



B. Hauser-Schäublin

The politics of sacred space; Using conceptual models of space for socio-political transformations in Bali

In: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 160 (2004), no: 2/3, Leiden, 283-314

**This PDF-file was downloaded from <http://www.kitlv-journals.nl>**

BRIGITTA HAUSER-SCHÄUBLIN

## The politics of sacred space Using conceptual models of space for socio-political transformations in Bali

### *Introduction*

The importance of conceptual models in the cultural organization of space is an old topic in anthropology that was first elaborated by Durkheim and Mauss (1903). Studies throughout Southeast Asia have revealed the importance of cosmological models (undoubtedly of Hindu and Buddhist origin) for the layout of temples, cities, palaces, and principalities. These models have been treated from different perspectives by scholars of Southeast Asian: Van Ossenbruggen (1977, first published in 1916), in his famous *monca-pat* article, emphasized how the model of the 'fourfold division' works as a principle of classification. Pigeaud (1977, first published in 1928) spoke of 'chains of correspondences' that link different categories, such as colours, calendrical units, numbers, animals, plants, gods, astronomical phenomena, and states of mind. Lombard (1990:56) considered these 'correspondences' between the structure of society, time, and space to be typical of the agrarian society of inland kingdoms of Southeast Asia. Damais (1969) investigated the origin of the relationship between cardinal points, colours, and cycles of days. Using his concept of microcosm/macrocosm, Heine-Geldern (1930) demonstrated how people in various Southeast Asian societies tried to live in harmony with the cosmos by shaping the state, city, palace, temple, and monastery accordingly; consequently he attributed divinity to the king and kingship (Heine-Geldern 1942).

Most scholars' analyses of these elaborate conceptual, religiously based models of the organization of space have dealt mainly with cultures that

---

BRIGITTA HAUSER-SCHÄUBLIN is Professor of Anthropology at the Institute of Cultural and Social Anthropology, University of Göttingen, and holds a PhD from the University of Basle. She is the author of 'The precolonial Balinese state reconsidered; A critical evaluation of theory construction on the relationship between irrigation, the state, and ritual', *Current Anthropology* 44, 2003, pp. 153-81, and "'Bali Aga" and Islam; Ethnicity, ritual practice and Old-Balinese as an anthropological construct', *Indonesia* 77, 2004, pp. 1-29. Professor Hauser-Schäublin may be reached at the Institute of Cultural and Social Anthropology, University of Göttingen, Theaterplatz 15, D-37073 Göttingen, Germany. Email: <bhauser@gwdg.de>.

vanished a long time ago; Angkor Vat, Borobudur, and Prambanan are probably the most famous.<sup>1</sup> Only a few historical sources give indications of how the abstract model was applied to the physical world. There is, for example, an illuminating case from Java described in the Babad Gianti (Lombard 1990:99-101) of how after a devastating defeat a whole capital – Kartasura – was moved and replaced by a new capital in a new place – Surakarta – constructed in 1745 according to a pre-existing spatial model. Although an area with geographically ideal conditions (a flat area without any mountains or swamps) was available, a much less desirable location (one with swamps and hills) was chosen. The sites for the palace and the rest of the city were determined ‘à des exigences d’ordre géomantique plus que topographique’ (Lombard 1990:100). The people already living there were evacuated so that construction could be carried out without any restrictions. The topographically ‘easier’ site was disregarded because it was considered inauspicious, whereas the second location was associated with the hope of a possible conversion (or reconversion) of the people to Buddhism. This example shows two things. First, the decision was the result of geomantic practices. This says something about the relationship between cosmological notions, physical space, and the human settlement (here, the capital) to be built there. The relationship, as Tooker (1996) has convincingly demonstrated for the Akha, is one of alignment: in order to construct a human settlement in which people, plants, and animals prosper, there must be a positive flux of potency between the cosmos and the place where humans live. It is this proper alignment which allows humans to tap cosmological potency. The site not chosen in the example summarized above would have resulted in improper alignment, and thus not have allowed the community to tap cosmological potency. The second issue relevant in the Kartasura/Surakarta example is who the actors are: those who articulate notions of auspiciousness/inauspiciousness and those who make the final decision where to build the new capital.

In this article based on fieldwork in Bali,<sup>2</sup> I examine the relationship between the ideational concept and its implementation in the physical world in the context of politics and social ordering of a village community in Bali.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a review of such examples, see the contributions on Buddhist and Hindu art, architecture, and religion in Eggebrecht and Eggebrecht 1995; Miksic 1996; De Casparis and Mabbett 1992; Dumarçay 1991; Jessup and Zéphir 1997; Klokke 1995.

<sup>2</sup> My fieldwork in Intaran (1987-1993) was partly sponsored by Swiss National Research Funds. In this article I draw on data published in a monograph on the more than fifty temples of Intaran (Hauser-Schäublin 1997).

<sup>3</sup> The geo-cosmological model presented below is the one predominantly dealt with in anthropological literature. Until recently, the model was restricted mainly to those areas where *brahmana* priests dominated religious life. The so-called Bali-Aga villages, most of them in the mountains, followed different principles for the organization of space; I do not deal with their principles here.

Hindu-Balinese culture represents one of the few places where Hindu or Hindu-Buddhist conceptual models have survived<sup>4</sup> and are still relevant in everyday and ritual practice, even in urban contexts (Lancret 1997) and tourist resorts (Waldner 1998; Hauser-Schäublin 2000). This case of the *desa adat* ('customary village') of Intaran (nowadays part of the tourist resort Sanur in South Bali) may also contribute to an understanding of how space was used in other Southeast Asian cultures as well. I begin by outlining the principles of concepts of space existing in Bali and how these relate to the model of the Three Village Temples as well as to stages of the life cycle of individuals. So far, most anthropologists have implicitly followed the dominant Balinese discourse on the model by subordinating social space to religious space. The question of agency – how powerful actors manipulate and apply the geo-cosmological model to social reality so that the outcome serves their own political ends – has received little attention (Schulte Nordholt 1991; Hauser-Schäublin 1993, 1997; Howe 2001). I demonstrate how powerful actors – the local lord and his *brahmana* priest(s) – have used the model of the Three Village Temples (*kahyangan tiga*) to socially restructure the village, establishing a new social order by means of manipulating sacred space.

#### *The Balinese geo-cosmological model*

The Balinese perception of landscape is highly structured. Many different values are associated with the various cardinal directions and locations; these are closely related to those of the universe as a whole.<sup>5</sup> In Balinese culture three separate models deal with space: 1. the compass rose, or rose of the winds, *nawa sanga*, 2. the microcosm/macrocosm (*buana alit/buana agung*), and 3. the model of the two axes, *kaja/kelod* (mountainward/seaward) and *kangin/kauh* (east/west), that often crosscut each other. Not all of the models are equally important for the organization of space. The *nawa sanga* is strongly linked to *brahmana* knowledge and practice. It is the concept of 'the rose of the winds, the *nawa sanga*, with the cardinal directions, their patron gods, their corresponding syllables and the colours of each' (Covarrubias 1986:296). The wind directions, and with them the gods – the 'official' Hindu gods – complement each other, but the centre combines and integrates all of them and therefore ranks above all the directions. Offerings of different kinds (Brinkgreve 1992) are generally based on this model. Houses, compounds,

<sup>4</sup> Creese (2001:5) points out: 'Because Bali remained largely untouched by the process of Islamization that affected its neighbours, the Hindu and Buddhist traditions reflected in Old Javanese literature have remained an integral part of its religious life'.

<sup>5</sup> Budihardjo 1986; DelGuidice 1996; Waldner 1998; Hauser-Schäublin 2000.

villages, and temples are mostly organized on a different model, one that has often been associated with oppositions,<sup>6</sup> those between east (*kangin*) and west (*kauh*), and mountainward (*kaja*) and seaward (*kelod*). The two axes are frequently combined with each other, especially when applied to the living world and the orientation people seek to achieve within it. Both axes are not static but dynamic. The east/west axis follows the path of the sun, the mountainward/seaward axis follows the flow of water. The model based on the two major axes is combined with the centre-focused model in villages that have a ruling noble's compound (Covarrubias 1986:43, first published in 1937; Budihardjo 1986:Figure 9). Howe (2001:120-1) suggests that the palace is located in the centre just as the capital is in the centre of the realm. However, as I have shown elsewhere (Hauser-Schäublin 1993), in terms of its organization, the 'centre' relies on the principle of the two intersecting axes, represented in the village by the intersection of the two main roads. From a physical perspective, this crossroads is a void space. It is there and not at the palace where the gods from all directions meet and where all major purification rituals stop to present offerings. This is the actual centre. A whole complex of buildings and open spaces, the palace, one of the major village temples, the market, and the public meeting place are located in the quarters adjacent to this intersection, according to the notions and values associated with the mountainward/seaward and east/west directions. This core complex is, symbolically, a condensed form of the village, a 'small world' both mirroring and intertwined with the 'big world'. But at the same time it introduces the notion of core and superiority in relation to the rest of the village compounds. The 'big world' (*buana agung*) and the 'small world' (*buana alit*) constitute the model of macrocosm/microcosm (Weck 1986, first published in 1937). A house, a compound, a temple, a village are structured in analogy to each other, following the principle of the (perceived) structure of the big world, with its mountains where the gods live, the valleys people inhabit, and the sea which is crossed by the souls of the dead when they leave the world of the living. This model is tripartite since it defines three regions: an upper region, a middle region, and a lower region. The same tripartite structure can be recognized in the spatial patterns of the microcosmos, that of household compounds. The mountainward/eastern corner of a compound is where the household temple is usually located; in the seaward/western direction are located the kitchen, the pigsty, and the toilet. In between these opposite directions lie the houses for receiving guests and those for meetings as well as the sleeping quarters. As a result, within a village each adjacent

<sup>6</sup> For a critical discussion of the notion of opposition in relation to the spatial concept of the two axes, see Hobart 1978. He mentions that the classifications go well beyond purity/impurity and also include oppositions like gods/demons, male/female, day/night (Hobart 1978:6). I do not consider these further classifications in this article.

compound defines anew its own cosmos and its alignment. A row of compounds is like a series of individual cosmoses lined up along a village path, like a chain of recursive microcosms.

