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Some Ways of Delineating the  
Structure of the Form of Balinese  
Life in Western Lombok

Andrew Duff-Cooper\*

“Rightly is the Kosmos so named;  
for all things in it are wrought  
into an ordered whole by the...  
immutable necessity that rules in  
it, and the combining of the elements,  
and the fit disposal of all things  
that come into being”.

Hermes Trismegistos

I

**Introduction**

The present brief study has two main aims: To place on public record the outcomes of some attempts to put into practice what (so far as is possible to ascertain) have been mooted only as useful possibilities in social (cultural) anthropology and linguistics<sup>1</sup>; and to contribute further to understanding both the Balinese form of life generally and that in Pagutan, western Lombok<sup>2</sup>, in particular—an undertaking which, in words which I have relied upon more than once before, is a part of the central core of social anthropology (cf. Leach 1961:1).

Before we proceed, “Balinese”, “Form of...Life”, and “Structure”, as used in our title, and “elements” in the citation from Hermes’s

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\* Visiting Lecturer and a Japan Society for the Promotion of Science Research Fellow, Faculty of Letters, Keio University (Mita).

*Libellus* (IX. 8) which serves us as epigraph, require short comment.

“Balinese” refers, first, to the Balinese residents of Pagutan, and in particular to the people resident in the village (*kakliangan*) Baturujung (cf., e. g. Duff-Cooper: forthcoming-a) and the residents of the Gria Taman (e. g. Duff-Cooper 1984a:485)<sup>3</sup>. However, and although such a suggestion might be resisted on various grounds by others who study other forms of Balinese social life, I judge from my acquaintance both with Balinese people in south and eastern Bali and with the literature about the Balinese, that what is said below about the Balinese in Pagutan also goes for other communities of Balinese, on Bali and on Lombok. Whether it does, though, is a question, to be decided by empirical enquiry.

“Form of...Life”, next, refers to the myriad social facts which more or less directly comprise the daily lives of the people with whom I lived (see nn. 2, 3) (Duff-Cooper: forthcoming-b)<sup>4</sup>. These social facts comprise the various “elements” (to adopt Hermes’s word for the time being [see *post*]) of which the Balinese, as any other, form of life is composed.

These elements are sometimes viewed under the rubrics “kinship”, “economics”, “art”, “marriage”, “the family”, and such like. But these ordinary (English) language terms generally have no directly corresponding words in Balinese, nor do they discriminate areas of social facts as they are discriminated in Balinese ideology and social life. Their use as descriptive, analytical terms has therefore generally been eschewed in work about the Balinese on Lombok, at least. In place of such an etic approach, reliance has instead been placed upon indigenous categories of thought. This approach enhances the possibility of the social facts being described faithfully, in line with their “tone” (see e. g. Duff-Cooper: forthcoming-b).

The use of “element” above, though, and in our epigraph is somewhat inappropriate: “one speaks in anthropology not of the *elements* of culture but of its *aspects*” (Schärer 1963:3, emphases

added).

To clarify this assertion, we must shortly consider "structure". There exists (of course) a vast literature about this concept with which any student of the humanities and the social sciences (or one of them) can be presumed to have some informed acquaintance. In social anthropology, "structure" has been used in various ways, but they will not be rehearsed here<sup>5</sup>, if only because to do so might lead to confusion. In the present essay, at any rate, "structure" means that the various aspects which are taken indigenously to constitute the Balinese form of life are all framed by all or some principles of order which form a limited set (Duff-Cooper: forthcoming-c); and that the relationship between these principles of order may be viewed as "patterned" by two further modes of relation, viz., analogy and homology.

Now, it is often taken as a premiss by social anthropological analyses (cf., e.g. Van Wouden 1968:1; Needham 1972:154; De Josselin de Jong 1984a:8) that, in Schärer's words, "culture is not composed of contingencies and compounds: it is an organic whole ..." (1963:3),

Balinese metaphysics (*sarva-surya*) teaches that this whole or totality is contained in and pervaded by Ida Sang Hyang Vidhi, the high god of the Balinese. Everything also derives from Vidhi, so that everything in the universe is to Vidhi as sunlight is to the sun-god, Bhatara Surya (one manifestation of Vidhi [*post*]). That is to say, that as sunlight is an aspect of the sungod, so what exists in the Balinese worlds are aspects (*not* elements) of Vidhi. This idea is also expressed by the Balinese view that all lamps are aspects, *not* elements, of the generic term "lamp" (*lampu*). Thus, to repeat slightly, "with such a unity [as the organic whole or totality mentioned above] in mind, one speaks in anthropology not of the elements of culture but of its aspects" (Schärer 1963:3).

## II

### **Why Bother ?**

We shall address the principles of order which are the basis for the claim that the Balinese form of life is a totality below. A question which needs answering first is: Why bother to delineate these matters graphically or in a three-dimensional model? This question might be raised by any skeptic; but especially by one who thinks that social anthropology moving away from the study of formal models such as Van Wouden's (1968) toward the investigation of "metaphors for living" (Fox 1981; cf. Barnes 1985b:222) is all to the good<sup>6</sup>: after all, graphical and three-dimensional delineations of a structure are models, derived from and suggesting further formal analysis, for instance comparatively<sup>7</sup>.

