ter temples derive from their control of productive cycles. Despite these different origins, both types of power are represented on a single hierarchical scale: the nine-storied *meru* of a rajah is identical to the nine-storied *meru* of a major Masceti temple. The tension between these two sources of power reaches a climax at the apex of the water temple system, in the eleven-storied Temple of the Crater Lake, the subject of chapter 4.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Temple of the Crater Lake

FROM anywhere in central Bali, farmers need only glance up to the clouds around Mount Batur to be reminded of the ultimate origin of the water flowing into their fields. In the crater of the volcano, at an elevation high above the height at which rice may be grown, is an immense freshwater lake, stretching over 1,718 hectares.[1] This reservoir is regarded as the ultimate source of water for the rivers and springs that provide irrigation water for the whole of central Bali. Temple priests describe the mountain lake as a sacred mandala of waters, fed by springs lying at each of the wind directions, high above the irrigated lands. The steam from the caldera of Mount Batur represents the zenith of the mandala; the nadir is found in the depths of the lake. Each of the springs around the lake is regarded as the origin of waters for a particular hydrological region of central Bali. Thus, farmers from the district of Tejakula, in northern Bali, seek their most precious holy water from the northern spring of the lake, called Reijang Anyar; whereas the Unda river in the south is thought to originate from the spring called Bantah Anyut.

The entire mandala of the lake forms the center of a much larger mandala, consisting of the island of Bali and the seas that surround it. Priests describe the lake as a freshwater ocean, filled with life-giving water, which contrasts with the salt ocean that encircles it far below. The lake is the home of one of the two supreme deities of Bali, the "Goddess of the Lake," Dewi Danu. Her relationship to the farmers of central Bali is succinctly defined in a manuscript kept in her temple, "Because the Goddess makes the waters flow, those who do not follow her laws may not possess her rice terraces."[2]

According to legend, the goddess and her male counterpart, the God of Mount Agung, emerged from an erupting volcano in the Icaka year 310.[3] Together with other, lesser gods, they took possession of the land and waters of Bali. The goddess rules the lake and Mount Batur, the second-highest peak in Bali, whereas the god rules Mount Agung. As the male and female deities of the two highest mountains, they form a complementary pair, the supreme gods of the island. The male god of Mount Agung is worshipped at the temple of Besakih, high on Mount Agung, and is symbolically associated with the king of Klungkung, who claims suprem-

acy over all other Balinese kings. But the Goddess of the Lake has no special relationship to any king or kingdom. Her principal congregation consists of several hundred *subak*s, which make annual pilgrimages to her mountaintop temple called Pura Ulun Danu Batur, the Temple of the Crater Lake.

From a religious standpoint, the Temple of the Crater Lake stands at the summit of the water temple system, and through its association with the Goddess of the Lake claims authority over the water in all of the irrigation systems of central Bali. But does this symbolic ownership of irrigation water translate into real control?

According to Balinese religious belief, the Goddess of the Lake and the God of Mount Agung share dominion over the island, a concept that is taken literally by the inhabitants of the mountains, who point to the side of the lake where the power of the goddess stops and the dominion of the god begins. In precolonial Bali, such beliefs were not a purely religious matter, but had important political implications, for the powers of kings were directly linked to those of temples and gods. In nineteenth-century Bali, before the Dutch conquest, the nominal king of Bali was the ruler of Klungkung. The claims of this king to supremacy over the other kings and princes of Bali were represented by his association with the God of Mount Agung, symbolized by the eleven-roofed *meru* tower in the royal palace. Indeed, in some contexts the king of Klungkung was actually identified with the god. His title, for example, was "Dewa Agung," meaning either "Great God" or "God of Agung." One of the principal functions of the Dewa Agung was the performance of rituals and sacrifices at the temple of Besakih, dedicated to the God of Mount Agung and his retinue.

As the home of the mountain goddess, the Temple of the Crater Lake ranks as the second most important temple on the island after the temple of Besakih. But unlike Besakih, the Temple of the Crater Lake is also the supreme water temple, with an enormous congregation of farmers. As a water temple, it is unique in several important respects, foremost among them its eleven-tiered *meru* for the goddess.[4] Unlike even the largest regional Masceti temples, which are left empty except during festivals, the Temple of the Crater Lake is kept perpetually open by a permanent staff of priests. A virgin priestess selects twenty-four priests of the temple, who are chosen in childhood as lifelong servants of the goddess. The priesthood is hierarchical, and at the summit of the hierarchy is a single high priest who is believed to be the earthly representative of the Goddess of the Lake. His association with one of the two supreme gods of the island gives him a status quite unlike that of any other temple priest and raises the question of his relationship to the other human being magically linked to a mountain god, the Dewa Agung or king of Bali.

THE GODDESS AND HER PRIESTS

The high priest of the Temple of the Crater Lake is called the Jero Gde. He is also called Sanglingan, "Lightning-struck," because he is selected in childhood by a virgin priestess[5] of the temple, after the death of his predecessor. The priestess goes into a trance to allow the Goddess of the Lake to possess her voice to name the boy who will become the new Jero Gde. From the moment of his selection until the day of his death, the Jero Gde is regarded as the earthly representative of the Goddess of the Lake. By day he offers sacrifices to her on behalf of the hundreds of *subak*s that make up the temple's principal congregation. By night, he may receive guidance from her in dreams. He is always dressed in white, the color of purity, and wears his hair long. Although he is of commoner caste, his permanent identification with the Goddess of the Lake sets him apart from all other Balinese priests.

It is true that during certain rituals some priests are believed to become possessed by a deity. For example, at the climax of the ritual for creating holy water, Brahmana high priests[6] are thought to incarnate the god Siwa. Similarly, trance mediums (*balian*) are regularly possessed by unseen spirits. But in every case, when the ritual or trance is finished, the link between priests and deities is broken. In contrast, the magical identification of the Jero Gde with the Goddess of the Lake continues for his lifetime. In the case of the current Jero Gde, it is said that signs of his special relationship with the goddess were detected even before he was chosen. As he explained to me: "Before I was chosen, I had a feeling—a strangeness in myself. I mean, often when I went home, I was given a name alluding to the presence of a god."

