

# Introduction

## The Prince of Nusa Penida redeems his vow

### A Prèmbon

Pura Duur Bingin, Tengahpadang

12-13<sup>th</sup>. March 1989

©Mark Hobart March 2008

On the night of 12-13<sup>th</sup>. March 1989, a theatre performance took place as part of the temple festival (*piodalan*) held every Javanese-Balinese year of 210 days in Pura Duur Bingin, Br. Tegal, Tengahpadang, Gianyar, South Bali. The performance was of particular interest because, although it had a small cast, three of the four actors were recognized island-wide as the leaders in the genre at the time. Also, when I asked a number of Balinese who were knowledgeable about theatre which play they would choose out of some fifty that we had watched as the best representative of Balinese theatre, almost unanimously they chose this one. The range they had available included shadow theatre (*Wayang Kulit*), popular drama (*Derama Gong*), dance opera (*Arja*), dance opera with masks (*Prèmbon* – literally ‘mixed styles’), masked theatre (*Topèng Pajegan* and *Topèng Panca*).<sup>1</sup>

Each night during temple festivals, some kind of performance should be held. On the evening in question, the main play was preceded by a number of virtuoso dances (*tari lepas*) by local children. This was in imitation of the trend in the larger towns for amateur dances had become popular with parents who could photograph their children. Only after 11 pm, and to the great irritation of the professional actors who had been dressed up since early evening, did the play begin. It had been commissioned by a princeling and head of a small court in Pisangkaja, Tengahpadang. He had vowed to the deities in Pura Duur Bingin, famous island-wide for blessing supplicants with children, that if he and his wife had a male heir, he would pay for a *Prèmbon* performance.<sup>2</sup> The theme chosen by the actors therefore was the story of Sri Aji Palaka, who ruled over the small and arid island of Nusa Penida off South Bali, redeeming a similar vow.

### *Language and roles*

Theatrical language in many societies is among the most difficult to translate because theatre is a medium in which people comment on their and others’ speech and actions. It is reflective and evaluative; and it presupposes an intimate acquaintance with how people engage with and talk about the society and world about them. Balinese theatre is complicated further by the plethora of registers, language levels or indeed languages. High castes must be addressed and spoken to in elevated (*singgih*) or refined (*alus*) registers comprising a quite different vocabulary and even syntax compared to the ordinary (*biasa*) low language used in much daily life. Granted the intricate hierarchies that constitute Balinese life, the scope for

---

<sup>1</sup> Quite independently I had decided that this performance was my favourite, in part because of the sustained virtuoso performance of I Midep cross-dressing as the mad princess. For photographs of what the various characters look like, see <http://www.balinesedance.org/All%20about%20Arja.htm>. The Panasar and Wijil here were masked, but otherwise the costumes are similar.

<sup>2</sup> The princeling had in fact had a son who died in a motorcycle crash. He was requesting another son.

highlighting these through breaking and playing with boundaries is concomitantly rich – for example in the use of coarse and vulgar (*kasar*) language and lewd behaviour. When Balinese articulate themselves as Balinese, and when as Indonesians and so use Indonesian, offers further scope for play. Because theatre is where Balinese talk about religion, philosophy and history *inter alia*, actors often use archipelago Sanskrit and *kawi* (sometimes called Old Javanese, but comprising a broad register which overlaps with elevated Balinese, especially among the more literary). There are also a distinctively theatrical register which actors use and with which theatre-going audiences are reasonably familiar. Nowadays in a society increasingly familiar with the outside world both through television and tourism, a few phrases in English tend to be *de rigeur*. The range open to actors is wide – and, as we shall see in the play, they make mistakes, which is inevitable granted such quick-fire repartee.

Theatrical roles are a complex topic. So I shall only outline those involved in this play. Briefly characters divide into the aristocracy and servants (occasionally with outsiders – Javanese, Chinese, Westerners – as the plot demands). The other great division is between the good and the bad, the sane and the mad. So there are good princes, princesses and servants; and bad/mad ones. The scope for the good characters is more circumscribed. They have to adumbrate what is proper, right and appropriate for people to do, and their behaviour is correspondingly restricted. By contrast, the mad and bad have great licence, not only to joke and be lewd, but to speak home truths that should not be mentioned in polite society or in public. In the play, the prince (*Mantri* – conventionally played by a woman, because they can generally dance and sing the refined roles better) sings of how good rulers should rule, while his two servants, the Panasar and his younger brother Wijil, set the scene, paraphrase and develop the lines of their master and mistress.

To offset all this virtue and propriety, there must be an antithetical character. In this play it is the role of *Liku*. The *Liku* is conventionally the spoilt princess from the kingdom of the mad, a role which the male actor, I Midep, carried to new heights, making full use of the potentialities of cross-dressing. The Panasar has a particularly important role, as the etymology of his name (from *dasar*, base or basis) indicates. He anchors the performance, both by linking the audience to the play and by framing it from start to finish.<sup>3</sup> This also allows the actor playing the younger brother, Wijil, to slip off stage and don a variety of masks (*Bondrès*) as happens here. Incidentally, the key genres like *Arja* and *Prèmbon* the refined hero and heroine only sing and never speak. Their songs are paraphrased and elaborated upon by their servants. Here only the prince, Sri Aji Palaka, plays a refined royal role and is sung by Bali's leading actress for such parts, Ni Murdi. Her songs are in metred verse and it is an index of skill and professionalism when singers can *ad lib* in different metres, which may very difficult as the actors are not always quite sure how the scene is going to unfold. Notes on the different metres employed during the play are discussed in the footnotes.

### ***Extemporization***

Balinese theatre is generally improvised. The storyline which the actors discuss beforehand may well be cursory. There are many reasons. These include the fact that the older members of the audience may well know the story and in order to fit the performance to local circumstances and preferences. Some villages are known to like and expect the plots to be as close to the known texts as possible and the dialogue serious and edifying. Other villages prefer slapstick and obscenity. Some, like Tengahpadang, are somewhere in between. They enjoy bawdiness provided the jokes are intelligent and have a political or satirical edge, and

---

<sup>3</sup> In *Arja* this role is usually performed by the heroine's lady in waiting or servant, the *Condong*.

make a moral point. The performance in question scored high, which is one reason it was singled out. In this instance the plot was minimal. The prince in Nusa Penida redeems a vow to perform a large ceremony if his prayer for a male heir was granted. That is in effect it. Events are set in the court of the prince of Nusa Penida before the ceremony which the prince had ordered to redeem his vow on an heir being born. The rest is filling in the background about how the prince had despaired of having a son, had gone in vain to many temples in Bali before finally having his wish granted at a local temple. There was also anticipation of the proper completion of the ceremony. The rest was dialogue with very little action except for the on-stage antics of the prince's low caste wife. The play required only four actors and lasted some two hours, which is fairly short by standards at the time. The small cast was due to the fact that the prince's fee was somewhat meagre and only enough to pay for four actors – fortunately good ones. This in no way got in the way of the audience's enjoyment and the play was the subject of talk in food and coffee stalls for days afterwards. Several members of the audience – both male and female – confessed to me afterwards that they had laughed so hard that they had wet themselves during the performance.

Another important feature of extemporized theatre is ambiguousness. Scripted plays are tightly determined pieces, where ambiguity is carefully engineered. Actors work with words, phrases or sentences, which have been used before. However, as the dialogues are open, the actors themselves often do not know where they are going or always what the others are going to say.<sup>4</sup> So plays may be full of uncompleted sentences and trains of thought, reminiscent of Bakhtin's writing (Bakhtin 1963) about openness and unfinalizability. As a result, there are interesting problems of interpretation and translation, because there is not necessarily a clear single worked out intention in a play as there is in a text by a playwright.

### *Problems of interpretation and translation*

It is a challenge to represent something of the excitement and enthusiasm that the play engendered. In 1989 digital video did not exist. And, had it been recorded, the actors would probably have been inhibited by its presence. Extemporized theatre can become highly political and depends precisely on the fact that it is not recorded and so it is hard for the authorities, the Repressive State Apparatus in Althusser's terms, to take action against the players. Certainly Balinese theatre sometimes resembles guerrilla warfare, especially during the period of repression under the New Order régime of the late President Suharto. And, one of the actors, Ngakan Déwa Madé Sayang was celebrated as one of the most outspoken critics of the régime, the corruption of the government of Bali and by leading public figures on the island. In this play he is quite mild, because there were no relevant targets in the audience.

As it was, with the actors' permission, I recorded the play with a small professional cassette recorder which was effectively invisible in the decoration at the front of the stage. For the same reason I did not take photographs in order not to disturb the event.<sup>5</sup> At the time the actors assumed I was some tourist off the beaten track and Déwa Madé Sayang actually made remarks to this effect. Later I went to discuss the performance in detail separately with Déwa Madé and with the woman who played the prince, Ni Murdi. They saw transcripts of the play and were quite happy for me to use it. I had planned to discuss the play with the comic character played by I Midep, but sadly, shortly after the performance, he fell seriously ill with diabetes and died subsequently.

---

<sup>4</sup> Instead they have all sorts of techniques for recuperating and closing off a sequence of dialogue, which disguises the openness.

<sup>5</sup> Since then it has become routine for Balinese, quite apart from foreigners, to photograph and video performances. Back then it was very rare and changed the nature of the occasion.

The recording was transcribed initially by my research assistant, I Wayan Suardana. Then it was checked several times with local actors and theatre lovers. Finally certain difficult sections were played back to the actors. Working on the recording of a performance is not as easy as might seem. Plays are accompanied by full gamelan, Gong Kebyar, which produces a very large sound and at moments drowns the actors' singing and speech. Balinese theatrical events, if they are good, are not quiet, disciplined moments for aesthetic reflection. The audience crowds around everywhere, behind the seats, behind the stage, on stage, hanging from the rafters or even trees. And, if they are enjoying it, they contribute enthusiastically and noisily. As theatre is extemporized, the actors can lose the thread, interrupt one another or defer to one another to keep the narrative going. Also, it is considered arrogant to deliver long speeches. So, songs apart, some of which are set, most dialogue is one or two sentences long, the stress being on the quick-fire interaction between the actors. Such theatre requires close collaboration and mutual feeding of lines, if it is to work. In terms of agency, it is less four virtuoso actors than one complex agent comprising a number of interlocking parts.

While there are different interpretations of, say, Shakespeare's plays, at least there is a more or less agreed text. Extemporized popular theatre like *Prèmbon* or *Arja*, as we shall see, leaves many of the sentences incomplete; and the plot may, as in this case, be nugatory. So quite what was being said – or meant by what was said – is quite often unclear. And theatre which works through such a close dialogue with the audience as well as between actors inevitably invites a plethora of different interpretations. Not only different members of the audience have different ideas of what was going on and what was said, but the actors' ideas differed among themselves.

This might seem to pose yet more problems for the translator than is usually the case when translating between such different languages and cultural understandings. In part this is inevitably the case. And I have had to provide extensive footnotes both to the original Balinese and the translation, as well as long endnotes explicating what lies behind references that are obscure to those who are not experts on Balinese society. However matters become slightly less complicated if we pause and rethink what we mean by representation and by culture.

We usually take it that a good representation faithfully corresponds to the original. Such an argument is problematic here because what was the original is open to question. Instead of searching vainly for some originary and authentic 'text' to analyze, I take it that a performance like this is a relationship between the actors and members of the audience. In other words, the play may be represented by different people in different ways on different occasions. Indeed one actor may represent his or her role or the theme of the play differently depending on whom they are speaking to and the purposes of the discussion.

This raises questions about the nature of interpretation and the rôle of the interpreter, considerations which bear also on translation and the rôle of the translator. As I have argued elsewhere (Hobart 2000), in many circumstances interpretation seems to me an unnecessary and unwarranted exercise of power – certainly those that pertain in interpreting the cultural ideas and activities of people in other societies who have successfully been busy interpreting, arguing about and getting on with understanding themselves and one another for hundreds of years without the aid of an outside expert. Not only is there no single true interpretation,<sup>6</sup> but the interpreter/translator brings all sorts of questionable presuppositions to bear, which are rarely discussed openly.

In any event, there is no need in most instances for the visiting scholar to engage in interpretation as their primary research activity. People in the society, who are for the most

---

<sup>6</sup> Denis Donogue: 'The single, true interpretation is an autocrat's dream of power.'

part far better qualified, spend a significant proportion of their time so doing. If a play or television programme is of much interest, Balinese will be busy discussing and commenting on it, quite apart from academics and the growing field of media commentators, whose task it is to analyze and comment, to write articles, previews and reviews of plays, broadcasts and other forms of cultural production. Arguably a play is not just some idealized 'text' (elusive as that would be to pin down in Bali), but the play as performed with the various commentaries made about it (see Hobart 2006). In that case, the task of the interpreter is to research the commentaries made to analyze the conditions under which the participants and audiences engage with diverse and divergent interpretations, and what emerges from such an analysis.

For this reason therefore I prefer to work not by interpreting myself what is happening, but eliciting a range of commentaries from different groups of participants, divided by criteria of possibly relevant differences in understandings, for example actors, male and female members of the audience and so on. Here I have worked so far with four separate groups. The first were four elderly men. They were Anak Agung Pekak, a distinguished and high cast old *Arja* actor, then in his late eighties; Ketut Sutatemaja, a part-time actor and well known orator; Déwa Pekak Balung, a poor high caste villager with an unparalleled aptitude for words and word play; and Déwa Pekak Geriya, a fairly affluent high caste villager with an unparalleled knowledge of shadow theatre and its plots. In the footnotes I refer to them as 'the commentators', because they had the most time available to go through the recordings and transcripts in detail and so their commentary was the most detailed. The second group were women of three generations, a grandmother, her daughter and her grand-daughter, who was studying at the National Academy of Performing Arts. The other two groups were Ni Murdi and her family members; and Déwa Madé Sayang and members of his household. Before I publish the book, I plan to obtain at least two further sets of commentaries. One is from Ni Madé Pujawati, a well known *Arja Condong* who is highly experienced in the contemporary world of performance. The other is Wayan Dibia, the Professor of Dance at the Institute of Arts and a celebrated Panasar from a family of *Arja* performers. I take it that no one commentary is necessarily correct. They reflect different understandings by people differently placed in Balinese society.

A more general problem arises, namely of what is the play illustrative? What does it tell us about? Some may choose to read the play as evidence either for the universality or for the diversity of human creativity. What is, I think, fairly indisputable is that the references, the relationships between actors and audience which presuppose a degree of implicit, if variable, understanding, and what works and does not for any audience is culturally inflected. A problem arises though as to how culture is supposed to work. The problem is more serious still if somehow the play is imagined to exemplify 'Balinese culture'. This presupposes the idea of culture as some kind of underlying system or agreed set of rules which govern how people think and act. To assume this is to impose a false uniformity and agreement and fails to appreciate the extent to which culture is a site of contestation between rival articulations of what is the case. This is where the importance of theatre in a society like Bali becomes apparent. The play itself is an argument. Or rather it is a series of arguments. There are arguments both within the play between different roles and visions of what Bali is and how it is positioned relative to Indonesia. There are also arguments between the actors and various unnamed interlocutors in the actual or imagined audience. Similarly the commentaries are arguments with the actors, the play and with other commentaries. In short, it may be useful to treat culture as being a whole barrage of arguments, disputes and moments of partial agreement.<sup>7</sup> Then it becomes obvious that there can be no single true interpretation or

---

<sup>7</sup> I am not saying that culture is an argument *tout court*. Culture is not a ahistorical contextless substance which is essentially one thing or another. I am simply saying that it may be more useful for present purposes to

translation of the play. So the play and the commentaries offer a selection of accounts, of understandings of what it is to be Balinese in different ways.

### *Summary of the play*

*The Prince of Nusa Penida redeems his vow* may be understood depending on your interest in different ways ranging from an example of theatre from another part of the world to a fascinating commentary on the changing nature of Balinese society within Indonesia in the late 1980s and early 1990s as portrayed by leading intellectuals. (And in Bali the task of intellectuals falls overwhelmingly to performers.) I have already sketched out the basic range of characters in *Arja* and *Prèmbon*. It may be helpful though if I offer a résumé of the story. Granted my previous strictures, this is not as easy as it might seem, because Balinese would not necessarily recognize the play as they would understand it. My summary is aimed at providing a way into the translation for English-speaking readers largely unfamiliar with Balinese theatre.

By way of background, Sri Aji Palaka is a figure found occasionally in Balinese literature. On one account he was the grandchild of a famous figure, Maya Denawa, whose son fled to Nusa Penida after his father's murder and was ordered by the God of the Sea to marry Luh Wedani, the daughter of the local head, Pasek Nusa, and to build a temple, Pura Pucak Wedi. The son however tried to evade his relationship with Luh Wedani, until the God in the form of Naga Basuki, the Great Snake, gave the couple a child, Sri Aji Palaka. On this account therefore, Luh Wedani is Sri Aji Palaka's mother not his wife. This kind of variation is not unusual in Balinese accounts of the past.

The play begins, as does almost all *Arja* and *Prèmbon* with a servant coming on stage to set the scene with an introductory dance, a *Panglembar*, and song. The Panasar introduces himself to the audience and sets about framing the purpose of theatre and religious rites. After a humorous song to warm up the audience (line 35 of the transcription) he describes the present state of affairs in the island of Nusa Penida, praising the prince, Sri Aji Palaka, while simultaneously referring to Bali as a whole and indirectly commenting on government development policy.

The Panasar's younger brother Wijil then enters, performs his *Panglembar* (line 55) and they set about elaborating on what is happening in Nusa Penida punctuated by comments about the circumstances of the performance, which the actors had found lacking. They made play on the failure of the electricity briefly, then criticized their shoddy treatment by the organizers before returning to the prince's desperation for an heir which led him to pray in many of the main temples in Bali and to make a vow should his wish be granted. The servants then move to discuss the preparations for the ceremony to fulfil the prince's promise (100-150) which involves the discussion of religious obligations and their relationship to key ideas in Balinese religion as promulgated by the Parisada Hindu Dharma, the Supreme Council for Balinese Hinduism (150-200+).

At that point, the prince Sri Aji Palaka enters performing his *Panglembar*. In song he explains which are the key rites, to whom they must be performed and who is responsible for carrying them out (300-400). Meanwhile his servants paraphrase and elaborate on the song. As is conventional, the play is set in pre-colonial Bali, but the references are intended simultaneously to be treated as contemporary. The prince then turns (400) to the impending

---

imagine Bali as comprising an endless plethora of arguments, claims, enunciations, denials, conflicts and momentary agreements than as some timeless underlying essence. After all, who gets to determine what the real essential Bali is?

arrival of his wife, the *Liku*, Luh Wedani, who is making a terrible noise from off stage, calling out a diminutive of ‘husband’ repeatedly.

There is a long scene with the *Liku* still behind the curtain at the back of the stage, ordering her servants to get ready. It consists largely of dialogue, banter and word play. Luh Wedani is angry with the servants because they are disrespectful and rude about her. They are so because she behaves in a fashion unbecoming to the wife of a prince. Finally she enters (600) and performs a madcap dance (her *Panglembar*) round the stage. She promptly proceeds to make fun of a whole series of government development ordinances, at once informing the audience of what they are and sending them up. She starts with the risk of high cholesterol from eating food prepared with too much coconut oil, then moves onto instructing children to work hard at school – each with comical results.

The *Liku* then turns to a play on the function of each of the five fingers in turn (800), neatly mixing philosophical categories and absurdity. She then moves (950+) to a series of development programmes designed to promote healthy lifestyles among peasant villagers, making fun of the possible implications (to 1150).

Thereafter the prince enters again, which is the excuse for the *Liku* to engage in coarse slapstick, while the prince sings of her rare beauty (1200+). The *Liku* then switches to start giving advice to the women in the audience (the collusion of a man dressed as a woman talking over women’s matters went down very well) on how to keep straying husbands, which the *Liku* turned into a send-up of Indonesian government bureaucracy (1300+).

The light-hearted mood is interrupted by the arrival of the *Bendésa*, the village head of Nusa Penida, Luh Wedani’s father (all the minor masked characters (*Bondrès*) are played by the same actor as Wijil, who went off stage, 1350). The village head reminds the prince that he has to redeem his promise and now is not the time to be relaxing with his wife (1400) to which the prince explains that everything is organized, after which the prince, Luh Wedani and the village head go off stage to perform the rite (1450). Immediately afterwards a very old villager enters who seems on his last legs, but has come to perform service for his master. He exits and a white haired village elder enters (1500) and discusses how, despite the hard life in Nusa Penida because of its barrenness, they ate well in the past by knowing which vegetation was nutritious, unlike nowadays. He announced he is from a clan (*Dukuh*) whose task it is to organize the practicalities of big ceremonies like this and discusses details of the main temples and the proprieties of big rites. The Panasar and he discuss the background and purposes of such ceremonies in Balinese religion (1600) before the Panasar concludes with an apology (*pangaksama*) for anything that has been said or done, which was excessive or fell short.

### ***The layout of this work***

This Introduction, together with the transcription and translation of *The Prince of Nusa Penida redeems his vow* are intended to be part of a full monograph. This monograph will have detailed introduction, followed by chapters on character, narrative, sources and changes in Balinese performance. After the translation, there will be chapters analyzing the different commentaries made by the group of elderly males, the females from one family, the actors and expert commentators. The conclusion will address the changing nature of *Prèmbon* and *Arja* in Bali.

# Sri Aji Palaka Naur Sesangi

## Prèmbon

©Mark Hobart March 2008

1	PANASAR:	<b>Aṅĕlĕpuṅ pinireṅ wadana,</b>
2		<b>Susuluh kaṅ mĕdal eñjiṅ,</b>
3		<b>Sumalimuṅ salin Pura,</b>
4		<b>Lamun durus akaron sih.</b>
5		<b>(A)Walatuṅ amarapit,</b>
6		<b>Kutaṅ tiṅgal jīwan iṅsun.</b>
7		<b>Toya berjinauhan,</b>
8		<b>Pasar aguṅ riṅ Batawi,</b>
9		<b>Caṅguṅ-caṅguṅ,</b>
10		<b>Katĕmun sapaleredan.<sup>1</sup></b>
11		
12	PANASAR:	Bĕh! Déwa Ratu Agung! Atur <b>pangakṣaman</b> titiang mantuké ring para
13		semeton sané sampun lédang ngarauhin. Dumadakja maka sami
14		mangguhangan karahajengan. Iraga maka <u>Umat</u> Hindu satata ngastiti

---

<sup>1</sup> Many of the words in this song are obscure. The version translated above is from Déwa Madé Sayang. The song is complicated by using popular rather than classical *kawi*. So it presents problems to textual scholars and highlights the discrepancy between formal written textual use of *kawi* and popular usage.

Out of interest, I compare the accounts of two other scholars: Professor Ben Arps and the local *kawi* expert in Tengahpadang, I Wayan Arka. The latter described it as a *sesandar* used as a *pangajum* and, interestingly, said that he had little difficulty in glossing it (*ngartiangan*). His reading indicates the freedom with which Balinese approach such sources.

Words generally recognized as Sanskrit or Old Javanese are in **bold** and follow the usual spelling conventions, which reflect the use of the Javanese-Balinese alphabet not the Roman. Underlined words are Indonesian. Double underlined words are theatrical expressions.

### Abbreviations

Skt. = Sanskrit

O.J. = Old Javanese usually as found in dictionaries like Zoetmulder.

<b>Aṅĕlĕpuṅ</b>	Soft. From <b>lepung</b> (Balinese <i>lempung</i> , flour) → soft as flour
<b>pinireṅ</b>	from <b>nira</b> → <b>nireṅ</b> , plus prefix ‘pi-’ as <i>pantantur</i>
<b>wadana</b>	Refined → from <b>dana</b> acc. Wy. Arka – a curious derivation
<b>susuluh</b>	<i>panerangan</i> or <i>cahaya</i> (radiance)
<b>Pura</b>	Court ( <i>Puri</i> )
<b>Lamun durus akaron</b>	‘I shall not be content before we are one’. Wy. Arka accepted Ben Arps’s view that this made
<b>sih</b>	sense as, but stressed that this did not necessarily imply sexual intercourse, but treated <b>smara</b>
	as ‘love’ in a potentially non-sexual sense.
<b>(A)Walatuṅamarapit</b>	‘bounded/encompassed by his protection’ (lit: = enclosed by rattan bonds).
<b>kutang tiṅgal</b>	‘thrown (away), left (behind).
<b>jīwan iṅsun</b>	<i>Pramanan titiang</i>
<b>berjinauhan</b>	Wy. Arka said was Skt. ‘as if very far away, but he also accepted the view of Ben Arps that
	<b>jawah</b> - rain, so <b>jinawahan</b> – rained upon, but said it was dew <i>damuh</i> or light rain ( <i>riris</i> ).
<b>sapaleredan</b>	‘as in a lightning flash’ ( <b>caleredan</b> ) Wy. Arka had originally argued it was <i>katemu marèrod</i>
	but accepted Arps’s reading.



15 mangdénéja maka sami rauhing keluarga ngamangguhang karahajengan.  
 16 Napi té anggèn jalaran ritatkala karya? Ngiring sareng-sareng ngaturang  
 17 pangubakti nunas pasuwècan ring Ida Sang Hyang Parama Wisèsa.<sup>2</sup>  
 18 **Sabinaniḡ** punika iraga hidup di jagaté ngemban sané mawasta seni  
 19 budaya. Aduh, Aratu! Banget pinunas titiang ring semeton sareng sami,  
 20 ngiringja pelihara ngulatiang pisan ritatkala wènten sasolahan unèn-  
 21 unènké, prasida maka sami ngiring mangdaja kasenian druwéné tetep  
 22 hidup. Napi anggèn pokok? Napi anggèn jalaran mangda sakadi  
 23 asapuniki? Sampun lédang kènten, nah, ngawèntenang tatontonan. Naler  
 24 Ida Dané arsa nonton niki sampun mawasta becik, **riantukan** yèn ten  
 25 iraga jagi ngajiang melihara kesenianné sira malih jagi aturin?  
 26 Mawinan kadi mangkin rauh tamu-tamu, rauh toris-toris, sakèng **dura**  
 27 **nagara**. Napi gumanti rereha? Boyaké **saḡkaniḡ** kasenian Ida Dané,  
 28 ketrampilan Ida Dané, wicaksana wikan makarya **sahananiḡ** barang seni.  
 29 Awinan raris rauh toris-torisé - niki napa sampun rauh sareng kalih.  
 30 Welcome. Good afternoon, thank you. I hope you glad see here. Nawang  
 31 duang katih kangguwang masih apang ada panyambat sara. Men, jani  
 32 anaké uli di luar negeri demen mabalih, iraga lantes acuh tidak acuh,  
 33 apang ten asapunika. Yèn nyak sampun sapuniki bèh bangga lega manah  
 34 titiang matur ring para semeton, boya asapunika. Dumadakja **kawèkas**  
 35 mangda sida kapelihara ngancan mangda ngamecikan.

36  
 37 (*Sings*)

38  
 39 Prèt sinunggèk, walang kèkèk angeteplèk,  
 40 Teka ia I Kadèk negakin sapèda simplèk,  
 41 Terus ngamaling bèbèk, laut ia maklètèk slekèk-slekèk.

42  
 43 Lèn jagaté di Nusa sapamadegan Ida Batara Ida Déwagung, sugra tabé  
 44 pakulun sané mabisèka Sri Aji Palaka. Bèh, suba terkenal gumi Nusané,  
 45 apa ané terkenalsawirèh guminé kering, sakéwala ané jani sapamadegan  
 46 Ida teka lèn masalin guminé. Yèning pidan sing sida baan mamula  
 47 punyan-punyan kayu; jani suba madan nyak gadang gumin Nusané.  
 48 Disamping ento kemajuan anak-anak suba pada samangat nuntut ilmu,  
 49 mawanan prasida sekolah-sekolah di Nusa suba pada sambrag di désa-  
 50 désa. Mawinan jani makejang suba pada duweg, ento ngaranayang I  
 51 Dèwèk rasa bangga lega idepé mamarekan di tanah Nusané. ‘Tut! ‘Tut!  
 52 ‘Tut! ‘Tut! Wijil! Rain beli!

53 WIJIL: Men, men, men! Iclang rain beli, iclang! Men, men. Kènkèn?  
 54 PANASAR: Iwasin!

55  
 56 (*WIJIL enters*)

57  
 58 WIJIL: Apa ané nyandang lakar sedekang apa?

<sup>2</sup> Divinity in Bali is often specified by different aspects. I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa, for instance, who lists twenty-four aspects, treats **Sang Hyang Parama Wiçesa** as individuated spirit which is still pure and devoid of properties (nirguṇa). It is represented as **Parama-Siwa**, **-Brahmā**, **-Wiṣṇu** or **-Buddha** according to different teachings (1960a: 38).

- 59 PANASAR: Kawibawan puriné di tanah Nusa.  
60 WIJIL: Lèn-lèn rasané, beli, **sahananiṅ** apa adané dini, ané ada di Nusa. Mara  
61 ada beli ngayah mai, suwéca Ida Sang Hyang Widi Wasa.  
62 PANASAR: Aa.  
63 WIJIL: Seger beli ngayah mai?  
64 PANASAR: Aa.  
65 WIJIL: Sakéwala sakala niskala.  
66 PANASAR: Ngudiang sakala... (niskala)?  
67 WIJIL: Listriké padem!  
68 PANASAR: Bèh!  
69 WIJIL: Ené ciri sakala niskala.  
70 PANASAR: Tawang cai maksudné?  
71 WIJIL: Men, men?  
72 PANASAR: Anak enu dalam rangka Hari Raya Nyepi.<sup>3</sup>  
73 WIJIL: Aa.  
74 PANASAR: Amati geni, kèto anaké!  
75 WIJIL: Aa.  
76 PANASAR: Jani matianga listriké. Dugas Nyepié hidup, kèto!  
77 WIJIL: Mara mati listriké. Sesuwunan Beli icang, Ida Déwagung, apa adané,  
78 panyenengé dini, suba paling. 'Dija, men, nyilih strongkèng?' Yèn sing  
79 nyilih strongkèng, sing nyidang masolah solah-solahané. Sasolahan alit-  
80 alit, bèh! Déwa Ratu! Mara, mara makebiah cang mai suba ojoga tekèn  
81 kopiné.  
82 PANASAR: Apa?  
83 WIJIL: Mara makebiah, prèmboné mai, kopiné masuk sik panabuhé. Ené suba,  
84 artiné suba anut ento. Tingalin Beli, lèn.  
85 PANASAR: Apa?  
86 WIJIL: Ané selem.  
87 PANASAR: Ais!  
88 WIJIL: Kèwala bisa ngorang; dogèn jabané panabuh lengkap.  
89 PANASAR: Ngopi malu 'Gus. Nai eda ngimud, geres-geres, jeg kètuwangé!  
90 WIJIL: Biasa diarep anak luh lek. Suba dogèn nyak joh dadua masuk. Ené eda  
91 ento runguanga jani sih pamekas pidabdab sasuwunan beli icang  
92 Déwagung Sri Aji Palaka ané malu. Aduh beli, biin Ida nangis biin Ida  
93 marika mariki kabèré-bèré.  
94 PANASAR: Baan kèweh pikayunan Idané, 'Tut.  
95 WIJIL: Aduh! Déwa Ratu! Men! Men!  
96 PANASAR: Beli cai lantasing ngiring kemu mai nunas ica.  
97 WIJIL: Aduh! Kènkèn kadèn sungkan kayun Ida. Yèn warsang kudang warsa  
98 kadèn, **kasuksèkèl sajroniṅ ring angka śarīran** Ida?  
99 PANASAR: 'Tut!  
100 WIJIL: Men! Men! Men!

