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Lamak : ritual objects in Bali

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Lamak

Ritual objects in Bali

Francine Brinkgreve

Lamak

Sidestone Press

Lamak

Ritual objects in Bali

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In memory of my parents

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It is to the memory of my parents that I gratefully dedicate this book.

Figure 1.1: For its consecration ceremony, the shrine dedicated to the deity who looks after our land, Ida Betara Maduwe Karang, is 'dressed' with textiles and a lamak of lontar leaves, made by Ni Made Raka. The temporary shrine to the right is decorated with a ceniga, made of the young leaves of the coconut palm. Bukit Pucak Sari, 6/4/2016.

Chapter 1

Study of *lamak*

1.1 *Lamak* in Bali anno 2014 and 2016

It was the day of the new moon of the tenth month, Tilem Sasih Kedasa, 29 April 2014. We had completed the renovation of our little house in Budakeling, Karangasem, and the new moon was a suitable day for its inauguration (*mlaspas*).[1] Among the various forms of ritual decoration needed for the ceremony were seven small *lamak* (of a variety called *ceniga*), narrow rectangular hangings[2] made of the whitish leaves of the *lontar* palm, in which small motifs have been cut out and the parts fastened together with small bamboo pins and staples.[3]

Women of the village, who helped prepare the ceremony, 'dressed' our small shrine with a white cloth and attached one of the *lamak* so that it hung from the opening of the shrine. On the triangular-shaped upper part of the *lamak* the women placed offerings for the deity who looks after the land. Meanwhile, a group of men erected five temporary bamboo shrines, *sanggar cucuk*, in front of the permanent shrine on the lawn, one in the centre and four around it. Each of these five shrines was decorated with flowers in the five different colours associated with the cardinal directions and the centre, and with a *lamak*, which hung down from the small offering platform. The offerings on these shrines were associated with the *caru*, offerings for the *buta kala*, netherworld beings who have to be appeased as part of the inauguration ceremony. The main part of these *caru*, five chickens with different coloured plumage and legs, was placed on the ground under the bamboo shrines, in bamboo baskets on top of banana leaves.

Then Pak Ketut, who had supervised the renovation of the house, climbed up a ladder and he himself hung the seventh *lamak* from the eaves of the roof over the front porch. He explained that this *lamak* belonged to the offerings presented to the deities who will look after the house, who will descend to the roof to receive their offerings. In fact, since these offerings cannot be placed on the roof, the 'practical solution' is to place the offerings on a mat on the terrace, underneath the *lamak*.

---

1 Spelling of Balinese words follows the 'standard' *Kamus Bali-Indonesia*, 2nd edition (1990). Balinese words in quotations follow the original spelling. Especially with regards to words of Old Javanese and Sanskrit origins, spellings can vary.

2 It is difficult to find a satisfactory gloss for the word *lamak*. Since it is an object that always hangs down, the expression 'narrow hanging' seems best. Elsewhere the term 'runner' has been used, but since at least in textile terminology a runner is used for a textile in a horizontal position, for example a cloth to cover a table, it is not really appropriate.

3 Indonesian or Balinese words in the plural are not given an additional 's'; the context should provide sufficient clarity.

After this *lamak* had been installed, there was some consternation among the women since there was no *lamak* left for the small *pelangkiran*, an offering altar inside the house. Fortunately, for this purpose they could use one of the textile *lamak* I had just bought at the market in Amlapura to become part of the *lamak* collection in the National Museum of World Cultures[4] in Leiden, where I am curator for the Indonesia collections (fig. 4.69). However, as this textile *lamak* could not fulfil its ritual purpose by itself, a small piece of banana leaf was placed between the textile *lamak* and the tray of offerings placed on its undecorated upper end. This leaf was so small that it was not visible. After the officiating priest had purified the house and by presenting the offerings and uttering mantras had brought the house to life, we prayed to the deities for protection and happiness for all who come and stay there. During our prayers, we held sticks of burning incense and flowers between our fingertips, to carry the essence of the offerings to their respective destinations. In return, we received from the priest holy water, *tirtha*, which we sipped, and grains of rice which had been soaked in holy water, to put on our foreheads. Afterwards, we also ate some fruits from the offerings which had been blessed by the deities.

The *sanggar cucuk*, the *lamak* still attached, and the baskets with *caru* offerings were all carried three times, anti-clockwise, around the house and the borders of the land, and finally buried in a deep hole which the men had dug in a corner of the land. The *lamak* on the permanent shrine and the one hanging from the roof stayed where they were, to wither away, while the textile *lamak* which had served its purpose on the altar inside the house I packed away again, to bring back to the Netherlands. I have kept this *lamak* in my study as a memory of the inauguration ceremony of our little house in Bali and as source of inspiration during the process of writing this dissertation.

Two years later, again on the day of the new moon of the tenth month, Tilem Sasih Kedasa, 6 April 2016, we celebrated another inauguration ceremony, this time of the shrine on our lawn. This shrine (*palinggih*), dedicated to the deity who looks after (or 'possesses') our land, Ida Betara Maduwe Karang, had to be rebuilt in the previous year. For this process, the deity had first to be moved to a temporary, living natural shrine, made of the sprouting branches of a sacred *dadap* tree, next to the original shrine which was then 'killed'. By means of the *mlaspas* ritual, the new shrine was brought to life (*urip*).

Before the ceremony, I bought new clothing (*pangangge*, *busana*) for the shrine, including a black and white checked *poleng* cloth which has protective qualities and an accompanying permanent *poleng lamak* (see section 4.4.1.6). Since this ceremony was smaller than the inauguration of our house, only one temporary bamboo shrine, *sanggar cucuk*, was erected, and the *caru* offerings included only one chicken. The shrine was decorated with a fresh *ceniga*, made of leaves of the coconut palm, hung on top of a banana leaf. After we had dressed the new permanent shrine with the textiles, a *ceniga* made of *lontar* leaves was put inside the shrine, hanging from the small plank on which the offering which would act as container for the deity was placed. Hanging down from the opening of the shrine, on top of the textile *lamak*, we put a beautiful *lamak* made of the leaves of the *lontar* palm, which were partly dyed green and red (fig. 1.1). This *lamak* was made by Ni Made Raka, a lady from the village who earns money by selling small offerings and ritual decorations.

After the ceremony was over, the *sanggar cucuk* with *ceniga*, together with the *caru* offerings, was thrown outside the gateway, whereas the *pelinggih* remained dressed and kept its offerings for three days. When after three days the shrine was undressed, the textile *lamak* was packed away together with the other textiles. But the *lontar lamak* became part of my collection in the Netherlands.

4 The National Museum of World Cultures (Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, NMW), is the new museum formed in 2015 by the merger of three former independent ethnographic museums, the Tropenmuseum (TM) in Amsterdam, the National Museum of Ethnology (Museum Volkenkunde, formerly Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, RV) in Leiden, and the Afrika Museum in Berg en Dal. The first two mentioned museums have major Indonesia collections. The use in this study of the name National Museum of Ethnology always refers to the Leiden collection.

1.2 Subject and structure of the book

This introductory story about the different ways of using different types of *lamak*, both ephemeral[5] and non-ephemeral, summarizes the theme of this dissertation. But already for 40 years, from the summer holidays of 1974 when I witnessed my first temple festival in Bali, up to the present day when as museum curator I study the Indonesian collections in the National Museum of World Cultures, I have been "captivated" (as Alfred Gell (1998:69) would call it) by *lamak* and other forms of ephemeral ritual art in Bali. Especially on the early morning of Galungan (a kind of New Year festival recurring every 210 days) when thousands of *lamak*, fashioned from fresh palm leaves, decorate temporary shrines along almost every street in Bali, I enjoy immensely the wide variety of motifs and styles, the beauty of little details. And I admire the creativity of all the women who made these decorative objects, even more so because I realize their beauty will be gone by the next day and they have to be made all over again.

The beauty of *lamak* was already noticed by the famous artist Walter Spies who in the 1930s had planned to make a book about them, but after his tragic death during the Second World War, nobody has taken up his idea until this present study.

But there are also other reasons for this study. Bali is one of the best studied areas in the Indonesian Archipelago, and art and religion are well represented within those studies, and in museum collections. However, ritual objects made of palm leaves, for example the *lamak*, although they are indispensable in Balinese rituals, nevertheless have received almost no scholarly attention. This is undoubtedly partly due to the fact that they have hardly been collected, since ephemeral *lamak* (except for the types made of the more durable *lontar* palm leaves) could not be kept in museum storage.[6] Not only are the materials taken from nature and return to the earth after the ritual is over, but *lamak* are also 'short-lived', ephemeral, by intent, they may not be used again, they have to be made again and again and again. And probably because they were not found in museums, they were much less studied than other forms of ritual art. Palm leaf *lamak* can only be studied in the field. Also my general interest in gender studies added to my motivation to choose this subject, since the creators of *lamak* (and offerings in general) are mainly women.

Moreover, I found it intriguing that of all the different kinds of ephemeral ritual art in Bali which are made of such materials as palm leaf, flowers, rice dough and pig fat, the *lamak* is the only one that also exists in more durable form. These 'permanent' versions, mainly made of different kinds of textiles, are part of some museum collections, but since by far the majority of *lamak* is made of palm leaves, these collections do not give a complete image of the richness and varieties of *lamak*. And even these permanent *lamak*, in relation to the numerous collections and studies of Balinese textiles and other forms of ritual art like paintings or statues, seem to be an almost forgotten subject.

However, it is a subject that is indeed well worth paying attention to. Therefore, the main purpose of this anthropological research project is to contribute to filling these gaps, and to explore all the different aspects of this particular form of material culture used in rituals, the Balinese *lamak*. The study of all the different aspects of a *lamak* and their interrelations will finally give an answer to the question: 'Why do the Balinese make and remake lamak?'[7] This main research question is divided into a number of sub-questions which are discussed in the four subsequent chapters.

5 Ephemeral in the strict sense of the term is understood as "lasting or used for a very short time; having a very short life cycle" (Concise Oxford English dictionary, 11th ed., 2006). However, as this study will show, there are varying degrees of ephemerality.

6 Likewise, in her article "Not for collection: ephemeral art", Hauser-Schäublin states that "At least half the varieties of art produced by the Sepik cultures are not represented in the collections even of specialized museums and private collectors" (1985:27).

7 This research question was inspired by the title of a recent article by Richard Fox (2015): 'Why do Balinese make offerings?' As will be discussed throughout this study, a *lamak* can only be explained in its relation to offerings.

In Chapter 2, I introduce the *lamak* as ritual object. What is a *lamak*, what do Balinese do with *lamak* (and why), and what is the purpose of a *lamak* in ritual? After a brief introduction to Balinese religion, I present the different meanings of the word '*lamak*', and the different varieties of this ritual object. Then I describe what Balinese actually do with *lamak*, how they use them in ritual and why they do that. As examples of religious ceremonies in which *lamak* play an important role, I will present the Bali-wide Galungan festive period, and the *odalan*, or temple festival, which is specific for each individual temple on the island. Finally the question "What is the purpose of a *lamak*?" will be answered by presenting the viewpoints of informants and comments found in various Balinese publications.

In Chapter 3, I explore how motifs are related to the purpose of the *lamak*. What are the main decorative motifs on a *lamak*, and what do they look like? How are the motifs related to one another within the vertical structural frame of a *lamak*? The meaning of motifs according to Balinese makers, users and specialists, the way they classify the different motifs and relate them to cosmological structures, plays an important role in this chapter. Special attention will be given to the motif of the *cili*, representing human life and fertility.

In Chapter 4, I examine whether there also exists a connection between the ritual purpose of a *lamak* and the material and techniques with which it is made. I focus first on the materials that palm leaf *lamak* are made of and the details of the techniques used for making them, and then explore further whether the colours and the structure of the motifs resulting from the way the leaves are handled might be related to other aspects of Balinese culture. In the second part of this chapter I present an overview of the many varieties of *lamak* made from materials other than palm leaves, and investigate whether their ritual function differs in any way from that of palm leaf *lamak*. Finally, I discuss the relationship between 'ephemeral' and 'permanent' *lamak* in connection with the purpose of a *lamak*, mainly (as in the previous chapters) on the basis of the viewpoints of Balinese themselves.

In Chapter 5, I investigate the social-economic network of makers, sellers and users of *lamak*. First I focus on the different categories of *lamak* makers and entrepreneurs, their interactions and transactions. In the second part of the chapter I describe certain aspects of the regional diversity of *lamak* in relation to the individual creativity of the makers. And finally I examine to what extent changes in social-economic relations are reflected in this variation of *lamak* and in their developments and changes over time.

In the final chapter I make concluding remarks by interrelating all different aspects of the Balinese *lamak*. I analyse what is the relation between the ritual purpose of the *lamak*, its motifs, its structure and the ephemerality of its natural materials. I place the *lamak* within the framework of some material culture studies and compare the *lamak* with a number of other, related, ephemeral objects.

Finally, in an appendix, I present a catalogue of the *lamak* collection (and their collecting histories) in the National Museum of World Cultures, of which the oldest example, collected by W.O.J. Nieuwenkamp, is over 100 years old.

1.3 *Lamak* and western scholarship

Palm leaf *lamak*, especially the ones on display along the roads of Bali during the Galungan period, had already caught the attention of visitors as early as Crawfurd (1820), as will be referred to in Chapter 2, but it was the famous German artist Walter Spies who was the first to become really fascinated by them. Spies (1895-1942), accomplished musician and painter, lived in Ubud from the late 1920s until 1940, and became very knowledgeable about Balinese art. He was particularly interested in the wide range of *lamak* ornamentation. He collected hundreds of *lamak* patterns by making drawings of them, first drawing the motifs in pencil and then filling them in with black drawing ink, in a washed ink technique. He even planned a publication. In a letter to his mother dated 4 October 1932, he wrote: "*Es wird entlich mein Lamak buch ausgegeben werden*" (Rhodius 1964:310), but in the end this never happened. The greater part of these drawings have been lost; only two museums in the world are in the possession of a number of drawings that have survived. Museum Pasifika in Nusa Dua, Bali, recently bought at auction six drawings in ink on paper, each illustrating a *cili* figure, and the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna

has around 43 paintings in ink on paper, of motifs found on *lamak*, most of them published in an article by Werner Kraus (2010).[8]

In general studies on Balinese art and religion, especially those by Covarrubias (1937:170-175) and Ramseyer (1977:165, ill. 212-217), palm leaf *lamak* are mentioned but not extensively described or interpreted. However, palm leaf *lamak* are interpreted in a recent publication by Domenig (2014). Part of this study is an overview of what he calls 'spirit ladders' from many parts of Indonesia, and he includes *lamak* as one of the varieties he describes (Domenig 2014:4). Although I do not agree with particular details of his analysis of the *lamak*, his book is very useful as an overview of objects with a related purpose as the *lamak*, elsewhere in Indonesia.[9]

It is significant for the poor representation of the palm leaf *lamak* in western literature, that the only two articles by western scholars on *lamak*, by Langewis (1956) and Pelras (1967), do not have as subject the palm leaf *lamak*, but instead discuss examples in museums of a special variety of textile *lamak*. Both authors, following a structuralist analysis by Jager Gerlings (1952), claim that a *lamak*, as textile, belongs to the female domain (like textiles in other parts of Indonesia), complementary to the male *penjor*,[10] representing the male mountain Gunung Agung. The union between *lamak* and *penjor* is the same as between sacred lance and textile (Pelras 1967:272). Pelras in particular relates the Galungan celebration to the new creation of the world brought about by the union of male and female, earth and heaven, negative and positive, *lamak* and *penjor* (Pelras 1967:273-274).

Initially I followed this idea in an article about male and female in Balinese ritual decorations (Brinkgreve 2002), in which I stated that the relationship between the strong upright pole of the *penjor*, erected by men, and the more soft, supple, textile-like *lamak*, fashioned and attached to it by women, can be compared with the combination of male and female elements in many other parts of Indonesia. However, although the making of *penjor* is indeed the responsibility of men (even though the palm leaf artefact hanging from the top, the *sampian*, and the other palm leaf decorations are made by women) and the *lamak* mainly the work of women, there is no further evidence that the specific combination of *penjor* and *lamak* is related to the new creation of the world. As I will argue, in the different aspects of both *lamak* and *penjor* male and female elements are combined, and both objects are related to the regeneration of life.

Langewis, inspired by the fact that the *lamak* is always hanging down and that this is reminiscent of the tongue that sometimes protrudes and hangs down from the mouth of a sacred image, suggested that the function of the *lamak* might be to ward off evil influences (1956:39-40), but this was not confirmed by any of my Balinese informants.[11] Besides the special blue-white woven *lamak* which formed the subject of the articles by Pelras and Langewis, the other type of textile *lamak* which has received attention are embroidered *lamak* from the region of Jembrana, described by Fischer and Cooper (1997) and Fischer (2004). In some general books and museum catalogues on Indonesian textiles (for example Maxwell 1990; Campbell 2014) or Balinese textiles (Hauser-Schäublin, Nabholz-Kartaschoff & Ramseyer 1991) also other varieties of permanent *lamak* are described.[12]

One scholar, Mattiebelle Gittinger, a leading expert of both Indonesian and mainland Southeast Asian (especially T'ai) textiles, has suggested that the Balinese *lamak* is one of the manifestations of a "cultural complex", comprising certain textiles of Sumatra (notably the *tampan* of Lampung) and Lombok in Indonesia and textiles (particularly banners or *tung*) of various T'ai groups in Yunnan, Laos and Thailand. Her hypothesis is that these "complex visual assemblages" bear witness to a "significant communication of ideas and technologies at some time in the past" (Gittinger 1992:55, 140), which perhaps might be sought in the Buddhist kingdom of Srivijaya dating from the 7th-10th centuries (Gittinger 1992:53, 55). Other than the mention of a possible relationship of the *lamak* with this cultural complex, she unfortu-

8 See also Brinkgreve 2010b and Stowell 2012:144-145, 312 (nos. 52-53).

9 See Chapter 2 for my comments on Domenig's interpretation of the Balinese *lamak*.

10 A *penjor* is a decorated bamboo pole, erected besides the entrance to a place where a ritual is being held (see section 2.4.3).

11 I have reacted to both articles in Brinkgreve 1993. See also Chapter 4.

12 See Chapter 4 for more details.

nately gives very few details. And precisely because of the ephemeral nature of the material it is very difficult to determine what has been the development of the *lamak* in Bali.

In one important study by a well-known western scholar, Hildred Geertz (2004), the *lamak* is surprisingly absent. In her analysis of one specific temple, she writes about the importance of decorations in a temple in order to please the invisible (*niskala*) beings. In a chapter about the purpose of this temple, in which she discusses the yearly temple festival, she describes the shrines, decorated with beautiful carvings, as the most important part of a temple, the place to receive the deities. However, Geertz does not pay any attention to the additional, temporary decorations of the temple and its shrines for the duration of the ritual. There is no mention at all of the textiles that decorate or dress the temple for the special occasion, nor of any other ritual decorations, like *lamak*, whereas, as I will point out throughout this book, they are regarded by the Balinese as indispensable.

1.4 Framework and inspiration

When I started this research project in 1987, as a cultural anthropologist graduated from Leiden University, and supervised by Prof. dr P.E. de Josselin de Jong, I was mainly influenced by structural and cognitive anthropology which dominated the Indonesia studies in Leiden at that time. During my studies I had been especially inspired by the way Prof. dr A.A. Gerbrands, who supervised my MA thesis on Balinese offerings in 1984, combined structuralism with the anthropology of art and material culture, by paying much attention to the structural relationships between elements of material culture and cosmological concepts of the participants of a culture, for example in his inaugural lecture '*De taal der dingen*' [The language of things] (Gerbrands 1966). As variations on a theme, these central ideas and cultural values are expressed in different cultural domains, such as cosmology, mythology, ritual, social organization, architecture, material culture, performing arts, etc. The way the participants of a culture order their natural and social environment into classifications is the basis of the relationships between these different domains of culture.

In my first article on offerings and ritual decorations (Brinkgreve 1985), I made use of these concepts and interpreted the form of *banten*, offerings, as being a visual expression of Balinese classifications and cosmic ordering. My conclusion was that form and structure of offerings could be regarded as a microcosm (in Bali called *buana alit*), a representation or visualization of how the Balinese conceive the universe, the macrocosm (*buana agung*).

In the present study, I also pay much attention to the way my Balinese informants themselves classify the motifs, colours and materials of a *lamak* and how they explain them as part of a whole, a cosmic totality. However, although the Balinese system of classification and cosmic structure helps to explain the position of the motifs and the overall structure of a *lamak*, this is only part of the whole picture. It does not explain what people actually do with a *lamak* and why, neither what a *lamak* itself is supposed to do. In a ritual context, a *lamak* does more, is more dynamic than only to reflect or to mirror cosmic structure. In this dissertation I will discuss the more active role of a *lamak* and the effects *lamak* are supposed to produce in ritual. Following Gell (1998), this could be called the agency of a *lamak*, as will be discussed in the concluding chapter. In most recent studies of material culture, scholars have paid attention to the more dynamic aspects of things, rather than the structural aspects only. However, already in 1979 Forge was concerned with how in a ritual context all kinds of structured material objects and immaterial art forms reinforce each other in the effect they produce on the participants of a particular ritual (1979:285).

As regards the ephemerality of the *lamak*, the first publication that really inspired me was *The Art of the Balinese Offering* by David J. Stuart-Fox (1974). He was the first who paid attention to the beauty of this (what he then called) transitory art form. This beautiful little book gave me the idea for my own research on this subject. Another source of inspiration has been the publications of Stephen P. Huyler, an anthropologist and gifted photographer who worked for dozens of years in India and created such visually attractive books as *Painted Prayers* (1994) and *Meeting God* (1999). According to him, "the fundaments of Indian creativity is the ephemeral", because "In India all existence is believed to be in constant transition" (Huyler 1996:10).

These ideas and concepts, the most significant of those that have inspired and guided me, are discussed further in the different chapters in this study.

1.5 Methodology

1.5.1 Fieldwork: places and periods

As cultural anthropologist, my main way of collecting data for this qualitative research[13] project has been through doing fieldwork in Bali. In Indonesia the research was carried out under the auspices of Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI) and Universitas Udayana, Denpasar. My counterpart in Bali was the late Prof. Dr I Gusti Ngurah Bagus from the Fakultas Sastra.

Although in 1987 I was generously granted by the Programme of Indonesian Studies and Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek voor de Tropen (WOTRO),[14] a PhD research scholarship for three years, my research on this subject had actually already started in 1982, when I did fieldwork in Bali to obtain my MA (Drs) degree in Cultural Anthropology from Leiden University.[15] During that period the Museum Bali in Denpasar, under the directorship of Putu Budiastra, was my counterpart. After an initial research period of five months, I returned to Bali in 1983, to carry out additional fieldwork and to collect for the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden various kinds of contemporary ritual objects. Also in 1984, 1985 and 1987 I was in Bali for short visits, during which I always visited my former main informants.

Originally, the subject of this PhD research project was an expansion of my MA research on the subject of offerings and ritual decorations in Bali,[16] and the period of fieldwork in Bali was planned from November 1987 to August 1988. However, during the greater part of the years 1989 and 1990 I also lived in Bali, because my husband David Stuart-Fox was involved in a project there, and again in 1994 we were able to spend three months in Bali, together with our young children. After that period I have been in Bali for shorter visits, nine times between 2001and 2016. Although these periods were usually much too short to update my work on the offerings, I was able to continue to observe *lamak* in use and I always went to the markets to buy and document the newest varieties of *lamak*. For this reason, for this study I decided to focus only on the *lamak* and refer to offerings only in relation to *lamak* and not as a subject in itself.

But because I documented and collected *lamak* over a period of more than 30 years, a period in which Bali has changed immensely,[17] changes in materials, motifs and ways of production of *lamak* have become a more integral part of this study than originally planned. This added a dimension that otherwise would have been lacking. However, it should be noted that although during these shorter visits I was able to observe tendencies of change and development of *lamak*, I was not able to carry out systematic research.

In 1987 and 1988 I lived with the same Balinese family as where I had stayed during my MA research in 1982 and 1983, in the village of Sanur (the *desa adat* is called Intaran)[18] (*kecamatan* Denpasar

13 In contrast to quantitative research, in qualitative research focus is on understanding the social world through an examination of the interpretation of that world by its participants (Bryman 2008:366).

14 PRIS project KA 130.

15 In fact my first 'fieldwork' was already in 1979 and 1980 when I documented the grand cremation and post-cremation ceremonies of Cokorda Gede Agung Sukawati in Ubud (Brinkgreve 1979, 1981). Attending these rituals I came to know another form of ephemeral art in Bali: the spectacular tower in which the body of the deceased was carried to the cremation grounds, the sarcophagus in the form of a black bull and other attributes of the ceremonies all went up in flames after dozens of artists and craftsmen had spent weeks to create them.

16 The original title was '*Jejahitan* and *sesamuhan*; ritual decorations in Bali.' One of my aims was to compare a number of very special offerings (*sarad*, *pulagembal* and *bebangkit*) and in particular the rice dough figurines (*sesamuhan*) as components of these offerings, with palm leaf artifacts (*jejaitan*), especially the *lamak*.

17 These changes, although partly due to political developments, especially since the fall of Suharto's Orde Baru in 1998, are mainly due to influences of the ever-growing mass tourism on the economy and the environment. Bali has no longer a predominantly agrarian economy; half the population lives in urban areas and 50-70% of the workforce depends on tourism (Schulte Nordholt 2007: 391).

18 For details about this village and especially its temple system, in relation to its history, see Hauser-Schäublin 1997.

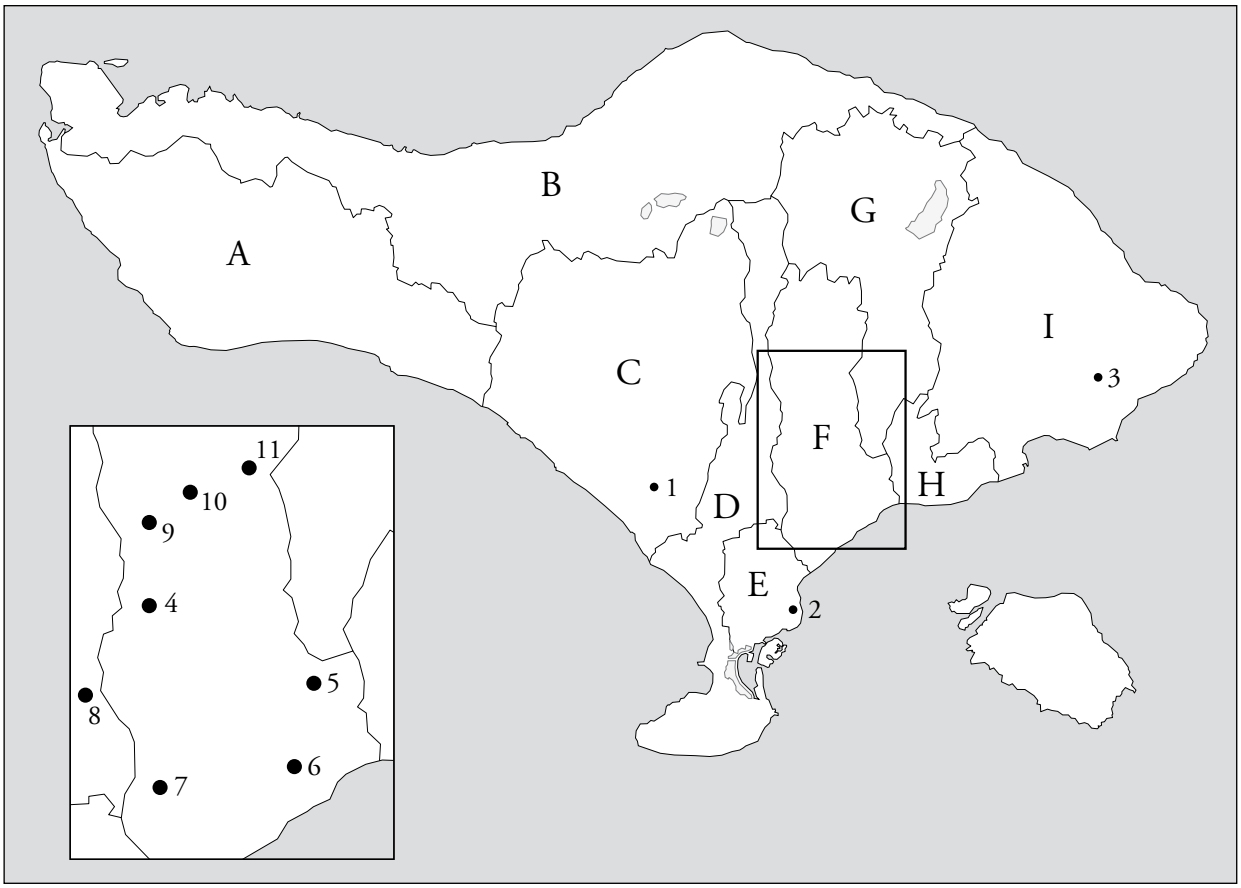

Figure 1.2: Map of Bali. A-I are regions (kabupaten); 1-4 are the villages where I lived during my fieldwork; 5-11 are the observed bounderies of the lamak nganten area (see chapter 2).

A: Jembrana	*F: Gianyar*	*1: Kerambitan*	*5: Gianyar*	*9: Kedewatan*
B: Buleleng	*G: Bangli*	*2: Sanur*	*6: Keramas*	*10: Tegallalang*
C: Tabanan	*H: Klungkung*	*3: Budakeling*	*7: Singapadu*	*11: Tampaksiring*
D: Badung	*I: Karangasem*	*4: Ubud*	*8: Mambal*	
E: Denpasar				

Selatan, *kotamadya* Denpasar), in the *lingkungan* or *banjar* Gulingan. The head of the family, I Made Windia,[19] had invited me to stay with his family when I first met him in 1979, as a taxi driver.

Since Sanur in the 1980s was already influenced by the booming tourist industry, which had consequences for rituals and the commercialization of their preparation, I once in a while spent some time in the more traditionally oriented village of Kerambitan, *kabupaten* Tabanan. My contacts in Kerambitan were mediated by Dr Hedi Hinzler of Leiden University. She kindly introduced me to I Gusti Ngurah Ketut Sangka, who had been a very important informant for the late Professor C. Hooykaas.

To investigate the *lamak*, I chose the village of Ubud (*kecamatan* Ubud, *kabupaten* Gianyar) as main site of the research. The main reason for this was that in the region of Gianyar, and especially

19 The Balinese naming system is complex, but in essence Balinese names consist of three main elements: the 'caste' or 'kin group' title, the 'birth order' term, and the individual 'given' name. Each of the four 'castes' (*warna*) and the many kin groups (*warga*), and subdivisions, have identifying titles (for commoners, it is most frequently 'I' for men and 'Ni' for women). 'Birth order' terms are based on a recurring four-part system: Wayan (Gede), Made (Kadek), Nyoman (Komang) and Ketut; a fifth child starts again with Wayan.

in the neighbourhood of Ubud, every 210 days at the festival of Galungan, special, very long *lamak* are hung in front of every compound where a wedding ceremony has taken place since the previous festival. When I was in Ubud, I always stayed in Puri Menara, the 'palace' of Cokorda Agung Mas, a specialist in the field of gamelan music. I was introduced to him when he was staying in the Netherlands in the late 1970s. His half-brother, Cokorda Ngurah, became my research assistant in the collecting of data about *lamak*.

Finally, the village of Budakeling in Karangasem became our second home during the years my husband and I lived in Bali and ever since, because we have a little house there. We have close contacts with many people in the village, in particular among the community of silver smiths, and the families of priests.

1.5.2 Participant observation

Participant observation is understood as a way of collecting data "in which the researcher is immersed in a social setting for some time in order to observe and listen with a view to gaining an appreciation of the culture of a social group" (Bryman 2008:369).

I myself have never been totally 'immersed' in Bali,[20] but I learned a great deal from living within the homes of Balinese families and experiencing how much religion influences their daily lives. Especially the decision to live in Sanur turned out to be a very good one. Bapak Made Windia was also head of the *banjar* (*klian banjar*), and he and his wife (Ibu Made Latri) not only looked after me as their adopted daughter, but also were important informants on all kinds of aspects of Balinese life. They introduced me to various important religious specialists and I visited many life cycle rituals and temple festivals.

This also happened in Kerambitan, where I stayed with Sagung Putu Alit, a lady who was very creative and talented in making offerings and ritual decorations. Although the creation of *lamak* was not her 'hobby', she was very good at making other palm leaf artifacts (*jejaitan*) and to invent new creations from palm leaves. She patiently tried to teach me how to make them myself, unfortunately without much success. She also introduced me to an offering specialist (*tukang banten*) who lived in the same street, Dayu Made Sapri, a very knowledgeable and helpful informant.

In Budakeling, being part of the village community, my husband and I participated in numerous rituals. Three ceremonies directly involved ourselves: a life cycle ritual for our baby daughter in 1990, and the inauguration ceremonies of our house in 2014 and our shrine in 2016. Especially both recent ceremonies and the fact that we have spent more time in Bali, has made me even more aware of what it means to the Balinese to live in this world together with inhabitants of the unseen (*niskala*) world.

Although I have participated in the making of offerings for the preparation of rituals, I was never very good in handling the knife to cut the palm leaves and in using little bamboo skewers as pins, so I have never been able to make a *lamak* or *ceniga* myself. But as a participant I have bought *lamak* to use on our own shrine for the Galungan festival.

Whether I was actually participating or not, in any case the main research techniques during my fieldwork periods in Bali were observation and interviewing. I made use of so-called 'purposive sampling' since for my research topic it was not possible nor necessary to sample research participants on a random basis. "The goal of purposive sampling is to sample cases/participants in a strategic way, so that those sampled are relevant to the research questions that are being posed" (Bryman 2008:415). To a large extent, my research was both dependent on the Balinese ritual calendar and on my host families who introduced me to relevant informants. In fact the *lamak* themselves lead me to my informants. For example when at Galungan I noticed the large wedding *lamak* (*lamak nganten*) hanging outside a houseyard, I photographed the *lamak* and noted down the address, went back to this address to identify the maker of this *lamak*, and then set up an interview with the maker.

20 My role was one of 'observer-as-participant', since little of my data collecting involved any direct participation (Bryman 2008:410).

1.5.3 Observation and photography

I have observed and documented the making and use of *lamak* in numerous different rituals. Since originally I had also included offerings as a topic of my research, I went to more major temple rituals, to study the large offerings in which I was especially interested, than I would have done otherwise.

But especially in the periods around the Galungan festival, which I have seen 13 times, when all streets are lined with temporary shrines with *lamak*, my research was only devoted to *lamak*. I have travelled all over Bali, documenting different styles in almost all districts of the island, except for Buleleng in the north. However, of course I have by no means been on all the roads.

My main method of registration and documentation was photography and making field notes. Altogether I made between 1982 and 1994 more than 500 colour photographs and 900 slides of *lamak* in their ritual context.[21] On the basis of prints of my photographs, the son of a well-known *lamak* maker, I Gusti Putu Taman from Padangtegal (near Ubud), made between 1989 and 1994 ink drawings of 170 different *lamak* patterns in different styles, to be used in this book. He made a number of these drawings on the basis of examples of *lamak* patterns especially made at my request by some of the *lamak* makers. In the particular case of the documentation and presentation of *lamak*, making photographs of *lamak* was indispensable, because of their ephemeral character. But in general the importance of photography (and filming) as a way of "registration of transient behaviour" during fieldwork was much promoted during my studies in the 1980s in Leiden (Gerbrands 1990:51). I always brought along photographs of *lamak* as a means of guiding the conversation during interviews.

1.5.4 Qualitative interviewing

I have conducted numerous interviews about all aspects of *lamak* with Balinese *lamak* makers, *lamak* users and *lamak* sellers, altogether more than 80 men and women. Sometimes these were unstructured interviews about a range of topics, more like a conversation, but mostly the interviews were semi-structured, with a list of questions or specific topics to talk about (Bryman 2008:436, 438).

My interviewees can be divided into four categories of informants:[22]

- 'Ordinary' Balinese, like housewives, who make or buy and in any case use *lamak*;
- Professional *lamak* makers or entrepreneurs (see Chapter 5);
- Religious specialists: priests (*pedanda* and *pemangku*), heads of *desa adat* (*klian adat*), specialists in the making of offerings (*tukang banten*), teachers at the then Institut Hindu Dharma, an institute of higher religious education;
- Sellers at markets and shops specializing in ritual paraphernalia (*toko yadnya*).

Many of these people, in particular my key informants, I interviewed more than once. One key informant, Ida Pedanda Gede Oka Timbul, the eldest son of one of the most important priests of the Sanur region, Ida Pedanda Gede Putra, was introduced to me by my family in Sanur. He was consecrated (*madiksa*) as a Brahmana priest in April 1987, a ceremony to which I was invited (Brinkgreve & Gijsbers 1987). Ida Pedanda Gede Oka Timbul became an important informant on religious and ritual matters, up to the present day. Between 1982 and 2016 I talked to him numerous times and he even answered my questions in letters after I returned to the Netherlands.

By the director of the Bali Museum I was introduced in 1982 to another key informant, Ny. I Gusti Agung Mas Putra. She had not only published many articles, conference papers and booklets, but she was also a teacher at the Institut Hindu Dharma and she gave courses on the making of offerings and ritual decorations on televi-

21 From 2005 to 2016 I made more than 2500 digital photographs of *lamak*, in Badung, Gianyar, Tabanan and Karangasem, especially at Galungan and some temple festivals (*odalan*).

22 A list of about 80 of my main informants in the first three categories is included as appendix. The last category, sellers of *lamak* at markets, I always talked to when I was buying *lamak* but usually did not note down their names.

sion. From the many conversations I had with her I have learned a great deal.

I always talked to the people in their own environment, at home or in their workshop or sometimes in a temple. I carried out the interviews in Indonesian. In case some informants, especially *tukang lamak*, only spoke Balinese, my research assistant in Ubud Cokorda Ngurah helped translate the conversation into Indonesian. I did not record interviews, but made quick notes in which I tried always to capture the informants' own terms and which I immediately worked out, in any case on the same day as the interview.

1.5.5 Written sources

I also carried out some research on Balinese written sources. I looked at some Balinese texts on offerings and ritual, in which lists of offerings and names of ingredients are given. However, I found almost nothing on *lamak* in these manuscripts, which are transcribed and kept in the University Library of Leiden. But I did make use of many Balinese publications written in Indonesian on the subject (see the bibliography), in the form of booklets and articles in newspapers and religious magazines. One of the main writers was Ny. I Gusti Agung Mas Putra, who was also an important informant during the earlier stages of my fieldwork.

For the interpretation of my fieldwork data, I used secondary sources of various kinds. Some publications (as mentioned above under Framework) helped me to develop ideas and concepts, some are of a more ethnographic nature, and others provided useful comparative data and material.

1.5.6 Study of museum collections

In 1983 I collected in Bali various kinds of contemporary ritual objects with the purpose of refurbishing the Bali gallery in the National Museum of Ethnology (series RV-5258) and to fill a gap in the museum's extensive Bali collections with this obviously 'forgotten art form'. I bought all objects at markets or shops specializing in these kinds of objects, or I ordered them directly from the makers, mainly Balinese women. Nine *lamak* (eight *lamak* and one *ceniga*), of various materials, are part of this series. During subsequent visits to Bali I continued buying the latest varieties of *lamak* at the markets and *toko yadnya*. Some of those also entered the museum's collection.[23]

As curator for Indonesia at the National Museum of World Cultures, I have ready access to the *lamak* collection in both Museum Volkenkunde and Tropenmuseum, now both part of the National Museum of World Cultures, and in Appendix 1 I present an overview of this collection. During my fieldwork period in Bali I studied the collection of Museum Bali in Denpasar, and within the framework of cooperation projects with Museum Nasional Indonesia in Jakarta I studied the *lamak* collection in this museum.

1.5.7 Presentation of the research data

I have already published four articles on various aspects of Balinese *lamak* (Brinkgreve 1993, 1996, 2010a, 2010b), a number of catalogue entries (Brinkgreve 2010a), and several publications on offerings (Brinkgreve 1985, 1987a, 1987b, 1992, 1997, 2002, 2003) in which *lamak* play a role.

Although this dissertation is far more than just a compilation of these publications, the material discussed in them is also used in various chapters of this book. Sometimes I re-evaluate my previous conclusions and I mention specifically when I quote from my own work. But this book is the first time that all available data on Balinese *lamak* are brought together in one coherent book. This material culture study has become, as Clifford Geertz (1973:10) would call it, a 'thick description', an 'ethnography' of the Balinese *lamak* in all its different aspects. The visual material, the many photographs and drawings, that I present in this study are not just illustrations but are an integral part of the book.

23 See Appendix 1.

Figure 2.1: Lamak nganten, made for Galungan. Peliatan, 6/10/1982.

Chapter 2

The *lamak* as ritual object

2.1 Inspiration

It was Tuesday 5 October 1982, the day before the festival of Galungan. I was in Kerambitan to watch the preparations for a temple festival in Pura Puseh, one of the main temples in the village, and then afterwards return to Sanur, my 'home' village. While early in the morning the adult men in the household were busy preparing various kinds of meat offerings, required for this special day, I went to the market together with Sagung Putu Alit (whom I called Ratu Biang, the term for 'mother' in high Balinese), a specialist in making ritual decorations. I was surprised that Ratu Biang who was well-known for her skills in making beautiful, refined (*halus*) palm leaf objects, of which she herself was very proud, bought two *lamak* at the market for 150 *rupiah* (at that time about 10 eurocents) each. She explained that it was much easier to buy them instead of making them herself, since making *lamak*, which she called *ceniga*, is not her 'hobby'. In the afternoon, Ratu Biang suspended one of these *ceniga*, about a metre long and with a slender female figure as main motif, from a small bamboo shrine which was attached to a *penjor*, a decorated bamboo pole erected by her son in front of her house.

On my way back to Sanur, I saw hundreds of these *penjor* in front of almost every gateway I passed. They all had palm leaf decorations hanging from their tips, which bend graciously down, transforming the village streets into beautiful archways. Back home in Sanur, Kakek, the grandfather of the family, had just erected a *penjor* in front of the gateway of our house. Everywhere, hanging from shrines in the family temple, from small wooden shrines on the walls of buildings in the compound and from the ricebarn, I saw dozens of small *lamak* with as motifs a simple flowering tree, made by Nenek, the grandmother. Next to each of them she fastened a pair of palm leaf decorations. All these fresh leaves, cut-out and fastened into beautiful designs and objects, gave my home a very festive and 'natural' appearance. In the evening, during a small ritual, Nenek wafted the essence of offerings towards the members of the family, after she had sprinkled some holy water upon them. Afterwards we all ate from the special meat dishes that Kakek had prepared that morning after he had presented the meat offerings.

Next morning, colourful flowers and rice cakes and fruits enhanced this impression, as Nenek and Ibu, my 'mother', put a large number of offerings in all places decorated the day before with a *lamak*. Even on the ground of the courtyard there were small and simple *lamak* without motifs now, as base for small offerings. The smoke of incense added another dimension to the festive sphere. Outside the gateway, the whole street was lined with *penjor* and small shrines with *lamak* and offerings, and small offerings had piled up at the nearby crossroads. Next to the crossroads, in the centre of the village is the Pura Bale Agung, one of the main village temples. From the four sides of the *bale*

kulkul (tall pavilion for the wooden slit-gongs) four long *lamak* with different motifs were suspended.

People in festive dress moved about in all directions.Women walked with offerings on their heads or balanced with baskets full of offerings on the back of motorbikes. That morning Ibu and Nyoman, my 'sister', brought offerings to the family temple of Ibu's own parents, and to the graveyard where a family member was still 'sleeping' (he was temporarily buried, since the family has not yet collected enough money for a proper cremation). In the afternoon I accompanied them to a number of village temples, especially to the Pura Desa, which celebrates its anniversary festival, *odalan*, that same day.

Even in just our own street and neighbourhood, I noticed numerous different *lamak* motifs. But when later in the day I travelled to the area of Ubud and surroundings, since people had told me that the *lamak* and *penjor* there were most "artistic" (*seni*) in the villages famous for their arts, I was overwhelmed by the enormous variety of *penjor* and *lamak*, literally decorating every street I travelled along. I noticed countless different geometric patterns, female figures, trees, triangles and circles in all kinds of combinations applied to the *lamak* and numerous delicate palm leaf figures waving in the wind from the tips of hundreds of *penjor*. In the village of Sayan I noticed for the first time a variety of *lamak* which was many metres long, decorated with different motifs, and suspended from a very high bamboo shrine, next to two instead of one *penjor*. And I came across many more such impressive *lamak* in this area, the significance of which at that time was still a mystery to me (fig. 2.1).

Almost 30 years later, on 12 May 2010, I was 'home' in Sanur again for Galungan. Again I was impressed by the 'natural' sphere, but also by the number of *lamak* which seemed to have increased over the years (fig. 2.2). The family temple had been enlarged, many family members came to pray and present offerings, and some of them brought also their own *lamak* to decorate the shrines. Also the bases of the shrines were now decorated with *lamak* and other palm leaf decorations (fig. 2.3). The *bale kulkul* of the Pura Bale Agung at the nearby crossroads (again packed with offerings) was again decorated with four different *lamak*.

With my 'younger brother' Wayan Teja and his wife and children I went in his car to Ubud, curious whether I would still find the special large *lamak* in this area (fig. 2.4 and 2.5). On the roads it was extremely busy now with cars and motorbikes, filled with people carrying offerings. Some streets, totally lined with shops, did not have *penjor*s anymore. But despite all the changes in Ubud and surroundings, I was pleased to see that the impressive long *lamak* were still there, that this beautiful tradition had not been lost (fig. 2.6).

2.2 Rituals in Bali

In this chapter, I introduce the *lamak* as ritual object. What is a *lamak*, what do Balinese do with *lamak*, and what does a *lamak* do, what is its purpose?

I start by presenting an overview of the various meanings of the word '*lamak*', and of the different varieties of this ritual object.Then I describe what Balinese actually do with *lamak*, how they use them in ritual and why they do that, what according to them is the purpose of a *lamak*. I also present a number of ritual objects that are directly related to the *lamak*. As examples of religious ceremonies in which *lamak* play an important role, I will present the Bali-wide Galungan festive period, and the *odalan* or temple festival, which is specific for each individual temple on the island. Finally the question "What does a *lamak* do, or what is the purpose of a *lamak*?" will be discussed by presenting the viewpoints of informants and comments found in various Balinese publications. But first, as general background for the *lamak* as ritual object, I say a few words about Balinese rituals.[1]

1 In anthropological literature, much has been written about ritual. According to Victor and Edith Turner (1982:201), "Anthropologists usually call religious practices 'ritual'. […] Rituals celebrate or commemorate transhuman powers which, though invisible, are regarded by believers as the first and final causes of natural and cultural phenomena." For Barraud and Platenkamp, "rituals are generally concerned with socio-cosmic relationships, and give expression to the ideas and values of each society conceived of as a whole" (1990:121). In this thesis, I limit myself to the Balinese use and definition of their concept of ritual, *yadnya*. Derived from the Sanskrit word *yajña*, it means 'act of worship'or 'sacrifice'. Its usage in Bali is confined to religious contexts, at the heart of which is contact between deities, ancestors and human worshippers. In Bali, this usually involves offerings.

Figure 2.2: I Ketut Teja Astawa presents offerings in his family temple at Galungan. Banjar Gulingan, Sanur, 12/5/2010.

Figure 2.3: Family temple decorated for Galungan. Banjar Gulingan, Sanur, 12/5/2010.

Figure 2.4: Car of I Wayan Suteja decorated with lamak for Galungan, 12/5/2010.

Figure 2.5: Lamak with tree motif, made for Galungan. Ubud Kaja, 12/5/2010.

Figure 2.6: Lamak nganten in Junjungan style, made for Galungan. Ubud Tengah, 12/5/2010.

The religion of the Hindu Balinese, Agama Hindu Dharma, is a unique form of Hinduism that is the result of creative contact between indigenous Balinese thought and practices and Indian thought and practices that came to Bali over a period of more than a thousand years, in former times mostly via Java but more recently directly from India itself.[2] Indigenous elements include ancestor worship and the veneration of life forces present in nature. Balinese believe that the Supreme God, Ida Sang Hyang Widhi pervades the universe and as Creator forms a unity with the Creation. Particular gods and goddesses (*dewa*, *dewi* or *betara*, *betari*) and spirits who are manifestations of Ida Sang Hyang Widhi have specific cosmic powers and are associated with certain aspects of the created world. The Sang Hyang Trimurti, the gods Brahma, Wisnu and Siwa, respectively create, maintain and destroy the universe and are responsible for the continuous rotation of the cycles of life on earth. Demonic forces, called *buta* and *kala* (or collectively *buta-kala*), are associated with the five elemental substances of nature: solids, liquids, radiance, energy and ether. The souls of the deceased are venerated as deified ancestors who have it in their power to protect and to bestow prosperity on their descendants on earth.

All these many invisible (*niskala*) beings in the world are for the Balinese equally important as the visible (*sekala*) creatures and phenomena. The religion of Bali is characterized by many rituals,[3] most of them carried out to maintain relationships with the (*niskala*) beings of upper world and netherworld, in order to be protected and to ensure renewal of life and regeneration of nature. These in turn are related to the reproductive cycles of crops and human beings and the perpetuation of society.[4] In short, for the Balinese, rituals "protect the living, bring them prosperity and make their fields fertile" (Howe 2005:57).

The Balinese divide their rituals into five categories, the *panca yadnya*, those in honour of deities (*dewa yadnya*),[5] demons (*buta yadnya*),[6] souls of the dead (*pitra yadnya*), souls of living humans (*manusa yadnya*), and holy men (*rsi yadnya*). Often, a specific ritual combines aspects of more than one of the *panca yadnya*. Consisting in general of the fruits of the earth, arranged and decorated in the form of a festive meal, offerings to the gods and to the demons are

2 Also in contemporary Bali influences from India, called "the contemporary Hinduization-cum-Indianization of the Balinese religion" by Picard (2011:137), continue to take place (for example in the form of new Hindu movements such as Sathya Sai Baba), partly in response to state politics and institutionalization of Islam in Indonesia. See for discussions of the 'changing world of Bali' and the complex relationship between tourism, economy, politics, culture and religion: Picard 1996; Ramstedt 2004; Howe 2005; Schulte Nordholt 2007a, 2007b; Picard and Madinier 2011. Despite the changes in Balinese society and religion, the actual ritual practices, the enactment of rituals, seem to remain relatively unaffected. It is still the maintainance of the relationship with deities and ancestors, the ritual exchange of offerings and blessings, which is at the heart of Balinese religion and ritual.

3 During his fieldwork periods in Bali in the 1950s Clifford Geertz observed an "astonishing proliferation of ceremonial activity." According to him, "The stress is on orthopraxy, not orthodoxy – what is crucial is that each ritual detail should be correct and in place" (1973:176). Indeed from my observations in the context of making of offerings and ritual decorations, like *lamak*, the emphasis on correct ritual detail is still important. Also Howe (2005:58) stresses that since rituals are about security and prosperity, "the important thing is to get it right".

4 Barraud and Platenkamp, in their edited volumes of articles on rituals in Eastern Indonesia, stress that ritual is foremost a social activity (1990:103). They state that "rituals are concerned with the involvement of the society in an overall socio-cosmic circulation of life which ensures not only the reproduction of crops but also that of the society as a whole, including its founding ancestors and its social structure" (1990:113).

5 "*Dewa yadnya* ceremonies involve the adoration and worship of Ida Sanghyang Widhi and Ida Sanghyang Widhi's sacred manifestations, known as gods and goddesses, […] since Sanghyang Widhi is believed to influence and regulate the movement of life on earth". "*Upacara dewa yadnya adalah pemujaan serta persembahan kehadapan Ida Sanghyang Widhi dan sinar-sinar suci-NYA yang disebut dewa-dewi* […] *karena beliau yang dianggap mempengaruhi dan mengatur gerak kehidupan di dunia ini*" (Putra 1988:1).

6 *Buta yadnya* ceremonies are those that worship or pay respect to the *buta*, personifactions of powers that destroy or disturb, in order that they bring well-being to humans. They are thought of as unseen *niskala* beings (Kamus 2005:22).

part of all ceremonies.[7] For example, in a wedding ceremony specific offerings are directed towards the gods, the demons, the ancestors, and the soul of the person for whom the ceremony is held.

Any ritual may be performed at one of three levels – elaborate (*utama*), average (*madia*) and simple (*nista*) – which may be further subdivided. These various levels of elaboration depend on the social status of the people involved, their wealth and the occasion. The numbers, size and complexity of the offerings vary accordingly.[8]

In any ritual, elaborate or simple, purification by means of holy water and the presenting of offerings to the *niskala* beings are essential elements. What is exchanged for worship and offerings, what people hope to receive in return, are blessings[9] and protection, life, fertility, prosperity and fruitfulness for individual people, for their families, communities and their land, everything that is necessary for life on earth.[10] In historical texts this concept of prosperity is often described as "everything planted grows well, everything bought is cheap" (Stuart-Fox 2002:280).

Rituals usually take place in sacred space, often temples (*pura*) which are the shared responsibility of different social groups. Most Balinese are members of several temple congregations who look after the upkeep of the temples and organize their rituals. In the past decades, increase of wealth (partly due to ever-growing mass tourism[11]) has caused major rebuilding and enlargement of temples, both of village temples and of temples belonging to families and descent groups. Accompanying inauguration rituals are often large, conspicuous ceremonies,

7 Offerings will be further discussed in Chapter 4.

8 See Stuart-Fox 2002:129-158 for a discussion of this 'hierarchy of ritual elaboration'.

9 According to Schefold, "an aspect that is at the basis of most ritual behaviour [… is] the fact that people expect such behaviour to bring about a concrete result" (2001:360). As expected result, existing within the majority of Indonesian cultures, he identified three different sources of "ritual blessings". What he called the "affinal flow" are "blessings streaming from the wife-givers to the wife-taker, evoking the image of the Flow of Life as it has become well known through Fox 1980" (2001:362). The "ancestral flow" are the blessings of protection of the real and mythical progenitors, the genealogical ancestors of the community (2001:363). The "autochthonous flow" are the favours of well-being and prosperity from spirits of the original wilderness (2001:366). One aspect which is prominent in all three cases is fertility. Schefold also notes the important aspects of ritual dependency and reciprocity. Receivers of the blessings admit their dependency upon the givers. And they regard these givers as partners who should be compensated for their gifts by appropriate offerings (2001:369-370). In this study, I will concentrate on the "ancestral flow" of blessings, the favours from "above", as expected by the Balinese from their deities and deified ancestors. These favours of prosperity and safety are frequently called *restu*, *rahayu* or *kerta raharja* in Balinese. Whereas what J. Fox (1980) called the "flow of life" has foremost the connotation of the flow of life which circulates by means of women, life-providing brides, within societies with a circulating connubium as prescribed marriage pattern. For Thomas Reuter, who worked among the Bali Aga in some of Bali's mountain villages, "Life is the road through time and space that has been travelled by the ancestors (2002:336). "The value of origin – the collective source of life – thus finds its counterpart in the value of fertility – the source of any particular life" (2002:341). According to him, in Austronesian societies the "flow of life" is related to "intergenerational connection and continuity" (2014:229). In his discussions "with people who were considered wise and knowledgeable men and women in their own society", they told him about "numerous experiences of unity wherein the flow of life is no longer looked at just as an idea or metaphor but becomes a lived reality, a space wherein what is initially a mental reflection on time, on an endless succession of ancestors and descendants, leads one on to a sense of connectedness beyond time" (Reuter 2014:249).

10 Eiseman (2005:32-34) did a small survey among his informants in Jimbaran about the reasons why they made their daily offerings. It appeared that the first reason was satisfaction, fulfillment of duty, followed by insurance against possible future disasters and reward, expecting something for one's efforts. But also thanks for favours granted and devotional love without any expectation of reward of any sort were among the reasons for making offerings.

11 The tourist boom (the yearly number of tourists is already much more than the total population of Bali itself) has, however, also a destructive impact on the environment, leading to the rapid disappearance of irrigated rice-land and serious water shortages (Schulte Nordholt 2007a: 390-391).

usually carried out at the highest (*utama*) level of ritual elaboration.[12]

The structure of a temple, which is decorated for the duration of the ceremony with special textiles and other decorations and objects, is usually based upon vertical and horizontal spatial classifications, which are very important in Balinese cosmology. At the place of the ritual, the various groups of offerings are placed according to their destination and function. Gods and ancestors receive their offerings on high shrines and altars, whereas demons receive theirs on the ground. Offerings required for each specific ritual are placed in a pavilion or on a temporary platform, or close to the officiating priest. Offerings are related to the shrines and other forms of ritual space and structure by means of *lamak*, since they are placed on top of the upper end of a *lamak*, of which the main part hangs down in front of the shrine, altar or platform.

The timing of rituals, especially of *dewa yadnya* and *bhuta yadnya*, is structured according to the Balinese calendars. Two calendars determine rituals in Bali, the lunar-solar calendar and the Javano-Balinese 210-day *wuku* calendar.[13] One of the rituals celebrated all over Bali is the festival of Galungan, incorporating rituals of purification, sacrifice to demons and thanksgiving to the deities and ancestors, that recurs every 210 days (*wuku* calendar). An *odalan*, or temple festival, celebrates the anniversary of the foundation of a temple, and its occurrence is specific for each individual temple on the island, according to one or other (or sometimes both) of the two calendars. Galungan and *odalan*, both *dewa yadnya* rituals, are discussed in this chapter, for they are the ceremonies for which *lamak* appear most frequently and in the largest numbers.

2.3 What is a *lamak*?

2.3.1 The word 'lamak'

The subject of this dissertation is the *lamak* as ritual object, used in temples, but the word *lamak* in Bali has other meanings as well. It is not only a ritual object, but also an element of (especially dance-) costumes hanging down in front from the neck of the dancer. Moreover, a *lamak* is not only an object, but also (though rarely) a human being, and sometimes a linguistic concept, meaning 'cause' or 'reason'. These other meanings will be discussed briefly as well.

The entry *lamak* in the 'standard' Balinese-Indonesian dictionary reads:

Lamak I 1. *Hiasan penutup dada* (decoration to cover the chest); 2. *Nama 'jejaitan' sebagai hiasan depan pada bangunan suci* (name of a 'palm leaf artefact' as decoration at the front of a sacred building);

Lamak II (*Asi*)[14] : *istri selir* (literally 'concubine', but in fact often referring to wife of lower caste);

Lamak III *lamakan* : *alasan* (cause, reason) (Kamus 1990:384).

The word *lamak* has not entered the vocabulary of Bahasa Indonesia, but *lamak* does appear in languages linguistically related to modern Balinese, such as the languages of the neighbouring Sasak (Lombok), Javanese and Sundanese (West Java),

12 Besides the enactment of temple rituals at greater levels of elaboration, there is on the other hand a tendency to reduce costs for the formerly elaborate death rituals by carrying them out as communal ceremonies. However, as Howe (2005:67) notes, "When Balinese can spend more on ritual, they often do. The rationale for this apparent extravagance comes both from the desire not to be outdone in status competition, and also because most Balinese believe that offerings are not an optional extra but an absolute requirement for success."

13 On the calendars, see Darta, Couteau & Breguet 2013.

14 *Asi* means '*alus singgih*', high language when speaking to or about someone of higher status.

and peoples in southern Sumatra.[15] And although no conclusions can be drawn about the actual use of *lamak* as objects in these cultures, the meanings of the word in these languages show a certain coherence and can be compared with the *lamak* in Bali. In fact, scholars of historical linguistics have concluded that *lamak* or *amak* is an ancient Austronesian root, with the meaning of 'mat', and is found as far apart as Madagascar and the Solomon Islands (Blust 1980:101-102, 255). It does not have Sanskrit origins.

To return to the Balinese language, the word *lamak* is found in Old Balinese inscriptions dating from the tenth and eleventh centuries.[16] Goris (1954:II, 266) defined it as "a measure of cooked rice, perhaps a portion on a piece of sugar palm leaf." However, it seems likely that it is not so much the name of a measure of rice but the object on which the rice is placed, which is a mat of the leaves of the sugar palm.[17] This connotation of the word *lamak* as being a base for something is comparable to the meaning of the word *lamak* in cognate languages.

In modern Balinese (as is clear not only from the dictionary but also from remarks of Balinese informants), the word *lamak* does not have the general meaning of basis or mat anymore. Only the derived meaning of *lamak* as 'cause' or 'reason' refers to this idea.

However, as I describe in the course of this chapter, in Bali a *lamak* as ritual object is both a base for offerings (which are put on the upper end of the *lamak*) and, at the same time, a decoration of the shrine from the front of which it hangs, and in which the offering is placed.

This simultaneous use of the *lamak* as base for offerings and decoration of shrines is already mentioned in the Kawi (Old Javanese)-Balinese-Dutch dictionary by Van der Tuuk, a Dutch linguist who lived in Bali between 1870 and 1894. According to his entry (Van der Tuuk 1897-1912:III, 770),[18] "a *lamak* is a base on which something rests (the base of an offering called *canang*). It is made of the leaves of the sugar palm, on which motifs are applied. Being a hanging object itself, on both sides extra 'hanging things' (*gantung-gantungan*) are added to a *lamak*, for example hanging from the shrine (*sanggah*). A *lamak* can also consist of strips of leaves, hanging from a *penjor*, on the upper part sometimes decorated with a figure, which represents a child.'[19] Van der Tuuk also mentions the two other meanings of the word: "a breast cloth of a male dancer, decorated with gold leaf; a woman of lower caste married to a man from the Brahmana caste".

15 Bahasa Sasak: 'underlayer, mat' (*onderlaag, matje*), as verb 'to give as underlayer, to put something underneath something' (*een onderlaag geven, ergens iets onder leggen*) (Goris 1938:163); also referred to as 'banana leaf as a base for cooked rice' (*daun pisang untuk alas beras yang ditanak*) (Thoir et al 1985:154). Javanese: 'underlay (carpet, etc)' (*onderlegsel (kleedje, enz.)*) (Albada & Pigeaud 2007:445); while *lémék* (also *tilémék*) means 'underlay, anything used to place underneath something or on which something is put on, such as a sheet on a bed, something on the ground on which to sleep […]; a carpet under a table, piece of cloth or mat on which to place something' (*onderlegsel, alles wat gebruikt wordt om onder iets te leggen of om er op te liggen of iets op te zetten of the plaatsen, zoals een onderlaken op een bed, iets op den grond om op te slapen* […]. *Een karpet onder een tafel, kleedje of matje om iets op te zetten*) (Gericke & Roorda 1901:II, 147). Sundanese: 'a bit of cloth' (*lap, stuk goed*); *lalamak* 'a sheet (on a royal bed)' (*sprei (op 'n staatsiebed)*) (Eringa 1984:441). Old Javanese: *lalamak* means 'something laid down to put something else on, a mat, a basis'; *lamakan* 'a basis or preparation for?'; *malamak* as 'to have as basis' (Zoetmulder 1982:I, 968). In South Sumatra, according to textile scholar Gittinger, the word *lamak* is used there for what she defines as "small, rectangular cloth normally less than one meter square", elsewhere called '*tampan*' (Gittinger 1972:208).

16 For example in the inscription Sembiran AII, in the year AD 965 (Saka 897), villagers were subject to a tax of 10 *lamak* (translated as '10 *bladen* (*onderleggers*)') of rice, and in Sading A, dated AD 1001 (Saka 923), *aren* leaves and plaited mats (*gevlochten onderleggers*) are mentioned (Goris 1954:78, 145; 87, 156).

17 In size, perhaps, these *lamak* mats may be rather similar in size and function to the plaited mats on which rice is placed, used in group feasting in some parts of Bali.

18 In Dutch: *Onderlaag waarop iets rust en met een slip afhangende (dasar canang), van ron, waarop figuren zijn aangebracht, hebbende aan weerszijde de gantung-gantungan, b.v. van de sanggah; plat op de pependjor hangende bladstroken, soms bovenaan van een figuur, een kind voorstellende, voorzien; borstlap van gandrungs, met klatergoud versierd; een gewezen vrouw van lage kaste, getrouwd met een Brahmaan.*

19 This 'representation of a child', in fact a *cili*, I will discuss in Chapter 3, together with the other motifs on a *lamak*.

2.3.2 Lamak, ceniga and tlujungan

For the sake of the discussion so far I have used the term '*lamak*' in a collective sense, but in fact Balinese distinguish between several closely related objects and there is also regional variation in terminology. One common term for this kind of object is *ceniga, caniga,* or *candiga*. (I shall use *ceniga* as standard spelling, unless otherwise quoted). In the dictionary, *ceniga* is defined as a "ritual decoration, made from young coconut palm leaves or the leaves of the sugar palm, smaller than a *lamak*, without decorations" (Kamus 1990:130).[20] The ritual expert I Gusti Agung Mas Putra likewise defines the word as "a small *lamak*" (Putra1975:8).[21]

The word apparently does not exist in related languages like Old Javanese. One author has suggested it may derive from Sanskrit, with the meaning 'the road to or base of a *candi* (temple)/mountain' (Titib 1976:13). However, I did not find further evidence for this. Other than suggesting *ceniga* may be derived from the word *cenik*, meaning 'small', none of my informants knew of another meaning other than the object itself. But almost everybody agreed on the *ceniga* being a smaller variety of *lamak*; only in Kerambitan and other places in the regency of Tabanan does the term *ceniga* or *ceniga gede* (large *ceniga*) refer to objects which elsewhere are called *lamak*.

Both *lamak* and *ceniga* have in common that they are fashioned from palm leaves, which are cut and pinned together traditionally with small bamboo pins (*semat*), nowadays also with staples. These palm leaf artefacts belong to the category of *jejaitan*, literally: what is sewn (*jait*) together.[22]

The difference between *lamak* and *ceniga* is not only a matter of size, but also of ways of decoration. The material for a *ceniga* (outside Tabanan) is the young, light coloured leaves of either the coconut palm or the lontar palm. A *ceniga* is fashioned by pinning together strips of these leaves in such a way that patterns are formed by the openings between the strips. A *ceniga* sometimes receives a more specific name given to the pattern formed by the leaves. An example is the *ceniga paku pidpid* (*ceniga* in the form of a fern) (fig. 2.7). A *ceniga* is most often rectangular, but sometimes tends towards a triangular form. The offerings are put on the protruding upper ends of the vertical palm leaves. The length of a *ceniga* varies from 40 to 60 cm.

In contrast to a *ceniga*, a *lamak* almost always consists of two layers, and most often leaves of the sugar palm or the coconut palm are used.[23] For the base layer the lighter coloured younger leaves are used or sometimes the lighter coloured underside of mature leaves. Ornaments from contrasting darker green leaves are fastened onto the lighter coloured base of the *lamak*.

A *lamak* is always rectangular and narrow (15 to 40 cm), but can vary in length from about 30 cm to more than 10 metres. Often the very top of the base layer has a triangular form and is left undecorated, and it is on this part that an offering can be placed (fig. 2.8). When long strips of leaf are used to make a border along the two sides of the *lamak*, sometimes those at the top protrude to such a degree that they can be used to fasten the *lamak* to the shrine or be placed underneath the offerings.

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20 *Hiasan dalam upacara dibuat dari janur atau daun enau lebih kecil dari lamak, tanpa hiasan*.

21 In the dictionary of Van der Tuuk, *caniga* is defined as: "particular kinds of leaves as base for offerings, (for example *intaran, kayu mas, temen*, etc), in place of an *aled* for presenting offerings" (*zekere soort van bladen als onderlaag voor offeranden (zooals die van intaran, kaju mas, temen, enz.), in plaats van aled bij 't aanbieden van offeranden*) (Van der Tuuk 1897-1912:I, 576). An *aled* or *taledan* is a square kind of mat, made from palm leaves, fastened together by means of little bamboo skewers (*semat*), commonly used in Bali as a base on which to arrange the contents of an offering. However, these particular leaves are (as far as I have always heard) called *plawa* or *don kayu*, and a *ceniga* does not replace the offering base, but is always put underneath the actual base for the food content of an offering.

22 As already noted in the introduction to this dissertation, a *lamak* is not always made from ephemeral palm leaves, but also from more permanent materials. In Chapter 4, I will return to these varieties of *lamak* made of cloth that are decorated in various ways (for example painted, embroidered or woven in special ways), of coloured paper or plastic, and of combinations of wood, little mirrors and Chinese coins (*kepeng*). Then I will also discuss the important fact that for ritual purposes, a *lamak* made from permanent material always has to be completed by an ephemeral *lamak* or *ceniga* or *tlujungan* on top of it.

23 In Chapter 4, all the different leaves used for a *lamak* or *ceniga* and the different techniques involved in making these objects are discussed more extensively.

Figure 2.7: Ceniga of young coconut palm leaves, made for Galungan. Ubud, 14/1/1989.

Figure 2.8: Lamak of sugar palm leaves with mountain motif, made for Galungan. Ngis (Manggis), 1/2/2012.

Figure 2.9: Tlujungan of coconut palm leaves under offerings laid on the ground at Galungan. Banjar Gulingan, Sanur, 12/5/2010.

The smallest variety of '*lamak*' is called *tlujungan* (from the root *ujung*, point), *layah sampi* (the tongue of a cow), or *tuktuk cunguh* (the tip of a nose), and is usually a very simple *jejaitan* in the form of a long narrow triangle (fig. 2.9). Usually it is made from the leaves of the coconut palm or the sugar palm. A *tlujungan* is made from leaves of two different colours, often light-green young coconut palm leaves with a border of the mature darker green leaves. Or a very basic pattern of two vertical stripes is formed by using both sides of the mature leaves of the sugar palm, which differ considerably in intensity of green. In Budakeling this particular variety of *tlujungan* is quite common, and is there called *ceniga*. A *tlujungan* does not have any special decorative motifs. Its length can vary between 20 and 40 cm. Small offerings, usually the ones on the ground for the *buta* and *kala*, can be placed on the upper tip of the *tlujungan*. Besides the single layer of leaves, in contrast to the *lamak* (proper), the other correspondence between a *tlujungan* and a *ceniga* is, that the leaves are fastened to one another lengthwise (in the vertical direction) and not horizontally, as is the case with the *lamak*.

2.4 What do the Balinese do with *lamak*?

2.4.1 Where, when and how are lamak used?

The only offerings that do not require an extra base are the smallest offerings (*banten jotan* or *saiban*) which are presented every day in large numbers, and which consist of little pieces of banana leaf on which some rice and tiny bits of salt and spices are placed. But otherwise, the Balinese always separate an offering, regarded as pure, from where it is placed and which may be impure, by putting an extra layer in between. In principle, this layer is more or less part of the offering itself, it is part of what is being presented. This is always the case with offerings which are put on the ground, like *canang* offerings (palm leaf containers with flowers and betel chewing ingredients). But also in shrines in the house temple where usually there is permanently a little mat or piece of cloth which could serve as base for the daily offerings, often a leaf or some flowers are put between this layer and the base of the offering itself.

As many informants told me, offerings preferably have to be presented on something taken from the natural world ("*dari alam*"), like the contents of the offerings themselves.[24] Such a natural base for the offering can be the tip of a banana leaf (*don biu*) or the leaf of another plant, or some flowers, in general referred to as *don kayu* or *plawa*.[25] Besides the most frequently used varieties, like *don kayu piring, kayu mas* or *mas-masan* (croton, *codiaeum variegatum Bl.*) *don kayu sugih* (soap tree, *Dracaena angustifolia*) and *bunga ratna* (globe amaranth, *Gomphrena globosa L.*), many villages have their own customs in what is regarded as *plawa*. In Kerambitan for example, *paku pidpid* (sword fern, *Nephrolepsis exaltata*) and *don pucuk* (hibiscus, *Hibiscus rosa-sinensis*) are also classified as *plawa*.[26] Most of these important plants grow in the courtyards of people who specialize in the making of offerings.

Essentially, all three varieties of '*lamak*', *tlujungan, ceniga* and *lamak* proper, are a human-made creation, and can conceptually be considered as being developed out of the leaves which are otherwise placed under offerings. The Balinese do this more or less "in the same way as one puts a tablecloth on a table before presenting a meal", as I Gusti Agung Mas Putra put it. She added "One shows respect if the altars or shrines where the invisible powers are invited to receive their offerings are dressed for the occasion" (pers. com. 25/9/1982 and 21/9/1985).

In her publications she explained that *lamak* are a prerequisite or requirement for ritual, that their function (*fungsinya*) is to form a base (*alas/tatakan*) for the offerings. According to her, since *lamak* are hung from shrines or altars or elsewhere where offerings are to be placed, a *lamak* indicates to the temple priest (*pemangku*) or offering specialist where the offerings must be placed (Putra 1975a:10; 1975b:6). In a later publication (Putra 1983:41) she listed four functions of a *lamak/ceniga*:

24 This idea will be further developed in Chapter 4.

25 According to Van der Tuuk, *plawa* means "the leaves of flowers, with which offerings are adorned, used as underlay" (*de bladen der bloemen, waarmeede de offeranden versierd worden, tot onderlaag gebezigd*) (van der Tuuk 1897-1912:IV, 246).

26 See Eiseman 2005:184-185 and Sardiana 2010 for names and photographs of plants whose leaves are used in rituals.

a. As clothing (*busana, pangangge*) of a sacred building
b. As base, especially for offerings
c. As a sign that the building or place has a connection with the ritual that is in operation, and will contain offerings
d. As decoration, and that is why sometimes *lamak* are very beautiful.

Also according to Made Titib, the function of the *lamak* is as a base for offerings which are presented at every shrine (Titib 1976:13).

While the *tlujungan* is mainly used as base for offerings for the netherworldly beings on the ground, *ceniga* and *lamak* are mainly used as base for offerings directed to the deities or ancestors, which are usually placed on a shrine or altar, but not on the ground. Besides acting as base for offerings, their second important use is to decorate any construction that acts as a seat for invisible beings. As my informants explained, it is a sign that a ritual is being held and that deities and ancestors are invited.

I Gusti Putu Nonderan, well-known *tukang lamak* (*lamak* maker) from Padangtegal, said "a *lamak* is a costume or dress, the hip cloth (*kain*) of a shrine".[27] And I Wayan Koya (pers. com. 21/10/90), *tukang lamak* in Sibetan (Karangasem), phrased it like this: "A *lamak* is a sign of respect, just as people wear a sash (*selendang*) when going on a visit or receiving guests." Also the high priestess Ida Pedanda Istri Ketut Jelantik in Budakeling said that a *lamak* is a shrine's clothing, like a hip cloth, while the *gantungan-gantungan*, hung next to a *lamak*, are "additional clothing, like a sash" (pers. com. 23/10/2013).

Almost always a *lamak* or *ceniga* simultaneously acts as base for offerings and as decoration of a shrine, because an offering is placed on the upper part of a *lamak* or *ceniga*, while the largest, ornamented part hangs down in such a way that the decorative aspect, the motifs, are clearly visible (figs. 2.10; 2.14; 2.17; 2.39).[28]

At any ritual, all the places to where deities, demons and ancestors are invited to receive their offerings, are decorated with a *lamak*, *ceniga* or a *tlujungan*. These places range from the ground itself and natural objects like large stones or the trunk of a tree (fig. 2.11) to permanent shrines or pavilions, and temporary bamboo altars of various shapes and sizes, such as for example the small temporary offering shrines for Dewi Sri in the rice fields (fig. 2.12). Sometimes an offering is not actually placed on a *lamak*, but a *lamak* is attached to the shrine in close vicinity to the offering. Also, in cases of larger rituals, if offerings are placed on or in front of, for example a watertank, a fireplace, a stove, a roof of a building, a statue or a car, a *lamak* or *ceniga* will be attached to them. And occasionally, certain categories of objects or instruments useful to mankind receive offerings, and therefore also *lamak* or *ceniga*. For example on Tumpek Landep, the day to honour *keris* and metal objects, cars and motorbikes have a festive appearance from the *lamak* and their related *gantung-gantungan* (palm leaf artefacts (*jejaitan*) in the form of 'hanging' ornaments) attached to them. On this occasion leaves are sometimes dyed red, since red is the colour of fire, associated with smithing. On Tumpek Uduh, the day to honour useful trees, all fruit-bearing trees in a courtyard are decorated with a *ceniga* and small *canang* offerings are placed on their branches. In these examples, the watertank, motorbike or tree functions as shrine, as vessel for the spiritual being present.

Offerings themselves, if they are regarded as temporary seats for deities as for instance the large *sarad* and *sate tegeh* (fig. 2.13) or the *dangsil*, but also the small *daksina palinggih*, are often decorated with a *lamak* which is not put underneath, but is directly attached to it.

And finally, there are cases where a *lamak* or *ceniga* is related not so much to offerings but more directly to the deities or deified ancestors, by being a base for or decorating their statues or other vessels in which they descend during the ritual. For example the palanquins in which small statues of deities are carried in processions are always decorated with a *lamak*.

Lamak and *ceniga* are never the only ritual decorations. For temple ceremonies all shrines are "dressed" with textiles of many kinds, plain coloured or decorated in various ways, including painted cloths. Also long pieces of yellow and white cloth

27 *Lamak adalah busana, pakaian, kain dari sanggah* (pers. com. 27/12/1987).
28 Motifs will be dealt with extensively in Chapter 3.

Figure 2.10: A lamak hangs from a temporary offering shrine, set up for Galungan in front of a house in Tegallalang, 13/5/1987.

Figure 2.11: A lamak hangs down under piles of canang offerings which are placed on a very large stone at the foot of a tree. Temple ritual (usaba) in Pura Dalem, Budakeling, 23/3/2016.

Figure 2.12: A ceniga decorates a small offering shrine in the rice fields, dedicated to Dewi Sri. Komala, 31/5/2015.

often hang down from the openings of important shrines, as an underlay for the *lamak* on top (fig. 2.14).

Lamak are used at any type of ritual where offerings are involved. During *manusa yadnya* (rituals for human beings, such as weddings) and *rsi yadnya* (consecrations of priests) only the shrines of the family temple that are actually in use for offerings to deities especially called down for the ritual, like the *sanggar kemulan* (shrine of origin), are completed with a *lamak*. Other shrines for deities who only witness the ceremony, only receive a *ceniga* or a *tlujungan* or even just *plawa* as a base for small offerings. In Singapadu, for a wedding sometimes before the entrance to the house two *sanggar* are erected and adorned with two long *lamak*, representing male and female, according to one informant. Also in Kerambitan for *manusia yadnya* ceremonies such as weddings and toothfilings a temporary shrine with a long *ceniga*, is erected before the entrance to the house.

Prior to death rituals (*pitra yadnya*), *lamak* decorate the *wadah* or *bade,* the towers on which the dead body will be carried to the cremation ground, during the consecration ritual of these structures. *Tukang lamak* I Gusti Putu Nonderan, who is also a specialist in the making of such *bade*, said that a *lamak* at that time is used on a *bade* because "the *bade*, when it is sanctified, is thought to be like a temple (for the dead person), like a *meru*. The *lamak* is used to make it look clean and decorative" (pers. com. 23/5/89). When the body is placed on a bier or lies in state, a *lamak* is suspended from the temporary offering shrine next to the body, as W.O.J. Nieuwenkamp describes when he saw a cremation ceremony in Mataram, Lombok (1906-1910:119, 222 and 1910:213, 216).[29]

For rituals mainly directed to deities, deified ancestors and demons, *dewa* and *buta yadnya*, the size and different types of *lamak* used can vary. The longest and most elaborate *lamak* are usually hung from the highest shrines, the *padmasana* (fig. 2.14) and the temporary *sanggar Surya* or *sanggar tawang* (fig. 2.15) inside the temple, and, visible from outside the temple walls, suspended from the *bale kulkul* (fig. 2.16) and beside the gateways.

Sometimes one structure or shrine has a number of *lamak* and they might have partly different motifs. The *bale kulkul* for example and the temporary *pengubengan* or *panggungan* shrine erected in front of the temple gateway, where deities are believed to gather before they enter the temple, have four sides, oriented towards the cardinal directions. Each side has a *lamak*, although the *bale kulkul* often has one *lamak* only. The *padmasana* and temporary *sanggar tawang* shrine sometimes have three compartments, directed to Brahma, Wisnu and Siwa. Each compartment has its own *lamak*.

Size and number of *lamak* and other offering bases are also dependent on the level of ritual elaboration, since the level of a ritual determines the number and size of all the offerings. A ceremony at *nista* (lowest) level requires only a couple of *ceniga*, whereas a ritual at *utama* (highest) level requires the large *sanggar tawang* shrines with long elaborate *lamak*, for important offerings to the highest deities. These offerings are called *banten catur*, and the *lamak* suspended from these shrines are in Karangasem called *lamak catur*. The special motifs on these *lamak* will be discussed in the next chapter, on the motifs on *lamak*.

For elaborate rituals, the importance of the occasion is often stressed by putting a *tlujungan* or various kinds of *plawa* on top of a *lamak*, directly underneath the offerings, or an already large *lamak* is made "even more complete", as informants explained, by a smaller *ceniga* on top.

Sometimes the number of *lamak* is greater than the actual number of shrines. For example in 2005 I noticed three layers of *lamak* in some shrines of a family temple in Kerambitan. The explanation was that three families were responsible for this temple, so they had each brought their own *lamak* to the ritual. In any case and for ritual purposes, a *lamak* made of permanent material always has to be completed by an ephemeral *lamak* or *ceniga* or *tlujungan* as an extra layer on top, as will be discussed later.

Finally, the size, kind and number of *lamak* that are used are to some extent also dependent on the materials and money available. As Ibu Komang Soka, *tukang lamak* in Padangkerta said (pers. com. 22/4/1994), "Whether you use a *lamak* or a *ceniga* depends on the ceremony, but also on ma-

29 Afterwards he collected one of the *lamak* he depicted in his books for the then 's Rijks Ethnografisch Museum, now part of the National Museum of World Cultures, inv. no. RV-1586-99 (see Appendix 1).

Figure 2.13: Lamak placed underneath sarad and sate tegeh offerings from Bangli, at the Panca Wali Krama ceremony at Pura Besakih, 8/3/1989.

Figure 2.14: Lamak hanging from a padmasana for an odalan at Pura Bale Agung, Intaran (Sanur), 9/4/1994.

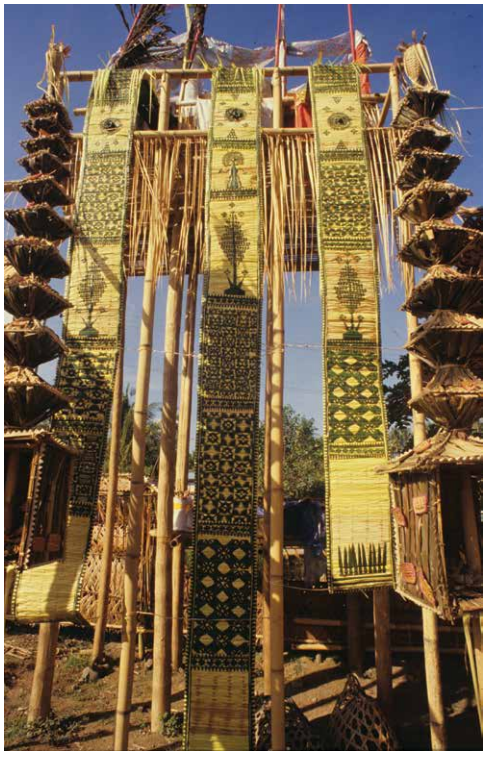

Figure 2.15: Three lamak hanging from a sanggar tawang for an odalan at Pura Dalem Sekar Mukti, Singapadu, 10/7/1988.

Figure 2.16: Lamak on a bale kulkul for an odalan at Pura Dalem Sekar Mukti, Singapadu, 10/7/1988.

terial means, for a *ceniga* is cheaper than a *lamak*." The more materials (leaves) that are available, the longer and larger in number the *lamak*. Also *lamak* rather than *ceniga* are made, since these require more material.

2.4.2 Gantung-gantungan

A *lamak* rarely hangs from a shrine just by itself. Hanging usually on both sides of it are two *jejaitan* which are called *gantung-gantungan* (from *gantung*, 'to hang'), or *sampian gantungan.* In fact, almost every offering in Bali is topped by a *sampian*. This is a special artefact (*jejaitan*) made from young leaves of the coconut palm (*busung*), which contains flowers and a small betel quid wrapped in *plawa* leaves (*porosan*).[30] The *sampian gantungan*, which often contain *porosan* as well, besides the function of decorating the shrine, accompany the *lamak* in the same way as the *sampian* is attached to an offering. These *gantungan* have different names, according to their size, and depending on local tradition. In Kerambitan for example the smallest variety is called *sampian guling memeri* (roast duckling), and a larger one with a beautiful fanshaped crowning piece, a *senteg*. In Budakeling (Karangasem), they are called *capah* and they have the shape of a stylized human being (fig. 2.17). They make the shrines look more beautiful and the *lamak* more complete (*lengkap*), as many Balinese told me. The word *capah* also means 'to split', and thus there always have to be two *capah*, hanging at either side of a *lamak*.

Also I Gusti Agung Mas Putra stressed that *lamak* or *ceniga* always have to be accompanied or completed by *plawa* (sacred leaves) and two *gantung-gantungan* from young coconut palm leaves (Putra 1975a:10; 1983:52). This was also one of the decisions made during a conference in 1975 when the issue of using religious symbols and objects for non-religious purposes was discussed. In the section about ritual implements and offerings (*alat-alat upacara dan sesajen*) it was stated that "If *lamak* and related objects are used for non-religious reasons they should not depict the full range of symbols (for example as decoration in hotels), and when hung up they should not be accompanied by *gantungan* and *plawa*" (Putra 1975b, lampiran I).[31]

2.4.3 Penjor

A special kind of temporary bamboo altar which is always completed with a *lamak*, is the altar attached to or erected in the immediate proximity of a *penjor*.

A *penjor* is a long bamboo pole whose upper end curves downwards (figs. 2.18 and 2.21). Only used for *dewa yadnya* (rituals for deities and deified ancestors), a *penjor* is erected besides the gateways of homes and temples where ceremonies are being enacted. It is a sign that a ritual is being held, and it serves as a kind of invitation to the invisible powers to witness the ceremony and to enjoy the offerings, especially the God of Gunung Agung (often identified as Mahadewa or Giripati), and the deities who live on its summit. Attached to the pole itself are all kinds of *jejaitan*, white and red *jaja* (rice-dough cookies), small offerings, fruits, sheaths of rice, and pieces of cloth. They are regarded as 'the fruits of the earth' (*hasil bumi*) or 'the produce of the (rice)fields' (*sarin tahun*), both raw and cooked (*mateng-mentah*), and of different local categories of plants, like tubers (*pala bungkah*) and hanging fruits (*pala gantung*). "All God's creations are presented to God as a sign of thanks"[32] is the view of most informants. Towards the foot of the *penjor*, about one metre above the ground, one or two coconuts and thick bundles of leaves (*plawa*) of different colours are fastened to the pole. In Kerambitan, great spherical-shaped decorations made of *busung*, called *bakang-bakang*, are attached to the foot of the *penjor*.

Many informants said that the *penjor* is a symbol of Gunung Agung, or acts as a representative (*panyawangan*) for it, and especially of the forests on the mountain. The *sanggar penjor*, the small shrine attached to it, is then thought of as a cave (*goa*) on

30 *Porosan* is a betel quid, placed on top of almost all offerings, because the combination of the components to chew betel, areca nut, betel leaf and lime, are a symbol of Brahma, Wisnu and Siwa (the Trimurti) (Putra 1982:19).

31 Putra 1975b, Keputusan (by I Gst Ag. Gde Putra), Lampiran I.

32 *Semua penciptaan tuhan, disembahkan kepada Tuhan, sebagai tanda terima kasih.*

Figure 2.17: Capah or sampian gantungan on either side of a lamak on a shrine decorated for an odalan, Pura Paibon Pande Besi, Budakeling, 1/6/2015.

Figure 2.18: Two penjor for Galungan. Komala (Bebandem), 2/2/2012.

Figure 2.19: Sampian penjor in the form of a cili, for Galungan. Beraban (Kediri, Tabanan), 13/5/2010.

Figure 2.20: Two lamak on penjor at Galungan. Banjar Songlandak, Sulahan, 6/7/1988.

the mountainside. From the top end of the *penjor* hangs a *sampian penjor*, an elaborate version of the *sampian gantungan* which hang beside a *lamak*, and often a slender human figure with a long skirt (often called a *cili* [33]) can be recognized in the shape of this *sampian* (fig. 2.19). One informant, who is also a healer (*balian*), called the *penjor* a *gunung-gunungan* (a small or model mountain) and the *sampian* on top as 'someone climbing the mountain, someone on the summit of the mountain'.[34] The water that flows down from the mountain is symbolized by the coconut at the foot of the *penjor*.

