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The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York

Department of Circulating  
Exhibitions Records

Series III. Albums

*Bali: Background for War*

III.24.8

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Series.Folder:

mf 13; 432-521

## THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

## THE HUMAN PROBLEM OF REOCCUPATION

THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR) THE HUMAN PROBLEM OF REOCCUPATION

ITINERARY

1943 Oct. 13 to Oct. 31 The National Museum, Washington, D. C.  
 Nov. 12 to Dec. 3 Yale University School of Fine Arts, New Haven, Conn.  
 1944 Dec. 17 to Jan. 30 Art Institute of Chicago, Illinois  
 Feb. 13 to Mar. 5 Detroit Institute of Fine Arts, Detroit  
 Mar. 15 to Apr. 5 University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.  
 May 15 to May 22 Pella Historical Society, Pella, Iowa  
 June 19 to July 10 Taylor Museum, Colorado Springs, Col.  
 July 24 to Aug. 14 San Francisco Museum of Art, San Francisco, Cal.  
 Nov. 6 to Dec. 15 Ballot College, Ballot, Wis.

1945 Jan. 10 to Jan. 31 Person Hall Art Gallery, University of N. C., Chapel Hill  
 Feb. 9 to Mar. 2 University of Florida, Gainesville, Fla.

Weight ..... 1062 lbs.  
 Fee ..... \$50 for 3 weeks  
 Declaration to express company ..... 50¢ per pound  
 Packing ..... 5 boxes  
 Space ..... approximately: 250 running feet

0433



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#### 8. The People of Bali

Catalog 1943 - 1944

Assembled by Gregory Bateson, anthropologist, co-author of "Balinese Character: A Photographic Analysis" by Bateson and Mead, New York Academy of Sciences.

One of the most important developments to which we must look forward after the war is greater realistic understanding of the differences between peoples, of the directions in which each people has developed its own view of life. If these different peoples are to work together and to appreciate each other, some of their special peculiarities must be recognized.

This exhibition has been assembled to show that a people's arts are expressive of themselves, their culture, as the term is used to indicate customs, traditions, beliefs. It is intended as an answer to the question: "What would visitors to such a country need to know about the people?" The exhibition is laid out in sections, under such headings as: Caste, Social Organization, Respect and Courtesy, Warfare, The Family, etc., and each section attempts not only to give some of the rules and recipes for how to behave in Bali, but also to give the visitor some feeling for the Balinese emotions which lie behind the rules and recipes.

Native carvings, paintings on paper and cloth, photographs of Balinese life, drawings, puppets and costumes used in theatricals, etc., are mounted on panels which may be hung on the wall.

Space: Approximately 250 running feet

Rental fee, three weeks: \$50.00

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3  
4

Collection:

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Series.Folder:

mf 13; 432-521

THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

11 WEST 53rd STREET, NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF CIRCULATING EXHIBITIONS

Date..... FORM I

Dear.....

EXHIBITION: THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

ENGAGED FOR: .....

WILL BE SHIPPED TO YOU FROM: .....

ON: ..... BY: Railway Express collect

WEIGHT: 1062 pounds APPROXIMATE TRANSPORTATION CHARGE:

ENCLOSED ARE ITEMS CHECKED:

☒ UNPACKING INSTRUCTIONS—Please follow with care.  
☐ PACKING INSTRUCTIONS—Please follow with care.  
☐ CHECK LIST—Check each item against this when unpacking.  
☒ INSTALLATION LIST—Follow this order as closely as feasible in your space.  
☒ PUBLICITY RELEASE—a suggested form. Please note Contract Conditions for publicity.  
☒ RECEIPT CARD—to be filled out and returned promptly to the Museum of Modern Art.  
☒ CONTRACT SHEET—to be filled out and returned promptly to the Museum of Modern Art.

PUBLICITY PHOTOGRAPHS:

☐ Available on request for items checked in red on Check or Installation List. (Any returned in good condition will be credited.)

### INSTALLATION PHOTOGRAPHS:

☐ Available on request.

## CATALOG:

☐ Available on request.  
Price:

## SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:

1. If you do not receive this shipment within 5 days of your opening, please wire us.
2. Shipping address will be sent shortly before your closing date; please hold exhibition for notification from us.
3. A copy of the book Balinese Character by Bateson and Mead will be found in Box No. 5.
4. Please take special care in unpacking Box No. 4 which contains the wood sculptures.

sincerely yours,

0435



The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY

Collection:

CE

Series.Folder:

mf 13; 432-521

Exhibition: THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

## THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

11 WEST 53rd STREET, NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF CIRCULATING EXHIBITIONS

Date.....

FORM I

Dear.....

EXHIBITION: THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

ENGAGED FOR: .....

WILL BE SHIPPED TO YOU FROM: .....

ON: .....

BY: Railway Express collect

WEIGHT: 1062 pounds

APPROXIMATE TRANSPORTATION CHARGE

ENCLOSED ARE ITEMS CHECKED:

- ☒ UNPACKING INSTRUCTIONS—Please follow with care.  
☐ PACKING INSTRUCTIONS—Please follow with care.  
☐ CHECK LIST—Check each item against this when unpacking.  
☒ INSTALLATION LIST—Follow this order as closely as feasible in your space.  
☒ PUBLICITY RELEASE—no suggested form. Please note Contract Conditions for publicity.  
☒ RECEIPT CARD—to be filled out and returned promptly to the Museum of Modern Art.  
☒ CONDITION SHEET—to be filled out and returned promptly to the Museum of Modern Art.

## PUBLICITY PHOTOGRAPHS:

- ☐ Available on request for items checked in red on Check or Installation List. (Any returned in good condition will be credited.)  
 Price:

## INSTALLATION PHOTOGRAPHS:

- ☐ Available on request.

## CATALOG:

- ☐ Available on request.  
 Price:

## SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:

1. If you do not receive this shipment within . . . 5 days . . . of your opening, please wire us.
2. Shipping address will be sent shortly before your closing date; please hold exhibition for notification from us.
3. A copy of the book Balinese Character by Bateson and Mead will be found in Box No. 5.
4. Please take special care in unpacking Box No. 4 which contains the wood sculptures.

sincerely yours,

0436

The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY

Collection:

CE

Series.Folder:

mf 13; 432-521

## THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

## FORM LETTER I

Dear.....

The exhibition, The People of Bali, will be shipped to you as scheduled on.....  
 ..... by Railway Express Collect. The five boxes weigh 1,062 pounds so that  
 transportation costs will be approximately \$....

I am enclosing unpacking instructions for the boxes. We asked that these be followed  
 with every care, especially in the case of Box No. 4 which contains the fragile wood  
 sculptures mounted on small pedestals. Should you find any damages or omissions, we  
 should appreciate a report of them on the enclosed form.

A copy of the book, Balinese Character by Bateson and Mead, was added to the exhibi-  
 tion at..... and will probably be packed in Box No. 5. This should be  
 displayed in a place where the public may read it but in a place sufficiently pro-  
 tected so that the public will not be tempted to take it away.

I am also enclosing an installation list of the exhibition. This order should be  
 closely followed to carry out the theme of the show understandably. Therefore, if  
 for any reason you must leave out some of the panels, please lay out the whole show  
 first in the order of the installation list and then take out only those panels,  
 which are not necessary to the running of the show. The installation instructions should  
 also be of help in hanging the material.

You may be able to make use of the enclosed publicity release which was used at the  
 time of the New York showing. You may also find very helpful the enclosed pamphlet  
 on Bali which Mr. Bateson prepared.

We hope you will enjoy the exhibition in .....

Very sincerely yours,

Enclosures: Unpacking Instructions  
 Installation List  
 Publicity Release  
 Supplementary Material on Bali by Gregory Bateson

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The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY	Collection:	Series.Folder:
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BALI: BACKGROUND TO WAR

1943-1944

An exhibition circulated by The Museum of Modern Art, New York City

INSTALLATION INSTRUCTIONS

1. The frame buckings on the panels in the exhibition are supplied with screw-eyes at the top for hanging by nail or by wire from the walls of a gallery.

To preserve the continuity of the exhibition, the panels, photographs and labels should be installed in the order noted on the Installation List.

2. The sculptures, permanently attached to their respective wood pedestals, are grouped on the Installation List with the panels on which they are to be fastened.

To install the sculptures, first unscrew and remove the machine bolt which has been attached to each of the pedestals while traveling. Fit the grooves in the pedestals around the dovels on the panel where their position is marked. Insert the machine bolt through holes in pedestal and panel and secure firmly by screwing bolt into position.

3. The Title Label for the CASTE IN BALI section is already attached to Photograph #1. Swing the label into position and screw securely in place (it is attached by a swivel screw for traveling purposes.)

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CE

mf 13; 432-521

An exhibition circulated by The Museum of Modern Art, New York City

# INSTALLATION LIST

Title Poster  
Introductory Label

CASTE IN DALI - Title Label

Label

- (1.) Photo: Malisee youth
- (2.) Panel: 3 drawings of High and Low deities, labels
- (3.) Panel: 5 Shadow Play puppets of High and Low deities
- (4a.) Wood sculpture - High god
- (4b.) " " - Low god
- (5a.) Panel: Photos
- (5b.) 2 Wood sculptures of young girls
- (6.) Panel: 1 Drawing - "A native painting based on traditional design...."
- (7.) 5 medallions of lotus blossoms
- (8a.) Wood Sculpture - Goddess with lotus blossoms
- (8b.) " " - " "
- (9a.) Panel: 3 Photos: 1 Original painting; labels
- (9b.) Wood sculpture - worshiper
- (9c.) Wood sculpture - worshiper
- (10.) Panel: 1 Drawing: Label - "When you are packing..."
- (11.) Photo: Servants disguised as demons begging for pennies
- (12a.) Panel: Photos - Statue Servants, Acrobatic Pyramids
- (12b.) Wood Sculpture - Pyramid of animals
- (12c.) " " - " "
- (13a.) Panel: Photos - teasing children by elevating above heads of others
- (13b.) Wood Sculpture - figure standing on head
- (14a.) " " - " "
- (14b.) " " - " "
- (15.) Panel: 3 paintings - Punishment of caste crimes: label
- (16.) Label: Questions: What to Do? - "He dealing with Malisee ideas of caste and respect...."

## LEARNING AND SKILL - Title Label

Label

13. Photo: Teacher instructing youth to dance  
(14. Panel: 2 Photos, 1 Drawing - Youths learning to walk, dance & draw. Labels  
(14a. 3 Wood Sculptures - animated leg, head, arm



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15. Panel: 6 Photos of drawings, made in "ranger's label".

15a. Wood Sculpture - awareness of movement and balance of body

15b. " " " " " " " " " " " "

15c. 2 " " " " " " " " " " " "

15d. 2 " " " " " " " " " " " "

16. Panel: 2 Paintings by youths; label

17. Panel: 2 Labels

17a. 9 Wood Sculptures - man, frog, snake fantasy; sense of life and form  
in oddly shaped pieces of wood

18. Panel: 6 Paintings by Talless youth

19. Label: Conclusion: What to Do?

FEAR AND SECURITY - Title Label

Label

20. Photo: Mar.

21. Panel: Photos; Labels - "love of enclosed space and 'ostrich behaviour'",

"fear is associated with the mother".

22. Panel: Photos; Labels - "the father as the main source of security"

(23. Panel: 5 Drawings; Labels - "Fear of Incompleteness"  
/23: Head Sculpture. Man Unfortunate"

(23a. Wood Sculpture - "an Unfortunate"  
 (23b. " " " "

24. Label: Conclusion: What to Do? - "In general, Balinese Fears cannot be appealed to....."

SOCIAL LIFE - Title Label

Label

25. Photo: Group of four men

(26. Panel: Painting; Photos; Labels - "Love of enclosed places"

(26a. 3 Wood Sculptures - deaf and dumb man's impression

37. Panel: Photos; Labels - "In this peaceful world the most important source of change is the gods"

28. Panel: Drawing - "A harvesting club at work"; Photos - "Crimes & Justice"

29. Label: Conclusion: What to Do? - "best way to get any organized action..."

## WAR AND VIOLENCE - Title Label

Label

30. Photo: Mother and Child

31. Panel: 3 Paintings - war and practice for war; Label

(32. Panel: Drawings; Photos; Labels - "And there are substitutes for violence.."

(32a. Wood Sculpture - Cock fighter

(33. Panel: Drawing; Photos; Label - "Violence in the Family"

33a. Wood Sculpture - Witch personifying terror  
33b. " " " " " "

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- 34. Panel: Photos; Drawing; Label - "The Attack on the 'Titch'"
- 35. Panel: Drawing; Photos; Label - "The other side of the lack of aggression.."
- 36. Panel: Photos; Label - "Various escapes from the trap of violent emotion.."
- 36a. 3 Wood Sculptures - "Withdrawal from life - in behaviour and fantasy."
- 37. Photo: Mother and two children
- 38. Panel: Photos; Label - "This treatment of the child leads to a ...."
- 39. Panel: Photos; Label - "This violence in presence of death and impurity.."
- 40. Panel: Figure of coins; Label - riotous behaviour in rituals."
- 41. Label: Conclusion - "That to Do - "There are two main risks in dealing..."

ADDITIONAL

- 42. Photo: Shadow Figure of puppet.
- 43. Japanese model of witch
- 44. Japanese model for dragon

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mf 13; 432-521

BALL: BACKGROUND TO WAR

1943-1944

An exhibition circulated by The Museum of Modern Art, New York City

UNPACKING INSTRUCTIONS - BOXES #1, #2, #3 - Panels

1. The 22 panels packed in these boxes are packed face to face and back to back with a sheet of corrugated board between the faces of each two panels.  
Lift out the panels, one at a time with the greatest care, as the faces of the panels will damage easily.
2. Replace all packing material - corrugated board sheets - in boxes and put back covers. The same material must be used in repacking the exhibition.

UNPACKING INSTRUCTIONS - BOX #4 - Sculptures on 22 pedestals

1. The small pedestals with one or more sculptures permanently attached, which are to be installed on the exhibition panels, are packed in this box. The sculptures are carefully surrounded with tissue paper and excelsior-filled pads and packed in three layers, separated by sheets of corrugated board.  
To distinguish the packages of sculpture from the packing pads, each package of sculpture is sealed with a colored sticker.  
There are 7 pedestals on the top layer, 7 pedestals on the center layer, and 8 pedestals on the bottom layer.  
Lift each piece very carefully from the box, one at a time. The sculptures are very fragile and must be handled with extreme care.
2. Replace all packing material - tissue paper, large and small excelsior-filled pads, corrugated board sheets, corrugated board box - in packing box and put back cover. The same material must be used in repacking the exhibition.

UNPACKING INSTRUCTIONS - BOX #5 - 8 enlarged photos, Title Poster, 17 Labels; Pedestal 17a and Figures 43 and 44.

1. In one compartment of this box, formed by the braces, lift out package containing the two figures #43 and #44 (witch and dragon respectively).  
Slide out Braces A, B and C. Lift out long pedestal of 9 sculptures, 17a.  
Remove sheet of corrugated board. Lift 3 packages containing photos and enlarged photos, etc., packed in bottom of box.
2. Replace all packing material - corrugated board, tissue and heavy wrapping paper, pads, Braces A, B, C - in box and put back cover. The same material must be used in repacking the exhibition.

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## THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

11 WEST 53RD STREET, NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

TELEPHONE: CIRCLE 8-8900

For Release \_\_\_\_\_

## OPENS EXHIBITION OF

## THE PEOPLE OF BALI

The forward march of the Allies brings with it problems of reoccupation, not the least of which is the necessity for understanding in some degree the culture, the habits of thought and behavior of people in lands re-taken from the enemy. As an example of one method of approach to this problem, the \_\_\_\_\_ will open to the public The People of Bali, an exhibition prepared and circulated by New York's Museum of Modern Art. The material for the exhibition has been selected from 'native sculpture', paintings and 'idols' collected by Gregory Bateson, distinguished anthropologist, during a two-year expedition on the island of Bali, and from more than 25,000 photographs which he took there as the basis for a book, Balinese Character, on which he collaborated with his wife, Margaret Mead. The exhibition with installation designed by Xanti Schawinsky, will remain on view through \_\_\_\_\_ after which it will continue on a tour throughout the country.

