

VERHANDELINGEN DER KONINKLIJKE NEDERLANDSE
AKADEMIE VAN WETENSCHAPPEN, AFD. LETTERKUNDE
NIEUWE REEKS, DEEL LXX, No. 4

ĀGAMA TĪRTHA

FIVE STUDIES IN HINDU-BALINESE RELIGION

C. HOOYKAAS

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N.V. NOORD-HOLLANDSCHE UITGEVERS MAATSCHAPPIJ - AMSTERDAM - 1964



**INDIAN INSTITUTE OF
ADVANCED STUDY
SIMLA**

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INTRODUCTION

The study of Balinese religion to date has been characterized by its frequently being interrupted if not abruptly.

Jane Belo, who lived in Central Bali for seven years—returning to the U.S.A. in 1939 after the outbreak of hostilities in Europe—studied the *paman̄ku* (village- or temple-priest) and published her monograph “Bali: Temple Festival” only in 1953¹⁾. In this 70-page booklet, however, only one aspect of the numerous activities of Bali’s most widely spread kind of priesthood, represented by thousands of priests, could be dealt with. Her valuable observations on “Customs pertaining to Twins in Bali”²⁾ represent one most remarkable side of Balinese popular beliefs; her booklet on trance “Bali: Rangda and Barong”³⁾ now fortunately has been followed by a much fuller one⁴⁾, destined to be the classic work in the field—twenty years after her stay there.

Dr. Paul Wirz in his valuable book “Der Totenkult auf Bali”⁵⁾ presented the results of his travels in 1918, 1925 and 1926, with a wealth of photographs and drawings. He certainly dealt with the most spectacular feature of Balinese religion in particular⁶⁾ and one of the most central and most studied features of Indonesian religion in general⁷⁾, but his ignorance of language strained his access to the Balinese and completely forbid him the access to their numerous writings on death ritual⁸⁾.

¹⁾ Monographs of the American Ethnological Society, XXII, Augustin, New York, 1953.

²⁾ “A study of customs etc.”, TBG 74/4, 1935, pp. 483–549.

³⁾ Monographs *id.* XVI, *ib.* 1949.

⁴⁾ “Trance in Bali” by Jane Belo, Preface by Margaret Mead, New York, Columbia University Press, 1960.

⁵⁾ Strecker und Schroeder, Stuttgart, 1928.

⁶⁾ “Bali, Cults and Customs, by Dr. R. Goris (Text) and Drs. P. L. Dronkers (Photography)”, published by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia [1953], consists of 6 chapters: I. Prehistory; II. The Ancient Indigenous phase; III. Older Hindu-Balinese culture; IVa. Later Hindu-Balinese culture; IVb. Cremation; V. A new era, a new art; VI. Explanation of the photographs.

⁷⁾ I restrict myself to the following books entirely dealing with the subject: Dr. E. Camerling, “Ueber Ahnenkult in Hinterindien und auf den grossen Sunda-inseln”, Ph.D. thesis, Rotterdam, 1928.

Dr. Theo Körner, “Totenkult und Lebensglaube bei den Völkern Ost-Indonesiens”, Ph.D. thesis Leipzig, Studien zur Völkerkunde 10, Leipzig, 1936.

Dr. Carla van Wylick, “Bestattungsbrauch und Jenseitsglaube auf Celebes”, Ph.D. thesis Basel, 1940; 's-Gravenhage, 1941 [no publisher mentioned].

Ds. P. Middelkoop, “Een studie van het Timoreesche Doodenritueel”, VBG LXXVI, 1949.

Dr. Waldemar Stöhr, “Das Totenritual der Dajak”, Ethnologica, Neue Folge, Band I, Brill, Leiden, 1959 [an enlarged Ph.D. thesis 1954; Cologne?].

⁸⁾ Review by C. Lekkerkerker in TNAG 1928, pp. 906–912, in which he deals also with the book mentioned in the following note.

Dr. K. C. Crucq, on the other hand, when publishing his Leiden Ph.D. thesis, "Contribution to the knowledge of the Balinese death ritual"⁹⁾, had never had the opportunity of visiting Indonesia and had exclusively worked on printed and manuscript materials, but had not the use of Wirz's book. To make things worse, he overlooked the existence of BUDDHA VEDA, a full treatise on Buddhist death ritual, though the relevant catalogue of Leiden oriental MSS is quite explicit on this point¹⁰⁾. The inclusion of this rather extensive treatise might have added some 500 % to his textual materials and might have enriched his book considerably. I do not know whether Crucq ever knew this fact; he died from starvation as a prisoner of war.

Walter Spies wrote a delightful paper "Das grosse Fest im Dorfe Trunjan (Insel Bali), Tagebuchblätter"¹¹⁾ about a markedly less Hinduized type of Balinese religion practiced in the distant hills (East side of lake Batur), but he was drowned during the war at the age of 47.

Dr. W. F. Stutterheim in more than one book and paper explored the older stages of Hindu religion in Bali¹²⁾; during the occupation of Java he died at an age when much could still have been expected from him.

The "Controleur" P. de Kat Angelino, in his book on Mudrās¹³⁾ mainly studies the Śiva priest and his ritual and doctrines, which are accessible not only in Dutch but also in German translation; in the English-American publication¹⁴⁾ the complete set of drawings of Bauddha-, Śaiva- and *sēṅguhu*-priests by Tyra de Kleen is incorporated (though with slightly different numbering¹⁵⁾, but de Kat's text has been replaced by an

⁹⁾ "Bijdrage tot de kennis van het Balisch doodenritueel", Santpoort, 1928.

¹⁰⁾ Dr. H. H. Juynboll, "Supplement op den Catalogus van de Javaansche en Madoereesche Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-bibliotheek (I, 1907), II, 1911, p. 260: "The ceremonies for the dead are described at great extent . . . denoted as *tiwa*, related with the Dayak *tiwah* . . .".

¹¹⁾ TBG 73, 1933, pp. 220-256.

¹²⁾ List of works and articles by W. F. Stutterheim in English, French and German in: Dr. W. F. Stutterheim, "Studies in Indonesian Archaeology", The Hague, Nijhoff, 1956, pp. XIX-XX. For a full bibliography by A. J. Bernet Kempers see OV 1941-1949, Bandoeng 1949, pp. 23-28.

¹³⁾ "Mudra's op Bali, Handhoudingen der Priesters", Teekeningen door Tyra de Kleen, Tekst van P. de Kat Angelino, Adi-Poestaka, 's-Gravenhage, 1922, being "Holländische Ausgabe" of Band XV, Kulturen der Erde, "Mudras auf Bali", Folkwang Verlag, Hagen i.W., 1923.

¹⁴⁾ "Mudrās, the ritual hand-poses of the Buddha priests and the Shiva priests of Bali" by Tyra de Kleen; London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.; New-York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1924.

¹⁵⁾ Comparison of the English-American (E) numbering with the Dutch-German (DG): E 1-27=DG 1-27; E 28=DG 28^I, E 29=DG 28^{II}; E 30-58=DG 29-57; E 59 blanco; E 60-62=DG 58-60. The E edition has the advantage that the drawings, made in pairs (*en face* and *en profil*) face one another without exception, so that for these illustrations I prefer to refer my readers to the numbers of drawings in the E edition.

Introduction by A. J. D. Campbell, Assistant Keeper in the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; De Kat was murdered.

The musicologist Colin McPhee wrote an illuminating paper on "The Balinese Wajang Koelit and its Music"¹⁶⁾, in doing so, he was the only author who pointed to the sacerdotal function of the *dalan*, puppeteer of the shadow theatre with flat, leather, polychromed puppets¹⁷⁾ — he had to leave Bali.

Dr. R. Goris' Leiden Ph.D. thesis being a "Contribution to the Knowledge of Old-Javanese and Balinese Theology"¹⁸⁾ dealt with rituals, dogma and metaphysics, and, though his interest in Balinese religion is undiminished — a fact attested by his later books¹⁹⁾ and papers²⁰⁾ — the slump of the thirties, the diversity of his tasks, the outbreak of the Pacific war, etc. have prevented him from writing *the* book on this subject²¹⁾.

The aftermath of the war also caused the "Controleur" C. J. Grader

¹⁶⁾ In DJAWA XVI, 1936, pp. 1-50.

¹⁷⁾ C. Hooykaas, "Two exorcist priests in Bali", in MAN, 1960, No. 231.

¹⁸⁾ "Bijdrage tot de Kennis der Oud-Javaansche en Balineesche Theologie", Ph.D. thesis Leiden, Leiden, 1926.

¹⁹⁾ "Bali", uitgegeven door de officieele Vereeniging voor Touristenverkeer in Nederlandsch-Indië, Batavia, Java, first impression 1931.

"Bali, Godsdienst en Ceremoniën", Tekst van Dr. R. Goris, Foto's door Walter Spies, Uitgave van de Koninklijke Paketvaartmaatschappij [1932?].

"Bali, Cults and Customs", cf. note 6.

²⁰⁾ In DJAWA: "Stormkind en Geesteszoon" (Bima en de wajang), 7, 1927, pp. 110-113.

"Het Geloof der Balineezen", 8, 1928, pp. 41-49.

"Overeenkomst tusschen de Javaansche en Balische Feestkalender", 12, 1932, pp. 310-312.

*"Het Godsdienstig Karakter der Balische Dorpsgemeenschap", 15, 1935, pp. 1-16.

"Nangloek Mërana in Gianjar", in collaboration with W. F. van der Kaaden, 16, 1936, pp. 123-128.

"De Poera Bësakih, Bali's Rijkstempel", 17, 1937, pp. 161-180.

*"Bali's Tempelwezen", 18, 1938, pp. 30-42.

"Een merkwaardige Plechtigheid in een bijzonder Heiligdom", in collaboration with Professor G. H. Bousquet, 19, 1939, pp. 46-53.

"Het groote tienjaarlijksche Feest te Sëlat", 19, 1939, pp. 94-112.

"Een ouderwetsche Plechtigheid te Koekoeb", 19, 1939, pp. 142-145.

In TBG: *"Bali's Hoogtijden", 73, 1933, pp. 436-452.

In MK: *"De Positie der Pandé Wësi", 1, 1929, pp. 41-52.

"Odalan Poera Poesër ing Djagat te Pèdjèng", 2, 1930, pp. 27-32.

"Odalan Poera Dalëm te Galiran (Boelèlèng)", 2, 1930, pp. 33-38.

"Secten op Bali", 3, 1931, pp. 37-54.

"Overzicht van de belangrijkste Literatuur betreffende de Cultuur van Bali 1920-1935", 5, 1937, pp. 15-44.

In Indonesië: "Een plechtige Bede in een ceuwenoud Heiligdom", 2/1, 1949, pp. 1-18.

* N.B. The articles marked with an asterisk have been translated into English and form part of the book mentioned in next note.

²¹⁾ "Bali, Studies in Life, Thought and Ritual" with an introduction by Dr. J. L. Swellengrebel, W. van Hoeve, Ltd., The Hague and Bandung, 1960.

to discontinue his studies on old conceptions of Balinese society ²²), and Dr. J. L. Swellengrebel, research student for the Netherlands' Bible Society, had to give up his work there ²³).

Dr. A. Ziesenis made a penetrating study of texts that had been preliminarily surveyed by Dr. Goris ²⁴), but unfortunately he died during the second world war. The second part of his work and several of the texts he had studied have been published posthumously by the International Academy of Indian Culture ²⁵).

My wife, Jacoba Hooykaas, originally a student of classics, before the war expressed to me the hope that she might become "the Jane Harrison for Balinese religion". She never recovered completely from the war and its strain in the internees' camp, though in 1949 she managed to write a Batavian (Djakartan) Ph.D. thesis on "The Divine Guest in Bali" ²⁶). While writing her book on "Balinese Folktales" ²⁷) she was struck by the frequency of religious themes in them, on several of which she wrote papers ²⁸). She accompanied me during my study leave to Bali 1958-59

²²) "Twee-deeling in het Oud-Balische Dorp", MK 5, 1937, pp. 45-72.

"Madènan (désa-monographie)", MK 5, 1937, pp. 73-122.

"Dorpsbestuur en Tempelbeheer op Noesa Pénida", DJAWA 17, 1937, pp. 372-391.

*"De Poera Pémajoen van Bandjar Tègal", DJAWA 19, 1939, pp. 330-367.

"Poera Madoewé Karang, Noord-Balisch agrarisch Heiligdom", MK 12, 1940, pp. 1-37; also in DJAWA 20, 1940.

*"De rijkstempels van Mèngwi", TBG 83, 1949, pp. 394-423.

²³) "Korawâçrama, een Oud-Javaansch Prozageschrift, uitgegeven, vertaald en toegeelicht", Ph.D. thesis Leiden, 1936, Santpoort, 1936.

"Een Heilige Schrift voor Bali", DJAWA 21, 1941, pp. 296-298.

"Een Vorstenwijding op Bali . . .", Mededelingen van het Rijks Museum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, No. 2, 1947.

"Kerk en Tempel op Bali", Van Hoeve, 's-Gravenhage, 1948.

"Balische Bezweringspreuken", TBG 83, 1949, pp. 159-176.

"Bali, etc.", cf. note 21.

²⁴) "Studien zur Geschichte des Çivaismus: Die Çivaitischen Systeme in der Altjavanischen Literatur I", BKI 98, 1939, pp. 75-224.

²⁵) "Die Śaiva-Systematik des Vṛhaspati-tattva", 1958; cf. also C. Hooykaas, "Śaiva-Siddhānta in Java and Bali" in BKI 118/3, 1962, pp. 309-327.

²⁶) "De 'Goddelijke Gast' op Bali, I Bagoes Diarsa, Balisch Gedicht en Volksverhaal", Ph.D. thesis Batavia, 1949, Bibl. Jav. 10, 1949.

²⁷) "Sprookjes en Verhalen van Bali, met illustraties van Balische kunstenaars", Van Hoeve, 's-Gravenhage, 1956. "Märchen aus Bali", Die Waage, Zürich, 1963.

²⁸) "A journey into the realm of death", BKI 111/3, 1955, pp. 236-273.

"Panjirang, the gateway or the crossroads", BKI 111/4, 1955, pp. 413-415.

"The Balinese realm of death", BKI 112/1, 1956, pp. 74-87.

"The rainbow in ancient Indonesian religion", BKI 112/3, 1956, pp. 291-322.

"De godsdienstige ondergrond van het prae-Muslimse huwelijk op Java en Bali", Indonesië 10/2, 1957, pp. 109-36.

"The mouse in Indonesian folklore", BKI 113/2, 1957, pp. 179-190.

"Upon a white stone under a nāgasari-tree", BKI 113/4, 1957, pp. 324-340.

"A yantra of speech magic in Balinese folklore and religion", BKI 115/2, 1959, pp. 176-191.

and subsequently published her "Ritual Purification of a Balinese Temple" ²⁹), but serious illness forestalls her further production and excludes her ultimate aim.

The well known Indologist Sylvain Lévi stayed only a few weeks in Bali in 1928 and returned to Paris laden with data which he published in 1933 ³⁰). Unfortunately he ignored the material in the Leiden University Library ³¹) as well as that in the course of collection by the Library Foundation of Palmleaf MSS at Singaradja, Bali ³²). Lévi presents a more complete form of the daily ritual of the Śiva-priest than did de Kat Angelino and Goris, but his book definitely suffers from the interruption of his research, scarcely begun, though under the most favorable circumstances.

Lévi also gives many *stuti*, *stava* or *stotra*, songs in praise of a god or a number of gods. 39 of which are in a separate section of his book and more than 11 to be found scattered over the two other sections. However, had Lévi known of the Singaradja materials or consulted those in the Leiden collection, he would have been able to publish as many more.

Studies in Balinese religion have not only suffered from being interrupted and abrupted. Equally serious perhaps, for their continuance, is the decrease in the number of brahmin priests, no exact figures of which are at our disposal (the Bureau of Information at Denpasar, Bali's capital, enlightens the Balinese about Djakarta but not about themselves, and to the best of my knowledge none of the Bureaus for Autonomous Religious Affairs, one to each provincial capital, yet collect statistical data). From what I heard during my last stay in Bali (Oct. '58–Aug. '59), however, I had the impression that many a *griya* (from Sanskrit *gṛha*, house), priest dwelling, no longer houses an ordained priest. During the last half century the aristocracy have been more and more deprived of their former power and there has been a corresponding decrease in the number of *padanda*, ordained Brahmin priests. I estimate the number of Śiva-priests at only a few hundred (population of Bali 1,500,000) ³³), and less than 20 Buddhist *padanda*, among whom are included the few in the adjacent island of Lombok (under Balinese domination from 1744–1894).

The studies presented here are the "offspring" of work being done on the ritual of the six kinds of Balinese priests: the two types of *padanda*

"The changeling in Balinese folklore and religion", BKI 116/4, 1960, pp. 424–436.

"The myth of the Young Cowherd and the Little Girl", BKI 117/2, 1961, pp. 267–278.

"A Balinese folktale on the origin of mice", BKI 117/2, 1961, pp. 279–281.

²⁹) In these Verhandelingen, etc. LXVIII/4, 1961.

³⁰) "Sanskrit Texts from Bali", Gaekwad Oriental Series LXVII, Baroda, 1933.

³¹) Catalogued by Dr. H. H. Juynboll, cf. note 10.

³²) Several lists of stock and acquisitions in MK; the latest list in "Indonesische Handschriften" door R. M. Ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka, Dr. P. Voorhoeve en Dr. C. Hooykaas, Lëmbaga Këbudajaan Indonesia "KBG v. K. & W." Nix, Bandung, 1950.

³³) I Gusti Gdé Raka, "Monografi Pulau Bali", Bagian Publikasi, Pusat Djawatan Përtanian Rakjat, Djakarta, 1955, p. 10. More recent authors speak of 2.000.000.

of the Śaiva and the Bauddha denomination; of the two types of exorcist priest, the *sēnguhu* or *ṛṣi bhujangga* and the *ḍalan* or puppeteer of the shadow-theatre³⁴); of the *pamañku*, temple- or folk-priest, and of the *dukuh*, formerly an anchorite—if one is allowed to say in English that during the work on the beams, chips “springing off” are the “offspring” of the bigger work. Six other chips already found their way to those volumes which in oral language are called “festschrift” but which in written language are published as “Studies in honour of” or “So and so Felicitation Volume”. The two preparatory ones are “The treasures of Bali”, in honour of the Indian historian Professor K. Majumdar, dealing with the Balinese MSS, most of them directly dealing with religion or being related to it (to appear shortly), and “Books made in Bali”, in the [Dr. K. M.] Munshi Indological Volume³⁵). And two other ones have been written in honour of Sir Richard Winstedt; “Bauddha Brahmins in Bali” (BSOAS 26, 1963) deals with one or two minutes out of the Buddhist priest’s daily ritual lasting nearly one hour; and “The Balinese Sēnguhupriest, a Shaman but not a Sufi, a Saiva and a Vaisnava”³⁶) skims off the wealth of material that has been made accessible to me during the last few years, on a kind of priest who hitherto in scholarly publications only emerges in a few paragraphs and notes. Finally the BKI recently published my “Weda and Sisya, Rsi and Bhujangga in present-day Bali” (120/2 pp. 231–244), while the Asia Major is printing “Śānti, a ritualistic object from Bali”, trying to link up with Thai art and Buddhism.

My approach is mainly that of the philologist who tries to understand his textual materials and to explain them. During my first stay in Bali (Aug. ’39–Dec. ’41) I was mainly intent on learning Balinese language and procuring copies of Balinese writings, and during my study leave (Sept. ’58–Aug. ’59) I spent much of my time in collecting additional textual materials on the six kinds of priests mentioned in the previous paragraph. Not being able to spend my life on my field of predilection, as before the war I had hoped and intended to do, but being handicapped by having my work and my study in London, I considered this as the method for my type of work, in doing so remaining well aware that there are equally justified but completely different approaches to the subject.

In the second place I feel handicapped by being an insufficient Sanskritist and not sufficiently at home in the vast literature on Indian beliefs and thinking. I might have spent some years on filling up these lacunae, but as I am the only private person in possession of these Balinese texts, I felt

³⁴) C. Hooykaas, “Two exorcist priests in Bali” in MAN, 1960, No. 231.

³⁵) In “Bhāratīya Vidyā” Vol. XX (1–4), 1960, Vol. XXI (1–4), 1961, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, [Bombay, 1962] and BKI 119/4, 1963, 371–86.

³⁶) In John Bastin and R. Roolvink, Malayan and Indonesian Studies, Essays presented to Sir Richard Winstedt on his eighty-fifth-birthday. Oxford University Press, 1964.

it might be wiser to produce them and leave the larger part of the linking up to my colleagues.

The studies in this volume, dealing with different aspects of Balinese religion, have been put together not only because the subject admits of their being bundled, but also because the bulk of the printed materials necessitates a size of book favourable for the reproduction of the concomitant and indispensable illustrations. They can be read separately.

I have tried to keep this book as surveyable as possible, but on one occasion have had to spend pages to deal with an erroneous statement by a predecessor (e.g. *padmāsana*), and on another a Balinese common embroglio had to be discussed at length (e.g. *baḍavaṅ nala*). Finally I had in any case at least shortly to deal with several subjects on which I should have preferred to write the monograph they deserve; sometimes (e.g. *Pura Bēsakih*, *Pura Vatu Karu*) deciding to cast into the shape of an Excursion what provisional knowledge I had gathered and thought useful to communicate to scholars belonging to a more favourable location and age group.

I had to choose between the old system of footnotes, containing indiscriminately small remarks and bibliography, which I have used hitherto, and the newer one of inserting author, year and page in the text and presenting a full bibliography at the end of the book. This last one has its advantages; consequently I switched over to it in the last two studies, but not in the intentionally rather bibliographical Introduction, where the older system has its advantages. And when, in the course of the narrative, I felt urged to point to the existence of other manuscript material for further study, not dealt with here by me and hence not referred to in the course of the study, these materials are dealt with bibliographically in their context. I felt the more attracted to pointing to these Balinese texts as they are so rich and so insufficiently known, for there exists no catalogue as yet, and the periodical lists of first inventory and subsequent accessories³⁷⁾ are written very briefly in Dutch and spread over half a dozen issues of an obscure pre-war periodical of mainly local circulation. I mean the palmleaf MSS collected by the Kirtya (Foundation) of Singaradja (Bali) since 1928, named after those two fundamental explorers of Bali, Liefrinck and Van der Tuuk, after independence shortened to Gědong (building in masonry) Kirtya; after this constant K of Kirtya the MSS originating from this collection are characterised by a K before their number, as Leiden MSS have a L before their number.

In these studies sometimes I use materials, theoretically speaking accessible in print, but I often reproduce them in English translation, because I cannot expect that the books and papers or the languages (Dutch, Old-Javanese, Sanskrit, Malay/Indonesian, Balinese) practically speaking are accessible to the majority of my readers.

³⁷⁾ Cf. note 32.

In most cases, however, I use unpublished materials, generally originating from the Kirtya. My typewritten copies have also been distributed to the Bali-Museum (Denpasar), the Java-Instituut (Djakakarta), the Museum (Djakarta) and the Library of the University of Leiden. They are handicapped by the absence of diacritical signs; living in a small town in a small island between the outbreak of the German-Polish war and the Pacific war I had no opportunity of having my typewriters adapted.

In some cases I worked on photographs of Leiden MSS, twice catalogued according to different principles³⁸). Misreadings are not excluded in view of my lesser experience of language and script than that of my former Balinese helpers, and also due to insufficiently clear script or a less clear photograph.

The Balinese use both sides of a palmleaf (*lěmpir*; abbreviation: l.); the number of the leaf quoted is followed by a or b, which I preferred to the r. and v. of recto and verso.

The Balinese script³⁹) contains the letters to write all the 46 consonants, diphthongs and vowels of Sanskrit, in the middle of the word as well as in the beginning. In the course of his daily *bhakti* or *pūjā* the brahmin priest mentions the complete set of them⁴⁰), more or less in one breath; their ritual and its spiritual significance is far more than the practical one. — The modern Balinese language of daily practice⁴¹), however, uses 23 letters, exactly half of their equipment, and I think this to be an important reason for so many discrepancies in their texts, most of which, in my view, at the present stage of research, in being faithfully reproduced and registered, would have caused more confusion in the texts presented here than illumination.

That modern Balinese language uses the vowels *a*, *ă* or *ě*, *é* or *è* and *i* (often interchangeable), *u* and/or *o*. The vowels *i* + *a* via *ya* frequently become *è*, and likewise *u* + *a* via *va* become *o*; but not infrequently one may find *ya* for *é* and *va* for *o*. The ending *-akěn* + *a* is generally written *ākna*, but for the rest the use of long and short vowels is rather inconsistent and even unpredictable, though there is a feeling — albeit a vague one — that they do exist. The consonants are *k*, *g* and *ng* (in this book written *ñ*); *c* (for *tj*), *j* (for *dj*) and *ñ* (for *nj*); *t*, *d* and *n*; *p*, *b* and *m*; *y*, *r*, *l*, *v* and *h*; *h* is written and heard at the end of a word and will also be written in

³⁸) "Beschrijving der Javaansche, Balineesche en Sasaksche Handschriften . . ." Dr. J. Brandes, Batavia, Landsdrukkerij, I-IV, 1901-1926. For the second description, cf. note 10.

³⁹) H. J. E. F. Schwartz, "Schrift en Spelling van het Hedendaagsch Balisch", Landsdrukkerij, Batavia, 1931. — Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira, "Svara-Vyañjana, a Kavi-Balinese and Devanāgarī script-manual". International Academy of Indian Culture, 1956 (Nagpur) New-Delhi.

⁴⁰) Lévi o.c. note 30, p. 16, Nos. 63-65.

⁴¹) J. Kersten, S.V.D., "Balische Grammatica", Van Hoeve, 's-Gravenhage, 1948.

the middle of a word before and after a consonant and between two vowels, though seldom heard here; it is not heard but written at the beginning of Balinese words (not in *Arjuna*, *Indra*, *Uttara*, *Ekapāda*, *Aiśvarya*, etc.).

Lévi states ⁴²): “. . . the Balinese, in reading *as well as in writing* Sanskrit, make no difference between short and long vowels, between sibilants, between aspirates and non-aspirates, between dentals and cerebrals, and they are accustomed to divide words, or rather groups of syllables, in their traditional way, with no respect to meaning, *the text being of course a sealed letter to them*”.

This statement, repeated by Bosch ⁴³), I found to be largely true, with the exception of the words I put into italics. Even though the brahmin priests are indeed utterly unable to approach the Sanskrit in their rituals by way of grammatical analysis, they do have paraphrases at their disposal ⁴⁴); moreover they know perfectly well a considerable number of words in a limited field. No *śloka* in Böhlingk's Chresthomathie would be within their intellectual reach, due to their unsystematic approach, but they do understand in a general way “the Sanskrit texts which they write, read and chant” (Lévi p. X). Though my findings definitely deviate from those of my predecessors, I hope they are made acceptable by my explanation.

Balinese learnedness is definitely not analytic but largely traditional. It is an amazing experience to find in the Balinese MSS so many correct spellings of Sanskrit words, e.g. *viśeṣa* or *śīghra*, words which in daily practice are pronounced and written *wisesa* and *sigra*. Authors, part-authors/part-copyists and copyists, however, are to be found in several strata of learnedness and carefulness, and unfortunately incidental mis-readings and errors have a tough tendency to be perpetuated in subsequent copies. Therefore at the moment we can only state that numerous misspellings and inconsistencies are to be found in most Balinese MSS; hitherto the island has not yet produced its Erasmus. As soon as the Latin script with its inadequate number of consonants is used, the matter runs quite out of hand. Ordinary typewriters, with their mechanical simplification, complete the damage; yet I too for some of my texts had to work with their products. I venture the supposition that Lévi's statement about the *writing of Sanskrit* is based upon Latin transliterations given to him, either written or typewritten; *inde lacrimae*.

Errors in the texts presented in this study may have several causes. I myself may have misread an *n* for a *bh* because of the close resemblance of the letters; scribal errors do not stop with my predecessors. One reads

⁴²) Lévi, o.c. p. XXXV.

⁴³) “Bhīma-stava” in *India Antiqua*, a volume of *Oriental Studies* etc., Brill, Leiden, 1947, p. 58 n. 6.

⁴⁴) For instance in *ASTAVA MANTRA*, K 1843.

easily *p* for *m* and *s*, *c* for *s*, sub-written *w* for idem *r*—the possibilities are too many enumerate. Pronunciation has the marked tendency of inserting homorganic nasals before consonants: e.g. *n* before *t* and *d*; the latter is sometimes even substituted by it, e.g. *nd* becoming *n*. The same applies to the other groups of consonants. Often *b* and *w* are interchangeable; so are *y* and *w*; *y* is sometimes added to a preceding consonant. *O* stands nearly always for *au*, sometimes for *u*; *e* nearly always for *ai*, sometimes for *i*. The letter *e* is written before its consonant; *o* consists of that same pre-written *e* and a post-written complement; overlooking and misreading are far from seldom, specially in unusual words. Far too often a *pāda* ends in *am*, as if this were considered to be sonorous to the ears of the gods.

To the best of my knowledge no generally accepted system of spelling and transliteration exists for the Balinese language. As far as the letter *u* is concerned, it is generally accepted that this latter replaces the former Dutch *oe*. “Kusumadewa”, the Manual for the *Pamañku* (temple priest), published by Dinas Agama Otonoom Daerah Bali, Denpasar 1958, with the title “Gagĕlaran Pĕmangku”, compiled by a Buddhist brahmin, adopts a system of spelling that is nearer to the customary transliteration of Devanagari—a tendency which can be observed elsewhere. I have endeavoured to make the spelling as simple and clear as possible, but no doubt inconsistencies are not absent. *Kṣāntavyam*.

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It is impossible to finish a book like this without feeling deep gratitude towards all those who have contributed towards its completion.

In the first place I wish to express my thanks to my predecessors in this field, even if sometimes I had to disagree with them, for without their work this book could scarcely have been started.

In following the alphabetical order, happy coincidence brings Cokorda Agung Soekawati of Puri Sarèn, Ubud, to the front, a deeply religious man and an excellent friend, whose generous hospitality and constant help in several fields will never be forgotten.

It was a privilege to include in this book some of the later drawings made by his neighbour, the accomplished artist Ida Bagus Anom, who had also taken care of the drawings in my wife's "Purification of a Balinese Temple".

Ida Padanda Gëdé Badjra of Tabanan made the map and legend of Pura Vatu Karu, which I Gusti Ngurah Këtut Sangka of Krambitan (Tabanan) entrusted to me; it proved to be of excellent help on my too few and too short visits to this perhaps most imposing of Bali's sanctuaries.

Professor G. H. Bhatt, Head of the Rāmāyaṇa-Dept. of the Oriental Institute, University of Bharoda, a friend of more than ten years' standing, apart from many other services, during several days put two of his assistants, T. R. V. Shastri and Sham Nirgudkar, at my disposal, and that led to the paragraph on god-kingship in Java.

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Ida Bagus Gĕdé of the griya Sadawa, Gianjar, helped me to the pamphlets emanating from the Office of Religious Affairs, introduced me to Ida Padanda Wajan Ngĕndjung of his bureau and the *sĕnguku*-priest of Bon Biu, and finally helped me with a copy of his father's collection of *stuti*. More than once he welcomed me in his *griya*, and he told me how, still as a boy, he had accompanied his father, *padanda gĕdé Śaiva* of Gianjar, a many-sided gifted man, to the meetings with Sylvain Lévi in the Bali Museum. His father had also helped De Kat Angelino and Tyra de Kleen in the early 'twenties; I am grateful for this tradition of help to Western research.

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If the library of palmleaf manuscripts at Singaradja (Bali), now Gĕdong Kirtya, had not collected so many MSS on ritual, unknown to Leiden, I would never have been able to write this book; my thanks go to the priests who sat on the board and were prepared to divulge these MSS.

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Ida Bagus Pidada helped me in several respects, but his main merit

perhaps is his being the first link between my invaluable helper and friend I Gusti Ngurah Kětut Sangka and myself.

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I.

SARASVATI

THE GODDESS OF LEARNING

The Kirtya (Foundation) Lieftrinck-van der Tuuk at Singaradja, now Gëdong Kirtya, a little brick building which houses the local government collection of *lontar*, palmleaf mss (App. A. Literature) is the place *par excellence* for being put under the aegis of Sarasvatī, the goddess of scholarship and booklearning. Once in every Balinese year of 210 days, on the day dedicated to her (Saniscara Manis, Uku Vatu Gunuñ, the last day of the Javano-Balinese year; Goris 1960), all the writing tables were cleared, the doors of the book cases opened, drawers pulled out, hundreds of metal boxes with their valuable palmleaf mss aired. Everything was then ready, awaiting the blessing of Sarasvatī: all impediments – *sarva-vighna*, words which recur continually in Balinese ritual – of a material nature, had been cleared. Meanwhile a woman, a professional maker of sacrificial objects (Belo 1953), had covered two large tables, a surface of several square yards, with a characteristically Balinese multiplicity of offerings, which never failed to stagger us westerners. At such times, the Balinese sense of occasion, with its play of imagination and infinite variations and repetitions, brings about something graceful, colourful and fragrant – ceremonies which have hitherto more often been photographed than analysed, let alone explained ¹⁾. When all the impediments had been removed and the offerings had been found complete, properly made and arranged a member of the *Kirtya* staff, dressed in white and addressed as *Jro 'Mañku*, Sir Priest (App. B. Padanda and Pamañku), murmured the appropriate *mantra* and sprinkled holy water in all the boxes, drawers and book cases, including, incidentally, the corner with books and pamphlets on missionary activities in Bali. – Reading and writing are forbidden on this day; literary conversation in the evening and the night is favoured.

Crossing the island from North to South, we find Sarasvatī again, in the *Fakultas Sastra*, now part of the *Universitas Udayana*, at Dènpasar. When this institution, where Sanskrit, Old-Javanese and social anthro-

¹⁾ For various reasons I cannot enlarge on the subject of sacrificial objects here. There are numerous texts purporting to describe them, but, as I experienced in the case of my study of the brahman priest's ritual, such texts give no more than bare indications as to what is to be done or made. There is an immense variety among Balinese offerings and though certain texts prescribe, for instance, ingredients and numbers of the constituent parts, the fashioning of such objects for special occasions is a traditional craft, taught by one maker to the next. These are mostly brahman women, who have made it their profession and who scarcely need detailed handbooks to direct them in this traditional craft. Unless, therefore, Bali were wiped off the earth or disappeared behind some "curtain", a study of Balinese offerings would have to be based on actual field work in close co-operation with these professional makers of the objects (see also Appendix Padanda and Pamañku, B). In several of his articles Goris includes lists of offerings; Jane Belo (1953) mentions them in some detail; a restricted number of them is discussed by J. Hooykaas (1961c).

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pology are taught, was founded a few years ago, a sturdy, life-size statue of Sarasvatī was made for the new building and placed inside, by the entrance. Moreover, her annual feast is celebrated there with speeches and social activities. And this is fitting, since no Balinese festival ms nor almanac fails to indicate what the owner of any written matter owes to her.

What is Sarasvatī's position in Balinese religious life, past and present, her relationship to the other deities, and what is the nature of the evidence which throws light on these questions?

Although Bali can hardly be described as being poor in statutory of the gods, and sculptors in particular never weary of chiselling out Durgā figures, no statue, apart from the freak exception at the *Fakultas Sastra*, has, to my knowledge, ever been identified as a Sarasvatī (Stutterheim 1929/30). Statues, attributed to her in a past period of less archaeological experience, according to Professor Bosch (oral information) suffer from the disadvantage of being not above the suspicion of being fakes. Nor had she ever been portrayed in other branches of the fine arts. I went through the paintings and drawings, on canvas and paper, of the Bali Museum at Dènpasar several times and I cannot recollect ever having seen Sarasvatī depicted on any of them, but then, quite unexpectedly, I was given the permission to reproduce a beautiful recent drawing, not-commissioned, by the Balinese brahman artist Ida Bagus Anom from Ubud (plate 1).

The literature of the Balinese, on the other hand, frequently contains passages which make mention of Sarasvatī, and several mss have Sarasvatī in their title ²⁾. To follow on from my description of the ceremony at the *Kirtya* on Sarasvatī's *odalan*, her "birthday", I shall first look at the *variga*, the almanacs, for they give some indication of the importance of her birthday in comparison with other feasts. It appears that Sarasvatī's *odalan* is a holiday for schools and offices all over Bali. This is significant, for whereas there are constant feasts, with days off locally, the *odalan* of benevolent Sarasvatī and of benevolent Bhattārī Śrī, the rice goddess, who is probably the most widely worshipped deity of the Balinese pantheon, are the only *odalan* which are universally celebrated in Bali, in addition to the widely celebrated feasts of *Kunīnan*, *Galūnan* and *Pagorsi*, which are of a different character altogether (Goris 1960). Before the war even the European school at Singaradja had the day off, in honour of Sarasvatī's birthday.

Moreover, Sarasvatī is, to my knowledge, the only goddess whose *odalan* is the subject of a treatise. The *Kirtya*, which owns several of these

²⁾ K 88 [TUTUR] AJI SARASVATI; K 142 TUTUR SARASVATI;
K 745 [TUTUR] AJI SARASVATI; K 1257 (LIN) AJI SARASVATI;
K 2289 [TUTUR] AJI SARASVATI; K 1979 TUTUR AJI SARASVATI;
being the *lēm̄pir* (pages of a palmleaf ms) 43b-51 in K 1197 TUTUR SAYUKTI.

On top of these mss the *Kirtya* possesses a No. 989 KAKAVIN SARASVATI, which I could not consult; neither did I see K 1979.

treatises, can, of course, be said to have a vested interest in the possession of such mss which describe how this day is to be celebrated in a fitting manner, but it did not actually acquire an ODALAN SARASVATĪ ms until 1938 (K 1363), ten years after its foundation, and another one (K 1484) from Sanur, a well known brahman centre (Belo 1960), shortly afterwards. *Odalan Sarasvati*, in fact, seems to be the only Balinese feast as such for which there exists a manual as to its celebration.

One of the offerings made at this celebration is a mock *cĕcak*, the common house lizard (hemidactylus), with its nest and eggs, all made from dough. This offering will not draw extra attention by size or colour, nevertheless it does not belong to the usual set but is quite exceptional and only used on this occasion. The reason for this is that the lizard takes a considerable place in Malayo-Polynesian belief according to Professor Wilken as early as 1891.

Turning to Indonesia Wilken finds that *cicak* (hemidactylus fraenatus) and the somewhat bigger *tokei* (platydactylus guttatus) in several islands preeminently are considered as oracle animals, and he remarks: "Noting the fact that the lizard knows the future and the hidden things, and that consequently it must be considered as possessing wisdom, it is not strange that in borrowing the cult of Sarasvatī from the Hindus, the *cĕcak* has been taken as her symbol."

In this connection it is interesting to note that, according to Van der Tuuk, in his KBNW (III 82), if a *cĕcak* made its smacking sounds when someone had just asserted something, the Balinese would say: *trusañ Sarasvati*, Sarasvatī may put it into effect. Van der Tuuk also noted the expressions: *kasarasvatèn* (i.e. *ka-Sarasvati-an*) *atur titiañé*, "may my respectful words be realised", and *narasvatènin*, to confirm. Such expressions in the popular language indicate the importance this goddess has or has had.

The late Professor Van Eerde adds an amplifying statement to Wilken's study, dealing specially with Hindu-Balinese popular belief concerning the lizard. He points out that, "whereas for the priests Sarasvatī is Brahmā's spouse, for the population Sarasvatī is the goddess of the water of the river, or river water itself; she is the distributor of water of the gods, the one who has power over the water in sources, rivers and irrigations." Perhaps we might put it this way: what Gaṅgā is for the brahman priests, mainly in the spiritual field, is Sarasvatī for the lay population, mainly in the material field. One should imagine what this means for an agrarian population, like that of Bali, where not less than 17 % of the soil laboriously has been converted into irrigated rice fields. Śrī bestows the rice-crop upon mankind; immediately after her ranks Sarasvatī who gives the indispensable water for its cultivation.

Sarasvatī is worshipped in hymns of praise, *stuti/stava/stotra*, as well as in offerings. When the *pamañku*, temple priest, conducts the worship of Sarasvatī on her *odalan*, part of his ritual consists of the recital of two *śloka* of such a Sanskrit *stuti*. (App. B).

STUTI ODALAN SARASVATĪ (K 1257 1.3a)

Oṅ Sarasvati namas tubhyaṁ,	varade kāma-rūpini;	
siddhi-vṛddhiṁ kariṣyāmi,	siddhir bhavatu me sadā.	(1)
Praṇamya sarva-devāṅś ca,	Paramātmanam eva ca;	
rūpa-siddhi-prayuktā yā,	Sarasvatī(ṅ) namāmy aham.	(2)

which, in translation, runs as follows:

Om! Sarasvati, praise be given to thee,
 Who fulfilleth wishes and canst assume any form.
 (Through thy aid) I shall achieve the increase of my success;
 May success be my lot for ever.
 After I have given praise to all gods,
 And also to "Him with the Highest Soul" (Śiva or Parama-Śiva),
 I praise thee, Sarasvati,
 Who art driven by beauty and success.

This *stuti* suggests the high position accorded to Sarasvatī, and also indicated in the following *kakavin* dedicated to her (K 1875 p. 26):

Saṅ Hyaṅ Sarasvatī sira ta paṅastutiṅku,
 kēmbaṅ niṅ sugandhānum'kar jēnu sādhanāṅku,
 dhyāna samādhi japa mantra paṅastutiṅku,
 don iṅ maṅarcana kitēka siḥ Dēvatāṅku.

Apan kitēka vēkas iṅ maṅuṅsi paṅavruḥ,
 salvir nikaṅ guṇa kabèh nika mārga niṅ vruḥ,
 yadyan tēkēh kahuvusan vēkas iṅ paṅavruḥ,
 kasādhyan sadényâcintya yaya tika vēruḥ.

Apan kitēka vēkas iṅ kāraṅâji Dēvi,
 aṅhiṅ kita siḥ anurāga pavèha Dēvi,
 apan supa(?) guṇavan paṅavakan iṅ Dēvi,
 kitē pamastu vinuvus kita vastu-Dēvi.

Apan viṣeṣa kita ratna siddha-muliya,
 sarva-(i)strī ya ana guṇa sarva-muliya,
 yadyan tiṅkah anak akombala sarva-muliya,
 mūlyanta nihan nēmu kapva viṣeṣa-mūlya 3).

3) This is the end of the *kakavin*, having in common with a real *kakavin* only the "long" metre and the opening lines. It forms part of a ms dealing mainly with fasting and vows. In this text we read on p. 26: *Mvah paṅabhaktinē riṅ Saṅ Hiaṅ Sarasvatī, amṛta-mudrā-mantra kadīnuni, dulurana kakavin iti*: "and when worshipping the goddess one should say the *amṛta-mantra*, accompanied by making the *amṛta-mudrā* as before, and follow it up with this *kakavin*".

I am not altogether happy about the text, of which I have only one ms. Thirteen out of these sixteen lines number 14 syllables (I,c and II,b number 15 syllables, IV,b only 13), which may, therefore, be accepted as its scheme. The metre is not

O Goddess Sarasvati, thou art the object of my praise,
 Fragrant flowers, freshly open, their pollen, are my medium,
 Being absorbed in wisdom and incantations, are my praise;
 The aim of my show of veneration is thy favour, O Goddess.

For thou art the ultimate aim of those who strive for knowledge;
 All kinds of good qualities are roads to knowledge;
 And even when one achieves ultimate knowledge,
 the Inconceivable is achieved – which is also knowledge.

For thou art the ultimate of all causes, O thou of all learning the Goddess;
 Only thou shalt endow favours and sympathy, O Goddess,
 For he in whom thou personifieth thyself, is full of virtue, O Goddess;
 Because thou sayest *astu* (so be it) to our words, we call thee Astu-Dèvi.

Thou art exceptional: a pearl of well proven beauty;
 Of all married women, endowed with virtue of varied beauty,
 Whose bearing is that of gentle people of varied beauty,
 Thy beauty lies in that thou achieveth an exceptional height of beauty³).

An interesting feature, characteristic of all *kakavins*, is the variation on the theme of the ritual or offering to the deity in the first stanza(s): the flowers, the incantations and the reverence: the poem is the poet's offering to the deity (App. C. Maṅgala).

The third stanza reminds us of the characteristic of the Goddess who "makes true" (*astu*), which we already noted in Van der Tuuk's dictionary.

But I must not spend any more time on this *kakavin*, which may not be widely known even among the Balinese, although it seems to me to be truly Javano-Balinese in spirit, and I must continue to look at Sarasvatī, as she is known among the generality of the Balinese people.

Of the great mass of *tutur*, there are about half a dozen called TUTUR AJI SARASVATI²), "handbook of mystical learning (called) Sarasvatī, for the word Sarasvatī is the collective name for all that is connected with letters, writing and book-learning. One aspect of which the Balinese are particularly fond, is letter, and syllable, mysticism (App. D. Magic Syllables).

One of these TUTUR AJI SARASVATI (K 1257) contains (l. 3), for instance, the *stuti* I discussed above, which is recited on the *Odalan Sarasvatī*, as well as a number of stanzas in "Archipelago-Sanskrit" which make very little sense and which I shall not reproduce here.

These *tuturs* often mention a certain triad: – Guru Réka, Sarasvatī and Kavīśvara. This triad also occurs frequently in a collection of *tuturs*

based on the length of the syllables and it would serve no purpose to look for an Indian metre. What is remarkable, however, is that the final syllables rhyme, a feature foreign to Javanese and Balinese poetry, unless it is consciously based on Indian rules (cf. C. Hooykaas 1958).

called the DHARMA PAVAYAÑAN⁴), which deal with the *dharma* of the *dalan*, the presenter of the shadow puppets⁵), and in other *tuturs* as well (App. E. Guru Réka, Sarasvatī, Kavīśvara).

This very high triad, Guru Réka – Sarasvatī – Kavīśvara, occurs in so many *tuturs*, that it must be a living reality among the Balinese people. I found Kavīśvara only exceptionally as the highest; it is more usual to find Guru Réka = *iḍēp* (thought), Kavīśvara = *śabda* (word) and Sarasvatī = *bāyu* (action), together called *Saṅ Hiaṅ Tiga-Jñāna*, The Divine Triad of Knowledge (perhaps better: the Divine Triad of whom the third represents Wisdom) in AJI PŪRVA-BHĀṢITA KRAMA (K 2407 *passim*). Sometimes we also find: *Saṅ Hiaṅ Guru Réka anuduh*, *Saṅ Hiaṅ Kavīśvara aṅgavé tattva carita*, *Saṅ Hiaṅ Sarasvatī rumāga vidyā*: Guru Réka indicates, Kavīśvara brings the story (or: sacred and profane literature?) into being, Sarasvatī embodies scholarship (SĀRA-SAMUCCAYA, K 1430 l. 5a). This same saying is also found in different words: *Saṅ Hiaṅ Guru Réka manréka śabda*, *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kavīśvara anrēti rasa niṅ śabda*, *Saṅ Hiaṅ Sarasvatī pinaka-avak in śabda*: Guru Réka creates the words, Kavīśvara understands them (attaches meaning to them?), Sarasvatī embodies (utters) them (K 2047 *supra* l. 3a).

Before we continue with the *stutis*, let us look at Sarasvatī as she is represented in the brahmin priest's thought: as the river goddess and the spouse of Brahma, the red God of the South. When in his daily ritual the *padanda* has prepared holy water, he recites hymns of praise in which Gaṅgā is honoured in the first place, and also mentions many other Indian rivers, including the Sarasvatī. The *padanda* knows hymns of different lengths (3, 5, 7 or 9 *ślokas*), and in the PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA we find them called, according to the number of stanzas: *Tri-*, *Pañca-*, *Sapta-* or *Nava-Gaṅgā*, *gaṅgā* being another word for holy water⁶). The *padanda Śiva* know some other names as well (Lévi pp. 23–25). Certain of these verses also occur in DHARMA PAVAYAÑAN texts which deal with the *vayan* performer, the *dalan*'s, *dharma*, for the *dalan* is also to be regarded as a sort of priest (C. Hooykaas 1960). He may in fact have learned these verses from the *padanda*. But the *dalan* is not so much interested in the Yamunā and Narmadā, or even in Sarasvatī as the river goddess, but, above all, in Sarasvatī the patron of letters and literature, the spouse of Brahmā, the God of the South.

Since Dr. J. E. van Lohuizen wrote her iconographic study *The Dikpālakas in Ancient Java*, I have been able to check on dozens of

4) The Kirtya Nos. 106, 369, 1151 and 1610, two of which seem to contain two treatises. In 1958 I had the opportunity to copy two more deviating samples.

5) I intend to deal at length with DHARMA PAVAYAÑAN and the *dalan* as portrayed in them; for the moment it may be sufficient to point to a résumé of a lecture given at the Royal Anthropological Institute, printed in MAN, Vol. LX, Art. 231, December 1960.

6) This text, not yet available in public collections of mss, deals with the daily ritual of the Baudha priest.

Javano-Balinese manuscripts, all collected in Bali, in order to find out how strong this inclination is to ascribe to the gods their own colours and cardinal directions. As my wife and I found out, time and again during our last stay in Bali in 1958/9, this is not only priestly lore, but a living reality among the ordinary people. In this system, as in India, Sarasvatī, with Brahmā, belongs to the South and is, like Brahmā, red. In one of the TUTUR AJI SARASVATI (K 1257 l. 18 & 146) I found the *sari*, the quintessence, of a so-called *Aṣṭaka-mantra* ⁷⁾, which followed a few palm-leaves further on. This *sari* runs as follows:

Om, praise be given to the white Umā-Devī;

Om, praise be given to the red Sarasvatī;

Om, praise be given to the yellow Durgā-Devī.

(this formula serves to protect the person who pronounces it and his or her little children).

Since there is no doubt that the benevolent White Goddess, Umā, belongs to the East (or, even higher, in the Centre), and the malevolent Yellow Goddess, Durgā, in the West (which needs no mention, being generally known), there is no reason to hesitate about placing the Red Goddess, Sarasvatī, in the South. In this context she is certainly inferior to Umā, the White Goddess, just as in the triad with Guru Réka and Kavīśvara she was also mentioned second, and in the triad's equation with *iḍēp*, *śabda*, *bāyu*, she even came third;—but is there any sense in giving grades in triads as highly elevated as those of Brahmā/Viṣṇu/Śiva, or of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit?

But let us return to the *stuti* to Sarasvatī. Among some forty *stuti* in the second part of Lévi (1933) we find one, called *Bhaṭṭārī Sarasvatī Stuti* (p. 62–63). Lévi records two versions of this *stuti*, of which the two first *śloka* are identical, but the following three diverge. Version A also has a *pakētis*, a ritual direction, appended to each *śloka*, to indicate to the officiating *padanda* towards which of the cardinal directions he must sprinkle his holy water and direct his worship, in which sequence, and which deities reside there

OÑ SAÑ SARASVATĪ-ŚVETA-VARṆĀYA NAMAH SVĀHĀ;

OÑ BAÑ SARASVATĪ-RAKTA-VARṆĀYA NAMAH SVĀHĀ;

OÑ TAÑ SARASVATĪ- PĪTA-VARṆĀYA NAMAH SVĀHĀ;

OÑ AN SARASVATĪ-KRṢṆA-VARṆĀYA NAMAH SVĀHĀ;

OÑ IN SARASVATĪ- VIŚVA-VARṆĀYA NAMAH SVĀHĀ.

OM SARASVATI, WHITE IN COLOUR, PRAISE BE GIVEN TO THEE; etc. the colours being respectively: red, yellow, black and multi-coloured.

⁷⁾ The name is very neutral and essential, only conveying the meaning that this *mantra* consists of eight stanzas. Actually they form the only contents of K 998, and part of K 74 which bears the same name. The Cod. Or. Leiden 5315a begins with the same number of eight stanzas in honour of Durgā, but goes on with a further score of them. It would lead us too far here to pursue this subject now.

This version A and its *pakētis* form part of the Bauddha priest's ritual. While he recites the *pakētis*, he sprinkles holy water in the five cardinal directions, being respectively East, South, West, North and the Centre. It should be noted that their sequence is clockwise, that of the *pradakṣiṇā*, which is turning in the auspicious way, with the right side turning towards the person or object honoured or worshipped; the other way round is called *prasavyā*, which we shall also come across, later, in a *pakētis*.

A remarkable feature of this *pakētis* is that Sarasvatī is worshipped in all four cardinal directions, and, above all, as the omnipotent goddess in the Centre.

We are used to finding Śiva, Brahmā, Mahādeva, Viṣṇu in East, South, West and North mentioned before Īśvara in the Centre; He is One and represented by the four. This thought, I imagine, lies at the base when in the *catur-tarpaṇa*, satisfying of the four categories of the Śaiva priest's daily ritual, viz. *deva*, gods; *ṛṣi*, seers; *pitṛ*, ancestors, Lévi No. 144/69, we find Sarasvatī as the fourth category, sometimes in the plural, sometimes in the singular, in our mss.

The fifth *śloka* of version B also deserves our attention:

Kāvyaṅ vyākaranan tarkam, veda-śāstra-purāṇakam;
kalpa-siddhīni tantrāṇi, tat-prasādāt karokṣabhet⁸).

⁸) *Tarka*, *vyākaraṇa* and *tantra* are names of auxiliary disciplines, means leading to the end of *advaya-jñāna*, gnosis of Unity, and are therefore not endlessly to be studied for their own sake. We find them in SAṆ HIAṆ KAMAĀYĀNIKAN, ed. Kats 26a, 27a, 42b/43a, and in the NĀGARAKṚTĀGAMA 43/2d, and there should be no doubt about their generic character. Kats and Sugriwa in their translations of SHK, and also Kern, Krom, Slametmuljana and Pigeaud (1960) in dealing with NĀG. 43/2d share this principal view, even though their translations—moreover in Dutch, English and Indonesian—differ. Berg deals with *tarka* and *vyākaraṇa* in his latest book on pp. 157, 170/1, 280. The capitals and quotation-marks in his translation on p. 157 bottom: "Geloof", "Analyse" en andere stof . . . (NĀG.) and on p. 171 "Leidraad", "Geloof" en "Analyse" . . . (SHK) are unexpected. On p. 280 he goes on by saying: "De in Nag. 43,2,d genoemde geschriften Tarka en Vyākaraṇa worden in SHK a 26 vermeld; het zijn tractaatjes, die zeker (spat. by C. H.) niet alleen over wijsbegeerte en grammatica gehandeld hebben." I am afraid Berg must have overlooked Slametmuljana, Sugriwa and Pigeaud; his name-giving and his assurance do not convince me.—

The last word of a Sanskrit *śloka* often consists of a verb, and in this *śloka* there is, indeed, a need for a verb; moreover the last word has a verbal ending. I do not understand why Lévi, who, as a rule, cast the material in this book into the correct Sanskrit mould, did not reconstruct the last word as *arocayet*, for it is not uncommon to find *kṣa* instead of *ca*, *a* instead of *ā* (and vice versa), *ka* for *ha* and *ha* for *ā*; the only "real" mistake remaining being *bha* for *ya*; but then, *bha* is not always distinguished from *ba*, *ba* not from *va*, and *va* not from *ya*.

Lévi tells us little more about the texts he collected than that they were imparted to him by brahman priests, when he was in Bali for a few weeks in 1928. With regard to this *Bhaṭṭārī Sarasvatī Stuti*, he mentions that the first *śloka* is identical with that of a *Sarasvatī stuti*, described in the *Descriptive Catalogue* (Madras 1927, Vol. XXVI No. 14576), and that the third *śloka* of version B is virtually identical with the last one of this same ms. It is interesting that Lévi found this *stuti* to be

May She, in Her benevolence, give splendour to long and cultivated poems, grammar, the making of conjectures, *veda*, manuals, mythology and cosmology, *tantra* that will remain influential throughout the aeons of time!

Indeed, a fitting end to a *stuti* in honour of this Goddess of Learning!

Since 1928, the year of Sylvain Lévi's visit to Bali and of the foundation of the *Kirtya* library, more material has come to light. During my last stay in Bali, in 1958/9, I found version A of the *Bhaṭṭāri Sarasvatī Stuti* comprised in the PURVAKA VEDA BUDDHA, a manual of the Buddhist priest's ritual. Among the *Kirtya* manuscripts, I came across version B six times, some in manuscripts which contained purely Śaivite texts, and also in manuscripts containing both Buddhist and Śaivite material⁹). Hence, I think that we can, with a sufficient degree of certainty, ascribe version B, with its final *śloka* on learning, exclusively to the *padanda Śiva*, and version A, with its *pakētis* in which Sarasvatī is praised as the highest deity, exclusively to *padanda Boda*.

The PURVAKA VEDA BUDDHA contains another *stuti* to Sarasvatī: the *Astuti Sañ Hyañ Catur Veda Śruti*, and a mantra, called *Astuti Bhaṭṭāra Pañca Tathāgata*, which show certain similarities among themselves and with another *stuti* to Sarasvatī: *Pañca Sarasvatī*, five stanzas in honour of Sarasvatī. (Since in Bali the word *veda* means only a (Sanskrit) hymn to a god, recited by the *padanda*, *Astuti Sañ Hyañ Catur Veda Śruti* merely means: "Four Ślokas of Praise). This *Catur Veda Śruti* runs as follows:

Svetambara(n)-dhara(n) devam, śveta-puṣpa-priyan devam;
śveta-kālyā śveta-vastram, Sarasvatī! namo 'stu te.

The following three *ślokas* are identical, except for the substitution of *nīla*, *pīta* and *rakta* for *śveta*, thus, incidentally, forming a *prasavya*.

Praise be given to thee, Sarasvatī, goddess of my choice, clad in *white*, in *white* garments, adorned with *white* flowers, hung with *white* garlands.

In the subsequent three *ślokas*, white is replaced successively by dark blue, yellow and red, and to each *śloka* is added its *pakētis*, invoking respectively Indra, Varuṇa, Kuvera and Yama¹⁰).

"anchored" in India, for, whereas a number of *stuti* from Bali can, on the grounds of their corrupt Sanskrit, be regarded as having been composed in Java/Bali at a time when the knowledge of Sanskrit was diminishing, other *stuti* are, on account of their excellent Sanskrit, thought to be of Indian origin, but have, on the other hand, not yet been located in India (his Introduction; *passim*).

- ⁹) K 69. KAJAÑ PŪJĀ PITR, The Shroud for the Worship of the Ancestors;
K 71. LIGIA or INDIK MALIGIA, on ceremonies held long after death;
K 189. DVIJENDRA, "Twice-born", a treatise on ritual and priests' songs;
K 1673. PŪJĀSTAVA, Songs in honour of the Gods;
K 1843. ASTAVA-MANTRA, Hymns with their Javano-Balinese paraphrase;
K 1875. AJI BRATA, Revelation on Vows; ritual and hymns to the Gods.

- ¹⁰) OÑ NEH AH INDRA-DEVATĀYA NAMAH SVĀHĀ;
OÑ NEH AÑ VARUṆA-DEVATĀYA NAMAH SVĀHĀ;
OÑ GRI DIH KUIVERA-DEVATĀYA NAMAH SVĀHĀ;
OÑ GI BHAN YAMA-DEVATĀYA NAMAH SVĀHĀ.

On the occasion of *Pañca Bali Krama*, another great lustration ceremony, the above-mentioned *Pañca Sarasvatī*, Five Ślokas in Praise of Sarasvatī, is recited:

On *Śvetambaran-dhara(n) devi, śveta-maly-anulepanam;*
śveta-puṣpa priya(n) devi, śrī śrī ta(s)me Sarasvatī ¹¹).

Praise be given to Her, to Sarasvatī, clad in white, hung with white garlands and anointed with white unguents, decked with white flowers, Goddess of my choice.

The subsequent four *ślokas* have, instead of white, respectively red, yellow, blue black and multicoloured, i.e., in the sequence of the *pradakṣinā*.

Although Buddhist priests officiate at the *Pañca Bali Krama* ceremony, alongside five Śaivite priest and one *sēṅguhu* or *ṛṣi bhujāṅga*, the exorcist priest, the *Pañca Sarasvatī* is not to be found in that voluminous compilation of ritual writings, the PURVAKA VEDA BUDDHA, nor in the BUDDHA VEDA.

These two compilations, however, both contain a mantra, not a *śloka* this time, called *Astuti Bhaṭṭāra Pañca Tathāgata* ¹²), which as we already

The following remark is also added to this *stuti*: *Iti Sañ Hian Catur-Veda, yogya maka-pūjā nin catur, catur in bhūta-yajña, yogya pūjākēna*, succinct words which seem to mean: fit to be used in honour of the gods of the four cardinal directions at the occasion of exorcistic offerings. The *stuti*, with its *pakētis*, is used on the occasion of *Padudusan Aguni*, great lustration ceremonies, for instance at the occasion of major calamities.

Since it is a general practice among *padanda* to end a *pāda* in *-am*, written *ēm*, which is difficult to distinguish from *im*, the possibility of an Indian origin of this *stuti* cannot be ruled out, although I am personally inclined to think that it was composed in Indonesia.

I transliterated this ms myself and had to do it in a very short time from a delicately scribbled original. It is therefore impossible now to decide whether I made misreadings or whether the *padanda*'s ms contained a misreading or inconsistency in the third *pāda* of each *śloka*, where we read consecutively *kalya, karya* and *kayya*. In analogy with the very similar *Pañca Sarasvatī stuti*, I would suggest that *malya* be substituted.

¹¹) *Pañca Sarasvatī stuti*, Five *śloka* in praise of Sarasvatī, is found in four mss, K 69, 71, 1186 PŪJĀ PAÑCA BALI KRAMA (order of worship in the five-fold offering) and 1457 PŪJĀ PADUDUS AGUN. The *stuti* are identical, except for the omission of two syllables in 1457 and of the whole third *śloka* in K 71. Two mss read *tame* consistently in all *śloka*; one reads *tasme*, which is the same as *tasmai* to the Balinese. Even so, "Glory to Him" seems hardly appropriate in a *stuti* to a goddess, but then, it was probably written in a society whose language knows no gender.

The subsequent four *śloka* have, instead of *śveta*, respectively *rakta, pīta, kṛṣṇa* & *viśva*.

The word *malyanulepanam* was, most likely, broken down by the Balinese into the component *malya-nulepanam*; cp. the indiscriminate use of *sthāna* beside *ast(h)ana, nugraha* beside *anugraha*, even *jñāna* beside frequent *ajñāna*. As *malya* is meaningless, in Balinese, it was probably misread and miswritten as *kalya, karya* and *kayya*.

¹²) BUDDHA VEDA K 2255 l. 9b; Cod. Or. Leiden 4165 pp. 9-10.

remarked, is strongly reminiscent of the *Pañca Sarasvatī* and of the *Astuti Sañ Hiañ Catur Veda*. It runs as follows:

Ah śveta mramram devī, śveta-varṇa, śveta-puṣpa, śrī śrī devī namo 'stu te;
 Huñ nila mramram devī, nila-varṇa, nila-puṣpa, śrī śrī devī namo 'stu te;
 Trañ pīta mramram devī, pīta-varṇa, pīta-puṣpa, śrī śrī devī namo 'stu te;
 Hrih raktamramram devī, rakta-varṇa, rakta-puṣpa, śrī śrī devī namo 'stu te;
 Ah viśva mramram devī, viśva-varṇa, viśva-puṣpa, śrī śrī devī namo 'stu te.

I do not propose to discuss here the first, mystic, syllables; they are – to some extent at least – dealt with in App. D.

By analogy with the opening words of the prayer of forgiveness, which runs *svambak svambam* in contemporary Balinese pronunciation and in written ritual texts, and derives from *kṣamasva mām*, “bestow forgiveness upon me”, I venture to suggest that *śvetamramram devī* derives, via *śvetamēramēram devī* from *śvetambara-dhara-devī*, as we found in the very similar, *Pañca Sarasvatī*.

In this *Astuti Bhaṭṭāra Pañca Tathāgata* the Buddhist priest is instructed to take first a white flower and concentrate his thoughts on Bhaṭṭāra Vairocana, as he mutters: “O Goddess, clad in white, white in colour, decked with white flowers, sublime Goddess, praise be given to thee”; then, with a dark blue flower, he is to concentrate on Bhaṭṭāra Akṣobhya, with a yellow flower on Bhaṭṭāra Ratnasambhava, with a red flower on Bhaṭṭāra Amitābha and with a multi-coloured flower on Bhaṭṭāra Amogha-siddhi, each time muttering the same *mantra*, only with the different colours substituted. These colours deviate from those usually attributed to the *Pañca Tathāgata*; it is beyond me to offer an explanation; the order in which the colours are given is that of the Śaiva pentad in reverse direction (*prasavya*).

What we find, then, in this *Astuti Bhaṭṭāra Pañca Tathāgata* are five lines in honour of the five *Tathāgatas* or *Dhyāni Buddhas*, in which, apart from the names, the same words, also in the *prasavya*, are used as in the *Catur Veda Stuti* in honour of *Sarasvatī*, but, like the *Pañca Sarasvatī*, with five directions (instead of four), apparently in the opposite direction.

One wonders whether, in fact, the *Pañca Tathāgatas* are meant in this *mantra*, or whether among the Buddhists, the “Goddess to whom be glory”, does not represent another goddess than the generally accepted one of Learning, that is to say, the goddess of “unsurpassable wisdom”, *Prajñāpāramitā*? Unfortunately the Manuscripts give no clue; they have their own *Prajñāpāramitā stuti*.

One would expect *Prajñāpāramitā* to be a purely Buddhist goddess. But not so in Bali, where we find the following *ślokas* comprised in four Śaivite manuscripts¹³) as well as in the PURVAKA VEDA BUDDHA.

¹³) KAJAN PŪJĀ PITR K 69 l. 6b, 14a, 25a; ŚAVA-VIDHĀNA (care of the dead) 1168 l. 31a; PŪJĀ PADUDUS AGUṆ (great lustration) K 1457 l. 3a; ASTAVA MANTRA, K 1843 l. 34a.

Prajñāpāramitā Stuti

- Prajñāpāramitam devam , jagatām tuṣṭi-kāraṇam ;
 sattveṣu vyāpina metram (?), mūrdha praṇamya(t)ahinam(?). (1)
 Bhagavatī(m) namaṣyāmi , surādi-mātra-devatī(m);
 Kumāra-mātraṇam devam , sarvopadrava-tahine (?). (2)
 Tvaṁ namāmi Mahā-devi! , oṅ, ah, uṅ, iti mantrātha;
 hyevamasobiktva(?) kleśam , aham bandhana-muktaye ¹⁴). (3)

“With my head I express veneration to thee, o Goddess Prajñāpāramitā who bringeth about the contentment of the worlds and ? in their beings. I express veneration to the Lady, the Goddess who is the mother of the greatest of the gods, the Goddess who is the mother of Kumāra, [and of] him who brushes aside all calamities. To thee, o great Goddess, I express veneration; *oṅ*, *ah* and *uṅ* are the sacred syllables, for by venerating thee in this way, I shall be redeemed from bondage and sins.”

The PURVAKA VEDA BUDDHA has an alternative name for this *stuti*: *Tri-Śakty-Astava*, and also gives its *pakētis*, praising Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Īśvara with the sacred syllables *aṅ*, *uṅ* and *ah*.

“Bhagavatī”, “Kumāra’s Mother” and “Mahā-devi” are all names for Umā or Pārvatī, and there is one manuscript in which this same *stuti* is called *Sarva-devatī-stuti*, Hymn to the Goddess of the Universe/Supreme Goddess.

In this sphere of syncretism, in which Prajñāpāramitā is Umā, and the adoration of Sarasvatī is directed to the centre of the universe as well as to the four cardinal points, I think we are justified in extending this identification and asserting that at least to a number of Balinese, during a certain period of history, Sarasvatī was identified with Umā as well as with Prajñāpāramitā.

Postscript. It may be strange, but it is a fact, that only after writing this study on Sarasvatī in Balinese religion the idea occurred to me that it might have been useful to go into the problem of Sarasvatī in India. Wilson on the Religious Festivals in his Works, Dowson in his Classical Dictionary, Hopkins in his Epic Mythology, Banerjea in his Hindu Iconography, Bhattacharyya in his Sādhanamālā and his Indian Buddhist Iconography, and quite recently Anand Swarup Gupta in the bi-annual Purāṇa, without exception confirm my findings, the more recent books to a greater extent than the older ones. This is encouraging, but they have stolen my thunder and might have discouraged me if I had consulted them at an earlier stage.

¹⁴) The Sanskrit was probably never beyond reproach and has, most likely, also suffered in the course of time. The *pakētis*, in PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA, runs as follows: Oṅ Aṅ BRAHMA-/Oṅ Uṅ VIṢṆU-/Oṅ AH ĪŚVARA-/DEVATĀYA NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ.



Fig. 1. Sarasvati, with the peacock: drawing.
Modern Balinese drawing by Ida Bagus Anom.



Fig. 2. Sarasvati, with the goose; sculpture.
Four arms, holding flute, necklace and book.
Central India, thirteenth century.
(by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).



Fig. 3. Sarasvatī, with swan and peacock: print.
Four arms, holding vīṇā, necklace and book.
Modern Indian polychrome bazaar print.



Fig. 4. Sarasvatī, with lotus and book; sculpture.
Western Gaṅgā, tenth century.
(by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

APPENDICES

Since the religion of the Balinese differs so markedly from any form of Hinduism found in India, and as relatively little has been published in English on this aspect of Balinese life, I found it advisable to add the following appendices. They contain either explanations of purely Balinese conditions or reasonings which are not directly relevant to my argument but have been added in order to throw light on the religious milieu of which the worship of Sarasvatī forms part.

I refer to *Bali, Cults and Customs* by Dr. R. Goris (Text) and Drs. P. L. Dronkers (Photography), Government of the Republic of Indonesia (Djakarta, 1953) for a general picture of Balinese life and religion, and also to *Island of Bali* by Miguel Covarrubias (New York 1947); in India *The Civilization and Culture of Bali* by R. Friederich (Calcutta-12, 1959) is easily available. It was translated from the Dutch original which dates back as far as 1849-50 and in its original title was called "Provisional Report . . .". Quite recent and excellent is: "Bali, Studies in Life, Thought, and Ritual" in the Selected Studies on Indonesia, W. van Hoeve Ltd., The Hague & Bandung 1960.

APPENDIX A

LITERATURE

The material of this study is drawn mainly from three types of texts: *stuti*, *tutur* and *kakavin*. Who knows what it would have looked like if all Balinese manuscript material had been collected and catalogued and had their contents described in any way critically?

The Balinese divide their literature into a number of broad categories, with further subdivisions¹⁾. Generally speaking, texts in Sanskrit only, or Sanskrit plus its Old Javanese paraphrase, are perhaps only intelligible for the brahmins, whereas texts in *Kavi*, the Old (Javanese) language of poetry, are accessible to the other classes too. The genre with which I shall mainly be concerned is that of the *stuti* (also called *stava* or *stotra*)²⁾, which are hymns of praise in Sanskrit and "Archipelago Sanskrit", a convenient term, invented by Goris in his Ph.D. thesis (1926). These form part of the ritual as conducted by the brahman priest, the *padanda* (App. B).

The second genre I shall mention, be it only in passing, is that of the *kakavin*, or *kāvya*, which are lengthy poems (numbering some 1000 to 3000 stanzas of 4 lines), mostly of an epic nature, written in Old Javanese, but in Indian metres. The alternation of long and short syllables, the basis of Indian metres, used to be observed faithfully in the Old Javanese period, but is lost completely in more recent compositions, being wholly foreign to Indonesian languages.

The third category on which I shall draw for information on Sarasvatī, is that of the *variga*, or handbooks, which include, among others, *variga* in the narrower sense of the word, i.e. almanacs and other writings about festive days. These *variga* list the festive days and give directions for their celebration. They are widely used and consulted. Like all Balinese writings, they used to exist only in manuscript form, and anyone desirous of owning a *variga*, had to copy it from a friend's manuscript, until the *Kirtya* library was founded, in 1928, and one could consult and

¹⁾ Very clearly laid out in MK I, p. 21, 1927.

²⁾ Forty of them in subdivision II, *Stotra*, in Lévi; another ten of them in section I.

copy there a wide assortment of *variga*, in longer or shorter form ³⁾. Since the war, they have been sold as stencilled and printed pamphlets ⁴⁾. In addition to these almanacs, based on the Balinese year of 210 days, there are also printed calendars, based on the Gregorian one, which note Balinese, Muslim, Chinese and Christian feasts ⁵⁾.

Also classified as *variga* in the wider sense of the word, are the *tutur*, which deal with cosmology, creation (which includes the division of society), philosophy, metaphysics and mysticism.

Manuscript ownership is, in fact, so extensive in Bali, and the method of collecting by copying them from one to another on palm-leaf so time consuming (to say nothing of a not unreasonable suspicion that one thing or another is kept secret), that no completeness has been achieved in this study and cannot even be aimed at. In addition, the prose writings of the Balinese tend to become shapeless conglomerations of more or less related material. But relationship takes many forms: the same title is sometimes used for texts which have nothing in common; the same text is called sometimes by one title, then by another. Many texts have leaves in common with another one or even consist of nothing but fragments from other texts which are scarcely or not at all related. As the Balinese are not too careful with their manuscripts, so that these have to be copied again with every generation and are thus liable to alterations, it is now very difficult to determine their date of origin and their original form.

R. Goris in his Leiden Ph.D. thesis *Bijdrage tot de kennis der Oud-Javaansche en Balineesche Theologie* (1926) was the pioneer in the field of these *tuturs* and of brahmin ritualistic texts. His book was based on the manuscripts bequeathed to the *Rijks-Universiteits-bibliotheek te Leiden* by Van der Tuuk, the eminent linguist and compiler of the *Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek* (Batavia 1897–1912). Sylvain Lévi published *Sanskrit Texts from Bali* (*Gaekwad Oriental Series LXVII*, Baroda, 1933). The MSS of Leiden University were catalogued by A. C. Vreede (*Catalogus der Javaansche en Madoereesche HSS*, Leiden 1892), the Van der Tuuk-bequest by J. Brandes (*Beschrijving der Javaansche, Balineesche en Sasaksche HSS* etc., Batavia, 1901–26) and H. H. Juynboll (*Supplement Catalogus der Javaansche en Madoereesche HSS.*, 2 vols., Leiden 1907–11); same author: *Suppl. Cat. Sund. Hss. en Cat. Bal. en Sas. HSS.* Leiden 1912).

Shortly after the war, Leiden also received typewritten copies of the transliterated MSS of the *Kirtya Lieftrinck-Van der Tuuk*. This was a foundation (*kirtya*) established by the local Balinese government in order to collect Balinese and Sasak (the language of the island of Lombok) MSS and to make them available to anyone who was interested. Its board of twelve numbered six brahman priests, a circumstance which probably contributed to the fact that the library acquired far more texts on the priestly ritual than Van der Tuuk had been able to collect, and that these particular texts are more complete on the ritual of the *padanda Siva* than on that of the *padanda Boda*, the *pamañku*, or *səṅguhu*.

The collection of the *Kirtya* numbers approximately 2500 palm-leaf MSS, of which about two thirds have been transcribed in roman script. Typed copies are accessible in the Djakarta Museum, the Leiden University Library as well as at the *Gėdong Kirtya* (as it is now called) at Singaradja and the Bali Museum (Denpasar).

Briefly annotated lists of the *Kirtya*'s original collection and of subsequent

³⁾ They deal with the same days, but may go further into detail when dealing with the offerings.

⁴⁾ I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa, *Hari Raya Bali Hindu* (printed; Indonesian text) 1952. I Ketut Bangbang Gde Rawi, *Sunar Agama* (stencilled; Indonesian), Balimas, Denpasar.

⁵⁾ Balimas, Denpasar.

acquisitions, are to be found in the *Mededeelingen van de Kirtya Lieftrinck-Van der Tuuk*; its more recent acquisitions in *Indonesische Handschriften*, by R. M. Ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka, Dr. P. Voorhoeve and Dr. C. Hooykaas (Bandung, 1950).

During my last stay in Bali, from October 1958 to August 1959, I had occasion to collect additional material, and I still receive copies of MSS from Gusti Ngurah Ketut Sangka, of Krambiten (Tabanan), to whom I express my profound gratitude.

APPENDIX B

PADANDA AND PAMAÑKU

The *padanda* and *pamañku* differ fundamentally in their functions and origins. The *pamañku* tends, and officiates at, the village temples or that of the *subak*, the irrigation co-operation. He lives on the proceeds of personally cultivated temple, or privately owned, land. He can belong to any class or caste, though generally he is a *sudra* or *jaba*.

One great distinction between the *pamañku* and the *padanda* in the mind of the ordinary Balinese, is that of the holy water with which each operates. The Balinese commonly call their religion *āgama tīrtha*, "the holy water religion", and holy water does, indeed, play a vital part in it. The whole matter is rather complicated.

The fundamental difference between the holy water of the *pamañku* and that of the *padanda* is this, that the *pamañku* has to ask for it, whereas the *padanda* prepares it. To this aim he goes through an elaborate ritual, the essence of which is that he temporarily becomes Śiva ⁶⁾. His holy water is considered as being far more potent than any other.

The *padanda* is a member of the brahmin caste who has received the brahmin priest's initiation ⁷⁾. Not all male brahmins undergo this apprenticeship and elaborate ceremony and they cannot function as priests. On the other hand, there are also cases of brahmins who were initiated as, and became, a *pamañku*, but these might be recent. The wife of the *padanda* has to submit herself to the same apprenticeship as her husband and to be ordained at the same time; we know of several cases where she officiated after having survived her husband.

A *padanda* may serve as a ruler's *purohita* or *bhagavanta*, but usually he is unattached and only called in at public and individual occasions, often *rites de passage*, in order to prepare holy water. Often he takes no further part in any ceremonies, receives a fee and departs again.

There are, in fact, two kinds of *padanda*: the *padanda Śiva* and the *padanda Boda*. They have most things in common and their main differences lies in certain parts of their apparel, ritual and texts, which are not really fundamental, but rather sectarian. The *padanda Boda*, in Bali and adjacent Lombok (during a century and a half dominated by the Balinese), number about seventeen; several of them live in or near the entirely Buddhist village of Boda Kling (Karangasēm). The *padanda Boda* in his manuals designates himself with *yogīśvara*, Lord of *yogins*.

Without much of a meeting ground, the *padanda* and *pamañku* have intermediaries in the professional makers of offerings, who are often brahmin women and often live in the compound of a *padanda*, a *griya* (from Sanskrit. *grha*, house). The craft of offering making forms for them a suitable means of livelihood when they remain unmarried, for whereas brahmins may, and often do, marry non-brahmins, this is still virtually impossible for the brahmin women, who then have to earn their own

⁶⁾ Angelino 1922, 1923; Goris 1926; Lévi 1933.

⁷⁾ V. E. Korn, "The consecration of a priest", pp. 131-153 in Bali, 1960.

living. Their function, as the makers of offerings and as intermediaries between the *griya* and the *pura*, the temple, is probably very ancient.

Finally, referring to the Stuti Odalan Sarasvatī printed on p. 24 we might remark that the same two *ślokas* and three additional ones are known to, and used by the *padanda*, the brahmin priest. If asked, he would probably say "we gave those two *ślokas* to the *pamaniku*", a comment often heard, for these two kinds of priests, different as they may be in function and origin, share certain texts, notably a number of Sanskrit and Kavi mantras and certain *vedas*, which are metric hymns in Sanskrit or Archipelago Sanskrit. On the other hand, the *padanda* has not divulged all the stanzas, nor all the texts he possesses, to the *pamaniku*. We may, perhaps, compare his practice with that of the Sultan of Malacca, who granted his vassal-kings the privilege of having a replica of the royal orchestra, *nobat*, minus one instrument ⁸⁾.

APPENDIX C

MAṄGALA

To allude thus, in the *maṅgala*, the first stanza(s), of a *kakavin*, to the poem as an offering, whether to Sarasvatī, Śiva (Pārvata-rāja-deva, Girinātha, Maheśvara, Parameṣṭi-guru, Kāma), Viṣṇu or Bajra-jñāna, is a literary tradition some 800 years old. It formed the subject of a lecture and an article, based on the examination of some 40 *kakavins*, by Prof. Dr. P. J. Zoetmulder, S.J., both accessible in English: *The Old Javanese Poet as a Yogi* ⁹⁾, and *Kawi and Kakawin* ¹⁰⁾, which also appeared in Bahasa Indonesia: *Kawi dan Kakawin* ¹¹⁾.

One more example of such a *maṅgala* suffice here ¹²⁾:

Pūjā niṅ kavi saṅgrahēn kalēñēnan maṅde kadīrghyāyūṣan;
muṅgv iṅ padma mēkar pratiṣṭha siniram de niṅ rērēb niṅ kapat;
vijanyākṣara lambaṅ endah inurākēn riṅ tētō niṅ yaṣa;
dhūpākāra limut maghēṅṅta panaṅis niṅ ṣaḍpadā riṅ sēkar.

May the reverent praise of the poet be directed to all that is graceful and tends to long
To a lotus unfolding as to a statue, sprinkled by the rains of the fourth month; [life;
Let letters be used as grains, and beauteous lyrics sung instead of sacred mantras;
Let the clouds serve as incense, and the buzzing of the bees in flowers be the priest's
[bell.

APPENDIX D

MYSTICAL SYLLABLES

Any *mantra*, magical formula, and any *stuti/stotra/stava*, song of praise in honour of a deity, is preceded by the syllable *om* or *oṃ*, explained as consisting of the *tri-akṣara*, three syllables: *a* for Brahmā, *u* for Viṣṇu and *m* for Śiva; together they are Īśvara, The Lord. Often they are pronounced and written *ai-uī-maṅ*.

⁸⁾ "It would be unwise for one Malay Sultan to bestow his full *nobat* on another; the dignity of a ruler was measured by the size of his band". R. J. Wilkinson, essay No. 5 (pp. 82-86) in *Some Malay Studies*, JMBRAS X/1, 1932, pp. 67-137.

⁹⁾ Proceedings of the Twenty-Third International Congress of Orientalists, Cambridge, 1954, RAS London [no date; 1956], pp. 231-232.

¹⁰⁾ BKI 113/1, 1957, pp. 50-69.

¹¹⁾ Published by Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta.

¹²⁾ R. Ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka, *Smaradahana, Oud-Javaansche Tekst met Vertaling*, Bibliotheca Javanica 3, Bandung 1931.

Well known is the formula *sa-ba-ta-a-i*, the so-called *pañca-brahma*, five-fold fire, consisting of the initial syllables of the five of the best known of Śiva's one hundred names: Sadyojāta-Bāmadeva-Tatpuruṣa-Aghora-Īśāna. The *pañca-brahma* is often followed by the *pañca-tīrtha*, five-fold holy water, being *na-ma-si-vā-ya*, this time no abbreviations but two words plainly meaning: homage be to Śiva. The mystical meaning of the ten syllables together is this, that annihilation by fire of all impurities, material and spiritual, followed by worship to God results in the obtaining of holy water and purification by means of it. Whether one examines the Śaiva priest's ritual at home or in public, in temple or in graveyard, directed mainly in adoration of the godly powers or mainly in averting the evil powers—fire and water, water and fire are the dominating forces. *Pañca-brahma* and *pañca-tīrtha* together are called *daśākṣara—daśa akṣara*—the ten syllables. When *a-u-m-on* are added, the series of fourteen is called *catur-daśākṣara*.

It is worthwhile noting that as long as we handle the neutral and practical terms "vowel" and "consonant", Sanskrit agrees by using *svara* and *vyañjana*, terms borrowed by the Balinese brahmin priests. Going on, our Greek word "syllable" is still a practical term with us, but the Sanskrit *a-kṣara*, used in the same sense for a combination of vowel and consonant(s), means: "imperishable", and here we tread the domain of magic.

The *akṣara* have been revealed by the goddess Sarasvatī; all the *akṣara* of the *deva-nāgarī* alphabet have not only a practical meaning and value, but a mystical as well. They refer to all parts of the human body and have the power to protect it. That is the reason why the brahmin priests of Bali, Śaiva as well as Bauddha, collect the whole set of *akṣara* of this alphabet from the spheres during their daily ritual and in a few *pradakṣiṇā* assign them, by the ritual action called *nyāsa*, to a place in their immediate neighbourhood, as a protection and as a means of enhancing their power.

The *akṣara* for life and death, *aṇ* and *aḥ*, common to both kinds of brahmin priests, are perhaps most frequently used in Bauddha ritual. Evidently it makes all the difference whether *aṇ aḥ* or *aḥ aṇ* is spoken. The Śaiva priest uses the elements of the *catur-daśākṣara* for important moments in the ritual *utpatti*, *deva-pratiṣṭha* and *pralīna*, being the God's apparition, presence and disappearance; the different order of the syllables used is not so much concomitant with, as evocative of one or the other of these principal moments in ritual.

Another formula consisting of ten *akṣara* in Balinese mss runs as follows: *oṇ-a-ka-sa-ma-ra-la-va-ya-uṇ*; it is called *daśa-bāyu*, "the ten forces"; there are variations as to the first syllables and it may be extended to fourteen syllables. The former head of the medical service in Bali and Lombok, now Professor Dr. med. Wolfgang Weck, in his book "Heilkunde und Volkstum auf Bali" (1937) links this formula and the Balinese kabbalistic way of writing it with Tibet. Sharada Rani in a loose sheet of *theses* added to her Utrecht Ph.D. thesis "Ślokāntara" (1957) shows herself prepared to defend the following statement: In Sylvain Lévi's Sanskrit Texts from Bāli, Baroda 1933, the Tibeto-Mongolian tantric formula HKSMLVRYAM has not been recognised as such and hence is wrongly written in several places: p. 26 l. 4; p. 46 l. 15; p. 50 ll. 1, 3; p. 83 l. 18.

The "Greater India" aspect of this formula, attractive and important as it may be, must be left out of consideration here; the formula itself will reappear at length in Liṅgodbhava, paragraph E in the study on Śiva-Liṅga. In a moment we will go on with Weck, but we must first note that in invoking Umā the *bījākṣara*, kernel syllable, *uṇ* is used; for Gaṇeśa: *gmuṇ*; for Kumāra: *maṇ*. The syllables *oṇ hr̥ṇ hr̥ṇ sah* precede the invoking of Śiva in the frequently used *kūṭa*-(fortification)-*mantra*; *huṇ phaṭ* are essential in the not less frequent *astra*-(weapon)-*mantra*; and numerous others are easily found in Lévi's book mentioned *supra*. Let it be sufficient to conclude this paragraph by saying that with the Bauddha priests *aḥ*

represents Vairocana, *huṅ* Akṣobhya, *traṅ* Ratnasambhava, *hrīḥ* Amitābha and a Amoghasiddhi.

Finally Professor Weck in his book devotes a chapter of thirteen pages to the "Magic Syllables", which proves to be important from more than one point of view. While examining more than 250 Balinese palmleaf mss on popular medicine it became evident to him that the mysticism of *akṣara* did not remain confined to the brahmin priests, but that it is certainly current amongst the *balian*, medicine-men, with whom he worked. In a compendium called TUTUR KRAKAH DUR-DAKAH he finds not less than 660 simple and complicated *akṣara*; *krakah*, incidentally, the Sanskrit *kāraka*, in Bali is used as a generic name for grammatical/linguistic/philologic treatises. In another one, called TUTUR KĀṆḌA niṅ ŚARĪRA KRAKAH SARASVATĪ (*tutur*: revelation; *kāṅḍa*: story; *sarīra*: body) he finds nearly a thousand different *akṣara*. On top of that he assures us that use and meaning of these *akṣara* is locally widely divergent, and that their number is by no means exhausted in the mss mentioned *supra*, by far not.

APPENDIX E

GURU REKA, SARASVATĪ, KAVĪŚVARA

On account of the frequent occurrence of this triad, it is worth paying some attention to the two figures flanking Sarasvatī. Van der Tuuk's dictionary contains only very incomplete information on the subject (II 218): *kaviśvara* is a "prince of the poets, a great poet, *kavīndra*". In the SMARA-DAHANA, an Old Javanese *kakavin*¹³⁾, we find the following line, in the Indian metre *śārdūla-vikrīḍita*:

Pūjā niṅ *kavi* saṅgrahaṅ kalēñēṅan maṅdé kadirghyāyusaṅ¹⁴⁾;
the reverent praise of the poet is directed
to all that is graceful and tends to longevity.

The SMARADAHANA-PARIKAN (K 2149), which is a modernised version of the old *kakavin*, probably dating from the beginning of the XXth century¹⁵⁾, in less antiquated and alien speech, in a modern Javanese, the *sinom* metre, renders this line as follows:

Pamūjā niṅ *kaviśvara*/ ṅavisaṅ kalañēṅ lēvih/ ṅavinaṅ kadirgāyusaṅ.

Mpu Ragaruntiṅ, the famous Balinese scholar, to whom Mpu Bharāda had to pay his respect when he arrived from Java, in the poem BANUVA (or: BHUVANA) -LAKṢANA, ascribed to him (K 1842), describes himself as a *kavisvara*.

The component *-īśvara*, also occurs in *yogīśvara*, by which term the Buddhist

13) SMARADAHANA, Oud-Javaansche Tekst met Vertaling uitgegeven door R. Ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka, Bibliotheca Javanica 3, 1931, Nix, Bandung.

14) The complete stanza has been printed in Appendix C.

15) After consulting the two catalogues by Brandes and Juynboll on the mss collected by Van der Tuuk in North Bali during the last quarter of the XIX. century, one cannot shake off the impression that—rightly—he collected all written material he could lay hands on. Next we are struck by the fact that amongst those numerous mss there are only so few belonging to the genre PAPARIKAN, long poems in modern Javanese metres and Balinese literary language, modernisations of existing works in Old-Javanese prose as well as poetry. The Kirtya, however, only since 1928 collecting from exactly the same spot, in a decad's time, acquired some dozens of them. I am inclined to ascribe this remarkable flowering to the turn in the tide for Bali in the first quarter of the XX. century.

priest, an ordinary man of flesh and blood, is designated in the BUDDHA VEDA, the Buddhist text on funerary rites, that is, when officiating¹⁶). The poet of the Rāmāyāṇa Kakavin, in the kolophon to this literary creation (XXVI. 50), mentions himself only with this designation.

Even though words for "Lord" are applied to human mortals, their use seems restricted to their creative and priestly moments. *Īśvara* itself stands for the unity of Brahṃā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. Thus we read in a passage, otherwise too uncertain to reproduce here:

śabda bāyu-icēp sami mulih riñ sañ Kaviśvara;

Speech, action and thought find their higher unity in kaviśvara¹⁷).

This places *Kaviśvara* in the very highest category, a position which he must occupy, in order to be mentioned in one breath with Guru Réka, for Guru Réka, or Bhaṭṭāra Guru, is the highest god.

The word *guru* poses few problems, but for *réka* we shall again have to look further than Van der Tuuk's dictionary (I 722/3), for it gives only: "streak, line, figure, drawing, sketch, skeleton." Nevertheless, in a way characteristic of Van der Tuuk's habit, he does give a meaning of *réka* which we are looking for, among a number of examples of invectives; *di jalan² iba rékana ban nanan ibané*: somewhere on his way your father manufactured you. "To form, beget, create" are the meanings of *añ-réka*, appropriate for a number of *tutur* passages, as, for instance, this one:

Bhaṭṭāra Anaravañ añréka, mētu Bhaṭṭāra Taya;
 Bhaṭṭāra Taya añréka, mētu Bhaṭṭāra ((A)Cintya);
 Bhaṭṭāra (A)Cintya añréka, mētu Bhaṭṭāra Śiva;
 Bhaṭṭāra Śiva añréka, mētu Bhaṭṭāra Catur¹⁸).

