On Boon's use of the Indonesian word *cinta* when talking about Balinese cultural representations of love, one might note that the term is taken from the Sanskrit, where it connotes 'thought, care, anxiety', as do its compounds in Old Javanese. The connections with romantic love should be evident, but etymologically it does not isolate some essential state of romantic passion.

As should be clear from the play, it is not just *tresna*, but also *asih* (see discussion of *asih* below) and even *semara* (**smara**, see **smara** below), which was explicated as 'loyalty' or the affection of loyal subjects, by both commentators and actors.

Slightly later the *Liku*, the mad princess, is referred to as *linglung* 'besotted', because of her exaggerated way of speaking to her husband, which is treated by the servants as a potentially dangerous obsession, which can lead to insanity. *Linglung* is typified by forgetting oneself and behaving inappropriately. Such single-minded passion is far from uncommon and, from what Balinese who admit to having experienced it told me, it has very strong overtones of sexuality (which may well be spoken of elegantly as *semara*), in that when one has slept with the object of passion, the feeling tends to fade. One might note that Balinese use the expression *buduh* 'mad' to refer to any overwhelming passion from food to gambling. It always has connotations of excess, *bes*, which is always dangerous because one is unbalanced and in the grip of passions (*indriya*, by extension from its sense in Sanskrit and Old Javanese of 'organ of perception and action, faculty of sense, the senses'). Part of the problem is that when one is *bes*, one is unable to realize what one is doing and unable to talk about it.

By contrast the formula used later by Luh Wedani to characterize her marriage to the prince states how a good relationship should be between two people. *Saling asah saling asih saling asuh* may well be between marital partners (sometimes the last phrase is omitted), but Anak Agung Pekak and Ktut Sutatemaja used it, for instance, to describe their relationship and I have heard it used on several occasions of close friends. *Saling* here is 'mutual', the three kinds

of mutuality then being listed. *Asah* is 'level, equal, flat, similar in status' (cf. O.J. **asah** as a root is found in verbs to do with 'file, grind, scour') used to indicate that two peoples' thoughts concur in direction.

Asih is often glossed as 'love', but more still than **smara** is used both of the affection of a married couple for one another and the proper feeling of a servant or subject towards their master, with connotations of loyalty. It is used in this sense in the Panasar's opening song, when he sings of the king that 'in those who see him, he inspires a feeling of devotion' (**Lamun durus akaron sih**). It often occurs in the joint formula *tresna asih*, which once again has a similar spread of usage. (See O.J. **asih** 'love, affection, loving kindness, sympathy, benevolence, favour'. The compounds include **pintakāsih** 'request for someone's favour, request with an appeal to someone's kindness (benevolence, humble request), humble request'. In Balinese *ngasih* is incidentally 'to quiet a crying child'. O.J. **Tr̥ṣna** is 'desire, strong attachment, love; desiring, deeply attached, clinging to'; cf. Gonda 1973: 624, who notes that in Javanese **tr̥ṣna** is 'affection, love (of one's children, filial love etc.)'.

Asuh is the process of bringing matters into harmony or balance when two people do not have the same goals or intentions. *Ngasuh* is used of colours, to dye something, to change something to what is desired, the stress being that it requires work (on the connection with Skt. **utsāha** 'effort, energy' and O.J. 'exertion', see Gonda 1973: 485).

The commentators were clear that these above terms may be used equally in a relationship between male and female, and between two persons of the same sex. The stress may be on shared experience, of which they used the word *salunglung* 'to accompany, share, participate, especially it seems of misfortune. It may be on hierarchy. The response of the superior partner to *tresna asih*, say, is *suwéca* 'giving, kindness'; O.J. **swecchā** 'pleasure, according to one's wish', and so **swineccha** 'to allow, to use (treat etc.) at will (as one likes)', which catches the asymmetrical sense of devotion of the inferior party and the response depending upon the will of the superior.

There is a word used for intense longing for some object, *makita* (in Low Balinese, *makayun* in High). It has distinctive features. A man may *makita* a girl who one meets on the road, but when she is passed, the feeling disappears. After all what can one do about it? *Makita* is rapidly and intensely felt, and so passes equally rapidly. (However the theme of not feeling desire if the object of desire is unattainable is more general and subtle, see Hobart 2001, Drunk on the screen.) *Makita* is a strong word, used *inter alia* of food, and by men of women. The commentators were more interested not in the specifically sexual connotations of *makita*, but as to whether *makita* is used of an object of desire already experienced. They suggested that it connotes having one's appetite whetted but not yet having fulfilled or slaked it. Interestingly, they went on to argue that it was often used when one had not yet seen the object of desire (or not seen it for a long time), but longed to do so (*makita mangda panggih* 'long to meet'). The stress on the elusive nature of the object of desire in *makita* should be clear from the fact that, after one has slept with the partner one longs for, it is not common (but one can) use *makita*. (An interesting issue is how far this account holds for both men and women. In this instance the discussion was when men only were present.) One usually says instead that one is *enu demen* (in Low Balinese, *kantun seneng* in High), one is still happy or pleased with whoever it is. A related, but contrasted term, is *nyud (manahé)* (in Low Balinese, *meled (pikayun)* in High), 'to have one's appetite whetted', when the object of desire is immediately before one. For instance, a child who is carrying sweets can tempt, *nyud-nyudin*, others by waving the packet in front of them. *Nyud manahé* is also used of seeing a film but not experiencing the reality, but desiring to do so, (or lusting after the film star). One speaks of certain kinds of action like praying (*muspa*) in a temple as *makita*, one desires to pray, but not as *nyud*, because one does not experience the satisfaction of praying until one does so. but one can *makita* (because not yet encountered or experienced it in actuality (*kapanggih*), it cannot be *nyud*. A third term is *dot* (in Low Balinese), used for instance of a food one is particularly fond of.

^{xxiv} The commentators asserted that this had several references. First the organization of pavilions should conform to the proper layout, according to qualities associated with different directions (see Eisman ?; Hobart 1978; Tan 1966). The topic has become important of late, because people have taken to building multi-storey houses and new kinds of extensions in their compounds. This has led to fights, especially where buildings tower over house shrines. Second, one should look after one's house space appropriately to make sure that the pavilions are not in a poor state and, above all, that the house shrines (*sanggah* in low Balinese; *marajan* in high) are in good repair and look attractive. One cannot just have beautiful temples and houses. Among the reasons for mentioning this is that, with the rapidly growing wealth from tourism and the sale of craft objects, many people are putting money into luxurious housing, but forgetting about their shrines. This is dangerous, because it is the place of worship of the purified dead. Failing to look after the shrines carefully is considered one of the surest ways to run into *buwut* disorder, misfortune and poverty. Third, compounds should possess the appropriate plants. This suggests not just plants in the right place and not inappropriate ones growing there, especially in the house shrine area, but also is a reference to government schemes for householders making gardens of useful plants (on which more later in the play). One should not let the following trees grow in one's compound: *bingin*, *pulé*, *timbul*, *kepuh* (get Latin terms) because, when they are grown, they are a favourite haunt of *tonyo*, those who have died bad deaths and continue to reside invisibly among the living. One should also avoid

allowing *wani* and *durèn* (durian – get Latin terms as well) near house shrines, lest the fruit, which is heavy, fall and cause damage.

^{xxv} *Tatwam asi* is considered by Balinese to be Sanskrit **tatwam**. According to Déwa Madé Sayang is refers to recognition of mutual relatedness and dependence: 'I am you (you are I)'. A similar account was given by Wy. Sadiya, who added that we are derive from one source, is **Parama Atman**, which he identified with Ida Sang Hyang Widi Wasa. In the guide to Hindu religion, published by the Parisada Hindu Dharma *Upadeça* ('instruction, teaching, doctrine', **Tat Twam Asi** (**Tat** 'he/she/it, that', **Twam** 'you', **Asi** 'is') is described as the basis of Hindu ethics (*susila*). It teaches charity and social responsibility without limits, because all created beings are the same (from the same source). From this follows both the obligations to help others and the awareness that injury to others is injury to oneself (Parisada Hindu Dharma 1968: 61).

