



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Lamak : ritual objects in Bali

Brinkgreve, L.F.

Citation

Brinkgreve, L. F. (2016, September 21). *Lamak : ritual objects in Bali*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/45614>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/45614>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/45614> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation

Author: Brinkgreve, Francine

Title: Lamak : ritual objects in Bali

Issue Date: 2016-09-21

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 boundaries 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: *Thujungan* 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, Sabtu, 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 *Beblatangan*, 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 kambing*, 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 kambing*, made by I Made Sadra. Padangtegal, Ubud, 26/2/1990.
- 3.52 *Kapu-kapu kambing* or *bungbung jangkrik*, made by Dadong Bontok. Br Tengah, Tegallalang, 26/2/1990.
- 3.53 *Kapu-kapu kambing* 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 Tegallingah, 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 Abiansamal, 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, 30/8/1989; 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 Tegallang, 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 *sangah 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*. Tengkidak (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 *enjejan 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. Cangggu, 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).