I chose this passage from large numbers at my disposal, because of its repeated use of *añréka*, followed by "to come into being", and because another manuscript contains exactly the same passage with the only, characteristic, difference, that it has *ma-yoga* instead of *añ-réka*¹⁹).

Elsewhere I found this passage:

Sañ Hiañ Guru r-um-éka nāma ni dagañ ikañ Tribhuvana;

The God Guru made names and gave them to all those inhabiting the Three Worlds²⁰).

The TUTUR SAÑ HIAÑ BHUVANA MA-REKA (K 363) deals with the creation of the world by Bhaṭṭāra Guru and expresses this in its title.

¹⁶) BUDDHA VEDA, K 2255 and Cod. Or. Leiden 4165, *passim*. What Lévi prints as BUDDHA VEDA in section III of his book is only the Sanskrit constituent (with the exclusion of the Old-Javanese constituent) of the major part of this text; moreover, it is not the Bauddha counterpart of the daily ritual of the Śaiva priest, dealt with in section I (VEDA-PARIKRAMA), but the death ritual.

¹⁷) ETA-ETO, K 28 l. 13a.

¹⁸) AJI NUSUP, K 197 l. 1 b.

¹⁹) SAÑ HIAÑ AJI KRĒKĒT; other title: KAPUTUSAN PAÑJI ALIT, l. 7a. Another ms, KĀṆḌA NIÑ CATUR-BHŪMI, K 186 l. 9, in this way produces a series of ten, each time followed by *mētu*; in this ms we find four times *mayoga*, three times *ñradana* and three times *mayoga ñradana*. The words *añréka*, *mayoga* and *ñradana* obviously share considerable sectors of their fields of meanings.

²⁰) AJI PŪRVA-BHĀṢITA-KRAMA, K 2047, l. 2b.

II.

YAMA-RAJA
THE LORD OF JUDGMENT

INTRODUCTION

Not very many Buddhist texts have been published hitherto. As might be expected, H. Kern opened the field with "De legende van KUÑJARAKARNA" ¹⁾ of 1901. Then H. H. Juynboll in his "Nieuwe bijdrage tot de kennis van het Mahâyânisme op Java" (1908) ²⁾ pointed to the existence of some more Buddhist treatises and poems, whilst his supplementary catalogue of the Leiden mss. (I. 1907; II. 1911) ³⁾ added several smaller items. In 1910, J. Kats published the "SANG HYANG KAMAHĀYĀNIKAN, Oud-Javaansche Tekst met Inleiding, Vertaling en Aanteekeningen" ⁴⁾, and thus made available a central treatise of Javano-Balinese Mahâyāna Buddhism, perhaps even the most important document for the understanding of Balinese Buddhism. But although he lived for many more years and published dozens of books, he never returned to the subject of Buddhism.

A quarter of a century later K. Wulff took the text up again, split off from it the lesser SANG HYANG KAMAHĀYĀNAN MANTRĀNAYA and published this with a translation and notes ⁵⁾. Although he announced to have made a new translation, including the remainder of the text published by Kats, it never, to my knowledge, achieved publication, and Wulff did not continue with Javano-Balinese Buddhism.

De Kat Angelino had no Buddhist priest within easy reach, apparently, but fortunately Tyra de Kleen made several drawings of them ⁶⁾.

Dr. F. D. K. Bosch wrote an excellent and detailed study based on two Balinese Buddhist prose hymns in honour of the five Dhyāni-Buddhas, or the Pañca-Tathāgata ⁷⁾. The first hymn enumerates (in Sanskrit) the special *jñāna*, *mudrā*, vehicle, heaven, name-in-*krodha*-form, particular

¹⁾ Continuing: "Volgens het oudst bekende handschrift, met Oudjavaanschen text, Nederlandsche vertaling en Aanteekeningen", VKNAW, AL, NR III. 3, Amsterdam; reprinted in "Verspreide Geschriften 10", 1922 pp. 1-76.

²⁾ BKI 60.

³⁾ Supplement op den Catalogus der Javaansche en Madoereesche Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteitsbibliotheek. Brill, Leiden.

⁴⁾ Uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, 's Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1910.

⁵⁾ Ansprache bei der Weihe Buddhistischer Mönche, aus dem Altjavanischen übersetzt und sprachlich erläutert", Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-Filologiske Meddelelser. XXI, 4, København, Levin & Munksgaard, Ejnar Munksgaard, 1935.

⁶⁾ Mudras o.c. pl. 3-23.

⁷⁾ "Buddhistische Gegevens uit Balische Handschriften", Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, Deel 68, Serie B, No. 3, Amsterdam, 1920. English translation in his "Selected Studies in Indonesian Archaeology", The Hague, Nijhoff, 1961, pp. 109-133.

activity or quality, the four servants of each (all twenty having *bajra* as part of their name), and the colour, of course, of each of the five, but fails to mention the compass direction of the attributes/weapons of any of them.

The one MS at Bosch' disposal was entitled NĀGA-BĀYU-SŪTRA, but the *padanda gĕdĕ* or *purohita Bauddha* (or: *Bodha*) knew this hymn by another title, SAÑ HIAÑ (divine, holy) ANAŅGA BĀYU SŪTRA⁸). This *purohita's griya* (from Skr. *gr̥ha*) is in the purely Buddhist hill settlement of Boda Kling on the slopes of Bali's holy and highest mountain, Gunung Agung, in the most easterly province of Karangasem (Bosch' MS also originates from this region). The name S. H. ANAŅGA BĀYU SŪTRA is more understandable to me, but for the time being, throughout this study, I shall continue to use the established name.

The second prose Balinese Buddhist hymn, published by Bosch in extenso, is the "KALPA-BUDDHA", an Old-Javanese text of the same character as the NĀGA BĀYU SŪTRA but, instead of the *krodha*-form, the compass directions and the attributes/weapons are given so that these two texts complement each other.

Nearly 20 years after his first study Bosch added one – also Buddhologic – on the BHĪMA-STAVA⁹).

Finally the "BUDDHA-VEDA"¹⁰) must be mentioned. This is an elaborated but ill-omened prose composition in Old-Javanese dealing with death ceremonies and written as much for the benefit of the defunct colleagues of the Buddhist priest who officiates for the *kṣatriya* of different kinds and the *vaiśya* or *veśya*. This work was overlooked by Goris when he wrote his conclusions on the Veda problem¹¹), by K. C. Cruick in his Ph.D. thesis on the death ceremonial in Bali¹²) and by Bosch, who might

⁸) From his father and-predecessor's manual for (mainly) daily ritual, PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA (PVB), p. 43–44. VEDA PŪRVAKA K 2193 p. 31 and ŚAVA-VIDHĀNA K 464 l. 26 agree with the *purohita*. This manual, to the best of my knowledge, is not yet to be found in the collections of palmleaf-MSS at Djakarta, Leiden or Singaradja.

⁹) "The Bhimastava", India Antiqua, Leiden, 1947, pp. 57–62; also to be found in PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA pp. 44–45.

¹⁰) Cod. Or. L.U.B. 4165; description in Juynboll o.c. II p. 260; fragments in Dr. J. Brandes, "Beschrijving der Javaansche, Balineesche en Sasaksche Handschriften" I–IV, Batavia, Landsdrukkerij, 1901–1926, vol. I, pp. 205; in library of palmleaf-MSS, formerly called Kirtya Lieftrinck-Van der Tuuk, now Gedong Kirtya, Singaradja, Bali, K No. 2255. The first-mentioned copy was made during the last quarter of the XIXth C. on behalf of Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk, during that period without interruption living just above Singaradja. The second was made on behalf of the Kirtya (Singaradja) in 1941 and originates from the Griya Tohpati, Bulëlèng (one mile seaward from Singaradja). The copies agree completely and appear to have the same origin; therefore references are made to both of them.

¹¹) "Bijdrage" 1926. Appendix I on the Balinese Weda's, pp. 136–149.

¹²) "Bijdrage tot de Kennis van het Balisch Doodenritueel", Ph.D. thesis, Leiden 1928, Santpoort. This book is exclusively based on written and printed materials.

have found there various readings for his NĀGA BĀYU SŪTRA. Only Lévi, who was mainly interested in Sanskrit in Bali, was given this text and has published it—that is, only the Sanskrit and “Archipelago-Sanskrit”¹³⁾ fragments of the BUDDHA VEDA.

While omitting the Javano-Balinese framework of the ritual, he published that Sanskrit as being the “Buddhist counterpart of the Brahminical Veda, containing the full daily worship of the Buddhist priest”¹⁴⁾. This statement by the eminent indologist has remained unchallenged for more than a quarter of a century; now, however, his errors have become manifest: The Buddha Veda is not the daily ritual but the death ritual as performed by Balinese Buddhist priests. In the text published by Lévi all the priest’s actions are omitted, and only an incomplete picture is given of the ritual by merely publishing his hymns and prayers, spoken or muttered. There is, moreover, no contradiction between “Brahminical” and “Buddhist”, for Buddhist priests claim brahminical descent¹⁵⁾ as well as their Śaivite colleagues¹⁶⁾. Both kinds of priests claim the recitative parts of their ritual to be VEDA. The Śiva priest does indeed occasionally recite a few lines of the Indian VEDA in his ritual¹⁷⁾ and to the best of our knowledge that is all he knows of it; the Buddhist priest does even not use these lines; he does not know them; what he does know are the words (Y)AJUR- and ṚG-VEDA as the titles of *stuti* written in *anuṣṭubh* metre and Archipelago Sanskrit¹⁸⁾.

Thus the BUDDHA VEDA, containing death-ritual for Buddhist brahmins, different kinds of *kṣatriyas* and *vaiśyas*, on 68 double-sided palmleaves (Singaradja MS) or 76 foolscap pages (Leiden copy), might be considered as more than the “full daily worship of the Buddhist priest” which is contained in a writing “PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA”, graciously copied for me by the *padanda gēdé* mentioned above.

Finally “PŪJĀ PŪRVAKA” (6 *lēm̄pir*—palm-leaves—only, hence rather algebraic in its succinctness) and “VEDA PŪRVAKA” (16 pp. type-written) deal with Buddhist daily ritual, whereas “ŚAVA-VIDHĀNA” (10 ll.) and “PŪJĀ NARPAṆA ŚAVA” (from *tarpaṇa*; 17 ll.) deal with Buddhist death ritual¹⁹⁾. In the second-mentioned of them, VEDA PŪRVAKA, we find Yama-Rāja 12 times.

At the same time Dr. Paul Wirz published his book “Der Totenkult auf Bali”, Strecker und Schroeder, Stuttgart, 1928. This book is based on long visits to Bali and Lombok, but the author had no knowledge of the languages involved (Balinese, Javanese and Sanskrit). Fair review in TNAG 1928, pp. 906–912.

¹³⁾ Eloquent term invented by Goris in his *Bijdrage* (1926), p. 30, p. 12.

¹⁴⁾ “Sanskrit Texts from Bali”, o.c. p. XXIX bottom.

¹⁵⁾ K 1103 BABAD BRAHMANA BUDDHA. (K=MS Gedong Kirtya.)

¹⁶⁾ K 1109 BABAD BRAHMANA SIWA.

¹⁷⁾ To be found in Lévi, o.c. pp. 3–6.

¹⁸⁾ PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA, p. 25, p. 30.

¹⁹⁾ K 453, 2193, 464 and 2178 respectively; the four of them are accessible in typewritten form in the Library of the University of Leiden (as are most K. MSS).

A. YAMA-RĀJA-STAVA

A KABBALISTIC HYMN

This sums up the present state of our knowledge – the word ignorance might be more appropriate – of Buddhism in Bali. This being the case it seems better to select one particular phenomenon from among the wealth of material accessible in the palmleaf MSS from Bali that are in Leiden, Djakarta and Singaradja. I have chosen the Yama-Rāja-Stava. A publication of the Yama-Rāja-Stavas accessible to me (two of these *stavas* are long, two of medium length and one consists of one *śloka* only) provides some documentation on Śiva-Buddhist exorcism and shows the course of its development. As a consequence the *stava* in Bosch' first monograph can be set in their "ritual environment"; a *stītu* stated by Lévi to be "totally unintelligible"²⁰) can be elucidated, and evidence is furnished of the Javano-Balinese liking for *śabdālaṅkāra* – recently the subject of comment by Dr. J. G. de Casparis²¹) and myself²²). At the same time this study cannot yet be conclusive in all parts but leaves problems, main and incidental, unsolved and open to further investigation.

There is no need to discuss *śabdālaṅkāra* here; "ritual environment", however, does necessitate some elucidation. Bosch was able only to ascertain that the geographical origin of his three hymns was Karangasēm and that their spiritual origin was Buddhism. Today numerous *stuti* are recited by the Buddha-priest as well as by the Śiva-priest, e.g. the Brahma-stava beginning with the words *Namas te bhagavan Agne*²³); the Sūrya-stava of which the first *pāda* runs: *Giripati deva-deva*²⁴); the Tribhuvana-stava which begins with the words *Parama-Śiva t[v]aṅ guhya(m)*²⁵).

²⁰) Sanskrit Texts, o.c. p. 50 bottom.

²¹) "Prasasti Indonesia II", Bandung, 1956, Ch. XI.

²²) "The Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa, an exemplary Kakawin as to Form and Content", VKNAW, AL, NR LXV/1, Amsterdam, 1958.

²³) Published by Lévi o.c. p. 43 as the four last *ślokas* of his Paṅ(g)astavana (*Viśve devāḥ*), which begins with the words: *Giripati deva deva*. This Brahmā-stava is twice mentioned in the BUDDHA VEDA (BV), the Buddhist manual for Death ceremonies; it is paraphrased at length in K 1843 "ASTAVA MANTRA", and it is prescribed in K 69 "KAJAṆ PŪJĀ PITṚ", a Śivaite manual for death ceremonies. The fourth-caste *śēṅguhu*-priest or *rēṣi bhujāṅga* uses it during the lustration ceremony called PAṆCA BALI KRAMA (K 1186) and it is recited at PADUDUS AGUṆ, another great lustration ceremony (K 1457). It was given to the fourth-caste *pamaṅku* village- or temple-priest who uses it at that part of his ceremony called *sasontēn pras* (SAṆKUL PUTIH or SÉVAKA DHARMA K 420) or *paṅrampad pras* (KUSUMA-DÉVA-PURĀṆA K 226), *pras* being the name of an offering.

²⁴) Lévi, o.c. p. 43 the first 5 *ślokas*; the Buddha priest uses it during death- and other ceremonies; the Śiva priest too at death- and *madhya*- as well as *uttama* ceremonies, such as Pañca Bali Krama and Padudus Agun. It is recited at Maligya and paraphrased in K 1843.

²⁵) Not in Lévi o.c., though according to my Śivaite informant it formed part of his *bhakti*, daily worship (the Buddhists call theirs *yoga*; *balé payogaan* is their

According to my Buddhist informant a Buddhist priest would not object to using any *stuti* used by a Śiva-priest for Śiva is only another name for Buddha. The reason they do not use them is simply that they do not know part of the existing hymns (a hundred at least) and are not interested in learning them anyway. They are perfectly satisfied with the set which they have mastered. The Śiva-priest, on his side, is not interested in “*Śveta Vairocana jñeyah*”²⁶), in “*Namo Buddhāya, namo Ratna-trayāya*”²⁷), in “*Pañastuti riñ Bhaṭṭāra Buddha*”²⁸). Neither is he interested in the “*Astuti Sañ Hiañ Namō Buddhāya*”²⁹), the first *śloka* of which begins with *na*, the 2nd with *mo*, the 3rd with *Bud-*, the 4th with *dhā* and the last with *ya*, even though its recitation is followed by sprinkling holy water to the five gods, Īsvara, Viṣṇu, Mahādeva, Brahmā and Guru in that order; to master these and recite them is the task of the Buddha priest.

Apart from the question by which priest a hymn is sung, the Śivaite, the Buddhist or both, a second point to be discussed here consists of the occasion at which a hymn is used. Daily worship would be unthinkable without a prayer for forgiveness (*kṣamasva mām*³⁰), in Buddhist practice referred to as *svambak svambam*)³¹), some hymns, shorter or longer, to

worship pavillion; the word *yoga* is found in PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA pp. 9–10). The Buddhist priest uses this *stuti* for death ritual, the Śiva priest for *niṣṭa-*, *madhya-* and *uttama* ritual, Pañca Bali Krama, Padudus Agūñ, Maligya; the *rēsi bhujaniga* uses it; it is accessible in paraphrase (K 1843).

The nature of my study prevents me from giving sufficient attention to a sweeping statement of Lévi's on p. X o.c. to the effect that the Brahmin priests “do not understand one word of the Sanskrit texts which they write, read and chant”. In the first place they do know the numerous names of the gods. Next Balinese language in daily practice uses a considerable number of Sanskrit words, just as French and English abound in Latin words, but which are not as Latin to their speakers. Above all there are the paraphrases to some dozens of the most frequently used *stuti/stotra/stava*. What Lévi perhaps intended to say, and where I would agree, is this, that the Balinese, speaking a Malayo-Polynesian language belonging to a completely different stock to that of Sanskrit, have no idea of declensions and conjugations etc.; hence they are unable to *analyse* a Sanskrit text and are dependant upon memory and the existence of paraphrases.

²⁶) BUDDHA VEDA K 2255 [ĕmpir=palmleaf-page] 6b, 23a, 25a, 36a and the corresponding *loci* in Cod. Or. L.U.B. 4165 p. 6, 25, 27, 39; Ligya K 71 l. 63a.

²⁷) PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA p. 49; BUDDHA VEDA K 2255 l. 18b; Leiden copy p. 20; Lévi o.c. p. 80/81.

²⁸) PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA p. 45.

²⁹) PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA p. 11/12.

³⁰) *Kṣamasva mām Mahādeva*, etc. in Lévi o.c. p. 20 No. 88; moreover in some manuals and paraphrased in K 1843 ASTAVA MANTRA p. 2. *Kṣamasva mām Jagat* [sic] *nātha*, etc. [different text], according to my Śivaite informant used for daily worship and great lustrations. This second *pañ-akṣamā* I noted three times as frequently in my MSS as the first-mentioned one. Accordingly this is the hymn which the *sēnguhu*-priest learns from his *nabé* (*guru*, initiator belonging to his genealogical group). Hitherto I failed to find out which of the two is used by the Buddhist priest, if indeed he has a preference.

³¹) For instance in BUDDHA VEDA K 2255 l. 37a, Cod. Or. L.U.B. 4165 p. 40.

the Gaṅgā (*i.e.* holy water)³²⁾, and an adoration of the Supreme Being³³⁾. At a wedding, it is to Smara³⁴⁾ and Ratih³⁵⁾ that hymns are sung; at the tooth-filing ceremony and the *nigañ-sasihin* (High Balinese) or *nēlu-bulanin* (Low Balinese), the three-months-of-35-days-festival for babies, there are hymns to Kumāra³⁶⁾; and at the throwing of the human ashes into the sea after cremation hymns are sung to Varuṇa³⁷⁾, etc. In this connexion Lévi remarks: "Though I was unable, on account of shortness of time, to ascertain on the spot the peculiar use of each of them (*i.e.* the hymns) a later search will certainly succeed in settling it"³⁸⁾. My informant on Śaiva-ritual, Padanda Wayan Ngëndjung from Griya Sanur, Pèdjèng, Gianjar (he worked at the Bureau for Autonomous Religious Affairs at the capital Gianjar), "positioned" without hesitation all the Śaivite stavas found and submitted to him. For those who do not have the opportunity to consult the priest on the spot the "ritual environment" in most cases becomes clear from the Balinese Manuals on Ritual, several dozens of which are available in Balinese script in the Gedong Kirtya,

³²⁾ PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA has for the Buddha priest its *Tri-Gaṅgā* on p. 10 (cf. Lévi, o.c. p. 20 No. 85 for the Śiva-priest); *Pañca-Gaṅgā* on p. 12 (Lévi p. 24 No. 104, Śivaitic same), *Sapta-Gaṅgā* on p. 12/13 and in BUDDHA VEDA K 2255 l. 6a, 23a, 25a=Cod. Or. L.U.B. 4165 p. 6, p. 24 last word, 26 end (not in Lévi, o.c. but known to my informant), *Nava-Gaṅgā* on p. 13, resp. numbering 3, 5, 7 & 9 slokas, and *Liṅga-Gaṅgā* on p. 15, numbering 12 slokas (of which Lévi, o.c. p. 24 No. 103 produces the first 6).

³³⁾ Lévi, o.c. p. 32 No. 145: Stambhameru-parivarta-samasta-lokam, bimbāhīdevāya *nici(p)ta* vājīkarāya, . . . (the syllables in italics completed from the K MSS: 3 ARGHA-PĀTRA l. 8b; 69 KAJAÑ PŪJĀ PITṚ l. 48b; 84 ASTRA-MANTRA l. 8a; 87 ARGHA-PĀTRA l. 10b; 189 DVIJĒNDRA l. 5b; 1843 ASTAVA MANTRA l. 11b; BUDDHA VEDA K 2255 l. 6b, Cod. Or. L.U.B. 4165 p. 6.)

³⁴⁾ PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA p. 84=Lévi, o.c. p. 42 No. 8; Lévi p. 69; another in LIGYA K 71 l. 52b, DVIJĒNDRA K 189 l. 15b, PŪJĀ STAVA K 1673 l. 4a; another again in LIGYA K 71 l. 64a.

³⁵⁾ Lévi, o.c. p. 51-52.

³⁶⁾ KAJAÑ PŪJĀ PITṚ K 69 l. 73a; the same in a MS PŪJĀ STAVA, originating from Griya Sidawa, residence of the deceased *purohita* Śiva of the Raja of Gianjar, who helped De Kat Angelino, kindly copied for me by the *padanda* Wajan Ngëndjung, Griya Sanur, Pèdjèng.

³⁷⁾ My specifically-Buddhist MSS fail to mention an exclusively Buddhist Varuṇa-Samudra-stava, so that we may expect that the Buddhist priests use the one to be found in LIGYA K 71 l. 25a and 50a, as so many of their hymns have found inclusion in this rather bulky MS. Hitherto I found six other hymns in honour of Varuṇa; the initial *pāda* and the name and number of the MSS where they are to be found are shown *infra*:

Varuna salila	K 189 l. 4a,	DVIJĒNDRA.
ah ah aryama mitrañca . . .	K 1424 l. 4b,	ŚIVA-SAMŪHA.
ākāśa-nirmala-devam . . .	K 1424 l. 5a; K 36 l. 10b,	PITṚ PŪJĀ.
etat mantram pravakṣyāmi	K 71 l. 25a, 50a,	LIGIA.
gaṅgā putuso mūrtinam. . .	K 71 l. 65b,	LIGIA; GRIYA SIDAWA (priv.).
namo tri-kurma savakyam	K 748 l. 8b,	KRAMA NIN SĒMBAH.
ratnāhara sadrantam . . .	K 1424 l. 5a,	ŚIVA SAMŪHA; Lévi, o.c. p. 54/55

³⁸⁾ Lévi, o.c. p. XXI.



Ida Bagus Anom.

Fig. 5. Yama-Rājā as Upperlord: drawing.
Modern Balinese drawing by Ida Bagus Anom.
Clad in *polèn*; eight emblems of the gods in the eight directions of the compass, lotus in the centre.

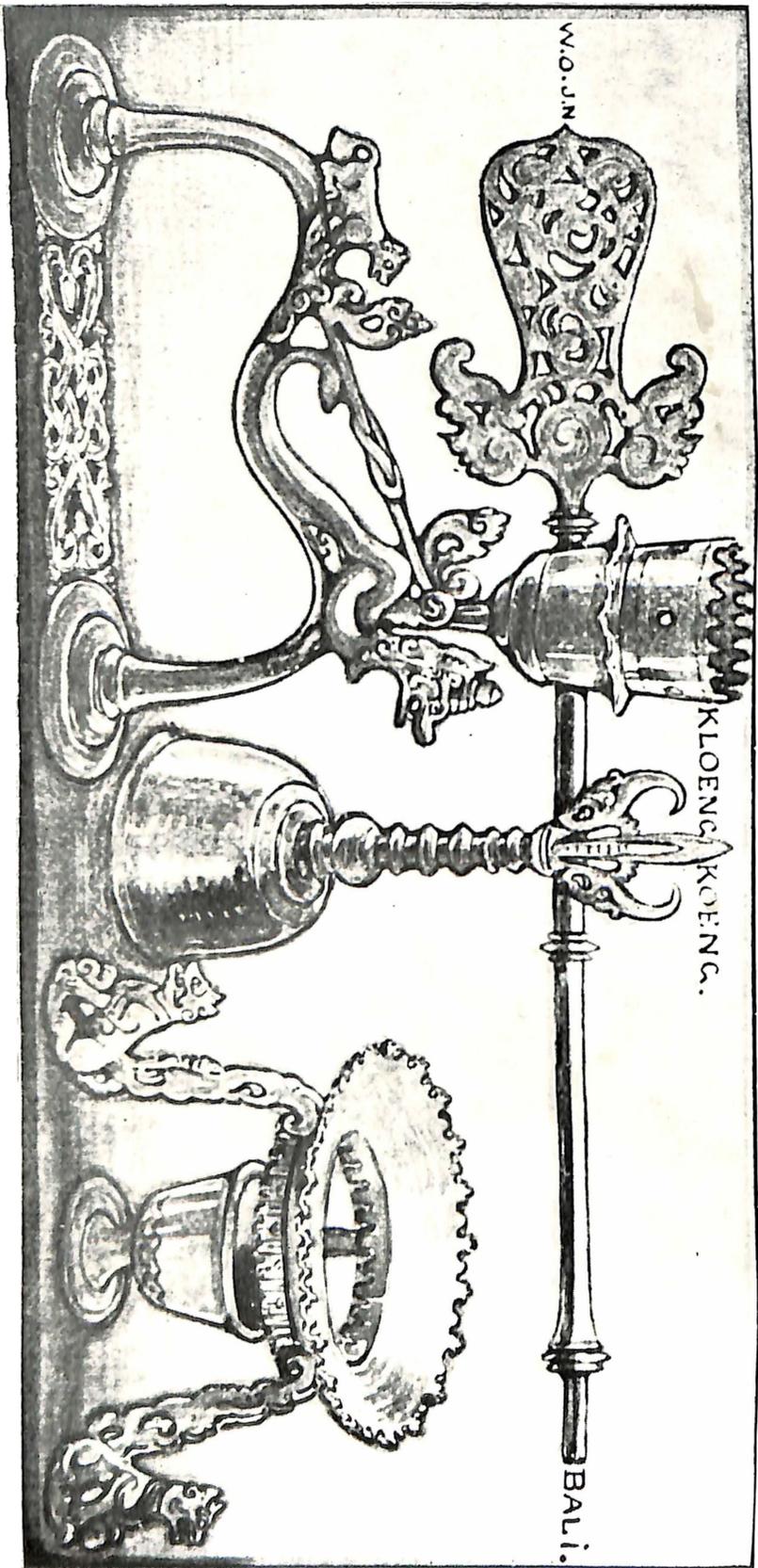


Fig. 6. A Buddhist priest's cult instruments; drawing.
By W. O. J. Nieuwenkamp, reproduced from "Zwerflichten op Bali", Elsevier, Amsterdam, 1910.
Lamp, bell, tripod with holy water vessel *under* it:
in horizontal position the *śanti*, its top to the left.

Singaradja, or in typewritten copies in the Library of the University of Leiden.

With regard to the *stutis* and *mantras* that are to be found in the Balinese VEDA PŪRVAKA, it is usual for the ceremony at which they are recited to be indicated. In the PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA this is usually found after the *pakētis*, the sprinkling (*i.e.* towards the points of the compass where the gods reside) which follows most *stutis*. I have not found this enlightening postscript to a *stuti* anywhere else. It is also only the PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA that continues with a mention of the *don-nya*, the aim of the hymn, and gives the various occasions at which a priest should use these "laden" (*śakti*) words. And nowhere else did I find the illuminating final note, so often encountered in the PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA, *paḍa* (or, *sama*) *lavan*, which can only mean: "the same as, as strong as, interchangeable with". It seemed here the place to point to the importance of these unique phenomena since they were indispensable in finding the explanation of the Yama-Rāja-Stava (and because they shed some light, if indistinctly, on the ritual environment of the Nāga-Bāyu-Sūtra)³⁹).

The material hitherto accessible in print on Yama-Rāja-Stava is scanty and what there is is only to be found in Lévi's book⁴⁰). With regard to the second stava Lévi is right in remarking⁴¹): "Yama-stava, also called Bhūta-stava. Only the first śloka is addressed to Yama, and, as in the

³⁹) This last promise can best be fulfilled on the spot, not only because here the demonstration is not interrupted, but because my data only admit of limited conclusions. Contrary to the majority of *stava*, in the PVB at my disposal the Anaṅga-Bāyu-Sūtra has no *pakētis* nor is it followed by any remark about the ceremonies at which it is used or the hymns with which it is *paḍa/sama*—whatever exactly this may mean. PVB p. 16 contains a Pañca-Nara-Siṅha-stuti (*paḍa lavan* S.H. Anaṅga-Bāyu-Sūtra) which title is followed by the words: *śiva-boddhi*, nowhere else to be met. In 5 *ślokas* the 5 Tathāgatas Verocana etc. are enumerated, each name preceded by the colour (in the case of Amoghasiddhi, where we expect *viśva*, my text has *arīṭ(a)*; could *arīpra*, spotless, or: *harīta* be meant?) and followed by his *mudrā* (for Vairocana we expect *bodhyagri* but find *dhvaja*) and his *jñāna* (recognisable; for Ratnasambhava we expect *ākāśa śānta* but find *samanta*); the 5 of them according to the third *pādas* are *sarvakaraveropetaḥ*. Now this *stuti amūjā riṅ gunuṅ, sagara, sēma, paryānan, meru vēnan*, *i.e.* may be used for adoration to the Mountain [Gunui Agui] and to the Sea [and the Lake, the fertility through water, the second most important godhead in Bali], [to Durgā in] the graveyard, to the other celestial gods and those for whom a *meru* has been erected (*e.g.* the founders of the Klungkung dynasty of rulers, I presume).

The second *stuti* which is *paḍa* with the Anaṅga-Bāyu-Sūtra is the Praṇava-Bheda-Stuti, completely published by Lévi, *o.c.* on pp. 46/47. After the *pakētis*, directed towards Pṛthivī, Apaḥ, Tejā, Bāyu etc. it states as its *don*, aim: *pañastava niṅ bhū ı, pitara, Durgā, manuṣa, vēnan*, *i.e.* it may be used in honour of *bhūtas* and *pitaras*, Durgā and mankind.

Unfortunately this indirect light in this case proves to be rather unsatisfactory for elucidating the ritual setting of Anaṅga-Bāyu-Sūtra.

⁴⁰) *O.c.* p. 51 Yama-Rāja-Stava and p. 52 Yama-Stava.

⁴¹) *O.c.* p. XXIV No. 21.

preceding instance ⁴²), no meaning can be made out" [of it]. He continues by remarking: "The following [7] verses [the first of them again beginning with om] are invocations to Śiva in different forms, and Nārāyaṇa, Nārāyaṇī, Durgā."

I have always found these 7 verses as an entity called Bhūta-stava ⁴³ and have never found them preceded by any other *śloka*, but then Lévi's informant(s) also combined "Giripati deva-deva" and "Namas te Bhagavan Agne" ⁴⁴). The first *śloka* I only found either separate ⁴⁵) or as *śloka* No. 10 (No. K in the first Yama-Rāja-Stuti, *infra*) of the preceding Yama-Rāja-stava of which Lévi gives ⁴⁶) 6 lines of 16 syllables. Lévi refuses to admit that these were meant to be in *anuṣṭubh* metre and in his irritation concludes his comments with the remark, ". . . totally un-intelligible."

Now, however, thanks to the PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA we have to hand the full 10 *ślokas* of this *stuti* (II) ⁴⁷), 11 *ślokas* of another *stuti* (I) ⁴⁸), a third one consisting of one *śloka* only (III) ⁴⁹), and if one wishes so to consider it, the 10th *śloka* leading its own existence either independently (IV) ⁵⁰) or, as the final *śloka*. Finally the VEDA PŪRVAKA furnishes us with two Yama-Rāja-Stuti of medium length, one of which (V) ⁵¹) gives us a valuable line; the other ⁵²) does not contribute to this paper.

(This is what I transliterated from the Buddhist *purohita*'s copybook, only with this exception that I drew attention to missing syllables and had to choose a place for doing so. In the *ma[ntra]* of the *Fakētis* I suggest *u* in *b.vah* and *i* in *t.ya*, though it is as likely that other syllables may have vanished. Though in the first line one is inclined to recognise *bhūr-bhuvah-svah* and *pañkaja-deva*, in the second line *bhūta*, *tātuka* and *pisāca*, in the third line *bhayo*, *daitya* and *Rahu*, in the fourth line *yuddha* and *Caṇḍā*, in the fifth line *girīn*, *ādbhuta* and *saṁpūrṇa*—the context is too obscure to admit of interpretation, at least by me. The *śru[tī]* itself offers a fair example of illustration for the remarks *supra* concerning spelling, misspelling and inconsistency of spelling in Balinese ritual texts.)

⁴²) Yama-Rāja-Stava p. 50; commentary p. XXIV No. 20.

⁴³) K 71 l. 43b, LIGYA; K 102, l. 14b, PITṚ KINĀRAṆAN; K 1186 l. 8a, PŪJĀ PAÑCA BALI KRAMA; K 1843, p. 50, ASTAVA MANTRA (+ paraphrases).

⁴⁴) Sanskrit Texts, o.c. p. 50 bottom.

⁴⁵) Eka-Yama-Rāja in PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA p. 31; Yama-Rāja-Stava in VEDA PŪRVAKA (V.P.) K 2193 p. 12, p. 13.

⁴⁶) O.c. p. 50.

⁴⁷) PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA p. 32.

⁴⁸) PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA p. 31.

⁴⁹) O.c. p. 33.

⁵⁰) Eka-Yama-Rāja in PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA p. 31; Yama-Rāja-Stava in VEDA PŪRVAKA (V.P.) K 2193 p. 12, p. 13.

⁵¹) VEDA PŪRVAKA p. 2.

⁵²) VEDA PŪRVAKA p. 12:

<i>Yamaraja</i> sadomeya,	sarvakalatahicatvam;	sarvakalalakalivam,	dvidasapancakalavam.
Pancasuta <i>Yamaraja</i> ,	pancakalapancabhutvam;	pancavililatvanam,	pancayaksaraksasante.
<i>Yamaraja</i> brastandewam,	sarvakalatyarupavam;	Kala-Rudra-purusanca,	Prajapati Kala-pradam.

IṬY ĀSTUTI YAMA RAJA, ŚRU. (I)

(in Pūrvaka Veda Buddha, MS p. 32)

A.	Om uñ Śri Guru praja Pūrvanain, bajrastrāyādhipataye,	sphatikā Vaśudevaya; hatma-rākṣā bhaye namah.
B.	Om Śri Maheśvarā Ghnya se na, dhūpāstraya mahā-tikṣṇa,	ya ta va la śca na de va; atma-rākṣa bhaye namah.
C.	Om Śri Brahma praja Dhakṣiṇa, daṇḍa-hastrādhipataye,	rakta-varṇa ya di ma he; atma-rākṣa bhaye namah.
D.	Om Śri Rudra praja Nerityañ, mukṣalāstra mahā-tikṣṇa,	padma-rāga śca devaya; atma-rākṣa siñha ga mah.
E.	Om Śri Mahā-deva prajenam, piṭa-varṇa pāsāstraya,	Paścima pa dho hañ kā rah; rākṣa siñhā da ya hi tah.
F.	Om Śri Śankāra pratimaśca, dhvajāstra --- dig dha na yuh,	Bayabya syama-varṇaya; rākṣa su-rākṣa ta ye tu.
G.	Om Śri Viṣṇu praja Uṭaram, gaḍāstraya mahā-bētyam,	nila-varṇa śca dharanam; atma-rākṣa bhaye namah.
H.	Om Śri Sambhu prajā Airṣanyam, triśūlāstra mahā-tikṣṇa,	dhumbra-varṇa śca na bētya; atma-rākṣa bhaye namah.
J.	Om Śri Guru prajā Adhah tyañ, bajāstrayadhipataye,	gora-varṇaya di ma he; atma-rākṣa bhaye namah.
K.	Om Śri Mahā-Śiva-Darśanañ, 'kuṣa-astra mā-puruṣa,	prajā Urddha śuddha-varṇam; atma-rākṣa sarvya-sandhyam.
L.	Om Śri Śiva Mahā-De . . . vañ, padmā-astra pūrṇa-bhayañ,	praja Madhya spaṭi-varnam; atma-rākṣa bhaye namah.

Paktisnya, ma.

Om rep rap rēp rēp bhur b.vah svah, bhu tṭa ta lu ka hi t.ya, loh bha yo dhik sa hum, dañ kañ drañ bhrañ rañ rañ rem . . . gi rin ād bhu ṭa ka la . . . ,	añ añ rēm rēm pañ ka ya de va, pi saj ca hi . . . ka ra hu, pa ṭa nañ de tya ka ra hu, ya pa yud dha pa caṇ ḍa . . . , sam pūr ṇa ye namah svahā. tlas.
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Once the original text has been made accessible in print, one feels himself free to make at least some slight endeavours for its emendation, if not an obligation to do so—even when one is convinced that this text has been written in Java and never has been correct Sanskrit. The first reason for this conviction is caused by the inconsistency of datives, even if one substituted *bhr̥te* for *bhaye* 7 times in the 4th *pādas*. In the second place *prajā* in Sanskrit means procreation, propagation, birth, offspring, man, mankind, people, subjects, from *pra-Vjan*, to be born or produced. In Old-Javanese the four last-mentioned meanings are met with, but in addition to the meaning “subjects” we find a *locus* which only admits

of the translation realm; I think that the collectivity of a king's subjects has been connected with the word for king (*raja*) and then applied to his realm. This extension or transition in meaning is quite understandable, but it is not Indian; it is Javanese.

A cautious endeavour to emendation offers these results:

Iti YAMA-RĀJA-STUTI

A.	Om um Śrī Guru prajā Pūrvana(m), vajrāstrāyādhipataye,	sphaṭika Vasudevāya; ātma-rakṣā bhaye namaḥ.
B.	Om Śrī Maheśvarāgneya-stha, dhūpāstrāya mahā-tikṣṇa,	ya pavalaś ca devāya; ātma-rakṣā bhaye namaḥ.
C.	Om Śrī Brahmā prajā Dākṣiṇa(m), daṇḍa-astrādhipataye,	rakta-varṇāyādhimahe; ātma-rakṣā bhaye namaḥ.
D.	Om Śrī Rudra prajā Nairṛtya(m), musalāstra mahā-tikṣṇa,	padma-rāgaś ca devāya; ātma-rakṣa-siṅha namaḥ.
E.	Om Śrī Mahā-deva(m) prajānām. pita-varṇa-pāśāstrāya,	Pāścima-pāde 'haṅkāraḥ; rakṣā-siṅha dāya-hitah.
F.	Om Śrī Śaṅkara-pratimāś ca, dhvajāstra . . . digdha na yuh,	Vāyavya-śyāma-varṇāya; rakṣā-su-rakṣatāyai 'stu.
G.	Om Śrī Viṣṇu prajā Uttara(m), gadāstrāya mahā-bhṛtya(m),	nila-varṇaś ca dhāraṇam; ātma-rakṣā bhaye namaḥ.
H.	Om Śrī Śambhu prajā Aiśānya(m), tri-sulāstra mahā-tikṣṇa.	dhūmra-varṇaś ca na bhṛtya; ātma-rakṣā bhaye namaḥ.
J.	Om Śrī Guru prajā Adhaḥ tvam, vajrāstrāyādhipataye,	gaura-varṇāyādhimahe; ātma-rakṣā bhaye namaḥ.
K.	Om Śrī Mahā-Śiva-Darśanaḥ, aṅkuśāstra mā-puruṣa,	prajā Ūrdhva(m) śuddha-varṇam; ātma-rakṣā sarva-sandhyām.
L.	Om Śrī Śiva-Mahā-De . . . vaṁ, padma-astra pūrṇa-bhayam,	prajā Madhya sphaṭi-varṇam; ātma-rakṣā bhaye namaḥ.

Song of Praise to the Ruler of the Realm of Death.

- A. Homage be to / Śrī Guru Vaseduva / his realm in the East / crystal-coloured / the Ruler with the thunderbolt as a weapon / who protects me (when I am) in danger.
- B. Homage be to / Śrī Maheśvara / residing in the South-East / pink-coloured / the god with the (vessel for) incense as his "weapon" / (who is) very vehement / protecting me when I am in danger.
- C. Homage be to / Śrī Brahmā / his realm in the South / red-coloured as we learn / the Ruler with the cudgel as a weapon / who protects me when I am in danger.
- D. Homage be to / Śrī Rudra / his realm in the South-West / (red) lotus-coloured / the god with the mace as a weapon / very vehement / as a lion protecting me when I am in danger.

- E. (Homage be to) / Śrī Mahādeva / whose realm is in the West / the proud one / yellow-coloured / with the magical noose as a weapon / as a lion in protecting / agreeable to gifts.
- F. (Homage be to) / Śrī Śaṅkara the creator / in the North-West / dark-coloured / with the flagstaff as a weapon / he be an excellent protector.
- G. Homage be to / Śrī Viṣṇu / whose realm is in the North / blue-black-coloured / protecting / with a club as a weapon / rich in servants / who protects me when I am in danger.
- H. Homage be to / Śrī Śambhu / whose realm is in the North-East / purple-coloured / without (?) servants / with the trident as a weapon / who is very vehement / who protects me when I am in danger.
- J. Homage be to / Śrī Guru / you whose realm is Underneath / yellowish-(reddish-)coloured as we learn / the Ruler with the thunderbolt as a weapon / who protects me when I am in danger.
- K. Homage be to / Great Śiva the Observer / whose realm is Aloft / bright-coloured / with the elephant-driver's hook as a weapon / rich in servants / who protects me in all junctures.
- L. Homage be to / Śrī Śiva / the Great / whose realm is in the Centre / crystal-coloured / with the lotus as a weapon / highly frightening / who protects me when I am in danger.

Yama-Rāja-Stuti I is composed in Archipelago Sanskrit and appears to be a *pa-idēr-an*, a spiritual circumambulation through the points of the compass, a form of praise to the god(s) which recurs frequently. Without exception each *pāda* begins with the name of a god which is preceded by the word *Sri*. The third *pāda*, again without exception, mentions the *sañjata/astra*, the god's weapon or attribute. In K3 '*kuśa* is certainly an abbreviation *m.c.* for *aṅkuśa* ⁵³); Indonesian languages like Malay, Javanese and Balinese have a tendency to convert their monosyllabic and tri-syllabic morphemes into bi-syllabic ones; *aṅkuśa* is split up as *a-ṅku-śa*. — The point of the compass is generally expressed in the first *pāda*; the colour (with a few exceptions) is given in the second *pāda*. Only in the B *śloka* is there apparently no mention of a colour, but the apparent omission can easily be accounted for. In H, G & D the word for the colour is followed by *śca*, so that one is inclined to look for a word indicating the colour, pink, in the second *pāda* preceding the *śca* in the 3e syllable. The dictionary ⁵⁴ does, in fact, give *paval*, meaning pink, a word which it derives from Prākṛt *prabāla*; the remaining

⁵³) The most scholarly work in which this subject has been dealt with is Dr. P. H. Pott, "Yoga en Yantra in hunne beteekenis voor de Indische Archaeologie", Ph.D. thesis Leiden 1946, Brill, Leiden; in course of being translated.

⁵⁴) Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk, "Kawi-Balinesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek", I-IV, Landsdrukkerij, Batavia, 1897-1912; IV p. 222.

problem is whether the maker of our hymn used a word **pavala* which he completed with *śca* (as in D2e, G2e & H2e) or the more modern word *paval* (*tavala* being a mere copyist's error, and a simple one to that).

All the fourth *pādas* contain the word *rakṣā*, generally *ātma-rakṣā*, self-protection or self-protecting, a classification-name for a numerous class of *mantras* found in Bali ⁵⁵). *Bhaye*, in danger, is only a natural addition, though one would prefer to read the dativ *bhṛte*; followed by *namaḥ*, homage to; these final and decisive words are far from unusual. In D4 one feels inclined to read *namaḥ* for *gamaḥ*, in which case the preceding *siṅha* might mean "a lion" of [a self-protection]. With K4e-h the poet perhaps means *sarva-sandhye*, in all kinds of [dangerous] twilight and junction; in the same way in L3 *pūrṇā-bhayam* might be meant as *pūrṇa-bhaye*, in "full" danger, in absolute fear.

The additional *Pakētis* [directions of] sprinkling [holy water], seems to be deficient in some places and the form in which it has been handed down to us cannot be relied upon. It would be better to study it in conjunction with similar Tibeto-Mongolian Tantric formulas ⁵⁶), which are not unfrequent in Balinese Buddhist ritual. — Still the eleven fourth *pādas* of the hymn itself are sufficiently clear to explain the *don*, aim of the whole *stuti*: viz. self-protection.

Namaḥ, homage to, as a conclusion of 7 or even 8 out of 11 *ślokas* corresponds with the following 12 datives: 2 × *devāya* in 2fgh of A & D, 2 × *-varṇāya* in F2fgh & J2cde, 3 × *adhipataye* in 3d-h of A, C & J, and 4 × *astrāya* in 3bcd of A, B, G and J and once in E3fgh. L1 & F3 are 1 syllable short, and though L3a-d reads *padma-astra*, it is not Sanskrit and opposed to the *sandhi* in all other "correct" *astras*, with the exception only of that in K3. Here I feel uncertain whether to read *aṅkuśāstra māpuruṣa* or "'*kuśāstra mahā-puruṣa*", both of them hardly defensible. *M[ah]ā-puruṣa* might have the same meaning as *mahā-bētya* in G3e-h if we read this last word as: *bhētya*, servant ⁵⁷), man at your disposal, your man = *puruṣa*; then it might have the meaning: very useful.

Darśanaḥ in K1, well-known in Javano-Balinese writings, is not known to me as the name of a god, but it corresponds with the Javano-Balinese

⁵⁵) E.g. K 85 ĀTMA-RAKṢĀ-PAREMBON; K 1605 ĀTMA-RAKṢĀ; 883 (MANTRA) ĀTMA-RAKṢĀ, containing (largely in Sanskrit) Rudra-kavaca, Rāma-kavaca, Brahmā-kavaca, Viṣṇu-mūrti, Viṣṇu-kavaca, Viṣṇu-pañjara, Vira-mantra, Brahmā-gāyatrī, Rāja-bhairava, Aṣṭaka-mantra, Durgā-stava, Aṣṭaka-yuddha, Aṣṭaka-nara-siṅha, Saṅ Hyaṅ Aji Kaprajayan, Triloka-vijaya, Saṅ Hyaṅ Kālāstrajaya, Khadga Rāvaṇa.

⁵⁶) "In Sylvain Lévi's Texts from Bali, Baroda 1933, the Tibeto-Mongolian tantric formula HKSMLVRYAM has not been recognized as such and hence is wrongly written in several places" (thesis II forming part of "Ślokāntara, an Old Javanese didactic text, critically edited and annotated" by Sharada Rani, Ph.D. thesis Utrecht 1957, International Academy of Indian Culture, 1957, New-Delhi.

⁵⁷) This word in this meaning is known to Balinese literature, cf. KBNWdbk. IV p. 888.

epithet of Guru/Śiva: *i.e.* Saṅ Hiaṅ Manon, the Divine Seeing-One⁵⁸). In comparable Javano-Balinese theological or mystical writings we find the same god at one time residing in the East, at another time in the Centre; the same can be said concerning Yama-Rāja⁵⁹); so Śrī Guru's appearance in A1 as well as in J1 presents no problem.

Vasudeva in A2 is unexpected and unprecedented in this context, but from a comparison of literary texts (see App.) it becomes clear that the Indian alternative for Kṛṣṇa/Viṣṇu in *śloka* A stands for a very elevated godhead, which, as it designates the East and is in the first *śloka*, is what we would expect.

Prajā is used in the 1de passages of A, C, D, G, H & J, the 2ab passages of K and L; *Prajenam* in E1f-h is comparable with A1f-h *Pūrvenam* and might be explained by the need to add one syllable. — *Pratimā(śca)*, image, in F1e-h might be meant to express a similar thought, since it has the same position as *prajā* and *prajenam*, *i.e.* immediately after the name of the god, and beginning with the same syllable.

In J1h *tyam* for *tvam* presents no difficulty, but H2fgh *nabētya* does not admit of the same explanation as *mahābētyam* in G3e-h despite similarity. — (*a*)*dimahe* (for *adhīmahe*, we learn?) in the 3f-h place of C & J is puzzling; the same applies to B2f, E2d-h, F3e-h, F4f-h, G2f-h. But notwithstanding all these smaller difficulties (to some extent to be expected where there is only one MS available, and that in Archipelago-Sanskrit) two facts are predominant: the general meaning of the text is clear, and Yama-Rāja is not mentioned.

Yama-Rāja is to be found in the Vajrānala-stuti⁶⁰), which, according to its *pakētis*, is to be recited by the Buddhist priest at the *bhūta-yajña*, *pitṛ-yajña*, and lustration-ceremonies of *uttama*-rank; its aim is self-protection and it should be murmured over holy water. Only Buddhist priests use the “*Bajra-pati serobeya*”⁶¹), and only at the death-ceremonies for deceased Buddhist brahmins. And only Buddhist priests use Lévi's so-called “*Pañca-daśa-rasa-stuti* (*Pañca-daśa-vajra-devatā-stuti*)⁶²), be-

⁵⁸) TUTUR RARÉ AÑON K 148 l. 5a/b; BUDA KACAPI CĚMĚŇ K 294 l. 26b, 27b. M. Prijohoetomo, “NAWARUCL, Inleiding, Middel-Javaansche Proza-tekst, Vertaling, vergeleken met de Bimasoetji in Oud-Javaansch Metrum”, Ph.D. thesis Utrecht 1934, Wolters, Groningen, p. 49; translation p. 106.

⁵⁹) Infra p. 16.

⁶⁰) Lévi, o.c. p. 53/54; PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA p. 34/35.

⁶¹) Lévi, o.c. p. 83 ll. 7–12; BV K 2255 l. 21a=Cod. Or. L.U.B. 4165 p. 22.

⁶²) A *stuti* of which hitherto only 13 *anuṣṭubhs* could be traced; Lévi, o.c. p. 44–45. An attentive reader will note that the *stuti* consists of 13 *ślokas* only, and as there are no 15 *rasa* known in the Indian world nor in the Indonesian, 15 is expected to be the number of the *ślokas*, just as in the case of the Tri-, Pañca-, Sapta- & Nava-Gaṅgā in Note 32. My MS of PVB after the *pakētis* ends by summing up: Iti Astuti S.H. Tri-daśa Pañca-rasa, *i.e.* The Thirteen Ślokas on the Five Senses/Tastes—and that might give sense. However, though apparently solving this problem, it offers two new ones. In the first place, beginning with *Oṃ Bajra-prāṇāya*

ginning with the words *Vajra-jvalānala-kāvya*m, which contains the names of the *Vajra-devatās*, only a few of which have hitherto be known from Bali ⁶³). During the death-ceremonies for Buddhist brahmins ⁶⁴) the Buddhist priest uses the *Kāla-rājāstra*-mantra, beginning with *Vajrayantu namo tasme*, which is followed by the words ⁶⁵): My prayer for forgiveness to the Lord Śiva and the Lord Buddha may They no longer assume the shape of Durgā and Bheravī may They again assume the shape of (benevolent) gods”.

The Śiva-priest in Bali, when officiating, uses a *ghaṇṭā* the top of which has the form of a *vajra*; this instrument may be called a *ghaṇṭā-vajra*. This bell he rings continuously when reciting or murmuring his *śloka/śruti*. His Buddhist colleague uses the same bell in the same way, but in addition to it in his left hand holds the *vajra* as a separate cult-object, consisting of the upper part of the usual bell, duplicated with a turn of 180 degrees. In handling these two objects he expresses the importance he ascribes to *vajra* in a quantitative way; it is a visible object ⁶⁶) as well as a supernatural power ⁶⁷).

The Buddhist priest definitely distinguishes himself from the Śiva-priest by manipulating one cult instrument unknown to the latter: the *santi*, a symmetrical direction-post for his prayers made from the same metal as his other cult-instruments; it will be discussed a propos of *Yama-Rāya-Stuti II infra*.

nama svāhā, in the *pakētis* neither 13 *Bajra-devatās* are invoked in accordance with the 13 *ślokas*, nor 15 as one might expect from Lévi's subtitle: *Pañca-daśa-vajra-devatā-stuti*, but 14. They are to begin with the well-known *Pañca-bāyu* *Prāṇa*, *Apāna*, *Vyāna*, *Udāna* and *Samāna* [The Old-Javanese Buddhist treatise S.H. KAMAHĀYĀNIKAN, when enumerating the *pañca-bāyu* in summing up calls them *pañca-rasa*]. The following pentad in the *pakētis*, viz. *Pāśa* (= *Nāga-pāśa* = *Nāga*), *Kūrma*, *Kṛkara*, *Devadatta* and *Phālguṇa* (= *Dhanañjaya*) completes the *daśa-bāyu*. Goris in his thesis p. 62 could not yet find more than these 10 but pointed to Paul Deussen's "60 Upanishads des Veda", Leipzig, 1921, p. 624, where the author between [] produces the 10 given above, adding: *Vairambhana*, *Sthāna-mukhya*, *Pradyota*, *Prakṛta*. Our *pakētis* adds the following tetrad: *Bhérāmya*, *Mūrti*, *Andarayami*, *Prapañcaka*. *Vairambhana* = *Bhérāmya*, but the other 3 constitute the second difficulty mentioned above.

⁶³) Bosch, o.c.

⁶⁴) As appears from BV K 2255 l. 6b = Cod. Or. L.U.B. 4165 p. 6, where only the first 4 syllables are mentioned.

⁶⁵) *Pañakṣamā ulun riñ Ida Bhaṭṭāra Śivāditya Bhāskara mvah Ida Paduka* (note this extra word) *Bhaṭṭāra Buddha-Viśeṣa sampunēn marūpa Durgā marūpa Bhéravī valuya mantuk dadi Bhaṭṭāra. PITṚ PŪJĀ K 36 l. 36a; DVIJĒNDRA K 189 l. 27a.*

⁶⁶) In de Kat Angelino's book o.c. Tyra de Kleen made the plates 4-23 where *vajras* are clearly to be distinguished.

⁶⁷) The fourth-caste *sēnguhu*-priest or *rēsi bhujaniga* uses the collective denominator *bajra* for the five cult-instruments by the manipulating of which he distinguishes himself from any other Balinese priest; cf. Tyra de Kleen's drawings 58-60 in de Kat Angelino's book.

VAJRĀNALA-STUTI ⁶⁸⁾

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h
A.	Yak	ṣa	rū	pam	i	maṁ	de	vaṁ,	viś	va - var	ṇaṁ	ma	hō	da	ram,	
	bhu	jān	trā	dy-a	ṅga-sar	vān	gaṁ,		ūr	dhva-ke	śaṁ	bha	ya	(ñ)	karam.	
B.	a	tām	ra - na	ya	naṁ	cai	va,		ga	dā	hā	la	ka - has	ta	kam,	
	vā	meṣ	ṭa	me	lā	la	jih	vaṁ,	ā	lī	ḍha - pre	ta - vā	ha	nam.		
C.	De	vī - sa	hi	ta - vā	mān	gaṁ,			vā	ma	naṁ	ca	ma	hā - ba	lam,	
	sat	--	ka	he	tu - bhū	taṁ	ca,		sar	va - mā	ra - pra	mar	da	kam.		
D.	Ca	kra - ma	dhye	sthitaṁ	vyaktam,				pra	va	raṁ	mu	kham	ut	ta	mam,
	om - kā	rāk	ṣa	ra - ni	jak	taṁ,			YA	MA - RĀ	JAM	na	māmy	a	ham.	
E.	Yak	ṣa - rū	pam		etc.,				śve	ta - var	ṇaṁ	etc.	in E, F & G.			
H.	Pūr	va - di	śa -	sthitaṁ	vyaktam,				ma	dhyābhi	mu	kham	ut	ta	mam,	
	om - kā	rāk	ṣa	ra - ni	jak	taṁ,			BHĀ	VĀ	BHĀ	VAM	na	māmy	a	ham.
J.	Yak	ṣa - rū	pam		etc.,				rak	ta - var	ṇaṁ	etc.	in J, K & L.			
M.	Dak	ṣi	ṇā - sam	sthitaṁ	vyaktam,				ma	dhyābhi	mu	kham	ut	ta	mam,	
			as supra						SIM	HA - VĀ	HAM	as supra.				
N.	Yak	ṣa - rū	pam		etc.,				pī	ta - var	ṇaṁ	etc.	in N, O & P.			
Q.	Paś	ci	ma		etc.,				MAT	THA	NAṁ	ca	as supra.			
R.	Yak	ṣa - rū	pam		etc.,				kṛṣ	ṇa - var	ṇaṁ	etc.	in R, S & T.			
U.	Ut	ta	ra		etc.,				VAT	SA	LAṁ	ca	as supra.			

PAKETIS-NYA

Om om YAMA-RĀJA viśva-varṇāya nama svāhā
NAMABHAVA (Sic) śveta-varṇāya nama svāhā
SĪMHAHAHA rakta-varṇāya nama svāhā
MATTHANAṆCAYA pīta -varṇāya nama svāhā
VATSALANCA kṛṣṇa-varṇāya nama svāhā.

Iti Sañ Hyañ Bajrānala, yogya pūjākēna riñ ambhūta-yajña, mitra-yajña, madudus aguñ; vēnañ uñcarakēna riñ toya, apan ātma-rakṣā donya. Tēlas.

Vajrānala-Stuti is composed in real Sanskrit; there is no doubt about that; but its present form contains a few corruptions which must be dealt with first. In C3 one syllable is missing. In D3 *nijaktam* does not make sense in Sanskrit (my colleague at SOAS, Dr. J. G. de Casparis, suggests the reading *nijaptam*, and though this word is not to be found

⁶⁸⁾ Lévi o.c. p. 53/54; PŪRVARA VEDA BUDDHA p. 34/35.

either in Monier Williams or in Edgerton, it can be explained and perhaps understood; secondly he suggests *niyuktam*, “associated with”). In A3, if one follows J. Gonda’s paper ⁶⁹), one is inclined to strike out the *r* of *antra*, but more satisfactory would be the bold change of *bhujāntrādyānga* into *bhujāntānghryādi*. The translation of the first tetrad would then be as follows:

- D4-3: I worship Yama-Rāja who is an object of murmuring of the sound *oṅ*,
 D2-1: who is supreme and with a prevailing face, revealing himself in the centre of the magic circle (universe);
 A1-2: this god who has the stature of a *yakṣa*, who is multi-coloured and has a big belly,
 A4 : who is frightening, (by) having the hairs of his head on end,
 A3 : having all parts of the body *viz.* hands, feet, etc.,
 B1-2: who has reddish eyes and holds club and ploughshare in his hands,
 B4 : licking his corps-vehicle (?), (or *ārūḍha*⁰, mounted on?).
 B3 : which is licked by a tongue producing saliva,
 C2 : who has great force, though being dwarfish in stature,
 C1 : of dwarfed limbs, united with (his) goddess—or: because his goddess has been stronger than he (?),
 C4-3 : who is the annihilator of all death, the cause of

In the following four tetrads only the name of the deity is changed, and accordingly his colour. These four godheads are placed at the four main points of the compass; they are no longer *pravara-mukha*, but are *madhyābbhimukha*, looking to the Centre. It will be clear from the colours attributed to the deities that Yama-Rāja is the prominent and central figure, whereas the other four are only his aspects or emanations. They are white, red, yellow and blue-black, but Yama-Rāja, being *viśva-varṇa*, is himself the combination of these four colours. Nevertheless the *stuti* is called Vajrānala-stuti, in the PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA given to me as well as in the papers which the priests gave to Lévi, thirty years earlier.

Vajrānala is not the initial word of this *stuti*, though this is often used to denote one, just as we speak about an “Ave Maria” and a “Te Deum”. And Lévi has stated that, in spite of the title, the name of Vajrānala even does not occur in the *stuti* ⁷⁰). He was not successful in tracing this *stuti* in *tantras* known to him, but quotes at length from the Sarva-durgati-pari-śodhana, where Vajrānala is mentioned as one of numerous Vajra-devatās. He states moreover that the five gods are regular attendants of the five Dhyāni-Buddhas: Yama-Rāja of Akṣobhya, Sīnhavāhana of Ratnasambhava, Matthana of Amitābha, Vatsala of Amoghasiddhi, Bhavābhava (Manābhava in my MS) of Vairocana.

⁶⁹) “Altind. ०anta, ०antara, usw.”, BKI 97, 1938, pp. 453-500.

⁷⁰) O.c. pp. XXIV-XXVI.

For two reasons I think Lévi was on the wrong track. In the first place neither in India nor in Indonesia are servants/followers/attendants considered as deserving honour; the contrary is the case ⁷¹⁾, so that I doubt that divine homage would be given to attendant-gods. Moreover it should be noted that neither of these five gods, their place in the Universe nor the colours attributed to them, are Buddhist but Śaivite ⁷²⁾ or rather of Javano-Balinese Śaiva-Buddhism. Though Lévi knew Bosch' treatise based upon the Sanskrit NĀGA-BĀYU-SŪTRA in combination with the Old-Javanese KALPA BUDDHA, and used it, he overlooked the possibility that it might help him to a solution. Yama-Rāja c.s. appear to be the *krodha*-forms of the Dhyāni-Buddhas, the Pañca-Tathāgata, whose "knowledge", colour, position of the fingers, vehicle, world or paradise, name-when-angry, activity and four (*Bajra*) attendants are specified. Vajrānala-Stuti is not homage directed to five attendant-gods selected arbitrarily from among the 20 attendant-gods of the benevolent Pañca Tathāgata; it is a long and repeated effusion of mortal fear and veneration for the angry manifestation of the Dhyāni-Buddhas.

The link-up gives us the following colour arrangement:

Nāga-Bāyu-Sūtra and Kalpa-Buddha: Buddha-Veda, Nara-siṅha-Stuti in PVB 16 (generally speaking: Balinese Buddhism)				Vajrānala-Stuti completed by pakētis, Yama-Rāja-Stuti I & II (first half), (gen. speaking: Bal. Buddhism & Śiva-B.)			
Vairocana	śveta	Centre	Namabhava	E śveta	Guru	Sadyojāta	Kursika
Ratnasambhava	pīta	South	Siṅhavaha	S rakta	Brahmā	Bāmadeva	Garga
Amitābha	rakta	West	Matthana	W pīta	Mahādeva	Tatpuruṣa	Metri
Amoghasiddhi	viśva	North	Vatsala	N nīla	Viṣṇu	Aghora	Kuruṣya
Akṣobhya	nīla	East	Yama-rāja	C viśva	Uppergod	I(namu)	Pratañjala

My informant was not hindered by this state of affairs, and for the moment we will leave it at that.

In the preceding pages we have found that Yama-Rāja c.s. are *krodha*- (angry) manifestations of the Pañca-Tathāgata. It is also evident that we are confronted with a complication; the different location-cum-colour of the gods according to the purely Buddhist or Śiva-Buddhist pantheon in which they occupy a "seat". If we now take the second Yama-Rāja-Stuti, which I admit is of a highly artificial structure (according to Lévi "totally unintelligible") ⁷³⁾ one major and several minor difficulties are added to the existing ones, but the minor ones admit of solutions, so that a real result can be envisaged.

Fortunately here we have not only the Buddhist *purohita*'s text at our

⁷¹⁾ SARA-SAMUCCAYA, ed. Raghu Vira, IAIC 1962, a collection of 517 Indian maxims in Sanskrit with Old-Javanese paraphrase, repeatedly translated in Balinese and Indonesian, is very explicit on this point (303).

⁷²⁾ Pott, "Yoga en Yantra", o.c. text Ch. V, Plates, Tabela.

⁷³⁾ Lévi, o.c. p. 50.

disposal, but two more texts from other manuals of ritual. The one is called LIGIA and accordingly should deal with (*ma*)*ligya*, a death ceremony celebrated three Balinese years after cremation ⁷⁴). The MS, No. 71 of the Kirtya-collection, actually contains many more matters in the field of ritual. It originates from Denpasar where no Buddhist *griya* exists today and most probably there was not one thirty years ago, when the MS was copied. In fact *Maligya*, to the best of my knowledge, is a ceremony not specially Buddhist, but one at which Buddhist priests as well as Śiva-priests may officiate or cooperate in officiating, both and at the same time using their own ritual.

The other MS is called PAÑCA BALI KRAMA, K 1186; this is the name of a great lustration ceremony in which the fourth-caste *sēṅghu*-priest or *rēsi bhujāṅga*, the exorcist par excellence, also takes part. — These two MSS, apart from insignificant scribal errors, follow the same tradition, from which the Buddhist version in the second pentad of *ślokas* deviates considerably and deliberately. It therefore seemed easiest for the reader's correct understanding of these MSS to print them throughout synoptically.

Before arriving at a preliminary conclusion we will consider first six general rules that can be drawn from the first five *ślokas* and then make three observations.

1. As Lévi has stated, A begins with *Sadyojāta*, B with *Bāmadeva*, C with *Tatpuruṣa*, D with *Aghora*, E with I for *Īśāna*. These *pañca-brahma* sa-ba-ta-a-i in the second pentad are followed by the *pañca-tīrtha* na-ma-Śi-vā-ya, and together form the *dasāksara* which are *passim* to be found in Balinese metaphysical treatises ⁷⁵).

2. *Sa* in A1a is repeated in 1h, 2a and 2h, 3a and 3h, 4a and 4h; *Ba* in B2a is repeated

3. A1fgh = A2cba; A2fgh = A3cba; A3fgh = A4cba; A4fgh = A1abc. This system is maintained throughout the 10 *ślokas*; in C the poet even managed to construct 1a-e = 4h-d.

4. In A-E we recognise the well-known Balinese system of *paidēran*, circumambulation.

5. A-E are "anchored" with so many indispensable words and rules that the few remaining free "gaps" give me the impression of being at random filled up with syllables at random; at least I was not successful in making sense out of them.

⁷⁴) The word *maligya* may be derived from Tamil *maligai*, borrowed in Malay and used for palace; miniature palaces should be used with *maligya* according to KBNWdbk s.v.

⁷⁵) Cf. Goris, o.c. Index; Dr. med. Wolfgang Weck, "Heilkunde und Volkstum auf Bali", Stuttgart 1937, Ch. III. 5, Die magischen Schriftzeichen, pp. 67-80.

YAMA-RĀJA-STAVA

(II first-half)

		a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h
A	PVB.	Sa	dyo	jā	tan	Pū	rva	de	śa	sa	di	rva	Ku	rṣi	ka	ri	ka,
pāda	71,	Sa	dyo	jā	tam	Pū	-va	de	śa	sa	di	nya	Ku	-ṣi	ka	ri	sa,
1-2.	1186	Sa	dyo	jū	tan	Pū	rva	de	śa	sa	da	kva	Ku	rṣi	ka	ri	sa,
pāda	PVB.	sa	ri	ka	śve	ta	ba	ja	sa	sa	gan	ba	jra	nda	ja	nyo	sa.
3-4.	71,	sa	ri	ka	ba	jra	śve	ta	sa	sa	---	śve	na	gna	ja	tyo	sa.
	1186	sa	ri	ka	ba	jra	śve	ta	sa	sa	ta	śve	na	nda	ja	tvo	s-
B	PVB.	Bā	ma	de	va	Dā	kṣi	ṇa	ba	ba	kta	Gar	ga	A	mi	tā	bha.
pāda	71,	Bā	ma	de	va	Dā	kṣi	ṇa	ba	--	ṇa	kṣi	-ar	ga	ra	kta	ba,
1-2.	1186	Bā	ma	de	va	Dā	kṣi	ṇa	ba	ba	ṇa	kṣi	Gar	ga	ra	kta	ba,
pāda	PVB.	ba	kta	ra	kta	a	ru	ta	ba	ba	ta	mi	da	ṇda	de	ma	ba.
3-4.	71,	ba	kta	rā	ga	lyA	mi	tā	bha	ba	ta	mi	da	ṇda	de	ma	ba.
	1186	ba	kta	rā	ga	lyA	mi	tā	bha	ba	ta	mi	da	ṇda	de	ma	ba.
C	PVB.	Ta	tpu	ru	ṣa	Pa	ści	ma	ta	ta	ma	śca	Me	tri	cas	pī	ta,
pāda	71,	Ta	-pu	ru	ṣa	Pa	ści	ma	--	ta	ma	śca	Me	tri	sa	pī	ta,
1-2.	1186	Ta	tpu	ru	ṣa	Pa	ści	ma	ta	ta	ma	śca	Me	tri	sa	pī	ta,
pāda	PVB.	ta	pī	ta	si	ki	ma	-gi	ta	ta	-ga	rgi	pā	śa	ru	tsu	ta.
3-4.	71,	ta	pī	ta	si	ki	ma	rgi	ta	ta	rga	ti	pā	śa	ru	tpu	ta.
	1186	ta	pī	ta	si	ki	ma	-gi	ta	ta	rga	ti	pā	śa	ru	tpu	ta.
D	PVB.	A	gho	ra	U	tta	ra	tmi	a	a	tmi	ra	Ku	ru	ṣya	ti	a,
pāda	71,	A	gho	ra	U	tta	ra	tmi	a	a	tmi	ra	Ku	ru	ṣya	ti	a,
1-2.	1186	A	gho	ra	U	tta	ra	tmi	a	a	tmi	ra	Ku	ru	ṣya	ti	a,
pāda	PVB.	a	la	syu	ga	rut	kṛ	ṣṇa	a	a	sta	kṛt	ca	kra	ra	-ho	a,
3-4.	71,	a	la	syu	ga	rut	kṛ	ṣṇa	a	a	sna	kṛt	ca	kra	ra	gho	sa,
	1186	a	la	syu	ga	rut	kṛ	ṣṇa	a	a	sta	kṛt	ca	kra	ra	gho	a,
E	PVB.	I	na	mu	rva	ya	Ma	dya	i	i	dya	ma	Pra	ta	ñja	la	i,
pāda	71,	I	na	pu	rva	ya	Ma	dya	i	i	dya	ma	Pra	ta	ñja	la	i,
1-2.	1186	I	na	pu	rva	ya	Ma	dya	i	i	dya	ma	Prā	ta	ñja	la	i,
pāda	PVB.	i	la	ñja	dhū	mra	dya	tma	i	i	tma	dya	pa	dma	mu	da	i.
3-4.	71,	i	la	ñja	dhū	mra	dya	tma	i	i	tma	dya	pa	dma	mu	na	i.
	1186	i	la	ñja	dhū	mra	dya	tma	i	i	tma	dya	pa	dma	mu	na	i.

6. Reading in a reversed order is black magic and aims at reversing the Cosmic Order, one of the points discussed in that very able introduction by Dr. J. L. Swellengrebel to "Bali, Studies in Life, Thought and Ritual".⁷⁶⁾ Though Swellengrebel's own collection of 65 magical formulas⁷⁷⁾ was of no assistance, in Weck's book we find *e.g.*: "When one intends to cause diarrhoea and vomiting to somebody, he imagines his victim's place of the *tri-mūrti* as reversed reversing the situation"⁷⁸⁾. And my Buddhist informant explained to me that in his ritual *am* stands for life, *ah* for death, and the result of uttering *am ah* is opposite to that of *ah am*⁷⁹⁾.—

1. In A3d–g the MSS 71 & 1186 read *bajra*, *śveta* and PVB reads *śveta*, *ba[j]ra*; in A4cd the MSS 71 & 1186 have *śvena*, PVB has *bajra*, this time correctly. PVB as well as the MSS 71 & 1186 appear to have been subject to manipulation.

2. In B2d–g the MSS 71 & 1186 read (*G*)*arga*, *rakta*, followed by 3e–h *Amitābha*, whereas PVB in B2c–h reads *Garga*, *Amitābha*, in 3cd followed by *rakta*. *Amitābha* is not necessary here, and though the colour *rakta* is right, *Amitābha* belongs to the West and not to the South.

3. *Dhūmra* in E3de, "smoke-coloured, dark-coloured, dark-red, purple", is given as the colour for the Centre; never I had found this mentioned in Javano-Balinese *paidëran* before.

Summing up we can say that the *ślokas* A–F have only a few minor mistakes which can easily be corrected. *Pañca-Rēsi* one might translate with five *anchorites*, and their other designation, *viz. Pañca-Korsika* with: five (anchorites) of whom *Kursika* is the first to be mentioned. According to the long incantation PŪRVA BHŪMI KAMŪLAN⁸⁰⁾ recited by the exorcist by profession, the *rēsi bhujāṅga* or *sēṅghu*-priest, four out of these five, far from being harmless vegetarian saints actually are the uninstructed/uninitiated, disobedient⁸¹⁾ and cursed sons of the Highest God. They are the *krodha*-manifestations of *Īsvara*, *Brahmā*, *Mahādeva*, etc. and each of them occupies his own direction of the compass.

The first pentad of *ślokas* and gods has now been dealt with⁸²⁾; now follows the second pentad.

⁷⁶⁾ W. van Hoeve Ltd., 1960, pp. 51–52.

⁷⁷⁾ "Balische Bezweringspreuken", TBG 83, 1949, pp. 159–176.

⁷⁸⁾ O.c. p. 77.

⁷⁹⁾ Examples in BUDDHA VEDA and PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA.

⁸⁰⁾ Cod. Or. L.U.B. 5360, 7^o folia 1–4; private collectanea.

⁸¹⁾ According to the prose-writing CANTIŃ KUNINŃ K 1545.

⁸²⁾ In PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA a mistake has been made: the E *śloka* originally stood in the ninth place; this could easily be corrected and was endorsed by the other two versions.

YAMA-RĀJA-STAVA

(II, second half)

		a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h
F	PVB.	Na	vo	yo	na	tya	ba	ve	na	na	vo	Ba	vi	śva	ra	sva	na,
pāda	71,	Na	vo	yo	ni	tya	ba	va	na	na	vo	Ba	vi	śva	ra	sva	na,
1-2.	1186	Na	vo	na	yo	tya	ba	vo	na	na	vo	Ba	vi	śva	ra	sva	na,
pāda	PVB.	na	di	ma	ka	ra	mi	ni	na	na	di	pa	nda	ka	va	ici	na.
3-4.	71,	na	sva	ra	pva	ta	ma	di	na	na	di	ma	ni	do	va	va	na.
	1186	na	sva	ra	pva	ta	ma	di	na	na	di	ma	ni	do	va	va	na.
G	PVB.	Ma	ta	yed	-da	ra	sa	ta	ma	ma	da	sa	tī	-tha	ka	rda	ma,
pāda	71,	Ma	ta	no	nda	ra	sa	da	na	ma	da	sa	tī	rtha	ka	rda	ma,
1-2.	1186	Ma	ta	no	nda	ra	sa	da	ma	ma	da	sa	tī	rtha	ka	rda	ma,
pāda	PVB.	ma	pa	dma	rā	ga	su	to	ma	ma	to	ku	da	yi	no	ta	ma.
3-4.	71,	ma	dra	ka	tre	ka	su	to	ma	ma	to	su	ja	yi	no	ta	ma.
	1186	ma	dra	ka	ṭṛ	ka	su	to	ma	ma	to	su	ja	yi	no	ta	m-
H	PVB.	Si	sa	va	dda	Ba	ye	bya	si	si	nha	ra	hi	kṛ	ta	va	si,
pāda	71,	Si	sa	va	na	ra	na	va	si	si	va	ta	ta	ñca	va	sa	si,
1-2.	1186	Si	sa	va	nda	ra	na	va	si	si	va	ta	ta	ñca	va	sa	si,
pāda	PVB.	si	va	ta	śyā	ma	var	sa	si	si	va	ka	sa	dhva	ja	var	si.
3-4.	71,	si	va	ña	rañ	a	kṛ	va	si	si	va	na	kañ	i	va	sa	si.
	1186	sa	va	ña	rañ	a	kṛ	va	si	si	va	na	kañ	i	va	sa	si.
J	PVB.	Va	tṣa	lo	Er	sa	nya	de	va	va	de	tva	di	li	to	t-a	va,
pāda	71,	Va	tṣa	lo	na	Ma	ha	de	va	va	de	ta	ti	i	lo	tṣa	va,
1-2.	1186	Va	tṣa	lo	na	ma	ta	de	va	va	de	ta	ti	i	lo	tṣa	va,
pāda	PVB.	va	ta	to	so	ma	ji	mo	va	va	mo	tri	śū	la	yo	-si	va,
3-4.	71,	va	ta	to	so	ma	ji	mo	va	va	vo	ji	va	ti	lo	tṣa	va,
	1186	va	ta	to	so	ma	ji	mo	va	va	vo	ji	va	ti	lo	tṣa	va.
K	PVB.	Ya	ma	rā	ja	sa	do	me	ya	yā	me	do	ro	da	yo	da	ya,
pāda	71,	Ya	ma	rā	ja	sa	do	me	ya	ya	me	do	ra	da	yo	da	ya,
1-2.	1186	Ya	ma	rā	ja	sa	do	me	ya	ya	me	do	ro	da	yo	da	ya,
pāda	PVB.	ya	da	yo	ni	ra	ra	kṣi	ya	ya	kṣi	sa	nti	ñi	rā	ma	Ya.
3-4.	71,	ya	da	yo	ni	ra	ya	kṣi	ya	ya	kṣi	sa	nta	ñi	rā	ma	Ya.
	1186	ya	da	yo	ni	ra	ya	kṣi	ya	ya	kṣi	sa	ñca	ñi	rā	ma	Ya.

The *ślokas* F–K in all three MSS are constructed along the same lines as the A–E *ślokas*. J1abc *Vatsalo* = 4hgf; G1abc Matano (according to 71 & 1186) = 4hgf; for PVB's *Matayed* I can only offer the lame excuse of the scribe's error. In H we expect to find *Sin̄ha*–vaha, but find a persistent *Sisa*⁰, though PVB in the corresponding 2ab has *Sin̄ha*⁰. As the *pakētis* to the Vajrānala–Stuti has *vahana* and the text *vaha*, we might venture the supposition that in H1cd *vahana* has been contracted to *vāna*, which according to Balinese practice was subsequently pronounced and written 'vanda and 'vadda. In F1a–d we could expect *Navabhava*; actually 4hgf in K 71 & K 1186 gives some clue with *navava*, for *v* and *b* interchange as in Vajrānala and Bajrānala. And with F1b *vo* pro *va*, we should remember *Vatsalo* and *Matano*. It must be born in mind that in Balinese script *na* and *bha* are barely distinguishable, so that in 1186 F1c the reading is almost correct. Moreover in Balinese writings one often finds *tyas* written as *tvas*, so that we could come to the conclusion that the 1186 MS in F1a–d is not beyond repair. In PVB & K 71 *yo* for *va* the same lines can be followed. The F1d syllable in PVB *na* (via **bha*) might stand for *va* – nevertheless the whole F1cd appears to be corrupt. Despite mistakes, however, there is no doubt that the five deities under discussion can be found here.

There are five more places in which the three texts have an unexpected but understandable word in common. K4h–e ends with *Ya–ma–ra–ni* as the counterpart of K1ad *Yama–Rāja*, and K4ab = 3hg reads *yakṣi*, both of them to be reserved for later discussion. In F2c–f we find *Bavisvara* and here there is no objection to reading (via **mBavisvara*) *Maheśvara*, the god residing in Agneya or Geneya, SE, the direction of the compass not expressed but to be expected after ESWNC in the preceding 5 *ślokas*. Now *i* and *e* often interchange; *v* is often used in stead of *b*; the initial *m* via *mb* is now written *B* and probably pronounced *mB*. *Karda* in G2fg suggests *khadga*, the attribute/weapon of the god of the SW, the point of the compass to be expected here. In Balinese writings *khadga* is found as often as *muksala* (*mosala*) in this connexion⁸³); in passing I would draw the attention to the unusual pronunciation/spelling. *Tirta* in G2de must stand for *pañca–tīrtha*, i.e. *na–ma–Śi–vā–ya*, the letters with which the *ślokas* F–K begin. The *pañca–tīrtha* are the supplement to the *pañca–brahma*, i.e. *sa–ba–ta–a–i*, the letters with which the *ślokas* A–E begin⁸⁴). In B1a–d *Bāmadeva* in the South corresponds to *Garga/Brahmā*, this last not being named but understood. Hence *tīrtha* in G2de corresponds with the non-expressed *brahma* in B.

There are 7 more words, which are only used in the PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA text and which need comment. Though SE and SW are not

⁸³) Result of comparing a score of these texts.—Further information on the *navasaṅga* and its gods, their mounts and attributes, can be found in "The Dikpālakas in Ancient Java" by Dr. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, BKI 111/4, 1955, pp. 356–384.

⁸⁴) Goris, o.c. Index; Weck, o.c. p. 72.

mentioned, we recognise *vāyavya* in J1efg *Bayabya*, and *Ersanya* in Jidef. In accordance with *Bayabya* is the colour *śyāma* in H3de, just as *padma-rāga* in G3b-e fits in with (not-expressed) *Neritya*. The Indonesian word *irèn* (black) corresponds with *śyāma*, so that one feels inclined to recognize it in *narai* in H3cd in K 71 and K 1186. Moreover *padma-rāga* fits in with *karda/khadga* in G2fg, just as in H2de *śyāma* fits in with the attribute/weapon *dhvaja*. *Ersanya* is characterized by *triśūla*, and that is what we find in 4cde; hence when we find *santi* in the corresponding place in K4cd we may expect this word to make sense.

Santi has sense and deserves a paragraph in its own right. Tyra de Kleen's Buddhist Priest invariably has a *santi* among his cult instruments (the tallest one); de Kat Angelino describes it as: "the copper *santi* or standard which is turned to the points of the compass during the murmuring of the prayers" ⁸⁵). This corresponds exactly with the "stage-direction" in PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA 46/1: *amitēh (=mamutēr) santi pra kita, añatur-deśa ma, i.e.* turn the *santi* to the four directions of the compass and speak the *mantra . . . dhūpa . . . puṣpa . . . dīpa . . . gandha*; and those of BUDDHA VEDA ⁸⁶): *Vus mañkana aso[lah] patañanan añatur-deśa, santi putēr sakēñ tuñtūñ ka yogīśvara(n), ma. (dhūpa marēp Pūrva; puṣpa m. Dakṣina, dīpa m. Paścima, gandha m. Uttara)*. Though *santi* as an attribute/weapon I have never met before, I think it should be accepted as such. And just as the *initiator* is higher than the *initiandus*, *santi* – not used in daily ceremonial – is the fifth and highest of the cult-instruments just mentioned. Moreover the other cult-instruments of the Buddhist priest are the same as those of his Śivaite colleague, though the Buddhist calls the vessel for holy water *pamandyañan*, the Śivaite calls it *svambha* (from Śivāmha, Śiva's water). The *santi* is the Buddhist priest's only essential distinguishing mark, and though in Buddhist writings I have not found hitherto a eulogy on the *santi* – from the modest pride with which my Buddhist informant showed me a photograph of his father in full dress and sitting before his cult instruments (one of them the *santi*) I am inclined to believe Buddhist priests do attach importance to their *santi*.

(In this connexion we might point to the fact that, judging from the writings of Bali's *rēsi-bhujañga*, the exorcist priest from the non-caste genealogical group of *sēñgulus*, they are immensely proud of their five *bajra* cult instruments, in the handling of which they distinguish themselves from any other Balinese priest, brahmin and non-brahmin alike, and to which they ascribe great power) ⁸⁷).

⁸⁵) W. O. J. Nieuwenkamp in his gigantic three volume book "Bali en Lombok", Edam 1906, III p. 203, depicts a *santi* in a horizontal position (during the ritual it stands vertically). When in 1910 he rewrote the text for the publication of his more handy "Zwerftochten op Bali", Elsevier, Amsterdam, he included his drawing on p. 182, but wrongly added the caption "vuurwaaiertje" to it.

⁸⁶) K 2255 l. 15b=Cod.Or. L.U.B. 4165 p. 17.

⁸⁷) Cf. K 2405 RĒSI VAIṢṆAVA; K 2406 BHUVANA-PURĀṆA; K 2407 BATUR KALAVASAN PĒTAK.

Yama-Rāja-Stava II in the PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA has its *pakētis*, the indication of the gods in the different directions of the compass to which sprinklings must be made. Those godheads are Īśvara, Brahmā, Mahādeva, Viṣṇu (just as in A-D; E has been overlooked, but then the *śloka* itself has been put in the wrong place⁸⁸), Īśora, Rudra, Śaṅkara, Śambhu (all of them in the order of enumeration as was to be expected; but then as the last of them:) BUDDHA! For Him and for His priest the *santi* is the real distinctive and characteristic attribute.

Mahādeva in J3e-h of K 71 baffles me. PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA in F4bc reads *dīpa*, but as we should have *dhūpa* for an attribute in the South East, I am in doubt what to think about this word, as I have never before met *dīpa* written in stead of *dhūpa*⁸⁹). On the other hand in PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA this would be the only attribute not mentioned.

Ya-ma-ra-ni in K4h-e remains to be discussed. The words *rāñī*, *mahā-rāñī* and *Yama-rāñī* are not to be found in the KBNWdbk., though we do find there *mahā-rāja* and *mahā-yati*. Is it permissible to read this 4-syllabic word as the reversal of *Yamarāja* in K1a-d, or is it going too far in considering as many as 4 syllables? Only in C the 4-syllabic initial word *Tatpuruṣa* is refound in the reversed order in 4h-e, but in the eight other *ślokas* either the name of the godhead is shorter or the composer of the hymn did not try or did not succeed in reversing a 4-syllabic name. So external evidence must be sought.

Fortunately two scarcely different *ślokas* could be found seven times in four different treatises⁹⁰); the results are shown *infra*:

Yamarāja Sadomeya, yame *doro* dayo daya, yada yoni *ḷara ma ya, ya . . . sañca* nira-ma-ya.
 Yamarāja Sadomeya, yame *doro* dayo daya, yada yoni *ḷara ma ya, ya ksi sañca* nira-ma-ya.
 Yamarāja Sadomeya, yame *doro* dayo daya, yada yoni *rara ksi ya, ya ksi santi* nira-ma-ya.
 Yamarāja Sadomeya, yame *rodo* dayo daya, yada yoni *sira pi ya, ya pi ra si* nira-ya-ma.
 Yamarāja Sadomeya, yame *rodo* dayo daya, yada yoni *sira pi ya, ya ksi pañca* nira-ma-ya.
 Yamarāja Sadomeya, yame *rodo* dayo daya, yada yoni *sira pi ya, ya pi ra si* nira-ma-ya.
 Yamarāja Sadomeya, yame *nodo* daso daya, yada yoni *sira pi ya, ya ksi pañca* nira-ma-ya.

There are some mistakes; there are some inconsistencies, but *Yamarani* recurs constantly. Moreover, we find *Yamarani* clearly here⁹¹):

Yamedosa Yamedoro, yada yoda yada yoni, yura kṣiya yakṣi yakṣi, YAMARĀJA YAMARĀÑĪ.

Now whatever exactly may have been meant with these syllables, we state the following constructions: 1a-d = K1h-e; 1e-h = K2a-d; 2a-d =

⁸⁸) Cf. *supra* note 82.

⁸⁹) Cf. *supra* note 83.

⁹⁰) Eka-Yama-Rāja-Stava III: a) VEDA PŪRVAKA, K 2193, p. 13;
 b) PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA, private, p. 31;
 de) PITṚ PŪJĀ, K 36, l. 36b;
 fg) PITṚ K-IN-ĀRAṆA-N, K 102, l. 15b.

⁹¹) Yama-Rāja-Stuti IV, PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA p. 33.

K2h-e; 2e-h=K3a-d; 4a-d=K1a-d; 4e-h=K1h-e. It might be not too long a shot to note that YAMARĀJĪ is meant as the female reversal of YAMARĀJA, introduced by the words *yakṣi* and *yoni*; cf. K4ab, 3hg and 3cd. This is only as is to be expected from a text written under Tantric influence. Compare also *supra*, where Śiva and Buddha are implored no longer to assume the shape of Durgā and Bhairavī.

One more YAMA-RĀJA-STUTI (V) is needed for the completion of the picture ⁹²):

Oṅkāra Śrī Daśa Śiva, oṅkāra Śrī Giri tattvaṁ; yakṣa-yakṣi rodra-rodri, aṅ ah Śrī Guru Umānām. Pañca-yakṣa-braṣṭa-Śivo, Śrī Śiva Mahā-Bheravam, suśila Daśa-Rudraśca, Śiva-daśa tatasime. Yamarāja Sadomeya, Yamerāja Sadomaya, Meyarāja Dosamaya, yatattva buhkala pradhānam. Yamarāja tri-satyanam, pañcanam Śrī Yamarāja, buhbakanam jayaraja, tri-catur-kala-vucane.

This Yama-Raja-Stava in its A4ab has the *am/ah* for life/death which so frequently occurs in the Buddhist death ritual; in A4d-g *Guru/Umā*, in A1e-h *Daśa-Śiva* and B3d-g *Daśa-Rudra*, also well-known sounds in the Balinese world; *Yama-Rāja* in C1a-d, D1a-d and D2e-h. More could be said, but the only words for which I ask attention here are *Mahā-Bherava* in *śloka* 2 and *Sadomeya* in *śloka* 3.

To begin with Sadomeya, Lévi begins his Yama-stava (Bhūta-stava) with this *śloka* ⁹³):

Yamarāja Sadomeya, yame duru dayo daya; yada yonī raya kṣiya, yakṣi sañca na-ra-ma-ya.

When giving his comments ⁹⁴) he writes: "Only the first *śloka* is addressed to Yama, and, as in the preceding instance, no meaning can be made out" [of it]. That is true, but to begin with this is a *yamaka*, just as we met them earlier. Sadomeya or Sadomaya might be the Balinese pronunciation of an existing (but not frequently used) Sanskrit word *sadodyama*, "one who always exerts himself". This, however, does not bring us very far. But "Yamarāja Sadomeya" is a rather frequent *pāda*; not only the seven *loci* quoted *supra* in connection with Yama-rājī begin their *śloka* in this way, but then twice ⁹⁵) we find this illuminating addition, both times in exactly the same words: "Oṅ indah ta kita kamu ṅ Hyaṅ Yama-rāja Sadomeya, kita Rāja Krodhādhīpati, veh(t)aku ri kasiddhyanta, oṅ siddhir astu!" This might mean: "Oṅ, kindly pay attention to me, God Yama-rāja Sadomeya, you Angry Lord! give me a part in your success; there may be success!" The word *krodha* fits in very well; but though *adhīpati* should mean the one ruler, we already found this word used for the rulers of the East, the South East, etc. But then a medico-philosophical treatise, BUDA KĒCAPI CĒMĒṆ ⁹⁶) contains a passage concerning Sadumaya

⁹²) VEDA PŪRVAKA, K 2193 p. 2.

⁹³) Sanskrit Texts o.c. p. 51.

⁹⁴) Sanskrit Texts o.c. p. XXIV.

⁹⁵) PITR PŪJĀ, K 36, l. 36b; PAṆLUKATAN, K 516 l. 7a.

⁹⁶) K 294, l. 21a.

with the following words: “*San̄ Hyañ Nava-Devatā matēmahān I Sadumaya*”, that is “the nine gods together are ultimately I Sadumaya”. This, I think, is sufficient.

Śrī Śiva Mahā-Bherava in *śloka* 2 is a very welcome and helpful *pāda*. In Yama-Rāja-Stava I we found in L1 Śrī Śiva Mahā-De . . . va(m) — which is certainly a corruption, as it is one syllable short. Now, however, that we know that we are dealing with *krodha*-emanations, it would seem possible and even convincing to substitute De . . . va by Bherava from that other Yama-Rāja-Stuti.