This moral view is closely linked to the **Tri Rēṇa**. **Rēṇa** in Skt. is 'obligation, duty, debt', but in O.J. connotes 'debt of gratitude, gratitude' and also 'pleasure, satisfaction'. The **Tri Rēṇa** is outlined by Zoetmulder (1982: 1534) as 'a Brahman owes three debts or obligations: 1. **brahmacārya** or 'study of the Vedas', to the **ṛṣi**'s; 2. sacrifice and worship, to the gods; 3. procreation of a son, to the ancestors; in later times also: 4. benevolence to mankind; 5. hospitality to guests'. According to the *Upadeça*, because Divinity created the universe, we owe It a multiple debt which takes three forms: a debt of our lives to Divinity (as Ida Sang Hyang Widhi), a debt of honour to our forefathers, and a debt of knowledge to teachers (**ṛṣi**). The means of paying this is through the *pañcayadnya*. The Balinese expression *pañcayadnya* (Skt. & O.J. **pañcayajña**) refers to the five major divisions of rites, kinds of acts of worship or sacrifice. These are: *déwayadnya* (**dewayajña**) rites to gods, *resiyadnya* (**ṛṣiyajña**) rites for priests, *pitrayadnya* (**pitrayajña**) rites for the dead, *butayadnya* (**bhūtayajña**) rites to demons or element(al)s, *buta* and *manusayadnya* (**mānuṣayajña**), rites for the living.

The **Tri Hita Karāṇa** is, in turn, closely linked to the **Tri Rēṇa**. Etymologically the terms are from O.J. **Tri** 'three'; **hita** Skt. & O.J. 'benefit, advantage, profit, good, welfare, good advice' **karāṇa** O.J. 'cause, reason'. As described by one Balinese author, these are the three elements forming the source which makes possible the emergence of good. Divinity as Sang Hyang Widhi Wyapi(-Wyapaka), as all-pervading, has penetrated not only the universe (*bhuwana agung*), but also human beings (*bhuwana alit*). Both of these are constituted of the **pañcamahābhūta**, the five elements of all material forms *mahabuta*. Sang Hyang Widhi Wyapi further differentiates Itself into **prāṇa** 'life', made manifest as the **Tri Hita Karana**. In humans these three constitute spirit which enables humans to live; capacities in the form of *bayu sabda idep*, energy, speech and thought; and the body composed of the **pañcamahābhuta**. In the universe these constitute **paramātma**, Divinity as pervading everything; energy in 1,001 forms (e.g. electricity, planetary motion, tides etc.) and the totality of matter (the **pañcamahābhuta**, Kaler 1982: 86-87).

^{xxvi} All the characters in Arja and Topèng sing in metred verse, *tembang*. Certain senior characters only sing and never speak – here notably the Prince. In a fuller version with a princess or heroine, she too only sings. In this instance, the female role is that of the mad princess, here played by a man. As this is a comic role, the songs are funny and supplemented by humorous dialogue.

The verse form (*pupuh*) sung by Sri Aji Palaka is *Sinom*. He sings two complete verses in *Sinom*, then when he reappears later in the play, he sings a variant form, *Sinom Uug Payangan* (a *Sinom* form used in song versions of that *Babad* ('historical chronicles, although these are in fact fairly recent). *Sinom* consists of a ten line stanza, properly of a varying number of syllables in each line, a key feature of which is the vowel in the terminal syllable. According to Zoetmulder, the following is 'the prescribed number of syllables and occurrence of final vowels: 8(a), 8(i), 8(o), 8(i), 7(i), 8(u), 7(o), 8(i), 4(u), 8(a)' (1974: 122). (According to Warna it is: 8(a), 8(i), 8(a/o), 8(i), 8(i), 8(u), 8(a), 8(i), 4(u), 8(a) (1978: 532).) One should note that the final vowel 'o' may be replaced with 'a' (a far more common vowel in Balinese and in Old Javanese).

Much of the skill in singing such verses lies in the particular way in which the syllables are drawn out or enunciated (*nyek-nyek*). As a result it is not always easy to state quite how many syllables are sung in any line from a cold reading off the page. The commentators were impressed by the elegance of the first stanza, and the skill with which Sri Aji Palaka managed to adapt the verse to the ordinary Balinese of the subsequent dialogue. The latter is something for which Ni Murdi, who sings the part of Sri Aji Palaka, is famous for. Indeed she is considered perhaps the finest current *mantri* in Bali. It is interesting therefore that she should introduce variation even in the first stanza. Roughly the syllables are as follows:

<i>Eda surud mayadnya punia</i>	8a
<i>Ngastawa Ida Sang Hyang Widi</i>	8-9i
<i>Kala Buta Pitra puja</i>	8a
<i>'Pang 'da ia miruda gumi</i>	8i
<i>Sakalané kala aṅerti</i>	9i
<i>Sakala niskala sujat</i>	9i (An extra interstitial line)

<i>Jagaté mangda rahayu</i>	8u
<u>Para bāhudanda. tandra</u>	7o
<u>mantri. punggawa</u>	5a (An extra interstitial line)
Sang Putus sareng miletin	8i
<i>Eda carat-curut</i>	5u
<i>Suba ruwang dadi pajalan</i>	8a.

^{xxvii} Of all the Balinese terms which it is hard to translate, *suksema* is among the most difficult. It is not easy for Balinese to explain either, which is one reason the actors introduce it here in question form. I have glossed it as '(non-material) benefit' because *suksema* suggests an effect or outcome upon one's thoughts. It could have been glossed as 'spiritual benefit', but I am uncomfortable with its connotations of 'sacred', 'pure' and a realm of the spiritual as opposed to the mundane, as it suggests a false dualism and dichotomy which is inappropriate to much Balinese thinking.

As Balinese use the term, *suksema* may perhaps best be elucidated, as it was to me, by considering the nature of an action. For an action to be successful, it should have an appropriate outcome or result, or yield some practical advantage or benefit (*pikolih*) in the material world (*sakala*). It should normally also, or sometimes instead, have a result or outcome (which Balinese express as *suksema*) non-materially or intangibly (*niskala*) in the thought and feelings (*manah*), or mind (*budi*), of the beneficiary. After all, if one is not aware of the result or benefit of some action, its value is somewhat indirect. *Suksema* is used in the sense of 'refined, subtle' and therefore 'what is of value', but most commonly it is used to indicate a benefit which one experiences, is aware of or feels. This squares with its popular contemporary usage in place of an expression for 'thank you', '*ngaturang suksema*', I offer my sense of gratitude (sense of having been the beneficiary of some act). I hasten to add that not all the results of actions are good. So one may feel bad *suksema*. On the Old Javanese senses of **sūkṣma**, see the glossary.

^{xxviii} *Buta Kala* are the object of *butayadnya* (see above). They are usually translated as 'demons' (*kala*). This may be adequate in those contexts where Balinese speak of such unseen forces in anthropomorphic terms. However, used uncritically, it leads easily to a picture of the Balinese as naively animistic. At times people spoke about, and acted towards, *buta* and *kala* as largely indistinguishable classes of malevolent spirit. On other occasions, the reference was more complicated. As people often pointed out to me, it is hard to be certain about the invisible. *Buta kala* are one possible manifestation of evil (on which problematic notion, see Hobart 1985a). They are also the destructive aspect of gods, epitomized in *Batara Kala* (Skt. & O.J. **Kāla**), the offspring of Siwa, or Siwa in his destructive aspect as Time. *Buta* in Balinese is 'blind' and so 'ignorant'; **bhūta** in Skt & O.J. is 'that which exists, any living being; material element' and so **pañcamahābhūta** 'the five great (gross) elements' (earth, water, fire, air, ether), which Balinese reduce in popular usage to three: water, fire and air. Quite often the more reflective Balinese would stress to me that *buta* should be understood as the coarse elements of living forms which needed bringing under human command. So one can treat *buta kala* either as simply two class of destructive being, or else as a more complicated reference to process of generation and degeneration. As Eiseman notes, priests 'consider *bhutas* and *kalas* to be manifestations, like gods - *dewas* - of locally competing mystical forces' and adds that Balinese use the expression '*bhuta ia; déwa ia*', a being, usually human, is both bad and good, destructive and constructive (1989: 227). As Lovric puts it: 'Philosophically, *dewa* are *bhuta* are *kala*' (1987: 133). '*Bhuta-kala* display both animal-like and human-like features. They participate intimately in the physical and the metaphysical. As I discern it, they are exaggerated forms of human deficiency, deformity and dysfunction' (1987: 140).

The overlapping relationship of *buta/kala* and *déwa* is multiplex and refers to the relationship of destructive and constructive processes, of course (*kasar*) matter and refined (*alus*) thought. One without the other is unsuitable to mundane existence. A significant feature of Balinese narrative on the subject is that, whether talking to me or among themselves, villagers would usually give the anthropomorphic version first and often follow it up with the more general one after, just as the actors do a few lines below when they switch from speaking of demons as causing discord to *kala* being a name for energy.