This model is applied not only to the space that people live in but also to the cosmos and the human body. In relation to the body a further axis comes in: verticality. This axis is not identical to the mountainward/seaward axis, though the two may have many similarities. Verticality is a dimension of upright elements like shrines, trees, and the world axis – but also the human body. Accordingly, the regions, starting with the head (or the heavens, the realm of the gods) and ending with the feet (or the world below, the realm of demons) are in hierarchical relation to each other: the highest level is considered purest, the lowest is impure. The sky is the abode of gods, the earth is the world of humans, and the world below is the realm of demons. The top of a shrine is the point nearest to the sky, the world of the gods, and its ‘feet’ are grounded in the earth, where offerings are to be placed to appease the demons.

When a Balinese goes to sleep (that is, changes his upright position into a horizontal one), he carefully avoids having his head pointing toward *kelod* or *kauh* these being inauspicious directions. He will adjust his head to *kaja* or *kangin*. As the analogy between the cosmos, a building, a village, and the human body clearly shows, these worlds are considered to be identically structured and mutually constituted by a law of ‘nature’ which at the same time is a law founded in religion (see Figure 1). Therefore, the structure of these domains and their analogues are a divine given; they require proper alignment in order to achieve harmony and prosperity; improper alignment has the opposite effect, since the divine potency inherent in these worlds cannot then flow properly between these worlds.

### *The model of the Three Village Temples*

This tripartite model (sometimes referred to as *tri angka*) also serves as the fundamental structuring of a *desa adat* (‘customary village’), where it is called the model of the Three Village Temples (*kahyangan tiga*). In two of his influential articles Goris (1984a, first published in 1935; 1984b, first published in 1937) argued that the Balinese *desa*, or village community, is religious in nature, a topos since then firmly established (see, for example, Geertz 1980:52; Stuart Fox 2002:23-9). He described the three major village temples as the cornerstones not only of the village layout but of the whole of *desa* society. The territory, he argued, is determined by the location of these three most important temples. At about the same time as Goris’s publication, Covarrubias (1986:43, first published in 1937) produced a map of the

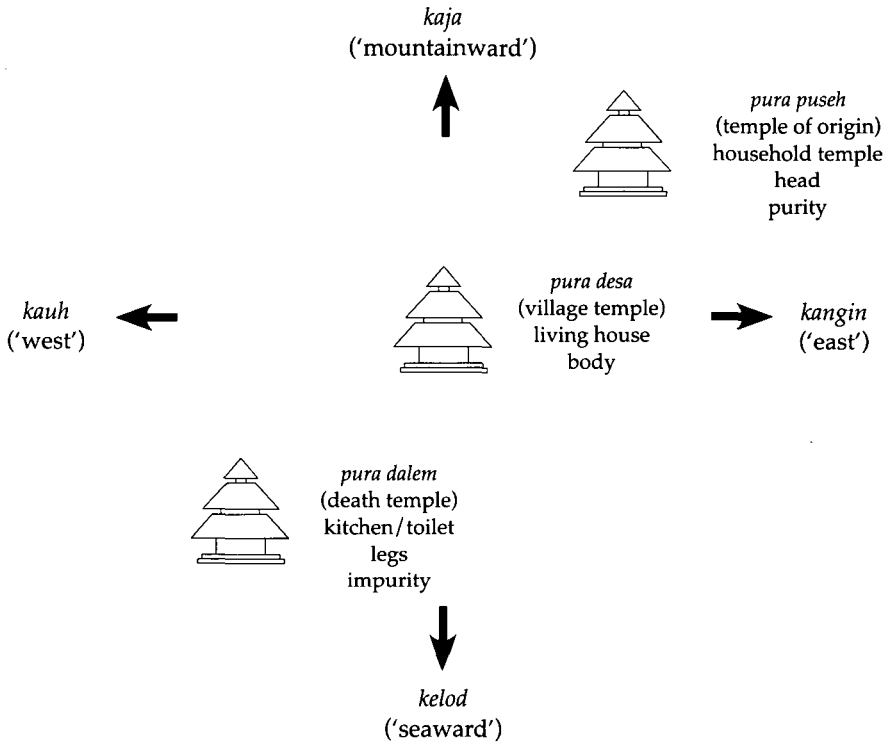


Figure 1. The model of the two intersecting axes and the idealized sites of the Three Village Temples within the village territory with their analogues in the human body and the household compound. In South Bali, 'mountainward' is nowadays often identified with 'north', 'seaward' with 'south'.

idealized layout of 'a typical village'. This map not only shows the temples and the market place; it also makes clear that the palace or noble compound (*puri*) of the local ruler was part of the sacred (but man-made) topography. The embedding of the ruler's compound in the implementation of the geocosmological model appeared as self-evident and as divine as the model itself, not only to the Balinese but also to anthropologists.

The question<sup>7</sup> as to how close the relationship is between the social body of the village community and the Three Village Temple system has been debated

<sup>7</sup> I will not enter the discussion started by Korn (1984) when he spelled out what he (and others before him) had thought about the Old Balinese village of Tenganan as a socio-politically bounded entity, the village republic (*dorpsrepubliek*). Since Old Balinese villages are differently organized than those strongly influenced by lords and *brahmana* priests in the south of the island (on which most anthropologists focused), the discussion would lead too far afield.

by anthropologists. Geertz (1967, first published in 1959), in his article on form and variation in Balinese village structure, presents the example of the village – in this case the large administrative unit of a *perbekelan* – of Nyalian.<sup>8</sup> He points out that there are four sets of *kahyangan tiga* temples. The general impression one gets from his description of Nyalian is that the different forms of social affiliations crosscut each other ‘randomly’ (Geertz 1967:269-70); he gives a heterogeneous picture of social life. He then contrasts Nyalian with another village, Tihingan, that has just one set of *kahyangan tiga* temples to which all members of the hamlet (Tihingan proper) belong.<sup>9</sup> In conclusion he shows that territorial and social organization consist of different planes of organization that are ‘to a very large degree independent of one other’.<sup>10</sup>

Guermonprez (1990:67) has pointed out that ‘village studies have failed to fully understand the significance of the basic configuration of village society’. He considers the communal temples (the *kahyangan tiga* system) and the related rituals as pre-eminent constituents of the village; the village community is unified by ritual and is a political community as well. The vertical relations between gods and humans structure the village (*desa*), while horizontal relations among humans structure the neighbourhoods (*banjar*).<sup>11</sup> This implies that village life rests on religio-social foundations. Or, as Warren (1993:141) formulates it, ‘The village temple system explicitly symbolizes the integrity of the sacred and mundane order in which living and dead, ancestral and divine interact as coeval members of the community’.

The *kahyangan tiga* system, therefore, is a fundamental structuring principle of a *desa adat*. According to this principle, the Three Temple system<sup>12</sup> includes the temple dedicated to the deified village founders, the *pura puseh*, often translated as Temple of Origin or Navel Temple. Ideally, this temple is located in the mountainward/eastern part of the inhabited territory, the cemetery with the Death Temple, *pura dalem*, in the most seaward/western direction. The Village Temple proper, the *pura desa*, is usually located more or less in the centre of the settlement. Wassmann and Dasen (1998:693) put it concisely:

<sup>8</sup> In this article, Geertz gives a bewildering picture of what ‘villages’ in Bali can be like. Since his goal was to show that there is no such a thing as ‘the village’, he compares ritual and socio-political units on different levels with each other. He does not even take into account the policies of the Dutch colonial administration that merged formerly autonomous villages.

<sup>9</sup> Geertz 1967:269-72. The picture of Tihingan presented in Geertz and Geertz (1975:41-5) differs slightly; only the hamlet of Pau (and not Tihingan proper) seems to be complete in terms of *kahyangan tiga*.

<sup>10</sup> Geertz 1967:278. See also the critiques by Boon 1977 and Guermonprez 1990.

<sup>11</sup> Warren (1993:22) points out that a ‘hierarchy’ distinction between *desa* and *banjar* does not necessarily imply a subordination of the *banjar* to the *desa*.

<sup>12</sup> As have others, Stuart-Fox (2002:23-9) has pointed out that in several villages there are only two (instead of three) village temples.



Villages are built prototypically along a *kaja-kelod* line, with the main temple (Pura Bale Agung [or Pura Desa]) and the temple of the purified village ancestors (Pura Puseh) on the mountain side and the cemetery on the sea side.

As these examples show, the analogy between the organization of the macrocosm and the microcosm has been repeated by several generations of anthropologists. This assumption implies the acceptance of the equivalence not only between the natural world, the 'big world', and the 'small world', both created by the gods, but also the equivalence between these religiously based worlds and the world created socially by men and women. Implicitly, the organization of space on all levels is presented as a natural order of gods, things, and men.

#### *Sacred space and the individual life cycle*

Hobart (1978) focuses on the dynamism of the geo-cosmological model. He views the life cycle of the individual human being as analogous to the east/west movement of the sun. The different buildings within a compound are used for different stages of the life-cycle rituals. The first ritual for a new human being takes place in the household (or compound) temple where the souls reside. Then the life-cycle rituals for the newly born human being are carried out in the compound, subsequently moving from stage to stage in a western direction through the different areas. After death the cycle continues, leaving the compound and proceeding to the graveyard (where the corpse is buried at the southern edge of the village). Finally, the soul becomes purified and moves back to the east, where it again becomes seated in the household temple.<sup>13</sup> Apart from being mere sites for rites of passage focusing on bodies and souls, the cycle represents a cycle of status changes – sites where the transformation of the person and his/her status within Balinese society takes place. Within the village territory, Hobart argues, a similar movement of village life from mountainward to seaward takes place: from the *pura puseh*, the temple where the deified ('pure') village founders are worshipped, to the *pura dalem*, the death temple and the graveyard where 'impure' corpses are buried and demons linger. In contrast to the analogy of mountainward/seaward motion to the 'flow of water' from high-ranking to low-ranking people,<sup>14</sup> there is no social hierarchy related to the east/west movement of a

<sup>13</sup> DelGuidice (1996:42-56) recently came to a similar conclusion, obviously without having seen Hobart's article, in her chapter on 'ritual in the landscape'.

