The Creation of Harmonious Living Spheres - Landscape, Capital, and the Balinese Way

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Abstract. In the context of Balinese development, the following paper pursues the concept of ‘landscape’ as an inherent element in the creation of a harmonious living environment, by an examination of the forces that bring it about. Explanation occurs in three dimensions namely - culture and attitudes to space; the philosophy and religion of Hinduism; and the impact of capital and its political function. While the traditional Balinese courtyard house has possibly been given undue attention, the Balinese relation to the landscape has seldom been comprehensively discussed. In relation to this issue, it is germane that there is no word either for ‘landscape’ or ‘architect’ in Balinese. This raises the principle that traditional cultures blossom in the absence of modernist concepts - their environment is a direct reflection of their culture and religion. This suggests that contemporary attitudes to landscape based upon professionalised landscape practices have little to offer Balinese culture, yet potentially much to learn from the integration of landscape and culture. Keywords: landscape, capital, culture, philosophy, commodity

1. Introduction

‘In geographical usage, landscape is an imprecise and ambiguous concept whose meaning has defied the many attempts to define it with the specificity expected of a science’ [1:13].

The above quotation is taken from Denis Cosgrove’s celebrated book Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape. As with ‘culture’ it suggests that the idea of ‘landscape’ is similarly indefinable. This creates serious problems for analysis. To compound this hiatus, there is a schism between three forms of landscape production, namely the natural, the socio-cultural and the commodification processes of the capitalist market system. Emergent confusions surrounding ‘landscape’ are accentuated in ‘Theory in Landscape Architecture’ [2] and science is singularly absent. The text composed of some 50 commentaries illustrates the poverty of theoretical rigor to imbue the discipline. Nonetheless, three dominant paradigms can be identified that address landscape production. The first approach involves subjective interpretations of existing landscapes which evolve from a misplaced romanticism. This is based upon ‘the picturesque’ and is best exemplified by painters and designers of landscape, from Le Nôtre, Capability Brown, and Humphrey Repton to the great landscape painters such as Titian, William Turner and Gustave Courbet [3].
The second is that of natural ecology, expressed in two seminal texts; Design with Nature [4], and the Granite Garden [5] [6]. While both address natural factors, neither text signifies a unified theoretical approach to the material and symbolic production of landscape. The third approach is that of the political economy favored by Cosgrove, where the landscape both emerges from nature and is then appropriated, modified, plundered and frequently destroyed, in the process of social production and urbanization. The latter approach is favored by the author. At the moment, this may be perceived as the most advanced method of understanding the fundamental relationships between nature, culture and the production of essential life processes [7] [8].

Emerging from this perspective, history has locked labor and landscape together over millennia within what Marx termed modes of production [1:1-65]. Forms of development such as feudalism, merchant and industrial capitalism were co-dependent on the resources offered both by geography and human labor acting on nature to produce society. Hence landscapes -what existed above the ground, combined with what lay below it, were massively transformed. This allowed the material basis of life to evolve into complex and as yet unimagined forms, while at the same time destroying more than was created. In the case of Bali we perceive one of the anomalies of this theory, that modes of production can overlap, and where the development of the new does not necessarily delete the old. In Bali, proto-feudal social relations based in the adat system are embedded within those of capitalism [9]. The adat is a traditions-based system of governance in Balinese society. The former is primarily cultural and religious and the latter is economic. However this distinction requires some refinement.

For example, one of inherent elements determining the landscape of Bali is its irrigation system of wet rice cultivation called Subak, which is simultaneously a cultural as well as an economic form. This is one of many inherent elements determining the landscape of Bali. Arguably the dominant conflicts on the island arise from the clash of value systems embedded in each. Since the predominant economic process is that of a globalised tourist culture, the landscape of Bali has been singularly affected. As the islands economy is developed, its culture has been continuously adapted by the gradual domination of tourism functions - the displacement of traditional ceremonial space; the transformation of art forms in dance, theatre, painting, and mythology; even the form of the traditional domestic house to suit the needs of Air BnB. Here, the landscape has also been variously adapted to things that are not part of Balinese spatial vocabulary – golf courses, theme parks, zoos, conventions and other functions. Among the alarming examples are the gigantic Garuda Wisnu monument that dominates the landscape for kilometers around; the proposed US$ 3 billion redevelopment of Benoa Bay; and the Trump 5 star hotel/golf course overlooking the sacred temple of Tanah Lot [10].

