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The "Tone" of Balinese Ideology : Causal or Correlative?

Andrew Duff-Cooper

"The key-word...is *Order* and
above all *Pattern*...".

Joseph Needham
(1956 : 281)

I

Preliminaries

A number of words and phrases used in the present brief [and in some ways highly speculative (*post*)] study¹ require some explication before we proceed.

The word "tone" in the title is borrowed from Waismann who uses the phrase "tone of thought" (1968 : 65) to refer to a prevailing explanatory idiom such as the mechanical models and metaphors which prevail in much twentieth century thought.² Such explanatory resources are comparable with what Granet (1934 : 337) terms the "règles directrices" of ancient Chinese thought : they are called upon more or less consciously but mostly axiomatically by people operating within a particular form of life with its particular, though not necessarily singular, tone of thought, to explain social and other phenomena.

The phrase "form of life" is perhaps most associated with the later work of Ludwig Wittgenstein (see, e.g., Ayer 1985 ; Needham 1985 : 150). It has been adopted in the present and in several previous studies about the Balinese in Pagutan (see n. 1 ; *post*) at the suggestion of Mark Hobart³ in place of "way of life" as used, for instance, by Leach (1961 : 1 ; cf. Duff-Cooper : forthcoming-a). Here "form of life" refers quite simply to the myriad social facts which more or less directly comprise the

lives of the Balinese with whom I lived in Pagutan (Duff-Cooper 1983a ; 1985a : 138-139) ; and of other groups of people, of greater or lesser extension, with whom they have relations : people of other estates (*varna*)⁴ and of other kinds (*bangsa*), of which there are four, viz., Indonesians, Chinese and Japanese, Foreigners [generally taken to be Caucasians (*turis* or *anak lén*)], and forest people (*anak alas*).

Of these social facts, some areas are of especial importance to the Balinese : rites (*yadnya*), especially for the dead but for all five kinds of person (see, e.g., Duff-Cooper 1984a : 19 ; 1985h), work (*pakaryan/pagaenan*),⁵ procuring, preparing, and consuming food (Duff-Cooper 1985c), education (Duff-Cooper : forthcoming-b), and sex and having and rearing children (Duff-Cooper : 1985d ; 1984 ; 1985e).

All these areas constitute indigenously defined aspects of the form of Balinese life under consideration. By "aspect"⁶ is meant, that the social facts which constitute Balinese life and the principles of order which frame them are more or less direct replications of Ida Sang Hyang Vidhi, the high god of the Balinese. These aspects, and indeed all the aspects which it is possible to delineate in Balinese life are, to use two Balinese metaphors, like sunlight is to the sun [the god (Bhatara) Surya] or as different kinds of lamps are still all lamps.⁷

Finally, in this section, "Balinese" : the lit-

erature about this people is well-known to be enormous (Duff-Cooper 1983b: 369),⁸ to the extent that this people is arguably among the most studied of peoples anywhere. This literature mostly concerns the Balinese on Bali, however, and is generally about metaphysics (*sarva-surya*) and theology (*sarva-tattva*) or about what is generally called social organisation [*krama* or (Ind.) *adat*].⁹

Over the past two to three years, though, a series of essays about aspects of the Balinese form of life on Lombok, the island next east from Bali, has begun to appear.¹⁰ Now, it has been said¹¹ that the Balinese on Lombok are "off-center," i.e. (as I understand the phrase) that they stand comparatively far from Gunung Agung, the mystical centre of Bali, and that they are somehow on the sidelines, so to say, of Balinese life and of work about the Balinese.

The Balinese on Lombok, however, do not at all see it this way. They maintain—with excellent reason in the light of factual historiography (which is, however, alien to Balinese thought) and of other more mythological accounts of the matter (cf., e.g., Duff-Cooper 1983a: 7–15; 1986a)—that the parts of Lombok where they reside are ideologically a part of Karangasem in eastern Bali; that their metaphysics is on all fours with that of the Balinese on Bali; and that in every way in which it traditionally should be, their form of life is as it should be, i.e. of a fineness equivalent to and in some cases (such as life in Denpasar [Badung] and Singaraja [Buléléng]) finer than life on Bali.

