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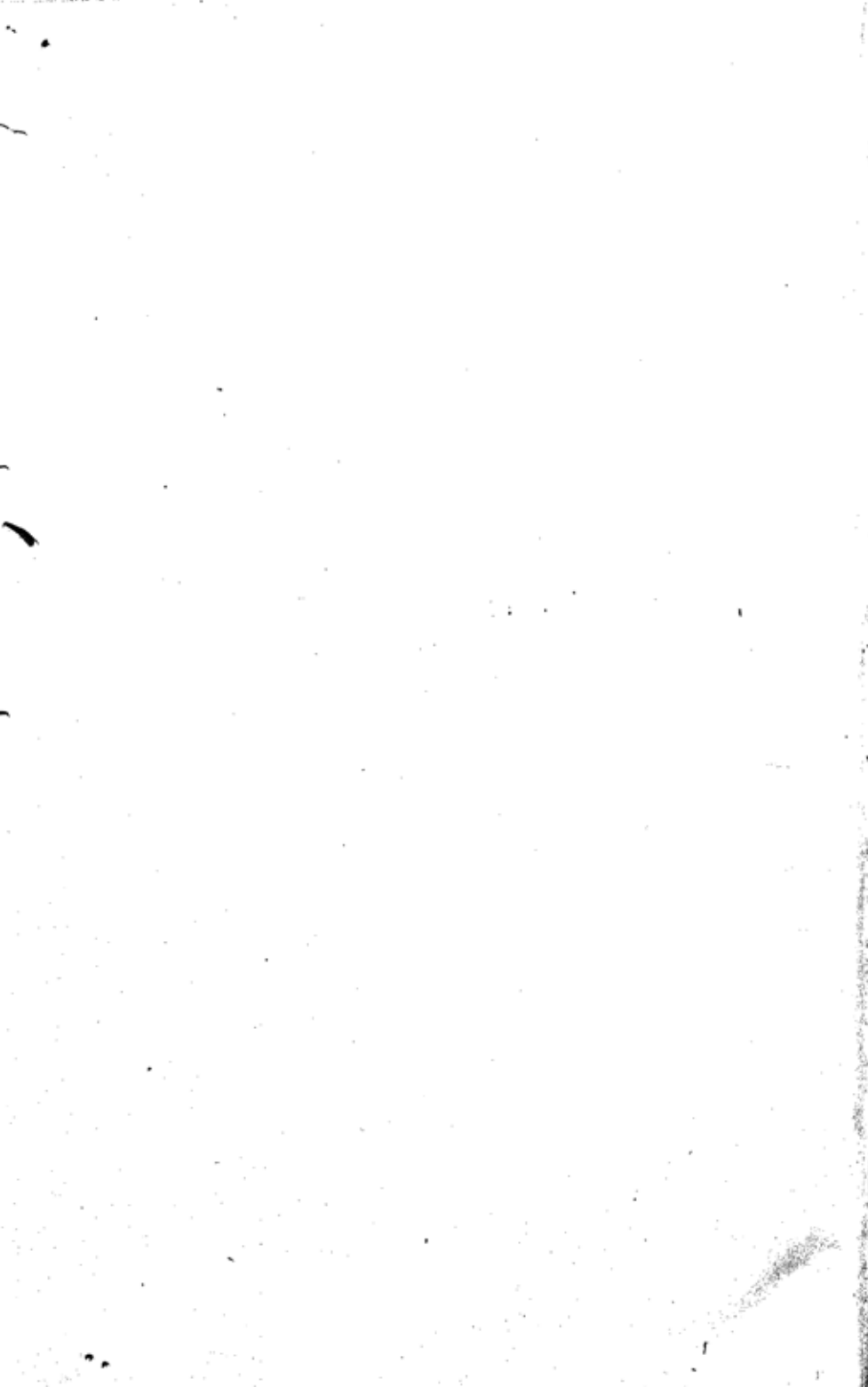
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THE CIVILIZATION AND CULTURE OF BALI



THE CIVILIZATION AND CULTURE OF BALI

by

R. FRIEDERICH

Edited by Ernst R. Rost

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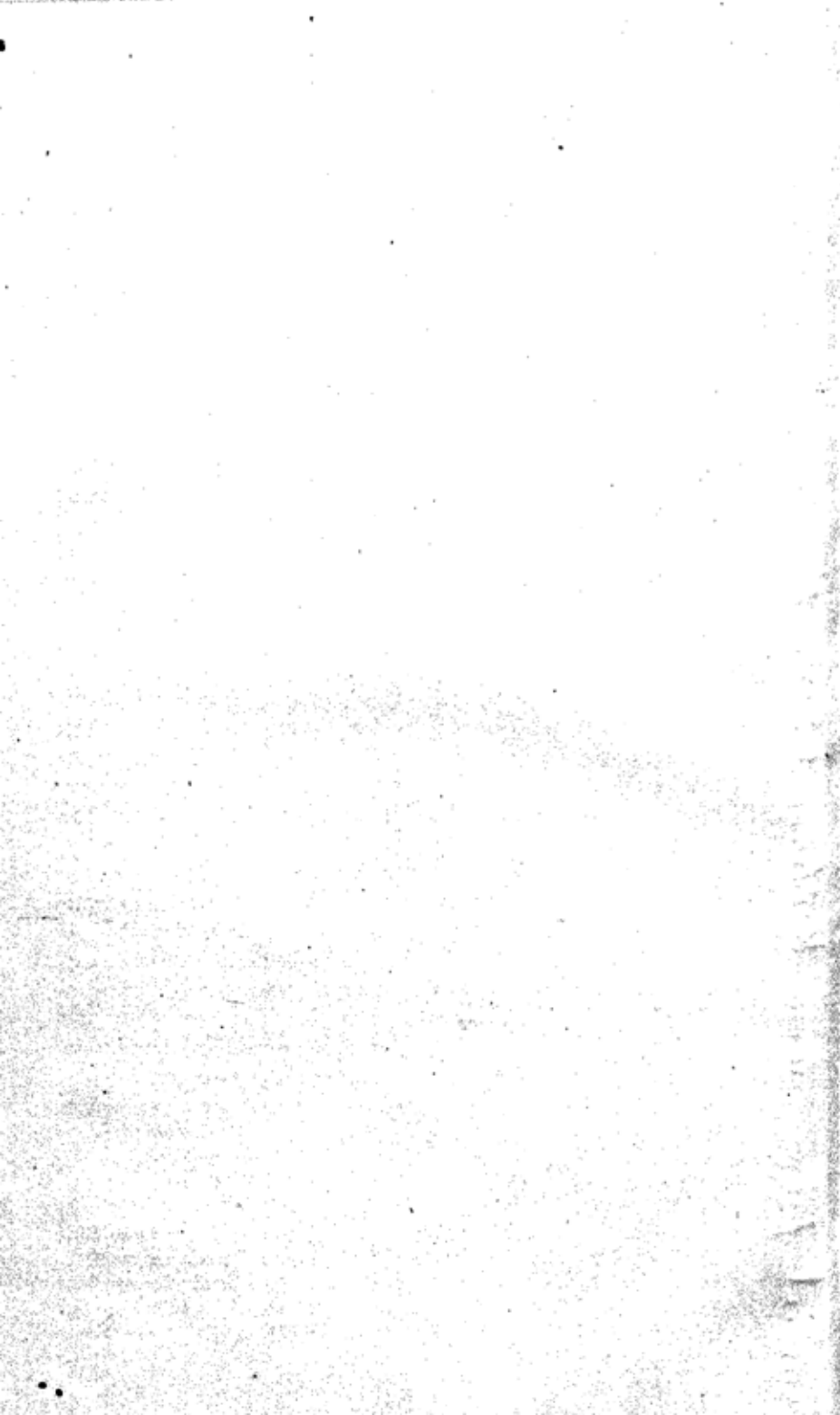
EDITORIAL NOTE

No apology is needed for the re-issue of the English translation (revised from the Dutch original) of Friederich's *Preliminary Account of the Island of Bali*. The continued existence, in unabated vitality, of a nationalized Hinduism, blended with pre-Hindu customs and practices, among a spirited and vigorous people, is not only, in the words of Sir Stamford Raffles,¹ quoted by Count Limburg Stirum in his recent graphic address on Bali, "a kind of commentary on the ancient condition of the natives of Java", it allows us also to draw a fair inference as to the kind of Hinduism at one time prevailing in other parts of Malaisia less favoured by historical records, where ruthless Islam has since obliterated to a great extent the traces of other creeds, traditions, and institutions. It is indeed essential to a proper understanding and estimate of the religious and social condition of the various and widespread Malayan tribes that the influence which Hindu civilization has, in a greater or lesser degree, exerted upon them, should as far as possible be investigated. To this end, Friederich's *Preliminary Account*, though written forty years ago, still supplies the greatest number of facts and materials. Considering that it bristles with names and terms, both Hindu and vernacular, a certain inconsistency in their transliteration has been the less avoidable because the Baliness alphabet is but ill adapted for the correct reproduction of Indian words. However, the Indian spelling will be found to have been generally adhered to in case of Hindu names. It would have been desirable to give after the dry details of Friederich's Essay a translation of Count Limburg Stirum's picturesque and most interesting sketch of the visit he paid to the island but last year. But the part of the Proceedings of the Dutch Geographical Society in which his address is given, was not published till several months after Friederich's article was in type. It must, therefore, suffice to have drawn attention to that address.

1887.