Significantly and to the point, the Balinese have no equivalent words for landscape or architect. This challenges prevailing definitions of landscape architecture, since the Balinese relate to nature without such intermediaries. Furthermore it suggests a reassessment of the idea of landscape, not only from a professional standpoint, but also from the perspective of a multitude of cultural systems that live happily with their own relationship to the natural world.

For example, buildings take form from a preordained rule system that is lodged in what is termed an undagi, someone versed in both religion and building, a kind of builder-priest [11], [12]. Unlike the Western idea of architecture where difference is promoted and creativity encouraged, traditional buildings in Bali are all designed in accordance with the same principles and rules of proportion. Such processes have been laid down for centuries according to a code that has harmony with nature as its prime objective, not creativity or the accumulation of capital from land. So we proceed to understand this vital nature: culture dimension without immediately compromising it by the use of an imposed conceptual system of landscape that the culture does not possess. The following paper is basically an exploration of this idea.

2. The landscape of culture and space
Due to its lavish ceremonial traditions, colour and pageantry, the complexity of its temples and traditional spaces, Balinese culture has been studied for over a century by world famous anthropologists
and ethnographers. Since we do not have the space here to discuss Balinese culture in depth, some of the more illuminating texts are those of [10], [13], [14], [15], [17], [18].

|   | WONG BALI CULTURE                                                   | LOWLAND BALINESE CULTURE                                                                 |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | Do not recognise Majapahit origins. All origin myths originate in Bali. | The source of Brahma civilisation is recognised as Indian (Hinduism) sourced from Java. |
| 2 | The dead are not cremated. Instead, burial, thrown into gorges or the use of air funerals (e.g. Trunyan) are deployed. | Dead are cremated in Nyaben ceremonies according to complex mores and rituals             |
| 3 | In theory, social class does not exist.                           | Social hierarchy established on the basis of caste, class, monarchical proximity and material wealth. |
| 4 | Lowland Balinese priests have no official roles.                 | Aga ritual hierarchy is not recognised.                                                 |
| 5 | Do not use Sanskrit mantras                                      | Sanskrit used ceremonially (mantras) and in written documents.                          |
| 6 | Village leaders have greater symbolic capital than others         | Village leaders are elected. Without state sanction “royalty” remain respected by Balinese people. |
| 7 | Climate denies any possible rice cultivation in most Banua, and is forbidden in Penulisan and Batur. | Society founded on rice growing and the system of Subak or hydraulic engineering (See [35]). |
| 8 | Only a negotiated oral history exists in a structure of myths and legends. | Historical records written on Lontar made from wood or copper and dating from 900 AD.      |
| 9 | Socio-spatial structures do not materialise in any uniform or commonly held set of practices. Only one direction is significant. Primary markers are ancestral houses or temples. | Geometrical principles based in Hindu philosophy structure space in buildings and villages. Use of cardinal compass points, spatial templates (Nawa Sanga, Chatus Patha etc. see [20], [12], [21]). |
| 10| Varied acceptance by Wong Bali of the term Bali Aga due to its potential implications of backwardness and subservience. | Bali Aga terminology in common use but with varying degrees of acceptance and meaning depending on the context. |
| 11| Possess democratic institutions - status over aptitude. Traditional descriptors of status such as social class and caste ignored. Marginal relationship to the state. | Main institutions are hierarchic and more integrated with state ideologies via urban planning and legislative mandates e.g. the training of adat leaders via Badan Pelaksana Pembina Lembaga Adat and ritual simplification via Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia. |
| 12| Lowland Balinese festivals are not always recognised.             | Annual celebrations such as Nyepi, Galungan, and Kuningan are important celebrations and symbolic markers in social life |
| 13| Social structure less susceptible to manipulation due to its non-material organisation, and non-uniform social practices. | Social structure prone to domination due to hierarchic social formation, the use of subak, respect for hierarchy (e.g. monarchical). Thus pre-existing structures that facilitated domination were potentially in place. |
| 14| Social hierarchy according to symbolic status (non material) where in theory material society has no influence. | Hierarchy established on the basis of caste, class, claimed proximity to monarchies, and material wealth. |
| 15| Religious centres correspond to locations of mythical ancestors.  | Religious centres are sited based on historic association, recognising design principles such as Nawa Sanga etc. |
| 16| Animistic religious traditions where animal sacrifice is significant. | Blood sacrifice remains but is deployed to a lesser extent.                            |
| 17| Philosophical tenets based upon dualism (dyadic forms) kaja towards the mountain and kelod, towards the sea. Balance created by opposites. | Lowland Balinese culture is triadic, embedded in the concept of Tri Angga or Tri loka. The universe is constructed in threes e.g. head, body and feet or utama (high), madia (middle), and nista (low). |
| 19| Aga villages tend towards a dualistic structure and form.         | Lowland Balinese villages are codified in the same manner as domestic dwellings.          |
| 20| Wong Bali villages are gerontocratic (ruled by old people) but marital status is also significant. | Villages are governed on the basis of democratic processes of election.                  |

