

Sembiran and Julah – Sketches of History

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Introduction

Sembiran village numbers about 5.000 inhabitants today. It is located high above the nearby shore line. Its territory spreads from the beach up to the coastal mountain range. The landscape consists of extensively cultivated ground with no forest left. During the dry season, from May to November the whole area looks brownish and dry (see Kalb this volume). The trees lose their leaves, the crops in the garden dry up, and drinking water, conducted by pipes from a privately owned well in the mountains of Bangli regency¹, is no longer available.² During the rainy season, from December to April, the picture completely changes with lush vegetation everywhere. But most of the time, the rainy season is too short to grow even maize; in many fields it is mostly tubers as the major food crop that are nowadays cultivated. In the 1880s Lieftrinck mentioned that rice was regularly grown in Sem-

¹ This well, essential for the survival of the village, is today located in Bangli regency. Apparently the southern border between Bangli (whose king collaborated with the colonial power) and Buleleng was drawn by the Dutch in 1884 (Lieftrinck 1934:65). It is an open question whether the well was once on land owned by Sembiran or already in the possession of Satra village at that time. The first water pipes were established in 1963 (Lansing 1977:198).

² In 2006, a new water supply system – water from wells near the shore being pumped up to the village – was built. However, since fuel became more and more expensive, the pumps were not in use. Nobody could afford to buy water at prices almost as high as bottled water.

biran (1934:68), though apparently in dry fields only.³ However, the cultivation of rice in dry fields ended several decades ago. Over the past 100 years subsistence economy has considerably changed, as has the whole way of living. Bundschu described Sembiran as “an oasis of blossoming tangerine trees” in the 1980s (1994:150); this cash crop provided the peasants with a regular income and even some wealth.⁴ However, in the 1990s the tangerine trees became infected with a virus that proved untreatable. Most of the trees died and the rest had to be cut down in order to stop the spread of the virus.⁵



Photo 1: View from the top of Sembiran to the core village located on a hill above the sea.
Photo: Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin 1998.

Today, life in Sembiran has become difficult; many of the inhabitants live in poverty. Most of the fertile land along the shore, where abundant water is available, and up in the mountains, where rain regularly falls, is no longer in the hands of the core villagers. Main parts of this best agricultural land has been sold to people from other villages or to immigrants who now live high up in the mountains (Ban-

³ The peasants of Sembiran were forbidden to irrigate their fields in the 19th century (Lief-rinck 1924:383).

⁴ Lansing reports that the total value of the harvest of fruit trees was 94.091.000 Rupiah or US\$ 227.272 in 1975 (1977:199).

⁵ There are almost no more tangerine trees left – except high up in the mountains, where it seems that the virus is unable to exist.

jar Gunung Seni, Banjar Panggung), once isolated places and difficult to reach. Today, people living there cultivate cloves, coffee and cocoa – cash crops that do not grow in lower and hotter altitudes. Without the remittances from the hundreds of emigrants who left Sembiran in search for a better life elsewhere, and now live and work in other parts of Bali or in Java, life would be much harder. Without regular food supplies (mainly rice) provided by the Indonesian Government many families could not survive.



Photo 2: View from the lower end of Sembiran; its vast territory reaches up the mountains. Photo: Jörg Hauser 2001.

Originally, my interest in carrying out investigations in Julah and Sembiran - villages that seem to have common historical roots, was reinforced by those publications in which they were labelled as “*ur*-Balinese” or Bali Aga, villages, where religion was not yet dominated by Hinduism but was still more ancient, and where the social organization seemed to be untouched by caste-like stratifications (Lieftrinck 1934:65-66). However, the so-called “Sembiran inscriptions” – royal edicts issued between the 10th and the 12th century and written on 20 copperplates – were translated only after Lieftrinck’s publication in which he made the “Bali Aga” assumption. These “Sembiran inscriptions” consist of six different royal edicts classified

by Goris (1954) as follows: “no. 104 Sembiran A I” dated *saka* 844 (AD 922)⁶, “no. 201 Sembiran B”, dated *saka* 873 (AD 951), “no. 209 Sembiran A II”, dated *saka* 897 (AD 975), “no. 351 Sembiran A III”, dated *saka* 938 (AD 1016), “no. 409 Sembiran A IV” dated *saka* 987 (AD 1065), “no. 621 Sembiran C” dated *saka* 1103 (AD 1181). Today, 10 plates are kept in Sembiran, 10 in Julah. These copperplate inscriptions were royal edicts issued by changing kings whose seat seemed to have been somewhere inland, probably in the Batur caldera.⁷ These edicts were explicitly addressed to the villagers of Julah. In the earliest inscription (*saka* 844) The translation of these texts (written in Old Javanese and Old Balinese with many Sanskrit words) revealed that Julah had been a highly stratified and complex society; the 12th century inscription makes clear that Julah was part of a mandalic state, “*Balidwipamandala*” or one of seven states “*sapthanagara*”. People of different social standing (*candla* or caste) such as Brahmana, Gusti as well as foreigners, *juru keling*, were then living in Julah. There were priests and hermits (*bhiksu*) of different denominations (among them Siwa and Buda, with titles such as *pendeta*, *mpungku cewasogata*, *rsi*) living nearby. In the earliest inscription (*saka* 844), Julah’s environment is described as prosperous with irrigated rice fields, water buffaloes and forests nearby. In the royal edicts (dated *saka* 844) there is even mention of a kind of black slate, *sila*, which seems to be identical with the black stone that naturally occurs and is today exploited and sold for the paving of paths and bathroom floors. Today’s Julah is located at about the same place as the historical one. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to give into the assumption that continuity in site and name reflects continuity in population or culture too (see below), since these inscriptions hint at rapid transformations that already took place between the 10th and 12th centuries.

Nevertheless, the myth of Sembiran as being a survival of pre-Hindu or rather aboriginal Bali – the Bali Aga – persisted even among anthropologists (see Hauser-Schäublin 2004b). Accordingly, when I started my fieldwork in 1995 I assumed that these villages had been little touched by outside influence during the last few centuries. However, the longer I stayed in the area, mainly in Sembiran, I realized that both villages had been continuously subject to change that had at times been rapid and radical. This is not surprising if we consider their prominent location bordering the sea. For at least two thousand years one of the most important trading routes that linked India and China to the Spice Islands touched the north coast of Bali as well. Julah was one of the major ports, at any rate during the time covered by the royal edicts mentioned (see below).

Although the royal issues were no longer written on copperplates after the 13th century and the royal seat must have been moved to the Southern plains around

⁶ The *saka* year is of Indian origin. The date *saka* 844 is equivalent to AD 922; thus there is a difference of 78 year between the two calendars.

⁷ Reuter locates one of the royal sites, called Singhamandawa in king Ugrasena’s edict (AD 922), on a hilltop near Sukawana (Reuter 2002a:92).

that time, boats and ships from other places of Southeast Asia and beyond continued to pass. As it turned out, Julah must have periodically suffered plundering by pirates until the arrival of the Dutch. Moreover, notions of the “pre-Hinduistic” condition that is said to have prevailed in these “Bali Aga”-villages in the 19th century are contradicted by oral histories and material traces. This evidence demonstrates that Muslim immigrants had many centuries ago set foot in both Sembiran and Julah villages and left Islamic imprints on their culture (see Hauser-Schäublin 2004c). Additionally, plagues such as cholera that had been brought to these coastal villages by seamen threatened them several times with extinction. In sum: the two villages and their culture do not display features that have survived since time immemorial.

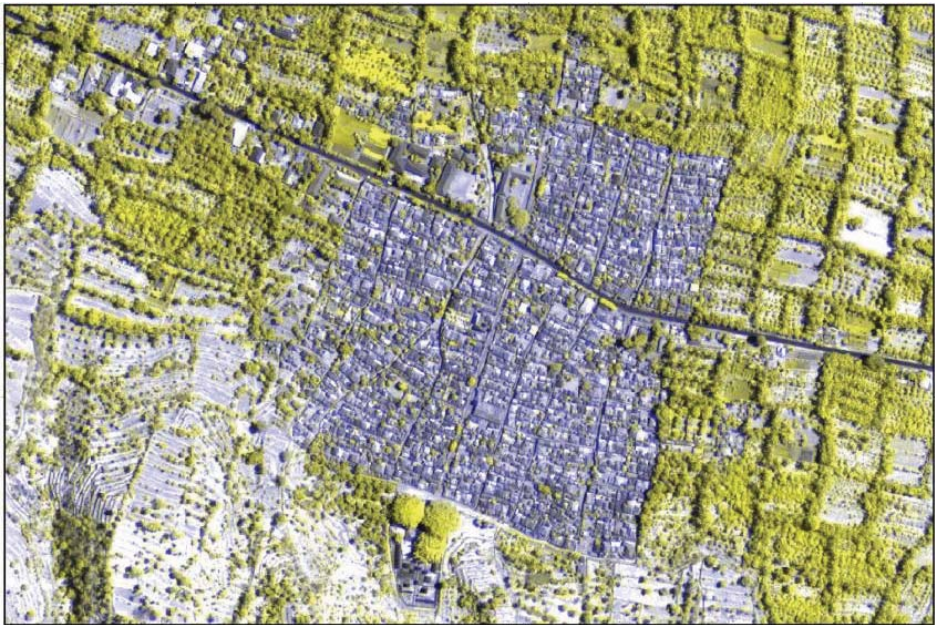


Photo 3: Satellite image of Julah with the main road dividing the village into two parts. Note the garden patches on the right upper (north-eastern) corner and the main village temple with three huge banyan trees in the lower centre of the image, 2003.

It was Lieftrinck, the Dutch Controleur of Bali, who was among the first to set foot in Sembiran. He ‘discovered’ the copperplates and made copies of them (Brandes 1890:17). The village elders did not know that these “Ida Bhatara”, these sacred icons, were inscriptions. Lieftrinck noted with surprise that none of the inhabitants was able to read or write even contemporary Balinese in the 19th century. Therefore, all village matters remained undocumented in writing. The list of

the members of the village association consisted of a basket with stones, each stone representing a member (Lieftrinck 1934:67). The ritual elder, *bahan*, in charge of allocating communal tasks to the individual members had a tally stick, about two and a half metres long, on which the order of the individual members according to seniority was marked (Lieftrinck 1927:276). The former illiteracy of the inhabitants (today there are many academics and successful business men, too, who were born in Sembiran) contributes to the difficulty in finding documentation of Sembiran's past. Nevertheless, social change and an eagerness to adopt new ideas and practices do not imply that everything of the past has completely disappeared.

How to investigate Sembiran's and Julah's past if periods of fundamental change call into question any continuous tradition?

In this article I shall attempt to write a kind of sketch of Sembiran's and Julah's past by using archaeological evidence, the content (translations) of the copperplate inscriptions⁸ as a backdrop against which I shall present data from my own fieldwork (between 1995 and 2006) in order to provide a comparison where this seems reasonable. I shall rely on three types of sources that I was able to distinguish during my anthropological fieldwork: 1) the spatial organization of the village and its temples, 2) the ritual practices, and 3) oral histories. The latter differ from the first two in so far as they are much more subject to the agency of the individual story teller – and also his and his audience's wish to represent and reshape the past according to new stories heard, read, seen (in TV programs) and taught in school. Nevertheless I will take the oral histories as sketches of Sembiran's past. People equated these oral histories in many respects with history in a Western sense; I will therefore not make an a priori distinction between stories (or histories) and history, although I shall raise the question as to how far some of the stories mirror events and processes that have taken place some time in the past.

These three types of sources will be supplemented by colonial literature on Julah and Sembiran that starts in the mid-19th century; written evidence therefore already covers a period of 150 years. Only for this last period would it be possible to put up a kind of chronology; for all other historical evidence this is, with few exceptions an almost impossible task.

I will start with highlighting ethnoarchaeological evidence (see Ardika, Suastika, Setiawan and Rochtri this volume) only as far as necessary for the further understanding of this contribution. In a second step I shall present indigenous perspectives of origin mainly as told in oral histories. I then proceed to an analysis of social space, mainly the village structure and its major temples. A further chapter

⁸ Goris 1954, Ardika and Beratha 1996, 1998 and Ardika this volume; see also Setiawan this volume and the transcription and translation of all "Sembiran inscriptions" in the appendix.

deals with Sembiran’s regional temple and ritual networks in a historical perspective.

Ethnoarchaeological Evidence – An Overview

According to the copperplate inscriptions, Julah was a major port village with an international market place during the 10th and 11th century. Its importance certainly stemmed from the fact that North Bali was touched by the trading route to the Spice Islands (see Ardika and Setiawan this volume). According to the seasonally shifting trading winds, ships from or to India and China anchored at Julah, then a fortified village, *kuta*. The foreign merchants had, as the inscriptions state, their own distinct settlement nearby. Julah was also a trading centre for goods brought by ships from abroad and transported from there inland (and vice versa). Ardika’s long term excavations (see Ardika this volume) in the coastal area between Julah, Pacung, Bangkah and Sembiran have revealed testimonies of regular contact between India and Bali that are already one thousand years earlier than the era documented by the copperplate inscriptions. The most important data yielded by Ardika’s excavations, apart from the many goods of Indian origin found in graves (Ardika et al. 1997), are certainly the skeletons of people who pronaly were of Indian origin (Lansing et al. 2004; see Ardika and also Schultz this volume). This proves that the goods traded between India and Bali were not the result of indirect but rather of direct contact by Indians travelling as far as Bali already more than 2.000 years ago. In several respects, we can therefore assume continuity in trade relations for a period between 1st century B.P. and the 10th century AD.

What has not yet been determined so far is the exact location of the harbour. While in Julah no indications in oral histories exist, I was told in Sembiran that “the older generation” formerly often spoke of a harbour located where today a temple (Pura Sang Hyang Marek) stands right on the edge of the sea, as you can see in Figure 1. In Pacung, people reported to me that the strip of land west of this temple is still called *pabean*, harbour with a custom’s office, or in this case perhaps rather a harbour under surveillance of a *subandar*.

This harbour, I was told, once was a “market-place with merchants coming as far as Europe trading there”. Since erosion proceeds quickly and the shore line continuously shrinks (a reverse process apparently took place some centuries ago) it is difficult to make out or find evidence of the precise site.⁹ The location nevertheless makes sense since it is just beside the estuary of a (currently dried up) river (Yeh Lengis) that would have allowed transport of goods by boat from or to the hinterland ending near Pucak Sinunggal, which was an important site as early as

⁹ If any traces of such a harbour remain, it would be necessary to carry out under-water archaeology.

the 10th century (see below) near today’s village of Tajun. The regional temple of Ponjok Batu west of Pura Sang Hyang Marek is built on a prominent spot, a rocky headland with some big stones in front of it. Many oral histories report that Chinese boats stopped there. Judging from the excavations it was a rather long strip of land along the shore which was in use in the first century B.P. and probably still at the time documented by the copperplate inscriptions.