R. ROST

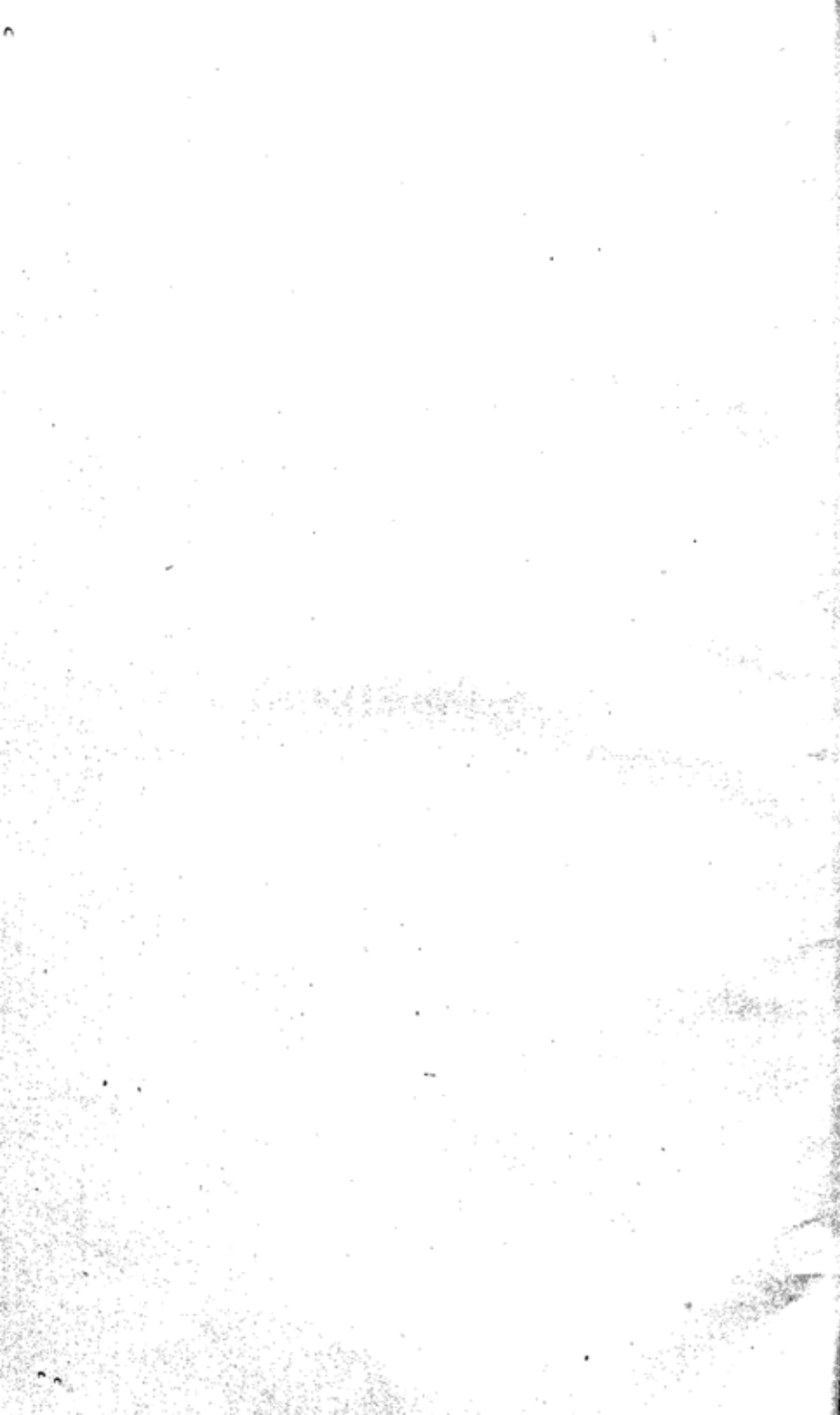
¹ *History of Java* (London, 1817), II., App. p. cccxvi. ; see also Discourse delivered by him before the Asiatic Society of Batavia on the 11th of September 1815 (in *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap*, 2nd ed. vol. viii [1826], p. 46) ; Proceedings of the *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* for 1887, p. 4.



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INTRODUCTION

I must request the indulgence of friendly readers for the following paper on Bali. Not having prepared myself for this labour on Bali itself, I had not the means of collecting and properly arranging all my materials. I could only use for this purpose a small portion of the valuable manuscripts of the priests which were placed at my disposal. I could not avail myself of the information of the natives as to many points, and I was deprived of a great part of my manuscripts. These circumstances will, perhaps, in some degree excuse the many deficiencies, best known to the writer, of this preliminary account. I have divided this work into three sections—1st, language and literature; 2nd, religion, worship and cremation; 3rd, castes and royal races. With this is given a short description of the Balinese calendar.

In the *Tijdschrift voor Neêrland's Indië*, IX. vol. iii. p. 340, an explanation from the Sanskrit is given of the name Bali in the paper *Usana Bali*: subsequently the title of a work. *Bali Sangraha*, became known to the writer. This work, which however appears no longer to exist, was presented by a pandita to one of the princes of Bali. The name is explained thus—*Bali*=*wiśeṣha*, *sangraha*=*kumpulan*. Following the Indian manner of composition, where the word, which must be taken to be in the oblique case, is placed before that in the nominative, it is to be explained thus—*The gathering of the excellent* (the heroes). With this the Sanskrit *sangraha* entirely agrees. Bali is then not to be considered as “offering”, but as the nominative of the theme *balin*, a strong person, powerful, a hero. The name *Bali* signifies, thus, a hero, and the name of the country given in *Usana-Bali*, *Bali angka*, “the lap (birth place) of heroes”, is a very beautiful denomination of the holy land, and one which expresses the bold spirit of the nation.

Crawfurd and Raffles first drew attention to the great importance of Bali in a religious and scientific respect. After their time little progress was made towards a knowledge of the island, and thus the Balinese (from their wanting that courtesy which the Javanese exhibit, which however only shows

their submissive character) have been considered as a rude uncivilized people, from whose knowledge not much was to be expected. It cannot, indeed, be said, that the *whole population of Bali*, in arts (wherein they clearly are behind) or in science, stand above the Javanese, but the priests bring before our eye the stage at which the Javanese stood before the introduction of Muhammedanism. They are, also, the only remaining preserves of the old literature and religion. To them must every one repair who desires the elucidation of the Kavi. They are the expounders of all laws and institutions; and of the knowledge of antiquity they have scarcely lost or forgotten anything from their faithful adherence to traditions.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

The language of Bali,¹ like that of Java, is divided into a High and a Low, the first being spoken by the lower to the higher orders, and the last by the higher to the lower. The *High Language* is nearly pure Javanese, but it does not entirely agree with the present high Javanese. It possesses many words which now belong to the low tongue of Java, while other high Javanese words cannot be used in it without giving offence. It is thus easy for a Javanese to understand the high language of Bali, but he is not able to speak it with purity. The *Low Tongue*, on the other hand, has very little in common with the Javanese, and it agrees more with the Malayan and Sundanese, so that it is easily learned by men from Western Java. This language is that of the original inhabitants of Bali before the arrival of the Javanese. It has naturally undergone some changes, but, in general, we find in it a rude Polynesian² dialect, which, in the recognized relationship of all these languages, agrees most with the least polished dialects, the Sundanese and original Malay; while it is far behind, and greatly differs from, the polished language of Java, which, in the course of more than a thousand years, has been brought to its refinement. On Bali, four hundred years ago, there were yet savages or half savages without a finely elaborated language. The same we

¹ [R. van Eck: *Beknopte Handleiding bij de beoefening van de Bali-neesche taal*, 1-8 H. N. v.d. Tuuk in *Tijdschrift v. de taalkunde*, vol. xxv. p. 245; Brandes: *Vergelijkende Klankleer*, p. 108-11.]

² [Here and in the sequel we should prefer the term "Malayan".]

may suppose to have been the case with the Malays before the reception of Muhammedanism, and with the Sundanese before the kingdom of Pajajaran came into existence. From this alone, that is, from the original relationship between all the languages from Sumatra to Bali and further to the east, which has been only distinctly preserved where the people have remained in a lower stage of civilization, we may explain the agreement between the low Balinese tongue and the Sundanese and Malay; an immigration of Sundanese or Malay into Bali is not at all to be thought of. The Javanese conquerors found this language the prevailing one on Bali, and could not expel it, and, for this reason in particular, that the population of Bali was very numerous, and was brought under subjection more by the greater civilization of the Javanese than by the force of arms. The Javanese conquerors preserved as a high language the Javanese which they brought with them; for their intercourse with the people of the land they had to learn the original Polynesian tongue, which alone was spoken by the former, and which, to this day, has a wider prevalence on Bali than the low language on Java. It is still exceedingly difficult for a common man to express himself intelligibly in the high language; and to speak to each rank of a higher or lower degree with full conformity to the laws of politeness, is an accomplishment which many even of the young princes have not attained. The agreement between the Balinese and the Sundanese does not confine itself to words alone. Both have also only 18 letters, while the Javanese possesses 20; these 18 were as much as the Polynesian organs originally required; the second *q* and *t* are properly foreign to these languages, and the distinct pronunciation which the Javanese give to them is not easily discriminated by the ear. Notwithstanding, these characters, as well as the capital letters, exist in the writing of the Balinese, but are only used to express the corresponding Sanskrit characters *t* and *q* or *qh* (cerebral), in the same manner as the *aksara murda* or *g'de*, the capital letters of Cornets de Groot.³ Further, the Sundanese and Balinese agree in preserving the pure pro-

³ [And of the subsequent authors of Javanese grammars, T. Roorda, J. J. de Hollander, Jansz, Halkema. The ten letters in question are called capital because they are substituted, except when final, for their equivalents in writing names of objects to which honour is due, such as deities, princes, &c.]

nunciation of the vowel *a* in all cases where the Javanese corrupt it to *o* (*ä*). The *a* is also in these languages, as in the Sanskrit, of far greater range and predominance than the other vowels. The only degeneration is to *pepet é*, and this may also be considered less as a short *è* than a short ejaculated *à*, which is commonly used with a nasal sound following it (*m* or *n* and *ng*).