^{xxix} *Buta* and *kala* are thought to have their own domain in the world. Because they remain invisible, no one I spoke to, however, was sure quite where it was, except that it should be far from human habitation. The reference in the play to them having their proper place touches on a broader theme.

Balinese often speak of the world as being divided into different domains, each of which is the appropriate place for a particular kind of being. Humans for instance live in settlements (*désa*), work in ricefields (*carik* in high Balinese, *uma* in low) or dry fields (*tegal*). By contrast, the forest should be approached with care, because it is the domain of wild animals. Ravines are the domain of *tonyo*, who are people who have died bad deaths, usually by falling. They are thought to congregate in villages deep in the many ravines which cut through the landscape of the island. One must therefore approach areas where they are known to live with caution, otherwise they take offence and cause one harm. While *tonyo*, and their villages, are normally invisible to humans, they may intervene in human affairs. This is not

always detrimental. One or two people in the neighbourhood of Tengahpadang have close relations with *tonyo*, in one case a man is thought to have a *tonyo* woman as a mistress. In another they are prepared to help him with work.

Different kinds of being not only have their proper place, but also a way of life, behaviour and customs appropriate to each. This vision of a heterogeneous world is partly encapsulated in the notion widely referred to in Malaysian and Indonesian society as *adat*. (In Bali, the term is *tata cara*, although *adat* is increasingly used as well or instead.) A good account is given by Shärer in his discussion of the religion of the Ngaju Dayak of Kalimantan.

It certainly means more than simply 'usage, custom, habit'. We can only grasp and interpret its significance through the conception of God. Seen in this context the notion has a double meaning. Firstly that of divine cosmic order and harmony, and secondly that of life and actions in agreement with this order. It is not only humanity that possesses *hadat* but also every other creature or thing (animal, plant, river etc.), every phenomenon (e.g. celestial phenomena), every period and every action, for the entire cosmos is ordered by the total godhead and every member and every part of the cosmos possesses its own place in this order, allocated by the total godhead. Only living and acting in and by this *hadat* (we may also say total godhead) guarantees harmony...For mankind, there no place free of *hadat* and no time without *hadat* (1963: 75; his parentheses).

While one needs to be cautious as to whether what is understood by (*h*)*adat* in each of the societies which recognize the term is the same, Shärer's argument has a certain initial applicability to Bali.

An important extension of these ideas is to be found in the widely used expression *désa kala patra* which, following Balinese exegesis, I gloss as 'place, occasion, circumstances'. Although the expression is widely used and assumed to be very old, according to Professor Gusti Ngurah Bagus, it dates from the 1950s when Balinese began to rationalize and categorize local practices. *Désa kala patra* is a most convenient articulatory notion which inscribes local variation as inherent in Balinese 'culture'.

Désa is used most obviously in daily parlance as 'village', but with the strong suggestion of a territory (cf. Skt. & O.J. *désa* 'region, place, country'). *kala* may be either linked with the God **Kāla** or some notion of 'time'. In my experience Balinese very rarely refer to generalized concepts of this kind and, when I heard older people explaining its use in this expression, it always referred to a particular occasion. *patra* was the part about which people were usually the least clear. It was sometimes paraphrased as *indik* 'the circumstances, context', or *kawèntenan* 'the situation, what exists' (a gloss also given in Dinas Agama Hindu n.d.:20). See also *Tentang adat Bali* p. 62-65. (In O.J. *patra* is 'name', and a couple of Balinese literate in *kawidid* give me the gloss of 'how one names things in a particular place' and pointed to the importance of a set of texts known as the **Daśanāma**, which are lists of synonyms used in different literary contexts.) [Brief discussion of the importance of naming.] More to the point the formula *désa kala patra* is used extremely widely (see Hobart 1979, Ch. 3). When the actors used words common in the Denpasar area (Badung), the commentators would simply remark: *désa kala patra Badung* and give me the form used in that part of Gianyar. We shall see later in the play that when I Midep uses a Badung expression in Gianyar (p. *lengkejut*) he is told off publicly by the other actors. More seriously, *désa kala patra* is an operational notion by which general edicts or principles are adapted to local conditions. In many circumstances applying a law, policy or whatever requires adaptation to the actualities of a particular region or place; and Balinese often explicitly refer to the need to make such adjustments. So, when the legal code (*awig-awig*) of the ward of Pisangkaja, where I worked, was destroyed by fire, the ward took what they regarded as a suitable model from another village and modified it to suit *désa kala patra*. The result is not only that words, ideas, practice varies subtly from one place to another, but that it requires the agency of those involved to rework an exemplar, so that following prescriptions is not a passive process.

^{xxx} *Lelaban* is 'tribute, gifts', but here it has, according to the commentators, a definite sense of inducement. *Lelaban* is one of a large number of terms for kinds of offering to invisible beings and suggests that a substantial spread of different foods. The emphasis is on a complete (*magenep*) range of foods. *Magenep* connotes a wide variety of items of different kinds. Balinese lay stress on the importance of *magenep* in many circumstances in daily and religious life. *Laban* is the term for food offered to *barong*. When *barong* go dancing, the followers (*pañjak* literally 'slaves') may not eat until this has been offered to the deity. *Lelaban* is also said to be linked to the word *laba*, which is land set aside for the express purpose of providing for the costs of rites. This often takes the form of land attached to a particular temple.

^{xxxi} At this point Ktut Sutatemaja remarked that people do not normally listen to theatre as carefully as we were, by playing through the tape of the performance. Most, he said, do not even pay attention to properly to which figure is speaking (he gave the example of whether it was the *Limbur* (queen) or *Liku* (mad princess). Most do not even know. Like people who just know that what is put before them is food, they may not even know that it is *anyang* (feast food,

made of small quantities of meat padded out with vegetable, all chopped finely), still less what are its ingredients. The others concurred, but pointed out that a minority did pay careful attention, but they were usually older.

Balinese self-deprecation can, however, be misleading. Villagers commonly represent themselves as knowing precious little about theatre, but in conversations with people over about 30 years of age, I was generally struck by quite how much they did pay attention. Somewhat similarly the commentators all denied any knowledge of *kawi*, but the moment a phrase came up, set about working out what it referred to. Part of the problem hinges on what Balinese understand by 'to know' (the nearest terms to English probably being *nawang* in low Balinese, *uning* in high). Include a discussion of Balinese ideas about knowing, interpreting, inferring, guessing etc.

^{xxxii} Burnett cites an unnamed Balinese musician: 'we have no art; we do as well as we can' (1991: 28).

Without a priest who knew the *mantras*, all the effort was in vain. It was his knowledge and prayers which were crucial to the successful completion of any ceremony. What was the use of having a cable, if there was no electricity, or no one who knew how it worked? They drew attention to the link of *pala* and *sraya*. Without results any prayer - or any other action for that matter - is ineffective, it is useless, empty (*gabeng*). The commentators went on to make sure that I had grasped the point that kings by themselves were of little use in maintaining the realm without high priests. They stressed, as did the actors, that the division of labour is crucial. Like a car: it must have a motor and body, but also have a driver and passengers. If any one element is missing, the whole is rendered pointless. What use is a car without anyone to transport, without a driver or an engine? Anak Agung Pekak said that without senior high priests (*bagawanta*) everything is *śīrṇa* (he used the *kawi* word), it sinks into nothingness. All estates of humans are equally important (*utama*), even though they differ. Because kings had authority and power (*kuasa*) in this world (*sakala*), people were frightened of them. Because kings were usually the most immediate threat, being both imminent and immanent, people tended to pay the most attention to them. But in the full order of things, they were only part of a more complex picture. On another occasion he compared the king to a tiger. A tiger without a forest will be quickly killed, it is its habitat. While a forest without a tiger is possible, it is incomplete. The relationship of a king and his subjects may be argued to be similar (the term for the relationship was *kasatmakang*). He went further. Unless the people recognize the person who is king as a king, he cannot rule.

