

with another and that they are all in a fine or pure (*suci*) state. To render *sabda* pure or fine, one may invoke the *utpatthi* and *stthiti mantra*, while the *astra mantra* can do the same for *idep*; a *mudra* will help with *bayu*.<sup>8</sup>

In material people, *sabda* takes the form of intelligible speech or of the tongues that a mad person may declaim in<sup>9</sup> or the sometimes unintelligible speech that people possessed by the *bebai*, a malignant spirit, may involuntarily give vent to (Suryani 1984: 102). That these latter forms of speech do not disqualify the person who produces them from the status of human (*manusa*) as, for instance, people of the forest are disqualified from it in the Balinese Chain of Being by among other things their grunts, is explained by insanity being a misfortune (*sial* or *aget lacur*), as shown by the forefinger that some place diagonally (Ind., *malang*) across their brows to indicate another's madness, a more or less temporary impediment akin to the "polluted" states *sebel* or *kumel*.

As noted, though, *sabda* has a meaning that is wider than just "speech."<sup>10</sup> Animals and birds, we know, can produce sounds – the barking of dogs, the cooing of doves and pigeons –, and these can be used to communicate in a rudimentary way with humans, as humans can communicate with them similarly. Some snakes, too, that do not themselves produce sounds can understand them: those at the temple of Batu Bolong on the coast northeast of Cakranegara will leave people staying there

(*maturan*) be if the snakes' permission (*pamitan*) to be there is requested in fine Balinese. *Cikcak*, geckoes, are also said by villagers to be able to understand what they say and these reptiles may signify their agreement with what they hear by making their characteristic "cik-cik-cak" sound.

Sound, of course, is also an aspect of certain natural phenomena (as "we" understand them) such as volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, and lightning. All these may of course be destructive in which case it is inferred that the gods are displeased. The sounds accompanying the destructive phenomena are considered an indication of the gods' anger as much as the destruction wrought, perhaps, by the phenomenon in question. These sounds are "hot" (*panes*) and may be contrasted with silence which under one aspect, when contrasted with the noise and bustling excitement of times that are *ramé*, is boring and weighs heavily; but which under another aspect is calming and cool (*etis*) like the sound (*nada*) of Sarasvati's goose (*angsa*) which figures in important rites at "state" temples, and of the bamboo flute (*suling*).

The sounds produced by a metalophone orchestra (*gamelan* [usually called *gong* on Lombok]) also are far more than just sound. The five-tone scale (*sléndro*), it is well known, is taken by Balinese theorists to be an aspect of the five gods (*panca déva*) of the five cardinal directions *kajakelod*, *kangin/kauh*, and *pungsed* which for convenience may be glossed north/south, east/west, and center (cf., e.g., McPhee 1947: 40). The sounds produced by the various combinations of these tones are combinations of these gods (in the same way as the colours red, black, and white are the *tri murti*, the gods Brahma, Visnu, and Iswara [Siva]); and Sanger reports (1985: 59) that villagers where she did field research on Bali "believed that God (Ida Betara) in the form of Iswara, the deity for breath of life [*bayu*], was seated (*melinggih*) in the gong and that it was his presence that caused sound (*munyi* [also, significantly, voice, utterance, speech among other things]) to emanate from the gamelan."

Leaving aside the numerous questions that could be asked about this formulation in the light of the work of, for instance, Needham (1972) and the present writer (e.g., 1987b), and whether other villagers believe that Iswara breathes life, so to say, into the instruments so that they produce sounds, in Pagutan villagers averred that the sounds of the various compositions, generally played on tape or infrequently by an orchestra from a nearby Balinese village (*désa*) only during the preparations for or during a very elaborate

8 These *mantra* are respectively: *OM I-Ba-Sa-A / OM ya na ma Ciwa*; *OM Sa Ba Ta A I / OM ya na ma CiWa-ya*; *OM Um Phat astrāya namah*.

9 Dr. David Napier: personal communication.

10 "*Bayu*" similarly may have referents other than "energy"; e.g., "wind" (*angin*), the bodies of gods. This is especially so on Lombok on the foothills of Mount Rinjani, the Mahameru of the Balinese there, where more learned pilgrims to the summit remark on the continued presence of the gods where the wind seems always to blow. "Thought," also, can take various forms (see, e.g., Hobart 1985: 121; Duff-Cooper 1988a). These social facts suggest that gods do not "shade off into pure thought" in the Balinese Chain of Being as Hobart has it. Apart from "pure thought" not being readily intelligible, that the gods are one set to another more or less capable of influencing the course of events in the middle world to humans' benefit or discomfiture, that they are more or less all-knowing, and that they are "wind," "sound," and "thought" suggests rather that they are the apotheoses, more or less, of beings possessed of the three *kaya* – a suggestion that is consonant with many gods, of course, being simply humans who have died and have been cremated and so belong to the invisible, essential realm rather than the visible, material realm of humans possessed of and exercising the potential of their three *kaya* to various degrees (which is where the three qualities [see above] come in [Duff-Cooper 1985b]).