The language of Java must originally have possessed a closer relationship to the Balinese. This we conclude principally from the appearance of Malay, and also (according to Humboldt, vol. i. p. 198) of Tagala words, in the Kavi. At the period when the Kavi formed itself, the Javanese language could not yet have been so refined as it might have been if it has been formed in the course of ages in civilized Hindu States.⁴ The Malay words of the Kavi, which do not exhibit themselves in the present Javanese, are original Polynesian, and reveal to us the union which once existed between the languages of Sumatra, Western and Eastern Java, Bali, and probably all the Eastern islands, and which, chiefly, in the Eastern or proper Java alone, has been obscured by a higher civilization. The influence of the polished Javanese has also, it is true, made itself felt in the Sunda territories, but the high language of those parts is far less developed than that of Java; it probably first began with the establishment of the kingdom of Pajajaran; as on Bali with the arrival of the Javanese. On Bali the division into castes operated most, which rendered necessary a subordination in the manner of speaking also. By the Javanese, however, the language must have been rendered so complicated, since it was developed by them during more than a thousand years. A further knowledge of the languages east of Bali will probably still more confirm this position: *the languages of all these islands are dialects differing from each other, which have departed the less from the original parent the less and the later the people have received Hindu civilization.* Besides the spoken languages, we have on Bali the written language; this is in poems, with the exception of the more recent, the *Kavi*, and in the sacred writings of the priests, the Sanskrit.

Humboldt (vol. i. pp. 188-203) has written best on the

⁴ [The results of the labours of V. der Tuuk, Kern, Brandes, and other savants tend to modify these conclusions; see the following notes.]

origin of the Kavi language.⁵ Some modifications, however, in the conclusions of Humboldt must be introduced by the fact that pure Sanskrit writings are still found with the priests on Bali.

Kavi is explained by Humboldt to be "poetical language" (*Kavi* "a poet," *kāvya* "a poem"). With this explanation that of the Balinese agrees; they say that *Kavin* or *Kakavin* signifies "to make comparisons," "to speak in comparisons." This is the mode in which poetry is formed; comparisons are the ornaments and marks of poetry. The explanation of the Javanese by *Khavi* (strong) scarcely needs to be mentioned. *Khavi* is an Arabic word; first known in Java in the Muhammedan era, and in Bali not at all. How could the Arabs have given the name to a language which they neither produced nor cultivated, but on the contrary, have nearly destroyed, because it was the prop of Hinduism and of all the institutions on Java which the Arabs sought to overthrow and cast into oblivion? It is due to the Arabs and their followers that the *Kavi* is no longer understood on Java, and that *Kavi* works have nearly disappeared there, while an abundance of them has been carefully preserved on Bali. The verb *kavin* or *kakavin* has caused the works to which that name is applied by the Balinese to be regarded as marriage poems, because it reminds us of the Malay *kavin* (to marry). Both words, the Balinese and Malayan, appear to be referable to the same Sanskrit word. From *kavya* by the suffixing of the Polynesian *an*, *kavyan* is formed; this, by the contraction of *ya* to *e* commonly (however improperly) used in Java, gives *kaven*; and from this, by a careless pronunciation with the common permutation of *e* and *i*, are formed *kavin* and *kakavin*. This is then at once the Balinese word for "poetry" and the Malay for "to marry," because the marriage songs (*hymenaea*) form a principal part of the festivity, and that which most strikes the ear.⁶ Respecting the origin of the *Kavi* language, it would seem that some new ideas must be kept in view. The priests did not hold the *Kavi* but the Sanskrit as the sacred language; this language is still found on

⁵ [See the later contributions, ap. Brandes, l.l. p. 73 ff.]

⁶ [It is obvious that the Malay and Javanese word *kāvin*, marriage, to marry, which is a Persian loan word, has nothing but the sound in common with the Old Javanese and Balinese word *kavin*, which is a poem framed after a Sanskrit original.]

Bali in the Vedas, the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa and other mystic writings or *tuturs* [that is Sansk. *tantra*.—Ed.]. We cannot therefore agree with Crawford, who considered that the Kavi was the language of the priests (Crawf. "Arch." vol. ii. pp. 17, 18).

The Hindus, and particularly the Hindu-Brahmans who came to Java, brought with them the Sanskrit in their sacred writings, and, perhaps, also a Prakrit dialect. That they knew and could speak a Prakrit dialect may be concluded from the comparatively late period of their arrival from India, which we place at the highest 500 years after Christ; at that time, however, the Sanskrit had been at least 800 years a dead language in India. On the other hand, against the idea, that they spoke Prakrit, pleads strongly the fact that we do not find a single Prakrit word in the Polynesian languages, that none of the assimilations, contractions and elisions which characterize the Prakrit appear in the Indian words of the Kavi; but it is this very fact which points the way to an explanation of the origin of the Kavi.

In the Sanskrit words on Java and Bali we find corruptions, which have not originated in an Indian mode. To this class belong the contraction of *va* to *o*, *ya* to *e*, the indistinct pronunciation, and the permutation thence arising, of *u* and *o*, of *i* and *e*; further the permutation of *ra* and *re* (*kèrrèt*, formerly recognized by me as *ṛi-vacalis*), which however, as well as the preceding corruptions, never appear in good Balinese manuscripts. To this class belong also the corruption of the prefix *pra* into *par* and *per*; the omission of the initial *a* in Sanskrit words, for example *nugraha* for *anugraha*, which are interchanged with the non-significant initial letter *a* of Javanese verbs. The pronunciation of Anusvāra as *ng*, e.g. in *ong*, should not be ascribed to a corruption; as this pronunciation appears to stand nearest to the unsettled sound of the Indian letter. The change of the Indian *v* to *b* in *Byasa*, *Balmiki*, *Baruna*, is to be considered less as a corruption than as an accommodation of the Sanskrit idiom for the preservation of the vocalic pronunciation. I, therefore, believe that the few changes in Sanskrit words have had their origin in Java, and that not a single Prakrit word has been introduced into the language of that island.

Thus the Hindu immigrants into Java, though they certainly spoke the Prakrit, as we must presume if we consider the time of their arrival, appear to have abandoned that language at once and adopted the dialect of the country. The reason for this must be sought in the circumstance of the Hindus arriving but in small numbers and finding a large population of natives; further, in their being partly Buddhists, the adherents of which creed always adopted the manners and language of the nation to be converted, in the different countries into which they came. By the Buddhists the devotees of Brahma were likewise compelled to yield with regard to language, in order not to irritate the people whom they wished to subject to their own worship and institutions, and to give thereby full play to the Buddhists. Thus Buddhists and Brahmans lived together in Java on peaceful terms, and the worship of each became not indeed blended with, but augmented and modified by, the dogmas of the other. We have noticed this already on an earlier occasion when viewing the ruins of Prambanan and Boro Budo; in the course of this account more distinct proofs will be given of this hypothesis in different places. The Kavi works are written partly by Sivaites, partly by Buddhists; both use the same dialect, and the works of both are held in high regard by the people, though the Siva Brahmans of Bali appear to entertain a predilection for the genuine Sivaitish works.

Those friendly relations appear to be one of the chief causes of the existence of the Kavi language. The introduction of a foreign language was not practicable on account of the Buddhists, and because the original population of Java was too large; still the necessity was felt of augmenting the dialect of the country in order to express, in the tracts written for the people, ideas relating to worship and science, for which no terms were then existing. In this way the people became accustomed to a number of Sanskrit words employed by their instructors in religion, and by gradually introducing more and more foreign words, a distinct language was formed, destined exclusively for writings and teaching. This language could not of course adopt the inflexion of the Sanskrit; for, in order to understand it, the people would have had to be made acquainted with the entire Sanskrit grammar, which would have been

too troublesome for a nation like the Javanese to acquire, and moreover the imparting of it was not for the interest of the priests, whose secret writings, containing unadulterated Sanskrit forms, remained unintelligible for the rest of the people.

The fact that the Buddhists formed the Kavi without the introduction of words from the Prakrit, seems also to prove that their secret writings were in Sanskrit. In Ceylon and the further Indian Peninsula the books of the Buddhists were composed in Pali (a dialect of the Prakrit); but, in China and Tibet, in Sanskrit; the promulgation took place earlier in the northern parts than in those towards the south, and, for this reason, the books were still written in the ancient sacred language of all India. If, therefore, the Buddhists brought their books to Java composed in the Sanskrit language, their introduction must have been in a comparatively ancient time. It has been observed already that this newly formed dialect⁷ was chiefly intended for the converted people, while the priests preserved in the Sanskrit the religious books used by them alone (the Vedas), and whatever they wished to keep secret from the people (Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa and the Tūtur).