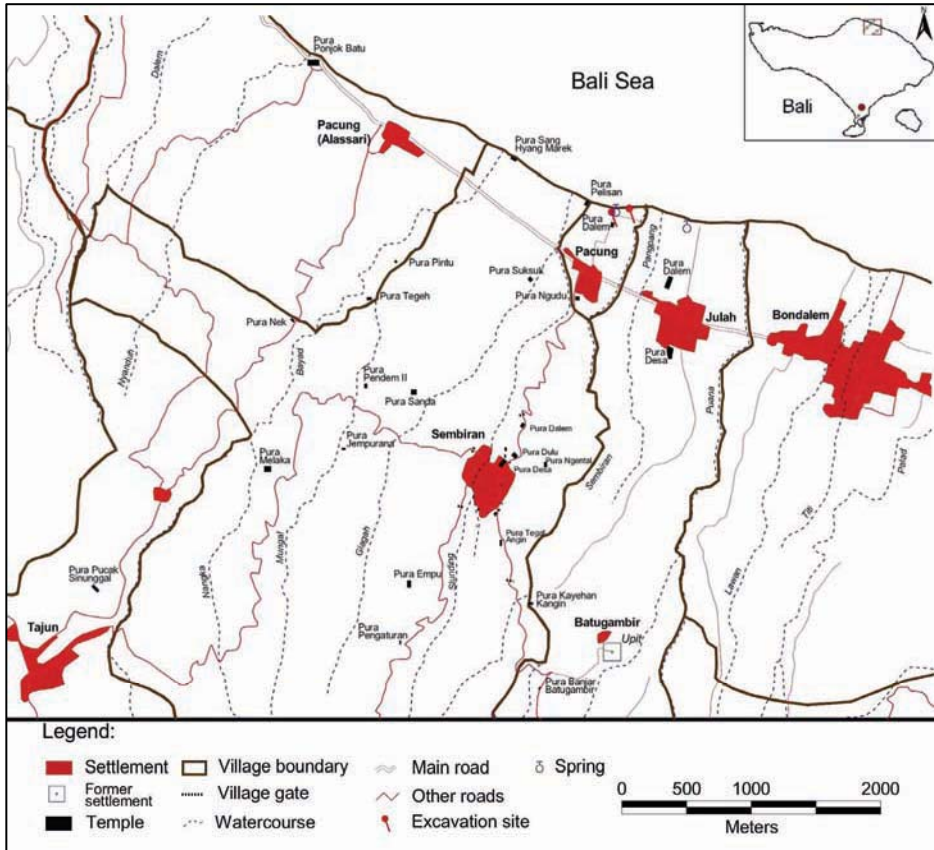


Figure 1: The main research area and neighbouring villages. Cartography: Enrico Kalb 2005; source: BAKOSURTANAL 1999.

Since the locations of the warehouses, the foreign merchants’ settlements, the fortified settlement, the market place and many other specialized sites may have shifted over time, excavations do not permit us to locate them definitely - with the exception of the burying grounds.

In his edict (no. 209, Sembiran A II, *saka* 897) King Warmadewa admonished the inhabitants of Julah to keep the major roads used for the inland transportation of

the goods in good condition. His (unknown) predecessor (no. 104 Sembiran A I, *saka* 844) had already attached great importance to Julah and the obligations it had as a port settlement. He ordered that the surviving villagers, who had fled to the mountains after their village had been raided and plundered by pirates, should return to the fortified settlement. The safeguarding of the port, the warehouses, the settlements of the visiting merchants and the marketplace was a precondition for the functioning of such an international harbour and its reputation.



Photo 4: The ritual cleansing and anointing of the copperplate inscriptions by the ritual leaders, *kubayan*, in Julah. These copperplates are worshipped as sacred and deified heirlooms. Photo: Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin 2001.

Some of the commercial ships landed at the port and replenished their supplies there. Of great importance was apparently the fresh-water well in the immediate vicinity of the shore-line already mentioned in King Warmadewa's edict of *saka* 897. This well and its bathing-place still exist today.

The six copperplate inscriptions covering roughly two centuries illustrate how fast the social and political conditions in which Julah was embedded changed. While in the 10th and the early 11th centuries the village was of predominant commercial value for the king and his realm, the situation seemed to have dramatically changed in the second half of the 12th century. King Sri Maharaja Jayapangus who

issued the *saka* 1103 edict (no. 621, Sembiran C) emphasized Julah's strategic importance in the context of military attacks from the outside. Instead of a port, Julah is called a "fence of the state" ("*Julah pinaka pagar ida di nagara*") with the king's troops stationed there on stand-by. It was for this reason that king Jayapangus relieved the villagers of almost all taxes.

From the beginning of the 13th century, no further inscriptions directly concerned with Julah have been preserved, meaning that almost nothing is known of Julah's (and Sembiran's) fate up to the 19th century when colonial sources start.

The name Sembiran is not listed in the inscriptions. How old or how recent the name is – people both in Julah and Sembiran hold that Sembiran was formerly called Gunung Sinigia, or Sipapan – cannot be determined. In both villages, oral traditions substantiate the fact that Julah and Sembiran were once closely related, probably at a time as far back as the era documented by the royal edicts. In oral tradition Julah is described as a male sibling gifted with the spirit of a daring male who is not afraid to live right on the border of the sea, ready to face its challenges. By contrast, Sembiran is described as Julah's sister since women shy away from martial challenges. To live up a steep hill, which was formerly covered by a dense forest difficult to penetrate, was much safer. Sembiran was once probably a place where religious dignitaries lived (perhaps in one of the monasteries, *petapanan*, mentioned in the inscriptions) that closely interacted with the inhabitants of Julah. Over the centuries, Julah was, in contrast to Sembiran, raided frequently by pirates as the inscriptions as well as the oral traditions document. Each time the survivors fled up the hills and built a settlement in Upit (see Setiawan and Rochtri this volume), which is today a *banjar* of Julah that has been a resettlement place for migrants from Lombok and Karangasem since the mid-1900s.

Julah was also raided in the centuries immediately preceding Dutch colonial control. We can gather from oral traditions that the inhabitants of Julah who were once again living in Upit returned to the coastal area probably in the late 18th century and constructed the village at the site where it is still today.¹⁰ During the time the refugees lived in Upit they held their monthly meeting at *tilem* (the moonless night) in the village temple of Sembiran together with the *krama desa* (village association) of Sembiran. Sembiran had its own meeting only a day later (*patipanten*). These communal meetings of Sembiran and Julah ceased when the refugees decided that it was safe enough to stay near the coast again. Still today, Sembiran holds its meeting not on *tilem* (as is usual in most villages) but on *patipanten*. The

¹⁰ One of my major informants claimed that he was the 13th generation after his ancestors moved down from Upit. The return to the coastal site is annually commemorated by ceremonies carried out on two subsequent days. The first is called *suguh-suguh*, celebrating the homecoming. During the second ceremony, *jaga-jaga*, carried out on the following day the children and adults produce a lot of noise by clapping stones. This ceremony is intended to demonstrate fearlessness and the readiness to strike back against attacks from the sea (pirates).

“void” day reminds the inhabitants of Sembiran that this was the day for the meeting of both villages.



Photo 5: Two temple priests inspect the copperplate inscriptions during one of the major temple rituals in Sembiran. Photo: Jörg Hauser 2001.

Before, when the inhabitants of Julah were still living in Upit, all the copperplate inscriptions – all of them deal with Julah – were kept in Sembiran where Lieftrinck met them. They were kept hidden in a cave in a deep and formerly densely forested ravine outside the village. Only some time after Julah had resettled the coastal site did the two villages divide the plates, sometime between the 1880s and 1960s.¹¹ Since then 10 are kept in Sembiran and 10 in Julah.

Due to the bonds of siblingship that exist between Sembiran und Julah, intermarriage between the inhabitants of the two villages is still forbidden because this would be considered incestuous.

¹¹ Goris and Poeger noted in 1965 that the copperplates had been divided between Julah and Sembiran, each of them holding 10 plates. There exists no memory as to when or how this division took place (see Ardika 1991:219).

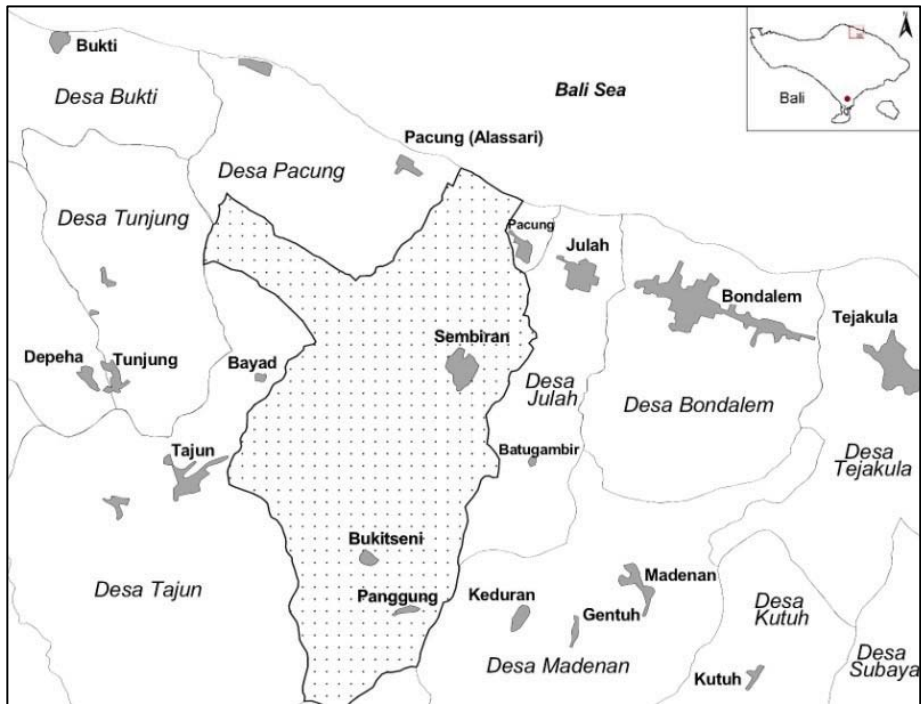


Figure 2: Sembiran village territory and the location of the neighbouring villages.

Cartography: Enrico Kalb 2005; source: BAKOSURTANAL 1999.

The neighbouring villages of Pacung (see Patera this volume) and Bangkah (nowadays called Alasari) are closely related to both Sembiran and Julah. It is said that the land of Pacung and Bangkah formerly belonged to Julah and Sembiran. Both places, Pacung and Bangkah, are, from the perspective of Sembiran, seen as suitable for outcasts. An old man in Sembiran told me the story of how he had had to leave Sembiran and move down to the outskirts of Pacung when he and his wife gave birth to four daughters only and no son. They lived there for several years in misery. Finally, a son was born to them and they were allowed to return to the main village. The other reason why people had to move to Pacung was when a man committed incest such as, for example, marrying his own niece (Lieftrink 1934:330) or any other close relative. According to oral traditions told in Sembiran and Julah, this is how Pacung came into being.¹² There are two temples located on the shore of the sea which are used by both villages, Sembiran and Pacung: Pura

¹² There are many indications that, at least over the past few centuries, the history of Pacung is far more complex, with many immigrants, Hindu-Balinese of noble descent as well as Muslim from different areas (Bali and beyond) coming to live there already before the advent of the Dutch (see also Couteau 1999, 2000).

Sang Hyang Marek (see below) and Pura Pelisan, a temple used for purification rituals (especially when the village is *sebel*, or impure after inauspicious events, formerly after death and the birth of twins).

The people of Julah still circumambulate the northern part of its territory during one of the temple rituals (*ngusaba masegeh*). The whole procession then follows the course of the coast in a westerly direction, crossing today's border of Pacung entering the village west of its Pura Dalem, going up to the main road and finally return to Julah. I feel certain that this was the former border of Julah's territory.¹³

Bangkah is said to be the place where people, forced to leave both places, Sembiran and Julah, due to infectious diseases, especially lepers, were allowed to settle. This was the origin of Bangkah as a village.

Histories of Origin: Of Dogs, Trees and Men

Apart from these ethnohistorical and ethnoarchaeological fragments there are many indigenous stories told of how Sembiran came into being and what kind of events shaped its history. The stories told in Sembiran – among the most prominent story-tellers was Pak Sawir who died in 2000 in his late 80s¹⁴ – deal with many different topics, of mythical as well as historical origin. These are not seen as coming in a seamless sequence of events, but approach the issue of origin from a several different perspectives. A prominent figure in several histories is a dog or rather dogs of different races. They are often depicted as being the predecessors of mankind, mediating between the material world and the world of the gods. It was the dogs who begged the gods to create humans.

One of these histories, perhaps the most fundamental, deals with the origin of the world: the gods sent dogs to the world, which at that time consisted of only a small patch of ground surrounded by an endless ocean. Through defecating, the dogs extended the patch, which subsequently grew larger and larger until it was big enough to become inhabited by other beings. The god then sent for the first birds; they created mountains and the directions of the compass, the rain, the fertile ground, the plants and again many birds that filled the air with music. Finally a man and a woman were created. The first attempt to form them out of clay and to bring them to life did not succeed. Only when they were carved out of wood did the gods, begged by the dogs to turn the sculptures into living human beings, endow the couple with a soul, with life and strength.

¹³ Julah still owns land near the regional temple of Ponjok Batur that testifies to its former western expansion.

¹⁴ I am grateful to Dr. Thomas Reuter (Melbourne) who recorded a detailed and long oral history told by Pak Sawir in Sembiran in 1994. Dr. Reuter translated it with Drs. I Nyoman Sabaraka (Sukawana village) into Bahasa Indonesia. I am indebted to them for allowing me to make use of this story.

Considering the fact that until recently the veneration of huge trees was an essential part of ritual practices carried out in Sembiran, the origin of human/supernatural beings from wood is not surprising. Another history makes the analogy between humans, or rather the office holders in the *krama desa*, and trees explicit; here, the village organization described is more or less the same today: the highest god, Bhatara Guru (who manifests himself in the sun) called representatives of different species of trees for an assembly. The first two trees that appeared were named Kubayan Benges; *kubayan* is the highest office in the ritual village assembly, the *krama desa*.¹⁵ Bhatara Guru called further trees by names and they came in pairs like men each belonging to a specific ritual moiety; they appeared and took their assigned place. Each pair of trees that followed was junior to the preceding one.

The storyteller also mentioned two different single (that is, not paired) "trees"; he stressed the fact that each of them came individually. I suggest that these single "trees" correspond to offices of the *krama desa* that no longer exist in this form.¹⁶ All these trees represented different specimens and Bhatara Guru decided which purpose each could serve best: timber for the construction of houses, timber for the construction of shrines, wood for producing fire, firewood, etc.¹⁷ After the meeting the trees were handed over to the humans who were allowed to make use of them accordingly. The various offices within the *krama desa* reflect the principle of seniority and cooperation between (pairs of) brothers (that is, the right side and the left side within the sitting order of the *krama desa* in their meeting pavilion, see below). But more fundamentally all these offices united in an association are founded on the principle of a division of labour, each office assigned with different tasks, obligations, and rights distributed according to levels of seniority, which in turn also implies superordination/subordination.¹⁸

Another popular story refers to the origin of Sembiran's first human beings from monkeys. At the beginning, there was a female monkey who was pregnant. But before she was able to give birth she died. Out of her belly grew a large tree, a *kastuban* tree. According to the storytellers this tree stood near the site where Pura Dulu, the most ancient temple of Sembiran, is located. The tree had been standing there for centuries and allegedly died only some decades ago. The tree was huge with big leaves so that the monkeys liked to play in its shady branches even during

¹⁵ In today's village association each office is held by pairs of men, each belonging to a ritual moiety, a fact to which the story also alludes. These pairs are related to each other like an older and younger brother. In the Bale Agung, their meeting pavilion, they sit opposite each other and perform their tasks together.

¹⁶ There are the offices of the *penyarikan* (secretary) and the *kelian desa* that are unpaired. However, they have no distinct seat in the sitting order of the Bale Agung; Guermontprez has stated the special position of these offices in Julah too (1998:54).

¹⁷ I was told that *benges* wood (also called *banges*), the metaphor used for the highest office, *kubayan*, may not be used for anything.