Mr. Bateson, whose field of anthropology has been chiefly in New Guinea and Bali, has since 1940 been engaged in work concerned with international problems arising from the cultural differences between nations and peoples. For the past year he has been analyzing films for The Museum of Modern Art Film Library and has been teaching Indonesian Pidgin English to naval classes in the School of International Administration, Columbia University.

He comments on the exhibition as follows:

"There is one common ground between the scientific world of the anthropologist and the world of art: the idea that in some sense the artist expresses himself. The exhibition is based on that idea which, in time of war, may become as grim as a mathematical equation in ballistics. Thousands of Americans--men and women, military and civilian--will be going to other parts of the world for the serious purposes of invasion, reoccupation, reconstruction and so on.

"They need to know about these other peoples of the world. They must be able to deal with and get on with these other 'savages' that are scattered all over the world. We cannot produce for them here in New York a living Balinese; still less a whole Balinese village; or a Balinese Rajah with his court. Yet, by means of this exhibition we can produce characteristic specimens of the native art and use them to show what sort of 'savages' they express.

"It might be desirable to do this for all the peoples of the world, to dissect in the form of an exhibition the characteristics of the Germans, the English, the Greeks, even the Americans. Here we can present only one sample

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to show how the man or woman going to a foreign region may in some degree acquaint himself in advance with the differing customs of that land. Customs, habits of thought and behavior--in a word, the culture of a people--cannot adequately be expressed in words. Actually to convey the feeling of a people it is necessary to resort to their works of art and to photographs of their daily life. This is what we have done in this exhibition."

As shown in the exhibition, Balinese culture in many of its aspects is almost the direct antithesis of American and European. The five sections of the exhibition, with some indication of these differences, are as follows:

1. Caste. Instead of a patriarchal god the Balinese worship child gods; the baby is something of a god and the god is something of a child. Bali has a Hindu caste system, the highest position in which is held by the child as a god and the god as a child.

In the Balinese world both high and low are equally necessary. High does not mean "good" but rather polished and sharp and fine-drawn. Princes and high deities are characterized in Balinese art by narrow slit eyes, sharp noses and slight but very strong lips. Low similarly means rough and blunt. Servants are characterized in the Balinese theatre, as strong, thickest, and with bulging round eyes.

Another characteristic of the "high" is aloofness, and the highest deities are represented as withdrawn--rept in their own brightness; whereas the "low" are caricatured as people who smile too much. They are so responsive that they even smile at strangers, as shown in two carvings in the exhibition, one of which is sheer fantasy while the other is a very realistic representation of the village idiot.

Position is literally everything in life to a Balinese. It extends even to parts of the body. Respect people's heads: do not reach over anyone's head; be ready to move aside so that no one will have to reach over your head. Be careful not to sit too low or you will force other people on to the ground.

2. Social Life. Even to the humblest Balinese, life is like a puppet, with innumerable small conventions within which they are perfectly relaxed and happy, but without which they are disturbed, uneasy, and frightened. A host of etiquette points must be watched for things that can be learned easily by recipe: not to receive a gift with your left hand; not to reach over somebody's head.

But behind these there are more general themes which consciously or unconsciously you must understand. In Bali you must be very correct in your behavior and yet at ease in that correctness. The Balinese are not Germans. For them correctness and stiffness do not go hand in hand. They will be embarrassed if you brush aside all the delicate nuances of correct behavior. But they will be equally embarrassed if you introduce a stiffness which is foreign both to them and to you.

The social life of the Balinese village is a strict democracy in which the citizens must share. They are fined if they shirk their duties or if they refuse their privileges. The community as a whole is referred to as "I Desa" or "Mr. Village," who is a very important god.

A great part of Balinese life is organized in "sharing clubs." The Village, the orchestras, the theatrical troupes, the irrigation of the terraced rice fields and the harvesting--all these are performed by "clubs." A man who offends against the Village or the Club is not, not with anger, but with the quiet formality of a fine. If he does not pay, the fine is sharply raised again and again, and the ultimate sanction is loss of membership in the safe and familiar community.

3. Fear and Security. The Balinese have a sort of claustrophobia.

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the antithesis of the American and European tendency toward claustrophobia. Americans and Europeans teach their children to be competitive and to feel moral guilt. Both guilt and competitiveness are negligible in Bali.

The occidental baby learns from his play-pen--and from a thousand other details of life--that rules are a restriction, a barrier between him and the freedom which is somewhere in the outside world. The Balinese baby learns the opposite. He learns to balance himself by holding to a bamboo bar, set up for him in the courtyard by his father. The outside world is a dangerous place where he is always liable to make a misstep and lose his balance. The familiar rules and conventions are a reassurance, a slender bannister to which he can hold.

The Balinese is afraid that his body or his family--his social personality--may lack or lose some piece. A broken ear-lobe or a lost finger-nail which does not grow again after a wound will disqualify him for full citizenship. To retain citizenship in the stricter villages he must have had at least one male and one female child. And, in any case, he must finally retire when his youngest child marries.

4. War and Violence. Bali is one of the most peaceful areas of the world. When the Balinese are angry with each other they simply withdraw into themselves. When the children have tantrums the mother laughs at them. Do not try to galvanize them into activity by violence, shouting, or even oratory--they will only respond with limpness.

But Balinese life has its special forms of violence. There is the very violent and noisy 'Kris dance' in which young men in trance, possessed by minor demons, turn their daggers on themselves--usually without effect. Sometimes a man wounds himself but this is regarded as 'showing off' and is disapproved of. And then there are substitutions for violence which fit in with the Balinese distaste for personal involvement. In cock-fighting or cricket-fighting the man himself stays out of the conflict while he sends in his cock or his cricket as a sort of extension of his own personality. Small boys very rarely fight in Bali, though they spend hours in a sort of kicking game--kicking toward each other but never actually touching the opponent.

In the presence of death or impurity the Balinese put on a show of aggression which is directed not against the impurity, but against each other. This rioting leads often to the elimination of the unclean object. The corpse may be torn or broken, or the new grave may be flattened by the feet of the rioters.

It is important that their normal outlets for violence remain as safety valves--the cock-fighting, the rioting over the dead, the kris-dancing, etc. It is possible that any occidental administrator who was shocked at these practices and forbade them effectively might seriously upset the Balinese balance between violence and passivity.

5. Learning and Skill. A Balinese learns through his muscles and his eyes. He cannot learn through verbal instructions. He exemplifies Emerson's advice to 'learn to do by doing.' Much of Balinese teaching is done by holding the pupil firmly and pushing and pulling his hands through the required motions until in the end his muscles rather than his mind learn to play their part automatically.

If possible, get another Balinese to do the teaching for you. The fact that one Balinese knows how to perform some European skill will be proof to them that they are not taking initiative in attempting something which 'no Balinese can do.' Especially they will learn all skills involving bodily balance and coordination. They are excellent drivers and could learn other similar skills. When they can work automatically, perhaps on industrialized tasks, they will be almost free from fatigue.



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Exhibition: THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

## THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

11 WEST 53rd STREET, NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF CIRCULATING EXHIBITIONS

Dear.....

Date.....

FORM II

EXHIBITION: THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

CLOSING: .....

OPENS NEXT: ..... OR .....

PLEASE SHIP ON: .....

BY, Railway Express Collect

ADDRESSED TO: .....

.....

.....

DECLARE VALUATION: 50¢ per pound

ENCLOSED ARE:

☒ ADDRESS CARDS FOR... BOXES☒ PACKING INSTRUCTIONS—Please follow with care. Check off items against this list.☒ FORM FOR YOUR COMMENTS ON EXHIBITION—Please return to Museum of Modern Art promptly.☒ TWO CARDS FOR NOTIFICATION OF SHIPMENT—One of these to be sent to us, and the other to the next exhibitor.

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:

Sincerely yours,

.....  
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0446



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Exhibition: THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

# THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

11 WEST 53rd STREET, NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF CIRCULATING EXHIBITIONS

Dear.....

Date.....

FORM II

EXHIBITION: THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

CLOSING: .....

OPENS NEXT: ..... ON .....

PLEASE SHIP ON: .....

BY: Railway Express Collect

ADDRESSED TO: .....  
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DECLARE VALUATION: 50¢ per pound

ENCLOSED ARE:

- ☒ ADDRESS CARDS FOR ... BOXES
- ☒ PACKING INSTRUCTIONS—Please follow with care. Check off items against this list.
- ☒ FORM FOR YOUR COMMENTS ON EXHIBITION—Please return to Museum of Modern Art promptly.
- ☒ TWO CARDS FOR NOTIFICATION OF SHIPMENT—One of these to be sent to us, and the other to the next exhibitor.

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:

Sincerely yours,

.....  
.....  
.....

0447



The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY	Collection:	Series.Folder:
	CE	mf 13; 432-521

THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

FORM LETTER II

Dear.....

The exhibition: THE PEOPLE OF BALI, is closing in ..... ON...  
....., as scheduled. It should be shipped on ..... by  
Railway Express Collect, addressed to:

.....  
.....

A value of 50¢ per pound should be declared upon the shipment.

Will you please see that the enclosed directions for repacking the exhibition are  
carried out in full detail?

Will you be good enough also to give us all the publicity information you can on  
the enclosed report form? We should especially welcome your comments on the exhi-  
bition.

Will you notify us when you ship the exhibition? We hope you enjoyed the show in  
..... If there are any questions, please let us know.

Very sincerely yours,

Enclosures: Pack Instructions  
Publicity Report Form

0448



The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY

Collection:

CE

Series.Folder:

mf 13; 432-521

0449

BALI: BACKGROUND TO WAR

1943-1944

An exhibition circulated by The Museum of Modern Art, New York City

PACKING INSTRUCTIONS - BOXES #1, #2, #3 - Panels

1. Unscrew and remove the sculptures and their pedestals from the exhibition panels, making sure to secure the machine bolt on the pedestal again so that it will not be lost in traveling.

2. In Box #1, the following 12 panels are packed in this box in the order listed:

# 28	# 35
# 4	# 32
# 10	# 6
# 18	# 2
# 33	# 3
# 34	# 9

In Box #2, the following 2 panels are packed in the order listed below:

# 17	# 22
# 31	# 14
# 14	# 23
# 27	# 15
# 26	

In Box #3, the following 8 panels are packed in the order listed below:

# 38	# 36
# 21	# 39
# 7	# 16
# 5	# 40 (must be face up with corrugated board both above and below)

3. Place each panel in its respective box, one at a time. The first panel goes in box face up, the next one face down, and so on, so that the panels are face to face and back to back. A sheet of corrugated board must be placed between the faces of each two panels.

Place final sheet of corrugated board in each box before closing.

4. Place covers on boxes and fasten securely. Be sure iron washers are on bolts before fastening.

PACKING INSTRUCTIONS - BOX #4 - Sculptures on 22 pedestals

1. Unscrew and remove the pedestals of sculpture from the panels on which they have been installed for exhibition. Rescrew the machine bolts onto the pedestals for traveling, so that they will not be lost.



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mf 13; 432-521

-3-

2. The following pedestals of sculpture are packed in this box in the following order:

Bottom layer: 9A	Center layer: 9B	Top layer: 18D
23A	10B	32A
15A	6A	10A
18C	14A	36A
33B	33A	3B
23B	15B	26A
3A	6B	5A
4A		

3. Wrap each piece of sculpture on these pedestals snugly with tissue paper, sealing with colored stickers which have been sent to exhibitor by The Museum of Modern Art. In sealing a package of sculpture with colored sticker, the next exhibitor can distinguish sculpture packages from rolls of tissue packing.

Each piece of sculpture is then placed in the box and surrounded with small excelsior filled pads, on all four sides, top and bottom. Be sure that there is no space for movement of the figures, since they are in the box.

If more tissue pads are necessary, please add them.

4. After first layer of sculpture is in the box, and surrounded with pads, place sheet of corrugated board in box to form center layer, and proceed to place sculptures in this section. After center layer is complete, place second sheet of corrugated board in box to form top layer. After top layer is packed, be sure that there are plenty of larger excelsior-filled pads filling the space to the top of the box.

Pedestal 26a is surrounded with tissue paper and then placed in a corrugated board box before packing.

5. Place cover on this box and fasten securely. Be sure iron washers are on bolts before fastening.

PACKING INSTRUCTIONS - BOX #5 - Photographs, Labels; 2 Objects; 1 Sculpture pedestal

1. The following items are packed in this box in the order listed:

Pkg. #1 - Photo #1	Pkg. #2 - Photo #42	Pkg. #3 - Introductory Label
" #30	" #8	Label: Social Life
" #37	" #25	" : #24
" #20	" #13	" : #19
" #13	Title Poster	" : Learning & Skill
Pkg. #4 - Items #43 and #44		" : #12
Pedestal of sculpture #17a		" : Caste in Ball
		" : #29
		" : Fear & Security
		" : #41
		" : War & Violence
		" : For Panel #27
		Title Label: Learning & Skill
		(continued)

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mf 13; 432-521

Pkg. #3 - (continued)

Title Label: Fear &amp; Security

" " : War &amp; Violence

" " : Social Life

Label for #42

2. Place the items in Packages #1, #2 and #3, face to face and back to back in flat compact groups, with tissue paper between faces of labels & photographs. Wrap each group in heavy wrapping paper and seal.

Place Package #1 on bottom of box. Then place Packages #2 and #3 in box, side by side and slightly overlapping. Place large sheet of corrugated board in box so that notches in it fit around pads and grooves in box.

3. Place Pedestal of sculpture 17a in next, to one side of box, so that its base rests on marked section of corrugated board. Slide Braces A and B into position, so that pegs on braces fit into notches on pedestal, holding pedestal securely in place.

Slide Brace C into position, joining Braces A and B.

4. Wrap figures 43 (witch) and 44 (dragon) in tissue and heavy wrapping paper and seal. Place in compartment formed by the Braces. Fill in empty spaces with excelsior filled pads.

5. Place cover on box and fasten securely. Be sure iron washers are on bolts before fastening.

0451



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0452

## EXHIBITIONS CIRCULATED BY THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, NEW YORK CITY

PUBLICITY REPORT

Title of Exhibition \_\_\_\_\_

Name of Sponsoring Organization \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Showing \_\_\_\_\_

Attendance \_\_\_\_\_

Newspaper Space  
(number of items in inches) (if extra copies of publicity are available,  
please attach and return for our files)Photographs in Newspapers  
(number) \_\_\_\_\_

Radio Talks \_\_\_\_\_

School visits, special groups, etc. \_\_\_\_\_

Comments about the exhibition \_\_\_\_\_

9/15/48



The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY

Collection:

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Series.Folder:

mf 13; 432-521

AN EXHIBIT OF BALINESE CULTURE

The Smithsonian Institution takes pleasure in informing you that the exhibit "BALI: THE HUMAN PROBLEM OF REOCCUPATION" will be on view in the Natural History Building of the U. S. National Museum, 10th and Constitution Avenue, from October 13th to the 31st. The Museum is open daily from 9:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m., except on Mondays, when it is open from 1:30 p.m. to 4:30 p.m.

This exhibit was prepared by the Museum of Modern Art, New York City, as a visual aid for the regional training programs of the Armed Services, and it is now brought to Washington because of its relevance to many sorts of work being undertaken by Government Departments, civilian agencies, and private individuals. It will be of special interest to those who are concerned with southeast Asia, but we believe that the problems of regional difference with which the exhibit deals have a much wider significance.

All who have contact of any sort with foreign peoples have to wrestle, consciously or unconsciously, with the problems of "national character" and it is exceedingly difficult to formulate the regularities of foreign behavior which continually confront us. This exhibit attempts to do this for one foreign group, the Balinese.

