

Bagoes Wiryomartono

Perspectives on Traditional Settlements and Communities

Home, Form and Culture in Indonesia

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List of Abbreviations

BaBinSa	Bintara pembina deSa (military low officer at the village level)
BAPPEDA	Badan Perencanaan dan Pembangunan DAerah Regional development planning board
BUUD	Badan Usaha Unit Desa Supporting body for village cooperatives
DANDIM	komanDAN DIstrik Militer Commander of military district
DANRES	komanDAN RESort Resort commander
GOLKAR	GOLongan KARya Functional group, main party in Indonesia
INPRES	INstruksi PRESiden Presidential decree
JABOTABEK	JAKarta BOgor TAngerang BEKasi Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang, Bekasi area
KEPPRES	KEPutusan PRESiden Presidential decree
Kodam	Komando daerah militer (regional military commander at provincial capital city)
Korem	Komando resort militer (resort military commander at regent capital town)
Koramil	Komando rayon militer (military operational unit at district town)
KTP	Kartu Tanda Penduduk Identification card
KUD	Koperasi Unit Desa Village cooperative
LKMD	Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa Village community resilience institute
MUSPIDA	MUSyawarah PImpinan DAerah Conference of regional leaders
PELITA	(program) PEMBangunan LIma TAHun Five-year development/plan
PERUMNAS	PEmbangunan peRUMahan NASional National housing corporation
PKK	Pendidikan Keluarga Kesejahteraan Family prosperity education
POLDA	kePOLisian DAerah Regional police
POLRES	kePOLisian RESort Resort police
SATPAM	SATuan PengAManan Guarding unit

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Chapter 5

Dwelling as *Dharma*: A Hindu–Balinese Experience of Building and Living in Modernity

Abstract Albeit Balinese culture and tradition have been well known worldwide, the question concerning the relationship between the Hindu Dharma and the Balinese dwelling tradition remains less explored. What is dwelling in Hindu–Balinese culture? How do they deal with modernity? This chapter argues that Balinese culture and its dwelling tradition are *dharma* in action. In order to understand this connection, this chapter examines, unfolds, and dismantles the relationship between local concepts and the phenomena of dwelling and building. The material of the study was taken from the author’s fieldwork in the island of Bali in 1976, 1991, 2000, 2005, and 2010.

Keywords Hindu–Balinese · *Dharma* · Dwelling · Building · Modernity

5.1 Dwelling as Dharma

Bali, with its Balinese settlement, tradition, culture, and landscape, for several centuries, has been probably one of the most globally renowned touristic destinations. Confronting modernity since the twentieth century, Bali could have experienced not only severe interactions, but also memorable appreciation from various prominent scholars and literate persons from all over the globe. Having been relatively isolated from Islamic influence and European traders until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the acculturation of indigenous tradition and Sanskrit culture must have taken place towards its ripeness. However, Bali owes its cultural maturity and readiness to its ancestral Malay–Polynesian tradition of hospitality that enables them to filter and synthesize foreign influences within their socioreligious framework of Hindu Dharma.

Beyond its exoticism, the recently living Hindu culture and tradition on the island might be a potential test case, where there is something to be learnt from dwelling in the globally exposed circumstances. As anywhere on the globe, modernity, in its connotative notion of Westernization, comes into play in the daily life of Balinese lifeworld that leads towards materialistic consumerism and hedonism. It is worth wondering how Balinese people and culture are able to deal with modernity. For several centuries, Bali has been well known as the case where cultural syncretism takes its course in history. Bali is also the place where dwelling takes its task and

role to be the host of any possible guest with various values and preferences without prejudice. Besides its root in the Malay–Polynesian hospitality, the open-minded attitude of Hindu–Balinese people might have been deployed from the teaching of *dharma*.

Today, Bali is probably one place in the globe that is an ever-changing site of never-ending conflicts and confrontations between materialism and spiritualism, secularism and asceticism, and wants and necessities. Nevertheless, Bali is still the land where a possible collaboration of various ways of life from the West and the East has a chance to grow. Bali is probably an appropriate case for such a cultural acculturation. In addition, Bali has the most likely potential to disclose itself towards a newly emerging dwelling culture because of its long-standing tradition in dealing with others in the sense of what, in the Balinese context, has been known as *tat twam asi*. Accordingly, others never stand outside the Balinese lifeworld, *bhawana*. Embracing others as the fellows of being in the lifeworld might have led Balinese tradition and culture to a learnable track towards beings as a whole. Hence, the paradigm of ‘us versus them’ would have not had fertile ground in Balinese culture.

As any globally exposed place to international tourism, Bali has become the site of a crucial case of dwelling, because dwelling is conditioned by a secure relationship between human beings and their environment. How can people find the sense of stay in a place where the incessant influx of various influences through media, personal contacts, exchanges, and educations takes place? Despite its dreadful influence of drug abuse and sexual disease, tourism not only brings about economic advantage and investment for the island but also conveys and disseminates technologically elaborated modernity into Balinese lifeworld that affects the need for translations, interpretations, and integrations into Balinese language and manner. The problem of modernity here seems to have dealt with the art and way of domesticating every source from its rudeness, *kasar*, towards its culture, *alus*.

Since Hindu ritual life in the island of Gods is inseparable from Balinese daily life, its existence is always open for necessary adaptation. Building and dwelling traditions in Bali are never out of the question of change. New building materials, new construction techniques, modern home appliances, and global communication networks are necessarily managed in the making of house in Bali and elsewhere. A most unique Balinese way of life in dealing with modernity and globally exposed communication lies in its way of life known as *dharma*. Although Balinese *dharma* is principally untranslatable into the English language (Digest 1972, p. 222), there are some resemblances of the concept, which are apparent in the daily habitation. All this is because *dharma* is not simply the Balinese realm of value; rather, *dharma* is the reality of Balinese lifeworld.

As many Hindus around the globe do, Balinese people hold *dharma* as their way of life. In Balinese language, *dharma* literally means truth, responsibility, kindness, gift, order, principle, sacred soil, shrine, and father. Hence, for the Balinese, *dharma* is the source of any actuality of living. Since *dharma* is the source of actuality of the Balinese lifeworld, its existence is properly transindividual, trans-sectarian, and transcendental. Thus, *dharma*, in this sense, is omnipresent, integrative, and cohesive.

The practice of *dharma* enables Balinese people to overcome the division of social strata, which is based on the caste system (Geertz 1981, pp. 125–126). The actuality of *dharma* in daily habitation is a uniquely socially organized mechanism for a dwelling institution that enables Balinese people to find themselves in one lifeworld with others. The facts are that dynamic peace and splendour beauty are inseparable from the festive and spectacular performances of the daily Balinese lifeworld. How does such a mechanism work?

As a matter of fact, the Balinese believe in Hindu *dharma* and practise its teaching as an integrated part of their culture. Since they have practised *dharma* for generations that has led them to a certain cultural ability of conflict management, this chapter argues that *dharma* in Balinese society has achieved its ripeness as living philosophy and habitation. From this position on, any transformation and adjustment are seen by the Balinese as *dharma* towards *moksa*—detachment and liberation from bodily bounded affection. Correspondingly, being in the lifeworld for Balinese people seems to go with the flow of epoch—*yuga*—without sinking into the darkness of the age, of course, with the guidance of *dharma* by means of *artha*—wealth—for surpassing *kama* towards *moksa*. It is probably the reason why modernity has not brought about a self-identity crisis.

