

**BALINESE
TRADITIONAL
PAINTINGS**

PREFACE

This catalogue has been published in conjunction with an exhibition of Balinese traditional paintings, held at The Australian Museum, May-July 1978. The exhibition and catalogue present a selection of more than 60 items from the Museum's collection of traditional Balinese paintings. The total collection of 104 items, acquired in 1976 from Professor Anthony Forge of the Department of Prehistory and Anthropology, ANU, Canberra, was collected by Professor Forge in Bali during 1972-73, as part of his research into traditional Balinese art and its cultural background. Professor Forge has provided extensive documentation on each of the items, as well as an introduction to the painting tradition in Bali.

The Australian Museum is pleased to present to the public a major selection from a collection which is believed to be one of the most valuable and best documented of this type in the world. There are other larger and older collections in existence, especially in the Netherlands. However, the particular value of the Forge collection lies in its systematic coverage of the subject matter illustrated in the paintings, the variety and quality of the works, and their historical scope—from mid 19th century works to present day works in the traditional style. It is hoped that this catalogue does justice not only to the collection as a whole, but also to the cultural and artistic complexity of traditional Balinese paintings.

(D.J.G. Griffin
Director)

COVER:

Ramayana—Hanoman leaps the straits to Langka—from No. 16.

BALINESE TRADITIONAL PAINTINGS

**A Selection from The Forge Collection
of The Australian Museum, Sydney**

**Text from Material by
Anthony Forge**

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FOREWORD

The paintings in this exhibition are part of a coherent tradition of painting from the island of Bali; as such they are part of Balinese culture and play a part in Balinese ritual and ceremony both of the temple and previously of the court. The paintings are all in the traditional style and span a period of about 150 years, during which changes in the materials used occurred, but the style and the purposes of the paintings remained unchanged. Since the 1930s 'new' or 'modern' art has developed in Bali. Starting with active encouragement by European artists living on the island, these movements have exploded in the 60s and 70s and now produce a vast amount of painting, most of which is sold abroad. These recent movements are not represented in this exhibition. They are not used in ritual or ceremony, and although the modern paintings derive much of their iconography from the same Balinese sources as the traditional paintings, so far they have not been integrated into Balinese culture. Although only one community of painters—in the village of Kamasan, near Klungkung—it persists and even flourishes. Indeed, the demand for traditional painting by Balinese for traditional use continues, and many 'modern' artists buy traditional paintings to use in their own courtyard temples.

The collection, part of which forms this exhibition, was made by me in 1972-73 during a year's fieldwork in Bali. While living in the village of Kamasan I discovered that apart from the old and new paintings offered for sale in shops, there was a trade in replacement paintings. Temples would commission new paintings from Kamasan artists and offer old paintings in exchange. Depending on the age, quality and condition of the old paintings, they would be accepted as part of the price, the whole price or, in a few cases, the artists would offer a new painting plus some money for an old one. The old paintings were then offered by the artists to a very few specialist shops, or to known individual collectors (a famous Australian artist living in Sanur has a superb collection). By and large, old paintings were not available to the tourist market. I saw many paintings passing through Kamasan and related networks in Klungkung, and realised that important potential documentation of stylistic and iconographic change over time, and of individual artist's styles, was available. However, I also saw that apart from photography (and I photographed many paintings that I did not buy), the only way to record the past tradition of Balinese painting was to make a collection, and to tap the knowledge present in the community of Kamasan artists to document it.

The collection was formed with the intention of getting the widest possible variety of styles and qualities, as well as ages. The finest old paintings are very valuable and beautiful, however they were not the object of the collection. There are large Dutch collections, devoid of documentation and even identification, which contain many fine works. These illustrate well the achievements of Balinese traditional artists, but the artists themselves remain anonymous, and the meaning of the art to its creators and beholders remains totally obscure. The anonymous artist is a feature of everything that has ever been written about Balinese traditional painting—which is not very much. It soon became clear to me that to the Kamasan artists of the 70s there were no anonymous artists. They discussed who had painted a certain picture, and by and large agreed, whether individually or in consultation together. There were tricks of style that they used, and I learned, that could pick out a man as the original draughtsman. The 19th century was, on the whole, beyond them because they were relying on their memory of artists actually drawing before their eyes. Nonetheless, memory for some of them goes back to the turn of the century. (Notes on some past and present Kamasan artists are given on page 84.)

In this brief catalogue there is no space to go into a detailed analysis of what the art meant in Balinese society, and of the symbolic importance of the chosen themes. In the space available I have concentrated on the objects before you: how were they produced? What do they mean in a simple iconographic sense? How were they used? The complexity of some of the stories, and the chosen scenes, is typical of Bali, which successfully defies any simplistic analysis. The interaction of the equally valued principles of equality and hierarchy, creates a complex web of symbols which can be differently perceived by different people, and herein lies the power of Balinese painting for the Balinese. For us, essentially outsiders, the power of the images may have some impact, and I hope they do, but the deep meanings belong essentially to the Balinese and can only be hinted at here. They could only be uncovered in depth by a much more detailed, and boring, analysis than can be attempted in this catalogue.

Anthony Forge

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am most grateful to the S.S.R.C. of the U.K. and the Harry F. Guggenheim Foundation for funds that enabled me to study Balinese paintings. I have spent all too few delightful hours with Professor Th.P. Galestin of Leiden, during which I managed to tap a little of his encyclopaedic knowledge of stories and their representation in art. Professor Peter Worsley has been unfailingly helpful. The staff of The Australian Museum and especially Zoe Waklin-King have been enthusiastic and stimulating. This catalogue might well be said to be the product of a dual opposition that I trust has been creative.

The Balinese are understandably unenthusiastic about welcoming strangers into their very intense, closed and beautiful society – although they are very tolerant about permitting them at the outskirts. I am most grateful to my mentors in the complexities of Balinese society and culture: Manku Mura, whose pen drawings illustrate the introduction and some of whose paintings I am very happy to see in the exhibition; Manku Gede Putu Cedet, a man of power if ever I met one; Pan Soka Kliang of Pura Bale Batur, a superb silversmith and appreciator of the paintings of his relatives and others. There are many more men and women from Kamasan and the surrounding area, who helped my endeavours in all sorts of ways: Manku Mura's rival, Nyoman Mandra brought an artist's eye and advice to my work, but unfortunately was out of the village much of the time, winning a place for Kamasan painting in the emerging Indonesian society and culture. Finally, and of the greatest importance, I could not have worked at all without Jane, Tom and Olivia who succeeded, to the great surprise of the Balinese, in charming them, and thus opened doors for their husband and father that otherwise would have remained obstinately shut.

Anthony Forge

A NOTE ON SPELLING

There is a wide variety of orthographies for the Balinese language in the literature. In addition, many authorities refer to gods and heroes by Indian or Old Javanese versions of their names. In this catalogue, I have used the current Balinese transcription of their own language into Roman script (where necessary being guided by the draft dictionary published by Panitia Penyusun Kamus of Den-pasar). The spelling of the names of gods and heroes corresponds to the simple version of their names used in Bali, and to normal Balinese pronunciation – without, however, their Balinese titles. An index of particular names is included on pages 90-92, and a glossary of terms on pages 93-95.

CONTENTS

Preface	
Foreword	3
Acknowledgements	4
A Note on Spelling	4
INTRODUCTION	6
—Types of Paintings and Their Use	7
—The Artists	8
—The Techniques	9
—The Stories	12
—Iconography	15
—Identification of Paintings	17
COLOUR CATALOGUE : Items 1-48	
CALENDARS : Items 48-53	
—Left and Right	70
—Sanging and Wayang	74
—Conclusions	79
—List of Works Cited	83
Kamasan Artists	84
‘Mythological’ Story Summaries	13
—Adiparwa	86
—Ramayana	86
—The Pandawas and Korawas	88
—Arjuna Wiwaha	88
—Bharatayuddha	89
Index of Particular Names	90
Glossary	93

INTRODUCTION

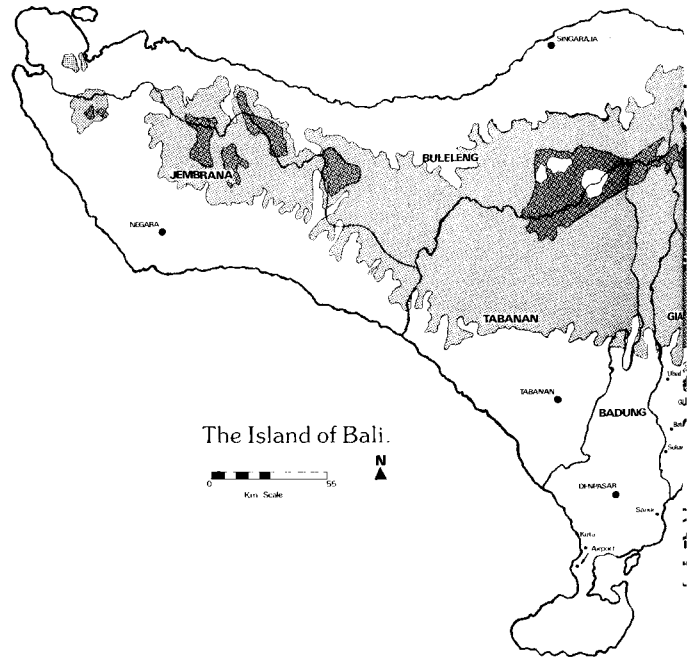
The island of Bali today has a population of more than two million, and is widely known to the outside world as a tourist paradise. The culture that attracts the tourists, and of which these paintings form a part, has developed as a mixture of high Hindu culture (from Java and ultimately India) and an indigenous Balinese tradition of which we know little.

Since the isolation of Bali brought about by the Islamic conquests in Java about 500 years ago, Balinese culture has accepted many influences from outside—from Islamic, Chinese and various European sources. However, all that it has accepted it has made 'Balinese'. The distinctive culture which has emerged maintains a balance between the hierarchical dogmas of an Indian-derived caste system, and the basically egalitarian organisations which dominate life for the vast majority of the Balinese.

The *rajas* and the high priests of Brahmana caste, based their claims for pre-eminence on their external original; that is, from the great Javanese empires—and particularly from the last East Javanese kingdom of Majapahit (c. 14th century A.D.). These Javanese kingdoms had instituted a political and religious system (based on Hindu scriptures) of three aristocratic 'races', the *triwangsa*, consisting of the Brahmana, Ksatria, and Wesia. These three 'high castes' (though they do not function as castes in the present day Indian sense of the term) regarded themselves as destined to dominate over the rest of the people (over 90% of the total population) whom they classified as Sudra. However, village organisation, and the production of rice and other foods, have always been based on the existence of voluntary egalitarian societies that provide the necessary co-operative labour, and that cut across the imposed hierarchial structure.

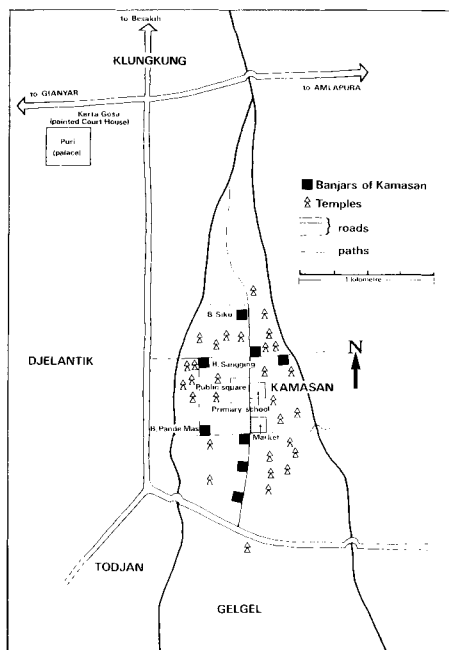
The creative tension between these principles of hierarchy and equality gave Balinese society a resilience which enabled it to stand out for a long time against the growing power of first Islam and then the Dutch in Indonesia. The *rajas* of South Bali were genuinely independent until the first decade of this century. When the Dutch did finally conquer the independent Balinese states, they were suffering from a phase of moral conscience, and were less openly exploitive than they had been in the rest of Indonesia. The powers of the *rajas* were curbed, and the collector of taxes was changed, but otherwise they had little impact in Balinese society at the village level.

To the Balinese, to be Balinese is to be a member of at least three temple communities, each a model of the egalitarian organisations that are so important in all aspects of Balinese life. One cannot be Balinese without participating in the festivals of these temples which are held once a Balinese



year—210 days. At these festivals every household must participate; it is the duty of the women to prepare offerings and of the men to decorate the temple to receive the visiting gods. Not to participate or fulfil one's obligations in the temple community, is not only to lose one's religion, but to lose one's culture, and membership in the whole society.

The position of Balinese traditional painting within this complicated cultural and social framework is far from clearcut. Early reports, and the Dutch literature, by and large link painting very definitely with the courts and the activities of the higher castes. Early accounts of Bali by Europeans mention paintings as part of the decorations of the *rajas* courts, particularly when rituals involving the family were being performed. Paintings, often very large, were used by the *rajas* to decorate their private apartments, but most were used in the semi-public areas of the palaces, for royal rituals. The subjects of the paintings displayed would be appropriate to the ceremony to be performed—a royal marriage, or a tooth-filing ceremony for royal children, and so on. Paintings were also appropriate gifts between *rajas*, and were also loaned, despite rivalry and even hostility between kingdoms. Some paintings were given to the early Dutch colonial officials, when they came in as the political equals or superiors of the *rajas*. Outside the courts, the use of paintings, though following the same lines, was on a more modest scale, and it has been assumed that the decoration of festivals at non-royal temples and houseyards was an extension of what was originally a royal prerogative.



Kamasan and surrounding area.

However, the actual producers of the paintings were Sudra specialists, living in communities separate from, but usually close to, the palace of a *raja*. The skills were jealously guarded, and typically preserved for generations in a group of intermarrying families. These wards of painters received royal recognition with the name *sangging*, granted to the group as a whole by the *raja* whose court they supplied with paintings. There are still several Banjar Sangging in Bali, each of which would have produced paintings in relative isolation from each other, though an awareness of regional styles was gained by seeing works done by artists in other kingdoms. (Only one such Banjar Sangging, in the village of Kamasan, still practises in the traditional style.)

Despite obvious court patronage (which doubtless stimulated production), it is my contention that the traditional painting of Bali was and is essentially a Sudra art, expressing Sudra values and perceptions. Not only were the artists Sudra, but their mass public was drawn from the broad village base of the social pyramid. Many of the story episodes depicted, and the artists' interpretation of them, are in fact consistent with an 'alternative view' of Balinese society—the obverse of that put forward by the three high castes. The chosen themes, in a painting made to decorate a village temple, often emphasize the triumph of the less powerful. The important role of four Balinese characters—servants to the aristocracy yet also mockers of their refined posturings—is a key to understanding the Balinese painting tradition, as it is to the *wayang kulit*. (Further discussion of this subject is given on pp.75-76).

TYPES OF PAINTINGS AND THEIR USE

Whatever the well-springs of Balinese traditional painting, its religious affiliation in the community is clear at all levels: paintings formed highly prestigious and sought-after decorations for festivals in all kinds of temples. Paintings had very specific uses; they would be visible only on set occasions and for a limited time. They were not intended to be objects of contemplation in their own right, but to be part of a more complex whole involving buildings, which they decorated; offerings, which often partly obscured them; and a whole set of actions by priests and congregation which were the main focus of attention. They were usually painted on cloth or bark-cloth, and when not on display were folded and stored in baskets. The fact that they were stored for most of the time undoubtedly helped their preservation, although the repeated folding has sometimes caused damage to the paint surface.

The paintings fall into several distinct classes in terms of use, but not necessarily in terms of iconography or story content. These classes are Balinese and are used by the painters, and by the individuals or temple communities when they commission work.

1. *Tabing* — These are roughly square and are put up against the wood back of the raised bed which is the centre of all household rituals—forming a backdrop to the offerings laid out on such occasions. They are also used in a similar way in temple pavilions. The form covers not only illustrative scenes, but also various kinds of calendars which are painted within the traditional style (see Nos. 48 to 53 and the description preceding them).
2. *Langse* — These are oblong paintings used as a curtain to screen the bed on which the offerings are put. When actually used as a curtain, *langse* have a piece of imported printed cloth of equal size, sewn along the bottom edge. The printed pattern favoured by the Balinese is yellow or gold floral on a red ground. They are suspended from old Chinese coins, *kepeng* (see No. 21). However, many paintings of the same shape as *langse* do not seem to have been used as curtains, but were probably used flat on walls, particularly in palaces.
3. *Ider-ider* — These very long hangings are tied under the eaves of pavilions in the temples or palaces, just under the end of the thatch. They should go right round the outside of the building. The story is told in a series of scenes, usually reading from left to right in the manner of a strip cartoon. To follow the story the viewer walks round the building anti-clockwise. Some *ider-ider* read from right to left, so that the story goes clockwise round the building. Such reversals are common in the rituals associated with death, and in *ider-ider* intended for use in death-temples (*pura dalem*), (cf. No. 35).



A temple pavilion decorated for a festival – with god figurines, offerings and paintings. (Photo: A. Forge)

4. **Ceiling Paintings** – Usually, the ceiling of a pavilion above the bed where the offerings are placed, is decorated with some kind of cloth stretched horizontally under the roof. Plain white cloth is often used, or imported Indian cloths of floral design (ancestors of the printed Indian bedspreads now popular in Western countries). However, paintings are occasionally used, and these feature subjects that can be centrally organised, to be viewed from below. A favourite subject is Garuda, surrounded by gods (an incident from the Adiparwa – see page 86, and No. 12). One ceiling painting in this collection is in the form of a *plindon* or 'earthquake calendar' (see No. 53).
5. **Flags (*kober*) and banners (*lontek*)** – No Balinese ceremony or procession is complete without these. Most of the ones represented here are from Kamasan, and are clearly identical in style with the narrative paintings. Flags are painted on both sides so that the showthrough matches perfectly; one side is thus the mirror image of the other. Flags of both types should come in pairs showing similar but opposed characters from the mythology (cf. No. 20 a and b), or a complementary male and female pair (cf. No. 1 a and b). (See also page 73.) Comparatively little flag painting is now done in Kamasan. Moreover, flags by their very nature, are exposed to wind, and are outside where the rain can reach them, so that they deteriorate quickly. Old ones in tolerable condition are rare. Although flag painting is probably the most widely practised traditional form of painting in Bali, it seems likely that painted flags will soon disappear from the Balinese scene. More and more nowadays, plain cloth ones are used, particularly for the *lontek*,

THE ARTISTS

Today there is only one community of traditional painters still in practice, and they form part of the village of Kamasan. Kamasan is itself one of a group of what are now treated as four separate villages, that together comprise Gelgel, for about 300 years the seat of the senior *raja* of Bali, the *Dewa Agung*. After a particularly vigorous revolt early in the 19th century, he abandoned the site and built a new palace two miles to the north in Klungkung, but many of the specialists who provided services for the court stayed in the Gelgel complex, in the village of Kamasan. The painters of Kamasan are concentrated in two of the eight wards of that village, Banjar Sangging and Banjar Pande Mas. *Sangging*, as explained before, refers directly to painting and *Pande Mas* means literally goldsmith, and the names accurately describe the occupations of the two wards. The two wards are territorially separate, although adjacent. They have their own administrative structures, but they share an origin temple, the Pura Bale Batur. Houseyards in both wards practise both painting and goldsmithing. Both occupations, with their large elements of taught technique, are traditionally restricted to these two wards. However this monopoly has recently been broken by the rise of a painter, Manku Mura, in another ward of Kamasan, Banjar Siku. The tendency to restrict skills to family groups is to be found in all areas of Balinese life and poses the problem of continuing the group—which means marriage without involving outsiders, who could break in to the monopoly. In painting, girls and boys from a young age play an important role in the colouring process, and marriage with outsiders poses a double threat—that of losing a skilled sister, and of gaining an unskilled wife. Almost all the marriages in Banjar Sangging and Banjar Pande Mas in living memory, seem to have been within the two wards. (Together they are big enough to allow this without the danger of incest—a serious pollution that for the Balinese would affect the prosperity of the whole group, not just the family involved.)

In 1973 there were about 30 to 40 houseyards in Kamasan that made a substantial part of their income from the production of paintings. In addition, there were many other individuals, mainly in *banjars* Sangging and Pande Mas, who could and would take some part in the productive process when there was an opportunity. By 1977, when tourist sales of traditional paintings had improved, and silver had become so expensive that the market for silver objects declined, the number of houseyards depending on painting had probably increased by at least a third. These figures refer only to the households making paintings. Almost any mature woman from Banjar Sangging and Banjar Pande Mas, and some of the men, would *sell* paintings and other objects. Thus the maximum number of women and children deriving income from Kamasan painting, would probably be a thousand, while in bad times the number would fall well below 400.

THE TECHNIQUES

Painting is now done exclusively on machine-made cloth or occasionally on wood panels. Large imports of white cloth seem to have started at the beginning of this century. Earlier records speak of Bali as an exporter of coarse plain cloth spun and woven from locally grown cotton, and it is this material in various degrees of fineness that was traditionally used for painting, as well as bark-cloth imported from Eastern Indonesia, mainly Sulawesi. Bark-cloth seems to have needed no preparation, and wood is prepared with a ground made of bone-ash. However, the cotton cloth, whether homespun or machine made, needs treatment before the first stage of producing a painting. The surface of the cloth must be smooth, so that the pen lines can be drawn fluently, while the cloth must also be able to absorb the ink. The cloth is first boiled in a rice paste which impregnates it, and, after drying, the surface to be used is polished with a shell, usually a large cowrie, under considerable pressure. The cloth is laid on a flat board and pressure applied by a 'spring' made of strong pieces of fresh bamboo; one end of the bamboo fits securely into a slot in the roof of the pavilion while the cowrie is on the other. The bamboo is bent to get the cowrie on the painting and thus applies a continuous pressure while the cowrie is moved backwards and forwards across the whole surface. This process is usually repeated before the final finishing stage, or sometimes after the whole picture is finished. Carefully and properly done it produces a highly glazed surface.

Polishing the prepared cloth with a large cowrie shell under pressure. (Photo: A. Forge)



Black ink drawing—artist Manku Mura. (Photo: A. Forge)

There is a careful balance to be achieved in the amount of rice paste used for preparing a cloth. In the 19th century the amounts were small and the surface, although it took the split bamboo pens well, was still a little rough. Sometime in the 20th century, probably about 50 years ago, it became the custom to use much more rice paste, producing a thicker ground which could be polished to a much shinier and smoother surface. It may be that this change was a result of the introduction of steel nibs which have a tendency to splutter in the face of any surface roughness. The thicker coating produced paintings which looked bright and could take fine detail. The disadvantages were not immediately apparent—the paint was in fact not penetrating the rice paste ground and reaching the cloth, so that repeated folding, or water damage, that caused the coating to flake off, left the cloth absolutely bare. At the time of my research the best artists had reverted to the use of thinner grounds which allowed the penetration of the colours into the cloth. What is more, the colours themselves are mixed with a glue, which when it penetrates through the ground into the cloth, binds the whole together. However, much of the inferior work, especially that for tourist sale, was still being done on thick coating with inferior cake glue, and such paintings are unlikely to have a long life. More recently, artists working for the tourist market have started a new 'antik' style. This uses thin unbleached cloth, often of a rather open weave, which is meant to be hand woven old Balinese cloth. A thin rice paste coating is applied and, although the colours appear rather dull, the result does have a fairly antique look and is reported to be selling well.



The artist's children applying the colour washes.
(Photo: A. Forge)

Once a cloth has been treated and polished, the painting can start. Painting is broken up into several clearly defined stages often carried out by different people. The first, and in Balinese terms most important stage, is the black ink drawing. Traditionally, the ink used is Chinese block ink, mixed as required, though more recently some artists also use bottled permanent drawing inks. It is the black ink drawing which sets up the whole design and determines to a large extent the potential final quality of the work. No amount of skill in the later stages can save a bad drawing, although careless colouring and finishing can ruin a good one. An artist's reputation depends on his drawing skill, and it is the individuality of the drawing that is recognised by other artists, and used to identify a work. All that can be said of the colouring is that it is good or bad, and although artists talk of the old days, when there were men who specialised in the finest colouring, they have never been able to identify anyone's work as a colourist. An artist approaching a blank cloth usually roughs out the design in charcoal, mostly just blocking out the main figures and their relationship. Some artists do more elaborate sketches in pencil as, for example on No. 39, where sketched-in sections (some for completely different subjects) have been left. Straight edges may be used as rulers to divide up the cloth, but in general very little preliminary work is done before the main ink drawing starts. Mistakes are rare and very difficult to correct—the artist knows the forms for each of his characters, and draws the correct conventionalised lines with a sure hand.

For *tabing* or *langse* the artists seem to visualise the whole composition in their heads and proceed with great sureness and speed to draw it out. They usually start near the centre where the more important characters are likely to be, and draw the characters first rather than the frames or scenery; even the central tree is drawn after the characters around it. Since *ider-ider* are always commissioned for specific pavilions their length tends to be set. For these, the artist draws one scene at a time, choosing which ones to show and how much elaboration to give them with a view to getting the story adequately covered in the length available.

The next stage is the colouring. The preparation and application of the paints is almost invariably done by other people, often junior members of the artist's own family. The paints used are of various kinds, but the basic colouring is provided by locally obtained earth paints. Ochres in shades of yellow, brown and red are bought in the market, or through friends in villages where they occur. The colourist prepares the paint himself, grinding the ochre and mixing it with water and *ancur*, a form of glue that was originally imported from China, but which now appears to be made in Indonesia. The mixture is ground for some time, always in a bowl of imported Chinese ware, and with a pestle of black volcanic rock. When the mixture is smooth, the bowl is tilted and the finely ground colour and glue mixture separates from the coarser residue. All the colours are prepared in the same way. Before the importation of blue, ground charcoal or soot was similarly mixed to give black or grey washes. *Kincu*—Chinese vermilion—which is certainly the oldest imported colour, and in Balinese eyes the most important, is also treated in the same way. A bright yellow, *atal*, was also previously made, apparently from a vegetable source. However I was unable to find anyone who could tell me how it was made, and what it was made from. Ochre paints are still used by all artists. As well, a variety of other powdered colours are now available from European and Japanese sources, and these too are mixed in the same way. It is said that once the mixture has dried on the cloth it will not soften again if it gets wet, and the paintings are to a certain extent waterproof. However, the cheap block glue now used for inferior work will soften and even run if it gets wet. (Although the majority of the paintings are only accidentally exposed to water, flags, especially when carried in processions, may get soaked, and driving rain may reach *ider-ider*, and even *tabing*, hung in unwallled pavilions.)

The colour is applied with brushes either of frayed stick, or of fibre of various sorts tied on to a stick, or with store-bought paint brushes. Each colour is put on all at once. That is, every part of the painting that is to have yellow ochre is painted with that, before the next colour is mixed up and applied. Usually yellow and browns are applied first, then any other colours, and finally *kincu*, if it is being used. The finest technique in colouring is to apply layers of thin colour washes: when the first layer has dried, a further layer of the same wash is



Black ink line finishing – applied by the artist to produce a *halus* quality work. (Photo: A. Forge)

applied, but this second layer does not reach to the edge of the first. Then a third layer is added, again a little further back, and so on. The result is to produce a graded edge to each mass of colour—the more washes, the more grading, and the more refined the finished product. It is rare nowadays to find more than two layers of any wash.

When all the colour has been applied, the painting can be given a wide variety of finishing procedures. Basically, the initial pen lines are traced over, if they have been obscured, and a large amount of extra detailed lines are added, particularly on such things as the costumes and head-dresses, as well as facial and body-hair. Before the inking starts, it is usual to repolish the painting to give a smooth surface. The finishing lines are standard, and once learned can be applied without much thought or trouble, the original drawing having laid out the picture. Painters usually refer to three different grades of paintings on a scale according to the level and standard of finishing: *kasar*—coarse; *sedang*—midding; and *halus*—fine.

Kasar paintings are those which are sold after the main application of colour is finished, without any final over-drawing in black. Since it is the initial pen drawing that involves

the greatest skill, these paintings sometimes had a considerable vigour (cf. Nos. 22 and 23) despite being often cheap and small and lacking finish. More recent *kasar* work tends to be poor in every respect, and really only suitable for tourist sale.

Sedang finish implies a certain amount of black pen and ink work after the colouring stage. For work of *sedang* grade, such black ink finishing may be done by an apprentice or artist less skilled than the man who did the original drawing.

In producing *halus* paintings it is usual for the finishing to be done by the man who drew the design and has overseen the colouring. Also, some new details may be added that were not present in the original drawing. There are many sub-grades of *halus*, depending on how many finishing techniques are used. *Halus* finishing may be done in red as well as black, in which case the artist uses *kincu* with a pen and not a brush, before going on to the black ink finishing. One common embellishment is the drawing of vines, either in black or red, round the central tree of most scenes—extra touches to the leaves are also added. The most time consuming part is the drawing of detail lines on costumes etc. This red line finishing effectively doubles the time taken to finish the figures in the painting. To achieve an even more *halus* work, apart from greater care and skill in the pen work, there are additional touches that can be applied after the ink finishing. Adding details in white, with a very thickly mixed and even slightly lumpy white paint, traditionally made from burnt bones and *ancur*, is a sign of very high finish. The most valued extra is undoubtedly the addition of gold leaf or *prada*. Unfortunately I have never seen this being done, and work involving gold leaf finishing has ceased as far as I can determine. Indeed, most of the active artists say they do not know how to do it. The process involved gentle hammering onto a built-up ground of burnt bone and *ancur*, with lumps being essential, and carefully placed so that the resulting gold leaf surface was raised and gave a sort of third dimension to the painting. The only example in this exhibition (No. 31) is on thick cloth, but gold leaf work was usually done on wood panels, since the gold is particularly susceptible to cracking, and does not withstand folding. The gold leaf details are used for parts of the costumes, particularly of the more important and higher-status characters. The surface of the gold leaf would not of course take any paint or ink, but sometimes a texture decoration was added in relief with very fine punches.

This very great elaboration of finishing techniques required a lot of highly skilled labour, and in the case of gold leaf, high-cost material as well. It was usually restricted to work for royal or aristocratic families. However, the example with the *prada* finishing mentioned above comes from the family temple of an artist whose family also included goldsmiths—thus serving as a sample of their prowess for prospective customers.)

THE STORIES

Ider-ider show a sequence of events in a story, scene by scene; *tabing* and *langse* mainly show one scene, or a composite of related scenes from a story, while flags feature characters from stories. The stories which the painters illustrate exist in many different versions and forms—oral versions vary from place to place, and with the knowledge and social perspective of the teller. Also several different versions may co-exist, written in Old Javanese on *lontars* (palm leaf books). In addition, in so far as any story is used in a narrative dramatic form, such as in the *wayang kulit* (shadow play) or in dance-dramas or operas (ref. de Zoete and Spies, 1938), different versions tend to be associated with different forms.