There are (at least) four reasons, though, for attempting to delineate the structure of Balinese life graphically or in three dimensions. Foremost among these reasons, of course, is further to understand what the Balinese do and what they say and write about what they do. Among other reasons is that, rather like a model of the mind, a model of a structure such as we are discussing can be taken in at a glance and easily held in the mind, which is probably advantageous (cf. Wittgenstein 1969:6).

Then, social anthropologists often resort to diagrams for various purposes; in constructing such a model, and in considering such models constructed by others, the more ambiguity there is to be found, the more precise can be subsequent attempts at such construction (cf. Needham 1983:164). Furthermore, of course, the usefulness of a construct cannot be predicted in advance, so that its construction cannot be ruled out without the results it procures being available for assessment. This is especially so when in the interpretation of social facts much can turn on the form given to

a diagram or a model (cf. Allen 1985:26).

Finally, three authorities—two, social anthropologists, one a sociolinguist—have suggested that such models might be constructed, though none has, as far as I know, attempted what he has considered and suggested. Thus the sociolinguist Miller writes (1967:270) that “a thorough-going graphic representation of the system [of speech levels or “honorific language”] as it functions in the modern [Japanese] language would require a three-dimensional model...”. More tellingly, perhaps, for us, Needham writes (1980:76) that “it would require a formidable battery of technical means, including no doubt three-dimensional models such as are used to depict molecular structure, to represent these [relative but systematic] perspectives on Manggarai institutions; while Barnes, another Oxford anthropologist, suggests (1984:201) that “a moving model of some kind, perhaps produced on a television screen by a computer, could well have advantages...” in sociological analysis of, in Barnes’s case, the Omaha<sup>8</sup>.

### III

#### **Preliminaries to Constructing the Models**

##### **A What is represented?**

Diagrams (and *a fortiori* three-dimensional models) are “graphic articulations of abstractions”; a diagram and such a model, further, “does not depict a structure: it permits a structure to be conceived” (Needham 1983:17, 165; cf. 1980:78)<sup>9</sup>.

The abstractions or the steady components which are to be articulated graphically are, first, a number of modes of partition; second, symmetrical and asymmetrical relations of four degrees (cf., e.g. Swedenborg 1955:195; Needham 1985:123)<sup>10</sup>; third, enantiomorphic reversal; fourth, various modes of periodicity.

These abstractions are not all of the same logical standing. The

modes of partition referred to—into two, three, four, five, eight, nine, and eleven [and see n.13]—are formal divisions of an aspect into a number of component entities. The symmetrical and asymmetrical relations mentioned obtain between the component entities of aspects which are more or less elaborately partitioned. Enantiomorphic reversal is an operation; as are the modes of periodicity—alternation and of three, four, five, and nine—which are discernible in the Balinese form of life (Duff-Cooper: forthcoming-a).

These abstractions frame the aspects of which this form of life is constituted (e. g. Duff-Cooper: forthcoming-b).

**B What relations obtain among these principles of order ?**

An example of the aspects which constitute Balinese social life is the system of the four estates into which any person is born (see n.3, *supra*). The relations which obtain among the four estates are dyadic (e. g. Duff-Cooper 1985a:163). These dyadic relations are discernible in various contexts in which (for instance) members of two or more of the four estates are contingent or juxtaposed<sup>11</sup>. Various contexts constitute an aspect. Various aspects constitute the Balinese form of life (*supra*). Various contexts are related analogically: the relations that obtain among the entities which constitute contexts are formally akin. These analogically related contexts constitute what may be called sets. The entities which constitute these sets (it follows) consist of sets of homologues, which may themselves be related by sporadic resemblance. Any aspect of Balinese life consists of entities which may be related symmetrically or asymmetrically, to one of the four increasing degrees. Which mode of relation obtains is an empirical question in each case. Yet the relations that obtain are correlated with the standing of the entities which constitute a context, relative to a particular centre: the closer the relative standing of the entities to a centre, the greater the symmetry of the relations that obtain between the entities; conversely, the greater the disparity between the entities

in this regard, the greater the asymmetry of the relations that obtain among them. Further, the greater the symmetry of the relations that obtain between entities, the greater the number of the same objective statements which can be made about each, and the greater the number of contexts in which they are interchangeable one for another. Where entities are wholly interchangeable one for another, i. e. in any context whatsoever, perfect symmetry obtains between the entities<sup>12</sup>.

### C What links these sets?

The five types of relation mentioned—symmetry and the four degrees of asymmetry—are related temporally and logically in Balinese collective representations. Temporal relations are posited by Balinese theology (*sarva-tattva*), logical (abstract) relations by Balinese metaphysics. In both cases, the relations are aspects of Vidhi, perfect symmetry (metaphysically speaking), from which all aspects of Balinese social life derive and which in various guises pervades the world.

All relations are gauged by reference to the standing of entities in various contexts relative to Vidhi, i. e. relative to centres—some of the forms which Vidhi takes in the phenomenal world. Considering the Balinese form of life holistically, then, and as a totality—for that is what it is (*supra*)—it is only appropriate to make our starting-point the simplest form of Vidhi: Vidhi as a dualistic unity.