In this study only four or five *stuti* out of at least a hundred have been discussed, and only some three dozen *śloka* out of perhaps a thousand. This limited number, however, originated from the Buddhist manuals for daily ritual, death ritual and other rituals and therefore can be considered as being fairly representative. Part of it is Sanskrit, part Archipelago Sanskrit and part of it is artificial, demon-language perhaps! This formula was given to Lévi in 1928, to me in 1959, and beyond doubt it forms part of the Balinese Buddhist priest’s ritual. It shows that the composer of Yama-Rāja-Stava II had sound knowledge of Śivaitic hymns to the gods of all directions of the compass and that he was not hesitant about attributing the reversed directions of the compass to the *krodha*-gods. It is also evident that he had the fixed idea that, by the first syllables of their names, these five constituted the holy pañca-brahma na-ma-Śi-vā-ya. For him no *Bhavabhava*⁹⁷⁾ existed but some name beginning with *Na* — but its exact orthography and pronunciation is not ascertainable with certainty in the available MSS. The Bajrānala-Stuti has *Namabhava* (other irregularities-prakritisms? and if so, dating from about when? — are Bavisvara perhaps, paval(a), karda and rani).

Just as Guru and Umā, the benevolent God and Goddess, can only too easily assume their frightful shape and become the malevolent Kāla and Durgā, in the same way Buddha and Vairocana have their horrifying manifestation in Śiva Mahā-Bherava and Yama-Rāja.

⁹⁷⁾ Sanskrit Texts, o.c. p. XXVI.

APPENDIX

THE MEANING OF VASUDEVA

In Sanskrit writings Vasudeva is the father of Kṛṣṇa, who is also called Vāsudeva after his father. The distinction a-ā is alien to Indonesian, and so Vasudeva stands for the father as well as for the son, and Kṛṣṇa may stand for Viṣṇu. There is, however, a passage in Middle-Javanese poetry (written in Bali) which might admit of giving him the rank of the highest god. It is to be found in KBNWdbk. III p. 541 and originates from the version in dēmuñ-metre of the TANTRI, itself ultimately derived from the Indian PAÑCATANTRA, and runs as follows:

<p>Hyañ Vasudevārdhanarēśvarī mvañ sānaniñ vatēk hyañ sa-devāṣṭa-devi pratiṣṭhēñ dala niñ kamala.</p>	<p>God Vasudeva, [Śiva & Umā together as] Ardhanareśvarī and all the 8 <i>lokapālas</i> together with their spouses stand on the lotus petals.</p>
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A prose-version of this same scene, to be found in my "TANTRI KĀMANDAKA, een Oudjavaansche PAÑTJATANTRA-bewerking, in tekst en vertaling uitgegeven", Bibl. Jav. 2, 1931, p. 22/23, uses the following words:

<p>Ri sēdañ niñ vivāha rakva Bhaṭṭārār- dhanarēśvarī sira ta pratiṣṭha ri sañ vinivāha ri kāla niñ pamrēman. Bhaṭṭāra Viṣṇu mvañ Sri Devnira, prasama muñgv irika.</p>	<p>At the occasion of a marriage, Bh. Īśvara & Bh. Umā in their shape as A. stand by the newly-wed in the nuptial couch; so do Bh. Viṣṇu and his spouse Śrī and all the gods.</p>
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This passage is also to be found in a version using more modern metres and more modern language, TANTRI PARIKAN (K 378 l. 5a); here it runs as follows:

<p>Katuturan Bhaṭṭāra Parama Śiva/ tvāra pasah dampati/ di sari niñ padma/ bvin Sañ Hiañ Basudeva/ masih Ardha- nareśvarī/ vatēk devatā/ makōjañ sa- dampati// magēnah di lava n tunjuñe astava.</p>	<p>We have learned from the writings that B.P.S. unseparable from his spouse/ in the centre of the lotus/ also the God B./ and A./ and all the gods/ all of them accompanied by their spouses/ are to be found on the petals of the lotus where they pay homage.</p>
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Though it is difficult to decide exactly what Basudeva stands for in these passages, either Viṣṇu is meant—but then not the Viṣṇu who is one of the 8 lokapālas, but the one in the triad Brahma-Śiva-Viṣṇu—or The Highest God.

Used as we are to think in the terminology of Śaiva-Buddhism, at first sight this may seem awkward. As soon, however, as we are aware of the fact that here we have to do with a royal marriage at court, the word Vāsudeva for the Highest God is only as is to be expected, for when in present-day Bali we study VEDA KṢATRIYA and PŪJĀ KṢATRIYA manuals for the worship of God to be used by *kṣatriyas*, we see that *passim* they direct their praise and prayers to Viṣṇu. An appendix to my book "The way to God of a Balinese Śiva priest" in course of being written will deal with this subject.

To worship Vāsudeva, i.e. Kṛṣṇa/Viṣṇu, as the highest deity is not a Javano-Balinese innovation, but goes back very far in India's past: The Greek Heliodorus of Taxila erected a pillar in honour of Vāsudeva, God of Gods. "When the Kushānas founded a Scythian empire in India, one of the successors of Kanishka took to

himself the name of Vāsudeva.” The geographical distance between this part of India to Bali is not inconsiderable, and so is the chronological distance between those days and XX. century Bali, but links are not entirely missing, as we have seen.

Both references I happened to find in a paper written by Sylvain Lévi ¹⁾, and I am the more grateful for this circumstance as in the course of this study more than once my views had to differ from those of this eminent indologist. In itself it is remarkable enough to find Vāsudeva in this Yama-Rāja-Stava (we might have expected Ekadaśa-Śiva or Ekadaśa-Rudra as its name) as about the highest deity. It is still more remarkable to read that Lévi considers the Vāsudeva-worship as “active propaganda of the Bhāgavatas in competition with the Buddhists”—and then to learn that this stava forms part of the ritual of present-day Buddhist priests in Bali and adjacent Lombok.

¹⁾ “Tato Jayam Udirayet” by Sylvain Lévi, translated by Pramod Chandra from “Memorial Sylvain Lévi”, ed. Paul Hartmann, Paris, 1937, pp. 291–298, in *Purāṇa* [half-yearly bulletin], II Nos. 1–2, 1960, pp. 112–119.

B. YAMA-RĀJĀ-MANTRA

MAGIC AND SORCERY

The preceding part of the study was concerned with stanzas of four times eight syllables, presented as Indian *triṣṭubhs*, *ślokas* in a more or less corrupted Sanskrit or Archipelago-Sanskrit. They are to be recited by Brahman priests in a ritual performed in public. These stanzas are called Veda and they were found, amongst other places, in Buddhist manuals for ritual called VEDA PŪRVAKA and PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA. Yama-Rājā, Ruler of the Underworld and Judge of all souls after death, appears to have become Bhūta-Rājā, the Upperbeing in wrathful manifestation. He is worshipped and offerings are brought to him with the evident objective: *do ut abeas*. This becomes clear from the description of the inauguration of a king at Gianyar, by Schwartz and Swellengrebel ¹⁾. The latter only has repeated it recently using the following words ²⁾:

Offerings for the lords of the demons were arranged on the ground in front of each of the five *saṅgar tavaṅs* (The centre and the 4 directions each have their own group of demons [*bēbutan*, *butabala*] under its own ruler [*butaraja*]). Among these offerings was the Yama-Rāja-offering, a sieve covered with a white *kain* (cloth) and containing the flour of white, black, yellow and red rice, in which the figure of Yama-Rāja had been drawn. Yama is the god of death and the rajah of hell.

Balinese theology differentiates between *deva-*, *ṛṣi-*, *pitṛ-*, *bhūta-* and *mānuṣa-yajña*; that is to say between honouring, in the way of offerings, deity, priesthood, the dead, demons and humans. I will not here deal with *ṛṣi* and *pitṛ*; Yama-Rājā or Bhūta-Rājā may belong to the demons as well as to the gods, according to the wording of the *stuti* or *stava*, song of praise, as shown by *namah*, honour to, and *namāmy aham*, I honour. *Mānuṣa-yajña* is the collective name for certain ritual actions, offerings and formulas which are concerned with the well-being of the human child especially at critical times during his life; they are rites de passage. The words of the concerning formulas are not usually in *ślokas*, but in Javanese or Balinese (even though they are enriched with technical terms taken from Sanskrit); they are called *mantras*. Also to be encountered in this connection is Yama-Rājā ³⁾, in quite elaborate form; it would appear of value to bring this aspect to the front.

¹⁾ "Een Vorstenwijding op Bali, naar materiaal verzameld door . . . Schwartz [based upon materials collected by . . . Schwartz]" bewerkt door [prepared for publication by] Dr. J. L. Swellengrebel, Brill, Leiden, 1947, p. 9.

²⁾ "Bali, Studies in Life, Thought and Ritual". Van Hoeve Ltd., The Hague and Bandung, 1960, p. 48.

³⁾ In DHARMA KAHURIPAN, MS Kirtya 1471, ll. 54b-57a.

He who has position or money calls in the aid of a *padanda* for *mānuṣa-yajña*; the person less endowed with these has to make do with a *pamañku*. Amongst the catalogi of collections of MSS in Djakarta ⁴⁾, Leiden ⁵⁾ or Singaradja ⁶⁾ there was not one MS to be found with the title MĀNUṢA-YAJÑA. A MS dealing with this material bears a more elegant title, e.g. DHARMA KAHURIPAN ⁷⁾, Law of Life (from which the Yama-Rājā-material *infra* has been taken) or KUNA-DRṢṬA ⁸⁾, Learnt from Times Immemorial, or JANMA-PRAVṚTTI ⁹⁾, Human Behaviour.

When however in the 'fifties the Balinese felt a threat of their religion being placed in jeopardy, being part of a republic with a Muslim majority, they set up in each of the seven provinces an office dealing with *āgama*, religious matters. In 1958 in Denpasar appeared a typed, half-foolscap booklet of 26 pages, entitled MANUṢA-YADÑA. This work was composed by Padanda Gédé (Bodha) Njoman Djělantik of Boda Kling, Karangasēm, though this was not mentioned in it. The *padanda* was at that time employed at that office, and was also the author of the manual of a temple priest (*pamañku*) entitled KUSUMA-DEVA. This work also was published anonymously. With reference to his work one needs to be aware that he has added his own Buddhist formulas and even the introductory instructions for ritual purification. However, he is an elderly man who would not invent innovations; he merely passes on in Latin script what he considers to be *adat-istiadat* ¹⁰⁾ and what he derives from existing MSS. In his MANUṢA-YADÑA he deals with the following moments in a person's life and what should be done at these occasions:

- I. *Mariśuddha makurēn* (*masakapan, nantèn*), marriage sanctification.
- II. *Mapahayu bobotan* (*tiñkah aṅgarbhini, ma-gėdon²-an*), (first) pregnancy.
- III. *Pamapag raré ěmbas* (*tutug sasihan*), birth.
- IV. *Kėpus puñsėd* (*kėpus uděl*), falling away of the umbilical cord.
- V. *Roras rakina*, celebration of the twelfth day after the birth.
- VI. *Tutug kakambuhan* (*42 hari*), ritual purification of the mother after 35 + 7 days.
- VII. *Nigañ sasihin* (*nėlu bulanin*), a feast celebrating the baby reaching three months (of 5 × 7 days).

⁴⁾ Lijst der Javaansche Handschriften in de Boekerij van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen [door de Conservator der HSS, Dr. R. M. Ng. Poerbatjaraka in Jaarboek KBG I, 1933 pp. 269-376.

⁵⁾ Dr. H. H. Juynboll, Suppl. Cat. Jav. Mad. Hss., Univ. Bibl., Brill, Leiden, I, 1907, 280 pp.; II, 1911, 552 pp. Dr. H. H. Juynboll, Suppl. Cat. Sund. HSS, Cat. Bal. Sas. HSS., Univ. Bibl., Brill, Leiden, 1912, 224 pp.

⁶⁾ "Mededeelingen van de Kirtya Liefriek-Van der Tuuk te Singaradja (Bali)" contain a list of original stock and several lists of numerous accessions; exact data about these lists including the most recent list of accessions in "Indonesische Handschriften" door R. M. Ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka, Dr. P. Voorhoeve en Dr. C. Hooykaas, KBG 1950, pp. 184-188.

⁷⁾ K, i.e. MS of the Kirtya Liefriek-Van der Tuuk, now Gėdong Kirtya, Singaradja (Bali), No. 1471.

⁸⁾ K 653.

⁹⁾ K 161.

¹⁰⁾ Indigenous institutions.

- VIII. *Awēton (nēm sasih)*, celebration of baby reaching 6 months, after 210 days.
 IX. *Pagētēp bok*, celebration of the first time the baby's hair is cut.
 X. *Nēmpugin (ñëndagin)*, celebration of appearance of first tooth.
 XI. *Makētus*, celebration of teeth changing.
 XII. *Rajasvāla*, celebration of first menstruation.
 XIII. *Magombēt (matatah, masānih)*, filing of teeth.
 XIV. *Mapodgala (madikṣā, dvi-jāti)*, initiation.
 XV. *Mavintēn (masēpuh)*, initiation.

(Those items I–XV are probably customary in Karangasem where Padanda Gēdē Njoman Djelantik spent the greater part of his life. The situation in neighbouring Klungkung appears to be somewhat different. On the cover of the contemporary and comparable booklet DEWA, MANUSA JADNJA ¹¹), the brahman author Ida A. A. Md. Rēgēg, assures us that his enumeration *sampun kemanggehang antuk Ida Peranda Djawatan Agama ring Swapradja Klungkung, kalih Ida Peranda Kerta pensium ring griā Kamasan*, has apparently the approval of the office of religious matters and of the resident retired judge. When comparing the two it appears that the one from Klungkung does not include the items II, IX–XI, XIV & XV's but added is, between IV and V, during the first fortnight of a person's life, *Lēpas Aon*, as an offer to Brahma. Scholars engaged on research in Bali are wont to point to local differentiations ¹²).

The DHARMA KAHURIPAN is very detailed on the point of offering-instructions. In addition it indicates precisely what should be done at the *uttama-*, *madhya-* and *niṣṭa-*celebrations. We would translate that as 1st, 2nd & 3rd class celebrations—the *padanda* deciding who belongs to which class, depending on birth, fortune and social position.

As is often the case in Balinese texts, the writer loses himself at a certain point in casuistry, to such an extent that he seems to lose his line of thought. Item XII, the first menstruation, gives rise to this; this and the marriage ceremony cause the writer to elaborate. In fact they are that much more important to him than the *mapodgala* (XIV) and *mavintēn* (XV) of the *padanda*, that he leaves those two items out. On the other hand he does linger over such matters as the purification offerings for *Eka-daśa-Rudra* (the eleven Rudras, i.e. the Supreme Being in his malignant form conceived in 11 directions of space, as in Yama-Rājā-stava), *Bhūmi lētēh* (desecrated soil), *Alulukatan* (banishing of evil influences), *Kalpāna Sañ Hiañ Yama-Rājā* and *Gēlar Sañ Hiañ Yama-Rājā*, which follow *infra* in text and attempt at translation.

Particularly in prose texts from Bali one can never be certain to what extent the contexts are by the original author or additions by co-authors or copyists. From what we can gather from the DHARMA KAHURIPAN about Yama-Rājā, it is my opinion that it may equally well be added as original. But as long as this passage is encountered in a context, it should be made very obvious that it does not belong there, and until such time it is desirable to give an impression of the context (*supra*).

¹¹) 24 pp. Pustaka Murni, Klungkung; accessible in the libraries of SOAS and Leiden Univ.

¹²) Clifford Geertz, "Form and Variation in Balinese Village Structure", *American Anthropologist* 61, 1959, pp. 991–1012.

Unfortunately the text has been transmitted to us in a rather artificial form, i.e. archaic, in Javanese language; also errors have crept in and I only possess an ordinary typed transliteration. As a result of this it has been more difficult to make emendations. Counteracting this I have been aided through my correspondence with the Balinese I Gusti Made Mayun, Acting Keeper of the Bali Museum at Denpasar, and with I Gusti Ngurah Ketut Sangka, Krambitan (Tabanan), both of whom I would like to thank. I showed them my tentative translation, although I am aware what suggestions that could rise to, insufficiently counterbalanced by my numerous question marks and dots. My informants and persons they in turn sought advice from were unanimous in their answer, namely, that they considered the text to be difficult and corrupted. They hesitated to suggest improvements or translation of the text. For this reason and for the sake of brevity they will all be referred to as B.I. (Balinese informant).—The spelling of this Balinese Javanese conforms with that of the main work.

KALPANA SAṆ
HYAṆ YAMA-RĀJĀ.

APPLICATION OF
THE GODLY YAMA-RĀJĀ.

*Nihan nēmu kalpana Saṅ Hyaṅ Yama-
Rājā, ya ta anābhyāsa.*

Here you will find the application of the godly
Y.R., if you will concentrate your thoughts on
him.

Kalpāna neither in Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk's KBNWdbk. nor in Dr. H. H. Juynboll's Oudjavaansch-Nederlandsche Woordenlijst, but the good-Indonesian derivation *pañalpana* is to be found in a rather metaphysical manual for the ritual of *padanda*'s, the ARGHĀDHYĀTMĪKA, K 73 l. 2b, where we find the enumeration of ten sounds, the *daśākṣara*: *Oṅ oṅ a-ra-ka-sa-ma-ra-la-va-ya-uṅ, namo namaḥ svāhā siva S. H. Daśākṣara pañalpana Bhaṭṭāra Sūkṣma Śiva*. Now Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary translates *alpāna* as "forming, fashioning, making, performing; forming the imagination, inventing, composition of a poem, N. of a religious ceremony; creating in the mind." There is no doubt that *kalpāna*, meaning exactly or approximately the same, formed part of the Old-Javanese vocabulary in the learned milieu, and the translation should read: The Holy Ten Letters are a representation of the Invisible God Śiva." They are a *yantra*, a means by which to concentrate the attention¹³).

Abhyāsa offers no difficulty, but this *vox* is so well-documented and clear in its meaning that it seems worth while to quote the dictionaries for the sake of their evocation of the sphere into which we must penetrate. Monier-Williams: ". . . use, habit, custom [in this meaning a daily word in Malay/Indonesian; C. H.], repeated reading, study; (in latter Vedānta phil.) inculcation of a truth conveyed in sacred writings by means of repeating the same word or the same passage; (in Yoga phil.) the effort of the mind to remain in its unmodified condition of purity (*sattva*); *abhyāsa-yoga*, the practice of frequent and repeated meditation on any deity or an abstract spirit; repeated recollection."

These meanings correspond closely with what we find in Old-Javanese:
'*bhyāsa-nya* pradakṣiṇā-krama (GAṆA-PATI-TATTVA; not very old)¹⁴

¹³ Dr. P. H. Pott, "Yoga en Yantra in hunne beteekenis voor de Indische Archacologie", Ph.D. thesis Leiden, Brill, Leiden, 1946 (in course of being translated).

¹⁴ Mrs. Dr. Sudarshana Devi Singhal, "Gaṇapatitattwa, an Old Javanese philosophic text, critically edited, annotated and translated" [into Hindi], International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, 1958.

abhyāsa (repeated magic practice, S. H. KAMAHĀYĀNIKAN, oldest Buddhist treatise, VIII. C.?)¹⁵)

in-*abhyāsa* (id., ib.)

pañ-*abhyāsa*-nan (place for id.; ib.)

um-*abhyāsa* Sañ Hyañ Samaya (ib.)

um-*abhyāsa* veda-mantra (ĀDI-PARVA, A.D. 1000)¹⁶)

mañ-*abhyāsa* veda-mantra (ib.)

m-*abhyāsa* tīrtha-gamana (ARJUNA-VIVĀHA, slightly more recent)¹⁷)

añ-*abhyāsa* ri svasthā niñ rat (SUMANASĀNTAKA, some centuries younger)¹⁸)

ñon *byasakēna* ñaji yajur-veda [I will again and again recite the y.v. in order to restore to life a snake-bitten tiger; TANTRI, fairly modern 'Middle-Javanese'-Balinese poem]¹⁹).

It will be clear, also by the great variety of derivations, that the Skr. word *abhyāsa* and the ideas suggested by it have become common property in this part of "Greater India".

Finally: the text as it stands may be read either as *ya[n] ta*, "when you", or as Skr. *yat[h]ā*, "like"; I preferred the first in my translation.

I. *Yan avadva kārya-nta : carma niñ uhaya kalih siki, tulisi Yama-Rāja, sēlapakēn riñ ugata ; maka-phala subhaga kita a-sevaka.*

When it is your business to serve: two pieces of crocodile-skin; inscribe them with the Y.R., put them [between your cloths] near to your coccyx; result: belovedness in serving.

Tulis according to the KBNWdbk. is preponderantly used for the writing of letters, and more exceptionally for the drawing of pictures; for this last action *rajañ* is always used in the texts I have consulted: take e.g. the last page of the GAṆA-PATI-TATTVA²⁰): *rajañ Gaṇa, tañan kiva ñagēm cakra, tañan tēñēn ñagēm gadā*, drawing of Gaṇa: a disc in his left hand, a cudgel in his right hand. Swellengrebel²¹) speaks about a f.i.g.u.r.e. of Yama-Rāja, and though he has not witnessed the ceremony he describes, the notes could be right. Our text as it runs consistently uses *tulisi*; in (12) and (15) *surati* is used, but that makes no difference in meaning, for *surat* is only a more refined word for *tulis*. So the words used do not exclude either possibility. Things Balinese notoriously vary from one village to another²²) (though mostly only in detail, the general sense and tendency being the same). *Kalpāna* or *vantra* can be effectuated by means of letters, a drawing and their combination—and the whole problem is not essential.

In my first effort I hesitated between serving and being served. Though a Balinese informant writes to me that this (1) is a matter of having servants and being served. I have my afterthoughts:

¹⁵) J. Kats, "Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan, Oud-Javaansche Tekst, met Inleiding, Vertaling en Aanteekeningen", 's-Gravenhage, Nijhoff, 1910.

¹⁶) Dr. H. H. Juynboll, "Ādiparwa, Oudjavaansch prozageschrift uitgegeven", Nijhoff, ib., 1906.

¹⁷) Dr. R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, "Arjuna-Wiwāha, Tekst en Vertaling", BKI 82, 1926, pp. 181-305.

¹⁸) Not yet published; cf. Juynboll o.c. in note 5: I. p. 144; II p. 493.

¹⁹) Not yet published; cf. my "Tantri, de Middel-Javaansche Pañcatantra-bewerking", Ph.D.-thesis Leiden, Vros, Leiden, 1929.

²⁰) P. 170 o.c. note 14.

²¹) O.c. note 2.

²²) Geertz, o.c. note 12.

- a) No. 1 and No. 15 would be somewhat similar.
- b) Being well-served, just as being well-fed, well-clad, well-housed, is a comfort, certainly not to be underrated—but not asking for Yama-Rāja's intervention. Servants, though not quite slaves, are not held in esteem²³). I doubt whether a servant would dare to invoke Yama-Rāja in order to become popular with his master, or whether a master of servants would implore Yama-Rāja to become well-served by his attendants.
- c) *Uhaya* or *buwaya*, the saltwater-crocodile, *crocodilus porosus* Schneider, may rarely exist in Bali, for living conditions here are just the opposite of what appears to be the most favourable surroundings for these animals: "Borneo [Kalimantan] with its numerous big rivers abounding in fish and their long lower courses and scarce population appears to lodge most crocodiles [of Indonesia]"²⁴). Consequently the task of the hunter in Bali is far from easy, not to say extraordinarily difficult in comparison with the tasks imposed in the Nos. 2-16. Moreover the crocodile in Indonesia is generally considered as being an ancestor²⁵); killing one to obtain parts of his skin is not merely a dangerous enterprise from the technical or practical point of view.
- d) One may badly want good servants, or be fortunate and wise enough to keep them—but this is not *kārya*. *Kārya* in Skr. is "what has to be done, task, emergency, religious action or performance". In Bali it is not used for the emergency of mending a leaking roof or the tasks of agriculture and stock-breeding, trade or fishery. *Wētēn karya* in Bali means: There is/was/will be some activity of adoring the unseen gods and/or placating the unseen demons [who make themselves, however, continually felt]; therefore I have/had/will have to interrupt mundane, everyday activities.
- e) *Vadva*, a Skr. word again, means servant, and Balinese uses the word *pañirih* or *parēkan*; *marēk* is used for serving. *Vadva* belongs to another level or sphere of serving. The Malay shadow-theatre²⁶), originating from Java and related to the Balinese *vayan kulit*²⁷), uses *vadva Kala* and *vadya Kala* for the attendants of Kāla²⁸). *Vadva* in Bali is used for the attendants of Durgā in the graveyard Gandamayū. *Vado* and more often *Vado Kāla* are the attendants of Durgā in that old exorcistic Javanese poem the ŚUDDHA-MĀLA, "freed from impurities", so well-known in Java and in Bali²⁹).
- Summing up I doubt whether a mere *parēkan* in Bali calls himself *vadva* and *sevaka*, and whether others refer to him as such, and I advocate that in connection with a text dealing with Yama-Rāja = Kāla, those who ascribe themselves to serve

²³) Cf. note 92 in main study.

²⁴) Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Oost-Indië, 's-Gravenhage/Leiden, II, 1918, p. 453b top.

²⁵) "De Verspreide Geschriften van Prof. Dr. G. A. Wilken, verzameld door" Mr. F. D. E. van Ossenbruggen, Van Dorp, Semarang/Socrabaja/'s-Gravenhage, IV, 1912, Index, p. 49.

²⁶) Jeanne Cuisinier, "Le Théâtre d'Ombres à Kelantan, préface de Jean Filliozat", Gallimard, Paris, [1957].

²⁷) Colin McPhee, "The Balinese Wajang Koelit and its Music", Djawa 16, 1936, pp. 1-34.

²⁸) Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk, "Kawi-Balinesesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek" (abbr. KBNWdbk.) I-IV, Landsdrukkerij, Batavia, 1897-1912, s.v. *wadwa*, III 523b. Though now we have available Jeanne Cuisinier, o.c. note 26, the texts consulted by Van der Tuuk are still not yet accessible in print.

²⁹) Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels, "De Sudamala in de Hindu-Javaansche Kunst", Verhandelingen Bat. Gen. (cf. note 4) LXVI/1, 's-Hage & Batavia, 1925, Canto I, 24; II, 6, 8, 13, 17, 20; III, 3; IV, 150.

him, refer to themselves merely as *vadva*; *sapienti sat*. Once we realise that the recipe of the DHARMA KAHURIPAN belongs to this sphere, that *kārya* means the service of the god Kāla, then it becomes clear that the pieces of crocodile-skin are obtained for the very reason that is at the risk of one's life and at the cost of deliberate murder of an ancestor. And I think we obtain an introduction, worthy of the whole following set No. 2-16, with the translation I propose:

When you are a worshipper of Yama-Rāja/Kāla/Durgā, you should take two pieces of crocodile-skin, scratch Yama-Rāja on them, slip them between your cloths near to your tail-bone (*coccyx*); as a result you will be favoured in serving him/her.

2. *Yan a-gaga a-savah-a kita: ampyal gadiñ³⁰ mvañ vit niñ luva³¹ 9, pramāṇa-nya tulisi Yama-Rāja, taruh riñ sa-randu niñ savah³²); sarva-vighna vināśa phala-nya.*

When you are a cultivator of irrigated or un-irrigated fields: take nine pieces of ivory-bamboo and nine pieces of the root of a banyan-tree; write the Y.R. on them and put them on all sides of the [square] field; as a result all obstacles will be destroyed.

I am in perfect agreement with B.I. when they explain: "4 at the corners, 4 between them, covering the 8 directions of the compass, and one in the middle", in doing so forming the well-known system of *nava-saṇa*, the subject most recently dealt with by Dr. van Lohuizen ³³).

Pramāṇa is not simply a word of practical use. In Skr. it is not only "measure, scale, standard, measure of any kind", but also "right measure, standard, authority", and a philosophical term in Vedānta. And judging from the examples in the KBNWdbk s.v., IV. 126 one might conclude that in Indonesian society in every-day life people have continued to say in their own language: "its length [*is*] . . . , its depth [*is*] . . . , its weight [*is*] . . . , and have reserved foreign and abstract *pramāṇa* for: "its right measurement (duration of life, amount of allowance, etc.) *should be*". Both my informants give *huriṭ* for *pramāṇa* here, explaining that they mean a juncture of bamboo and a "decent" piece of root (*vit* means stem, stalk), capable of living (*huriṭ*=life), viable. In this text *pramāṇa* is used once more, No. 8, last word: *sapta divāsa pramāṇa-nya*—"it *should be* continued during 7 days."

A closely comparable piece of sorcery is to be found in that vast collection, "MANTRA PAMUGPUG", Neutralising Formulas ³⁴); the passage runs as follows:

Iki kaviśeṣan S.H. Kṛtidhara masarēnan I Puṣpa Maya; srana tihñ gadiñ, rajah nāga-pāśa, tanēm riñ tēnah in natah, dadi tatulak aguñ; yan tanēm riñ bucu niñ karañ mvañ riñ carik, dadi paññēñkēr aguñ;

This is the White Magic, "S.H. Kṛtidhara together with Maya Flower" (?); *means*: ivory-bamboo, drawing of a snake-noose; when buried in (the centre of) the courtyard, it becomes a patent means of defence; when buried at the angles of the courtyard, and in the rice-field, it becomes a mighty wall;

³⁰) *Ampèl*: *Bambusa vulgaris* Schrad., var. *striata*, Fam. Gramineae.—*Ampèl gadiñ* is also used in *pañlukatan Gaṇapati*, ritual purification by means of a *rajah*, drawing, of Gaṇapati or Gaṇéśa, cf. Dr. Sudarshana Devi Singhal, *Gaṇapatitattva*, New-Delhi 1958, p. 170.

³¹) *Luva*=*ara/aha*=*Ficus*, Fam. Urticaceae.

³²) *Gaga and savah* will be meant; the text is very succinct.

³³) Dr. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "The Dikpālakas in ancient Java", BKI 111, 1955, pp. 356-384.

³⁴) K 1596, consisting of 97 *lēm̄pir* (l.), prepared leaves of the *tal* palm; l. 7a.

Mantra: *Oṅ [An]aṅga-śakti ya namah,
aṅ Brahmā-śakti ya namah,
maṅ Kāla-śakti ya namah,
ih Durgā-śakti ya namah,*

*oṅ mānuṣa-śakti, dēsti, lèyak, tuju, moro, gantavaṅ,
babahi pada pyak alah; apan Aku S.H. Kṛtidhara
masarēnan I Puṣpa Mayu; dahat in muviṣesa riṅ
rat bhuvana kabèh;*

*'siṅ kadēlèn pada anēmbah,
'siṅ tumiṅal pada asih,
apan Aku apasaṅ guna maīran I Nāga-pāṣa
tan kenēn laluputan, lah poma.*

3. *Yan amasahakēna: vēnan ujuṅan in punti
tulisi Yama-Rāja, sa-nāma niṅ sādhya
surat-akēn; tumpaṅi bubuk pirata; tēlas
ilyakēn in lvah, kirimakēn riṅ saṅ guru.*

Mantra: *Oṅ, honour be to the Serpent-Power!
aṅ, honour be to the Brahmā-Power!
maṅ, honour be to the Kāla-Power!
ih, honour be to the Durgā-Power!*

*oṅ Human Power, all kinds of unclean spirits, gnomes,
and imps, harpies, kobolds and dwarfs will be made
powerless and conquered; for I am S.H. Kṛtidhara
together with Maya Flower; extremely powerful in
the whole world and universe;*

*whosoever sees me, pays homage to me,
whosoever looks at me, will love me,
for I apply the magic means called Snake-noose,
for which there is no escape. So be it.*

When you have to submit a dead body to *mapasah* (*mabasah*), it is appropriate to take the unopened flower/inflorescence of a banana, inscribe it with the Y.R., add the name of the person whom it concerns and put *bubuk pirata* on top of it; then let it float down the brook and take care that you invoke the help of a *padanda* for the ceremony of *kirim* (sending away).

Leaving aside for a moment *mapasah* or *mabasah*, because it needs some space and leads to a digression, we look to the *ujuṅan in punti* and state that in Balinese priests' ritual this is a common material for inscriptions ³⁵). *Bubuk pirata* (cf. *pitara*) forms part of the usual death-ceremonial ³⁶), and with the final *ma-kirim*-part of the death-ceremony ³⁷) the ashes are floated down the brook. Here the help of the *padanda*, *saṅ guru* or *saṅ guru loka* should be invoked ³⁸).

Amasah-akēn is clearly a derivative, that is a causative, from *masah*; *masah*² is said concerning a multitude of corpses in a battlefield, "not taken care of", destitute of burial or incineration ³⁹). This unusual apparent negligence may prove unavoidable in times of great calamities, but apart from such disasters it was a common practice for two categories. Van der Tuuk relates ⁴⁰) that the corpse of a *gravida* is stowed away in an open grave and daily watered with the intention that the *foetus* will soon come to daylight, after which the *foetus* will be buried somewhere else (I suppose on the *pabajanian* or *pabayian*, destined for children dying before second dentition) ⁴¹). The second category is that of those who have died from smallpox, and here we find confirmation of the practice of *pasah* or *basah* in the BABAD ARYA TABANAN,

³⁵) Jacoba Hooykaas, "The Changeling in Balinese Folklore and Religion", BKI 116/4, 1960, pp. 429 top, 431.

³⁶) Paul Wirz, "Der Totenkult auf Bali", Strecker und Schroeder, Stuttgart, 1928, p. 50.

³⁷) Paul Wirz, o.c. pp. 105-115, 117, 128-129.

³⁸) Paul Wirz, o.c. p. 107.

³⁹) R. van Eck, "Eerste Proeve van een Balineesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek", Kemink, Utrecht, 1876.

⁴⁰) KBNWdbk. IV, 200; (Wirz, o.c. p. 26).

⁴¹) KBNWdbk. IV, 1019a top.

dealing with the history of the princes and aristocrats of that rather Western part of Bali; the text reads as follows: ⁴²⁾

*Ndah cinarita mvaḥ Saiṅ Ratu Pamadé sira
Ki Gusti Nurah Madé Kalèran. Yan piraṅ var-
ṣa dévira ambhukti ka-aiśvarya-n, ri tēka pañatag
iṅ kālāntaka. pējah pva sira, amulik iṅ Buddhālaya,
malamakan lara kacacar. Tan liṅṅ sopacāra
niṅ layan, tēlas binasahan; tatag kēna niṅ
pañrapuhan vus sampūrṇa; ya ta marmamira
sinēṅgah Bhaṭṭāra Mur Mabasah.*

Now we tell again about Prince Pamadé alias Ki Gusti Nurah Madé Kalèran. After he had enjoyed power for some years, when his final term had come, he died and returned to the *heaven of Buddha*, because of *smallpox*. We do not speak about the whole ceremonial with his body, after it had been subjected to *mabasah*; the cleansing had been complete. That was the reason why [after his death] he was called: The Lord Vanished *Mabasah*.

The other two Princes of Tabanan who died from smallpox after their death are called Bhaṭṭāra Ma-déva and I Ratu Ma-déva; they equally returned to Buddhālaya or Buddhātmaka ⁴³⁾. It will be evident that the power of the Yama-Rāja-mantra is used to neutralise "evil death" ⁴⁴⁾ in war, by smallpox and by death when *gravidā*, but it is questionable whether others than ruling princes return to heaven, and the Buddha-heaven at that, so here we have to look for more evidence.

Van der Tuuk gives the following quotation ⁴⁵⁾:

*Mvaḥ ikaṅ mati riṅ anda kacacar, pasah-akēna
vaikēnya, nda tan ana apa, ikaṅ ātmā niṅ mati
kacacar byakta mantuk riṅ Buddhālaya, maṅkana
katattvanya, dé Bhaṭṭāra Buddha.*

As to those who have died from *smallpox*, leave the body exposed, that does not matter: the soul of him who dies from *smallpox* certainly returns to the heaven of *Buddha*; such is the Order [Instituted] by the *Lord Buddha*.

Van der Tuuk quoted from a MS called SASUŪK, i.e. Preventive [against smallpox], which he bequeathed to the Library of the University of Leiden. I did not find it in the registers on Juynboll's descriptions of these MSS ⁴⁶⁾ and did not worry about it because two of my three Kirtya-MSS on smallpox ⁴⁷⁾ in the beginning have the same sentence; the one instead of *nda tan ana apa* (or: *nda tan ananapa*) reads: *nda tan ana dur[h]aka*, "nothing wrong".

We switched over from the writing of local history by a courtier ⁴⁸⁾ to the notebooks of *balyans*, medicine-men, and are now allowed to believe that the souls of all those Balinese who have died from smallpox are supposed to return to the heaven of Buddha. Thus the question presents itself: is it possible to find out more about this Buddha? It is: the third of my texts, all three of them called ANDA KACACAR, does not mention Buddha at the beginning, but ends with a "KAPUTUSAN SAŅ HIAN BUDDHA". Now *kaputusan*, to begin with, has a meaning *in malam partem*: some secret knowledge, e.g. a *sasirēp* or means to make people sleep heavily so that you can enter their house and steal their belongings ⁴⁹⁾. *In bonam partem* it is to be found at the very end of one of the versions of DHARMA PAVAYANAN, the

⁴²⁾ K 1792, l. 65b.

⁴³⁾ K 1792 l. 74a and 78b.

⁴⁴⁾ Hans Joachim Sell, "Der schlimme Tod bei den Völkern Indonesiens", Mouton, 's-Gravenhage, 1955, pp. 185-186 (originally Ph.D.-thesis Frankfurt; first half 1952 in Internationales Archiv Für Ethnographie XLVI).

⁴⁵⁾ KBNWdbk. IV, 927b.

⁴⁶⁾ O.c. in note 5.

⁴⁷⁾ K 2 l. 2a and K 1601 l. 2a; the third is K 2253.

⁴⁸⁾ Anak Agung Nurah Potrakasunu, krtopapati Tabanan, kaṅ kaṅgē Anrurah Kurambitan iṅkaṅ X.

⁴⁹⁾ KBNWdbk IV s.v. putus p. 192b, 887.

Metaphysical Basis for the performer of the shadow-theatre ⁵⁰), where so to say *in nuce* the essential teachings are revealed or repeated. "KAPUTUSAN S.H. BUDDHA" is also the very end of one MS of the ANDA KACACAR ⁵¹), and evidently *kaputusan* has the same meaning of "decisive revelation", perhaps to be translated with "mystery".

I am the more pleased to print this KAPUTUSAN here, as I take it that its original shape, consisting of eight-syllabic lines, can easily be restored. It is out of place to discuss here my thesis that old Indonesian priestly or solemn incantations consist of eight-syllabic lines, for which hitherto I easily found proof among Baduys ⁵²) and Makassarese ⁵³); I intend to deal with this subject in a separate study. As soon as one has at one's disposal several MSS of the same Balinese incantation, one sees clearly that one MS distorts one line, another the other line, by adding perfectly superfluous words (*para vatēk . . . kabèh*, the three of them meaning "all"), by replacing a shorter word by a longer one (*bhaṭṭāra* for *deva*, god) and by adding explanatory particles (*apan*, for). As soon as these accretions have been deleted, a simpler and more laconic if not incoherent, typical Indonesian style emerges. In Balinese, such a long incantation in octo-syllabic lines is called *saha*; the *saha* in Van der Tuuk ⁵⁴) unfortunately is rather corrupted, though still recognisable. To the best of my knowledge no other example is available in print, only in MS form; a Singaradja MS ⁵⁵) and a Leiden MS ⁵⁶), which I intend to publish *in extenso* as being the ritual of the *sēnguhu*, exorcistic priest, show unmistakably a great number of such lines.

So here follows the *saha* of the *balyan*:

KAPUTUSAN SAÑ HYAÑ BUDDHA	MYSTERY OF LORD BUDDHA
1. <i>Oñ Sañ Hiañ Buddha tumurun</i>	Oñ now the Lord Buddha descends,
2. <i>sakiñ gunuñ Mahamēru</i>	from the Mountain Mahameru,
3. <i>atapakan g(a)ruda putih, (9)</i>	sitting on the White Garuda,
4. <i>iniriñ dé niñ mantri syu;</i>	as follows a thousand mantri's.
5. <i>prayanira Sañ Hiañ Buddha</i>	What does the Lord Buddha aim at?
6. <i>tumurun riñ Baly añacak,</i>	He descends on Bali to muster
7. <i>sakvèh in jalma mānuṣa</i>	all the people, one by one,
8. <i>uñ añ mañ, oñ Sañ Hiañ Buddha</i>	uñ añ mañ, oñ the Lord Buddha
9. <i>(a)ñadēg riñ Ibu Pṛthivī, (9)</i>	when He stands on Mother Earth,
10. <i>bubur [i]kañ pṛthivī, (7)</i>	the Earth will be as porridge,
11. <i>ocak [i]kañ sagara, (7)</i>	the Ocean dashes and waves,
12. <i>bubañ [i]kañ ākāṣa, (7)</i>	and the Sky will be clogged.
13. <i>gègèr gèntēr (para vatēk)</i>	The nine gods will be frightened.
14. <i>(dēvatā) nava-saia (kabèh). (9)</i>	
15. <i>Añapa sañka niñ gègèr?</i>	What is the reason of their fright?
16. <i>Sañ Hiañ Buddhārēp amantas</i>	Lord Buddha wishes in good order

⁵⁰) K 1610 l. 10a.

⁵¹) K 2253, ll. 34b-36a.

⁵²) N. J. C. Geise, "Baduj's en Muslims in Lèbak Parahieng, Zuid-Bantèn", Ph.D.-thesis, Leiden, 1952; Sundanese so-called *pantuns* published by C. M. Pleyte in TBG and VBG; MS material with Dr. J. Noorduyn concerning the W-Sundanese priest for agriculture called *dalañ*.

⁵³) J. Noorduyn, "Een achttiende-eeuwse kroniek van Wadjo, Buginese Historiographie", Ph.D.-thesis, Leiden, 1955, 's Gravenhage 1955.

⁵⁴) KBNWdbk. III p. 4-5.

⁵⁵) VEDA SĒNGUHU K 946.

⁵⁶) PŪJĀ PŪRVA BHŪMI, Cod. Or. Bibl. Lugd. 5360, 7, Juynboll o.c. note 5, II p. 381 top.

17. *añāāk sakvèh in puüh* (kabèh),
 18. *satus dvalapan kvèh* (in) *puüh* (kabèh),
 19. *sahana niñ puüh ala*, (cf. 35, 41)
 20. *tan kònkulan jadma* (n manusa) *kabèh*,
 21. (a)pan *Sañ Hiañ Buddhākalihan*
 22. *anugra(ha) urip in jadma* (manusa):
 23. *Yèn ana puüh riñ pupusuh*,
 24. *Bhaṭṭāra Īśvara añāāk(è)na*;
 25. *Yèn ana puüh riñ ati*,
 26. *Bhaṭṭāra Brahmā añāāk(è)na*;
 27. *Yèn ana puüh riñ wisilan*,
 28. *Bhaṭṭāra Mahādeva añāāk(è)na*;
 29. *Yèn ana puüh riñ ampru*,
 30. *Bhaṭṭāra Viṣṇu añāāk(è)na*;
 31. *Yèn ana puüh riñ nabhi*,
 32. *I Mémé añāāk(è)na*;
 33. *Yèn ana puüh riñ pr(am)āṇa*,
 34. *Bhaṭṭāra Bāyu añāāk(è)na*.
 35. *Sahana niñ puüh ala* (cf. 19, 41)
 36. *kapunah dé(nira) Sañ Hiañ Buddha*;
 37. *tēka punah, tēka punah, tēka punah*;
 38. (a)pan *Sañ Hiañ Buddha* (a)ñadakañ
 39. *sakvèh [n]i[ka]ni puüh kabèh*.
 40. *añ punah* ×3; *uñ p.* ×3; *mañ p.* ×3
 41. *sahana niñ puüh ala* [cf. 19, 35]
 42. *valik pva sira mat(è)mahan*
 43. *puüh saṅgaük, puüh k(è)tumbah*,
 44. *puüh nasi², puüh sya²*,
 45. *apan Brahmā, Viṣṇu Īśvara*
 46. [a]ñadakañ *puüh kabèh*;
 47. *t(è)ka punah, añ ah, añ uñ mañ*,
 48. *siddhi kēḍep pūjā* (ni) *nulun*. —
- to force open all the smallpox,
 numbering a hundred and eight;
 all those malevolent smallpox,
 not to be mastered by mankind (?) (9)
 For the Lord Buddha and His Spouse
 give a favour to all mankind.
 And the smallpox on the liver,
 God Īśvara forces them open;
 And the smallpox on the heart,
 God Brahmā forces them open;
 And the smallpox on the kidneys,
 Mahādeva forces them open;
 And the smallpox on the bile,
 God Viṣṇu forces them open;
 And the smallpox on the navel,
 the Mother forces them open;
 the smallpox on the countenance (?),
 God Bāyu forces them open;
 All those smallpox, malevolent,
 are extinguished by Lord Buddha,
 gone at once, gone at once, gone at once;
 For Lord Buddha has created
 all kinds and sorts of the smallpox;
 añ destroyed ×3; uñ d. ×3; mañ d. ×3
 all kinds of malevolent smallpox,
 they are reversed now to become
saṅgaük—smallpox, *k(è)tumbah*—smallpox,
nasi²—smallpox, *sya²*—smallpox,
 for Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Īśvara
 have created all the smallpox,
 gone at once, life-death, añ uñ mañ,
 Oh that my song of praise were heard!

Srana: *yèh añar mavadah payuk kēdas añar, samsam, tuñjuñ 1. TELAS.*

Requirements: fresh water in a new, clean pot, *samsam* leaves, one lotus flower.

THE END.

In (4) I changed *mantra* into *mantri*, considering *mantra* as improbable and *mantri* as possible; in (6) I substituted *riñ* for *sakiñ*, which are more often mixed up, like in Malay *di* and *dari*⁵⁷); *pramāṇa* (33) gives no sense, is “dignified” but slightly opposes the metre, whereas *prāṇa* (breath, wind) fits in the metre, corresponds with Bayu/Vāyu (Wind), and in another Sanskrit meaning adds nose, mouth, eyes and ears to the other parts of the body. These, moreover, are the most important parts, which have been reserved for the last. It looks as if the author of the *saha* played with the two sets of meaning. In (21) the Lord Buddha, as befits a good Tantristic deity, descends accompanied by his *śakti*. In (32) “The Mother” will be Durgā, a name too dangerous to use. The number of 108 kinds of *puüh* in (18) is not to be found in ANDA KACACAR, but is an ideal number, corresponding with the 108 beads of the brahmin priest’s rosary⁵⁸). *Samsam* leaves are supposed

⁵⁷) J. Rusconi, “Sja’ir Kompèni Wèlanda bèrpèrang dèngan Tjina”, Ph.D.-thesis Utrecht, 1935, Wageningen 1935, passim.

⁵⁸) “Mudras auf Bali, Handhaltungen der Priester”, Zeichnungen von Tyra de Kleen, Text von P. de Kat Angelino, Kulturen der Erde XV, Folkwang-Verlag, Hagen i.W., 1923, p. 50.

to avert evil in the DHARMA PAVAYAÑAN⁵⁹) and here (49). The Lord Buddha descends from heaven to have the development of smallpox turned into a favourable direction (16/7), and all evils removed (35/6) by the works of the 4 gods of East, South, West, North, Durgā as most powerful and dreadful presumably in the Centre, and Bāyu presumably blowing in the Sky. Perhaps the spirit of life of a dangerous-ill patient is restored by him, who is the last and hence most important in this enumeration of gods. The Lord Buddha had caused the smallpox (38/9), or had it introduced by the triad Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Ívara (44/5). As in so many cases in Java/Bali he can scarcely (or not at all) be distinguished from Lord Śiva.

Two of the three Princes of Tabanan who died from smallpox, after their death were called *Mur Madéva*, Vanished to become a Deity⁶⁰), and all of those dying from it go to the Buddha-loka, which in the GAGURITAN (poem) BAGUS DYARSA is described as follows⁶¹):

55g. <i>Ana ta malih kadulu</i>	The next thing to be seen by him:
h. <i>svarga kuniñ riñ Paścima,</i>	a yellow heaven in the West,
i. <i>mèrunya atumpani saña,</i>	its <i>mèru</i> numbered <i>tumpani</i> nine,
56a. <i>atèpnnya mas, laléyan mas tatur,</i>	golden its roof, its walls of yellow gold,
b. <i>téjanya dumilah :</i>	radiating all around,
c. <i>riñ Buddha-lokàranéki,</i>	"Heaven of Buddha" it was called,
d. <i>kahyañan Mahadèvu</i> (m.c. pro <i>-va</i>)	Heaven of Mahadéva,
e. <i>ulihan sañ kèrtayasu</i> (pro <i>-sa</i>)	goal for meritorious people
f. <i>apunya sarva-drèvéné.</i>	giving away their belongings.

The medical doctor (later professor) Wolfgang Weck in his excellent German-written book on Medicine and Folklore in Bali⁶²) (for which he used 256 palmleaf MSS), in the chapter on smallpox⁶³) supplements and supersedes the preceding authors⁶⁴) and complains that the ideas of the *baliens* on smallpox and its causes are contradictory. The subject is too vast and too much out of the way to be dealt with here, but I should like to add one contradiction to the ones which hindered him: The *balian* tries to assure the Balinese that after dying from smallpox, *biakta* (manifestly, assuredly) they return to the Heaven of Buddha—but there are some of them who are of the opinion that it would not be superfluous to make sure of this future by using the Yama-Rāja-mantra.

4. *Yan panasarakèn musuhta sādhyanta : ron in èntal tulisi Yama-Rāja ; avu lan bēras, ururakèn in avan ; ikan avan tulisi bajra rumuhun.*

When you aim at confounding your enemy: write Y.R. on a strip of palmleaf, burn it to ashes and mix them with rice grains, scatter them on the road; first draw a thunderbolt on the road.

⁵⁹) K 106, l. 5a; K 369 l. 2b; K 1151 l. 4a.

⁶⁰) K 1792, l. 74b, 78b.

⁶¹) J. H. Hooykaas-van Leeuwen Boomkamp, "I Bagoes Diarsa, Balisch Gedicht en Volksverhaal", Ph.D.-thesis Batavia (Djakarta) 1949, Bibliotheca Javanica 10, 1949, p. 67.

⁶²) "Heilkunde und Volkstum auf Bali", Ferdinand Enke Verlag, Stuttgart, 1937.

⁶³) O.c. pp. 166-171.

⁶⁴) Mr. F. D. E. van Ossenbruggen, "Eigenaardige Gebruiken bij pokkenepidemieën in den Indischen Archipel", BKI 65, 1911, pp. 53-87; same author, "Het Primitieve Denken, zooals dit zich uit voornamelijk in Pokkengebruiken op Java en elders", BKI 71, 1916, pp. 1-370.

5. *Yan pa-nāraka-nya : tutupi patañkuran, tulisi Yama-Rāja saha nāma niñ sādhyā, pūjā sārī-sārī.* When you wish to unleash hellish suffering on him, put a lid on a coconut-with-sprout, write Y.R. on it together with the name of the person aimed at, and daily bring offerings [to Y.R.].
6. *Yan pagavéya paniris in somahanya : viñka niñ anak bajeñ 9 tēmpik ; tulisi Yama-Rāja, taruh riñ kumbha añar mvañ sarva-vīja, pasañin vṛti ; sēdēñ pva dumilah, padēmi riñ cuka, taruh riñ natar, pūjā sārī-sārī.* When you intend to safeguard your family: 9 potsherd [from a holy-water-vessel used at the celebration of] your baby's [being $5 \times 7 + 7$ days old (*macoloi*)⁶⁵]; write Y.R. on them, put them in a new earthenware pot together with grains of rice in the four colours⁶⁶; add [to each of them] a small torch [consisting of ribs of palm-leaf wrapped up in cotton drenched in oil]; when they are burning, quench them in vinegar, put them on your compound (in the same way as on *gaga* & *sarah*, No. 2), and daily bring offerings.
(For the indispensable & colourful [explanations] I owe gratitude to I.B.)
7. *Yan pagavéya a-sthāna-nidhi*⁶⁷ *riñ pahomanya : valulañ kēbo pasañ rvañ siki kvèhnya, tulisi Yama-Rāja, vèh añkapa, taruh riñ dasar niñ lumbuñ ; tuhu n phala-nya avèt parinta dènya.* When you intend to secure your family's complete contentedness: take two pieces of hide of the water buffalo, write the Y.R. on them, let the one cover the other, put them on the bottom of your rice granary; in this way the result will be that your rice will last long.
8. *Yapvan amaluyakēn pagavéyan in vvañ mahala kāryanya : titimbrah*⁶⁸ *tulisi Yama-Rāja, burat ya riñ tri-kaṭuka, apusi riñ lavé pañca-rañga*⁶⁹, *agēnah riñ tēndas ayam sēdēñ ahurip ; tēlas bēlah vètēñnya, vèh mañjinēn atinya, pupuki tri-kaṭuka mvañ apusi lavé pañca-rañga, taruh riñ lēmah, umbuki mērañ ;* When you wish to reverse the actions of an evil person: write the Y.R. on a piece of metal⁶⁸, smear it with the "three sharp things" (black and long pepper and dry ginger in India; in Bali: red onion, *acorus terrestris* and white onion or a kind of manggo), entwine them with five-coloured thread⁶⁹, put/bind it at the head of a

⁶⁵ Jacoba Hooykaas, "The Changeling in Balinese Folklore and Religion", BKI 116/4, 1960, pp. 424-436.

⁶⁶ Jacoba Hooykaas-van Leeuwen Boomkamp, "Purification of a Balinese Temple", Verh. Kon. Ned. Ak. v. Wet., Afd. Lett., N.R. deel LXVIII/4, 1961, N. Holl. Uitg. Mij., Amsterdam, p. 35.

⁶⁷ Not in Monier-Williams, KBNWdbk. or Juynboll, "Oudjavaansch-Nederlandsche Woordenlijst", Brill, Leiden, 1923; I.B.: *keadaan rumah tangga tiada kekurangan sesuatu apa*.

⁶⁸ Which metal cannot be settled with certainty.

⁶⁹ KBNWdbk IV 288a; quite different from the *pañcarango* in Wirz, o.c. White (E. Śiva), red (S. Brahmā), yellow (W. Mahādeva), blue-black (N. Viṣṇu), multi-coloured (Centre, Išvara).

vani n apvi ⁷⁰⁾, *sapta divasa pramānanya*.

living chicken, after having cut open its belly; put it in(side as far as) its liver, add the three acrids, entwine (the whole) with 5-coloured thread, put it on the ground, heap dry chaff from rice on it, let it smoulder and keep it smouldering during seven days & nights.

The bulky MS called MANTRA PAMUGPUG, Neutralising Formulas, mentioned above, tries in its prescription to reach the same ends by other means; the first one-third of the long passage runs as follows (quoted because our man might use the same words): ⁷¹⁾

PANULAK PAGAVE NIN VOŃ ALA
MVAH GUNA DĚSTI

Srana: *toya añar, kañ pavitra payuk kēdas, samsam bīja kunin, sēkar salviré, sasantun jinah 1,700; diusakēna voñ agērīn;*

Mantra: *Oñ sapa 'ko sapa 'ku? tēka ēnko anēmbah, añayap riñ aku, apan aku vruh riñ pūrva-sañkanmu, ah putih ēnko sakiñ bapanmu, abañ ēnko sakiñ babunmu; 'sun arani ta nko, saalēk, roñ lēk, tēluñ lēk, pētañ lēk, limañ lēk, nēm lēk, pītuñ lēk, vvaluñ lēk, sañañ lēk, ah mētu ēnko riñ bhaga-vāsa babumu, gēñēp ēnko sih ulananmu, roro si varñanmu; sapa ta aranmu? Si Jabaiñ-bayi aranmu; atuha po si ēnko, alaki arabi po si 'nko, anak-anak a-putu si 'nko; pañanēn avak-sarīranmu iñ kana; apan tēndasmu makasilitmu, silitmu makatēndasmu; dadanmu makagigirmu, gigirmu makadadanmu; tañanmu makasukunmu, sukunmu makatañanmu; iruñmu makasilitmu, silitmu makairuñmu; cankēmму makaturukmu, turukmu makacankēmму; ilatmu makasilitmu, silitmu makañlatmu; vastu si 'nko,*

apan aku añarigo tutulak Sañ Hyai Valik Sumpah, tulak valik, tulak valik, tulak valik, avalik mulih mariñ kañ amasañi, avalik mulih mariñ kañ amasañi, avalik mulih mariñ kañ amasañi,

DEFENCE AGAINST THE DOINGS OF BAD
PEOPLE AND SORCERY AND BLACK-MAGIC

Ingredients: fresh water; as purifying means a clean cooking pot, *samsam* leaves and yellow rice grains, all colours of flowers; fee for the priest 1.700 coins; give the patient a bath.

Mantra: *Oñ who are you and who am I? there you have to pay obeisance and servitude to me, for I know your past and origin; now the white element of you originates from your father, the red element of you originates from your mother, that is what I call you, one month, two months, three months, four months, five months, six months, seven months, eight months, nine months, there you are born from the womb-abode of your mother, your months are fulfilled, two are your colours; which is your name? you are called The Baby; when you are grown up, you marry, you 'll have children and grandchildren; there (in the womb) you have to eat yourself: for your head will be [at] your bottom and your bottom will be [at] your head; your breast will function as your back and your back will function as your breast; your arms will be your legs and your legs will be your arms; your nose will be your bottom and your bottom will be your nose; your mouth will be your vulva and your vulva will be your mouth; your tongue will be your bottom and your bottom will be your tongue; so be it with you, for I use as a means of defence Holy Reverser of Curse, curse reversed, curse reversed, curse reversed, reversed towards him who fabricated it, reversed towards him who fabricated it, reversed towards him who fabricated it,*

⁷⁰⁾ MS *asvi*; *s* and *p* more often by mistake read for the other; *apvi* or *apuy* used in comparable situation in following Nos.

⁷¹⁾ K 1596 ll. 51b-52a.

9. *Yan pasuvuk* ⁷²⁾, *kavēh* ⁷³⁾ (,) *tulisi Yama-Rāja, agēnah riñ lavañ sa-ikēti* ⁷⁴⁾. When you are in need of an antidote against all kinds of evil influences: afterbirth, write Y.R. on it, fix it above the housedoor.
10. *Yapvan añora* ⁷⁵⁾ *malika[:]* *pala tulisi Yama-Rāja saha nāma sādhyā-nya* ⁷⁶⁾, *taruh riñ payajñan* ⁷⁷⁾, *saputi mērañ, vañi apuy, sapta divasa [pramāṇanya]*. When you wish to reverse a curse against the person who launched it—take a nutmeg, write Y.R. on it and the name of the person you aim at, put it in your house-shrine, cover it up with rice-chaff, let it smoulder, as long as seven days & seven nights.

Though the KBNWdbk fails me, I take *añor* as “active form” of *cor*, oath, (self) imprecation, curse=*sumpah*.

The MS PAMALIK SUMPAH, Reverser of Curse ⁷⁸⁾, speaks about Sañ Hiañ Balik Sumpah who sends back all kinds of sorcery to the person from whom it emanated. The sorcerer claims that he is *pañavak in* (embodiment of) Sañ Hiañ Balik Sumpah; it may prove helpful to the evocation of the sphere we are in to present two more quotations from this MS:

NIHAN BALIK SUMPAH

Srana : *siap biñ, nasi bañ mavadah klatkat śuddha-mala* ⁷⁹⁾;

Mantra : *Iḍēp Aku Sañ Hiañ Śuddha-mala; pañadēganku Sañ Hiañ Tulak Tañgul(,) riñ tañanku (kiva) tēñēn, Sañ Hiañ Nava-kanda* ⁸⁰⁾ *riñ tañanku kiva, Sañ Hiañ Śaṅkara riñ uripku, Sañ Hiañ Balik Sumpah riñ arēpku;*

sakvēh in ala-ala, dēsti, tuju-tēluh-taranjana, pakārian in voñ dusta durjana, valikakēn sira mariñ sañ agavé;

THIS IS THE REVERSAL OF CURSES

Ingredients : a speckled darkbrown chicken, steamed rice in a pot on a plaited bamboo platform ś-m ⁷⁹⁾; *Mantra* : Imagine that I am Holy Free-of-Defilements; my position/standing is that of Holy Keep-off Ward-off in my (left) right hand; God Nava-kanda in my left hand ⁸¹⁾, Holy Śaṅkara in my principle of life (?) God Reverser of Curse before me (that means: Him I worship);

All evils, all sorcery and black magic, activities of bad and evil-minded people—I reverse them to the person from whom they originate;

⁷²⁾ MS: *panuvuk*.

⁷³⁾ *Kavēh* or *kavah*, according to KBNWdbk.: liquor amni or blood concomitant with afterbirth; both being too liquid to be inscribed, the translation with “after-birth” was chosen; but as the afterbirth is buried, I would prefer another word and translation.

⁷⁴⁾ MS: *sahakēti*. The translation of this extremely short recepee is only given with some hesitation.

⁷⁵⁾ *Añor(a)* from *cor* not in KBNWdbk. or Juynboll’s *Woordenlijst*.

⁷⁶⁾ MS. *dēhanya*.

⁷⁷⁾ Though any ritually-clean spot can be meant, the house-temple is the most likely one.

⁷⁸⁾ K 902; first quotation l. 20a; second quotation l. 3a.

⁷⁹⁾ J. H. Hooykaas-van Leeuwen Boompkamp, “Ritual Purification”, o.c. p. 27, No. 31.

⁸⁰⁾ Not in KBNWdbk. In K 506 ASU ASA/KALAVASAN PĒṬAK the *pētavur* (offering) *a-nava-kanda* is mentioned in one breath with *amalik sumpah, amañca-sanak* and *amañca-balikrama*, names of purificatory rituals. *Hyañ Nava-kanda* occurs in K 2193 VEDA PŪRVAKA, p. 4, a Buddhist manual on ritualistics.

⁸¹⁾ The text seems distorted here.

apan aku pañavak in Sañ Hiañ Valik Sumpah,
 luput dèsti luput tuju-tèluh-tarañjana;
 . . . aja sira vani riñ aku,
 apan aku Sañ Hiañ Valik Sumpah,
 śakti aku, aku ayuta kodala;
 'ñko riñ sor, aku riñ luhur;
 'ñko papa, aku śakti;
 añađэг riñ sétra, aku añađэг riñ méru;
 dèsti tivañ tèluh tarañjana,
 kēna pupug punah, lēbur buyar tanpapađèn.

TELAS.

PAMALIK SUMPAN MVAÑ PAMUGPUG
 KĒNA DĒSTI.

Srana: sēga sakēpēl, ayam viriñ
 pinañgañ, pinēcēl,
 amanta narēp in sañgah kamūlan,
 satinñkah in amañan, satinñkah in agēriñ,
 pañanakēna ayam ika;
 Mantra: Oñ Valik Sumpah!
 valikēn mariñ sira, sañ agavé ala;
 sukuné pinaka-tēndasé, lumaku sukumu suñsañ,
 lēñlēñ buñēñ, lēñ² buñēñ, lēñ² buñēñ,
 si voñ ala kira-kirané tan patēmah
 tan pandadya voñ;
 oñ sa-ba-ta-a-i- na-ma-si-va-ya.

Balik sumpah, reversal of curse, *apañ kēdas guminé* (*gumi* = *bhūmi*), in order that the soil may be restored to purity, is a common practice in Bali when a place has been defiled by murder, birth of twins of different gender in a *jaba* family, or for the prevention of epidemics, according to KBNWdbk III 338a.

11. Yan amatēra ulun-ulun miñgat: rvan
 in ēntal tulisi Yama-Rāja, tēlas agavé kikitir,
 panēkakēñ riñ kayu agēñ, vèh añarēpakēñ
 anin.

When you are looking everywhere for an escaped slave: write the Y.R. on a strip of the *tal* palm, then make a miniature windmill, put it in a tall tree and expose it to the winds [the slave is bound to return].

12. Yapvan a-sādhyā kāṣṭha-guñān[,] kitir
 aumpahan ulihan in mañahal, surati Yama-
 Rāja, lēpanana sarva-gandha, pasañi vṛti,
 sēđēñ pva dumilah[,] sirati rah, tēlas taruh
 riñ a-sthāna sira ayva, pūjā tahuri sāri-sāri
 dénta.

When you aim at the eightfold supreme quality: the wing (?) of a windmill originating from theft, write the Y.R. on it, make it unguent with all kinds of aromatics, put a small torch to it (which you light); when it lights, pour blood on it, then put it in a place to be well cared for; daily pray and bring offerings.

Aṣṭa-guṇa is a much used word, and its meanings are always lying in the super-natural field. Java with its tendency towards "refined language" ⁸³) introduced the

⁸²) He means: you are a vile demon, I am an elevated god.

⁸³) J. Gonda, "The Javanese Vocabulary of Courtesy", *Lingua* I/3, June 1948, pp. 333-376.

for I am the incarnation of the Reverser of Curses;
 I am impregnable for all kinds of black magic; . . .
 better for you not to dare against me,
 for I am the Reverser of Curses,
 I am powerful, I will have ten thousand descendants;
 you inferior and I superior;
 you miserable, I powerful;
 stay in the graveyard, I dwell in the pagoda ⁸²);
 sorcery, convulsion, all kinds of black magic, are
 hit by annihilation, fluid, scattered and frustrated.

THE END.

REVERSAL OF CURSES AND NEUTRALISING
 OF BLACK MAGIC.

Ingredients: a handful of steamed rice, a speckled darkbrown chicken, roasted and with spiced greens, the formulas to be spoken in the temple of origin, acting as though eating, just like a sick person, let him [the man for whom the *balyan* acts] eat the chicken;
 Mantra: Oñ Reverser of curses!
 you must be returned to him who has done the evil;
 your feet in place of your head, you go upside down at sea and abroad, at sea and abroad, at sea & abroad;
 that man of evil thoughts will not (or: that man is not likely to) be reborn as a human being;
 Oñ (5 aspects of Śiva) honour be to Śiva.

word *aṣṭa-giṇa*, meaning the same. As the context sheds no light on the exact intention of the *balian*, we shall have to review the several possibilities.

In the learned world *aṣṭa-guṇa* is *aṣṭaiśvarya*, "the eight supernatural powers [of the sorcerers], better known as *siddhi* (cf. Skr. *vibhūti*)" ⁸⁴); they are, according to Monier-Williams, "either perpetual or transient, consisting, according to some, of the following eight:

1. *aṇiman* the superhuman power of becoming as small as an atom;
2. *laghīman* the supernatural faculty of assuming excessive lightness at will;
3. *mahīman* the magical power of increasing size at will;
4. *prāpti* the power of obtaining everything;
5. *prākāmya* freedom of will, wilfulness;
6. *vaśitva* the supernatural power of subduing to one's own will;
7. *iśitva* superiority, supremacy, one of the eight attributes of Śiva;
8. *kāmāvasāyitva* faculty of suppression of the passions;

or (I still quote M.W.), according to others, of such powers as vision, audition, cogitation, discrimination, and omniscience; and of active powers such as swiftness of thought, power of assuming forms at will, and faculty of expatiation."

The eight mentioned above are to be found, in the same order, in a Balinese MS collected by Van der Tuuk ⁸⁵), in my "Sāṅkhya-leer van Bali (1947)" being a recent concoction from a dozen Balinese MSS ⁸⁶), and in the VṚHASPATI-TATTVA ⁸⁷), where they are called *kriyā-śakti*, Monier-Williams' "active powers".

Another group of eight are in Bali also known as *aṣṭa-guṇa*, *aṣṭaiśvarya* or *aṣṭa-siddhi*; they are: ⁸⁸)

1. *dūra-darśana* long-sightedness, foresight;
2. *dūra-śravaṇa* faculty of hearing from afar;
3. (dūra)sarvajña omniscience;
4. *a-sasañcara* (?) the faculty of not needing to sleep;
5. *ambara-mārga* the superhuman faculty of moving through the sky;
6. *a-dr̥śya* the privilege of not being visible to other people;
7. *avakaromaya* (?) the faculty of extending in different directions;
8. *dūra-dr̥ṣṭi* long-sightedness, foresight, discernment.

I would prefer to substitute No. 8 (*dūra-darśi* in KBNWdbk.), being rather near to No. 1, by *dūra-grahana* (seizing objects from afar), *dūra-vedha* (the act of striking from afar) or some similar word, and feel the more liberty in proposing an alteration in this MS since its *dūra-sarvajña*, omniscience *from afar* looks suspect.

Apart from these two sets of supernatural powers, without doubt enviable for a sorcerer, there exists a third set of *aṣṭa-siddhi*; these, however, are not in the magical field but in the metaphysical one ⁸⁹).

In popular phantasy *maṇik aṣṭa-giṇa* is a precious stone, without doubt having

⁸⁴) KBNWdbk. I 221.

⁸⁵) Fragment; not to be traced; but look KBNWdbk I 221 next vox also: *iśatva* (*iśitva*).

⁸⁶) TBG 84/4, 1951, pp. 434-484, esp. 443-444.

⁸⁷) "VṚHASPATITATTVA, An Old Javanese philosophical text, critically edited and annotated" by Sudarshana Devi, Ph.D. thesis Utrecht 1957, Int. Ac. Ind. C. (Nagpur)/New Delhi, 1957; cf. Dr. Alexander Ziesenis †, "Studien zur Geschichte des Śivaismus, Die Śaiva-Systematik des Vṛhaspatitattva", ib. 1958.

⁸⁸) KBNWdbk. I 221.

⁸⁹) "SĀṅKHYA" o.c. pp. 463-465: "VṚHASPATITATTVA", o.c. p. 31.

more *koṇa* (corners, angular points) than the eight of a cube, which produces food at will, and hindrances against an enemy. It is paraphrased by *cintāmaṇi*, "which can fulfill all your desires"; *cupu aṣṭa-giṇa* (and *cupu maṇik*) is a magical box in which a whole army can be lodged, but which the owner puts in her plait of hair or waistband ⁹⁰).

Somewhere between the spheres of sorcery and popular phantasy is to be located the *maṇik aṣṭa-giṇa* which is a magic letter written on the adept's tongue at his initiation as a priest ⁹¹).

There is one field more where *aṣṭa-guṇa* is mentioned and where a sorcerer might try to intervene. The Old-Javanese NĪTI-ŚĀSTRA ⁹²), a poem on ethics in 120 stanzas in Sanskrit metres, well-known in Bali ⁹³), contains a stanza in the Rāga-kusuma-metre which runs as follows: ⁹⁴)

Yan vāgmika vināyakāṣṭa-guṇanēn nī anak-ēbi tēkap in mahājana.
Riṅ bhuktinya tikāṣṭa-bhāga tēkap in puruṣa kēlarikāṣṭa-bhāganēn.
Yan riṅ saṅgama saṅ mahā-puruṣa kāṣṭa-guṇa tēkap ikaṅ vadhu-jana.
 "Riṅ strī tan kahanan varēg puruṣa" liṅ Drupada-parama-putrikāṅucap.

(a) In eloquence and wise behaviour a decent man is eight times as good as a woman; (b) in matters of inheritance a woman should have one eighth of a man's part, because her strength is only one eighth of that of a man; (c) *in eroticis* a woman has an eightfold capacity in comparison even with a strong man; (d) "Women are never satiated by (their) men" quoth excellent Princess Draupadī.

These are the fields of *kāṣṭa-guṇān* where the Yama-Rāja-mantra might help.

It will scarcely be necessary to point to the colourful circumstance that the *kitir asumpahan* should originate from theft, I think it was my Professor for Javanese, Dr. G. A. J. Hazeu, who in the Indonesian field for the first time pointed to the importance of theft for obtaining the *srana*, means with which to work (Jav. *gavé*) in the ensuing action of sorcery, to wit in his well-known paper on the Javanese "Nini Towong" ⁹⁵).

13. *Yapvan amanpaṅ vvaṅ aśabda ala athavā musuhta kunaṅ : timbrah tulisi Yama-Rāja, burat ya riṅ tri-kaṭuka, tēlas japa ta, tamakēn riṅ ulu niṅ dēsa* ⁹⁶), *carvani, japa mvah; tēlas dahar i[n] kuṅḍa[,] vèh tasaka, tēlas hrasva, tēhër buhana[;] śatrunta vināśa* ⁹⁷).

When you wish to resist a man who slanders you or is even your enemy: write the Yama-Rāja on a piece of metal, smear it with the three pungent materials, mutter (formulas in praise of Y.R.), bring it to the highest part of the village, bring offerings and mutter once more; then put food in a pot and let it be done; after . . . you must . . . ; your enemy will perish.

⁹⁰) Dr. Jacoba Hooykaas-van Leeuwen Boomkamp, "Sprookjes en Verhalen van Bali, met 33 illustraties van Balische kunstenaars", Van Hoeve, 's Gravenhage, Bandung, 1956; "Märchen aus Bali", die Waage, Zürich, 1963.

⁹¹) Jacoba Hooykaas, "A Yantra of Speech-Magic in Balinese Folklore and Religion", BKI 115/2, 1959, pp. 176-191.

⁹²) "NĪTIĀSTRA, Oud-Javaansche tekst met vertaling uitgegeven" door R. Ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka, Bibliotheca Javanica 4, Kon. Bat. Gen. v. K. & W., 1933.

⁹³) Balinese MSS in Kirtya-lists and in Poerbatjaraka's "Lijst" (note 4).

⁹⁴) Canto IV stanza 17, No. 55 of the 120, on p. 49 of the critical edition.

⁹⁵) TBG 43/1+2, 1900, pp. 36-107.

⁹⁶) The MS had; *bès*.

⁹⁷) The MS had: *vinaka*.

14. *Yapvan anambanana* ⁹⁸⁾ *vvañ roga, ron in ěntal tulisi Yama-Rāja, bhasmi ta, avunya avori avu niñ pabrān* ⁹⁹⁾; *pamipisakēn tri-kaṭuka, tēlas ramēs lavan avunya[.] syuki cuka, lēpanakēn riñ agēriñ; yan kēna tuju. yan kēna bicari. asiñ salviran in roga varas dēnya.*

When you wish to give medicine to a sick person, write the Y.R. on a piece of the leaf of the *tal*-palm, burn it to ashes, mix the ashes with those of the ingredients of a betel-quin; cut *tri-kaṭuka* into small pieces and mix them up with the ashes, pour vinegar to it, anoint the patient with the mixture—even when he is a victim of sorcery, whatever his illness, he will be cured by this action.

15. *Yapvan agavéya ka-subhaga-n mvañ kasihan ikañ rat kabēh: vit niñ luva, pasagi, [ma]kadi par[ip]ih, vvañ siki kvēhnya; surati Yama-Rāja, pūjā kabhaktiani sārī-sārī.*

When you intend to earn popularity with everybody and make them like you: banyan-root, [make a] quadrangle, just like palm-leaf ribs, two [of each] of them, write the Y.R. on them; daily homage [to Y.R.].—The sorcerer seems to mean: make a quadrangle formed by 2 parts banyan, 2 parts palm-leaf ribs.

16. *Yan atamuy kita vvañ ménak, ridvan kunān, vadvā-vadvā. viku mvañ pahutañan, makadi vvañ a-bhagya-para, asah pagapakan mvañ rovañnya, vaśesa riñ timba vayavanya, kalukunya, ya ta mvañ tulisi Yama-Rāja pūjā sravé; tuhu n phala-nya masih kakañ-nya vvañ ri kita, mvañ pakadaksa, subhaga vvañ phalanya.*

When you are the guest of noblemen and learned people, . . . , divines and bankers (?) and above all people having nothing left to be wished for (?) . . . (in this corrupt and defective part we miss the always recurring . . . really as a result people will love you as if you were their elder brother (?), . . . as a result people will be prosperous.

The quotation ends with offerings—a neglected field in the study of Bali ¹⁰⁰⁾.

NIHAN CARU SAÑ HYAÑ YAMA-RĀJA.

*Laklak kētan bañ tasak mēntah,
ikañ tampiñ 4 Lor sthānanya,
mvañ tampiñ 4 mēsi tasak mēntah,
nika tēn niñ patahuranya,
Vētan kuluñ sadvaka,
pralapa riñ vėlahan,
tēlas japa riñ mantra na-ma-Śi-vā-ya
saha mantra Mūla-jadi* ¹⁰¹⁾;

THE OFFERINGS FOR YAMA-RĀJA

Small balls of red glutinous rice, done and not yet done; the quadrangular [tray] in the North; one more quadrangular tray with prepared and not yet prepared [glutinous rice]; offerings;

Next mutter the formula: homage to Siva, and the formula Mūla-jadi (?):

⁹⁸⁾ The MS had: *ahavana*.

⁹⁹⁾ The MS had: *pavahan*.

¹⁰⁰⁾ Cf. "Purification", o.c. note 66.

¹⁰¹⁾ I have not yet found a *mantra* of this name. ARGHĀDHYĀTMĪKA, K 73
l. 2b mentions a *mūla-mantra*, but does not give its wording. *Jati-mūla* is a far

*Oñ indah ta kita kamun Hyan Yamarāja
Sadoméya, kita Rāja Krodhādhipati,
vèh aku ri ka-siddhy-anta,
oñ siddhir astu ya namo namaḥ svāhā.*

*Tēlas aminta sa-kāpti-nta,
asiñ karsanta vuvusakēna,
tēda riñ sira.*

Oñ God Yamarāja Sadoméya, you Upperlord
of wrath, kindly pay attention to me,
give me your superior power,
oñ there may be success, homage², be it so.

Then ask for everything that you might
wish, tell everything that you might
desire—it will be bestowed upon you.

These were the words to be used; finally follows how to use them:

NIHAN GELAR SAÑ HYAÑ
YAMA-RĀJA.

*Yan pinañca-désa upalakṣaṇa sañ yan
pindara Sañ Hyan Rāja Bhūta, sātus nēman
puluh sira pinūjā, umolañakēn¹⁰²) vighna,
rakṣakādi riñ cor-aduṣṭa¹⁰³), mvañ Sañ
Prabhu masih, ñunivèh rat kabèh masiha ri
kita.—*

*Iti Sañ Hyan Yama-Rāja 'tamakēna ayva
cauh, bvat alpa-siddhi.*

PRACTICE OF THE HOLY
YAMA-RĀJA.

When (muttered) in the four main directions
of the compass and the Centre, . . . King of
the Demons, after 160 × homage has been paid
to him, he removes hindrances, he is an excellent
protection against curses and criminals, he in-
fluences the King and everybody to like you.
This is the Y.R.; consider it as superior, do not
divulge it lest it should lose its supernatural
power.

In some places I may have misunderstood a text which in any case was not free
from scribal errors and only available in one copy. When in Bali, I failed to pay
attention to this part of Balinese beliefs, important though it is.

In so far as this text aims at personal welfare—if only often by trying to remove
all hindrances and enmities—it might not be misplaced in a treatise on *mānuṣa-
yajña*, and certainly it gives a picture of the power ascribed to Yama-Rāja in
Balinese life.

MANTRA VIŚEṢA = YAMA-RĀJA-MANTRA

Oddly enough, the author of the DHARMA KAHURIPAN, when
advising "*tulisi Yama-Rāja*" for 16 cases, fails to add any further in-
formation. It is to be found, I think, in ARGHĀDHYĀTMIKA, K 73,
a short (9 ll.) and very succinct collection of notes on ritual as practised
by *padandas*. As its place of origin is Sanur, a few miles ESE from Denpasar
at the coast, well-known for its Śaivite *griyas*, it is not far-fetched to
presume that it originates from one of those priest dwellings. It runs as
follows (1. 3a):

shot: "restored to its former state", as a result of medicine, would have fitted in
No. 14. PŪRVA BHŪMI KAMŪLAN is the name of the incantation by the *sēnguhu-*
or exorcist priest.

¹⁰²) *Umolañakēn*, taken as: *umulañakēn*, to reverse (to the person who has
caused them, just like the *valik* in previous paragraphs).

¹⁰³) The author might as well have meant *cora-duṣṭa*, thieves and criminals.

Nihan Sañ Hyañ Mantra Viśeṣa, pūrvantyantakēna riñ sarva-pūjā, nyāsa-kēna¹⁰⁴) riñ bhūmi-kona; phalanya katulak ikañ sarva-riḡhna mvañ sarva-doṣa; kurañ-lēvih iñ mantra karakṣa dēnira, nirvikāra i śarīra-nta 'siñ pūjā-nēn-ta.

Nā ñ Mantra Viśeṣa :

Oñ hroñ jruñ Jvālīnye namaḥ, Agneya ;
Oñ hroñ hruñ Ratna-pataye namaḥ, Neritya ;
Oñ hroñ kroñ Kula-putraye namaḥ, Vayabya ;
Oñ hroñ kuñ Kula-putriya Devāya namaḥ, Airśanya.
Yan amūjā riñ śmasāna , namaḥ svadhā ;
Yan amūjā riñ vana, mvañ riñ raṇa-madhya, namaḥ svāhā.
Iti Yama-Rāja sira, ayva véra, doṣa.

What follows is The Excellent Mantra, which by way of introduction should precede each ritual [according to the natural trend of thought¹⁰⁵]: invite and bribe the demons to take leave, so that soil and sphere may become purified before the descent of the celestial gods]; pay homage¹⁰⁴ (free translation) in the corners (= points of the compass) on the ground; all hindrances and all sins will be averted; adding [a word] to the mantra or subtracting [a word] from it¹⁰⁶, you will still enjoy its protection; no harm ("de-faction") can overcome your person (I think: for whatsoever purpose you pay homage to the god; or: to whomsoever you have to bring *pūjā*). What follows is the Excellent Mantra: (Homage to 4 aspects of Yama-Rāja in the SE, SW, NW and NE).

When you worship in the graveyard (i.e. directed towards the malevolent god, at the end of the mantra use: *namaḥ) svādhā* ;
 When you worship in the forest and on the battlefield (i.e. → benevolent god, at the end of the mantra use: *namaḥ) svāhā* ;
 This is the Yama-Rāja; do not divulge it, it would be sin.

Three quarters of a century ago Van der Tuuk twice collected this same mantra¹⁰⁷, and the photographs of palmleafstrips, sent to me from Leiden look much more authentic than the more recent typewritten lines, transliterated from the Sanur MS. Both Leiden specimens, however, are muddled and imperfect; in common they offer this variant that they prescribe:

¹⁰⁴) *Nyāsa*—mental appropriation or assignment of various parts of the body to tutelary deities. Cf. Sylvain Lévi, "Sanskrit Texts from Bali", GOS LXVII, 1933, p. 15. He mentions *Śrī-Tritattva-nyāsa* (No. 57) and *Śrī-Śivāṅga-nyāsa* but overlooks *Śrī-Brahmāṅga-nyāsa*.

¹⁰⁵) Expressed in the rituals of Śivaite and Buddhist brahmins, *pamañku & sēṅghu*.

¹⁰⁶) The standing prescription is, self-evidently, *not* to add and *not* to subtract; I think something here has happened to the text.

¹⁰⁷) Cod. Or. Lugd. 5338, Juynboll o.c. II, p. 373; Cod. Or. Lugd. 5357, Juynboll o.c. II, p. 380.

When at home and when you are ill, use *svāhā* ;

When in forest, graveyard and non-irrigated field, use *svadhā*.

Moreover both of them produce these letters:

kṣi	ja	ni
	ra	ra
ya	kṣi	ma ma
ya	si	ra ya mé do ṣa
	da	dha me do
	yo	yo
ni	dha	ro

And here we have come back to the Yama-Rāja Sodoméya of the Buddhist *purohita*.

III.

PADMÂSANA,
THE THRONE OF GOD

INTRODUCTION

There are thousands of temples in Bali¹⁾, none of them containing the same buildings for the worship of the same gods²⁾. But invariably the rectangular inner upper court lodges two rows of buildings along two of its four sides, and in the *tagĕl siku* as the Balinese say, the "elbow" where the two rows meet, a high stone throne is to be seen, open to sunshine, rain and wind³⁾. The throne consists of three tiers surmounted by a stone seat with a high back. The seat is called *padmāsana*, lotus (*padma*) seat (*āsana*), and by extension the whole construction is known by that name. The throne stands on a stone platform, protruding in all four directions, and before the throne we often see the crowned head and upper body of a serpent king. The body of the serpent bears the throne and is only partly visible between the throne and the protruding platform, but the tail is freely uplifted in the air. When the head of the serpent king is right in front of the throne, its tail is to be found at the back⁴⁾. But we may also find both head and tail on the front side of the sanctuary, the head to the right and the tail to the left⁵⁾; or two crowned heads at the front side and the two tails at the rear⁶⁾.

The heads of the serpent kings leap, as it were, to the eyes; less spectacular and sometimes even nearly imperceptible (due to overgrowing moss) is the head of a turtle, right in front of the throne and likewise between the body of the throne and the protruding platform. Once we have noticed this, we also see tiny forepaws on both sides of the head; and at the rear of the throne a triangular tail can be seen between two hindpaws. Although in most such temples the turtle (Balinese: *baḍawan*) is seldom easily seen (and still less easily photographed!); in Běsakah, Bali's best known temple, there are unusually big turtles which are abundantly clear, bearing the three thrones of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva⁷⁾.

¹⁾ "Bali, Studies in Life, Thought and Ritual", Selected Studies on Indonesia by Dutch Scholars, vol. V, W. van Hoeve Ltd., The Hague and Bandung, 1960, Introduction by J. L. Swellengrebel, p. 12.

²⁾ Miguel Covarrubias in his "Island of Bali", Knopf, New York, 1937, repeatedly reprinted, now out of print, gives a ground plan of a typical Balinese temple on p. 265, an aerial view of a typical Balinese temple opp. p. 266.

³⁾ Photo 124, 125, 177, 185, 203, 204 in P. A. J. Moojen, "Bali, Inleidende Studie tot de Bouwkunst", Adi-Poestaka, den Haag, 1926; Archaeological Survey of Indonesia photo 2683; photo Van Erp XVII-9.

⁴⁾ Photo Archaeological Survey of Indonesia 2683; Jeannine Auboyer, "Le Trône et son Symbolisme dans l'Inde Ancienne", Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1949, cover and p. 71.

⁵⁾ Photo 184, 186 in Moojen, o.c. note 3.

⁶⁾ Photo 91, 124, 185 in Moojen, o.c. note 3; van Erp IV-5.

⁷⁾ Photo 203, 204 in Moojen, o.c. note 3.

Padmāsana as the name of the seat of the High God (in Bali: Sūrya or Śivāditya, God of the Sun) is sufficiently well known from India; but I know of no Javano-Balinese treatise dealing with this type of structure. The invaluable dictionary Kawi-Balinesesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek (KBNW) ⁸⁾ *s.v. padmāsana* gives three translations and several lengthy quotations which we will have to discuss in the course of this study (A). And though the word *baḍavaṅ*, turtle, is clear, the standing term for the serpent(s) plus turtle is *baḍavaṅ 'nala*, turtle and fire, and that is not clear at all. The Balinese themselves appear to be at a loss here (B), but much written material is available (C), both in literature and in ritualistic treatises (D, E). The highly technical Balinese ritualistic literature, of which next to nothing has been printed as yet ⁹⁾ (much less translated) offers its own difficulties. Fortunately a wealth of MSS is available (E), and for several points an explanation could be found in South-Indian ritualistic manuals, both printed and dictated to me during a fortnight in Madras (D). Remarkably enough, at one place a few words in one Balinese treatise were helpful for the right understanding of South-Indian ritual. Finally (F) a Vaiṣṇava term for *padmāsana* threw unexpected light on the last stanza of the twelfth-century Old Javanese *kakavin*, court poem (to be compared with Sanskrit *kāvya*) SMARA-DAHANA ¹⁰⁾, being an apotheosis of the ruling king of Java, identified with the Highest God.

A very considerable part of the material for this study is derived from MSS and has had to be produced, discussed and translated. Though the rest is accessible in print, the languages used are Sanskrit, Old-Javanese, Balinese, Indonesian and Dutch, so that it seemed advisable to give here both the original texts and the English translation. In doing so, a certain unwieldiness could scarcely be avoided, but it is hoped that the material has been so displayed that the thread can easily be followed. We discuss in

- A. Padmāsana in Java, Bali and India,
- B. Baḍavaṅ Nala, Turtle and Serpent,
- C. Vaḍavānala, Fire from Mare's Mouth,
- D. Āsana-pūjā in South-India,
- E. Āsana-pūjā in Java and Bali,
- F. God-Kingship in Hindu-Java.

⁸⁾ By Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk, Landsdrukkerij, Batavia, 1897-1912.

⁹⁾ Sylvain Lévi, "Sanskrit Texts from Bali, critically edited with an introduction", Gaekwad Oriental Series LXVII, Baroda, 1933.

¹⁰⁾ R. Ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka, "SMARADAHANA, Oud-Javaansche text met vertaling uitgegeven", Bibliotheca Javanica 3, Bandoeng-Batavia 1931.



Fig. 7. Padmāsana of Pura Panataran, Subagan, Karangasēm.
(by courtesy of the Archaeological Service of the Republic of Indonesia.
(cf. Jeannine Auboyer, *Le trône et son symbolisme dans l'Inde ancienne*,
Presses Universitaires de France, 1949, cover and p. 71).



Fig. 8. Padmāsana of Pura Suci, Denpasar, Bali.
Photography the late Dr. Th. van Erp.

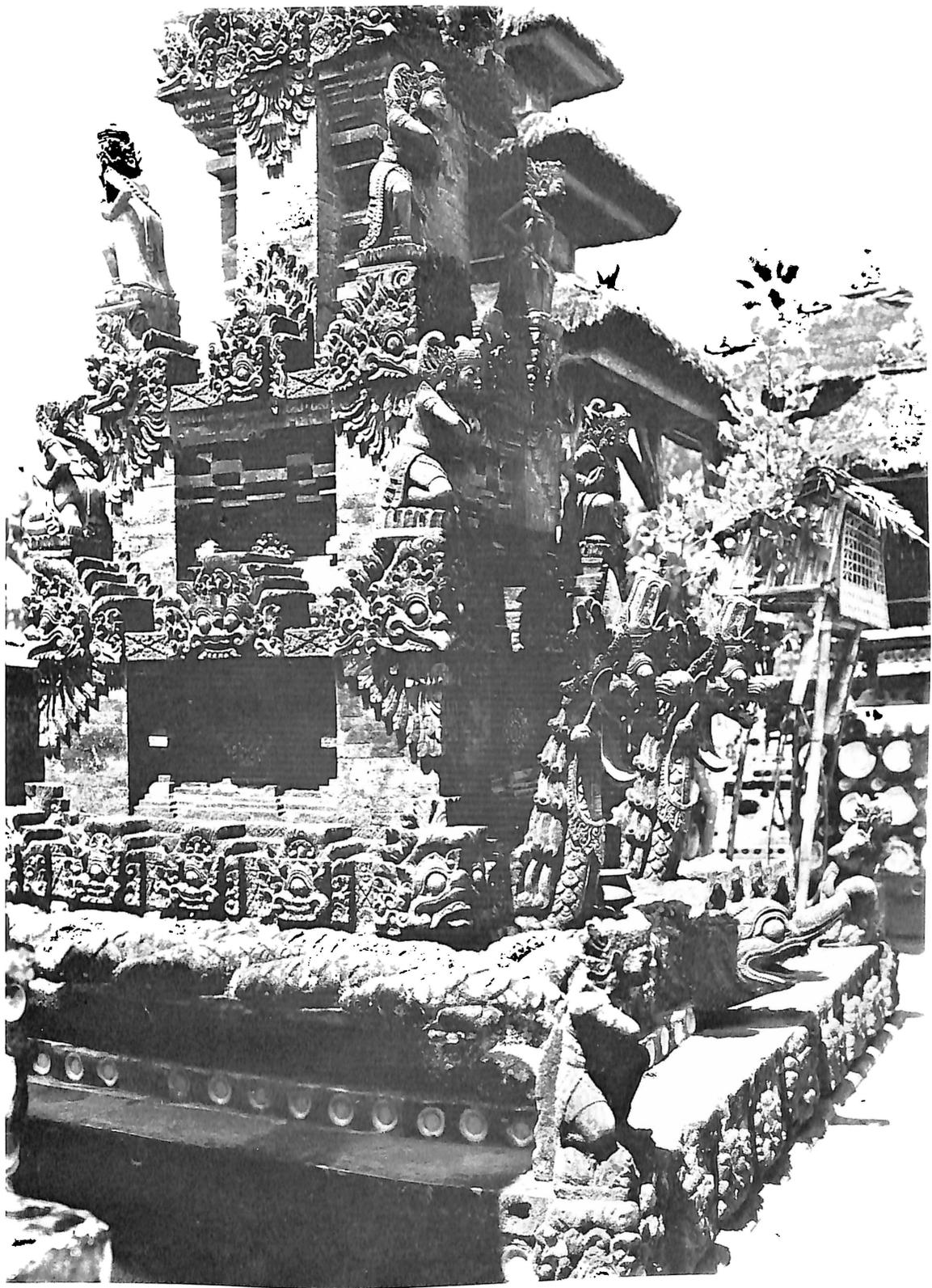


Fig. 9. Padmāsana of Pura Satriya, Denpasar, Bali.
Photography the late Dr. Th. van Erp.