Table 1. Fundamental differences between Bali Aga culture and the lowland Balinese [19:276-278].
Despite the tendency within tourist circles to portray it as a homogeneous entity, Bali does not have a uniform culture. The division occurs between the lowland people and those of the highlands – the Bali Aga people [17], [19], [22], [23], [31], [32]. So in a fundamental sense, the landscape is deterministic of the social structure of the Balinese people. Note that the term Bali Aga is not Balinese, since the Balinese people refer to each other as Anak Tenganan or Anak Pejeng meaning the people of Tenganan or Pejeng. Despite the varied origins (Java in the former and Vietnam, Cambodia in the latter), 84% of Balinese genetic origins are of Austronesian/Melanesian descent. When we refer to The Balinese in the text we address the people of lowland Bali.

In modern society the Balinese also have two sets of social obligations, one to the state (as citizens of Indonesia) and the other to the traditional society of the desa adat (adat village). In the first case, state regulation via urban planning is largely deployed to facilitate speculation on land by private capital and the intervention into landscape production by private capital. All development is subsumed to these conditions, and in many cases it has produced disastrous results due to the lack of development control and its implementation. The desa adat to which everyone belongs, is formed of various banjar (communities) that organize festivals, ceremonies, funerals and other functions, all of which have spatial implications that are frequently temporal/seasonal or otherwise dictated by the Balinese calendar. Overall however the banjar has little impact on nature or space except for specific community functions.

| Tri Loka | Shuah Loka | Bhuwah Loka | Bhur Loka |
|----------|------------|-------------|-----------|
| Tri Angga | Utama | Madya | Nista |
| universe | atmosphere | lithosphere | hydrosphere |
| earth | mountain | land | sea |
| village/town | pura temple | banjar community | setra cemetary |
| housing | parahyangan family shrine | pawongan/natal/visit | palemahan lebuh house entry |
| temple | jero (sacred) inside | tengah middle | jaba (profane) outside |

Table 2. Traditional spatial constructs (Adapted from [20:42])

As in all things Balinese, the component parts of the landscape also possess spiritual attributes (Table 2 above). Urban landscape functions tend to be organized in accordance with a set of spatial standards that are oriented round the equivalent of the Roman Decumanus (east west) and Cardo (north-south). Buildings are traditionally placed accordingly in each quadrant with each village following the basic prototype. Functions were typically located with the temple in the north east quadrant, the open space with a banyan tree in the south east corner with the alun-alun or open space, the market and its temple in the South West corner and the community hall (bale banjar) in the north west corner. Outside the village in accordance with custom, the cemetery and the temple of the dead are located, along with the cremation grounds. Since nothing in Bali ever conforms totally to expectations, this general schema has a multitude of variations as it occurs throughout the island [12].

Building typologies also form an integral part of social production which indeed imbue the landscape. Since the land needs to contain a hierarchy of spatial forms, a simple building typology evolved that characterizes the landscape of every town and village, namely: temples, markets, community hall, rice barns, domestic buildings, meru (pagoda like structures) and bale which in certain circumstances take shapes in simple forms made for rest and conversation. In addition, palaces for royal families existed in the centers of each of the eight old kingdoms, with smaller palaces for members of the royal retinue. Clearly landscapes cannot ignore the built forms that reside in them, and a typology of religious forms is given below (Table 3).
In the case of built forms and consequently the entire landscape, the implementation of the *Tri Angga* concept is central. As is a very common practice, a built structure is vertically divided into three sections of upper structure (head); super structure (body); and sub structure (foot). Horizontally, the site on which the structure is placed on will also divided into three zones of utama, madya and nista. This is called *Tri Mandala* Concept. This spatial hierarchy and zoning system is imposed on two horizontal directions: (i) horizontal-right to left and (ii) horizontal-top to down. This zoning system has been inspired by a belief that the universe rotates based around two axes. The first axis determined the direction of the east (sacred) and the west (unsacred), and the latter leads to the direction of the north (sacred) and the south (profane). Each axis brings its own tri mandala: utama, madya, and nista zone respectively. When both axes meet they jointly create nine spatial zones which prompt the birth of Sanga Mandala Conception. *Sanga* means nine and *mandala* means zone. Each of these nine mandala zones are named as utama-utama; madya-utama; nista-utama; utama-madya; madya-madya; nista-madya; utama-nista; madya-nista; and nista-nista. The implementation of this concept can clearly be observed in the formation of domestic spaces. Each mandala accommodates different function/s. The most prominent and un-negotiable uses are of the utama-utama mandala for a sacred function and the most central mandala of madya-madya for a courtyard [9], [12], [20].