5.2 Desa–Kala–Patra: Place–Time–Context

The habitation of the Balinese, according to *dharma*, has to comply with the principle of *desa–kala–patra* (compare Eiseman and Eiseman 1985, p. 96; Lueras and Loyd 1987, p. 179) that settlement is to manage the setting of place, *desa*, temporality, *kala*, and circumstances, patterns, or context, *patra*, towards well-being, *rahajeng*. The sense of *desa–kala–patra* lies in the readiness for the right now that is being able to change and adjust in dealing with any change.

The Balinese sense of the right ‘now’ comprises time as a whole in terms of *atita–nagata–watamana*, by which past, present, and future are conceived within a series of moments. In this sense, Balinese building and dwelling are necessary and are always ready for change, transformation, and development. Such changes are understood in the framework of *desa–kala–patra*. Uniquely, the framework is never conceived as a principally established system. Rather, re-reading and listening to every case and area of concern with care and without prejudice are subject to its implementation.

Interestingly, the materially composed form in the cosmos is identified in a way that there is no reason to see others outside the self. All these elements of the cosmos are set together in the various forms and embodiments of *panca mahabuta*. On the earth, *panca mahabuta* manifests in the works of art, which in Balinese beliefs contain the spiritual power, *taksu* (Marsella and White 1982, p. 262). The power brings about the five elements: *apah*, water, *teja*, light, *akhasa*, space, *bayu*, air/wind, and *pertiwi*, earth, to come into play towards a self-established composition.

What is different among beings is one's *taksu*, a creative energy. This is not simply spirit, ash, and power of the thing or being. Rather, *taksu* is a genuine property and potentiality for creating and making the things or beings. The creative energy in the sense of *taksu* might have been associated with mysticism. Nevertheless, *taksu* seems to be the content of human work that is experienced as a possessed striving for the emotive vitality of being.

The purpose of creation is of course in line with *dharma* that leads *taksu* to recognize the gathering of *panca mahabhuta* in revealing its bestowal, *asli, sujati*. Despite its process imbued with mysticism and trance, *kerauhan*, it might properly be said that *taksu* could have liberated the artists from their self-consciousness and egocentricity. In so doing, the creative process could have led the Balinese artists towards free explorative and elaborative sighting without prejudice and preconception.

Moreover, *taksu*, in Balinese culture, is a spiritual power that works towards the experience of the sublime. A well-distinguished work, *karya*, is conceived with an inherently convincing *taksu*. In many cases, *taksu* is closely related to enchantment or mysticism. Any work of composition is conceived by the Balinese people to contain the *taksu* so that we experience its expressiveness, its uplifting effect, its pleasurable experience, and its vitality. The phenomenon of *taksu* reveals as magic power, which is imbued into the artist's experience during the performance and the making of the work.

Moreover, what is important for the Balinese is never to hold everything without looking back at its circumstances of *desa–kala–patra*. In other words, *desa–kala–patra* is the syncretic way of *dharma* in dealing with the daily existence.

Sensibility to what is going on is a preconditional principle of *desa–kala–patra*. Then, any action and determination for building and dwelling are subject to circumspensive thought. Since right or wrong has nothing to do with absolute values, being aware is more helpful for making any decision and determination of living. Being unaware of what happens means, for the Balinese people, being stubborn. The Balinese people call such a man as *wong linglung*. Being vigilant and sensible to any kind of situation is the essential aspect of the *desa–kala–patra* principle. All this is for the sustenance of being towards dynamic peace—*shanti*—and splendour beauty—*langa, kalangengan*.

What is habitation or domestication in the framework of *desa–kala–patra*? Habitation or domestication in the Balinese context is not simply comprised of the concept of familiarity, *biasa*; rather, habitation is always conceived as the way and necessity for adjustment in the sense of *cara*. All problems and cases have their own respective characteristics so that their nature is to be handled in a specific way, *cara*. The practice of *cara* is closely related to the flexibility and tolerance in dealing with any situation. Based on *cara*, every site or location is necessarily respected according to its bestowal and its actual circumstances. However, nothing is rigid and inflexible in the lifeworld, *bhuwana*. Everything in terms of *cara* is subject to be manageable and able towards a locally self-regulating system.

Conflicts and confrontations for the Balinese are a never-ending play in the course of life, *urip, hurip* with the guidance of *dharma*. To dwell in the Balinese tradition of *desa–kala–patra* is not to engage their *dharma* with locality with tolerance, *pengurip*.

The Balinese believe in the so-called *pengurip*, which is to denote the sparing and tolerance for any action and decision (Eisenman and Eisenman 1990, p. 116). To dwell is to make a decision for living in a circumstantial locality with sparing and tolerance for others as well as for the unknown. *Pengurip* is the way to let the thing be, always open to any possibility. *Desa–kala–patra* as a principle of building and dwelling is supposedly to avoid any prejudgment against others. In terms of *pengurip*, *desa–kala–patra* provides people with a flexible structure and instrument in dealing with the unknown or others without fear. The practice of *desa–kala–patra* is *cara*. There is never a home in existence without *cara*. Hence, *cara* brings about any unknown other into the light of being ‘in-between’, which, in the Balinese tradition, is known as *tengah-tengah*.

The sense of *tengah-tengah* lies in the awareness of being free that prevents one from any possible extreme position. Supposedly, the importance of being ‘in-between’ lies in the capacity of being able to be open-minded that enables one to listen to others. All this is taught by the Balinese tradition in the name of *dharma*. Being able to listen to others is conditioned with patience and respect. Both conditions are comprised in the notion of *dharma*.

Being ‘in-between’, *tengah-tengah*, is to be in the search of a dynamic and emotive balance between the dualism. The Balinese understand the antagonistic nature as *rwa bhineda* (Lansing 2006, p. 162). Accordingly, being in between is to incorporate the vitality of life. Thus, the principle of *rwa bhineda* does not speak of right or wrong, but it depicts the principle of the vitality of being represented by basically never-ending conflicts of interests of dualistic gender, *purusha*—male—and *pradana*—female—as depicted from the never-ending fight–play between *Rangda* and *Barong* to *Calon Arang*. In short, the idea of living ‘in-between’ exists as the important aspect of the Balinese lifeworld. In the traditional layout of village and house, the sense of *tengah-tengah* is given with the establishment of *pura puseh* and *natar*. In many ways, striving for the balance of dynamic antagonism inspires the Balinese sense of aesthetics in various works of art from sculpture, architecture, and dance.

Habitation for Balinese is made possible with local wisdom and manner called *lokacara* (Davidson and Henley 2007, p. 184). Accordingly, any aspect, attribute, property, modality, structure, and character of *loka* are subjects to be respected with wholehearted offering. *Loka* means literally proper and proprietary place. In its broadest sense, *loka* is the area with its own specific characteristics. Traditional Balinese beliefs ask people to pay homage to any being in its *loka* because everything has its own place and power. Hence, anything and any being in the context of *loka* are considerably significant and useful for a deliberately involving totality.

