

ANTH 404: BALINESE WITCHCRAFT

Slide #1

Slide Title: The Self in Culture: Balinese Witchcraft

Slide Content:

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: Hello. The places we will visit over the remainder of this course

Slide #2

Slide Title: Objective

Slide Content:

- The places we visit over the remainder of the course---Bali, Samoa, Haiti, the Amazon---will help you follow out the implications of what it means to be a person in different places and help you develop a comparative view of the self.

Audio: Bali, Haiti, Samoa, the Amazon will help will help you follow out the implications of what it means to be a person in different places and will help you develop a comparative view of the self.

Slide #3

Slide Title: Bali: A Real South Pacific Paradise

Slide Content:

- First Dutch ship
- 16th Century
- Entire crew jumps ship

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: Today we look at Bali which is a real South Pacific paradise. As you saw in the film that you have just watched *Masterpieces of Gods*, when the first Dutch ship arrived in Bali in the 16th century the place was so beautiful, so inviting that the entire crew jumped ship. It took the captain a year to reassemble his crew.

Slide #4

Slide Title: Bali as a Work of Art

Slide Content: [Painting]

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: Bali itself is a work of art. It is sculpted from top to toe from seaside to mountaintop. It is all sculptured rice terraces, carved temples and sculptures which are filled endlessly with graceful dances and dance rituals. But why is Bali this way?

Slide #5

Slide Title: Art as Central Activity of Balinese Life

Slide Content:

“We have no art; we do everything the best we can.”

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: The answer is that art is the central activity of Balinese life. As you saw in the film, kids, boys included are more than likely to study dancing than to play football. As the lead character in the film says, “Without art, people would not be normal in Bali.” Indeed, so central is art to Balinese existence, so normal that the Balinese say, “We have no art; we do everything the best we can.”

Slide #6

Slide Title: Why do the Balinese focus so much on art?

Slide Content:

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: Why do the Balinese come to focus so much on what we call art? Answering this question will help us go more deeply into an example of a persona-based self. That kind of self that is characteristic of sociocentric societies. And in this way we will come to understand alternative styles of selfhood in other cultures.

Slide #7

Slide Title:

Slide Content:

Egocentric-Sociocentric Continua

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: Here I don't mean to essentialize sociocentric

cultures. You remember I suggested to you at the beginning of the course there is a continuum between egocentric and sociocentric kinds of cultures. There are, furthermore, many different kinds of sociocentric cultures. Many cultures where identity tends to be grounded in the persona rather than the inner self. And, yet, we will see that Balinese, Samoans, and Haitians achieve this affect in different ways. That said, Bali is a great example of sociocentric personhood.

Slide #8

Slide Title: Bali as Persona-based Self?

Slide Content:

“It is the *dramatis personae*, not actors, that endure; indeed that in a proper sense really exist...the masks they wear, the stage they occupy, the parts they play, and ...the spectacle they mount remain and constitute not the façade but the substance of things, not least the self.”

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: Ok, What do I mean by a persona-based self? I am going to read you a quote from one of the most famous anthropologists of the 20th century who did his most famous study in Bali, Clifford Geertz. This is what he says, “It is the *dramatis personae*, not actors, that endure; indeed that in a proper sense really exist in Bali. The masks they wear, the stage they occupy, the parts they play, and ... the spectacle they mount remain and constitute not the façade but the substance of things, not least the self.” What does Geertz mean by *dramatis personae*?

Slide #9

Slide Title: Persona = Mask

Slide Content: [Art Work]

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: Persona as I mentioned earlier in the course is a word from Roman drama. Actors in Roman drama used to wear masks. And you may have actually seen these masks. If you have seen old black and white movies, you may remember that they sometimes end with a smiley face and a frowny face. And these are the masks of Roman drama. The word for these masks is persona. The mask was not only something that you put over the face, but a standardized mask for the role that the actor was playing. You can think of it as a face that predicated a certain role. And this is what persona are like in sociocentric cultures. They are a face that people wear that represents the role they are supposed to play. The Balinese self then is something you could think of as mask-like; as a role on the stage, as a part in a drama versus what we think of the self

as. That is as a unique person with personal thoughts, feelings and desires.