In this catalogue, I am concerned with Balinese painting and its creators and users, and therefore the story versions given here in summary form are those told to me by the painters, and by other men considered knowledgeable in Kamasan and the immediate area. It is hardly surprising that the versions of some of the stories that they gave me differ to some extent from any so far documented. Nonetheless, what I have given here are the painters' versions, because those are the stories that the painters illustrate.

Most paintings done by Kamasan artists are of oral versions of the stories and myths, and these diverge from the written versions in various ways. However, some paintings are very closely linked with the texts of the literary versions. Paintings with writing tend to be close to the relevant text for obvious reasons. There is one *ider-ider* in this collection that has no writing but is remarkably close to the Old Javanese text of the Bharatayuddha. In the 'Death of Wirata's Sons' (No. 29), the painting follows almost every detail of the description in the written version—in fact it improves on it in two places. The

procession in scene two is in the order mentioned in canto nine of the Bharatayuddha, and every detail of the vehicles and their occupants corresponds to the text, with the exception that the text only mentions Sweta and Uttara in the procession, while it mentions the third brother Shanka as being killed in the battle; the artist has therefore added him to his brothers in the chariot. The battle scene as regards the fortunes of the three brothers follows the text in detail down to the weapons used by Sweta. In the scene of the grieving over the bodies of the dead sons, Wirata is shown touching their bodies. In Balinese painting characters are not shown touching each other except in two contexts—love and war. The text says specifically that King Wirata in his sorrow touched the bodies of his sons; the artist has faithfully shown the gesture against the conventions of the painting tradition, thus making the fact that he was working from the text absolutely certain. He has also improved the scene of the family farewell by including the wives of the three dead heroes, who are not mentioned in the text as being present. The artist, possibly Sambug, probably painted this *ider-ider* on commission for someone who gave very explicit instructions as to what was required. Even so, Sweta, commander of the Pandawa armies for the first day's battle, has not been included in the pre-battle conference scene, despite the fact that the whole *ider-ider* is about him and his death.

The stories which are illustrated in the paintings can be basically divided into two groups, which I have called 'Mythological' and 'Post-mythological'. This division corresponds to the distinction between *wayang parwa* and other *wayang* plays in the *wayang kulit* tradition. The grouping is justified by a definite difference in the content of the two groups. (This is also paralleled by certain key iconographic variations, which are outlined on pages 15-16.)

Wirata mourning – from scene four, No. 29.



'Mythological' Stories

I have called all these stories 'mythological' because they are concerned with the formation of the world and the emergence of the first great human kingdoms. The 'mythological' stories fall into three main groups and are conceived by the Balinese as being in sequence; first the Adiparwa group, then the Ramayana and associated stories, and finally the Bharatayuddha and associated stories. All these stories come from Indian prototypes although some parts are elaborated, others omitted and many modifications have taken place. In the Indian Mahabharata from which both the Adiparwa and the Bharatayuddha come, the whole epic is told to a king and contains creation stories and a resume of the Ramayana as well as the actual story of the rivalry and fight between the Pandawas and Korawas. In the Javanese and Balinese versions, the Adiparwa contains the creation stories, while the Bharatayuddha is concerned with the battle between the Pandawas and Korawas. Other stories concerned with the characters of the Bharatayuddha, such as Arjuna Wiwaha, have been elaborated into separate stories. The other great Indian epic, the Ramayana, has been somewhat boiled down and concentrated on the main story line, while other separate stories elaborate on some of the characters.

To the Balinese, the Adiparwa is concerned with the gods of the Hindu pantheon and their demonic counterparts, the *detia* and the *raksasa*. This older order of powers continues through the next two epics, but is increasingly in the background. In the Ramayana, the opposing sides are predominantly demonic *raksasa* led by Rawana; and the forces of the animal kingdom led by Rama (who, though human, is a manifestation of the god Vishnu). By the time of the Bharatayuddha, both good and bad forces are essentially human. There is comparatively little direct divine intervention, though several characters have divine fathers, and many have special powers. Frequently in the derived 'mythological' stories, gods, *detia*, *raksasa* and humans occur together.

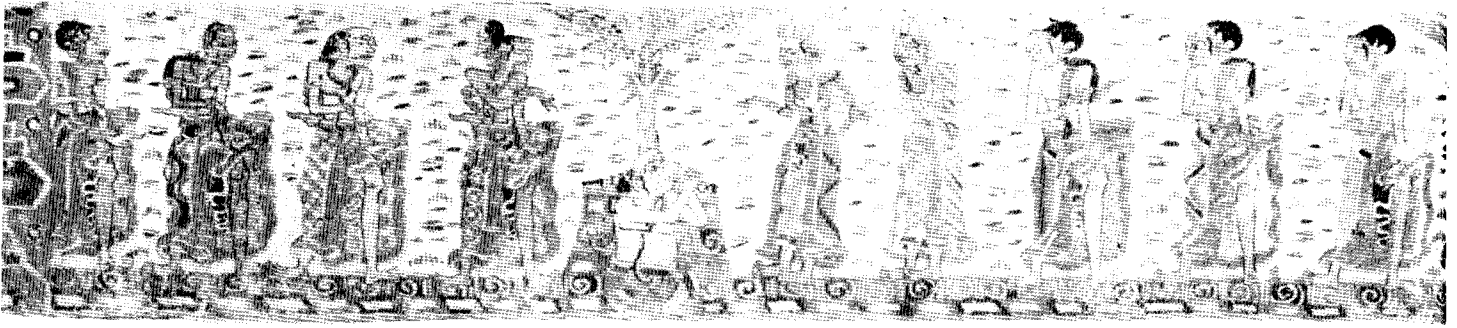
Four very important characters who occur in all painted versions of the 'mythological' stories, and who do not occur either in the literary versions of the stories or in the 'post-mythological' stories, are the four *parekan*, or servants. Any major character of the good or 'right' side will be accompanied by Twalen, who was formerly a god, and his brother Morda, while those of the bad or 'left' side are accompanied by Delem and Sangut. Any confrontation between good and bad sides will have fights between these two pairs of servants, and so on—they form a constant counterpoint to, and commentary on, the doings of their masters. They are instantly recognisable by both their physical appearance and dress, and are always distinguishable from occasional grotesque Balinese servant figures who may accompany princely characters in the 'post-mythological' story paintings.

'Post-Mythological' Stories

The stories which I have rather lamely grouped together as 'post-mythological', portray events seen by the Balinese as comparatively recent compared with the 'mythological' era. The stories in this group are more diverse, covering the adventures of romantic heroes, past kingdoms, folk heroes, and struggles between the forces of black and white magic—good and evil expressed at a 'domestic' level. Though some may have Indian prototypes, they all supposedly stem from actual life in the Javanese and Balinese kingdoms. In all these stories, the gods may in a sense control events, but they no longer intervene in physical form. The great alternative forces of *detia* and *raksasa* no longer exist, and the four *parekan* no longer help the protagonists or comment on their actions.

Paintings of scenes from the set of important 'post-mythological' stories known in Bali as Malat, were popular, particularly with aristocrats in the 19th century (Nos. 4 and 42). These stories concern the Prince of Koripan, Panji, and his love for the Princess of Daha, from whom he is always separated and whom he always eventually regains, usually having collected several extra princesses along the way. Panji is an ideal Ksatria prince, concerned with love and war, fastidious and refined, yet ready for any adventure. He has a never-failing lieutenant, and a stream of wicked enemies to defeat. These stories have declined very markedly from their previous place in the painters' repertoire. Collections of old paintings have many Malat episodes, usually painted in the *langse* format, but most of the contemporary Kamasan painters do not know the stories, apart from one or two standard episodes which the painters themselves sometimes cannot interpret. Virtually no Malat paintings are done today. It is consequently extremely difficult to get identifications of old paintings, beyond the fact that they are 'Malat'. This change is undoubtedly related to changes in Balinese society. The demand for Malat paintings came mainly from the *rajas* and princes, for secular decorative purposes rather than for temple use. Since then, the princely families' economic position has changed, and their interests too have moved from chivalrous romance to securing a position in the emerging pan-Indonesian social system. As far as I know, only the Cokorda Agung, Prince of Ubud, has commissioned traditional paintings since the Japanese war, and these were of 'mythological' subjects.

Paintings of the Tantri set of stories (Nos. 37, 38 and 39) have a framework which is the same as that of the 'A Thousand Nights and One Night'. A king, disillusioned by female infidelity, demands from his minister a new girl every night, who is killed the following morning. Eventually the minister's daughter (called Tantri in Indonesia and Shahrazade in Arabia) volunteers. By telling the king stories that are always unfinished at dawn, she preserves his interest and her own life—until the king, reconvinced of the possibility of female virtue, marries her. In some Balinese oral versions, it is her



A court scene showing some 'post-mythological' styles of dress and hair-do – from No. 4.

nurse who knows the stories and who prompts and helps Tantri (cf. No. 38). These stories are often thought of as animal stories, though they are far from exclusively so.

Another source of paintings are folktales. Two paintings in this collection represent incidents from the popular Briyut story (Nos. 40 and 41). Though Pan and Mem Briyut and their 18 children may have Indian antecedents, they are treated by the Balinese as totally of local origin. They present a fine opportunity to paint scenes of Balinese everyday life and domestic affairs, often with a fine sense of humour.

A very different, but equally important folktale painting source are the Calonarang stories. These concern the ever-present problem of keeping at bay the forces of evil, black magic, witchcraft, and their attendant misfortunes (Nos. 6, 35 and 36). The events told in these stories are supposed to have taken place during the reign of King Erlangga. Calonarang, a witch, has a beautiful daughter, Ratna Mengali, who had married a prince of King Erlangga's court. However the unsavoury reputation of her mother causes Erlangga to send Ratna Mengali home, and this insult precipitates a supernatural attack on his kingdom. Calonarang rallies *leyak* (female witches) into a concerted campaign of sickness, death and destruction throughout the kingdom. First, King Erlangga orders his *patih* (minister) to kill Calonarang, but in her magical form of Rangda she easily overpowers civil authority. Next the people themselves appeal to Mpu Barada, a holy man who according to written versions of the story was a great tantric scholar. His knowledge and power in the fields of both black and white magic is sufficient to overpower Rangda and her forces. Although in written versions Calonarang (or Rangda) is definitely killed and her influence ended, according to Balinese tradition she continues to exist as Rangda—a personification of witchcraft and of envious evil aggression directed against Balinese society. Though she is kept at bay by the Barong and his forces of good, she can never be defeated, any more than she can defeat him.



(v) Twalen.

ICONOGRAPHY

Balinese painting is highly stylised and there are sets of conventions about the representation of characters that are rigidly followed. These concern principally the face of the character and the costume, particularly the head-dress. The limbs and body are much freer of restriction and can be used to show action, while the position of the hands and arms often denotes emotion (e.g. grief, anger etc) in a series of conventionalised postures—*mudra*. Animals are usually shown in profile. The trunks of humans, gods and other non-animals are shown full on, with arms and legs turned the same way as the head. Heads are shown in three-quarter view, but *rak-sasa*, *peluarga* and other mixed animal/human forms have the top of the face in three-quarter view but the mouth, with its teeth and fangs well emphasised, in profile. Trunk and limbs are used to show action, but the most important parts of each individual are the face, which reveals the fundamental character and its place on an axis Refined Human-Coarse Animal; and the costume and head-dress which reveal the social status of the individual.

Facial Characteristics

The face is the clue to the character of any individual. The representation of the principal facial features is subject to a set of conventions that can be translated into sets of graphic elements each with a limited number of variations. The five principal facial features and their range of variants are listed below.

1. THE EYE:

- (i) The refined male eye—straight at the bottom and curved at the top (Fig. i).
- (ii) The refined female eye—curved at the bottom and nearly straight at the top. This eye is also used for Sikandi (e.g. No. 29) as an indication that he had been a female in a previous incarnation (Fig. iii).
- (iii) The 'demonic' eye—round and bulbous, associated with demonic characters, of the left, and with power of an unrefined but not necessarily evil type (Fig. ii).
- (iv) A wavy variant of the female eye, used for many Sudra and peasant types, particularly the older ones (see Nos. 49-52). It is always found on Twalen and Morda, who are Sudra and very old. It is also a distinguishing characteristic of Drona, the teacher of both the Pandawas and the Korawas and an extremely aristocratic and powerful figure. This eye form is therefore somewhat ambiguous, being associated with individuals of both high and low status and of great power and powerlessness.

2. EYEBROWS:

The most refined characters have eyebrows which are a simple fine-line arch above each eye (Fig. i, iii). In less refined forms there is a bridge, presumably indicating wrinkles, joining the two eyebrows across the top of the nose (Fig. iv, v). In animal-derived forms and demons

the eyebrows are bushy, and often have a pair of fangs rising out of them just at the bridge of the nose (Fig. ii, vi).

3. FACIAL HAIR:

The upper lip is clean shaven in refined young men (Fig. i). No loss of refinement is necessarily implied in the simpler style of moustache which curls down from the upper lip (Fig. vii). However, the larger moustache which grows from both upper and lower lip, and appears to have waxed ends pointing upwards, indicates a coarser character. It is almost always accompanied by *bulu* (tufts of hair) down the side of the face—an unmistakable sign of coarseness (Fig. iv).

4. NOSES:

Aristocratic noses are straight and thin with pointed tips and little sign of nostrils. Any bending of the nose, widening of nostrils and rounding of the shape is an indication of lack of refinement, and proceeds in many degrees right down to a pig snout and other totally animal noses.

5. MOUTHS:

The last category of facial variation is teeth and lips. Here refinement consists of small teeth with a straight edge, in a small mouth with thin lips (Fig. i). The opposite is once again based on an animal model; a large protruding mouth with sharp pointed teeth and fangs, thick lips and a wrinkled chin (Fig. ii). There are many intermediate forms. Twalen, for instance, has a protruding mouth with a knobby chin but straight edged teeth (Fig. v). Animals and animal/human mixtures are almost always shown with fangs not only protruding from their mouths but with supplementary fangs growing through their cheeks just in front of their ears (Fig. vi).

There are many other points that could be made about the varieties of face in Balinese painting but almost all the varieties are made up of combinations of the different variations listed above. Most of the variations can be plotted on the axis Refined Human-Coarse Animal.



(vi) *Raksasa or detia*.



(iv) Tough but not demonic king.



(i) Most refined male.

(ii) Monkey *pejuang*.

The opposition between human and animal is perhaps most clearly expressed in the attitude to teeth. Small, even, straight teeth are the epitome of humanity and are actually 'produced' in Bali by the ceremony of tooth filing. This is an absolutely vital ritual that makes people really human and hence able to be reincarnated as humans in the next life. Animality, in contrast, is represented by a profusion of fangs and sharp, uneven teeth. So too with hairiness; the less hair the better in terms of refinement. Animals are conceived of as essentially hairy and fanged so that the *naga*—a snake—is shown with bushy eyebrows and hair down the side of its face, while bird heads are in many cases shown with fangs (Fig. viii). The distribution of attributes therefore makes no attempt to be naturalistic; the distinction between animality and refined humanity is fixed, and faces indicate the place of the character in that system so that birds can have fangs and snakes hair because their place in the overall system demands it.

As by now will be obvious, the Human/Animal axis is not translatable into simple good/evil terms, nor into power/impotency terms. Thus, although Rama and Arjuna are both very powerful heroes with great *sakti* and all the most refined attributes, the principal enemy of one, Rawana—a *raksasa* king, has fangs, hair and demonic eyes—that is, many animal features. The enemy of the other, Karna, is as refined and noble as Arjuna—that is, totally non-animal—and is finally slain only by the connivance of his own charioteer, Salia. Rawana as a *raksasa* has many animal type features but very high social status as the ruler of the three worlds and king of Langka; Hanoman, who contributes to his overthrow, has all the same animal features such as fangs, hair and demonic eyes plus a tail, but he is only a general in the monkey army. Bima, another very powerful figure 'of the right' has a lot of hair, demonic eyes and a rough manner. Twalen, the retired god who is now a servant, has a grotesque face and the anomalous eyes usually given to peasants and other powerless people, yet he is considered as a figure of the greatest power. There are therefore many axes in the delineation of character: Human/Animal; Power/Impotence; Beauty/Grotesqueness; Refinement/Coarseness; as well as High Status/Low Status;

Right/Left. These axes are all independent of each other and any particular character may be shown as being at a set of totally unrelated points on each of the axes. It is only the rare individual such as Rama who is at the high end of all the scales.

Headdress and Social Status

If the face is the main indicator of the nature of the individual portrayed it is the head-dress and hair style that indicate social status. Social status has nothing to do with whether the individual is good or evil, of the right side or of the left. Both sides are complete in themselves with all the grades and hierarchy, so that there are as many grades of kings, knights and so on in the court and army of Rawana and his *raksasa* as there are on the side of Rama, his ally Sugriwa and his kingdom of monkeys and other animals. Rama's crown is identical with Rawana's although their faces are very different. Both sides have lesser kings and princes and many knights whose head-dresses and costumes are the same although their faces and bodies are different in all essential respects.

When considering head-dresses and costumes there is a clear distinction between those suitable for mythological stories and those suitable for the more recent (post-mythological) stories, identified as being concerned with the Javanese and Balinese courts. The full range of head-dresses and costumes for the mythological times occur in the earliest stories, those of the Adiparwa, concerned with the creation of the world and the establishment of society. The gods of the Hindu pantheon and their original opponents, the *detia*, provide the model for costume of the next two big cycles of myth, the Ramayana and the Bharatayuddha stories, in which human beings increasingly take part.

The male costumes of the mythological period are complex, consisting of over twenty different named pieces. They are however, standard, most of the characters wearing the same costume regardless of rank or side. Here I shall concentrate only on the head-dresses which are vital in identifying individuals by their social position.

At the top are crowns. The most elaborate sort with a high central feature are worn by the most important gods, *detia* and *raksasa* but rarely by men (Fig. iv). Rama and Krisna, both incarnations of the god Vishnu, wear this style and Karna who has an elaborate version with a rainbow on top, is the only other human to wear such a crown, and he is the son of the sun god. Although in the Ramayana the leaders of each side, Rama and Rawana, wear crowns, in the Bharatayuddha, while there are many kings on each side, only Karna and Krisna wear crowns—the others wear a coronet with a sort of spiral upswept hair style at the back (e.g. Queen's version, Fig. ii). This style has many variants but remains always a sign of royalty.

Ksatrias who are not actually kings wear one of a series of 'knightly' head-dresses of which the most important is the 'lobster claw' type (Fig. i and ii). This is the head-dress of the great heroes, both the highly refined Arjuna and Sutasoma and the less refined Bima and Hanoman. Younger and junior Ksatrias have only the front peak of the lobster claw style and a variety of flowing hair styles at the back. In the Ramayana, particularly among the *peluarga*, head-dresses are used with great freedom to identify various individuals and all sorts of objects are incorporated into the head-dresses, to give a wide range of identities of the same rank.

The other main aristocratic occupation, apart from ruling and fighting, is that of the Brahmana priest. The most exalted and powerful priests wear the *ketu* which looks like a turban (Fig. vii) and is a very distinctive feature. It is also worn by Arjuna when meditating (Nos. 22 and 23) and by Kunti, the mother of the Pandawas, in a slightly modified form. There are also some less holy versions worn by other priests and *resi*. These head-dresses continue through all the painting, both mythological and post-mythological, without any change, possibly referring to the unchanging nature of holiness. The long coat, another attribute of supernatural power, also remains unchanged in all the various stories although what is worn underneath it does change with other male costume.

The lower classes have a number of undistinguished head-dresses and often wild and grotesque hair styles. Here, too, there is little change between the two sets of stories.

Women's head-dresses show less variety and are usually related to men's, but there is one curious convention. In some cases women's head-dresses are shown 'full face', but the face itself remains in three-quarter view (Fig. iii). Other women's head-dresses are shown in three-quarter view like the men's. I have never had even the suggestion of an explanation for this convention from any painter.

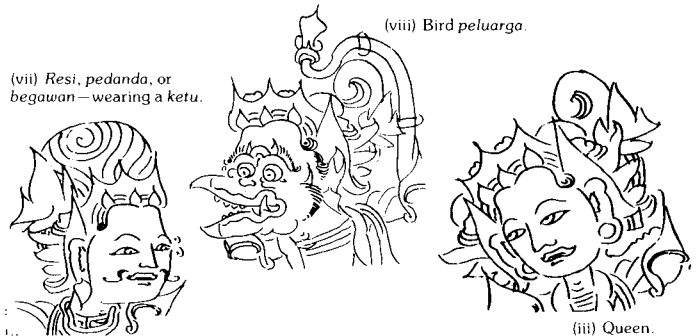
The costumes of the rulers, princes, noblemen and various court functionaries in the post-mythological paintings correspond more or less to what was actually being worn at court in Bali in the last few hundred years. The crown totally disappears, and *rajas* wear the upswept spiral hair style which is often apparently covered with a cloth, coloured or patterned. Senior ministers and junior royalty have a similar style but without a cover. The 'lobster claw' head-dress and its junior variants also vanish and a new style of hair for courtiers and other aristocrats emerges; the hair is swept up and back and tied or ornamented to give an effect not unlike a thick 'pony tail'. A new class of courtier also appears—the *demang demung*—a junior minister who is shown bald. These differences are so pervasive that a brief glance at the male costumes and head-dresses of any painting reveals at once whether it is of a mythological or a post-mythological story.

IDENTIFICATION OF PAINTINGS

This account of the conventions of face and head-dress has been very short and simple but I hope enough has been said to show how, by picking varying attributes of the face and the head-dress, it is possible to provide a very large number of different characters, using what is really a very restricted number of highly standardised variations. There are other dimensions of variation, for instance skin colour, that may also be employed, but Balinese are often less sure about the significance of these variations, at any rate nowadays.

Most adult Balinese can, using the face and head-dress variations, identify the sort of characters involved in any scene and hence, by their interactions, try to remember an episode from a story which has similar characters in the same situation and so identify the story and name the characters.

There are very few characters, such as Bima, who are instantly identifiable as individuals. Most characters are types. Arjuna, for instance, is a type of the most refined Ksatria, of royal family but not a king. There is nothing in his depiction that separates him from Sutasoma, Laksamana or even his own brothers, Nakula and Sadewa, or many other knightly heroes. Having identified all the types of character in a scene and their interactions, the next step is to remember a story in which such a scene takes place. In some cases the scenes themselves are so famous that they are as a whole immediately identifiable. Sita's Ordeal is unique in its actions; Sita herself is indistinguishable from other queens, but her position, guarded by Agni in the pyre turned into a lotus pool, is unmistakable. In other cases, mistakes can be made—even about whole scenes. Probably the most popular scene in traditional painting, the temptation of Arjuna by the seven heavenly nymphs, is not an absolutely certain identification, since an identical scene occurs in the Sutasoma. To correctly identify the intended story one must have some scenes after the actual temptation itself. Obviously only people who can recognise the story can identify the scene and the characters portrayed; in this sense Balinese painting is purely illustrative, entirely dependent on the beholder's knowledge of the story to convey meaning. But the paintings also communicate in other less simply illustrative ways.





1a: detail



1b: detail

1: a & b
Pair of Lontek
Red and Black Nagas

Each 345cm x 65cm at base
 Kamasan work, 1930s. Best quality work on thick, possibly
 Balinese, cloth painted on both sides.

Lontek of plain cloth in many colours are an important part of every temple festival or procession and still remain very popular. Painted ones are however very rare nowadays. They

are mounted each on a single bamboo pole which thins out rapidly so that the top droops over. *Nagas* seem to be the only subject for painted *lontek*, and of course they fit the shape of the flag very well. The two colours represent a version of Balinese creative duality: the red is male and the black, female and together they form the two aspects of the primal *naga* Basuki—neither one alone can be identified with Basuki, only the male and female pair make up the entity of that name. (A.M. Collection Nos. E74241 and E74242)



2a: detail



2c: detail



2b: detail



2d: detail

2: Tabing - Tantri

46cm x 66cm

Kamasan, 1972. Four stages in the production of a halus work.

These commissioned works show the process of production of a good quality modern work, suitable for tourist sale. The set of paintings was produced by the family of Nyoman Rumiana. His son, Nyoman Tenkub, did the initial drawing, in all four versions. Various members of the family did the colouring (in 2.b, c and d) while Nyoman Rumiana himself did the black line finishing and added the white touches (in 2.d).

The scene is the beginning of the Tantri series of stories. The *raja*, seated on his lion throne under two state umbrellas, is receiving from his minister (kneeling on the other side of the tree) the offer of the minister's daughter, Tantri. Tantri herself is seen in the lower right, accompanied by an old female servant. Above the two women are two court *resi*, while below the *raja* are two courtiers.

(A.M. Collection Nos. E74191-4)



भुवनेश्वर
कालभद्र
पति

3: Tabing Begawan Sumitra (?)

Each 125cm x 208cm

Kamasan, probably around 1860. From the temple Jero Kapal, in Gelgel. Halus work of the finest quality, some fading and flaking.

This painting is a fine example of a 'mythological' presentation. It is obviously Kamasan work, but none of the present day artists were able to identify either the painter or the story. There is an inscription in front of the principal character to the lower right which says "Adiparwa. Begawan Sumitra." I have not yet been able to find anyone of that name in the Adiparwa versions known to me. There is a character Begawan Sumitra in the story of Sutasoma, but the incidents shown in this painting do not correspond to any in versions of the Sutasoma known to me or published.

The story obviously concerns a prince and princess shown kneeling in front of the *begawan* at the lower right, and at the left possibly being married by the same priest. The prince is attended by a small *sirih*-box bearer, the princess by a *condong*. Begawan Sumitra has a senior wife and two other high-status female attendants in both scenes, and a small priest's servant carrying a *lontar* box. At the top left is a scene which stretches right to the centre of the picture, in which the prince and princess accompanied by six different wild creatures, attract the anger of a *raja* who has Delem and Sangut as attendants and is therefore of the left. In the centre top the same(?) *raja*, with Delem and a courtier, accompany the prince and princess on a journey. At the top right, the prince and princess are seen seated on a lion throne, with the *raja* behind and Delem and Sangut in front. They are attending a ritual performed by a priest who by his hair style and eyes must have considerable knowledge of black as well as white magic.

It is very difficult to reconcile these scenes with the Sutasoma story. Sutasoma, a manifestation of the Buddha in literary versions, did convert some animals, but only a *naga*, a tiger and an elephant-headed human. Furthermore he is always shown with Twalen and Morda, not with Delem and Sangut. Begawan Sumitra was his uncle in most versions, and urged him to marry, advice which Sutasoma rejected at the time. In short the true identification of this fine picture remains a problem.

At the bottom is a row of animals reporting to *Prabu Singga*—king lion. This bottom border, known as *tantri*, does not refer to any particular story, but was a common feature of the finest paintings in the 19th century. Pig, snake, tiger and dog can be easily identified, but some of the other animals have mixtures of attributes that informants were unable to identify.

(A.M. Collection No. E74170)

3: detail

4: detail



4: Ider-ider - Malat (?)—Two Court Scenes

33cm x 300cm

Kamasan work, mid 19th century, artist not known. Sedang work, but very fine and careful drawing and colouring—retains a very high polish. Medium cloth with many insect holes.

This *ider-ider* has only two scenes, both of court interactions. The subject is most probably from a Malat story, but there is so little action that it seems impossible to identify what is shown except in general terms. The painting is extremely hierarchical with its static array of nobles and small grotesque Sudras. The hair-styles are those of the 'post-mythological' type, and the dress, ornaments and the carrying of *kris* are based on actual court practice.

The plant decoration at the front is particularly large and fine. In the first scene, a Sudra man, in a suitably respectful posture, is telling a story to a *raja*, behind whom is a modest princess. Presenting the Sudra is a *patih*—a senior minister—supported by two noble courtiers, of whom the paler skinned one might be Panji, the protagonist of the Malat cycle. There is some doubt about the *patih*—his hair-style suggests that he could be a *raja*, but of a lesser status than the other. At each extremity of this scene are grotesque servants with *sirih* boxes (for betel chewing) of gilded wood.

In the second scene, the same *patih* presents the same Sudra (presumably telling the same story) to two *resi*, probably court *pedanda*, with many other courtiers in the audience. Immediately behind the *patih* is a *demang*—a junior minister—always shown as bald in Balinese painting. Again at the extreme right there is a grotesque *sirih*-box bearer who may be the *patih*'s servant.

Although the second scene is complete, the painting is torn, and it is probable that the story was continued. The painting was obviously a distinguished piece of work, yet the final overdrawing with black ink has been missed. Kamasan artists were unanimous that it was an old work from their school, despite the style of the wind and cloud motifs, which are never now found in Kamasan work and which appear closer to the kind found in No. 6.

(A.M. Collection No. E74212)

5:
**Ider-ider
Gods (Commissioned)**

30cm x 467cm
Kamasan, Manku Mura, 1972. Halus work on European
cloth, but without most expensive finish.

This *ider-ider* was commissioned by me from Manku Mura especially to show the full variety of eye and other facial feature forms, head-dresses and so on. Manku Mura complained that he couldn't do all that in one story and was reluctant to undertake such a commission, but was persuaded. The scenes could be parts of various stories, but do not form any story as a set. In the first scene are from the left: the gods Yama, Bruna, Daniswara, Wraspati, and Indra; then a tree; then the god Smara and his wife Ratih. In the second scene are more gods—Sambu, Agni, Ludra, Dharma, Ishwara; then Brahma seated on a lotus and with his nimbus surrounded by fire. In the centre of this scene is the *linggwutbawa*, a manifestation of the Siwa *lingga*. Then comes Vishnu to balance Brahma, his nimbus surrounded by water. Behind Vishnu are the gods Sangkara, Antaboga, Narasinga, Rama and Gana.

The third scene shows Meisora, Beiyu and Gangga; and after the tree the goddesses Pertiwi and Saraswati.

In the final scene Manku Mura has as far as I know been innovative. The figure on the left is the unnamed high god who voluntarily resigned power to Siwa and the Hindu order. He transformed himself into Twalen, and it is this scene that Manku Mura has shown to the left of the tree. The tree on its rock forms the centre, while Acintiya and the lotus—*padma*—are in front of Siwa and Uma. Uma is one of the female aspects of Siwa, so that the final scene in essence shows the four major sacred puppets of the *wayang kulit*, the *kayonan* or *gunungan* (tree on mountain), Twalen, Acintiya and Siwa. These four puppets are put together at the end of a performance used for exorcism, and stay in the centre while the final rituals are prepared. Holy water with exorcist properties is prepared by dipping the hand-holds of these puppets, with appropriate *mantra*, into the water.

(A.M. Collection No. E74224)



5: detail



6: detail (i)

6: Ider-ider

Rangda-Barong, and Bharatayuddha

29cm x 364cm

From Djasi, Karangasem, presumably local work, artist not known, possibly 1920s. Halus work, two pieces of thick Balinese cloth sewn together before painting. Styles of the two halves very different.

This unusual double piece must represent an experiment in the new 'naturalistic' style that was spreading in the Ubud area under the influence of Walter Spies in the 1920s and early '30s. Although completely different in style, the two halves could be by the same artist, as the cloud and wind motif is the same in both. The artist was obviously literate and his traditional style is practised, although not Kamasan. The contrast could not be more marked: on the left is a vigorous attempt at a scene from contemporary life, with up to the minute imported clothing. On the right is an array of mythological figures, static and hierarchical with inscribed names.