At this stage Anak Agung Pekak became interested in the implications of the discussion. While what he said resembles other formulations of the difference between the duties of castes or estates, it has some points of distinctive features. He argued that the path of a Brahmana (or *bagawanta* 'holy person') consisted of four parts, encapsulated in the **Caturweda** (Skt. 'the four Wedas/Vedas'), which he named as the *Rigwéda* (**Rḡweda**), *Yayurwéda* (**Yajurweda** 'the sacrificial Weda), *Samawéda* (**Sāmaweda** 'the Wéda of Chants') and the *Atarwawéda* (**Atharwaweda** 'consisting chiefly of formula and spells to counteract diseases and calamities'). By contrast, the path of the king had three parts, the **Tri Sinangeh** (CHECK ETYMOLOGY). These are *kapradnyan* (**kaprajñan** 'wisdom, knowledge, learning' - Anak Agung Pekak added 'intelligence'), *kaprawiran* (**kaprawiran** 'valour, bravery' - Anak Agung Pekak added especially in battle), *karakyatan* 'being close to the people'. For, if a king does not recognize the existence of his subjects (*wèbuhin pañjak*), his subjects will not recognize the king. (Granted the history of rulers' brutal oppression of Balinese, this maxim seems largely to have been observed in the breach.) The *Wésiya* are there to execute the king's orders (*sakadi panglaksana*); and the *Sudra* are there to provide the strength (*satmaka tali*, *satmaka pikukuh*, as string or rope, as a strengthener or stabilizer). *Pikukuh* and the verb *magehang* 'to make something strong or unwavering' (from O.J. **amagēhakēn** 'to make firm or stable, stabilize, consolidate, make permanent') are widely used to refer to the important role of subordinates in enabling a major undertaking to be brought to a successful conclusion.

I asked which of these was the most important. The reply was the *kawèntenan*, here 'the world, the realm', not the king, because if there is no realm, of what is the king to be king? To illustrate this Anak Agung Pekak asked if the support of a building is more important than what it supports. The point being that they are mutually necessary and my question misplaced. He then broke into a short song.

Paras-paros, Sarpamandi, Kangadnyana

The king should be involved in mutual help with his people,
like a venomous snake against wrongdoers
(**sarpa** 'snake', **maṇḍi** 'effective, poisonous'),
and knowledgeable and wise (**jñana**).

They then started to joke about whether the government had now taken over from Balinese kings. Ktut Sutatemaja asked whether it was the government which had the right to rule in the country. He had set up a trap for the others and could catch them on a *jejangkitan* q.v. if they missed the mistake. Anak Agung Pekak spotted it immediately though, and to hoots of laughter from everyone replied 'No. It could only be over people, you couldn't rule over a place!' Who then, they wondered, ruled over the land (here *jagat*)? The expression they used here was *ngawé wenang* which has two slightly different, but related, senses. First it is to have power or authority over people; second it is to triumph or be victorious (it is clearly the second sense later, see *wenang* below). Cf. O.J. **wēnaṅ** 'to have within one's reach or power,

be capable of, be entitled to, have authority' as well as 'to be superior, win, gain the victory'; and **ginawe** 'do, perform, carry out, cause'.

^{xxxiii} I have chosen to translate **rwa bhineda** as 'the coexistence of opposites (or differences)' here. A simpler gloss would have been the 'conflict', or slightly more elegantly, 'contradiction' of opposites. **Rwa bhineda** is a delightfully complex and slippery notion. It is the doctrine of the division and mutual opposition, but also complementarity, of everything which exists in this world (see Weck 1937: 39-52, with special reference to the body). It may be linked with the notion of complementary opposition, which is widely described in the literature as a feature of Indonesian social thinking. However, as Eiseman notes, the opposition is not always treated as stark and indeed, in my experience, is used with connotations of inherent ambivalence, as in the necessary coexistence of good and bad (1989: 2, 227). Indeed, as Sugriwa (1960a: 39) points out, **Rwa bhineda** refers to two elements which differ but become united, for instance **pradhāna** 'primal matter' (cf. 'primary germ, unevolved nature', Zoetmulder 1982: 1381) and **puruṣa** 'spirit' (Goda 1970: 58), body and spirit. My choice of how to gloss the phrase is affected by the importance of the necessary coexistence of differences as Balinese express it, and by the point, made here clearly by the actors, that different, or opposed, qualities are not stable but continually changing or transforming (*matemahan*, cf. O.J. **tēmah** 'the result of a change, that which something (finally) becomes, changed form (assumed form, embodiment etc.)). So no one ever experiences good continuously nor, for that matter, bad either.

Etymologically it derives from O.J. **rwa** 'two' and **bhineda** 'to divide, separate, disunite, split by discord'. As Gonda notes 'apart from "distinction", (**bhedā**) can mean "disturbance, violation" (1973: 482) and that certainly was the brunt of the actors' and commentators' remarks. In the play the actors adumbrate the necessary coexistence of good and bad, but this is against the backdrop, brought out more clearly by the commentators, that there is more suffering, conflict and contradiction than happiness, bad than good in the human condition in this life. Theologically good and bad may be balanced; experientially the good is more usually a deferred promise.

^{xxxiv} The comments on this statement show an interesting juxtaposition of two ways of understanding it. The commentators started out by saying it meant no human who is always good, but promptly added that it was about what one experienced in life. The purpose (*tetujon*) was to point out that one cannot separate good from bad in life. There is no handsomeness, without ugliness (not necessarily in the same person); no male without female. Déwa Madé Sayang concurred, but started by saying that humans can never experience good continuously, but immediately added 'be good continuously'. He said that **swastha** was *kawèntenan* 'a state of being, condition', so it read as 'no one is in a given condition continually'. Déwa Madé Sayang, who sang this line suggested that a better version perhaps was: '**tan hana waj ayu nulus**', no one was always virtuous/happy. O.J. (**h**)**ayu** is both 'good, goodness, virtuousness, good condition' and 'well-being, happiness' as well as 'beauty, loveliness' and is treated by Balinese as the antinomy of (**h**)**ala** 'evil, harm, misfortune' and also 'ugly'. The ambiguity between doing good and being fortunate is not just a coincidence of references of **ayu**, but is linked to the inevitable effects of one's own actions (**karmaphala**, as the commentators were quick to point out.

^{xxxv} *Slokantara*, according to both the commentators, is another term for *sloka*, a particular form of speech using analogy (*pra(tiw)imba*), rather like a *sesonggan* q.v., in that it is an indirect proverbial allusion (Simpfen 1982: 35, draws the same parallel). Ktut Ginarsa (1985: 81-82) distinguishes **śloka** as a verse form in Sanskrit from Balinese *sloka*, which is a proverb or maxim (*bidal*) and which he differentiates from the Indonesian *seloka* 'archaic, short witty poem ending in an aphorism (Echols & Shadily 1989: 495). Ginarsa stresses that *sloka* are a refined way of warning someone about their behaviour through indirect analogy, intended to make them aware of the dangers of what they are doing.

^{xxxvi} The addition of **angga** is superfluous in English, but fits Balinese concern over the tight specification of the referents of speech. The last part of the sentence reads fairly literally: 'now the feeling changes to become joy the state/being (of) the body (and mind of) the Foot of the God, the Supreme Divine Lord'. Here *kawèntenan* 'being, state, existence' and **anggan** 'body', the totality of his being, might seem redundant, but they are part of the increasingly careful specification of whose happiness it is.

At times when I have written about Balinese, or when friends have chided me on the results, I have been worried that I have made them sound more like Alan Bennett stories of Oxbridge philosophers. It is certainly a one-sided view, as certain things tend to be, no matter how you approach them in print, especially within the confines of an article. This play gives rather a good indication of what I am trying to convey. Leaving aside the present example, what I have avoided rendering in translation because it would make it unreadable, is the frequency with which Balinese do specify where to me it might seem unnecessary. It is nowhere so striking as in the use of demonstratives. A favourite one used by the commentators, especially Ktut Sutatemaja is '*tiang puniki*, literally 'this me'. Similar specification occurs repeatedly in the present play, using the terms *ené* 'this', *ento* 'that' or, confusingly, *anak*, (*anak cang*) the idiom used in the area round Denpasar for 'this', not the more common Balinese term for 'person' (on the shift in usage during the play, see below). Such specification is not usually considered pedantic, but rather an indication of clear and

unambiguous speech. I was corrected on a number of occasions for omitting it when talking, because the precise deictic referent was not clear.

^{xxxvi} At this point in working through the play I remarked that the going was getting easier. The commentators agreed. Ktut Sutatemaja said that the problem in the previous section was that they were speaking with several intended referents at once (*sedeng ngaraos lumbrah*). They were not just developing the plot, but also addressing the audience, the organizing committee, the prince who had paid for the play, and other more specific targets at the same time. That made what they said complicated (*raos makilit*). Now they were talking just about the plot (the commentators used the Indonesian word pribadi 'personally, within their roles'). They then became interested in talking among themselves about what *makilit* applied to. Here obviously it was *raos makilit* or *kakilitan babaosné*, speech which was complicated, intertwined. *Makilit* is also used of thread and trees.

