

## THE ACQUISITION OF HIGHER KNOWLEDGE BY BALINESE OF WESTERN LOMBOK

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Gaining knowledge, according to this account, is a process  
that involves a teacher, a pupil and a (social) situation

Paul Feyerabend (1987: 110)

### I

THE standard injunction is 'Never go back', but in October and November 1990 I revisited Pagutan, western Lombok, where I had lived for about twenty-one months in 1979-81 doing field research. It was my first return since then.<sup>1</sup> In

*Editor's note:* This paper was among those left unpublished at the time of the author's death in August 1991. It is published now with the kind permission of Dr Duff-Cooper's family and of the executor of his literary estate, Dr Gerd Baumann, who has also approved the edited text for publication. Copies of the original paper, as well as sets of Dr Duff-Cooper's publications and copies of various drafts and other papers, will be deposited, at the author's request, at the Institute of Cultural and Social Studies, University of Leiden, and at the University of Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia.

1. The original fieldwork was funded by awards from the then Social Science Research Council of Great Britain, the Emslie Horniman Anthropological Scholarship Fund and the Philip Bagby Fund of the University of Oxford, and was conducted under the auspices of the Indonesian Academy of Sciences (LIPI). I am most grateful to these bodies for their support. I funded the return visit myself. Unless specified otherwise, 'Balinese' refers to the Balinese of Pagutan.

the all-sudra village (*kaklian*) of Baturujung (see e.g. Yoshida and Duff-Cooper 1989: 222-3), where about half that fieldwork was done, many changes had occurred. One of the most impressive was the number of young villagers, male and female, now attending university, not only the local Universitas Mataram (Unram) but also in Denpasar, Bali.

On my return visit, I stayed with I Nengah Semer, the then largely inactive head (*klian*) of the village. Much of our time together was spent discussing knowledge, its acquisition and some of the attendant benefits and drawbacks. When I visited Pedanda Gdé Madé Karang and his local descent group (*seturunan*) at the Gria Taman some five minutes' walk away through the gardens to the west of Baturujung, recurrent topics of conversation were, first, the consecration (*madiksa*) as *pedanda* of two youngish brahmana from Cakranegara with whom I had been friendly before and, second, the number of young people in Baturujung now attending school or college, especially the number attending university.

This phenomenon and related matters were clearly of concern to people in authority. They were also of concern to the university students; much of their conversation centred upon their studies and topics connected with them. The present essay addresses aspects of these concerns, mainly those referred to by, for example, Jay (1969: 21) as 'a mental image' of behavioural acts, 'the contents of my informants' statements', their 'conception' of those acts. In the sections that follow I report not what was and/or is truly the case (if it makes sense to write of such) but what Balinese people think was and/or is the case concerning 'traditional' and 'modern' Balinese ideas about acquiring knowledge;<sup>2</sup> the Balinese concern with knowledge; its acquisition; and some differences between those acquiring modern higher knowledge and villagers not doing so, as well as older villagers' views about some of its potential effects on village life.

In the present essay, 'knowledge' is to be understood as 'information obtained through instruction and the study of such media as texts, films, discs, notes and so on'. Not included, therefore, are the kinds of knowledge that their seniors impart to young Balinese, for example, in the rice fields and about making offerings; acquiring such knowledge does not generally involve the study of texts etc. By 'higher' knowledge is meant knowledge that is neither primary nor secondary, a homologue of, for instance, British 'higher education'. In other contexts, the epithet distinguishes between 'higher' and 'lower' knowledge as the *Jñāna-kānda* (e.g. 2, 3, 1) does: 'higher' knowledge concerns what is formless, immortal, stationary and yon; 'lower', what is formed, mortal, moving and here.

2. The 'traditional/modern' dichotomy is unsatisfactory analytically (see e.g. Rudolph and Rudolph 1967; Zurbuchen 1990: 134-5). It is none the less employed in the present study, descriptively, because the Balinese employ it, using Indonesian [Ind.] *tradisi* (or *lama*, 'age old')/*modern* (or *maju*, advanced). The dichotomy 'town/country or village' is also employed. This dichotomy is also analytically unsatisfactory because it 'simply reproduce(s) in a scientific context age-old ethnocentric ideologies about the apparent distinction between town and country' (Williams 1973: 1). However, the Balinese employ it, as Ind. *kota/désa* or *kampung*, to distinguish the two and it is used similarly below, i.e. descriptively.

## II

Traditional Balinese ideas about the acquisition of knowledge are connected with dharma, 'sacred duty', i.e. one's social function by virtue of birth into one of the four estates.<sup>3</sup> On Lombok the dharma of Brahmana was, and with only slight modifications is, taken by most Balinese of whichever estate still to be, to deal with the highest, purest aspects of the mystical, what is *niskala* (timeless and usually unmanifest); while that of Ksatrya is taken to be to exercise authority over such jurisdictions of wide extension as realms or to act as officials to a ruler; that of Vesia to supply the material needs of Brahmana and Ksatrya; and that of Sudra to serve the three finer estates.

Brahmana and ksatrya require higher knowledge to carry out their duties. Brahmana, both as potential *pedanda*, 'high priests', and after consecration, studied and were instructed by their mentors about texts (*lontar*) on cosmology, rites, and other matters.<sup>4</sup> Ksatrya studied and were taught so that their behaviour would be modelled on that of *sadhu*, people who, according to Worsley (1972: 43-4):

sought no material advantage, pleasure or fame in what they did but strove only to protect the religious and moral law (*dharmā*). Knowledge of the precepts of the *dharmā* was the only reliable foundation for a successful reign for from such a knowledge flowed the discretion (*nūijñācāra*) in the conduct of affairs...so critical for the harmony and prosperity of the realm.<sup>5</sup>

Neither vesia nor sudra in general required higher knowledge to properly execute their dharma, and they consonantly had no access to it (but see below). However, people of these estates who wished to become such 'lower' priests as *pemanku*, or less often *dukuh* (see e.g. Hooykaas 1973a, 1976, 1977), or for instance metalworkers, did have access to traditional textual and orally transmitted knowledge appropriate to the function. Similarly, ksatrya who wished to become *pedanda rsi*, or people of any of the four estates who wished to become *balian* (local medicine-people) or *dalang* (shadow-puppeteers), or to dance, act, or play musical instruments, or those who claimed some such special status as *pandé* (see e.g. Guermonprez 1987), or who wanted to learn how to harm others by black magic as witches (*léak*) (see e.g. de Kat Angelino 1921), might have recourse to texts and other sources of knowledge bearing on their goal.

3. The four Balinese estates (*varna, bangsa*) from finest to less fine are Brahmana, Ksatrya, Vesia, Sudra.

4. Almost every part of the extensive body of Balinese literature, on which see e.g. Hooykaas 1979, is of greater or lesser importance for a *pedanda* (see Korn 1960: 134-6).

5. That villagers' views, both on Bali and Lombok, tend not to accord with the images of the former Balinese kings presented by dynastic chronicles (*babad*) (see sec. V below) is not relevant here.

