

The games painters play: visual design in Balinese paintings from Kamasan¹

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To fully appreciate a Balinese work of art, one should not expect anything – a focus, color, etc. – but let the eye roam freely over its surface, gaze at one or two of its patterned details – the face of a woman – dig into it, identifying something – the woman's shawl – and then roam again in search of another. The eye, instead of contemplating, should thus dance on the work, and then 'read' it as it would poetry, savouring like words, the shock of the patterned lines, curves and colors.

Jean Couteau (*Museum Puri Lukisan* 1999)

Introduction

When Jean Couteau wrote these words he was talking about a period of innovation in Balinese painting in the 1920s and 1930s. However what he says about Balinese paintings in this period also suggests something important about how we as viewers should view Kamasan paintings of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Couteau encourages us to allow our gaze to roam freely over the surface of paintings in search of visual cues. It is the painter's task to design his or her painting so that viewers identify the visual clues, which the painter gives—those details of the painting's design which allow us to understand the meanings and experience the emotions to which the painter wishes to draw our attention in his or her painting. In the case of Kamasan paintings it is the expectation of discovering a story, which sets the viewer's desire to search the painted surface in motion.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, painters from Kamasan, when telling their tales, illustrated events and places which were familiar to them in their everyday life. To this end they made use of a painterly style, which Balinese of the time regarded as realistic, one that enabled them to produce representations of the world in which they lived—at least we can conclude as much from contemporary folk-tales (*satua*) which they told about painters. These same stories also teach us that Kamasan paintings aroused strong emotions—great admiration for example for the skill of a painter who represented the world in a realistic manner or, in one case, anger because

¹ I wish to thank Richard Fox, Mark Hobart and Michel Picard for their valuable comments. They have helped me to explain better a number of points I make in the paper. The paper was written in the context of an ARC funded research project granted to the School of Languages and Cultures at the University of Sydney and the Australian Museum in Sydney. I have been working with three colleagues, Prof. Adrian Vickers and Dr. Siobhan Campbell of the School of Languages and Cultures at the University of Sydney and Stan Florek of the Australian Museum. It was about the history of Balinese painting. My part of the project was focused upon a tradition of painting in the village of Kamasan in the present Kabupaten of Klungkung and is designed to examine the relationship between how Balinese think, know, imagine and feel about the world in which they lived and the visual representation and communication of these ideas, imaginings and feelings in narrative paintings from Kamasan. I am especially interested in the way ideas and feelings about time and place are represented in the two dimensional space of paintings—in particular in paintings of the Sumanasāntaka and Brayut story in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

the portrait of the painter's royal female subject revealed all too clearly that the painter may have had too intimate knowledge of her.²

In this paper I discuss just one painting in order to show how one painter in the nineteenth and early twentieth century designed a work illustrating the tale of the Brayut family.³ The painting is in the collection of the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam in The Netherlands (Illustration 1). In this painting, the painter illustrates two important moments in the life of a Balinese commoner family. In the lower part of the painting, we see Pan and Men Brayut as they celebrate the religious festival of Galungan and in the upper part of the painting we view events which precede the marriage of their youngest son, Ketut Subaya. Once married, Ketut Subaya will assume responsibility for the customary and religious duties of the family which until this moment his father has borne as member of the village community.⁴

The painter's purpose is clear: he has set out to tell the story of two important moments in the life of a commoner family. However evident this purpose might be, this painter from Kamasan had other reasons to paint his tale. We will see that his story was in fact a means to an end: he has used it to draw his viewers' attention to his understanding of aspects of human nature. In particular, I hope to show how he draws a radical distinction between men and women, and how he, as he paints the world of commoner Balinese, views it from a male point of view. The painter it seems wanted to draw the attention of his viewers to the virtuous manner in which Pan Brayut has carried out his civic and religious responsibilities as male head of his household.

The Balinese Sense of Occasion

There is a strong sense of occasion in the painting, of the time when and the place where the activities illustrated take place. The events in the lower part of the painting take place at the time of Galungan. They take place on the house yard of Pan Brayut and his family: we see illustrations of the kitchen, the bedstead, cow stall, and household temple—all situated on the house compound. There are also representations of places outside the family's compound at this important ritual time of the year: the village fountain and the street outside the houseyard where a performance of the Barong and Rangda masks takes place. The events illustrated in the upper part of the painting take place at a moment of crisis in the life of Pan Brayut, the head of the family, when he surrenders his responsibilities as head of the household to his youngest son and prepares his path to death. In the painting the painter has also been quite specific about where these activities take place. The graveyard and cremation ground, the *pura dalem* (Death

² Pan Mertasih, Nagasepuh. Gedong Kirtya Manuscript Collection. MS 2091: 'Satua I Sangging Lobangkara,' transcribed by I Gusti Nyoman Agung, 30 October 1940; Kat Angelino (1922:387–89). See Vickers (2012:21) for commentary on realism in Balinese painting.

³ The story of Pan and Men Brayut appears to have been known widely in Bali in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The ten manuscripts which I have read to date come from Padangsabian di Badung; Tembuku in Bangli; Negara in Jembrana; Penaban, Sideman, Subagan, and Taman in Karangasem; and from the Puri Gobraya in Singaraja, Buleleng (See Kidung Pan Brayut, Pusat Dokumentasi Provinsi, Internet Archive, Bali, Lontar and Video (<http://www.archive.org/details/kidung-pan-brayut>), LOr 3613. 3773, 3823, 3883 (2), 3911 (2), 3948 (4), 3968 (2), 3982 (2), 4380, 4381 (1/4 3823), 4382, 13.608, 15.229, 16.327, 16.432, 19.459, 19.851, 20.000, 21.771, 21.877, 24.244, 24.625, 24.845. For a Dutch translation of the story see Grader (1939) and for a text and translation into Indonesian see Ardika (1980). According to van der Tuuk (1897–1912 IV:894–95) paintings of the Brayut story were traded by people coming from Klungkung in Bali towards the end of the 19th century—apparently as far as Singaraja where van der Tuuk was living.

⁴ See Grader (1960:202–204; 1969: 167–169) for discussion of membership of the *banjar*.

Temple) and the family compound of the family of Ketut Subaya's wife-to-be are the sites of important action on this occasion in his life.

The Balinese painter and those who viewed the painting believed that the time when and place where an event took place exercised great influence on the lives of individuals, families and society generally, both materially and spiritually. The time when a person is born, or the time selected for a ritual, a journey, a marriage or whatever determined whether that event was successful or not; whether those involved prospered, whether they were happy or not. Everything was very dependent upon the quality of the moment when an event took place, all of which is explained in Balinese calendars which describe *pawukon* (210-day cycle) and cycles of the moon (*sasih*).

In the everyday lives of Balinese the arrangement of space is equally important. In the world of their everyday experience Balinese order space to conform to a well-understood cosmological mapping of the world. The directions mountainwards (*kaja*) seawards (*kelod*) in combination with the points of the compass govern and explain not only the cosmos itself but the layout of villages, houseyards, the places where offerings are made and offerings themselves, the human body and the island of Bali. In a village for example normally the *pura puseh* is situated in the direction *kaja*, the *pura desa*, in the centre of the village near the market and the palace if there is one and the *pura dalem* with the graveyard and cremation ground (*setra*, *sema*) in the most *kelod* part of the village.