It uses Balinese carvings, paintings, and shadow-play puppets to illustrate Balinese psychology and supports this material with intimate photographs of spontaneous behavior in daily life to show how the same themes recur in family life, in social organization, in religion, and in artistic fantasy.

Each section of the exhibit is followed by a label giving practical advice on how to allow for the special peculiarities of the Balinese in our dealings with them.

The wider importance of the exhibit, as an attempt to define differences in culture and character, is underlined by the fact that very few cultures have been studied in fine detail from this point of view, and for no other culture is there available so rich a collection of appropriate visual material. The exhibit is a selection from the 2,000 native works of art and 30,000 photographs collected by the Bateson-Wood Anthropological Expedition to Bali (1936-39), arranged and labeled by Gregory Bateson.

Please circulate to those interested.

0453



The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY	Collection:	Series.Folder:
	CE	mf 13; 432-521

Exhibition: THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

BLUEPRINT OF THE EXHIBITION

INSTALLATION DESIGNED BY XANTI SCHAWINSKY

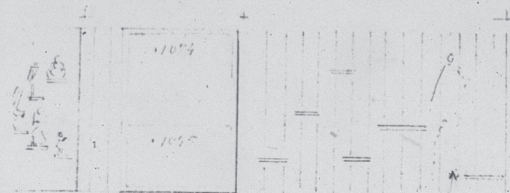
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The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY	Collection:	Series.Folder:
	CE	mf 13; 432-521

0457

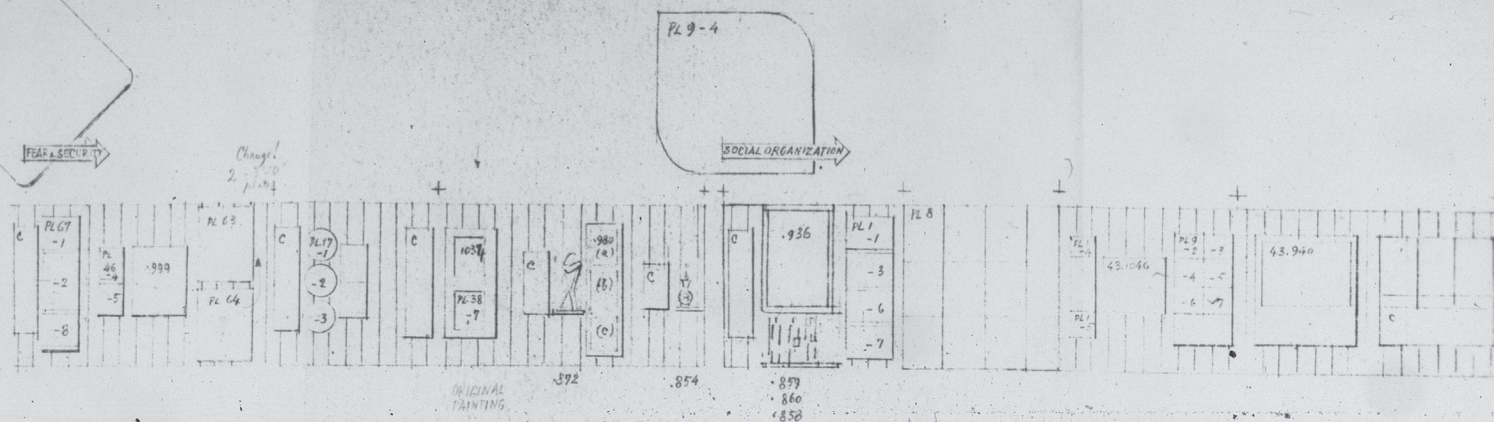
*Preliminary  
Bali - Layout of Wood*



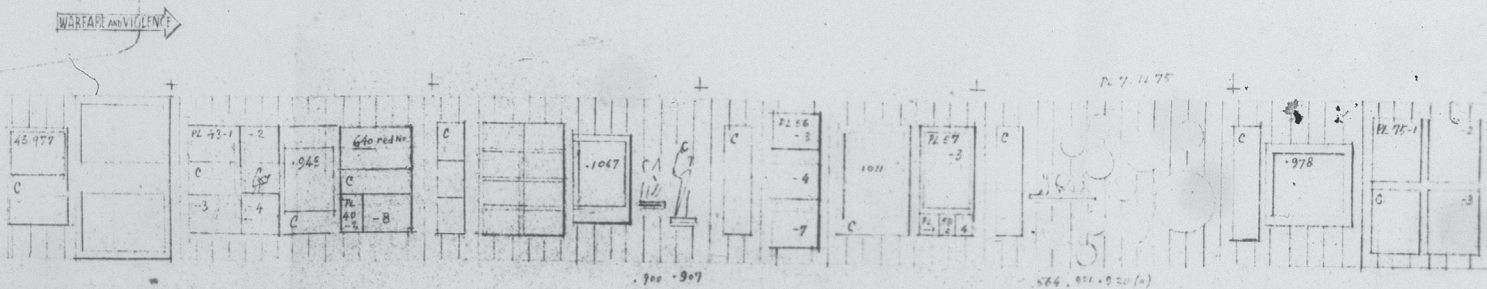




The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY	Collection:	Series.Folder:
	CE	mf 13; 432-521



0459





The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY	Collection:	Series.Folder:
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Exhibition: THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

The Museum Of Modern Art

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Items Removed

0460



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Exhibition: THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

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Items Removed

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Exhibition: THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

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Items Removed

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Exhibition: THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

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Items Removed

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The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY

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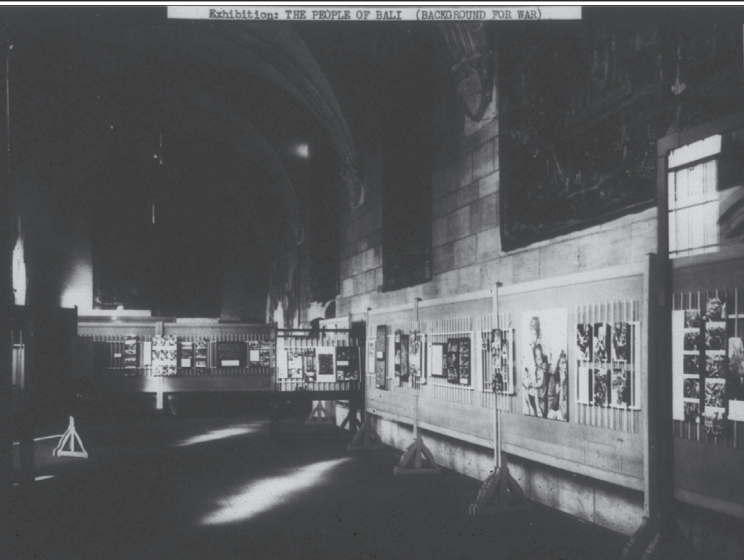
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Series.Folder:

mf 13; 432-521

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Exhibition: THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)



INSTALLATION: YALE UNIVERSITY

Photograph: M.M.A. 656



INSTALLATION: YALE UNIVERSITY

Photograph: M.M.A. 656



The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY

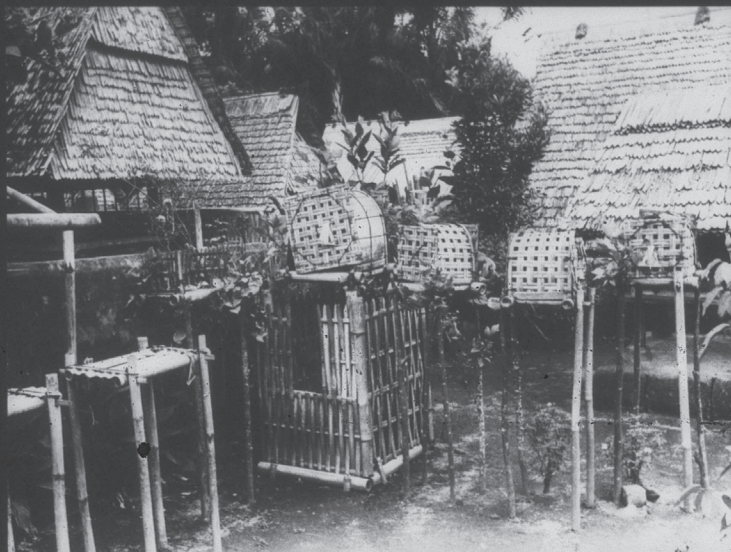
Collection:

CE

Series.Folder:

mf 13; 432-521

Exhibition: THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)



BAJOENG GATE: VILLAGE AND TEMPLES.

The family shrines in the houseyard of Djero Bance Tekok.



INSTALLATION: YALE UNIVERSITY

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The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY

Collection:

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Series.Folder:

mf 13; 432-521

Exhibition: THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

## THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

Dear.....

We have received a number of inquiries from various schools of Overseas Studies as to the services which this Museum might be able to render for use in such training. The purpose of this letter is to inform you of what we are already prepared to do and to explore what further material could be prepared for use in your courses.

The particular type of service which we feel we could render is the preparation of teaching materials which would make vivid to the students the sort of people they will meet and have to deal with in the various regions, how the people may be expected to behave in various circumstances; the motives which can be appealed to; etc. The raw material for such teaching would be - anthropological films and photographs of native behaviour; films, popular works of art, cartoons and other products made by the people themselves in which they express their special view of the world and of human tragedy, comedy, destiny, etc.; phonograph records of native conversation (either spontaneous or staged); literary products of the region, etc.

But in planning the use of such material it is necessary to recognize that a certain standard must be maintained. Merely to let the students look at native artistic products or films is an exceedingly slow method of teaching unless the students have first learned to see how the special characteristics of a people are expressed. To be really effective, the material must be taught by someone who has done some analysis of it and who is familiar with a larger mass of supporting material and with the techniques of cultural analysis.

Still more serious is the risk that the material used may be actually misleading or harmful. A great deal of film which has been shot in native countries by American film-makers is misleading in the sense that it expresses an American rather than a native viewpoint; and a great deal of the native-made film is dangerous in the sense that it is loaded with propagandic tendencies to which a number of students will certainly respond.

In order to meet these requirements, we are arranging to have Mr. Gregory Bateson work directly on this program and accompany the materials as a lecturer. Mr. Bateson has been employed by this Museum as Anthropological Film Analyst. He is also serving, part time, as Associate in International Administration at Columbia University where he teaches Malayan Pidgin English and discusses native life and white-native relations in New Guinea with Naval classes in Overseas Administration.

Apart from grants to the Schools themselves and apart from whatever the Army itself may be doing in the preparation of materials, there has, so far as we know, been no allocation of funds for the collection and preparation of material, the actual scientific research necessary for the interpretation of the material, the training of lecturers who should accompany such material and so on. It has therefore been difficult for us to proceed and we hope you will give us some indication of the value of our project. We of course do not wish to commit ourselves to fruitless work and financial loss, but we are most eager to provide these teaching aids wherever they can be used.

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Exhibition: THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

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Exhibition: THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

2]

The following pages contain an outline of the services we have in preparation for circulation. We have not, as yet, determined the charges for these materials, for they must depend partly on whether any funds are allocated to the preparation of the material and partly on the demand for the services. The more schools ordering the services, the smaller the rental charges will be for each school. For the time being we have fixed the rates listed.

We shall appreciate it very much if you will be good enough to fill out the enclosed questionnaire and return it to us with your reply to this letter.

Sincerely yours,

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Exhibition: THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

TO SCHOOLS OF OVERSEAS STUDIES

1. What national groups are included in the regions which have been assigned to your school?
2. What are the lengths of your courses? In the event that a given exhibit or film should prove satisfactory when used in class, at what intervals would you expect to be sending in repeat orders for that exhibit?
3. Can you give us any indications as to the educational standing of your students?
4. Are you equipped with 35mm. movie projection?
5. Are you equipped with 16mm. sound projection?
6. Are the charges which we have stated above for films, exhibitions and lectures proportionate to your budget?
7. Have you any suggestions as to types of material which would be especially appropriate; national or cultural groups which specially need illustrative handling, etc. Our program is still very flexible, and we shall be glad of any comments which you may have.

University \_\_\_\_\_  
Signature \_\_\_\_\_

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0470

Reprinted from TRANSACTIONS OF THE NEW YORK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES  
Series II, Volume 5, No. 4, pp. 72-76, February, 1943.

SECTION OF PSYCHOLOGY  
JANUARY, 18, 1943



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Reprinted from TRANSACTIONS OF THE NEW YORK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES  
Series II, Volume 5, No. 4, pp. 72-76, February, 1943.

SECTION OF PSYCHOLOGY  
JANUARY, 18, 1943

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TRANSACTIONS

## SECTION OF PSYCHOLOGY

JANUARY 18, 1943

MR. GREGORY BATESON, Film Library, Museum of Modern Art, New York, N. Y.: *Cultural and Thematic Analysis of Fictional Films*. (Illustrated by motion pictures.)

This paper is a preliminary report on a piece of research now in progress at the Museum of Modern Art Film Library. The purpose of this research is to derive some notion of the psychological implications of Nazism from the study of Nazi propaganda films. This involves the application of anthropological methods of analysis to a variety of German cultural materials—the analysis of film material provided by the Film Library and of verbatim interviews of Germans and social scientists familiar with German conditions conducted under the auspices of the Council on Inter-cultural Relations.

Anthropological analysis consists always of two parts. First, the recognition of significant themes and second, the verification that these themes are in fact characteristic of the culture that we are studying. In this research the themes are exemplified in the films and the verification has been done by interview techniques.\* As usual in such research, the peculiarities of daily life and daydream are referred back to the family setting and especially to the position of the child in that setting. This procedure can be justified by the fact that the most formative years of an individual's life are spent in that setting, but the practice of referring the remainder of a culture to the family background is also necessary on practical grounds. It enables us to compare one culture with another. All societies have the institution of the family, but not all societies have Hinduism or age grades. Thus, by referring the peculiarities of Hinduism to the 'family structure', instead of *vice versa*, we arrive at systematic statements which are comparable from one culture to the next.

This method of referring cultural peculiarities to the family is specially suitable for the analysis of Nazi propaganda. In America we tend to think of propaganda as consisting of a large number of separate utterances, pious sentiments or jokes, inserted into the more or less propaganda-neutral matrix of communication. Publicity methods were

\*The author was intimately connected with work done by E. H. Ekman and also published, "Publicity Methods and German Youth," by Erik Ekman, *Journal of Psychology*, 1943, Vol. 2, pp. 1-10. The present research represents a number of films, considered them as other types of German material. Acknowledgment must also be made to The American Museum of Natural History for the use of facilities.

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developed on the basis of rather simple psychological theories of association and Watsonian conditioning and have been comparatively little influenced by *Gestalt* Psychology or psychoanalysis. The significant propaganda in the German films is, however, not of this sort. It consists not of isolated utterances but of themes built into the structure of the plot in such a way that the audience, while enjoying the plot, will necessarily accept the underlying themes as basic premises which need never be articulately stated. The underlying themes, which are expertly woven into a background for the promotion of Nazism, are the themes of pre-Nazi German family life—are, in fact, the themes which cultural analysis is best equipped to recognise.

This use of the family is characteristic of the Nazi film, "*Hilf mir zu leben*," made by Ufa and released in September, 1933.\*

The hero of this film is Heini, a preadolescent boy, the son of a violent father and a drudge mother. His parents are of lower middle class and have fallen in the world as a result of the inflation and the father's war wounds. The father hurts himself in a minor food riot which results from the stealing of apples by two hungry Communist boys. He is helped home by Stoppel, an organizer of Communist youth. He lives in a poor Communist district of Berlin. Stoppel helps the mother to dress the father's wound. The father asks the mother for money to get some beer. She says that she has no money, and a violent scene follows, the father ransacking all the containers in the house in search of the mother's hiding place. At this moment Heini returns from his work in a printing shop, arriving so that we see the climax of the scene between the parents through the eyes of the son. At the printing shop Heini had received a tip of one mark. He secretly gives the mark to his mother. She gives it to the father, who then goes off to get his beer. Stoppel is impressed by Heini's character and contacts him with a view to enlisting him in the Communist Youth.