Traditionally, Balinese cosmology and theology (*sarva-surya* and *sarva-tattva*) provided both a technology and a teleology, as science does for 'us'. So all this knowledge made reference to the mystical. Additionally, 'anyone who wanted to read manuscripts...should come to understand certain ordering principles of the universe' (Zurbuchen 1987: 50). None the less, the breadth and depth of the 'understanding' (i.e. higher knowledge) allowed to brahmana, and to a slighter extent to ksatria, were markedly greater than that permitted vesia and sudra (ibid.: e.g. 52). When knowledge was linked to general social function, brahmana had more access to it than ksatria, including *pedanda rsi* and kings, while vesia and sudra had no access to it. Where it was linked to a particular social function, the access of vesia and sudra to it was very restricted relative to that permitted brahmana and ksatria. Of that latter class *dalang* and after them *balian* had perhaps the greatest access.

Taking 'understanding' as 'comprehension', whether someone fulfilling a particular social function understood the knowledge available to him or her is decidable only case by case. However, Hooykaas makes repeated reference (1977: 1-17 *passim*) to the insufficient education and lack of knowledge of *pemanku*; and by references to *pedanda* as 'literati' (1966: 12; see also 1973a: 13) suggests with Korn (1960: 152-3) but *contra* Lévi (1933: x, xxxv) that they knew (know) the meanings of the words they employ and grasp their purport, in contrast to *pemanku* who do not, as (one may infer) most others with access to higher knowledge by virtue of their intended or actual particular social function do not. Hooykaas also points out (1973b: 22), though, that *pedanda boddha* often do not know the meanings of the hand gestures (*mudra*) they make. However, in traditional and contemporary Balinese ideology, 'comprehension' does not signify what 'we' mean by the word (see sec. IV below; see also senses 2 and 2b of 'understand' in the *OED*). Whether Balinese comprehend higher knowledge acquired from texts and so on in 'our' senses is thus not relevant here.<sup>6</sup>

After the Dutch secured Lombok in about the middle of the nineteenth century, Balinese people were given access to Western knowledge in schools and institutions of higher learning. The *pedanda* and villagers, Pak Semer included, agree that this access was restricted to those who had traditional authority and were compliant, mainly brahmana and ksatria. After the Japanese incorporated Bali and Lombok into their Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (see e.g. Tsurumi 1982), they gave education—rudimentary Japanese and an introduction

6. By 'ideology' here is meant ideas and values in social action, not the delusions of, nor the deceptions perpetrated against, social classes, however defined. This line is not adopted to slight by omission the Marxist notion of ideology, but because there are more than enough anthropologists subscribing to a version of the judgement that what people say about their actions individually are frequently mere rationalizations 'called ideology at the level of collective action' (Habermas 1978: 311) or that there is a 'level of the real as opposed to the surface...forms which we experience' (Howe 1990: 48 n.3). I also have no wish presumptuously and hegemonically to reduce Balinese people to silence (see Duff-Cooper 1990c: 152-3). On this topic see also the admirably clear remarks of Errington (1989: 9, 229-30).

to some of the leading ideas of wartime Japan—to those whom they judged fit to work for them non-manually and who were prepared to do so. But this knowledge hardly constitutes higher knowledge (though perhaps the Japanese thought it did in comparison with local knowledge); and they did not think it in their best interests to offer even their most senior Balinese collaborators entry to institutions of advanced learning. Indonesian independence from the Dutch in principle opened all levels of education to everyone. But only very recently have Balinese taken up the possibilities practically open to them (see e.g. Duff-Cooper 1990a: 329). Why has this been?

A major factor is the cost of education for people who in general have very little money even by Indonesian standards. Their impecuniness (see e.g. Gerdin 1982: tables 9-14) derives not from spending money elsewhere but from them tending to receive goods or services in exchange for labour, or from it being pitifully little and needed to buy food or the ingredients for offerings (*banten*) or to pay debts. Also, villagers even today are often scathing about people who have acquired higher knowledge, or are taken to have done so, like ‘officials’ (*pegawai*). They are said, often, to be fools or parasites who live off the work of others, contributing nothing to it even when, as agricultural advisers for instance, they are supposed to be able to do so and are paid for doing so. These people, moreover, are usually associated with ‘town’, as opposed to ‘village’, and with the Islamic Javanese and Sasak. ‘Town’ represents for many villagers, as before, values opposed to and the reverse of the ethos of village life, as Islam is opposed to Balinese ‘religion’, where communalism and brotherhood (should) reign. Villagers have their places (see Clifford Geertz 1983: 62), and it is an informed conjecture that they preferred to stick to them and work as they had ‘always’ done (see Duff-Cooper 1990a: 336-8; see also stanzas 2, 3 and 4 of canto 81 of the *Nāgara-Kērtāgama* in Pigeaud 1960-63: I, 62; III, 94-5). Finally, perhaps people had no explicit reasons for not wanting themselves or their dependants to be educated, they just did not wish it.

All this time (from 1843 to around July 1946, and after), brahmana, ksatria and others taking on more particular social functions had been acquiring higher knowledge in the traditional ways (see e.g. Korn 1960, Zurbuchen 1987, and sec. IV below). But there came a change: whereas ‘before’ (*sané dumun*), much of what they learnt was not to be imparted (*aje wéra*) to people unsuited for it by birth, suitability was ‘now’ (*mangkin*) taken to concern a person’s intellectual and spiritual qualities, as judged by his/her mentor, or because of his/her age more than estate. Thus, ‘many literati nowadays concur that *aja wéra*-type injunctions are meant to restrict certain types of knowledge, invariably mystic, magic, or esoteric in nature, to those persons who have studied enough to receive them, regardless of caste [sc. estate]’ (Zurbuchen 1987: 60).

This line, to which Pedanda Gdé does not but Pak Semer and others in Baturung do subscribe (see Duff-Cooper 1990a: 335), is also that of the Parisadha Hindu Dharma, the organization that since the early 1960s has aimed to make Balinese ‘religious’ thought and practices uniform, or more so. Parisadha

publications like *Upadeca*, a 'manual' of instruction in Indonesian that standardizes Balinese religion (see e.g. Boon 1990: 157), arouse much lay and priestly interest that Schaareman rightly urges (1986: 44) should not be underestimated (as perhaps Hildred and Clifford Geertz (1975: 9) do). The loosening of the *aje wera* injunction is obviously a necessary part of the Parisadha's general project. Perhaps this new attitude can be attributed, partly, to its influence.

Why such publications arouse so much interest, though, is difficult to pinpoint. Probably they do so for various reasons, one of which might perhaps be that more Balinese than is patent are 'seekers after spiritual insight' (Zurbuchen 1987: 54 n.26). However, 'the present political situation' (see Swellengrebel 1960: 72) is probably one important reason. If the political and cultural independence of Bali is under threat from Java (see Forge 1980: 221), the Balinese on Lombok are confronted with Islam on what Gerdin (1982: 175) calls 'a massive scale', and steadily more intrusively.<sup>7</sup> In such circumstances it is understandable for Balinese to turn to such ideological themes as cosmology and the higher, purer world of their forebears and higher gods, themes that are practically powerfully unifying.<sup>8</sup> In the present case, anyway, such a suggestion is more plausible than the attempt to reduce the extent and expense of rites also mentioned by Swellengrebel (1960: 73; see also Boon 1977: 240). Balinese have never in my hearing complained about the cost and the number of rites, nor does less appear to be spent now on rites than before, nor less often. On the contrary, expenditure on such obligations, often met, seems ready and generous (Pak Semer was said to have spent some Rp. 100,000 on Kuningan in November 1990). Zurbuchen, supportingly, mentions (1987: 242) that 'it seems probable that the ceremonial density of Bali has increased' as its population has grown from between 500,000 and 800,000 at the beginning of the nineteenth century, through 1,100,000 in 1931 and 1,780,000 in 1961, to 2,475,000 in 1980.