Once, I asked him what it was like for an eleven-year-old boy to suddenly take on the responsibilities of a Jero Gde. His answer stressed the guiding role of the goddess: "The Deity chose me through the trance of the Virgin Priestess. Then I immediately went through the ceremonies of 'installation'—I was purified to become the Jero Gde. At that time I was still eleven years old. . . . But because I was selected by an imperial deity (Ida Sasuunan), there were no problems. I simply went along, just as I do now. I had become the Jero Gde, even if I was still a child."[7]

Although ordinary priests are not identified in this way with deities, kings are. In particular, the king of Klungkung, acknowledged even by rival princes as the highest-ranking Balinese king, was symbolically identified with the male god of Mount Agung and Besakih temple in the rituals of the royal cult. But whereas the powers of the Dewa Agung derive from his descent, those of the Jero Gde originate in the logic of the water temple system. Unlike the king of Klungkung, who claims symbolic do-

minion over the whole of Bali, the authority of the Jero Gde is strictly limited. As the earthly representative of the Goddess of the Lake, his powers extend to the Temple of the Crater Lake and the waters believed to originate from the lake. Essentially, he is a temple priest, but his relationship to the Goddess of the Lake gives him a special authority over irrigation water. As he himself remarked: "It is only the Goddess of the Lake who can properly give water. She already embodies, incarnates water, which she gives to her *subak*s, from the lake."[8]

Does the symbolic identification of the Jero Gde with his goddess endow him with control over water rights? One afternoon I put this question to a *subak* head who is also the elected leader of the fifteen *subak*s of the Masceti temple Pamos Apuh. This was his response.

SUBAK HEAD: It's like this. Everything that concerns the *subak*s is interconnected. The word is, *anugraha* ["grant" or "gift"]. So that—as with the fifteen *subak*s located at our Masceti temple—the flow from the spring has been calculated. It produces enough for so many hectares. Now if, for example, there was a request for more water, obviously the Jero Gde must lower his hand, give a decision. So it won't happen that those who have received the 'grant'—from the Masceti temple and the Batur temple—don't get enough water. Because they have the right from earlier times. Because these things are usually written in the records at the Temple of the Crater Lake.

This answer appeared to affirm the authority of the Jero Gde over the allocation of water rights. But I wondered whether the priest merely gave his blessing to whatever decision had been taken by the farmers. Had he ever refused a request for irrigation water?

SUBAK HEAD: Earlier, there was a request to open new terraces here—a request that went straight to the Temple of the Crater Lake. But, well, maybe because the Jero Gde was concerned about the people of my village, anyway he didn't give permission. If he had, there would have been a lot of twists and turns! So it was dropped—up 'till now, it hasn't happened. The water can't be taken.

We, too, once had a desire to open new lands, convert some dry fields to rice terraces. We asked permission from the Temple of the Crater Lake, so that our water would be sufficient for the new terraces. But the Jero Gde declined.

LANSING: Where?

SUBAK HEAD: Just upstream from the Bayad weir, we wanted to use that water. There is a spring there, we wanted to use it. We weren't going to build a new weir on the river, just use that spring. But if we did, the Bayad weir would have been affected [i.e., there would be a reduction in the flow reaching the Bayad weir]. So we had to abandon the idea.[9] [See chaps. 2 and 3 for maps of the Bayad irrigation system.]

LANSING: Where does the authority of the Jero Gde come from?

SUBAK HEAD: Belief . . . overflowing belief. Concerning Batur temple—really that is the center, the origin of waters, you see. At this moment, the Jero Gde holds all this in his hands. At the Temple of Lake Batur.

This answer was in accord with the image of the role of the Jero Gde and the mandala of waters described by the temple priests. Evidently, the *subak*s belonging to this Masceti acknowledged the right of the Jero Gde to decide upon water allocations in the name of the goddess. But to truly resolve the question of the extent of the temple's authority, I sought out disputes over water rights that were still in progress. One of the most interesting cases involved the destruction of a weir.

*A Quarrel between Subak*s

The village of Pengalu lies at high elevation and began growing rice on irrigated terraces only ten years ago. Formerly, they relied on rainfall to grow dry rice and vegetable crops. In 1986, the village sent a messenger to urgently request a visit from the Jero Gde. In response, the Jero Gde sent a temple messenger to inquire into the case. I spoke to the messenger, who described the problem as follows:

TEMPLE MESSENGER: It had to do with water. The source was a little to the north of the village of Pengalu, to the northwest. The water was taken by Pengalu and brought down. Earlier, there was enough. But now in the dry season, there wasn't enough for Penginyahan [the village immediately downstream from Pengalu]. So this became a problem. The water for Pengalu—the new *subak*—was taken back by Penginyahan.

On the appointed date, I drove with the Jero Gde to the village. By observing what he said and did, I hoped to be able to gauge the extent of his real powers over irrigation. We were accompanied by two temple messengers, who are responsible for this region of central Bali, and two of the regular priests of the Temple of the Crater Lake.

When we arrived at the village of Pengalu, the entire *subak* was seated in their village meeting hall, awaiting our arrival. We were led to seats on

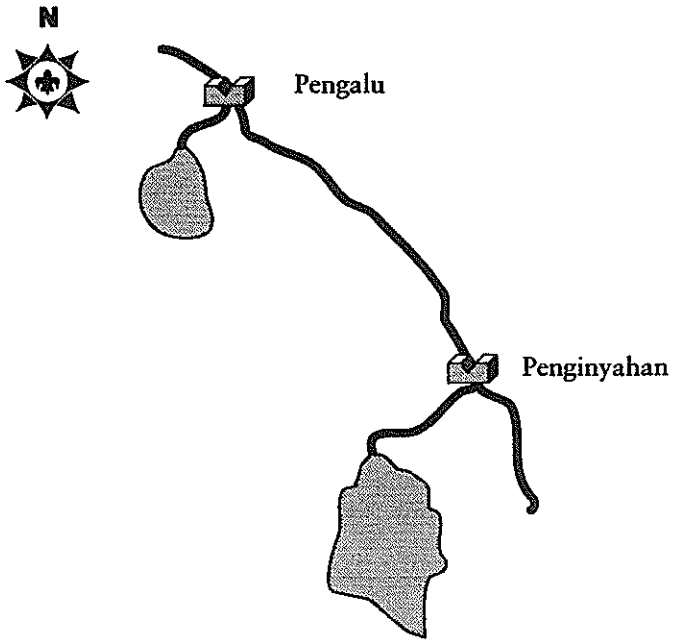

Figure 4.1. Map of the Quarreling *Subaks*

an elevated platform, where four village leaders joined us facing the *subak*. I requested permission to tape the meeting, and the Jero Gde nodded his acknowledgment. Rather nervously, the village leaders agreed. After brief welcoming remarks, the head of the *subak* explained the problem.[10]