The whole left-hand part of the *ider-ider* is one scene of a Rangda-Barong performance. The *gong* (orchestral group) in European style dress, and the traditional costumes of the dancers are shown with an equal attention to detail. Rangda—to the right—and one of her witch followers, are shown each with a ceremonial parasol. The *barong*, the defender of the village, appears to be urging his followers, the armed

men, into the attack, but they will be defeated by a wave of the white handkerchief in Rangda's hand, and turn their weapons against themselves. The artist must have used charcoal as well as ink on the *barong*, and this has spread to obscure the very fine drawing.

The right hand portion has two scenes showing the visit of Krisna to the Korawas, to try to prevent the start of the long battle that constitutes the Bharatayuddha. In the first scene, the leaders of the Korawas receive Krisna. From left to right the characters are: Karna, with Delem kneeling in front of him; Sakuni; Duryodana; and the blind father of the Korawas, Dhirtarastra. Opposing them is Krisna, followed by three heavenly *resi*—Kanwa, Narada, and Ramabargwa; then Drona; Suta (?); and finally Satyaki (who has accompanied Krisna). Behind an ornamental bush is Twalen.

In the next scene, Krisna greets Kunti, the mother of the Pandawas, from whom she is separated because she is living at the Korawa court. The figure behind Krisna may be Satyaki. However, written texts which make a great deal of the visit of Krisna to Kunti, do not mention Satyaki as going with him to see her. They do however speak of the emotion of Kunti on seeing her nephew Krisna, and how she sees in him her sons, the Pandawa. It may be that the artist intended the figure behind Krisna to be Arjuna, symbolically representing the Pandawa brothers.

(A.M. Collection No. E74260)

6: detail (ii)





7: detail

7:
Tabing
Adiparwa: The Churning of the Milky Ocean

132cm x 160cm

Halus style but uses no kincu. On European cloth. This painting is dated '7th March 1921' on the back, but not signed. However, on stylistic grounds it seems likely to be by Pan Alus.

The churning is being accomplished by Mt Mandara mounted on the turtle (which has a very fine face in this version) and with the snake, Basuki, tied round the mountain. The fish and sea monsters, as well as land animals, are being burnt up by the heat, and three goddesses have just emerged, together with a white horse. The goddess usually identified as Pertiwi, on the right, is presenting *amerta* in its winged goblet, to the *detia*, much to the consternation of the gods. Vishnu, who appears in the right hand in the middle row of the gods, is also shown at the bottom chasing away Bruna, the god of the sea, who wished to stop the process of churning, out of sorrow for his own sea creatures who are suffering from the heat generated.

Tabing 8

Adiparwa: The Churning of the Milky Ocean

133cm x 149cm

Painted in 1972 by Manku Mura—a classical subject, done in his most refined style.

In the centre, Indra sits on top of the mountain, granting rain to cool the overheated *detia*. Underneath him the three goddesses emerge from the earth together with the white horse. In the centre is Gangga, on the right is Pertiwi, giving *amerta* to the *detia*, and on the left is Sri, offering gold to the gods. Underneath, Vishnu chases away Bruna, who has tried to interfere with the process. On the mountain and in the sea, various fish, animals and monsters burn with the generated heat. To each side at the bottom are the *parekan*, Twalen and Morda on the left, Delem and Sangut on the right. The gods, starting from the centre are in the top row: Siwa, Beiyu, Brahma, Kubera, Sambu; in the next row: Vishnu, Ludra, Dharma, Sangkara and Gana; and in the bottom row: Ishwara, Semara, Agni, Mahadewa, and Bruna.

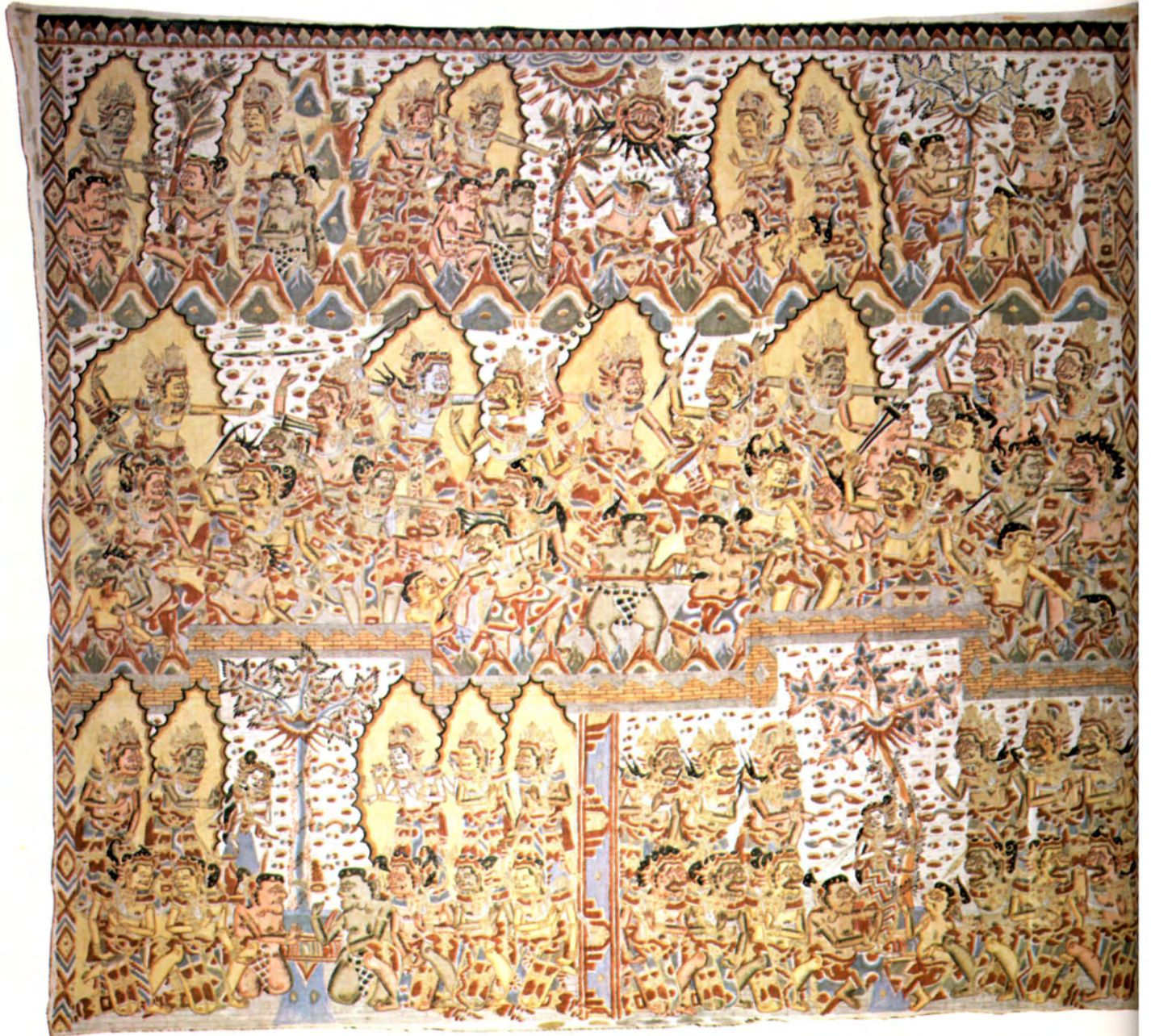
This is a typical Balinese painting in that it has at least three different moments of time represented together: Vishnu and Bruna are shown in the array of gods pulling on the serpent, Bruna is also shown protesting about the heat being generated and the danger to aquatic life, with Vishnu chasing him away; later, when the process of churning is completed and the goddesses emerge, Vishnu is again shown, registering dismay at the *amerta* going to the *detia*. The picture therefore is not a picture of any one instant in the churning of the Milky Ocean (in our way of conceiving illustrations or news photos), but a picture about the whole process of the churning, showing all the incidents of the story without any consideration for time sequence. Like most Adiparwa pictures, it has a most hierarchical and ordered structure, and apparently static feel to it, although in fact the events described were literally earthshaking.

(A.M. Collection No. E74177)

The representation of the gods in this painting is to some extent anomalous; Brahma, at the top on the right, is shown with the four arms, and the fly whisk and string of beads, which are usually the attribute of Siwa. Indeed, Brahma is not usually shown in the paintings as having four arms, whereas Siwa is virtually always shown as having four arms, and always three eyes. The god at the bottom, in white, with only two arms and two eyes, may be intended to be Siwa, although the attributes would make the identification of Iswara more probable. Local opinion in Kamasan concerning this iconographic confusion, was that Pan Alus was just ignorant, although he was considered to be a good painter.

(A.M. Collection No. E74163)





9: Tabing - Adiparwa: The Dewa and the Detia

136cm x 149cm

A painting done in 1973 by Manku Mura, on European cloth, halus style.

This painting continues the story from the churning of the Milky Ocean up to the discovery of Kala Rauh. At the bottom left, Vishnu, seen in a nimbus, to the left of the tree, transforms himself into the beautiful girl standing just in front of him. Rama, Siwa and other gods look on, and there is a full array of attendants including Twalen and Morda. On the bottom right, the beautiful girl proceeds to the court of the *detia*, where she is shown holding the *amerta* in its winged container, having successfully inveigled it out of the *detia*. The identical structure of the left and right in this bottom section gives visual expression to the equivalence of the *detia* and *dewa*, as two alternative orders.

The middle strip is occupied by a substantial battle between the gods and the *detia*. The gods having drunk the *amerta*, are at some advantage. From left to right, the gods in nimbus are Kubera, Sambu, Brahma and Vishnu. Underneath Brahma, Twalen threatens Delem, while just beside Vishnu, Morda smites Sangut. One or two of the gods' supporters seem to be losing, but basically the battle is very much in their favour.

On the top row we start at the extreme right where Delem brings news of an *amerta* distribution by the gods, to Kala Rauh, the last surviving *detia* (shown in his *detia* form on the extreme right). He transforms himself into a more god-like form, shown just in front of him, and proceeds to the distribution. On the extreme left top he is shown receiving *amerta* from Vishnu, while Indra looks on. No god or goddess of the moon is shown as drawing attention to the interloper in this version. In the middle scene, Vishnu throws his discus, and the head of Kala Rauh, reverting to its *detia* form, soars into the sky, and the body falls lifeless while Delem and Sangut flee. Behind Vishnu is Brahma, and on the other side are Indra and Sangkara.

This multiple-scene *tabing* is typical of the more recent trends, in that it tends to be very squared up. The scenes are divided into ruled portions and the characters in each scene tend to be much of the same size. If this is compared with some of the older style *tabing* with multiple scenes, such as No. 3, it is immediately apparent that a much more mechanical regularity has come into the handling of these large paintings. Also, Manku Mura uses a comparative innovation in the walls dividing the bottom scene from the middle scene, the style of which is clearly based on contemporary Balinese brick and grey-stone temple building. A more traditional type of architectural border separates the two bottom scenes.

(A.M. Collection No. E74180)



10: Tabing Adiparwa: Kala Rauh

130cm x 138cm

European cloth, painted by Nyoman Dogol, in approximately 1930.

This is another Adiparwa painting, and like most of them, very static and hierarchically organised. On each side are 24 gods in three rows with, at the bottom, a row of attendants. Each god has its name written in the nimbus above the head—an indication of the literary nature of this particular painting. (The identification of the gods is given in schematic form on p. 72, with an illustration of the whole painting).

Vishnu, from the left, has just hurled his discus at Kala Rauh whose body is shown in the centre of the painting with the discus severing his neck. Above the tree fly his still living head and hands. Vishnu's attention has been drawn to the interloper by the moon god (shown immediately behind Vishnu.) In this version the moon is given male eyes, and in the written name above, a male designation. The maleness of the moon is in accord with the literary tradition. However, the moon is usually thought of by the Balinese as female, and in paintings and carvings of Kala Rauh swallowing the moon—the cause of eclipses—the moon is shown as unequivocally female. In the centre of the bottom are Twalen and Delem, registering distress and about to retreat.

(A.M. Collection No. E74173)

10: detail



11: diagram

11: Ceiling Painting Garuda Attacked by the Gods of the Directions

165cm x 124cm

Kamasan, Nyoman Dogol, 1920s. From a Pura Dadia, Kamasan. Halus work with some staining and flaking.

In the Adiparwa, Garuda stole *amerta* from the gods to rescue his mother, and the gods attacked him but he escaped. Balinese artists frequently use this scene to show the Balinese conception of the directions, with the attributes which are attached to each. In this version eight gods are shown, each of the appropriate colour and with the right weapon, attacking the invulnerable Garuda—who is usually shown holding a flask of *amerta*, but this detail has been omitted here.

Orientation is very important in Bali for all aspects of life. Not only are buildings and ceremonies carefully orientated, but people also feel the need to know how they are placed, especially with regard to the major axis *kaja-kelod*. This axis basically corresponds to the orientation mountain-sea. Since the mountains are in the centre of the island, in South Bali *kaja* corresponds to our north, and in North Bali to our south. Since this painting is from South Bali, *kaja* is north and I will use our more familiar compass points. In this painting the positions of east and west appear as if reversed, according to our convention for maps and such like, which are designed to be viewed from above. However, the painting is designed so that when it is in position face down above the spectator, east and west are correctly orientated.

Each of the four principal directions is associated with a god and a colour and these are known to everyone. The four intermediate directions each have a god whose colour should be intermediate between those of the gods on each side; for instance, Sambu in the north-east is between Vishnu, black (north) and Iswara, white (east), and his colour is blue. In practice, apart from Sambu, painters and ordinary Balinese are vague about the colours for intermediate directions, and as in this painting, they tend to be of indefinite shades. In Balinese conception the eight directions, and centre, are an important model of the natural and supernatural worlds. The centre is multi-coloured and usually occupied by the highest Hindu god, Siwa. In this painting the place of Siwa is taken by the multi-coloured Garuda, who is shown as invulnerable to the attacks of the gods of the eight directions, and is therefore a being of great power suitable for the centre. Each of the eight gods hurls the weapon appropriate to his direction at Garuda. These eight weapons, each specific to one of the eight points of the compass, are often used alone as signs of the directions, with the lotus which is the weapon of Siwa in the centre, forming a small diagram equivalent to our compass rose.

(A.M. Collection No. E74225)

(Diagram):



12: Kober (Flag) - Garuda

111cm x 83cm

Kamasan work, probably beginning of 20th century. The painting is on both sides of thin European cloth.

This is Garuda, the eagle who occurs in the Adiparwa. Though an eagle, he is conceived of by the Balinese as having an essentially human body. He is a being of immense power, allied to the good side. After early adventures in the Adiparwa as a free spirit and an enemy of the snakes, he later becomes the vehicle of Vishnu. The Balinese however tend to emphasise his role as a successful defier of the gods, as represented in No. 11.

The style is very open compared with many flags: there are few wind and cloud motifs and, comparatively speaking, a lot of white space.

(A.M. Collection No. E74240)



12: detail



13: detail

13: Tabing - Story of Kala

144cm x 146 cm

Kamasan work, Manku Mura, 1973. Commissioned.

Halus work.

The story starts at the bottom left corner and reads left to right in four bands. Siwa sports by the seaside with Giri Putri, but it is midday, an inappropriate time even for godly love-making, and the result of their union falls into the sea where it is swallowed by a monstrous fish. Scene two shows the fish sometime later regurgitating a small boy and giving it to Bruna, the god of the sea. The boy lives with Bruna and eats mainly fish, growing strong but terrifying in appearance. In scene three the youth, with Delem and Sangut, asks Bruna about his parents and in scene four sets off to find them.

On the next line (scene five) Siwa sees his son and gives him the name Kala. Kala is very hungry and asks what he may eat, as heavenly food is only the scent of flowers and holy water, and he needs something more substantial. Siwa says he may eat the children of Begawan Wraspati, who are *anak buncing* (male and female twins) and who were born at an inauspicious time. Scene six shows the twins taking leave of their parents, and in scene seven Kala sees them and gives chase.

In scene eight the twins hide among the audience of a *wayang kulit* performance, which is taking place at a crossroads at midnight. Kala is fascinated by the performance and stops to watch, enabling the twins to creep away. At the end of the performance Kala cannot find the twins. He tries to eat the *dalang's* offerings, but is told he may not. In scene nine he abandons the chase of the twins, telling the *dalang* that people born in that inauspicious time can in future be preserved from harm by a *wayang kulit* performance.

In scene ten, Kala returns to Siwa and asks for food again; Siwa tells him to go to a crossroads at midday and that his food will have seven eyes, eight legs, six arms and one tail. Scene eleven at the top left, shows Kala waiting at the crossroads. At midday Siwa and his wife arrive on a horse—the three of them making up the answer to the riddle. Kala guesses the answer and is about to attack, but by the time he has explained the riddle to Siwa, midday has passed and Siwa says he has lost his chance. Kala, still hungry, begs to know what he may eat. Siwa tells him to wait until the last day of the month *kasanga*, the end of the year, when huge offerings will be made at crossroads, with all sorts of food. This is what he may eat. The last scene, top right, shows Kala about to swoop down on the offerings that are being dedicated specifically to him, as part of the cleansing that takes place every year on the day before Nyepi, the Balinese New Year. As long as the offerings are good enough, the Balinese need not fear that Kala will continue to seek humans as food.

The tale of Kala, a creation story classed as Adiparwa, is known in many versions and is closely connected with the exorcist functions of the *wayang kulit*. In all versions of the tale a *dalang* saves Kala's destined food from being caught by him, and thus has powers to protect other threatened people. This version by Manku Mura is somewhat idiosyncratic in that the offenders are *anak buncing*, rather than the more usual victim who is another son of Siwa, born in the week *wayang* of the 210-day year. At about the time Manku Mura painted this picture, the Gelgel ritual area of which Kamasan is a part, had had a spate of *anak buncing* which had interfered with the ritual life. This may explain why they figure in Manku Mura's version of this story.

(A.M. Collection No. E74181)



14: detail

**14:
Tabing
Ramayana: Kala Sungsang**

82cm x 87cm
Kamasan, Pan Seken, 1920s. Halus work with very fine penmanship. European cloth. Dirty with some holes.

Right at the beginning of the Ramayana, Rama is asked to go to protect hermits in the forest who are being attacked by *raksasa*. Accompanied by Laksamana, he clears out the *raksasa*, and then goes on to win Sita in an archery competition. Two episodes are shown here. At the top Rama and Laksamana, with Twalen and Morda, are jumped by a female *raksasa*, Tatakabia, who Rama shoots.

Below, Rama and Laksamana turn over another attacking *raksasa*, thus creating Kala Sungsang—an inverted demon who has an important part in Balinese cosmology and is the name of a constellation (see Nos. 49-52). The Kala Sungsang episode is not found in at least some versions of the Ramayana, and is likely to be a Balinese embroidery to explain and legitimate one of their own conceptions. In the background of both scenes hermits and their servants watch the discomfiture of their enemies.

Although the top scene has the normal wind and cloud motif throughout, the bottom scene has an alternative background, possibly influenced by the new developments in Ubud at the time. Not only has Pan Seken used rather wispy *casuarina*-like trees, but he has also filled the sky with a pen-drawn spiral motif, which may be intended to echo the inversion theme of the scene.

(A.M. Collection No. E74171)

**15: Tabing
Ramayana: Abduction of Sita**

85cm x 88cm
Kamasan, probably Kak Lui, early 1930s. From a family temple in Todjan. Halus style with innovation. Bad flaking.

This small *tabing* is an example of experiments that were made in Kamasan in the 1930s in response to the new style of painting that was growing in Ubud. A Kamasan citizen, Ida Bagus Gelgel, who had not been trained as a traditional artist, was one of the members of the founding club of the new style presided over by Walter Spies. His pictures, which are rare, are basically Kamasan work but done in oils on European stretched and prepared canvas. He abandoned the wind and cloud motif and increased the importance of vegetation. This piece seems to be a copy of his style, but in the traditional colours and using traditional cloth preparation. (Unfortunately the rice paste preparation was too thick, as were many at that time, and bad flaking has spoiled the picture.) The figures are totally traditional, but the importance of the trees and other plants, and the use of a solid yellow background instead of the traditional wind and cloud motif, are innovations somewhat in the spirit of the new style. These experiments in new styles seem to have been abandoned after a few years and by the 1940s Kamasan artists were back to the traditional style, with only a few modest innovations.

At the bottom left, Laksamana finds Rama, who expresses deep emotion on realising that Sita has been left alone. To the right, separated by a tree that looks like an overgrown flower, Rawana abducts Sita. In the top half of the painting, Jatayu intercepts Rawana who reaches for his *kris* while keeping Sita trapped in his other arm. The major iconographic innovation is the total absence of *parekan*. In all traditional versions of this scene (or any other from the Ramayana), Twalen and Morda would accompany Rama, and Delem and Sangut would accompany Rawana.

(A.M. Collection No. E74186)

15: detail







**16:
Tabing
Ramayana: The Bridge to Langka**

127cm x 150cm

Kamasan work, on bark-cloth. Probably first half of the 19th century. Obtained from the temple Jero Kapal, in Gelgel. Bark-cloth, usually imported from Sulawesi, gave a good absorbent surface, which did not need the rice paste preparation that was essential for woven cloth, although it is less strong and tends to erode at the edges. This painting has been protected by a cloth strip sewn round the edges, probably in the 20th century. The colours are all local Balinese ochres. The only imported colours used are kincu and black ink, which were imported from China. This suggests that the painting was done before any trade in paints of European origin was established. The work is halus and extremely finely drawn and detailed. It is one of the finest, and very probably the oldest, in the collection.

The episode shown is the building of a causeway from the mainland (of India) to Langka (Ceylon). The monkeys' work is supervised by Nala, in the centre with a flaming headdress. Rocks are being passed along from both sides by lines of *peluarga* and monkeys. The diverse animal origins of Rama's *peluarga* allies are well represented. In the top row of the right hand group for example, there is from the left, a monkey face with a sun and moon headdress, a pig face, a deer, an elephant, and a snake. Below them at the extreme right is a man converted into a *peluarga*.

To the upper left, Rama, Laksamana, Vibisana, and Sugriwa the monkey king, look on. Up above, Hanoman flies across the strait, and on either side of him, heavenly *resi* observe the activities below. In the top right corner is a separate scene, bordered by black mountains; the *raksasa* king, Rawana, receives a report of the approaching army, probably from Shukasharana, with Delem and Sangut behind him.

At the bottom left, Twalen and Morda are as usual not working, but have been catching fish, while various monkeys are shown bathing, riding a turtle, and being eaten by a sea monster. Across the bottom of the painting is a frieze of animals and one monster (at the far left). Such a panel is referred to as *tantri* (cf. No. 3).

The painting is remarkable for the use of washes of grey and black, instead of the blue powder colour found in later paintings. Indeed more black is used throughout this painting than was customary later. Another interesting detail not found in later paintings is the little human *sirih*-box bearer by Rama's side. These details aside, the painting shows all the stylisations and conventions that were still standard a hundred years and more later, and demonstrates the very slow rate of change in this type of Balinese painting.

(A.M. Collection No. E74168)



17: detail

17: Ider-ider - Ramayana: Battle

23cm x 575cm

Kamasan, artist probably Kaiyun, circa 1900 (?). Halus work, on thick Balinese cloth, but uses no kincu. Excellent condition.

The first scene shows the essential conference before the battle: Rama, Laksamana, Vibisana and Jembawan, with Morda in attendance on the left, consult with Sugriwa, Angada (probably), Hanoman, and a third monkey of general status. Here and in the ensuing battle scene, the various generals of Rama's army are not very clearly distinguished (except for Hanoman) making identifications difficult. The battle scene has no fewer than eleven different *peluarga*, who, with Vibisana and Laksamana, prove victorious over an equal number of *raksasa*. None of the kings, Rama, Sugriwa or Rawana, appear in the actual battle. In the last section of the battle scene, Angada is shown driving Indrajit, Rawana's son, from his chariot, and killing the charioteer (shown full face with a skin like a tiger), and the horses. The only success for Rawana's side shown is the burning of some monkeys by fire magically projected from the mouths of a pair of *raksasa*. In the battle, the monkeys use branches as clubs, and throw rocks which are shown either in black or in the form of the earth motif. This motif is normally used only for the bottom of a painting or for mountain borders or scene dividers, but here is shown flying through the air.

(A.M. Collection No. E74198)



18: Tabing - Ramayana: Kumbakarna and Sugriwa

95cm x 81cm

Kamasan, probably early 20th century. Halus work, but much flaking, tears, holes and damage.

Kumbakarna, Rawana's brother, is woken from his sleep to help defend Langka; he joins the battle and seizes Sugriwa (the monkey king) who swoons—indicated by his shut eyes. Kumbakarna tries to carry Sugriwa away from the battle presumably to finish him off, but is prevented mainly by Hanoman. (Sugriwa eventually comes to, bites off Kumbakarna's nose and escapes.)

This picture must have been a very fine one, for even in its deteriorated condition it has considerable impact. The air is full of flying stones, both black and brown. On the ground *raksasa* and monkeys bite each other. The giant Kumbakarna in his royal crown dominates the scene, on each side *peluarga* throw rocks while Hanoman flies above, and in the only vacant corner lightning flashes. Kumbakarna is however invincible to the monkeys weapons, even Hanoman's very fine thumb nail and his two *kris*, an unusual touch, cannot harm him. This scene is something of a favourite; it is for instance much more frequently painted than the death of Kumbakarna. It may be that the thwarting of this enormously powerful high-status figure by *peluarga*, who cannot however kill him, appeals.

(A.M. Collection No. E74175)



19: a & b

**Pair of Kober (Flags)
Raksasa and Hanoman**

Each 53cm x 49cm

Kamasan, best quality work on both sides of Balinese heavy cloth, about 1900. Some insect holes.

This pair of flags shows an opposed pair of a *raksasa* general, (probably a named individual but no informant was sure which), and Hanoman. Hanoman holds a *lontar* palm as his

weapon, and the *raksasa* a club. This pair exemplifies the ideal for flags; two characters of identical grade and power but one of the left and one of the right. The poses are the same and the pair is an expression of the balanced confrontation between symmetrical opposites, that is so valued and important in Balinese cosmology.

(A.M. Collection Nos. E74235 and E74236)



20: a & b

**Pair of Kober (Flags)
Sugriwa and Subali**

Each 78cm x 67cm

Kamasan, early 20th century, from Pura Puseh Tabanan, Kamasan. Best quality work on both sides of Balinese cloth.

This is the perfect pair of Balinese flags; they are identical, so there is no way of identifying one as Sugriwa and the other as his brother Subali. However, because they are a pair, we know they are both represented. These two monkey kings are important characters from the Ramayana: Subali was the elder and thus rightfully king, but he stole his brother's wife and expelled him when he protested. Sugriwa, in exile, persuaded Rama to treacherously shoot Subali from cover, while Subali was fighting with Sugriwa. (In return for this assist-

ance, Sugriwa promised to help Rama find Sita.) When the two monkeys first fought, Rama could not distinguish between them, so it is little surprise that we cannot! Sugriwa could not overcome his brother and a second challenge was issued. This time, Sugriwa having tied some leaves round his neck to differentiate himself from his brother, Rama was able to shoot Subali. One might well think that both monkeys had a mixture of virtue and vice. However, as Sugriwa is allied with Rama, he is therefore of the right, and his opponent must be of the left. Their identity yet opposition perfectly expresses the inherent, and creative, duality of the world and of human life, as it is conceived of by the Balinese.

(A.M. Collection Nos. E74238 and E74239)

21:
Langse
Ramayana: Sita's Ordeal

88cm x 225cm

Kamasan, artist probably Kak Lui, a halus work, circa 1920. A curtain, suspended from *kepeng* (Chinese coins) used as curtain rings. The full length of the curtain is obtained by the addition of another length of printed cloth of equivalent size, sewn on below the painting. The painting is on European cloth, and is in good condition.

After the fall of Langka and the death of Rawana, Sita is released and returned to her husband, but Rama is suspicious of her 'purity' after so long in the hands of Rawana. Sita, distressed by Rama's attitude, orders Laksamana to prepare a pyre into which she jumps. However she is protected by the god of fire, Agni, and the fire turns into a lotus.

In the centre of the painting, Agni is shown in a flaming *nimbus*, with Sita sitting at his feet in a lotus floating on a pool of water. On either side, Twalen and Morda, and a *condong* (female servant), fall back in astonishment.

The ramp (from which wives jump into the funeral pyre), is shown on the right. In the pavilion at the top, from which Sita has jumped, Trijata, Vibisana's daughter and Sita's companion during her captivity, registers strong emotion. Also on the ramp are three heavenly *resi*, and two monkey spectators. Under the ramp are Sugriwa, Angada and Hanoman with two senior *peluarga* in the top row, and in the row below more *peluarga*, including ones of deer, snake and pig origin.

On the left of the central figures and tree are Rama, Lakshmana, Vibisana, Jembawan, and two more *peluarga*. Above them hover five gods: Siwa (white with four arms), Indra (with a rainbow crown), and Daniswara, ride in Wilmana (a flying vehicle of the defeated Rawana); beside them are Bruna, god of the sea, and Yama, god of the underworld. All around below are monkeys and *peluarga*, including some of bird origin. All register astonishment at the miracle. Flowers are shown falling from heaven, as a manifestation of Sita's purity and favour with the gods. *Atal*, a bright yellow pigment, is used for these and for other decorative details.

(A.M. Collection No. E74169)

21: detail





22: detail

22: Tabing - Arjuna Wiwaha: Arjuna Metapa
80cm x 100cm

Kamasan work. Thin European cloth, kasar work.

This painting and the next (No. 23) are typical of the traditionally cheapest style of painting done at very great speed, and at one time widely used throughout Bali. The draftsmanship is sketchy and the colouring slapdash, yet the whole thing has considerable vigour.

The story is treated with some freedom too. At the top we see Arjuna in his cave, being tempted by two nymphs. But there seem to be no fewer than another eight nymphs outside (making a total of 10 in all, whereas the story has very definitely seven nymphs involved in the temptation). Many of the important iconographic elements are nonetheless there. Arjuna's *kris* is prominently displayed hanging up outside the cave. The girl immediately to the left holds a *pudak*, a pandanus fruit, a symbol of love and of children in Bali. Other girls hold flowers.

At the bottom eight nymphs are shown preparing themselves (presumably before they reached Arjuna's cave) washing, dressing, and inspecting themselves in a framed mirror. One girl here also holds a *pudak*, whereas another holds a piece of paper on which is written "reading and writing". The temptation of Twalen and Morda by servant nymphs (which is



usually very prominent in Arjuna Metapa paintings) is in this case reduced to the temptation of Twalen by a servant nymph who displays herself, to his very obvious appreciation.

This painting probably dates to the end of the 19th century, and it is obvious from the vast amount of *kincu* used, that this imported pigment must have been, comparatively speaking, cheaper then than it is now. Cheap paintings, now mainly done for tourists, tend to use no *kincu* at all nowadays, and it is considered an extremely expensive ingredient.