After Stoppel has left, the mother opens the window and lets in the music of the government at the fair. Heini is thus reminded of a wonderful knife which he has seen in a lottery in one of the side shows. He asks his mother for money to enter this lottery, which he is sure that he will win. She gets money from her hiding place in the coffee grinder and gives it to him. Heini goes to the lottery and loses.

Stoppel appears at Heini's elbow, comforts him and invites him to

\* The first three reels of this silenced film were shown at the meeting, by courtesy of the Film Library.

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join a hike of the Communist Youth on the following day. Heini accepts.

On the hike Heini sees the Hitler Youth, a company of whom are on the same train, going hiking to the same woods. He is disgusted by the gross behavior of the Communists and especially by a kiss which Gerda, one of the Communist girls, forces upon him. Finally he wanders in the dark, away from the Communist camp, till he hears the Song of the Hitler Youth coming from the Nazi camp. He goes through the bushes at the Nazis who are celebrating the Summer Solstice. The Nazis find him, accuse him of spying and send him away. He sleeps by himself on the ground and next morning after watching the Nazis with longing eyes he goes home to his mother.

He tells her he was with the Nazis and how wonderful they were. His mother is worried but not angry with him. She even lets him sing the Nazi Youth song (without warning him that the father is in the next room). The father hears the song and comes in furious. He compels Heini to sing the "Internationale," boxing his ears while he sings.

Next day at school Heini again meets Gerda and resists her advances. He approaches Fritz, a boy leader of the Nazis, and is invited to supper with Fritz and Fritz's sister, Ulla. Gerda meanwhile has been told by Stoppel to vamp Grundler, a weak Nazi boy, and while Fritz and Heini go off to supper, Gerda and Grundler go off to seek "Turkish Delights" at the fair.

Fritz and Ulla ask Heini to come to the opening of their new Nazi club room ("Heide"). Heini hesitates because he has no key with which to return home after the meeting. Finally he accepts when put on his merits by Fritz.

The father meanwhile has been persuaded by Stoppel to sign Heini into the Communist Youth. When Heini comes home the father at once informs him that he is to go that night to the Communist Local. Heini says, "Do I get a house key?" The father says, "Of course—you are now a grown man, and a grown man has a house key." The father then makes a long, kindly speech to Heini about the difficulties of life and how "you young ones must help us older people." Heini is almost in tears and says later to his mother, "Father is not so bad—I cannot lie to him—he gave me a house key." He is determined, however, not to go to the Communist meeting.

He goes out that evening but meets Stoppel, who draws him aside into a doorway and tells him that the Communists are going to raid the

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Nazi home and that he is to help in the raid. Heini manages to slip away without taking an active part, but when the police come he is picked up.

The police tell him to "go home to Mother." The Nazis think he has set the Communists onto them and accuse him of treachery.

(We are given no further information about the events of that night, nor do we see Heini use the house key to return to the bosom of his family.)

Next day Stoppel tells Heini that he was a hero because he did not tell anything to the police and that tonight they will get dynamite from the cache in the Marschstrasse and blow up that nest of Nazis. Heini protests and finally says he will warn them. Stoppel is very much shocked and tells Heini that that is something which one does "only once in life" but in the end Stoppel shrugs his shoulders and dismisses the matter.

When Stoppel leaves, Heini rushes to the telephone to warn Fritz and Ulla. Ulla answers the telephone but Fritz tells her not to listen to that traitor. Ulla is worried by Heini's mention of dynamite but she obediently hangs up, and Heini is left talking into a dead phone. In despair he tries to persuade the police to interfere but they treat him as a child. He then tries to find Stoppel but cannot.

Suddenly while Heini is in the fair looking for Stoppel there is a violent explosion—the Nazis have blown up the dynamite—and Heini returns home whistling the Youth Song.

His mother is in a state of despair because Heini has betrayed the Communists and she tries to persuade him to make up with Stoppel. She fails, and Heini goes to bed while the mother sobs weeping. Finally she turns on the gas to kill both herself and Heini, and the screen is filled with the fumes (which billow like a flag).

Heini awakes in the hospital. A nurse says, "There is somebody to see you." Heini says, "My mother?" But it is the Nazi boys and Ulla. They give him a uniform and a mirror in which to admire himself. After they have gone the nurse comes; and while she is removing the Nazi cap from his head she tells him that his mother will never come.

While Heini is convalescing his father and the District Leader of the Nazis happen to visit him simultaneously, and the question is discussed—"Where does the boy belong?" The Nazi wins this discussion by a verbal trick, and Heini goes to live in a Nazi clubhouse outside the Communist district.

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## TRANSACTIONS

The Communists are waiting for vengeance, but in spite of the District Leader's opposition Heini wants to return to the Communist district to distribute leaflets for the 1933 election. Grunbler has been falling lower and lower under Gerda's influence and now he and Gerda destroy all the available Nazi leaflets. Fritz has been wounded in an election riot so that Heini and Ulla are brought together by substituting Heini for Ulla's brother. They work together in the printing shop to prepare new leaflets and when the work is completed Ulla gives Heini a sisterly kiss. Heini then goes to distribute the leaflets in the Communist district. He is hunted and edified by the Communists in the darkened streets and takes refuge in one of the tents in the deserted fair.

Accidentally he touches a mechanical figure of a drummer and the figure starts to beat its drum, thus betraying him. Heini is stabbed (presumably by Wilde, the sinister leader of the Communists, who has the original knife which Heini coveted). The Nazis come and find Heini dying. His last words are, "Our flag billows before . . ." The sound track takes up the Youth Song and the flag appears on the screen, giving place to marching columns of Hitler Youth.

In this plot Heini's conversion to Nazism depends essentially upon the contrast which he is shown between the Nazis' picture of themselves and the Nazis' picture of "Communism." But this is not the only message which the propagandist conveys. At the beginning of the film the propagandist seems deliberately to build up an association between the mother and Communism. It is the mother who goes and opens the window and lets in the degenerate music of the fair, and the fair is the setting in which the Communists are most at home. And it is the mother who gives Heini the money to enter the lottery to try to win a knife from this depraved environment. Stoppel, the Communist organizer, is also associated with the mother, joining her in aiding and plotting the father. In this way the audience is encouraged to accept unwittingly the basic premise that ideology is related to the family structure.

Also at the beginning of the film we are shown Heini as a hero rescuing his mother from the father's violence by self-sacrifice. As the film progresses, we see these self-sacrificing attitudes shifted from the mother to the nation and the position of Communism shifted from its association with the mother to a very much more dramatic association with the father. The basic premise, that ideology is connected with the family structure, is allowed to persist, but the straw-man association between Communism and the mother is smashed when the father compels Heini

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to sing the "Internationale," boxing his ears in time with the song. In this way the propagandist confers on Nazism not merely the virtue of Heini's preference for it, but also the whole fanatical gamut of emotions which are evoked in the Oedipus situation.

The contrast presented between Nazism and Communism on the like is interesting in that it shows another aspect of Nazi psychology. One of the basic premises of the film which is nowhere articulately expressed is that Communism and Nazism are psychologically related. We see, for example, the behavior of the Nazi boys at the railroad station when one of the Communists throws chewed food into the face of one of the Nazis. Their instinct is to break their ranks and to lapse into disorderly aggression. Similarly, in Grunder, the weak Nazi, we see how normal heterosexual temptation may undermine the Nazi character until he becomes depraved like "Communists." The assumption is that without discipline pure Nazis degenerate into the picture which they themselves have drawn of "Communism." In other words, this particular picture of "Communism" has no factual relationship to the real thing but is a self-portrait of Nazism—a portrait of what the Nazis think that they themselves are like under the veneer of discipline.

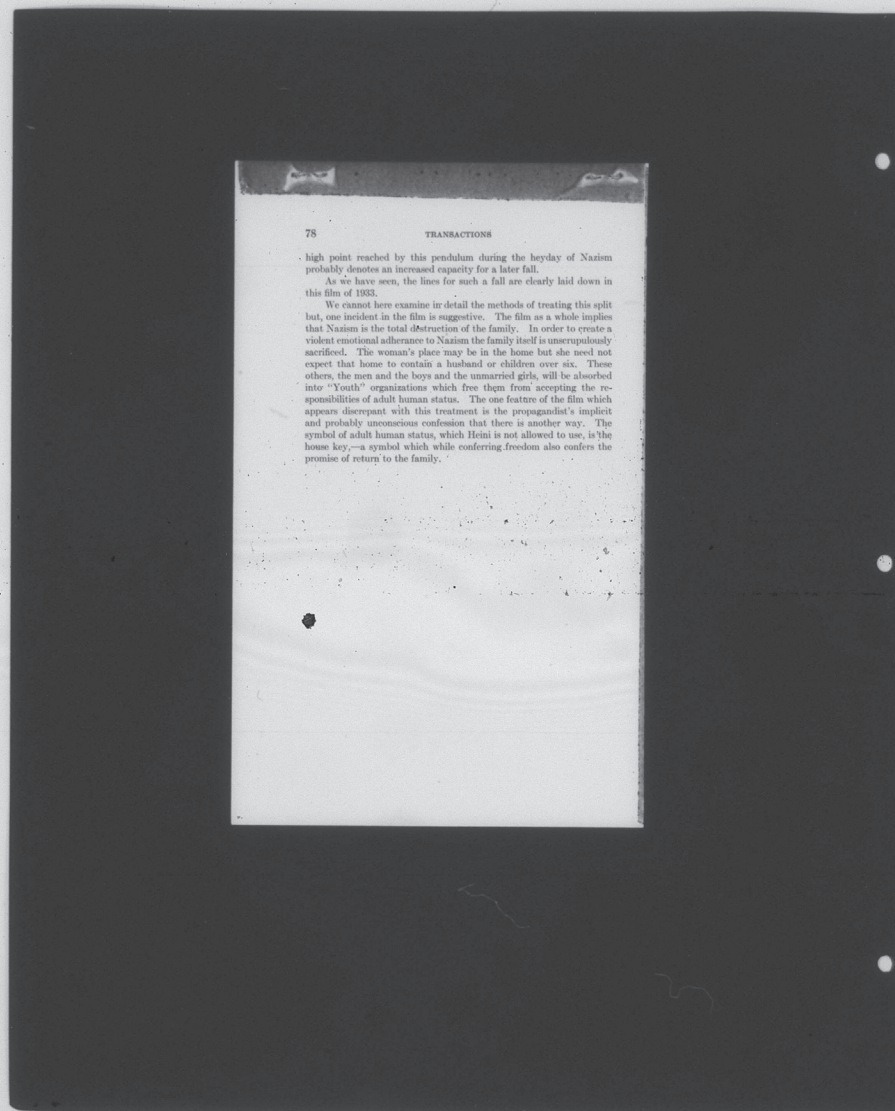
From this point of view it is interesting to observe the large number of oral and anal characteristics which the film maker showers upon "Communism." The apple which fills the first frame and which is there sympathetically treated—it is a desirable apple, stolen by the Communist boy under stress of hunger—is a symbol, whose oral and sexual implications are fully worked out. Continually we see the "Communists" indulging their mouths, eating coarsely; Gerda kissing Heini, and Stoppel pushing a banana into Gerda's mouth.

This curious double formation in Nazi character is likely to be of considerable importance after the war and it might almost be said that the closing of this split in the Nazi personality—between the over-pure and the over-dirty—will be essential for the stabilization of Europe. The split is not, however, merely of Nazi origin. It is older than that and is perfectly recognizable in German films of the early twenties (e.g. "The Street," "Variety," "M") and we are probably justified in regarding as an expression of the same split, the curious behavior of German troops at the end of the last war who found time during their retreat to soil their bullets. In fact the problem of Germany is in part a problem of preventing a pendulum from swinging too far into aggressive purity in good times and into degenerate self-contempt in bad. And the extreme



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Exhibition: THE PEOPLE OF BALT (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

Supplementary Material on the Exhibit

Roll: The Human Problem of Resecucation

by

Gregory Bateson

The Museum of Modern Art

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Exhibition: THE PEOPLE OF BALT (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

Supplementary Material on the Exhibit  
Balt: The Human Problem of Reconquered  
by  
Gregory Bateson

The Museum of Modern Art

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Exhibition: THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

I. Introductory

The purpose of this article is to provide teachers and students with additional information about the people of Bali and to show how the exhibit may best be made of use.

A great many facts about a region are unsuited for the sort of visual presentation which the exhibit attempts. The details of social organization, the economic background, the history, and a large number of other aspects of Balinese life are, however, as relevant to the "human problem of reoccupation" as is the Balinese character, which this exhibit portrays. When faced with a practical problem in human engineering, the engineer must have in mind all the aspects of the situation with which he has to deal and not merely the character of his human material. This brief statement about Bali deals, therefore, with aspects of Balinese life not shown in the exhibit and provides additional information on the social life and caste system.

II. The Use of Visual Material

The exhibit itself requires some explanation if the maximum use is to be made of it. [The labels are written in English and are therefore unnecessary, since English is only fitted to convey ideas about the English or American scene. It is not useful to describe the Balinese in their own language because nobody will understand it and therefore, if the student is to get a real understanding of the Balinese, he must get it not from the labels but from the specimens and photographs themselves. The labels are only a guide to help him to see in the specimens a human reality which cannot be translated into English.]

Almost every statement about the Balinese which is made in the labels is also repeated several times over, implicit in the specimens and photographs. The labels say, for example, that the system of caste also applies inside the human body and that the head is the "highest" part of the body. This statement recurs in the specimens throughout the exhibit a number of times. For example, the first native painting in the exhibit, which is used to show that caste is an element in the stability of the universe, also shows us a "low" man abusing his hand. Then again, there are photographs of play in which the younger child is raised over the head of the older as a means of teasing the latter. Again, there are the carvings of upside-down

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demons, an inverted joke on the caste system, and on the same panel the same upside-down theme is played out by masked actors and by small children. Again, the same theme is implicit in the carving of a woman holding a lotus bud as if it were a baby, and in this carving the "high-ness" of the baby is indicated by the sharp-pointed upper end of the bud. All these specimens together give a feeling of what this sacredness of the head means to the Balinese and it is this feeling which is necessary to understand them. It is not enough to memorize "the head is the sacred part of the body."

It is very important that the student should try to see more in the specimens than is actually said in the labels, and some practice in doing this will make him adaptable not only to Bali but also to whatever other region he may have to work in. The essential is that he shall acquire a readiness to recognize the differences between his foreign region and America, and that he shall not crudely expect American motives and incentives to work all over the world.

Instructors using the exhibit can very easily give small assignments, taking some theme which is stated in the labels and asking the students to point out, in the various sections of the exhibit, all the specimens which show the same point.

Examples of such themes are:

Learning through muscular role (the effects of which really appear in a very large number of photographs of posture, and in the money figures, and in the horror of bodily disintegration, and in the interest in balance and movement which shows in almost every work of art).

Fear of the outside world (This theme is expressed in a number of items in the section on Social life, again in the section on Fear and Security, and again in the big photograph of the Witch as a shadow-play puppet. The Witch is fear personified; she is both frightening and frightened and thus echoes the mother's characteristic pretense of fear. Further, the same type of fear can be recognized both in the tightness of much of the drawing and in the curious separation of the human individuals within each painting, especially in the painting of the Kris dance).



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The importance of being at ease in the complexities of *stigmatis* (This theme is a cross-link between the learning by muscular rote, the fact that a great part of the etiquette centers in the male world of social formality, and the fact that the father is the main source for the child's sense of security and relaxation. Any of the material on these subjects is thus a restating of this accent on relaxation and ease in formality, where we would naturally be stiff).