<sup>3</sup> *Anak* here is not 'person' as it commonly is in Balinese, but 'this', which is part of the idiolect of Badung, the kingdom of which Dènpasar is the capital. Significantly, during the performance, *anak* is quite often 'person' during the early part of the performance, but switches to become 'this' almost exclusively when the wife of Sri Aji Palaka, Luh Wedani, comes on stage. It seems that this is largely because the man playing her rôle, I Midep, is from Badung and actors playing the servants adapt their speech accordingly. Rather than plaster the text with endless footnotes each time, it should be clear from the translation which sense is intended.

- 101 PANASAR: Sing nyala(h)ang anak maraga Prabu Nyakra Werdi. Sing lantes  
 102 maduwé perti santana?  
 103 WIJIL: Lantes ngambil aturan I Bandésa Nusa, Jero Mekel Wardani, kadèn  
 104 suba.<sup>4</sup>  
 105 PANASAR: Aa.  
 106 WIJIL: Duang dasa tiban sing maduwé peruta.  
 107 PANASAR: Kènkèn? kènkèn? Peruta kènkèn?  
 108 WIJIL: Perut, apa oranga mara?  
 109 PANASAR: Maduwé putra.  
 110 WIJIL: Aa. Enu cenik. Bèh! Déwa Ratu, kènkèn ia riwēkas guminé di Nusa, yèn  
 111 sing ada anak cenik nganyelediyin nyènja lakar narima kaagungan gelah?  
 112 Déwa Ratu!<sup>5</sup>  
 113 PANASAR: Kangen beli cai ring panyungkan kayun Ida Batara Déwagung.  
 114 WIJIL: Telah purae di Nusa. Telah palinggihé di Nusa rastitiang Ida.<sup>6</sup>  
 115 PANASAR: Sakancan ané madan tenget.  
 116 WIJIL: Aduh! Anak mula sing dadi kelidin suka duka lara patiné<sup>7</sup> anak mula  
 117 hidup manusa. Jalanja masih gébrasang apang nyak ingkupa<sup>8</sup> tekèn  
 118 penariné apang eda kenyel panabuhé.  
 119 PANASAR: Nah.  
 120 WIJIL: Jalan gébrasang!  
 121 PANASAR: 'Tut! Gébrasang!  
 122 WIJIL: Nah!  
 123 PANASAR: 'Tut, 'Tut!  
 124 WIJIL: Uwuh? Wuh? Wuh?  
 125 PANASAR: Wah!  
 126 WIJIL: Nah!  
 127 PANASAR: Ajedoh.<sup>9</sup>  
 128 WIJIL: Kènkèn ento?  
 129 PANASAR: Ajedoh.  
 130 WIJIL: Sing ada, sing.  
 131 PANASAR: Apa sing ada?  
 132 WIJIL: Jaja ulija?  
 133 PANASAR: Jaja uli kènkèn?  
 134 WIJIL: Sing ada jaja godoh dini. Dija ngalih? Di Nusa dija ngalih godoh?  
 135 Kangguwang jaja uli?  
 136 PANASAR: Jalema belogan tekèn sekolah TK.<sup>10</sup> Ajedoh! Eda cai joh.  
 137 WIJIL: Uh! Kènkèn jawabané ento?  
 138 PANASAR: Duran doh.

<sup>4</sup> *Kadèn suba* is used in Badung, whereas it is *ené suba* according to conventions in Tengahpadang.

<sup>5</sup> n.b. in daily speech the exclamation (*Déwa Ratu*, Good Lord!) should come at the beginning of the statement, in dance at the end.

<sup>6</sup> *Ngarastitiang* in the high of *ngayumin*, which connotes here not just praying, but ensuring proper upkeep and performance of ceremonies at the temples as well. cf. O.J. **sthiti** 'continuence in being, settled rule, fixed order, stability', **inasthityakĕn** 'to make lasting'.

<sup>7</sup> These last four words are also Sanskrit and Old Javanese as well as Balinese. O.J. **lara** 'pain (psychic or physical); affliction, ache, grief, heartache' omits the idea of danger in Balinese.

<sup>8</sup> *Ingkup* = *saling asah*, *saling asoh*, see below.

<sup>9</sup> The commentators said that this was also *kawi*, cf. O.J. **doh** 'being far away'.

<sup>10</sup> Taman Kanak-Kanak, kindergarten.

- 139 WIJIL: Bèh! Tunian ngorain kèto sing aluh. Duran doh. Masemetonan mai,  
 140 ngajak sasuwunané nunas ica dini di Duur Bingin, sing kèto?  
 141 PANASAR: Tut!  
 142 WIJIL: Uwuh! Duran doh.  
 143 PANASAR: Yéé! Kènkèn ené?  
 144 WIJIL: Bah! Suba 'duran doh' buin pelih. Damaré mati kanti ento.  
 145 PANASAR: Sajan ngalih nyama.  
 146 WIJIL: Kènkèn ento?  
 147 PANASAR: Jalema padingehang!  
 148 WIJIL: Suba dingeh cang.  
 149 PANASAR: Sebelum ada pertanyaan dilarang menjawab.  
 150 WIJIL: Uh! Nah jani. Nah!  
 151 PANASAR: Kalau menjawab...  
 152 WIJIL: Men? Men? Men?  
 153 PANASAR: Nilai dikurangi seratus.  
 154 WIJIL: Bèh! Cara cerdas cermat.  
 155 PANASAR: 'Tut!  
 156 WIJIL: Uwuh!  
 157 PANASAR: Ajedoh.  
 158 WIJIL: Duran doh, duran doh, doh duran.  
 159 PANASAR: Dabdabang.  
 160 WIJIL: Ah!  
 161 PANASAR: Dabdabang.  
 162 WIJIL: Apa?  
 163 PANASAR: Dabdabang.  
 164 WIJIL: Uh! **Masa dewek**. Bengong cang tekèn wikan panabuhé. Ento mara  
 165 amoné dogèn suba, marèrèn, amatja kenyel limané jabané. Apang sing  
 166 nyalahang. Mara tekedé dini. Ratu Cokorda, nunas sugra,<sup>11</sup> akuda  
 167 parekan légongé? Abedik tuwah akutus. Bèh! Déwa Ratu! Uling jam siaé  
 168 mabebed inih sakit awaké. Ené, Nah! Nguda kèto! Demen atiné, tawang  
 169 Beli ené?  
 170 PANASAR: Sing.  
 171 WIJIL: Mara amoné suba marèrèn panabuhé.  
 172 PANASAR: Uh! kèto, dadi kèto?  
 173 WIJIL: Ené suba **pinaka** Ida Dané para panabuh suba wikan tekèn koda.  
 174 PANASAR: Uh!  
 175 WIJIL: Mara amoné suba marèrèn?  
 176 PANASAR: Marèrèn?  
 177 WIJIL: Ené suba nunggalang, apa adané **Rwa Bhineda, purusa pradana**.<sup>12</sup>  
 178 PANASAR: Uh! Mawanan marèrèné sawirèh suba ngaresep?  
 179 WIJIL: Ah!  
 180 PANASAR: Ené maka bukti Persatuan dan Kesatuan.  
 181 WIJIL: Patut.  
 182 PANASAR: Mawinan buka jani...  
 183 WIJIL: Ento suba.

<sup>11</sup> *Lugra* 'permission', 'approval' cf. Skt. & O.J. **anugraha** 'favour, kindness, grant'.

<sup>12</sup> cf. Skt. & O.J. **puruṣa** 'man, male'; **pradhāna** 'primary germ, original source of the material universe'.

- 184 PANASAR: **Swadharmanij** agama lan **Swadharmanij** nagara.  
 185 WIJIL: Nyènja pidabdab Ida Déwagung, Sri Aji Palaka, di tanah Nusa agamané  
 186 kènèn.  
 187 PANASAR: Ento anak patut kapalajahin kalimbakang di masyarakat .  
 188 WIJIL: Dasar iraga maagama abesik ada tattwa, disubané ada tattwa sing masih  
 189 ia mapikenoh. Ada lantes tata susila laksanang nyen tattwané totoa.<sup>13</sup>  
 190 PANASAR: Kondèn masih genep.  
 191 WIJIL: Tondèn masih adung, apang nyak ada seni, ada ané madan buin abesik  
 192 ané madan 'upacara'.  
 193 PANASAR: Nah!  
 194 WIJIL: Apa ento artiné 'upa'?  
 195 PANASAR: Apa artiné?  
 196 WIJIL: 'Upa' ané madan iraga maekin bayu, 'cara' ané madan jalan 'bina paksa  
 197 bina paksi'. Jalané malèng, tetujon iraga ngarastitiang Ida Sang Hyang  
 198 Widi.  
 199 PANASAR: Uh!  
 200 WIJIL: Mawinan ada yadnya. Ené suba agamané di Nusa. Bengongan icang beli  
 201 tekèn apa adané, pikamkam, Ida Déwagung. Yadnya wit **sanjkanij Tri**  
 202 **Rēna**.  
 203 PANASAR: Utangé ané tatelu ento.  
 204 WIJIL: Tatelu ento. Rena wit **sanjkanij asung**, mawinan sing dadi lepas, anak  
 205 suba **Tri Hita Karana**.  
 206 PANASAR: Ané tatelu ento patut adung.  
 207 WIJIL: Patut adung.  
 208 PANASAR: Apa luwiré?  
 209 WIJIL: **Tri Parhyajan**: puraé rastitiang apang melah.<sup>14</sup>  
 210 PANASAR: Sawirèh iraga nunas pasuwècan Ida Sang Hyang Embang.<sup>15</sup>  
 211 WIJIL: Eda sebet maturan asebit. Sari amongkèn kadèn suba bakat tunas?<sup>16</sup>  
 212 PANASAR: Mawinan paling maluna baktiné ring Ida Sang Hyang Embang, patut  
 213 ento ingetang.  
 214 WIJIL: Nah! **Parhyajan** abesik. **Palēmahan** ené jagat **rayané** tongos umah  
 215 iraga hidup.<sup>17</sup>  
 216 PANASAR: Paumahan iraga apang nyak ia masih adung.<sup>18</sup>  
 217 WIJIL: Buin abesik lantes. Ada **Pañwojan**,<sup>19</sup> I Manusa, ia ngelahang apang dadi  
 218 ia **Tat twam asi** beli icang apang... Aduh! Aduh!  
 219 PANASAR: Kènèn ené?

<sup>13</sup> The word order reads more clearly as '*tata susila nyen laksanang*, a moral code in order to achieve this in practice'.

<sup>14</sup> O.J. **Parhyajan** 'sanctuary where a god is worshipped'.

<sup>15</sup> Ida Sang Hyang Embang is one of the common appellations of Ida Sang Hyang Widi Wasa.

<sup>16</sup> According to the commentators, here *sari* (often glossed as 'essence', but perhaps better as 'goodness') is clearly *sarining merta* = *merta* 'sustenance'. On problems in interpreting these particular terms, see Hobart 1987: 39-42.

<sup>17</sup> **Palēmahan** = ground (round the house)'. If *raya* were Balinese, it would be a synonym of *tongadi* 'pretty decrepit, badly quarters broken down', as of an old pavilion desperately in need of repair. Here it was considered to be **raya** 'great, big'. However **jagattraya** is Skt. and O.J. for 'the three worlds'.

<sup>18</sup> Here *asin* was given as a synonym of *adung*.

<sup>19</sup> Whether **pañwojan** is proper Old Javanese, as both commentators and Déwa Madé Sayang maintained is unclear. Zoetmulder gives simply **pawojan** 'attendants' but cf. **kawwojan** 'birth, form of existence (man, animal etc.), position assigned by birth, natural disposition.

- 220 WIJIL: Apang eda kasèp, asané yèn amoné buat, apa adané, pidabdab Ida  
 221 Déwagung, sasuwunan beli cang.  
 222 PANASAR: Aa.  
 223 WIJIL: Lakar ngètangang buat yadnya agamané.<sup>20</sup> Matur. Matur. Jalan pendak  
 224 Ida.  
 225 PANASAR: Ainggih Aratu! Aratu Déwagung, sasuwunan titiang, Palungguh Cokor I  
 226 Déwa. Maka **mürdhanigrat** ring jagat Nusané, boya sapunika?<sup>21</sup>  
 227 WIJIL: Patut. Mangda wènten iring titiang tunasang titiang babaosan. Durus.  
 228 SRI AJI PALAKA: Eda surud mayadnya punia.  
 229 PANASAR: **Satyam éwam jayaté.**<sup>22</sup>  
 230  
 231 (*Sri Aji Palaka sings to begin with from behind the curtain*)  
 232  
 233 WIJIL: Mamitang lugra titiang parekan tambet. Hidup di Nusa anak mulana  
 234 katos.  
 235 PANASAR: Aa! Tunasang.  
 236 WIJIL: Baos, **anġan** Palungguh I Ratu **mürdhanigrat** jagat wayah.<sup>23</sup> ‘Paman,  
 237 yadiastun suba peteng buka jani, galah makita masih mabligbagan  
 238 agama, mapan hidup **sanġkanigrat** agama.’  
 239 PANASAR: Sawirèh hidupé mula akelèpan tatit.<sup>24</sup>  
 240 WIJIL: Mula.  
 241 PANASAR: Apang sing nyen pracuma, malajah apang melah. Sing kèto tunasang?  
 242 WIJIL: Aa. Sangkané, Palungguh Cokor I Déwa, titiang manusa ten dados surud  
 243 mayadnya madana punia?  
 244 PANASAR: Madana punia.  
 245 WIJIL: Apa, men, suksemané punika? Kija suksemané?  
 246 PANASAR: Ring sira patutné?  
 247 WIJIL: Patut! Patut!  
 248 PANASAR: Asapunika pinunas parekan druwéné, Déwagung.  
 249 SRI AJI PALAKA: Ngastawa Ida Sang Hyang Widi.<sup>25</sup>  
 250 WIJIL: ‘Paman! Paman! Paman!’  
 251 PANASAR: Kènkèn? Kènkèn?  
 252 WIJIL: ‘Apa eda nyen paman salah ulat. Apang eda nyen paman ningeh ané  
 253 tuara.<sup>26</sup> Ené-ené yadnyané ané baosang acé.<sup>27</sup> Apang eda nyen paman

<sup>20</sup> Ketut Sutatemaja maintained that *lakar* ‘to be about to’ here should be understood as *sampun*, had already. It is often unclear during the play, quite what is supposed to have transpired and what is yet to come.

<sup>21</sup> **Mürdhanigrat** ‘rule the inhabited (visible) world’.

<sup>22</sup> The commentators thought this to be very *wayah*, old, mature, wise. They glossed it as ‘truth/goodness shall triumph’. It seems in fact to be ‘archipelago sanskrit’, which Wayan Sadiya immediately gave as: ‘truth is supreme in the end’. Déwa Madé Sayang, who actually spoke the lines, said that it was an expression which he used for ‘ensuring the victory of truth’.

<sup>23</sup> 1. **Anġa** is ‘body’, **makānġa** ‘to have the body of’. It is a polite way of addressing a king. The commentators were unclear whether it involves self-abasement, as in addressing the foot *cokor* of a noble personage (e.g. in *cokor I Déwa*, foot of the God) or has the sense of ‘incarnate in’.

2. *wayah* here, they considered, did not refer to *jagat*, so ‘old country’, but ‘for a long time’.

<sup>24</sup> *Akelèpan tatit* is ‘a brief flash/bolt of lightning’.

<sup>25</sup> *Ngastawa* is ‘praise, worship’; cf. O.J. **Anġastawa** ‘to praise’.

<sup>26</sup> *Tuara-tuara* is ‘nonsense, idle speech’, often negative statements or excuses for not doing something, arguments against something.

<sup>27</sup> *Acé* is the term in *Arja* and *Prèmbon* with which royal figures refer to themselves. So also is *gelah*.

- 254 suwud, sing nyen ada lèn, patuh cara raosé tunian, ring Ida Sang Hyang  
 255 Parama Kawi.<sup>28</sup>
- 256 PANASAR: Pamucuk baktiné ring Ida Sang Hyang Parama Kawi. Tiyos ring punika,  
 257 ring sira patuté malih?
- 258 WIJIL: Patut.
- 259 PANASAR: Madana mayadnya punia? Indayang baosang.
- 260 WIJIL: Mangda sampunang empak luwirèh. Durus. Durus.
- 261 SRI AJI PALAKA: Kala Buta Pitra puja.
- 262 WIJIL: Men! Men! Men!
- 263 PANASAR: Mara beli nunasang. Aratu Déwagung, tios ring Sang Hyang Widi, ring  
 264 sira malih yadnyané?
- 265 WIJIL: Nyèn ento?
- 266 PANASAR: 'Paman. Buta Kala. Manusa patut masih gaèngang yadnya.'
- 267 WIJIL: Kadèn<sup>29</sup> mara ené dugasé Buda Kliwon Paang?
- 268 PANASAR: Aa.
- 269 WIJIL: Ada **Pañca Wali Krama**. Ento **pinaka** tingkatan kala ento.
- 270 PANASAR: Bacakan yadnya.
- 271 WIJIL: Yadnya kala.
- 272 PANASAR: Ané katur tekèn?
- 273 WIJIL: Satondèn madéwa yadnya. Déwayadnya **Batara Turun Kabèh** nyanggra  
 274 **kawērdian**<sup>30</sup> jagat. Patut. Patut.
- 275 PANASAR: Ainggih.
- 276 SRI AJI PALAKA: 'Pang 'da ia miruda gumi.<sup>31</sup>
- 277 WIJIL: Aduh! Déwa Ratu.
- 278 PANASAR: Tawang ci?
- 279 WIJIL: Men?
- 280 PANASAR: Apa mawanan anaké ngaturang yadnya?
- 281 WIJIL: Aa.
- 282 PANASAR: Tekèn Sang Buta Kala.
- 283 WIJIL: Pamekas yadnya. Men!
- 284 PANASAR: Apang singja, buta kalané, apang sing ia I Buta Kala ngrabéda.<sup>32</sup> Apang  
 285 sing ngusak-asik.
- 286 WIJIL: Uh! Apang nyak ia ngalih tongos.
- 287 PANASAR: Apang nyak ia enteg jagaté.
- 288 WIJIL: Mawinan baang ia lelaban.
- 289 PANASAR: Beneh.
- 290 WIJIL: 'Laba' ané madan babayaan. Kala ané madan kekuatan.<sup>33</sup> Bayah  
 291 kekuatané ané anggo di awaké **Pañcamahābhūta**.
- 292 PANASAR: Niki wiakti, ten simpang.
- 293 SRI AJI PALAKA: Sakalané kala **anjerti**. Sakala niskala sujati.

<sup>28</sup> *Ida Sang Hyang Parama Kawi* is another aspect or appellation for Divinity. According to Sugriwa, It is Divinity as the creator or planner of the good or bad which happens to humans and other living beings (1960a: 15).

<sup>29</sup> According to local usage in Tengahpadang, this should be (*tu*)sing 'not', here 'isn't it the case that'.

<sup>30</sup> Skt. & O.J. **wṛddhi** 'prosperity, increase'.

<sup>31</sup> Ni Murdi, who played Sri Aji Palaka thought *miruda* was from the *kawi ruda*; cf. O.J. **rinuddha** 'disturb'.

<sup>32</sup> cf. O.J. **bhineda** 'disunite, split by discord'.

<sup>33</sup> Kekuatan here seems to be *bayu*, energy.

- 294 WIJIL: Inggih! Madaging. 'Paman. Paman. Yèn paman mayadnya niskala, yèn  
295 sing sakalané malu, sing nyidang nyen mayadnya.'
- 296 PANASAR: Aa.
- 297 WIJIL: Yadnya niskala, 'dana punia' ené anggo malu. Kèrtiané anggo malu.
- 298 SRI AJI PALAKA: Jagaté mangda rahayu.
- 299 WIJIL: Déwa Ratu! Déwa Ratu! Men, Men!
- 300 PANASAR: Mawanan makèrti sakala niskala, mula **dharmaniṅ Saṅ Aṅawa Rat.**<sup>34</sup>
- 301 WIJIL: Mula.
- 302 PANASAR: Patut ngarastitiang, apangja guminé nemu ané madan rahayu.
- 303 WIJIL: Ené mula alih.
- 304 PANASAR: Yèn cara jani, kènkènja Sang Pemimpin ngutsahayang apang nyidayang  
305 masyarakaté adil kalawan makmur.<sup>35</sup>
- 306 WIJIL: Manut swadarmané. Madaging, madaging.
- 307 SRI AJI PALAKA: **Para bāhudanda, tandra mantri, punggawa.**<sup>36</sup>
- 308 WIJIL: Yah! 'Paman. Paman. Yèn lakar mayadnya, apa buin diguminé gedé  
309 pamekas di Bali, sing nyen dadi raosang dogèn; patut laksanakan baan ané  
310 madan kèrti. Laksanakan baan ané madan manusa pada.'
- 311 PANASAR: Mawanan patut sasahang...
- 312 WIJIL: Aa.
- 313 PANASAR: Tekèn **Sang Tandra Mantri. Rakryana Patih.**<sup>37</sup>
- 314 WIJIL: Beneh.
- 315 PANASAR: Apang pada jani niwakang gaéné ento.
- 316 WIJIL: Dingelah gaéné apang ngelah iraga **śikṣa**. Apang ngelah iraga sakti désa  
317 kala patra.<sup>38</sup>
- 318 PANASAR: Patra.
- 319 SRI AJI PALAKA: **Saṅ Putus** sareng miletin.<sup>39</sup>
- 320 WIJIL: Patut. Patut.
- 321 PANASAR: (*Sings*) **Sang suta** sida nyarengin.<sup>40</sup>
- 322 SRI AJI PALAKA: (*Inaudible*)
- 323 WIJIL: Men.
- 324 PANASAR: Kènkèn ento?
- 325 WIJIL: Paman. Yèn mayadnya, telu ané madan kabaos **Tri Mangalaniṅ Yajña.**<sup>41</sup>

<sup>34</sup> cf. O.J. **angawani** 'to lead (troups etc.), to be in command'. The commentators glossed this as Balinese *ngisiang*, *mamerintah* 'to control or command'.

<sup>35</sup> Ngutsahayang is theatrical elaboration of *u(t)saha* 'effort, exertion'; cf. O.J. **añutsāha** 'to exert oneself for'.

<sup>36</sup> The commentators considered this to be special theatrical language and *wayah*, old, as well. Interestingly their rendition is quite close to Zoetmulder's: **bāhudanda** 'guard, protection'; **tandra** 'a category of dignitaries or officials... It seems, however, that it does not always point to a military rank... **catus-tandra-mantri** denotes one rank or dignity (chief officer?); **punggawa** 'chief, leader, official of high rank'.

<sup>37</sup> cf. O.J. **rakryan** 'denoting a person of rank, before the name or the categorial noun (**apatih**, **tumengguh** etc.); used in courteous address. cf. **tandra rakryan** 'a high functionary'.

<sup>38</sup> *Sakti* here is not 'supernatural power', but efficacy, effectiveness.

<sup>39</sup> O.J. **Putus** is 'completely mastered', 'having reached the highest degree, accomplished, perfect'.

<sup>40</sup> The commentators said that **suta** was a common word for 'servant, subject'. According to Zoetmulder **sūta** besides meaning 'son' is 'charioteer, master of the horse, royal herald or bard'. Van der Tuuk gives *suta magadha* as wecya, a member of the caste below *satriya* (**gadā** is 'club'). The military connotations come out in Ketut Sutatemaja's name, which he glossed as *panjak kereng pisan* 'a very strong servant'. After discussion the commentators agreed that the implication was of a senior and favoured servant. He had taken the name because his family were bodyguards to the local prince.



- 326 PANASAR: Uh! **Tri Maṅgalaning Yajña**. Abesik:  
 327 WIJIL: Ada anak ngaé gaé yadnya mapidabdab, **Sang Yajamāna**.<sup>42</sup>  
 328 PANASAR: Dadua?  
 329 WIJIL: Ada maan nyanggra, tukang banten, masyarakat secara sosial.  
 330 PANASAR: Aa, tatelu?  
 331 WIJIL: Ada **ḍaṅ**, ané madan **brāhmaṇācārya**, ané suba **ṅĕlaran phalāśraya**,  
 332 ané muput yadnya.<sup>43</sup>  
 333 PANASAR: Apang buka tatelu ada. Kasal anak nangun karya **Tri Maṅgalaning Yajña**,  
 334 apang ada.  
 335 WIJIL: Mawinan Agama Hindu ajaran berjenjang, api ada padanda, api ada  
 336 tukang banten, anak ngelah gaé sing ada, sing masih pangus.  
 337 PANASAR: Nyènja ajaka maitungan? Sing kèto?  
 338 WIJIL: Aduh! Ento mawinan matur.  
 339 SRI AJI PALAKA: Eda carat-curut.  
 340 WIJIL: Eda nyen paling.  
 341 PANASAR: Apang sing pati kaplug paling.  
 342 WIJIL: Apang eda petengé kadèn jelèk. Mawinan ngaé Nyepi, nyepiang raga  
 343 **aṅga śarīra** suciang.  
 344 PANASAR: Aa.  
 345 WIJIL: Dini suba iraga **mulat śarīra**.<sup>44</sup>  
 346 PANASAR: Patut! Patut!  
 347 SRI AJI PALAKA: Suba ruwang dadi pajalan.  
 348 WIJIL: Bangun, mawinan ada...  
 349 PANASAR: (magending) Suba ruwang dadi pajalan.  
 350 WIJIL: Sangkal swadarmané ento melahang, eda ngarang tegak timpal apang  
 351 nyamané eda magonggang.<sup>45</sup> Aduh! Beli, matur, matur.  
 352 PANASAR: (magending) **Singih Ratu Saṅ Rumageṅ Pañji mulat semara**.<sup>46</sup>  
 353 (Marèrèn magending) Aduh! Aratu, Aratu Déwagung, sesuwunan titiang,  
 354 Cokor I Déwa. Duaning ènjing semeng sakadi mangkin? Menawi wènten

<sup>41</sup> cf. O.J. **maṅgala** “anything that brings blessing, ensures success or a happy issue”, hence a ceremony or ritual... The person who possesses the salutary power of blessing, purifying or assuring success (god, king, holy man etc.) as well as the sacred text, purifying or sanctifying those who hear or read it, are **maṅgala** too. Hence it is used for him who is most prominent, the leader among the many’.

<sup>42</sup> O.J. **yajamāna** ‘the offerer, sacrificer’; cf. **yajamānkāśa** ‘institutor of the sacrifice’.

<sup>43</sup> *Dang* is an honorific term for Brahmana high priest (*padanda*, *sulinggih*), especially used of one who has been made a **purohita**, a chief court-priest; cf. O.J. **ḍaṅ** ‘particle preceding a noun or proper name, denoting a religious person (guru) of distinction’. O.J. **Brāhmaṇācārya** is a Brahman “‘knowing (teaching) the **ācāra** or rules”, spiritual guide, teacher’. Sugriwa gives **Brāhmacarya** as a person who learns about God or is a pupil of God (1960: 4). **ṅĕlaran** or *ngalarang* is ‘to carry out, perform’; cf. O.J. **aṅĕlar** ‘give shape to, unfold in visible form (deity through yoga), perform (yoga, mantra). O.J. **phala** is ‘fruit, consequence, effect, result’; plus Skt **āśraya** ‘that on which anything depends or rests; help, assistance, protection’.

<sup>44</sup> O.J. **(u)mulat** is ‘to see, look’; cf. **umulatakĕn** ‘turn the eyes towards’; so here ‘seeing one’s body, to be aware of oneself, to introspect’.

<sup>45</sup> *Timpal* ‘friends’ refers here to members of the same work group. *Nyama* was glossed as *nyama beraya* ‘relatives and neighbours, or friends’.

<sup>46</sup> According to Déwa Madé Sayang **rumagèng** is a praise form of **maraga** ‘to embody’ and **mulat smara** is *pekantĕnané ngulangunin pisan* ‘a friend who is extremely enchanting’, usually because of their handsomeness. This is possible if **rumageṅ** is the intransitive verb form of **raragan** ‘body’ i.e. **r-um-aga-ing**, but one should note that *rāga* is ‘love, passion’ and the passive **rināgan** is ‘to inspire passion or love’, which coincides with the predicate. **Mulat**, on Déwa Madé Sayang’s reading, would presumably be related to **pawulatan** ‘appearance’.

- 355 jagi buat pawacana katiba ring parekan druwéné. Durus. Durus.  
 356 Mawacana Ratu Déwagung.  
 357 WIJIL: Durus-durus nibakang pawacana.  
 358 SRI AJI PALAKA: **Tan luput rwa bhineda.**  
 359 WIJIL: Uh! Paman. Paman.  
 360 PANASAR: (*Sings*) **Tan hana woꞑ swastha nulus.**<sup>47</sup>  
 361 WIJIL: Saja, cara slokantarané.<sup>48</sup>  
 362 PANASAR: Kènkèn?  
 363 WIJIL: 'Singja lepas ané madan rua binédaé'. Nyen paman.  
 364 PANASAR: Anak mula akèto hidupé mabekel rua binéda. Sing ada anak melah nulus  
 365 di jagaté.  
 366 WIJIL: Aduh! Madaging. Madaging.  
 367 SRI AJI PALAKA: Larané suba rasa masilih.<sup>49</sup>  
 368 WIJIL: Cara gagendingan. 'Pala karmané buin pidan, larané telah suka nampi  
 369 buin pidan, sukané telah lara nampi.'  
 370 PANASAR: Selagenti suba teka. 'Tut!  
 371 WIJIL: Singja dadi alih melahé, singja dadi kelidin jelèké. Anak mula  
 372 **karmawāsanān** beli, **karmawāsanān** icangé.<sup>50</sup>  
 373 PANASAR: Kadi lantes pamargan Ida Batara Déwagung.  
 374 WIJIL: Saja, saja.  
 375 PANASAR: Mawanan kabaos masilih, paman, lacur gelahé pidan.<sup>51</sup>  
 376 WIJIL: Patut. Patut.  
 377 SRI AJI PALAKA: Sadia dini, paman.  
 378 PANASAR: Patut, larané sané sampun kamarginin, mangkin rasa masalin dados  
 379 **gargita** kawèntenan **anġan** Cokor I Déwané, Ratu Déwagung.<sup>52</sup>  
 380 SRI AJI PALAKA: Nyuwun suwècan Hyang Widi.  
 381 WIJIL: Paman. Medal wacanan Ida. Sing nyen ada lèn ané ngaranayang gargita  
 382 **rituwasinira** gelah, mula pasuwècan asung warānugraha Ida Sang  
 383 Hyang Widi Wasa, sasuwunan ané niskala.<sup>53</sup>  
 384 SRI AJI PALAKA: Wènten **pinaka** panyeledihi **riwēkas**, **riwēkas hana panerus.**  
 385 PANASAR: Paman! **sanġaniġ** suwècan Ida Batara, Sasuwunan di Guwa Lawah...  
 386 WIJIL: Aa. Di Guwa Lawah di Bali.