(A.M. Collection no. E74165)

23: Tabing - Arjuna Wiwaha: Arjuna Metapa
71cm x 57cm

Kamasan work. Thin European cloth, kasar work.

Another cheap and cheerful painting for the bottom end of the Balinese market. The drawing is a little more careful than that in No. 22, but the colouring is equally careless. In this case only two nymphs actually concentrate on Arjuna. Both Twalen and Morda are represented, each with their own nymph, whose temptations however are not as explicit as in the preceding picture. This *tabing*, although extremely small, has a floral and ruled border of the type usually found on the much larger and more expensive *halus tabings* from Kamasan.

(A.M. Collection No. E74166)



24: detail

24:

Ider-ider

Arjuna Wiwaha: Arjuna and Siwa

23cm x 392cm

Kamasan work, artist possibly Kumpi Karta, second half of 19th century. Halus work on Balinese cloth, good drawing and details, some holes.

This episode follows that of Arjuna's meditation (ref. Nos. 22, 23), and continues the story up to Arjuna's arrival in Indra's heaven.

The *ider-ider* starts with the confrontation of Arjuna and Siwa (in the form of a hunter) over the dying boar, whose disruption of the forest has interrupted Arjuna's meditation. Arjuna wears a *ketu*, and the costume of his meditation. He is supported by Twalen and Morda, both wearing turbans and jackets, suitable for meditation, and wearing *poleng* loin-cloths. Morda holds a *kris*, and Twalen the *panah Twalen* — his special 'arrow', with a very broad blade, which he uses as a thrusting weapon. It is certainly a phallic symbol, and fits well with his powerful but unrefined image. Siwa wears hunting dress, but with the headdress of a king. The arrows bend and break as they approach their targets, to show the *sakti* of the two protagonists.

In the next scene as tempers rise, they start to use magical arrows, but each powerful arrow is balanced by its counterpart. These arrows are shown as illustrations of their names: in the second scene four fire arrows are quenched by water arrows; in front of Arjuna an earth arrow (represented by the motif that runs along the bottom of every Balinese painting) is

countered by the plough arrow; and in the centre, Siwa's snake arrow is consumed by Arjuna's eagle arrow. In the third scene, Siwa appears to be running, and Arjuna, who has lost his *ketu*, is about to lift him up. Twalen and Morda are missing.

In scene four, Siwa returns to his godly shape and receives exaggerated forms of *sembahs* from Arjuna, Twalen and Morda. In one of his two right hands, Siwa holds an arrow, presumably the magical Pasupati, which he is going to present to Arjuna.

The last two scenes show the meeting of Arjuna with the divine messengers, and the journey to Indra's heaven. The messengers have a spot on their foreheads, a convention representing divinity, in the absence of a nimbus. Arjuna, Twalen and Morda have by this time resumed their normal garb. It may be that the absence of the earth motif at the bottom of the last scene is meant to show that they are flying through the air, the leading divine messenger just landing at Indra's heaven.

Apart from its obvious physical age, this painting has certain iconographic variations that suggest the 19th century: in later paintings the arrow given by Siwa receives much more emphasis. Siwa is not usually shown running away, and Morda is not dressed in the black and white *poleng*, but in red and white check, to indicate his lesser importance.

(A.M. Collection No. E74203)



25: detail

25:
Ider-ider
Hanoman and Bima

30cm x 524cm

Kamasan, Pak Remi, about 1910. Kasar work on thin Balinese cloth with a good polish.

In Java and Bali, the heroes from the Mahabharata and the Ramayana receive individual elaboration in tales that are only slightly, or not at all, connected with the Sanskrit epics. This *kasar* but nonetheless vigorous work features one hero from the Ramayana—Hanoman the monkey general; and one hero from the Mahabharata—Bima, the ‘unrefined’ Pandawa brother. The identity of the particular story was unknown to contemporary Kamasan artists. (One suggested that it was related to the story concerning Bima’s son Gatotkaca—whose wife was at one point abducted by a *raja*, and rescued by Hanoman. However, most scenes in this painting do not fit that story.) Whatever its particular identity, the scenes and the story-line of this painting are easy enough to describe.

In the first scene, Hanoman intercepts a *raja* abducting a princess, and rescues her. The princess’s inclinations here are obvious: while the *raja* is both holding her and attempting to restrain her, she puts her arm round Hanoman’s neck. This leads to a fight in the next scene, in which Hanoman, Twalen and Morda, plus a knightly character with a crab-claw

headdress and demonic eyes, defeat the *raja* and his supporters, at the end of which the *raja* flees. The knight confronts, and then shoots, an elephant-headed human and a tiger-headed human (both wearing crowns). In the third scene, having reverted to their animal forms, the elephant and the tiger go and complain to Bima, who is apparently living in a cave. In the long final scene, Bima angrily marches forth and meets Hanoman, who kicks him over. Bima then does likewise to Hanoman. Their divine father Beiyu then intervenes and reconciles them. (Beiyu has exactly the same form as Bima, except for the ‘god spot’ on his forehead.)

This lively painting and interesting story represents the best sort of cheap work done for the Sudra market in traditional times. The story is obviously attractive: Bima and Hanoman are both heroes of the coarse stamp, both sons of Beiyu, both of the ‘right’. A fight between them is a perfect expression of symmetrical opposition; neither can win, neither can lose—they are equal in all respects and a reconciliation is the only possible outcome. This is brought out strongly by the symmetry of the scene in which Hanoman and Bima kick each other over. In short, the theme is most unhierarchical and the presentation emphasises the very strong egalitarian leanings in Balinese, or at any rate Sudra, conceptions of an ideal society.

(A.M. Collection No. E74206)



**26:
Kober (Flag)
Beiyu**

79cm x 67cm
Kamasan work painted on both sides, late 19th century. Best quality work, riddled with holes.

Beiyu, the god of the wind and the father of Bima and Hanoman, is in general form indistinguishable from Bima. However, in this example there can be no question of confusion; Beiyu's divinity is indicated by the nimbus, the 'god spot' on the forehead, and the lotus on which he stands. Apart from the fine figure, this flag has extremely elaborate decoration: the very detailed border on the outer edge, and the floral decoration on the slot for the pole (a section of flags almost always left unpainted), make this an exceptional piece. Beiyu's red and white check *poleng* trousers are also unusual. It is difficult to imagine who the character opposed to Beiyu should be, on the pair to this flag. Unfortunately, I was unable to get any information about that, or about the origin of this piece.

(A.M. Collection No. E74237)

**27: Ider-ider
Bima Swarga: Bima's Visit to Hell**

22cm x 442cm
Kamasan, mid 19th century. Sedang work on Balinese cloth, somewhat faded, torn in places. Two pieces of a longer painting, which were previously sewn together with a false join. There is also a piece missing from the end.

The story of Bima's journey to hell, and confrontation with Yama, the god of the underworld, is a favourite with the Balinese.

In the first scene, Bima, with Dharmawangsa, Nakula and Sadewa behind him, takes leave of his mother Kunti, who is accompanied by Arjuna, Twalen, and Morda. There follows a series of scenes showing various types of punishment in Yama's underworld.

The torments shown are, from left to right: boiling in the cow-headed cauldron, with *raksasa* stoking the fire and throwing in another victim; part of a scene of a woman being attacked with a barbed spike; (then comes the missing section); part of a scene of walking a 'slippery pole' over fire—this is often shown as the entrance to Swarga; then people being savaged by a variety of beasts, including a bird with a steel beak; and *raksasa* stabbing people with *kris*. Next, Bima, accompanied by Twalen and Morda, recognises Madrim, his step-mother, in a pool surrounded by stones. (His indignation at this treatment of a close relative causes his fight with Yama and the *raksasa*, an incident which was probably shown in the portion missing from the end.) In the last two scenes, the *kris* tree, whose fruit is steel blades, is shown with a *raksasa* in the tree shaking the branches so that the *kris* fall on those underneath; then impaling, hanging over a fire, and finally a punishment suitable for the over-lustful.

The style is certainly Kamasan, but no later than the mid 19th century. An unusual deviation from iconographic convention is the portrayal of Twalen not wearing his *poleng* (black and white check) clothing. What is more, Bima's clothing (also usually *poleng*), though drawn checked, has not been filled in by the colourist. Such omissions are rare for Balinese painting of any period.

(A.M. Collection No. E74208)

27: detail



28:

Tabing Swarga: Hell Scene

150cm x 160cm

Kamasan work, mid 19th century. Finest quality work on heavy Balinese cloth.

There are various stories of personages who visit Swarga and witness the torments of the damned, but it has so far proved impossible to identify which particular story this is. At the top right hand corner, humans are shown interacting with two *begawan*—holy people—who are apparently suspended from trees. Below them, a young hero is interviewing a *naga* king. The rest of the painting is taken up with scenes from Swarga, and there appear to be none of the characters from the top right hand scene involved in the portrayal of what is going on.

The Swarga scene is dominated by Yama, the god of the underworld, in a nimbus, with a flaming club, apparently ordering the bound human at his feet to be added to those already boiling in the double cow-headed kettle. Immediately above this is a *kris* tree with its demon who shakes the branches so that the *kris* fall on the heads of those underneath. A whole variety of other torments is inflicted by a magnificently diverse set of demons: immediately to the left of the cow-headed kettle, a pig is shown roasting a spitted human (an inversion of normal human practice). Other humans are being attacked by other animals, and a little inscription reads “here are the butchers”. Behind Yama on the right hand side, similar torments such as being gored by wild animals, are inflicted on hunters (who are also labelled). Below this, at the bottom right, a girl given to adultery is having a saw inserted into her private parts, while next to her a woman who had no children is having an enormous insect attached to one of her breasts. At the top left are eight *buta* (animal-headed human beings), and immediately below them birds with steel blades for beaks are attacking the dead souls, urged on by a human-headed bird, which has the inscription “this is the king of the birds”. Below this again, a female victim is being forced onto a slippery pole over a fire, by two *raksasa*. Further down on the far left, another *raksasa* is threatening two victims with a large rock.

Across the bottom is a panel which is not related to the scene, and is separated from it by an earth boundary. On the left is a *leyak*, a female witch. Then follows a long scene of mishaps at sea, with aquatic monsters attacking boats, and on the far right a man fishing.

In the extreme right hand corner of this painting is an inscription which says that the scene was taken from a *lontar* and that it was finished on a date which is given in some complexity in terms of the 210-day year, and also gives a year Saka, which appears to read 1303. However this would in fact be 1381 AD, and obviously this painting cannot be that old. Unless it is a mistake in the writing, it presumably means that this was the date at which the original *lontar* text claimed to have been written.

The torments shown in this painting are very similar to those shown in the ‘Bima Swarga’ *ider-ider* (No. 27) but the painting is an extremely fine example of Kamasan style at its best, with its vigour and fine use of colour. It was much admired by the artists to whom I showed it, but none of them were able to suggest any particular artist who had painted it. This together with the use of a totally separate bottom panel, confirms a 19th century date for this picture.

(A.M. Collection No. E74161)







**29: Ider-ider - Bharatayuddha (Cantos 8-12):
Death of Wirata's Sons**

30cm x 830cm

Kamasan work, artist possibly Sambug, late 19th century.
Halus work on thin Balinese cloth. In excellent condition.

This painting portrays the first day of fighting between the Korawas and the Pandawas. The first scene is the conference held at the Pandawa camp, before they set off for the battle. To the left of the tree is Krisna, with other allies of the Pandawas standing behind him: Drupada, Sikandi, Drastadyumna (the son of Drupada) and Satyaki. Krisna is reporting the failure of his peace mission, to the Pandawa brothers who stand on the right of the tree behind their kneeling servant, Twalen. From left to right they are: Dharmawangsa (also called Yudistira) the eldest, then Arjuna, Bima, and the twins, Nakula and Sadewa. The other servant, Morda, completes the array.

The second scene shows the long procession of the Pandawas to the battlefield. The procession is led (at the right of this scene) by Bima on foot, with a *bala* (soldier). (*Bala* occur throughout the procession to indicate the vast army.) Then come Twalen and Morda, and the God Indra (Arjuna's father) in his nimbus, who, according to the Bharatayuddha text, "led them in the sky". On the leading chariot is Arjuna, and on the next chariot, Nakula and Sadewa. The third chariot carries the three sons of Wirata: Sweta, the commander in chief, first, then Uttara and Shanka. Next come Sikandi and Drastadyumna each in their chariots, then Dropadi, the wife of the five Pandawa brothers, carried on a litter. Her principal husband, Dharmawangsa, carrying a *lontar*, follows on an elephant, and bringing up the rear is Krisna in a chariot, with lightning above. (This whole scene closely follows the description of the procession in the Bharatayuddha text, cantos 8 and 9.)

In the huge battle scene which follows, it is sometimes difficult to pick out the important individual characters, from the unnamed *bala*, fighting in the background. There are some helpful rules: heroes always use bows and arrows or clubs, not swords or spears. They are also always attacked and killed by heroes of the other side, and by the same kinds of weapons. Heroes are painted in the foreground, and may overlap the lesser characters. The progress of the battle is to be 'read' from left to right: As soon as the fight starts, Wirata's two younger sons are killed—Shanka by Drona, and Uttara by

29: detail (i)

Salia. Their brother Sweta furiously attacks Drona and Salia with a club, and they flee. Twalen with a *trisula* (triple-pointed arrow, or in this case, spear), threatens Delem. Sweta, now with a bow, kills Kertawama (a son of Salia, who is shown standing behind him). Morda, with a backward thrust of his *kris*, thwarts Sangut, who is attacking him from the rear. Sweta shoots two more Korawas, one of whom is Rukmaratha, another son of Salia. Sweta then leaps from his chariot to attack Bisma with a club. Bisma's chariot collapses and he is at first dismayed, but a voice from heaven says that Sweta will die at his hands, and he turns and fires an arrow which kills Sweta. Between the two of them, Dussusana dances for joy. The elaborate sun at this point may be intended to indicate the heavenly voice, or, as it is obscured by cloud it may be symbolic of the sorrow of the Pandawas at the death of their commander.

The next scene shows Wirata and his queen taking their farewell of their three dead sons. Behind him are the wives of the three heroes. The downward pointing hand under the chin is an expression of deep emotion—in this case sorrow. In front of them, Twalen registers sorrow while Morda makes advances to a *condong* (serving woman). In the next scene, the three brothers are cremated at night (indicated by the stars and constellations in the sky). Four soldiers throw fuel on the fire, while the bird symbolises a liberated soul ascending to heaven.

The last little scene is interpreted as Irawan, a son of Arjuna, asking his mother Ulupwi (a *naga* or snake, who in the form of a woman is one of Arjuna's wives), for permission to go and join the fight, although he knows he will be killed. This final scene, which is more appropriately the start of another incident (from the point of view of the story sequence), indicates the continuing nature of the larger story, and the great war.

The content of this painting is interesting in its combination of accurate details from the Bharatayuddha text, with certain omissions and additions. (This is discussed in more detail on p. 12.)

(A.M. Collection No. E74209)

29: detail (ii)





30: Bharatayuddha (Cantos 13 & 15): 30: detail (i) Death of Abimanyu

29cm x 1075cm

Kamasan artists were emphatic that this is not a Kamasan work, and suggested Batuan. However it has little in common with known Batuan work, and may well be a very old work from the Klungkung area. It was the property of the temple of Jero Kapal, in Gelgel. Mid 19th century. Kasar but very vigorous drawing, on thin Balinese cloth. When the ider-ider was acquired, it had been machine sewn to a red cloth backing, which has served to protect the painting.

The first scene shows the meeting of the Korawa side, before the third day's battle. After the kneeling servant, Sangut, on the extreme left, are Karna, Salia, Kripa, and Drona, the newly appointed commander of the Korawa army—all to the left of the tree. To the right are Duryodana, Aswatama, Dussusana, Sakuni, and finally Delem, also kneeling.

After an elaborate scene divider of a mountain with a cave, part of the battle fought by Abimanyu is shown: Jayadarata on an elephant attacks from behind, while Abimanyu is attacked by two men with *kris*, and by Duryodana, Karna and Salia, with arrows. Behind Salia is Drona. One Korawa, probably Laksana, is shown falling back onto Delem as he is killed by Abimanyu. In a subsidiary skirmish at the far right, Twalen thrusts his massive *panah* through the buttock of Sangut, who has gained an advantage over Morda.

The third scene shows the corpse of Abimanyu, pierced by many arrows. At his head is Dharmawangsa and at his feet are Abimanyu's two wives—Uttari, with a pale skin, and Sundari, who faints and is supported by a *condong*. To the left, Abimanyu's mother Subhadra, is being consoled by Kunti, with female attendants and Morda behind. To the right, a group of soldiers look on, and behind them is Twalen. In the fourth scene, the Pandawa brothers with their servants, are depicted in conference with Krisna. To the left of the central tree, Bima and Krisna stand behind Arjuna, who is kneeling to vow vengeance on Jayadarata. To the right of the tree are Dharmawangsa, Nakula and Sadewa.

The fifth scene shows the cremation of Abimanyu, and the suicide of Sundari. His other wife, Uttari, is pregnant—her son Parikrit eventually continues the Pandawa line and becomes king—and so she is not allowed to join her husband. The two wives say farewell, and Uttari accompanies Sundari to the top of the ramp. Having leapt from the ramp into the fire, Sundari's body burns while her soul, released and in the form of a bird, flies up from the flames. The dog (under the ramp) and the two peasants with wood and an oil jar, are typical of the Balinese artists' rather irreverent view of the sacred rituals of their Ksatria masters.

The very small sixth scene shows Krisna, with Arjuna and the two servants, planning revenge (an episode which in the Bharatayuddha text actually precedes the cremation). Then follows the next day's battle. In this long scene, there are fewer heroic figures, and much more general fighting, than is usual in such paintings. At the left, Satyaki, an ally of Krisna, kills warriors with a club, while his invulnerability, derived from his *sakti*, is conveyed by a *kris* being bent in the hand of an attacker of lower status. Further on, Bima, with a club and his long thumb nail, wreaks havoc. Then Krisna, with his discus, is shown acting as charioteer for Arjuna (the chariot is not shown). Arjuna kills Duryodana's charioteer with an arrow, and Duryodana flees to the right with Delem and Sangut. The fact that Twalen and Morda do not appear in this battle scene indicates that it is incomplete. The end is torn, and the achievement of Arjuna's revenge by killing Jayadarata, which logically completes this painting, is missing.

Although the painting is not highly finished, it has great vigour, and an interesting use of colour. Many of the bodies are very dark in skin colour, and blue, which must have been imported, is used quite extensively, particularly in the mountain scene dividers (which are large and elaborate by later standards). The style is also remarkable for the great size of the servant figures, particularly Twalen and Morda. (In the sixth scene, Morda is actually bigger than Arjuna.) This larger size of the servants relative to the other characters seems to be a feature of the older paintings, but this is the most extreme example known to me.

(A.M. Collection No. E74252)

30: detail (ii)







**31:
Tabing**

Bharatayuddha: Death of Abimanyu

80cm x 104cm

Kamasan, Pan Seken, 1930s-40s. Bought from the artist who used it in his family temple. It no doubt also served as a sample of his best work to show prospective customers. Most halus style with added gold leaf prada.

Abimanyu, the son of Arjuna, had a hero's death. While making a foray in which he successfully saved Dharmawangsa, he was cut off and surrounded by the enemy. He was attacked by all the most experienced and famous warriors of the Korawa side. When he finally died he had one hundred arrows in him.

Here he is shown fighting on, even after his bow is severed. All around are his attackers: at the top right is Drona, with Duryodana behind him; and beneath them Sakuni, with his younger brother Sarabasa behind. At the top left, the attackers are Jayadarata with Karna behind; and Burisrawa and Dussusana below. At Abimanyu's feet, Laksana Kumara, a son of Duryodana, dies, having been hit by a discus. Across the bottom of the painting are six more Korawa who have been killed by Abimanyu—on the right are Kertasuta and Sakadurma, brothers of Duryodana, and Senjuruh, one of his ministers; and on the left, two more brothers of Duryodana, Kertasena and Durmasana, with a minister, Whartbala, behind.

The lengthy text describes the action. Above the text the sun is about to be veiled by clouds, while to the right lightning flashes, and to the left is Dwaja, the thunderbolt of Abimanyu's grandfather, Indra.

This is a set piece by Kamasan's best artist of the period. It was painted at a difficult time, when traditional markets were uncertain and the 'new art' from Ubud was in the air. Nonetheless it is totally traditional, and shows no signs of the experiments being made by some other Kamasan artists at this time (e.g. No. 15), except that the artist put his major figure in the middle, and a tree on either side. This would be necessary, anyway, to provide enough space for the text.

(A.M. Collection No. E74174)



32:
Tabing
Bharatayuddha: Salia and Aswatama

94cm x 120cm

European cloth, painted by Manku Mura in 1972.

Towards the end of the Bharatayuddha, after the death of Karna, Aswatama, the son of Drona (who has already been killed), accuses Salia, who is about to be appointed commander of the Korawa army, of being responsible for some of the recent disasters. Both become furiously angry, and since both derive some aspect of divine power from the god Rudra, both take on the *pamurtian* form, assumed by high gods in states of fury. However, since they both derive their power from the same source, they are equal, and no advantage is to be gained by fighting.

Manku Mura was definitely trying to bring this point out

visually by balancing the two *pamurtian* figures. When asked, Manku Mura said that it did not matter which figure was Salia and which Aswatama, since they were equivalent and therefore identical. In fact, the figure on the left has one more right arm than the figure on the right, but this is not visually evident. A more or less exact balance is obtained in this painting, and the idea of balanced opposition of equal powers is very clearly conveyed. The *pamurtian* figures curve in to the sun, while pushing back to the top corners, the rain that is either falling or threatening to fall. In each top corner is a heavenly *resi*—once again balancing the picture. In the centre, Duryodana, the leader of the Korawas, tries to calm things down, as do Delem and Sangut, and other Korawa notables, dwarfed by the *pamurtian* figures.

(A.M. Collection No. E74176)

33: Ider-ider - Bharatayuddha: Death of Salia (Reads right to left)

29cm x 450cm

Kamasan work, probably Kak Lui, 1910-20. Kasar work, a cheap piece for sale to poor temples or families, probably for a Pura Dalem as it reads right to left and concerns death.

This *ider-ider* depicts the death of the last Korawa commander, Salia, whose sympathies actually lie with the Pandawas. He plots with them in order to contrive his own death, and thus, the final defeat of the Korawas.

In the first scene the Pandawas meet, and Nakula is dispatched to make contact with Salia, who has become the Korawa commander. To the right of the tree is Dharmawangsa, with Twalen and Morda behind. Nakula kneels under the tree receiving his orders, and to the left are Krisna, Bima, Arjuna and Sadewa. In scene two, Nakula creeps through the camp of the sleeping Korawas. In scene three he presents himself to his uncle, Salia, and reproaches him for continuing to fight for the Korawas. Salia replies that he cannot abandon his duty, but reveals to Nakula how he may be killed. Salia is attended by four women, none of whom is differentiated as senior wife. The next scene is double: in the first section Salia and his senior wife, Satyawati, discuss his impending death. She begs him not to fight the next day, and ties a part of his *kain* (sarong) round her waist so that he cannot leave without her knowledge. In the left hand part of the scene, Salia rises in the morning and cuts his *kain*, leaving his wife sleeping.

The battle scene shows Salia on the right, with ordinary weapons breaking before they reach him. To the left Dharmawangsa has just launched his sacred weapon, which is shown buried in Salia's breast. (According to the story, Salia wreaks havoc during the day's fighting, until eventually Dharmawangsa is forced to overcome his reluctance, and, using Nakula's detailed instructions, kills him.)

In the sixth scene Salia lies dead on his chariot, while one wife has apparently already killed herself, and Satyawati kills herself with a *kris*. The last scene shows the reception of Salia and his two wives into Rudra's heaven, where attendants offer them ambrosia. The immediate transfer to heaven is a reward for the fulfilment of the Ksatria duty to die in battle — or in the case of the women, to kill themselves on the death of their husband.

(A.M. Collection No. E74207)

33: detail



34a: detail

34b: detail

34: a & b Pair of Kober (Flags) Bima and Arjuna

Each 48cm x 83cm

Unknown origin, from a temple on Nusa Penida (?). Mid to late 19th century. Painted on both sides of coarse Balinese cloth.

The characters on this pair of flags represent a different dimension of paired opposition from those so far considered. Bima and Arjuna are brothers, allies, and both of the good or right side. The Balinese however conceive of these two as being 'opposed' as manifestations of different sorts of power: Bima is loud, strong and rough, while Arjuna is the epitome of Ksatria refinement, restraint and elegance.

This pair of flags is unusual in shape and in colouring. Almost all the original colour has gone, except for black and a peculiar orange, which various Kamasan artists suggested might be the effect of washing *kincu*. The flags certainly seem to have been washed recently, since the cloth, though obviously old, is free of dirt.

These flags fascinated some of the Kamasan artists. The style is very close to Kamasan, but by Kamasan standards the background and border was atrocious, while the figures, especially the heads, were very good. The drawing in particular was much admired; Manku Mura described it as "very beautiful", and several people called in specifically to see them. The Kamasan people considered that such a mixture of skill could not be professional, and that the flags must be the work of a gifted amateur, possibly an exile, living on Nusa Penida.

(A.M. Collection Nos. E74243 and E74244)



35: detail (i)

35: Folktale: Calonarang Episode (Reads right to left)

37cm x 741cm

Kamasan work, artist possibly Sambug, late 19th century. Obtained from the Pura Dalem Bugbugan, in Gelgel. Halus style with excellent drawing. Thin cloth, worn at the top and with many splits and small holes (mostly repaired with similar painted cloth, probably cut from the end of the painting). Last scene has a part missing. Paint generally in good condition.

The story concerns the first part of the Calonarang story (see p. 13). In the first scene the beautiful Ratna Mengali is returned to her mother, Calonarang, by a courtier and two attendants of Prabu Erlangga's court. At this stage Calonarang, a widow of great magical power, is shown merely as an old woman, wearing a *ketu*; there is nothing to indicate any evil connotations, only her supernatural power.

The second scene shows the effect of Calonarang's anger at King Erlangga's rejection of her daughter. *Leyak*, female witches with fire coming from their joints and tongues; monkeys; an owl; and a male evil manifestation with long tongue and fangs but no fire; (all manifestations of black magic), spread death and sickness through the land. To the right are shown family rituals of farewell to corpses wrapped in cloth. One of the mourners is seized with sudden vomiting, perhaps a symptom of cholera. Bodies wrapped in white cloth are carried to the cemetery on biers. One peasant carries a multi-pronged hoe to dig the graves. The cemetery is shown by bones lying about, and by the tree, which has a snake at its roots, and from which a male witch frightens a peasant. The whole scene is full of symbols of evil supernatural attack, and is one of horror and sudden death to the Balinese.

In the third scene, Prabu Erlangga orders his *patih*, Maling Naguna, to kill Calonarang. Both Erlangga and his *patih* are shown as men of force, rather than of the highest refinement. They have the round bulbous eyes associated with demons, and substantial moustaches and facial hair (*bulu*). Maling Naguna's two attendants are of similar tough disposition. In the fourth scene, Maling Naguna and his two attendants have been joined by a servant (who, despite his appearance, is not intended to be Delem). The party draw their *kris*, presumably as they approach the house of Calonarang.

The fifth scene has two parts, each with the same group of characters, and between the two architectural scene dividers at either end, it should be read from left to right: On the left, the *patih* and his party attack Calonarang, who is asleep without her headdress and with loose hair, in a *bale* (pavilion) of her house. In the right hand section, Calonarang has transformed herself into her invulnerable witch form, or Rangda. She is shown incinerating Maling Naguna, while his followers register dismay and prepare to flee. (Oral versions of the story suggest that she was actually killed while still asleep, and only then assumed her magical form and retaliated.)

In the final scene, the triumph of Rangda over the civil power is celebrated by her seven chief assistants. They dance over a corpse, a bier, and other signs of continued death and destruction. Each of these witches has a separate name, and some attempt has been made to distinguish between them in the painting: skin colour is one obvious variable, and particular physical features, such as the pig-snout nose of the witch on the extreme right. In general they all show the Balinese conception of female witches, with many sharp teeth, extra tusks growing through their cheeks, long fiery tongues, and fire bursting from their heads and joints. The loose hair has connotations of aroused female sexuality.

The painting is torn at the left, but the back of a kneeling figure can be seen. It may well be Rangda's servant, Kalika, worshipping Rangda—who would also be present, at this scene of her triumph, to the left of the kneeling figure.

(A.M. Collection No. E74214)

35: detail (ii)



36: Ider-ider Folktale: Calonarang Episode

28cm x 785cm

Kamasan work, artist probably Nyoman Dogol, early 20th century. Obtained from the Pura Dalem Bugbugan in Gelgel. Sedang style, but good work. Thin cloth, with many splits, locally repaired. Last scenes missing. Paint in good condition.

This *ider-ider* continues the Calonarang story from after the events depicted in No. 35. The first scene shows Rangda's seven followers receiving her orders with a *sembah* (a gesture of respect). In front of Rangda is the corpse of a male child. The witches are shown in much the same way as in the preceding story, but with greater emphasis on their loose hair, and with flames also proceeding from their vaginas—a standard characteristic of witches. In the next scene, the followers are shown, bleeding and butchering male children, and pounding up the flesh to make a form of feast food known as *lawa* (usually made from pork). In the third scene, Rangda and her followers are making offerings to Durga in a temple. The offerings include a neatly spitted baby in place of the highly valued roast sucking pig of the real world. Durga, the goddess of death, shows herself in a nimbus, and is worshipped by Rangda.

These three scenes are a commentary on the believed world of the witch. The preparing of feast foods and the offering of them in a temple, are part of the real good life—but the work, done by men, uses animals, particularly pigs, and the offerings are to beneficent deities. The witches perform all the correct actions, but with human flesh. The sources of evil supernatural power are thus shown to be the same as good, but perverted and anti-social.

In the fourth scene, the continuing reign of disease and death is shown by two burial parties. It is night; each party is preceded by a torch-bearer. The first party is burying a cloth-wrapped child, the second an adult on a bier. The ground is strewn with bones and parts of other recent funerals. The parties are threatened by *leyak*.

The fifth scene shows a large group of common people begging Mpu Barada for help. All make *sembah*, and the women at the back have their hair covered with cloth, a sign of widowhood. The setting is the cemetery in which he lives. The

36: detail (i)



36: detail (ii)

tree is surrounded by the usual bits, and an arm and leg—each with their own head to show their independent existence—float in the air. Mpu Barada's servant wears the servant's version of the *ketu*, and carries a *lontar* box, indicating the scholarly attributes of his master. Mpu Barada himself radiates *sakti*—supernatural power. He wears a long coat (an attribute of the most learned men). It is of patterned red cloth with gold trimming, but its carefully displayed lining is black and white checked cloth—*poleng*. Mpu Barada's face also shows force, with round eyes and luxuriant hair. The hair style with raised 'knobs' is typical of that of some *rakasa*, showing that Mpu Barada was an adept at black as well as white magic—the power of good alone, no matter how strong, being insufficient to defeat the evil Rangda.