The present essay, therefore, aims further to explicate the forms of Balinese life both on Lombok *and* on Bali. "Balinese", though, refers to the Balinese in Pagutan unless otherwise specified. This study, however, is speculative, for at least two reasons. First, the data collected during field research do not include information about such "everyday pragmatic" contexts as carving, hammering, grinding, and so on, information which is fundamental to a general study of causality (Needham 1983: 89 n. 14), one which addresses everyday, pragmatic contexts and symbolic activities, especially such practices as blessing,

purifying, and such like; nor, so far as I know, is the literature helpful on these scores. Judging by what I know about the Balinese form of life, however, blessing (*putputan*) and purifying (e.g. *matirtha*) are efficacious by virtue of the acts being performed in all ways correctly. Given that this is so, two questions (at least) arise: What, if any, is the causal relation that obtains between such acts and the required results in Balinese ideology? Is this relation akin to those that are taken to obtain between, say, a sculptor and his work or a house-builder and the house being constructed? These and related questions are addressed in section IV below. The answers given to these questions are to be treated as hypotheses to be tested by empirical enquiry.

Second, this study goes far beyond what I can be sure of. In my view, enquirers should press on with their work in such circumstances; naturally, where evidences which bear on a study are available, they should be used; where they are lacking, as in this case, however, then it is more productive to make what can be made of a question than to turn one's back on it, especially when it is uncertain that, without the enquiry, the evidences will ever be focussed on in the field. But, of course, prudence or boldness in our work is a matter of temperament which cannot be argued (e.g. Needham 1985: 10, 180, 187). I simply hope that the speculative character of the present study will not put the more prudent off considering the matters, which are of fundamental importance, that are raised below.

II

Why Raise the Question?

Lévy-Bruhl, to whom "we are all greatly indebted...for one of the most interesting analyses of primitive thought..." (J. Needham 1956: 284), long ago maintained (1910: 16) that primitives have to submit to "the need" to explain events by their causes (but compare Lévy-Bruhl 1949: 35; *post*). But, like Durkheim's similar contention in relation to sociological enquiry (1895: chap. 5), this is questionable: in theoretical physics, for example, the notions of cause and of causal chain have

been rejected (Toulmin 1953: 119-125; Needham 1962: 122); and in ancient Chinese thought, which emphasised correlation, causality understood mechanistically at least, was not important (Granet 1934: 337); while some questions are simply "utterances of unclarity, of mental discomfort", comparable with the question "Why?" as children so often ask it (Wittgenstein 1969: 26). Such questions do not necessarily ask for a cause—nor, incidentally, for a reason (see *post*).

These three grounds for questioning Lévy-Bruhl's assertion are weighty enough, but one fact is added justification for raising the question: the mechanical notion of cause has not been required at all in the explication of the Balinese form of life. This fact is significant because that explication has been explanatorily faithful to Balinese collective representations, and has consciously and explicitly eschewed anything which might distort the social facts under consideration.

In each of the essays which comprise this explication, what the Balinese do and what they say (and write) about what they do have been the prime focus of attention. Social facts from various indigenously defined aspects of Balinese life have been shown to be related structurally; and the aspects have been shown to be structurally akin one to another. In other words, the aspects considered—which range from sexual practices and eating and defecation to the form of Balinese houses, compounds, and temples, from the four estates, marriage rules, and mystical/jural diarchy (see, e.g., Needham 1980: chap. 2; Yoshida 1986; Duff-Cooper 1986a) to rice-growing, dreams, political and sexual fantasies, and other such seemingly individual matters—are correlated one with another.

The basis for this method and the findings to which it leads consists of three social facts: the unity of the Balinese macrocosm (*bhuvana agung*) and microcosm (*bhuvana alit*); that (Balinese metaphysics teaches) the world derives from and is pervaded by Vidhi (*supra*); that Vidhi is a dualistic unity (e.g. Duff-Cooper 1985f).¹²

Yet in spite of all the above, it cannot of

course be assumed that Balinese ideology and that Balinese people who think¹³ within it (so to say) place similar reliance upon correlation in explaining things. Such, if it is the case, must be demonstrated, especially as so far as I know, there is not a Balinese word corresponding with "correlation" or one of its forms; by contrast (see section III) there are words to express "cause".

III

Balinese Words Corresponding with "Cause"

The dictionaries of Balinese which I have access to¹⁴ give the following words which correspond with English "cause" and words which this verbal concept is cognate with.

The English noun "cause" corresponds with Balinese *makawinan/awinan* (Shadeg 1977: 6). Barber renders *makawinan* "be caused by" which may be used as a conjunction with the meanings "because, for the reason that" (1979, 1: 369); *kawinan* corresponds to the noun "cause" (1979, 1: 183). Warna gives *awinan/awanan* for "cause" (1978: 60-61), with which Kersten (1984: 168) concurs. Simpen glosses "*awinan*" with *lantaran* (cause) and *krana*; *awanan* he also glosses *krana* (1985: 20). *Krana-awanan* corresponds with *awinan* (Simpen 1985: 20).