Slide #10

Slide Title: Balinese Naming Practices

Slide Content:

Egocentric

- First names
- Highly individual
- Unusual names replace common names

Sociocentric

- Bali: 4 main types

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: All right. Geertz gives an interesting example of how the Balinese are different from us in his description of Balinese naming practices. First, I would like you to think about your own naming practices. One thing that I have noticed in my courses is that your names all seem to get more and more unique these days. Especially for girls. They are often utterly individual. Less frequently do we see names like Mary or Ann, although some people certainly still bear these names. But they also have names like Cadence is a student of mine. This is a name she made up and adopted herself and I don't think there is any one with that name but her.

Slide #11

Slide Title: Balinese Naming Practices

Slide Content:

- First name utterly individual
 - often nonsense syllable
 - not much used

- in adulthood becomes private, secret

- Children most often called by birth order name: Wayan, Njoman, Made, Kut

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: In Bali, Geertz says there are four types of names. The first name you are given is kind of like our first name in the sense that it is individual. It is really individual. It is nonsense syllable. But this name is not actually used very much and in adulthood it becomes private and even in a sense, secret. Children are actually most often called by birth order names. In other words, the Balinese have names that correspond to the order in which children are born. The first child is called Wayan. The second is called Njoman. The third is called Made and the fourth is called Kut. You may have noticed that the girl in our film was named Wayan. This suggests that the ideal family for the Balinese has four kids. And, indeed, what happens if you say you are the fifth child then. Well, the cycle starts again. You are called Wayan and the sixth Njoman and so on.

Slide #12

Slide Title: Balinese Naming Practices

Slide Content:

Egocentric

- being a “unique creature with a private fate”

Sociocentric

- role in ideal family form

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: It is an endless repetition of what you might call an ideal family form rather than emphasizing the child being a unique creature with a private fate as Geertz puts it which is what names specify for us. But you can see how this might pose a problem. There would be lots of Wayans, lots of Mades, and so the first name that syllable name that I told you about may be used in childhood referentially so that people can tell what Wayan you are talking about.

Slide # 13

Slide Title: Balinese Naming Practices

Slide Content:

Not gendered

Implies at first gender is not salient feature of Balinese social universe

Contrast with U.S. culture's naming practice?

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: These names interestingly are not gendered, so they can be the same for a girl or a boy. The implication is that varying like ourselves that at first gender is not a salient feature of the Balinese social universe or Balinese personhood. Think about us in contrast to this. Do we have many names that are used for girls and for boys? We will go more deeply into the question of naming of gender in the power point you will see later in the course on gay versus transvestite identities. The third kind of name in Bali are titled names which denote a high status, but only a few people have these kinds of names. And actually the most common kind of name used in adulthood after marriage are called *teknonyms*.

Slide #14**Slide Title: Balinese Naming Practices****Slide Content:**

- *Teknonym* = naming in terms of a relationship
- Once Balinese adults have children, they are named in relation to their youngest descendant
- no constant evolving inner nature
- evolving out relations (family & society)

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: *Teknonyms* are the fourth kind of name that Geertz delineates in Bali. Okay, what is a *teknonym*? It is when you name a person in terms of their relationship. So we use *teknonyms* referentially. Like you might say, “Oh that is John’s sister.” Then you have named the sister in terms of her relationship to John. In the mid 20th century we used to use *teknonyms* for married women, so we might say, “Oh that is Mrs. John Smith.” That is a *teknonym*. In Bali, however, adults are named through *teknonyms*. Specifically, they are named in relationship to their youngest descendant, so when you have a son, you would be called mother of, or father of whatever your son’s name was. And when your son had a daughter of his own, then you would be named grandfather or grandmother of the daughter. And so your name would keep changing as you got younger and younger descendants. The implication here is that you have no per during nature, but rather evolving relations to other selves in the world. Your position in the family and society is constantly or at least slowly changing.