I Gusti Agung Mas Putra (pers. com. 21/9/1985) called everything on the *penjor* an offering to the deities who have their seats on Gunung Agung. She likened the *penjor* to a water container, since the hollow bamboo is appropriate for such a purpose. It is the symbol of the circular flow of water, which first rises into the air, falls as rain, and then flows downwards. God gives life through water. Like water, the mountain is associated with the earth, and thus a *penjor* is also a symbol of Ibu Pertiwi, Mother Earth, and her fruits. At the same time though, according to her, the *penjor* is a symbol of a serpent (*naga*), and in particular of Anantabhoga (who represents food given by Ibu Pertiwi) and Basuki (who represents welfare given by Ibu Pertiwi).[35]

This identification of *penjor* and *naga* is related to the idea that Gunung Agung itself is equivalent to Naga Basuki. The base of Gunung Agung, identified with Pura Besakih, Bali's paramount temple, is the seat of the *naga*. His tail is the top of the mountain, from where water flows down to the sea via the rivers, providing life-giving sustenance to mankind, while the head of the serpent is positioned in the sea. So water also is closely associated with the *naga*. In this interpretation, the serpent Anantabhoga is likened to the skin of the world, the source of clothing and food. Moreover, the Supreme God, Sang Hyang Widhi in his manifestation as Sang Hyang Trimurti provides food and fertility for human beings, and thus Brahma whose seat is in the earth is related to Anantabhoga, Wisnu in the water to Basuki, and Iswara (Siwa) in the sky to the winged Naga Taksaka (Putra ca. 1982:14-16).

The relationship between *penjor*, and especially the *penjor* erected at Galungan (see next section), and the *naga* is also understood in a more direct manner. The *sanggar* with the *penjor*, together with the coconuts, is the head of Taksaka. The *sampian penjor* is the tail of Basuki. Rice, cassava, and other foods hanging from the *penjor* are the skin of the world, and that is Anantabhoga. Thus according to his analysis, by means of the *penjor* the Balinese thank Ida Sang Hyang Widhi who sustains humankind through His manifestation as the Trimurti, or as the three great cosmic serpents.

Another interpretation, presented by Ida Pedanda Istri Ketut Jelantik (Budakeling) (pers. com. 23/10/2013), is that the *penjor* is in fact directed towards all the deities, but especially to Batara Gana, or Ganesha, the god of wisdom and remover of obstacles.

Sometimes a *lamak* is directly attached to the *penjor* itself (figs. 2.20 and 2.21), which, as already noted, in that case is probably regarded as one large offering, consisting of the fruits of the earth. A *penjor* is always constructed by men, whereas the *sampian* and other *jejaitan* are fashioned by women. As is the case with *lamak*, the variation in different *penjor* is considerable, depending on '*desa, kala, patra*', 'place, time and circumstances'. Not only the decorations attached to bamboo *penjor* can vary considerably, but there also exist *penjor* made from other materials. For example in Kerambitan a decorated branch of a *dadap* tree (coral tree, *Erythrina poeppigiana*), called *penjor dadap*, is carried around in procession during a ceremony for a child who is three months old, or a *penjor* from sugarcane is used for a ceremony at a rice barn.

Since also the *penjor* is often seen as seat for the deities, the *lamak* and *penjor* are regarded as complementary to one another. As Ni Wayan Jenjen, *tukang lamak* in Kutri (Singapadu) explained (pers. com. 18/1/1988), "each *penjor* has a *lamak*, and it is not complete without it. The *sanggar penjor* is a representative (*panyawangan*) of Gunung Agung, similar to the *padmasana* (lotus seat for the highest deity) in a temple. A *lamak* belongs here, it does not feel right if there is no *lamak*." Another *tukang lamak*, in Jasan (pers. com. 27/2/1988): "There is

33 See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the important motif of the *cili*.

34 Desak Patupang, Kediri-Singapadu (pers. com. 18/1/1988).

35 See also Putra 1975a.

Figure 2.21: Rows of penjor along the road through Pujung at Galungan, 21/8/1985.

a connection; if there is a *penjor*, you must use a *lamak*. The *lamak* is like the base of a *penjor*, like a cloth, so that it is not naked. The *lamak* belongs to the *penjor*, it is a companion."

2.5 Galungan and *odalan*

2.5.1 Galungan

By far the largest range of different *penjor* and *lamak* can be seen at its very best every 210 days on Galungan.[36] Galungan itself falls on the Wednesday of the week Dungulan of the Javanese-Balinese calendar, but the day is actually the high point of a sequence of holy days which starts on the Thursday of the week before, a day called Sugihan Jawa, includes not only Galungan but also Kuningan 10 days later, and ends on the day Wednesday Kliwon of the week Pahang, one Balinese month (of 35 days) after Galungan. Considered one of the major *dewa yadnya* rituals (although with an important *buta yadnya* component), during this great holiday period which in Bali is often called "*piodalan jagat*" or "*piodalan bumi*", anniversary celebration of the world, and also "*kemenangan dharma*", victory of justice or order, the entire island of Bali is decorated as if it were one enormous temple. In front of almost every houseyard a *penjor* is erected with a small bamboo shrine attached to it from which a *lamak* or *ceniga* hangs (figs. 2.18, 2.20, 2.21).[37]

Being one of major festivals of Balinese Hinduism, Galungan has received a great deal of attention, from both western and Balinese writers, over a period of some two hundred years. In the context of this study, the following presentation concentrates especially on the role of *lamak* and *penjor* within the ritual and calendrical context.

The first mention of the festival period of Galungan in western literature is by John Crawfurd, who visited Bali in 1814 (Raffles 1817:239). He reports: "The first in point of time is Galunggan and is of five days duration; the second is termed Kuningan, and is of three days duration. [...] These festivals are dedicated to rejoicing, festivity, and the worship of the gods, not deemed incompatible with each other. All serious occupation is interrupted; even war at all other times carried on with the relentless ferocity common to Barbarians, is deemed unlawful during the celebration of these festivals" (Crawfurd 1820:140). Also the Dutch who worked in North Bali in the second half of the 19th century all wrote about Galungan, describing it as a kind of New Year celebration. They also noticed the many *penjor*, but only Van Eck mentions something that is probably a *lamak* though without naming it as such, what he calls "*een geknipt patroon*", a cut-out pattern, hanging from the *penjor* (Van Eck 1874:122).[38] He was the first to mention the association of *penjor* with the god(s) of Gunung Agung.

However the westerners who worked in Bali in the 1920s en 1930s, like Roelof Goris, Walter Spies, Jane Belo, Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson, were all impressed by the beauty of both *penjor* and *lamak*, which they could see everywhere along the streets at Galungan. Miguel Covarrubias, for example, wrote in his famous *Island of Bali* (1937): "On

36 Between 6 October 1982 and 21 October 2013 I have seen *lamak* at Galungan 13 times, most extensively in the districts of Gianyar, Tabanan and Karangasem. (Regional variation in the design of *lamak* and other ritual decorations and the developments in the course of those 30 years will be discussed in Chapter 5).

37 The other time when the entire island of Bali (or whole regions) is decorated in such a way is during great island-wide purification ceremonies, such as Ekadasa Rudra every 100 years (Stuart-Fox 2002:333).

38 In translation: "According to the prescriptions of the religion every Balinese is duty bound at the beginning of a new [Balinese] year to offer prayers at the feet of the god whose throne is established on Gunung Agung (the highest mountain on Bali). On account however that this can be onerous in person to make the journey to the top, they have created the *penjor*, on which a cut-out design hangs from the house temple [shrine attached to the *penjor*?], as proof that they have willingly done at home what should have been done elsewhere but is difficult to accomplish." In Dutch: "*Volgens de voorschriften van de godsdienst is iedere Balinees verplicht om bij het begin van een nieuw jaar zijn gebeden neer te leggen aan de voeten van den god die zijnen troon op Goenoeng Agung (de voornaamste berg op Bali) gevestigd heeft. Aangezien echter bezwaarlijk gevorderd kan worden, dat de lieden in persoon de reis naar boven zullen maken, zoo heeft men de pendjor uitgevonden, waaraan* ***een geknipt patroon*** *van den huistempel afhangt, ten bewijze dat men te huis gaarne doet, wat elders moet, maar moeielijk kan geschieden*" (Van Eck 1874:122).

all the roads, at the gate of every home, tall *penyors* were erected, meant perhaps to be seen from the summits of the mountains where the gods dwell, together with a little bamboo altar from which hung a *lamak*, one of those beautiful mosaics on long strips of palm-leaf" (Covarrubias 1937:284). And elsewhere, stressing the artistic aspect of the *lamak*, he writes, "These are magnificent ornaments, perhaps the purest examples of the Balinese native art, last only for one day [....]. Spies has collected every different type of *lamak* design for a period of years and he has hundreds of them" (Covarrubias 1937:170).[39]

P. de Kat Angelino, who worked as civil servant (*controleur*) in Gianyar, was the first to devote a study to the *penjor* (1921a).[40] He explains the origin of the use of *lamak* and *penjor* at Galungan on the basis of two Balinese texts, the Usana Bali and the Sri Jayakasunu.[41] In legendary times, the demonic, heathen king Maya Danawa was defeated and Hinduism was established in Bali. The gods announced that from then on, on the third day in the week Dungulan (that is the day before Galungan), *byakala* (*biakala*) offerings had to be presented. However, the kings neglected these prescriptions, and as a consequence they each reigned for only a few years. When it was the turn of Sri Jayakasunu to become king, he consulted the goddess Durga, and asked her what he had to do to have a long life as king. She told him that it was necessary to follow the old prescriptions and in the week Dungulan to present *byakala* offerings to the *kala-kali*, the demonic spirits, for otherwise they would devour human beings. Also all Balinese should make offerings in the temples and place a *penjor* outside all house compounds. These *penjor*, tall bamboo poles, should include the produce of the rice fields, coconuts, palm leave decorations and a small temporary shrine with a *lamak*. A month after Galungan the *penjor* and *lamak* should be finally pulled down and burned, and the ashes buried in the courtyard.

According to the informants of De Kat Angelino, through the offerings on the shrine of the *penjor*, which represent everything that serves as food for human beings, the people worship the deity(ies) of the Gunung Agung, in the hope that he will return this gift with his blessings for a good harvest the next year. But because it is not possible to go to the Gunung Agung to present the offerings, they erect a *penjor* in front of their houses, so that the God can descend to this replacement of the mountain to receive and enjoy the offerings. With the *byakala* offerings which contain mainly meat and blood, the demonic *kala* are appeased and the land is purified. This happens on the day before Galungan, called Penampahan, so that Galungan itself is for the Balinese really a feast of renewal. De Kat Angelino also noted down another story, from Balinese oral tradition, in relation to the use of *penjor* at Galungan. The essence of this story is that because the land was purified and decorated with *penjor*, and offerings were made in the week of Dungulan, a king named Sang Hyang Kala, who had turned into a demon who ate his wives, transformed back into a just king who ruled his people for a long and happy time (De Kat Angelino 1921a:195-200).

In numerous publications by Balinese authors on religious matters, the Galungan festival is often discussed, and like De Kat Angelino, these authors usually refer to the Usana Bali and the legend of Sri Jayakasunu.

To quote the text itself, based on an Indonesian translation of the Usana Bali, the last part of this advice from Durga to Sri Jayakasunu is formulated as follows: "And furthermore at the time of the Three Demons (Kala Tiga) of the Week Dungulan which falls on the day Tuesday Wage, at that time it is fitting that you perform the ceremony *biakala*,

39 On Walter Spies and his *lamak* project, see Chapter 5.

40 In this article "*De beteekenis der pependjorans*" (1921:195) he mentions the many *lamak* at Galungan as follows: "Standing next to every pole is an offering shrine, also made of bamboo, in which various offerings are placed; from this shrine there hangs down to the ground a decorative plaited mat; on the mat proper (the *lamak*) all sorts of figures (cut-outs from banana leaf) are fastened using small pins (made from the *lidi*, the rib of the palm leaf), by which very beautiful mats are obtained which from a distance appear to be, as it were, rare fabrics." In Dutch: *Naast iederen stam staat een offernisje, ook van bamboe gemaakt, waarin verschillende offers worden neergelegd; vanaf die offernis hangt tot op den grond een sierlijk matvlechtwerk; op de eigenlijke mat (de lamak) worden allerlei figuren (knipsels uit pisangblad) door kleine naalden (gemaakt uit de lidi=palmbladnerf) vastgespeld, waardoor heele mooie matten worden verkregen die er op een afstand uit zien als waren het de zeldzaamste weefsels.*

41 The Sri Jayakasunu is often considered part of the Usana Bali. See Hinzler 1986 for discussion.

which must be followed together by all devotees on the island of Bali, so that they can enjoy themselves with food and drink in each person's village territory, but only after having presented offerings in each person's temples, and to erect a *penjor* in the ground in front of each person's house gateway; give priority to fulfilling this religious duty as in former times" (Warna & Murdha 1986:92).[42]

But in a few manuscripts the main Jayakasunu text is followed by other ritual items, in which further details are provided concerning ritual practices related to Galungan and its broader calendrical context.[43] These include further information on the *penjor* and associated *lamak*. The text reads as follows: "Erect a *penjor* on the day Tuesday Wage of the week Dungulan, having as contents the produce of the rice fields, two coconuts, cakes, *sate lembat*, *sate asem* [two kinds of meat dishes on skewers], *kekuwung* accompanied by *sampian*, *lamak* and all kinds of fish. On the day Wednesday Kliwon of the week Pahang, clean up all the leftovers from Galungan, present the offering *tumpeng mapucak manik*, *canang*, all of them to be placed on the shrine, followed by pulling up the *penjor*, burning the *lamak*, then to be buried in the middle of the house courtyard" (Arwati 1988/1989:8).[44]

Although all my Balinese informants celebrated Galungan in one way or another, there was much variation both in practical details and in the interpretation of the many different aspects of the festival, not always precisely according to the written tradition.

Women especially always know when Galungan is drawing close, because they have to make all the offerings and ritual decorations. They start making preparations, like cleaning the compound and purifying the house temple for the arrival of the ancestors, on the day Sugihan Jawa. On that day small offerings (*banten canang*) are placed on the tip of a banana leaf (*don biu*) and laid down at the places where larger offerings with *lamak* will be presented at Galungan. This, according to Ibu Made Latri (Sanur), is to let the invisible beings know that Galungan is getting close and that they will be invited. For as Ida Pedanda Oka Gede Timbul (Sanur) explained, "On Sugihan Jawa everyone must prepare for the descent of the Five gods (*Panca dewata*), cleanse themselves and all the shrines on the outside, since *Jawa* means 'outside'. The next day is Sugihan Bali, where *Bali* refers to *wali*, a symbol of spirituality, and thus spiritual purification." On the Sunday before Galungan, the day known as Penyekeban, continued the *pedanda*, "the Three Demons (Sang Kala Tiga) descend, who like to cause disturbances. Among them are Kala Wisesa who is very powerful magically and who is difficult to defeat and Kala Amangkurat who has power over the world".

As the main day approaches, women make (or buy) many *jaja*, rice-dough cookies and cakes for the offerings, especially on the Monday before Galungan which for this reason is called Penyajaan. Men are particularly busy in the early morning of the day called Penampahan, the day before Galungan, when they prepare meat offerings. Penampahan is from the root *tampah*, meaning to slaughter (an animal), and in this context refers especially to the slaughter of a pig to be offered to the Three Demons, "as a way of saying thanks, as they are our brothers, and so that negative aspects do not enter, neither into the home nor into the body. Thereafter, one should not give way to anger, and so Galungan can be celebrated with success, in a family environment that includes the ancestors" (pers. com. Ida Pedanda Oka Gede Timbul). The purpose of this sacrifice to the demons, the *biakala* of the texts, is to "purify, free (*membebaskan*) Sang Kala

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42 *Lagi pula apabila saat Kala Tiga Uku Dungulan yang jatuh pada hari: Selasa, Wage, ketika itu Anakda patut melaksanakan upacara Abeyakala, yang diikuti bersama-sama oleh umat di Pulau Bali, mereka agar bersenang-senang makan dan minum di wilayah desanya masing-masing, dengan terlebih dahulu mempersembahkan sesajen di puranya masing-masing, serta menancapkan penjor di halaman depan pintu rumahnya masing-masing, utamakanlah Anakda mematuhi tata karma di masa silam.*

43 For example, Candi Darma K.41 (K.41a Jayakasunu): 25b; Tutur Usana Bali (Geria Pidada, Klungkung, HKS 1833/L.Or.14977): 10a (incomplete, just the last few lines of the text). For a published version, see Arwati 1988/1989.

44 *Mendirikan penjor pada hari Selasa, Wage Dungulan, berisi hasil sawah, kelapa dua butir, kue, sate lembat, sate asem, kekuwung disertai sampyan, lamak dan segala jenis ikan. Pada hari Buda Keliwon Pahang, membersihkan sampah Galungan, menghaturkan tumpeng mapucak manik, canang, yang semuanya diletakkan pada sanggar, dilanjutkan dengan mencabut penjor, membakar lamak, selanjutnya ditanam ditengah pekarangan rumah. Habis.*

Tiga, so that they return to their original form, Ida Sang Hyang Tiga Wisesa/Ida Sang Hyang Widhi in His form as Creator, Sustainer and Destroyer [the Trimurti: Brahma, Wisnu and Siwa]. In this way harmony and well-being of the Buana Agung and Buana Alit can be realized, and Dharma can be maintained" (Putra 1985a:34). This particular ritual is the important *buta yadya* component of the Galungan celebration.

There are rules about the timing of the appearance of *penjor* and *lamak*: they may be erected and suspended only after this *biakala* offering on Penampahan. Only then can the final preparations for Galungan take place. Men make and erect *penjor*. In readiness for Galungan 23 October 2013, I watched in Budakeling how a father and son spent the whole afternoon of Penampahan Galungan making and decorating a *penjor*: in front of the gateway on the street they attached all the leaves and food, pieces of cloth and other ingredients and elements, whereas the mother and daughter-in-law were inside the house yard busy making all the *jejaitan* that had to be suspended from the pole. Every family erects a bamboo offering altar in front of their homes with a *lamak* hanging from it, next to the *penjor*, or attached to the *penjor* (fig. 2.16, 18, 19). "This is meant as an invitation to the ancestors, to welcome them for Galungan," said my informants.

Meanwhile the women are busy making the offerings (*matanding*) for the following day and decorating the shrines in the house temple with textiles (as a kind of clothing), complete with palm leaf *lamak* and *gantung-gantungan*. For example in my Sanur 'home' in the 1980s no less than 65 *lamak* were needed. In Budakeling, Ni Nyoman Ngetis made dozens of the offerings *banten pajegan* for presenting (*maturan*) in the various temples and 56 small offerings (*ceper*) for the demons on the ground, one larger *banten nasi* and one *banten* Galungan (pers. com. 29/1/2012).

In the words of Ni Made Latri (Sanur), "the ancestors arrive on the day before Galungan, and it is then that the *lamak* are hung up, for they show the way to the shrines" (figs. 2.2, 2.3). If some shrines or altars already have a more permanent cloth *lamak* or a *ceniga* made from the more durable *lontar* palm leaves, for this festive occasion fresh new *lamak* are always put on top. Besides the numerous *lamak* and *gantung-gantungan* hanging from the shrines in the house temple and the courtyard, they are also placed on the small wooden altars attached to the walls of buildings in the compound, such as the bedroom, kitchen, rice barn, and well.

Although *lamak* on a *penjor* are seldom longer than one metre, the district Gianyar has its own elaborate variation.[45] In front of the houses where a wedding has taken place since the previous Galungan very tall bamboo shrines (called *bale nganten*, 'wedding pavilion') are erected from which beautiful *lamak* are hung, five to eight metres long, the so-called *lamak nganten*, wedding *lamak* (figs. 2.1, 2.6, 2.22-2.25). Besides attracting the deities, they also serve as a kind of invitation to members of the neighbourhood to come and visit the newly-wed couple to present offerings (*banten tumpeng*) and take home special sweets (*tape*). The offerings are meant to wish the couple happiness in their new life and the hope they will soon receive offspring. Sometimes next to these *lamak nganten* there are two *penjor* instead of one, representing the married couple, the taller one to the right being the groom and the smaller one to the left the bride. However, usually there is only one *penjor*, but more elaborately decorated than the usual ones. This visiting and presenting of offerings in the neighbourhood is called *ngejot banten*. In Lambing (Badung) this is called *nekaang*, and I noticed women carrying some very tall offerings, *jrimpen gede*, to their neighbours. Also in Kerambitan (Tabanan) *banten jrimpen* are taken to the homes where a wedding has taken place and/or a first child has been born in the previous period, but these offerings are much smaller, and the tradition of *lamak nganten* does not exist there. Also in Budakeling (Karangasem) no special wedding *lamak* are hung outside, and *banten jrimpen ketipat* are only taken to the families where a child has been born recently (pers. com. Ni Nyoman Ngetis, 29/1/2012).

In Karangasem, where I happened to be for Galungan on 24 October 1990, 1 February 2012 and

45 From observations during my trips along the roads of Bali at Galungan, in the 1980s *lamak nganten* were present in a wide area around Ubud, in a kind of ellipse on the map, starting as far east as Gianyar, and then clockwise as far as Keramas, Singapadu, Mambal, Kedewatan, Tegallalang, to as far north as Tampaksiring (see map in figure 1.2.).

Figure 2.22: Lamak nganten made by Ni Wayan Klepon (Junjungan) for Galungan. Peliatan, 13/5/1987.

Figure 2.23: Lamak nganten probably made by I Made Sadra (Padangtegal) for Galungan. Peliatan, 21/8/1985.

Figure 2.24: Lamak nganten at Galungan. Sayan, Kedewatan, 6/10/1982.

Figure 2.25: Lamak nganten at Galungan. Singapadu, 11/12/1987.

23 October 2013, I noticed that fastened onto many *penjor* was another palm leaf artefact called *ubag-abig*. This *jejaitan* had the long rectangular shape of a *lamak*, towards the tip slightly narrower, with two long chains hanging from the bottom or the sides, called 'legs with feet' or 'arms with hands'. According to some informants the *ubag-abig* represents the human body, and the chains with its connecting links are a symbol of unity, and of marriage.

The main day of this festive period, Galungan, the day after Penampahan, is nowadays often interpreted as the celebration of the victory of Dharma [sacred order and right conduct] over Adharma [the opposite of Dharma]. Ida Sang Hyang Widhi (God) in His many manifestations and the ancestors are invited to receive the Galungan offerings, among which the *tumpeng*, rice cones, are important ingredients. The presentation of offerings and worship "are directed to the deities, the forces of nature, the ancestors, small creatures (*gumatap-gumitip*) and even anything that is thought to be of help, that accompany us in life, like betel box, utensils for kitchen, weaving, and pounding rice, broom, water channel, automobile, and so on" (Putra 1985a:42). "After presenting all the offerings, then pray and receive holy water, … and the next morning … waft the essence of the offerings in the house or shrine and request blessings from Sang Hyang Sarining Galungan/Sang Hyang Dharma" (Putra 1985a:48).

Not only is there extensive regional variation in the ritual decorations for Galungan, it also makes a difference whether Galungan happens to fall on the day of a full moon or *purnama*. This is called Galungan Nadi, and it happened for example on 13 May 1987. In Ubud and surroundings the *penjor* were called *penjor nadi*, and a white effect was achieved by removing completely the skin of the bamboo poles. Older people from Buleleng and Karangasem remembered that in their youth there were only *penjor* and *lamak* at Galungan Nadi, not at ordinary Galungan.

Ten days after Galungan, on Saturday of the week Kuningan, is the holy day Kuningan. The deities are asked for their blessings of prosperity, peace and protection, and it is hoped that prosperity and Dharma will always be present in the world. This marks the end of the main part of the festive period, and ancestors and deities are believed to return again to their *kahyangan*, their heavenly abodes. To bid them farewell, they again receive offerings, although somewhat smaller in size and variety than at Galungan. *Kuning* means yellow, and on this day offerings include yellow rice, *nasi kuning,* and side dishes. Furthermore, all Galungan *lamak* or *ceniga* are replaced by freshly made ones, usually of a smaller variety, or these new *jejaitan* are simply put on top of the previous ones. In most areas in Bali, for Kuningan the *gantungan* near the *lamak* are replaced by a *jejaitan* in the form of a circle, called *tamiang*, meaning 'shield' (fig. 2.26-2.28), which informants explain as a symbol of protection. Sometimes a *sampian penjor* is replaced by a *tamiang* as well.

In Budakeling, the ordinary Galungan *lamak* or *ceniga* are replaced by so-called *ceniga jan banggul*, "so that Ida Betara can return to heaven." *Jan banggul* refers to a ladder made from a single piece of bamboo, with notches (fig. 2.28). In this area, for these *jejaitan* only the light-coloured young leaves of the coconut and *lontar* palm trees are used, since these are rather yellow (*kuning*) in colour. For Galungan the colour of the leaves had to be dark green. In Budakeling, replacing the *gantungan*, a *capah* on the right side of a *lamak* and a *tamiang* on the left side are said to be related to one another as human being and rays of the sun, as microcosm (*buana alit*) and macrocosm (*buana agung*).

Also in many parts of Badung including Sanur a special kind of *lamak* is used for Kuningan. It is the *endongan*, which elsewhere consists of a little palm leaf pouch-like artefact filled with bits of food, the same as in small offerings: sugar cane (*tebu*), banana (*biu*) and cookies (*jaja*) and flowers, betel quid (*porosan*) and sacred leaves (*plawa*) from the trees *kayu sugih*, *bingin* and *cemara*, "all for the ancestors to take on their journey home to the heavens", Ni Made Latri said. In Sanur it does not exist by itself, but the pouch is fastened onto a kind of *lamak*, which as a whole is called *endongan*. Not all *lamak* are replaced by *endongan*; in my Sanur 'home' compound only 25 *endongan* were needed (fig. 2.29).

Finally, on the day Buda Kliwon of the week Pahang, 35 days after Galungan, the end of the Galungan-Kuningan festive period is marked by a small ritual. All *penjor* are finally pulled up. The *lamak* and other decorations, including elements from the *penjor*, have dried out completely by then and according to informants these are burned and

Figure 2.26: Lamak and two tamiang hang from a sanggar penjor at Kuningan. Buruan (Tabanan), 16/7/1988.

Figure 2.27: Tamiang made for Kuningan. Banjar Sigaran Jegu (Penebel), 2/11/2013.

Figure 2.28: Tamiang and ceniga jan banggul made for Kuningan. Banjar Pande Mas, Budakeling, 11/2/2012.

Figure 2.29: Endongan made for Kuningan. Banjar Batujimbar, Sanur, 15/4/1994.

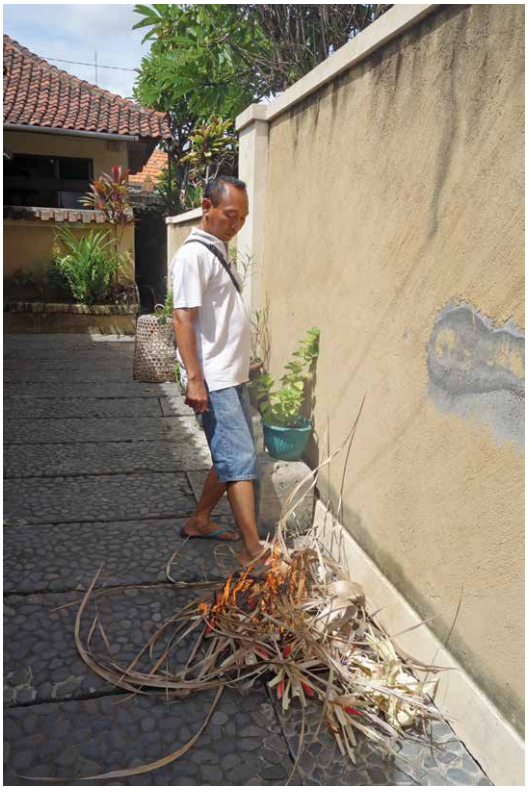

Figure 2.30: At the end of the Galungan period, I Wayan Teja burns the lamak and other jejaitan. Banjar Gulingan, Sanur, 17/3/2016.

the ashes are buried in the courtyard, as is prescribed in the texts. For example, on Buda Kliwon Pahang 16 March 2016, in the Sanur courtyard where I had lived before (fig. 2.30), the *penjor* in front of the gateway was pulled up, and Wayan Teja set the *lamak*, *sampian penjor*, *tamiang* and other *jejaitan* on fire. The dry leaves burned very quickly and afterwards he cooled them off by sprinkling them with some holy water. Then he buried the ashes at the foot of a tree in the centre of the courtyard and finally placed a small *canang* offering on top of the earth. According to I Gusti Agung Mas Putra (1985a:60), the ashes are buried so that they are returned to Ibu Pertiwi, Mother Earth, accompanied by offerings, "with the request for life force and well-being".

In interpreting the meaning or significance of the Galungan-Kuningan rituals, different writers at various times, based on available knowledge, have emphasized different aspects, and analyses and interpretation have changed over the years.[46] Informants, in their own words, likewise express varying explanations.

Ida Pedanda Oka Gede Timbul (Sanur) (pers. com. 28/8/1989 and 3/4/1994), basing himself on the *lontar* manuscript Sri Jayakasunu, interprets the meaning of Galungan in these terms: "In a philosophical way one could say that Galungan celebrates the victory of Dharma over Adharma; through meditation and concentration one has to control one's emotions and follow God. But Galungan is also the Festival of the Earth or World, everything is given offerings, and all Hindus participate. The ancestral gods (*dewa hyang*) and all the other gods witness the celebrations enacted by the Hindu believers. Galungan is a celebration of thanks to Betara Guru (the High God) and his 3,5,9 and 11 manifestations, and also to the deified ancestors, with the request for a long and prosperous life."[47]

Many Balinese informants saw Galungan as a kind of thanksgiving period, because "the ancestors are at home during Galungan". They had heard about the "victory of Dharma over Adharma", but did not know what this meant exactly.

But some, like I Made Windia, head (*klian banjar*) of Banjar Gulingan, Sanur, provided explanations with philosophical content (pers. com. 6/10/1982): "The Galungan-Kuningan period is a remembering of the struggle within a human being between good and evil. During the ten days of the Galungan-Kuningan period the ancestors are present in this world in order to help human beings in this struggle."

His daughter-in-law Nyoman Murni said (pers. com. 12/5/2010) that since Galungan celebrates the victory of Dharma over Adharma, one should not get angry, "because those who are coming to visit will remember". Her husband did not pay much attention to this aspect. For him "Galungan is busy and expensive!", although he likes the social aspects of the festival and the opportunity to spend time with his children.

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46 Among the many publications by Balinese authors on the Galungan-Kuningan festival, one of the earliest is in I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa's book *Hari Raya Bali Hindu* (1952, 2nd ed. 1957). His work is very detailed as regards the various *mantra* to be used in all the different stages of the rituals. According to him, a *penjor* is a special symbol of the Gunung Agung as a seat for Bhatara Mahadewa or Bhatara Giripati (Lord of the Mountain), but he does not specifically mention the use of *lamak* (Sugriwa 1957:9-28). Another important author on ritual matters (especially offerings and ritual decorations), I Gusti Agung Mas Putra, gives a full description of and many prescriptions (including details of offerings) for the entire Galungan period (Putra 1985a: 31-78). She mentions *lamak* on the day before Galungan, the *endongan* for Kuningan, and the burning of these ritual objects 35 days after Galungan. According to her, the Galungan festival celebrates the victory of Dharma (right order, justice, goodness, truth) over Adharma (chaos, ignorance, untruth). She also interprets the sacrifice to the Sang Kala Tiga as a purification so that they can return to their original form, the Sang Hyang Tiga Wisesa, as the Trimurti. She interprets the *penjor* as a sign of victory of Dharma over Adharma, and more specifically as a symbol of the earth/mountain with all its fruits and crops that give prosperity and life on earth, whereas the offerings and the other requirements form the *sarin tahun*, the produce of the (rice)fields. And publications on Galungan continue to appear, almost on a yearly basis, e.g. Sudarsana 2003: 30-79, and Adnyana 2011. Among western accounts, see Stephen 2005:118-121 and Hobart 2003 for two recent discussions with different perspectives.

47 *Galungan juga Hari Raya Gumi atau Jagat, seluruhnya diupacarai, dan seluruh umat Hindu ikut. Dewa Yang (leluhur) dan Dewa2 yang lain semua ikut menyaksikan umat Hindu bagaimana melaksanakan Hari Raya Galungan. Galungan adalah terima kasih kepada Betara Guru dan semua 3,5,9,dan 11 manifestasi Beliau dan juga leluhur. Supaya panjang umur, dan hidup baik.*

Nowadays, Balinese first learn about the meaning of Galungan and the significance of the *penjor* as part of their religious education in primary school. According to the teacher's manual, the children learn that the essence of the ritual is to present offerings, consisting of all the contents of the world that we enjoy and make use of, namely leaves, fruits, flowers, etc. This is given form in the *penjor*. The meaning of the *penjor* is to thank Sang Hyang Widhi for His enormous gift of prosperity to us. At Galungan the whole family prays to Sang Hyang Widhi and the ancestors to thank them, whereas at Kuningan the protection of Sang Hyang Widhi and the ancestors is requested, so everyone can live in safety and prosperity (Mardana 2005:21-23).

From the various written sources, observations and interviews with informants, the essentials of the Galungan and Kuningan festive period can be summarized as follows.

As *odalan gumi*, anniversary celebration of the world, Galungan has the characteristics of a cosmic ritual, a 'New Year' celebration of the renewal of relationships of both the invisible (*niskala*) and the visible (*sekala*) inhabitants of the island of Bali. Through the *biakala* sacrifice presented to Sang Kala Tiga, demonic forces are purified and returned to their original form, transformed back into the Sang Hyang Tiga Wisesa, the Trimurti, Brahma, Wisnu and Siwa. The deities, manifestations of Sang Hyang Widhi are invited to descend to earth from their heavenly abode, represented by the summit of Gunung Agung. The deified ancestors descend to their family temples to be worshipped, but offerings are also brought to the graveyard (for the not yet cremated family members) and the Pura Dalem (the Death Temple), to other village temples and to the family temple for the ancestors from the side of the mother in each household.

Also the relations within the *banjar* (neighbourhood) play a role, especially in the households where a new family has been formed. Galungan is also very much a social event, a period of visiting and *jalan-jalan* (outings), eating together and strengthening family ties.

Throughout the festival period various forms of *lamak* make their appearance. When on the day Sugihan Jawa small offerings are presented to the invisible beings to prepare them for the upcoming invitation for Galungan, they are only placed on the tips of banana leaves (*don biu*), in combination with some flowers (*bunga ratna*), but not yet on a *ceniga* or *lamak*.

Only after the *biakala* sacrifice on Penampahan, when the world has been purified, are the *penjor* with *lamak* erected in front of every household, as prescribed in the ancient texts. As a symbol or representation of the Gunung Agung, the *penjor* is connected to this invitation, and to the actual descending of deities and ancestors.

On the actual day of Galungan offerings are presented, placed on the upper ends of all *lamak*, in thanks to deities and ancestors for their benevolence and gifts, including a good harvest (symbolized by the contents of the *penjor*), and to ask for a new year of abundance and fertility (also offspring for newly-wed couples), necessary for the continuation of life in the world of Bali.

Kuningan marks the end of this period of divine presence on earth, when the deities return to their heavenly abode. The *endongan* and *ceniga jan banggul,* hung in addition to the *lamak*, are specifically meant to facilitate this return. The *tamiang* (shield) is a symbol of the protection from danger, granted by the ancestors.

Finally, 35 days after Galungan (on Buda Kliwon Pahang) the *penjor* are pulled up, and the *lamak* and other *jejaitan* burned and buried.

2.5.2 Odalan

Besides Galungan, the other major rituals within the Dewa Yadnya category in which *lamak* are very prominent are temple anniversary festivals, which celebrate the 'birthday' of their consecration. When this ritual returns every 210 days, the festival is called *odalan*, when it is connected to the lunar cycle it is often called *usaba*. Each of the thousands of temples in Bali celebrates its own festival on its own specific day.

Just as at Galungan, deities or deified ancestors are invited to come down from heaven and visit their shrines in the temple, which for this occasion are all decorated with *lamak* and *gantung-gantungan* (figs. 2.14, 2.17, 2.32-2.38). In front of the entrance gate to the temple stand *penjor*, usually with small altars with *lamak* (fig. 2.31). In the 1980s and 1990s I often noticed spectacular *lamak* decorating the gateway to the temple and the

bale kulkul, the 'drum tower' in the corner of the temple's outer courtyard (fig. 2.16).[48] But although currently *lamak* are still there, they are shorter and less striking than they used to be.

And just as at Galungan, the main purpose of the ritual is to ask the gods to grant well-being and protection, in exchange for offerings which represent the fruits of the earth. Besides the offering groups associated with the ritual, each family worshipping in the temple brings its own offering (fig. 2.34, 2.37). During the ceremony a priest by means of prayers and mantras invites the invisible powers to descend into the offerings to enjoy the food, and to bestow prosperity, long life, health, safety and fertility. The people receive the blessings from the deities in the form of holy water and the 'left-overs' of the food content of the offerings.

I visited dozens of temple celebrations,[49] in all regions of Bali, varying from small family temples in the houseyard to major complexes like Pura Besakih and Pura Batur, from '*nista*' or smallest level rituals to the '*utama*' or highest level of ritual elaboration. In some temples, for example in Intaran (Sanur) where I lived, the ritual always required the presence of a *pedanda*, priest of Brahmana descent, in other temples by a temple priest or *pemangku*.[50] In some temples the ritual always lasts for just one day only, in others three or more days, or alternating between one or more days.

Although the variation is enormous, especially in the design of offerings and ritual decorations, the main structure and sequence of events were in most cases comparable to the summary given by Jane Belo of a temple festival she witnessed in Sayan (in the neighbourhood of Ubud) in 1937-38:

"The basic theme of every temple festival is the invitation to the gods to descend, to imbue with their presences the sacred objects (*artja*) or god-figures which form their support (*tapakan*) for the time that they are to be given homage.

The little figures which represent the gods must be awakened (*tetangi*), they must be dressed, escorted to the bath, given an elaborate toilette. They are given a reception (*pemendak*) with dancing. Nymphs are invited for their entertainment, and gods of neighbouring temples asked to attend as guests. The gods are seated (*malinggih*) on a central shrine, and a feast (*piodalan*) is spread out for them. Later, more refreshments are offered, again with dancing (*mendet*). Music accompanies their coming and their going. All through the night the entertainment continues. The next day, and the next, while their visit lasts, they must be offered refreshments at regular intervals, until at last, when it is time for them to go home (*boedal*), they are given a final rousing send-off (*ngeloearang*)" (Belo 1953:11). Belo's detailed book is complemented by that of C. Hooykaas (1977), who focusses on "what a priest says and chants in order to obtain a better understanding of the ritual." He does this on the basis of the contents of *lontar* manuscripts and other texts, mainly manuals for temple priests.[51]

In relation to the question "What do Balinese do with *lamak*?", in the following section I concentrate on the stadia of a temple festival in which Balinese actually do something with *lamak*, on the basis of my own observations and the descriptions in Belo's book. And on the basis of Hooykaas' book and some additional material I present the (few) passages in which *lamak* and/or *ceniga* are specifically mentioned in the texts. Note that there is often some (scribal) variation in these *mantra*.

Usually a few days before the actual ceremony, the people who are responsible for the temple start making preparations. Materials are collected, offerings made, temporary constructions built. From the shrines "also will hang the intricate palm leaf panels (*lamak*) cut out by the girls with the cleverest fingers. Those who undertake to provide for the temple the *penjors* and the *lamaks* are let off from part of the usual routine work. [...]. On the third day of the preparation, that is, the day immedi-

48 In 1930 Miguel and Rose Covarrubias attended their first *odalan* in Sanur. As Williams and Chong (2005:15) write "Miguel was given his first *lamak* (a colourful palm leaf runner), an extraordinary lovely one, which sadly by morning had wilted."

49 Most recently on 23 March 2016, the *usaba* of the Pura Dalem in Budakeling on Purnama Sasih Kesanga, the day of the full moon of the ninth month.

50 See Hauser-Schäublin 1997 for a discussion of the temples and their different relations with priests in this village.

51 In the numerous publications on Balinese art and religion, the temple festival always plays a role. For recent examples see Hildred Geertz 2004 and Jenkins 2014.

Figure 2.31: Lamak with cili motifs at the entrance to the temple during an odalan at Pura Desa, Beraban, 13/5/2010.

Figure 2.32: Different kinds of lamak decorate shrines during an odalan at Pura Batur, Beraban, 13/5/2010.

Figure 2.33: Different kinds of lamak decorate shrines for a temple ritual (usaba) in Pura Dalem, Budakeling, 23/3/2016.

Figure 2.34: A worshipper places her offering in a shrine decorated with a lamak for an odalan in Pura Paibon Pande Besi, Budakeling, 1/6/2015.

Figure 2.35: A worshipper sprinkles holy water on her offerings which are placed on top of a lamak. Temple ritual (usaba) in Pura Dalem, Budakeling, 23/3/2016.

ately proceding the *odalan*, […] from the corners of every shrine dangled festoons of palm leaf confections, *gantoeng-gantoengan*, their crisp fringes stirring in the breeze. From the door or opening of every shrine hung *tjenigaan* [*ceniga*] of patterned palm leaf, smaller editions of the great *lamaks* hung without" (Belo 1953:18).

Often I observed myself these preparations for a temple ritual, including the making of the *lamak, ceniga* and *gantung-gantungan* (as will be discussed in Chapters 4 and 5). After they were finished, they were usually hung and fastened on the shrines by either the offering specialist who was responsible for all the offerings and decorations, or by one of her helpers. The big platforms on which people place their own family offerings during the ritual usually received each one set of *lamak* and *gantungan*. In most cases the *lamak* were hung in their respective places one day before, or in the early morning of the day of the ceremony. Then, after she had completed the offerings intended for each shrine and high altar, the *tukang banten* (offering specialist) or her helper put them on each of these seats for the deities, on or near the top end of each *lamak*.

I never noticed, or heard that the person who handled the *lamak* pronounced a prayer at that time. However, in the manuscripts that Hooykaas studied, mention is made of the following mantra the *pemangku* (temple priest) had to pronounce when he fastened the *lamak* or *caniga*, as one of the preparatory activities in the temple:

"*Macaniga: OM Nini Puspa Dewa-Dewi kottami wara ning Dewa ning puspa, rastu ya siddhi ya namah swaha*", translated as: "When fastening (?) the runners of patterned palm-leaf: OM Grandmother Flower(s) Gods Goddesses supreme gift of Gods of flowers, honour and hail, may there be results" (Hooykaas 1977:31).

Also in a published version of a similar text, Kusuma Dewa (1985:6), we find a similar mantra: "*Makena caniga, mantra: 'Om, hening puspa dewi, uttamam parama hening dewaning puspa, siddhir astu ya namah swaha'*, "Om! The flower goddess is pure. The God of Flowers is the purist of the pure. May there be success! Honour! Hail!"[52]

According to Made Titib, when a *lamak* is hung or fastened, one should pronounce the following mantra: "*Om Hyang ning Hyang lamak candi gunung, sapala ya namah.*" His own free Indonesian translation of this mantra reads in English: "Om Hyang Widhi of great purity, your servant requests forgiveness to fasten the *lamak* as the base of the Candi Gunung (literally Shrine Mountain), the seat of Hyang Widhi" (Titib 1976:15).[53]

A similar mantra is mentioned by Ida Pedanda Gede Oka Timbul, in a letter to me (12/7/1991). He found this mantra in his text of the Kusuma Dewa: "*Mantra memasang lamak: Ong Hyang ning Hyang, lamak candi gunung sempurna, ong, samplawa ya namah swaha*"; in English translation: "God of Gods, *lamak* depicting mountain and shrine, ong honour to the leaf", with the remark that *samplawa* is a leaf of certain flowering plants, not just an ordinary leaf.[54]

I Gusti Agung Mas Putra, who based her information on the text *Gagelaran Pemangku Kusuma Dewa*, from Abianlalang, mentions that for very large rituals, before the *lamak* is suspended, the place has to be swept first in a ritual way, with a special broom, accompanied by the offering *sumping-keladi*. After that, the following mantra has to be uttered by the priest: *OM Hyangning Hyang, lamak candi gunung, ampura angelarakan pasantigan. Om. Saplawa ya namah* (Putra 1975a:9; 1975b:6; 1983:41-53); in English translation: "Om! God of gods, *lamak candi gunung*, bestow forgiveness and spread piece of mind (tranquility). Om. Honour!"[55]

In some of Hooykaas' manuscripts it is specifically mentioned that "Only after *kamaligi* [kind of offering] it is permitted to hang up the *lamak*

52 This mantra, for the most part in Sanskrit, was kindly translated for me by Prof. Peter Worsley from Sydney University.

53 In Indonesian: "*Om Hyang Widdhi Yang Maha Suci, hamba memohon ampun untuk memasang lamak sebagai dasar candi gunung (Sthana Hyang Widdhi)*".

54 As translated into Indonesian by the *pedanda*: "*kira-kira artinya: Ong, Dewa nya Dewa, lamak bergambarkan gunung & candi, ong samplawa ya namah swaha. (Samplawa = daun bunga, bukan daun biasa (leaf)*".

55 This mantra was kindly translated for me by Prof. Peter Worsley from Sydney University (email 11/8/2014).

and put the offerings in the temple" (Hooykaas 1977:23).[56]

When the temple is adorned and cleaned, the next phase is "the dressing of god-figures: they are wrapped first in a *kamben*, a skirt, then an upper scarf, *tjerik*, and lastly a gold-leafed panel, a *lamak* such as dancers wear, was bound from their breasts with a brightly colored sash, *saboek*" (Belo 1953:21).

After the god-figures are dressed, the temple priest (*pemangku*) extends an "invitation to the gods to descend, by the same means as that by which they enter the god-figures, the ladder of smoke from the incense brazier" (Belo 1953:12). According to the texts, "The gods are now descending, borne on fragrant frankincense, following the way of a soft rain, acting as sprinkling by the gods, giving the potion of immortality by way of rain, this annihilation of all impurities, misery and evil, illness and ailment of mankind in the world of mortals" (Hooykaas 1977:41). Also the tinkling of the bell serves as means of drawing the attention of the deities (Hooykaas 1977:35, 40).

Before the offerings are presented to the deities, they are first purified. The manuscripts say the following: "After the preceding sprinkling with Holy Water of all offerings, first sprinkle fresh water over the *caniga* and *gantung-gantungan*" (Hooykaas 1977:58,59).

However, there is in the manuscripts no mention of a mantra for the *lamak* or *ceniga* at the time of the presentation of the offerings. Ida Pedanda Gede Oka Timbul confirmed this when he told me (pers. com.19/1/1990) that he himself does not use a special mantra for *lamak* or *ceniga*, because they are not *banten* (offerings), only *upakara*, ritual utensils. During a temple festival his main role is to present the offerings to the deities, by means of special mantras in which he invites the gods to descend into the offerings themselves. Also Ida Pedanda Wayan Djelantik Singharsa (Gria Tangi, Budakeling) confirmed (pers. com. 12/6/2015) that a *lamak* or *ceniga* does not have its own mantra, because it is not an offering itself, it is only the base of an offering.

And also the *pemangku* of the Dadia Pande in Budakeling said (pers. com. 29/4/2014), when I asked about the mantras after he just had performed the inauguration ritual (*melaspas*) for our house, that there was no special mantra for *ceniga* or *lamak*, because they were already included in all the offerings of the ceremony.

Finally, at the end of the celebrations, "after the third day […], the burning of the temple's *lamak.* When there is a big celebration, […] all of that has to be burnt. The ashes must be put in the shell of a yellow coconut [..]. This has to be buried in the northern part of the temple, inside the walls" (Hooykaas 1977:22). Actually, I have never seen this happen. Usually all *jejaitan*, including *lamak*, are just taken off the shrines and together with the leftovers from the ground offerings are burned or left to decay.

In contrast to the extensive prescriptions in *lontar* manuscripts about the content of the numerous offerings, in the texts and manuals that deal with such matters, there are almost no prescriptions as regards the form of *lamak* and neither is the specific purpose of a *lamak* or *ceniga* mentioned. I found only one text, "About offerings" (HKS 2774 = Or 15.918, *Makudang bebantenan dewa-, bhutayadnya, Griya Talaga, Sanur,* p.15, 10b/24-11a/4), which mentions that the *lamak* on the *sanggar tawang* at *nista* level should be a *cepuk* cloth, at *madia* (medium) level a *patola* and at *utama* level a silk *patola*. "If it is not visible in this way, the ritual will not be successful, it will not be noticed by the gods."[57]

So from my own observations, the descriptions by Jane Belo of what the people actually do with the *lamak* and their *gantung-gantungan*, and the passages about this in the manuscripts compiled and translated by Hooykaas, the conclusion can be drawn that the most important purpose of the *lamak* and their *gantung-gantungan* are their very presence; they have to be there.

Special attention is given to their making, in the texts mention is made of hanging them up,

56 "*Wus ing akalamigi wahu wenang makena lamak, muang ngunggahang banten ring parhyangan*". Although Hooykaas uses both spellings *kamaligi* and *kalamigi*, the former is the usual. Another variant spelling is *kumaligi* (Kamus 1990: 302).

57 In Balinese: *Yan tan samangkana byakta tan sida karyané, tan kahulatana den i watek déwata*. English translation by David Stuart-Fox.

Figure 2.36: Two lamak decorate the main shrine of Pura Agung for its odalan. Intaran (Sanur), 13/2/2012.

Figure 2.37: A family offering is placed on top of a lamak for an odalan at Pura Dalem, Sibang, 1/2/1989.

Figure 2.38: Lamak under canang offerings in front of the deity figures at the odalan of Pura Bias, Budakeling, 19/10/2013.

there is sometimes a short mantra to accompany this, when the offerings are purified the *lamak* are purified as well, at the same time, but they are not presented to the deities with a mantra as in the case of offerings, and afterwards all *jejaitan* have to be returned to the earth. And other than the one time it is mentioned that certain cloths as *lamak* must be hung from shrines because otherwise the gods would not notice, a more specific role of the *lamak* is not explained in the manuscripts.

However, although it is clear they have to be on the shrines before the gods are invited to descend, the *lamak* themselves are not the actual "pathway" for the travelling of the gods, since that is the function of the "ladder of smoke" from the burning incense, "frankincense and *majagahu*, fragrant materials with lovely scents", in the words of the priests' manuals (Hooykaas 1977:38, 42).

2.6 What is the purpose of a *lamak*, what does it do?

When asked their opinions and thoughts about why they used *lamak*, most Balinese informants explained that a *lamak* mainly acts as a base for offerings and as decoration of shrines and altars. As an underlay or mat the *lamak* makes the place where the offerings are placed clean and suitable for these gifts for the deities. In the meantime, as decoration of the shrines (including *penjor*) from or in front of which they hang, *lamak* 'dress up' these places for offerings. In these two ways, the *lamak* acts as an invitation, a sign of welcome for deities, ancestors, spirits and other invisible (*niskala*) beings.

Moreover, from the examples of the role of *lamak* during Galungan and temple anniversary it has become clear that *lamak* show the invisible beings the way to the shrines where the offerings are. And this is important, because should these places not be clearly visible for the gods, the ritual will not be successful, as was mentioned in the text quoted in the paragraph above. The *lamak* have to be there.

So what a *lamak* is supposed to do, what its purpose is in ritual, is to attract the invisible beings to the offerings in the shrine, "in order that offerings are received", as Ida Pedanda Gede Oka (Sanur) said (pers. com. 13/4/2014).

He, and other priests and specialists in religious matters who have access to more spiritual sources of knowledge, also interpret the purpose of a *lamak*, its presence in ritual, in a more metaphorical way. In their interpretation of what a *lamak* as ritual object does, they sometimes make use of the other meaning of the word *lamak*, or *lamakan*: cause, reason. In the words of Ida Pedanda Gede Oka: "The word *lamak* is related to *lamakaning*, which means 'because' (*sebab*), 'in order that' (*supaya*), so a *lamak* means 'in order that offerings are received'" (pers. com. 13/4/2014).

They also sometimes refer to the two other kinds of *lamak* that exist in Bali, and which I will briefly discuss in the following section.

2.6.1 Other meanings of lamak

At the beginning of this chapter, two other meanings of the word *lamak* were mentioned: a breast cloth of a dancer; and a woman of lower caste married to a man from the Brahmana caste. At first sight there seems to be no connection with the *lamak* I have discussed so far, ritual objects related to offerings and shrines. However, the meaning of *lamak* as part of a costume of a dancer is to a certain extent also a ritual decoration. It is not part of the "clothing" of a shrine, but that of a human being. Being made of permanent (non-ephemeral) material, it is often found in museum collections.[58]

Wayan Pugeg, a well-known artist from Singapadu (pers. com. 1/4/1994), said that he used to make *lamak* himself as part of costumes for dancers. For male Baris dancers he applied patterns of gold leaf (*prada*) to rectangular pieces of cloth and for the female Legong and Condong characters he made leather *lamak*, with cut-out motifs like a *wayang kulit* puppet. According to him, the motifs are comparable to those on palm leaf *lamak* used in temples. And also the ways both kinds of *lamak* are attached are similar: on a human body the *lamak* is attached around the neck, right under the head, and in a temple a *lamak* is fastened under the "head" of the shrine, the opening where the offerings are placed.

According to Ayu Bulantrisna Djelantik, a famous Balinese dancer herself, Legong and other dancers wear a *lamak*, because a *lamak*, like per-

58 These particular kinds of *lamak* will be discussed in Chapter 4 and Appendix 1.

forming the dance itself, can be seen as a bridge between the *sekala* (visible) and the *niskala* (invisible) worlds (pers. com. 21/04/2015). In a recent publication on Legong, edited by Djelantik (2015), it is noted that *lamak* are not only used in the Legong costume, but also in the costume of dancers of Gambuh, Arja, Topeng Telek and Baris (Arini 2015:125). A *lamak* is first of all a "spiritual bridge. Because a *lamak* is a base from which to worship Sang Hyang Widhi, the All Powerful God, it is thus like a bridge between our world and God's world. Although the Legong is categorized as a spectator's dance (*tarian balih-balihan*) or a fully secular dance, nevertheless the essence of the Legong is still one of worship and an expression of gratitude for God's benevolence. Dance is prayer, to dance is to pray."[59] A *lamak* is also an aesthetic and dramatic ornament; being long, straight and relatively static, it forms a dramatic contrast with the movements of the dancer (Arini 2015:125-126).[60] Cokorda Putra Swastika from Puri Menara in Ubud added (pers. com. 18/3/2016) that a *lamak* is the part of the costume of a dancer which is most in front, most visible, comparable to a *penjor* in front of a gateway, which makes visible that a ritual is being held inside.

The use of the word *lamak* for a woman who marries "upwards" was confirmed by Ida Pedanda Gede Oka Timbul (pers. com. 24/3/1994). He said the children of such a marriage are the descendants, the *keturunan*, "coming down" through the *lamak*. In this case a *lamak* is not attached to a shrine, a statue or a human body, but the *lamak* is itself a living entity, a woman, who by marriage is attached to a "higher" man. "Its nature is to join together, like an intermediary," he said.

I Gusti Ngurah Ketut Sangka (Kerambitan), in a letter (dated 24/4/1991) confirms the view of the *pedanda*. He writes: "*Lamak*, according to the explanation of my wife, is a *jejahitan* whose form is like that of a *ceniga*. *Lamak*, as far as I know, means 'something to sit on' or 'cushion to sit on' (*lungka-lungka*). In Karangasem, *lamak* means a secondary wife (*panawing*). The noble wife of the raja, for example from the same caste as the raja, is called '*padmi*'. A wife of the raja who comes from the *jaba* or Sudra caste is called '*lamak*' (in Karangasem, and probably in Klungkung too). In Tabanan it is not usual to call the *jaba* wife of a raja by the term '*lamak*', but instead the term '*panawing*' is customary. '*Lamak*' in Karangasem means 'wife from the *jaba* caste' (in high caste circles),[61] and this seems also to be based on the idea of "something to sit on", for someone from the *jaba* caste is seated at the lowest level, is not permitted to sit next to or at the same level as her husband (aristocrat or raja), but must be lower."[62]

One could also argue that a 'lower' wife by connecting herself to a 'higher' husband, makes it possible that his descendants (*keturunan*) literally 'descend' (*turun*), come down to earth via her as *lamak*. Not only in Karangasem, but also among the Balinese in Lombok, at least formerly, the term *lamak* as wife is known. If a woman of lower caste marries someone from the Triwangsa (three highest castes), the wife is called *orang lamak* (N.M. 1926:55-56).

59 *Jembatan spiritual. Karena Lamak adalah alas untuk persembahan kepada Sang Hyang Widhi, Tuhan Yang Maha Kuasa, maka ia adalah seakan sebuah jembatan antara alam kita dan alam Illahi. Walaupun Legong termasuk tarian jenis balih-balihan atau tontonan murni yang sekuler, toh tetap inti dasar tarian Legong adalah persembahan dan sebuah ungkapan syukur atas karunia Tuhan Yang Maha Esa. Tarian adalah doa, menari adalah berdoa.*

60 The chapter about the Legong costume is based on interviews with Ayu Bulantrisna Djelantik (Arini 2015:125).

61 This use of the word *lamak* is also found in genealogical texts (*palalintih*), e.g. Palalintih Brahmana Buddha (L.Or 11856).

62 *Lamak menurut keterangan istri saya jajahitan yang bentuk/rupanya seperti 'caniga'. Lamak sepengetahuan saya berarti alas duduk atau lungka-lungka. Lamak di daerah Karangasem berarti istri panawing. Istri raja yang bangsawan, misalnya sama derayatnya dengan kasta si raja itu disebut 'padmi'. Istri raja yang datangnya dari kasta 'Jaba' (Sudra) disebut lamak (= di daerah Karangasem, barangkali juga di daerah Klungkung. Di daerah Tabanan tidak umum orang mengatakan istri jaba dari raja itu lamak. Yang lazim digunakan isitlah 'panawing', dari orang Jaba. Lamak di daerah Karangasem berarti 'istri orang Jaba' (di kalangan orang bangsawan) rasanya juga dasarkan atas pengertian 'alas duduk' sebab orang Jaba didudukkan paling bawah (di bawah), tidak boleh bersandingan, sejajar dengan suami (bangsawan, raja), melainkan harus di bawah.*

2.6.2 Lamak as metaphor

2.6.2.1 *Lamak* as intermediary, bridge, or path between heaven and earth

Just as a *lamak* is a woman who marries 'upwards', also the palm leaf *lamak* according to Ida Pedanda Gede Oka Timbul (pers. com. 20/9/1985) can be thought of as an intermediary (*pengantar*), a means by which one's thoughts can reflect on God's creation. In a letter (12/7/1991) he explained this further: "Concerning the meaning of the *lamak*, I say again that *lamak* = means = bridge, with the aim of helping reach the goal of bringing one closer to the creator, God, Sang Hyang Widhiwasa as creator of the world and all its contents. Because of that, the *lamak* is a portrayal of nature, such as heavenly bodies, forest, mountain and house. With these images or designs, human beings become aware of the power of God or of Nature, and become aware of the importance of nature for human life, and thus it must be protected. There are many ways and means to God."[63] "A *lamak* is like a bridge between humankind and the gods, for all creation is depicted on it" (pers. com. 30/12/87).

Also I Made Windia (Sanur) said that "A *lamak* is the way by which human thought reaches upwards."[64] Thus, according to him, the *lamak* hangs from the shrine, with the triangular end upwards, just as a person in prayer holds the hands above the head, with the fingertips touching one another (pers. com. 25/9/85). Likewise to Ida Wayan Jelantik, head of the *adat* village (*klian adat*) of Budakeling (Karangasem), a *lamak* means: "connection or relation (*perhubungan*) between God and mankind" (pers. com. 25/4/2014).

Talking about the *lamak* as a way to approach God, Mangku Gede, *klian adat* of Lodtunduh, explained that God can be imagined in his creation: "Ida Sang Hyang Widhi has no form, but exists. Like the rays of the sun, God is everywhere. Humankind 'creates' the gods, the gods create humankind"[65] (pers. com. 26/3/1989). Also according to Wayan Pugeg, specialist in ritual art from Singapadu, "the *lamak* is like a path, a bridge <u>to</u> Sang Hyang Widhi. All ritual paraphernalia are symbols of Sang Hyang Widhi." But he added that "A *lamak* in a temple is a path or bridge <u>for</u> Sang Hyang Widhi"[66] as well (pers. com. 1/4/1994).

The *lamak* as connection or path between the world of the deities and the world of human beings was also by other informants seen as a path down from heaven towards the offerings. They all used the word *lantaran,* which means 'path' or 'road' (*jalan*), but also 'because' (*sebab*) and 'base' (*dasar*). A *lantaran* is also a very long piece of cloth, used in ritual processions, as base to walk on with the symbols of the deities, spread out on the ground to maintain the ritual purity of those stepping over it (Kamus 1990:391). Talking about Semara and Ratih, the deities of love who come together in the *sanggar nganten*, the high temporary "wedding" shrine in the Gianyar district, from which *lamak nganten* are suspended, Ida Pedanda Gede Padangrata from Gria Kutri said: "The *lamak* is like a road, a path for the gods to reach the shrine" (pers. com. 14/1/1988).[67] This is similar to the view of Desak Patupang (pers. com. 18/1/1988), *lamak* maker (*tukang lamak*) and offering specialist (*tukang banten*) and traditional healer (*dukun*) from Kediri, who explained that the purpose of a *lamak* is "so that there is a path for Sang Hyang Widhi, a path for Ida Betara (deities) to descend to this world."[68]

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63 *Tentang arti lamak perlu saya ulang lagi informasikan, yaitu: lamak =sarana = jembatan dengan maksud untuk memudahkan mencapai tujuan dalam arti mendekatkan diri kepada pencipta (Tuhan, S. H. Widiwasa), sebagai maha cipta alam & semua isinya. Oleh karena itu lamak selalu berlukisan alam, seperti: macam-macam planet, hutan, gunung dan rumah. Dengan gambaran-gambaran atau lukisan itu, manusia menyadari akan kekuatan Tuhan atau Alam, dan menyadari kebusanaan hidupnya dan manfaatnya untuk kepentingan manusia; oleh karena itu perlu dilestarikan. Banyak jalan dan cara menuju Tuhan.*

64 *Lamak adalah jalan pikiran manusia ke atas.*

65 *Ida Sang Hyang Widhi kosong bentuknya, tapi ada. Sama dengan sinar matahari, Tuhan dimana-mana! Manusia mencipta Dewa; Dewa mencipta manusia.*

66 *Lamak sebagai jalan, jembatan ke Sang Hyang Widhi. Semua upakara adalah lambang Sang Hyang Widhi. […] Lamak di pura adalah lantaran, jembatan untuk Ida Sang Hyang Widhi.*

67 *Lamak sebagai lantaran, jalan untuk beliau ke sanggar itu.*

68 *Supaya ada lantarannya voor Ida Sang Hyang Widhi. Lantaran untuk Ida Betara turun ke dunia.*

2.6.2.2 *Lamak* as base or seat for deities and as offering itself

According to I Gusti Agung Mas Putra, the offerings that are placed on the top end of a *lamak* form themselves a symbol of Ida Sang Hyang Widdhi and his manifestations. This viewpoint was confirmed by Ida Pedanda Gede Oka Timbul, when he said that by means of his mantras the deities were actually seated in the offerings. When one invites an honoured guest, one prepares a seat as fine as possible. So if Ida Sang Hyang Widdhi and his manifestations are present in the world of Bali (in the form of the offerings), one offers a *lamak* as His base or seat (Putra 1975a:10). Other authors and informants share this opinion, for example Sudarsana (2000:29) states that a *lamak* is a *kekasang dewata*, a *kekasang* being a cloth used in ritual as base for a sacred object. Offering specialist Dayu Made Mirah Kendran (Tegallalang) said "because offerings (*banten*) are a representation of the deities, and a *lamak* is a base for offerings, a *lamak* is like a mat, a base, a seat for deities" (pers. com. 25/3/89).[69]

I Gusti Agung Mas Putra also often stressed that a *lamak* is not only a base for offerings, but, because it is created as beautiful as possible, can also be regarded as an offering itself. "A simple leaf can serve as a base for offerings, but a *lamak* is much more beautiful. Everything must be made as beautiful as possible, so that the gods also find it beautiful." "Beauty is necessary in every offering. Beauty is one aspect of the Hindu religion", she said (pers. com. 25/9/1982). Moreover, according to her, like an offering, a *lamak* also has a palm leaf artefact (*sampian*) containing a small betel quid (*porosan*). Whereas in an offering this *sampian* forms a crowning piece, to a *lamak* 'belong' two *sampian gantungan* which are also suspended from the shrine.

I Ketut Lagas, a teacher of religion educated at the Institut Hindu Dharma, confirmed this viewpoint (pers. com. 25/12/1987): "There are different ways to worship God; first, the way of thought, meditation, concentration, but for those who are less gifted, by means of making things. It is all about making from basic materials something beautiful. One does not just offer a piece of palm leaf, but one makes something beautiful from it, for example a *lamak*. A person must do something himself or herself within the religion: *karma marga* is doing, creating."

2.6.2.3 *Lamak* as channel for divine blessings

In his article "*Lamak, Mana Identitas Dirimu*?" (*Lamak*, what is your identity?) (1979), Arya Utara Wungsu[70] ties together the different meanings of *lamak*. He starts with the word *lamak*, which means 'cause' or 'reason' in Old Javanese and Balinese,[71] and with the fact that *lamak* can also means low caste wife, but only in case of a wife from lower caste marrying into a higher caste. The author points out that according to traditional knowledge, the wife has the role of a vessel for the soul of the ancestor of the husband who descends from heaven to reincarnate in their offspring. So via her body as 'steps' (*tangga*), or 'path' (*lantaran*), the wife as *lamak* connects the world of ancestral deities with human life here on earth.

The purpose of the *lamak* as ritual object is related to the other meanings of *lamak*. For example for a temple festival (*odalan*), *lamak* are suspended from each shrine in such a way that the *lamak* hangs from the entrance of the opening of the shrine. And precisely this space is divine space, a temporary residence of a deity. It forms as it were within our world a 'pocket' (*kantong*) of the upper world, *Suah loka*, the world of the gods. During the ritual, the gods are asked to come down from their world and instil their gift of energy, power and life (*meresapi dan menganugerahkan daya suci-Nya*) into our world, the middle world, *Bhuah loka*, with all its contents; and also into the lower world, *Bhuh loka*, with all its manifestations of life. And the road (*jalan*), or walkway (*lantaran*) or steps (*tangga*) via

69 *Lamak adalah alam semesta, isi bumi. Sebab banten seperti gambar dewata dan lamak seperti tatakan banten, lamak seperti tikar, alas, tempat duduk dewata.*

70 Arya Utara Wungsu is the pseudonym that I Gusti Ketut Kaler, one of the most knowledgeable scholars of Balinese adat and religion, used for his newspaper articles in the Bali Post over a number of years.

71 He gives as examples the expression *Nahan ta lamakania dateng*, meaning 'this is the reason for his coming' (*alasan kedatangnya*); or *lamakan matinyane*, meaning 'cause of his death' (*lantaran/sebab kematiannya*).

which the divine blessings come down to our world is given form in the *lamak* and suspended from the shrine. So, according to the author, a *lamak* is a medium connecting the three worlds, the Triloka, Bhuh-Bhuah-Suah (Wungsu 1979).[72]

Also I Gusti Agung Mas Putra said that "God descends, via the *lamak*, from the shrine downwards [to the human world] to give his love, the necessary conditions for life in the world, to humankind." (pers. com. 21/9/1985). And so a *lamak* is not only a metaphorical path down from heaven for the deities to reach the offerings, but also a path down to earth for the deities in the form of their blessings.

In connection with the concept of divine blessings flowing down via the *lamak*, Made Titib (1976:15) compares the *lamak* hanging from the shrine of a *penjor* (which is sometimes regarded as the mouth of the serpents of prosperity Anantabhoga and Basuki) with a tongue, via which the elixir of life (*amertha*) streams down. Titib refers to I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa who has explained that a *lamak* is a symbol of the water that flows down from a source of holy water (*patirthaan*) on mount Mahameru, the throne of Ida Sang Hyang Widhi.

2.6.3 Lamak as 'spirit lure' or 'spirit ladder'?

As discussed in this chapter, the purpose of the *lamak* in ritual is to attract deities to the offerings in a shrine, and to facilitate the flowing down of divine blessings from above. Whereas some informants compared the *lamak* with a bridge, a path or a road, Wungsu in his article (1979) mentioned also specifically a staircase or steps (*tangga*) for the descent.

At the beginning of this chapter we have seen that in various cultures of Indonesia (at least in their vocabulary) *lamak* is known as object, related to concepts of underlay, base, though not necessarily in a ritual context. But to what extent can the Balinese *lamak* as a ritual object, as path or staircase to attract invisible beings to the shrine with offerings, and to facilitate their descent from above, be compared to objects with similar purpose in other cultures within island Southeast Asia?

For example, rice rituals of the Saribas Iban in Sarawak require a pole, which is worked into the form of a ladder, to be stuck into the ground. This ladder is called *tangga petara*, a ladder down which the gods descend to receive offerings (Sather 1977:158).[73] Also elsewhere stakes or poles stuck into the ground serve as invitations to the inhabitants of the upper world. On Bali itself the *penjor* is a good example of this.

In several cultures of Indonesia sacred textiles or mats are or were hung up or suspended from poles as an invitation to the ancestors at important rituals and as a representation of fertility and prosperity. Well-known examples of this are the *tampan* of Lampung, South Sumatra and the *baté* of the Sa'dan Toraja of South Sulawesi (Maxwell 1991:110). Among the Sa'dan Toraja, *sarita* textiles, long banners which are "dense with symbolism expressing the hope for wealth and abundance" (Waterson 2013: 198), serve "as ritual conduit, linking together house and tree and persons; a *sarita* serves to channel the energies of the ritual, ensuring that the blessings reach the recipients" (Waterson 2013:178). Among the Baleh Iban *pua* textiles "are used as a sign that a ritual is underway [...]". "Similarly, the use of cloth informs the gods that their presence and assistance is being sought. In this context, cloth often serves as a pathway or bridge upon which the gods descend and attend festivities held in their honor" (Gavin 1996:25).[74]

However, in fact, I have found little comparative material concerning objects which, like the *lamak*, hang from an offering shrine as invitation to whoever is going to receive the offerings. By the Karo Batak, ladders of bamboo are said to be tied to offering shrines, so that the spirits can easily reach the offerings on the shrine (pers. com. Juara Ginting). By the Hindu Tenggerese of East Java, little ladders made of palm leaf hang from the offering altars. They look like simplified forms of the

72 The Three Worlds will be further discussed in Chapter 3.

73 The word *petara* is probably related to the Sanskrit *bhatara*, in Bali also a common word for god, deity.

74 Elsewhere in Asia, particularly in cultures where Buddhism and Taoism play an important role, long narrow decorated cloths or banners are hung in temples where they serve as offerings. Among them are the *tung* of north and northwest Thailand, Laos and Yunnan, banners or narrow hangings that just like the *lamak* can be made of various materials, including palm leaf. Sometimes they are explicitly said to represent a ladder, a link with the upper world, especially in the context of death rites. By means of a *tung* offered by the family of the deceased, the soul it

Balinese *lamak* and *ceniga* (pers. com. Clara Brakel and Barbara Luem).[75] But I do not know whether these objects are supposed to act in a direct sense as actual little ladders for spirits to climb upwards towards the offerings, or whether they are supposed to act as an invitation, to attract deities from above to the offerings, as is the case with the Balinese *lamak*.

An extensive overview of what he calls 'spirit lures and spirit ladders', from many parts of Indonesia, has recently been published by Domenig (2014). "In short: to put an offering on a simple table was not enough; one also had to provide elements that could attract and receive the spiritual entities and guide them to the offerings" (2014:4). "The custom of decorating altars in one way or another was apparently based on a religious ideology according to which an altar without decoration could not function, as the spirits would not care to approach and accept the offerings" (2014:139). "Bamboos and large palm-leaf fronds were widely used as spirit attractors and were sometimes regarded as pathways, bridges or ladders along which spirits would approach or descend" (2014:143). One of his examples is the *anjapan* altar of the Pardembanan Batak (a subgroup of the Toba Batak), described by Bartlett. Attached to a platform for offerings are a sugar palm leaf frond, called 'the path of the gods (*dalan ni debata*)' and a notched pole, 'the ladder of the gods (*tangga debata*)'. Since according to Domenig many "spirits see everything inverted relative to humans, so they climb down with their heads foremost" (2014:215) and "the custom of sometimes presenting offerings both on top of and below an altar was once widely spread in Indonesia" (2014:220), in this case spirits and deities were expected to arrive by the air and descend along the 'path' of the palm leaf to taste the offerings on the platform and climb down (head foremost) the 'ladder' to offerings on the ground (2014:179, 183, 217).

Similarly, Domenig also interprets the Balinese *penjor* as a spirit lure and the *lamak* as spirit ladder. Referring to the interpretation by some Balinese of the *penjor* as a cosmic serpent (*naga*), of which the tip of the tail is the tip of the *penjor* and the mouth is the shrine (see par. 2.4.3 in this chapter), and to his informant who states that the *penjor* should be seen by the deities who live on the summit of Gunung Agung, Domenig supposes that these deities descend headlong from the *penjor* to get at the offerings in the shrine (2014:170, 176). And he writes about the *lamak*: "The *lamak* may have originated as a symbolic spirit ladder of the hanging kind. Its frequent combination with a *penjor* suggests, moreover, that it was meant to symbolize a spirit *ladder* leading downward." "The *lamak* is something of the same sort as the *penjor* but related to the earth. Seeing that the *penjor* is obviously a spirit lure and a 'ladder' leading down to the altar, the *lamak* as its counterpart is best explained as sort of spirit ladder leading from the altar down to the ground" (Domenig 2014:222-226).

However, although I agree with Domenig that a *lamak* can be interpreted as a 'spirit lure', since the Balinese themselves say that the ritual purpose of a *lamak* is to attract deities to the shrine with offerings, and also that a *lamak*, as a hanging object, is indeed directed towards the ground, I do not agree with the rest of his interpretation. As I have shown in this chapter, a *lamak* is certainly not a ladder for spirits to reach offerings on the ground, whether descending head foremost or not. Offerings on the ground would never be eaten by deities (who also would never descend with their head – the most sacred part of their 'body' – lower than their feet), but they are meant for the demonic *buta* and *kala*, who do not have to climb down anyway. These offerings for the demons are placed on their own offering bases, in the form of a *tlujungan* or sometimes a *ceniga*. Offerings on a shrine, altar or platform are meant for the deities and deified ancestors in the upperworld, and the *lamak* hanging from

is hoped can in this way reach the hereafter. Living people can also influence their own position in the afterworld by presenting a *tung* as an offering to the Buddha. According to a myth, the animals depicted on the *tung*, such as the elephant, can take the place of an actual animal offering (Gittinger & Lefferts 1992:130-140). The desired effect of these banners, *tung*, is according to Rebecca Hall (2008) and others, to gain blessings, merit, for and from the ancestors. So just as the *lamak* a *tung* could be interpreted as a path for a back and forth movement, for communication with the inhabitants of the upper world, for an exchange in which those on earth can expect something in return.

75 I thank Juara Ginting, Clara Brakel and Barbara Luem, who kindly provided this comparative material in the form of drawings and photographs.

the shrine is not a ladder to climb upwards in a direct sense, but an invitation in a more general sense. What does come down or flow down via the *lamak* are the gifts or blessings of the deities, from heaven or from the *sanggah* where the offerings are, towards the world of human beings.

2.7 Conclusion

Balinese religion, Agama Hindu Dharma, is characterized by many rituals, most of them carried out to maintain relationships with the invisible (*niskala*) beings of upper world and lower world, in order to ensure continuity (through renewal) of life and regeneration of nature. A complex offering system is an essential part of any ritual. What is exchanged for worship and offerings, what people hope to receive in return, are blessings from the deities.

These divine blessings consist of protection, fertility, prosperity and fruitfulness for individual people, for their families and their land, everything that is necessary for life on earth. Offerings are placed on top of a *lamak*, a hanging with a rectangular form, decorated with various motifs. Whereas the upper part of a *lamak* is used as a base for offerings, the lower and largest part of the *lamak* hangs down from the shrine or altar where the offering is placed.

One of the rituals during which *lamak* are very prominent is the festival of Galungan, a calendrically recurring ritual of purification and thanksgiving for which the ancestors are invited to come down from heaven to visit their families, celebrated all over Bali. In front of the entrance to every house yard the Balinese erect a *penjor*, a decorated bamboo pole with a small shrine attached to it, from which a *lamak* hangs. Another ritual for which many *lamak* are required is the temple festival or *odalan*, the celebration of the anniversary of a temple, for which the deities of that specific temple are invited to descend from heaven. All shrines in the temple are then decorated with a *lamak*.

As is the case with many forms of (ritual) art in Bali, *lamak* exist in an enormous variety, which is dependent on, as the Balinese say, '*desa, kala, patra*', 'place, time and circumstances'. Different types of *lamak* range from the small *tlujungan*, placed on the ground as a base for small offerings to netherworldly beings, the *ceniga* which consist of one layer of palm leaf only, the *lamak* whose motifs are fastened onto a base layer, up to the large, tripartite *lamak catur*, which form the base for the elaborate *catur niri* offerings for the highest deities. A special case is the spectacular *lamak nganten,* the sometimes metres long 'wedding' *lamak*, at the Galungan festival in the Gianyar area displayed in front of houses where a wedding has taken place in the previous year.

According to Balinese informants, as a base for offerings and decoration of shrines, the purpose of *lamak* is to attract deities and ancestors, to invite them to come down from their heavenly abode to the world of human beings, to the shrines which have been decorated with a *lamak* and to enjoy the offerings for which *lamak* serve as base. A *lamak* is not only a sign of welcome, but also shows the way to the shrines, where the offerings are. Therefore, *lamak* are made attractive and prominent, so that they are indeed seen by the invisible beings.

Some more learned Balinese informants call a *lamak* a bridge, path or staircase linking the worlds of human beings and of deities and deified ancestors. The desired effect is that the offerings are accepted by the deities, and that their gifts in return, blessings of prosperity and protection, will descend or 'flow down' via the *lamak* into the middle world of human beings. The purpose of the *lamak* in ritual is to facilitate the flow of blessings, to make the offerings work and the ritual successful.

Since the purpose of the *lamak* is very much related to its vertical structure and its decorative motifs, this will be the subject of the next chapter.

Figure 2.39: Two lamak hang from a temporary offering shrine, set up for Galungan in front of a house in Banjar Jasan, Sebatu, 13/5/1987.

Figure 3.1: Lamak nganten made under the supervision of Anak Agung Gede Raka Sandi (Tampaksiring) for Galungan. Puri Kaleran, Peliatan, 9/12/1987.

Chapter 3

Motifs of life

3.1 Insight

On 17 January 1988 I visited Anak Agung Gede Raka Sandi, in Puri Kawan, Tampaksiring. I decided to visit his palace because it was said that he made the beautiful *lamak nganten* I had photographed during the previous Galungan festival (9 December 1987) in front of Puri Saren in Peliatan (fig. 3.1). This friendly gentleman, probably in his early seventies, was busy carving a mask when I entered his richly decorated compound. Enthusiastically, he told me about his life, devoted to art and religion. He originally came from the palace of Peliatan and he had been to Europe with the famous Peliatan dance troupe, where he even met Queen Wilhelmina. He specialized in ritual art, had learned to read *lontars* already at an early age, and "God taught him" how to make woodcarvings and stone statues. Many of the statues in Pura Tirtha Empul in Tampaksiring are his work.

I gave Ratu Raka (as he was called) the photograph of 'his' *lamak*, which actually he had not made himself, since "that is work done by women", he said. He had given girls instructions about the contents of a *lamak nganten*, but the result was not completely according to religious teachings as he understood them. For example, this *lamak* had only one circular motif, representing the moon, whereas, he explained, both moon and sun should have been depicted, since they both have a strong influence on the mutual love of a couple who are just married. This is symbolized in the wedding ceremony. When the bride and groom return from the river where as part of the ritual they bathe together, they are ready to "walk together" from now on and this is witnessed by Sang Hyang Surya, god of the sun, and Sang Hyang Bulan, goddess of the moon. The bride offers a white rice cone and a white chicken to Bulan and the groom offers a red rice cone and red chicken to Surya. Afterwards, they exchange white and red flowers, "to become one". From now on, the couple is "released from their own parents", they will be looked after by God, Ida Sang Hyang Widhi.

The upper part of the *lamak* is not visible, since it forms the base for the offering inside the shrine itself. "This part of the *lamak* is empty," he said, "since nobody can imagine Ida Sang Hyang Widhi. He is also called Siwa, who creates everything, male and female, for everything always consists of two parts." Siwa himself always has a spouse: "When on earth, his wife is Uma, when on the mountain it is Giriputri, when in the fields it is Dewi Sri. Just like Surya and Bulan, or Semara and Ratih, there are always male and female."

The tree beneath the moon he called "*kekayonan* or *kayunan,* all thoughts are offered towards the summit of the mountain." The human figure under the tree is a *cili* and the small figures at her feet are "plants." And he continued: "The female is the same as the earth, she gives life, she gives birth. Siwa,

on the male side, only provides the seed, but the female has rights, is honoured, without her life is not possible." When I asked him if that is the reason that the 'bride and groom', the *cili nganten*, are both represented as a woman, he looked at me and said with a certain stress in his voice: "Their life is represented, not their (human) form! Life is the same for male and female, consisting of two parts, left and right; this is the *cili nganten.*"[1]

From this moment, I felt I was starting to understand something about the meaning of ritual art in Bali: how the essentially invisible or unimaginable is given visible expression, in this case through the motifs depicted on Balinese *lamak* and their interrelationships.

3.2 Motifs on *lamak*

In the previous chapter we have seen that as a base for offerings and decoration of shrines a *lamak* or *ceniga* is according to the Balinese an invitation, a sign of welcome for deities, ancestors, spirits and other invisible beings.The *lamak* shows the way to the shrines, where the offerings are. The hoped-for effect is that the offerings are accepted by the deities and in return that their heavenly gifts or blessings, prosperity and protection, will 'flow down' to the earth via the *lamak*. Since one purpose of a *lamak* is to attract invisible beings, it is understandable that *lamak* are made attractive and conspicuous by means of decorative motifs. In this chapter I explore how these motifs are related to the purpose of the *lamak*. What are the main decorative motifs on a *lamak*, and what do they look like? How are the motifs related to one another within the structural frame of a *lamak*? What is their meaning, according to Balinese informants and written sources?

The motifs which decorate the plain bottom layer (*dasar*) of a *lamak*, vary from very simple to extremely complicated patterns. The longest *lamak*, like the *lamak* on the tall *padmasana* or *Surya* shrines in a temple, and the *lamak nganten*, the Galungan wedding lamak, have the most varied and elaborate motifs.

The large variety of *lamak* motifs all belong to one of two main categories or groups: composed, geometrical patterns called *ringgitan*, and single, representational designs called *raka*. *Ringgitan* means 'something that is cut out or punched out of a flat material', so this word is also used to refer to *wayang kulit* figures which are made from leather. *Raka* means 'fruits used in offerings', in other words: content.

I Gusti Agung Mas Putra, who in her publications about offerings and ritual decorations was one of the first Balinese authors to pay attention to the *lamak*, divided the different *lamak* motifs, which she called 'painting' (*lukisan*), according to their position on the *lamak* as a whole: main motifs, motifs for the lower and upper borders, and motifs as divider (*selingan*), placed between the main motifs. Examples of main motifs are the celestial bodies, mountain, tree, 'pond trickling over' (*telaga ngembeng*), and human being (*cili-cilian*). The *ringgitan* motifs as divider consist of numerous different kinds, often without specific names. She concludes that a *lamak* as a whole can be regarded as a symbol of the world and its contents (Putra 1975a:10; 1981:8).[2] Also in personal conversations she explained that "the base of the *lamak* is the empty earth on which the creation is depicted in the form of the various motifs" (pers. com. 21/9/1985). This viewpoint was shared by all my Balinese informants.

3.2.1 Relationships among lamak motifs

Although the people who make and use *lamak* were always able to identify the representational *raka* motifs, and often also could say something about their meaning or symbolic significance, this was less often the case with regard to specific geometrical *ringgitan* motifs. However, the totality of the motifs on a *lamak* was always considered as a symbol of the world or cosmos, and the representational and geometric motifs were all related to each other within this general concept.

1 *Hidupnya digambarkan, bukan bentuk manusia! Hidupnya sama untuk laki dan perempuan, terdiri dari dua, kiri dan kanan; ini cili nganten.*

2 Also Seraya & Widia, in a little catalogue accompanying an exhibition of *lamak* from the village of Batur, held in the Bali Museum in Denpasar, note that all motifs represent elements of the cosmos (1973:9-10).

Therefore, before going into the details of the most important *lamak* motifs, I will first present some examples of interpretations by a number of *lamak* makers about the interrelationships of the different motifs represented on their own specific *lamak*.[3]

I Made Sadra from Padangtegal Kaja was the first *tukang lamak* I met, in April 1983, when I ordered from him two *lamak* made of *lontar* leaves for the collection of the National Museum of Ethnology.[4] He was a farmer, and his knowledge of *lamak* concerned especially the many names of motifs, and also when and for what kind of ritual certain motifs could be used. He was very skilled in cutting the patterns, but he found it difficult to talk about the meaning of the motifs. However, when we talked (pers. com. 25/3/1989) about a photograph of the *lamak nganten* (fig. 3.2) he had made for his own son for the previous Galungan (1/2/1989), he explained that the empty background is the world, the motifs are "its living contents". The bottom motif which he called *timpasan* (knife pattern) represents the soil, earth, and is protected by *cracap*, sharp points. Then, pointing at the *cili*: "this is the heart of the matter, the *cili* is like a living tree, a *cili* is a living person."[5] The *cili* has flowers in her headdress, "like someone getting married". Above the *cili* is the *kekayonan.* Above the *kekayonan* he always depicts a *gebogan* offering. "*Gebogan* implies bearing fruit, the fruits all brought together". Between the main motifs are different kinds of flowers, like *candigara bunder* and *candigara merpat* which grow from the earth and function as dividers (*penyelak*) or borders between the main motifs.

I Gusti Putu Nonderan, who lived opposite I Made Sadra in Padangtegal, made *lamak nganten* very similar to those made by Pak Sadra.[6] Although he was also a farmer, I Gusti Putu Nonderan had a wider mythological knowledge than Pak Sadra, since he often worked with the famous painter I Gusti Nyoman Lempad from Ubud. Lempad shared with him the myths he used to paint, and "inspired" him to make *lamak* already in the 1930s. He also passed on to him his knowledge of the meaning of the motifs: they are connected with the developments of thoughts. "*Cili-cili* are thoughts that form the individual, beginning when still young.The *kekayonan* means firm thoughts, from *kayun* meaning memory or thoughts. *Gebogan* is unity of many thoughts. Thus the *gebogan* must be above the *kekayonan kayonan* and not the other way round, that is a mistake, and the maker does not understand the meaning."

"Between the main motifs are *bunga kapu kembang*, a water plant, and *candigara,* that also lives in the water, like a lotus. This creates an association with Wisnu, god of *amerta,* source of life, and so an association with plants, and all their seeds. The one *cili* can also be seen as the start of a household from which develop the two other *cili.* The moon illuminates the married couple, although this motif is seldom found on *lamak* from Padangtegal. The design *mas-masan* (golden jewellery), which augments or improves whatever is depicted below it, is only used when the number of required metres must be filled up."

According to I Gusti Putu Nonderan there is a connection between *lamak* and *penjor*, since a *lamak* is the hip cloth (*kain),* the clothing (*pakaian*) of the shrine of the *penjor*. The symbols on a *lamak* are "witnessed by the god of Gunung Agung, for the *sanggar penjor* is the shrine to make contact with the god (*panyawangan*), the representative of Gunung Agung."[7] And he told the story of Bawi Serenggi (a pig) who fell in love with Dewi Sri (daughter of Siwa and Giriputri). Not wishing

3 These were mainly the long and spectacular *lamak nganten* which I had seen and photographed at Galungan. After I found out who the makers were, I visited them with photographs, and talked to them about their *lamak*. They all lived in the region (*kabupaten*) of Gianyar, in villages not far from Ubud. More background on the various *tukang lamak*, professional *lamak* makers, will be given in Chapter 5 and about the more technical aspects of their way of working in Chapter 4.