<sup>47</sup> **Swastha** is O.J. 'in a state of well-being, safe and sound, fortunate, prosperous; welfare, happiness, safety'; (**a**)**nulus** is 'to go on, continue, last' from *tulus* 'asting, constant, permanent, perfect'.

<sup>48</sup> *Sloka* or *slokantara* here is a kind of figure of speech aimed at making a point to someone indirectly; cf. O.J. **ślokāntara** 'name of a didactic work'.

<sup>49</sup> The commentators gave a synonym for **lara** 'pain' (but it has connotations of 'danger' see note) as **saṅsāra** 'suffering, misery, torment' as part of one's existence in this world.

<sup>50</sup> **Karmawāsanān** 'the impression on the mind of acts done in a former state of existence'; and **wasāna** 'end, what becomes of something, result, issue'. Interestingly Zoetmulder (1982: 168) invites comparison with **tēmahan**, which is precisely the term used by the commentators as a gloss of *sela genti*. In O.J. it is 'the result of a change, that which something (finally) becomes, changed form'. One would need, I think, to add to *temahan* in Balinese the idea of slow but inevitable change, with no clear final state.

<sup>51</sup> *Gelah* is a term commonly used by royals to refer to themselves in *Arja* and *Prèmbon*.

<sup>52</sup> *kamarginin* here is *karasayang* 'felt', probably to avoid repetition of the term *rasa* twice in the sentence. **Gargita** 'joy, elation' seems to be a variant of O.J. **garjita** 'delighted, joyful, elated'.

<sup>53</sup> **Rituwasin** was glossed by the commentators as *suksema ring pikayun* 'the effect on his thoughts/mind'. Kersten gives (*pi*)*tuas* as 'payment, reward, blessing, the yield of work'. But O.J. **tos** and **twas-twas** are 'descendant, offspring'. I omitted to check this term with the actors, but the sense either way is similar.

- 387 PANASAR: Ditu gelah **nèwa sraya** baan kèwehé sing gigisan.<sup>54</sup> Kudang tiban suba  
 388 marabi sing ngelah putra?  
 389 WIJIL: Telah purané di Nusa; telah dokteré.  
 390 PANASAR: Beneh.  
 391 WIJIL: Bakat takonang, pura jalan mula bakat engsapang. Eda endèn kèto,  
 392 mawinan kawité koné kuwang.  
 393 SRI AJI PALAKA: Sangkan mangkin madabdab panaurané ring Hyang Widi.<sup>55</sup>  
 394 PANASAR: Paman! Sawirèh amonto nyen pinunas gelahé, kemu mai. Akudang  
 395 sesaudan, akudang sesangi kadèn suba aturang gelah? Jani sida lantes  
 396 gelah ngelah pianak putra kadi **anġan** Ida.  
 397 WIJIL: Abesik, putra metu.  
 398 PANASAR: Aa.  
 399 WIJIL: Dadua, buka jani laut, apa adané, sesangi ané malu.  
 400 PANASAR: Aa.  
 401 WIJIL: Lèn beli ajak cang anak aluh sekalané, niskalané sing dadi ajak.  
 402 PANASAR: Yèn cara dilemah iraga mutang patut mayah utang.  
 403 WIJIL: Patut bayah apang iraga rena.  
 404 SRI AJI PALAKA: Mangda nerus kawiletin antuk Hyang...  
 405 PANASAR: Aingih! Aratu. Punika patut pisan kalaksanayang kadi sesangin **anġan**  
 406 Cokor I Déwa, duaning sampun paresida kadi mangkin madrebé putra  
 407 lanang, raris.<sup>56</sup>  
 408 WIJIL: Aduh! Kènkèn? Putra lanang?  
 409 PANASAR: Aa, kènkèn?  
 410 WIJIL: Ené, suba ané tunas Ida uli malu. Jani, sing kèto? Dadi sing pragat gaéné  
 411 ulian anak muani, anak mula isin gumi ento.  
 412 SRI AJI PALAKA: Sangkan jani becik rembugang...  
 413 PANASAR: Paman, ané jani jalanja **akṣamayaṅ** ring pura dijaja,  
 414 WIJIL: Patut.  
 415 SRI AJI PALAKA: Karanané kadi I Adi dini.  
 416 WIJIL: Ento saja, men.  
 417 PANASAR: Singja ada lèn I Adi ia, I Luh Wedani.  
 418 WIJIL: Jero Mekel beliné?  
 419 PANASAR: Beneh.  
 420 WIJIL: Bèh.  
 421 SRI AJI PALAKA: Kagiat ngawang-ngawang.<sup>57</sup>  
 422 PANASAR: Miribang.  
 423 LUH WEDANI: Beli beli, beli beli beli, beli beli beli, beli beli beliii.  
 424 WIJIL: Badah.  
 425 PANASAR: Apa ento?  
 426 WIJIL: Ené tengah lemeng ada anak uli Tengahpadang madagang.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>54</sup> **Newa** seems to be a Balinese form of **sewa** 'to pay homage to', as in **manewa** 'to serve in order to receive', for **āśraya**, see above.

<sup>55</sup> Strictly one needs to add to *panaurané* 'pay, fulfil' *sesangi* 'vow'.

<sup>56</sup> *Raris* here indicates the end of a theme (*tanggun raos*) and does not have any sense in itself. The use of the form *madrebé* is interesting here, because it is conventionally employed in high Balinese to lower oneself or the person addressed (*ngasor*), whereas one would address or speak indirectly about a superior using *madruwé*, the *singih* form. The possible reasons for its usage here is discussed below.

<sup>57</sup> *Kagiat* = *kagèt* 'startled, surprised'.

- 427 SRI AJI PALAKA: Suaran apa ngawang-ngawang piragi?  
 428 PANASAR: Apa ia kadèn dagang? Apa mirib teka ené jeg makalukan? 'Oli oli, oli  
 429 oli' kètoa. Tawanga olié maal, dagang oli teka.  
 430 LUH WEDANI: Weli weli weli weli, iang iang dini, iang dini weli.<sup>59</sup>  
 431 WIJIL: Suba dingeh. 'Beli beli beli beli tiang dini iang dini.' Aduh! Déwa Ratu!  
 432 Bèh! Bes ngencot.  
 433 PANASAR: Sira minab niki?  
 434 SRI AJI PALAKA: Eni I Punta ngelah kakantènané.  
 435 WIJIL: Beli ngelah kakantènané ené?  
 436 PANASAR: Nyèn timpal beliné teka ené?  
 437 WIJIL: Beli ngelah?  
 438 PANASAR: Nah! Pasti nyama uli Kèndran teka ené.  
 439 WIJIL: Nah, nyèn?  
 440 PANASAR: Nyamaé uli Kèndran mirib.  
 441 WIJIL: Aa! Nyama tunangan.  
 442 PANASAR: Aih.  
 443 LUH WEDANI: Loli loli loli loli lululu lila li...deng.  
 444 WIJIL: Ené, tawang beli ento?  
 445 PANASAR: Sing.  
 446 WIJIL: 'Lila lila lila lideng.' Yèn anak lila kènkèn? Kadèn anak suba engsap  
 447 sakit.  
 448 PANASAR: Aa?  
 449 WIJIL: Yèn anak linglung kadèn suba lali. Lila buin abesik. Suba sing bisa  
 450 ngorang. Kasal suba lebian lilaé ajak linglungé, sinah ngidem jeg mati.  
 451 Ené suba gending sesenggakané; eda kadèna sing ada makna.<sup>60</sup>  
 452 PANASAR: Uh! Dagang teka ené kèto?  
 453 WIJIL: Ah.  
 454 PANASAR: Dagang apa ené?  
 455 WIJIL: Nyèn nawang kadèn.  
 456 SRI AJI PALAKA: Mirib paman nganggeh udeng.  
 457 WIJIL: Badah!  
 458 PANASAR: Nyak masih.  
 459 WIJIL: Kènkèn?  
 460 PANASAR: 'Lila lila lila lideng'. Nyèn teka mai nganggeh udeng kèto mirib?  
 461 WIJIL: Bèh.  
 462 LUH WEDANI: Beli beli beli beli, iang iang dini beli mai malu beli.  
 463 SRI AJI PALAKA: Aduh! Mas mirah beliné, I Ayu.  
 464 WIJIL: Gelar gelur, tan bina...  
 465 PANASAR: 'Adi! Adi! Mas mirah beli, I Ari puniki'. Kadènja nyèn teka gelur-gelur?

<sup>58</sup> I have changed the name of the place to a pseudonym at the request of the villagers.

<sup>59</sup> *Weli* is a nonsense play on *beli*, by softening of the 'b' to 'w', which Balinese quite often do (e.g. the God Baruna to Waruna, *bates* to *wates* 'boundary, limit. So the sense is quite apparent to Balinese. '*Iang* is a diminutive of *tiang*, Middle Balinese for 'I'. The latter is the appropriate term of intimate address to her husband. *Iang* however is a slightly precious version, which is used by spoiled children, often of rich parents. It may also be used by children to rather strict parents when called as less familiar than *cang* 'I' in Low Balinese and not as formal as *tiang* which would be rather self-aggrandizing in low caste families. It is clearly the former usage here.

<sup>60</sup> *Lila* is 'happy', but is often found in the compound *manglila-lila* 'looking for consolation when distressed' and so is used of a person who is behaving as if mad. *Linglung* is 'besotted, forgetting everything because one is crazed with love'.

- 466 LUH WEDANI: Beli! Beli! Maija malu ajaka pules.  
 467 WIJIL: Wih! Badah!  
 468 PANASAR: Apa ento?  
 469 WIJIL: Dong 'beli beli mai malu ajaka ules'. Dong basa apa kadèn? Basa lelipi?  
 470 PANASAR: Amonto makeloné di jero enu kèto basaé masih.  
 471 WIJIL: 'Sirep', kènten anaké!  
 472 SRI AJI PALAKA: Gelis adi ka bencingah.<sup>61</sup>  
 473 WIJIL: Uh! 'Adi mas juwitan beli, anaké buka adi.' Jalanja digelis kabencingah  
 474 adi.  
 475 LUH WEDANI: Énggal-ènggal anaké mai beli. Énggal-ènggal anaké mai! Kaus, Kaus,  
 476 Kaus!  
 477 WIJIL: 'Énggal-ènggal. Kaus, Kaus, Kaus.'  
 478 SRI AJI PALAKA: Caraka maka kalih. Nah! Kemu paman ngayahang.<sup>62</sup>  
 479  
 480 (*Sri Aji Palaka exits*)  
 481  
 482 WIJIL: Kènkèn beli? Kangguwang kèné?  
 483 PANASAR: (magending) Titiang ngiring **pawacana**, durus Ratu **mawuju**.  
 484 WIJIL: Mangkin dumun, lakar ngompo damar trongking niki! Apang ten  
 485 makalukan tuwuk bakat tukang damar trongkingé. Ento dadua gaéné  
 486 mawinan ngiring Jero Mekel, nah!<sup>63</sup>  
 487 PANASAR: Apang nyak selah parerainé di medalé, sing kèto?  
 488 WIJIL: Beneh.  
 489 PANASAR: Apang sing gulem. Yèn sing kèto, apa sing tepuk, asah cunghé ajak  
 490 gidaté.  
 491 WIJIL: Mawinan suba enduk. Biasané ané kèné anak tangar ngompo trongking,  
 492 'di nyriepné' anggona sasenggakan.<sup>64</sup>  
 493 PANASAR: Ené mapan anak istri paling jegèg medal, yèn sing galangang sing kena  
 494 bena pañjak-pañjaké uning kènkèn ia jegèg Gustié, kèto.  
 495 WIJIL: Aa! Yèn cang kètuwanga cara alah batu kèto. Aduh! Beli.  
 496 PANASAR: 'Tut, 'Tut,  
 497 WIJIL: Uwuh.  
 498 PANASAR: Yèn dadi cang, anu, beli, makaad malu. Nah.  
 499 WIJIL: Beli lakar mapamit?  
 500 PANASAR: Aa.  
 501 WIJIL: Jani beli lakar nagih mapamit?  
 502 PANASAR: Aa.  
 503 PANASAR: Tunian edaja laadné nunas, apang eda maan ngiring. Mèh! Banata.  
 504 PANASAR: Sing, anak sing asi ngiring Ida.

<sup>61</sup> *Bencingah* is the open square in front of the court. The flow of sound in the song (*dong-ding*) does not fit the obvious words for 'come out into the open', so the prince adapts a related word. He is inviting here out of her pavillion into the centre of the court. Such adjustments are common, especially when extemporizing.

<sup>62</sup> This should be *ngayahin* 'serve, wait on', not *ngayahang* '(to delegate someone) to perform public service'. The former would not fit the rhyme of the *Sinom* metre, which requires a terminal syllable with 'a' here.

<sup>63</sup> This last sentence is condensed. '(Don't come out yet) because I have two jobs (first I must pump up the lamps, then) I shall wait on you.'

<sup>64</sup> The root of *nyriep*, *sriep* usually is to sleep (for a moment), from which comes the sense of being tired, worn out.

- 505 WIJIL: Beli sing asi, cang masih sing asi. Awak patuh parekan mamarekanja  
506 bareng.  
507 PANASAR: Bèh.  
508 WIJIL: Jelèk bareng jelèk, melah bareng.  
509 LUH WEDANI: Punta! Wih.  
510 WIJIL: Uwuh?<sup>65</sup>  
511 LUH WEDANI: 'Uwuh!'  
512 PANASAR: Jeg ngawagjaé cai mamunyi.  
513 LUH WEDANI: 'Jil, wé!  
514 WIJIL: Titiang.  
515 LUH WEDANI: Jeg cang dogèn suba urusang. Nah!  
516 WIJIL: Tiang?  
517 LUH WEDANI: Jeg cang dogèn suba ortang, nah! Jeg cang dogèn suba satuang, nah! Jeg  
518 cang dogèn suba uyak, nah! Jeg cang dogèn suba (u)luh, nah! Jeg cang  
519 dogèn suba amah, nah!  
520 PANASAR: Terus-terus.  
521 LUH WEDANI: Apa uling semengan cang satuang, tengainé cang satuang, sanjaé terus  
522 jeg cang dogèn suba satuang, nah.  
523 WIJIL: Nah. Jani suba tagih. Jani ento, anu, upahé jani.  
524 LUH WEDANI: Yèn suba cai maan nyatuang cang sing cai èklèk-èklèk nyen.<sup>66</sup>  
525 PANASAR: Aé.  
526 WIJIL: Apa oranga beli?  
527 PANASAR: Yèn cai suba nyatuang cang sing cai èklèk-èklèk kèto.  
528 WIJIL: 'Éklèk', apa basa 'èklèkè'?'  
529 PANASAR: 'Éklèké' totoa manyama ajaka 'oplok'.<sup>67</sup>  
530 WIJIL: Dong kadèna kucit cang.  
531 PANASAR: Dong bas-basé<sup>68</sup> di jero, né kèto nganika tekèn parekan sing jeg.  
532 WIJIL: Kèné suba Jero Mekel pidan orin masuk, selalu hari Minggu.  
533 LUH WEDANI: Nah, 'Jil.  
534 WIJIL: Titiang.  
535 PANASAR: Titiang.  
536 LUH WEDANI: Negak. Cang lakar medal.  
537 PANASAR: Inggih.  
538 WIJIL: Inggih, Bèh! Sing dadi adèng-adèng. Sampun.  
539 LUH WEDANI: 'Jil.  
540 WIJIL: Titiang.  
541 LUH WEDANI: Tolih belin caié!  
542 WIJIL: Aduh! Sampun.  
543 PANASAR: Punapi? Bèh! Sampun, sampun titiang sedia.  
544 WIJIL: Bih! Sampun, sampun.  
545 LUH WEDANI: Ento 'not tegakné luwung sajan.<sup>69</sup> Tolih damar sènterné maguyang.

<sup>65</sup> *Uwuh* is the reply to being called, but is rather vulgar (*kasar*). Here it is impertinent (*tulah*), so I gloss it as 'what, me?', which sounds reasonable in context.

<sup>66</sup> *Lèklèk* is a very coarse word for 'eat', used of dogs not humans except as deliberate insult. She clips her words here (*raos badil*) in her fury.

<sup>67</sup> The full word is *mlokplok*, again extremely coarse and used of pigs.

<sup>68</sup> *Bas-basé* = *bes-besé* 'quite excessively bad.

- 546 PANASAR: Aduh! Adaja anak istri kakèto.  
 547 WIJIL: Jero Mekel. Mamitang lugra, titiang parekan tambet, boyaja damar sènter  
 548 punika...  
 549 PANASAR: Bèh.  
 550 LUH WEDANI: Apa ento?  
 551 WIJIL: Wantah panepakan kempluk.  
 552 PANASAR: Bèh! Panepakan kempluk! Cai milu dogèn, eda anaké iringa kèto.  
 553 WIJIL: Bareng jeg gedeg basangé, baana.  
 554 PANASAR: Dimuka umum kèto! Sampunang manganika sapunika. Aèng barang  
 555 ditengah-tengah cingakina.  
 556 WIJIL: Karwan parekané macelana, nenembelas macelana.  
 557 PANASAR: Nai medalé.  
 558 LUH WEDANI: Punta.  
 559 PANASAR: Titiang.  
 560 LUH WEDANI: Cang pesu jania?  
 561 PANASAR: Kanggoja kenehé.  
 562 WIJIL: Yah.  
 563 PANASAR: Sajané suba nyak negak. Buin damar sènter nikanga.  
 564 LUH WEDANI: (Magending)  
 565 WIJIL: Bèh! Dong lakar pesu jani, anggoja basa abaedik. Jeg aluh dogèn.  
 566 PANASAR: Masih sing ada nyèn dini.  
 567 WIJIL: Yèn suba nyak, yèn kayun manganika anak luwung.  
 568 PANASAR: Aa.  
 569 LUH WEDANI: (Magending)  
 570 PANASAR: Apa intip cai ento?  
 571 WIJIL: Kadèn anak lakar kecenik, jeg terus kèto.  
 572 PANASAR: Tawang cai ento?  
 573 WIJIL: Kènkèn ento?  
 574 PANASAR: Kasèt suba usak.  
 575 WIJIL: Ah.  
 576 PANASAR: Kasèté usak.  
 577 WIJIL: Badah.  
 578 PANASAR: Sing taèn madèngdèng.  
 579 WIJIL: Bènjep lakar tunas tekèn Cokorda, lakar dèngdèng buin mani.  
 580 PANASAR: Kasèté usak baturainé suba pesu yèh. Kèto sangkal usak suaraé.  
 581 WIJIL: Uh.  
 582 LUH WEDANI: (magending) Ditengahné balééé...  
 583 PANASAR: Yé! Ngudiang jeg geleh kakèto?<sup>70</sup> Becikang anaké.  
 584 LUH WEDANI: Punta!  
 585 PANASAR: Titiang.  
 586 LUH WEDANI: Cang alih kuluk 'Ta, 'puk.  
 587 PANASAR: Aa! Dayanin.<sup>71</sup> Mara medal suba alih kuluk. Kènkènanang telung minggu  
 588 sing masiram. Sangkal joh-joh garanga tekèn cicingé, Aduh!

<sup>69</sup> (*E*)*not* is a vulgar, *kasar*, term. It is not easy to render the crudity into English, so I have used cockney rhyming slang, which is close to Balinese *bladbadan* q.v., even though '*not*' is not an example.

<sup>70</sup> *Geleh* is the strange noise one makes if one is frightened or startled by something. It is also the sound made when one wakes in fear from a dream.

<sup>71</sup> *Dayanin* is Dènpasar dialect for 'go carefully, watch out'.

- 589 PANASAR: Dija ia bakatanga igel? Igel kutsal-kutil ikut cèlèng. Misi nengok  
590 makeledan. Dong. Jaji ping sringing bas-basé kèto ngèdèngang igel.<sup>72</sup>
- 591 WIJIL: Yéé!
- 592 PANASAR: Aduh! Suba nengok buin malaib. Yéé! Ento ngudiang kènten?  
593 WIJIL: Karwan sampun medal Jeroné, dados malih...?
- 594 PANASAR: Aé.
- 595 LUH WEDANI: Aik! A!
- 596 PANASAR: Bih misi 'Aik! A!' Suaran napi nika?  
597 LUH WEDANI: Yé! Ento munyin tuké ento, 'not'?<sup>73</sup>
- 598 PANASAR: Ais!
- 599 LUH WEDANI: Cang munyin apa cang nawang. Yèn tuké cenik disisi tongosné: gèdèg-  
600 gèdèg gèdèg-gèdèg, ngongèk.
- 601 WIJIL: Uh.
- 602 PANASAR: Bèh!
- 603 LUH WEDANI: Yèn tuké gedé...  
604 WIJIL: Yèn tuké gedé...  
605 LUH WEDANI: Tuké wayah...  
606 PANASAR: Inggih.  
607 LUH WEDANI: Ditengah goké mamunyi, lèn munyiné.  
608 PANASAR: Punapi?  
609 LUH WEDANI: Bèdèt-bèdèt bèdèt-bèdèt, baang 'pok.  
610 PANASAR: Aduh! Dija ia ada sulur munyin tuké misi 'bèdèt-bèdèt bèdèt-bèdèt,  
611 baang 'pok'?<sup>74</sup>
- 612 LUH WEDANI: Punta! Wé! Mara cang nyaledèt adin cainé, nyelé ati ia ento.  
613 PANASAR: Ipun?  
614 LUH WEDANI: Ae.  
615 PANASAR: Ipun gelem-geleman.  
616 LUH WEDANI: Jalema sakit jantung.  
617 PANASAR: Badah! Bantas nyaledèt amonto cai suba ngasèksèk.<sup>75</sup>  
618 LUH WEDANI: 'Jil! Wé!  
619 WIJIL: Titiang.  
620 LUH WEDANI: Yèn awaké sakit jantung, amah-amahné benehang.  
621 PANASAR: Nah.  
622 WIJIL: Napi-napi?  
623 LUH WEDANI: Dilarang keras makan makanan mengandung minyak.  
624 WIJIL: Uh! Beli! Jani sing dadi makan mengandung minyak!  
625 PANASAR: Tunasang.  
626 WIJIL: Mangkin dumun, mangda cang sing salah pilih.  
627 PANASAR: Beneh.

<sup>72</sup> *Jaji ping sringing* or variants upon it may be glossed as a whole as something like 'May heaven protect me from, save me from' as in the expression: *jaji ping sringing selat segara keti, mangda titiang nènten keni*, 'save me (down to my descendants) from being struck down by that (illness)'. It is an invocation aimed at putting whatever the danger is at a very far remove indeed.

<sup>73</sup> In theatre 'not' is often 'to know', whereas in daily life it is 'to see', in both cases it is very coarse.

<sup>74</sup> The use of *sulur* 'accurate' here is a bit strained (*ngacuh akidik* 'slightly loose, careless'). The actors are having to think so fast as they extemporize that they occasionally make slight infelicities, as here.

<sup>75</sup> *Ngasèksèk* is 'to stretch out/writhe like a dying chicken'.



- 628 WIJIL: Titiang anak ten uning wantah belogé kalintang. Sané ncèn mengandung  
629 minyak, sané sing, dadi tunas titiang?  
630 LUH WEDANI: Makanan mengandung minyak, tawang cai?  
631 WIJIL: Patut.  
632 LUH WEDANI: Umpamané kompor.  
633 PANASAR: Lacur pasienné! “Pak Dokter! Makanan napi mengandung minyak?”  
634 Bèh! Luwung masih Gustié. “Ané mengandung minyak – kompor!”  
635 WIJIL: Saja, kadèna désel? Dong kompor. Kadèn anak daging babi. Yèn nang  
636 kèto, apa? Dong kompor? Sampunang nika baosanga.  
637 LUH WEDANI: (Magending.)  
638 PANASAR: Aduh! Bèh! Kanti ngrosok payasné, sing cingakina. Yéé!  
639 LUH WEDANI: Tawang cai igelé ento?  
640 PANASAR: Aduh! Ilang kanti payasné, sing uningina.  
641 WIJIL: Celekang, Beli. Celekang!  
642 PANASAR: Kènkèng bes aèng igelé? Ulung sing tawanga.  
643 LUH WEDANI: Nah! Edaja.  
644 PANASAR: Inggih becikang anaké.  
645 LUH WEDANI: Nai! Alin-alinang songné, jeg adaja dini. Wé, Wé. Eda anaké.  
646 PANASAR: Yéé!  
647 LUH WEDANI: Ené Sang Prabu, ené. Sing tawang cai?  
648 PANASAR: Ratu tegeh. Kènkèng men ngejin sekar, men?  
649 WIJIL: Éndèpang ‘tu, èndèpang.  
650 PANASAR: Nunas sugra apang banget. Dija ejang tiang? Dini?  
651 LUH WEDANI: Nah! Jeg ditu alih-alih jeg ada, kebit-kebitang, ‘not.  
652 PANASAR: Kebit-kebitang, napiné kebitang?  
653 LUH WEDANI: Nah! Ditu alih-alih. Jeg cai peta dogèn.  
654 PANASAR: Ten ada song.  
655 LUH WEDANI: Ada ditu, saru ia.  
656 PANASAR: Aduh! Kenéhé nakonang tongos bungaé, ten ada song. Bèh! Saru ia.  
657 LUH WEDANI: Tawang cai igel ané busan ento?  
658 PANASAR: Ten. Napi nika?  
659 LUH WEDANI: Ané maloncat, ento tawang cai?  
660 PANASAR: Uh! Igel-igel linuh.  
661 LUH WEDANI: Ya. Itu adalah igel ‘break dance’.  
662 WIJIL: Uh! Ené laadné madan igel ‘berek den’.  
663 PANASAR: Singja ada nawang sajabanin Bapaké, ené ajak nawang, ajaka dadua ajak  
664 Ibuké.  
665 WIJIL: Uh! Saja, igel-igel.  
666 PANASAR: Igel ‘break dance’.  
667 LUH WEDANI: Ené ento, ento ngorang ‘break dance’ dogèn, singja ‘berek den’.  
668 PANASAR: Napi oranga?  
669 LUH WEDANI: ‘Berek dance’.  
670 PANASAR: Badah.  
671 LUH WEDANI: Bungutné kaku kènkèn?<sup>76</sup> Wé! Buin mani mulih aba bunguté. Nah!  
672 Apang nyak lemu, klepotangaja.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>76</sup> *Bungut* in the region round Tengahpadang is normally used only of animals, unless one is angry. It is more common round Dènpasar, but part of the *Liku*'s rôle is to explore the excesses of speech.

- 673 PANASAR: Pasuhang bunguté buin mani.  
 674 WIJIL: Tumbèn cang ningeh bungut maklepotang. Ené suba, anu, solèh-solèh  
 675 adané.  
 676 LUH WEDANI: Saja batak amonto dogèn. Sing kena baana ngorang. Cang lakar ngigel  
 677 buin.  
 678 PANASAR: Inggih! Nah!  
 679 LUH WEDANI: 'Nah!' Kènkèn?  
 680 PANASAR: Raris.  
 681 WIJIL: Nah! Aduh! Bèh! Aduh! Bèh, jeg.  
 682 PANASAR: Bèh! Ngudiang cai 'Aduh!-Aduh!'  
 683 WIJIL: Aduh!  
 684 LUH WEDANI: Sentimèn dogèn polon cainé. Wé! Mara cang ngigel amonto dogèn bah  
 685 bihang caié. Cai nyak magambel, sajan? Wé! Uling raraman cainé sing  
 686 taèn rahayu mamarekan<sup>78</sup>. Aduh! Uling kadang kendat cainé suba sing  
 687 taèn rahayu.  
 688 WIJIL: Wé!  
 689 LUH WEDANI: Sajané kaadang iban cainé uli dini. Buin mani selaé cang maan. Cang  
 690 ngalih barang kakèné.<sup>79</sup>  
 691 PANASAR: Ento lakar tagih.  
 692 LUH WEDANI: Saja né. Dija mirib pitran cainé sing maan tongos?  
 693 WIJIL: Wih! Wih!  
 694 PANASAR: Aé! Jemak buah.  
 695 LUH WEDANI: Kadèn cai cang perlu pesané, kadèn cai?  
 696 WIJIL: Ainggih!  
 697 PANASAR: Terus! Terus!  
 698 WIJIL: Nah! Beli cang masiar.<sup>80</sup>  
 699 PANASAR: Aa.  
 700 WIJIL: Ainggih! Ring Ida Dané krama désa adat, manawi kirang yadnyané antuk  
 701 pangrupuké Nyepi, mawinan mangkin ngrebéda ogoh-ogohé mariki.  
 702 Sajaé dong ngamigmig.  
 703 LUH WEDANI: Punta! Wé!  
 704 PANASAR: Titiang.  
 705 LUH WEDANI: Cang oranga ogoh-ogoh, 'puk!<sup>81</sup> Gaya dogèn, ia nyadcad dogèn, gaya.  
 706 PANASAR: Inggih! Ipun biasa kènten.  
 707 LUH WEDANI: Oranga cang ogoh-ogoh. Tegarang baang acepok, mèh, nyak iaa.  
 708 PANASAR: Aduh! Maan cai upah ngorang 'ogoh-ogoh'.  
 709 WIJIL: Cang baanga acepok, bes. Karwan sesuwunan...  
 710 LUH WEDANI: Sajané busan alit-alité kèto masih, 'ta.  
 711 PANASAR: Punapi?

<sup>77</sup> *Lemuh* is 'flexible, supple' as of well working muscles. *Klepotang* is 'massage', for example when dancers bend back their fingers to make them fingers to make them supple, not as in massaging major muscles (*mapun*).

<sup>78</sup> *Rahayu* is here close to O.J. *santoša* 'content with one's condition'. The commentators went on to gloss this phrase as 'none of you have ever been good to the people in the court', which is a consequence of their servants being discontent with their lot.

<sup>79</sup> *Iba* is insultingly low for 'you'; she is angry. *Barang* is literally 'things, objects'. She speaks of her servants as objects, but the aim here is to be funny, not rude.