Slide #15**Slide Title: How do you create selves that fit in a sociocentric society****Slide Content:**

How do you create selves that fit in a sociocentric society in which people are directed away from the inner self, their private thoughts and feelings, their sense of being

unique?

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: The reading that you did for this section of the course, Margaret Mead's *Balinese Character*, can help you answer the question of how you might create a self that fits in a sociocentric society. A self that is directed away from inner thoughts and feelings and away from a sense of being unique and outward towards the group and social life.

Slide #16

Slide Title: Freud's Theory of Repression: Review

Slide Content:

- Oedipus crisis: boy fears castration
- Also identifies with his dad (interjects)
- Also interjects social rules (which dad symbolizes).
- Scary person threatening punishment comes into self, an ogre not out in the world but inside your head.

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: To better understand what Mead is saying in this article, I want to take a look at the psychoanalytic idea of repression. Since Freud first articulated this idea, it has become a popular term and you probably have an idea of what it means. But for Freud, it relates back to the Oedipus crisis that we talked about in prior power points. You learned that the boy in the Oedipus crisis comes to fear castration, but also to identify with his dad and to interject him. In doing so, the boy also interjects social rules which dad symbolizes that in effect mean that the scary person threatening punishment has come inside the self and, hence, that person, dad, or super ego can see your thoughts. So now you don't only have to fear an ogre outside in the world, but one inside your head who threatens you. Remember that in the Freudian scenario, the boy initially felt rivalry with his dad. He felt anger or rage at his dad which then he projected outward on his dad and he came to believe that his dad had aggressive feelings towards him.

Slide # 17

Slide Title: Aggression directed towards Self

Slide Content:

- “Oedipus” = “hurt foot”
- Splitting of the mind into
 - Conscious: what is OK to think about
 - Unconscious: what is forbidden to think about

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: When the boy interjects dad that rage is redirected back towards the self. What do I mean? Well, you have this voice in your head that says, “Don’t do it. Don’t even think it.” And the result is repression. First of all repression means a splitting of the mind into two parts. A conscious part of what it is ok to think about and an unconscious part of what it is forbidden to think about. When you start to think a forbidden thing, Freud believed, you felt inhibited. And inhibition was just this, threatening yourself with punishment. So you can think of a situation in which you feel inhibited like maybe at a dance, you want to ask someone to dance, but you are afraid. Well, why are you afraid? Well, it is because you start imagining the bad things that could happen: he won’t like me, or she won’t like me or maybe I will fall over my feet and make a fool of myself. You start imagining all of the bad things that could happen and in this way you are threatening yourself and punishing yourself and the result is that you have a tendency not to do it. To feel inhibited.

Slide #18

Slide Title: Balinese Process of Repression

Slide Content:

- Mother and others teasing = repression
- Tease baby by provoking display of emotion

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: All right, how does this work in Bali? I am going to suggest to you that the Oedipus crisis is not the foremost crisis in Bali rather it is that crisis that I told you about in relationship to the work of Melanie Klein on fairy tales. You remember there are lots of witches in fairy tales and Mead, in your article, talks about a very important play in Bali that is also about witches.

Slide #19

Slide Title: Margaret Mead on the Balinese

Slide Content:

- Teasing as creating feelings that conform to the ideal structure of Balinese personality.
- Psychoanalytic process: repression

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: We will get to that in a minute, but first I want to turn to Mead's view of socialization in Bali and how it creates repression. Mead describes teasing practices where by the Balinese mother and others in the Balinese world evoke displays of emotion from the infant. So, she gives you an example of a woman with her baby visiting her sister and they are just talking about the price of beans at the market or something. And then all of a sudden she hands her baby to her sister and she says, "Oh, I am off home. You, I will leave." And the baby cries and gets very emotional. At this point, Mead says, the mother loses interest, probably takes the baby back, but really isn't paying much attention to it. And Mead believes the same pattern goes on with other people. That other people provoke the baby to emotional displays and then after it has gotten very upset, they kind of lose interest and move on to something else.