Houseyards too are arranged according to the same map. The household temple is situated in the *kaja-kangin* corner of the houseyard, a number of *bale* where the family sleep and rituals take place (*bale dangin/bale gede*) are situated in the centre of the compound. The kitchen (*paon*) and rice barn (*lumbung*) are *kelod* of the living quarters and most *kelod* are the animal stalls (*kandang*) and the garbage heap.⁵ The gateway, which gives access to the houseyard from the street or laneway outside is regarded as a place of danger. In principle it is found in the most *kelod/kauh* part of the yard and screened by a wall of brick or mud or palm leaf (*aling-aling*) just inside in order to block the houseyard from incursions of *leyak* and other malevolent spirits whose arrival in the houseyard might endanger the health and welfare of the family who dwells there.⁶

Kamasan painters painted in a style that enabled them to give expression to their understanding of the world in which they lived. The style is, as I explained earlier, one that the painters and those who viewed their paintings considered both realistic and capable of giving expression to emotions. However, it was not one which ordered the flat two-dimensional space of their paintings on the basis of the same principles of time and space which we have just described—or not entirely so as we shall see. The paintings we are considering, and other Kamasan paintings too, were designed on another set of principles. They are narrative paintings and it is the narrative character of the paintings that gives rise to the impulse to order the painting's scenes clearly so that the identification of the narrative scenes and their chronological sequencing is well defined.

It is perhaps worth noting here that Balinese narrative practices are marked by a notable degree of variation between one recounting of a story and another. In the case of paintings for example, different painters may both select different scenes from a narrative to illustrate and place the scenes differently within the overall design of their

⁵ For fuller discussion of Balinese sense of space see Eiseman (1990 I:2–10), Lansing (1995:25–28), Tan (1967).

⁶ See Lansing (1995:42–46), de Zoete and Spies (1938:87).

painting. There is an episode in the *Geguritan Brayut* which illustrates my point well. Various members of the Brayut family are described performing excerpts from a variety of narrative works (*Kidung Pan Brayut Puri Gobra* 130–139) reminding us of a process of 'fragmentation' which narratives undergo in performance in Bali. The episode to which I refer describes how each of Brayut's sons selects and then recites an episode or melody from a variety of narrative poems. Performances of *kakawin*, *kidung*, and *geguritan* commonly do not involve any attempt to recite an entire narrative work but selections much loved or considered appropriate for a particular ritual occasion. Vickers has documented this practice in the case of the *Malat* and it is embedded in the repertoire of the shadow play in Bali as well as in dance and theatrical performances of narratives. It appears even to have had its impact on the copying of manuscripts of these works as well.⁷

How to read a Balinese painting from Kamasan

The skill of a painter lay in his or her capacity to achieve this goal – to design the space of a painting so that the chronological sequencing of episodes was clear both to the painter and to those who viewed the painting. This was the impulse at least. As we shall see, painters had other considerations in mind about the design of their paintings which subordinated this impulse, complemented it, or entirely ignored it. The painter's ability to achieve this goal depended on a number of elements of design. These elements of design were followed consistently and carefully so that both painter and viewer identified narrative scenes and understood the logic of the story as it was represented on the canvas. One element of design, which contributed to this end, was the iconography, which the painter employed—the manner in which the characters of the story were represented. In Kamasan paintings, except in the case of a small number of characters, the iconography makes clear their physical and psychological make-up and their social status and role. A system of physical attitudes or postures in which characters were painted was also employed and made clear the interaction of one character with another—their relationship with each other.⁸ For the moment I want to concentrate only on the manner in which Kamasan painters indicate the narrative sequencing of the scenes in their paintings—in particular how the painter of the Brayut painting from the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam has arranged the scenes of his story in their narrative sequence. However as we do so we will discover how this same painter has designed his painting to compare one scene with another, one part of a scene with another and even one whole part of his painting with another in order to draw the viewer's attention to other meanings than just the narrative itself and the sequencing of its narrative scenes.

Designing sequences of scenes in a Kamasan painting.

As I have just pointed out painters from Kamasan have at their disposal a number of visual strategies to direct our attention to the sequence of scenes in their narrative paintings. Perhaps the most basic strategy is the use of lines of scene dividing motifs. There are several types of this kind of motif. In Illustrations 2(a) and (b) we see one form, one which, apart from dividing one scene from another, represents bricks or worked stone, indicating that the enclosed space, in which the narrative action is taking

⁷ See Vickers (2005:86–90) on fragmentation in the case of the *Malat* and compare Creese (2004:50–1), Rubinstein (2000:15–38) and Zurbuchen (1987:82–112) on Balinese reading practices.

⁸ For discussion of the iconography of Kamasan paintings see Forge (1978:15–17), Vickers (2012:30) and Kanta (1977–78:17–33). Compare also Hobart (1987:67–124) who discusses the iconography of the Balinese wayang theatre.

place, is the social space of a houseyard, palace, temple or village. As we can see they may point to the right or to the left. In Illustrations 3 (a) and (b) we see another form of scene-dividing motif. In this case the motifs (*gunung-gunungan* with *perengge*)—intended to represent natural rocks and signal a space beyond of social space, a wilderness—direct our gaze. There is another form of this latter motif (Illustration 3 (b)) (*gunung-gunungan karangan*). Sometimes as we shall see these motifs mark the space of the graveyard and cremation-ground.⁹

These directional motifs are combined with other elements of design to signal the direction in which to read the story. In Illustration 4 for example, we see how the painter has used the posture of a character's body to point out the direction in which to read the story. This scene is found in the bottom left hand corner of the painting. In it we see Pan Brayut returning home to his houseyard carrying water from the village fountain. His body and legs face to the right in the direction in which he is represented walking and he looks back over his shoulder at the waterspout where he has just been. There are variations on this strategy. In Figure 5, for example, we see Pan Brayut again, this time sitting in his kitchen preparing offerings. He sits, his body turned to the right in the direction we are to read the sequence of scenes. However once again he looks back over his shoulder at the previous scene in which he is depicted fetching water from the village waterspout. In each of these cases the posture in which the Pan Brayut is painted is an important pointer to the sequencing of the scenes in the painting.

The final scene (Illustration 6a) in the sequence of scenes at the bottom of the painting coincides with the right hand edge of the painting. The vertical edges of the painting—indeed both vertical edges of the painting—are defined by a framing motif. (Illustration 6b)¹⁰ In this scene we see that the *sanggah kemulan*, the shrine in which an adult daughter is placing her offerings, is painted on the right hand side of the scene next to the painting's frame, reinforcing the viewer's awareness that their gaze has arrived at the edge of the painting. The vertical character of the shrine, cutting into the sequence of scenes above also serves to lift the viewer's gaze to the following sequence of scenes above. There once again we see a second scene (Illustration 6a) in which a *sanggah kemulan* occupies the same position, again reinforcing the viewer's awareness that the scene is juxtaposed to the right hand edge of the painting and lifting the gaze to the topmost sequence of scenes. We will see in a moment that the vertical character of the two shrines is an important element in the visual character of the entire right-hand side of the painting. In the scene at the top of this part of the painting (Illustration 7), it is the person of Pan Brayut who replaces the *sanggah kemulan* in the lower scenes. Here Pan Brayut meditates on a graveyard. The manner in which he is depicted suggests that his representation is intended to function in a similar manner as the *sanggah kemulan* below. He sits directly above the *sanggah kemulan* in the scenes below with his back to the framed right hand edge of the painting. Pan Brayut gazes across the painting at the four scenes in front of him, encouraging viewers to follow the direction of his gaze.

Breaches in the line of scene dividing motifs are found in paintings. Such breaches also serve to link one scene with another. We have just seen how the tops of the *sanggah kemulan* in the two scenes which border the right hand edge of the painting serve to lift the viewer's gaze upwards along the right hand edge of the painting. In the sequence of scenes along the bottom of the painting we find a second example of this

⁹ See Made Kanta (1977/1978:27–28).

