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The domestic architecture of South Bali


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THE DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE OF SOUTH BALI*

South Bali is the traditional term indicating the region south of the mountain range which extends East-West across the island. In Balinese this area is called "Bali-tengah", meaning central Bali. In a cultural sense, therefore, this area could almost be considered Bali proper. West Lombok, as part of Karangasem, seems nearer to this central area than the Eastern section of Jembrana. The narrow strip along the Northern shoreline is called "Dên-bukit", over the mountains, similar to what "transmontane" meant to the Romans. In isolated pockets in the mountainous districts along the borders of North and South Bali live the Bali Aga, indigenous Balinese who are not "wong Majapahit", that is, descendants from the great East Javanese empire as a good Balinese claims to be. Together with the inhabitants of the island of Nusa Penida, the Bali Aga people constitute an older ethnic group.

Aernoudt Lintgensz, the first Westerner to write on Bali, made some interesting observations on the dwellings which he visited in 1597. Yet in the abundance of publications that has since followed, domestic architecture, i.e. the dwellings of Bali, is but slowly gaining the interest of scholars. Perhaps this is because domestic architecture is overshadowed by the exquisite temples. This article will describe the different types of Balinese dwelling. As we are not concerned in the first place with historical monuments, but rather with a living, traditional mode of residence which is in the process of being altered by outside influences, what will be described are the regularities which occur in a number of dwellings and are therefore selected to illustrate the norm.

The Balinese have four names for their dwellings, viz. jero, pekarangan, grya and puri. These terms were probably first used in a

* Adapted from the descriptive part of a thesis presented at Yale University, Department of the History of Art; in this study I am greatly indebted to Professors V. R. van Romondt, E. Haverkamp-Begemann, V. J. Scully and Miss M. J. Adams.

courteous context rather than to define architectural types, although there are some typical features appearing in each. The jero and the pekarangan are the general types. The former refers to the dwelling of a nobleman, that is, a member of the triwangsa or the first three castes, Brahmins, Ksatriyas and Weshas; the latter term refers to the dwellings of the common people or Sudras.2 Grya is the name given to the dwelling of a Brahmin who holds office as pedanda, a priest, for not all Brahmins become priests. A puri is the grand dwelling of the ruling princes, members of the Ksatriya caste. In some villages there are more than one puri, since an old one might be abandoned and left to elder relatives by a new ruler,3 or new ones added for the use of younger relatives.4

Even in recent times when architects build living spaces, architecture usually refers to buildings and façades. In Bali, however, we have to apply the word to courts, whether or not walled-in, in which a group of buildings are arranged to form a temple or a house. The jero and the pekarangan consist of single courts, for which a term with a definite Southeast Asian etymology, "dwelling compound" 5 will sometimes be used when there is no need to express the functional distinction. Otherwise the Balinese terms will be left as they are.

The cosmological order.

One of the first things that strikes one about the Balinese is that they ever are conscious of their position in space, adjusting their orientation to the laws of cosmology.6 These principles underlie the laying out of a dwelling, a temple or a village. It is most important, therefore, to review briefly the cosmological system of the Balinese before discussing their architecture.

It has already been stated that South Bali is the center of life. Seen from this region are the mountains to the North where the irrigating rivers spring, taking their course in deep North-South ravines, finally

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3 This is the case in Karangasem.
4 In Bangli.
5 From Malay kampong = village.
6 J. Belo, "The Balinese temper", Character and Personality, IV, 1935, p. 120-146; repr. in D. G. Haring, ed., Personal Character and Cultural Milieu, Syracuse, 1948, p. 156-180; see p. 158.
discharging into the southern sea. It takes little imagination to see in those lofty Northern regions, as the ancient Balinese did, the abode of the gods and ancestors, the source of all life, and the idea of the past; the sea in the South is by contrast the lowly and unholy netherworld where the future waits after death. Between this simple opposition of high against low, North against South, good against evil, past against future, was the intermediate sphere of this world, the present, called madyapada or mertyapada. Thus was created the tripartite system prevailing to the present day. Probably at a still later date the East and West were projected into space to form the four-around-the-center idea. Finally, Hindu symbolism developed this idea into the nine cardinal points or nawa sanga. Some even went further and added the Zenith and the Nadir to make up eleven points with their patron gods (ekadasa Rudra = the eleven gods), but for practical purposes the former version is most frequently used.

Following the subjugation of North Bali by Dutch expeditions in 1849, Friederich was the first to take note of the ninefold pantheon when he translated the manuscript Usana Bali, although he did not have the opportunity to study Balinese culture in actual and detail since the larger part of the island was still terra incognita. When South Bali surrendered in 1908, the entire island was brought under direct rule of the Netherlands Indies and scholars began to reveal that this ninefold orientation plays an impressive role in temple building, religious rituals, even in the way one sleeps, in short, in every

8 Actually it is difficult to establish when this Hindu influence entered, see B. M. Goslings, "Een nawa-sanga van Lombok", Gedenkschrift K.I., Den Haag, 1926, p. 200-210.
9 This is the current spelling which is explained etymologically as the Sanskrit word for nine (nawa) plus its Balinese equivalent (sanga). Other versions also exist, nawa sangha (Friederich), nawa sangga (Covarrubias) and nawa sanggah (van Romondt). I would have favored the latter as it would have the meaning of nine holy places or godly abodes, but I still lack supporting evidence.
10 R. H. T. Friederich, "De Oesana Bali", TNI, j 9, III, 1847 (!), p. 245-373; probably acquired on political missions.
11 J. C. van Eerde, "Hindu-Javaansche en Balische eeredienst", BKI, 65, 1911, p. 1-39; except for the five metal plates (pripih) or nine precious stones (nawaratna) stored in the top of a meru and the general northward ascension of the temple courts the ninefold layout is not as obvious as in Central Java.
13 Belo 1948: 163.
living activity. Swellengrebel\textsuperscript{14} gave an excellent table of this ninefold system from which the following has been adapted to our needs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POINT</th>
<th>BALINESE</th>
<th>GOD</th>
<th>ATTRIBUTE</th>
<th>COLOR</th>
<th>METAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Kangin</td>
<td>Ishvara</td>
<td>bajra</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>silver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-E</td>
<td>Kelod-Kangin</td>
<td>Rudra</td>
<td>dupa</td>
<td>rose</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Kelod</td>
<td>Brahma</td>
<td>danda</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>copper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-W</td>
<td>Kelod-Kauh</td>
<td>Maheshvara</td>
<td>moksa</td>
<td>orange</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>Kauh</td>
<td>Mahádeva</td>
<td>nagapasah</td>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>gold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N-W</td>
<td>Kaja-Kauh</td>
<td>Sangkara</td>
<td>angkus</td>
<td>green</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Kaja</td>
<td>Vishnu</td>
<td>chakra</td>
<td>black or iron</td>
<td>dark blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N-E</td>
<td>Kaja-Kangin</td>
<td>Sambu</td>
<td>trisula</td>
<td>grey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center</td>
<td>Pusèh</td>
<td>Shiva</td>
<td>padma</td>
<td>multi-colored</td>
<td>lead(?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These gods are undoubtedly of Hindu origin, but unlike the polytheistic character that they bore in the land of their origin, they have all become overshadowed by the spirit of Shiva. Ishvara, Rudra, Maheshvara (Maha-Ishvara), Mahádeva, Sangkara and Sambu are various forms of Shiva; even Brahma and Vishnu are sometimes seen as still different manifestations of the one great spirit.\textsuperscript{15} In trying to compare the attributes with their Indian counterparts one sees that some shifting


