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**HIERARCHY, PURITY AND EQUALITY  
AMONG A COMMUNITY OF BALINESE  
ON LOMBOK**

*All things are double, one against the other.*

Ecclesiasticus 42: 25

*Opposition unites. From what draws apart  
results the most beautiful harmony.*

Heraclitus

I

THIS paper considers the three concepts mentioned in the title, viz., hierarchy, purity, and equality, although it does not deal with each in quite the same way. To some extent the differences in the approaches adopted are corollaries of the fact that two of the concepts—hierarchy and equality—have no direct equivalents in Balinese, although they can be inferred from what the Balinese do and from what they say about what they do. Purity, by contrast, is a concept which is Balinese.

Purity is concerned with what the Balinese term *suci*. *Nirmala* also refers to purity, but the state to which it refers is not one which any person, however

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elevated his status, can attain during his material and visible life on earth. Only when he (or she) is what we call dead (one rendering of which status in Balinese is *lepas*, free) could a person possibly be termed *nirmala*. This state, however, is not a consequence of death, so that death is a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition for a person being termed *nirmala*. *Sukla*, further, refers to the pure in such expressions as *kamben sukla*, a sarong which has not been worn since its manufacture. This is stored high up in the house, on the top shelf of the cupboard which many houses contain. Gold, jewellery, and money (the god Sedana) are similarly stored high up. *Sajen sukla*, offerings which have been made but have yet to be given to the gods, are likewise placed high off the ground (on a table perhaps) until they are needed for prestations. These facts are in accordance with notions which link what is cleaner and purer with what is physically higher and ideationally superior.

Baturujung is one of the villages which comprise the administrative *lurah* Pagutan, in western Lombok, the region in which most of the Balinese on the island live. The village consists of about 350 people, all of whom can trace relationship to one another through either males or females and who are loosely divided into five localised groups, each of which is descended from one man. The Brahmana of the Gria Taman, a large compound some two minutes away through the gardens to the west of Baturujung, have traditional relations with most villagers in Baturujung. Villagers are *sisia* to the Brahmana Surya. This relationship means essentially that the Surya performs certain mystical tasks for the *sisia*, who have certain rights in relation to their Surya, and certain obligations to fulfil also. I lived for about the same length of time in the Gria Taman and in Baturujung.

It has been said (Hobart, personal communication) that the account (Duff-Cooper 1983) upon which this essay is based is a Brahmanaical view of Balinese society. It is true that lower estates (*warna*) are not supposed to know the metaphysical doctrines (*sarwa-surya*) upon which much of what follows is premised, but these doctrines, known or not (and *pace* Forge 1980: 223–5), pervade Balinese life more or less directly. It should not be thought, therefore, that there is anything idiosyncratic about what follows. Indeed, I would claim that were a learned Balinese asked to expatiate about the levels (*undag*, or *pangked* in high Balinese) in his society, he might well adopt the approach which is followed below—which attempts, in Barnes's words, 'to follow the lines of greatest fluency' (1974: 1). If his account were to be at all complete—a condition for which the Balinese would probably strive, since that which is complete is, in Balinese thought, superior to what is not complete<sup>1</sup>—he would surely have to address the matters which are taken up below.

1. Cf. Howe (1983: 145) who associates odd numbers, i.e. incomplete numbers, with life, and even numbers, i.e. complete numbers, with death. Even numbers are also associated in Howe's analysis (*ibid.*) with that which is *embet*, closed. A being who becomes *embet* becomes ill or dies, unless expert assistance is called in (*ibid.*: 155). In Baturujung, I was constantly told by villagers that rites associated with the dead are the most important rites.

## II

Hierarchy has, of course, been the subject of a great deal of work in social anthropology. The work of Professor Dumont immediately comes to mind in this connection, as does that of Professor Needham, although Needham's work on such notions as polythesis and its use in social classification (Needham 1975; 1978: 33, 41, 43, 67) has perhaps been less obviously directed at the topic. However, Needham's important 'Analogical Classification' (1980: 41-62) addressed the matter head on.