<sup>80</sup> *Masiar* is 'broadcast, speak publicly', often used of public announcements in village meetings. Wijil says that he intends to speak aloud about it to Luh Wedani, not keep quiet.

<sup>81</sup> *Puk* is a slang abbreviation of *tepuke* 'to see, hear, encounter something'.

- 712 LUH WEDANI: Ento mara cang liwat busan.  
 713 PANASAR: Inggih.  
 714 LUH WEDANI: Makesiab masih alit-alité.<sup>82</sup> 'Bih! Suba liwat pangrupukané'. Mara  
 715 barang kakèné liwat.  
 716 PANASAR: Saja?  
 717 LUH WEDANI: Duka cang.  
 718 PANASAR: Alit-alité purun kènten?  
 719 LUH WEDANI: Ngèk ngok.  
 720 PANASAR: Bèh! Buin munyin tuké: 'ngèk ngok'.  
 721 LUH WEDANI: Duka cang, 'ta.  
 722 PANASAR: Inggih.  
 723 WIJIL: Uh.  
 724 LUH WEDANI: Setengah mati gedeg basang cangé.  
 725 WIJIL: Bih! Mara duka dogèn, suba setengah mati.  
 726 LUH WEDANI: Anak-anak tidak bolèh nakal-nakal.  
 727 WIJIL: Bih! Marah niki?  
 728 LUH WEDANI: Anak-anak harus rajin belajar.  
 729 WIJIL: Uh! Anak-anak harus rajin belajar?  
 730 PANASAR: Harus dinasèhati.  
 731 WIJIL: Uh! Inggih, guru.  
 732 PANASAR: Inggih.  
 733 LUH WEDANI: Jangan membuat orang tersinggung.  
 734 WIJIL: Uh.  
 735 LUH WEDANI: Rajin-rajin membantu bapak bekerja, rajin-rajin membantu ibuk bekerja.  
 736 WIJIL: Uh.  
 737 LUH WEDANI: Kalau bapak dan ibuk bekerja jangan dibantu.  
 738 PANASAR: Aduh! Itep ninghang nasèhat. 'Anak-anak rajin-rajin membantu ibu  
 739 rajin-rajin membantu bapak, jeg kalau ibu dan bapak bekerja jangan  
 740 dibantu.' Aduh!  
 741 LUH WEDANI: Kènkèn? Pelih cang ento?  
 742 WIJIL: 'Tenja iwang.  
 743 PANASAR: Apang ten kadung kènten.  
 744 WIJIL: Enggih.  
 745 PANASAR: Alit-alité sampunang icèna palajaran sané boya-boya!  
 746 WIJIL: Enggih! Ané becik-becik satmaka kertas putih.  
 747 LUH WEDANI: (*Sings*)  
 748 WIJIL: Beli, beli, beli. Eda, ilidinga tukang kendangé. Maileh anaké, nengèng  
 749 tukang kendangé ilidang. Yéé!  
 750 PANASAR: Bé?  
 751 WIJIL: Yéé! Berek, ené cingakina.  
 752 PANASAR: Ais! Tukang kendangé papat misi panyurian.  
 753 WIJIL: Sing, anak...  
 754 LUH WEDANI: Sing nyak ci nulungin cang ngigel? Jeg didian cang kéné ngigel.  
 755 WIJIL: Saja beli.  
 756 LUH WEDANI: Eda tukang kendangé dogèn urusanga.

<sup>82</sup> Throughout she carefully uses the High Balinese for 'children' (*alit-alit*) in case there were any high caste children among them. It stands out sharply against the rest of her speech which is couched in Low Balinese.

- 757 WIJIL: Beli! Yèn lèng tukang kendangé...
- 758 LUH WEDANI: Ené kadidian cang ngigel, kéné cara cicing tamplig Honda. Johin.
- 759 PANASAR: Ais.
- 760 WIJIL: Ais! Kadèn cang apa ngaliling, 'puk.
- 761 LUH WEDANI: Bareng anaké ngigel malu anaké. Ento, ento didian cang dogèn, apang  
762 ada nimpalin cang.
- 763 PANASAR: Ngiring.
- 764 WIJIL: Ngiring.
- 765 PANASAR: Ngiring masolah.
- 766 WIJIL: Anak katurang malancaran.
- 767 PANASAR: Aa.
- 768 WIJIL: Cang ngiring.
- 769 PANASAR: Sira?
- 770 WIJIL: Sira ngiring?
- 771 LUH WEDANI: Nah! Wijil malu ngiring.
- 772 WIJIL: Inggih.
- 773 PANASAR: Bèh! Ia malu.
- 774 LUH WEDANI: Apang ada dogèn ajak.
- 775 PANASAR: Nah! Apang sing ilidang tukang kendangé, beli malaib.
- 776 WIJIL: Eda tanjunga ento.
- 777 PANASAR: Suba taunang beli? Batisé mamata.
- 778 WIJIL: Kènkèn ené?
- 779 LUH WEDANI: Kènkèn ento?
- 780 PANASAR: Badah! Kumat sakit ipuné, kumat.<sup>83</sup>
- 781 LUH WEDANI: Ia ngudiang nyalèmpoh?<sup>84</sup> Batak ajak ngigel dogèn.
- 782 PANASAR: Aduh! Jalema sing mabayu.<sup>85</sup>
- 783 WIJIL: Beli!
- 784 PANASAR: Badah! Lacur.<sup>86</sup>
- 785 WIJIL: Aduh, Beli!
- 786 PANASAR: Suwud ia madagang baas.
- 787 LUH WEDANI: Sangkal kèto?
- 788 PANASAR: Batun dacin ipuné belah.
- 789 WIJIL: Cang suwud. Suba amonto ngigel, belié.
- 790 LUH WEDANI: Kètuwang dogèn, melahang batun dacin.
- 791 WIJIL: Dija ada unduk anaké matetanganan. Cang seken keneh cangé amonto.  
792 Plak! Gerès! Aduh, Beli!
- 793 LUH WEDANI: Nah! Kapluga agigis, ento ngaranang nyen.
- 794 PANASAR: Awak tuara bisa ngigel, sing kèto?
- 795 WIJIL: Jani beli ngiring acepok apang tepuk.
- 796 PANASAR: Nah, beli ngiring.
- 797 WIJIL: Tukang iringé suba gelem.
- 798 PANASAR: Inggih.

<sup>83</sup> *Kumat sakit ipun* is a jocular phrase used in daily life which glosses quite well as 'his old trouble is back', 'a touch of the old trouble?'

<sup>84</sup> Balinese have an very extensive vocabulary for movements of parts, and the whole, of the body. *Nyalèmpoh* is 'to nearly fall, so one ends up in something close to a sitting position.

<sup>85</sup> *Bayu* is both 'energy' and 'wind'. The reference here is to Wijil acting as if he were winded.

<sup>86</sup> *Lacur* is literally 'poor' and so 'to be in a poor, miserable or perilous state'.

- 799 LUH WEDANI: Nah! Ené mara magetihan buin ausap.<sup>87</sup>  
 800 PANASAR: Srèt! Plak-Plak-Plak-Plak-Plak.  
 801 LUH WEDANI: Eda anaké kebitanga sapaté, celanané uwèk.  
 802 PANASAR: Mara dibi meli celana di toko, sada celanaé... Ngiring.  
 803 LUH WEDANI: Magending.  
 804 PANASAR: Suba siap siaga, tukang silat kètuwanga. Mara makikèn. Ais! Mara terus maju, Tak. Buin ngalawan 'tandangan T' baang, Plak.  
 805  
 806 WIJIL: Bèh! Maan ia ngalih...  
 807 PANASAR: Lèn jalema belog, mara matanganan, Bèh! Kèné! Sing jeg sapu bersiha.  
 808 Kènkèn anak mula tukang copét baang...<sup>88</sup>  
 809 WIJIL: Kenehé sing lamun benehé, sawirèh anak...  
 810 LUH WEDANI: Luluk-luluk.<sup>89</sup>  
 811 PANASAR: Sira bakal nikain ento?  
 812 LUH WEDANI: Nyèn, men? Cai ajak dadua.  
 813 PANASAR: Bèh! Dong luwung 'luluk-luluk'. Kadèna I Anggrèk jenenga. Bes nyata titiang jalema, magoba jalema.<sup>90</sup>  
 814  
 815 LUH WEDANI: Nah! Batak guyuin sing dadi ia. Bih! Carèwèt pesan, dadi parekan. Cai nagih juari tekèn cang?<sup>91</sup> Tolih anaké panabuhé ajak kuda ento pelung-pelung.  
 816  
 817  
 818 PANASAR: Ais.  
 819 LUH WEDANI: Ada juari tekèn cang? Plak! Mara kètuwang cang dogèn makejang marèrèn. Ada bani? Tolih tegarang ajak kuda ento.  
 820  
 821 WIJIL: Aduh! Sami marèrèn. Sampunang nyemak panggul, kapluka nyen.<sup>92</sup>  
 822 LUH WEDANI: Plak! Mara kètuwang cang dogèn suba marèrèn. Sing ada bani.  
 823 WIJIL: Uh! Jakti.  
 824 LUH WEDANI: Ento cang bengong. Mara kaplakin cang nguda marèrèn? Yèn biasané jumah 'Plak!'. Anak mulai.  
 825  
 826 PANASAR: Wih! Aih! Ada sing Leser raosné?  
 827 WIJIL: Enu dogèn maan ané kèto-kèto.  
 828 LUH WEDANI: Anak ené jejhina tekèn panabuhé, ené jejhina.  
 829 PANASAR: Napié jejhina ento?  
 830 LUH WEDANI: Ené, ené, ené.  
 831 PANASAR: Uh! Baan mabungkung barué.  
 832 LUH WEDANI: Sing! Jeg jari lalima. Ené Pañcajari.  
 833 WIJIL: Uh! Yèn juang ring tangan, Pañcajari ané katakutin?  
 834 LUH WEDANI: Kasal **Pañcaśakti**.  
 835 WIJIL: Beli! Dingehang beli ené ceramah P.K.K. ené!  
 836 PANASAR: **Pañca?**  
 837 WIJIL: Lalima.

<sup>87</sup> *Magetih* is literally 'to have blood' and so 'energy, vim', 'to be braver'.

<sup>88</sup> *Sapu* is a *silat* or Indonesian martial arts' kick, which knocks someone down. *bersiha* is a reiteration, close to 'a clean knock-out'. The expression *sapu bersiha* is also used if table of food is eaten clean by guests, 'swept clean'.

<sup>89</sup> 'Luluk-luluk' or 'Luka Luk' is the sound used for calling a dog.

<sup>90</sup> *Anggrèk*, literally 'orchid', is one of a number of common names for dogs. *Jeneng* is 'form, shape'; so here effectively 'to be a dog'.

<sup>91</sup> *Juari* requires some paraphrasing in English. It connotes being audacious and not feeling shame. It is often used of being too forward, outspoken or bold in the presence of a superior, before whom one should not behave this way.

<sup>92</sup> *Panggul* are the light wooden mallets with which the keys of the various metallophones in the gamelan are struck.

838	PANASAR:	<b>Śakti?</b>
839	LUH WEDANI:	Sakti.
840	PANASAR:	Napi buktiné?
841	LUH WEDANI:	Pañcajari sakti?
842	WIJIL:	Pañcajari.
843	LUH WEDANI:	Tolih, panabuhé ada bani?
844	WIJIL:	Uh! Pancajari sakti, mara medal, panabuh marèrèn?
845	PANASAR:	Jejeh.
846	LUH WEDANI:	Yèn alihang di dasar nagara, <u>Pancasila</u> sakti.
847	WIJIL:	Uh! <u>Pancasila</u> sakti, munggah ring minakadi dasar <u>Negara Nusantara</u> .
848	LUH WEDANI:	<u>G30S hancur</u> .
849	WIJIL:	Uh! Bih! Déwa Ratu.
850	PANASAR:	Santukan <u>Pancasila</u> sané ngawé wenang.
851	LUH WEDANI:	Di agama alihang <b>Pañcaśrada</b> .
852	WIJIL:	Uh! Ada <b>Pañcaśrada</b> , lima dasar iraga pesajan maagama madasar antuk
853		srada.
854	PANASAR:	Taler.
855	LUH WEDANI:	Sakti.
856	WIJIL:	Sakti.
857	LUH WEDANI:	<b>Adharmané</b> kalah.
858	WIJIL:	<b>Adharmané. Pañca Pandawa</b> lalima menang masih.
859	LUH WEDANI:	Pañca Pandawa masih kèto.
860	WIJIL:	Patuh, lalima mula.
861	LUH WEDANI:	Kasal Pañca, sakti. Delod umahé Dadong Pañca!
862	PANASAR:	Aduh! Bèh! Luwung <b>Pañcaśrada</b> , Pañca Pandawa, delod umahé Dadong
863		Pañca!
864	WIJIL:	Sapunapi Dadong Pañca?
865	LUH WEDANI:	Sing sakti? <sup>93</sup>
866	WIJIL:	Ada Dadong Pañca mai? Lakar orang.
867	PANASAR:	Sakti. Dugas kajeng-klioné di pempatané tepuk.
868	WIJIL:	Nguda? Ngaturang canang?
869	PANASAR:	Aa.
870	WIJIL:	Nawang dogèn.
871	PANASAR:	Ento ngudiang tekedang Dadong Pañcan anaké sambat-sambat? Madakja
872		apang kecota bolné!
873	WIJIL:	Ah.
874	PANASAR:	Saja.
875	LUH WEDANI:	Sangkal ento suba ngaranang. Ené ada artiné lalima ené.
876	PANASAR:	Wènten artiné?
877	WIJIL:	Sapunapi? Sapunapi punika?
878	LUH WEDANI:	<u>Ini ibu jari</u> . <sup>94</sup>
879	WIJIL:	<u>Ibu jari?</u>
880	LUH WEDANI:	<u>Penggali</u> dana. <sup>95</sup>

<sup>93</sup> Luh Wedani's intonation is elegantly ambiguous and neither the commentators nor I could work out whether this was in the form of a question or a statement, or even the use of *sing* as a rhetorical 'no', which occurs frequently during the play. It is treated anyway by her servants as accusing Dadong Pañca of being having the witch.

<sup>94</sup> cf. Balinese for thumb '*inan lima*'.

- 881 WIJIL: Aa.
- 882 LUH WEDANI: Ené penggali dana ibu jari. Yèn di jumlah sing ada ibu, usak rumah  
883 tanggaé.
- 884 WIJIL: Uh! Perlu ada ibu, ibu jariné ené penggali dana, Beli.
- 885 LUH WEDANI: Ené penggali dana.
- 886 PANASAR: Dados asapunika?
- 887 LUH WEDANI: Yé! Tegarang kemu ka bank, lamun sing ada cap jempol baanga cai  
888 pipis?
- 889 PANASAR: Ais! Beneh masih. Ka bank lamun sing ada cap jempol, sing maan pipis.
- 890 WIJIL: Saja. Masih inget cang, Yèn tutur anak tua-tua pidan: 'Cening, buin  
891 pidan, yèn cening malajahin agama, ené suba **pinaka simbul**.'<sup>96</sup>
- 892 PANASAR: Aa.
- 893 WIJIL: **Pinaka simbul** kenehé maagama, kenehé pesajan masawitra. Ené. Saja,  
894 ada sing anak nyambat sara tamu?<sup>97</sup> 'Ainggih! Durus.' Saja ené anggoa.
- 895 LUH WEDANI: Apang kéné.
- 896 WIJIL: Ainggih! Saja.
- 897 LUH WEDANI: Ené, tawang cai ené?
- 898 WIJIL: Aduh! Napi niki?
- 899 LUH WEDANI: Ené, tujuh ené.
- 900 PANASAR: Patut.
- 901 LUH WEDANI: Telunjuk ené.
- 902 PANASAR: Inggih.
- 903 WIJIL: Patut.
- 904 LUH WEDANI: Ené suba membantu Pak Klian.
- 905 PANASAR: Dados asapunika?
- 906 LUH WEDANI: Ené membantu Pak Perbekel.
- 907 WIJIL: Aluh-aluhang dadi klian. Dadi?
- 908 LUH WEDANI: Ené membantu Pak Camat.
- 909 WIJIL: Ais!
- 910 LUH WEDANI: Wantilané pragat ené. Panitiané ené suba membantu. Lamun sing ada  
911 ené, sing pragat wantilané.
- 912 WIJIL: Yé! Dadi modèl.
- 913 LUH WEDANI: Sing pragat gaéné ento.
- 914 WIJIL: Yé! Kènkèn modèl abesik dogèn? Berek sing kena, ben.<sup>98</sup>
- 915 PANASAR: Dados sapunika?
- 916 LUH WEDANI: Ené paling kuata, ené.
- 917 WIJIL: Kablinger cang ené, ento.
- 918 LUH WEDANI: 'Kemu', Pak Klian jani merintahang krama banjaré. Wé! 'Ené jemak  
919 gaéné aba kemu. Ené ento tingting aba mai, aba mai.' Sangkal ené  
920 anggon nuding? Sing biasa kéné. 'Ené jemak aba kemu.'

<sup>95</sup> *Dana* in Balinese usually connotes 'a generous person, philanthropist', from Skt. & O.J. **dāna** 'the act of giving, gift, generosity'; but here it is 'money', from Skt. & O.J. **dhana** 'wealth, riches, money'. As Balinese often consider it a Balinese word, I have not placed it in bold type.

<sup>96</sup> *Yèn* here is 'when' rather than the more usual 'if'. For reasons which will become clear as Wijil develops his theme, *agama* here, according to the commentators, is closer to *adat*, 'custom, customary practice' here.

<sup>97</sup> *Nyambat sara* is 'to greet or open conversation' with guests.

<sup>98</sup> The full phrase goes: '*apang berek sing tawang tiang*', 'may I be ill (rotten) (if) I don't know' i.e. I have not the faintest idea. It is used to affirm the truth of what one has previously said.

- 921 PANASAR: Bèh! Kemu lané lakuna. Anak mula tujuh, anu, anggon matujuang. Ada  
 922 anak nujuang kéné? Bèh!
- 923 WIJIL: Beli! Ngaresep masih cang abedik. Ené dharma, ené **pinaka** tetujon.  
 924 Mawinan hidup iraga hakékat hidup, dugané hidup ngalih ané madan  
 925 pesajan. Ené nuntun iraga hidup. Yèn juang cara jani **guru wisésa**,  
 926 mawibawa ené.<sup>99</sup>
- 927 PANASAR: Praragan Sang Pemimpin beneh.<sup>100</sup>
- 928 LUH WEDANI: Anak ada artiné ento makejang. Ené, tawang cai ené?
- 929 WIJIL: Ais!
- 930 PANASAR: Napi nika?
- 931 LUH WEDANI: Jari tengah. Ené pengadilan, ené.
- 932 PANASAR: Uh!
- 933 LUH WEDANI: Hakim ené.
- 934 WIJIL: Uh.
- 935 LUH WEDANI: Ené suba menentukan ené. Ené sing dadi lèngkong ené. Harus yèn beneh  
 936 benehang, yèn pelih pelihang. Yèn ené lèngkong dadi sing baan magaaé!  
 937 Kemu tegarang lèngkong barang cainé dadi baan magaaé.<sup>101</sup>
- 938 WIJIL: Beli!
- 939 PANASAR: Ia benehja! Aduh!
- 940 WIJIL: Ené ... Aba ka pengadilan, artiné ané mégang beneh pelih.<sup>102</sup> Yèn juang  
 941 ané madan di **Aṣṭabrata Yamabratané**, ené. Yèn beneh benehang, yèn  
 942 pelih pelihang. Yèn ené goyah sing wug ia guminé.
- 943 PANASAR: Apang sing dadi lèngkong.
- 944 WIJIL: Apang eda lèngkong.
- 945 PANASAR: Apang tetep Leser terus.
- 946 WIJIL: Aa.
- 947 PANASAR: Yèn Leser terus, kèweh masih.
- 948 WIJIL: Bahaya masih.
- 949 PANASAR: Kija sing payu.
- 950 LUH WEDANI: Ah! Cai jalema kemu dogèn. Aba cai keneh cainé buang sajan.<sup>103</sup>
- 951 WIJIL: Wih!
- 952 PANASAR: Sajané.
- 953 WIJIL: 'Ten dados, 'ten dados.
- 954 LUH WEDANI: Ené, ené, apa ené? Ené, ené?
- 955 WIJIL: Nah! Nika jari manis.
- 956 LUH WEDANI: Jari manis ené.
- 957 PANASAR: Uh! Wènten naler?
- 958 LUH WEDANI: Ené bank, ené. Bank panyimpanan ené.
- 959 PANASAR: Dados kabaos bank?

<sup>99</sup> **Wiśeṣa** is 'excellent, outstanding, paramount, supreme' and **jñāna wiśeṣa** is 'the superior or higher knowledge and its seat in humans'.

<sup>100</sup> *Praragan* here is not 'alone, by oneself', but a compound of *para* 'all' and *raga* 'bodies, people'.

<sup>101</sup> *Barang* here is *prana, purus* 'penis'.

<sup>102</sup> *Mégang* seems to be a hybrid word, from the Indonesian root pegang, given Balinese nazalization and intonation. The reader who is familiar with Balinese will note that Wijil mixes his languages far more than the other actors and has greater difficulty expressing himself clearly at times.

<sup>103</sup> *Buang* is a very coarse expression, used of animals coupling. Here it that the Panasar is just interested in copulation and that his thoughts are always about sex.



- 960 LUH WEDANI: Ené suba panyimpenan, ené.  
 961 PANASAR: Kabaos bank?  
 962 LUH WEDANI: Yé! Mu tegarang cai lakar ngadep gabah di carik...  
 963 PANASAR: Inggih.  
 964 LUH WEDANI: Suba kèto beliang bungkung... Terang dini ejang, cai.  
 965 PANASAR: Uh!  
 966 LUH WEDANI: Ngelah jinaran akatih dini ejang. Sing ada anak ngejang dinia.  
 967 WIJIL: Bèh! Sing, dibi tiang nepukin anak meli mas di batisné bebeda.<sup>104</sup>  
 968 LUH WEDANI: Nah! Ento, sing, anak saudagar ès ento! Anak nyem-nyeman, ento.  
 969 WIJIL: Bèh! Jeg menang dogèn nagih, sing dadi kalah. Ainggih, saja.  
 970 LUH WEDANI: Ené, apa ené?  
 971 WIJIL: Nika, napi nika?  
 972 PANASAR: Nah!  
 973 LUH WEDANI: Ené.  
 974 PANASAR: Kacing.  
 975 LUH WEDANI: Kacing ené.  
 976 PANASAR: Wènten naler gunané?  
 977 LUH WEDANI: Yé! Ené mautama ené suba ngaranang...  
 978 PANASAR: Napi nika?  
 979 LUH WEDANI: Bersih guminé, bersih kotaé, bersih désaé, bersih banjaré, ené suba  
 980 ngaranang.  
 981 PANASAR: Ento, ngudiang kacing nyidang mersihang désa?  
 982 LUH WEDANI: Ené suba yèn di Buana Agung. Lèn yèn di Buana Alit, di ukudan cainé  
 983 ené masih mersihang.<sup>105</sup>  
 984 PANASAR: Uh! Ring Buana Alit?  
 985 LUH WEDANI: Nang, tegarang cungguh cainé daki. Ené suba anggon ngurek kuping daki,  
 986 ené suba anggon ngurek. Nang, ené anggon ngurek cungguhé, mèh! wug  
 987 cungguhé.  
 988 PANASAR: Aduh!  
 989 WIJIL: Nyakja masih. Yèn alih **pinaka simbul**, buka onyang hidup iragaé anak  
 990 pawakan **simbul**.  
 991 PANASAR: Duweg masih ngadung-ngadung dané.  
 992 WIJIL: Mula mawinan **hidup** agamané **sanjkanij simbul**. Ada pangango  
 993 **sanjkanij simbul**, ada raos **sanjkanij simbul**.<sup>106</sup> Jero Mekelé sing anak  
 994 mula tosin anak pradnyan.<sup>107</sup>  
 995 LUH WEDANI: Cang mimpin P.K.K. né, sangkal maju.  
 996 WIJIL: Sira?  
 997 LUH WEDANI: Cang.

<sup>104</sup> *Bedbeda* is 'wrapped round'.

<sup>105</sup> cf. Skt. **bhuwana** 'the world, the earth', and more specifically **bhuwana aguj** 'the macrocosm, the universe' and **bhuwana alit** 'the microcosm, the human body' (cf. Hooykaas 1964: 98). *Ukudan* is a coarse expression for 'body'.

<sup>106</sup> *Pangango* are the wooden containers, usually carved in the shape of different animals, according to caste and descent group, in which corpses are burned during the crematory rite of *tiwa-tiwa*. On the crematory vehicles for the main groups in Tengahpadang, see Hobart 1979: 422.

<sup>107</sup> *Sing* here, as on many other occasions in this play, does not stand for 'not'. Wijil is not saying that she is not wise, but that she is. The '*sing*' is to *nyekenang raos*, to affirm the truth of what he is saying. Perhaps the closest in English is the rhetoric expression: 'isn't that so?' This usage was very confusing for me when I was translating the play, because I kept on wondering whether I should not be introducing negatives, where the sense of the sentence clearly indicated this was not so.

- 998 Katala: Wènten P.K.K. di Nusa?  
 999 LUH WEDANI: Cang.  
 1000 WIJIL: Wènten 'Karang kitri' di Nusa?  
 1001 LUH WEDANI: Cang.  
 1002 WIJIL: Wènten 'Dapur'?  
 1003 LUH WEDANI: Cang.  
 1004 WIJIL: Uh!  
 1005 LUH WEDANI: Cung.  
 1006 WIJIL: Sangkal...  
 1007 PANASAR: Onyang.  
 1008 WIJIL: Mara oranga 'cang, cang'. Mara ané jelèk 'cung'.  
 1009 LUH WEDANI: Sangkal ené. Ené jalema lengeh. Nènèng!<sup>108</sup>  
 1010 PANASAR: Punapi?  
 1011 LUH WEDANI: Saja ené. Suba orin jani anak masan anak lakar 'Lomba Désa' ...  
 1012 PANASAR: Patut.  
 1013 LUH WEDANI: 'Warung Hidup', 'Apotik Hidup', 'Karang Sari', ento ingetang ento.  
 1014 WIJIL: Aduh!  
 1015 LUH WEDANI: 'Mamula anaké', bena anaké.<sup>109</sup>  
 1016 PANASAR: Men, somah titiangé kadèn sampun salemah peteng ka balé banjar.<sup>110</sup>  
 1017 LUH WEDANI: Subaja jumah cainé sing ada entik-entikang apa. Anak suba ngalapur tekèn cang, Mèn Jantuk caié.  
 1018 PANASAR: Bèh! Jeg.  
 1020 LUH WEDANI: Takonin cang Mèn Jantuk: 'Nyai, ngudiang teka mai?' Kèto. "Jero Mekel, (a)sapuniki Jero Mekel. Tiang ten nyidang ten mamula napi-napi jumah tianga. Napija celekang tiang jeg abuta tekèn Pan Jantuk." Uh!  
 1021 Sabilang celekang nyai abuta tekèn ia. "Inggih, celekang tiang buin abuta, celekang tiang buin abuta."<sup>111</sup>  
 1022 Aduh! Amat 'Tut!  
 1023 Uwuh.  
 1024 PANASAR: Amat ia belog Mèn Jantuké ngalapur, teked ané kèto-kèto lapuranga tekèn Gustiné.  
 1025 WIJIL: Sing keneh iané sing lamun benehné, ento madan anak jujur. Sangkal hati-hati ngaraos ngajak anak jujur. Encèn ané rahasia, encén ané sandi, sing tawnga.  
 1026 PANASAR: Kéwala beneh masih. Mawanan telah buin abut, kènkèng pelih Beli mamula.  
 1027 WIJIL: Kènkèng ento?  
 1028 PANASAR: Biasané anak bongkolné pulana. Muncukné bakat pula Beli.  
 1029 LUH WEDANI: Badah! Cai jalema lengeh, kènkèng men?  
 1030 PANASAR: Aduh!

<sup>108</sup> *Ené* is 'him' rather than just 'this' (i.e. this person) here. *Lengéh* in this context is 'stupid'. It is also used of the effects of poison on behaviour, so I have used the term 'dope' the first time as it has similar additional connotations in English. As this is an expression Luh Wedani uses repeatedly in rather different ways, I have glossed it thereafter as 'fool', 'idiot' or 'imbelice' according to the context. *Nènèng* is literally 'this-ing', 'going this, this, this'.

<sup>109</sup> *Bena* is used in theatre, as is *gelah* by royals to refer to themselves. In daily life in Low Balinese *bená* is 'you' and rather higher than *cai*, so more acceptable; *iba* is lowest of all.

<sup>110</sup> *Salemah peteng* is not 'every day and night', but an expression for 'often'.

<sup>111</sup> *Celekang* is 'to poke in with one's finger'.

- 1038 WIJIL: Sajan mamula ubi, balain anaké kepitan ubiné.  
 1039 PANASAR: Men! Keneh Beliné sing kèto.<sup>112</sup> Men, suwud pula sing abut, nyen terus  
 1040 sing, anu, nyen sing maabut-abut, kèweh masih kèto kenehé.  
 1041 LUH WEDANI: Bèh! Lanturané.  
 1042 WIJIL: Inggih.  
 1043 LUH WEDANI: Aduh! Jalema lengeh. Ajain anaké somahé, tawang? Apang nyak rapi  
 1044 jumah, apang nyak indah, apang nyak asri.  
 1045 WIJIL: Beli.  
 1046 PANASAR: Titiang ten bakat baan ngurusang somah. Sampunja Jeroné dados klian  
 1047 P.K.K., 'ten, Jeroné anaké ngajain somah titiang.  
 1048 WIJIL: Patut nikain napi.  
 1049 LUH WEDANI: Ento suba orin cang ené. Buin besik, somahné Mèn Kembungé...  
 1050 PANASAR: Bèh!  
 1051 WIJIL: Teked masih dumané. Suba tambak-tambakin.  
 1052 LUH WEDANI: Saja suba tombaang cang. 'Eda masang-masang PORKAS.'<sup>113</sup> Suba kèto  
 1053 terus masang SDSB, apa adané?<sup>114</sup>  
 1054 PANASAR: Ipun?  
 1055 LUH WEDANI: Ené suba.  
 1056 PANASAR: Kurenané sareng taler?  
 1057 LUH WEDANI: Luh muani.  
 1058 PANASAR: Badah! Ené suba jalema pokok judi.<sup>115</sup>  
 1059 LUH WEDANI: Wé! Mèn Kembang matakon tekèn cang.  
 1060 WIJIL: Sapunapi?  
 1061 LUH WEDANI: "Ratu, anak ten dadi tombaang tiang. Tiang anak jeg makita dogèn tiang  
 1062 masang masih." 'Men, kènkèn nyai? Taèn nyai ngukup?' kètuang cang.  
 1063 "Tenja. Bapané ngukup, tiang kena terus kèto."<sup>116</sup>  
 1064 PANASAR: Aduh!  
 1065 WIJIL: Bèh! Jeg telah teked ka akah-akahné maebèt. Inggih, mangkin sampun  
 1066 ngalintang ané pelih-pelih, sané kuwang-kuwang. Mangkin Jero  
 1067 nganikain sapunapi patuté.  
 1068 LUH WEDANI: Sangkal jani...  
 1069 WIJIL: Inggih.  
 1070 LUH WEDANI: Di cariké ento, teked ka carik bakat baan cang ngurusang.  
 1071 WIJIL: Uh!  
 1072 LUH WEDANI: Teked ka balang sangit.<sup>117</sup>  
 1073 PANASAR: Pertaniané?  
 1074 LUH WEDANI: Pertaniané, apang ada Tumpang Sari perkebunan.  
 1075 WIJIL: Uh! Sapunapi?