The word *loka* might rightly be understood as a definitive place of dwelling where the relationship between human beings and their cosmic environment comes into being. In other words, *loka* is not simply a site, but it is also the place of gathering in which human beings, gods, earth–metal–wood–water–and sky–universe and heaven–come together to make an event. Moreover, *loka* in the Balinese tradition is the site of dwelling that is never in the space of infinity, but inside a boundary.

The boundary of *loka* is established with the notion of culture, which is formulated with the concept of *krama*. Literally, *krama* means manner, way to behave, highly respected sensibility, and membership. The boundary of dwelling is in *loka*, which is metaphysically constituted by *tatwa*, thought, *susila*, principles of behaviour, and *upacara*, procedure. In daily life, *krama* is the boundary in action. All important orders and etiquette for village assembly and social activities in terms of *krama* are written in the *banjar* constitution, which is known as *awig-awig*. Thus, habitation in a traditional Balinese village is based on a locally established constitution with literate documentation on *lontar* leaves. Under the notion of *krama*, Balinese villagers living in *banjar* are due to participate in the village life in which village temple rituals and ceremonies become their primordially social events for validating their relationship with others in their territorially bounded membership. *Krama*, in the broadest sense, is to articulate membership in the village based on their manner (Geertz 1981, p. 74).

The happenings of habitation are in *loka* in which the interplay between the opposite positions takes place. *Loka* in the sense of *desa–kala–patra* is always the site where the things, *barang-barang*, and gatherings, *kumpul-kumpul*, come into being. Thus, *loka* is the architecturally gathering place where dualistic cosmic powers, properties, and loci exist in cohabitation. The dualistic principle called *ruwa bhineda* is an essential aspect of the daily-existing totality, *jagad*. The totality is always spiritual in its conceptual formulation of *krama* that is to define the boundary of home with dignity and decency.

The totality of place, people, and life of the lifeworld called *bhuwana* consists of five natural elements, *bhuta*, which provide people with the possible condition of life. Everything between earth and sky is formed and formulated as the composition of these five elements. *Bhuta* literally means basic element with powerful substance. All resources in the cosmos contain the five essential elements: air, water, light, space, and soil, which are known as *panca mahabuta*. The task of habitation is to bring all beings in terms of *bebutan* into a harmonious totality within the man-made boundary.

The border of habitation is not simply physical matter as shown by the rectangular enclosing wall, called *penyengker* for house and *kuta* for town. Rather, the border of habitation, in its broadest sense, is a socially ordering system of behaviour, *tata krama*. In Balinese aphorism, we listen: *Negara mawa tata, desa mawa cara*—state used to have order, but village has its own way. The boundary of dwelling is established with a constitution called *awig-awig*. Any sociopolitical institution of dwelling, such as *banjar* or *desa*, has its own *awig-awig*, which is traditionally written on *lontar* leaf. Based on such a constitution, *banjar* is originally an independent institution. The chief of this settlement institution, *kelihan banjar*, is democratically elected from elders of *banjar* with an average term of 5 years.

The formal institution of *banjar* is *desa*. In this constellation, a village has two types of leaderships, which are formal and traditional. The formal leader is called *kelihan dinas*, whereas the traditional chief is known as *kelihan adat*. In many cases, conflicts and disharmony between both leaders are evident. Since the fall of New Order in 1998, the political situation has been leading to bring both leaders into mutual respect. In *banjar*, Balinese villagers are also members of some associations,

such as *subak*, dance group, *gamelan* group, discussion group, *karang teruna*, youth association, etc. Architecturally, the sign of *banjar* is incorporated with the structure of *bale kulkul*. This structure is constructed in a similar way to the Balinese shrine, *pamerajan*. The form of *bale kulkul* is designed for a monumental edifice. The presence of *bale kulkul* is to designate a sociopolitically established settlement.

The habitation of the lifeworld is developed with the dictum of unity in harmony, which is only accessible within the framework of *desa-kala-patra*. The goal of Balinese dwelling is towards *sareh*. This concept means literally peace, rest, quiet, self-containment, and integrity. This sense of *sareh* refers to the characteristic phenomena of repose at home, which are genuinely conducive for recollection, *eling*. The state of mind of *eling* is always conditioned by the place where one finds his/her own place of self-disclosure, *sareh*. Hence, the state of being *eling* is the condition of mind in its freedom. Resoluteness and self-reliance are made possible with the state of *eling*. The concept of *eling* is difficult to translate into other languages because of its relation to long-life training of practising *dharma*. Accordingly, the concept belongs to the faculty of mind for being aware without self-importance in dealing with the lifeworld. Habitation based on *eling* leads man towards the necessity for respecting others that establishes the awareness of beings as a whole in terms of *tat twam asi*.

The appropriate site of dwelling is the area where one can have free space for self-identification. The site known as *pakarangan* is not simply a free area; rather, it is made free by the community, *banjar*, to those who are eligible for community/village membership, *krama banjar*. *Pakarangan* is from the word *karang*, meaning ordinary and simple place.

The reality of the lifeworld is always transcendental manifold of *bhuwana* in various identifiable manifestations, which are its relations to beings as a whole and perfection always prior to its essential oneness, *tat twam asi*. Any case in the lifeworld is perceived to be an independent case from moral values because every event and matter has its own lesson within the framework of *desa-kala-patra*. The only principle working at any case has its own way towards harmony. Thus, the phenomena of the lifeworld are necessarily understood in a continuous process in the search for harmonious unity of all antagonistic properties, powers, and positions.

5.3 Linggih: Sitting and Dwelling

The happening of the lifeworld where humankind exists is called *Jagad*. The lifeworld exists only in the built environment which is based on the architecturally ordering system called *Asta Kosala Kosali*. Being in the lifeworld, *jagad*, means dwelling with a certain social position based on his or her category of profession in terms of *catur warna*—four colours. The *catur warna* gives us the notion of caste in its subtlety (Howe 2001, p. 90). Here, a social status of person is identified by a certain name pertaining to their caste: *brahmana*, *ksatria*, *waisya*, and *sudra*. It has been suggested that caste or *warna* for the Balinese seems likely subtly predicating

social status. We never experience the most vivid demonstration of *warna* without witnessing state rituals and ceremonies. Linguistically speaking, the social reserve of *warna* has been softened by the use of Indonesian egalitarian language as *lingua franca*. Modern institutions, such as school, government office, and public services, have brought the social aloofness of *warna* into increasing insignificance.

As mentioned above, the boundary of *jagad* never exists without any socially confined manner, *krama*. Based on their understanding of *krama* in the context of a household—*greha*—or a community—*banjar*, the type and dimension of their house would have been determined. Nevertheless, it is not to say that there are no other choices for pursuing an urban lifestyle in the village. The transformations of Balinese society towards a multicultural community become more complicated when the business of home-stay tourism has flourished in most of regions of the island. The presence of non-Balinese inhabitants could not have unsettled the sense of Balinese home. The sense actually lies in the engagement in the village or urban ritual events. Accordingly, foreigners and other Indonesian inhabitants would have been well accepted as Balinese people and spectators as long as they pay respect to the village temple rituals and ceremonies.