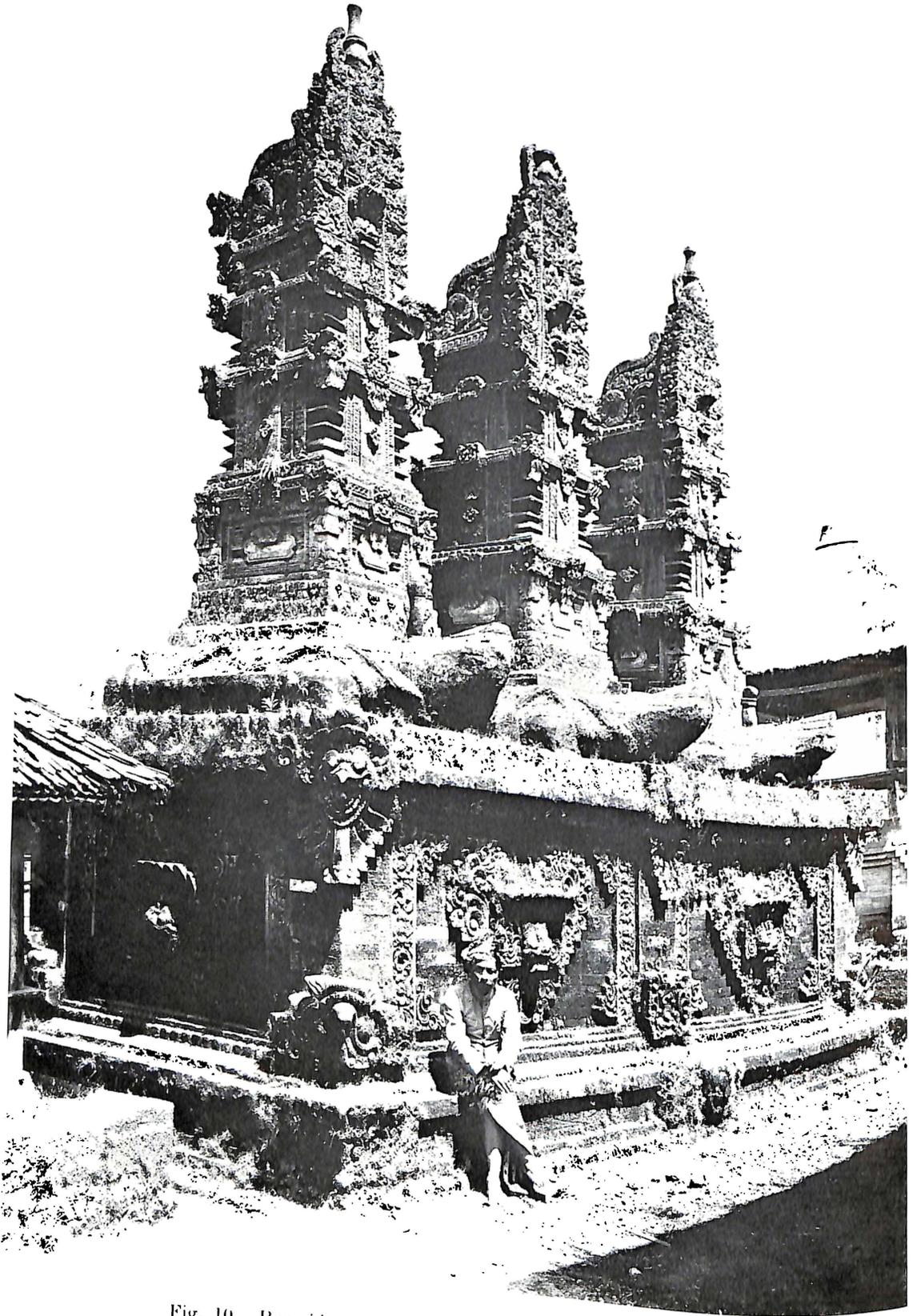
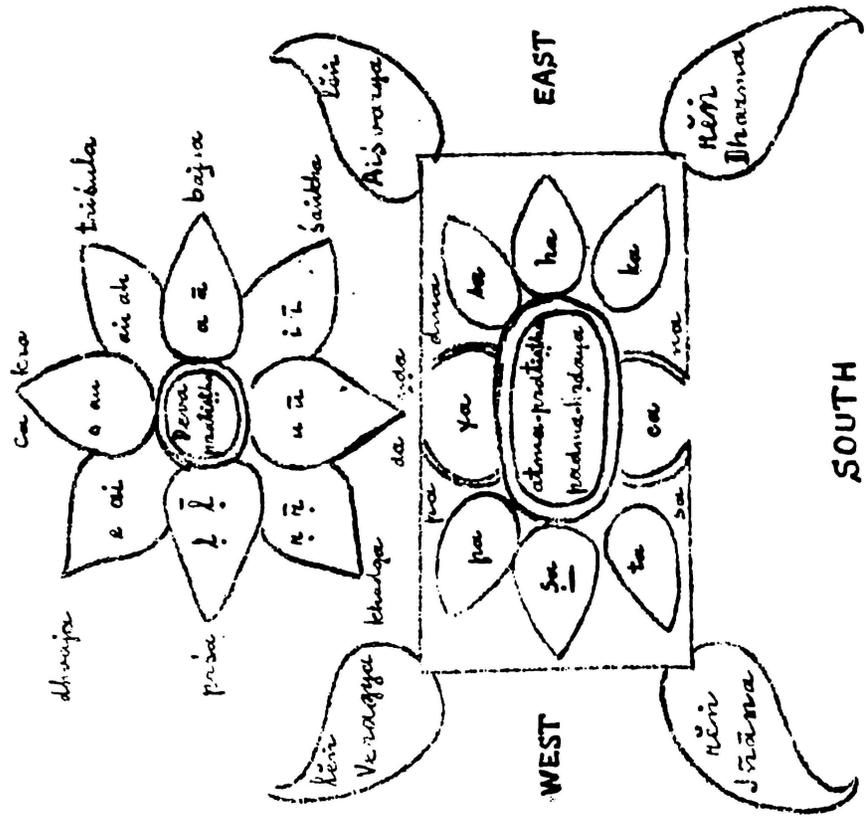
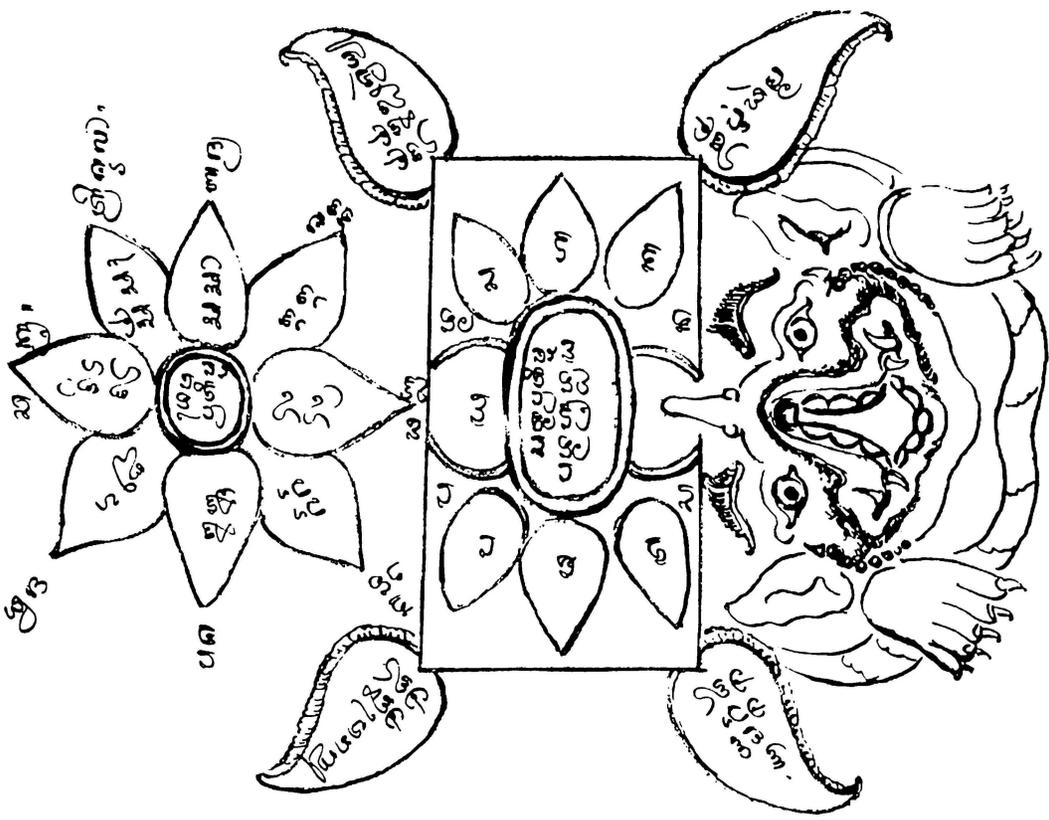


Fig. 10. Rearside of Padmāsana for *trimūrti*, Pura Bēsakih.
Photography the late Dr. Th. van Erp.



Fig. 11. Rearside of Padmāsana, Pura Tēgal Tamu, Bali.
Photography the late Dr. Th. van Erp.



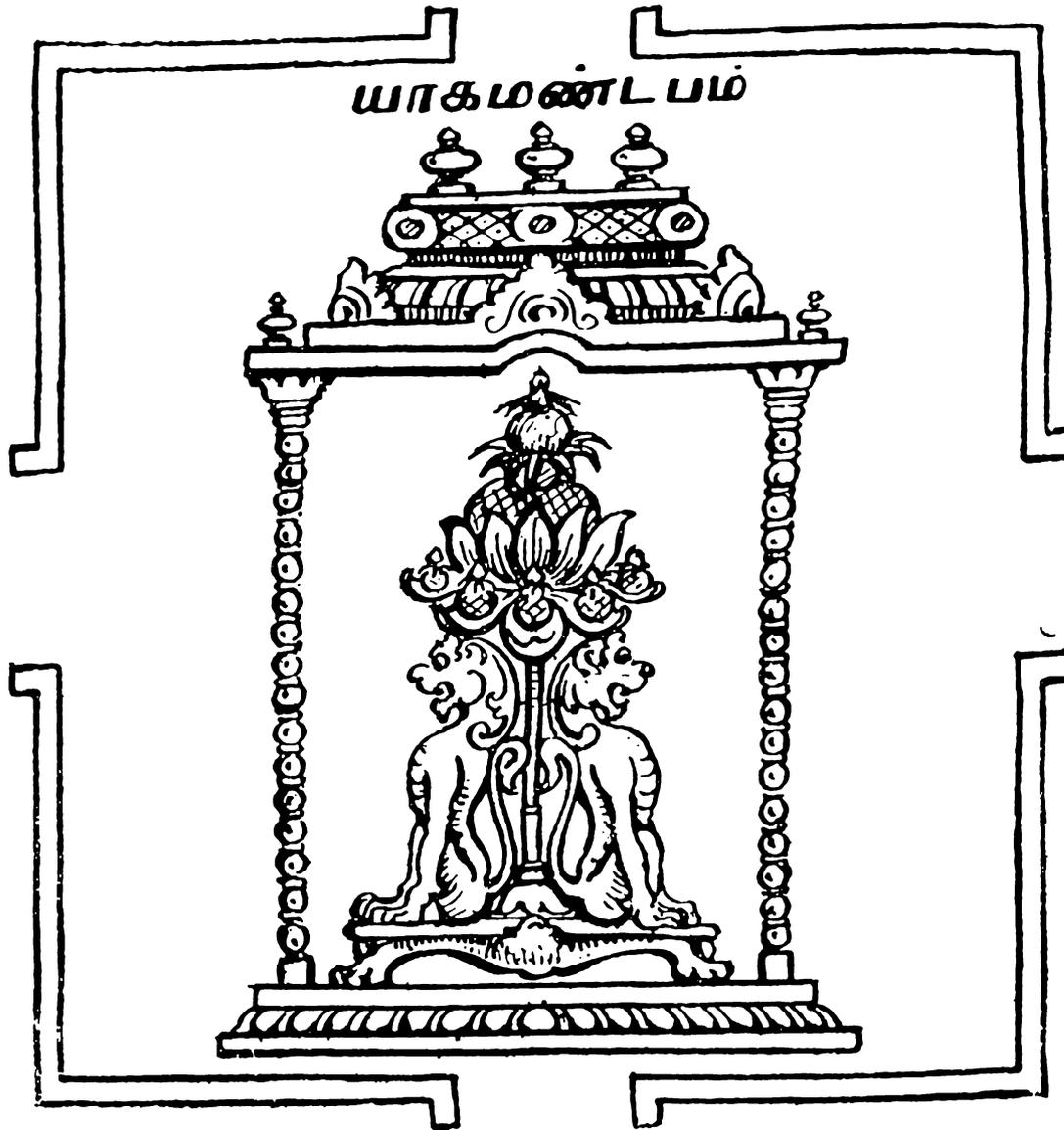


Fig. 13b. Yāga maṇḍapa according to a South-Indian handbook on ritual, from top to bottom representing:

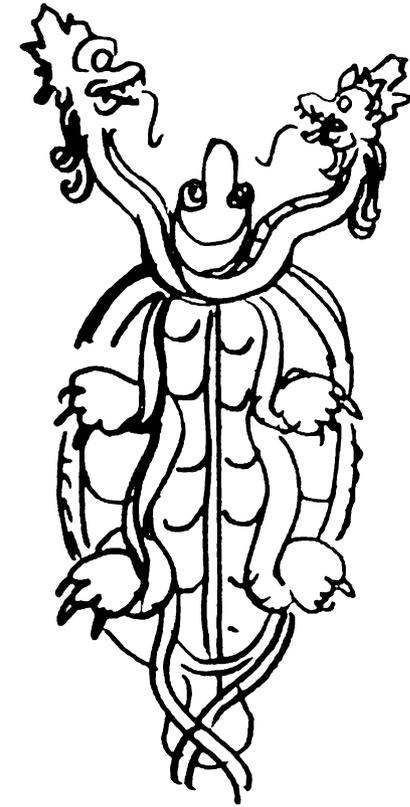


Fig. 13a. Anantāśana according to a modern but traditional drawing in a Balinese palmleaf manuscript.

vimala-
padma-
yoga-
siṅha-
ananta-
kūrma-
} āsana
(cf. text p. 125.)



Fig. 14. Modern but traditional Balinese drawing from the palmleaf ms K 328 Surat Kajang, cf. p. 116.

A. PADMĀSANA IN JAVA, BALI AND INDIA

For the meaning of *padmāsana* the KBNW ¹¹⁾ begins by referring to the eleventh-century Old-Javanese *kakavin*, court poem, ARJUNA-VIVĀHA IX/4d ¹²⁾:

Sākṣāt dṛṣṭ-Ārdhanarīśvara tēka hana riñ padmāsana-maṇi.

(metre: Suvadana)

Ardhanarīśvara became clearly visible, appearing on the bejewelled lotus seat.

So here we find the Indian conception surviving in the Balinese temple in the shape of a square stone seat.

Next follows Van der Tuuk's first translation of *padmāsana*: "way of squatting in a hermitage", explained by a lengthy quotation from the sixteenth century prose treatise KAURAVĀŚRAMA ¹³⁾; I borrow only these lines:

Tiñkah iñ luñguhta yan tēkēñ
patapanta: *padmāsana* naranya
talampakan tumumpañ riñ pupu
kalih, dèn lumah lēpa-lēpa niñ
dalamakanta kalih, valakañta dèn
abēñer pañadēgnya, dèn atani ikañ
gulu, dèn agra-nāsikā, untu ayva
vinèh atēmva i sor lavan i luhur,
tuñtuñ i lidah dèn sumēla, ya
padmāsana naranya.

The methods of squatting when
you have come in your hermitage:
padmāsana is: the soles of the feet
on the thighs, the palms of the
hands turned upwards, the back
well straightened, the neck erect,
the eyes fixed on the tip of the nose,
keeping the teeth of upper & lower
jaw separated, keeping the tip of
the tongue between them – that is
called *padmāsana*.

This quotation dealing with the know-how of six practices of *yoga* is preceded by one on their results:

Dibia-tēja narania kinahanan
dēniñ [vīrya; *dibia-cakṣu*, kinah-
anan dēniñ] kagupañ; *dibia-bala*,
kinahanan dēniñ sanak inuñsi dēniñ
vvang; *dibia-darśana-dūra*, tum-
van iñ adoh aparēk, vruh ambēk iñ

Dibya-teja means being gifted
with force; *dibya-cakṣu* means being
gifted with extraordinary powers;
dibya-bala means being gifted with
numerous relatives and being a
refuge for people; *dibya-darśana*–

¹¹⁾ O.c. note 8, vol. IV pp. 169–170.

¹²⁾ Dr. R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka (Lesya), "ARJUNA-WIWĀHA, tekst en vertaling", Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 82/2, 1926 pp. 181–305. Also separate edition, Martinus Nijhoff, 's Gravenhage, 1926.

¹³⁾ J. L. Swellongrebel, "KORAWĀÇRAMA, een Oud-Javaansch proza-geschrift, uitgegeven, vertaald en toegelicht", Ph.D.-thesis Leiden, Mees, Santpoort, 1936.

vanèh — mañkana polih in *padmāsana* yan inabhiāsakēn, kavirian polih nikañ *padmāsana*.

dūra is the faculty of seeing near what is far off and knowing the heart of other people — that is the fruit of practising *padmāsana*; force is its fruit.

Here we were in the microcosmos, *bhuvana alit*, of human inner life; we return to the conception of macrocosmos, *bhuvana agun*, in the KBNW's third translation: "the *vadah* of a brahmin priest". *Vadahs* are bamboo constructions on which corpses are transported from the house of the deceased person to the field of incineration, *sétra*¹⁴). Now a brahmin priest during his daily *pūjā*, worship, first makes himself into a clean receptacle worthy to receive Śiva, and finally becomes Śiva, he is Śiva, Śivāditya, Sūrya, the God of the Sun¹⁵). People in Bali, when speaking about the brahmin priest whom they usually ask for *toya* or *tīrtha*, holy water, call him their Sūrya (even if he happens to be a Buddhist priest). No wonder that the *vadah* of Sūrya is called *padmāsana*, for that is the name for the seat of Śiva in the shape of Śivāditya or Sūria as well as in the shape of Arddhanarêśvara mentioned above.

The KBNW's second translation of *padmāsana* runs as follows: "2. vijver (pond), plaats van padmāsanuṣṭhāna; bhāṭara" etc. Here some things must have gone wrong; moreover the author had died before this volume was printed. The passage quoted is to be found at the end of stanza 62 and in stanza 63 of the Middle-Javanese TANTRI¹⁶), but since there are at least three complete Middle-Javanese versions known out of a dozen or so Javanese and Balinese versions, we must be precise¹⁷). It is not the version in the Kadiri metre, but that in the Dēmuñ metre, to be called TANTRI DĒMUÑ¹⁸), a text which I studied 35 years ago but have not yet published. The quotation in KBNW wins in lucidity by beginning it three verses earlier and ending it five verses further. Even so some lines are difficult; the other MSS¹⁹) give no helpful various readings.

Fortunately, not only does the text survive in this shape; but we now

¹⁴) Covarrubias o.c. note 2; Dr. Paul Wirz, "Der Totenkult auf Bali", Strecker und Schroeder, Stuttgart, 1928; Dr. R. Goris (Text), Drs. P. L. Dronkers (Photography), "Bali, Cults and Customs", publ. Gvt. of the Republic of Indonesia (1953).

¹⁵) R. Goris, "Bijdrage tot de kennis der Oud-Javaansche en Balineesche Theologie", Ph.D.-thesis Leiden, 1926, Vros, Leiden, 1926. The ritualistic text in S. Lévi o.c. note 9.

¹⁶) C. Hooykaas, "TANTRI, de Middel-Javaansche Pañcatantra-bewerking", Ph.D. thesis Leiden 1929, Vros, Leiden 1929.

¹⁷) The prose recension only has been published: Dr. C. Hooykaas, "TANTRI KĀMANDAKA een Oudjavaansche Pañtjatantra-bewerking in tekst en vertaling uitgegeven", Bibliotheca Javanica 2, Bandoeng-Batavia 1931.

¹⁸) Perhaps dating from the sixteenth century and originating from Bali.

¹⁹) Dr. H. H. Juynboll "Supplement op den catalogus van de Javaansche en Madoereesche Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits Bibliotheek", Leiden Brill, I, 1907, p. 244; II, 1912, p. 501.

have at our disposal a version in modern Balinese literary language and in modern metres of Javanese origin. Rewriting of this type, following examples in Old- or Middle-Javanese language, "difficult" prose or poetry in origin, forms the literary genre *PARIKAN*; so this is TANTRI *PARIKAN* ²⁰). Dr. van der Tuuk, who collected and, when necessary, personally copied every MS he could lay his hands on in North Bali during the uninterrupted twenty four years of his stay (1870–1894) ²¹), had scarcely any *parikan* ²²). But, in less than half a century after his death, dozens of them have been collected by the Kirtya, Singaradja (Bali) ²³). It seems to me highly probable that the genre *parikan* dates from rather late in the nineteenth century and only came in full swing in the twentieth century.

By comparison of the *padmāsana* passage in TANTRI *DĒMUṆ* with that in TANTRI *PARIKAN* it appears that the modern poet or paraphrast followed the old poet's example fairly faithfully line after line. Both poets had to obey the same two principles: the number of syllable in each line, varying from line to line, and the vowel of their final syllables ²⁴). The first demand provided some difficulties; the poet of TANTRI *DĒMUṆ* had to break off the word *atanu* between lines 8 and 9, that of TANTRI *PARIKAN* in line 10 had to contract *vahu usan* to *vahūsan*. In line 4 the metre does only admit of *'nuṣṭhāna* for the Sanskrit word *anuṣṭhāna*, religious practice; *anuṣṭhāna-krama*, the order of performing religious ceremonies ²⁵). But then the Balinese pronunciation and orthography does not care about this detail; both forms are used in BUDDHA VEDA ²⁶),

²⁰) In the library of palmleaf MSS, the Foundation = Kirtya called after Lieftrinck & Van der Tuuk, now Gedong Kirtya (hence my abbreviation K for MSS copied there), Singaradja (Bali), No. 378.

²¹) R. Nieuwenhuys, "H. N. van der Tuuk, de pen in gal gedoopt", Van Oorschot, Amsterdam, 1962 p. 7.

²²) As appears from: Dr. J. Brandes, "Beschrijving der Javaansche, Balineesche en Sasaksche Handschriften,", Batavia, Landsdrukkerij, I–IV, Batavia, 1901–1926. These MSS were bequeathed to the Library of the University of Leiden and have been re-described by Dr. H. H. Juynboll in the 2 vols. mentioned in note 19 and in his "Supplement Catalogus van de Sundaneesche HSS en Catalogus van de Balineesche en Sasaksche Handschriften" id. ib. 1912.

²³) Vide the lists of stock and acquisitions which appeared periodically in *Mededeelingen van de Kirtya Lieftrinck-Van der Tuuk, Singaradja (Bali)*; the last one in "Indonesische Handschriften" door R. M. Ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka, Dr. P. Voorhoeve en Dr. C. Hooykaas. Lembaga Kebudajaan Indonesia "Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap . . .", Bandung-Djakarta 1960.

²⁴) Radèn Hardjowirogo, "PAṬOKANING NJĒKARAKĒN"², Balai Pustaka, Djakarta, 1952.

²⁵) The meaning in Sanskrit, to be found in the Javano-Balinese ritualistic manual ANUṢṬHĀNA BVAT SAURA, The Religious Ceremonies for the worshipper of Sūrya, K 298. — As will be seen in the translation, for the Jav. Bal. the meaning of *anuṣṭhāna* was also closely related to Skr. root *sthā*, to stand.

²⁶) K 2255, 1=*lĕmpir* (palmleafstrip) 1b, 4b, etc.; Cod. Or. Leiden 4165 p. 1, p. 4 etc. Lévi o.c., who prints an incomplete version of the Sanskrit parts of the

the Buddhist death ritual²⁷). The same is the case with Sanskrit *anala*, fire, in Balinese very often spoken and written 'nala, as in *baḍavan̄ nala*. The second demand, that of the vowel in the last syllable, made the poet of TANTRI PARIKAN write *padmāsan i* in stead of *padmāsan a*, without causing any difficulty to his listeners.

A Balinese paraphrast enjoys the privilege of staying much nearer to his model than we ever do; his peculiar education and lexicological help, however, may make him to a help that is self-confident but not always reliable. In the *padmāsana* passage he develops a clear picture of the situation and only the "mystical" line 9 remains obscure to me, though it does not impinge upon the general picture. TANTRI DĒMUŃ, on the other hand, was not originally lucid in lines 5, 8 & 10; and the remaining "mystical" line 8 is not essential now for us.

TANTRI DĒMUŃ

(metre: dēmuŃ)

8u. Ndan sañ mahā-yati sampun
 9u. ravuh ri tatpara niñ raṇu (62).
 9 i. Tumuly andeha-śuddhi lagi;
 6a. 'nuṣṭhāna Bhaṭṭāra,
 7a. ry anta niñ *padmāsana*;
 8 i. 'tur tīrtha sāstavanya ri
 9a. sopakṣamā mintānugraha,
 7a. sinūksma riñ vindv ata-
 7 i. nu. Avusan sañ yati, (63)
 10u. sarvy amēntas ri kaṇṭa niñ raṇu.
 9 i. Vus adan basahan aliŋgih
 6a. riñ śilā-śayana,
 7a. lagi muryakēn réma,
 8 i. pan katēlēsan iñ vārih;
 9a. tumuli sirādan lumampah.

TANTRI PARIKAN

(metre: durma)

1	Sampun ravuh Padanda riñ	12a
2	toya pavitra hēniñ; [kalēbutan,	7 i
3	masiram mavēda;	6a
4	puput 'nuṣṭhāna Sañ Hyañ,	7a
5	umuŋguh riñ <i>padmāsana</i> ;	8 i
6	atur vaca pavitra	7a
7	sāstava akṣamā siddhi. (133)	8 i
8	Ņaluṅsurañ 'nugraha siddhi niñ	12a
9	sinūksma vindu hrđi. [kārya,	7 i
10	Vahūsan mavēda.	6a
11	sampun masalin vastra,	7a
12	nadēg riñ tēpi niñ béji,	8 i
13	marariyan ajahan,	7a
14		
15	malih madabdab mamargi. (134)	8 i

TANTRI PARIKAN. 1. The brahmin priest came to a well of water bubbling from the ground. 2. clear and purifying water. 3. (He used it for) cleansing himself (and started with his daily ritual of which part consists of) humming "veda" (i.e. hymns in honour of holy water and the Gods)²⁷). 4. The Godhead was present, 5. residing²⁸ in the *padmāsana*. 6. (The brahman) offered words (i.e. *mantra* and *veda*) and holy water. 7. accompanied by songs of praise, and he obtained forgiveness. 8. He asked for the favour that he might succeed in his enterprise (for which

BUDDHA VEDA on his pp. 71-85, on p. XXIX erroneously states: "The Buddhaveda is the Buddhist counterpart of the Brahmanical Veda; it contains the full daily worship of the Buddha priest." The daily worship is to be found in PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA, hitherto not published and failing in the collections of Djakarta, Leiden and Singaradja.

²⁷) On the word *veda* cf. Goris, o.c. note 15.

²⁸) The second meaning of (*a*)*nuṣṭhāna*, referred to in note 25.

he had set out on his journey). 9. 10. After he had finished his *pūjā* (daily worship). 11. and had changed back (from the two unsewn plain white cloths used during ritual to the ordinary dress of coloured loincloth and jacket). 13. he lingered for a while. 12. remaining by the border of the pond (formed by the well). 15. next he prepared to continue his way.

TANTRI DĒMUṆ. 1. Now the brahmin priest had 2. arrived at the edge of a pond. 3. He cleansed himself. 4. The Godhead was present, 5. residing ²⁸ in the *padmāsana*. (The brahman) offered holy water and songs in praise of the God, 7. asking for forgiveness and favour; 8. 9. After the brahmin had finished (his daily worship), 10. he crossed over to the boundary of the pond. 11. He changed back into his daily clothes and set himself 12. on a flat stone, 13. stroking backward the hair of his head 14. which had become wet with (holy) water (which after the ritual the priest sips three times and sprinkles three times on his head, in doing so purifying himself inwardly and outwardly); 15. next he continued his way.

TANTRI DĒMUṆ still gives difficulties, the first of them being *tatpara* in the second line. The KBNW II 665b gives: “s. (= Sanskrit), de overkant van een water, *ravuh niñ tatpara niñ ranu* (our passage), de andere zijde, de overkant” (the other side of a water, the other bank) and ends with “*tatpara ri Sañ Hyañ Dharma enz., ijverig*” (diligent). If translated more forcefully by “having Divine Dharma as his highest aim or object”, then this *tatpara* is Sanskrit and correct. The first part of the entry is neither Sanskrit nor correct. The KBNW’s translation has no inner probability and is contradicted by all Balinese translations. They are *tĕmbiñ*, *piñgir* and *tĕpi*, words meaning “bank, border, shore, side”. Hence my translation in line 2.

Though in line 5 *anta* in Sanskrit has the principal meaning of “end” (and *an-anta* in Sanskrit and Balinese likewise is very well known as “endless”), in our context this does not fit in, for a *padma*, being round, and even a *padmāsana*, being quadrangular, has no end. Monier Williams’ Sanskrit Dictionary gives two other meanings, the one being “border, outskirt (e.g. of a village)”, the other “inner part, inside”. This last meaning is represented by *umuñguh riñ* of TANTRI PARIKAN line 5 and also by BUDDHA VEDA in two places: a. *Bhaṭṭāra Catur-Pranava-Sākṣma-Buddha anuṣṭhāna ri anta niñ padmāsana* ²⁹; b. *Parama-Buddha ’nuṣṭhāna ri anta niñ padmāsana* ³⁰. There can be no doubt that these highest godheads reside in the very centre, the inner part of the lotus, and not in the outskirts formed by the petals. My Buddhist informant explained (a) *nuṣṭhāna* with Indonesian: *bertempat tinggal ditempat itu*, meaning the same as the *umuñguh* of TANTRI PARIKAN. We have

²⁹) K 2255 l. 2a, Cod.Or. L.B. 4165 p. 1.

³⁰) K 2255 l. 4b, Cod.Or. L.B. 4165 p. 4.

to accept this unusual meaning of *anuṣṭhāna* in Balinese, used side by side with the usual Sanskrit meaning of “religious practice”.

The poet of TANTRI DĒMUŃ already on an earlier occasion (III. 19) had had his fun in first using *ry anta* and a few lines further *ri kaṇṭ(h)a* – we can not be sure whether he meant *kaṇṭa* or *kaṇṭha*. The passage runs as follows:

7u. Kaṅ rakaṭāsr̥v amuvus:	The crab-fish commanded:
7i. “Vava ṅoṅ ry anta niṅ	“Bring me into the interior
10u. “botravi.” Punaṅ khaga anuhu.	“of the pond.” The bird obeyed.
9i. Vus prāpta ri kaṅṭ(h)a niṅ nadi,	When he had come to the ? of the water,

Kaṅṭ(h)a may mean “middle” just like *anta*, as the KBNW suggests by quoting the Balinese paraphrase *di tēnah*, but Sanskrit *kaṅṭa* means “boundary”. I am afraid we are in a muddle here – in a cul de sac – but the main street by now seems sufficiently clear. There is no convincing reason to assume that *padmāsana* means a (lotus) *pond*; it is a lotus-seat, in stone or in the imagination, and an attitude of the body helping to reach an attitude of the mind. Monier Williams in his Sanskrit Dictionary gives the meanings: “a lotus as seat (esp. of an idol), a particular posture in religious meditation; a kind of coitus; sitting in a lotus or in the position called *Padmāsana*; name of Brahma, of Śiva; the sun.” A Balinese drawing of Ardhanarēśvarī in *Padmāsana* might be revealing; I do not expect to find depicted Śiva and Umā sporting in a pond!

Finally the question: which is the shape of a *padmāsana*? My photographs only show a quadrangular stone seat, but my memory reminds me of other observations, which I failed to photograph, but which a reader of this paper might photograph in future. The private or house temple of Padanda Buddha Gēḍé Njoman Djlantik in the entirely Buddhist village Bodha Kling, Karang Asēm, showed 16 (?) lotusleaves under the quadrangular stone seat. The same was the case in the village temple. In the village of perhaps Bali’s most exceptional priest, the Rēsi Pinatih in desa Pinatih, a few miles North of Denpasar, to be reached by metalled road, we found two of these *padmāsanas*, forming counterparts, one for Bhaṭṭāra Buddha, one for Bhaṭṭāra Śiva.

It is beyond me to try to determine how old these “lotuslike” *padmāsanas* are; nor do I know anything about their spreading, but a beam of consolation can be offered. The pre-war Archaeological Service (Oudheidkundige Dienst) organised research in Balinese temples; due to the slump of the thirties the results have never been published, but the materials have been carefully guarded at the Library of palmleaf MSS, now called Gēdong Kirtya, Singaradja (Bali) where I saw them in 1940; they may have survived removals and war.

B. BAḌAVAN̄ NALA, TURTLE AND SERPENT

The word *baḍavan̄* or *baḍavan̄* is one of the indigenous words for turtle, *ēmpas*, *pěñu*; well-travelled Balinese may know *bulus* from the Javanese language (to the West) or the Sasak language (from Lombok, to the East), and litterati are conversant with the Sanskrit word *kūrma* from their codes of law and the beloved TANTRI. They may know the God Viṣṇu's *Kūrmāvatāra* ³¹⁾, his incarnation as a saviour turtle, and from their encyclopaedic CANTAKA PARVA ³²⁾ they learn that Arjuna, the third of the five Pāṇḍava-brethren, owes one of his ten names to his slaying of Kūrma Vyaṅgi, the Spotted Turtle ³¹⁾. In their AGASTYA-PARVA ³³⁾ (eleventh century) ³⁴⁾ they find the words: *nāga kūrma*, *uṅvan i kandarana pṛthivī* ³⁵⁾, i.e. serpent and turtle bearing the Earth ³⁶⁾. And in their sixteenth century KAURAVÂŚRAMA ³⁷⁾ the words: *Nusa Yava, kasaṅga de Baḍavan̄ Nala mvañ Sañ Ananta-bhoga* ³⁸⁾, the island of Java, borne by (the turtle) Baḍavan̄ Nala and (the serpent) Ananta-bhoga. One is inclined to believe that when only *baḍavan̄ nala* is spoken of, without mentioning the much more conspicuous Anantabhoga, this must be considered as being a pars pro toto, just as we have seen in the use of *padmāsana*.

From these quotations it becomes understandable that a building on which the High God may deign to descend is borne by a turtle and (a) serpent(s) but the word 'nala in the composition *baḍavan̄ nala* offers a problem, as the Balinese know very well that 'nala (for thém the same as *anala*) is a Sanskrit word for fire, *agni*, Javanese and Balinese *gēni* (pronounce: *guēni*). This "fire of (or: emanating from) the turtle" – though in Balinese it should then be: 'nala *baḍavan̄* – is an existing Balinese conception that I found four times in different Balinese treatises on ritual in its sanskritised shape *kūrmāgni*. Since in the field of Balinese ritual only so very little has been published so that we are still in a pioneering stage, it might not be superfluous to quote these passages from the palm-leaf MSS collected by the Kirtya.

³¹⁾ KBNW II 108–109.

³²⁾ CANTAKA-PARVA, cf. Juynboll o.c. note 19, II. 219; K 389.

³³⁾ "AGASTYA-PARVA, uitgegeven, gecommenteerd en vertaald" door Prof. Dr. J. Gonda, overdruk uit BKI 90/2 & 3, 1933, pp. 329–419; 92/3, 1935, pp. 338–458; 94/1 & 2, 1936, pp. 223–285.

³⁴⁾ P. 144 in the offprint; p. 388 in BKI 92, 1935.

³⁵⁾ P. 50 in the offprint; p. 378 in BKI 90, 1933.

³⁶⁾ P. 254 in the offprint; p. 262 in BKI 94, 1936; useful commentary on p. 194 of the offprint; p. 438 in BKI 92, 1935.

³⁷⁾ KAURAVÂŚRAMA, cf. note 13.

³⁸⁾ O.c. text p. 202, translation p. 203.

The Śaiva treatise ARGHĀDHYĀTMIKA, i.e. The Mystic Sense of Preparing Holy Water³⁹), K 73 runs on l. 3b (l. = *lēmpir*, i.e. side of a prepared strip of palmleaf):

oṅ oṅ Anantāsanāya namaḥ ;
oṅ oṅ Kūrmāgnāya namaḥ ;
oṅ oṅ Siṅhāsanāya namaḥ ;
oṅ oṅ Liṅgodbhavāya namaḥ ;
iti Mūrti-pakṣa nāranya, Deva-gaṇa iki.

An attempt to elucidate this *mantra*, belonging to a long and complicated set of ritual activities, all of them forming visible and audible manifestations of underlying philosophies, may be deferred till we have produced the closely comparable counterparts to be found in the following Buddhist treatises.

PŪJĀ NARPAṆA ŚAVA, i.e. Worship for the Satisfying/Satiating (Sanskrit *tarpaṇa*) of the Dead (Skr. *śava*, corpse), K 2178 reads on l. 28ab:

Oṅ Kūrmāgneṅyāya namaḥ ;
oṅ Anantāsanāya namaḥ ;
oṅ Siṅhāsanāya namaḥ ;
oṅ Padmāsanāya namaḥ ;
oṅ Devāsanāya namaḥ .

PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA, beginning with the daily ritual of the Buddhist priest⁴⁰), in a certain connection contains a *mantra* with the words *oṅ hr̥ṅ hr̥ṅ sah* (the well known *bīja*- or kernel-syllables from the *kūṭa*- or *mūla*-*mantra* for Śivāditya) *Parama-Buddha-Sūrya-Candra* (!) and then goes on:

oṅ oṅ Kūrmāgnayāya namaḥ ;
oṅ oṅ Anantāsanāya namaḥ ;
oṅ oṅ Siṅhāsanāya namaḥ ;
oṅ oṅ Padmāsanāya namaḥ ;
oṅ oṅ Devāsanāya namaḥ ; etc.

(N.B. the Śaiva priest instead of *Siṅhāsana* uses *Catur-Aiśvarya*⁴¹) and instead of *Devāsana* uses *Deva-pratiṣṭhā*⁴²), but means and should visualise exactly the same).

³⁹) Oddly enough, Javano-Balinese texts dealing with the *mysterium tremendum* the preparation of holy water by the Śaiva priest, who himself is Śiva or Śivāditya or Sūrya when making it, have *argha* in their title, in Sanskrit “respectful reception of a guest (by the offering of rice, dūrva-grass and flowers, or often only of water)”, or *arghya*, “water offered at the respectful reception of a guest”, or *argha-pātra*, “the small vessel in which water is offered to the guest on his arrival”; cf. the titles of MSS mentioned at the end of this book.

⁴⁰) Copied for me by the Padanda Gédé Buddha of Karangasem, Padanda Njoman Djelantik, living in Bodha Kling.

⁴¹) Lévi o.c. p. 15 No. 62.

⁴²) Lévi o.c. p. 19 No. 81; p. 30 No. 131; p. 31 No. 138; p. 10 No. 26.

PŪJĀ NARPAṆA ŚAVA quoted above l. 32b-33a repeats four of its five *namaskāra*, homage, using exactly the same words; the fifth runs: oṅ *pitṛ-āsanāya namaḥ*, "homage be to the forefathers", i.e. the souls of the dead, instead of: "homage be to the gods" – but then this ritual text is concerned with deified souls of the dead.

The situation is that the worshipper, after a considerable amount of preceding ritual, lifts his mind from the lowest to the highest objects of concentration, *āsana* meaning "sitting (down), sitting in peculiar posture according to the custom of devotees (five . . . are enumerated)"⁴³). The Sanskrit word *an-anta*, endless, in Bali is a very usual abbreviation for *Ananta-bhoga*, the One with the endless meanderings, the name of the well known serpent in the world beneath. So *namaḥ*, homage, is being paid to the fire of the turtle and next to the serpent. This is what we find three times in this order in the Buddhist treatises, but once the order is reversed and we begin with the serpent, in the Śaiva treatise. In a preceding paragraph, when quoting from the AGASTYA-PARVA, we met with the words *nāga-kūrma*, serpent and turtle, and that is the order in which we observe them in the Balinese temples: first the (pair of) serpent(s), next and often with some difficulty, the much less conspicuous turtle.

"*Wer den Dichter will verstehen | soll in des Dichters Lande gehen,*" i.e. he who wishes to understand the poet should go to his country, and he who wishes to unravel the problem of *baḍavaṅ nala* should begin by consulting the Balinese themselves. Unfortunately my faithful friend and informant from Krambitan (Tabanan), who never tires of visiting *griya* (Skr. *grha*, house; in Bali: the mansion of a *padanda*, or of an ordained brahman priest) and *sēṅguhvan* (compound of *sēṅguhku*, exorcist priest), could not help me towards an explanation. But he sent me the fortnightly *Kāla-Wṛtta*, published bi-monthly by Bali's Central Bureau for Religious Affairs in the capital Denpasar. The No. dated 6-3-1962/Tilēm IX Caka 1883, Tahun II No. 4 has an article entitled *Arti Lambang² (Symbol) dalam Agama Hindu-Bali*, The Meaning of Symbols in Balinese Hinduism, which I Kētut Sukrata took from the palmleaf MS DHARMA-STAVA and translated in Indonesian. Here *Ananta-bhoga* is explained by "endless amount of food" which The Supreme Lord in His mercy bestows upon mankind, and *Baḍavaṅ Nala* with King of tortoises, who by the broadness of his back balances the world. The difficulty '*nala/nāga*', which may puzzle the Balinese as well as us, is conveniently passed over in silence. Under these circumstances we ourselves will have to look for a solution.

From the preceding paragraphs it became evident that, on the one hand, in the temple we had to do with a representation of the *bhuvana agun*, macrocosmos, and, on the other hand, in the priest's ritual and in the stage of concentration to which he lifts his own mind, we are allowed

⁴³) Monier Williams, "A Sanskrit-English Dictionary", Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1899.

to speak of the *bhuvana alit*, microcosmos. In this study we shall begin by examining the written material relating to that macrocosmos, in Bali as well as in India (section D). Next we shall investigate the microcosmos, but now we shall start in India (E) and return to Bali (F).

N.B. The photographs available to me show two visually completely different types of structure in the Balinese temple before which *baḍavaṅ nala* is to be found, the one being the stone *padmāsana* a few yards high, and the other the largely wooden *meru tumpaṅ solas*, the pagoda with eleven storeys. I have never inquired whether all *padmāsana* are adorned with *baḍavaṅ nala*, but doubt it, and whether this is optional or subject to rules, written down in treatises (which?) or by oral tradition. I have just learnt from my friend in Krambitan that *baḍavaṅ nala* has been used for pagodas with seven storeys only in the Pura Luhur of Watu Karu (Tabanan), that sanctuary for the forefathers of the (now extinct) rulers of Tabanan and the Mountain of West Bali—for my private taste Bali's most impressive temple, about which some preliminary notes are to be found in the study on Liṅga-worship. But I simply do not know which *mèrus* are entitled to *baḍavaṅ nala* and which not, whether they should have them and why, according to Balinese current belief and practice.

C. VAḌAVĀNALA, FIRE FROM THE MARE'S MOUTH

Baḍavañ Nala, bearing the world, consequently under the world, subterranean (or better, as we will see: sub-marine), in its Sanskrit shape *kūrmāgni*, is an Old-Javanese misunderstanding for the equally submarine *Vaḍavāgni* or *Vaḍavānala*, the Fire of the Mare, *Vaḍavā-mukhānala*, Fire from the Mare's Mouth, also shortened to *Vaḍavā-mukha*, well known from Indian literature, especially the PURĀṆAs. Dowson's "Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology" ⁴⁴⁾ s.v. *Baḍava* only mentions: "A mare, the submarine fire. In mythology it is a flame with the head of a horse, called also Haya-siras, 'horse-head'. See *Aurva*". Here, pp. 32-33, are three stories of which I omit the middle one as not indispensable.

A Rishi, son of Urva and grandson of Bhrigu. He is described in the Mahā-bhārata as son of the sage Chyavana by his wife Ārushī. From his race he is called Bhārgava. The Mahā-bhārata relates that a king named Krita-vīrya was very liberal to his priests of the race of Bhrigu, and that they grew rich upon his munificence. After his death, his descendants, who had fallen into poverty, begged help from the Bhrigus, and met with no liberal response. Some of them buried their money, and when this was discovered the impoverished Kshatriyas were so exasperated that they slew all the Bhrigus down to the children in the womb. One woman concealed her unborn child in her thigh, and the Kshatriyas being informed of this, sought the child to kill it, but the child "issued forth from its mother's thigh with lustre and blinded the prosecutors". From being produced from the thigh (*uru*), the child received the name of *Aurva*.

The sage's austerities alarmed both gods and men, and he for a long time refused to mitigate his wrath against the Kshatriyas, but at the persuasion of the Pitris, he cast the fire of his anger into the sea, where it became a being with the face of a horse called Haya-siras.

The Hari-vansa gives another version of the legend about the offspring of *Aurva*. The sage was urged by his friends to beget children. He consented, but he foretold that his progeny would live by the destruction of others. Then he produced from his thigh a devouring fire, which cried out with a loud voice, "I am hungry; let me consume the world." The various regions were soon in flames, when Brahmā interfered to save his creation, and promised the son of *Aurva* a suitable abode and maintenance. The abode was to be at Baḍavā-mukha, the mouth of the ocean; for Brahmā was born and rests in the ocean, and he and the newly produced fire were to consume the world together at the end of each age and at the end of time to devour all things with the gods, Asuras and Rākshasas. The name *Aurva* thus signifies, shortly, the submarine fire. It is also called Baḍavānala and Samvarttaka.

It is represented as a flame with a horse's head.

Hopkins in his "Epic Mythology" ⁴⁵⁾ deals in several places with the Fire of the Mare as well as with serpents; only the most relevant passages can be quoted here:

⁴⁴⁾ Seventh edition, London 1950, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.

⁴⁵⁾ In "Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde", Strassburg, 1915.

p. 99: The Fire-God. The fire of demons comes from the oceanic fire in the under-world and will eventually destroy the world. It is the "water-fire in ocean", or Pātāla-jvalanaḥ, or from the wrath of Aurva Bhārgava materialised. From the ocean is taken the name "Fire of the Mare's Mouth". One offers at Vāḍava Tīrtha a cake The supreme deity, in the unitary conception of the universe, as Agni Vāḍavā-vaktra, drinks the waters and lets them out again; as Saṁvartaka Sūrya and Anila; Fire, Sun and Wind all being saṁvartaka as helping in the final overthrow. Thus the demoniac fire is interpreted as divine.

p. 61: Habitations of spiritual Beings. Opposed to heavens are the hells into which one falls or sinks, i.e. below earth. . . . a premonition . . . "he will fall lamenting into the Mare's Mouth in the Pātālas" (implying the fire of the Vāḍavāmukha in the waterworld underneath). This under-world is reddened with flames and guarded by demons. . . . Pātāla as Rasātala is a watery under-world where Vāsuki reigns, but being also the abode of demons and fiends and of underground fires it later became synonymous with hell.

p. 23. Serpents. All serpents are of divine extraction, . . . The general abode of these divine serpents is below earth; and here is usually to be found Śeṣa, . . . , who "supports earth from beneath". . . . It is the "endless serpent lying upon the waters" that gets the name Ananta (bhogavat). . . . He is described as lying . . . (thirteen leagues from Jaloda, where the Vāḍavāmukha is found), . . .

So Indian mythology located in the underworld the serpent Ananta or Anantabhoga and the Mare's Mouth or the Mare's Fire Vāḍavā-mukha or Vāḍavānala, and located them the one quite near to the other. Several Indonesian peoples were also familiar with conceptions of animals bearing the Earth, e.g. a bull, a water-buffalo, a boar, so that the Indian conceptions found a well prepared soil.

The discrepancy Vāḍavā/Baḍavaṅ gives no serious difficulty. To begin with Varuṇa, Vasuki, Vāmadeva, etc. in some parts of India and in the Indonesian archipelago are pronounced Baruṇa, Basuki and Bāmadeva; likewise Vāḍavā and Baḍavā may be equated. The transition from *baḍava* to *baḍavaṅ* may have been aided because the *baḍavaṅ*, turtle, was and is a well known aquatic animal. And it may have been facilitated by the fact that in Javanese and Balinese the daily used numerals *dua* (2), *tělu* and *tiga* (3), *pat* (4), *lima* (5) etc., when followed by a substantive, are pronounced and written *duaṅ*, *těluṅ*, *tigaṅ*, *patanṅ*, *limanṅ*, etc.

Huge tortoises are not part of the nightmare of a suburban garden owner, whose six inch tortoise escapes through a small crack in his wooden fence. No, but enormous pre-historic turtles can be seen swimming in the ocean when one visits Ulu Watu, Bali's most southern temple, protruding into the sea and high above it on top of a steep cliff. They are continually chased, and when captured, put into pens on the shore. A full grown turtle can bear two adult persons. Its flesh is a well known delicacy, and its shield is used for the making of several objects. Big turtles are a well known fact of practical Balinese life, and they cannot fail to stir the imagination.

In connection with observation of nature, mention must be made of tiny Bali's highly volcanic character. We may be confident that the

average Balinese is acquainted with earth tremors and even volcanic eruptions, and that he has his ideas about subterranean fire.

Next, the very outspoken fiery character of Vadavânala cannot have presented a difficulty in the way of his conversion into the turtle Baḍavañ Nala. In our world of ideas fire and water are proverbially opposites, but for a world drenched in Śivaism fire and water are complementary, burning the material, unclean and sinful elements and then washing them away, as e.g. in the ritual for the dead. That Earth-bearing turtle should be very strong and potent for the accomplishment of his task and be laden with *śakti* and *tejas*. Water was the element in which he lived, fire was the force living in him. Hence the confusion of the Fiery Mare's Mouth in the ocean with the equally Fiery Turtle is imaginable. We know even of a passage in the KAURAVĀŚRAMA (p. 78) mentioned above where *baḍavañ* is used with the meaning of *agni*, the fire which devours the offerings of the *aśva-medha*, the well known Indian horse sacrifice.

Two assertions, however, made in the preceding paragraphs, need some explanation. To begin with, *baḍavañ nala* is not a recent Balinese conception but was known to the ancient Javanese. For our purpose and, for the moment, ignoring the Old-Javanese dictionaries, which are based on many materials written in modern times in a language pretending to be Old-Javanese, we find an exquisite line in the Modern-Javanese Dictionary ⁴⁶⁾ running as follows: "Ḍawang Nala, name of a godhead which has the shape of a turtle". This godhead is definitely not Muslim, consequently it must date from the pre-Muslim, i.e. Old-Javanese or Hindu-Javanese period, q.e.d.

The second assertion ran that Vaḍavânala has been known in Bali and is still known there as the Fire of the Mare. I myself cannot remember that I have ever seen a picture or sculpture of the Mare's Mouth or Head, but then I have never looked for it. Dr. Van der Tuuk, however, who lived in Bali uninterruptedly from 1870–1894, has seen them according to entries in his big four volume dictionary. S.v. *gēni* in IV. 631 he writes: "*Bēnawang gēni*, cf. *baḍavānala*, has a red mane representing the fire" (in Balinese easily *Badawa*→**Bandawa*→**Bēnawa*→*Bēnawañ*). The other entry, s.v. *baḍavañ* in IV. 928 runs as follows: "is still portrayed with fiery hair by means of *kěntju*". (Poerwadarminta's *Kamus Indonesia* ⁴⁷⁾ gives: *gintju* = *pēmérah bibir*, i.e. rouge). The red and fiery hair or mane does not belong to a turtle but to the Fiery Mare.

It might not be superfluous to quote the passages in Old-Javanese literature from which it appears that the Fire from the Mare's Mouth

⁴⁶⁾ Dr. Th. Pigeaud, "Javaans-Nederlands Handwoordenboek", Wolters, Groningen-Batavia, 1938.

⁴⁷⁾ Perpustakaan Perguruan Kementerian P. P. dan K., Djakarta, reprinted several times since the early 'fifties.

has been known in Java and Bali for the last ten centuries at least. For this purpose we quote from three categories of literature, viz.:

1. PARVA and PURĀṆA, Old-Javanese and Middle-Javanese prose compositions;
2. KAKAVIN, Old-Javanese court poems, Indian as to shape and contents;
3. TUTUR, Philosophical and Metaphysical, Religious and Ethical Lessons.

1.a. BRAHMĀṆḌA-PURĀṆA⁴⁸). Tenth century⁴⁹). This PURĀṆA is still studied in Bali as appears from the great number of MSS that it has been possible to collect in the recent past and from a night which I passed at the court of Bangli, centre of Bali, where this text was being discussed by the *padandas* (from palmleaf MSS, not from Gonda's text, which I could send only later). The affection in which this text is held is also apparent from the fact that it has been cast into the shape of a *kakavin*. It is not necessary to quote from this derived text too, but in passing we draw attention to the fact that the relevant passage⁵⁰) mentions Sambartaka Mukha Vaḍavā, comparing it with the frightful Agni-rodra, well known from Śaiva ritual⁵¹).

Ana ta gunuñ ri sēla nikañ Menakā-giri lavan Śakra, riñ Sambartaka nāranya. Nka ta kahanan iñ Aurvâgni, apuy umañan vai niñ sāgara. Apuy Aurva kacaritanya: vineh nira muñgva riñ Vaḍavā-mukha. Sambartaka Vaḍavā-mukha nāranya⁵²).

There was a mountain between Mount Menakā and (Mount) Śakra, called (Mount) Sambartaka. That is the place of Aurvâgni, the fire which devours the water of the ocean. The story about the Aurva-fire runs as follows: He (i.e. Aurva) made it reside in Vaḍavā-mukha. Sambartaka and Vaḍavā-mukha are identical⁵³).

In his annotation to this passage⁵⁴) Gonda rightly remarks: "When Aurva threw fire into the ocean, it assumed the shape of a mare's head. A variant reading gives the name Vaḍabā-mukha to the place of this fire, or better: of Aurva, who had produced this fire."

1.b. ĀDI-PARVA⁵⁵). Circa 1000 A.D.⁵⁶); this PARVA is still studied in Bali and consulted by *ḍalañs*, the performers of the shadow theatre,

⁴⁸) "Het Oud-Javaansche BRAHMĀṆḌA-PURĀṆA, Prozatekst en kakawin, uitgegeven en van aantekeningen voorzien" door Dr. J. Gonda, Bibliotheca Javanica 5 (1932), Bandoeng-Batavia.

⁴⁹) O.c. previous note p. 23.

⁵⁰) XVI/4, o.c. note 48 p. 221.

⁵¹) Lévi, o.c. p. 13 No. 50.

⁵²) O.c. note 48 p. 153.

⁵³) "Het Oud-Javaansche BRAHMĀṆḌA-PURĀṆA vertaald" door Dr. J. Gonda, Bibliotheca Javanica 6, Bandoeng-Batavia 1933, p. 104.

⁵⁴) O.c. note 48 Bibl. Jav. 5 p. 329.

⁵⁵) "ĀDIPARWA, Oudjavaansch Prozageschrift uitgegeven" door Dr. H. H. Juynboll, 's Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1906.

⁵⁶) I think omnium concensu.

as a source for their performances of *vayan kulit*, shadowplay with multi-coloured flat leather puppets. It has also been recast into modern literary Balinese language, using Modern-Javanese metres, hence called *ĀDI-PARVA PARIKAN* ⁵⁷). The story of Bhṛgu and Aurva precedes the five lines reproduced here, but is rather lengthy. The end runs as follows (p. 168):

“Ya ta matañ[n]ya n yan tibakēna tañ krodhânalâ sañkeñ manahta
davuhakēneñ samudra, tulyângšēñi rât, ikâmañana vve niñ sâgara”.
Mañkana liñ niñ kavitanira.

Tinibākēn ikañ agni rikāñ sâgara.

Ya ta matañ[n]ya n Vaḍavânalâ ñaran ika, apuy ahulu kuda ⁵⁸)
aneñ ḍasar iñ samudra, pratidinâñisēp vve niñ sâgara, yadyapi katēka
mañke.

“That is the reason why, when you drop the fire of wrath from your mind into the sea, it will, as it were, scorch the world and devour the water of the ocean”. So spoke his father.

(Nevertheless) he dropped the fire into the ocean.

Therefore it is called Vaḍavânalâ, the Fire having (the shape of) a Horse's Head, being in the depth of the ocean, daily sucking up the water of the ocean, even up till the present day.

1.c. AGASTYA-PARVA ⁵⁹). To be dated shortly after the making of the prose extracts from the MAHĀ-BHĀRATA, say eleventh century ⁶⁰).

Anak nira ta Bhagavān Aurva ñaran ira ⁶¹), . . . , sañ makayuga ñ
Vaḍavânalâ, dilah niñ kuda ⁶²) nira kacaritanya. Vaḍavânalâ ñaranya
ikañ apuy muñgv iñ ḍasar niñ Lavaña-sâgara, umañan vai nika
sâri-sâri, dumeh vvay nikañ sâgarâpasañ-surud, pinañan iñ Vaḍavânalâ
kacaritanya, (y)adyapi katēka mañke.

His son was the Venerable Aurva . . . who produced the Vaḍavâ-fire, the flame of the horse ⁶²), according to tradition. Vaḍavânalâ is called the fire residing in the depth of the Salt Ocean, continually drinking its water; it causes the ocean's flow and ebb, as Vaḍavânalâ drinks it, so people say, up till the present day.

1.d. KAURAVĀŚRAMA ⁶³). Sixteenth century; here dealing with the cause of earthquakes, relates as follows (p. 202):

⁵⁷) K 2358.

⁵⁸) We have to refer to this *kuda* later on in note 62.

⁵⁹) O.c. note 33.

⁶⁰) P. 144 in the offprint, p. 388 in BKI 92, 1935.

⁶¹) P. 55 in the offprint; p. 383 in BKI 90, 1933.

⁶²) The MSS had *kuñḍa*, a preaenasalised and dignified (i.e. misspelt) form of *kuda*, horse, the word which fits in here.

⁶³) O.c. note 13.

Maka-ḍasar-ira Sañ Hyañ Mahā-Meru: Baḍavañ Anala, matēḍas kuda, maka-lēkēr-ira Sañ Hyañ Mahā-Meru, Hyañ Ananta-bhoga ya (ta) sumaṅga riñ nusa Yava, apan kadyaṅga niñ banava pulo (tiñkah) ikañ nusa (= dvīpa) Yava, atarampa śela bajra malela, tumrap in gigir Sañ Baḍavañ Nala lan Sañ Ananta-bhoga, manuṣa pinaka-pramāṇa-nira Sañ Hyañ Mahā-Meru, pṛthivī pinaka-pāda-nira Sañ Hyañ Mahā-Meru, kaliñanya pva ya, tēka pralaya ⁶⁴) niñ bhuvana, manuṣa milu pralaya ⁶⁴) ika, ikañ pṛthivī mvañ Sañ Hyañ Rāja-parvata, tēkan in Hyañ Ananta-Bhoga, kēneñ osah mēnggah kēsah, duḥkha kiñ-kiñ, akveh sattva masambhava, ya ta pralaya ⁶⁴) niñ bhuvana, milu pva pṛthivī osah, milu pva Baḍavañ Nala osah, milu pva (Sañ) Ananta-bhoga osah; ya ta mēñkab ḍaḍa Baḍavañ Nala, sukunyāñambah śelah bajra ḍasar in ratnadukara, mañrasa mañadipira, parēñ lan Sañ Hyañ Ananta-Bhoga, mañulisik kañṭha-nira mvañ ikuh-nira.

Baḍavañ Anala serves as a base for the Mahā-Meru; it has a horse's head; Ananta-Bhoga serves as its foundation; they bear the island of Java, for it is like a floating island of which the lower part, consisting of rocks made of *bajra* (thunderbolt) steel, lies on the back of Baḍavañ Nala and Ananta-Bhoga; mankind is the force of Mahā-Meru, earth is its foot. So in the event of cataclysm of the universe, mankind shares it, earth shares it and the King of Mountains and even Ananta-Bhoga. All created beings then will moan and groan, at the cataclysm of the Universe, even the Earth, Baḍavañ Nala and Ananta-Bhoga. Baḍavañ Nala's chest expands, his feet kick against the *bajra* steel bottom of the ocean, he suffers and laments together with Ananta-bhoga, who writhes with his neck and tail.

In his thorough commentary to this passage ⁶⁵), the editor of the text, Dr. J. L. Swellengrebel remarks that it is not clear whether one should start with a Javanese word *baḍavañ* meaning turtle, contaminated with Sanskrit *vaḍavānala*, or whether the Sanskrit word forms the original and in Java has been contaminated with the turtle of the underworld.

2.a. RĀMĀYAṆA KAKAVIN ⁶⁶), dating from the first half of the tenth century ⁶⁷), still widely read, studied, paraphrased, sung ⁶⁸); RĀMĀYAṆA PARIKAN ⁶⁹) deals with the same subject material.

⁶⁴) Text: *tralaya*.

⁶⁵) O.c. note 13 pp. 296-297.

⁶⁶) H. Kern, "RĀMĀYAṆA, Oudjavaansch Heldendicht", Nijhoff, 's Gravenhage, 1900.

⁶⁷) I think omnium consensu.

⁶⁸) Cf. I Wajan Bhadra, "Het 'Mabasan' of de beoefening van het Oud-Javaansch op Bali". Bijlage bij Mededeelingen V van de Kirtya Lieftrinck-Van der Tuuk te Singaradja (Bali), Kolff & Co., Soerabaia, 1937.

⁶⁹) K 1052; Juynboll o.c. note 19, I p. 228.

(Hanumān harangues the monkeys, defeated in their first attack on Lañkā; XIX, 99).

Masuki ri pātala–nitala dadia,
 atha ca guhā pomahan ikanan moñ,
 kumēlēma riñ Rorava Baḍavāgni,
 ikana kabeh tan mavēdi sañ amrih.
 (metre: kusuma–vicitra)

We will succeed in penetrating into Pātala and Nitala,
 and also to a cave which serves as lair to a tiger;
 dark though it may be in Raurava and Baḍavānala,
 he who strives after a purpose is not afraid of all that ⁷⁰).

(Death of Prahasta, commander in chief to Rāvaṇa/Daśamukha; XXI. 226).

Ghora ñ rañāṅgaṇa tasik k upamania riñ lvā,
 hrū Sañ Prahasta kumisik ya akēñ vvayania,
 Sañ Nila tulia Vaḍavā–mukha rodra–bahni,
 jvālā paḍā nikanā daṇḍa nirāmañan hrū.
 (metre: vasanta–tilaka)

Horrible was the battle field, as extensive as the ocean,
 Prahasta's buzzing arrows comparable with its waters,
 and Sañ Nila with Vaḍavā–mukha, that frightful fire,
 his stick was like a flame, devouring the missiles ⁷¹).

(Kumbhakarṇa's reproach to Rāvaṇa/Daśamukha; (XXII. 33).

Kāsih–ta kasah kāsih–asih – ñkāne Vaḍavāgni n katibā.
 (metre: madayantī?)

Your well-beloved, separated (from you), lamentable, there has fallen
 down into Vaḍavānala ⁷²).

(Vibhīṣaṇa's advice to Rāma; XXIII. 1)

“Byakta ta hēntya niñ kapi–balān ēñēnakēna ike,
 “rākṣasa Kumbhakarṇa Vaḍavā–mukha mukha nika,
 “nā ta matañnya patyana ta de narapati uvusēñ,”
 liñ nira Sañ Vibhīṣaṇa manañguhi mañasihi rāt.
 (metre: vañśa–patra–patita)

“Clearly the monkey army will be finished by letting him have his way,
 “that ogre Kumbhakarṇa, whose mouth is like the Fiery Mare's Mouth;
 “therefore he must be conquered by you, oh King! and annihilated.”
 So spoke Vibhīṣaṇa who felt compassion with the people, exhorting them. ⁷³)

⁷⁰) Dutch translation by Dr. H. H. Juynboll in BKI 86, 1930, p. 551.

⁷¹) Dutch translation by Dr. H. H. Juynboll in BKI 90, 1933, p. 326.

⁷²) Dutch translation by Dr. H. H. Juynboll in BKI 92, 1935, p. 126.

⁷³) Dutch translation by Dr. H. H. Juynboll in BKI 92, 1935, p. 136.

2.b. BHAUMA-KĀVYA ⁷⁴), probably slightly less old than the preceding *ādi* (i.e. first) *-kakavin* ⁷⁵); in recent times reversified: BHOMA-KĀVYA-PARIKAN ⁷⁶).

Lāvan bahni mijil sake tañanira ñ Bhomâtirodrān kutug,
lvir dhūma n sumarāmbah in raṇa-talâtianten karērēs katon,
sākṣātnyān Vaḍavānalāñalad-alad agiāmañan yven lēmah,
mañkin vṛddhi tēkāngēsēñ rathanira ñ Pāṇḍv-ātmaja sākṣaṇa.
(96. 18; metre: śārdūla-vikrīḍita)

Now fire appeared from Bhauma's hands which flamed ferociously ⁷⁷), spreading as smoke over the battle field, most frightening to see, like Vaḍavānala, blazing up into its effort to devour the earth, steadily spreading so that in a moment it had singed the Pāṇḍava's chariot.

2.c. ARJUNA-VIJAYA, a Buddhist *kakavin*, considered as less old than the two preceding ones ⁷⁸).

RukmālvāmBaḍavañ-Nalāñalad-alad pavulatan ika muntab ujvala ⁷⁹),
(amidst the treasures found in the ocean was a quantity of) Gold
as broad as blazing Baḍavañ Nala could be seen with its upward lustre.

3.a. SĀRA-SAMUCCAYA is a collection of 517 ethical śloka followed by their Old-Javanese paraphrases ⁸⁰). The high esteem in which this treatise is held and the grasp it still has on the minds of the Balinese appears from three facts: a) numerous MSS could be collected ⁸¹); b) a complete recast in PARIKAN shape has been made ⁸²); c) three authors have published the TUTUR SĀRA-SAMUCCAYA in the 'fifties in different ways at different places in Bali ⁸³). As the Old-Javanese para-

⁷⁴) R. Friederich, "BOMA KAWYA (Skt. BHĀUMA KAWYA)" etc. *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* 24, 1852.

⁷⁵) More cannot be said for the moment.

⁷⁶) K 1912.

⁷⁷) A. Teeuw, "Het BHOMAKĀWYA" (translated), Ph.D. thesis Utrecht 1946, Wolters, Groningen, 1946.

⁷⁸) Juynboll, o.c. note 19, I. 135.

⁷⁹) Quotations borrowed from KBNW s.v. *vaḍavānala*, III. 523-525.

⁸⁰) Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira, "SĀRA-SAMUCCAYA (a Classical Indonesian Compendium of high ideals)", *International Academy of Indian Culture*, New-Delhi, 1962.

⁸¹) Juynboll o.c. note 19, II. 275-277; moreover same author in BKI 69, 1914, p. 412; this MS was overlooked by my fault when Raghuvira and I undertook the editing of the SĀRASAMUCCAYA in 1953; I owe the reference to Dr. P. Voorhoeve.

⁸²) K 2364.

⁸³) a) Tjakepan Sarasamustjaja, *Basa kawi rauhing tēgēs basa lumbrah*, antuk Ida Surya Agung Hadrya, Singaradja, Bali, 1948; 2nd. imp. 1957 (Latin script).
b) *Kitab Sutji "Sarasamustjaja"*, disusun oleh pudjangga bagawan Wararutji, diterjemahkan oleh Ida Padanda Made Kamenuh, Balimas, Denpasar, Bali, 1956 (Latin script).

c) Daging Pidartan Sarasamutjaja, antuk Ida Tjokorda Gede Majun, *Pustaka Murni, Klungkung*, 1957 (Balinese script).

phrase (No. 432) offers no surprise, here I only present the Sanskrit śloka, in Böhlingk's Indische Sprüche² No. 338, originating from Mahā-Bhārata XIII. 2230:

Antakaḥ pavano mṛtyuḥ, pātālaḥ Vaḍavā-mukham;
kṣuradhārā viṣaḥ sarpo, bahnir ity ekataḥ striyaḥ.

The God Yama, thunderstorm and death, underworld and Vaḍavā-mukha, a razor's sharpness, snake, poison and fire together on the one side, and woman taken on the other they keep each other well balanced.

3.b. BAḌAVAN NALA; 3.c. YAMA(PŪRVA)TATTVA; 3.d. PLUTUK or MPU LUTUK. Whereas the SĀRA-SAMUCCAYA in the preceding śloka clearly depicts the horror of the macrocosmic Fiery Mare's Mouth, the next TUTURS have a passage in common describing Baḍavaṇ Nala in man's body, this microcosmos. This least section of Indonesian writings is in this way transitional to the next section.

The passage which we will examine is to be found in three MSS dealing with care of the dead and giving a picture of the hereafter immediately after death. As is so often the case with Balinese treatises—better: collections of fragments and notes—they share a sector or sectors while diverging for the rest. BAḌAVAN NALA, K 86 l. 1b (here B) begins with the fragment reproduced *infra*, YAMA(PŪRVA)TATTVA K 37 l. 11a (here C) is nearly verbatim the same; PLUTUK, K 862 l. 3b, is fuller in its enumeration of *paṇadaṇ-adaṇ* or *paṇaṇon-aṇon*, the frightening animals which wait upon (*ṇadaṇ*) the soul of the just deceased person on its way to the Judge of the Hereafter, God Yama, and Ruler of the Underworld. (Much could be said about these treatises, and perhaps should be said, but I refrain from this here).

BAḌAVAN NALA (b) and YAMA(PŪRVA)TATTVA (c)		P L U T U K (d)	
Iti VAḌAVAN NALA ṇaranya, tiṅkah i rāganta, vinarahakēn denira Saṅ Mahā- Paṇḍita vēruh; apikēna denta.		Nihan tiṅkah iṅ BAḌVAN NALA magēnah riṅ rāga ṇaranya.	
Vaḍvaṅ Nala	ṇarania dalamakan,	Nala magēnah	riṅ tlapakan batis,
Kēbo Raja	ṇarania jariji,	Kēbo Raja	riṅ jriji n batis,
Nāga Viluta	ṇarania valakaṅ niṅ vētis,	Nāga Vilut	riṅ tundun batis,
.....	.....	Lēmbu Sasana	riṅ socan batis tēṅṅn,
B: Dusaha	} ṇarania soca niṅ vētis kēri,	Dusasa	riṅ socan batis kiva,
C: Dusasa		Lēmbu Dravi	riṅ tuṅgak batis,
Lēmbu Vṛddhi	ṇarania tuṅgak suku,	.....	.....
Nāga Viṣya	ṇarania varēg i(C: iṅ) suku,	Nāga .. Luta	riṅ lulud,
Nāga Maluta	ṇarania ṅtud,	Cikra-Bala	riṅ tulaṅ cikal,
.....	.....	Asu Gaploṅ	riṅ vod,
.....	.....	Sēmut Tatani	riṅ otot,
.....	.....	Varuga	riṅ paha kiva,
Aṅsa	ṇarania pupu tēṅṅn.	Aṅsa	riṅ paha tēṅṅn.

(C add. Aṅsa) Ika pañ-adañ² riñ rāganta. Tēka riñ patine sami pañadañ-adañ riñ rāganta mētu, mamañcana ātmānta; duk lagi mahurip, mañda kita vruha pamañcana ika.

This is the exposé called BAḌAVAN̄ NALA in one's own body; this should be taught by a learned brahmin; one should pay careful attention to this lesson.

Baḍavañ Nala is *at the sole of the foot*, the Buffalo King (or: Kēbo Vajra, Thunderbolt Buffalo; Praja-pati in Bali likewise might be Vajra-pati, Lord of the Thunderbolt) at the toes, the Meandering (?) Serpent at the topside of the foot, Bull Sasana (?) at the right ankle, Dusaha/Dusasa/Dusasaha (?) at the left ankle, Bull Vṛddhi/Dravi (?) at the heel, Poisonous Snake at the . . . of the foot, Snake Luta/Maluta (winding?) at the knee, Kiñkara-balas (Yama's servants) at the cap of the knee, Dog Ferocious at the sinews, Ant Termite at the muscles, Varuga (?) at the left knee, Goose (?) at the right knee.

These are the guardians in your body; at the moment of your death they appear and torture your soul; when you are still alive, I hope that you may be aware of that torture.

Only half of these animals are known in Bali and to be found in the treatises dealing with life hereafter⁸⁴). I refrain from going into the discussion of this difficulty and of the corruptions, for I wish only to stress the point that Baḍavañ Nala figures here as the first mentioned of a dozen frightening animals, belonging to the macrocosmos – but to be found in the lower part of the human body, that microcosmos, and to be known by his mind, that microcosmos par excellence.

A drawing of this Baḍavañ Nala at the sole of the human foot is to be found in SURAT KAJAN̄, K 328, a treatise on drawings (*sūrat*) of the *kajan̄*, the shroud to be used before and at the cremation. The Balinese are not only unequal at birth and during the length of their lives, but this inequality continues after death, for a *śūdra* has a *kajan̄* different from that of the members of *tri-vañśa*, the three (upper) castes. The student of pre-Hindu castes and classes in Balinese society might even find the best material for his research in the persistent death ritual in all its varieties, apart from the treatises these groups have written themselves about their position.

However this may be, our drawing – to which a *śūdra* is entitled – shows Baḍavañ Nala at the sole of the right foot, but the figure at the toes puzzles me. It cannot be Kēbo Raja; and though we find in Balinese letters the words *teja*, lustre, at the right hand; *ākāśa*, sky, at the right shoulder; *bāyu*, wind, at the left shoulder; *apuh* instead of *āpah*, water, at the left hand, four of the *Pañca-Mahā-Bhūta*, Five Coarse Elements, I hesitate to locate No. 5, being *Pṛthivī*, Earth, at the left foot toes. Just to complete the explanation of this drawing: the letters on top, repeated four times, mean *taya*, i.e., non-existence; on both sides: *oñ*, and on the body *oñ* again, underneath followed by *ka-ya-i-ah*, the meaning of which is obscure to me.

⁸⁴) W. Kern, "Oudjavaansche en Balische Hellevoorstellingen". Ph.D. thesis, Leiden, 1934 (stencilled).

The drawing differs from that to be found in Miguel Covarrubias' delightful book "Bali", opp. p. 6, with the caption: The Balinese Cosmos, The World Turtle, Badawang, and the Supreme Being, Tintiya (*a-cintya*, the unimaginable, C.H.), by Ida Bagus Togog, Batuan, as the figure of Tintiya is additional here. The same is the case with the drawing by Ida Bagus Anom (*ida bagus* means that by birth he is a brahmin) from Bandjar Tëgal, adjacent to Ubud, in 1959 made at our request.

D. ĀSANA-PŪJĀ in SOUTH-INDIA

Now we return to the Śaiva priest's worship of Śiva during his ritual, not in Bali but in South-India. Here we have at our disposal C. G. Diehl's recent (1956) book "Instrument and Purpose, Studies on Rites and Rituals in South-India" ⁸⁵), in which he describes in great detail the daily ritual of the Śaiva temple priest according to Akoracivacariyar (Aghora-Śivācārya), in doing so aided by three temple priests and a pandit.

Moreover, during the last fortnight of December 1961, when I was in Madras, Mr. Sambandham, assistant of the Sanskritist Professor V. Raghavan, dictated to me parts of the ritual used by his father and his older brother, both of them temple priests. On the one hand, these literal instructions to the priest were for me a most welcome amplification to Diehl's description, and, on the other hand, they were greatly helped by his systematic division. Mr. Sambandham gave me a drawing of the *yāga-maṇḍapa*, hall of offering, meant to be an illustration in a handbook of ritual still in the press. I insert this *yantra* here in this study because he added the explanation of the *āsanas*, and also because here we see clearly two of the four lions of *śinhāsana* (South-India), in Bali generally called *catur-aiśvarya* (with Śaiva priests; the Buddha priests use *śinhāsana*, but their number is very small: 17 in 1958/9 for Bali and Lombok when I was there).

Finally since late 1961 we have at our disposal "RAURAVĀGAMA I, édition critique par N. R. Bhatt; Introduction: Les Āgamas Çivaites par Jean Filliozat" ⁸⁶). This *sūtra*, manual in metrical form, is more descriptive than prescriptive, but, in combination with Diehl and Sambandham, it has proved useful.

These three sources of information shed light on the ritual of the Śaiva priest in Bali, which has been studied by De Kat Angelino ⁸⁷) and Goris ⁸⁸), and on which Sylvain Lévi has printed a MS ⁸⁹), which finds its philosophical background in the Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy as examined by Ziesenis ⁹⁰)

⁸⁵) Gleerup, Lund.

⁸⁶) Institut Français d'Indologie, Pondichéry, 1961.

⁸⁷) "Mudra's op Bali, Handhoudingen der priesters", Teekeningen van Tyra de Kleen, Tekst van P. de Kat Angelino. Ādi-Poestaka, 's Gravenhage, 1922. Text von P. de Kat Angelino, Folkwang Verlag, Hagen im Westen und Darmstadt, 1923. The English edition consists of the same drawings and a new (for us here useless) introduction.

⁸⁸) R. Goris, "Bijdrage etc." o.c. note 15.

⁸⁹) S. Lévi. "Sanskrit Texts from Bali", cf. note 9.

⁹⁰) Dr. A. Ziesenis, "Studien zur Geschichte des Çivaismus: Die Çivaitischen Systeme in der Altjavanischen Literatur", I, BKI 98/1 & 2, 1939, pp. 75-223. Same author, "Studien etc.: Die Śaiva-Systematik des Vṛhaspati-tattva", International Academy of Indian Culture, New-Delhi 1958. Based on his work:

and published by the International Academy of Indian Culture at New-Delhi ⁹¹).

Hindu ritual is complicated; e.g. one cannot worship the Lord in the Centre without first having worshipped His aspects in the four if not eight main directions, one cannot approach the Lord before having worshipped His servants; one cannot worship without having purified oneself, bodily and spiritually—and so on and so forth. Every thought and action has been systematised thoroughly and elaborated, detailed and repeated. Repetition in the Balinese ritual has been pointed out by Lévi; it is also to be found in the ritual described by Diehl, where it is relevant to our purpose.

In the following paragraphs two passages are quoted from Diehl's book; the first of these is on p. 105 and the second on pp. 115–116. Here he describes the actions and thoughts of the worshipper for which he might use the drawing of the *yāga-maṇḍapa* as a *yantra*. In quoting, some not indispensable lines have been omitted and replaced by dots; sometimes I have added an explanatory word between square brackets; some of Diehl's notes have been inserted into the text; finally the technical terms are not given in Tamil, as Diehl did, but in Sanskrit.

(The worshipper approaches his God as if he were approaching an earthly king).

105. Then he sprinkles the door pronouncing the Astra-mantra (*oṅ huṅ rah phaṣ astrāya namaḥ*; Lévi Nos. 6, 7, 13, 14, 43, 45, 47, 50 etc. C.H.) and does the same to the Vīra Gaṇapati on the right side and the Śakti Gaṇapati on the left and Mahā-Lakṣmī in the middle, and then to the nine Śaktis ⁹²) on the right side and the eight Śaktis ⁹²) on the left, to the Dharma-dvāra-pālaka (the righteous doorkeeper) on the right side and the Adharma-dvāra-pālaka (the unrighteous doorkeeper) on the left ⁹³), greeting them all saying: Om Hām Namaḥ. Then removing the obstacles on earth, in the sky and in heaven he sprinkles the image (of *kṣetra-pāla*, the lord of the place) with the water for ablution (*Arghya*), removes the *Nirmālyam* (remainder of a previous offering), cleanses the image with the Kṣetrapāla-Mūla-Mantra ⁹⁴), worships the Ādhāra-śakti (śakti of support representing one part of the pedestal; bottom section

⁹¹) WRHASPATI-TATTWA, I.A.I.C., 1957.

GAṆAPATI-TATTWA, I.A.I.C., 1958 (Cf. my evaluation BKI 118/3, 1962, pp. 309–327.

TATTWAJÑĀNA and MAHĀJÑĀNA, I.A.I.C., 1962.

⁹²) We can not be sure whether they are the same as the sets of *śaktis* mentioned in RAURAVĀGAMA *infra* or in Lévi o.c. p. 16 No. 66.

⁹³) This duality occurs again and again.

⁹⁴) The "root- or origin-mantra", the fundamental or characteristic mantra of a godhead, in Bali for Śiva or Śivāditya called *kūṣa-mantra*, Fortress- or stronghold-mantra, being: *oṅ hr̥ṅ hr̥ṅ saḥ Parama-Śivādityāya namaḥ*, cf. Lévi, o.c. p. 9 No. 17, repeated in Nos. 20, 25, 74, 82, 94, 117, 132.

of the pedestal) and the Calācaṇkaṅkaḷ (“pedestals imagined for seating a Liṅga, when bathing it for worship, six in number, viz. Ananta, Dharma, Jñāna, Vairāgya, Aiśvarya, Padma”, Tamil Lexicon)⁹⁵ and finally worships the seat of the idol with the Āsana-mūrti (the seat treated as a deity) Mantras.

For the sake of convenience Diehl divides his example in ten divisions and seventy subdivisions; we have just dealt with twelve out of forty lines of subdivision twelve in division two; while passing over the terms *ādhāra-śakti* and *āsana-mūrti-mantra* without comment, I request the reader to make a mental note, for I will have to comment upon them.

The description of the ritual is continued at the beginning of the third division (p. 107); here, as at the beginning of the first division (p. 100), the worshipper is stated to use *kūrmāsana* which Diehl first translates “he sits down on a seat formed like a tortoise” and later as “sitting in the tortoise posture (or on a seat formed like a tortoise)”. I am inclined to prefer the second translation—with the corporeal posture, as the expression of a certain state of mind—rather than the material seat.

In the fourth division, subdivision thirty one (p. 115), the worshipper has made considerable progress and now repeats the subdivision quoted above in a more elaborate way as follows:

31. Mantra-śuddhi. The Ācārya (temple priest) assigns (the technical term must be *nyāsa*; C.H.) the Mantras of the seat (*āsana*) and the idol (Mūrti)⁹⁶ to his seat and his heart (*hṛdaya*), applies red sandal to his forehead, puts a flower on his head saying the Mūla Mantra (that is he treats himself as Śiva). . . . He next performs Pūjā to
32. Ādhāra-śakti, who is the bottom of everything residing in the tortoise. Here it means the bottom of the pedestal on which the idol is fixed. She is, however, meditated upon as an image with her attributes. — Next he performs Pūjā to the
33. Anantāsana (There are five seats used in different kinds of worship. They may be visualised in the worshipper’s imagination. Anantāsana when the deity is entertained with praise, song and dance) which is the part of the stone which is considered to be Brahmā, with a Mantra for a deity of each of the eight quarters. He proceeds to worship the
34. Siṅhāsana, the throne or more literally the Lion seat, and the
35. Yogāsana, the upper ornamental structure, and the
36. Padmāsana, which means worshipping the lotus-flower, which he

⁹⁵ I would have preferred to say: three in number, viz. 1. Ananta, 2. Siṅha with its four constituent aspects Dharma, Jñāna, Vairāgya, Aiśvarya, also called Catur-Aiśvarya (cf. *infra* and for Bali cf. Lévi, o.c. No. 62 on p. 15) and 3. Padma.

⁹⁶ This is the first time when we find *mūrti* again.

must visualize in his imagination on top of the upper ornamental structure. He worships the eight petals and the filament (Keśara), top, middle and bottom. Next comes the Pūjā for

37. Vimalāsana. Assuming three spheres ⁹⁷⁾

he worships the sphere of the sun in the Brahmā portion which is the tip of the petal, and he worships the sphere of the moon in the Viṣṇu portion which is the tip of the filament, and he worships the sphere of fire in the Rudra portion which is in the tip of the pericarp.

38. Āvāhana, invoking Śiva to be present.

As we have seen *supra*, at this point of the ritual in Bali the Śaiva priest uses the term *deva-pratiṣṭhā*, whereas the Buddha-priest uses *devāsana*. Diehl adds that Aghoraśivācārya quotes the KĀRAṆĀGAMA as saying:

“One must worship *Anantāsana* when the deity is entertained with praise, song and dance, *Siṅhāsana* during Abhiṣeka (lustration, anointment), *Yogāsana* during Āvāhana (invocation), *Padmāsana* during Arcana (offering of flowers etc.) and *Vimalāsana* (Skt. *vimala* = stainless) when offering the Naivedya”.⁹⁸⁾

Finally the *pūjā* to *ādhāra-śakti* is suggestive. To the spiritual horizon of the Balinese *pamañku* ⁹⁹⁾, temple priest or folk priest, belonging to the *śūdra* caste, much more numerous and much less exalted than the *padanda*, brahman priest, who is above all preoccupied with the self-identification with Śiva and the preparation of the ensuing holy water – to the *pamañku*'s sphere belongs a collection of *mantras* against all evils threatening an agricultural population, and a few prayers to the gods of the four or eight points of the compass, a small collection called PUJA DAHA ¹⁰⁰⁾. Now in Balinese *daha* = virgin, but the Balinese do not worship virginity. The Balinese *daha* corresponds to the Malay *dara*, virgin, and may also correspond to the Skr. *ādhāra* and *adhara* (lower). Neither Pūjādhāra nor Pūjādhara are to be found in Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, but,

⁹⁷⁾ Diehl here used the word “hall”, the translation of what I assumed is his misreading *maṇḍapa*, but it appears from *infra* and the Balinese ritual (Lévi o.c. p. 13 No. 46) that *maṇḍala*, sphere, is the right word. Cf. text going with note 108.

⁹⁸⁾ *Naivedya*, though not occurring in Lévi's *pūjā-parikrama*, is by no means unknown in Balinese ritual.

⁹⁹⁾ For the activities of the *pamañku* cf. Jane Belo, “Bali: Temple Festival”, Monographs of the American Ethnological Society XXII, Augustin, New-York, 1953. His traditional ritual, *Tiñkah in Pamañku*, called KUSUMA-DEVA is in Leiden represented by Cod.Or. 4560, cf. Dr. H. H. Juynboll, o.c. note 22 end, and in Singaradja by K 226, 1804, 1920. It has been stencilled in Balinese as well as in Latin script and has repeatedly been published in the 'fifties by Balimas, Denpasar. — “Enrichments”, innovations from Buddhist side, can be stated in the beginning of GAGĒLARAN PAMANGKU, dikeluarkan oleh Dinas Agama Otonoom daerah Bali Denpasar (19–58), i.e. ritual for . . . published by the Autonomous Bureau for Religious Affairs.

¹⁰⁰⁾ K 35; K 1029; private MS.

in future, Raghavan's Catalogus Catalogorum may register a treatise of this name. I am inclined to consider one of these two words as the explanation for the otherwise obscure title PŪJĀ DAHA. After all the *padandas* claim that they have taught some of their knowledge to the *pamañkus* and indeed the two categories share several *mantras*. The *padandas* will have kept the highest formulas and actions to their own caste and have given the lowest *pūjā*, *adhara pūjā* or *pūjādhara* to the *pamañkus*.

Now we will examine the South-Indian manual on ritual RAURAVĀ-GAMA pp. 38-40.

Lingam pīṭham sthalam kṣālya,	prāgvac-ca hṛdayena tu;	
Anantaṁ Siṅha-Yogañ-ca,	Padmañ-ca Vimalāsanam,	/20/
yathā-krameṇa saṁpūjya,	cānena vidhinā budhaḥ;	
tato 'Nantāsanam proktaṁ,	vṛttābham sūrya-sainibham.	/21/
Dharmaṁ jñānam ca vairāgyam,	aiśvaryaṁ ca viśeṣataḥ;	
Āgneyādīśa-paryantaṁ,	Siṅha-pādam prakalpayet.	/22/
A-dharmājñānāvairāgyam,	an-aiśvaryaṁ tathailikā;	
a-vyakto niyatīḥ kālaḥ,	kalā ceti catuṣṭhayaṁ,	/23/
Bhūtākārāṅghrayaḥ koneṣv,	Analādiṣu kalpayet.	
Yogāsanam idaṁ hy ūrdhvaṁ,	kalpayet Pañcakāśanam,	/24/
Vidyēśacchanna-dalakān,	antān Indrādiṣu nyaset;	
vāmādyāḥ Śaktayaś-cāṣṭau	Śakrādiṣu daleṣu ca.	/25/
Tan-madhye karṇikāyaṁ tu,	nābhasam Vimalākhyakam;	
Maṅḍala-trayam atraiva,	guṇa-trayātmakam punaḥ.	/26/
Patreṣu karṇikāyāṁ ca,	vinyasyārcanam ārabhet,	
tad-ūrdhvaṁ kalpayet Saumye,	Gaṇāmbikāṁ mahā-tapāḥ.	/27/
Pūrve tu tanno Gauriṁ tu,	vinyased Yāmya-gocarc,	
pracodayāt Paścime syād,	Vimalopari deśikaḥ.	/28/
Karṇikāyāś ca madhye tu,	nyaset kūṭākṣaram tatal,	
Gandhaiḥ puṣpaś ca dhūpaiś cāpy,	āsanam pūjayet kramāt.	/29/

20. Having as above cleansed, in the mind, the *liṅga*, the pedestal and the place, and having worshipped in due order *Ananta-*, *Siṅha-*, *Yoga-*, *Padma-* & *Vimalāsana* 21. according to the above rule, the wise man should then imagine the *Anantāsana* which is said to radiate and resemble the sun. 22. He should imagine the *Siṅha-pāda* from the South-East (clockwise) up to the North-East (consisting of) *dharma*, *jñāna*, *vairāgya* and *aiśvarya* ¹⁰¹), well to be distinguished, 23. (and) *a-dharma*, *a-jñāna*,

¹⁰¹) Those four (*catur*) of which *aiśvarya* is the last, in Balinese Śaiva ritual are called *catur-aiśvarya*, just like the five so-called seers, *panca-rēsi*, Kurusiya, Garga, Metri, Prētañjala and Kausika, are called the Pañca-Kausika. These five, by the way, are well known in the old West-Javanese CARITA PARAHYANGAN, cf. Dr. J. Noorduyn in BKI 118/3, 4, 1962, to the *pamañku* and *sēnguhu* or *rēsi bhujāṅga*, exorcist priest, but are alien alike to the Balinese and South-Indian brahmins with the only exception, as far as I know, of what has been dealt with in the study on Yama-rāja.