A reduction in the number and the cost of rites follows from Parisadha attempts to make 'religion' more an affair of the head and the heart than of ceremony (Swellengrebel 1960: 73): 'the greater the emotion the less the ritual'

7. Recently, for instance, the provincial government in effect compulsorily purchased a large area of rice fields to the north and north-west of Baturujung where some eighty bungalows for officials and others are being built. The quiet, dusty, one-lane track that ran along the northern edge of the village is now a two-lane, tarmac road busy with trucks and jeeps coming and going from the site. See also Zurbuchen's report (1990: 141, 142) that at the official reopening of the restored Borobodur, 'one of the most glorious of all Buddhist sites', in January 1983, 'an official blessing of the monument was given by an Islamic ulama chanting Koranic verses'.

8. It is not assumed either that those present at village rites pay much attention to them or that they have a precise understanding of the ideology behind a rite (see Needham 1981: 83). The fact of their presence, all together, is the point here (see below, sec. V). However, compare Mark Hobart (1986: 15): 'the banjar [village council to which all married men belong and should attend meetings of] was generally seen [by villagers in northern Gianyar]...not as an expression of group solidarity...in a gentle Durkheimian way'.

(Hocart 1970: 54). But that body is unlikely to make much headway in this direction if the number of Balinese continues to increase and if making Balinese religion more cerebral and emotional and less ceremonial is one of its aims, at least in the short term. An aspect of knowledge acquisition repeatedly stressed to me in 1979–81 and on my return visit is that one learns by doing. It was also often said that theory should derive from practice.

Whatever these tenets may offer for an appreciation of the interest just mentioned—perhaps the reading is the doing here, as the reading and comprehension of, for instance, *kakawin* are distinct (Zurbuchen 1987: 87–95)—they accord with the stress put on rites by the Balinese manual of instruction (*tutur*), *Jñānasiddhānta*. This text explains that knowledge includes ritualistic knowledge without which meditation would not even be proper (Soebadio 1971: 8). Hildred and Clifford Geertz, also, stress that Balinese religion highlights the ritualistic and dramatic aspects of Hinduism over its philosophical and mystical ones (1975: 9); while Boon goes so far as to suggest that Balinese writings may not be ‘primarily’ about their contents: ‘they sometimes seem more like performance in the medium of script, just as *wayang* [shadow puppetry] is performance in the medium of puppets’ (1990: 84).

Emphases can change, though, as they did from Vedic through post-Vedic texts. If the Parisadha aims to reduce the importance of rites concomitant with an increase in the importance of knowledge, it could in time succeed. Present-day knowledge acquisition, though, suggests it has far to go.

### III

One reason given by senior Balinese like the *pedanda* and his younger brother Ida Ketut Sideman for studying traditional higher knowledge is that one’s *taksu* suggested it.<sup>9</sup> *Taksu* has various meanings, e.g. ‘intercessor between gods and man’ (Swellengrebel 1960: 55) and ‘guardian of the ground (of a compound)’ (Goris 1960: 104), what Swellengrebel (1960: 55) terms *ngurah*. A *taksu* called Déwa Taksu Bungkah Karang is one of the ‘category of the intercessors’, ‘a humble assistant’ to a greater god (Grader 1960b: 224). My understanding is that the word refers to a personal, mystical being from whom one can receive guidance when one engages in ascetic activity (*matapa*; Ind *semadi*). In Pagutan, this means meditating at night in a pure state (that is, after bathing, putting on clean, formal dress, and using *tirtha*, ‘holy water’) at some place—a spring or

9. Balinese ideology seems not to distinguish reasons and causes (Duff-Cooper 1987a).

temple—considered *simbit*.<sup>10</sup> In Pagutan a *taksu* is usually contacted in one's compound temple (*mrajan/sanggah*).<sup>11</sup> When asleep and dreaming, one may also get guidance from one's *taksu* (Duff-Cooper 1987b). There is thus much point to the explication of *taksu* as 'a Balinese word regularly used for a variety of connections with otherworldly forces' (Zurbuchen 1987: 126 n.6).

Noteworthy, here, is that *taksu* also means 'mysterious magic power' and 'magically endowed or inspired' (ibid.: 172 n.45, 273). These renderings implicitly refer to Vedic *tapas* which, like *matapa*, is based on Sanskrit *tap*. *Tapas* as ascetic activity is the "heated effort" of such asceticism but also...the "magical heat" that that effort produces' (Kaelber 1989: 2, 3). Vedic *tapas*, moreover, is not only 'a creative force...it is also destructive' (ibid.: 45), rather as Balinese ascetic activity can be beneficial or dangerous.<sup>12</sup> Also, 'a close correlation...between *tapas* and knowledge is evident from the *Rg Veda* onward' (ibid.: 61); as the *Jñānasiddhānta* teaches, knowledge derives from meditation, while 'the knowledge that issues from *tapas* yields spiritual rebirth' (ibid.: 67), an important aspect of the consecration of *pedanda* (Korn 1960: 139-40, 143). These parallels are arresting: 'the four early Indian collections of *wedas* are not extant on Bali', not even fragments of them have been found (ibid.: 135; see also Goris 1926: 144).

Another reason given for someone's decision to begin acquiring higher knowledge is as a return to the gods for them granting that person some boon. In this case, s/he makes a promise, oral (*sesangi*) or written (*sot*), that if s/he is granted such-and-such, s/he will do something in return.<sup>13</sup>

A local descent group's traditional or habitual 'occupation(s)' may also influence someone to start acquiring higher knowledge. This requires only short

10. A spring in the western part of the gardens at the Gria Taman is *simbit*. Sick people may have to bathe there as part of their treatment by the *pedanda* as a *balian*. One may be presented with *anugrah* (a gift from the gods like a white puppy or a black, white and red rabbit, or a ring); things like rings may disappear from there if they are put off while one bathes.

11. Here and below the first term is the fine (*alus*) Balinese.

12. That marriage with a father's brother's daughter is an excellent marriage to contract (see e.g. Duff-Cooper 1984a; see also Boon 1990: 120), but is also considered to be too 'hot' to be entered into by many Balinese comes to mind here. *Tapas* is also essential in the production of rain and of fertility in the fields (Kaelber 1989: 15). My friend, 'Pak manku Gedug, of Pura Segara, Ampenan, undertakes such ascetic activity and practices such regimes (*brata*) as eating no pork nor taking salt, and abstains from sexual intercourse (Skt. *brahmacarya*), and is regularly commissioned by the provincial government to lead the annual rain-making rite Pেকেlem (Duff-Cooper 1986: 176-8) held at the crater lake, Segara Anak, on Mount Rinjani.