4 See Appendix 1, inv. nos. RV-5258-96 and 97.

5 *Ini untuk intikan, cili seperti kayu yang hidup. Cili adalah manusia hidup*.

6 On 27/12/1987 I talked to him about the *lamak nganten* (fig. 3.3) he made for his son for the previous Galungan (9/12/1987). Afterwards, I visited him quite often, since his son I Gusti Putu Taman made the drawings of the *lamak* patterns in this book.

7 *Disaksikan Gunung Agung, karena sanggar penjor seperti panyawangan, wakil dari Gunung Agung.*

Figure 3.2: Lamak nganten made by I Made Sadra for Galungan. Banjar Padangtegal Kaja, Ubud, 2/2/1989.

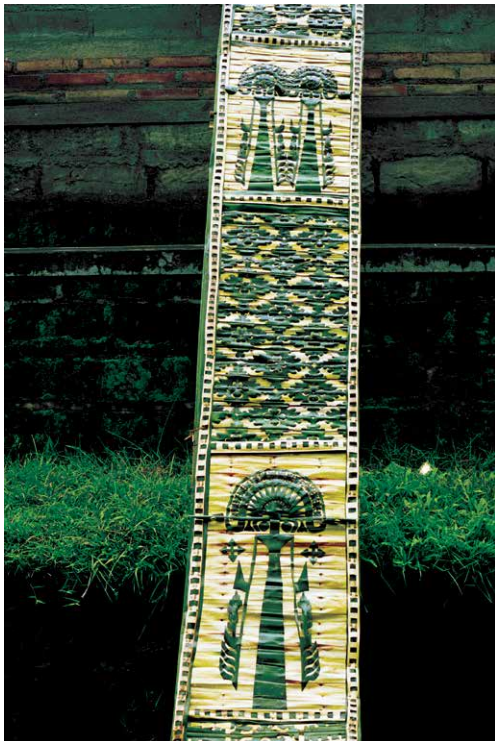


Figure 3.3: Lamak nganten made by I Gusti Putu Nonderan for Galungan. Banjar Padangtegal Kaja, Ubud, 9/12/1987.

Figure 3.4: Lamak nganten made by Ni Wayan Klepon for Galungan. Banjar Pande, Peliatan, 9/12/1987.

to respond, she fled to the god Siwa for help. He killed Bawi Serenggi, but since he had done nothing wrong, his body partly changed into illnesses that disturb the growth of rice, and partly into the spirit of the *penjor*, Sang Kala Penjor. Sang Kala Penjor became the servant of Gunung Agung. The *cili* on the *lamak* hanging from the shrine of the *penjor* is a representation of the love of Bawi Serenggi for Dewi Sri. Dewi Sri does not want to marry anyone, also not with Wisnu. She does not want to stay in one place, she wants to be able to go everywhere, because she looks after all the plants which provide food for people.

The *lamak nganten* made by **Ni Wayan Klepon**, from Junjungan (fig. 3.4), I discussed with the person who ordered this *lamak*, I Wayan Pande in Peliatan (pers. com. 25/12/1987): "Above the *cili nganten* flowers can be seen, with two half suns, for the sun is in the east and in the west. Underneath the *cili nganten* is their hip cloth (*kain*), below the *kain* is the base of the world, the soil (*dasar dunia, tanah*), and the top motif is the sky, the beginning (*langit, permulaan*). The radiance of the sun causes plants to grow, but also the offspring of the newly married couple, and that is the purpose of marriage. The *cili nganten* have flowers on their heads, for the flower is a symbol of peace and quiet, and that belongs to a marriage, doesn't it?" The in-laws of Ni Wayan Klepon provided further explanation on the motifs of her *lamak*: "*cili nganten* is the symbol of the married couple. There is no difference between male and female, because they are one. Like one gateway (*kori*) always has two sides. The *ringgitan* are a symbol of the world, because of the plant motifs. The plant *kapu-kapu* lives in the water, so is related to Wisnu. The moon can be round (full) or consist of two half-moons. That is why there are two, the symbol of two halves, so that they become one in marriage and there is offspring. In the world are people and plants. The names of the plants are not fixed, the motifs are decorative."

Tukang lamak **Ni Wayan Jenjen**, Banjar Kutri, Singapadu, was clear about the motifs on three similar *lamak nganten* that she made for Galungan of 9 December 1987 (pers. com. 18/1/1988) (fig. 3.5). The top (square) motif she called "*ibu*, representing the world (*bumi, alam*)". The pattern beneath the *ibu* represents the sky (*langit*), and then comes Betara Surya, god of the sun. And thereafter the *kekayonan*, representing plants or garden. Betara Surya radiates its light, and gives life, and the harvest from the plants, like flowers, are used for what is important for mankind. The motif below that is a *jangger*, a female dancer offering worship through dance. Below that are two kinds of *ringgitan*. One of these depicts the *gumatat-gumitit*, various small creatures that live on the earth, such as *dongkang* or frog, and the one below represents Ibu Pertiwi, earth (*tanah*). The lowest, pointed motif she calls "grass". Thus the *lamak* depicts the whole of nature. "Because the sun shines its radiance on the natural world, living things exist, like animals, plants, humans. All the contents of the natural world have uses for the sake of humankind," she said.[8]

Ni Ketut Pilik is an experienced *tukang lamak* who lives in Lodtunduh.[9] She explained (pers. com. 1/1/1988, 5/7/1988) that the uppermost motif of her *lamak nganten* (fig. 3.6) is the moon, for the moon just like the sun illuminates everything, and especially the *cili nganten*. The *ringgitan* is like a cloth, or like water. But the function is the same: to cleanse or purify, for the wedding couple must be beautiful. The tree motif she called a "*kekayonan ingin-ingin*, used in wayang performances at the start of a play".[10] Ni Ketut Pilik knows no specific name for the *ringgitan*, but she had heard of names like *kapu-kapu* and *blatung-blatung*. When I visited Ni Ketut Pilik again 22 years later (16 October 2013), and showed her the old photographs again, she mentioned exactly the same group of motifs on her *lamak*.

In the previous examples, all *lamak nganten*, the explanations of the informants were mainly about the influence of the different sources of life on the *cili nganten*. But at Galungan of course most people do not have a *lamak nganten*, but only an ordinary *lamak* in front of their house, usually hanging from the shrine on the *penjor*. For example **Mangku Gede** (Lodtunduh) talked about two *lamak*, made by his wife for two different Galungan, 9 December

8 *Karena matahari kasih sinar kepada alam, disamping alam itu ada yang hidup, binatang, tumbuhan, manusia. Segala isi alam itu berguna untuk perpentingan manusia.*

9 See also the introduction to Chapter 5 and figures 5.1a and 5.1b.

10 With *ingin-ingin* she probably meant *bingin*, the Balinese term for banyan tree.

Figure 3.5: Lamak nganten made by Ni Wayan Jenjen for Galungan. Banjar Kutri, Singapadu, 9/12/1987.

Figure 3.6: Lamak nganten made by Ni Ketut Pilik for Galungan. Banjar Teges, Peliatan, 6/7/1988.

Figures 3.7-3.8: Lamak made by the wife of Mangku Gede for Galungan. Banjar Abiansemal, Lodtunduh, 10/12/1987 and 6/7/1988.

1987 (fig. 3.7) and 6 July 1988 (fig. 3.8). They are very similar, but the little figure motif on the left *lamak* (made in 1987) is not found on the *lamak* made in 1988, but instead was moved to a small separate *lamak* attached directly to the *penjor*.

Mangku Gede did not know the name of this little figure, which other people called *mangong*. According to him, it looks like vegetation on a mountain. It stands indeed on the same kind of little hill with two shoots as the *kekayonan* above. He provided thus an explanation based on the outer form of the motif. In his view, life derives from fruits and flowers, which is why the *kekayonan* is an important symbol. The base of the *lamak* is the land, and above the land are the mountain and plants and moon. The moon gives its light to the plants. The spirit of the moon is Ida Betari Ratih. Moon, plants, mountain are all depicted on the *lamak* to remind us of Sang Hyang Widdhi.

3.3 Individual motifs and their meanings

The interpretations of the *lamak* makers of the different motifs on their own *lamak*, in relation to one another, were all connected to concepts of life and fertility within the world. The moon illuminates the married couple, the rays of the sun and water make plants grow, life is protected by the sharp points at the bottom of the *lamak*, and so on.

In the following section I will focus on the individual *lamak* motifs in more detail. I present their forms visually by means of drawings made by I Gusti Putu Taman, son of *tukang lamak* I Gusti Putu Nonderan, of Padangtegal, in 1989, 1990 and 1994, on the basis of my photographs of actual *lamak*. The various interpretations per motif provided by Balinese informants and written sources will in a number of cases be supplemented by remarks about the subject of the motifs in the context of Balinese ritual.

The representational motifs most frequently depicted are sun and/or moon, mountain, tree, and *cili*. This is the case not only on the *lamak nganten* and other *lamak* with more than one representational motif, but also on *lamak* with only one motif. Together with the *ibu* motif, these are also the motifs Balinese informants were most able to reflect upon. Far less often could informants reflect on individual geometric or abstract patterns (*ringgitan*). The variety of these patterns is almost endless, and as I Gusti Agung Mas Putra already wrote in 1975, most Balinese do not know specific names for specific *ringgitan*, but talk about them as a group. However, I will present around fifty different *ringgitan* motifs, of which I was given some information, in many cases just a name. I will start with some terms related to the structure of a *lamak*.

3.3.1 Motifs as structural elements of a lamak

As already noted, the motifs which decorate the plain bottom layer, the base or *dasar* of a *lamak*, can be divided into two main categories: geometrical patterns called ***ringgitan***, and single, representational designs called ***raka***. A small *lamak* contains only a *ringgitan* pattern, or a combination of *ringgitan* or *raka*, but never just the latter.[11] On a small *lamak* the representational motif is placed at the upper end, and the geometrical one at the lower. On a larger *lamak* these different kinds of motifs alternate, but a geometrical pattern is always placed at the bottom.

Sometimes between the various representational motifs narrow bands of geometrical patterns are fastened. They are called ***penyelak***. *Menyelak* means: "to push something aside", so *penyelak* is something that pushes apart the representational motifs, what I Gusti Agung Mas Putra called a 'divider'. They are also called ***baluan***, from *luan,* meaning 'first, front, top'. Their structure is often different from the other geometrical patterns. Examples are ***kancing-kancing*** (knot, button) (fig. 3.9)[12] and ***tingkang katak*** ('frog sitting with legs apart') (fig. 3.10).

At the bottom is a special pattern, usually called ***cracap*** ('something with a sharp point') (fig. 3.11). The sides and bottom of a *lamak*, called ***sebeh*** ('frame'), are either just plain leaf or are decorated

11 However, recently I noticed in Karangasem small *lamak* with only a flower motif.

12 The drawings that accompany the *lamak* patterns were made between 1989 and 1994 by I Gusti Putu Taman from Padangtegal, on the basis of my photographs of *lamak.* Place and date of these photographs and the person who made the *lamak*, are given in the list of figures in Appendix 3.

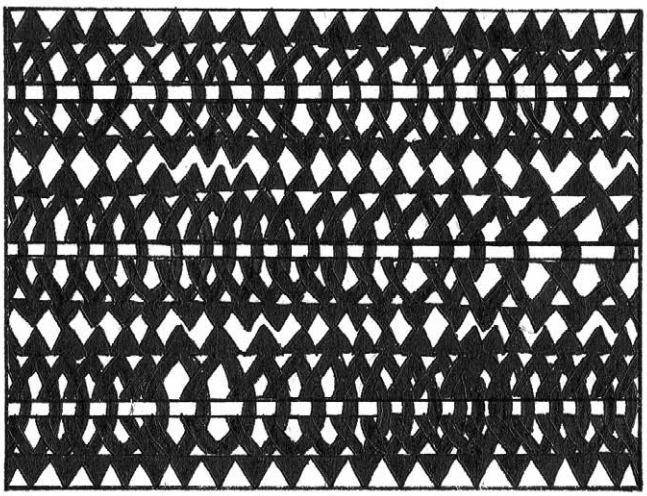


Figure 3.9: Kancing-kancing.

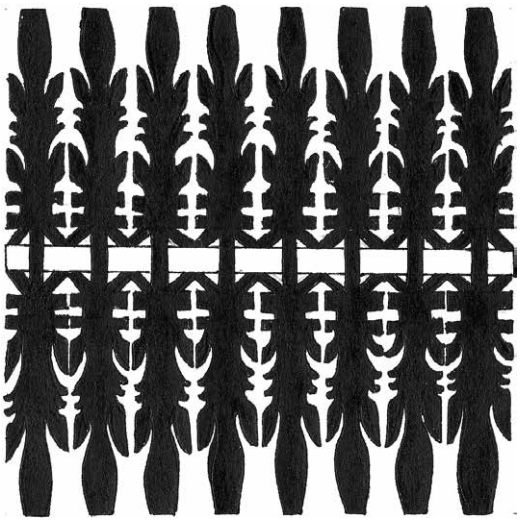


Figure 3.10: Tingkang katak.

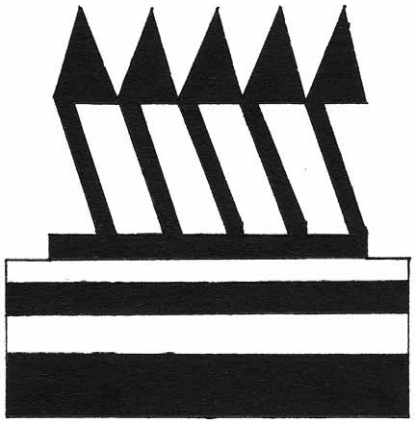
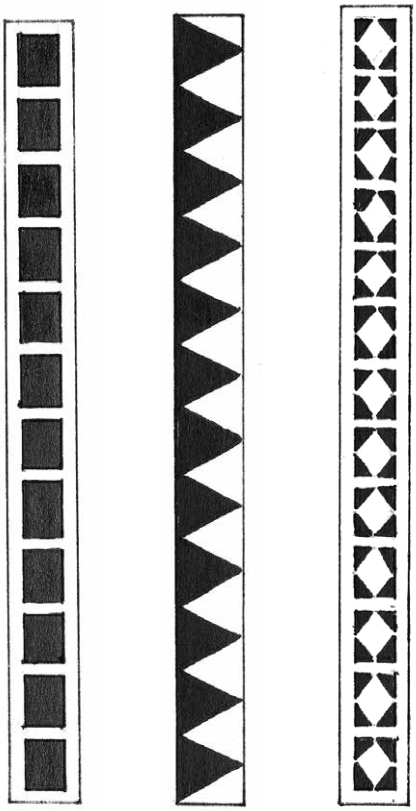


Figure 3.11: Cracap, padang or akar-akaran.



3.12 *3.13* *3.14*

Figure 3.12: Batu-batu, compang banggul, ringring or bungbung jangkrik.

Figure 3.13: Gigin barong.

Figure 3.14: Ganggong or taluh kakul.

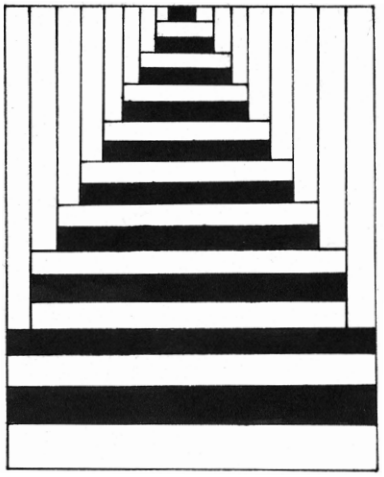


Figure 3.15: Umpal.

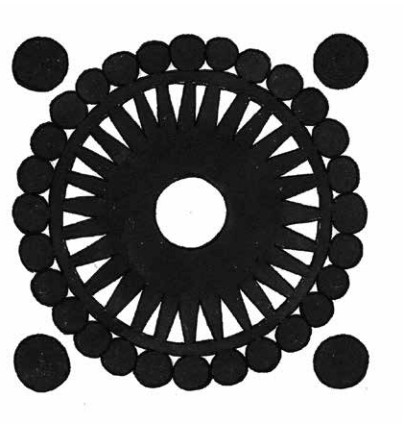


Figure 3.16: Bulan.

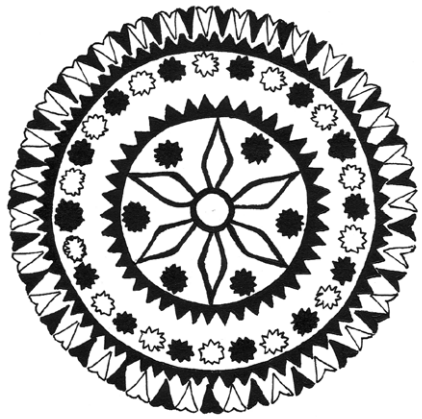


Figure 3.17: Matanai.

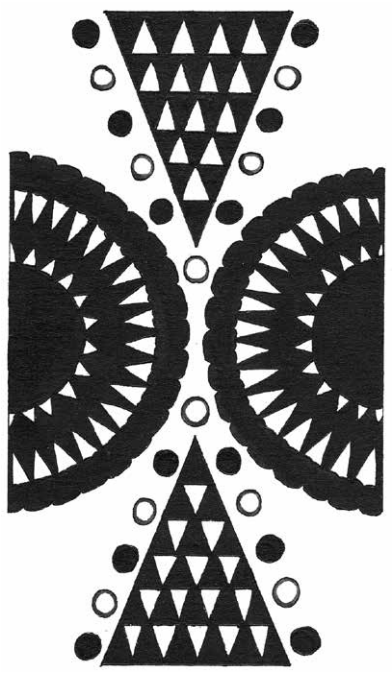


Figure 3.18: Bulan sibak.

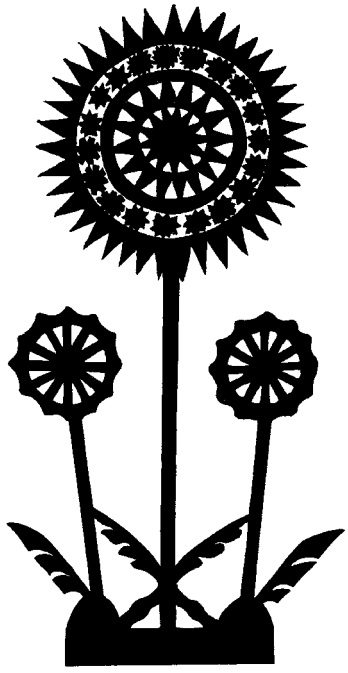


Figure 3.19: Bulan matunjuk.

with little motifs (figs. 3.12, 3.13, 3.14), each with their own names. One of them (fig. 3.13) is called *gigin barong*, the teeth of a protective, mythical animal, which like the *cracap*, is said to protect the contents of the *lamak*.[13] The top of a *lamak* often has the shape of a triangle, and is called ***umpal***. This is also the word for a long piece of cloth used to tie a hip cloth (*kamben*) around the body. Sometimes a kind of a triangular structure is realized by interweaving the uppermost palm leaves (fig. 3.15).

13 This motif is widely used in Bali, especially as border motif, for example on textiles. It also appears on the famous prehistoric bronze kettledrum in Pura Penataran Sasih at Pejeng (Bernet Kempers 1991:16).

3.3.2 Representational motifs, raka

3.3.2.1 *Bulan* and *matanai* (moon and sun)

Either the sun (***matanai***) (fig. 3.17) or the moon (***bulan***) (fig. 3.16) or both sun and moon are often depicted in the form of a disc composed of several little elements around a centre. They are placed at the top of the *lamak*, since they belong to the sky or heavens or the upperworld. The sun and the moon are accompanied by stars, ***bintang-bintangan***, in a square structure around them. The moon is sometimes represented by two half circles, instead of a whole circle, and is then called ***bulan sibak*** (fig. 3.18). In Lodtunduh (Gianyar) a special kind of moon is known, called ***bulan matunjuk***. It has the form of a big flower on a stalk with two sidebranches or shoots (*katik*), with little moons or flowers. These flowers are called lotus flowers, ***tunjung*** or ***padma*** (fig. 3.19).

Both the sun and the moon were said to have a strong influence on the development of life on earth. Separately, the moon gives light to the *cili nganten*, bridal couple, so that they soon will have children, and the rays of the sun, Ida Betara Surya, fertilize the earth, so that plants can grow. Together, sun and moon, the deities Aditya and Candra, are related to each other as man and woman. The sun and the moon are also associated with Semara and Ratih, deities of love.

According to Ida Pedanda Gede Oka Timbul, "The source of life are the gods. Semara and Ratih are everywhere where creation takes place" (pers. com. 19/12/1990).

The moon not only gives light to the *cili nganten*, but her light also allows plants to grow. That is why in Lodtunduh the moon is depicted with flowers of the lotus, itself a symbol of life, sprouting from it. The moon is not only the dwelling place of Dewi Ratih, goddess of love, but according to some informants is also associated with Dewi Sri, goddess of plants and of rice in particular. But fertility of the land is also dependent on Ida Betara Surya, god of the sun, who fertilizes Ibu Pertiwi, Mother Earth.

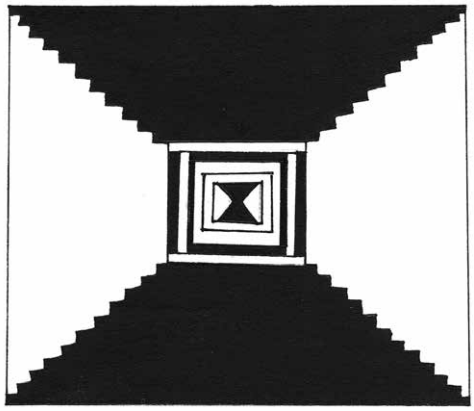
When the sun or the moon are represented by two half circles instead of one full one, informants said that this depicts the situation when sun and moon have just arisen in the east and set in the west, or when they are just visible behind the mountain. But the two halves forming one totality are also regarded as a symbol of marriage, of unification of two opposites which makes life possible.

Both the sun and the moon play an important role in Balinese ritual. The cycle of the moon determines one of the calendrical systems in Bali. Household rituals are held every new moon (*tilem*) and full moon (*purnama*), and many temples hold ceremonies on a new or full moon. Unlike the goddess of the moon who is not honoured with her own temple shrine, the sun god, Ida Betara Surya is worshipped as a very important manifestation of the Supreme God. His shrine, the open-seated *padmasana*, is one of the highest and most important shrines in a temple. In major rituals, a temporary shrine is always present in hounour of Betara Surya as witness. Furthermore the daily rite of the *pedanda* high priests bears the name *surya sewana*, adoration of the sun.

3.3.2.2 *Ibu*, *gumi*, *gedong* or *telaga* (mother, earth, building or pond)

The motif (fig. 3.20) which is usually called ***ibu***, mother, but also sometimes *gedong*, (closed) building, or *telaga*, pond, consists of a big square, divided by two diagonals into four parts, two light and two dark, around a little square in the centre. However, the design is also often composed of a series of square bands in alternating colours around a centre (fig. 3.21). I have never seen this motif as a single representational motif, but always in combination with other motifs, almost always at the very top of a *lamak*.

The *ibu* motif is most often interpreted in association with Ibu Pertiwi, Mother Earth. She gives life; because of her fertility life on earth is possible. The four sides of the square motif are related to the four cardinal directions, a representation of the world-order on the horizontal plane, so this motif is also a symbol of the whole world and is then called ***bumi*** or ***gumi***. The *ibu* motif should be depicted at the top of the *lamak*, because Ibu Pertiwi is most respected and because "we are all born from the mother". Sometimes, instead of one big square, two little squares next to one another form the pattern, called ***susu***, breasts.



Figures 3.20-3.21: Ibu.

Pedanda Gede Oka Timbul (pers. com. 24/3/94) formulated it like this: "We are like children of nature. We must look after nature, be careful with the creation. Children cannot make parents, whereas parents can make children. Thus we must have respect for parents. Ibu Pertiwi is our origin, we owe her a very great debt, for everything is born of her. Ibu Pertiwi keeps safe all the elements necessary for life and livelihood, and releases them (through birth). She contains earth, fire, water; and Bapa Akasa (Father Sky) contains wind, water, and light. Ibu contains within herself the source of life, but thereafter she takes care of the food for her children, through her milk."[14]

Ibu Pretiwi is in Bali widely known as the goddess of the land, the ground, the earth.[15] In Sanskrit her name means "the broad or extended one" (Zoetmulder 1982:1421). She is called Ibu, Mother, by which is stressed that she carries the seeds of all new life in her womb. Her fertility is the ultimate source of life on earth, including that of human beings. Another name for her, Wasundari, "Bearer of Riches", refers to the stability of the earth itself and the inexhaustible fecundity possessed by her. In hymns she is sometimes requested to bear the worshipper (Goudriaan & Hooykaas 1971:421).

The concept of the earth as a womb or vessel, container of life, is related to the idea of origin and ancestral source of life. *Ibu* or *paibon* is the name of a shrine in an ancestor temple, whose three compartments, dedicated to the deities Brahma, Wisnu and Siwa, symbolize the cycle of birth, life and death. This, more than perhaps any other, is the reason why this motif is placed at the top of the *lamak*. Sometimes *ibu* or *paibon* is the name of the ancestral temple itself.

Mother Earth is also in other Indonesian cultures often regarded as the partner of Bapa Akasa, Father Sky. Their union procreates and sustains the life of the universe (Fischer 1929:35). Together they are called as witnesses (*pasaksi*) at many Balinese rituals (Hooykaas 1977:97). Sometimes the three compartments of the ancestral shrine are said to be dedicated to Pretiwi, Akasa and the ancestors. The holy water in the container in front of the priests is regarded as a result of the meeting of Akasa and Pretiwi, as Husband and Wife (Hooykaas 1964:139).[16]

14 *Kita sebagai anak alam. Kita harus melestari alam, ciptaan berhati-hati. Ibu Pertiwi seperti asal mula kami, kami punya utang budi besar sekali terhadap beliau, semua lahir dari Ibu. Ibu Pertiwi menyimpan segala unsur hidup dan kehidupan, dan lepaskan (kalau melahirkan). Dia berisi: tanah, api, air dan Bapak Akasa berisi: bayu, apah, teja. Ibu mengandung sumber hehidupan, dan sesudah itu menyiapkan makanan untuk anak-anaknya melalui susunya.*

15 In Brinkgreve 1997 I analysed two major offerings in relation to the goddesses Durga and Pertiwi in Bali.

16 Ibu Pretiwi is not often depicted visually. A figure of a kind of womb, representing her, together with Father Sky in the form of a cloud, is illustrated in Hooykaas (1974:86), while a statue from Tenganan is published by Ramseyer (1977: pl. 178). However, much more common are representations of her son, Boma. His big face, with bulging eyes and open mouth and his outstretched hands are found crowning the entrance to many Balinese temples, comparable with the heads of Kala in ancient Javanese temples.

In Sanur and other places in Badung the square motif is called ***gedong***, a closed building, especially in temples, but also the building where husband and wife sleep. When the motif is called 'building' it is not necessarily placed at the top of a *lamak*; in the middle is also possible. As a building in which husband and wife sleep and the traditional place for giving birth, it carries the association of fertility and new life arising.

As a closed building in a temple, it is often where important sacred objects are kept. As Ida Pedanda Gede Oka Timbul said, "the *gedong* is a place of storage, both of things and of life." A *gedong* has an important further connotation as womb, particularly in the name of the ritual, *magedong-gedongan*, to enhance the safe development of a baby still in the mother's womb. Just as the centre of the motif is protected by the encompassing square, so life itself is protected in the womb.

Another, related interpretation is that this motif represents a lake or pond, ***telaga,*** on top of the mountain, which sustains the constant flow of water that fertilizes the earth. As I Gusti Agung Mas Putra (pers. com. 19-9-1985) said: "The *ibu* is like a pond or lake, a reservoir of water; Ibu is life, just like water. Water and earth together are the sources of life."

Representing the actual earth or land, Ibu Pertiwi is worshipped during many rituals which include the opening of the earth, like the preparation of the rice fields before planting, or the burial (also called "planting") of a deceased person (*cf.* Fischer 1929:16). Equally important is her role at the first touching of the earth by a child of three Balinese months, or the consecration of a new building, when the objects and substances which give life to houses and temples are buried in the earth.

3.3.2.3 *Gunung* (mountain)

The ***gunung***, mountain (fig. 3.22), is usually a triangular-shaped motif, consisting of rows of little triangles on top of one another. It is widely used as the main motif on a small *lamak*. Sometimes the mountain has a rather treelike shape, but it is still called *gunung*. Another name for the same motif is ***bebukitan***, or *bukit*, meaning hill.

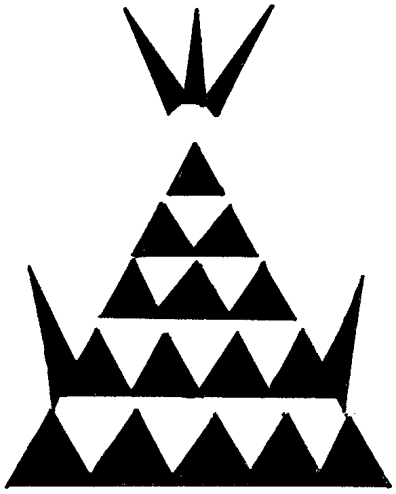


Figure 3.22: Gunung.

Because it is from the mountains that the water that fertilizes the rice fields flows down over the earth, the mountain should be one of the upper motifs on a *lamak*, according to informants. The mountain provides the plants and forests that are sources of human life; without the mountain life in Bali would not be possible. For example Ratu Mas, an offering specialist (*tukang banten*) from Puri Karangasem (pers. com. 3/6/2015), said that the mountain is so often the main motif on a *lamak*, because "the mountain is most important for life".

Especially on the *lamak* for Galungan, the *gunung* or mountain motif is regarded as the Gunung Agung, Bali's highest and sacred mountain, dwelling place of deities and ancestors. The offerings on the shrine at the *penjor*, from which the *lamak* hangs, are presented to the deities of the Gunung Agung, since the *penjor* itself is sometimes said to represent the Gunung Agung. Pedanda Istri Ketut Jelantik, from Gria Dauh in Budakeling, said (pers. com. 10/25/2013) that the mountain is the most important motif on a *lamak*, which as a whole is a symbol of the world, because "the Gods dwell there".

The Gunung Agung, the Great Mountain, is the representation in Bali of Mount Mahameru, the sacred mountain of Hindu mythology. Mahameru is the cosmic mountain, the central axis linking underworld, middle world and upperworld, and symbol of cosmic totality. The mythic text Usana Bali mentions that at the time of the origin of Hinduism in Bali the summit of Mahameru was

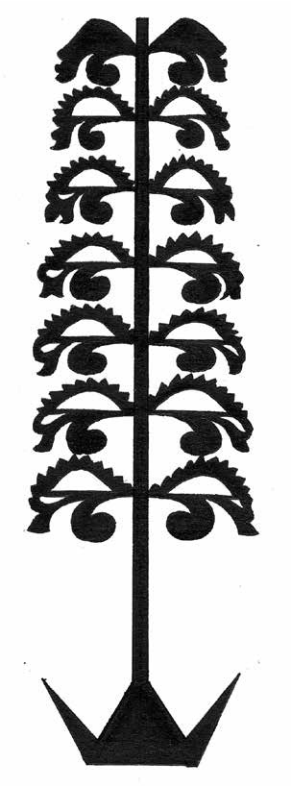


Figure 3.23: Kekayonan.

Figure 3.24: Kekayonan.

brought to Bali to become the Gunung Agung. The fourth section of the prose version of the Usana Bali, as summarized by Hinzler, tells about the arrival of new gods. "The god Pasupati, a manifestation of Siwa, enthroned on Mt. Mahameru in Java hears Kulputih's prayer on the descent of the gods. Pasupati decides that his son Putrajaya (also called Mahadewa) and his wife Dewi Danuh have to be sent to Bali. [...] Putrajaya and Dewi Danuh [..] propose to be venerated from now on by means of particular offerings. The god Pasupati splits the top of Mahameru and sends both pieces to Bali. The piece in his right hand becomes Gunung Agung and will become Putrajaya's seat, and the other part, held in his left hand, becomes Gunung Batur, Dewi Danuh's seat" (Hinzler 1986:142-143).[17]

3.3.2.4 *Kekayonan* (tree)

Kayu, the root of the word ***kekayonan***, means wood or tree, and this design is always a trunk of a tree, placed on a little hill. Branches and leaves, and sometimes flowers and fruits, are added on either side (fig. 3.23). Especially in Padangtegal, but also in other villages in the Gianyar area, this motif sometimes resembles the leaf-shaped *kekayonan* which is the central and most powerful figure

17 In the Usana Bali text translated by Warna and Murdha (1986:68), one important passage reads as follows: "And then when my child has been in Besakih for a long time, your Father will come and hand over the summit of Mount Mahameru, which is the pre-eminent symbol of the island of Bali, as your place of residence". (*Selanjutnya bila Anakda sudah lama di Besakih, Ayahda akan datang menyerahkan puncak Gunung Mahameru, yang merupakan simbul utama pulau Bali, sebagai tempat tinggal Anakda*).

in the wayang theatre (fig. 3.24). Sometimes the *kekayonan* is called ***punyan bingin***, banyan tree (*Ficus bengalensis* L).

In Balinese cosmology, like the holy mountain, the tree functions both as cosmic axis, and also as a symbol of the unity and totality of all existing phenomena. In some respects the significance of the mountain as the source of life is equivalent to the forests that grow on it, where vegetation and wild life flourish. In symbolism, the tree of life which unites all living creatures and the cosmic mountain can replace one another. Just as the mountain is regarded as essential for human life, so the tree or *kekayonan* on the mountain is the source of human life as well. Although it has the shape of a tree, in a sense it contains the whole world: the mountain, trees, plants, animals, water, air. It is depicted on top of a little hill, or rocks, because it has its roots in the earth, or has the earth as base.

For the Balinese, the tree is man's "closest friend", "tree and human being are related as siblings". They work together, "they look after each other". All parts of a tree are useful and important, whether it is the wood of its trunk, or its leaves, flowers or fruits. "Many trees means riches". According to many informants, the tree is connected with water, another prerequisite of life.

According to I Gusti Agung Mas Putra, since the existence of the world starts from vegetational life, the tree has to be depicted in the centre of the *lamak*, under the *cili*. Most of my Balinese informants, however, place the *cili* underneath the *kekayonan*, because the tree protects mankind. *Tukang lamak* Ni Made Paji from Junjungan said for example that a *kekayonan* acts as a kind of fan to wave air or wind; for in wayang the *kekayonan* gives wind, and wind is life. So the *kekayonan* waves life towards the *cili* or towards the newly-wed couple (*cili nganten*), so that new life, offspring, will soon arise.

The *kekayonan* on a *lamak* is often associated with the *kekayonan* as central figure of the wayang theatre, its movements being associated with the creation of the world. Wayan Wija, *dalang* from Sukawati (pers. com. 23/5/89), explained the meaning of the *kekayonan* as follows: "through the *kekayonan* everything can be represented: light, clouds, rain, fire, stones or mountain, house, the whole world's contents. A *kekayonan* acts as judgement (*pengadilan*) between left and right, good and not good. A *kekayonan* is also the symbol of the Panca Mahabhuta, the five elements: earth, water, fire, air, and ether (*pertiwi, apah, teja, bayu, akasa*). A *kekayonan* already existed before anything was created." According to Wayan Wija, what someone sees in the *kekayonan* depends on the person's understanding. "Because the word *kekayonan* can also be derived from *kayun*, meaning thoughts, concepts, depicted on a *lamak nganten* the *kekayonan* can be interpreted at one level as meaning all thoughts about the future, and on the *lamak nganten* especially about new life arising from marriage, in the sense of making a family, descendants, children."

In her article on the *kekayonan*, Angela Hobart writes: "Its two main components (mountain and tree) link the three zones of underworld, earth, and heaven. Figuratively, the mountain rises from the abyss into the sky. So too the roots of the tree descend into the earth while its branches penetrate the heavens" (Hobart 1983:13).[18]

In the same way as the mountain motif is reflected on earth by the holy Gunung Agung, so the tree has its earthly manifestation in the banyan (*bingin*) tree in the centre of many Balinese villages or in sacred places like temples. This holy tree appears in numerous ways in offerings and ritual instruments. In the *lamak* catalogue by Seraya and Widia this motif is called a symbol of the Tree of Life (1973:9). As Jyoti (2010:13) explains, "the banyan tree has a very important meaning in Hindu mythology, where it represents the tree of heaven called Taru Wreksa, which can fulfill all wishes and which is called Kalpataru."[19]

According to Nyoman Miarta Putra (Putra 2009:52-55), the banyan tree "is often said to be the tree of heaven. […] The importance of the banyan tree to Hindu worshippers [in Bali] is that its leaves are often used as a ritual requirement (*sa-*

18 From different points of view, much has been written about the comparable symbolism and representations of the tree of life, tree of heaven, cosmic tree or wishing tree in various other cultures within Indonesia. See for example Van der Hoop 1949:274-281, Rassers 1982:168-186 and Maxwell 1991.

19 *Pohon beringin memiliki arti yang sangat penting dalam mithologi Hindu, dimana pohon beringin adalah merupakan gambaran pohon sorga yang disebut Taru Wreksa, yang dapat memenuhi keinginan yang juga disebut dengan Kalpataru.*

rana). In mythology, the banyan is one of the trees which received a special divine gift. [...] The banyan tree is said to be the tree of the gods, especially Siwa... the place where Siwa and Dewi Durga play together, accompanied by celestial beings including deified ancestors."[20]

3.3.2.5 *Gebogan* (offering)

Especially in the village of Padangtegal (Gianyar) the motif ***gebogan*** or *banten* (offering) *gebogan* (fig. 3.25) is often depicted on a *lamak*. It is a conical-shaped offering consisting of an assemblage of fruits and cookies (*jaja*), usually composed on a wooden tray (*dulang*).

In relation to the *lamak*, it is often said that the offering is for Ibu Pertiwi, because she is most often represented on a *lamak*, in the form of the motif of the *ibu* or *gedong*. It should be placed above the head of the *cili,* for the *cili* carries the *gebogan* just as someone carries an offering to the temple on his or her head. The conical shape of offerings or parts of offerings (such as *tumpeng*, rice cones) is often said to correspond to that of the sacred mountain, dwelling place of deites and deified ancestors.

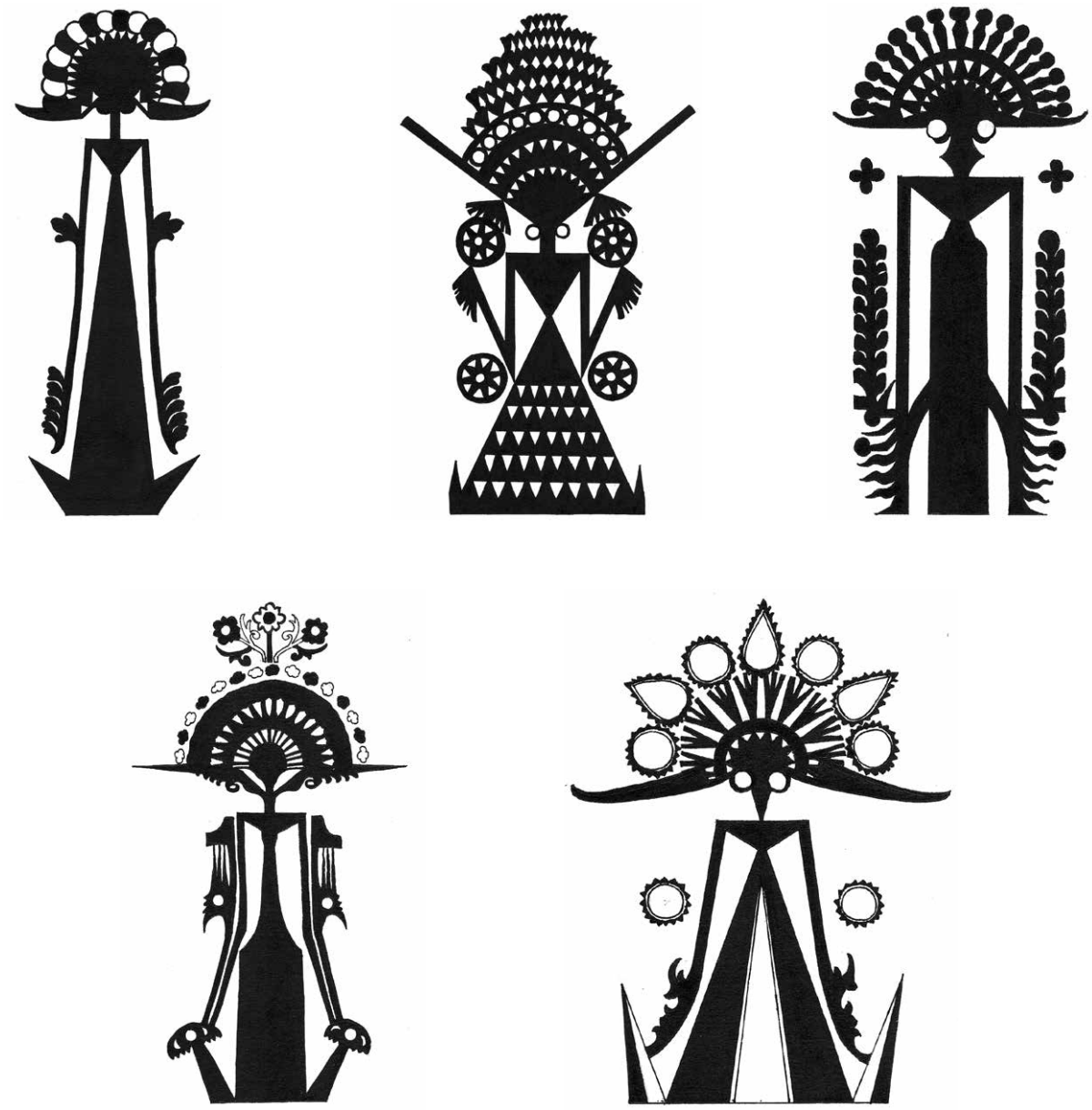
3.3.2.6 *Cili* or *deling* (human being)

A ***cili*** motif is a very slender female figure with an elongated triangular body, long arms, a fanshaped headdress and big cylindrical ear ornaments (figs. 3.26-3.30). According to the dictionary by Van der Tuuk (1897-1912:I 633), *cili*, *cecilian* or *cilicilian*, is translated as "a doll, made of *lontar* leaves, a figure with a headdress extending on either side, sold at the market for five Balinese coins; also form of address to somebody who is younger (compare Javanese *cilik*)."

Figure 3.25: Gebogan.

In some parts of Bali (for example in Pujung and Jasan, in Gianyar, and in Budakeling and other villages in Karangasem), this motif is also often called ***deling***, meaning "a female figure, or children's toy from *lontar* leaf" (Van der Tuuk 1897-1912:II 495). In some villages, informants give less common names for this motif. Among them are ***condong***, meaning "female servant"; a *condong* is a major figure in the *legong* dance. In Tegallalang, besides *cili*, the ***janger*** is sometimes used; a *janger* is a dancer, and the only difference between both designs is a minor variation in headdress. In Kerambitan (Tabanan), this motif is called ***jlema***, which means human being. In Penatahan (Tabanan), a small *cili* is called ***wong-wongan,*** like a small human figure.

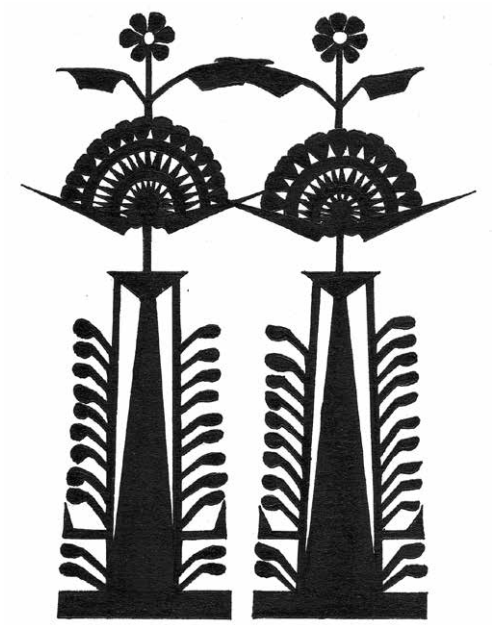
20 *Pohon beringin sering dikatakan sebagai tumbuhan sorga.* [...] *Pentingnya pohon beringin bagi Umat Hindu karena daunnya sering digunakan sebagai sarana upacara.* [...] *Secara mitologi, pohon beringin merupakan salah satu pohon yang telah mendapatkan penugrahan.* [...] *pohon beringin dikatakan sebagai pohonnya para dewa, khususnya Dewa Ciwa.* [..] *pohon beringin adalah tempat Dewa Ciwa dan Dewi Durga beranjang sana ditemani para widyadara-wdyadari termasuk di dalamnya para pitara.*

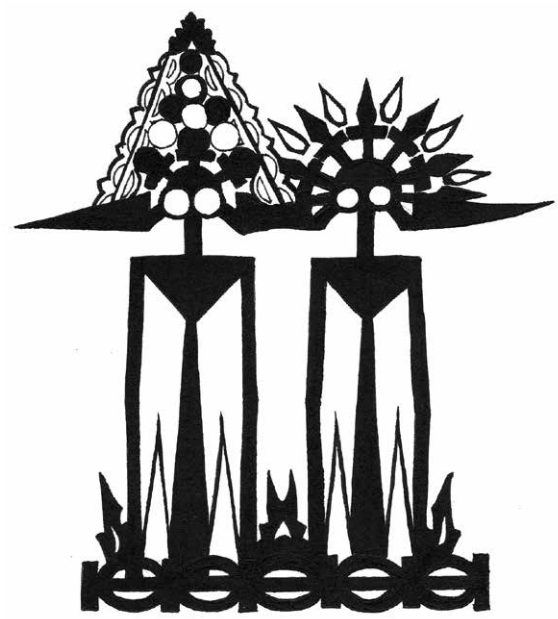


Figures 3.26-3.30: Cili or deling.

The main motif on a *lamak nganten* is called ***cili nganten*** or ***cili kembar***: wedding *cili* or twin *cili*, referring to the newly-wed couple.This consists of two little *cili,* next to one another, usually in the style of the *cili* that is common in the village or area concerned (fig. 3.31). Almost always these two *cili* have a similar shape, but sometimes the headdresses indicate a difference between male and female, groom and bride (fig. 3.32). In the Tabanan area especially, a double female figure motif is often used on a *lamak*, but not in relation to a *lamak nganten*, since that tradition does not exist there.

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, Anak Agung Gede Raka Sandi in Tampaksiring explained to me his symbolic interpretation of the *cili*: "Life is represented, not their (human) form! Life is the same for male and female". Almost all Balinese informants were of the same opinion that the *cili* on a *lamak* is a representation of humankind, both women and men. That is the reason the *cili* is





Figures 3.31-3.32: Cili nganten.

usually placed in the centre of the *lamak*, in the centre of the world, as it were. Mangku Gede, *bendesa adat* of Lodtunduh (pers. com. 26/3/1988), related that when a family has recently buried a dead relative they may not use a *cili* on a *lamak*. In this state of impurity (*cuntaka*) after a death and during the death rituals, they use only a smaller *penjor*, with a simple *sampian penjor* that does not depict a *cili*. The reason could be that the *cili* is associated with life.

Although the *cili* has definitely a female form, the *cili* is not restricted to women only, but rather stands for the whole of humankind. The *cili nganten*, representing the newly-wed bride and groom, usually both have an identical 'feminine' form, although the left one represents the woman, and the right one the man. As Anak Agung Gede Raka Sandi explained, because it is the essence of life that is depicted, it does not really matter whether the form is male or female. Man and woman form one whole or totality, just as the two halves of a *candi bentar* or split gate of a temple or palace belong together, as some informants phrased it. The *cili nganten* sometimes have an umbrella above their heads as a sign of honour and as adornment. Often they have flowers on their heads, as a symbol of peacefulness: the new life in marriage brings calm and quiet. Another opinion is that a *cili* seeks shelter under a tree, or that the life of the *cili* itself is related to living plants and trees. Human life is dependent on vegetational life.

However, some Balinese are of the opinion that the *cili* represents the goddess of fertility, Dewi Sri, the well-known goddess of rice, fertility, and prosperity. Depicted on the *lamak*, she is said to be a witness of the ritual. For example I Gusti Putu Nonderan (pers. com. 27/2/1987) said (as related earlier in this chapter) that the *cili* on the *lamak* hanging from the shrine of the *penjor* is a representation of Dewi Sri and the love of Bawi Serenggi for her, a story I heard nowhere else. And according to Mangku Gede (pers. com. 26/3/1988), the *cili* is a symbol of Ida Betari Ratih, the goddess of the moon. At temple ceremonies in Selat, rows of *cili* figures, there called *deling*, painted on thin sheaths of rice dough were called Ida Betari Saraswati (the spouse of god Brahma).

But others, for example Wayan Wira, were of the opinion that since Dewi Sri is the spouse of god Wisnu, she dwells in Wisnu's heaven (Wisnuloka) and not on earth or the middle world (Madyapada), so then she should not be depicted in the central part of the *lamak* as the *cili* almost always is. Also according to I Gusti Agung Mas Putra (pers. com. 21/9/1985) it is not possible that a *cili* is the image of Dewi Sri, since Dewi Sri is one of the many aspects ("rays") of God, which cannot really be

depicted. She said that since the mountain with its associated vegetation and water gives life to human beings, represented by the *cili*, the mountain motif has to be placed above the *cili*. Ida Bagus Dalem, Gria Kutri (pers. com. 15/2/1989) agreed with this: "*Cili* means beautiful, *cantik*. A beautiful girl is called a *cili*, just as a handsome boy is called Arjuna. A *cili* is not specifically a goddess, but rather the human being."

According to Wayan Pugeg (pers. com. 22/5/1989), a sculptor from Singapadu, who often makes large offerings (*sarad*) which include rice dough *cili*, a *cili* is a heavenly nymph (*widadari*), and is associated with the gods (Ida Betara). Dewi Sri, or Dewi Ratih, they can all be depicted by the *cili*, all of them are the Holy Goddess who are beautiful and always feminine. However, in Gria Puseh, Sanur, where I often observed these same offerings being made, a *cili lanang* (male) and a *cili istri* (female) were definitely human figures. Interestingly, Ni Made Darmi, a silversmith in Budakeling (pers. com. 10/2/2012), said that the pair of statues with golden faces, made out of Chinese coins, that receives daily offerings on a wall shrine in her workshop (fig. 4.80), represent the gods Rambut Sedana or Sri Sedana, but their form is that of a pair of *deling* (or *cili*), a man and a woman. Similar pairs of deity figures made of *lontar* leaves are visible everywhere, placed on wall shrines in shops and markets in the area of Karangasem, to serve as temporary residence for deities who bring success and good luck.

Of all *lamak* motifs, the *cili* receives most attention in Balinese publications. Like I Gusti Agung Mas Putra (1975:8; 1981:8), Made Titib calls the *cili* a symbol of mankind (1976:14). Also Seraya and Widia, in their catalogue of an exhibition of *lamak* from the village of Batur, call a *kepet* (fan shape) a *cili*, symbol of femaleness (1973:9).

However, in their publication *Cili sebagai lambing dewi kesuburan di Bali*, Widia, Budiastra and Wirata (1989/1990) acknowledge that "for Hindu adherents in Bali the *cili* is a symbol of beauty", but their conclusion is that "for Balinese Hindus the *cili* is a symbol of the form of Dewi Sri, Ibu (Mother), Fertility." They continue,"The form of the *cili* is a symbol derived from the female form, which nowadays is known as Dewi Sri." After pointing out that the face of a *cili* resembles the masks on the famous bronze age drum kept in Pura Penataran Sasih in Pejeng (which in fact is not really the case) and after declaring that "the oldest *cili* in the collection of the Museum Bali, made of fired earthenware, found at the Pura Belanjong, Sanur, is of a form similar to that of terracotta sculptures of Majapahit style," the writers state that the form of the *cili* resembles the shape of the rice goddess, known by all Indonesian people before they received Hindu influence. They give many examples of the use of the *cili* motif: hand-formed rice dough figures (*cacalan*) in the *pulagembal* offering; terracotta *cili* as decoration on top of the roof of a building; guardian figures (*dwarapala*) at the entrance to a temple; palm leaf artefacts (*jejaitan*) such as *sampian* which hangs from the tip of a *penjor* or sits on top of the *gebogan* offering; also from wood as the *gebogan* mask (*tapel gebogan*). But according to them, "the most perfect form is the *cili* on a *lamak [ng]anten*, where the *cili* resembles a female." They state that the *cili* as the manifestation of Dewi Sri plays a big role in Balinese rituals, and that "in relation to these rituals Dewi Sri is better known as *cili*" (1989/1990:3-15).[21]

These viewpoints have served as inspiration for other Balinese publications about the *cili* (Pameran 2010 and Soekartiningsih 2000). And although I Dewa Kompiang Gede (1996:143) also repeats the general statement that the *cili* is a symbol of Dewi Sri, he mentions also that "the influence of ancestor worship had a strong influence on Indonesian people in the past" and that the significance of the *cili* "perhaps can be seen from the viewpoint of

21 *Pada masyarakat Hindu di Bali Cili adalah merupakan symbol kecantikan (p. 3)… Cili bagi umat Hindu di Bali merupakan lambang dari perwujudan Dewi Sri, Ibu, Kesuburan (p. 13) … Bentuk cili ini merupakan simbul dari bentuk perempuan, yang sekarang dikenal sebagai Dewi Sri (p. 15) … cili tertua koleksi Museum Bali, dibuat dari tanah liat dibakar, didapat dari pura Belanjong, Sanur, bentuk ini menyerupai bentuk arca terracotta type Majapahit … Bentuk yang sempurna adalah bentuk cili pada sebuah lamak anten yang cilinya menyerupai seorang perempuan (p. 11)…tetapi dalam kaitan upacara ini dewi sri lebih kenal dengan sebutan cili (p. 11).*

popular belief, worship of Dewi Sri (goddesss of fertility) and spirits of the ancestors."[22]

As I have argued elsewhere,[23] in the ethnographical literature on Bali, the *cili* is almost always called a symbol of Dewi Sri, the Hindu name of the old deity of rice, agriculture, fertility and prosperity. Scholars supporting this interpretation include Ramseyer,[24] Hooykaas-van Leeuwen Boomkamp,[25] Langewis,[26] Pelras[27] and Eiseman.[28]

In my first article in which the *cili* plays a role (Brinkgreve 1987a),[29] I had a similar opinion, which I had based mainly on Ramseyer's work, but I do not agree with this anymore.

Covarrubias, who, like Walter Spies, was fascinated by this beautiful figure, was probably the first to compare the shape of the *cili* to that of the rice mother, *nini pantun,* a sheaf of rice dressed up into the shape of the *cili.*[30] But he admits that not all his informants made this connection but rather that they "insisted that they were purely ornamental forms appropriate for offerings because they were beautiful" (Covarrubias 1937:171).[31]

In his extensive study of rice rituals, Wirz (1927) also never mentions the *cili* as a symbol of Dewi Sri. The *lontar* effigies, mistakenly called "harvest offering (*tjili, tjau*[32])" by Goris and Dronkers (1952:38), "dedicated to Dewi Sri and placed in the fields during harvest time" are often called Sri (Wirz 1927:89) and sometimes *cili* (Covarrubias 1937:172). These figurines, as a temporary residence for Dewi Sri are in shape probably similar to Van der Tuuk's "doll, made of *lontar* leaves, a figure with a headdress extending on either side", which he called "*tjili* or *tjetjilian*".[33] Not only in Balinese but also in Old Javanese (Zoetmulder 1982:327) *cili* means "small, little".

As Covarrubias already describes, and Widia, Budiastra and Wirata (1989/1990) and Soekartiningsih (2000) show in their catalogues of *cili* figures in the Bali Museum, the *cili* appears on all sorts of objects, made from all kinds of materials. Often there is some connection with protection (e.g. the *cili* on clay tiles that crown the roof of a house), or with life (e.g. the *cili* as container

22 *…pengaruh kepercayaan kepada arwah leluhur amat mempengaruhi bangsa Indonesia di masa lalu…. mungkin dapat dilihat dari segi kepercayaan masyarakat, pemujaan Dewi Sri (Dewi kesuburan) dan arwah leluhur.*

23 Brinkgreve 1992, 1994, 2010.

24 "The so-called *cili* or *deling* motif belongs to a totally different conceptual complex and is dependent on the pre-Hinduistic rice cult. It was dedicated to the Rice Mother and later to the rice goddess Sri and was the symbol of wealth, fertility and luck in the shape of a more or less abstract female head with a large, fan-like head-dress" (Ramseyer 1977:35).

25 "The *lamak* is invariably embellished with a *tjili* design, the symbol of the Rice Goddess and often with patterns based on a mountain motif" (Hooykaas-Van Leeuwen Boomkamp 1961:11) and: "A *chili*, little girl, is a human figure made out of palmleaf. It represents a young goddess with large earrings" (J. Hooykaas 1961:272).

26 "a *tjili*, the mythical figure connected with Dewi Sri, the goddess of rice and agriculture" (Langewis 1956:40).

27 "Quant au Batur: Dewi Sri = Dewi Danuh, la déesse du Lac; le *tjili* est le symbole. La signification du lamak nous apparait donc maintenant plus clairement: il est le symbole non seulement de Dewi Sri, déesse du riz, don le *tjili* est plus spécialement l'embleme, mais aussi de la divinité feminine en général et de tout ce qu'elle représente" (Pelras 1967:267, 270).

28 "*cili* = small pretty statue; image of Dewi Sri, the rice goddess, made in the form of an hour glass, representing stalks of rice tied together near the top" (Eiseman 2005:184).

29 "The *cili*, which as a form probably dates from pre-Hindu times, is generally associated with Dewi Sri, the rice goddess" (Brinkgreve 1987a:135).

30 See Kam (1993:84-87) for a comparison between *nini pantun* and *cili*.

31 "This would indicate that the mysterious figure was connected with, or derived from, the deities of rice and fertility, either Dewi Sri or Melanting, also goddesses of beauty and seed respectively […] The figure of the *tjili* seems to have a strong hold on the imagination of the Balinese, perhaps because it is the shape of the Rice Mother (*nini pantun*), a sheaf of rice dressed into the shape of a *tjili*. […] I became intensely intrigued by the persistence of this shape in so many of the ritual objects and was determined to find in it some religious significance; I asked all sorts of people about *tjili*'s, from high priests to old women offering-makers, but they all insisted that they were purely ornamental forms appropriate for offerings because they were beautiful. The word *tjili* means "small and nice" rather in the sense in which we use the term "cute". Whatever its origin, the *tjili* is today nothing more than a beautiful abstract feminine motif" (Covarrubias 1937:171).

32 A *cau* is indeed an offering, but not in the human form of a *cili* (see also Van der Tuuk 1897-1912:I 562).

33 They are part of many museum collections of Balinese ritual art (Brinkgreve, in Reichle 2010:142-144).

for the soul of the dead), or with offerings (e.g. when the fan-shaped palm leaf head of a *cili* or the wooden mask of a pretty lady crowns an offering, transforming this into a human body). For example in their book "Balinese Character" Bateson and Mead included photographs of "Anthropomorphic offerings. Offering *tjanang rebong*: the only recognizable anthropomorphism is the fan-shaped headdress (*tjili*) which is characteristic of representations of gods and souls of the dead" (1942:63) and "Representations (*tjili ampilan*) of the soul at the final "sending off" ceremony (*ngirim*). [...] They have faces and fan-shaped headdresses of palm leaf, and the female figures have earrings" (1942:251).

Being such a lovely figure, the *cili* has inspired many artists, western, Indonesian and Balinese. It has indeed become one of the iconic images of Bali. From the above discussion of the various interpretations and different contexts of its use it becomes clear that there is no single, unequivocal meaning of this beautiful female image of the *cili*. In any case, the concept *cili,* a little, usually female figurine, is related more to the form than to the meaning of the figure. It is possible that the origin of the motif might be found in the depiction of ancestors, who, as in so many Indonesian societies, have a protective and life-giving function. In some cases the form of *cili* motifs on *lamak* are comparable to the human or ancestor figures on textiles of other parts of Indonesia and then they often appear in pairs. The development into a female form might be related to the fact that female fertility is the prerequisite for the continuity of human life.

In the case of an effigy or statue, the figure is called *cili* because of its beautiful female form, but it is not an actual representation of a woman. Neither is it a deity itself, but it acts as a temporary receptacle, vessel, for a deity, for example Dewi Sri. Since the fertility of plants, especially rice, is often equated with that of women, in certain contexts the *cili* is then a suitable image for the goddess of rice. But Dewi Sri can be represented in many other forms besides the *cili*, such as in the figures made of the first ears of rice at harvest time, *nini pantun*.

Figure 3.33: Mangong.

But in the case of the *lamak*, the *cili* is not "a symbol of the goddess of rice"; it is rather a representation of human life.[34]

3.3.2.7 *Mangong*

The ***mangong*** is an intriguing figure, since nobody could explain the meaning of the name, nor is it found in any dictionary. This design which is never used on *lamak nganten* but only on small *lamak*, is a combination of a little *cili* and a small tree, combining some features of both: a kind of head on a trunk with some side branches (fig. 3.33).

34 An interesting comparison with the *cili* is a particular kind of pattern that women in Tobelo, North Halmahera, plait in mats and basketry. This pattern is called *o nyawa-nyawa*, and is said to represent two women and two men, denoting the persons as well as that part of the person which renders him 'alive'. The plaited objects display other motifs as well, which refer to living species which are living in the sea, the garden, and the forest, and belong to domains beyond that of the village society. By bringing them together in a plaited object, "*relations between* these beings are signified that identify them all as manifestations of *gikiri*, as forms of "life"." (Platenkamp 1995:29-30). See also Chapter 6 for further comparisons between the Balinese *lamak* and Tobelo mats.

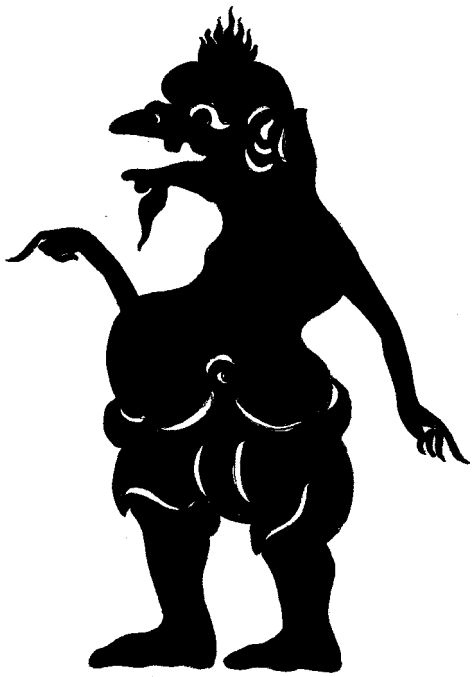


Figure 3.34: Sangut.

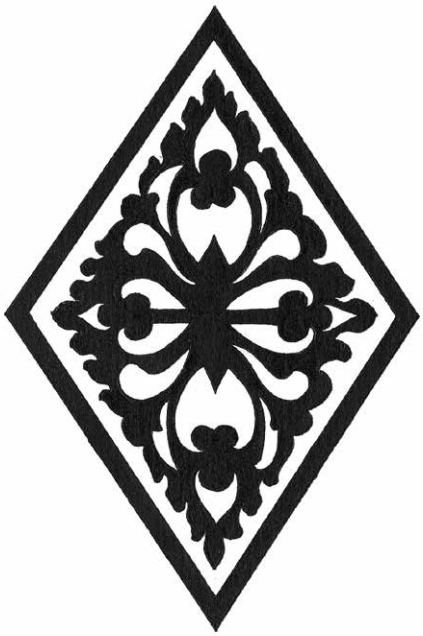


Figure 3.35: Mas-masan.

A *kekayonan* sometimes has little figures like the *mangong* underneath its branches. They are called *kumangmang*, meaning "a kind of spirit that wanders around cremation sites at night" (Van der Tuuk 1897-1912:II 360). Although nobody was sure about the meaning of the word *mangong*, several interpretations about the meaning of the motif do exist. One opinion is that the *mangong* is, like the *cili*, a symbol of mankind, but whereas the *cili* is young, the *mangong* is old. Or it is regarded as similar to a little *cili* which is found under the tree of the *lamak nganten* in Singakerta, or by itself on a small *lamak*. In Padangtegal it is never used in combination with a *cili*, and its use is restricted to small *lamak*, said *tukang lamak* Pak Tantri.

Also *tukang lamak* I Made Sadra did not know precisely what the *mangong* represents: "It has the form of a *cili* but on a different base. Or the form of a tree, for it stands on a hill. It is not clear. In any case a *mangong* is never used on a *lamak nganten*."

But another *tukang lamak* from Padangtegal, I Gusti Putu Nonderan said (pers. com. 23/5/89) that the word *mangong* is derived from *anggo, ngo, angan*, used, worn, fastened on. "There is no story attached to it. It is only a filling ornament so that not only *bebatikan* patterns are used. *Mang* means empty (*kosong*). *Ong* means content (*isinya*). *Mangong* does not have a specific meaning. Is it a *cili*? Or an animal? Or just a decoration? There is no certainty, the name is just made up by people".[35] According to him there is no relationship with *kumangmang* which can be seen at the Pura Dalem, the so-called death temple.

However some other *tukang lamak*, for example in Singapadu, do associate the *mangong* with *kumangmang*, spirits that dwell on cremation sites, but are usually harmless to mankind. Another view is that this figure is a plant, a little tree or *kekayonan*, that grows on the mountain. Or it is regarded as a combination of both: a head with a body like a plant.

3.3.2.8 Other *raka* motifs

Occasionally I saw a *lamak* with a completely different motif, perhaps an individual design invented by the *lamak* maker.

Sometimes one or more of the characters who play a role in the ***wayang*** *kulit* shadow theatre are depicted on *lamak*, especially from the area of Peliatan (Gianyar), but also on the embroidered

35 *Apakah ada cili? Atau binatang? Perhiasan saja. Belum sah, namanya, orang bikin nama saja.*

Figure 3.36: Bunga.

lamak of Jembrana.[36] While on these embroidered *lamak* it is mainly various deities and heroes from the Ramayana or Mahabharata who are portrayed, on palm leaf *lamak* I have only ever seen the servants of the main figures: Twalen, Merdah, Sangut (fig. 3.34), who in *wayang* theatre play an important role as mediator and interpreter.

A lozenge-shaped design called *mas-masan,* the leaves of the croton plant, is usually one of the geometrical motifs on a *lamak*, as will be discussed in the next section (fig. 3.49). However, sometimes one of the representational motifs, shaped as one big lozenge, filled with little ornaments like the *kekayonan*, is according to *tukang lamak* I Made Sadra in Padangtegal also called ***mas-masan*** (fig. 3.35), and then the motif means "golden jewellery, used in a palace (*puri*)", because *mas* means 'gold'. But I have never seen a *mas-masan* as the sole representational motif on a *lamak*.

Flowers (***bunga***) are either part of freestyle arrangements, a kind of meandering stalk with flowers on either side (fig. 3.36), or they are planted in a pot, or grow from the soil or small hills (fig. 3.19). In Karangasem nowadays sometimes only flowers are represented on small *lamak*. Flowers are very popular in the Tabanan and Jembrana area, also on modern embroidered *lamak*. Sometimes only one flower, with eight petals around a centre is depicted. Then it represents a ***padma***, lotus flower (fig. 3.39). The motif in the form of a big flower which in Lodtunduh was called *bulan tunjuk*, was also called ***bunga tunjung***, a kind of waterlilly, like the *padma* a "symbol of life", as it was interpreted. A *padma* is also the centre of the *nawa sanga* system of horizontal cosmological ordering, in which Hindu deities rule or guard the cardinal directions; the centre is occupied by Betara Siwa.

Sometimes I recognized ornaments or symbols which are important in Hindu-Balinese religion, such as different kinds of shrines (like the multiple-roofed ***meru***, fig. 3.37), the **Ongkara** (the OM syllable) (fig. 3.38) and the **swastika**. Ongkara, the Balinese version of the OM syllable, is the sacred syllable symbolizing Ida Sang Hyang Widhi. It consists of the letter 'O' with the three-part nasalization sign, called *ulucandra*, above it (Kamus 2005:76).

The swastika, an ancient Indian symbol of the rotation of the sun and the cycle of life, also a symbol of 'happiness, prosperity and tranquility', has become a major symbol of Balinese

36 Embroidered lamak will be discussed in Chapter 4 and Appendix 1.

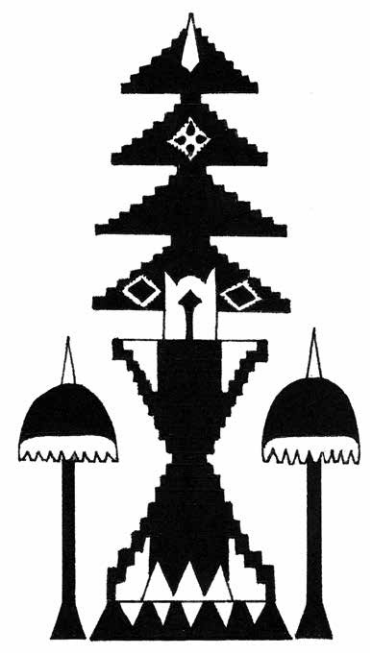


Figure 3.37: Meru.

Figure 3.38: Lamak with ongkara. Linggasana (Bebandem), 23/10/2013.

Figure 3.39: Lamak with padma and swastika. Banjar Tengenan, Menanga, 5/3/89.

Hinduism (Ginarsa 1984:39; Musna 1991:61; Titib 2003:375-376).[37]

Although, as will be discussed in the next section, the animal world is represented in the abstract, geometric motifs of many *lamak*, single animals are never depicted on a palm leaf *lamak* as a representational motif. In fact, only once, in 1994, I noticed a *lamak* with two ***naga***, crowned serpents with upward tail, as one of the four *lamak* on a four-sided *pengubengan* shrine in front of a temple in Sanur. The *lamak* with the *naga* hung on the *kelod* side (the direction towards the sea), opposite a *lamak* with a *meru* shrine in the *kaja* (towards the mountain) direction. However, on embroidered *lamak* from Jembrana, especially long ones, a *naga* is sometimes represented towards the bottom of these *lamak*. As has been discussed in Chapter 2, there is also a connection between *naga* and *penjor*.

3.3.2.9 *Segara-Gunung* (sea-mountain)

When one structure or shrine requires more than one *lamak*, these (three or four) *lamak* might have partly different motifs. Examples are the *lamak* hanging from the *sanggar tawang*, a tall temporary shrine with three compartments, and the *lamak* hanging from the four sides of the *bale kulkul* (tower for the wooden signal drum) or the temporary *panggungan* or *pengubengan*, a foursided bamboo shrine in front of a temple.

For very elaborate rituals, a special temporary *sanggar tawang* shrine is constructed. This tall shrine, which can only be reached via a ladder, has three or four compartments, intended for the offerings presented to the highest gods, Brahma, Wisnu and Siwa (or Siwa in his manifestation as Iswara and Mahadewa).[38] Within the so-called *nawa sanga* system of cosmological ordering, these deities rule or guard the cardinal directions. Wisnu, who is associated with the colour black, resides in the North; Iswara, whose colour is white in the East; Brahma with red in the South; and Mahadewa with yellow in the West. Since the compartments of a *sanggar*

37 Nowadays one see the swastika more often, but the motif was already mentioned in 1973 by Seraya & Widia (1973:9). However, the Ongkara I have never seen in the past, and recently only once or twice.

38 See Swellengrebel 1947 (especially the appendix) for a description of the complexity of these offerings, at the inauguration of the ruler in Gianyar, 1903.

tawang shrine form a straight line, they cannot be oriented towards the cardinal directions. Usually the left compartment is dedicated to Wisnu, the (two) middle one(s) to Iswara and Mahadewa, and the compartment to the right to Brahma. The *sanggar tawang* shrines are always decorated with the longest and most elaborate *lamak* in the temple courtyard. In Gianyar and Badung the central *lamak* is often longer and contains more motifs than the ones to either side. Especially in the regions of Karangasem and Klungkung, sometimes these different *lamak* on a *sanggar tawang* contain special motifs which are not known in other areas of Bali. These *lamak* are called *lamak catur* (*catur* means four), referring both to the number of *lamak* (and compartments of the shrine), and to the offerings, *banten catur*, on the shrine. Many of the main ingredients/elements of these very complicated offerings have the four colours associated with the four deities these offerings are presented to. The compartments of the shrine are decorated with plain cloths, usually also in these four different colours.

In combination, the motifs on these *lamak catur* are called ***segara-gunung***, which means 'ocean-mountain'. The *lamak* on the left has the image of a mountain (fig. 3.41), the ones in the centre have motifs of sun and moon (fig. 3.42), and the *lamak* on the right is decorated with a representation of the sea (fig. 3.43).[39] I Wayan Sudarma, Banjar Telugtug, Sibetan, was the maker of the *lamak catur* for an elaborate ritual, Karya Agung Petabuh Gentuh in the Pura Bale Agung of Sibetan (Karangasem) that took place on 22 February 1989 (fig. 3.40). He explained (pers. com. 24/6/89) the *segara-gunung* motifs as follows: "On the left *lamak* we see clouds (*awon-awon*), Gunung Agung at the time of its eruption, with a forest of *cemara* trees. And animals in the forest, such as mouse-deer (*kancil*), monkey (*kera*) and wild pig (*babi hutan*). Thereunder the boundary of the forest. The lower two motif panels on this long *lamak* form the content, the flower above it is a decoration, with the aim of achieving the required length. On the left of the two central *lamak* is the sun rising in the east, behind Gunung Rinjani on Lombok, which is visible from Bali. And a pigeon or dove, a bird of the daytime. At the bottom is a flower pattern. On the right of the two central *lamak*: moon and stars, bats and birds of the night. On the right *lamak*, the south coast, visible from Sibetan, and Nusa Penida (a small island off the southeast coast of Bali). With a helicopter and a boat (*jukung*), anything that one finds on Bali. The creatures of the sea are crab, prawn, crocodile and octopus." "Everthing that exists in Bali must be represented, always in relation to the directions: *kaja* means *gunung* (mountain); *kangin-kauh* is *bulan-matahari* (sun and moon), *kelod* means *pasir* (sea, beach)."

The directions Wayan Sudarma was referring to are the two pairs of antipodes of cosmic orientation: *kaja*, the direction towards the (tops of the) mountains, and *kelod,* towards the sea; and the directions of the sunrise and sunset, *kangin* and *kauh*. Whereas *kangin* and *kauh* represent East and West in all of Bali, *kaja* is roughly North only in South Bali, but roughly South in North Bali, since the range of mountains in Bali runs approximately east-west. I will refer to this cosmic ordering later in this chapter in more detail.

Although I was told in Budakeling (by I Made Kuduk, pers. com. 5/27/2015) that formerly there all long *lamak*, for example on the *bale kulkul*, contained the *segara-gunung* motifs, that is at present no longer the case.

Jero Istri Ketut, from the Puri (palace) of Klungkung, told me that for elaborate rituals in Klungkung these four *lamak* with their *segara-gunung* motifs were also used on the *sanggar tawang*. The compartment with black cloths had a *lamak* ornamented with a mountain, a tree and a monkey; the one with white and yellow cloth with moon and sun; and the red one with a boat and fish, representing the ocean. All of them also had a *deling* (human) figure, underneath the main motif.

Such special *lamak* are also described by I Gusti Ngurah Bagus (1971) in his analysis of the motifs on *lamak* for the very elaborate Tawur Agung Ekadasa Rudra in Pura Besakih, 1963. These *lamak* were made in Klungkung. He points out that in the central temple Pura Penataran Agung and ten other temples temporary shrines were erected, from bam-

39 These illustrations are of the *lamak catur* in Pura Dalem Sibetan, at a major temple consecration ritual (*ngenteg linggih*), on 15 April 2014.

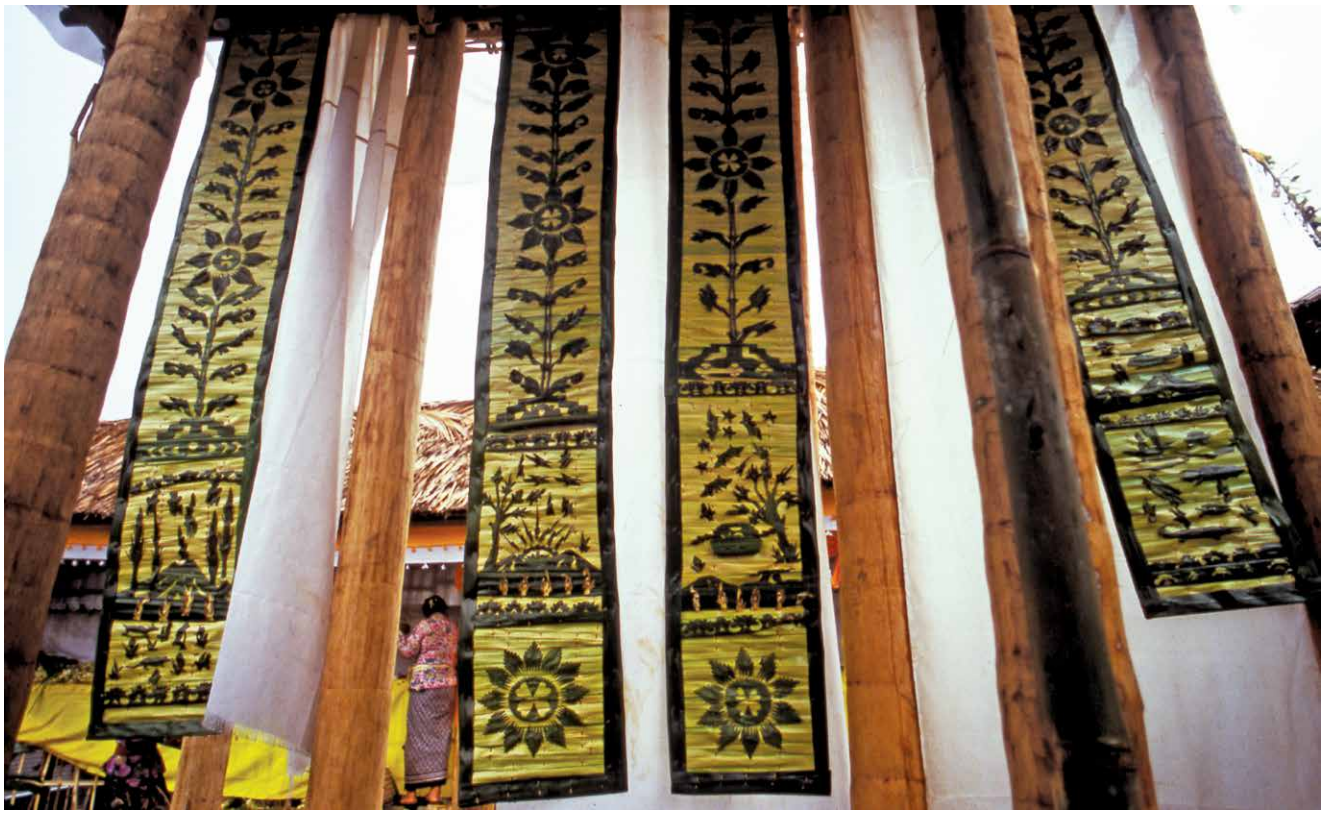


Figure 3.40: Lamak catur. Sibetan, Pura Bale Agung, 20/2/1989.

Figure 3.41: Gunung motif with animals of the forest on lamak catur. Pura Dalem, Sibetan, 15/4/2014.

Figure 3.42: Bulan (front) and matanai (partly hidden) motifs on lamak catur. Pura Dalem, Sibetan, 15/4/2014.

Figure 3.43: Segara motif and sea creatures on lamak catur. Pura Dalem, Sibetan, 15/4/2014.

boo, with three spaces.[40] All were hung with *lamak*. Acording to him, of the three compartments, east is for Wisnu, centre for Siwa and west for Brahma. East is also uranic, equivalent to *kaja*, to the mountain, whereas west is chthonic and *kelod*, to the sea. The motifs on the *lamak* reflect this classification: west has a little boat with a fisherman; east a tree with a monkey, symbol of the mountain; and the centre shows the sun and moon and Cintia (symbol of the One and Only God). So together the motifs on the three *lamak* represent or symbolize the whole cosmos (Bagus 1971:41-49).

3.3.3 Geometrical or abstract patterns, ringgitan

On *lamak* with more than one motif, geometrical or abstract patterns serve as divider between the representational (*raka*) designs and on the sides and bottom of a *lamak*. In the next chapter I will describe how these patterns are structured and how they are all composed from a number of basic units. Because the forms consist of a repetition of elements, both horizontal and vertical, the patterns can be called geometrical. But because some of these ornaments have or have been given a specific meaning, and can be regarded as a stylized representation of an object, a category or a concept, they could also be called abstract patterns. In any case, these motifs are in general called *ringgitan* (something that is cut out). They occur in an endless variety, depending, as Balinese informants themselves said, on the person making them, and according to 'place, time and situation' (*desa, kala, patra*).

More often than not Balinese informants could not give these patterns specific names.[41] Almost always they referred to them only by generic terms, or by their position on the *lamak*, for example *baluan*, 'first, front, top', or *pangawak*, 'body', or they referred to them as "only decorative". For example, Sagung Putu Alit (Kerambitan, pers. com. 26/9/1985) called the geometric motifs "just intersecting lines" (*silang saja*)."There are many kinds of *ringgitan*, but I only know the names *bungan juuk* (the flower of a kind of citrus tree) and *kodok ngerem* (frog submerged), because these are the names I have often heard," she said.

However, of the numerous motifs I had photographed, mainly during Galungan festival periods, approximately 50 *ringgitan* motifs were identified and given an individual name by my informants, mostly the makers of the *lamak* themselves.

As can be seen from the drawings, (which, like the those of the *raka* patterns, are all made by I Gusti Putu Taman on the basis of my photographs), the designs often do not resemble the objects whose name they have been given. For example the lozenge pattern of figure 3.44 does not really resemble a cactus. On the other hand, the oval-shaped seeds of a cucumber can be recognized in both patterns of figures 3.57 and 3.58.

It appears also that sometimes different designs have been given the same name, as can be seen in the three versions of *compang banggul*, bamboo staircase, in figures 3.71, 3.75 and 3.76. Sometimes one pattern has different names according to different informants, or one informant mentions more than one name for the same motif. For example figure 3.71 is called *poleng* and *compang banggul*; or figure 3.46 is a representation of both a *kapu-kapu* or a *camplung* flower; or figure 3.53, according to *lamak* maker I Made Sadra, can be called both *kapu-kapu* and *kembang semanggi*. The pattern of figure 3.49 is called *mas-masan*, which according to I Made Sadra means "gold jewellery, used in a palace (*puri*)", but in fact it is also the name of a plant (the croton) which is often used in rituals, whereas another informant said this pattern was a *bunga tuung* (aubergine) or *kembang kopi* (flower of the coffee plant) when used by a non-noble family.

In some cases a pattern is a combination of two different designs, for example figure 3.52 shows a combination of the *kapu-kapu* flower (see also figs. 3.46 and 3.53) and *bungbung jangkrik*, cage of a cricket (see also fig. 3.12). Also the *timpasan* (knife) pattern is in the centre often combined with another motif, for example with the flower *candigara merpat* (fig. 3.74, see also fig. 3.55).

40 The author calls these shrines *panggungan*, but they must have been *sanggar tawang*.

41 I am aware of the fact that even if these motifs would all have names, these would not necessarily refer to the meaning of the patterns. Anthony Forge notes that when informants are asked about the 'meaning' of designs or patterns on objects, often "all the identifications are in terms of names". However, these are just referential labels, and give no information about 'meaning' (Forge 1979:279).

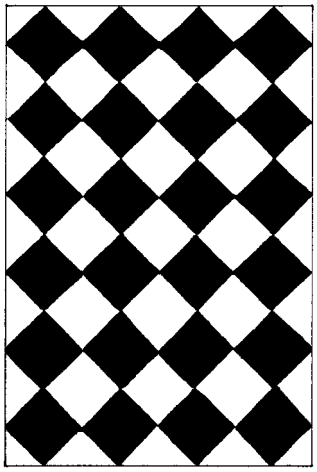


Figure 3.44: Beblatungan.

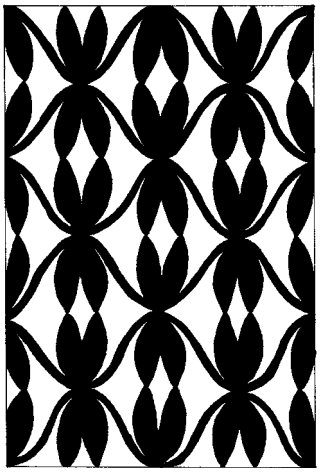


Figure 3.45: Pipis-pipisan.

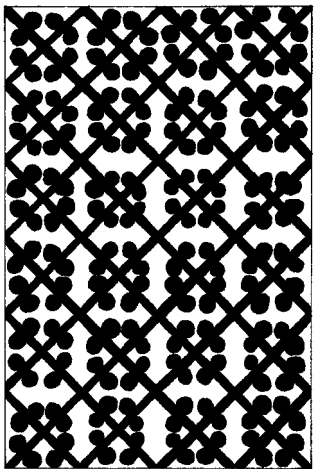


Figure 3.46: Bunga camplung or kapu-kapu kambang.

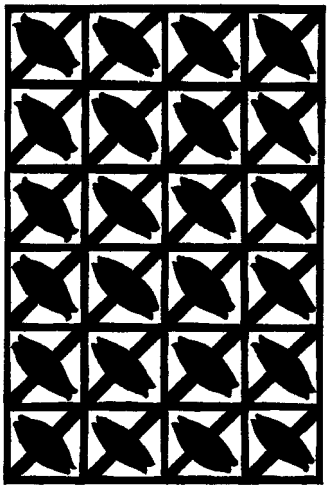


Figure 3.47: Batu nangka.

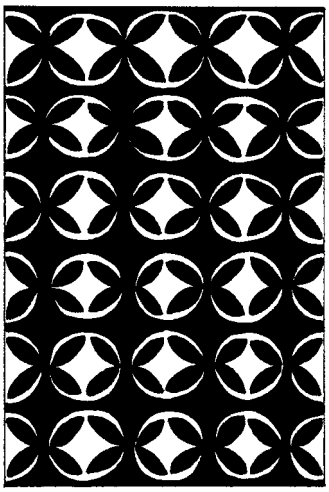


Figure 3.48: Batu nangka.

Figure 3.49: Kembang kopi, mas-masan or bunga tuung.

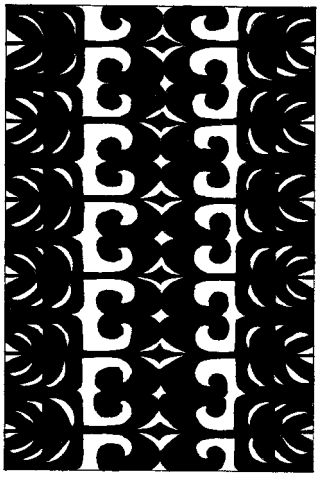


Figure 3.50: Don kayu sugih.

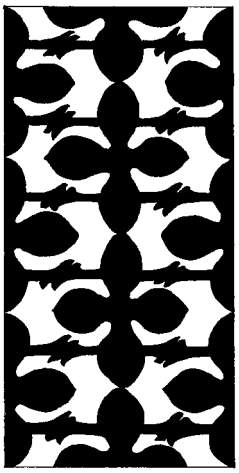


Figure 3.51: Kapu-kapu kambang.

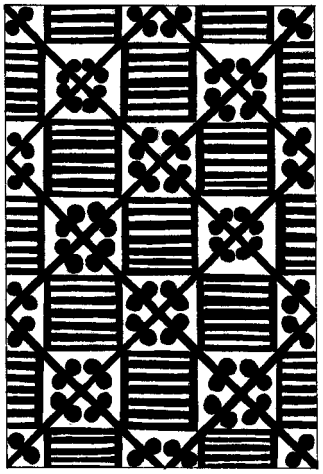


Figure 3.52: Kapu-kapu kambang or bungbung jangkrik.