Special attention should be called to the section on Learning and Skill, because it is this section which has most to offer in the way of making the student aware of the fundamental differences between one region of the world and another. After he has seen this section, he might be asked to think about the character of any other people with whom he is familiar - especially about the American character.

The assumption which underlies this section is that it is not the thing which is consciously taught which matters, but rather the way in which teaching is done and the whole setting in which the learning occurs. We teach children to eat their spinach by making the dessert into a reward. What the child learns from this procedure will depend a good deal upon the character of its parents and upon the fine details of how the teaching is done, but the following sorts of learning are likely to occur: (1) the child will learn to think that dessert is very good; (2) he will learn to think that spinach is very nasty; (3) he will learn to expect a world in which the unpleasant will be rewarded by the pleasant. (Compare Samuel Butler's acute comment that, "if the headache preceded the intoxication, then alcoholism would be a virtue." This comment would not apply in most non-European cultures.)

Balinese teaching, which is done by actually molding the pupil's body, pushing and pulling him through the correct behavior, combines instruction with reward-and-punishment into a simultaneous process, and the Balinese people scarcely see the world in our terms. They do not strive for a later reward and they do not feel guilt when punishment is lacking. They live rather in a world in which the virtuosity of correct behavior, the skill necessary to walk the tight-rope of social conventions, is its own simultaneous reward. Two children who fight (and fighting between children is very rare) may, if parental interference is necessary, be tied together by the hair, more usually they will agree not to talk to each other.



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### III. The Specimens and Photographs in the Exhibit

All of the photographs are Leica snapshots and were unposed with the exception of the portrait of the boy artist in the section on Learning and Skill. The paintings and carvings were all done by native artists, and the subjects and composition of these works of art were their spontaneous invention. The artist, for example, who drew the poster (in the section on War and Violence) for a sale of Balinese art spontaneously put into this poster the scene of rivalry between the older and the younger child. The artist who drew the dream picture in the section on Caste was, however, asked to make pictures of his dreams.

The paintings on paper are in modern art form, which has developed in Bali in the last twenty years. Previously, painting was done in colored ochre on cloth. These colored paintings usually dealt with scenes from Hindu mythology. In the last twenty years a number of European artists have settled in Bali and have influenced Balinese art; in particular, Walter Spies, a German, gave paper, Chinese ink, pencils, pens, and brushes to a Balinese artist. Spies intended later to give him colors but decided not to do this when the present style of black and white painting developed. This style differs from the old in the greater freedom of the compositions, the greater attention to fine detail, especially foliage, and in representing scenes of daily life as well as mythological subjects. Although this style of painting is new and is done for the tourist market, it may be said to be a perfectly characteristic Balinese style and the fact of its newness does not in any way make it un-Balinese.

The specimens have, of course, been selected. There was an initial selection when the collection was made, of about a thousand paintings, a thousand carvings, and twenty-five thousand photographs; and there was a final selection in making up the exhibit. The other paintings and carvings which were not collected and the vast mass of behavior which was not photographed seemed on the whole to support the interpretations of Balinese character given in the exhibit, and it is fair to regard the fact that the material shown is selected from a much larger mass as strengthening its validity.



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IV. Geographic and Economic Background

Bali is a small island about ninety-three miles by fifty. It lies immediately to the east of Java, from which it is separated by a very narrow strait, and to the east again of Bali lies the island of Lombok. The population of Bali is just under a million, and a considerable part of the island - the high interior and the forests in the west - is very sparsely populated. This means that the populated districts are thick with people; in these regions you are never out of sight of human beings. This density of population is maintained by the intensive cultivation of rice. The island is hilly and the hillsides are terraced. The rainfall is heavy and a great part of the geology is soft volcanic tuffa. This means that there are very many fast streams flowing down from the interior and that these streams rapidly cut deep gorges. The streams are tapped over and over again for water which is allowed to spread out over the terraced rice fields. It is this combination of terraced fields and sharp gorges which gives to the island its special beauty of landscape.

The seasons are comparatively unimportant. Only in the hilly regions of the interior, where rice is grown on dry fields without terracing, do the seasons of the year affect the agricultural cycle. In all the lower regions, where the flow of water for irrigation is controlled by man, the seasons become irrelevant. When the rice on a given terrace system reaches a certain stage of maturity, the water is shut off from those terraces and the rice is allowed to ripen while the same water is diverted to other terraces, flooding them ready for plowing and planting. Thus you will see in the same landscape sprouting young rice growing in water, rice plants standing high and green in mud, and ripe rice yellow on dry, parched ground.

Transportation is very easy. The Dutch, in the Roman tradition, have made large numbers of roads all over the island. Many of these are metalled and many more will carry automobiles. This system of roads was added to a rich system of footpaths and bridle tracks which went everywhere between native communities. These footpaths, however, are often too narrow and too steep for motor transport and cross the gorges either by descending steeply into them at a ford or by means of flimsy bamboo bridges. The lowest level of paths is represented by the risings of the rice terraces. Any sort of cross country movement consists in walking precariously on these earthed-up edges



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of the rice terraces, which are cut into the hillside, are a few inches above the first and of the terrace and is about a foot in width. It crumbles readily. The face between one terrace and the next is almost vertical and may be anything from a few inches in height to fifteen or twenty feet, according to the steepness of the hillside on which the terraces are cut. Damage to the risers of the terraces and especially damage to the small water-courses of which the irrigation system is composed is likely to result in serious damage to crops.

The villages are straggling areas almost entirely filled with shady streets and family courtyards. There is virtually no cultivation within the village area except that of coconut palms, bananas, shade trees, and flowers. Many households have a second dwelling out in the rice fields where water buffaloes, oxen, pigs, ducks, and so on are kept and where the owner can guard his water rights.

As already noted, there is a marked difference between the sparsely populated, higher regions of dry rice culture and the richer, thickly populated areas of wet rice. This difference is also reflected to some extent in the character of the people. The people of the mountains are shyer, more serious, more sober, and more conservative than the people of the plains. Life in the mountain villages is less ornamented, there is less of art and dancing and processions, and the people are slower and perhaps more stupid, partly because their life is less rich and varied and partly because many of the mountain regions suffer from lack of iodine in the soil so that simple goiters are common.\* These show in a number of the photographs.

between one flat terrace and the next. The riser stands a few inches above the first and of the terrace and is about a foot in width. It crumbles readily. The face between one terrace and the next is almost vertical and may be anything from a few inches in height to fifteen or twenty feet, according to the steepness of the hillside on which the terraces are cut. Damage to the risers of the terraces and especially damage to the small water-courses of which the irrigation system is composed is likely to result in serious damage to crops.

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The economic system of the country depends mainly upon rice culture, and even specialists who normally derive their income from non-agricultural occupations - the arts, metal-working, government employment, carpentry and building

\* These goiters in their incipient stages respond favorably to treatment with sodium iodide, which can be administered easily by mixing a little strong iodine solution into the family salt supply. A great many skin ailments of the mountain regions, psoriasis, ringworm, respond well to treatment with iodine since this drug both attacks the parasite and stimulates the body. Iodine is probably less effective in the plains.



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trades, religious practitioners - have close family connections with the land. The artists were originally dependent upon the feudal patronage of the rajahs, and when their patrons bought motorcars instead of patronizing the arts, the tourists came in and provided a new market. Today, when there are no tourists, the artists have probably joined with their families in working on the land. Starvation is unheard-of in Bali; the rice fields are rich and everyone is closely connected with them.

The contrast between rich and poor with which we are familiar in our own society - and indeed the whole system of consciously competitive economic enterprise - is absent in Bali, and we may summarize this by saying that there is virtually no equivalent of our middle class. There is the contrast, which we have already mentioned, between the castes, but caste membership allows of no rising and falling. On the whole, high-caste people are richer than "outsiders" but there is a considerable overlap; a few "outsiders" are richer than the poorer high-castes. Especially since the period of Dutch contact there are a few households of men who have specialized in trying to get rich. Such people are mildly disliked by the rest of the noncompetitive community; they are sometimes caricatured as the "rich" but it would not be fair to say that they are regarded with intense envy. Rather, they are expected to be a little boorish in their manners and are felt to be a little separate from the rest of the community, as also the community feels that ironworkers, carpenters, and other specialists are a little separate. There is a tendency for rich "outsiders" to attempt to put on the outward and visible signs of caste. They will sometimes attempt to create their dead in the sort of animal creation boxes which are the prerogative of the high-castes. Such offenses are corrected by the Rajah when he hears of them.

From a psychological point of view there are two very different aspects of expenditure in Bali; there is penny-wisdom and pound-foolishness. In all their marketing transactions the Balinese are careful and almost miserly; the transactions are almost always small and are very rarely conducted in kind. Two women will walk together several miles to the nearest market, one of them carrying maize, the other carrying vegetables; at the market the maize-carrier will sell her maize for cash and with her cash will buy vegetables, the other, correspondingly, will get cash for her vegetables and will buy maize. The market



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is the mechanism for setting prices and this is probably the reason why the exchange in kind does not take place. In general, the Balinese have no awareness that time spent on transport should increase the price. They will walk many miles to get a few extra cash for their beans; and an itinerant seller of pots will accept lower and lower prices, the further he gets from home - because he does not want to carry his pots all the way back again.

But in contrast with this carefulness, the Balinese are pound-foolish. They save up their cash one by one and then spend all that they have saved - and some that they have borrowed - on a big ceremony, a birthday, or a cremation. For such a ceremony they will try to realize the value of their most precious possessions, their sacred books, their jeweled krissas. In the old days the disposal of such objects was difficult because it took time to find a buyer, and as a result the moneylenders thrived. The Dutch, however, in an attempt to combat moneylending and usury set up government-controlled pawnshops so that in the 1920's precious objects could be gotten rid of far too easily.

#### V. Historical Background

The two outstanding features in the history of Bali are the immigration of Hindu high-castes from Java and the later conquest by Holland. Java was a Hindu area until the fifteenth century when, under Arab influence and conquest, it became Mohammedan. This change largely destroyed the caste system and the high-castes of Java migrated in considerable numbers to Bali. Even before the fall of Javanese Hinduism, Bali had already been Hinduized by influence from Java so that the religious culture of Bali shows successive levels of more and more complete Hinduization with a superficial top dressing of almost pure Hinduism represented by the high-castes, especially the ruling princes and the Brahman priests.

The island is divided into seven kingdoms, each with its own Rajah (Anak Agung). Before Dutch conquest there was territorial war between these regions, each region being surrounded by a belt of non-combatants which was inhabited by exiles and vagrants. Under the Dutch the separate kingdoms have been retained with slight modifications.



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The Dutch conquest of Bali took place in several steps. The northern kingdom of Boeleleng came under complete Dutch rule in 1882, and Dutch control of the island was completed in 1908 with the conquest of the southern part of the island. Klomgkiong, one of the kingdoms of Bali, revolted in 1908, but otherwise the island has been peaceful and the Dutch have adopted the native rajahs and their descendants as principal agents of government, thus creating a system of indirect rule. This system has resulted, of course, in the persistence of a number of features - both good and bad - of old Balinese life which would otherwise have disappeared. In particular, it has perpetuated the sharp break between the extreme democracy of village organization and the hierarchical structure represented by the rajahs and the government. The sub-officials under the rajahs are his emissaries sent down to deal with the villages; they are not representatives sent up from the villages. The same system of indirect rule has also led to the persistence of various sorts of compulsory labor, especially on roads, etc., which were among the old mechanisms used by the rajahs in taxing the people. In Java this system of compulsory labor had become in the 1930's an irritation to the people, but in Bali it was still thought of as part of the normal organization of village life and was controlled by each village rather than by the Rajah and his subordinates.

This long history of culture contact with Java and later with the Dutch has resulted in a social system well adapted to resist any change which might be disruptive. The stiff democracy of the more conservative villages is extraordinarily impervious to outside influences. Many of the mountain villages, for example, have a rule that no Brahmana priest may perform a religious ceremony within the village boundary, and there are numerous minor regulations which outlaw modern objects (kerosene lamps and the like) from certain ceremonies and especially sacred places. In general, the effect which culture contact has had upon the island has been exceedingly superficial. The appearance of a Balinese crowd has been altered by the imposition of cheap calico, pajamas, bicycles, towels, etc., but underneath this superficial change in the material side of life the social organization and the Balinese character have remained almost unchanged. Those sorts of contact which strove to affect the roots of the culture have been futile. Missionary enterprise, whether Christian or Moslem, has had almost no effect; a man who was not born into the Balinese religion or who adopts another religion is quite simply not a Balinese.



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## VI. Race and Language

Racially the Balinese are a small, light-built, dark, straight-haired, Malayan people almost indistinguishable (except in posture and behavior) from the Javanese.

The Balinese language is closely related to Malay, and there is a considerable overlap of vocabulary between Balinese proper and the colloquial Malay which is used in the region. Balinese syntax is simple and very similar to that of Malay. The main peculiarity and difficulty of the language is its subdivision into various degrees of "high" and "low" speech. "High" speech is called "aleng" or "polished," while "low" is called "kasar" or "rough." But this division is an oversimplification of what really exists, and it would be better to think of a continuous variety between the very "polished" language used in addressing the highest gods, through the various sorts of formal language used on ceremonial occasions and in addressing strangers, down to the "rough" language which is used to intimate friends, inferiors, and dogs. In general, the commoner a thing or action is, the more words there will be to denote it; these words will be differentiated as more "polished" or more "coarse." Especially words whose meaning is close to the human body - personal pronouns and words for beds, houses, parts of the body, and such actions as eating and sleeping - are very fully differentiated. Thus there are about fifteen alternatives for the second person singular, most of which are never used because to use them would be too respectful or too rude. In general, polite conversation is carried on in the third person. You do not say, "Where are you going?" but, "Where is Made going?" when you are talking directly to Made.

The "coarse" and "polished" languages are, however, not separate and one of the great difficulties, which the Balinese themselves feel to be a difficulty, arises from this fact - that when you are talking to a very "high" person, you must remember not to use "polished" words for yourself, your own properties, and your own actions. Your own eating you will refer to with the verb "mangah," which is approximately equivalent to the German "fressen," but his eating is denoted by more delicate words. You cannot ever say politely "we eat," including in the single pronoun and verb both yourself and the person whom you are addressing; indeed, there is no polite pronoun for "we" in this sense.



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There is a sharp difference in sound and style between "coarse" and "polished" Balinese language. The "polished" language of respect is long-winded and smooth with endless rignariles of courtesy and self-deprecation, so that it takes a great deal of time to say a simple thing to a superior person (and even in colloquial Malay the Balinese who respects you as a superior will sometimes want to be long-winded). "Coarse" Balinese, on the other hand, is very abrupt and brief. To make it more abrupt, the first syllable is dropped from almost every word which has more than one syllable, so that the language sounds like a succession of abbreviated commands.

For the European there is Malay, and this simplified language has come to be regarded as the special sort of Balinese which is correct in addressing Europeans. If you start to learn either "high" or "low" Balinese and use it towards them, they will be embarrassed because they will not know in what sort of Balinese to reply.

#### VII. Caste

The Balinese caste system consists of three Hindu castes and the rest of the population. The three castes are referred to collectively as *Prinangka*. The rest of the population is referred to as *Diaba*, which literally means "outsiders"; these are people who normally have no caste and who constitute 85 per cent of the population. Some groups, however, of these "outsiders" caste have a "little caste."

The three Hindu castes are:

1. *Brabant*, the caste from which high Hindu priests (*gurus*) are recruited. *Brabant* are usually engaged in the more highly skilled and intellectual activities. They are not rich and they are not powerful, but they are at the top of the scale and this gives them a very great freedom from worrying about caste. They have a sense of their own sacredness - e.g., that to carry objects on the shoulder or the head for low-caste people would wrong their position - but they are perfectly able to work their own fields and may work on the building of their own houses. In the compulsory labor system they are usually excused from heavy work and act as clerks, messengers, etc. *Brabant*



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priests are, however, much more sacred and have always been treated with great respect by the Dutch and other Europeans as well as by the Balinese.