"*Krana*" corresponds with the English noun "cause" (Shadeg 1977: 6; Barber 1979, 1: 304; Warna 1978: 312). "*Kranananné*", its cause" may be used prepositionally to render English "for the sake of, because of, on account of"; and as a conjunction, "for, since, because".

The English verb "cause" corresponds with forms of the Balinese words just listed: *makrana* and *ngranayang* (Warna 1978: 312); *ngawinang/ngranaang* (Kersten 1984: 168).¹⁵ Finally, Barber renders *kawin-an*, be caused, the unhyphenated form of which corresponds with the English noun "cause"—hence, *kawin-kawinanhipun*, *kawinannyané*, its cause, because and *kawinan hidané*, their cause, because (1979, 1: 183). "*Makawinan*" (*ma-ka-hawinan*) means "be caused by" and may be used as a conjunction: because, for the reason that (Barber 1979, 1: 369).

A number of remarks should be made about

these two lists of words which, it should be borne in mind, correspond with English "cause". First, Lévy-Bruhl remarks (1949: 35), "let us avoid supposing that the primitive mentality uses it [the word "cause"] with the atmosphere that it has for us, and let us try to find out precisely what goes on in them [the primitives] when they use their corresponding word".

This suggestion, which is entirely cogent, is supported by Suzuki, who makes a similar point, arguing that the relativity of concepts used in the social sciences and the humanities which are imported, say, from Western Europe makes them inappropriate for the analysis of Japanese "culture"; and *a fortiori* of any other form of life too (Suzuki 1984: chap. 5, esp. pp. 105-109).¹⁶

Empirically, the cogency of these views is shown by Joseph Needham who, writing about "the desire of the Taoist thinkers to understand the causes in Nature", explains that "causes in Nature" cannot be interpreted "in quite the same sense as would suit the thought [for instance] of the Naturalists of ancient Greece" (1956: 281); while Rodney Needham's discussion of the efficacy of taking heads (1983: chap. 4) shows that "in symbolic thought a given cause can produce an effect directly [i.e. in the form $a \rightarrow b$ (1983: 81)], without the mediation of anything resembling a force [i.e. without a causal connection in the form $a \rightarrow (x) \rightarrow b$ or alternatively $x(a \rightleftharpoons b)$ (1983: 12)] as generally thought.

The English word "cause", meaning among other things that which produces an effect, derives from L. *caus(s)a*, reason, motive (Onions 1966: 155). But the grammars of "cause" and "reason" are not the same. First, that an action, say, has such-and-such a cause is a hypothesis, which is well-founded "if one has had a number of experiences which, roughly speaking, agree in showing that [the] action is the regular sequel of certain conditions...". But "in order to know the reason which you had for making a certain statement, for acting in a particular way etc., no number of agreeing experiences is necessary, and the statement of your reason is not a hypothesis" (Wit-

tgenstein 1969: 15).

Second, one can only conjecture a cause, but one knows the reason or the motive for why one acts in a particular way, etc.

Then, the question "Why?" may ask either for a cause or for a reason for such-and-such. If one is asking for a cause for it, the answer is a hypothesis (*supra*); if one is asking for a reason, there may be none (Wittgenstein 1969: 88). Since causes are conjectures, we can always come up with the causes of such-and-such, but what we try to explain causally may have no reasons behind it (Wittgenstein 1969: 110).

In view of the etymology of "cause" and its connection with "reason" and in the light of the differences in the grammars of these two English words (which may be disputable but which make the point), it is particularly interesting that the Balinese words which correspond to the noun "cause" correspond with Ind. *sebab*, those which correspond with the verb "cause", with Ind. *menyebabkan*, from **sebab*: "sebab" means "cause reason, ground, motive, incentive"; "menyebabkan", "to bring about, to occasion or give occasion to, to cause, to give (pain). That is to say, the Balinese concepts "cause" and "reason" are elided, where English usage makes radical differences between the two, although they derive from the same latin word and are related, though tenuously, semantically (cf., e.g., Lloyd 1982: 88-89, 104-105, 268-269, 360-361). The question which then arises in the context of the present study—What part does this concept which elides causes and reasons play in the Balinese form of life?—will be answered, in section IV, by a consideration (under eight sub-heads) of some empirical cases.