¹⁸ The whole *krama desa* has to be seen as subordinate to the gods and the deified ancestors whose will the humans try to carry out – for their own benefit (Guermontprez 1980).

the midday heat. During the rainy season, the tree was often hit by lightning followed by the growling of the thunder. The god Guru predicted that the tree would soon produce (inedible) fruits out of which human beings would develop. The goddess Sang Hyang Licin (her manifestation is the Moon; she is the wife of Bhatara Guru) descended to the earth to guard the tree when she heard the prophecy. She appeared on the earth as Daha Tua, an elderly unmarried woman (in fact, an elderly virgin woman). Some time later the tree produced four fruits. Since Sang Hyang Licin was guarding the tree, the lightning did not dare to strike the fruits. When the fruits were ripe, they fell to the ground and finally two (in another version: four) human beings came out of them, one (two) male(s) and one (two) female(s). Sang Hyang Licin was looking after them, gave them the sap of banana trunks to drink and millet (*godem*) to eat¹⁹ until they were grown up. The two men then decided to descend to the coast where they founded Julah; the two young women remained on top of the hill (Sembiran).

One day the two women and the two men met by chance in the forest. They married; one woman moved to the place of her husband while the other women refused to do so; her husband therefore moved up to Sembiran. This founding couple of Sembiran were the progenitors of the Bali Mula, the aboriginal inhabitants of Sembiran. They are described as hairy human beings who followed *agama sambu*, the veneration of trees and stones. They are considered to be the ancestors of some few families who still live in the Banjar Desa of Sembiran. The office of the temple priest of Pura Dalem is held by Bali Mula descendants. Sang Hyang Licin is venerated as *daba tua* in the Pura Dulu; the unmarried women (*daba bunga*, young unmarried women, and *daba tua*, elderly unmarried women) of Sembiran are united in a special women’s association. In a ritual context these women are associated with the goddess. This women’s association is ranked by seniority and has distinct offices held by older women (*daba tua*).²⁰ The *daba* have their special meeting day (once a month) at a special pavilion in the village temple.

A similar history, the origin of the first humans from animals, is said to have taken place “later” than the first one. This story relates the origin of Sembiran’s inhabitants to cocoons of cicada (*bugading*) that hung at the leaves of a starfruit tree (*belimbing*). Pura Belimbing is situated at the place where the original starfruit tree stood. The Pura Belimbing is located only about 30 metres east of Bale Bunder (see below), one of the oldest meeting places of Sembiran. There were also four human beings, two males and two females, who came out of the cocoons. While

¹⁹ Millet is nowadays grown in small quantities and for ritual purposes only, where it is used in a couple of small (but important) rituals. I suggest that millet was once a major food crop, probably even before the advent of rice.

²⁰ Galungan und Kuningan, the New Year according to the Hindu-Javanese calendar, are the festivals in which these women play a crucial ritual role by commemorating Sang Hyang Licin as Daha Tua and the way she mothered the newly born babies and assisted them in becoming adults – the ancestors of Sembiran.

one of the two males, Bagus, was a follower of *agama* Hindu (Hindu religion), the other, called Mpu Gandri, is said to have taught Islam; he finally emigrated to Java. The descendants of Bagus are those families who hold the office of priests for the Pura Dulu. I Bagus is considered to be the founding ancestor of Sembiran's Bali Aga by some people. Bali Aga are junior to the Bali Mula. The priests of Pura Dulu are said to be descendants of these Bali Aga.

All these histories (a further one deals with yellow coconuts out of which human beings developed) relate men and women, Sembiran's first inhabitants, to a non-human origin. These histories seem to emphasize the fact that these first human beings did not have relations to other groups of people located somewhere else; giving them an indirect claim to autochthony.

In contrast to these histories, there exist a number of other stories that tell how immigrants came to Sembiran. Liefrinck mentions a history according to which a couple suffered shipwreck and drifted on a plank to the shore of Sembiran. *Sembir*, meaning 'plank', led to the name of the village, Sembiran, thus commemorating its origin (1934:66). Since its integration as a *desa dinas* and a *desa adat* (nowadays called *desa pakraman*) into the Indonesian state, Sembiran has created an emblem that displays a boat alluding to this event. The same story – with many variations – is still told today.

There exist at least as many versions of immigration histories as of creation histories.

For the story tellers (and the audience), there was no real difference between them with regard to truth; both types were true and questions of historical accuracy generally did not matter. Nevertheless, from a Western academic perspective the former histories tell quite a lot about the interactions of the villagers and the immigrants who seem to have come to Sembiran sometimes in smaller, sometimes in larger groups. Most of the interactions described are with immigrants who were adherents of *agama slem* (Islam religion). A single Moslem man who brought new weaving techniques (see Nabholz-Kartaschoff this volume) to Sembiran is portrayed as black dog that impregnated a young female weaver (the woman was the human daughter of a sow, the latter being a metaphor for the aboriginal inhabitants whose most important sacrificial animal is the pig) in Sembiran. This scandal, expressed in terms of bestiality almost led to the break-up of the village (see Hauser-Schäublin 2004c:12-13).

The Introduction of New Beliefs, Practices and Institutions

The most prominent history of Muslim immigrants deals with a larger group of people who arrived in the Sembiran/Pacung area probably sometime in the 17th century. This group was led by two outstanding personalities. One is called Ratu Subandar, The Harbourmaster, and also Ratu Pesisir, The Master of the Shore. The

second is called Ratu Kamasan (a name I am unable to explain).²¹ Both came from Java and were disciples of *agama slem* (a specific form of Islam religion); they went ashore at the site where today Pura Sang Hyang Marek (“The Venerated“ or “Holy Arrival”) is located. Ratu Subandar and Ratu Kamasan then proceeded further eastwards but were apparently not welcomed in the village there, in Sembirenteng (where there was another important harbour, today’s Pura Pekonjongan). As a consequence, they returned to the first site where today Pura Sang Hyang Marek stands.

As the oral histories tell, these immigrants were apparently on colonizing missions, though they were not always successful. Ratu Pেসি and Ratu Kamasan climbed up the hill on which Sembiran is located. Near Pura Dulu they rested. Ratu Kamasan then turned west; he left the village and proceeded to an isolated place above a huge ravine (Yeh Lengis), where he settled. Today this site is commemorated by a temple called Pura Melaka; the name allegedly came from the *melaka* trees growing there. Halfway between the core village and Pura Melaka lies a further temple, called Pura Sanda, the residence of Ratu Pেসি’s first wife.²² After a while, Ratu Kamasan considered his place too far off from the village. He therefore moved back and settled near a place called Pendem (“grave”). Today a tiny temple commemorates this site, too.²³

In Sembiran, both Ratu Pেসি and Ratu Kamasan are associated with distinct offices. Ratu Pেসি is described as a *prebekel* (or *mekel*, ‘village head’) and Ratu Kamasan as a *klian adat* (ritual leader), implying that the former was concerned mostly with the social order. Ratu Kamasan is described as a religious innovator who introduced new ritual practices and reformed old ones. Some versions maintain that Ratu Pেসি’s domain reached from Pura Polaki (far west of Singaraja) to Pura Pekonjongan (Sembirenteng). Others are less clear about its boundary in the west but confirm that it was Sembirenteng in the east. Ratu Pেসি is said to have restructured the whole village and its organization. Ratu Bolot, another companion, was said to be the *penyarikan* of Ratu Pেসি that is the assistant (often translated as “secretary”), or the body guard.

All these oral histories (or fragments of them) recall the deeds of these immigrants as engendering cultural transformations from the perspective of the successful reformers.

²¹ For an extensive version and interpretation of this history see Hauser-Schäublin 2004b.

²² Ratu Pেসি later took a wife, who came from the nearby village of Satra up in the mountains. Her place of residence is said to be commemorated by a tree at Pura Sang Hyang Marek. The *klian adat* of Satra told me in the late 1990s that villagers from Satra formerly visited the temple Sang Hyang Marek.

²³ Sutaba mentions seeing this temple in 1971. It then consisted of just a pile of river stones, irregularly arranged (Sutaba 1985:10). Today this shrine or tiny temple is made of concrete.



Photo 6: Pura Melaka in Sembiran is one of the last temples that has not yet undergone thorough renovation and rebuilding. The shrines still consist of heaped stones. The shrines are decorated for the annual festival. Photo: Jörg Hauser 1997.

Some versions of these stories have it that Ratu Pesi and Ratu Kamasan met the original beings in Sembiran in the form of cocoons (*bugading*; see above) hanging from a star fruit tree (*belimbing*), that is, not yet fully developed or mature beings – let alone human beings. Told in the context of immigrant reformers, this trope suggests a rupture in tradition, fledglings that were waiting to be transformed into full human beings by these immigrants.²⁴ This could relate to the task of Ratu Kamasan, who introduced new ritual practices in sharp contrast to the pre-existing

²⁴ As the genetic research carried out by the Swiss physician and anthropologist Georges Breguet has shown, out of the villages throughout Bali he investigated, only three - Julah, Pacung, and Sembiran - displayed particularities that otherwise were unique to the populations of Yogyakarta, Makassar, the Bugis, and Bima (see Couteau 1999:186). Thus these genetic results seem to confirm the important influence the immigrants had on Sembiran's population.

ones. As a result, his innovations split people into two different groups with ritual practices of their own: Islamic rituals without pork and “Hindu” rituals in which pork is crucial. Conflict arose over the issue of the appropriate sacrifices to be offered to the gods. Finally the conflict was solved by creating a kind of syncretism in line with Sembiran’s ritual practices of today (see Hauser-Schäublin 2004b and 2007).

It is this history that has left strong imprints on Sembiran’s ritual life, though today it is not clear which family is a descendant of these influential Moslem immigrants. There are no inhabitants that call themselves “Hindu” in contrast to “Moslems” or vice versa. It depends on individual preference, i.e. who enjoys eating pork and who does not, and is no longer a dogmatic question.

The analysis of Sembiran ritual practices shows that the major issues of the oral history connected to Ratu Subandar and Ratu Kamasan are taken up in rituals as well. According to the compromise that the Muslim immigrants and the autochthonous population reached, for each ritual today there are offerings prepared without pork (*baktian slem*) dedicated to Islamic ancestors, and offerings with pork (*baktian bauw*) for the Hindu-Balinese ancestors. The preferred animal sacrifice of the Moslem immigrants was the calf (*godel*), an animal rarely eaten by those who maintain they are not descendents of these immigrants but aboriginal inhabitants. Moreover, those who have eaten beef have to undergo purification before they enter a temple (Hauser-Schäublin 2007).

Ratu Pesisir/Subandar and Ratu Kamasan as deified ancestors have also left their marks on the spatial organization of the village, mainly with regard to its temples. Both have their seat, as briefly mentioned, in Pura Sang Hyang Marek. However, there is a huge ritual cycle in the fifth Balinese month that is performed in commemoration of (and probably initiated by) these immigrants from Java. Through this ritual cycle, which lasts for about two weeks, a territorial and social integration takes place. The whole *krama desa*, the members of the village assembly, participates. The ritual starts in the Pura Desa, the central village temple where both Ratu Pesisir and Ratu Kamasan (and, additionally, a further partner of Ratu Pesisir, Ratu Bagus Pura Agung) have a shrine in the village temple (see below). On a subsequent day, the ritual cycle moves to Pura Tegal Angin, located at the south-eastern border of the village. The Tegal Angin temple is considered to be a guardian temple that protects the village from raids from the mountain direction. For the geographical location of Sembiran’s temples see Figure 3.



Photo 7: A major ritual in the village temple of Sembiran is concluded by a *rejang* dance performed by the female members of the *krama desa, pelukayu*.

Photo: Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin 2001.

On the third day, the ritual reaches its first climax in the Pura Sang Hyang Marek. The members of the female association of the *krama desa* (that is spouses of the male members of the *krama desa*) start making offerings, some of them of outstanding size; these are made in the name of boy priests dressed in white (*mangku bunga*) who are the sacred followers of Ratu Bagus Pura Agung.²⁵

Ratu Bagus Pura Agung is associated with trading relations with the Batur area in the mountains, where there probably had been a royal court and one of the most important trans-island markets, as well as a state temple responsible for collecting tributes (see below). Some oral histories suggest that Ratu Bagus Pura Agung, to whom one of the most honourable shrines in the Pura Sang Hyang Marek is dedicated, even originated from Batur; he seemed to be responsible for the relations between the port and the dominant inland polity and correspondingly for the safe transportation of the trading goods.

²⁵ The *mangku bunga* participate in another ritual cycle as well that focuses on the relationship with temples in the Batur region. Boys between five and twelve years of age are appointed by the gods, often through illness or dreams.

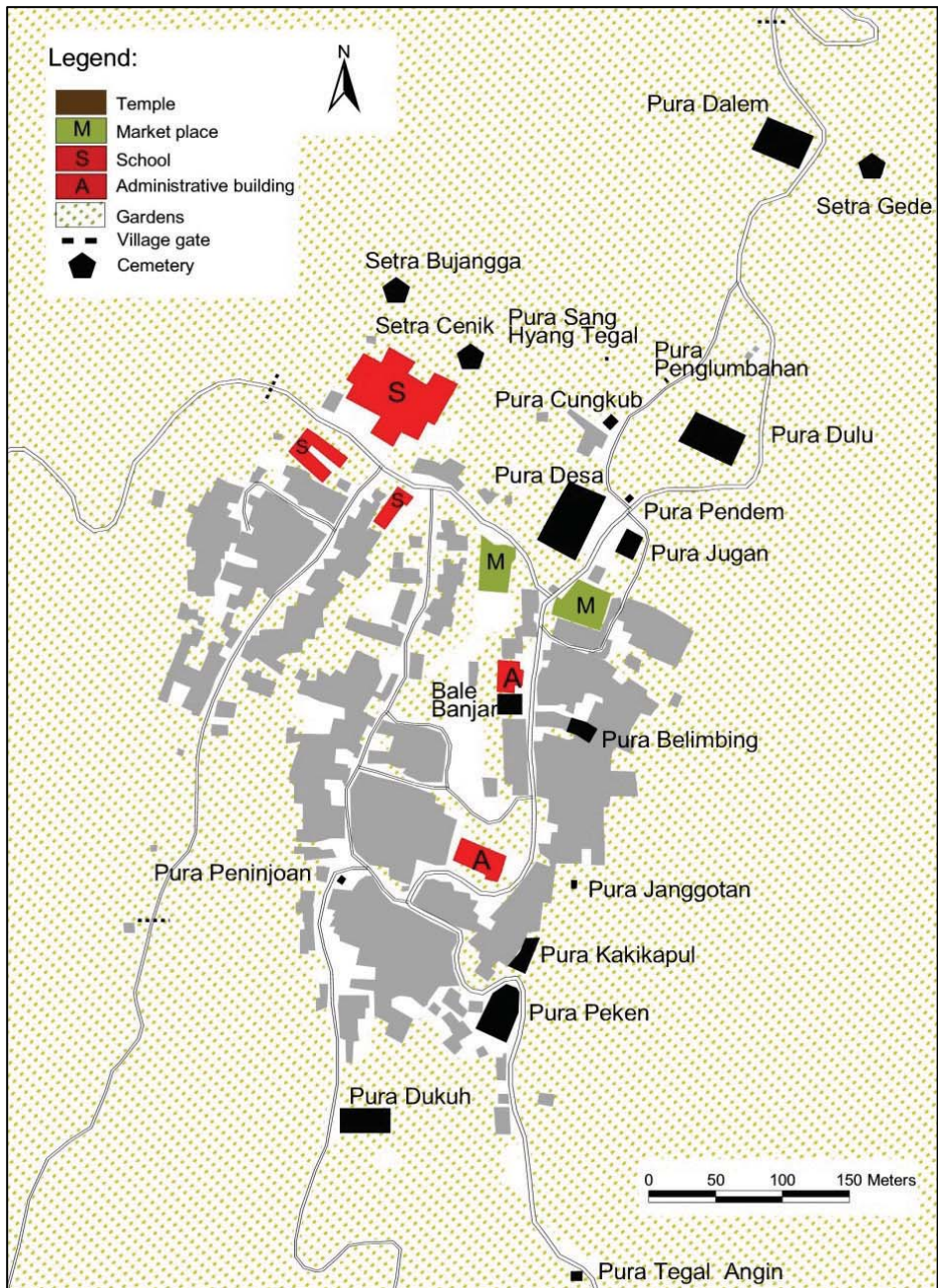


Figure 3: The layout of Sembiran village with its main temples in 2005. Cartography: Enrico Kalb; source: Quick Bird Satellite Image 2003.