Logically, each mandala may contain either built forms or unbuilt space - outdoor space. This particularly applies to its potential in providing an alternative space when indoor space becomes too hot. It is also a traditional location to grow produce; a space important to the conduct of ritual practices, the essence of Balinese tradition; and an outdoor space to enhance the quality of the built environment.

Using the five essential elements that compose the life process, the Balinese people consequently beautify their outdoor landscape by including the panca sradha elements. This implies a formation of an outdoor space that include (i) solid element (soil, stone, etc.); (ii) liquid (water features); (iii) light (always allowing sun light into the garden); (iv) wind (allowing breeze to freely circulate); and (v) allowing direct visibility to the sky [9], [12], [20].

Temples apart, there were no other material structures of any significant dimensions, with the possible exception of the palaces of the rajas (many still operating today) – and water palaces which are a feature of the landscape in the South Eastern part of the island. Tirta (*water*) plays an extremely important role in the life of the Balinese, from holy water used in ceremonies, to the *subak* system for

| Social Groups | Level | Space | Translation |
|---------------|-------|-------|-------------|
| Brahmana      | Family| 1. Merajam/Sanggah | Family shrine |
|               | Clan  | 1. Pura Kawitan  | Clan temple |
|               |       | 2. Pura Dadya    | Clan temple |
| Banjar        |       | 1. Pura Banjar    | Clan temple |
| Ksatrya       |       | Pura Kahyangan Tiga: | The three village temples 1, 2, and 3, the three temples composing (1) |
|               | 1. Pura Desa, | Clan temple |
|               | 2. Pura Dalem, | Clan temple |
|               | 3. Pura Puseh | Clan temple |
| Weysia        | Island | 1. Pura Sad Kahyangan | Island temple. General access |
|               |       | 2. Pura Dong Khayangan | e.g. Besaki, Uluwatu |
| Sudra         | Profession | 1. Pura Melanting | Temple for traders |
|               |       | 2. Pura Dugul     | Temple for a subak |

Table 3. Spaces for ritual purposes per social hierarchy [24]
irrigation, to cleansing baths after cremations (ngaben), for medicinal purposes and for use in recreational areas. Two famous water temples are built closely together. Taman Sukasada Ujung has origins dating back to 1901, when the first pool was built to punish practitioners of black magic (pengiwa) and was extended by the late King (Raja) of Karangasem. He then built a second water palace in 1946, a one hectare complex at Tirta Ganga whose water is now regarded as holy. Both were destroyed by the volcanic eruption of Mount Agung in 1963 and the subsequent earthquake of 1974. They have since been restored back to their original splendor. Across the island the association of landscapes with mythology is also ubiquitous. Many sites are tied to the provision of holy water. For example Tirta Amertha is the place where the holy water of immortality can be found, a mythology sourced from the Mahabharata, the major Sanskrit epic narrative of ancient India. Water remains a significant dimension in the Balinese landscape vocabulary.

At a smaller scale, four concepts surround the idea of ‘garden’ (taman) [25]. Each is wrapped in a specific function that encourages harmony in the dwelling and are often phrased in terms of their usefulness - useful for medical purposes (Taru Purana literally ‘plant medicine’); useful for ritual (taman gumi banten - literally ‘garden - world - offering’); useful for joy and happiness; and useful for consumption. Each will tend to be located close to the domestic function it serves. In addition there is a conscious use of water for cooling, sculpture for representation, bamboo for seclusion, and an array of different types of stone that relate their qualities to some decorative purpose. There is also a spatial extension of planting in relation to function and scale e.g. the use of cempaka, sandat for quasi ritual purposes both in the family shrine and at the communal level of the temple (pura). Within the traditional family compound a special place was located (teba) for e.g. fruit production such as mangoes, bananas, papaya etc., a practice which is dying out in urban areas due to escalating land prices, although the practice still takes place at the village level. So in the context of Balinese traditional culture, it is virtually impossible to separate culture and the material production of space. In a quasi - feudal social organization that integrates the adat with Hinduism, traditions resist change. They are meant to specify a fixed view as to how the universe works, and the concepts are not up for debate.