### D Graphic articulations of these relations

Like Vidhi as, for instance, the apotheosis of purity and of beauty, these relations (and the relations that obtain among them) can only be known through their expression in aspects of Balinese life (Duff-Cooper 1985a:161). Some such expressions follow.

Vidhi is also Sang Bindu, the point or dot. As such (and as the bisexual icon Ardhanārīśvara), Vidhi consists of the female principle (*pradhana*) and the male principle (*purusa*). These principles together constitute a dualistic unity called *pradhana purusa*. This unity is replicated in the material and visible (*sakala*) realm by



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married couples and, by analogy, by every other dualistic unity (e.g. Duff-Cooper 1985c: Tables 1-4) which exists in the Balinese world. Dichotomy, as Hocart remarks (1970:289), is only a “first step” logically and sometimes historically also (but cf. Duff-Cooper: forthcoming-i). In our case, dichotomy is followed by partition of Vidhi into three. (Whether history is parallel with logic here, and below, cannot of course be said with certainty.) Thus the gods Brahma, Visnu, and Siva, located to south (left), to north (right), and at the centre one of another in the shrine which every local descent group compound contains represent partition of Vidhi into three in the essential and invisible (*niskala*) realm. This mode of partition is replicated by the three kinds of human being—female, male, transvestite (*banci*, *bantong*) (Duff-Cooper: forthcoming-g)—which exist in Balinese life and by many other divisions into three. The *catur déva*—the gods Brahma, Mahadéva, Visnu, and Siva at the four points south, west, north, east respectively—exemplify Vidhi as a unity consisting of four entities; the four estates exemplify partition into four in the material realm. Division into five places Siva at the centre, with Isvara at east, of the four gods just mentioned in the *panca* (five) *déva*; materially this mode of partition is represented by, for instance, the five kinds of rites (*panca yadnya*) (e.g. Duff-Cooper 1984b: 19) which are the duty (*dharma*) of every adult Balinese. Division into eight is exemplified by the *asta sakti*, eight aspects of Siva at eight points of the compass, and by the *asta kosali* [eight books concerning the construction of Balinese buildings (*balé*)] (e.g. Hooykaas 1976:241)<sup>13</sup>. The nine gods of the *nava sanga*—at south, southwest, west, northwest, north, northeast, east, southeast, and centre: the eight points of the *asta sakti* (above) plus centre—and the nine days of the nine-day week (*nava wara*) represent division of a unity into nine in each of the essential and invisible and the material, visible realms. Division into eleven is represented by the *Eka Dasa Rudra*, the nine gods of the *nava sanga*

plus nadir (*ketebenan*) and zenith (*keluanan*). The eponymous rite which should be held once every one hundred Balinese years of 210 days at the temple Besakih on Gunung Agung (Bali) carries this mode of partition over, so to say, into the material realm.

Many other examples of these modes of partition in both realms could be cited, but the above (and see n.13) make the point: that unities, archetypally represented by the dichotomous Vidhi, consist of various (though not infinitely various) numerically more complex entities<sup>14</sup>.

Metaphysically, the unities which are partitioned as above are all aspects of Vidhi. Formally, they are all elaborations, of varying degrees of complexity, of symmetrical duality. Within any aspect, the constituent entities are related one to another as described above; and related entities from one such aspect are related to entities constituent of other aspects by analogy and homology (Duff-Cooper: unpublished manuscript [1986b]).

A question now to be answered is: What shape should a graphic articulation of these matters take? One answer to this question is: Given that the operations of reversal and of alternation (and the other periodic modes discernible in this form of life) cannot be represented *per se* graphically—though these modes of relation can, of course, be represented in various ways (e.g. Needham 1983: 113–116, 125, 127, 145–147); and given that what is to be articulated begins with a dualistic point which may be divided into as many as nine entities which are generally represented in Balinese books (*lontar*; *rontal*) and by others as eight points around a centre (e.g. Covarrubias 1937: 296–297), then a concial shape suggests itself [but see p.20 (*post*)]. This shape is also that of a schematic representation of the Balinese Mahameru (e.g. Duff-Cooper 1985a: 159 n.5), of *gunungan*, representations in offerings, buildings, and gardens of both Gunung Agung (Bali) and Mount Rinjani (Lombok) and of the offering *puspe* (lit. flower) used during rites of cremation. This

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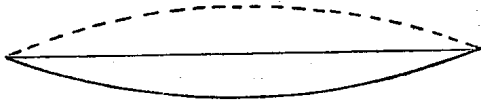


Figure I: Division into two

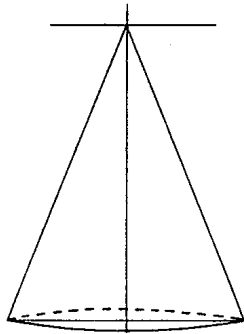


Figure IIa: Vidhi as Sang Bindu, the point of dot, and division into three

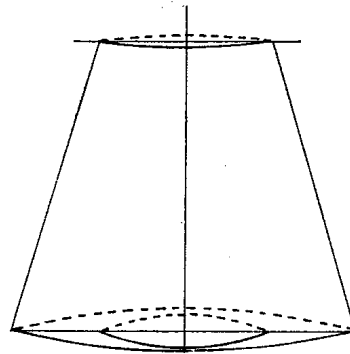


Figure IIb: Division into two (Vidhi as e.g., pradhana purusa) and division into three