13. In line, it seems, with the 'indestructible', eternal, quality of letters (*aksara*) (Hooykaas 1978: 76), a *pedanda* is necessary when one pays off a written contract; only a *pemanku* need officiate when one pays a *sesangi*. The repaying has two aspects: giving offerings to the gods in thanks for them granting the boon and doing what one promised to do if they granted it.



comment. The Balinese form of life assigns greatest importance to the past conceived more as a higher, purer place than temporally: 'factual historiography is alien to the Balinese and there is a tendency to mythologize important historical personages and events' (Grader 1960a: 163). As a model for the present and the future, what has 'always' been done by a group of people can readily be appreciated as an important influence on its members when they come to consider the roles they will play in its life and its relationships with members of other groups. As Hocart writes (1970: 117, 122), 'man is a traditional animal, and must always fall back on tradition.... Communities, like individuals, form habits, and...habits are more deeply ingrained than reasons'.

Not all members of a group, of course, may do what they have always done, or what they are expected to do, even though the consequences of dissidence may be dire for the dissidents and unhappy for their relatives (Duff-Cooper 1991a). Moreover, such groups cannot have a tradition of acquiring higher knowledge at a university (see sec. I above). Four of Pak Semer's great-nieces perhaps decided to attend Unram because their father was a student and now teaches there—but other young Balinese students attending university cannot be related to such a tradition (if following one's father is one).

The latter may have had their interest aroused in their subjects (usually law, economics or agriculture). 'Family' traditions (but see Duff-Cooper 1985b) have to be begun; and the *pedanda* mentioned that one of the recently consecrated *pedanda* did not come from a family where the eldest or at least one son followed his father, or mother, in the status. This ordinand's consecration, and the study that preceded it,<sup>14</sup> must therefore be put down to his personality (the configuration of the qualities (*guna*) that determine or influence a person's actions, words, and thoughts (Duff-Cooper 1985a)). Becoming *pedanda*, though, is habitual for brahmana. 'Brahmana' may designate a group of agnates (*soroh*) by virtue of relationship to a male and female ancestor who together constitute an 'origin-point' (*kawitan*) (see Guermonprez 1987: 63, 54)—so perhaps the ordinand was in line with 'family' tradition, very broadly conceived.

No student, though, gave 'my interest was aroused in my subject' as a reason for having begun its study. Some averred that they were studying because they could not rely on former means to finance their (potential) obligations. Others, perhaps half-jokingly, said that they had fallen in with their seniors' wishes that they go to university to put off having to work; others again, to get out of working in the rice fields as their fathers and sometimes their grandfathers did and as their forebears had. I shall return to this below (sec. V). Here we simply note that, traditionally, Balinese generally 'play' (*macanda-canda*; Ind. *main-main*) only on such specific occasions as the day (*manis galungan*) after *galungan* or when a village temple (*pamaksan*) is in festival. 'Before', though, young Balinese men, even if married, if they had the means, spent much time and effort on such

14. One does not stop studying when one has achieved a particular status; study continues until death.

diversions as gambling (on cards and cockfights) and womanizing away from their natal village. For some, studying at university seems to hold out the possibility of like diversion. On my return visit, indeed, no student was seen to read a book, and one said he never did unless it was absolutely necessary. Unless they had classes, students whiled away the time chatting over coffee or soft drinks, listening to (rock) music, playing cards or board-games, and often flirting or courting. As the *pedanda* reprimanded me when I first visited the Gria, 'One doesn't want always to be serious!'

As for not working in the fields, repeated reports (e.g. Mark Hobart 1980: 88; Gerdin 1982: 298; Duff-Cooper 1991b) show manual labour in general ranking low on the scale of Balinese values, with some tasks (e.g. portering, road maintenance) ranking lower than others (e.g. animal husbandry and rice-growing). Prestige is accorded to skilled, non-manual and 'white-collar' work, if not in itself, then because such work is associated with substances that can be transformed and gives access to the powerful; and/or because it is for powerful organizations, which are often themselves part of the Indonesian state apparatus.

Boon has it (1977: 184) that 'the guaranteed lag in the hoped-for congruence of prestige and power...animates [Balinese] social life', and Clifford Geertz (1980: 230) that 'the whole dynamic of Balinese hierarchy involves attempting to draw near, by imitation, to higher ranks, and to distance, by dis-imitation, the lower ones'. To the extent that these and similar opinions (e.g. Hildred Geertz 1963: 53; Howe 1989: 67) are clear, their thoroughgoingness need not be accepted nor their sociological style and assumptions adopted (see Duff-Cooper 1991a, 1992) for it to be recognized that some Balinese people want a higher status.

When (enhanced) status comes with white-collar work, wealth—a regular, substantial cash income, a European-style house in town, car, telephone, subsidized medical treatment and, often, expenses-paid plane-trips to such centres of power as Yogyakarta and Jakarta where *satu piring* (literally 'one plate (of rice)', i.e. a basic meal) can cost Rp. 25,000—is expected to accompany it.<sup>15</sup> A sudra can only very exceptionally attain the status, though not the wealth, associated with high/pure birth and its potential power (see e.g. Duff-Cooper 1988a). Also, traditional social functions having the status and (potential) power associated with the ability to achieve prosperity in general do not appeal as much as modern ones, for various reasons: for example, they generally do not lead to the wealth that results from white-collar work, and put most generally 'the relationship to the outside is integrated as a superior value' (Barraud 1990: 54). But s/he can (it is believed) achieve high status and the wealth that goes with it after university. A student may also think (as Pak Semer's son, Pak Saridana, thinks) that s/he will

15. My work, which stresses the importance of centres in Balinese ideology, tends to refute, *post hoc*, the burden of Clifford Geertz's comment (1980: 187) that 'the general exemplary-center-plus-replicas view of the Balinese...has yet to be treated adequately' and demonstrates various ways in which 'it is...at the heart of its structure'.

be able to achieve prosperity even more widely than via a traditional social function. So s/he studies.

Why do their seniors encourage them to study, and foot the substantial bills for them doing so?<sup>16</sup> Why do others want their young(er) people to become, say, *dalang* or *balian*? The reasons here are, or appear to be, less heterogeneous than those just discussed. Being told by one's *taksu* that a child or grandchild, say, should be encouraged to acquire some higher knowledge as well as the tradition(s) of one's local descent group figure largely among these reasons. They have been briefly considered. Seniors look to the welfare of those they are in authority over, and sometimes consider study, and the social functions it leads to, as a more reliable course to a substantial and prestigious living than other ways.

Pak Semer and others in Baturujung emphasized the value (*arga/aji*) of knowledge. It is not valuable *per se*, but because it is linked to a goal (*tetujon*). Nearly all the reasons considered for studying or encouraging someone to do so refer to the attainment of a goal, and one studies to attain it. The general social functions of brahmana and ksatria (see above, sec. II) have prosperity in general as their aim. Particular social functions requiring higher knowledge also have as their aim prosperity, but it is more limited—to the local descent group of the functionaries and to the people for whom they exercise their functions.

The linking of knowledge to a goal, and that it should bring prosperity, is not unexpected. It was so before, and it would be odd to acquire higher knowledge to do oneself and one's relatives down (though some people reverse what should properly be one's goal and study to harm others). Traditionally, too, knowledge led to, for instance, the bliss of liberation and to spiritual and material happiness (Soebadio 1971: 8; Hooykaas 1977: note 4k). (Similarly, at *Atharva Veda* 19, 40, 4, for instance, heaven is said to be attained by one who has *vidyā* or *medhā*, knowledge or wisdom.)