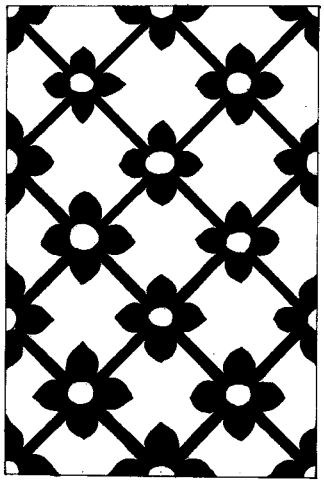


Figure 3.53: Kapu-kapu kambang or kembang semanggi.

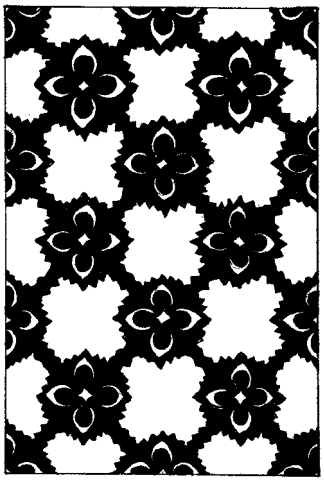


Figure 3.54: Candigara bunder.

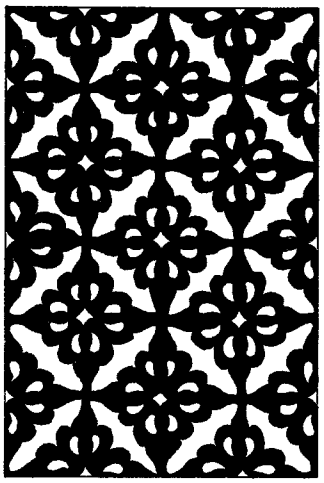


Figure 3.55: Candigara merpat.

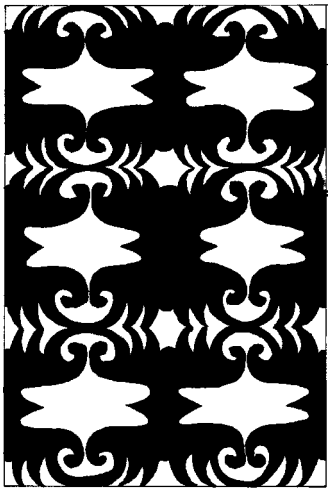


Figure 3.56: Kembang api.

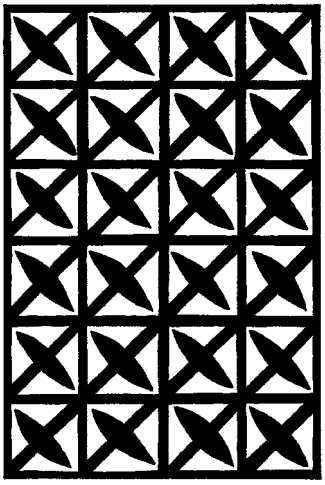


Figure 3.57: Batu ketimun.

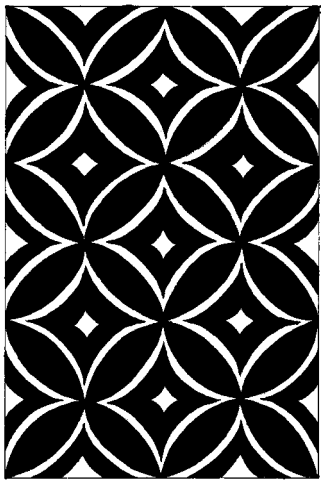


Figure 3.58: Batu ketimun.

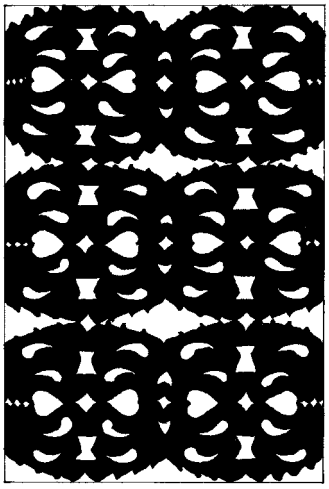


Figure 3.59: Batu poh.

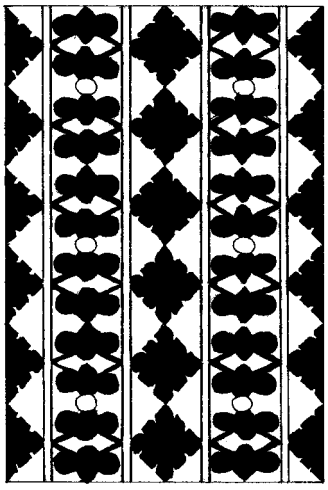


Figure 3.60: Kecita.

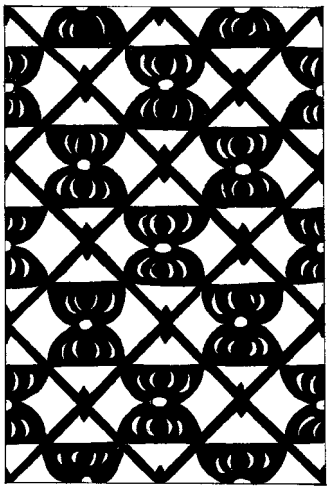


Figure 3.61: Bunga tuung.

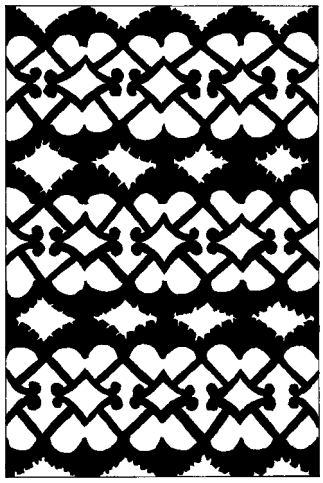


Figure 3.62: Kesetan don.

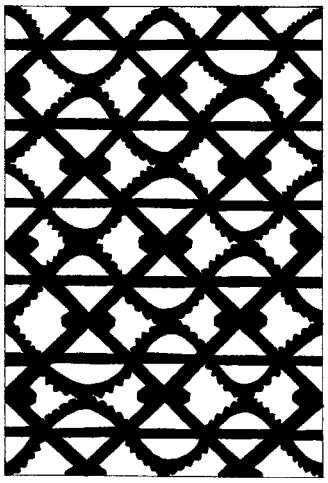


Figure 3.63: Don makurung.

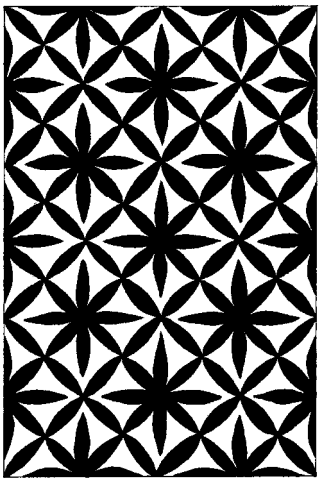


Figure 3.64: Enjekan siap.

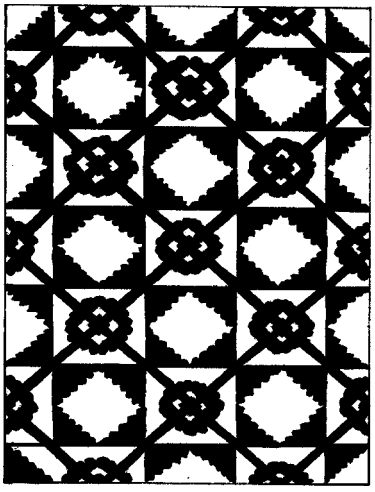


Figure 3.65: Enjekan cicing.

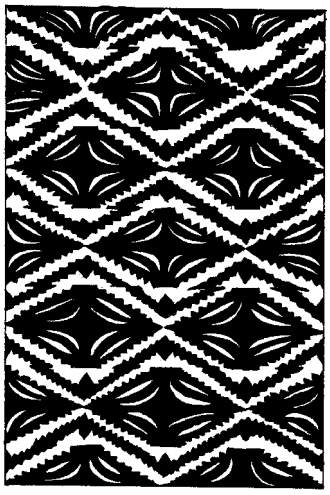


Figure 3.66: Kampid lawah.

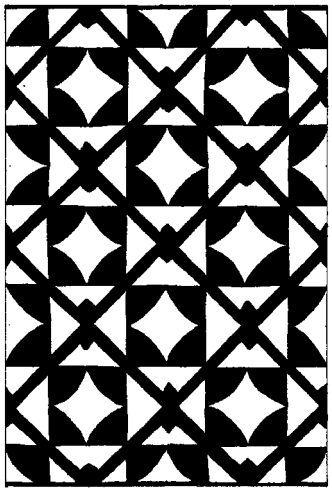


Figure 3.67: Dongkang.

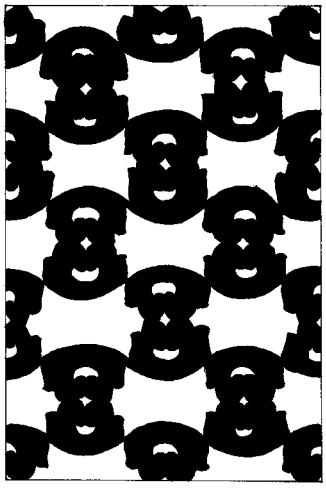


Figure 3.68: Taluh kakul.

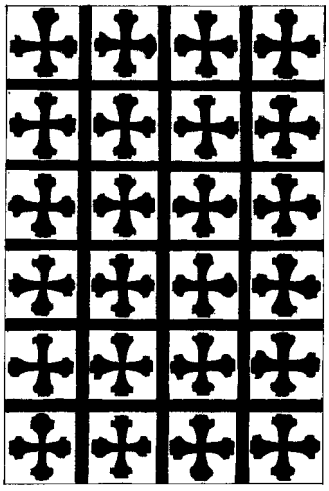


Figure 3.69: Songketan.

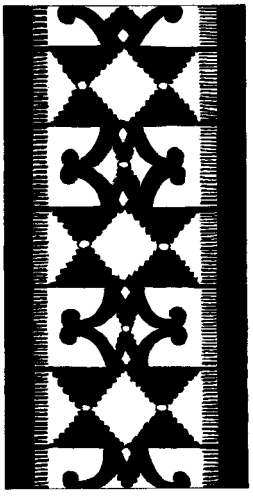


Figure 3.70: Corak.

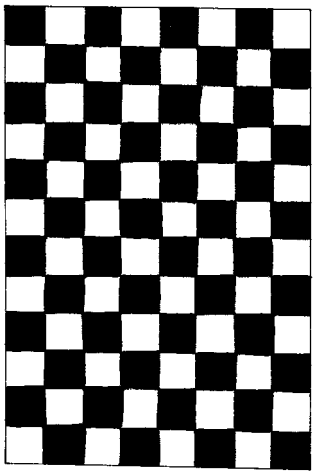


Figure 3.71: Poleng or compang banggul.

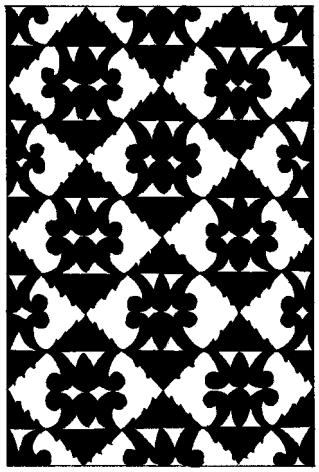


Figure 3.72: Coblong.

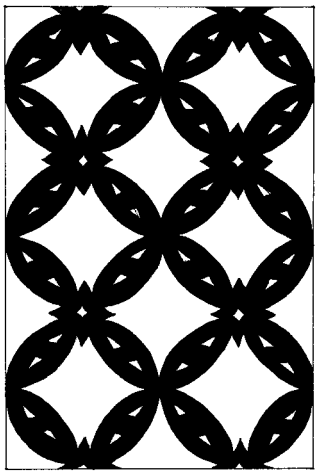


Figure 3.73: Coblong.

Figure 3.74: Timpasan.

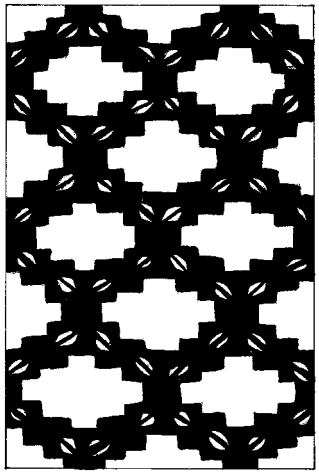


Figure 3.75: Compang banggul.

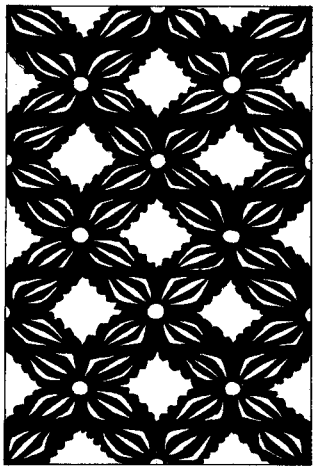


Figure 3.76: Compang banggul or lelegodan.

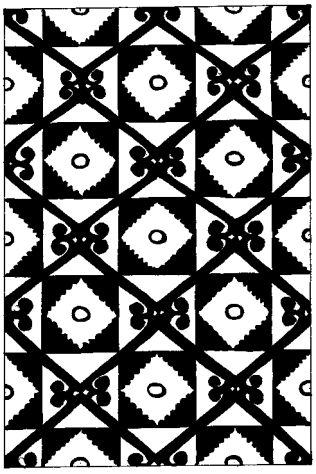


Figure 3.77: Jembung pongek, undag-undag or ponggang.

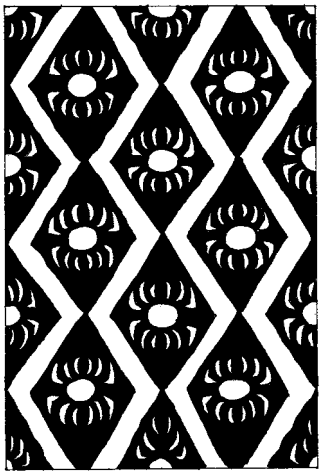


Figure 3.78: Cakup gula.

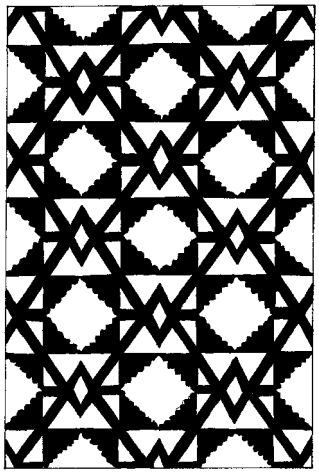


Figure 3.79: Kotak-kotak.

3.3.3.1 Categories of *ringgitan*

Balinese informants did not classify the *ringgitan* patterns, nor their names, into separate categories, as far as I could determine. But for reasons of convenience, in the list that follows, I present these *lamak* patterns by dividing them into five categories.[42]

1. Plants and/or their fruits, seeds, flowers, leaves
beblatungan: cactus (fig. 3.44)
pipis-pipisan: plant with little round leaves (from *pipis*, coin) (fig. 3.45)
bunga camplung: flowers of the Borneo mahogany tree (or many other designations), *Calophyllum Inophyllum* (fig. 3.46)
batu nangka: seed of the jackfruit (figs. 3.47, 3.48)
kembang kopi: flower of the coffee plant (fig. 3.49)
don kayu sugih: leaf of a plant which is used as a green dye for rice sweets; also one of the most common sacred *plawa*[43] plants (fig. 3.50)
kapu-kapu kambang: water lettuce, an aquatic plant whose leaves float on the surface of the water, for example in wet rice fields (*Pistia stratiotes*) (figs. 3.46, 3.51-3.53)
candigara or ***kanigara***: a kind of tree with yellow flowers, called by many names, including bayur tree (*Pterospermum acerifolium*). They exist in two versions: ***candigara bunder***, with round flowers (fig. 3.54) and ***candigara merpat***, with lozenge-shaped flowers (fig. 3.55)
kembang semanggi: flower of the *semanggi* plant, lawn marshpennywort (*Hydrocotyle sibthorpioides*) (fig. 3.53)
kembang api: flower of the *api* plant (*Tetracera scandeus*) (fig. 3.56)
batu ketimun: seed of the cucumber (fig. 3.57, 3.58)
batu poh: seed of the mango (fig. 3.59)
batu-batu: seeds (fig. 3.12)
ganggong: a kind of seaweed, or a plant growing on riversides (fig. 3.14)
padang: kind of grass (fig. 3.11)
kecita (1): a climbing plant, found in the forests (fig. 3.60)
bunga tuung: flower of the aubergine plant (fig. 3.61)
kesetan don: leaf that is torn up (fig. 3.62)
don makurung: leaf that is enclosed (fig. 3.63)
mas-masan (1): croton, often used as sacred leaves (*plawa*), (C*odiaeum variegatum Bl.*) (fig. 3.49)
akar-akaran*:* roots (fig. 3.11).

2. Patterns related to (parts of or characteristics of) animals
enjekan siap: footprint of a chicken (fig. 3.64)
enjekan cicing: footprint of a dog (fig. 3.65)
kampid lawah: wing of a bat (fig. 3.66)
dongkang: toad (fig. 3.67)

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42 In Balinese literature on decorative patterns (*ragam hias*) in general, or patterns on textiles in particular, these patterns are often grouped into geometric patterns associated with or representing plants (*tumbuh-tumbuhan*) in the form of flowers, leaves and fruits; animals (*binatang*); human beings (*manusia*) and geometric, repeating forms (*bangun berulang*) (e.g. Soedjatmoko & Damais 1993:19-21).

43 See Chapter 2 for the use and significance of sacred leaves (*plawa*).

taluh kakul: egg of a snail (figs. 3.14, 3.68)
batis katak: foot of a frog (fig. 3.13)
tingkang katak: frog sitting with legs apart (fig. 3.10)
gigin barong: teeth of a protective, mythical animal (fig. 3.13).

3. Textile terms
kecita (2) (possibly *kecit*): *cita* cloth, or cotton printed with flowers, chintz (fig. 3.60)
songketan: brocade, cloth decorated with supplementary weft technique (fig. 3.69)
corak: design, pattern; colour (of a cloth) (fig. 3.70)
poleng: 'protective' woven cloth with black, grey and white squares (fig. 3.71).

4. Objects
coblong: little earthenware bowl (figs. 3.72, 3.73)
jembung pongek: little bowl with serated edge (fig. 3.77)
timpasan: kind of knife or ax, curved on one side (fig. 3.74)
kancing-kancing: knot or button (fig. 3.9)
compang banggul: notched bamboo ladder (figs. 3.12, 3.71, 3.75, 3.76)
undag-undag: steps, staircase (fig. 3.77)
bungbung jangkrik: cricket cage of bamboo (figs. 3.12, 3.52)
ringring: curtain of palmleaves (fig. 3.12)
cakup gula: two half balls of palm sugar, forming one whole together (fig. 3.78)
mas-masan (2): gold jewellery, used in a palace (*puri*) (fig. 3.49).

5. Descriptions of the form of the pattern, or the way it is made
cracap: with a sharp point (fig. 3.11)
lelegodan: with curves, meander (fig. 3.76)
ponggang: with a split, or with many teeth (fig. 3.77)
kotak-kotak: consisting of squares (fig. 3.79).

As noted at the beginning of this section, almost none of the *ringgitan* motifs listed above have their own specific meaning, symbolic or otherwise, other than the name attached to them. These names are just 'referential labels', as Anthony Forge (1979:279) formulated it. However my informants did attach meaning to the motifs in a more generic sense.

Combined with the representational motifs, as a totality the geometric motifs were said to be symbolic of everything that exists in the world. More specifically, they were said to represent vegetation (*tumbuh-tumbuhan*), especially plants that grow in water, the prerequisite for life. The association between water and life is further strengthened by the fact that most varieties of rice (the main food crop) in Bali grow in wet fields (*sawah*). Indeed the majority of identified motifs are related to plants, though only two actually have the name of a water plant, *kapu-kapu* and *ganggong*. But also flowers and seeds, representing fruits, are symbolic of the fruitfulness of the earth. And the leaves of the croton plant (*mas-masan*) are often used as sacred leaves (*plawa*).

Other than the association with plants, the connection between *lamak* patterns and textiles is the next most common interpretation. The *ringgitan* are either in general called *bebatikan* or *kain batik* (batik cloth, which is produced in Java but widely used in Bali as well), or only the bottom (usually longer) pattern is called *bebatikan,* or *kamben* (hip cloth, a long unsewn cloth, worn as a wrap-around cloth). Sometimes motifs are said to be "borrowed" from batik.

One pattern, called *poleng* (fig. 3.71), refers directly to the "protective" *poleng* cloth with black, grey and white squares, often used to wrap around statues in front of the gateway to a temple. Also, at times of ritual, certain shrines in a temple, for example the *pelinggih* for Ida Betara Ngurah, are decorated with *kain poleng*, and the *lamak* should then also contain a *poleng* pattern.[44] The bottom geometric motif of a *lamak* as a whole is sometimes called *pangawak* or 'body', referring to the main part of a textile which is called *badan* or body as well. The *umpal* at the top is also associated with textiles, since this term is also used for a "long piece of cloth, used to tie a hip cloth (*kamben*) around the body". The *pangawak* cloth motif was then said to belong either specifically to the *cili* or informants indicated the relation between the cloth pattern on the *lamak* and the ritual function of a *lamak* as the clothing (*busana*) of a shrine.[45]

The *lamak* as a whole is surrounded by protective borders. The 'motif with sharp points' (*cracap*), protecting the content of the *lamak* at the very bottom, is called the 'closing' design (*penutup*), while the *umpal*, at the very top, is called the opening. The *bungbung jangkrik* pattern along the sides of a *lamak*, serving as a kind of frame or as a border around the centre, is also associated with closing, since a *bungbung* is a kind of cage. The *timpasan* or knife design has to be towards the bottom of the *lamak*, because of the protective qualities of a sharp knife. Also the sharp-pointed *gigin barong* pattern along the sides of the *lamak* are protective, since they refer to the teeth of a protective, mythical animal.

44 See also Chapter 4, section 4.4.1.6.

45 See also Chapter 4, section 4.4.3.

In relation to one purpose of a *lamak*, which, as explained in Chapter 2, is to show the deities the way to the offerings in the shrine, the motifs of 'bamboo ladder' (*compang banggul*, figs. 3.12, 3.71, 3.75, 3.76) and 'staircase' (*undag-undag*, fig. 3.77) are of special interest.[46]

One informant said that the *compang banggul* should always be placed at the bottom of the *lamak*. She did not know why this was the case, but since the *lamak* as a whole is by knowledgeable informants regarded as a medium between the upperworld and the world of human beings, maybe this motif and the *undag-undag* can be seen in this light as well. The *ceniga jan banggul* which in Karangasem acts as a ladder for the deified ancestors to leave the world of human beings at Kuningan, also has the connotation of climbing upwards (to heaven). However, as explained in Chapter 2, a *lamak* in Bali is not meant to act as an actual little ladder for spirits to climb downwards towards offerings which are placed on the ground, as Domenig (2014:222-226) suggests.

A few of these *ringgitan* patterns are also found in other forms of Balinese arts and crafts, such as textiles, architectural sculpture, carvings on temple walls, or gold- and silverwork.[47] Appearing most often in the literature on decorative patterns is the *mas-masan* (croton leaves) design, in a similar repeating lozenge shape as on the *lamak* (except for the singular triangular form called *mas-masan* in Ramseyer 1977:69). Sika (1983:77 and 160) presents examples of different varieties of *mas-masan*: *mas-masan daun* (leaf), *mas-masan telinga babi* (pig's ear), *mas-masan kuping* (ear) (see also Gelebet 1985:349; Nik n.d.:7; Pameran 1991:13). Also *batu(n) ketimun* (cucumber seeds) is found frequently (Gelebet 1985:335; Soedjatmoko and Damais 1993:20; Pameran 1991:28; Nik n.d.:6); this motif is very similar to the *kawung* motif (fruit

46 Van der Tuuk 1897-1912:IV 1083: *banggul*, a bamboo pole with notches carved into it, used as a ladder [to climb] into the sugar palm tree (fig. 3.12, 3.71, 3.75, 3.76); Van der Tuuk 1897-1912:I 666: *compang*, notched.

47 Also representational motifs are found in, for example, architectural sculpture. Examples are the mountain (*gegunungan*) and tree (*kekayonan*) motifs (Gelebet 1985:389).

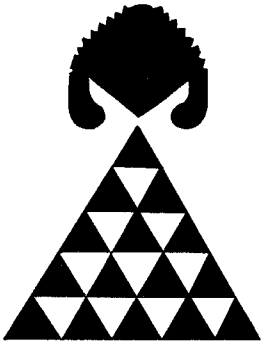


Figure 3.80: Combination of gunung and cili.

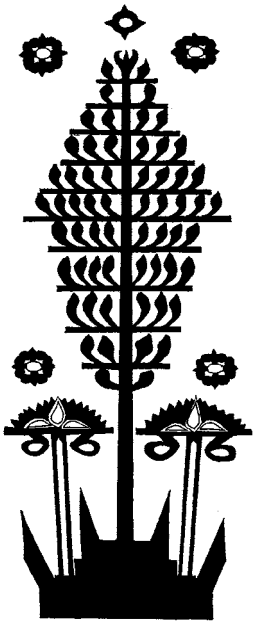


Figure 3.81: Mangong under tree.

Figure 3.82: Combination of gunung and tree.

Figure 3.83: Mangong.

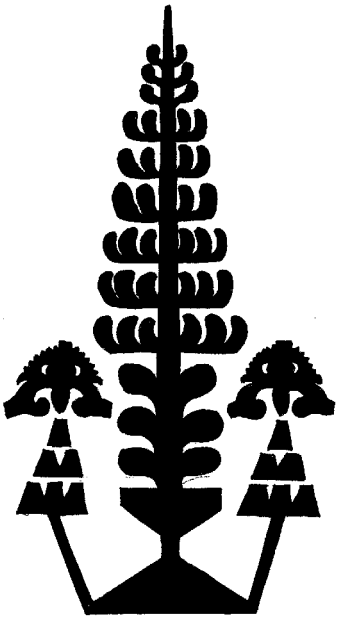


Figure 3.84: Combination of cili or mangong and tree.

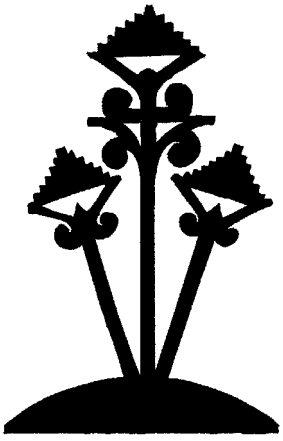


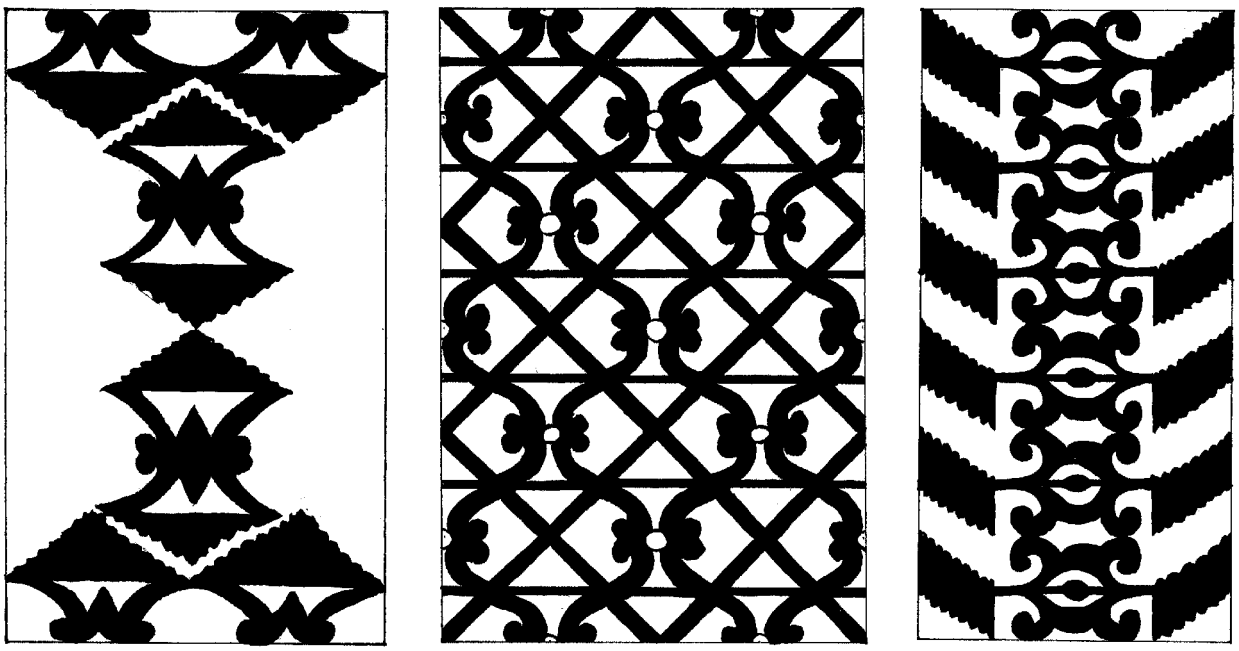
Figure 3.85: Cili and tree.

of the sugar palm) often used in Javanese batik patterns (Van der Hoop 1949:79). The form of the (*taluh*) *kakul* or *kakul-kakulan* ((eggs of) snail) pattern resembles more closely an actual snail's shell than the design on a *lamak* (Gelebet 1985:348; Nik n.d.:3, Sika 1983:79 and 139). Common also are the *gigin barong* (Pameran 1991:11; Soedjatmoko & Damais 1993:19; Sika 1983:160) and the *cracap* (Nik n.d.:6; Pameran 1991:11).

3.4 Relations within and among motifs

3.4.1 Transformations and combinations within motifs

As discussed in this chapter, most Balinese informants consider the totality of the motifs on a *lamak* as a symbol of the world or cosmos, and most of the representational and geometric motifs as relat-



Figures 3.86-3.88: Ringgitan, composed of heads of cili or mangong.

ed to concepts of renewal or regeneration of life on earth. The mutual relationships among the various forms of life is central not only in their interpretations but can also be seen in the way the various patterns are constructed.[48]

The basic components of most of the representational motifs on a *lamak* are the square, circle and triangle. In the motifs of Mother Earth (*ibu*), sun or moon and mountain, these components are shown in their basic forms: *ibu* is a square consisting of four triangles, the sun and moon are circles, and the mountain is a triangle, often consisting of numerous smaller ones. The other two most common representational motifs, the *cili* and the tree, contain these basic components as well, although augmented with additional decoration.

The triangle, circle and square are in Bali sometimes related to the Sang Hyang Tiga Wisesa or Trimurti, the gods Brahma, Wisnu and Siwa, who respectively create, maintain and destroy the universe and are responsible for the continuous rotation of the cycles of life. According to Mershon, who in the 1930s received many insights into Balinese cosmology and cosmogony from Ida Pedanda Made Sidemen (Sanur), in the beginning of time, Father Sky was married to Mother Earth (Ibu Pertiwi). Her form is a square, and the form of her husband is a circle enclosing a square. The form of Wisnu (lord of water) is a circle and of Brahma (lord of fire) a triangle (Mershon 1971:33).

Not only can the representational motifs be seen as transformations of forms associated with the deities of life, they are also often combinations of one another, as is shown in the figures. The following combinations are most common.

Ibu and *cili*: the *cili*'s body is an *ibu*, the bottom triangle developing into her skirt, whereas the upper arms form the sides of the square (fig. 3.27).

Sun and *moon* and *cili*: the head of the *cili* has a shape similar to a half moon or half sun (fig. 3.28).

Mountain and *cili*: the body of the *cili*, especially her long skirt, has the form of the mountain (fig. 3.27); the *cili* has a mountain-shaped headdress (fig. 3.27), or she bears a mountain-shaped offering on her head. Sometimes the mountain motif has a top piece in the form of the head of a *cili* (fig. 3.80), or the way the erupting vulcano is visualized reminds one of the fanshaped headdress and earrings of a *cili* (fig. 3.22).

Ibu and *mountain*: the *ibu* consists of triangles within a square (fig. 3.20).

48 In Chapter 4 various forms of symmetry in the structure of the patterns will be discussed in more detail.

Moon and *mountain*: the half moon or *bulan sibak* motif often is combined with two mountains (fig. 3.18).

Moon and *tree*: in the *bulan tunjuk* motif the moon is combined with a tree or plant (a large sunflower with branches and leaves) (fig. 3.19).

Mountain and *tree*: the tree is either depicted on top of a little mountain (figs. 3.81, 3.24, 3.25) or the mountain has a trunk and branches like a tree (fig. 3.82).

Cili and tree: The combinations of *cili* and *tree* occur most often. The *cili* is very often visualized with flowers or little trees on her head (figs. 3.29, 3.31) or with leaves or flowers sprouting from her arms (fig. 3.28). Her body, wrapped in a textile with floral patterns, is rooted firmly in the earth, and it usually has two sidesprouts like a tree (figs. 3.29, 3.30). In the *mangong* both forms are combined (figs. 3.33, 3.83) and these figures are found also underneath a tree (figs. 3.81, 3.84), as branches of a tree (figs. 3.84, 3.85), or on top of a tree or mountain, like a kind of head (figs. 3.85, 3.82).

The head of the *mangong* is also one of the most frequently used elements in the geometric motifs (figs. 3.86, 3.87 and 3.88; see also figs. 3.61-3.63).

All these combinations and transformations of the main motifs support the interpretation attached to them by the Balinese themselves, that the *ibu* (representing the land), the mountain, and the sun and moon form the preconditions for life on earth; together they bring forth the life cycles of human beings and vegetation which are closely related and mutually dependent.

3.4.2 Vertical ordering as representation of the Three Worlds

Not only do many Balinese interpret the different motifs on a *lamak* as symbols of life, or as the different elements of the Creation, but they also interpret the relative positions of the motifs within one *lamak* in relation to one another.

Most informants agreed that the *cili*, representing human life, belongs in the centre of a (larger) *lamak*, in the middle world, between the sun and vegetation motifs. As Ida Pedanda Gede Oka Timbul said, "In a *lamak* is represented the natural environment (*lingkungan hidup*). There is always a *cili*, that is the human being; a tree, this is life, and then the moon and the stars. In fact, all five elements are represented, not simply one by one, but in relation to one another. For example a human being lives by means of air, a tree grows from water and earth, Pertiwi" (pers. com. 26/4/1987). He also related the main motifs of a *lamak* to the three worlds (*trimandala*): the mountains (*gunung*), human world (*bumi*) and the sea (*laut*) (pers. com. 13/4/2014).

Also Ida Pedanda Wayan Jelantik Singharsa (Budakeling, pers. com. 12/6/2015) said that the motifs on a *lamak* represent the three worlds, Akasa, Madyapada and Pertiwi: Sky, Middle world and Earth. According to him, also the different *lamak catur* on the *sanggar tawang* shrine represent this structure, whereby the left compartment, dedicated to Wisnu in the North and decorated with a black cloth has a *lamak* with a mountain motif. The right compartment with a red cloth and a *lamak* with a sea motif is for Brahma in the South. The relation between mountain and sea is similar to that between Sky and Earth, and North and South.

I Made Windia (Sanur) (pers. com. 30/11/1987) gave a similar kind of interpretation for the combination of three or four *lamak* on one structure, like the *panggungan* or *pangubengan* shrines, each with different details of the motifs. He said that the *lamak* in the east should contain the image of the sun, since this is the direction of sunrise, and the beginning of life, associated with fire and the upperworld; in the opposite direction, the west, is the location of water, the mouth of a river, connected to a mythical serpent, *naga* (similar to the symbolism of the *penjor*, as was explained in Chapter 2) and associated with the underworld, so this is the place for the tree motif. And the *cili*, being a human being (*manusia*) should be placed in the middle world, between east and west, or between upper and underworld.

Like the other informants, Ida Wayan Jelantik, *klian adat* of Budakeling (Karangasem) (pers. com. 25/4/2014), explained that "all motifs on a *lamak* are a symbol of the world, the creation of God, that is fertility and happiness (*syukuran*). Just as all fruits are born from the earth, the *lamak* itself is made from the earth. All flower motifs represent plants, growing out from the water." According to him, the mountain motif itself represents three worlds because "there are three kinds of mountains: the islands in the sea, the hills in the villages, and the mountains outside and above the world where humans live".

Dayu Putri, Gria Karang, Budakeling (pers. com. 30/4/2014), who is a *tukang banten* (offering specialist) and teacher at a primary school, mentioned that a *lamak* always represents three parts of the natural environment: at the top end the mountain with stars next to the summit, the *ringgitan* or *batikan* in the middle are the plants (*tumbuhan*), and the pointed motif at the bottom she called *akar-akaran*, roots. Moreover, according to her, as base of offerings the *lamak* itself is part of the so-called *Bhur – Bhuah – Suah* tripartite structure of Balinese cosmology: the top (or *Suah*, heaven) part of a *lamak* acts as base (*bhur*) for an offering whose fruits (*buah*) belong to the *Bhuah*, *Madya* or middle world, and whose *sampian*, the crowning top piece of palm leaf, belongs to the *Suah loka*, the world of the deities. In principle any *lamak*, also the ones with one decorative pattern only, has a threefold structure. The top is the empty space on top of which an offering is placed, the largest, middle section has the main motif, and the bottom is always formed by a separate pointed *cracap* motif.

But it is not only specialists in religious matters who discuss the *lamak* as representing a cosmological, vertical structure. The interpretations of the motifs by *lamak* makers themselves (of which examples have been given at the beginning of this chapter) time and again reflected the idea of life flowing downwards from the abode of the gods in the sky or on top of the mountain. I Made Kuduk (pers. com. 29/3/2016) from Budakeling, who as a silversmith does not make *lamak* but is generally interested in the meaning of motifs, pointed out that the motifs on a *lamak* are structured from top to bottom, because a *lamak* always hangs down. The protective sharp points at the bottom (figs. 3.11, 3.38) he interpreted as sharp pieces of coral in the sea, which protect the shores of the island of Bali. Women learning the skill of making *lamak* also learn about this vertical structure as being basic.[49] However, although as narrow hanging object any *lamak* has a vertical structure, nowadays a strict three-part division is not always maintained. Sometimes the bottom part in the form of the geometrical *ringgitan* patterns or the motif of the sharp points are lacking, as I noticed on some recent examples of *lamak* in use or sold in Karangasem (figs. 4.87, 5.8, 5.9).

According to I Gusti Ketut Kaler (1983:92), in Balinese cosmology *hulu* means the direction considered to have high or eminent value, whereas *teben* is the direction with low value. *Hulu* is related to *kaja* and *teben* to *kelod*. In the topographical classification system, upstream or the direction towards the mountains (*kaja*) is more sacred, more closely related to the upper world than the direction towards the sea, downstream (*kelod*) which is more earthly and profane. These structures are also related to the *triangga* that constitutes the structure of the body, which also reflects the value system of high to low. Not only does the human body have this tripartite structure, whereby the head has a higher value than body and feet, but also for example a *lamak* "reflects the *triangga*, in having sections representing head, body and legs" (Kaler 1983:90). The human body, as *buana alit* (microcosm), not only is composed of the same five basic elements, Panca Maha Bhuta, but has basically the same structure as the *buana agung* (macrocosm). Both *buana alit* and *buana agung* have a vertical structure. In the *buana agung* the 'feet' are *Bhur loka*: the lower world (*nista*), the material world, vegetation, and lower forms of animal life; the 'body' is *Bhuah loka* (*madya*): the world of human beings; and *Swah loka* (*utama*) is the world of the Gods (Kaler 1983:91).[50]

As we have seen in the previous chapter, Arya Utara Wungsu (alias I Gusti Ketut Kaler) explained that for a temple festival (*odalan*), *lamak* are suspended from each shrine in such a way that the *lamak* hangs down from the opening of the shrine.

49 For example Ni Wayan Santi, the young wife of I Ketut Teja Astawa, an artist from Sanur, had to learn how to make a *lamak* because she had always lived in Palembang, as child of transmigrant parents. She thought that the motifs would probably contain plants and mountain and an "upper part". And her husband agreed, it is always "*dari hulu ke teben*", he said. Another informant said that her grandmother taught her that when making *lamak* one had to start with the uppermost motif, which she called the 'head', *kepala*, and then the geometric *ringgitan* underneath the *kepala,* and the *penutup* or closing motif at the bottom.

50 In many places in Indonesia one encounters a three-layered cosmos, consisting of a middle realm where human beings live and an upper world and underworld, the domains of spirits, ancestors and deities (see for example Schefold 2013:25-26).

And precisely this space is the temporary residence of the gods. It forms as it were within our world a 'pocket' of the upper world, *Suah loka*, the world of the gods. During a temple festival, the gods are asked to come down from their world and instil their gift of energy, power and life into our world, the middle world, *Bhuah loka*, with all its contents; and also into the lower world, Bhur loka, with all its life and objects. And he continued, by means of a question: if this is the symbolism and the meaning of the *lamak*, how does this relate to the form of the *lamak*, especially the larger ones? His answer is that "it has a form which represents a symbol of a *lamak* as an intermediary or as steps connecting the three worlds: Tri loka/Bhur-Bhuah-Swah.[...] The ordering and motifs on a *lamak* reflect the ordering and the contents of the three worlds" (Wungsu 1979).

3.5 Conclusion

As has been discussed in Chapter 2, a *lamak* is regarded as a bridge, path or staircase between the worlds of deities and humans, between heaven and earth.

As a base for offerings and decoration of shrines, a *lamak* is according to the Balinese an invitation, a sign of welcome for deities, ancestors, spirits and other invisible beings. The *lamak* shows the way to the shrines, where the offerings are. The intended effect is that the offerings are accepted by the deities and that in return their heavenly gifts or blessings, prosperity and protection, will "flow down" to the earth via the *lamak*. Since the purpose of a *lamak* is to attract invisible beings, and to let their blessings come down from heaven to earth via the *lamak*, what then is the connection with the many different motifs applied on a *lamak*?

The blessings consist of everything necessary for the continuous renewal of life on earth, and the regeneration of nature: the rays of the sun, water, fertile soil, in order for vegetation to grow, that can be used and consumed by human beings. Similarly, the base of a *lamak* is said to be the empty earth on which the creation is depicted (re-created) in the form of the various motifs.

The main content (*raka*) motifs carried by the *lamak* are called Sun and Moon, Mother Earth, Mountain, Tree and Human being. The main geometric *ringgitan* are related to plants and vegetative life. As many informants explained: "all are symbols of life" (*semua lambang kehidupan*), or "all are the contents of the world" (*semua lambang alam semesta*).

In the particular case of the *lamak nganten*, suspended at Galungan in front of a house where in the previous year a wedding has taken place, the blessings are directed to new life generated by the bridal couple, who are depicted in the motif of the *cili nganten*. The figure of the *cili* itself represents human life and fertility, in relation to past and future generations.

The interrelationships between the different forms of life are expressed through the relative position of the different motifs on one *lamak* or on the various *lamak* belonging to one shrine, like the *lamak catur*. Also in the composition of the motifs, and in the combinations of (parts of) various motifs, these interrelationships of all forms of life are made visible. Their ordering or relative position on a *lamak*, from the *umpal,* the 'opening' at the top, to the *cracap*, the protective sharp points at the bottom, reflects the vertical structure of the universe in which everything within the world is structured from top to bottom, from upper world to lower world, heaven to earth, head to feet, mountain to sea. So within the vertical structure of the *lamak*, the motifs are explained as part of a cosmic totality in which life and fertility are seen as flowing downwards from above. *Lamak* motifs give an image of the world as it is perceived by the Balinese, and which, through divine blessings from above, they hope will continue to sustain them.

Not only does the *lamak* itself, as ritual object, mediate between human and divine worlds but also its motifs strengthen its purpose of exchange between these worlds.

Figs. 3.89-3.90: Two lamak illustrate the vertical ordering of motifs: from top to bottom, representational raka, respectively cili and tree, then geometrical ringgitan patterns and the protective cracap at the bottom. Banjar Sigaran, Jegu, 30/81989; Banjar Tebesaya, Peliatan, 8/12/1987.

Figure 4.1: I Made Sadra fastens (masang) a kekayonan motif onto the base layer of his lamak nganten. Banjar Padangtegal Kaja, Ubud, 3/5/1983.

Figure 4.2: I Made Sadra fastens lamak nganten sections to one another (magabung). Banjar Padangtegal Kaja, Ubud, 4/5/1983.

Chapter 4

Ephemeral and permanent *lamak*

4.1 *Lamak* makers at work

The first time I saw the actual making of a *lamak nganten*, the long and impressive wedding *lamak*, was in Padangtegal on 2 May 1983. On that day, together with my assistant, Cokorda Ngurah, I visited I Made Sadra (fig. 4.1) who lived in Padangtegal in a quiet street heading south from the main road in Ubud. The purpose of the visit was to order *lamak* for the collection of the National Museum of Ethnology, from a renowned *tukang lamak*.

Pak Sadra lived in a very traditional compound, surrounded by mud brick walls. Small buildings and pavilions were situated amidst palm trees and flowers, chickens and little pigs walked freely around. It was two days before Galungan, and together with his son, Pak Sadra was working on a *lamak nganten* for a family member who had just married and who also lived in Padangtegal. Because the *lamak* was for family, Pak Sadra received no money for his work, but only food during the days he was working on the *lamak*. It was also harvest time and busy in the rice fields, so Pak Sadra could not spend the whole day making this *lamak*.

On this first day Pak Sadra concentrated on the cutting of the motifs (fig. 4.11). He used dark green, mature leaves (*ron*) of the sugar palm (*jaka*), which he had collected from trees on his own land. He had already cut from the leaves sections of 40-45 cm in length, in accordance with the planned width of the *lamak*. With dexterous fingers he folded the leaves in special ways, and with a sure hand and just from memory he cut the leaves with a sharp knife in such a way as to form the pattern he intended. When all the leaves needed for one design were finished, Pak Sadra bound them together with a piece of coconut palm leaf and put them in a pot of water, to keep them fresh.

The next day I visited Pak Sadra again. He had already made sections of the yellowish light-green base of the *lamak* by pinning, using small bamboo pins (*semat*), lengths of young leaves (*ambu*) of the sugar palm to one another. On this second day he was busy fastening the dark green cut-out ornaments onto these sections of base (fig. 4.1). He did this by pushing, from the upper side, a pin or *semat* down through the layer of leaves and then back through again, breaking off the *semat* just above the leaf.

Early on the morning of Galungan (4 May 1983), Pak Sadra completed the *lamak* he had been working on the past two days. On the ground inside the courtyard, the separate sections of the *lamak* were laid down in the right order, and then Pak Sadra, his son, a daughter and another boy fastened the sections to one another (fig. 4.2). They fastened a piece of the dark-green *ron* along the length of the *lamak*, and then between each of the different sections, they added lengths of decorated *ron*. The total length of the *lamak nganten* was 7.5 meters, and its width 45 cm.

Finally the *lamak* was carefully folded up ready for transporting. Everyone helped set up the *sanggar nganten* which was made of bamboo, and with fastening the *lamak* to it by placing it on a bamboo frame resembling a ladder.

More than 30 years later (31 October 2013), I happened to pass the house of Pak Sadra again on Jalan Hanoman. Already in 2001 I had learned that he had passed away as a consequence of an accident in the rice fields. Padangtegal had changed beyond recognition, and so had the courtyard of Pak Sadra. Eight days earlier had been Galungan, and in front of the house of Pak Sadra, hanging from the shrine of one of the few *penjor* in this urbanized narrow street, was a withered palm leaf *lamak*. The motif was still recognizable, a *gebogan* motif, the 'offering' motif in the typical style of Padangtegal, of which Pak Sadra must have made hundreds, years ago, when he was one of the best known *tukang lamak* in his village.

Away from the artistic centre of Ubud, in the far east of Bali, I paid a visit one day (28/10/2013) to a young woman I already knew, Ni Wayan Suartini, in the market town of Bebandem in Karangasem (fig. 4.3). Just 25 years old, she was then an employee of a business specializing in palm leaf objects (*jejaitan*), and she spent her days, mostly by herself in a shop-cum-workplace, making *jejaitan* out of the leaves of the *lontar* palm. The floor of the little space, only about five by five metres, was covered with bundles of *lontar* leaves, some dyed in bright colours, and plastic bags full of completed *jejaitan*. Stored in a cupboard were various other materials she needed for her work: cotton strings, coloured paper, little packets with small coloured plastic ornaments in the form of butterflies and flowers, brightly coloured plastic strips from China, and boxes full of staples. From the ceiling hung large *jejaitan* to be used as decorations for *penjor*. One side of the shop is open to the street, opposite the market, which operates every third day. Since the day of my visit was not a market day, during the four hours of the visit, only a few people came along, to buy *lontar* leaves, to order *jejaitan* for a ceremony, or to pick up orders.

Wayan finished only three years of secondary education (SMP) and after trying in vain to find work in Denpasar, in 2009 she took a job in the business (*perusahan)* of Ibu Suriani who started the workshop in 2007 with members of her own family. It is purely a *jejaitan* workshop, no complete offerings are sold here.

In 2010 I had bought from Wayan a pair of small *lontar lamak* with flower motifs cut from coloured *lontar* leaves. At that time she had stacks of them, made in advance for upcoming rituals. But on this day she had none left, all sold for Galungan which had taken place just a few days earlier. Even while talking to Wayan, she worked non-stop on her orders, which included *ceniga*. From a complete 'fan' (*pucuk*) of *lontar* leaf as cut from the tree, she cut bundles of leaves to the right length with a big cutting instrument (fig. 4.4), cut motifs out of the separate leaves with an ordinary knife and fastened them with staples. She said that *lontar* leaves are far too tough (*keras*) to fasten with the bamboo 'pins' (*semat*) she used when as a young girl she helped her mother at home making *jejaitan* from the leaves of the coconut palm.

Wayan used and sold in her shop three kinds of *lontar* leaves. The best leaves, she said, came from Bali, the areas around Kubu, Tianyar, Seraya (all in Karangasem). She preferred this variety when she made *lamak* and *ceniga*, since these leaves are "stronger, with their own natural colour". The second kind, selling at the same price, are leaves from Sumba. They are narrower and more supple. The most expensive leaves are from Madura; being the widest of the three, this variety is used for the decoration at the tip of a *penjor* (*sampian penjor*) and other *penjor* decorations. The *lontar* leaves imported from both Sumba and Madura "are treated with chemicals to make them more durable and whitish in colour", she explained, "and to reduce mould (*jamur*) caused by shipping the leaves to Bali before they are completely dry." However, these chemicals were bad for her health, so when Wayan worked with these kinds of leaves she had to use gloves and a mouth and nose cap.

Instead of *semat*, the traditional bamboo 'pins' or slivers, Wayan always used staples to fasten motifs or different leaves to one another (fig. 4.14). Besides being cheaper, staples are easier to work with, especially in the case of *lontar* leaves. But her right hand usually hurt a lot after a full day of handling the stapler. She also preferred to use ready-made coloured plastic decorations, instead of cutting them herself from coloured *lontar* leaf, which was much more time-consuming.

Figure 4.3: Ni Wayan Suartini in her workshop in Bebandem, 28/10/2013.

Figure 4.4: Ni Wayan Suartini cuts lontar palm leaves. Bebandem, 28/10/2013.

4.2 Ephemeral and permanent *lamak*

In this introduction I presented two accounts of the materials and techniques used in creating *lamak* by two different *lamak* makers, in different areas in Bali, 30 years apart from one another.

As discussed in Chapter 2, a *lamak* serves as a base for offerings and to decorate shrines and altars. In a more metaphorical sense, a *lamak* is regarded as a bridge, path or staircase between the worlds of deities and humans, between heaven and earth. The ritual purpose of a *lamak* is to attract invisible beings to the offerings, and to let their blessings come down from heaven to earth via the *lamak*. In Chapter 3 I pointed out that not only does the *lamak* itself, as ritual object, act as 'channel' or medium, but that also its motifs (the blessings of life) and vertical structure strengthen its purpose of mediating between the human and divine worlds.

In the present chapter, I explore the connection between the ritual purpose of a *lamak* and the material and techniques with which it is made. I focus first on the materials that palm leaf *lamak* are made of and the details of the techniques used for making them, and then explore further whether the structure of the motifs and the natural characteristics of the leaves might be related to other aspects of Balinese culture. In the second part, I present an overview of the many varieties of *lamak* made from materials other than palm leaves, and investigate whether their ritual purpose differs in any way from that of palm leaf *lamak*. Finally, I discuss the relationship between 'ephemeral' and 'permanent' *lamak*, in connection with the purpose of a *lamak*.

4.3 Palm leaf *lamak*

4.3.1 Natural materials

From the opening accounts of two very different *lamak* makers at work, the different kinds of natural material – leaves in different stages of maturity and from different kinds of palm trees – have already been introduced. The leaves of three palms, coconut palm, sugar palm, and Palmyra or *lontar* palm, all native to Bali, are of special importance; the use of leaves of the fourth, the oil palm, is a recent introduction.

All these varieties of palm leaves have in common that they are attached to a strong central spine or midrib, called *lidi*, which is of crucial importance for the construction and structure of the motifs on a *lamak*.

The coconut palm is a tree with such a myriad of uses that even now it is still a major source of livelihood for the Balinese, one of the foundations of Balinese (material) culture, and this is widely acknowledged by the Balinese themselves (Taman 2009:87, Putra 1985b:16).[1] The coconut palm (*Cocos nucifera*) is called *punyan nyuh* in Balinese and *pohon kelapa* in Indonesian. Every part of the tree is used; besides the nut, the sap of the florescence is drank as palm wine, the wood of its trunk is an important building material, and even its root is used (for medicine), and formerly its bark was made into brushes (for painting) and colouring material (*talok*) (Taman 2009:88). Its leaves are fashioned in various ways to make a wide range of objects for household and for religious purposes. The young, light-green leaves are called *busung* in Balinese and *janur* in Indonesian. The mature dark-green leaves are called *slepan* in Balinese (fig. 4.5).

The sugar palm (*Arenga pinnata Merr*) is another palm variety with a multitude of uses, though not to the same extent as the coconut palm. It is called *punyan jaka* in Balinese and *pohon aren* or *pohon enau* in Indonesian. Other than its palm wine which is highly regarded, its products often have religious purposes. The coarse tough fibre (*ijuk*) around the base of its fronds is used only for shrines and buildings in temples, and its leaves and fruits are widely used in ritual (Taman 2009:59-60). The young, yellowish leaves are called *ambu* in Balinese, and the mature dark-green leaves are called *ron. Ambu* and *ron* are the favourite materials for making *lamak*, because these leaves are both strong and very supple and 'refined' (*halus*). However, *ron* does not stay fresh as long as *slepan* (from the coconut palm) (Putra 1985b:10,11). From the Balinese love of word play, I once heard the association between *ambu* and purification, since the word *ambuh* means shampoo, and so *ambu* is the pre-

1 See Eiseman (2005:47) on average measurements of coconut palm leaves and other aspects of the coconut palm.

Figure 4.5: Lamak made from leaves of the coconut palm. Banjar Gulingan, Sanur, 12/5/2010.

Figure 4.6: Lamak made from leaves of the sugar palm. Banjar Pujung Kelod, Sebatu,12/5/2010.

Figure 4.7: Lamak made from leaves of the lontar palm. Pura Bale Agung, Bebandem, 11/2/1989.

Figure 4.8: Lamak made from the leaves of the oil palm. Ngis (Manggis), 1/2/2012.

ferred leaf for ritual usage (pers. com. Ida Made Oka, Komala, 30/4/2015) (fig. 4.6).

According to *lamak* maker I Gusti Putu Nonderan (pers. com. 3/4/1994), these palm trees have mythical connotations: "All ceremonies are witnessed by Brahma, represented by fire and the coconut, and by Wisnu, represented by water and all plants, including the coconut palm and sugar palm."[2] "There is also a story about this. Brahma had in fact five heads but only allowed four of them to be visible. Gana discovered the hidden fifth head, which made Brahma angry. The earth heated up and in his anger Brahma discarded his fifth face onto the earth at Semara Giri (Mountain of Love). From this face sprouted the coconut and sugar palm trees. Thus the leaves of these two trees (*ron, ambu, slepan* and *busung*) are used in ritual decorations and offerings."[3]

A complete palm frond is called a *papah* when the leaves are older and spread out, and *pucuk* when the leaves are still unfolded. A *katih* is one single leaf cut from the frond.

The third tree that is increasingly used for making *lamak* is the *lontar* palm, in English usually called Palmyra palm (*Borassus flabellifer*), a kind of fan palm. It is called *punyan ental* or *rontal* in Balinese and *pohon lontar* in Indonesian. Here there is no significant difference in colour between younger and older leaves, they both turn white when dried in the sun (fig. 4.7). The advantage of these leaves is that the *jejaitan* made from them can be kept for a long time (Putra 1985b:11). In Karangasem *lontar* and young coconut palm leaves are generally classified as yellow, *kuning*, and therefore a suitable material for the *ceniga jan banggul,* the *ceniga* in the form of a 'bamboo ladder' the ancestors use when they go back to heaven at Kuningan, ten days after Galungan (see Chapter 2). In contrast, for Galungan one should use dark-green *ron* or *slepan* to make *lamak*. Also in Karangasem, very often a banana leaf is placed underneath a light coloured *ceniga* to give these leaves and the cut-out spaces formed by the patterns an attractive colour contrast. The preferred banana leaf is that of the *biu keladi*, which is the variety of banana most often used in offerings (for example *banten suci*) (pers. com. Ida Nyoman Oka, Komala, 3/2/2016).

In 1982 in the 'offering workshop' of Dayu Made Putra in Gria Puseh, Sanur, the light-coloured leaves of the *lontar* palm were often used for making tops of offerings when they had to be made long in advance, instead of *busung* and *ambu*, which were much less durable. Although Dayu Made at that time already remarked on the growing shortage in Bali of *busung* and *ambu*, in Sanur most *lamak* were still made of these young leaves of the coconut and sugar palms. She said that in Sanur *ambu* was mostly used for *lamak*, since it is supple to work with.[4]

The kind of leaves most commonly used is any region is largely dependent on ecological factors. In dry areas like east Karangasem or along the north coast of the island, *lontar* palms grow better than other varieties of palms, so there is a tendency to use *lontar* leaves in these areas. And since there are more sugar palms in central Bali than in Badung (south Bali), the *lamak* (especially the *lamak nganten*) in Gianyar are more often made from *ambu* and *ron* than in, for example, Sanur and Denpasar, where coconut palm leaf is more usual.

The fourth kind of leaves used for *lamak* is from the oil palm (*Elaeis guineensis*) which is not indigenous to Bali. The leaves are imported from Sulawesi. In Bali, these leaves are called '*busung* Sulawesi', because the young, almost white leaves are used, which are rather like the *busung* from the coconut palm. Already in 2010 people in Ubud were increasingly using *busung* Sulawesi. "Ida Pedanda approves. Formerly people didn't dare. The advantage is that it can be made into *jejaitan* well before the ceremony, and it's pleasant to work with" (pers. com. Cokorda Sri 13/7/2010). And in various markets, among them Kerambitan and Tabanan, large bundles of *busung* Sulawesi were available in various colours, even blue, a colour I had never formerly seen used for *jejaitan*. According to Ni Nyoman Murni (Sanur) (pers. com. 13/2/2012), the reason

2 *Semua upacara disaksikan Brahma, lewat api dan kelapa, dan Wisnu lewat air dan semua tumbuhan, seperti pohon kelapa dan jaka.*

3 A similar story is referred to in Putra 2009:101-103.

4 Formerly, at least in the southern Sanur region, *bakung* (*Crinum asiaticum*) was used, also called "coastal pandanus" (*pandan di pantai*), its long white leaves more beautiful than *ambu* or *busung*, and more durable (pers. com. Dayu Made Putra 8/11/1990).

for buying imported leaves is that it is increasingly a problem to find someone who will climb the coconut trees to harvest the young leaves. "One bundle of *busung nyuh* is Rp 7000, at festival time rising to Rp 10.000. *Busung* from Sulawesi is the same price, but can be used earlier, one can begin work earlier for it lasts longer" (fig. 4.8).

In Budakeling too, in the east, for Galungan 2012 Made Sudarmi made dozens of *jejaitan* from *busung Sulawesi* which she had bought in Denpasar, and for the same reason, because "it lasts longer." This material, however, is according to her not really suitable for making *lamak*, because it is less strong than *ron* or *lontar* leaf.

Another important factor nowadays is the increasing shortage of the natural materials necessary for ritual objects in Bali, due to the ever-expanding building activities on the island. In the 1980s the sugar palm tree itself was already getting scarce, but in 2001 even leaves of the coconut palm were being imported from Java[5] and from as far away as Lampung, South Sumatra, by the truckload. Women prefer to work with the softer and broader Balinese palm leaf, but this is much more expensive (Sajana 2000:58-59).

In Ubud, already in December 1987, people were complaining about the shortage of the natural materials, such as bamboo for making *penjor*. There used to be always two *penjor nganten*, male and female, "but now raw materials are scarcer". And *tukang lamak* Pak Sadra remarked that when he married, there were even two *lamak nganten* instead of one (pers. com. 26/2/1990). In the 1980s there were still many double *penjor nganten* to be seen in the Gianyar area. However at Galungan July 2010 I no longer saw double *penjor nganten* in this area.

Although most *lamak* patterns are formed by palm leaves in their natural colours, different shades of green, sometimes the leaves are dyed in other colours as well. As I observed in the 1980s, especially in Tabanan the colours red and yellow were used on a rather large scale. These synthetic colours, derived from dyes sold in powder form at the markets, were the same as those used for dyeing rice dough for cakes. These colours, commonly called *kesumba*[6], have been around a long time. One specialist in the making of offerings (*tukang banten*) in Sanur, Dayu Made Putra (pers. com. 5/5/1994) told me that she remembered using *kesumba* already in the late 1930s.

Natural colours can also be made from plants, such as green from *kayu sugih*, red from the leaf of the teak tree (*daun jati*), orange from the leaf of the teak tree mixed with lime, blue from *kembang teleng*, and yellow from curcuma (*kunyit*) and lime. Nowadays all kinds of colours are used, in all areas of Bali. The leaves, especially *busung Sulawesi* but also *lontar* leaves, are now sold ready dyed in many different colours.

4.3.2 Techniques

Although in the opening section the making of a *lamak* – cutting the leaves and pinning the motifs – has been introduced, the whole process is rather more complex, which I discuss here in more detail. One can distinguish five main stages: the initial process of cutting the leaves into the right length is called *nues* (Bal.) or *potong* (Ind.); cutting the motifs themselves is called *ngringgit* (Bal.) or *mengukir* (Ind.); the process of pinning the base layer of a *lamak* is called *nyait* (Bal.) or *menjahit* (Ind.), literally meaning 'to sew'; the fastening of the motifs onto the background is called *masang* (Bal.) or *memasang* (Ind.); and finally, to complete the *lamak* as a whole, to fasten the different parts to one another, is called *mabarengan* (Bal.) or *magabung* (Bal.). The natural material is in this way transformed, recreated into a cultural artefact.

I often returned to watch I Made Sadra, I Gusti Putu Nonderan, and other people making palm leaf *lamak*, and always they used the same basic techniques. Even for the smallest kind of *lamak*, the *tlujungan*, which does not have additional decorative motifs, leaves are cut to the right size and then fastened together. Since my first periods of fieldwork in the early 1980s, several "How to do" books about the making of *jejaitan* (palm leaf

5 As also reported by MacRae (1997:452).

6 This usage of the word *kesumba* is uncertain, but probably derives from the name of the safflower (*Carthamus tinctorius*), a yellow dye plant with a long history in Bali (Stuart-Fox 1993:89). Perhaps the earliest chemical dyes in Bali were yellowish or reddish in colour.

Figures 4.9-4.10: I Gusti Putu Nonderan cuts into (ngringgit) the folded packet of palm leaf in order to make the basic unit of pattern. Banjar Padangtegal Kaja, Ubud, 3/4/1994.

Figure 4.11: I Made Sadra cuts (ngringgit) a timpasan pattern. Banjar Padangtegal Kaja, Ubud, 2/5/1983.

Figure 4.12: I Gusti Putu Nonderan pins (nyait) to one another the leaves of the base layer of a lamak. Banjar Padangtegal Kaja, Ubud, 3/4/1994.

Figure 4.13: I Made Sadra fastens to one another (magabung) the different sections of a lamak nganten. Banjar Padangtegal Kaja, Ubud, 4/5/1983.

Figure 4.14: Ni Wayan Suartini fastens lontar leaves to one another with staples. Bebandem, 28/10/2013.

artefacts) have been published in Bali, in which the making of *lamak* and *ceniga* is explained step by step, illustrated by drawings and some photographs (for example, Putra 1983:41-53 and Raras 2006:66-72).

The following section is based on my own observations and information from informants, but these are similar to the prescriptions in these publications.

As has been discussed in Chapter 3, the motifs on a *lamak* are both representational and geometrical. One of the most important characteristics of the motifs on a *lamak*, both representational and geometrical, is that they are always composed from a number of leaves, which together form the total design.

4.3.2.1 *Nues*

Before one starts cutting leaves for making a *lamak*, one must first decide on the size and number of motifs. For a *lamak nganten* this is discussed with the person ordering it. According to Pak Sadra (pers. com. 26/2/1990), the breadth of a *lamak nganten*, in accordance with that of the *sanggar nganten*, is usually two *cengkang*, a Balinese measurement equivalent to an outstretched hand span, from tip of thumb to tip of little finger. In terms of length, if a *lamak* of five metres is ordered, the bottommost geometric motif often consists of five or six *ron* leaves sewn together, reaching a maximum of 16 leaves for a *lamak* measuring ten metres. For a *lamak* of seven metres, seven or eight pieces of *ron* are used for each motif, making the *lamak* that much longer, and allowing the possibility of additional kinds of *ringgitan*.

In terms of length or height (when hung), particularly important in making a *lamak* is the relationship between overall length and the number of leaves required in terms of the number of leaves per motif. For example, I Gusti Putu Nonderan (pers. com. 3/4/1994) explained that for a *lamak* with the height of seven metres, the following number of leaves are required for each motif, listed from bottom to top: 24 for *timpasan*; 7 for the body of the *cili* plus 2 for its head; 9 for *candigara merpat*; 7 for the *kekayonan*; 9 for *candigara bunder*; 7 for *gebogan*; 9 for *kapu-kapu*.[7] The width of an opened-out *ron* leaf is about 9 cm. The breadth of a geometrical motif is four times the width of the leaf, about 36 cm. The breadth of a *lamak nganten*, including the two side borders, is thus about 40 cm. This is indeed, according to him, equal to two *cengkang*.

Once the size of the *lamak* has been decided upon and the leaves cut to the required size, a *lamak* maker first has to cut away approximately half of the strong central ribs of the palm leaves, but in such a way that the two halves of one leaf are still attached to one another. This is done so that the leaves are easier to fold over.

4.3.2.2 *Ngringgit*

For the representational motifs, the *tukang lamak* first determines the outline of the design by folding in half the lengths of leaf that will constitute the motif (for example seven for the *gebogan*), then placing these lengths next to one another, and then cutting away the superfluous leaf outside the border of the motif. Then for the internal patterning he cuts out separately the different consecutive lengths of leaves, still folded, so that the motif is symmetrical on either side of the central axis.

Also, if the *tukang lamak*, Pak Sadra for example, had orders for more than one identical *lamak*, then he cuts out at the one time as many of the same motif as possible, working with many layers of leaf at once. For all this cutting work, the *tukang lamak* uses just the one tool, a sharp knife (*tiuk*). Only for the outline of certain representational motifs Sadra made use of an auxiliary implement: for the oval border of the *kekayonan* motif an iron template (probably the blade of a kind of knife) for the straight side of the *gebogan* a kind of ruler; everything else he does out of his head. Only if he feels unsure does he draw the motif on the leaf with a pencil or the point of his knife. The cutting of the motif is the most difficult part, and that he always does himself. A major motif like the *kekayonan* takes him about an hour.

The geometric patterns are composed of several leaves whose length is equivalent to the width of the *lamak*. I Gusti Putu Nonderan, for example, when making geometric patterns opens out the leaf

7 See Chapter 3 for the meaning of these motifs.

(sometimes several leaves at once) along the axis of the rib (*lidi*), and then folds this opened-out leaf two times in the opposite direction. Because the width of the leaf is more or less equal all over, and the rib holds the two parts of one leaf together, in this way he makes a little square packet of four parts of the leaf on top of one another (fig. 4.9). This he makes fast with a bamboo sliver in the corner. Then, he determines the centre of this basic packet. Pak Nonderan usually estimated this by eye, but Ayu Pugeg, a female *tukang banten* from Tegallalang (pers. com. 26/2/1990), demonstrated how she folded the little packet yet another time, and opened it again.

After these preparatory actions, the real work of creating the pattern begins, known as *ngringgit* (from the root *ringgit*). Often the first cuts are towards the centre, either straight from the four sides, or diagonal from the corners. When working from the diagonal, some *lamak* makers first fold the leaf along the diagonal. Pak Nonderan, with his long experience, is able to cut directly into the middle of the packet, without having first to fold along the diagonal (fig. 4.10). With such a sharp knife he can cut directly through four layers of leaf. He is extremely attached to his knife, and never lends it out, he says. Some parts of the *lidi* can be cut away in the process, but save for one or two exceptional cases enough is left over to hold the remaining parts of the leaf together. I will refer to the element of the pattern cut into the folded packet of palm leaf as the 'basic unit' of the pattern. Figures 4.15-4.18 show four of these 'basic units' used to create four different geometric patterns, with the *lidi* or rib visible in the middle of the leaf.

Pak Sadra, with the tip of a very sharp knife, sketched the contours of the basic unit of the pattern on the top leaf of the little packet, just from memory, without looking at an example. Then, quickly and with a sure hand, from below upwards, he cut the motif in the folded leaves of the packet, so through four layers of leaf at the one time.

Once the required bits are cut out, the leaf is opened out again, and the pattern element appears repeated four times in a horizontal row. The total pattern is constructed by vertically placing one above the other two or more leaves with the same pattern, as figure 4.18, of a pattern consisting of six leaves, shows. In the case of a narrower *lamak*, the leaf is only folded once, and the basic unit is a little longer than it is wide (fig. 4.19).

In some cases the basic unit is at the same time the actual element of the total pattern. Sometimes the *lidi* is retained and the leaves are folded as usual to determine the identical size and the centre of the basic units, but then opened again and cut out separately (fig. 4.20). In rare cases the *lidi* is cut completely away and the basic unit is formed in one half of the leaf only. Each of the basic units is then folded diagonally, and then one half is cut away. This principle is shown by the pattern called *batu ketimun* (seeds of a cucumber) (fig. 4.21).

In all cases the pattern is constructed by repetition of the basic units, both horizontally and vertically. This even occurs when the basic unit consists of separate little elements (fig. 4.22).

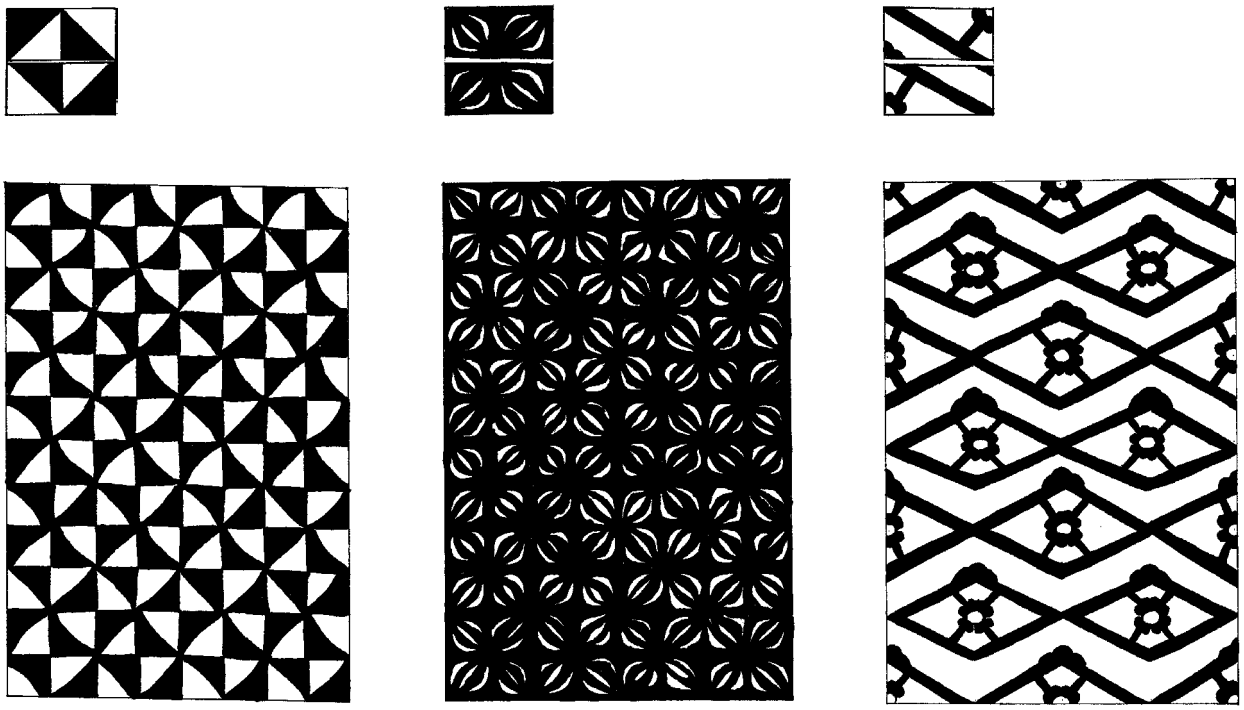
4.3.2.3 *Nyait*

Then the base layer of a *lamak* is made from lengths of the yellowish light-green young leaves (*ambu*) of the sugar palm or the coconut palm. These are opened out flat with the ribs underneath, and then from below, using small bamboo pins (*semat*), the leaves are pinned to one another, horizontally. This pinning is called *nyait*, literally to 'sew', with the small bamboo pins. In practice, any action that involves the use of *semat* is called *nyait*.

4.3.2.4 *Masang*

The next stage is to attach the separate cut-out motifs to the prepared base layer of the *lamak*. And in the case of a *lamak nganten*, Pak Sadra for example had made for each motif a separate section of base material, which later, after he had attached the motif of dark-green leaf, he fastened to one another.

After the leaves of a motif are again opened out, they are attached with *semat* onto the upper or outer side of the light-coloured base layer of the *lamak*. The *tukang lamak* performs this pinning action from above downwards through the leaf and then back up again, breaking off the *semat* just above the leaf. The different leaves which together form one motif are fastened horizontally one above the other, contrary to the vertical direction of the *lamak*, but parallel to the leaves of the base layer.



Figures 4.15-4.17: Three square basic units with the geometric lamak patterns they create. (The white part of the drawing is cut away, and the black is the leaf remaining).

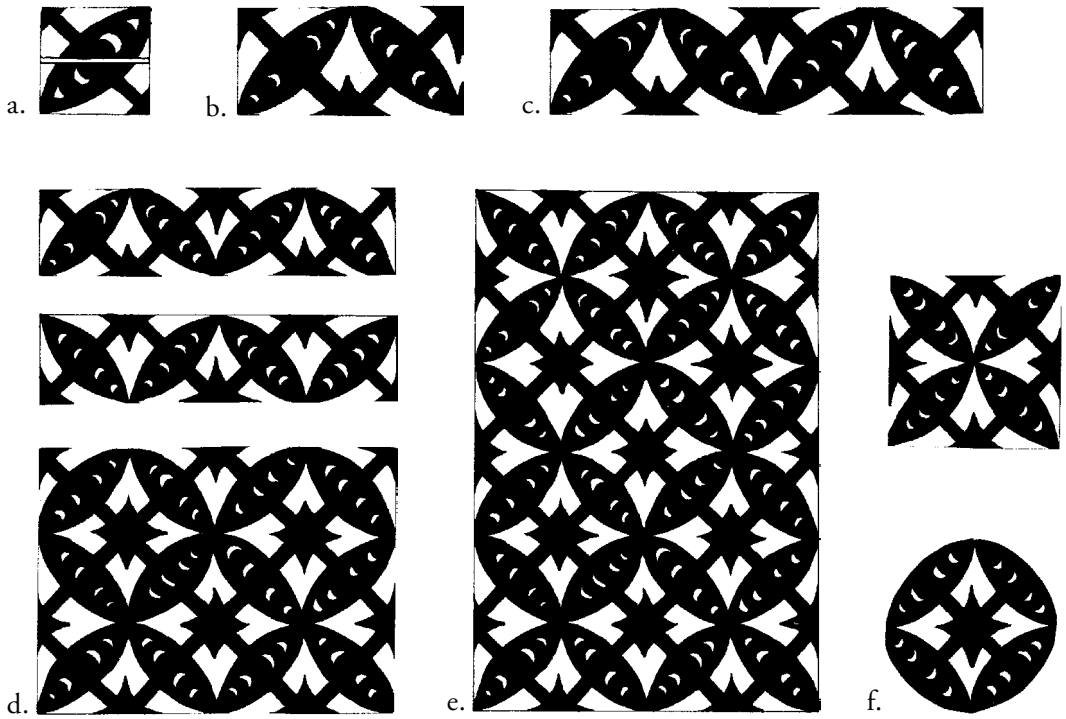


Figure 4.18a-f: To create a geometric pattern, the leaf packet in which the basic unit (a) is cut is then folded out two times (b-c), and the leaves are joined together horizontally (d) to form the complete pattern (e). Two different visual readings of this pattern are possible (f).

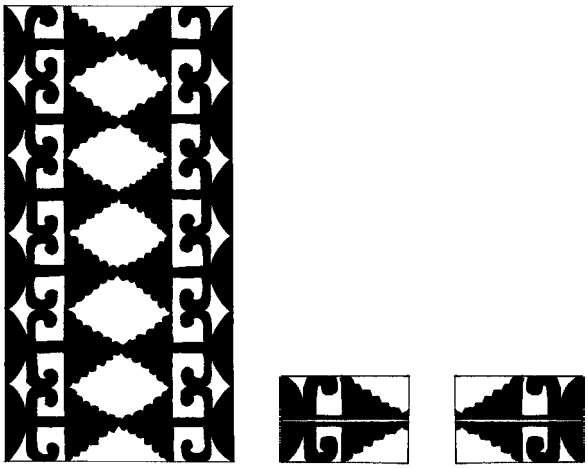


Figure 4.19: The rectangular basic unit necessary to create a narrow lamak.

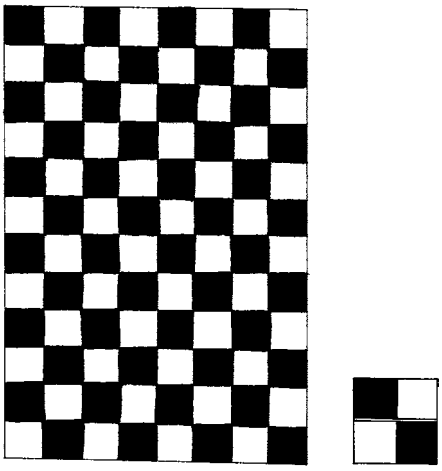


Figure 4.20: The basic unit forms the actual element of this pattern.

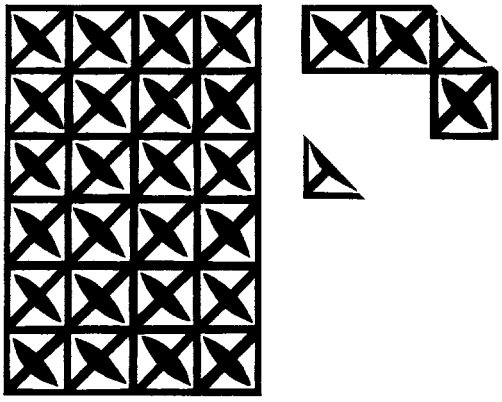


Figure 4.21: The basic unit is formed in one half of the leaf only.

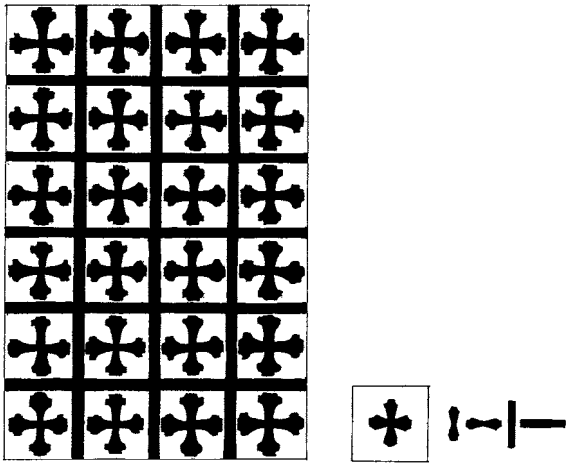


Figure 4.22: The basic unit consists of separate little elements.

Pak Nonderan explained that for a long *lamak nganten* the base of *ambu* must be made of a double layer, twice the thickness of a smaller *lamak*. The extra layer is attached at the back of the *lamak* after the motifs are attached to the front layer of *ambu*.

The sections of a *lamak nganten* that have been made ready on the day before Galungan are folded up with a banana leaf between them, until the *lamak* as a whole is assembled. They are not sprinkled with water, for that causes the leaf to burn more quickly in the sun.

As is so often the case in Bali, there are exceptions to these 'rules'. In Kerambitan and other parts of Tabanan, the long oblong form of the *cili* motif is fashioned from leaves attached to one another along the vertical axis rather than the horizontal.

4.3.2.5 *Mabarengan*

Finally, long strips of leaf are used to make a border along the sides and the lower end of the *lamak*, the side ones extending at the top sufficiently far so that they can be used to fasten the *lamak* to the shrine or to be placed underneath the offerings.

In the case of a long *lamak nganten*, the many sections must be joined together. Pak Sadra, for example, first cut to the correct length the long piece of leaf that formed the border of the *lamak* on its long sides. On the ground inside the courtyard two ropes were stretched out, parallel to one another. Between these, the separate sections of the *lamak* were laid down in the right order, and then Pak Sadra fastened the sections to one another. They fastened a piece of the dark-green *ron* around the lengths of rope, with the spine to the outside, and then attached it to the *lamak*. Then on top of the base, between each of the different sections, they added lengths of decorated *ron*.

For Galungan, the assembly work must be done quickly, especially if there are many orders and there is a risk of the palm leaf drying out. For this reason, Pak Sadra requested help from his family with the attaching of the patterns and the assembling of the *lamak.* Five *lamak nganten* of five metres length each is the limit of what he was able to do at Galungan, otherwise the material would dry out too much. Desiccation would not be a problem with *lamak* made from *lontar* leaves, but I have never seen a *lamak nganten* made of these leaves.

The *lamak* made of *lontar* leaves are based on the same principles of cutting and pinning together. The only difference is that these *lamak* often consist of one layer only (and then they are usually called *ceniga*), and the ornamentation is then achieved by the relation between the parts of the leaf that remain and the parts that are cut out. As pointed out already, nowadays wire staples are often used in place of bamboo slivers (*semat*).[8]

But 20 years ago, *semat* were still widely used to fasten *lontar* leaves to one another. In the various *lontar lamak* and *ceniga* that Ibu Komang Soka (Padangkerta) made using *semat* (22/4/1994), she created the motifs (figs. 4.23-4.25) by various methods, with or without retaining the rib, and by straight and diagonal folding. The rib was either entirely or partly removed from the leaf, but never left fully attached to the leaf. For a *lamak* with motifs, measuring about 17-48 cm in length, she fastened the leaves to one another horizontally, whereas for a smaller *ceniga*, 11-32 cm in length, she fastened the leaves vertically.

Ni Wayan Suartini in her *lontar* leaf workshop in Bebandem nowadays never uses *semat*, but always staples, and she uses a cutting machine for cutting the *lontar* leaves to the required length, but otherwise the techniques she uses are similar to those of Ibu Komang Soka.

4.3.3 Symmetry in the ringgitan patterns

As described in the previous section, all geometric *ringgitan* patterns are formed by various ways of combining (what I have called) the 'basic units' of the patterns. Depending on the shape of the basic unit and the way the motif is cut out within

8 This is the case not only when one has to work with the tough *lontar* leaves, like Ni Wayan Suartini in Bebandem, but increasingly is used also for working with the leaves of the coconut and sugar palms. In 2010 all *lamak* I photographed during Galungan in Gianyar were still made with *semat,* but for the *lontar* ones in Tabanan mainly staples had been used. At Galungan of 1 February 2012, many *lamak* I noticed in Karangasem were made with staples, also the ones made of *ambu* and *ron*. However, at the temple festival in the Pura Dalem in Budakeling on 23 March 2016 all palm leaf *lamak* were made with *semat*.

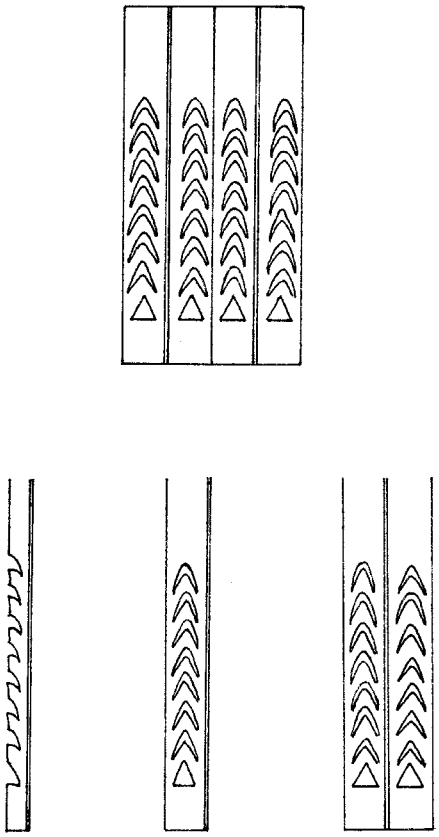


Figure 4.23.

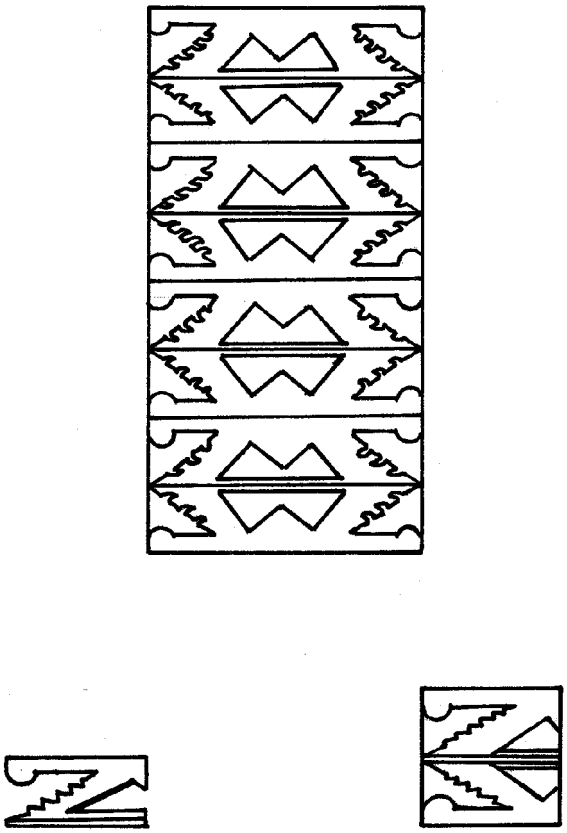


Figure 4.24.

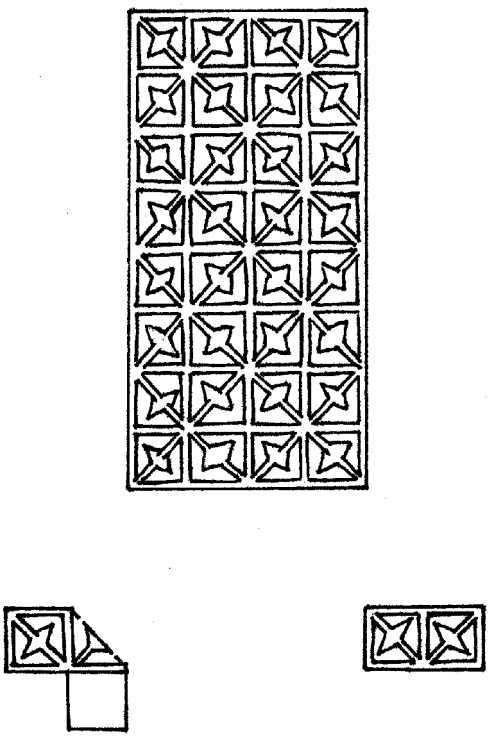


Figure 4.25.