The sixth scene shows the confrontation of Barada and Rangda, each with a servant. Although Rangda's servant is usually Kalika, her companion here has a single projecting tusk sticking forward from her mouth, a feature associated with one of Rangda's seven major followers, Irarungg. In the next scene, Rangda shows her power in an attempt to frighten Mpu Barada by burning a tree. (The peasant head also burning doesn't figure in any version of the story that I know, and presumably is just to show the deadly nature of Rangda's power.) The eighth scene is incomplete, but obviously combined the next two actions, in which Barada restores the tree by his power to its original state, and Rangda in a fury burns him, but his *sakti* is such that he remains unharmed.

Luckily there is a complete *ider-ider* of the same story in the Resink collection at Leiden Museum (4491/108). This is identical in virtually every detail with the painting here exhibited, and the style is so similar that either they must be by the same artist, or one is a very painstaking copy of the other. We can therefore be certain that the exhibited painting ended in the same way. In the Resink *ider-ider*, the eighth scene is completed with Rangda on the other side of the tree. In the ninth, Barada burns and kills Rangda with her own magic. In the last scene, Rangda and Irarungg, both of whom Barada has briefly revived, make a *sembah* of submission to Mpu Barada. In Balinese tradition, Rangda continues as a personification of witchcraft and envious evil aggression directed against Balinese society.

(A.M. Collection No. E74213)



37: detail (i)

37:

Ider-ider

Tantri:

**Prabu Gadjadruma, or 'The Four Ministers'
(Reads right to left)**

29cm x 988cm

Kamasan, artist probably Sambug, circa 1900. A halus work on thin Balinese cloth, in excellent condition.

This story concerns four ministers, *mantri*, who reside at the north, south, east and west of a kingdom. Their wise conduct has preserved the kingdom in peace and prosperity. However, on the succession of a new king, Prabu Gadjadruma, his favourite followers (wishing for their own advancement) tell him that the *mantri* are being disloyal, and building up alternate sources of power. They convince him that the *mantri* should be recalled to court.

The first scene shows the *prabu* suitably attended, announcing his decision to recall the *mantri*. The four kneeling aristocrats are probably the four conniving favourites, (although throughout this painting there is a certain inconsistency in the depiction of their eyes, which makes identification of individuals from scene to scene difficult). The second scene shows the favourites setting out together, and in the four following scenes, each favourite delivers the king's message to one of the four *mantri*. In each case, the *mantri*'s reaction is the same: they declare that they cannot leave their posts, but as the king has demanded to "see their face at court", they each cut off their own heads to be sent to him. In the next two scenes, the four favourites return to court and present the heads to their king.

Deprived of the skilled protection of the four *mantri* at its borders, the kingdom is invaded. An enormous battle ensues, in which it is said that all the favourites are killed – though the eye inconsistencies make individual identifications difficult. In the last scene, the *prabu*, utterly defeated and having fled to the forest, has taken refuge in a hunter's house. Although the wife is at home and offers him hospitality, the pet cockatoo calls out "Kill the *prabu*, kill the *prabu*", at which the king flees once more, leaves the country, and takes up a hermit's life.

Although Gadjadruma is the correct literary name of the king in this story, in oral versions his name is pronounced as Gadjah Derumah – a more meaningful name in Balinese terms. The episodes shown here are only the first part of the written version, which later becomes concerned with the spiritual future of the *prabu*. The full version did not seem to be known to the artists – their version, as shown in this example, emphasises the stupidity of the *prabu*, without any subsequent reclamation or philosophical reflections.

The presentation in this painting is consistent with that for stories of the 'post-mythological' age. The servants Twalen and Morda are not present, and the hair-styles, costumes, and weapons (including pistols and muskets) are specific to Tantri and Malat stories, and are contemporary (at least in Balinese terms). The style of dress, and particularly the long hair-styles of the men, are probably closely related to actual aristocratic life in the days before European contact.



37: detail (ii)

(A.M. Collection No. E74215)

37: detail (iii)



38:

**Ider-ider
Tantri: Pedanda and Bull**

26cm x 577cm

From a temple at Takmung, Kamasan work, circa 1910. Kasar work, but with some vigour, done on thin Balinese cloth. Good condition—the top edge having been protected by a band of machine-sewn cotton.



38: detail (i)

The first scene of this *ider-ider* leaves us in no doubt that the story to be presented is from the Tantri cycle; Tantri herself, presumably about to begin telling a story, is shown sitting on the *raja*'s bed. (His headdress, which one would think was very uncomfortable to sleep in, makes his royal identity certain.) Tantri holds his leg—a gesture both submissive and affectionate. On the floor at the foot of the bed is the old female servant, Tantri's nurse, who appears to be prompting Tantri, as she is depicted as speaking (see page).

Scene two starts the story proper. A poor *pedanda* (a Brahmana high priest) prays to Siwa for assistance. Siwa manifests himself as a blue bull. The *pedanda* has two servants, and decides to go into the timber business, using the bull to carry wood. The bull, not liking this, lies down and refuses to move. The *pedanda* rides on, having instructed his servants to wait by the bull, which he assumes is ill. If it recovers, they are to follow after him, and if it dies, they are to cremate it, as it was after all a gift from Siwa. The servants, bored with waiting, soon decide to cremate it anyway, and set fire to the wood. The bull then runs away into the forest (while the

pedanda, seeing the smoke, assumes that it is dead). In the forest the bull meets some dogs, who want to eat it. However, the bull shows that he is well able to defend himself, and the dogs run off to report the arrival of this new and powerful animal to *Prabu Singga* (King Lion) the king of the forest.

The sequel to this story is shown in No. 39. However, this episode and its sequel are never to my knowledge found in one composition, so that in terms of painting, they are effectively two separate stories.

Although in many ways the colouring of this painting is carelessly and obviously quickly done, the basic drawing is reasonably good and the total effect is vigorous and cheerful. It is a good example of the sort of cheap *kasar* work done for poor temples—the kind of work of which little has been preserved (cf. Nos. 22 and 23. Like these works, this painting also makes extensive use of *kincu*—a pigment apparently cheaper then, relative to its much more selective use today.)

(A.M. Collection No. E74211)



38: detail (ii)



39: detail

39: Ider-ider

Tantri: Prabu Lembu and Prabu Singga

61cm x 520cm

Gianyar area, possibly Batuan, early 20th century, probably from a palace in Gianyar. Barely finished work of great vigour on thick European cloth.

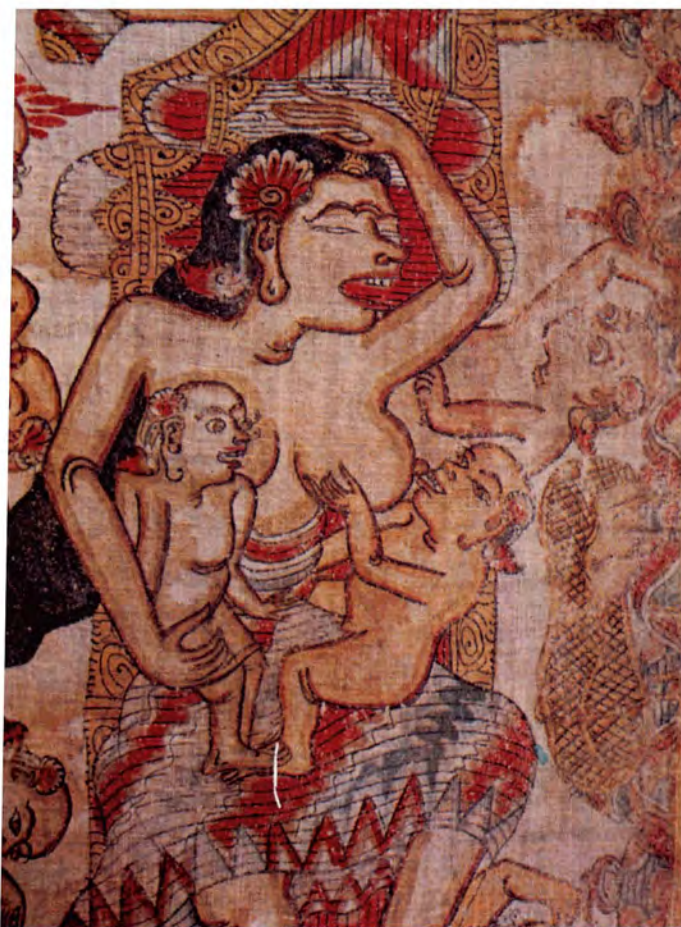
This *ider-ider* continues the story of the bull (Siwa), from No. 38—though as separate stories each is self-sufficient. The background to the two scenes shown in this painting is as follows: The bull having reached the forest (and impressed the lion's subjects, the dogs, by his power) meets King Lion, and eventually converts him to vegetarianism, as a superior way to power. The lion, in the manner of rulers, orders his subjects to follow suit. The dogs try a grass diet but are always sick after eating. They therefore resolve to unmask the internal contradictions of the regime—to use contemporary jargon. This is where the *ider-ider* starts.

The dogs cause dissention between the lion and the bull, by telling each *prabu* vile things about himself, supposedly said by the other. This precipitates a fight (scene two), in which both die. The gestures of some of the dogs watching the fight, raising their right paws, is immediately reminiscent of the same gesture normally only made by Sudra men on the occasion of ritual fighting over a corpse before cremation. The broken tree branches littering the area in this scene may be an allusion to the destruction normally caused by fights between the 'mythological' heroes. However it may equally well be a visual interpretation of the sound effects used in the *wayang kulit*, conveying the effect of destruction to the surrounding trees, caused by the intensity of the fight.

(The story itself ends with the dogs feasting on the carcasses—presumably, having 'eaten' established authority, they enjoy a republican form of government for ever after.)

The opposition between Prabu Singga—King Lion, and Prabu Lembu—King Bull, is almost omnipresent in Balinese art, being found in reliefs on buildings, on statues, in painting and as free form sculptures. The delight of this simple painted story version lies in the vigour of its portrayal, and particularly in the expressions of the dogs. The orthodox high-caste interpretation of this story is that it symbolises a battle in which the non-meat eating Brahmanas sacrifice themselves in order to destroy the *raksasa*. However, a Sudra interpretation is that the lion represents the naked political power of the Ksatria *rajas*, while the bull represents the power both spiritual and temporal of the Brahmana priests, (great rivals of the Ksatrias). According to this interpretation the dogs very definitely represent the Sudra population—exploited by, and yet manipulating, the political and religious powers. The painting itself is exceptional in this collection. It is very large for an *ider-ider*, and though the drawing is superb, the work is not finished, and the colouring in particular is very sketchy. These factors point to a rush production for some royal family festival. Indeed, the painting has quite possibly only been used once. On the back and on the front of the piece of cloth, (under the first picture of King Lion), there are pencil sketches for a more ordered 'mythological' painting—which again suggests that the painting was produced in a hurry on the only bit of cloth available.

(A.M. Collection No. E74253)



40: detail (i)

40: detail (ii)



40:

**Ider-ider
Folktale: Pan Briyut**

23cm x 380cm

Kamasan work, artist possibly Kumpi Mesira, about 1900.
Halus work, some wear at the top, some flaking of paint surface.

'Pan Briyut' is a very popular folktale (ref. p.13 of introduction). Mem Briyut—his wife—has eighteen children. All are shown in the fourth scene, the youngest hung from the roof in a baby sling. Her husband, Pan Briyut, has to do all the domestic work—in the kitchen, washing the children, carrying water and so on. The children quarrel, and make their parents' life a misery. The parents are also very poor. However, when the children grow up, the family through their labour becomes rich, and can even form their own troupe to perform the Rangda-Barong drama, complete with orchestra. (A further part of the story is depicted in No. 41, by a different artist.)

This painting is notable for the lighthearted rendering of the parental sufferings. Although stylistically the same as the formal paintings of the heroes of the great epics, the painting conveys well the lighthearted feeling of the story, and the informality of Balinese domestic life.

(A.M. Collection No. E74195)

41:

Ider-ider

Folktale: Wedding of Pan Briyut's Son
(Reads right to left)

33cm x 865cm

Kamasan work, artist probably Pan Remi, circa 1910. Halus work on medium Balinese cloth. The top much worn but otherwise in good condition. A piece is missing from the start.

This *ider-ider* tells the story of Ketut Subaya, one of Pan Briyut's eighteen children. According to written versions of the story, Ketut Subaya had so many spots that they ran into each other. He also had sparse hair, thick lips, uneven teeth, he was wall-eyed like a goat, slovenly, and had blue veins in his calves. However he was well dressed and carried a superb *kris*, and had, despite his appearance, great prowess as a lover. His wedding, which is merely mentioned in passing in the text, takes up the whole of this painting, and gives the artist the opportunity to show a series of scenes from contemporary life.

The first scene shows women preparing offerings. In the next scene, men butcher pigs and cattle and then chop up the meat to prepare *lawa* and *sate*, which are grilled over hot coals. After that is shown feasting, with the more refined guests

41: detail (i)



41: detail (ii)

sitting in pavilions, and the others outside. One guest is shown drinking, in the traditional Balinese manner—a stream of liquid is caught in the mouth and the lips never touch the vessel. The marriage ceremony is performed by a *pedanda* on a raised platform with Ketut Subaya and his pretty bride kneeling in front. Pan Briyut himself is probably the man behind the *pedanda*'s servant. A public procession follows: Ketut Subaya looks none too happy on a horse, which is itself disturbed by a dog. His new wife, suitably attended, walks in front. In the next two scenes, Ketut Subaya and his wife make offerings at two temples. The first, with a five-roofed *meru*—a pagoda like structure—and in the presence of his parents, presumably represents his own family temple. The second may be the domestic shrine of the houseyard in which the newly married couple are to live. The final scene shows the consummation of the marriage. (The giggling attendant is a standard 'extra' in such scenes.)

The artist of this painting is not such a master as the artist of the first part of the Briyut story (No. 40). However, he takes advantage of the subject to give a lively and amusing commentary on Balinese life. The ugly loutish son is a figure of fun, yet he has a reputation as a sexual performer, as his parents had for fertility.

(A.M. Collection No. E74196)



42:

Langse (Curtain) Malat Episode

88cm x 180cm

Kamasan, probably Nyoman Dogol, 1920s-30s. Halus work although no kincu has been used. The kepeng at the top and the cloth at the bottom (cf. No. 21) have been removed, but it had clearly been used as a curtain.

Identification of the particular incidents depicted in this painting is difficult: present day painters' knowledge of the Malat story cycle is restricted to a few standard scenes reproduced for tourist sale (see p. 13).

The main scene, extending right across the bottom of the painting, shows a dance probably organised by Panji. He is shown dancing with a high minister or subsidiary *raja*, in the centre. The main royal spectators are shown on the right, with a *raja* and some queens in the top row. The third girl from the right is a princess, and probably loves and is loved by Panji. On the left the orchestra or *gong* is shown in great detail, and behind are shown many more aristocratic ladies (all no doubt also in love with Panji!) The presence of a Twalen-like figure wearing the *poleng*, in the centre foreground, is anomalous in a Malat scene, and probably shows the decline in knowledge and experience of the Malat cycle—already apparent in the 1930s.

The main scene in the top part of the painting is a *wayang kulit* performance offered by a courtier (not Panji) to the same *raja*. Panji is presumably the second man to the left of the *wayang* screen. The *dalang* is a fine ferocious looking fellow, illustrating clearly the Balinese view that such experts are powerful. The shadow-play scene being shown is from the Ramayana; the confrontation between the eagle Jatayu and the Sita-abducting Rawana. *Wayang kulit* performances take place at night—which in the painting convention is shown by the stars in the sky. The very prolific *pudak* tree behind the audience emphasises the atmosphere of courtly love that is so pervasive in the Malat stories. At the top left is a small scene which does not involve Panji, and which is impossible to interpret unless the precise story from the Malat cycle has been identified.

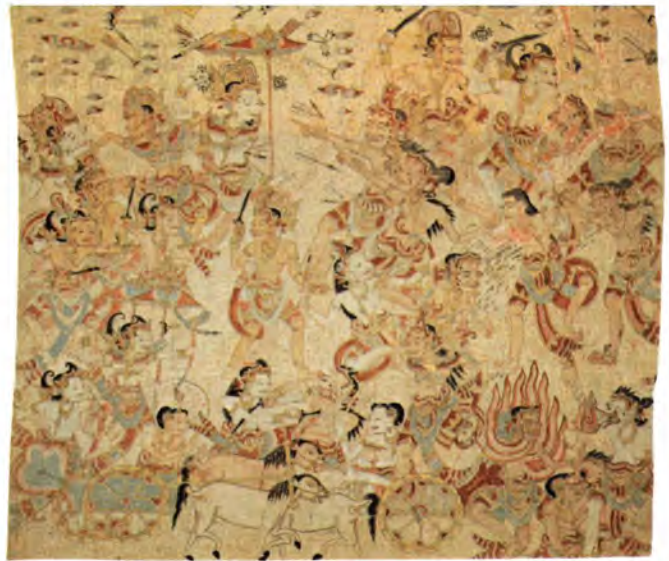
This picture is well painted and a good example of the style of the 30s, although the rice-paste coating is too thick and some flaking has taken place. It is surprising that no *kincu* has been used in a work of this quality. The artist has taken full advantage of the opportunity given by his subject to lighten the rows of aristocrats who are obligatory for Malat, with ordinary village characters—for example, members of the *gong*, the *dalang*, and his audience.

(A.M. Collection No. E74172)

'Bangli' Pictures:

These five pictures were allegedly from Bangli, but of course this does not necessarily mean to say they were painted there. Other suggestions as to where they might have come from have included North Bali, Aan, and Batuan in the Gianyar district. Unfortunately I have not been able to get anybody to positively identify them stylistically, so for convenience they are referred to here as 'Bangli' pictures. On stylistic grounds it is possible to distinguish at least two artists involved in this set. The artist of Nos. 43, 44 and 45 uses a very elaborate form of the wind and cloud motif that fills in the background, and very large mountain decorations with plenty of teeth, with (in No. 45) enormous tongues protruding from them. Most interestingly this artist has a different style of tree, with (in No. 44) elaborate small animals, very carefully treated, crawling or flying about. The other two Bangli paintings, although of similar style in their treatment of the human body, lack the decorative touches so obvious in these three works. All five paintings are done on thin European cloth.

Detail from 44



43: detail

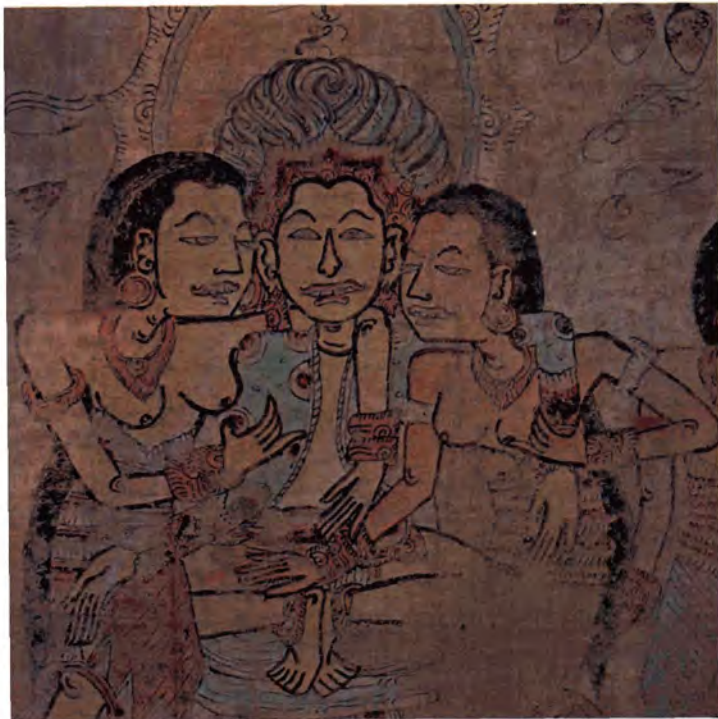
43: Tabing From 'Boma's Death' (?)

121cm x 135cm

This very vigorous fight scene has not yet been positively identified. It seems likely that it is part of the battle from the 'Boma's Death' story, yet another story involving some of the Bharatayuddha characters, in particular Arjuna, Karna and Krisna. In this story some of these characters are killed, and are only supernaturally brought to life at a later stage, in order to take their parts in the Bharatayuddha battle proper. If indeed it is a battle from the 'Boma's Death' story, it is possible to make some tentative identifications: At the bottom, two chariots approach each other. The man on the right has successfully shot the hero on the left, who in retaliation has done no more than get an arrow into the charioteer of his opponent. This may be the death of Arjuna which occurs in the battle in this story. At the top, the old king with very droopy eyes may be Basudewa. He kills two opposing kings with discuses, while to the left at the top, he is himself killed. If indeed this is Basudewa, then the man who kills him must be Karna. In the top right, a knightly character who may be Sambu, Krisna's son, beheads an enemy. There are many other figures, several of whom occur in more than one place in the painting, but identifications are extremely uncertain.

The painting is very vigorous, with weapons flying in all directions, and some evidence of *sakti*—supernatural power—in various characters, which causes weapons to bend or turn into flowers as they approach them. The conventional wind and cloud motifs, usually forming a total background to Balinese traditional painting, are here kept up in the sky, and a sort of generalised background is given by stamping in colour, possibly with a piece of broken stick. The painting is also unusual, in that the large obviously 'mythological' battle has no servant figures present.

(A.M. Collection No. E74245)



44: detail

44:
Tabing
Arjuna Wiwaha: Arjuna Metapa

74cm x 89cm

Arjuna is shown being tempted by two nymphs, while one more stands behind him and two more nymphs appear to be leaving, perhaps having given up the task as hopeless. Down below, with Twalen and Morda, are two nymphs who are difficult to distinguish in type from the nymphs tempting Arjuna, (this contrasts with more usual practice of depicting coarser *condong* type nymphs tempting the *parekan*). These nymphs are dancing in a very explicit manner, and getting an equally explicit response from the objects of their temptation. The left hand border appears to have lost a small portion.

The trees are very interestingly done, with flowers, birds, butterflies and caterpillars. At the bottom right is even a human-headed bird—extremely unusual apart from in pictures of Swarga (see No. 28). There is absolutely no attempt to indicate a ground line. However, two elaborate mountain motifs with teeth, one on top of the other, under Arjuna, serve to separate him from Twalen and Morda.

(A.M. Collection No. E74247)

45: Tabing
Arjuna Wiwaha: Arjuna and Indra

83cm x 99cm

This painting shows Indra with suitable attendants, and female nymphs, perhaps some of those who have previously tempted Arjuna, despatching Arjuna and Suprabha to discover the secret of Detia Kwaca's powers. Indra and the nymphs are on the right, and Arjuna and Suprabha kneel before him, on either side of the elaborate central tree. Behind Arjuna are two heavenly *resi*, of which the one nearest the centre is Begawan Wraspati (who is, following convention, given the face of Drona). Underneath the *resi* are shown two male characters, presumably heavenly attendants, (possibly those who brought Arjuna from his meditation to Indra's heaven).

This painting is most unusual in the pavement design, which forms a sort of sloping platform on which the characters are seated, in contrast to the normal Balinese habit of only representing the earth along the bottom edge. It also has the very large earth-mountain features, in this case with enormous protruding tongues.

(A.M. Collection No. E74246)



46: Tabing - Sutasoma (?)

124cm x 129cm

This picture almost certainly shows a scene towards the end of the long Sutasoma story. At the end of a huge battle in which a large number of heroes have been slain, Sutasoma emerges from the town accompanied by his charioteer, to confront the wrath of the man-eating Purasada. Purasada, who is possessed by the god Rudra, manifests himself in *pamurtian* form (the nine-headed ferocious form that gods can assume when enraged, cf. No. 32). He rains weapons on Sutasoma, but as the weapons approach Sutasoma, they are all transformed into flowers. Purasada also emits an enormous burst of fire, but this is transformed into *amerta*, which revives the dead heroes lying around on the battlefield. At the top left of the painting are the gods of the four directions, from left to right: Kubera, Yama, Bruna, and Indra; while at the top right, two heavenly *resi* look on at the spectacle. In the front are extremely large figures of the *parekan*, shown in a confrontation situation—Twalen and Morda are associated with Sutasoma, Delem and Sangut with Purasada. Right in the centre of the picture, growing out of the mountain border which separates the *parekan* from the main scene, there is a very unusual and charming little scene: a tree of distinctly non-traditional type grows beside a pond from which there is a water spout. There is also a small pavilion, and the tree has a long banner (*lontek*) mounted in it.

The filling-in wind and cloud motifs in this painting are extremely unusual—most of them looking rather like flowers, and this may be a reference to the effect of Sutasoma's presence. Around the figure of Sangut can clearly be seen the pencil sketches for the right leg of Purasada. This suggests that perhaps originally Sangut was not intended to be included at that point.

(A.M. Collection No. E74248)



47:

Tabing

Adiparwa: Sunda and Upasunda

87cm x 87cm

This is one of many stories from the Adiparwa (see story summary, page 86). The two brothers, Sunda and Upasunda, their passions having been inflamed by the divine nymph Tilotama, are shown attacking each other. Tilotama and her servant fly off back to heaven, their work having been done. Only the servants of the left are present, since both *raksasa* kings were essentially evil characters. They are shown diving for cover as the titanic struggle between the brothers breaks out.

This painting has various unusual stylistic features: There is virtually none of the conventionalised earth-mountain motif at the bottom. Instead, action seems to be taking place on a floral border, with a few bumps to indicate the earth. The wind and cloud motifs are also variants of the more usual type. They are very large—as indeed are all the figures. The drawing is free but vigorous. A great deal of detailed work has gone into some parts, for instance the hair; while the yellow ornaments are very sketchily treated compared with typical Kamasan style work. The background appears to have had a stamped or flecked motif put on it (cf. No. 43) but this is now badly faded.

(A.M. Collection No. E74249)

CALENDARS : ITEMS 48-53

There are three different calendars in use in contemporary Bali. The simplest is the modern international twelve-month solar year that we are all familiar with. The Balinese also use a solar year calendar of Indian origin, called *saka*; this is 78 years behind the Christian year so that this year is 1900 *saka*. The traditional year calendar was however divided into twelve lunar months, which gives a year of about 355 days. To make this fit with the *saka* year it was necessary to add an extra month in every thirty. There has been a tendency in modern Bali to combine these twelve lunar months with the months of the solar year, but this has been resisted in the more mountainous parts where the lunar months still control the ritual cycle. In lowland Bali, although *tilem*—new moon, and *purnama*—full moon, are still important the actual ritual cycle is controlled by a different 'year' of 210 days. This 'year' cannot be fitted into the 365-day year by any means and hence is carefully preserved. It controls the rituals of the temples and of the family for the vast majority of the Balinese population. For instance babies have important rituals performed for their welfare at 42, 105 and 210 days after birth, and the festival of Galungan, when ancestors return to visit their descendants, as well as the temple festivals—*odalan*—are also on the 210-day cycle.

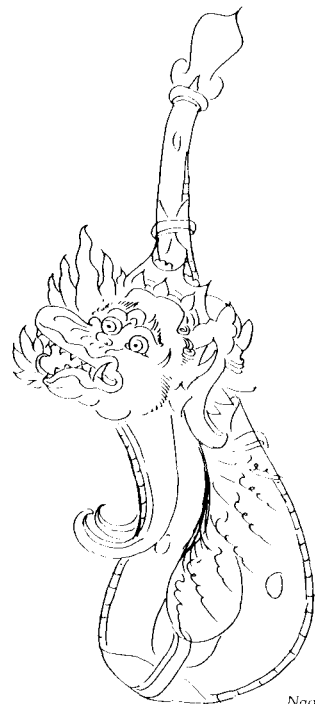
For the vast majority of Balinese the most important calendar is that of the 210-day 'year'. Not only does it control most of the major festivals, but it provides a very detailed scheme of auspicious and inauspicious days for virtually every activity. The 'year' consists of 30 seven-day weeks—*wuku*, but running concurrently with the seven-day weeks are a set of other 'weeks' of varying numbers of days. The most important of these are the three-day week which controls the markets, and the five-day week. Also important for determining suitable days for certain events are the four-, six-, eight- and ten-day weeks. The various week systems determine auspicious or inauspicious days by their intersections. For instance the day *kajeng* of the three-day week and the day *kliwon* of the five-day week coincide every fifteen days and this day, called *kajeng-kliwon*, is thought in many villages to be a day when evil mystical attack by witches is very likely, so that special ceremonies are staged every *kajeng-kliwon* to avert the danger.

The coincidence of the five- and seven-day weeks produces a 35-day period called a *tumpek*, of which there are six in the 210-day 'year'. The 'year' is in fact the necessary period to contain every possible combination of the days of the five-, six- and seven-day weeks without repetition. The *tumpek* and the three-day week are basic knowledge to all Balinese who identify every day in terms of them. The other week systems are important for many activities but the complexity is so great that advice has to be sought from experts, who must be paid and who own and can read *tika*—painted or engraved

210-day calendars. These *tika* use many symbols and if painted, writing as well, but their interpretation requires a great deal of study and can only be learnt from an expert. In the wooden *tika*, which do not use writing, a vast amount of calendrical information is encoded non-verbally in a very small compass by the use of signs. One of the sources of complexity is that some of the weeks do not fit into a cycle of 210 days. The four-, eight- and nine-day weeks are obvious examples. Days of these weeks have to be repeated at certain times to get them to fit, so the day *kala*—seventh day of the eight-day week—is repeated twice at the beginning of the week of Galungan, so that Sunday, Monday and Tuesday of that week are all *kala*, three very unlucky days.

Two forms of calendar based on the 210-day 'year' are common in Bali. The *tika* (No. 48a) shows the whole year; the other shows only the 35-day *tumpek* and is called *plintangan*, (see section following No. 48).

The year of lunar months is only painted on one form of Balinese calendar, the *plindon*, often called the earthquake calendar. The *plindon* shows the twelve lunar months with the Hindu god associated with each (although not all *plindon* agree about which god goes with which month). These calendars show in pictures and tell in words what can be expected for the future if an earthquake falls in a particular month (No. 53).



48: a & b

a: 210-Day Year Calendar

b: Interpretation Sheet for the Calendar

48cm x 152cm 53cm x 155cm

Painted and written on bark-cloth, probably from Sukawati area of Gianyar, late 19th century. The bark-cloth in both pieces seems to have been given a rice paste coating, to provide a smooth writing surface. (I do not know how this was done—presumably not by boiling, the usual method for cloth, as the bark-cloth would disintegrate.)