Hooykaas makes the point (1966: 13) that a *pedanda*'s ritualistic texts are written by those '*nourris dans la griya*' for others reared there. It is true that 'before' an aspiring ordinand moved into his teacher's compound while now the student goes there for instruction, returning to where s/he resides to study. None the less, the point remains: traditional higher knowledge could be acquired in one's own village or one where one had relatives, 'modern' higher knowledge must be gone and got, in town. People do go to get it, of course, rather as Balinese used often to, and sometimes still do, go to the forest alone to meditate or go on journeys (*tirta yatra*) to purify their souls. Doing so is premissed on them and their seniors judging that there is a need for it to attain a goal. Villagers these days, of course, have learnt from radio, newspapers, magazines and television (and the foreign visitor's talk), that the world is an even bigger and more complex place than they realized from, say, the *Mahabarata* and the *Ramayana*.

16. Pak Saridana's education on Bali costs Pak Semer at least two million rupees, excluding fees, a year: Rp. 600,000 for lodgings, Rp. 1,200,000 allowance, and the rest on such things as travel, repairs to motor-scooter etc.

Why do students at university, and those who encourage them to become such, want to be a part of it? Apart from the reasons already mentioned, perhaps there is a feeling that Java and Islam cannot entirely be held at bay. It is preferable to join them to influence them rather than allow them to inundate the Balinese culturally and politically. This is not passive nor debilitating, but a positive reaction to the perceived situation made possible by the strength and vibrancy, and perhaps the 'binding force', of Balinese ideology, of which many values, often what we call religious, serve as 'points of anchorage' (Renard-Clamagirand 1989: 476). Charras (1982) demonstrates how fundamentally important 'religion' is for Balinese and how values that are less constraining can be jettisoned or radically changed in the face of new circumstances. It is also a positive response in that Balinese often aver that the fact that Muslims are politically superior to the Balinese indicates that the country is now 'ruined' (*usak*). Neither of these situations is compatible with other aspects of Balinese ideology: acquiring modern knowledge is a way of at least partially rectifying them.

Balinese people also want to be capable in the world. On the one hand, it goes against the grain for a right-minded Balinese to be ignorant (*belong*), an offensive epithet, and associated with the darkness and lowness of left-handed magic, when s/he can be knowledgeable and associated with the brightness and purity of the sun. On the other hand, young Balinese say that it is all very well for old men like Pak Semer to say that all Balinese and Muslims are brothers: he is wealthy, well-known and well-respected, so he and his family are secure; and if he ventures out, which he rarely does, he is unlikely to come to any harm. For them however, they say, the world is a potentially violent and dangerous place, in which there is always the possibility of coming to harm. They need knowledge to protect themselves against forces (religious, political and economic) that aim to harm them in the same way that one employs *mantra* and/or holy water to protect oneself and, if one is a priest or a *balian* or *dalang*, say, to protect other people from such beings as *léak* who wish only to harm others.<sup>17</sup>

#### IV

The fine Balinese words *muruk* and *mapurukan*, from \**uruk* (education, tuition, lesson, instruction) mean 'to study'. 'To teach' is *nguruk*, and in low Balinese *ngajah* and *ngajahin*, from \**ajah* (education, instruction etc.). These words for 'to teach' also have the meanings 'to drill, to coach', and 'to practise and rehearse'. *Uning/tau*, *nawang* mean 'to understand', and 'be able, be capable, be clever,

17. They also, of course, have to be on guard against physical force; but the Balinese of Baturujung are renowned as fierce and brave fighters, when they have to be, so others tend to leave them alone (I was told) when they know with whom they are dealing.

know'; *pawikan* means 'to be capable or expert in religious matters' (cf. Ind. *mahir*, be capable or expert; *memahirkan*, learn by heart). Similar congeries of English words are covered by *tutur* (see above), which means 'to remember, to memorize; to teach'. So, *tuturs* are 'dogmatic instructions which are transmitted to (qualified) pupils' (Soebadio 1971: 3, 4). *Tutur* also means 'direction' in a like sense (Hooykaas 1977: 102-3). *Purukan/ajah-ajahan, pe-plajahan* mean 'a lesson or study, an essay or a treatise'.

These words, though not exhaustive, nevertheless show that teaching and being taught are matters of drilling and imparting information to the pupil, which the latter is supposed to copy and assimilate by rote. Understanding and being knowledgeable can be claimed for the pupil when s/he can replicate what the teacher does and when s/he can repeat what s/he was told by the teacher, as told, and what s/he was told to read etc., by the teacher, as written. When a pupil is able in (s.c. knows) these tasks s/he is *ipso facto* capable and clever. Knowledge, it should be noted, is got through learning and copying, i.e. doing (see above, sec. III). Understandably then, the Balinese priest for instance, 'will not give an analysis.... He comments upon his text and paraphrases its language' (Hooykaas 1966: 132): 'exegesis in any strict sense does not number among the functions of traditional [Balinese] textual and ritual experts' (Boon 1990: 84). Neither are aspects of teaching or learning in Balinese life. That Balinese manuscripts embody old truths and ancient learning (Zurbuchen 1987: 84) makes it the more understandable: 'truths' and 'ancient learning' here are axioms that are not considered to require demonstration, but are accepted without proof. Or the proof is one is taught them. It is unsurprising, therefore, that 'a far-reaching consensus' appears to exist among *pedanda* (Hooykaas 1966: 132). If views are opposed, though, either Balinese people are unconcerned (see Clifford Geertz 1980: 196) or their statement is 'muted through...acceptance' in the interests of harmony and consensus (Zurbuchen 1987: 94).<sup>18</sup>

Traditionally, knowledge allowed the 'one who knows' to overcome the diversity of the world and the numerous pairs of opposites of which, under one aspect, it is constituted. This state is termed *sandhi*, and is akin to the Indian doctrine that 'in the "one who knows", all opposites coincide and become one' (Heesterman 1985: 94). In this state one is 'enlightened', and by transcending one's senses can attain a higher order of reality, that of Absolute Truth and Goodness (Angela Hobart 1983). This order is the realm of *Ida Sang Hyang Widhi*, the high or highest god of the Balinese; it is achieved primarily through rites of one kind or another. University teachers may have attained this sublime state, or they may not. But, none the less, they are taken by their students and others to impart information that sometimes seems like Absolute Truth.

Teachers in general impart information about worlds apart from village life. Traditional knowledge is about the higher, purer world of the ancestors and higher

18. But compare Mark Hobart (1985: 115): 'consistency, or coherence, is treated as at least as important as any correspondence [of assertion] to unverifiable past events'.

gods and their relationship with people and/or about the lower, less pure world of 'demons', and is imparted through cosmology, theology and other stories, poetry, performances of various kinds, and so on. University teachers tend to employ academic theories as vehicles through which to impart knowledge of the middle world, the world of people (*mertyapada*) that the Balinese inhabit, but which is often further from village life than the worlds of gods and demons.