3. The landscape of philosophy and religion

To recap, here we are not in search of any singular Balinese landscape. Instead, we illustrate how the Balinese themselves structure their lives in relation to the gods and nature. Any use of the term landscape architecture would hinder this understanding by imposing frames that do not exist. Life in Bali is replete with religious and philosophical dogma, which also informs the landscape of village planning and building. In principle the Balinese strive for harmony in all things guided by a host of concepts, some of which reflect Hindu origins in India, with some that are distinctly local. The most significant of these are:

- **Brahman**: the almighty God
- **Atman**: soul
- **Karma**: sanctions the sum total of one’s actions
- **Samsara**: reincarnation
- **Moksa**: spiritual freedom or the meeting with God

Many of these beliefs result in attitudes to nature. The volcanic peaks are the home of the Gods, with the oceans filled with evil spirits (demons). Hence purity lies at the summit, with all detritus washed downhill to the sea which also has certain unclean associations despite its use in cleansing ceremonies after cremations. The peaks represent north and the sea is south wherever one happens to be. From this follows harmony on earth resulting from a balance between the gods and the evil spirits. Following the rule that one cannot be higher than a priest at ceremonies, temples themselves cannot be overlooked by any other buildings, and an exclusion zone exists around each temple. Since Bali has literally thousands of temples, there is an entire spatial typology emerging solely from this mandate.

For the Balinese, the universe is dyadic – between bhuana alit (the microcosmos) and the bhuana agung, (the macrocosmos). While the bhuana alit consists of human beings, the bhuana agung means
Mother Nature and its contents but omits human beings. These two bhuana are composed of five primary elements including pertiwi (solid element - soil); apah (liquid element - water); teja (light - sun); bayu (gas - wind); and akasa (emptiness - sky). These five components are known as panca maha bhuta. The Balinese people strongly believe in this conception, thus they incorporate these five elements into daily practices, including the formation of their landscapes. Even in the event of death which is perceived as the time when human body (bhuana alit) leaves the bhuana agung, each of these five elements is, either directly or symbolically, returned to the macrocosmos [9], [12], [20].

The structure of each bhuana has become the foundation to the formation of two hierarchic concepts. One is based on the structure of a human being and is known as Tri Angga (head, body, and foot). The other that is developed based on the structure of the universe is called Tri Loka (bhur loka - lower spatial universe dedicated to unseen forces), buah loka - middle spatial universe dedicated to human beings, and shuah loka - upper spatial universe dedicated to gods. These two concepts has directly linked the inception of Tri Mandala Concept of utama - the highest level, the most sacred, the purest, madya - medium level, sacred, pure, and nista - the least sacred, the least holy, the least pure). These three conceptions have traditionally defined the hierarchy of both social and spatial aspects of the Balinese people and their universe. However one hierarchy cannot be isolated from the other [9], [12], [20].

The Balinese believe in a binary conception of Rwa Bhineda, in which two contradicting forces in life always exist side by side, weakening, challenging, complementing and strengthening each other in the process. Bad and good, black and white, sacred and secular, etc. are exemplary. Dyads therefore play a strong role in guiding action. The act of balancing these poles (good and evil, gods and devils, microcosm and macrocosm) is called Semarah Rati. But triads also play a strong part in Balinese philosophy as in Desa - Kala – Patra (literally space-time – context) and Tri Hita Karana which is composed in equal parts - Atma (soul), Sarira (physical body) and Trikaya (power or talent). Another triad the Tri Hita Karana is the basic philosophy behind encroachments into nature and landscape [9], [12], [20].