Figures 4.23-4.25: Various ways of constructing lontar ceniga.

the basic unit, the geometric patterns which result from these operations show different kinds of symmetry.[9]

In the case of the *ringgitan* patterns, if the leaves are folded only once, the basic unit is usually rectangular. If the leaves are folded twice, the basic unit is almost always square. In the first case this results in a dominance of horizontal bands in the patterns, as figures 4.26-4.28 show.

In the first two patterns there is mirror reflection only across the central vertical axis of the pattern, which is the same as the side of the basic unit which is folded over. In the other pattern there is also symmetry along the horizontal axes, formed by the top and bottom sides of the basic unit.

If the basic unit is square, not only vertical and horizontal bands result, but also a diagonal structure is visible, as is shown by figures 4.29-4.31. Horizontal symmetry is the result of the reflecting of the basic unit when it is unfolded horizontally along the rib, while vertical symmetry takes place when the leaves are attached to one another vertically. So the four sides of the basic unit can all be axes of reflection. But also the cutting process itself within the basic unit can result in symmetry.

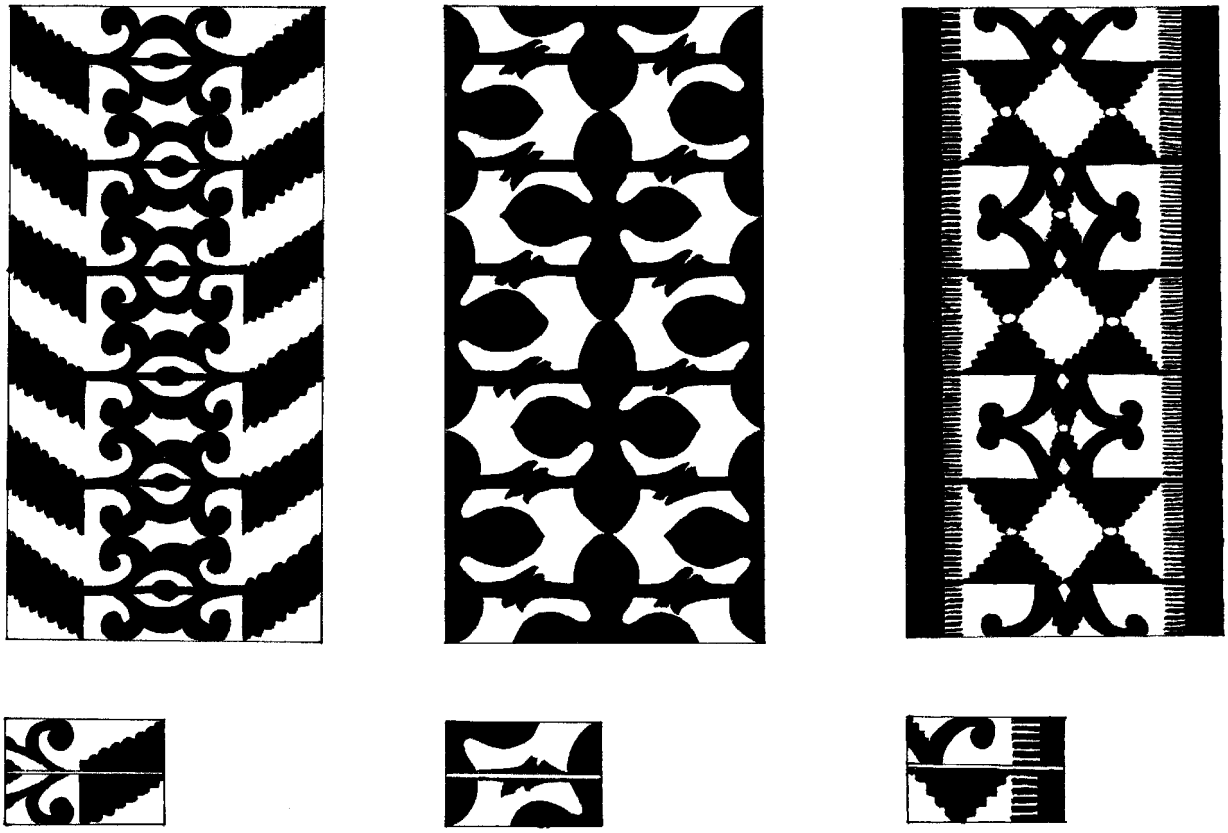
The various ways the pattern elements are cut out in the basic unit can be divided into the following operations. In all cases the centre of the basic unit plays a crucial role and the horizontal, vertical and diagonal axes go through this centre. As already explained, sometimes the basic unit is actually folded lightly along these axes, in order to determine the centre and to mirror elements within the basic unit during the cutting process. When half of the pattern is reflected across a virtual vertical axis in the centre of the basic unit, horizontal bands dominate the pattern (fig. 4.32). When half of the pattern is reflected across the rib, which is the horizontal axis, vertical bands dominate (fig. 4.33). When half of the pattern is reflected in both ways, the pattern consists of bands in both directions (fig. 4.34). If the pattern is not only reflected across horizontal or vertical lines but also across the diagonals, both diagonals are equally dominant in the pattern (as in figs. 4.35-4.37). When elements of the pattern are reflected only across the diagonals, the result is diagonals which only cross in two of the four corners of the basic unit (as in figs. 4.38-4.39).

Most often however, the pattern elements are not symmetrical within the basic unit, but they are rotated around the centre point of the basic unit. Also the four corners of the square basic unit can act as centre of rotation. Consequently, the pattern shows coherence by means of diagonals, which also cross at the corners of the basic unit. All these patterns are symmetrical across the sides of the basic units as well. Always the rib is crucial in holding the whole pattern together, and the processes of reflecting and rotating give coherence to the patterns in which bands and crossing diagonals are the most important features (figs. 4.40-4.46).

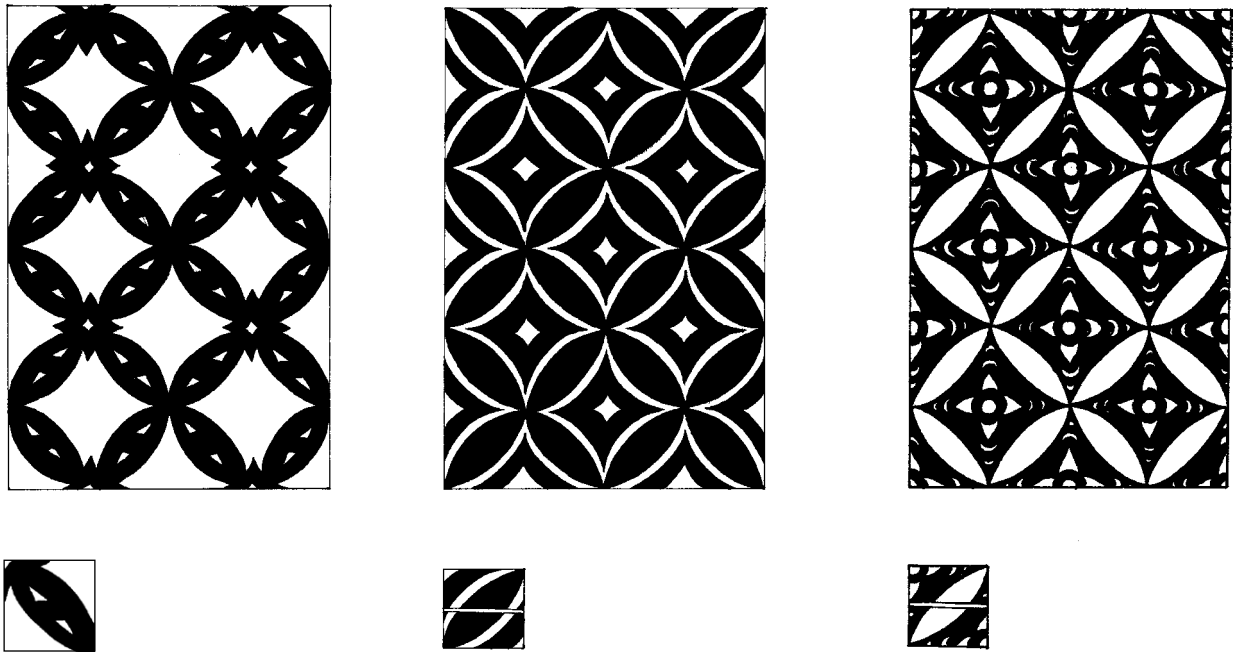
Inspired by ideas from Gerbrands (1983),[10] I wondered whether the symmetry in the *ringgitan* patterns could be related to other aspects of Balinese culture. Gerbrands (1983) questioned whether the structure of two-dimensional representations in different cultures, which are the result of processes of 'mirroring, unfolding and turning around',

9 In their studies on symmetry in plane patterns, Washburn and Crowe (1988 and 2004) define 'symmetry' as a "distance-preserving transformation of the plane onto itself" (Washburn & Crowe 2004:3). Of the different motions or symmetries they distinguish, the three that are relevant for the study of the *ringgitan* are reflection, rotation and translation. Reflection in or across a line (the axis of reflection) is called mirror reflection, resulting in vertical or horizontal band patterns. Rotation has always a fixed point in the plane (the centre of rotation), an angle of rotation and the movement is either clockwise or counter-clockwise. Translation is a displacement or shift by a certain distance along a certain line (Washburn & Crowe 1988:46-48). It is worth noting that these motions of symmetry are not really equivalent to the physical handling of the basic packet of palm leaves when making *lamak*.

10 These ideas were partly based on the work of Claude Lévi-Strauss (Gerbrands 1983:214). Boeren used these ideas in a formal stylistic analysis of the Asmat shields in the collection of the National Museum of Ethnology. He found that all motifs on these shields were based upon different combinations of a single basic element, a comma. Various forms of symmetry were applied, like rotation, reflection (what he calls inversion) and translation (what he calls transportation), resulting in transformations of designs. He concludes that "there exists a strong homology between the visual transformation system of the ornamentation and the conceptual transformation system which allows the exchange of identity between human and animal head-hunters" (Boeren 1995:279).



Figures 4.26-4.28: Horizontal bands dominate lamak patterns if the basic unit is rectangular.



Figures 4.29-4.31: If the basic unit is square, not only vertical and horizontal bands result, but also a diagonal structure is visible.

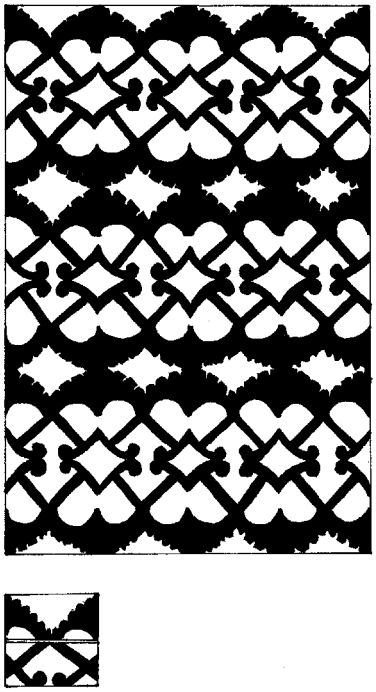


Figure 4.32: When half of the pattern is reflected across a virtual vertical axis in the centre of the basic unit, horizontal bands dominate the pattern.

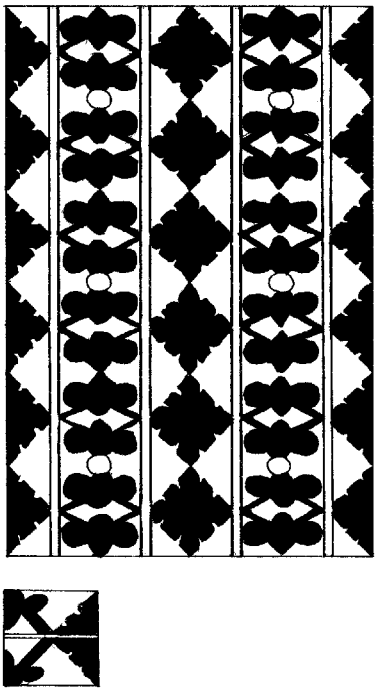


Figure 4.33: When half of the pattern is reflected across the rib, which is the horizontal axis, vertical bands dominate.

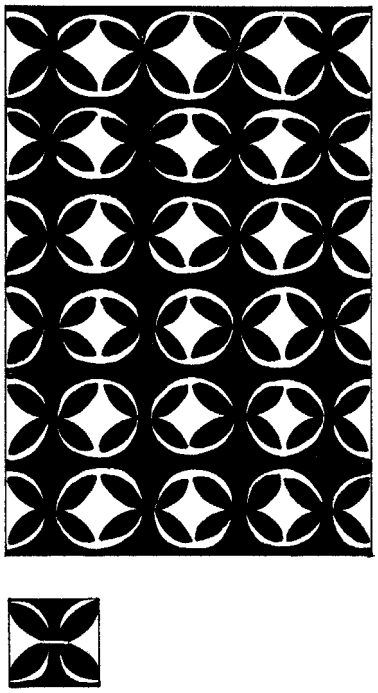
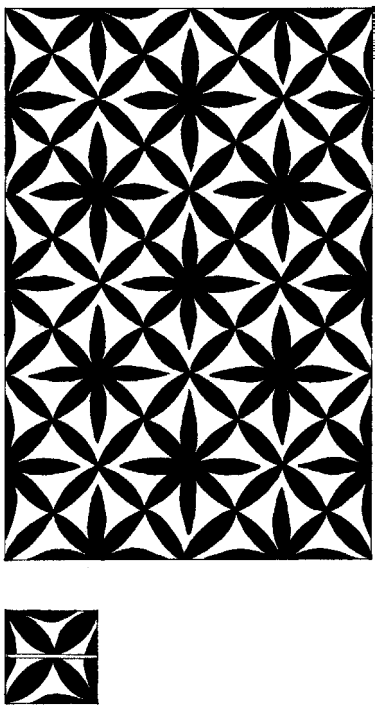
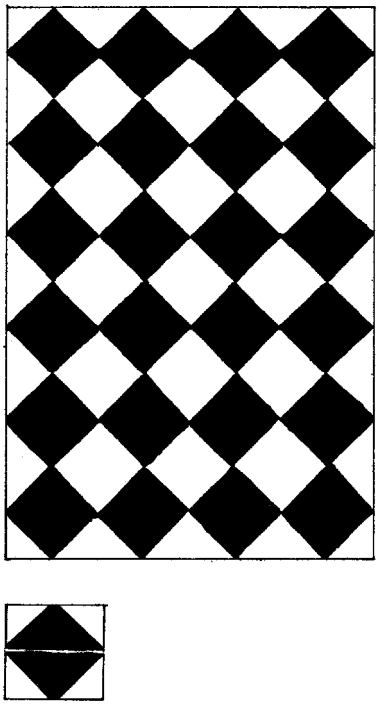
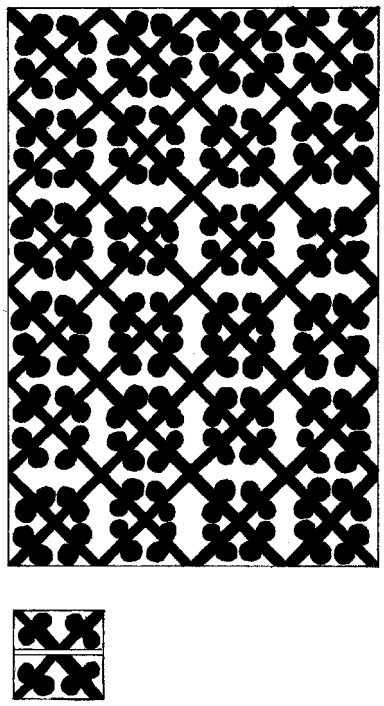


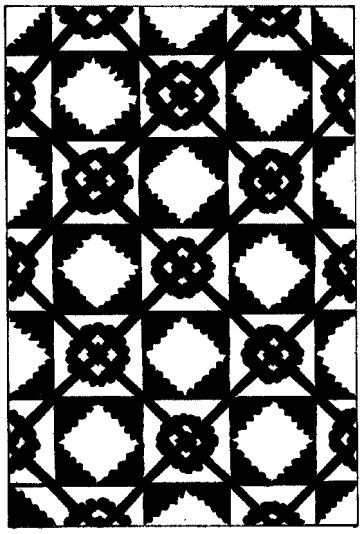
Figure 4.34: When half of the pattern is reflected in both ways, the pattern consists of bands in both directions.

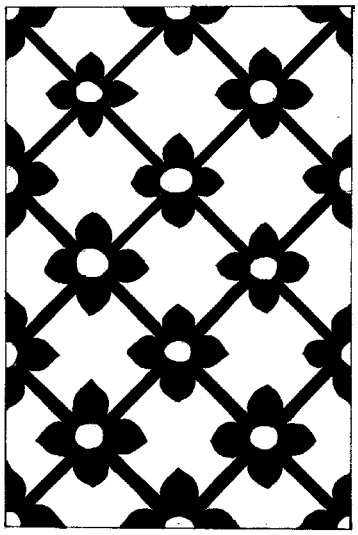






Figures 4.35-4.37: If the pattern is reflected not only across horizontal or vertical lines but also across the diagonals, both diagonals are equally dominant in the pattern.





Figures 4.38-4.39: When elements of the pattern are reflected only across the diagonals, the result is diagonals which only cross in two of the four corners of the basic unit.

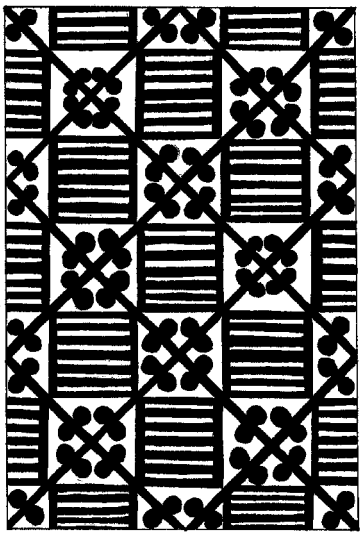
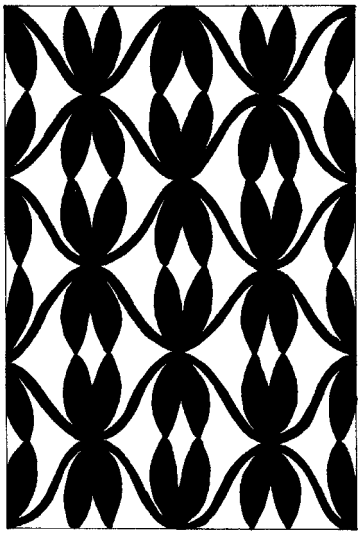
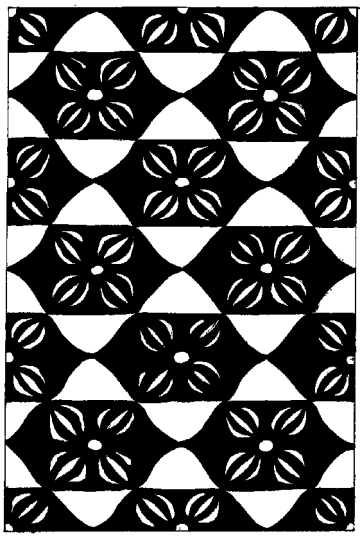
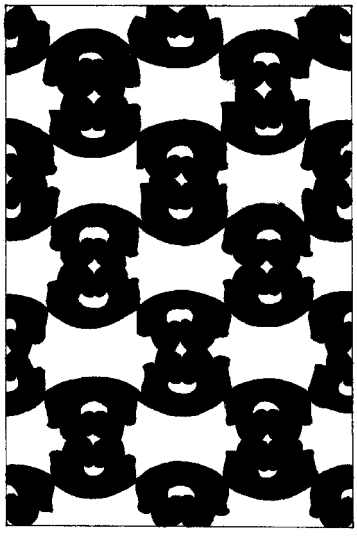


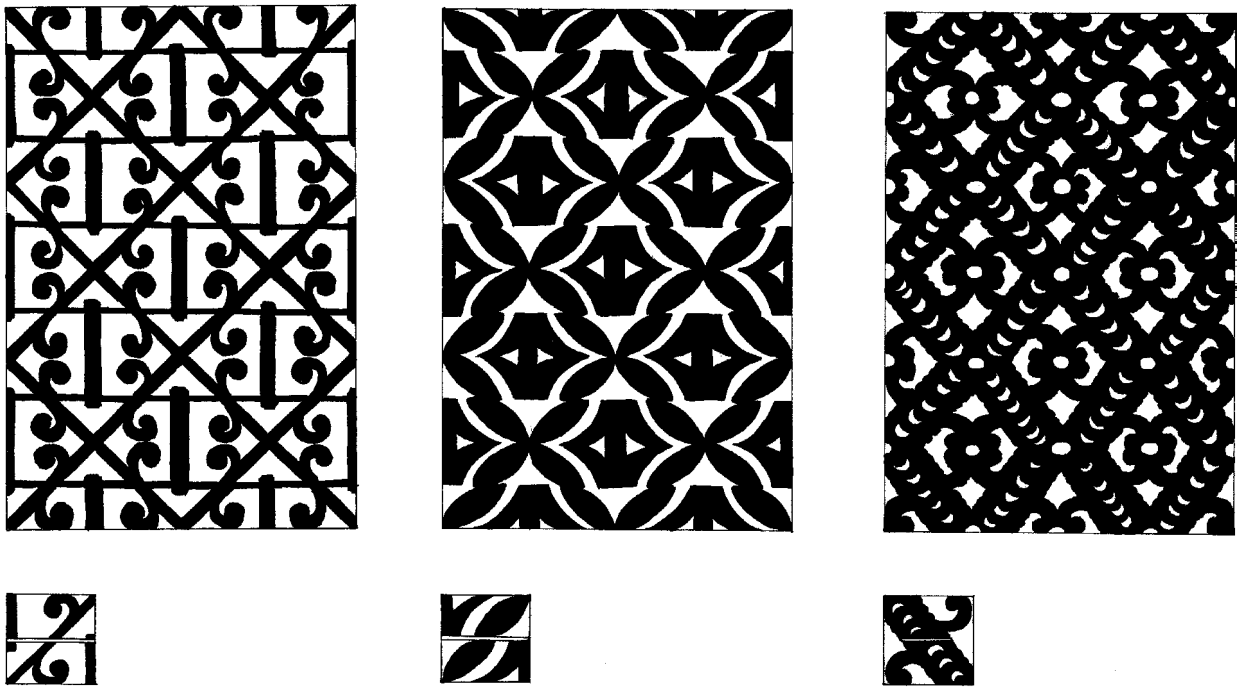
Figure 4.40.



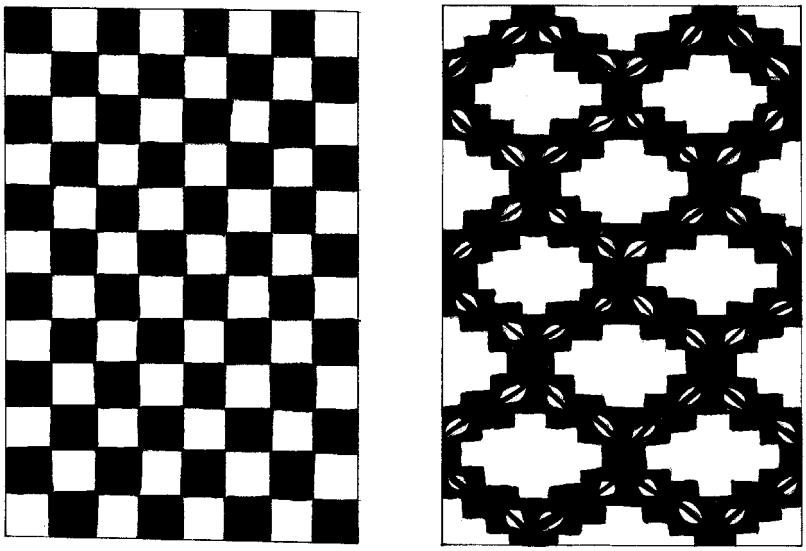




Figures 4.40-4.43: Lamak patterns in which bands and crossing diagonals are the most important features.



Figures 4.44-4.46: Lamak patterns in which bands and crossing diagonals are the most important features.



Figures 4.47-4.48: Lamak patterns called compang banggul, which means 'bamboo ladder'.

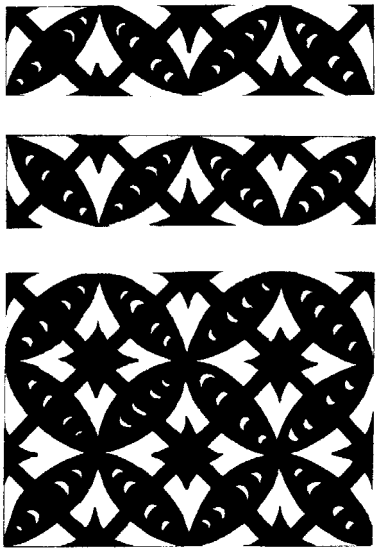


Figure 4.49: The rung construction of a lamak pattern by joining leaves horizontally.

might be regarded as a visualization of other binary opposites in the particular culture, which, however, mostly are not explicit. Also my Balinese informants were not explicit about such possible cultural meanings. They did not relate their ways of manufacturing palm leaf *lamak*, nor the symmetry of the patterns, to any other cultural values other than to the result desired, a completed *lamak*. But although they did not verbalize it, could it be possible to regard the processes of cutting and fastening, folding and unfolding, rotating the elements of the basic unit around a centre point or reflecting them across axes as a visual expression of meaningful structural principles?

For example, in the making of almost all geometrical patterns the centre of the basic unit seems to be crucial, and rotation of the elements within the basic unit results in a form that is reminiscent of the swastika, the symbol of the rotation of the sun or of the earth and related to the cycles of life (as discussed in Chapter 3). The patterns with crossing diagonals could perhaps also be visually related to the so-called *nawa sanga* system of horizontal cosmological order, an important Balinese symbol of the totality of the universe in the form of the eight directions of the compass around the centre, all guarded by different deities.

Other aspects of the structure of the *ringgitan* might perhaps be related to the ritual purpose of a *lamak*. The bands, resulting from reflection of the basic unit across horizontal axes, could then be interpreted as steps of a staircase or rungs of a ladder. As explained in the previous chapters, some Balinese informants called a *lamak* or *ceniga* a path or ladder between heaven and earth and some of the geometrical patterns are in fact called *compang banggul*, which means bamboo ladder (figs. 4.47 and 4.48). In Karangasem, on the festival day of Kuningan when the ancestors return to their heavenly abode, for this purpose the shrines are decorated with a special *ceniga banggul*, which has square openings cut out in the leaves, like an actual small ladder. In the patterns of figures 4.47 and 4.48 the ladder structure can be recognized, but in fact all motifs on a *lamak* are applied to the background as it were step by step, one leaf above the other, in a structure like the rungs of a ladder (fig. 4.49). Even the representational designs, like *kekayonan* or *cili*, are usually built up horizontally. Also the background or base of a *lamak* is fashioned in this way, with the leaves being fastened to one another in a horizontal way, in opposition to the vertical direction of the *lamak* itself.

4.3.4 Dual structures

Not only the geometric *ringgitan* patterns have a dual structure because of the principles of symmetry applied in their construction, but also the representational *raka* motifs are almost always symmetrical. The two identical halves of one motif are made by folding the leaves that are used, and then cutting out the patterns in the folded leaves at the one time. Or an even number of separate leaves are temporarily pinned together and the patterns are cut out together so that they are identical. Then the leaves are unfolded and fastened to the background in such a way that the two halves of the motif are reflected across the vertical axis of the centre of the *lamak* as a whole. Instead of reuniting the two halves of a motif into a whole, they also can remain separate as in the case of the *bulan sibak* (fig. 4.50), the two halves of the moon.

A related process is repetition not only of the two halves, but of the total motif. The clearest example of this process is the design of the *cili nganten*, which is also called *cili kembar*, twin *cili* (fig. 4.51). But mountain, tree and *ibu* also appear in *kembar* or twin form (see Chapter 3). The stars that accompany the sun and moon motifs are symmetrically ordered around the centre, and so are little motifs that are used to fill empty space around the main designs, such as those next to the body of the *cili* in figure 4.52. The patterns along the sides and lower end have a simple structure. They have the same width as a folded palm leaf and are formed by repetition of one little motif, as figures 4.53-4.55 show.

Although most informants did not reflect on structural principles as such, they always remarked on the dual structure of the double motifs. Of course the *cili nganten*, the wedding couple, but also other double motifs like the two half-moons (*bulan sibak*) are seen as an expression of the complementary opposition between man and woman, male and female, an important structuring prin-

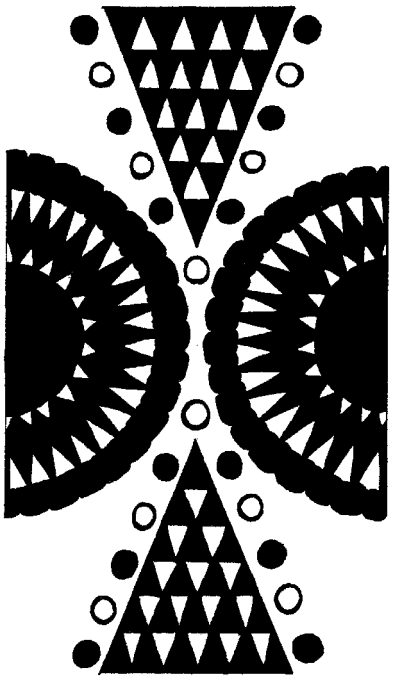


Figure 4.50: Bulan sibak, the two halves of the moon.

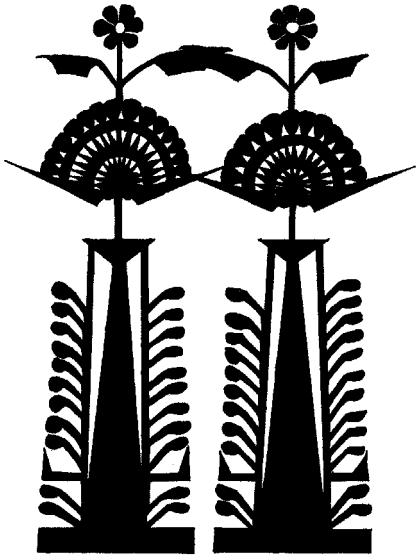


Figure 4.51: Cili nganten, or cili kembar.

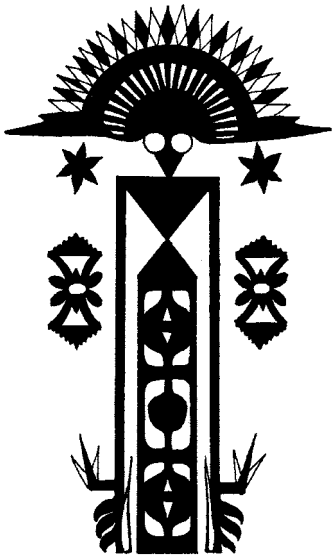
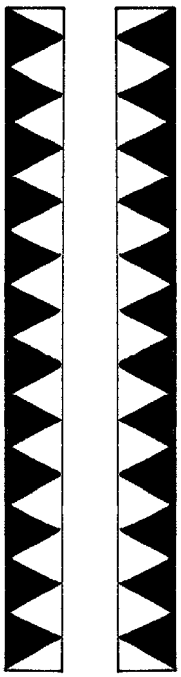
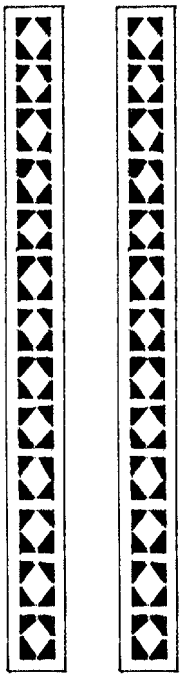
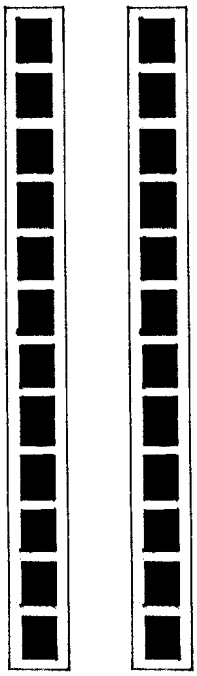


Figure 4.52: Cili figure.







Figures 4.53-4.55: The patterns along the sides and lower end are formed by the repetition of one little motif.

ciple in Bali as it is in many other Indonesian cultures.[11]

Moreover, as Ida Wayan Jelantik, *klian adat* in Budakeling (pers. com. 25/4/2014) explained, in principle any *lamak*, even the most simple one and whatever its motifs are, has a dual structure, because it always consists of two kinds of leaves. These are the young and mature leaves of the coconut or sugar palms, or their light and dark sides, or, in the case of a *lontar lamak*, white leaves with a dark background (of the green banana leaf placed underneath) showing through the holes in the pattern. In the *ringgitan* patterns, sometimes either the light background (as in fig. 4.17) or the dark leaves (as in fig. 4.16) are dominant, but usually light and dark are equally prominent (as in fig. 4.15). In this last group, because of this balance, it is not always clear whether the pattern is formed by the dark or the light parts of the pattern, or which motif is the main part of the pattern. Figures 4.18 and 4.29-4.31 are examples of more or less similar patterns in which either dark or light dominates. Figure 4.18f shows that one particular pattern can also be 'read' in different ways. According to Ida Wayan Jelantik, dark and light, 'black' and 'white', is symbolic of female and male, the combination of which is a precondition for the continuation of life.

What he pointed out is indeed one of the numerous examples of the complementary opposition of female and male (in Balinese, *luh muani*), in the context of Balinese offerings and ritual decorations (see Brinkgreve 2002). One of the relationships between colours referring to male and female is that between white and black. The two sides (dark green front and light greyish-green back) of mature leaves of the sugar palm are often called black and white, and when they are used in combination they often have a male and female connotation. A clear example is found in the important offering called *bebangkit*. The base of this offering consists of two palm leaf discs on top of one another. On this base a four-sided bamboo construction is placed, to which cookies are attached that depict all kinds of cosmic and human phenomena. The bottom disc shows the dark, 'black' side of the leaves, whereas the one on top shows the light, 'white' side. Since a *bebangkit*'s base may also be a double rice winnow, in which a female and a male figure are laid out in rice grains, the white and the black discs have the same male-female connotation. Moreover, the two sides of the leaf are also called the back-side and the belly-side, respectively. They are associated with lying prostrate and lying on the back, which are called the male and female postures. This notion refers not only to the sexual act but also to new life arising from the union of bright Father Sky, Bapa Akasa and dark Mother Earth, Ibu Pretiwi, who together procreate and sustain life. Acting as a base for the cosmic *bebangkit* offering, the two discs also indicate that the union of male and female is the origin of all kinds of life forms.

Another example of 'white' and 'black' leaves being used in a complementary way is formed by the pair of very complicated *pering* figures, which consist of dozens of different palm leaf artefacts all with their own names and meanings, fastened together in the form of a pair of human beings. The male half of this pair is made from 'white' leaves, the female half from 'black' leaves. These special figures are said to act as a kind of witness during major rituals.[12]

This dualistic structure is a manifestation or enactment of the so-called *rwa bhineda* principle, 'the unity of two separated', an expression of the idea that all phenomena consist of two complementary parts, of which one part cannot exist without, or only derives its value from, the other part. Male and female, day and night, dark and light, sun and moon, water and fire, right and left, top and bot-

11 Symmetry and duality in encompassing socio-cosmic classifications and their expression in myth, ritual and material culture are found in many Indonesian societies (Fox 1980:6). As Adams remarked about East Sumbanese decorated textiles, "I am not suggesting that art reflects society, but rather that both art and society respond to the same structural principles", among them "dyadic-triadic set" and "mirror image" (1980:219).

12 See Stuart-Fox 1982:52 for a photograph of these offerings in use at the Eka Dasa Rudra festival in Besakih in 1979.

tom are all related in this all-encompassing system of cosmological order.[13]

According to Ida Pedanda Gede Oka Timbul (pers. com. 28/8/1989), the principle of *rwa bhineda* means that life is made possible because of the coming together of two complementary principles. "The one element cannot act without the other, they are always together. Like the god and goddess of love Semara and Ratih are everywhere, they are the source of all creation." Also the almighty god Siwa, and his spouse the goddess Uma (combined into one figure, known as Ardanareswari), are regarded as all-encompassing divine couple, the origin of all existing phenomena. Therefore they reside in the centre of the cosmos.

4.3.5 "Dari alam"

As explained, the combination of the light and dark coloured leaves can be associated with the dual opposition male and female, as manifestation of the all-encompassing system of dual cosmological order, *rwa bhineda*. But what is the reason that *lamak* and *ceniga* are made from leaves in the first place?

In the magazine *Sarad*, Ngurah Nala explained the relation between the purpose of a *lamak* and its natural materials:

> "*Lamak is a symbol of the road or bridge for the prosperity that is brought down to earth, so that it connects swah loka (the abode of the gods) with bwah loka, where human beings reside. Via the bridge in the form of a lamak, the gifts or blessings bestowed by the gods are channelled downwards, gifts of well-being, prosperity, security and peace for humankind. The use of a lamak made of cloth, from the point of view of Hindu teachings, is surely not appropriate. Because the lamak is the bridge which gives birth to the prosperity of humankind, because of that it must be made of leaf. The leaf is a symbol of the coming into existence, a symbol of the power of birth, the act of creation of god Brahma. Thus the leaf is the symbol of creation, birth, or growth, which will give birth to prosperity and bring about peace on this earth"* (Nala 2003:44).[14]

Most informants agreed that the materials of a *lamak* must come from living nature, "*dari alam*", or from God's creation, "*dari penciptaan Tuhan*", or from Mother Earth, "*dari* Ibu Pertiwi". And not only the leaves, but according to Ida Wayan Jelantik, *klian adat* of Budakeling (pers. com. 25/4/2014), ideally also the dyes which are sometimes used to colour the leaves red or another colour, should come from nature, "*dari alam*". As Ida Made Yudana, from Gria Demung, Budakeling, stated (pers. com. 14/4/2014): "plastic (or other materials) may not be used because they are unable to disintegrate or dissolve. Nature must become fertile again, plants must grow again, and so the *lamak* must be made again."[15]

As we have seen before, in rituals a *lamak* serves as a base for offerings. According to many informants, because a *lamak* is directly related to an offering, the *lamak* too should be made from leaves, because the offerings (*banten*) are themselves "*dari*

13 According to a dictionary of Hindu terms, Ragam Istilah Hindu: "Rwa Bhineda = Two elements that oppose one another, but possess similarities and constitute the origin of everything that exists, that is: 1. Purusa = Father = Spirit; 2. Predhana/Prakerti = Mother = materiality (Tim Bali Aga 2011:10). As Reuter noted, "In Balinese theories of conception it is proposed that the man's seed and soul-substance (*purusa*) will be nourished or cooked in the woman's womb until it has acquired a physical body (*pradana*) and is born" (Reuter 2002:267).

14 "*Lamak adalah lambang dari jalan atau jembatan kemakmuran yang diturunkan ke bumi, sehingga menghubungkan antara swah loka (sthana para dewa) dengan bwah loka, tempat hunian umat manusia. Melalui jembatan berupa lamak ini, akan disalurkan anugerah dari para dewata (Hyang Widhi) berupa kesejahteraan, kemakmuran, keamanan dan kedamaian bagi umat manusia. Penggunaan lamak dengan bahan dari kain ditinjau dari segi tatwa agama Hindu, tentulah kurang tepat. Sebab lamak itu lambang jalan yang akan melahirkan kemakmuran bagi umat manusia, karena iti dibuat dari daun. Daun itu merupakan lambang dari utpatti, yaitu lambang kekuatan melahirkan, mencipta dari Dewa Brahma. Jadi daun adalah simbol penciptaan, kelahiran, atau tumbuh, yang akan melahirkan kemakmuran dan menumbuhkan kedamaian di bumi ini*" (Nala 2003:44).

15 "*plastic (atau bahan lain) tidak boleh dipakai karena tidak bisa hancur. Alam harus subur lagi, tumbuhan harus dibuat lagi, jadi lamak juga harus dibuat lagi*."

alam", from the natural world. "The *lamak* belongs to the offerings", they said.[16]

In almost any Balinese publication on offerings (e.g. Putra 1982:4) this idea is reflected in a popular passage from the Bhagavad Gita (IX.26): "He who offers to me with devotion only a leaf, or a flower, or a fruit, or even a little water, this I accept from that yearning soul, because with a pure heart it was offered with love" (translated by Juan Mascaró (1962)).

In fact a *lamak* is never the base of the actual contents of any offering, but, as discussed in Chapter 2, it partly acts as an underlay; the offering is placed on top of the upperpart of the *lamak.* The actual base of an offering, whatever its size or contents, is itself usually fashioned from 'sewn' palm leaves, usually the dark green, older leaves of the coconut palm (*slepan*). Its form may be square, circular or triangular, with or without a rim. The size and the type of offering determine the kind of base that is used. For bigger offerings a permanent base might be used as well, such as a metal bowl (*bokor*) or a footed wooden dish (*dulang*), but these are then usually covered by an extra palm leaf base.

On the palm leaf base the content of the offering is arranged, as a kind of meal. This consists of mainly rice, side-dishes of meat and vegetables and spices, fruits and cakes. Various other ingredients such as leaves and seeds, pieces of thread or cloth, and some money are also often part of an offering. Some of these ingredients are placed in separate palm leaf containers. It is the enormous variety of these main ingredients that gives offerings their numerous different names.

Almost all offerings are crowned by another palm leaf artefact, for which usually the young, light green coconut palm leaves (*busung*) are used. This artefact of various shapes and sizes, is called *sampian*, and contains betel-chewing ingredients (*porosan*), flowers and sometimes fragrant oil.

So just as the motifs on a *lamak* are vertically structured, also an offering with its palm leaf base, its food content and its palm leaf crown is structured according to the doctrine of the three worlds. In the macrocosm, the *Buana Agung*, these are from bottom to top: *Bhur-Bhuah-Swah*, lower, middle and upper worlds, which are represented in the human body, or *Buana Alit*, the microcosm, by legs and feet, body and head. The ingredients, contents of offerings, are almost all "*dari alam*", from the natural world. They are the fruits of the earth, the food the Balinese need themselves for their livelihood.

Ida Pedanda Gede Oka Timbul (pers. com. 28/8/1989) explained that offerings consist of "the contents of the world which we just borrow from God who owns them. Through offerings we give back what we have borrowed."[17] By means of presenting offerings, Balinese express their gratitude for the fertility of the earth, for everything that makes life possible. But it is also a request for the continuation of prosperity, the regeneration of nature, the continual renewal of life in Bali, the blessings from above.

Offerings have a life cycle of their own, which is enacted during the ritual. After they have been fashioned from natural, 'living' ingredients, which have been 'killed' during the processes of preparation, they are literally brought to life again, into action, by the priest during the ritual, when the deities are requested to come down and take their seats in the offerings. The worship community takes part in the blessings from the deities, their life-giving powers, by eating the (natural) food contents of the offerings after the ritual is over. This is not the case with the *lamak*, which are purified during the ritual, but not brought to life specifically by means of special mantras, neither are they eaten by the people. However, because they are associated physically with offerings, because they are said to 'belong to' offerings, they participate in the life cycle of offerings and therefore have to be made from natural materials as well. They are made from nature and after ritual use they return to nature, when the leftovers of a ritual are burnt or buried in the earth in a process of recycling. Just as rituals are always repeated, and the offerings always renewed, so the *lamak* too must be created and recreated time and again, because time and again they help make the offerings work, they help channel down the blessings of regeneration and renewal.

16 There exists an extensive literature on offerings by Balinese. An important early publication is Putra 1982. On Balinese offerings see also Brinkgreve 1992; Eiseman 2005; Kam 2010; Stuart-Fox 1974, and, most recently, Fox 2015.

17 *Isi bumi yang kita pinjam saja dari Tuhan yang milik. Dengan banten kita kembalikan yang dipinjam.*

4.4 Permanent *lamak*

Although ideally a *lamak* is ephemeral, short-lived, 'temporary' (*temporer*), in reality not all *lamak* are made from materials "*dari alam*", from nature. Perhaps due to its significance as a ritual object, over a long period of time Balinese have experimented with making 'permanent' (*permanen*) *lamak* out of a variety of materials. Sometimes the creations have been striking, but for reasons already explained, they have never (at least until now) replaced the palm leaf *lamak*. The existence of permanent *lamak* is of course acknowledged by the Balinese themselves; in a short article on *lamak*, Made Titib wrote: "Besides being made from the leaves of the sugar palm, the mature green leaves (*ron*) and the younger yellow leaves (*ambu*), there is also a variety of forms of *lamak* which are made to be permanent, for example using gold paint (*prada*) or an arrangement of Chinese coins (*kepeng*) in combination with various kinds of beads or stones or pieces of glass. In general the form and decoration of a *lamak*, whether temporary or permanent, are very beautiful and impressive" (Titib 1976:13).[18]

However, not all palm leaf *lamak* are beautiful, neither is that the case with all 'permanent' ones. Especially hanging from shrines outside the entrance to house yards, and from wall-shrines inside houses and shops, which are in use every day, one often sees a small *lamak* of various kinds of cloth and with different decoration, but usually they are of rather simple design. Dozens of them are for sale in the markets and shops specializing in ritual utensils and paraphernalia (*toko yadnya*). Although these kinds of *lamak* were already available for sale in the 1980s, their number and variety on the market have increased considerably over the years.

But at Galungan sometimes a fine 'permanent' *lamak* is temporarily 'on show', hanging from the shrine of a *penjor,* like palm leaf *lamak* showing the creativity of its maker. Many, especially well-to-do families have a nice set of, for example, *lamak* made of wood and Chinese coins (*kepeng*) for use during a temple festival in their house or family temple. Such *lamak* are not permanent in the sense that they are always, permanently, in use, but in the sense that they are made of materials that last and that allow them to be stored away and used again for the next ritual. In contrast to these permanent *lamak*, the *lamak* from leaves are ephemeral, they are burnt together with the left-overs from offerings and they have to be made again for each ritual.

There exists a wide range of different kinds of non-ephemeral *lamak*, though the more special ones are nowadays only found in museum collections. They are made from paper, plastic, combinations of wood, little mirrors and Chinese coins (*kepeng*), leather and cloth. Cloth *lamak* are made of such materials as cotton, felt, velvet, silk, with additions of metallic thread, sequins, beads and little mirrors, and are decorated by almost all the textile decorating techniques known in Bali: gold leaf or paint (*prada*), embroidery, couching, appliqué, weft *ikat* and supplementary weft weaving (*songket*).

In general, the overall vertical structure of permanent *lamak* and some of the decorative motifs correspond to those of the palm leaf varieties. However, many permanent *lamak*, especially the cheaper ones sold at the markets, do not have special representational motifs. These consist of a plain base, decorated with simple patterns of sewn-on sequins and beads or small bits of contrasting coloured cloth.

4.4.1 Different types of permanent lamak

4.4.1.1 *Kepeng lamak*

Kepeng lamak (figs. 4.56-4.58) are made from Chinese copper coins (*kepeng*), together with items of cloth, beads, wood, and mirrors. This variety of *lamak* often consists of different compartments (*bebalangan*), and the various 'hard' materials are fastened onto a wooden base, or sewn onto a base of soft, plain cloth, often (but not exclusively) red in colour. Wooden parts are often painted. In many cases the base cloth protrudes at the top end and serves as base for offerings. However, some of these *lamak* have a top decoration in the form of a flat wooden sculpture, often a representation of

18 "*Disamping terbuat dari daun ron (daun enau hijau) dan ambu (daun enau kuning/lebih muda) ada juga berbagai bentuk lamak yang dibuat permanen misalnya dari kain dengan lukisan 'perada' (banyumas) atau dari rangkaian uang kepeng yang dikombinasikan dengan beraneka ragam 'mute" atau permata dan serpihan 'kaca', pada umumnya bentuk atau lukisan sebuah lamak baik yang temporer maupun yang permanen sangat indah dan mengesankan*" (Titib 1976 :13).

Figure 4.56: Kepeng lamak with wooden mask on top, next to a palm leaf lamak with tree motif. Tegallalang, 21/8/1985.

Figure 4.57: Kepeng lamak and gantung-gantungan. Jegu (Penebel), 2/11/2013.

Figure 4.58: Kepeng lamak in the showroom of "Industri uang kepeng Kamasan Bali", Tojan (Klungkung), 30/5/2015.

two intertwined *naga* serpents. These *kepeng lamak* with wooden top are related to temple decorations which are also made of coins and wood, called *salang pipis* (*pipis* meaning coin, *salang* is something that hangs).[19]

The mirrors on the *kepeng lamak* are square or rectangular and sometimes the coins are arranged in such a way that they form recognizable motifs, mainly a human figure (*cili*). Or the *lamak* as a whole is arranged in such a way, with a face on top, that it becomes a human body.

Nowadays temple or shrine decorations mainly made of coins, with a wooden face on top, can be seen at Galungan or temple festivals. In Karangasem these decorations are called Dewa-Dewi, 'god-goddess'. According to Sidemen (2002:161), these are called *salang cili* and they make use of small male and female masks.

Especially in the Tabanan area, even the *sampian gantungan*, the decorations hung at both sides of the *lamak*, are sometimes made of coins and cloth and have the shape of a *cili* (fig. 4.57). The most recent development (since about 2014 or 2015) is that the wooden 'hangers' and frames are sometimes made of a kind of moulded fibre glass material.

Whereas old *kepeng lamak* are made with genuine old Chinese copper *kepeng*, the current high price of genuine coins means that the ritual objects fashioned at present are usually made of newly fabricated, thin aluminium coins, copies of real *kepeng*, made shiny with gold paint. Whereas formerly *kepeng lamak* were probably rather expensive because of the special time-consuming techniques and the cost of the coins themselves, *lamak* made of newly fabricated 'fake' coins are quite cheap and increasingly available at the markets and ritual shops.

Traditionally, besides *lamak* and *salang*, Chinese copper coins were used in making a variety of ritual objects, the most important being god-figures or *pratima*, whose face is often of gold or silver. Some of these are of striking beauty, and may be centuries old. *Kepeng*, either old or new varieties, are also part of the contents of many offerings.[20]

19 In early museum collections, also the rectangular *salang* in the shape of a *lamak* are always referred to as *salang* only (see Appendix 1).

20 On the *kepeng*, see also Kat Angelino 1921b:79-82, Sidemen 2002 and Sidemen, Edy & Sukiada 1998.

4.4.1.2 Woven *lamak* with supplementary warp-embroidery

On these rare woven *lamak* (fig. 4.59-60), a rectangular blue woven cotton foundation is decorated with motifs fashioned from thick bundles of mainly white and sometimes some red and yellow yarns, applied in a double-faced continuous supplementary warp technique. Although in contrast to the palm leaf varieties these woven *lamak* have light motifs applied against a dark background, they have basically the same structure. Representational motifs which are derived from square, triangle and circle forms are placed in a central panel above a geometrical pattern of lozenges in a diagonal grid structure; the bottom contains a row of sharp triangles, and the vertical borders are formed by a pattern of small triangles. The top part of the *lamak* is not decorated, allowing an offering to be placed upon it. Little motifs fill empty space. Because of the special decorative technique, what is blue on one side is white on the other side, and vice versa.

In the 1980s and 1990s this special kind of woven *lamak* was still in use in a few temples in Sanur and Denpasar, in the region of South Bali. In one of these temples I noticed the same *lamak* used on the same shrine but on different occasions with different sides to the front (see also Hauser-Schäublin 1991a:6 (fig.1.7)). When in 2006 I visited the festival in this temple again, the blue-white woven *lamak* was no longer there; in its place, a new *kepeng lamak* was hung on the main shrine instead. They seem to have vanished from other temples too, sadly presumably to enter private collections.

Several of these *lamak* are in museum collections, and most have additional decorations by means of embroidery and the application of little mirrors. Although they are all rather similar in design, none are exactly identical, as I described in my article "The woven *lamak* reconsidered" (Brinkgreve 1993).[21] Some of these *lamak* are known to have

21 In this article I list all the examples of this kind of *lamak* known to me (Brinkgreve 1993:144, n.2). Later publications with illustrations include Maxwell 2003:39, Maxwell *et al.* 2014:54-55 (National Gallery of Australia collection), Brinkgreve 2005:141-145 (Museum Nasional Indonesia collection) and Achjadi 2015:128 (collection of Museum der Kulturen in Basel). See also Appendix 1.

Figure 4.59: Woven lamak, in Pura Segara Agung, Sanur, 25/5/1994.

Figure 4.60: Woven lamak, in Pura Penataran Pauman, Tonja (Denpasar), 25/5/1994.

been acquired in Bali before the World War II, and possibly in pre-war Batavia (Jakarta).[22]

The first publication about this particular type of *lamak* is by Langewis (1956) who based his interpretation of the function of the *lamak* and the meaning of the motifs on literature. This was followed some time later by an important article by Pelras (1967) who in 1961 did research in Bali on the subject. According to Pelras' informants, the maker of these textiles was an old lady, Men Nis, who lived in Kesiman (now part of Denpasar), where she died in 1927. Her place of residence explains why all the known examples seen hanging in temples are in this very area. Apparently she was very secretive about the techniques she used to create a *lamak*, which according to Pelras (1967:259) could be one of the reasons why after her death nobody continued to produce such *lamak* anymore.[23] However, Pelras reconstructed the special decorative technique as a unique form of loom embroidery, achieved, in the course of weaving, with a bamboo needle and a shuttle (Pelras 1967:260-264).[24]

The motifs on these woven *lamak* are rather similar to what on a palm leaf *lamak* would be called *Ibu* (Mother Earth); *bulan* or *matanai* (moon or sun); *gunung* (mountain); *cili* (human figure); *kamben* (hip cloth) and *cracap* (with sharp points), and side borders of *gigin barong* (teeth of a mythic animal). Not all woven *lamak* contain all these motifs, but their position on the cloth, from top to bottom, is the same as on palm leaf *lamak*.

22 A *lamak,* described as "very rare example", is listed in the catalogue of an exhibition in Batavia in 1934 (Tentoonstelling 1934:14, item 113), though further details are unfortunately not available.

23 Two other *lamak* are known using a similar technique, both said to come from Kerambitan, but somewhat different in style to the Men Nis *lamak*. What their relationship (if any) with the Men Nis *lamak* is unknown. One example is in the Georges Breguet collection (Perret 2006:[131], pl. 54), the other in the National Museum of World Cultures (the Netherlands) (see Appendix 1).

24 The publications by Langewis and Pelras are often used as reference when the Balinese woven *lamak* are mentioned, but in my article I continued the discussion by providing additional information and offering alternative interpretations of the motifs (Brinkgreve 1993).

4.4.1.3 *Songket lamak*

Not uncommon in museum collections are small textile *lamak* decorated with the *songket* technique.[25] Longer examples are apparently very uncommon. This is a technique in which additional patterns are woven into the silk or cotton cloth, with supplementary weft threads. These supplementary threads are either gold or silver-wrapped metallic threads or coloured silk threads. This rather complicated technique is described by Ramseyer and Nabholz-Kartaschoff (1991:32-50).

Like embroidery (discussed in the next section), *songket* was mainly used in West Bali for decorating cloth *lamak*, not only in the region of Jembrana, but also in Tabanan. Although according to Fisher and Cooper the weaving of *songket lamak* was replaced by less time-consuming embroidery already in the first half of the twentieth century, in the 1980s and 1990s some small ones were still in use during the Galungan period (fig. 4.61). I have not seen them for sale in any of the markets, only in Balinese antique shops.

Like all other types of *lamak*, *songket lamak* depict both geometric and representational motifs. Most often the main motif is a *cili* figure, usually more than one; either two of equal height or one large one and two smaller ones. There is no evidence that the presence of two *cili* is related to the use of two *cili* on *lamak nganten*. Other *songket* textiles in Bali are also sometimes decorated with comparable *cili* and *wayang* figures and plant motifs. Larger *songket* textiles, used as hip cloths, are framed by a clearly defined border, which usually consists of triangles, like the *cracap* on a *lamak*. They are called *tetumpengan* (after conical-shaped offering ingredients of cooked rice) or *pucuk rebong*, young shoot of bamboo (Ramseyer & Nabholz-Kartaschoff 1991:45).

4.4.1.4 Embroidered *lamak*

Negara, the capital of the district of Jembrana (West Bali) is known for its embroidered *lamak* (fig. 4.62-4.65). They mainly illustrate themes and figures from the Indian epics. According to Fischer and Cooper, the only scholars who have

25 For published examples, see Khan Majlis 1991:160 (ill. 138), Soedjatmoko & Damais 1993:68, Campbell 2014:34-35 (ill. 14-17), Maxwell *et al.* 2014:57.

Figure 4.61: Songket lamak with two cili figures. Delod Berawah (Jembrana), 7/4/1994.

Figure 4.62: Embroidered lamak depicting the god Siwa. Yeh Kuning (Jembrana), 7/4/1994.

Figure 4.63: Embroidered lamak with padma (lotus) motif. Delod Berawah (Jembrana), 7/4/1994.

researched this type of *lamak* (Fischer & Cooper 1998, Fischer 2001, Fischer 2004), the embroidery was done with a long needle and the help of a tambour frame, using a continuous chain stitch. It was mainly a women's craft, although men sometimes outlined in pencil the characters and motifs to be embroidered.

Fischer and Cooper describe how in the first half of the twentieth century *songket* weaving (with metallic threads for the main design) of *lamak* in Negara was replaced by less labour-intensive embroidery, using cheaper materials. But since the 1980s embroidered *lamak* are also gradually disappearing because they too have become too time-consuming to make.

However, some women in Negara still have needlework skills and in the 1990s I noticed in Jembrana small embroidered *lamak* decorating shrines for the Galungan period (fig. 4.61-4.62). In these cases, also the other textile decorations of the shrines were embroidered.[26] Instead of embroidery silk (as in fig. 4.64), woollen yarns were used, brighter in colour and thicker. In August 2010 at the main market in Negara a few small embroidered *lamak* were for sale, two for Rp. 15.000 (€ 1.50). These *lamak* had only a very simple flower pattern. According to the saleswomen, *lamak wayangan*, ornamented with shadow play figures, were only made to order. I have not seen embroidered *lamak* for sale in any other market in Bali, only in Negara.

At the top end of an embroidered *lamak* often a deity or hero from the epics is depicted, identified by name, either in Latin or Balinese script. Figures include "Bhatari Sri", goddess of rice and fertility, or "Rama" or "Hanuman", main figures in the Ramayana epic; or Arjuna or one of the other Mahabharata heroes. Beneath this figural image is usually a bold floral ornament, often a lotus flower, associated with fertility. Especially on long embroidered *lamak*, a crowned serpent or *naga* with tail rising upwards is sometimes represented towards the lower part of these *lamak*.[27]

Another kind of embroidered *lamak*, with *cili* figures, I noticed in 2010 on shrines for Galungan in the Tabanan area (fig. 4.65).

4.4.1.5 Appliqué *lamak*

Although in some collections long appliqué[28] *lamak* are present,[29] in the 1980s and 1990s only very small and rather old appliqué *lamak* sometimes decorated shrines in West Bali (Tabanan and Jembrana) during the Galungan period. And although the exact provenance of this type of *lamak* is uncertain,[30] the style of its decorations is most similar to that of Tabanan in West Bali. The motifs of these *lamak* are usually cut from felt of different colours, applied to a white cotton base with small stitches, and additionally decorated with silver thread couching,[31] sequins and pieces of mirror. As is the case with *songket lamak*, the *cili* is the main motif on appliqué *lamak*. Their headdresses are usually upright and their arms as well, in the style of Tabanan *cili*.

In 2010 I noticed modern-style appliqué *lamak* with *cili* motifs on shrines for Galungan in the Tabanan region, which were also for sale in some shops with ritual paraphernalia (fig. 4.68-4.69) in this area. The material looks like a kind of felt, they seem to be mass produced since the shapes are very similar, and the colour range is wider than it used

26 The embroidered *lamak* seem to be the only type whose decorating techniques are in accordance with the other textiles which decorate the temple where these *lamak* are used.

27 See illustrations in Fischer & Cooper 1998, Fischer 2001, Fischer 2004. See also Hamilton 2003:256 and Brinkgreve in Reichle 2010:147-149 (private collection). See also Appendix 1.

28 Appliqué refers to a needle work technique where pieces of fabric are sewn onto the ground material to make a design.

29 See Maxwell 1990:204-205 (Australian Museum, Sydney), Sumner 2001:51 (Powerhouse Museum, Sydney), Brinkgreve in Reichle 2010:145-146 (private collection); also Soedjatmoko & Damais 1993:68, Campbell 2014:cover, 5, 24-25 (ill. 3), 36 (ill.18) (private collection).

30 Fischer & Cooper (1998:fig. 91) illustrate an appliqué *ider-ider* (a long cloth hung under the roof eaves of a temple pavilion or shrine) with felt wayang figures, said to come from Negara.

31 Couching is a technique where a thread is laid on cloth and attached by stitching with another thread, which is usually finer.

Figure 4.64: Embroidered lamak. Batungsel (Pupuan), 3/8/1977 (photo D.J. Stuart-Fox).

Figure 4.65: Embroidered lamak. Sudimara (Tabanan), 13/5/2010.

Figures 4.66-4.67: Two lamak with decorations of applied sequins. Pujung Kelod, Sebatu, 21/8/1985.

Figures 4.68-4.69: Two lamak with applied cili motifs and sequins. Sudimara (Tabanan), 13/5/2010.

to be. Additional plastic sequins and other decorations are frequently attached.

At least since the 1980's small, rather simple cloth *lamak* have been in use and are available in the markets. These consist of a plain base, decorated with simple patterns of sewn-on sequins and beads or small bits of contrasting coloured cloth (fig. 4.66 and 4.67, see also Appendix 1). At present, these *lamak* are sold as sets of five, with the base cloth in the four colours of the cardinal directions or the three colours of the Trimurti, white for Siwa, black for Wisnu and red for Brahma (fig. 4.70) and one *poleng* variety (fig. 4.71).[32]

4.4.1.6 *Poleng lamak*

Shrines or statues that are adorned with the black and white checked *poleng* cloth often receive a cloth *lamak* with this same *poleng* pattern. *Poleng lamak* (fig. 4.71-4.72) are for sale in all markets and ritual paraphernalia shops, sometimes with patterns of coloured sequins added to the *poleng* base.

Poleng cloths with their chessboard pattern of alternating black and white squares, are woven with white and black yarn or simply printed on the finished white cloth, but the *lamak* made of this material are mainly woven. As a result of the weaving process, in addition to the black and white squares there are also squares that are grey in colour, created when the warp and weft threads intersect one another. As Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin (1991b:80-93) has analysed, *poleng* cloths have strong danger-averting qualities/properties, because the pattern encompasses the whole world, by means of the complementary opposition of the white and black squares, according to the *rwa bhineda* principle of cosmological ordering.

In this regard, the cultural values enclosed in a *poleng* cloth are comparable to the meaning of the combination of "white" and "black" leaves on any palm leaf *lamak*, as pointed out earlier in this chapter. But *poleng* is itself also one of the patterns on palm leaf *lamak* (fig. 4.47). Hauser-Schäublin (1991b:82, fig. 7.3) illustrates a palm leaf *lamak* with a *poleng* pattern hanging from a shrine which is decorated with a number of *poleng* cloths. But as we have seen, this pattern can also be called *compang banggul* or bamboo staircase.

Nowadays the additional colour red is often used in *poleng* cloths as well (fig. 4.72). The combination of three colours is related to the colours of the Trimurti.

4.4.1.7 Leather and gilded (*prada*) *lamak*

When for a temple festival deities are invited to descend, shrines and pavilions are dressed on the same principle as the human body, with a "hip cloth" around the base of the shrine, a "head cloth" under the eaves of the roof, and a *lamak* as "breast cloth" suspended from the opening of the shrine in which the offerings are placed (Hauser-Schäublin (1991a:10).

Likewise, a *lamak* can be part of the costume of a real person, usually a dancer, and be made of leather or cloth patterned with gold leaf.[33] As mentioned in Chapter 2, in a recent publication on Legong, edited by Djelantik (2015), it is noted that *lamak* are not only used in the Legong costume, but also in the costume of dancers of Gambuh (fig. 4.73), Arja, Topeng Telek and Baris (Arini 2015:125).

The costume of the male Baris dancer has a number of *lamak*, usually of cloth patterned with gold leaf.[34] In Bali (and elsewhere in Indonesia where it is practised), the glue-work technique of decorating cloth with gold leaf or gold dust, or more recently with cheaper gold-coloured substitutes, is called *prada*.[35] In Bali, the design is first sketched (*ngorten* or *macawi*), a skill related to painting, and traditionally done by men. After a fish-based glue (*ancur*) is applied to the parts of the design to be covered, the gold leaf is attached.

In contrast to the leather *lamak*, which are only used as part of a dance costume, *prada lamak* are also used as a decoration of a shrine (fig. 4.74) and occasionally as part of a *rantasan* offering, a pile of folded textiles offered to the deities as clothing. For such an offering also other types of textile *lamak* can be used, but I have never seen a palm leaf *lamak* as part of a *rantasan*.

32 In figures 4.70 and 4.71 such a set can be seen in use in a family temple in Budakeling.

33 See Appendix 1.

34 *Lamak* can also be part of the costume of Jauk dancers (Bandem 1983:93). See Appendix 1.

35 On *prada* in Bali, see Nabholz-Kartaschoff 1991a.

Figures 4.70-4.71: Set of black, white and red cloth lamak on sanggah kemulan and poleng lamak on taksu shrine, all with added decoration of sequins. Family temple of Ni Made Darmi, Budakeling, 12/5/2006.

Figure 4.71.

Figure 4.72: Three-coloured poleng lamak on shrine for the deity who protects the house. Komala (Bebandem), 1/4/2016.

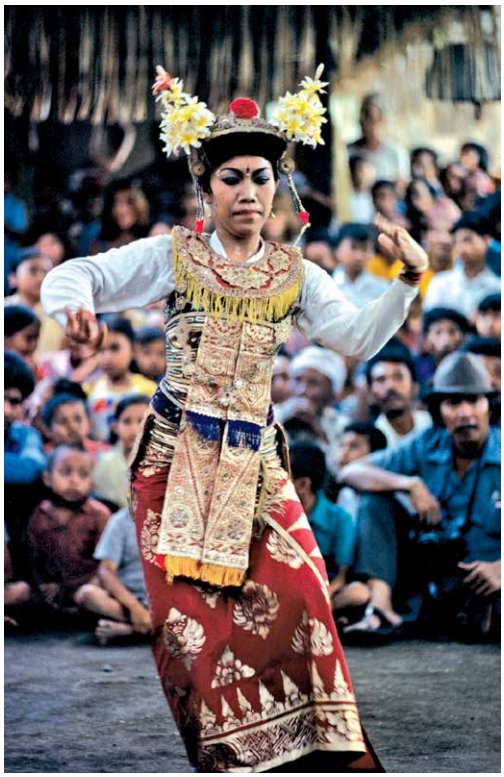


Figure 4.73: Leather lamak, worn by a condong dancer in Gambuh theatre. Puri Saren, Ubud, 27/1/1979.

Figure 4.74: Prada lamak, Bebandem market, 26/10/2013.

Figure 4.75: Double-ikat gringsing lamak, worn by a condong dancer in Gambuh theatre. Pura Dalem, Budakeling, 23/32016.

Most *prada* textiles, including *lamak*, have flower motifs and the geometric meander motif (*banji*), which refers to a possible Chinese origin of this kind of textile.

Nowadays many markets sell small cheap *lamak* with *prada* patterns painted directly onto the material with cheap bronze pigment paint. Another method is to transfer gold-coloured plastic foil (*prada plastik*) onto patterns previously applied with red and yellow oil paint (Nabholz-Kartaschoff 1991a:52-57).

4.4.1.8 (Double-) Ikat *lamak*

Although the resist-dye ikat technique of the weft, *endek* in Balinese, is one of the main textile-decorating techniques in Bali, especially for silks used at the courts, it is rarely used for cloth *lamak*.[36] Interestingly however, the only reference to *lamak* (ephemeral or permanent) that I have so far found in religious texts mentions the requirement of ikat textiles as *lamak* (see Chapter 2)[37]: "as a *lamak* on a *sanggar tawang* (a high bamboo shrine with three compartments), a *cepuk* cloth (*wastra cepuk*) is required when the ceremony is carried out at *nista* or simple level; a red *patolu (patola bang*) at *madia* or medium level; and a silk *patolu* (*patola sutra*) at *utama*, or highest level, [....] If it is not visible in this way, the ritual will not be successful, it will not be noticed by the gods."[38]

Sacred *cepuk* cloths, whose patterns are produced by the *endek* technique and which at ritual occasions have a protective and purifying function, sometimes function as temple decoration (Nabholz-Kartaschoff 1989:184; 1991:114). Although *cepuk* textiles are often used in ritual contexts, such as wrapping around a shrine, I have not seen it used as a real *lamak*. However Nabholz-Kartaschoff (1991:103,110) reports that *cepuk* is often used as a *tatakan*, underlayer of offerings, and also hanging from a shrine like a *lamak* (Nabholz-Kartaschoff, pers. com. 1991).

Although red is the dominant colour of a *cepuk* cloth, I have never seen a red *patolu* cloth being used as a *lamak*, as stated in this *lontar* text, but there are connections between *cepuk* and *patolu*. A *patolu* cloth is a famous silk textile from Gujarat, India, decorated in the double *ikat* technique in which resist patterns are applied to both the warp and the weft before weaving. In Bali and elsewhere in Indonesia *patola* were regarded as prestigious textiles. The geometrical pattern on the central field of a *cepuk*, called *padma* or lotus, is influenced by the pattern *padma* on a *patolu*, one of the *patola* patterns that was most popular in Indonesia and most often imitated (Nabholz-Kartaschoff 1989:185,192). A *padma* is also the name of a motif on palm leaf *lamak*. Both long sides of a *cepuk* are bordered by a pattern of rows of small triangles, similar to the *gigin barong* motif on the sides of a *lamak*.

According to Ramseyer (1991b:123), in Tenganan (Karangasem) a sacred *gringsing* cloth, made by the double *ikat* technique and related to the Indian *patola* cloths, is sometimes used as a breast cloth and "drawn over the upper garment so that it hangs down as a loose end (*lamak*) in front of the body" of girls and women who dance the solemn *abuang luh* dance. Recently I have seen a *gringsing lamak* worn by a Gambuh dancer at a temple festival in Pura Dalem, Budakeling (fig. 4.75).

4.4.1.9 Paper and plastic *lamak*

Although the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna is in possession of two unusual *lamak* of paper, with painted designs, very likely made by the German artist Walter Spies on the basis of *lamak* patterns he had collected (Brinkgreve 2010b:74-79; Kraus 2010:66-73), in Bali I have seen only a few times a *lamak* made of paper, covered with plastic to protect this material against the rain (fig. 4.77).

In the 1980s in Kerambitan I also saw once or twice a *lamak* made entirely out of plastic. They had the same structure and the same motifs as the palm leaf *lamak* from this area, only the colours were different. Motifs in black, blue, red and other colours were sewn with white thread onto a white background. Already at that time plastic *lamak* were almost never used anymore in temples, because the

36 See Appendix 1.

37 HKS 2774 = Or 15.918, *Makudang bebantenan dewa-, bhuta- yadnya, Griya Talaga, Sanur,* p.15 (10b/24-11a/4). Translation by David Stuart-Fox.

38 *Kunang ikang sanggar-tawang lalamakania wastra cepuk nistania. Madhyania patola bang. Utamania patola sutra, kaatur ring sang ngajengin karya tekeng daksina kabeh. Yan tan samangkana byakta tan sida karyané, tan kahulatana den i watek déwata.*

Figure 4.76: Plastic lamak. Kediri (Tabanan), 5/1/1977 (photo D.J. Stuart-Fox).

Figure 4.77: Paper lamak. Tengkudak (Penebel), 7/4/1994.

material was not regarded as ritually suitable by religious authorities (pers. com. Dayu Komang 3/10/1982 and Dayu Made Sapri 26/9/1985).[39] Plastic *lamak* also appeared in other parts of Tabanan, for example Kediri (fig. 4.76). Nowadays in the area of Tabanan (I noticed this for example in the neighbourhood of Wongaya, Galungan 23 October 2013) plastic in all kinds of colours is again being used for *lamak*, but only in combination with other materials, such as *lontar* leaves.

4.4.1.10 Painted *lamak*

Very occasionally, it would seem, painters have been inspired to paint a *lamak*, presumably just for use in their own temples, for there is no evidence of a tradition of painted *lamak*.[40] A very small number of *lamak* in traditional wayang style, produced in Kamasan, are known, two of them being part of the Forge collection (Campbell 2013:228 and 264). Interestingly, these two *lamak* both illustrate episodes from the Ramayana, depicted in two or three scenes, one above the other. At the very top of both *lamak* is a sun, and at the very bottom a pond filled with water and fish, and so the usual vertical tripartite structure of a *lamak* has been followed.

In the 1980s as a result of the commercialization of *lamak* making (which will be dealt with more extensively in the next chapter), cloth *lamak* were created with painted motifs, which were intended as an exact imitation, a copy (in permanent form) of the ephemeral palm leaf *lamak* (fig. 4.78). Especially in the region of Ubud in Gianyar, well-known for its painting traditions, some *tukang lamak* who made palm leaf *lamak* to order, started to paint *lamak* motifs on canvas. The size of these *lamak* was similar to the palm leaf versions, and the colours chosen were as close to the palm leaf ones as possible. The canvas was painted a light yellow shade, and the ornaments in a contrasting dark green, just like the colours of *ambu* and *ron*, the young and mature leaves of the sugar palm respectively. The motifs were first drawn in pencil and then painted by hand, and in some cases the *tukang* made use of small carton templates for certain parts of patterns. The patterns were so similar in style to those of the palm leaf *lamak* in the Ubud area, that from a distance almost no difference could be seen. The whole range of existing motifs from this area was taken over, since the craftsmen, generally specialists in the palm leaf ones, were well acquainted with them.

People who bought and used these painted *lamak* did so for reasons of efficiency, but this development around Ubud was looked down upon by people in more traditional villages in Gianyar, like Lambing and Jasan. They were proud of the fact that they did not participate in these new innovations, but still used *ambu* and *ron* for their traditional, authentic (*asli*) *lamak*.

Nowadays hand-painted *lamak* are probably not made anymore, since I have not seen them in use since the beginning of this century. They seem to have been replaced by or lost out to the cheaper, mass-produced *lamak sablon*.

4.4.1.11 *Lamak sablon*

Related to the painted *lamak* are the *lamak sablon* (fig. 4.79-4.80, 4.82).[41] It was in 1988 that I first noticed in the Gianyar area (and only there) a few *lamak* which were decorated by means of the silkscreen technique, but by no means yet in the quantities I noticed throughout Bali on a visit in 2001. In that year large numbers of this new type of permanent *lamak*, called *lamak sablon*, were available at the markets. The name is derived from the technique, since these *lamak* are mass-produced by patterning pieces of cloth by means of a silkscreen, called *sablon* in Indonesian (from the Dutch word *sjabloon*, meaning stencil). These *lamak* are very cheap, and I have seen them with only a very limited range of motifs, which, like the chosen colours, at first sight seem to imitate the palm leaf varieties. The main difference, though, lies in the use of one particular motif never found on traditional *lamak*, the motif of Dewi Saraswati. This important Hindu goddess is in Bali worshipped as the consort of the Creator Brahma, and as goddess of

39 See Appendix 1.

40 In my own collection are two painted *lamak*, said to come from Karangasem, with flower motifs. One is dated 20-9-56 and, unusually, even the names of the intended shrines are written on the back. See also Appendix 1.

41 This section is derived from my article "Palm leaf to silkscreen" (Brinkgreve 2010a).

Figure 4.78: Three painted lamak, in the family temple of I Gusti Putu Nonderan, Padangtegal, Ubud, 5/4/1994.

Figure 4.79: Lamak sablon. Denpasar market, 20/7/2005.

Figure 4.80: Lamak sablon. Workshop of Ni Made Darmi, Budakeling, 15/7/2010.

learning, knowledge and writing, especially *lontar* manuscripts. On the holy day dedicated to her, the last day of the Javano-Balinese *wuku* year, manuscripts are ritually purified and honoured. Nobody is allowed to read or write. Nowadays schools and institutes of learning hold special ceremonies, in which also the books of students and schoolchildren receive ritual attention. Furthermore, the day dedicated to Dewi Saraswati is nowadays widely celebrated, not only at schools, but also at special ceremonies held at some major temples like Pura Besakih. This increased attention to the day honouring Saraswati in all probability influenced the decision to use the Saraswati motif on a *lamak.* On the *lamak sablon*, Dewi Saraswati is represented with all her attributes, which she holds in her four arms and hands. In one hand she holds a musical instrument which she is playing with another, and in the two other hands she holds a *lontar* manuscript and a rosary (fig. 4.79). At her feet are two geese, which act as her vehicle, and on her head she wears a kind of crown with an aura around it, a development of the ornate headdress of the traditional *cili.* This representation is probably influenced by illustrations in modern school books and religious magazines, which show a tendency to visualize deities in a kind of more realistic Indian style.[42] In any case, Dewi Saraswati was never depicted on a palm leaf *lamak*, so she is a completely new element in the *lamak* iconography. Other *lamak sablon*, however, do depict a "traditional" *cili* figure instead of this goddess (fig. 4.80).

Probably because the *lamak sablon* appeared in such large quantities compared with other permanent *lamak*, and because they were so clearly an imitation of the palm leaf ones, they gave rise to an interesting exchange of views about whether they could be regarded as an acceptable substitute for the originals.

In the January 2000 issue of *Sarad*, a Balinese magazine about Hindu-Balinese religion, an article appeared entitled "*Siapa suka lamak sablon?*", which means "Who likes the silkscreen *lamak?*" The author, Ni Made Mawi Adini, collected various current opinions about the numerous *lamak sablon* or "*lamak palsu*", "false" *lamak*, which are "flooding" the markets of Bali. One lady, who has a full-time job, says that it saves her a lot of time during the ritual seasons not to have to make the palm leaf *lamak* herself, but to buy the *lamak sablon*, which are cheap and can be kept until the next ritual. Moreover, she uses the *lamak sablon* on an everyday basis, "to give the shrines a festive appearance" ("*biar palinggih tampak meriah*"). However, deep down, she would prefer to keep the traditional ways of the village where she grew up, and not only use palm leaf *lamak*, but even make them herself. But she simply does not have the time anymore for doing this. In contrast, another lady thinks that one should not try to be too frugal in front of the deities. Moreover, she likes to make *lamak* herself, since for her working with palm leaves is a good way to relax, to put her mind at rest.

The author of many booklets about offerings and especially about palm leaf *jejaitan,* specialist Ida Ayu Putu Surayin, also prefers to make the *lamak* herself, because it is her interest anyway, and she likes to offer to the deities something beautiful. She has not found any prohibitions against the use of *lamak* such as the *lamak sablon* in the religious manuals she knows. Essentially she leaves it up to the religious feelings of individual persons themselves, since it is their intentions that form the essence of the offerings. Also according to the then head of Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia (the official organization for Hindu affairs) in the district of Badung, I Gusti Ngurah Oka Supartha, the use of imitation *lamak* is not forbidden and the Hindu congregation is allowed to follow recent developments. However, he reminds the Balinese of the fact that anything that is offered to the deities must contain leaves, flowers, fruits and water. These are basic requirements, taken from the natural realm, and in principle not to be imitated. He stresses the religious significance of the *lamak* as a bridge between the human world and the deities, and the symbolism of the motifs, representing the contents of the world. He is concerned that with the increasing use of the *lamak sablon* the sym-

42 Fischer & Cooper (1998:chapter 4, fig. 2) illustrate a contemporary painting of Dewi Saraswati, which also is not in traditional Balinese wayang style. Similar Indian influence is noticeable in stone sculpture. In a photo-essay, Rama Surya (2001:76,79) shows a street trader with a painting of such an Indian-style goddess Saraswati, and of Dewi Saraswati as religious icon in a department store in Denpasar.

bolism of the decorative motifs on the *lamak* will eventually disappear.

In a reaction to this article, in a later issue of *Sarad*, one of the makers of *lamak sablon*, the son of a temple priest from Sukawati in Gianyar, gives his opinion. Since the palm leaf *lamak* sold at the markets were so expensive, he started his own business. He learned about the materials and techniques of the silkscreen method from a Javanese craftsman in Denpasar, and in making his silkscreen he copied motifs from an original *lamak*. He receives many orders, and his example has been followed by many other producers in Sukawati and the neighbouring village of Batuan. According to him, the use of cloth as material for a *lamak* is no different from the use of other types of textile decorations, such as the long cloths along the eaves of buildings (*ider-ider*). Also textiles are used as parts of offerings. For him, the *lamak sablon* is just a more practical and cheaper way, which does not deviate at all from existing religious values.

One reader wondered why some people thought that the *lamak sablon* should be forbidden, whereas other new developments, like offering the deities bottled soft-drinks instead of a glass of coffee, were allowed. And the answer was,[43] that a *lamak* has to be made from leaves, because of the symbolic value of the natural elements: leaves, flowers and fruits are symbols of birth, life and death, of the cycles of life of all creation. According to this opinion, even should the ornaments be the same as on the palm leaf *lamak*, their symbolic meaning cannot be accepted, because the material lacks religious value.

Amongst my informants opinions about the use of *lamak sablon* also differed. For example in Sanur they have never been sold at the market, because people there did not want to use them (pers. com. Ni Nyoman Murni 11/5/2010), whereas in the market of Bebandem, Karangasem, they are still being sold, even during my latest visit in 2016. A *lamak sablon* was even hanging from the wall shrine in the *jejaitan* workshop of Ni Wayan Suartini (see the beginning of this chapter), but she had added on top a *lontar lamak* and a *lontar ceniga* of her own making (fig. 4.82), "so that it is more complete" (*biar lebih lengkap*), she said.

43 Again from Ngurah Nala, whom I quoted also in the section in this chapter about the materials having to be "*dari alam*".

4.4.2 Meanings of materials and colours of permanent lamak

Most of the permanent *lamak* which are nowadays sold at the markets, besides the white and black checked *poleng lamak* (discussed in section 4.4.1.6), have a cloth background in one of four colours, white, red, yellow and black. In family temples in Karangasem (and probably elsewhere in Bali) the three compartments of the so-called *sanggah kamulan* shrine (shrine of origin) are often decorated with three permanent *lamak*, from left to right in the colours black, white and red (fig. 4.70). These colours are related to the Trimurti, the great deities of the cycle of life: red for Brahma (Creator), black for Wisnu (Sustainer) and white for Siwa (Destroyer). Sometimes the colour yellow is added to the central compartment of the shrine, and then the colours are related to the deities who are located and rule the cardinal directions: white for Iswara in the East, red for Brahma in the South, yellow for Mahadewa in the west, and black for Wisnu in the North.

This classification of colours related to deities is also found in the material of newly fabricated coins which are of better quality than the thin aluminium fake *kepeng*. Answering a question in *Sarad* magazine (April 2003:44), "Is it allowed to exchange old *kepeng* coins with newly-made ones, quantities of which are nowadays sold in the market?"[44], Ngurah Nala replied that "old *kepeng* coins may be replaced by newly-made ones, provided they are made from the five metals (*panca dhatu*, *panca dewata*) which fulfil [ritual] requirements."[45] The *panca dhatu* mentioned here as being required for ritually approved coins refers to five metals that are related to the powers of the Gods of the five directions: iron (black), silver (white), copper (red),

44 *Bolehkah menggantikan uang kepeng yang kuno dengan uang kepeng buatan baru yang kini banyak dijual di pasar?*

45 *Uang kepeng kuno dapat diganti dengan uang kepeng buatan baru, asal uang kepeng ini dibuat dari lima macam logam (panca dhatu, panca dewata), yang memenuhi persyaratan.*

gold (yellow), while bronze-brass (multi-coloured) represents Siwa at the centre.[46]

This classification system, in which colours are related to five deities, Panca Dewata, can be elaborated into the so-called *nawa sanga* system, the eight directions of the compass around the centre, related to nine deities. This is also a symbol of the totality of the universe, as has been explained in Chapter 3, but this particular elaboration is not reflected in the colours or materials of *lamak*, neither ephemeral nor permanent.

4.4.3 Clothing of a shrine

As discussed in Chapter 2, a *lamak*, ephemeral or permanent, acts both as base for offerings and as decoration of shrines or altars where offerings are placed. They are then said to be "the clothing (*busana, pangangge*) of a sacred building". In both ways, a *lamak* fulfils its ritual purpose as an invitation, a sign of welcome for deities, ancestors, spirits and other invisible, *niskala* beings. Most kinds of permanent *lamak* can in fact be used as base for offerings which are placed on the (sometimes undecorated) upper end of the *lamak*. But a *kepeng lamak* with a wooden upper part can only be a shrine decoration, and another *lamak* has to be used as actual base for offerings. For example, Dayu Putu Sriani from Ubud (pers. com. 29/8/2001) bought a whole set of *kepeng lamak* with wooden ornaments on top for all shrines in her family temple (*mrajan*). But for Galungan she hung on all shrines small palm leaf *lamak* on top of these *kepeng* ones, to act as base for the offerings.

So whereas not all permanent *lamak* can act as base for offerings, they all can, in any case, serve as decoration of a shrine, they make the shrine complete for the duration of the ritual. Being colourful and prominent, they show the invisible beings the way to the shrines with the offerings. And, like the ephemeral *lamak*, they remain in use during the course of the ritual, as long as shrines or altars are inhabited by ancestors or deities, until they return to their own abodes. After the ritual is over, they are taken off the shrines, and stored away until the next occasion. Permanent in terms of materiality, their action is temporary.

If permanent *lamak* are used in a village temple, they usually hang only on certain shrines, whereas all shrines receive an ephemeral one. In any case, for a temple festival (*odalan*), all shrines with offerings must have at least a *lamak*, accompanied by two "hanging decorations" (*gantung-gantungan*). These hanging decorations can also be of permanent materials, like *kepeng* and beads for example. The cheaper *lamak* which are sold at the markets nowadays often come as a set, together with matching *gantungan*.

The function or purpose of a *lamak* as "clothing of a shrine" is in fact in almost all cases only an addition to the fact that for a temple festival all shrines are already decorated, "dressed" like a person, with textiles of different kinds. In this model, a *lamak* acts "only" as the breast cloth of the costume of the shrine, like a *lamak* can also be part of the costume of a real person, usually a dancer, and sometimes of the small statues the deities descend into when they are invited for a temple festival.[47]

In the words of Hauser-Schäublin (1991a:10): "The customary appearance of Balinese temple sanctuaries, with their offering stelae, shrines and open pavilions, is grey, forlorn and lonely. For the annual festival when the deities are invited to descend, however, these sites are transformed. The individual abodes of the gods, the shrines and the pavilions, are made ready for the arrival of the gods and are dressed on the same principle as the human body. Two wraparounds, one representing the upper hip cloth, and one the cloth beneath, are draped around the pillar on which a small shrine stands; both are secured with a sash. Above the offering niche, the structure is adorned with a head-

46 "*Panca Datu (Lima Kekuatan Hidup yang dipengaruhi oleh Kekuatan Panca Dewata) yaitu: Besi (Hitam), Perak (Putih), Tembaga (Merah), Emas (Kuning) dan Perunggu-Kuningan (berwarna-warni) adalah kekuatan Siwa di Tengah*", according to a leaflet from the *Industri uang kepeng KAMASAN BALI*. I visited the workshop of this company in Desa Tojan, Klungkung, 30/5/2015. The company makes a wide variety of objects out of modern coins, for both ritual and tourist use, *lamak* among them. See also Sidemen, Edy & Sukiada 1998.

47 As Belo noted, "[…] the dressing of god-figures: they are wrapped first in a *kamben*, a skirt, then an upper scarf, *tjerik*, and lastly a gold-leafed panel, a *lamak* such as dancers wear, was bound from their breasts with a brightly colored sash, *saboek*" (1953:21).