<sup>112</sup> The Panasar unusually makes a slight slip here. It should be *wantah* rather than *sing*, otherwise it reads as 'that isn't what I wanted. Of the slip the commentators remarked *tetujon manut, pikayun manut, laksana kirang* 'his intention was correct, his idea was correct, the execution was lacking'.

<sup>113</sup> PORKAS is the acronym for Pekan Olahraga untuk Kesejahteraan Sosial, the equivalent of football pools.

<sup>114</sup> SDSB is the successor to the pools, the Sumbangan Dana Sosial Berhadiah, a national lottery.

<sup>115</sup> Pokok has several related senses here, 'main activity, to be set on, live by'.

<sup>116</sup> Because Luh Wedani is reporting speech, she does not use the self-abasing form of *titiang* which presumably Wijil's wife would have used of herself, but just gives the Middle Balinese *tiang*. *Ngukup* has two quite different referents, on which there is a play here. It is first 'to win', as in gambling; second it is 'to put one's arms around'.

<sup>117</sup> *Balang sangit* is an insect with a strong smell which kills the swelling seeds because it is said to secrete a fluid which enters the young pannicles and kills them.

- 1076 LUH WEDANI: Tumpang Sari peternakan.  
 1077 PANASAR: Sapunapi? Tumpang Sari peternakané?  
 1078 WIJIL: Uh! Aluh, alih dogèn I Sari tumpangin.  
 1079 LUH WEDANI: Jalema lengeh.  
 1080 WIJIL: Yé.  
 1081 LUH WEDANI: Yèn Tumpang Sari peternakan, jeg makeneh ngubuh siap kandangin  
 1082 siapé, eda lèbanga, opaka tekèn pisagaé.  
 1083 WIJIL: Uh!  
 1084 LUH WEDANI: Kandangin siapé beneh. Suba ngelah kandang siap, betèn kandang siapé,  
 1085 ento apang ngelah kandang cèlèng. Disamping kandang cèlèngé ento,  
 1086 nyidang apang ada telaga, apang maguna onyangan. Ejin siap ditu, tainé  
 1087 amaha tekèn cèlèngé.  
 1088 WIJIL: Uh!  
 1089 LUH WEDANI: Yèn cèlèngé meju, anyud ka telagaé.  
 1090 PANASAR: Bé anu polih.  
 1091 LUH WEDANI: Bée ngamah.  
 1092 WIJIL: Uh!  
 1093 LUH WEDANI: Suba kèto, yèn bée meju, cai ngamah!  
 1094 WIJIL: 'Tain bée cai ngamah!' Tain niki nika ia ngamah.  
 1095 PANASAR: Aé!  
 1096 WIJIL: Men, saja ené, tain bé cang ngamah...  
 1097 PANASAR: Ah.  
 1098 WIJIL: Mangkin ten asapuniki, tiang ngusul betèn siapé cèlèng...  
 1099 LUH WEDANI: Beneh.  
 1100 WIJIL: Betèn cèlèngé bé, suba tain siapé amaha tekèn cèlèngé, ento tain cèlèngé  
 1101 amaha tekèn bée. Titiang ngusul, betèn kolamé punika pangorèngan.  
 1102 LUH WEDANI: Nguda kèto?  
 1103 WIJIL: Apang acepok gaéné. Apang lantàs gorèng tendasné onyangan. Bes  
 1104 sajaé...<sup>118</sup>  
 1105 LUH WEDANI: Jalema lengeh saja. Ento Tumpang Sari adané.  
 1106 PANASAR: Uh.  
 1107 LUH WEDANI: Jani ada Tumpang Sari perkebunan.  
 1108 PANASAR: Perkebunan tios malih?  
 1109 LUH WEDANI: Yèn bena ngelah punyan nyuh...  
 1110 PANASAR: Inggih.  
 1111 LUH WEDANI: Beténé ento apang ejin, yèn apa patutné, yèn cengkèh ejangin...  
 1112 PANASAR: Séla bun dados dagingin.  
 1113 LUH WEDANI: Tumbeg ento terus, séla bun. Yèn mula bena jagung ento ejin séla bun, ia  
 1114 bena jagung mupu, séla bun mupu.<sup>119</sup>  
 1115 WIJIL: Aduh! Cocok mula.  
 1116 LUH WEDANI: Eda besik-besik pulana.  
 1117 PANASAR: Nyuh beténé ejin séla, séla ejin jagung.  
 1118 WIJIL: Aa.  
 1119 PANASAR: Disamping jagungé ejin bojog!

<sup>118</sup> *Tendasné onyangan* is 'its head and everything', i.e. the whole fish. The commentators added *apik* 'neat and tidy', to complete his last sentence.

<sup>119</sup> *Ia* here is a *tanggun raos*, literally 'the tip (end) of speech', an indicator of the point between two utterances. Such terms are considered to make speech sweet (*manis*).

- 1120 WIJIL: Ah! Pelih! Disamping punyan jagungé ubuhang siap.
- 1121 PANASAR: Yéé!
- 1122 LUH WEDANI: Siapé suba makandang. Cang ngatur onyangan. Yèn mula bena panili
- 1123 cara janié...
- 1124 PANASAR: Inggih.
- 1125 LUH WEDANI: Ékspor non-migas ento.
- 1126 PANASAR: Patut punika.
- 1127 LUH WEDANI: Lurus-lurusang mamula selag-selagané ejin salak.
- 1128 PANASAR: Aduh! Aa. Luwung-luwung ento.
- 1129 WIJIL: Ah.
- 1130 PANASAR: 'Panili ejin salak.' Apang nyak ngalap panili telah kena duin salak!
- 1131 WIJIL: Sajané.
- 1132 PANASAR: Ento teked ané kèto-kèto dogèn, urusanga insinyur pertanianné.
- 1133 WIJIL: Sing, Beli. Eda anaké kemu abana. Tegarang Beli kenehang adèng-
- 1134 adèng. Apa panikan Jeroné anak saja ento. Mapan jani iraga anak ngelah
- 1135 tanah abedik apang buka onyang nekaang guna kawigunan. Beneh masih,
- 1136 eda anaké kemu dogèn abana.<sup>120</sup>
- 1137 LUH WEDANI: Ené jalema lengeh.
- 1138 WIJIL: Saja Beli, tiang dumun sampun polih...
- 1139 PANASAR: Inggih! Bes wikané kadi Jeroné mapaica.
- 1140 WIJIL: Durus-durus. Napi wènten malih?
- 1141 LUH WEDANI: **Sukan Nira né kalangkun.**
- 1142 WIJIL: Uh.
- 1143 LUH WEDANI: Liang cang. Apa karena liang?
- 1144 WIJIL: Paman.
- 1145 LUH WEDANI: Cang sayanganga tekèn belin cangé.
- 1146 WIJIL: Aduh!
- 1147 PANASAR: Napi sané makahawinan?<sup>121</sup>
- 1148 WIJIL: Ah.
- 1149 LUH WEDANI: Sangkal kéné boné bunguté karbit dogèn!<sup>122</sup> Dadi?
- 1150 PANASAR: Aduh! Kadèna panyekeban biyu, jenenga.
- 1151 WIJIL: Beli. Suba orang anak sing ada anggon beneh.
- 1152 LUH WEDANI: Anak cang, anak saling asah saling asih saling asuh ajak belin cangé.
- 1153 PANASAR: Sareng I Raka.
- 1154 LUH WEDANI: Cang taèn tuturina pidan tekèn anak lingsir cangé.
- 1155 PANASAR: Inggih.
- 1156 WIJIL: Inggih. Sapunapi?
- 1157 LUH WEDANI: 'Ayu-ayu jegèg I Déwa...'
- 1158 WIJIL: 'Cening, Cening ayu...'
- 1159 LUH WEDANI: 'Yèn ada anak nyen buin pidan...'
- 1160 WIJIL: 'Dipradéé pèt...'

<sup>120</sup> **Guna kawigunan** is actually 'useful and useless' (cf. O.J. **wiguna** 'without good qualities, worthless, poor, miserable', **kawigunan** 'deficiency, imperfection, worthlessness'). According to the commentators the expression here refers to using the land according to what it is good for and recognizing what the land is not good for.

<sup>121</sup> *Makahawinan* is considered by the commentators to be a very elevated (*singih*) form of *awinan* 'reason' (of which *awanan* is the Low). It seems to relate to O.J. **makahawan** 'using as way (means, vehicle), by means of, via'. The prefix **maka** usually connotes 'to have as, serve as'.

<sup>122</sup> *Bungut*, as noted, is coarse, and is used of animals.

- 1161 LUH WEDANI: 'Ngambil I Dèwa...'
- 1162 WIJIL: 'Nganggo...'
- 1163 LUH WEDANI: 'Sing dadi I Déwa bani-bani tekèn anak muani...'
- 1164 WIJIL: Uh!
- 1165 LUH WEDANI: 'Yèn bani tekèn anak muani, yèn bani tekèn somah muania...'
- 1166 PANASAR: Patut.
- 1167 LUH WEDANI: 'Mati bena buin pidan dadi entip kawah, dadi uled tendasé namitis.'<sup>123</sup>
- 1168 WIJIL: Aduh!
- 1169 PANASAR: Nah!
- 1170 WIJIL: (*Sings*) **Apan ikaṅwaṅuttama juga iya. Nimitaniya maṅkana...**
- 1171 Apang eda disubané dadi manusa, buin ngadug-ngadug ané boya-boya
- 1172 bakat gaé. Apang eda disubané dadi manusa, buin...<sup>124</sup>
- 1173 PANASAR: Aratu! Jero Mekel.
- 1174 WIJIL: Bih! Patut.
- 1175 PANASAR: Punika patut kagega kadi pangandikan anaké lingsir, mangda 'ten purun
- 1176 tempal.<sup>125</sup>
- 1177 LUH WEDANI: Sangkal cang sing bani tekèn belin cangé; belin cangé kèto masih sing
- 1178 bani tekèn cang. Yèn cai, somah cainé sing bani tekèn cai, cai sing bani
- 1179 tekèn anak luh!
- 1180 PANASAR: Inggih. Dumadakja apang kènten, titiang.
- 1181 WIJIL: Mula, mula.
- 1182 PANASAR: Uling pidan anak<sup>126</sup> miegan kéwanten, titiang.
- 1183 LUH WEDANI: Eda mieg-miegan. Yèn bena masakaya aji siu, kingsanang sik somahé.
- 1184 Yèn masakaya aji duang tali, kingsanang sik anak luh.<sup>127</sup>
- 1185 PANASAR: Sampun, anu, icèn...
- 1186 WIJIL: Bèh!
- 1187 LUH WEDANI: Eda amaha didian. Anak luh-luh anak demen kingsanin. Tegarang cai
- 1188 aminggu sing taèn makingsan barang cainé!<sup>128</sup>
- 1189 PANASAR: Bah! Matagenan lakar ngingsanang hasil karya maan ngadep togog,
- 1190 kingsanang atenga pipisné... Yé! Jeg lèn aminggu sing makingsan!
- 1191 WIJIL: Saja masih, Beli.
- 1192 PANASAR: Aduh!
- 1193 WIJIL: Anak mula kèto.
- 1194 LUH WEDANI: Durung puput ucap-ucap, Beli Agung mirib matangiiii.<sup>129</sup>
- 1195 WIJIL: Dong sangkal...
- 1196 SRI AJI PALAKA: (*Sings in Pupuh Sinom Uug Payangan*) Gelis manampekin...
- 1197 PANASAR: Bé! Ngudiang kenceng? Ais!

<sup>123</sup> *Entip kawah* is the bottom of hell, which the commentators also paraphrased as *dakin-dakin kawah*, the dirt of hell. This is worse than hell itself. Add note about how remnants or what is left over is extremely derogatory, e.g. *laad gumi*, the remains of the world. (Check in obscenity file.) Her use of *tendas*, literally 'head', here is coarse for 'person'.

<sup>124</sup> **Nimita** is 'sign, omen, cause, reason', here the commentators thought it was best glossed as 'reason'. The expression *dadi manusa* is not, as it literally suggests 'become a human', but to be grown-up or, perhaps more fully, to become a morally aware adult, capable of a fair measure of control of one's actions through the will.

<sup>125</sup> *Purun tempang ring pangandikan* is a set expression, 'I do not dare to disagree' with whomever (to a superior).

<sup>126</sup> His wife and he.

<sup>127</sup> *Masakaya* is 'to receive the results/yield of one's work'.

<sup>128</sup> *Amaha* here is not 'eat', but 'consume, use up'.

<sup>129</sup> *Beli Agung* is slightly oxymoronic, because the former is a colloquial way of referring to one's husband, the latter is formal.

- 1198 WIJIL: Dija lakuna Jero Mangkuné? Niki ngawag-ngawag lunga praragan.
- 1199 LUH WEDANI: Jalema lengeh! Cang lemu, not! Cang lemu, not!
- 1200 WIJIL: Aduh! Inggih!
- 1201 SRI AJI PALAKA: Kadèn nyèn magagonjak?<sup>130</sup>
- 1202 PANASAR: Kayunang Cokor I Déwa sira? Puniki sampun Ida I Ari sakadi bulan purnama.<sup>131</sup>
- 1203
- 1204 LUH WEDANI: Uduh! Paman, lengkejut tiang.
- 1205 WIJIL: Sampunang 'lengkejut', 'tengkejut'.
- 1206 LUH WEDANI: Yèn anak di puri 'lengkejut'. Yèn anak jaba mara 'tengkejut'.
- 1207 WIJIL: Badah!
- 1208 PANASAR: Ngelah dogèn. 'Lengkejut' anak!
- 1209 WIJIL: Ené sembilan puluh persén suba.
- 1210 LUH WEDANI: (magending) Jeg, macepol...<sup>132</sup>
- 1211 PANASAR: Bé! 'Kadèn titiang niwang.' Kènéta. Aduh!
- 1212 LUH WEDANI: Dados wawu Beli **prapta**?
- 1213 PANASAR: 'Singgih pedek rauh.' **Sira** Sugriwa pacang tangkil ring **Sira** Sri Ramadéwa.
- 1214
- 1215 LUH WEDANI: Kapluk cang tendasné.
- 1216 WIJIL: Wé! Isinin ngoré! Maan masih ngalih gaé.
- 1217 LUH WEDANI: Kadèna sendratari ené?
- 1218 WIJIL: Siepang ibané.
- 1219 PANASAR: Bes kéné nangkil. Bèh! Sing! Nyak cara Sugriwa? '**Singgih akşama akèna** Sugriwa.' Aduh! Becikan anaké matur.
- 1220
- 1221 LUH WEDANI: Titiang nyantos kanti...garang, garang, garang!
- 1222 PANASAR: Aduh! Jeg seneb basangé. Ada urung matur 'titiang nyantos...'?
- 1223 Sri Aji Palaka: (magending, but inaudible)
- 1224 PANASAR: Ah! Ah! Eda! Tengilang ragaé, tengilang ragaé.
- 1225 WIJIL: Beli, saja ento.
- 1226 PANASAR: Sengkala!
- 1227 WIJIL: Aduh! Sengkala kènkèn?
- 1228 PANASAR: Dong luwung abetné ngatrèk. Tuwahja daérah pariwisata, silitné ngaba 'Pelis'!
- 1229
- 1230 WIJIL: Kènkèn ento?
- 1231 PANASAR: 'Plis' kèto. Semprota bungut Beliné.<sup>133</sup>
- 1232 SRI AJI PALAKA: Bes bebèki tekèn parekan.<sup>134</sup>
- 1233 WIJIL: Saja, bes bebèki.
- 1234 PANASAR: Aa.
- 1235 WIJIL: Dija ada unduk? Karuwan parekan sayangang mangkin.<sup>135</sup>
- 1236 PANASAR: Ais! Ais! Kauh, kauh, kauh! Nah! Kaja, kaja, kaja! Nah!

<sup>130</sup> *Magagonjakan* differs from *marerembukan* which is ordinary talk, discussion. *Gagonjakan* is a popular form of exchange among people sitting at coffee or food stalls in the village. It often includes sexual innuendo, quite different from the kind of talking which tends to take place in peoples' homes.

<sup>131</sup> In full the appropriate expression is *Ida I Ari Ayu*.

<sup>132</sup> *Macepol* is literally 'to fall', but here is to fall over in a faint.

<sup>133</sup> Here the Panasar uses *bungut* for his own mouth, meaning she farted straight in his face.

<sup>134</sup> *Bebèki* is a strong word for badly behaved. It is used of the sort of behaviour of someone who refuses any assistance on being asked for help with loading by a person about to shoulder a heavy burden, or who shoves a mad person out of their way.

<sup>135</sup> On the use of the word *unduk*, see note above.

- 1237 WIJIL: Kangin, kangin, kangin!  
 1238 PANASAR: Menèk, menèk, menèk. Tuwun, tuwun, tuwun. Luwung cara nyetèl, anu,  
 1239 cara nyetèl, apa adané?  
 1240 WIJIL: Plalian-plalianang.  
 1241 PANASAR: Cara robot.  
 1242 SRI AJI PALAKA: Nyèn ngelah ragané lumlum?<sup>136</sup>  
 1243 PANASAR: 'Adi, nyènké ngelah ragané lumlum?'  
 1244 LUH WEDANI: Cang ento.  
 1245 WIJIL: Inggih.  
 1246 SRI AJI PALAKA: Nyèn ngelah bangkiangé ramping?  
 1247 PANASAR: 'Ragané lumlum.' Bih! Maan kernèté nyèrep.<sup>137</sup>  
 1248 SRI AJI PALAKA: Muané nyampuah.<sup>138</sup>  
 1249 PANASAR: Ais! Kadèna apa ento? Ngudiang kènten? Anak ambila tekèn I Raka  
 1250 becikang anaké. Eda jeg cara jair sambuin wot kèto.<sup>139</sup>  
 1251 SRI AJI PALAKA: Nyèn ngelah susuné rumpiang?<sup>140</sup>  
 1252 PANASAR: 'Sapa sira madrebé susuné rupih?'<sup>141</sup> Yé! Napi ten misi! Napi susu rupih?  
 1253 Asah!  
 1254 LUH WEDANI: Badah! Jalema lengeh! Singja, jani asah, anak suba dibi sanja klecota,  
 1255 not.<sup>142</sup> Apa ia kadèna? Kadèna jaja apem nyonyoé?<sup>143</sup>  
 1256 SRI AJI PALAKA: Nyèn ngelah rambuté samah?  
 1257 LUH WEDANI: Aa! Dingeh cai, Punta! Wé! Dingeh cai!  
 1258 PANASAR: Titiang.  
 1259 LUH WEDANI: Bengong belin cangé. Ento nyèn ia ené gadis manis berkèpang dua?  
 1260 PANASAR: Inggih. Aduh! 'Nyènja gadis manis berkèpang dua?' Inggih, anak wantah  
 1261 kènten, bengong wiakti titiang.  
 1262 SRI AJI PALAKA: Kadi méga ngemu ngararis.<sup>144</sup>  
 1263 PANASAR: Sakadi gulemé ngemu ujan.  
 1264 LUH WEDANI: Beli, Beli! Eda suba tiang ajum-ajuma, Beli. Yèn ada anak ningeh lek  
 1265 atiné, 'puk.  
 1266 PANASAR: Aduh! Luwung cara celepuk ngataarang anak beling.<sup>145</sup>

<sup>136</sup> Usually it is *lumlum gading*, *gading* however is omitted because it does not fit the flow of the song. The colour is sometimes compared to the flesh of the salak fruit (see above, *sakadi salak lumaadin*).

<sup>137</sup> The station wagons Balinese use for much public transport often carry a man who collects fares and keeps a tight eye out for prospective passengers, known as a *kernèt*. If he drives as well, he is known as a *kernèt nyèrep* a 'reserve driver'.

<sup>138</sup> *Nyampuah* is the ideal shape of the female face, often compared to that of an inverted egg, tapering delicately to the point of the chin.

<sup>139</sup> A *jair* is a fresh water fish some nine inches long or so, which is well known for pouting, with its mouth working in and out, when it is eating from the water's surface.

<sup>140</sup> The usual word for well-formed breasts when speaking is *nyangkih*, in song it is often *rupit*.

<sup>141</sup> Earlier I noted that *madrebé* 'to own, have', is the form used to inferiors or to abase oneself (*ngasor*). Here it is the appropriate term because when asking a general question, or referring to an inspecific person (or one yet to be identified by the question) one should use this, for instance when asking who owns something in a ward (*banjar*) meeting. Usage varies somewhat from one part of Bali to another.

<sup>142</sup> *Klecot* is 'to suck', as of a baby at the breast.

<sup>143</sup> *Jaja apem* are a kind of rice flour cake of which children are fond.

<sup>144</sup> *Méga ngemu ngararis* is a phrase for clouds full of water which falls as light rain. *Méga* is often used of thunderclouds.

<sup>145</sup> *Ngataarang* (or *ngateerang*) is to carry on doing something. Here it is an owl continuously calling, which signals a pregnancy.



- 1267 LUH WEDANI: Punta! Wé!
- 1268 PANASAR: Titiang.
- 1269 LUH WEDANI: Punta! Wé! Yèn cai teked jumah, ajum-ajum cai somah cainéa?
- 1270 PANASAR: Ten naenin tiang ngajum-ngajum somah.
- 1271 LUH WEDANI: Badah! Ento suba kèto. Ento suba somah cainé kènkèng, men? Yèn
- 1272 bilang cai mulih teked jumah somah cainé ngenang suba bubu, suba
- 1273 tujuh bungutné, suba. Béé! Kamené suba daki cuil, sabukné pegat, sing
- 1274 suba maBH. Kènkèng men? Wé! Punta, Wé!
- 1275 PANASAR: Yèn Jeroné sapunapi?<sup>146</sup>
- 1276 LUH WEDANI: Yèn ada anak muania,
- 1277 PANASAR: Inggih?
- 1278 LUH WEDANI: Demen ngalih mitra...
- 1279 PANASAR: Ais!
- 1280 LUH WEDANI: Ané muania sing pelih, entoa.
- 1281 PANASAR: Sira iwang?
- 1282 LUH WEDANI: Ané luh pelih.
- 1283 PANASAR: Dados sapunika?
- 1284 LUH WEDANI: Sing ia bisa ngurusang somahné jumah.<sup>147</sup> Sing kapisaga ia ngalih amik-
- 1285 amikan? Yèn cang suba, belin cangé suba bisa ngurusang.
- 1286 PANASAR: Uh!
- 1287 LUH WEDANI: Yèn enu di bancingah...
- 1288 PANASAR: Punapi?
- 1289 LUH WEDANI: Cang jumah suba makenyir.
- 1290 PANASAR: Bèh! Bes ngencot. Rakané enu dibancingah ené Jeroné di puri suba
- 1291 makenyir. Men? Yèn titiang kènten kurenan titiangé di peken, titiang enu
- 1292 di peken, kurenané jumah sampun kenyir-kenyir, sih, masrangkaban
- 1293 anaké 'ené uling pidan bebainan?' sih, kènten, aé.
- 1294 LUH WEDANI: Cai sing ngelah keneh. Cai apang bisa anaké bena ngayahin, tawang cai?
- 1295 PANASAR: Uh! Kènten mangda uning ngay(ah)in Ida I Raka?<sup>148</sup>
- 1296 LUH WEDANI: Ento suba. Kènkèn cang sing sayanganga? Cang bisa cang.
- 1297 PANASAR: Bèh!
- 1298 LUH WEDANI: Semengan mara bangun kopi susu, taluh setengah mateng misi mica
- 1299 gundil.
- 1300 PANASAR: Uh! Lengkap resépné misi mica gundil. Punika semeng?
- 1301 LUH WEDANI: Ento semengan. Yèn icang buin pidan matunangan... Kadèn cai dugasé
- 1302 enu bajang?
- 1303 PANASAR: Punapi?
- 1304 LUH WEDANI: Laguté nyen goban cangé kèné.<sup>149</sup>
- 1305 WIJIL: Sapunapi?

<sup>146</sup> The use of *yèn*, which is normally glossed as 'if', in the present exchange seems to have something in common with what is known as the *arealis*, or *irrealis* in Old Javanese. It is used to indicate that what is said is not represented as actually having (yet) taken place, that one does not wish to stress its factuality, that it is appropriate or a potentiality, but as yet unrealized, or in the full *irrealis* that something is not the case (for a detailed discussion, see Zoetmulder 1983: 150-63). Here the Panasar is asking Luh Wedani what her view is and she replies by talking about a general tendency or potentiality (of males). Under these circumstances I have not glossed *yèn(ing)* as 'if'.

<sup>147</sup> *Ngurusang* here is *ngayahin* 'to wait on, serve, take care of'.

<sup>148</sup> For the use of *uning* 'to know' here, see discussion of *uning* in notes.

<sup>149</sup> *Lagut* is 'although, only because'. She formulates the statement this way to avoid the trap of saying '*pidan*', 'before, earlier', which would leave open the implication that she used to be ugly, but no longer was necessarily.

- 1306 LUH WEDANI: Srandang-srèndèng, nyen.  
 1307 WIJIL: Bèh!  
 1308 LUH WEDANI: Lamun sing memenuhi syarat cang sing nyak, sing, juwanga. Cang sing  
 1309 ngalih anak muania. Nomor satu syaratné, tawang cai?  
 1310 WIJIL: Inggih.  
 1311 LUH WEDANI: Mengajukan surat permohonan!  
 1312 WIJIL: Bèh!  
 1313 LUH WEDANI: Dua: siap melakukan percobaan tiga bulan.  
 1314 PANASAR: Berat pesané ngalamar misi melakukan percobaan tiga bulan.  
 1315 LUH WEDANI: Siap ditempatkan dimana saja.  
 1316 PANASAR: Malih.  
 1317 LUH WEDANI: Tawang cai siap ditempatkan dimana saja? Kadèn cai diseluruh  
 1318 Nusantara?  
 1319 PANASAR: Artiné diseluruh Nusantara?  
 1320 LUH WEDANI: Sing.  
 1321 PANASAR: Punapi?  
 1322 LUH WEDANI: 'Siap ditempatkan dimana saja.' Artiné: 'samping kanan, samping kiri,  
 1323 atas maupun bawah.'  
 1324 PANASAR: Aduh! Kadènja dija jeg ejang apang nyak.  
 1325 LUH WEDANI: Tawang cai anak muani-muani cara jani anak lèn?  
 1326 PANASAR: Punapi?  
 1327 LUH WEDANI: Anak mula lain di hati, lain di mulut. Yèn nepukin anak cenik dimargaé,  
 1328 inget suba tekèn panakné jumah.  
 1329 WIJIL: Uh! Kènten?  
 1330 LUH WEDANI: Yèn nepukin anak jegèg-jegèg dimargaé, engsap suba tekèn somahné  
 1331 jumah.  
 1332 PANASAR: Bèh! Sampunang anaké carukanga asapunika.  
 1333 LUH WEDANI: Sangkal cang ngalih anak muani pidan, takonin cang: 'Beli, Beli. Cinta  
 1334 tekèn iang, Beli? Cinta, cinta apa, men, Beli. Beli?' Yèn cinta modern  
 1335 tawang cai?<sup>150</sup>  
 1336 PANASAR: 'Ten. Napi nika?  
 1337 LUH WEDANI: Jeg semengan ia kenal...  
 1338 PANASAR: Inggih.  
 1339 LUH WEDANI: Tengaia merayu, sanjaé merayap.<sup>151</sup>  
 1340 PANASAR: Aduh! Dija kadèn keniana resèp abodag?<sup>152</sup> 'Cinta modèren semengan!'  
 1341 LUH WEDANI: Ada cinta gerilya, apang tawang cai.  
 1342 PANASAR: Napi?  
 1343 LUH WEDANI: Cinta gerilya.  
 1344 PANASAR: Napi nika?  
 1345 LUH WEDANI: Petengné nèmbak, semengan malaib!  
 1346 PANASAR: Aduh! Nyak sajan.  
 1347 LUH WEDANI: Yèn cang ajak belin cangé, lamun sing cinta kuku kangguwang cang  
 1348 sing-a.<sup>153</sup>

<sup>150</sup> Once again she uses the slightly precious form *Iang* (see above) to indicate the kind of relationship.

<sup>151</sup> One might note the play on similar sounding words merayu and merayap, which gives the progression an interesting twist.

<sup>152</sup> *Abodag* is 'a basket full', but has the implication of an assortment of unrelated items.

<sup>153</sup> *Sing'a* here completes the sentence (*tanggun raos*).