SUBAK HEAD: So we built a weir on the Telaga Genteg stream. The weir was built by the whole community. The idea was to raise the waters to irrigate terraces for the hamlets of Kerta and Mawang. . . . A little while ago, if I'm not mistaken on the 21st and 22d of January, our *subak* was demolished by *subak* Penginyahan. Why the people of Penginyahan wrecked our weir,[11] we don't know. So since the 22d of January 1986 we of *subak* Pengalu haven't had water. No water at all enters *subak* Pengalu. There were about 200 people from Penginyahan, led by the heads of their *subak* and village. The government—the police, kabupaten and kecamatan[12]—have taken this in hand, but nothing has been done. So that you may know, Jero Gde, that this is how things are for *subak* Pengalu. Our *subak* is ten years old; we have harvested rice for ten years; and we have joined the congregation of the Temple of Batur. Now Penginyahan has engaged in destruction. So *subak* Pengalu up to now hasn't planted rice. Our fields are empty.

JERO GDE: In these things, if we find a path the way we do in Bali, there is only one [way], which is the direction upstream, to the origins. Isn't it so? Who is the owner of these waters? In truth, when matters develop into a big confrontation, everyone's wishes are bad, then everything turns bad. And the effect is, the water is not used. Water that is needed. So it is. So this new problem, first I must take it up to the regent [*bupati*]. Such things, every aspect must be taken up or they can't be concluded. Now apparently this forest area is only producing about a hundred liters of water, right?[13] If things don't work out, that water is definitely wasted. Lost, useless. My concern is, I don't promise, but let us together make strenuous efforts, force things into the very best path, then perhaps we can obtain the opportunity to fix this situation of ours, our dam at Pengalu. May the village easily receive this path, which is my decree, so that the path you've begun with the bupati can be followed to the end. Together!

After these remarks, the Jero Gde asked to visit the site of the damaged weir. The entire structure had been washed away, and the river was flowing freely in the direction of Penginyahan, a few kilometers downstream. After looking the situation over, the Jero Gde asked the *subak* to gather around him, and addressed them.

JERO GDE: I am ready to add to my former words. As I asked earlier, who owns these waters? Clearly it is only the deities who prevent this spring from drying up, is it not so? What about downstream? Now you of Pengalu already have the right to use some of this water. And for those below [i.e., the Penginyahan irrigation system] there was no shortage, formerly? For Pengalu here, just how many hectares were in use before the dam was destroyed?

SUBAK HEAD: About 30 hectares.

JERO GDE: So now, my wishes are, remember the goddess! Things are not good now, so the medicine must be applied quickly. As for me, I feel very sad. Together, then, let's begin.

Legally, disputes about irrigation fall under the jurisdiction of the government office of the *sedahan*. In modern Bali, the office of the *sedahan* continues to perform the same tax-collecting functions that it carried out under Dutch rule. And, just as in the time of the Dutch, the *sedahan* is supposed to decide questions of water rights. The degree to which this legal arrangement is the basis of actual practice may perhaps be judged by the fact that the office of the *sedahan* in the regency in which these events took place does not possess a map of any irrigation system. In-

stead, the *sedahan*'s staff maintain records of land ownership that are used to calculate taxes.

Within this governmental structure of irrigation control, the Jero Gde has no role. Indeed, from an administrative standpoint he does not exist. But government offices are staffed by Balinese, who live in a world of water temples. In this case, the bupati (head of the regency) became involved because the struggle between the two *subak*s had become a police matter.

Soon after viewing the damaged weir, the Jero Gde paid a formal call upon the bupati, urging him to provide technical assistance while the Jero Gde would try to facilitate a compromise between the quarreling *subak*s. The Jero learned that the government had already developed plans for the construction of a new concrete weir at Pengalu. These plans, however, could not go forward unless the quarrel between the *subak*s could be settled. The Jero Gde sent temple messengers to the two *subak*s, who agreed to a provisional compromise concerning water rights, by which the Pengalu *subak*s were to receive one-third and the Penginyahan *subak*s downstream would receive the remainder. If, however, the two-thirds share of the Penginyahan *subak*s proved to be inadequate, they reserved the right to reopen the question of water shares. Construction of the new weir commenced soon after the Jero's meeting with the bupati, and within a year a new concrete structure was standing on the ruins of the old temporary weir.

CREATION OF A NEW SUBAK

One day in the summer of 1983, a small delegation of farmers arrived at the temple and were ushered into the kitchen to be given refreshments and a chance to informally state their request. They came from a small village in northern Gianyar and represented a group of thirty-six families who wished to create a new *subak*. They had discovered a spring high in the mountains, about 3.4 kilometers from their village, and wished to use the water to create rice terraces on their land. They had many questions: Could they use the water? What would be required for them to create a *subak*? And, most importantly, were the chances of success good enough for them to invest the necessary labor and funds? The village was quite poor and to build the necessary irrigation system would involve many months of labor and stretch their resources to the limit.

After listening to their request, the temple staff guided them in presenting their offerings at the shrine of the Goddess of the Lake. When they had received their blessing of holy water, a temple messenger[14] accompanied them back to their land to inspect the site of the proposed new

subak. The spring appeared to be producing approximately 30 liters of water per second. Although it seemed likely that the water from the spring must eventually flow into the Ayung River, the location was so remote that it proved to be impossible to determine where this occurred, and therefore, which weir was next downstream. Thus there was no need to obtain permission from neighbors downstream to share the water. The new *subak* of Gateh could have all of it, if they could get it to their fields. The question was whether the spring was large enough and permanent enough to be worth the trouble and expense of digging terraces, tunnels, and canals. After inspecting the spring and the proposed route of the irrigation canal, the temple priests advised them to proceed.

A few months later, I was invited by the temple priests to accompany them on a trip in which they hoped to constitute formally the new *subak*. On the appointed morning, representatives of every family in Gateh appeared at the temple in two large trucks, bearing offerings. The offerings were laid out beside the main shrine to the Goddess of the Lake, and *mapiuning* (request) prayers were offered to inform the goddess of the desire of the village to create a *subak*. Temple priests prepared the holy water vessel called Bhatara Tirtha, which represents the presence of the goddess herself.