Slide #20

Slide Title: Balinese Process of Repression

Slide Content:

- Not fear of castration so much as fear of humiliation = inhibition
- Child internalizes laughing mother and others
- Stops expressing personal emotion (that they laughed at)

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: All right, so what kind of feelings might this create in the infant? Well, you can see how it might create rage, but it might also create not so much a fear of castration, but a fear of humiliation, because other people are laughing at you all the time. Other people are laughing at the way you feel. And so what Mead thinks is that the child internalizes the laughing mother or others. As a result of this, the child stops expressing personal emotion. That is it comes to be there is just about nothing you can do to get the child to cry or to show you anything that they personally really feel. What you get are children that are inhibited about expressing the personal self. They might skulk around, skirting groups of people who they think might tease them, because they don't want to be humiliated and

embarrassed.

Slide #21

Slide Title: Balinese Process of Repression

Slide Content:

- *Lek*: Shyness, stage fright
- Fear that one will not perform or play a role well
- Provides motivation to play role well
- Anxiety that personal self will break through

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: As a result, they develop an inhibition called lek or stage fright. This is a kind of shyness, but you can see how well it would work a sociocentric society where what you are suppose to do is play your part in a drama, play your role in society. The idea is that you really want to play it well because your major inhibition and fear is that you might not play it well. So it provides a great deal of motivation to play roles well.

Slide #22

Slide Title: Balinese Process of Repression

Slide Content:

“Stage fright consists ... in the fear that, for want of skill or self-control, or perhaps by mere accident, an esthetic illusion will not be maintained, that the actor will show through his part. Aesthetic distance collapses; the audience (and the actor) lose sight of *Hamlet* and gain it, uncomfortable for all concerned, of bumbling John Smith painfully miscast as the Prince of Denmark (Geertz, p. 130.)

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: Geertz describes this fear. He says, “Stage fright consists ...in the fear that, for want of skill or self-control, or perhaps by mere accident, an esthetic illusion will not be maintained and the actor will show through his part. Aesthetic distance collapses; and the audience (and the actor) lose sight of *Hamlet* and gain it, uncomfortably for all concerned, of bumbling John Smith painfully miscast as the Prince of Denmark.” So like an actor in a Shakespearean play, you are supposed to play your role, *Hamlet*. You are not supposed to show who you personally are. It is

all about playing one's role well. And if you drop the mask, if you lose control, then people see, "oh, my God", it is not really *Hamlet*, it is just John and it is funny and you are humiliated. So that is the way that stage fright works.

Slide #23

Slide Title: Balinese Process of Repression

Slide Content:

- Personal self hypocognized = few words for emotions.
- *Keneh*: one word for all inner events: feeling, thinking, intuiting, willing, desiring
- Personal inner self dissociated.

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: The result of this, Mead thinks, is that the personal inner self becomes dissociated. You remember that word. We talked about it in the last power point. It is when a part of the self becomes split off and unconscious. But it is not just a matter of an individual splitting off of part of the self, because this splitting is related to socialization practices that to one degree or another many children are subjected. So the inner self also becomes hypocognized. Remember this term from the Self Maps power point. The idea is that because the Balinese tend to repress the personal inner self, there are few words for them. There are few ways to conceptualize that experience. So there is one word, *keneh* which is a word for many different inner events that we have different words for. Like *keneh* can mean feeling, it can mean thinking, it can mean intuiting, it can mean willing and it can mean desiring. Just one word for all of those things because the inner self is hypocognized.