In urban contexts where the seats of traditional state are state rituals, and ceremonies become occasions to validate the relationship between state and its citizens. Alun-alun Puputan Badung, for example, is the place where the traditional validation of relationship between the state of Badung and Denpasar citizens takes place through the performance of *ogoh-ogoh* and *ngaben*. The sense of Balinese home today has been established with the institution of the ritual day of silence, *nyepi*, in the regional and national calendar. The formal state representative, *gubernur*, on behalf of the traditional state of Badung and all Bali, would have been the initiator and conductor of such a ritual of silence—*nyepi*. All Balinese people must have participated in such a ritual. The centre of the ritual takes place in Denpasar's *cathu muka* where the state of Badung has established its seat. Badung was well known as the historical site of *puputan* war, resisting the Dutch colonialism in 1906. In its *alun-alun*, the king, his wives, and other royal family members killed themselves against any domination under the Dutch rule.

In village scale, the sense of home is experienced through the village temple rituals and ceremonies, *odalan*. The rituals and ceremonies are not simply celebrations and festive occasions; rather, these events are the reality of home as well as the lifeworld in its dramatic presence. Since *krama* is basically an engagement and commitment with its validation through active participation in the village rituals and ceremonies, the sense of home for Balinese people lies simply in the location of their seat. Rather, the sense of home is established within the framework of events for gathering, that repetitively validate their socially corresponding seat in the *warna* within the *jagad* of *banjar*.

Linggih literally means to sit, seat, and take a place for being settled down. The sense of *linggih* lies in its idiomatic meaning that sitting is always associated with a social rank and position. The question of *linggih* is not simply for having the right of house or settlement; rather, it is deliberately a question concerning the self-orientation in the cosmological constellation and social life, respectively. Regarding

its relationship with locality, *linggih* is used to make a social map of dwelling place. However, being unable to sit properly in community is being homeless in the sense of social life.

Palinggihan in terms of building is a designation for landmark or altar of highly respected persons or gods. The notion of *palinggihan* is also applied to designate the original mark of place in the lifeworld, *jagad*. To dwell is to make a seat in the social life according to self-knowing awareness that enables one to fit into *loka cara* and *tata krama*. It is the Balinese way of dwelling that is necessary to identify one's self to the socially integrated totality as one. The self is always the authentic home in the sense of *jero*. In its subtle word, the self is understood as *dalem*. Both, *dalem* and *jero* are synonymous. Originally, *dalem* is a Javanese loan word meaning the self and home as well.

Linggih as the act of dwelling in the Balinese context is not to claim a right position. It is rightly understood as the necessity for being able to learn one's self in the macrocosmic realm. The necessity for identity is not simply by virtue of self-reflection. Fairly, *linggih* is the way to forget one's self that enables him or her to come into a totally involving system of community. To sit, *linggih*, is always to come into assembly properly according to *tata krama*. The necessity for knowing the other's seat is based on the necessary condition of recognizing the way to behave. According to *tata krama*, the given social rank and status of caste are immediately known from the name. Notwithstanding, the Balinese social relations do not work on the hierarchical caste basis. The signification of *linggih* lies in its introductory access to others that enables one to behave according to social rank, status, occupation, and title (Rubenstein 2000, p. 118). The question on the seat is a standard request for place, rank, position, and status identification. The knowledge of *linggih* gives us the relation of person to his/her social and ritual centre.

The necessity for *linggih* is an entry to social and ritual life, which is initiated with the constitution of household. One is never considered to be able to sit, *linggih*, without being a parent. Without a socially confirmed seat in terms of *linggih*, it is impossible for a Balinese man to participate in the rituals. *Linggih* discloses one towards the possibility of *dharma* in the community. This is because *linggih* is a conditional integration into social and ritual life of community, *banjar*, and hydraulic association of *subak*.

Participation in the rituals is an existential involvement that constitutes the structure of the Balinese home lifeworld, *jagad*. Since for the Balinese, being in the lifeworld is nothing but *dharma*, all events in the world are perceived as the executions of works, *makarya*, that lead to the state of being liberated from any suffering—*samsara*. *Dharma* is not simply a conduct on dutiful fate. The sense of *makarya* lies in its intention that is in the search for *dharma* by means of *tatwa*. Being in the lifeworld founded on the necessity for *dharma* that has a goal of attaining this state of being free and being liberated from suffering and mortality. The liberation is well known as *moksa*. According to *dharma*, life is a search for liberation from any pain and sickness. Building is inseparable from *makarya* that is nothing but the search for authentic being, *urip sujati*. Thus, *makarya* is to make one free from any pollution in mind and action because of greed. *Makarya* is made possible

by the establishment of dwelling. The sense of dwelling on the earth is to found the way towards the liberation from fear and pain, *moksa*. Building a place of dwelling is nothing but *makarya*, that is to be close with the possibility of *moksa*.

Moreover, the allusion of sitting is emphasized in the Balinese way of thinking of respect and honour. The shrine at every house is articulated with the word *pelinggih* meaning something that enables man to sit or to have a seat. *Pelinggih* is a reminder for Balinese people of not being selfish according to the teaching of *tat twam asi*. Thus, the tribute to the seat of gods and ancestors, *pelinggih*, is nothing mysterious, but simply an expression of respect to the unknown. All beings in the category of the unknown deserve their tribute and dignity. Offering foods and flowers for paying homage at the shrines, *pelinggih*, is nothing but the actuality of thankfulness and respect to them.

Since dwelling is impossible without any spatially binding stake, the altar acts as the end of the most highly valued place. The centre of the house for the Balinese tradition is not a living room, but it is a sanctuary place where shrines are present. Rituals and ceremonies, *upachara*, are necessary for the shrines, *pelinggih*, that integrate respect, dignity, and solemnity into a whole concept of *dharma*. Accordingly, man as a dweller is someone who is able to sit among other seats within a cosmologically integrated part of wholeness, *bhuwana*. It is the reason why the altar of Balinese houses is called *pelinggih*. There is no Balinese house without shrines. The incomplete shelter in Balinese tradition is called *dunungan*, due to the social status of the owner.

5.4 Mawangun: Setting Up, Constructing, and Developing

Any change made by human being in the nature is considered as *makarya*, which is to establish the lifeworld, *bhuwana*. Building is another act of *makarya* that needs to comply with the three conducts: *tatwa*, *susila*, and *uphacara*—thought, ethics, and ritual. This doctrine leads a human being into being an integrated person who is authentic in his/her habitation because of honesty. Thus, an integrated person for Balinese tradition is someone who is able to harmonize thought, principle, and action into a whole system of work and service.

To build, the three conducts mentioned above are necessarily taken into consideration that is to deploy any possible bad luck and natural disaster. All disasters are conceived as the consequences of human ignorance and arrogance that come from disrespect. Since every being is subject to respect because it contains creative power, *taksu*, there is a necessity to pay homage to any being in terms of offering or sacrifice. The three procedures are seen as requirements for the transformation of humanly ordered system into the site. Transformation means to change the already-existing ecosystem towards equilibrium. The Balinese people understand this process as *masalin*. The sense of *masalin* is not simply translating or delivering. Rather, the necessity for *masalin* rests in its relation to the fact that any being has his/her own contextual syncretism and solution in terms of *desa–kala–patra*.