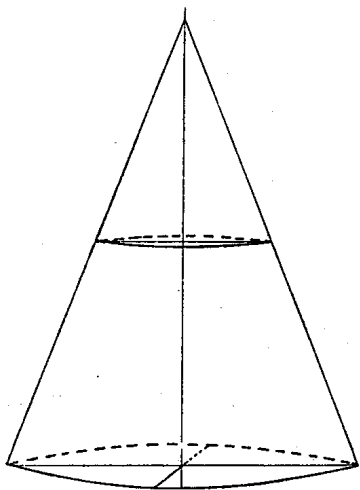


Figure IIIa: The point or dot, division into three and four/five

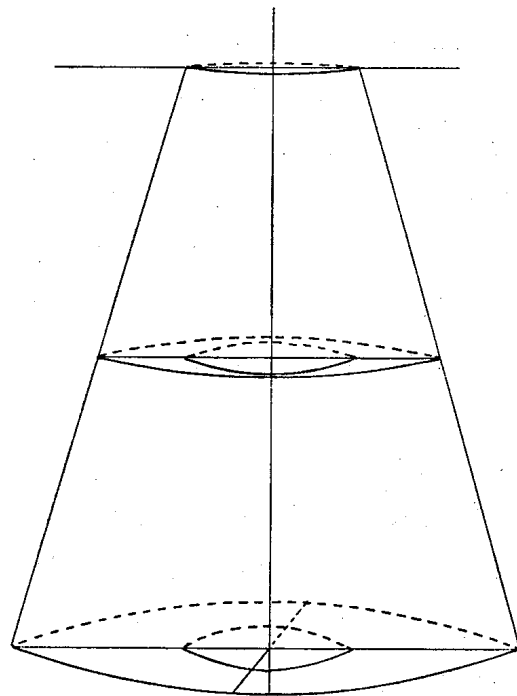


Figure IIIb: Divisions into two, three, and four/five

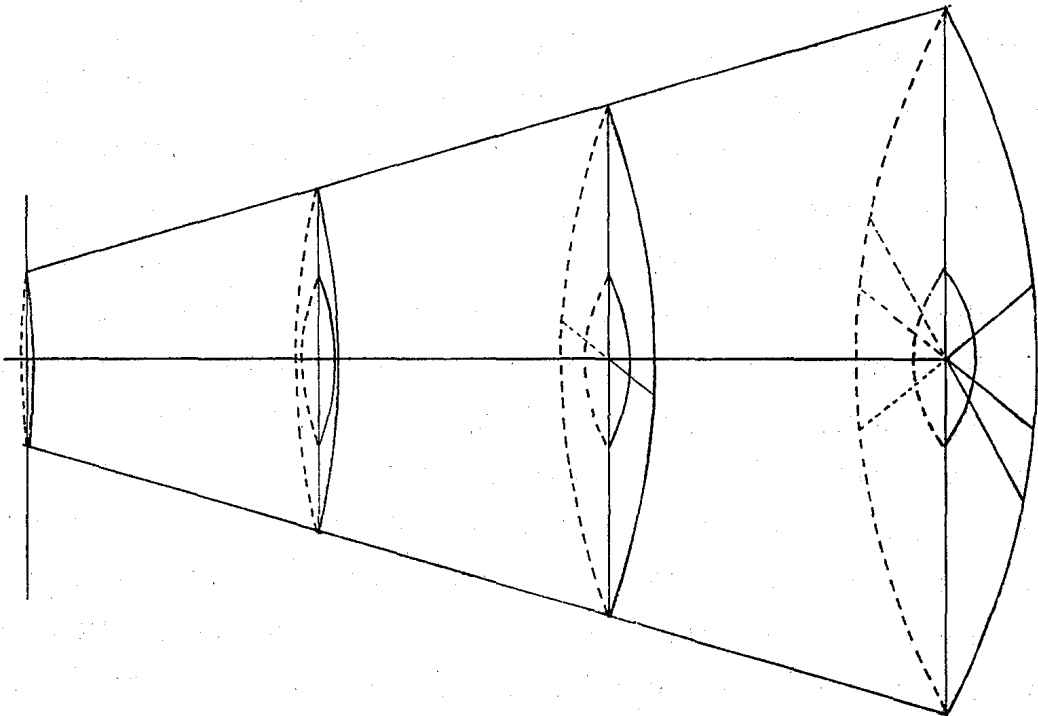


Figure IVb: Divisions into two, three, four/five, eight/nine, and eleven.