It would be tempting to introduce the word 'fate' here, but I am loth to, because the commentators eschewed recourse to the nearest commensurable terms in Balinese. The most obvious is *ganti*, which has connotations of 'one's turn'. Interestingly, Balinese often speak of *ganti* as being independent of *karmapala* and of alternations of happiness and sorrow. One or two even opined that the gods themselves might suffer *ganti* as indeed they do *karmapala*, insofar as they are incarnate. However the two seem to belong to separate eschatological discourses and I was told off on several occasions for confusing them.

^{xxxvii} The addition of **angga** is superfluous in English, but fits Balinese concern over the tight specification of the referents of speech. The last part of the sentence reads fairly literally: 'now the feeling changes to become joy the state/being (of) the body (and mind of) the Foot of the God, the Supreme Divine Lord'. Here *kawèntenan* 'being, state, existence' and **anggan** 'body', the totality of his being, might seem redundant, but they are part of the increasingly careful specification of whose happiness it is.

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^{xxxix} This is a *sesenggak*, glossed by Simpen (1982: 21) as 'a simile or metaphor' in the form of a joke, but which it aimed at embarrassing the person criticized by highlighting their behaviour. The commentators did not know of a set *sesenggak* to this effect, but Wijil manages to take the words and turn them into something with a sense like a *sesenggak*, by the way in which he unfolds the sense of the words (*melut artin keruna*). The purpose (*tetujon*) is to remind people that one should not think the statement has no use (*guna*). If one thinks carefully, it has. There is a related expression, but one not spoken of formally as such (*ten munggah ring kecap*): '*Eda mara raos anak buduh, eda kadèna tuara maguna.*' On hearing what a mad person says, do not assume that what they say is valueless. Mad people may often speak the truth which others dare not, or fail to notice.

Makna is widely used in Indonesian as a technical term for kinds of reference, e.g. makna denotatif 'denotation', makna ekstensi 'extension'. It is interesting that Wijil turns to an Indonesian term for 'meaning' here, and one with a fairly technical specification of 'reference' as opposed to 'sense' or 'connotation'.

^{xl} The whole issue of the use of language registers in the play is very intricate. For example the servants switch between different words for 'I', from *titiang* to *tiang* or *uwuh* and other features. Also note Luh Wedani's highly questionable use of vulgar (*kasar*) terms to her servants as against Sri Aji Palaka's polite speech to them. Although these nuances are

instantly appreciated by the audience, it is not possible to reflect them fully in translation without being extremely stilted.

^{xlii} *Pitra* refers to the dead for whom the appropriate rites (*pitrayadnya*) have been carried out (cf. O.J. & Skt. **pitara**, **pitṛ** 'deceased forefathers') Among low caste families and most of the poorer high castes this is as far as cremation (*pelebon* in High Balinese, *ngabèn* in Low) and *ngarorasin*, the performance of a ceremony twelve days afterwards on a high shelf in the *balé dangin*, the eastern pavilion of the house. This latter indicates that they are sufficiently purified after death as to be the subject of offerings in the domestic house shrines (see Hobart 1978; on the reasons for my avoiding the term 'ancestors' see 1990: 327-30). Among royal families and other wealthy high castes it is proper to undertake secondary cremation (*nyekah*). While it is notionally expected that everyone should do so, it is still considered rather self-important to do so for most villagers. With increasing wealth in the region of Gianyar though, it is becoming more common for the wealthy or upwardly mobile to do so.

Luh Wedani leaves it inspecific as to whether Wijil is such a bad character that he will have failed to perform the required rites and so his relatives languish in the underworld as *pirata*, unpurified dead, who have been unable to redeem their way (through sacrifices) to the possibility of rebirth, or whether, even though they are cremated, they are suffering the consequences of his actions (*karma pala*) in this world. There is certainly the popular notion in Bali that other family members may incur the effects of one's own actions, especially where these are extreme.

^{xliii} Outline the significance of *upama* (cf. Skt. **upamā** 'comparison, resemblance', **upamāna** 'analogy, recognition of likeness' & O.J. also 'example, illustration, likeness') as a form of learning or knowing about something (**pramana** O.J. 'means of acquiring right knowledge, proof, evidence, argumentation, seeing or understanding clearly', on which see Hobart 1985: 113-15).

Consider the extent to which here and elsewhere *kaupamiang* is better treated

1. as an active creation of a resemblance, rather than the recognition of something essentially there already;
2. exemplification in Goodman's sense.

Here we know what Luh Wedani's behaviour is, but of what is it an example? Note also the link between Balinese usage here and Peirce's idea of 'the interpretant'. There is no *signifiant/signifié* here, because there is no sign and an abstract referent (concept), but rather one act which is said to be like, or to stand for, another act.

^{xliiii} Wijil uses the word *unduk* (*indik* in High Balinese). This is one of the harder terms to explain. In most dictionaries it is treated as a preposition, 'about, concerning'. It may be glossed that way in sentences like '*indik napi sedeng ngaraosang?*' 'what are you talking about?' However it is often used in another way, as in '*matakèn indikné*' 'ask what it's all about'; '*punika ten munggah ring indik-indik*' 'that doesn't appear in the usual accounts about (it)' and perhaps most importantly '*perlu uning indik-indikné*' 'it's necessary to know the context/background (to whatever)'. Perhaps *indik/unduk* is best treated as 'what it's about, the convention about, the detailed account about, background, context' according to the context (in Balinese *indik*) of what is being discussed. The O.J. sense is relevant here, as **indik(a)** is '(accompanying) aspect, detail'. Without being too fanciful, there may be overtones of another homonym, **inḍik** 'to walk slowly and cautiously', because an appeal to consider the *indik(-indik)* if something carries the implication of needing to treat cautiously in investigating the matter, as there is more than meets the eye.

^{xliiv} **Pañcaśakti** is a notion with a long history of variable usage. It is found for instance in *tutur* literature for the religious instruction of students, such as the **Jñānasiddhānta** (see Soebadio 1971). In this work there seem to be two senses of **pañcaśakti**. The first is a covering term for several other classifications of **śakti**, the **daśaśakti**, **navaśakti**, **aṣṭaśakti**, **pañcaśakti** and **triśakti**, the ten, nine, eight, five and three **śakti**, or powers, respectively. In its second sense the **Pañcaśakti** refers to the faculties of 'simultaneously seeing, hearing, thinking, knowing and the great All-knowledge' (Soebadio 1971: 135). The emphasis then is on forms of power, or the forms which the faculties may take.

The *Pancasila* are the five guiding principles of the Indonesian state, which are especially stressed as an encompassing ideology in the New Order government under President Suharto. They are

1. Belief in the Only One God;
2. Just and Civilized Humanitarianism;
3. Indonesian Unity;
4. Democracy led by wisdom born of consultation;
5. Social Justice for the entire Indonesian population.

The **Pañcaśradda** are held in various accounts to constitute the basic framework of Balinese Hinduism, consisting of five elements in which trust is placed. These are

- (1) faith in Divinity (Ida Sang Hyang Widhi);
- (2) faith in the souls of dead forebears;
- (3) faith in the law of the effects of action (**karmaphala**);
- (4) faith in **saṅsāra** and **punarbhawa**, rebirth from the misery of mundane existence;
- (5) faith in final liberation (**mokṣa**) from rebirth in the mundane world.

The commentators said that the details of the **Pañcaśradda** were not generally known to villagers, but were to be found in works of religious instruction, and were known to some actors. Anak Agung Pekak promptly launched into a recitation of these, and only had to pause over the last he gave which was belief in Sang Hyang Atma, which he considered to be the existence of individual souls, not specifically of the dead. He stressed these souls as being more immediate aspects of Divinity Itself.

The five Pandawa brothers are notionally the sons of Prince Pandu and his wife Kunti but by different deities. They are Yudistira, Bima, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadéwa. Their opponents are their father's brother's sons, the hundred Korawa. The **Mahābhārata** tells of their ancestry, birth and conflict over the throne of Astina, which ends in the great war of the **Bhāratayuddha**, in which the Korawa are vanquished and perish, together with their followers and many warriors on both sides. Short sections from the Mahabharata are retold by puppeteers in shadow theatre, *wayang parwa*, and danced in a genre of theatre known as *wayang wong*. Some authors identify the Pandawa as good and the Korawa as evil, which is simplistic (see Hobart 1985a), if for no other reason than that bad and good deeds done by both sides. It would be more precise to say as Luh Wedani does, that the Pandawa attempt to follow, or exemplify, **dharma**, 'the rule of life and conduct, as established by divine disposition and laid down in religious law', whereas the Korawa may be criticized for their failure to adhere to this and are **adharma**, neglecting their duty according to religious law.