In this guise, the goddess joined us as we boarded the trucks and drove to the vicinity of the spring. With the priests bearing Bhatara Tirtha at the front of the procession, we descended a steep ravine and followed the stream at its bottom to the spring. The priests selected a spot just above the spring for the new shrine to the goddess and gave instructions for its construction to the *subak* leaders. Then a makeshift temporary shrine was constructed around Bhatara Tirtha, and the *subak* seated themselves facing the shrine and the spring, while the priests led them in prayers to the goddess. In this way, the new shrine was dedicated as a place where the *subak* could address the goddess and acknowledge her gift of water.

This concluded the ceremonies at the spring. Because the terrain was very rugged, we returned to the trucks and drove to the village, near the site of the proposed new terraces. Rough terraces had already been prepared, and work had begun on the main canal system. The temple priests walked over the whole area, accompanied by the priests and *subak* leaders, and suggested that work on the canal be postponed at this end because the location of the canal would ultimately depend on the configuration of the tunnel and canal upstream. It was clear that an irrigation tunnel at least several hundred meters long would have to be constructed near the spring. The priests suggested that the *subak* seek advice from a team of professional tunnel builders.

Finally, the priests chose a location for a new Ulun Swi (Head of the rice terraces) Temple: atop the highest terraced hillside, near the pre-

sumed entry point for the planned irrigation canal. Several priests measured out the floor plan for the temple and explained the placement of shrines. There were no prayers or offerings because the Ulun Swi Temple would not be dedicated until the water was actually flowing into the terraces.

Two years later, I returned to the village in the company of the Jero Gde. The irrigation system was functioning, and the first crop of rice had been planted in about half of the terraces. The water supply was not sufficient to irrigate the remaining terraces, which was something of a disappointment to the *subak*. However, they looked forward to bringing offerings from their first rice crop to the Temple of the Crater Lake for the Tenth Month ceremonies, at which time they would request more water from the goddess.

THE POWERS OF THE JERO GDE

We have seen that the Jero Gde exercises considerable authority over water rights. His power in the visible world (*sekala*) ultimately stems from his relationship to the Goddess of the Lake, in the realm of the immaterial (*niskala*). This relationship is symbolized through his identification with the principal shrine of the goddess at the temple.

As the plan of the temple shows (see app. 1), the highest *meru* tower at Batur is the eleven-storied shrine to the Goddess of the Lake (fig. A.1., #24), which is also identified with the Jero Gde. To indicate the strength of this association, the temple staff point out that when he dies, the Jero Gde will be cremated in an eleven-storied bier similar to the *meru* shrine. The number of stories on a cremation bier (*wadah*) in Bali is an index of caste rank. Commoners are cremated in biers with from one to three stories, depending upon the supposed rank of their lineage. Twice-born aristocrats of noble caste are cremated in taller biers, with eleven stories being reserved for the highest-ranking consecrated kings. The eleven-storied cremation bier of the Jero Gde thus sets him apart from all other Balinese of commoner caste, indicating that he is not merely a servant of the goddess but is identified with her in a much more fundamental way.

Further proofs of his relationship to the goddess and the lake-mandala were said to have occurred when he was chosen to become the new Jero Gde. He was not present at the temple when the Virgin Priestess went into a trance. Instead, a delegation from the temple came to find him. He was then eleven years old, a number that is magically significant not only because of the eleven-storied shrine to the goddess but also because of the eleven sources of holy water and the eleven springs around the lake.

LANSING: It is said that when you were chosen to be Jero Gde there were certain signs?

JERO GDE: Yes, there were signs. . . . The first thing I experienced was a dream. I dreamt that I ascended into the main shrine, with eleven stories. I asked my parents, What does it mean? They answered, "Ah, there is no doubt, you will be chosen Jero Gde." I was amazed! What, me become the Jero Gde? What's this? I didn't believe it.

Then I went with my friends, in search of a spring to bathe in. And we found eleven! Eleven bathing springs! In one day! We children didn't realize at first; we didn't ask, it was the parents who urged us to search. We were just thinking about bathing! Why this happened—maybe the deity inspired one of the adults to set us on this. But the effect was, I was cleansed.[15]

The next day, a delegation from Batur arrived. Then suddenly the light became very clear. When the Batur delegation approached, the wind came up from nowhere, Ba-ba-bah! Thunder, BAH! And rain, heavy rain! Then we set out, and the rain stopped; it was strange. I was escorted directly to the temple. I felt that all of these were signs from the goddess.[16]

A few moments later, while we were still talking about his experiences, the Jero Gde suggested a parallel between his own installation and the ceremony of royal consecration for the last king of Klungkung, organized by the Dutch in 1929.

JERO GDE: Perhaps there was some inspiration at [the palace of] Klungkung—I don't know. . . . The signs were the same—the sudden appearance of a great wind.

This parallel between the position of the Jero Gde and that of the king of Klungkung, was repeatedly brought to my attention. The issue crystallized when I was told by several of the elders that they were encouraging the Jero Gde to undergo the ceremony of royal consecration for a king, *abiseka ratu*.[17] According to the elders, the performance of *abiseka ratu* at the temple would entitle the Jero Gde to the title Dalem Sanglingan. Dalem is a royal title for the Klungkung royal dynasty, thus "Dalem Sanglingan" would mean something like "divinely chosen ruler." When I spoke to the Jero Gde, he said that he did indeed expect to undergo the *abiseka ratu* ritual someday. But he emphasized that he would never be a king in the usual sense, that his powers extended only to the temple itself and the *pepasyan:* the forty-five *subak*s that form the principal congregation of the temple. But what might these powers be, assuming that the *abiseka ratu* ceremony were ever to be performed?

According to tradition, the *abiseka ratu* ceremony for the consecration of a king must be performed by Brahmana high priests attached to a royal court. It seemed to me doubtful that the high priests of a realm such as Klungkung would recognize the legitimacy of the *abiseka ratu* ritual for the Jero Gde, who was after all born a commoner. For although the last Dewa Agung was killed by the Dutch in 1908, some members of the royal family survived and have continued to carry out religious ceremonies at the temple of Besakih. A few years ago, the *abiseka ratu* ritual was performed by the court priests of Klungkung for one of the members of the royal family, who received the title Ratu Dalem. The title connotes kingly status but is inferior to the title Dewa Agung.