Human beings constituted as bhuana alit are seen as the main actors in maintaining the bhuana agung. In the process, they are expected to both use the bhuwana agung and also to be indebted to it. As a demonstration of gratitude, the Balinese people worship with diverse forms of offerings ranging from the simplest to the most complex and elaborated. In so doing, Balinese society also possesses five different ritual typologies that deploy five different groups of offerings called panca yadnya. Panca yadnya includes: (i) dewa yadnya - rituals for gods; (ii) manusa yadnya - rituals for human beings; (iii) pitra yadnya - rituals for ancestors; (iv) rhsi yadnya - rituals for those who master knowledge; and (v) bhuta yadnya - rituals for unseen forces in nature that may be destructive when they are not accommodated. The richness of Balinese ritual practices is built on the complexity of activities and offerings that each yadnya involves. It is understandable that Bali is named the island of the gods due to the mass of rituals and ceremonies that take place on their behalf. Ritual practices have always been a primary element of Balinese life. They also map out the formation of the spatial landscape of the Island from the largest scale of nature to the smallest domestic unit. These rituals become manifest in a central feature of Balinese culture, namely the use of offerings [9], [37].

In all Balinese activities we have the practice of offerings to the gods, and the time, type, placement, and recipient of offerings (banten, jejahitan, canang, lamak, sampian etc) is a highly complex process [37]. Offerings are composed of fruit, flowers, food, rice, holy water and other substances. The timing is significant and can vary from every day, to twice a month (purnama-full moon and tilem-dark moon) at eclipses (Bulan Kepangan) or to Eka Desa Rudra, the purification of the universe every 100 years, but which has actually only occurred twice since the 16th century [37:236].
Color also has a ritual function, with color symbolism in offerings related to the eight cardinal directions with Siwa at the centre:

![Color symbolism in offerings](source: Alexander Cuthbert)

Offerings can range from the simple bhutas and kalas, demons and negative forces which are usually put on the ground, to the frequently complex and expensive dewa-dewi and betara-betari offerings to the higher gods which must be placed on a raised platform. They range across the spatial hierarchy from the family shrine to regions in the home that need to be blessed, to local temples or temples with various associations, to the mother temple at of Pura Besakih where the Eka Desa Rudra is held. Offerings are both functional and temporal, with specific days allocated to the worship of knowledge, plants, animals etc, or to the full moon, the dark moon and other phenomena. Special ceremonies and offerings are held for plants every two hundred and ten days named Tumpek Uduh to give thanks for the blessings they bring. There are similar ceremonies held for animals Tumpek Kandang/Uye. All of the above factors will affect the landscape in varying degrees. Clearly the Balinese themselves cannot be abstracted away from the landscape they have created, and the sheer extent and complexity of Balinese ritual life remains a dominant part of landscape production [9], [12], [20].

4. The landscape of capital

Historically the geography also carved out regions that delineated monarchic rule by eight rajas (kings) that were only unified into a single administration by Dutch imperialism in the early 1900’s [26]. A volcanic geology also affected the entire tourist industry along with the environments so created since only 8% of Bali’s beaches are white sand. Being located predominantly in the South, this became the
epicenter of the tourist industry, with the remaining 92% being black from volcanic rock [38]. So a single fact of geology has had an immense impact on the landscape, the economy and on the cultural impacts of tourism in Bali (Figures 4, 5 below). With a population of close to four million, Bali has approximately ten million tourists a year (four million international and six million local). Volcanic eruptions and rainfall also cut deep channels in the forested alluvial slopes which even today delineate transport systems, making movement other than up or downhill fraught with danger in order to navigate huge chasms in the earth. Lateral communication i.e. radial to the volcanoes was frequently impossible, since bridging endless gorges remains economically prohibitive. It also created specific types of volcanic stone for building and black sand beaches as no-go areas for tourism.

As the foundation of the economy, the most productive soils were inhabited by lowland Balinese, who established a highly complex system of hydraulics to irrigate rice paddies of the subak. Dugul temple and the authority of a pekaseh (head of the irrigation system) control the management of the subak. Currently there are some 120 subak in Bali forming an extensive system of rice agriculture. While these dominate the landscape, they also form an important part of the social structure. The rice terraces of Catur Angga Batukaru date from the tenth century, suggesting a history of hydraulic engineering of at least one millennium. One area, Jatiluwih has been denoted a UNESCO World Heritage Zone. This comes with the clear objective of boosting revenues from tourism.