^{xlv} It is the case that crossroads are considered dangerous at certain times, perhaps most especially at dusk and midnight. That is however from the emissaries (*pramañca*) of a deity variously defined. (During the night outside these hours one might well encounter something strange at the crossroads, but equally elsewhere as well.) The deity in question is not however usually reckoned to be Batari Dalem (the latter word is literally 'the insider'), a euphemism for the Goddess Durga, whose name it is dangerous to mention. She is associated with the Pura Dalem, which is sited outside the village usually to the south, near the graveyard. It is here that people, mostly women, are believed to gather on certain calendrically propitious nights to transform themselves into witches in various guises, *léyak*, under the leadership of the deity in the form of Rangda, masks of which are quite often kept in Pura Dalem.

As in most matters to do with *sakti* and *léyak*, most Balinese confess ignorance when asked if they know what is supposed to happen, because to know is to have taken part. Although I have not investigated the subject in detail (if for no other reason than people would start to look askance at me), my initial impression is that, when Balinese are asked if they have ever heard rumour about what goes on, the accounts given are more standardized than in many other instances. This is hardly surprising because, by definition, one should not know about it from direct experience. It was, however, not thought that witches needed to offer *canang* at the crossroads or elsewhere in order to change form (*ngalekas*).

^{xlvi} I asked what was implied by her anus, or rectum, being sucked out. The commentators all broke into uneasy laughter and said that they did not know. They added that to say they knew would imply that they had direct experience of *sakti* in some form and how to use such abilities. They found the expression very funny and said it was often used to frighten people (*majejehin*). The word *bol* features in various insults: '*pelud bolné, malud delod bolné, mapaid bolné*' and '*bol dogèn*'. These are degrees of extrusion of the anus from a little to total prolapse: 'his anus is bulging', 'his anus is bulging to the south (i.e. out), to 'his rectum is trailing out' and finally 'just (only) rectum'.

Witches' ideas of desirable food are a straight inversion of normal human appetites. So they are connoisseurs of bits of human, especially intestines, and suck out (*sesep*) or even spoon out (*cèkot*) anuses as a delicacy. When a pig has been slaughtered, part of the anus must be offered as a *segahan* (a class of offerings, usually to *buta-kala*) before any other part can be cooked.

^{xlvii} In the expression, '**pinaka simbol**' the commentators glossed this as '*tanda, ciri*', 'sign'; cf. O.J. **tañḍa** 'special sign on a banner belonging to each hero, standard, banner' and **tinañḍa** 'signed (with)', **tañḍa** 'sign, mark' (Gonda 1973: 46), **ciri** 'sign, distinctive mark, evidence'. In Moeliono et al. (1988) **simbol** is paraphrased by the Indonesian word **lambang**, which is glossed as

'1 something like a sign (painting, emblem etc.) which indicates a certain thing or contains a definite meaning (aim)...

2 a fixed sign by which something may be recognized (indicating quality, situation etc.)'.

Here perhaps 'index' is best, but check if it fits Peirce's usage.

When Wijil uses the same formula later (see *pawakan*.), it is significant that he uses the term *pawakan/maraga* (*raga* is term for body or form) which treats symbols as manifest. Fits closer to Goodman's symbol as something standing for something else than it does something material standing for something abstract. NOTE that the sentence reads: *yèn alih pinaka simbul*, it is as if everything in this life takes the form of a symbol = if one looks for it as a symbol i.e. it is not in itself so, but depends on an act of agency. Also the second 'as if' makes it clear that it is a way of talking, not a fact. Note symbols are arguably manifest, the *bhuwana agung* is as real as is the *bhuwana alit*.

Wijil develops his theme to say **sanjkaning simbol** of religious life (if indeed that is how to gloss '**hidup agamané**'), of funerary animals and of speech as a whole. I need to work through this section carefully in the relevant chapter.

^{xlviii} The term Wijil uses is **Guru Wiśesa** 'who wields authority', here evidently designating the state. According to the Parisada Hindu Dharma (1968: 72) a **guru wiśesa** is one of three kinds of teacher whom a person should respect. The first is **guru pañajan**, the teacher from whom one learns knowledge (e.g. of texts, **aji**); the second is **guru rupaka**, one's mother and father; the third, **guru wiśesa**, is whoever wields authority, nowadays the state, which must be respected and obeyed. This triad of teachers, the **Triguru**, is encompassed by Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa to form **catur kang sinanggih guru**, the four who are considered as teachers.

The commentators said that **guru wiśesa** is the government. So far they echoed the Parisada Hindu Dharma. They then went on however to take *mawibawa* not simply as 'authority', so much as *kawibawan*, which they glossed as the Indonesian **pengaruh** 'influence', but in the rather specific sense of what is believed or trusted by people, whether right or wrong (on Javanese ideas of *kawibawan*, which seem fairly similar to Balinese, see Koentjaraningrat 1980: 133-36; cf. Skt. & O.J. **wibhawa** 'power, majesty, exalted position; wealth, possessions, affluence'). In discussion on other occasions, they asserted several times the idea that in the past it was done to follow one's king faithfully, even if one had grounds to believe him to be in the wrong. One's duty as a subject was to be loyal (*tresna*), provided one were reasonably looked after by the king in return. As they pointed out, if everyone defected from bad kings to good, there would be no wars, because the bad kings would have no followers. They then modified this last statement by saying that, of course, some people might stay because of the rewards they expected. The idea of a good person siding with those who are bad, or follow a path of behaviour which contravenes one's moral duty (**adharmā**), is exemplified, as they pointed out to me, in the role of Sang Karna, the half-brother of the Pandawa, in the Mahabharata. There is also an element of deferment of responsibility here, I suspect (see Hobart 1991b: 114-120; cf. Dewey 1978).

^{xlix} Give details of exactly what Anak Agung Pekak made of the **Aṣṭabrata** and **Yamabrata**.

Discuss various readings of the **Aṣṭabrata** including especially Worsley 'the character of the ideal king is conceptualized as the synthesis of eight vows founded upon the essential characters of eight separate gods' (Worsley 1972: 44) and his reference to **Yamabrata** (1972: 45).

[Also translate and summarize Tjokorda Rai Sudharta 1988 on **Aṣṭabrata** and **Yamabrata**.]

Finally outline the extended version of the **Daśa Yama Brata** and **Daśa Niyama Brata** summarized in the *Upadeśa* 1968.

¹ So far I have said nothing about what in English would be called the use of verb tenses, which raises some interesting problems in Balinese and feature in this play. As with many other Indonesian languages 'tense' is often left to the sense of the sentence. So, in 'I went to market yesterday', a tense marker is not necessary because it is evidently a completed action. Balinese has available words to signal completed action (*sampun*, *suba* in High and Low Balinese), action still in progress (*sedeng*), action not yet begun (*dèrèng* (*durung*), *tondèn* in High and Low respectively).

The usage in the play requires some comment though. First, it must be recalled that the actors are extemporizing at great speed and the commentators noted occasions when the usage was loose. Second, Wijil and Luh Wedani tended at times to be rather less careful and consistent; the Panasar, as fits his role of the base or anchor, tended to be very precise in their view. He is also one of the senior teachers of shadow theatre in the island, performs regularly with the Dance Academy (STSI) in large public performances which are often broadcast, and so is used to being very careful. Third, especially in Low Balinese, *suba*, the word to indicate a completed action, may be used in different senses.

Why I raise the issue can be seen from the following two examples. In the first, as I have translated him the Panasar, speaking of Luh Wedani's strange singing, says: 'It's a broken tape recorder. ... The tape recorder's bust and the batteries are leaking. That's why the sound's rotten.' In the Balinese, he uses *suba* to describe the condition of the tape recorder and of the batteries, but not of the sound produced. This was considered proper use of *suba*, because the damage to the tape machine and the batteries had already happened, the tape was not in the course of breaking. However the sound (i.e. Luh Wedani) was taking place at the time. Although one can say there is a hidden past tense in the English 'it's broken', one tends to say 'the batteries are leaking', rather than 'they have leaked'.