<sup>14</sup> 'The flow of water' (in rivers, holy water, and semen) has been described as following the path from the superior to the inferior group, be it with holy water (used in rituals) or with

person. Instead there is a transformation that returns to the east (origin) again through the world of the unseen (*niskala*). In this context the axis becomes a circle. Ottino (1998), drawing on Guernonprez and Hobart, develops an integrating perspective of the Three Village Temples. She views the *kahyangan tiga* as

a construct by means of which the process of reproduction of the *desa adat* is ordered into three successive phases: [...] birth, social life and death in the human life-cycle, and to emergence, fruition and decay in the natural environment. Since, in Balinese terms, death implies re-birth and decay resurgence, the completion of the three-stage cycle automatically implies the initiation of a new cycle. This idea is fundamental to the *kahyangan tiga*. The temple of origin stands for birth, the assembly hall for social life, and the temple of the dead for death and preparation of the next cycle. In this way, the *kahyangan tiga* forms a conceptual unit where the mechanisms of reproduction of society are represented in an idealised form, as a self-generating and dynamic system. (Ottino 1998:29.)

Ottino demonstrates that this reproduction takes place on the psychological and the physical level for the individual person in relation to the *pura dalem*, whereas the collective identity associated with membership in the *desa adat* community is provided through the *purah puseh/bale agung*.

#### *Physical space and social space*

After this brief review of anthropological approaches to Balinese spatial organization, I conclude that space has been viewed as a given sacred framework that is beyond any human intervention. This is somewhat surprising, since Hobart has drawn to our attention the analogy between the flow of water in the domain of social life with that in the physical world. Here, the interrelatedness of physical space and social space is clear. If we look at life-cycle and death-cycle rituals, we realize that physical space is used by members of high standing, for example of *brahmana* or royal descent, to make differences visible to ordinary people. As Howe (2001:121-5) has shown, within a graveyard people of different standing are buried according to spatial principles that express social difference. As I once had the opportunity to observe, the corpse of a *brahmana* priest, a *pedanda*, is kept in an area

---

semen (in marriage relations between superior and inferior status groups, or 'castes') (Hobart 1978; Schulte Nordholt 1991:155-9, 1996:151-5). However, the notion that the flow of breast milk that goes down from one generation to the next can also 'flow up' in the social hierarchy has been widely neglected. This occurs when a woman of a non-title-bearing clan marries a man of higher standing. Their child will have the status of its father even though it has been fed with the lower-standing mother's 'water'.

adjacent to the *brahmana* compound temple. It is unthinkable that the corpse of a person of lower ranking would be kept in such a place. Moreover, the cremation site for a *pedanda* must be pure and uncontaminated by corpses of ordinary people; the site is therefore separate from that for 'ordinary' people. The same applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the cremation site for members of a royal family.

This introduces my next topic. The different meanings and values assigned to particular parts of physical space are interpreted by the Balinese in terms of complementarity; but if these meanings and values are transposed to the social plane, difference is expressed in terms of social inequality. Physical space – even if culturally defined as having a god-given order – and social space seem to be interconnected.

According to Bourdieu (1990, 1991), social space has a specific structure and is multidimensional; there are certain principles of distinction and distribution which govern the social space. Bourdieu identifies different kinds of power or capital – economic or cultural/symbolic – that constitute the social arena. The total capital available is always limited; it is therefore the focus of competition. The distribution of actors within the social arena depends not only on the amount of capital the actors own but also on what kind of capital. Certain factors weigh more heavily in different contexts.

Symbolic capital as Bourdieu has defined it (see also Bourdieu 1993) refers to the degree of accumulated prestige, celebrity, consecration, or honour and is founded on a dialectic of knowledge (*connaissance*) and recognition (*reconnaissance*) (Johnson 1993:7). According to Geertz (1980) the social arena in Bali is determined mainly by symbolic capital, that of titles and status, rather than by economic capital. As is well known, Balinese society is complex, with its *varna* system of titled groups (*wesia*, *satria*, and *brahmana*). The titles Balinese people bear not only give testimony to a person's claim but also are evidence of public acknowledgment ('*reconnaissance*') of that person's status. But most Balinese do not belong to a title-bearing group. Apart from titles there are additional different forms of symbolic capital – descent, birth order, gender, but also consecration, ritual purity, and different forms of knowledge and spiritual power, *sakti*. Status is, as Bourdieu has it, an important kind of symbolic capital, a capital for which certain groups of people continuously compete. Many Balinese aspire to attain or create a new title in order to acquire a higher social standing or more prestige or honour. Due to the absence of an absolute or fixed order of ranking, the continuous struggle for higher status has created a dynamic society with continuously shifting positions.

Nowadays the 'invention' of chronicles with high-status ancestors is one of the strategies ambitious people (sometimes whole kinship groups) in Bali use to prove their noble descent and the legitimacy of their claims to certain titles (Schulte Nordholt 1994). Under the modern conditions of a capitalist

economy, it is especially those people who have significant economic capital who participate – successfully – in the struggle for titles and ranking. It is mainly relatively wealthy people who can convince (or pay) some prestigious *brahmana* or other learned person to produce a genealogy for them that ‘proves’ and legitimates their claim to higher status. Therefore, even within the context of *adat*<sup>15</sup> symbolic capital cannot be completely separated from economic capital.

One must keep in mind that the actual ranking or social standing of an actor always depends on the specific situation, the kinds of symbolic capital at stake, and the relation to other actors present. This fits Bourdieu’s descriptions of social space very well. According to him each actor’s (or group of actors’) position in this social space depends on the amount of capital he possesses. I suggest that powerful individuals use the geo-cosmological model to make visible the unequal positions of actors and groups, reflecting their distinction and distribution within social space. The macrocosm with its axes that crosscut each other expresses the complementarity of top and down or mountain and sea on the one hand, and east and west on the other. Howe (2001:116) argues, like Guernonprez (1989) before him, that mountainward and seaward are in a hierarchical relationship to each other.

As we have seen, when the model is applied to a concrete human body or to the space of a compound or village, the top of an axis is ranked higher than the bottom, based on notions of purity/impurity. Purity and impurity are ranked differently according to what Fox (1994) has called precedence. Therefore, top, mountainward, and east precede down, seaward, and west respectively. The head precedes the feet, the household temple the pigsty, and the location of the Temple of Origin (*purah puseh*) the location of the Death Temple with the graveyard.<sup>16</sup> Although the Balinese are very much concerned with purity and impurity in ritual contexts, this opposition has not been translated into categories which allow the separation of people from each other and their classification into a fixed series of ‘higher’ or ‘lower’ social classes or castes.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, the geo-cosmological model offers the Balinese an excellent means to achieve social distinction and to express ranking and hierarchical relations.

<sup>15</sup> In the context of *dinas* (administrative or business life), traditional titles are less important than education (in a Western sense), titles gained through education, job position, and economic potential.

<sup>16</sup> If a woman gave birth to twins of opposite sex, the family was considered impure and was (and sometimes still is) expelled from the village to stay at the graveyard for a couple of weeks or months. Only after an elaborate purification ritual were the couple allowed to move back to their house.

<sup>17</sup> Dumont (1967) has taken the opposition between purity/impurity as the basis of all hierarchy in India, purity/impurity being the axis along which the castes are differentiated.

Hierarchy is achieved when the different axes and their poles are combined – and not just considered individually – and when these axes are merged with the notion of social inequality and social status. This is expressed in many ways. For example, the number of the superimposed roofs of a shrine in a temple is not only linked to the social standing of the god or deified ancestor who is worshipped there but also to the social standing of the family or clan who ‘owns’ the shrine. Therefore, the status of gods and the status of the owner are clearly interrelated. The most powerful clans have the shrines of their ancestors in the most important locations of the temple as well; at the same time, the most important and most powerful location is equated with the most favoured cosmological standing. The socially highest position in this context is backed by the holiest or most sacred position in the realm of divine potency. But it is not the individual shrine and its location as such that expresses highest social standing; only in relation to other shrines, the number of their roofs, the height of their base, the size and form of their body, as well as other architectural characteristics and the location of the shrines does social ranking among the shrines become obvious. And this ranking is not one based on opposites like superior/inferior; rather, the ranking is based on a combination of several criteria that finally produces a complex hierarchical order. Therefore, the building of a new shrine within a public temple is always of great public interest since its construction simultaneously makes statements about the ranking of individuals and groups within society. The renovation of an individual shrine in a larger temple – especially if more than one social group is responsible for it – is often subject to considerable debate and negotiation.

Social relations between members of title-bearing groups of differing status are negotiated or renegotiated within space at official meetings as well. The negotiation of space – *kaja/kangin* (mountainward/east) being the position associated with the highest social ranking – proves to be dynamic and fluid. If people do not know each other, they will, especially if they belong to a title-bearing group, cautiously sound out the other person’s social standing. In this context the Balinese use a metaphor of physical space to inquire about the social standing of the other person. The standard question is: ‘Where are you seated?’, meaning ‘what is your social standing or your membership in a title-bearing group?’ (see also Geertz 1980:123). Sometimes it is the host who arranges the seating order when people do not know each other. Everybody will trust him to place people correctly according to their status and rank. When there is a political meeting of important men, the *kaja/kangin* position will be reserved for the highest ranking guest. During the annual festival in one of the major public temples of Intaran, I observed how some people who claimed noble descent tried to demonstrate their social position (and therefore also their standing within the world of cosmological potency) by

occupying a location within the temple court that was associated with purity as well as high social standing. When worshippers gathered in front of the shrines for a communal prayer under the ritual guidance of a *brahmana* priest, it was the *kaja/kangin* corner that was the most contested location.