IV

Lightning (Kilap)

"Kilap" means both lightning and a thunder-clap. Both are a mixture of wind (*bayu/angin*) and fire (*gni/api*): both are gods, Bhatara Bayu and Bhatara Brahma respectively. Without wind, there can be no *kilap*. Lightning is used by the gods (or these two gods are used as the representatives of the gods) to punish people

who have displeased them.¹⁷ Should lightning strike a house (say), the inhabitants must have upset the gods in some way: the lightning striking the house demonstrates this.¹⁸

There cannot be rain without wind either; wind draws up the water and then releases it as rain. When the wind blows from the east or southeast, it does not rain, but when it blows from the west or northwest, it can rain. Rain may follow an "unnatural" event, i.e. an event which is not in harmony with the order of things: in May 1981, for instance, a dog copulated with a sow in the rice-fields. This was followed by torrential rain which ruined the soya and cucumbers which were growing in the fields. Similarly, though conversely, should a male have sex with his mother, sister (except his twin in certain circumstances), the widow of his father, or his father's or mother's mother, then the realm is struck by disasters which include the drying-up of rivers, lakes, and wells (cf. De Kat Angelino 1920: 32).¹⁹

Earthquakes, Tremors, and Volcanic Eruptions (Lincuh)

The centre of Lombok, and a part of the Mahameru of the Balinese on Lombok (Duff-Cooper 1985b: 159 n. 5), is Mount Rinjani, a strato-volcano of the Caldera type (see, e.g., Simkin et al. 1981: 10) 3,726 meters high has erupted thirteen times since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The last time was in 1966 when Rinjani erupted for three days between the 5th and 8th August, causing extensive damage throughout the island.

Earthquakes, caused by among other factors volcanic activity or by the gravitational pull of the sun and the moon and the planets (Smith 1981: 42), tremors [which may be caused by severe weather conditions (Smith 1981: 42)], and volcanic eruptions are distinguished in Balinese thought by reference to their relative size. Earthquakes and tremors, like volcanic eruptions, demonstrate the moods of the gods. However, while volcanic eruptions and earthquakes are taken by villagers to be signs of the gods' displeasure, tremors while it is raining hard mean different things on different days. One tremor which occurred while

I was on Lombok foretold the fighting which occurred some time later in Sumbawa Besar between Balinese and Islamic Sumbawanese in which many Balinese were killed.

Signs in the Sky (Precala) and Related Phenomena

Shooting-stars (*lelipi awan*, lit. snake of the clouds) and, for example, three red, black, and multi-coloured concentric circles of light on the surface of calm water are signs that something momentous is going to happen: the death of a king [Anak Agung in Pagutan (see Duff-Cooper 1986a)], say, the Japanese invasion of Indonesia during World War II, or the events of the *gajah merah* in Indonesia in 1967; an earthquake or volcanic eruption might be heralded by such signs.

The birth of Siamese twins and of freaks (like a baby with the head of an elephant or a goat) are signs (*sipta*) that the country (*negara*) is on the decline. Rather like the birth of quins (see, e.g., Duff-Cooper 1986b), such signs did not occur before (*sane dumun*), i.e. (as I understand) when the Balinese kings still ruled their realms.

"One of the Balinese beliefs concerning rainbows, according to Howe (1980: 180), "is that they are caused by the anger of the gods in heaven which subsequently becomes hot. The gods then reach out to sea as a rainbow (the rainbow is the "body" and the place where it enters the sea is the "head"), drink up the water and emit the excess as rain". Rainbows, like serpents and bulls, are also a means of getting from earth (*madiapada*), the middle region, or *mertypada*, the realm of material human beings) to heaven (*sorga*) (J. Hooykaas 1956).²¹

Blessing (Putputan)

"*Putput*" has a number of meanings which include "to chastise with the rib of a palm-leaf or lightly with the hand"; it also means "to squeeze out". A blessing from a Pedanda, a "priest" of the Brahmana or Ksatria estate, consists of a person (male or female) sitting cross-legged facing the Pedanda who places both hands on the other's head. The Pedanda

says *mantra* ("sacred" formulas), blows onto the hands three times, and then presses his hands a little harder on the other's head three times. It is, perhaps, as though the Pedanda squeezes any impurity in the other's body out through the other's nostrils, ears, and mouth and replaces it with the Pedanda's pure breath (*bayu*). *Mantra* and everything about a Pedanda are of the finest quality possible in Balinese social life. It is probable that these words and actions, deriving from such a pure source, are enough in themselves to expel impurity and/or to protect against the incursion of impurity into the other.

Purification

The process of purification may take the form of *mantra* being said over another by a Pedanda, the swallowing of grains of rice soaked in holy water (*wija*), wafting incense over one or holding one's hands over a stick of incense stuck in the ground in front of where one is sitting cross-legged, or by using holy water (*matirtha*) (see, e.g., Duff-Cooper 1984a: 38-39 n. 13); or all of these actions in succession.