It is Needham who has pointed out (*ibid.*: 41-4) that hierarchy has long been taken for granted as the proper, indeed as the only, form of classification and that this assumption permeates the work of such scholars as Durkheim and Lévy-Bruhl. This fact has implications for the very topic of hierarchy, for it is not obvious that there is anything about 'hierarchy' which should lead some social anthropologists to ascribe it the favoured status which it seems to have achieved in their work. If, indeed, it is merely one mode of classification, then it might be wondered why it has been accorded the pre-eminence which it has in social anthropology, with some social anthropologists spending so much time and expending so much effort in considering the topic.

Be that question as it may, thinking about this mode of classification, which has long been known in formal logic as the Tree of Porphyry—a name which is perhaps less tendentious than 'hierarchy'—is justified by the work of Professor Dumont and his congeners at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris.

It is not clear, though, that Dumont's work on India, particularly *Homo Hierarchicus* (Dumont 1970), is applicable to the Balinese social formation which they call the *warna*. Dumont, after all, has contended (1970: 213-4) that caste can only truly be said to be present where there is a complete disjunction between status and power. He has further contended (*ibid.*: 215) that nowhere in Indonesia can this be found because 'nowhere in Indo-China and Indonesia has the king been dispossessed of his religious prerogatives', so that he avers that India only exported quasi-caste. Lekkerkerker (1926: 1) thought that the caste system of British India was completely unique (*inderdaad uniek*). It must be a question, therefore, whether the results of Dumont's analyses can be applied directly to this Balinese social form or whether the results need to be qualified.

Still, the four great classes which comprise the Balinese *warna* and which are termed Brahmana, Ksatria, Wesia, and Sudra are related to one another in different ways. Brahmana, I was told by one or two old men, do not exist on Lombok. Villagers consider, though, that Baturujung and other parts of Lombok where Balinese perform the rites and otherwise live properly are a part of the former kingdom of Karangasem on Bali. For analytic purposes it would be enough that there are Brahmana in Karangasem. This is, of course, similar to India where there are regions without any Brahmins although they are present, so to say, ideologically. But in any case those who told me that there were no Brahmana in the village had a slightly eccentric view of the matter. There are, in Pagutan, people who are termed Ida (a Brahmana appellation), who live in *gria*,

the name of a compound belonging to a local descent group which is Brahmana (cf. Swellengrebel 1950: 125), and who say of themselves what is said of them by others, that they are Brahmana. These Brahmana also become Pedanda Siwa and Pedanda Boddha, statuses open only to Brahmana.

These people are of the Brahmana *warna*, but for the most part they are of the *raga keksatryan* (*raga*, body); that is, they are allowed, minimally, to get angry, to fight, and to have fun (*mecanda-canda*), like Ksatrya. Brahmana who have attained the highest Balinese status on earth through the rite termed *mediksa* (from *\*diksa*, rosary), the status of Pedanda, and who are true or complete Brahmana, should do none of these things (cf. Hobart 1979: 415). Ksatrya are the younger brothers of Brahmana.

There are three kinds of Pedanda in the village: Pedanda Siwa, Pedanda Boddha, and Pedanda Resi. The first two are always Brahmana, the last Ksatrya. The former are distinguished from the latter in the spread of their competence: they have (in theory) full access to mystical knowledge and may, within certain limits, use it anywhere on Bali and on Lombok (cf. Forge 1980: 224). The Ksatrya is confined to a part of the knowledge which is accessible to a Brahmana Pedanda and may use it only for himself and for his close relations, probably only for his local descent group. A Pedanda Resi always faces west when seated with a Brahmana Pedanda, who sits facing east, and in many other ways a Brahmana Pedanda is superior to a Resi.

Pedanda Siwa, however, are related to Pedanda Boddha as males are related to females, and as the male (*purusa*) is related to the female (*pradhana*). The male, in Balinese metaphysics, is logically and temporally prior to the female and therefore, as in so many other places, where what is male is superior to what is female, the Pedanda Siwa is superior to the Pedanda Boddha (cf. Friederich 1959: 29; van Eerde 1911: 9ff; Rassers 1959: 90; Swellengrebel 1960: 38). This relation of male to female is evidenced in very many aspects of Balinese life. A striking example is the fact, as I was assured by villager friends of mine, that women never get on top in sexual intercourse; and grown women also should<sup>2</sup> never ride on the front seat of a horse-drawn carriage while men sit behind: people organize their sitting positions so that this does not occur.