'Sight...is the most important sense of knowing' (Angela Hobart 1983): '*Nawang* and *uning* [see above]...are linked to the root *tawang*, and near homonym, *ening*. Both signify "clear", "transparent"...*meturah-turahan*, "guessing", is literally working out what something is in very poor light' (Mark Hobart 1985: 129 n.6). To say that something is empirically true, *wiakti*, one usually requires visual confirmation (ibid.: 113). The major media of higher knowledge acquisition—*lontar*, books, film, discs, television, and copying—are consonant with this emphasis on sight, which in turn confirms the authority of, and confers it upon, these media. These of course include sound, both as commentary and oral instruction. The Balinese preference is for dialogue (e.g. *timbang*, 'balance'): 'it is considered arrogant to hold forth', unless one is speaking to the young or with formal authority (ibid.: 118).

When a teacher instructs, especially through lectures, his or her position of authority is reaffirmed. In universities this position is further affirmed in seminars that, one student reported, are usually given by teachers, with any comments or questions coming from the speaker's colleagues. Students are adjudged presumptuous if they comment or question: why make comments or ask questions if what has been said is clear? Since a teacher said what was said, it must have been clear, and the comments and questions serve only to draw attention to the (ill-mannered) student.<sup>19</sup> This leads to the point that in such a form of life as the Balinese, those in authority are generally regarded to be those who ought to have it. So teachers teach because they ought to. They can be seen to teach and their studies can be read: how else might the matter be decided (see Duff-Cooper 1985c; Errington 1989: 166)? Only when one's knowledge is demonstrably at the level of the teacher's may one criticize and/or comment upon his or her 'work'. However, since learning continues until death (Pedanda Gdé said he had been taught by his late father, the Pedanda Bhatara (*bhatara*: protector, god)) a pupil never attains a level of knowledge equivalent to his or her teachers'. Korn writes (1960: 137-8) of a novice *pedanda*, the pupil 'must take special care not to do, say, or think anything improper with regard to his mentor...needs to manifest complete submission to his mentor. He must attend to every one of his words without ever...doubting their veracity', and 'when the pupil has come to the end of his studies...it may be that he imagines he knows everything...or...doubts the truth of the dogmas [he has been taught and has learnt]. Both attitudes are sinful'

19. 'Ill-mannered' is Ind. *kurang ajar*, 'lacking education'. 'Criticism' (Ind. *kupasan*) also means 'analysis', 'judgement'; *bahasan*, also meaning 'criticism' and 'debate', includes 'contradiction' among its meanings.

(*ibid.*: 137). This all differs only in degree from what (one is led by one's instructors to think) is expected of students at a university and those preparing to take up other (traditional) social functions.

However, 'the agent's thoughts or feelings are seen as an active part of knowledge' (Mark Hobart 1985: 123). Here is evinced a version of the familiar and cogent view that what counts for someone as knowledge depends to a great extent upon that person's interests and values, and probably goals. In the present context, the student whose interests, values or goals are inconsonant with those of the teachers must find him- or herself in a dilemma. S/he must resolve this either by looking for another teacher or, in line with the tendency Mark Hobart also mentions (*ibid.*: 115), will probably accept of what s/he is taught only that which seems most fitting to his or her interests.

The process of acquiring higher knowledge differs in certain ways depending upon whether that knowledge is traditional or modern. The former is taught in Balinese, which employs register (see e.g. Kersten 1970; Zurbuchen 1987). Basically, finer language is used to address and refer to seniors, coarser or lower language to juniors, though these principles are adjusted to take account of the interlocutors' relative ages, social intimacy or distance, wealth, education and so on. Indonesian by contrast, employed to impart 'modern' knowledge, does not have 'levels'. In Pagutan, its employment is said to flatten out social differences. Traditional formal dress is generally worn when traditional knowledge is being imparted, and both teacher and pupil should have bathed and used holy water, and will generally have given offerings to their compound and, where appropriate, village gods so that the lesson(s), among other things, go well. Male and female university students usually wear trousers, which are equated with 'civilization' and 'from the standpoint of national development' are 'valued...signs of progress and modernity' (Zurbuchen 1990: 146), or if female a 'modern' or 'advanced' (*maju*) dress or skirt when they go in and when they are not attending religious rites in the village.<sup>20</sup>

In traditional situations, knowledge is usually imparted by a teacher to a student while both sit formally (*masila*) on mats on, say, a house verandah or in an open pavilion. The teacher adopts a superior point of the compass to the student (e.g. the former facing east or north-east, the latter west or south-west). In town, the teacher lectures from a rostrum placed on a platform at the front of the room raised slightly above the level of the floor where students sit at rows of

20. I have argued (Duff-Cooper 1989: 130) that in as much as everything in the Balinese universe derives from, is pervaded by, and is contained in Vidhi in various guises, all aspects of Balinese ideology, if any, may legitimately be considered as ritual. Town values are breaking up the holistic character of Balinese ideology for those who distinguish between, for example, religion and the ordinary or mundane (*lumrah/biasa*); see also sec. VI below. One influential Balinese from town (a lecturer in law at Unram and a former deputy head of the provincial department of religion) came to a village rite in trousers. This impropriety was roundly, though politely and in subdued tones, condemned.

benches and tables or on chairs with small writing-desks attached, facing the teacher. In traditional knowledge acquisition, a male usually instructs males, a female, females; except where 'gender' has been dissolved, for example in a female *pedanda* who may have both male and female students. Witches, more often female than male (Duff-Cooper 1984b), may also instruct males and females. In town, teachers may be male or female (they are usually male) and can teach males and females together. The difference here resides in all modern knowledge being seen in principle as suitable for both genders, while traditional knowledge is generally thought suitable for males *or* females and only rarely considered suitable for both, at least as concerns formal instruction (with or without texts) and putting it into practice. Here, for example, men play in the gamelan (*gong*), women dance; at rites, men cook the special food for the guests, women make offerings. Normally, women cook and men grow rice and tobacco, say, in the fields, though women (or male or female day-labourers) deal with the crop when it is brought home. Far more women than men are (said to be) witches, far more men than women *balian*, and so on.<sup>21</sup>

Instruction is paid for. Traditional knowledge may be given by a teacher to a pupil, when they are of the same local descent group, but the latter is expected to support the teacher materially when s/he can no longer support him- or herself and to share in the work and expenses of burying and/or cremating the teacher when s/he dies, in the usual way, though with the added obligation of being the teacher's pupil. Or knowledge may be exchanged for goods, services or cash. These exchanges are 'equal': while the goods, services and cash are not interchangeable with the knowledge, nor the teacher for the pupil, and are therefore not in these regards symmetrical, they are clearly thought to compensate their donors for what they give in exchange for them.<sup>22</sup>

In a university, the exchanges are less simple. Here, pupils (or their fathers or other close relatives) pay for the services of the university's employees who impart knowledge to the pupils. Basically, though, the exchanges are dyadic (as they are in systems of asymmetric prescriptive alliance (e.g. Needham 1987: 189-90), which also implicate three, at least, exchanging parties). The pupil pays the university for his/her place, the university pays its teachers for their work, they

21. *Dalang* are overwhelmingly male, but in 1978-9 two women *dalangs* held *wayang* performances, and women musicians were sometimes seen in their troupes (Zurbuchen 1987: 120 n.12).