Every being in the form of thought, matter, and event has his/her own way of dwelling in the Balinese lifeworld. The trade-off of such transformation is a necessary thought in the harmonious wholeness of thought, principle, and action. Offering in terms of *yadnya* is somewhat related to this trade-off that is actually the articulation of recognition for what is transformed in the framework of *dharma*. It means that, to build is not only understood as a pragmatic necessity but also to set the site of truth in the work of building. All this is accessible by means of recollection—*tatwa*—regarding others with hospitality—*susila*—and conduct or action as paying homage—*uphacara*.

To build in the Balinese context is to open the cases of the total experience of involvement within the manifold of boundary: from house, village, town, region, globe, and universe. Hence, *mawangun* is to establish the self in its manifold boundary of identity from *bhuwana alit* to *bhuwana agung*, from house to universe, respectively. As mentioned earlier, the self in Balinese thought is always related to the concept of *linggih* that is to make one's social rank and status clear. Accordingly, to build is to let the self-identification of a person into the community of *banjar* and *negara*.

To build is to make something concrete. To build in Balinese language is *mawangun*, which has its root in the word *wangun*, which means to bring something into the light with its orderly formed thing. *Wangun* also means structure, upright, stand up, form, and figure. In the broadest sense, *mawangun* is something which has to do with opening the nature towards the truth of being, *tatwa*. The relationship between *mawangun* and *tatwa* is made possible by the underlying principles of life, *dharma*. Moreover, *mawangun* refers to self-identification known by means of a socially established boundary.

Since every transitory state of being is subject to ceremonial performance, *upakhara*, *mawangun* is a process of a newly established boundary with several transitions. The first ceremonial performance is given to the intention of the house erection. Though it does not always mean a large gathering of people, *upakhara* has always two conducts: a homage-paying ritual, *sembah*, and offering, *bebanten*. The rituals that accompanied the building process of a house are various in their scale and complicated in their procedure and equipment. All these are necessarily regarded as a process of reflection in the way of self-identification process.

The importance of building is the act to bring *dharma* into the light. *Dharma* leads people to build towards the light of being with others in harmonious relation. It is to recognize the necessity for harmonious relation of human being to his/her environment. It is the identity between the self, *jero* as *bhuwana alit*, and the total cosmos, *jaba* as *bhuwana agung*. To build, *mawangun*, is to make the given site free that enables us to locate all beings and things according to the intentionally designated lifeworld.

Moreover, *tatwa* is neither reasoning nor analyzing. It is, however, not simply the act of recollection; rather, *tatwa* is thinking in the way of self-disclosure towards a manifold of identity. This relation is based on the principle of *tat twam asi*, which deals with a reciprocal impact between human system and the nature. This is not simply identifying others as us in causal correlation; rather, the doctrine of

tat twam asi must have been understood as the way to liberate us from prejudice that enables us to project ourselves into the totality of the lifeworld. Then, any action and decision are considered to be not only reflective of but also advancing our understanding of the lifeworld in its wholeness. Consequently, to build means also to think that any change in the nature is to make up with the natural powers, *bebutan* towards harmony (Hoeve 1960, p. 48). Any unthinkable action and decision might lead us towards disaster.

Under the notion of *dharma*, the Balinese way of thinking is simply to redefine their relationship to others in the context of beings as a whole. Since every being is conceived by Balinese people as possessing goodness, *satwam*, dynamics, *rajas*, and inertia, *tamas*, every action and decision would have not been formulated within the framework of right or wrong. Rather, the lifeworld as a totality of beings is undeniably an existing system of harmony. Human dwelling is the way to settle down the relations of human being to others—places, things, living beings, and cosmic powers—in a productive manner. Hence, harmony is never thought in the sense of rest in peace. Rather, it is always conceived in the context of living, in which conflicts and contradiction within *rwa-bhineda*—dualistic antagonism—and principle are necessary.

To think in the sense of *tatwa* is the recognition of natural laws and powers. The other traditional procedure of building is to set the social orders in the work. To set the orders in terms of *susila* means to bring about the built environment in accordance with the social realm, which founds a social peace and integration into the social life. Thus, to build in the sense of *susila* is the way to understand the orderly system of the lifeworld in the social context. The building process is accessible after the two procedures, *tatwa* and *susila*, have been understood. The third procedure deals with technical process with a religious dimension in which the sense of time is experienced in a formal sequence of actions.

The spiritual content of the building process is carefully designated by rituals following the stages of construction, from first laying the foundation stone to roof covering. Since all rituals are dedicated to incorporating a sense of respect to all beings for their contribution in the making of the thing, Balinese buildings must have established an ecologically built environment, because the purpose of *upakhara* is to bring everything in harmonious vitality, *rahajeng*. The involvement among people, domains, and events is commenced by the rituals of building process. The formality of *upakhara* designates the sense of being in coexistence with the invisible others—*bebutan*—in the spirit of peace and respect. Being in the lifeworld—*jagad*—is always in a coexistence with the natural powers—*bebutan*. These powers are concrete and seen as a complementary component of being and thing in context of the lifeworld. Offering foods or sacrifices for the natural powers is nothing but the recognition of the fact that being for a human being is always the being with others.

The idea of God is never abstract and out of experiencing the *jagad*. At the formal level, gods manifest in the power of life and vitality at every being in the form and action. The manifestation of gods is in existence when the thinking of the nature, *tatwa*, the understanding of social orders, *susila*, and formal spiritual actions, *uphacara*, take place all together at once. *Tatwa–susila–uphacara* belongs to the integration of human being as a perfect open being. A cultural man in Balinese understanding is one who is able to manage his/her self respectfully.

5.5 Kaja–Kelod: The Sense of Orientation and Direction

Dwelling is impossible without understanding the orientation of being on the earth under the sky. The Balinese system of orientation in space is based on the state of being between the dualism of natural positions: mountain–ocean, upstream–downstream—*ulu–temben*, in an actual sense. Mount Agung as natural standout is an important direction for orientation in the island. There are some exceptions for local conditions, which are not possible to orient to the mountain: A local solution is made to indicate the high–low principle.

The place of human dwelling is embedded in the meeting area of the dualistic positions. The spatial orientation in the environment is based on the high–low directions. This high–low axis is known as the directions of *kaja* and *kelod*. This axis is called also the line of *lenuan–tebenan*, which pertains to the positions of upstream and downstream. The direction of *kaja* is mountain ward that shows the orientation to the dominant or standout natural landmark or landscape, for example, Mount Agung. The orientation to horizon or low position—downstream or the ocean—is related to *kelod*. Of course, high–low orientation becomes important in the island of Bali. It is not simply by the fact of its geographical nature; rather, such an orientation principle acts as a useful guidance for making layout of buildings on site.