As soon as possible, I went to Klungkung and interviewed one of the high priests of Klungkung. Another Brahman joined our discussion to assist me in putting my questions: Should the *abiseka ratu* ceremony be performed for the Jero Gde? How does his role compare with that of a consecrated king?

BRAHMAN PRIEST: Those are the rules in the mountains, at Batur: after he has become the Jero Gde, he has the right to receive everything that goes into or out of the Batur Temple. He must divide—Who is to receive what? The cost of his installation is borne by the people. Since he became the Jero Gde, everything is guaranteed by the people. At the temple, he has authority.

BRAHMANA: That means he doesn't undergo *abhiseka ratu*, right?

BRAHMAN PRIEST: No.

LANSING: Or—not yet? They say that when he is older, he may undergo the *abiseka* ritual?

BRAHMAN PRIEST: Now, let's say he proceeds with *abiseka ratu*, What further title would he gain? He is already Jero Gde. His livelihood—riches really—are guaranteed by the people. When he dies the people will, ah, . . . he is already rich. The fruits of these labors mean, he is rich! But when he dies, the choice of a child [to succeed him], the "awakening," can't be his son. [In other words, unlike kingship, the position of Jero Gde is not hereditary.]

LANSING: Have you ever participated in the installation of another such priest, or only at Batur?

BRAHMAN PRIEST: No, only there at Batur temple. At Besakih temple this doesn't exist. It's different for the temple priests at Besakih. But at Batur, the Jero Gde is empowered—he alone owns the temple. . . . When they choose the Jero Gde there, it is not a royal Highness who decides. It is a deity's inspiration.

LANSING: And that is why he has the title of *Sanglingan*?

BRAHMAN PRIEST: Yes. Chosen from Above. Otherwise, it could not be. It means, indicated by a burst of lightning. *Sanglingan*, if you seek its meaning, means cleansed.

LANSING: Outside of this priest at Batur, are there any others?

BRAHMAN PRIEST: No.

LANSING: One only in Bali?

BRAHMAN PRIEST: Yes.[18]

The priest's remarks seemed to confirm the special status of the Jero Gde but left the question of the ceremony of royal consecration still in doubt. I immediately returned to the temple, and sought out one of the elders to ask about the precise sequence of rituals planned for the *abiseka ratu* of the Jero Gde. This list bore virtually no resemblance to the *abiseka ratu* ceremony described in Balinese and Dutch texts.[19] Instead, the Jero Gde himself makes offerings at the major shrines (fig. A.1, #19, #24, #22, #23) and the shrines to the deities Pertiwi (the Earth Mother), Dalem Baturenggong, and I Ratu Gde Mekolem. Then, according to the elder:

ELDER: He bathes eleven times in one day and changes his clothing eleven times. Then he has finished *abiseka ratu.*

LANSING: That's all?

ELDER: As of now, it hasn't been performed. I've admonished him three times. He didn't want to. Because he still wants to work, to acquire wealth. When he is ready, we're prepared. This can't be done by a *pedanda* [Brahmana high priest].

LANSING: But doesn't it require a Brahman priest to perform *abiseka ratu*?

ELDER: That's different. That is *abiseka ratu* for a king. For a kingdom. Like Bangli, Klungkung, or Gianyar. It's for a kingdom! This is *abiseka ratu* for the title as Jero Gde.

LANSING: But for the kingdoms of Gianyar, Klungkung, and so forth, it is permitted to perform *abiseka ratu* with a Brahman priest?

ELDER: The king's high priest [Bhagawanta] or another Brahman priest [*pedanda*]. But here it is not possible.

LANSING: Why not?

ELDER: Because here, his control extends only to the powers of the temple. The affairs of Batur Temple. His control extends down the lines of *pepasyan* [member *subaks*] that follow Batur Temple. It is they who honor him! They who bring the offerings, you see.

LANSING: I've heard that the ceremony is like a death.[20]

ELDER: That which dies is only feelings, desires. Removing the anchors. That is why it takes eleven times. So that pollution is

banished! Up to the very second, that is the requirement for the ritual bathing. So that mind and spirit are elevated.

LANSING: Bathed—in holy water!

ELDER: Holy water! Holy water from the eleven sources of the lake, the eleven origins. From the lake! Because the lake has eleven sources, eleven springs. One goes this way, another that way and so forth. From each we take an essence [*sari*] to cleanse the Jero Gde.[21]

The symbolism of this ritual seemed to focus on the identification of the Jero Gde with the eleven-pointed mandala of the lake and with the goddess. Later, I spoke to other Brahman priests, who did not question the unique relationship of the Jero Gde to the Goddess of the Lake and confirmed that this relationship parallels the identification of the king of Klungkung with the God of Mount Agung. But the ritual that the priests of the Temple of the Crater Lake insisted on calling *abiseka ratu* bore no resemblance to the ritual for the consecration of kings. Moreover, both Brahmans and temple priests agreed that even with the title of Dalem Sanglingan, the powers of the Jero Gde would still be confined to the temple and the waters of the lake.

While I was struggling to make sense of this, the temple scribe, who is himself symbolically identified with a shrine at the temple (fig. A.1, #20–#21), drew my attention to an aspect of the identity of the Jero Gde to which I had paid little attention: his line of descent. Upon the death of his predecessor, each new Jero Gde must be chosen from a descent group called the Paseks of the Black Wood.[22] Because this is a commoner lineage found only in the mountains, I assumed that it had no bearing on the relationship of the Jero Gde to the king of Bali. But the temple scribe suggested that I read the history of the Paseks of the Black Wood, which is related in a chronicle similar to the dynastic chronicles of Balinese kingdoms.