The Kavi contained all those works by which the religious ideas and the cherished mythology of the priests were communicated to the people. It thus became a sacred language to the people, and holiness attached itself to all the words, principally however to the Sanskrit, which were rendered conspicuous⁸ by capital letters (the *aksara g'de* or *murda*). For the priests of Bali this language is that of pleasure; they always use it for their poetical compositions; almost every one of them composes a poem of greater or less extent, which is communicated to their colleagues and scholars. But the Kavi is not sacred to them; they greatly distinguish between *Kavi* and *Śloka*. *Śloka* is the usual Epic measure of India, in which, in Bali, the *Mantras* (secret writings) and also the *Vedas* are written. The name *Sanskṛita*, as significative of the language, is unknown in Bali. It is not even of a very old date in India, having come into use to contradistinguish it from the *Prākṛita*, the

⁷ [On the nature of Kavi and the position it holds with regard to Javanese, see the note to V.d. Tuuk's article "On Malagasy," and the references.]

⁸ [See, concerning the term "capital", the note above at p. 3.]

vulgar language. *Sloka* (the measure used in the epic poems of India) is used to present in Bali as the denomination of the works composed in that measure, the language of which is Sanskrit. Those are sacred and must be kept hidden from the people (*rahasya*). The Kavi has various epochs; in the opinion of the Balinese there are three principal ones, viz. :

1. The epoch of *Ayer Langgia*; in the compositions of his age, according to the Śiva Brahmins, the Kavi appears in the most beautiful and oldest form. He reigned in *Kediri*, and was one of the ancestors of *Jayabaya*. In his time the worship of Śiva seems to have been predominant.

2. The epoch of *Jayabaya*; of his time is the *Barata Yudda*, less esteemed than, for instance, the *Vivāha*, and indeed of a more recent style, also many works of Buddhist authors. His period cannot be ascertained from the Balinese records: according to them he reigned in *Barata Varsa* (India), but this is the India transferred by the *Barata Yudda* into Java. His period would appear to comprise the reigns of several rulers, since so many works are ascribed to him.

3. The epoch of *Majapahit*, where we meet with still greater admixtures of the vulgar language, and less acquaintance with the riches of the Sanskrit. This period is succeeded by a fourth one, formed by the continued poetical compositions of the priests and of some princes in Bali. These, at least the priests, have preserved the knowledge of the Kavi, and even augmented it by new Sanskrit expressions, which they take from the secret writings. From this we are inclined to trace their immigration into Bali, and the large stock of knowledge they are still in possession of, to another part of Java, perhaps *Kediri*, and not to *Majapahit*. The tale of Śiva Brahmins having come to *Majapahit* from India shortly before the destruction of that empire is altogether unknown in Bali. How is it, moreover, possible that those Brahmins should have acquired so speedily the knowledge of the Kavi and of the native language? The priests of Bali have been in *Majapahit*, how long is uncertain; but they descended from *Kediri*, and from thence probably it was that they brought their greater knowledge. These accounts can be brought into accordance with the account in question of the arrival of Śiva Brahmins at *Majapahit*, if we here, likewise, bear in mind the transfer of *Baratavarsa* into Java—*Kediri*

with its king Jayabaya lay in Baratavarsa; Majapahit seems not to have been comprised in it.

The literature of Bali from its nature is divisible into

1. Sanskrit works, with Balinese paraphrase; they include the *Vedas*, the *Brahmaṇḍapurāṇa*, and the greatest part of the *Tuturs*.

2. Kavi works: (a) the epics sacred to the people, viz., the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Uttarakāṇḍa* and the *Parvas*; (b) lighter Kavi poetry, as the *Vivāha*, *Barata Yudda*, &c.

3. Javanese-Balinese compositions, written partly in the measures (*Kidung*), such as *Malat*; partly in prose, as the historical narratives *Kenhangrok*, *Rangga Lava*, *Usana*, *Pameṇḍanga*.

Some of the works in prose, especially the law-books, cannot be classed in the third category; they exhibit the ancient language strongly intermixed with Sanskrit, yet they cannot be called Kavi works, from the absence of measure, and this alone is the characteristic of the Kavi language. From this also the poetical language is determined.

To the accents which are used in the writings of Bali (vid. *Tijdschrift* IX, vol. iii. pp. 254-56) must here be added a sign for the long *û* differing from the ordinary *Suku*, and everywhere used in good manuscripts, where the Sanskrit exhibits the long *û*. This long *û* is called *Suku ilud*, and according to this, *Tijd.* ib., p. 255, l. 3, is to be corrected; the *kèrrèt* (tri-vocalis) is called *Guung makèrrèt* (*Guung* is *chakra*, *makèrrèt*, joined to *kèrrèt*). The long *î*, with a small point in the common figure, is called *ulu mija*. The Balinese have very indistinct notions respecting long and short vowels; however, they, at least the learned priests, use the long *î*, the long *û*, and the *têdung* as signs for the long *â*, precisely following the tradition where they must stand according to the Sanskrit.

The priests are also in possession of a work on the euphonic laws, called *Sroyanchana*.

In earlier accounts it has been noticed that in Bali no inscriptions on stone or metal are met with, nor any older characters than the present current writing. This is naturally explained from the letters only having been introduced since the fall of Majapahit or a very little before. Although we meet with no modes of writing of a more ancient date, yet in the

new writing all the richness is preserved whichever was possessed by the Sanskrit writing in Java. It is only in the Balinese manuscripts that we find reproduced, with the greatest purity, the numerous signs of the Sanskrit, which were superfluous and unpronounceable in Polynesian idioms. Nearly all doubt which may be entertained of the proper powers of the Sanskrit letters, as they have been received in Java and Bali, will be removed by the examination of the writing of such manuscripts as the *Vṛitta Sanjaya*, and principally of the numerous Sanskrit words occurring there; any possible faults will be corrected and excused by those who are conversant with the subject, if they consider the many transcriptions of such manuscripts which are made in Bali, and how easily some corruptions and inaccuracies might find their way into them among a small nation, shut out from the source of their civilization, and for 400 years dependent on themselves.

SACRED WRITINGS NEWLY DISCOVERED

The first rank in the Balinese literature, as in that of the Hindus, is occupied by the *Vedas*. According to the communications of the priests, they are not complete in Bali, but only fragments, although, to judge from appearance, tolerably large ones, of all the four Indian Vedas—viz., 1, of the *Rig-Veda*; 2, *Yajur-Veda* (commonly inaccurately spelt *Yayur Veda*); 3, *Sāma-Veda*; 4, *Artava-Veda* (a corruption caused merely by the transposition of the *r*, easily explained by the mode of writing the Indian-Balinese *r* above the line; the Indian name is *Atharva-Veda*). The author of the Vedas is *Bagavān Byasa* (*Vyāsa* in India).

The Vedas contain the formulas of prayer as well for the private worship of the Panditas, performed in their houses, as for the feasts, great offerings and cremations of the people, when the Panditas mumble them inwardly. They are a mystery to all except the Brahmans, and the Panditas instruct the younger Brahmans in them in secret. The metre appears to be the epic *Śloka*, as further illustrated in the Article on Metre, and the language a pure Sanskrit. From their being written wholly in *Ślokas*, we may suppose either that the Vedas were brought into that metre in ancient times, and in that form introduced into Java and Bali, or that the knowledge of form-

ing Slokas existed in Java. If the names of the Vedas were not well known, I should rather incline to suppose that they never had been in possession of the genuine Vedas, since in India the metre of the Vedas is guarded by ample commentaries, and must be regarded as an integral and sacred part of those ancient scriptures. The whole of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* has been communicated to me on the condition of my not making any uninitiated person acquainted with it. In the same way, I may hope to obtain, also, further information about the rest of the mystic writings, and about the Vedas themselves.

The *Vedas* have also been in Java, since the priests of Bali are of Javanese derivation and had their abode in Kedri and Majapahit. Any direct arrival of Brahmans from India is not known in Bali, and even the immigrants into Majapahit, shortly after the destruction of that empire, appear not to have adopted the Vedas of India but of Java, and it is even doubtful whether they arrived directly from India, or only from some other part of Java, since the Panditas know nothing of such an arrival from India, while they nevertheless trace their genealogy through Kediri to India. From the tenor of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* in Bali we may draw conclusions as to the character of the *Vedas*. The genuine Indian pieces in the Vedas, which appear to be written in *Slokas*, are, probably, accompanied by a Balinese or Kavi comment, which, after the lapse of some time, became necessary even for the priests, in order not to lose the true sense of the original texts.

It is an object of the greatest importance to get possession of the remains of the Vedas in Bali. The religion can only by their means become thoroughly intelligible; they further give the standard for the determination of the state of Hinduism when it spread to the islands, and, if compared with the antiquities of India, especially through a more intimate knowledge of the history of the Vedas in that island, will be of service in ascertaining the age from which the Indian influence, and the civilization of Polynesia consequent on it, may be dated. *Sūryasevana* (worship of the sun) signifies not only the religion of the priests, but also the book containing those parts of the Vedas which are used for that worship. I saw the outside of the manuscript; it contained about eighty lontar-leaves. In respect of contents the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* come

nearest to the Vedas ; it is also called shortly *Brahmāṇḍa*. We find in India eighteen *Purāṇas*, among which is the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*. These eighteen are the sacred writings of all the different Indian sects. Six are especially holy to the votaries of Vishnu, six others to those of Śiva, and six keep the mean. The more special sects have embraced chiefly one *Purāṇa*, as representing the abstract of their worship, as the worshippers of Kṛishṇa the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. In this way it is easily explained how, in Bali, the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* only should be in use, and how the Panditas should not have preserved even the slightest recollection of the other seventeen *Purāṇas*, so little indeed that the names mentioned by me were altogether unknown to them. We find in Bali but one Śivaitic sect, and the adherents of it have acknowledged the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, perhaps already in India, as the only book of instruction. The *Purāṇas* are, as we know, the sacred books of the sectaries, and the priests in India did not trouble themselves much with the sects and their controversies, but, adhering to the more purified worship of the Veda, held the religion of the other people in contempt. Hence it is that the *Purāṇas* in India are, chiefly, in the hands of the people. In Bali, on the contrary, they are guarded by the priests like the whole of the holy scriptures, and even hid from the people. In Bali, everything relating to religion is in the hands of the priests, and on the great ignorance of the people in all that is necessary according to the sacred literature for their temporal and celestial happiness, is founded the unlimited power of the priests, who are the organs of the Deity for the blindly believing people.