The place of human dwelling is erected on the axis of *kaja–kelod* that deals with the idea of centre on the line. The orientation of the place of dwelling as a centre is developed from the centre area called *nawa sangah*, which is situated on the axis of *kaja–kelod* (Helmi and Walker 1996, p. 32). The centre area provides other directions in a cardinal system on the high–low axis. The centre point is void called *natah* which deals with the idea of a fixed position of dwelling. The high position, *Kaja*, is associated with the place of origin and life where the deity *Wisnu* is. The low position is the place for dissolution and the dead; the place is identified with the deity of *Brahma*. The centre is the place of the deity *Shiwa* as the representation of the lord of temporal and natural realm. The perpendicular axis to the high–low axis is the axis of *kauh–kangin*. The direction on *kauh* is on the left side of the high–low axis, whereas the direction on *kangin* is on the right side. Moreover, the points of orientation system in the *nawa sangah*—ninefold—are signified with the deities, certain colours, and mythological figures.

In the village, the centre area of *nawa sangah* is indicated by an openness at which a ritual and social gathering can occur. The village planning is developed from this centre area. The idea of centre of a village is usually indicated by the temples of village, *pura desa* and *bale agung*, market, meeting hall—*bale banjar*—and an open area marked by the banyan tree.

The crossroads pattern called *caturmuka* is commonly developed in mountainous villages and urban areas. The linear pattern on the axis of *kaja–kelod* belonged to the old pattern, which can be found in the village of Tenganan and Bugbug. The linear pattern of village orientation shows a clear division of land use that is in accordance with the areas of: *utama*, primary, *madia*, middle, and *nista*, profane.

The area of *utama* in a village land is the place for *pura puseh* where the position of upstream or mountain ward is. The sense of *utama* lies in its natural landmark that

enables us to draw the line of orientation towards upstream and downstream. Thus, strategic and scenic position is appropriately the place of the temple of origin. The God *Wisnu*, ancestors, and village founders are worshiped at *pura puseh*, whereas the area of *madya* and *nista* are the places for the temple of village *pura desa* and the temple of the dead, *pura dalem*. *Pura desa* is dedicated to God *Brahma*.

The God *Siva* is paid his homage at the temple of the dead, *pura dalem*. The cosmic power of creativity, *taksu*, is believed to come out from this temple. The unity of these three temples is called *khayangan tiga*. By having these three temples, a community called *banjar* exists as a centre of social and religious life. The three temples can be seen as architecturally constituting structures, which lay down the framework for the development of a communal settlement.

The relation of three temples mentioned above to a *banjar* is not simply functional. The significance of *Tri Hita Karana* lies in its institutionally constituting component of *banjar* (Yamashita and Eades 2003, p. 84). Without having such three basic temples, the *banjar* does not exist. Temples for Balinese people are not simply places for religious life, but these are also cosmologically establishing structures of settlement. In dealing with the idea of dwelling on the earth, temples are an image of their abode in the upper world, *khayangan*.

In the Balinese cosmological idea, to dwell on the earth is to befriend the natural powers, *bebutan*. To dwell means also to transfer the heavenly powers called *purusha*—spiritual or male power—and *pradana*—corporeal or female power—into the actuality of form. The benevolent power called *qwantara* exists in the reality of the world if the heavenly powers and the natural powers meet together. The human dwelling is designated by the existence of the world in dynamic process in peace, *shanti*, and prosperity, *jagadhita*. The ideas of *shanti* and *jagadhita* are associated with human duty in the context of being-in-the-lifeworld. Thus, *dharma* pertains to a never-ending ‘struggle’ in order to set up the beautiful lifeworld and to attain the status of spiritual liberation. In the traditional way of life, dwelling is a part of the four constituent senses of life, *purusha artha*.

The *dharma* of dwelling provides the possible condition for fulfilling other senses of life for dignity and decency. This condition is a prerequisite to the marital status by which the idea of *umah*—household—as a social centre comes into the light of being in the public lifeworld. This status is not understood only in the context of social life. Rather, it is associated also with the cosmological view that dwelling deals with the idea of gathering between the antagonistic powers of: *sukla*—male, wanderer, and fighter—and *swanita*—female, receiver, and nurse. A household is a cosmic idea of centre which founds the way to the spiritual life towards the liberation from any pain.

The marital phase is called *grehasta*, which designates the end phase of learning process of tradition and culture. The marital phase is related to the being in the lifeworld for the accumulation of wealth, *artha*, and for experiencing the pleasure of life, *kama*. The sense of dwelling in terms of *dharma* lies in the signification of temporal life as a learning process to enter the spiritual life, *samnyasa*. Living in the context of *dharma* is to achieve the possible condition of *moksa*. Accordingly, human beings find their way to the truth, which is experienced as the liberation of being



Fig. 5.1 The Balinese classification of space–deity–domain

from mundane need and attachment. The presence of shrine, *kemulan* or *pamerajan*, in the house as well as in the village temple seems to remind Balinese people of their spiritual abode (Fig. 5.1).

5.6 Home: Jero, Pakarangan, Umah, Greha, Dalem, and Puri

The traditional house of Bali is also called *jero*—inner boundary, privacy—or *greha*—noble residency. The house as *jero* is architecturally understood as the total area inside the quadratic walled enclosure, *penyengker* (Patra 1985, p. 28). Then, inside the surrounding wall is already considered being in the house. Furthermore, the wall is perceived as an inner territory of household. This is to articulate a protective boundary from the demonic influences and powers—*bebutan*. The wall, *penyengker*, represents establishment of the territory of human being in a spatially defined area of insideness contrasted to the openness of the nature. This architecturally defined boundary provides Balinese people with an architecturally marking boundary. In doing so, the border between the household lifeworld, *njero*, and the public world, *njaba*, comes into being. The physical entity of *penyengker* founds actually a safe and secure territory in relation to the unknown out there.

The spatially defined territory called *jero* is characterized by three elements called *Tri Hita Karana*, three causes of prosperity. The elements of spatial occupation are:

parahyangan, sacred place, *palemahan*, domain for human dwelling, and *pawongan* or inhabitants (Stiftel et al. 2006, p. 150; Davidson and Henly 2007, p. 175). All these three constitutive elements of settlement interact with each other as a home system. In other words, the three elements constitute the reality of the house lifeworld. *Palemahan* is a human place inside the house walls. This is the place for human buildings called ‘Bale’ for different purposes: sleeping place, kitchen, granary, and working place. The inside boundary of the house is believed to be inhabited by the benevolent spirits called *taksu* whose place is at the primary area, *utama-parahyangan*.

The house inhabitants called *pawongan* are understood as a married couple, which is able to establish a household with children. *Pawongan* and benevolent powers live together in the liveable boundary. However, they have to leave a centre area unbuilt. The centre area is called *natar*, which is marked with a tree or a column called *pangijeng*—waiter, guard.

The area of inner boundary and inside the walls is divided into three spatial grids that are in accordance with the structure of sacred–neutral–profane domains as described in *lontar* (Geertz and Geertz; Geertz 1978, p. 49). The buildings in the boundary are erected at a certain domain in the system of *mandala* in which the hierarchy of places is juxtaposed in a sequence from profane to sacred level. The entry called *angkul–angkul* is located at the most profane area, referring to the ocean or to downstream. The second area is the kitchen area that includes hearth, *paon*, granary, *jineng*, and stall/pigben, *kandang*. The third is the living area, *semanggen*, which is also used for the reception of guests and for eating. There are some buildings associated with the *semanggen*. The fourth area is the place for sleeping called *uma meten* or *sekutus*. In contrast to *semanggen*, *uma meten* is provided with fixed walls as enclosure. All these buildings stand on piles with architecturally raised floors off the earth. The fifth area is usually for an altar called *pamarajan* or *sanggah kemulan*.