I learned from the chronicle that the ancestors of the Jero Gde trace their beginnings to a time before the age of kings, in the distant past. Their story begins with the emergence of the Goddess of Mount Batur and the God of Mount Agung from the erupting volcano and the creation of the first human beings. Soon after the gods take possession of Bali, they are visited by the great priest-god Mahameru, who decides to bathe in the waters of the crater lake. As he explains to the other gods:

After bathing I continued my journey to Besakih, but suddenly I saw a statue of black wood which looked very like a human. My heart was very attracted and I wished to bring the statue to life, so I performed yoga semadhi and requested Hyang Kawi (the Creator) to permit the statue to become a person. My prayer was answered, the statue became alive, and I heard words from the Ether instructing me to teach him the sacred knowledge, so that shortly there would be priests in Bali.[23]

The descendants of the living statue became the Paseks of the Black Wood from whom the Jero Gde is chosen. The chronicle is thus a myth of origins connecting the Jero Gde with the arrival of the gods on the mountaintops of Batur and Agung and the origins of human society. The site at which the black wood came to life is now marked by the origin temple of this descent group, which is symbolically associated with the Temple of the Crater Lake. The Paseks of the Black Wood believe themselves to be the most ancient of Balinese lineages, and at the festivals of their origin temple, they seek to renew their contact with the prehuman sources of power in the mountains and the lake.

But how, I wondered, were these powers related to the question of kingship? The temple scribe drew my attention to the relationship between the Jero Gde and the second-ranking priest in the temple hierarchy, called the Lesser Jero Gde (Jero Gde Alitan). As the Greater Jero Gde is identified with the eleven-storied shrine to the Goddess, the Lesser Jero Gde is identified with two nine-storied *meru* towers for the God of Mount Agung, which stand alongside the shrines to the goddess. Their nine stories indicate that the God of Mount Agung ranks second to the goddess in her own temple on her mountaintop. And, as with the Greater Jero Gde, the lineage history of the Lesser Jero Gde provides an explanation for the sources of his power. The Lesser Jero Gde is chosen from the descent group called Pasek Gelgel, whose legend is told in their chronicle, the *Babad Pasek Gelgel.* Gelgel was the first Balinese royal dynasty, the first possessors of the temple of Besakih on Mount Agung, whose descendants became the kings of Klungkung. According to their chronicle, the Pasek Gelgel were a commoner lineage who became the most loyal servants of the Gelgel kings. Some of them were sent into the mountains to establish the royal power of Gelgel in these remote regions. However, the mountain people were never completely subjugated by Gelgel, and the contest between the power of the courts and the more ancient powers that dwell in the mountains has never ended.

Thus the two priests draw their power from different sources. In the festivals of their origin temple, the Pasek Gelgel derive their power from the royal court of Gelgel, the first and greatest Balinese kings. Through Gelgel, they are linked to the God of Mount Agung, Besakih Temple, and the royal dynasty of Klungkung. The Paseks of the Black Wood, by contrast, trace their power further back in time, to a line of priests created from the Black Wood beside the lake. Symbolically, the Greater Jero Gde represents a divine power more ancient than the king of Bali.

As interpreted by the temple scribe and the elders, the two chronicles

provided a coherent explanation of the relationship between the temples, shrines, and gods.

Goddess of the Lake	God of Mount Agung
Temple of the Crater Lake	Temple of Besakih
Water	Fire
Jero Gde	King of Bali

Within the temple, these contrasts are replicated:

Greater Jero Gde	Lesser Jero Gde
11-storied *meru*	9-storied *meru*
Paseks of the Black Wood	Paseks of Gelgel

But I wondered whether the princes and Brahmans would accept this relationship. Had the temple priests constructed a sort of counterideology to the claims of the king of Klungkung? Although the temple was clearly preoccupied with the question of its relationship to the temple of Besakih and the royal dynasty of Klungkung, I wondered if the interest were reciprocated by the princes of Klungkung and their priests.

Meanwhile, in the late summer of 1987 the Jero Gde decided to organize the largest ceremony in the ritual cycle of the temple, called Panca Wali Krama. The water level in Lake Batur was low, and the *subak*s were pressing the Jero Gde to carry out Panca Wali Krama, the most potent of the temple's rituals, to end the drought. The Jero Gde sent notification to the king of Klungkung, his court priests and other princes of his intention to perform Panca Wali Krama. Their response to this invitation promised to provide some answers to my question. I had already interviewed many priests without fully understanding their responses. But if the king of Klungkung and his priests actually attended the Panca Wali Krama, the nature of their participation would presumably signal their relationship to the temple and the Jero Gde.

PANCA WALI KRAMA

On October 22, 1987, (the Dark Moon of the Ninth Month) Panca Wali Krama was performed at the temple, for the first time in the lifetime of the current Jero Gde. I arrived five days earlier, when preparations were already well under way.

The central courtyard of the temple is a large open space surrounded by stone walls and towering gates. During the regular annual cycle of rituals, it is used as the performance space, where the temple dancers and orchestras play for large crowds.[24] For Panca Wali Krama, eleven temporary shrines were laid out in the shape of an eleven-pointed *nawa-*

sangha mandala in the center of the courtyard, symbolically identifying the summit of Mount Batur with the cosmic center. At the climax of the rituals, twenty-two Brahmana high priests would be seated in pairs facing each of the points of the mandala, where they would sanctify holy water and then use this water for a ritual of purification and renewal.

Requests for the vast quantities of offerings needed for these rituals had been sent to the *subak*s and princely houses of central Bali. The princes of Bangli, Gianyar, and Ubud and the royal family of Klungkung responded by sending *jajan bumi*, grand cosmological symbols made of edible materials, which are the most extravagant of all Balinese offerings. Over a period of several weeks, millions of rupiah and several tons of offerings were donated by the *subak*s. Meanwhile, delegations of priests from the temple were dispatched on journeys to seek holy water from crater lakes in the mountains of the neighboring islands of Lombok (Mount Renjani) and Java (Mount Bromo), as well as the supreme (*sad-kahyangan*) temples of Bali. While the holy water and offerings were gradually accumulating at the temple, the Greater Jero Gde himself set off on two journeys. The first was an expedition to the home of a priest high above Besakih temple, in search of the most sacred bell in Bali, the Genta Kentel Bumi. The bell is kept in a temple that was partially destroyed by lava in the 1963 eruption of Mount Agung and ordinarily never leaves Mount Agung.

