

Naturally it would require a study of monograph length to explicate the processes of local redintegration concerned. Here it can only be suggested that a key idea in these processes is that everything in the Balinese world has its place (*gonah/linggih/tongos*). By place, of course, is here meant not one physical location, but a structural position that one thing (again, in a pragmatic sense) occupies in relation to another such thing, and, where these things are of an even number, relative to a point of reference. This point may (does) take a variety of forms.

This notion would satisfy the criterion that Baumann alludes to, namely the way in which processes of local redintegration cut across "our" categories of politics, economics, religion, and the rest, for the notion of "place" (sc. position) is one that pervades so many aspects of Balinese life, including what we might term "economics,"¹⁸ that it has been referred to as an "absolute presupposition" of Balinese ideology (Duff-Cooper 1984b: 3, 35 f.).¹⁹ The question now is: Can this idea help us better to appreciate the significance of the social facts described in chap. 3 above?

I think it can. Generally, it is well-known, the lexical sets that constitute Balinese are to be employed according to rules (deduced from linguistic practice and admirably expounded by Kersten [1970: 13–25] and Zurbuchen [1987: 41–81]) which in general correlate lexical sets with position: the finer the language, the finer (or the higher or to the more to the right or the east or the closer to a chosen point of reference) the auditor or person referred to.

In the case of the other languages that are employed to a greater or lesser degree in Pagutan, as described, the fact that they derive from those who at one time or another have exercised jural authority over the Balinese is readily explicable: as Hocart pointed out some time ago, the desire "to emulate one's betters has been a most potent, perhaps the most potent, force in the diffusion of customs" (1970: 212). This process is evinced in

Baturujung by Sudra coming gradually to do and to explain what they do in relation to twins by reference to what the "castes" have for long done (as it is evinced, though in different connexions, in the influence that centers have upon the tastes and interests, if not more, of peripheries [cf. Duff-Cooper 1988b]). It is only expectable that language should also be so diffused.

Although these languages are those of the jural betters, so to say, of the Balinese, it is noteworthy that their employment is almost wholly limited either to the very finest or oldest members of the community (Old Javanese, Sanskrit) or, else, that they are mainly restricted in practice to places outside the centers that the compound and the village represent, as were and are the peoples whose languages have thus far been assimilated into Balinese life. That is, peoples and their languages (sc. inferior sounds) are relegated by the Balinese to "inferior" places with which the peoples are correlated (cf., e.g., Hobart 1986a: 136 f.); while the textual authority of Old Javanese and Sanskrit (as indeed the other ideas that surround them and Balinese, but which do not surround the other languages) render them fit only for the finest and most learned of Balinese to employ; and although the *jepung* (we have seen) is a favored means of entertainment and of offering, it is noteworthy, first, that performances for Balinese people are limited to Sudra (Pedanda Gdé told me that he would not countenance a performance in the Gria and implied that I had commissioned one for the wedding of Pak Care only because I had been tainted by the coarseness of village life which is "dirtier" physically often and ideologically always than life in a Gria or any "caste" compound); and, second, that the Sasak are (apart from Indian Hindus) taken to be the group (*bangsa*) of people closest of all non-Balinese to the Balinese, on Lombok at any rate, though for some classificatory purposes the Sasak are included among *Anak Java*, i.e., Indonesians.²⁰ The performance of *jepung* in Sudra compounds is thus consistent, especially as the money which is exchanged with other things for the performance may purify it as on one account (Hobart 1980: 55) anything that is exchanged for money is "purified by the market'."

Incidentally, I see no tension between the above and the fact that "*opname*" is employed for an important mystical operation, the cleansing of a person's disturbed soul, that is based on the

18 See, e.g., Duff-Cooper (1985f: 30). – The treatment that "economics" here receives tends to refute much of the burden of P.E. de Josselin de Jong's contention (1977: 26) that "structuralists have been unable to find a suitable approach to this aspect of culture," though he was of course writing some years before the study by the present writer appeared in 1986.

19 Much needs to be said about Hobart's arguments against "absolute presuppositions which somehow lie behind, or govern, surface manifestations" for they are very much off the mark (1986a: 137–139), but space precludes it being said here. They will be addressed on another occasion.

20 One of the Pedanda's closest friends (Ind. *sahabat*) was an "*anak Java saking Flores*," i.e., an Indonesian from Flores and, incidentally, a Christian.