22. By 'symmetrical' and its cognates is meant a relation in which two entities are interchangeable one for another in specified contexts; 'asymmetrical' and other forms of the word refer to a relation where two entities are not interchangeable one for another in specified contexts. Two entities may be symmetrically and asymmetrically related one to another in different contexts. They may also be related such that in one context the relation holding between them is symmetrical, in another, asymmetrical, such that one entity is pre-eminent, and in yet another context asymmetrical such that the other entity is pre-eminent (see Duff-Copper 1991c).



impart knowledge to pupils. The pupils provide work for the teachers, who give labour to the university, which allows students to acquire higher knowledge.

The teacher-pupil relationship may be seen as an analogue of the parent-child and the ruler-ruled relationships. These are all asymmetrical in various ways.<sup>23</sup> The language of traditional knowledge acquisition, Balinese, is consonant with this asymmetry, as are the non-linguistic conventions of position, dress and posture. Indonesian is a language that flattens out asymmetry; though this mode of relation is evinced by teachers' greater command of their subject, by the relative ages of teacher and student and by the teacher's use of monologue in lecturing, his or her positions (higher, at the front of the class when lecturing or at the head of the table or closer to the speaker in seminars, greater familiarity with the rector and other decision-makers in the university, perhaps even residential proximity to the campus), and more formal modern dress than that which the students adopt.

The exchanges accompanying these forms of knowledge acquisition are 'equal', however, in the first case and arguably so in the second. They are asymmetrical, though, in that neither the parties to the exchanges nor what each gives and receives are interchangeable one for another. Modern exchanges are more complex than traditional exchanges, but both kinds are basically dyadic.

## V

One of the differences between students' relationships with other villagers and the 'normal' relationships of villagers to other villagers is that they go into town and mix there with people who reside there, and with Muslims, far more than other villagers do.<sup>24</sup> They dress as villagers do not generally dress; and their conversations, often in Indonesian, are more concerned with the outside, including their studies. Female students, moreover, are regarded as modern: they do not stay at home, going out only to market in Pagutan or to other villages with a female companion as circumstances require, but go to town, often alone and by motor bike.

These modes of behaviour differ from those of many but not all other villagers. Some villagers work in town and go there daily, from Monday to Friday, and one or two women go shopping in town alone, though they go by bus.

23. But not in all ways: father and son and mother and daughter are interchangeable in certain situations; rulers need the ruled and the ruled need the rulers (see e.g. Schaareman 1986: 40), at least as things stand; while Balinese teachers and pupils are the same by various criteria that apply to all material Balinese (Duff-Cooper 1985a).

24. Only students of modern higher knowledge are considered here. I could not observe the differences, if any, between the interactional modes of students of traditional higher knowledge and those who had taken up a traditional social function, nor were any effects (potential or otherwise) of such education on village life discussed with me.

These people wear town clothes when they go into town, and much of their conversation, especially that of the workers, concerns the outside. Noticeably, also, people who have spent some time in (say) Denpasar or another large conurbation, either working or because they were born there, and have later come (back) to live in Pagutan, bring town conventions with them and go on adopting them. These differences cannot be the effects of higher education in itself. Rather, significant differences may arise through someone studying in town, but they may also arise through other activities or circumstances. They all, though, derive from frequent or extended exposure to town.

When in the village, students tend not to gather with other villagers in the gardens (for instance) when the noon-day sun is highest or at dusk on small bridges across the irrigation ditches that run beside one of the major roads into Pagutan that pass Baturujung along its eastern boundary. What students chat about tends also to differ from the interests and concerns (as they are evinced in their chit-chat) of other villagers. These differences are only to be expected. But the exclusivity of students' intercourse, from the point of view of villagers, is said by some older men to be likely to affect what they see as the sense of common village ways and goals and those common ways and goals themselves. This sense is also thought likely to be affected by students sometimes behaving as though they were 'kings' (*raja*) in other ways. One student, for instance, 'married' a second cousin (*mindon*), but sent her back to her natal compound three days later because her views of married life did not accord with his. He should have tried to make a relationship with her. Some of the female students take only a small part in the daily tasks that are women's (e.g. cooking, washing-up, laundering, sweeping the compound, working in the gardens, rearing pigs, and going to market), and the majority of male students never work in the fields as their fathers and sometimes grandfathers do. Students spend most of their time chatting. The use of 'Western' cosmetics by both male and female students tends only to reinforce the view that like kings they are self-regarding and vain and less careful with what money they have than they should be.<sup>25</sup>

None the less, Pak Semer especially averred, the positions students would hopefully attain after graduation were expected to benefit the entire village by

25. Villagers in northern Gianyar, Bali, reported that kings were egocentric and capricious, and that 'avarice, arrogance, envy and lasciviousness' truly described some of their characteristics (Mark Hobart 1986: 5, 15). Significantly kings, also, were not regarded by most villagers as 'part of village life' (ibid.: 20; but compare Schaareman 1986: 40 and Schulte-Nordholt 1986: 11). Boon's views about the roles of costume and make-up in Balinese life, although not all applicable to life in Pagutan, make allusions that are interesting here: 'the costume applied...to a wedding couple ushers them toward the refined (*alus*) pole of values [of which a king is, with a *pedanda*, the epitome].... The outfitted bride and groom become divine consorts...spouses...and corpses are subjected to *maquillage* to prevent their theft by demons that threaten any and every exchange...makeup wards off *mésalliance*. Cosmetic activity accompanies dance, drama, and other performances thought vulnerable to hostile influence...cosmetics were likely another side of courtly battle' (1990: 123-4).

introducing more wealth and experience into it and by providing villagers (all of whom can trace relationship one to another through males or females, or both) with contacts at centres of authority, which could then be built upon. If only, Pak Semer repeated, students attaining such positions could see that neither then nor now need they, nor indeed should they, behave like kings. What value has education (he said) if it did not help one to mix (*madukan*; Ind. *bergaul*) with every kind of people?<sup>26</sup> One of his devices to overcome this (potential) situation was to borrow a gamelan and have male students and other male villagers learn to play instruments and have female students (and non-students) learn to dance, and have them give performances together. It remains to be seen whether Pak Semer and others consider that it works in the long term; however, the pupils coming together (*magabungan*, 'tied to form one') as the gamelan association (*seka gong*) for instruction twice a week for a total of eight hours clearly means, in Pak Semer's opinion, that it is having the planned effect in the short term by providing a context in which students and non-students can learn a traditional function together and, as members of the association of which all are a part, as equals.<sup>27</sup>

## VI

In Balinese ideology, as in other forms of life, traditional and modern higher knowledge are commodities, in three conjoined senses: they are items of exchange; they are parts of different, but related, ideological worlds; and like other items of exchange, varieties of both may be distinguished one from another by any one or more of four attributes, namely description, location, when exchanged, and the state of nature (then) obtaining (see Hahn 1984: 113).

The exchanges detailed above suggest that where traditional higher knowledge is used as an item of exchange by one of the parties, the exchanges are 'equal', asymmetrical and dual. Exchanges of modern higher knowledge evince the same principles, but they are more complex. Given that exchanges of modern higher knowledge are an accretion to Balinese ideology, and as such are a development of it, this finding is consonant with the fact (as it seems in general to be) that 'the normal development of social forms is in the direction of increasing intricacy' and 'a greater complexity' (Duff-Cooper 1990c: 134; Needham 1984: 229).<sup>28</sup>

26. Ind. *pandai gaul*, literally 'clever, able, skilful, practised, a master (at) mixing (with)' means 'to have good manners', 'to know how to behave'.