- 1349 PANASAR: Uh! Cinta kuku, Jeroné?
- 1350 LUH WEDANI: Cinta kuku, tawang cai?
- 1351 PANASAR: 'Ten.
- 1352 LUH WEDANI: Cinta kuku: biar dia dipotong dia tetap tumbuh lagi.
- 1353 PANASAR: Nah! Apang kènten anaké.
- 1354 SRI AJI PALAKA: Tuwah mula ané kapuji.
- 1355 PANASAR: Sampunang kènten.
- 1356 WIJIL: Aduh! Kedèkina tekèn panjak-panjaké.
- 1357 LUH WEDANI: Cang bergaya, not.
- 1358 PANASAR: Beneh. Teka jeg solah, bakta ka soléh, bakta ka Bangli.
- 1359 LUH WEDANI: Cai jalema lengeh.
- 1360 SRI AJI PALAKA: Ené ané mula mautama, manut kadi di jagaté.
- 1361 PANASAR: Waluya Sang Hyang Sri manumadi ring praragan Jero Mekelé.
- 1362 LUH WEDANI: Tawang cai ané ngaranang cang cara Sri?
- 1363 PANASAR: Punapi?
- 1364 LUH WEDANI: Liang cangé bes sanget. Uling pidan belin cangé kija pra sing nunas ica.
- 1365 PANASAR: Nah.
- 1366 LUH WEDANI: Telah pura-puraé.
- 1367 PANASAR: Aduh! Manawi wènten...
- 1368 LUH WEDANI: (magending) Uduh! Bapa iang manawegang.
- 1369 PANASAR: Aduh! Anaké lingsir!
- 1370 LUH WEDANI: Bapa. Kènkèn nènèng kèné? Jeg ka sisi suba lingsir, suba orin ngoyong.
- 1371
- 1372 PASEK BENDÉSA: Déwa Ratu!
- 1373 LUH WEDANI: Wé! Bapa. Wé! Nyapliir, nyapliir ento nyapliir.<sup>154</sup>
- 1374 PANASAR: Aduh!
- 1375 PASEK BENDÉSA: Cening! Bapa tua, sing, pantes Bapa nangkil mai.
- 1376 PANASAR: Icèn-icèn malinggih anaké.
- 1377 LUH WEDANI: Nah! Negak-negak-negak-negak.
- 1378 PASEK BENDÉSA: Aduh!
- 1379 PANASAR: Sajjan, anak lingsir.
- 1380 PASEK BENDÉSA: Eda salah tampi.
- 1381 PANASAR: Ngudiang sing benengang-benengang? Nah!
- 1382 LUH WEDANI: Wé! Wé! Ento songné, songné ngalih!
- 1383 PASEK BENDÉSA: Cening! Disubané cening dadi rabi, dadi Wang Jero, eda anaké jengking-jengking ajak Bapa tua. Jani Bapa suba tua kapah-kapah anak nyapliir.
- 1384 Cening, anak kenceng taèn sing nyapliir-nyapliir.
- 1385
- 1386 LUH WEDANI: Eda anaké nyokcok. Suba kerengan nyapliir, oyongang ragaé.<sup>155</sup>
- 1387 PASEK BENDÉSA: Cening. Yèn Bapa tua sing baang nyokcok... Pan Cening!
- 1388 PANASAR: Napi?
- 1389 PASEK BENDÉSA: Yèn sing Bapa awainé maan nyokcok apang telu, sing lega bayué.<sup>156</sup>

<sup>154</sup> *Nyapliir* is 'to miss a target', here referring to the Bendésa's *panglocokan*, the small container in which he pounds the ingredients for betel-chewing. *Nyapliir* is the hidden reference of a popular *bladbadan* q.v., the lead and intermediate terms of which are Indonesian: Bulan empat → April → *nyapliir*; i.e. the fourth month (which is) April (which is a chiasmus of) *apliir* (so) 'miss the target'.

<sup>155</sup> *Kereng* is usually 'strong', but here is 'often'.

<sup>156</sup> *Bayu* is normally 'energy', but some people use it to speak of their feelings. As Balinese do not split mind and body in a Cartesian manner, there is an obvious connection between the state of one's health and energy, and how one feels.

- 1390 PANASAR: Inggih. Anak wantah kènten. Dresta ngiunang canang sané ngaranayang  
 1391 untuné kereng.  
 1392 PASEK BENDÉSA: Mamitang lugra, titiang parekan werda, titiang. Titiang I Bandésa Nusa  
 1393 tuaé tua tuwuh titiang ring Nusa.<sup>157</sup> Bengong titiang ngantenang pidabdab  
 1394 **anggan** Palungguh I Ratu kasarengin antuk pianak titiang, Wang Jeroné,  
 1395 Pan Cening.<sup>158</sup> Miragi titiang orta **anggan** Palungguh Dalem **mürdhanij**  
 1396 jagat jagi naur sasangi, **dèniñ** sampun paican Ida Batara Gua Lawah.  
 1397 Unteng kairing?<sup>159</sup> Ené dadi macanda-canda? Ené dadi maplalian? Puraé  
 1398 suba bakal odalan. Ené gaéné pragat ben macanda dong kènten? Sarat  
 1399 Bapa tua...  
 1400 PANASAR: Aratu Déwagung! Patut ngan(d)ika anaké. Cokor I Déwa wènten  
 1401 pawungu paman druwén.<sup>160</sup>  
 1402 SRI AJI PALAKA: Anggèn titiang panglengkara.<sup>161</sup>  
 1403 PANASAR: Aduh! Bapa.  
 1404 PASEK BENDÉSA: Men? Men?  
 1405 PANASAR: 'Eda nyen Bapa salah sengguh, adan tiangé dini ajak I Adi. Raosang  
 1406 Bapa macanda, sing ada kèto. Suba anaké tiang minehin lakar mayah  
 1407 penauran tiangé, sawirèh suba prasida tiang ngawetuwang preti santana.'  
 1408 SRI AJI PALAKA: **Dèniñ** sami sampun puput.  
 1409 LUH WEDANI: Bapa, eda Bapa sebet. Anak suba pragat, ento baan tiang makejang. Apa  
 1410 buin, anak suba madabdab baan tiang.  
 1411 PASEK BENDÉSA: **Mejēt-mejēt, uwus karēñö śabda**, Pan Cening. Mamitang lugraha,  
 1412 sampunang **mungah piduka, anggan** Palungguh Cokor I Déwa. Titiangé  
 1413 tuaé tua tuwuh. Yèn nyakja tua lingsir luwung, titiang 'ten **jāgra winuñu**  
 1414 mapainget.<sup>162</sup>  
 1415 PANASAR: Patut.  
 1416 PASEK BENDÉSA: Kéwanten **mānuṣa kaliput dèniñrajaḥ m(u)wang tamah**. Yèn nyakja  
 1417 **satwamé** ngaliput ia melah, apang eda kadung **rajaḥ tamah** ngaliput  
 1418 engsap tekèn yadnya.<sup>163</sup> Ngorang dogèn magagé sing bakat jemak. Nah!  
 1419 Yèn suba **sañkaniñ sumēñḍia**, yèn suba sarat lautang, Bapa lakar  
 1420 madiolas tekèn nyama braya.  
 1421 PANASAR: Nah!  
 1422 PASEK BENDÉSA: Apang nyak pañjak Nusa sami buka onyang lakar aturang.<sup>164</sup>  
 1423 PANASAR: Mangda nyarengin naler **rimēñpēñ** jagi ngalaksanayang panauran puniki.

It is the more so here as the hidden referent is intercourse three times a day, which requires a certain amount of energy and inclination.

<sup>157</sup> *Werda* is 'old, mature' and is often linked with the name of the younger of the two servants of the Pandawa, Merdah; cf. Skt. **wṛddha** & O.J. **wṛdah** 'advanced in years, old, senior; experienced, wise, learned'. *Tuaé, tua tuwuh* is a saying, *sesenggak* q.v., which is literally 'old, old (only in) age'. It is used of a person who may be advanced in years but whose mind and abilities are still as good as ever.

<sup>158</sup> *Wang Jero* is 'a person of the court', here a reference to his daughter's elevation from humble status through marriage.

<sup>159</sup> *Unteng kairing* is literally 'the main point (key matter in which you are) to be followed'.

<sup>160</sup> *Pawungu* is from O.J. **wuñu** 'to waken, arouse' and so 'to remind'.

<sup>161</sup> *Titiang* is too self-abasing a term for the prince to use to his minister, but is necessary to fit the demands of the song's metre.

<sup>162</sup> **Jāgra winuñu** is a formula used when speaking about something, or making a criticism, humbly to a superior (in knowledge).

<sup>163</sup> Check the terminal '-m' in **sattwam** with Sanskritist.

<sup>164</sup> One strictly needs to add *aturang ayah*, 'perform service'.

- 1424 PASEK BENDÉSA: Benéh, odalan lantes di Pura Dalem Mengwi.  
 1425 PANASAR: Inggih! Sedeng becika odalan mangkin.<sup>165</sup> Ida Déwagung jagi naler  
 1426 marika.  
 1427 LUH WEDANI: Bapa ka puri malu nunas wèdang. Bapa edaja maileh, edaja madiolas  
 1428 suba malu-malu.  
 1429 PASEK BENDÉSA: Kèné demen atiné ngelah panak dadi rabi. Mara ka puri suba gaènanga  
 1430 kopi.  
 1431 PANASAR: Inggih. Meneng anaké, eda jeg...  
 1432 SRI AJI PALAKA: Bapa anggon tiang panua, ento koné dini.<sup>166</sup>  
 1433 LUH WEDANI: Suba dingeh, Bapa?  
 1434 PANASAR: Bapa maka panglingsir. 'Bapa nyen idin tiang tulung, apang magehang  
 1435 masih yadnyan tiangé, Bapa.'  
 1436 SRI AJI PALAKA: Saiwangné Bapa matutang.  
 1437 PASEK BENDÉSA: Mamitang lugra, mamitang lugra! Katibakin **mṛta sañjiwani** Bapa.  
 1438 Mamitang lugra titiang, I Bandésa Nusa, **bandha ingaraniṅpangikēt**  
 1439 **śāsana**, banget ampura. Yèn kawèntenan ané wènten ring **aṅgan**, napi  
 1440 watané – dèwèk titiang – ten wènten malih titiang subakti ring **aṅgan**  
 1441 Palungguh Dalem.<sup>167</sup>  
 1442 PANASAR: Nah! Apang kèntenté.<sup>168</sup>  
 1443 PASEK BENDÉSA: Ngiring cihnayang karyaé, Pan Cening.<sup>169</sup>  
 1444 PANASAR: Inggih.  
 1445 PASEK BENDÉSA: Apang eda **saṅkaniṅ tuna**.  
 1446 SRI AJI PALAKA: Yèning kèto, nunas Bapa pada dabdab.  
 1447 PASEK BENDÉSA: Inggih. Lautang Pan Cening.  
 1448 PANASAR: Inggih.  
 1449 PASEK BENDÉSA: Bapa lakar nedehang nyama brayané Bendésa Pasek para.  
 1450 PANASAR: Durusang-durusang.  
 1451 SRI AJI PALAKA: Adi, juwa I Dèwa, yan ten anak tua ngawangsitin.<sup>170</sup>  
 1452 LUH WEDANI: Wantah niki, wantah niki. Pikenoh anak lingsir ené sambatin makejang  
 1453 nyèn patutné bakal ngayah ajak ka pura.  
 1454 PANASAR: Inggih. Titiang jagi nauhin pañjak-pañjaké mangkin ngiring dabdabang.  
 1455 SRI AJI PALAKA: Para istriné Adi nabdab.<sup>171</sup>

<sup>165</sup> *Sedeng becika* is an interesting and difficult construction. Literally it is something like 'in the course of coming good'. However, the terminal '-a' on *becik* is curious, because in Balinese it normally indicates what grammars treat as the passive. But this looks decidedly odd for what is described as an adjective, 'good'. I would conjecture that the terminal '-a' might usefully be treated as closer to an *arealis*, especially as the expression is used to indicate something in the course of realization, the grounds for which are unclear. For this reason the expression has aspects of 'by coincidence' in English.

<sup>166</sup> *Panua* is 'an elder'. Here it is a senior person called upon to give advice, oversee details etc. to ensure that the ceremony is performed correctly. The commentators noted that this line was a little clumsy (*kekehan akidik*), they presumed because it was necessary to fit the metre. *Ento koné* is strictly unnecessary and *dini* 'here' is 'on this occasion'.

<sup>167</sup> The *Bendésa* makes a slip, by referring to himself as **aṅgan**, 'body' or, perhaps better, 'being', which is the appropriate term to refer to a king not a humble village head.

<sup>168</sup> '-té' is a *tanggun raos*.

<sup>169</sup> *Cihnayang* has two related senses. It is 'to show, underscore, prove', but also 'show how to do something', in the manner that Balinese terms for signification often carry gerundive implications (as in the two senses in English of 'prove'). cf. Skt. **cihna** 'mark, spot, sign, characteristic, symptom' and O.J. 'mark, proof'.

<sup>170</sup> *Ngawangsitin* is 'to be warned by'.

- 1456 PANASAR: 'Jeroné, para istriné mangda dabdab sami.'<sup>172</sup>
- 1457 SRI AJI PALAKA: Paman, pangayahé pada kinkinang.
- 1458 OLD VILLAGER: Magending (kirang jelas).
- 1459 PANASAR: Yé! Ené jalema bangka teka ené! Yé! Mèh, Mèh! Aduh! Uèk kenalpotné,  
1460 anu... Kènkèn? Kènkèn? Nah! Nah!
- 1461 OLD VILLAGER: Dadi, Wayan sing nyambat? Ais!
- 1462 PANASAR: Apa 'Ais'?
- 1463 OLD VILLAGER: Apa ené makelèp?
- 1464 PANASAR: Bèh! Makesiab ia mara makelèp.
- 1465 OLD VILLAGER: Apa makelèp? Aduh! Aduh!
- 1466 PANASAR: Ngudiang sebet?
- 1467 Bondès B: Sing pelut baan Bapa ngaturang nang apa jani.
- 1468 PANASAR: Uh! Mapan karyané ané jani.
- 1469 OLD VILLAGER: Buin, lain sekali, tumbèn lantàs maduwé putra lanang.
- 1470 PANASAR: Beneh, itungan ragaé kènkèn?
- 1471 OLD VILLAGER: Keneh cangé, sing, yèn sing upamané ngelah putra lanang, cang baang  
1472 aturang cang iban cangé ka puri, kèto.
- 1473 PANASAR: Bèh! Ené jalema solèh, awak wong tani kelen aturang ibaé ka puri  
1474 anggona putra!<sup>173</sup>
- 1475 OLD VILLAGER: Wayan! Ené karyaé suba ngunteng jani?
- 1476 PANASAR: Aa.
- 1477 OLD VILLAGER: Apang eda, nyen cang dadi pañjak, mirib sing bisa narima pasuwècan  
1478 Ida.
- 1479 PANASAR: Nah! Apang kèto, suba.
- 1480 OLD VILLAGER: Aduh! Wayan.
- 1481 PANASAR: Bèh! (*The old villager coughs*) Wé! Mati! (*The Panasar begins to sing*)  
1482 'Atha sèdèṅnira mantuk  
1483 Saṅsura laga riṅayu  
1484 Tucapa aji Wirāta...'<sup>174</sup>
- 1485 Yé! Hidup poloné buin! Apang bangka pragat tendasné. Kènkèn?  
1486 Nyidang lakar ngaturang ayah? Aduh!
- 1487 OLD VILLAGER: Kéné suba, Pan Wayan. Mati bakal cang buin pidan.
- 1488 PANASAR: Yé! Mula manusa lekad lakar mati, kèto.
- 1489 OLD VILLAGER: Kènkèn kadèn karyaé? Pokokné cang lakar ngayah.
- 1490 PANASAR: Yé! Suba bantené di pura suba dabdab.
- 1491 OLD VILLAGER: Ené nu ada klian désaé. Cang lakar ngayah.
- 1492 PANASAR: Beneh! Kaukin apang bareng Pak Klian nyaksiang panaurané.<sup>175</sup> Saksana!  
1493 Mulana jalema gelem, lebihan takeh. Pelut baana masih makikèn mulih.  
1494 Bèh! Ngèngkogang jit.

<sup>171</sup> Properly *nabdab* should be *nabdabang* 'to organize', but the last syllable is cut to fit the requirements of the metre. As the result, the meaning is actually reversed (*bading arti*).

<sup>172</sup> In fact while paraphrasing the prince he makes a similar mistake in what were very quick exchanges. It should be *kadabdab* 'to be organized'. As it stands it means 'slowly, carefully'.

<sup>173</sup> *Tani kelen* is a strong expression for 'ignorant and thick-skinned peasant'. Here the stress is both on the fact that he is a *sudra* and that he is simple-minded.

<sup>174</sup> The commentators and Déwa Madé Sayang took **ayu** as a contraction of **ayuddha** 'to fight' from **yuddha** 'battle, war', although they also said it could be (**h**)**ayu** 'good, rightness, virtuousness' and so a reference to how they fought.

<sup>175</sup> The designation 'Pak' of a *klian* is an Indonesian form, which is now very common. Some of the older villagers still use 'Jero Klian'.

- 1495 VILLAGE ELDER: (*Sings kakawin*) **Warnaniḡ Ratu wiwitan Nira...**<sup>176</sup>
- 1496 PANASAR: Aduh! Jalema lebihan gaya. Bèh! Ené suba jenengné! Bèh! Cara anak
- 1497 taruna: kumisé suba uban, alis suba uban. Ené adané napsu keras, tenaga
- 1498 kurang.<sup>177</sup>
- 1499 VILLAGE ELDER: Nyèn orang Wayan kèto?
- 1500 PANASAR: Ais!
- 1501 VILLAGE ELDER: Ané jani Bapa teka mai, singja ada lèn. Uh! Endèn malu negak.
- 1502 PANASAR: Berek kèweh nimpalin jalemané ené! Bèh! “Mai ‘Yan,” Bèh! “Mara teka
- 1503 ‘Yan.” Yéé! Anggon anaké tata susila abedik, eda nyujukang entud kèto!
- 1504 Kènkèn? Apa ada itungan?<sup>178</sup>
- 1505 VILLAGE ELDER: Kena baan Wayan ngingetang ajin Bapa.<sup>179</sup> Uling makelo sing taèn
- 1506 katemu ajak Wayan. Kènkèn mirib kabaré dini? Makelo suba akudang
- 1507 warsa kadèn, suba iraga nah mamarekan tekèn Ida Déwagung dini di
- 1508 Nusa?
- 1509 PANASAR: Nah! Aduh! Jeg ubera, jeg wug awaké ngomong ngajak jalema kéné.
- 1510 VILLAGE ELDER: Kena baan ngingetang? Kena?
- 1511 PANASAR: Anak kènkèn? Cai ené jeg nugtug.
- 1512 VILLAGE ELDER: Uh! Eda ‘macai-cai’.
- 1513 PANASAR: Ih! Nyèn? Nah!
- 1514 VILLAGE ELDER: Bapa mula ené Dukuh, ané nongos di Sakènan.
- 1515 PANASAR: Uh!
- 1516 VILLAGE ELDER: Nyaman Bapané ané nengil di Pecatu, Uluwatu, Kedongané. Mawinan
- 1517 ada di Paguyangan nyaman Bapané...
- 1518 PANASAR: Uh! Bapa di Sakènan maan pidan?
- 1519 VILLAGE ELDER: Pidan. Mawinan ada gumi Jimbaran **sanjkanig** Bapa ngalinggihang Ida
- 1520 Dalem Batu Putih di Jimbaran.
- 1521 PANASAR: Uh! Pindah lantes ka Nusa?
- 1522 VILLAGE ELDER: Ka Nusa Bapa ngempi. Mapan mawinan goban Bapané wayah, anak batu
- 1523 dogèn maman Bapané.<sup>180</sup>

<sup>176</sup> This short section is in the metre (*pupuh*) **Mālinī**. Both the commentators and Déwa Madé Sayang knew of **warnaniḡ** (or **warnanaḡ** as ‘I shall narrate’, but mostly used in the negative **tan warnaniḡ** (often with the **tan** omitted) to signal that one will *not* continue on that subject. It is used in theatre as a signal to the orchestra to play louder and to the person about to exit to begin their departing dance. They were all clear that **wiwitan** was ‘descendants’ although O.J. **wiwitan** is ‘origin, beginning’; cf. **ka(w)witan** ‘progenitor, ancestor’. I was told that it referred to forebears or descendants according to context.

<sup>177</sup> Napsu keras, tenaga kurang is ‘full of lust, but too little energy (left). For more detail on what this signifies, see the note on *payas*.

<sup>178</sup> *Berek* is ‘rotten’, but is also used, with a succeeding word or phrase, as a somewhat vulgar exclamation of something being really the case. *Tata susila* is usually ‘morals’, here it better glossed as ‘manners’.

<sup>179</sup> *Ajin* here seems not to be from the root *aji* which has several senses and occurs as part of an expression which may suggest disappointment. It is unclear whether it relates to *ajin* ‘to know’ or ‘see’ (Kersten 1984: 142). For instance, if one goes to someone’s house and they are not there, one may say ‘*ajin tiang jumah dogèn masirep*’ ‘my ‘?’ at home and just sleeps’. Quite why this is an appropriate response, let alone what it ‘meant’, no one was able to explain to me. It is quite possible this is just the kind of slip that happens in such extemporized dialogue on stage and he simply meant *ngingetang ajak Bapa* ‘remember me’.

<sup>180</sup> *Wayah* is both ‘mature’ and ‘dark’ of a colour (as opposed to light, *nguda*). *Maman* is extremely coarse and self-abasing. It is possible that the elder is referring to his dire poverty, but the commentators inclined to the view that, in the rapid exchanges between himself and the Panasar, he made a slight slip. Be that as it may, the Panasar retorts by using *cai* again to address the elder, whether because he is being chased round the stage again or to meet the vulgarity of the elder’s speech is unclear.

- 1524 PANASAR: Ah! Ngoyong! Jeg nengil. Terus cang kètuwanga, 'wug cang. Nah!  
 1525 Kètuwang suba. Anak kènkèn cai sujatiné kèné?  
 1526 VILLAGE ELDER: Buin Bapané ngorang 'cai'.  
 1527 PANASAR: Yé! Badah! Engsap suba, ben kapah-kapah.  
 1528 VILLAGE ELDER: Mawinan mara kèné, sing kena? Lèn taruna jani kalawan taruna pidan.  
 1529 PANASAR: Uh! Pidan lèn ajaka jani?  
 1530 VILLAGE ELDER: Umur Bapané anak suba wayah.  
 1531 PANASAR: Akuda suba umuré?  
 1532 VILLAGE ELDER: Sembilan puluh.  
 1533 PANASAR: Bih!  
 1534 VILLAGE ELDER: Min.  
 1535 PANASAR: Misi 'min'?  
 1536 VILLAGE ELDER: Min lima belas.  
 1537 PANASAR: Badah!  
 1538 VILLAGE ELDER: Kéwala bayun Bapané yèn ngalawan Pan Cening maadok.  
 1539 PANASAR: Aa! Bayuné enu seger.  
 1540 VILLAGE ELDER: Bayu enu seger.  
 1541 PANASAR: Aa! Kèné yèn tua-tua malué, luwung jaminané. Semengan ka carik numbeg, ajeng-ajengané soroh don-donan.<sup>181</sup>  
 1542 VILLAGE ELDER: Bih! Jeg serba ènak.  
 1543 PANASAR: Sing pati ngajeng bé.  
 1544 VILLAGE ELDER: Sing pati ngajengang bé, mapuasa. Yèn Bapa suba maan malali, patunina nasiné.<sup>182</sup>  
 1545 PANASAR: Uh!  
 1546 VILLAGE ELDER: Yèn suba Bapa maan malali ka désa-désa, patunina nasiné.  
 1547 PANASAR: Dadi apa, sayur? Liu ajengan?  
 1548 VILLAGE ELDER: Sing nasiné ajaka béé patunina.  
 1549 PANASAR: Patunina, kènkèn ené?  
 1550 VILLAGE ELDER: Benehné jam sia, jam pitu nasié!  
 1551 PANASAR: Yéé!  
 1552 VILLAGE ELDER: Ané pamekas, ngudiang lèn satuaé?  
 1553 PANASAR: Yé! Kènkèn? Kènkèn?  
 1554 VILLAGE ELDER: Bapa kanikang antuk Ida Dalem, Pan Cening.  
 1555 PANASAR: Aa.  
 1556 VILLAGE ELDER: Dukuhé ané mula ngukuhin, kètuwanga nyaman Bapané. Ané jani karyaé naur sasangié.  
 1557 PANASAR: Ah! Ento pesan suba.  
 1558 VILLAGE ELDER: Sing nyen dadi Ida Déwagung lipia.  
 1559 PANASAR: Uh! Tekèn sasangié malu.  
 1560 VILLAGE ELDER: Suba telah puraé. Nganteg ka Sakènan, nganteg ka Pulaki. Nganteg dija Pura Dang Kahyangané, tunas icain Ida.<sup>183</sup>  
 1561  
 1562  
 1563  
 1564

<sup>181</sup> Jaminan is 'guarantee, assurance', but is used in Balinese as a modern word for the nutrient value of food. The nearest Balinese term is *sari*, which has quite different connotations and is a complicated term. When I asked for paraphrases, I was often given the English 'vitamin', which has entered the vocabulary via local health programmes. On *sari*, see Hobart 1987: 40-42)

<sup>182</sup> *Mapuasa* is 'to abstain from certain kinds of food', as opposed to *mabrata* which is to lay off certain foods for a short period, as on the advice of a local healer (*balian*).



- 1565 PANASAR: Naah!
- 1566 VILLAGE ELDER: Sagèt-sagèt disamping puriné di Guwa Lawah Ida nunas ica. Tur jani ada  
1567 putra suba ané madan duwur. Yèn saihang, suba ada limang tiban, yèn  
1568 cara Bali. Heh! Heh! Heh! Demen atin Bapané, apang ada buin pidan  
1569 ngentinin kaagungané di Nusa, kèto.
- 1570 PANASAR: Berek kèwehjié ngajak anak kéné ngomong. Jeg sing tawanga ngoyong.
- 1571 VILLAGE ELDER: Pan Cening. Bayué, sing nawang bayun anak seger?
- 1572 PANASAR: Uh! Kèto baan bayuné seger?
- 1573 VILLAGE ELDER: Bayun Bapaé tua kakéné.
- 1574 PANASAR: Eda patuhanga cang. Sing seger bayun cangé.
- 1575 VILLAGE ELDER: Beneh! Negak malu.
- 1576 PANASAR: Suba kèto?
- 1577 VILLAGE ELDER: Ida Padanda, cai caraka, suba mapuja, suba nangkil?
- 1578 PANASAR: Uh! Ida suba munggah?
- 1579 VILLAGE ELDER: Suba munggah ring Balé Pawèdan.
- 1580 PANASAR: Naah!
- 1581 VILLAGE ELDER: Jani, yèn dadi baan nunas sajeronang ngawèntenang yadnya.<sup>184</sup>
- 1582 PANASAR: Aa.
- 1583 VILLAGE ELDER: Jani, ada piceket uling di Jawatan. Bapan Cening kalawan Bapa sing  
1584 nyen dadi upacara di marajan, di Jeroan, I Umat dijaba pasaliwer.
- 1585 PANASAR: Uh!
- 1586 VILLAGE ELDER: Sing beneh kèto?
- 1587 PANASAR: Sakèng Pangemong Agama ada uger-uger.<sup>185</sup>
- 1588 VILLAGE ELDER: Ada uger-uger?
- 1589 PANASAR: Ada perintah apang iraga sregep seleg ngalaksanayang.
- 1590 VILLAGE ELDER: Apa buin jani, wewongkon karya nganteg ka Nusa, nyanggra karya  
1591 Panca Wali Krama bebutané, apang nyak luwung.
- 1592 PANASAR: Uh!
- 1593 VILLAGE ELDER: **Deniṅ** tanggalné laku teka purnama, karya Batara Turun Kabèh, apang  
1594 nyak luwung kenehé.
- 1595 PANASAR: Enah!
- 1596 VILLAGE ELDER: Mawinan Ida Déwagung naur sasangi jani, galahé luwung.
- 1597 PANASAR: Uh! Ida Peranda suba munggah.
- 1598 VILLAGE ELDER: Sampun.
- 1599 PANASAR: Aé!
- 1600 VILLAGE ELDER: Mawinan Bapan Cening jani jalan ka marajan, jalan ka, apa adané,  
1601 jeroan.
- 1602 PANASAR: Nyaksiang jani.
- 1603 VILLAGE ELDER: Nyakupang lima.
- 1604 PANASAR: Nah!
- 1605 VILLAGE ELDER: **Bhaktimārga, Karmamārga.**
- 1606 PANASAR: Nah!

<sup>183</sup> *Nganteg* is 'reach as far as, including, as far as'. The significance of its use in this sentence is discussed in the translation.

<sup>184</sup> For completeness one should add: *Sapunapi patutipun* 'whatever is appropriate'. *Sajeronang* or *sajeroning* here is 'while, during'.

<sup>185</sup> *Uger-uger* is most literally rendered as 'requirements, guidelines'. It is what is proper for people who belong to a given religion to do.

- 1607 VILLAGE ELDER: Jalan-jalan, laksanakan.  
 1608 PANASAR: Jalan-jalan, ènggalang.  
 1609 VILLAGE ELDER: Sakéwala kènè, kirang langkung nyen baan Bapa ngaraos ngajak Pan  
 1610 Wayan.  
 1611 PANASAR: Nah.  
 1612 VILLAGE ELDER: Eda nyen ento sangetanga.  
 1613 PANASAR: Enah!  
 1614 VILLAGE ELDER: Pamekas sing, Ida Déwagung Dalem mapaica apang pragatja naur  
 1615 sasangié ring Ida Sasuwunan di Dalem Mengwi.  
 1616 PANASAR: Pamekas apang sing enu macatet di kedituané, mutang.  
 1617 VILLAGE ELDER: Apang eda buin mani katanjung cokoré di jalan. Aduh! Kadèn ditu apang  
 1618 eda makadèn agamané bakat anggon makadèn kadèn.  
 1619 PANASAR: Jalan-jalan jani.  
 1620 VILLAGE ELDER: Jalan dabdabang matur ring Ida Dané, jalan apang eda kasèp.  
 1621 PANASAR: (*Makakawin*) **Oṃ, sēmbahniṅ anātha, tiṅhalana dé Trilokaśaraṇa.**<sup>186</sup>  
 1622 VILLAGE ELDER: Ento ramé di Jero, ramé.  
 1623 PANASAR: (*Sings kakawin*) **Wāhya (a)dhyātmika sēmbah iṅulun niṅ jēṅ tanana**  
 1624 **waneh.**  
 1625 VILLAGE ELDER: Pangacepé ring Ida Sang Hyang Widi Wasa, ané jani suba madan...  
 1626 PANASAR: Sakala niskala pangubaktin titiang, dumadak sampun kasaksinin  
 1627 panauran Ida Déwagung.  
 1628 VILLAGE ELDER: Aa.  
 1629 PANASAR: Duaning sampun manut kadi semayané.  
 1630 VILLAGE ELDER: **Tri Pinaka Sākṣi.**<sup>187</sup>  
 1631 PANASAR: Aa! Saksi geni.  
 1632 VILLAGE ELDER: Surya suba **pinaka** sinar agung.  
 1633 PANASAR: Nah!  
 1634 VILLAGE ELDER: Manusa masaksi suba masyarakat.  
 1635 PANASAR: Beneh.  
 1636 VILLAGE ELDER: Buta saksi galahé.  
 1637 PANASAR: Aa.  
 1638 VILLAGE ELDER: Yèning kèto, jalan.  
 1639 PANASAR: Ainggih! Wantah amunika. Kirang langkung nunas ampura.  
 1640

<sup>186</sup> O.J. **nātha** is 'lord, protector'; **trilokaśaraṇa** 'the protector of the three worlds'.

<sup>187</sup> On the use of **pinaka** here, see note.