2. Kesatriya. This is the caste from which most of the ruling princes or Anak Agaengs are derived and, in general, members of the Kesatriya are, unlike the Brahmins and the Djaba, interested in wealth and power. They tend to attach importance to etiquette and to caste rules, and they are even a little stiff sometimes in etiquette. They watch each other's prestige and even compete somewhat in lavish expenditure, "keeping up with the Joneses."

3. Wesia. This caste is a pallid version of the Kesatrya.

It should be clearly understood that these three levels of caste are not a part of the governmental machinery except in so far as rajahs are members of Kshatriya. A rajah will have under him as his scribes and officials Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vudias, and Dyots regardless of their caste. But the Brahmin priest is performing his highest functions, his Rajah will place himself below the priest; but before the ceremony when the priest comes to the Rajah's instructions, he will usually place himself below the priest. The Brahmin is active and free in the same that the nature of the activity prevents people from worrying about castes and levels. In a theatrical troupe, a Kshatriya prince may play the role of a domestic servant, or a Dyot may be playing a princely role. But when the Brahmin priest is playing a leopards, the high caste children had to be excused.

The following experiences of the Bateson-Mead expedition will indicate how this system works. On arrival in the Indies we paid a formal call, with State Department and Foreign Office introductions, on the Governor General of the Indies, from whose secretary we obtained introductions to the District Officer of Dutch East Sumatra, Borneo, and then went out looking at the villages of Bali to select one which was suitable for the study which we intended. Having selected our village, we called on the local Dutch Controller, who checked our credentials with his superiors and then gave us the names of the headmen of the places of the Balah in whose districts we intended to reside.



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In this visit we were accompanied by our Balinese secretary, who acted as interpreter. He was a Djaba from Boelelung where the caste system was beginning to be a little shaky as a result of European contact. We had already undermined this boy's feeling of caste somewhat by making him sit at a table with us when he was teaching us the language, and when he walked in with us to the Rajah, he boldly sat in a chair level with the Rajah. The Rajah said nothing to him but rather pointedly asked us afterwards about his caste. We later pointed out to him that we would prefer that he should observe caste rules, since the refusal to do so might make our work more difficult. He accepted this perfectly readily, and was actually very well treated afterwards by high-castes because he had the prestige of doing a job which consisted of reading and writing.

The Rajah in turn gave instructions to his Poenggawa, who acted as his agent vis-a-vis about twenty villages of which ours was one. The Poenggawa did nothing. We then contacted the village direct. The village hesitated as to what they should do about us and asked the Poenggawa, who gave them the necessary reassurance. The Poenggawa, in general, does not interfere at all in village affairs, except in cases of violent crime, theft, and taxation. If a man is punished by his village for some technical offense against the local customs of that village, he will sometimes go for redress to the Poenggawa but he will simply be told, "If you don't like the rules of your own village, go and live in another one."

We noted above that in the case of "high" and "low" language, the Balinese do not have a series of steps between "high" and "low" but rather a continuous variation of relative "high-ness" and "low-ness." The same is true of caste and respect. It would be simplifying the system to think in terms of the list of castes, because the same sort of respect that is given to a Kesatrya is also given to a village priest or official who may have no caste in the Hindu sense. And even within the family a younger brother should defer somewhat to an older. Brothers are often unwilling to do this and in Singaradja, the Dutch capital, where European contact has been longest, there are cases in which brothers have adopted the Dutch pronoun *ik* for the first person singular in ordinary talk, so as to avoid the pronouns which would imply that one was superior to the other. In the District of Bangli there is another similar case: The old Rajah died some years ago;



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his heir was persons ~~non grata~~ to the Dutch who therefore appointed the heir's first cousin. The two men are quite friendly but there is an embarrassment between them; one is de facto Rajah while the other comes of the senior line. They therefore converse in Malay to avoid the complexities of mutual courtesy.

The position of women in Balinese society is a good deal higher than we expect to find in Oriental communities. It is true that maleness is "higher" than femaleness, and a Brahman priest is "higher" than his wife. But she, too, may be a full priestess and as such very much "higher" than other Brahmans. Similarly, at the citizenship level a wife may often take the place of her husband representing the family at a religious ceremony. The respective duties and occupations of each sex are rather clearly defined, but in spite of this there is very little surprise at the man who becomes an expert weaver or at the woman who achieves distinction as a scholar of archaic (Kawi) literature.

#### VIII. Social Life

The material in this section of the exhibit, except for the native paintings, all comes from a mountain village where the formalities of Balinese democracy are more complicated and more strict than they are in the big rich communities of the plains. In the mountains I Desa or "the Village" is a strict and conservative being; the village council meets constantly and has great prestige and great power - especially power to veto any change or innovation.

Most of the ceremonial life is organized and run by the village elders, and even in cases of theft the assembled citizens will not consider what they shall do and whether they shall hand over the thief to the government. The village council also controls a great part of the land ownership: it controls who shall live within the boundaries of the village, allotting house sites and calmly excommunicating from the village those who do not follow the customs.

In the mountains marriage and death are village affairs. The village as a whole is unclean for three days after a death and the village temple is closed during this period. Similarly, the village is slightly unclean after



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an elopement until the necessary fee has been paid to the village treasurer, which condones the elopement and converts it into a regular marriage.

In the plains life is much freer: the average citizen periodically contributes his labor but he is not continually subject to the strict demands made by the village community. The idleness which follows elopement or death applies only to relatives and not to the community at large, and most of the ceremonial life is regulated by clubs which run the individual temples. The citizen is thus subject, not to a centralized village authority, but to a large number of club organizations of which he is a voluntary member - the irrigation club which organizes the water supply on his particular pieces of land, the temple clubs of which he is a member, the theatrical clubs, the harvesting clubs, etc. - but these do not affect very severely the private family life within the courtyard.

A very great part of the religious and ceremonial life of the village is governed by the rotating calendar. Really, there are two calendars. The first is an agricultural yearly cycle which is based on the moon, celebrates the full and the new moons, but still distorts the year (tiban) to make the approximately 365 days look like twelve lunar cycles. The second calendar is astronomical and consists of a number of different-lengthed weeks which run concurrently. Of these the 2-day, the 3-day, the 5-day, and the 7-day weeks are the most important. If today is the third day of the 5-day week and the first day of the 7-day week, then tomorrow will be the fourth day of the 5-day week and the second day of the 7-day week. In this way, each day is characterized as especially suited for certain types of undertaking, according to these combinations. The cycle repeats itself every 210 or 210-day period ( $2 \times 3 \times 5 \times 7 = 210$ ). Birthdays, temple feasts, and a large number of other functions are celebrated according to the alon calendar.

Neither alon nor tiban are counted, so that though a man knows accurately on what combination of days of the week he was born, he will never know how many alon old he is. The system differs from ours in being purely circular and not progressive. Time goes round and round, it does not go on and on.

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he said that he would pay at the next meeting. He was not present at the next meeting and in his absence the fine was again raised. He came to the following meeting ready to pay the 100 cash, but he refused to pay the subsequent raise. The man sitting next to him at the meeting offered to lend him money in case he was temporarily in need of it, but he replied, "What! Do you think I've not got the money?" And he dug into the twist of his sarong and produced about 50 guilders in silver. He laid them out in the sun on the ground and said, "I have the money and I am not paying this fine." The two senior citizens of the village quietly walked over to him, verified his intention, and said, "In that case, there are four things: you cannot enter the temple; you cannot enter the house of any full citizen of the village; you cannot draw water on village land; you cannot collect firewood on village land." He then repeated these four sanctions, counting them on his fingers, and asked if there were any more. The senior citizens counted them back to him and said that there were no more, and the man asked leave to depart and walked off.

This is one of the most complete and effective punishments. The man in question had a bit of privately-owned land with a stream passing through it and he therefore could live, but virtually alone. The Balinese love crowds, they love to be in the main of village affairs, and sooner or later the man will come back and will ask to be received again into the community. His fine for "opposing Mr. Village" will be assessed at 10,000 cash, but the elders will reduce this perhaps to 5,000 and he will be given six months or a year in which to pay, and finally he will return to his position as a citizen without any change in his seniority.

Almost the only violent sanction which occurs is the killing of thieves. When a thief (usually a cattle rustler) is caught in the act, the village tocsin is sounded to summon the citizens, and he is immediately robbed and killed. There is no eyewitness account of this procedure, but it is likely that this violence is psychologically akin to the robbing of the corpse which occurs in execution. The Dutch accepted this robbing of thieves as a native custom and have not seriously tried to prevent it. The thief, however, who is detected in other ways must be handed over to the courts.

Significantly, Balinese social organization is carried on without oratory, almost without intrigue, and without factions. Nobody in Bali can rise or fall in the village



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hierarchy through his own acts. There is no sanction except through the death or automatic disqualification of the people above one. It is not a competitive system (see the section on War and Violence). The senior citizens of the village are not chosen for intelligence or enterprise or political skill. They are simply the men who happen to have gone on being citizens longest without the death of their spouses, the marriage of their youngest child, the birth of a great-grandchild, the loss of a fingernail, the contraction of old-lock,\* or any other event which would cause them to retire.

These minor types of retirement from full citizenship are not in any sense excommunication. Those who retire in this way retain a large measure of their participation in the life of the village, for then there is a special type of land tenure. The status of the old is pleasant and amply defined.

\* This is a curious disease of the hair which results in a part or the whole of the hair becoming matted. Curiously enough, this disease also has supernatural significance in many parts of Europe.



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Suggested Materials for Regional Training

Prepared in collaboration with the  
Council on Intercultural Relations

Memorandum No. 9.

THE USE OF FILM MATERIAL IN REGIONAL TRAINING

by

Gregory Bateson

(Anthropological Film Analyst, Museum of Modern Art Film  
Library, and Associate in International Administration,  
Columbia University.)

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Exhibition: THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

## THE USE OF FILM MATERIAL IN REGIONAL TRAINING

I. The Material and its uses.

The great suitability of film material for the teaching of what the people of a given region are like results from the fact that films are made by a concentrating team of workers for a popular audience. In making a film, the ingredients - the types of event and character shown - are sieved through the many mentalities of the whole group of film makers, and it is thus virtually impossible for a film to deviate seriously from the cultural norms of the makers.

Certain precautions are necessary however, in the selection of the films which are to be used, and it is very important that the teaching which accompanies the films shall induce the student to work with and think about this material constructively. Films, if they are carelessly selected are likely to be actually misleading, and they are likely to be useless if they are merely shown to the students without comment. The following memorandum concerns the criteria for selection of films and the teaching which should accompany them.

Criteria for selection. A. The films used should be products of the region which is being studied. They should have been planned, made and (above all) edited and directed by people of that region for audiences of that region. Within this criterion, films of all categories may be admitted - fictional and documentary and travel films and even animated cartoons - but the criterion should exclude: documentary films made by visiting film units native in other regions; propagandic films made by natives of the area specially for export to other regions; fictional films made by natives of other areas for the entertainment of their own population, etc.

This criterion is set up because, in general, the makers of a film impose their own regionally characteristic daydreams and aspirations upon the material. The plot and artistic form of any film is thus characteristic for the region of the makers instead of being native to the region about which the film is made. Such films,

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if used in Regional Training are likely to be peculiarly misleading, since fundamentally they say "these people may have minor differences in manners and customs, they may be picturesque and odd, but at heart they have the same motivations, the same values, that we (the makers) have."

The film, "Legong" for example, shows accurately many of the peculiarities of the Balinese, but puts them into a plot involving types of romantic love and emotional intensity which are entirely foreign to Bali. Similarly, the old D. W. Griffith film, "Ten's Life Wonderful," shot in Berlin in 1923 and attempting to convey the emotional setting of starvation, inflation, and despair, ends up by being a purely American success story. Even such great documentaries as "Man of Aran" suffer from the same weakness - the romantic handling of the sea and the waves is the film-maker's reaction to these phenomena, not that of the natives.

In the case of certain areas which have not yet developed their own companies of film makers, it may be necessary to fall back on documentary and travel films made by visiting people, but it should be understood - and the students should be made to understand - that this is unsatisfactory. It would be possible to increase the value of unreliable material of this sort by having present at the showing living persons from the regions, whose comment might correct the errors of the films.

B. The films used should, if possible, have been successful in their countries of origin. This insures that the themes in the film were actually appropriate to that cultural setting when the film was made. It is true that every film is, in large measure, a cooperative product and therefore is almost bound to the cultural norms of the makers - but popularity is a further guarantee of cultural correctness.

C. Within the category "successful films made by natives of natives for native audiences" almost any film can be made useful for regional training, since not only the details of behavior and the motivations but also the major plot emphasis are correct for the native setting (or deliberately and "natively" falsified to evoke laughter, humor, disapproval, etc.) However, even among these films all of which are potentially useful for this purpose, some are likely to be more rewarding than others:

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among the most rewarding we may note films of adolescence, growing up, the family background, foreign analogues, of the "Hardy Family," etc; conversion films (e. g., Sergeant York; "Queer;" The Major and the Minor; propagandic films, in which the message itself, and still more the way in which it is put over and made acceptable throw light on American motivations, aspirations, etc; films dealing with exceedingly approved or disapproved characters, heroes and villains of history and myth, etc., which show the types of courage, cleverness, success, etc. which are approved or disapproved.

Teaching with Films. The student will ultimately as an official have to participate in and influence the native life in the regions about which he is learning, and so far as possible, he must not be allowed to lapse during his training into a purely spectator position. The life of the region must always be presented to him, not as a spectacle which he is asked merely to understand and appreciate but also as a running stream upon which he is to act. This point is especially important in lessons which are taught him by means of films - and these lessons are a very suitable context in which to teach him this sort of active role, because the teacher here more than anywhere else can be put on his mettle to prompt the student to an active role.

The showing of every film should be used as far as possible as an assignment upon which the student would be asked to work.

The first lesson which should be got over (without which all subsequent showings of movies are likely to be valueless) is how to see the native culture in the films, and here probably the sharpest teaching device would consist of use of a pair of films with one simple difference between them. Such pairs could be easily constructed and the suggested pairs here should be regarded only as examples of the sort of thing that is meant.

The mere passive enjoyment of the film as it unrolls on the screen can be corrected by various forms of interruption - either stopping the projection at various points and discussing with the students the plot as it has so far developed, or by

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inserting silent titles into the film calling attention to the significant points as they appear. Alternatively the film can be stopped at any point, and the students asked then to complete the story on paper. Their invented endings will inevitably transgress the cultural conventions of the region and will give the teacher numerous talking points with which he can point up the special slants and angles of the native scene. Alternatively the teacher can ask the students to make changes in the plot which would alter the final outcome in some given direction - "how would you change this plot so that it shall have a happy ending instead of a tragic" (an assignment which would compel the teacher and students to think constructively about e.g. the whole underlying "Destiny" idea so characteristic of Germany), or he can ask "if the heroine had had a brother, how would you expect him to behave in regard to the events depicted in the film?"

#### II. The Use of German Films as An Example of Teaching the Culture of a Region.

The film makers of Germany experienced all the ups and downs through which the country passed since 1919, and as a result almost every film bears the imprint of these experiences. Consciously or unconsciously the fears, anxieties and ambitions - the day dreams and the nightmares - of a country at first torn and later united in an ambitious dream, have been expressed on the screen. This history has made the German films extraordinarily eloquent and also extraordinarily suitable for teaching purposes.

The lesson which we have to convey - whatever culture or region we are discussing - is the same. We have to let the student see that certain regularities run through the behavior of the people of any region, underlying their different reactions to the different impacts of historical circumstances. We have to let them see that the Germans of 1933 are in some sense the same people as the Germans of 1919, reacting it is true to very different circumstances, but still fundamentally German in their reactions, in spite of such changes as their experience has caused.