The contents of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* are : the creation, the ancestors of the world under the various Manus, the description of the world according to Indian notions, the history of the ancestors of old dynasties, besides mythology and chronology ; it is composed by *Bagavān Vyāsa* (the holy Vyāsa). He is also known in India as the author of the *Vedas*, of all the *Purāṇas* and of the *Mahābhārata* ; his name signifies [expansion, amplification, in contradistinction to *samāsa*, i.e.] composition, and Lassen is of opinion that it is a personification of the *recension* of those holy writings. (In what period did this take place ?) It is worthy of remark, however, that in Bali he (as the compiler of the said works), as well as *Vālmiki*,

the author of the Rāmāyaṇa, are known, since from this we may complete the traditions from India.

The Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa is written in Ślokas like the Indian Purāṇas; and it is to be lamented that we cannot get possession of the Indian Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa; a comparison of both of them would furnish us with a large amount of revelations on the progress of the literature, as well as on the relation of the Balinese to the original Indian worship. The Ślokas seldom follow each other unbroken; generally, we meet with only a fourth or the half of a Śloka, followed by an extended paraphrase in the Balinese language. Under the head of Religion we shall give a few examples.

EPIC POETRY

Rāmāyaṇa. This is the oldest Indian epos, composed by Valmiki, who is also in Bali acknowledged as the author of it. Here, however, it exists as a Javanese elaboration by *M'pu Raja Kusuma*, also called *Jogisvara*, or prince of the penitents, father of *M'pu (Hempu) Tanakung* and of another poet *M'pu Dharmaja*, composer of the *Svaradahana*. The language is pure Kavi, with a peculiarly large number of Sanskrit words. The Indian Rāmāyaṇa contains seven *Kāṇḍas*, large divisions, again divided into *Sargas*, chapters; in Bali we find no *Kāṇḍas*, but the whole narrative of the first six *Kāṇḍas* is placed together and divided into twenty-five *Sargas*.⁹ The 7th, the *Uttara Kāṇḍa*, is no part of the narrative, but forms a separate work in Bali, the author of which, however, is accounted to be the same Vālmiki. The separation of this *Kāṇḍa* from the rest of the Rāmāyaṇa is a proof that it was introduced from India as a different piece, not forming part of the large work, in favour of which position the contents also speak, the *Uttara Kāṇḍa* giving an account of the history of the family of Rāma after his death. From this we conclude that in India, at the period when the Rāmāyaṇa was communicated to the Javanese, the *Uttara Kāṇḍa* was not yet annexed to this work. We, likewise, do not find, in the Java-Balinese Rāmāyaṇa, the long stories of the *Bāla Kāṇḍa*, the history of Rāma as a child, where Vasista, the priest of the house, tells him tales of the time of old. Those narratives, partly very beautiful, such as that of

⁹ [Kern, in "Bijdragen" for 1883, i, p. 1.]

the *Sagarides* and the descent of the river-goddess *Gangā* on the earth (*vide* A. W. von Schilegel's *Indische Bibliothek*), are episodes not forming part of the *Rāmāyaṇa*; they have, however, so many charms, especially for a people like the Javanese and Balinese, who take every story for truth, that the absence of those tales in the Java-Balinese *Rāmāyaṇa* is surprising. We ascribe their absence to the same reasons as the separation of the *Uttara Kāṇḍa* from the *Rāmāyaṇa*; at the time when the *Rāmāyaṇa* found its way into Java, it was not so voluminous as at present in India, and comprised exclusively the history of *Rāma*. As to the *Mahābhārata*, it has long since been discovered by European scholars from the contents, and the form of different parts, that in this work, as it at present exists, we have before us a conglomerate of Indian myths, which have been interpolated, partly in recent times. The same seems to be the case with the *Rāmāyaṇa*, though the interpolations are not met with so repeatedly, and are not spread through the whole work. For a careful critical comparison of the Indian *Rāmāyaṇa* with that of Bali I am at present in want of an edition of the Indian one. In Java, up to this time, there is only known a Javanese elaboration of the Kavi composition, the *Romo*; this is far behind the Balinese *Kavi* work both in language and style, and is looked upon by the Balinese as a corruption. The *Romo* probably was not composed until the Muhammedan era, and probably when, on the cooling of the religious zeal, the beautiful ancient literature was still remembered, while the knowledge of the Kavi was forgotten.

I have borrowed a good manuscript of the *Rāmāyaṇa* from the highest and most learned priest in *Badong*, the *Padanda Made ALENG KACHENG* in *Teman Intaran*. It contains the *Rāmāyaṇa* complete on 210 lontar-leaves, and is written very fairly, with great care in the use of uncommon signs, and with attention to the euphonic laws. Of this manuscript the last leaf with the signature is wanting, so that it cannot be ascertained how old it is. For my use the little that was deficient has been transcribed from the text of another manuscript. This latter was written in the year (of *Śaka*) 1693, corresponding to the year of Christ 1771; and in *Bali* at *Bandharapura* (the Sanskrit name of *Badong*). *Badong* signifies as well the small kingdom of that name, as the residences of the princes of

Badong, situated at no great distance from each other. We may translate *Bandharapura*, "the town of union," or "the united palaces of the princes," *pura* meaning a town and a royal palace. The Balinese word *badong* has also the same meaning. It is written with *alpaśāstra* (small letters), which makes us think of capital (Kavi and Sanskrit) letters. The usual Balinese letters may indeed be said to be small ones (*alpa*), if compared with old writings still existing in Java. However, we find no other letters in Bali than the common recent current writing, and even the learned priests have lost every recollection of more ancient letters. Inscriptions on stone (as noticed already) are not found, and the letters of the Sanskrit shown by me to them were perfectly unknown to them. We can thus make nothing more of *alpaśāstra* than that the writer humbly acknowledges that he makes use of the imperfect letters, since the want of greater knowledge does not permit him to write better and more correctly.

The last words contain an invocation of the Deity, and we find them with slight variations at the end of several manuscripts; they are pure Sanskrit, and correspond to the invocations at the beginning of Sanskrit works: *Siddir astu, talastu, ong Sarasvati namah, ong l'mung Gaṇapataye namah, ong sri Gurubyo namah*, "Be this the accomplishment, be it thus(?): Ong adoration to *Sarasvati*, Ong adoration to *Gaṇapati*, Ong to the gurus adoration!" The word *l'mung* is not very clear nor Sanskrit. The invocation of *tat-astu* (let this be) appears also superfluous; if we explain it by *tathā astu* (may it be), the sense becomes no better. *Sarasvatī* is the goddess of letters, the consort of *Brahmā*. In every Balinese year she has a feast, where the whole of the manuscripts are brought forth and consecrated in the temple. *Gaṇapati* or *Gaṇeśa*, the son of *Śiva* and *Parvatī*, is the god of arts and cunning, the Indian Mercury. His cunning is invoked in India as well as on Bali, in order to overcome the obstacles which are likely to be met with in the composition of an important work. The *gurus* are on earth the parents and spiritual teachers; here, however, are meant the celestial *gurus*, the *Pitara*s, or "spirits of the departed members of the family", who receive a daily worship.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* is divided into twenty-five sargas or chapters. It begins with the incarnation of the God Vishṇu in the

family of the king *Dasarata* of Ayodhya (the present Oude); he becomes the son of *Dasarata* by his wife *Kosalya* (Sanskrit *Kauśalyā*); his half brothers are *Barata* by *Kekayi* and *Laksmāna* by *Sumitra*. His teacher is the *Muni Vasista*, who instructs him above all in the *Danurveda* "the art of arms." At an early age, the pious king *Visvāmītra*, the *rajarsi*, royal *ṛishi* (*vide* the *Rajarsis* in Bali, his successors), when he was recognised as an incarnation of *Vishṇu*, invoked his aid to deliver his hermitage from the *Rakshasas* who had made war against it. This he accomplished, and bent the bow of *Parasu Rāma*. From this the tale turns to his nuptials with the fair *Sita*, and to the intrigues of his stepmother *Kekayi*, who forms the design to raise her son to the throne. After that he voluntarily retires into a hermitage, and subsequently into the forest of *Dandaka*, accompanied by *Sita* and *Laksmāna*. *Laksmāna* mutilates the *Raksasi Surpanaka* who wooed for his love, and by this excites the hatred of *Rāvaṇa*, the prince of *Langka* (Ceylon), (?) and brother to *Surpanaka*, against *Rāma* and his companions. *Rāvaṇa* ravishes the beautiful *Sita*, and *Rāma* seeks for her in vain. He makes an alliance with the monkey-king *Sugriva*, and his son the swift *Hanuman*. *Hanuman* discovers the hidden spot where *Sita* was concealed, and then begins the war of *Rāma* and his monkey-warriors against the *Raksasas* of *Langkapura*. A large part of the work is filled with instructive conversations between the monkey-princes and *Rāma*, and their relations, especially between *Vibisana*, the brother of *Rāvaṇa*, and the latter. Finally *Rāvaṇa* is slain by *Rāma*, who with his supernatural weapon *chakra* cuts off his ten heads. *Sita* is purified by *Agni* (the god of the fire), and disappears in mother earth. *Rāma* becomes king of Ayodhya, and retires in old age to the forest hermitage, where he dies.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Parvas* are to the Balinese a sort of pattern for princes. The *adat* of the princes, and of the second and third castes, is contained in those works, holy to them, whilst the *Vedas* and other secret writings furnish the rules for the Brahmins. The princes and the chiefs of Bali are to regulate their lives in accordance with the Epic writings, and as long as they do so peace and quietness shall prevail and increase in the country. In the present time, however, many princes are charged with indifference to the sacred precepts, and with

being, thereby, the cause of the diminution of the fortune and prosperity of Bali. A virtuous prince, before undertaking the smallest matter, examines first the conduct of the old *Kshatriyas* and demigods, as it is described in the ancient holy literature. The conduct of those ancient heroes is ever in the recollection of the princes of to-day, in order to regulate their actions according to the holy patterns, wherever they may find themselves.