has taken place, bringing the system rather out of balance and making it appear slightly artificial. Moreover, this array was given a local tinge by altering the profane-neutral-holy scheme from the general South-Central-North direction to South-Central-Northeast. For the greatest part of South Bali, the *Gunung Agung*, Great Mountain, the highest peak of Bali and abode of the supreme gods and ancestors, is seen in the Northeast direction. On the southwestern slopes of this mountain is built the holiest temple of Bali, the *Pura Besakih*.

As might be expected, north of the mountain range, i.e. in North Bali, the system is reversed. There the holy mountains are to the South, which is for them the *kaja* direction, while the sea is northward, the *kelod*. Kangin for East and kauh for West remain the same for South as well as for North Bali. The holiest direction is everywhere the same, *kaja-kangin* pointing to the *Gunung Agung*. This should confirm the idea that the Balinese do not think in terms of the cosmos, but rather in terms of their own island-world. In their perception, perhaps, the world is centered around the great mountain. Certainly they are not unique in doing so.

The *jero*.

To avoid endless misfortune, sickness and other horrors the ninefold order should always be kept in mind in laying out a dwelling. However, a full expression of it in space is found only in South Bali. The first students of Balinese houses invariably gave descriptions of the Northern type, which is not surprising in view of the historical developments. Van der Kaaden made the first comparison of the two types, but was a little unfortunate in selecting his specimen South Balinese dwelling compound. The illustrated descriptions of South Balinese *jero* and


18 For North Bali this is rather theoretical.

19 W. F. van der Kaaden, “Beschrijving van de poeri agoeng te Gianjar”, *Djâwâ*, 17, 1937, p. 392-407; from the diagram on p. 394 it is not clear whether he thought of the court as being divided up into compartments like the North Balinese; neither gives the description much clarification: “In Zuid-Bali ligt de sanggah - de huistempel, die elk erf heeft - dadjan (probably kadjan) van...
SCHEMATIC PLAN OF A JERO IN SOUTH BALI.

P pamerajan
N natar
S service court

a apit lawang
b lawang
c aling-aling
d paon
e lumbung
f balé sekenam
g balé tiang sanga
h balé gedé
i balé sikepat
j umah metèn
k balé sesajèn
l sanggah kemulan
m padmasana

Figure 1.
pekarangan by Covarrubias are representative.20 His plans served as model for the further description made by Van Romondt,21 from which was written a slightly revised English text.22 With some slight adaptations this plan will be our basis for further discussions (fig. 1). The innovations, I must confess, have changed it from a “typical” jero, as Covarrubias called his, to an almost ideal one.

We first see the rectangular compound circumscribed by a thick wall. By dividing each side into three equal parts, we form the ninefold quadration, suggesting the ever present cosmic division. We must bear in mind that this quadration is only postulated. Nothing indicates it in actuality, unlike some Javanese templecourts where the nine points are marked by pseudo-linggas or monuments.

The central quarter is kept free of any building or growth except for an occasional offering column. This is the natar or latar, meaning flat, open yard. In the largely open-air living of Bali this is the actual living room. Almost all the small buildings which occupy the compound open onto the natar or are oriented towards it by partial walls, and so by architectural means reinforcing its prominence. This has its counterpart in the ninefold pantheon, where Shiva is guardian of the center.

Those who have seen South Balinese dwellings will agree that this space is very substantial, not just an abstraction. It is, however, quite difficult to show, as is always the case with something as immaterial as space, though I have tried to show it with two photographs (pl. a and b). We see here its spatial definitions, the bases of the surrounding buildings, the rows of columns, and the rooflines. Secondary definers of space are the partition and compound walls. The whole becomes an expanding space, yet this effect is but partly intentional.

The Northeast quarter is set off from the rest of the compound by a low, pierced or tracery wall called anchak suji. Being in the holiest direction toward the Gunung Agung, it serves as the pamerajan, the

21 V. R. van Romondt, (Introduction to). Reisgids Bali (phototyped, limited publication), Bandung 1954; Indon. transl. 1960; fig. 6A.
Plate a.  
A JERO IN BEDAHLU.
Right balé gedé, left background umah metén, background pamerajan.

Plate b.  
A JERO IN TATIAPI.
Left balé gedé, right lumbung.
(Photographs from the collection of Prof. van Romondt.)
family or household temple. Remarkably the importance of this place is not expounded in the ninefold system having Sambu as its guardian, another common transformation of Shiva.

This court is often raised to give it a physically higher level than the other parts of the compound. Small shrines are erected here in the shape of miniature houses on pillars upon high columnar stereobates or high offering columns made entirely of brick and soft sandstone. Prominent among these is the sanggah kamulan, a small house placed on pillars. The sanggah kamulan is divided into three compartments, each with a little door, dedicated to the deified ancestors, who are sometimes identified with the trimurti, the trinity Brahma-Ishvara-Vishnu. Brahma is associated with the male ancestors, Vishnu with the female. This is the shrine a man builds himself when he marries. If for some reason he cannot build a stone shrine when he marries, he erects a temporary bamboo substitute to be replaced later by a permanent one.

Other shrines vary with the profession and social status of the owner. If he is one of high nobility, he might have a gedong maospait, dedicated to the totemistic stag, menjangan seluang, of the Majapahit colonists, authorizing this highly desired descent. There might also be shrines for the gods of the mountains, Gunung Agung and Gunung Batur, or for the sun-god, Surya, which is usually shaped as a stone seat set obliquely in the Northeast corner, the padmasana. Shrines for the patrons of rice cultivation, commerce, industry, etc. would not be omitted by men of such trades. Finally shrines might be built to the taksu and the ngurah, the “interpreter” and the “secretary” of the deities.