Keeping the Eternal Law (*Dharma*) leads to Knowledge/Wisdom (*Jñāna*); this leads to Absence of Passion (*Vairāgya*), and this to Dominance (*Aiśvarya*); they are well known concepts of Indian philosophy.

a-vairāgya, *an-aiśvarya* ¹⁰²), in the same way (?*tathaiva ca*?) ¹⁰³). He should imagine the quaternion (of *tattvas*) *A-vyakta*, *Niyati*, *Kāla* and *Kalā* ¹⁰⁴) 24. and monstrous feet ¹⁰⁵) in the corners, the South-East to begin with, that is *Yogāsana*. Above this he should imagine *Padmāsana*, 25. and assign tips of petals encircled by the (eight) *Vidyēśas* to Indra ¹⁰⁶) etc., and the eight *śaktis*, *Vāmā* and the others ¹⁰⁷), to Śakra (=Indra) and to the petals. 26. To its midst. in the pericarp of the lotus, he should assign the *Vimalāsana* which is in the sky, and to the same place three spheres ¹⁰⁸) having the essence of the three *guṇas* ¹⁰⁹). 27. After having assigned them on the petals and in the pericarp, the worshipper should start with his adoration. Above them in North-Easterly direction he should imagine *Pārvatī*, 28. and in the East he should assign *Gaurī*; the skilful worshipper should assign her in the Southern direction and in the Western, above *Vimalāsana*. 29. And in the middle of the pericarp subsequently the "fortification-syllable" ¹¹⁰); in due order he should worship the *āsana* with perfumes, flowers and frankincense.

¹⁰²) Just as we met the *Dharma-dvāra-pālaka* (to the right) and the *Adharma-dvāra-pālaka* (to the left), the righteous and the unrighteous doorkeeper, so here we have a series of oppositions. The negative set is not mentioned in the handbooks of Indian philosophy which I consulted, nor did I ever come across it in the treatises on Balinese ritual, to the best of my memory. But in Balinese metaphysical treatises it is known up to the present day, as it is incorporated in the postwar brochure which I translated as "Sāṅkhya-leer van Bali (1947)" in *Tijdschrift Bataviaasch Genootschap* etc. 84/4, 1951 pp. 434-484. From these 50 pp. the author needs 451-462 for *catur-aiśvarya*, 462-463 for *aṣṭa-tuṣṭi*, 463-465 for *aṣṭa-siddhi* and 465-466 for the opposite of *catur-aiśvarya*. This recent compilation mentions as one of its sources the Sanskrit-cum-Old-Javanese WRHASPATI-TATTWA. cf. note 90, 91.

¹⁰³) Text perhaps corrupt; the editor Bhatt compared this passage with one in the *KĀRAṆĀGAMA*, from which some verses are translated *infra*.

¹⁰⁴) Diehl in No. 45 on p. 121 deals at length with *tattva-arcana*, worship of the "reals" or elements of existence.

¹⁰⁵) Not clear to me.

¹⁰⁶) For these eight "Lords of Knowledge" Diehl gives the South-Indian names; their names, directions of the compass and Sanskrit equivalents are as follows: E. Anantar/Indra; SE. Cūkṣumar/Agni; S. Civottamar/Yama; SW. Ekanettirar/Rudra; W. Ekaruttirar/Varuṇa; NW. Tirimūrti/Vāyu; N. Śrikaṇṭar/Kuvera; NE. Cikaṇṭi/Soma.

¹⁰⁷) *Vāmā*, *Jyeṣṭhā*, *Raudrī*, *Kālī*, *Kala-vikaraṇī*, *Bala-vikaraṇī*, *Bala-prama-thanī*, *Sarva-bhūta-damanā*, *Manonmanī*.

¹⁰⁸) *Sūrya-maṇḍala*, *Soma-* or *Candra-maṇḍala*, *Agni-maṇḍala*, Lévi, o.c. p. 13 No. 46; cf. note 97.

¹⁰⁹) *Rajas*, *sattva*, *tamas*—these untranslatable fundamental conceptions of Hindu philosophy.

¹¹⁰) The *kūṣa-mantra* or *mūla-mantra* is different for each deity. That for Śiva as God of the Sun (*Sūrya* or *Āditya*) is essentially the same in South-India and Bali, but in South-India it is:

oṃ hr̥ṇ̄ hr̥iṇ̄ saḥ (Parama) Śiva *Sūryāya* namaḥ, whereas in Bali it runs:
oṃ hr̥ṇ̄ hr̥iṇ̄ saḥ (Parama) Śivādityāya namaḥ (cf. Lévi No. 17, 20, 25, 74, 82, 94, 132).

From the KĀRAṆĀGAMA mentioned above three ślokaś are sufficient for our purpose:

Sinhāsanaṃ catuṣ-koṇam,	Anantaṃ ca tri-koṇakam;	/251/
Padmaṃ ca vartulākāram,	ṣaṭ-koṇaṃ Vimalāsanam;	
Yogāsanaṃ cāṣṭa-koṇam,	āsanaṃ parikalpayet.	/252/
Āvāhanāsanam yoge,	snāne Sinhāsanaṃ bhavet.	
arcanayāṃ mahā-padmaṃ,	Vimalākhyam tu bhojane;	/253/
stotra-saṃgīta-nṛtteṣv	Anantāsanam ihocyate.	

I. 30. 251cd. The worshipper should imagine *Sinhāsana* as square, *Anantāsana* as triangular, 252. *Padmāsana* as circular, *Vimalāsana* as hexagonal and *Yogāsana* as octagonal.

253. *Āvāhanāsana* (metri causa for *Yogāsana*) is dedicated to *yoga*, *Sinhāsana* to *snāna* (bath), *Padmāsana* to adoration, *Vimalāsana* to consummation, whereas *Anantāsana* is dedicated to the priest's songs of praise to the gods, choral singing and dance-performances.

The first half of this quotation points to figures as we find them drawn in the books by Arthur Avalon (Sir John Woodroffe) and which are engraved in square copperplates measuring three to four inches, *yantras* (I never saw such drawings in Bali). The second half of the quotation is functional: each of the figures, in each of the superimposed layers of concentration has its function indicated.

Completely in accordance with both parts of this quotation is a paragraph in Jeannine Auboyer's "Le Trône et son Symbolisme dans l'Inde Ancienne" ¹¹¹); Appendice: Les noms des sièges et leurs mensurations, pp. 193-199, where we find on p. 197: Les traités d'iconographie tardifs, tels que le SUPRABHEDĀGAMA, citent d'autres catégories de sièges, ou leur attribuent des fonctions exclusives: l'*anantāsana* (triangulaire d'après Candrajñāna) est utilisée dans les scènes de délasserment; le *sinhāsana*, rectangulaire, pour l'icône avant être baignée, le *yogāsana*, octogonal, pour l'invocation; le *vimalāsana*, hexagonal, pour le moment des offrandes. Le *padmāsana* . . . peut être circulaire ou ovale, . . . et sert pour l'accomplissement du culte (brahmanique) . . . Quant au *kūrmāsana*, sa description (en forme de tortue) est donnée dans l'ouvrage tamoul ÇAIVASAMA-YANERI.

As a result of this text we must imagine the *āsana* as being constructed of building materials and three-dimensional. The French quotation not only supports the data gathered hitherto, but also ends with the description of *kūrmāsana* in a Tamil book, and this fact adds one more small link in the chain between Bali and South-India.

Kūrmāsana, or better: the *baḍavaṇ* as we know it from Bali, is such a common feature in South-Indian temples, as Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has kindly pointed out to me, that it has not been photographed. I saw it in Mahabalipuram under the *anantāsana* (which had no serpent orna-

¹¹¹) Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1949.

ment) of the *maṇḍapa*, “where the deity is entertained with praise, song and dance.”

Such a *maṇḍapa* (the Javanese *peṇḍāpā*) is an open hall with a massive marble platform or *kubus* in it, ornamented only with profiles. My helper, Mr. Sambandham, to whom I owe the drawing of the *yāga-maṇḍapa*, showed me the layer which represented *siṅhāsana*. But he did much more. Being the son and younger brother of a temple priest he was familiar with the treatises on ritual and dictated part of one to me since I am not conversant with the South-Indian script. The treatise (*paddhati*), in grantha-script, which he dictated to me was in the press at Bangalore and was to appear in Devanagari script, but, so far as I know, it is not yet available. It might not be superfluous to print here what he dictated. As with the quotations from Diehl, the first fragment has been taken from the introductory part, and the second from the essential or central part.

[I. ĀSANA]

5. ĀSANA-PŪJĀ (part of SŪRYA-PŪJĀ).

Madhye *Prabhūtāsana*ya namaḥ
iti śveta-pīṭham arcayet.

In the middle the worshipper should pay homage
to the white stool, using the words:
homage be to the prabhūta-āsana.

[My informant Mr. Sambandham explained to me that this was the
first *āsana*, and that *prabhūta-āsana* was a substitute for *anantāsana*]

Āgneyādi-koṇeṣu, oṅ aṅ *Vimalāya* namaḥ, After having visualised white, red, yellow &
oṅ aṅ *Sāraye* namaḥ, greenish shapes of lions in the SE etc. [meant
oṅ aṅ *Ārādhyāya* namaḥ, is: Nairṛti/SW, Vāyavyā/NW, Aiśānyā/NE, to
oṅ aṅ *Parama-sukhāya* namaḥ, whom he should direct the mantras] oṅ aṅ *homage*
sita-rakta-pīta-harita-siṅha-rūpāṇi vicintya, *be to the Stainless One, the Running One (?),*
arcayet. *the One to be placated, the Supreme Bliss,*
he should bring worship.

[My informant explains: this is the second stage,
called *siṅhāsana*, clearly visible on the drawing]

Tad upari oṅ aṅ *padmāya* namaḥ iti
sita-padmam arcayet.

Above that he should bring worship to the white
lotus [with the *mantra*] oṅ aṅ *homage be to the lotus.*

[No need to explain that this is the third stage, *padmāsana*]

6. ŚAKTI-PŪJĀ.

Pūrvād *Īśānta-keśareṣu*
oṅ raṅ *Dīptāyai* namaḥ (*Pūrvā*),
oṅ riṅ *Sūkṣmāyai* namaḥ (*Āgneyā*),
oṅ ruṅ *Jayāyai* namaḥ (*Dakṣiṇā*),
oṅ rūṅ *Bhadrāyai* namaḥ (*Nairṛtyā*),
oṅ reṅ *Vimalāyai* namaḥ (*Pāścimā*),
oṅ raiṅ *Vibhūtyai* namaḥ (*Vāyavyā*),
oṅ roṅ *Amoghāyai* namaḥ (*Uttarā*),
oṅ rauṅ *Vidyutāyai* namaḥ (*Aiśānyā*),
oṅ raṅ *Sarvato-sukhīnyai* namaḥ (*Madhyā*),

The worshipper should imagine that the nine *śaktis*
(female energies of the gods) are like the flames
of oil lamps and that the hands of each hold chowrie
and lotus, that they are red and have jewels
everywhere; to the nine *śaktis* in the filaments
[of the lotus] he should direct [the following
mantras] starting from the E, SE etc. clockwise &
ending in the Centre: oṅ raṅ (*riṅ* etc.) *homage*
be to the Luminant, Keen (Subtle), Glorious,
Blessed, Stainless, Plentiful, Unerring, Lightning,

Dipta-dīpa-sikhākāraḥ,
dhyātavyāḥ nava śaktayaḥ;
padma-cāmara-hastāś ca,
raktāḥ sarvāṅga-bhūṣaṇāḥ;
iti dhyātvā, *nava-śaktibhyaḥ svāhā* iti abhyarcya,

[My informant called this Śakti-pūjā; Lévi p. 16 No. 66
calls it Nava-Śakti-Nyāsa, and so do my Balinese MSS]

Viṣphura-mudrām darśayitvā,
Madhye oṅ aṅ Arkāsanāya namaḥ iti
Arkāsanam saṃpūjya,

the Giver of Bliss Everywhere; he should bring
worship [using the *mantra*] homage (*svāhā*) to the
Nine Energies.

Having shown the Viṣphura-gesture of both hands,
and having paid homage to the seat of the Sun
[with *mantra*:] *oṅ aṅ homage be to the Sun-seat*,

7. SŪRYA-PŪJĀ.

Dhavalāmbho-ruhāruddham,
dalimī-kusuma-prabham;
sphurat-rakta-mahā-tejo,
vṛtta-maṇḍala-madhya-gam;
Aṅśāsakta-sphuta-śvetam,
sa-nālābja-kara-dvayam,
ekāsyam cintayed Bhānum,
dvi-netraṁ rakta-vāsanam;
iti dhyātvā,

The worshipper, having concentrated his thoughts
[on the god with the help of the following verses]
He should imagine the God of the Sun as having
one face, two eyes, clad in red, his two hands
comparable to lotuses at the end of their stalks,
clear white hanging down from the shoulders, sitting
down on a cushion of white lotuses shining like the
flowers of the red *dalima*, having moved to the
centre of a circle of shining red with great lustre;
[having concentrated his mind; with the following
mantras]

[II. MŪRTI] ¹¹²⁾

oṅ khaṅ Khasolkāya Sūrya-mūrtaye namaḥ
iti āsanasyōpari mūrtim vinyasya,
oṅ bhaṅ Bhānu-netrābhyām namaḥ,
iti netre dātva puspaiḥ añjalim āpūrya,

oṅ khaṅ homage be to Khasolka in the shape of the Sun,
having put down the shape of Sūrya above the seat,
oṅ bhaṅ homage be to the eyes of the Sun-god,
having made añjali and offered flowers to the eyes.

[III. MŪLA]

oṅ hrāṅ hrīṅ saḥ Śiva-Sūryāya namaḥ
ity āvāhana-mudrayā āvāhya,
sthāpinyā padmāsane saṅsthāpya, etc.
[I. Āsana, II. Mūrti, III. Mūla due to all gods]

oṅ hrāṅ hrīṅ saḥ homage be to the Śiva-Sun,
having adduced Him by means of āvāhana-mudrā,
having erected him on the lotus seat by means
of sthāpinī-mudrā. etc.

The second fragment from this ritual runs as follows:

ŚIVĀSANA-PŪJĀ.

Tathā Devasya pīṭhādho-bhāge madhyataḥ
Adhaḥ Kūrma-śilāsīnām
kṣīrōda-sita-vigrahām
maulau bījāṅkurākārām
varadām abhaya-pradām
pāsāṅkuśa-dhārām Śaktim
kriyām ādhāra-rūpiṇim,
iti dhyātvā,

Next, from the middle [of the pīṭhā] [having fixed
his thoughts] on the lower part of the stool and
concentrating on the Energy, which is active in
the basic form, which makes "boon-giving" and
"fearlessness" gestures [with two hands] and [in
the other two hands] holds noose and elephant-
driver's hook, having the appearance of seeds and
sprouts in the head(?), seated underneath in the

¹¹²⁾ Note here again *mūrti*.

oṅ haṅ ādhāra-śukṭaye namaḥ
iti saṁpūjya,

tortoise-fashion of squatting, Her body white from
the Ocean of milk,
having paid homage [with the *mantra*]
oṅ haṅ homage be to the Basic Energy,

[My informant called this part of the ritual
Kūrma-śilāsana and *Brahma-śila-siṅhāsana*

ANANTA-PADMĀSANA-PŪJĀ.

Brahma-śilōpari

Prthvī-kaṇṭhakālāntakam
nālakam bhāva-kaṇṭhakam
kṣudhā-māyā-mahā-padman
aneka-dala-saṅkulam,

iti dhyātvā,

oṅ haṅ Anantāsana-ya namaḥ

iti abhyarcya,

Tam madhya-gam Anantēsam
śuddham vyāptyā sthitam tv adhaḥ
dhyātvā Brahma-śilā-madhye,
yajee chubhrām Śivāsane,

iti dhyātvā,

oṅ haṅ Anantāya namaḥ

iti saṁpūjya,

[This has been the Anantāsana-portion of Ananta-Padmāsana according to informant]

Tat-samarthya rūpam,

Vicitra-Keśari-prakhyān
anyo'nyam pṛṣṭha-darśinaḥ
Kṛta-Tretādi-rūpena
Śivasyārcana-pādukān
Sita-kāśmīra-tālūlīn
cāru-siṅhākṛtīn smaran,
āgneyādiṣu paryanta-
koṣeṣu ca yathā-kramam,

oṅ haṅ Dharmāya namaḥ,

oṅ haṅ Jñānāya namaḥ,

oṅ haṅ Vairāgyāya namaḥ,

oṅ haṅ Aiśvarya-ya namaḥ,

iti abhyarcya,

Kṛṣṇa-śvetam Pūrva-bhāge,
śveta-raktaṅ ca Dakṣiṇe,
rakta-pītam Paścimataḥ,
pīta-kṛṣṇam Udak-diśi.
pīta-gātrakāny evam
Anantēsa-balāni tu;
gātrakān sphaṭika-prakhyān
try-akṣān siṅha-śiro-dhṛtān,
stabdha-bāhu-śiro-grīvān
pādukāsakta-mastakān,
agra-gātraka-pāda-stha-
mastakān nara-rūpiṇaḥ,
dhyāyan buddhi-guṇādhamā-
mukhādhiṣṭhāyakān yajet.

Above the Brahmā-seat,

having concentrated the thoughts on/reflecting on
the destroyer of the world, the lotus whose thorns
are Being, the great day-lotus of hunger & illusion,
the manifold-petalled,

and having paid homage [using the *mantra*]

oṅ haṅ homage be to the Serpent-seat,

Having concentrated on the Endless Lord Who has gone
to the Centre, Who is inherently pure though standing
underneath, in the middle of the Brahmā-seat, he
should bring a beautiful offering to the Śiva-seat,

having concentrated [on the preceding two ślokas],
and having brought worship [by means of the *mantra*]
oṅ haṅ homage be to the Endless One,

Having established that [preceding] shape,
and having in mind the esteemed white, red, yellow
and black collection of lions, in due order clockwise
on the SE etc. [SW, NW, NE] corners [of the stool],
the now-visible multi-coloured lions, backing one
another, godheads for the worship of Śiva by means
of (?) the shape of Kṛta-, Treta- etc. [sc. Dvāpara-
and Kali-aeons]

and having worshipped [them with the *mantras*]

oṅ haṅ homage be to Law Eternal,

oṅ haṅ homage be to Wisdom,

oṅ haṅ homage be to Absence of Passion,

oṅ haṅ homage be to Sovereignty,

Black [and] white in the Eastern part;

and white [and] red in the Southern;

red [and] yellow from the Western side;

yellow [and] black in the Northern region.

Reflecting [on those lions of whom] the four limbs
are as powerful as the Lord of Ananta (Viṣṇu),

having limbs like mountain crystal,

carrying heads of lions, with three eyes,

with straight arms, heads and necks,

and the heads hanging on their feet,

their heads in human shape

on the feet of their forelegs

their faces entering upon the lowest

of the qualities of the mind,

he should bring offerings.

oṅ hāṅ A-Dharmāya namaḥ,
oṅ hāṅ A-Jñānāya namaḥ,
oṅ hāṅ A-Vairāgyāya namaḥ,
oṅ hāṅ An-Aiśvaryaia namaḥ.

oṅ hāṅ homage be to the Opposite of Eternal Law,
oṅ hāṅ homage be to the Opposite of Knowledge,
oṅ hāṅ homage be to the Opposite of Absence of Passion
oṅ hāṅ homage be to the Opposite of Sovereignty ¹¹³).

Such systematic manuals, teaching what to do, to say and to think in ritual, are helpful for the understanding of the less full Balinese MSS in this field; they prove to deal with the same worship.

¹¹³) These Sanskrit texts are a patchwork which would need much commentary. This would lead us far and is not indispensable.

E. ĀSANA-PŪJĀ IN JAVA AND BALI

We now leave India and its authoritative printed manuals for ritual and return to Bali where the ritual is less elaborated, where perhaps the Autonomous Bureaus for Religious Affairs may acquire authority, and where the brahmin priests' manuals are only accessible in MSS, often divergent. Sylvain Lévi is not too explicit about his materials, which, after his death and after the second world war, could not be traced. It looks as if he printed one MS, transliterated into Devanāgarī, emendated the Sanskrit for which we owe him thanks, and mutilated its Old-Javanese directives for the priest's actions; but then Old-Javanese was a language which he had not studied. Some other MSS dealing with the same ritual were known and used by Goris, o.c.¹¹⁴); several others have been collected during the 'thirties by the library of palmleaf MSS, Kirtya Liefrinck-Vander Tuuk, now Gedong Kitya, Singaradja (Bali), thanks to the fact that its board consisted largely of brahmin priests recruited from Bali's seven subdivisions and the three of adjacent Lombok.

The philologist's difficulty in presenting a ritual may be greater than in presenting a literary text. Not everything which the priest does, speaks and thinks finds its way into the note books of his pupils, either because hé does not dictate everything or because théy fail to write down everything. They often remind one of the French proverb: à bon entendeur demi mot suffit. These manuals bear more the character of private note books than of foolproof compendia. Fortunately the order of items in a situation like that of the *āsanās* could not diverge, so that it has proved possible to discuss the differences of the MSS in the same order as that given in Lévi's ritual, with his numbers. Here follows first a reasoned review of the MSS used for the discussion of the Balinese *āšana*, several of them in typewritten copies available in the library of the University of Leiden.

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| (p. 15 Nos. 61/62) | PŪJĀ-PARIKRAMA or VEDA-PARIKRAMA printed by Sylvain Lévi on pp. 7-32. |
| K 2255=L 4165, | BUDDHA VEDA, Ritual for the dead as followed by the Śaiva-Buddhist priest. |
| K 2178 | PŪJĀ NARPAṆA ŚAVA, a rather concise Śaiva-Buddhist ritual for the dead. |
| K 3 | ARGHA-PĀTRA, a Śaiva priest's manual for his daily worship of the Sun God. |
| K 69 | KAJAṆ PŪJĀ PITṚ, a Śaiva priest's manual for the care of the dead. |
| K 73 | ARGHĀDHYĀTMIKA, contains notes on the Śaiva priest's daily worship. |
| K 84 | ASTRA-MANTRA, a Śaiva priest's daily worship and ritual for the dead. |
| K 87* | ARGHA-PATRA, a Śaiva priest's manual for his daily worship of the Sungod. |
| K 298 | ANUṢṬHĀNA bvat SORA, Religious Ceremonies for the worshipper of the Sun. |
| K 1186 | PŪJĀ PAṆCA BALI KRAMA, ritual to be used at this great lustration ceremony. |
| L 4673* | VEDA, hymns of the Śaiva priest, pars pro toto of his daily worship. |

* The MS contains the *āšana* passus twice, in exactly the same words.

¹¹⁴) Cf. note 15.

private collection: ARGHA-PĀTRA, as *supra* (received from my informant in Krambitan (Tabanan)).
 private collection: GAGĒLARAN PŪJĀ n GDĒ BHUJAṄGA, the worship of the exorcist priest, who begins his ritual with a complete sūrya-sevana, worship of the Sun God, just like the brahmin Śaiva priest (received from the same informant; enriched by notes from Padanda Sarasiddhi).

Only the Buddhist PŪJĀ NARPAṆA ŚAVA and the Śaiva ARGHĀ-DHYĀTMĪKA begin with the words *Kūrmāgneya namaḥ*, homage to the Fire of the Tortoise.

Lévi's MS continues (61) with "*Gēlari ṅ Anantāsana* (putting in right order towards the toya)", and this corresponds with ANUṢṬHĀNA *bvat* SORA: *Tēlas gēlar ta prabhūta riṅ toya* (*prabhūta naranya anantāsana-krama*), i.e. Next one should do *prabhūta* in the holy water (*prabhūta* means the rites proper for *anantāsana*).

Prabhūta obviously is a word which the author of this manual saw himself obliged to borrow from his *guru* or his model, but also to explain immediately to his pupils with *anantāsana*. Exactly the same happened to me in Madras when Mr. Sambandham had to explain the second word of his Āsana-Pūjā, *prabhūtāsana*, and did so by substituting *anantāsana* for it. To the best of my knowledge those two treatises are the only ones to have maintained this word in this connection.

ANUṢṬHĀNA *bvat* SORA goes on with *Idēp Saṅ Hyaṅ Ananta-bhoga, maṅlēkēr ikūnira riṅ jro, tēṅdasnira riṅ yava, umarēp Vētan, somya rūpanira*, i.e. Imagine Venerable Ananta-bhoga, causing his tail writhe inside (the building), his head at the outside, in an easterly direction, looking benevolently. This position of the tail is puzzling, but the commentator feels indemnified by Anantabhoga's benevolent look, which his material eye has never seen.

Only ARGHA-PĀTRA K 87 begins this section of the ritual with the catch-word *Ananta*; it goes on with: *mantra*: *Oṅ oṅ Anantāsanaṅya namaḥ, oṅ oṅ Padmāsanaṅya namaḥ, oṅ oṅ Deva-pratiṣṭhāya namaḥ*, followed by the words: *pasaṅ liṅga ta gave Anantāsana riṅ toya, pisanakēna tēkeṅ śarīranta*.

Pasaṅ, to put, is a common Indonesian word; in the ritual as printed by Lévi we find it as a technical term in No. 65, whereas the preceding Nos. 62-64 and the following Nos. 66-74 use *nyāsa*, assignment (of a cosmical power to a place immediately before the worshipper). I never saw a Balinese priest having a *liṅga* before him, the ritual described is not that of Śivarātri; and so I am inclined to suppose that these two words, only to be found in this one MS, are a relic from the past. The meaning of the following words is: "you make (imagine) Anantāsana in the holy water"; that of the last ones: "unify your own person with it".

All MSS now have: *Anantāsanaṅya namaḥ*, homage to Anantāsana, preceded by *oṅ oṅ*, with the only exceptions of the ANUṢṬHĀNA and the VEDA, here reading *oṅ aṅ*, and repeating this in *oṅ aṅ Padmāsanaṅya namaḥ*, so that the four times where this occurs cannot be a clerical error but must form a real, though minor, divergence. The *mudrā* accompanying the *mantra* should be *pāśa-mudrā*; cf. *nāga-pāśa*.

Sinhāsana follows now; in the Balinese Śaiva ritual texts it is always called *catur-aiśvarya*. Lévi and four MSS rightly use the term *nyāsa*, assignment, of *catur-aiśvarya* (62).

Only ANUṢṬHĀNA bvat SORA now adds the words *sañka niñ palañka siñha-rūpa*, i.e. basis of the throne having the shape of lions; five other MSS have the words: *riñ padu niñ anantāsana*, at the corners of Anantāsana.

Next we find fourfold homage to the quaternion *Dharma, Jñāna, Vairāgya & Aiśvarya* in the shape of lions (*siñha-rūpa*) in SE, SW, NW & NE. Only the VEDA starts in the East and continues clockwise. This may seem queer, but is in perfect harmony with the colours attributed to *catur-aiśvarya*, being the usual white for the E, red for the S, yellow for the W and blue-black for the N. So the *namaskāra* runs as follows:

Lévi's PŪJĀ-PARIKRAMA and all my MSS		VEDA
Oñ rēñ	Dharmāya siñha-rūpāya śveta-varṇāya namaḥ svāhā (Āgneyā)	(Pūrvā)
Oñ rōñ	Jñānāya siñha-rūpāya rakta-varṇāya namaḥ svāhā (Nairītyā)	(Dakṣiṇā)
Oñ lēñ	Vairāgyāya siñha-rūpāya pīta-varṇāya namaḥ svāhā (Vāyavyā)	(Pāścimā)
Oñ lōñ	Aiśvaryaia siñha-rūpāya kṛṣṇa-varṇāya namaḥ svāhā (Aiśānyā)	(Uttarā)

In the South-Indian ritual we can distinguish three types of prescriptions for the priest: what he has to do (making of *mudrās*, bringing of offerings, etc.), what he has to say (*mantra* and *veda*, song in praise of the gods) and what he has to think. Balinese ritual likewise distinguishes these three categories, here called *bāyu*, *śabda*, *idēp*. Lévi's PŪJĀ-PARIKRAMA gives a clear picture of *śabda* and *bāyu*, because the Sanskrit words of the priest are printed in devanagari, whereas the Old-Javanese prescriptions for his actions are given in Latin script and followed by English translation. What the priest has to think (*Idēp*) during his ritual (so revealing for us), is only parsimoniously represented in the Balinese MSS and not at all in the MS which Lévi published; I have gone into this subject in a previous paper.

In the field of *mudrās* the situation is better but still far from satisfying; our passage offers a good example. VEDA, collected in Bali during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, prescribes making of *padma-mudrā* to the accompaniment of the (now following) words *oñ añ Padmāsanāya namaḥ svāhā*, and the same *mudrā* is now mentioned by Padanda Sarasiddhi (Tabanan) in the same situation. All my other MSS are reticent on this point; I assume that the making of this *mudrā* in this connection has been too obvious to be mentioned. But Padanda Sarasiddhi in *Sinhāsana/Catur-aiśvarya* is the only one to prescribe *Astra-mudrā* for *Dharma*, *Śikhā-mudrā* for *Jñāna*, *Kavaca-mudrā* for *Vairāgya* and *Paraśu-mudrā* for *Aiśvarya*. It may be assumed that the Śaiva priests of Bali do make these *mudrās* when muttering these words and simply did not mention this fact because it was self-evident for them.

The exposition on *mudrās*, used during *siñhāsana/catur-aiśvarya* already brought us into the following stage, *padmāsana* (Bali has neither *yogāsana*

nor *vimalāsana*; Sambandham's ritual missed them too), but then our manuals seldom introduce their *namaskāra*. PŪJĀ PAÑCA BALI KRAMA K 1186 and GAGĒLARAN PŪJĀ n GĎÉ BHUJAŅGA contain the introductory words *ta gavé padmāsana riñ toya mvañ riñ śarīra*, i.e. one should make *padmāsana* in the holy water and in one's self. ANUṢṬHĀNA bvat SORA reads: *gĕlar ta Sañ Hyañ Padmāsana tumumpañ riñ Anantāsana*, i.e. make/imagine/assign Venerable *Padmāsana* above *Anantāsana* (cf. *infra*). ARGHA-PĀTRA K 87 has twice: *pasañ Padmāsana tĕkeñ hṛdayanta*, i.e. make/imagine/assign *Padmāsana* in your heart.

All MSS now go on with *oñ oñ Padmāsanāya namaḥ*, i.e. homage be to the Lotus seat, immediately followed by the words *oñ oñ Padma-hṛdayāya namaḥ*, i.e. homage be to the heart of the lotus, in K 3 ARGHA-PĀTRA, the nearly homonymous K 69 KAJAÑ PŪJĀ PITR, K 87 ARGHA PĀTRA, K 1186 PŪJĀ PAÑCA BALI KRAMA, ARGHA-PĀTRA (Krambiten) and GAGĒLARAN PŪJĀ n GĎĒDE BHUJAŅGA.

At last an *iḍĕp*, i.e. what the worshipper has to bear in mind, is to be found in three MSS: ARGHA-PĀTRA K 3, KAJAÑ PŪJĀ PITR and ARGHA-PĀTRA (Krambitan). The subsequent words are:

*Sañ Hyañ Padmāsana tumumpañ riñ Sañ Hyañ Catur-Aiśvarya ;
ikañ Catur-Aiśvarya tumumpañ iñ Anantāsana ;* i.e.

The Venerable *Padmāsana* is one stage/storey higher than *Catur-Aiśvarya* ;
Catur-Aiśvarya/Siñhāsana is one stage/storey higher than *Anantāsana*.

ANUṢṬHĀNA bvat SORA, as we have seen *supra*, reads: *gĕlar ta Sañ Hyañ Padmāsana tumumpañ riñ Anantāsana*, a shortened form of the two-line formula just produced. This ritual is the only one now to end this division with the vague words *saha pūjā japa*, i.e. accompanied by homage and muttering.

This discussion started by quoting the (Śaiva) ARGHĀDHYĀTMIKA and closes with it; this very succinctly worded treatise presupposes that everything is known to its student and makes a division of the ceremony with these 5 clauses:

OÑ OÑ ANANTĀSANĀYA NAMAḤ; OÑ OÑ KŪRMĀGNĀYA NAMAḤ;
OÑ OÑ SIÑHĀSANĀYA NAMAḤ; OÑ OÑ LINGODBHAVĀYA NAMAḤ;
ITI MŪRTI-PAKṢA ÑARANYA, DEVA-GAṆA IKI.

With Liṅgodbhava the author means Śiva; *Mūrti-pakṣa* which I have not hitherto found elsewhere in Javano-Balinese manuals on ritual, finds its explanation in the ritual dictated to me by Mr. Sambandham. In the first fragment from his manual he gave me the main divisions: I. ĀSANA; II. MŪRTI; III. MŪLA, scheme, explaining that any worship to any deity is built up according to this plan. His *mūrti* was directed to Khasolka Sūrya = Śiva or Śivāditya; Khasolka is well known to the Balinese priests and to be found in Lévi p. 17 No. 67. With the words *iti Mūrti-pakṣa ñaranya* the author must mean: this is the Mūrti division; with *Deva-gaṇa*

perhaps: now we have to do with the number of gods (on the petals of the *padma*).

As an interim remark to this section I should like to stress here the point that, when one compares as many Balinese MSS as possible with South-Indian ritualistic texts, intellegibility proves to be well served.

A recently acquired drawing, made by Ida *padanda*, (Sañ Ṛṣi Gḍé) of Griya Kadampal . . . Krambitan (Tabanan) and inscribed *padmāsana*, prevents me from finishing this fragment of the Śaiva ritual at this stage, since the drawing apparently illustrates something more. Sylvain Lévi has printed the part of the ritual illustrated here as his Nos. 63–65; it is to be found in all the MSS enumerated *supra*, with the exception only of the two Buddhist ones heading the list. From the Buddhist brahman priest's daily ritual, however, PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA (private coll.), it appears that this priest embodies the same metaphysical thought in his ritual, but this will be dealt with on another occasion. At this stage I wish to include in the monograph a reference to two other MSS, hitherto ignored, as they, called VEDA KṢĀTRIYA (K 961) and PŪJĀ KṢĀTRIYA (from Tabanan; private collection), clearly deal with the ritual meant to be performed by the nobility¹¹⁵) and not by the *padandas*. The reason for their inclusion here is that, though their wording is partially different from that in Lévi's Nos. 64 and 65 (63 is homonymous in all respects; the ritual environment is also the same), the basic metaphysical thought is identical. And the *padanda*'s (brahman priest's) drawing appears to represent a third version of the same thinking, embodied in the *kṣatriya* ritual.

This basic thought consists of the value, if not power, attributed to the *akṣara*, the letters of the devanagarī alphabet, in this kind of Śaivism. Therefore the priest now enumerates, i.e. evokes, all the vocals, diphthongs and consonants (respectfully preceded by *oṅ* and followed by *namah*, homage be to (the preceding))—in this way collecting them and binding their power—and by *nyāsa* puts them in his immediate vicinity. The priest following the rite as printed by Lévi and supported by the list of MSS (with the exception of the two buddhist ones) given above, three times makes, so to speak, a spiritual *pradakṣiṇā* before having finished with the complete alphabet. The *kṣatriya* begins by making the same first "*pradakṣiṇā*", for vowels and diphthongs, needing only a second "*pradak-*

¹¹⁵) "The 'Regent' of Gianjar, a Kṣatriya by birth and son of the last king of that part of Bali, starts every day by performing his *pūjā* in his private sanctuary, after having done his morning ablutions, just as the (brahman) priests are in the habit of doing, be it that the latter perform a much more complicated ritual", from "Mudrā's op Bali", op. cit. note 87, p. 14.—Cf. also F. A. Liefrinck, "De Landsverordeningen der Balische Vorsten van Lombok", Nijhoff, 's Gravenhage, 1915, I p. 69, ll. 6–14. My excellent friend and faithful informant Gusti Ngurah Ketut Sangka from Krambitan (Tabanan), to whom I owe the *padanda*'s drawing, and the PŪJĀ KṢĀTRIYA (Tab.), also helped me to obtain a PŪJĀ KṢĀTRIYA (Panarukan) and one from Krambitan. Some time later I hope to deal with these texts.

ṣiṅā” for all the consonants. And the *padanda*’s drawing, as I see it, visually presents in their proper places the vowels and diphthongs, thus shaping the same first “*pradakṣiṅā*”, but, provided my interpretation of it be correct, presenting a different one for the consonants. To begin with, the brahman texts will be produced:

63. *Nyāsa svāra-vyañjana riṅ aṣṭa-dala*, i.e. Assign vocals and consonants to the eight petals (sc. of the imaginary lotus). Highly explanatory and illustrating reality is the variant reading in K 87; *onyakēn*, i.e. make sound, say aloud, for that is what happens. Misleading is the variant reading: *riṅ aṣṭa-dala-madhya*, i.e. in the middle of (each of) the eight petals, in several MSS. These words, properly speaking, are introductory to the whole alphabet, but appear to relate only to the first “*pradakṣiṅā*”, which now runs as follows:

Oṅ Aṅ Āṅ NAMAḤ (Pūrvā); Oṅ Iṅ Īṅ NAMAḤ (Āgneyā);
 Oṅ Uṅ Ūṅ NAMAḤ (Dakṣiṅā); Oṅ Ṛṅ Ṛṅ NAMAḤ (Nairṛtyā);
 Oṅ Ḍṅ Ḍṅ NAMAḤ (Paścimā); Oṅ Eṅ AIṅ NAMAḤ (Vāyavyā);
 Oṅ Oṅ AUṅ NAMAḤ (Uttarā); Oṅ Aṅ Aḥ NAMAḤ (Aiśānyā).

64. And (*mvah*; 3 MSS) now follows (*tumūt*, another MS) *Svāra ka jro*, i.e. vowels to the interior [set of petals; in 63 we dealt with the exterior set, *ka jaba*]—but what follows are not the vowels, (which have been exhaustively dealt with) but the consonants. No wonder that in 5 MSS we find here the additional word *vyañjana*, i.e. consonant. This “*pradakṣiṅā*” runs as follows (I have omitted all final ṅ):

Oṅ KA KHA GA NAMAḤ (Pū); Oṅ GHA ṆA CA NAMAḤ (Āg);
 Oṅ CHA JA JHA NAMAḤ (Da); Oṅ ṆA ṬA ṬHA NAMAḤ (Nai);
 Oṅ ḌA ḌHA ṆA NAMAḤ (Pa); Oṅ TA THA DA NAMAḤ (Vā);
 Oṅ DHA NA PA NAMAḤ (Ut); Oṅ PHA BA BHA NAMAḤ (Ai).

In Lévi’s book the whole series is faultless; the MSS at my disposal without exception put *s* instead of the unusual, if not unknown, *jh*, and, instead of *ṭa-ṭha*, they read *da-dha*. The pronouncing of each *akṣara* is accompanied by performing its *mudrā*.

65. Now follows: *Pasaṅ* (the Indonesian word for *nyāsa*) *ya-ra-la-va riṅ jro*, or: *ri(ṅ) jro kūta*; or: *ri(ṅ) jro niṅ kūta*. What has actually happened during Lévi’s Nos. 63 and 64 has been that the *padanda*, while muttering the *mantra* of his *nyāsa*, puts either rice grains or petals (I cannot remember which) on the brim of the holy water vessel just before him, in the eight prescribed directions, twice. By *kūta*, fortress, he means the deepest inner centre of the lotus, i.e. the holy water vessel which by now has become laden with power and as strong as a fortress. *Jro* is the inside.

OÑ MAÑ NAMAḤ (Pū); OÑ YAÑ NAMAḤ (Āg);
 OÑ RAÑ NAMAḤ (Da); OÑ LAÑ NAMAḤ (Nai);
 OÑ VAÑ NAMAḤ (Pa); OÑ ŚAÑ NAMAḤ (Vā);
 OÑ ṢAÑ NAMAḤ (Ut); OÑ SAÑ NAMAḤ (Ai).

Once more the *padanda* ends with *oñ aṅ aḥ namaḥ*, those most important syllables, in the printed text followed by: *riṅ jro*, with the translation “in the middle”. Slightly better would have been: “to the inside”; for “middle” the Balinese use the Skr. word *madhya*. The Leiden VEDA MS reads *jro kūṭa*; in all the other MSS we find: *i jro niṅ gili-gili*. The priest throws the last petal into the holy water vessel, but I am not sure of the etymology and meaning of that word *gili-gili*; according to my informant it should mean “petal”.

Having reached this stage in his ritual, the *padanda* continues with (Lévi No. 66) *Nava-sakti-nyāsa*, i.e. the assigning of the nine protective powers – to be found in the South-Indian ritual as dictated by Mr. Sambandham, in exactly the same words, immediately after the *āsanas*, without the *svara-vyañjana-nyāsa* practised in Bali.

Instead of these two last “*pradakṣiṇās*” of the brahman priest, the *kṣatriya* worshipper performs only one, in doing so assigning the *akṣaras* to other directions of the compass; he too ends in the center of the universe, his holy water vessel. PŪJĀ KṢĀTRIYA (Tab.) links up this second “*pradakṣiṇā*” with the first one by using the words: *Tumūt svara ka jro, ya-ra-la-va*, the very succinctly worded VEDA KṢĀTRIYA does not mention them. Since the correct series has been printed above, it seems preferable to reproduce here the series with the MS’s mistakes. I am inclined to consider them as remarkably scarce in view of the fact that some of the *akṣaras* are practically never used in writing, and roughly only half of them are voiced in Balinese speaking.

<i>oñ kaṅ khaṅ gaṅ ghaṅ iṅ namaḥ, Īśvara-</i>	<i>śveta-varṇāya, bajrāstrāya,</i>
<i>Pūrva- deśāya; oñ oṅ iṅ kliṅ (961: kdaṅ)</i>	<i>hṛdaye svāhā;</i>
<i>oñ caṅ chaṅ jaṅ hḍēṅ naṅ namaḥ, Maheśvara-</i>	<i>patavala-varṇāya, dhūpāstrāya,</i>
<i>Āgneya- deśāya; oñ oṅ(iṅ)kliṅ (961: no iṅ)</i>	<i>hṛdaye svāhā;</i>
<i>oñ ṭaṅ ṭhaṅ ḍaṅ ḍhaṅ ṇaṅ namaḥ, Brahma-</i>	<i>rakta-varṇāya, daṇḍāstrāya,</i>
<i>Dakṣiṇā- deśāya; oñ oṅ iṅ kliṅ</i>	<i>hṛdaye svāhā;</i>
<i>oñ ṭaṅ ṭhaṅ daṅ dhaṅ naṅ namaḥ, Rudra-</i>	<i>piṅgala-varṇāya, kṛtālāstrāya,</i>
<i>Neriti- deśāya; oñ eṅ aiṅ kliṅ (961: 'sliṅ)</i>	<i>hṛdaye svāhā;</i>
<i>oñ paṅ phaṅ baṅ bhaṅ maṅ namaḥ, Mahādeva-</i>	<i>pīta-varṇāya, pāśāstrāya,</i>
<i>Pāścīma- deśāya; oñ eṅ aiṅ kliṅ (oṅ auṅ?)</i>	<i>hṛdaye svāhā;</i>
<i>oñ yaṅ raṅ namaḥ, Śaṅkara-</i>	<i>śyāma-varṇāya, aṅkuśāstrāya,</i>
<i>Vāyavya- deśāya; oñ aṅ iṅ huṅ Paśupataye huṅ phaṭ hṛdaye svāhā;</i>	
<i>oñ laṅ vaṅ namaḥ, Vaiṣṇave-</i>	<i>kṛṣṇa-varṇāya, cakrāstrāya,</i>
<i>Uttara- deśāya; oñ aṅ iṅ huṅ Paśupataye huṅ phaṭ hṛdaye svāhā;</i>	
<i>oñ śaṅ ṣaṅ namaḥ, Śambhu-verajavārtha-varṇāya, triśulāstrāya,</i>	
<i>Aiśānya- deśāya; oñ rēṅ lēṅ Paśupataye huṅ phaṭ hṛdaye svāhā;</i>	
<i>oñ saṅ haṅ namaḥ, Śiva- devāya sphaṭika-varṇāya, padmāstrāya,</i>	
<i>Madhya- deśāya; oñ rēṅ lēṅ Paśupataye huṅ phaṭ hṛdaye svāhā.</i>	

So the priest pays homage to five *akṣaras*, to be assigned to the East, abode of white-coloured Īśvara, who has the *bajra* as his “weapon”; he ends with the *bijākṣara*, kernel-syllable, characteristic for this god and this region. He continues with the South-East, etc.

This is neither the right occasion to examine the eight *loka-pāla/dik-pālakas* ¹¹⁶) or the *aṣṭabrata* ¹¹⁷) nor – to use a lovely pleonasm – the nine *nava-saṅa* ¹¹⁸), or to go into the *bijākṣara* ¹¹⁹) and their possibly Tibeto-Mongolian relatives ¹²⁰). We return to the throne of God in Bali, *padmāsana*, and the brahman priest’s drawing of it, in the central rectangle showing this caption. The turtle-cum-snake underneath clearly represent the *baḍavaṅ nala* or *kūrmāsana-cum-anantāsana*. Next stage, *siṅhāsana*, begins in the SouthEast corner of the rectangle correctly with *oṅ rēṅ Dharma*; its continuation in *pradakṣiṅā* is also as might be expected.

We now leave the rectangle and go on with the well-proportioned lotus on top of the drawing; there we find the vowels assigned to their proper directions of the compass, to begin in the East. In addition, at the tops of the petals, the *astra*, “weapons” or attributes of the gods are added, having as their function to avert all possible dangers and disturbances from the worshipper. The majority of them correspond with those enumerated in the “*pradakṣiṅā*” in the PŪJĀ KṢĀTRIYA and VEDA KṢĀ TRIYA printed above; variations always occur in these texts ¹¹⁶).

In the centre we find the hyphen-word *Deva-pratiṣṭhā*, i.e. the God’s resting-place; in Balinese ritual it forms an end, a summit, as we have seen (Lévi No. 81); in Balinese ritual it is preceded by many more *nyāsa* and ritual actions.

We now proceed towards the slightly telescoped central *padma*, contained in a rectangle instead of a square. Bearing in mind that a few pages back we noticed a slight discrepancy in the ritual MSS with regard to the correct directions of the lions in *siṅhāsana* – East or South-East, etc. – we need not object against beginning with *ka* (*pars pro toto* of *ka, kha, ga, gha, ṅa*) in the South East instead of in the East as in the mantra printed

¹¹⁶) J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, “The Dikpālakas in ancient Java”, BKI 111/4 1955, 356–384.

¹¹⁷) Van der Tuuk’s KBNWdbk. *s.v.* *aṣṭabrata* I 214. – G. W. J. Drewes, “Drie Javaansche Goeroe’s, hun leven, onderricht en messiasprediking”, Ph.D. thesis Leiden 1925, Vros, Leiden, 1925, p. 150.

¹¹⁸) B. M. Goslings, “Een ‘Nawa-sanga’ van Lombok (*met afbeeldingen*)”, and H. T. Damsté, “Balische kleedjes en doeken, verband houdende met Eeredienst en Doodenzorg (*met afbeeldingen*)”, resp. pp. 200–210 and 254–264 in “Gedenkschrift 75-jarig bestaan van het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië”, Nijhoff, ’s Gravenhage, 1926.

¹¹⁹) Dr. med. Wolfgang Weck, “Heilkunde und Volkstum auf Bali”, Enke Verlag, Stuttgart, 1937. Die magischen Schriftzeichen, pp. 67–80.

¹²⁰) Thesis II in Sharada Rani, “ŚLOKĀNTARA, an Old Javanese didactic text, critically edited and annotated”, Ph.D. thesis Utrecht, 1957, International Academy of Indian Culture, New-Delhi 1957.

above. Following the *pradakṣiṇā* we find *ca* (for *ca-cha-ja-jha-ña*) in the South. In the South West follows *ta(-tha-da-dha-na)*, though we should have expected *ṭa(-ṭha-ḍa-ḍha-ṇa)*. But then in ordinary speech the Balinese do not distinguish *t-th-ṭ-th*, and this may be the reason for confusing the two series. What we find written in the West is either *sa* or *tha*, scarcely to be distinguished in Balinese writing and printing¹²¹), but both of them misplaced here. As, however, this confusion is followed by the expected *pa(-pha-ba-bha-ma)*, next *ya(-ra-la-va)*, next *sa(-śa-ṣa)*, the reasoning of a scribal error, i.e. interchange of the *t*-series with the *ṭ*-series, seems not to run a considerable risk. The “*pradakṣiṇā*” closes, I should say, though I am aware that usually we start here, in the East, with *ha*, probably not unrelated to *aṅ* and *aḥ*, life and death. In making this drawing – which I do not hesitate to call a *yantra*¹²²) completed by explanation – the priest links up with the fragments of ritual printed above, or, better expressed: he projects them in the horizontal level.

Finally the priest has inscribed the heart of the central lotus with two hyphen-words: *ātmā-pratiṣṭhā* and *padma-hṛdaya*. The last one gives no difficulty. Just like the priest, obviously for reasons of space, wrote *Dharma, Jñāna* etc. instead of *Dharmāya namaḥ, Jñānāya namaḥ*, etc., we may assume that here was meant: *oṅ oṅ padma-hṛdayāya namaḥ*, exactly the words which most ritual texts use immediately after the words: *oṅ oṅ padmāsanāya namaḥ*, the last words of the *āsana-pūjā*, dealt with above (final words in Lévi's No. 62). With *ātmā-pratiṣṭhā*, which I cannot remember ever having found in ritual texts, the priest may have meant that this whole mental exercise, consisting of *āsana-pūjā* and *svara-vyañjana-nyāsa*, finds its completion in the unio mystica of God and man: the preceding *deva-pratiṣṭhā* and now the *ātmā-pratiṣṭhā*¹²³). For the priest, as might be expected, ends in the centre of his drawing. Fortunately my informant affirmed this sentence and was authorised by his *padanda* to add that at this stage the worshipper had reached the mystical stage *patēmu nin atma lavan Déva (Siva)*, the union of the soul/own self with God (Śiva). We will come across these words once more.

One final remark: it can hardly be a mere coincidence that the ritual begins with Anantāsana, and that Bali's most important temple, the mountain sanctuary of Bēsakih, in all its complexity, begins with a small Pura Bañun Śakti, “Awakening of Spiritual Power”, devoted to the worship of Anantabhoga.

¹²¹) Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. et Phil., M.P., “Svara-Vyañjana, a Kavi-Balinese and Devanāgarī script-manual”. I.A. of I.C. 1956 (text in Indonesian).

¹²²) Dr. P. H. Pott, “Yoga en Yantra in hunne beteekenis voor de Indische Archaeologie”, Brill, Leiden, 1946 (English translation to be expected).

¹²³) Cf. *Pratiṣṭhā* by J. Gonda, pp. 1-37 in *Sanjñā-vyākaraṇam*, *Studia Indologica Internationalia* I, 1954, Centre for International Indological Research, Poona & Paris.

F. GOD-KINGSHIP IN JAVA

We have reached the end of the discussion of the Śaiva priest's ritual in Bali, that is to say of a tiny fragment lifted from it, which may take him less than a minute to perform, and which in his manuals, after the first and fuller description is formulated in the two words, *anantāsana – padmāsana*. We have found that the *kūrma* is well known in India, that the Balinese *anantāsana–caturaiśvarya–padmāsana* corresponds exactly with South-Indian *anantāsana–siṅhāsana–padmāsana*, but that this triad is frequently extended to *anantāsana–siṅhāsana–yogāsana–padmāsana–vimalāsana*. In Bali an extension follows after *padmāsana*, for here (as appears from Lévi's text) the *nyāsa*, assignment, of *catur–aiśvarya* is followed by not less than twelve other *nyāsa* and four other actions. Only after that follow *utpatti*, *sthiti* and *deva–pratiṣṭhā*, to be compared with South-Indian *mūrti*. This division is concluded in Bali by *kūṭa–mantra* = South-Indian *mūla–mantra*. The God has arrived down on *padmāsana* and is worshipped by his particular *mantra*.

The South-Indian priest, after having reached the stage *Padmāsana*, continues by *nyāsa* of the eight *loka–pāla* and their *śakti* on the petals of the lotus; finally the worshipper's adoration is directed towards *Vimala*, the Stainless, the Pure, in the Centre. Hitherto, in present-day Balinese ritual, I had come across neither the term *Yogāsana* nor the term *Vimalāsana*, though after *Padmāsana* the priest continues with many a *nyāsa* before reaching the final *Devāsana* (Buddhist) or *Deva–pratiṣṭhā* (Śaiva).

I am inclined, however, to find this final stage in the Old-Javanese *kakavin*, court poem, SMARA–DAHANA¹²⁴), the Deflagration of the God of Love, in the last verse of the last canto, which may be considered as being the apotheosis. It runs as follows:

Maṅkā tiṅkah i rūmnirānrēs añēñēr lvir sīdhu muṅgv iñ vulu;
 ndah kālih sira ghāra tēka linēvih dé Śri Smarāñiṅḍarat;
 rovañ Sañ Prabhu sēndra–paṭṭa satatā riñ ratna–siṅhāsana;
 Śri Kāmēśvara padma–guhia maka–śakti ñ aṣṭa devī ḍatañ.

Such is her loveliness, moving and sweet, to be compared with mead in a
 [chalice;
 together with her as his principal spouse did Smara come down to earth;
 King and Queen as Ardhanarēśvarī continuously on the jewel lion-throne;
 King Kāmēśvara in lotus' inner part, having as *śakti* the eight goddesses
 [after their arrival.

The last word, *ḍatañ*, i.e. coming or having come, reminds one of the synonymous *tēka* in the very first quotation in this study, taken from

¹²⁴) Cf. note 10.

ARJUNA-VIVĀHA IX/4d. The last word in the third line, *ratna-sinhāsana* means the same as *Padmāsana*, for Vaiṣṇava helpers of the Rāmāyaṇa-Department, Oriental Institute, University of Baroda, informed me that their *Āsana-pūjā* consisted of *Kūrmāsana*, *Anantāsana*, Viṣṇu's avatars *Varahāsana* and *Matsyāsana*, with *Ratna-sinhāsana* as the final and most elevated *āsana*. As soon as it will be possible to go into PŪJĀ KṢĀTRIYA and VEDA KṢĀTRIYA, their *passim* invoking of Viṣṇu will become generally known. Hence this Vaiṣṇava technical term is not so much of a borrowing but a word used *iure suo*. In the same line *prabhu sēndra-paṭṭa* is a corruption for *sēndra-patna*, i.e. the king with his queen; in my translation the word *Ardhanarēśvarī* is the Balinese paraphrase according to KBNW III, 286. The Balinese Śaiva priest's ritual in one situation sings the praise of *Ardhanarēśvarī* in the following śloka, the middle one of three (Lévi p. 14 No. 52):

Amṛtaṃ varṣate tasmāt, sarvāṅga-saṅdhiṣu yataḥ;
Dampatyoḥ saṅgato jātam, jīvitam parikīrtitam.

Hence a rain of nectar pours down, therefore on all the limbs & junctions, born from the meeting of Husband & Wife, this is proclaimed to be the
[Real Life.]

Husband and Wife are Śiva and Umā, together called: *amṛta-karaṇī*, i.e. the preparation of nectar = holy water. At this moment of the ritual – according to my Śaivite informant, Padanda Wayan Nēñjuṅ of Grya Sanur, Pējēn, working at the Bureau for Religious Affairs, Gianjar – *mṛta sakiṅ ākāśa rauḥ ka pṛthivī*, i.e. nectar/holy water from the sky descends to Earth, that is: the water in the vessel before the priest has turned into holy water. This is the central mystery of Balinese Hindu religion, which until recently was called Āgama Tirtha, the Religion of Holy Water, and now is called Āgama Hindu Bali.

After singing the three ślokas just mentioned the Śiva priest ends with the praise to Śiva:

oṅ hrāṅ hrīṅ saḥ Parama-Śivāmṛtāya namaḥ;
oṅ hrāṅ hrīṅ saḥ Parama-Śivāditya-teja-śarīrāya namaḥ.

i.e. homage be to the Supreme-Śiva-nectar, to Supreme-Śiva-Sun-splendour-body; meant is: homage be to Śiva's corporeal apparition, to the splendour of Śiva, to Śiva the Sun. The first half of the ritus is finished, the priest prepares himself again for the second half of his task. And King Kāmēśvara with his spouse are compared, nay identified with Śiva and Umā at the moment of bestowing supreme bliss upon mankind.

One should quietly imbibe the full range and power of the court poem's last words. As a boy the king may have had an ordinary name just like Ayam Vuruk, the Young Cock. His official name, after *abhīṣeka*, consecration, was Kāmēśvara = Kāma + Ívara, Lord of Love, and this word

Íśvara is also the name of the Lord Śiva. As a king he is entitled to a *siṅhāsana*, a lion-throne, but in our connection we are not speaking about this material object, expensive and glittering though it may be. The worshipper's *siṅhāsana* consists of the four aspects *Dharma*, i.e. Law Eternal; *Jñāna*, Knowledge/Wisdom, *Vairāgya*, Absence of Passion and *Aiśvarya*, Dominance, Lordship (a word derived from Īśvara, Lord). King Kāmésvara is seated in Ratna-*siṅhāsana* = *Padmāsana*, that is the Seat to which Gods sometimes deign to descend to Earth, *anīṅdarat*.

The King, together with His Spouse, the *dampatis*, as Ardhanarêśvarī, are seated in *padma-guhya*, the hidden inner of the lotus, the *karnikā* of RAURAVĀGAMA 26, which was *tan-madhye*, in its centre. Then they are in the last and highest stage, *Vimalāsana*, Stainless, Pure, the *Devāsana* of the Buddhist priest, the *Deva-pratiṣṭhā* of the Śaiva priest. There He is surrounded by eight *śaktis*, perhaps lesser queens, and a Javanologist in this connection cannot be blamed for having his phantasies swerving in the direction of the hieratic court dance of the nine *sērimpi*, to wit eight and a leader. These are the last words of the court poem, containing the utmost thing to be said about a mortal king: he and his queen *are* Śiva and Umā, Ardhanarêśvarī; he *is* Íśvara bestowing His supreme bliss upon mankind, he is Life ¹²⁵).

This study started with the subterranean and subaquatic turtle and serpent(s) and ends with the Highest God, who is Stainless, Pure, *Vimala*, and unimaginable, *A-cintya*. Passing over the whole intermediate discussion with all its details and maintaining only turtle, serpent(s) and God, then we see Baḍavañ Nala as it was drawn by Ida Bagus Togog (for Covarrubias) and Ida Bagus Anom, both of them brahmans. Covarrubias in his book gave the right caption to this drawing by printing underneath: "The Balinese Cosmos" extending from serpent(s) and turtle underneath to God Who is unfathomable above.

¹²⁵) I hope that this section F. will be convincing for Prof. C. C. Berg, who in his recent book "Het Rijk van de Vijfvoudige Buddha" showed himself inclined to a slightly different reading and rather different explanation of the last verse of the SMARA-DAHANA.

IV.

ŚIVA-LINGA,

THE MARK OF THE LORD

INTRODUCTION

In his article on *liṅga* worship at Dinaya, in Java, Bosch (1924) demonstrated (p. 236), with special reference to the Cambodian inscription from Sdok Kak Thom of 974 Saka, that an indivisible trinity is formed by the ruler, the *liṅga* (as the palladium of hereditary kingship) and the priest (in his double function as the king's *purohita* and as high priest of the *liṅga* cult). In the preceding pages Bosch quoted an almost contemporary Cham inscription of 797 Saka conveying the same concept.

The caution with which Krom (1931) referred to Bosch's work, in fact prompted me to write the following two studies. Krom (p. 124) accepted reluctantly Bosch's argument "that there exists . . . a close link between Śiva, his *liṅga*, the ruling dynasty and a prominent brahman. On earth, the ruler acts on behalf of Śiva, and the essence of his royal power is embodied in the *liṅga*; the brahman is the mediator who obtains the *liṅga* from Śiva and hands it over to the founder of the dynasty as the palladium of his royalty.

"Although the evidence from Java regarding such traditions is far less clear than that from the Cham and Cambodian sources cited by Bosch, his argument may be regarded as being generally applicable in the Javanese situation."

In the following pages I propose to adduce new material which may shed some light on the question of *liṅga* worship in Bali as well as in Java. This material is primarily textual and most of it actually comes from Bali, for, whereas virtually no Old-Javanese, i.e. pre-Muslim, literature has been preserved in Java, a number of important Old-Javanese texts (apart from other data) have come to light in Bali. It is, in fact, to a considerable extent the cultural heritage of Old-Java which was preserved and built upon in Bali to the present day.

To begin with I am inclined to consider the Tugu in Djokjakarta, at which the Sultan must stare during the parade called *Garēbĕg* thrice during the Muslim year, as a descendant of the *liṅga* mentioned above (A).

Secondly the Balinese brahman priests denote their small sprinkler of holy water as a (Śiva-) *liṅga*; though they use it daily, only at medium and superior occasions do they go to such length of detail in their ritual that they direct themselves to it, in doing so using a terminology strongly reminiscent of that used during the observance of Śiva-rātri, to be dealt with in the last study (B).

In the third place attention is asked for the (Śiva-) *Liṅga-Stava*, not found among the fifty odd *stava* published by Lévi, and not used daily but reserved for medium and superior rituals (C).

Liṅgodbhava, the erected *Śiva-liṅga*, forms the subject of a myth, originating in India and renarrated in the Old-Javanese prose treatise

KAURAVĀŚRAMA; this mythical happening is frequently depicted by Balinese artists and I have the opportunity of reproducing a picture belonging to Professor Bosch and presenting a more recent new drawing (D).

Quite recently I was given a symbolic drawing, also called Liṅgodbhava, but now illustrating the Śaiva priest's spiritual way during daily ritual, starting from the initial creation of coarse materials up to God's subtlety and the union of the worshipper's soul with the deity (E).

A discussion with the late Dr. Stutterheim about *liṅga* worship and cult of the ancestors (F) serves as an introduction to the two big subjects now to be dealt with. We find a stone *Śiva-liṅga* in the centre of a platform destined to bear offerings, in a royal temple yard, a second in the same position in another templeyard, and a third one immediately under the platform. After the very serious earthquake of 1917 the temple where they are found was restored in the early twenties and must have catered for the worshippers' needs of those days. This temple is the place of ancestor worship for Balinese aristocracy, and apparently of *Śiva-liṅga* worship; it is Bali's most famous temple, Pura Bēsakih (G).

Pura Bēsakih deserves as many months of study as I could spend hours there but as I cannot hope to have that opportunity, part of the data I could gather from my mss in London is collected in Appendix I.

Pura Bēsakih in the extreme north-eastern part of the island to a certain extent finds its counterpart in Pura Vatu Karu of the western part; just like Pura Bēsakih it is a mountain sanctuary and a place of ancestor worship; the latter in the terminology of half a century ago is as much entitled to the name "liṅga sanctuary" as that of Mount Argapura in East-Java. Here I did not find traces of *Śiva-liṅga* worship, but as this temple – to my taste the most impressing of the whole of Bali – appears to be too far out of the usual way, or too poor in architecture, to have stimulated an archaeologist to write about it, I take the opportunity of publishing the plan given to me when in Bali, and the facts which I could study in London (Appendix II).

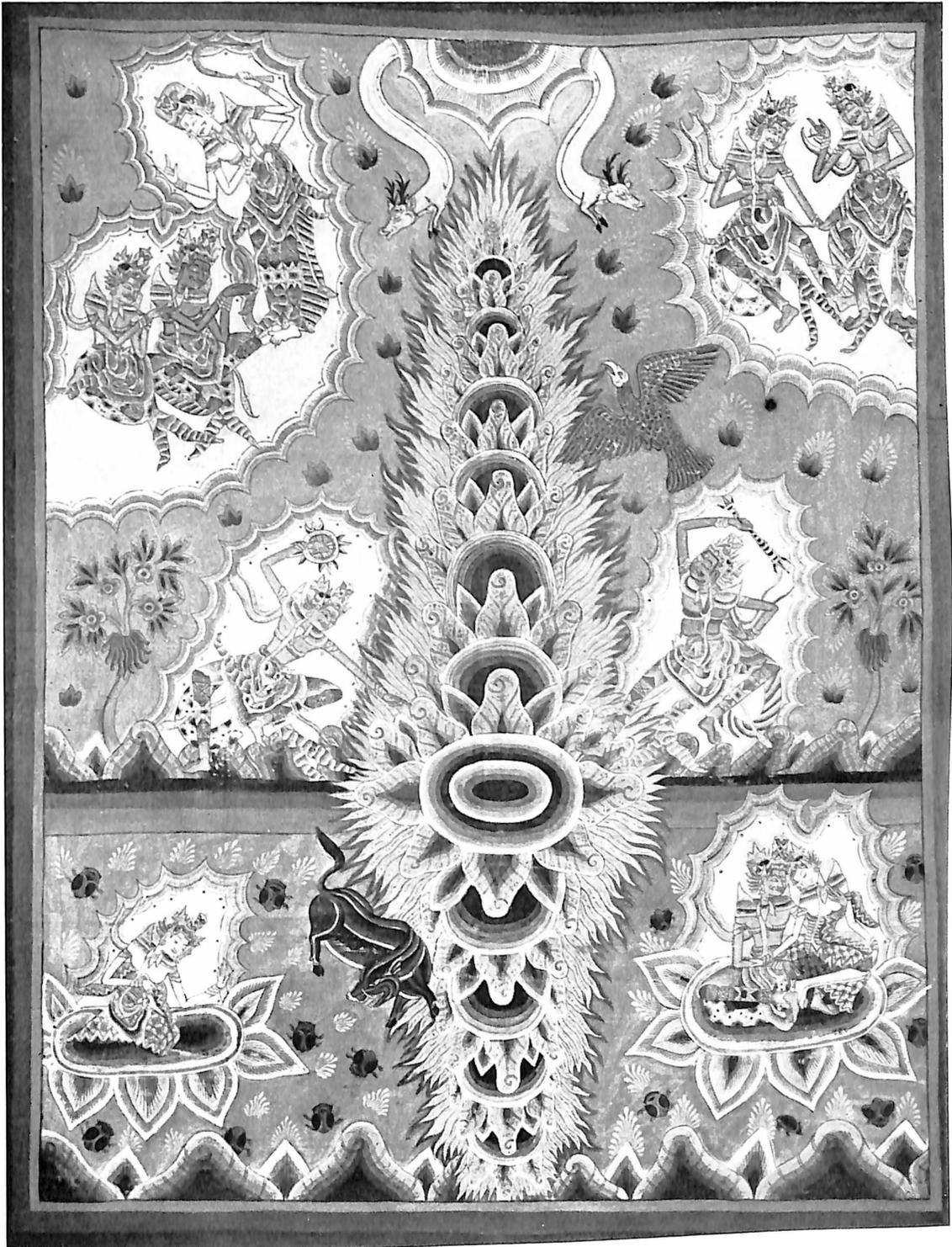


Fig. 15. Śiva Liṅgodbhava, Balinese painting.
By courtesy of Prof. Dr. F. D. K. Bosch; cf. his book "The Golden Germ",
Mouton & Co., 's Gravenhage, 1960, 62b.



Fig. 16. Śiva Liṅga in Balé Paruruan, Pawataran Agun, Bōsakih.
(photography C. Bodmer).



Fig. 17. Śiva Liṅga in Balé Paruman, Panataran Agung, Bōsakih.
(photography C. Bodmer).

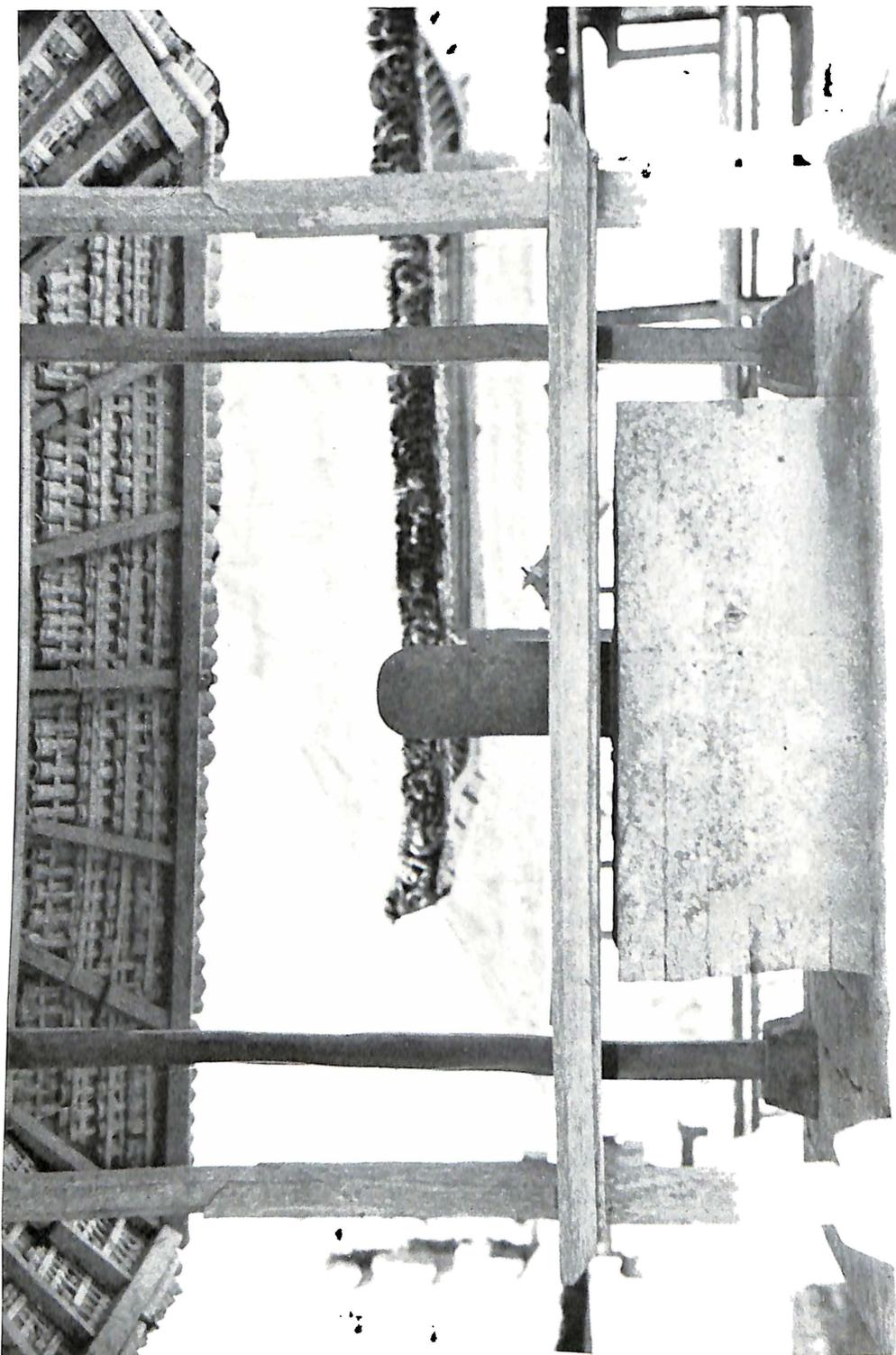


Fig. 18. Śiva Līṅga in Pura Batu Madög, Bēsakih complex.
(photography C. Bodmer).

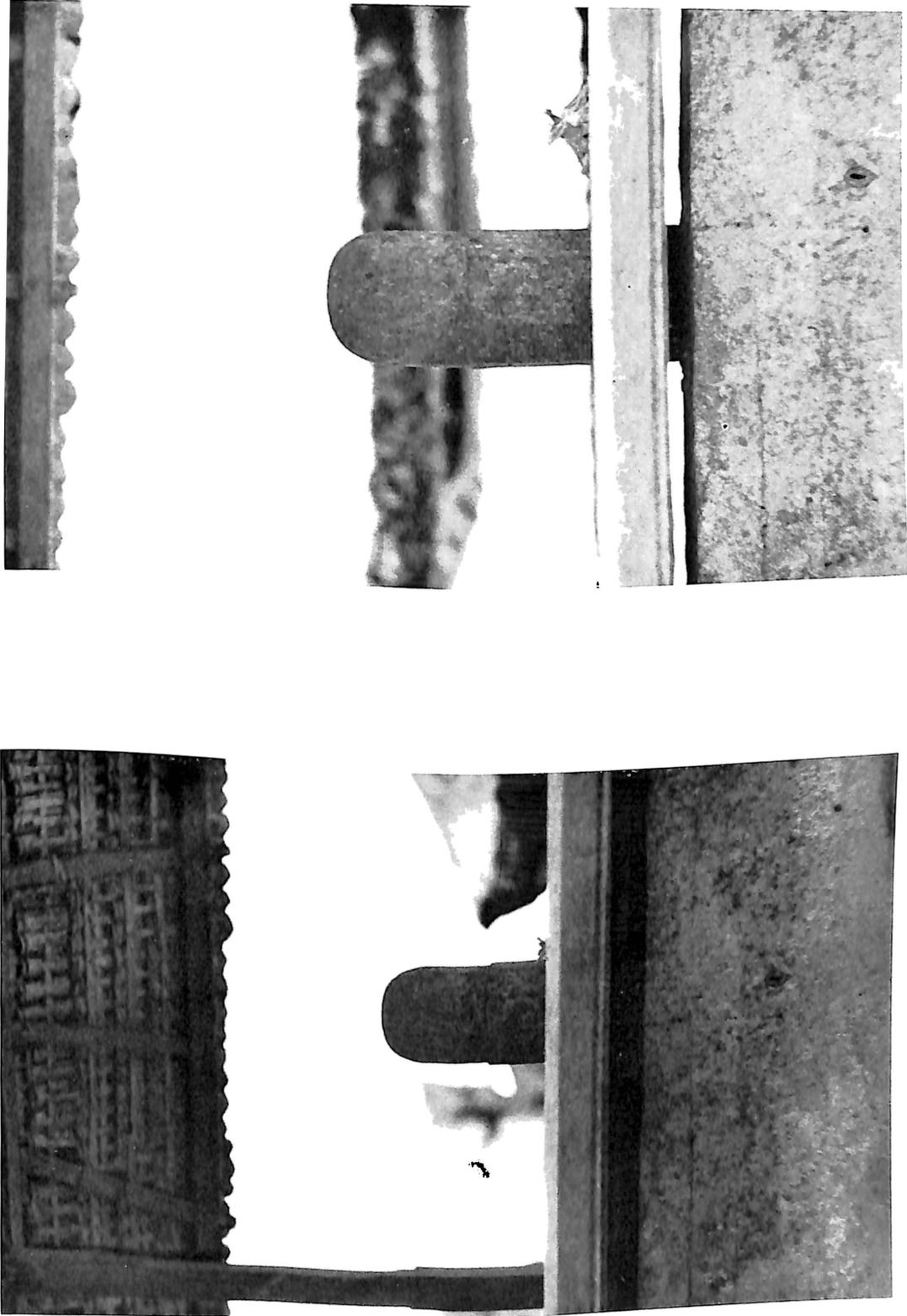


Fig. 19. Siva Lingga in Pura Batu Madég, Bésakih complex.
(photography C. Bodmer).



Fig. 20. Śiva Linga in Pura Gėlap, Bėsakih complex.
(photography C. Bodmer).



Fig. 21. Śiva Liṅgodbhava, sculpture.
South-India, Cola, tenth century.
(by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).



Fig. 22. Śiva Liṅgodbhava, drawing.
Modern Balinese drawing by Ida Bagus Anom.

A. THE TUGU OF DJOKJAKARTA

Some traces of Śiva-liṅga worship could, I think, still be found in twentieth century Java, in the ceremonies accompanying the military parades called Garēbĕg, at the court of Djokjakarta. These parades used to be held three times during the Muslim year in the presence of the Sultan. On these occasions he sat in full ceremonial dress in the audience hall of the "High Ground", *Sitingil* (*kṣiti ingil*), with his grandees, that is to say with his brothers and uncles, in a row in front of him to the right. Behind, stood the Greater and lesser Regalia, the *Upacara* and *Ampilan*. The ground was strewn with rose petals and several orchestres were drawn up in the Sultan's close proximity. When the troops came up from the right, behind the ruler, not a glance or nod was accorded to them, but a mere signal with one finger indicated that they might proceed.

Shortly before the turn of the century Groneman (1895), a Dutchman and the personal physician to the Sultan, wrote a most detailed monograph on the whole ceremony. To quote from him (p. 30):

Neither the salutes with the standards, nor those from the officers, are acknowledged by the ruler who, sitting on his *dampar* (throne) without a backrest, is the model of immobility for his whole entourage: his feet on a foot-cushion, the knees slightly apart, and the fore-arms resting on his thighs, his hands on his knees, the finger-tips touching.

There is another eye-witness account of the same phase of the ceremonies, written by R. Soedjono Tirtokoesoemo (1931), the "Translator" at the court of Djokjakarta, a sort of liaison officer between the Court and the Dutch Government. He gives an additional, very interesting detail (pp. 105-106):

The late Sultan VII (sic) sat motionless on his *dampar kĕntjono* (golden throne), his arms resting on his thighs, the fingers crossed, and not uttering a single word. His gaze was directed towards the White Pole while his mind was believed to be concentrated on The Most High, to invoke His blessings for his own person and for his country and people. Despite the economies in force at the time, the ceremony (of the Garēbĕg) nevertheless lasted for at least an hour.

These two accounts convey the impression of the Sultan (one of whose titles, incidentally, was *Panata 'Gama*, Regulator of the Religion), practising some form of *yoga*, and I would suggest that the White Pole should be regarded as the concentrating medium, the *yantra*, of the ruler's *yoga*. The White Pole in Djokja is, in fact, called the Tugu; *tugu* in Javanese meaning "erect stone column, pillar for demarcation, commemoration, frontier, etc. purposes." My Balinese informant's remark that Śiva-liṅga worship for Śiva-rātri must take place in a temple, *pura*, called *pura tugu* led me to see a link between the Garēbĕg rite and the Tugu of Djokja on the one hand, and Bosch' observation regarding the Śiva-liṅga on the other.

The Tugu is a whitewashed, stone obelisk, of unknown origin, standing some 2,500 yards to the north of the Palace at the busy crossroads of the wide, tree-lined road which runs from Surakarta in the east to Magēlang in the west, and another, equally wide and formerly tree-lined road. Neither the Tugu, nor the Palace, date back more than a couple of centuries. The trees which line the converging roads obstructed the view from the palace to the Tugu itself on which the Sultan was to fasten his gaze as he concentrated his mind on The Most High to invoke His blessings. I am inclined to attach all the more significance to this tradition which, according to Tirtokoesoemo was not only prescribed but was, indeed, actually observed. The very invisibility of the Tugu which may, I think, justifiably be regarded as a Śiva-līṅga, demonstrates that the ritual is mandatory.

The two monographs from which I quoted also describe how the Dutch functionaries sat in a row opposite the Sultan's grandees, and the Dutch Resident or Governor, on the Sultan's left. The parading troops were picturesque rather than effective: some were armed with bow and arrow, and their accoutrements and the names of their units take us back in history only a few centuries, but into an already obscure, albeit Muslim, past. Even in historic times, Garēbēg ceremonies have repeatedly been subject to alterations, and this will have been the case in earlier times as well.

One would hardly expect that, in Tirtokoesoemo's account, written in 1931, the indivisible trinity of ruler, *līṅga* and *purohita* would still persist, even in Central Java, that centre of syncretism. Thus, one of the "entertainers" and his antics at the Garēbēg induced Stutterheim (1956) to write an article with the interrogating title: "A thousand-year old profession in the princely courts on Java?" Again, the offerings, the food in mounds, *gunuñan*, which are considered to be male and female, traditionally associated with the Garēbēg, are thought to date from a period before Indian influences reached the island. On the other hand, as Damais (1957) demonstrated, as early as the fourteenth century, in the heyday of the "Hindu" empire of Majapahit, some of the nobles at the capital had themselves buried with Muslim rites, and the Sultan of Djokja, who has always been a Sultan, with "Arabic", Muslim titles, sometimes went to mosque straight after the Garēbēg military parade.

It is also interesting to note in this context that on Thursday evening, that is to say, during the first few of the twenty-four hours' span of Friday, the day of worship at the mosque, the Sultan used to clean his *kris* (or have them cleaned) ceremonially in the presence of his sons. There is no need here to enter into the subject of the phallic nature of the *kris*, for this has been discussed comprehensively by Rassers (1959).

These traditions from Java do not by themselves prove anything, but I adduce them in order to call to mind a certain atmosphere, a climate of thought. One would, of course like to observe personally what actually

takes place in general at existing Balinese princely palaces, for there is *a priori* a better chance of finding material that can be connected with Bosch's observations in Bali, where Indian influenced traditions have persisted to the present day. Unfortunately, the only directly relevant documentation on this subject consists of a single description of a royal consecration in a Balinese palace, by Swellengrebel (1947).

B. THE HOLY WATER SPRINKLER AS A ŚIVA-LIŅGA

It is evident that a priest should be purified bodily and spiritually before officiating; in this way his blemishes and weaknesses are removed and he is fortified, now becoming strong enough to oppose inimical powers and pure enough to get into contact with The Highest. In his activities he is helped by his cult instruments used during worship; they too must be fortified and consecrated. Either in the daily ritual or in the more elaborated rituals followed at special occasions the priest approaches with *mantra* and/or *mudrā* his incenser, the holy water vessel and its tripod, etc., and also his mitre and rosary. It is evident that the *vajra* in which the priest's bell ends, is not a mere ornament, but a means to give it power. And from the *mantra* used when the priest dons his so-called ornaments, *bhūṣaṇa*, and rosary and mitre, it becomes perfectly clear that he is invoking metaphysical help, and fortifying himself for the superhuman task he is performing. The exorcist priest, *sēṅghu* or *ṛṣi bhujāṅga*, handles a few cult instruments not used by the brahmin priests, and he is in the habit of introducing the name of each of them by the generic name *bajra*. The Śaiva priest considers his lamp, *dīpa*, as representing Śiva in his aspect of Sūrya, and he denies its use to the village or temple priest, the *pamaṅku*. Finally the sprinkler for holy water he addresses as Śiva-Liṅga.

Until recently Balinese religion was known as *āgama tīrtha*, the religion of holy water, and several types of sprinkler are used. The most elaborate and spectacular one, called *lis* or *ēlis*, is known as *Saṅ Janur Kunin*, Lord Yellow Green; it is given by the *padanda*, brahmin priest, and may be addressed in a dozen different *mantra*, in one of which it is compared with the Indian celestial wishing tree (see J. Hooykaas, 1961). The brahmin priest during his ritual uses a much smaller sprinkler, its size somewhere between six and eight inches long, repeatedly drawn by Tyra de Kleen and photographed in Goris' "Bali, Cults and Customs" (409). Unpretentious though this object may seem, the *sasirat* proves to be identified and addressed with nothing less than Śiva-Liṅga.

Going through the Buddhist priest's manual, PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA, after any *stava* one finds the directions for sprinkling and mention of this word. In the Śaiva manuals, however, the word is almost never used, though many a *stava* is followed by names of deities to whom special homage is given. i.e. by sprinkling holy water in their direction of the compass. As it would only be self-evident that cult objects in daily use are represented in manuals on daily ritual with their *mantra*, I can not yet explain why the *mantra* for the daily used *sasirat* are not found in the majority but only in somewhat less than half of them, to wit:

ARGHA-PĀTRA,	The Vessel for Holy Water, from Abian Sĕmal, K	3, l. 9a
KAJAŅ PŪJĀ PITR,	Shroud for the Cult of the Dead, Sanur,	K 69, l. 42-3
PITR PŪJĀ,	Worship of the Ancestors, Kesiman,	K 1423, l. 16
ARGHA-PĀTRA,	The Vessel for Holy Water, Krambitan,	priv. coll. p. 7

One might also consult BHASMA, "Sacred Ashes", from Blahbatu, K 475, l. 2b-3a, deviating slightly, and DVIJENDRA, "King of the Twice-born", from Pèdjèng, K 189, l. 16b-17b, rather deviating and fuller—but for the moment a straightforward approach without complications seems preferable.

- a. Sambut tañ liᅅga, dhūpa-dīpani, tĕhĕr minuᅅti; mantra:
 OŅ ŚIVĀYA ŚIVA-LINGĀYA, ŚIVA-ŚARVO MAHEŚVARAᅀ;
 NAMAᅀ ŚIVĀYA DEVĀYA, SADĀ-ŚIVA! NAMO NAMAᅀ.
 OŅ AŅ DHŪPĀSTRĀYA NAMAᅀ.
 - b. Andĕlakĕn Dharma-jĕti-mantra:
 OŅ AŅ PRADHĀNA-PURUᅀA-SAMYOGĀYA, VINDU-DEVĀYA, BHOKTR-JAGAT-NĀTHĀYA;
 DEVA-DEVĪ-ĀDI-SAMYOGĀYA, PARAMA-ŚIVĀYA NAMAᅀ SVĀHĀ.
 OŅ B(H)AŅ SARVA-PRAVĀHĀYA NAMAᅀ.
 - c. Pradakᅅiᅅā piᅅ 3, ri lambĕ niᅅ argha; [kavaca-]mantra:
 OŅ HRUŅ KAVACĀYA NAMAᅀ.
 - d. (Ś.I. add. Liᅅga) uᅅgahakĕn (Ś.I.: liᅅgihaᅅ) iᅅ argha; mantra:
 OŅ IŅ ĪSĀNĀYA NAMAᅀ.
 - e. Tri-akᅅara-mantra, ri buᅅkah iᅅ liᅅga; mantra:
 OŅ AŅ BRAHMAᅀE NAMAᅀ, OŅ UŅ VIᅀᅅUVE NAMAᅀ, OŅ MAŅ ĪSVARĀYA NAMAᅀ.
 - f. Sĕmalih: Iᅅĕp ĕkārᅅava tañ rĕt, rĕp mijil Saᅅ Hiaᅅ Liᅅga maᅅjlag ri arĕpta;
 mantra: OŅ MAŅ UŅ AŅ NAMAᅀ, OŅ OŅ DEVA-PRATIᅀᅀHĀYA NAMAᅀ.
 - g. Kūᅅa-mantra: OŅ HRĀŅ HRĪŅ SAᅀ, PARAMA-ŚIVĀYA NAMAᅀ.
 - h. Tri-akᅅara-mantra: OŅ AŅ UŅ MAŅ NAMAᅀ.
 - i. Sĕmalih, sambut tañ sĕkar (Ś.I.: sasirat); [mantra:]
 OŅ OŅ ŚIVA-LINGĀYA NAMAᅀ, OŅ OŅ SADĀ-ŚIVA-LINGĀYA NAMAᅀ;
 OŅ OŅ PARAMA-ŚIVA-LINGĀYA NAMAᅀ, OŅ OŅ LIᅅGODBHAVĀYA NAMAᅀ;
 OŅ OŅ LIᅅGA-MŪRTYAI NAMAᅀ, OŅ IŅ ĪSĀNĀYA NAMAᅀ.
 - j. (Ś.I. add.: Gĕnahaᅅ sasirat riᅅ svamba; mantra:)
 OŅ BRAHMĀ-VIᅀᅅV-ĪSVARO DEVĀᅀ, SARVA-JŅA PARAMEŚVARAᅀ;
 UTPATTI-STHITI-LĪNAŅ-CA, LIᅅGA-DEVA! NAMO NAMAᅀ.
- a. Not clear what is meant here: Śiva's other name Śarva, known to the Balinese priests, or *sarva*, "all"; the Balinese make no distinction in pronunciation, and I am not sure whether they do in meaning.
 - b. The metaphysics/philosophy in these lines has been explored by Goris (1926) and dealt with by Zieseniss (1939, 1958) and in the publications by the International Academy of Indian Culture. – Some mss do not
 - c. My Śaivite informant explained *kavaca* by the priest's clothing. [read *pravahaya* but *prahavaya*.
 - e. *Iᅅ* anticipates upon the initial *i* of ĪsĀna.
 - f. Sequence of the names of the gods opposite to that in e, h and j.
 - g. Terminates a stage in the ritual.
 - i. For Liᅅgodbhava cf. this study D and E.
 - j. We meet these lines in study V.E. lines 277-280.

- a. Take the sprinkler (in the right hand), keep it over the incense and the lamp, hold it between the fingers stretched in prayer and pronounce the mantra:
 OṆ HOMAGE TO ŚIVA, TO ŚIVA-LIṄGA, ŚIVA AS ŚARVA IS THE SUPREME LORD;
 HOMAGE TO ŚIVA, TO THE GOD, OH! SADĀ-ŚIVA, HAIL HAIL!
 OṆ AṆ HOMAGE BE TO HIM WITH THE CENSER AS HIS WEAPON (MAHEŚVARA).
 (Ś.I. points out that the priest should keep his eyes shut during the muttering of this mantra; I never came across such an indication in the manuals).
- b. Concentrate the attention on the Dharma-jāti-mantra (running as follows):
 OṆ AṆ HOMAGE TO THE UNION OF NATURE AND SPIRIT,
 TO THE GOD OF THE DROPLET, THE ENJOYER, THE LORD OF THE WORLD;
 HOMAGE TO THE PARAMOUNT UNION OF GOD (ŚIVA) AND GODDESS (UMĀ),
 HOMAGE BE TO PARAMA-ŚIVA, HAIL!
 OṆ B(H)AṆ HOMAGE BE TO HIM WHO CARRIES ALONG EVERYTHING (?).
- c. Three times clockwise motion [of the right forefinger] on the rim of the water vessel, while murmuring the [cuirass- or body-]mantra:
 OṆ HRUṆ HOMAGE TO THE KAVACA.
- d. Putting (the liṅga) in the watervessel; mantra: OṆ IṆ HOMAGE TO THE LORD.
- e. Muttering of the three-syllable mantra to the base of the liṅga, as follows:
 OṆ AṆ HOMAGE TO BRAHMĀ. OṆ UṆ HOMAGE TO VIṢṆU, OṆ MAṆ HOMAGE TO ĪŚVARA.
- f. Next: Imagine that the world is one immense ocean, and there at once Holy Liṅga appears before you; use the mantra:
 OṆ HOMAGE TO ĪŚVARA, VIṢṆU, BRAHMĀ: OṆ OṆ HOMAGE TO THE PRESENCE OF THE GOD.
- g. Fortification mantra: OṆ HRĀṆ HRĪṆ SAḤ, HOMAGE TO PARAMA-ŚIVA.
- h. Three-syllable mantra: OṆ HOMAGE TO BRAHMĀ, VIṢṆU, ĪŚVARA.
- i. Next, take the flower (Ś.I.: sprinkler) [and mutter the mantra]:
 OṆ OṆ HOMAGE TO ŚIVA-LIṄGA, OṆ OṆ HOMAGE TO SADĀ-ŚIVA-LIṄGA;
 OṆ OṆ HOMAGE TO PARAMA-ŚIVA-LIṄGA, OṆ OṆ HOMAGE TO THE ERECTED LIṄGA;
 OṆ OṆ HOMAGE TO HIM IN LIṄGA-SHAPE, OṆ IṆ HOMAGE TO ĪSĀNA.
- j. (Ś.I. adds: put the sprinkler in the holy water vessel, while muttering the following mantra:)
 OṆ THE GODS ARE BRAHMĀ, VIṢṆU AND ĪŚVARA; PARAMEŚVARA IS THE OMNISCIENT;
 IN ORIGINATING, EXISTENCE AND TERMINATING;
 PRAISE AND GLORY BE TO LIṄGA-DEVA.