Photo 8: Ritual elders escort the deity Ratu Gede Sakti to the temple of Sang Hyang Marek located on the edge of the sea.

Photo: Jörg Hauser 1997.

At noon a group of priests and the most senior members (*paulun desa*) of the *krama desa* go to meet the deity Ratu Gede Sakti, a further companion of Ratu Pesisir and Ratu Kamasan at his shrine (directly on the shore) at some distance west of Pura Sang Hyang Marek and invite him to participate in the ritual. Some time in the afternoon, a group of priests and the ritual leaders follow a small track to a cross-roads, where they invite Ratu Pesisir's wife from Pura Sanda to participate as an honoured guest in the ritual as well. Only when all are assembled the ceremonial dances (*baris*, *legong*, and *rejang*) are performed.

On the next day, after a visit to the regional temple of Ponjok Batu, the ritual community walks up the Sembiran hill on the old track accompanied by the gong

orchestra, passes Pura Sanda, and proceeds to Pura Melaka to celebrate Ratu Kamasan. On the following day, the ritual continues in the Pura Empu, a small temple in a cave where a hermit (of Bujangga denomination) apparently once lived. On the following day, the cycle reaches Pura Pintu, the temple of a former autonomous settlement that no longer exists. The whole cycle ends in a small temple in Sembiran. Thus, this ritual cycle in which new offerings and new ceremonial meals are continuously prepared and consumed and in which all the dance groups perform, unites all these personalities and their sites. It is probably the most sumptuous ritual cycle of Sembiran and not only keeps the whole village continuously busy for many days but heavily draws on people's resources, too.

These histories of the Moslem immigrants certainly carry some grains of knowledge about a former transmaritime harbor and its relationship to the inland. These histories therefore seem to confirm some of the historical descriptions from the 10th to the 12th century (copperplate inscriptions) as well as the archaeological data that prove contacts with India even at a much earlier age. However, the oral traditions about Ratu Pesisir/Subandar and Ratu Kamasan deal with a much later time. The deified *subandar* venerated in Pura Sang Hyang Marek was the *subandar* of the harbour that once existed on the same site as today's temple. As is well known, Islam came to insular Southeast Asia through merchants and thus followed the major trading routes. The connection between the “market place” and a sanctuary dedicated to deified arrivals seem to support the thesis of a harbour there.

In fact, such transmaritime harbours important to the economies of the complex polities that needed such ports and their goods were directed by a harbour master, *subandar*. As far as we know, such harbour masters were appointed by the king (Wardka 1987). A *subandar* was in control of the ships, their loads, and the taxes the captains and merchants had to deliver. This office and the person who held it were crucial for the working of trade and trans-island trade relations.

The report of a Chinese merchant who came on a Thai ship to Buleleng in the first half of the 19th century allows a glimpse into the operation and function of the harbour, the office of the harbour master, the market place associated with it and the relationship with the royal court on whose behalf the harbour acted in pre-colonial Bali (Graves and Kaset-siri 1969).

The Village Structure and its Major Temples

In this chapter I shall apply a different perspective, one that is based on my own empirical investigations into the social, political and religious organization of Sembiran.

Today, Sembiran's territory spreads over a vast area and consists of 10 banjar or neighbourhoods; it amounts to 1.792 hectares. As you can see in Figure 2,

Sembiran consists of a core village and two *banjar dinas* (Bukit Seni, Panggung) that are located high up in the mountains, settlements of immigrants who arrived over the past 60 to 100 years.

In former times, most of the especially fertile land was communally owned village land (Lieftrinck 1924). The final dissolution of communal land and its regular redistribution took place in the context of the Indonesian land reform in the 1960s; as early as the 1950s a large quantity of *desa*-owned land (675 hectares) was divided amongst 166 members of the *krama desa* (Lansing 1977:196); the only remnant of communal land, it seems to me, is that belonging to the Sekehe Gede ("The Big Association"), an organization in which all core clans (*dadya*) are represented (see below). The official list kept in the office of the *kepala desa*, the administrative village head, shows that several organizations/institutions have special land rights (usufruct): 185.305 m² is temple land, 10.600 m² belong to the *baris* dance group, 10.000 m² to the Sekehe Gede and the two types of gong orchestras (*gamel* and *angklung*) hold 2.550 m² and 3.700 m² respectively. The settlement area (*tanah pekarangan*) contains 100.000 m² and the three graveyards 20.000 m². The only individual who today still receives village land (3.500 m²) for his personal use is the Mangku Gede, the (former) leader of all temple priests (Awig-Awig Desa Adat Sembiran 1988: paragraph 1, 24, 44); this seems to be the only survival of the former land right described by Lieftrinck: Apart from the forests (*alas wayah*), the settlement ground (*tanah pekarangan*), and individually owned land (*tanah palak*) most of the best agricultural land (along the coast) was owned by the village (*tanah pedesaan*) and regularly redistributed among the members of the *krama desa* (Lieftrinck 1924:381-384); the redistribution took place every ten years.²⁶ Important office holders in the village organization received a special share of the communal land.

The village was formerly fortified, as the earliest as well as later inscriptions testify for Julah; apparently the core-villagers lived here. There are still five gates (*kuta*) located at paths (today most of them streets) leading in different directions to and from Sembiran. Formerly there used to be a belt of forest (*padang wayah*) supplemented by thorny plants that enclosed the village like a fence; the gates were the only entrances to the village. Today these gates are still annually reconstructed with light bamboo tubes; they have a predominantly symbolic function (to ward off all evil). Sembiran is also surrounded by temples some of which are situated quite far off from the settlement. There are two temples (still in their original shape in 2006), Pura Suksuk and Pura Ngudu, located at the foot of the hill on which Sembiran is situated. They served as kinds of guardian temples against penetrators from the main path leading along the north coast and directly

²⁶ Lieftrinck mentions that land (*tanah tetaminyan desa*) was given for permanent use to peasants from Pacung and Bondalem under the condition that they should not sell the land to other people than those from Sembiran. At that time, the district head was living in Bondalem (Lieftrinck 1924:383).

from the sea. There is a similar guardian-temple located on the path that formerly led to the mountains, Pura Tegal Angin (see above).

Twenty-three clans (*dadya*) socially constitute the core village; each *dadya* has its own clan temple (see also Bagus 1968). Only members of these clans can become members of the ritual village association, *krama desa*, and are obliged to partake in ritual life with all the rights and duties this implies: to have access to village land (for example to build a house on *tanah pekarangan*), to perform work and tasks for the *krama desa* and to deliver the contributions in money and kind requested.²⁷ *Dadya* are patrilineal in principle though linearity is difficult to trace and it is impossible to establish genealogies.

An individual is only rarely able to name his lineal predecessors further back than two preceding generations (parents and grandparents). To be able to remember of these three ascending generations is important to establish land claims and the right of building/inhabiting a house within the village.²⁸ It is within this frame of reference that rules of marriage – exclusively negative ones – are defined: apart from marriage between siblings (by blood as well as classificatory, half-siblings), a man is not allowed to marry his niece (by blood or classificatory)²⁹, any sister (by blood or classificatory) of his father, the sister of one’s sibling spouse or any sister-in-law. However, since every person is embedded in criss-cross relationships, a man may describe another person in different kinship terms depending on whether he considers the line of his father or of his mother.³⁰ Violation of these rules of exogamy (with regard to the patrilineal clan) has consequences ranging from the performance of purification rituals of the couple to dismissal from the *krama desa* (Awig-Awig 1988: paragraph 60). Further, marriage is forbidden between members of the Bujangga Clan and the Bali Mula (no explanation for this rule). Membership in a *dadya*, apart from the nuclear family, is often expressed through living at a distinct place within the village (*tanah pekarangan*). If a couple have no children, all their possession is taken over by the village.³¹

There are many mechanisms that de-emphasize linearity: First, tekonomy (the fact, that for example, a man is called “father of XY”), second, birth order names

²⁷ The term *krama* (*kraman*) as an expression for core villagers is already mentioned in the earliest inscription (104 Sembiran A I, *saka* 844). The term *desa* is first mentioned in the Jayapangus edict (no 621, Sembiran C, Ardika 1991:259), dated *saka* 1103. In the 409 Sembiran A IV inscription (*saka* 987) the term *thani* (complemented by *watek*) seems to have replaced the earliest term, *banua*. According to Christie (based on material from Java) this change of term reflects the reorganization of administrative units (see Christie 1994).

²⁸ It is the youngest son of a man who is entitled to inherit *tanah pekarangan*.

²⁹ Liefrinck notes that in other parts of Buleleng a marriage between nephew and niece is allowed (1934:330).

³⁰ One of my best informants, for example, could call the brother of his wife also “younger brother”. It is probably due to this complicated set of relationships that there existed an enduring conflict over land between them.

³¹ A similar regulation is already mentioned in the 104 Sembiran A I inscription (*saka* 844).

(which seem to be more or less a recent adaptation to what is considered pan-Balinese *adat*), third the fact that a couple choose and adopt a new name (one and the same for both spouses, the difference being only the gender markers) after marriage³² when they are granted access as full members to the *krama desa*. The *krama desa* is divided in the organization of the male members and those of the female members (the wives of the male members), called *pelukayan*. A couple stays in this organization as long as the marriage exists; when one of the spouses dies, the other has to leave this organization and becomes a member of the *krama desa sampingan*, also called *paki palu* (*paki* – ‘children already married’, *paku* – ‘widow/er’). This pensioners’ organization also includes those whose children are all married or who already have great-grandchildren. Moreover, immigrants can become member of this organization too. They are all invited to participate in all rituals but do not have any active function.

The offices in the *krama desa* are organized according to the principle of seniority (duration of the marriage), the members being arranged in two rows, one associated with ‘elder brother’ (*wayaban*) and the other with ‘younger brother’ (*nyomanan*) or ‘west’ and ‘east’ (sometimes also ‘left’ and ‘right’). When one of the ritual elders dies, the other, junior, members move upwards (in a mountainward direction) physically in the sitting order in their meeting pavilion (*bale agung*), socially in the organization as such. The movements do not follow each row separately but in a zigzag order, with the consequence that the individual members of *krama desa* are at one time in the ‘younger’ and at another in the ‘older’ line. Thus with each ascent the individual changes his moiety membership.³³ There are several hundreds of men who are members of the *krama desa* today. But there are only a couple of offices held by the most senior men that are considered the most important. These paired offices are from the top downwards: 2 *kubayan* (this office has been void for half a century, allegedly due to the high costs the accession requires)³⁴, 2 *siut*, 2 *bau*, 2 *singgukan*, (2 *baban tandluk*, 2 *baban kelakabi*), 2 *baban temuangan* (they are assisted by 30 *baban cacar*), 2 *pengulu* (*sedaban agung*, this office exists no longer), *jabya* (no definite number), 18 or 20 *panakawan*, 2 *pemubit*; the newly married start as *pemubit*, novices. The leaders of the *krama desa* are called *paulun desa* and consist of 12 people (from *kubayan*, *siut*, *bau*, *singgukan*, *baban temuangan* to *pengulu*); they are

³² Barth thinks that spouse unity is less important in Sembiran than in Julah (1993:83); I would not however agree with this.

³³ In Julah the ascent in the *krama desa* takes place within each row, thus the division into two distinct ritual moieties is much more emphasized than in Sembiran (see Guernonprez 1998:54-57). For comparative research and analysis of the social organization of villages, mostly located in the central mountain range, see Reuter 2002b.

³⁴ The office of *kubayan* (or *kabayan*) is first mentioned in the 409 Sembiran A IV inscription, dated *saka* 987. Apparently, this office was then already tied to a village association since the office holder is referred to as *rama kabayan*. In the Japapangus edict (*saka* 1103; no 621 Sembiran C), a “*kabayan gosti*” is mentioned who apparently held this office on the basis of (noble) descent.

complemented by the temple priests (*pamangku* and the *kelian desa*). The actual leaders today are the *jero sint*. The *kelian desa* is elected at a meeting by the *krama desa*. He remains in office for five years (a second period is possible); he and his assistants such as the *penyarikan*, the ‘secretary’, are counted as *prajuru desa*; their function is to witness on behalf of the people all rituals in the temples. By contrast, the temple priests are oriented towards the gods only (Awig-Awig Sembiran 1988: paragraph 13, 14).

While the *krama desa* is primarily an organization of married couples (with parallel associations for unmarried women and men), there exists a further organization, *sekebe gede*, in which all (autochthonous) clans are represented. In sum, the core village bundles all individuals and gives each a specific place in relation to all other individuals – and the place of all individuals together in relation to the gods since the major goal of this organization consists in venerating the gods, maintaining their sacred sites (temples), and in performing rituals for them. The *sekebe gede* is an organization that bundles all clans together and gives each of them an equal voice.

Today, everyday life is no longer determined by these institutions. There are other necessities and orientations that have become more important – education (and the necessity to find enough money to allow children to go to school), to make a living in an area with only little developing potential, to provide the family with sufficient daily food and water, health concerns – and many others. Moreover, there are new administrative structures, those of the Indonesian state, which regulate all aspects of life of the villagers beyond religion. Nowadays it is only a small percentage of the *krama desa* members, both males and female, who participate in the temple rituals. There are voices claiming that the money spent on elaborate rituals should better be spent on other things that promote the standard of living. In contrast to these public rituals, the life cycle rituals carried out individually still flourish, perhaps even more than before, and emigrants often return for such rituals.³⁵

³⁵ The names of these life cycle rituals have recently changed. The original Sembiran terms have been replaced by those common in many South Balinese villages. The ritual for a pregnant woman was formerly called *magedong-gedongan*, the ritual for a newly born baby *medapetan*; the ritual for the umbilical cord falling off *kepus wodel* (pan-Balinese: *mesakapan*), the 42-days-ritual: *tugtug kambuhan*; the monthly ritual (every 35 daks): *metebus bulanan*; the six months’ ritual: *motonan*; the ritual called in South Bali *ngotonin*: *ngeraja singa/ngeraja sewala*; the teeth filing ritual: *metatab*, and the marriage ritual: *pawinahan*. After marriage a couple has to perform the following rituals; *beakawon*, *penyari*, *kelaci*, *ngerebu*, *melis*, *kamalagi*, *metebus menek*, *ngaturin*; see also Riemenschneider and Hauser-Schäublin 2006.



Photo 10: Each temple ritual is concluded by members of the *krama desa* dismantling the offerings for the gods and reassembling them into a ritual meal for the male members of the *krama desa*. The food portions (*kawosan*) are laid out in the Bale Agung according to the sitting order of the *krama desa* with the ritual leaders at the top.

Photo: Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin 2001.