We frequently see on one side of the pamerajan the balé sesajèn or balé banten where the offerings are prepared. This is usually a small building on a platform or batur (also babaturan). When the space in the pamerajan renders it convenient some kamboja trees might complete the scene.

Elsewhere on the compound offering columns may be whimsically placed, but they are indispensable as sites for the presentation of offerings to the spirits who guard the dwelling compound, the entrance, etc.


Ibid.

Covarrubias 1937: 258.
With almost unchanging regularity the umeh mèten occupies the northern quarter, either against or detached from the compound wall. It is essentially a building with eight posts on a high stereobate surrounded completely by four walls, which are detached from the posts and do not carry the roof. A narrow door in the center of the southern wall gives the only light and access to the dark interior. Inside on either side of the door are built between and into the posts two pedemans, wooden platforms which are too often termed "beds" or "bunks". The stereobate may be extended into a front porch, possibly with additional platforms, and covered by an extension of the roof. Sometimes even a second extension is made at a lower level.

This building, sometimes called the sanctuary of the Balinese, is considered by many to be next in importance to the household temple. Its primary purpose is that of sleeping quarters for the principal couple. It is often the only building in the compound that can be closed. Van Romondt finds in this a support for his supposition of a phenomenon apparent in many parts of Southeast Asia: married couples are given a sleeping place with some privacy and sometimes elevation, denied to other members of the family, as a sign of their sacred progenitive function. This idea is strengthened by the fact that elsewhere in the entire dwelling little thought has been given to the physical comfort of sleeping. We will presently see that in a pekarangan the supreme importance of this building is wholly unchallenged. Since its location corresponds to the point guarded by Brahma, the procreator, it seems safe to accept this theory of the parental sanctuary, at least as the original function of the umah mèten. Today, however, it is challenged by another feature of Southeast Asia life: the security of marriageable daughters. It is known that they would take one of the platforms to sleep on, separated from the parents on the other side by a cloth. Reports from people who have been given hospitality there testify that the privacy in such an arrangement is questionable, which is quite understandable. The need for privacy for married couples might be further questioned by the fact that when there are several maidens in the compound they are left in the umah mèten with a chaperoning

28 In lectures, correspondence and oral communication.
29 H. J. E. F. Schwartz, "Rapport van eene reis van den controleur voor de politieke aangelegenheden vergezeld door de Poenggawa van Soekasada Goesti Njoman Raka van 27 Januari t/m 7 Februari 1900", TBG, 43, 1901, p. 554-560.
old woman, while the parents sleep on the veranda or elsewhere.\textsuperscript{30} The idea of the \textit{umah metèn} as a place for security is also supported by the common practice of storing all the family valuables there on bamboo racks overhead, between and under the platforms.\textsuperscript{31}

Whenever possible a nobleman will build himself a \textit{balé gedè}, a status symbol of a member of the \textit{triwangs}, in the eastern quarter, directly south of the household temple. This is a nearly square building on the highest base found in the compound. It has twelve posts to carry its roof and two platforms at the rear in an arrangement similar to that of the \textit{umah metèn}. The whole is usually an open building with only a partial wall at the rear or two wooden screens at the top of the platforms. Aside from the shrines in the household temple, this is the only building in the compound covered by a pointed roof. This is more remarkable since on Bali, as in many parts of Southeast Asia, a pointed roof is associated with the notion of sacredness. Few explorers of Bali have fully acknowledged this fact.\textsuperscript{32}

In daily life the \textit{balé gedè} is simply used as a multi-purpose building where women can do their weaving and other household chores, artisans practise their trade, children play when it rains, and people sleep at night. The real character of the \textit{balé gedè} only comes to fore at the "rites de passage" which are performed there.\textsuperscript{33} Here a Balinese is born, his fortieth day is celebrated, his teeth are filed to mark his adolescence, he is married, and at death his body is lain in state before cremation. In the ninefold system the place is guarded by Ishvara, representing the present in the three-fold cycle of Balinese life. (It would be interesting to make an inquiry into the relationship between the \textit{balé gedè} and the \textit{pamerajan} in their ceremonial functions).

The western and the northwestern quarters are much less subject to rules or regularities. If the family can afford it, a \textit{loji}\textsuperscript{34} will be built close to the entrance. This is the building used to sleep guests; attempts are made to give it as modern an appearance as possible, a gesture of real Balinese hospitality, though often at the cost of losing traditional uniformity. More often, especially as the family is expanding, buildings

\textsuperscript{30} Korn in Swellengrebel 1960: 306.
\textsuperscript{31} Van Eck 1878: 189.
\textsuperscript{32} Covarrubias called it the social parlour.
\textsuperscript{33} Van Romondt 1962: 8.
\textsuperscript{34} From the Dutch \textit{loge}. 
of general use are built, i.e. for household activities during the day and sleeping at night. For this reason it is not customary to give specific names to these pavilions; for the sake of convenience they are named according to the number of posts they use. We find, for example, balé sikepat for one with four posts, balé sekenam for one with six, balé sekulu (or sekahulu) for one with eight, and balé tiang sanga for one with nine. Anything larger, except for the balé gedé with twelve posts, would be a rare exception in the ordinary dwelling.

Structurally these buildings conform with the typical balé to be described separately. To the otherwise neutral space between the top of the base and the hollow of the roof a direction toward the natar is often suggested by screening walls. On one side or in one of the corners of the building a platform will usually be built between the posts in such a juxtaposition with the screening walls that this enables a person to lie down with his head against a wall in a north or east direction, since it is not meet to lay with one's head to the west or to the south.35

On the southern side of the compound is found the paon and the lumbung, the kitchen and the rice granary. In the ninefold system this is the realm of Vishnu, the preserver and governor. Most interesting is his identification with the female ancestors, for even though there is no actual division of sexes in a Balinese dwelling, kitchen and granary would be the special domain of the women.

The kitchen is generally more simply built than the other buildings. Its base is seldom any higher than two feet. The roof, often the gable roof which is easier to construct than the current hipped roofs, sometimes has vertical sections set into the gable to prevent the rain from coming in. Against the back wall are built some earthen stoves for wood and charcoal fires. Pots and pans hang overhead. Earthenware water jars are standard equipment since the supply of drinking water has to be carried on the women's heads from nearby springs.