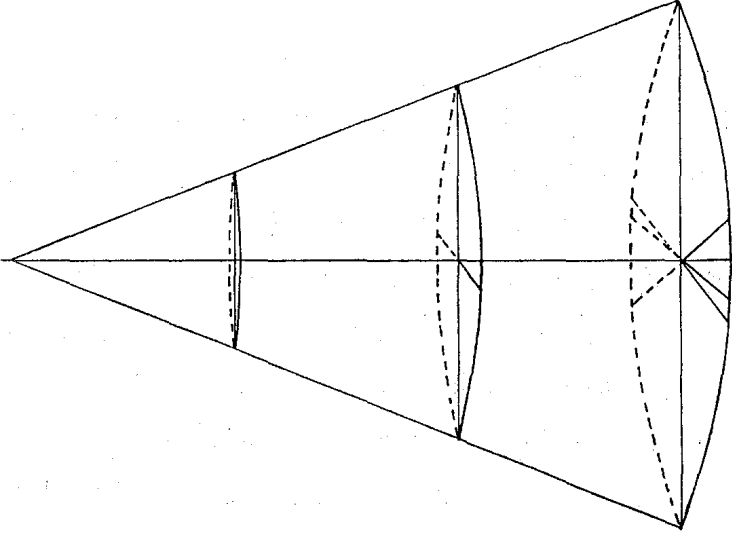


Figure IVa: The point or dot, and divisions into three, four/five, eight/nine, and eleven

shape well accomodates the logical (formal) move from our starting-point, dichotomy (Fig. I), the simplest form of classification, through successive partitions into three (Figs. IIa, IIb), four/five (Figs. IIIa, IIIb), eight/nine (Figs. IVa, IVb), and into eleven (Figs. IVa, IVb)<sup>15</sup>.

At this degree of abstraction, no spatial coordinates are required to locate these forms. Only when the unities are supplied with a content (for instance, the social facts mentioned above) and hence with values (cf., e.g. Needham 1983: chap. 2) do the figures by which all the above matters are articulated need locating: mountainwards and seawards [*kaler, kelod* (north, south)] are to the right and the left, and east and west (*kangin, kauh*) to the bottom and top, of each page respectively. The figures should be self-explanatory when read in conjunction with the explanations given above. It is to be stressed, though, that the figures are artificial delineations of various aspects of the structure of the Balinese form of social life; they are *not* "concrete replicas" (Needham 1983:17) of social facts.

## IV

### Constructing the Models

#### A Molecular structure model-making kits

Two kinds of such kits were available for use: a Maruzen HGS "D" kit, used by inorganic chemists, and a Maruzen HGS "G" kit, used for organic models by chemists. The "D" kit consists of plastic rods of various lengths and of "nodes" of various shapes and colours. The other kit consists of similar nodes, but the connecting rods, also of various lengths, are steel.

In the event, neither kit proved amenable to the task in hand, to build models along the lines of the figures: neither the rods nor the holes into which the rods are inserted in the nodes are designed for constructing circles or ellipses; nor for piling one such shape, therefore, on top of similar shapes of lesser diameter.

### B Clay and wire

Modelling clay was used to make the eighteen nodes required by the model, and 2-3 mm diameter steel wire to connect the clay nodes one with another. Although the models which resulted articulated the abstractions, it proved impossible to achieve the fineness, both of the nodes and of the connecting wires, which is appropriate to such a model: what resulted was akin to models as Giacometti might have made them.

### C Polystyrene balls and wire

Polystyrene balls (*happō suchiiroru*) as used in Japan for making decorations used at the New Year and other festivals, especially in shrines<sup>16</sup>, were adopted for the nodes. However, the material of which they are made is not strong enough to hold the connecting lengths of wire. (2-3 mm diameter wire was again used.) Nor could the wire be glued into the balls, of course, for glue dissolves polystyrene.

### D Computer graphics

Three-dimensional computer-aided design or solids-modelling software constructs a solid image (generally) by linking a collection of polygons of various shapes and sizes. Among other things, objects can be rotated in space, scaled, and edited. Lines normally out of sight (falling behind other lines and surfaces) can be removed and the surface of the object created can be shaded to mimic the way light would be reflected off a "real" object<sup>17</sup>.

This is clearly the answer to our problem of constructing a model of the relations, and the relations among them, which frame the Balinese form of life. Not only what the figures show could be shown, but also reversal and alternation (and the other periodic modes mentioned). The development of the more complex modes of partition articulated graphically in Figs. IIa-IVb, furthermore, could be depicted, and by various manipulations the way in which all these matters derive from and are encapsulated in Vidhi (as

Sang Bindu and as Ardhanārīśvara) could be shown.

Three-dimensional software, however, is still “in its infancy as far as practical applications go—in part because microcomputer processing speed does not yet allow the complex mathematical calculations necessary to create, shift, and rotate accurate solid models” quickly and cheaply (Brand 1984:135).

The Keio university mainframe computer at Hiyoshi can handle such operations, of course, but the operator must have some knowledge of analytic geometry: he or she is required to describe an image using numbers representing points in a three-dimensional matrix and may also have to know about such things as local and global coordinates, sections of solids, and projections onto planes<sup>18</sup>. Unfortunately and in common with probably the majority of social anthropologists, I do not have such knowledge and after discussing the matter at length with Professor Nagashima (see n.1) it was decided that (i) it would be too time-consuming to acquire it and (ii) the cost of a trained operator performing the operations for me was prohibitive. Further, the cost of reprinting a print-out with a piece such as the present study would preclude the results of the operations being published in an accessible form, which is (of course) one reason for undertaking them. Regrettably, the operations have not been performed, though I am authoritatively told that they are in principle wholly feasible<sup>19</sup>.