Once the bell had been secured, the Jero Gde proceeded on his next quest: holy water from the sea floor, below the seaside temple of Batu Bolong in Badung. On this occasion, he was accompanied by all the remaining temple priests and orchestras and more than two hundred vehicles, mostly trucks, filled with *subak* members. The procession stopped twice on the way from Batur to the sea, outside the palaces of Bangli and Gianyar. Temporary platforms had been constructed for offerings from local farmers in the open courtyards outside each palace. Thousands of farmers waited as the Batur priests unloaded the images of the temple's deities from the trucks to the accompaniment of music from the temple's sacred orchestra. The gates to the palaces swung open and gamelan orchestras marched out as the offerings were readied. Court priests from the palaces presented the offerings of each realm to the goddess, and the Batur priests sprinkled the worshippers with holy water.

It was near nightfall when the procession reached the sea at Batu Bolong. Toward midnight, as the crowd thinned out, the Jero Gde led a procession of temple priests to climb the black lava rocks exposed by the receding tide. Standing beneath the royal umbrellas and grasping the sacred black whips that are the emblems of his power, the Jero Gde asked the Sea God to draw back, so that he could collect sweet water bubbling up from artesian wells in the sea floor. At low tide, frightened young

priests raced out to collect the freshest water they could find to be used in the preparation of holy water at the temple.

The following morning, the procession began to climb back up Mount Batur. At noon, surprised tourists were told to climb out of their vehicles and wait patiently, for "The goddess has descended into the Masceti temple of Ubud," and all traffic must cease. After receiving the homage of the *subak*s and the princes of Ubud, the procession returned to the temple, and at noon on the following day the ritual reached its climax. At each of the eleven shrines, high priests gathered all the sacred waters that had been collected from the sea floor, the caldera of Mount Batur, the eleven sources of Lake Batur, the supreme temples of Bali, and the crater lakes of neighboring islands. Seated in the Bale Gajah (fig. A.1, #8) of the middle courtyard, the king (Ratu Dalem) of Klungkung added his prayers to those of the priests of his court. At each of the eleven directions of the mandala, pairs of priests were presented with vials containing a few ounces of each of the different varieties of holy water that had been collected. As noon approached, the Brahman priests performed rituals to bless and augment the sacred powers of the waters.[25] Afterwards, this water was sprinkled on the offerings at each of the points of the mandala, symbolically effecting the purification of the realm.

After each priest completed his rituals, the waters were poured into a single container at the center of the mandala and given a further blessing. Precisely at noon, the Greater Jero Gde was summoned to the center of the mandala by the senior Brahmana priest, who placed the sacred vessel containing all of the combined holy waters on the head of the Jero Gde. As he emerged from the ceremonial enclosure, the Jero Gde was met by the other priests of the temple, who poured the holy water into more containers filled with the temple's own holy water. Such mixtures are thought to retain the potency of the original vials of water actually used in the rituals. Then, led by the Jero Gde, the entire team of twenty-four temple priests began to sprinkle this water over the waiting crowds.

In the afternoon, sacred dances[26] were held in the inner courtyard of the temple (fig. A.1, #27), while the senior court priest of Klungkung led a team of four Brahmana priests in the dedication of additional offerings to the deities of the temple (fig. A.1, #28a). For once, tourists were strictly excluded. The images and emblems of the deities (*arca*) were carried out of their normal resting place in the *peparuman agung* (fig. A.1, #14), and borne in a ceremonial procession three times around the shrines of the inner sanctum by the temple priests and one of the princes of Ubud. The Greater Jero Gde personally carried the black whips and then positioned himself to receive each of the *arca*, which he placed in a temporary shrine (fig. A.1, #28) where they might receive the offerings dedicated by the

Brahmana priests. As night fell, the prayers concluded, and the images of the gods were carried reverently back to the *peparuman agung* shrine.

Analysis of the Ritual

We can distinguish six principal stages in the sequence of rituals.

1. *The collection of holy water.* Ordinarily, the holy water for the temple is acquired from the eleven springs of the lake-mandala. For Panca Wali Krama, additional holy water was collected from the crater lakes of adjacent mountains, as far away as the neighboring islands of Java and Lombok, and the sea floor. These locations represent the distant sources of sacred power in the mandala of which Batur is the center.

2. *The sanctification of holy water.* The whole of Panca Wali Krama focused on the symbolism of holy water with respect to the powers of the temple. The holy water that had been collected was mixed into a single essence and then redistributed in containers within the sacred enclosure of the nawasangha mandala. Here, on the climactic day of the ritual sequence, the Brahmanic rituals for the sanctification of holy water were performed by the highest-ranking Brahman court priests.

3. *The purification of the realm.* After the final preparation of holy water, teams of Brahman priests used this water to sanctify the offerings laid out in shrines before them to purify the realm. The realm in this case extends to the region from which the holy water was originally sought. The many social units participating in the ceremony made their principal contributions here in the form of offerings to the gods summoned to the ritual. In addition, the king of Klungkung and a prince of Ubud participated in these rites not merely as witnesses but by performing the sequence of prayers appropriate to their caste status (*rsi*). They were seated, however, outside the sacred enclosure, and their prayers were said to play an auxiliary role, enhancing the power of the ceremony. The Jero Gde did not participate in these rites but waited outside the mandala until the process of purification was finished.

4. *The presentation of holy water to the Jero Gde.* After the purification, the Jero Gde was summoned into the center of the mandala, where the Brahman's assistants collected vials of holy water from all eleven pairs of Brahmana priests. These waters were poured into a single container, which the senior Brahmana placed on the head of the Jero Gde.

5. *The distribution of holy water.* After the initial holy water blessings for the waiting crowds, the ritual arena shifted to the inner sanctum. Here, more Brahman priests presented offerings to the deities of the temple, which were also sprinkled with holy water. Meanwhile, the *subak*s filed in to pray and to fill their *sujung* containers with holy water to take home for field offerings.

6. *Offerings to the deities.* After the purification of the temple and the realm, the Jero Gde led the temple priests in bringing out the emblems of the temple deities from the inner sanctum, and the court priest of Klungkung led a team of Brahman priests in the presentation of offerings to the temple gods.