As will be clear by now, spatial order as such draws its legitimacy from the religious, the sacred order of nature, gods, and humans. And of course there are 'keepers' of the sacred model. They are, in Bourdieu's terms, 'knowing' persons (*connaissance*) who are aware of how sacred and social space are constituted and what kind of symbolic capital is at issue. In Bali, *brahmana* priests, the religious leaders and experts of a community, are considered – by other Balinese people (*reconnaissance*) and also by themselves – to be in charge of 'the model' and its correct use; the appropriate site and direction of houses and temples is believed to be a prerequisite for a happy and prosperous life. In fact, priests are important actors in determining how the model should be used – but they are not the only 'knowing' individuals, as I will show by presenting the case of Intaran.

#### *The political restructuring of the village layout*

Remembering what I had read before my fieldwork about the geo-cosmological model, I looked for the Three Village Temples in the *desa adat* Intaran. When I asked people about these temples without making any reference to Intaran, they reproduced the 'model of' so aptly described by Covarrubias and Geertz as well as by many other anthropologists: *pura puseh*, *pura desa* and *pura dalem*. But when I asked the same people about the actual names and locations of Intaran's village temples, they replied: Pura Bale Agung, Pura Dalem, and Pura Kahyangan (see Figure 2).

To my surprise, there was no *pura puseh*, the temple of the deified village founders, but Intaran did have a Pura Desa. However, the Pura Desa was not considered one of the Three Village Temples. I became aware that the spatial distribution of Pura Bale Agung, Pura Dalem, and Pura Kahyangan did not follow the order of the model. When I pressed people for an explanation of why their Three Village Temples differed from the way they 'should' be and why the Pura Desa was not regarded as one of the public temples, they had no answer.

How could such a discrepancy between the geo-cosmological model and the spatial organization of the village be possible at all, and in what terms can it be explained? Was it indeed 'topography' or 'historical accident' that was responsible for the inconsistency? Of all the authors who have written on the conception of the spatial model of organization in Bali, only a few have wondered why they often found deviations from the model when looking

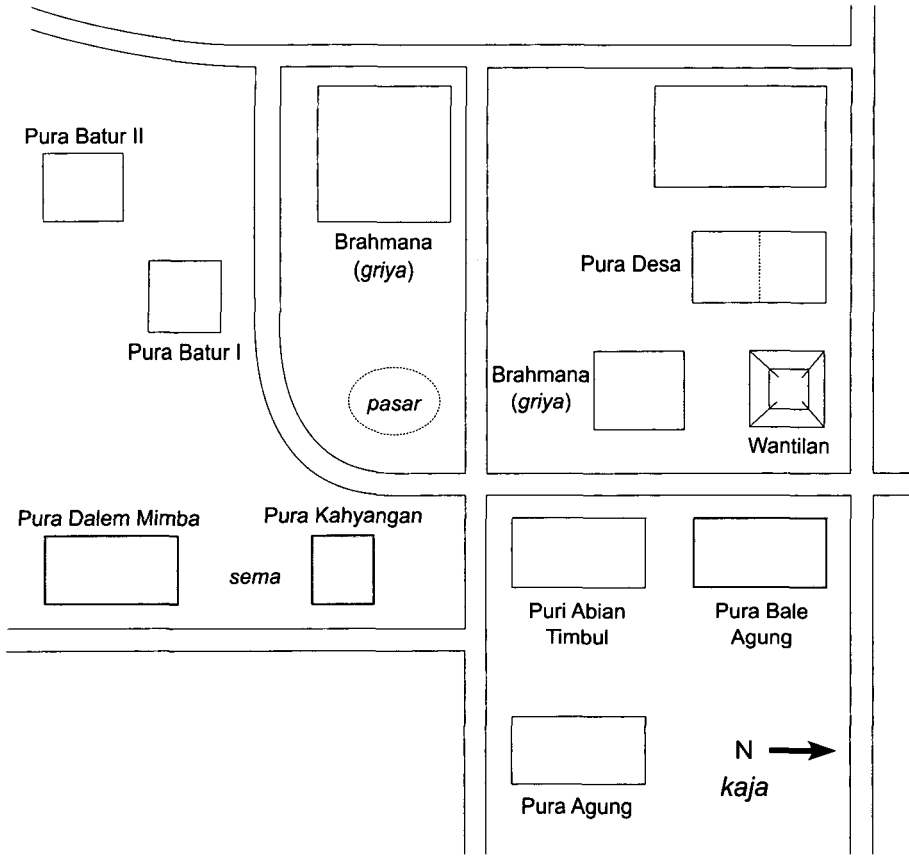


Figure 2. The location and names of the Three Village Temples in Intaran in the 1990s: Pura Bale Agung, Pura Dalem Mimba, and Pura Kahyangan (with its adjacent graveyard, or *sema*)

at a particular village. Wassmann and Dasen (1998:691), approaching their study of the use of conceptual space in Bali from a cognitive perspective, note that ‘the extensive ethnographic literature on spatial symbolism has tended to neglect the spatial concepts in daily use by individual actors’. Hobart mentions that the territorial organization of the village he studied followed the ideal closely. Where this was not the case he attributed it to ‘the variation due to topography and historical accident’ (Hobart 1978:10).

In the course of my fieldwork I continued to document the spatial organization of the village of Intaran. It consists of 18 neighbourhoods spread over a rather wide area, but the core of the village and its traditional layout can easily be recognized. After some time, I came across a site where people spoke of a former *puri*, a noble compound or palace. Today, no traces of

this palace are left; only ordinary compounds are to be seen. My informants pointed out that today there still exists another noble compound owned by a different noble family that had nothing to do with the former *puri*. People referred to this still-prominent noble family as *gusti*, a title for members of the *satria* class. Some even used *anak agung*, an honorary title which expresses even more respect than the usual title, *gusti*. Besides these princely compounds there were several *griya*, or *brahmana* compounds, each with at least one *pedanda* or *brahmana* priest. The majority of the inhabitants of the village, however, bore no title at all. It became apparent that, already a long time ago, Intaran had been a principality with a pyramid-like social structure; at the apex had been a local sovereign who in turn was just one among several other regional nobles in the service of a more powerful *raja*, or king, who had been in control of a large part of South Bali.

I gradually formed a coherent picture of Intaran's social stratification by tracing the spatial distribution of the former and the contemporary *puri*, the compounds of members of noble clans as well as *brahmana*, the market place, and the major crossroads.

Since interviewing people about the unusual names and locations of the Three Village Temples brought no results, I developed a complex combination of methods that focused on the detailed documentation of temples and of rituals performed in all major temples. In fact, rituals became a major source of information, since performing a collective ritual apparently acts as a kind of non-verbalized memory. In the context of the performance of such a ritual, it was possible to gather verbalized information that emerged spontaneously from the memory of participants, stimulated by the ritual context, that in daily life was almost beyond reach.

A major clue for solving the puzzle of the lack of congruence between conceptual model and social practice came at the annual festival at the Pura Desa, the temple which, according to its name, should be one of the Three Village Temples but is not regarded as such. Many people had stated that they would never enter the Pura Desa because they had nothing to do with it. During the festival I observed that some of the dozens of pilgrims who came to the temple went to all the major shrines to give some offerings and to pray. Others left out some of the shrines and prayed only in front of one or two. I also realized that an almost invisible boundary divided the temple courtyard into two parts. Some people, when I asked why they did not worship in front of what I thought was one of the two main altars of the entire temple, told me that they avoided that shrine because it was dedicated to the ancestors of a 'family'. Since they were not members of that clan they had no reason to pray there. Others whispered that this shrine had only the status of a family sanctuary, and not that of a public temple. 'See,' added one, 'there is a direct door leading to a compound. This is more or less their [that family's] household temple.'



By contrast, the second major shrine within the temple, the one in the southern part, was dedicated to the god of the hearth, Brahma, who is the protector of the village and all its inhabitants. All pilgrims stopped to pray at this shrine.

By relating different bits of information to each other, I came to understand the processes involved. But first and foremost I had to revise my belief that, as Geertz and others had written, the whole village grounds – and I had assumed especially temple grounds – was sacred space reserved for the gods, and people did not interfere. I came to realize that the opposite was true: sacred space is an arena for staging political battles and the place where the fingerprints of the winner become visible. These battles, of course, were not between ‘ordinary’ people but between the most powerful: noble clans fighting for supremacy to become the local rulers. Sacred space was, indeed, what Bourdieu had called social space. As it turned out, it was social space that inscribed a definite order, that is, the relationships between the various actors and groups, in the village layout. Conversely, this fixed form of the village layout established a more-or-less permanent social order – to be torn down only when the social order of the village came to be turned upside down. The ‘cultural patterns’ of the ‘model of’ and ‘model for,’ to use Geertz’s phrasing,<sup>18</sup> were, therefore, far from being passive entities. I discovered that they were powerful instruments in the hands of political actors. As a consequence, I started to investigate the socio-political history of Intaran.

The history of Intaran as a *desa* probably started in the early seventeenth century with the imposition of a hierarchical order by an immigrant gentry clan, Arya Sentong, and its followers. In fact, a village had existed there before, but it was one with a completely different structure. That village was called *wanua*<sup>19</sup> not *desa* and it had a different name, Mimba. Apparently it was not based on a *varna* system, with a single ruler at the apex, but on a clan system, probably similar to what is known from so-called Old Balinese villages.

As soon as the Arya Sentong clan had established its rule over the village, its first ruler, I Gusti Perean, sent for *brahmana* ritual specialists (Brahmana Mas) to move from faraway Perean (Tabanan regency) to Intaran and build a *griya* near his palace. Together, the two powerful actors, the *satria* ruler, possessing political power, and the *brahmana* priest, or *pedanda*, possessing ritual leadership, founded the first of the Three Village Temples, the Pura Dalem Mimba, with the graveyard adjacent to it. Such a *pura dalem* (or Temple of the Dead) is always the first temple to be built when a new *desa* is founded (Swellengrebel 1984:43). The care for the not-yet-purified souls of

<sup>18</sup> Geertz 1973a. In Geertz’s phrasing, the ‘model of’ is the ideational concept that is applied as ‘model for’ reshaping social reality; ‘models of’ and ‘models for’ constitute each other; they form culture patterns.