Slide #24

Slide Title: Balinese Process of Dissociation

Slide Content:

- Dissociation = split off and forget about a part of the self, deny, dis-identify
- Bali: expressing dissociated self in an altered state, e.g. trance, intoxication, etc.
- "Acting out," abreacting
- Performing without conscious knowledge

- Denial of action, denial of agency: “she made me hit her”

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: Dissociation can mean something else as well, because as I suggested to you in the Jung power point sometimes the dissociated part possesses you. It takes control of your personality and then you might not remember what you do very well. You probably thought I was talking metaphorically and, indeed, in our culture this is a metaphor for something that we experience. But it is literally true in cultures like Bali that cultivate states of trance. Trance is a very interesting state. The closest thing that we probably have to it is hypnosis. Your whole metabolism changes in trance and people in trance often have access to memories and other information that they didn't know they had. They can often do things that they cannot do in a normal state. They can be very strong. Stronger than they would ordinarily be. Okay, so how does this dissociated inner self take possession of the Balinese in trance?

Slide #25

Slide Title: Mead on the Witch and Dragon Play

Slide Content:

- Layers of culture/ religion
- Older: magical animistic Pacific Islander; witch
- Newer: Hindu migration (15th century) Buddhist (Chinese) dragon

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: One Balinese play; also a ritual that Mead talks about a lot in your article is the Witch and the Dragon play. And the witch and the dragon fight and the dragon is associated with good and the witch is associated with evil. The dragon is actually a Buddhist priest who has transformed himself into a dragon for the purposes of fighting the witch. Let me give you a little background here. In a sense the witch represents an older, deeper layer of Balinese culture. Originally Indonesia was animistic in its religion and very much like many other Pacific Islands. It was a magical place and the witch in the Witch and the Dragon play is a magical

person. And you may know that Indonesia is close to Southeast Asia and many waves of culture have come down from Southeast Asia. One wave that came was a Buddhist wave and Indonesian converted to Buddhism. So the Buddhist priest represents this more recent religion. Okay, how does this all relate to socialization? Mead points out that the witch carries the cloth in which the baby is carried.

Slide # 26

Slide Title: Mead on the Witch and Dragon play

Slide Content:

- Witch = mother symbol
- Witch's laughing mask
 - *Lek* = fear others will laugh; performance anxiety, fear of personal self being seen by others
- She laughs; boys attacking her fall down
- Dragon: benign dad
 - opposite of Oedipal scenario

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: So Mead sees the witch as a mother symbol. You also saw a film on trance in Bali that is specifically all about this Witch and Dragon play. And you notice in this play that the witch waves this cloth and laughs at the dancers. And when she does this they fall down in deeper trance. What Mead thinks is that she represents the laughing mother who caused the rage in the child, who was internalized in the child's head, and who threatened to laugh at the child.

Slide #27

Slide Title: Mead on the witch and Dragon play

Slide Content:

- Witch is internalized superego
- Redirection of projected aggression (rage at mom) back at self; crises turned back on self

- Socialization practices/ arrangements create rage, which is then directed back at the self and becomes a socializing (self-limiting, self-laming) force

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: From Mead's viewpoint, the witch is an internalized mother, a superego. This results in a redirection of aggression back at the self. So the idea is when mother laughs, the baby feels rage. But, because it is too hard to feel rage at a mother you love, the baby projects this rage back at the mother and splits the mother into two parts, a good mother and a bad mother. We talked about all of this when we were talking about Klein and fairy tales. The good mother is often the fairy godmother of fairy tales and the bad mother is the witch. And you can see this redirection of aggression in the play, because when the Balinese trance dancers fall deeper and deeper into trance, what do they do? They take their *keris*. These are long, curving ritual swords and they turn them back on their own chest. They try to stab themselves, but as Mead says in the film you watched the Balinese believe that if the trance is real that no one is hurt. And you can actually see one case in which the dancer has tried so hard to stab himself with the *keris* that it is bent.