¹⁰ Several kinds of framing motifs are found on the vertical edges of Kamasan paintings. See Kat Angelino (1922: Plates 2–5) and Made Kanta (1977/1978:26–27).

strategy. In this case, however, the link between scene 2 and scene 3 (Illustration 8) is formed by a line of children which stretches across the line of scene-dividing motifs separating the two scenes. Indeed one child in this row has been placed precisely on the line of scene-dividing motifs in order to achieve this effect.

The painter has employed a similar strategy in order to integrate the two sequences of scenes in the lower painting and to separate them visually from the sequence in the upper part of the painting. This effect has been achieved by painting the roofs of the kitchen, bedstead, cow stall and *sangah kemulan* in the sequence of scenes at the bottom of the painting so that they penetrate the sequence of scenes immediately above. At the same time the painter has ensured that the line between the middle sequence of scenes and the upper sequence has remained quite distinct (Illustrations 1, 9a and 9b). This visual arrangement has, as we have noted above, been employed to separate two important moments in the life story of Pan Brayut's family.

Finally there is another visual distinction that I should draw attention to before going on to discuss the way in which the painter has ordered the scenes of the Brayut story in this painting. The painter distinguishes the horizontality of the left hand side of the painting and the verticality of the painting's right hand side. Generally speaking, the painting has a strong horizontal character. The rectangular shape of the canvas with its horizontal sides clearly longer than its vertical sides establishes the horizontal character of the painting. This is enhanced by the visual dominance of the three narrow sequences of scenes placed one above the other and which stretch across the painting's entire length (Illustration 1). However there can be no doubt that the right hand side of the painting is vertically patterned and contrasts with the strong horizontality of the left hand side of the painting (Figs. 10a and 10b). The right hand side of the painting is contained within two vertical lines both longer than the horizontal edges at the top and bottom of this part of the painting. There is the vertical line of the edge of the painting on the right—enhanced by the framing motif along its length—and on the left a row of vertical scene-dividing motifs which rise from the bottom to the top of the painting. These two parallel lines are enhanced by other features in the design of this part of the painting. There is a second vertical line of scene-dividing motifs which rise from the bottom of the painting to the top of the second sequence of scenes towards the right and a less prominent vertical line which runs from the *plangkiran* in the cow stall through the bamboo wall of the kitchen in the scene above it. Both these supplementary lines continue in a weaker fashion through the figures of the graveyard demons in the top scene. Nor should we forget the way in which the roofs of the buildings in the scenes below break the horizontal lines separating the first sequence of scenes from the second and the second from the third. As we have already noted these are designed to lift the eye of the viewer vertically to view the scenes above. We shall see in a moment that the visual distinction between the horizontally designed left of the painting and the vertical right hand side was intended to focus the viewer's attention on an important thematic distinction to which the painter wished to draw attention.

Reading a narrative painting of the Brayut story (Tropenmuseum 2058-2)

Of course as we shall see when we discuss the organisation of narrative scenes in this painting, in practice, painters employ several of these strategies simultaneously so that the viewer can both follow the story the painter wishes to tell in his painting and to identify the thematic distinctions to which the painter wants to draw attention.¹¹

¹¹ The level of detail in the following description of scenes in this painting is intended to underline the painter's intention to represent realistically the spaces in which he situates the painting's narrative action.

The first sequence of scenes

I shall begin the analysis of this Brayut painting from the Tropenmuseum on the basis of what is the painting's most dominant visual feature, the horizontal sequences of scenes which cross the painting from left to right. In this arrangement of the painting the first scene in the story is to be found in the lower left hand corner of the painting (Fig. 3a).¹²

As we have already noted in this scene (Illustration 4) we see Pan Brayut returning home carrying two water pots (*jun*), which he has filled at the village fountain behind him. This is normally an activity reserved for women in a household. The pots are hung on a pole held across left his shoulder. As he walks towards the kitchen in the next scene his body and feet are pictured in the direction he is walking while his head is turned to look behind him at the fountain where he has filled his pots from a pipe which protrudes through the mouth of a stone spout in the form of a lion. Two young boys accompany Pan Brayut, one behind him and one in front. Like Pan Brayut the boy behind him carries pots of water on a pole across his left shoulder while the other carries a smaller pot in his left hand. Three women accompany Pan Brayut in this scene, two of whom carry water pots on their heads in contrast with the men and boys in this scene. All of these characters are pictured walking to the right. A third woman can be seen filling a large pot from the fountain.

Inscription: *iki jalan Brayute ma__nuwan*, 'Here Pan Brayut walks ?'¹³

The combination of scene-dividing motifs pointing to the right and the posture in which Pan Brayut, and other characters in this scene, have been pictured make quite clear that the viewer is to proceed to the scene immediately to the right of this one to find the next scene in the story.

The second scene is in two parts (Illustration 11). On the left we see Pan Brayut again. He is seated on a bench (*plangkan*) in his kitchen (*paon*). His body faces to the right while he looks back over his shoulder in the direction of the fountain where he has just been. He is preparing offerings (*nyait matanding*) for the celebration of Galungan, an activity which is normally the responsibility of women in a household. He holds a cone-shaped object (*tempang*?) in his left hand which he uses to shape the cooked rice cone he holds in his right hand. He is helped by a woman, probably an older child, who stands opposite him on the other side of the bench beside the woven bamboo wall of the kitchen also assembling offerings. On the floor behind Pan Brayut is a small child, who blows through a bamboo tube (*semprong*) fanning the fire under the hearth on which two rice-steamers (*payuk/dang-dang*, *ku(s)kusan*, *kekeb*) stand. A second child crawls on the floor under the bench eating food which has dropped to the ground and the child holds in the left hand. On the left, behind the stove there stands a large water pot with a lid (*gebeh*) and tied to one of the pillars next to it is a basket. Hanging from

In doing so I have consulted sources which date from the 19th century and which are roughly contemporaneous with the painting, for example van den Broek (1835) and van Eck (1878–80) and lexicographical lists of this same period such as van Eck (1876) and van der Tuuk (KBNW 1897–1912). Later descriptions and dictionaries have also been consulted, for example Lansing (1995), and Shadeg (2002).

¹² It might well be that the first scene of paintings is found in the bottom left hand corner of a painting because this is where the painter begins his initial sketched outline as he or she sits holding the cloth in the left hand and drawing with a bamboo stylus held in the right.

¹³ Illustrations of the inscriptions on this painting can be seen in the photographs in the Appendix.

a rack under the roof of the kitchen are two ladles (*cedok*, *cempong* ?) and a round basket and lid, and on the rack itself, there are four baskets containing the ingredients for the offerings being prepared below and further an empty basket on the right hand end of the rack.

While Pan Brayut works hard to prepare the family's offerings for Galungan his wife is pictured in the right hand part of this scene sleeping soundly. Men Brayut, exhausted because, following the birth of her eighteen children, she is kept busy every day caring for them. We see her sleeping soundly on the bedstead (*plangkan*) surrounded by her children. The pavilion in which she sleeps has four pillars, is hung with curtains and cloth hangings under the eaves. It is enclosed by a panel of woven bamboo at the head end (*kaja*) of the bed. Men Brayut lies on her back, her head on a pillow against the woven bamboo wall behind her and her legs crossed. Two children lie asleep at her feet, one suckles her breast, and she cradles another in her left arm. Another child has climbed on to the bed to take hold of the small objects (???) which hang on the woven bamboo panel behind her head. A lively line of other children spills over into the next scene to the right, running and playing with each other on the ground beside the pavilion in which the mother sleeps.

Inscription: *iki manyonyonang pianak*, 'here a small child is being suckled,' an inscription which draws attention to the mother's nurturing role, the point of this scene.