In the second example, Luh Wedani is talking about the use of the little finger. She says, as I translated it, 'Try and see if your nose is dirty. This is used for drilling dirty ears; this is what's used to clean the hole. (*She then tries to stuff her thumb up her nose.*) Now, if you used this to drill out your nose, you'd burst it!' She uses *suba* of 'drilling dirty ears' and 'cleaning the hole', but obviously not for 'try and see if...' or 'if you used this...' It is very common to use indicators of past action in this way and is considered proper. As it was explained to me, the point is that Balinese have as a matter of fact used their fingers in the past to clean noses and ears. Unless someone happens to be doing it in the audience (and I have seen instances of audience behaviour being picked up) it is unknown and unverifiable whether anyone is so doing at the time. To translate this as 'this has been used to drill...' sounds slightly odd in English. Where the past has been used in this sense in the play, where it seemed appropriate, I have glossed this as 'is used to', to indicate that this is a common (completed) action.

The relevance of this discussion is that Balinese, especially when speaking carefully, make distinctions which might strike an English-speaking reader as pedantic or as exhibiting the kind of meticulous care with words one expects

in an academic joke about analytical philosophers. If for no other reason than that Balinese (and not just the commentators) explained it to me that way, it is useful to consider this usage of words for completed action together with another speaker (or even the speaker him- or herself) affirming or confirming that a statement is so (*nyekenang, ngawiaktiang*). A third feature is the very frequent specification deictically (with 'this', 'that' *ené, ento* in Low Balinese) where it would not be used in English. For instance, it is quite common to say '*tiang puniki*' or '*cang ené (anak)*', which is literally 'this I', whereas one might have thought that the speaker's 'I' of themselves would be sufficient.

Conclude with more general implications of this usage.

ⁱⁱ *Sing bani* is literally 'not to be brave, not to dare' and is a widely used expression in all sorts of situations. It is not easy to gloss in English. In a relationship it suggests respectfulness, avoiding argument or confrontation. The inverse in an extreme form verges on *tulah*, to overstep the bounds of what is proper, to be audacious, impertinent, insubordinate. I gloss it here as respect, because that is a major aspect in the present context.

This is not the place to enter into a detailed discussion of gender relationships in Bali. There is a tendency to displace current western preoccupations onto Balinese, such that they may be represented as anything from profoundly repressive of women to remarkably easy-going and flexible. I have discussed some of the problems elsewhere (in Hobart forthcoming). Suffice it to say for now that most women and men expressed the wish to be reborn as women in their next incarnation, which fits ill with any simple version of women as a downcast category in Bali.

ⁱⁱⁱ Anak Agung Pekak distinguished three kinds of being with their appropriate actions. *Kapramana ngelarang antuk bayu kémaon* 'what has one way of acquiring knowledge is capable of making use of energy only, such as plants which live and die in the same spot. *Dwipramana, sorot beburon, ipun ngelarang kakalih, malaksana ring raos, pemineh ipun 'ten maduwé*. 'What has two ways of acquiring knowledge, the class of animals, have two capacities, they may act and speak (make articulate sounds), but they do not have thoughts.' *Tripramana, I Manusa sané ngelarang tetiga, uning ring panglokika*. 'What has three ways of acquiring knowledge, humans, have three capacities, they know how to behave towards others.' This usage of *pramana* as a form of knowledge or faculty fits quite well with Balinese ideas of knowing how to do something. So one can speak of not knowing how to smoke a cigarette ('*ten uning ngalanyar*), or knowing how to serve a prince (as when the Panasar asks Luh Wedani: '*Kènten mangda uning ngay(ah)in Ida I Raka?*', 'Is that how to serve your noble husband?') It also bears on Old Javanese uses of **pramāṇa**, as 'means of acquiring right knowledge, clear perception, seeing or understanding clearly'.

ⁱⁱⁱⁱ Sri Aji Palaka's song is in a modified form of *Sinom* known as *Sinom Uug Payangan*, because it is the one used when singing extracts from the historical chronicle of that name. The usual structure is: 8a, 8i, 8a, 8i, 8i, 8u, 8a, 8i, 4u, 8a.

^{liv} This reference obviously touched of a chord in Anak Agung Pekak (whose third wife and he had divorced over twenty five years ago). He remarked, to laughter from the others, that he has had a similar experience. They then all agreed that this was a common occurrence and that men find it off-putting. Women, of course, make similar comments about men. However the life of peasant men and women is very physically demanding and it shows on their faces and bodies. Especially before the introduction of piped water to standpipes in each ward and mechanical rice husking machines, village women's work was exceptionally heavy, as indeed periodically was men's. That in itself is not a sufficient explanation of the lack of care with day to day physical appearance, especially among older people. On religious festivals, people are, by and large, very smartly dressed indeed, especially considering the difficulty of keeping clothes fresh and free of mould in such hot humid conditions.

One might note two points. First, contrary to longstanding stereotypes about Balinese, most were – and many, especially outside the tourist areas still are – very poor and could not afford new clothes, except for a set for festival wear. In fact, the commentators waxed lyric on the acute poverty they all experienced when young. They said that only as one approached twenty did one start wearing clothes, the most before was a rag over the genitals, except for festival days; and it was quite common to go all day working in the fields before there was food in the evenings. Second, in village society except among court people, getting oneself up smartly (*brapayas*) on a daily basis when one reaches middle age is a sign that one is trying to attract attention from members of the opposite sex. The Balinese expression, *anak brapayas*, is used of an old man who gets himself up like a young blade. The implication is of something not quite right, because it suggests strong desires (*kaindriyan keras*) not befitting one's age. In fact the Panasar alludes to the last character on stage, the village elder (*Klian Nusa*) as being such. There may also be something of the English proverb: 'mutton dressed as lamb'.

^{lv} *Lakar* may be the indicator of an action not yet begun, but it is also 'raw materials, ingredients, material means to do something'. It is one a number of connected terms by which Balinese refer to causal relations. These terms are interesting because they are rather comprehensive in coverage. They are used, for instance, when inquiring about an unknown, or incompletely known, object or event. It is possible to draw a parallel between four of these terms and an Aristotelian classification of causes, although not too much should be read into the parallel. I give the order most commonly used when a person has encountered something of which he or she is completely ignorant.

^{lvi} **Mrta sañjiwani** is 'the holy water of eternal life'. The commentators said that *katiwakin merta* (or *merti*) *sañjiwani* is to use a set expression 'to feel replete without eating, beautifully dressed although not wearing special clothes' (*wareg tanpa neda, bungah tané nganggo*). **Tirtha sañjiwani** is listed by Hooykaas (1973: 10) as one of the four **tirthas** needed during **pitṛ(a)yajña**, together with **tirtha kamaṇḍalu**, **tirtha kuṇḍalini** and **tirtha mahāmṛta (mahamēṛta)**. According to Déwa Madé Sayang the expression should properly read *luwir cara merta sañjiwani*, the elixir which brings about life. One might note that Zoetmulder gives Skt. **mṛta(sañ)jīwani** as 'raising the dead to life (of a mantra)'.

^{lvii} At this stage in going through the tape of the play, the commentators started to discuss how some actors come alive in their performance, *mataksu*, while others are raw, *matah*, from the moment they start to speak from off-stage (*tengah krebeng*). I have not heard Balinese talk of a performance as a whole as 'taking off' or of a state of 'heightened vitality' (Turner 1990: 13). On the contrary, the stress is on the one hand on the quality of performance achieved by individual actors, and on the other of the mutual observation (*saling ngintip*) and mutual assistance and feeding one another lines (*saling dandan, saling enyuhin*) required between actors to make a scene work.

Discuss the notion of *mataksu* and its relationship to *ngahyangin*. Use e.g. of how Anak Agung Pekak and Ketut Sutatemaja work together, mixing seriousness and laughter, while working with me, which is also a performance, in the sense of something which must be worked on to achieve the desired effect.

^{lviii} The village elder uses the term *ngempi* of his status in Nusa. It is used of someone who has no rights to a compound, but who is staying in someone else's. One's rights and obligations in one's ward of residence depend on whether one owns a compound (*pakaranan*) within the boundaries of village land (*tanah désa*) or not. Those who do are *krama désa*, full *désa* members with the responsibility for carrying out ceremonies at the main village temples and other matters to do with the welfare of the territory. With the growth of population, increasing numbers of people own compounds, known as 'huts', *pondok*, on converted agricultural land and normally do not belong to the *désa*. Those who do not inherit rights over a *désa* compound are known as *pangempian*, who have the right of residence and are members of the local ward, *banjar*, which provides them with a jural status and protection. *Krama désa*, people living in *pondok* and *pangempian* are normally all members of the local ward, which usually undertakes all ceremonies to do with the Pura Dalem, the temple associated with the graveyard. The ward is also the organization which cooperates for burials and cremations, the expenses of the latter in particular are prohibitively expensive for an ordinary family. Details of membership of such local groups varies from place to place, and the above is only a general picture. For full details of how the arrangement works in Tengahpadang, see Hobart 1979: 62-167.