Pedanda deal with the mystical, and more particularly with that aspect of the mystical which is high, white, and to the right. Should Pedanda be required to officiate in the temple of death in the south—which is opposed to the north and the direction of the mountain Rinjani (*kaler* on Lombok) and to the positions and their associated qualities just mentioned—then in Pagutan a female Pedanda officiates. Brahmana who are not Pedanda also deal with the mystical these days as teachers of *agama*, very broadly religion and ethics, in national schools, or as officials in the regional offices of the Department of Religion, or, more traditionally, as helpers (*ulaka*) of Pedanda.

Ksatrya, as the estate from which the traditional kings came before the office was abolished by the Dutch, are even today associated with the jural, often

2. This and similar uses of the conditional derive from the fact that what should happen in the village most often does happen. Villagers are very good Balinese, as I was often told by others who had no apparent reason for not saying what they truly thought.

becoming military men or Government officials. Balinese Brahmana and Ksatrya are clear examples of dual sovereignty: the forces to which men are subject are divided into a diarchy defined as jural and mystical (cf. Needham 1980: 70–1). Its two aspects are complementary and opposed in the situation described above and in other situations, even where Ksatrya become Resi. Pedanda are to kings as elder is to younger.<sup>3</sup>

The Pedanda is not a hermit; he lives with his local descent group, he has a wife, either living or dead, and he may have children. He has traditional relations (as I have mentioned) with his *sisia*. Should there be a death within his local descent group, a Pedanda may not become *sebel*, that is, barred from many mystical activities, although he will not make *palukatan*, a type of holy water, nor will he go to temples to make offerings, apart from his own family temple. Other Brahmana become *sebel*, as do Ksatrya. Brahmana and Ksatrya are, as older to younger, opposed to all others, and this is demonstrated in the etiquette appropriate to them.

Brahmana, Ksatrya, and Wesia, the third estate, are the insiders (*dalem*) in contrast to the fourth *warna*, the outsiders (*jaba*). Belo (1936: 12) writes that the contrast distinguishes those who claim descent from the Hindu-Javanese invaders of Majapahit who conquered Bali in the fourteenth century (insiders) from the indigenous population (outsiders) on whom they imposed their rule. Hooykaas writes (1978: 214) that on Bali the word *triwangsa*, meaning three castes, excludes *jaba*, the Sudra who do not partake of the privileges of the other three estates. Geertz (1967: 51) writes that ‘the main status distinction is between the *djero* and the *djaba*, the “insiders” and the “outsiders” signifying those who live inside a “palace” and those who live outside.’

‘*Wong Majapahit*’, people of Majapahit, was not an expression which I ever heard anyone, *triwangsa* or not, use in Pagutan to refer to *triwangsa*. It may also be that the *triwangsa* have ‘privileges’ which others do not have, of the kind referred to, for instance, by Dumont (1970: 109), but I doubt that the *triwangsa* are considered privileged, especially as the privileges to which Dumont refers are now covered by national laws which tend not to treat one or more *warna* exceptionally. If, moreover, Hooykaas is referring to language and to forms of etiquette, then my doubt is stronger, for these conventional approaches to *triwangsa* are merely the proper ways of behaving. They are no more privileges than are the facts that, for example, men wrap their sarongs from right to left, and that women wrap their sarongs from left to right.

Geertz is essentially right: ‘palaces’—*gria*, *puri*, and *jero*, the compounds of each of the three estates which comprise the *triwangsa*—possess characteristics relative to one another and to non-*triwangsa* compounds which, rather like the inside court of a temple and the inside of the house, are that much closer to a particular centre. In my view, *dalem* and *jaba* refer to the fact that *triwangsa*, like the compounds in which they live, are through birth, through etiquette, through language, and through function, relatively closer to a mystical centre than the

3. This is unusual in many parts of Southeast Asia, where the mystical is often associated with the younger brother and the jural with the elder brother, although this does, of course, vary in different parts of the archipelago (cf. van Wouden 1968: 30, 115; Barnes 1974: 30, 163).