Figure 4.81: Palm leaf and kepeng lamak on the shrine for Ida Ratu Ngurah, which is 'dressed' with a poleng cloth. Pura Bias, Budakeling, 19/10/2013.

band modelled after a man's head cloth. The niches themselves, at least in south Bali, are lined with plaited mats, with a *lamak* hanging down."

Also Hildred Geertz (2004), in her study of one specific temple, Pura Desa in the village of Batuan, writes about the importance of decorations in a temple in order to please the invisible (*niskala*) beings. In a chapter about the purpose of this temple, in which she discusses the yearly temple festival, she describes the beautiful carvings of the temple as "aspects in the transactions" between the deities and worshippers (2004:63). In return, "the intended practical effects [...] are the well-being (*rahayu*) of all in the immediate world of the worshipper: humans, animals, plants, and the land around them. The works of the ritual persuade these beings to grant the divine gifts of fertility, vitality and protection" (2004:73). Since "the altars are the most important part of a temple, the place to receive the *niskala* beings of the village" (2004:69), they are decorated with beautiful carvings "to provide a palace, covered with ornaments" (2004:71). "This purpose is the primary interpretative frame for form and ornamentations" (2004:67).

However, Geertz does not pay any attention to the additional, temporary decorations of the temple and its shrines for the duration of the ritual. There is no mention at all of the textiles that decorate or dress the temple for the special occasion, nor of any other ritual decorations, like *lamak*, which must certainly have been present to make this "palace of the *niskala* beings" even more beautiful for the reception of the honoured guests.

Discussing the Balinese word *ias*, beautiful, and *maiasan*, to decorate, Geertz states, "There is a strong motivation to please the gods, but it is not necessary for the temple to be *maiasan* for the rituals held in it to be successful" (2004:71). Indeed, the beautiful carvings alone cannot fulfil this task, since it is the very purpose of the *lamak*, by acting as base for the offerings and decoration of the shrines, to make the offerings work, so that the intended effects are reached. The permanent decorations on a shrine, no matter how beautiful these carvings are, cannot act as an invitation for a temporary festive occasion, a ritual that has to be repeated regularly, because, as Geertz herself points out, "The state of well-being can never last but must be constantly renewed" (2004:74). Because the carvings cannot be renewed yearly, a temple needs temporary visible objects to show that the invisible beings are requested to be present.

In an article about "the art of transformation", Hauser-Schäublin stresses the importance of the temporal aspects of wrapping and unwrapping, dressing and undressing of ritual space. "It is the actualization and animation of the sanctuary, with its abodes for gods and deified ancestors, that is achieved through the textiles. The stone and wooden structures become endowed with life;[...]" (1995:4; see also Hauser-Schäublin 1992).

4.5 Ephemeral and permanent *lamak* compared

Within this general process of transformation of ritual space (dressing a temple), to mark the transition to ritual time (its festival), *lamak* play a crucial and specific role, in showing the invited invisible beings the way to the offerings.

This might in principle be done by either a *lamak* made of non-ephemeral materials or one made of palm leaves. However, when asked to compare both types of *lamak*, informants all stressed that the use of only a permanent *lamak* is not really enough, "*kurang lengkap*"[48], not yet complete, even if this *lamak* can also physically act as the base for offerings. They always put an ephemeral *lamak* or *ceniga*, or just leaves or flowers, between the top end of the cloth *lamak* and the offering, or sometimes underneath the permanent *lamak*, as a kind of underlay. And even when a shrine is permanently in use, as in shops or restaurants or in front of houses, to the permanent *lamak* hanging from it, some fresh flowers are added every time new offerings are put on the shrine.

The motivation for these necessary natural additions according to the Balinese is, as already explained, that a *lamak* in principle has to be "*dari alam*", from nature. And furthermore, they also say that even if a *lamak* which in principle is taken from nature, like one made of *lontar* leaves, and that still looks attractive would be kept after a ritual like a permanent *lamak*, it is not allowed to be used again

48 The Balinese often express this idea with the phrase: "*kantun kirang*". Literally: 'still lacking', or 'not yet sufficient'.

for another ritual (pers. com. Ni Nyoman Ngetis, Budakeling, 9/6/2015).

As Ida Pedanda Gede Oka Timbul (pers. com. 13/4/2014) explained, "a *lamak* of (palm) leaf is more sacred, because the motifs have a purpose, but a *lamak* made of cloth is merely artistic. If it is from leaf, it has *taksu*."[49] The *pedanda* is referring here to both the meaning of the motifs on a palm leaf *lamak*, which are related to the blessings of life from above, and to the natural material, which is alive, in which the Creator is seated, as it were.

Also according to Ida Wayan Jelantik, *klian adat* of Budakeling (pers. com. 25/4/2014), "A cloth *lamak* can be used when needed on a daily basis, but as a requirement for a ceremony it must be made from God's creation. All offerings and ritual necessities are provided with *taksu*; after the ceremony it returns to its origin, so that it can grow again."[50]

The author I Gusti Agung Mas Putra is of the opinion that "*jejahitan* that are made from leaves serve also as a form of gift. […] It is one of four ways to bring oneself closer in worshipping God, Ida Sanghyang Widhi […]. The replacement of leaves with paper or plastic, or with cloth that is of a permanent nature, is to diminish the spiritual values" (1985b:5).[51] And she continues, referring to "*lamak* made of cloth, also those made of Chinese coin (*kepeng*)" that "such a replacement using these would seem to give priority to worldly or material values, since they appear more luxurious, their materials more expensive, difficult to obtain, and only available to certain people" (1985:7).[52]

Also according to Sidemen (2002:165), "*lamak* that are made from young coconut palm leaf or young and old sugar palm leaf apparently are a ritual prerequisite, since without them the ritual requirements are not complete. *Lamak* made from *kepeng* coins are only an additional decoration."[53]

In fact, there is no ritual requirement or obligation to use permanent *lamak* at all.

But some Balinese wish to decorate their family temple or the most important shrines in a village temple with some extra beautiful permanent *lamak*. And for practical reasons some people prefer to make the offering places which are in permanent use and in public view, such as the wall shrines in shops and the shrines in front of a house entrance, attractive with a simple permanent *lamak*.

The wish to be as complete as possible, together with a precaution against perhaps not getting everything correct,[54] results sometimes in up to three layers of *lamak* on a single shrine, as illustrated in photographs taken of examples in Pura Bias, Budakeling (2013) (fig. 4.81), Pura Dalem Sibetan (2014) (fig. 4.85), a family temple in Komala (2015) (fig. 4.84) and the wall shrine in the workshop of Ni Wayan Suartini in Bebandem (2015) (fig. 4.83). But even from the 1920s there is photographic evidence of the use of a combination of palm leaf and *kepeng lamak* and *ceniga* (fig. 4.86) and the more recent *lamak sablon* are often completed with a palm leaf *ceniga* (fig. 4.82).

In a sense in this way the Balinese combine the best of two worlds: the ritually obligatory leaves, taken from the natural world, are represented in a simple palm leaf *lamak* or *ceniga*, and the shrine is decorated by a permanent *lamak*, transforming the shrine into an attractive and inviting place where the invisible beings can enjoy the offerings. These permanent *lamak* can be used again for the next ritual, so the Balinese do not need to worry about making attractive *lamak* with beautiful motifs time

49 *Lamak dari daun adalah lebih sakral, karena pola-pola ada fungsi, tetapi lamak dari kain seni saja. Kalau dari daun: ada taksu.* "*Taksu* is a very special power with divine origin […] [which] exists in the arts world and beyond […]" (Dibia 2012:29).

50 *Kain lamak boleh kalau sehari-hari, tetapi kalau perlengkapan upacara lamak harus dari penciptaan Tuhan. Semua banten, upakara, diberi taksu; sesudah upacara kembali kepada asal, supaya tumbuh lagi.*

51 *Jejahitan yang dibuat dari daun-daunan berfungsi pula sebagai persembahan dan* [….]*cara untuk mendekatkan diri berbakti kehadapan ISHW* [….]. *Penggantian daun2an dengan kertas plastik, ataupun kain yang bersifat permanen bisa dianggap mengurangi nilai2 spiritual.*

52 *Lamak dibuat dari kain, adapula yang dibuat dari uang kepeng* [….]. *Penggantian ini kiranya lebih mengutamakan nilai duniawi/lahiriah, karena kelihatannya lebih mewah, harga bahannya lebih mahal, sukar didapatkan dan hanya bisa dijangkau oleh orang2 tertentu.*

53 *Lamak yang terbuat dari janur atau daun enau muda dan tua itu tampaknya merupakan prasyarat upakara, karena tanpa lamak itu maka upakara dianggap tidak lengkap.* […] *Lamak yang terbuat dari uang kepeng hanya sebagai tambahan dekorasi saja.*

54 This tendency to endlessly repeat the same concept in different ways in the same object is also often seen in the way offerings are constructed.

Figure 4.82: Lamak sablon and palm leaf ceniga. Batuan, 12/5/2010.

Figure 4.83: Three layers of lamak in workshop of Ni Wayan Suartini, Bebandem, 28/5/2015.

Figure 4.84: Kepeng lamak and lontar ceniga. Komala (Bebandem), 31/5/2015.

Figure 4.85: Prada, kepeng and lontar lamak and banana leaf. Pura Dalem, Sibetan,15/4/2014.

and again. It would then be sufficient to recreate only the simple palm leaf *lamak* or *ceniga.*

4.6 Conclusion

The subject of this chapter was the connection between the ritual purpose of a *lamak* and the materials and techniques it is made with. Given the fact that a *lamak* serves as a base for offerings and as decoration of shrines and altars, the ritual purpose of a *lamak* is to attract invisible beings to the offerings, and to let their blessings come down from heaven to earth via the *lamak*. I also explored whether there is a difference between *lamak* made of palm leaves and *lamak* made of more durable materials, as far as this interpretation is concerned.

In Bali, the regeneration of nature, the continual renewal of life, is the purpose of many rituals during which offerings are presented to deities and ancestors. Like offerings, which are taken from nature and can be offered one time only, *lamak* should be made from ephemeral palm leaves, from natural 'living' materials, and only be used once. As a consequence, ephemeral *lamak* have to be recreated again for the next ritual.

And, just as the motifs on a palm leaf *lamak* are related to the divine blessings the Balinese hope to receive in return for the offerings, likewise the natural materials of the ephemeral *lamak* themselves, taken from useful trees, are associated with the growth of plants and fertility generally.

The 'colours' of the leaves, and the symmetrical structure of some of the patterns, is interpreted as an expression of the *rwa bhineda* principle, 'the unity of two separated', the concept that all phenomena consist of two complementary parts, especially related to the complementary opposition of female and male, which is the source of all creation.

Lamak are also made of non-ephemeral materials like coins and many kinds of cloth, decorated in a wide range of textile-decorating techniques. In all varieties of permanent *lamak*, the main structure of a palm leaf *lamak* is maintained, but the form of the ornaments is more or less dependent on the techniques used, and some motifs common to these techniques are adopted as well. Of the motifs derived from palm leaf *lamak*, the human figure, *cili,* is the one most often used. And the order in which the motifs are placed usually follow the vertical structure of the cosmos, as on palm leaf *lamak*.

However, especially of the varieties presently sold in the markets, the decorations are less meaningful than their colours, which are usually related to the Trimurti (Brahma, Wisnu, Siwa) (fig. 4.83), the deities of the cardinal directions (from East to North: Iswara, Brahma, Mahadewa and Wisnu), or, in case of the black and white *poleng*, to the *rwa bhineda* principle.

Although permanent *lamak* in principle, just like ephemeral *lamak*, can act as a base for offerings[55] and as decoration of shrines and altars, so that the invisible beings are attracted to the offerings, according to the Balinese themselves it is not enough to only use permanent *lamak*.

They always add a palm leaf *lamak* or *ceniga* or in any case a special leaf (*plawa*) or flowers between the offering and the permanent *lamak*, because a *lamak* has to be "*dari alam*", from nature. Only natural materials, related to life and fertility, can be associated with the blessings coming down from heaven to earth via the *lamak* as spiritual ladder.

The desired aim by carrying out the ritual, continuation of life and regeneration of nature, is better represented by an ephemeral *lamak* than by a permanent one, since the ephemeral, natural *lamak* itself is recreated time and again, for the creator himself is regarded as being present in nature.

As is the case with so many aspects of culture in Bali, including ritual objects, the enormous variety of kinds and styles of *lamak* is dependent on, as the Balinese say, '*desa, kala, patra*', 'place, time and circumstances'. But it is always the people themselves, individual Balinese makers and users of *lamak*, who eventually determine what the *lamak* he or she makes or uses will look like.

In the previous three chapters I have concentrated on the *lamak* as ritual object, on its place or purpose in the wider network of visible and invisible beings. In the next chapter I will focus on the social context of *lamak*, on their being a part of the social network of their makers and users.

55 With the exception of *lamak* made of coins, with a wooden top.

Figure 4.86: A kepeng lamak on top of a palm leaf lamak decorate a shrine; below the shrine a ceniga is visible. Regency of Tabanan, 1922. Collection National Museum of World Cultures, TM-60042729 (photographer unknown, collection Anna Koorders-Schumacher).

Figures 5.1-5.3: Together with her family, Ni Ketut Pilik works on a lamak nganten. Lodtunduh, 5/7/1988.

Figure 5.4: Ni Ketut Pilik looks at photographs taken of herself 25 years earlier. Lodtunduh, 16/10/2013.

Chapter 5

Lamak and their social network

5.1 Ni Ketut Pilik, 1988 and 2013

On the Galungan festival day of 9 December 1987 I made a long trip in the area around Ubud to photograph different village styles of *lamak*, especially of *lamak nganten*. In Banjar Kalah, a neighbourhood in the village of Peliatan, I noticed that two *lamak nganten* were similar, but differed in their form from the ordinary *lamak* in the same street. The next day, driving through Banjar Abiansemal in Lodtunduh, three kilometres south of Peliatan, I noticed a large *lamak nganten* in the same style as the ones in Peliatan, and also three ordinary *lamak* with *cili* in the same style. When afterwards I went back to the two addresses in Peliatan, I learned that both *lamak nganten* were made by the same lady, Ni Ketut Pilik, who indeed lived in Lodtunduh. I Made Suta said that he ordered his *lamak nganten*, because "if it's made at home, it's too much trouble, we don't have the time and where do we get the materials?", while I Ketut Lagas mentioned the material being so expensive in his neighbourhood. They both ordered a lamak of 6 metres, for Rp 2500 per metre.[1] They ordered it in Lodtunduh because the *tukang* (the common word for a craftsperson in Bali) in Banjar Kalah was too busy.

On 1 January 1988 I visited Ni Ketut Pilik at her home, a spacious courtyard with simple buildings behind a workshop bearing the sign 'Modern mask maker'. Her husband, a primary school teacher in Sukawati, and her son carved and sold masks in a modern style which I had seen in shops along the same street.

Ni Ketut Pilik was a very friendly lady, then about 45 years old. According to her son, Made Nurta, she was the best known *tukang lamak* in Lodtunduh. For many years she had received orders for *lamak nganten* from fellow villagers, but for the previous three years she made them also for people from outside Lodtunduh, as friends and neighbours told others about her. She was proud that a few years earlier she was asked to make the *lamak nganten* for the main palace in Ubud, when Cokorda Putra was married. She said she learned the skill herself by copying the *lamak* she saw each Galungan in her own neighbourhood. She knew the names of motifs on the *lamak* she made, and was also very certain about the order of the motifs (discussed in Chapter 3). She not only sold *lamak nganten*, but also helped fellow *banjar* members; for the *lamak nganten* in Lodtunduh that I photographed earlier, different women each made one motif, but she was asked to make the one exclusive to a *lamak nganten*: the *cili nganten*.

1 In 1987, the value of the rupiah was 1000 rupiah to 1.40 guilders, or €0.64. A meal of rice and side dishes was about 800 rupiah.

On the day before the following Galungan, 5 July 1988, I visited Ni Ketut Pilik again, and I made photographs of her and her work. Helped by family members, she was very busy finishing off the five orders for *lamak nganten* she had received (figs. 5.1-5.3), each 5 to 7 metres long, and also for the *sampian penjor* and the *sampian gantungan* which belong to the *lamak nganten*. Only one was an order from Lodtunduh, three were from Teges (fig. 3.6), and one from Banjar Tengah in Peliatan (fig. 5.50). Her price had gone up; she now asked Rp 3500 per metre (her profit was only Rp 500 per metre).

Twenty-five years later, on 16 October 2013, I found Ni Ketut Pilik again, in the same house in Lodtunduh. The quiet street had become a busy road. The courtyard looked more prosperous and the gateway was recently rebuilt. The mask workshop had become a tailor's workplace. When I showed Ni Ketut Pilik the photographs I took in 1988, she recognized me and was touched that I still remembered her (fig. 5.4). Together with her daughter-in-law, Ni Wayan Tari, also visible on the photographs, they immediately mentioned all the names of the motifs again, including the *kekayonan ingin-ingin*, a name I had only ever heard from her. The two ladies confirmed that the same motifs still appear on the *lamak* of Lodtunduh. Also the traditional material, *ambu* and *ron*, was still in use and certainly no *busung Sulawesi* (see Chapter 4), which was "*jelek*", 'bad' in her words. Although her eyes were not so sharp anymore, Ni Ketut Pilik still made *lamak nganten* when she was asked to, and still together with Wayan Tari. The price of a *lamak nganten* had risen to more than Rp 50,000 per metre.[2] For the upcoming Galungan they had been asked to make a small *lamak nganten* for family just up the road. When I passed Lodtunduh again a week after Galungan, I immediately recognized this *lamak nganten*, and although it was smaller than formerly and already dried out, I recognized the same motifs, the same two main representational motifs, *gunungan* and *cili* executed in exactly the same way as 25 years earlier, the only difference being some details dyed red.

2 In 2013, this was equivalent to approximately €3.50 per metre. So in 25 years the price of a *lamak* per metre has risen a little over twice.

5.2 *Lamak* and their social network

In the previous three chapters I concentrated on the *lamak* as ritual object, which acts as base for offerings and decoration of a shrine. I explained that the motifs and the natural materials of a *lamak* are closely related to the ritual purpose of a *lamak*, which is to attract invisible beings to the offerings, and to let the blessings from heaven come down to earth. In this way a *lamak* mediates between the worlds of the visible (*sekala*) and invisible (*niskala*) beings.

Lamak make the offerings work, but it is the Balinese, the visible beings, who make possible this mediating role, by making *lamak* in the first place. It is the Balinese who create them time and again, stemming from the ritual obligation to make *lamak* from natural materials. Or, if they do not have time or the natural materials available for making *lamak* themselves, they buy or order them from Balinese who are professionally involved in making them. In this chapter I will examine the social-economic network of makers, sellers and users of *lamak*. First I focus on the different categories of *lamak* makers and entrepreneurs, their interactions and transactions. In the second part of this chapter I describe some aspects of the regional diversity of *lamak* in relation to the individual creativity of the makers. And finally I investigate to what extent changes in social-economic relations are reflected in this variation of *lamak* and in their developments and changes over time.

5.3 *Lamak* makers and entrepeneurs

5.3.1 Balinese villagers

Many Balinese housewives are able to make palm leaf *lamak.* Making *lamak* is part of the preparations for many rituals their households are involved with, although they are not part of routine activities at home, such as preparing the daily offerings (which do not require a *lamak* or *ceniga*). Besides occasional life cycle ceremonies, such as weddings and cremations, within their own household women make *lamak* only for two major festivals, their own house temple's anniversary (*odalan*) and the Galungan-Kuningan festive period. Making *lamak*

then is part of their religious obligations towards their own deified ancestors and the deities they worship from home.

Outside their own household, Balinese women as well as men are involved with the preparation of rituals not only as religious obligation, but also because of social obligations, since they are part of several social networks. Besides their own kin group and extended families, they are members of the *banjar*, their neighbourhood association, and they belong to many (sometimes a dozen or so) congregations of different categories of communal temples. Moreover, they often have a special relationship with a former court and with the family of a priest from whom they receive the holy water needed for rituals at home. In all these networks, the preparation of rituals is a communal activity, and making *lamak* is often part of this.

Balinese women learn the skills of making *lamak* and *ceniga* from other women in the household, just as they learn how to make offerings. In Sanur, in the family where I lived, the old grandmother passed on the skills of making palm leaf artefacts (*jejaitan*) to her granddaughters, after school, simply through teaching by example. Her granddaughters tried to copy the way Nenek (grandmother) handled the sharp knife, palm leaves and small bamboo pins. The mother in the household, Ibu Made Latri, often took a bundle of palm leaves with her to the artshop where she worked, and made *jejaitan* while waiting for customers. These *lamak* were not so difficult to make, for they did not have complicated motifs. And like most Balinese housewives, they made themselves the dozens of *lamak* needed for the Galungan period.

Years later, after the marriage of her son, Ibu Made Latri still made *lamak* for Galungan, but now together with her daughter-in-law, Nyoman Murni. Being also born in Sanur, Nyoman Murni, educated by her own mother, already knew what a Galungan *lamak* in Sanur should look like. But a woman who, on marriage, has moved to a different village or another district in Bali, usually takes over the style of her new place of residence. And when Nyoman Murni's brother-in-law married, her new sister-in-law had in fact to learn from scratch how to make *lamak* and other *jejaitan*, since she grew up in Sumatra as child of transmigrants; she learned from *lontar* leaf examples she copied herself from fresh palm leaf ones (pers. com. 20/5/2015).

Some women really enjoy doing this kind of work, which becomes not just an obligation but something of a hobby. For example a young woman in Jasan (Sebatu), in 1987 still a traditional village to the north of Ubud, said that in her household she was always the one who made the *lamak* for Galungan (pers. com. 24/2/1988), whereas the other women made the offerings. She once won second place in a *lamak* competition in the region Gianyar, for which a large *lamak* had to be completed in two hours; and once represented the PKK[3] of Jasan in a similar competition organized by the women's organization Dharma Wanita of her district (*kecamatan*).

When groups of women gather in a temple to prepare the offerings and ritual decorations for a ritual or festival, usually some women are especially skilful at making *lamak* with more elaborate patterns, whereas others are more talented in making other types of palm leaf objects. An example of such specialization was the preparations (4/10/1982) for a temple anniversary in Pura Puseh, Kerambitan (6/10/1982). Besides the dozens of women making offerings, a group of some 20 women in a corner of the temple courtyard was busy making the necessary decorations from palm leaves of various colours, yellow, green, and some dyed red. In one afternoon they worked on 16 *lamak* with refined, elongated *cili* patterns, the *sampian gantungan* for hanging alongside the *lamak*, and four *sampian penjor* for the *penjor* a group of men was constructing outside the temple. For the *lamak* some women were mainly cutting the leaves, while others were pinning the motifs onto the background. Among them were Dayu Komang and Dayu Made Sapri, two ladies of Brahmana descent, specialists in temple offerings (figs. 5.6-5.7). But in this group they participated not because of their knowledge of the ritual meaning of the decorations, but because of their skill in cutting the beautiful motifs; whereas another lady from the village, Sagung Putu Alit, although especially gifted in making *jejaitan* and experimenting with new palm leaf creations, did

3 PKK (Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga) is a governmental women's organisation operating at the village level.

not participate in this specialist group, because, as she explained (pers. com. 3/10/1982), the making of *lamak* was not her hobby. She knew how to do it, though, and at my request made a *lamak* for the collection of the National Museum of Ethnology[4] and she has participated in various contests in the making of *jejaitan*, like *lamak*, where she always won first prize. But on that day in the temple she made *sampian*, the palm leaf crowns for larger offerings, indeed also rather specialist work. Even at home, preparing for Galungan, Sagung Putu preferred to buy ready-made *lamak* of fresh palm leaves at the market (fig. 5.5),[5] although she stressed that her own work was much more beautiful.[6]

Another example of specialization was evident during the communal preparations for a large ceremony in the Pura Bale Agung in Intaran (Sanur) in 1987, where for days on end dozens of people were hard at work fashioning all the offerings and ritual decorations, among them 16 long, elaborate *lamak*. At first the organizers wanted to order those *lamak* from outside specialists, but it turned out there were enough skilled people in the village who were able to do it themselves. Three people worked on each *lamak*, one to make the base, one to cut the patterns and one to pin the patterns onto the base. Had they bought the *lamak*, they would have cost Rp 1000 per metre (pers. com. Ibu Made Latri 1/5/1987).[7] Usually *lamak* makers in a temple are women, but sometimes a man cuts the motifs. For example two younger brothers of Ibu Latri were good at cutting *lamak* motifs, because they were also skilled woodcarvers. My most recent example is from the Usaba Dalem (large biennial temple festival in the Pura Dalem) in Budakeling, where members of different *banjar* (subdivision of a village) take turns in making offerings and ritual decorations. The *lamak* and the accompanying *gantung-gantungan* or *capah* were made by women at home and brought to the temple in the morning of the day of the ritual, where the women suspended them themselves from the shrines and altars (figs. 2.33 and 2.35).

But larger *lamak* for temple ceremonies are not always made by the members of the temple communities themselves. While in 1987 villagers still made the 16 long *lamak* for the ritual in the Pura Bale Agung, for another big festival in 1994 they were partly ordered outside, for Rp. 8000 per *lamak* (pers. com. Ibu Latri 9/4/94).[8] And when all offerings and ritual decorations for a very large temple festival in Kuta were ordered from Dayu Made Putra, a well-known offering maker and 'manager' of an offering home industry in Gria Puseh in Sanur, only the smaller *lamak* were made by people in Kuta themselves, while the longer, more elaborate ones were made in Gria Puseh and taken to Kuta the day before the ritual (pers. com. Dayu Made Putra 13/12/87). In her turn, when occasionally she cannot find the time in her offering business, she calls upon specialist *lamak* makers herself.

The *lamak* makers who because of their talent and skills make the *lamak* in a village temple, also sometimes make *lamak* for relatives and friends. Their help is called upon for larger temple festivals in family temples, or for life cycle ceremonies within a family, like weddings or death rituals. They are often not paid for their work, but receive a meal and they can expect help in return when need be, on the basis of reciprocity.

5.3.2 Tukang lamak (nganten)

In many villages a man or woman, and occasionally several, are acknowledged in the community as *tukang lamak*, a *lamak* specialist. Since long, elaborate *lamak* are required only for certain rituals and not on a regular basis, a *tukang lamak* always has other skills or sources of income as well. Besides

4 Inv. no. RV-5258-106, see Appendix 1.

5 This was described in the introduction to Chapter 2.

6 At the village market of Intaran (Sanur), this possibility of buying fresh *lamak* just before festival days did not yet exist in the 1980s. But in 2010 on the day before Galungan small fresh palm leaf *lamak* were for sale there, for only Rp. 2000 (€0.20) per piece. However, buying *lamak* was regarded by Nyoman Murni, Ibu Made Latri's daughter-in-law, as "only for lazy people". She only bought the materials for her *lamak* at the market, since, although there are still many coconut palms in her garden, according to her it was difficult to find people to climb the trees to cut the leaves.

7 This was half the price, incidentally, of the *lamak* Ni Ketut Pilik in Lodtunduh, who was introduced in the beginning of this chapter, was asking in the same year.

8 This would have been approximately €4.

Figure 5.5: Sagung Putu Alit buys lamak at the market. Kerambitan, 4/10/1982.

Figure 5.6.

Figures 5.6-5.7: Women work together making lamak for an odalan in Pura Puseh, Kerambitan, 4/10/1982.

making elaborate *lamak* when needed, such skilled craftspeople often specialize also in other aspects of ritual art.

For example, I Wayan Sudarma from Banjar Telugtug, Sibetan (Karangasem), made the long, special *lamak* called *lamak catur* for the very elaborate ritual Karya Agung Petabuh Gentuh in Pura Bale Agung.[9] He was also a specialist in wood and stone carving, traditional architecture, cremation art, and large offerings like *pulagembal*. "The whole family helps out, we are always being asked to make the big *lamak*. The high priest (*pedanda*) from Gria Kawan Sibetan told me what motifs had to be made," he said.[10] Sudarma was from an artistic family; his five brothers were also involved in ritual arts. Although he had only three years of primary school (he had to stop when Gunung Agung erupted), he had taught himself all these skills, and he was often asked to participate in the preparations of major festivals. For the Eka Dasa Rudra ritual in Pura Besakih in 1979, he was one of the craftsmen (pers. com. 24/6/89).

In the Gianyar area, it is especially the long *lamak nganten* that are often ordered from a *tukang lamak*. As discussed in previous chapters, especially in the Gianyar area, in front of the houses where a wedding has taken place in the previous year, for Galungan a large bamboo shrine is erected, called *sanggar nganten*, with a long *lamak* hanging from it. Also the *penjor* has extra decorations. At Galungan neighbours and members of the neighbourhood (*banjar*) pay a visit to these families. Usually the men of the *banjar* help erect the *sanggar nganten* and the special *penjor*, whereas the women help make the *lamak nganten*. However, many people prefer to order such special *lamak* and they give various reasons for doing so. The commonest reasons are the lack of the necessary skills for making such elaborate *lamak* up to six metres in length, the difficulty in finding the raw materials, and sometimes simply a lack of time. I Nengah Rata from Ubud Kaja, for example, ordered a *lamak nganten* for Galungan of 9 December 1987 in the village of Petulu, because his family did not know how to make one (pers. com. 29/12/1987). He chose to order in Petulu, because he had heard it was cheap there, only Rp 2000 per metre. For the same Galungan I Ketut Budiana, from Banjar Ambengan in Peliatan, bought his *lamak nganten* in Junjungan, from Bapak Senti, because he was a well-known *tukang lamak*. Budiana's family did not make the *lamak* themselves owing to the difficulty finding the materials, and also because people in Peliatan do not much like making *lamak*. However, the young members of the family helped with the *penjor*, and the *sampian* was made at home. The *lamak*, with a length of 5.5 metres, cost Rp 2000 per metre (pers. com. 27/12/1987).

I Made Sangkil from Tebesaya also said it was easier just to buy a *lamak* since it was difficult to find the material (pers. com. 26/12/1987). He ordered from Pak Sadra in Padangtegal two *lamak nganten*, one for his fifth son and one for his relatives next door, for Rp 4000 per metre. However, he admits that when they made the *lamak* themselves for the first four sons, they were better and more complete ("*lebih lengkap*"), because they also contained the wedding *cili* (*cili nganten*) and moon motifs, that Pak Sadra does not make (see Chapter 4).

Opinions varied concerning the skills of various *tukang lamak*. The *gria* (Brahmana household) in Ubud ordered a *lamak nganten* (for Galungan on 13 May 1987) in Padangtegal, because the *tukang* there were thought to be the best. For the same Galungan, however, one of the Ubud palaces (*puri*) ordered their *lamak nganten* in Junjungan, although they agreed that it would have been better to have ordered it in Padangtegal, admitting that the *tukang lamak* there knew more about the contents of a *lamak*, one could discuss the motifs with them, and the patterns were more beautiful because the *lamak* makers were also painters (pers. com. 3/5/1987).

During the five successive Galungan of 13 May 1987, 9 December 1987, 6 July 1988, 1 February 1989 and 30 August 1989, I saw and photographed dozens of *lamak nganten* in and around Ubud and surrounding region. For many of these, I asked the owners of the *lamak* who had made them. Although these data are far from complete, since I only "covered" the *lamak nganten* visible on the main road, it appeared that a small majority of *lamak nganten* were made at home, with help from

9 This ritual was held on 22/2/1989, see also Chapter 3 (fig. 3.40).

10 *Seluruh keluarga ikut membantu, kami selalu dicari kalau dibuat lamak yang besar. Dulu Pedanda Gede Gria Kawan Sibetan kasih nama.*

family and neighbours, and sometimes under the supervision of a *tukang lamak*. Slightly less than half of them were ordered from a *tukang lamak*, most of whom were mentioned by name. But in several cases people only mentioned where the *lamak* was ordered, not the actual person who made it. I identified more than 30 different *tukang lamak* from 12 villages, most of whom I talked to. Most of them came from two villages within the administrative village of Ubud, Padangtegal to the south and Junjungan to the north.

The *tukang* from these two villages, in particular with regard to their gender, make an interesting comparison, and these are the main focus of the following section.

5.3.2.1 Padangtegal

During the 1980s Padangtegal was famous for its *tukang lamak*. Three *tukang lamak* lived close to one another in the same street (Jalan Hanoman). Two of them, I Made Sadra and I Gusti Putu Nonderan have already been introduced in Chapters 2 and 3. Pak Sadra (fig. 5.8) I knew already in 1983, whereas I met I Gusti Putu Nonderan, who lived opposite Pak Sadra, in December 1987 (fig. 5.9) (pers. com. 27/12/1987). A third *tukang,* Pak Tantri (pers. com. 5/5/1983), I met in 1983 when I was collecting ritual objects for the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden. All three of them were born around 1930, all three were farmers, all three started making *lamak*, just small ones, for their own families, in the 1950s. Later they began making *lamak nganten* also, in the beginning just for their own families. But because people appreciated their work and saw their *lamak nganten* in the village streets, they received increasingly more requests and orders for *lamak nganten* before the start of every Galungan period.

Whereas Pak Sadra learned the skills himself, by following what others were doing, Pak Tantri learned it from his father who was a *dalang* (wayang theatre puppeteer), and I Gusti Putu Nonderan "received inspiration" to make *lamak*, together with the arts of sculpture and carving, from the famous artist I Gusti Nyoman Lempad. He used to work together with him whenever Lempad received requests from the palaces in Ubud to prepare cremation towers and other requirements for royal death rituals. Just as with making cremation paraphernalia, Pak Nonderan also learned the technique of making *lamak* by following the example of others. He never went to school and he called himself just a simple farmer, but he had taught himself to read and was particularly fond of *kekawin* poems. He even had a small collection of *lontar* books himself, stored in the roof of a pavilion. People often consulted him, for example, about the auspicious day (*dewasa*) for holding a particular ritual or activity (pers. com. 23/5/89).

In their turn, Pak Sadra and Pak Nonderan transferred their knowledge and skills to their sons, but they did not become *tukang lamak* like their fathers. When he was still living in Padangtegal, the son of Pak Sadra, who became a school teacher, helped his father to finish his orders for Galungan in time but afterwards he moved to Buleleng (North Bali) where he got a job. The son of Pak Nonderan, I Gusti Putu Taman, also learned to make *lamak* by helping his father cutting and pinning the motifs. After he was educated as art teacher, he started to paint *lamak* motifs on canvas, and created in this way his own modern variety of *lamak*. They were used in the family's house temple (fig. 4.78). In 1989, 1990 and 1994 he made all the drawings in this book, based on photographs of *lamak* I had made in previous years. However, since he has a job in the office of Universitas Udayana in Denpasar, he no longer makes either real *lamak* or painted ones. When I visited the house of Gusti Putu Nonderan in 2014, I learned from Gusti Putu Taman that his father had died, at the age of 82, in September 2013 (pers. com. 20/4/2014). Nowadays in their house temple only small *lamak* or *ceniga* are used, made by his wife.

Of these three *tukang lamak*, I Gusti Putu Nonderan worked in the most traditional manner. He almost never sold *lamak nganten* by the metre, but made them at the request of family and friends. For Galungan 9 December 1987 he made a *lamak nganten* for his own house, since his son, I Gusti Putu Taman, had just married (fig. 3.3). As he used to do when he worked with I Gusti Nyoman Lempad, he still helped out in the palace when requested. For example on 5 April 1994, the Sunday before Galungan, Pak Nonderan made a *lamak nganten* for a Cokorda (prince) in Puri Saren, the main palace in Ubud. He did not sell the *lamak nganten*, for if a

Figure 5.8: I Made Sadra works on a lamak nganten. Banjar Padangtegal Kaja, Ubud, 11/5/1987.

Figure 5.9: I Gusti Putu Nonderan works on a lamak nganten. Banjar Padangtegal Kaja, Ubud, 3/4/1994.

Figure 5.10: Ni Wayan Klepon works on a lamak nganten. Banjar Junjungan, Ubud, 4/7/1988.

Figure 5.11: Ni Made Paji makes jejaitan. Banjar Junjungan, Ubud, 4/7/1988.

Cokorda makes such a request he must respond. He did not know what he might receive in return. The Cokorda himself provided the material.

Also Pak Sadra sometimes made a *lamak nganten* for family (for example on 2 May 1983, see Chapter 4 and figs. 4.1-4.2), but not for money; he did however receive meals during the two days he worked on the eight metre long *lamak nganten*.[11] According to his son, he was famous in Padangtegal, for he had done this work already for a long time. Orders and payment are normally per metre. Sometimes the person giving the order provided the material, but generally Pak Sadra took care of this, including it in the price. For the Galungan of 13 May 1987, Pak Sadra received three orders for *lamak* of five metres, besides making one for family (fig. 5.62). He told me that he could not make more than five *lamak* (of five metres), for otherwise the material would dry out too much. He did the cutting himself, but his family helped with the pinning. He only made *lamak nganten* to order, since most people at that time made ordinary *lamak* themselves, he said. But for a festival in the Pura Desa he did help with the long *lamak*, the women coming to him and learning from him. Of all *lamak* makers in Padangtegal, he was the best known, he claimed. The other *tukang lamak* in Padangtegal were according to him his pupils. Pak Sadra enjoyed making *lamak*, he did this afterall only for a few days per year, for *odalan* (temple festivals) and for Galungan. But because he was so busy he decided to use for his own *sanggar penjor* a painted canvas *lamak* which he bought from Pak Tantri across the street. Likewise on the following Galungan of 9 December 1987 he again used this same canvas *lamak*, for he had five orders, four of five metres each and one of eight metres. The price was Rp 4000-4500 per metre. Two of these orders were for two neighbours in Tebesaya (Peliatan), family members who shared a single *sanggah* or ancestor temple, where two weddings had taken place at the one time. According to the man who ordered these *lamak*, they had chosen Pak Sadra because he was said to be good and not too expensive.

For Galungan 6 July 1988 Pak Sadra received two orders, one of five metres and one even longer (fig. 5.61). For Galungan 2 February 1989 he made one *lamak nganten* for his own family, because his own son had married (fig. 3.2). The price in 1990 had risen to Rp 5500 per metre, for raw material had become increasingly expensive. He now bought the material in the market, for his own garden did not produce enough anymore.

For the Galungan in April 1994 Pak Sadra accepted no orders for *lamak nganten*, because he was too busy renovating his house temple. According to him the price had now risen to Rp 10,000 per metre.[12] Pak Sadra died at some time between 1994 and 2001 as a result of an accident in the ricefields. Probably the only surviving palm leaf *lamak* from his hand, two *lontar lamak* with *cili* and *kekayonan*, are in the collection of the National Museum of World Cultures in Leiden.[13]

The third *tukang lamak* in the same street, Pak Tantri, formerly made *lamak* only from palm leaf, just like Pak Sadra and Pak Nonderan, and still did so for his family; for the Galungan of 13 May 1987 he made a *lamak nganten* in connection with the marriage of his own son. But in the early 1970s, for the first time and for his own house temple (*sanggah*), he made a *lamak* from canvas, painted with the same motifs he used for the palm leaf *lamak*. This was such a success that he continued making these painted *lamak*, discussed later.

Pak Mider, another *tukang lamak* who lived in Padangtegal, was at least ten years older than the previous three craftsmen. He did not speak Indonesian since he never went to school. Like Pak Sadra, he was a farmer and he learned to make *lamak* just by looking at the examples along the roadside at Galungan. Like Pak Nonderan, despite his lack of formal education, he loved to join in *kekawin* singing performances, and he was regarded as a real specialist in *adat* affairs. People asked his help when they had to prepare *patulangan* (sarcophagi) for cremation ceremonies, and he could carry out small family rituals, such as a three-months ceremony (*nelu bulanin*) for little children, or small wedding ceremonies. He also made meat offerings for temple festivals. Being now too old to

11 Very likely the *lamak nganten* of figures 2.23 and 5.60, Galungan 21 August 1985, were also made by Pak Sadra.

12 Approximately €5 per metre.

13 Inv. nos. RV-5258-96 and 97, see Appendix 1.

work in his rice fields, his sons took over this job, and he kept himself busy by making masks, and also *lamak* when asked to do so. For the Galungan of December 1987, Pak Mider did not sell *lamak nganten*, but helped in the house of family in Peliatan (Banjar Kalah) to make one; while the men made the *penjor*, he told the women how they had to make the *lamak*.

I Wayan Sutoya, the fifth *tukang lamak* who lived in Padangtegal, made in December 1987 a *lamak nganten* for his younger sister in the same village, because her son had recently married. He did not receive money for this work, although sometimes he made *lamak nganten* to order, for Rp 3500 per metre. He could also make the *sanggar nganten*, while his wife made the *sampian penjor*. He learned the skills from his grandfather. Pak Sutoya used to be a painter, but at that time earned more money building houses. Like Pak Tantri, he also had made canvas *lamak* with painted motifs and he could make those to order.

It is remarkable that all five *tukang lamak* I talked to in Padangtegal were male. According to Pak Nonderan, this was because Padangtegal is close to Ubud, with its tradition of woodcarving and painting, which traditionally were male professions. Except for Pak Sadra, who was only a farmer, the other four *tukang lamak* indeed were also themselves experienced in or came from a family specializing in ritual arts. Furthermore the development of the painted canvas *lamak*, practised by Tantri, Sutoya, and the son of Nonderan, was probably made possible because people in this area were familiar with the use of paint and canvas.

5.3.2.2 Junjungan

In the 1980s, although Padangtegal was well known for its *lamak* makers, they tended to be more expensive than *tukang lamak* a little further away from Ubud. For that reason, sometimes people from Padangtegal and from nearby villages like Peliatan ordered their *lamak nganten* outside their own villages, for example in Junjungan. One well-known *tukang* in Junjungan was Ni Wayan Klepon.[14] For the Galungan of 9 December 1987, I Wayan Pande from Banjar Pande, Peliatan, ordered a *lamak nganten* from Ni Wayan Klepon (fig. 5.90) because of lack of time (pers. com. 25/12/1987). He would have preferred to find a *tukang lamak* in his home village, since he thought these *lamak* were more beautiful, more complete, however they usually cost Rp 4000 per metre, as against Rp 2000 in Junjungan. But he complained that compared with *lamak nganten* in Peliatan, the ones from Junjungan had "less story" (*cerita*) in them, as he phrased it, meaning not so many motifs.

Ni Wayan Klepon (fig. 5.10), at that time, was one of five *tukang lamak* in Junjungan, all women, all housewives who also assisted their farmer husbands. Two days before the Galungan of 6 July 1988, I paid them all a visit, when they were busy preparing their *lamak nganten*. Ni Wayan Klepon had two orders for *lamak nganten* of six metres, both for people in Tegallalang. Her younger sister was helping her to finish them in time. Compared to the *lamak* she had made in December 1987, which were of *ambu* and *ron* in their natural colours only, this time she added to the motifs some decorative touches using red coloured leaves. Her price was still Rp 2000 per metre. She used material from sugar palm trees in her own garden, which were cheaper than buying them, although it was not so easy to reach the best quality leaves, "high up towards the top of the tree", she said.

On 20 April 2014 I revisited Ni Wayan Klepon in Junjungan. She does not make *lamak* anymore, only smaller *jejaitan*, but members of her family, who live in the neighbourhood, still make *lamak nganten* of four to five metres in length, at a cost of Rp. 60,000 (approx. €4.50) per metre. When I showed her the photographs of *lamak nganten* that she made in 1987 and 1988, she immediately recognized the patterns, which are still used in Junjungan, she said. It is now cheaper to buy the material at the market than to pay somebody to climb the trees to get the leaves.

In 1988, of the other four *tukang lamak* in Junjungan, Ni Sumpel, whose *lamak* looked similar to those made by Wayan Klepon, used leaves from palm trees on her own land and sold her *lamak nganten* for Rp 2000 per metre. If she had to buy the material, her price was Rp 2500 per metre. In 1988 she made only one *lamak nganten*, an order from a family in Junjungan itself. Usually she handled two orders for Galungan.

14 Very likely the *lamak nganten* of figure 2.22, Galungan 13 May 1987, was also made by Ni Wayan Klepon.

The *lamak nganten* Ni Jangklek was making that day was for use in her own home. Ni Jangklek did not take orders, but only made *lamak nganten* if friends requested her to do so. Ni Nyoman Damping worked in the same style as Ni Jangklek (pers. com. 30/12/1987). For Galungan in December 1987 she made three *lamak nganten* to order for people from Peliatan, one each in Tebesaya, Teges and Banjar Kalah. For Galungan July 1988 she had just one order, also from outside Junjungan. For Galungan 30 August 1989 she made a *lamak nganten* for a family in Junjungan which she sold for Rp 2500 per metre. She had been making *lamak* already for ten years, together with members of her family.

Like Ni Nyoman Damping and living in the same courtyard, Ni Made Paji (fig. 5.11) had been making *lamak nganten* already for more than ten years**.** She made for Galungan of December 1987 two *lamak nganten* for two neighbours in Banjar Tebesaya in Peliatan (pers. com. 30/12/1987). Although living in the same courtyard as Nyoman Damping, her *lamak* looked remarkably different. Her *lamak nganten* had a *kekayonan* motif, made out of thick paper, between the usual palm leaf motifs. This was made by her husband, since this motif was too difficult for her to make, she said. However, for Galungan July 1988 she again made a *lamak nganten* ordered from Tebesaya, but this time the *kekayonan* motif was cut out of *ron* (again by her husband), and she sewed the motif onto the palm leaf background with black thread (not with *semat*, bamboo slivers).

5.3.2.3 Peliatan and other villages

It was not only the female *tukang lamak* in Junjungan who made cheaper *lamak nganten* to order than their male colleagues in Padangtegal. In Peliatan, Ni Ketut Resep, a middle-aged woman from Banjar Tengah (pers. com. 29/12/1987), sold cheaper *lamak nganten*, for just Rp 2000 per metre. She bought the materials, *ambu* and *ron.* She did good business, usually in Peliatan itself, because of contacts she made from being the owner of an eating stall (*warung*) where she also sold on order the duck delicacy *betutu*. It was also possible to order *lamak* from her and bring your own material. She learned to make *lamak* 18 years earlier by looking at *lamak* along the roadside, not from anyone in particular, and she thought there was money to be made there. And indeed people who had seen her *lamak* somewhere, ordered from her. She made two *lamak nganten* for Galungan in May 1987, for two neighbours in Banjar Teruna, Peliatan, who ordered from her since she was the nearest *tukang*. In preparation for the following Galungan, 9 December 1987, she was very busy with five orders, and had to request the help of two assistants who did the pinning while she herself did the cutting. Usually she began only four days before Galungan, so that the *lamak* did not dry out. Then she had to work until late in the evening. In her own neighbourhood she also helped a friend make a *lamak nganten* (fig. 5.63), working on it for three days. For Galungan July 1988 she had four orders, all in Peliatan (pers. com. 5/7/1988) (fig. 5.64). For Galungan 30 August 1989 she made a *lamak nganten* in Banjar Teruna, Peliatan, which she sold for Rp 3500 per metre (pers. com. 31/10/1990). For Galungan in October 1990 she received orders for more than 50 *betutu*, leaving her no time to make *lamak nganten* as well. Many people from outside the village wanted to order from her but this time she had to refuse, although if her help had been asked by her own family or fellow *banjar* members, she would have had to accept.

Besides *lamak nganten* to order, as business, Ni Ketut Resep also participated once in the Art Festival (Pesta Seni) organised by the Art Centre in Denpasar. She liked making *lamak*, but could not make all motifs. The tree (*kekayonan*) motif in particular she found too difficult; according to her, only woodcarvers (*tukang togog/ukir*) were capable of that.

Other villages where *tukang lamak* were active during that period include Singakerta (*kecamatan* Ubud), Tegallalang (*kecamatan* Tegallalang), and Singapadu (*kecamatan* Sukawati).

In Singakerta, Ni Putu Darmi, from Banjar Kengetan (pers. com. 18/1/1988) made in December 1987 a *lamak nganten* for the *gria* in her village, on account of her *sisia* relationship with the *gria*.

Ni Made Tombiah, from Banjar Gentong, Tegallalang (pers. com. 4/7/1988), for Galungan 4 July 1988 only made a *lamak nganten* in her own home, owing to the pressure of work in the fields. In December 1987 she made two *lamak nganten* in Banjar Gentong (pers. com. 17/1/88) and others in Teges en Kliki. For people outside of her own *banjar*,

her price in 1987 was between Rp 2000 en 3000 per metre. For Galungan on 30 August 1989 she made a *lamak nganten* in Banjar Gentong, helped with another there, besides an ordinary *lamak* at home. Born in 1948, she remembered she started making *lamak* in the year Gunung Agung erupted, 1963. Her first *lamak nganten* was 11 metres, ordered by a family in Peliatan. She learned it from her father who was both a *tukang lamak* and a woodcarver (*tukang ukir*). Her children in turn were learning it from her, and helped her whenever she was too busy.

Singapadu is a large village consisting of several smaller customary villages and neighbourhood asssociations (*banjar*), each with its own *lamak* specialists, who do not always sell their *lamak*. Ni Wayan Candri from Banjar Kediri (pers. com. 27/2/1988) does not sell *lamak*, but is regarded as a specialist in her neighbourhood. Desak Patupang, from Banjar Kediri (pers. com. 18/1/1988), although often asked to help making *lamak nganten*, does not have the time to make them on order. She was able to explain the meaning of the motifs, owing to her knowledge of rituals gained from her activities as a *balian* (traditional healer) and her help making offerings in the local *gria*. Men Gomblok, also from Banjar Kediri, made a *lamak nganten* for Galungan 9 December 1987 in nearby Banjar Silakarang, and also helps others, including Ni Wayan Roje, also called Ibu Gana, in Silakarang (pers. com. 18/1/1988). Indeed the style of the motifs of these two *tukang* is similar. Ibu Gana, born in 1932, is the owner of a small *paras*-stone factory along the main road. She likes making *jejaitan*, and is very proud of her work; she often wins first place in competitions. Ni Wayan Jenjen (pers. com.18/1/1988), from Banjar Kutri, made for Galungan December 1987 three *lamak nganten* (see fig. 3.5), all in her own *banjar*, and for Galungan 1 February 1989 one in Banjar Negari. She has been a *tukang lamak* for just two years, and so far has received orders for each Galungan. Like many other *tukang lamak*, she learned to cut the motifs by copying the *lamak* she saw along the roadside, and also through helping the Brahmana ladies making offerings in the two *gria* in Kutri. For both these *gria* she made two out of the three *lamak nganten*. If she sells a *lamak* she asks Rp 3000 per metre. She has also participated in competitions in the *bale banjar*.

5.3.3. Lamak entrepreneurs

Most of the *tukang lamak* described in the previous section only made ephemeral *lamak* on request or order, and only in preparation for Galungan or temple festivals, not on a regular basis. This is a part-time or temporary occupation. Helped by members of their family in busy times, in principle they worked by themselves. As was stressed by several *lamak* makers, a *lamak*, and especially a *lamak nganten*, has to look fresh on the main day of the ritual, so this limits the number of orders a *tukang lamak* can take at one time. Men, like Pak Sadra, were first and foremost farmer; women, like Ni Ketut Pilik, were housewife and sometimes, like Ni Ketut Resep, *warung* owner. Sometimes they were ritual specialists who could make other kinds of ritual objects such as cremation towers and sarcophagi or meat offerings, like Pak Nonderan.

But many Balinese are also involved in the production of *lamak* on a more permanent, continuous basis, and this is particularly the case when they make *lamak* from materials of a more durable nature than palm leaf (as described in Chapter 4).

Traditionally, only women specialists, probably mainly from Brahmana or Ksatria households, made permanent *lamak* requiring special decorating techniques, like embroidery, appliqué or supplementary weft (together with other textiles for ceremonial use), whereas men specialized in making ritual objects from Chinese coins. They were made to order, often together with other textiles or ritual objects, and in these home industries usually more than one person was involved in the production. For example, in Gria Puseh in Sanur, Ida Bagus Nila, cousin of the resident Brahmana priest (*pedanda*), had in the 1980s a small workshop where he made ritual objects from Chinese coins (*kepeng*), including *lamak*. He worked together with other male members of his extended family, in addition to his work as postman. Meanwhile, Dayu Made Putra, the daughter of the priest, employed on a daily basis several women from her own family and from the village, to make complete sets of ready-made offerings to order in her workshop in the *gria* (house of a Brahmana family). These sets often included a *lamak*, and after completion they were taken to the temple or household concerned just before or on the day of the ritual,

which would be performed by her father. These *lamak* were almost always made of fresh, ephemeral palm leaves. However, if for reasons of a tight time schedule they had to be prepared well in advance, Dayu Made chose to work with the more durable leaves of the *lontar* palm (pers. com. 8/11/1990). This "home industry" of ready-made offerings and ritual decorations started in the early 1980s, and is still going, although Dayu Made is already in her eighties (pers. com 17/3/2016).

However, besides this kind of entrepreneurship related to the offerings industry, there are other kinds of craft industries involving *lamak*.

5.3.3.1 *Lontar jejaitan* workshops

Making and selling *lontar lamak* is not a recent development. Already in 1983, in the shops selling ritual objects (*toko yadnya*) at the main market in Denpasar *lontar jejaitan* were for sale. These included *lamak* made of *lontar* leaves, with green and red painted motifs, rather than motifs cut out of dyed coloured leaves that are used nowadays.[15] They were very cheap, and usually were ordered from individuals working from home on a commercial basis and more regularly than just at times prior to rituals, like the *tukang lamak nganten* in Gianyar. These *lamak* and other *jejaitan* made of the durable *lontar* leaves were bought by those who wanted to prepare for their rituals well in advance.

An example of a maker and 'entrepreneur' of *lontar jejaitan* was Ni Komang Soka in Temega, Padangkerta (Karangasem) (pers. com. 22/4/1994). In a *warung* belonging to family of hers, she was continuously busy making *lontar lamak* and *ceniga* to order, which she sold for Rp. 500 per piece, in those days equivalent to approximately €0.25. She also sold other *jejaitan*, in the *warung,* at the market or at her own house, to people from her own neighbourhood. According to her, and in contrast to what Ni Wayan Suartini (see Chapter 4) would tell me 20 years later, *lontar* leaves were more expensive than the leaves of the coconut and sugar palm trees. Although *lontar lamak* lasted longer and so could be made longer in advance, Komang Soka also once in a while made to order *lamak* from sugar palm leaves for temple festivals.

She said that the *lontar* came from Seraya (in Karangasem) or from North Bali. The trees closest to the beach gave, according to her, the best leaves. One complete frond cost Rp. 700-1000, depending on trade conditions. From one frond she could make ten *lamak*. For one day's work making *jejaitan*, she could earn Rp.1500-2000 (approximately €1). At that time, and in contrast to Wayan Suartini 20 years later, Komang Soka always worked with *semat*, because staples then were too expensive. She had no other source of income. She only went to primary school and she learned to make *jejaitan* by copying the work of others.

Although this commercialization of *lamak* making already existed in past decades, nowadays mass production seems to be more professionally organized. More shops are in operation and they have more varieties of *lontar jejaitan* for sale than there used to be. These shops vary from small one-person kiosks to larger workshops where several people are employed.

For example recently (at the end of 2014, just before Galungan), Ni Ketut Remping opened on the main road in Budakeling a small *toko jejaitan*. It was a kind of *warung*, open to the street, where she had a variety of objects in stock. It was located opposite her own houseyard, where she made the *jejaitan* together with her daughter-in-law. She bought the material, mainly *lontar* leaves in different colours, at the nearby market town of Bebandem. Like Komang Soka 20 years ago, she learned new forms by just copying the work of others. She decided to start this small business, first to have something to do besides being a housewife and to make a bit of useful extra income, but also because she always liked making all kinds of *jejaitan*, and she is rather good at this craft (pers. com. 6/6/2015). However, after just a year she decided there were insufficient regular customers to keep the shop open and pay the rent. She now works only from home 'on demand', to help prepare for larger rituals at the request of people from the several *gria* in Budakeling.

A similar story is that of Ni Made Raka, also from Banjar Pande Mas in Budakeling. A lady in her late sixties, who since she was left by her husband tries to make a living by making *jejaitan* and small offerings at home, 'on demand'. She also

15 Two examples are in the collection of the National Museum of World Cultures: inv. no. RV-5258-99 and 100, see Appendix 1.

Figure 5.12: Ni Wayan Suartini in her jejaitan workshop. Bebandem, 17/7/2010.

Figure 5.13: Lamak for sale in workshop 'Mahkota Pelangi', Bebandem, 29/3/2016.

Figure 5.14: Ni Wayan Suartini shows the lamak she uses as example. Bebandem, 29/3/2016.

learned the skills and the motifs on *lamak* by looking at the work of others. She has tried to teach and motivate some of her cousins and their children to learn to make *lamak*, but they were not interested. "It is too much work for not much result", they said (pers. com. 4/4/2016).

A larger-scale workshop of *lontar jejaitan* is the 'Palm Leaf Artshop' in Bebandem, where Ni Wayan Suartini worked as an employee (figs. 5.12-5.13 and figs. 4.3-4.4).[16] This workshop was started in 2007 by Ibu Suriani, wife of a silver- and goldsmith, in the space next to the shop of her husband at the market in Bebandem (fig. 5.12). At first Ibu Suriani worked only with members of her own family, but after a few years she also took on paid employees, like Ni Wayan Suartini. When a few years ago Ibu Suriani died, her husband and daughter continued the business. They opened a larger workshop with the sign 'Palm Leaf Artshop' (but with the official name *Mahkota Pelangi*, 'Rainbow Crown') about 200 metres from the market, where three adults and two children (after school time) work. To attract customers, they also opened a small workshop at the market, where Ni Wayan Suartini worked, originally by herself but later joined by another girl (pers. com. 28/5/2015 and 8/6/2015).

According to Wayan, when in 2007 Ibu Suriani started her workshop, she only made *sampian penjor*. But then she brought home from Denpasar and Gianyar examples of all kinds of other decorations to be used on a *penjor* or *sanggar penjor*, and people in Karangasem liked these new varieties. So she started to make them herself in her workshop and they became very popular (*laku*). Spectacular large Garuda birds sold for Rp. 800,000. A single *sampian penjor* could be bought for Rp. 25,000-50,000, and all the decorations for a complete *penjor* for Rp. 200,000.[17] In contrast to such rather expensive *penjor* decorations, the *ceniga* were very cheap in this workshop, only Rp. 1500 (equivalent to €0.10). Wayan could make up to 50 *ceniga* a day, and she always made them well before Galungan. On 28 May 2015 she was already making stock for the Galungan of 15 July.

Wayan had to learn from scratch, since at home her mother usually made the *jejaitan*, while Wayan helped with other aspects of daily offering making. She found making *jejaitan* very difficult in the beginning, especially with the rather tough (*keras*) *lontar* leaves. But Ibu Suriani, who taught her the different forms, always told her "Never say you can't!", so she practised until she finally managed. Wayan also looked in booklets with drawings, photographs and practical information about how to make different *jejaitan*.

In 2013 Wayan earned Rp 750,000 a month, which at that time was equivalent to €50. She worked every day, from seven in the morning till five in the afternoon, except on public holidays when shops in town are closed. Once in a while she received a bonus, in compensation for working overtime in the evenings to finish an order. Although her income was very small, Wayan still contributed to the family income. Her father, who used to be a driver on a mini-bus, lost his job because of illness, and her mother tried to make ends meet selling homemade rice porridge at the market, every third day from one o'clock in the morning. Wayan also preferred to use the ready-made coloured plastic decorations, instead of cutting them herself from coloured *lontar* leaf, which is much more time-consuming. People from Gianyar brought kilograms of these little things, a small packet of which she sells for Rp. 5000.

When I visited the *jejaitan* workshop on 29 March 2016, a *lontar lamak* decorated with little plastic ornaments (fig. 5.13) cost Rp. 15,000, approximately 1 euro. It appeared that Wayan Suartini had just stopped working for Mahkota Pelangi, because she was about to get married and wanted to set up her own *jejaitan* business, working from home (as described for Ni Ketut Remping and Ni Made Raka). Although she already has a lot of experience, she still wants to learn new models and varieties, and so she asked for two *lontar lamak* with flower decorations which were used at a previous temple festival and would not be used again, to serve as examples (fig. 5.14).

Also in other parts of Bali, for example in Tabanan, and especially along the main roads, there are many more *toko yadnya* specializing in *lontar jejaitan* than there used to be. Even the supermarket chain Hardy's has its own small department in the

16 An account of Ni Wayan Suartini at work is given in the introduction to Chapter 4.

17 In 2015, Rp. 15,000 was approximately 1€.

period prior to Galungan and Kuningan where *lontar jejaitan* are for sale; for example in January 2012 in Sanur a large *sampian penjor* sold for Rp. 40,000 and a small one for Rp. 20,000 (resp. €4 and €2).

5.3.3.2 Painted *lamak*

Another home industry of durable or permanent *lamak* is the development of painted *lamak* on canvas (see Chapter 4). Pak Tantri from Padangtegal, who formerly made *lamak* only from palm leaf (see earlier in this chapter), started making painted *lamak* in the early 1970s. For the first time and for his own house temple (*sanggah*), he produced a *lamak* from canvas, painted with the same motifs as on his palm leaf *lamak*.[18] This was a success and family and friends also asked for such canvas *lamak* which they could use again and again each Galungan. In 1983 Pak Tantri received many orders from outsiders, even already for the next Galungan. From photographs the customers could choose which motifs they wanted to order. Pak Tantri gave them a choice of four different representational motifs (*mangong, cili, kekayonan* and *gebogan*) and four geometric ones (*kapu-kapu* and three varieties of *candigara*). For a painted *lamak* with one representational and one geometric motif Pak Tantri asked Rp. 4000 (pers. com. 5/5/1983), approximately €4.50, at that time equivalent to the average price of one metre of *lamak nganten* made by *tukang lamak* in Padangtegal.

Other craftsmen followed the economic success of these permanent (non-ephemeral) painted *lamak*, which in colour and design imitated the palm leaf ones. On Galungan of 9 December 1987 I noticed many more of these cloth *lamak* in the Gianyar area than in 1983 or 1985. One such craftsman, I Wayan Wira from Banjar Kalah, Peliatan (pers. com. 26/2/1990), sold hand-painted cloth *lamak* and made them to order. His price was Rp. 5000 for a *lamak* with only the geometrical pattern *kapu-kapu* and the *gebogan*. For a larger one with more motifs he asked Rp. 20,000. In 1987 and the previous year, he received for Galungan 200 orders for small cloth *lamak*. Customers ordered 20 to 40 pieces, for each shrine in their family temple. He made them all by hand, painting the motifs with green paint on yellow canvas. For some motifs, like the *gebogan*, he used a template made of carton. He used to make *lamak nganten*, together with his wife, Ni Ketut Lunus. But in 1990 he only made cloth *lamak*, for he found that much more practical. He could do all kinds of other things as well, from making statues, selling jewellery, to managing building projects. When I met him for the first time in 1987 he had just started making these canvas *lamak* but then he considered this work "not so attractive" (pers. com. 30/12/1987).

In the 1980s people in more traditional villages in Gianyar, like Lambing and Jasan, were proud of the fact that they did not participate in these new developments, but still used palm leaves for their traditional, authentic (*asli*) *lamak*. For example the maker of some fine palm leaf *lamak* in Jasan (Sebatu) said (pers. com. 24/2/1987), "Here the tradition is still strong, and no cloth *lamak* are used. In Pujung it is otherwise, there people are busy with their businesses, and there is a large production of tourist woodcarvings." According to her, women in Jasan were capable of making themselves all the offerings, even for a cremation. Each person had her own speciality, and everyone helped one another. The girls learned how to do it simply by joining in. But in Pujung people often bought offerings because they had no time, on account of their businesses.

Another element that entered the field of commercialization was renting instead of buying. The first time I saw a painted *lamak nganten* was on 9 December 1987, in Banjar Ambengan, Peliatan. This *lamak nganten* was not bought, but rented from I Ketut Gampil of Banjar Tegal, Tegallalang. At a cost of Rp. 5000, I Wayan Neka rented this *lamak* for the entire Galungan-Kuningan period (pers. com. 25/12/1987). He thought this an excellent and efficient new possibility for coping with problems of lack of time and materials for making *lamak nganten.* However, others thought differently. I Nengah Rata, Ubud Kaja (pers. com. 27/12/1987), knew it would be cheaper to rent a cloth *lamak nganten*, "but not really proper, not so diligent, not so artistic". According to Cokorda Ngurah from Puri Menara, Ubud (pers. com. 31/10/1990), the renting of *lamak nganten* was in 1990 already in decline. Especially in Tegallalang, where many families used to rent them, people started to feel embarrassed *(malu*) about it.

18 Pak Tantri made in 1983 a painted example for the Leiden collection (inv. no. RV-5258-50), see Appendix 1.

5.3.3.3 *Lamak sablon*

Lamak sablon, silkscreen *lamak*, probably developed out of the painted *lamak* (as discussed in Chapter 4). In contrast to the hand-painted canvas *lamak*, *lamak sablon* are very cheap, since they are mass-produced. One entrepreneur, I Ketut Lantur who lived in Banjar Tebuana, Sukawati (Gianyar), said that in 2001 the production in his small household workshop could be as many as a hundred pieces a day.[19] He worked with two silkscreens, each the size of a *lamak*, one for the main patterns and one for the accents that were added afterwards. The base was a bright yellow piece of cloth, the paint for the main patterns was a dark green colour, with accents in red paint.

I Ketut Lantur, who already for a long time was busy as a painter of patterns on dance costumes and cloth fans, started around 1995 with the less time-consuming silkscreen technique of decoration. Since this appeared to be a success, he then also started with the production of silkscreen *lamak*. He bought the silkscreens in Denpasar where they were made, but he designed the motifs on the screens himself. His *lamak sablon* were about 70 cm long and 19 cm wide. For a longer *lamak* the silkscreen was used twice, on a piece of cloth twice as long, so that the motifs and structure of a small *lamak* were simply repeated or doubled. Pak Lantur only worked to order, and he sold his *lamak sablon* for Rp 2000 (in 2001 equivalent to €0.25) a piece. He received his orders mainly from a middleman who sold his *lamak sablon* at the market in Klungkung. He only made *lamak sablon* once he received a new order.

According to Pak Lantur, he was the first in the area to start producing *lamak sablon*, but by 2001 in Sukawati many other *lamak sablon* workshops had opened. I do not have historical or economic data on this matter, but at the main market in Sukawati I was told that the main centres of production were in Banjar Babakan of Sukawati. Also at such major markets as those of Denpasar (the capital of Bali) and of Bebandem, in Karangasem, the vendors also said that their *lamak sablon* were all made in Sukawati.

Along the roads of Bali in the summer of 2001 the use of *lamak sablon* was very visible. Many shrines outside the gateways of homes in villages and towns used the *lamak sablon* on an everyday basis. Also the small wooden shrines hanging on walls, for example inside shops, were now often decorated with a *lamak sablon*.

Just as the lady quoted in the discussion about *lamak sablon* in *Sarad* magazine (see Chapter 4), people explained that they used the *lamak sablon* to make more decorative these 'daily' shrines which are permanently in use, and because the *lamak sablon* are cheaper than other types of textile *lamak*. In the long run they are even cheaper than the palm leaf *lamak* for which the material has to be bought time and again, especially for people who do not own or have access to coconut or sugar palms. At the market in Ubud in 2001 a small *lamak sablon* cost the same price as a ready-made palm leaf *lamak*: Rp 3000 to 5000 (then around €0.50). A *lamak sablon* one metre long was about twice that price. The *lamak sablon* clearly was a response to a growing economic need.

It was interesting to see large numbers of *lamak sablon* not only at the market in Denpasar but also at the market in Bebandem, a still fairly traditional town in Karangasem. In the former, lack of time to make one's own ritual decorations and the lack of sufficient palm leaf would seem a sufficient explanation, whereas in rural areas these arguments in favour of the *lamak sablon* would seem to be less relevant. Probably in this Karangasem case sensitivity to the latest fashion with regard to ritual objects has been more important, though economic need cannot be entirely ruled out. The fact that once remote places are now easily accessible to transport means that new developments or fashions spread quickly all over Bali.[20]

19 This section on *lamak sablon* is based on an earlier article, Brinkgreve 2010a.

20 Since by that time I did not come regularly to Bali, it was difficult to estimate to what extent the *lamak sablon* had replaced the traditional palm leaf *lamak* during special festive days and rituals. According to Dayu Putu Sriani, who did some research for me during Galungan festivals in September 2001 and February 2002, and Aafke de Jong, who did the same in November 2002, the use of the *lamak sablon* in villages around Ubud had certainly increased, but they had by no means replaced the palm leaf *lamak*, which are still produced in the traditional styles of the respective villages.

Whereas in 2001 *lamak sablon* were very prominent, during my next visit to Bali in 2005 I had the impression that there were fewer *lamak sablon* than four years earlier. In 2001 in the *toko yadnya* of the main market in Denpasar, Pasar Badung, there were many *lamak sablon* for sale, mainly with the Dewi Saraswati and *padma* motifs. They sold for Rp. 8000 for two ordinary ones or Rp. 10,000 for one twice as long, but with the traditional end pattern, *cracap*, in the centre. In the *toko yadnya* there were no *lontar lamak* for sale anymore. However, in July 2005 there were fewer *lamak sablon* for sale in Pasar Badung, while there were again some varieties of *lontar lamak* for sale. At the market in Sukawati they sold for Rp. 2000 to 6000, depending on size.

In 2010 at the Ubud market there were no *lamak sablon* for sale anymore. One of the saleswomen said that they were not so fashionable anymore, because after a while the colours faded. This was also the opinion of saleswomen at the market in Negara, West Bali, who remarked that their local embroidered *lamak* kept their colours much better. However, at this market and also at the markets in Tabanan and Bebandem *lamak sablon* were still for sale, as the cheapest variety of cloth *lamak* available. The saleswoman in Tabanan who sold *lamak sablon* with a *cili* motif, said that they still "sold" (*laku*), especially for Galungan, and that a salesman from Gianyar brought them along.

I revisited *lamak sablon* maker I Ketut Lantur in his workshop in Banjar Tebuana, Sukawati in 2012. The sign on his shop read: "I Ketut Lantur, *kipas* maker". A *kipas* is a fan, and he made many of them, all from *prada* cloth. In fact formerly his *lamak sablon* also developed from his *prada* silkscreen work. He told me (pers. com. 26/1/2012) that "already since five years *lamak sablon* do not sell well, because they are thought of as false. Something printed is not good for God. Better to use *prada*, because God likes gold, as does Buddha."[21]

Formerly he made *lamak sablon* for Rp 1000 each, and by selling them at Rp 3000 each, made a profit of Rp 2000. But the screen for the *lamak sablon* was already broken. In 2012 instead he sold *lamak prada*, with gold-coloured flower motifs, for Rp 4000 each. He used gold-coloured foil which came from Surabaya; "hot pressable foil" was written on the box. This is far more shiny than the earlier *prada* using gold paint. His business was going well, he made a lot of *prada* dance clothing and temple hangings (*langse*) and he had built himself a new house. In 2012, this decline was further confirmed in a *toko yadnya* by the market in Sukawati: "*Lamak sablon* do not sell anymore" (*tidak laku lagi*!). However, further away from the former production centre, like the markets in Klungkung and Karangasem, some *lamak sablon* were still for sale, also in October 2013. They were especially "*laku*" by people who cannot afford to buy the more expensive permanent *lamak* varieties. In Bebandem (31/1/2012) their prices varied from Rp. 2500-4000 (less than €0.25-0.40), and they were said to have been brought there from Sukawati or Buleleng in North Bali. Nowadays along the roads *lamak sablon* are still visible, although often rather weathered.

Whereas since 2001 I had only seen yellow *lamak sablon*, with green motifs and sometimes some red touches, in January 2012 I saw in a temple close to the beach in Sanur, Pura Patal, a *lamak sablon* with silver motifs on a white background. According to the temple priest, this colour is used for the shrine for Siwa. But when offerings are placed in the shrine there has to be always a leaf on top of the *lamak sablon*, "for the leaf is from God", he said.

In 2015 there were still *lamak sablon* for sale on the markets of Bebandem, Amlapura and Klungkung, but not very prominent. Besides old ones, also some new ones were visible on shrines along the roads, also in Sukawati, so they are probably still being made.[22]

5.3.3.4 *Toko yadnya*

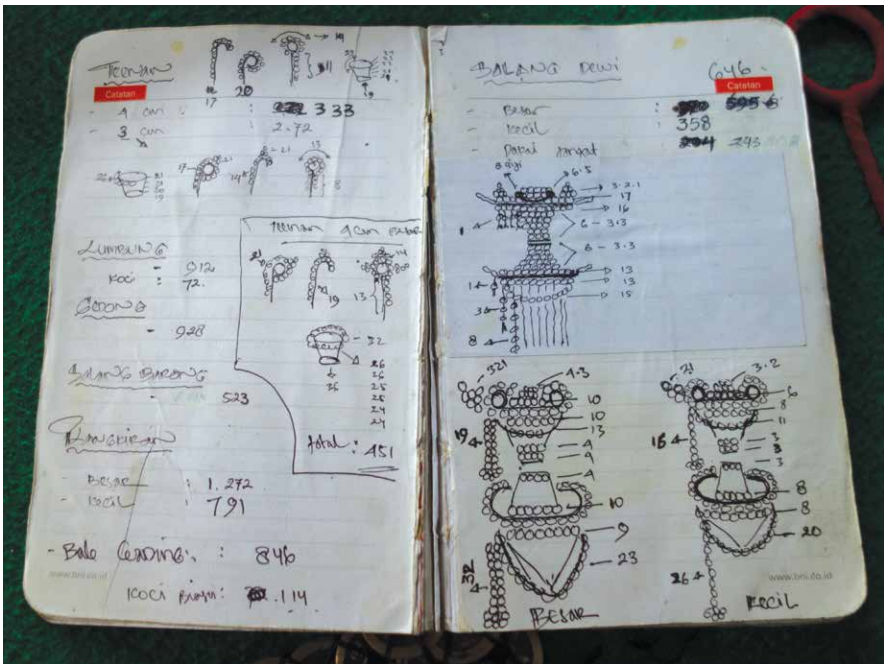
Not only *lamak sablon* but nowadays a wide range of cheap, mass-produced varieties of permanent *lamak* is available at the markets and *toko yadnya*, shops selling ritual objects (figs. 5.15-5.16). There are more varieties of cloth *lamak* and *lamak* made of fake coins, and larger quantities available than when I was collecting for the National Museum of Ethnology in 1983. Due to better transport

21 *Tidak laku, karena dianggap falsu. Cet tidak bagus untuk Tuhan. Lebih baik: pakai prada, karena Tuhan suka mas, seperti Buddha.*

22 In 2016 I bought in Bebandem the last *lamak sablon* the seller had in stock, for Rp. 3000 (€0.20).

Figure 5.15: Toko yadnya at Denpasar market, 20/7/2005.

Figure 5.16: Toko yadnya at Bebandem market, 17/7/2010.



Figures 5.17-5.18: Making kepeng lamak in the workshop of "Industri uang kepeng Kamasan Bali". In the notebook is written how many coins are used per object. Tojan (Klungkung), 30/5/2015.

facilities, these permanent *lamak* are often not locally made anymore. In 2012 and 2013 at the markets of Bebandem and Amlapura (in Karangasem) I was informed by the saleswomen that these cloth *lamak* were brought to them by middlemen from Buleleng in the north or Sukawati in central Bali. Some *lamak sablon* made in Sukawati (Gianyar) are still for sale in Tabanan in the west and Amlapura in the east, and cheap coin *lamak* produced in Klungkung are sold everywhere.

But contemporary permanent *lamak* are not only cheap and mass-produced. In Kamasan and neighbouring Tojan, several workshops (figs. 5.17-5.18), where ritual objects from newly fabricated *panca datu* coins (see Chapter 4) are made to order, have beautiful showrooms with fancy and expensive objects, including *lamak* (fig. 4.58). The price range for *lamak* is here from Rp. 400,000 for the smallest variety to five million rupiah for the longest one.[23] The *lamak* and other ritual objects are all handmade, the workers receive payment per day, depending on the number of coins that they have tied together. The coins themselves are mass-produced; in this workshop they make approximately 150,000 coins per month.

The newest development of *toko yadnya* is the online webshop. One such enterprise has the web address www.kerajinanklungkung.com. According to the web page, "KerajinanKlungkung.com is an online shop that sells craftwork (*hasil kerajinan*) available in the region Klungklung, Bali. This online shop is inspired by the government enterprise Nusa Kertha Kosala (PDNKK) of the government of Kabupaten Klungkung."[24] In 2016 a search under the word *lamak* found eight kinds of *kepeng lamak* and three different coloured "*lamak pentol tanggung*", a type which is common in *toko yadnya*. Prices ranged from Rp. 840,000 for a *lamak panca datu* of one metre in length to Rp 9000 for a cloth *lamak*.

23 In 2015, Rp. 15,000 was approximately €1.

24 *KerajinanKlungkung.com adalah toko online yang menjual hasil kerajinan yang ada di kabupaten Klungkung Bali. Toko online ini diberdayakan oleh perusahaan daerah Nusa Kertha Kosala (PDNKK) pemerintah Kabupaten Klungkung.*

5.3.3.5 Commercialization

The overview in the paragraphs above of the involvement of Balinese in making *lamak*, from housewife and skilled craftsman to ritual specialist, employee or entrepreneur, shows a tendency towards a growing commercialization in the making of *lamak*.

As informants often explained, one of the reasons is lack of time. As women's occupations outside their homes increase, especially in the cities and tourist regions of the island, women have less time to prepare for rituals themselves, and to help other people in this way. Also, especially in the case of more complicated *lamak*, like *lamak nganten*, they simply do not know how to make them. Moreover, the natural materials for *lamak* are less easily available for people who do not have access to trees, and in any case there are problems in Bali of a growing shortage of fresh palm leaves.

So instead of creating *lamak* themselves or helping others, many Balinese prefer to buy *lamak*, or, in case of a larger *lamak nganten*, order them from a *tukang lamak*. The smaller *lamak*, made from coconut palm leaves, are only available at village markets shortly before general festival days like Galungan because they stay fresh for just one or two days. As a consequence, more and more people go to a *toko yadnya*, or a workshop specializing in *lontar jejaitan*, which always has a supply of *lamak* or *ceniga* in stock, since these are much more durable.

When ordering a *lamak nganten*, it is also often economic reasons which prevail in the choice of *tukang lamak*, the one chosen being he or she who offers a good price per metre. On the other hand, some changes occurred not only for economic reasons but also because the Balinese like to experiment and try out new things, for example making painted *lamak* or *lamak sablon*. Once successful, these new techniques were readily copied by others.

Commercialization of the production of *lamak* has developed in a number of ways, as related above, since the 1980s. For those who, for whatever reason, are unable or unwilling to make their own *lamak*, these new types of lamak are acceptable, although sometimes with certain reservations. The 'consumption' of *lamak* still takes place only in the context of Balinese ritual, and although some *lamak* have become a commodity, their ritual purpose remains the same. The networks linking pro-

fessional makers, sales people, and 'consumers' in practice strengthens the continuation of the *lamak* as ritual necessity. Moreover, the social system of exchange, of mutual help in making *lamak*, has not (yet) been totally replaced by commercialization.

5.4 Style: diversity and development

All *lamak* makers, whether *tukang lamak* or ordinary villagers, said that they learned the skills from other, more experienced people, and by helping others. They learned by copying what they were doing and also by looking at and copying the motifs on the *lamak* displayed along the streets at Galungan. This principle also occurs in other forms of Balinese arts and crafts, be it for a ritual purpose or not. Many authors have commented on the fact that the traditional way of learning from master teachers, by imitating their work, still continues today (Djelantik 1986:3; Kam 1993:70; Ramseyer 1977:13-15). With regard to the structure and meaning of the motifs, according to Ngurah Nala just as women learn about such matters when they learn to make offerings, they learn the cosmological principles inherent in the Hindu religion through participation in the numerous rituals structuring their daily life (2004:77).

Lamak makers not only learn to master the techniques in a technical sense, but by copying they also learn the style of their village. In this study I use the definition of style by Meyer Schapiro: "By style is meant the constant form – and sometimes the constant elements, qualities, and expression – in the art of an individual or a group" (Schapiro 1953:287). In other words: "style is a combination of formal characteristics bound to a time and a place" (Gerbrands 1967:16).[25]

There exists a wide range of variation in the actual form or styles of *lamak*, and it is not easy to say very much about longer term developments in styles of palm leaf *lamak.* Because *lamak* are ephemeral, none have survived other than just a few made of *lontar* leaf. And unfortunately photographic records of them from the first half of the 20th century, or earlier, are scarce. However, among all the photographs Walter Spies and Beryl de Zoete made for their book *Dance and Drama in Bali*, some depict *lamak*. Walter Spies, a German musician and painter who lived from 1927 to 1940 in Ubud, was very knowledgeable about Balinese art. He was particularly fascinated by the wide range of *lamak* ornamentation, and appreciated their striking beauty.

His photographs are kept in the collection of the Horniman Museum in London and give an impression of some *lamak* in the 1930s (published in Hitchcock 1995:13, ills. 5 and 99). Comparing the photograph (fig. 5.19) taken by Spies in the 1930s, probably in Padangtegal, with one (fig. 5.20) taken in 1988, one sees not much difference. However, the former was probably just an "ordinary" *lamak* for Galungan, whereas the latter is a *lamak nganten.* A very special triple *lamak* in Ubud (fig. 5.77), in fact also in the style of Padangtegal, was photographed in early 1939 by the American Philip Hanson Hiss (Hiss 1941:41 and photograph 60).[26] Judging from just these very few examples from Padangtegal in the 1930s *lamak* for Galungan were larger and had more motifs than more recent ones.

Around 1930 Walter Spies collected many different *lamak* motifs, made drawings of them, and even planned to make a book on this subject. Unfortunately, the book was never finished and most of these drawings have been lost. Known to have survived are a collection of 42 paintings in the collection of the Weltmuseum in Vienna (Kraus 2010), and six others recently acquired by Museum

25 According to Layton, "Style refers to the formal qualities of a work of art. A style is characterized by the range of subjects it depicts, by the regular shapes to which elements of these subjects are reduced, and by the manner that components of the art work are organized into a composition. […] A style may be identified at many levels of generality: that of the individual artist, that of a particular school and, in still more comprehensive terms, figurative styles may be distinguished from abstract ones" (Layton 1991:150).

26 It is uncertain whether this is a *lamak nganten* from that period. I have never seen such a triple *lamak*. The only other published photograph of a *lamak nganten* that I know of is in a little travel guide by Joanna Moore (1970:58), of which the caption reads: "A *lamak* at Ubud during the *galunggan* festival, indicating a recent wedding." The style of this *lamak nganten* is from Padangtegal.

Pasifika, in Nusa Dua in Bali.[27] These paintings were based on *lamak* motifs Spies 'collected' in Gianyar and Tabanan.

In 1985 I showed *tukang lamak* Pak Sadra in Padangtegal copies of some of the drawings by Walter Spies. He recognized the patterns and he commented that they were *polos*, simple, as it was in the old days. "Nowadays, they are decorated, so that they appear a little busier."[28] However, if one compares for example drawings in figures 5.21a, 5.22a and 5.23a, of respectively the motifs *enjekan siap, kapu-kapu,* and *timpasan* made by Walter Spies in the 1930s and drawings in figures 5.21b, 5.22b and 5.23b of the same motifs, made by Gusti Putu Taman from Padangtegal and based on my photographs in the 1980s, there is almost no difference in degree of complexity.

As far as is known, the only photographs through which it is possible to compare *lamak*, suspended from the same shrine in the same temple over a long period, are those taken of the main shrine in Pura Agung in Intaran (Sanur),[29] during its temple anniversary in the early 1930's (Fleischmann 2007:photogr. 84-85, also p. 244), 50 years later on 18 October 1982 (fig. 2.36) and again 30 years after that on 13 February 2012 (figs. 5.53-5.54). These show, rather than an increasing complexity, slightly less complexity, noticeable in the forms of the tree and geometrical motifs.

5.4.1 Regional variation

Travelling through Bali during the Galungan festival period, when there is a *lamak* hanging in front of almost every house, makes one aware of their enormous variety. Every region, every village and sometimes even every street shows its own preference not only for the use of different motifs but also of the style of each motif and of the colours of the motifs.

The *cili*, the female figure representing human life and fertility, shows this variation in its fullest extent. In the district of Tabanan, West Bali, for example, the *cili* differs considerably from the *cili* in Gianyar, Central Bali. The *cili* in Tabanan have rather elongated forms, with ornamented long skirts, long, upright hairstyles or headdresses, and arms which are bent upwards at the elbows (fig. 5.24). *Cili* on some examples of permanent, textile *lamak* from the Tabanan area, also the most modern varieties, show these features as well (figs. 4.64, 4.68 and 4.77).[30] In Gianyar the *cili* are somewhat shorter, their headdresses have the form of a half-circle, their arms are directed downward, often almost reaching the ground, and sometimes botanical elements sprout from their bodies (fig. 5.25). In Badung and Denpasar, between Tabanan and Gianyar, the style of the *cili* seems to combine the styles of the *cili* in these regions: their arms are bent upwards as in Tabanan, but their headdress in the form of a half-circle is more like their sisters in Gianyar (fig. 5.26).

Whereas the kind of leaves mostly used is largely dependent on ecological conditions (see Chapter 4), the regional differentiation of the palm leaf *lamak* is most visible in the range of motifs. In Karangasem and Klungkung, both in the eastern part of the island, the mountain is the most

27 These were sold at Christie's Amsterdam, sale 3009, lot 131A, 4 September 2012 (originally owned by the Gotsch family as a gift from Spies). In the Van Wessem collection (Or. 25.188, VIII.1) in the Leiden University Library are 54 photocopies of *lamak* drawings by Walter Spies; whereabouts of originals are unknown.

28 *Sekarang: dihias, supaya agak ramai sedikit*.

29 See also Hauser-Schäublin (1997:167) for a photograph of this shrine, dedicated to the deity of Gunung Agung, and (1997:237-244) for more details of this temple. In an account of the temple festival (*odalan*) in Pura Agung, held on 17 April 1938, Jane Belo notes, "From the main shrine hung long palm-leaf panels cut out in intricate old Indonesian design" (Belo 1960:257).

30 As discussed in Chapter 3, *cili* are not only found on *lamak*, but they are an esential part of many offerings, for instance in the form of figurines made from rice dough. In the offering *pulagembal* in Tabanan the head of a *cili* has a central position. This face also has an elongated, upright headdress, just as on the *lamak*. As discussed in Chapter 4, in the late 1970s in the district of Tabanan it was fashionable to make *lamak* out of brightly coloured plastic (fig. 4.76), and these too showed the traditional style of *cili* with long upright hair and arms upwards.

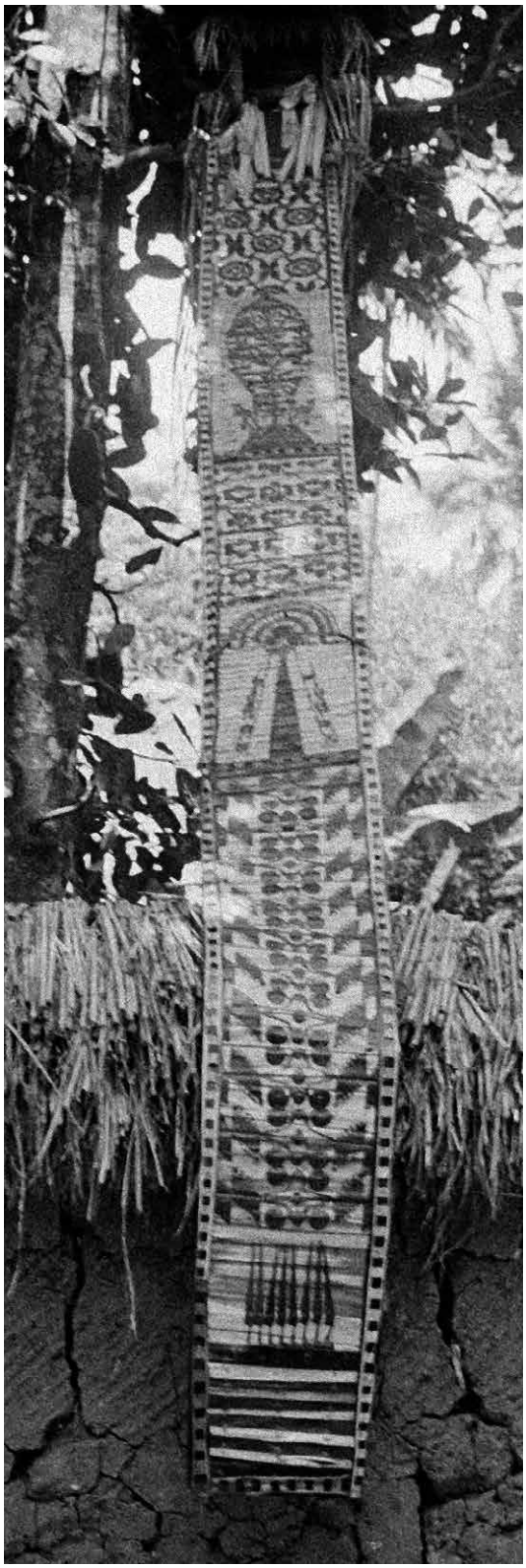


Figure 5.19 Lamak in Ubud area, 1930s, photograph taken by Walter Spies. Courtesy of Horniman Museum and Gardens, archive nr. 397-2276.