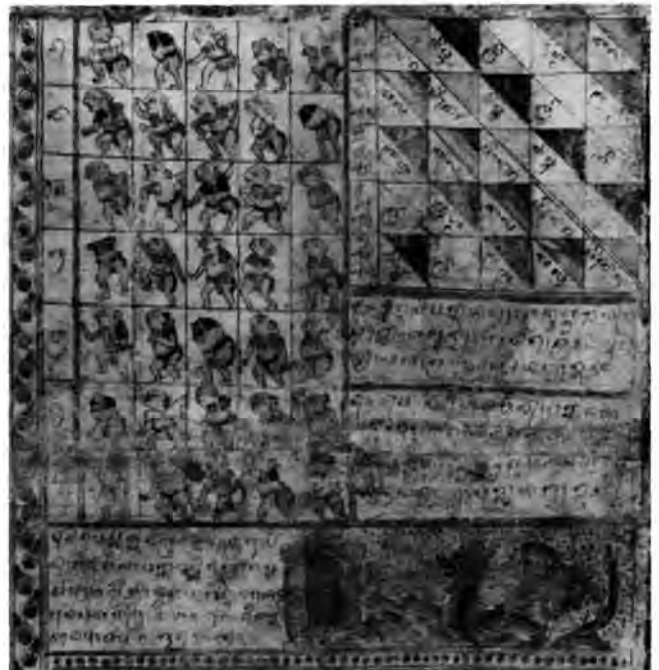
This calendar is of the 210-day or 30-week year that dominates the Balinese ritual cycle.

The calendar sheet shows the 30 seven-day weeks, *wuku*, with the name at the top of each week, and a bottom square which shows the attributes of that whole week. Each square on this sheet contains a collection of symbols which can be read by consulting the second sheet. There are some symbols that occur with regularity, others that repeat but not in any regular fashion, and some that seem scattered haphazardly over the calendar. An example of irregular repetition occurs in the days of the ten-day week, which are represented by ten different head-dresses. (The interpretation of each is given in a separate panel on the second sheet, at the bottom of the main panel and to the left.) Every day has one of the ten head-dresses but they do not follow each other in any simple sequential order. For instance a common sequence is *raksasa*, *Suka*, *Sri*, *Suka*, *Sri*, *Sri*, *Sri*, *patih*, *raja*, *Manuh*, *Duka*, *Manuh*. The calendar then presents many systems for determining suitable and unsuitable days for a wide variety of activities, within the ordered framework of the 30 seven-day *wuku*.

The sheet of interpretations also contains many other prognostications. For example, to the right is a 35-day grid (the seven-day and five-day week combination that is the basic *tumpek*). This shows the likely skills or lack of them, of people born on the various days of the *tumpek*. This is shown in terms of mannikins: some have heads in the form of animals, some are headless, and some have arms present or absent, to indicate different degrees of manual skill.

In symbol and text these two sheets encode a vast amount of esoteric knowledge, and such calendars are often regarded as intrinsically powerful. A man who possessed one and could read it was an important member of the village community, certain to be widely consulted, and suitably rewarded. As far as I know, painted versions of this calendar were never produced in the Klungkung region, although *tika*—carved or engraved boards—of the same calendrical format were certainly locally produced. The centre of production for painted versions seems always to have been Sukawati, which now produces an enormous number of crude ones for sale to tourists. (These have a compressed version of the calendar, with a god and a pair of handsome *nagas* at the bottom.)

(A.M. Collection Nos. E74258 and E74259)



Plintangan

Plintangan are calendars that show a combination of the five- and seven-day weeks, the basic *tumpek*. *Lintang* means a star or constellation and each of the 35 days is said to be an actual constellation in the sky. Although I have never met anyone who can point out the named stars, the name of the day is still enclosed in a star shape in most of the paintings. There is general agreement about the names of the 35 constellations and they are given varied visual interpretations by artists in making *plintangan*.

Each day of the seven-day week has a set of attributes, some shown at the top: a god or goddess which is always shown; a character from the *wayang* theatre; a tree and a bird. Less frequently shown at the bottom should be an animal-headed human-bodied *buta*—demonic spirit, and an animal. There is much more variation between calendars in the details of some of these attributes of the seven-day week than there is about the 35 constellations, and many, especially more recent calendars, miss out, or do not distinguish between various attributes. The diagram below gives the names of the con-

stellations, somewhat freely translated, and the attributes according to the best calendars I have seen. The 210-day year actually starts on *Redite Paing*, that is the 'elephant'. The next day is 'the message', then 'the laden *prau*', 'corpses for cremation', then back to the top for 'broken axe handle' and so on diagonally. The *plintangan* is clearly not a calendar in our sense, i.e. to tell you what day it is today, but a scheme of the intersecting of two different sets of influences contained in the days of the five- and seven-day weeks.

Plintangan are used partly to determine the likely character of anyone born on the particular day, but what is more important is that they specify what offerings should be made to alleviate sickness and misfortune according to the day of birth of the individual afflicted. They are probably the most frequently produced type of painting and are available in a wide variety of sizes and finishes, from the huge and beautiful ones with a large amount of writing, down to the small and crude ones with a meaningless squiggle in the place for the name of the constellation (Nos. 49-52).

SEVEN-DAY WEEK:	Redite (Sunday)	Soma (Monday)	Anggara (Tuesday)	Buda (Wednesday)	Wraspati (Thursday)	Sukra (Friday)	Saniscara (Saturday)
God	Indra	Sri galuh (female courtier)	Brahma	Vishnu	Siwa	Uma	Durga
Wayang figure	Panji/ <i>mantri</i>	<i>Pule</i>	<i>raksasa/buta</i>	<i>rangga (male courtier)</i>	Semar/ <i>Twalen</i>	Sangat	Delem
Tree	Kayu putih		Ambulu	Bundut	Waringin (banyan)	Ancak	Kepuh (grave-yard tree)
Bird	Siung (parrot)	Janggung (pigeon)	Gagak (crow)	Dara (dove)	Merak (peacock)	Titiran (turtledove)	Celepuk (owl)
Umanis	Kala Sungsang	<i>watih</i> (coconut palm)	the horse	weeping	broken axe-handle	enraged goose	Depat —the free-floating head
Paing	elephant	smoke of incense	crab	<i>gajahmina</i> (elephant-fish)	false measure	fishtrap with a hole	the arrow
Pom	<i>patrem</i> (a kris) —a suicide	the message	the dog	the granary	<i>bade</i> (cremation tower)	the broken <i>prau</i>	the flower
Wage	the plough	the ox	the laden <i>prau</i>	Kartika —the Pleiades	the water pot	many debts	fighting quails
Kliwon	Gowang —headless man	the cart	Sidamalung —the boar	corpses for cremation	<i>naga</i>	<i>makara</i> (lobster)	the urn for ashes
<i>Buta</i> : (man/animal composite) & Animal:	elephant-headed <i>buta</i> & <i>garuda</i> (eagle)	dog-headed <i>buta</i> & lion	crow-headed <i>buta</i> & dog	horse-headed <i>buta</i> & snake	human-headed <i>buta</i> & tiger	ox-headed <i>buta</i> & goat	buffalo-headed <i>buta</i> & ox

49:
Tabing
Plintangan (35-Day Calendar)

128cm x 162cm

Kamasan work, second half of 19th century. Halus technique on very thin European cloth. Very stained, faded and patched.

This calendar is interesting in several respects. It appears by its drawing and finish to be a fine piece of Kamasan work. However the dividing lines between the scenes are simple heavy black lines, instead of the more elaborate borders found on most calendars of this quality. At the top there are only a god and a *wayang* figure, while the whole bottom row of animals and *buta* is missing. (It is possible that these may have been torn off, together with a little of the bottom row of constellations for *kliwon*.) Moreover, the positions of the constellations 'Kartika' and 'the water pot' have been reversed.

All this suggests that despite the apparent quality of the original finish, and the vigour of the drawing, this would have been considered a poor and careless piece at the time it was produced. However, it has considerable historical interest for the present-day viewer. For example, the sailors in the two *prau* are clearly Chinese with their pig-tails, not Europeans.

(A.M. Collection No. E74228)



50:
Tabing
Plintangan (35-Day Calendar)

164cm x 159cm

Kamasan work by Pan Seken, 1940s. Bought from the artist.
Very halus work, with fine drawing and writing. Some mildew stains.

This very fine work shows clearly how an original artist can take a very standardised formula—small scenes whose basic content is dictated by the calendrical system—and make a creative work from it. Each constellation is a perfect little scene. The expressions of the characters are lively; they are all Sudra, and therefore free of the restrictive canons that govern the portrayal of aristocrats. The whole work gives a delightful picture of Balinese peasant life. The sailors are said to be Dutch, although some authorities think their costume is

based on the much earlier Portuguese traders. Pan Seken has included many original touches that bring action into the tiny scenes. For instance, in the 'fish trap with a hole', two fishermen are each pointing mockingly at each other's eel trap—from which the eel is escaping. The dress and costumes form a complete record of the costumes of traditional Balinese society.

This *plintangan* was famous in Banjar Sangging, and had been possibly the most borrowed painting in the area. Even after it was known that I had bought it, several painters borrowed it from me. However I have never seen any reasonable copy of this *plintangan*, and I suspect that it was borrowed more for inspiration, and to use as a reference for the constellations, than for copying in our literal sense.

(A.M. Collection No. E74230)



51:
Tabing
Plintangan (35-Day Calendar)

130cm x 147cm

Kamasan, Manku Mura, 1973. Halus style with much text.
European cloth.

This work was commissioned from Manku Mura, and he went to a great deal of trouble to get as much text in as possible. He was worried about the correct way of showing the various trees and birds. They are correctly mentioned in the text, but

hardly visible, since he hid them behind the nimbus of each god. He did not include the *buta* at the base, because they were not mentioned in the *lontar* which he used as a basis for the calendar text. This work is done in the rather pale colours that Manku Mura was favouring at that time. His drawings have plenty of vigour and touches of whimsy, e.g. the monkey riding on the horse. However the overall effect is rather static compared with Pan Seken's version (No. 50).

(A.M. Collection No. E74232)



52:
**Tabing
Plintangan (35-Day Calendar)**

44cm x 62cm

Kamasan, 1970s. Kasar work of cheapest quality.

This is in many ways the worst quality work produced by Kamasan artists. It was produced for sale to Balinese, and sold for the equivalent of 30-50 cents in 1973. It is hardly a work of art, yet it contains a lot of the essential information of the bigger, finer calendars. The writing is not interpretable—it is squiggles, the pseudo-writing of the illiterate. However, the constellations are identifiable, and in their correct places. Gods are shown at the top and animals at the bottom. The graphic compression that has taken place in a work so small and quickly done, has resulted in a repetition of symbols. For

example 'weeping', 'the kris suicide' and 'corpses for cremation' are all shown by the same graphic form—probably meant to be a cloth-wrapped corpse. Similarly three constellations, 'many debts' and 'false measure' (both usually shown as fights) as well as 'the message', are all shown by a glowering face. Otherwise all the constellations are distinct, and recognisable to anyone who knows the system (although the 'enraged goose' is only differentiated from the eagle at bottom left, by the colour of its head).

In short, this *plintangan* is hardly a thing of beauty, but it would be perfectly adequate to enable someone who was illiterate but who knew the system to identify each day with the correct constellation, and that is all it purports to do.

(A.M. Collection No. E74233)



53:
Ceiling Painting
Plindon (Earthquake Calendar)

144cm x 138cm

Kamasan, Made Pager, early 20th century, from the family temple of the artist's descendants. Halus work.

Most *plindon* are of *tabing* form, to be hung on walls or as a backing for offerings. This one has been designed to be stretched above the raised platform on which offerings are put. The artist has painted the twelve months around the edge, and thus left himself a large central area, which has been divided into nine squares, seven of which have predictions for the days of the seven-day week. The centre has a god, while one corner is occupied by a generalised *raksasa* or *detia* (also in a nimbus), presumably symbolising the opposition between the forces of the right and of the left, which created and maintains the world. The day predictions in the centre are arranged in a pattern for which I know no rationale (see diagram of scene layout below).

Around the edge, the months go anti-clockwise, each month dominated by its god. The names of the gods are included in the diagram. The scenes for each month in general illustrate the written predictions. The predictions are generalised, and by no means all bad. For instance, an earthquake in our July means that "the state of the world will be safe, the crops good, and all goods will be cheap." An earthquake in December, however, forbodes "The state of the world is bad, many are sick and many die, the chickens die and the plants wither, there will be many forced marriages." Sometimes the illustrations add to the text. For example, in March the text mentions that the domestic animals will run wild, but says nothing about lightning striking the coconut palms, although this is clearly illustrated. The month predictions are obviously very concerned with agricultural and human health.

The predictions for the consequences of earthquakes on days of the week are complementary to those for the months, but concerned to some extent with different matters. For instance if an earthquake occurs on Friday, the *raja's* wife will run away, and the cattle will be sick. If one occurs on Wednesday, *dagang* (women street traders) will go broke, and so on.

(A.M. Collection No. E74226)



(53 – Diagram):

	June Antaboga	May Sambu	April Sangkara	
July Pertiwi	Thursday	Sunday	Friday	March Rama
August Gangga	Saturday	GOD	Monday	February Daniswara
September Vishnu	Tuesday	Wednesday	Raksasa (demon)	January Siwa
	October Brahma	November Iswara	December Durga	

LEFT AND RIGHT

The division between right and left is very commonly conceived in human societies as a division between good and bad, and this classification is reported in many complex forms from virtually all the societies of Indonesia. It is very apparent in the *wayang kulit*, where the *dalang*, taking the puppets out at the beginning of a performance, places the 'good' ones on his right and the 'bad' ones on his left. The terms 'of the left' and 'of the right' are widely used to refer to the nature of characters, and I have used them in this catalogue. The whole set of puppets is then at the start divided up into left and right, and the audience knows on which side the good and bad characters are waiting in the wings, and hence from which side they will enter. The centre area of the screen, properly the place of the *gunungan*, is the place of action; the performers enter from and retire to the appropriate side. All this may seem very easy and simple, but the difficulties are just ahead. The *dalang* places the 'good' figures on his right, but the audience faces him and the good characters are, therefore, on their left, so that except for the *dalang*, the figures 'of the right' are in fact seen on the left. This convention is followed in paintings, so that in 'The Churning of the Milky Ocean' (No. 7) the gods who are certainly 'of the right' are on our left, as we look at the picture. Of course, from the point of view of a participant in the scene, assuming they are facing directly out at the spectator, which their bodies at least always are, the gods are to the right of the *detia* and the *detia*

Characters of the left and right being set out by a *dalang* at the start of a *wayang kulit* performance. (Photo: Z. Wakelin-King)



to the left of the gods. In cosmic terms then, left and right are correct; it is only to the spectators that they appear reversed.

This convention is followed in virtually every Kamasan painting I have seen and most of the paintings produced elsewhere. The 'good' side is shown to the spectator's left. In battle the 'good' side comes from the left and the 'bad' from the right, and usually in each individual combat the good is on the spectator's left, and so on. This convention applies particularly to the 'mythological' paintings, but can be seen in some of the later stories as well. For example, in the tale of Prabu Gadjadruma (No. 37) the four favourites, who are the villains of the piece, are shown walking to our left as they set out to visit the ministers, and still walking to the left as they return, with the heads. In each decapitation scene, too, the virtuous minister is to our left and the villain to our right. The victorious invader who defeats Prabu Gadjadruma also attacks from our left, while the fleeing Prabu runs away from the cockatoo to the right. In other 'post-mythological' stories, such as Pan Briyut (Nos. 40, 41) the left/right polarisation is inappropriate and not applied; in yet others, such as the Rangda stories, it is only appropriate in certain places, as in the confrontation between Mpu Barada, our left, and Rangda, our right (No. 36). In the other Rangda story in the exhibition (No. 35) the unfortunate minister attacks from our right, but then the good side is meant to be not only virtuous, but successful, and he is not.

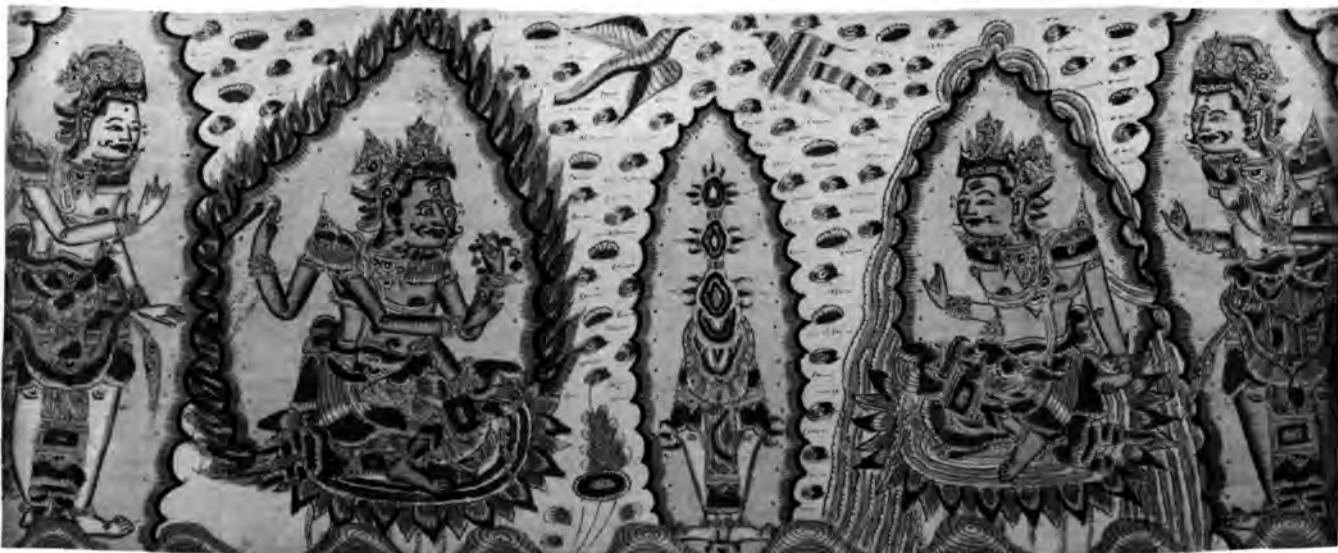


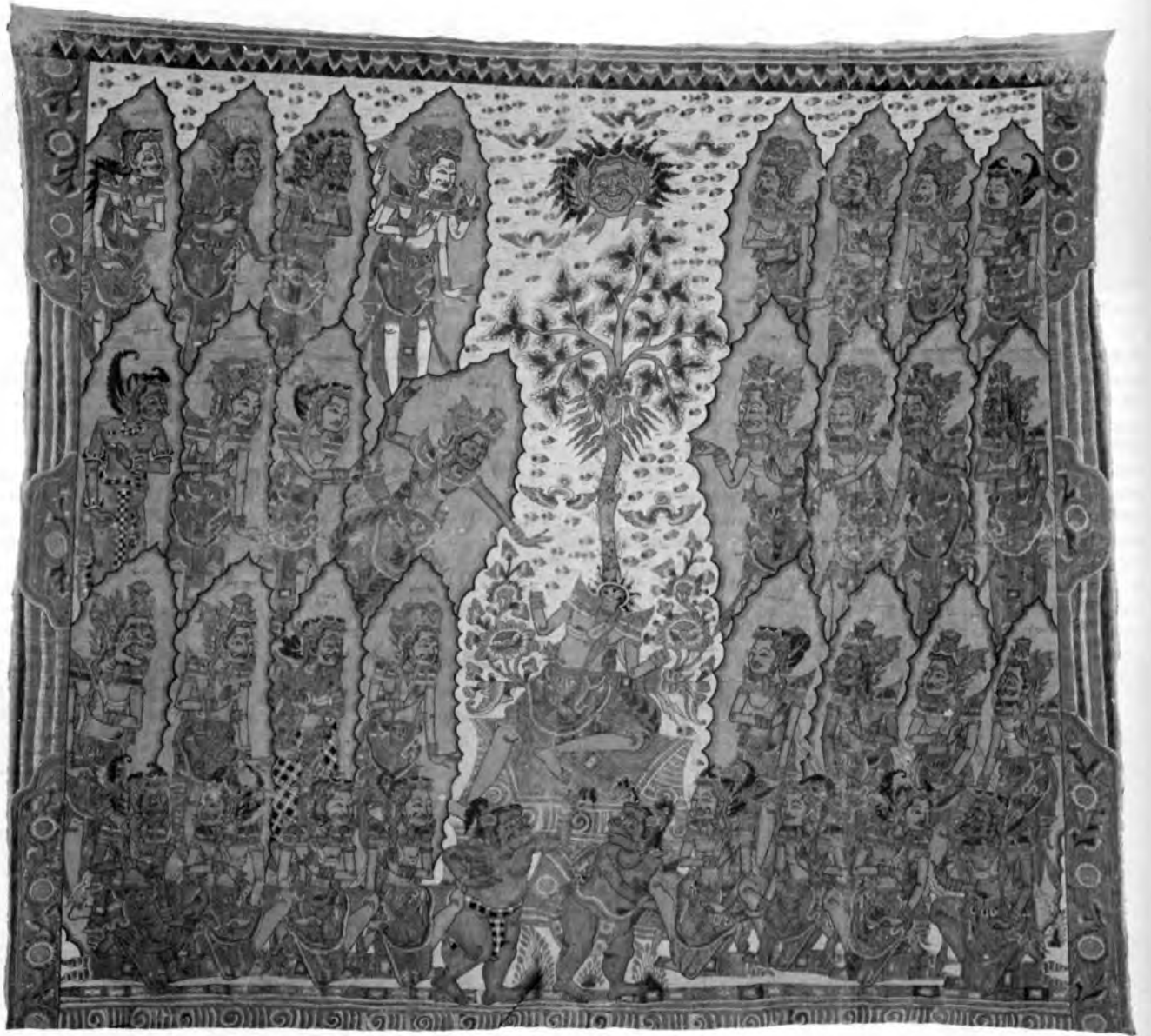
No. 30. scene one — meeting of the Korawas.

If the story or composition demands it, the convention can be re-expressed without having to be slavishly followed. In No. 30, the first scene is a meeting of the Korawas shown at the extreme left of the *ider-ider*, but in this scene the characters to the left of the tree are all the nobler, more learned Korawas while to the right of the tree are the violent, tricky and genuinely evil Korawas, and a fine bunch of blackguards they look, too. In the ensuing fight scene, Abimanyu is in the middle surrounded by Korawas as the story demands, but in the final, incomplete fight scene, the Pandawas are coming from our left and the Korawas from our right, both collectively and in each individual encounter. Just as there are right and left among those 'of the left', so the gods have their own divisions. In Kala Rauh (No. 10), the most important gods are shown on our left, Siwa, Vishnu and Indra, but Brahma who is

the complement of Vishnu is shown on our right. The Vishnu-Brahma opposition is usually expressed this way with Vishnu being 'of the right' and Brahma on the other side, but Manku Mura has it the other way round in No. 5. However, if there are gods on each side, these two will always be opposed. In scenes where all the characters displayed are of the same side, the tendency is also manifested, thus Rama is always on our left in any Ramayana scene, whether his enemies are present or not. There is one painting in this collection that breaches the left/right rule; No. 6, which is probably an individual piece on stylistic grounds, shows in the Bharata-yuddha section the meeting between the Korawas and Krisna and his supporters in which Krisna is to our right and the Korawas to our left.

No. 5. part of scene two. A version of the Vishnu/Brahma opposition by Manku Mura: Brahma on the left. Vishnu on the right.





No. 10: *Tabing*— 'Kala Rauh' from the Adiparwa.

Three rows of gods on the left hand side:

Sambu, Agni, Buda, Siwa,
 Beiyu, Mahadewa, Bulan, Vishnu,
 Yama, Kubera, Wraspati, Indra.

Three rows of gods on the right hand side:

Ishwara, Gana, Rauh, Kumara,
 Brahma, Surya, Rama, Ludra,
 Dharma, Meiswara, Angkara, Bruna.

There are several pictures which have the centre as the focus of attention, e.g. 'Death of Abimanyu', 'Kala Rauh', 'Churning of the Milky Ocean' and 'Arjuna Metapa', to mention a few. Most of these have massive balancing figures to left and right: Abimanyu—massed Korawas; Kala Rauh—massed gods; Milky Ocean—massed gods and *detia*; while in Arjuna Metapa the balancing forces are beautiful divine nymphs. Nevertheless, the classic Balinese painting scene, and overwhelmingly the most numerous, is of a central tree on a rock and with a tree fern, on each side of which are two parties facing each other. They may be deadly enemies, or friends and allies discussing future actions; often they represent arrivals or departures, the giving of orders or the making of requests. Conversation is always, confrontation sometimes, implied in such scenes. There are two major classes of scenes without trees; battles, which consist of a series of confrontations, and scenes of travelling in which parties move in a single direction. If the travelling party meets anyone, a tree springs up between them. A duality in the simplest structural sense is thus built into the basic format of every painting, and opposition is fundamental.

The tendency in Adiparwa paintings to have massive blocks of regimented characters in opposition gives an instantly registered sense of hierarchy and rigid order to the paintings. Although the theme of balanced opposition is common in virtually all paintings, others that are symmetrical such as the encounter between Salia and Aswatama (No. 32), have much more of a feeling of fluidity and of the possibility of change. In general most paintings express aspects of a duality fundamental in all Balinese life between the principle of static ordered hierarchy and the principle of equality, often violently expressed. The *ider-ider* of the confrontation between Hanoman and Bima (No. 25) shows balanced equals very well. Fight scenes which occur in almost every story are also scenes of disorder whose outcome is a new, or restored, order but in themselves often contain expressions of equality in balanced opposition.

In this exhibition, this aspect of opposed duality can perhaps be most easily seen in flags, which are made to be displayed in pairs. The oppositions in flags show most of the possible range: deadly enemies of the same rank—Hanoman and a *raksasa* general (No. 19); identical characters that have become opposed through the working out of their destiny—Sugriwa and Subali (No. 20); allies, in this case brothers, who illustrate contrasting aspects, the rough and the smooth, of the embodiment of virtue and duty—Bima and Arjuna (No. 34); and last, but by no means least, male and female aspects of the world and creativity—red and black *nagas* (No. 1).

To start at the last, male and female are the perfect duality. They are, or can be defined as, totally opposed in every characteristic, yet they are absolutely interdependent, the

high point of complementary opposition. This aspect is very clearly expressed in Balinese religious life. The god images that are the focus of temple festivals must be paired; little statues made of Chinese coins and sandalwood come in pairs, one male and one female, who share a single name. Neither is a statue of Rambut Sedana by itself, only the pair together make the deity of that name. In form the statues are virtually identical. It is often impossible to tell one from the other as all secondary sexual characteristics have been suppressed, except for a minute cultural difference—each sex has a different form of earring. These figures express very well the interdependence of the sexes and the view that all power must comprehend both male and female.

The Balinese make no images of the gods of the Hindu pantheon, at least for temple use, although some of the *triwangsa* identify the village gods with Hindu gods. These identifications are rejected by the congregation. There are, however, empty shrines named after some of the Hindu deities which receive offerings. Interestingly enough, although some of the Brahmana say that many of the Hindu gods and goddesses are aspects of each other, so that Siwa is also Uma and Durga, the ordinary Balinese continue to treat them as separate deities with their own characteristics.

A pair of male and female god images, with offerings.
(Photo: A. Forge)



The concept of interdependence of opposed complements applies more widely than the sexes. Just as in Christian theology heaven cannot exist without hell, so the left is necessary to the right. The world cannot exist without both. As each manifestation of the left, be it *detia*, *raksasa* or Korawa, becomes too dominant, it has to be defeated, but it can never vanish or the world would end. This may be theologically desirable but does not appeal to the average man. There are many other dualities apparent in the painting, and other aspects of Balinese life and ritual. The Arjuna/Bima pair, for instance, are two alternative sorts of power; one refined and correct, the other coarse and direct. This opposition is also seen in Vishnu/Brahma, and in a whole set of pairs—Brahmana/Ksatria, spiritual/secular, vegetarian/meat eating, Bull/Lion, and so on. However, in the working out of individual characters, both in the stories and in real life, such single oppositions rarely provide an adequate description for the complexities involved.

SANGGING AND WAYANG

It is impossible, at least in the present state of knowledge, to trace any secure origin for the Balinese painting tradition. Like much of Balinese high culture, it must have been heavily influenced by the Hindu-Javanese civilisations, and especially the last of these, the great Majapahit Empire. Courtly romances and retellings of Indian stories in old Javanese literary tradition mention painting, and it was obviously one of the necessary accomplishments for princes and courtiers—especially for drawing or painting the features of the beloved—but what materials were used and what sort of style resulted is unknown. Some sort of realistic or idealised portraiture is suggested by passages such as:-

“When he looked up at the roof Patih Madrin was completely taken aback at the sight of a portrait; he lost his senses, for the princess portrayed in the picture was of unrivalled beauty. Patih Madrin lay as if dead, without being able to stir or move as if life had left him. He longed so much for the one depicted that he could think of nothing else.”

(Drewes, 1975:131)

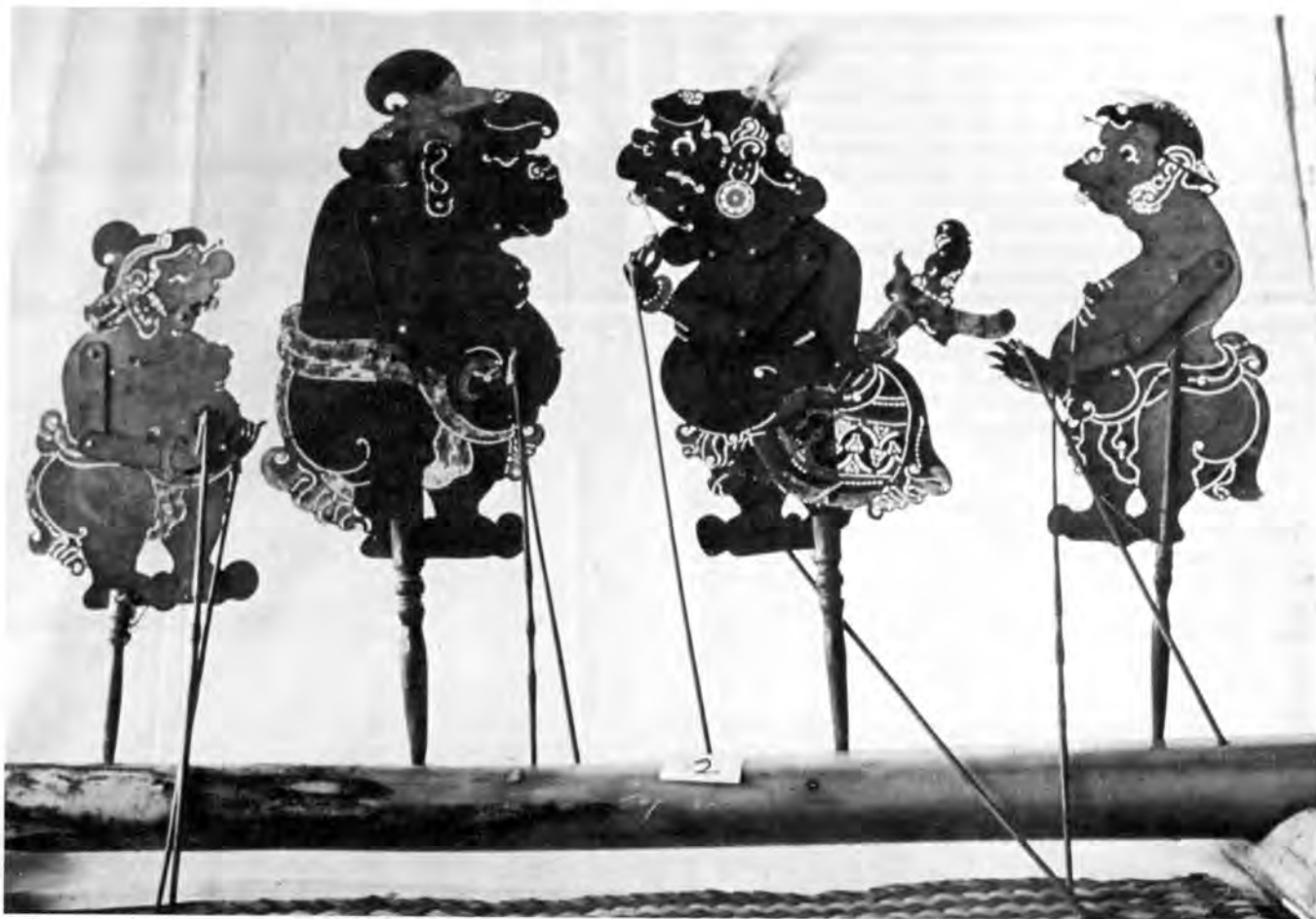
Even if we allow for poetic licence in this literary version of the Aji Darmas story, a story that is still popular in oral versions in Bali today, the art of the Javanese court must have differed in several ways from that of traditional Bali. Balinese painting is done by specialised painters of the lowest or Sudra caste and not by aristocrats; although representational, it is highly conventionalised in style, and no portraits are included, or indeed possible. Most important, Balinese painting is concerned with stories, with scenes and interactions between mythical or semi-mythical heroes, with gods and demons, with worldforming acts and huge battles, not with living individuals. The here and now occur, but as typical



Arjuna (on the right) opposes Siwa, over the slain boar – stonecarving on Candi Surawana, 14th century
[Photo: Archaeological Survey of Indonesia, O.D. 3436]

scenes with peasant types sowing or harvesting, feasting and dancing, being frightened by witches, burying their dead, and so on, but never as recognisable individuals.