outsiders. These are matters of fact, and not privileges, i.e., deviations from a norm, if only because there is no one norm in Balinese thought, unless it be Ida Sang Hyang Widhi, the high god of the Balinese.<sup>4</sup>

A different but related view might wish to argue that the *triwangsa*, as twice born (*dvijati*), are admitted to the ritual, while the Sudra are excluded (cf. Dumont 1970: 109). In Balinese custom, however, all are admitted to the ritual to a greater or lesser extent, and all similarly 'participate in initiation' (*ibid.*). All villagers may in principle order a sacrifice, and all, with only minor conditions, may perform it (cf. *ibid.*: 107), so long as the sacrifice is not one which concerns marriage or death.

A Pedanda Siwa told me that only those who become Pedanda and who die and are reborn in the rite re-creating the individual as a Pedanda are twice born. I suspect that this fact might also apply to kings, or at least that a king would most likely say that it did. It would not in my view, however, be applied to Wesia, who although *triwangsa* are lower than Brahmana and Ksatrya and correspondingly less well considered in my experience than the two higher *warna*.

Non-*triwangsa* Balinese are the Sudra. *Anak Bali*, Balinese people, is the appellation most often used in the village and in the Gria Taman to refer to the fourth estate and to the people who constitute it. *Anak Bali* may be classified together or separately according to the criteria chosen, which classify people as being closer to or more distant from the particular centre in relation to which it is wished to classify people. Which centre will be taken as the centre of reference naturally depends upon the circumstances.

*Anak Bali*, however, may also be of two kinds according to the criterion of whether the person derives from a union between a male and a female after the couple have been through the rites of *ngantèn*, held at least ten days after a male has taken or stolen a female for his wife. These rites cleanse the union (cf. Hooykaas-van Leeuwen Boomkamp 1961: 25), making it fertile and prosperous like the rice fields. A person who is born to parents of any *warna* who have not been through *ngantèn* is *astra*, that is, the same as an illegitimate Balinese of the lowest *warna*. This lack of status is shown by rules of commensality which deny the *astra* access to communal meals at all events outside his local descent group and outside compounds where his relations are such as to override the disability imposed by his birth. *Astra* are also disadvantaged in relation to their legitimate co-heirs by the rules of inheritance.

*Warna* and the statuses of Pedanda, king, *astra*, and so on (cf. Hooykaas 1976a) are all determined by birth, but are not necessarily inherited in the direct agnatic line. The functions of the statuses run hand in hand with birth: only Brahmana may become Pedanda of universal competence, only Ksatrya may become kings and lesser Pedanda. If one is Wesia, then one should deal in the produce of the work of the Sudra, whose *dharma* it is (basically) to work in the fields and to husband livestock and fowl to provide revenue for the kings to support the Brahmana and the realm.

4. Everything derives from Ida Sang Hyang Widhi, and is contained in him.

Each estate is essential to *dharma*, the Balinese way of life, and each is related to the others in a series of oppositions of greater and greater generality, to the point where all Balinese of whatever status are opposed to all other human beings at different removes. This fact is shown when Balinese of different *warna* climb to the top of Rinjani: the different statuses which are marked in polite society by the use of language levels, i.e. finer or coarser language, are minimised to the point at which it is thought that to use any form of Balinese at the top of the mountain or on one's way up the mountain, near the top, will lead to mists descending and to men losing their way and plunging to their death down the side of the mountain.

As long ago as the early 1890s, Robertson Smith recognised (1894: 50) that in regard to the concepts of holiness and pollution the integrity of the categories depended upon restrictive rules. As Beidelman comments (1974: 63), without such rules and through 'contagion', social and other moral qualities become blurred and thereby jeopardised. In the system of the Balinese *warna*, however, the rules at once separate the categories from one another and draw them together into a system, for all the rules are relative. In fact, they are relative to such an extent that without one of the *warna* the others could not exist, at least in their proper form. The dependency of one *warna* upon all the others is stressed by villagers, and it can only be fully demonstrated by a holistic account of Balinese life (e.g., Duff-Cooper 1983), for the dependency is shown in all aspects of that life. I shall address just one aspect of it here, that concerned with purity.