This continuity of the themes of the national culture through different cir-

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circumstances is perhaps more vividly evident in the German films than in any type of material from any other region, and it is even possible that it might be worthwhile to present this material to all students regardless of the particular region in which they are specializing in order to convey to them this special notion of cultural regularity. After the war we may be faced with the very difficult problem of achieving fundamental changes in the underlying structures of some of these cultures and it will be important to build up teams of people who will be aware of the elusive flexibility and yet strength of such systems. The German films might convey this awareness.

The teaching program outlined below is especially oriented to this point, and the program is tentative in the sense that it could be increased or if necessary shortened according to limitations of budget, time, teaching staff, etc.

It is anticipated that a maximum understanding of the underlying themes of German culture will best be conveyed by using the films in pairs, and the program is therefore drawn up in such a way that in four of the sittings the students will see both a short and a feature length subject in each of which the same cultural theme is implicit.

In general, sessions should last from three to four hours so that there may be time for the full discussion of each pair of films, and it would be desirable to let the students see as many as possible of the films twice, once before discussion and once after. The films "Hitler-Junge Quex," "Puer Uns," and "Friesenot," being especially rich in cultural points, should certainly be seen twice.

#### THE PROGRAM

It is here suggested that there should be six sessions with film, as follows:

#### 1 - The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari (1919)

This film is an unwitting statement in a fantastic form of the dilemmas which faced Germany in 1919. The only tolerable aspect of life which remained free from nightmare was the quiet privacy of personal conversation withdrawn from the outside



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world. But the film also shows us three nightmare alternatives for solving the problem of social order. First we see an organized world in which individual fantasies are worked out on a criminal scale and the potential dictator is put in a straight-jacket; then we see the totally disorganized world in which every individual works out his own meaningless dream by himself; and finally we see the other possibility - the self put in a straightjacket, the dictator triumphant and possibly, but not certainly, benevolent.

The Street (1923) short

In this film the same theme is worked out in more realistic terms. We see a man attracted away from his wife and soup in the dull but safe domesticity of his home by the fantastic play of shadows of people passing in the street. He goes out and is almost caught in the degenerate swamp of bright lights, sexuality and murder. Finally he returns home exhausted and frightened and his wife puts the same soup on the table.

2. - Metropolis (1926)

"Metropolis" is another fantasy. Here the basic themes of the Christian epic are twisted and inverted in an E. O. Neilsen setting of the future. The millionaire lives in a sky scraper pent-house while below this level are the great machines and below this again in the bowels of the earth live the workers who are represented as heavy passive drudges. The plot deals with two alternative methods of keeping the workers in their passive frame of mind. One solution turns on love between the son of the millionaire and a woman, Maria (Sig) who is a religious leader of the workers. The other solution turns on the use of a mechanical robot which is a sexually alluring and evil duplicate of Maria. The film thus touches on three of the essential themes of German culture - the personified machine, the mechanized individual and the split between pure and impure love.

Berlin (1926-7) short.

"Berlin" is put in the same showing with "Metropolis" because it expresses in

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documentary terms these same themes, the sinister machines and the mechanization of people. It purports to be an objective description of the Berlin of that time, but in it we see the people passive, while gates and barriers open and close to control the people without visible human agency.

### 3. - Hitler-Junge Quax (1933)

"Hitler-Junge Quax" is a Nazi film which shows how the tensions of lower middle class family life were exploited in the building up of fanatical Nazi emotion. It is probably the most informative film the Nazis have made about themselves and touches upon all the principle themes of pre-Nazi German culture including the "Sturm und Drang" of adolescence, the over-violent father, the drudge mother who owes allegiance to the father, the repudiation of impure sexuality, the acceptance of over-purified Kameradschaft, the Destiny idea, the love of death and the notion of multiple reincarnation in the Nazi party. It shows how several of these themes, potentially harmless in pre-Nazi German Culture have been rearranged to give the extremes of Nazism. The film brings out with special clearness the fact that Nazism is a double state of mind - a veneer of discipline covering an enormous potentiality for obscene degeneracy. This under-lying tendency is likely to become of great practical importance after the war, and it is at least probable that we shall then see a Germany plunging itself much lower than did the Germany of the 1920's.

### Fuer Uns (1937) Short

"Fuer Uns" is a very successful short subject of a Nazi ceremony held in memory of the sixteen martyrs of early Nazism (Horst-wessel, etc.). It shows how the love of death and the theme of reincarnation have been built into Nazism.

### 4. - Friedenst (1936)

This film is a Nazi story of an old German colony in Russia invaded by Bolsheviks. It touches the following themes - the conversion of the older generation to the Nazi viewpoint, the dangers of impure sexuality punished by immersion in a swamp, and attitudes towards extra-territorial Germans.



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5. - Olm Krueger (1941)

This film should be paired with "Friesenot" in the teaching, though the two together are too long to be shown in the same session. "Olm Krueger" deals with the Boer War, treating the Boers almost as extra-territorial Germans. It shows Krueger's son converted to the father's fighting patriotism (the inverse of the theme in "Friesenot" but still based on a presumed conflict of generations). "Olm Krueger" also shows how the German film makers unwittingly predict that great victories will lead in the end to defeat, and it shows how Nazi propaganda continually accuses its enemies (in this film the British) of Nazi vices.

6. - The Triumph of the Will (1934-5)

This is a long documentary film of the 1934 Party Day in Nuremberg. The whole spectacle was staged for the motion picture camera so that the film becomes important as a realistic presentation of a sham reality. The film also shows the Nazi exaggeration of a number of themes noted earlier - the mechanization of people, love of death and Nazi exhibitionism.

7. - Der Hauptmann von Köpenick (1931) (this is to be either an opera film or a substitute for one of the programs above.)

This film is interesting as being a German skit on German authoritarianism - especially on the exaggerated authority and prestige of the military uniform. It is probable that the film makers intended it to be an anti-authoritarian film but actually the film conforms to the cultural atmosphere in which it was made. There is no suggestion that anybody might behave in a non-authoritarian way, and the film shows us with positive appreciation how the same authoritarian characters behave in private life. The plot does indeed turn on a hoax which is played upon the authoritarians but all critical overtones are lost because the authoritarians themselves are shown as enjoying the joke. The film is thus in the end pro - rather than anti-authoritarian.

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In using this material for teaching it is essential that the students be urged really to look at the films objectively as products of Germany and not to lapse into mere enjoyment of them. Partly this is essential because a number of the films are very strong propagandic documents, so strong that they should never be shown to public audiences.

Still more important, the students must learn from the films something of the various trends of German life. This learning should be organized and not merely impressionistic. It is therefore suggested that each film should be used as a base for assignments, and film material lends itself very readily to this. The following types of assignments are suggested:

(1) The showing of the film is stopped after the setting of the plot has been built up on the screen and the students are then asked to write out how they think the plot will develop. After this they should be shown the rest of the film and the instructor would tell them how in their written version they had failed to allow for the German origin of the film or they themselves might be asked to compare their own versions with the German version.

(2) Before the showing of the film the students are asked to watch the film for certain points e. g. before the showing of Hitler-tunes Over they would be asked to watch for all the points in the contrast between Nazism and Communism as they appear on the Nazi screen; and after the screening they would be shown how these points are systematically inter-related. In Der Hauptmann von Koessenick they would be asked to look for the details which (e.g.) show that the makers of this film accepted and enjoyed the authoritarian system.

(3) The students might be asked to reconstruct the plot of a film to make it conform not to German but to American conventions. The Street, for example, if made in Hollywood, would have shown the hero as ultimately successful either as a performer among the bright lights of Broadway or at least successful in combining his love of the bright lights with his love for his wife.

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Exhibition: THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

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(4) The students should be asked to look at some Hollywood films from the same point of view, especially some of those films which portray American family life. Students would be told to make a point of seeing one or two such films so that the instructor might be able in class to refer to these films for points of contrast and know that his class had seen them.

In general the whole emphasis of the teaching should be such that the student acquires an organized picture of the region and the habit of looking understandingly at the behavior of the people of this region.

### III. On the Availability of Film Material

Fictional films of the types required by the criteria set up in Part I of this memorandum are available for most of the countries in which Regional Training is interested. For the major countries, the collecting of this material will be comparatively easy. For example, of the films mentioned in Part II, all except the *Uben Kaseque* ~~Hauptmann von Kasseque~~ are available in the collections of the Museum of Modern Art Film Library, which is peculiarly rich in German films.

Fictional films are, however, very much scattered and many of them are only in the hands of small commercial firms, many of these also changing hands rather rapidly. A very brief survey of some of the material in these sources shows that ~~at least~~ five films made by natives of the region could be found for the following countries: France, Germany, Holland, Sweden, Italy, China, England, Spain, Russia, Greece, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland. One or two films are probably available for Portugal and Turkey. There are probably no available fictional films from Norway, Denmark, Bulgaria, Roumania, Albania, Siam, Yugoslavia, and the North African countries.

In case of these last-named countries, for which native-made fictional films are not available, it will be necessary to use material prepared by film units from other nations. These films largely fall into the documentary and educational categories and may be obtained from a large number of educational and commercial sources.



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of which a good list is available in "Films for the Community in Wartime," by Mary Loser, published by the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures, December, 1942.

The costs of using film material depend very much upon whether the Regional Training rents films from the owners of prints, or buys the prints, or prepares its own prints from copies in the hands of commercial owners. If the film is rented, 35 mm. projection facilities and projectionists will be required, and the cost of transport will be increased. If, on the other hand, the films are printed for Regional Training, it will be possible to use 16 mm. prints, with corresponding saving in transport, and cost of projection. The preparation of 16 mm. prints involves the making of a 35 mm. negative from the original 35 mm. print, and the preparation of such a negative costs between \$80 and \$100 per reel. The making of the 16 mm. print from this negative costs about \$20 a reel.

Educational and documentary films are, in general, available in 16 mm. sizes, but this is usually not true of fictional films. In a few cases, it may be possible to find negative 35 mm. copies of fictional films, so that the expense of preparing such a negative can sometimes be avoided.

It is not possible to obtain information about Japanese film material. There is, however, said to be a large quantity of this material in the hands of the Alien Property Custodian.

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The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY

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Exhibition: THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

Washington, D. C.  
Times-Herald, 10/14/45**Balinese Carvings  
Displayed Here**

An exhibit of Balinese carvings, paintings and shadow-play puppets opened yesterday in the National History Building of the National Museum, Twentieth and Constitution Ave. NW.

Washington, D. C.  
Evening Star, 10/14/45**National Museum Opens  
Balinese Art Exhibit**

An exhibit of Balinese carvings, paintings and shadow-play puppets is open to the public in the National History Building of the National Museum, Twentieth and Constitution Avenue. It will continue until the end of the month.

Accompanying the exhibit are

photographs showing the daily life of the people on the island of Bali, formerly a Dutch possession in the East Indies and now under Japanese domination. The exhibit was prepared by the Museum of Modern Art, New York City. It depicts the caste system and social life of the Balinese whose culture is a survival of the Japanese way of life of the 14th century.

NEW HAVEN, CONN. 945  
REGISTER 11/7

By GY BLAS

With the exception of the display of paintings by Benji Groppe, at the Museum Gallery, which may be seen there through this week, the special exhibition hereabouts for National Art Week close this evening.

Bali

Bali, the Background for War, the Human Problem of Reconstruction, is the topic of an exhibition opening at Yale Art Gallery on Friday.

Circulated through the Museum of Modern Art, the material comprises sculpture, paintings and idols collected by Gregory Bateson, distinguished anthropologist, during a two-year expedition on the island of Bali, and from more than 25,000 photographs which he took as the basis for a book, "Balinese Character," on which he collaborated with his wife, Margaret Mead. As shown in the exhibition, Balinese culture in many aspects appears to be the direct antithesis of that of America and Europe.

NEW HAVEN, CONN. 945  
REGISTER 11/21**Bali Art Exhibited  
At Yale Galleries***Native Sculpture, Paintings and Idols Arouse  
Great Interest—Olive Wren  
Exhibits at Library*

By GY BLAS

At Yale Art Gallery the exhibition entitled "Bali, the Background for War, the Human Problem of Reconstruction" is drawing a great deal of interest. It will remain at the gallery until December 1. The native sculpture, paintings and idols make fascinating exhibits.

Gregory Bateson, the distinguished anthropologist who collected the various items, which are being circulated about the country through the courtesy of the Museum of Modern Art, makes the statement: "There is one common ground between the scientific world of the anthropologist and the world of art: the idea that in some sense the artist expresses himself. The exhibition is based on that idea, which, in time of war, may become as grim as a mathematical equation. In ballad, thousands of Americans—men and women, military and civilian—will be going to other parts of the world for the active purpose of invasion, reconquest, reconstruction and so on. They need to know about these other peoples of the world. They must be able to deal with and get on with these other beings that are scattered all over the world."

On Tuesday at 3:30 Elizabeth Chase, Dozent of the gallery, will begin a series of three lectures on Italian Painting. On December 7 there hope will be concerned with Italian Art in the gallery and the third lecture to be given on December 14 will be on the recent additions to the collection of Italian art at Yale.

0513



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DETROIT, MICH.  
NEWS 2/13/44

The Detroit News Pictorial

# Art Institute Exhibit Shows Balinese Life



This native-made model of a witch, a personification of fear, is from the "People of Bali," an exhibition of carvings, paintings, photographs, costumes and other objects, which will be on view at the Detroit Institute of Arts Feb. 15 to March 15. It is from the Museum of Modern Art, New York City.



The man who smiles too much is disliked by the Balinese, as this figure shows.



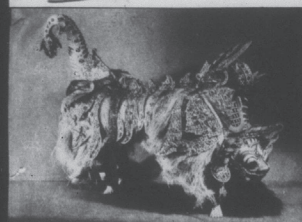
This figure of a monkey illustrates the Balinese horror of the animal in man.



Here, a Balinese carver just let his imagination run riot with odd results.

DETROIT, MICH. 1944  
FREE PRESS 2/27

# In Art Exhibit



THE DRAGON: Balinese dragons apparently are friendly, surprisingly puppyish creatures. Pop eyes and fingered armor fail to hide the dragon's essential friendliness. The Balinese exhibit comes to Detroit from the Museum of Modern Art.



CHILDREN AT PLAY: This picture of Balinese life is part of an collection of native carvings, painting and photographs showing the human problems of reconquest of countries taken from the enemy now on view at the Detroit Institute of Art.

DETROIT, MICH. 1944  
FREE PRESS 2/20



IN PEACEFUL PRE-WAR YEARS world travelers brought home enthusiastic reports of the beauty and charm of a distant Pacific island, Bali, in the Netherlands East Indies east of Java. With these artistic, peace-loving natives now in thrall to their Japanese conquerors, Detroiters may still save about them through the exhibition of the people of Bali, in the lower galleries of the Detroit Institute of Arts until March 5. In the photograph above the chubby youngster has been distracted by the camera's presence from the prayer which the old woman is teaching the baby. In addition to photographs the exhibit includes wood carvings and paintings illustrating the native arts. The exhibit comes from the Museum of Modern Art in New York. . . . Old Russia's history of war and evidence of Nazi ruthlessness in destruction are on view in another exhibit at the Institute, loaned by the American Russian Cultural Association of New York.

0514



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Exhibition: THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

# The Pella Chronicle

PELLA, IOWA, MAY 25, 1944

## Hundreds Visited Exhibits Sent by Neth. Inf. Bureau

Many hundreds of people visited the two exhibits housed by the Historical Society in the Legion Hall at Tulip Time, one of which consisted of a fine collection of photographic reproductions of modern Dutch art including pictures by such great artists as Jozef Nicolaes, Charles Toorop, Piet Mondrian and Van Gogh, and of pictures by great painters of the past, Hals, Vermeer and Rembrandt. Included also were pictures of Rotterdam before and after the invasion, a modern open air school in Amsterdam and of modern factory and store buildings. Most interest among laymen was centered on the pictures of modern buildings which represented advanced design—the architecture was daringly modern with sweeping lines, entirely different from anything Pella folks had thought existed in the Old Country. Proper explanatory reading matter was attached to each picture and one could profitably have spent many hours studying them—to really enjoy the exhibit one should have time.

