

threaten, and the one to restore the old order. The Barong of Intaran are a vital symbol of a ruler deprived of power but present and active in the 'underground'. The Barong personifies the old order and its power.

New light is thereby shed on the enormous Barong gatherings in the P. Pengrebongan in Kesiman or in the P. Pucak Padang Dawa. Barong as ambivalent witnesses – on the one hand, to an extinct kingdom (that of Pinatih in Kerthalangu and that of Sentong in Pucak Padang Dawa); on the other hand, to the kingdom's powerful presence, which, even though it has its roots in the other world, symbolizes social opposition in this world. It is religiously formulated rebellion, more in the sense of a mnemonic device than of social action directed toward the future.

It is also said about Griya Delodpasar that it has the biggest and most dreaded specialists in *pengiwa*, the 'left road'. Since one aspect of such activities is always connected with fears regarding social upheaval, social tensions, and contradictions, with fears about social hierarchy and opposition to it, this fact complements the picture of the dealings of Delodpasar – and of Intaran – with the mastering of the past.

### From the Sacred Compound of the Founding Griya to the Public Temple

A further peculiarity exists in connection with this Founding Griya, though I did not succeed in completely clarifying the background because histories are lacking. The sacred compound of the Griya includes a *pemerajan* (Barong and Rangda are kept there). On the same plot of land, is a small temple, P. Rambut Siwi (see map of Pura Rambut Siwi). This sanctuary is a local representation (*pesimpangan*) of a temple of the same name in Jembrana, also situated on the seashore and, according to tradition, founded by the Brahmana ancestor Dang Hyang Nirartha. There are apparently no special relationships between the Brahmana Mas (to whom Delodpasar belongs) and Rambut Siwi, nor between Intaran and this distant but important sanctuary, which also has a netherworldly aspect. The reason why a temple was built for it on the territory of the *pemerajan* has not been preserved.

But much can be deduced from the temple festival taking place there: The day of the annual festival is different from that of the actual *pemerajan*. A large number of inhabitants from Intaran participate in the temple festival of P. Rambut Siwi, mainly those who have their *siwa* in Griya Delodpasar. They carry offerings into the temple, pray there, and are blessed. In the evening, Barong and Rangda of the Griya perform in front of the P. Rambut Siwi inside the *pemerajan*.

With P. Rambut Siwi, the Brahmana compound has – inside its own walls – established a center visited by a multitude of people from Intaran. They would never enter the *pemerajan* of the Griya on their own except to ask the Pedanda to direct a