Purity, it has been suggested (Hobart 1979: 404), is a notion which in Balinese ideology is descriptive, substantive, and evaluative. Relative height and relative position are extremely important notions in Balinese thought as many (for example, Swellengrebel 1977: 89, 92) have pointed out, more or less directly. The centre of the island is the mountain Rinjani, which is combined ideologically with a section of Gunung Agung on Bali and with a section of Mount Semeru on Java, and which is the Mahameru of the Balinese on Lombok.<sup>5</sup> Rinjani is a temple where all, except of course Muslims, dress in white, and it is the home of the gods, the eight at eight of the major points of the Balinese compass, with Siwa or Bhatara Guru at the centre and slightly higher. Siwa is placed higher in the *sanggah*, the construction in which offerings are placed for the gods of the compound (where there is always at least one *sanggah*), or for the gods of the temple in which the *sanggah* is situated. Wisnu is placed to the right of Siwa and to his north and Brahma to his left and south.

That which is low is also that which is closer to the sea and to the south than to the mountain and to the north and east. In Baturujung, the temple of death and the cemetery are situated south in relation to the other two temples of the *lurah*, as it is in many other Balinese villages (cf., for example, Goris 1960: 84), and south of all the living quarters of the Balinese. The ashes of those who have been cremated are disposed of in the sea (cf. Cruq 1928: 117) to the west of the village. The area between the sea and the land harbours such harmful beings as

5. The Mahameru is thought of as a triangle made up of three horizontal segments. The top segment consists of that part of Gunung Agung, the middle segment consists of that part of Gunung Rinjani, and the bottom segment of that part of Mount Semeru.

the *grèbèk* (beautiful woman at the front, rotting carcass at the back) and *turis* (tourists or Caucasians) who, among other things, are red and hairy and immoral. Red is the colour of Brahma (cf., for example, Swellengrebel, op.cit.). Hairiness suggests comparison with the beings in the forests to the southwest of the island—the southwest, *kelod-kauh*, is the most inferior direction' (*la direction la plus inférieure*) (Berthier and Sweeney 1976: 29). These beings speak only in grunts, are afraid of fire, and are barely human. Comparison may also be made with *raksasa*, giant ogres, whose business it is to disturb the proper (peaceful) order of things. The temple of death is also one of the haunts of witches (*léak*), usually very ugly women who do everything in the wrong order (cf. De Kat Angelino 1921: 23 n. 15; Howe 1983: 152, 154) or else backwards (cf. Mershon 1971: 55). Witches always only have evil intentions. The black arts which they and other evil beings practise are called *pengiwa*, a word derived from *kiwa*, 'left'.

In Balinese thought 'up' is associated with the north, northeast, white, cleanliness, the right, and order. Down, the south, west, darkness, sullage, the left, and disorder are also classed together. There are, exceptionally in Balinese classification, witches of all colours and directions.

Pedanda and kings sit higher and further to the northeast than all others; no one should allow his head to be on a level higher than the heads of people of these statuses when associating with them. No Sudra should allow his head to be higher than that of a *triwangsa* in similar circumstances (cf. Freijss 1860: 502). All should address those who may sit higher than themselves (excepting non-*triwangsa* pre-pubescent) in high, fine Balinese (Swellengrebel 1950: 124, 127, 128; Kersten 1970: 13–25). Those lower by *warna*, unless *triwangsa*, can expect to be addressed in language which is appropriately less fine and lower. The highest, finest language, which is Sanskrit and which is 'imperishable' (Hooykaas 1964: 37), is reserved to those who are the highest and the finest, the gods (cf. Lévi 1926: 10).

The gods should always be approached with what is highest and cleanest: refined language, offerings made as perfectly as possible, cloths, plates, drinking vessels and other utensils reserved to their use, all of which is stored higher than what is used by others. Balinese should be in an untroubled state of mind when meeting the gods, for anger and such like is caused by *raksasa* and by other beings associated with the low, which render a person 'hot', like fire, with which Brahma is associated.