In contrast with the kitchen is the elaboration spent on the granary. It usually does not have a base at all; stone column-bases, umpaks, are put directly on the ground from whence the columns rise. There might be a raised floor where women can work during the day and people sleep at night. This floor could be missing though, in which case the columns go directly up to the garret which is the actual granary. A hull-shaped gable roof protects and conceals the contents which are

reached through a hatch in the gable, so high that the aid of a ladder must be secured for storing and removing the rice. Sometimes smooth, round wooden discs are inserted between the posts and the garret floor to keep rodents from climbing up. The storage of freshly cut rice after the harvest involves certain ceremonies dedicated to Devi Sri, the goddess of agriculture and fertility.36 In recent times people have tried to give her a place in the ninefold pantheon as Vishnu's spouse,37 but Goris attributes the cult associated with rice cultivation to pre-Hindu times.38

Rice threshing is done in the open, or under the granary when it rains. The sheaves may be spread anywhere to dry, even in the natar when it is possible to keep the fowls out of the way. Cocks are kept in baskets as the proud fighting pets of the men. One section of the southern side is reserved for the pigsties, simultaneously the dwelling's garbage disposal and sewage system, the pigs being such thorough eaters. Low walls or fences keep the domestic animals in, though they are sometimes allowed to wander off to the rest of the compound or into the streets.

As can be seen on the plan, in spite of all the activities of the compound there remains some unusable space, which goes to waste. It just does not seem to exist to the inhabitants. Except in the natar, trees grow unexpectedly anywhere, which accounts for the verdance of a Balinese village.

An entrance is something ambiguous in Bali, no matter whether it is to a dwelling or to a temple. On one hand it is the first, often the only thing to be seen from the street, hence the tendency to decorate it, often done excessively on temples. On the other hand it is the only opening to the compound where evil spirits may enter. Good spirits do not seem to need the door, lawang, to enter. Perhaps Covarrubias' account may throw some light on the Balinese conception of the house:

The Balinese say that a house, like a human being, has a head — the family shrine; arms — the sleeping quarters and the social parlour; a navel — the courtyard; sexual organs — the gate; legs and feet — the kitchen and the granary; and anus — the pit in the backyard where the refuse is disposed of.39

37 Damsté 1966: 257.
However it may be, the entrance belongs to the vile sphere and therefore should be on the South. An obstructing wall, aling-aling, prevents looking or walking directly into the center, but leads the path off, only to allow access to the natar after a couple of turns. Sometimes the same effect is acquired by placing a building with its back wall facing the entrance. These requirements present little difficulty unless the street runs along the North side of the compound, but to this situation, too, the Balinese have a ready answer. The entrance is simply made in the northwestern corner. A long wall is extended beside the doorway parallel to the western compound wall, so that we are led through a corridor to the southern extremities of the compound where we can proceed as in the other cases (fig. 6). This has an incredible — and perhaps accidental — architectural effect as one is forced to see the whole compound and walk through a large part of it before coming to the other climax in the household temple. I have depicted the "walking lines" from the entrance through the natar to the pamerajan in the four case diagrammatically (fig. 2).

Figure 2.

THE FOUR LOCATIONS OF A DWELLING.

Facilities for making offerings are provided in front of the gate. This may vary from a simple niche in the outside wall to two flanking offering columns, the apit lawang. To determine the position of the door, the street side of the compound is divided into nine equal parts and the door is placed on one of the dividing points, never between, making it impossible to get the gate in the center of a wall. Jero entrances do not differ essentially from others, so it does not usually make any extraordinary appearance in the typical Balinese street vista. It forms a view of long continuous walls topped with thatch built on either side of the street and broken by the rhythm of the projecting

40 Evil spirits turn with difficulty, ibid.: 89.
41 P. A. J. Moojen, Kunst op Bali, inleidende studie tot de hondenkunst, Den Haag
gateways. The gateways protrude both in thickness and height from the compound walls. The opening is in the center of the gate where the door frame is set in. On top of it is a thatch roof. Decorations are simple or absent. A few steps or a short ramp lead up from the street to the door, in which a knee-high board is sometimes set across to fence pigs in. The compound it at a higher level than the street, which is achieved for the same reason that the level of the household temple should be higher than that of the compound, namely a transcendental hierarchy. At the utilitarian level, too, this becomes very handy since the drainage of the compounds is easily provided for by making outlets to open ditches along the streets. Drainage, moreover, is solved communally, so we see, for example, in the jeros of Tatiapi and Bugbug (figs. 3 and 4) that roof overhangs protruding into a neighboring yard are not objectionable.

We have already touched on one aspect that is missing in a Balinese dwelling: the adequate provision for the physical comfort of sleeping.

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**Figure 3.**

**A JERO IN TATIAPI.**

(See the key to fig. 1)

n piasan  o balé sari  p balé sekulu

This is an example of a large jero which in its walled sections is approaching the arrangement of a grya. The umah meten and the lumbung are duplicated, and the natar becomes less defined. If we disregard the service court — which Western border is not well defined by a deteriorated low wall adjoining a brook — we could apply some kind of nine partition.
Bachelors take up their sleeping mats at night and lie down anywhere they can find a vacant space; they do not have an appointed place. Should we follow this indication, we soon will find that other facilities for the maintenance of the body are also neglected. While the storage of rice is almost glorified, and the place for preparation of food is housed, there is no decent place for consuming it. Within a household there is no sitting down to a family meal. Each member takes his leaf-plate of rice at his own leisure, carrying it off into a corner, often turning his back on his friends and relatives.\(^{42}\) The cleansing of the body is important to the Balinese, who often bathe more than once a day, but bathing has no place in the dwelling. For this purpose there are the rivers, springs, and sometimes sacred bathing areas.

**The puri.**

More than in any of the other cases the name *puri* is a term of politeness.\(^{43}\) In this essay, however, *puri* will be understood to mean the residence of a *raja*, _punggawa_ or *mancha*, i.e. king, vassal, or governor. The perishable character of the materials employed in Balinese ar-

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1926, p. 68.

42 Be10 1948: 170.

43 In the small village of Tatiapi the term *puri* was applied to an ordinary _jero_ which happened to be occupied by the only Ksatrya family in the village, but who further were ordinary peasants and did not enjoy prerogatives of any kind.
chitecture did not allow thorough research on the earliest puris. Many of these were later abandoned and some were destroyed in warfare. This is not to say that such explorations are completely impossible. Our present task, however, is to pursue the features that typify a puri. One of these typical features is that the puri is built on a specified site in the village, or rather the village is laid out according to a set pattern around the puri.

The first attempt at a description of a typical puri was made by Moojen,** amended by Van Romondt, and further revised for our present use (fig. 5). The ground plan is divided into nine courts, in this case not imaginary, but substantiated by high solid walls. We recognize again the well-known triadic division into sacred, intermediate and profane parts. The three northern courts make up the pamerajan or pura merajan. The central row, i.e. West, Center, and East are the dwelling courts. The southern row finally are the entrance and service courts. Thus, everything is in perfect conformity with the laws of cosmology.