The oldest *banjar* is the Banjar Desa, located in the north-eastern edge of the village. It seems that this was once the original village that stretched in two sections along a main path; one of these sections was *banjar kangin* (the eastern neighbourhood) and the other *banjar kamanan* (the western neighbourhood) according to their location.³⁶ It is the place where, according to oral histories, the very small number of aboriginal inhabitants of Sembiran, called Bali Mula, still live. All other inhabitants of Sembiran are later immigrants who came at different epochs to the village (see above, Histories of Origin). In Julah, informants maintained that all aboriginal inhabitants died out a long time ago; all of the present inhabitants are immigrants who arrived at different points in time. Nevertheless, the *krama desa tegak*, the assembly of the core villagers, consists of members of those families considered to be the genuine people of Julah. Immigrants who came over the past 100 years or so have a different, more passive status than the core villagers and are

³⁶ In some oral traditions two further *banjar* are mentioned, *banjar kangin* and *banjar kelod*, suggesting that Sembiran once consisted of a fourfold division. I have no further indication on this. The earliest evidence for the term *banjar* is found in the no. 409 Sembiran inscription dated *saka* 987, in which the head of the *banjar* is mentioned.

clearly dependent on the latter. A similar, though less strict and clear-cut relationship exists in Sembiran between core villagers and recent immigrants.

Oral traditions hold that Sembiran's first settlement was somewhere else, west of Pura Dulu, which is today only agricultural land. From Pura Desa the village has expanded to the west and up the hill (that is, to the south). Today's most western *banjar*, Banjar Bujangga, is inhabited mostly by the survivors of a former village, Pintu, about 3 kilometres west of Sembiran. The substantial extension of Sembiran's territory to the west is the outcome of these events since the refugees of Pintu (all of Bujangga descent) ceded their original land to Sembiran in exchange for being accepted as full members by their host village. Pintu was, I think, the last settlement in this area that was plundered and destroyed by pirates, probably in the late 18th century. Another reason for the western extension of the territory may be the consequence of the battles with intruders from Lombok and later, in the 19th century, wars between Buleleng and Bangli, when the village Bayad was destroyed (see Lieftrinck 1934:65; Hauser-Schäublin 2004b:330).

The cornerstones of the village are the major temples (*pura*).³⁷ The ritual specialists, the temple priests (*mangku*) and the ritual elders of the ritual village organization (*krama desa*) speak of “*catur kahyangan*”, the four major temples, instead of three (*kahyangan tiga*), the precondition for a real *desa adat* suggested by reformist Hindu-Bali organizations today. These four major temples are: Pura Dulu, Pura Desa, Pura Puseh, and Pura Dalem. Pura Dulu is located on the top of a hill. Judging from the way this temple is used in rituals, as well as according to oral histories, this is the oldest of all temples. However, the archaeological survey that Ardika and his team carried out in the area of this temple (three pits were opened) in 2005, did not produce any material evidence.³⁸ Pura Dulu is the temple of origin of the village in a much more comprehensive way than Pura Puseh, a temple clearly built during a later period. In Julah we were told that in former times the inhabitants of Julah also joined the annual festival at Pura Dulu in commemoration of the common origin and even brought their gong orchestra along to please the deities with their music.

³⁷ All the 10th- 12th century inscriptions give evidence of the fact that a wide variety of religious specialists and dignitaries, temples, monasteries and rituals constituted major institutions in the organization of the king's (*ratu, datu, aji, raja*) realm.

³⁸ We were not allowed to open a pit in the precincts of the temple since this area is sacred.



Photo 11: The village temple in Julah. Women returning home after having delivered offerings. Photo: Jörg Hauser 2003.

It seemed to be a characteristic of Sembiran that many of its temples contained big stones, terraces and stone step pyramids; formerly, they were not surrounded by any stone wall but only by a light bamboo fence. With only two or three original temples left, all main temples have undergone complete renovation since the 1960s, when the village became wealthy from its cash crops (tangerines). For these renovations artisans and stonecarvers from South Bali were hired (Lansing 1977:200-202). These renovations completely changed the structure and the out-

look (but not their orientation)³⁹; the former menhirs were put on top of concrete shrines.⁴⁰

Pura Puseh and Pura Desa are located on a single site and today fenced off by a common stone wall (see Figure 4).

The core of Pura Desa is a small section adjacent to the mountainward side of the Bale Agung (no. 36), the big assembly hall where the male members of the *kerama desa* held their meetings. There are several small shrines which all refer to clans and/or other temples within Sembiran territory. This part of the Pura Desa embraces more or less all social groupings and represents a kind of central assembly courtyard of the village as a territorial and social unit. In the most prestigious and pure site, the mountainward eastern corner section of this part of Pura Desa, a three-tiered shrine for Ratu Pasek is located. This is a shrine (no. 21) associated with the clan of the Mangku Gede or ‘Big Mangku’, formerly the most important temple priest. His family is said to have originated from outside of Sembiran and was sent to this village apparently as a representative of the Batur temple.

This shrine and its sacralia are intimately connected with the Batur Temple (Pura Ulun Danu Batur), today located on the rim of the caldera of the huge Batur volcano in the central mountain range. As I have described in detail in earlier publications, this major temple was also a tax-collecting institution (Hauser-Schäublin 2005, 2007).

There are three further shrines (nos. 22, 25, 26) besides the shrine for Ratu Pasek dedicated to deified ancestors whose ‘home’ is in the temple of Sang Hyang Marek on the border of the sea; one of them (Ratu Bagus Agung), just adjacent to Ratu Pasek, is a representative of former trade relations to Batur. The other two are Islamic immigrants who acted as cultural heroes in Sembiran (see above). The shrine for Ratu Kumpi, in the third position, symbolizes the ancestors of the Bali Mula, the original inhabitants.⁴¹ Next to Ratu Kumpi is Ratu Didukuh, a representation of Pura Dukuh, the temple high above the village. Pura Dukuh is associated with the clan of the Bujangga, formerly a distinct ritual denomination.⁴²

³⁹ Sutaba points out that in 1971 and 1972 17 out of 20 temples displayed a “megalithic character” (1985:3; cf. his description of Pura Dulu called Sanghyang Kedula).

⁴⁰ Pura Desa was renovated in 1961-1964, Pura Dulu in 1968-1971, Pura Dalem 1974-1976, Pura Cungkub 1975, Pura Jugan 1975, Bale Kukul in 1975-1976 (Lansing 1977:202).

⁴¹ *Kumpi* literally means ‘grandfather’; In the oldest inscription (104 Sembiran A I, *saka* 844) the term *kumpi* is used as a title to designate a honourable elder.

⁴² The Bujangga still have a separate burying place. All Bujangga males are alternately buried in one of two holes in the ground, while the Bujangga women are buried in the graveyard of the village.

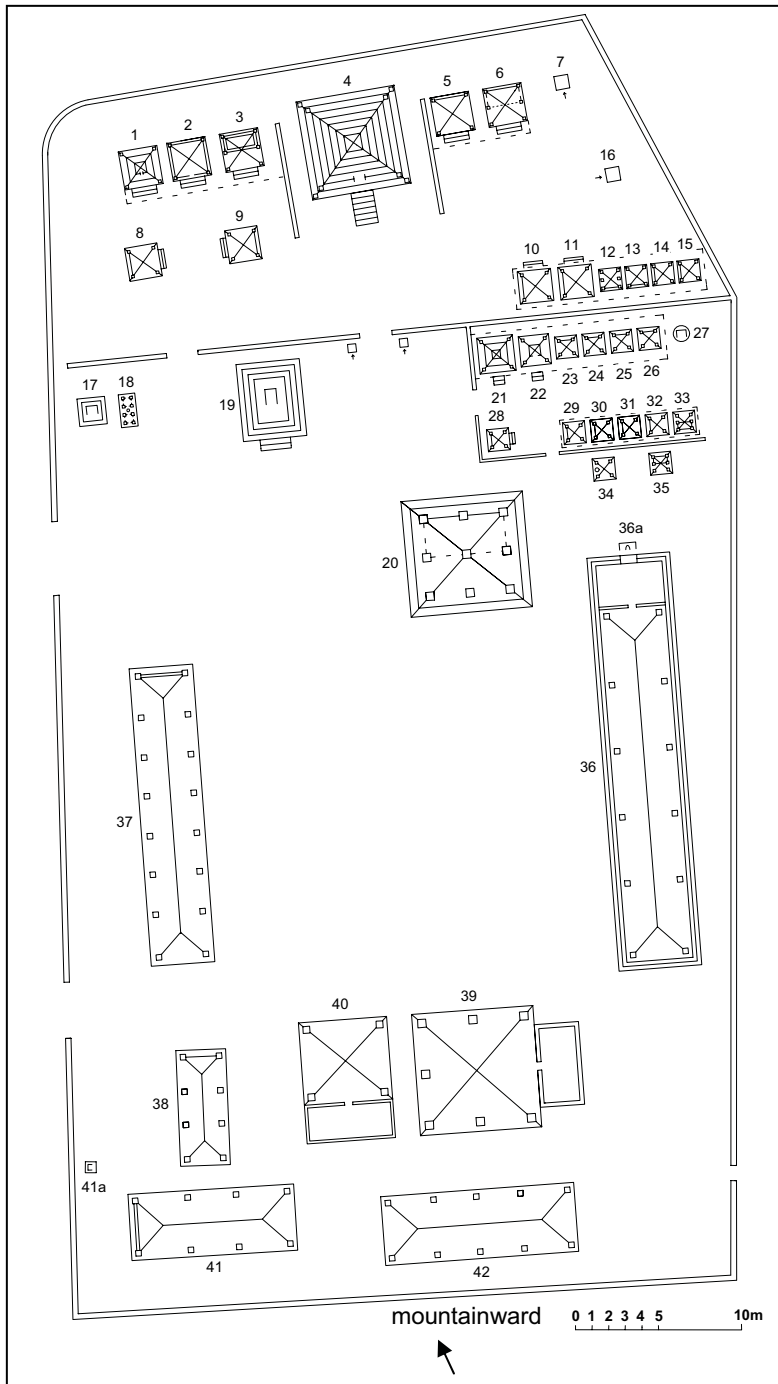


Figure 4: Ground plan of the Pura Desa/Bale Agung in Sembiran in 2005.

Opposite the mountainward row of shrines is a second row, containing some platforms for offerings; three other temples are represented there too: Ratu Di Ngudu and Ratu Di Suksuk, two of the old guardian temples at the foot of the Sembiran hill. The third is Ratu di Pelisan, a temple used for purification rituals, located also on the edge of the sea.

The village temple (Pura Desa) seems to consist of three parts; today they look like separate units due to several partition walls. But the temple priests insisted that these parts constitute a single temple. The first compact part encircled by a wall has just been described. Actually the Bale Agung with the stone in front of it (Ratu Penyarikan) and all the other buildings sharing the same courtyard conveys the impression of a main courtyard of the whole temple complex: the meeting place of the *paulun desa*, the ritual elders of the *krama desa* and the temple priests, is located there as well as the *padmasana*, the lotus seat, a shrine erected in the 1990s to meet suggestions for reformation and conformity with South Balinese standards. Formerly it was a simple open shrine called *di dubur* and dedicated to Sang Hyang Guru (represented by the sun) or Sang Hyang Tunggal.

In front of the Bale Agung are two shrines, one symbolizing a rice granary, *jineng*.⁴³ The second is a small hall where palmwine, *tuak*, used in ceremonies, is stored. In the south-eastern corner stands the Bale Pegat, a shrine with a gap in between symbolizing the relationship between the world of the living and the world of the dead. Bale Pegat is a representative of the Pura Dalem, the Death Temple located seaward, outside the settled area of the village.

Opposite the Bale Agung is a pavilion for the wives (*pelukayu*) of the male *krama desa* members, called Bale Luh (no. 37). In the immediate neighbourhood is the Bale Daha (no. 38), the hall of the unmarried women (*daha*) who are joined in a separate organization. They have their special meeting day on Buda Wage. In the north-eastern corner is the hall (no. 41, Bale Teruna) of the unmarried men, *teruna*. Two open halls made of concrete west of Bale Teruna are the places for two different gong orchestras (Bale Gong and Bale Angklung) and, in the most north-western corner the temple kitchen (no. 42, *pewaregan*) is located, where the butchering of the pigs and the preparation of all food offerings and ceremonial meals take place. The third part of the Pura Desa is separated by a wall from the other two parts. This third part is the most mountainward and consists of all the shrines beside the Pura Puseh. The Pura Puseh (no. 4) is a single shrine with a seven-tiered pagoda roof.⁴⁴ Pura Puseh is separated by a wall from the other shrines on both sides. This part is the counterpart of the first section of the Pura Desa already described in so far as the former contains all shrines representing temples

⁴³ The rice granary, today a tiny shrine, was formerly when rice could still be grown, a full-sized building; around 1960 it was replaced by the shrine.

⁴⁴ Temples of this kind, with tiered pagoda roofs, are already mentioned in the earliest Sembiran inscription (104 Sembiran A I, *saka* 844).

outside of Sembiran territory, while the latter represents the inner structure of the village. The seats east of Pura Puseh all represent temples in the Batur region (nos. 1-3). West of Pura Puseh is a shrine for Pura Pucak Sinunggal (no. 5). This open shrine houses two ancient stone statues, a male and a female, said to represent the gods of the nearby mountain temple of Pucak Sinunggal. The next is dedicated to Dalem Balingkang (no. 6), a temple on the lower northern shoulder of the Batur caldera.



Photo 12: The female members of Sembiran’s *krama desa*, are responsible for the manufacturing of offerings; women possess a seemingly endless repertoire of offerings and corresponding knowledge of the rituals they are intended for.

Photo: Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin 2001.

Further shrines are dedicated to Dalem Tajun/Bayad (no. 15) and to Ratu Candi (no. 11), the major deity of the regional temple of Ponjok Batu.⁴⁵

The fourth temple of *catur kahyangan* is the Pura Dalem, located in a seaward direction and at a considerable distance from the village, just opposite the gra-

⁴⁵ *Candi* means royal grave monument. One of the shrines in the temple of Ponjok Batu bears this name. The sarcophagus excavated in the precincts of the temple of Ponjok Batu in the late 1990s seems to support this interpretation of the shrine for “Ratu Candi” in Sembiran’s Pura Desa.

veyard.⁴⁶ Paul Wirz published a photograph of a temple in Sembiran. According to his description, in which he mentions the immediate vicinity of the graveyard, this could be the Pura Dalem. In the 1920s, when he visited Sembiran, this major sanctuary still consisted of menhirs erected on a stone terrace and fenced off by bamboo (Wirz 1928: plate 2). As Wirz noted, the graveyard was located on the edge of a thick forest.



Photo 13: One of the major temples in Sembiran in the 1920s (Wirz 1928: plate 2).

The model of *catur kahyangan*, the four village temples, does not fit the South Balinese model of *kahyangan tiga*, the three village temples, but reveals a Sembiran specific characteristic that is the outcome of the distinct history of this village. Oral histories hold that the Bale Agung was introduced only later. The meeting place considered the most ancient is the Bale Bundar (literally ‘round hall’ though the building is rectangular), this being the meeting place of the *sekehe gede*. The tower with the village *kulkul* (slit gongs) used for signalling important messages to

⁴⁶ The graveyard has always been in this place. Sembiran is still described in travel books as not burying its dead. In fact, the bodies of women were laid out lying on their backs (women are symbolically identified with the earth, Ibu Pertiwi) and men lying on their bellies (being identified with the sky). The corpses, though not buried, were carefully disposed of. The practice came to an end in 1963 (Lansing 1977:196-197). Wirz reported in the 1920s that the dead bodies were said to be just thrown in a gorge to be eaten by tigers (Wirz 1928:5-6).

the villagers (meetings, marriage, theft, fire, death, etc.) is located adjacent to this building. The Bale Bundar is today rarely used though still considered an important institution. Another Bale nearby is the Bale Banjar. When a death has taken place in the village, the *sekebe gede* meets in the Bale Banjar instead of the Bale Bundar.

In addition to the difference Sembiran displays with regard to the number of its major village temples, there is another characteristic to be pointed out.