The shrines at the altar area are erected in various heights in figuring the Mount Mahameru or the Mount Mandara as a symbol of the highest place of spiritual liberation, *moksa*. In the noble houses, one can find a complete composition of household shrines consisting of *padmasana*, for the highest spiritual power, *kemulan*, for gods, *menjangan seluang*, for ancestors, and *tugu*, for other benevolent spirits. The family offers a ritual gift consisting of flowers and foods here regularly. Besides the shrines, an open building called *piasan* is usually also erected here for meditation. This area is prohibited to any domesticated animal.

The members of the family eat in the kitchen area and not before offering a ritual gift for the invisible powers, *bebutan* and *taksu*. According to *dharma*, this gift is perceived as the sign of self-control in avoiding greed, *lobha*. As a matter of fact, there is no special place for having one’s meal in the house, but *semanggen*, which is only used as a ‘dining room’ if the house receives visitors.

Semanggen is the place where the meeting between the insiders and the outsiders takes place. The building is situated at the centre area, which is constructed without enclosure. The openness of this building is associated with the literal meaning of *semanggen*, which means to stay by sitting and meeting. It is the place where the senses of talk and meeting are brought into the light of being an ‘event’. The idea of dwelling in the boundary of *palemahan* is characterized by a meeting with outsiders

at a centre domain, *semanggen*, where their stay is demonstrated by the dignity of communication and of sitting.

Paon, kitchen, *uma meten*, parent's room, *pangijeng*, column, and *semanggen*, guest room, are grouped into *madia mandala* which is understood as 'the support of the house', *tegak rumah*. The *mandala* is used as the cosmological image of the place of the lifeworld. *Paon* is the female domain in daily life. Its function for preparing meal is analogously related to the reproductive capacity of mother. The word *paon* stems from the old Javanese word—*pawa*. The word designates the place of dissolution and the beginning as well. Accordingly, *paon* is the place of origin where something arises and sustains.

Natah is the centre area, which remains open. This open character provides a spatial orientation in the boundary. This orientation is marked by a column of waiver. Literally, *natah* means arrival and stop. The belief that this place is guarded by a local spirit is a designation to give respect to the openness, which keeps space for air circulation. *Natah* can be considered as 'patio' which is able to keep warm air on a cool night. This belief gives a cosmological order to keep the *natah* in its openness. In this way, the earth is kept in its natural property, though its surface and area are ordered in human condition. Moreover, the openness of the centre area is emptiness with a focal column that can be associated with 'the axis mundi' of the boundary. The idea of dwelling as spatially embedding on the earth is articulated in the word *natah*.

Lawang or entry is situated on the low position, *nista mandala*. This position is at the transitory place between outside, *jaba*, and inside, *jero*. The outside is associated with 'danger' because of the natural demonic powers, *bebutan*. The gate is designed in order to avoid a direct visual contact from outside to inside. There are various forms of *lawang*, which provide their positions in dealing with the 'downstream' direction, *kelod*, or *tebenan*. At the entry, a ritual gift is usually offered by the family in order to befriend the natural spirits which are associated with *weton*, birth, *metatah*, initiation for girls, *nganten*, marriage, and *seda*, death.

The building construction of the house begins from the sacred place, *mandala utama*, and moves to the centre place, *mandala madia*, then to the profane place, *mandala nista*, and ends in the construction of the gate, *lawang*. Thus, the building process of the traditional house is in the sequence of ritual hierarchy from the place of spiritual life to the place of mundane one. The process designates the primacy of domain for spiritual life.

The building process of a traditional house is led by a master builder called *undagi*. His job is not merely practical in terms of carpentry and masonry, but he also plays the role of a priest in the building process. An *undagi* conducts rituals for any process of opening up natural elements on the earth, so that the place concerned is accessible and appropriate for human dwelling. Traditionally, the work of *undagi* is guided by *hasta kosala kosali* in which the principles and procedure of building construction are written on the *lontar* leaves. What is important in the *hasta kosala kosali* is its principles for measurement and proportion, which are customized to the owner's body. However, most aspects of building process are subject to the approval from the master builder, *undagi* (Wijaya 2002, p. 25). Nowadays, the populations of *undagi*

have decreased in number and qualification that led Balinese architecture to a crisis of local spirit. This spiritual task is gradually diminishing in modernity due to the practice of modern building permits.

5.7 Balinese Built Environment and Modernity

Is human dwelling accessible without a social integration, which is maintained and secured by societal institution and association? In the tradition, a household is not only bound in the social life of the *banjar* concerned. The head of household could be a member of a societal association called *dadia* or peasant organization called *subak*, which are not in the *banjar* where the family lives. However, participation in different communities and associations belongs to the dwelling tradition in Bali. It means that the idea of homeland in terms of *jumah* is not understood in a socially closed community dwelling in a certain territory on the earth.

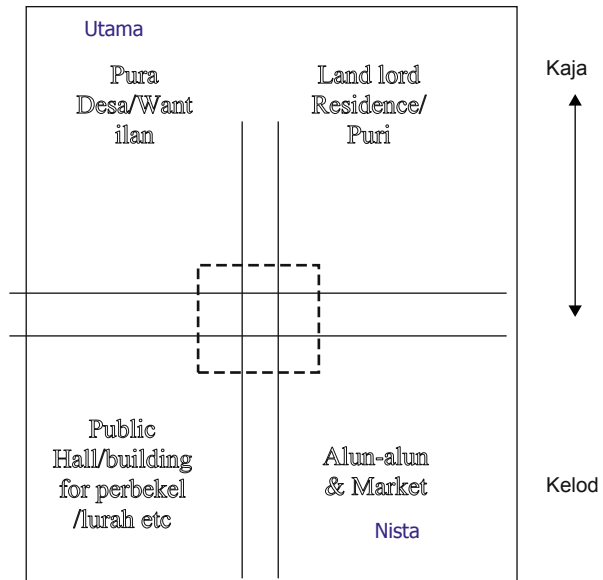
The relation of a household to its territorial community, *banjar*, exists as the extension of its house boundary at historical, spiritual, and societal levels. This relation is possible without dwelling in the territory of the community concerned. One household could dwell anywhere outside the territory of its *banjar*. Thus, the commitment of household to its community is more at a spiritual level than at an administrative one.

The embedment of the home lifeworld in the place is founded by the commitment in the religious community of *khayangan tiga* and sustained with further commitments by peasant association and other social professional associations. The homeless category is indicated by the loss of commitment in a religious community, *khayangan tiga*. As mentioned earlier, *pura puseh*, *pura desa*, and *pura dalem* are three temples that constitute a settlement institution of *banjar*.