A Pedanda and a king should similarly be approached formally, in demeanour and in dress, and should be spoken to (and about) in the highest Balinese. A Pedanda uses special crockery, which is kept higher than that used by others. His clothes are kept to be worn only by him, have been cleansed with *mantra*, and are washed separately. A Pedanda is a learned man (cf. Hooykaas 1976b: 242) in continual contact with the goddess Sarasvati, the goddess of knowledge and beauty, and he daily becomes a seat for Surya, as Siwa, who enters his body and makes holy water which among other things is used to cleanse the soul (cf. Goudriaan and Hooykaas 1971).

Only a Pedanda may serve this function on Lombok. He keeps himself clean by a complicated toilet, which is accompanied at each step by *mantra* (see, for



example, Pudja 1971: 67, 71, 73), by never getting angry, by not eating certain foods, especially domestic pig, and by not taking certain drinks. He may not flirt with women (although he may have sex with his wife on all but the most important days, so long as offerings are given to the god of love, Semara), and he may not gamble.

A Pedanda's way of life is in marked contrast to that of Sudra, who almost without exception have a passion for gambling (especially on the cockfight, a blood-offering to spirits which are associated with the low), who eat pig and drink when they can afford to, and who flirt with women if they can (unless, of course, they are women or transvestites, in which case they flirt with men) until, like Pedanda and kings, they are old. Most importantly, perhaps, *anak Bali* speak low, coarse Balinese and their work in the fields and with animals renders them literally dirty.

All should try to keep as clean as they can within the limits imposed by their *dharma*, but all of any estate may go through a rite appropriate to their station through which they are rendered to a state in which they can deal with the gods in their temples—other than those in family temples where, we have mentioned, all who know how may give offerings to the gods, so long as only minor conditions be satisfied. The rites render a man that much more appropriate for dealing with the gods than his peers; that is, he is made cleaner and finer (more knowledgeable), which is an aspect of purity.

The Pedanda is the most *suci*, and his function and the etiquette and restrictions which I have mentioned—and there are many more—are what render him such. Inasmuch, therefore, as the behaviour appropriate to and for each *warna* define the *warna*, purity is a descriptive notion.

Is purity a substantive? The *Oxford English Dictionary* says that of an immaterial subject, 'substantive' means that the subject is possessed of the quality of an independent existence or status, and that the subject correlatively is not dependent upon or subsidiary to, or referable to, anything else.

The first point to notice is that, as I have pointed out, there is not one purity, as it were, but different relative purities, each of which is dependent upon the others for its existence. It is true that all are aspects of Ida Sang Hyang Widhi, but since Widhi is (among other things) inconceivable, it would be odd to say that purity is therefore a substantive in this sense. The only way purity can be known is through its social forms and these are not independent of one another.

The *OED* also says that, of persons, 'substantive' refers to the quality of independence. Perhaps this is where purity is a substantive, i.e., in the sense that the social facts which combine to create relative purities inhere in persons, and that persons are independent of one another. It is not necessary to go further into this interpretation of the meaning of 'substantive' to say that it does not apply to the Balinese case (cf. Lansing 1974: 4–5; Gerdin 1981: 33 n. 2). The Balinese would also strenuously deny that a true Balinese could be independent in any important sense; and Balinese ideas concerning procreation, birth, sex, character, and emotions all support this contention. Purity is not, therefore, a substantive.

Is 'purity' evaluative? In the sense that there are people who because of their

functions, etiquette, and the other conventional behaviour associated with them are cleaner and higher and more unsullied than others, the notion of purity evaluates people. This, however, should not be taken to imply that those who are purer are better, in the sense of being more worthy, than those who are less pure. Indeed the Balinese aver that they are all the same, in the sense that each is as worthy *qua* human being as any other, i.e., they compose a *soroh*, a natural kind (Hobart 1979: 400). Nor does more or less purity imply more or less power, in the sense of having political authority and control of economic resources.

In the Balinese case, and in so far as power is concerned, the Brahmana is normally *sakti*; that is to say, he is brought close to the gods by his life, because of his status, and he therefore has mystical efficacy. Other factors determine how far a person is *sakti*, but however prominent a Brahmana's reputation, his domain is the mystical. This is one kind of power.

The authority of the king is concerned with the jural. Here, if anywhere, might be found institutionalised inequality. Both the Pedanda's mystical power and the king's jural authority, however, are ontologically of the same kind. Both derive from Ida Sang Hyang Widhi and are aspects of him. The mystical and the jural are of a different level, but derive from the same point, as Balinese metaphysics teaches.