A king is to have the accomplishments of the eight gods of the points of the compass—viz., *Indra*, *Yama*, *Surya*, *Chandra*, *Anila*, *Kuvera*, *Baruna*, *Agni* (according to *Rāmāyaṇa*, lontar-leaf 181).

Uttarakāṇḍa.—This, as we have seen, is the last (seventh) division of the Indian *Rāmāyaṇa*. The author is likewise *Balmiki* (*Vālmiki*). Up to this time I have not had access to it; it is, however, the history of the brothers of Rāma, and contains also stories altogether unconnected with the family of Rāma. A more recent Kavi work is the *Arjuna-vijaya*, which borrows its subject from the *Uttarakāṇḍa*; of which hereafter. *Kāṇḍa* (compare the “*Kāṇḍa*” of Raffles, vol. i. p. 373 *et seq.*), division in India, is used in Bali like *Parva* for all sacred writings; those Kavi works, however, whose names are *Kāṇḍa* and *Parva*, are chiefly destined for the princes and nobles of the second and third caste in Bali, whilst the works written in *Ślokas* are confined as holy to the priests and Brahmans. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Parvas* (of the *Mahābhārata*) have not been long known to the whole people; they were a secret of the priests and chiefs, and contain rules for the latter in their government and for every action during their temporal life. In every undertaking and in every event, persons of rank are bound to conduct themselves in accordance with the precepts contained in those works. Contempt or indifference in following those sacred writings would bring disaster on princes and people alike, and the entire happiness of the country is indissolubly dependent on the imitation of those holy works.

Parvas (of the *Mahābhārata*).—The second great Indian epos is the *Mahābhārata*, composed by the Muni *Vyasa* (Bal. *Byasa*). The name of *Mahābhārata* is not known in Bali, but its eighteen divisions or *Parvas* are known. The names of those eighteen are correct. Six exist entire and two are incomplete.

From the name of *Mahābhārata* being unknown, it would appear that this work of the time it was brought from India to Java did not bear this name, nor perhaps any general name at all, but that its divisions were already regarded as sacred writings. In that case, the name *Mahābhārata* is only applicable to a small part of the whole work, since the war of the Bharatas, that is, of the Pāṇḍavas and Kurus, occupies not more than 20,000 ślokas, whereas the whole work contains above 100,000. The rest consists of interpolated narratives of various descriptions, which, as occasion admits, are inserted loosely or annexed. How much the Balinese Parvas did contain of the Indian ones, it is impossible for me to decide, without being in possession of the Indian *Mahābhārata*; the pieces contained in them stand, however, in high esteem, and are faithfully copied. They have : (1) *Adīparva*, (2) *Virataparva*, (3) *Bismaparva*, (4) *Musala-parva*, (5) *Prastanikaparva*, (6) *Svarga-Rawanaparva* and parts of (7) *Udyoga Parva* and (8) *Asramawasaparva*.

The names of the remaining ten they give as follows : (9) *Saba Parva*, (10) *Aranyaka Parva*, (11) *Drona Parva*, (12) *Karna Parva*, (13) *Salya Parva*, (14) *Gada Parva*, (15) *Svātama Parva*, (16) *Soptika Parva*, (17) *Strīpalapa Parva* and (18) *Aśvamedhajanya Parva*.¹⁰

Along with them they mention also the *Santika-parva*, although they expressly said there existed no more than eighteen *Parvas* : this can, therefore, be nothing but another name for one of the above eighteen *Parvas*.¹¹ *Vyāsa*, the author, whom we have already mentioned in speaking of the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa*, is the son of *Parasara*, the grandson of *Sakri*, who is the son of *Vasista*, the domestic priest in Ayodhya, teacher of *Rāma*, and supposed progenitor of one of the most distinguished castes of the Brahmins. This family was nearly extirpated through *Sakri*, the son of *Vasista*, being devoured by one of the *Raksasas*. *Vasista* was ready to immolate himself by the

¹⁰ These are, especially, the works whose deficiency the Brahmins, who spoke with Crawford, regretted. They requested me to communicate them to them, which I did as far as my pieces extended, with the promise to provide, also, the large remaining part. The Indian looks themselves are of no use to them, since they do not know the writing. I was thus obliged to dictate them word by word.

¹¹ [See, on this specification, Weber in his *Indische Studien*, vol. ii. pp. 136-9. Also van der Tuuk, *Notes on the Kavi Language and Literature*, (1881), p. 7 ; and Kern, *Over de Oudjavaansche Vertaling van't Mahābhārata*, (Amsterdam, 1877), pp. 2-4.]

flames, but was prevented on hearing from out of the womb of the mother, the cries of his grandson, who afterwards was called *Parasara*. He then resolved to spare his life for the education of the child. Upon this he performed his domestic worship, and while muttering the *Veda* a fire broke out, into which all the *Raksasas* were drawn down by an irresistible force and destroyed. This furnished the subject of a painting in the private temple of the Rājā Kassiman of Gunong Rata, where we see the holy Vasista performing his worship in the manner still observed to-day by the *Pandilas*, and hosts of *Raksasas*, by the power of his words, falling into the self-existent fire.

The Balinese maintain that the family of Vasista lived in *Baratavarsa* (the eldest holy name of the Brahmanical India, which, however, comprised only a part of the valley of the Ganges between *Ganga* and *Jamuna*). Vyāsa, the writer, is also called *Hempu* or *M'pu Yogisvara*. This is a name of frequent occurrence, and signifies even the highest divinity *Siva*. It is, however, explained by the fact that a saint or *Padanda*, who retires from the world, becomes identified with the Deity, and is himself called *Siva*. In a certain sense, the Deity is himself the author of all the holy scriptures, since he enters into the composer and speaks and acts by him.

The *Bismaparva* contains 100 lontar-leaves. The *adiparva* is nearly of the same size. The *Prastanika-parva*, which I saw, contained only sixteen lontar-leaves, but was not complete. The names are all Indian ones with the exception of *Svalama-parva*, which seems to be a corruption of *Asvatthāmaparva*, thus called after a hero of the *Mahābhārata*, a son of Drona. *Stripalapa-parva* is called in the Sanskrit only *Strīparva*; *palapa* seems to be formed in the Polynesian manner from *alapa* (harangue).¹² The language of the *Parvas* is, like that of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, pure *Kavi*, and more difficult to be understood than the other important *Kavi* works. In addition we have a *Kapīparva*, containing the history of *Sugriva*, *Hanuman* and their ancestors in the monkey-dynasty. There exist also the *Chantaka* or *Khetaka-Parva*; this is a sort of dictionary, where all the synonyms are classed together after the manner of the Javanese *dasanama*; it was compiled by Kavidasi, the follower

¹² [Or, rather, to be a corruption of *pralāpa*.]

of Byâsa; it commences with the numerous denominations of the gods, and is for that reason of great importance for the mythology. It is, however, written in prose, and, like the *Kaviparva*, strongly separated from the eighteen holy *Parvas*. An *Agasti* (or *Anggasti*) *Parva* came also to my knowledge, in which the holy *Agasti* (the star *Canopus* and leader of *Râma* in his campaign against the south of India) gives instruction to his son *Dredasya*; this work is not to be confounded with the *Parvas* of the *Mahâbhârata*.

To the ancient Indian literature pertain further the books of the laws, especially that of Manu. The Balinese law-books are, like-wise, drawn from them, although they are written neither in *Ślokas* nor in *Kavi*, and we shall, therefore, speak of them after the *Kavi* literature. The original law-book of Manu, *Mānavadharmasāstra*, is not known in Bali either by that name or by that of *Menava Sāstra* (as the name is said to be on Bali by Raffles, vol. i. p. 991). *Prabu Manu*, however, is mentioned as the founder of the law, and the Indian origin of the Balinese law and law-books is thus certain. The *Purvâdigama* or *Siva Sāsana*, especially, is said to have Manu for its author. (*Vide infra*.)