<sup>19</sup> *Wanua* is an old term for an uninhabited area; people nowadays translate it as ‘forest’.

the ancestors takes place there. In the case of Intaran, the name of the temple, Pura Dalem Mimba, commemorates the previous settlement. Immediately afterward they founded the Pura Puseh, the temple of the ruler's deified ancestors, and the Pura Desa, the village temple proper. The determination of the sites for the temples, together with the foundation, construction, and inauguration of each temple, was an act of cooperation between ruler and priest.<sup>20</sup> This cooperation between the worldly ruler and the *brahmana* priest illustrates very clearly how the domain of religious concepts and the domain of social practice interact: the *brahmana* priest, with the authority of the religious leader, applies the cosmological concepts, the 'model of', to the socially and politically pre-structured field or realm of the sovereign. The location of the ruler's compound (*puri*), the *brahmana's* compound (*griya*), the main crossroads, and the market had to be integrated into the layout of the *desa*. Since the *brahmana* ritual specialists moved to Intaran only after Arya Sentong had established itself there, the determination of the individual sites of the Three Village Temples had to be considered in relation to already existing spatial elements. The cooperation also implied interdependence: as much as the ruler needed his *puri* to be integrated into the sacredly structured village layout, the priest needed the king's acknowledgment for his religious acts to be recognized and accepted by the villagers.

#### *The political potential of the Three Temple model*

This dependence of the *brahmana* priest on 'his' ruler was a critical issue when political leadership was challenged by a rival. This happened in Intaran when the social situation in South Bali began to change substantially. New *satria* clans seem to have entered the region, challenging the authority of noble clans who had been there not only for decades but probably for centuries. Around the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century, the raja of South Bali, located in Kertalangu (today's Kesiman), was losing power. As oral histories tell it, 'ants' were invading his palace. He could not get rid of them no matter what he tried. So he left his palace and went to a new place, but the 'ants' followed him wherever he went. His final location was in the immediate neighbourhood of Intaran, Puri or Pura Jumenang. The king and his followers were able to stay there only a short time. Finally, this royal clan dispersed in all directions. Arya Sentong appar-

<sup>20</sup> In his article on temple and authority Schulte Nordholt (1991) demonstrates how important the establishment of a temple was in Gusti Putu Mayun's attempt to create a new royal centre in Blahkiuh after the fall of Mengwi. Since Schulte Nordholt attributes the building of the temple exclusively to this noble man, it is not clear whether he too had cooperated with a *pedanda*.

ently belonged to the raja's local noble vassal clan, the clan that had been mainly responsible for the large annual ritual in the royal temple on the tiny island of Serangan. When the raja's position became shaky and he gradually lost power, the local vassal's sovereignty seems to have weakened as well. Oral histories tell of 'discontent' arising within the village – although they do not give the reasons. However, all versions suggest that the local ruler had also lost divine power or potency; he was no longer able to convince people of his proper alignment with the cosmos. He was regarded as having lost his cosmological standing. It seems the local ruler was also the victim of processes of decentralization within the village: important religious ceremonies were carried out not in the Three Village Temples but individually in obviously clan-owned temples of Intaran. These temples each had their own worship groups. As Guermonprez (1990) has pointed out, the communal temples and the rituals are the context within which the village is set. By displacing rituals to temples other than the Three Village Temples, centrifugal social forces turned against the ruling noble house. Internal solidarity within the *desa* no longer existed. Finally, the gentry clan of Arya Sentong and its ruler were overthrown by an immigrant gentry clan, nowadays called Abian Timbul.<sup>21</sup> As oral histories relate it, the aspiring leader beseeched the gods at a small temple, still in Intaran's territory today, to endow him with spiritual power or cosmological potency in order to gain the position of a raja. The gods granted him his wish and therefore he was able to replace his predecessor.

The new ruler did not move into his predecessor's palace. Instead, he built a new *puri* to the east of the old one. By choosing this highly valued location according to spatial concepts, as well as the notions of ritual purity and social ranking attached to it, he forced the *puri* of his predecessor into a less favourable position, that is, a position further to the west. The leader of the Abian Timbul gentry clan thereby demonstrated his supremacy and the subjection of the former ruler. His close followers whom he had brought with him from other places built their houses nearby, to the south of his palace. This spatial subjugation of the former dynasty was paralleled by its social degradation. Those members of Arya Sentong who had not fled<sup>22</sup> from Intaran were stripped of their noble title *gusti*. This honorific title was the privilege of the ruler in power. Therefore, the former *gusti* were allowed only to bear the title of *gusi*. It was a loss of symbolic capital – title, rank, honour, and prestige – that the members of the defeated clan had to suffer. For everyone hearing this title, the social implications were clear: the clan members' standing within the social space was reduced.

<sup>21</sup> This noble house is said to be of Arya Kenceng descent.

<sup>22</sup> All reports remain silent on how many, if any, victims resulted from the overthrow of Arya Sentong.

The structure of a village, or *desa*, is first and foremost linked to its public temples, at which all inhabitants are supposed to worship during the annual festival, because village membership means, as Geertz has pointed out, the performance of ritual obligations: active participation in the rituals of all 'public' temples. The ruler of Abian Timbul descent reshaped these material testimonies of history and brought them into accordance with the new socio-political situation. He did this in cooperation with *brahmana* priests (Brahmana Keniten) whom he had brought with him.<sup>24</sup> They were allowed to establish their *griya* just opposite the *puri* of Abian Timbul, in a *kaja-kauh* relation to it.

The first temple to be reorganized was the Pura Desa. The part of the Pura Desa which today displays a large shrine at its centre was once the Pura Puseh, the temple of the deified village founder of Arya Sentong (see Figure 3).

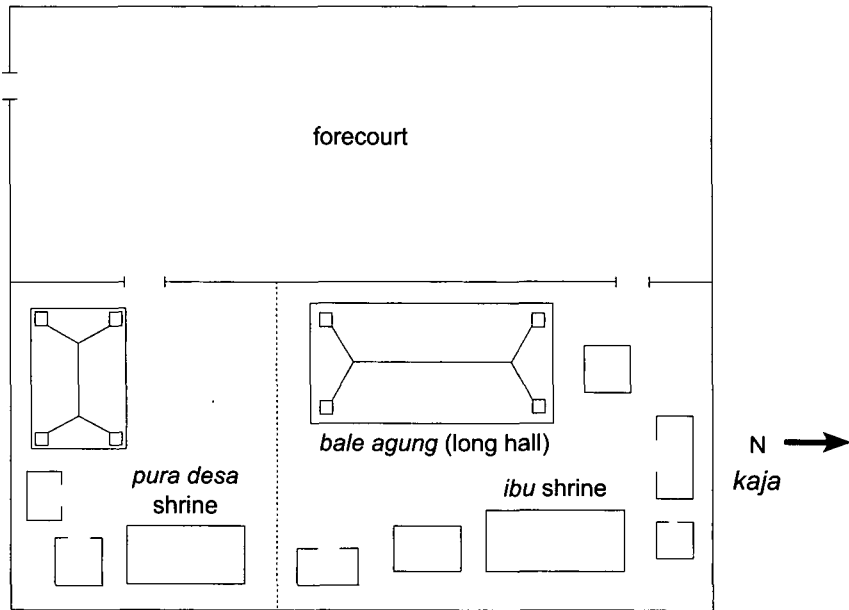


Figure 3. The major shrines of today's Pura Desa, a temple no longer included among the Three Village Temples

<sup>24</sup> Abian Timbul and the Brahmana Keniten were related to each other by descent. Both were originally of *brahmana* origin. Through marriage with a *satria* woman of a ruling house, one branch of the family started a new career as *satria*; the other branch remained *brahmana* (see also Rubinstein 1991:65; Howe 2001:126-7).

This was the Pura Puseh which Gusti Perean together with his *brahmana* priest had founded (see Figure 4).

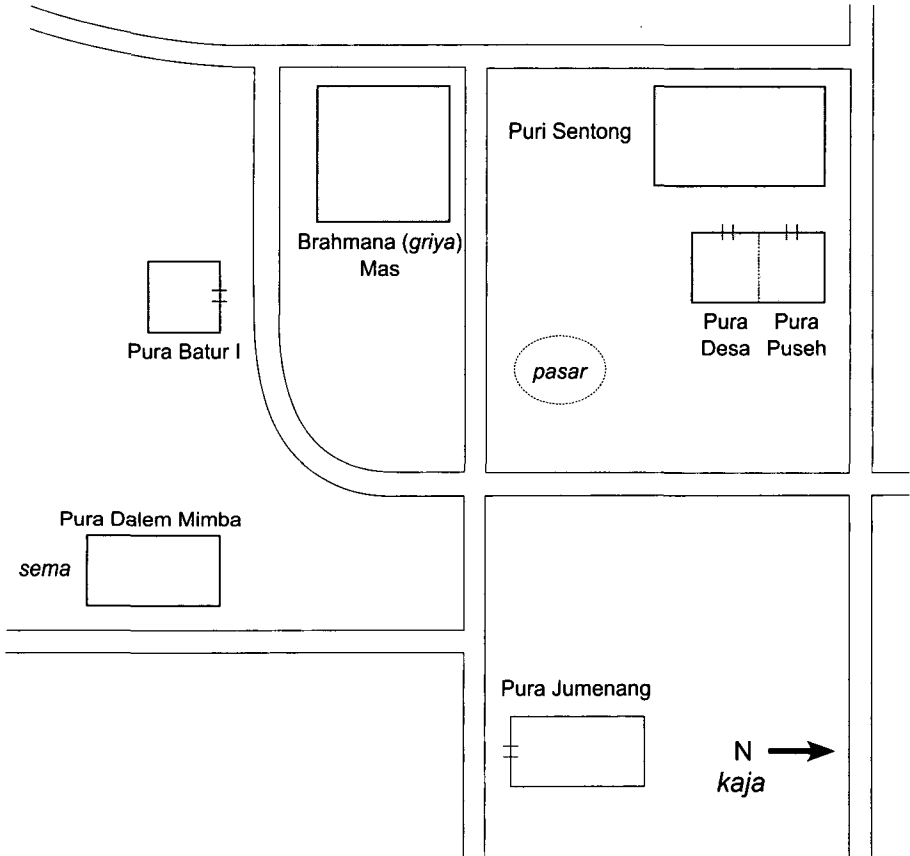


Figure 4. The location and names of the Three Village Temples of Intaran at the time of the first ruling dynasty, Arya Sentong (probably seventeenth century): Pura Puseh, Pura Desa, Pura Dalem (with its adjacent graveyard, or *sema*)