As is well known (Covarrubias 1986, Swellengrebel 1984, Hauser-Schäublin 2004a), space is conceived according to an elaborate cultural model that defines directions of the compass associated with purity/impurity and higher and lower social standing. East and mountainward (in North Bali: south; in South Bali: north) are considered more pure and socially higher ranking than west and seaward. As a rule – or rather as an idealized model – a village and its major village temples should be built according to the conceptual model of space. The Origin Temple (Pura Puseh) is located on top of the village, the Village Temple (Pura Desa/Bale Agung) in the centre and the Death Temple (Pura Dalem) below the village in the most seaward position. If we try to apply this dominant model to Sembiran, we will realize that it is only the Pura Dalem that fits it. The Pura Dulu, for example, is located below the village, that is, in a north-western direction even of Banjar Desa, though on a hill.⁴⁷ And most of the village spreads above Pura Desa/Puseh. The topmost temple is the Pura Dukuh, associated with the fertility of the fields. However this temple is not related to the origin of the village or its inhabitants. As oral traditions hold, this temple has been moved uphill at least twice in the not too distant past. Each time the village grew uphill and reached the vicinity of the Pura Dukuh, the temple was transferred to a higher location for the sake of purity. The site where the temple was formerly located is still remembered. These old sites are today in the middle of the village. Such translocations have not taken place with the Pura Desa/Pura Puseh or the Pura Dulu. They remained where they were once built with the result that the former is nowadays surrounded by houses, though at some distance.

Historical Reasons for a Reverse Space Order?

Apart from the location of these major temples, the position of many of the major shrines and halls do not fit the conceptual model of space either. In the Pura Desa, for example, the seat representing the Death Temple is in the most eastern position – while the section with all the shrines of the clan and village founders is in the most western part. Moreover, the Bale Agung is located in the western part, that of the women in the east. And, as for the members of the *krama desa* when they sit in two rows in the Bale Agung, the 'elder brother' line sits in the most

⁴⁷ Higher and lower follow the same principles of purity and impurity. In this sense, one could say that Pura Dulu, though situated seaward of the settlement, is placed on a higher and therefore purer location.

western and the ‘younger brother’ in the eastern part. In a similar way this applies also to Pura Dulu since its shrines are all positioned towards the west. The graveyard (*setra gede*)⁴⁸, although seaward of the village is east (and not west!) of the Death Temple.⁴⁹ Thus, in these arrangements a kind of reverse order becomes manifest, an apparent preference of the west over the east, to which question even the ritual elders cannot give any explanation for this.

We can therefore only speculate as to why west was once important when the foundations of the temples (or those of their predecessors) were laid out. Probably it was not an abstract model that was decisive for the orientation of the temples and some of their shrines but, instead, concrete social relations which bound Sembiran to a place outside its village territory. In fact, the copperplate inscriptions give evidence of a Western orientation of Sembiran or rather Julah. In the royal edict of *saka* 897, the king Sri Janasadu Warmadewa declares the inhabitants of Julah to be responsible for the maintenance of his father’s grave, named Baleswara, in the monastery of Dharmmakuta in the village of Bungkulan. A village bearing the name Bungkulan still exists; it is located some six kilometres west of Julah and belongs today to the district of Kubutambahan.⁵⁰ Warmadewa further points out that the villagers of Julah, Indrapura (one of the villages near Pucak Singunggal, probably Depaa), Buwundalem (Bondalem) and Hikiran (Tejakula) are under the suzerainty (*siwidharman*) of this sanctuary (*sanghyang paryyangan*), probably the monastery of Dharmmakuta which was near a port, called Manasa in the inscription.⁵¹ These villages had to pay taxes there and were obliged to provide Dharmmakuta with building material and services such as military defence in case of attacks. Today, neither Julah nor Sembiran have any relations with Bungkulan. Nevertheless, this inscription makes clear to us the far-reaching western networks that bound Julah and Sembiran (as well as other villages located even further east). As can also be gathered from this inscription, the royal seat was not located on the (dangerous!) coast but somewhere inland, probably in the mountains.

Today, Sembiran is still connected to “Indrapura”, or rather the temple Indrapura was in charge of Pura Pucak Sinunggal. Pura Pucak Sinunggal is a mountain

⁴⁸ Apart from this graveyard there exists a special one for new-born babies and one for members of the descent group of the Bujangga. In many oral histories, even in the life history of the old man who told me how he had to leave the core village when only four daughters were born to him, there is mention of a graveyard near the coast, near the site where Ardika and his team made the archaeological excavations.

⁴⁹ Guernonprez notes a similar “inversion” in Julah (1998:56).

⁵⁰ In Bungkulan there still exists a nowadays privately owned temple with old sculptures and other ancient traces that could be proofs of the “Baleswara” or the monastery Dharmmakuta; however, archaeological investigations would be necessary to ascertain this suggestion.

⁵¹ It is still doubtful where exactly this harbour was. It could have been in the area of today’s Sangsit, which undoubtedly was a port (see Ardika 1991:151). Today, there still exists a temple called Pura Manasa with a Ganesa sculpture in it near the village of Sinabun. From there a waterway directly leads to the coast near Sangsit.

temple and is intimately related (phrased in terms of father and son) to the sea temple of Ponjok Batu. Pura Pucak Sinunggal is called “Si Tunggal” in another early copperplate inscription called “Prasasti Desa Depaa”, (Goris 1954 no. 55), issued by the king Sri Maharaja Jayasakti (1133-1150). King Jayasakti addressed the edict to a domain called “Indrapura” (Ginarsa 1979).

I have already mentioned that one of the shrines in the Pura Desa’s mountainward part and west of Sembiran’s Pura Puseh is dedicated to this regional temple to which Sembiran still annually performs a pilgrimage. Pura Ponjok Batu today is even more important for both Julah and Sembiran; several times a year both villages perform pilgrimages to this sea temple. Its holy water (*tirtha*) is important in all rituals in which purification is a major issue. There is a direct path that links Pura Ponjok Batu with Pura Pucak Sinunggal and the deities of Sinunggal are received and welcomed a few hundred metres from Ponjok Batu before they are escorted to Ponjok Batu. The same applies to an ancient temple far outside Sembiran, formerly belonging to Desa Pintu, and located on the edge of the Yeh Lengis ravine, Pura Teguh. This temple, still consisting of heaped stones (see also Sutaba 1985:15), was once the sanctuary where the deities of Pucuk Sinunggal were ritually welcomed before they were led to the village.



Photo 14: During the festival of the regional temple of Ponjok Batu the deity from the mountain temple of Pucak Sinunggal is called and escorted to the sea temple of Ponjok Batu.

Photo: Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin 1999.

This close relationship between the mountain temple Pucak Sinunggal and the sea temple of Ponjok Batu is reflected in Sembiran’s Pura Desa too: A shrine for Ponjok Batu (actually for Ratu Candi⁵², the most important deity residing there) stands opposite the shrine for Pucak Singunggal and in the immediate vicinity of a shrine for Dalem Tajun/Bayad. Dalem is the title of a ruling noble.⁵³ I have shown in earlier publications how such major regional temples attracted regional lords, even kings (Hauser-Schäublin 2003b, 2004b, 2004c, 2005). They attempted to put under their auspices influential temples of this sort that ritually united sometimes dozen of villages, and to act as sponsors or patrons. There are many indications that the temple of Pucak Sinunggal had been for a long time (certainly with interruptions according to the rise and subsequent disintegration of polities) under the sovereignty of a Dalem. When and how this came to an end is unknown. Pucak Sinunggal was an important regional temple that was linked to one of Bali’s state temples, the Pura Ulun Danu Batur located south-east of both Sinunggal and Sembiran/Julah.

The temple of Pucak Sinunggal is said to today unite eleven villages; together they form a *desa gebogan domas*, an association of 800 KK (*kepala keluarga*, that is, male family heads), although the sum of family heads outnumbers them by far. Each of these eleven villages has its special day when the villagers make the pilgrimage to this temple and bring not only offerings to the gods but also *atos*, tribute-like gifts.

In Sembiran and other villages there are a number of life-cycle rituals directed particularly towards a deified ruler called Dalem Tajun/Bayad. In one of these life-cycle rituals, each man who has been married for a number of years has to kill six calves for each of his wives. In both Sembiran and Julah this sacrifice takes place at a specific site quite some distance from the village in the direction of Pucak Sinunggal. I suggest that these rituals had their origins in certain taxation ceremonies requested by the ruler to be carried out by newly married couples. Seen from today’s standpoint, this ceremony seems to have served two purposes: 1) the formal reporting of household heads and the number of their spouses provided a kind of demographic census. As is well known, the power of a ruler was based on the number of people (heads of households) who constituted his followers rather than on the size of his territory. The number of followers was expressed in rounded figures, 200, 400, 800 etc. (see Hauser-Schäublin 2004c).

⁵² The Sembiran B I inscription dated *saka* 873 mentions the landmarks of Julah’s territory; one of these landmarks is named as *candi*, a term mostly used for a royal tomb (see fn. 44).

⁵³ This seat for Dalem Tajun/Bayad is said to be the seat for all Dalem (in this case: deified, that is ancestral kings) such as Dalem Mekah, Dalem Gelgel, Dalem Solo, Dalem Sindhu and Dalem Suraleya, who are also venerated in Sembiran.

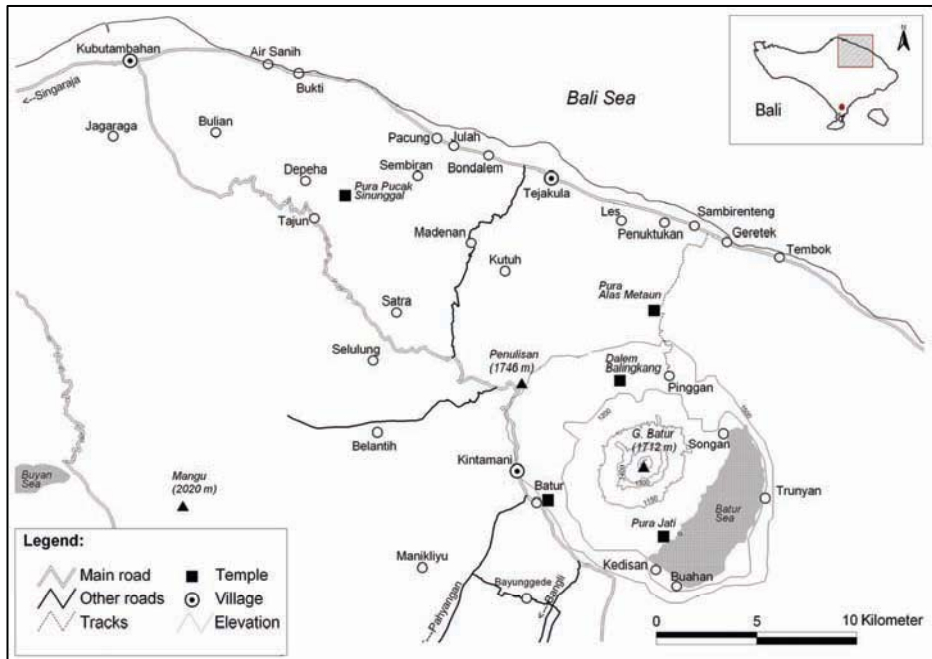


Figure 5: Area with regional temples into which Sembiran’s temple network is embedded. Cartography: Enrico Kalb 2005; source: BAKOSURTANAL 1999.

It is suggested that this regional mountain temple or rather the lord nearby kept a kind of demographic register, resulting in the designation, for example of a *gebog domas* (set of 800), or a *kanca satak* (200), that is the number of people over whom the lord exerted some power.⁵⁴ This interpretation is also supported by the practice of reporting deaths to this temple, which several villages still perform. 2) The sacrifice of a respectable number of calves throughout the year (there are set dates when the sacrifice should take place) seemed to have regularly provided the noble house with meat. This interpretation is supported by the copperplate inscription addressed to “Indrapura”. King Jayasakti’s edict testifies that the inhabitants of Indrapura were freed from a number of taxes and duties other villages were subjected to “because since the beginning they have had the special duty to slaughter

⁵⁴ The copperplate inscription 409 Sembiran A IV, AD 1065, already mentions a temple and/or monastery called Hyang Slat Satak, apparently alluding to the number (*satak* = 200) of (male) heads of household attached to it. In this edict, King Anak Wungsu mentions a ceremony, *sambar*, during which the king has to be venerated. The inhabitants of Julah had to pay some kind of taxes to the official in charge of the *sambar* ceremony. This apparently important ceremony may be comparable to the *ngusaba sambah*, a ceremony celebrating the height of life and fertility, described by François-Simburger for Tenganan (François-Simburger 1998). A whole network of villages is involved in this ritual.

cattle” (Balinese transcription made by Ginarsa 1979). Today’s regular slaughtering of calves could in fact have had its origin in such a tax in kind.

From the examples drawn from the copperplate inscriptions issued between the 10th and the 12th century, we can conclude that Julah/Sembiran had a strong westward orientation. The westward positioning of today’s temples and shrines in Sembiran might go back to such historical circumstances. This example also shows that Sembiran was not an isolated village but was part of a far-reaching ritual and political network. Some oral histories still give evidence of such networks (see p.31).

The Relationship to a State Temple

Apart from Pucak Sinunggal to which both Sembiran and Julah are still linked, the six copperplate inscriptions⁵⁵ themselves definitely point to the Batur Region as I am going to show. Testimonies of such far-reaching relationships can be found in one part of Sembiran’s village temple. The mountainward section of Pura Desa is dedicated to temples beyond the village territory – except for the highest-ranking (seven-tiered) shrine that represents the shrine of origin (Pura Puseh).⁵⁶ The shrines east of Pura Puseh are representations of temples quite a long way off, those in the Kintamani area (Kabupaten Bangli), namely Batur. The Batur temple (Pura Batur Ulun Danu) is, as already briefly stated, one of the most important state temples in Bali; it is located in the central mountain range near the Batur volcano and the crater lake. Thousands of pilgrims from Bali and beyond flock every year to this temple when the festival of the tenth Balinese month takes place; the flow of pilgrims lasts for several weeks. The temple is associated with the control of the flow of water (the crater lake being the largest water reservoir of the island), essential also for irrigation agriculture. The pilgrims progress to this mountain sanctuary where they pray for the blessing of the gods and especially for prosperity and fertility. They carry along large amounts of offerings and gifts dedicated to the Batur deities and their temple and receive holy water, *tirtha*, in turn. As I have shown elsewhere the Batur temple was also a redistributive centre (Hauser-Schäublin 2003b, 2004c, 2005, in press).

⁵⁵ Brandes mentioned that, apart from the copperplate inscriptions then all still kept in Sembiran, there were 150 pieces of roundish metal (coins), two antique golden finger rings (one similar to a signet ring with a cut elephant), some golden miniature tools for handling betelnut ingredients, and two copper arm and ankle rings (Brandes 1890:19-20). The rings and the miniature tools have disappeared since; some of the coins are left. In the interest of security I shall not mention where they are kept; over the past ten years break-ins in temples and the stealing of sacralia later sold on the international art market seem to take place every week throughout Bali. Even the 10 copperplates kept in Julah were stolen a couple of years ago but fortunately recovered in Java before they left the country.

⁵⁶ This shrine of origin – clearly separated from the other “external” shrines by a wall – probably has to be understood as an attempt to attach the “foreign” to one’s own or rather to put one’s own in the centre of an extra-village universe.