![Figure 4: Subak system at Tabanan](Source: Alexander Cuthbert)

![Figure 5: Shrine to Sri Dewi Goddess of rice](Source: Alexander Cuthbert)

While philosophy and religion permeate the landscape of tradition like water in a sponge, it has also to compete with a parallel landscape of capital. The traditional Balinese social system called adat does not sit easily beside the forces of globalization. Indeed such encroachments into their traditions have encouraged an opposition movement called Ajeg Bali [27]. Here the traditional way of life comes solidly up against the interests of the state, whose support for private capital clashes with the adat system of the people. While capital is also reinforced by the judiciary, there is no equivalent of rights within the adat system whose basic unit is the krama adat (adat members-the people) brought together in two social organizations of banjar and desa adat [9]. The latter is also termed as Desa pakraman which consist of several banjar adat. Parallel to this form of governance, the state also imposes on its own system of banjar dinas and desa dinas. Both dinas and adat usually work hand in hand, but at some cases the dinas has dominating positions since it is sanctioned by the state system.

Problematically, the prevailing method of undermining cultural resistance by the Krama Adat (people) has frequently deployed the use of mental, spiritual, legal and physical force. Urban planning law has in the past been used as a form of violence against the population. It acts as a servo mechanism aligned with private capital and the state, and has frequently come into serious conflict with the people over issues concerning cultural conservation and individual rights [28, 29]. Due to its lavish ceremonial traditions, colour and pageantry, the complexity of its temples and traditional spaces, Balinese culture has been studied for over a century by world famous anthropologists and ethnographers. Since we do
not have the space here to discuss Balinese culture in depth, some of the more illuminating texts are those of [10], [13], [14], [15], [17], [18]. The net effect has been that:

‘The “traditional” Bali so admired by travelers and scholars alike is a product of political calculation and conservative political objectives… The Bali myth has helped to falsify history in a way that has served the people in power while silencing those who have suffered injustice’ [30:304].

This general process created a new landscape of capital inserted into that of tradition. Land held in common under the adat system is subject to traditional rules unless the state chooses to intervene when its interests need to dominate (usually those of private capital) - and the conflict between the state and the various banjar is a continuing site of oppression/resistance [36]. This is due to the problematic of clear ownership through legal title that permeates many quasi social systems. In such circumstances, it was common for the state or parties acting on behalf of the state system to claim ownership and sell/lease the land to developers. The entire structure of graft, corruption and institutional failure that accompanies this process is due to the fact that that the envelope of the adat in its totality forms a singular barrier to capital accumulation from land in respect of common ground; agricultural production; domestic buildings and religious monuments. There are three main reasons for this.

A second factor is that of Balinese traditional domestic architecture. Once again the family home is not merely functional. Its main purpose is to provide a home for the ancestral shrine. The occupants are merely caretakers for the ancestors. Since the shrine embodies the souls of past family members, it will never be sold or traded as a commodity. In terms of the urban land market, this represents a singular barrier to capital accumulation by inhibiting the commodification of land and its improvements thus frustrating the free operation of the market mechanism. This situation plays a singular role in forming the Balinese landscape, particularly in urban areas.

‘The massive resort projects of the Late New Order, drawing together the tourism, leisure and real estate industries, and involving for the first time large scale land alienation, came to be experienced as an assault on Bali’s symbolic as well as its physical resources’ [28:5].

Cases such as this abound across the island and the authors have witnessed the breaching if this same sanction at several sites, including the new soporific Mulia Resort, which in addition also contravenes laws about preserving zones of sanctity, height constraints and actual building onto the beach [10], [33], [34].

5. Conclusion
It is enlightening that some complex cultures such as the Balinese remain undisturbed by professionalised attitudes to nature. No parallel linguistic concepts exist. Instead their relation to the land is one of obeisance to their gods and to all living things. Daily life and ‘landscape’ production emerges from the material constraints, symbolic arrangements and philosophical tenets that have satisfied for centuries. The emergent landscape is one of rice paddies, shrines, temples, Bodhi trees, rituals and ceremonies, offerings and historically accepted spatial practices in regard to villages, towns and buildings. Despite this the collision between a proto-feudal society and globalisation is now ongoing. The landscape reflects this conflict as the use values of culture and the exchange values of the market system are integrated into a single physical landscape, yet divided by their intrinsic associations with, or dissociations from nature. The lesson to be learned from the Balinese case is that western concepts of landscape have little to offer. And perhaps the idea of the landscape being locked up within
a professional system in the developed world is not a good idea either since the values of capital continue to dominate. A more democratic discussion of how landscapes should materialise given the example of the Balinese might be a good place to begin.

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