At this stage, and for the time being, those interested in these mantras should seek enlightenment from Goris (1926) and Zieseniss (1939, 1958).

C. ŚIVA-LIŅGA-STAVA

Śiva-liṅga-stava, not in Lévi, does not belong to the Śaiva priest's daily ritual, but is confined to medium and superior celebrations, small and important lustrations and cult of the dead. I found it hitherto in the following nine mss, with the proviso that the scribe of L 4673 only wrote down the initial *śloka* and K 1168 contains only the first three *śloka*. The Old-Javanese paraphrase, borrowed from K 1843, has been presented but not translated.

A - K	3, ARGHA-PĀTRA,	dealing with Sun-worship and preparation of holy water	l. 10b
B - K	69, KAJAŅ PŪJĀ PITR,	The Shroud for the Worship of the Ancestors (the Dead)	l. 44b
C - K	189, DVIJENDRA,	King of the Twice-Born (contents mostly <i>mantra</i> & <i>veda</i>)	l. 13a
D - K	321, VEDA BVAT SORA,	Ritual for Saura, i.e. worshippers of Sūrya, the Sun	p. 19a
E - K	1168, ŚAVA-VIDHĀNA,	Disposal of Corpses, i.e. Cult of the Dead	p. 7b
F - K	1423, PITR-PŪJĀ,	Worship of the Ancestors, Worship of the Dead	l. 18a
G - K	1673, PŪJĀSTAVA,	Hymns in honour of the Gods	l. 1b
H - K	1843, ASTAVA-MANTRA,	some forty <i>stuti</i> with their Old-Javanese paraphrase	l. 44b-46b
I - L	4673, VEDA-bundel,	the Śaiva priest's rituals	p. 53

N.B. The Balinese *padanda* have a preference for *anusvāra* at the end of a *pāda*.

Praṇamya śirasā Liṅgam, divya-liṅgaṃ maheśvaram;
sarva-devâtidevanam, tasmai Liṅgāya vai namaḥ. (1)

Ai kita Bhaṭṭāra, [t]aṅa-taṅa tiki sēmbah in ulun riṅ Bhaṭṭāra, jōn nira umuṅv in śirah. Paranta don in ulun magavé namas-krta riṅ Bhaṭṭāra Śiva-Liṅga?/ Kumva kadivian Bhaṭṭāra, an kita maśarira Liṅga viśéṣa, sâjñā Bhaṭṭāra./ Sarva Devatī Devatā paśarira Bhaṭṭāra./ Saṅ muṅv in Liṅga Bhaṭṭāra sinēmbah. (1)

I bow my head down to the earth before the Liṅga, the divine Liṅga which is the Great Lord, the Superior Lord of all Lords; to that Liṅga homage be rendered; (1)

G & I in c: *ādi-deva-mahā-liṅgam*, the great liṅga of the first-existing God.

Deva-rūpa[m] Mahā-deva[m] Mahātmanam guṇeśvaram;
Liṅga-rūpa-dhara[n] nityam, tasmai liṅgāya vai namaḥ. (2)

Samandania, Bhaṭṭāra maśarira devatā, kita Hiaṅ Mahā-deva pasājñānta vanēh./ Antianta kadivian paśariran Bhaṭṭāra, mvaṅ Prabhu niṅ sarva-guṇa n kita, lavan kumva ṅ kadivian Bhaṭṭāra./ Bhaṭṭāra vēnaṅ anandaṅ liṅga-rūpa sadākāla./ Ya ta mataṅ yan muṅv in Liṅgodbhava ta sinēmbah. (2)

and to that divine shape, to Mahādeva, the Mahātma Who is the Lord of all good qualities, Who always has the shape of a Liṅga—to that Liṅga homage be rendered. (2)

Namo 'stu Liṅga-rūpāya, Go-Liṅgāya namo namaḥ;
Liṅga-rūpāya sanityam, tasmai Liṅgāya vai namaḥ. (3)

Kita inastuti dénira kabēh, Bhaṭṭāra saṅ makarūpa Liṅga./ Saṅ[k]sépania, Bhaṭṭāra saṅ maka-vāhana ṅ lēmbu, kita ya tah saṅ maka-śarira Liṅga, kita sinēmbah./ Saṅ pinaka-dhira niṅ Liṅga-rūpa sadākāla./ Kit' omuṅv in Liṅgo[d]-bhava, Bhaṭṭāra Sinēmbah! (3)

Homage be to Him in the shape of a Liṅga, hail hail to the Liṅga of [Him who has] the bull [as a mount], to Him who always has the shape of a liṅga, to that Liṅga homage be rendered. (3)

(in c all mss *Liṅga rūpavasānityam*; translation according to paraphrase)

Utpannam Liṅgam Eśānam, Liṅga[n] Tribhuvaneśvaram;
Śarva-vyakta[m] Mahā-Liṅgaṁ, tasmai Liṅgāya vai namaḥ. (4)

Lavan kitēnucaḥ Śiva-Liṅga, mvañ Bhaṭṭār'Eśāna paśaṅgahan Bhaṭṭāra./Lavan ta muvah, Bhaṭṭāra sañ maśarira Liṅga, Hiañ Tribhuvaneśvara paśaṅgahan Bhaṭṭāra vanēh./ Kita ya tah Bhaṭṭāra Śarva, kita vyāpaka, pinaka-uttama niñ Liṅga./ Ya ta matañnia n Bhaṭṭāra sañ muṅv in Liṅga viśeṣa, kita sinēmbah. (4)

That created Liṅga which is the Lord, that Liṅga which is the Lord of the Three Worlds, who is evidently Śarva (and called) Mahā-Liṅga – to that Liṅga homage be rendered. (4)

(in c, the paraphrase, using *vyāpaka*, suggests “widely spreading or extending, spreading everywhere”, as in the myth of Liṅgodbhava, which the paraphrase mentioned in the preceding śloka)

Gaṇeśa-Liṅga-rūpāya, Tri-lokeśvara-māyāya;
tasyeva Bhagavān Śambhuḥ, tasmai Liṅgāya vai namaḥ. (5)

Nihan ta muvah, Hiañ Gaṇeśa paśaṅgahan Bhaṭṭāra./ Lavan Tri-Lokeśvara maka-rūpa Bhaṭṭāra, apan kita Prabhu niñ Tri-bhuvana./ Matañ yan kévala kita Bhaṭṭāra Śambhu inastuti niñ ulun./ Kita pinaka-viji niñ Liṅga viśeṣa, Bhaṭṭāra sinēmbah. (5)

I pay homage to thee in the shape of Gaṇeśa and in that of Lord of the Three Worlds, that of Venerable Śambhu (and the seven other rulers of the directions of the compass); to that Liṅga homage be rendered. (5)

Deva-deva! Mahā-deva! pūjayitvā narasya ca;
sarva-tattva-vimuktātma! Rudra-loke mahīyate. (6)

Bhaṭṭāra pinakādi-deva niñ devatā kabēh, kita Hiañ Mahā-deva paśaṅgahan Bhaṭṭāra vanēh./ Lavan pinūjā paśariranta, déniñ vañ magavé namaskāra riñ Bhaṭṭāra./ Muvah ikañ sarva-tattva-viśeṣa, ginēlarakēn déniñ rāt kabēh, paśarira Bhaṭṭāra ika./ Lavan Rudra kañ maka-rūpa Bhaṭṭāra. (6)

Oh! Lord of Lords, great Lord! I have worshipped thee even in a human shape, oh! thou whose inner being is free from all real states; thou art glorified in the sphere of Rudra. (6)

Stavani paramaṁ divyaṁ, loka-sākṣi-karaṁ Śivam;
yaḥ phaṭ estu mahā-stotram, saḥ gacchet vyāpara-hitah. (7)

(c. CD *ya*; ACF *etu*, B *ettu*, H *eptu*. d. G *yah*, CF *sa*, D *geccet*. All mss *vapara*^o, but C *vapaṇa*^o. H *'hitah*, G *'gatva*, other mss *'rañ(g)atah*)

Kita inastuti parama-dibianta./ Bhaṭṭāra pinaka-sākṣi niñ bhuvana kabēh, lavan Śiva-rūpa kita./ Ya ta hétu Bhaṭṭāra pinakādi inastuti, matañ yan mañ-kana./ Apan kita ñalakovakēn ātmania, marēñ parama-uttama-pada. (7)

(The endeavour to a translation of what the poet may have meant is only given hesitatingly)

I worship thee as the Highest God, as the Benevolent God Who is (omni)present in the world. Whosoever uses “*phaṭ* be it so” as his principal hymn, he goes (through life) successfully. (7)

Ihatra para-loke ca, Liṅgākārāya te namaḥ;
sarva-pāpa-vimuktātma, tasmai Liṅgāya vai namaḥ. (8)

Muvah riñ ihatra nika ikañ bhuvana kabèh./ Bhaṭṭāra sañ maka-rūpa Liṅga, kita sadala (sādara?) sinèmbah./ Matañ yan mañkana, apan kita milañakèn sarva-pāpa niñ śarīra-nia kabèh. / Kita ya tah sañ pinaka-tuṅga niñ Liṅgo[d]bhava sinèmbahnia. (8)

In this world and in the other world, homage be to thee in the shape of the Liṅga; to thee who art the liberator of all evils—to that Liṅga homage be rendered. (8)

By now it will have become evident, that the Sanskrit is Archipelago-Sanskrit; it is more than dubious whether the “Old-Javanese” originates from Java.

Situation when used. Attention should be given to the ritual environment of the Liṅga-stava, especially of the preceding ritual leading up to this climax. Unfortunately the ms materials now are nothing like as satisfactory as those that could be used for the *stava* itself. Collections of *mantra* and *stava* such as Nos. 189, 1673, 1843, presenting them lifted from any context, *a priori* give no help. But 321 and 1168 too failed to enlighten me; 4673 gave a faint light and 1423 ran fairly parallel with 3 and 69 which I will follow here, with a request to my readers to consult chapter V. E.

The usual preparation of holy water, as printed by Lévi and to be dealt with in a following book, has come to an end, and now the priest has consecrated the sprinkler in the way given in the preceding chapter. He proceeds once more with (Lévi’s No.) 16. *kara-śodhana*, and finishes his purification with 17. *Kūṭa-mantra*.

He proceeds with 18. *oñ coñ Caṇḍiśāya namaḥ*, 20. *Amṛta-mantra*; 21. *Kavaca-mantra* & *-mudrā*, 22. *Oñ Sanidhyāya namaḥ*, *oñ A. ni-Rudrāya namaḥ* and completes this section with 13 end: *Śrī bhavatu*.

Next he performs 56. *sivi-karaṇa*, 57. *tri-tattva*, 75/140 *udakāñjali*, 76/141 *pādyārgḥa*, beginning with (and usually named after) the words *pāñ pādya*, followed by the *tarpaṇa*: 144a/70 *catur-sandhia*, 144b/69 *pitṛ-ādi* (both in extenso in the next chapter) and 144c/41 in praise of eightfold *amṛta*, followed by a prayer for purification. The ms K 1423 only mentions here *mṛti-karaṇa*, preparation of holy water, followed by the mantra: *oñ hrāñ hrīñ saḥ Parama-Śivāmṛtāya namaḥ* (cf. Lévi No. 52), and all three mss complete this section with *sañkēpi*.

Now follows *japa gaṇitri*, the *mantra* to be muttered when the rosary is donned.

This is followed by *mantra niñ sañjatu*, an invocation of the gods in

the eight directions of the compass, characterised by their “weapons”, a word perhaps better translated by “emblems”.

On, Pūrve Īśvara bajrāstra,	dhūpāgneyā Maheśvaraḥ;
Dakṣiṇe Brahmā daṇḍāstra,	Nairṛtyam moksala Rudram.
Paścimā Mahādeva pāśa,	Vāyavyā Śaṅkarāṅkuśa,
Uttara Viṣṇu cakras ca,	Aiśvaryam Śambhu trisūla.
Madhyā Śiva sthito padma,	Deva-astra ya kādbhutah,
sarva-vighna-vināśanam,	sarva-loke mahiyate.

Though this is apparently Archipelago-Sanskrit, the meaning is clear and the translation offers no difficulties:

Oṅ, in the east	is located Īśvara,	his emblem is the thunderbolt;
in the southeast	is located Maheśvara,	his emblem is the incenser;
in the south	is located Brahmā,	his emblem is the club;
in the southwest	is located Rudra,	his emblem is the cudgel;
in the west	is located Mahādeva,	his emblem is the noose;
in the northwest	is located Śaṅkara,	his emblem is the elephant's goad;
in the north	is located Viṣṇu,	his emblem is the wheel;
in the northeast	is located Śambhu,	his emblem is the trident;
in the centre	is located Śiva,	his emblem is the lotus;

the emblems of the gods are wonderful,
they are able to destroy all hindrances,
and are glorified all over the world.

After this hymn L 4673 has a renewed *kara-śodhana*; K1423 presents a *grīṇ-śloka* and a *mano-śloka* (cf. Goris 1926), whereas K 3 and K 69 offer no parallel; with the exception of L 4673 the mss conclude this section with *saṅkēpi*.

And now (all mss); *Sēmalih sambut taṅ sēkar saha gandhākṣata*; *mantra*: i.e. “Next take a flower, incense and unblemished rice grains and recite: Liṅga-stava.

Remarkably enough, the L 4673 has this reciting of the Liṅga-stava followed by the *catur-tarpaṇa* which the other mss mentioned earlier.

As a result of this specification we state that the priest's actions, leading to the recital of the Liṅga-stava, consist nearly completely of a repetition of well-known elements.

D. LIṄGODBHAVA IN MYTH AND ART

In the fifth study, paragraph A we quote Wilson's résumé from the ĪSĀNA-PŪRĀṄA, running as follows:

“Śiva first manifested himself as a marvellous and interminable Liṅga, to confound the pretensions of both Brahmā and Viṣṇu, who were disputing which was the greater divinity. To decide the quarrel, they agreed that he should be acknowledged the greater, who should first ascertain the limits of the extraordinary object which appeared of a sudden before them. Setting off in opposite directions, Viṣṇu undertook to reach the base, Brahmā the summit; but after some thousand years of the gods spent in the attempt, the end seemed to be as remote as ever, and both returned discomfited and humiliated, and confessed the vast superiority of Śiva.”

This myth from the PURĀṄA has found its way into Old-Javanese literature, where it is represented in the KORAVĀŚRAMA (Swellengrebel 1936); here King Yudhiṣṭhira tells the following story to his uncle Dhṛtarāṣṭra (pp. 44-47):

(N.B. The two Sanskrit *śloka*, the first by way of introduction to the story, the second interpolated in the middle, were aimed at impressing the reader with the great antiquity and authenticity of the text, a not uncommon practice in this kind of literature. These *śloka* are in an irreparable state of corruption, if, in fact, they were ever in real Sanskrit, which I do not believe. Their Old-Javanese so-called paraphrase amounts to no more than the translation of a few of the Sanskrit words, of which one, *sū-kara* (maker of progeny) is used, *metri causa*, instead of the more usual word *varāha*, the Boar, one of Viṣṇu's avatars)

Paṣṭikam tugu hésañcam, śūkarañ cam parameṣṭam;
udañsu parasikiñcam, śiti-bhūmi hāvarṇavam.

Sphaṭika, that is a jewel; *tugu*, that is what marks a boundary; *sūkara*, that is a pig; *varāha*, that is a boar; *udañsu*, that is a kite; *kṣiti*, that is the earth; *aṇava*, that is the sea.

This was the beginning: Lord Parameśvara, in the form of a mountain crystal, rising to infinite heights and plunging to immeasurable deeps, transfixing the island of Java. Lord Viṣṇu and Lord Brahmā were inspecting the Three Worlds when they perceived an effulgence, immense like a mountain, arched over the world. They stood awe-struck, blinking their eyes as if at lightning.

“What may there be at the centre of that effulgence as immense as a mountain, O Younger Brother Brahmā?” Viṣṇu spoke to Brahmā.

“What may there be that could destroy that effulgence, O Elder Brother Viṣṇu?” Brahmā spoke to Lord Viṣṇu.

“Lo and behold, I shall destroy that effulgence:

Oñ samiraṇaṃ hobhyar lila, namas te taṃ bhyār lila;
varaṇaṃ caḥ namas te taṃ, oñ sañ sañ hiañ savarṇa hobar.”

This was the mantra pronounced by Lord Viṣṇu, the Effulgence Destroyer.

They struck it thrice with a garment, and all of a sudden the effulgence faded away. Then it was possible to see what had been its centre.

Lord Brahmā and Lord Viṣṇu looked and approached. A mountain crystal appeared to have been the cause of the effulgence. When Lord Brahmā and Lord Viṣṇu discovered that it was a jewel. Lord Viṣṇu desired to see its base. By his supernatural power he transformed himself into a Boar. He burrowed down, deeper and deeper he penetrated, but never reached the base of the crystal.

Lord Padma-yoni (he who was born from a lotus, i.e. Brahmā) transformed himself by supernatural power into a kite. He flew up, looking towards the peak of the crystal, which continued to grow taller. Suddenly he met Taya ¹⁾. How did Taya manifest himself: like the Pearl Lad ²⁾, like the Jewel Lad ²⁾; that was he whom Brahmā found.

Lord Viṣṇu found a woman of very great beauty. She was, indeed, a most beautiful maiden.

The deeper meaning of this story is that Parameśvara is the embodiment of all that is high and of all that is low; Viṣṇu is the embodiment of woman; Brahmā is the embodiment of Taya ¹⁾. Together they are called the Tri-puruṣa.”

Thus King Dharmavaṅṣa (Yudhiṣṭhira) instructed his uncle.”

This story is, of course, similar to that found in the ĪŚĀNA-PURĀṆA.

The recent drawing by the brahmin Ida Bagus Anom from Ubud (Bali) clearly shows this episode. Brahmā (to the right) is characterised by round eyes and his *astra* or *sañjata*: the *daṇḍa*; in the following stage he is seen flying upward in the shape of a kite. Viṣṇu (to the left) is characterised by his *cakra*, and in next stage penetrating into the earth he assumes the shape of the *varāha*, boar. He finds the beautiful maiden of the earth, Pṛthivī or Bhūmi (and subsequently from their union is born a son, Bhoma or Bhauma, subject of elaborate literary works in Old-Javanese and Malay literature).

The more complicated painting which Professor Bosch from Leiden kindly permitted me to borrow from his “Golden Germ”, illustrates the same myth. In the top left hand corner, one can clearly distinguish Brahmā (with round eyes) and, behind him, Viṣṇu (with narrow eyes), sitting humbly at Śiva’s feet. Śiva’s identity is indicated by his white hue and

¹⁾ By Taya must be meant Śiva. This is most clearly evidenced by the following passage, also from the Koravāsrama (p. 52):

One looks like Jewel Lad, carrying a whip; that is the principle of Life of Taya, appearing as being able to do anything that is desired, mingling with all that is observed, glittering, gleaming, visible from below and above, visible in the centre, visible from afar and from nearby. This principle of life leads to the attainment of all that one desires, grants without having been asked. It is there suddenly, without having been made. This is what its nature is whenever it may be behold.

²⁾ Suta Intën and Tanaya Komala. Suta Intën is also called *anak-anakan in mata*, “the lad in the eye”. Note the pun *taya/tanaya*; cf. also J. Hooykaas (1956).

the fly-whisk, represented as a whip-like object. The scene illustrates the beginning of an episode which is later to develop into a dispute. This dispute provokes Śiva into transforming himself into a fiery column, depicted here as the centre piece, dominating the whole scene, from top to bottom. Viṣṇu with his disk assaults the column, halfway down on the left, and Brahmā with his doubleheaded trident, on the right. But all is in vain. And so, Viṣṇu next descends in the form of the Boar and finds the beautiful Earth Goddess, Pṛthvī, seated on a lotus seat (lower left). He pays court to her and she shows herself not averse to his advances (lower right). Brahmā, meanwhile, flies upwards in the form of a kite and finds Taya, with whom he is shown sitting down (top right). The double deer head motif, at the top centre, symbolises the union of earth and heaven and, as it were, stresses the cosmic nature of the episodes depicted.

E. LIṄGODBHAVA IN RITUAL AND SYLLABLES

Once one knows the myth of Liṅgodbhava, it is easy enough to explain the apparently complicated painting given by Professor Bosch in his "Golden Germ". And for those to whom Lévi's "Sanskrit Texts from Bāli" are accessible, it is also easy enough to explain the drawing of Liṅgodbhava originally made by Ida Padanda Putu Manuaba, griha Sibang, distrik Abiansemal, Badung. He permitted his former pupil, Ida Padanda Madé Singharsa, griha Gédé, Panarukan, Tabanan, to have a copy. An *undagi*, carpenter/draughtsman from Abiansemal, called Pan Putu Tjakra (I Madé Labék), recopied the drawing, and the lettering was done by Ida Kajan Rasa, griha Batantijing, Krumbitan (the Bandésa Adat Krumbitan), Tabanan. My friend I Gusti Ngurah Ketut Sangka from Krumbitan sent me this copy and the exact information about its origin and makers; to all these gentlemen I owe the deepest gratitude.

Even though this drawing should be read from bottom to top, we do wise by reading first the two curved lines on top, because they constitute the caption of the whole drawing. They run as follows:

Oṅ oṅ Deva-pratiṣṭha, patēmu niṅ ātma lavan Déva,
ya saṅkan-paran iṅ sēmbah, matēmah Liṅgodbhava.

Oṅ oṅ the presence of God, the union of the own soul with God,
being origin and end of worship, shaped in Liṅgodbhava.

In other words, the drawing represents the orthodox Balinese way to God, the Balinese brahmin priest's method to become one with Him, to *be* God, to *be* Sūrya and to *be* Liṅgodbhava. Consulting his manual we can follow him step by step, beginning at the bottom. But after reading the caption we do not entirely overlook the different stadia in one jump, but notice that the superimposed lotuses, one by one, in the lower part of their centre show one *akṣara*, together running HA-KA-SA-MA-RA-LA-VA-YA, which will not be discussed during the proposed way upward, but only after this has been completed.

I. READING UPWARDS (Lévi's Nos. 61-73)

In the third study, on Padmāsana, a full explanation was given of the Balinese priest's drawing presented there, by using Lévi and an additional number of mss; here the same sources are used. The lower part of the Liṅgodbhava reproduced here, let us say: the Padmāsana section, though essentially identical, shows some slight differences in the *akṣara*. Just like the Padmāsana drawing, the Liṅgodbhava drawing shows *ha* (east), *ka* (southeast), *ca* (south), and so on; we make a complete *pradakṣiṇā* and in doing so have a foretaste of being charged with the power of all *akṣara* and consequently with all *mantra* consisting of combinations from them.

But then we note that the centre no longer contains the word *ātma-pratiṣṭha*; instead we find the syllable *ya*, beneath it *i*, and state that the tips of the petals are inscribed with eight more *akṣara*. They are *Sa* (east), *Ba* (south), *Ta* (West), *A* (north), *I* (centre, *infra*), and *Na* (southeast), *Ma* (southwest), *Śi* (northwest), *Vā* (northeast), *Ya* (centre, *supra*), being the kernel-syllables, *bijākṣara*, for the names of Śiva's five aspects: Sadyojāta-Bāmadeva-Tatpuruṣa-Aghora-Īśāna, followed by Namaḥ Śivāya, homage be to Śiva. These ten syllables, *daśākṣara*, are mentioned several times during the brahmin priest's full ritual.

62. *Catur-aiśvarya*, offers no complications, and

63. *Svara-vyañjana*, differs in the *Liṅgodbhava* drawing only to this extent from the *Padmāsana* drawing, that it lacks the gods' *sañjata* and the hyphen word *Deva-pratiṣṭha*, giving instead YA as the last part of the mystic formula HA-KA-SA-MA-RA-LA-VA-YA mentioned above. The caption means: "these are the vowels on the outer petals of the lotus, together with the appropriate handpose(s)", but we are not told which. Remarkably enough, neither of the twelve mss mention *mudrā* in this connection. The words *riñ jaba* are the opposite of the words *ka jro* in No. 63, where the inner petals are meant.

64-73 continue to be *nyāsa*, putting down (of power in the immediate vicinity of the worshipper), with the proviso that 71 is an *āvaraṇa*, "enclosing, concealing", and that for the final trinity Brahmā-Viṣṇu-Īśvara in 73, an *āvahana*, "invocation", using their *bijākṣara*, "kernel-syllables", in inversed order precedes in 72. The whole context suggests that 64-73 is a nearly uninterrupted series of *nyāsa*, beginning in 57. Nyāsa Sañ Hiañ Tri-tattva; 58. Śivāṅga-nyāsa; 59. Pasañ padma-hṛdaya; 61. Gēlari Anantāsana; 62. Nyāsa Sañ Hiañ Catur-Aiśvarya; 63. Nyāsa svara-vyañjana. For 64. the L 4673 ms uses gēlar, for 65. all mss pasañ, the Indonesian translations of the Sanskrit *nyāsa*, so that we are perfectly sure about the meaning of the ten following ritual actions; we proceed to examine them one by one.

64. *Svara ka jro* means here (the 24 first) consonants (to be placed) onto the interior (petals of the lotus); they are *ka-kha-ga* (east), *gha-ña/ca* (southeast), and so on, ending with *pha-ba-bha* (northeast).

65. *Pasañ ya-ra-la-va ri jro niñ kūṭa* means: "put *ya-ra-la-va* in the interior of the fortification"; so they should form the inner circle. Actually they consist of *ma/ya-ra-la-va/śa-ṣa-sa* and are put in the east, southeast, south and so on ending in the northeast, finishing with the words: OÑ AÑ AÑ *i jro niñ gili-gili* - this must be the very centre. L 4673 is slightly deviating: the eight invoked *akṣara* are preceded by the words *pada ka jro sakiñ sara ika, karṇikaya*, and followed by *jro kūṭa*; the meaning is the same.

66. *Sañ Hiañ Nava-śakti-nyāsa*, "putting the holy nine energies (of the gods; or: nine-fold energy of God) in the roots of the petals." Their names (preceded by their *bijākṣara*) are: *rañ Dīptā* (the Shining) (east);

riṅ Sūksmā (the Unfathomable) (southeast; etc.); *ruṅ Jayā* (the Victorious); *rūṅ Bhadrā* (the Favourable); *reṅ Vibhūtā* (Abounding in splendour); *raiṅ Vimalā* (the Faultless); *roṅ Amoghā* (the Unfailing); *rauṅ Vidyutā* (the Lightning) and *raṅ* (east and centre have the same *bījākṣara*) *Sarvato-mukhinī* (She who has faces to all sides). The location of this last-mentioned *Śakti*, according to Lévi's ms is *riṅ jro*, "in the centre". but my mss without exception say: *i jro niṅ gili-gili sēla niṅ Aiśānyā mvaṅ Uttarā*. "in the centre to the north-northeast". This may not be of much importance, but the ANUṢṬHĀNA bvat SORA, K 298 l. 3a is interesting, even though after *Anantāsana* it lacks all *pradakṣiṇā* with *akṣara*. It deals with *pratiṣṭha* of the ninefold Holy Energy, which it locates initially *kesara niṅ padma*, 'on the filaments of the lotus', ending with *Sarvato-mukhinī i sor niṅ gili-gili*, "in the deepest of the centre". The ms. continues with these words, which might be common enough for a South-Indian book on ritual, but which are quite exceptional in a Balinese treatise on this subject: *ika ta kabèh dhyānan kadi urub niṅ damar ikaṅ muṅgv iṅ kesara-madhya*, "all of them should be imagined/visualised as the radiance of lamps positioned in the middle of the filaments". — According to my informant who had consulted his *padanda* friends, the main difference between the gods of the *nava saṅa* and the goddesses being the *nava śakti* should be this, that the *śakti* are facing the centre whilst the gods have their backs to it, looking outwardly; i.e. the gods in the east look eastward, etc.

67. *Brahmāṅga-nyāsa* — none of my mss has *Brahmāṅga-sira-nyāsa*, as in Lévi, and none agrees with the last two directions of the compass as given by Lévi, but all agree with the drawing — running as follows:

OṆ AṆ KAṆ KASOLKĀYA ĪSĀNĀYA	NAMAḤ (<i>madhya</i> ; or: <i>i jro niṅ gili</i> ²);
OṆ AṆ KAṆ KASOLKĀYA TATPURUṢĀYA	NAMAḤ (<i>pūrvā</i>);
OṆ AṆ KAṆ KASOLKĀYA AGHORĀYA	NAMAḤ (<i>dakṣiṇā</i>);
OṆ AṆ KAṆ KASOLKĀYA BĀMADEVĀYA	NAMAḤ (<i>uttarā</i> ; Lévi: <i>paścimā</i>);
OṆ AṆ KAṆ KASOLKĀYA SĀDYĀYA	NAMAḤ (<i>paścimā</i> ; Lévi: <i>uttarā</i>).

In this manner this *mantra* invokes the five aspects of Śiva Kasolka, also called Pañca-Brahmā, and places them in the centre, east, south, north and west in that order. Our drawing puts Īśāna in Aiśānyā, the northeastern direction called after him, and, when dealing with 62. *Catur-aiśvarya*, had anticipated Śiva's five aspects, placing them, however, in other directions of the compass. The *padanda* friend of my informant locates the four aspects mentioned after Īśāna in just the opposite directions.

The ANUṢṬHĀNA bvat SORA, K 298, when giving the *mantra*: OṆ KAṆ KASOLKĀYA NAMAḤ, consistently calls it: *upadrava-mantra*. As *upahṛdaya* (though once used in this ms) does not occur in the MW, much pleads in favour of reading *upadrava*, "that which attacks or occurs suddenly, any grievous accident, misfortune, calamity, mischief, national distress (sudden famine, plague, oppression, eclipse, etc.), national com-

motion, rebellion, violence, outrage.” This *mantra*, then, is meant to avert and forestall these dangers.

This ms, moreover, has the *upadrava-mantra* followed by this enlightening remark: *Dhyāna-nta sirātēja viśéṣa rakta-varṇa svarūpa-nira, makāsana ṅ śveta-padma; listu-hayu saṅkēp riṅ sarva-bhūṣaṇa; rva bhujā-nira, tēhēr éka-vaktra, somya rūpa-nira, maṅgēgō paṅkaja, muṅgv in tēṅah niṅ bartula raśmi-vimba, masalimpēt rakta-vaktra—maṅkana ka-dhyāna-n Bhaṭṭāra Śivāditya.*

This rare devotional and iconographic note runs in translation: “You (the worshipper) should imagine/visualise Him as having an extraordinary splendour and characterised by a red colour, seated on a white lotus flower; perfectly beautiful and completely provided with ornaments; He has two arms and one face and His looks are benevolent, situated in the middle of the hollow of the lotus (?) with a radiant disk, with a sash and a red face—in that way one should visualise God Śiva-Sun”.

68 (cf. 16, 54, 58, 116b, 135b). *Śivāṅga-nyāsa*, in the same ms. is introduced by the words: *riṅ dik-vidik, āvāhana pratiṣṭha rumuhun*, “towards the cardinal and intermediate points of the compass; invocation and presence (of God) precede (the putting down)”. This *āvāhana*, invocation, with words is accompanied by *āvāhana-mudrā* in K 298, *sādhana niṅ umandēli sira rukur niṅ karṇika*, “the means to make Him stay fixed in the top of the pericarp of the lotus.”—The *mantra* runs as follows:

OṆ AṆ HRDAYĀYA NAMAḤ	(<i>āgneyā</i>);
OṆ RṆ [AR]KĀYA-ŚIRASE NAMAḤ	(<i>aiśānyā</i>);
OṆ BHŪR BHUVAḤ SVARE JVĀLINĪ-ŚĪKHĀYAI N.	(<i>nairṛtyā</i>);
OṆ HRUṆ KAVACĀYA NAMAḤ	(<i>vāyavyā</i>);
OṆ BHĀṆ NETRĀYA NAMAḤ (twice)	(<i>i jro niṅ gili² anapit</i>);
OṆ HUN RAḤ PHAṬ ASTRĀYA NAMAḤ	(<i>ri tūntuṅ in aṣṭa-dala</i>).

The worshipper directs himself to the heart (southeast), head (north-east), hairtuft (southwest), breast-cuirass (northwest), two eyes (centre and/or east); the weapons (at the tips of the petals), and has used the same words—with which Goris (1926) deals extensively (pp. 16–19)—for the ritual purifying of the fingers of both hands, the right one first.

The same ms. 298 adds here: *Ika ta kabēh dhyāna-nta kapva rakta-varṇa, kapva somya-rūpa, saṅkēp riṅ sarva-bhūṣaṇa, mavēh anugrahēn hasta tēṅēn, kiva n mava padma—maṅkana ka-dhyāna-n in Śivāṅga.* “You should visualise (Him) completely red-coloured and completely benevolent, with all ornaments, the right hand in the *varada-mudrā*, the left one holding the lotus—that is what one should visualise with Śivāṅga.”

With reference to the sixth part of the above-mentioned *mantra*, the *astra-mantra*, the K 298 ms remarks: *Ana pva Astra-mantra, kadī pa-samūha-n in kilat lvirnia, katakut dēniṅ masalit masiyuṅ*, “as to the *Astra-mantra*, it is like a collection of flashes of lightning, awe-inspiring to those with protruding cornerteeth” (i.e. *bhūta* and *yakṣa*).

Finally it runs: *Nyāsa-ntēkaṅ vyoma-mudrā rikaṅ hṛdaya, śirah, śikhā,*

kavaca; *rikan̄ astra*, *trāsāni-mudrā*; *riṅ netra*, *go-vrasa* (*rasa? vṛṣabha?*)-*mudrā*; *Śivāṅga yathā-kraman mantra kabèh*.

“When pronouncing the heart-, head-, hairtuft- and cuirass-*mantra*, perform *vyoma-mudrā*; when pronouncing the weapon-*mantra*, perform *trāsāni-mudrā* (“lawe-inspiring, terrifying”); when pronouncing the eye-*mantra*, perform cow milk (or: bull?)-*mudrā*. These are all the *mantra* (and *mudrā*) forming part of *Śivāṅga* in due order.”

69. *Saṅ Hiaṅ Pitṛ riṅ catur-deśa*, “the holy ancestors in the four directions of the compass”, in the drawing immediately fixes the attention by having the eight petals of the lotus inscribed with names. Actually this lotus is a combination with 70. *catur-sandhia-nyāsa*, and first we will have to look at the texts. The *mantra* (of 69) runs as follows:

Oṅ Aṅ SARVA-DEVEBHYO NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ (*pūrvā*);
 Oṅ Aṅ RṢIBHYO NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ (*dakṣiṇā*);
 Oṅ Aṅ PITṚBHYO NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ (*uttarā*);
 Oṅ Aṅ SARASVATYAI NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ (*paścimā*).

“HOMAGE TO THE GODS (east), THE ANCHORITES (south), THE ANCESTORS (north) and SARASVATĪ (west).

There are numerous discrepancies in the texts; not less than four of them have *Sarasvatibhyo*; the obvious reason for this is the fivefold aspect of Sarasvatī as appears from the end of study I. It is not of much importance that the K 321 ms (not a too good one in many places) has *āgneyā* instead of *pūrvā*, and that the same 321, GPGBh and 298 instead of *ṛṣibhyo* present the well-known *sapta-ṛṣibhyo*; the two last-mentioned mss even *sapta-pitṛbhyo*; neither does it matter that 321 again has the reading *sarva-Sarasvatibhyo*. None of my mss corresponds with Lévi who prints the normal sequence east-south-west-north of the *pradakṣiṇā*, for they locate the *pitaras* in the north and Sarasvatī in the west. K 321 forms the only exception by first locating the *pitaras* in the south and the *sarva-Sarasvatī* (!) too – but south is what we expect for the spouse of Brahmā.

The ANUṢṬHĀNA bvat SORA, which helped us to what the worshipper should visualise, in connection with No. 69 distinguishes itself by having a formula of its own, as follows:

Vus maṅkana, ta siratakēna ṅ vai mariṅ tēṅṅ piṅ 3: Oṅ Aṅ SAPTA-
 [RṢIBHYO NAMAḤ;
tumuluy mariṅ kiva piṅ 3: Oṅ Aṅ SAPTA-PITṚBHYO SVADHĀ;
tumuluy mariṅ tēṅṅh pisan: Oṅ Aṅ SARVA-DEVEBHYO NAMAḤ.

Keeping in mind that the worshipper faces the east, we translate:

“After that, sprinkle thrice holy water with Oṅ Aṅ to the south in honour
 [of the Seven Anchorites, followed by *svāhā*];
 then, sprinkle thrice holy water with Oṅ Aṅ to the north for the (seven)
 [ancestors, followed by *svadhā*];
 and finally, sprinkle thrice holy water with Oṅ Aṅ to the very centre
 [in honour of the gods, followed by *svāhā*].”

Sarasvatī is not mentioned here. Her presence as well as her absence is difficult to explain; her absence here, anyhow, is intentional, for the worshipper should sprinkle three times, whereas in No. 70 he should sprinkle four times for the four categories according to his manual.

Finally this whole section in the ritual has a difficult caption. Lévi in using *nyāsa* is corroborated by the mss 84 and 321, and the whole surroundings speak for it, though the evidence in the captions is far from captivating. Lévi's No. 69 reads: *pitṛ-ādi-nyāsa*, the *nyāsa* of the *pitṛ* to begin with", just as in 71 *infra* we find *soma-ādi-* etc. and then start with *soma*. This *pitṛ-ādi* is also used in the mss 84 and 87 – but in fact we do not begin with the *pitṛ*, who always come in the third place, or even in the last place in ms. 298. It looks as if something has gone wrong in this caption.

Now linking up with No. 70 we must point to the hyphen word *pitṛ-sandhya* used as a caption by 1186 and GPGBh. *Sandhyā* is the juncture of day and night, morning and evening twilight, in the well known *tri-sandhyā*, enriched with noontide, but in our context we should translate by "union, holding together" (of a group).

70. *Tumūt Sañ Hiañ Catur-Sandhyā-Nyāsa*, "Now follows the *nyāsa* of the union of the four"; by ms 298 formulated in this caption:

Uvus mañkana siratakēn ñ toya pññ pat, "after that, sprinkle holy water four times".
 OÑ AÑ ŚUKLYAI NAMAḤ (*pūrvā*); OÑ AÑ BHAKTYAI NAMAḤ (*dakṣiṇā*);
 OÑ AÑ KRṢṆĀYAI NAMAḤ (*paścimā*); OÑ AÑ JAMBIKĀYAI NAMAḤ (*uttarā*).

The current explanation of this tetrad seems to be based upon the undeniable facts that *śukla* means "bright, pure, white", and *kṛṣṇa* "black". They are opposed, in reality and in the texts. Whatever *bhakti* means, there is no colour among the meanings; *jambika* is unknown to the dictionaries and handbooks on iconography. I noted the Balinese tendency to recognise here the four colours of the four regions of the compass and the spouses of Īśvara (east: white), Brahmā (red: south), Mahādeva (west: yellow) and finally Viṣṇu (north: black). Consequently Lévi, and he alone, reads: OÑ AÑ KRṢṆĀYAI NAMAḤ (*uttarā*), in this way destroying the *pradakṣiṇā*. This apparent emendation may be right and it may correct an old mistake. *Non liquet*. The 298 ms consistently omits the directions of the compass. This ms here sums up with the caption: *yeka catus-sandhya-tarpaṇa nāranīa*, "this is the so-called satisfying of the group of four"; but the other mss complete the fourfold *mantra* with:

70a. OÑ AÑ KASOLKĀYA ŚIVA-GARBHA-HRDAYĀYA NAMAḤ (*garbha nāranīa jro*). OÑ HAIL TO AÑ KASOLKA, TO THE HEART AND THE INTERIOR OF SIVA (*garbha* means interior). Without exception all mss give Kasolkāya, omitted in Lévi.

Now at last returning to the drawing, we notice that the caption 70. *Catur-sandhya-nyāsa* has been omitted, but that the four *śakti* or goddesses have found a place in the southeast, southwest, northwest,

northeast; in the case of *catur-aiśvarya*, here No. 62, we witnessed a similar discrepancy in the mss. The final formula has been inscribed in the centre, as it should be.

71. *San̄ Hiañ Soma-aṣṭa-gr̥ha*, “Holy Moon/Monday eight houses” is the word by word translation of this caption which is handed down to us in several versions, all of them making clear that now we will have to do with the “eight planets”, “Soma to begin with”, *Somādi*. The worshipper “goes on to worship the attendant deities in the different precincts (*Āvaraṇam*) of the central shrine, which in this case means the petals of the lotus, on which the image stands”, in South-Indian Śaiva ritual, according to Diehl (p. 112). “The *Āvaraṇam* . . . holds the eight ‘planets’ (viz. the moon, the five planets, Rāhu and Ketu) which are worshipped with mantras”.—This technical term *āvaraṇa* is used in K 3, 69, 84, APKr, 321 and can be reconstructed from Lévi’s No. 71, p. 18 top; in K 298 we find the synonymous *prati-varaṇa*. *Somādi*, “Soma to begin with”, is found in the same mss and in Lévi, slightly misspelt. The same texts, again, put a comma after *Soma-ādi-āvaraṇa* and go on with: *aṣṭa-gr̥ha ñ aranira vanēh*, “the ‘eight houses’ is another name for it”, a term which corresponds very well with Diehl’s “precincts”; some misunderstanding must have led to Lévi’s spelling *astagēra* followed by the translation “tip of the fingers”; obviously contamination of *aṣṭa* with *hasta*. None of my mss in this connection contains the word *nyāsa*, used in Lévi’s text; K 298 comes the nearest by saying: *Uvus mañkana, pūjā-nta gr̥ha riñ yava niñ prati-varaṇa, āvāhana rumuhun krama*: “After that, one should worship the houses on the outside of the precinct, preceded by invitation; the order (of invocation is as follows:)”. None of my mss in this context has the word *nyāsa* which we find printed in Lévi’s book, but much is to be said in favour of it.

In the summing up of the “eight planets”, the right *bijākṣara* always precede the “houses”, and the right directions of the compass follow them, with the only exception of K 321 which begins its one *pradakṣiṇā* in *Aiśānyā*, the northeast. And apart from one changing of place between Bhārgava and Vṛhaspati in K 3, all mss agree again in this order:

OÑ SAÑ SOMĀYA	N. (<i>pūrvā</i>);	OÑ BAÑ	BUDHĀYA N. (<i>dakṣiṇā</i>);
OÑ VR̄Ñ VR̄HASPATAYE	N. (<i>paścimā</i>);	OÑ BHAN̄	BHĀRGAVĀYA N. (<i>uttarā</i>);
OÑ AÑ AṅĀRĀYA	N. (<i>āgneyā</i>);	OÑ ŚAÑ	ŚANAISĀRĀYA N. (<i>nairr̄tyā</i>);
OÑ RAÑ RAHAVEYA	N. (<i>vāyavyā</i>);	OÑ KAÑ	KETA VEYA N. (<i>aiśānyā</i>).

It is not so important that L 4673 adds *svāhā* after *namaḥ*, but it should be noted that this ms as well as the K 298 attribute colours to the eight houses; as follows: Soma – *śveta*; Budha – *camīka* (298: *mas*); Vṛhaspati: *pīta* (298: *kuniñ*); Bhārgava (298: Śukra) – *śyāma* (298: *mpēhan tanyar maputih*, cream colour); Aṅgāra – *rakta*; Śanaisāra – *kṛṣṇa*; Rahu – *rājyavata*; Ketu – *dhūmra* (298: *kulvu*).

The sequence of the eight houses in the mss and on the drawing are identical; the printed text presents them in the order 1–2–3–4–7–8–5–6.

Finally only the K 298 ms concludes the summing up of colours with the words: *Mañkana svarūpa-nira*, “such were the individual appearances”, followed by these concluding clauses: *Tañanira kiva anēñ pupu ri tēñēn an mangabhaya pāda Dvi-bhuja sira sañkēp riñ sarva-bhūṣaṇa. Kunañ ikañ Śanaiscara katakut déniñ [ma-salit ma-]siyuñ. Ana pva Rahu mabañ mukha-n-ika, marēñut ika alisnira, satēñah tēkāvak-n-ika, mañañjali riñ Bhaṭṭāra Śivāditya. Mañkana tēka ka-dhyāna-n-ira Sañ Hiañ Aṣṭa-grha.*

Though it is always risky to work with one ms only, I venture the following translation: “(The worshipper should put) the left hand on the rightside thigh, in fearful respect, at the feet of the God-with-two-arms; He is completely adorned with all ornaments. As to Śanaiscara, he inspires fear to *bhūta* and *yakṣa* (lit. “those provided with protruding cutting teeth; cf. *supra*); as to Rahu, he is red-faced, with wrinkling eyebrows, half a body, worshipping to God Śiva-Sun. That is what he should visualise in connection with Sañ Hiañ Aṣṭa-grha.”

72. *Tri-akṣara-mantra*, OÑ MAÑ NAMAḤ, OÑ UÑ NAMAḤ, OÑ AÑ NAMAḤ—is meant to pay homage to Īśvara, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, in that sequence; we might as well call this an *āvāhana*, invocation.—On the drawing OÑ MAÑ is easily found on the same level as the caption; OÑ AÑ has found a place in the centre of the lotus, somewhat lower, OÑ UÑ near the tip of the uppermost big-size lotus.

K 298 has the enlightening remark: *Sirā-Tri-akṣara-mūrti, Bhaṭṭāra Śiv-Āditya muṅguh riñ karṇika-madhya*, words of which I venture this translation: “He Who has taken the shape of (is embodied in) the Three Syllables, Bhaṭṭāra Śiva-Sun, resides in the centre of the pericarp” (note that in No. 68 He resided still in the top).

73. *Sañ Hiañ Tri-samaya*, finally, is addressed to the same trinity, but now in reversed sequence: OÑ AÑ BRAHMAṆE NAMAḤ, OÑ UÑ VIṢṆUVE NAMAḤ, OÑ MAÑ ĪŚVARĀYA NAMAḤ, according to all mss except K 321 and Lévi’s ms. These two mss, however, to begin with, rightly speak about a *nyāsa*, putting down of the trinity, the final and highest-imaginable of the whole series, and secondly K 321 only (as in the picture) specifies the location: Viṣṇu *i sor*, “below”, Brahmā *i ruhur*, “on high”, Īśvara *riñ madhya*, “in the centre” (Lévi lacks these words). The other texts locate Brahmā below, Viṣṇu in the centre and Īśvara on high. The drawing has OÑ UÑ VEṢṆAVE on top, AÑ BRAHMĀ with an arrow to the caption *Sañ Hiañ Tri-samaya* and above that arrow, on the big eastward petal: OÑ MAÑ ĪŚVARA.

Deva-pratiṣṭha-mantra: OÑ OÑ DEVA-PRATIṢṬHĀYA NAMAḤ. This is the top of the drawing of *Liṅgodbhava*, and this is the logical and theological conclusion of this whole series of *āvāhana* and *nyāsa*: by evoking, inviting and placing all imaginable powers from the lowest to the highest, the worshipper finally has succeeded in performing “the union between the own soul/self with God, which is the starting point and the

aim of the *sēmbah/pūjā*”; therefore “homage be to God’s presence”.

Four only of the mss (K 3, 69, APKr, K 87) contain this formula which lacks in the rest and in Lévi. All of them, however, conclude this section of the ritual with the organ-point occurring several times during the whole Śaiva ritual:

74. *Tumūt Sañ Hiañ Kūṭa-mantra*: OṆ HRĀÑ HRĪÑ SAḤ PARAMA-ŚIVĀDITYĀYA NAMAḤ, “now follows the holy fortification-*mantra*: HOMAGE TO THE HIGHEST ŚIVA-SUN.”

But K 84 and 321, which lacked the *Deva-pratiṣṭha-mantra*, continue with the words: *ri madhya niñ gili-gili. Sira Sañ Hiañ Sarādhyātmika-nyāsa naranira, dhyāna[n] vyāpaka ri Sañ Hiañ maṅguh ri padma kabèh*, “in the centre of the heart of the lotus. This is the so-called *nyāsa* of Holy Immaterial Kernel, which one should imagine as penetrating to the God residing in the lotuses.”

The K 298 has not been conceived as a step by step guide: it leaves most of the worshipper’s actions unmentioned but stresses and explains some of the culminating points of the ritual. In connection with our drawing of *Liṅgodbhava* it might be not unimportant to point to the fact that after dealing with *aṣṭa-gṛha* it continues and concludes this section in the following way:

Uvus maṅkana saṅskāra ta ñ bañu rahup; mantra:
OṆ HRĀÑ HRĪÑ SAḤ PARAMA-ŚIVĀMṚTĀYA NAMAḤ;
rahupakēna ta ñ vai: riñ śikhā, riñ Śiva-dvāra, riñ mukha.

Uvus maṅkana siratakēna ñ toya piñ pat; mantra:
OṆ AÑ ŚUKLYAI NAMAḤ; OṆ AÑ BHAKTYAI NAMAḤ;
OṆ AÑ KASNYAI NAMAḤ; OṆ AÑ JAMBIKĀYAI NAMAḤ.

Yeka catus-sandhya-tarpana naranira. / Uvus maṅkana
ta siratakēna ñ vai marin tēñēn piñ 3: OṆ AÑ SAPTA-RṢIBHYO NAMAḤ;
tumuluy marin kiva piñ 3: OṆ AÑ SAPTA-PITRBHYO SVADHĀ;
tumuluy marin tēñah pisan: OṆ AÑ SARVA-DEVEBHYO NAMAḤ.

Ta naturakēn udakāñjali riñ Bhaṭṭāra Śivāditya; mantra:
OṆ HRĀÑ HRĪÑ SAḤ PARAMA-ŚIVĀDITYĀYĀPARA-TEJA-SVARŪPĀYAN.

Uvus maṅkana ta nicip vai piñ 3; mantra:
OṆ HRĀÑ HRĪÑ SAḤ PARAMA-ŚIVĀMṚTĀYA NAMAḤ.

After that, consecration of the water to be used for wiping; *mantra*: OṆ HRĀÑ HRĪÑ SAḤ, homage be to the Paramount-Śiva’s Holy Water; with that holy water wipe the hairtuft, the fontenelle, the face.

After that, sprinkle the holy water four times, using the *mantra*:

OṆ AÑ HOMAGE BE TO ŚUKLĀ; OṆ AÑ HOMAGE BE TO BHAKTI;
OṆ AÑ HOMAGE BE TO KASNĪ; OṆ AÑ HOMAGE BE TO JAMBIKĀ;

that is called “the satisfying of the union of four”. / After that,

sprinkle holy water to the right (muttering)
HOMAGE TO THE SEVEN ANCHORITES;
next sprinkle holy water to the left (muttering)
HOMAGE TO THE SEVEN ANCESTORS;
next sprinklo holy water to the very centre (muttering)
HOMAGE TO ALL THE GODS.

With polite gesture you offer holy water to Bhaṭṭāra Śiva-Sun, muttering:

ON HRĀN HRĪN SAḤ, HOMAGE BE TO THE ŚIVA-SUN OF MATCHLESS SPLENDOUR.

After that, you sip the holy water three times, muttering:

ON HRĀN HRĪN SAḤ, HOMAGE BE TO THE PARAMOUNT-ŚIVA'S HOLY WATER.

These words and deeds, *mantra* and *mudrā*, are those of the conclusion of *Sūrya-sevana*, as in Lévi No. 144. Hence we are allowed to say that the drawing of Liṅgodbhava means to express the thought that this is the *yantra* for the essence of the cult of Śiva as the God of the Sun Who bestows the Holy Water.

II. READING DOWNWARDS (Lévi's Nos. 93 & 108)

The move downwards and the syllables used here have been discussed to some extent in Sharada Rani's Utrecht Ph.D. thesis "ŚLOKĀNTARA, an Old Javanese didactic text, critically edited and annotated". To such a book, about a dozen, often rather polemic *theses* must be added. No. II in her book runs as follows:

"In Sylvain Lévi's Sanskrit Texts from Bāli, Baroda 1933, the Tibeto-Mongolian Tantric formula HKSMLSVRYAM has not been recognized as such and hence is wrongly written in several places: p. 26 l. 4; p. 46 l. 15; p. 50 ll. 1, 3; p. 83 l. 18."

Both because we wish to know what this formula means for the Balinese brahmin priests, and because linking up with "Greater India" is always a fascinating subject, we will examine it rather closely, adding four more to Dr. Sharada Rani's *loci*, and the Balinese explanation which was unknown to her. The formula is the more interesting since it is used by Śaiva as well as by Bauddha priests; or, to be precise from the beginning:

Lévi

- p. 21-2 - No. 93 of the Śaiva ritual, *ṅaskāra yèh* (Skr. *saṅskāra*) ceremony with the holy water.
- p. 26 - No. 108 of the Śaiva ritual, dropping of flowers into the holy water.
- p. 46 - After reciting the *stava* to Pṛthivī/Śrī Devī, the Earth Goddess, used by Ś & B priests.
- p. 50 - After reciting the *stava* to Bhairava, three times; this *stava* is used only by B priests.
- p. 83 - During the Bauddha death ritual dealt with in the BUDDHA VEDA, K 2255 and L 4165, we find it in these corresponding *loci*: 34a/37, 48b/53, 53a/59, 54ab/61.

We will go into these *loci*, for which I have my own ms materials (in the case of the first two even abundant), partly also for those interested in Greater India studies; the explanation, however, only comes from consulting the somewhat esoteric ARGHĀDHYĀTMIKA, K 73, which might contain the current meaning attached to this formula by Balinese brahmin priests nowadays, for I received the same explanation from my informant's brahmin friend. After dealing with the two first-mentioned passages, this last-mentioned ms will be examined; finally the Bauddha materials, hitherto accessible in one ms only, will be discussed.

Mss used: K 3 l. 8a; K 69 l. 42a; K 84 l. 6b; K 87 l. 8b; 18a, 23a; K 321 p. 12; K 1186 l. 19b; K 1441, KALĒPASAN l. 25b; K 961 p. 2; L 4673 p. 51; APKr p. 5-6; Ks.Tab. p. 3.

(Lévi No. 92: completion of the preceding group of *mantra* and *mudrā* with *saṅkēpi*, crescendo ringing of the priest's bell to a sudden stop).

No. 93 consists of *saṅskāra yēh* (or: *vé*), consecration of the water, for which action in K 961 and Ks. Tab *dīkṣā* is used. From the *mantra* following now, the first half will only be corrected but not discussed; it runs: OṆ HRĀṆ HRĪṆ SAḤ KṢMUṆ / AṆ UṆ MAṆ / OṆ SVASTI SVASTI KṢIṆ KṢRIṆ, YA-VĀ-ŚI-MA-NA / I-BA-SA-TA-A, BHŪ-TIḤ BHŪTIḤ / BHŪR BHUVAḤ SVAḤ SVĀHĀ (and not *bhur bhuvah svāhā namaḥ* as in Lévi, contra all of my thirteen *loci*), OṆ AṆ IṆ UN / VYOṆ MAṆ VYAṆ PIṆ NEṆ (presumably: *vyoma-vyāpinī*, "penetrating (into) the sky" / OṆ OṆ I-A (according to all mss with one exception with misreading RA for I-A) -KA-SA-MA-RA-LA (*iya* in Lévi must be a misreading) -VA-YA-UṆ/NAMO NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ.

Nine mss now continue: OṆ OṆ A-RA-KA-SA-MA-RA-LA-VA-YA-UṆ, NAMO NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ.

Five mss now continue with the remark: *Ikaṅ Deva-pratiṣṭha idēpēn Ardhanariśvari sira*, "that is the presence of God; you should visualise Him in the shape of half-man/half-woman." These mss now finish this part of the ritual with *Kūṭa-mantra*, Lévi's No. 94.

(The mss K 87 & 961 have some additions, not relevant for us now and here).

Lévi No. 108. Texts of Old-Javanese rubric for dropping of flowers in a receptacle of holy water are widely divergent; Ks. Tab, Ks. Pan and Ks. Kram give here *saṅkēpi* and *pataṅanan* (*mudrā*); Ks. Pan. announces: *Daśa-bāyu* (ten winds/forces), and *unisono* all mss now read:

OṆ OṆ I-A-KA-SA-MA-RA-LA-VA-YA-UṆ NAMO (om. Lévi) NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ;
OṆ OṆ KUMUDA-JAYAI JĪVAT (*t* om. Lévi) -ŚARĪRA-RAKṢAN (*ra* om. Lévi) DADĀSI ME:
OṆ MJUṆ (Lévi *mējuni*, misreading for *mējuni*) SAḤ VAUṢAT MRṬYUṆJAYĀYA NAMAḤ.

(Ks. Pan and Ks. Kram om. the last two lines).

Now follow 109 the long hymn *Dīrghāyur* (long Life) and the short *Mṛtyuṅjaya* (Victory over Death), No. 110.

We can state that in Bali the formula appears in three slightly different shapes (the difference consisting of the two first syllables), that it always consists of ten syllables, of which UṆ is the last, according to the punctuation in the mss, while being preceded by a reduplicated *oṅ* (which may be incorporated, enlarging it to a *dvā-daśākṣara-mantra*) and that it has to do with the final stage of the preparation of holy water. The translation runs:

"Hail be to the victorious lotus flower; thou givest me protection for the life of my body: hail . . . to victory over death".

Hence in the BUDDHA VEDA l. 53a the words: *yan nora aṅskāra*,

tan ka-vaśa ma-daśākṣara can only mean: “a worshipper is only allowed to use the ten-syllable mantra in (the last stage of) preparation of holy water”.

We proceed with presenting one palmleaf from ARGHĀDHYĀTMĪKA, which by now has become predominantly illuminating and interesting, though it gives some difficulties, partly by its succinctness, partly by hitherto being accessible only in one ms.

(See following pages 170 and 171.)

The preceding passages will have made perfectly clear that this Ten-Syllable-Mantra is the final means for the soul's reaching of union with the Supreme Deity, *patēmu niñ ātmā lavan Déva*. It falls under this caption, and this mantra is well placed in the drawing of Liṅgodbhava.

The (printed) directions for sprinkling after the recital of the *stava* for Pṛthivī/Śrī Devī and that for Bhairava do not add anything to our knowledge, and only show the deficient state of tradition of the BUDDHA VEDA ms with which Lévi had to work. I work with another copy of the same ms; the only thing which appears clearly from it is this, that the ten-syllable-formula here runs: OÑ-A-KA-SA-MA-RA-LA-VA-YA-UÑ. UÑ without exception is the last syllable everywhere in the Balinese mss containing this formula; but the first two syllables are given differently.

In l. 4a we find an additional remark about our formula, as follows:

OÑ OÑ I A KA SA MA RA LA VA YA UÑ — *utpatti*;
 OÑ OÑ MA SA KA RA A RA LA VA YA UÑ — *sthiti*;
 OÑ OÑ U YA VA RA LA MA SA KA RA AÑ — *pralīna* (or: LA RA; not clear);
Iti utpatti-sthiti-pralīna Sañ Hiañ Daśākṣara, sira Daśa-niḥśvāsa.

In the daily ritual of the brahmin Śaiva priest, leading to the apparition of Śiva, His presence and His disappearance, the following mantra are used, equally consisting of *bijākṣara*:

SA-BA-TA-A-I, NA-MA-ŚI-VĀ-YA, AÑ-UÑ-MAN — cf. Lévi 79, 137;
 I-BA-SA-TA-A, YA-NA-MA-ŚI-VĀ, MAN-UÑ-AÑ — cf. Lévi 80, 139;
 A-TA-SA-BA-I, YA-VĀ-ŚI-MA-NA, MAN-AÑ-UÑ.

In both sets of formulas, the *Daśākṣara/Daśa-Niḥśvāsa* with which we have dealt, and the *Daśākṣara-Triakṣara*, the same elements constitute a different meaning according to the sequence in which they are pronounced; this matter of principle is not impaired by the fact that RA-LA/LA-RA is uncertain, and that Lévi's informant and my informant disagree about *sthiti* and *utpatti-mantra* (a matter not to be neglected but to be examined in another context).

We may conclude: the poet in his narration, the painter in his picture and the priest in his drawing made it abundantly clear that Śiva-linga and Liṅgodbhava represent the *mysterium tremendum* for the Śaivite. The drawing added the “spinal” syllables, which are essential for Liṅgodbhava according to my informant's *padanda*. For the Śaivite and equally for the Baudha they are introductory to the *mysterium tremendum*: holy

1. Nihan saṅṣipta-pūjā; kramania: ta prāṇāyāma karuhun.
2. Sēmalih, pahēniṅ dhyānanta; nyāsanta Bhaṭṭāra riṅ bhrū-madhyā;
3. mantra: Oṅ Oṅ I-A-KA-SA-MA-RA-LA-VA-YA-Uṅ NAMO NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ.
4. Dhyāna Bhaṭṭāra pañca-sīrah, tri-nayana ri saṅulu-saṅulu;
5. sira daśa-bhuja, saṅkēp ikaṅ bhūṣaṇa, [ma]makuṭa makarṇa-bharaṇa,
6. makaluṅ-kaluṅ, masalimut luṅsir, masavit nāga, mavēdihan bvat Kēliṅ, makirat bahu, magēlaṅ taṅan,
7. magēlaṅ suku, somya vulatnira, sarvāstra inagēmira, sānguṣṭha gēṅnira,
8. śuddha varṇanira, sutēja, manēlēhi tri-maṅḍala, umarōp Vētan.

9. Sēmalih, idēp śarīranta aluṅguh riṅ padmāsana mas;
10. mantra: Oṅ Aṅ PADMĀSANĀYA NAMAḤ.
11. Sēmalih idēp Saṅ Hiaṅ Ananta lēkēr ikūnira, sirahira ri yava,
12. somia vulatnira, mantra: Oṅ Aṅ ANANTĀSANĀYA NAMAḤ.

13. Atinta idēp padma sumēkar. Nyāsa Saṅ Hiaṅ Catur-daśākṣara, Ivirnia:
14. SA-BA-TA-A-I, NA-MA-ŚI-VĀ-YA, A-U-MA, Oṅ NAMAḤ, Oṅ Oṅ PADMĀSANĀYA NAMAḤ.
15. Sēmalih, kēnakēn ta ṅ Brahmāṅga-Śivāṅga riṅ padma-hṛdaya, saha astra-mantra riṅ dik-vidik.
16. Sēmalih karāṅgulikēna Brahmāṅga-Śivāṅga, saha astra-mantra.
17. Sēmalih kēnani Brahmāṅga-Śivāṅga saha astra-mantra riṅ dik-vidik.

18. Sēmalih piduduk Bhaṭṭāra pratiṣṭhakēn iṅ hṛdaya puṅḍarika, maka-sādhanā ṅ amṛta-mudrā.
19. Kēnakēn ta Saṅ Hiaṅ Mantra Viśeṣa:
20. Oṅ Oṅ A-RA-KA-SA-MA-RA-LA-VA-YA-Uṅ, NAMO NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ,
21. sira Saṅ Hiaṅ Daśākṣara paṅalpana Bhaṭṭāra Sūkṣma-Śiva,

22. byakta ana Bhaṭṭāra Sūkṣma-Śiva riṅ hṛdaya puṅḍarika.
23. Sēmalih, ta prāṇāyāma, kamēna ṅ anta ṅ nyāsakēna,
24. Saṅ Hiaṅ Daśa-niḥśvāsa-kūṭa, japa, ikaṅ nāda vindu ardha-candra, nyāsakēn iṅ śikhā;
25. ikaṅ mūla-mantra, nyāsakēn iṅ Śiva-dvāra; nā ṅ kramanya:
26. Oṅ, śikhā; Oṅ, Śiva-dvāra; I, sīrah; A, lalaṭā; KA, mukha; SA, jihvā; MA
27. kaṅṭha; RA, hṛdaya; LA, udara; VA, nabhi; Ya, upasthā; Uṅ, pāda kalih.
28. Sēmalih: Rēgēp ta ṅ dhyāna paramottama, ikaṅ śarīranta idēp liṅga nara
29. mahā-śuddha paripūrṇa; ya ta Dévanira andēlakēna, maka-sādhanā namaskāra-mudrā;
30. mantra: Oṅ Oṅ A-KA-SA-MA-RA-LA-VA-YA-Uṅ NAMO NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ.
31. japakēna, pisanakēna lavan ātmanta sira Alekhya naranira;
32. japa muah riṅ Daśa-niḥśvāsa Upaṅsu.

1. As follows is worship in its concise form: breath-control first.
2. Next, purify your thoughts; put God Śiva between your eyebrows,
3. using the mantra: OÑ OÑ I-KA-SA-MA-RA-LA-VA-YA-UÑ NAMO
NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ.
4. Imagine that God Śiva has five heads/faces, three eyes in each, and ten arms;
5. that He is completely adorned: front- & ear-ornaments, necklaces, a cloth
6. with design, neck-ornament in the shape of a serpent, a cloth of Indian
7. making, arm-, wrist- & ankle-rings, looking benevolently, with all his
8. weapons, not bigger than a thumb, of a pure appearance, radiant, illuminating
the three worlds, looking eastward.
9. Next, imagine that your person is seated on a golden lotus-throne;
10. use the mantra: OÑ AÑ HOMAGE TO THE LOTUS-THRONE.
11. Next, imagine that Holy Anantabhoga encircles the throne with his tail;
12. that his head, benevolent on appearance, protrudes; use the mantra: OÑ AÑ
HOMAGE TO THE ANANTA-SEAT.
13. Imagine that the lotus is blooming. Place the Holy Fourteen Syllables, to wit:
14. SA-BA-TA-A-I, NA-MA-ŚI-VĀ-YA, A-U-MA, OÑ OÑ HOMAGE TO THE
LOTUS-SEAT.
15. Next, perform Brahmāṅga & Śivāṅga in the heart of the lotus, accompanied
by recitation of astra-mantra in all directions of the compass.
16. Next, perform Brahmāṅga & Śivāṅga with the fingers, followed by astra-mantra.
17. Next, put Brahmāṅga & Śivāṅga, with astra-mantra in all directions of the
compass.
18. Next, place God Śiva in your lotus of the heart while making amṛta-mudrā.
19. Pronounce the Holy Exceptional Mantra:
20. OÑ OÑ A-RA-KA-SA-MA-RA-LA-VA-YA-UÑ, NAMO NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ;
21. that is Holy Ten-Syllable-Mantra, which causes forming in the imagination
of God Sūkṣma-Śiva,
22. It is evident that now God Sūkṣma-Śiva resides in the lotus of your heart.
23. Next, perform breath-control, before you perform the following placings:
24. Holy Ten-Expiration-Fortification; muttering; *nāda & vinḍu & ardha-candra*
to be placed on the hairtuft;
25. and the mantra of origin, place it on the fontenelle; sequence as follows:
26. OÑ hairtuft; OÑ fontenelle; I head; A lips; KA face; Sa tongue; Ma neck;
27. Ra heart; LA belly; VA navel; YA private parts; UÑ both feet.
28. Next, maintain supreme thinking; imagine that your body is the token of
29. a completely purified and perfect man; confirm God, by means of the hom-
30. age-mantra; mutter the mantra: OÑ OÑ A-KA-SA-MA-RA-LA-VA-YA-UÑ
NAMO NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ.
31. While muttering it, unify your own self with Him Who deserves the name
32. Undescribable, and continue muttering the Ten-Expiration-. . . .

water, after which Balinese religion was called *āgama tīrtha*, the religion of holy water. The positive gain we win from examining this drawing of Liṅgodbhava is the inscribing of the Ten-Syllable-Formula – even if only eight syllables have been used, different elevens are found and even a twelver is produced in this connection. The main thing is that the Ten-Syllable-Formula, vital for Śaiva and Bauddha, is essential for Liṅgodbhava, and that we have found a precise explanation of its meaning and importance.

Finally, once we have grasped the meaning for the brahmin Śaiva priest, we are no longer puzzled but illuminated by the following passage from ARGHĀDHYĀTMĪKA, K 73, preceded by a Yama-Rāja-mantra found between the two passages on Daśākṣara-mantra. It runs as follows (l. 3b):

Nihan Krama Niñ Amūjā ri Sañ Hiañ Liṅga,
Ndia ta? Paṅgēlarana puṣpa 3, ri arēp Sañ Hiañ Liṅga; mantra:

OÑ AN RṢIBHYO NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ, lor;
OÑ AN PITRBHYO NAMAḤ SVADHĀ, kidul;
OÑ AN DEVEBHYO NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ, madhya;

Sēmaliḥ, mvah ta anarpaṇakēn puṣpa 3.

OÑ AN NĀGA-RĀJĀYA NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ, dakṣiṇā;
OÑ AN TAKṢYANĀYA NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ, uttarā;
OÑ AN KUMĀRĀYA NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ, madhyā.

Iti Pūjā Saṅkṣipta ri Liṅga:

OÑ OÑ ANANTĀSANĀYA NAMAḤ, OÑ OÑ KŪRMĀGNĀYA NAMAḤ;
OÑ OÑ SIṆHĀSANĀYA NAMAḤ, OÑ OÑ LIṄGODBHAVĀYA NAMAḤ.

Apart from a few clerical mistakes, we find that the worshipper, squatting before the Holy Liṅga, should put three flowers on it, one to the north while invoking the anchorites, one to the south while invoking the ancestors, and one to the centre while invoking the gods – and we note in passing that in this *pitṛ-ādi-nyāsa* (Lévi No. 69) Sarasvatī is not mentioned.

Next, “satisfying” by means of three flowers, the worshipper proceeds to pay homage to the King of Serpents, i.e. Anantabhoga, in the south. We may assume that the worshipper visualises the two-serpents-cum-turtle *padmāsana*, and that secondly he pays homage to the well known serpent Takṣaka, in the north. Finally he pays homage to *kūrma-rāja*, Kūrma-rājāya (the god Kumāra here being out of the question), in the(ir) middle. This word *kūrma-rājā* by the way, may account for the (uncrowned) king of turtles whom we met in the official explanation of *baḍavañ nala*.

This “Concise Worship”, apart from *anantāsana* and *siṅhāsana*, also pays homage to the fire of the turtle (correct Sanskrit: *agnaye*), discussed in the study on *padmāsana*, and finishes with homage to *Liṅgodbhava*, here being the equivalent of *padmāsana*, *devāsana* and *deva-pratiṣṭha* in other texts.

With *mūrti*, the maker of the preceding *mantra* has meant the same as the South-Indian worshipper does: “shape, the taking shape of the God, apparition”. This appears clearly from l. 4a/b, where we find:

Ta prāṇyāma; mantra:

ON AÑ ĀTMĀ[YA] BRAHMĀ-MŪRTYAI NAMAḤ (recaka);
 ON UÑ ANTARĀTMĀYA VIṢṆU-MŪRTYAI NAMAḤ (pūraka);
 ON MAÑ PAR[AM]ĀTMĀYA IŚVARA-MŪRTYAI NAMAḤ (kumbhaka), etc.

Worship – again in South-India – clearly distinguishes several stadia or divisions (*pakṣa*), e.g. *āvāhana* (invocation), *nyāsa* (putting down) and *mūrti* (apparition –, taking shape of the God.) – For the hyphen word *deva-gaṇa* the right solution did not yet present itself. It will not be hazardous, however to finish the examination of this passage with the conclusion that here again to the worshipper, who has performed the usual *pūjā*, God appears in the shape of Liṅgodbhava.

F. STUTTERHEIM ON LINGA IN BALI

Even though this study is mainly concerned with presenting new materials and explaining them, it would be unwise to ignore what Stutterheim has written on the subject of *linga* in Bali, for he saw much of the material culture of both Java and Bali, and undoubtedly travelled more extensively in both islands than I ever did. "In almost every place where antiquities were found, I came across complete *linga* or at any rate fragments thereof", he writes on p. 188 of his book "Oudheden van (Antiquities of) Bali, I, Het Rijk van (The principality of) Pèdjèng". And he also records that between the rivers Pètanu and Pakërisan he found "a very large number of *linga*"; the index to his book, moreover, bears witness of this fact and of the attention Stutterheim paid to them and their discussion.

Stutterheim may or may not have known the *kakavin* LUBDHAKA/ŚIVA-RĀTRI, but publishing in 1929 the results of his field trips in the years 1925, 1926 & 1927, he cannot have known the ritual texts on the celebration of Śiva-rātri and Līṅga-worship collected by the Kirtya during the thirties. He will have felt himself the more confined to the study and publication of archaeology and antiquities since during the 'thirties Goris witnessed numerous temple festivals, prepared and wrote his studies on them. Moreover, in his book, doomed to remain a first volume, Stutterheim restricted himself voluntarily to an exactly limited region, in doing so excluding Pura Bēsakih. Keen observer as he was, he cannot have failed to notice that the main temple of the complex lodges a clear Śiva-līṅga surrounded by a platform destined for offerings in the Paruman Agun court, specially for the worship on behalf of the rulers of Baduñ. Neither can he have failed to see that the principal court of the second greatest temple-cluster of the whole complex, Pura Batu Madëg, contains a perfectly shaped stone Śiva-līṅga, protruding considerably in the midst of the platform destined for offerings; this courtyard is designated for worship by the rulers of Bañli. Both Śiva-līṅga will be discussed in *G infra*, but first a reasoning was due why Stutterheim did not discuss them.

Before going to Indonesia, Stutterheim gave a lecture to the Dutch Oriental Society, Leiden, in which he tried to shed some light on the so-called *linga* sanctuaries on the mountains of Java, by comparing them with the ancestor temples in the eastern (not hinduised) part of the archipelago. In his "Oudheidkundige Aanteekening XII, Lingga = voorouder-receptaculum" (Archaeological Note, Līṅga = place for worship of the ancestors) in the BKI 86, 1930, pp. 311-312, he refers to Bosch (1924) and his own lecture, which he resumes in these words: "It appeared from this comparison that the pointed stones, found in large numbers in the *linga* sanctuaries in Java, may be related to the ancestor seats elsewhere,

and the sanctuary as a whole, with the ancestor temple as a whole.”

This statement I am inclined to accept, as also his subsequent argument:

“In this comparison I conjectured that there was some connection even between the shape of these pointed stones and that of the *liṅga*, although I pointed out that these oblong stones cannot be regarded merely as degenerate versions of the originally Hindu *liṅga*. It became clear, however, that we were faced once more with one of those interesting instances in which Indian concepts are linked with ancient Indonesian ones. The half Indian forms we find in Caṅḍi Sukuh clearly illustrate this fusion.”

In this connection I should like, before continuing with Stutterheim’s argument, to draw attention to Pura Batu Karu, on the slope of Mount Vatu Ka(r)u, dominating the western part of Bali, this dynastic and ancestor temple of the rulers of Tabanan. This temple houses a considerable number of large, upright, oblong stones. Apart from the vaguely Indian Deity Sañ Hiañ Vidhi, no Indian deities appear to be worshipped here. Indeed, the Padanda Gěḍé Bajra, the *purohita* for Tabanan, did not indicate places of worship for any Indian deities on a plan he himself drew of the sanctuary and furnished with a key. In our context of Śiva-*liṅga* and Liṅgodbhava no materials were found in this perhaps most imposing of all Balinese temples, apart from one *yoni*, so that its description could not be included in the body of this study. But since this remarkable, to a certain extent unique, temple is more or less a blank in tourist books as well as in Balilogical research, I could not withstand the temptation to deal in a Appendix with the data collected concerning this “*liṅga*” and ancestor temple, hoping that these provisional notes may be a stimulant and a help for more thorough research to those having better opportunities.

Stutterheim continues: “The very word *puṣpa-liṅga*, used in Bali for the effigies of the soul at *Mēmukur* [cf. K. 33] (final consecration of the souls as divinities, after cremation, a ceremony observed in full by only some of the rulers), might, once and for all, provide us with the link between the ancestor effigy and the *liṅga* ¹⁾. We might also add here my remarks made elsewhere about the curious shapes of head-dresses and *liṅga* in Bali ²⁾. Irrefutable proof of the link between these stones and the *liṅga* would be provided by a clear indication of such a stone as a *liṅga*.

Such proof is in fact provided by the pointed stones from West Java, illustrated by Van Kinsbergen, which bear the short inscription “*sañ hiañ liṅga hiañ*” (pl. 56, 57). This must be translated roughly by “this is the holy *liṅga* of the Hyañ”, *hyañ* being understood here in its original meaning of ancestor spirit. Not only the appearance of these stones, upright, pointed oblongs, but their inscriptions also, link ancestor worship with that of the *liṅga*.”

Although I agree with the title and general tenor of this note, I would, in view of the linguistic evidence, question Stutterheim’s “irrefutable proof”. For a moment he must have lost out of sight the fact that the

¹⁾ Also called *puṣpa-sarīra*. In *Nāgarakṛtāgama* LXIV, 5c: *sañ hiañ puṣpa*, ditto LXVII, 2c: *sañ hyañ puṣpa-sarīra*.

²⁾ Oudheden van Bali (Stutterheim 1929–30), o.c. index s.v. *Lingga*.

Sanskrit neuter word *lingam* in the first place means “a mark, spot, sign, token, badge, emblem, characteristic”; that we find it with the same meaning in Javanese writings and that the word with this meaning has been borrowed in the western part of Java and in Bali to the east. One good example from the KBNW (III 831–837) may be sufficient: the context here is dealing with the beautiful daughter of an anchorite in a mountain hermitage: *iki si von ayu lēvih baya maka-linga niñ vukir*; so it is she by whom the mountain distinguishes itself; she is the “mark, sign”, etc. of the mountain.

The word *linga*, moreover, alternates with *lingih*, staying, as Goris did not fail to remark in his study on Pura Bēsakih (Goris 1937 n. 51). It looks as if we ourselves have made things difficult by often speaking of *linga* instead of *Śiva-linga*. Those uprighted pointed, flat, oblong stones are marks, *linga*, of the ancestors, and after performance of due ritual they may become their place of descent, their seat: *palingihan*, *lingih*, *linga* of their purified and deified spirits. But the *kris* of the Sultan of Djokja may be seen as a *Śiva-linga*, and so is the *kris* Paśupati combined with the “whip/flywhisk” in the *puri* of the *cokorda* of Ubud (J. Hooykaas, 1961a) and the holy water sprinkler and perhaps even some more objects.

Both Pura Bēsakih and Pura Vatu Karu are mountain temples and ancestor sanctuaries for aristocratic families; the *Śiva-linga* of Pura Bēsakih will be discussed in next section, but Pura Vatu Karu with its upright, flat, oblong stones can only be dealt with in an appendix.

G. THE TEMPLE COMPLEX OF PURA BĚSAKIH

General (map I)

In the absence of direct information on the stone *Śiva-līṅga* found in three of the Pura BĚsakah temples, I propose to describe their setting, in terms of material culture as well as of religion, social structure and history. I hope thus to be able to throw some light on the relative significance of the occurrence of these *Śiva-līṅga*.

Pura BĚsakah lies high above the surrounding countryside of villages and tilled fields, with a wide view as far as the sea, bare, except for a few frangipani trees, the terraces containing temples, shrines and pagodas within their walls well swept, the stones of temples and walls straight cut, the bare stones joined together with cement. Its complexes and separate temples sprawl on the slopes of Gunung Agung, Bali's highest and holiest mountain, where the God of the Mountain and the deified spirits of mythical founders and ancestors of various families and castes are believed to dwell. The very nature of the worship practised at Pura BĚsakah, the topography of this terrace sanctuary, the titles and names of the deities worshipped, point to its great antiquity, dating from long before the introduction of Indian influences.

In the beginning of the fifteenth century, Pura BĚsakah, which lies in the territory of Karangasĕm, appears to have been appropriated by the Ruler of Gĕlgĕl for his ancestor temple. He was the grandson of the Javanese Governor of Bali after its conquest by Majapahit, and an ancestor of the present Dĕva Agung of Klungkung; Klungkung being the more recent and present seat of residence of the Gĕlgĕl dynasty. The Dĕva Agung, or "Emperor of Bali" as he was called in the old Dutch accounts, was overlord of most part of Bali. He ruled directly only over the state of Klungkung. Here his word was law, provided, of course, it did not run counter too much or too frequently to ancient popular tradition or the customs of the relatively autonomous villages, and did not conflict with the Indian law books as transmitted and interpreted by his brahmin priests and judges (Korn, 1932). The princes of Bangli, Karangasĕm, Tabanan, Badung, Mĕngwi, Gianyar and Bulĕlĕng recognised the Dĕva Agung as their overlord.

Throughout the centuries, the Dĕva Agung has assigned different parts of Pura BĚsakah to his lieges for worship and maintenance. Bangli, Karangasĕm, Badung, Gianyar and Bulĕlĕng still maintain temples there, as well as descendants of the Mĕngwi dynasty (Mĕngwi was attacked by, and divided between, Badung and Tabanan at the end of the nineteenth century and disappeared as a state). Tabanan has its own ancestor temple on Mount Vatu Karu or Batu Kau (for which see in Appendix II).

Side by side with the princes, various prominent families and castes worship in and maintain their own parts of Pura BĚsakah. Thus, as the

ancestor temple of Bali's overlord, where he and his nobles and other prominent elements from the population worship, Pura Běsakah has become the one "national temple" of the island. As such it was actively supported by the Dutch colonial Government, as part of its policy of unifying and pacifying the kingdoms of Bali. After the great earthquake of 1917, the Dutch even undertook major restorations of the badly ruined temples.

The Pura Běsakah conglomerate, in fact, consists of one central complex, Pura Běsakah proper, two major subsidiary complexes, Pura Batu Maděg (the temple of the Erect Stone) and Pura Dangin Krětěg (the temple east of the bridge) and a host of smaller, mostly uncharted, temples, shrines and pagodas, some at a considerable distance away from the main group and impossible to show on the present maps. Goris, who wrote a valuable paper on the main complex (1937), mentions four shrines along the road leading to the central complex, noting them as successive stages on the pilgrim's route: three, on the right hand side, to the east of the road, dedicated to Anantabhoga, Bhaṭṭārī Śrī and to Vasuki, and one, on the left hand side, to the west of the road, dedicated to the origin of the *kulkul*, the alarm block. I might add a small, rather delapidated temple, about a hundred yard to the left, west, of the road, and about one KM away from the central complex; it is called the *Dalēm Puri*. A *Dalēm Puri*, or, in full, *Pura Dalēm Puri*, is usually a temple for the Dead (*Pura Dalēm*) of a princely court (*puri*). In this particular *Dalēm Puri* all the local *Dalēm Puri* of Bali are believed to be embodied. Further up the mountain, above Pura Běsakah proper, lies Pura Gėlap, the Temple of the Thunderbolt.

Like all Balinese temples, Pura Běsakah is orientated primarily in relation to the mountain itself, although the relative positioning, i.e. higher up or lower down the slope, is also significant. Thus, the longitudinal axes point to the mountain peak and this is the direction one faces when entering the main entrance of each complex. Although, in the circumstances, the actual orientation is north-east/south-west, the Indian classificatory system is nevertheless applied: Pura Běsakah proper, as the most important of the three main complexes, dedicated to Śiva, and envisaged as being white, is conceived of as having an east-west axis. Pura Batu Maděg and Pura Dangin Krětěg, on the latitudinal axis of Pura Běsakah proper, connected with Viṣṇu and with Brahmā and envisaged as being black and red, are conceived of as lying to the north and south of the main complex; small and delapidated Pura Gėlap, not so easily found in the fields, according to this system, should be envisaged as east and white.

Generally speaking, it also appears that the higher terraces are reserved for the more important families, which has interesting implications with regard to the position of the places of worship maintained by the castes, especially that of the blacksmiths.

Also, in the traditional style of all Balinese temples, courtyards furthest away from the main entrance, have only a single entrance. A contrast, however, is offered with village temples by the fact that the internal function may deviate to a certain extent from that in the village temples.

Pura Bēsakih proper (map II)

Pura Bēsakih proper, the focus of the Bēsakih temples, consists primarily of a series of terraces, one above the other. Adjoining the fifth terrace, but not accessible from it, lies a separate, small temple which has its own entrance. On the other side of the path running along the south-east side of the terraces uphill and then to the left leading to Pura Batu Madĕg, lies another cluster of temple courtyards (map IV).

The main entrance of the central, terraced complex gives to the lowest and first, courtyard, the Outer Court (*jaba*, or *bañcinah*). The other terraces are accessible only from the ones below and above, except for the sixth, which also has a side entrance, leading to the Klungkung complex (map IV) and to the Pura Batu Madĕg path. These terraces are crowded with a variety of images below, of shrines and pagodas in the temple itself. Pura Bēsakih proper is distinguished from the other Bēsakih complexes by this host of statuary. It was in the left hand section of the second courtyard, the Great Court (*panataran aguñ*), where I recorded the presence of a stone liṅga, in No. 12. It was surrounded by a wooden offering stand. I was unable to find out anything about its ceremonial function, but it must have been restored after the earthquake of 1917.

The different courtyards are maintained by different princely states or their dynasties, as well as by some of the castes; in some cases the maintenance of a courtyard is divided between two of them. The ruler and the state of Klungkung maintain several sections including, of course, the highest terrace. The fourth terrace Klungkung shares with the Nurah Sidēmēn and Aria Pinatih castes. The village of Bēsakih also shares the use and maintenance of the complex and has its own section in it. The first courtyard, the Outer Court, is used in common by these various groups and the village. The section of the second courtyard in which the *Śiva-liṅga* is situated, is maintained by the Badung dynasty.

Pura Batu Madĕg (map III)

Like the other Bēsakih temples, the "Temple of the Upright Stone" is orientated in relation to the top of Gunung Agung. Access is by a path which runs along the south-east and north-east sides of Pura Bēsakih proper and crosses a tiny stream running between the two complexes. The complex consists of one main temple courtyard, two terraced courtyards adjoining it to the north-west and a separate temple, higher up the slope, to the north-east. One enters facing north-east, towards the mountain top.

The main courtyard resembles Pura Bēsakih proper in appearance, with its wide, high entrance stairs and the large, main temple courtyard, crowded with shrines, pagodas and offering stands, all in various stages of ruin or repair. One notable difference between the two sets of stairs leading to the temples is the poverty if not absence of images of Pura Batu Madĕg. This courtyard is maintained, I was told locally, by the Anak Agung of Bangli; this courtyard, interestingly contains at least one stone *Śiva-līṅga* in a *balé pēlik*.

In my draft I had a second one, to the right, but as the photographer could not find it, this remains to be investigated.

This main courtyard has two terraces built against the mountain slope which do not, however, constitute separate, enclosed courtyards, like the other terraces. On the lower terrace stand five pagodas; of these, two with nine tiers, are dedicated to Maṅik Ankĕran and Bhaṭṭāra Bagus Botoh, two famous gamblers of mythology. Maṅik Ankĕran is a mythical forefather of the Ņurah Sidēmĕn and Pinatih castes, which are discussed in Appendix I.

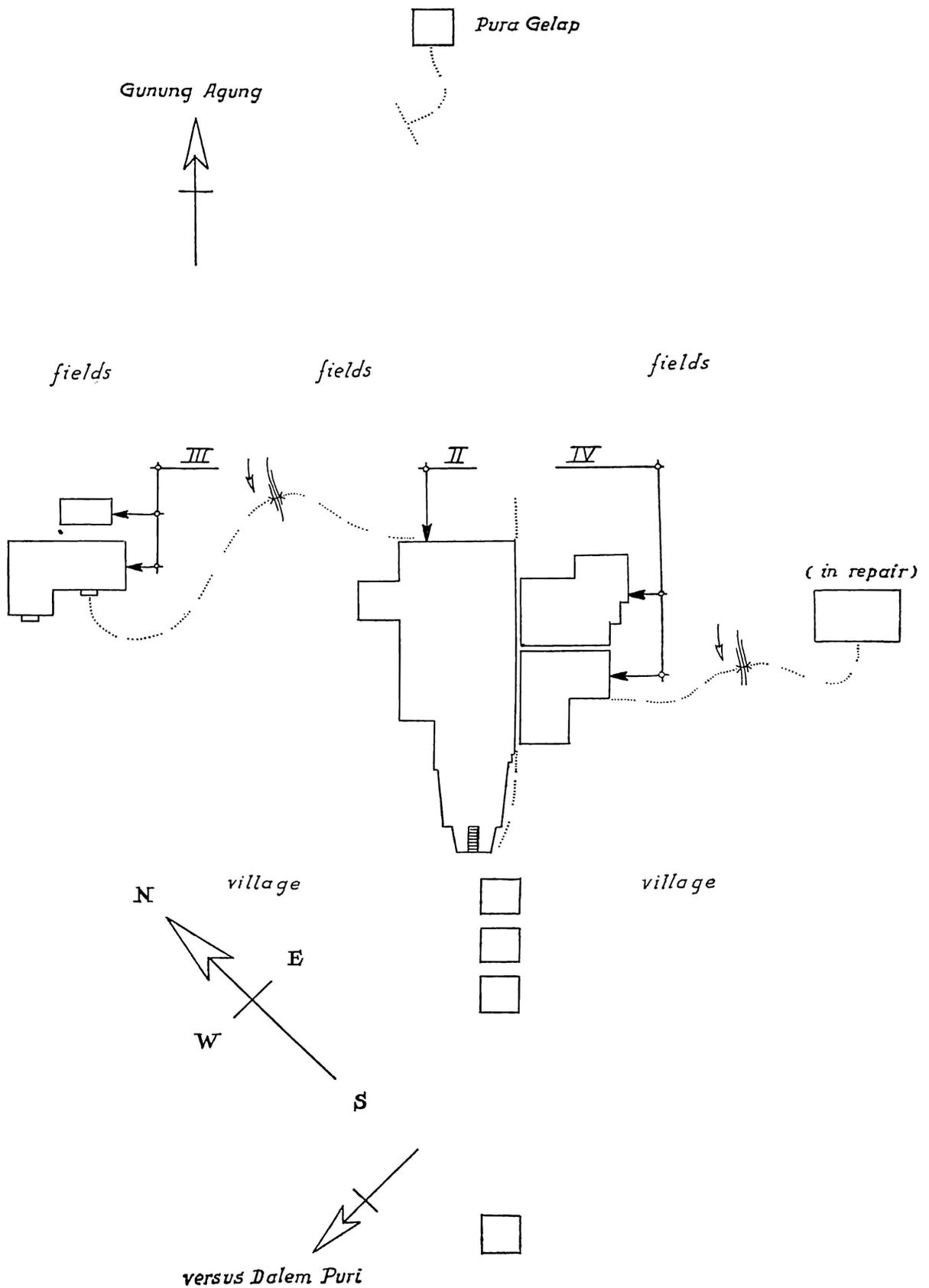
The two adjoining terraces are maintained by the Pasĕk Kĕtĕwĕl caste who worship Déva Naṅka there. The separate little temple to the north-east is maintained by the Pandé Vĕsi. I was informed locally that the Sĕnguhu also maintain part of Pura Batu Madĕg, but was unable to find out which part.

Pura Danin Krĕtĕg

This temple, maintained by Karangasĕm, was energetically being repaired when I had an opportunity of visiting the Bēsakih temples. I could not find out whether there should be a *Śiva-līṅga*, or whether this had been removed temporarily during the building activities, or whether it was covered by building materials, or whether no *Śiva-līṅga* at all had been there.

Pura Gĕlap

When by mid 1959 I visited the place, it was midway between a Balinese temple and an ancient site; though extremely derelict to the utmost, it clearly contained several *Śiva-līṅga*. In the last quarter of 1961 the photographer C. Bodmer to whom I owe great thankfulness for having gone so far out of his way and having taken so great trouble for the friend of a friend, visited the Pura Bēsakih complex to make the photographs I wanted; the second *Śiva-līṅga* in Pura Batu Madĕg he was unable to find, but he sent me an unexpected photograph of Pura Gĕlap on which we see the *Śiva-līṅga* under the platform for offerings, through which it emerges on the other photographs. There are no indications about dynastic cult in Pura Gĕlap, but the need for the worship of *Śiva-līṅga* must have led to this restoration.



Map I. The temple complex Pura Bésakih, Karangasém.
 drawn by J. Hooykaas, civil engineer (Delft).