Slide #28

Slide Title: Mead on the Witch and Dragon play

Slide Content:

Transition: learning to direct personal expression into art

- Step 1: personal self becomes a focus of jest
- Step 2: personal self erased, hypocognized, suppressed/ split off
- Step 3: this self comes back as a spirit who possesses you in performances

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: Trance in Bali, however, is what you might call transitional. That is, Mead thinks that children learn to deal with inhibition by going into trance states. And in trance states, they are not themselves. And so, even though some of the trance states they go into are in rituals and in plays that are all about feeling inhibited, in the trance states they are not inhibited. They act freely. They are kind of wild. The women for instance you saw in the film let their hair down and shake their hair all about. So in trance, you don't have to be inhibited. This is a special kind of message. The message is that there are certain contexts in which one can act out the things one has learned to repress. And those contexts are artistic performances. So what children learn through trance states is that they can express what they normally would get laughed at for expressing in some context, in artistic context. So trance is

transitional in the sense that first of all the personal self becomes a focus of joking. And second the personal self is erased, dissociated, split off, hypocognized. And third the self comes back as a possessing spirit in a trance dance and when you are possessed by a spirit in a trance dance, you perform beautifully. And this becomes a model for performance. So you remember in the first play you saw, *Masterpiece of the Gods* that Mr. Kantur says that when he dances that his father always dances with him. He is not saying that he is exactly in a trance state any more, but it is like a state of possession. It is like his father is possessing him. This process of transformation of forbidden desires into something culturally valued is called sublimation.

Slide #29

Slide Title: Balinese Model of Learning Sublimation

Slide Content:

Sublimation = the expression of an ordinarily repressed or frustrated desire indirectly and symbolically through a project offered you by culture

- Hypocognized parts of self tend to be sublimated
- Bali: frustrated personal inner self into art
 - Cultural channeling of desire
 - Art become everybody's favorite thing

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: Sublimation means things that are ordinarily repressed or frustrated can be redirected into some sort of project or activity offered you by your culture. So, for instance, you might be angry at your father and you might not be able to express that directly, but you could redirect that feeling to the football field and enjoy beating another team. In Bali, the frustrated, personal inner self is redirected into art and there it can be expressed making art everybody's favorite thing.

Slide #30

Slide Title: In some cultures the evil dad/heroic son story predominates;

Slide Content:

In some cultures the evil dad/heroic son story predominates; in others the evil mom/heroic daughter story. Which predominates in our culture?

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: So, in some cultures the Oedipal story, the figure

of the evil dad and heroic son predominates. In other cultures, the evil mother and heroic daughter story predominates. Which story do you think our culture favors?

Slide #31

Slide Title: Balinese Adulthood

Slide Content:

- Deep trance no longer necessary
 - Channel open
 - Express hidden self as art = ideal form
- Persona: Everyone continually acts a part
- Polos = smooth, considerate, caring mask, but also *animus*, black magic interior

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: In Balinese adulthood, deep trance is no longer necessary. Everyone continually acts their part all the time. And the Balinese have certain values that they associate with these performances. They think it is important to be polos. And polos means to be smooth, considerate and caring all of the time. But Balinese also have a fear of witchcraft. And, in fact, this value of acting smoothly, considerately and caringly and their fear of witchcraft are probably connected.

Slide #32

Slide Title: Balinese Fear of Witchcraft

Slide Content:

Unni Wikan = maintaining constant conviviality playing your role well

Ramah = acting friendly, jovial, attentive, graceful

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: I know turn to the work of another famous anthropologist of Bali, Unni *Wikan*. *Wikan* says that people are suppose to maintain a

constant conviviality in Bali.

Slide # 33

Slide Title: Polos

Slide Content:

- *Polos* = acting self-effacing, considerate of others, suppressing hostile/negative emotion, being smooth
- different in men and women
 - men: companionable and attentive vs. arrogant, conceited
 - women: shining and gay vs. angry, stern, closed face

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: That they are suppose to be *polos* as I was saying which again means acting self-effacing and considerate of other feelings and suppressing all negative or hostile emotion. But *polos* is a little different in men and in women. Men express polos by being companionable and attentive and never arrogant or conceited. Women express it by being shining and gay all of the time and never angry or stern.