Figure 5.20: Lamak nganten, Banjar Padangtegal Kaja, Ubud, 13/5/1987.

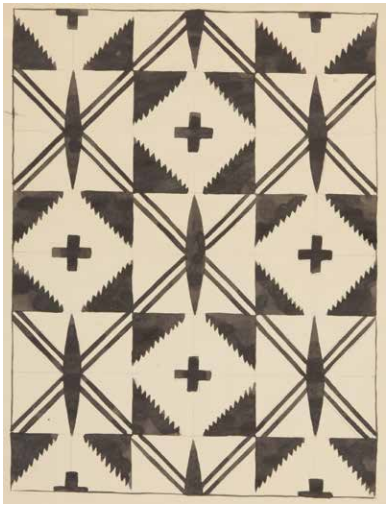


Figure 5.21a.

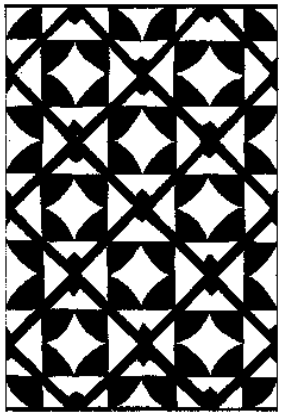


Figure 5.21b.

Figure 5.22a.

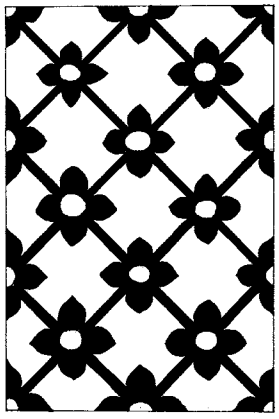


Figure 5.22b.

Figure 5.23a.

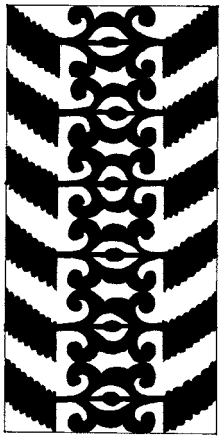


Figure 5.23b.

Figures 5.21-5.23: Drawings of the motifs enjekan siap, kapu-kapu, and timpasan, those on the left by Walter Spies around 1930 (courtesy Weltmuseum, Vienna, nos. WMW 130888; 130874; 130885), those on the right by I Gusti Putu Taman, sixty years later.

common motif.[31] Towards the west, in Bangli and parts of Gianyar, trees are often the main motif.[32] In Gianyar and Badung, more towards the south-west, human figures (*cili*) including the *cili nganten* (wedding *cili*) make their appearance, while the *cili* is the dominant motif in Tabanan, West Bali. In Jembrana in the far west and in the northern coastal region of Buleleng the motifs of the palm leaf *lamak* are often geometric, or depict flower motifs.

These regional differences in the motifs might have a deeper significance, but my Balinese informants did not consider them as parts of a meaningful encompassing structure or system.[33] But they often do know that in other areas other motifs are more dominant. For example both Sagung Putu Alit and Dayu Made Sapri from Kerambitan, Tabanan, said that in their region *lamak* only contained "*bentuk orang*", human form, meaning *cili*, and almost no *kekayonan*. These were found "*di daerah timur*", more in the east of Bali (pers. com. 26/9/1985).

Although these regional tendencies are still visible in Bali, they are becoming less clear. The different regions are less isolated than they used to be, and improved transport facilities enhance mutual influences. For example, *lontar* leaves originating from the dry Karangasem area are now often used in Denpasar and Tabanan (fig. 5.27) as well because of their durability, whereas the leaves of *ibung* or *busung* Sulawesi (fig. 5.29) are used all over Bali. Additional colours and materials, formerly more or less restricted to red in Badung and Gianyar (for example figs. 2.10, 2.14), and red and yellow in Tabanan (fig. 2.26), are now used all over Bali, and in a much wider range (including blue, purple and pink dyes and gold paper) than before (figs. 5.27-5.29). Various kinds of multi-coloured permanent *lamak* were formerly a specialty of the districts of Jembrana and Tabanan, but nowadays permanent *lamak* are fabricated in many other parts of the island and sold and used in regions other than where they have been made (fig. 5.30).

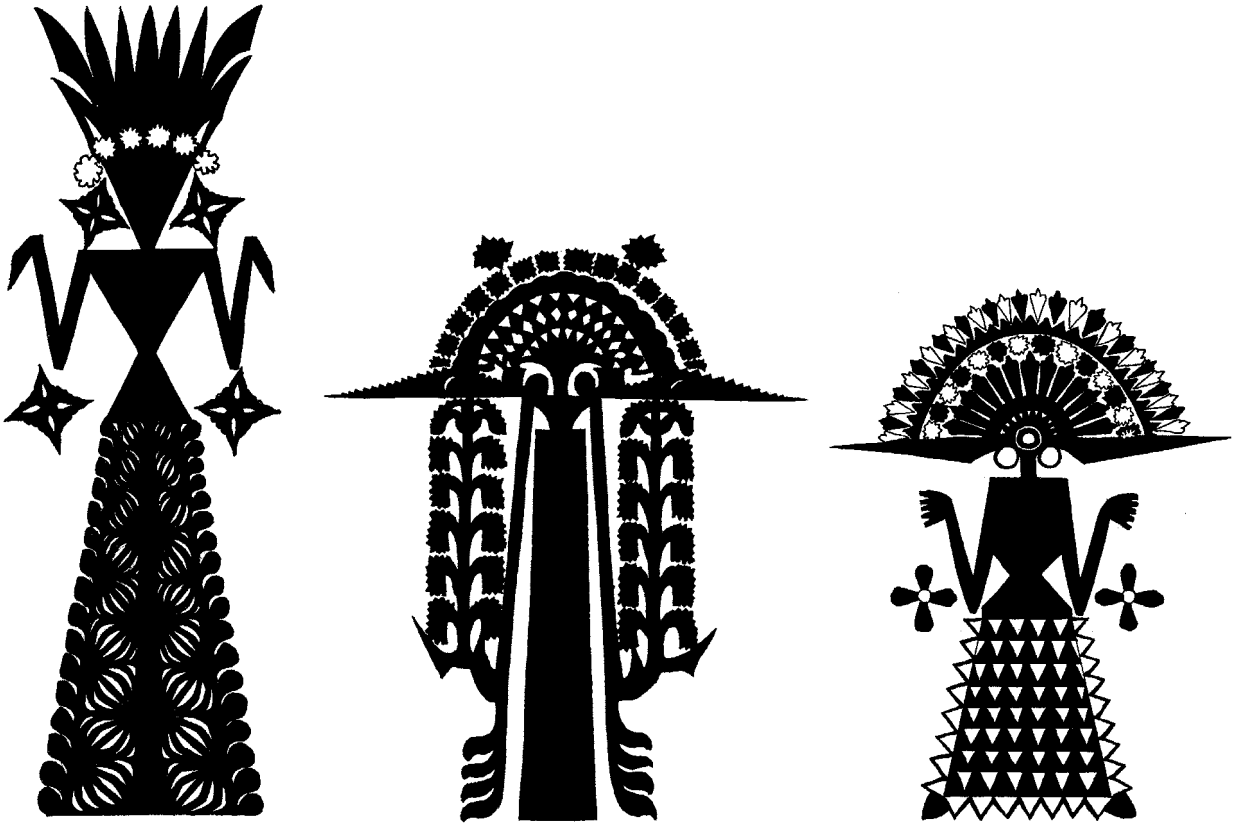
5.4.2 Variation at village level

Within the different regions or districts, at the village level the styles of the different motifs also vary considerably. For instance, while in Pujung (north of Ubud) the *cili* are always very elongated, with small hairstyle (fig. 3.28), the *cili* in Peliatan (immediately southeast of Ubud) are shorter, but with a rather wide, elaborate fan-shaped headdress (fig. 5.25). However, immediately north of Pujung, in the village of Jasan, the *cili* are much shorter again, but with a wider radiating style headdress (fig. 3.30). Many other villages in Gianyar also have

31 Although in these areas this is still the case for *lamak* made of the leaves of the sugar palm, on small *lamak* made of *lontar* leaves usually only flower motifs are depicted.

32 As explained in Chapter 3, the motif of the tree (*kekayonan*) is often used on *lamak* because trees are thought of as a source of human existence. All parts of a tree can be used: wood, leaves, flowers, fruits. In Balinese cosmology, like the holy mountain, the tree functions both as cosmic axis, and also as a symbol of the unity and totality of all existing phenomena. On a large *lamak*, the tree is placed underneath the mountain motif.

33 Symbolic meaning of regional differentiation is also discussed at length by Rens Heringa (1993:160-161; 1994; 2010). She analyses the manufacturing, formats, colours and motifs of textiles in a specific area in north-east Java as part of a meaningful structure or totality. An interpretation of the symbolic meaning of regional differences in materials, techniques, colours and motifs of *lamak* was published in Brinkgreve 1996 and Brinkgreve 2010a. In those publications I was of the opinion that "An examination of the variation of *lamak* motifs also suggests a correspondence with this topographical classification. The regional transformation from mountain motif via tree and human motifs to plant or "hipcloth" (geometric) motifs corresponds to a gradual descent from *kaja* to *kelod*, from the holy mountain Gunung Agung via the fertile plains of central Bali towards the coastal areas. The greater the distance from the top of the sacred mountain, dwelling place of the deities, the more one is present in the world of human and vegetative life.This regional variation of motifs has, interestingly, the same vertical order as the motifs on one single large *lamak*, where often a mountain is depicted at the top, then a tree, in the middle a *cili* and at the bottom geometric, vegetative ornaments. Taken as a whole, it is possible to interpret the regional variation of the motifs of all the different *lamak* together in the same way as the ordering of the motifs on one *lamak*, being a connection, runner or ladder between the world of the deities and of human beings" (Brinkgreve 2010a:77). However, I changed my viewpoints in this regard, since there is no evidence that, taking the island as a whole, the East of Bali (because of its closeness to Gunung Agung) is considered more sacred than the areas closer to the sea especially in the West. The cosmic classifications *kaja-kelod* and *hulu-teben* do not relate to specific geographical areas or regions.



Figures 5.24-5.26: Cili figures on lamak in the regions of respectively Tabanan (Jegu/Sigaran), Gianyar (Peliatan) and Denpasar (Sanur).

distinct styles of *cili* motifs, for example Bakbakan (fig. 5.31), Tegalsuci (fig. 5.32), Tegallalang (fig. 5.33), Silungan (fig. 5.34) and Tegallalang (Banjar Tengah) (fig. 5.35).

Not only the *cili* figures but also the styles of other motifs, especially the representational ones, show considerable variation among different villages, as the following examples from villages in Gianyar make clear. The drawings show the motif of the moon (*bulan*) in Tegallalang (fig. 5.36), Junjungan (fig. 5.37) and Jasan (fig. 5.38) and the tree (*kekayonan*) motif in Peliatan (fig. 5.39), Pujung Kaja (fig. 5.40) and Jasan (fig. 5.41).

Although the mountain or *gunung* motif occurs most frequently in the regions of Klungkung and Karangasem, I have occasionally seen this motif in other districts as well, usually in a rather simple triangular form, consisiting of various small triangles (fig. 5.43). Exclusively in Padangtegal, the *gunung* motif seems to have been transformed into the mountain-shaped offering or *gebogan* motif (fig. 3.25), which is always executed in the same, very detailed style as the *kekayonan* (see fig. 3.24). Only in Tegallalang have I seen a *banten gebogan* or offering actually carried by the *cili* on her head (fig. 5.33), and that only one time, so it can hardly be called a typical characteristic of the Tegallalang style of *lamak*. In contrast, I have seen the *gebogan* of Padangtegal numerous times.

By comparing several examples of the various motifs that appear on the *lamak* of a particular village with similar motifs on *lamak* in other villages, it is possible to identify a number of style characteristics of each village. Although the drawings were made from a photograph of one particular *lamak*, each drawing represents the style of that specific motif in that particular village. The style of a particular village can also be recognized in certain characteristics that occur in several representational motifs. For example, the moon and tree motifs in Jasan (figs. 5.38 and 5.41) share the kind of 'spiky' characteristics of the *cili* figures in this village (fig. 3.30).

Figure 5.27: Lamak and gantung-gantungan made of coloured lontar leaves for Galungan. Canggu, Badung, 13/5/2010.

Figure 5.28: Ceniga and capah made of coloured lontar leaves for Galungan. Macang, Karangasem, 2/2/2012.

Figure 5.29: Lamak and tamiang made of coloured ibung leaves for Kuningan. Jegu, Tabanan, 2/11/2013.

Figure 5.30: Cloth and kepeng lamak with a palm leaf ceniga on top, for Galungan. Tihingtali, Karangasem, 1/2/2012.

The particular style of a village is often recognized and commented upon, especially by women who married into a different village. They were usually of the opinion that the style of their own village was the best or most complete or beautiful. For example Dayu Sayang, a woman of Brahmana descent who came from Tegallalang but married into Sanur, said that she liked the *cili* from the village of her parents (fig. 5.35) more than the ones in Sanur (fig. 5.26), although she found it difficult to explain why that was the case, since the meaning was the same (pers. com. 28/4/1994).

Tukang lamak themselves were sometimes rather critical about the work of *tukang* from other villages. *Tukang lamak* I Gusti Putu Nonderan thinks that the *lamak* in Padangtegal are more beautiful than elsewhere, because the motifs are comparable to motifs used in woodcarvings. This is especially the case with floral motifs, such as the *candigara*, but also with representational motifs. And so the *kekayonan* may be compared with a carving motif called *patra punggel* and the *gebogan* with motifs that appear on palace and temple gateways (*candi bentar*). Like woodcarving, making *lamak* is in Padangtegal mainly a man's craft.

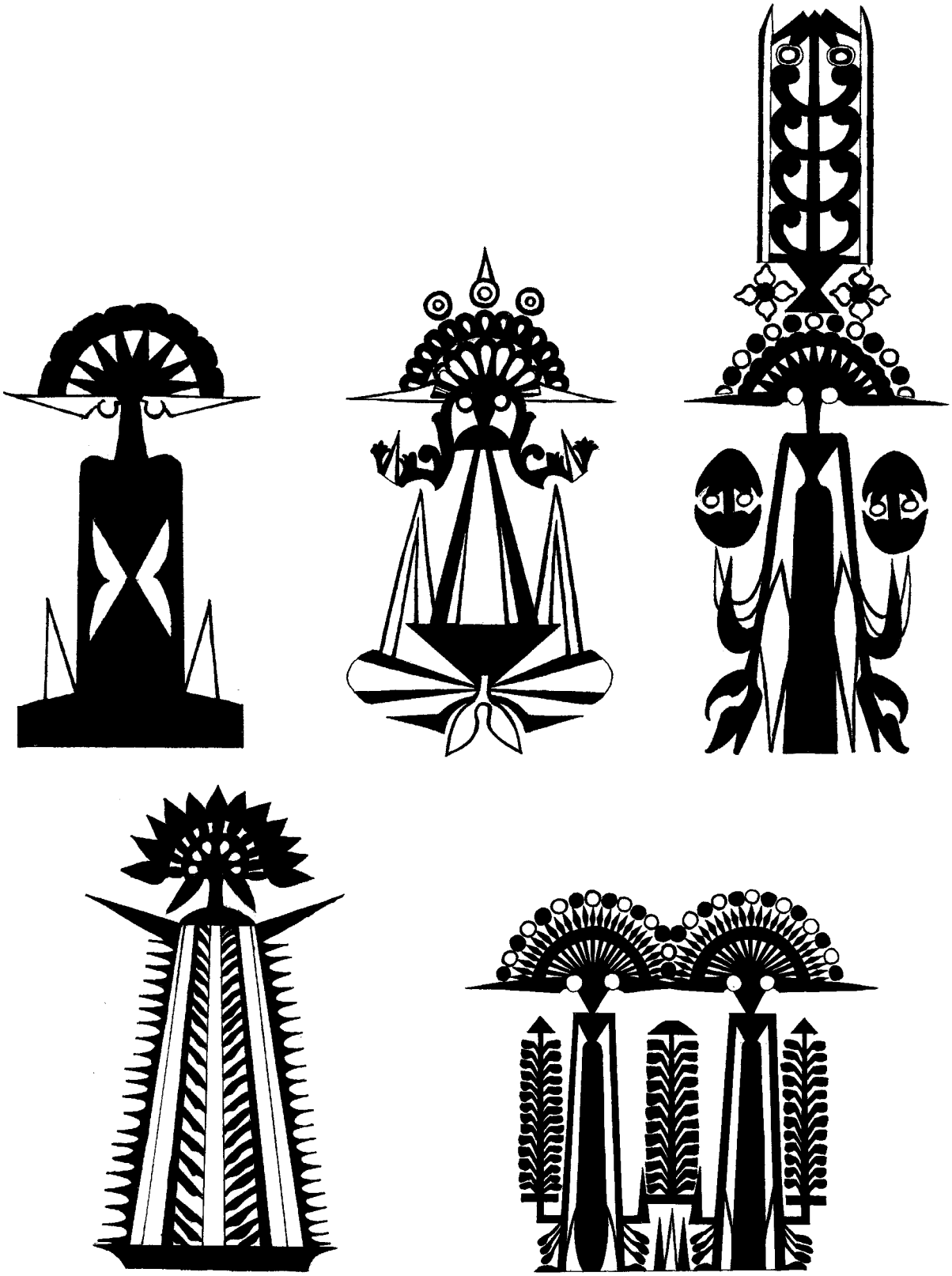
Although most of the data for this chapter were collected and most of the figures and photographs were made between 1982 and 1994, during visits to Bali between 2010 and 2016, when I attended Galungan three times (2010, 2012 and 2013), I was able to compare some recent village styles of *lamak* with the earlier ones. I found that despite all the changes that had taken place, the same style characteristics could still be recognized. To give just a few examples, in Pujung (fig. 5.42, 2010) and Ngis (fig. 5.43, 2012), I found the same styles of *lamak*, with respectively the dominant motifs of sun and moon and *gunung* (mountain) as in the 1980s and 1990s. Also the same colour scheme was used as before: in Ngis only the traditional light and dark green of the sugar palm leaves, and in Pujung only red as additional colour. The typical Tabanan *cili* with long, upright hairstyle or headdress, and arms bent upwards at the elbows, that I noticed in 1989 in the villages Jegu and Buruan (on the road to Penebel) were still present in 2013 (figs. 5.44-5.48). As regards additional colours, formerly in these villages only red was used but recent examples show the addition of purple and blue as well.

As for *lamak nganten*, on Galungan 2010 I saw in the district of Gianyar *lamak nganten* in more or less the same style as in the 1980s and 1990s. For example in Ubud was a *lamak nganten* in the distinctive Junjungan style (fig. 2.6). However, usually there were some changes, as can be seen on the photographs of two *lamak nganten* from the village of Lodtunduh. In 2010 (fig. 5.49) only the bottom half was similar to the ones Ni Ketut Pilik used to make (such as fig. 5.50, 6/7/1988), with from bottom to top, the *ringgitan* pattern, then *tingkang katak* and typical Lodtunduh *cili* with a kind of very long thumbnail. Instead of the *bulan tunjuk* motif, the moon as plant with sprouting flowers at the bottom, this *lamak* had a bowl or pot with sprouting flowers. Instead of two similar *cili nganten* above this pattern, on the new *lamak* two different *cili nganten*, the left one male and the right one female, were depicted. And above them, instead of a *gunung* motif, a new symbol in the form of a swastika appeared. As regards the use of additional colours, in Lodtunduh in former times the use of red was an exception (Ni Ketut Pilik only used some red paper in her *ibu* motifs), whereas in 2010 red dyed leaves were also used in other motifs.

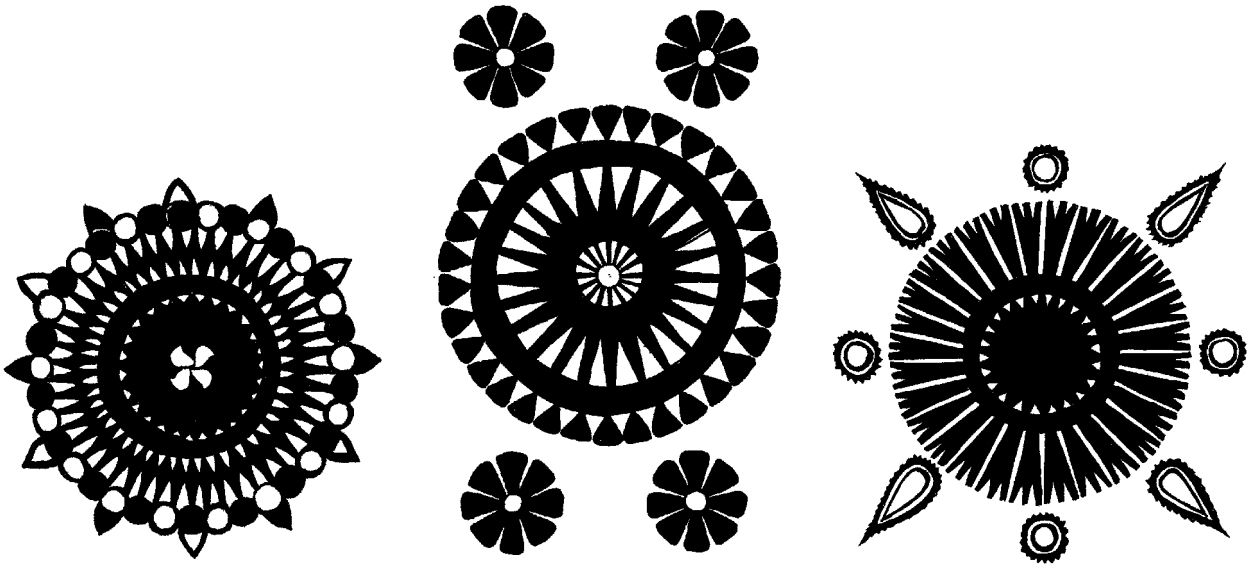
5.4.3 Individual variation

Within the style of any particular village, a range of variation on the level of the individual makers of *lamak* exists as well. As Gerbrands pointed out, "Even in the most conservative societies the margin of freedom which is allowed the individual in practice is much greater than ethnological theory was formerly willing to accept" (Gerbrands 1968:16).[34] Whereas already in 1927 Franz Boas wrote that "We have to turn our attention first of all to the artist

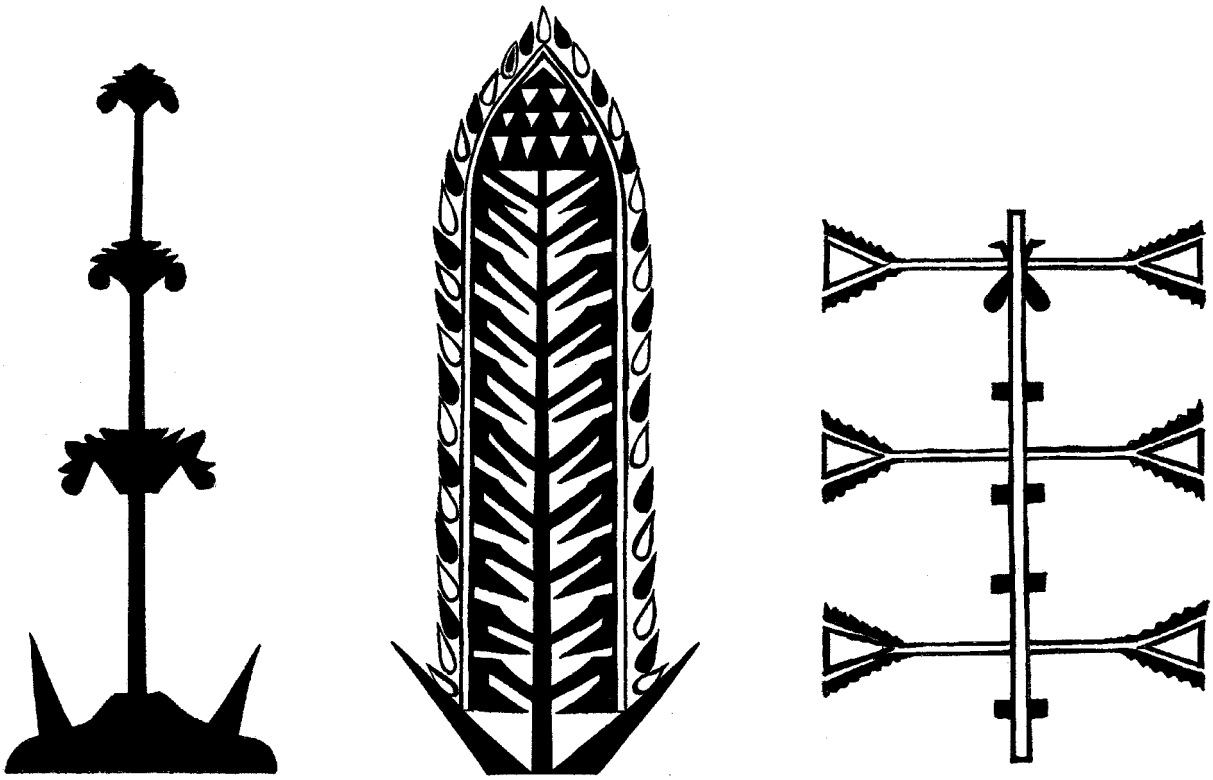
34 In the words of Biebuyck: "Undoubtedly, whatever the stringencies and conventions of style, purpose and expectation, the individual element is a powerful factor in explaining differences. Artists nesessarily differ in training, in skill and technical proficiency, in maturity and social position, and in personality. Society can impose upon its artists a certain objective subject matter and style, but the artist himself has his own personal conception of the subject matter, a particular feeling for style, and a certain technique in executing the form" (Biebuyck 1969:6).



Figures 5.31-5.35: Cili figures on lamak in different villages in Gianyar, respectively Bakbakan, Tegalsuci, Tegallalang, Silungan and Tegallalang (Banjar Tengah).



Figures 5.36-5.38: The motif of the moon (bulan) in Tegallalang (fig. 5.36), Junjungan (fig. 5.37) and Jasan (fig. 5.38).



Figures 5.39-5.41: The tree (kekayonan) motif in Peliatan (fig. 5.39), Pujung Kaja (fig. 5.40) and Jasan (fig. 5.41).

Figure 5.42: Lamak for Galungan, Pujung (Sebatu), 12/5/2010.

Figure 5.43: Lamak for Galungan, Ngis (Manggis), 1/2/2012.

Figures 5.44-5.45: Lamak for Galungan, Jegu (Tabanan), respectively 30/8/1989 and 2/11/2013.

Figures 5.46-5.48: Cili on lamak for Galungan, all from villages on the road to Penebel (Tabanan), 2/11/2013.

Figures 5.49-5.50: Two lamak nganten made in Lodtunduh for Galungan, respectively in 2010 and in 1988. The latter was made by Ni Ketut Pilik.

himself" (1955:155),[35] Gerbrands (1967) was one of the first anthropologists who studied individual woodcarvers (in the Asmat village of Amanamkai) and their individual, personal styles, which appeared to be "as characteristic as anybody's handwriting" (Gerbrands 1969:58). In the village where Gerbrands worked, the woodcarvers and their art were certainly not anonymous. And likewise the making of *lamak* is not an anonymous creation, notwithstanding the remarks by Covarrubias: "The artist is in Bali essentially a craftsman and at the same time an amateur, casual and anonymous, who uses his talent knowing that no one will care to record his name for posterity" (1937:163).

Individual variation in the styles of *lamak* largely depends on the interest and skills of those who make the *lamak*, but also on factors like costs, availability of materials and time. These factors of course can vary as well for each *lamak* maker at different times and circumstances. For example in Jasan I was told by a woman that for the *sanggar penjor* at Galungan she usually makes two *lamak*, each with one *cili*, but when there is less material, one *lamak* with two *cili* is also acceptable and with even less material one *lamak* with only one *cili* would be sufficient (pers. com. 27/2/1988). For *tukang lamak* an important factor affecting variety is the number of ordered metres, and as a consequence which motifs are added to the basic ones, if a longer than average *lamak nganten* is ordered.

But even when all influencing factors are more or less equal, still no *lamak* is exactly the same, in each *lamak* a touch of individuality is visible, each motif shows in one way or another the hand of the maker. When for a temple festival different people are making *lamak*, usually a slight difference is seen between the different motifs, although they are executed according to the prevailing village style.

An example is given by the photographs of four *lamak* with a tree motif, made for two different temple festivals (*odalan*) in Intaran (Sanur) in 1988 (figs. 5.51-5.52) and 2012 (figs. 5.53-5.54). These *lamak* also illustrate that although there is individual variation noticeable, the specific village style of motifs and colours has not changed in 24 years.

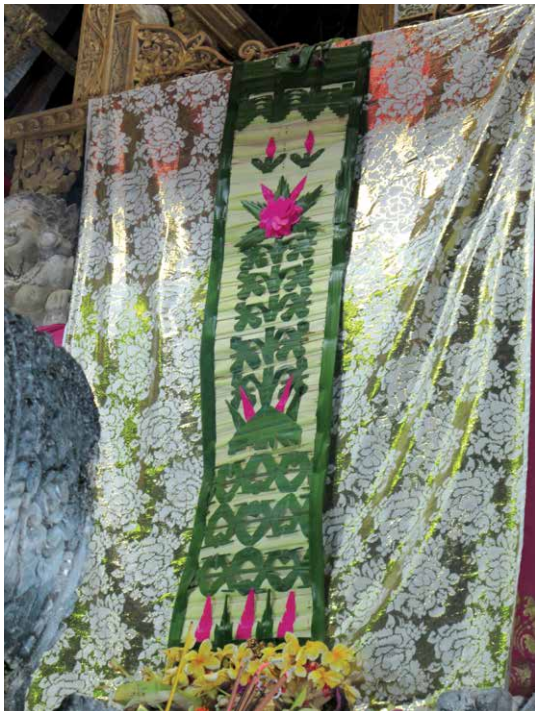
35 This quotation was often used by Gerbrands (1967:12; 1968:19; 1969:63).

The widest range of individual variation can be seen at times of Galungan, when *lamak* are visible in front of almost every house, in every street, in every village. It is mainly in details of the representational motifs that individual styles are visible within a village style. For example, the two *lamak* in figures 3.7 and 3.8 were made by the wife of Mangku Gede, *bendesa adat* of Lodtunduh (see Chapter 3), for Galungan on 10 December 1987 and 7 July 1988. Her own style is visible in the way she depicted a tree on a small hill and two half-moons with six stars. In 1987 she also depicted the *mangong* motif, but in 1988 she moved this motif to a separate small *lamak*, hanging directly from the *penjor*. There was no special reason for that, she just felt like doing it this way, she said. As in this example of Lodtunduh, I was able to identify different individual styles within the village style by comparing and photographing 'ordinary' *lamak* suspended from *penjor* in front of the same address during two or three Galungan periods between 1985 and 1988, in Tegallalang (Banjar Tengah, figs. 5.55-56), Pujung Kelod (figs. 5.57-5.59), Ubud, Jasan and Padangtegal.

In the same way, I 'collected' *lamak nganten* made by various *tukang lamak*. I was able to identify their styles by comparing different *lamak nganten* made by a particular *tukang*, for different people during the same Galungan and/or different Galungan periods. Because a *tukang lamak* always works within the style characteristics of the village where he or she lives, but often receive orders from people from a different village, one can see for instance a Junjungan style *lamak nganten* in Peliatan, or a Padangtegal style *lamak nganten* in Ubud. But within the style of their own village, *tukang lamak* often have their own personal style, mainly visible in the details of the motifs. But although *tukang lamak* were certainly not anonymous, for the people who had to make a choice when ordering *lamak nganten* the details of the individual style of particular *tukang* was often less important than their price per metre, or if their *lamak* were regarded as being 'complete' (*lengkap*).

I have been able to compare different *lamak nganten* made over the years or for different people in the same year, by several *tukang lamak,* among whom I give as examples Ni Ketut Pilik (Lodtunduh) (figs. 3.6 and 5.50), I Made Sadra

Figures 5.51-5.52: Two lamak with tree motif for an odalan in Pura Kahyangan, Intaran (Sanur),18/6/1988.



Figures 5.53-5.54: Two lamak with tree motif for an odalan in Pura Agung, Intaran (Sanur), 13/2/2012.

(Padangtegal) (figs. 2.23, 3.2, 5.60-5.62), Ni Wayan Klepon (Junjungan) (figs. 2.22 and 3.4), Ni Wayan Jenjen (Kutri) (fig. 3.5) and Ni Ketut Resep (Peliatan) (figs. 5.63-5.64). Of these *tukang*, I have seen more examples of the work of I Made Sadra than of any other.[36]

When he had more than one order, he often cut the motifs for different *lamak* together at the same time (as was discussed in Chapter 4), and thus these *lamak* were usually identical (for example for Galungan 6 July 1988, fig. 5.61). But the *lamak nganten* he made for Galungan in previous years (figs. 5.60 (21/8/1985) and 5.62 (13/5/1987)) are very similar to the later ones. Pak Sadra differs from Pak Nonderan, for example, in the sense that for Pak Nonderan the *cili nganten* are very important, whereas Pak Sadra adds instead the *mas-masan* motif (fig. 3.35) when his *lamak* has to be more than 5 metres. Also the details of their *cili* differ: figure 5.66 is a *cili* from Pak Nonderan, and figure 5.65 from Pak Sadra. In both *cili* figures however one can recognize the style of the village of these *tukang lamak*, Padangtegal. Similarly, the distinctive style of the *cili* of Ni Ketut Pilik (fig. 5.67) and Ibu Merta (fig. 5.68) can be related to the style of their respective villages, Lodtunduh and Tegallalang (Banjar Penusuan).

To take another example, one can recognize a *lamak nganten* made by Ni Ketut Resep from Peliatan (figs. 5.63-5.64) by the umbrella above the heads of the *cili nganten*. In the village of Junjungan, the village style characterized by many flowers as part of the representational motifs was used by all *tukang lamak*. However, although they lived very close to one another, their work differed considerably. Ni Wayan Klepon never used the motif of the single *cili* in her *lamak nganten*, only the double *cili nganten* (fig. 5.69). In contrast, Ni Made Paji and Ni Nyoman Damping did use the single *cili* motif, and this *cili* always had a fan in each hand (fig. 5.70).

5.4.4 Creativity

According to Biebuyck, "In judging the significance of self-expression and of creativity one cannot apply the term 'artist' indiscriminately to the makers of all the objects produced. […] Moreover, […] there are beginning artists and mature ones […]. Obviously the creative capacities of these various individuals differ radically" (Biebuyck 1969:22).

As discussed in the beginning of this section, already in the 1930s Walter Spies was fascinated by the beauty of the *lamak* and the enormous variety of their decorative elements. Like Walter Spies, I am impressed by the beauty of *lamak*, and I am intrigued by their astonishing variety. But even though over the years I have seen and 'collected' thousands of *lamak*, through photographs and slides and identification of museum collections, once in a while I came across a striking expression of individual creativity, a new pattern or a beautiful new design of an old motif. For example four long and special *lamak* hanging from the *bale kulkul* of the Pura Puseh/Desa in Sibang Gede (26 April 1994, figs. 5.71-5.73) had unusual *cili* figures and beautiful detailed shrine motifs which I had never seen before.

In such examples one can almost feel the pleasure of the maker, when he or she is trying out new forms. In my 'western' eyes, these are the moments where skillfull craft becomes creative art, even more impressive because this art is not made to last, but only to function for a few days. In the words of Gerbrands, "Individual artistry does not express itself solely in the creation of new forms, however. […] Only a master artist has succeeded in providing himself with the freedom within the framework of tradition that is essential for a unique achievement" (1967:17).

Figures 5.74-5.75 show two of my favourite *lamak*, from different areas in different years. *Lamak* figure 5.74 is from Amlapura (Galungan 2012) and shows a rather modern way of integrating a stylized face into the *lamak* as a whole. *Lamak* figure 5.75, made of durable, partly dyed *lontar* leaves, I saw at Galungan on 24 October 1990 in the village of Ngis in Karangasem. It was a unique *lamak*, the only one of this kind in the whole village, where otherwise only traditional two-coloured palm leaf *lamak* with mountain motifs were visible. The *lamak* was made by Ni Luh Kompiang Metri (pers. com. 25/11/1990), who had inherited from her grandmother Ni Nyoman Sasak the interest in experimenting with new materials and motifs. On Galungan 23 years later I revisited her house in

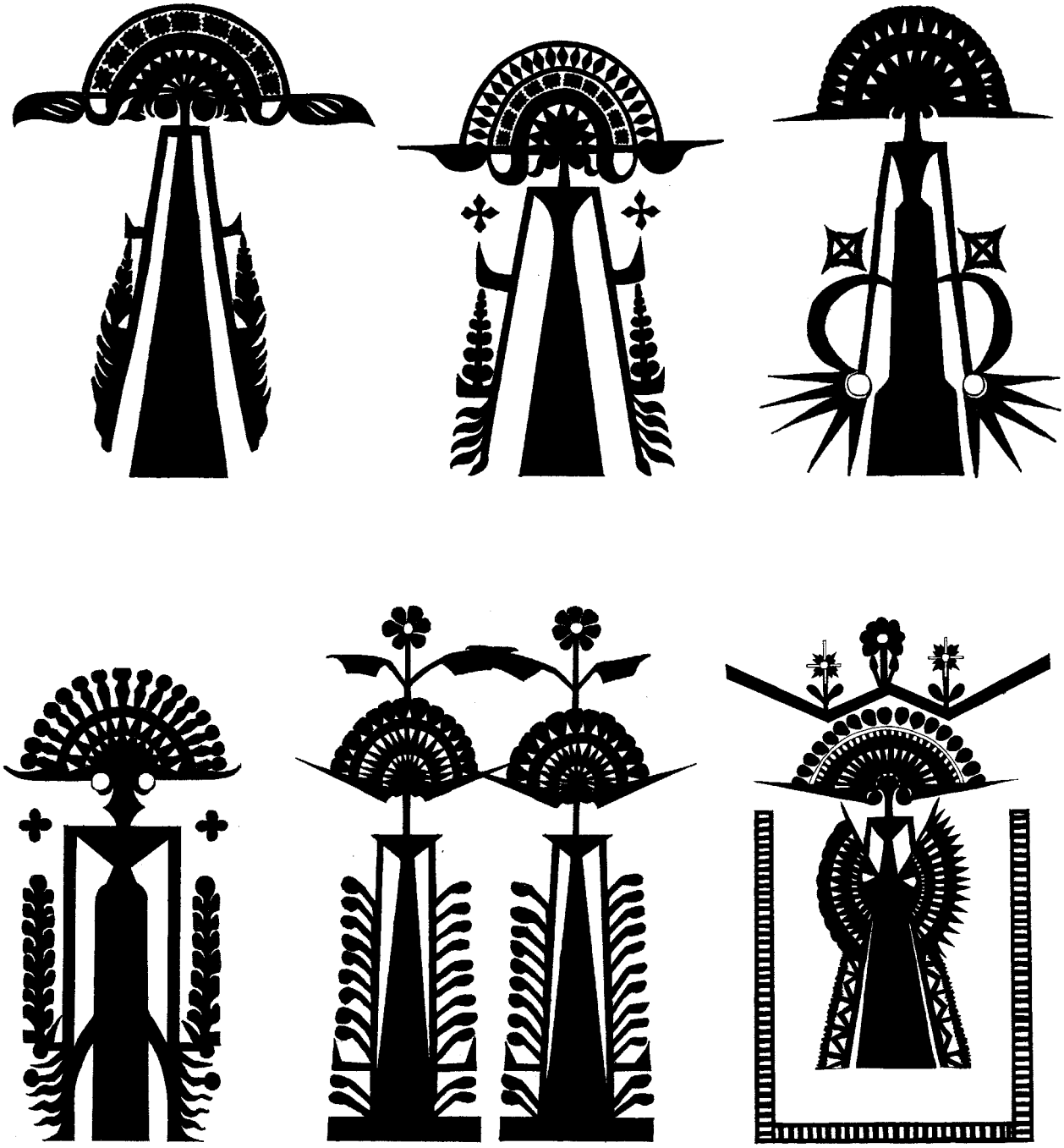
36 Between 1983 and 1994, I have seen his *lamak nganten* for seven different Galungan periods.

Figures 5.55-5.56: Lamak for Galungan, Banjar Sapat, Tegallalang, 7/7/1988 and 31/8/1989.

Figures 5.57-5.59: Lamak for Galungan, Banjar Pujung Kelod, Sebatu,13/5/1987, 9/12/1987 and 7/7/1988.

Figures 5.60-5.62: Three lamak nganten made by I Made Sadra (Padangtegal). Ubud, 21/8/1985; Puri Kelodan, Ubud, 6/7/1988; and Banjar Padangtegal Kaja, Ubud, 13/5/1987.

Figures 5.63-5.64: Two lamak nganten made by Ni Ketut Resep, Peliatan, 9/12/1987 and 6/7/1988.



Figures 5.65-5.70: Cili figures, in the style of: I Made Sadra, I Gusti Putu Nonderan, Ni Ketut Pilik, Ibu Merta, Ni Wayan Klepon, and Ni Made Paji respectively.

Ngis. The *lamak* hanging from the shrine on the *penjor* in front of her house was now similar to the other *lamak* in the same street, with the traditional Karangasem mountain motifs. From her relatives I learned that she had moved to San Francisco, after having married an American (pers. com. 23/10/2013).

Many of the more impressive permanent *lamak* in private and museum collections, for example the special blue-white woven *lamak* discussed in Chapter 4, which were said to have been made by one person (Men Nis from Kesiman), were also probably the result of individual creativity. The beauty of the *lamak* has inspired creativity in many an artist, from village craftsperson to a professional foreign artist like Walter Spies.

Comparing creativity at Galungan in 2010, 2012 and 2013 with the 1980s, the main difference was noticeable not so much in the *lamak* but much more so in many of the *penjor*. Not only in Gianyar, but also in Tabanan and Karangasem, a new style has developed, inspired or influenced by other forms of ritual art, such as cremation towers and large offerings. Especially the crowned serpent, *naga*, and the bird Garuda have made their appearance, often crafted of gold and other coloured paper, polystrene or foam plastic, wood and cloth, but also purely decorative elements, made of palm leaf, have become very elaborate. Often these palm leaf decorations are now made entirely from the more durable *lontar* leaves (fig. 5.76). Such entire *penjor* are also for sale, and in 2010 I was told that according to a newspaper article the most expensive *penjor* could be as much as 1.5 million rupiah (approximately €150). In these cases, other factors than creativity play a role, as Widiastini (2013) has noted. According to her, "*Penjor* has become a means to reveal one's personal status in society. […] Balinese Hindu's show their lifestyle as well as social status through luxurious *penjor*, and their costs are expensive" (Widiastini 2013:238-239).

Some of my informants said that they had bought the special *lontar* leaf *penjor* decorations in Gianyar, the area best known for its artistic developments, but they are nowadays also for sale in the various *toko yadnya* and *lontar jejaitan* workshops in other parts of Bali, like the one in Bebandem where Wayan Suartini worked. In the 1980s only *sampian penjor* were for sale, and the *penjors* themselves were made with the help of neighbours and family, in the spirit of *gotong royong*.

The big, spherical-shaped decorations at the lower end of a *penjor* which nowadays can be seen everywhere in Bali, were in Karangasem called *janur*. This word is Indonesian (and Javanese) for young coconut palm leaf, what is called *busung* in Bali. These forms would seem to be related to Javanese wedding decorations made from young coconut leaf. It is uncertain just how this influence spread, possibly through Balinese returning from Java or Javanese migrating to Bali, or possibly taken from various booklets which show how to make Javanese wedding decorations from *janur*, with titles such as "*Cara merangkai janur*". Those tree-like wedding decorations look very much like the new *penjor* decorations in Bali.

In 2016 in the area of Ubud I noticed a new development of the *penjor* which were still visible along the roads after the previous Galungan. Some of the *sanggar penjor* were made of wood, and the roofs were decorated with depictions of Indian deities, like Ganesha and Kresna. These representations are similar to the posters of these figures which are nowadays for sale in many shops for ritual paraphernalia.

These kinds of ever-changing 'fashion' and 'conspicuous consumption' and rivalry that occurs in the case of *penjor* does not have an equivalent in the field of *lamak*. One might say that the display at temple ceremonies of relatively expensive *kepeng lamak*, especially the ones made of the '*panca datu*' (consisting of five metals) coins, points in that direction. It should be noted that these permanent *lamak* are usually partly covered with a palm leaf *lamak.*

5.5 Conclusion

As ritual objects, *lamak* play a role within a network of invisible and visible beings. *Lamak* make the offerings work, but it is the Balinese who create the *lamak*, time and again, owing to the ephemerality of their natural materials.

A *lamak* is almost never an individual product, related to one person only. Behind each *lamak* there exists a social network, because no-one ever makes a *lamak* just for oneself. He or she makes *lamak* because it is part of temple duties or of an old

Figures 5.71-5.73: Lamak on bale kulkul, Pura Puseh/Desa, Sibang Gede, 26/4/1994.

Figure 5.72.

Figure 5.73.

Figure 5.74: Lamak for Galungan, Bebandem, 1/2/2012.

Figure 5.75: Lamak for Galungan, made by Ni Luh Kompiang Metri, Ngis (Manggis), 24/10/1990.

Figure 5.76: Penjor for Galungan, Payangan, 3/11/2013.

relationship with a court, or of mutual help in the *banjar* or within family. He or she represents his or her own family, a temple congregation, a *banjar*, or any other social organization he or she is a member of, and on behalf of which the *lamak* plays its mediating role. The blessings 'coming down' the *lamak* in return for the offerings on top of it are not intended for the maker of the *lamak* only, but for the social group he or she is representing. The creation of a *lamak* is not only done for other persons, but also often together with other persons. Many *lamak* makers help others with less skills or time, or are helped by family members, on the basis of reciprocity.

If people do not have the natural materials available for making *lamak* themselves, they at least buy the leaves from somebody else, usually at the market. But if they also do not have time or interest to make *lamak*, they buy or order them from Balinese who are professionally involved in their making. Not only do women buy more *lamak* at markets, or families order *lamak nganten* from outsiders, but also new more economic ways of making *lamak* are invented. The economic network of professional makers and sellers and the transactions with *tukang lamak*, entrepreneurs and shopkeepers support the social network of the actual users of *lamak*. This commercialization of *lamak*, which was already increasing in the 1980s, is an acceptable and accepted solution for the Balinese who are not able (or willing) to make their own *lamak*, but still want to use them.

In the second part of this chapter I investigated some aspects of the stylistic diversity of *lamak* and probable changes over time. Although regional variation of the materials used was in the past partly a result of ecological conditions, due to much better transport systems the leaves of the *lontar* palm, for example, which grows mainly in the dry coastal areas in the east and the north, are now available all over Bali. Also all kinds of colourful plastic decorative elements are imported from and influenced by the latest 'fashion' in the 'artistic' region, Gianyar.

The wide variation of motifs is also a result of a social process, since the way of learning is by imitating the village style, the work of other people, in combination with individual creativity of the makers who add their personal touch in the details. Even though palm leaf *lamak* are ephemeral and they wither away after a few days, many *lamak* makers do their best to make the motifs as beautiful as possible.

They do this not only to please deities and ancestors, but also because their work is visible to other people. *Lamak* are seen in front of every house at Galungan festivals, so perhaps a certain competition between *lamak* makers may play a role as well. Also when groups of women make *lamak* in preparation for a temple festival, the women with the most talent are those who make the more elaborate ones. But even when a longer *lamak* is communal work, as often is the case, the hand of the person who has cut the motifs is recognizable. His or her individual style is visible. In particular, *lamak nganten* can be identified not only as being made in a particular village, but even as the work of a particular *tukang lamak*, even if this 'artwork' is not signed by the maker.

Despite growing commercialization compared with 30 years ago, traditional criteria still prevail. The majority of *lamak* is still made from natural materials, has a vertical, generally three-part structure and is decorated with motifs of life which show almost no change. The commercialization of *lamak* takes place only within the context of Balinese ritual. Unlike woodcarving and painting, this form of Balinese art has not developed into tourist or airport art, and is not part of the general commodification of Balinese culture.[37] Only a number of permanent *lamak* have found their way into private or museum collections, and this on account of the special interest that *lamak* have for certain collectors.

37 See the work of Picard (1996) on 'cultural tourism'. In the 1970s when the growth of tourism had just started, palm leaf *lamak* were used as decorations in hotels. However, according to I Gusti Agung Mas Putra (1975b), these decorative *lamak* should not be accompanied by the *gantung-gantungan* with *porosan* (small betel quid) which has religious connotations, as discussed in Chapter 2.

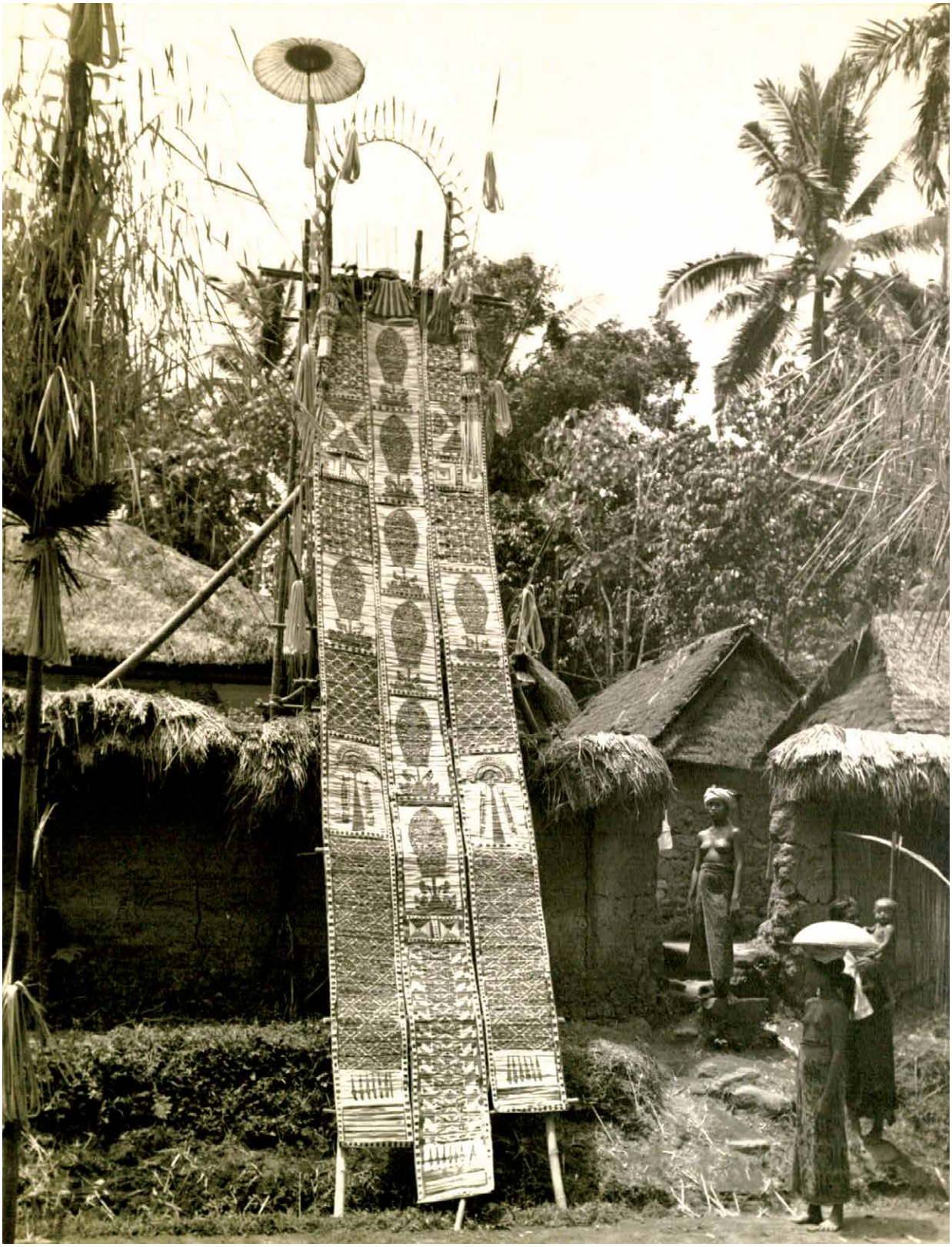


Figure 5.77: A unique triple lamak for Galungan in Ubud, photographed in 1939 by Philip Hanson Hiss (Image PPC.H57, Box 8, American Museum of Natural History Library).

Figure 6.1: Lamak with spectacular cili figure at Galungan. Pemuguban (Tabanan), 30/8/1989.

Chapter 6

Why the Balinese make and remake *lamak*

6.1 *Lamak*, ritual and ephemerality

One of my motivations to study *lamak* was that they had received so little attention, probably because, like so many objects used in ritual, their materials are mainly ephemeral. According to Purpura, "ephemeral art refers to works whose materials are chosen by the artist or maker for their inherently unstable characteristics, or which are created with the intention of having finite "life". […] Indeed, their impermanence is a constitutive part of their aesthetic, and of the way they come to act on the world" (2009:11). As Stuart-Fox stated, "This element of the transitory – made one day, gone the next – is prominent in Balinese art" (1974:4).

As discussed throughout this book, the main purpose of many rituals in Bali is regeneration of nature, the renewal of life, the continuation of the social group. *Lamak*, being ephemeral objects made of materials of natural origin, contribute to the effectiveness of these rituals by materializing or visualizing transition, continuity of life. Their life cycle correlates with the ritual cycle; their making and remaking is part of the ritual process and contributes to the purpose of the ritual.

Other elements of ritual in particular offerings (*banten*) and holy water (*tirtha*) also play indispensable roles. Holy water, imbued with powerful aspects of the deities, either because it is especially prepared by a priest or because it is placed on a shrine where a deity resides during the course of a ritual, is regarded as a direct transmitter of divine blessings. After worship and prayers, holy water is sprinkled on the worshippers, sipped by them and taken home to be used also by members of the family of the worshipper. The holy water, that is the flow of divine blessings, is related to water flowing down from the mountains and lakes towards the sea, fertilizing the rice fields.

Like the *lamak* ephemeral by nature are the offerings which are placed in shrines and for which the *lamak* act as base. Offerings are the fruits of the earth, often in the form of a meal presented as a gift to deities and ancestors. Their purpose is to act as gift to please the deities, in the anticipation of divine blessings in return, which can be channelled down by a *lamak*. After the ritual is over and the deities have enjoyed their meal, people eat from the 'leftovers' of their offerings and take them back home. Like holy water, these so-called *lungsuran* ("what is asked for") are also regarded as a means to transfer divine blessings. Non-edible parts of offerings, like the palm leaf decoration (*sampian*) on top, are burned or buried, or allowed to decay and return to nature.

As base for offerings, *lamak* are directly related to offerings. Like *lamak*, offerings contribute to the purpose of the ritual in which they are used, through

the correlation or combination of their creation, form, use and purpose.

Within the context of Balinese ritual the *lamak* as ephemeral object shows most comparisons with offerings. Offerings similarly have to be made from natural materials, but the range of these materials is much wider than palm leaves only. Being composed as a meal, rice, products made of rice, and side dishes such as meat are the main components of offerings, but palm leaf artifacts and flowers play an important role. Just as *lamak* can be made of more durable (or less perishable) textiles and coins (*kepeng*), pieces of cloth and money are part of some offerings as well, but only in very small quantities compared to the natural materials.

As regards the aspects of form, offerings have a tripartite vertical structure and contain motifs of life, similar to *lamak*. For example the *cili* (human figure) is represented as figurine made of rice dough or palm leaves in many different offerings, but also the motifs of the tree, mountain, sun and moon, and flowers, fruits and other vegetative elements often occur. The vertical structure of an offering is related to the vertical ordering of the universe or macrocosm (*buana agung*), in which the top represents the world of deities and ancestors.

Although they are thought of as being gifts, as a form of thanksgiving, offerings contain an additional idea of reciprocity, anticipating gifts of blessings in return. Like *lamak*, offerings mediate between heaven and earth, visualize the elements of life the Balinese worshippers hope to receive, and represent the renewal of nature and continuity of life, because they themselves are made of natural materials. Like *lamak*, offerings are ephemeral both by nature and by intention, although the intentional aspect is even stronger in the case of offerings. The fact that they are a gift which can only be given once, is another reason for their continuous re-creation.

Lamak themselves are sometimes regarded as having a life cycle: made of natural materials, then purified with holy water before their ritual use, and afterwards allowed to disintegrate or burned and buried. On the other hand offerings, although equally made from living nature, are purposely made active and effective, they are given life by means of the *mantra* of the officiating priest.

Of a different kind are the ephemeral objects used in Balinese cremation rituals. They are made of less perishable materials, but they are specially made and destroyed as part of the ritual, they are short-lived, ephemeral, by intent only. But also here a connection can be seen between the intention of the object and the purpose of the ritual, the transition of the soul of a deceased person. Not only by the burning of the body, but also of the sarcophagus, transport tower and other accessories used during the cremation ritual, the soul is helped along in its journey towards the world of the ancestors.

But Bali is by no means unique in the richness of its ephemeral ritual material culture. In the material culture of rituals in many cultures ephemeral objects have a significant place. Miller points out that when "artefacts are regarded as relatively ephemeral compared with persons, […] the focus is then on the manner in which identity is carried along by the flood of transforming things" (1994:409). "Transience […] is a potential property of the relationship between persons and things […]." He adds that some societies "have focused upon this quality of objects as having profound implications for the nature of their world" (1994:413). Miller gives as example the *malanggan* wooden funerary carvings of New Ireland extensively studied by Küchler, "the process of deterioration of which is of central importance in the cosmology of the people concerned" (Miller 1994:414).[1] Like the Balinese cremation objects which are ephemeral by intent, *malanggan* are funerary effigies that are animated during the process of their production and 'killed' during the funerary rituals. In the words of Küchler, "The height of the *malanggan* ceremony is the dramatic revelation of the effigy, followed moments later by the symbolic activation of its death. What took often more than three months to prepare is over in an hour, the 'empty' 'remains' of effigies being taken to the forest to be left to decompose …" (2002:1). By allowing the *malanggan* carving to 'die', the deceased person's soul is allowed to achieve immortality, to become an ancestor, a source of life. "It is thus through the 'death' of the

1 Miller refers here to her 1988 article.

object that the finite past is turned into a site of renewal and of accumulation" (2002:7).[2]

In India, according to Stephen Huyler, "the fundaments of Indian creativity is the ephemeral", because "In India all existence is believed to be in constant transition" (Huyler 1996:10).

One of the better-known forms of Indian ephemeral ritual art, the *kolam*, was the subject of a dissertation by Anna Laine in 2009. *Kolam* are sacred floor drawings of rice-flour, created by Tamil Nadu women every morning, again and again. The ephemeral character of *kolam*, which stems from the material they are made of and from the intention of continuously repeating their creation, is related to the purpose of the *kolam*, being an invocation to the deities to enter the house and bless the family. "Women engage in re-creation of meaning and efficacy through the *kolam* practice" (Laine 2009:127). "The most cherished good deed among my informants is charity and generosity, the act of giving. […] The return is the blessings from the deities, also referred to as religious merit, in Tamil *punniyam*" (Laine 2009:129). "The performance is generally seen as a daily re-creation of auspiciousness and the continuation of life" (Laine 2009:151).

Often, as is the case with *lamak*, the material of ritual objects is ephemeral, as in Indian mud sculptures of deities, thrown into a river after the ritual is over (Fisher 1993). Sometimes the destruction itself of otherwise non-ephemeral objects is a way of exchange between the living and the ancestors, as described by Baker (2011) and Laing and Liu (2004) in their studies of Chinese funeral traditions. But also sacred Tibetan sand mandala and butter sculptures and examples from other parts of the world, like flower ornaments used for initiation rituals in the Sepik area (Hauser-Schäublin 1985), are, like Balinese ephemeral *lamak,* related to the purpose of the ritual. According to Hauser-Schäublin, "The permanence we strive to give materials, by various methods of preservation, is alien to the Sepik cultures, with their use of animal and vegetable materials. Transience itself and the changes due to time are an important aspect of human experience. This is what they are stressing by their conscious selection of perishable materials, such as flowers and leaves, to decorate a masked dancer" (1985:28).

In some cases, the 'ephemerality' of objects is associated with the lifespan of humans. For example, according to Rens Heringa who worked in a group of villages near Tuban, East Java, "like human beings, material things are considered living entities, always evolving and therefore essentially ephemeral." "Textiles, carved wooden containers […] are only intended to have a short lifespan, their "children" and "grandchildren" constantly replace older generations of objects" (Heringa 2003:471).

More directly related to the life of human beings are the mats which Tobelo women produce in North Halmahera, which Platenkamp (1990, 1995) has studied. Plaited from the perishable leaves of the pandanus plant, people spend the night on these mats and in these mats the dead are buried. "It is these mats, "materialising life",[3] which women produce, and which are transferred, from one house to another along with each life-giving bride. And enveloping the body of the deceased in the grave, the mats and the corpse decay simultaneously, releasing their "life" to the universe at large." "The mat's existence coincides with the life span of the human body" and "the life is an intrinsic part of the mat itself" (Platenkamp 1995:30-32).

Like a Balinese *lamak*, of which the ephemerality of the material together with its motifs of life contribute to its ritual purpose (to facilitate the exchange of offerings and blessings of life), in the same way is the ephemerality of a Tobelo "living" mat related to its ritual purpose (to help release life, either by accompanying the life-giving bride, or by helping the dead on his or her journey to the afterworld).

Not only the Tobelo mats, made of ephemeral material, but also various kinds of basketry plaited from bamboo strips, likewise ephemeral, are presented by wife givers to wife takers. Among

2 Curiously, because the 'act of riddance' can be achieved by allowing them to decompose in the forest, but also to be collected by foreigners, to be taken out of society, "museum collections of *malanggan* exceed tens of thousands of such figures, perhaps the largest number of figures ever to have been collected from a single cultural area in not more than 130 years" (Küchler 2002:2).

3 As discussed in Chapter 3, the motifs on these mats are all manifestations of "life". The human form displayed on the mats relates them to other living beings in the universe (Platenkamp 1990:34-35; 1995:9-10).

the counter gifts, transferred from the wife takers to the wife givers, are money and weapons, made from more durable materials as iron and wood. The perishable objects only have to last for one lifespan, because life-enhancing relations have to be made anew every generation (Platenkamp 1990:18). Likewise, the Sumbanese consider textiles, as they do women in a clan household, as impermanent. "Thus, cloths provide the feminine counterpart to masculine metal goods, which are regarded as permanent," according to Adams (1980:220). This impermanency however is more related to the place or ownership of the objects than to their materials or ritual purpose.

Although, unlike these examples from Tobelo and Sumba, the main purpose of a *lamak* is not to be exchanged (in a social context), but to facilitate (socio-cosmic) exchange, the ephemeral palm leaf *lamak* have their opposites in the 'permanent' versions made of cloth, metal (Chinese coins) and other more durable materials. They show that the concept of ephemerality has relative (not absolute) value; there are degrees of ephemerality and an object or its material is regarded as having a shorter or longer lifespan than an object of material which is regarded as their opposites or classified as belonging to the other end of a continuum.

The meaning of ephemerality is of course dependent on the cultural context of the ritual in which they play a role, but in most cases ephemeral objects, with their relatively short life, which are continuously recreated for each ritual, represent the transitoriness and the perishability of life, but also (and above all) the continuity of life, the regeneration of nature and the perpetuity of human society. Further research is needed, but it is possible that many objects are made of ephemeral materials because they contribute to rituals of transition, repetition, continuity. Surely not only within the context of Balinese rituals do ephemeral objects materialize transience, 'transition' of life.

6.2 *Lamak*, visual communication and agency

In an article on the anthropology of art, Morphy (1994) states that in "seeking the explanation of form I mean little more than asking why the object has the shape, componential structure and material composition that it has, and analysing how these attributes relate to its use in particular contexts. […] The most productive initial approach to the explanation of form is through function: what the object is used for, what it does, what its effects are, always in relation to the wider context in which it is embedded" (1994:662).

Similarly, in this dissertation I have analysed why a *lamak* has a rectangular shape, a vertical, hierarchical componential structure and ephemeral material composition, and how these attributes relate to its use as base of offerings and decoration of shrines in ritual contexts. In answer to the question what it does and what its effects are, I interpreted the *lamak* as an object that makes the ritual effective, that mediates between heaven and earth. I have suggested that the effect a *lamak* has on the Balinese participants of a ritual is to reassure them that the ritual will be effective, which is reinforced by the interrelatedness of all its different aspects.

This interpretation was influenced by the work of Forge, an important scholar of art and material culture, who discussed "How do 'art' objects relate to other aspects of the rituals in which they figure and to other parts of the culture in general?" (1979:280). He came to the conclusion that "Works that successfully embody major portions of the structure of the system in terms of the interrelationships they contain are likely to arouse pleasure and a sense of fitness […] that […] may manifest itself as a sense of the presence of the supranormal, of more power than humans alone can achieve" (1979:284). "[S]imilar structures operate in other forms of communication, particularly those concerned in ritual." And he continues, "In the ritual context all these forms come together and reinforce each other in the effect they produce on the participants; […] What is being conveyed are fundamental assumptions about the bases of the society, the real nature of men and women, the nature of power, the place of man in the universe of nature which surrounds him" (1979:285).

In this sense, the effect of the *lamak* in Bali is reinforced not only by the interrelationship of its different aspects, but also by its relation to other elements of the ritual, which visualize and repeat the same patterns. Classifications of space and time and relations are for example communicated by forms and colours and structures of offerings,

ritual decorations, the shrines themselves and their relative position within a temple.

The concept of objects as carriers and communicators of visual codes was also developed in Leiden by Gerbrands who called things "the picture book of culture" and who stated that "In things the participants in a communication system (culture) have given material expression to some of the aspects of their non-verbal communication" (1990:51).

In the present study, I also paid attention to the way my Balinese informants themselves classified the motifs and their combinations on a *lamak* and explained them as part of a whole, a cosmic totality in which life and fertility are seen as flowing downwards from above. Although the Balinese system of classification and cosmic structure helps to explain the position of the motifs and the overall structure of a *lamak*, we have seen that this is only part of the whole picture. It does not explain what people actually do with a *lamak* and why, nor what a *lamak* itself is supposed to do. As I have pointed out, in a ritual context a *lamak* does more, is more dynamic than only to reflect or to mirror cosmic structures.

So in this study I also discussed the active role of a *lamak* and the effects *lamak* are supposed to produce in ritual. Following Gell (1998), I called these effects the agency of a *lamak*. According to Thomas, in his foreword to Gell's *Art and Agency,* "For many scholars, and indeed in much common-sense thinking about art, it is axiomatic that art is a matter of meaning and communication. This book suggests that it is instead about doing. 'Doing' is theorized as agency […]" (1998:ix). In the words of Gell himself, "The idea of agency is a culturally prescribed framework for thinking about causation […]. Whenever an event is believed to happen because of an 'intention' lodged in the person or thing which initiates the causal sequence, that is an instance of 'agency'" (Gell 1998:17). Objects of art can produce effects of "enchantment" because they "are the only objects around which are *beautifully made*, or *made beautiful.* […], 'excellence' being a function, not of their characteristics simply as objects, but of their characteristics as *made* objects, as products of techniques" (Gell 1992:43).

According to Van Eck, objects as actor or agent (who make others or other things act within their network) are not considered to be alive in the biological sense, but nevertheless they can change the situation of the people who see them (2011:24). Moreover, in a joint paper, Van Eck, Versluys and Ter Keurs argue that "Agency is not a static given (in the way iconographic meanings are) but only comes into existence when enacted, that is performed in a social nexus" (2015:7). Objects can act, or exercise agency, through their iconography or through the properties of the used materials; "design and material may support one another" (2015:3).

Although I used the term agency to signify what a *lamak* is doing in ritual, this does not mean that *lamak* do not communicate as well. I do not agree with the dichotomy between agency and visual communication, with the suggestion that art is about doing, *instead of* meaning and communication. Not only is 'doing' additional to 'communication', but agency also involves or includes visual communication.

Earlier in this chapter I discussed the actions which are part of the agency of *lamak*. By their very presence, making the ritual complete as active participants, mediating between heaven and earth, *lamak* help the Balinese to believe that the ritual will work. *Lamak* contribute to the effectiveness of ritual. What a *lamak* 'does', besides its being ritually effective, is also its giving meaning and communicating, and visualizing cosmic structures; all are aspects of its agency.

The very fact that the system of different kinds of *lamak*, the vertical structure of single *lamak*, the form and structure of the individual motifs as well as other visual aspects of a *lamak* fit within the Balinese system of ritual and cosmological classifications, causes the Balinese to feel the sense of appropriateness and completeness that Forge described in a general sense about ritual art (Forge 1979:285). As Miller made clear, these feelings are the result of growing up in a culture with all-encompassing ordering principles, which become second nature (Miller 1994:403). These feelings contribute to the reassuring effect these ritual objects produce on the Balinese participants of a ritual, in other words, to the agency of *lamak* themselves. *Lamak* make the ritual complete (*lengkap*), and being complete, a structured whole, is an important value for the Balinese. And, because Balinese 'believe in them', they make and use *lamak* again for the next ritual.

A structural approach investigates *lamak* as part of a cultural system, and takes into account

the perception of the participants of a culture. And precisely *to be* part of the system, *to mediate* between the visible and invisible worlds, is one of the aspects of the agency of *lamak*. Also Layton in a reaction to Gell states that "Gell was wrong to minimize the importance of cultural invention in shaping the 'reception' or reading of art objects. [...] Ritual is behaviour to be understood in terms of the participants' own theory of agency [...] Art is to be seen" (2003:447-448).

In most recent studies of material culture, scholars have paid attention to the more dynamic aspects of things, rather than the structural or semiotic aspects only. According to Tilley (2006:61), "Thus material forms do not simply mirror pre-existing social distinctions, sets of ideas or symbolic systems. They are instead the very medium through which these values, ideas and social distinctions are constantly reproduced and legitimized, or transformed" (2006:71).

According to Pieter ter Keurs (2006:58-60), it is the intangible part of culture, such as ideas, intentions and concepts, that is made tangible in matter. What Tilley calls the process of 'objectification', Ter Keurs calls 'condensation'. But objects also evoke meanings, derived from the object by the subject, and this process he calls "evaporation". "The whole complex of the physical object and its multiple meanings, condensed and evaporated, can be described as a material complex" (2006:59). "Condensation and evaporation are continuing, irreversible processes in which both the meanings (non-material) and the objects (material) can change" (2006:60). As example Ter Keurs notes that from important *nakamutmut* masks on the island of Mandok (one of the Siassi islands), after a ritual cycle the wooden parts are kept, but the parts made of painted bark cloth are burned. "The meanings of the designs [...] are fixed again the moment the masks are remade for the next ritual cycle. During that period the ideas are again materially condensed" (2006:124-125).

This continuous process of condensation and evaporation can also be applied to the appearing and disappearing character of ephemeral objects with a short lifespan, which are remade for each new ritual, like *lamak*. During the ritual the ideas about the tripartite structure of the universe, the flow of blessings descending from above and cyclical regeneration of nature are 'materially condensed' in the ephemeral *lamak*. *Lamak* as material form/object, including their decorative motifs and the ephemerality of their materials, make visible what is invisible, what is difficult to understand (the nature of the cosmos) as well as visualize the purpose of ritual, the desire that life continues.

6.3 Interrelatedness of different aspects of *lamak*

The main question I wished to answer in this book was: "Why do the Balinese make and remake *lamak*?" Ask a Balinese why he or she makes *lamak*, one receives a diversity of answers, in the first place, religious reasons, such as: to invite the gods and ancestors, to make the shrines more festive, or to participate in temple duties; but sometimes followed by more secular motivations, like: to help friends, family, or neighbours; or nowadays, to sell to customers. However, there is much more to say about the Balinese *lamak*, and in the previous chapters of this dissertation I have described and analysed all the different aspects of *lamak*.

The use and purpose of a *lamak* in rituals, its motifs and their symmetrical structure, the colours, vertical structure, and the ephemerality of its natural materials are all interrelated in different ways. Not only are they related to one another, but since they are also related to the sources of life, they all contribute to the intended effect of the ritual in which a *lamak* is used, which is in general terms regeneration of natural life and (therefore) the continuity of the social group who is enacting the ritual.

Balinese use *lamak* during rituals as a base for offerings and as decoration of shrines and altars on which the offerings are placed. The ritual purpose of a *lamak* is to attract the attention of invisible beings to the offerings, so that the ritual will be successful. Because *lamak* contribute in making the offerings 'work', they make possible the exchange between the invisible (*niskala*) beings of the upper world and the visible (*sekala*) world of human beings. In other words, they mediate between these worlds. In exchange for offerings, the divine blessings, prosperity and protection of life on earth, flow down from heaven to earth via the *lamak* as pathway. This flow of blessings is visualized in the decorative motifs which are all related to sources

or elements of life, and in the vertical structure of the *lamak* which represents the tripartite hierarchical structure of the universe, in which the highest point is always most sacred.

Just as the motifs are related to the divine blessings the Balinese hope or expect to receive in return for the offerings, likewise the natural materials of the ephemeral *lamak* themselves, taken from useful trees, are associated with the growth of plants and fertility generally. In principle *lamak* have to be made from natural, 'living' materials, and may only be used once. What is hoped for by carrying out the ritual, continuation of life and regeneration of nature, is better represented by an ephemeral *lamak* than by a permanent one, since the ephemeral, natural *lamak* itself is recreated time and again. The contrasting 'colours' of the leaves, and the symmetrical structure of some of the patterns, are related to the complementary opposition of female and male, which is the source of all creation.

Lamak are part of a system of reciprocity in two ways. As ritual object the *lamak* mediates in the wider network of visible and invisible beings, in the processes of exchange between the human and divine worlds. But a *lamak* is also part of the social network of their makers and users, in which *lamak* are made and also themselves are sometimes exchanged. Growing commercialization and the economic transactions within the production and distribution of *lamak* have in recent decades become the answer to lack of time and shortage of materials. These developments have provided support for the continuation of the use of *lamak* in rituals, for the belief in the necessity of the *lamak* in rituals remains strong.

Lamak still play a role in the system of mutual help within families or neighbourhood. This is especially the case with *lamak nganten* which in Gianyar at Galungan are suspended in front of houses where a wedding has taken place in the previous year. More than other *lamak*, their mediation is specifically concerned with new human life, continuity of the family, and relations between successive generations. By being very impressive (their length is many metres) they also indicate in the neighbourhood (*banjar*) the position of the family concerned. They communicate that the family is able to mobilize mutual solidarity of the members of the community to help create these large *lamak*, or that they have enough means to order them from *tukang lamak*.

The other kind of special *lamak*, *lamak catur,* are an expression of the highest level in the hierarchy of ritual elaboration in Bali. Since the most important offerings for the most important deities are placed on the highest shrines, it is here that the most 'complete' *lamak*, the *lamak catur*, hang down in front, bearing the most (differentiated) motifs associated with all the worlds from the mountain to the sea. As a group of three or four, these are the most 'complete' *lamak*, usually made by ritual specialists. Lower levels of rituals require only ordinary *lamak*, whereas for daily use only *ceniga* or *tlujungan* might be sufficient.

The fact that this system of different kinds of *lamak*, the vertical structure of single *lamak*, the form and structure of the individual motifs as well as other visual aspects of a *lamak*, all fit within the Balinese system of cosmological classifications, is probably the cause of a sense of order and completeness. The concept or word that I heard most often in my conversations about *lamak* with Balinese informants was '*lengkap*', 'complete', usually used in a comparative sense. A ritual was not complete without a *lamak*. An offering or shrine was not complete without a *lamak*. A *lamak* was not complete without motifs. The *lamak* in neighbouring villages were less complete than those in the one's own village. The *lamak nganten* made by *tukang lamak* X were less complete than the ones made by *tukang lamak* Y. A permanent *lamak* was not complete without an ephemeral one on top or underneath. This concept of 'completeness' occurred even more so in conversations about offerings; they always had to be complete, otherwise the ritual would not be successful. The Balinese have a strong sense of the significance of a structured whole, of the interrelatedness of constituting parts. If one element is missing, it does not feel good, as the example of the missing *lamak* in the introductory story in the first chapter illustrated. Not only does it just not feel good, but there is also a sense of anxiety of what might happen, what anger or revenge from the invisible beings might be evoked, if something is lacking. This sense of both order and completeness probably contributes to the effect these ritual objects produce on the Balinese participants of a ritual, in other words, to the agency of *lamak*.

Summarizing, an answer to the research question "Why do Balinese make and remake *lamak*?" could be formulated as: "because of what *lamak* do; because *lamak* make the ritual complete, by being part of the whole; because *lamak* mediate between heaven and earth and in this way contribute to the intended effect of rituals, namely security, prosperity and fertility, the continuity of life".

6.4 Continuities and change in relation to *lamak*

In the course of my research over the past 35 years Bali has changed immensely. Political, economic and religious change certainly have had effects on rituals in general, and in certain cases on the details of actual ritual practices.

Ever-growing mass tourism has brought more wealth to the island, which is often spent on the rebuilding or enlargement of temples of villages or families. The rituals involved are often held at the highest (*utama*) level of ritual elaboration, which means the construction of large, high temporary shrines (*sanggar tawang*), from which the tallest *lamak*, *lamak catur*, are suspended. So it could be argued that indirectly, mass tourism has contributed to a relative increase of this special kind of large *lamak*.

On the other hand, mass tourism and the resulting increase in the number of villas, hotels and theme parks, has to a large extent utilized land formerly used either for rice cultivation or for dryland farming, in the latter case especially having an adverse impact on the numbers of different varieties of palm trees, the leaves of which are necessary for making *lamak*. Also growing urbanisation and population growth, partly related to immigration of labourers from Java and other islands, and to improvement of health care, has contributed to this shift in land use and thus the availability of natural materials, which as a consequence has contributed to the use of smaller and less elaborate palm leaf *lamak*. However, palm leaf *lamak* are still being made, and very often decorated with the same motifs as before.

Moreover, as the possibilities for women to work in towns or in the tourist industry increased, they themselves have less time to devote to making offerings and ritual objects like *lamak* and they buy them ready-made in *jejaitan* workshops or at the markets, in this way indirectly creating new jobs or opportunities to work from home for other women. To have them ready in stock, these *lamak* are often made from the more durable leaves of the *lontar* palm, not pinned together by means of bamboo *semat*, but fastened by means of staples. Especially on these varieties, the time-consuming geometric *ringgitan* patterns are sometimes lacking and small plastic ornaments in the shape of butterflies or flowers (still 'natural' motifs) are used as decorations. Also other decorative elements are imported from and influenced by the latest 'fashion' in the so-called 'artistic' region, Gianyar.

Related to these changes in availability of time and natural materials, is an increase of the number of often mass-produced permanent *lamak*, made of textiles or of wood and coins, of which much larger supplies (larger in quantity and variety) are available at the markets and in *toko yadnya*. These are usually used in combination with small palm leaf *lamak*, since in principle a *lamak* has to be '*dari alam*'.

Besides the increase of larger temple rituals, in some families the increase of wealth has also resulted in a kind of 'conspicuous consumption' in the enactment of life cycle rituals, especially weddings and cremations. However, whereas for example the paraphernalia for cremations in economically successful families are becoming more and more spectacular and ever more commercialized, as is the case for elaborate *penjor*, this is not the case with *lamak*, with the possible exception of the expensive *panca datu* coin *lamak*. Although ritually indispensable, a *lamak* apparently is not the kind of significant ritual object with which to show off one's wealth.[4]

In general one could say that despite certain changes in their materials, techniques, motifs and ways of production, *lamak* remain an indispensable part of Balinese rituals. It is still the reciprocal relationship with deities and ancestors, the ritual exchange of offerings and blessings of security and prosperity, which is at the heart of Balinese religion. Also, despite the changes, the essence of a *lamak*, its vertical structure, its motifs of life and its natural materials have remained essentially unchanged.

4 In this regard, a *lamak* is comparable to a *banten canang*, the most common and most basic offering, which is essential in all rituals, but which also has not really changed over the years.

Figure 6.2.

Figure 6.3.

Figure 6.5.

Figure 6.4.

Figures 6.2-6.5 (clockwise): The life cycle of a lamak, from its creation (6.2), to its active life during a ritual (6.3), and its decay (6.4); and then the cycle begins again with the creation of a new lamak from fresh palm leaves (6.5).

6.5 The active life of a *lamak*

As ritual objects, *lamak* have themselves a life cycle, they are themselves in transition.

The material is harvested first, and then the object is as it were recreated, comes into existence, from these natural materials. After a *lamak* is suspended from the front of a shrine, but before it can do its work of attracting the deities to the offerings for which the *lamak* acts as base, the *lamak* is purified by means of holy water. When the ritual is over, and the deities have sent their blessings down via the *lamak*, the active life of a *lamak* comes to an end. If it is an ephemeral *lamak*, it will wither away or sometimes be burned and buried, and so return to its origin, Ibu Pertiwi, Mother Earth. A new cycle starts with preparations for the next ritual; a new *lamak* is recreated, transformed again out of natural elements, representing regeneration. If it is a permanent *lamak*, it is stored away to 'rest' until it appears again and plays its active role on the occasion of the next ritual, although, as discussed, only if it is complemented by an ephemeral *lamak*.

Many *lamak* first had a life as commodity before they started their lives as ritual object. After somebody created them, these specific *lamak* enter the market or are handed over to the person who made the order. It is then their purpose to help these clients to fulfil their religious obligations, while from the point of view of the maker, the making of *lamak* provides an income.

Nevertheless, the main part of the life of a *lamak* is in the context of ritual. *Lamak* are ritually necessary; without *lamak* the ritual would, according to the Balinese, be incomplete. The main 'action' of a *lamak* is being present at the ritual, being visible as part of the totality of offerings and decorated shrines. Through its material and creation process, its form and its purpose, and the interrelatedness of these aspects, a *lamak* in a variety of ways contributes to the purpose of the ritual in which it is present.

By being made of fresh, 'living' leaves taken from nature, and by being made anew each time, *lamak* represent or materialize the continuous renewal of life, the regeneration of nature.

Through the characteristics of their form (their vertical structure, their colours and motifs and the dual structure of the motifs), *lamak* visualize or communicate concepts of life and their interrelatedness, and the dynamic nature of life-giving blessings, flowing from heaven to earth, from the world of deities and ancestors to the world of human beings.

By acting as base for offerings and at the same time as decoration or 'clothing' of a shrine, *lamak* attract deities to the shrines where offerings are laid out for them.

Through their mediation between heaven and earth, *lamak* assure the effectiveness of the offerings in particular and the ritual in general.

Lamak show that they, as well as the Balinese 'audience', participate in the ordered universe, the wider network of invisible and visible beings.

All these actions are part of the agency of *lamak*. They can be regarded as active participants which enable transactions, the exchange of offerings and blessings, between heaven and earth.

I hope that with this ethnography of the Balinese *lamak* I have made a contribution to the recognition of the role of the *lamak* and acknowledgement of their makers. I have emphasized the importance of ephemeral material culture by studying a Balinese 'art form' which has so far been neglected in Western scholarship, and is, because of its ephemeral nature, hardly represented in museum collections. By studying the agency of Balinese *lamak* within their social and cosmological network, I show that *lamak* appear to be indispensable in Balinese rituals, and that their ephemerality, the fact that they have to be made from materials taken from living nature ("*dari alam*"), contributes to their agency. By studying these valuable and beautiful ephemeral objects, I hope to have contributed to their permanent recognition.

Although the people who make *lamak* never 'sign' their work, and they always work within the cultural conventions about what a *lamak* should look like, I have argued that many 'artists' are acknowledged in their community owing to their skills in creating *lamak*. By giving them a place and a face in this book, I hope that also for a non-Balinese audience they are anonymous no longer.

Figure 6.6: Never the same: variation in cili figures.

Appendix 1

Lamak in the National Museum of World Cultures

Lamak as part of the collection of the museum

The *lamak* collection in the National Museum of World Cultures[1] reflects the diverse and various ways that the objects from Bali entered the museum collections.[2] They have been collected during fieldwork, given as presents to colonial officers, taken as war booty after colonial wars, bought in art shops and at auctions, and sold or donated to the museums by the colonial government, artists, civil servants, travellers, and students. The collecting histories of the *lamak* collection, as part of the Bali collections, are not different in this regard.

Although the collection is diverse (though not complete) as regards the variety of materials and techniques used for making the *lamak* concerned, it is necessary to keep in mind that no museum collection can ever give a complete picture of *lamak*, since the majority of *lamak*, the ephemeral ones made of fresh sugar or coconut palm leaves, can never be kept for more than a few days and therefore have never been collected.

In this appendix I have divided this collection into a number of separate groups, related to different themes.

Lontar lamak (combined with cloth and/or paper) used at cremation rituals

As discussed in Chapter 5, the whitish leaves of the *lontar* palm are much more durable than the leaves of coconut and sugar palms. For that reason they are used in Bali for parts of offerings and for ritual decorations, like *lamak*, if preparations for a (usually large) ritual (for instance a cremation ceremony) have to start a long time before the actual ceremony takes place.

Related to this, for economic reasons in the *jejaitan* workshops making palm leaf objects, *lontar* leaves are preferred so that the *lamak* and *ceniga* can be kept in stock. The following examples of *lamak* collected in the past show

1 The National Museum of World Cultures (Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, NMW), is the new museum formed in 2015 by the merger of three former independent ethnographic museums, the Tropenmuseum (TM) in Amsterdam, the National Museum of Ethnology (Museum Volkenkunde, formerly Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, RV) in Leiden, and the Afrika Museum in Berg en Dal. The first two mentioned museums have major Indonesia collections.

2 This appendix does not include photographs of *lamak*, which are also present in the collection.

both principles.[3] Moreover, the addition of less perishable materials as cloth and paper gives them an even more durable character.

1. RV-1586-99

This *lamak*, made from *lontar* leaves, red cotton cloth, blue, white, black and gold-coloured paper, is the first to be registered in the museum in Leiden.

The *lamak* was collected by W.O.J. Nieuwenkamp in Mataram, Lombok, during his travels in Bali and Lombok in 1906-1907, to collect objects for the then 's-Rijks Ethnografisch Museum. According to him he saw this *lamak* as a "*naar beneden afhangende versiering*", a decoration hanging down from a temporary shrine next to the bed where a deceased lay in state, prior to the cremation ceremony.[4] After the ritual was over, the *lamak* must have been given to him, since in principle *lamak* are not kept for a later occasion and especially so in the case of a cremation ceremony when the main ritual objects and paraphernalia are burned with the body. Nieuwenkamp did not use the word *lamak*, but soon afterwards the word was used in the museum catalogue (Nieuwenkamp 1906-10:119, 222; 1910:213, 216; Juynboll & Fischer 1907:23; Juynboll 1912:151, plate XV fig. 4).

From top to bottom the motifs can be identified as *Ibu* (Mother Earth), *cili* ("*gestyleerde vrouwenfiguurtjes* or *menschenfiguren*", stylized female or human figures), *ringgitan*, geometric pattern (which looks like *enjekan cicing*, footprint of a dog[5]), and a kind of *cracap* (something with a sharp point) at the bottom.