The northern row could almost be translated into the terms of the three courts of a pura, temple. Indeed, most of these pamerajans are accessible from the outside and open to the villagers. The first court is the jaba, which is reached from the outside through a chandi bentar or chandi raras, a special type of gateway which looks like a temple split into two halves. The inner sides are usually smooth to demonstrate the idea of splitting. This kind of gate is set in a tracery wall, giving the gate a very open character, conducive to the feeling of being free to walk in and out at will. As to the contents of this court, it would be hard to establish a standard. Recurrently we find some open pavilions as we will see in the entrance court to the puri. A special building that is sometimes built here is the balé kambang, depicted in our drawing. It is a building on a high base in the center of a pond and reached by a bridge. It would be interesting to make an inquiry on what water means to the Balinese and Javanese, in this case the water of lakes.

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44 1926: figs. 13 and 14.
45 1954: fig. 2.
46 In North Bali there are some examples with decorated inner sides, but these are considered baroque aberrations.
47 Van Romondt (1962: 5) propounded that a chandi bentar in an anchak saji levels off the atmosphere (c.q. degree of sacredness) inside and out. The name chandi would come from the idea that anyone with evil intentions entering the gate would be crushed between the closing sides and buried as in a grave (chandi = monumental grave).
and ponds, not that of the frightening rivers and the sea. In the old literature we find water frequently associated with pleasances on the one hand and places of meditation on the other. At first these two appear to be impossible ideas for coalescence. Perhaps the kind of meditation done is just an opportune way for the “tired sultan” to relax after a hard day of work while enjoying the serenity of nature, female beauty and a good meal. In two well-known water palaces, the taman sari of Ujung near Karangasem and of Jogjakarta, special attention has been given to the dining rooms, much in discordance with the usual arrangements. The balé kambangs of Bali are also known to be used mainly for feasting.

The second court, jaba-jero or jaba-tengah, is used for the preparation of offerings. It is also the one to give access to the central dwelling court and successively to the other parts of the puri. Among other things, like the balé banten, here would stand a building for the reception of guests attending rituals. This court is generally entirely enclosed by solid walls and is entered from the first court through a closeable gateway or kori agung. Formally we can trace it back to the simple gateway to an ordinary dwelling: a thickening and heightening of the wall, in which an opening is saved to make the entrance which is closeable by a door, and the whole finally topped by a roof. In the puris and puras naturally, this basic shape is extended with extra buttresses to the sides and the roof is multiplied and usually built up of solid materials. More efforts are spent on decorating the gateways than the buildings in the compound. These decorations were intentionally made for magical purposes. There might be a Boma head over the door, some Rakshasas and animals flanking the steps, all of them guarding the temple ground against evil beings. The apit lawang (also balé mundar mandir and other names) should not be missing. In conformity with the entrance to a dwelling, an aling-aling directs our path through a kori. This wall, too, is an object of elaborate decoration, often the place for a pictorially represented date. A kori agung door is only opened on important occasions, and for daily use a simple side door is built, sometimes no more than a gap in the solid wall.

The third court, jeroan or jero-dalem will contain such shrines as have been described in the pamerojan of a jero, although more numerous and more elaborately decorated. We are likely to find here some merus,

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48 Goris called it paduraksa, which I suspect is North Balinese terminology, for in South Bali this term is applied to a corner pillar.
Figure 5.

SCHEMATIC PLAN OF A PURI.

A1 jeroan
A2 jabatengah
A3 jaba
B1 sarèn kangin
B2' pelataran rangki
B2'' sarèn agung
B3 sarèn kauh
C1 service court
C2 semanggèn
C3 pelataran anchak saji

1 chandi bentar
2 anchak saji
3 kori agung
4 paduraksa
5 balé tegeh
6 balé layon
7 balé bengong
8 umah metèn
9 balé gedé
10 pamerajan
11 ukiran
12 balé kambang
13 meru
14 padmasana

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shrines with multiple roofs. They are believed to be a replica of the Hindu celestial mountain Mahameru. The number of roofs (tumpangs) is always uneven and depends on a number of factors: the nature of the temple, the nature of the gods worshipped there, and the caste of the person who built it. For example, a king wishing to worship Shiva in a state temple will have the maximum number of tumpangs put on his meru: eleven. Occasionally one comes across a meru with two roofs, but it will be described as tumpang ésa, with one roof.

Of the three dwelling courts the most important is the central one where the main occupant lives. This court is divided into two halves by a wall which is comparable to the Javanese sekètèng, the border between the public and the private life of the king. Sometimes the sekètèng divides the male and the female parts of the house. The southern half, called pelataran rangki, is the public sector, where a balé gedé is built for the royal family’s “rites de passage”. The pelataran rangki might also contain a building to lodge the most intimate guests. The Northern part, sarèn agung, is occupied by different buildings of the direct royal family. The main building of the central court is the ukiran of the king. It is in the middle of the court and is intersected by the wall, thus conforming with the public and private division of the entire court. As a sign of reverence the ukiran is covered by a pointed roof.

East of the central court is the sarèn kangin, a dwelling compound for members of the royal family who are not in the king’s immediate family. It is preferably used by an older branch of the royal house. The basic appearance of the sarèn kangin is that of a jero. It has its own pamerajan in the northeastern corner, an umah metèn to the north, a balé gedé in the eastern sector and other buildings around a natar.

The Western counterpart of the sarèn kangin, the sarèn kauh, is roughly the same in appearance. It is reserved for other members of the royal family, often for the king’s younger brother who performs the duty of governor or warlord. For this reason another component is added to the usual parts of a dwelling. Along the southwestern corner of the wall a balé bengong, or balé lembu agung, is built. This is a building with a base so high that it provides a kind of lookout tower for the puri. During peaceful times it gives the female noblesse a place to watch outside activities without leaving the puri.

49 Goris (1952): 104; van Romondt 1954: 22; Swellengrebel 1960: 44.
50 Ibid. Goris.
As we could expect, the southern courts are reserved for the same functions as the southern part of the jero, namely for entrance and service courts. The southeast section is occupied by the servant's quarters, the kitchen, and the granary. An inconspicuous screened door enables the personnel to enter and leave without using the main gates. The south-central court is called samanggèn and is the forecourt of the pelataran rangki. Here is usually built the lodging for guests, the balé gong for the storage of musical instruments and the training of the orchestra. The most important building in the semanggèn is a perfect replica of the balé gedé. Indeed, it takes over one of the functions of the balé gedé, that of the lying in state of a deceased member of royalty, and, therefore, is called the balé layon or balé bandung.