Panca Wali Krama—a grand purification of the realm, organized by the Jero Gde, conducted by Brahmans, and attended by princes—was virtually a paradigmatic royal ritual. Is the Jero Gde, therefore, a kind of king? Students of kingship, from Frazer to Hocart, Dumezil and Heesterman have argued that kings represent a universalistic concept of society, one which defines a relationship between two kinds of power: temporal and sacred/religious. Like the Brahmans, the Jero Gde is a kind of priest, who makes no claim to the temporal powers of a king. Nonetheless, his role in the conduct of Panca Wali krama resembled that of a king. For unlike the Brahmans, the Jero Gde did not participate in the rituals of purification within the sacred enclosure. It was only after the purification had been completed that he entered the nawa-sangha to receive the holy water. Nor did he join the Ratu Dalem of Klungkung—a prince who *has* undergone the rituals of royal installation, including *abiseka ratu*—in the performance of auxiliary prayers. His role was rather that of recipient of the holy water (phase 4), after the purification rituals were complete. In phase 5, he used the freshly charged holy water for the rites of renewal: the offerings to the temple's deities and the distribution of holy water to the *subak*s and princes. His role was to effect the purification of the realm, using the holy water that had been prepared for him, and later to make offerings to the goddess and her retinue on behalf of the *subak*s and the realm.

The sacred authority of the Jero Gde derives from two distinct sources, the first of which is appropriate to a king, whereas the second is not. The first is his relationship to the Goddess of the Lake. As a divinely chosen *sanglingan* priest, the Jero Gde is identified with the Goddess of the Lake. He is, therefore, not a "technician of the sacred," like the Brahman priests. Instead, he is himself an icon of divinity. It is as the chosen representative of the goddess that he receives the holy water from the Brahmans at the center of the mandala.

But his identity does not derive solely on his iconic relationship to the goddess. The Temple of the Crater Lake—the pinnacle of the irrigation systems of central Bali—is also his. His authority over the temple is unique, quite unlike that of ordinary temple priests. Within the framework of the "Rajapurana Ulun Danu Batur" (the mythical charter of the temple), he has complete authority over all the temple's affairs. His identification with the temple invests him with a particular symbolism, which diverges in an interesting way from that of a king.

In chapter 3, we investigated the logic of holy water and the symbolism of water temple rituals. A single clear principle emerged: holy water from each water temple stands for that temple as a social unit. The holy water of the Temple of the Crater Lake signifies the origin waters for all of the *subak*s and temples that acknowledge the lake-mandala as the ultimate source of their livelihood. The temple is a real water temple, with a multisubak congregation like that of a Masceti or Ulun Swi temple. But because the congregation of the temple consists of hundreds of *subak*s, it represents the most universal concept of society articulated by the rituals of the water temples. Just as the holy water of a *subak* temple signifies the *subak*, the holy water of Panca Wali Krama signifies the totality of *subak*s dependent upon Lake Batur—a concept almost indistinguishable from that of society itself.

Mythically, the idea of Batur as origin is replicated in the chronicles, which trace the creation of human society on Bali to the arrival of the gods at the mountaintops of Batur and Besakih. The myth of origins is also recast, in slightly different form, in the chronicle of the Paseks of the Black Wood, which identifies the Jero Gde with the first human created from the Black Wood atop Mount Batur and gifted by the gods. Thus both the chronicles and the ritual symbolism of holy water identify the Jero Gde with the origins of society, the essential mystery of the transformation of nature into humanity. The sources of his power derive from the era before the age of kings.

The Jero Gde is, therefore, neither fully divine nor fully human. It is significant that he does not merely represent the idea of the unity of the temple's congregation as a distinct social unit: the mystery of his identity explains that unity by providing a compelling mythical account for the origins of society. The Jero Gde is not only the First Human. He is also an icon of the temple itself, the social world that continues to originate from the ever-flowing waters of the lake.

It is now possible to draw some conclusions concerning the issue of kingship. It is significant that when Balinese talk about the Jero Gde, the fact that his powers extend only to the temple, the rivers, and *subak* congregations is sure to be noted. Hydraulic solidarity between water temples, from a farmer's field altar to the temple itself, is ultimately based on the hydro-logic of irrigation dependency. The system is, therefore, strictly bounded—the temple makes no claims on *subak*s lying outside its hydrological domain. Even the universalistic claims of Panca Wali Krama involve a clearly defined hydrological region, bounded by the crater lakes of Bromo to the west and Renjani to the east. The symbolic systems that invest the Jero Gde with authority originate in the internal logic of the water temple system. Wider claims to temporal and sacred power—true kingship—would not be extensions of this logic but claims of a different

order. The ritual described as *abiseka ratu* for the Jero Gde bears no resemblance—other than the name—to the conventional *abiseka ratu* ceremony for the installation of kings, for it makes no claims to universal power. Instead, like all of the rituals of the temple, it is essentially a rite of purification involving the waters of the lake. The Jero Gde is not an unfinished king, for his identity does not depend upon totalizing claims to power. Instead, his identification with the goddess, the temple, and the mandala of the lake place him at the summit of the water temple system of central Bali.

CHAPTER FIVE

Chance Observations and the Metaphysics of Taxation

WE ARE NOW in a position to—as it were—enter the library of the Temple of the Crater Lake and read the manuscripts relating the history of its relationships with the *subak*s. The concept of Lake Batur as a mandala of waters gives meaning to the cryptic lists of specific obligations owed to the temple by the *subak*s. As we shall see in this chapter, a formal structure underlies the relationship of *subak*s to the temple, which is ultimately based on the hydro-logic of irrigation dependency. The many manuscripts dealing with ritual obligations may be interpreted as attempts to translate the temple's cosmological role into a legalistic framework of claims and obligations, which ultimately defines the scope of the temple's powers.

An exploration of the temple's recent history inevitably leads us back to the colonial archives on irrigation because both are concerned with essentially the same phenomena, but from such alien perspectives that neither acknowledges the other's existence. As we saw in chapter 1, water temples do not appear in the colonial discourse on irrigation and the state. But now that we know what to look for, it is possible to reexamine the colonial literature for traces of the temple system. Our concern is no longer with Dutch theories about irrigation, but with the chance observations of travelers or colonial officials that may shed some light on the extent of the temple's actual authority over irrigation, in the days when the Dutch thought they were in control.

This chapter begins with a reinterpretation of European observations of the temple, and proceeds to an analysis of the temple's own claims to power.

CHANCE OBSERVATIONS

In 1830, a missionary traveler was sent to Bali by the Singapore Christian Union to explore the prospects for "extending the benefits of Education and the knowledge of Christianity" to the Balinese. At that time—sixteen years before the first Dutch invasion—very little was known about Balinese culture. The missionary's report begins with a brief list of the prin-