## V

### **Concluding Remarks**

The matters addressed in previous sections show that what is apt for the resolution of one sociological problem (e. g. molecular structure model-making equipment) may for various reasons prove not to be apt for another. Questions of method, that is, are best<sup>20</sup> decided in the resolution of particular sociological problems, not by abstract

arguments. They suggest, also, that what is suggested as a possible way of resolving one problem may also be useful in the resolution of another. But the amount of work and the cost of carrying out such an operation must be balanced against the results which it procures. To my mind, it is a little odd to suggest something (such as three-dimensional computer graphics) which has little chance of being put into effect—although it must be admitted that, in this field at least, change occurs so fast that such graphic articulations may one day be feasible for even the most numerically-unversed social anthropologist, say, to undertake.

Then, the experiences described above make clear that before one can begin such tasks as those addressed above, one must be clear about the form of life in question, and about the abstractions which it is intended to articulate graphically. Furthermore, they lead to a sharper appreciation of the natures of description and analysis: that they are undertaken from a point of view (cf. Duff-Cooper: forthcoming-f), in our case using formal (relational) concepts which have, of course, previously been defined in various ways (e. g. Duff-Cooper:1985f). The figures (as the models would have done) sum up the constants in our verbal descriptions and analysis (see n. 4). But the constants are contingent upon the point of view from which the verbal descriptions were made, and upon the definitions of the abstract concepts adopted. The resultant order is therefore only one order out of many possible orders; and the constants delineated could well be otherwise (cf. Needham 1980:75).

Furthermore, of course, the form which these constants are articulated graphically in could be otherwise. Allen, indeed, suggests that it is “natural” (1985:26) to consider possible alternatives to such delineations, while MacClancy suggests some possibilities (1985:147)<sup>21</sup>. Without going into their applicability to Balinese life, the suggestions in themselves set our constructs in their proper relative context.



## Some Ways of Delineating

Finally, we should seek out ambiguities in our constructs (cf. Needham 1983:164). Two main ambiguities, as I presently (April 1986) see them, are apparent. First, Vidhi as dichotomous unity (see Figs. I, IIb, IIIb, IVb) may also be depicted as in Figure V, a schematic representation of the sun-god, Surya. (This figure also shows partition into eight/nine, of course.) Figure IVb could, therefore, appear as Figure VI. While this figure delineates the kinship of dichotomy and partition into (eight/nine), it places the latter at both the head and the feet, so to say, of the progressions through three, four/five, [six, seven], and eight/nine. Thus the series of transformations is:  $9/8:3:4/5:[6:7]:8/9$ . But still, this series corresponds with the alternating sequence of numbers of the odd and the even series which is discernible in various aspects of Balinese life (e.g. Duff-Cooper: forthcoming-d, -e).

Also, Vidhi viewed under this changed aspect suggests (what is correct) that so long as the constructs remain abstract, there is no need for our starting-point (duality) to be at the top of the diagrams and for the transformations to appear serially lower on the pages. This accords with the social facts which the structure delineated by our constructs frames being conceived as existing in the horizontal as well as in the vertical plane. But this concordance (if that is what it is), of course, is only relevant when the constructs are taken to represent an empirical state of affairs, i.e. to have a content, or when value is ascribed to the components of the constructs. As they stand, i.e. as delineations of abstractions, the constructs could appear anyhow on the page. (Vidhi is ubiquitous [*sarvagatah*].)

There are, of course, various other points of view from which the constructs could be considered; and doubtless, viewing them from these different points would reveal much about the Balinese form of life which has yet to be discerned and further ambiguities which would cast light on it. Turning our constructs about in our

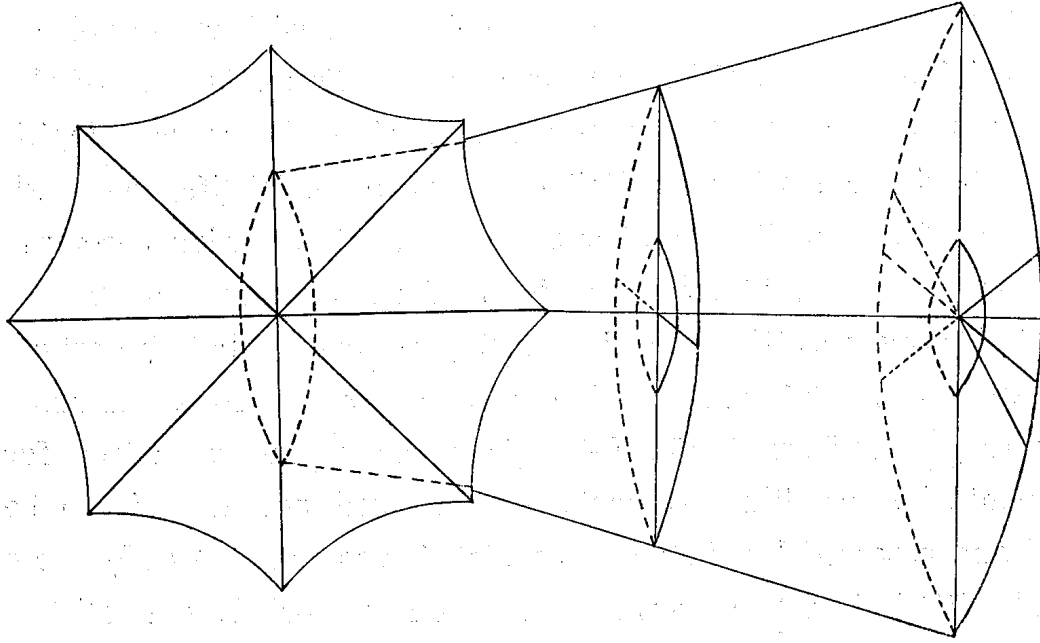


Figure VI: Vidhi as Surya (with divisions into four/five, eight/nine)