Equally interesting, but requiring more time for study and comprehension was the exhibit of the Life and Customs of the people of the Island of Bali. To appreciate and evaluate the numerous articles on exhibition and the customs depicted one should know a great deal more about the people of Bali than Pella folks did. The exhibit intrigued them a great deal but it was all so new to them. It would have been equally interesting and baffling to people of any other American town unless provision was made for a guide who could tell the significance of each piece. Included were pictures of the home life and of the ceremonies in which the Balinese indulge as part of their religious observance. Folk, paintings, native sculpture etc., all the pieces gathered by Gregory Bateson, noted anthropologist in a two-year visit on the island. The whole was prepared by the New York Museum of Modern Art.

**Educational Value**  
Enjoyable as the exhibits were it was rather evident that no one could do justice to the study of them in one day, and that a day of observation, when men, women and children were engaged in the color and festivities of Tulip Time. Only the scholars really appreciated them, but everyone learned something. Such exhibits should have remained in Pella for two or three weeks to be really appreciated. This was not possible here because no quarters were available for such large collections for so long a period. It was a very fine idea for the Historical Society to bring them here. They were loaned to the Society by the Netherlands Information Bureau, Wilfred C. Withers, Holland, Michigan, being the director of the Midwestern Division. From Pella the Ball collection was sent on to Colorado Springs, Colorado where it will be on display in the museum for three weeks. These exhibits are constantly in demand in larger cities and are shipped hither and yon the year round. Dean Clara Williams of Central College with a corps of student assistants added much to the enjoyment of the exhibits by serving as guides.

Colorado Springs, Colo.  
Gazette, June 19, 1944

## 'People of Bali' Exhibit Will Remain at Center Till July 10

An exhibit on "The People of Bali" evoked and aroused by Gregory Bateson, noted anthropologist in a two-year visit on the island. The whole was prepared by the New York Museum of Modern Art.

The exhibit was prepared at the expense of helping understand the habits of thought and behavior of the people in Bali taken from the society. The material was obtained from native sculpture, paintings and photographs which he took as the basis for a book, "Balinese Character," on which he collaborated with the wife, Margaret Mead.



This model of a Balinese witch is one of the figures now on exhibition at the Taylor Museum.

times and people. For the past year he has been analyzing films for the Museum of Modern Art Film Library and has been teaching Indonesian Pidgin English to naval cadets at the School of International Administration, Columbia University.

The exhibit is open from 9 a. m. to 5 p. m. week days and from 1:30 to 5:30 p. m. Sundays.



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1944PEOPLES WORLD 7/31  
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.**Around the Art Galleries...****Balinese Exhibit Poisoned by Distortions Addressed to GIs**

By G. P. MITCHELL

It is not often that one can quarrel with the usually excellent documentary shows arranged by the New York-based Museum of Modern Art, but now showing at the San Francisco Museum of Art, the gallery goes cannot help but come away with the conviction that this effort is really a foul ball.

Not that the material itself is not uniformly first rate and at times even exciting, but the accompanying commentary is so patronizing and chauvinistic as to turn the stomach.

The exhibit is sensibly prepared as a "guide" to American troops who may be expected to enter Java and Bali in the not too distant future, but the total effect of any "guidance" it may offer American soldiers is to convince them that the Balinese, far from being human beings, are a sort of subhuman species allied to the anthropoid ape.

Does this sound like exaggeration? Let me give a few quotations from the commentary that "There is only a very thin line between the easy automatic grace of Balinese life and the conscious adjustment to life of a monkey or cat."

And again: "The hand of a Balinese is completely flexible and ready for touching. It is like the hand of a monkey, or a corpse before rigor."

Or, in the words of a Dutch official quoted alongside "one set of pictures":

"As is as if they (the Balinese) were chessmen living under a cover. Any shifting of the ball makes them scurry about."

And, finally: "Very few Balinese have any initiative, and those who have cannot lead the rest."

You will gather from these quotations that the show seems dedicated to presenting the strangest possible case, whether by innuendo or false statement, for imperialism and the status quo.

**ART RECEIVES**

Yet the truly amazing part about this exhibit is how completely the examples of Balinese painting, woodcarving and puppetry, give the lie to these clichés and facile assumptions about the East Indian people. The paintings in particular give magnificent evidence of the imagination, control of the medium, and powerful graphic sense of the Balinese artists.

In response to this superb activity all the compilers of the show can muster is a display of incoherent condemnation to the "master" of the Balinese.

All of this is cloaked in a great deal of anthropological jargon which attempts to explain the Hindu caste system of Bali and the island's social customs in the light of Malinowski and Freud. Nothing at all concerning the extensibility of the Dutch colonial administration and the economics of imperialism for the "backwardness" of Bali. On the contrary, the impression is deliberately fostered that the Balinese are inferior people for whom the Dutch administrators are doing a great favor by their rule.

In conclusion, all I can say is that if the AMG takes this exhibit as its "guide to Bali" it cannot help our millions of potential allies among the people of the Dutch East Indies.

OAKLAND, CALIF.  
T.R.N.E. 12/30/44

**PEOPLE OF BALI**  
A photographic record of Balinese life is on exhibition through August 11 at the San Francisco Museum of Art. The material was collected by Gregory Bateson, and by the Museum of Modern Art, New York. The exhibition is the Balinese collection.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.  
1944, CHRONICLE 7/30

By Alfred Frankenstein

THE modern shows keep coming along, what with the collection of contemporary French paintings at the Museum of Modern Art, a third modern group at the San Francisco Museum of Art, and a scattering of other things elsewhere. "People of Bali" is an exhibition of photographs, wash-drawings, sculpture and shadow-puppets collected by Gregory Bateson, Margaret Mead for an anthropological expedition of the American Museum of Natural History. It has been arranged and mounted by the Museum of Modern Art, with all the showmanship which that organization is capable, for the purpose of instructing the American Army personnel which will eventually occupy that fabulous island. The idea was to bring the findings of anthropology to bear upon the problems of dealing with an alien culture. Bateson's photographs alone would make the show worth while, for they are real masterpieces of photographic science, but the native Balinese works, especially the incredibly lively sculpture, are among the finest things of their kind that have ever been shown here. The entire exhibition is eminently fascinating, instructive and enjoyable.

Beloit, Wisconsin  
News, Nov. 10, 1944**Logan Museum Has Display on People of Bali**

A new display explaining the people of Bali and their customs is on display on the second floor of Logan Museum, and is open to the public. The museum is open every day from 9 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. on Saturday until noon, and on Sundays from 1 to 4:30 p.m. It is located at the south end of the college campus.

The present display is of a new type for the local museum and is fashioned after some of the modern displays in large museums. It is shown in a special wing of the second floor room, is especially constructed and lighted partitions built by students of anthropology here under the supervision of Anthropology and curator of the museum in the absence of Prof. Paul Nash.

"People of Bali" is the name of the exhibit, which is composed chiefly of photographic, cards of explanation, and art works, both paintings and carvings, by Balinese. The uniqueness of the exhibit lies in the fact that instead of merely displaying native crafts, it explains psychological attitudes of the people, their cultural background, and gives instructions, called "What to do" at the end of each section, telling how to get along with Balinese.

The exhibit comes from the Museum of Modern Art in New York City. It will be in two sections, the one now on view explaining caste, skills and learning, and so on. This will be on display from Nov. 20 to 27 with the second section, on war and violence, and security.



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Exhibition: THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

during and after the war thousands of Americans are going overseas for the serious purposes of invasion, re-occupation and welfare work...they will need to know what sort of people they will have to deal with in foreign lands:

The department of art of the university of North Carolina in Chapel Hill announces an exhibition that portrays and interprets the lives and behavior of the Balinese people through their works of art and through photographs of daily life on the island...patterns of thought and behavior in a specimen country now occupied by our enemies are explained.

30 Drawings-40 sculptures-160 photographs lent by Museum of Modern Art, New York

the human problem of reoccupation

10 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. Sundays through January 31, 1945

Durham, N. C., Jan. 27, 1945  
Star-Herald (U. N. C. Student publication)

### Special Art Talk Scheduled Sunday At Person Hall

A special gallery talk, "Beyond Singapore," will be given in connection with the popular art exhibit, "Bali: Background for War," by Mrs. Robert W. Browning of Chapel Hill, in the Person Hall Art Gallery at the University tomorrow afternoon, January 28, at 4 o'clock.

Mrs. Browning lived for 10 years in Singapore and Sumatra and will give visitors to the Gallery Sunday a first-hand picture of life and customs of the natives of Indonesia that will be an interesting addition to and interpretation of the drawings, sculptures, and photographs in the exhibition.

The public is invited to attend. Gallery hours are from 10 to 5 daily and from 2 to 5 on Sunday.

The exhibition on Bali continues to attract daily groups of civilian and military students and visitors from Chapel Hill and other towns.

Of particular interest to students of sociology and anthropology and to officers and men in the services as well as to art lovers, the show will continue through Jan. 31.

After that date, its sponsors, The Museum of Modern Art in New York, will continue to circulate the exhibit throughout the country.

Durham, N. C.,  
Sun, Jan. 27, 1945  
Mrs. Browning Will (N. C.)  
Talk In Chapel Hill

CHAPEL HILL, Special—A special gallery talk, "Beyond Singapore," will be given in connection with the popular art exhibit, "Bali: Background for War," by Mrs. Robert W. Browning of Chapel Hill, in the Person Hall Art Gallery at the university Sunday afternoon at 4 o'clock.

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Durham, N. C.,  
Herald-Sun, 1/14/45

### Balinese Exhibit At Carolina Attracting Widespread Interest

Native Sculpture,  
Paintings, Idols  
Now On Display

By KENNETH NESS  
Admission Free, University Art  
Department

THE forward march of the Allied forces with its problems of re-occupation, not the least of which is the necessity for understanding in some degree the culture, the habits of thought and behavior of peoples in lands retaken from the enemy.

As an example of one method of approach to this problem, the Person Hall Art Gallery at the university in Chapel Hill is showing the exhibition, "Bali: Background for War," prepared and circulated by New York's Museum of Modern Art.

Directed for the exhibit, which opened this week and which will continue throughout the month, was selected from native sculpture, paintings and idols collected by Gregory Bateson, distinguished anthropologist, during a two-year expedition on the island of Bali, and from more than 2500 photographs which he took there as the basis for a book, "Balinese," character on which he collaborated with his wife Margaret Mead.

Mr. Bateson, whose field of anthropology has been chiefly in New Guinea and Bali, has since 1940 been engaged in work concerned with international problems arising from cultural differences between nations and peoples.

For the past year he has been analyzing films for the Museum of Modern Art Film Library and has been teaching Melanesian Pidgin English to naval cadets in the School of International Administration, Columbia University.

In extension of the Art Department's program for the exhibition of works of art and related subjects, the gallery exhibit incorporates a number of features.

While comparing a course of material sessions available to the art student for the study of external artistry, it is perhaps of even greater interest to naval and Marine officers and enlisted men who are stationed in Chapel Hill.

Some of these men may already have been in the area represented, and others will be interested in view of consideration for after-the-war occupational problems.

Sociologists and students of anthropology will find the organization and textual presentation of the material of vital import. Students of journalism, geography and history are afforded a comprehensive record which becomes the more equivalent of a trip to Bali.

The public at large will consider the 40 sculptures, 100 photographs and more than 20 drawings and accompanying descriptions an amazing analysis of contemporary culture in a region that is becoming increasingly occupied by our troops and friends in the armed forces.



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Exhibition: THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

## THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

COMMENTS about the exhibition:

The National Museum, Washington, D. C.  
Oct. 13 to Oct. 31, 1945

The Bali exhibition continues to hold the interest of our visitors. We are unable to force them to follow the proper sequence. They seem to prefer reading their Bali backwards. A Miss Remrie from Life Magazine is scheduled to come in tomorrow to interview some of the visitors in relation to the Life article.

10/28/45 F. M. Setaler, Head Curator, Department of Anthropology,  
United States National Museum, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Yale University, School of Fine Arts, New Haven, Conn.  
Nov. 12 to Dec. 5, 1945

Excellent. A great many people thought it was one of your best shows.  
School visits: Foreign Area Study Groups, Schools.

(In addition to the general wear due to usage and the damage already reported, many of the sculptures are split in the base where they are attached to the pedestals. Also, No. 15c is cracked across the legs and may break off completely at any time.)

The Taylor Museum, Colorado Springs, Colorado

June 19 to July 10, 1944

Very well received. Employment of the anthropological technique in interpretation of a culture is most satisfactory.

Radio Talks: Two - KWOB, Colo. Sprgs.

Attendance: 1120

Pella Historical Society, Pella, Iowa

May 15 to May 22, 1944

O.K. as an educational feature but too detailed for Tuliptime crowd who expect more action and color.

Radio Talks: Spot announcement on W.H.O. Des Moines

School visits: Central College and Pella High School. The Central College group

serves as guide as well.

Attendance: about 3000.

A. B. Wormhoudt for Pella Historical Society.

Logan Museum of Anthropology, Beloit College, Beloit, Wisconsin

Nov. 7 to Dec. 15, 1944

Well mounted and packed. This is an outstanding example of an anthropological exhibit which actually tells something. The photos and labels leave nothing to be desired. A little more color would have added but this lack may have been due to the color of our walls.

School visits: Classes in Economics, Education, Anthropology, History and Literature of Religion and Sociology. The Art League of Beloit.

Attendance: 600.

continued next page

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mf 13; 432-521

Exhibition: THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

## THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

COMMENTS about the exhibition:

The National Museum, Washington, D. C.

Oct. 13 to Oct. 21, 1943

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10/26/43

F. M. Setaler, Head Curator, Department of Anthropology,  
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Excellent. A great many people thought it was one of your best shows.

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School visits: Central College and Pella High School. The Central College group serves as guide as well.

Attendance: about 3000.

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School visits: Classes in Economics, Education, Anthropology, History and Literature of Religion and Sociology. The Art League of Beloit.

Attendance: 600.

continued next page

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THE PEOPLE OF BALI (BACKGROUND FOR WAR)

COMMENTS about the exhibition continued:

University of North Carolina, Person Hall Art Gallery, Chapel Hill, N. C.  
Jan. 10 to Jan. 31, 1945  
Attended by civilians and personnel of Naval, Marine and Army units - students,  
enlisted men and officers. Sociology, psychology, journalism and art students  
found show of interest. General interest and comment on material included and its  
form of presentation above average.  
School visits: 2 special gallery talks: 1 by curator; 1 by former resident of  
Singapore and Sumatra.  
Attendance: 617

Kenneth Ness, Acting Head, Department of Art, Acting Director, PHD.

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✓ Copy placed in Circulating Version album.

## The Museum of Modern Art

To Esther Carpenter

From Pearl Moeller

Date March 1, 1973

Re Copy negative for exhibition: Wall: Background for War: The Human Problem of Reoccupation. MOMA SHOW

Dear Mikki:

Attached is an 8x10" copy negative sent to me by Dorothy Miller recently of the explanatory wall label of the above exhibition No. 239, held summer of 1963.

It was probably used for the blow-up for the entrance label to the Show here and possibly for circulating versions of the exhibition as well, its fragile condition and the opening marks on it lead me to conclude this.

Anyway, as we agreed, it might be nice to have a contact made and placed with the checklist in the Installation album, or if not a print then at least a note stating the above with copy negative number.

We may be receiving other items from Dorothy Miller from time to time like this.

For the records also, I do have in Special Collections in the Library an album of the Circulating version of the show - good documentation on it, but not this particular label.

Thanks a lot,

(Enclosure - one negative)

BY HAND

\* Copy Neg. # MOMA 10.629  
3/1/73

N.B. - see Inter-office correspondence files, Special Collections, for memo to Miss Miller thanking her.