The ritual organization of the state, with temples acting as a kind of tax-collecting institution and redistributive centre under the auspices of the king, seem to constitute a very old principle. As the edicts of King Sri Janasadu Warmadewa (*saka* 897) and of Queen Sri Sang Ajnyadewi (*saka* 938) addressed to the villagers of Julah show, the people of Julah were asked to provide a temple (or rather the monastery of Dharmmakuta) with a whole list of tributes or tax in kind and in gold once a year (the month of Kartika, today the fourth Balinese month) and on each occasion of "Rah Tirtha" in the month of Kartika, as the edict of King Warmadewa specifies. The name of this occasion, apparently a ritual in which holy water (*tirtha*) was distributed, seems to suggest a similar exchange of taxes or tributes in kind and money that today's pilgrims bring to the Batur temple, receiving in exchange *tirtha*. A further edict (*saka* 987, Sembiran A IV) mentions that the villagers of Julah had approached the king for his blessing apparently transmitted also in the form of holy water ("*nugrah titisanammr*", translated by Ardika and Beratha as "*anugrah tetesen or air kebidupan*").

The people of Julah had asked the king to have his edict written on copper plates⁵⁷ again on a day the *sambar* ritual was held and when he was apparently present.⁵⁸ The intertwining of ritual and politics, of holy water and taxes, therefore indeed seems to be a basic trait of the organization of Balinese stratified polities.

Today, the Batur temple is part of a whole network of temples.⁵⁹ One of the most prominent in this network is Pura Jati, apparently once in charge of Buddhist priests.⁶⁰ The oral traditions hold that the last Buddhist (or Bujangga) leaders surrendered their power and, consequently, the temple, to Dang Hyang Nirartha, the *brahmana* cultural hero who brought *brahmana* teachings and the *brahmana* caste in the 16th century to Bali. In pre-colonial times Pura Jati was responsible for officially determining and announcing the beginning of the new *saka*-year that starts around July/August. The determination of the New Year was essential for the synchronization of the agricultural cycle – and all the fertility rituals held in temples throughout large parts of Bali. Sembiran played an important role in this, the role of the star watcher. Since the sky is often clouded in the mountains it was

⁵⁷ The smiths (*pande*) as a special group (see Guérmonprez 1987) have a prominent position in Batur with regard to the location of their temple but also with their shrine in Batur's Pura Desa. Today, there no longer exists any link between the profession of smith as such or his products and the members of the group. Unfortunately we have no information where and who produced the copper plates for the inscriptions.

⁵⁸ The villagers had argued that palm leaf (on which he had probably written an earlier edict) was too easily perishable.

⁵⁹ The Batur temple as an institution is no more than a couple of centuries old. One of the most important temples at the time of the royal edicts written on copperplates was the temple of Da Tonta in Trunyan (see Dananjaja 1980 and Ottino 1994, 1998).

⁶⁰ This temple is today completely integrated in the temple network of Batur village. However, this Buddhist temple, or probably rather monastery, had its own network. There exists – perhaps among others which I did not come across – a sacred place (today a temple) in Bungkulan (see footnote 50) that holds a water beaker with zodiac symbols considered to be a heirloom of the temple's intimate relation with Pura Jati.

difficult to determine exactly the rise of the stars. Sembiran still has a small temple (Pura Peninjoan) where the ritual leaders of the village watched for the rise of the Pleyades, *kartika*.⁶¹

As soon as the stars appeared they brought the news to Pura Jati that then set up the New Year ritual in which Sembiran participated. This was the beginning of a year-long cycle of rituals in Batur in which dozens of villages participate. The calendar Pura Jati set up was directive for all villages that followed the Batur cycle.

There is evidence that each village tied to Pura Ulun Danu Batur by a special bond, called *pasyan*, had a representative in Batur, too. Conversely, the (formerly) most important priest, the Mangku Gede (already mentioned), has to be understood as a ritual representative of the Batur temple in Sembiran. Moreover, when one of the (two) leading priest(s) of Pura Ulun Danu was consecrated, he made a visit to important sea temples, often Pura Ponjok Batu, and certain villages to ask for recognition; Sembiran was one of these.

Today, after decades of rapid change that has taken place in Sembiran, only shadows of what probably once constituted the relationship between Sembiran and the ritual centre in Batur can be sketched. The most evident – the material ones – are found in Sembiran’s Pura Desa: Shrines dedicated to deities or temples in Batur. Two of these embody double aspects: they have a local counterpart and they share the same shrine (*ngerok*). They form pairs though each of them has its anniversary celebrated on a different day. Shrine no. 1 (fig. 4) is dedicated to the Pura Ratu Mas Agung Susunan (‘The Temple of the Great Radiating Ruler’)/Ratu Gede Sakti (‘The Great Powerful Lord’), both located in Batur’s main temple; its local (Sembiran) counterpart who resides in the same shrine is Ratu Meduwe Karang (‘The Lord Who Owns the Village’). If Sembiran’s ritual leaders return from a pilgrimage to Batur they deposit the holy water there. Shrine no. 2 is dedicated to I Ratu Ayu Gunung Sari, ‘The Supreme Female Deity of the Batur Volcano’.

⁶¹ Proudfoot stressed the facts that astronomical observations served as adjustments to the Indic calendar (2007:95).



Photo 15: The Mangku Gede of Sembiran leading the delegation from Sembiran is allowed to receive *tirtha* (holy water) from one of the major shrines of the Batur Temple. Photo: Jörg Hauser 1998.

Shrine no. 3 represents Gunung Lebah⁶² (the name of a defunct village near the Batur volcano) and also Ratu Ngurah Rungkin, a deity of Pura Jati on the border of the Batur lake. When Sembiran’s ritual leaders fetch holy water from Pura Jati they deposit it there. Their local counterpart is Ratu Bagus Pura Agung, the deity associated with Sembiran’s former harbour and the trade relations with Batur (see p.27-28), or rather today’s Kintamani area where one of the most important trans-regional markets is still held every third day.

⁶² The volcano today called Batur mountain had many names in pre-colonial times: Gunung Sari, Gunung Tampurhyang, Gunung Kederan, Gunung Sinarata, Gunung Lebah; the latter name means “the low mountain” or “the mountain below” alluding to the Batur lake.

The temple of Ulun Danu displays a shrine dedicated to Ratu Subandar, the deified harbourmaster. *Subandar* (see above) were mostly Chinese and this shrine is thought to be Chinese as well. It is regularly visited by (Buddhist) Chinese. An intimate link between market and temple as well as between merchants or harbourmasters and king is spelled out in many locally told oral histories about a Balinese king (mostly called Jayapangus) and the daughter of a Chinese harbourmaster (sometimes the woman is said to be a Chinese princess). The first three of the royal edicts addressed to Julah dated *saka* 844, 873 and 897 respectively were explicitly written on the market day (*pasar*) at the most important market place when the king apparently held audiences there.⁶³

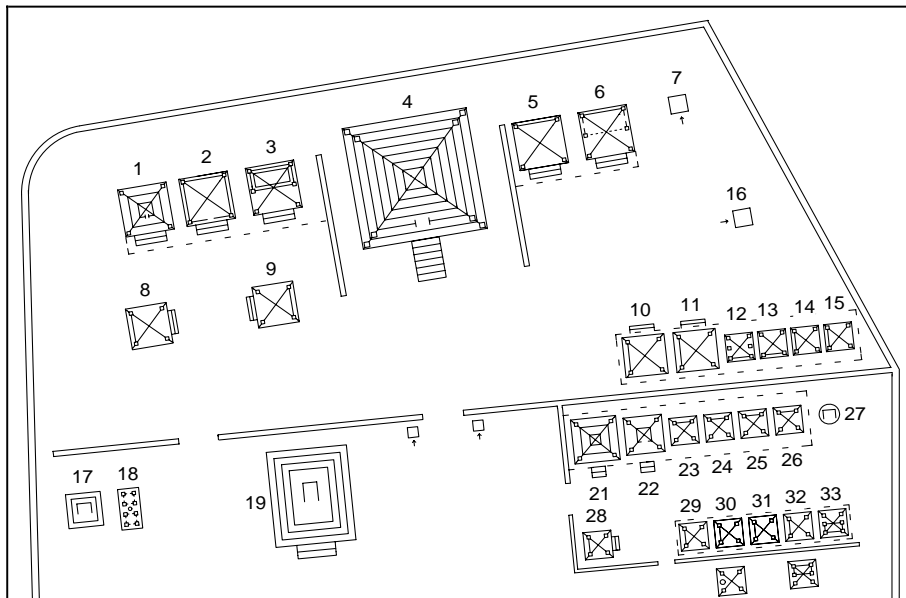


Figure 4. Pura Desa with Pura Puseh, Sembiran, upper part. Shrines dedicated to deities both from Batur (B) and Sembiran (S); some of them (cooperating partners) ‘own’ a shrine together: 1) Pura Ratu Mas Agung Susunan/Ratu Gede Sakti (B), Ratu Meduwe Karang (S); 2) Ratu Ayu Gunung Sari (B); 3) Gunung Lebah/Ratu Ngurah Rungking (B), Ratu Bagus Pura Agung (S); 4) Pura Puseh; 5) Ratu Ngurah Balingkang/Gunung Agung; 6) Pura Pucak Sinunggal; 8), 9), 10) open shrines for offerings; 11) I Ratu Ngurah Candi (Pura Ponjok Batu); 12) Jineng (granary); 13) Tamba Lawang; 14) Ida Bhatara Bagus Wayan (B); 15) Dalem Tajun/Bayad, 21) Ratu Pasek.

⁶³ The names given for these places do not allow any identification.

The temple shrine in today's Sembiran's Pura Desa that houses the copperplate inscriptions has its annual festival on the first full moon of the Balinese year – on the same day as the Batur temple celebrates its annual festival in its temple of origin (Pura Puseh). And it is on this very day that the copperplate inscriptions are ritually cleansed.⁶⁴ On this same occasion, Ratu Meduwe Karang (the local counterpart of the most important Batur deity, Ratu Agung Susunan, both sited on shrine 1), Ratu Ngurah Rungking (fig. 4, shrine 3), and Ratu Pasek (fig. 4, shrine no. 21), the deified ancestors of the Mangku Gede, celebrate their annual festival in Sembiran's village temple. The holy water fetched from Batur is put in one of these shrines on one day and then moved to the shrine where the copperplate inscriptions are housed on the next. Later, at the climax of the ritual, the holy water is distributed to the congregation, too.

The ritual practices and the main temple of Julah express a similar relationship to Batur as Sembiran. The highest shrine (eleven-tiered roof) in the mountainward-eastern section of the temple is indirectly associated with Batur. Formerly, it housed a crown and a ring both designated as a royal gift. They are considered to be part of the sacred heirlooms to which also the copperplate inscriptions belong. Two edicts (*saka* 844 and *saka* 987) already mention a ring (*cincin singhala*) that was given to Julah as a royal gift. Brandes noted a signet ring with a cut elephant (see also footnote 55) among the sacred paraphernalia kept in Sembiran. In Julah the ring and the crown were stolen in the 1960s or the early 1970s for the first time.⁶⁵ The shrine still houses several other heirlooms, among them ancient sculptures of a godly or royal couple. These statues and Julah's share of the copperplate inscriptions are ritually cleansed at set dates when major festival days are held in Batur. Before the cleansing ritual a delegation of ritual elders fetches holy water from Batur, too.

Thus, at every ritual involving the copperplate inscriptions and/or the sculptures the intricate relationship with Batur and their supreme gods is renewed. At the same time a kind of communion between Batur and the people of Julah is achieved: the ritual elders distribute the holy water from Batur as well as that used for the cleansing of the sacred inscriptions and the statues, to the worshippers, who sip it. Similar conditions apply to Sembiran.

⁶⁴ On the occasion of a temple festival, the holy scriptures, today usually written on *rontal* (palm) leaves are publicly read. This was probably done in former times with the Sembiran inscriptions, too. When the ability to read them was lost, attention may have shifted to the cleansing process.

⁶⁵ The crown was reproduced and in the late 1990s stolen again – and reproduced again.



Photo 16: The *kubayan*, the ritual leaders in Julah, walk the offerings round. The leading *kubayan* has a thick skein of white cotton tied by an armband of Chinese coins to his wrist.

Photo: Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin 2003.

In the course of the year, the ritual leaders of Sembiran make a further pilgrimage to the Batur area in order to ask for holy water. This takes place in a later month when the crops in the gardens (mainly dry rice, *gaga*, in former times) have reached a delicate stage immediately before the harvest. The holy water is supposed to ensure fruitful growth and to ward off pests. On the last month of the year (around April), it is Batur who asks Sembiran (and many other villages) to come and bring along offerings and a wide range of the produce of their labour (rice, coconuts, raw cotton, pigs etc.). These goods clearly have, as briefly mentioned above, the character of tributes; they are listed in several palm leaf manuscripts kept in the Batur Temple (see Budiastira 1975 and 1979).

These lists are not only addressed to Sembiran but to a great number of villages considered to be supporters of this major state temple in the mountains. Whether the lists of gifts contained in the royal edicts already mentioned (starting with the earliest, *saka* 844) are a kind of predecessor of these palm leaf manuscripts cannot be determined. Nevertheless the similarity of the gifts Julah formerly had to deliver – among them, most prominently, raw cotton – is striking if compared with those listed for Sembiran in the Batur manuscripts.⁶⁶ One of the royal edicts (*saka* 938) apparently mentions offerings that had to be tied to a bamboo pole (*gantung dulur*); this is still done today, too, when specially made cookies symbolizing stars have to be brought to Pura Jati for the celebration of the beginning of the New Year. Following this, a number of these offerings are tied to a bamboo pole and transported to the temple near the Batur volcano.



Photo 17: Before the celebration of the New Year takes place in the Pura Jati near the Batur Lake, Sembiran’s members of the *krama desa* prepare special offerings (note the cookies) that are fixed to bamboo poles and then carried across the mountains to Pura Jati. Photo: Jörg Hauser 2003.

⁶⁶ It might be surprising that Julah is not mentioned in all the Batur tribute lists; I suggest that they were (re-)written (or copied) when the (surviving) inhabitants fled to Upit sometime in the 18th century and were considered part of Sembiran village (see above).

However, while between the 10th to the 12th centuries it was the king who requested a list of specific products from Julah, it is evident that nowadays it is the temple and the temple authorities who ask for the tributes. In exchange for these goods Julah’s and Sembiran’s deputies receive holy water, too. In Sembiran there exists a special temple, Pura Peken (literally meaning ‘Market Temple’)⁶⁷ located above the village at a site from where the track to the mountain starts.



Photo 18: The holy water from Batur is first brought to the Peken (‘market’) Temple in Sembiran. It is then ritually escorted by the elders to its final destination, the village temple. Photo: Jörg Hauser 1998.

In this temple the holy water from Batur is always first brought and venerated before it is then taken in a solemn procession to the village temple. As soon as the *tirtha* from Batur reaches the Pura Desa, the village celebrates the annual festival of two of its shrines dedicated to Batur.

There seems to have existed a two-way relationship between the temple supporting villages, *pasyan*,⁶⁸ and the Batur temple consisting of a movement from the periphery to the centre and one from the centre to the periphery. Apart from

⁶⁷ Asked for an explanation of this name some elders explained that Pura Peken is a temple exclusively dedicated to the (ritual) exchange relations between Sembiran and Batur.

⁶⁸ According to the linguist I Nyoman Suarka, Universitas Udayana Denpasar, *pasyan* is etymologically related to *sinya* meaning religious disciple (personal communication).

pilgrimages the *pasyan* regularly performed (periphery to centre), a delegation of the temple, accompanied by the symbols of the gods, made a procession to the villages of the *pasyan*. Therefore, the gods of Batur went on a procession as far as the villages at the periphery that had shrines representing the Batur temple or one of its deities – but never beyond. The progress, therefore, served also the reconfirmation of the ritual territory.⁶⁹



Photo 19: The *amblangin* (‘census’) ritual is performed both in Julah and in Sembiran. Each household has to deliver as a kind of tax a fixed amount of Chinese coins (accompanied in Sembiran by cotton, dried beans and rice). This tax is no longer paid to higher institutions beyond the village boundaries. Photo: Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin 2001.