The southwestern court is called the pelataran anchak saji, meaning the court surrounded by tracery walls. These walls are detached from the rest of the puri walls, leaving a gap wide enough for a man to walk easily through. The two entrances are provided by split temple gateways. Every means is exploited to give this court a maximum amount of openness, seeming to motion people in. It is the court where the ruler meets his subjects, to whom every gesture of hospitality is given in an architectural language. This open atmosphere comes to an abrupt end at the adjacent puri walls, which are solid and high in contrast with the low transparent anchak saji. Kori agungs form the entrances into the sarèn kauh and the semanggèn. The stately gateway to the semanggèn forms the scenery for dance performances given by the ruler, also bringing the semanggèn into a backstage function. The pelataran anchak saji, therefore, has several open buildings for guests and orchestra, although most of the performances are completely open-air affairs. When these buildings have four posts, they are called balé bunder, round buildings.51 In the outermost corner of the anchak saji, the balé tegeh, a high based building thrusts above the fence in the same way that the balé bengong overlooks the puri wall, though naturally it does not reach the same height. It could not compete in size with the lookout building, but its pointed roof suggests a weightier function. Today, however, the balé tegeh stands on the corner merely as a piquant architectural accent on the village square.

From the example of the puri we can construct a picture, assuming that the pelataran anchak saji is always in the southwestern corner whatever the arrangement of the rest of the puri may be. If this is so,

51 Van der Kaaden 1937: 395.
ROGER Y. D. TAN.

Figure 6.

A PEKARANGAN IN PÊJÈNG.

1 sanggah
2 metên
3 balé tiang sanga
4 natar
5 balé sekenam
6 lumbung
7 paon
8 pigstalls
it might lead to the conclusion that the orientation of the impure-intermediate-holy sequence is in reality Southwest-Center-Northeast. In fact almost all puris are situated in the northeastern quarter of the village square since that is the holiest place. In all these cases the pelataran anchak saji is in the southwestern corner, the corner of the crossroads of the village. But there is no rule in Bali without some exceptions; in this case we find the exception in Bangli. Whether it is because of the presence of two other puris in the square, or some other unknown reason, the main puri is built in the northwestern quarter. The location of the pelataran anchak saji is now changed to the southeastern corner. This leads us to surmise that the southwestern site of the pelataran anchak saji is not compulsory. Perhaps it is determined by the corner at which the crossroads meet, and in that way serves an architectural purpose: opening up the crossroads corner which would otherwise appear too forbidding, too massive to be in the center of community life.

Puris of Pâjêng and Ubud.

These two puris, both residences of punggawas of the kingdom of Gianjar, arc in general accord with the propounded scheme, certainly with the plan. But a building with modern uses and modernistic appearance encroaches upon the pelataran anchak saji of the Pâjêng puri, the adjacent garages obstruct the view of the northern kori agung and the eastern side entrance is widened to allow automobiles to enter: signs of a new mode of life as this puri is trying to give some hotel accommodation for modern tourism. The southern courts are empty with no wall dividing them; an ample pond occupies the central part of the larger area created by this union.

The master at Ubud, one of the propagators of modern Balinese art initiated by Western artists in this region, opened his puri as a working and lodging area for gifted Balinese. Except for the cemented archways replacing the traditional chandi bentars, this puri is in perfect accord with our description.

The pekarangan, the grya and the large puri.

After having dwelt at length on the jero and the puri, we can be brief on the other versions of Balinese dwellings, since they cannot be called independent types, but rather variations on the two preceding themes. The pekarangan can roughly be described as a lesser jero. A grya usually consists of several walled courts and can be put somewhere between a large jero and a small puri. Finally, the large puris for the kings can be such sprawling complexes of receiving, service, dwelling and worshipping units that they could pass for small villages.
Figure 7. GRYA OF GIANYAR.

1 pool 5 kori 9 lumbung 13 balé gedé
2 ramp 6 doorway 10 modern building 14 balé pawedan
3 raised platform 7 pigstalls 11 umah meten 15 piasan
4 apit lawang 8 paon 12 other balés 16 sanggah karnulan
Because the nobility, the triwangsa, in Bali only makes up some 6% of the population, the bulk of domestic architecture actually consists of pekarangan. There is a building code that gives minimum measures for every type of building; that of the pekarangan is obviously the smallest. Yet the code does not prevent a common man from having a larger compound than a nobleman if he can afford it. But there are certain limitations imposed on him regardless of his wealth. These are laid down by adat, the customary law. The first of these prohibitions is on the balé gedé, which only a nobleman can build. Secondly, the umah metèn must not have a verandah. Today modern life has created new means of gaining wealth and many sudras feel that these adat restrictions are too discriminatory. However, he would rather evade than violate the adat by building himself a modern, Western style house.

Many sudras though, still follow the old agricultural way of life. In this case there is only a slim chance that a sudra would even be able to build such things as the adat allows. Therefore we frequently see that the anchak saji is absent around the sanggah, a vulgarized term for the nobleman's pamerajan. Some shrines simply stand in the northeastern corner. A granary is also seldom seen; the paddy bundles are hung somewhere in the mansarde of one of the buildings.

Although the position of a priest in a community would suggest a highly specialized function, his dwelling architecturally conforms basically with the described types. His walled household temple in the northeastern section contains nothing that we would not find in the jeroan of a puri. In some cases access from the outside is provided for this pamerajan. The dwelling compounds also follow the formula of a jero, that is separate buildings around the natar according to the universal order. Like the main dwelling in a puri, the priest's umah metèn may also have a pointed roof. The entrance court is usually an open yard, sometimes hard to distinguish from the general open space, except that it is often raised a few feet above the open space or marked by a corner signal block tower.