Amulets, Charms, Talismen [Pragolan (Pripihan)] and Tattoos

Various objects—pieces of white paper or silk, bracelets of the woody seaweed *aku bahar* with *mantra* inscribed on them, gold necklets or bracelets decorated with *swastika* or *cakra* (fiery wheels), stone amulets (e.g. McCauley 1984: 171), or tattoos of *swastika* inked into men's upper left arms—can protect people from dangers such as the malevolence of witches [*léak* (e.g. Duff-Cooper 1984a: 13-14)], being poisoned, or accidents while travelling or residing away from home.

Some Techniques

The Balinese perform the following among many operations: hammering, chopping, pounding, ploughing, hoeing, digging, ironing, cutting and scraping, writing, playing musical instruments, and sculpting. This list is, of course, neither exhaustive nor are all the operations performed by all the Balinese: whether a

person performs an operation depends upon the person's sex, relative age, and estate. Each involves the use of something (a hammer, an axe, a plough, a knife) which (as it were) mediates between the person performing the operation in question and its result.

Consideration of these Empirical Cases

In the cases mentioned in the first three subsections above, what occurs is, in Balinese ideology, both the cause and the reason for the second state of affairs (a destroyed house, for instance). In English usage, however, this is not the case: as we have seen, the grammars of causes and reasons are different. In English usage, the cause of the second state of affairs is the gods' displeasure. The question, "Why are the gods displeased?" asks for the *reasons* for the gods' displeasure, not the causes: the states of affairs which lead to or are the grounds for the gods being displeased cannot vary greatly. They cannot themselves be the *causes* for them being displeased, therefore.

It would seem, then, that a state of affairs, consisting of actions and/or thoughts and/or words, is the ground for the gods' displeasure.

In Balinese argumentation, however, reasons and causes are at one. How is this? In the following way, perhaps: a state of affairs, consisting of actions, thoughts, and probably words, is the ground for (the reasons for) the gods' displeasure. These actions are followed by the second state of affairs (the earthquake, dry rivers etc., or whatever), from which the gods' displeasure is inferred. The question, "Why did such-and-such occur?" leads to a reconstruction of the first state of affairs.

This state of affairs may be singular, in that it occurs only once; or else, like the "incessuous" relations mentioned in the first subsection above [for Balinese notions of "incest" see Duff-Cooper (1984b: 493-494)], certain conditions may always be followed by the second state of affairs. In English usage, the first state of affairs, when singular, is the reason for the gods' displeasure; in the second case, it is the cause of the gods being displeased. In Balinese usage, however, both are the reasons for and the causes of it. Similarly, the gods

being displeased is both the reason for and the cause of the second state of affairs. Is it going too far to suggest that these elisions simply connect or describe the correspondence of [but see Needham (1985: 6-8, 121-123, 134-135) on "correspondences"] the first state of affairs, the gods' displeasure, and the second, altered, state of affairs?

On this account, blessing and purification operate in the following way: a person in a state and the actions of blessing and/or purification together constitute the second state, i.e. in this case the blessed and/or the purified state of the person. The amulets etc. mentioned above operate similarly: a person and an amulet or other protective object which has been properly prepared together constitute or are *ipso facto* the protected person. In the case of the techniques alluded to, as others not mentioned, the tools used may be lent and borrowed, but they still appear to be an extension of the person using them.²² Here, a person, the tool, and the field of operation (unpounded rice or herbs, say, an unploughed field, unironed clothes, etc.) and the actions which the person performs with the tool all together constitute the second state of affairs: the person, the tool, the field of operation, and the person's actions with the tool are equivalent to the finished product, the quality of which depends upon the quality of all its constituent elements (cf. Duff-Cooper 1984a: *passim*).

This last example is the most problematical: it is tempting to use words like "generate", "bring to pass", "derive from", "grow out of", and such like in describing the relation that obtains between the product of the person, the tool, and the actions of the person with the tool on the field of operation. All these English words, however, have a causative element which does not (in my view) correspond with Balinese ideas which, to repeat, include the idea of "reasons" which in English are not causal.