Pura Puseh and Pura Desa were within the same enclosing wall, although each had its own area as well as its own anniversary. Pura Puseh was used as the Pura Puseh until the ruling dynasty was defeated by the aspiring gentry clan Abian Timbul. Since the Pura Puseh lies within the same walls as the Pura Desa, the members of Abian Timbul's dynasty refused to enter it to pay homage there. The consequence was that the Pura Puseh had to be degraded to the category of household temples having the status of an *ibu* shrine. It was this *ibu* shrine which people had pointed out to me during the annual

festival at the Pura Desa. And because this household temple was within the same enclosing wall as the Pura Desa, this second former public temple was expelled from the Three Village Temples as well.

This situation has remained up to the present.<sup>24</sup> In contrast to the forceful displacement of the former Pura Puseh, the ritual associated with this temple still invokes the old relationship between ancestors, the former ruler, and his followers. When the former Pura Puseh, today's *ibu* shrine, celebrates its annual festival, even today the descendants of the first ruler of Intaran, some coming from quite far away, gather in front of *ibu*. During the night, when the ritual reaches its climax, the priests invoke the ancestors and invite them to descend. The spirit of Gusti Perean is the most honourable among them. He manifests himself in the guise of a (clan) priest in trance. This is the climax of the ritual: the deified former ruler is present and reunified with his people. As soon as he withdraws again, the ritual is concluded.

The Abian Timbul ruler not only degraded the two former village temples (or rather the combined Pura Puseh/Pura Desa) but also replaced the temple priests whose office had been handed down from one generation to the next within a side line of the former ruler's clan. The Abian Timbul ruler, supported by his *brahmana* priests, proceeded to thoroughly reshape the sacred geography of the whole village and placed his own political stamp upon it. First, the Pura Puseh/Pura Desa had to be replaced. For this purpose the Abian Timbul ruler built two new sanctuaries. One of them was located northeast of the Pura Desa. This became the Pura Bale Agung, or assembly hall temple, where even nowadays the symbols of gods, statues, masks, and other sacred objects are brought from all neighbourhoods to communally celebrate certain rituals. The location of the Pura Bale Agung set a new standard for what was considered the purest, or *kaja-kangin*, location. More explicitly, the frame of reference that defines the cornerstones of a village – the *pura puseh* in the *kaja kangin* corner and the *pura dalem* in the *kelod kauh* position – was shifted. As a consequence, the newly established Pura Bale Agung displaced the old temple (Pura Puseh/Desa) to a southwestern (thus spatially inferior) position, that is, a position outside the village core.

During the rule of the first dynasty there had also been a *bale agung* ('long hall'). But it had not been a separate temple; it was part of the Pura Puseh/Desa. Even today this long hall still exists in the Pura Desa. The new temple, Pura Bale Agung, replaced the long assembly hall in the Pura Puseh/Desa. Pura Bale Agung received the status of one of the Three Village Temples. The Abian Timbul ruler clearly expanded the Pura Bale Agung's function mainly

<sup>24</sup> The former Pura Desa is nowadays looked after by the *brahmana* who were once the partners of Arya Sentong. Only the *kaula* or followers, of this *brahmana* family still worship at this temple.

as a meeting place into a strong ritual centre, an institution that his predecessor had failed either to establish or to maintain. He succeeded in anchoring a large-scale ritual there that takes place around November every year and in which all neighbourhoods participate. It focuses on the fertility of plants, animals, and people. Previously this ritual was carried out in individual 'private' temples or in neighbourhood temples having their own, separate congregations.

Another monumental ceremony is held there before the 'Day of Silence', or *nyepi*, when all symbols of the gods are assembled in the Pura Bale Agung. These attributes are then carried to the beach for the purification ritual, in a procession led by the deity symbols of the Abian Timbul clan and their cooperating *brahmana* priest.<sup>25</sup> Both of these annual ceremonies are impressive demonstrations of ritual and political cooperation: the contract between both rulers, the spiritual and the political ones, is thereby re-enacted. By participating in these rituals – an unquestioned obligation for all members of the *desa adat* – people's trust and belief in the authority of the ruler as well as in that of the spiritual leader and the gods they represent is expressed in the performance of the procession. The gods, the *brahmana* priest, the ruler, and the people merge during ritual, forming a community which has its bearings in everyday life as well. Thus the Pura Bale Agung was a means of reinforcing centralization.

#### *Modification and redefinitions*

The second important sanctuary that the gentry clan of Abian Timbul established is the Pura Agung. Today it is still the largest temple in Intaran. At first glance, its location – considered in spatial terms – seems to be 'wrong': why was this location not chosen according to the spatial laws of the *kahyangan tiga* model?

Again, it was political considerations that made the Abian Timbul ruler choose another location, one he must have thought was more powerful. Pura Agung rests on the foundations of a former royal temple, Pura Jumenang. This was the last palace or the last royal temple of the former king of Kertalangu (Arya Pinatih), who once ruled over a large part of South Bali. At first the Abian Timbul ruler destroyed this royal temple/palace, since it was a testimony to the former ruler's power. But after an intervention of the gods, who appeared in a dream to the Abian Timbul ruler and protested against the destruction, he had it rebuilt – in his own name. The intervention of the gods and their order to rebuild the temple were indications that they were prepared to grant him their further support if he followed their wishes.

<sup>25</sup> Abian Timbul's own position within the procession is at the very end, this being the 'leading' position.

By reconstructing the temple, the Abian Timbul ruler laid claim to being the legitimate successor of the early South Balinese kingdom that had vanished long before. The model of geo-cosmological ordering of space was therefore passed over in favour of the political advantages offered by this historically important site for the location of his new temple.

Pura Agung is dedicated to Gunung Agung, the highest and holiest mountain in Bali; 'mountainward' (or north) is often defined geo-cosmologically as being in the direction of this mountain. Gunung Agung, in religio-political terms, is often associated with a deified raja and his descendants. The main shrine in Pura Agung represents Gunung Agung. At this shrine the ruler's family worships not only the gods but also their own family's ancestors – and these had to become the ancestors of the whole village of Intaran as well, in order to replace those of Arya Sentong formerly venerated in the Pura Puseh. Accordingly, the history of the village was reconstructed: henceforth the village founder was no longer the Arya Sentong gentry clan but that of Abian Timbul. Pura Agung henceforth had the function of a *pura puseh*. The names of I Gusti Perean, the first ruler of Intaran, and his Arya Sentong clan were no longer allowed to be spoken in public. Pura Agung was not integrated into the Three Village Temples. It was put into a higher category than *kahyangan tiga*: it became a royal or state temple. Typical of such a state temple is that it contains a rather large number of different shrines, each of them associated with a specific origin group. In the Pura Agung of Intaran, all names of the gods and their shrines in the Pura Desa and the former Pura Puseh came to be represented there, too. Therefore, the contents of the old sanctuary were transferred to the Pura Agung, thus creating an even more sumptuous replacement for the former village temple. With the shrines of their clan ancestors represented in the Pura Agung, people were obliged to venerate their own ancestors there. At the same time, it was where they also venerated the ancestors of their new ruler and recognized him as the legitimate village founder. This spatial displacement, the transfer of the shrines of the former Pura Puseh/Desa to Pura Agung, thereby brought about a social displacement as well as a reconstruction of village history. The descendants of all clans, whether they had been followers of I Gusti Perean or not, had to participate in the ritual of Pura Agung if they wanted to remain in the village. Therefore, the reorganization of the temple system is an expression of the reorganization of the whole social life of the village – and vice versa. The Abian Timbul ruler created a new social and political reality by reshaping and reinterpreting the earlier one.

But what happened to the ritual specialists, the *brahmana*, with whom the Arya Sentong noble had ruled the village? As should be clear by now, the adaptation of the geo-cosmological model of space to social practice could succeed only if the *brahmana* priest used his religious legitimation in the service of the ruler.