The line of children and the scene dividing motifs direct our attention towards the right and the third scene (Illustration 12), where we see Pan Brayut once again. He is now in the cow stall (*kandang*) and stands upright facing to the right and looking behind him. He is about to place the offerings, which he holds in a shallow basket in his left hand, in the offering niche (*plangkiran*) under the eaves of the cow stall in front of him. The offering niche attached to two bamboo poles, already contains two baskets of offerings and what appears to be a *lamak* hangs between the two baskets of offerings. The two children who walk beside him are feeding the cow which occupies the right hand side of the scene. A young calf suckles the cow (perhaps a cross reference to Men Brayut in the previous scene). Apart from the offering niche a number of items are placed on racks under the eaves of the stall. There is a large bucket—perhaps made of lontar palm leaves. The bucket contains something, feed for the cow (?)—compare the handful of feed below, which the child holds up to the cow's mouth to eat. There are two 8-shaped objects ??? hanging on hooks on the bamboo strut above them to the right of the bucket and another similar object to its left.

Once again the positioning of Pan Brayut's body and the scene-dividing motifs direct our attention to the right and scene four. In this the last of the scenes in this the bottom sequence of scenes (Illustration 13) we see an older unmarried daughter¹⁴ accompanied by two younger children. They are in the household temple (*sanggah*) and stand in front of the *sanggah kemulan* ready to make their offerings which the daughter holds in a shallow basket in her left hand. The *sanggah kemulan* already contains three baskets of offerings—one in each of its niches – and *lamak* hang from each niche. The small child in front of the older daughter participates in the ritual holding up what appears to be burning incense in a small clay container in his left hand. In front of them and facing them a small female figure is pictured carrying a lidded basket on her head

¹⁴ Note the arrangement of the hair here. The long train hanging down her back indicates that she was not yet married (Sukawati 1926:18, Photo 10).

as women normally do. She has perhaps already made her offerings and has turned to leave the household temple.

Inscription: *iki maba[a]tang*, 'Here she bears a weight(?)'.¹⁵

We have come to the edge of the canvas and the final scene in the painting's lowest sequence of scenes. However we have not yet reached the end of our discussion of these scenes. There is more to be said about the visual design of this sequence of scenes and our understanding of the painting. The manner in which the painter has clustered the roofs of the kitchen, bedstead and cow shed appears intended to make of these three spaces a single scene (Illustration 14).¹⁶ Of the three spaces, the kitchen, bedstead and cow shed, it is the bedstead where Men Brayut sleeps so soundly surrounded by her many children which is visually the most prominent. In this manner the painter has sought to focus the attention of viewers on this scene and to compare it with the picture of her husband working hard in the kitchen preparing offerings for the celebration of Galungan—normally women's work—and then making offerings in the cowshed. The painter has extended the visual comparison between the sleeping Men Brayut and her industrious husband to the two spaces in the left and right hand corners of the painting and there to Pan Brayut fetching water with his children from the village fountain—again normally women's work—and on the right to the depiction of an older unmarried daughter making offerings in the household temple. Here both a place beyond the family's house yard and members of the family other than Pan Brayut are included in the comparison with the sleeping mother. In this way the painter, it seems, signals to viewers a pause in his narrative to consider a point he is making about the division of labour in Balinese commoner households and the respective virtue of husband and wife at a moment of high ritual importance for the family, indeed any Balinese family.¹⁷ The painter has gendered his story and linked the virtuous attention to the ancestors with the father and the exhaustion of childbirth and care of children with the mother. The arrangement of the scenes here also emphasises the communal character of family life especially at moments of great ritual importance such as Galungan. The emphasis which the painter here has placed on the community of the family is calculated to draw attention most emphatically to the mother's lack of participation in the preparation of offerings and their presentation—a point made again as we shall see in the scenes in the second sequence of scenes above where the mother, Men Brayut, is pictured partaking of the offerings alone in the absence of the remainder of the family.

¹⁵ *baat* = heavy.

¹⁶ Compare the same strategy in another painting of the Brayut story from the Museum Bali (Grader 1939: Illustration 7). Here the grouping of roofs is the principal element in the design of the painting, suggesting that we are not dealing here with a random characteristic of design in this instance.

¹⁷ See van Eck (1880 VII:421–23) and (1880 VIII:1–11) on the question of the division of labour of men and women in Balinese households.

The second sequence of scenes

We will see that the narrative sequencing of scenes and the overall design of the second sequence of scenes is quite different from the first sequence. The third and fourth scenes in the sequence at the bottom of the painting are situated in the space on the right hand side of the painting, which is vertically arranged. The vertical character of this part of the painting lifts the gaze of the viewer upwards across the roofs of the cow stall and *sanggah kemulan* to the scenes immediately above. The visual similarity of scene four with the scene immediately above it encourages the upward movement of the eye of the viewer. Both these scenes depict the household temple and in both the visual relationship between a woman standing on the left and the *sanggah kemulan* on the right hand side of the scene is the same (Illustrations 13 and 15).

The line of scene dividing motifs between scenes five and six in the second sequence of scenes makes it clear that the narrative sequence is from scene five on the right to scene six on the left (Illustration 16). In the fifth scene we see Men Brayut standing in the household temple facing the *sanggah kemulan*. However, unlike the woman in the scene immediately below she is not making offerings to the ancestors but taking food from the offerings already placed there. She is *marid/murud/nyurud*.¹⁸ As we have already noted the line of scene-dividing motifs directs our attention from scene five to scene six to its left. In the second of these scenes we see Men Brayut on the right seated on a red cloth with floral motifs in the kitchen. She holds a *sate* stick in her right hand and cradles a baby on her lap in her left arm. In front of her is a *dulang* from which she takes the food she eats. On the left Pan Brayut stands supporting a young child in his left arm and pointing angrily at his wife with his right. A second child faces him reaching out to his father and crying (Illustration 16).¹⁹

We have begun to read the narrative sequence in this part of the painting from right to left and our attention continues to be drawn to the left and the seventh scene, attracted by the horizontality of its length. We see two lines of women who face to the left. Like Pan Brayut, who sits on the ground in front of them nursing one child on his lap while another sits on his shoulder, these women watch a Barong and Rangda performance. Rangda and the Barong turn to the left watching a group of men dancing with kris in their hands. One lies prone on his back on the ground under the tail of the Barong while a second falls backwards, his kris held aloft in his right hand. A third man wearing a red jacket reaches out to support him.²⁰ Beyond them on the left a gamelan orchestra plays. The ensemble consists from right to left, in the front row, a drummer playing a *kendang* covered with a cloth with a padded mallet (*panggul*) in his right hand and with his left hand. To his right there is a *cenggeng*-player, two *kantilan* (?) played by one instrumentalist with a two hammer-headed mallets, a *jegogan* played with a padded mallet and a *gender* played with two round-headed wooden mallets; behind them on the left sit a *kempli*-player with a straight wooden mallet, a *kemong*-player with

¹⁸ van Eck (1876:227 cf. 122 s.v. *surud*) cites *paridan* and *surudan* as ‘offerings which have already been brought to the temple and consecrated by the priest’. *pamaridan* he understands to be Galungan offerings which have been blessed and are to be eaten’. *Nyurud/marid* is to ‘take away offerings when they have been presented and the gods have consumed their spiritual essence’ (Shadeg 460, 388; Warna 678,501; Eiseman 292,360)

¹⁹ This gesture is commonly found in Balinese paintings of this scene in the story. It is associated with the display of anger and is ancient. See for example a scene from the *Sudamala* at late fourteenth century temple, Candi Tigawangi. In this scene we see the Goddess Durga cursing Sadeva (Bernet Kempers 1959:95–96, Plate 297).