A final example, though, may clarify all this: in March 1963, Gunung Agung on Bali erupted during the rite of *Eka Dasa Rudra* which should be held once every one hundred Balinese years of 210 days. Mathews reports (1965:

141) that she was told by an aged Balinese that the organisers of the rites "should have made the proper offerings". It would have been most helpful if we had been given the Balinese expression of these words. On the face of it, though, what is suggested by these English words is simply a connection or a correspondence: improper offerings made at the rites held on Gunung Agung and the eruption of the volcano (sc. the anger of the gods). That is, there here appear to be no empirical grounds for imputing causality, or at least not particulate or "billiard-ball" causality. Rather, Balinese ideology, Balinese people's explanations of social and other phenomena, and the social anthropologist's descriptions of both suggest that (as mentioned) such phenomena simply correspond one with another or are connected one to another.

The question then is: How are these phenomena connected? —or, How do they correspond? This question is addressed in the next (final) section.

V

Order and Pattern in the Balinese Form of Life

This form of life may be viewed, in line with indigenous views of it, as consisting of various aspects. A number of these aspects has been addressed in studies, some of which are listed under the present writer's name in the References of this essay. The findings of these studies, which have been brought together in another place (Duff-Cooper: forthcoming-d), demonstrate that in this form of life a concordance obtains between the symbolic and the social order (classifications, incidentally, which are not Balinese), such that these two orders of facts may be regarded as constituting one conceptual order, a totality. This concordance, which is pleasingly though only implicitly confirmed by Sanger (1985),²³ subsists in what Needham refers to as "a structural sense" (1963: xxxvii): indigenously defined aspects of this totality are based²⁴ on the same mode of relation. This relation is symmetry. This relation obtains within dyads, in which

two entities constitute a unity. The archetype of such dyadic unities is Vidhi (see above).

The relations that obtain within dyads may be either symmetrical; or they may obtain to one of four increasing degrees of asymmetry (cf. Duff-Cooper: 1985f).

"Dyadic", of course, refers to a formal partition of a unity. However, unities may also be divided into threes, fours, fives, eights, nines, and (very rarely) elevens in Balinese ideology. These modes of partition are elaborations or expansions of the duality which forms the basis or the beginning of the Balinese form of life.

Some of these modes of partition are expressed dynamically: alternation and periodicity of three, four, five, and nine are evinced in Balinese life (cf., e.g., Duff-Cooper 1986f). Dyads and other numerically more complexly divided unities may be manipulated, generally by enantiomorphic reversal: a number of entities are reversed about a central point which occurs only once in the series or which is symmetrical. Such a series is [2 : 2 : 1 : 3 : 1 : 2 : 2], for instance, which is discernible in aspects of the rice-growing rite *nuasén* (cf. Duff-Cooper: forthcoming-c, -e).

These principles of order—duality and elaborations of it; symmetrical or asymmetrical opposition; alternation and more complex modes of periodicity; enantiomorphic reversal—frame the social facts which constitute the Balinese form of life. In this form of life, five sets of analogously related dyads are set side by side in various contexts. The dyads may be represented in either the horizontal or the vertical plane. In either case, one constitutive entity derives its meaning from its juxtaposition to or contingency with one or more other entities in the same context; and from the context or whole of which it is a constitutive part being related with all the other contexts or unities which together constitute the Balinese form of life.

The social facts which are framed or articulated by the principles mentioned above constitute a system which is self-consistent, which "in its empirical expressions... is regular, in that its identifications and values remain constant from one setting to another in numer-

ous instances", and which "permits a limited circumstantial predictability..." (Needham 1985: 139).

This system can be represented as a cone which, like the Balinese Mahameru, the offering *puspe*, the Balinese house and related physical structures (see, e.g. Duff-Cooper 1985g), and the three human bodies (*tri sarira*), consists of three elements one on top of the other (in the contiguous areas compound/gardens/rice-fields or the three courts of a temple, in the horizontal plane. The top of the cone represents partition into two; the bottom of the first element and the top of the second, partition into three; the bottom of the second element and the top of the third, partition into five, and the bottom of the cone, partition into nine.²⁵

In such cases, and in cases of wholes which are composed of an odd number of entities, the physically highest element or the element which is closest physically to the "highest" (sc. purest) directions of the Balinese compass—northeast (*kaler*) or east (*kangin*)—may be regarded as a centre (*puseh*). The relations that obtain between the other entities which constitute the whole are correlated with the standing of the entities one to another relative to this centre.

When a whole consists of an even number of entities, the centre is putative. In both cases, however, the greater the disparity in the standing of the entities relative to the centre of reference, the greater the asymmetry of the relations that obtain between the entities and the fewer the same objective statements which can be made about the entities in question. The converse also obtains. The greater the symmetry that obtains between entities, the greater the number of contexts in which one entity is substitutable for the other or others.

These patterns obtain in many apparently disparate aspects of the Balinese form of life. That is, aspects are correlated one with another or correspond one with another by virtue both of the principles of order which frame them and the patterns which are discernible in their constitution.