# The Prince of Nusa Penida redeems his vow<sup>1</sup>

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

©Mark Hobart March 2008

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.<sup>1</sup> Often this was Old, or Middle, Javanese, or *kawi*.<sup>ii</sup>

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

<b>Ngakan Déwa Madé Sayang</b>	<b>Panasar</b>
<b>I Madé Butu Antara</b>	<b>Wijil and the minor roles</b>
<b>Ni Murdi</b>	<b>Mantri</b>
<b>I Midep</b>	<b>Liku</b>

## The characters in order of appearance:

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

---

<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>iii</sup>**

*(He suddenly notices the audience.)*

Oh! Good Heavens!<sup>2</sup> Welcome. May I beg the **forbearance**<sup>3</sup> of all of you who have been kind enough to come?<sup>iv</sup> 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.<sup>4v</sup> How are we to achieve this on the occasion of a religious ceremony like this?<sup>5</sup> Come, let us offer our faithful devotion together in order to ask for the grace of God.<sup>6</sup>

**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,<sup>7vi</sup> so that we can ensure that our artistic life continues to flourish. How do we do it?<sup>8</sup> What's the way to bring it about?

<sup>2</sup> 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*).

<sup>3</sup> **Pangakṣaman** is literally patience, forbearance or forgiveness (from Skt. **kṣama**), which is how the older commentators translated it. However Ni Madé Pujawati and I Nengah Susila, a younger generation of performers, both immediately glossed it as 'welcome', which is the sense that it has come to have. This is a good example of how Balinese often translate or interpret according to use rather than etymology.

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> The designation of Divinity as 'most excellent' **paramawiṣeṣa** 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.

<sup>7</sup> 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 agentic: it indicates watching out for what one needs or should need and the steps one should take to fulfil that need.

<sup>8</sup> 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'.

(For instance) it's kind of you to put on this play.<sup>vii</sup> Also, Ladies and Gentlemen, it's good of you to come and watch, **because** if we ourselves aren't going to appreciate and look after the arts, who else are we to tell to do so?<sup>9</sup>

That's the reason that guests now come here; that tourists come from all over the world.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>viii</sup> (*He starts singing a nonsense song, playing on words which end in 'èk'.*)

35

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.<sup>ix</sup>

*(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.<sup>x</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> There was said to be a difference here between the purpose, *tetujon*, and the point, *tetuwek*, 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.

<sup>10</sup> 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.

<sup>11</sup> 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.

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!<sup>xi</sup>

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!<sup>12</sup>

55

(*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.<sup>xii</sup>

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?<sup>13xiii</sup>

PANASAR: Yes.

WIJIL: But it's a case of the visible and invisible.<sup>14xiv</sup>

PANASAR: Why's it visible... (and invisible)?<sup>xv</sup>

WIJIL: The electricity's dead!

PANASAR: Huh!

WIJIL: This is a sign of the visible and invisible.<sup>xvi</sup>

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.<sup>15</sup>

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!<sup>16</sup>

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.

<sup>12</sup> 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.

<sup>13</sup> 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.

<sup>14</sup> 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.

<sup>15</sup> *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.

- WIJIL: The electricity's just gone off. Our revered lord – what do you call him, the boss – here is running all over the place.<sup>17</sup> '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!<sup>18</sup> (*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?<sup>19</sup>
- WIJIL: Only just remembered when the play began to bring in coffee for the musicians.<sup>20</sup> So that's how they do things here.<sup>21</sup> Look, isn't it odd.
- PANASAR: What is?
- WIJIL: The black stuff.<sup>22</sup>
- 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.<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> '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 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.

<sup>17</sup> 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.

<sup>18</sup> 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.

<sup>19</sup> 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.

<sup>20</sup> 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.

<sup>21</sup> '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.'

<sup>22</sup> I.e. the coffee in the glasses.

<sup>23</sup> 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.

- PANASAR: *(To one of the players sitting to the front of the orchestra.)* Have your coffee first, Handsome.<sup>24</sup> Now, don't be shy, get a move on. That's right!<sup>25</sup>
- WIJIL: People are usually shy when they meet girls.<sup>26xvii</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup> Oh dear, brother. He keeps on weeping; he keeps on running around all over the place in search of a way out.<sup>28</sup>
- 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**?<sup>29</sup>
- PANASAR: 'Tut!
- 100 WIJIL: Yes! Yes! Yes!
- PANASAR: One can't fault our great *Sovereign*.<sup>30xviii</sup> 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?<sup>31</sup>
- PANASAR: That's so.
- WIJIL: For twenty years he didn't have a haircut.<sup>32</sup>
- 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.<sup>33</sup> He looked after all the shrines.

<sup>24</sup> '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.

<sup>25</sup> *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.

<sup>26</sup> 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.

<sup>27</sup> 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).

<sup>28</sup> *Kabèrè-bèrè* suggests being in a constant state of suffering and striving the whole time to escape from it.

<sup>29</sup> **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?).

<sup>30</sup> **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'.

<sup>31</sup> Kt. Sutatemaja volunteered the view that, from the context, this was not a marriage of mutual attraction, but that the village head, *Bendésa*, 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.

<sup>32</sup> 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.



PANASAR: (He prayed) everywhere he thought there might be powerful deities.<sup>34</sup>

(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.<sup>35</sup> Come on, let's get our act together and get the plot moving, so that the musicians don't get bored.<sup>36</sup>

PANASAR: Yes.

WIJIL: Get cracking!

PANASAR: 'Tut! Get cracking!

WIJIL: Yes!

PANASAR: 'Tut, 'Tut!

WIJIL: What, me? Me? Me?

PANASAR: Huh!<sup>37</sup>

WIJIL: Yes!

PANASAR: Don't stray far.<sup>38</sup>

WIJIL: What's that?

PANASAR: Don't go far.

WIJIL: (*Looking round in the direction of the food stalls.*) There aren't any. None.<sup>39</sup>

PANASAR: What aren't there?

WIJIL: Where are the rice cakes?<sup>40</sup>

<sup>33</sup> 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. 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.

<sup>34</sup> 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.

<sup>35</sup> 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.

<sup>36</sup> 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.

<sup>37</sup> While this might seem repetitive to English ears, the commentators regarded this as a *penyeken raos*, an affirmation of what was said.

<sup>38</sup> 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.

<sup>39</sup> 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).

<sup>40</sup> *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,*

- PANASAR: What's that about rice cakes?<sup>41</sup>
- 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?<sup>42</sup>
- 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?<sup>43xix</sup>
- 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.<sup>44</sup>
- 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.<sup>45</sup>
- PANASAR: Let's get ready.
- WIJIL: Ah!

---

*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.*  
 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*).

<sup>41</sup> The Panasar at once confirms what Wijil said and veers the subject away, so that the reference stays oblique.

<sup>42</sup> 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.

<sup>43</sup> 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.

<sup>44</sup> Nothing I can do is right. It seems I have even put out the lights.

<sup>45</sup> He reverses the words for a laugh.

- PANASAR: Get ready.  
 WIJIL: What?  
 PANASAR: Get ready.  
 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.<sup>46</sup> We've only just arrived. My Lord, I beg your permission, how many dances were there before we began?<sup>47</sup> A few, only eight! Good heavens! We've been dressed up since nine o'clock.<sup>48</sup> It was terribly painful. Let's not talk about that.<sup>49</sup> You know how happy I am, brother?<sup>50</sup>
- PANASAR: (*Jokingly.*) No, I don't.  
 WIJIL: The musicians have only just stopped now.<sup>51</sup>  
 PANASAR: Oh! Why's that so?<sup>52</sup>  
 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?<sup>53</sup>

<sup>46</sup> 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.

<sup>47</sup> 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.

<sup>48</sup> 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.

<sup>49</sup> 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.

<sup>50</sup> It is deliberately ambiguous whether he is referring to the pleasures of performing in Tengahpadang or of being a servant in Nusa.

<sup>51</sup> In fact they had stopped at his signal earlier. It heralds a new attack on the organizers.

<sup>52</sup> 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'.

<sup>53</sup> Yet another reaffirmation through a rhetorical question.

- 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!
- PANASAR: (*They start a section of moral advice (ngalèmèkin)*). It's sort of a proof of '**Unity and Conformity**'.<sup>54</sup>
- 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.**<sup>55</sup>
- WIJIL: Everyone who is ruled by Sri Aji Palaka in the land of Nusa is free to follow their own religion.<sup>56</sup>
- 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.<sup>57</sup>
- 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'.<sup>58xx</sup>
- PANASAR: That's so.
- WIJIL: (*He starts a folk etymological analysis of the word upacara, 'rites'.*) What's the significance of *upa*?<sup>59xxi</sup>
- PANASAR: What does that mean?

<sup>54</sup> *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.

<sup>55</sup> Kt. Sutatemaja 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.

<sup>56</sup> 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.

<sup>57</sup> The term the actors used was *tattwa* (q.v.) which tends to be glossed in Indonesian as *filosofat*, '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.

<sup>58</sup> 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.

<sup>59</sup> 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'.

- 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.<sup>60</sup>
- PANASAR: Oh!
- 200 WIJIL: This is the reason there are acts of worship.<sup>61</sup> That is what religion in Nusa is about. We are both astonished at – what do you call it? – at our Lord's organizational expertise.<sup>xxii</sup> Acts of worship have their **origin in the Three Obligations**.<sup>62</sup>
- 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**.<sup>63xxiii</sup>
- PANASAR: These three should properly be articulated.
- WIJIL: Properly be articulated with one another.<sup>64</sup>
- 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)?<sup>65</sup>
- 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.<sup>66</sup>
- PANASAR: Our houses should also be built according to the proper requirements.<sup>67xxiv</sup>

---

<sup>60</sup> '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 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.

<sup>61</sup> *Yadnya*, which I have rendered as 'acts of worship' is a wide-ranging term see below.

<sup>62</sup> 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.

<sup>63</sup> The actors run rapidly through three different tripartite classifications, almost as if they were transformations of one another. They only develop the third briefly.

<sup>64</sup> Wijil re-affirms (*ngawiaktiang*) the truth of what the Panasar has said.

<sup>65</sup> 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.

<sup>66</sup> The **Tri Parhyayan** was the subject of a religious television programme broadcast in July 1991, which took an identical, but more expanded, reading.

WIJIL: There is another one after that. There is **the populace**, in other words human beings. They should behave appropriately to the **human condition**.<sup>68xxv</sup> Just so you and I...(know). Dear! Oh, dear!<sup>69</sup>

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.<sup>70</sup> 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?<sup>71</sup>

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.*)<sup>xxvi</sup> Do not let your contributions flag.<sup>72</sup>

PANASAR: **Truth always triumphs in the end.**<sup>73</sup>

<sup>67</sup> *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).

<sup>68</sup> 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.

<sup>69</sup> 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.

<sup>70</sup> *Matur* is the proper term for calling to wake someone eminent up, or disturbing them, before actually addressing them.

<sup>71</sup> 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.

<sup>72</sup> *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.

<sup>73</sup> 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.

*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.<sup>74</sup>
- 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,<sup>75</sup> we still have a chance to discuss religion, because life is **based** on religion.'<sup>76</sup>
- PANASAR: All life is merely a brief flash.
- WIJIL: Only that.
- PANASAR: So that it shouldn't be in vain, learn what's good.<sup>77</sup> 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?<sup>xxvii</sup>
- 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?<sup>78</sup>
- WIJIL: 'Don't fool around when working. Don't listen to idle speech (denigrating the importance of performing ceremonies).<sup>79</sup> 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.

<sup>74</sup> 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.

<sup>75</sup> 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.

<sup>76</sup> *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'.

<sup>77</sup> 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.

<sup>78</sup> The Panasar acts as if it is Wijil who is speaking to him, not as paraphrasing his master's words.

<sup>79</sup> 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.

(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.  
 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.'<sup>xxviii</sup>  
 WIJIL: Didn't they just perform that during the New Year ceremony?<sup>80</sup>  
 PANASAR: Yes.  
 WIJIL: There is also **Pañca Wali Krama**. That's the turn of the ghosts.<sup>81</sup>  
 PANASAR: The sequence of worship.  
 WIJIL: Ceremonies to spirits.  
 PANASAR: Which are offered?  
 WIJIL: Before worshipping gods. The rite of **All the Gods Descend**<sup>82</sup> is concerned with the **prosperity** of the country.<sup>83</sup> 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.<sup>xxix</sup>  
 PANASAR: So that the world will be in peace.  
 WIJIL: That is why you offer them tribute.<sup>xxx</sup>  
 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**.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>80</sup> 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.

<sup>81</sup> **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.

<sup>82</sup> **Batara Turun Kabeh**.

<sup>83</sup> 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).



- PANASAR: That's true. It isn't mistaken.<sup>85</sup>
- SRI AJI PALAKA: In the world, effort can bring about **good deeds**.<sup>86</sup> The manifest and non-manifest worlds are really (what is important).<sup>87</sup>
- 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'.<sup>88</sup>
- PANASAR: That's so.
- WIJIL: Ceremonies (to) the unseen world require effort first. You require good deeds first.<sup>89</sup>
- 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**.<sup>90</sup>
- WIJIL: Of course.
- PANASAR: He should work to bring about order, so that the world may attain a state of 'tranquillity'.<sup>91</sup>
- 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.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>84</sup> 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.

<sup>85</sup> The Panasar confirms Wijil's comment.

<sup>86</sup> This sentence caused the commentators difficulty because they did not know what **añerti** 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'.

<sup>87</sup> Recognition of the difference between and inseparability of the two realms is what are really important.

<sup>88</sup> 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.

<sup>89</sup> You cannot perform ceremonies without work first! The commentators reckoned that there is the additional implication of people needing to work well together in *kèrtian*.

<sup>90</sup> 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.

<sup>91</sup> 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.

<sup>92</sup> 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: 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.**
- 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.'<sup>93</sup>
- 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.<sup>94</sup>
- WIJIL: When taking on such work, you need to be **thoughtful**.<sup>95</sup> To be efficacious (one must fit in with) the place, occasion and circumstance.<sup>96</sup>
- PANASAR: With the circumstances.
- SRI AJI PALAKA: **The high priests** also take part.<sup>97</sup>
- WIJIL: Yes. That's as it should be.
- PANASAR: (*Sings*) (If led effectively) **the populace** will be prepared to participate.<sup>98xxx</sup>
- SRI AJI PALAKA: (*Sings but inaudibly*)<sup>99</sup>
- 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**.<sup>100</sup>
- 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.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>93</sup> That is all the people, without reckoning division by caste or superiority.

<sup>94</sup> The term here is *niwakang* on which see the endnote on stages of organizing major undertakings.

<sup>95</sup> 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.

<sup>96</sup> 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.

<sup>97</sup> **Sang Putus** is one who has reached close to perfection, an expression which the commentators identified with Brahmana high priests, *Padanda*.

<sup>98</sup> 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.

<sup>99</sup> 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.

<sup>100</sup> 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.

<sup>101</sup> Sosial connotes 'charitable, without thinking of the cost to oneself, working for common good'.

- PANASAR: Yes, and third?
- 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.<sup>102xxxii</sup>
- 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.<sup>103</sup>
- PANASAR: Whoever you talk it over with (will say the same). Isn't that so?
- WIJIL: Ask! That is why we ask.<sup>104</sup>
- 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.<sup>105</sup>
- 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.<sup>106</sup>
- PANASAR: Yes.
- WIJIL: This is when you should **gather your thoughts**.
- PANASAR: That's right! That's right!<sup>107</sup>
- 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).<sup>108</sup>
- PANASAR: (*He sings*) **Noble Lord who is like Pañji in inspiring affection**.<sup>109</sup> (*He stops singing.*) *Heavens!* M'lord, my revered prince. Why are you up so early like

<sup>102</sup> 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*).

<sup>103</sup> 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.

<sup>104</sup> That is why one should ask, so we (and, by inference, the audience) can understand what lies behind performing rites.

<sup>105</sup> The point (*tetuwek*) is that one should direct one's thoughts to the practice of religion.

<sup>106</sup> **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.

<sup>107</sup> 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.

<sup>108</sup> 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.

- 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.**<sup>xxxiii</sup>
- WIJIL: Uh! My dear chap. My dear chap.
- PANASAR: (*He sings*) **There is no one who is constantly happy (or good).**<sup>xxxiv</sup>
- WIJIL: That's true. Just like the saying.<sup>xxxv</sup>
- 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.<sup>110</sup>
- 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.<sup>111</sup> '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.<sup>112</sup>
- WIJIL: That's right. That's right.
- PANASAR: 'The reason they say things change about, my good man, is my own misery before.'<sup>xxxvi</sup>
- 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.**<sup>xxxvii</sup>
- SRI AJI PALAKA: Accept the grace of God.<sup>113</sup>
- 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.'

<sup>109</sup> 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 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.

<sup>110</sup> 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.

<sup>111</sup> An illustration is the way that night and day succeed one another.

<sup>112</sup> His own torment at not begetting a son is used as an example (*kanggiang conto*) q.v.

<sup>113</sup> 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.

- SRI AJI PALAKA: There is someone **as** successor **for the long-term future**.<sup>114</sup>
- PANASAR: My dear chap! This is because of the grace of the god in the Bat Cave...<sup>115</sup>
- 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.<sup>116</sup>
- PANASAR: That's correct.
- WIJIL: He prayed (at all the main temples), but did not think of asking at the nearest temple.<sup>117</sup> Don't blame yourself for any failure which might have caused it.<sup>118</sup>
- 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**.<sup>119xxxviii</sup>
- 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.<sup>120</sup>
- 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.<sup>121</sup>
- 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.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>114</sup> 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.

<sup>115</sup> 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.

<sup>116</sup> This the second occurrence of the expression *telah puraé*, the temples were finished, see above.

<sup>117</sup> I.e. Gua Lelawah.

<sup>118</sup> 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.

<sup>119</sup> *Kadi anggan Ida* is 'like him, in his image'. This is *nyinggihang*, elevating the person referred to.

<sup>120</sup> As Ktut Sutatemaja put it: one cannot ask a god for a cigarette, or to excuse errors.

<sup>121</sup> Wijil uses the term *isin gumi* 'the contents of the world', i.e. both male(s) and female(s).

- WIJIL: Your good lady?<sup>123</sup>  
 PANASAR: That's right.<sup>124</sup>  
 WIJIL: Huh!  
 SRI AJI PALAKA: I am startled by a faint sound.<sup>125</sup>  
 PANASAR: Listen.  
 LUH WEDANI: (*She sings loudly from offstage.*) Husband husband, husband husband husband, husband husband husband, husband, husband husbaaand.<sup>126</sup>  
 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.<sup>127</sup>  
 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.<sup>128</sup>  
 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'<sup>129</sup>. 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.<sup>130</sup>  
 WIJIL: It's a good mate of yours, is it?<sup>131</sup>  
 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.<sup>132</sup>  
 WIJIL: Eh! Who?  
 PANASAR: A friend from Kèndran, I think.  
 WIJIL: Aah! A girl friend!<sup>133</sup>

<sup>122</sup> The Panasar is deliberately ambiguous so as to set up a joke for Wijil.

<sup>123</sup> 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?

<sup>124</sup> The punch line to this comes slightly later.

<sup>125</sup> The seeming oxymoron is part of setting the scene for the far-from-faint entrance of the *Liku*, Luh Wedani.

<sup>126</sup> 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.

<sup>127</sup> She sounds like an itinerant oil seller calling out her wares – 'oil, oil' (from *beli* → *oli*, oil).

<sup>128</sup> 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.

<sup>129</sup> 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').

<sup>130</sup> The prince acts as if it couldn't be his wife, because she is calling out '*beli*' publicly.

<sup>131</sup> 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.

<sup>132</sup> 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.*<sup>134</sup>
- 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.<sup>135xxxxix</sup>
- 452 PANASAR: Oh! Is it a vendor coming?<sup>136</sup>
- WIJIL: Ah!
- PANASAR: What sort of vendor?
- WIJIL: Who knows?
- SRI AJI PALAKA: I think you bought your headdress on credit.<sup>137</sup>
- WIJIL: Oh dear!
- PANASAR: It could be, too.
- WIJIL: How come?

<sup>133</sup> 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.

<sup>134</sup> 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.

<sup>135</sup> 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.

<sup>136</sup> The Panasar returns to the previous theme.

<sup>137</sup> 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.<sup>138</sup>
- WIJIL: She's yelling her head off, it's (like) nothing other than...<sup>139</sup>
- 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.<sup>140</sup>
- WIJIL: Wow! Good Lord!
- PANASAR: What's that?
- WIJIL: What she said was 'hubby, hubby, come and 'ive me one'.<sup>141</sup> What sort of language is that do you think? Snake speech?<sup>142</sup>
- 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!<sup>143</sup>
- 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.*)

<sup>138</sup> 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.

<sup>139</sup> 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.

<sup>140</sup> 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.

<sup>141</sup> 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.

<sup>142</sup> The commentators considered this simply a jocular reference and were not aware of it having any further significance.

<sup>143</sup> *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.<sup>144</sup>  
 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?<sup>144</sup>
- 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)'.<sup>145</sup>
- 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.<sup>146</sup>
- WIJIL: Yes! If I were talked about as if I were a stone.<sup>147</sup> Oh dear! Brother.  
 PANASAR: 'Tut, 'Tut!  
 WIJIL: What, me?  
 PANASAR: If (only) I could – what d'ya call it? – get out of it all.<sup>148</sup>  
 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?<sup>149</sup>  
 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!

<sup>144</sup> This is an oblique reference to the fact that Luh Wedani is being played by a male, which is evident from her voice.

<sup>145</sup> 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.

<sup>146</sup> 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.

<sup>147</sup> The point is that one shouldn't say Luh Wedani is ugly, but should praise her.

<sup>148</sup> He wants to leave his service at the court (*mapamit sakèng puri*) because his mistress is awful.

<sup>149</sup> 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!<sup>150</sup>
- 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?<sup>151</sup>
- 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.<sup>152</sup>
- 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.<sup>153</sup>
- WIJIL: We're ready, we're ready.

<sup>150</sup> In other words, you are getting no work done, just gossiping and complaining about me.

<sup>151</sup> 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.

<sup>152</sup> 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.

<sup>153</sup> 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.<sup>154</sup>
- 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.<sup>155</sup>
- 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.<sup>156</sup>
- 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.<sup>157</sup>

<sup>154</sup> His torch is a reference to his penis, which she claims she can see, although she is still completely behind the curtain.

<sup>155</sup> The term is for the mallet of a small gong, *kempluk* or *tawa-tawa*, used in *Jangèr* and now in other gamelan.

<sup>156</sup> What are you talking about. How could you see anything?

<sup>157</sup> 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...<sup>158</sup>
- PANASAR: Wow! Why's there that weird noise? Come on. You can do better than that.<sup>159</sup>
- 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!<sup>160</sup>

*(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.<sup>161</sup>
- 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.

<sup>158</sup> 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'.

<sup>159</sup> 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.

<sup>160</sup> 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).

<sup>161</sup> 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.<sup>162</sup>  
 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.<sup>163</sup>  
 PANASAR: Does he?  
 LUH WEDANI: Huh.  
 PANASAR: He often comes over all peculiar.<sup>164</sup>  
 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.<sup>165</sup>  
 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.

<sup>162</sup> 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.

<sup>163</sup> 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.

<sup>164</sup> 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.

<sup>165</sup> 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!<sup>166</sup>
- 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.<sup>167</sup>
- 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?<sup>168</sup>
- PANASAR: M'lady is too tall. How can I put it in, the flowers that is?<sup>169</sup>
- WIJIL: Lower, Mum, bend lower.
- 650 PANASAR: I beg permission most humbly. Where do I put it? Here?<sup>170</sup>
- LUH WEDANI: Yes! Just look around there, it's there somewhere, push it aside, you know.<sup>171</sup>
- PANASAR: Push it aside, what am I to push aside?
- LUH WEDANI: Oh! Look for it there. You just stand there talking.

<sup>166</sup> This sets up the next obscene joke which start to develop two lines later.

<sup>167</sup> 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.

<sup>168</sup> 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'.

<sup>169</sup> 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.

<sup>170</sup> 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.

<sup>171</sup> 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.<sup>172</sup>  
 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.<sup>173</sup>  
 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*'?<sup>174</sup>  
 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'.<sup>175</sup>  
 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.<sup>176</sup>  
 WIJIL: It's the first time I've ever heard of having your mouth massaged. That's getting your categories confused, that is.<sup>177</sup>  
 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?<sup>178</sup> 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.

<sup>172</sup> The sexual innuendo should be obvious.

<sup>173</sup> 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.

<sup>174</sup> *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).

<sup>175</sup> Everyone speaks of 'Berek dèn' except the Panasar who uses the correct English here.

<sup>176</sup> This exchange is conducted in the language of the garage and repair shop.

<sup>177</sup> *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'.

<sup>178</sup> 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.<sup>179</sup>
- LUH WEDANI: It's true. Where do you think your ancestors have ever managed to find a peaceful resting place?<sup>180xi</sup>
- WIJIL: Hey, now!
- PANASAR: Wow! Just take that in.<sup>181</sup>
- 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.<sup>182</sup> 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.<sup>183</sup>
- 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...<sup>184</sup>
- 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.<sup>185</sup>
- 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?

<sup>179</sup> According to the commentators his point is 'Careful. Do you really want her to make her so angry?'

<sup>180</sup> Because of your appalling behaviour, your dead relatives are probably all suffering in the underworld (*kasangsaraan*).

<sup>181</sup> I.e. Just realize how angry she is.

<sup>182</sup> 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.

<sup>183</sup> *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.

<sup>184</sup> 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.

<sup>185</sup> 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.<sup>186</sup>
- 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.<sup>187</sup>

*(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!<sup>188</sup>

<sup>186</sup> 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*).

<sup>187</sup> 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.

<sup>188</sup> *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.<sup>189</sup>  
 PANASAR: Heavens! (Anyway) the drummer's got four eyes.<sup>190</sup>  
 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...<sup>191</sup>  
 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*.<sup>192xliii</sup>  
 PANASAR: Oh yes.  
 WIJIL: I'm accompanying you.

<sup>189</sup> *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.

<sup>190</sup> 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.

<sup>191</sup> 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'.

<sup>192</sup> 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.<sup>193</sup>  
 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.<sup>194</sup>  
 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.)*<sup>xliii</sup> I really just wanted to dance. *Plak! Gerès!* Oh dear, brother!<sup>195</sup>  
 LUH WEDANI: *(In disbelief)* Huh! I only hit you lightly. And that caused all this?  
 PANASAR: You can't dance, can you?<sup>196</sup>

<sup>193</sup> 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.

<sup>194</sup> 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.

<sup>195</sup> *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.*<sup>197</sup>  
 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).<sup>198</sup> 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'.<sup>199</sup>  
 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).<sup>200</sup>  
 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.

<sup>196</sup> 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.

<sup>197</sup> 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.

<sup>198</sup> This is *raos tugak*, 'interrupted speech', even if he does it to himself.

<sup>199</sup> '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'.

<sup>200</sup> 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.<sup>201</sup> Do you want to be impudent to me? Look how many members of the orchestra are wearing blue.<sup>202</sup>
- 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.<sup>203</sup>
- 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.<sup>204xliiv</sup>
- WIJIL: Brother! Listen, this is turning into a Women's Family Welfare lecture. That's what it is.<sup>205</sup>
- PANASAR: (What's) *Pañca*?
- WIJIL: Five!

<sup>201</sup> 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.

<sup>202</sup> 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.

<sup>203</sup> A playful slap on a woman's thigh is often used by a male as an invitation to have sex.

<sup>204</sup> 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.

<sup>205</sup> 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.<sup>206</sup>  
 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.<sup>207</sup>  
 WIJIL: Oh! Lord!  
 PANASAR: Because the Five Principles triumphed.  
 850 LUH WEDANI: In our religion you can find the **Five Beliefs**.<sup>208</sup>  
 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.<sup>209</sup>  
 WIJIL: **Wrongdoing**. The **Five Pandawa** defeated that too.<sup>210</sup>  
 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)!<sup>211</sup>  
 PANASAR: Oh dear! Huh! Beautiful! **The Five Beliefs**, The Five Pandawa, then south of my place lives Dadong Pañca!<sup>212</sup>  
 WIJIL: What about Dadong Pañca?  
 LUH WEDANI: Hasn't she got arcane powers?

<sup>206</sup> 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*.

<sup>207</sup> 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.

<sup>208</sup> See Endnote 44.

<sup>209</sup> **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 **adharna**.

<sup>210</sup> 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.

<sup>211</sup> 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.

<sup>212</sup> 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*.<sup>213</sup>  
 WIJIL: What? Was she making an offering?<sup>214xlv</sup>  
 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)!<sup>xlvi</sup>  
 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.<sup>215</sup>  
 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.<sup>216</sup>  
 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?<sup>217</sup>

<sup>213</sup> 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.

<sup>214</sup> 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).

<sup>215</sup> 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.

<sup>216</sup> This is an apparent non-sequitur, but she is briefly onto another referent of Ibu, 'mother'.

<sup>217</sup> 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.'<sup>218xlvii</sup>
- 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.<sup>219</sup>
- 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*

<sup>218</sup> 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 'symbol' (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'.

<sup>219</sup> 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.<sup>xlviii</sup>

PANASAR: All our leaders (who) are right...<sup>220</sup>

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.<sup>221</sup> (*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!<sup>222</sup> Go and try, if your thing is bent, you can't get it to work.<sup>223</sup>

WIJIL: Brother!

PANASAR: Oh dear! She's right though!

<sup>220</sup> 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.

<sup>221</sup> 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.

<sup>222</sup> 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.

<sup>223</sup> 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.<sup>224xlix</sup> 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.<sup>225</sup>
- WIJIL: Yes.
- PANASAR: But, if everything's always straight and unbending, that can cause problems too.<sup>226</sup>
- 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.<sup>227</sup>
- 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...<sup>228</sup>

<sup>224</sup> 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.

<sup>225</sup> 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.

<sup>226</sup> If a man goes out in public with an erection, that's problematic because it's both obvious and uncomfortable.

<sup>227</sup> It is true what I said was obscene, but I was just following you.

<sup>228</sup> 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.<sup>229</sup>
- WIJIL: Huh! Not so, yesterday I saw someone with gold rings on their toes.<sup>230</sup>  
 LUH WEDANI: Oh. That would be an ice-vendor, that would. Someone with a frozen brain.<sup>231</sup>
- 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.<sup>232</sup>  
 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.<sup>233</sup>
- 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!<sup>234</sup>

<sup>229</sup> 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.

<sup>230</sup> 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.

<sup>231</sup> 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.

<sup>232</sup> 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.

<sup>233</sup> 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.

<sup>234</sup> 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**.<sup>235</sup>
- 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?<sup>236</sup>
- 1000 LUH WEDANI: Me.
- WIJIL: Is there a 'Living Kitchen' programme?<sup>237</sup>
- LUH WEDANI: Me.
- WIJIL: Oh!
- LUH WEDANI: Mo.<sup>238</sup>
- WIJIL: Because...
- PANASAR: Everything.
- WIJIL: If it's (anything good) she says 'Me, Me'. If it's anything bad, it's 'Mo'.<sup>239</sup>
- 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.<sup>240</sup>

---

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.