The first temple is *pura puseh* signifying the foundation of the settlement with its distinct direction to the dominant mountain in the location. *Pura desa* is established to define the centre of village settlement. In many cases, *caturmuka* is developed at the location of *pura desa* as the basic condition of village development or urbanization. In its elaborated form, the crossroad becomes important for the development of village or urban centre. At the *pempatan agung*, we find the typical land use as the following: At the crossroad, *pempatan agung*, there is a possibility to locate public buildings, spaces and facilities in accordance with its spatial values system of *caturpatha*. This principle literally means four leading ways associated with the god Brahma at its centre called *nitipatha*. The centre of crossroad, *caturpatha* or *cathuspatha*, is the void called *pralina*. This void is essentially the space of origin of any place for settlement or the realm of beings in the sense of *loka—swah—bawah—bhur/upper—middle—under*. Annually, based on lunar calendar, the Balinese send a special offering called *bhutayadnya* to the *nithipatha* to commence the great silence day, *Hari Raya Nyepi*. The day is the celebration of *Saka* New Year (Fig. 5.2).

The day is the time when all Balinese people recover their lifeworld and earth. The recovery is articulated in the sense of *memarisuda bumi* that is to restore order

Fig. 5.2 Spatial structure of cross roads; *pempatan agung* Badung, Denpasar. (Courtesy of Sugihantara)



and harmony of relationships among beings based on compassion. On the day of *Nyepi*, which is literary silence or being in silence, all Balinese people remain silent and do nothing in order to lead them to coming into recollection. This is actually the act of detachment and break-up from anything routine. The destination of all efforts for recollection is visually directed to the centre of *caturpatha*.

The importance of the crossroad of *caturpatha* lies in its potential public space for gathering and point of destination. Its strategic position provides possible urban development in the region. The development of urbanity in Bali is traditionally from the centre of crossroad. The buildings around the crossroad have to stand with a setback that provides an empty space called *karang tuang*. Spatially, the most primary position, *utama*, is devoted to the central temple, *pura dalem*, whereas the most profane area, *nista*, is for *alun-alun*.

Living in *banjar* is to be a part of village *dharma* rituals, such as *odalan*. Participating in such rituals is considered dutiful by any villager. The feast of *odalan* is one of other important village rituals in which all villagers are to celebrate the anniversary of their temples in accordance with the Balinese lunar calendar. The feast of *odalan* takes place at the village centre where *pura desa* is located. In front of *pura desa*, villagers prepare the feast with foods and colourful flags, banners, and traditional clothes. The village temple, *pura desa*, is not simply a shrine or sacred place for religious activities; rather, its presence, for the villagers, becomes the reality of a worldly centre. The existence of community, *banjar*, is indicated in daily life with the reality of gatherings in the meeting hall, *bale banjar*, and in the village temple, *pura desa*. The relationship between the hall and the temples is essential to the events when the gatherings of cosmic beings take place.

The articulation and establishment of settlement are actually denoted with the establishment of temple of origin, *pura puseh*. This building is not simply a village monument or memorial stake; rather, the sense of *pura puseh* lies in its denotation of seat for ancestors and cosmic powers that enable people to do the land clearing for their settlement. Although most houses are made of impermanent materials, such as wood and bamboo, the building materials of temples are mostly made of *paras*—sedimentary stone—and *pura puseh* holds its capacity as permanent building. The only permanent structure of the Balinese house is its surrounding wall.

Since traditional layout has a fixed system of juxtaposition, adjustment and adaptation of modern uses are an interesting part of new architecture in Bali. This includes accommodating parking space for cars and shops within the house layout. Since any change and alternation of Balinese culture have their own consequences for the wholeness of the lifeworld, there is always the way for reorganization. Then, *upachara*—ritual and ceremony—and *banten*—offering—come into play for making up the relationship of all beings. How does a garage have its place in the Balinese house? Most modern uses are usually in the *nista* domain.

The Balinese way to identify new needs and activities is guided with their spatial categories of *utama-madya-nista*, vertically *triangga*—head–body–foot—and horizontally *trimandala*—sacred–temperate–profane. Embedding such categories in a new location is necessarily adjusted to the mountain–sea orientation—*kaja–kelod*—of the site. The need for a study, living, and bedrooms might have been identified to the room of *madya* consisting of three domains: *meten gopelen*, *bale dangin*, and *bale dauh*.

What is important to note is that the three domains have to be arranged surrounding an open space, *natah*, as its inner court. *Meten gopelen* is actually the master bedroom which, in the Balinese tradition, is dedicated to married couples. *Bale dauh* in the modern sense is identical to bedrooms, whereas *bale dangin* is regarded as meditative room or den. Designing a new home based on Balinese traditional building principles might have not overlooked the importance of house shrines. Beside its special location, *pamerajan* or *kemulan*—house shrines—are necessarily thought to be the soul of the house. Consequently, its presence must have been laid at the best place from which tranquillity and serenity find its haven.

The problem of modernity in building expression has come into public discussion in Bali since the 1970s. Regarding its traditionally elaborated architecture, Bali is attractive for its possibly synthesizing capacity in dealing with modernity. This capacity lies not only in its building expression but also in its conceptual framework for syncretic development. In urban related matter, Balinese as well as Javanese culture have already developed their indigenous urbanism derived from Indic statecraft.

Modern institutions might have been incorporated with the traditional institutions of centre at *caturpatha*. In Denpasar, the deployment of the idea of centre has not been executed in the historic site. Due to the limitation of space in inner city, the new government and civic complex has been established in Renon, outskirts of Denpasar in 1974. Of course, the development of new facilities needs to be less problematic in the empty land. However, not being able to establish the spatial framework for urban development seems to have been impossible for Bali. The reason is quite simple that

culturally, Bali has had already the spatial principle of *trimandala* and *caturpatha*. It must have been economic and political forces working in the land-use planning and its implementation.

Nevertheless, based on Balinese spatial principle, the deployment of modern institutions could have been adjusted into the already-existing institutions, *pura*, *puri*, *peken*, and *palemahan* or *alun-alun*. All cultural institutions, such as museum, art centre, theatre, school, and other public buildings have been comprised under the notion of *pura*. Public housing, apartment, hotel, villa, and other residential compound fall into the category of *puri*, whereas all commercial and business activities have comprised in the concept of *peken*. Utilities and public open space in the Balinese context have been perceived as *palemahan*. Generally, new Balinese architecture has been provided by local authority with a traditional system for preserving their heritage, without falling into romanticism. Moreover, they believe that form, *rupa*, would have not been properly expressed without its proper content, *sujati*.

5.8 Concluding Remarks

Dwelling in Balinese culture and tradition is inseparable from their living Hindu philosophy. Dwelling is *dharma* in a way of developing and sustaining the lifeworld with respect to others. *Dharma* is by no means a moral plea, but a necessity for a sustainable way of being. The relationship between building and dwelling is always signified with ritual of offering, which is not simply a courteous signification of thankfulness, but also an acknowledgement of respect to the transcendence of being beyond perceivable reality. In doing so, any transformation on earth is to bring about everything in balance. Dwelling is living as well as working and playing within the boundary of reality, where the interplay of role and function of every being is maintained, developed and sustained. All this is based on the awareness of cause and effect with a responsible and grateful mind set.

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