COMMON KAVI LITERATURE

1. *Bârata Yudda*.—With respect to its contents, the *Bârata Yudda* stands nearest to the *Parvas*. For a considerable time it has been regarded as the only version of the Indian *Mahâbhârata* in our islands. But we have now found on Bali the original pieces of that epos. The *Bârata Yudda* is formed after four of the *Parvas*—viz., after the *Bisma*, *Drona*, *Karna*, and *Salya-Parva*; the author is *Hempu* (or *M'pu*) *S'dah*, who lived in the time of *Sri Paduka Batâra Jayabaya*, Prince of Kediri, and wrote his works by the order of the latter; the design of the Prince was to obtain by the composition of the work a *hadigjayan*, a *subjugation of the world*. In this also an Indian idea is conspicuous; by the performance of great offerings, by sumptuous works of architecture, and by works of literature, the prince thus engaged becomes not only famous, but he also acquires extraordinary power, by which he is enabled to subject the universe to his will. Such was also the aim of the great offering of the prince of Lombok (in September, 1846),

who, not being recognized by all as the legitimate chief, sought, by offerings and abundant alms, to prove his royal right and to strengthen himself for warlike enterprises. The time at which the manuscript of which I made use was composed is the year of Saka 1724 (corresponding to the year of Christ 1802). The judge from its outward appearance, I should have taken it to be much older; in forty-six years the lontar-leaves have already become much injured, and it seems to prove what is said, also, of Indian manuscripts, that they cannot survive a hundred years. This, probably, is also one of the causes that in Java, in so short a time, almost the whole of the ancient literature was lost, and that, when the desire for the old literature was revived, hardly any of the old manuscripts could be discovered. In Bali, also, we must not look for very old manuscripts; however, those which are guarded and transcribed in the families of the priests may almost be considered as original, since in these families the knowledge of language and religion is preserved with the minutest care. Some faults are, of course, also possible here.

The place where the manuscript was written is *Svechchanagara*, also called *nagara Sukavati*, situated in the kingdom of Gyanyar. I have noticed above that *Badong* has also a Sanskrit name (*Bandanapura*); this is the case with all distinguished places in Bali; this place has even two nearly accordant Sanskrit names. *Sukavati* is the city abounding in pleasure; *Svechcha-nagara*, the city of well-being. We perceive here, again, how far the Indian element, and thereby the Indian language, has penetrated into Bali. However, all those places have also Polynesian names for the populace—the Sanskrit ones are frequently known to the princes and priests only.

The name *Bārata Yudda* was formerly translated “penance, combat,” and commonly written *Brâtâ Yudda*; *brata* (Ind. *vrata*) is *penance*, and the heroes of the combat acquiring perfection by penance, the explanation had appearance in its favour. But we find in the manuscripts of the priests of Bali constantly *Bārata Yudda*, with the capital *b* (according to De Groot), corresponding to the Sanskrit *bh*, and followed by the *ʼdung* (or *tarung*), representing the long *ā*; the name cannot, therefore, be brought into accordance with *brata*, which originated in *vrata*. *Bārata*, as we find it written, signifies, how-

ever, "a descendant of Bharata" (the old Indian ruler of the universe), and we have thus in our work "*the combat of the descendants of Bharata*." Now the *Kurus* and "*the Pāṇḍavas*" are descendants of that ruler, and nothing can be more appropriate than such a title for the work. This explanation has already been offered by Raffles, but the reasons which render it irrefutable we first learned from the good Balinese manuscripts.

The conclusion of this work agrees much with that of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and is Sanskrit: *Oṅ sri devyebyo namah, oṅ t'mung Gaṇapataye namah, oṅ siddir astu, tat-astu hastu, oṅ dirgayur astu*. "*Oṅ* adoration to the happy gods ! *Oṅ* adoration to *Gaṇapati* ! *Oṅ* may the accomplishment be, may that be ! *Oṅ*, may there be long life !" *Devyebyo* must be *devyebyo*. What gods, however, are meant is not clear. *Sarasvatī* and *Gaṇeśa* cannot be intended, since the latter is invoked separately; *tat-astu* is here made more forcible by the addition of another *astu* ; the word *t'mung* here likewise precedes *Gaṇapati*. *Dirgayus*, "long life," is a thing for which the Indians and Balinese, and especially the composers of literary works, always supplicate the Diety. It is not necessary to draw the attention of those who are acquainted with Sanskrit to the inflected Sanskrit forms, and to the proper observance of the difficult euphonic laws of that language, occurring here and at the conclusion of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In an enumeration of the Kavi works of a less sacred character, the *Bārata Yudda* is placed at the head, because the contents are closely connected with the holy *Parvas*. It stands, however, in less esteem, and is more recent than some other Kavi works—*e.g.*, the *Vivāha*. The language is also not a very pure Kavi, but more intermixed with the common *bhāṣā*.

2. *Vivāha*.—This is known from the Javanese paraphrase of *Gericke*, published in the twentieth volume of the "Transactions of the Batavian Society." The contents and arrangement of the narrative in the Kavi *Vivāha* is the same as in the translated paraphrase. The language is a very pure and beautiful Kavi ; it is likewise not composed in the common Javanese song-form, but in the metres derived from India (to be afterwards described). The author is *M'pu Kanva*, not *Kanno*, as we find in the Javanese *Vivāha*, which word has

been formed by the usual Javanese corruption of *va* into *o*. *Kaṇva* is the name of an Indian *Muni* or Saint. Our *Kaṇva*, however, we may be sure, was a Javanese, perhaps of an Indian descent. He, too, lived in Kediri under *Ayer Langgia*, the ancestor of *Jayabaya*.

Hemṇu Sdah and *Hemṇu Kaṇva* seem to have been adherents of the Sivaitic sect. We find here few or no traces of Buddhism in the *Bārata Yudda* and *Vivḍha*.

3. *Smara dahana*, the burning of *Smara* (the god of love): a well-known Indian myth. The god *Siva* is interrupted in his penance by *Smara* (or *Kāma*), that is to say, he loses the fruits of his penance by falling in love. Enraged by this, he burns the god of love in flames which issue from his body. The god of love is therefore also called *Anangga* (the bodiless), because his body was burnt by *Siva*. This work, too is of the time of *Ayer Langgia*, Prince of Kediri. The author is called *M'pu Darmaja*, son of *Raja Kusuma*, the composer of the *Rāmāyaṇa Kavi*.

4. *Sumāna Santaka* comprises part of the Indian *Raghuvaṇṣa*. *Raghu*, the ancestor of *Rāma*, begets the *Adia*; she is permitted to choose her consort after the Indian royal custom (*Svayamvara*, also so called on Bali). Her husband *Devindu* died, and she then gave birth to *Dasarata*, the father of *Rāma*. This work also is composed in Kediri or Daha under *Ayer Langgia*; the writer is *M'pu Monaguna* (the name signifies "whose prominent attribute is silence, mauna"). The writers of the three latter works bear Sanskrit names, and belong to the Sivaitic sect; the names of the Buddhist writers are in the language of the country, and, in this circumstance, likewise, the characteristic of that religion is conspicuous, which made its way chiefly by yielding to and adopting the manners of the numerous and widely different countries into which it was propagated; whilst Brahmanism, rigidly adhering to the ancient traditions, and holding in contempt all that is foreign, is nowhere found beyond India except in Java and Bali, and perhaps in parts of Sumatra and Celebes.

All the three above-mentioned works are in a peculiarly good style, and highly esteemed, and this chiefly because they are of Sivaitic authorship.

5. *Bomakāvya*; the song of Boma (or Bhāuma)¹³, "the son of the earth;" he is begotten by *Vishṇu* from *Prīṭivi* (the earth), and has, as son of the earth, a demon form and disposition. He is a *Dānava* (that is, like the Grecian Giants and Titans). He waged war against *Indra*, the god of (the lower) heaven, and triumphed over him. (*Indra* is also overcome by *Ravana*, the giant-king of Ceylon, and his power appears everywhere as secondary, against which the evil spirits are proof). One of the higher gods (*Vishṇu* or *Śiva*) must subject his adversaries in order to restore peace and order on earth. Here it is *sang Kṛiṣṇa*, the well-known (eighth) incarnation of *Vishṇu*, who kills Boma, and delivers *Indra* from his distress. *Boma* is killed by being lifted up from the earth, which constantly re-invigorates him. The author is *M'pu Bradah Boda*, that is "a *Bauddha*, a *Buddhist*;" he wrote in the time of *Jayabaya* of *Kediri*. Under that king Buddhism seems to have found its way for the first time into *Kediri* (the largest empire which existed in Java before *Majapahit*).

6. *Arjuna Vijaya* ("the triumph of Arjuna") is formed after the *Uttarakaṇḍa* in like manner as the *Bārata Yudda* after the four above-mentioned *Parvas*. It contains the combat of *Arjuna* with *Rāvana* and his victory. *Rāvana* is here bound, but not yet killed, because his time has not yet arrived. He is to be destroyed by *Rāma*. Whether we are warranted in supposing, here, an expedition of the Brahman Hindus against the South of India and Ceylon, previous to that of *Rāma* (who is considered to be a personification of the subjugation of those regions), further research must show. The composer is *M'pu Tantular Boda*, likewise a *Buddhist* in *Kediri* under *Jayabaya*.

7. *Suta Soma*—The *ratu Detia* (*Danawa*, *Demon*). *Purusa* had made captive all the kings of *Baratavarsa* and conquered the *ratu Darma*. He is overcome by *Suta Soma* and his relative *Prabu Maketu*. It contains many episodes, and also the history of *Rāma*. The subject is said to be taken from the *Ketaka Parva* (*vide supra*), although we should not have expected it from the nature of that work. The author is the same who composed the *Arjuna-Vijaya*—viz., the *Buddhist M'pu Tantular* of *Kediri*.

¹³ Buma. *Kalantaka*, by *Raffles*; the name *Anraka Sura* has not yet come to my knowledge in *Bali*. (*Raffles*, vol. i. p. 388).

We have thus compositions from older works in the epoch of Jayabaya, or at least of the successors of the King of Ayer Langgia; it appears that the older Kavi language then began to be difficult of comprehension, and that the favourite subjects of literature were, therefore, translated into a more comprehensible language. The influence of the Buddhists in this innovation is not to be mistaken.