Slide #34

Slide Title: Balinese Fear of Witchcraft

Slide Content:

- *Wikan* = horrible, hideous, hair-raising
- Raganda, indicates fears of women/mother figures

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: Women who are angry or stern are said to have a closed face and are called horrible, hideous and hair-raising. You might say like a witch.

Slide #35

Slide Title: Balinese Fear of Witchcraft

Slide Content:

- *Surati* = terror of offense & showing personal self (Wikan)
- Don't go to back villages because fears black magic
- Boyfriend dies; if mourning, friend says, "Are you crazy?"
- Fear of teasing was main concern
- Teasing at display of personal emotion continues.

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: The way all of this plays out is clear in some of the stories *Wikan* tells. She tells one story about a Balinese assistant she hired. A beautiful young woman called *Surati*. When *Wikan* first went to Bali she found herself in a dilemma that anthropologist often discover themselves in which is she hired a nice young person and the first thing that she knew the young person was asking her for money. *Surati* came to her and said that her boyfriend, actually her fiancé had just died and that she needed money to travel on the plane to go and see him. And *Wikan* didn't know what to think. She didn't know what to think particularly because *Surati* at this time seemed very gay and very shining and radiant and beautiful, so it was very hard for *Wikan* to believe that she was heartbroken and mourning about the death of her future husband. But she gave her the money any way and *Surati* went away and a week or so later, she came back. In the meantime, *Wikan* asked around and talked to her family and found that, indeed, her future husband had died. When she got to know *Surati* better, she asked *Surati* why she had been so gay and so radiant during this period. *Surati* said that her main concern was that she was afraid that others would tease her about feelings. That they would say, "Oh what are you sorry about? There are many fish in the sea." And *Surati* didn't want to be teased at the display of personal emotion. So the sort of thing that Mead delineates in Balinese childhood continues. People still get teased if they display their personal emotion and so they hide it behind a mask of conviviality and gaiety.

Slide #36

Slide Title: Balinese Fear of Witchcraft

Slide Content:

Issa's visit

- Widow of wealthy, high-ranking former mayor
 - Reputation for religious piety
 - Appearance of conviviality, consideration, enjoyment
 - Widow asks would she like to withdraw, wash, pray
 - Experience = fear of hatred and mal-intent (collecting hairs)
- Wearing a polos mask means you don't know

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: *Wikan* tells another interesting story of a young friend she calls *Issa*. They go to visit the widow of a wealthy, high-ranking former mayor. This woman has a reputation for religious piety. Everybody thinks she is a very spiritual person. And *Wikan* and *Issa* and the widow have lovely afternoon. It is extremely convivial and everyone is nice and they laugh and they joke and they have a lovely time. Then the widow who knows that *Issa* is a Moslem asks *Issa* if she would like to withdraw, wash and pray because you know Moslems pray several times a day. Later when we can ask *Issa* about this visit, *Issa* says that when she went to wash up and pray she was careful to remove all of her hairs from the hairbrush. "But why?" *Wikan* exclaimed, "What did you fear?" *Issa* responded, "Maybe she did not like me." "Did you see any indication of that?" *Wikan* asked. "No, but how can I know what she really feels about me? Perhaps I made her offended. It's not easy to tell." And then when *Wikan* continued to look astonished, *Issa* responded, "Oh, yes we can tell. But sometimes not. It is better to be on the safe side."

Slide #37

Slide Title: Inner Self Comes Back to Haunt You

Slide Content:

- Lacking information about others' personal thoughts and feeling
- "Grope for feelings behind façade" (*Wikan*)

- Fall into suspicious musing, imagining others to be engaged in witchcraft:
Raganda

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: All right, so if you live in a world where everyone wears their mask perfectly and everyone acts so nice and so considerate, all the time, there is a problem. And that problem is you never know what anyone really feels. You never know what anyone really thinks. And so, Wikan says, “People are always groping for feelings behind the façade.” And they fall into suspicious musing. They imagine others are offended and they imagine that others are going to go off to a magician who will practice witchcraft and put a spell on them.