27. Clifford Geertz (1980: 158) also refers to 'the equality of members (of a *seka*) in the context of the groups of which they are members' (see also Hilda Geertz and Clifford Geertz 1975: 30-31, 115-16, 165-6).

28. For a transformation quite the reverse of the normal course of events, see Needham 1988.

A valuable transferred from one party to another changes the parties into, or reaffirms them as, partners. Traditionally, these partners were all Balinese. In modern exchanges, the parties (teacher(s) and pupil(s)) may both be Balinese, but teachers are often Muslims and the university is an organ of the nominally plural but in fact heavily Javano-Islamic Indonesian state. Traditional exchanges are likely to contribute more to the integration of Balinese than modern exchanges, the parties to which are not all Balinese and which are therefore likely to be more disintegrative: as, for instance, Barth writes, 'ethnic groups only persist as significant units if they imply marked difference in behaviour, i.e. persisting cultural differences. Yet where persons of different culture interact [as they do of course in exchanges] one would expect these differences to be reduced, since interaction both requires and generates a congruence of codes and values' (1969: 15-16; see also Barth 1966). Perhaps Pak Semer and others are not anxious unduly about the potential effects of modern higher education on 'traditional' Balinese life.

This is especially so when the knowledge acquired at a university is itself fragmenting and disintegrative. Traditional knowledge is knowledge that 'belongs', here, in Balinese ideology (see Zurbuchen 1990: 133). It is true that when an individual acquires some aspect of it, his or her inborn worth is enhanced (as it is by the acquisition of some aspect of modern knowledge); but both the acquired status and the knowledge acquisition correlated with it are traditional parts of traditional Balinese life. This is a whole. Both this whole and its indigenously defined parts are total in Mauss's sense (e.g. 1954: 76-7): they have what 'we' call legal, economic, political and domestic, aesthetic, and religious aspects. Modern higher knowledge acquired at a university, contrastingly, does not have an aspect that is 'religious'. It is clearly taken to 'belong' in Balinese life, though. It introduces the notion of the secular, ordinary and non-religious in such a way that everything that is not directly seen to concern religion (*agama*) is rendered 'ordinary' (for example, the clothes students adopt in the village for all occasions apart from those (they designate) 'religious').

The acquired traditional knowledge that leads to enhanced status (but not necessarily or even usually to wealth) may be characterized as imaginative and fantastical; the modern higher knowledge leading to enhanced status (and, it is thought, to wealth) as cogitational and ratiocinative (see Duff-Cooper 1987b: 83). These characteristics are not of course exclusive. Traditional knowledge has technical and symbolic aspects (see Mark Hobart 1979: 5; Duff-Cooper 1988b: 152, 187 n.5); and it is rational, at least in the sense that it can be supported by argument, and it often works. Modern higher knowledge has imaginative and fantastical elements, as the many citations from the writings of Einstein, Mach and Planck cited by Feyerabend (1987: 192-218), for instance, show; while such modern scientific entities as electrons, quarks, light signals and spacetime regions, are theoretical entities akin to such gods as Balinese ideology posits (*ibid.*: 168-9). Moreover, if imagination and fantasy characterize the creative arts (e.g. Needham 1978: 51-76), then the (ratiocinative and cogitational) sciences are also characterized by these features, for 'scientists...produce works of art—the difference being that their

material is thought, not paint, nor marble, nor metal, nor melodious sound' (Feyerabend 1987: 294).

None the less, whether modern knowledge is 'art' or 'science', symbolic classifications of the kind associated with such forms of social life as the Balinese (e.g. Duff-Cooper 1991c) often disintegrate or are very much reduced in scope in face of it (see Needham 1979: 70). This appears not to be so in the present case, at least given the findings outlined above, which show modern higher knowledge acquisition to be as much symbolic action as is the acquisition of traditional higher knowledge. It was seen, moreover, that present-day reasons for encouraging someone to study, or for studying, whether traditional or modern knowledge, bear marked parallels one to another and with aspects of knowledge acquisition commented upon in the Veda and later early Indian texts, and that they are all linked to goals.

Students tend to take a narrow view of these goals. They look to status and wealth. Still, though, their reasons have a communal aspect. Older Balinese tend to take a wider view. Thus the Pedanda, for instance, is against the dilution of the *aje wéra* injunction, but he is in favour of villagers studying, both at schools and universities, as a counter to the increasing Islamic influence over the affairs of Balinese. Pak Semer, for another instance, is for both these courses. He judges that study benefits the individuals concerned, will benefit the Balinese in Baturujung generally, and that it will be in the best interests of everyone on the island (as long as students don't behave like *rajas*), who will in time view everyone, including those to whom the Balinese are generally practically and ideologically opposed now, as 'brothers'.

The Pedanda's attitudes cannot be put down to him being part of an entrenched, conservative élite, because the views he expresses do not aim to preserve a status quo (cf. e.g. Proudfoot 1980: 160). Perhaps the views of Pak Semer, and others in the village who think like him, have been influenced by the 1928 youth pledge for 'one nation, one people, one language' and by the forty-odd years of 'unity in oneness' (*persatuan dan kesatuan*) (see Zurbuchen 1990: 133) and/or by orthodox, basically egalitarian Islam, which has been having an increasing impact on Lombok (see Gerdin 1982: 53). What is certain is that the acquisition of modern higher knowledge is having effects (but see sec. V above) on village life, and that older Balinese worry about them. Doubtless, some would dismiss these worries as 'ideology', the rationalization of a leading member of a defeated and increasingly threatened ruling class (the Balinese); or else would deny them because there cannot be any consensus in a village of three hundred or more inhabitants (see e.g. Boon 1990: 72, 151, 152).<sup>29</sup>

It is more helpful to take seriously the situation, and the reasons and worries that are a part of it, by listening to what people involved in it have to say about it and to think about what they have to say. This essay comprises one way of doing so. In any case, though, it is not for me to try to prophesy how life in

29. See e.g. Hocart 1970: 40 on the *value* of rationalizations. Also, whether a consensus exists in a particular locality or context is a matter not of fiat or theory, but of empirical research (see sec. II above).

Pagutan will develop nor assert how it ought to do so. If these are matters for anyone to decide, they are for the villagers ultimately—as it will be for them (if they will) to tell people who ask what has happened there. But none of that prevents me from putting on record my pleasure that this small number of people should be engaged in what Baumann (1987: 3) calls ‘processes of local reintegration’, which aim ‘at restoring and renewing a local community to its state of wholeness as its members perceive it.... When national integration aims at making local communities part of a new whole, local reintegration consists of processes aimed at preserving, restoring, or renewing the community’s sense of wholeness, however it is defined’.

The acquisition of modern higher knowledge (and that about traditional music and dance) is a response to the constituent processes of the policy of ‘unity and oneness’ (which is defined at centres but takes place on the peripheries in places like Pagutan); it is a part of these processes of local reintegration. These two sets of processes have generated ‘tension’ (Zurbuchen 1990: 133). One can only admire the Balinese for their determination to overcome this opposition and the resulting tension by transcending it through the acquisition of modern higher knowledge.

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