As already mentioned, the Abian Timbul ruler brought his 'own' *brahmana* priest with him. The spatial reorganization of the village – especially the degradation of the two major pre-existing village temples, Pura Desa and Pura Puseh, and their replacement by new temples – needed the legitimation of a spiritual leader who also had to convince the villagers that all this radical change was the will of the gods. The Abian Timbul ruler, therefore, needed ritual specialists who would bless his drastic innovations and were ready to cooperate without any (significant) objections. Over time, however, disagreements between the noble and priestly families arose. Meanwhile, the members of the former ruler's *brahmana* family were still waiting for the new ruler's decision on their fate. They were convinced that the new ruler 'would not accept the holy water' they made, that is, would refuse their ritual services. They were prepared to leave Intaran and to go back to the village they had come from. As a consequence of the (apparently temporary) disagreement with his 'own' *brahmana* priest (Brahmana Keniten), the Abian Timbul ruler seems to have realized the advantage of having a second ritual partner at hand, the former ruler's *brahmana* family (Brahmana Mas). He could be sure that they would be obedient and would not resist any further plans he had. If they had not been ready to accept his authority, they would have left the village upon his arrival. Therefore, instead of sending the old *brahmana* family off, the Abian Timbul ruler asked them to stay. Consequently, the *brahmana* priest and the political ruler negotiated the conditions of their cooperation. This resulted in renegotiating the model for the spatial and social reordering of the village as well. Obviously the *brahmana* demanded compensation. Oral traditions say that the *brahmana* ritual specialists pointed out that they would also need the source of their power for a successful cooperation with the Abian Timbul ruler. One of the major testimonies of their power – or rather of the divine potency they controlled – was the first temple they had founded as one of the newly established *kahyangan tiga* in Intaran: the Pura Dalem Mimba. The Abian Timbul ruler accepted their wish that the Pura Dalem was to be kept as one of the ritual centres, as one of the Three Village Temples. Conversely, keeping the Pura Dalem as a ritual centre helped the Abian Timbul ruler support his claim of being the village founder since Pura Dalem thereby became one of 'his' temples. Once again, the dominant historical discourse about Intaran's past was adapted to the conditions of the new era, including cooperation between the political leader and one of his ritual counterparts. However, the Abian Timbul ruler insisted that the graveyard near Pura Dalem had to be given up and a new location found for it. He realized that if he entrusted not only the Pura Dalem, or Death Temple, to the *brahmana* who had been in the service of the former ruler, but also the cemetery, this would include the veneration of all of the dead, including the followers of his predecessor (whose name had to be wiped out) as well as his own people. Therefore, while he accepted the *brah-*

*mana* family's claim on the Pura Dalem Mimba, he assigned the task of setting up a new graveyard to the *brahmana* ritual specialists whom he had brought with him. He thereby established a division of labour between the two *griya*. This put him in the comfortable position of cooperating partly with one and partly with the other ritual partner. At the same time, both *griya* entered into a kind of competition with each other.

The location for the new graveyard was selected carefully and politically, too, by the new *brahmana* priest: north of the existing one. The implication was that the new graveyard, although impure as such, was at least purer than the old one. In cooperation with his 'own' *brahmana* priest, the Abian Timbul ruler founded a new temple near the new cemetery: Pura Kahyangan (see Figure 5).

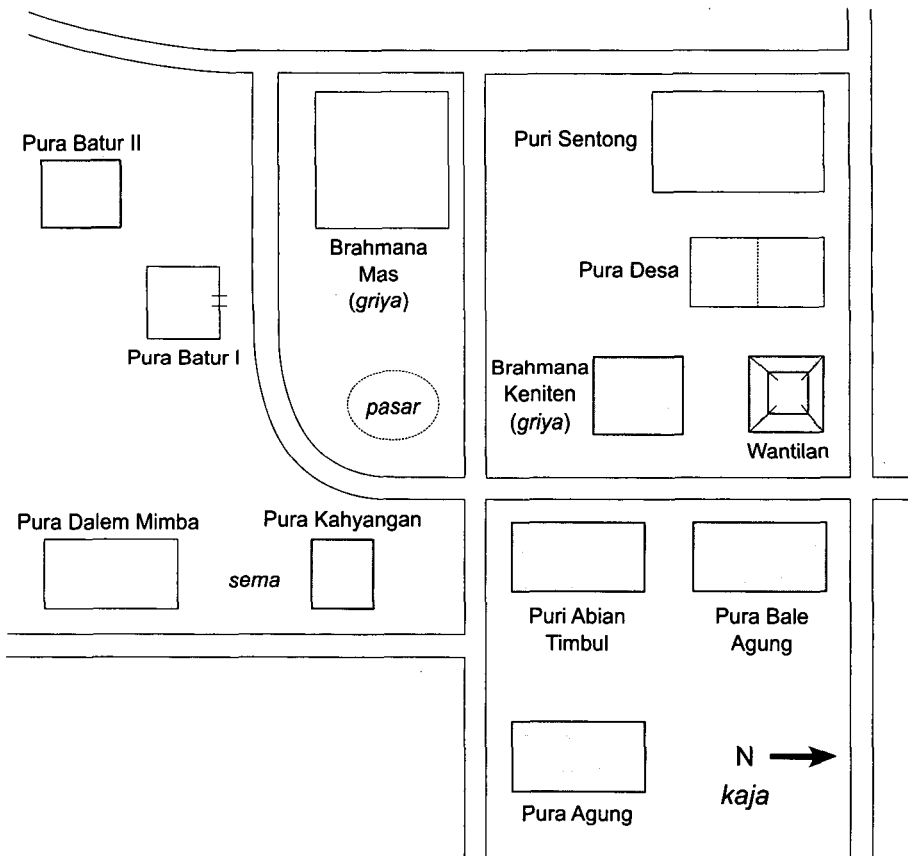


Figure 5. An immigrant gentry clan, Abian Timbul, replaced Arya Sentong in the eighteenth century and restructured the Three Village Temple system by building new compounds and temples. The Abian Timbul ruler designated the three village temples that still today constitute *kahyangan tiga* (see Figure 2).

This new temple, Pura Kahyangan, became the third of the Three Village Temples.

### *Concluding remarks*

The question of why the layout of Intaran differs in many respects from the geo-cosmological model or the idealized village pattern is now rather easy to answer. It was neither 'topography' nor 'historical accident' – unless this is understood in a cynical way. According to oral tradition, the *kahyangan tiga* system with its typical layout was implemented when Intaran was first established as a *desa*. A new spatial order was imposed on a pre-existing settlement of quite a different structure. Along with the new spatial order, a new social order – a single ruling clan with a lord at the apex – was established. The implementation of the *kahyangan tiga* model, which draws its legitimation from a cosmological model, must therefore be considered in the context of socio-political changes already in motion at the beginning of Intaran's existence. This political dimension becomes even more prominent in the overthrow of the first ruling dynasty. The model of *kahyangan tiga* was not changed as such, but the point of reference – the definition of the 'true' *kaja/kangin* position (and, concomitantly, the *kelod/kauh* position) within village territory – was changed by the degradation of the former Pura Puseh/Pura Desa and the construction of a new temple in a cosmologically purer location.

I have reviewed the various positions taken by scholars on the relationship between the social body of the village community, the *kahyangan tiga* system, and the transformation the Balinese person undergoes through spatially anchored life-cycle rituals. The example of Intaran makes it clear that sacred space is indeed socio-political space as well.

What is emphasized in temple rituals is that space is sacred space, and if a *brahmana* priest agrees to major alterations in the village structure and cooperates in implementing them, people will follow, as long as they believe in the gods and trust in the *brahmana* priest's authority, backed by the ruler. It is – in Bourdieu's terminology – *reconnaissance* that is needed, and *reconnaissance* requires faith and trust. By contrast, the dominant actors – the ruler and his *brahmana* priest – were the persons who not only had the power to reshape and restructure the whole village, socially as well as spatially,<sup>26</sup> but who also possessed knowledge (*connaissance*) of the relationship between sacred and political space. Due to this knowledge, the geo-cosmological model applied

<sup>26</sup> Note that along with the restructuring of the main temples in the village and the replacement of the old *puri* by a new one, a new sacred crossroads was established (Hauser-Schäublin 1997:232-6); however, the new crossroads did not erase the importance of the previous one.

to the world of village space became, in their hands, a political tool to change village space to correspond with the prevailing social space. But physical space not only 'mirrors' social space. I would go a step further and argue that – in Bali and beyond – the physical organization of space is the foundation upon which social space rests, especially if a new order is to be enforced and accepted by people. In this sense the spatial constitutes the social as much as the other way around.<sup>27</sup>

What the example of Intaran also shows is how the restructuring of social space lies very much in the hands of two powerful individuals, the ruler and the *pedanda*. Neither of them is able to carry it out alone; they must cooperate to implement 'deviations' from the ideational concept and to gain acceptance for these deviations. If the gods are not willing to move from one temple to the other – and it is the *brahmana* priest whose task it is to beseech the deities to move to a new site – a ruler will never be able to make such radical changes in the village layout that rests on the cornerstones of *kahyangan tiga*. By the same token, the *pedanda* is unable to change the religious structure of a village without the agreement of the ruler or ruling elite. The example of Intaran also sheds new light on the debate about the relationship between the king (*raja*) and his *brahmana* priest (*pedanda*; also called *purohito* in the case of a royal priest), and which of them ranks higher.<sup>28</sup> The case of Intaran's history has shown that each needs the cooperation of the other, a relationship Guernonprez (1989) has called 'dual sovereignty'. Perhaps one qualification should be added: a defeated ruler in every case loses at least his power (if not his life), whereas his closest cooperator, the *purohito*, may survive an overthrow and regain recognition and influence in cooperation with a new ruler, even if he has to share this powerful position in competition with other *brahmana* as well.

The potency of spatial models grounded in religion lies in their capacity to structure social space. As I have demonstrated, the spatial concept of the different directions (mountainward/seaward, east/west) has no inherent hierarchy but is ruled by complementarity. Only if these spatial principles are applied by people to the physical world can precedence be expressed in terms of purity of locations in relation to each other, or in terms of hierarchy if linked to social standing. In this sense, the 'model of' has never been simply a 'model for'. The political implications that lie in between the ideational concept and its implementation are, as shown in this article, obvious. Why have anthropologists overlooked this socio-political dimension for so long? There may be many reasons. Probably anthropologists would have

<sup>27</sup> This fits quite well with Dickhardt's theory (2001) about the constitution of the cultural through the spatial, and vice versa.

<sup>28</sup> For a summary of this debate, see Howe 1996; in a revised version of this article, Howe (2001) views the relationship between the king and his priest as one that is continually contested. See also Pitana 1999 on the competition between different types of priests.

incorporated socio-political perspectives sooner if the hierarchical concept of the different layers of the body from top to bottom had been applied to the social structure of society as well. That is, if the hierarchical organization inherent in some aspects of the 'worlds' had been applied to differentiate social classes of people from each other, like castes in India, where notions of purity/impurity are a means to separate one from the other and to maintain a caste system (Dumont 1976), the socio-political aspect of space might have been recognized sooner. Since this is not the case in Bali, spatial principles and notions of purity/impurity were seen to be located almost exclusively in the context of religion.