These villages apparently considered these visits, when the temple authorities brought symbols of Batur’s deities along, to be an honour or even a favour. The texts describe various taxes to be paid by the villages to the visiting gods, the amount of money depending on the standing of deities, those representing Batur’s

⁶⁹ In one of the palm leaf manuscripts (Pratekaning Usana Siwasasana, § 14b) the area of the *pasyan* is outlined as follows: on the north coast it reaches from today’s border between Buleleng and Karangasem to Singaraja, in the southwest and the south to a river (Yeh Sumi), which forms today’s border between Tabanan and Badung; to the east to Klungkung (Yeh Unda).

major deities (both of Pura Batur and Pura Jati) being among the most “expensive”. According to different *lontar* texts kept in the Pura Ulun Danu Batur (see Budiastra 1975 und 1979), this ritual tax collecting (tax in kind as well as in money) was called *ambalangan* (Babad Patisora § 42a), *ablagung* (Pangacin-acin Ida Bhatara § 50a), or *ambalangan* (Pratekaning Usana Siwasasana § 74b). Today such visits no longer take place, at least not, as far as I know, to villages on the north coast⁷⁰. However, both Julah and Sembiran still perform rituals called *amblangan* or *ngnamblangin*, too; they are locally translated as “census”, or “to enrol”. During these rituals carried out in the major village temple, each household has to contribute a certain amount of Chinese coins, rice, dried beans, and unprocessed cotton – the same goods to be brought to Batur. Today, the money is transferred to the treasury of the ritual village association and used for further ceremonies. The rice is used for a ceremonial meal of the village ritual association. This wealth therefore no longer flows back to Batur.

There is a further shrine in Sembiran’s Pura Desa that represents the outbound relations of this village. The shrine stands immediately west of Pura Puseh and represents a temple on the caldera rim of the Batur volcano, Pura Dalem Balingkang. Apparently Pura Dalem Balingkang was tied into a network similar to Pura Ulun Danu Batur. However, there seemed to have existed a rivalry between the temples of Dalem Balingkang and Batur with regard to the supporting villages. Dalem Balingkang is considered in large parts of north and central Bali to be the site of the first Balinese kingdom with a palace (*puri*) there (see also Hauser-Schäublin 2004c).⁷¹ Today, this temple is revitalized by descendants of noble houses as well as by politicians, and the authorities have started to “invite” villages to join the annual temple festival.

This paragraph has shown to what extent both Sembiran and Julah were and still are embedded in political and ritual networks, the latter village today only to a limited extent since it deliberately denies any “dependency” from places outside of its territory. Temples, shrines and the respective naming of the deities residing there as well as the ritual practices and oral histories provide proofs of these net-

⁷⁰ The temple Pura Gunung Lebah in Campuan (Ubud) which, as the name suggests, is dedicated to the Batur deity, invites Bhatari Dewi Danu to its temple festival when it is celebrated on the highest level with a water buffalo as a sacrifice. The goddess represented in a *tapakan*, a flower symbol, is led from the Batur temple to Campuan where she resides for the duration of the festival in the temple there. The highest temple authorities from Batur, the two Jero Gede, then visit the temple as well. I suggest that this may be the model for such visits as described in the *lontar* texts.

⁷¹ The palace is said to have been originally located on the Batur caldera rim, in Kuta Dalem (near Sukawana) and just a few kilometres off from Dalem Balingkang. During an earthquake this site was completely destroyed and the palace buried under the landslide (see Reuter 2000a).

works that are vital for the understanding of the socio-political and religious organization of the villages in question.

Between Stratification and Equality, Regional Integration and Autonomy

The fact that Sembiran and Julah (as well as many other villages) were (and partly still are) expected to provide temples and temple authorities with goods and labour (for temple renovations and the preparation of festivals) makes it clear that these networks were not free from questions of power and authority. After the collapse of the kingdoms (enforced by the Dutch colonial power) the temples became more or less cut off from the ties that existed between them and the royal houses (cf. Hauser-Schäublin 2003, 2004b, 2005, in press).⁷²

As already mentioned, the Sembiran copperplate inscriptions give evidence of the fact that Sembiran was once a highly complex and even stratified society between the 10th and the 12th centuries. The social structure and socio-political organization were continuously fluctuating, no doubt as a consequence of continuous interactions (of different forms) with foreigners and immigrant groups. Reintegration into larger polities and stratification and disintegration and processes of de-stratification seem to have continuously followed one another. It is impossible to clearly outline these processes; they can only be illustrated with examples that give insight into the socio-political preconditions in which they were set.

Since colonial times various authors interpreted the *krama desa* (village association) as a manifestation of an aboriginal egalitarian socio-political organization. What Korn (1984) already pointed out in the case of Tenganan but as Reuter (2002b) has convincingly shown for a large number of mountain villages, at the core of the organization of the communal life was a dualism, the division of the adult members of the ritual village association into two ceremonial moieties on the model of elder and younger (or right and left). These moieties (*sibak*) are the basic cooperative units that complement each other. Every ritual can be achieved only through mutual cooperation of both moieties.

Whether a dual organization similar to today's village association already existed at that time documented by the copperplate inscriptions is difficult to say. Nevertheless, the term *karaman*, which seems to be identical with today's *krama*, is mentioned from the first edict, dated *saka* 844, to the last, the *saka* 1103 inscription. It seems that this institution has had an astonishing persistence, although without

⁷² These ties have recently, as a consequence of Indonesia's move to political decentralization, been re-activated.

further evidence we cannot conclude that there was continuity in structure or organization.

However, dualism is not restricted to “primitive” or aboriginal social organization; it can be the result of a process that Friedmann has called devolution in the context of his analysis of the Katchin in Burma and the transformation from the *gumlao* to *gumsa* type of social organization (Friedmann 1998). Moreover, duality can serve as the basis for complex political organizations. Dualism is, as Southall (1956) emphasized, a characteristic feature also of the segmentary state since it serves vertical integration at a higher level of organization. As I have demonstrated elsewhere, the villages were embedded not only in a wider geographical but also in a political context in corresponding power relations. When the ritual community of a village acts beyond the village level, as, for example, at a ceremony in a regional temple, the moieties no longer play any role. It is the village as a unified body that becomes represented (Hauser-Schäublin 2004c).

Nevertheless, Sembiran’s *krama desa* is not the only village organization that has existed since pre-colonial times. As Stephen Lansing already pointed out (1977:28), Sembiran has a unique institution, the *sekebe gede* (The Great Association, also called *Desa Gede*, ‘Big Village’), in which members of all clans (*dadya*) are represented. In this respect, Sembiran indeed seems to differ substantially from other villages, even from Julah. The *sekebe gede* goes back to the two immigrants whose stories have been rendered above: Ratu Subandar/Pesisir and Ratu Kamasan; the *sekebe gede* was headed by them. In contrast to the *krama desa*, the *sekebe gede* is an encompassing organization where people or rather localized units (“clans” or *dadya*) are included without regard to their ritual practice (originally whether *slem* or *kala*, that is either ‘Islam’ or ‘Hindu’). As will be remembered, the *krama desa* was the organization of the original inhabitants with whom the immigrants came into conflict with regard to the rituals practices they brought with them. The *sekebe gede* seemed to be one of the compromises or solutions the two parties achieved. The *sekebe gede* displays features of an administrative or political organization; its goal or function is to integrate different groups (autochthonous and immigrants) and to establish and maintain social order.⁷³

Today, the *sekebe gede* has two meeting places, one south of the village temple, the Bale Banjar, and one east of it. The meeting in the Bale Banjar/Bale Bundar takes place every month at *tanggal ping pitu* (seven days after the moon eclipse). The eastern meeting place was turned into a temple recently and is called Pura Jugan (*jugan*—meeting). Pura Jugan is explained as the place “where a *ratu* [sovereign] lived, received his guests, and arranged meetings.”

⁷³ After the colonial government separated customary life (*adat*) from colonial administrative life (*dinas*), the *sekebe gede* was moved to *adat* and therefore lost its function of integrating immigrants.

To this day, there still exist two offices, that of the *praejuru desa* (village official, *praejuru* literally means 'warrior') and the *klian desa* (village head); these, with some assistants, constitute a kind of governing body. They are elected in the Pura Jugan; their functions are today restricted to customary life (*adat*). Similarly, as in Julah (Guermonprez 1998:54-55), they are not integrated into the *krama desa* but act separately, in cooperation with the *paulun desa* (the senior leaders of the *krama desa*). Whether these offices can be traced back to Ratu Subandar/Pesisir and Ratu Kamasan who seem to be the founders and the leaders of the *sekebe gede*, cannot be determined.

There is a ceremony organized by the *krama desa* that takes place in the Pura Jugan once a year in the sixth Balinese month (following the Hindu-Balinese calendar) when the representatives of all the clans as well as more than twenty-five temples (represented by symbols) assemble there. This ceremony is called *kelaci*, the official admission of newly married couples to the *krama desa*. It is surprising that this ceremony does not take place at the *krama desa*'s homeplace, the Bale Agung in the Pura Desa. However, I understand it as a crossing-over of the two major village organizations (*krama desa* and *sekebe gede*) that serves to reinforce village solidarity. The couples who newly enter the *krama desa* have to pay a fee and, formerly, each had to sacrifice a calf (*godel*).⁷⁴ In contrast to – as far as I know – all other sacrifices of *godel*, the one killed at *kelaci* is not offered to the gods. The animal is butchered and its meat immediately allocated in portions to the members of the *krama desa*. This formal and communal celebration supplements the actual admission of individual couples to the *krama desa* that takes place immediately after marriage at the official monthly meeting in the village temple, Pura Desa, on the day of the "dead moon" (the moonless night).

Additionally, Pura Jugan is also concerned with individuals as members of the community; the stages of marriage and death have to be reported there.⁷⁵ Moreover, individuals who have trespassed across norms (committing incest, bestiality, etc.) have to perform purification rituals in the course of which they have to report there, too, as well as to another closely related temple, the Pura Cungkub. *Cungkub* (or rather *cungkup*) literally means the roof over a Muslim grave or even the dome or upper part of a mosque; people in Sembiran translate the word simply as "building."⁷⁶ Once a year the unmarried young men (*teruna*) of the village had to construct a new fence starting at Pura Cungkub, passing by Pura Pendem,

⁷⁴ Since nowadays most of the inhabitants of Sembiran are rather poor, only one *godel* bought by the village is killed for all couples together.

⁷⁵ For a detailed description of the life cycle rituals see Riemenschneider and Hauser-Schäublin 2006.

⁷⁶ Whether Pura Cungkub was a special Islamic site of worship or even the grave of one or both of the prominent Islamic immigrants remains unclear. The same applies to Pura Pendem, *pendem* meaning "grave"; there are indications that support this interpretation of former Muslim sacred sites (Chambert-Loir 2002).

and ending at Pura Jugan. The purpose of the fence was "to prevent animals [pigs and dogs?] from entering this area"; nowadays this fence is no longer built, though people speak about it as if they continue to build it. The two sites, today's Pura Jugan and Pura Cungkub, were (and partly still are) the major places where the villagers were regularly called to account for their behavior. Changes in their life status were acknowledged there.

There are other oral histories which seem to allude to specific socio-political processes that might have taken place in or around Sembiran (and Julah). They are difficult to locate in any historical era. Nevertheless I will briefly outline them because they contribute to the understanding of the fluctuation of socio-political processes to be discussed in this paragraph. These histories tell of a sovereign, called I Dewa Gede, who ruled over Sembiran and other villages but apparently did not live in the village. I Dewa Gede integrated between 20 and 30 villages into an overarching organization. He also issued laws and exercised control over artisans and workmen. Whoever wanted to carry on a trade or occupation had to ask for a permit first (and probably had to pay a tax). Those who did not conform to these regulations had to face punishment both in the material world (punished by men) as well as in the transcendental realm (punished by the gods). He assembled the villagers in the Pura Puseh and instructed them how to carry out proper rituals, what kind of ingredients had to be used, how to make offerings; he taught them songs, too. He requested all immigrants to follow the customs of Sembiran and to give up those they had brought with them.

I Dewa Gede is portrayed as an immigrant too (but definitely not of Islamic faith) who became the ruler not only over the village but a whole region; he also carried out reformations and innovations. In contrast to Ratu Subandar/Pesisir and Ratu Kamasan, he pleaded for conformity to the rules and practices he had set up. He did his best to keep off cultural change due to further interactions with people from outside. If I interpret this history correctly, I Dewa was a further cultural hero⁷⁷ who integrated Sembiran into his domain. He created regular meetings and coordinated meeting days for all the villages throughout his domain. In this way he was able to attend all these meetings, if he wanted, without temporal overlap. It is to him that the building of a seven-tiered Pura Puseh shrine is attributed; the Pura Puseh was intended to replace or supplement the Pura Dulu and its function. Pura Puseh, as may be remembered, represents Sembiran more or less as the centre in the midst of extra-village relations which all shrines to both sides embody.

⁷⁷ "Further" is not to be understood in terms of time sequences since it is impossible to determine to what extent this story mirrors a historical episode and if so, whether this was earlier or later than that of the Muslim immigrants outlined above.

The reminiscence kept of another former regional ruler is that of I Gusti Agung Pahang. His memory has been kept alive due to the evil deeds he carried out. Moreover he is said to have lived in a place that belongs to Banjar Panggung, Sembiran, not too far away from Upit. At this site, still today called Pahang, people maintained that they had found tools and pottery sherds. I Gusti Agung Pahang was killed and the settlement levelled to the ground.⁷⁸

Even the earliest colonial sources, those established by Dutch administrators, give evidence of the fact that Sembiran was then part of a kingdom. Liefrinck noted that in the mid 19th century Sembiran was integrated into the kingdom of Buleleng and had to pay taxes in kind (rice) and money to the king (1934:71-72). A substantial part of the best agricultural land (10.5 hectares) located near the coast was king's land (*tanah tetaminyan anak agung*) (Liefrinck 1924:384).

All such stories are indications that isolation and egalitarianism were not *ur*-characteristics of Sembiran – and Julah as well. There seem to have always existed a tension between egalitarian tendencies and those of ranking and stratification within these villages and beyond (see also Geertz and Geertz 1975:167). Today, the elders of both villages hold that people who immigrated to Sembiran or Julah over the past and looked for affiliation had to give up their title (if they had one) and to cut off their bonds to the village they came from. Julah tells the story of "*perang kasta*", a fight between members of different title-bearing groups who struggled over the social ranking and the way people should address each other, revealing subordination and domination. The conflict was solved by setting up the rule that the inhabitants were allowed to call each other only by the polite form of address of "*jeru*".

Again, this story allows a new glimpse into the socio-political processes that took place in Sembiran and Julah; it shows that the inhabitants, mainly the members of the *krama desa*, shaped their polity themselves and were not subject to the actions of outsiders.

All these histories told in Sembiran show that its people are well aware of their past and the many changes their village, their political organization and their rituals practices have undergone. Active change and innovation are important cultural

⁷⁸ Whether this Gusti Agung Pahang is the same as the one mentioned in the Babad Buleleng (Worsley 1972:61-69) is uncertain, but possible. According to the Babad Buleleng, Ki Gusti Agung Pahang lived in the first half of the 19th century; he succeeded to the throne of Den Bukit. He ruled for only two years (1829-1831). After endless murdering, he was forced to flee and was later killed (Simpson 1989:25). The settlement he founded was levelled to the ground after he had been killed by the people he had tormented. The same fate, for reasons unknown, befell the settlements of Lebang and Pohontanduk, both up in the mountains on Sembiran and Julah territory.

factors and at the core of their self-understanding and of the dynamic potential of the villagers and their culture - also with respect to their future.

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