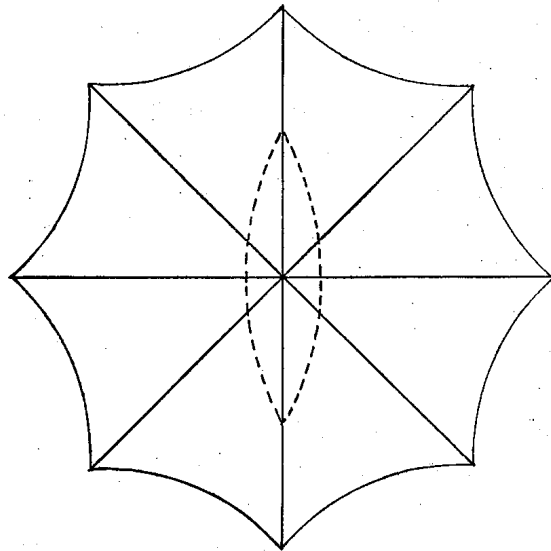


Figure V: Vidhi as Surya, the sun-god (division into eight/nine)

minds in this way is essential if we want to compare this form of life with others (see n.7): as MacClancy, for instance, remarks (1985:147), "comparison may be the point of social anthropology, but precipitate juxtaposition may conceal the distinctiveness of the very areas compared". The question then arises: When is it legitimate to begin comparing the Balinese form of social life, say, with other such forms of life? Put another way, this question becomes: When can we say, "now we understand such-and-such a form of life"? To this question, there is probably no answer but the ethnographer's own. This answer, like so much else in social anthropology (e.g. Needham 1985:10-11) is probably not a matter for argument; rather, like the matters addressed above, it is to be tested and assessed by the results which it procures. As Needham remarks (1971:1xxx) in another connection: "Work before talk".

#### NOTES

- 1 It has been suggested (Allen 1985:22, 25) that linguistics is a "neighbouring discipline" of social anthropology and that social anthropological theory (whatever that is) has in the past drawn with profit on the "experience" of linguistics. Needham more authoritatively has it, though, that "much high-sounding talk has been propogated in the vocabulary of linguistics, with the claim that the subject is the origin or should be the model of objective analysis in the sphere of social facts in general; but this, when judged by work actually done, often turns out to be either pretentious rhetoric or defective history of ideas" (1981:13; cf. 1971:xxi-xxxiv). Sociolinguistics, though, as exemplified by the work of, for instance, Suzuki (e.g. 1984) or perhaps more controversially in some ways Miller (1982), is another matter entirely.
- 2 The data upon which the present essay is based (see n.4, below) were collected during the course of about twenty-one months field research in Pagutan, western Lombok, Indonesia, between 1979 and 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 greatly indebted. Dr. Akira Nagashima [Professor of Mechanical Engineering, Keio University (Hiyoshi)] and Messrs.

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- 3 The residents of the Gria Taman, Pagutan Belatung, are mostly of the Brahmana estate (*varna*), the duty (*dharma*) of which is to deal with the mystical (what is *niskala*, invisible, essential, timeless) and especially that aspect of the mystical which is high, white, to the right, the east and northeast, and so on (cf., e. g. Duff-Cooper 1984b: 10-13). The residents of Baturujung are all Sudra and, in accordance with their "sacred" duty, are mostly agriculturalists. For an account of the relative standing of the four Balinese estates—Brahmana, Ksatria, Vesia, Sudra in decreasing order of fineness—see, e. g., Duff-Cooper (1985a).
- 4 These social facts are partially described in Duff-Cooper (1983) and in a series of studies most comprehensively listed in Duff-Cooper (forthcoming-c). Copies of these essays have been or will be deposited in Keio University library at Mita.
- 5 For some of the ways in which "structure" is used by social anthropologists, see, e. g., De Josselin de Jong (1984a, 1984b), Korn (1969a, 1969b), Lévi-Strauss (1949, 1958), Moyer et al. (1981), Needham (1971: xix; 1972: 154-156; 1979: 59-60), Rivière (1971: 63).
- 6 Van Wouden (1968) was originally published in Dutch in 1935. For various views of Van Wouden's models, see, e. g., the contributions to *The Flow of Life* (Fox 1980), Barnes (1985a, 1985b), De Josselin de Jong (esp. 1984b; 1985), and Duff-Cooper (1985c). Among these "metaphors for living" are "the shared social category of the house for descent groupings, relative age categories [elder/younger], and the reference to 'trunks' and 'origins'...for social relationships like that between mother's bother and sister's child. ...reference may also be made to the orientation of building material in the construction of houses and boats. Houseposts commonly have to retain the orientation of the original tree, and...this rule of orientation, expressed horizontally as 'move to the right' may well be widespread and serve as a powerful metaphor for marriage regulations..." (Barnes 1985a: 104; 1985b: 222). For discussions of some of these metaphors in Balinese life, see, e. g., Howe (1980) and Duff-Cooper (1985b, forthcoming-e, -f).
- 7 There will probably be much profit to be had from pursuing Marschall's