²⁰ This figure in all likelihood represents the *pemangku* who is present during these performance to sprinkle the dancers who fall into trance. See Covarrubias (1937:332–34) and de Zoete and Spies (1938:97–98, 109 and Plate 42).

a padded mallet and a *gong* or *kempur* also played with a large padded mallet.²¹ Behind them three other men stand looking in the direction of the performance (Illustration 17).

Inscriptions: At the top of this scene there is an inscription between the head of two young women who stand facing each other behind Pan Brayut. It reads, '*iki pabuncingan*,' 'These are [male and female] twins?,' Above the Barong and Rangda there is a second inscription which reads, '*iki sukan Brayut ngupah barong*', 'Here Brayut is pleased to commission (?) a Barong and Rangda performance.'

What is striking in this scene is the clearly drawn visual distinction which the painter has drawn between men and women. With the exception of Pan Brayut, men occupy the left hand side of the scene while women dominate the right.

Before going on to discuss the final sequence of scenes at the top of the painting I want to come back to the scene-dividing motif which separates the sixth and seventh scenes and to examine it more carefully. The motif we discover does not direct the viewer's attention from right to left as we might have expected but from the left to right, that is from scene seven back to scene six where we see Pan Brayut angrily confronting his wife Men Brayut who sits eating the offerings in the kitchen. The painter signals that at the same moment that Men Brayut takes the consecrated offerings from the *sanggah kemulan*, Pan Brayut together with his children were watching the Rangda-Barong performance. Only after these two events had taken place does Pan Brayut, return home to discover his wife eating the offerings and becomes angry with her.

The painter it seems has created two ways of reading this sequence of scenes. On the one hand when we follow the narrative ordering of the scenes we discover a sequence of three scenes—scenes five and seven and then six. The second manner of viewing involves only two segments of this same sequence of scenes, that is, on the right hand, the sequence where the painter draws our attention to the relationship of Pan and Men Brayut, and on the left, the Rangda-Barong performance. The horizontal space occupied by both scenes is approximately the same. In both these segments the painter highlights the distinction between men and women. However, the painter is asking us not just to consider the differences between men and women. He also wants us to think about the relationship between the behaviour of the Barong and the Rangda on the one hand and between that of men and women on the other. Just as we saw in the case of the first sequence of scenes at the bottom of the painting, the painter here has again taken time out from the telling of his story so that he and his viewers might consider the point of his tale.

The third sequence of scenes

We shall see again that in the case of the topmost sequence of scenes in the painting that the painter has again created two ways of viewing the sequence. He directs our attention to the sequential order of narrative scenes and once again arranges the visual qualities of the sequence to encourage us to pause and consider the point of his story.

With scene eight we return to the strongly vertical right hand side of the painting. The verticality of this part of the painting lifts our gaze across the line of scene dividing motifs between the middle and topmost sequence of scenes through the roofs of the kitchen and *sanggah kemulan* in the two scenes below. There we view a

²¹ See Tenzer (1991:29–39). Hobart (2003:182, 185) lists the following instruments accompanying a dance of the Barong Ket: two drums, gongs of various sizes [*gong*, *kempli*, *tawa-tawa*, *klenang*], six cymbals, one flute, and ten *gangsa*.

rectangular scene, in which Pan Brayut is seated on the right beneath a *kapuk* tree draped with body organs and standing in the graveyard/cremation ground. Pan Brayut meditates surrounded by all kinds of malevolent spirits who inhabit the graveyard at night. These include an arm and hand spirit, the Kala Sungsang, a body spirit and others who dance about, wildly waving their arms in front of Pan Brayut (Illustration 18).

Inscription: this inscription is difficult to read because of damage done to this top corner of the painting.²²

Both the posture in which Pan Brayut has been portrayed—seated meditating looking to the left across the painting—and the line of scene-dividing motifs on the left of this, the eighth scene, directs the viewer's attention to the left and to the ninth and following scenes. In scene nine we see Pan Brayut on the left of the scene kneeling in front of Batara Durga who blesses him. At least the goddess is saying something to Pan Brayut given the gesture she makes with her right hand.²³ The line of scene-dividing motifs on the left of the scene directs us once again to the left and to scene ten.

Inscription: the inscription in this scene is above Pan Brayut as he venerates Batara Durga and reads, '*iki baru petang kṣ adyan (= kasadhyan)*'(?),'

In this scene (Illustration 19) Pan Brayut faces to the left but looks back to where he has just been. He is on his way back home after his period of meditation on the graveyard and his veneration of Goddess Durga in the *pura dalem*. He wears a tight fitting red jacket and leans on a staff—both symbols of his newly enhanced ritual status.²⁴ The position of his body facing to the left and the direction in which the scene-dividing motifs on the left of this scene point us indicate that we should proceed once again to the left to scene eleven. Pan Brayut has returned home to be greeted by his wife, Men Brayut, and one of his sons who kneels respectfully in front of his father (Illustration 20).

Thus far we have been encouraged to follow the narrative sequence in this last set of scenes from right to the left and we must continue to read the sequence in this direction if we are to view the one remaining scene in the top left hand corner of the painting. In scene twelve we see Ketut Subaya, the youngest of Pan and Men Brayut's sons. He is about to marry. He enters the houseyard of his wife-to-be's family. True to character he strides boldly through the gateway waving his arms wildly while his bride waits modestly inside (Illustration 21). We have come full circle. The painter began his tale with depictions of one marriage and he finishes it as another is about to begin.

However, just as we did when we examined the second sequence of scenes, we discover once again that the direction in which the line of scene-dividing motifs between the eleventh and twelfth scenes direct our attention not from the eleventh to the twelfth scene but from the twelfth to the eleventh. And so we are made to understand that while Pan Brayut meditates on the graveyard, venerates Goddess Durga in the *pura dalem* and returns home, his youngest son Ketut Subaya has set out for the houseyard of his wife-to-be. This happens before Men Brayut and his family welcome Pan Brayut home. Scene twelve is not the final scene in this painter's account of the story. The final

²² The damage here and in the top left hand corner of the painting is due in all likelihood to the practice of tying these corners with a cord to hang them during rituals.

²³ Batara Durga is the Batara Dalem, Goddess of the Pura Dalem into to whose keeping the unpurified dead (*pirata*) are placed (Swellengrebel 1960:167, 380).

²⁴ Compare the *pemangku* priest in the scene below in which the Barong-Rangda dance is illustrated.

scene is the one in which the family is united when Pan Brayut has returned home and meets with his wife, Men Brayut, on his houseyard.

We have not finished our discussion of this sequence of scenes. We need to examine its visual design a little more closely. One effect of the reversal of the sequencing of viewing scenes eleven and twelve is to draw the viewer's gaze back to the three scenes in the centre of this uppermost sequence of scenes and to the prospect of another way of viewing the sequence. The way in which the painter has designed scenes nine, ten and eleven is calculated to present the viewer with another way of viewing the sequence. The painter has grouped these three scenes visually. In the middle he has placed the small vertical scene in which Pan Brayut walks home alone wearing his red jacket and carrying his staff and on the right and left of this scene has two square scenes of similar size. In these we see, on the right Goddess Durga, and on the left Men Brayut. The space, which these three scenes occupy, is emphatically marked by scene-dividing motifs. This arrangement is conspicuous and draws our attention to Pan Brayut and the female beings with whom he has a relationship at this important moment in his life: Pan Brayut is about to surrender his civil and religious responsibilities as head of the household. From the moment when Ketut Subaya marries he will take on these responsibilities. At this moment in his life Pan Brayut has made peace with both his wife and Goddess Durga who has close relationships with both the graveyard and the *pura dalem*.