<sup>235</sup> 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'.

<sup>236</sup> *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.

<sup>237</sup> 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 galangale, turmeric.

<sup>238</sup> Having used *Cang*, the low form of 'I' or 'me', she does a play on words, saying '*cung*' instead, which is a nonsense word.

<sup>239</sup> If it's bad it's nothing to do with her.

<sup>240</sup> 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.<sup>241</sup>
- LUH WEDANI: There is not a single plant in your house. People have reported you (and) Ma Bigbonce.<sup>242</sup>
- 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."<sup>243</sup>
- 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.<sup>244</sup>
- 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.<sup>245</sup>
- 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.<sup>246</sup>

---

*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.

<sup>241</sup> This is where the women's groups always meet to discuss and organize government approved projects.

<sup>242</sup> 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), teknyonyms 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.

<sup>243</sup> The *double entendre* which turns the final reported remark of the Panasar's wife into an obscene, but indirect, reference should be obvious.

<sup>244</sup> 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.

<sup>245</sup> This is another *double entendre*, *muncuk* is often used as the term for the head of the penis.

<sup>246</sup> 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.<sup>247</sup>
- 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...<sup>248</sup>
- 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.<sup>249</sup>
- 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."<sup>250</sup>
- PANASAR: Oh dear!  
 WIJIL: Huh! She has managed to get right down to basics.<sup>251</sup> Indeed, now we have done with what's wrong, what falls short, please Ma'am tell us about something edifying.<sup>252</sup>

---

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.

<sup>247</sup> 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**.

<sup>248</sup> 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.

<sup>249</sup> 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.

<sup>250</sup> 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'.

<sup>251</sup> He literally says that she has got right down to the roots in digging up (obscenities).

<sup>252</sup> 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.<sup>253</sup>
- WIJIL: Oh! What is that?
- LUH WEDANI: Multiple husbandry.
- PANASAR: What's Multiple (animal) husbandry?<sup>254</sup>
- WIJIL: Oh! Easy, just get a husband and recycle him.<sup>255</sup>
- 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.

<sup>253</sup> 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'.

<sup>254</sup> 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.

<sup>255</sup> 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.<sup>256</sup>
- WIJIL: Oh! That's what goes well together.
- LUH WEDANI: Don't plant one here, one there.<sup>257</sup>
- 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!<sup>258</sup>
- WIJIL: Oh! That's wrong! Beside the maize plants, rear chickens.<sup>259</sup>
- PANASAR: Wow!
- LUH WEDANI: The chickens have to be caged. I have organized everything. If you plant vanilla, the way people do now...<sup>260</sup>
- 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!<sup>261</sup>

<sup>256</sup> 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.

<sup>257</sup> The result will then be *magenep*, a broad mixture.

<sup>258</sup> 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.

<sup>259</sup> The results would be equally disastrous, because they will eat the maize too.

<sup>260</sup> 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.

<sup>261</sup> 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.<sup>262</sup> 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...<sup>263</sup>
- 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.<sup>264</sup>
- LUH WEDANI: My husband adores me.<sup>265</sup>
- 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?<sup>266</sup>
- 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...'<sup>267</sup>

---

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'.

<sup>262</sup> 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*).

<sup>263</sup> 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.

<sup>264</sup> He is affirming what she says (*ngawiaktiang*) and adding to whom these remarks are addressed, because she doesn't.

<sup>265</sup> *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.

<sup>266</sup> 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.

<sup>267</sup> 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...'<sup>268</sup>  
 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!<sup>268</sup>  
 PANASAR: Indeed!  
 WIJIL: (*He sings*) **Because this person is also excellent.**<sup>269</sup> **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...<sup>270ii</sup>  
 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.<sup>271</sup>  
 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.<sup>272</sup>  
 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...<sup>273</sup>  
 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!<sup>274</sup>

<sup>268</sup> His aim is to affirm (*ngawiaktiang*) what she says.

<sup>269</sup> Wy. Arka argued that humans are also excellent, not just Gods. So the statement is quite in order.

<sup>270</sup> 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*)?

<sup>271</sup> 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).

<sup>272</sup> If there is mutuality (*saling asah, saling asih, saling asuh*), this is the proper end result.

<sup>273</sup> 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.

<sup>274</sup> 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.<sup>275</sup>
- 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.<sup>276</sup>
- 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?<sup>liii</sup>

(*Sri Aji Palaka enters*)

- PANASAR: Who does Your Lordship think it is? It is your lady wife, who is like the full moon.<sup>277</sup>
- LUH WEDANI: Wow! My dear chap, I'm gob-smacked.<sup>278</sup>
- 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'.<sup>279</sup>

---

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.

<sup>275</sup> 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.

<sup>276</sup> 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.

<sup>277</sup> For once, the Panasar is praising (*ngajum*) his mistress, presumably because his lord and master is present.

<sup>278</sup> 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!<sup>280</sup>
- WIJIL: That's worth ninety percent.<sup>281</sup>
- LUH WEDANI: (*She sings and makes as if to collapse.*) Oh, I'm going to collapse...<sup>282</sup>
- 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**.<sup>283</sup>
- 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.<sup>284</sup>
- LUH WEDANI: What do you think it is? Ballet?<sup>285</sup>
- 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.<sup>286</sup>

<sup>279</sup> 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).

<sup>280</sup> 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.

<sup>281</sup> Wijil uses a classroom or game-show idiom to express his appreciation of I Midep's skill at turning his mistake to advantage.

<sup>282</sup> 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.

<sup>283</sup> 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*).

<sup>284</sup> 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.

<sup>285</sup> 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.

<sup>286</sup> 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.<sup>287</sup>

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'!<sup>288</sup>

WIJIL: How's that?

PANASAR: 'Please'. Like that. She blew it into my face.<sup>289</sup>

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.<sup>290</sup>

*(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!<sup>291</sup>

<sup>287</sup> 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.

<sup>288</sup> 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*.

<sup>289</sup> The Panasar's aim is that she should learn to say 'please', not to go around farting at people.

<sup>290</sup> He feels reassured by the prince having noticed and warned his wife that the servants must be properly cared for (*sayanganga*).

<sup>291</sup> 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.<sup>292</sup>
- PANASAR: Like a robot.
- SRI AJI PALAKA: Who has creamy white skin?<sup>293</sup>
- PANASAR: 'My dear, who has creamy white skin?'<sup>294</sup>
- 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.<sup>295</sup>
- 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.<sup>296</sup>
- 1250 SRI AJI PALAKA: Who has small plump breasts?<sup>297</sup>
- 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!<sup>298</sup>
- 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!<sup>299</sup>
- PANASAR: Hey! What do you think they are? Do you think your breasts are rice cakes?<sup>300</sup>
- SRI AJI PALAKA: Who has luxuriant hair?
- LUH WEDANI: Yes! Did you hear, Punta? Wheee! Did you hear that?<sup>301</sup>

---

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).

<sup>292</sup> 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.

<sup>293</sup> The prince is complimenting (*ngajum*) his wife.

<sup>294</sup> The Panasar paraphrases (*ngartiang*) the prince's words. This time, because they are in Balinese, what he says is almost identical to the prince.

<sup>295</sup> 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.

<sup>296</sup> 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.

<sup>297</sup> 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*).

<sup>298</sup> This is an extra-narrative reference to the fact that Luh Wedani is being played by a male.

<sup>299</sup> She leaves it deliciously unclear whether this was by her child or by Sri A. Palaka.

<sup>300</sup> 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?<sup>302</sup>
- 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.<sup>303</sup>
- PANASAR: Like clouds full of rain.
- LUH WEDANI: Husband, husband! Don't flatter me like that. If someone hears, I shall be embarrassed – geddit?<sup>304</sup>
- 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.<sup>305</sup> Hah! Her sarong is filthy dirty, her sash is torn, she's braless. And what do you do about it? Ha! Punta, Ha!<sup>306liv</sup>
- 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?

<sup>301</sup> 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.'

<sup>302</sup> 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*).

<sup>303</sup> 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*).

<sup>304</sup> 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.

<sup>305</sup> 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.

<sup>306</sup> 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.<sup>307</sup>
- 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.<sup>308</sup>
- 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?'<sup>309</sup> 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.<sup>310</sup>
- 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?<sup>311</sup>
- 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?

<sup>307</sup> 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.

<sup>308</sup> 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.

<sup>309</sup> *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.

<sup>310</sup> 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.

<sup>311</sup> 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.



- <sup>312</sup>WIJIL: Indeed.
- LUH WEDANI: Submit a letter of request!<sup>313</sup>
- WIJIL: Huh!
- LUH WEDANI: Second: be prepared to submit to a trial period of three months.<sup>314</sup>
- 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.<sup>315</sup>
- 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?<sup>316</sup>
- 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.'<sup>317</sup>
- 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?<sup>318</sup>
- 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?

<sup>312</sup> 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.

<sup>313</sup> 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.

<sup>314</sup> 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.

<sup>315</sup> 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.

<sup>316</sup> He uses the Balinese and Indonesian word *arti* here.

<sup>317</sup> She collapses the two simultaneous themes into the sexual. One should note though that, as usual, nothing explicitly indecent is said.

<sup>318</sup> 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.<sup>319</sup>  
 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.<sup>320</sup>  
 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.<sup>321</sup>  
 LUH WEDANI: You're an idiot.  
 SRI AJI PALAKA: This is of course what is most important in the world as it is nowadays.<sup>322</sup>  
 PANASAR: It is just as if the Goddess Sri were incarnate in M'lady.  
 LUH WEDANI: Do you know what makes me like Sri?<sup>323</sup>  
 PANASAR: What does?

<sup>319</sup> 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.

<sup>320</sup> 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.

<sup>321</sup> 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.

<sup>322</sup> 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.

<sup>323</sup> 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)*<sup>324</sup> 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.<sup>325</sup>

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!<sup>326</sup>

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.<sup>327lv</sup>

<sup>324</sup> The standard metre for Ginada is: 8a, 8i, 8a/o, 8u, 8a, 4i, 8a.

<sup>325</sup> 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.

<sup>326</sup> Fairly obviously the spectators can be read as obscene (*dados kabakta ka cabul*).

<sup>327</sup> 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.<sup>328</sup>
- PASEK BENDÉSA: Little one. If I'm not allowed to pound away...<sup>329</sup> 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...<sup>330</sup>
- PANASAR: Good Lord! You are quite right to mention this. My Lord, your minister has a reminder for you.<sup>331</sup>
- 1401 SRI AJI PALAKA: This is just the preamble.<sup>332</sup>
- 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.<sup>333</sup> (*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.

<sup>328</sup> 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.'

<sup>329</sup> 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.

<sup>330</sup> 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.

<sup>331</sup> The Panasar refers to the *Bendésa* as *paman* because he is also a *patih*, a minister of state.

<sup>332</sup> 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.

<sup>333</sup> 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**.<sup>334</sup> 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.<sup>335</sup> 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.<sup>336</sup>
- PANASAR: Indeed! It so happens that the temple festival is on now. My Lord will also be there.<sup>337</sup>
- 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.'<sup>338</sup>
- SRI AJI PALAKA: You should advise me of my every mistake.<sup>339</sup>

<sup>334</sup> 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.

<sup>335</sup> 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.

<sup>336</sup> 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.

<sup>337</sup> 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.

<sup>338</sup> *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.<sup>339</sup> 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.<sup>340</sup> 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.<sup>341</sup>
- 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.<sup>342</sup>

(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!<sup>343</sup>

<sup>339</sup> *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'.

<sup>340</sup> 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.

<sup>341</sup> 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.

<sup>342</sup> 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.

<sup>343</sup> In other words, someone who is on his last legs (*tongadi* or *kerā 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* → *kerā*. Monkey in Malay is kerā, which sounds like *kerā*, '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?<sup>344</sup>  
 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.<sup>345</sup>  
 OLD VILLAGER: Also it is very different, now that for the first time they have a son.<sup>346</sup>  
 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.<sup>347</sup>  
 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?<sup>348</sup>  
 PANASAR: Yes.  
 OLD VILLAGER: I wouldn't want it thought that I, as his subject, did not appreciate our master's beneficence.<sup>349</sup>  
 PANASAR: Yes! That's how it should be.<sup>350</sup>  
 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...'**<sup>351</sup>

<sup>344</sup> Because he is such an ancient villager, he does not know what electricity is.

<sup>345</sup> 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.

<sup>346</sup> The old villager's use of Indonesian is aimed at raising a laugh at such an old man using the new national language.

<sup>347</sup> 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').

<sup>348</sup> 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'.

<sup>349</sup> He says this to show that, although he is old and decrepit, he still wishes to perform service for his master.

<sup>350</sup> The implication is that all the prince's subjects feel that way.

<sup>351</sup> 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!<sup>352</sup>

OLD VILLAGER: That's so, my friend. I shall die in due course.<sup>353</sup>

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.<sup>354</sup>

PANASAR: Right! (*To the old villager.*) Call the elder so that he can take part in witnessing the payment of the vow. Right now!<sup>355</sup> (*The old villager exits wagging 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! Wagging 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.<sup>356</sup>

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.*)<sup>357</sup>

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*.

<sup>352</sup> 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*).

<sup>353</sup> In other words though, he plans to live for a long time still.

<sup>354</sup> 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*.

<sup>355</sup> 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.

<sup>356</sup> See the endnote on *brapayas*.

<sup>357</sup> 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?<sup>358lvii</sup>
- 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.<sup>359</sup>
- PANASAR: Oops! Who are you anyway?
- VILLAGE ELDER: I'm a Dukuh from Sakènan.<sup>360</sup>
- PANASAR: Oh!
- VILLAGE ELDER: My relatives live in Pecatu, by Uluwatu, in Kedongan. The reason I have relations in Paguyungan is that...<sup>361</sup>
- PANASAR: Oh! You were from Sakènan originally?<sup>362</sup>
- 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.<sup>363</sup>
- PANASAR: Oh! They you moved to Nusa?<sup>364</sup>
- 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.<sup>365lviii</sup>

<sup>358</sup> 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.

<sup>359</sup> 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.

<sup>360</sup> The elder replies by giving his descent group and place of origin.

<sup>361</sup> 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.

<sup>362</sup> 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.

<sup>363</sup> 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.

<sup>364</sup> 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*).

<sup>365</sup> 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.<sup>366</sup> 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.<sup>367</sup>
- 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.<sup>368</sup>
- 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.<sup>369</sup>

---

'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.

<sup>366</sup> 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.

<sup>367</sup> 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!

<sup>368</sup> 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.

<sup>369</sup> 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).<sup>370</sup>
- PANASAR: What did you eat, vegetables? Was there much to eat?<sup>371</sup>
- VILLAGE ELDER: We were never short of rice or meat.<sup>372</sup>
- 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!<sup>373</sup>
- PANASAR: Ha!
- VILLAGE ELDER: Above all, what were we talking about?<sup>374</sup>
- 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...<sup>375</sup>
- PANASAR: Ah! What you say is most (appropriate).<sup>376</sup>
- VILLAGE ELDER: It's important His Majesty does not forget.
- PANASAR: Ah! About his earlier promise.<sup>377</sup>

---

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).

<sup>370</sup> 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.

<sup>371</sup> 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.

<sup>372</sup> 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 avoid giving offence. Any sensed slights or inadequacies would otherwise be repaid by public humiliation when they performed.

<sup>373</sup> 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*).

<sup>374</sup> This signals that they are speaking seriously (*kaseken*) about the main plot again after ridiculing (*gagonjakan*) the organizers.

<sup>375</sup> On *ngukuhin* 'to underpin, support', see above.

<sup>376</sup> 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,<sup>lix</sup> including Sakènan, including Pulaki. He had prayed everywhere, as far as all the temples of the *Dang Kahyangan*.<sup>378lx</sup>
- 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.<sup>379</sup>
- 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?<sup>380</sup>
- PANASAR: Oh! Has he mounted (his dais)?<sup>381</sup>
- VILLAGE ELDER: He has ascended into the *Balé Pawédan*.<sup>382</sup>
- PANASAR: Ah!
- VILLAGE ELDER: Now I can only pray that everything (goes well), while they are performing the ceremony.<sup>383</sup>
- PANASAR: Yes.

<sup>377</sup> 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*).

<sup>378</sup> 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.

<sup>379</sup> 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.

<sup>380</sup> 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.

<sup>381</sup> The Panasar suddenly realizes how late it has become while chatting.

<sup>382</sup> 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*.

<sup>383</sup> 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.<sup>384</sup>
- 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.<sup>385</sup>
- 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.<sup>386</sup>
- PANASAR: Oh yes!
- VILLAGE ELDER: That is why His Majesty is fulfilling his promise now. It's a suitable opportunity.<sup>387</sup>
- PANASAR: Oh! The High Priest has indeed mounted his dais.<sup>388</sup>
- 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.<sup>389</sup>
- VILLAGE ELDER: And put our hands together (in prayer).
- PANASAR: Yes!
- VILLAGE ELDER: **The path of devotion, the path of action.**<sup>390</sup>

<sup>384</sup> 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.

<sup>385</sup> 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.

<sup>386</sup> 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'.

<sup>387</sup> 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 Durbingin. 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.

<sup>388</sup> The Panasar is stating what is the case (*ngaraosang sané wiakti*).

<sup>389</sup> 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.<sup>391</sup>
- 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.<sup>392</sup>
- 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).<sup>393</sup>
- 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.**<sup>394</sup>
- 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.**<sup>395</sup>
- VILLAGE ELDER: Let us concentrate our thoughts on God, now that we can be said to be ...(finished).

<sup>390</sup> 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.

<sup>391</sup> 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.

<sup>392</sup> It is the troupe who are the means to the fulfilment of the promise.

<sup>393</sup> 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*.

<sup>394</sup> 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.

<sup>395</sup> 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).<sup>396</sup>
- VILLAGE ELDER: Yes.
- PANASAR: Because it is appropriate according to the promise.<sup>397</sup>
- VILLAGE ELDER: **The Three Who Act as Witnesses.**<sup>398</sup>
- 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.<sup>399</sup>

<sup>396</sup> 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.

<sup>397</sup> 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.

<sup>398</sup> 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.

<sup>399</sup> 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'.

---

<sup>i</sup> **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.

<sup>ii</sup> For book outline what Balinese understand by *kawi*.

<sup>iii</sup> The song was paraphrased (*kaartiāng* 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.

<sup>iv</sup> 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').

<sup>v</sup> 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.

<sup>vi</sup> 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.

<sup>vii</sup> 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.

<sup>viii</sup> 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.

<sup>ix</sup> *Prèt sinunggèk, walang kèkèk angeteplèk,  
Teka ia I Kadèk negakin sapèda simplèk,  
Terus ngamaling bèbèk, laut ia maklètèk 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. *Maklètèk* 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.

<sup>x</sup> 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.

<sup>xi</sup> 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.

<sup>xii</sup> 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.

<sup>xiii</sup> 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.]

<sup>xiv</sup> Refer in book to *wewangsalan* and *ngawangsitin*.

<sup>xv</sup> 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.

<sup>xvi</sup> '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.

<sup>xvii</sup> 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.

<sup>xviii</sup> 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.

<sup>xix</sup> 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.

<sup>xx</sup> 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'.

<sup>xxi</sup> 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 **mañartha** is 'to explain the meaning, interpret', **pinañarthakēn** 'to ask for an explanation for someone'. The closely related term **arthi** is given as 'meaning, explanation', and **añarthi** 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: **indriyārtha** 'the *object* of the senses', **jayārtha** 'having victory as one's *object*', **kṛtārtha** 'one who has accomplished one's *end*', **nirārtha** 'useless', **padārtha** 'meaning, explanation, content', **paramārtha** 'the whole *truth*, the highest truth, the highest *reality*, the highest *good*...in reality', **daśaparamārtha** 'the ten highest forms of *good conduct*', **pariṅsārtha** 'with the *intention* to examine', **sārtha** 'according to the *facts*', **śubhārtha** 'good or virtuous *action as one's aim*', **yathārtha** '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.)

<sup>xxii</sup> 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.

---

<i>Ngawasin</i>	Supervising or over-viewing work. For example during temple festivals, it is the <i>klian dinas</i> , the government-recognized ward head who does this. By contrast, the head of the ward as a religious group, the <i>klian désa</i> is said to <i>ngétangang</i> the work ( <i>karya</i> ).
<i>Ngétangang</i>	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.

<sup>xxiii</sup> 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 (**asuṅ** 'to give') to Its subjects. The apparent double-reference of **rēna** and **asuṅ** 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. **Paṅabhakti** '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. **Trṣṇa** is 'desire, strong attachment, love; desiring, deeply attached, clinging to'; cf. Gonda 1973: 624, who notes that in Javanese **trēsna** 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 pangguh* '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.

<sup>xxiv</sup> 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 (*sangguh* 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.

<sup>xxv</sup> *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 Karaṇa** 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' **karaṇa** 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).

<sup>xxvi</sup> 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 aṇerti</i>	9i

---

<i>Sakala niskala sujat</i>	9i (An extra interstitial line)
<i>Jagaté mangda rahayu</i>	8u
<b><u>Para bāhudanda. tandra</u></b>	7o
<b><u>mantri, punggawa</u></b>	5a (An extra interstitial line)
<b>Sang Putus sareng miletin</b>	8i
<i>Eda carat-curut</i>	5u
<i>Suba ruwang dadi pajalan</i>	8a.

<sup>xxvii</sup> 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.

<sup>xxviii</sup> *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.

<sup>xxix</sup> *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.

<sup>xxx</sup> *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.

<sup>xxxi</sup> 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.

<sup>xxxii</sup> 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 different 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* (**Rṅweda**), *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', **maṅḍi** 'effective, poisonous'),  
and knowledgeable and wise (**jñana**).

They then started to joke about whether the government had now taken over from Balinese kings. Kutut 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'.

<sup>xxxiii</sup> 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", (**bheda**) 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.

<sup>xxxiv</sup> 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.

<sup>xxxv</sup> *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 (Simpson 1982: 35, draws the same parallel). Ktut Ginarsa (1985: 81-82) distinguishes **sloka** 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.

<sup>xxxvi</sup> 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.

<sup>xxxvi</sup> 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.

<sup>xxxvii</sup> 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.

<sup>xxxviii</sup> 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.

<sup>xxxix</sup> 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'.

<sup>xl</sup> 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.

<sup>xlii</sup> *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.

<sup>xliii</sup> 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.

<sup>xliiii</sup> 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.

<sup>xliiv</sup> **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.

<sup>xlv</sup> 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*).

<sup>xlvi</sup> 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 (*sesepe*) 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.

<sup>xlvii</sup> 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 **sanjaning 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.

<sup>xlviii</sup> 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).

<sup>xlix</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>li</sup> *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.

<sup>lii</sup> 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'.

<sup>liii</sup> 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.

<sup>liv</sup> 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'.

<sup>lv</sup> *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.

<sup>lvi</sup> **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 (mahamērta)**. 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)'.

<sup>lvii</sup> 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.

<sup>lviii</sup> 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.

<sup>lix</sup> 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 was 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.

<sup>lx</sup> 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:

- |                         |  |
|-------------------------|--|
| 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\*
- 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 **Ṣaḍkahyaṅan** by the official from the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The following are temples of island-wide importance to all Balinese are those designated as **Ṣaḍkahyaṅan**:

- |    |                    |  |
|----|--------------------|--|
| 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.)

## Bibliography

- Anderson, B.R.O'G. 1972. The idea of power in Javanese culture. In *Culture and politics in Indonesia*. eds. C. Holt, B.R.O'G. Anderson & J. Siegel, London: Cornell Univ. Press.
- Austin, J.L. 1975. *How to do things with words*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bakhtin, M.M. 1963. Problems of Dostoevsky's poetics. Ed. & trans. C. Emerson, Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press.
- Belo, J. 1949. *Bali: Rangda and Barong*. Monographs of the American Ethnological Society 16, Seattle & London: Univ. of Washington Press.
- Burnett, M. 1991. Oriental harmony. *Times educational supplement* 15th. November 1991.
- Davison, J. et. al. 2003. *Introduction to Balinese Architecture*. Berkeley: Periplus.
- Dinas Agama Hindu, n.d. *Penuntun penjujukan Agama Hindu*. Karangasem: Dinas Agama Hindu dan Budha, Kabupaten Karangasem.
- Echols, J.M. & Shadily, H. 1989. *An Indonesian-English dictionary*. 3rd. edn, revised by J.U. Wolff & J.T. Collins with H. Shadily, Jakarta: Gramedia.
- Eiseman, F.B. 1989. *Bali: sekala and niskala. Volume 1: essays on religion, ritual and art*. Berkeley, Ca. & Singapore: Periplus.
- Fabian, J. 1991. Dilemmas of critical anthropology. in *Constructing knowledge: authority and critique in social science*. eds. L. Nencel & P. Pels, London: Sage.
- Geertz, C. 1966a. Religion as a cultural system. in *Anthropological approaches to the study of religion*. ed. M. Banton, London: Tavistock.
- 1966b. *Person, time and conduct in Bali: an essay in cultural analysis*. in *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
- 1973a. Deep play: notes on the Balinese cockfight. in *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
- 1973b. Politics past, politics present: some notes on the uses of anthropology in understanding the new states. in *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
- 1980. *Negara: the theatre state in nineteenth-century Bali*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press.
- Ginarsa, K. 1985. *Paribasa Bali*. Bali: Kayumas.
- Gonda, J. 1973. *Sanskrit in Indonesia*. 2nd. edn, New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture.
- Goris, R. 1960. Holidays and holy days. in *Bali: studies in life, thought and ritual*. ed. W.F. Wertheim, The Hague: van Hoeve.
- Hobart, M. 1974. Are aristocrats pigs? some Balinese uses of animal symbolism. *Indonesia circle*. 5: 18-20.
- 1978. The path of the soul: the legitimacy of nature in Balinese conceptions of space. in *Natural symbols in South East Asia*. ed. G. Milner, London: S.O.A.S.
- 1985a. Is God evil? in *The anthropology of evil*. ed. D.J. Parkin, Oxford: Blackwell.

- 1985b. Anthropos through the looking-glass: or how to teach the Balinese to bark. in *Reason and morality*. ed. J. Overing, ASA Monographs in Social Anthropology 24, London: Tavistock.
- 1986. Thinker, thespian, soldier, slave? assumptions about human nature in the study of Balinese society. in *Context, meaning, and power in Southeast Asia*. eds. M. Hobart & R.H. Taylor, Ithaca, New York.: Cornell Southeast Asia Program.
- 1987. Summer's days and salad days: the coming of age of anthropology. in *Comparative anthropology*. ed. L. Holy, Oxford: Blackwell.
- 1990. Who do you think you are? the authorized Balinese. in *Localizing strategies: regional traditions of ethnographic writing*. ed. R. Fardon, Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press and Washington: Smithsonian Institute.
- 1991a. The art of measuring mirages, or is there kinship in Bali? in *Cognition and social organization in Southeast Asia*. eds. F. Hüsken and J. Kemp, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 145.
- 1991b. The patience of plants: a note on agency in Bali. *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian affairs* 24, 2: 90-135.
- 1999. As they like it: overinterpretation and hyporeality in Bali. In *The problem of context*. ed. R. Dilley, Oxford: Berghahn, 105-144.
- 2000. *After culture. anthropology as radical metaphysical critique*. Yogyakarta: Duta Wacana Press; now free access online at [www.criticalia.org](http://www.criticalia.org).
- 2006. Just talk? anthropological reflections on the object of media studies in Indonesia. *Asian journal of social science* 34, 3: 492-519.
- Inden, R. 1990. *Imagining India*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kaler, I.G.K. 1982. *Butir-butir tercecer tentang adat Bali, Vol. 2*. Denpasar: Bali Agung.
- Koentjaraningrat, R.M. 1980. Javanese terms for god and supernatural beings and the idea of power. in *Man, meaning and history: essays in honour of H.G. Schulte Nordholt*. eds. R. Schefold, J.W. Schoorl and J. Tennekes, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 89, The Hague: Nijhoff.
- Larson, G.J. & Bhattacharya, R.S. 1987. *Sāṃkhya: a dualist tradition in Indian philosophy*. Princeton, N.J.: Univ. Press.
- Lovric, B.J.A. 1987. *Rhetoric and reality: the hidden nightmare. Myth and magic as representations and reverberations of morbid realities*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis in the University of Sydney.
- Parisada Hindu Dharma, 1968. *Upadeça tentang ajaran-ajaran Agama Hindu*. Denpasar: Parisada Hindu Dharma.
- Potter, K.H. 1977. *Indian metaphysics and epistemology: the tradition of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika up to Gaṅgeśa*. Princeton, N.J.: Univ. Press.
- Shärer, H. 1963. *Ngaju religion: the conception of god among a South Bornean People*. trans. R. Needham, The Hague: Nijhoff.
- Simpén, W. 1982. *Basita parihasa*. Denpasar: Mabhakti.
- Soebadio, H. 1971. *Jñānasiddhānta*. The Hague: Nijhoff.
- Sperber, D. & Wilson, D. 1986. *Relevance: communication and cognition*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Sugriwa, I.G.B. 1960a. *Buku peladjaran agama Hindu Bali, Vol. 1*. Denpasar: Pustaka Balimas.

- 1960b. *Buku peladjaran agama Hindu Bali, Vol. 2*. Denpasar: Pustaka Balimas.
- Tan, R.Y.D. 1966. The domestic architecture of south Bali. *Bijdragen tot Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 122, 442-74.
- Warna, W. et al. 1978. *Kamus Bali-Indonesia*. Denpasar: Dinas Pengajaran.
- Wiener, M.J. 1995. *Visible and invisible realms: power, magic, and colonial conquest in Bali*. Chicago: Univ. Press.
- Worsley, P.J. 1972. *Babad Bulèlèy: a Balinese dynastic genealogy*. The Hague: Nijhoff.
- Vickers, A. 1989. *Bali: a paradise created*. Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin.
- Vickers, A. 2005. *Journeys of desire: a study of the Balinese text Malat*. *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 217, Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Weck, W. 1937. *Heilkunde und Volkstum auf Bali*. Stuttgart: Enke; reprinted by P.T. Bap Bali & P.T. Intermasa Jakarta, 1976.
- de Zoete, B. & Spies, W. 1938. *Dance and drama in Bali*. London: Faber; reprinted 1973. Oxford Univ. Press.
- Zoetmulder, P.J. 1974. *Kalangwan: a survey of Old Javanese literature*. The Hague: Nijhoff.
- 1982. *Old Javanese-English dictionary*. 2 Vols, with the collaboration of S. Robson, The Hague: Nijhoff.
- Zurbuchen, M.S. 1987. *The language of Balinese shadow theatre*. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton Univ. Press.