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- suggestion (1984: 86) that the cognatic systems of Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Java, the northern Moluccas, and most relevantly for us the Balinese, might be seen as transformations of the prescriptive systems (e.g. Needham 1973) of eastern Indonesia.
- 8 Gregory Bateson also suggested the rather more rudimentary technique of “circular diagrams [to represent the categorical closure in systems of asymmetric prescriptive alliance]; the terms and their connectives were to be ‘rolled so as to form a cylinder around something hard, such as a jam jar’...” (Needham 1983: 161).
  - 9 These observations (naturally) assume a particular epistemology, which is idealist. A contrasting view, with which, rhetorical expression apart, I have some sympathy, is perhaps that “levels [as conceived by the French anthropologist Louis Dumont (see R. H. Barnes et al. (1985: *passim*))] are not abstract theoretical constructs invented by anthropologists. They are social facts as Durkheim defines them and they assert themselves out of the ethnographic observation of specific societies” (Iteanu 1985: 91).
  - 10 These “degrees” of asymmetry were first proposed as constituting an aspect of the structure of the Balinese form of life in October 1984 when Duff-Cooper (1985f), in which they were first proposed publicly, was written. At that time, I was unaware of Swedenborg’s use of “degree” and of his arguments in support of it.
  - 11 Cf. Duff-Cooper (unpublished manuscript [1986b]). For a discussion of the legitimacy of using “context” as an analytical term, see Duff-Cooper (forthcoming-c).
  - 12 Centres of reference may take many forms and are not necessarily the physical centre of a unity: the centre of a compound is the temple which each local descent group maintains in the compound where it is resident and not the empty space (*natar* or *natah*) at the physical centre of the compound (e.g. Duff-Cooper 1985b: 48). On centres see also Mauss (1974: 145).
  - 13 Division into six is exemplified by the *sad ripu*, the six evils—lust, greed, anger, drunkenness, confusion, envy (Duff-Cooper 1983: 232)—to which a person is prone; the six national temples (*kayangan sad*) of the Balinese (Duff-Cooper 1986a) represent this mode of partition in the material (social) realm. The seven heavens (*sapta loka*) (but cp. Penard 1924: 652; Duff-Cooper 1983: 561) and the seven kinds of “drunkenness” [*sapta timira* (over-valuing beauty, wealth, intelligence, purity of descent, winning, as opposed to losing, youth, and being overfond of alcohol)] exemplify partition into seven. They are not included mostly in the text as they do not figure below, for reasons which are too space-consuming to discuss here. For the construction of buildings

- by people in Pagutan, see Duff-Cooper (1985b).
- 14 A Balinese "week", however, may range from a unity of one [the one-day week (*eka wara*)] which may be divided in various ways to a unity of thirty [the thirty-day week (*tri dasa wara*)]. A local descent group, also, may have a variable number of members, while the residents of Baturujung may, of course, number more or less than the approximate 350 that they did in 1979-81. In the present study it is not appropriate to address the various ways in which aspects of the above-mentioned modes of partition, especially the *number* of entities of which a unity consists, are comparable with the "numerical classifications" of other southeast Asian societies. Such matters are most usefully addressed by Barnes (1985a:100-102) and by De Josselin de Jong (1985:200), although De Josselin de Jong's inclusion of Islamic Sasak as examples of such peoples is most suspect, an assertion which will be justified on another occasion.
  - 15 Partition into eleven: the nine points at the base of the cone. The centre of these points represents the nadir, the centres of partitions into five and three together, the centre (*puséh*), and the zenith is represented by the highest point or dichotomous unity (Duff-Cooper: unpublished manuscript [1986b]).
  - 16 These balls, both red and white, representing red and white rice cakes (*mochi*) that before were used in such decorations, signify (of course) future good-fortune, well-being, happiness, and such like.
  - 17 See Waismann (1968:57ff.) for the view that the evidence that a domain of "the real" exists is very slender.
  - 18 A "tutorial and extensive documentation" on the state of 3-D graphics is ETHNOGRAPHICS/PC—"more of a tutorial or learning experience than a software package for practical everyday use", but one requiring "a mathematical journey into the third dimension". 3DESIGN is an inexpensive introductory package to the concepts and techniques of 3-D design, but one with various drawbacks. Advanced Space Graphics and Cubicomp CS-5 are more sophisticated packages; the Connection Machine, "a large-scale computer" is probably the most sophisticated of all (see Anon. 1986). A recommended text-book on computer-aided design is Waite & Morgan (1983); see also Brand (1984:137).
  - 19 I should not want it thought (what would be wrong) that this represents a change in my views (Duff-Cooper: forthcoming-h) about the relevance of computers for social anthropological research generally—that they can only ever be sophisticated back-ups for our main task—and the irrelevance of a post (the only one in the discipline established that year) in Anthropology and Computing for all aspects of British social anthropology.

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- 20 I am tempted to write here: "can only decisively be"....
- 21 At the place cited, MacClancy mentions "a flat spatial metaphor, or one of concentric globes, or...a one-dimensional metaphor (e.g. overlapping bars or concentric holes of various depth)..."

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