2-3. TM-1468-111a and TM-1468-111b

Presumably inspired by Nieuwenkamp's publications (with reference to Juynboll's catalogue), the inventory card pertaining to these two *lamak* (made from *lontar* leaves and red cotton cloth) mentions that the *lamak* were to be suspended in the room where a deceased person lay in state. It is not known where these *lamak* were collected.[6] They were donated to the Tropenmuseum in 1941 by Cornelis Schermers, as part of a much larger collection of almost 200 objects from Bali, Lombok, Papua and elsewhere. Schermers was an architect who worked in the Netherlands Indies in the first decades of the 20th century.

According to the inventory card, the motifs are Dewi Sri and butterflies. However, the main motifs look more like trees whose upper parts resemble a human face. The 'butterflies' are part of the geometrical *ringgitan* pattern of no. 111a, which seems to be a variation of *enjekan cicing*, footprint of a dog, like on the previous *lamak*.

4-6. TM-1103-20, 21, 22

These three almost identical *lamak* (better called *ceniga*) with just geometric star patterns, made from *lontar* leaves against a background of red paper (which has lost its colour), were bought in Museum Bali in Denpasar in 1937. Between 1932 and 1937 a shop associated with the Bali Museum was set up with the purpose to stimulate the traditional and modern arts and crafts of Bali. When Rudolf Bonnet, who played a major role in the organizing, left Bali in 1937, the shop closed (Roever-Bonnet 1993:27-28). The *lamak* are part of a collection

3 Besides the six *lontar lamak* described in the following section, there is in the Leiden collection what is best called a *ceniga* (RV-3600-1934), consisting only of a geometric pattern. It is part of a large collection passed on to the museum by the Royal Military Academy; its collection history is unknown.

4 "Between the beds of state at the head ends stood two altars on posts, clad with long colourful decorations hanging downwards, fashioned from cut-out paper, multi-coloured cotton and *lontar* leaf. Depicted on two of these were stylized female figures cut from *lontar* leaf, which I have illustrated on page 119" *(Tusschen de praalbedden stonden bij het hoofdeinde twee altaartjes op palen, met lange, kleurige, van uitgeknipt papier, bont katoen en lontarblad vervaardigde en naar beneden afhangende versieringen bekleed. Op twee daarvan kwamen gestyleerde, van lontarblad gesneden vrouwenfiguurtjes voor, die ik op blz. 119 heb afgebeeld)* (Nieuwenkamp 1906-10:222). See also Nieuwenkamp 1910:213, 216. Actually, the material of the *cili* motif is blue paper.

5 See Chapter 3, fig. 3.65.

6 At least one of the two *lamak* was shown in the exhibition "Bali, Kringloop van het leven", held in 1964-1965 in the Tropenmuseum (see photograph TM-60057909). An exhibition of this name, organized by the staff of and with collections borrowed from the Tropenmuseum, was held in 1966 in Museum Nusantara in Delft (Bali 1965:no. 65).

Figure 1: RV-1586-99 (151 x 37.5 cm).

Figures 2-3: TM-1468-111a (162 x 33.5 cm) and 111b (156 x 34 cm).

Figures 4-6: TM-1103-20-TM 1103-22 (42.5 x 24 cm).

of 37 objects, including 16 paintings and wood-carvings, but also18 objects directly related to and only used at cremation ceremonies.[7]

According to the inventory cards, these three *lamak* were to be used at cremation ceremonies, with reference to the *lamak* collected for the museum in Leiden by Nieuwenkamp, and to a catalogue of the Bali galleries in the Museum of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences in Batavia, in which Schwartz noted that he had seen a *lamak* (from the leaves of the sugar and coconut palm), hanging from the same kind of shrine as noted by Nieuwenkamp, and which he had seen at a cremation ceremony in Karangasem in 1916 (Schwartz 1920:21).[8]

Kepeng lamak or 'male temple hanging'

The NMW has a large number of ritual objects made of Chinese coins, *kepeng*. They are often used as 'hanging' temple decorations, and are in general called *salang pipis* or *salang jinah* in Bali, meaning 'hanging coin objects'. They are often combined

7 There are for example a *damar kurung, kajang, ukur, adegan,* and *angenan.*

8 "[…] *sanggah prajapati* was placed next to the bed of state at the head end and decorated with a long hanging 'runner', over which was a smaller one (*lamak*) of dark green aren (*jaka*) and young coconut leaves (*busung*), partly with finely cut-out figures, artfully and tastefully joined together" *([…] sanggah pradjapati*

with little mirrors (set in metal or wooden frames), carved wooden top ornaments and beads, and they sometimes have a cloth background.

Curiously, although the kind of *salang* with rectangular panels nowadays in Bali are called *lamak* and are suspended in front of shrines, like palm leaf *lamak* (although they cannot be used as basis for offerings at the same time), in the descriptions of the objects the term *lamak* is almost never used. They are called 'temple hanging' (*tempel hanger*) or 'temple decoration' (*tempel sieraad*). Moreover, all 'flat' shaped temple hangings are denoted as 'male', in contrast to 'female' circular, more three dimensional objects (Juynboll 1912:118-119). Although the complemenatry opposition male-female plays an important role in Balinese culture, I have never heard this distinction as regards *kepeng lamak* or *gantungan* in present-day Bali.

7. TM-H-956

Most of the oldest objects consisting mainly of Chinese coins (*kepeng*) entered the museums in Leiden and Amsterdam (which formerly was the Colonial Museum in Haarlem) as part of the war booty or loot following the conquest (or *Puputan*, 'fight to the finish') of the states of Badung in 1906 and Klungkung in 1908. They were passed on to the museums by the 'Ministerie van Koloniën', the Ministry of Colonies, after the Museum of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences in Batavia had made the first choice.

This object, which might now be called a *lamak*,[9] was given to the Tropenmuseum in 1909 by the Ministry of Colonies, very likely after Puputan Klungkung in 1908, because also the museum in Leiden received similar objects in 1909 from this Ministry, specifically said to come from Klungkung.[10] Among the objects the museum in

Figure 7: TM-H-956 (63 x 24 cm).

was geplaatst naast het praalbed bij het hoofdeinde en versierd met een lang afhangende looper, waarover een smalleren (lamak) van donker groene aren (djaka)- en jonge klapperbladeren (boesoeng), gedeeltelijk tot fraaie figuren uitgeknipt, kunstig en smaakvol aan elkaar gehecht) (Schwartz 1920:21).

9 A very similar object, TM-H-957, is unfortunately damaged and thus not illustrated.

10 The three similar Leiden objects, RV-1684-128,129,130, are also damaged.

Figures 8-9: TM-1330-215 (146 x 42 cm) and RV-2407-197 (134 x 36 cm).

Leiden received were also many silver and gold objects from the temple of the Klungkung palace.

The upper part of this lamak reminds one of a *cili* (human) figure, with circular mirrors as her large earrings.

8-9. TM-1330-215 and RV-2407-197

In 1939, both musems acquired collections from Prof. dr. J.P. Kleiweg de Zwaan (1875-1971), former head of the department of physical anthropology at the Colonial Institute (later the Royal Tropical Institute) in Amsterdam. From 1908 he travelled and carried out research in the Netherlands Indies, and in 1938 his studies brought him back to Bali and Lombok. There he collected more than 1000 objects of high quality, including other ritual objects made of Chinese coins. It is not known where in Bali he collected these two 'male temple hangings' as they were called.

The Leiden example consists of a set of panels made of bamboo slats strung with red cotton cloth, against which are attached Chinese coins and large and small round mirrors in metal frames. These panels are tied together with thread to form one long hanging object.

Similarly, the Tropenmuseum example consists of three panels made of wooden slats framing red cloth, on which Chinese coins and small mirrors in copper frames are attached, and then tied together with red and yellow thread. The wooden polychrome top ornament is carved in the shape of two crowned, winged serpents (*naga*) with intertwined tails; in the centre is a lotus flower.

10. TM-5572-17

The *kepeng lamak* collected in 1990 in Bali by the staff of TM Junior, in preparation for the exhibition '*Onzichtbare gasten*' ('Invisible guests'), about a Balinese temple festival, was indeed called *lamak*. This *lamak* was bought at a shop for ritual paraphernalia at the market of Sukawati (pers. com. Marion Crince le Roy, 2016).

The wooden ornament at the top, in the form of two mirrored S-shapes, is often found at the top of, for example, temple gateways, and is called *bantala* (Gelebet 1985:401). The wooden border has a repeated pattern of inverted S-shapes. The top motif formed by the *kepeng* is a *cili*, with the mirror as face, and the bottom motif of two triangle and a circle can be identified as *Ibu* (Mother Earth).

Figure 10: TM-5572-17 (115.5 x 25 cm).

Figure 11: RV-4491-89 (143 x 60.5 cm).

Two unusual cloth *lamak*

In principle, permanent *lamak* can be made of any kind of material and when making *lamak* for their own use makers are inspired by their own creativity and imagination. At Galungan I often noticed such 'home-made' *lamak* on the shrines of the *penjor*. The only requirements or prerequisites are that the *lamak* has a vertical structure, in order to hang down from a shrine, and secondly, that an offering can be placed on the upper end of the *lamak*.

In the Leiden collection are two *lamak* which are rather unusual, in the sense that I have neither seen similar *lamak* in other museum collections, nor in use at rituals in Bali.

11. RV-4491-89

Although this *lamak* does have a vertical structure consisting of three panels one on top of the other, these components themselves are unusual. The central panel consists of three concentric rectangular pieces of cloth, a yellow plain piece on the outside, and blue and red pieces on the inside, decorated with gold leaf (*prada*) motifs of tendrils with a lotus flower in the centre. On both sides are strips of cloth painted with flower motifs.

The top and bottom panels depict episodes of the Malat story, painted in Kamasan style. As described in the catalogue of an exhibition in the Gemeentemuseum in Den Haag in 1961 (Kunst 1961:no. [32]), the panels tell the episode of the visit of the King of Malayu to Ratnaningrat, princess of Gegelang, and the consternation this caused, that required Panji, the hero of the Malat, to calm things down.

The *lamak* was collected and denoted as *lamak* by Th.A. Resink as part of a large collection of traditional Balinese paintings, for the most part in the style of the Kamasan tradition. Resink was born in 1902 in Indonesia, and inherited his great interest in Balinese arts and crafts from his mother who collected Hindu-Javanese antiquities. Trained as a civil engineer, at the end of the 1920s he was sent to work in South Bali. He settled down in Ubud, where he became friends with Walter Spies and Rudolf Bonnet. Through them he was temporarily appointed as curator in the Bali Museum in Denpasar (Brinkgreve 2005:141-144).

12. RV-2860-1

The second 'unusual' lamak is an *endek* (weft ikat) *lamak*, which was purchased in 1950 from a company called 'Nederland-Indië Centrale'. I do not know of any other example in museum collections.[11] Although this purple textile was said (on the inventory card) to be a breast cloth (*saput*, *kampuh*), the structure of the motifs is vertical rather than horizontal, and the motifs themselves are very similar to those on *lamak*.

These motifs are not very clear because the piece is not of high quality technically, and anyway this resist-dye technique does not produce precise motifs. Still, most motifs can be identified. The borders consist of rows of small triangles, called *gigin barong*. The two figures at the bottom are *cili*, but it is not known if they were meant to be *cili ngantten*, wedding couple. Perhaps the oval figure above the two *cili* is supposed to be a sun or moon, with stars in the four corners. Above this motif is a kind of *ringgitan* pattern, topped by what is probably a tree (*kekayonan*). At the very top are two squares, one with a swastika and the other with an *ibu* motif inside the square.

Figure 12: RV-2860-1 (222 x 72 cm).

11 Curious is the case of what was originally a single piece of weft *ikat* cloth, in colour and motifs similar to the Leiden *lamak*, fragments of which are in the collections of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Basel (no. IIc 15336), the Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum in Köln (no. 44712, see Khan Majlis 1984:249), and in the Museum für Gestaltung (formerly Kunstgewerbemuseum) in Zürich (no. 13772, see Billeter 1963:133 and Larsen 1976:202). One wonders whether this textile was ever used as a *lamak* (the cloth is broader than is usual for a *lamak*), and why it was cut into fragments. For another fragment of *ikat* cloth with *cili* figures, see Solyom 1984:15.

Figure 13: TM-1841-4 (153 x 51 cm).

Rare woven *lamak*

The museum in Amsterdam has two of a kind of rare woven *lamak* which have become real collector's items. They have a blue woven cotton foundation and are decorated with motifs fashioned from thick bundles of mainly white and sometimes some red and yellow yarns, applied in a double-faced continuous supplementary warp technique.

As discussed in Chapter 4, according to Pelras (1967) this kind of *lamak* was made in the 1920s in Kesiman (now part of Denpasar) by a lady called Men Nis.

13. TM-1841-4

This *lamak* was bought in1948 at an auction in Gouda (it is not known who the previous owner was), and is described by Langewis (1956), but in a previous article (Brinkgreve 1993) I gave a different interpretation and the Balinese names of the motifs.

The rather broad vertical border panels consist of double rows of *gigin barong*. The top motif of the central panel (which Langewis did not identify) is *Ibu*, Mother Earth, then follows a circular motif which is either the sun (*matanai*) (with rays) or the moon (*bulan*) (with little stars all around it). The next motif is rather problematic: Langewis interpreted it as a *cili*, but in any case the triangular bottom part of the motif is a mountain (*gunung*) motif. It is possible that the maker tried to combine the mountain with the *cili* motif, the mountain being the skirt of the *cili*, on top of which rests her face with large earrings on either side.

The geometrical pattern underneath the mountain motif consists of rows of diamonds, structured into a diagonal grid. They can in general be compared to the *ringgitan* patterns on a palm leaf *lamak*, and more specifically to the *mas-masan* pattern, the leaves of the croton plant, whose elements are always diamond-shaped. Two large diamonds form the bottom border of the *lamak*, above which is another row of *gigin barong*.

14. TM-5977-40

This *lamak* is smaller than the previous *lamak*. Here again the broad side panels consist of double rows of *gigin barong*. The top motif is *Ibu*, on

Figure 14: TM-5977-40 (140 x 43.5 cm).

Figure 15: RV-6162-1 (130 x 36 cm).

each side bordered by rows of *gigin barong*. If the two diamond shapes on both sides are taken into account, the motif could perhaps also be interpreted as a very stylized *cili*, with large earrings. Underneath this motif is an empty circular space, probably originally filled in with embroidery as on the previous *lamak*, to create a sun or moon motif. Another possibility is that this space was meant for a circular mirror, as some other *lamak* of this kind have; but there are no signs of loose yarns to support this idea. The motif beneath this empty circle is less clear than the corresponding one on the previous *lamak*, but probably again a mountain motif can be identified. Underneath the mountain is the same geometrical pattern as on the previous *lamak*.

This *lamak* was collected by Charles Sayers (1901-1943), a painter and collector of Indonesian artefacts, who lived in Bali from 1927-1928 and again from 1932-1934 (Van Brakel 2004). It is not known when and where he acquired this *lamak*, but it is likely he bought it in Bali during the years he lived there.

15. RV-6162-1

In this *lamak*, purchased in 2012 with help of the Liefkes-Weegenaar Fund of the Leiden Museum, a related technique is used, but in a much less refined way than either of the other woven *lamak*. It is said to come from a family temple in Kerambitan, where it is called *lamak benang* (*benang* means thread in Balinese and Indonesian). What its relationship is (if any) with the Men Nis *lamak* is unknown, but it seems likely that the maker must at least have seen these other *lamak*, since there are certain correspondences. The *lamak* could have been made in the second half of last century.

In this *lamak*, which is also smaller than the other two, no yellow is used as colour. The borders consist of only one row of *gigin barong*, the geometrical pattern is very similar to that of the other two, and the second motif from the top is a kind of *Ibu* motif. Only the top motif is very different; the five-cornered design reminds one vaguely of the *kekayonan*, the central figure in *wayang* theatre.

Lamak as part of dance costume

The museum has several examples of *lamak* which (could) have been used as part of a dance costume. As usually is the case, their vertical form is the same as that of a *lamak* as ritual object, but their ornamentation does not have the vertical structure which is related to the three-fold structure of the universe. Furthermore, their motifs, mainly tendrils and flowers, differ from those on ritual *lamak.*

16. TM-4607-3g

The first example is a *lamak* for a Jauk dancer and is called *lamak sulaman*, embroidered *lamak*. Together with the other parts of the costume, it was given in 1979 by Cokorda Agung Mas from Ubud, who at that was in the Netherlands teaching Balinese gamelan to music groups, including one in the Tropenmuseum. He also gave complete costumes for Baris and Kebyar dancers.

The *lamak* consists of three panels, machine-embroidered with flower motifs and tendrils.

17-18. TM-116-2d and 7d

These two *lamak* are elements of Jauk and Telek Luh dance costumes, and were sold to the museum in 1939 by H.J. Janssen, who was Assistant-Resident of South Bali.

Both *lamak* are decorated with gold-leaf (*prada*) motifs. In Bali (and elsewhere in Indonesia where it is practised), *prada* is the glue-work technique of decorating cloth with gold leaf, or gold dust, or more recently with cheaper gold-coloured substitutes.

Together with seven other similar *lamak prada* in different colours, these *lamak* are part of a series of several complete dance costumes.

19. TM-1403-7d

This *lamak* of refined craftsmanship, entered the Tropenmuseum in 1940, donated by the 'Stichting De Nederlandsche Deelneming aan de wereldtentoonstellingen te New York in 1939' which organized the Dutch contribution to the New York World's Fair of that year. The Colonial Institute was involved in this preparation.

Figure 16: TM-4607-3g (75 x 21 cm).

The *lamak* formed one element of the costume of a life-size statue of a Legong dancer.[12]

The catalogue entry for the Bali exhibition in San Francisco in 2010 describes this gilt leather *lamak* as being "cut through with delicate geometric and floral designs" and embellished with small pieces of mirrored glass (Reichle 2010:288-291).

20. TM-1991-1e

This *lamak*, which was purchased in 1950 from the 'Nederland-Indië Centrale' (like RV-2860-1), was part of the costume of the servant (*condong*) in the Legong dance.

The leather is embellished with small glass ornaments in the form of star and floral motifs.

12 For a photograph of the statue at the exhibition, see Rosse 1939:75.

Figures 17-18: TM-116-2d and 7d (84 x 72 cm).

Figure 20: TM-1991-1e (64 x 27 cm).

Figure 19: TM-1403-7d (60 x 23 cm).

Ceniga from Kerambitan

In 1983, when I was doing fieldwork in Bali for my MA thesis, I made for the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden a collection of ritual objects, decorations and implements, mainly to be used in an exhibition on the art of the offering, in the Bali room of the museum. I collected all varieties of *lamak* which were for sale at that time in the places where I concentrated my fieldwork: Denpasar, Sanur, Padangtegal in Gianyar, and Kerambitan in Tabanan.

In Kerambitan, *lamak* in general are called *ceniga*, and the main motif is usually a *cili* figure. The *cili* in this area can be identified by their very long hair which is depicted in an upright position.

Sagung Putu Alit, one of my main informants, who was very talented in making objects of palm leaf, made from *lontar* leaves a *lamak* with motifs of dyed *lontar*. She used both bamboo slivers (*semat*) and white thread for attaching the motifs. This *lamak* was meant as a kind of model, especially made for the museum, of a *lamak* in typical Tabanan style; she would not use such a *lontar lamak* herself, preferring always a *lamak* of the leaves of the sugar or coconut palms.

21. RV-4255-6

The first *ceniga* from Kerambitan was given to the museum in 1967 by Prof. dr. Ch. Hooykaas who did research in Kerambitan. It is part of a large series of different *jejaitan*, palm leaf objects for ritual use, all made of *lontar* leaves. It is very likely that Sagung Putu Alit, whom he also knew well, made this collection for him as she also did for me, 16 years later.[13]

This *ceniga*, which consists of one layer of *lontar* leaves only, has the head of a typical *cili* of this area as main motif. The geometric pattern forms as it were her body and the *cracap* at the bottom her legs.

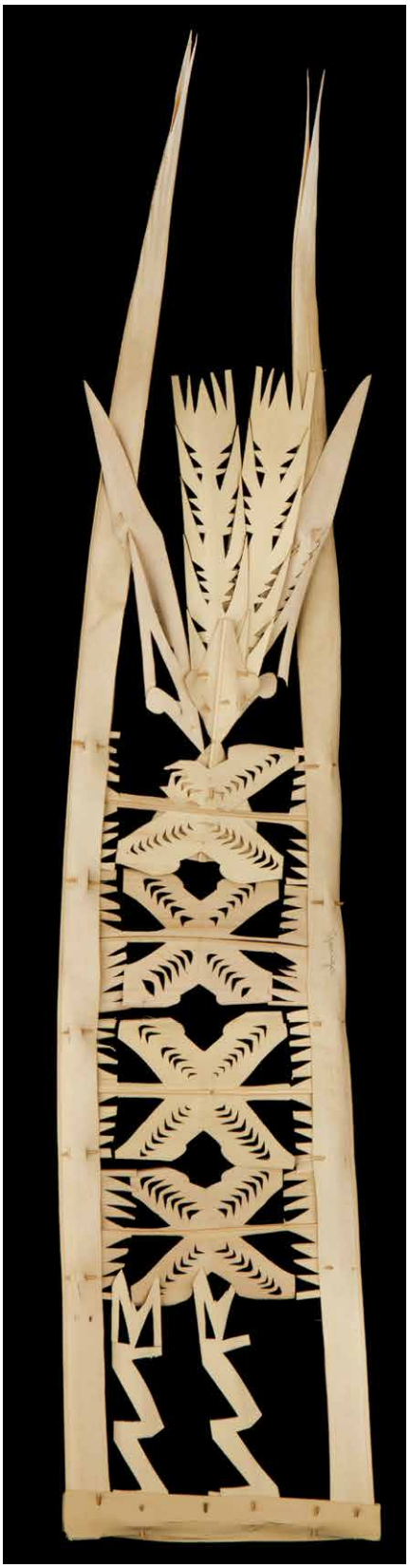


Figure 21: RV-4255-6 (61 x 12 cm).

13 Four other *lamak* in the Leiden museum (RV-03-937, 938, 939, 949) could possibly also have been made by Sagung Putu Alit, but unfortunately their collection history is unknown.

Figure 22: RV-5258-106 (102 x 17 cm).

22. RV-5258-106

Sagung Putu Alit (pers. comm. 26/9/1985) said about this *ceniga* that she made herself, "the motifs at the bottom are just *ringgitan*, just as a hip cloth (*kamben*) for the *cili*, the human figure above it". If she makes a longer *ceniga*, she extends the *kamben* rather than adding other motifs.

Figure 23: RV-5258-52 (85 x 13.5 cm).

23. RV-5258-52

Referring to the plastic *ceniga* I bought from Sagung Putu Alit, she called the geometric motifs "just intersecting lines" (*silang saja*). I bought this *lamak* from her because she no longer used it. Although the use of plastic had been in fashion for some time, religious authorities had "forbidden" this material for use in temples.

Figure 24: RV- 5258-96 (143 x 29 cm).

Figure 25: RV- 5258-97 (140 x 24 cm).

Two model *lamak* made by I Made Sadra

Tukang lamak I Made Sadra from Padangtegal made in 1983, as models or examples especially for the museum, two *lontar lamak* with motifs of dyed *lontar* leaves, based on *lamak* he usually made with fresh sugar palm leaves. He used bamboo slivers (*semat*) to attach the motifs to the base layer of the *lamak*. Both *lamak* are in the style of Padangtegal.[14]

24. RV-5258-96

The main motif on this *lamak* is the *cili* (human figure), the geometrical pattern underneath the *cili* is called *kapukapu kambang*, water lettuce (*Pistia stratiotes*), an aquatic plant whose leaves float on the surface of the water. The motif at the bottom is called *cracap*, with a sharp point. The pattern on sides and ends is called *bungbung jangkrik,* cage for crickets.

25. RV-5258-97

The main motif on this *lamak* is the *kekayonan* (tree), the geometrical pattern underneath the *kekayonan* is called *candigara* or *kanigara*: a kind of tree with yellow flowers, called by many names, including bayur tree (*Pterospermum acerifolium*). The patterns at the bottom and sides are similar to the other example.

14 See Chapters 4 and 5.

Figure 26: RV-5258-51 (35 x 15 cm).

Durable *lamak* in the 1980s

In 1983 I went in Denpasar to the *toko yadnya*, shops with ritual implements, in the two main market buildings in town, Pasar Badung and Pasar Kumbasari. A few very simple and cheap painted *lontar* lamak were for sale, and a very small variety of small cloth *lamak*, with simple patterns of sequins sewn onto a plain background.

26. RV-5258-51

This small cloth *lamak* can be used as a *lamak* on a shrine, or as part of offerings called *rantasan* which consist of a (usually small) pile of textiles. These textiles represent the clothing for the gods when they descend into the world of human beings at temple festivals.

The motifs which are sewn with sequins onto the black velvet background of this *lamak* are the swastika and a flower with four petals, perhaps an abbreviated version of the *padma* or lotus flower which usually has eight petals. These numbers refer to the cardinal directions.

Figure 27: RV-5258-100 (102 x 23 cm).

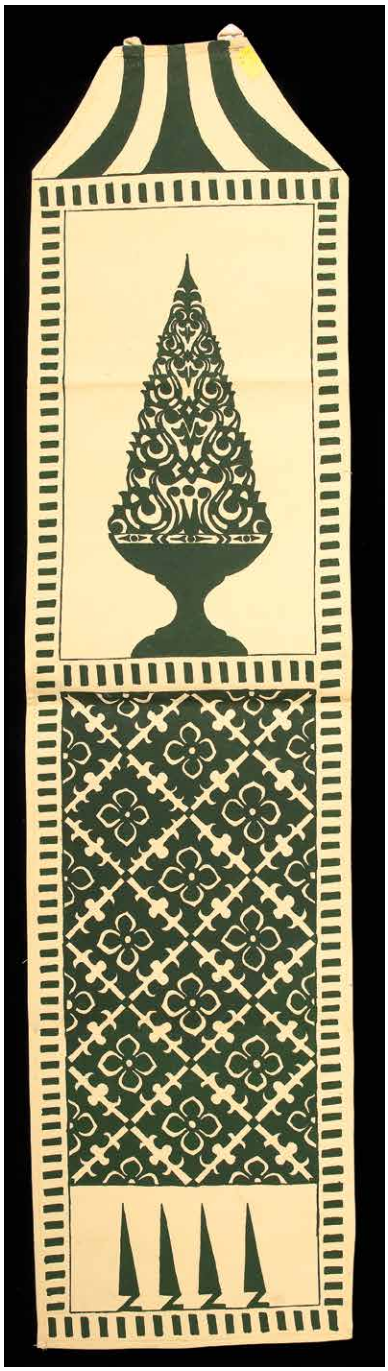


Figure 28: RV-5258-50 (89.5 x 21.5 cm).

27. RV-5258-100

This *lamak* is made from *lontar* leaves, and the motifs are painted green and red after they have been attached to the base layer of the *lamak*. The main motif is the *kekayonan* (tree), with underneath a *ringgitan* pattern in the form of flowers, and *cracap* at the bottom. The pattern on sides and ends is *bungbung jangkrik,* cage for crickets.

28. RV-5258-50

This *lamak* was made for sale by Pak Tantri from Padangtegal in 1983.[15] He painted the motifs on canvas and also signed his work on the back. The main motif is *banten gebogan* (offering); the geometric pattern is *candigara*.

15 For a full discussion of the painted *lamak*, see Chapters 4 and 5.

Figure 29: RV-6223-1 (260 x 37 cm).

Embroidered *lamak*

Since at least the 1990s when people in the district of Jembrana started to use other varieties of *lamak* in their family temples, embroidered *lamak*, a specialty of that district, have appeared on the art market.

29. RV-6223-1

This very long embroidered *lamak* I bought in 2014 at the Tong Tong Fair in The Hague, financed by the Liefkes-Weegenaar Fund.

The top motif is a female figure, depicted in *wayang* style. Next to her are two flowers. On embroidered *lamak* from Jembrana the name of the figure is often embroidered, but on this *lamak* the name is only written at the top in pencil: DEWI-SRI, identifying the figure as the goddess of rice, agriculture and fertility in general. In the centre of this *lamak* an impressive crowned serpent or *naga* with tail rising upwards is represented. On the lowest part a lotus flower with tendrils is embroidered. The borders and ends are 'protected' by rows of *gigin barong* patterns.

30-31. NMW 7047-1 and 2

These two embroidered *lamak* were bought in an art shop in Klungkung in 2011. They are embroidered in the same style as the previous *lamak*, but they are much smaller. They both belong probably to the one set for a family temple, since the name of the shrines for which they are intended is written in ink, together with a number. The identity of the main figure is written in capital letters in pencil above the figure.

On one *lamak* (NMW 7047-2) is written: '7 P. [*pelinggih*] Majapahit' and the main (male) figure is identified as Darmawangsa. On the other *lamak* (NMW 7047-1) is written '8.Taksu' and the main (female) figure is identified as Subrada. They are 'protected' by rows of *gigin barong* patterns. A *pelinggih* Majapahit is a shrine dedicated to the ancestors who arrived from the Majapahit empire in the 14th century. Taksu is the Divine Inspirator. Darmawangsa and Subrada are both personalities in the Mahabharata epic. Darmawangsa is another name for Yudhistira, the eldest brother of the five Pandawa brothers, and Subadra is the spouse of Arjuna, a younger brother of Darmawangsa.

Figures 30-31: NMW 7047-1 (68 x 21 cm) and NMW 7047-2 (69 x 21 cm).

Figure 32. NMW 7048-1 (55 x 17 cm).

Lamak in the 21st century

The small collection of *lamak* I collected in 1983 (inv. nos. RV-5258-96-100 and RV-5258-50-52) consists of permanent *lamak* which could have been bought and used by the Balinese themselves, as well as some *lamak* of durable *lontar* leaves, especially made for a museum collection.

Since different types of *lamak* have come onto the market since the 1980s, I updated the *lamak* collection of the National Museum of World Cultures with three *lamak* which I had acquired more recently.

32. NMW 7048-1

This *lamak sablon*, made in the silkscreen technique, I bought at the market in Denpasar in 2005, but it was said to have been made in Sukawati, Gianyar.[16]

The main motif shows the features of a goddess, Dewi Saraswati. This important Hindu goddess is in Bali worshipped as the consort of the Creator Brahma, and as goddess of learning, knowledge and writing, especially *lontar* manuscripts. On the *lamak sablon* Dewi Saraswati is represented with all her attributes which she holds in her four hands. In one of them she holds a musical instrument which she is playing with her second hand, and in the two other hands she holds a *lontar* manuscript and a rosary. At her feet are two geese, which act as her vehicle, and on her head she wears a kind of crown with an aura around it, a variation of the ornate headdress of the traditional *cili.*

One maker of *lamak sablon*, I Ketut Lantur, called the circular motif above the head of Dewi Saraswati a *padma* (lotus) or *gumi* (world). The uppermost motif is a mountain motif, with two flowers like stars on either side. The pattern below the goddess consists of flowers, surrounded by ornamental leaves and petals. Towards the bottom three long sharp triangles are depicted, like the *cracap* on palm leaf *lamak*, and along the sides and bottom are rows of *gigin barong*.

16 *Lamak sablon* are discussed at length in Chapters 4 and 5.

Figure 33: NMW 7048-2 (59 x 15.5 cm).

Figure 34: NMW 7048-3 (71 x 16 cm).

33. NMW 7048-2

This *lontar lamak* was made in 2010 by Ni Wayan Suartini who worked in a workshop in Bebandem, Karangasem,[17] to be sold in connection with the upcoming Galungan. She used dyed *lontar* leaves to cut out the motifs, and staples for attaching them to the base layer.

Deviating from the regional style of Karangasem, in which the mountain motif is always dominant, the main motif on this *lamak* is a lotus flower growing in a pond, a little butterfly flying around it. At the top a small mountain and a little sun are depicted.

34. NMW 7048-3

One of the varieties of *lamak* which is at present most common in *toko yadnya* at the markets and even for sale online is called *lamak pentol tanggung*. They appear in five different colours: white, yellow, red, black and *poleng*. I bought this *poleng* example at the main market in Klungkung in 2015. The black and white checked *poleng* cloth is embellished with beads and small colourful plastic decorations.

17 See Chapters 4 and 5.

Appendix 2

List of Informants

Anak Agung Gede Raka Sandi, Puri Kawan, Tampaksiring, 17 Jan. 1988

Ayu Bulantrisna Djelantik, Jakarta, 21 April 2015

Ayu Pugeg, *tukang lamak*, Banjar Sapat, Tegallalang, 25 March 1989, 26 Feb. 1990

Cokorda Ngurah, Puri Menara, Ubud, 3 May 1983, 4 Jan 1988, 31 Oct. 1990

Cokorda Sri, Puri Menara, Ubud, 13 July 2010

Cokorda Putra Swastika, Puri Menara, Ubud, 18 March 2016

Dadong Bontok, *tukang lamak*, Banjar Tengah, Tegallalang, 26 Feb. 1990

Dadong Bontok, *tukang lamak*, Banjar Tengah, Tegallalang, 26 Feb. 1990

Dayu Komang, offering specialist (*tukang banten*), Kerambitan, 3 Oct. 1982

Dayu Made Mirah Kendran, offering specialist (*tukang banten*), Gria Kendran, Tegallalang, 25 March 1989

Dayu Made Putra, Gria Puseh, Sanur, 13 Dec. 1987, 4 March 1990, 8 Nov. 1990, 5 May 1994

Dayu Made Sapri, Gria Kediri, Kerambitan, 4 Oct. 1982, 26 Sept. 1985, 11 Aug. 2001

Dayu Putri, Gria Karang, Budakeling, 30 April 2014

Dayu Putu Sriani, Ubud, 29 Aug. 2001

Dayu Sayang, Sanur, 28 April 1994

Desak Patupang, *tukang lamak*, offering specialist (*tukang banten*) and traditional healer (*balian*), Banjar Kediri, Singapadu, 18 Jan. 1988

Gusti Niang Kamar, *tukang lamak*, Banjar Lambing, Mambal, 21 Sept. 1985

(Ny.) I Gusti Agung Mas Putra, Denpasar, 25 Sept. 1982, 19 Sept. 1985, 25 Sept. 1985

I Gusti Ngurah Ketut Sangka, Puri Gede, Kerambitan, 24 April 1991 (letter)

I Gusti Putu Nonderan, Padangtegal, Ubud, 27 Dec. 1987, 23 May 1989, 3 April 1994

I Gusti Putu Taman, Padangtegal, Ubud, 1989, 1990, 1994; 20 April 2014

I Ketut Budiana, Banjar Ambengan, Peliatan, 27 Dec. 1987

I Ketut Lagas, teacher of religion at the Institute Hindu Dharma, Denpasar, 25 Dec. 1987

I Ketut Lantur, Banjar Tebuana, Sukawati, 29 Aug. 2001, 4 Aug. 2005, 26 Jan. 2012

I Ketut Teja Astawa, Banjar Gulingan, Sanur, 20 May 2015

I Made Kuduk, Banjar Pande Mas, Budakeling, 29 Jan. 2012, 27 May 2015, 9 June 2015, 29 March 2016

I Made Sadra, Padangtegal, Ubud, 25 March 1989, 26 Feb. 1990

I Made Sangkul, Tebesaya, Peliatan, 26 Dec. 1987

I Made Windia, head (*klian banjar*), Banjar Gulingan, Sanur, 6 Oct. 1982, 25 Sept. 1985, 30 Nov. 1987

I Nengah Rata, Banjar Ubud Kaja, Ubud, 27 Dec. 1987, 29 Dec. 1987

I Wayan Koya, *tukang lamak*, Sibetan, 21 Oct. 1990

I Wayan Neka, Banjar Ambengan, Peliatan, 25 Dec. 1987

I Wayan Pande, Banjar Pande, Peliatan, 25 Dec. 1987

I Wayan Pugeg, sculptor, Singapadu, 22 May 1989, 1 April 1994

I Wayan Sudarma, Banjar Telugtug, Sibetan, 24 June 1989

I Wayan Sutoya, *tukang lamak,* Padangtegal, Ubud, 27 Dec. 1987

I Wayan Teja, Banjar Gulingan, Sanur, 11 May 2010, 16 March 2016

I Wayan Wija, *dalang*, Sukawati, 23 May 1989

I Wayan Wira, *tukang lamak,* Banjar Kalah, Peliatan, 30 Dec. 1987, 26 Feb. 1990

Ibu Merta, *tukang lamak,* Banjar Penusuan, Tegallalang, 25 March 1989, 26 Feb. 1990

Ida Bagus Dalem. Gria Kutri, Singapadu, 15 Feb. 1989

Ida Bagus Ketut Sudiasa, *klian adat* (head of customary village), Intaran, Sanur, 10 Oct. 1990

Ida Made Oka, Gria Komala, Komala, Bebandem, 30 April 2015

Ida Made Yudana, Gria Demung, Budakeling, 14 April 2014

Ida Nyoman Oka, Gria Komala, Komala, Bebandem, 21 Oct. 2013, 22 Oct. 2010, 3 June 2015, 7 June 2015, 21 March 2016

Ida Pedanda Gede Padangrata**,** Gria Kutri, Singapadu, 14 Jan. 1988

Ida Pedanda Istri Ketut Jelantik, Gria Dauh, Budakeling, 23 Oct. 2013, 25 Oct. 2013

Ida Pedanda Gede Oka Timbul, Gria Puseh, Sanur, 20 Sept. 1985, 26 April 1987, 30 Dec. 1987, 28 Aug. 1989, 19 Jan. 1990, 19 Dec. 1990, 24 March 1994, 3 April 1994, 13 April 2014

Ida Pedanda Wayan Djelantik Singharsa, Gria Tangi, Budakeling, 12 June 2015

Ida Wayan Jelantik, *klian adat* (head of customary village), Budakeling, 25 April 2014

Jero Istri Ketut, offering specialist (*tukang banten*), Puri Klungkung, Klungkung,13 Feb. 2012

Jero Kaler, *tukang lamak,* Banjar Lambing, Mambal, 21 Sept. 1985

Mangku Wayan Sudana, *pemangku* Dadia Pande Mas, Budakeling, 29 April 2014

Mangku Gede, *bendesa adat*, Lodtunduh, 26 March 1989

Mangku Panti, Pura Taman Pule, Mas, 26 Feb. 1990

Men Gomblok, *tukang lamak*, Banjar Kediri, Singapadu, 18 Jan. 1988

Ni Jangklek, *tukang lamak*, Banjar Junjungan, Ubud, 4 July 1988

Ni Ketut Pilik, Lodtunduh, 1 Jan. 1988, 5 July 1988, 16 Oct. 2013

Ni Ketut Remping, *jejaitan* maker, Banjar Pande Mas, Budakeling, 6 June 2015

Ni Ketut Resep, *tukang lamak,* Peliatan, 29 Dec. 1987, 5 July 1988, 31 Oct. 1990

Ni Komang Soka, *tukang lamak*, Banjar Telugtug, Temega, Padangkerta, 22 April 1994

Ni Luh Kompiang Metri, Ngis, Manggis, 25 Nov. 1990; (relatives) 23 Dec. 2013

Ni Made Darmi, silversmith, Budakeling, 10 Feb. 2012

Ni Made Latri, Banjar Gulingan, Sanur, 6 Oct. 1982, 1 May 1987, 9 April 1994

Ni Made Paji, *tukang lamak,* Banjar Junjungan, Ubud, 30 Dec. 1987, 4 July 1988

Ni Made Raka, *jejaitan* maker, Banjar Pande Mas, Budakeling, 4 April 2016

Ni Made Tombiah, *tukang lamak,* Banjar Gentong, Tegallalang, 17 Jan. 1988, 4 July 1988

Ni Nyoman Damping, *tukang lamak*, Banjar Junjungan, Ubud, 30 Dec. 1987, 4 July 1988

Ni Nyoman Murni, Banjar Gulingan, Sanur, 11 May 2010, 12 May 2010, 13 Feb. 2012

Ni Nyoman Ngetis, Banjar Pande Mas, Budakeling, 29 Jan. 2012, 27 May 2015, 9 June 2015

Ni Nyumpel, *tukang lamak*, Banjar Junjungan, Ubud, 4 July 1988

Ni Putu Darmi, *tukang lamak,* Banjar Kengetan, Singakerta, 18 Jan. 1988

Ni Wayan Candri, *tukang lamak*, Banjar Kediri, Singapadu, 27 Feb. 1988

Ni Wayan Jenjen, *tukang lamak*, Banjar Kutri, Singapadu, 18 Jan. 1988

Ni Wayan Klepon, Banjar Junjungan, Ubud / I Wayan Kecor, 30 Dec. 1987, 4 July 1988

Ni Wayan Santi, Sanur, 20 May 2015

Ni Wayan Suartini, *jejaitan* maker, Bebandem, 28 Oct. 2013, 24 April 2014, 28 May 2015, 8 June 2015, 29 March 2016

Ni Wayan Sukin, Banjar Silakarang, Singapadu, 27 Feb. 1988

Ni Wayan Sukri, *tukang lamak*, Banjar Medahan, Kemenuh, 25 March 1989

Pak Mider, *tukang lamak,* Padangtegal, Ubud, 29 Dec. 1987

Pak Tantri, Padangtegal, Ubud, 5 May 1983, 23 Sept. 1985

Ratu Mas, offering specialist (*tukang banten*), Puri Karangasem, Amlapura, 3 June 2015

Sagung Putu Alit, Jero Kajanan, Banjar Tengah, Kerambitan, 3 Oct. 1982, 5 Oct. 1982, 26 Sept. 1985

Appendix 3

List of Figures

All photographs are made by the author unless otherwise specified.

Cover

Photo: *Lamak* with *cili* motifs at the entrance to the temple during an *odalan* at Pura Desa, Beraban, 13/5/2010 (see fig. 2.31).

Drawings of motifs: front cover: *bunga* (fig. 3.36) and *bulan matunjuk* (fig. 3.19); back cover: *kekayonan* (fig. 3.23) and *cili* (fig. 3.29).

Chapter 1

Fig. 1.1: For its consecration ceremony, the shrine dedicated to the deity who looks after our land, Ida Betara Maduwe Karang, is 'dressed' with textiles and a *lamak* of *lontar* leaves, made by Ni Made Raka. The temporary shrine to the right is decorated with a *ceniga*, made of the young leaves of the coconut palm. Bukit Pucak Sari (Budakeling), 6/4/2016.

Fig. 1.2: Map of Bali. A-I are regions (*kabupaten*); 1-4 are the villages where I lived during my fieldwork; 5-11 are the observed bounderies of the *lamak nganten* area.

Chapter 2

Fig. 2.1: *Lamak nganten,* made for Galungan. Peliatan, 6/10/1982.

Fig. 2.2: I Ketut Teja Astawa presents offerings in his family temple at Galungan. Banjar Gulingan, Sanur, 12/5/2010.

Fig. 2.3: Family temple decorated for Galungan. Banjar Gulingan, Sanur, 12/5/2010.

Fig. 2.4: Car of I Wayan Suteja decorated with *lamak* for Galungan, 12/5/2010.

Fig. 2.5: *Lamak* with tree motif, made for Galungan. Ubud Kaja, 12/5/2010.

Fig. 2.6: *Lamak nganten* in Junjungan style, made for Galungan. Ubud Tengah, 12/5/2010.

Fig. 2.7: *Ceniga* of young coconut palm leaves, made for Galungan. Ubud, 14/1/1989.

Fig. 2.8: *Lamak* of sugar palm leaves with mountain motif, made for Galungan. Ngis (Manggis), 1/2/2012.

Fig. 2.9: *Tlujungan* of coconut palm leaves under offerings laid on the ground at Galungan. Banjar Gulingan, Sanur, 12/5/2010.

Fig. 2.10: A *lamak* hangs from a temporary offering shrine, set up for Galungan in front of a house in Tegallalang, 13/5/1987.

Fig. 2.11: A *lamak* hangs down under piles of *canang* offerings which are placed on a very large stone at the foot of a tree. Temple ritual (*usaba*) in Pura Dalem, Budakeling, 23/3/2016.

Fig. 2.12: A *ceniga* decorates a small offering shrine in the rice fields, dedicated to Dewi Sri. Komala, 31/5/2015.

Fig. 2.13: *Lamak* placed underneath *sarad* and *sate tegeh* offerings from Bangli, at the Panca Wali Krama ceremony at Pura Besakih, 8/3/1989.

Fig. 2.14: *Lamak* hanging from a *padmasana* for an *odalan* at Pura Bale Agung, Intaran (Sanur), 9/4/1994.

Fig. 2.15: Three *lamak* hanging from a *sanggar tawang* for an *odalan* at Pura Dalem Sekar Mukti, Singapadu, 10/7/1988.

Fig. 2.16: *Lamak* on a *bale kulkul* for an *odalan* at Pura Dalem Sekar Mukti, Singapadu, 10/7/1988.

Fig. 2.17: *Capah* or *sampian gantungan* on either side of a *lamak* on a shrine decorated for *odalan*, Pura Paibon Pande Besi, Budakeling, 1/6/2015.

Fig. 2.18: Two *penjor* for Galungan. Komala (Bebandem), 2/2/2012.

Fig. 2.19: *Sampian penjor* in the form of a *cili*, for Galungan. Beraban (Kediri, Tabanan), 13/5/2010.

Fig. 2.20: Two *lamak* on *penjor* at Galungan. Banjar Songlandak, Sulahan, 6/7/1988.

Fig. 2.21: Rows of *penjor* along the road through Pujung at Galungan, 21/8/1985.

Fig. 2.22: *Lamak nganten* made by Ni Wayan Klepon (Junjungan) for Galungan. Peliatan, 13/5/1987.

Fig. 2.23: *Lamak nganten* probably made by I Made Sadra (Padangtegal) for Galungan. Peliatan, 21/8/1985.

Fig. 2.24: *Lamak nganten* at Galungan. Sayan, Kedewatan, 6/10/1982.

Fig. 2.25: *Lamak nganten* at Galungan. Singapadu, 11/12/1987.

Fig. 2.26: *Lamak* and two *tamiang* hang from a *sanggar penjor* at Kuningan. Buruan (Tabanan), 16/7/1988.

Fig. 2.27: *Tamiang* made for Kuningan. Banjar Sigaran, Jegu (Penebel), 2/11/2013.

Fig. 2.28: *Tamiang* and *ceniga jan banggul* made for Kuningan. Banjar Pande Mas, Budakeling, 11/2/2012.

Fig. 2.29: *Endongan* made for Kuningan. Banjar Batujimbar, Sanur, 15/4/1994.

Fig. 2.30: At the end of the Galungan period, I Wayan Teja burns the *lamak* and other *jejaitan*. Banjar Gulingan, Sanur, 17/3/2016.

Fig. 2.31: *Lamak* with *cili* motifs at the entrance to the temple during an *odalan* at Pura Desa, Beraban, 13/5/2010.

Fig. 2.32: Different kinds of *lamak* decorate shrines during an *odalan* at Pura Batur, Beraban, 13/5/2010.

Fig. 2.33: Different kinds of *lamak* decorate shrines for a temple ritual (*usaba*) in Pura Dalem, Budakeling, 23/3/2016.

Fig. 2.34: A worshipper places her offering in a shrine decorated with a *lamak* for an *odalan* in Pura Paibon Pande Besi, Budakeling, 1/6/2015.

Fig. 2.35: A worshipper sprinkles holy water on her offerings which are placed on top of a *lamak*. Temple ritual (*usaba*) in Pura Dalem, Budakeling, 23/3/2016.

Fig. 2.36: Two *lamak* decorate the main shrine of Pura Agung for its *odalan*. Intaran (Sanur), 13/2/2012.

Fig. 2.37: A family offering is placed on top of a *lamak* for an *odalan* at Pura Dalem, Sibang, 1/2/1989.

Fig. 2.38: *Lamak* under *canang* offerings in front of the deity figures at the *odalan* of Pura Bias, Budakeling, 19/10/2013.

Fig. 2.39: Two *lamak* hang from a temporary offering shrine, set up for Galungan in front of a house in Banjar Jasan, Sebatu, 13/5/1987.

Chapter 3

Fig. 3.1: *Lamak nganten* made under the supervision of Anak Agung Gede Raka Sandi (Tampaksiring) for Galungan. Puri Kaleran, Peliatan, 9/12/1987.

Fig. 3.2: *Lamak nganten* made by I Made Sadra for Galungan. Banjar Padangtegal Kaja, Ubud, 2/2/1989.

Fig. 3.3: *Lamak nganten* made by I Gusti Putu Nonderan for Galungan. Banjar Padangtegal Kaja, Ubud, 9/12/1987.

Fig. 3.4: *Lamak nganten* made by Ni Wayan Klepon for Galungan. Banjar Pande, Peliatan, 9/12/1987.

Fig. 3.5: *Lamak nganten* made by Ni Wayan Jenjen for Galungan. Banjar Kutri, Singapadu, 9/12/1987.

Fig. 3.6: *Lamak nganten* made by Ni Ketut Pilik for Galungan. Banjar Teges, Peliatan, 6/7/1988.

Figs. 3.7-3.8: *Lamak* made by the wife of Mangku Gede for Galungan. Banjar Abiansemal, Lodtunduh, 10/12/1987 and 6/7/1988.

Figs. 3.9-3.37: The following *lamak* patterns are drawings, made between 1989 and 1994 by I Gusti Putu Taman from Padangtegal, on the basis of my photographs of *lamak* seen at the following locations:

- 3.9 *Kancing-kancing*, Mas, Pura Taman Pule, 19/12/1987.
- 3.10 *Tingkang katak*, made by Ni Ketut Pilik, Lodtunduh, 5/7/1988.
- 3.11 *Cracap*, *padang* or *akar-akaran*, Singapadu, Pura Dalem Sekar Mukti, 10/7/1988.
- 3.12 *Batu-batu, compang banggul, ringring* or *bungbung jangkrik,* Padangtegal, Ubud, 7/7/1988.
- 3.13 *Gigin barong,* Peliatan (Puri Kaleran), 9/12/1987.
- 3.14 *Ganggong or taluh kakul*, made by Bapak Sendi (Junjungan), Peliatan, 9/12/1987.
- 3.15 *Umpal*, Celuk (Gria Selat), 10/11/1989.
- 3.16 *Bulan*, made by Ni Wayan Klepon (Junjungan). Br Pande, Peliatan, 9/12/1987.
- 3.17 *Matanai*, Br Gulingan, Sanur, 17/2/1988.
- 3.18 *Bulan sibak*, made by Men Gombloh. Br Kediri, Singapadu, 2/2/1989.
- 3.19 *Bulan matunjuk*, made by Ni Ketut Pilik (Lodtonduh). Br Tengah, Peliatan, 6/7/1988.
- 3.20 *Ibu*, Singapadu, Pura Dalem Sekar Mukti, 10/7/1988.
- 3.21 *Ibu*, Belusung, Pejeng Kaja, 9/12/1987.
- 3.22 *Gunung*, Peliatan, 21/8/1985.
- 3.23 *Kekayonan*, Br Gentong, Tegallalang, 9/12/1987.
- 3.24 *Kekayonan*, made by Pak Tantri. Br Padangtegal Kaja, Ubud, 2/2/1989.
- 3.25 *Gebogan*, made by Pak Tantri. Br Padangtegal Kaja, Ubud, 2/2/1989.
- 3.26 *Cili*, Br Pujung Kaja, Sebatu, 9/12/1987.
- 3.27 *Cili*, Br Lambing, Mambal, 6/10/1983.
- 3.28 *Cili*, made by Ibu Merta, Br Penusuan, Tegallalang, 9/12/1987.
- 3.29 *Cili*, Br Tegalsuci, Tampaksiring, 9/12/1987.
- 3.30 *Cili.* Br Jasan, Sebatu, 9/12/1987.
- 3.31 *Cili nganten,* made by Ni Wayan Klepon (Junjungan). Br Pande, Peliatan, 9/12 1987.
- 3.32 *Cili nganten*, Br Sanding Serongga, Sanding, 9/12/1987.
- 3.33 *Mangong,* Padangtegal, Ubud, 9/12/1987.
- 3.34 Sangut, Br Pande, Peliatan, 31/8/1989.
- 3.35 *Mas-masan,* made by I Made Sadra. Padangtegal, Ubud, 6/7/1988.
- 3.36 *Bunga*, Negara (Jembrana), Pura Rambut Siwi-Segara, 3/5/1989.
- 3.37 *Meru,* Br Batijimbar, Sanur, 12/3/1994.

Fig. 3.38: *Lamak* with *ongkara.* Linggasana (Bebandem), 23/10/2013.

Fig. 3.39: *Lamak* with *padma* and *swastika.* Banjar Tengenan, Menanga, 5/3/1989.

Fig. 3.40: *Lamak catur*. Pura Bale Agung, Sibetan, 20/2/1989.

Fig. 3.41: *Gunung* motif with animals of the forest on *lamak catur.* Pura Dalem, Sibetan, 15/4/2014.

Fig. 3.42: *Bulan* (front) and *matanai* (partly hidden) motifs on *lamak catur.* Pura Dalem, Sibetan, 15/4/2014.

Fig. 3.43: *Segara* motif and sea creatures on *lamak catur.* Pura Dalem, Sibetan, 15/4/2014.

Figs. 3.44-3.88: The following *lamak* patterns are drawings, made between 1989 and 1994 by I Gusti Putu Taman from Padangtegal, on the basis of my photographs of *lamak* seen at the following locations:

- 3.44 *Beblatungan,* made by Dadong Bontok. Br Tegallalang, Tegallalang,2/2/1989.
- 3.45 *Pipis-pipisan,* made by I Made Sadra. Padangtegal, Ubud, 26/2/1990.
- 3.46 *: Bunga camplung* or *kapu-kapu kambang,* made by Ibu Merta. Tegallalang, 26/2/1990.
- 3.47 *Batu nangka,* made by Dadong Bontok. Br Tengah, Tegallalang, 2/2/1989.
- 3.48 *Batu nangka,* made by Ibu Merta. Tegallalang, 26/2/1990.
- 3.49 *Kembang kopi, mas-masan* or *bunga tuung,* made by I Made Sadra. Br Padangtegal Kaja, Ubud, 6/7/1988.
- 3.50 *Don kayu sugih,* Padangtegal, Ubud, 10/12/1987.
- 3.51 *Kapu-kapu kambang,* made by I Made Sadra. Padangtegal, Ubud, 26/2/1990.
- 3.52 *Kapu-kapu kambang* or *bungbung jangkrik,* made by Dadong Bontok. Br Tengah, Tegallalang, 26/2/1990.
- 3.53 *Kapu-kapu kambang* or *kembang semanggi* made by Ni Wayan Klepon (Junjungan).Br Pande, Peliatan, 9/12/1987.
- 3.54 *Candigara bunder,* Keramas, 9/12/1987.
- 3.55 *Candigara merpat,* made by I Made Sadra. Padangtegal, Ubud, 6/7/1988.
- 3.56 *Kembang api,* made by I Made Sadra. Padangtegal, Ubud, 26/2/1990.
- 3.57 *Batu ketimun,* made by Dadong Bontok. Br Tengah, Tegallalang, 26/2/1990.
- 3.58 *Batu ketimun,* made by I Made Sadra. Padangtegal, Ubud, 26/2/1990.

- 3.59 *Batu poh,* made by I Made Sadra. Padangtegal, Ubud, 26/2/1990.
- 3.60 *Kecita*, made by I Nyoman Sompun. Br Sapat, Tegallalang, 31/8/1989.
- 3.61 *Bunga tuung*, made by Ni Wayan Klepon (Junjungan). Br Pande, Peliatan, 9/12/1987.
- 3.62 *Kesetan don*, Br Tegallinggah, Bedulu, 9/12/1987.
- 3.63 *Don makurung*, Negari, Singapadu, 1/2/1989.
- 3.64 *Enjekan siap*, made by I Made Sadra, Padangtegal, Ubud, 26/2/1990.
- 3.65 *Enjekan cicing*, made by Ni Ketut Pilik, Lodtunduh, 5/7/1988.
- 3.66 *Kampid lawah*, made by Dadong Bontok, Br Tengah, Tegallalang, 26/2/1990.
- 3.67 *Dongkang*, Penatih,11/12/1987.
- 3.68 *Taluh kakul*, made by I Made Sadra, Padangtegal, Ubud, 26/2/1990.
- 3.69 *Songketan*, Br Silungan, Lodtunduh, 31/8/1989.
- 3.70 *Corak*, Br Sapat, Tegallalang, 9/12/1987.
- 3.71 *Poleng*, or *compang banggul*, Bona, 9/12/1987.
- 3.72 *Coblong*, made by Ayu Pugeg Br Sapat, Tegallalang, 26/2/1990.
- 3.73 *Coblong*, made by I Made Sadra, Padangtegal, Ubud, 26/2/1990.
- 3.74 *Timpasan*, made by I Made Sadra, Padangtegal, Ubud, 26/2/1990.
- 3.75 *Compang banggul*, Br Tebesaya, Peliatan, 10/12/1987.
- 3.76 *Compang banggul* or *lelegodan*, Br Triwangsa, Tegallalang, 31/8/1989.
- 3.77 *Jembung pongek, undag-undag* or *ponggang*, made by Ni Wayan Saprag. Br Kediri, Singapadu, 2/2/1989.
- 3.78 *Cakup gula*, made by Ni Wayan Klepon (Junjungan), Br Pande, Peliatan, 9/12/1987.
- 3.79 *Kotak-kotak*, made by Ni Gusti Putu Kompiang, Br Silungan, Lodtunduh,10/12/1987.
- 3.80 *Gunung* and *cili*, Mas, Pura Dalem Puri, 29/12/1987.
- 3.81 *Mangong* under tree, Pura Dalem Sekar Mukti, Singapadu, 10/7/1988.
- 3.82 *Gunung* and tree, Penatih, 11/12/1987.
- 3.83 *Mangong*, made by the wife of Mangku Gede, Br Abiansemal, Lodtunduh,10/12/1987.
- 3.84 *Cili* or *mangong* and tree, Br Selakarang, Singapadu, 14/5/1987.
- 3.85 *Cili* and tree, Kabetan, Bakbakan, 6/7/1988.
- 3.86 *Ringgitan*, composed of heads of *cili* or *mangong*, made by Ni Luh Rusmini, Br Tarukan, Pejeng, 7/7/1988.
- 3.87 *Ringgitan*, composed of heads of *cili* or *mangong*, Bona Kelod, 9/12/1987.
- 3.88 *Ringgitan*, composed of heads of *cili* or *mangong*, made by Ayu Pugeg, Br Sapat, Tegallalang, 26/2/1990.

Figs. 3.89-3.90: Two *lamak* illustrate the vertical ordering of motifs: from top to bottom, representational *raka*, respectively *cili* and tree, then geometrical *ringgitan* patterns and the protective *cracap* at the bottom. Banjar Sigaran, Jegu, 30/81989; Banjar Tebesaya, Peliatan, 8/12/1987.

Chapter 4

Fig. 4.1: I Made Sadra fastens (*masang*) a *kekayonan* motif onto the base layer of his *lamak nganten*. Banjar Padangtegal Kaja, Ubud, 3/5/1983.

Fig. 4.2: I Made Sadra fastens *lamak nganten* sections to one another (*magabung*). Banjar Padangtegal Kaja, Ubud, 4/5/1983.

Fig. 4.3: Ni Wayan Suartini in her workshop in Bebandem, 28/10/2013.

Fig. 4.4: Ni Wayan Suartini cuts *lontar* palm leaves. Bebandem, 28/10/2013.

Fig. 4.5: *Lamak* made from leaves of the coconut palm. Banjar Gulingan, Sanur, 12/5/2010.

Fig. 4.6: *Lamak* made from leaves of the sugar palm. Banjar Pujung Kelod, Sebatu,12/5/2010.

Fig. 4.7: *Lamak* made from leaves of the *lontar* palm. Pura Bale Agung, Bebandem, 11/2/1989.

Fig. 4.8: *Lamak* made from the leaves of the oil palm. Ngis (Manggis), 1/2/2012.

Figs. 4.9-4.10: I Gusti Putu Nonderan cuts into (*ngringgit*) the folded packet of palm leaf in order to make the basic unit of pattern. Banjar Padangtegal Kaja, Ubud, 3/4/1994.

Fig. 4.11: I Made Sadra cuts (*ngringgit*) a *timpasan* pattern. Banjar Padangtegal Kaja, Ubud, 2/5/1983.

Fig. 4.12: I Gusti Putu Nonderan pins (*nyait*) to one another the leaves of the base layer of a *lamak*. Banjar Padangtegal Kaja, Ubud, 3/4/1994.

Fig. 4.13: I Made Sadra fastens to one another (*magabung*) the different sections of a *lamak nganten*. Banjar Padangtegal Kaja, Ubud, 4/5/1983.

Fig. 4.14: Ni Wayan Suartini fastens *lontar* leaves to one another with staples. Bebandem, 28/10/2013.

Figs. 4.15-4.55: The following drawings of the technical aspects of making *lamak* patterns, referred to in the text, are made between 1989 and 1994 by I Gusti Putu Taman from Padangtegal, on the basis of my photographs of *lamak* seen at the following locations:

Figs. 4.15-4.17: Three square basic units with the geometric *lamak* patterns they create. (The white part of the drawing is cut away, and the black is the leaf remaining).

- 4.15: Negari, Singapadu, 11/12/1987.
- 4.16: Negari, Singapadu, 11/12/1987.
- 4.17: Pura Dalem Sekar Mukti, Singapadu, 10/7/1988.

Fig. 4.18a-f: To create a geometric pattern, the leaf packet in which the basic unit (a) is cut is then folded out two times (b-c), and the leaves are joined together horizontally (d) to form the complete pattern (e). Two different visual readings of this pattern are possible (f). Made by Ni Resep, Peliatan, 6/7/1988.

Fig. 4.19: The rectangular basic unit necessary to create a narrow *lamak*. Br Ubud Tengah, Ubud, 9/12/1987.

Fig. 4.20: The basic unit forms the actual element of this pattern. Bona, 9/12/1987.

Fig. 4.21: The basic unit is formed in one half of the leaf only. Made by Dadong Bontok, Br Tengah, Tegallalang, 26/2/1990.

Fig. 4.22: The basic unit consists of separate little elements. Br Silungan, Lodtunduh, 31/8/1989.

Figs. 4.23-4.25: Various ways of constructing *lontar ceniga*. Made by Ibu Komang Soka, Padangkerta, 22/4/1994.

Figs. 4.26-4.28: Horizontal bands dominate *lamak* patterns if the basic unit is rectangular. 4.26: Padangtegal, Ubud made by I Made Sadra, 26/2/1990.

- 4.27: Br Padangtegal Kaja, Ubud, 10/12/1987.
- 4.28: Br Sapat, Tegallalang, 9/12/1987.

Fig. 4.29-4.31: If the basic unit is square, not only vertical and horizontal bands result, but also a diagonal structure is visible.

- 4.29: Made by Dadong Bontok, Br Tebesaya, Peliatan, 10/12/1987.
- 4.30: Made by I Made Sadra Padangtegal, Ubud, 26/2/1990.
- 4.31: Padangtegal, 5/4/1994.

Fig. 4.32: When half of the pattern is reflected across a virtual vertical axis in the centre of the basic unit, horizontal bands dominate the pattern. Br Tegallinggah, Bedulu, 9/12/1987.

Fig. 4.33: When half of the pattern is reflected across the rib, which is the horizontal axis, vertical bands dominate. Made by I Nyoman Sompun, Br Sapat, Tegallalang, 31/8/1989.

Fig. 4.34: When half of the pattern is reflected in both ways, the pattern consists of bands in both directions. Made by Ibu Merta, Tegallalang, 26/2/1990.

Figs. 4.35-4.37: If the pattern is reflected not only across horizontal or vertical lines but also across the diagonals, both diagonals are equally dominant in the pattern.

- 4.35: Made by I Made Sadra, Padangtegal, Ubud, 26/2/1990.
- 4.36: Made by Dadong Bontok, Br Tegallalang, Tegallalang, 2/2/1989.
- 4.37: Made by Ibu Merta, Tegallalang, 26/2/1990.

Figs. 4.38-4.39: When elements of the pattern are reflected only across the diagonals, the result is diagonals which only cross in two of the four corners of the basic unit.

- 4.38: Made by Ni Ketut Pilik, Lodtunduh, 5/7/1988.
- 4.39: Made by Ni Wayan Klepon (Junjungan), Br Pande, Peliatan, 9/12 1987.

Figs. 4.40-4.46: *Lamak* patterns in which bands and crossing diagonals are the most important features.

- 4.40: Made by Dadong Bontok, Br Tengah, Tegallalang, 26/2/1990.
- 4.41: Made by I Made Sadra, Padangtegal, Ubud, 26/2/1990.
- 4.42: Br Jasan, Sebatu, 9/12/1987.
- 4.43: Made by I Made Sadra, Padangtegal, Ubud, 26/2/1990.
- 4.44: Pura Dalem Sekar Mukti, Singapadu, 10/7/1988.
- 4.45: Pura Desa, Kuta, 14/12/1987.
- 4.46: Tampaksiring, 9/12/1989.

Figs. 4.47-4.48: *Lamak* patterns called *compang banggul*, which means 'bamboo ladder'.

- 4.47: Bona, 9/12/1987.
- 4.48: Made by Dadong Bontok, Br Tebesaya, Peliatan, 10/12/1987.

Fig. 4.49: The rung construction of a *lamak* pattern by joining leaves horizontally. Made by Ni Resep, Peliatan, 6/7/1988.

Fig. 4.50: *Bulan sibak*, the two halves of the moon. Made by Men Gombloh, Br Kediri, Singapadu, 2/2/1989.

Fig. 4.51: *Cili nganten*, or *cili kembar.* Made by Ni Wayan Klepon (Junjungan), Br Pande, Peliatan, 9/12/1987.

Fig. 4.52: *Cili* figure. Br Penusuan, Tegallalang, 7/7/1988.

Figs. 4.53-4.55: The patterns along the sides and lower end are formed by the repetition of one little motif.

- 4.53: Made by Anak Agung Gede Raka Sandi, Puri Kaleran, Peliatan, 9/12/1987.
- 4.54: Made by Bapak Sendi (Junjungan), Peliatan, 9/12/1987.
- 4.55: Padangtegal, Ubud, 7/7/1988.

Fig. 4.56: *Kepeng lamak* with wooden mask on top, next to a palm leaf *lamak* with tree motif. Tegallalang, 21/8/1985.

Fig. 4.57: *Kepeng lamak* and *gantung-gantungan*. Jegu (Penebel), 2/11/2013.

Fig. 4.58: *Kepeng lamak* in the showroom of "*Industri uang kepeng Kamasan Bali*", Tojan (Klungkung), 30/5/2015.

Fig. 4.59: Woven *lamak*, in Pura Segara Agung, Sanur, 25/5/1994.

Fig. 4.60: Woven *lamak*, in Pura Penataran Pauman, Tonja (Denpasar), 25/5/1994.

Fig. 4.61: *Songket lamak* with two *cili* figures. Delod Berawah (Jembrana), 7/4/1994.

Fig. 4.62: Embroidered *lamak* depicting the god Siwa. Yeh Kuning (Jembrana), 7/4/1994.

Fig. 4.63: Embroidered *lamak* with *padma* (lotus) motif. Delod Berawah (Jembrana), 7/4/1994.

Fig. 4.64: Embroidered *lamak*. Batungsel (Pupuan), 3/8/1977 (photo D.J. Stuart-Fox).

Fig. 4.65: Embroidered *lamak*. Sudimara (Tabanan),13/5/2010.

Figs. 4.66-4.67: Two *lamak* with decorations of applied sequins. Pujung Kelod, Sebatu, 21/8/1985.

Figs. 4.68-4.69: Two *lamak* with applied *cili* motifs and sequins. Sudimara (Tabanan), 13/5/2010.

Figs. 4.70-4.71: Set of black, white and red cloth *lamak* on *sanggah kemulan* and *poleng lamak* on *taksu* shrine, all with added decoration of sequins. Family temple of Ni Made Darmi, Budakeling, 12/5/2006.

Fig. 4.72: Three-coloured *poleng lamak* on shrine for the deity who protects the house. Komala (Bebandem), 1/4/2016.

Fig. 4.73: Leather *lamak*, worn by a *condong* dancer in Gambuh theatre. Puri Saren, Ubud, 27/1/1979.

Fig. 4.74: *Prada lamak*, Bebandem market, 26/10/2013.

Fig. 4.75: Double-ikat *gringsing lamak*, worn by a *condong* dancer in Gambuh theatre. Pura Dalem, Budakeling, 23/3/2016.

Fig. 4.76: Plastic *lamak*. Kediri (Tabanan), 5/1/1977 (photo D.J. Stuart-Fox).

Fig. 4.77: Paper *lamak*. Tengkudak (Penebel), 7/4/1994.

Fig. 4.78: Three painted *lamak*, in the family temple of I Gusti Putu Nonderan, Padangtegal, Ubud, 5/4/1994.

Fig. 4.79: *Lamak sablon*. Denpasar market, 20/7/2005.

Fig. 4.80: *Lamak sablon*. Workshop of Ni Made Darmi, Budakeling, 15/7/2010.

Fig. 4.81: Palm leaf and *kepeng lamak* on the shrine for Ida Ratu Ngurah, which is 'dressed' with a *poleng* cloth. Pura Bias, Budakeling, 19/10/2013.

Fig. 4.82: *Lamak sablon* and palm leaf *ceniga*. Batuan, 12/5/2010.

Fig. 4.83: Three layers of *lamak* in workshop of Ni Wayan Suartini, Bebandem, 28/5/2015.

Fig. 4.84: *Kepeng lamak* and *lontar ceniga*. Komala (Bebandem), 31/5/2015.

Fig. 4.85: *Prada*, *kepeng* and *lontar lamak* and banana leaf. Pura Dalem, Sibetan,15/4/2014.

Fig. 4.86: A *kepeng lamak* on top of a palm leaf *lamak* decorate a shrine; below the shrine a *ceniga* is visible. Regency of Tabanan, 1922. Collection National Museum of World Cultures, TM-60042729 (photographer unknown, collection Anna Koorders-Schumacher).

Chapter 5

Figs. 5.1-5.3: Together with her family, Ni Ketut Pilik works on a *lamak nganten*. Lodtunduh, 5/7/1988.

Fig. 5.4: Ni Ketut Pilik looks at photographs taken of herself 25 years earlier. Lodtunduh, 16/10/2013.

Fig. 5.5: Sagung Putu Alit buys *lamak* at the market. Kerambitan, 4/10/1982.

Figs. 5.6-5.7: Women work together making *lamak* for an *odalan* in Pura Puseh, Kerambitan, 4/10/1982.

Fig. 5.8: I Made Sadra works on a *lamak nganten*. Banjar Padangtegal Kaja, Ubud, 11/5/1987.

Fig. 5.9: I Gusti Putu Nonderan works on a *lamak nganten*. Banjar Padangtegal Kaja, Ubud, 3/4/1994.

Fig. 5.10: Ni Wayan Klepon works on a *lamak nganten*. Banjar Junjungan, Ubud, 4/7/1988.

Fig. 5.11: Ni Made Paji makes *jejaitan*. Banjar Junjungan, Ubud, 4/7/1988.

Fig. 5.12: Ni Wayan Suartini in her *jejaitan* workshop. Bebandem, 17/7/2010.

Fig. 5.13: *Lamak* for sale in workshop 'Mahkota Pelangi', Bebandem, 29/3/2016.

Fig. 5.14: Ni Wayan Suartini shows the *lamak* she uses as example. Bebandem, 29/3/2016.

Fig. 5.15: *Toko yadnya* at Denpasar market, 20/7/2005.

Fig. 5.16: *Toko yadnya* at Bebandem market, 17/7/2010.

Figs. 5.17-5.18: Making *kepeng lamak* in the workshop of "*Industri uang kepeng Kamasan Bali*". In the notebook is written how many coins are used per object. Tojan (Klungkung), 30/5/2015.

Fig. 5.19: *Lamak* in Ubud area, 1930s, photograph taken by Walter Spies. Courtesy of Horniman Museum and Gardens, archive nr. 397-2276.

Fig. 5.20: *Lamak nganten*, Banjar Padangtegal Kaja, Ubud, 13/5/1987.

Figs. 5.21-5.23: Drawings of the motifs *enjekan siap, kapu-kapu,* and *timpasan*, those on the left by Walter Spies around 1930 (courtesy Weltmuseum, Vienna, nos. WMW 130888; 130874; 130885), those on the right by I Gusti Putu Taman in 1989.

- 5.21b: Penatih, 11/12/1987.
- 5.22b: Br Pande, Peliatan, 9/12 1987.
- 5.23b: Br Padangtegal Kaja, Ubud, 10/12/1987.

Figs. 5.24-5.26: The following *lamak* patterns are drawings, made between 1989 and 1994 by I Gusti Putu Taman from Padangtegal, on the basis of my photographs of *lamak* seen at the following locations:

Figs. 5.24-5.26: *Cili* figures on *lamak* in the regions of respectively Tabanan, Gianyar and Denpasar.

- 5.24: Banjar Sigaran, Jegu, 30/8/1989.
- 5.25: Br Kalah, Peliatan, 6/7/1988.
- 5.26: Sanur, 17/2/1988.

Fig. 5.27: *Lamak* and *gantung-gantungan* made of coloured *lontar* leaves for Galungan. Canggu, Badung, 13/5/2010.

Fig. 5.28: *Ceniga* and *capah* made of coloured *lontar* leaves for Galungan. Macang, Karangasem, 2/2/2012.

Fig. 5.29: *Lamak* and *tamiang* made of coloured *ibung* leaves for Kuningan. Jegu, Tabanan, 2/11/2013.

Fig. 5.30: Cloth and *kepeng* lamak with a palm leaf *ceniga* on top, for Galungan. Tihingtali, Karangasem, 1/2/2012.

Figs. 5-31-5.41: The following *lamak* patterns are drawings, made between 1989 and 1994 by I Gusti Putu Taman from Padangtegal, on the basis of my photographs of *lamak* seen at the following locations:

Figs. 5.31-5.35: *Cili* figures on *lamak* in different villages in Gianyar, respectively Bakbakan, Tegalsuci, Tegallalang, Silungan and Tegallalang (Banjar Tengah).

- 5.31: Br. Kabetan, Bakbakan, 6/7/1988.
- 5.32: Br Tegalsuci, Tampaksiring, 9/12/1987.
- 5.33: Panca Wali Krama (*lamak* from Tegallalang) Besakih, 7/3/1989.
- 5.34: Br Silungan, Lodtunduh, 10/12/1987.
- 5.35: Ubud Kelod, made in Tegallalang, 11/12/1987.

Figs. 5.36-5.38: The motif of the moon (*bulan*) in Tegallalang (fig. 5.36), Junjungan (fig. 5.37) and Jasan (fig. 5.38).

- 5.36: Br Triwangsa, Tegallalang, 31/8/1989.
- 5.37: Br Pande, Peliatan, 9/12 1987.
- 5.38: Br Jasan, Sebatu, 9/12/1987.

Figs. 5.39-5.41: The tree (*kekayonan*) motif in Peliatan (fig. 5.39), Pujung Kaja (fig. 5.40) and Jasan (fig. 5.41).

- 5.39: Br Tebesaya, Peliatan, 13/5/1987.
- 5.40: Pujung Kaja, 7/7/1988.
- 5.41: Br Jasan, Sebatu, 9/12/1987.

Fig. 5.42: *Lamak* for Galungan, Pujung (Sebatu), 12/5/2010.

Fig. 5.43: *Lamak* for Galungan, Ngis (Manggis), 1/2/2012.

Figs. 5.44-5.45: *Lamak* for Galungan, Jegu (Tabanan), respectively 30/8/1989 and 2/11/2013.

Figs. 5.46-5.48: *Cili* on *lamak* for Galungan, all from villages on the road to Penebel (Tabanan), 2/11/2013.

Figs. 5.49-5.50: Two *lamak nganten* made in Lodtunduh for Galungan, respectively in 2010 and in 1988. The latter was made by Ni Ketut Pilik.

Figs. 5.51-5.52: Two *lamak* with tree motif for an *odalan* in Pura Kahyangan, Intaran (Sanur), 18/6/1988.

Figs. 5.53-5.54: Two *lamak* with tree motif for an *odalan* in Pura Agung, Intaran (Sanur), 13/2/2012.

Figs. 5.55-5.56: *Lamak* for Galungan, Banjar Sapat, Tegallalang, 7/7/1988 and 31/8/1989.

Figs. 5.57-5.59: *Lamak* for Galungan, Banjar Pujung Kelod, Sebatu,13/5/1987, 9/12/1987 and 7/7/1988.

Figs. 5.60-5.62: Three *lamak nganten* made by I Made Sadra (Padangtegal). Ubud, 21/8/1985; Puri Kelodan, Ubud, 6/7/1988; and Banjar Padangtegal Kaja, Ubud, 13/5/1987.

Figs. 5.63-5.64: Two *lamak nganten* made by Ni Ketut Resep, Peliatan, 9/12/1987 and 6/7/1988.

Figs. 5.65-5.70: *Cili* figures, in the style of: I Made Sadra, I Gusti Putu Nonderan, Ni Ketut Pilik, Ibu Merta, Ni Wayan Klepon, and Ni Made Paji respectively.

Figs. 5.71-5.73: *Lamak* on *bale kulkul*, Pura Puseh/Desa, Sibang Gede, 26/4/1994.

Fig. 5.74: *Lamak* for Galungan, Bebandem, 1/2/2012.

Fig. 5.75: *Lamak* for Galungan, made by Ni Luh Kompiang Metri, Ngis (Manggis), 24/10/1990.

Fig. 5.76: *Penjor* for Galungan, Payangan, 3/11/2013.

Fig. 5.77: A unique triple *lamak* for Galungan in Ubud, photographed in 1939 by Philip Hanson Hiss (Image PPC.H57, Box 8, American Museum of Natural History Library).

Chapter 6

Fig. 6.1: *Lamak* with spectacular *cili* figure at Galungan. Pemuguban (Tabanan), 30/8/1989.

Figs. 6.2-6.5: The life cycle of a *lamak*, from its creation (6.2), to its active life during a ritual (6.3), and its decay (6.4); and then the cycle begins again with the creation of a new *lamak* from fresh palm leaves (6.5).

Fig. 6.6: Never the same: variation in *cili* figures.

Appendix 1

Object photographs by Ben Grishaaver and Irene de Groot.

Fig. 1: RV-1586-99 (151 x 37.5 cm).

Figs. 2-3: TM-1468-111a (162 x 33.5 cm) and 111b (156 x 34 cm).

Figs. 4-6: TM-1103-20 – TM-1103-22 (42.5 x 24 cm).

Fig. 7: TM-H-956 (63 x 24 cm).

Figs. 8-9: TM-1330-215 (146 x 42 cm) and RV-2407-197 (134 x 36 cm).

Fig. 10: TM-5572-17 (115.5 x 25 cm).

Fig. 11: RV-4491-89 (143 x 60.5 cm).

Fig. 12: RV-2860-1 (222 x 72 cm).

Fig. 13: TM-1841-4 (153 x 51 cm).

Fig. 14: TM-5977-40 (140 x 43.5 cm).

Fig. 15: RV-6162-1 (130 x 36 cm).

Fig. 16: TM-4607-3g (75 x 21 cm).

Figs. 17-18: TM-116-2d and 7d (84 x 72 cm).

Fig. 19: TM-1403-7d (60 x 23 cm).

Fig. 20: TM-1991-1e (64 x 27 cm).

Fig. 21: RV-4255-6 (61 x 12 cm).

Fig. 22: RV-5258-106 (102 x 17 cm).

Fig. 23: RV-5258-52 (85 x 13.5 cm).

Fig. 24: RV- 5258-96 (143 x 29 cm).

Fig. 25: RV- 5258-97 (140 x 24 cm).

Fig. 26: RV-5258-51 (35 x 15 cm).

Fig. 27: RV-5258-100 (102 x 23 cm).

Fig. 28: RV-5258-50 (89.5 x 21.5 cm).

Fig. 29: RV-6223-1 (260 x 37 cm).

Figs. 30-31: NMW 7047-1 (68 x 21 cm) and NMW 7047-2 (69 x 21 cm).

Fig. 32: NMW 7048-1 (55 x 17 cm).

Fig. 33: NMW 7048-2 (59 x 15.5 cm).

Fig. 34: NMW 7048-3 (71 x 16 cm).

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Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift beoogt een bijdrage te leveren aan de antropologische studie van materiële cultuur door de analyse van *lamak*, rituele objecten, in de culturele context van Bali. In de vele studies over allerlei aspecten van de materiële cultuur en de religie van Bali is er tot nu toe nauwelijks aandacht besteed aan rituele objecten die zijn gemaakt van vergankelijk materiaal, zoals palmblad en rijstdeeg, en die derhalve *ephemeral* zijn, een kort leven hebben.

Lamak, langwerpige verticale 'lopers' die worden opgehangen aan altaren tijdens tempelrituelen, zijn een voorbeeld van dergelijke in principe vergankelijke objecten, gemaakt van palmblad, maar zij komen ook voor in meer permanente vorm, gemaakt van onder andere textiel en munten.

De hoofdvraag van deze studie naar alle verschillende aspecten van de *lamak* is: waarom maken de Balinezen *lamak*, en waarom doen zij dat steeds weer opnieuw? De data voor deze dissertatie zijn voornamelijk verzameld tijdens antropologisch veldwerk op Bali in de jaren 1980 en 1990, en daarna is aanvullende informatie verkregen tijdens kortere bezoeken aan het eiland tussen 2001 en 2016. Verder is gebruikgemaakt van literatuur en van museumcollecties van *lamak* die deels door de onderzoekster zijn verzameld.

Na een inleidend hoofdstuk over de reikwijdte en de methodologie van deze studie wordt in drie hoofdstukken achtereenvolgens de betekenis behandeld van het gebruik en de functie van *lamak*, de versieringsmotieven en de materialen en technieken. Het vijfde hoofdstuk gaat in op de makers van *lamak*, op individuele en regionale stijlverschillen en op processen van verandering, zoals commercialisering. In het concluderende hoofdstuk worden de verschillende aspecten van de *lamak* met elkaar in verband gebracht en wordt de *lamak* vergeleken met andere vormen van *ephemeral*, vergankelijke, materiële cultuur. In een appendix is een catalogus opgenomen van de collectie *lamak* in Museum Volkenkunde en het Tropenmuseum.

Het bovenste gedeelte van een *lamak* dient tijdens rituelen als basis voor offers en het gedeelte dat naar beneden afhangt is bedoeld als decoratie van het altaar waarop de offers zijn geplaatst. Hiermee vestigt een *lamak* de aandacht van de goden en vergoddelijkte voorouders op de voor hen bestemde offers. Door middel van het aanbieden van offers drukken Balinezen hun dankbaarheid uit voor de 'zegeningen' van de onzichtbare bewoners van de bovenwereld en hopen zij ook in de toekomst bescherming, welvaart en vruchtbaarheid te ontvangen. Zij voeren tempelrituelen uit in de hoop op de voortgang van het leven en de continuïteit van de samenleving. Doordat een *lamak* de zichtbaarheid en daardoor de effectiviteit van offers vergroot, draagt een *lamak* bij aan het positieve effect van het ritueel en is dit rituele object derhalve een mediator tussen hemel en aarde.

Zowel de structuur, als de versieringsmotieven, materialen en kleuren van een *lamak* dragen bij aan het rituele doel van de *lamak*. De langwerpige vorm is verticaal, want een *lamak* hangt altijd vanaf de offers naar beneden. De versieringsmotieven zijn geordend van boven naar onder en zijn gerelateerd

aan de verticale ordening van de kosmos en de bronnen van leven. Zij visualiseren hiermee de 'zegeningen' van vruchtbaarheid en regeneratie die vanaf de bovenwereld naar de wereld van de mensen stromen. In de vorm van de *cili*, het motief van de menselijke figuur, wordt het leven van de mens in relatie tot voorgaande en toekomstige generaties verbeeld. De combinatie van palmbladeren die licht en donker van kleur zijn, is een manifestatie van de fundamentele tweedeling die volgens de Balinezen de basis van het leven vormt. De materialen zelf, verschillende soorten palmbladeren, moeten afkomstig zijn uit de levende natuur ("*dari alam*") en zijn hierdoor, net als de offers waarvan een *lamak* de basis vormt, een visualisering van de regeneratie van het leven, het beoogde effect van het ritueel. Bovendien is het proces van het steeds opnieuw creëren van een *lamak* hieraan gerelateerd. Daarom moeten 'permanente' *lamak* die van langer houdbaar materiaal zoals textiel en munten zijn gemaakt, voor de duur van het ritueel altijd worden aangevuld met een *lamak* van natuurlijk materiaal.

In de afgelopen 35 jaar hebben op Bali grote veranderingen plaatsgevonden, onder invloed van onder andere massatoerisme en verstedelijking. Hierdoor zijn zowel tijd om aan het creëren van rituele objecten te besteden als de benodigde palmbladeren schaarser geworden. Maar ondanks de gevolgen hiervan voor de *lamak*, zoals commercialisering van de productie en het gebruik van *lontar* palmblad dat langer houdbaar is, is de essentie van de *lamak* onveranderd gebleven.

Lamak zijn onmisbaar in rituelen, zij maken rituelen compleet. Zolang de Balinezen offeren aan hun goden zullen zij steeds opnieuw *lamak* (laten) maken.

Curriculum vitae

Francine Brinkgreve was born in 1956 in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. After obtaining her Gymnasium diploma in 1974, she studied Cultural Anthropology at Leiden University. During her studies she specialized in the cultures of Indonesia, under supervision of Prof. dr. A.A. Gerbrands and Prof. dr. P.E. de Josselin de Jong. She also studied museology with Prof. dr. P. Pott, Bahasa Indonesia under Prof. dr. A. Teeuw, and Balinese culture with Dr. H.I.R. Hinzler. As part of her studies, she conducted fieldwork in Bali. She received her Master's (*doctorandus*) degree in 1984, with a thesis about the meaning of offerings in Balinese culture. From 1988 until 1990 Francine Brinkgreve received a scholarship from WOTRO and the Program of Indonesian Studies to conduct PhD research, including fieldwork, on the subject of offerings and ritual decorations in Bali. This resulted in the publication of a book for a general public, and several academic articles.

After various positions at Leiden University (Faculty of Social Sciences), the Bureau Indonesian Studies (BIS), the project Mondelinge Geschiedenis (Oral History) Indonesia of the KITLV and the Stichting Pelita, in 2004 she was employed by the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (National Museum of Ethnology) in Leiden as a member of the team carrying out the Shared Cultural Heritage Project, in cooperation with the Museum Nasional in Jakarta. In 2009 she became coordinator of this cooperative project and was then appointed curator for the Insular Southeast Asia collection at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde. Since the formation in 2014 of the National Museum of World Cultures, which includes Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden and the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam, she is one of the two curators for the Insular Southeast Asia collection. Francine Brinkgreve has been involved in many exhibitions and has written many articles and has (co-)edited books on various aspects of the material culture of Indonesia and the collecting histories of museum collections.

The completion of this PhD thesis was carried out as part of her function as curator, within the framework of the Graduate School of the Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences, Leiden University.

Lamak

Ritual objects in Bali

A *lamak* is a long narrow ritual hanging that is an essential requirement at almost all rituals in Bali. It is hung from altars and shrines at temple festivals and on festive holy days. Made usually of palm leaves, it is by nature ephemeral and it is made time and again. Even though permanent forms of the *lamak*, made of cloth or coins, do exist, the ephemeral palm leaf form must be present. Sometimes reaching a length of several metres and decorated with a range of motifs, its most elaborate forms are made by specialist craftsmen and women.

The *lamak* serves as base for offerings and attracts deities and deified ancestors to them. Decorative motifs representing sources of life are ordered according to Balinese concepts of the vertical structure of the cosmos. Best known among the motifs is the *cili*, a human figure in female form that symbolizes human fertility and regeneration. Through offerings and the active role of the *lamak*, worshippers offer thanks to their deities and request prosperity and protection. Despite decades of change and modernization that have affected all aspects of life in Bali, the essential role of the *lamak* has survived intact.

Although there are many studies of Bali's internationally appreciated arts and crafts, this is the first one to examine in detail this fascinating and unique form of ephemeral material culture which is a prominent feature of Balinese creativity. The study answers the question: why do Balinese make *lamak* and why do they continue to make them time and again? It examines the use and function of the *lamak* in ritual, the motifs that decorate them, the materials and techniques to make them, regional and individual styles, and processes of change and commercialization.

Francine Brinkgreve is curator for the Insular Southeast Asia collection at the National Museum of World Cultures, which includes Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden and the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam. During her study Cultural Anthropology at Leiden University, she specialized in the cultures of Indonesia.

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