## REFERENCES

- Boon, James A.  
1977 *The anthropological romance of Bali 1597-1972; Dynamic perspectives in marriage and caste, politics and religion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Cambridge Studies in Cultural Systems 1.]
- Bourdieu, Pierre  
1990 'Social space and symbolic power', in: Pierre Bourdieu, *In other words; Essays towards a reflexive sociology*, pp. 123-39. Stanford CA: Stanford University Press.  
1991 *Sozialer Raum und 'Klassen'*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.  
1993 *The field of cultural production*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Brinkgreve, Francine  
1992 *Offerings; The ritual art of Bali*. Singapore: Select Books.
- Budihardjo, Eko  
1986 *Architectural conservation in Bali*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Casparis, J.G. de and I.W. Mabbett  
1992 'Religion and popular beliefs of Southeast Asia before c. 1500', in: Nicholas Tarling (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Southeast Asia. Vol. 1*, pp. 276-340. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Covarrubias, Miguel  
1986 *Island of Bali*. London/New York: Kegan Paul International. [First published 1937.]
- Creese, Helen  
2001 'Old Javanese studies; A review of the field', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 157:3-33.
- Damais, Louis-Charles  
1969 'À propos des couleurs symboliques des points cardinaux', *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 56:75-118.
- DelGuidice, Donna Marie  
1996 *The symbolic landscape of Bali*. [PhD thesis, State University of New York, Syracuse NY.]

- Dickhardt, Michael  
2001 *Das Räumliche des Kulturellen; Entwurf zu einer kulturanthropologischen Raumtheorie am Beispiel Fiji*. Hamburg: Lit. [Göttinger Studien zur Ethnologie 7.]
- Dumarçay, Jacques  
1991 *The palaces of South-East Asia; Architecture and customs*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.
- Dumont, Louis  
1976 *Homo hierarchicus; Gesellschaft in Indien: Die Soziologie des Kastenwesens*, Wien: Europaverlag.
- Durkheim, Emile and Marcel Mauss  
1903 'De quelques formes primitives de classification', *Année Sociologique* 6:1-72.
- Eggebrecht, Arne and Eva Eggebrecht (eds)  
1995 *Versunkene Königreiche Indonesiens*. Mainz: Von Zabern.
- Fox, James J.  
1994 'Reflections on "hierarchy" and "precedence"', *History and Anthropology* 7:87-108.
- Geertz, Clifford  
1967 'Form and variation in Balinese village structure', in: Jack M. Potter, May N. Diaz and George M. Foster (eds), *Peasant society; A reader*, pp. 255-78. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- 1973a 'Religion as a cultural system', in: Clifford Geertz, *The interpretation of cultures; Selected essays*, pp. 87-125. New York: Basic Books. [Harper Torchbooks 5043.]
- 1973b "'Internal conversion" in contemporary Bali', in: Clifford Geertz, *The interpretation of cultures; Selected essays*, pp. 170-89. New York: Basic Books. [Harper Torchbooks 5043.]
- 1980 *Negara; The theatre state in nineteenth-century Bali*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Geertz, Hildred and Clifford Geertz  
1975 *Kinship in Bali*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gaborieau, Marc  
1993 'Des dieux dans toutes les directions; Conception indienne de l'espace et classification des dieux', in: V. Bouillier and G. Toffin (eds), *Classer les dieux? Des panthéons en Asie du Sud*. Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. [Purusârtha, Recherches de Sciences Sociales sur l'Asie du Sud 15.]
- Goris, R.  
1984a 'The religious character of the village community', in: *Bali; Studies in life, thought, and ritual*, pp. 77-100. Dordrecht/Cinnaminson: Foris. [KITLV, Reprints on Indonesia.]
- 1984b 'The temple system', in: *Bali; Studies in life, thought, and ritual*, pp. 101-11. Dordrecht/Cinnaminson: Foris. [KITLV, Reprints on Indonesia.]
- Guermonprez, Jean-François  
1989 'Dual sovereignty in nineteenth-century Bali', *History and Anthropology* 4:189-207.

- 1990 'On the elusive Balinese village; Hierarchy and values versus political models', *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 24:55-89.
- Hauser-Schäublin, Brigitta
- 1993 'Keraton and temples in Bali; The organization of rulership between centre and periphery', in: Peter J.M. Nas (ed.), *Urban symbolism*, pp. 280-314. Leiden: Brill. [Studies in Human Society 8.]
- 1997 *Traces of gods and men; Temples and rituals as landmarks of social events and processes in a South Bali village*. Berlin: Reimer.
- 2000 'Dynamik zwischen Dissonanz und Harmonie; Kulturelle Ordnungssysteme unter dem Eindruck der Tourismusedwicklung', in: Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin and Klaus Rieländer (eds), *Bali; Kultur – Tourismus – Umwelt*, pp. 142-59. Hamburg: Abera.
- Heine-Geldern, Robert
- 1930 'Weltbild und Bauform in Südostasien', *Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte Asiens* 5:28-78.
- 1942 'Conceptions of state and kingship in Southeast Asia', *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 2-1:15-31.
- Hobart, Mark
- 1978 'The path of the soul; The legitimacy of nature in Balinese conception of space', in: G.B. Milner (ed.), *Natural symbols in South East Asia*, pp. 5-28. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. [Collected Papers in Oriental and African Studies.]
- Howe, Leo
- 1996 'Kings and priests in Bali', *Social Anthropology* 4:265-80.
- 2001 *Hinduism and hierarchy in Bali*. Oxford: Currey, Santa Fe: School of American Research. [World Anthropology.]
- Jessup, Helen I. and Thierry Zéphir (eds)
- 1997 *Angkor et dix siècles d'art khmer*. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux.
- Johnson, Randal
- 1993 'Editor's introduction', in: Pierre Bourdieu, *The field of cultural production; Essays on art and literature*, pp. 1-25. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Klokke, M.J.
- 1995 'On the orientation of ancient Javanese temples; The example of Candi Surowono', in: *International Institute for Asian Studies Yearbook 1994*, pp. 73-86. Leiden: International Institute for Asian Studies.
- Korn, V.E.
- 1984 'The village republic of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan', in: *Bali; Studies in life, thought, and ritual*, pp. 301-68. Dordrecht/Cinnaminson: Foris. [KITLV, Reprints on Indonesia.]
- Lancret, Nathalie
- 1997 *La maison balinaise en secteur urbain; Étude ethno-architecturale*. Paris: Association Archipel. [Cahier d'Archipel 29.]
- Lombard, Denys
- 1990 *Le carrefour javanais; Essai d'histoire globale. Vol. 3: L'héritage des royaumes concentriques*. Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. [Civilisations et Sociétés 79.]

- Miksic, John (ed.)  
1996 *Ancient history*. Singapore: Millet/Archipelago Press, Jakarta: Buku Antar Bangsa. [Indonesian Heritage 1.]
- Ossenbruggen, F.D.E. van  
1977 'Java's *monca-pat*; Origins of a primitive classification system', in: P.E. de Josselin de Jong (ed.), *Structural anthropology in the Netherlands; A reader*, pp. 32-60. The Hague: Nijhoff. [KITLV, Translation Series 17.]
- Ottino, Arlette  
1998 'The temple system and the reproduction of society in a Balinese *desa adat*', *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 32-1:24-54.
- Pigeaud, Th.G.Th.  
1977 'Javanese divination and classification', in: P.E. de Josselin de Jong (ed.), *Structural anthropology in the Netherlands; A reader*, pp. 64-82. The Hague: Nijhoff. [KITLV, Translation Series 17.]
- Pitana, I Gde  
1999 'Status struggles and the priesthood in contemporary Bali,' in: Raechelle Rubinstein and Linda H. Connor (eds), *Staying local in the global village; Bali in the twentieth century*, pp. 181-201. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Rubinstein, Raechelle  
1991 'The Brahmana according to their *babad*', in: Hildred Geertz (ed.), *State and society in Bali; Historical, textual and anthropological approaches*, pp. 43-84. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 146.]
- Schulte Nordholt, Henk  
1991 'Temple and authority in South Bali, 1900-1980', in: Hildred Geertz (ed.), *State and society in Bali; Historical, textual and anthropological approaches*, pp. 137-63. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 146.]  
1994 'The invented ancestor; Origin and descent in Bali', in: Wolfgang Marschall (ed.), *Texts from the islands*, pp. 245-64. Bern: Institute of Ethnology, University of Bern. [Ethnologica Bernensia 4.]  
1996 *The spell of power; A history of Balinese politics 1650-1940*. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 170.]
- Stuart Fox, David J.  
2002 *Pura Besakih; Temple, religion and society in Bali*. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen 193.]
- Swellengrebel, J.L.  
1984 'Introduction', in: *Bali; Studies in life, thought, and ritual*, pp. 1-76. Dordrecht/Cinnaminson: Foris. [KITLV, Reprints on Indonesia.]
- Tooker, Deborah E.  
1996 'Putting the mandala in its place; A practice-based approach to the spatialization of power on the Southeast Asian "periphery" – The case of the Akha', *Journal of Asian Studies* 55-2:323-58.
- Waldner, Regula  
1998 *Bali – Touristentraum versus Lebensraum? Ökosystem und Kulturlandschaft unter dem Einfluss des internationalen Tourismus in Indonesien*. Bern: Lang.



Warren, Carol

1993 *Adat and dinas; Balinese communities in the Indonesian state*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press. [South-East Asian Social Science Monographs.]

Wassmann, Jürg and Pierre R. Dasen

1998 'Balinese spatial orientation; Some empirical evidence of moderate linguistic relativity', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 4(New Series):689-712.

Weck, Wolfgang

1986 *Heilkunde und Volkstum auf Bali*. Jakarta: Intermasa. [First published 1937.]