Time in Balinese conceptions of it (cf. Howe

1981: Duff-Cooper: [forthcoming-f]) is correlated with events: if time is not properly so correlated, then the resultant disharmony is accompanied by events which are "bad". Such results are also correlated with other disharmonious actions, such as the sloppy offerings given for the 1963 *Eka Dasa* Rudra rites.

That the Balinese form of life is, so to say, correlative rather than causal corresponds, finally, with Vidhi being not a creator—what Granet calls "une cause premiere (1934: 333)—but more akin to the Tao, the all-inclusive name for the ancient Chinese social and world order which rested on a notion of rotational responsibility (Granet 1934: 145), what J. Needham (1956: 290) calls "an efficacious sum-total, a reactive neural medium". Ida Sang Hyang Vidhi is Lord Ordinance, the primal pattern (so to say) which is replicated in every aspect of the Balinese form of life.

Two questions remain: How are these correlated patterns of phenomena kept together? How, and in what ways, do they change? We can only hint at possible answers to these questions here: to the first question it would appear likely that formally, this form of life is held together by proportional analogy and homology; empirically, by "the blind force of instinctive emotions clustered around habits and prejudices" (Whitehead 1958: 6-9; but compare Needham 1985: 9). To the second question, it seems likely that formally change occurs through such operations as reversal of one kind or another, examples, perhaps, of "tendencies within culture itself..." (Van Wouden 1968: 89) which can bring change about; empirically, though, all manner of unpredictable operations of people's intellects and imaginations including (perhaps more prominently than some would readily admit) snobbery in its many forms (e.g., Hocart 1970: 129-138; Duff-Cooper: forthcoming-g) and fantasies of various kinds (Duff-Cooper 1985: 239) probably initiate change. But such matters must remain to be investigated.

NOTES

- 1 The data upon which the present study is based were collected during the course of about twenty-

one months field research in Pagutan, western Lombok, Indonesia, in 1979-1981. This work was funded by the Social Science Research Council of Great Britain and by the Emslie Horniman Anthropological Scholarship Fund, to which bodies I am indebted for their support. Professors Suzuki Takao and Miyake Hitoshi (Keio University) and Dr. Yoshida Teigo (Visiting Professor at Keio) read this essay in draft; I am much obliged to these scholars for their comments and advice on this as on other occasions.

- 2 For some of the ways in which this mechanical tone of thought has detrimentally affected social anthropological explications of head-hunting, for instance, and may have distorted interpretations of other bodies of social facts, see Needham (1983: chap. 4). In the present piece, references to Joseph Needham's *Science and Civilization in China*, Vol. II, will appear as (J. Needham 1956...). References to Needham *tout court* are to the work of Rodney Needham, Professor of Social Anthropology in the University of Oxford.
- 3 Dr. Hobart (University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies) and an expert on the Balinese. See, e.g., Hobart (1984).
- 4 The people of Baturujung, the village (*kakliangan*) where I lived are all Sudra, the fourth and least fine estate. The other three estates, from finest (*pinih alus*) to less fine are Brahmana, Ksatrya, Vesia (cf., e.g., Duff-Cooper 1985b). For a consideration of whether these estates constitute castes (as they are usually called), see, e.g., Howe (1985).
- 5 Balinese consists of words of varying degrees of fineness and coarseness (see, e.g., Kersten 1970: 13-25). When words are given in this way, the word or words before the oblique is or are the fine (*alus*) form, after the oblique, the coarse (*kasar*) form.
- 6 The uses of this word as a quasi-technical term in social (cultural) anthropology since the late nineteenth century are addressed in Duff-Cooper (forthcoming-c).
- 7 A metaphor from the Chinese *Book of Changes* expresses a similar idea: that two aspects of a phenomenon that appeared to be connected were "paired" like echo and sound (Legge 1899: 369) or like shadow and light (Granet 1934: 329). These examples, however, do not quite hit the mark, for "sound is prior to the echo, and the obstruction to the shadow" (J. Needham 1956: 291 n.b). Jung's notion "synchronicity" (e.g. Wilhelm and Jung 1931: 142) better encapsulates