^{lix} The phrase *telah pura* occurs in all four times in the play, twice it is mentioned by Wijil, once by the village elder (who was played by the same actor) and once by Luh Wedani. On the fourth occasion of its use, especially coming after the repeated reference to fulfilling promises, I asked the commentators whether it were not possible that there was a reference (*tetujon*) not obvious from what was said.

Briefly I pointed out that the phrase *telah pura* was ambiguous (*ngèmpèlin*). The commentators agreed to this immediately. I pointed out that, if the intention had been to indicate that Sri Aji Palaka had been to many temples or even exhausted them all, there are many ways of saying this which are clearer than the formulation used. Even if this were an acceptable way of phrasing it, was it not curious that precisely the same formulation occurred four times. I could think of no other instance in the play when a theme was repeated in the same words. The obvious other reading was that literally suggested by the words: 'the temples are finished, or broken down'. The commentators again agreed that, taken out of context, that would be the most obvious reading. I then linked this to the repeated theme of fulfilling promises. I pointed out that the play had happened at the time of *Batara Turun Kabèh* and close to a major temple festival in Besakih, when there had been much talk informally about the failure of government to provide funds for the repair and upkeep of Bali's major temples. (This is a long-standing issue and it has been necessary at times for some of the senior princes in Bali to step in personally to pay for and organize the repair of major temples, see Sukawati 1983: 85-95 especially.) The issue was particularly sensitive, because it was rumoured that large amounts of central government funds were being given for the building of mosques in Bali and that they had been given permission to use loudspeakers when calling the faithful to prayer, even when it interfered with ceremonies in Balinese temples. There was much talk of there having been an undertaking by government to fund the sanctuaries and important sites of all religions in Indonesia, but that government had reneged on this promise as far as Balinese Hindu temples were concerned. I suggested that the actors might be referring to what was perceived as the government's breaking of this undertaking and the consequent threat of disrepair to many of the island's main temples, which are not supported by a single worship group.

The commentators discussed the matter for some twenty minutes among themselves. They decided that what I said certainly fitted the evidence and agreed with me, although I could sense some hesitation. They noted in addition that Déwa Madé Sayang was the senior *dalang* at STSI (in fact, it is the school branch of that organization, KOKAR) and that he was very *wanèn*, brave in stating what he believed to be the truth. They pointed to some criticisms of

government which he made as *dalang* during a *sendratari* performance of the story, Pandawa Asrama, at the annual Arts Festival (*Pésta Kesenian* in Denpasar some weeks earlier, a performance which they had seen on television. In fact it was not he who made the remarks on this occasion, as I pointed out. They replied that what stood for Déwa Madé Sayang also went for the other members of the troupe as they worked closely together. That ended the discussion for the time being.

The next morning I got up to find Anak Agung Pekak and Ktut Sutatemaja in deep discussion as, it turned out, they had been for three hours. After a further hour, they came up to me and said that neither had been able to sleep properly because they had been worrying about how to understand the passage at issue and had decided to talk it over carefully together. After doing so, they said, they had decided that my reading was unlikely, although it fitted in some respects. The ground of their decision was that the criticism, here they used the Indonesian *kritik*, had not been properly introduced: it was not *mataled* 'no proper foundation had been laid' (q.v.) by any previous discussion leading up to the theme, but was just dropped in. I countered that the previous sentences here suggest exactly that. It seemed that they were unhappy about endorsing a direct criticism which would be theirs *not* the dancers'. A question of agency is at issue here because, as I have noted, in many instances the actors say nothing either ostensibly critical or obscene. Responsibility for reading it this way lies with members of the audience. Although we did not discuss it in quite these terms, their position seemed to be that, if they accepted that the remarks were critical, because nothing critical had actually been said, they would be being directly critical of central government. On the evidence available - because the statement had not been *mataled* - it would be they who were criticizing government without being able to justify that from what was said.

The matter was left like this, until I went to see Déwa Madé Sayang to discuss aspects of the play. My last question, in a session lasting many hours, was 'the phrase *telah pura* had been used several times during the play, I was not quite clear what was being referred to by this phrase. Could he explain?' He replied by asking quite what I found puzzling, the words were clear. I said that there seemed to me to be two readings (as noted above). He laughed and said without hesitation that it was certainly reasonable to infer a criticism of governmental policy over the funding of temples in Bali. Like the village commentators, he said that it depended on the audience whether they wished to make this inference, but that it had certainly been intended as a possible reference. They had used similar references in other plays.

He went on to say that references like this in dance are common. Because one does not learn everything in school - in fact what one learns in school is seriously inadequate, so people have to seek moral advice and warnings, *panglèmèk*, and *tetuladan*, examples to copy from dance. It falls to actors and *dalang*, in the absence of anyone else to do so, to provide these. Whether a particular dance includes criticism (*kritik*) or not depends on who dances (*sané masolah*). If the performers know about what is happening in government (*uning ring indik-indik kawèntenan ring pamerintahan*). After that it depended on the actor and the circumstances in which the play was being performed.

On the way back to the village Ktut Sutatemaja said that he would accept my reading of the passage, but that one needed to add that such a critical reading also depended on the audience's knowing enough about what was going on to read it that way. Here it was certainly intended by the actors as *kritik*, who in the audience picked it up was another matter.

^{lx} According to the local official of the Department of Religious Affairs, the *Pura Dang Kahyangan* are temples which have a special history of importance to key religious categories in Bali, such as *Resi*, *Padanda*, *Bagawan*. They differ from kingdom to kingdom. For Gianyar, they are:

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|-------------------------|--|
| 1. Pura Bolo | In Br. Gagah, Tengahpadang |
| 2. Pura Geriya Sakti | In Manuaba; also known as Pura Sakti, place of worship of Batara Wau Rauh, who is credited with being a priest from Java who founded, and indeed sired, the five clans of <i>Brahmana</i> in Bali. Manuaba is two kilometres from Tengahpadang |
| 3. Pura Balé Agung | In Taro some eight kilometres to the north of Tengahpadang |
| 4. Pura Taman Pulé | In Mas, Central Gianyar |
| 5. Pura Taman Ayun | This, in fact, is in the adjacent region of Mengwi |
| 6. Pura Samuan Tiga | In Bedaulu, Pèjèng, towards the east of Gianyar |
| 7. Pura Panataran Sasih | Also in Pèjèng |
| 8. Pura Kébo Édan | In Gunung Kawi, Tampaksiring, some six kilometres from Tengahpadang |
| 9. Pura Pulaki | This temple is near the north-western extreme tip of Bali and is far away, but for reasons which were not made clear is of importance in the history of Gianyar. |

The commentators were not quite sure exactly which temples were included in the category of the *Dang Kahyangan*, as the formalization of hierarchies of temples has been principally the work of the Parisada Hindu Dharma in Denpasar. They mentioned the following as being those in Bali which, to the best of their knowledge, were considered important.

- Pura Besakih*

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- Pura Sakènan
 - Pura Pulaki
 - Pura Uluwatu*
 - Pura Lempuyang*
 - Pura Gua (Le)lawah*
 - Pura Batu Karu
 - Pura Gunung Andakasa*
 - Pura Pucuk Mangu

* These temples form part of the list designated as **Ṣaḍkahyaṇan** by the official from the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The following are temples of island-wide importance to all Balinese are those designated as **Ṣaḍkahyaṇan**:

1. Pura Besakih This temple, in northern Bangli, is now considered for many purposes the central or 'Mother' temple of Balinese Hinduism
2. Pura Batur This is the temple north of Tengahpadang in Kintamani, poised on the ridge of the central volcano which formed Bali and in which lies lake Batur
3. Pura Gua (Le)lawah The temple containing a bat cave on the coast of Klungkung opposite Nusa Penida, by the grace of whose deity, Sri Aji Palaka was able to beget an heir in the play
4. Pura Andakasa Neither the commentators nor other villagers knew any details about this temple, except that it was thought to be in Karangasem
5. Pura Uluwatu The temple on the southern tip of the island, already referred to in the play
6. Pura Lempuyang In Karangasem.

(Integrate details of the (different) version given in *Upadeça* p. 56-60.)