There are signs of a growing conventionalisation of representation in Java in the 14th century, towards the end of the Hindu-Javanese period, in the reliefs and sculptures of the temples, such as Candi Jago, built before the wave of Islam finally swept away the last of the Hindu states. These reliefs show conventionalisation of the figure, the costume and the posture, very similar to that of the Balinese *wayang* and painting traditions of 500 years later. Interestingly enough, the Javanese *wayang* tradition seems to have adopted various exaggerations that make it less like the Javanese temple reliefs than the Balinese. As an example, the fight between Siwa and Arjuna over the boar, an incident taken from the Arjuna Wiwaha story, shown in a 14th century relief on Candi Surawana, East Java, is strikingly similar to the same scene shown in Balinese painting (No. 24); the tree in the centre, under which the dead boar lies, even has a tree fern, an invariable feature of Balinese central trees, and Arjuna has two *parekan* behind him. The heads of both Siwa and Arjuna are shown in three-quarter view, while their bodies are full frontal. In almost all respects the concepts of representation seem basically the same. The background is, however, composed of trees, flowers and other vegetation. Although this evidence is suggestive, it does not help much in deciding what 14th century court painting was like, since no paintings from this period have been preserved. There is only the *wayang kulit* tradition, which involves painted flat representation, and can be reasonably assumed to have a continuity going back to the 14th century and beyond.



Shadow puppets of the four *parekan*, set out as if seen by the audience. From left to right: Morda & Twalen, 'of the right'; Delem & Sangut 'of the left'. (Photo: A. Forge)

It seems certain that some form of shadow theatre existed well before the fall of Majapahit, and probably at least as far back as the 10th century. It seems likely that the present shadow puppets of both Java and Bali are descended from this original. The repertoire of *wayang* plays has a great overlap in Java and Bali, and there is a similar overlap with the themes of such Javanese court poetry as has been preserved. The themes are from the great Indian epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, or rather from Old Javanese versions of these and elaborations of them, together with some stories that seem to be of totally Javanese origin. But whereas in the courtly poetic versions the heroes and villains pursue their honour, fight their fights, love or abduct their maidens, in the *wayang* versions of the same stories the high-caste actors share the stage with powerful, grotesque servants, *parekan*, who comment on the action and often caricature the high-toned posturings of their aristocratic masters.

These servants occur in both Javanese and Balinese *wayang* theatre, although they have different names and different numbers in each. In Bali, the two servants of the right hand, the good side, are Twalen and Morda, usually considered elder and younger brother, while on the left, the bad side, are Delem and Sangut who form the complementary pair. These servants have assumed an enormous importance in *wayang* theatre: the major aristocratic or *halus*—refined—characters speak in Kawi, a literary language based on Old Javanese and not understood by the normal Balinese audience, but the servants speak to each other in low Balinese, keeping the audience up with the action and adding most unrefined action of their own. Their role is very similar to that of the comic servants, grave-diggers, gate-keepers, and so on, in Shakespearean drama. But in Bali, at least, there is more to them than knock-about coarse commentators on the doings of their betters.

Twalen is believed to have been a supreme god who voluntarily resigned his power and allowed the present dynasty of Siwa, Indra and the other gods of the Hindu pantheon to take over the destinies of man and the world. Twalen is often thought of as controlling the outcome of the actions of his nominal superiors, ensuring that the good triumphs. As a sign of his power, he wears the *kain poleng*, a black and white checked cloth, that is worn only by heroes who combine physical and spiritual power but are not 'refined' in the way that the purest Ksatria heroes or the holiest Brahmana are. The other major characters to wear the *kain poleng* are Bima and Hanoman, both children of the wind god Beiyu, both characters of a rough cast whose irresistible force is essential to the triumph of the good side in the Bharatayuddha and the Ramayana. Twalen's junior partner Morda is nowadays usually shown with a red and white checked cloth, not worn by any other character. This associates him with Twalen, but indicates his lesser power.

In the shadow plays and in popular stories it is often the magical powers of Twalen that ensure a satisfactory outcome, although the credit and glory go to the *rajas* and Ksatria elite who are his masters. The refined aristocratic characters, particularly Rama and Arjuna, represent the ideal of Ksatria conduct, and the heavenly *resi* and other refined priests represent the ideal for the Brahmana. Twalen and the other two *poleng* wearers, who with their coarseness nevertheless have the force and power to determine the final outcome, are the ideal of Sudra aspirations—controlling events, but not seeking the pinnacles of refined behaviour and ostentatious power that belong by birth to the *triwangsa*, the three aristocratic castes.

Wayang lemah performance — with the *kayonan* and Bima in the centre of the 'screen' (cotton thread), and Twalen on the *dalang's* right. (Photo: A. Forge)



Twalen, from No. 29, scene one

The *wayang kulit* has an enormous importance in Balinese ritual life. The performance of a shadow play is in itself a ritual act. The performer—*dalang*—makes offerings before and after each performance, but the occasion for the performance may be purely secular and the audience not involved in any ritual aspect. However, the puppets themselves are also used in temple ceremonies and other ritual occasions for exorcism and purification. *Wayang* performances that take place in daylight in temples as part of a larger ritual are called *wayang lemah*. No screen is used and the puppets rest on a hank of cotton thread tied between two sticks. Although the *dalang* performs a section of a play, only a few children watch, and he starts and finishes according to the dictates of the general ritual and without regard for the progress of the story. It is the ritual use of the puppets and their treatment that has the supernatural effect, not the story they perform.

When used for exorcism a full performance of *wayang kulit* is given. At the end of the performance the four puppets *gunungan*, Sangyang Tunggal, Siwa and Twalen are placed in the centre of the screen and given offerings. The *gunungan* (mountain, also called *kayonan*—tree) is the dominant puppet of the *wayang kulit*; it opens and closes performances and marks the transitions within the story as well as serving many other purposes, e.g. as a forest, during the performance. Sangyang Tunggal (also called Tintiya—the unimaginable), Siwa, and Twalen, are all supreme deities. After the four puppets have received offerings and the appropriate *mantra* have been said, their handles are dipped into water. The water thus becomes holy and is used to expel evil spirits.

This grouping of the *wayang* puppets of supreme power emphasises the importance of Twalen already mentioned above; a similar grouping may be seen at the end of No. 5. In the painted version, the *gunungan* is not shown as such, and I have never seen a painting where it is shown, but the centre of the scene, as in almost all other painted scenes, is occupied by a tree growing on a rock or mountain motif, with a tree fern just below the first fork. The near-universality of this tree/mountain motif in Balinese painting may well stand for the *gunungan* which is the central and in many ways dominating and universal feature of *wayang kulit* performances.

The central tree-on-mountain puppet, the *gunungan* or *kayonan*. (Photo: A. Forge)



The painting tradition of Bali, then, has obvious connections with the *wayang kulit* tradition, and may even have had its origins in a form similar to the *wayang beber* of Java, which persisted until the 19th century. In *wayang beber* scenes of a story, each complete with tree and tree fern, are painted on a scroll which is unwound as the *dalang* gives his performance. A *wayang beber* scroll is, therefore, rather like a large *ider-ider* with a series of scenes from a single story painted in sequence. However, there has obviously been a long period of separate development; the paintings are now by no means merely a static recording of *wayang kulit* scenes, if they ever were. The clothes and ornaments of the characters are the same in *wayang* and painting, and there are similar conventions about skin colour, but the conventionalisation of the figures is not identical. The *wayang* puppets, although, of course, they are moved by the *dalang*, have essentially only one posture; even though some have two movable arms, and many one, the range of postures and gestures must be limited. In painting, however, the characters can be, and are, shown in a wide variety of positions and doing a wide variety of acts. Paintings also offer chances to build up large scenes with many characters in complex interactions. The 'scenery' in both the paintings and *wayang*, tends to be a rather limited set of conventional 'props', but in the field of architecture paintings can go well beyond the limits of the *wayang*, e.g. No. 41.

Painted version of the central tree-on-mountain motif— from No. 36, scene one.





Lontar illustration – Ravana abducts Sita, from the Ramayana. Compare No. 15.



Lontar illustration – Hanoman flies to Langka, from the Ramayana. Compare No. 16.

There is another barely surviving graphic tradition of illustration in Bali which, as it is aristocratic and associated with literature, may be more closely linked with the Old Javanese court traditions. This is the illustration of *lontars* (palm leaf manuscripts) although it seems certain that the techniques of writing and hence of illustration have changed since the 14th century (Zoetmulder, 1974).

These illustrations, often of superb craftsmanship, are produced by the same technique as the writing. The smooth surface of the prepared leaf is finely incised with a pointed stylus, and the resulting lines filled in with pigment, almost always black; the smooth surface is wiped, leaving the incised lines standing out against the pale leaf. In style the *lontar* drawings, although smaller, are in some respects identical to the paintings. The characters are stylised in the same way, and their ornaments and clothes are indistinguishable; the size is, of course, much reduced. Each palm leaf is rarely more than an inch high, and this limits to some extent the ability to portray large scenes. The major difference between the *lontar* illustration and the painting tradition, however, comes directly from their production by literate members of

the higher castes. These *lontars* are the literary versions of the stories that the painters know in oral versions. The language is Kawi and the writing is usually of a complex metrical form.

Most of the literature is not only written in metrical form, but has all the conventions of Javanese courtly style, particularly the importance of landscape, the description of which is very prominent in all Old Javanese literature. This feature, in particular, is faithfully reflected in many of the *lontar* illustrations; the countryside, the temples and palaces that are so prominent in the literature are shown in often meticulous detail, and with much more naturalism than is found in any of the traditional painting. Landscape as such is unknown in painting, and buildings are shown by stylised elements often used as scene dividers. The *lontar* illustration has one important element in common with painting. Twalen and the other servant figures frequently appear, although, of course, they are not mentioned in the text. Their behaviour is shown, however, more as befits the decorous followers of their masters than as the rumbustious characters of the paintings.

CONCLUSIONS

In interpreting the paintings it is the interactions between the characters that identify the story. The same interactions and the overall composition emphasise the principle of hierarchy or the principle of equality, or sometimes both, but in the mythological paintings there is always another set of interactions that can be identified. These are between the behaviour of the noble and/or politically dominant characters and the behaviour of the *parekan*. The *parekan* are perpetually present and their actions correspond to those of their nominal masters but in an exaggerated and often grotesque form. For example in the temptation of Arjuna, while the noble Arjuna remains oblivious of the temptations offered by the nymphs, Twalen and Morda succumb without hesitation to the proffered charms of the *condong*. In battles they engage the *parekan* of the opposing side, often getting into ridiculous postures and inflicting nasty wounds on each other, while their betters fight erect and dignified and when hit, fall and die instead of reappearing unhurt in the next scene as do the *parekan*. In short, they provide a commentary, often mocking, of the refined behaviour of the aristocrats, a commentary which provides another view of ideals of manhood and behaviour. Twalen, Bima, and Hanoman (all three, incidentally, instantly recognisable as characters and not just as types) represent an alternative sort of power—of the right, but essentially grotesque, coarse, even vulgar, open and demonstrative in behaviour, in contrast to the refined, beautiful and

above all controlled behaviour of the *halus* Ksatria and holy Brahmana. The three are also famous for their loyalty; they are not involved in the trickery which in the Bharatayuddha is necessary for the defeat of the Korawas. Compared to Vishnu (both as himself and in various manifestations) whose means to attaining his ends are often very dubious, Twalen, Bima, and Hanoman have a simple view of their duty which they consistently follow, and despite their lack of refinement may be considered to be morally superior to many of the more refined characters. Bima is of course a Pandawa and as such a Ksatria, but much emphasis is made of his refusal to conform to polite standards of behaviour, and his noisy and extrovert manner. Hanoman is an ape, non-human, whose behaviour wins him a high place despite his origin, the opposite of the hierarchical principle. Twalen, a dethroned god, is portrayed as a Sudra, that is from the bottom of the human hierarchy. The paintings therefore show, perhaps even more clearly and strongly than does the *wayang kulit*, an alternative view of human virtue that is not dominated by concern for correct refined behaviour, but is much more direct and mundane, appreciative of food and sex, independent of the caste system and its rigidities, but concentrated on straightforward loyalty to kin and friends. Further, this sort of human virtue is powerful, and finds favour with the gods. These three characters are responsible to a large degree for the success of the right and hence to some extent for the preservation of the ordered hierarchy to which they present an alternative.



An elaborate *lontar* illustration of a Balinese temple and banyan tree.



Shadow puppet of Bima. (Photo: A. Forge)



Painted version of Bima, from No. 25.

Bima and Hanoman, both important characters in the "mythological" stories, and wearers of the *kain poleng*.



Shadow puppet of Hanoman. (Photo: A. Forge)



Painted version of Hanoman, from No. 25.

The same sort of view can be seen in some of the other paintings in this exhibition. For example in the lion/bull opposition (No. 39) in which the political and religious aristocrats are led by their subjects the dogs, playing on their pride, into destroying each other to the benefit of their subjects. In the Pan Briyut stories (No. 40), Briyut and his wife start as figures of fun and poverty but end well and prosperous, having achieved a substantial place in the village through their many children, the cause of their original poverty. In the sequel (No. 41) it is the spotted and grotesque son who is the anti-hero; he is a buffoon but famous for his sexual prowess, so that the final scene of him in bed with his bride, shows him as an oaf but reminds those who know the story of his power.

There is thus a consistent representation of another sort of power presented by Sudra artists to a Sudra audience, in a

self-mocking form and very Balinese in nature. It is not subversive of the hierarchy as such; it co-exists with and to a large extent ignores their posturing refinement, while asserting different values more relevant for village life. It is in these aspects that the popularity of traditional painting with the wide non-courtly market lay. The Malat stories that have no *parekan*, let alone Bima and Hanoman, seem to have been popular mainly in court and other aristocratic circles, and have now almost vanished from the repertoire of Kamasan painters. None know the stories in any detail and most can go no further than identifying a painting as Malat. The old princely market for such paintings seems to have dropped away swiftly as the aristocrats became involved first in the Dutch colonial world and more recently in trying to make a place for themselves in the emerging Indonesian society.



The oaf Ketut Subaya (Pan Briyut's son) consummates his marriage – from the final scene of No. 41.



If one examines the episodes chosen from the mythological stories for illustration, as opposed to those that are not, or only rarely chosen, it is possible in at least some cases to suggest reasons for their popularity. For instance in paintings of the Arjuna Wiwaha story, the temptation of Arjuna, probably the most popular of all scenes, has almost unlimited opportunity for ribald scenes, as Twalen and Morda respond to temptation. In the fight with Siwa, Siwa is lifted from the ground by Arjuna, which represents a triumph of man over god. This theme is picked up by the carver, Ida Bagus Alit, who shows Arjuna holding Pasupati, the arrow given him by Siwa, and actually riding on a bull which obviously represents Siwa (see plate). These selections from the story thus have two levels of anti-hierarchical content: Twalen and Morda's mocking of Arjuna's perfect meditation, and Arjuna's triumph over the disguised Siwa. Yet each painting is perfectly respectable for ritual use. In the text of the Arjuna Wiwaha, the battle between Siwa and Arjuna has a different end, with Siwa about to defeat Arjuna rather than the other way round. The painting tradition therefore presents a definite alternative version to that of the literary tradition.

The paintings of Kamasan were, and to some extent still are, an integral part of Balinese culture. They are of stories and subjects that are common throughout Bali, but the painters present, and their audience appreciate, variants that emphasise certain aspects of the stories and the characters portrayed, that fit with the self-image of the vast majority of Balinese society. The villagers are theoretically powerless, but in fact, as they are well aware, form the basic maintainers and developers of Balinese culture. The small proportion of aristocrats form a tolerated and even slightly aberrant group, whose literary traditions have made them look outside Bali both for the political legitimation of their position of power, and for the source of their culture.

Arjuna, holding the arrow Pasupati, rides on Siwa in the form of a bull. Woodcarving by Ida Bagus Alit, Kamasan, 1930s.

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Manku Mura (Photo: A. Forge)

KAMASAN ARTISTS

Biographical:

The oldest known artist seems to be Kumpi Rambug, some of whose paintings are still preserved in Kamasan, although none are in this collection. He seems to have been born about 1850 and flourished in the 80s and 90s of the last century. Sambug was probably born about 1865 or soon after, and Kak Lui and Pan Alus seem to have been born about the same time. Two other artists known from this period are Kumpi Karta and Nyoman Liya. Although no works by Nyoman Liya are included in this collection, he and Pan Alus were the principal artists for the previous decoration of the Kerta Gosa in Klungkung, done on canvas. (The present decorations were done in the late 40s on asbestos sheeting, principally by Pan Seken.) These were the dominant artists for the last two decades of the 19th century, up to the final fall of Klungkung to the Dutch in 1908. However, the active life of most of these artists continued up until the Japanese occupation in 1942. The other younger artists of this period were Nyoman Dogol, Pan Seken, Pan Remi and Kaiyun. Nyoman Dogol, the son of Kumpi Rambug, was born in 1876 and only died in 1965. Pan

Seken was born before the Dutch came, and is still alive (1977). He was able to provide invaluable documentation on the works of his contemporaries. Kaiyun painted some large Ramayana scenes on a wall at the Pura Puseh at Budaga, near Klungkung. Painting directly onto walls has always been a rare form of Kamasan painting and this is the last example known to me.

In the 20s and 30s, Walter Spies and Rudolph Bonnet started encouraging Balinese in the Ubud area to paint scenes of everyday life using European techniques and materials, and abandoning the traditional stylisation. This movement has since gained enormous momentum and diversification, and tens of thousands of 'modern' pictures are exported annually. None of the traditional artists of Kamasan were directly involved, although it led to some stylistic experiments (e.g. No. 15). However Ida Bagus Gelgel, from a good Brahmana family in Kamasan did become a founding member of the new movement, while another Brahmana from Kamasan, Ida Bagus Alit, adopted the new woodcarving style that emerged at the same time from the same sources.

Since World War Two, Kamasan painting has been dominated by two artists, Nyoman Mandera and Manku Mura. Nyoman Mandera, from Banjar Sangging, has produced many governmental commissions, and now runs a school to teach children painting, paid for by the Department of Education and Culture. He was unfortunately away from the village during much of my fieldwork. Manku Mura comes from Banjar Siku, a mainly Sudra *banjar*, without any traditional craft skills—though a Wesia family had in the past provided *dalang* for the court of the Dewa Agung. Some of the superb puppets from this set are illustrated on p. . . . Most of the people of Banjar Siku are poor, and earn a living by share-cropping or rendering various other services for the wealthier families in Kamasan and elsewhere. Manku Mura by his own account had a somewhat riotous youth and was much addicted to cock-fighting. It was only as a young man that he started to learn to paint, and received instruction from some of the established artists in Banjar Sangging. He also gave some assistance to Pan Seken in the repainting of the Kerta Gosa. Having decided to settle down he was consecrated as the *manku*—temple priest—of a small clan temple in Banjar Siku and adopted the title as part of his name as a painter. His emergence as an artist of some stature has broken the traditional monopoly of Banjar Sangging and Banjar Pande Mas. However so far, apart from his immediate family, no one else in Banjar Siku has taken up painting.



Kamasan Artists Whose Works are Represented:

Sambug	Nos. 29, 35
Kak lui	Nos. 15, 21, 33
Pan Alus	No. 7
Kumpi Karta	No. 24
Kumpi Mesira	No. 40
Nyoman Dogol	Nos. 10, 36, 42
Pan Seken	Nos. 14, 31, 50
Pan Remi	Nos. 25, 41
Kaiyun	No. 17
Made Pager	No. 53
Manku Mura	Nos. 5, 8, 9, 13, 32, 51
Nyoman Rumiana	No. 2

Balinese Names

The Balinese have a naming system based on teknonymy, that is, naming individuals after their descendants: hence Pan Seken means 'father of Seken'. However, Seken may have died as a child, and anyway as soon as he grew up and had a child, he became 'Pan someone else'. In general, the Pan name is the one by which an individual is known from his adulthood till his death. Therefore despite the teknonymy system, the name Seken for example attaches far more to the father than it does to the child.

Older men are sometimes called 'Kaki' which means grandfather. In theory again they should be grandfather of a named grandson, but in many cases the title Kaki or Kak just substitutes for Pan, and the name itself persists, so that Pan Lui becomes Kak Lui, once he is a grandfather. The same seems to apply to 'Kumpi', which means great-grandfather.

Younger people, before having children, are called by their birth-order name, e.g. Putu or Wayan for the first born, Made for the second, Nyoman for the third, and Ketut for the fourth born; plus their personal name. This style is becoming more popular and is used by the Indonesian bureaucracy, so that people in the future may have one name throughout their life. In the list above, the artists are identified by the names by which they are best known in Kamasan.

Adiparwa (Nos. 7-13, 47)

Adiparwa is the name of the first book of the Indian Mahabharata, and it contains many creation stories. There are no men in the Adiparwa; the many component stories concern the struggles of the gods to gain supremacy against *detia*, *raksasa* and other competing individuals and alternative orders.

The most popular stories for painting concern the rivalry between the gods and the *detia*. At first the gods and the *detia* co-operate in the churning of the Milky Ocean (Nos. 7 and 8). Mt. Mandara is mounted on the back of the cosmic turtle and, using the great snake Basuki as a rope, the *detia* take his head and the gods his tail, and churn the ocean. The process produces a great deal of heat and the animals on the mountain burn. So hot does it get that the sea animals too start to burn. Bruna, the god of the sea, becomes distressed for the creatures of his realm and tries to stop the process but Vishnu throws his discus—*cakra*—at him. The gods and *detia* also become hot and rain falls, but only on the *detia*. There are two versions of how this rain is produced: one is that it is produced by Indra on the intercession of the *detia*; the other that it results from the overheating of the serpent Basuki, who begins to breathe fire which in turn produces thunderstorms and rain, but only at his head end which is held by the *detia*. Eventually the churning starts to have effect, and there gradually emerges a white horse and three or four goddesses (some paintings show only two)—one of whom holds a golden vessel containing *amerta*—the water of everlasting life. This she gives to the *detia*, much to the consternation of the gods who are already planning to exterminate them. Vishnu then transforms himself into an enchanting girl and proceeds to seduce the chief *detia*. He is so effective that he manages to steal the *amerta* back before the *detia* drink it. The gods having drunk some, a great battle ensues in which almost all the *detia* are killed. One Kala Rau escapes, and transforming himself into the semblance of a god, joins them at another *amerta* distribution. He has just taken a sip when his imposture is spotted by Sri Bulan—the moon goddess. She alerts Vishnu, who throws his *cakra* and severs Kala Rau's head. However, since he has some *amerta* in his mouth, the head becomes immortal and has for ever after flown about seeking revenge on the moon, whom he devours when he catches her—hence producing eclipses (Nos. 9 and 10).

Another sub-plot of the Adiparwa concerns two sisters, one of whom gives birth to snakes and the other to Garuda (Nos. 11 and 12). In a complex tale of deceit, the mother of Garuda loses a bet with her sister about the colour of the tail of the horse that emerged with the goddesses and the *amerta* from the churning of the Milky Ocean. As a consequence Garuda's mother is enslaved by her sister, who will release her only if Garuda obtains *amerta* for her own snake children. This Garuda manages to do with great difficulty. As he flees with

the *amerta* he is assailed by some of the gods, but escapes. After this, the god Vishnu overtakes Garuda and agrees with him a trick by which the gods can recover the *amerta* without the snakes getting any—while Garuda still fulfils his promise, and so secures the release of his mother. Garuda also agrees to be the vehicle of Vishnu after their stratagem is successful.

There are many other stories in the Adiparwa, but those about *amerta*, the war between the gods and the *detia*, and the activities of Garuda, are the ones generally known, and most often illustrated in the traditional art. Another incident from the Adiparwa illustrated in this collection (No. 47) concerns Sunda and Upasunda, two *raksasa* brothers of immense power, who appear invincible in their bid to control the three worlds—since they are vulnerable only to each other, and live a life of complete harmony and mutual support. Eventually the gods create a nymph of surpassing beauty, who with an attendant, comes into the brothers' presence. Soon, they are fighting each other for the right to possess her. They obligingly kill each other, and another threat to the supremacy of the gods is ended.

Ramayana (Nos. 14-21)

For the Balinese, the Ramayana epic comes from a time between the Adiparwa and the Bharatayuddha. The enemy are *raksasa* led by Rawana, at one time ruler of the whole world. The *raksasa* are depicted by the Balinese in the same form as *detia*, who are the enemy of the gods in the Adiparwa stories. However, *detia* are shown with a wide variety of crowned individuals (to match the various gods); whereas in the Ramayana there is only one *raksasa* king with a few important attendants. Opposing Rawana is Rama, an incarnation of Vishnu and an ideal of Ksatria behaviour. Rama and Laksamana (his brother), and his wife Sita, are the only humans ever shown in the part of the story illustrated in the paintings. Rama's main allies in the overthrow of Langka are monkeys, under their king Sugriwa, with an array of monkey princes and generals—of whom Hanoman the white monkey is the most important.

In Old Javanese literary versions of the Ramayana, the army which supports Rama's cause is composed totally of monkeys. However in the Balinese painted versions a wide variety of animals is incorporated. They are called by the painters *peluarga*—tailed ones, and they are shown with tails permanently bent above their heads, and ending in a decorative detail. These non-monkey knights are shown with a human bodily form. However, facial and headdress variation distinguishes between them, and shows their specific origin: goats and deer have horns, elephants have trunks, birds have beaks, and so on. (Full arrays of *peluarga* are shown in Nos. 16 and 21.) Thus the Balinese versions of the epic have Rama mobilising the whole of the animal kingdom against the supernatural *raksasa*.

Although the Ramayana is a very long and complex story, the Balinese versions are close to the Indian original in main outline.

Rama is the heir to the kingdom of Ayodhya. As a young man he is called to protect some holy men in the forest who are being molested by *raksasa* (No. 14). After winning his spurs, he wins his bride Sita in an archery contest. Due to the machinations of a step-mother, he then loses the succession to the throne and retires to the forest with Sita and his brother Laksamana. Here they live happily for a time, but a female *raksasa*, Surpanakha, falls in love with Rama. When he rejects her she tries her wiles on Laksamana, who recognises her true nature and cuts off her nose. She flees to her brother Rawana, the demon king of Langka, asking for revenge. To stimulate his interest Surpanakha describes the charms of Sita, and Rawana decides to abduct her. Marica, a subordinate *raksasa*, transforms himself into a golden deer. When Sita sees the deer she begs Rama to hunt it, and he leaves Laksamana in charge. When Rama shoots him, Marica cries out for help in Rama's voice, and Sita in alarm forces Laksamana to go to help Rama. When she is left alone Rawana arrives disguised as a holy man, and having gained Sita's confidence, abducts her. As he flies away, he is intercepted by the eagle Jatayu, who attacks and at first succeeds in regaining Sita. However, he is mortally wounded by Rawana, who flies with Sita to Langka (No. 15). Rama, searching for Sita, finds Jatayu, who before dying tells him what has happened. Rama and Laksamana continue to search for Sita. A Balinese elaboration at this point is that while wandering in the forest, Rama created the *peluarga*; he prepared a magical liquid which the forest animals drank—thus becoming half human, but with their animal tails and fangs. One forest-dwelling human also drank this liquid and thus acquired a tail (see No. 16). Eventually Rama and Laksamana are found by Hanoman, the white monkey general, who takes them to his prince, Sugriwa. Sugriwa has lost his wife to his brother Subali, king of the monkey realm, so he agrees to help Rama if Rama will first help him against Subali. A fight between Sugriwa and Subali is arranged in which Rama shoots Subali, and Sugriwa regains his wife and the kingdom (No. 20). After the rainy season, *peluarga* are sent out in all directions to find Sita. Hanoman flies to Langka and identifies Sita living in a garden in Rawana's palace. She has so far managed to reject all his advances. Hanoman is caught by the *raksasa* and Rawana orders his tail to be set on fire. He breaks his bonds and burns down Langka with his flaming tail, before returning to Rama with his news.