Because the building code only sets minima, the exact size and shape of a puri practically depends on the wealth of the particular state and

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52 Van Romondt 1962: 10; special attention should be drawn to Balinese manuscripts dealing with building such as the Indian cilpaçastras; I have not been able to find one in transcription and translation.
Schwartz visited this puri when the kings of South Bali were still in power, and Karangasem was then one of the strongest states. At this time however, the ruler did not reside in the original puri agung, which was left to his retiring father, but has built himself this new puri kanginan. There is a resemblance of a threefold division in East-West direction. To the North the number of courts as well as their size has been multiplied several times. There is a beginning of an internal road from the kitchen court to the pamerajan. This has many uncommon features. It has taken a most private character as it has no practical access from outside, and the king’s dwelling on its “private” side opens directly into it. It is furthermore a large undivided court and the balé kambang (here called balé papeik) in the wide pond makes it appear like a taman sari.
Figure 9. PURI AGUNG OF GIANYAR.
(Adapted from Moojen 1926 and Van der Kaaden 1937).
The largest existing puri in Bali, this is also the most difficult to describe. It can be interpreted in clusters of courts:

a anchak saji pamerajan  c pesuchian  e petirtan
b gerya sindu  d jabaning petirtan  f pamerajan agung
Six courts which make up for the palace's temple, which appear to be more oriented toward the outside than toward the puri.
g pemeletesan  i raja dani  k pelebahan jero bungbungan
h kanya bawa  j pamerajan alit
Five courts which take the function of the sarèn agung in the typical puri, generally termed women's quarters. The access to the great pamerajan is not direct but leads through the internal corridor.

l semara bawa  n pelatara loji with 1 balé kambang and 2 balé bengong
m pelatara ukiran  o rangki  p semanggèn
The courts and forecourts of the king. It is remarkable that not the ukiran but the gedong in the semara bawa has the typical position across the wall.
x ran  y taman with small raised pamerajan in NE corner  z gerya agung
The courts for the crown prince and the king's mother.

q ratna kanya  s jero bungbungan  u jero negara
r jero siangan  t jero agung  v paseban
Courts for other members of the family and official functionaries.
a' anchak saji  c' perantenan  e' jero anyu  g' senetan
b' pagedohan jaran  d' jero anyar  f' samenkang  h' jempeng
Entrance and service courts.
The different clusters are interconnected by corridors which tend toward a cross shape, though I would not give it any significance in this case.
the power of the king. The expansion usually starts with the multiplication of dwelling courts, a question of functional necessity or material ability. In the course of time dividing walls may be broken down or altered to meet new needs. Finally, corridors might be provided for the internal traffic; the resulting clusters of compounds assume the appearance of individual dwellings, which they actually are. When *cul-de-sacs* are introduced to mark the entrance to each cluster, the *puri* has come suspiciously near the "urban" arrangement of a village. Even the usual immediate access of the ruler to the *pamerajan* is relinquished for a more public character of this temple which the king then enters by the internal street.

*The balé.*

We have already seen that *balé* is the common term for building, which can be specified further according to its function or number of posts. In accordance with the tripartite division of the Balinese world we can roughly subdivide a building into three parts: the base or stereobate, the timber structure and screening walls, and the roof.

The stereobate usually consists of four short walls of brick or stone. This rectangular box is then filled in with stamped earth. In poor or unimportant buildings this hardened earthen surface is also the floor, but affluence allowing, it will be paved and sometimes polished. The walls too can be smooth, profiled or ornamented depending on the nature of the building and the owner’s wealth.

It is less simple to follow the rest of the building’s development since differing thoughts seem to have been maintained in structural and spatial terms. As far as structure goes, the building rests on a number of wooden posts which are set on stone or masonry column bases called *umpaks*. Rigidity of the structure is established by horizontal tie beams, sometimes doubled and corbelled, which are stiffened at the joints by shores. At a lower level the supporting beams for the platforms — whenever present — are suspended between the posts to which they are fastened with peg-in-hole construction secured by a wedge. Columns are not usually elaborately carved; a few simple profiles suffice for the richest buildings. The decorations, however, are more abundant in the higher parts of the roof space.

The screening walls are built in stone, brick, or simply mud and are entirely detached from the timber structures. For stone and brick

53 M. Covarrubias, "Balinese Art", *Asia*, 37, 1937, p. 579-584
masonry a peculiar technique is employed. A soft kind of sandstone, in Balinese called paras, is cut into uniform pieces not bigger than bricks. The bricks too are not baked too hard. With muddy water for “mortar” the bricks or stones are rubbed on the preceding layer until they stick. When the mud is still wet, it gives some adhesive power; later the bricks and stones are kept in place by weight and perfect fit.\textsuperscript{53}

If the wall surface is to be smooth, this effect is achieved by using a plane, in the same way that a carpenter would smooth a board. Ornaments are first formed in rough shapes and later cut into the stone or brick. The material is so soft that working it is no harder than working in wood. One cannot speak of Balinese masonry as durable. This is obvious from the fast decay of masonry which is left in the open. The other kind of solid building material, adobe, is always covered from the tropical rains. The adobe is supplied from the local earth. It is kneaded into balls and laid down in the sun to dry. In building a wall, two rows of these mud balls are lined up at the proper location. The crevices are then filled with more clay and the wall is ready for the next layer.

In building partitions precautions are always taken to have these under the roof overhang. Even the outside compound walls are topped by a rice-straw roof on bamboo rafters. Since rice-straw is not a very lasting material, this roofing has to be renewed after each harvest. When in the dwellings of the rich, especially the gryas and puris, masonry walls are used to enclose the compounds, this roofing is made of hard baked tiles manufactured for this purpose. Piercing the walls for the anchak sajis is done by skillful skipping in the masonry or by inserting porcelain — some people say Chinese-made — “ajour” tiles.\textsuperscript{54}

There are two distinctly different types of roof construction, although the materials used may be the same everywhere. I have called them the planar and the spatial constructions. The first method is used for buildings of minor importance like the kitchen, the granary and occasional temporary structures. The main component is the plane, and the buildings subsequently look like houses of cards. The roof most suitable for the planar construction is the gable roof, in which case the two roof planes are simply hung to a ridge. The support of this ridge by king posts, girders and columns is built which every joint

\textsuperscript{54} The extent of Chinese influence on Balinese and Javanese art has thus far not as yet been subject to serious research. I wish to reaffirm Stutterheim’s urge for the need of such initiative, De Kraton van Majapahit, Den Haag 1948, footnotes.
stiffened individually. Sometimes triangular pieces of roofing are inserted into the gables with small extended strips of the main roof planes to prevent rain from coming in, thus making hips unnecessary. I have called this kind, therefore, a pseudo-hipped roof since there are four roof planes but no actual hip.

It must be remarked that in some of the materials used for roofing in Bali it is either impracticable or very difficult to make hips. For temporary buildings the palm leaf roofing is more frequently used than the more lasting alang-alang grass which takes more time for processing. In the mountain regions where the planar construction prevails, split bamboo is a frequent roofing material. These two materials do not lend themselves easily to covering hips. If hipping is unavoidable we can witness only the hopelessly unaesthetic sight of sheet metal ridges and hips.