- the simultaneity of patterns (neo-Confucian *Li*) of aspects which Granet wanted to express.
- 8 For a critical commentary of this piece, see Cederroth (1985; but compare Duff-Cooper 1985a).
 - 9 "*Adat*" is also [erroneously (e.g., J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong 1948)] translated into English as "customary law". Schärer's definition (1963: 74—75), what Hobart calls the *locus classicus* (1984: 176), fits the Balinese case best: "*Adat*" "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." This latter is expressed in the Balinese phrase *désa kala patra*, which roughly means, "When in Rome, do as Romans of your sex, relative age, and status do at that time" (cf. Duff-Cooper 1984a: 7).
 - 10 This series of essays is most completely listed under the present writer's name in Duff-Cooper (forthcoming-d: Bibliography). Copies of these essays have been or will be deposited in Keio University library (Mita).
 - 11 By a referee for *History of Religions*, relayed to me in a letter dated 18 October 1984, which he has kindly allowed me to cite, from Mr. Peter Chemery, Editorial Assistant of this journal.
 - 12 Naturally, not eschewing metaphysics (see, e.g., Needham 1980: 68; Duff-Cooper 1984a: 36, 43 n. 44) and taking *serious* notice of what the people whose form of life is under investigation do and what they opine about what they do, rather than as "folk-models" or something of the kind, underlie the explanatory potential of these three social facts.
 - 13 The assumption that most people cogitate and most of the time, incidentally, is questionable (see Needham 1978: 68—69; Duff-Cooper 1985i: 239).
 - 14 Unfortunately I cannot consult Van der Tuuk's great dictionary (1897—1912) nor Van Eck (1876).
 - 15 Kersten (1984: 168) renders *mawinan/mawanan*, then, therefore (Ind. *maka*).
 - 16 Suzuki (1984) was originally published in 1973 as *Kotoba to Bunka* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten). Suzuki's arguments are paralleled by Needham's (e.g. 1971) to the effect that such ordinary (English) language terms as marriage, incest, descent, etc., are odd-job words, i.e., words which are "very handy in all sorts of descriptive sentences, but worse than misleading in comparison and of no real use at all in analysis" (Needham 1971: 7—8; cf. 1985: 156). Similarly, Suzuki's view (1984: 108) that "if universalization is the objective, it can be achieved only at a higher dimension where it is possible to consider and explain [e.g.] both Japan and Western Europe on an equal basis" is similar to Needham's contentions (e.g. 1971: 10—11; 1974a: 16; 1974b: 39; 1983: 61—63) that relational concepts such as "symmetry", 'alternation', 'transitivity', 'complementarity', etc." or "logical possibilities" are most profitably employed in analysis and comparison. Such concepts best achieve the value-freedom which Suzuki's "higher dimension" appears to aim for.
 - 17 Another such instrument of the gods is the *ula rare*, a black snake which flies and strikes people in the head at night.
 - 18 Lightning only strikes in one place. Instead of striking a house, it may strike someone walking in the rice-fields or else someone may be killed or severely burned by the steam from lightning hitting the water in the fields. A sprig of the yellow flower *selegui* (*sida rhombifolia*) worn behind each ear, pointing upwards and forwards, or in the band of one's hat (if one wears one) protects against these possibilities. The yellow metal gold, associated with the god Mahadeva, who taught men gold-smithing, and with the west, is used in rain- and water-making rites. Of the "five metals" (*panca dhātu*), gold represents water (Hooykaas 1976: 39 n. 9). As Hocart writes (1970: 101), "a little of it [gold] is given away for quantities of the stuff [water]...", and this practice is common among the Balinese on Bali and Lombok.
 - 19 Such occurrences are particularly disastrous because the major subsistence activity of the Balinese is wetrice growing. For an account of these activities, see Duff-Cooper (1983a: 95—169).
 - 20 Villagers, however, consider when the Dutch ruled the Balinese as the best of all the times when they have been subjected to others, including the Javanese as they are now.
 - 21 Howe does not justify or explicate this use of "caused" which is not, of course, unproblematical.
 - 22 Though not to the degree that a Nuer man's spear for example is.
 - 23 Particularly gratifying are Sanger's contentions (1985: 56) that "just as separate groups of people interlock, so different sets of instruments are played interdependently" and that "the role of each instrument is separate, yet an indispensable part of the whole. No one instrumental part is complete on its own, and it would be unthinkable

to isolate one part as a solo, or alternatively leave out an instrument, or set of instruments, from a composition": The view (Duff-Cooper 1983b) that *mutatis mutandis* the same goes for the four estates (see n. 4 above) has been ignorantly and wrongly challenged by Cederroth (1985).

- 24 The Oxford dictionary gives among the relevant glosses of "basis": beginning, foundation.
- 25 An essay entitled "Some Ways of Delineating the Structure of the Form of Balinese Life in Western Lombok", in which these matters are addressed in much greater detail, has been published by *Philosophy* (1986, 83, 225-249).

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Abbreviations :

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