Slide #38

Slide Title: Politeness, Poise, Friendliness

Slide Content:

Politeness, Poise, Friendliness

- = protection against others’ mal-intent
- = protection against black hole of strong emotion
- = “managing turbulent hearts”
- fear of giving offense
- constant concern with a performative version of rightness and virtue
- perfect façade/veneer = turbulence behind
- = break through reactions, sorcery

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: Indeed, the Balinese say that the one thing that one has to do to live a good life is to manage one’s turbulent heart. That is that black hole of strong emotion that is there in the place of their personal thoughts and feelings. The part of themselves that rebels against wearing a mask and that is suppressed by their constant fear of giving offense.

Slide #39

Slide Title: Fear of Love Magic in Youth/Young Adults

Slide Content:

- Undefended against intense personal sentiments
- Experience feelings in dissociated form as charms, spells, evil attacking the self from without
- Teenage girls: hysterical fits inflicted by rejected lovers

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: Young people fear love magic. You might say they are undefended against intense personal sentiments. And so young women are afraid that a disappointed lover will cast a spell on them. And teenage girls sometimes have hysterical fits that they believe are inflicted by these rejected lovers via witchcraft.

Slide # 40

Slide Title: Nursing Children: Fright Reactions

Slide Content:

- Scaring practices (Mead)
- May cause illness in kids & adults

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: Nursing children have uncontrollable fright reactions that can kill them and that are believed to be inflicted by witch craft. These fear reactions occur in kids and adults and may still cause illness.

Slide #41

Slide Title: Fear of Neighbors and Family

Slide Content:

- Must have personal data for sorcery
- Cannot hide well in personal circumstances
- Also cannot hide anger well

- Hidden shame and anger = destructive, eat at the heart

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: *Wikan* says that one fears one's close neighbors and family the most, because you have to have some personal data or debris to practice witch craft. Often in places where witch craft is common, they say you need some dirt from the person's body by which they mean nail clippings or a few hairs. Like in Issa's story. The problem with neighbors and close family is that usually you can hide. You can hide your feelings, but you cannot hide so well in close circumstances. And those feelings can be destructive and eat at your heart.

Slide #42

Slide Title: Dual Aspect of Polos

Slide Content:

- Also seen as key to health and well-being
- Smoothness, smoothing out turbulence
- Erasing (forgetting) subjectivity

Rather than balancing their approach, cultures tend to iterate it as an ideology and as moral action.

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: The Balinese have two remedies. One you can be even more polos than you were before erasing your personal feelings, forgetting about your subjective self, or you can go to a Balian, a magician who will put a spell on someone else for you.

Slide #43

Slide Title: How to Smooth Out Turbulence

Slide Content:

- "Not to care": erasing emotion and subjective reactions
 - e.g. woman forgets her anger towards philandering husband and serves him nice food vs. poison; he reforms
- Revenge = Sorcerers (Balian)

Audio: [Professor Jeannette Mageo]: But the more moral course, the Balinese think is “not to care.” To erase strong emotions. So we can tell a story of a woman who has a philandering husband. And at first she doesn’t know what to do, but she decides that she will serve him very nice food. That she will be better to him than she usually is. That she will play her role better than ever. And then he will be ashamed and reform. All right, so what we have here is a demonstration of an idea that I introduced to you at the beginning of the course in the Maps of the Self power point. That whatever parts of the self is not included in conscious identity comes back to haunt you. The Balinese do not include the personal self in conscious identity, your personal thoughts and feelings, and will and desire. Now they just don’t forget this part of themselves, because they teach children to direct it into art. And people practice art all of the time. So this part of the self does get satisfaction. Sometimes quite a lot of satisfaction. None the less, in some sense it still remains left out of the self. There is still a lack of knowledge, a lack of consciousness of one’s own personal feelings and certainly personal feelings of other people. And the result is, it comes back to haunt you. It is the witch that haunts you and is the center of that Balinese play that you saw in the film on trance. That is it for today.