CONCLUSION

The data concerning the temple complex of Pura Bēsakih are neither exhaustive nor even satisfactory. One should be able to spend as many months as I could spend hours there, and one should find out who worships the *Śiva-linga*, at which occasion, performing which ritual, asking for which boon. Under present circumstances I could only deal with this segment of the living culture of Bali as if it were one of dead Babylon.

Nevertheless, even though much still has to be witnessed and described, and though perhaps better and more written materials can be brought to light and examined, I feel convinced that even my cautious *guru* Krom, in view of the diversity of new materials produced in these two studies, might have felt less reservation towards the views brought forward by Bosch.

APPENDIX I

PURA BĚSAKIH

Pura BĚsakah proper

In the first thorough study to be made on Pura BĚsakah, Goris (1937b) restricted himself virtually to the main temple of which he had Map II made. As this map might be less accessible, it has been reproduced here, with the numbers of the buildings and their names and explanations condensed from Goris' publication; more could not be done under present circumstances.

1. *caṅḍi bĕntar*, "split candi", main entrance, tall and unroofed.
2. *balé pĕgat*, "interrupted pavilion", for paying homage to the gods when they pass through.
3. *kulkuł*, tower with one or more wooden split signal blocks hung in it.
4. (*balé*) *pagambuhan*, pavilion for the instruments of the orchestra called *gambuh*.
- 5/6. *balé mundar-mandir* (*oṅ-kāra*), exceptional pavilions, one pillar only bearing the roof.
7. *gĕluṅ aguṅ*, name of the *paduraksa*, more massive and roofed gateway.
8. (*balé*) *pagoniaṅ*, open pavilion for the musicians of the orchestra called *goṅ*.
9. (*balé*) *kĕmbaṅ siraṅ*, open pavilion offering seats for the princes of Bali during the great ceremonies.
10. (*balé*) *pavĕdaan*, open pavilion for the officiating Bauddha priest.
11. *paṅguṅiaṅ*, estrade for the display of offerings for the gods.
12. *balé aguṅ*, "great pavilion", of twice a dozen wooden pillars, for village BĚsakah.
13. *gĕḍoṅ kaos*, used in connection with ceremonial meals held at the meetings in 12.
14. *balé papĕlik*, open pavilion with the offerings for the gods seated in *saṅgar aguṅ* 15.
15. *saṅgar aguṅ* with Hindu trinity: to the left Viṣṇu, centre Īśvara, to the right Brahmā.
16. *samūhan aguṅ* (*pañca-dĕva*), place where the gods come together for various purposes.
17. *Balé Ratu Saṅ Hiaṅ Siyĕm*, name of a god whose function has not yet been ascertained.
18. *balé Ratu Maja Lila*, the same.
19. *tumpaṅ solas*, pagoda in 11 tiers for *Ratu Manik Makĕntĕł*, H.M. Coagulated Drop of Sperm.
20. *tumpaṅ sia*, 9 tiers for *Ida Saṅ Hiaṅ Kubakar*, unknown deity; store room for sedanchairs.
21. *Ratu (mas) Sula majĕmuh*, an open stone altar for a deity not yet ascertained.
22. *paruman*, platform for offerings, in the middle of which is found the Śiva-liṅga.
32. *balé papĕlik*, open pavilion with offerings for the gods invited into this courtyard.
- 24-26. *kavitan*, sanctuaries for the worship of founders of families from adjacent villages.
27. *mĕru* (pagoda) *tumpaṅ* (tiers) 3, *kĕhĕn* (store house) for the temple treasures.
28. *Ratu Gōṅ*, "High King", *mĕru tumpaṅ* 11, worshipped by the population of BĚsakah.
29. *Ratu Mas*, "Golden King", *tumpaṅ* 7 (but taller), for worship by *Dĕva Aguṅ* of *Kluṅkuṅ*.

30. *balé papēlik*, open pavilion with offerings for the gods invited into this courtyard.
31. (*balé*) *pavédaan*, open pavilion for the officiating Bauddha priest.
- 32, 33. *Ida Gusti*, two altars for the worship of this vaguely named deity.
34. *Ida Suka Lēvih*, pagoda destined for worship of His Highness of Superior Bliss.
35. *Ida Panataran*, a pagoda destined for the worship of the god of this courtyard.
36. *Ida Bhaṭṭāra Tulus Sadéva*, pagoda with seven tiers for the worship of this god.
37. not yet ascertained.
38. *Ratu Sunar in Jagat*, "King Light of the World", pagoda with 11 tiers for protector-god.
- 39, 40. *balé vidadari (vidyādhari)*, pavilions for the worship of the heavenly nymphs.
41. *balé papēlik*, open pavilion with the offerings destined for the heavenly nymphs.
42. *Balé Sūria-Candra*, pavilion, open on one side, with 2 images, "Sun & Moon"; doubtful.
- 43-44. *balé Ida Ratu Ayu Subandar*, pavilions for a goddess whose function is insufficiently known.
45. *Ratu Pandé* or *Sira Mpu*, separate temple for worship of founder of Smiths' caste.
46. *méru tumpaṅ 11* for *Bhaṭṭāra Viśéṣa*, pagoda with 11 tiers for "The Excellent".
47. *méru tumpaṅ 3* for *Ratu Ayu Magēluṅ*, pagoda with 3 tiers for "Queen with bracelets" (?).
- 48-49. *gēdoṅ Ratu Bukit*, closed buildings for the worship of the God of the Mountain, *kiva* (to the left) for *Ratu Pucak*, *tēnēn* (to the right) for *Ratu Pamēnēh*.

Pura Batu Madēg.

There is an interesting reference to this *pura* in the YAMA-PŪRVA-TATTVA K 1139, l. 8b:

Iti Vidhi-śāstra sakiṅ Bhaṭṭāra Mahādéva, jumēnēn riṅ kahiaṅnan Basukih. Liṅ Bhaṭṭāra Mahādéva, tumūt Bhaṭṭāra Maṅik Gumayaṅ, jumēnēn riṅ kahiaṅnan Batu Madēg riṅ Basukih, mvah Bhaṭṭāra Agnijaya, maliṅga (*sic*) riṅ kahiaṅnan Giri Lēmpuyaṅ, tumūt Bhaṭṭāra Yama-niṅ-rāt, jumēnēn riṅ Giri Baratan, makamvah Bhaṭṭāra jumēnēn riṅ Pējēn, Ida Bhaṭṭāra Maṅik Galaṅ; liṅ Bhaṭṭāra sami, minakādi Bhaṭṭāra Mahādéva: . . .

This is the textbook on Vidhi, which has come forth from Nīti, which rests with Bhaṭṭāra Mahādéva, who resides in the Bēsakih sanctuary. Bhaṭṭāra Mahādéva spoke and Maṅik Gumayaṅ, who resides in Batu Madēg in Bēsakih, as well as Bhaṭṭāra Agnijaya, who resides on Mount Lēmpuyaṅ, and Bhaṭṭāra Yamaniṅrāt of Mount Bratan, Bhaṭṭāra Maṅik Galaṅ, the Bhaṭṭāra of Pējēn, all concurred with his words. Bhaṭṭāra Mahādéva spoke to the assembled Bhaṭṭāra who were all of one mind, as follows: . . .

As Viṣṇu is the deity linked specially with Pura Batu Madēg, it seems that it is he who is referred to by the name Maṅik Gumayaṅ; Bhaṭṭāra Mahādéva is Śiva, and Bhaṭṭāra Agnijaya must be Brahmā, and Lēmpuyaṅ must be the name of the temple currently called Pura Daṅin Krētēg.

In the following paragraphs no more attention is given to archaeology and architecture, for which the maps offer some data, but to the different "castes" worshipping their ancestors here, and to the documentation which could be collected concerning them in Bali.

The Nūrah Sidēmēn and Āria Pinatih are two related castes; together they maintain in Pura Bēsakih proper the buildings 32-37, on one half of a courtyard of which the right hand side is maintained by the Déva Agung of Klungkung.

In Pura Batu Madĕg they venerate their common ancestor Maṅik Anĕkĕran, a famous gambler of legend, who has a padoda here of nine tiers. This is only one grade below that of the ancestor founder of the Klungkung dynasty who has an eleven tier pagoda next to Pura Bĕsakih proper. In Balinese tradition we come across more than one venerated gambler (J. Hooykaas, 1949), who after death, gain entry to a very high heaven. The other pagoda of nine roofs, beside Maṅik Anĕkĕran's, is dedicated to another great gambler, Bhaṭṭāra Bagus Botoh, a man from at least véśya rank, judging from his name.

Maṅik Anĕkĕran was such a fanatical gambler that when he had nothing left to gamble with, he cut the diamond ring off the tail of snake Vasuki who was living on Gunuñ Aguñ. But Maṅik Anĕkĕran was burnt to ashes by fire from the irate snake. Maṅik Anĕkĕran's father, however, whose name was Siddhi-mantra, "he whose *mantra* are fulfilled", was able to mollify the snake who restored Maṅik Anĕkĕran to life.

Siddhi-mantra had great magical powers. Before Maṅik Anĕkĕran's birth, Siddhi-mantra's name had been Mpu Bĕkuñ, "the Mpu without a child". But by means of *yoga* and not even the intervention of a woman, he had finally obtained a son and thus acquired his later name. Siddhi-mantra lived in Java at the time when the two islands were still one, but in order to safeguard himself from Maṅik Anĕkĕran and his gambling craze, he brought about the separation of Java and Bali (Waan-ders, 1859).

Maṅik Anĕkĕran, who had stayed in Bali, married into the Ņurah Sidĕmĕn family, which was of less elevated birth, and so lost caste. The texts of the Pinatih, the caste which traces its origin to him, mention another loss of caste which explains the distinction between the Āria Pinatih, who regard themselves as véśya, and the ordinary Pinatih who no longer claim this rank.

BABAD DALĚM (K 43; 58 ll.) and KIDUÑ PAMAŅCAŅAH (1929; 1957), these general Balinese chronicles, mention the Pinatih several times; they are put in the centre in treatises like:

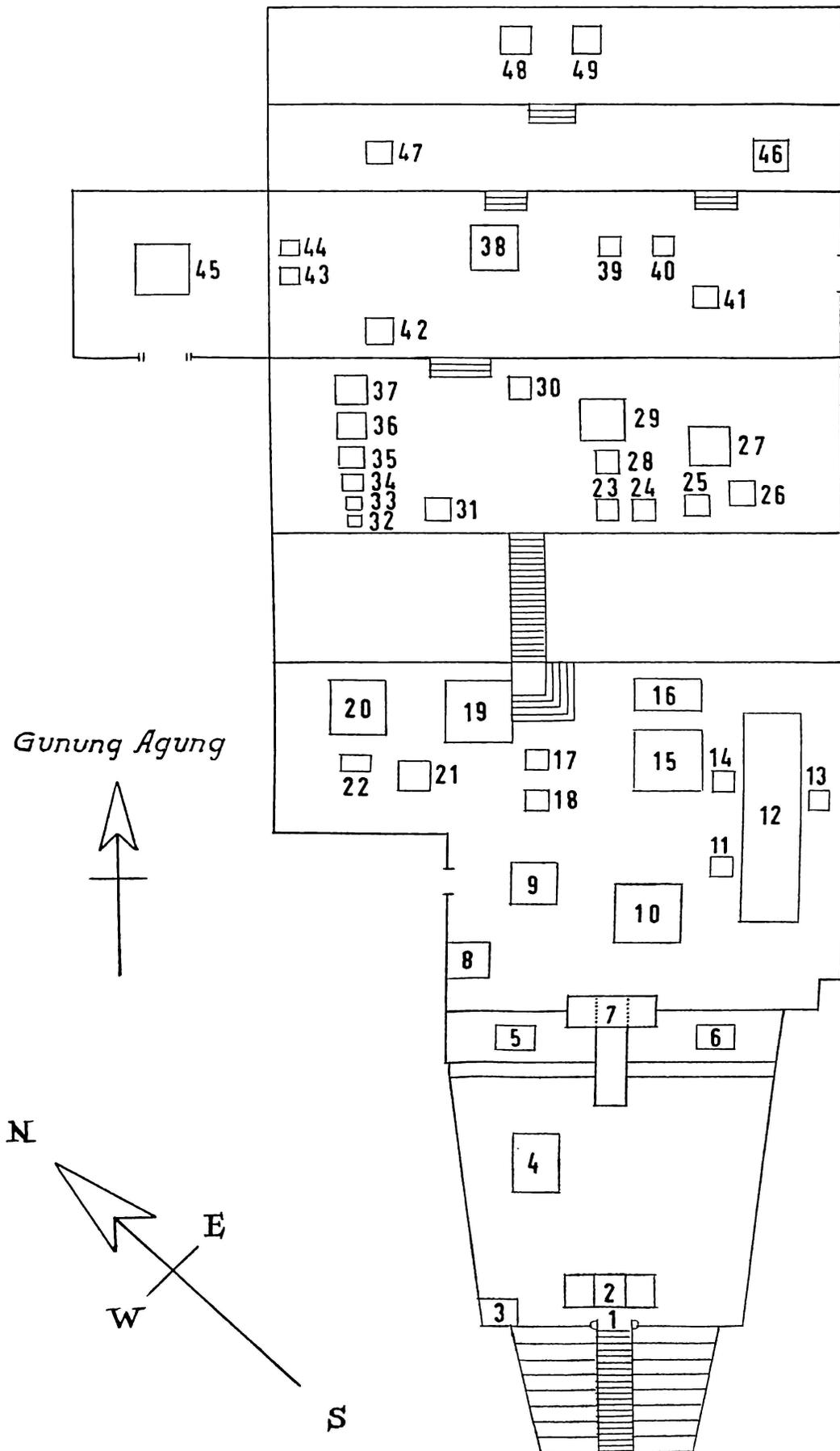
K 818 (45 ll.) PIAGĚM PINATIH; K 1134 (3 ll.) BABAD PINATIH;
K 1478 (24 ll.) MPU BĚKUÑ, PAMAŅCAŅAH MAŅIK ANĒKĒRAN or
PAMAŅCAŅAH ŅURAH SIDĚMĚN.

I was told locally that the *sĕnguhu* maintain part of Pura Batu Madĕg, but was unable to learn which part. This information fits in with the general scheme in which Pura Batu Madĕg is black, dedicated to Viṣṇu, for the *sĕnguhu* are also specially linked with this deity (Gonda, 1952; Goris, 1931b).

The *Sĕnguhu* still have an active function in presentday Balinese society, for they furnish it with exorcist priests at many an occasion, especially at the great ceremony of *Ņĕpi*, the day of Quiet and Desertion (Goris 1960; Macdonald, 1957). In order to become a priest, the *sĕnguhu* must become the pupil of a brahmin priest and receive the same kind of initiation as brahmin pupils, the *ulaka* (via *valaka* from Skr. *balaka*, junior). After his consecration the *sĕnguhu* is known as *Ṛṣi Bhujāᅇga*. When he officiates in full dress, he looks almost exactly like the brahmin *padanda*, and their ritual is superficially also very similar. This may account for the fact that very little has hitherto been written about this special category of priests.

When both priests officiate simultaneously, the *ṛṣi bhujāᅇga* always sits at a lower level than the *padanda*; thus the *ṛṣi bhujāᅇga* may be seated only just about ground level on a little stand, while the *padanda* can, at times, be found officiating on a platform high above the spectators' heads.

The *ṛṣi bhujāᅇga* especially addresses himself to evil spirits, *bhūta* and *kāla*. The offerings to pacify them are always spread out on the soil in front of him. He uses the same cult instruments as the *padanda Saiva* and some which he alone uses (Angelino, 1922, 1924; Kleen, 1924); they are all called "thunder bolts", *bajra*.



Map II. Central sanctuary of Pura Besakih, Karangasem.
 (from the paper by Dr. R. Goris, in DJAWA 17, 1937).

He uses, for instance, a wheel with five bells, one in the centre and the four others at 90 degrees distance separated one from the other at the end of the spokes, and a Garuḍa handle, called *gēntorag* (*ghaṅṭā urag*) after its bells (*ghaṅṭā*) being shaken (*urag*). This means, his helper handles it, just like the conch, *śaṅkha*, and the drum, *katipluk*. He himself rubs the outer rim of the ordinary priest's bell with a small wooden rod until it produces a loud drone, which can be heard "from as far as you can hear a buffalo bellow". I have been present at a demonstration before a ritual, but never witnessed its being used during it.

The sounds which the *sēṅguhu* and his helpers effect with these instruments are "directed" by *mantra* and incantation. These are divided into three categories: PŪRVA BHŪMI, PŪRVA BHŪMI TUA and PŪRVA BHŪMI KA-MŪLA-N which, as their names suggest, concern the creation of heaven and earth, the origins of all the evils that plague mankind, and with the physical and supernatural means by which the *ṛṣi bhujāṅga* is able to exorcise them.

Exclusive possession of "secret" texts, guarded closely by their owners, is not an uncommon feature among Balinese priests. The Śaiva *padanda*, for instance, reproach the *sēṅguhu* for having stealthily watched and eavesdropped on their ritual and thus gradually "stolen" it. When they were faced with the accomplished fact, they, as the Teachers of Everyone, *Guru Loka*, assigned the task of exorcism to the *sēṅguhu*.

The following writings emanate from the *sēṅguhu* or deal mainly with them:

27/15 AJI JANANTAKA	1063/20 BABAD SĒNGUHU ASU-ASA
139/23 BAŅCAŅAH SĒNGUHU	1110/8 BABAD SĒNGUHU ASU-ASA
166/25 MARIŚUDDHA GUMI A-ŅAPUH-ŅAPUH	1260/18 PRAKṚTI ŚĀSANA
278/7 BABAD SĒNGUHU ASU-ASA	1486/4 KṚTA BHUJĀṄGA
319/18 AJI KUNAŅ-KUNAŅ	2405/47 ṚṢI VAISŅAVA
506/9 KALAVASAN PĒṬAK/TUTUR ASU-ASA	2406/16 BHUVANA-PURĀŅA
556/18 ASTUPUNKU NAVA-RATNA	2407/42 BATUR KALAVASAN PĒṬAK
946/13 VEDA SĒNGUHU	L 5360, 7 PŪRVA BHŪMI.

Provided we look up-mountain, to the left of the great courtyard we see two much smaller ones, thickly set with small sanctuaries. The higher one is ascribed to Pasĕk Kĕtĕwĕl, and here Dĕva Naṅka is said to be worshipped. Kĕtĕwĕl is situated on Bali's south-east coast not far from Sanur; the Pasĕk are a widely spread old family, influential in the history of Bali. According to rigid interpretation of the Hindu caste system they would belong to the *sūdra* or *jaba*, but their writings on their family, its branches, its position and its deeds are proof that notwithstanding several centuries of Hinduism the Pasĕk do not consider themselves as equal to and amalgamated with the great mass of the Balinese population. The following K mss deal with them:

256/26 PARIKAŅDAN PASĒK GĒLGĒL	1078/6 KAVITAN PASĒK GĒLGĒL
955/53 BABAD PASĒK GĒLGĒL	1096/15 PRASASTI PASĒK GĒLGĒL
963/135 BABAD PASĒK	1817/18 BAŅCAŅAH BANDĒSA
965/52 BABAD (OR: PRASASTI) PASĒK	1855/22 BABAD KI GUSTI PASĒK GĒLGĒL
1027/65 BABAD PASĒK G. KAYU SĒLĒM	2261/11 BABAD KI GUSTI P. G. KAYU PUTIH.

Of these mss the number K 963 has been made accessible in Indonesian translation by I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa, Publ. House Balimas, Dĕnpasar, stencil, 129 pp., 1957.

Ida A. A. Madĕ Rĕgĕg published "Babad Pasĕk Gĕlgĕl, makadi Pasĕk Bandĕsa" (44 pp.) and "Babad Pasĕk Subadĕra" (58 pp.), both of them in Balinese language and script; stencilled.

Apart from this courtyard and a five tier pagoda to the south-east of Bĕsakah proper (cf. map IV), the Pasĕk have another place of worship in Pura Vatu Karu (map V, Gc).

The *Pandé Věsi* (ironsmiths) venerate the ancestor-founder of their caste, Ratu Pandé or Sira Mpu, in two temples, one off the Pura Bēsakih main terrace (map II No. 45) and another above Pura Batu Madĕg. Both of these are situated in very prominent positions in relation to the other complexes. The *Pandé Věsi* by their own regulations are not allowed to ask the brahman priest for holy water, but must obtain it from a *mpu pandé*. This interesting group has been dealt with by Goris in his "Position of the Blacksmiths" (1929; 1960).

The following mss in the Kirtya collection deal entirely or partially with smiths:

273/1	in BABAD SAÑ BRĀHMAṆA CATUR' on l. 41 a miracle in connection with smiths is told.	1061/40 BABAD PANDÉ VĚSI 1133/18 PRASASTI PANDÉ VĚSI 1170/2 PRASASTI PANDÉ CAPUÑ
504/8	in "CAPA KALA" the ll. 14a-21 deal with shapes of kris-sheaths	1171/13 PRASASTI PANDÉ 1230/57 BABAD PANDÉ BAÑ
960/37	PAMAÑCAṆAH PĒDĒL ("flatnose")	1443/28 BABAD TUSAN
1033/33	PRASASTI PANDÉ (DĒSA TONDJA)	1804 in KUSUMA DÉVA the ll.
1034/17	PR. PANDÉ (BANDJAR AMBĒNGAN)	126-9 deal with Pandé Věsi
1040/15	PRASASTI SANGIÑ	2404/52 PRASASTI PANDÉ

(This last-mentioned ms, No. 2404, *diterjemahkan kĕdalam bahasa Indonesia dari babonnja jang berbahasa Bali-Kawi*, has been translated into Indonesian by I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa", 1958 Balimas Dĕnpasar; rather freely).

The Conglomeration S.E. of Pura Bēsakih Proper.

Of the cluster of courtyards on the other side of the uphill path (map IV) the group higher up the slope is again maintained by the Déva Agung of Klungkung. The effect of the terrain is that the only entrance to his section is from the Pura Batu Madĕg path, i.e. from the north-west and not facing up the mountain. This section consists of seven courtyards. The courtyard through which one enters the group has a brick pagoda of eleven tiers (*mĕru tumpañ solas*), dedicated to the ancestor-founder of the Klungkung dynasty, and one of five tiers. The courtyard immediately below it contains a brick pagoda of nine tiers (*mĕru tumpañ siya*), and wooden ones of successively seven (*pitu*), five (*lima*), three (*tiga*) and one (*siki*) tiers, all situated in one line with the eleven tier pagoda in the upper courtyard. These pagodas are dedicated successively to the son and heir of the ancestor-founder of the dynasty, to his son and heir, and so on. Then there are another five courtyards, behind the two front ones, terraced one above the other and each containing a brick pagoda of five tiers. I was unable to find out their purpose.

Below this group of courtyards maintained by the Déva Agung, lies a stretch of steep, rough ground which is impassable and separates it from the next row of three courtyards lying next to each other along the path leading to Pura Dangin Krĕtĕg. They can only be entered from this path and their entrances thus face up the mountain. The first of these three courtyards is the Dharma Dalĕm Sukawati, in which the Cokorda of Ubud venerate the ancestor-founder of their dynasty, to whom a seven tier brick pagoda is dedicated. In the separate little courtyard in the south-east corner of the Ubud courtyard stands a five tier pagoda which I was told was dedicated to a certain Gusti Bĕndul, a figure I have never encountered either in the KBNW or, as far as I remember, in any Balinese ms.

The second courtyard contains a five tier pagoda and is maintained by the Vésia Puñakan (or: Ņakan) family. In front of this courtyard, in the road, stands a five tier pagoda, dedicated, I was told locally, to the founder-ancestor of the Pasĕk caste.

The third courtyard, like the first, consists of two separate ones, the larger and higher one maintained by descendants of the deposed Mĕngwi dynasty and containing a seven tier pagoda. The lower courtyard is maintained by the descendants of Aria Bĕlog of Kaba-kaba, a Majapahit army officer.

On the other side of the Pura Daging Krētég path, and below it, lies a courtyard with one seven tier and one five tier pagoda. I was unable to find out to whom they are dedicated or who maintains this courtyard. The entrance is from the Pura Batu Madég path.

The only aim of this imperfect digression is to smooth the path for a future investigator into Bali's pre-Hindu castes and their survival. Another path will be formed by his presence at their cremations and witnessing of their privileges maintained there. Another again is formed by his research in judicial archives, for caste conflicts were not rare in the past.

APPENDIX II

PURA VATU KARU

Pura Batu Kau is the dynastic ancestral and state temple of Tabanan and is situated in this state; it is again a mountain sanctuary. Its anniversary day is on Manis Galuñan, which day is also called Rėspati Manis Duñulan.

A greater contrast in appearance than that between Pura Batu Kau and Pura Bėsakih is hardly imaginable. The pagodas here do not tower high above the bare surroundings as in Pura Bėsakih proper, but stand out darkly against the deep green jungle backdrop. The site lies as if hewn out of the dense jungle around it, dark, overshadowed by tall trees on all sides, its stones mossy and the level ground covered with grass. There are no traces of cement between the stones of the walls and temples, which fit closely together. Remote from habitation and inaccessible even by jeep, Pura Batu Kau made a much deeper impression on me than any of the other temples I ever visited in Bali and Lombok. Sura-nadi, River of the Gods (Sneeuwjagt, 1926; C. Hooykaas, 1941, p. 128), just above Mataram in Lombok, also a jungle site with beautiful running water, could not even compare in loveliness or grandeur with Pura Batu Kau, with its huge tank, of some 225 by 240 feet, with beautifully clear, fresh water and surrounded with specially chosen trees. Again, the little temple between Lake Buyan and Lake Tamblingan, in the Plain of Bėnyah and near the better known Lake Bratan, is a real beauty, but the bathing place of Pura Batu Kau, with water bursting forth from the woods, where people perform their ablutions in the water, is moving in its loveliness. Likewise, Pura Kėhėn, above Bangli, is well worth visiting, but whereas there one may have difficulty getting rid of the traders in tourist articles, in Pura Batu Kau one is received by a *pamañku* who offers holy water to the visitor and wishes him *omne quod felix, faustum fortunatumque sit (sriyambavantu)* in a Sanskrit formula borrowed from the *padanda's* ritual (Lėvi p. 27, last line of No. 110).

When, during my last stay in Bali, my guide and I approached the temple, he at one point left the path, stepping aside to the right to ask the Lord of the Soil for permission to enter his territory. In Tirta Gangga, Karangasėm, a village temple has a coarsely hewn, red-faced wooden image of the *ñrurah*, Lord of the Soil. I had often noticed this act before, in Java to the west as well as in Lombok to the east. The spot where this divinity resides is, in Java, called *Rėca Pada*, because there is usually a small stone statue, *rėca*, or *arca*, blackened with the smoke and drip of incense and other burnt offerings, at the foot, *pada*, of the mountain. I remember noticing such *arca* before I went to live in Bali, before the war, when I climbed various mountains, like Lawu and Sėmėru, in Java, and Rėñjani, in Lombok. To enter the Rėñjani region half a century ago one apparently had to be introduced by a *pamañku*, the mediator in Muslim Lombok, between man and the deity of the mountain.

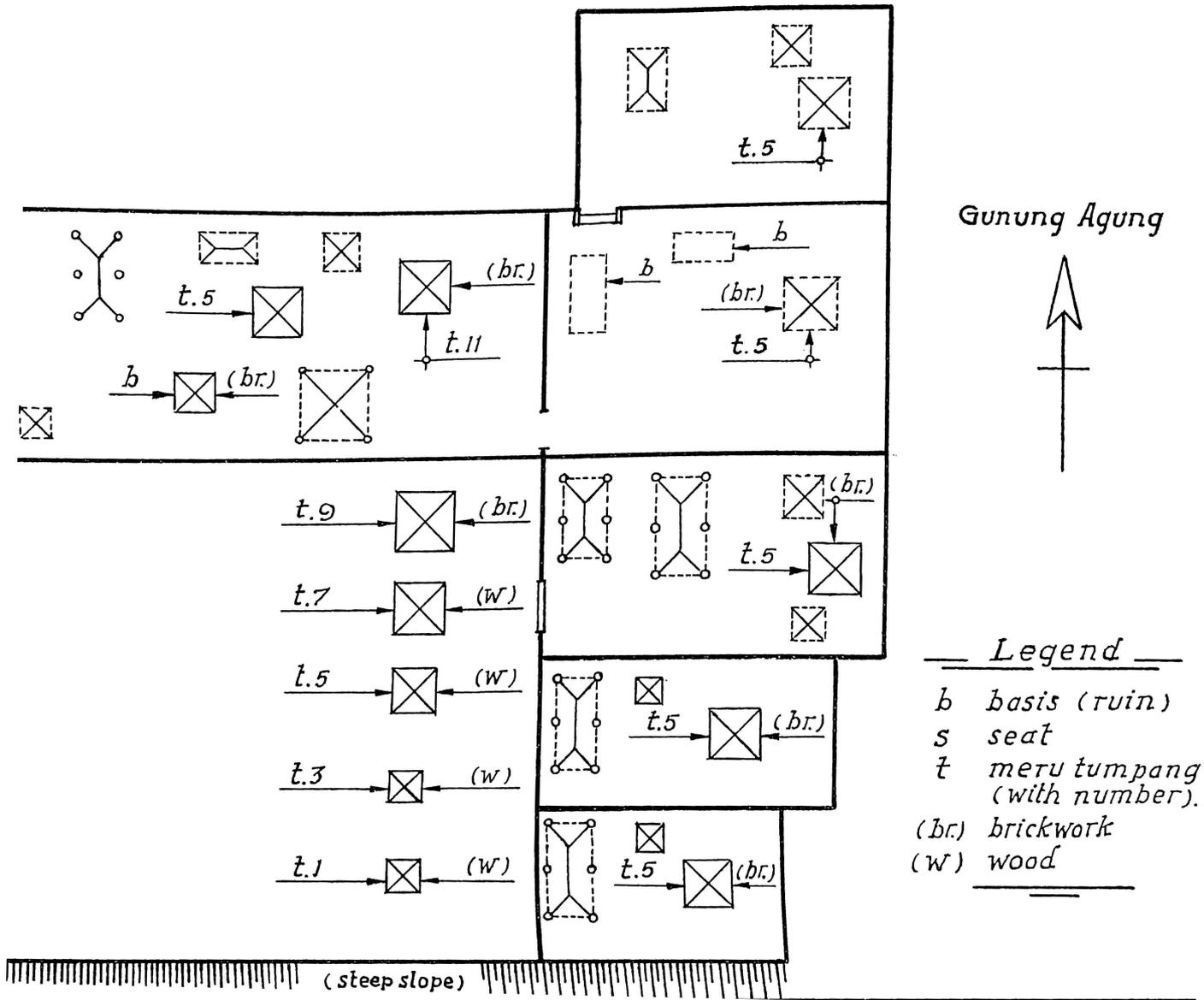
On the occasion when I climbed Mount Lawu, in 1934 or 1935, I regretted having come totally unprepared for archaeological or anthropological research, without either a camera or even pencil and paper, for I came across a temple site, at perhaps a hundred feet from the top, which, to my knowledge, had not been recorded before. The crumbling walls of the courtyards were only a few feet high. In general appearance the complex seemed to have been built in Javano-Balinese style. A similar temple is to be found in Bali on the top of the Peak of Bulèlèng, the Silañjana or Bukit Pulès Sai.

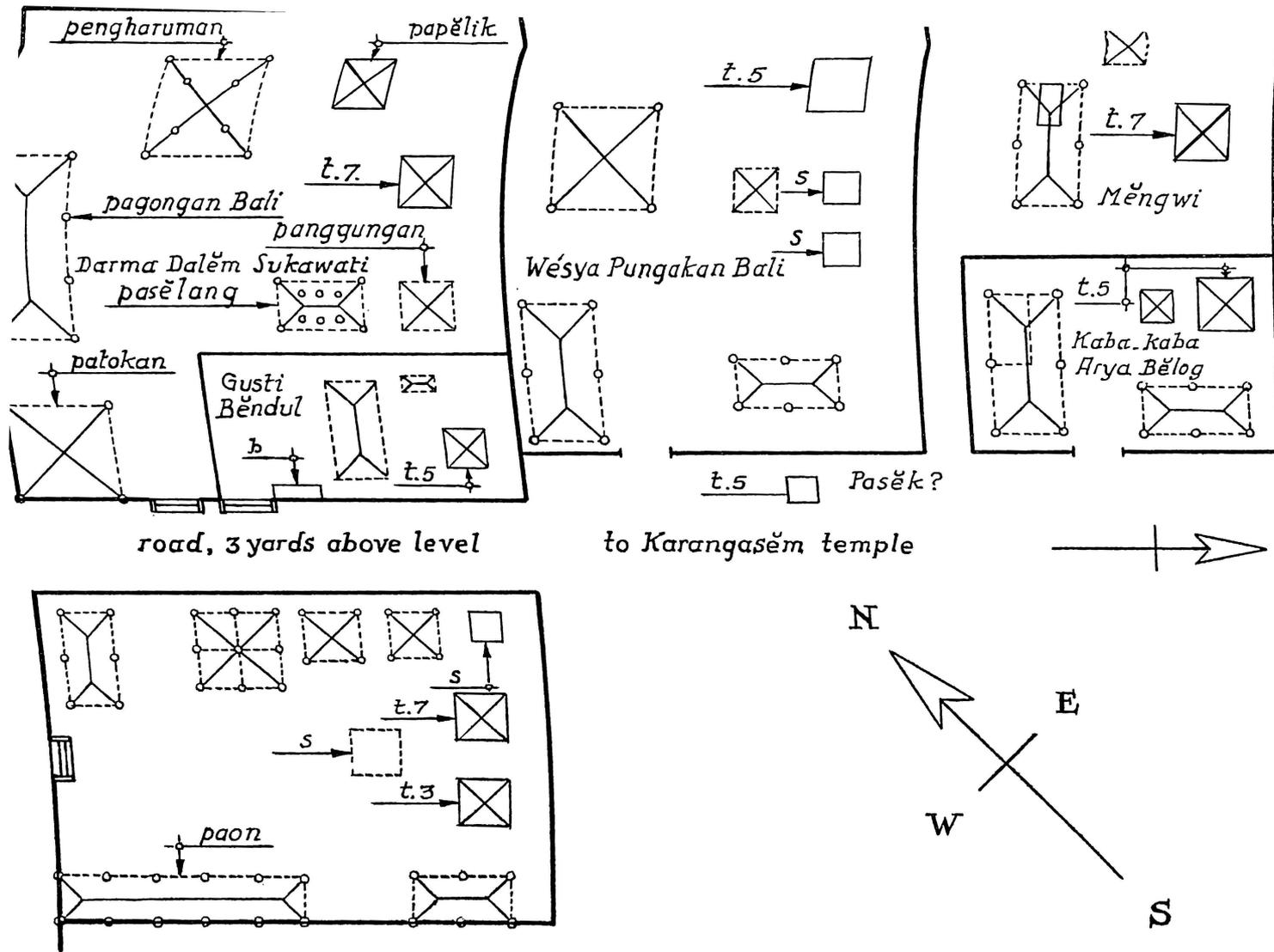
Also, in the immediate neighbourhood of that *caṅḍi*, near the top of Mt. Lawu, there was a roughly hewn bamboo model of a boat containing two life-size dolls, one dressed as a man, the other as a woman, brought there by order of the Susuhunan of Surakarta, Paku Bhuwana X. I was unable to learn anything about this offering, even later, from friends intimate with the court. In this context it is interesting to note, however, that pieces of clothing used to be offered regularly by the court of Djokjakarta on its special mountain, the Merapi.

Having done obeisance to the Lord of the Soil (not indicated on map V), my guide paid no attention to the next shrine along the road, the Pura Pěnyaum (Ha, b). Following the path, past the Pura Pěnyaum, one soon comes across a path to the left, leading to the Pura Dalēm (J). Since there is no village in the immediate neighbourhood of Pura Batu Kau, I assume that this is the Pura Dalēm of the former Tabanan court. Its location in relation to the rest of the complex corresponds to that of the Dalēm Puri at Bēsakih, i.e. to the bottom left of the longitudinal axis of the complex. In the Hindu system its location, to the south-west, relates it to Rudra. It has seats for the descent of Bhaṭṭāra Guru/Kāla (Ja) and Bhaṭṭāri Umā/Durgā.

There are just two further buildings in the complex about which I want to say something more. One is a little shed, *balé*, consisting of a wooden platform with a roof and supported by four pillars, *saka pat* (Ka), beside the second main courtyard (A). It is dedicated to the benevolent spirit Jro Bañbañ, Lord Hole in the Ground. Perishable remains of pulled down or ruined buildings of the complex are dumped by this shrine to rot and disintegrate, a process presided over by Jro Bañbañ. For if a building collapses or is pulled down, none of the building materials even if they are still serviceable, may be used again, either within or outside the temple precincts. Nor may they be consumed by fire, presumably because fire is conceived of as serving more elevated spiritual ends, such as deliverance of the soul after death, or, invoked as Kāla-Agni-Rudra during *dagdhi-karaṇa*, as consuming the last impurities of the officiating priest. Fire may probably therefore not be used on sacred ground for such profane ends. I must admit, however, that my assumption may be too Hindu. I have never come across this prohibition elsewhere and only learnt about it at the end of my visit and was unable therefore to find out about its reasons.

Most of the buildings dedicated to the deified ancestors are in the second main courtyard (A). It is very difficult to make out from the Tabanan mss who they are, historically. These mss are: 715/28 and 1792/92 Babad Aria Tabanan, 840/44 and 950/36 Pamañcañah Tabanan and 850/17 Babad Ratu Tabanan. There is one pagoda (A_o) in this courtyard which is dedicated to an I Ratu na-Java ana-Bali, "the Prince who went to Java and returned to Bali". The only prince who did this who is mentioned in the Tabanan texts was Da Gusti Madé Pamadėkan. The story goes that he was the second son (*madé*) of Prabhu Vinalvan, King the Widower, by N: Gusti Stri Pamadėkan, the daughter of the Ruler of Badung. Madé Pamadėkan was sent, together with Gusti Vayahan Pamadėkan, the eldest son, *vayahan*, on an expedition to Java, where they became involved in a battle with the Javanese. Madé Pamadėkan was wounded and his elder brother sent him back to Bali. He would have been unable to trace his way back home through the jungle if a turtledove, *kitiran*,





Map IV. Complex of temple yards, immediately right of the central sanctuary of Bësakih, Karangasëm.
 (drawn by J. Hooykaas, civil engineer (Delft)).

prēkutut, had not led him on his way by his enchanting singing. Vayahan Pamadėkan, however, was captured by the Javanese, brought to Mataram, where he became the son-in-law of the Ruler and ultimately succeeded him. At the death of Prabhu Vinalvan, who had married many spouses and engendered a numerous progeny, Madė Pamadėkan succeeded him, in the absence of Vayahan Pamadėkan.

It is interesting to note in the light of this story that the pagoda dedicated to Madė Pamadėkan does not lie in line with those of his predecessors (a, x, w), but is the first of a new line (o, p, q). The only two deified ancestors not specified exclusively as such, or as Cokorda Tabanan (q, t, u, w), are Ratu Madė Kobėtan (x) and Ratu Naga Mas (p), neither of whom I was able to identify with persons mentioned in the Tabanan historical writings.

As for the Tabanan dynasty, according to Anak Agung Ngurah Potrakasunu, pensium Kṛtopapati Tabanan, kañ kañgėh Anrurah Kurambitan kapiñ sapuluh, the tenth feoffee of Krambitan, father of my friend and informant, the compiler of the BABAD ARIA TABANAN, a long history about the rulers of Tabanan, "the end has come of the ruling head and dynasty of Tabanan", *cėput pusėr prati-santana Puri Agung Tabanan*. A few lines further on he writes: "which is the end of the rule of the Hindu-Balinese rulers of Tabanan", *maka-vėkasan sirna tañ pañvinaya sapratata niñ ratu Bali-Hindu riñ Tabanan*.

In view of these remarks the sanctuary dedicated to the ancestors of this dynasty was in surprisingly good condition and state of repair when I visited it. I learned recently that the Indonesian Government Archaeological Service is presently devoting some attention to this site, which is certainly very worthwhile, and I look forward to publication of the results of this research.

V.

ŚIVA-RĀTRI,
THE NIGHT OF WORSHIP

INTRODUCTION

The observance of Śiva-rātri in Bali—and presumably in Java during the Hindu past—may be considered as being a summit of worship of Śiva-Liṅga. I know it only from textual materials, but was so fortunate in having some commentary on them from my Śaivite brahmin informant, Padanda Wayan Ngëndjung from Griya Sanur, Pèdjèng, Gianjar, who used to be employed by the Gianjar department of the Office for Religious Affairs, and to whom I am greatly indebted.

The thread running through this study is as follows:

We begin with orientating ourselves by reading a description of the observance of Śiva-rātri in India (A).

We go on by comparing this with what we can find in print relating to the Old-Javanese *kakavin* (court poem in Indian metres) LUBDHAKA or ŚIVA-RĀTRI (B).

In Bali the observance of Śiva-rātri appears to be confined to royal persons, but only after they have been initiated/consecrated.

The observance of Śiva-rātri is a prerogative of the same category as those who are also entitled to hold the *Aśva-medha*, Horse-sacrifice (C).

Moreover the observance of Śiva-rātri should be preceded by *madhu-parka*, on which I present the scanty materials I happened to find in my mss (D).

The worship of Śiva-liṅga is preceded by ordinary Sūrya-sevana, worship of (Śiva being) the Sun, which has been published by Lévi in his “Sanskrit Texts from Bāli”. It is too complicated and too long to be dealt with here. Its numerous *mantra* and *mudrā* in the first place envisage the officiating priest’s outward and inward purity, in order to be a worthy receptacle for the God, Whom he invites to enter him. Now being Sūrya himself, he produces the final holy water with which he helps the commoners.

For the description of the worship of Śiva-Liṅga during Śiva-rātri we have some mutually supplementing and elucidating texts at our disposal (E).

Another text again could better be dealt with separately, not only because of its brevity and deviations, but mainly because it opens a new point of view, to wit the *stava* to be sung during the special worship of Śiva-rātri (F).

A. ŚIVA-RĀTRĪ IN INDIA

I know of no fuller and more enlightening description of the celebration of Śiva-rātri in India than that made by H. H. Wilson more than a century ago (1846; repr. 1862). It proves to offer so many points of comparison with what we find in Balinese texts and drawings that it seemed useful to reprint it entirely, except for the omission of two paragraphs, the first of which has been summarized, and the second being irrelevant for our purpose.

ŚIVARĀTRĪ. — *Fourteenth of the lunar month Phālguna ; dark half (27th February).* — This, in the estimation of the followers of Śiva, is the most sacred of all their observances, expiating all sins, and securing the attainment of all desires during life, and union with Śiva or final emancipation after death. The ceremony is said to have been enjoined by Śiva himself, who declared to his wife Umā, that the fourteenth of Phālguna, if observed in honour of him, should be destructive of the consequences of all sin, and should confer final liberation.

According to the Íśána Sanhitá, it was on this day that Śiva first manifested himself as a marvellous and interminable Linga, to confound the pretensions of both Brahmá and Vishnú, who were disputing which was the greater divinity. To decide the quarrel, they agreed that he should be acknowledged the greater, who should first ascertain the limits of the extraordinary object which appeared of a sudden before them [*Lingodbhava* ; previous study]. Setting off in opposite directions, Vishnú undertook to reach the base, Brahmá the summit; but after some thousand years of the gods spent in the attempt, the end seemed to be as remote as ever, and both returned discomfited and humiliated, and confessed the vast superiority of Śiva. The legend seems to typify the exaltation of the Śaiva worship over that of Vishnú and Brahmá, an event which no doubt at one time took place.

There is some difference of practice in respect to the day on which this festival is observed; according to some authorities, it is held on the fourteenth of the dark half of Māgha [this is certain, that it should be observed during the darkest night possible; C.H.].

The three essential observances are fasting during the whole Tithi, or lunar day, and holding a vigil and worshipping the Linga during the night; but the ritual is loaded with a vast number of directions, not only for the presentation of offerings of various kinds to the Linga, but for gesticulations to be employed, and prayers to be addressed to various subordinate divinities connected with Śiva, and to Śiva himself in a variety of forms.

After bathing in the morning, the worshipper recites his Sankalpa, or pledges himself to celebrate the worship. He repeats the ablution in the

evening, and going afterwards to a temple of Śiva, renews his pledge, saying, "I will perform the worship of Śiva, in the hope of accomplishing all my wishes, of obtaining long life, and progeny, and wealth, and for the expiation of all sins of whatever dye I may have committed during the past year, open or secret, knowingly or unknowingly, in thought, or act, or speech."

He then scatters mustard-seed with special mantras, and offers an argha; after which he goes through the *mátříká nyása*, — a set of gesticulations accompanied by short mystical prayers, consisting chiefly of unmeaning syllables, preceded by a letter of the alphabet: as, A—kam, A—srán, salutation to the thumb; I—chan, Í—srín, salutation to the fore-finger; U—stan, Ū—stúm, salutation to the middle-finger; and so on, going through the whole of the alphabet with a salutation, or *namaskár*, to as many parts of the body, touching each in succession, and adding, as the Mantras proceed, names of the *Mátřís*, female Śaktis, or energies of Śiva, who, by virtue of these incantations, are supposed to take up their abode for the time in the different members of the worshipper.

Other objects are supposed to be effected by similar means; impediments are obviated by stamping thrice, and repeating as often the Mantra "Haun, to the weapon, phat"; next, with the same mantra, and by thrice snapping the finger, the ten quarters of the sphere, or universal space, are aggregated in the Linga; and the purification of all beings is to be effected by thrice clapping the hands together, and uttering the same Mantra each time. The repetition of *nyása*, or touching parts of the body whilst repeating mystical ejaculations, accompanies every offering made to the Linga, as fruits, flowers, incense, lights, and the like, during the whole ceremony.

When the rite is performed, as it most usually is, in the performer's own residence, a Linga, if not already set up, is consecrated for the purpose; and this is to be propitiated with different articles in each watch of the night on which the vigil is held. In the first watch, it is to be bathed with milk, the worshipper, or the Brahman employed by him, uttering the Mantra "Haun-reverence to Íśána." An offering is then made with the prayer: "Devoutly engaging in thy worship, oh Íśwara, and in repeating thy names, I celebrate the Śivarātri rite according to rule, do thou accept this offering!" Incense, fruit, flowers, and articles of food, as boiled rice, or sometimes even dressed flesh are offered with the customary prostration, and with the repetition of other Mantras.

A similar course is followed in the other three periods, with a modification of the formulæ, and the articles used to bathe the Linga with. Then in the second, it is bathed with curds, with the Mantra, "Haun-reverence to Aghora"; and the mantra of the Argha is "Reverence to the holy Śiva, the destroyer of all sins; I offer this Argha at the Śivarātri, do thou with Umá be propitious." In the third, the bathing is performed with ghee, with the Mantra "Haun, reverence to Vámadeva"; and the

Argha-mantra is, "I am consumed by pain, poverty, and sorrow: oh Lord of Párvatí, do thou, oh beloved of Umá, accept the Argha I present thee on this Śivarátri!" In the fourth watch the Linga is bathed with honey, with the Mantra "Haun, reverence to Sadyojáta"; and the Argha-prayer is, "Oh Śankara! take away the many sins committed by me, accept, beloved of Umá, the oblation I present thee on this the night of Śiva."

At the end of the watch, or daylight, the ceremony is to be concluded with the radical mantra. "Śiváya namah", and some such prayers as these: "Through thy favour, oh Íśwara! this rite is completed without impediment; oh look with favour, oh lord of the universe, Hara, sovereign of the three worlds, on what I have this day done, which is holy and dedicated to Rudra! Through thy grace has this rite been accomplished. Be propitious to me, oh thou most glorious! Grant to me increase of affluence: merely by beholding thee I am assuredly sanctified." Oblations to fire are then to be made, and the ceremony concludes with further offerings to the Linga, and with the Mantra, "By this rite may Śankara be propitiated, and coming hither, bestow the eye of knowledge on him who is burnt up by the anguish of worldly existence." Brahmans are to be entertained, and presents are to be made to them by the master of the house and his family holding a feast.

Those modes of adoration which are at all times addressed to the different forms of Śiva, and those articles which are peculiarly enjoined to be presented to the Linga, form, of course, part of the observances of the Śivarátri. Amongst the forms is the Japa, or muttered recitation of his different names as the worshipper turns between his fingers the beads of a rosary, made of the seeds of the Rudráksha, or Eleocarpus. The fullest string contains one hundred and eight beads, for each of which there is a separate appellation, as Śiva, Rudra, Hara, Śankara, Íśwara, Maheśwara, Śúlapáni, Paśupati, and others. Amongst the latter are certain leaves and flowers, and fruits, and especially those of the bel-tree, as in the text — "The Vilwa is the granter of all desires, the remover of poverty; there is nothing with which Śankara is more gratified than with the leaf of the Vilwa."

The worship of Śiva at this season is permitted to all castes, even to Cháńdálás, and to women, and the use of the Mantras seems to be allowed to them; the only exception being the mystical syllable "Om". This they are not to utter; but they may go through the acts of worship with the prayer "Śiváya namah".

The same rewards attend their performance of it with faith, elevation to the sphere of Śiva, identification with him and freedom from future birth, and these benefits accrue even though the rite be observed unintentionally and unwittingly, as is evidenced by the legend of the forester which is related in the second part of the Śiva Purána, ch. XXXIV. Being benighted in the woods on the Śivarátri, the forester took shelter in a Vilwatree. Here he was kept in a state of perpetual wakefulness by

dread of a tiger prowling round the foot of the tree. He therefore observed, though compulsorily, the Jāgaraña or vigil. The forester had nothing with him to eat, consequently he held the fast. Casting down the leaves of the tree to frighten the tiger, some of them fell upon a deserted Linga near the spot, and thus he made the prescribed offering. On the ensuing morning the forester fell a prey to the tiger, but such was the fruit of his unvoluntary observance of the rites of the Śivarātri, that when the messengers of Yama came to take his spirit to the infernal regions they were opposed by the messengers of Śiva, who enlisted him in their ranks, and carried him off in triumph to the heaven of their master.

B. KAKAVIN LUBDHAKA OR ŚIVA-RĀTRI

In Old-Javanese literature this purāṇic legend apparently has been cast into the shape of a *Kakavin* LUBDHAKA or ŚIVA-RĀTRI, judging from the entry *lubdhaka* (III, 807) in KBNW: “*Lubdhaka* is the title of a *kakawin*, of which a hunter is the hero; after his death he was saved by Śiva’s followers from the hands of Yama’s servants because he had kept vigil for a whole night, from fear of wild beasts, and, sitting in a *vilva*-tree, had thrown its leaves on a *liṅga* underneath and thus complied with what is enjoined for the Śiva-ratri (cp. Wilson: Works II, p. 210).

It might prove to be a rewarding task to examine how closely the Old-Javanese poet followed his Sanskrit example; in view of the relatively great number of MSS available (Juynboll I, 157; Poerbatjaraka 1933, 322) I refrained from this absorbing task and try to satisfy my readers and myself (provisionally?) with printing in Latin script the final stanzas of the *kakavin* found in Brandes’ catalogue; they purport to be Śiva’s words (II, 126–131):

“Yadin sa-gati-gatya niñ vvañ amañun ala lumarani buddhi niñ para,
dvijāg[h]na tuvi mon kṛtaghna guru-talpaka mati-raray-uṅgu-riñ-vētēñ,
sa-pāpa niki nāśa de n iki n atañhi manuju Śiva-rātri kottama,
sa-vet ni parama-prabhāva nikanañ brata kaliñan i śabda ni ñ hulun.

Yadin tan anulah bratāñhiñ atutur tan aturu juga kāla mañkana,
sa-ka-lviran i jāti niñ vvañ atuhānvama bini-jalu-kanyakā kunčñ,
nyameka musir iñ Śivālaya mamuktya sukha tan abalik prih iñ hati,
sa-ka-hyun ika vastu siddha kat’kan kat’mu phala nikamañun hayu.”—

Nahan vacana Sañ Hiañ Īśvara(;) kapūhan iki sa-hana Sañ Hiañ anrēñö:
Girindra-tanaya sahur prañata mintuhu ri sa-pa-carah Jagat-pati.

“When people of all castes commit evil and cause suffering to other people,
Kill brahmins; are thankless; pollute the teacher’s bed and practise abortion,
All these sins are effaced when they keep vigil during excellent Śiva-rātri,
By virtue of the superior force of the pledge expressed now in my words:

Even if they have not taken a vow and merely observe the Teachings while observing
All manner of people—old, young, men, women and children— [the vigil,
Shall attain Śiva’s Heaven, taste bliss and be reborn without grief;
All their wishes will be fulfilled: they shall pluck the fruits of having observed *dharma*.”

Thus spoke Holy Īśvara and the Holy Gods were deeply impressed when they
[heard his words.
Girindra-tanayā humbly gave a signal of assent and agreed with all that Jagat-pati
[had said.

The last line, with Umā/Pārvatī, the “Daughter of the Lord of the Mountains”, being taught by her spouse Śiva, the “Lord of the World”, is a well-beloved form of literary composition, in the Indian TANTRA as well as in the Old-Javanese/Balinese TATTVA and TUTUR. Common

to PURĀṆA and KAKAVIN is also the promise of eternal reward even though the rite be observed unintentionally and unwittingly, *ex opere operato*, as Professor Bosch remarked in a letter. The Old-Javanese KAKAVIN apparently has the same outspoken tendency as the Indian PURĀṆA; but only after perusing E. The Linga-worship of Śiva-ratri, will we know to what extent the Indian worshipper and his Balinese counterpart can be compared.

C. RĚSI AND AŚVA-MEDHA IN BALI

The celebration of Śiva-rātri is the prerogative of ruling princes, as my Śaivite informant remarked, but the celebrant must also have been consecrated as a priest. That is to say that he must have received the initiation in the sacred texts, and consecration from the brahmin *padanda*, to enable him to prepare holy water. This preparation of holy water, dealt with in texts called ARGHA-PĀTRA and SŪRYA-SEVANA (cult of the Sun), in fact plays a major part in the whole Śiva-rātri ceremony, for it serves as a preface to the performance of the ceremony in the evening, at midnight and in the early hours of the morning.

Kṣatriya and non-*kṣatriya* ruling princes may be consecrated as priests by the brahmin *padanda*, and so may the descendants of certain prominent castes: the Sēnguhu, Dukuh and Pinatih, which are believed to have had priestly functions before the introduction of Indian influence. It is true that the *padanda* does not divulge all his liturgies indiscriminately to all the postulants, and is selective in the texts he imparts to the different candidates for priesthood, but a man who has received the consecration (Korn), irrespective of the number or potency of the texts to which he has been initiated, is entitled to prepare holy water, on his own behalf and on behalf of those who may ask for it. Only those belonging to the same caste or a lower caste (93 % of the population of Bali belong to the *śūdra*, calling themselves *jaba*, outside, i.e. from the *tri-vaṅsa*, the three [higher] castes) will ask for it, since those belonging to a higher caste would consider themselves defiled by using it.

The prince is called Rṣi Raja, or Raja Rṣi after consecration, the Sēnguhu is then called Rṣi Bhujāṅga or Rṣi Vaiṣṇava, the Dukuh becomes Rṣi Dukuh and the Pinatih becomes Rṣi Pinatih; when dealing with Pura Bēsakih in the fourth study sub G, we met the sanctuaries for the worship of their ancestors.

In contrast to Wilson's observations in India, Śiva-rātri is not a popular observance in Bali, nor an important feast; Goris (1960) does not mention it at all. In Bali, I was told by my Śaivite informant, Śiva-rātri, like the *aśva-medha*, used to be the ritual reserved exclusively for princes. But then we should bear in mind that according to Van Leur Hindu religion in Indonesia to begin with was a matter of princes and palaces, the rulers asking a magician from over the seas to give them a powerful initiation and consecration to confirm them in their rule. Actually this is exactly what has been narrated about the ruler of Bali in Gēlgēl and the brahmin Dañ Hiañ Kañcana being invited to come over from Java, a story still to be found even in such late writings as KALAVASAN PĒṬAK or TUTUR ASU-ASA (K 506 ll. 7-8) and BABAD SĒNGUHU ASU-ASA (K 278 l. 6a).

It is not to be expected from these initiators and court priests that they should have considered it part of their duty to propagate the Hindu popular worship *par excellence*; and this gives the reason why the observance of Śiva-rātri has been confined to king-priests. The surprising piece of information of my Śaivite priest lends a most welcome perspective to the textual evidence regarding Śiva-rātri in relation to the occurrence of Śiva-līṅga as ritual objects in Bali. This point is discussed further below.

There is little evidence from Indonesia about the observance of the *aśva-medha*. It is mentioned in the KORAVĀŚRAMA (Swellengrebel 1936), as one of several types of sacrifice, *yajña*, into which the Balinese are still wont to classify their sacrifices.

(In my English translation the concluding line is used as a caption).

This is what Yudhiṣṭhira revealed (to Dhṛtarāṣṭra):

Let me explain to you, my Royal Uncle, the Lesser, the Middle and the Superior Offerings.

Sacrificing to the Gods, to wit worshipping, offering sacrificial food and praising the Gods at full moon, is called *Deva-yajña*.

Sacrificing to the Anchorites, to wit, offering presents, fruits and food, as well as all sorts of other precious gifts and oblations to the *Maharṣi*, is called *Ṛṣi-yajña*.

Sacrificing to the demons, to wit, worshipping and offering oblations to the demons, is called *bhūta-yajña*.

Sacrificing to human beings, to wit, offering food to them in one's own compound, is called *Mānuṣa-yajña*.

Sacrificing to the ancestors, to wit, worshipping and offering sacrificial food to the ancestors, is called *Pitṛ-yajña*.

Sacrificing to the horse, to wit, making a pyre one tier high and twice as wide as it is high, onto which are cast incense and rose water, benzoin, the various aromatics peculiar to the lands across the sea and those peculiar to Java, and finally Fire, so that all is consumed in the flames, and then casting onto it the horses, chariots, elephants and all mounted animals, is called the *Aśva-medha-yajña*.

The paramount sacrifice, to wit, donating all that is to be found in the Palace, to the Mahā-brāhmaṇa, to the *Ṛṣi*, to the Śiva-priests and to the Buddha-priests, is called *Viśvajit*.

Thus the sacrifices that should be made by those who wish to attain Brahma-loka are set forth.

D. MADHU-PARKA

Before fulfilling his pledge, *brata*, of the observance of Śiva-rātri, the officiant should, according to my informant, fulfil the *madhu-parka* pledge. This implies that he must consume nothing except *madhu-parka*, which, judging from the paraphrase of *śloka* D, is synonymous with *madhu* in Bali. In India, *madhu-parka* is described as follows by Monier Williams in his dictionary: "A mixture of honey, an offering of honey and milk, a respectful offering to a guest or to a bridegroom on his arrival at the door of the father of the bride (sometimes consisting of equal parts of curds, honey and clarified butter)". The Sanskrit *śloka* in the passage below diverge somewhat from this description, but apart from that, the paraphrase is interesting in that it shows signs of adaptation by its author to local conditions. Thus, in *śloka* D, where the Sanskrit text has clarified butter, the corresponding line in the paraphrase gives sugar-cane juice. On the other hand, in the same *śloka*, the milk to consume one's own sins, is maintained in the paraphrase. It would be interesting to know, and I much regret that I have not been able to find out, what the officiant actually consumes at this point, since milk is unknown, if not abhorred food in Bali and, for that matter, in Java. We may assume that here the author means coconut milk, obtained by grating the flesh of the coconut, mixing it with water and pressing this mixture.

The only reference to *madhu-parka* which I have come across in Bali, apart from my informant's, quite independent, observation, consists of the passage given and translated below. It occurs in the AJI BRATA, "The Teaching of Pledges" (K 1875), a compilation of "memoranda" which also has the Śiva-rātri passages although, surprisingly, not in conjunction with the present passage. This consists of five *śloka* on *madhu-parka* in "Archipelago-Sanskrit" followed by an Old-Javanese paraphrase (given one by one), and five more *śloka*, without a paraphrase (translated together). The paraphrases proved to be most useful, as the Sanskrit is rather corrupt, and since the copy of the AJI BRATA which I consulted, appears to be the only one extant. For this reason I was also unable to emend the text with the aid of other mss. The first three *pāda* of *śloka* B, for instance, are missing altogether, although their paraphrase is complete.

A. Madhu-parkas tu yad bhakṣyaḥ, sarva-deva samādh(v)itaḥ;
na-sta-ma-ca-na-ra jñātvā, sarva-deva-samanvitam.

Ikañ devatā ana sanidhya (sinādhya? cf. C) riñ Sañ Hiañ Madhu-parka; sira juga
iḍḍepñ rasananta.

Madhu-parka is what one should take, to achieve concentration
on the Gods, ? , embodies all the Gods.

The Gods are embodied in Holy Madhu-parka; remember to meditate on them.

B., kadali(ñ)-ca(h) Mahādeva.

Arthania: Ikañ madhu Viṣṇu devatānya, air tēbu, Brahma devatānya;
pēhan Īśvara devatānya, punti Mahādava devatānya.
....., and the banana which embodies Mahādeva.

That is to say: Viṣṇu is the deity associated with honey,
Brahma is the deity associated with sugar-cane juice,
Īśvara is the Deity associated with milk,
Mahādeva is the Deity associated with the banana.

C. Lavaṇe Rudram ity uktam, bṛm Guroḥ Śambhu ucyate;
patra-svasa(?) Śivo jñeyah, ity etat devatāḥ sthitāḥ.

Hiañ niñ uyah Rudra; Hiañ niñ layaṇ Śambhu; Hiañ niñ lva Śiva; Hiañ niñ bṛm
Guru. Nahan tañ deva sinidhya (sinādhya? cf. A) ana riñ Madhu-parka.

In the salt of the sea Rudra is said to be immanent;
Rice wine is associated with Guru;
Śambhu, they say, is immanent in writing;
In pinchbeck(?), you must know, Śiva is immanent;
These are the substances in which the Gods are immanent.

In the salt of the sea, Rudra is immanent;
In writing, Śambhu is immanent;
In water (?), Śiva is immanent;
In rice wine, Guru is immanent;
These are the Gods immanent in the components of Madhu-parka.

D. Pituḥ pāpa[n] dahet sarpiḥ, mātuh pāpañ-ca madhunam;
svātipāpan [d]ahet kṣīraṁ, gātra(m)-pāpam kadali ca.

Arthania: ilaṇ de niñ air tēbu, pāpa niñ bapa ka-visarja denia;
ilaṇ de niñ madhu-parka, pāpa niñ babu, ka-visarja denia;
ilaṇ de niñ pēhan pāpa niñ śarīra-nta;
ilaṇ de niñ punti, pāpa niñ vañ sānakta, kadañ-varga ka-visar
Matañnia n ka-yatna-kēna de niñ mantra Madhu-parka. [ja denia.

Nihan mantra niñ ñavèh Madhu-parka:

Clarified butter consumes sins committed against one's father;
Honey consumes sins committed against one's mother;
Milk consumes one's own arch sins;
The banana consumes sins committed against one's kinsfolk.

Paraphrase: Sugar cane juice consumes sins committed against one's father;
Madhu-parka consumes sins committed against one's mother;
Milk consumes one's own sins;
The banana consumes sins committed against one's kinsfolk;

For this reason one should pay attention to the Madhu-parka mantra; these run
as follows:

E. Oñ Madhu-parkam idaṁ punyaṁ, pavitraṁ pāpa-nāśanam;
Īśvaro nāśi saṁsmṛtaḥ, punāti sakalañ jagat.

Mañ. Piñ tēlu amaṇan(.) piñ tēlu masucia; saha pūjā-parikrama karēhēn, tēhēr
upavāsa. Vus iñ piñūjā(.) aṅ-bhakti kadi paña-bhakti niñ a-brata.

Nihan pūjā niñ Madhu-parka(,) krama-nia: pradakṣaṇeñ Śivāmbha, sa-gandhākṣata tala-bhedana, nārāca-mudrā, saha mantra-nira; alap ta kēmbañ saha gandhākṣata mantra:

Oñ Madhu-parka is merit, for it is cleansing and it consumes sins.
Be conscious that Īsvara is destructive and that he cleanses the whole world.

Mañ! One should eat (Madhu-parka?) thrice and cleanse oneself thrice, but before doing this, one should first tend the God in the prescribed manner (i.e. by Sūrya-sevana) and fast. After tending the God, one should worship Him as laid down in the pledge.

This is how one should tend the God when taking Madhu-parka: one should move the censer clockwise around the holy water container, flick unblemished rice grains around it in the same direction, wash one's hands ritually, perform the Nārāca-mudrā, while reciting the appropriate *mantra*. One should take the flowers, the aromatics and the unblemished rice grains and recite the following mantra:

- F. Oñ Madhu-parkam idaṁ *Brahmā*, pavitraṁ kaluṣaṅ-gatam;
śīla-pāpa-viśuddhena, a-kāra-mantra(m) uttamam.
- G. Oñ Madhu-parkam idaṁ *Viṣṇuḥ*, pavitraṁ kaluṣaṅ-gatam;
śabda-pāpa-viśuddhena, u-kāra-mantra(m) uttamam.
- H. Oñ Madhu-parkam idaṁ *Īśaḥ*, pavitraṁ kaluṣaṅ-gatam;
citta-pāpa-viśuddhena, ma-kāra-mantra(m) uttamam.
- I. Oñ Madhu-parkam idaṁ *cittam*, yat puñya ga tat pavitraṁ;
pāpa-vighnan do-kāra-ya, tad iti kara-śodhanam.
- J. Oñ Madhu-parkam idan ta yat, sarva-deva-pratiṣṭhitam;
bhāṣyam madhuram maditvā, sarva-pāpa-vināśanam.
- Mantra niñ Madhu-parka saha kēmbañ, ur (?) dhūpa gaṅṭhā, japa Īśana.

- F. Oñ, Madhu-parka which is *Brahmā* and removes impurities;
the appropriate mantra consists of the syllable *a*,
which is most efficacious for removing wrongs done by deeds.
- G. Oñ, Madhu-parka which is *Viṣṇu* and removes impurities;
the appropriate mantra consists of the syllable *u*,
which is most efficacious for removing wrongs done by words.
- H. Oñ, Madhu-parka which is *Īśa* and removes impurities;
the appropriate mantra consists of the syllable *ma*,
which is most efficacious for removing wrongs done by thought.
- I. Oñ, Madhu-parka which is *Citta*, meritorious removes impurities;
wrongs and obstructions; cleansing of the hands.
- J. Oñ, Madhu-parka which effects the presence of all the Gods; ,
when one attains ecstasy by taking in its sweetness and proclaiming it,
this achieves the annihilation of all wrong.

When pronouncing the Madhu-parka mantra, use flowers, ,
incense and the bell, and murmur "Lord".

A number of elements from these *śloka* recur in other texts: those reproduced in The Course of Śiva-rātri as well as the Sūrya-sevana ones, not given here. Sacred syllables, for instance, occurred in the Sūrya-sevana texts, as also the ritual cleansing of the hands; the trinity of deed, word and thought embodied in the Gods *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Īśa* (Śiva),

mentioned in the last *mantra*, will be referred to in a treatise on *Ātma-liṅga*; the murmuring of the name *Īśana* suggest the recitation of the hundred and eight names of Śiva, which recurs in the Śiva-rātri passages.

The underlying dominating thought in this observance of Madhu-parka seems to be this: the worshipper who is about to undertake the fulfilling of this heavy vow, during the darkest of nights imaginable with all its evil powers, first cleanses himself outwardly and inwardly from all his previous shortcomings and sins, as a defense against all powers of Evil which might threaten him, fortifying himself by materially and spiritually absorbing the Trinity, which will give him strength in thoughts, words and actions.

E. THE LIŅGA WORSHIP OF ŚIVA-RĀTRI

1. INTRODUCTION

The presentation of the textual materials on Śiva-rātri might perhaps best be preceded by:

- a) an exposé of their character and a justification of the method of presenting them;
- b) a review of some technical terms and the apparent lack of consistency in their use;
- c) remarks on some discrepancies, various readings and possible mistakes;
- d) the embroglio Sumur/Kumāra—an addition to an existing list.

- a) Exposé of the character of textual materials and justification of the method of presenting them.

Although there are several accounts of the Śiva-rātri ceremony, from beginning to end, in the AJI BRATA (K 1875), they no more than resemble each other in broad outlines and it is difficult to form a clear picture of the procedure. Certain patterns, however, do emerge. It seems clear, for instance, that the officiant begins during the daytime with preparatory rites (68; 226; numbers refer to the lines of the texts *infra*). It is probably during the daytime that he brings the listed offerings. He should first prepare holy water (68, 227), and then he is told he must observe silence and fast during the afternoon (72-73). This is probably the time when he takes *madhu-parka*.

He worships several deities on each of the three occasions when he performs the Śiva-rātri ritual (74-85), of whom Íśvara and Viṣṇu/Brahmā/Śiva recur every time, whereas Gaṇa and Kumāra are characteristic for the first part of the vigil, Giri-putrī for the second and Kumāra alone for the third. Gaṇa as the remover of (initial) hindrances might be expected; Kumāra during the first and the third or last vigil deserves attention; it reminds one of the preponderant role of the god Subrahmanya in South India.

Lines 226-280 are, generally speaking, interesting and illuminating, as they mention the stages of the deity's progress: his presence (*pratiṣṭhā*), apparition (*utpatti*) and installation (*sthiti*), which must be brought about by the officiant, and also the fact that in the early hours of the morning the officiant must bring about the return of his own soul.

The "short litany" (282) mentions the object of the ceremony and does so most inconspicuously: "Thy servant begs Thy leave to end the observance of the pledge', this may be accompanied by a request formulated in your own words".

In addition to the prescribed *mantra*, the officiant should also frequently

murmur “Oṅ, oṅ, praise to Śiva-linga”, and “Oṅ, oṅ, praise to Liṅga-lingâdhipati”, while he drops *bilva* leaves in the holy water container. But I shall let the texts speak for themselves.

It did not seem necessary to me to reproduce any of the texts in facsimile, since a sufficient number of Old-Javanese, Balinese and Sanskrit texts from Indonesia are available for anybody who wishes to acquaint himself more closely with their nature. It seemed sufficient, therefore, merely to transcribe the mss.

These texts were originally written and handed down on palm leaf which, on account of its elaborate manufacture, has always been used thriftily. No paragraphs are used, and full stops are rare; commas are more common, but all words between them are written as one. I have maintained full stops, but separated words between commas and changed some of the commas into colons or semi-colons. *Mantra* (introduced by the usual Balinese abbreviation *ma.*) I put into capitals, to differentiate them from the remainder of the text. The spelling of Balinese and Old-Javanese words I have made to conform to the Sanskrit components of the texts. In addition, the Balinese and Old-Javanese words carry accents with standard values.

Fortunately, the copyists of the Śiva-ratri texts facilitated my task of presenting them to a certain extent, as they used captions to introduce each separate “topic”.

I have reproduced the texts here, cut up into short lines, which I have numbered for ease of reference and comparison with other readings. These lines represent mnemonic, rather than metric, units, for the original mss. were written as prose. I have done this on the basis of experience with numerous texts of DHARMA PAVAYANAṆAN, “The Metaphysics for the *dalan*,” puppeteer of the shadow theatre and that exorcist priest (K 106, 369, 1151, 1610 and some in my private collection, which I hope soon to deal with at length). These are texts in which omissions of just such units occurred and in which the order of the topics varied from ms. to ms. In the long enumeration of ritual requisites, I have numbered each item separately for ease of reference.

TEXTS on ŚIVA-RĀTRI as found in Balinese mss.

- K 1875, AJI BRATA, Lessons on Pledges, pp. 22-23, my lines 1- 85; 86-113;
 pp. 20-21, my lines 201-328;
 K 2219, SŪRYA-SEVANA, Sun Worship, pp. 27-28, my lines 401-449;
 Cod. Or. Lugd. Bat. 5429, no name, subdiv. 5, my lines 501-531;
 K 1441, KALĒPASAN, “Liberation”, ll. 36b-37a, my lines 601-649.

In going through the texts presented *infra*, the reader will find that:
 226-294 occur, in a less complete form, in SŪRYA-SEVANA (401-449). This variant occasionally supplements the corresponding AJI BRATA lines;
 295-300 occur only once, in the AJI BRATA;
 226-267 occur also in KALĒPASAN (601-629) and SŪRYA-SEVANA (401-426);
 283-288 occur, in different sequence, in KALĒPASAN (637-646).

I have not translated the lines from KALĒPASAN which diverge from the other texts, since they add hardly anything.

b) A review of some technical terms and the apparent inconsistency in their use.

In reading our texts we find several technical terms which preferably should be translated consistently in one way; if that proves impossible, it may be better perhaps to review and discuss them beforehand. The ones to be discussed here are: *amvit*, *bhakti*, *bantĕn* and *caru*, *pūjā*, *sākṣī*, *sĕmbah*, *sūrya-sevana*, *tīrtha*; *ātma-līṅga*, also a recurrent technical term (240, 438/633, 301/104/521) deserves to be discussed at length; I hope to do this soon.

Amvit (69, 75, 299)—to beg leave, to put an end to a friendly chat/meeting/conversation, to ask permission to withdraw from the presence of a person considered higher in rank. In 299–300 the translation is: I beg thy leave to end the observance of the pledge which I have performed during the many preceding hours of the night, and finally I invoke thy lofty attention for the request now to be formulated. In 69 and 75 the instruction to the officiant runs: “beg leave from the God of the Sun”, but now it is not the worshipper who goes away, but the God of the Sun who is invited to do so, for to Him the worshipper addresses a *śloka* beginning with the words: “Ehi Sūrya!”, Go away, oh! God of the Sun (Lévi p. 32 No. 143).

Bantĕn (202) and *caru* (2, 201). *Bantĕn* is a “high” word, constructed from the Sanskrit *bali*, along the same lines as Skr. *sari* → *santĕn*, *sagara* → *sagantĕn* and Portuguese *almari* → *lĕmantun*, etc. According to Monier Williams’ Sanskrit Dictionary *bali* means “tribute, offering, gift, oblation, . . . any offering or propitiatory oblation (esp. an offering of portions of food, such as grain, rice etc.) to certain gods, semi-divine beings, household divinities, spirits, men, birds, other animals and all creatures including even lifeless objects; it is made before the daily meal by arranging portions of food in a circle or by throwing them into the air outside the house or into the sacred fire; it is also called *bhūta-yajña*, and was one of the *pañca mahājajñas* or great devotional acts”. In Bali, theoretically, *bantĕn* are offerings for the gods above; “*do ut des*”, and *caru* (also, confusingly, called *bantĕn riñ sor*, offerings to those below), offerings for the demons, “*do ut abeas*”. This distinction, frequently disregarded in speech, does not appear to have been made here either. I have therefore not differentiated between them in my translation.—The Skr. word *bali* is preserved e.g. in Pañca-Bali-Krama, name of a great offering.

Sākṣī (25, 30, 39, 40), witness, is the deity who is invoked to be present during (part of) the ritual, to whom *mantra*, *veda*, *stuti/stava/stotra* are directed, in whose direction petals are thrown; *a-sākṣī* is here used for one complete ritual, either for Śivāditya or for Śiva-Līṅga.

Sĕmbah (284, 286, 288, 303/106/523, 306/526, 309/111/529, 311/113/531,

437, 449, 618), the Skr. *añjali*, by Monier Williams defined as follows: "the open hands placed side by side and slightly hollowed (as if by a beggar to receive food; hence when raised to the forehead, a mark of supplication), reverence, salutation, benediction; a libation to the Manes (two hands full of water, *udakāñjali*)". In Indonesia with *sēmbah* the thumbs touch one another; the meaning is roughly the same: to offer words reverently. By extension the verbal form means: to perform a rite.

Sūrya-sevana (227-228), the adoration of the Sun, resulting in the preparation of holy water, *tirtha* (31, 34); they are alternating terms in our texts.

Finally *pūjā* (234, 235, 242, 249, 251, 261, 265, 289, 420, 610, 614, 626, 630) *a priori* might be reserved for *Sūrya-sevana*, and *bhakti* (28, 30, 33, 43, 68, 72, 74, 78, 81, 295, 312/86/501, 326/101, 518, 638/98/514) used for the special adoration of Śiva-Liṅga. But on the one hand in 233-235 and 626-629 Śiva-Liṅga is the object of *pūjā*, and on the other in 68-69 and 74-75 *man-bhakti* means *Sūrya-sevana*. It looks as if our texts use the words indiscriminately.

c) Some discrepancies, various readings and possible mistakes.

In the description of a ritual it is of no importance whether first the *mantra* is given, to be followed by the moment at which this should be spoken, as this is done (283/438) in these two parallel texts, or whether the sequence is inversed, as in 631-636; likewise whether the *mantra* precedes the notification of the place as in 318-325/91-[101]/507-517, or the place precedes the *mantra* as in 638-646; here a distinguishing punctuation and the use of capitals prove helpful.

But in 285/440 we find *Parama-Śiva-Liṅga* and in corresponding 634 *Liṅga-Liṅgādhipati*, for the midnight worship, whereas 310-311/112-113/530-531 state that this is the right name for invocation during the whole night when the worshipper is afraid of being overpowered by sleep; therefore 634 might be a various reading if not a mistake.

Ātma-Liṅga should be worshipped in the evening according to 301-302/521-522/631-632 and 438-439, but the parallel 283-284 give here *Liṅgādhipati*, which I can only consider as a mistake.

Śūnya-Śiva-Liṅga is found in 307-308/109-110/527-528 and 636 for the adoration in the early morning, so that *Śūnya-Liṅga* in 287-288/442-443 looks like an abbreviation or an omission.

The preceding remarks emanate from the point of view that these five texts, divergent though they prove to be (be it mainly by the omission of lines, sequence of sentences and sometimes in their choice of words), essentially deal with one ritual. Even so there is either a more restricted (*cēndēk*, 282) number of *mantra* (282-294/438-449) or a fuller one, with which the same text proceeds in 301-328, being THE END, just like in the other two texts 86-113/501-531.

d) The embroglio Sumur/Kumāra – an addition to an existing list.

Sumur occurs in 4 and again in 77, this time in conjunction with Sūrya, Īśvara, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Śiva, and Gaṇa. It seems plain that Kumāra, Śiva's other son, is meant here. Moreover, the text mentions worship of Kumāra elsewhere (97/321/513/639), as well as worship to Gaṇeśa: Gaṇa (77), Gaṇa-pati (99, 323, 515, 641), Gajēndra-mukha-pati (100/324/516), and in the Leiden Codex, the *mantra* (86–113) are followed by a Kumāra hymn. *Sumur*, which, in fact, means "a well" in Balinese, must represent some persistent corrupt textual transmission. According to my informant in Krambitan, *bantĕn sumur* is a recognised offering, and the professional offering makers he consulted were able to describe it in detail. That is to say that the brahmin priests will cleanse *bantĕn sumur* with holy water but then offer it to Kumāra.

Sumur seems to have found his niche in Madame Tussaud's Chamber of Philological Errors, if not Horrors, side by side with his brothers Sapvani, Tuhayata and Sagotra (Hazeu, 1898), Moses with the horns, the three children of Saint Nicholas and St. Elmus the Martyr (Bosch, 1956).

The confusion about Sumur and Kumāra is comparable to that found in another text, the PŪRVA BHŪMI KAMŪLAN: under the direction of the *rĕsi bhujāṅga*, the exorcist priest, offerings are brought of spirits (*tuwak, tvak, tok*), rice cones and meat, i.e. *tok sĕkul kalavan ulam*, but the priest writes down: *tok sikug kalavan ulan*; of these words *sikug* is entirely meaningless and *ulan* means moon, which makes no sense in the context.

A passage should read *tadah sukla, pacan gorĕn*, i.e. "pure offering food, intended to be roasted", but in actual fact reads *tadah sukla, kacan gorĕn*, the last words meaning roasted peanuts; substitution of initial p- by k- is a well known feature.

Finally, the Balinese brahmin priest writes, and in his daily ritual refers to, Agni-Rudra in one passage, while in another passage, he inexplicably writes and refers to A.ni-Rudra, which makes no sense at all. This mistake recurs in all the texts known to me in corresponding passages. When I enquired about the reason from a *purohita* in Bali, the chief priest of a province, he declared that both names had their own significance which he could not, however, explain to me as I was not an initiate. Awe, I think, is the reason for this alteration.

I have tried to illustrate two things with these anecdotes. First of all, that mistakes have been perpetuated, and may be spread in writing, but do not owe their origin to recent scribes' errors. I daresay that actual *bantĕn sumur* are identical with offerings brought to Kumāra, i.e. that the tradition of the act itself is more accurate than that of the texts.

In the second place, it also emerges that apparently divergent formulations often signify the same thing. This is simple enough when one text merely uses the imperative form of the verb where another has the in-

dicative (*gēlarana* in 236, *aṅgēlar* in 402); when one text has *mvañ* (and; 411) and another (243) uses a comma in the corresponding position. When, however, one writer has *dēñēn* (638) and *pahibon* (640) while another text has *kidul in saṅgar* (98/322/514) and *lor in saṅgar* (325/517), problems begin to arise. I may have been mistaken here in my translation and appeal to my readers' clemency; it has not been my preference to work on these texts in a study in London, instead of in Bali.

2a. TEXTS ON THE RITUAL OF ŚIVA-RĀTRI

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|--|--|
| <p>1. ITI KALIÑAN IN A-BRATA ŚIVA-RĀTRI.
 2. CARU RIÑ SAÑGAR TAVAÑ.
 3. 4 dandan, tēkēn catur,
 4. bantēn Gaṇa bantēn Sumur;
 5. bantēn palingihan
 6. paḍa sa-dandan suañ;
 7. bubur pēhan bubur gula,
 8. vinoran tahak vilis,
 9. muañ dagiñ in sarva-suci;
 10. muañ sarva-vavañi pinaka-dhūpa,
 11. pula gēmbal, sasayut katututan;
 12. pras, lis, gēlar saña.</p> | <p>13. Muah Liṅga niñ Bhāṭṭara
 14. a-prarahi kañcana;
 15. paluṅguhanian ruan in pisañ tahēn,
 16. rinajah padmāsana riñ sor,
 17. riñ ruhur padmānlayan. —
 18. Yēka pinakādi niñ caniga,
 19. dulurana ruan in camara, ruan in suaha,
 20. sa-bagiania kari sēkarnia,
 21. muah parijāta, muah ruan in kalēvi,
 22. yēka pinakādi niñ caniga,
 23. plava samadaya, cindagaron tan kari,
 24. sa-pa-dulur-nia. —</p> |
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- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>25. A-sākṣi piñ tēlu:
 26. tēkēn rahina, pūrvania soré,
 27. madhya ratri parēkēn rahina.
 28. Tatkāla niñ a-prāya aña-bhakti,
 29. sama a-tēpuñ tavar, a-sagavu.
 30. Vus a-bhakti, ka-sākṣi a-Śiva-rātri,
 31. tēhēr a-tīrtha samadaya;
 32. kañ tumūt a-Śiva-rātri, piñ 3 sovañ.
 33. Tatkāla vus aña-bhakti,
 34. muvah vus a-tīrtha,
 35. sinēbit ruan in maja,
 36. tibākna riñ kumbha mēsi vai. (647/88/314/503)</p> | <p>37. Idēp tibēn padmāsana ruan in maja,
 38. tēlēn in sagara.
 39. Sākṣēkēn riñ Sañ Hiañ Śivāditya,
 40. muah riñ Sañ Hiañ Triyo da[di] sākṣi,
 41. muah riñ Sañ Hiañ Jagat-nātha,
 42. muah riñ Sañ Hiañ Prajā-pati;
 43. muah a-bhakti ka basēn.
 44. Sinusupan ruan in maja,
 45. 108 pinara-tiga,
 46. ikañ ruan in maja sātus v[o]lu,
 47. pinaka-vañi,
 48. muah sēkar pinakādinia</p> |
|--|--|
49. mēnur; 50. kañiri; 51. gambir; 52. kacubuñ; 53. vaduri putih; 54. putat; 55. aṅsoka; 56. sari taṅguli;
57. tañjuñ; 58. kalak; 59. campaka; 60. tuñjuñ biru; 61. tuñjuñ ban; 62. tuñjuñ putih; 63. sulasih mrík;

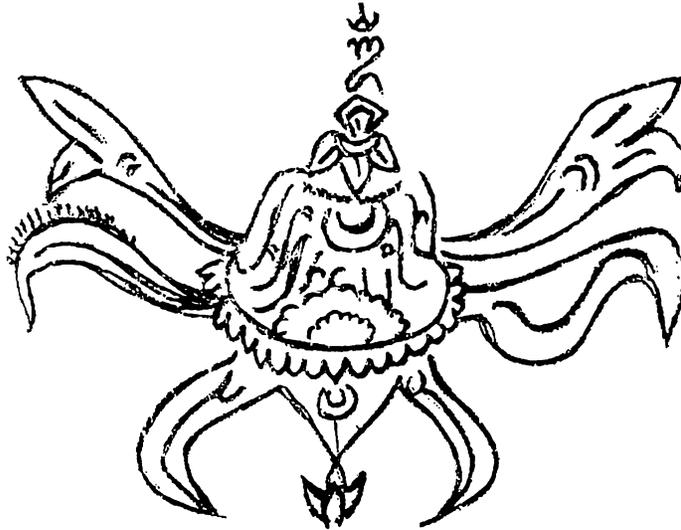


Fig. 24. Padma aṅlayan, lotus floating in the air (cf. l. 17).
From a Balinese palmleaf manuscript, modern but traditional.

2b. TRANSLATION OF THE ŚIVA-RĀTRI RITUAL

N.B. The numbers of the lines are referred to, as a rule, only at the beginning of each paragraph.

1. HOW TO FULFILL THE PLEDGE OF THE OBSERVANCE OF ŚIVA-RĀTRI. OFFERINGS IN THE TAVAN SRINE. Four sets of the fourfold offering, offerings for Gaṇa-pati and for Kumāra; the offerings in the different shrines should all be brought in duplicate.

7. They should consist of a potage cooked in coconut milk and a potage cooked with sugar and green noodles, containing only recognised pure and clean ingredients. Also, use various aromatics for incense, bring the *pula gembal* offering, the *sasayut katututan* offering and the *pras* offering; the holy water sprinkler and the nine attributes.

13. Next, you require a *liṅga* of Bhaṭṭāra with a golden face, placed on a banana leaf, with the *padmāsana* symbol engraved at the base, and that of the PADMA ANLAYAN at the top.

18. The shrines should be embellished, first of all, with *caniga* foliage; add *camara* and *svaha* foliage, the latter kind partly with flowers; also *parijāta* and *kalēvi* foliage; but, above all, that of the *caniga*. Also, have the lesser holy water sprinkler, complete with all its parts, ready, and do not forget the *puḍak* with foliage – (that is) all that belongs to it.

25. Call the Gods to witness your observance thrice. The whole ceremony lasts until sunrise: the ritual should be performed thrice, first in the evening, at midnight and in the early hours of the morning.

28. To prepare for worship, you need *tēpuñ tavar* and *sagavu*.

30. When you have worshipped, call the Gods to witness the ritual of Śiva-ratri; next perform the complete preparation of holy water, followed by the śiva-ratri ritual; each to be repeated thrice.

33. Each time, after worshipping and after preparation of holy water, tear the *bilva* leaves and drop them in the water jar.

37. While doing this, envisage them as falling on the *padmāsana*, in the depths of the ocean.

39. Call to witness Holy Śivāditya, call to witness the Holy Three Gods, Holy Jagat-nātha and Holy Bajra-pati; worship the self by sprinkling holy water on the abdomen.

44. Drop *bilva* leaves in the holy water container. There should be a hundred-and-eight *bilva* leaves, divided into three portions. These hundred-and-eight-*bilva* leaves should serve as aromatics, together with, first of all, the flowers of the

49. jasmine – *Jasminum Sambar* Ait., Oleaceae; 50. oleander – *Bridelia lanceolata* Kurz., Euphorbiaceae; 51. yellow catchu – *Uncaria Gambier* Roxb., Rubiaceae; 52. *kacubun* – *Datura spec. div.*, Solanaceae; 53. white *vaduri* – *Calotropis gigantea* Ait., Asclepiadaceae; 54. *putat* – *Barringtonia spicata* Bl., Myrtaceae; 55. *ansoka* – *Grandiflora* Kerr, or *Ixora sp. div.*, Rubiaceae; 56. *sari tanguli* – *Cassia fistula* L., Leguminosae; 57. *tanjun* – *Mimusops Elengi* L., Sapotaceae; 58. *kalak* – *Uvaria rufa* Bl., Anonaceae, or *Polyalthia canangioides* Boerl Anonaceae; 59. *campaka* – *Michelia champaka* L., Magnoliaceae; 60. blue *tuñjun* – *Nymphaea Stellata* Willd., Nymphaeaceae; 61. red *tuñjun* – *Nymphaea Lotus* L., Nymphaeaceae; 62. white *tuñjun* – *Nymphaea Lotus* L., Nymphaeaceae; 63. fragrant *sulasih* – *Ocimum basilicum* L., Labiatae;

(Names of plants according to: De Clercq-Gresshoff: Nieuw Plantkundig Woordenboek voor Nederlandsch-Indië, De Bussy, Amsterdam 1909).

64. do not forget *dukut drëman*—*Cynodon Dactylon* Pers., Gramineae—or any of the other flowers appropriate for the occasion, or the eleven cash.

68. First of all you should worship during the daytime; at the end of your worship beg Holy Sūrya to take leave of you, as also Guru-graha. Use a stiff leaf, folded into a cone, containing two cash.

72. When you have finished worshipping, observe silence; fast during the afternoon, and then you may commence.

74. Next, worship in the evening, and at the end beg Holy Sūrya to take leave of you, as also Īśvara, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Śiva, Kumāra and Gaṇapati.

78. Likewise, at midnight, worship Sūrya, Īśvara, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Śiva and Holy Giri-putrī.

81. And in the early hours of the morning, worship Sūrya, Īśvara, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Śiva and Bhaṭṭāra Kumāra. The leaf cone should contain *bilva* and there should also be eleven cash, three for each time.

N.B. This passage in the AJI-BRATA continues here with the passage 86. "Mantra to be used when worshipping . . . etc." near the end.

201. OFFERINGS REQUIRED FOR THE ŚIVA-RĀTRI CEREMONY.
 THE OFFERINGS TO BE BROUGHT IN THE FAMILY SHRINE; 203. dried small fry from the sea; 204. crayfish; 205. and large rice cones; 206. one with a roasted chicken; 207. one with diced duck's meat strung on sticks; 208. a *guru* rice cone; 209. and a blue-black rice cone; 210. also, greasy, cooked rice; 211. *bira* rice; 212. rice cooked in coconut milk; 213. rice cooked in fat; 214. all laid out on a round dish of plaited palmleaf; 215. *lampadan* of duck; 216. rice cones in the four colours; 217. a cone of red rice for the shrine of the Ancestors; 218. a banana flower cone; 219. fruits in the five colours; 220. "clean food"; 221. aromatic oil; 222. and ointment; 223. cosmetics; 224. *sēdah voh* and 225. seven lotus flowers.

226. HOW TO CELEBRATE THE ŚIVA-RĀTRI CEREMONY.

Begin with an ordinary, daytime Sūrya-sevana.

When you have completed the Sūrya-sevana, go to the place of worship and sit down reverently before the pedestal of the God; in default of the latter, substitute the flower cone of the banana, having first ritually cleansed it.

233. In the presence of a golden, silver or brass *liṅga*, if you have one, carry out the rite and bring about the presence (*pratiṣṭha*) in the flower cone or the pedestal of the God. This should be the place of your worship.

