

group go. Therefore, he assigned them a piece of land, a plot of his own taman, the extensive garden belonging to the palace.

Between P. Bale Agung and the sea, where today there is a wide motorway, in former times a brook formed the northern boundary of the taman. In the northeastern corner of this territory, the emigrants built a new Brahmana compound, the Griya Taman. Since a Brahmana compound, in order to function as such at all, needs its own 'people', Abian Timbul ordered the people of Renon to enter the service of the Griya Taman. They settled on the territory of today's Sindhu Kelod.

Attempts at Secession and Their Characteristics

Over the course of time after the foundation of this settlement which became *banjar* Taman Sari, attempts at secession began to be perceptible. No doubt, Taman Sari would today be a village in its own right,¹⁹⁹ if the colonial power (and later the state of Indonesia) had not joined various *desa adat* into municipalities. Taman never attained the status of a *desa adat*, even though it had *de facto* separated from Intaran. This is manifest in the spatial organization and its elements.

The first and most important step toward detachment from a village community consists in establishing a new cemetery with its sanctuary. Taman founded a new cemetery situated on the seashore, in the territory of today's Bali Beach Hotel. Likewise, a small *merajapati*, a cemetery sanctuary for the worship of the deities of the cemetery and the dead, was constructed there. From that time on, all the dead were buried and cremated there.

When the Bali Beach Hotel was built, this cemetery had to be moved. Today, it is located on the beach of Batujimbar; all the dead from Sindhu and Taman are buried there in an area called Batu Karang. Singgi also uses this cemetery; at the same time, the inhabitants of this *banjar* still own a lot in the cemetery Madura. In recent times, mainly the cemetery Batu Karang has been used. This fact emphasizes the special position of Singgi and confirms the assumption that some of its inhabitants took part in the overthrow of the Arya Sentong.

Another *banjar*, Banjar Panti, for which tendencies toward separation from Intaran can be proved, buries some of its dead in the cemetery Madura, some in that of Taman and Sindhu. That part of the settlement located east of the road takes its dead to Madura; the one west of the road to Batujimbar.

Only a cemetery so precisely reflects social unity. People from a settlement who feel they belong together are buried together. It is the closest ritual nexus existing in a *desa adat*. It can be assumed that all those *banjar* represented there with a plot of

¹⁹⁹ Regarding the discussion about *banjar* in relation to *desa*, as outlined in the literature on Bali, cf. Boon 1977:104-106.