There are two materials in which the Balinese have gained mastery in making hips: the alang-alang grass for most ordinary buildings and the duk, a black arem-palm fibre used for sacred buildings. Hence we have the second type of roof construction, the spatial. In this case the roof seems to be one, three dimensional, rigid construction. The alang-alang or duk is doubled and tied to a bamboo lath which in its turn is tied to bamboo rafters with red-dyed rattan strings. This mesh is suspended between a wooden frame formed by the ridge, hips, end-boards, and sometimes additional rafters in the middle of the roof plane, secured together by wedges. With the fanning out of the bamboo rafters, the bulk of the roofing — and probably the comparatively small weight — this construction makes such a rigid shell that is just seems to need to be laid down on the ring of tie beams connecting the posts. Sometimes richly carved king posts do go up to the ridge, frequently not supporting the ends but slightly inwards, apparently to maintain some freedom of design. Though these king posts are locked underneath by a block carved in the figure of a lion or a bird, I had the impression that this is just a pivoting support preventing the ridges from bending. In rare cases would a king post carry the top of a pointed roof. Unfortunately, this native construction system is more and more giving way to Western truss structures.

55 A man's weight is not calculated in a normal roof, and during construction the end boards would be supported by extra posts to the ground.
The desa.

At the risk of going beyond our scope in the strict sense of the word architecture we will now review the physical shape of the village as it has much in common with the plan of a dwelling. There are different ways to departmentalize and enfold Balinese society. Even if we confine ourselves to the groupings which come to expression in planning and architecture, there is still a variety wide enough to make one

![Diagram of Desa Schematic Plan]

Figure 10.

SCHEMATIC PLAN OF A DESA.

1 banchingah  
2 puri  
3 pura pusèh  
4 pura dalem  
5 pura balé agung  
6 wantilan  
7 pasar

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doubtful of the existence of any order. Yet many scholars have sensed that at least some sort of pattern is sought by most villages.

The smallest unit in the Balinese village is the kurèn, which is a dwelling compound inhabited by a patriarchal group. We saw that these dwellings can actually bear different names according to the rank of the owner. The kurèn, therefore, can be called an administrative term since various services and contributions have to be performed sakuren-sakuren, that is, dwelling by dwelling. The kurèns string up into rows which are the next units in a village, called témpek. There are some communal duties which are done by people of a témpek. One is a watch at the bier during a cremation. The smallest villages have on either side of the street a single or double row of compounds. This gives to most villages the natural elongated shape of ribbon development. When the dèsa gets bigger, there will usually be an intermediate unit, the banjar. So many contradictory accounts about the administrative duties of the banjar and dèsa have been written that it seems to be an impossible task to try to straighten it out. The truth about this confusion might be found in the varying historical backgrounds of the different settlements. In trying to bring uniformity for administrative purposes the Dutch government made revisions and re-groupings which are even less conducive to the study of community life.

There are indications that the feudal system and with it the kingdoms came at a later date. The rulers and vassals could not find a proper place in the existing ribbon settlements, so they had to build new residences. If we look at the plans of these — let us say princely — villages, it is immediately apparent that a preconceived pattern was in the planner’s mind (fig. 10). Two crossroads almost invariably form the core of the village plan. In most places crossroads may be the strategic location for the natural growth of settlements. This, however, is hardly ever the case with the princely villages in Bali. One striking fact is that the crossroads almost always run in North-South and East-West directions, a location which is not always made obvious by local topography, but on the contrary, is often at plain variance with it.

57 C. Geertz, “Form and variation in Balinese village structure”, *Amer. Anthr.*, 61, 1959, p. 991-1012.
59 *Ibid.*: 43.
60 *Ibid.*: 38.
62 Moojen 1926: 46.
Moreover, until Western civilization brought travel to Bali, there had hardly been any traffic in these villages. Regional roads often do not coincide with the village crossroads but run at a tangent to them. Sometimes these crossroads dwindle in size towards the village perimeters, becoming meagre winding footpaths or abruptly ending.

Around the crossing of these roads, and therefore in the heart of the village, a large square is reserved which is not to be built upon by ordinary dwelling compounds. This square is called the banchingah. The northeastern section is reserved for the puri which is to stand there alone, its walls detached from the rest of the village. Occasionally there are some — more or less religious — structures, on the other quarters of the banchingah. One of these may be a wantilan, a cockfight ring which in Bali is a religious structure since the shedding of a cock’s blood is regarded as a blood offering. Another one of these structures may be a balé kulukul, a signal block tower, or a rakshasa statue which is the village guardian. All of these buildings are solitary, monumental structures, not compounds. Temple and market complexes, when situated around the village center, are incorporated into the built-over area around the banchingah.

From the formal as well as from the organizational point of view, therefore, the village square with the crossroads can be paralleled with the natar in a dwelling. It is the space toward which all buildings are oriented and where community life is centered.

Every village should have its threefold temple set: the pura puseh, temple of origin; the pura balé agung, temple of the great assembly hall; and the pura dalem, the infernal temple. One cannot properly speak of rules for the location of these temples, but there are preferences. These are naturally Northeast for the pura puseh, adjacent to the village center for the pura balé agung, and South and rather apart from the built-up area, for the pura dalem. In smaller villages the pura puseh and the pura balé agung are sometimes united and called the pura dèsa. In the village of Tatiapi all three temples together with a wantilan are grouped around one plaza called the pura agung.

It is even more remarkable that some states have been trying to maintain this tryadic temple system in their realms. At this level the counterpart of the pura puseh is called pura puchak or pura bukit,

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64 Grader 1949: passim.
as it is situated in the mountainous Northern regions of the state. The counterpart of the pura balé agung is the pura penataran in the center of the state. The counterpart of the pura dalem finally is the pura segara at the sea shore. This last parallel may still be questioned since there is no such thing as cremation rituals at the state level. Goris, therefore, sought the parallel in the chandis like the rock-cut temples of Gunung Kawi and the prasadas. For the ultimate temple of origin for entire Bali there is the pura Besakih.

Conclusion.

The major schemes in Balinese thought as they appear in dwelling compounds have been demonstrated by comparing the typical descriptions with some existing examples. We examined the smaller unit — the individual building — and the larger, the village and the state. We saw ample room for variation, showing that in the end the Balinese build homes, not merely abstract monuments to represent some cosmological symbolism. Not in every case is the reason for the variations exactly known. Yet in summary I would like to conclude with an extension of the ninefold chart, although for the balé, desa and negara the symbolic representation has to be reduced to a threefold system.

ROGER Y. D. TAN

THE DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE OF SOUTH BALI.

THE NINEFOLD CHART EXTENDED
(comp. p. 445)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POINT</th>
<th>BALÉ</th>
<th>JERO</th>
<th>PURI</th>
<th>DESA</th>
<th>NEGARA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>balé gedé</td>
<td>sarèn kangin</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>natar</td>
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