402. Carry out the Anantāsana, Padmāsana and Deva-pratiṣṭha, accompanied by the *mantra* appropriate to each:

237. OṂ, PRAISE TO ANANTĀSANA,

405. OṂ, PRAISE TO PADMĀSANA,

OṂ, PRAISE TO DEVA-PRATIṢṬHA. Finished.

239. Now bring about the apparition (*utpatti*) of Bhaṭṭāra from the heart by means of the *mantra*

OṂ, PRAISE TO MAṂ, AṂ, UṂ, (408: MAṂ, UṂ, AṂ)

and envisage the Holy One descending into the *liṅga*. Carry out the rite, using grains of rice, sandal wood, and young *bilva* leaves and yellow flowers.

244. Muah sthiti-akēna Bhaṭṭāra riñ Liṅga.
 245. Yan tan ana niñ Liṅga mas, salaka,
 246. yan tan ana niñ sari niñ vaduri piñé,
 247. gavénēn Liṅga 'para.
 248. Ma. sthiti: OÑ AN UN MAÑ NAMAḤ.
 249. Pūjā-ni rvan iñ maja, (cf. 242-243)
 250. muañ sarva-sēkar, candana, vija,
 251. sapabagian pūjā niñ dhūpa-dīpa-ghaṅṭā,
 252. muañ japa gañitri saha prāṇāyāma;
 253. saha sēmbah; liñanta:
 254. OÑ OÑ -----LIṅGĀDHIPATAYE NAMAḤ.
 255. Aturana gandha 'kṣata, puṣpa,
 256. dhūpa-dīpa muañ caru hara,
 257. voh-vohan, sēḍah voh;
 258. liñanta anaturakēn: OÑ OÑ ŚIVA (cf. 623)
 259. NIVIDIAÑ CARUN DADĀMI, (eight syllables)
 260. AMRĀTMAKAN GRHṆIṢVA (8 s.) NAMA
 [SVĀHĀ.
-
261. PŪJA PIÑ TIGA,
 262. soré, pūrvaka;
 263. tēnah vēni, kapiñ rvā;
 264. ésuk mēh niñ rahina, kapiñ tiga.
 265. Dé niñ amūjā, tan kantu[n] mantra:
 266. OÑ OÑ -----LIṅGA----- YE NAMAḤ,
 267. OÑ SADĀ-ŚIVA-LIṅGĀYA NAMAḤ,

268. Mēh niñ rahina ulihakēna sira
 269. riñ antar-hṛdaya puñḍarika muah;
 270. liñanta: OÑ ĀTMA-LIṅGĀYA NAMAḤ;
 271. OÑ UN AN MAN NAMAḤ:
 272. yēki mantra pralina.
 273. OÑ ŚIVĀYA ŚIVA-LIṅGĀYA,
 274. ŚIVA ŚARVO MAHĒSVARAḤ;
 275. NAMAḤ ŚIVĀYA DEVĀYA,
 276. SADĀ-ŚIVA NAMO'STU TE.
 277. BRAHMĀ-VIṢṆU-IŚVARO DEVĀḤ,
 278. SARVA-JŅA PARAMĒŚVARAḤ;
 279. UTPATTI-STHITI-LĪNAÑ-CA,
 280. LIṅGA-DEVA NAMO NAMAḤ.

281. Tuñgal stuti (cf. 290) sārēp iñ pralina.

-
282. YĒN ARĒP ŚIVA-RĀTRI CĒNDĒK liñanta
 283. OÑ OÑ LIṅGĀDHIPATAYE NAMAḤ,
 284. sēmbah duk sorénia;
 285. OÑ OÑ PARAMA-ŚIVA-LIṅGĀYA NAMAḤ,
 286. sēmbah tēnah vēni;
 287. OÑ OÑ ŚŪNYA-....-LIṅGĀYA NAMAḤ,
 288. sēmbah mēh rahina; [(cf. 636)
 289. sēmi niñ maja pinūjākēn. (cf. 437)
412. sabagiayan kēmbañ vañi sahanania,

413. OÑ OÑ LIṅGA-LIṅGĀDHIPATAYE NAMAḤ.
 414. Aturana gandha 'kṣata, puṣpa,
 415. dhūpa-dīpa, muañ caru raka,
 416. vovohan, sēḍah voh;
 417. liñanta -----: OÑ OÑ ŚIVA
 418. NIVEDYAÑ CARUN DADĀMI, (eight syllables)
 419. AMRĀTMAKA GRHṆIṢVA (8 s.) NAMAḤ
 [SVĀHĀ.
-
420. PŪJĀ PIÑ TIGA SA-VĒNI, KRAMA:
 421. soré,
 422. tēnah vēni,
 423. --- mēh --- rahina:
 424. ----- mantra:
 425. OÑ -- LIṅGA-LIṅGĀDHIPATAYE NAMAḤ,
 426. OÑ SADĀ-ŚIVA-LIṅGĀYA NAMAḤ,
 427. OÑ PARAMA-ŚIVA-LIṅGĀYA NAMAḤ.

428. OÑ ŚIVĀYA ŚIVA-LIṅGĀYA,
 429. ŚIVA ŚARVO MAHĒSVARA;
 430. NAMA ŚIVĀYA DEVĀYA,
 431. SADĀ-ŚIVA NAMO 'STU TE.
 432. BRAHMĀ-VIṢṆU-IŚVARA-DEVA,
 433. SARVA-JŅAH PARAMĒŚVARA;
 434. UTPATTI-STHITI-LĪNAÑ-CA,
 435. LIṅGA-DEVA NAMO NAMAḤ.
 436. Liṅga-stava iti.

437. Anēmbah saha sēmi niñ maja, (cf. 289)

-
438. ma: OÑ OÑ ĀTMA-LIṅGĀYA NAMAḤ,
 439. kāla soré;
 440. OÑ OÑ PARAMA-ŚIVA-LIṅGĀYA NAMAḤ,
 441. kāla niñ tēnah vēni;
 442. OÑ OÑ ŚŪNYA-....-LIṅGĀYA NAMAḤ,
 443. kāla niñ mēh rahina.

244. Bring about the installation (*sthiti*) of Bhaṭṭāra in the *liṅga*. In default of a golden or silver *liṅga* and of a yellow *vaduri* flower, substitute something else for a *liṅga*. The Installation *mantra* is as follows:

OṂ, PRAISE TO BRAHMĀ, VIṢṂU, ĪŚVARA.

249. While you carry out the rite, use *bilva* leaves and flowers of divers colours, sandal wood, grains of rice, and the other requisites for the rite (of *sūrya-sevana*), like (homage to) incense, the lamp and the bell; murmur (Śiva's names while manipulating) the beads of the rosary and practise breath control.

253. Furthermore, the words you should pronounce are as follows:

OṂ, OṂ, PRAISE TO LIṅGA-LIṅGĀDHIPATI.

You should also offer aromatics, unblemished grains of rice, flowers, incense, the lamp, *hara* (415, *raka*) offerings, divers fruits and *śeḍah voh*, while saying:

OṂ OṂ ŚIVA! I OFFER NAIVEDYA AND CARU OFFERINGS;

ACCEPT THEIR ESSENCE AS AMṚTA. PRAISE. HAIL.

261. THE RITE SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT THRICE DURING THE NIGHT: first after sunset, repeated at midnight and once again before sunrise. You are required, while you carry out the rite, continually to pronounce the *mantra*:

425. OṂ, OṂ, PRAISE TO LIṅGA-LIṅGĀDHIPATI,

and OṂ, PRAISE TO SADĀ-ŚIVA-LIṅGA,

and OṂ, PRAISE TO PARAMA-ŚIVA-LIṅGA.

268. Shortly before sunrise carry out the Return of the own soul to the lotus of your innermost heart, using the words:

OṂ, PRAISE TO ĀTMA-LIṅGA,

OṂ, PRAISE TO VIṢṂU, BRAHMĀ, ĪŚVARA.

This is the Termination (*pralīna*) *mantra*.

273. OṂ, PRAISE TO ŚIVA, TO ŚIVA-LIṅGA,

ŚIVA IS ALL, THE UPPERLORD,

PRAISE TO ŚIVA, TO THE GOD,

OH! SADĀ-ŚIVA, PRAISE TO YOU!

THE GODS ARE BRAHMĀ, VIṢṂU AND ĪŚVARA,

PARAMEŚVARA IS THE OMNISCIENT,

IN ORIGINATING, EXISTENCE AND TERMINATING,

PRAISE AND GLORY BE TO LIṅGA-DEVA!

436. Thus the Liṅga Hymn. While you do homage, you should use *bilva* leaves.

281. This is the single Termination Hymn.

282. SHORT LITANY FOR THE ŚIVA-RĀTRI CEREMONY:

OṂ, OṂ, PRAISE TO LIṅGĀDHIPATI,

438. OṂ, OṂ, PRAISE TO ĀTMA-LIṅGA,

for homage in the evening;

OṂ, OṂ, PRAISE TO PARAMA-ŚIVA-LIṅGA,

for homage at midnight;

OṂ, OṂ, PRAISE TO ŚŪNYA-(ŚIVA)-LIṅGA,

for homage in the early hours of the morning.

Use *bilva* leaves while you perform the rites.

290. Stuti tuṅgal: (cf. 281)
 291. OṆ NAMO ŚIVĀYA, NAMO RUDRĀYA,
 292. NIŚĀDHA-PARVATA-STHĀYA,
 293. LIṄĀDHIPATI ----- SVĀHĀ,
 294. saha sēmbah.

295. PAṆA-BHAKTI RIṆ TOYA,
 296. ma: OṆ NAMAS TE BHAGAVAN GAṄGĀ,
 297. tutugakēna.
 298. OṆ KAKI CITRAGOPTA, NINI

- [CITRAGOPTA,
 299. ULUN AMVIT A-BRATA,
 300. sakahiun ujar.

(301-311 continued on p. 221;
 312-328 continued on p. 220).

444. Stuti-nia tuṅgal, ndia ta?
 445. OṆ NAMO ŚIVĀYA, NAMO RUDRĀYA,
 446. NIŚĀDHA-PARVATA-STHĀYA,
 447. LIṄĀDHIPATIR ADHIPATI SVĀHĀ.
 448. saha sēmbah. (FINIS)

295-300 are unique and revealing lines; the following fragment is also based upon K 1875, II, lines 86-113 (Finis), and upon Cod. Or. L. B. 5429, lines 501-531 (Finis).

These three texts are verbatim identical. Printing them once is sufficient.

290. The single hymn (445. is as follows):

ON̄, PRAISE TO ŚIVA, PRAISE TO RUDRA,
WHO LIVES IN THE MOUNTAINS OF THE HUNTERS,
HAIL, LIṄGĀDHIPATI,

and should be sung while you pay homage.

295. DIRECT YOUR WORSHIP TO THE HOLY WATER, pronounce the *mantra*:

ON̄, PRAISE TO THEE, LADY GAṄGĀ,

in full. (Then proceed with)

ON̄, GRANDFATHER CITRAGOPTA, GRANDMOTHER CITRAGOPTA,
THY SERVANT BEGS THY LEAVE TO END THE OBSERVANCE OF
[THE PLEDGE.

This may be accompanied by a request formulated in your own words.

N.B. The ms now continues with lines 104–113 and 86–103, in that sequence, which I have reversed here.

86. MANTRA TO BE USED WHEN WORSHIPPING IN THE ŚIVA-RĀTRĪ

CEREMONY:

ON̄. ON̄, PRAISE TO ŚIVA-LIṄGA,

while you drop the *bilva* leaves. There should be a hundred-and-eight *bilva* leaves, divided into three portions, one for each part of the ritual, for it must be observed thrice in the course of the night.

91. ON̄, GUṄ, PRAISE TO ALL THE DIVINE GURU,
ON̄, ON̄, PRAISE TO ALL THE MOST EXALTED GURU,
ON̄, ON̄, PRAISE TO ALL THE GURU OF EXALTED CHOICE;

to be pronounced at the shrine appropriate for these *mantra*.

95. ON̄, HRĀṆ, HRĪṆ, SAḤ, PRAISE TO ŚIVA-LIṄGA,

to be pronounced above the shrine appropriate for this *mantra*;

97. ON̄, KUN, PRAISE TO KUMĀRA,

to be pronounced to the south of the shrine (325: in the shrine of origin);

99. ON̄, GMUN, PRAISE TO LORD GAṆA-PATI,

ON̄, PRAISE TO THE LORD WITH THE KING'S-ELEPHANT'S HEAD,

to be pronounced to the north of the shrine (640: in the *pahibon* shrine).

101. This is in general how one should worship at Śiva-rātri; pronounce:

ON̄, ON̄, PRAISE TO ŚIVA-LIṄGA,

while you drop the *bilva* leaves.

104. ON̄, ON̄, PRAISE TO ĀTMA-LIṄGA,

to be pronounced when worshipping after sunset;

use *bilva* leaves while paying homage;

107. ON̄, ON̄, PRAISE TO PARAMA-ŚIVA-LIṄGA,

to be pronounced when worshipping at midnight;

use *bilva* leaves while paying homage;

109. ON̄, ON̄, PRAISE TO ŚŪNYA-ŚIVA-LIṄGA,

to be pronounced when worshipping in the early hours of the morning,

to end the ceremony; use *bilva* leaves while paying homage.

112. ON̄, ON̄, PRAISE AND GLORY TO LIṄGA-LIṄGĀDHIPATI,
and pay homage when sleep begins to close your eyes.

312.	MANTRA AÑABHAKTI YAN AŚIVA-RĀTRI.	86	501
313.	OÑ OÑ ŚIVA-LINGĀYA NAMAḤ,	87	502
314.	sahānibakēna ruan in maja;	88	503
315.	ron in maja, 108, para-tiganēn,	89	504
316.	tēlasa kañ saduman satandañan,	90	505
317.	mapan piñ tiga sarahina.	—	506
318.	OÑ GUÑ GURU-PĀDUKEBHYO NAMAḤ,	91	507
—	OÑ OÑ PARAMA-GURUBHYO NAMAḤ,	92	508
319.	OÑ OÑ PARAMĀNTYĒṢṬHI-GURUBHYO NAMAḤ,	93	509
320.	riñ saṅgar tuduh in mantra;	94	510
—	OÑ HRAN HRIN SAḤ ŚIVA-LINGĀYA NAMAḤ.	95	511
—	ruhur in saṅgar tuduh in mantra;	96	512
321.	OÑ KUÑ KUMĀRĀYA NAMAḤ,	97	513
322.	kidul in saṅgar;	98	514
323.	OÑ GMUÑ GAṆA-PATAYE NAMAḤ,	99	515
324.	OÑ GAJĒNDRA-MUKHA-PATAYE NAMAḤ,	100	516
325.	lor in saṅgar.	—	517
326.	Iti paña-bhaktian in aŚiva-rātri:	101	518
327.	OÑ OÑ ŚIVA-LINGĀYA NAMAḤ,	102	519
328.	tiba maja.	103	520
END.			

601.	NIHAN KRAMA NIN a-ŚIVA-RĀTRI.	226	401
602.	gēlarana anantāsana, padmāsana,	236	402
603.	deva-pratiṣṭha,	—	403
604.	ma: OÑ ANANTĀSANĀYA NAMAḤ,	237	404
605.	OÑ PADMĀSANĀYA NAMAḤ,	—	405
606.	OÑ DEVA-PRATIṢṬHĀYA NAMAḤ.	238	406
607.	Anuli utpatti-akēn Bhaṭṭāra sakiñ hṛdaya-nta,	239	407
608.	ma: OÑ MAÑ AÑ UÑ NAMAḤ;	240	408
609.	iḍēp Bhaṭṭāra muṅguh in Liṅga,	241	409
610.	pūjā-ni vija candana	242	410
611.	saha sēmi niñ maja muañ sēkar;	243	411
612.	tumuli sthiti-akēna muṅguh in liṅga,	244	—
613.	ma: OÑ AÑ UÑ MAÑ NAMAḤ;	248	—
614.	pūjā— ruan in maja	249	—
615.	muañ sēkar kabèh, saha vija	250	—
616.	gandha dhūpa ghaṇṭā.	251	412
617.	mvañ — gaṇitri — prāṇāyāma	252	—
618.	saha sēmbah; liñanta:	253	—
619.	ma: OÑ OÑ LINGĀDHIPATAYE NAMAḤ.	254	413
620.	Aturana gandha'kṣata muañ sēkar	255	414
621.	dhūpa-dīpa caru raka	256	415
622.	voh-vohan, sēdah voñ,	257	416
623.	mantra: OÑ OÑ ŚIVA	258	417
624.	NIVEDYAÑ CARUN DADĀMI (8 syll.)	259	418
625.	AMRTĀTMAKAM, GRAHNĪṢVA (8 syll.) NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ.	260	419
626.	PŪJĀ PIÑ TIGA	261	420
627.	ma: OÑ OÑ LINGĀ-LINGĀDHIPATAYE NAMAḤ.	266	425
628.	OÑ — ŚIVA-LINGĀYA	267	426
629.	Śeva-rātri	—	—

301.	ON ON ĀTMA-LINGĀYA NAMAḤ,	104	521
302.	maṇa-bhakti duk in soré,	105	522
303.	sěmbah sěmi niṅ maja; (cf. 306).	106	503
304.	ON ON PARAMAŚIVĀYA NAMAḤ,	107	524
305.	maṇa-bhakti riṅ tēnah vēni,	108	525
306.	sěmbah sěmi niṅ maja; (cf. 309).	—	526
307.	ON ON ŚUNYA-ŚIVA-LINGĀYA NAMAḤ,	109	527
308.	maṇa-bhakti mēné riṅ ésuk, duk avusan,	110	528
309.	sěmbah sěmi niṅ maja;	111	529
310.	ON ON LINGA-LINGĀDHIPATAYE NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ.	112	530
311.	sěmbah yèn arip taṅ mata.	113	531
		End.	End.

The preceding fragment comes first in 1875/I, but is the end in 1875/II and Cod. Or. L.B. 5429. Finally we have KALĒPASAN, K 1441: 601-629 run parallel with 226-267 and are repeatedly fuller than 401-426; 630-636 correspond with 283-288/438-443; 637-646 resemble 90-99/318-324/507-516; 647-649 are the end of this text only.

630.	Maka-sādhana niṅ amūjā:	284	439
631.	yan soré:	283	438
632.	ma: ON ON ĀTMA-LINGĀYA NAMAḤ;	286	441
633.	yan in tēnah vēni:	285	440
634.	ma: ON ON LINGA-LINGĀDHIPATAYE NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ.	288	443
635.	yan mēh rahina:	287	442
636.	ma: ON ON ŚUNYA-ŚIVA-LINGĀYA NAMAḤ.	—	—
637.	ITI MANIH TINKAH IN a-ŚEVA-RĀTRI:	98	514
638.	aṅa-bhakti mariṅ dēnēn:	97	321
639.	ma: ON KUN KUMĀRĀYA NAMAḤ;	96	325
640.	riṅ pahibon:	99	323
641.	ma: ON GMUN GAṆA-PATAYE NAMAḤ,	100	324
642.	ON GAJĒNDRA-MUKHA-PATAYE NAMAḤ:	94	320
643.	riṅ saṅgar:	91	318
644.	ma: ON GUN GURU-PĀDUKEBHYO NAMAḤ;	96	—
645.	luhur in saṅgar:	95	511
646.	ma: ON HRĀN HRĪN SAḤ ŚIVA-LINGĀYA NAMAḤ.	88	314
647.	Tambēhi maja-patra muṅgviṅ toya,	—	—
648.	tēhēr aṅgranasikā taṅ hasta,	87	313
649.	ma: ON ŚIVA-LINGĀYA NAMAḤ.	—	502
END.			

The END of the texts. Up till the present day I did not come across other documents concerning the celebration of Śiva-rātri.

EXPLANATORY NOTES
TO TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF ŚIVA-RĀTRI

2. *Saṅgar tavaṅ* – a bamboo shrine (*saṅgar* or *saṅgah* being a general word for shrine), constructed in bamboo and used only once, for the occasion in question, consisting of three compartments: for Śiva in the centre, and for Brahmā and Viṣṇu on either side. The different shrines mentioned in this text all stand within the domestic courtyard which contains perhaps a dozen, devoted to different deities and used for various ends.
3. Probably one set each for Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Pārvatī; that for Pārvatī being placed in Śiva's compartment in the *saṅgar tavaṅ*.
catur – an offering consisting of a mound of food, crowned with the “four (*catur*) pure substances”. This offering is usually the principal one in a ceremony.
11. *Pula gèmbal* – some highly complex offering, its details not relevant here.
sasayut katututan – ditto.
12. *Pras* – an offering of roasted chicken, surrounded by portions of rice and groundnuts.
Lis – there exist two very distinct types of holy water sprinklers in Bali: the *lis* and the *plava* (see J. Hooykaas, 1961c). The *lis* is given by the brahmin priest, and the *plava*, translated in 23 as “the lesser holy water sprinkler”, is equally used by the *pamaṅku*, temple or folk priest. The *lis* is made of some forty strips of young palm leaf, plaited together into as many different, highly significant patterns, tied together in a fascicle. The *plava* consists of a much smaller bunch of special, sacred leaves, tied together with coloured threads and forms a stiff, brush-like sprinkler.
Gèlar saṅa – These are small models, made of dough, coloured appropriately, of the attributes of the gods of the nine directions, *nava-saṅa*, i.e. the eight half-points and the centre (see J. Hooykaas, 1961).
14. *A mukha-līṅga?* The use of the word *prarahi* seems strange here, as it is used, in my experience, only in connection with cults of the dead. For illustrations of *mukha-līṅga* from Bali, see Stutterheim (1928); for references to *prarahi*, see Wirz, p. 33, 66, 125, 128, illus. figs. 1–7.
15. *Pisaṅ tahèn* – *Musa sapientum* L.
- 16–17. *Padmāsana* – *padma aṅlayaṅ*. Literal translation: the lotus seat and the floating lotus. The lotus seat, recurrent in every handbook on *padanda* ritual, has been dealt with in study III and specially study IV. Both words and the metaphysical meaning they denote occur in nearly identical words in TUTUR SŪKŚMA NIN ŚĀSTRA, The Mystical Meaning of Letters and Writings (K 1924 l. 28b) and in “our” KALĒPASAN, (a compilation of notes and sayings on) Liberation/Deliverance (K 1441, l. 60b); the passage runs as follows:
Nihan vruh (add. 1924) Vuvus in AJI LĒVIH. Inulatan (1441: in hulun tan ana i sor, tan ana riṅ luhur; ana riṅ Ambara aṅlayaṅ (1924: Gamburān-layaṅ), nāranya, tēlēn in ati. Akēna (1924: tan ana) ta istri uttamā; irika gumantuṅ tan pacantēlan, atapakan Padmāsana, apayuṅ Padmāṅlayaṅ; Padmāsana naran buṅkah in ati, Padmāṅlayaṅ naran pucuk in ati; ika inaran Sagara Madhu, vētu niṅ pavana-gati, unḡvan in Saṅ Hiaṅ Onkāra.
(From mss of the well known Javanese literary work ŚRĪ TAṅJUN are familiar with the fact that *istri* stands for *śrī*).
- One should know the words of the SUPREME TEACHING. When one tries to look, it is not below and it is not on high, but it is in the so-called Floating Air, in the heart. Acknowledge Superior Bliss, hanging without something to hang down from, having as a basis Padmāsana and having as its sunshade Padmāṅlayaṅ. Padmāsana means the basis of the heart, Pad-

mānlayaṅ means the top of the heart; that is called Ocean of Honey, the origin of the Course of the Wind, the abode of the Holy Onkāra.

Goris, when writing on Pura Bēsakih, cites from its RĀJA-PURĀṆA: *līla-jñāna* is the name of *padmāsana*, *padma layaṅ* that of the mountain Basukih (Bēsakih; cf. study IV E), and adds in a note that during the after-cremation rites at Karangasēm, 6–9 August 1937, a bamboo turret containing the *puṣpa* (material representation) of the *deva* (deified cremated persons) was called *padma anlayaṅ*; it is a well known fact that the bamboo turret containing the corpse or the *puṣpa* of a brahmin priest is called *padmāsana*.

Finally MANTRA PAMUGPUG, Formulas for Breaking the Effect [of other Formulas], K 1596, contains a *pūjā padma anlayaṅ*, much too long (ll. 88b–94a) to be discussed here.

The illustrations are taken from KAJAṆ PŪJĀ PITṚ, Shroud for Homage to the Deceased, K 69, l. 33b.

18. *Caniga* – Canigara Cochlospermum balicum Boerl. – A basic item for offerings and all temple decoration.
19. *Camara* – casuarina equisetifolia L.
Svaha – Gigantochloa maxima Kurz. or Gigantochloa verticillata Munro.
21. *Parijata* – Medinilla javanensis Bl. It is not clear whether the leaves or flowers are meant here.
Kalēvi – Artocarpus communis G. Forst., or Artocarpus incisa L.
23. *Cindaga* – Pandanus inermis Roxb., or Pandanus laevis Lour.
29. *Tēpuṅ tavar* (also called *isuh–isuh*) – a mixture of ashes, rice and the chopped up leaves of the *dap–dap* (Erythrina hypophorus Boerl., or Erythrina lithosperma Miq. non Bl.), used commonly for ritual cleansing.
Sagavu – (etymologically: *sēga*, rice, and *avu*, ashes), a mixture similar to *tēpuṅ tavar*, but with yellow coloured rice, used for the ritual cleansing of the feet.
35. *Maja* – Aegle marmelos Correa.
37. *Idēp* – imagine; a standard ritual direction.
38. Probably referring to the water in the holy water container; cf. l. 44 *infra*.
40. *Triyoda* – either represents textual corruption or is another, general, mistaken transmission. With no more material at my disposal I am unable to decide this question. The *saṅgar tavaṅ* (2) and l. 277 however, seem to point to its meaning being “the three Gods”.
41. *Jagat-nātha* – it is characteristic of Archipelago Sanskrit not to use the *sandhi* form, Jagannātha, customary in India.
42. *Prajā-pati* – I have given this as Bajra–(Vajra–)pati, Lord of the Thunderbolt, in the translation, because I am convinced that it is not Indra, but Buddha in his terrible form who is meant here, and that the name Prajā-pati is used for him, either euphemistically, or purely ignorantly. For the domestic shrine the word *pamrajan* is used; there is no word *braja* or *praja* or *vraja*, giving an intelligible sense, from which this word might be derived in the usual Indonesian way by nasalisation, pa- prefix and –an suffix, but metathesis of j and r is imaginable. The brahman priest is perhaps most of all characterised by his bell with *vajra* top; the Buddhist priest even has a double *vajra*. To name the domestic temple “the place of *vajra* handling” seems not too far-fetched. KBNW still hesitated here, but since Moens enough has come to light to corroborate this etymology.
43. *A–bhakti ka-basēṅ* – literally, “direct worship towards the abdomen”, i.e. worship the self and sprinkle holy water on the abdomen. The ritual texts use *basēṅ/basaṅ*, but also *śarīra* (body; cf. Jav. *sēlira*, self) and *kunḍa–rahasia*, secret of the pot; cf. Lévi No. 51.
45. Relating to the hundred-and-eight names of Śiva (which I never met in a Balinese ms.).

64. *Dukut drēman* or *padan lēpas*, the “cleansing grass” or “grass of liberation/deliverance”, a kind of grass used commonly and variously for ritual cleansing, *Cynodon Dactylon* Pers, Gramineae.
67. 71, 85 – The officiant uses 2 cash for the preparatory Sun worship in the afternoon, and 3 cash for each of the three vigils, 11 together.
70. KBNW equates Guru-graha to Guru-ghāra, Guru’s Spouse, i.e. Pārvatī.
203. Meat offerings, as enumerated here, are commonly brought to “those below”.
208. *Pēñek pañirīn guru* – “a rice cone with a boiled egg on top” (KBNW). Unlike the other offerings, this is not to be eaten by human beings, probably on account of its great sanctity.
211. *Sēkul bira* – some highly complex offering.
215. *Lampadan* – ditto.
216. *Catur-varṇa* – the four colours: white relating to Śiva (east), red to Brahmā (south), yellow to Mahādeva (west) and blue-black to Viṣṇu (north), in that order.
217. *Dēñēn* – here, shrine of origin or of the ancestors, according to my informant.
218. For the recurrent use of the banana flower cone, cf. *passim* in this text, as also in MADHU-PARKA text. In l. 15 the Liṅga is based upon banana leaf.
219. *Pañcopacāra* – fruits in the five colours, according to my informant, being the four mentioned in note to line 216 to which now a multi-coloured centro is added.
220. Consisting of sweet potatoes and *kēladi* tubers and/or bananas fried in oil; the *ubi* and *kēladi* are commonly included in offerings with the specific purpose of “bringing about success”, *apañ dadi* ; cf. J. Hooykaas, 1961c.
224. *Sēdah voh* – another complex offering, its details not relevant here.
229. *Paméyosan* – one of the shrines within the domestic temple courtyard. The word is also applied to the platform on which the brahmin priest performs the Sūrya-sevana.
pīṭhā – pedestal, etc., on which the object of worship is placed.
234. *Pratiṣṭha*, *Utpatti*, *Sthiti* – standard set of three ritual stages in the deity’s progress: Presence, Apparition and Installation.
237. *Oṅ* – mystic syllable; unites and epitomizes, in Balinese script, the three mystic syllables *Mañ*, *Añ*, *Uñ* (see *mantra* below), denoting Śiva, Brahmā, Viṣṇu. Note the changed sequence in two otherwise identical *mantra* below. Cf. also Madhu-parka *mantra*.
246. *Vaduri* – *Calotropis gigantea* Ait., Fam. Asclepiadaceae.
247. E.g. a rolled up palm leaf, according to my informant.
252. The rosary is not used in the simplest form of Sūrya-sevana itself. Cf. de Kleen (1924, pl. 30-39).
256. *Hara (raka)* – a kind of leaves.
259. In India, *naivedya* appears to be the fifteenth and last constituent of a “great” *pūjā* (Thieme): “this last offering is composed of cooked rice, fruit, clarified butter, sugar and other eatables, and betel”.
272. *Pralīna* – standard ritual term which marks the final stage, the “killing” of the ritual.
- 273-280. Looks to me like Archipelago Sanskrit.
281. *Twiṅgal stuti*, cf. 290/445 *Stuti twiṅgal*.—*Tutugakēna* (297) means that the worshipper should use the whole *stuti/stava* consisting of 5 *śloka*; the short indication in 281 might mean that the recital of one *śloka* is sufficient; in 290/445 even that is not completely presented in the texts.
- 293/449 – I have the impression that the copyist here wrote first *Adhipatir*, realised then that he had made a mistake, and subsequently wrote, correctly, *Adhipati*, without cancelling the mistaken form; such is common practice in Balinese mss.
295. *Pañabhakti riñ toya*, also a particular stage in the Sūrya-sevana.

296. The following line is, in fact, not a *mantra* but the first line of a hymn of five *śloka*, the Stuti Sañ Hiañ Pañca Mahā Gaṅgā, No. 104 in the *Sūrya-sevana supra*.
298. Kaki Citragopta and Nini Citragopta, two of Yama's attendants. The fact that the *śakti* of Grandfather Citragopta is mentioned, is a tantric element. The reference to the attendants of the Lord of the Dead is even more significant.
300. The object of the whole ceremony: to ask a boon.
317. *Rahina* – day; seems strange; perhaps: time? I translated: by night.
- 91/318. Guñ, Kuñ, Gmuñ (see below) are *bījākṣara*, syllables which contain the “essence” or “seed” of the name which follows upon them. The first letter is invariably alliterative with that of the name.
- 93/319. I wonder what significance these lines still have in present-day Bali.
95. *Oñ, hrāñ, hrñ, sañ* – mystic syllables; these constitute the Kūṭa-māntra, which is used to mark phases in the worship of Śiva.
638. *Dēñēñ* – another word for the *saṅgar kamūlan*, the shrine of the origin, according to informant.
640. *Pahibon* – the threefold seat for the adoration of Brahmā/Viṣṇu/Īśvara. In front of this shrine the temporary *saṅgar tavan* (l. 2) is erected, according to my informant.
648. *Aṅgranāsika* represents the Balinese pronunciation and spelling of the Sanskrit *agranāsikā*, tip of the nose; meant is: concentrate your thoughts by looking at the tip . . .

Retrospect

During *Sūrya-sevana* the brahmin priest, as a result of many a *mantra* and *mudrā*, first cleanses himself outwardly and inwardly, and purifies his cult instruments. He leads his *ātmā*, soul, from its position in the *hrdaya*, heart, upwards via *Śiva-dvāra*, door of Śiva, *i.e.* fontanelle, to a place above it at a distance of 12 fingers' breadth, *dvā-daśa-aṅgula*. The priest now evokes all kinds of immaterial powers, draws them to his immediate neighbourhood, and performs *nyāsa* to them, assignment, *i.e.* he neutralizes the malevolent powers but mobilizes the benevolent ones. His soul now unites with the Śiva-soul, which subsequently descends to the *hrdaya* and prepares the final holy water, using the priest's arms and lips. Finally the Śiva-soul is ceremonially released; the powers are satisfied.

During *Śiva-rātri*, in addition to this basic ritual, the worshipper moves the Śiva-soul and the own soul (*ātma-liṅga*) into the Śiva-Liṅga standing immediately before him. The *unio mystica*, consequently, during *Sūrya-sevana*, consists of Śiva's descent into the worshipper; during the *Śiva-rātri* rite, however, it consists of the worshipper's soul being moved upward in the usual way and then being located, aloft towards the Śiva-Liṅga.

This study necessarily remained confined to the formal side of *Śiva-rātri*; the emotional side recently has been dealt with by Lilian Silburn on pp. 57–65 of her recent (1964) book *La Bhakti, Études sur le Śivaïsme du Kaśmir*.

F. SOME STUTI SUNG DURING THE ŚIVA-RĀTRI

1. Introduction

One of the bulkiest ritual compendia for the use of brahmin priests collected in the Gĕdong Kirtya at Singaradja (Bali) is KAJAÑ PŪJĀ PITṚ (K 69), "The Shroud for the Worship of the Dead" (81 ll.). This text in course of time must have been enriched with many accretions, and among them we find a short note, rather cryptic but still useful, on the ritual to be held during Śiva-rātri (l. 57b-58a). Due to the shape into which it has been cast, it did not fit in with the texts printed *supra*; the new points it raises, moreover, can better be discussed separately. Here it follows:

KRAMA niñ AMŪJĀ riñ SAṄGAR, yan iñ a-ŚIVA-RĀTRI.

Ri vus niñ amūjā, sivi-karaṇa, pisanakēna lavan Bhaṭṭāra Śiva-Sūrya tēkēn Sañ Hiañ Gaṇa-Kumāra mvañ Bhaṭṭāri; udaka; pādyārg̃ha; 'nuṣṭhānēñ 5; Śiva; sthiti; KUMĀRA-STAVA, sañ[kēpi]; GAṆA-STAVA, sañ; UMĀ-STAVA, sañ; GIRIPATI, sañ; STAVA DALUṄ; tarpaṇa-mantra.

Nihan KRAMA niñ a-PRAYOGA niñ pañ-ARDHANA niñ a-ŚIVA-RĀTRI.
Riñ saṅgar tēñēn, Sañ Hiañ Gaṇa iñ-ardhana; mantra: [NAMAḤ.

OṆ GMUṆ GAṆĀDHIPATAYE NAMAḤ, OṆ GMUṆ GAJĒNDRA-MUKHĀYA
Riñ saṅgar kiva sakēñ saṅgar Guru, Sañ Hiañ Kumāra iñ-ardhana; mantra:

OṆ MAÑ KUMĀRĀYA NAMAḤ, OṆ ŚIKHI-DHVAJĀYA NAMAḤ; OṆ
Tēlas iñ saṅgar tēnah iñ-ardhana; mantra: [ŚARA-JANMĀYA NAMAḤ.

OṆ GURU-PĀDUKEBHYO NAMAḤ, OṆ OṆ PARAMĒṢṬHI-GURUBHYO
Tēlas ta ñ-ardhana Umā-dēvi; mantra: [NAMAḤ.

OṆ UN UMĀ-DĒVIYAI NAMAḤ.

Tēlas ta ña-stuti Bhaṭṭāra Śiva-Liṅga; mantra:

OṆ HRĀÑ HRĪÑ SAḤ PARAMA-ŚIVA-LIṄGĀYA NAMAḤ.

Iti pūjā Śiva-rātri sañ[k]ṣipta, saha dhyāna, smṛti ri Sañ Déva inastuti.

These lines, beginning with "Nihan KRAMA" remind one immediately of the lines 312-326/86-103/501-520 *supra*, and indeed are closely comparable, but definitely not identical, though they deal with the same ritual.

CELEBRATION OF ŚIVA-RĀTRI IN THE HOUSEHOLD TEMPLE

After *pūjā* (*sūrya-sevana*, cf. Lévi), perform adoration (Lévi 56); unite with Śiva in His aspect as God of the Sun and with Gaṇa, with Kumāra and with Bhaṭṭāri (Pārvatī/Umā); perform *udakāñjali* (L 75) and *pādyārg̃ha* (L 76); worship the five (L 77: aromatics, unblemished grains of rice, flowers, incense, lamp); Śiva[’s arrival; His] installation (L 80); hymns in praise of KUMĀRA, GAṆA, UMĀ and ŚIVA, each followed by the continuous ringing of the bell being increased in volume and speed to end in a forceful finale. The hymn to the holy water vessel and the *mantra* to satisfy the four goddesses, the gods and the ancestors (L 144).

PERFORMING THE WORSHIP OF ŚIVA-RĀTRI

In the shrine to the right [of that of Guru], the God Gaṇa is worshipped:

mantra: OṆ GMUṆ PRAISE TO HIGHEST LORD GAṆA,
OṆ GMUṆ PRAISE TO THE LORD WITH THE KING ELEPHANT'S
HEAD.

In the shrine to the left of that of Guru, the God Kumāra is worshipped;

mantra: OṆ MAṆ PRAISE TO LORD KUMĀRA,
OṆ PRAISE TO THE LORD WITH THE PEACOCK-BANNER,
OṆ PRAISE TO THE LORD REED-BORN.

Next, in the middle shrine [Bhaṭṭāra Guru] is worshipped;

mantra: OṆ PRAISE TO THE TEACHER'S SANDALS,
OṆ OṆ PRAISE TO ALL THE GURU OF EXALTED CHOICE.

Next, (in the same shrine) you worship Umā-dēvi;

mantra: OṆ OṆ PRAISE TO UMĀ-DĒVĪ.

Next, you sing the hymn in honour of Bhaṭṭāra Śiva-Liṅga;

mantra: OṆ HRĀṆ HRĪṆ SAḤ PRAISE TO THE SUPERIOR TOKEN OF
ŚIVA.

Thus is the concise celebration of Śiva-rātri, with the subjects to concentrate upon, and the thinking upon the Gods in praise of whom hymns are sung.

Some remarks concerning the preceding text and translation.

Śivāditya is the God worshipped during *sūrya-sevana*, so that the use of the term Śiva-Sūrya is not surprising, though less frequent.

The code word "Śiva" between (77) and (80) means that the God Śiva at this stage of the ritual descends, that is to say: Sivātmā, the soul of Śiva.

The word *daluṅ*, not known to the KBNW, must mean holy water vessel, as is apparent from another locus, running: (K 36, l. 30b/31a) *nurahi daluṅ*; *mantra*: *astra-mantra*; *kurēbakēn taṅ daluṅ*; *mantra*: OṆ KṢIṆ NAMAḤ; *tumahakēna taṅ daluṅ, soki vé*; *mantra*: *kūṭa-mantra*; *lavuḥi bras*; *mantra*: OṆ OṆ NAMAḤ. "The worshipper should rinse the *daluṅ*, using the *astra-mantra*; put the *daluṅ* upside down, using the *mantra*: OṆ KṢIṆ NAMAḤ; put it back again in its normal position and fill it with water, using the *kūṭa-mantra*; put rice grains into it with the *mantra* OṆ OṆ NAMAḤ." I proposed the solution "holy water vessel" to my informant, who agreed.

In the last line the Sanskrit word *saṅkṣipta* has deliberately been translated with the Latin word "concise"; the meaning must be the same as of the Indonesian word *cēndēk*, which has been translated with "short" in G line 282, not *shortened*, but basic, unenlarged.

Since our text mentions five *stava*, this is the place to go into this subject. Lévi did more than broach it: in his book "Sanskrit Texts from Bāli" he presented some fifty hymns and gave himself much trouble to find out their Sanskrit origins, remarkably enough without ever being able to lay a finger on an unmistakable example in Indian religious literature.

Between the publication of his book in 1933 and the outbreak of the second world war an additional fifty have come to light in Bali in ritual compendia and for the whole number of them we are now informed about the occasion at which they should be used—a desideratum expressed by Lévi. We now know, moreover, that several of them are strictly Buddhist; more of them are confined to the use

by the much more numerous Śaivite brahmin priests and their *inītiandi*, be they brahmin or *sēnguhu*, calling themselves *ṛṣi Vaiṣṇava*. Next some hymns are shared by Bauddha and Śiva priests, e.g. the "Giripati", "Lord of the Mountains" mentioned above, whereas in the case of the hymn to Sarasvatī (cf. study I) only the initial verses are shared: Śaivite and Bauddha priests each have their own set of concluding verses.

A point of primary importance is whether we have to do with genuine Sanskrit, or whether we are confronted with Archipelago Sanskrit in its various shades of quality.

Finally there is Lévi's strongly-worded opinion about the alleged ignorance of the Balinese brahmin priests, about whom he asserts us that "they do not understand one word of the Sanskrit texts which they write, read and chant". For some of the *stava* used during Śiva-rātri we have the Old-Javanese paraphrases at our disposal, in themselves so many endeavours to the understanding of the texts. It is worth while to examine the three smallest of them, to which we have to confine ourselves, as otherwise this part of the study would grow out of proportion. Still, in doing so we might gain a provisional impression, based upon *stava* of Śiva-rātri in particular, but valid perhaps for the hundred of them in general. It will be evident by now that the points of view and problems involved in the study of the *stava*, and the wealth of materials (the Leiden ones ignored by Lévi, and the Singaradja ones partly collected after the publication of his "Sanskrit Texts from Bali") can no longer be dealt with in a section of a book, but necessitate a monograph. For this I am compiling the materials; for the moment, however, and in our context, we have to restrict ourselves to the bare minimum. We will deal with *stava* for the gods Kumāra (§ 2), Gaṇa (3), Umā (4) and Śiva (5 & 6).

2. Kumāra-stava.

Source. Not in Lévi's "Sanskrit Texts from Bāli", section II. Stotras. Hitherto found only thrice in Balinese mss, to wit: K 69 l. 73a; K 1843 ll. 31a-32a; L 5429e, being two *lēm̄pir*, written on both sides, amidst a large collection of diverse notes.

Occasions when used. Inclusion in K 69, KAJAṆ PŪJĀ PITṚ, "The Shroud for the Worship of the Dead", does not imply that it is used during the ritual for the dead; it only belongs here to the natural accretion at the end of so many Balinese treatises of reference. According to Śaivite informant used at the celebration of *gēdoṅ-gēdoṅ*, eight months' gravidity and *nēlu-bulanin/nigaṅ sasihin*, a baby's reaching the age of three months (particulars to be found, in stencilled print, Latin script, Balinese language, Jadnja", both Toko Buku "Murni", Klungkung, late 'fifties; Mānuṣa Jadña, dikēluarkan olèh Dinas Agama Otonoom Daérah Bali Dènpasar, i.e. published by the Autonomous Bureau for Religious Affairs (and composed by the Bauddha Padanda Gēḍé Njoman Djēlantik, 1958).

I noted moreover that it was used during the great lustration festival of 1963, allegedly held once in a century, of Eka-daśa-Rudra (i.e. the Eleven Rudra, to wit eight in the eight directions of the compass, one on high, one below, one in the centre). This festival is celebrated in the national mountain sanctuary of Pura Bēsakih, this centre of ancestor worship (cf. study IV, end). Finally, during the worship of Śiva-rātri.

The metre appears to be the eleven syllable *triṣṭubh*, unfamiliar to those Balinese *padanda* who do not study the *kakavin*, courtpoem; hence perhaps several metrical mistakes in the mss. A *triṣṭubh* line with a long first syllable is called *indravajra*, one with a short first syllable *upendravajra*. Old-Javanese *kakavin* show a tendency to interchange *indravajra* in a and c *pāda* regularly with *upendravajra* in b and d *pāda*. In Indian *kāvya* the poet is free in their use, and as there is no system in the *triṣṭubh* of Kumāra-stava, this freedom might give a hint in the direction of its being composed in India. A stronger argument is given by its repeated linking up with figures of Hindu mythology, scarcely or not known to Javanese or Balinese poets. Hopkins' "Epic Mythology" proved helpful in nearly every line; Banerjea's "Development of Hindu Iconography" suggested the still dubious *kukkuṭa* in 3d, a very corrupt *pāda*. The faulty state of the few mss and my own lack of experience in emendating have made that the results of the work done are not yet quite satisfactory in all details; but the general idea is perfectly clear.

Namaḥ Kumārāya, ṣaḍ-ānanāya, Ṣaḍ-Kṛttikānanda-karāya nityam,	śikhi-dhvajāyāpratimāya loke, namo 'stu tasmai, dhvaja-pūjitāya.	(1)
Rudrātmakāyāpratimāya loke, senāpatibhyo dayitāya divyam,	Brahmaṇya-devāya, śikhi-dhvajāya, namo 'stu Krauñcācala-dāraṇāya.	(2)
Namaḥ Ṣaḍ-Āgneyā[ya], vīryakāya, Ṣaṣṭhi-priyāya, malāśa(n)-tridhatre,	namo 'stu Jṛmbhakāya jaya-nityam, namaḥ kukkuṭa-sādhana(?)—mohanāya.	(3)

1a. Sājñā Bhaṭṭāra, taṇa² tiki sēmbah in ulun ri(n) jōn Bhaṭṭāra, kita Sañ Hyañ Kumāra pasaṅgahan Bhaṭṭāra. Nūni kāla(n) niñ prañ niñ Devāsura, irika kita ginavé sādhana niñ raṇa-yajña déniñ ta kabèh. 1b. Kita maka-dhvaja n mayūra, ginavé sādhana niñ raṇa-yajña déniñ ta kabèh. 1c. Pēnuh ta n Vidhi-vidhāna sa-lvir-nia n ginavé déniñ vatèk bhuvana kabèh. 1d. Rahananta(?) pinūjā saha tanda dévatā, matañ yan tan ana pētēn sadā-kāla. 1e. Kahananta(?) pinūjā saha tanda dévatā, Bhaṭṭāra in-abhiṣēka déniñ dévatā kabèh.

2a. Kunañ yan in-inēt² svarūpa Bhaṭṭāra, sāksāt pa-śarira Rudra kita, déniñ vibhuh in téjanta riñ bhuvana kabèh. 2b. Muvah sāksāt pa-śarira Hiañ Brahmā kita, déniñ mahā-bhāra niñ téja Bhaṭṭāra, sañ maka-dhvaja n mayūra. 2c. Nūni-kāla-nta in-abhiṣēka sēnā-pati, irika pūjā kōttamān in sarva-guṇa Bhaṭṭāra. 2d. In-a-stuti sañ maka-biūha n Krauñca-ratā, vēnañ dāraka ri sarvastra.

3a. Lavan kita inastuti, sāksāt téja Sañ Hiañ Agni kāla nilaya, prakāsa niñ téja Bhaṭṭāra. 3b. Pinūjā ta kita sañ gumavé ki(?) vijaya ki(?) vatèk dévatā sadā-kāla. 3c. Lavan Bhaṭṭāra sumiddhakēn sarva-karya, umilānakēn sarva-mala niñ tribhuvana. 3d. Apan Bhaṭṭāra sinēmbah sadākāla, sañ maka-catur-aśvarya-satavana(?), kita 'paran in pamūjā.

Homage be to God Kumāra, the One with the six faces,
having a peacock in His banner, unequalled in the world,
and Who constantly gives happiness to the six Pleiades,
Homage be to Him Who is honoured by banners, (1)

To Him Who in His deepest self is Rudra, unequalled in the world,
to Brahmaṇya, the God, having a peacock in His banner,
to Him Who is beloved by army commanders, heavenly [honour be given]
Homage be to Him Who has rent asunder the Krauñca-Mountains. (2)

Homage be to the sixfold son of Agni, the hero,
homage be to Him Who won an everlasting victory on The Yawner,
to Him Who is dear to Ṣaṣṭhi, Who rules in the Three Worlds by
"eating" the stains (?),
Homage to Him Who stupefies [his enemies by means of the] *kukkuṭa*. (3)

Namo 'stu [cakr]āṅga-nīlaya-nītyam, namo 'stu vidyā-vara-dāya loke,
namo 'stu Rohitaka-[su-]prijāya, huvah (?) prakāśe varado, namo 'stu to (‡)

4a. Muvah kita inastuti sañ maka-catur-aiśvarya cakrāṅga sadākāla. 4b. Lavan Bhaṭṭāra inastuti, mavèh anugraha vruh riñ sarva-śāstra ri bhuvana. 4c. Muvah kita inastuti, sāksāt dilah niñ rakta-pañkaja muṅgv iñ talaga. 4d. Mañkana tēja Bhaṭṭāra, mañkin atambah prakāśa, tēhēr mavèh anugraha riñ ulun, umastava ri jōñ Bhaṭṭāra.

Homage be to Him Who is always accompanied by (?) the peacock,
Homage be to Him Who in the world giveth the best of knowledge,
Homage be to Him Who is dear to Lohitāyāni,
or: well-beloved by Rohitaka,
Homage be to Him who manifestly giveth boon (4)

1a. mss: nama sadanaya. 1d. mss: namo 'stu dhvaja-vara-pūjita. 2c. mss: senapratyeva. 3b. mss: namo 'stika. 3d. 69: sadanukudana-; 5429: satakukudana-; 1843: kurkuṭa-2 syll. -na-. 4c. 69: rohitavya; 5429 & 1843: rohikava; all three one syllable short.

3. Gaṇapati-stava (in general)

Source. I. Lévi o.c. p. 41 No. 7. Five śloka, beginning with: *Namo 'stu te, Gaṇapate!*

Also found in the following Balinese mss: K 69, l. 27a; 189 l. 4b; 1457 l. 3b; 1673 l. 3b; 1843 ll. 30a-31a.

Occasions when used: *Padudusan* (Lustration) *alit* (small) and *aguñ* (great, e.g. Eka-daśa-Rudra); *madhya* (medium) and *uttama* (superior) celebrations, as here at Śiva-rātri.

II. Lévi pp. 36-38 No. 2 Ākāśa-stava (Gaṇapati), 31 śloka, beginning with *Deva-deva-sutañ Devañ*.

Also found in K 69 *supra* ll. 68a-69b.

Occasions when used: Medium and superior; this applies also to IV and V.

III. Cod. Or. L.B. 5227, "the" Gaṇa-stava, ll. 1b-3b or 4a, apparently long, so presumably = II.

IV. K 71, LIGIA (name of a superior celebration long after cremation), l. 64a, 3 śloka, beginning with *Gaṇa parama tañ goyam* (cf. *infra*). For this Ligya ring Klungkung" antuk Ida Maharadjadewata A. A. Gdé Pamērēgan, Toko Buku Murni, Klungkung, circa 1959.

V. PŪJĀ PAÑCA-BALI-KRAMA, "the Worship of Five-fold Offering, K 1186, l. 33a, 6 śloka, beginning with *Praṇamya śirasā Devam*, cf. *infra*.

The note GAṆA-STAVA in the dealing with Śiva-rātri, which we try to elucidate here, does not mention its initial words; it may refer to the accessible I or II or to the hitherto unknown IV or V. Though of both of these last-mentioned *stava* we have only one ms at our disposal, faulty at that, I prefer to present these new materials, followed by tentative translations, in the hope of eliciting better readings.

3. IV. Gaṇa parama taṅgoyam.

Gana parama taṅgoyam,	gana tatu parayana;	
Gana pranata labanam,	suka gana namo 'stu te.	(1)
Asuci sarva pavitram,	sarva karma sucim uktam,	
bukti gana mahotamam,	suddhia deva paripurna.	(2)
Tesu karti ama gana,	mastaras tesu karyam (1 syll. om)	
etena sarva pinuje,	deva purnam maha sukam.	(3)

This looks like Archipelago-Sanskrit, for: 7 out of 12 *pāda* end in *-am*; not one verbal form has been used; apart from recognisable *tesu* (3a) and *etena* (3c), no flexions have been used (saying “*a priori*” does not make one into a Latinist); in 3c *pinuje* might even originate from *pūjā* infixed by *-in-*. The original poet may have had in mind something like the following endeavour:

Gaṇa-parama! tvaṅ guhya,	Gaṇa! tattva-parāyana;	
Gaṇa-pranata labhanam,	sukhaṅ Gaṇa! namo 'stu te.	(1)
Aśuci-sarva-pavitram,	sarva-karma sucim uktam,	
bhukti-Gaṇa mahottamam,	śuddhi-deva paripurṇa.	(2)
Teṣu karti Mahā-Gaṇa,	mastaras teṣu karyam (1 syll. om)	
etena sarva pinūjā,	deva-pūrṇam mahā-sukham.	(3)

Superior Gaṇa, Thou art hidden, Thou art devoted to the search of reality,
Bowling to Thee is like obtaining; Thou art pure bliss, oh! Gaṇa, praise to thee. (1)

Thou purifiest anything that was impure, so any deed is said to be pure,
what Thou enjoyest is superior; Thou art a god of purification and perfection. (2)

Oh! Great Gaṇa, Thou art the One Who doest what has to be done
by this Thou art venerable in all respects; divine fulness gives great bliss. (3)

It will be evident that this is only an attempt, made with hesitation.

3. V. Gaṇapati stotram.

The following *stava*, half of it an enumeration, if belonging to Archipelago Sanskrit, is of the best quality:

Pranāmya śirasā Devaṅ,	Gauri-putraṅ vināyakam;	
bhaktyānuttama-sustotram(?),	pranato 'smi Gaṇeśvaram.	(1)
Prathame cakra-taṅḍaṅ-ca,	eka-daṅstran dvitīyake;	
tṛtīye kṛṣṇa-piṅgalaṅ(ca),	caturthe jagat-piṭhaṅ-ca.	(2)
Pañca Lambodaraṅ caiva,	ṣaṣthe vikaṭam eva ca;	
saptame vighna-rājendraṅ,	dhūmra-varṇaṅ tathāṣṭame.	(3)
Navamaṅ bāla-candraṅ-ca,	daśamaṅ-ca vināyakam;	
eka-daśa[n] Gaṇa-pati[n],	dvā-daśaṅ hastiy-ānam.	(4)
Ete dvādaśa nāmāni,	Ubhe sandhye yaḥ japayet,	
vidyārthi labhate vidyāṅ,	dhanâ[r]thi labhate dhanam;	(5)
kanyārthi labhate kanyāṅ,	mokṣārthi labhate gatim.	
Idaṅ Gaṇapati-stotraṅ,	sarva-kāmāṅ samāpnuyāt.	(6)

- 1c. Mss: *bak-tia-tun*(991: *stvan*)-*ta-ma-se-ste-tram*; *bhakti* and *stotram* are pretty safe.
- 2a. The poet uses the *-e* ending throughout 2 and in 3cd, but alternates with *-am* throughout 4, using bare forms in 3ab. He has used the Indonesian word *tanda*, "sign", as if it were Sanskrit; to be emended into: *hasta?*
- 2d. 1186: *ja-ga-pi-gañ-ce* (991: *gaja-karnakam* - He has elephants' ears; self-evidently).
Hesitating between *Jagat-patim* and *Jagat-pīṭham*. I chose the *lectio arduor*.
Metrically correct would be: *trīye jagat-pīṭhañ-ca*, *caturthe kṛṣṇa-piṅgalam*.
- 4c. Balinese habits of speaking and writing allow me to insert the [letters].
- 5b. Mss: *ca-ya-pa-tet*.
- 6b. Mss: *gatam*, perhaps instead of *gatēm*, a misreading for *gatim*.
- 6d. Mss: *sarva-kamīn*.
- 5cd-6ab. This being interested in *vidyā-dhana-kanyā-mokṣa* looks awkward. In K 991, PAŚUPATI-MANTRA, we find the same quartet at the end of a version of the frequently used and unusually long *Rudra-kavaca-mantra* for self-protection; it ends in this way:

Vidyārthī labhate vidyām,	dhanārthī labhate dhanam;
putrārthī labhate putram,	kanyārthī labhate kanyām.
Dharmārthī labhate dharmam,	iṣṭārthī labhate iṣṭam;
mokṣārthī labhate mokṣam.	Trāhi-trāhi
trāhi-trāhi	trāhi-trāhi
trāhi-trāhi	trāhi mām
trāhi mām	trāhi mām
trāhi mām	trāsan

only two more pāda before the end instead of expected 4.

Unfortunately neither 71 LIGIA, nor 74 AṢṬAKA-MANTRA, though containing *Rudra-kavaca-mantra*, nor even 1600 RUDRA-KAVACA, contain this passage, which, for the rest, being a *topos*, might conclude many a *stava*, so that we have no materials for a comparison and can only make a guess. It looks as if 2 pādas are missing, one at the very end, and one in the beginning. From this point of view we would have 4 pādas beginning with *trāhi-trāhi* (oh! do protect!), 4 of them with *trāhi mām* (protect me!) and 8 with *-arthī* (in need of). It is my guess that in *Gaṇapati stotram* 4 more pādas with *-arthī* are needed, 3 of which I feel inclined to supplement from K 991. Some day the fourth may turn up from somewhere.

TRANSLATION

I have bowed my head before the God, the son of Gaurī, the Remover (of obstacles), with devotion to Him Who is the object of incomparable and lovely songs of praise (?); I am bowing to Lord Gaṇeśvara. (1)

In the first place He has as mark a disc, and secondly He has only one tusk; thirdly His colour is blackish-tawny, fourthly He has this world as pedestal; (2)

In the fifth place He has a big belly, and in the sixth place He is huge as well; seventh He is a king of [removers of] obstacles, and in the eighth He is dark-coloured. (3)

In the ninth place He is a waxing moon, in the tenth a remover of obstacles, in the eleventh place He is Gaṇapati, and in the twelfth the one with an elephant face. (4)

This is the dozen of His names; whoever recites them at daybreak and sunset, when desirous of knowledge, he will get knowledge, and when of wealth, he'll get wealth, (5)

When of a girl, he gets the girl, when of liberation, he will get liberation. This hymn in honour of Gaṇapati will fulfill all wishes. (6)

4. Umā-stava.

Source : Lévi p. 40 No. 5, three *śloka*, beginning with *oṃ Pārvatīṃ tām namasyāmi*.

Oṃ Pārvatīṃ tām namasyāmi, devavatīṃ śubhavatīṃ,	Rudra-patnīṃ prakāśinīm; sadānugraha-kāriṇīm.	(1)
Gaurīm Umāṃ namasyāmi, yaśasvinīm guṇavatīṃ,	Rudra-dehadīpasidām; bhaktānugraha-kāriṇīm.	(2)
Śānti-śāntām namasyāmi, guvāśyama Hari Devi,	Bhavānīm bhakta-vatsalām, tubhyaṃ nityaṃ namo namaḥ.	(3)

Other sources : K 189, l. 14ab; 1424 l. 7b; 1673 l. 3a; 1843 ll. 29b-30a; 1918 l. 16a; L 4673 p. 65. Six out of the twelve *pāda* (1abc, 2b, 3ac) look suspicious. Lévi's emendated Sanskrit deviates from the readings in my mss. His material cannot be traced, so that we can not ascertain whether his ms was deviating or whether he has emendated it energetically. A collation sheet was made; based upon this and the Old-Javanese paraphrase the following reconstruction is suggested:

Oṃ Pārvati! tvām namasyāmi, jayavatīṃ śubhavatīṃ,	Rudra-patnīṃ tapasvinīm; sadānugraha-kāriṇīm.	(1)
Gaurīm Umāṃ namasyāmi, yaśasvinīm guṇavatīṃ,	Rudra-devādīva-siddhīm; bhaktānugraha-kāraṇīm.	(2)
Satīm śaktām namasyāmi, guhya-śyāma-Hari-Devi!	Bhavānīm bhakta-vatsalām, tubhyaṃ nityaṃ namo namaḥ.	(3)

Hail, oh! Pārvati! I worship Thee, the spouse of Rudra Who practices penance,
Who is glorious and beautiful and Who always bestows favours. (1)

I worship Thee as Gauri and as Umā, Who as it were hast the power of Rudra,
the first of gods,
Who hast splendour and high qualities, Who bestowest favours upon Thy wor-
shippers. (2)

I worship Sati, the powerful lady, Who is Bhavānī and affectionate toward Her
worshippers,
the Goddess of Hari Who is hidden and dark-coloured; to Thee ever homage,
worship! (3)

Occasions when used. According to informant: *riṅ carik*, on the ricefields; and K 1918 confirms this. But it can hardly be accidental that in the note on Śiva-rātri as well as in the mss quoted *supra* we find the Umā-stava always in connection with those to Śiva and their son or sons.

5. Giripati.

Sources : Lévi p. 43 No. 10 under the caption: *Paṅgastavana* (two clerical errors in one word; the following may be intended: *paṅ-astava-n*,

a Balinese formation from *astava*, their pronunciation of *stava*) (Viśve-devāḥ).

Also found in the following ten mss: K 36 l. 1ab; 69 l. 1b, 18b; 71 l. 14b; 321 p. 24; 1168 l. 6b-7a; 1186 l. 2b; 1457 l. 1b; 1673 l. 3a; 1843 l. 22b; L 4673 p. 62.

The "Giripati" is not confined to the Śaiva-priests; the Bauddha priests use it as well, cf. PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA, the daily ritual (priv. coll.), where the five *śloka* are given (with 29 out of 80 syllables deviating from the other mss, most of them intentionally); and repeatedly merely mentioned in BUDDHA VEDA, Death Ritual for the Bauddha priests, K 2255 = L 4165.

Occasions when used: Medium and Superior, cf. *supra*.

Giripati! Deva-deva! śaktimatām mahā-vīrya!	Loka-nātha! Jagat-pati! jñānavatām Śivātmaka!	(1)
Maheśvara! Divya-cakṣu! Ghora-ghora! mahā-sūkṣmam!	Mahā-padme namo namaḥ; Ādi-deva! namo namaḥ!	(2)
Parameṣṭha! Parameṣṭhi! Ādi-kāraṇam Īśāṅ-ca	Paramārtha! namo namaḥ; Na-kāraṇe namo namaḥ!	(3)
Mahā-Rudra! Mahā-śuddham! Mahā-mūrtti! Mahā-tattva!	Sarva-pāpa-vināśanam! Paśupati! namo namaḥ!	(4)
Mahā-deva Śaṅkaraś-ca, Īśvara Brahmā Rudraś-ca,	Śambhu Śarva Bhavas tathā; Īśāna Śivāya namaḥ!	(5)

Lévi, presumably having one ms at his disposal when publishing the *Giripati*, emendated its Sanskrit, but ran into trouble in 3c where he printed: *Ādi-kāraṇa miṣaṅca*. Working with twelve mss and a paraphrase, and finding them generally unanimous, even in their sins against Sanskrit grammar, and being under the impression that here we have to do with a specimen of rather early and fairly good Archipelago-Sanskrit, I think that it might have its advantages to present their reading. My translation in this context can only be tentative and provisional, as nearly every word needs commentary.

Lord of the mountains! God of gods! Ruler of the world! Lord of the universe!
Superior hero of the power-laden! Benevolent-minded one of the wise! (1)

Superior Lord, Thou with the divine eye! Hail hail to Thee in the great lotus-flower!
Sublime of the sublime! great Unfathomable! God of the beginning, hail, hail! (2)

Superior God of my choice! Superior Goddess of my choice! Highest of wisdom, hail, hail!
Thou art the cause of the beginning and its Lord, hail hail in the un-doing! (3)

Majestic terrifier! Majestic purifier! Oh Thou destroyer of all evils!
Thou of majestic shape! Superior insight! Lord of the flocks, hail, hail! (4)

Thou dost incorporate Mahādeva and Śaṅkara, Śambhu, Śarva and Bhava,
Īśvara, Brahmā and Rudra, together with Īśāna; hail, oh Śiva! (5)

The "Giripati" stops after five *śloka*; the following four in Lévi consist of Brahmā-stava, which in 10 out of 13 times in my mss now follows, either after an interruption of a few words, or sometimes even without them, but nearly always concluded by the words: *Iti Brahmā-stava*. In the ms. edited by Lévi obviously both subscribed captions must have failed.

The "Giripati" offers more complications, not relevant here; in due time I hope to discuss them.

6. Śiva-nirmala.

Apart from the Giripati there exist several more hymns to Śiva. Lévi's No. 29, p. 58, beginning with *Namaḥ Śivāya Śarvāya* (12 *śloka*) is fairly well represented in the mss and may be used at any occasion. The same applies to Lévi's No. 30, p. 60-61, beginning with *Śivaḥ karttā Śiva dhātā* (16 *śloka*). But there are several more of them, to which I may point before asking attention for one in particular. *Śivo bhūmi Śivas toyam* (5 *śloka*), hitherto met twice only, is reserved for superior occasions. *Śiva Agni pañca griyam* followed by the line *Ghorānala Rudram rulam* (7 *śloka*) is used during the celebration of Eka-daśa-Rudra, whereas *Śiva Agni pañca griyam* followed by *sarvābhicāri-bhasminam* should be used at smaller purifications. The *Śiva-Jagatpati-devam* (6 *śloka*) again should be reserved for Eka-daśa-Rudra. *Śivam api pitṛ rūpam* (found once; one *śloka* only?) is confined to the cult of the dead. *Śivasya paramasya 'dam* (found once; 4 *śloka*) should be reserved for superior purification.

We mention in passing *Girideva-ratna-viryam* (6 *śloka*) which is sung in honour of Śaṅkara at the celebration of Eka-daśa-Rudra, the *Guru-stava* beginning with *Deva-deva tri-devānām* (4 *śloka*), for daily use, and a *stuti* for Bhaṭṭāra Guru, beginning with *Guru-pādruka pūjanu* (one *śloka*), for general purposes, whereas *Guru-rūpam sad-ājñānam* (one *śloka*), though found in manuals for diverse purposes, should be reserved for the *Pañca-Bali-krama* according to my Śaivite informant. *Śiva-Liṅga-stava* has been dealt with in the fourth study. The *Parama-Śiva-nirmalam* (5 *śloka*), which I noted only once, nevertheless should be used daily according to my informant. *Parama-Śiva! tvaṅ guhya* (3 *śloka*) is not only daily used, but shared by Śaivite and Bauddha priests. *Śiva-nirmala tvaṅ guhya*, finally, though not mentioned in the Śiva-ratri ritual which formed our starting-point we are discussing here, nevertheless deserves full attention, as 2 *pāda* from it appear in the preceding descriptions of the ritual followed during Śiva-rātri. This *stava*, not included in those published by Lévi, is found in the following Balinese mss: L 4673 p. 61; K 36 l. 3b, 20a, 21a; K 69 l. 5a, 15a, 57b; K 71 l. 10b, 12a, 16b, 61b; 321 p. 25/6, p. 47; K 448 l. 5b; 1168 l. 3ab, 18b; K 1457 l. 6a; 1590 l. 6a; 1843 l. 24b; PŪJĀ KṢĀTRIYA (TABANAN), a worship performed by some members of the highest ruling caste, to be dealt with in due time (private collection), line 234-6.

Oṅ Śiva! Nirmala! tvaṅ guhya, Śiva-tattva-parāyana;
Śivasya praṇato nityam, Caṅḍiśāya namo 'stu te. (1)

Oṅ Śiva! Nivedyaṅ carun dadāmi, Amṛtātmaka! gṛhṇiṣva! (2)

Hail Śiva! Oh, Thou spotless one, Thou art hidden, oh! Śiva last resort of the world(?)!
I always do worship to Śiva; homage be to Caṅḍi's Lord. (1)
Hail Śiva! I offer *naivedia* and other offerings; oh! Thou Who's Self consists
of ambrosia, take them!

Only 4673 has a *śloka* preceding these 6 *pāda*; two mss (1590 and the PŪJĀ KṢĀTRIYA) complete the second *śloka* and add a third one; four others (71, 488, 1843 & 4673) have another final *śloka*—but all of that is not relevant for us here. Reading the last two *pāda* here, we may surmise that the worshipper has preceded them by the first four ones.

7. Pakētis = Sprinkling.

At the end of the preceding paragraph it has been suggested that the two final *pāda* were sufficient for the worshipper to know that he should recite the preceding *śloka*. Two indications point in this direction. To begin with, the short text with which this section F started, prescribes *stava* for Kumāra and Gaṇa, Umā and finally Śiva, and then goes on with *mantra* in honour of Gaṇa and Kumāra, Umā and at last Śiva. *Stava* and *mantra*, however, belong together; the priest recites his *stava* and then mutters the *mantra* while sprinkling holy water with the sprinkler, *pasirat*. Lévi's *stava* are shorn of indications of sprinkling after the recitation of a *stava*, and I must admit that only exceptionally we find such indications for the Śaiva priests in the mss. PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA, containing the daily ritual for the Bauddha priest, however, nowhere after a *stava* will omit the *pakētis*, the directions for sprinkling, and more than once the number of *śloka* corresponds with the number of sprinklings to diverse gods. For the priest this is of primary importance. Singing and bell ringing should precede, but the *pakētis* is only the natural continuation and completion.

In view of the close similarity of ritual and its basic philosophy with Śaiva- and Bauddha-priests in Bali, and of the extreme succinctness of our texts on the celebration of Śiva-ratri, I am inclined to believe that in lines 254/413 the words *oṅ oṅ (Linga-)Lingādhipataye namaḥ* are meant to point to the recitation of a preceding *Linga-stava*, just like the lines 259-260/418-419 presuppose the *Śiva-nirmala*; that 91-93 point to a *Śiva-stava*, 95 to a *Śiva-Linga-stava*, 97 to a *Kumāra-stava*, 99-100 to a *Gaṇapati-stava*, 102 again to a/the *Śiva-Linga-stava*. It is unnecessary to say that this supposition, reasonable though it may seem, still needs confirmation, and, more in general, that most of this book may only be considered as a shy attempt to penetrate into the mystery of Balinese belief in God.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- A.A. - American Anthropologist.
 APKr - ARGHA-PĀTRA originating from Krambitan.
 B. - Bauddha, Buddhist.
 BEFEO - Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient.
 B.I. - Bahasa Indonesia, Indonesian language, Balinese informant(s).
 Bibl. Jav. - Bibliotheca Javanica, Uitgegeven door (published by) K.B.G.
 BKI. - Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.
 BV - BUDDHA VEDA.
 cod. or. - codex orientalis, Asian manuscript.
 DJAWA - tijdschrift van het (periodical of the) Java-Instituut.
 Dr. - Doctor Litterarum et Philosophiae; once Doctor Medicinae.
 Drs. - Doctorandus; closest equation: M.A.
 Ds. - Dominus; in vocative: domine; for Protestant clergymen.
 GOS - Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda.
 GPGBh - GAGĒLARAN PŪJĀ n GĒDĒ BHUJAŅGA.
 H. - Hian; spirit, God.
 I. - Informant.
 IAIC - International Academy of Indian Culture, New-Delhi.
 Indonesiö - Tweemaandelijks Tijdschrift.
 Ju. I & II - Dr. H. H. Juynboll, Supplement Catalogus etc. 1907 & 1911.
 Ju. III - Dr. H. H. Juynboll, Supplement Catalogus Bali etc. 1912.
 K. - Kirtya; pre-war: K. Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk; now: Gëdong Kirtya.
 KBG - Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap (van Kunsten en Wetenschappen).
 KBNW - Kawi-Balinesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek by Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk.
 KI - Koninklijk Instituut (voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde).
 KPM - Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij.
 KṣKRAM - PŪJĀ KṢĀTRIYA originating from Krambitan.
 KṣPAN - PŪJĀ KṢĀTRIYA originating from Panarukan.
 KṣTAB - PŪJĀ KṢĀTRIYA originating from Tabanan.
 l. - lëmpir; leaf of a palmleaf manuscript; ll. leaves.
 L. - Leiden - L.B. Lugdunum Batavorum.
 ma. - mantra - formula.
 MAN - monthly published by Royal Anthropological Institute, London.
 MK - Mededeelingen uitgegeven door de Kirtya Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk.
 MKNAW - Mededelingen Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen.
 MW - Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
 OJ. - Oud-Javaans(ch), Old-Javanese.
 OV - Oudheidkundig Verslag, publ. by Archaeological Service, Neth. Indies.
 priv. - private collection.
 PVB - PŪRVĀKA VEDA BUDDHA.
 S. - Sañ, an article used for distinguished persons, spirits and gods.
 Ś. - Śaiva, Śaivitic.
 Skr. - Sanskrit.
 TBG - Tijdschrift etc. Bataviaasch Genootschap.
 TLV - Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.
 TNAG - Tijdschrift Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap.
 VBG - Verhandelingen Bataviaasch Genootschap etc.
 VKNAW, AL, NR - Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks.
 VP - VEDA PŪRVĀKA.

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2.	29.	ANDHA KACACAR, on various kinds of pocks; their treatment; beginning as 1601.
3.	17.	ARGHA-PĀTRA, Vessel for Water at Respectful Reception of a Guest; on daily ritual.
8.	31.	BATUR KALAVASAN, containing KR̥TA BHUJAᅅGA, Deeds of Exorcists (12a-14b).
27.	15.	AJI JANANTAKA, on the story of the exorcists; largely in accordance with K 2407.
28.	18.	ÉTA-ÉTO (Goris: Artha-hetu?), on cosmogony, Guru and Umā, Raró Anon, etc. etc.
33.	8.	PŪJĀ MAMUKUR, Ritual to be performed during the ceremony/festival of <i>bukur</i> .
35.	6.	PŪJĀ DAHA (Pūjādharma?), Worship for the "lower" stratum of priesthood, i.e. <i>pamañku</i> ?
36.	22.	PITᅀ-PŪJĀ, Ritual for Worship of the Ancestors, generally speaking: care of the dead.
37.	13.	YAMA-(PŪRVA-)TATTVA, The Mystic Reality about the Judge in the Hereafter.
43.	58.	BABAD DALĒM, History of Their Majesties [scilicet: of Gèlgèl and Klungkung].
69.	67.	KAJAᅅ PŪJĀ PITᅀ, The Shroud for the Cult of the Dead, on the ritual for the dead.
71.	53.	LIGIA or INDIK MALIGIA, on the ritual of this day, long after death, for the rich.
73.	7.	ARGHĀDHYĀTMIKA, The Esoteric Meaning of the Preparation of Holy Water by Śaiva.
74.	8.	AᅀTAKA-MANTRA, contains an eight-śloka hymn to Durgā, besides several other hymns.
84.	11.	ASTRA-MANTRA, a Śaiva priest's daily worship and ritual for the dead.
85.	19.	ĀTMA-RAKᅀA(-PARIMBON), Self-Protection (collection of notes).
86.	15.	BADAVAᅅ NALA, on several subjects of a philosophical/metaphysical nature.
87.	22.	ARGHA-PĀTRA, on preparation of holy water through sun-worship by Śaiva priest.
88.	12.	(TUTUR) (AJI) SARASVATĪ, Lessons on the meaning of holy syllables, etc.
102.	29.	PITᅀ KINĀRAᅅAN, The Ancestors taken Care of, on the general care of the dead.
106.	11.	DHARMA PAVAYAᅅAN, Eternal Laws for the Shadow Play, on the gnosis of the ᅅalaᅅ.
139.	23.	BAᅅCAᅅAH SĒNGUHU, History of [the Caste of] the exorcist Priests or ᅀsi bhujāᅅa.
142.	29.	TUTUR SARASVATĪ, Lessons and Notes on the meaning of holy syllables, etc.
161.	30.	KUNA-DRSTA, Learnt from the Past, about offerings to human beings, rites de passage.
166.	25.	MARIᅀUDDHA GUMI A-ᅅAPUH-ᅅAPUH, Cleansing the Earth by wiping and wiping.
186.	15.	KĀᅅA NIᅅ CATUR BHŪMI, Story of the Fourfold World, on creation of cosmos & world.
189.	20.	DVIJĒNDRA, King of the Twice-Born, on the Śaiva brahmin's ritual and hymns used.
197.	9.	AJI NUSUP, Penetrating Lessons, or: Teaching how to Penetrate.
200.	25.	SAᅅ HIAᅅ AJI KRĒKĒT or KAPUTUSAN PAᅅJI ALIT, Holy Teaching K. or Secret Knowledge of (or: concerning?) Paᅅji Alit.
226.	30.	KUSUMA-DĒVA-PURĀᅅA, Kāma-Purāᅅa (<i>mirabile dictu</i>), on the ritual of the <i>pamañku</i> .
256.	26.	PARIKĀᅅA (<i>recte</i> : PRAKĀᅅA) n PASĒK GĒLGĒL, Chapters on/Origin of the PasĒk caste.
273.	63.	BABAD SAᅅ BRĀHMAᅅA CATUR, tells much about the most conspicuous brahmin priests.
278.	7.	BABAD SĒNGUHU ASU-ASA, History called Asu-asa (?) about the exorcist priests.
294.	19.	BUDA KĒCAPI CĒMĒᅅ, prose treatise on medicine called after holy man Buda KĒcapi.
298.	6.	ANUᅀTHĀNA BVAT SAURA, Ritual destined for the Worshipper of the Sun, i.e. Śaivite.
319.	12.	AJI KUNAᅅ-KUNAᅅ, Teaching Fire-fly? or: Holy Lessons [against] dizziness?
321.	31.	VEDA BVAT SAURA, Ritual destined for the Worshipers of the Sun, i.e. the Śaivites.
328.	7.	SURAT KAJAᅅ, Writings and Drawings on the Shroud for the Dead.
363.	29.	(TUTUR) SAᅅ HIAᅅ BHUVANA MARĒKA, Teaching on the Holy Creation of the World.
369.	3.	DHARMA PAVAYAᅅAN, Eternal Laws for the Shadow Play; on the gnosis for the ᅅalaᅅ.
378.	73.	TANTRI PARIKAN, Tantri Fables in Modern Language and in Modern Javanese Metres.
389.	243.	CAᅅTAKA PARVA, an encyclopaedia on which cf. Ju. II 219.
420.	25.	SEVAKA DHARMA / SAᅅKUL PUTIH, Servant of Law Eternal / White Slug, on <i>pamañku</i> .
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464.	7.	ᅀAVA-VIDHĀNA, Disposing of Corpses; manual on care for the dead.

475. 12. BHASMA, Sacred Ashes, on the Śaiva brahmin's ritual.
504. 18. CAPA KĀLA, (*capa?*) Bow and Arrows of Kāla, or (*sāpa?*) Curse of Kāla.
506. 12. KALAVASAN PĒṬAK / Asu-asa, untranslatable titles; on the exorcists & their doings.
516. 14. PAÑLUKATAN, Expiation, Exorcism, Expulsion of Evil, by formulas and offerings.
556. 18. ASTUPUNĀKUNAVA-RATNA, Nine-Pearl (9-fold)?, on expulsion of evil by id. id.
653. 37. KUNA-DRṢṬA, Learnt from Time Immemorial, on offerings to humans, rites de passage.
715. 28. BABAD ARIA TABANAN, History of the Noblemen of the Realm of Tabanan, West-Bali.
745. 15. (TUTUR) AJI SARASVATĪ, Lessons on the Meaning of Holy Syllables, etc. etc.
748. 16. KRAMA NIÑ SĒMBAH. The Right Method of the Bringing of Worship, on Śaiva Ritual.
818. 30. PIAGĒM PINATIH, Charter [of the Caste] of the Pinatih.
840. 44. PAMAÑCAÑAH TABANAN, History of the Realm of Tabanan.
850. 17. BABAD RATU TABANAN, History of the Rulers of Tabanan.
862. 17. PLUTUK or MPU LUTUK, Lessons on preparedness against torments in the hereafter.
883. 18. MANTRA ĀTMA-RAKṢA, Formulas for Self-Protection.
902. 26. PAMALIK SUMPAH, Reversal of Curses.
946. 11. VEDA SĒNGUHU, Songs in Praise of the Gods as used by the exorcist priests.
950. 36. PAMAÑCAÑAH TABANAN, History of the Realm of Tabanan.
955. 53. BABAD PASĒK GĒLGĒL, History [of the Caste] of the PasĒk originating from GĒlgĒl.
960. 37. PAMAÑCAÑAH PĒDĒL, History of Flat-Nose; on the exorcist priest sĒnguhu/Bhujāṅga.
961. 12. VEDA KṢATRIYA, Śaiva ritual to be used by (prominent members of) the ksatriya caste.
963. 137. BABAD PASĒK, History [of the Caste] of the PasĒk.
965. 52. BABAD PASĒK or PRASASTI PASĒK, History or Charter of the PasĒk.
989. 7. KAKAVIN SARASVATĪ, Poem in Indian metre called Sarasvatī.
991. 12. PAṢUPATI-MANTRA, a small collection of mantra both in Sanskrit and in Old-Javanese.
998. 7. AṢṬAKA-MANTRA, contains an eight-śloka hymn to Durgā, besides several other hymns.
1020. 12. PŪJĀ DAHA (PŪJĀDHARA?), Worship for the "lower" stratum of priesthood, i.e. *pamañku?*
1027. 65. BABAD PASĒK KAYU SĒLĒM, History of this subdivision of [the caste of] the PasĒk.
1033. 33. PRASASTI PANDE (DĒSA TONDJA), Charter of [the caste of] the Smiths (village Tondja).
1034. 17. PRASASTI PANDE (BANDJAR AMBĒNGAN), Charter of the Smiths (quarter/district [AmbĒnan]).
1040. 15. PRASASTI SAṄGIN, Charter of the Draughtsmen mainly.
1052. 26. RĀMĀYAṆA PARIKAN, the R. reversified in modern metres and modern Balinese language.
1061. 40. BABAD PANDE VĒSI, History [of the Caste] of the Iron-Smiths; on their position.
1063. 24. BABAD SĒNGUHU ASU-ASA, History of the exorcist priests (*sĒnguhu/bhujāṅga*) called A.
1078. 6. KAVITAN PASĒK GĒLGĒL, The Origin [of the caste] of the PasĒk [as far back as] GĒlgĒl.
1096. 15. PRASASTI PASĒK GĒLGĒL, The Charter [of the caste] of the PasĒk since GĒlgĒl.
1103. 1. BABAD BRĀHMAṆA BUDDHA, History of the Bauddha Brahmins.
1109. 36. BABAD BRĀHMAṆA ŚIVA, History of the Śaiva Brahmins.
1110. 8. BABAD SĒNGUHU ASU-ASA, History of the Exorcist Priests (*sĒnguhu/bhujāṅga*) called A.
1133. 18. PRASASTI PANDE VĒSI, Charter [of the Caste] of the Iron-Smiths.
1134. 3. BABAD PINATIH, History [of the caste] of the Pinatih.
1139. 9. YAMA-PŪRVA-TATTVA, Name of a metaphysical/philosophical treatise.
1151. 8. DHARMA PAVAYAṆAN, Eternal Laws for the Shadow Play; on the gnosis for the *ḍalañ*.
1168. 32. ŚAVA-VIDHĀNA, Disposal of Corpses, i.e. Cult of the Dead.
1170. 2. PRASASTI PANDE CAPUṆ, The Charter [of the Caste] of the Smiths Dragon-fly.
1171. 13. PRASASTI PANDE, The Charter [of the Caste] of the [Iron-] Smiths.
1186. 25. PŪJĀ PAÑCA BALI KRAMA, on a ritual to be performed at this great lustration ceremony.
1197. 64. TUTUR SAYUKTI, name of a speculative treatise, the last part of which deals with Smiths.
1230. 57. BABAD PANDE BAÑ, History [of the Caste] of the Coppersmiths.
1257. 19. (LIÑ) AJI SARASVATĪ, (Uttering/Words belonging to the) Supreme Teaching by Sarasvatī.
1260. 18. PRAKRṬI-ŚĀSANA, Teachings on Nature, on history; reference to exorcist priests.
1363. 2. ODALAN SARASVATĪ, Anniversary of Sarasvatī, Goddess of Learnedness; on offerings.
1423. 18. PITR PŪJĀ, Worship of the Ancestors, on care for the dead generally speaking.
1424. 5. ŚIVA-SAMŪHA, mainly a collection of songs in praise of Śiva.

1430. 14. SĀRA-SAMUCCAYA-KAKAVIN, Part of the collection of aphorisms called S.S. in metrics.
 1441. 34. KALĒPASAN, Deliverance, Liberation [from stain], *i.a.* containing *Sūrya-sevana*.
 1443. 28. BABAD [PANDÉ] TUSAN, History [of the special caste] of [the Smiths called] Tusan.
 1457. 8. PŪJĀ PADUDUS AGUṆ, Śaiva Ritual for Important Lustrations.
 1471. 73. DHARMA KAHURIPAN, The Eternal Law of Life, on offerings at household ceremonies.
 1478. 15. PAMAŅCAŅAH NURAH SIDĒMĒN/PAMAŅCAŅAH MANIK AŅKĒRAN/MPU BĒKUṆ,
 1484. 12. ODALAN SARASVATĪ, Anniversary of Sarasvatī; on offerings needed, etc. [on castes].
 1486. 4. KRṬA BHUJAŅGA, Deeds of Exorcists, forming part of ms K 8: BATUR KALAVASAN.
 1545. 8. CAŅṬIN KUNIṆ (=Durgā), on creation, curse, exorcism; cf. PŪRVA BHŪMI.
 1590. 16. KAVIŚEṢAN, White Magic.
 1596. 41. MANTRA PAMUGPUG, Neutralising Formulas.
 1601. 30. ANDHA KACACAR, on various kinds of poeks, their treatment etc.
 1605. 30. ĀTMA-RAKṢA, [Formulas for] Self-Protection.
 1610. 12. DHARMA PAVAYAŅAN, Eternal Laws for the Shadow Play, on the gnosis of the *ḍalaṅ*.
 1673. 6. PŪJĀSTAVA, Hymns in honour of the Gods.
 1792. 66. BABAD ĀRIA TABANAN, History of the Noblemen of Tabanan.
 1804. 44. KUSUMA-DEVA/TIŅKAH IŅ PAMAŅKU, Kāma [God of Love]/Manual for the village priest.
 1817. 18. BAŅCAŅAH BANDĒSA, History of the [Caste of the] Bandésa [usually: Pasĕk Bandésa].
 1842. 25. BANVA (or: BHUVANA) LAKṢAŅA, Characteristics of the World(?), poem by Mpu Ragaruntin.
 1843. 62. ASTAVA-MANTRA, Songs in Praise of the Gods and Formulas for Recital during Worship.
 1855. 22. BABAD KI GUSTI PASĒK GĒLGĒL, History [of the Caste] of the Noble Pasĕk from GĒlgĒl.
 1875. 41. AJI BRATA, Teaching on Vows; on offerings to be brought, measures to be taken.
 1912. 177. BHOMA-KĀVIA-PARIKAN, Re-versification of the Bh-K in modern language and metres.
 1918. 16. YAJŅA-PRAKṬI, The Nature of Offerings.
 1920. 14. KUSUMA-DĒVA/TIŅKAH IŅ PAMAŅKU, Kāma [God of Love]/Manual for the village priest.
 1924. 45. TUTUR SŪKṢMA NIŅ ŚĀSTRA, Religious Instruction on the Mystic Meaning of Letters.
 1979. 10. (TUTUR) AJI SARASVATĪ, (Religious Instruction) on the Knowledge of Sarasvatī.
 2047. 10. AJI PŪRVA-BHĀṢITA-KRAMA, The Right Instruction about Sayings in the Past.
 2149. 40. SMARADAHANA-PARIKAN, Re-versification of the SmD in modern language and metres.
 2178. 18. PŪJĀ NARPAŅA ŚAVA, Ritual for the Satisfying of [the Souls of] the Dead.
 2193. 17. VEDA PŪRVAKA, A Buddhist priest's Daily Ritual and Songs in Praise of the Gods.
 2219. 29. SŪRYA-SEVANA, Worship of the Sun, resulting in the preparation of Holy Water.
 2253. 19. ANDHA KACACAR, on various kinds of poeks, and their treatment, etc.
 2255. 72. BUDDHA-VEDA, The Buddhist Priest's Ritual for the Dead, belonging to different castes.
 2261. 8. BABAD PASĒK KAYU PUTIH KAYU SĒLĒM, History of the sub-castes of the Pasĕk.
 2289. 11. (TUTUR) AJI SARASVATĪ, (Religious Instruction) on the Teaching of Sarasvatī.
 2358. 39. ĀDIPARVA-PARIKAN, Versification of the [prose] Ā-P in modern language and metres.
 2364. 53. SĀRA-SAMUCCAYA-PARIKAN, Versification of the [prose] S.S. in modern language and m.
 2404. 52. PRASASTI PANDĒ, The Charter [of the Caste] of the [Iron-] Smiths.
 2405. 47. ṚṢI VAIṢŅAVA, The Viṣṇuite Anchorites, on the prominent exorcists *sĕnguhu/bhujaŅga*.
 2406. 16. BHUVANA-PURĀŅA, Ancient Treatise on [the Creation of] the World.
 2407. 42. BATUR KALAVASAN PĒTAK, on the exorcist priests called *sĕnguhu* or *ṛṣi bhujaŅga*.

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4165. II. 260. BUDDHA-VEDA, The Buddhist Brahmin priest's Ritual for the Dead.
 4560. III. 183-4. TIŅKAH IŅ PAMAŅKU, Ritual to be practised by temple or village priests.
 4673. II. 334-5. VEDA, [The Śaiva Brahmin Priest's Ritual &] Songs in Honour of the Gods.
 5227. II. 341. GAŅA-STAVA, Song in Honour of Gaṅa/Gaṅapati/Gaṅésa.
 5315a. II. 354-5. AṢṬAKA-MANTRA, DURGĀ-STUTI, Eight-śloka song in honour of Durgā.
 5338. II. 373-4. SAŅ HIAŅ YAMA-RĀJA, Song in Honour of the God Yama/Kāla.
 5337b. II. 380. SAŅ HIAŅ YAMA-RĀJA, Song in Honour of the God Yama/Kāla.
 5360. II. 380-1. PŪRVA-BHŪMI KAMŪLAN, Name of liturgical recital by the exorcist priest.
 5429. II. 384. ŚIVA-RĀTRI, *i.e.* KUMĀRA-STAVA, Song in honour of Kumāra.

- priv. ARGHA-PĀTRA (Krambitan), Worship of the Sun God; Preparation of Holy Water.
 GAGĒLARAN PŪJĀ n GĒDÉ BHUJAŅGA, The Order of Worship of the *Sēnguhu*-exorcist priest.
 PŪJĀ DAHA (PŪJĀDHARA?), Worship for the "lower" stratum of priesthood, i.e. *pamañku?*
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 PŪJĀ KṢĀTRIYA (Panarukan), Worship to be performed by the [caste of the] *kṣatriya*.
 PŪJĀ KṢĀTRIYA (Tabanan), Worship to be practised by the [caste of the] *kṣatriya*.
 PŪRVA BHŪMI, Name of liturgical recital by the exorcist priest.
 PŪRVA BHŪMI KAMŪLAN, Name of liturgical recital by the exorcist priest.
 PŪRVA BHŪMI TUA, Name of liturgical recital by the exorcist priest.
 PŪRVAKA VEDA BUDDHA, A Buddhist Priest's Daily Ritual and Songs in Praise of the Gods.
- Weck. TUTUR KĀṆḌA NIṆ ŚARĪRA KRAKAH SARASVATĪ, treatise on syllables handled by *balian*.
 TUTUR KRAKAH DURDAKAH, treatise on syllables handled by *balian*, traditional doctor.

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