The jural, it has already been mentioned, is subordinated to the mystical as younger to elder, and the former is less pure than the latter. In Pagutan the *puri*, the compound of the local descent group who would if circumstances were different still be the kings of Pagutan, faces west, while the *gria* of the Brahmana who used to service the kings as Petirthaan, a kind of private Pedanda, faces east. This subordination, however, does not imply (what would be false) that the superior is economically and authoritatively in stronger circumstances than the inferior. This fact is particularly well shown today where *anak* Bali are often far wealthier than both Ksatria and Brahmana.

The system of *warna* is not correlated with any systematic social deprivation or injustice. The situation in the village is as follows: those with jural authority are less pure than those who as a matter of ideology should not use force. These latter are the Brahmana, who should not get angry and should not fight. The response of Brahmana to someone who has done wrong should be to teach that person what is the right way. Brahmana should not indulge in business activity (i.e., work to accumulate *artha*, goods and money) and indeed should not look for any material gain from their way of life. They are often very poor, and are admired for their holiness should they not wish to alter the material circumstances of their lives. Further, villagers say that it was the Ksatria who used to own the people and the whole realm. Although van der Kraan does not accept this interpretation, he reinforces the point that there is no systematic correlation between the *warna* and deprivation when he writes that 'the Balinese kings never were the proprietors of all the land within their realm' (1981: 7). Ownership of the land within the village territories was vested in the village communities, in institutions (temples, *subak*, regulators of the fields) and in private persons. However, only men, not women, were allowed to own land (*ibid.*: 15).

The Balinese way of life also includes as a living but invisible reality gods and

spirits. It is the gods who have ultimate power to grant such things as wealth or poverty, children or childlessness, good harvests or famine (cf. Hobart 1978: 74, 80), indeed life and death. The system of *warna* includes the gods and spirits. From the Balinese point of view this total system constitutes the unquestioned order of things (cf. Needham 1981: 76–7). Questions of injustice would be as out of place in Balinese thought as a red-hot poker would have been in the mysteries of Demeter and of Bacchus (cf. Lang 1884: 33).

There are, of course, villagers who know that in present-day Indonesia some have more sway and are wealthier than others. That these persons are sometimes Muslims is, in villagers' view, a reversal of the proper order of things. They are also usually thought to be *pegawai*, officials in the administrative hierarchy. The closer to the centre that the officials work—be it the national, the provincial, or a subordinate centre—the more sway and the wealthier these officials are likely to be. Some have achieved authority and wealth through position. This circumstance is not taken to be proper by villagers, although it is not the authority and the wealth which they dislike so much as the manner in which the authority and the wealth are used by those who possess them. *Pegawai* are generally thought to be conceited and arrogant, and generally uncongenial. Villagers often think them stupid and generally know more about agriculture, for example, than the officials who try to tell them how to run their agricultural affairs.

Others have achieved a position through knowledge; and they may also have achieved a position through wealth, accumulated through diligence. This achievement, like the traditional authority of the kings, may not be much liked, but there is no question of it being unfair. Wealth is a gift from the gods. It is as appropriate to those who have it and who gain position through it as the traditional authority of the kings is to Ksatrya.

This description of the Balinese *warna*, which for reasons of space has been greatly truncated, has shown that the *warna* system consists of a series of dyads of increasing generality. Within each dyad, of whatever generality, relative purity in the forms it variously takes in social life defines the terms of which each dyad is composed (cf. Dumézil 1948; 1958; Dumont 1970: 106). There is no correlation between the four estates, their relative purity, the jural authority they exercise, and the economic resources which each of the four estates, in the forms of local descent groups, 'families', and empirical individuals,<sup>6</sup> controls. Consideration of the above matters, further, suggests that equality is a principle which is stressed in Balinese thought, and which is apparent in various aspects of Balinese life, as it is in Pagutan (cf. Parry 1979: 315).

6. For the constitution of the family among the Balinese, see Duff-Cooper (in press—a). For the notion of what an empirical individual consists of, see idem (in press—b). For other areas of social life in which the principle of equality is apparent, see idem (in press—c).

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