Rama and Sugriwa now move in force against Langka. Rawana, alarmed, consults his brothers and ministers, most of whom advise him to give up Sita and sue for peace. Rawana refuses and, becoming furious, strikes his brother Vibisana, who leaves Langka and joins Rama. Though a *raksasa*, Vibisana is always shown in the paintings in human form,

presumably to emphasise his alliance with Rama. Another brother, Kumbakarna, a huge giant who sleeps most of the time, recommends the return of Sita, but promises loyalty to Rawana whatever happens. To cross from the mainland to Langka the monkey general, Nala, builds a causeway (No. 16). The fighting that follows lasts several days, and there are many detailed accounts of conflicts between named warriors on each side. Only the most important will be mentioned here. The *raksasa* and particularly Indrajit, a son of Rawana who once defeated the god Indra, have many magical powers. These are counteracted by Vibisana's knowledge and Hanoman's strength. On one occasion, Hanoman, sent to the Himalayas to bring a herb that grows only on a certain mountain, brings the whole mountain, as he is unsure which herb is required. When the initial battles go badly for Rawana, he orders Kumbakarna to be awakened. Kumbakarna captures Sugriwa, who however eventually bites off his nose and escapes (No. 18). Rama eventually kills Kumbakarna by an arrow in the back of his throat, the only point at which he is vulnerable. Laksamana eventually kills Indrajit, and Rawana then takes the field himself. After he wounds Laksamana, an immense conflict which shakes the universe, takes place between Rawana and Rama. Eventually Rama kills him with an arrow given by Indra. The war is now over, and Vibisana becomes king of Langka, with the implication of total reform in the *raksasa* kingdom. Sita, released, is regarded with some suspicion by Rama, having been so long in the palace of Rawana. She, mortified by his attitude, calls on the gods to bear witness to her innocence, and orders Laksamana to prepare a funeral pyre into which she jumps. The god of fire, Agni, appears and protects her—the fire turns into a lotus and flowers descend from heaven (No. 21).

Thus justified, Sita, Rama and Laksamana, with Sugriwa and Vibisana as guests, return to Ayodhya in the Wilmana, a flying vehicle previously belonging to Rawana, and Rama becomes king. The *raksasa* persist after the fall of Rawana's kingdom, Langka, but they are never again the rulers of the whole world. *Raksasa* figures are still used in Bali as guardians in many temples.

Ramayana battle—monkeys incinerated by *raksasa*—from scene two, No. 17.



The Pandawas and Korawas

As has already been said, the Indian Mahabharata epic is the original source of some important Balinese mythological stories. The Bharatayuddha contains only the final great battle between the Pandawas and Korawas, but in a very shortened form compared to the Indian original. There are other stories that set the scene for the Bharatayuddha, and yet others concerning characters from the Mahabharata, that owe little or nothing to the Indian epic. An example of the latter is the Arjuna Wiwaha. Given below is a summary of the early history of the two groups, the Pandawas and the Korawas, whose antagonism dominates all the stories and culminates in the great war of the Bharatayuddha.

The kingdom of Hastina is ruled nominally by Dhirtarastra, an old blind father of one hundred sons—the Korawas. The kingdom is ruled in fact by his eldest son Duryodana. Dhirtarastra had a brother Pandu who has two wives Kunti and Madrim, and five sons—Dharmawangsa, Bima, Arjuna, Nakula and Sadewa—the Pandawas. In fact, Pandu suffered from a curse that if he had sexual intercourse he would die, and when after years of restraint he gives way, he dies on the spot. His wife Kunti however has a charm that compels gods to sleep with her—and by this tactic she bears Dharmawangsa (called Yudistira in literary versions) begotten by Dharma the god of virtue; Bima begotten by the wind god Beiyu (also father of Hanoman); and Arjuna begotten by Indra the king of the gods. Kunti lent her charm, for one night only, to her co-wife Madrim, who invokes the Aswins, twin deities, and thus bears the twins Nakula and Sadewa. Before marriage Kunti had once used the charm, and borne Karna by the sun god Surya. She leaves Karna in a basket on a river and he is found and brought up by a charioteer. He later arrives at a tournament where he is badly treated by the Pandawas on the grounds of his apparently lowly origin, but he is made a king by Duryodana. He is thereafter a faithful ally of the Korawas and the main rival of Arjuna.

The two sets of young men are brought up together and receive their training in all aspects of political and martial art from the same teachers, Drona and Bisma. However, the Korawas seek ways to kill their cousins. The Pandawa brothers have various adventures—including winning a wife, Dropadi, whom they share between them, and who bears each of them a son. Arjuna and Bima in particular collect more wives and sons. In the literary versions this setting of the story forms the end of the Adiparwa.

The blind king Dhirtarastra calls the Pandawas back to Hastina and gives them half the kingdom. They found their own capital, but Dharmawangsa loses everything to the Korawas at dice, and the Pandawas have to go into the forest for twelve years. It is during this exile that the incidents of the Arjuna Wiwaha occur. They also have to spend a thirteenth

year undetected—on pain of having to recommence a further twelve-year exile in the forest. They successfully conceal themselves at the court of King Wirata, thus earning the return of their kingdom. Duryodana refuses to surrender it and the great war of the Bharatayuddha becomes inevitable.

Arjuna Wiwaha (Nos. 22, 23, 24, 44 and 45)

At one point during the Pandawas' twelve years of exile in the forest, Arjuna is meditating (*metapa*) on the mountain Indrakila. At the same time the kingdom of the gods is threatened by a demon of great power, Detia Kwaca, who cannot be killed by gods or demons, but only by a human being. Indra decides to enlist the help of Arjuna, but first puts his spiritual strength to the test. Seven heavenly nymphs led by Suprabha are sent to distract him from his meditation. They try every wile to attract his attention, but in vain. Indra is delighted by their report, but goes himself, disguised as an old priest, to find out if Arjuna's wish for power is for his own benefit, or to help others. Arjuna and he talk, and Arjuna convinces Indra that it is only to do his duty that he meditates. Indra reveals himself and Arjuna returns to meditation. Detia Kwaca has also heard of Arjuna's meditation and sends a demon, Muka (son of Upasunda of the Adiparwa) to kill him. Muka, in the form of a boar, ravages the forest on the mountain. Arjuna, disturbed, rushes out and shoots the boar. As he does so a hunter appears who also shoots. The boar dies with a single arrow in him, and a dispute follows as to whose arrow killed the animal. The dispute escalates to fighting, but every weapon of the hunter, who is Siwa in disguise, is matched by Arjuna. Finally Arjuna breaks Siwa's bow, and as they wrestle Arjuna lifts his opponent off the ground. Only then Siwa reveals himself in godly form, and is worshipped by Arjuna. Siwa gives him an arrow of enormous power, called Pasupati, and disappears.

Messengers from Indra arrive asking Arjuna's help against Detia Kwaca and with them Arjuna flies off to heaven. No one knows which is the vulnerable spot in Detia Kwaca, so Suprabha and Arjuna set off to find out. Suprabha enters the palace gardens while Arjuna hides. Detia Kwaca has long desired Suprabha and is enchanted by her. She wheedles the secret from him, without giving way to his advances. As soon as Arjuna over-hears that the tip of his tongue is the vulnerable spot, he kicks over the palace gateway and in the ensuing confusion he and Suprabha escape. Detia Kwaca attacks the gods and looks like winning, but at last Arjuna gets a chance at the necessary shot, and the *detia* dies. His forces are defeated and the gods are safe. As a reward for his help Arjuna is given seven months in heaven. He marries Suprabha and her six companions who originally tempted him. However, he pines for his relatives, and after the seven months are up, bids farewell to Indra and returns to earth, leaving seven sorrowing nymphs behind.



Duryodana, eldest of the 100 Korawa brothers – from scene two, No. 6.

Bharatayuddha (Nos. 6, 29-34)

At the start of the great war, both the Pandawas and the Korawas seek allies. On the side of the five Pandawa brothers are Krishna, an incarnation of Vishnu and Arjuna's friend and advisor; Drupada, the father of Drupadi (the Pandawas' wife) and his son Drastadyumna; Satyaki, a minister of Krishna; and Sikandi, who had been a woman in a previous incarnation and is destined to kill Bisma. The king of Wirata (the kingdom in which the Pandawas spent their thirteenth year of exile) and his three sons also support their cause. The 100 Korawa brothers, under their eldest brother Duryodana, have as their principal advisors Dussusana, Sakuni (the expert at false dice) and Karna (the estranged half brother of the Pandawas). These are all for the fight, as is Jayadarata, an allied king. Drona and Bisma, the old teachers of both the Pandawas and the Korawas, are for peace, but will not desert the Korawas. (Drona's son, Aswatama, is prominent in the later stages.) Salia, the uncle of the Pandawa twins Nakula and Sadewa, and Karna's father-in-law, is in sympathy with the Pandawas' cause, but is forced by an oath to fight for the Korawas. There are of course many more named heroes on each side, but the characters mentioned occur most frequently in the paintings.

Before the battle Krishna and Satyaki go to Hastina to try to make peace (No. 6), but in vain. Arjuna nonetheless has grave doubts about fighting his relatives, and there follows a long dialogue with Krishna (which forms the Bhagavad-gita in the Indian version). The Pandawas greet their teachers, Bisma, Drona and Salia, on the Korawa side before the battle, and learn from them how to defeat the Korawas.

The fighting starts with Sweta, one of Wirata's sons, as commander of the Pandawa side; and Bisma commanding the Korawas. Sweta and his brothers are killed on the first day (No. 29) and Drastadyumna takes command. The battle proceeds the next day with Bisma as Korawa leader proving very successful until he is shot down by a combination of Sikandi and Arjuna. Drona then takes command of the Korawas. The next day Bima and Arjuna are lured away by a ruse, and an attempt by the Korawas to capture Dharmawangsa is foiled by Abimanyu, Arjuna's son, who fights into the centre of the enemy. However Jayadarata closes the circle around him, and Abimanyu falls with one hundred arrows piercing him (Nos. 30, 31). When Arjuna hears how rescue was prevented by Jayadarata, he swears to kill him on the next day or jump into the fire. Krishna has to cover the sun with his discus to enable Arjuna to fulfil his oath. In the Korawa camp, Duryodana reproaches Drona for letting Jayadarata be killed, and Drona resigns command. Karna, who has not so far taken the field against his Pandawa brothers, takes over, and the battle goes on all night. The next day Drona kills Drupada's three grandsons, and then Drupada himself. Since Drona seems invincible, the Pandawas decide on a ruse—they all shout out that Aswatama is dead. They mean an elephant of that name, but Drona thinks it is his son. When he swoons, Drastadyumna cuts off his head. Aswatama in revenge attacks with great fury and it requires all Krishna's and Arjuna's skill to neutralise his powerful weapons. Karna now officially becomes the commander of the Korawas, and asks Salia to be his charioteer, to match the combination of Arjuna with Krishna as charioteer. Salia finds the request humiliating, but agrees as long as he may say what he likes to Karna. Meanwhile Bima kills Dussusana and drinks his blood—a thing he swore to do at the time of the disastrous dice game. Finally the combat between Arjuna and Karna takes place. They are evenly matched heroes, and use weapons of such magical power that the whole world is in danger of destruction. In the end, by collusion between Salia and Krishna, Arjuna avoids Karna's most powerful arrow, and in the counter-stroke kills him. Dismay grips the Korawa camp, and when Salia hesitates to accept the command he is accused by Aswatama of being responsible for Karna's death, and a terrible quarrel ensues between them (No. 32). As a result, Aswatama withdraws from the army. Salia is visited in the night by his nephew Nakula, who urges him to change sides and give up the fight, but his duty as a Ksatria makes this impossible. He does however give Nakula instructions as to how he may be killed, and next day he goes forth and is killed by the mild Dharmawangsa (No. 33). Bima slays Sakuni, and then looks for Duryodana, whom he finds doing penance in a river. Bima taunts him, and a club fight ensues, which Bima wins after shattering Duryodana's knee. Thus the Korawas are finally defeated. The Pandawas and their allies celebrate, but that night Aswatama enters the camp by stealth, and kills all the children of the Pandawa brothers, turning their victory bitter.

INDEX

of particular names which occur in the stories and paintings—including story names, characters, places and objects. Variant spellings are given thus: Rudra/Ludra (see Note on Spelling, p. 4).

References to the catalogue items, between pp. 17 and 70, are given according to catalogue numbers—in bold type.

- Abimanyu (m.) — **30 31** 71 73 89
 Acintiya/Tintiya (god—see also Sang-
 yang Tunggal) — **5** 77
 Adiparwa (story) — 13 16 **3 7 8 9 10**
11 12 13 47 73 86 88
 Agni (god) — 17 **5 8 21** 72 74
 Aji Dharma (story) — 74
 Angada (monkey) — **17 21**
 Angkara (god) — 72
 Antaboga (god) — **5 53**
 Arjuna (m.) — 16 17 **6 22 23 24 27**
29 30 31 33 34 43 44 45 73 74
 76 79 82 88 89
 Arjuna Metapa (story) — **22 23 44** 73
 Arjuna Wijaya (story) — 87
 Arjuna Wiwaha (story) — 13 **22 23 24**
44 45 74 82 88
 Aswatama/Asuatama (m.) — **30 32**
 73 89
 Aswins (twin gods) — 88
 Ayodhya (kingdom) — 87
 Barada, Mpu (m.) — 14 **36** 70
 Barong (mythol. being) — 14 **6 40**
 Basudewa (m.) — **43**
 Basuki (naga) — **1 7** 86
 Beiyu (god) — **5 8 25 26** 72 76 88
 Bharatayuddha (story) — 12 13 16 **6**
27 29 30 31 32 33 43 71 76 79
 86 88 89
 Bima (m.) — 16 17 **25 26 27 29 30**
33 34 73 74 76 79 80 81 88 89
 Bima Swarga (story) — **27 28**
 Bisma (m.) — **29** 88 89
 Boma's Death (story) — **43**
 Brahma (god) — **5 7 8 9 11 49 50 51**
52 53 71 72 74
 Briyut, Mem (f.) — 14 **40**
 Briyut, Pan (m.) — 14 **40 41** 70 81
 Bruna (god) — **5 7 8 13 21 46** 72 86
 Buda (god) — 72
 Bulan (god—see also Sri Bulan) — 72
 Buriswara (m.) — **31**
 Calonarang (f., story—see also Rangda)
 14 **35 36**
 Daha (kingdom) — 13
 Daniswara (god) — **5 21 53**
 Delem (parekan) — 13 **3 6 8 9 10 13**
15 16 29 30 32 35 46 49 50 51
 75
 Depat (free-floating head) — **49 50 51**
52
 Dharma (god) — **5 8** 72 88
 Dharmawangsa/Yudistira (m.) — **27 29**
30 31 33 88 89
 Dhirtarastra (m.) — **6** 88
 Drastadyumna (m.) — **29** 89
 Drona (m.) — 15 **6 29 30 31 32 45**
 88 89
 Dropadi/Drupadi (f.) — **29** 88 89
 Drupada (m.) — **29** 89
 Durga (goddess) — **36 49 50 51 52 53**
 73
 Durmasana (m.) — **31**
 Duryodana (m.) — **6 30 31 32** 88 89
 Dussusana (m.) — **29 30 31** 89
 Dwaja (thunderbolt of Indra) — **31**
 Erlangga, Prabu (m.) — 14 **35**
 Gadjadruma/Gadjah Derumah, Prabu
 (m.) — **37** 70
 Gana (god) — **5 8** 72
 Gangga (goddess) — **5 8 53**
 Garuda (eagle) — **11 12** 86
 Gatotkaca (m.) — **25**
 Giri Putri (goddess) — **13**
 Gowang (headless man) — **49 50 51 52**
 Hanoman (monkey) — 16 17 **16 17**
18 19 21 25 26 73 76 78 79 80
 81 86 87 88
 Hastina (kingdom) — 88 89

- Indra (god) — **5 8 9 21 24 29 31 45**
46 49 50 51 52 71 72 76 87 88
 Indrajit (demon) — **17** 87
 Indrakila (mountain) — 88
 Irarungg (witch) — **36**
 Irawan (m.) — **29**
 Ishwara/Iswara (god) — **5 7 8 11 53**
 72
 Jatayu (eagle) — **15 42** 87
 Jayadarata (m.) — **30 31** 89
 Jembawan (monkey) — **17 21**
 Kala (god, story) — **13**
 Kala Rauh (demon) — **9 10** 71 73 86
 Kala Sungsang (demon) — **14 49 50 51**
52
 Kalika (witch) — **35 36**
 Kanwa (*resi*) — **6**
 Karna (m.) — 16 **6 30 31 32 43** 88
 89

 Kertasena (m.) — **31**
 Kertasuta (m.) — **31**
 Kertawama (m.) — **29**
 Ketut Subaya (m.) — **41** 81
 Korawas (100 brothers) — 13 15 **6 29**
30 31 32 33 71 73 79 88 89
 Koripan (kingdom) — 13
 Kripa (m.) — **30**
 Krisna (m., incarnation of Vishnu) — 16
6 29 30 33 43 71 89
 Kubera (god) — **8 9 46** 72
 Kumara (god—see also Semara) — 72
 Kumbakarna (demon) — **18** 87
 Kunti (f.) — 17 **6 27 30** 88
 Kwaca, Detia (demon) — **45** 88
 Laksamana (m.) — 17 **14 15 16 17**
21 86 87
 Laksana/Laksana Kumara (m.) — **30**
31
 Langka (kingdom) — 16 **16 18 21** 78
 86 87

 Lembu, Prabu ('king bull') — **39**
 Linggwutbawa (*lingga* of Siwa) — **5**
 Ludra (god—see Rudra)
 Madrim (f.) — **27** 88
 Madrin, Patih (m.) — 74
 Mahabharata (story) — 13 **25** 75 86
 88
 Mahadewa (god) — **8 11** 72
 Maheswara (god) — **11**
 Malat (story) — 13 **4 42** 81
 Maling Naguna (m.) — **35**
 Mandara (mountain) — **7 8** 86
 Marica (demon) — 87
 Meisora/Meiswara — **5** 72
 Milky Ocean (story of the churning) —
7 8 9 70 73 86
 Morda (*parekan*) — 13 15 **3 8 9 14**
15 16 17 21 22 23 24 27 29 30
33 34 44 46 75 76 79 82
 Muka (demon) — 88
 Nakula (m.) — 17 **27 29 30 33** 88
 89
 Nala (monkey) — **16** 87
 Narada (*resi*) — **6**
 Narasinga (god) — **5**
 Pandawas (five brothers) — 12 13 15
 17 **6 25 27 29 30 33** 71 79 88
 89
 Pandu (m.) — 88
 Panji (m.) — 13 **4 42 49 50 51**
 Parikrit (m.) — **30**
 Pasupati (arrow) — **24** 82 88
 Pertiwi (goddess) — **5 7 8 53**
 Purasada (demon) — **46**
 Rama (god) **5 9 53** 72
 Rama (m., incarnation of Vishnu) — 13
 16 **14 15 16 17 20 21** 71 76
 86 87
 Ramayana (story) — 13 16 17 **14 15**
16 17 18 20 21 25 42 71 75
 76 78 86 87

- Rambut Sedana (god) — 73
Rangda (witch) — 14 **6 35 36 40** 70
Ratih (goddess) — 5
Ratna Mengali (f.) — 14 **35**
Rauh (god) — 72
Rawana (demon) — 13 16 **15 16 17**
21 42 78 86 87
Rudra/Ludra (god) — **5 8 11 32 33 46**
72
Rukmaratha (m.) — **29**
Sadewa (m.) — 17 **27 29 30 33** 88
89
Sakadurma (m.) — **31**
Sakuni (m.) — **6 30 31** 89
Salia (m.) — 16 **29 30 32 33** 73 89
Sambu (god) — **5 8 9 11 53** 72
Sambu (m.) — **43**
Sangkara (god) — **5 8 9 11 53**
Sangut (*parekan*) — 13 **3 8 9 13 15**
16 29 30 32 46 49 50 51 75
Sangyang Tunggal (god) — 77
Sarabasa (m.) — **31**
Saraswati (goddess) — 5
Satyaki (m.) — **6 29 30** 89
Satyawati (f.) — **33**
Semara/Smara (god—see also Kumara)
— **5 8**
Senjuruh (m.) — **31**
Shanka (m.) — 12 **29**
Shukasharana (demon) — **16**
Sidemalung (boar) — **49 50 51 52**
Sikandi (m., previously f.) — 15 **29**
89
Singga, Prabu ('king lion') — **38 39**
Sita (f.) — 17 **14 15 20 21 42** 78 86
87
Siwa (god) — **5 7 8 9 11 13 21 24 38**
39 49 50 51 52 53 71 72 73 74
76 77 82 88
Sri (goddess) — **8 49 50 51 52**
Sri Bulan (goddess—see also Bulan) —
86
Subali (monkey) — **20** 73 87
Subhadra (f.) — **30**
Sugriwa (monkey) — 16 **16 17 18 20**
21 73 86 87
Sumitra, Begawan (m.) — **3**
Sunda (demon) — **47** 86
Sundari (f.) — **30**
Suprabha (nymph) — **45** 88
Surpanakha (f. demon) — 86
Surya (god) — 72 88
Suta (m.) — **6**
Sutasoma (m., story) — 17 **3 46**
Swarga (Yama's Hell) — **27 28 44**
Sweta (m.) — 12 **29** 89
Tantri (f., story) — 13 14 **2 37 38 39**
Tatakabia (f. demon) — **14**
Tilotama (nymph) — **47**
Tintiya (god—see Acintiya)
Trijata (f.) — **21**
Twalen (*parekan*) — 13 14 15 16 **3 5**
8 9 10 14 15 16 21 22 23 24 27
29 30 33 34 42 44 46 49 50 51
75 76 77 79 82
Ulupwi (f. snake) — **29**
Uma (f. aspect of Siwa) — **5 49 50 51**
52 73
Upasunda (demon) — **47** 86 88
Uttara (m.) — 12 **29**
Uttari (f.) — **30**
Vibisana (demon—in m. form) — **16 17**
21 87
Vishnu (god) — 13 16 **5 7 8 9 10 11**
12 49 50 51 52 53 71 72 74 79
86 89
Whartbala (m.) — **31**
Wilmana (vehicle) — **21** 87
Wirata (m., kingdom) — 12 **29** 88 89
Wraspati (god) — **5 13 45** 72
Yama (god) — **5 21 27 28 46** 72
Yudistira (m.—see Dharmawangsa)

GLOSSARY

- amerta* — water of immortality.
- anak buncing* — male and female twins (cf. No. 13).
- ancur* — kind of glue used to 'fix' the paints, in the preparation of the cloth, and in the application of gold leaf.
- atal* — a yellow pigment of unknown composition used occasionally in the paintings at the finishing stage (cf. No. 21).
- bala* — a soldier (cf. No. 29).
- bale* — a pavilion or structure within a house-, court-, or temple-yard.
- banjar* — a ward within a village, usually with grouped residence and a shared origin-temple (see: *pura puseh*).
- begawan* — term (and title) for a Ksatria who has become a high priest.
- betara* — title for gods, e.g. Betara Kala (see note on spelling, p. 4).
- Brahmana* — one of the three 'high castes' (see: *triwangsa*). Of the priestly caste. Brahmana priests are the 'high' priests of the Hindu-Balinese religion (see *pedanda*).
- bulu* — facial or body hair, considered indicative of a coarse nature (cf. Figs. ii, vi, pp. 15, 16).
- buta* — class of demons. In the *plintangan* they are shown as animal-headed human beings (cf. Nos. 49-52).
- condong* — female servant, the counterpart of Twalen or Morda.
- dalang* — the puppeteer of the shadow-play (see *wayang kulit*), considered to be a priest with exorcist powers (cf. Nos. 13, 42).
- demang; demang-demung* — title of a junior minister in the stories about the Javanese and Balinese courts. Always shown bald in Balinese painting (cf. No. 4, p. 14).
- detia* — term (and title) for a class of demons, the original opponents of the gods in the Adiparwa. They were mostly destroyed, but the odd one pops up later, e.g. Detia Kwaca in the Arjuna Wiwaha.
- dewa* — god.
- Dewa Agung* — the title of the *raja* of Gelgel and later of Klungkung — the senior *raja* in Bali. It means literally 'highest god'.
- gong* — Balinese orchestra (cf. No. 42).
- gunungan* — the central 'tree-on-mountain' puppet in the *wayang kulit*, also called a *kayanon* (see illus. p.77).
- halus* — a general term for the highest refinement in behaviour and in workmanship. In painting it refers to a variety of the best finishes (see p. 11).
- ider-ider* — painting in a horizontal strip format (see p. 7).
- kain* — length of cloth, worn by both men and women as a sarong.
- kain poleng* — the loincloth worn by certain characters who exhibit positive spiritual force, particularly Twalen, Bima and Hanoman (see illus. pp. 76, 80, and *poleng*).
- kaja-kelod* — Balinese axis of orientation, 'mountain-sea', important in all aspects of life, and the basis of arrangement for certain paintings (cf. No. 11).
- kajeng-kliwon* — a day which occurs once every 15 days, when the day *kajeng* of the three-day week coincides with the day *kliwon* of the five-day week.
- kasar* — a general term for crude. In painting, used for the most basic level of finish, given to cheap paintings (see p. 11).
- Kawi* — the literary language, based on Old Javanese, of the Javanese and Balinese Hindu cultures.
- kayanon* — see *gunungan*.
- kepeng* — Chinese coins with a hole in the centre. Used in Bali in many religious contexts. Many of the god images are made of *kepeng* and sandalwood (cf. illus. p.73). Also used as curtain rings for *langse* (cf. No. 21).
- ketu* — form of head-dress used by priests, holy men, and Arjuna when he is meditating (cf. Fig. vii, p. 15).

- Ksatria* — one of the three ‘high castes’ (see: *triwangsa*). Term used for members of the warrior and ruling caste in Bali.
- kinicu* — Chinese vermilion, traditionally imported and used as a source of red pigment in the paintings (cf. No. 22).
- kober* — flag (see p. 8).
- kris* — the Indonesian and Malay ceremonial dagger closely associated with masculinity and the mystical health of the owner and his family.
- langse* — form of painting used as a curtain (see p. 7).
- lawa* — a special ceremonial food prepared by finely chopping pork and mixing with chopped onions and chili, the whole being bound together with blood. It is eaten both raw, and cooked as *sate*.
- leyak* — female witch (cf. Nos. 35, 36).
- lingga* — symbol of a phallus in Hindu mythology (cf. the *lingga* of Siwa, Linggwutbawa, in No. 5).
- lintang* — star (see: *plintangan*).
- lontar* — dried palm-leaf used for writing and drawing. Incisions are made in the face of the leaf with a sharp point, and are filled with ink or soot. The sheets are bound together into book form (cf. illus. pp. 78, 79).
- lontek* — pennant (see p. 8).
- makara* — kind of mythological sea monster. It occurs as one of the constellations in *plintangan* (cf. Nos. 49-52).
- mantra* — magical formulae or prayer forms used by priests and other qualified people in a ritual context.
- mantri* — the highest rank of minister (political position) in the Balinese courts.
- meru* — a pagoda-like structure of many roofs, used in temples, to indicate the status of the founder of a particular shrine. *Meru* must have an odd number of roofs, up to a maximum of 11.
- Mpu* — title applied to priests of great learning and power, e.g. *Mpu Barada* (cf. No. 36).
- mudra* — conventionalised gestures or postures of the hands and arms—often denoting emotion.
- naga* — mythological snake or serpent, always shown crowned (cf. No. 1).
- nimbus* (English) — a bright cloud surrounding deities when they appear on earth. In Balinese painting it is characteristically yellow, with a spiky edge (cf. gods in No. 5).
- odalan* — the festival, which should last three days, celebrating the ‘anniversary’ of the founding of a temple, held once in every 210 days.
- padma* — the lotus (cf. No. 21).
- pamurtian* — a nine-headed demonic form assumed by gods and some divine characters when their anger is aroused (cf. Nos. 32, 46).
- panah* — arrow
- panah Twalen* — the characteristic phallic arrow used by Twalen (cf. No. 24).
- parekan* — the four servant figures of key importance in the Balinese versions of the Hindu epics—in both the paintings and the shadow-play (see p. 75).
- patih* — title of a high-ranking minister (king’s advisor) in the Balinese court.
- pedanda* — title of a Balinese Brahmana priest.
- peluarga* — animal-headed members of Rama’s army of supporters (see Ramayana story summary, p. 87, and Nos. 16, 21).
- plindon* — kind of Balinese calendar (cf. No. 53).
- plintangan* — kind of Balinese calendar (see Nos. 49-52, and preceding explanation).
- poleng* — black and white check cloth which is associated with positive spiritual force. Worn by some characters (see: *kain poleng*).
- prabu* — term (and title) for a Balinese king (e.g. *Prabu Gadjadruma*).
- prada* — gold leaf applied to some paintings to give an extra *halus* finish (see p. 11, and No. 31).

- prau* — boat.
- pudak* — pandanus fruit and tree, symbol of love and of children in Bali (cf. Nos. 22, 42).
- pura* — temple.
- pura dadia* — clan temple.
- pura dalem* — death temple, usually placed near the graveyard of a village.
- pura puseh* — the origin-temple of a specific ward or community.
- puri* — palace.
- puhnama* — full moon.
- raja* — king.
- raksasa* — demon.
- resi* — a heavenly priest, now used in reference to a Ksatria high priest.
- Saka* — Hindu year system, 78 years less than the Christian era.
- sakti* — spiritual power or holiness which can exert a real physical force—as for example when opponents' arrows bend or are deflected or turned into flowers, as they approach a character who has *sakti* (cf. No. 46).
- sangging* — name conferred by a *raja* on a community of painters who worked under his patronage—hence Banjar Sangging.
- sate* — traditional Balinese *sate* is made from minced meat (e.g. *lawa*), moulded onto the end of a stick and grilled over embers (cf. scene two, No. 41).
- sedang* — 'average', used to indicate paintings of medium quality, neither *halus* nor *kasar* (see p. 11).
- sembah* — a gesture of respect given by someone of lower caste or rank to someone of higher status or to gods (cf. No. 24).
- sirih* — term for the betel-nut and lime mixture chewed by many Balinese. It was conventionally stored in a special box, carried by an attendant (see illus. from No. 4, p. 14).
- Sudra* — members of the lowest caste in Bali—which is in effect, anyone who is not a member of the *triwangsa*. This 'caste' represents over 90% of the Balinese population.
- Swarga* — a general term for the after-life, but almost always used to refer to the Balinese Hell, of which Yama is the god (see index).
- tabing* — kind of painting of a rectangular format, hung on walls (see p. 7).
- tantri* — term used for a frieze of animals occurring along the bottom of some 19th century *tabing* (cf. Nos. 3, 28). Not to be confused with the story and character of that name (see index).
- tika* — 210-day year calendar, painted, or in the form of a wooden tablet (cf. No. 48a).
- tilem* — new moon.
- trisula* — triple-pointed arrow.
- triwangsa* — the three Balinese 'high castes': Brahmana, Ksatria, and Wesia. Together these make up less than 10% of the Balinese population.
- tumpek* — a 35-day period in the 210-day year, formed by the coincidence of the five- and seven-day week systems, the period covered by a *plintangan* (see Calendar explanation and Nos. 49-52).
- wayang* — a generic term for many Javanese and Balinese art and theatre forms which derive from the Hindu cultural era.
- wayang beber* — a Javanese story-telling form (see p. 77).
- wayang kulit* — the shadow-puppet play of both Java and Bali.
- wayang lemah* — a day-time version of the shadow-play performed in Bali on some ceremonial occasions. The screen is replaced by a hank of cotton thread (see illus. p. 76).
- wayang parwa* — term used for stories played in the *wayang kulit*, which are based on the Hindu epics, and particularly the Mahabharata.
- wayang wong* — a dance form which in Bali depicts only the Ramayana story.
- Wesia* — one of the three 'high castes' (see: *triwangsa*).
- wuku* — term for the seven-day week in the 210-day year.