The two rectangular scenes in the upper left hand and right hand corners of the painting visually and thematically support this arrangement of the uppermost sequence of the painting. On the right we see depicted a scene of a religious ritual which initiates changes in the relationship between Pan Brayut and Goddess Durga and on the left is a depiction of Ketut Subaya who has arrived at the entrance gateway of the family of the woman whom he is about to marry. As has just been said, the marriage of Ketut Subaya signals the end of the heavy responsibilities, which Pan Brayut has born until this moment in his life. This event will free he and his wife from the responsibility of providing for his children and carrying out religious rituals on behalf of the family. This event will bring a new stage in the relationship of Pan and Men Brayut. Both look forward to a time when they will be honoured at Galungan as family ancestors. For this Pan Brayut seeks to prepare himself through his meditation on the graveyard and his veneration of Goddess Durga. He has placed himself and his wife in the care of the Goddess of the Death Temple.

Situated in the middle of the painting's uppermost sequence of scenes, these three scenes and the relationships they depict between Pan Brayut and Goddess Durga on the one hand and between Brayut and his wife on the other draw together the thematic interests of the narrative the painter has told. Visually and thematically, these scenes draw attention to the three characters depicted there and their appearance elsewhere in the painting. In the sequence of scenes at the bottom of the painting the relationship between Pan Brayut and his wife is depicted and in the second middle sequence we see Pan Brayut standing pointing in anger at his wife. He is at odds with her. Behind this depiction of him we catch sight of him again, this time seated watching a performance of the Rangda and Barong masks. The appearance of Rangda here in the second sequence of scenes anticipates the relationship between Pan Brayut and Goddess Durga illustrated in the scenes of the graveyard and *pura dalem* in the uppermost sequence of scenes in the painting. Finally in the very centre of these three scenes at the top of the painting we see the hero of the story, Pan Brayut, whose virtue is thematically at the very centre of the painter's tale.

Conclusions.

1. The painter has created two ways of viewing his painting. In the first place he has designed his painting so that that we can follow the chronological sequencing of narrative episodes from beginning to end. The story begins in the lower left-hand corner of the painting and proceeds in four scenes across the bottom of the painting to the opposite corner. Then the painter has directed our attention above to the second sequence of scenes. We view these three scenes simultaneously from right to left—from the scene in which Men Brayut takes the offerings from the *sanggah kemulan* to the scene in the kitchen where she eats the offerings—and from left to right—from the rectangular scene on the left in which the Barong-Rangda performance is depicted to the right where our attention comes to rest on scene 6, the last in the series, where Pan Brayut's anger towards his wife is made plain for all the world to see. Then our gaze is again raised upwards to the third and last sequence of scenes. Here we are made to understand that the sequencing of scenes starts simultaneously from the two long scenes in the top right and left hand corners of the painting. On the right Pan Brayut's gaze to the left directs our gaze to the left across the scene where he meditates on the graveyard to his veneration of the goddess Durga, to his journey home and to where Men Brayut and an adult son welcome him with respect. The viewer's gaze is drawn from the left, where we see Ketut Subaya's arrival on the houseyard of his bride to the right and again to the same scene of Pan Brayut's homecoming. This is the final scene in this painter's narration of the tale of Pan and Men Brayut.

2. I hope I have been able to show that the painter has designed his painting not just to tell his story. He has sought throughout the telling of his tale to draw our attention to other thematic interests. To achieve this end the painter has made use of variety of strategies of design. He has used motifs constructed of complex abstract forms to separate one scene from another, managed squares and rectangles, horizontal and vertical lines and breaches of them and patterns of colours, and in doing so has identified categories of phenomena which were important in the social and cultural world in which he—and those who viewed his painting—lived: places and spaces; times, rituals and performances; the activities and the familiar paraphernalia of daily life; men and women and children, animals and gods, terrifying and dangerous spirits and benevolent ones too, and the masks which represent them in performances. He has drawn our attention to states of human emotion: the angry confrontation between Pan and Men Brayut following the Barong-Rangda performance, Pan Brayut's terrifying confrontation with the malevolent graveyard demons,²⁵ his veneration of the Goddess Durga, his warm welcome home from his graveyard meditation and consecration and the comic and erotic associations attached to the figure of Ketut Subaya as he arrives to take his bride. And he has sought to illustrate the interrelationships, which he understands pertained between these different categories.

3. The painter has separated the lower two sequence of scenes from the upper sequence. In doing so he has drawn attention to two quite different ritual moments in the life of a commoner family. Below he has painted scenes of an abundant fertility, and ritual obligation and labour around the holydays of Galungan and Kuningan and above illustrations of events which accompany the life crisis of impending death when the father's customary and religious responsibilities are passed from father to youngest son.

²⁵ See de Zoete and Spies (1938:89–90).

4. The painter has clearly been interested to draw attention to gender differences. He has infused his painting with visions of differences between man and woman. Below he has focused our attention on two fundamental purposes of the Balinese family life: the obligation to honour the ancestors and the need to give birth to children. We have argued the painter has linked the diligent preparation of offerings and their presentation to the ancestors at Galungan and Kuningan with the father of the household and the exhaustion of childbirth and nurturing children with the mother. In the second sequence of scenes the painter compares the behaviour of man and wife with that of the Barong and Rangda. Then in the top most series of scenes, when the husband has reached the moment in his life to surrender his customary civic and religious responsibilities for his family the painter draws our attention not just to Pan Brayut's reconciliation with his wife but also to that with the goddess Durga. He also highlights in the way he has designed this part of the painting two rituals which are to be conducted at this moment of crisis in the life of Pan Brayut: Pan Brayut's meditation on the graveyard before his veneration of the goddess Durga and the marriage of his youngest son, Ketut Subaya.

5. Attention has been focussed on the manner in which the painter manipulates the contrast between the dominant horizontality of the painting with the verticality of the painting's right-hand side in order to draw our attention to two different spheres of life. On the right he has consistently painted scenes in which rituals are performed, and on the left, scenes which illustrate other aspects of social life. On the right at the bottom of the painting we see first Pan Brayut making his offering in the cow stall and to his right an adult daughter making offerings in the household temple on behalf of the family. Above these two scenes are scenes of *marid/murud/nyurud* when members of the family take the remains of offerings, from which the gods and ancestors have drawn their essence, and eat them. Men Brayut takes offerings from the *sanggah kemulan* and then eats them in her kitchen. At the top of the painting on the right-hand side of the series on scenes we see Pan Brayut meditating on the graveyard, surrounded by its spiritual denizens and his audience with the goddess Durga opens the way back home to the routine of social life.

To the left of this space are scenes of other aspects of social life. Below people fetch water from the village waterspout, cook and prepare offerings in a kitchen and sleep soundly. In the middle sequence, a scene in the street outside the family's houseyard occupies our attention: here a performance of the Rangda and Barong is takes place. And above there is a series of scenes in the course of which Pan Brayut returns to the routine of social life from his meditation on the graveyard and to discover that the other requirement of his retirement from his civic and religious responsibilities has begun: his youngest son is about to marry.

6. I said earlier in my introduction that the design of Kamasan narrative paintings sprang from their narrative character and that the impulse to make clear the chronological sequencing of scenes was of paramount concern. And so it has been in the case of our painter. However, other considerations than purely narrational sequencing have played a role in the way in which this and other paintings have been designed. The painter has separated the space in his paintings assigned to scenes of ritual from that assigned to illustrations of other aspects of social life. He has dedicated the right hand side of the painting—marked by a strong verticality—to scenes of ritual and the left—marked by a horizontal patterning—to illustrations of other aspects of social life. He has also drawn a visual distinction between the lower and the upper part

of the painting, highlighting in this way the distinction between the ritual observances illustrated in the lower and upper parts of his painting. Below we witness Pan Brayut's celebration of Galungan and above his meditation on the graveyard and his respectful obeisance before the Goddess Durga. These latter rites have resulted in a change of status—signalled in the painting by the red jacket he wears and the stick (*tongkat*) he carries to help him on his way. His virtuous observance of important rituals has been rewarded. He and his wife, freed now from responsibility for the customary and religious duties of the family are endowed with the resources (*sangu-pati*)²⁶ they require to undertake the journey across the rickety hell bridge (*titi gonggang*) to the hereafter and into the keeping of the Batara Dalem.²⁷

²⁶ *sangu-pati*: 'provisions for the journey to death' (?); *sangu* A = *bekel* B, provisions for a journey. Both words are known in Old Javanese, *sangu* in *kidung* and *bekel* already in 13th century *kakawin*.

²⁷ See verse 60, *Kidung Pan Brayut*, Puri Gobraya and Ardika (1980:16 (verse 58), 40 (verse 58) where the poem describes the purpose of Pan Brayut's period of study and meditation under the tutelage of Pangeran Jembong. The rickety hell bridge (*titi gonggang*) represents the border between life and death and according to Swellengrebel (1960:86) is sometimes to be found near the graveyard in the form of a bamboo or a plank over a ditch. It is frequently depicted in scenes of hellish punishment in paintings of the *Bimaswarga* (See for example Vickers 2012:37 Fig. 18).

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Illustrations



Fig. 1 The story of Brayut 2058-2 Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.

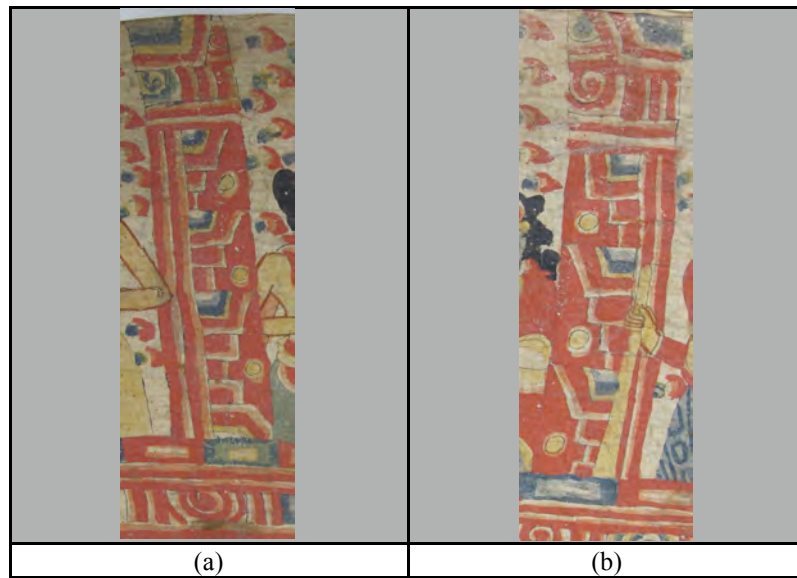


Fig 2 (a and b): Brayut. Detail 2058-2 Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig. 3a: Detail Building the Bridge to Lengka. Ramayana E74168 Australian Museum Sydney



Fig. 3b: Detail The meditation of Bhima. Puri Lukisan, Ubud.



Fig. 4: Pan Brayut returning home from the village fountain. Detail 2058-2 Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig. 5: Pan Brayut seated in the kitchen (*paon*). Detail 2058-2 Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig. 6a and 6b: *Sanggah kemulan* of the Brayut family and border motif. Detail 2058-2. Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig. 7: Pan Brayut meditating on the graveyard (*sema*). Detail 2058-2. Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig 8: Right hand side of the second scene and the third scene. Detail 2058-2. Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig 9a: The lower part of 2058-2. Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig 9b: The upper part of. 2058-2. Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig. 10a : Right hand side of 2058-2. Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig. 10b: left hand side of 2058-2 Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig.11: Pan Brayut prepares offerings in the kithchen while Men Brayut sleeps. Detail 2058-2 Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.

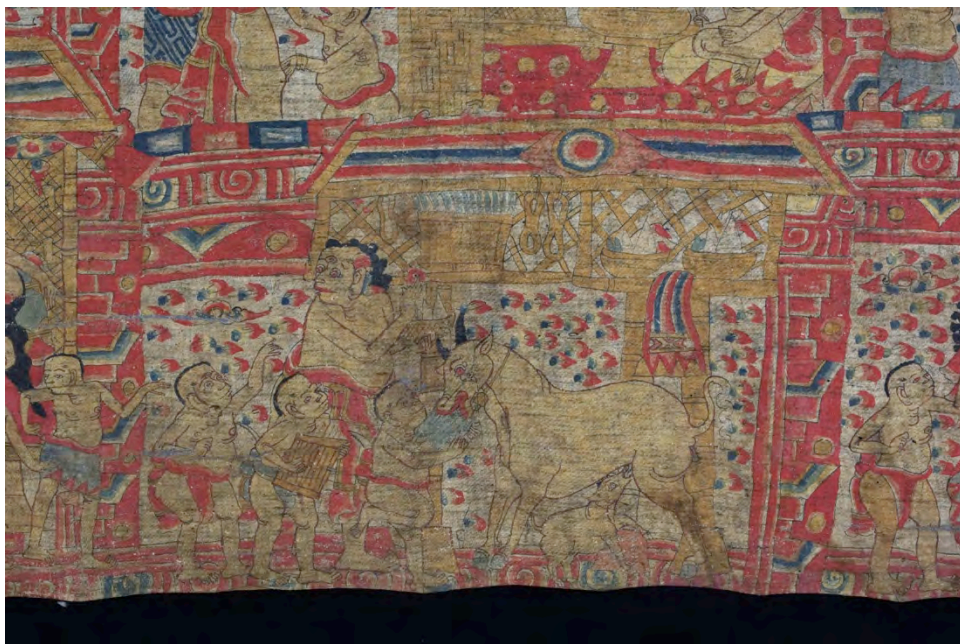


Fig.12: Pan Brayut makes his offerings on the *plangkir* in the cow shed. Detail 2058-2 Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam



Fig.13: An older daughter makes offerings in the family sanggah kemulan.
Detail 2058-2 Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam



Fig. 14: Unity of three spaces: kitchen, bedstead and cow shed. Detail 2058-2 Tropenmuseum,
Amsterdam.



Fig. 15: Men Brayut takes the offerings from the household temple. Detail 2058-2 Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig. 16: Pan Brayut is angry with Men Brayut. Detail 2058-2 Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig. 17: Rangda-Barong performance. Detail 2058-2 Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig. 18: Pan Brayut meditating on the graveyard. Detail 2058-2 Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig. 19: Pan Brayut venerating Batara Durga. Detail 2058-2 Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.



2/12/16

Fig. 20: Pan Brayut welcomed home by the family. Detail 2058-2 Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig. 21: Ketut Subaya's wedding. Detail 2058-2 Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig. 22: Scenes nine, ten and eleven. Detail 2058-2 Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.



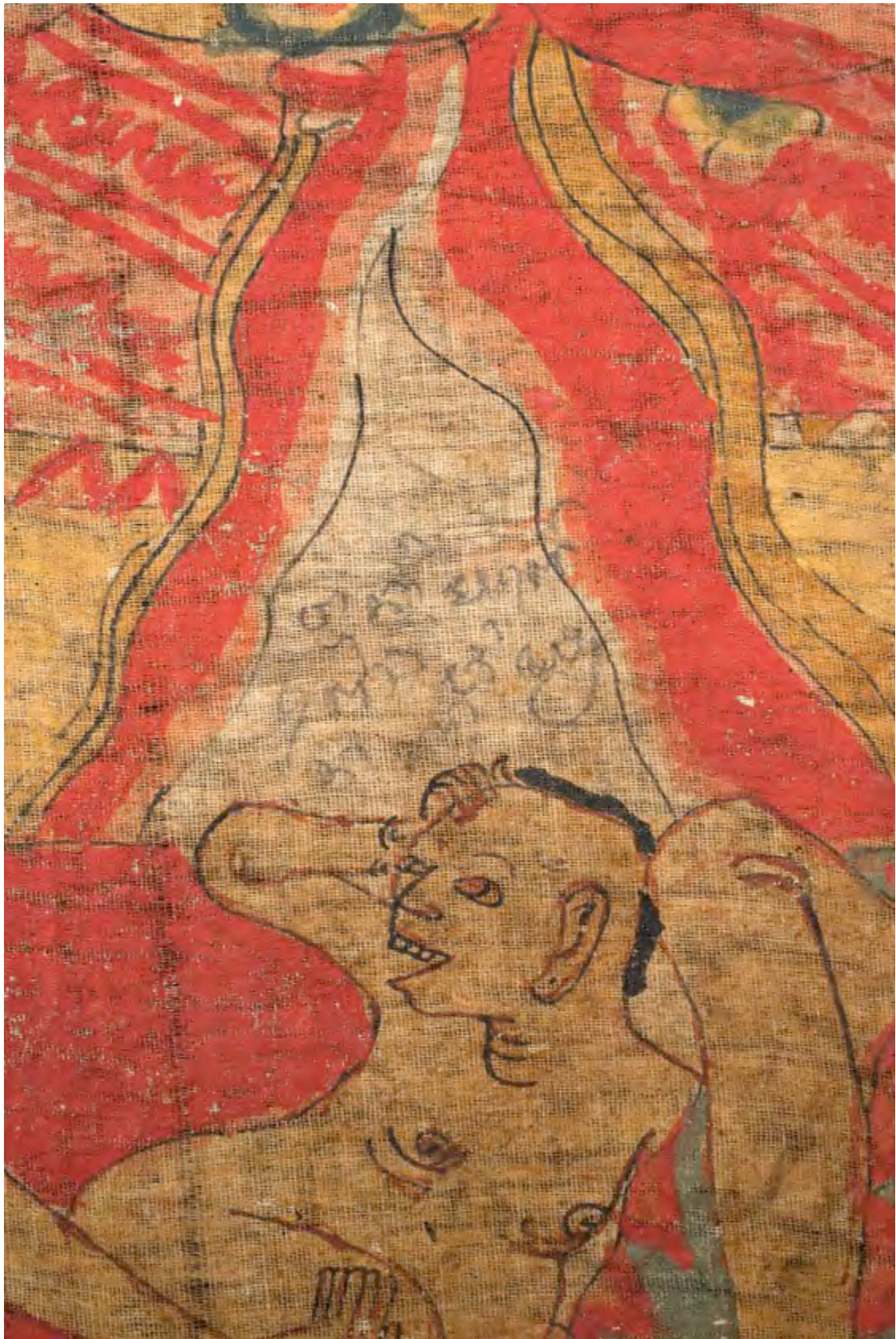
Fig. 23: The top sequence of scenes. Detail 2058-2 Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.

Appendix

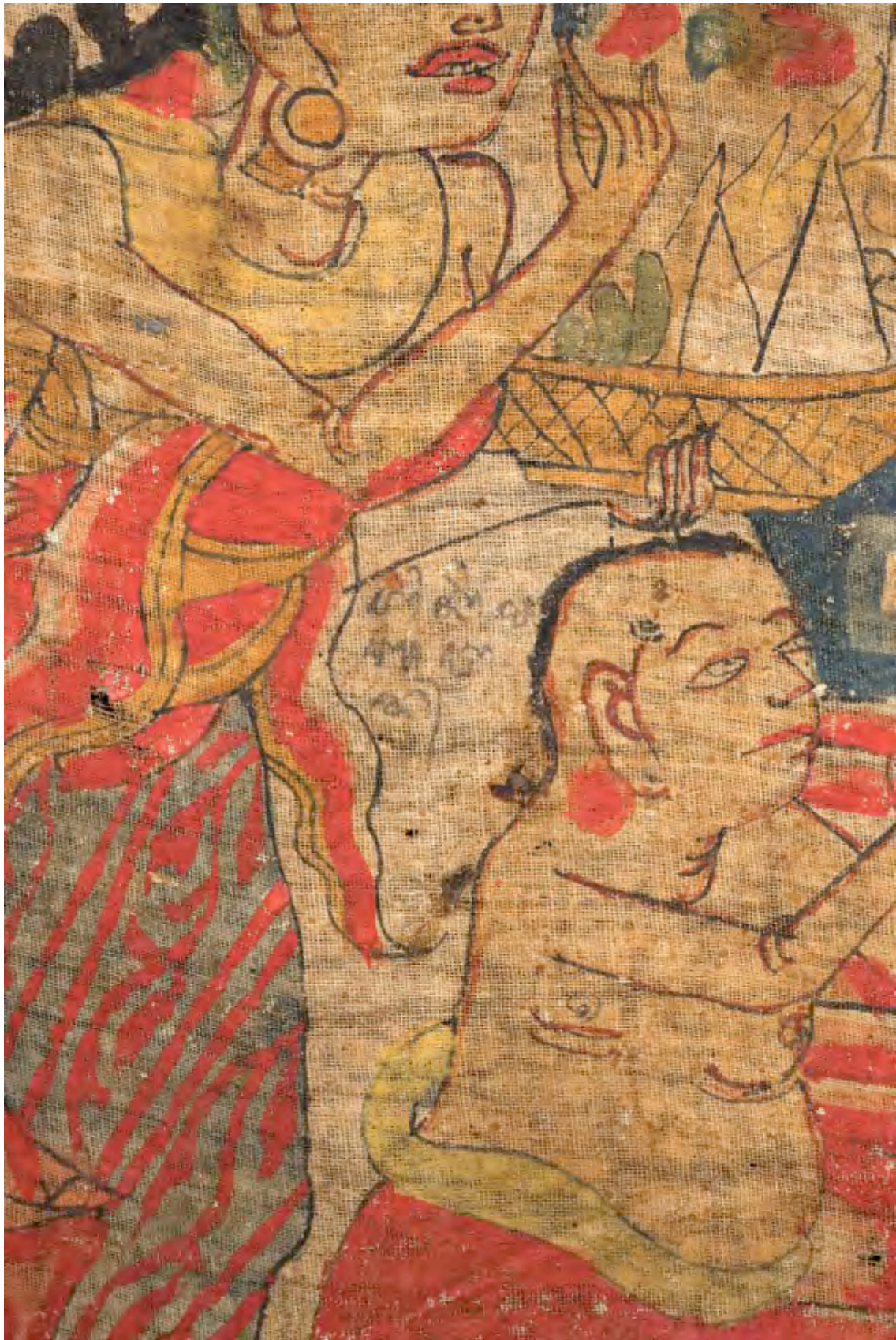
Inscriptions



Inscription Scene 1. Detail 2058-2 Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.



Inscription Scene 2. Detail 2058-2 Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.



Inscription Scene 3. Detail 2058-2 Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.



First Inscription Scene 7. Detail 2058-2 Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.



Second Inscription Scene 7. Detail 2058-2 Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.



Inscription Scene 8. Detail 2058-2 Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.



Inscription Scene 9. Detail 2058-2 Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.