8. *Hariwangsa*—This likewise is an Indian poem, commonly joined to the *Mahābhārata* (the Indian one is translated by Langlois in Paris and obtainable in Calcutta); this piece, too, invites us to a comparison between *India* and *Java*, the Kavi and the Sanskrit. The contents, according to the priests, are: the conduct of Kṛṣṇa towards Rukmini (his wife), and the war against the two princes *Jarasanda*, father-in-law of *Kansa*, ruler of *Magada*, and *Chedi* or *Sisupala*. This work was written in *Majapahit*,¹⁴ and is thus of later origin than the preceding; the author is *M'pu Penulu Boda*, likewise a Buddhist. The King of Majapahit at this period was *Brayang V'kasing Suka*, father of *Bra Vijaya* (*Brovijoyo*), who, according to Javanese records, was the last (Hindu) prince of Majapahit.

These are the most important works of the Kavi literature, so far as I am yet acquainted with it.¹⁵ With these, however, we are far from having exhausted Balinese literature. We have besides them, first, the *law-books* written in prose; further, the *Tuturs*, or "instructive writings," of which nothing can as yet be ascertained, since they are for the most part secret writings. Further, the *Babads*, or historic-genealogical works, partly written in Kidung—i.e. the newer (Javanese) measure, partly in prose. Moreover, we have pure Polynesian myths; above all, those of Panji, which are likewise written in Kidung. Then there also exist little essays on the transmigration of the soul, on erotic subjects, &c.; and finally there is the Balinese "Kalendar," a work of the utmost importance.

BABAD, OR HISTORICAL ESSAYS¹⁶

1. *Kenhangrok*.—He is a son of *Brahma* and progenitor of the

¹⁴ Majapahit is the literal translation of the Sanskrit *Vilvatikta* (corrupted Vilatikta, Us. Java), the bitter *vilva* (aegle marmelos); this then at least is not a fictitious fruit, and the name of Majapahit not unmeaning, as it was formerly considered (*vide* Raffles).

¹⁵ [See also R. van Eck in the Introduction (pp. vi.-vii.) to his edition of *Megantaka*; in the Batavian *Verhandelingen*, vol. xxxviii.]

¹⁶ The name *Babad* is also met with in Java (*vide* Raffles, *Literature*,

rulers of *Kediri*, *Majapahit* and *Bali*. It has not as yet been ascertained in what epoch he must be sought for. His residence was in the *Kampung M'dok*, whose situation is not known in *Bali*, but is supposed to be in *Baratavarsa*. It is written in prose, and contains forty or more lontar-leaves. I am only in possession of the first part, which has no more than seventeen leaves. His mother is called *Kenhendok*. The god *Brahma* met her, much in the same way as the Greek *Zeus* knew how to win his numerous loves, whilst she, as a married woman, was amusing herself in the field.

2. *Rangga Lawe*.—*Siva Buddha* (N. B.), ruler of *Tumapel*, is made captive for misgovernment by the King of *Daha* or *Kediri*, and his empire *Tumapel* is overthrown. The chief minister of *Kediri*, is *Rangga Lawe*; he at a later time disagrees with his sovereign, and is finally vanquished and put to death. The work contains a minute description of the Court of *Kediri* and the position of the grandees of the empire, and may serve as a pattern of the constitution of the old empire in *Java*. It is, especially, maintained on *Bali* that the Court of *Majapahit* was altogether in the same style, and all the rules of the Court of *Kediri* were carried to *Majapahit*. For this reason it would be desirable to have this work published (text and translation), accompanied by the necessary notes; this, however, can only be usefully done in *Bali*. The manuscript in my possession contains sixty-seven lontar-leaves, each of four lines front and back, and is written very neatly. It was written in *Garogor (Glogor)* in *Badong*, on the day of *Saneschara Kaliwon Landep*, in the month *Kasa*, the thirteenth day of the increasing moon, in *rah 9, tênggêk 6*, corresponding with the year of Christ 1847, Saturday, the 26th of June. It commences with a metre of fifty-two syllables in each line, the stanza as usual of four lines.

3. *Usana Java*.—"The ancient institutions of *Java*," a work containing the subjugation of *Bali* by the Javanese of *Majapahit* and the settling of the *Deva Agung* in *Gêlgel*, with the distribution of the lands amongst the grandees of the Court. One manuscript of it had twenty-nine lontar-leaves, and was derived, as they told me, from *Pasuruang*; it, however, probably, came vol. i. p. 393), and it also comprises, following him, all the historic works and new chronicles. Raffles spells it *Babat*. In *Bali* I find the word written *Babad*. [See also J. J. Meinsma, *Babad Tanah Djawi*, vol. i. pp. 1-15.]

from Bali to this place, and seems to be little or not at all known in Java. It is written in prose. In that work a predilection for *Arya Damar* and his family is plainly manifested, whilst it passes over the *Patih Gaja Madda*, the founder of *Mengui* and ancestor of the powerful family of *Karang-Asem*, almost in silence. For this we may find reason in the circumstance that it was originally composed by a follower of the dynasty of *Arya Damar*. According to the postscript it was written in *Galogor* by *Pam'chuttan* (in *Badong*), on the day *Rediti Pahing* (Sunday), in the week *Dungulan*, in the month of *Kanam* (the 6th), on the *thirteenth day of the dark half*, in the year 1 (rah), of the *ténggèk*¹⁷ 6. This would be the year 51; if we take the eighteenth century, we should have 1751 of *Saka*, corresponding to the year 1839 of the Christian era.

4. *Usana Bali*.—The contents of it are known from the "*Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indie*," 9th year, vol. iii. pp. 245-373. There I have said that it is a work exclusively intended for the people, and not esteemed by the priests. It is otherwise with the *Usana Java*, which is held in honour by all castes, at least in *Badong*.

5. *Pamendanga*¹⁸.—A sort of chronicle of more recent times. It contains sundry confused histories of priests and kings, of the distribution of Bali amongst the original *Pungavas* of *Gelgel*, and genealogies of kings, of *Karang-Asem*, for instance. Respecting the division of the vice-regencies among the *Pungavas*, this work widely differs from the *Usana Java*, and its value and style are far inferior to those of the latter. It is also written in prose. Other *Babads* are found in the family of every prince; if it were possible to gather the greater part of them from the different States, they certainly would spread much light on the history of Bali, if carefully compared with each other.

TUTURS, OR DOCTRINAL WRITINGS

These are divided into two classes: the secret writings of the priests, and such as are also current among the other castes, especially the second and third. The former are extremely numerous, but since they are kept secret, we can only mention

¹⁷ *Ténggèk* is a period of of ten years. *Rat*, a single year of that time. Supposing the era to be known, we find from it the year of *Saka*.

¹⁸ From the *Pamendanga* a play is derived, performed by a single person in *topengs* (masks); it represents the more ancient history of Bali—viz., of the *Deva Agung*.

the names of a limited number of them. They seem to be written, like the *Vedas*, in *Slokas*. The names I obtained are the following:

1. *Buvana Sangksepa* (the shortening or contraction of the world or of men).
2. *Buvana Kosa* (the treasure of the world).
3. *Vrihaspati Tatva* (the Tatva, truth, the essence of *Vrihaspati*, the star Jupiter, teacher of the gods).
4. *Sarasa Muschaya* (*sārāsa* is explained by *isi*, the contents; it is, however, probably *sārāsa*, the lotus; *muschaya* is not very clear, but is explained by *kumpulan*, "accumulation," "gathering;" this is one of the works enumerated by Crawfurd.¹⁸
5. *Tatva Jñāna* (knowledge of substance, *essentia*).
6. *Kandampat*.
7. *Sajotkranti*.
8. *Tutur Kamoksa* (*vide infra*). Under this denomination exist numerous works; it means, "instruction for blessedness, or for delivery from the transmigration of the soul."

The second class of the *Tuturs*, current, also, among the other castes besides the Brahmans, are, for instance:

1. *Rajaniti* (wisdom of kings); it contains rules for the policy and the government of kings, and it is in many respects analogous to Machiavelli's "Princeps."
2. *Nitipraya* or *Nitisastra* (superabundance, or manual of wisdom): it is of a similar character with the former.
3. *Kamendaka Niti* (rules of wisdom of the sage *Kamendaka*).
4. *Naranatya* (*nara* "men," *natya* "the mimic").
5. *Ranayajna* (the sacrifice of the battle).
6. *Titi dasa guṇita*; this belongs properly to the first division, but has been made by *Padanda Vahu Ravuh* into *Kavi* under the name of *Nitisara* (compendium of wisdom).¹⁹

LAW-BOOKS

These are written in prose. They comprise most of the Balinese books which are mentioned by Crawfurd and Raffles. The accounts of them, however, differ from each other. Raja *Kasiman* names them:

¹⁸ [It should be *sāra-samuchchaya*, the aggregate of truth.]

1. *Agama*. 2. *Adigama*. 3. *Devāgama* (somewhat difficult to understand),

4. *Sārasamuchchaya* (the same we have just met with among the secret writings).

5. *Dustakalabaya* (the fear of the malignant Kala), a law-book, in which in particular the faults committed by children are punished.

6. *Svara Jambu* (the voice of Jambu), that is, "the command, the law of India," *Jambu-Dwīpa*.

7. *Devadāṇḍa* (in very old language), it comes in use when *Vishṇu* appears incarnated upon earth.²⁰

8. *Yajñasadma* (*yajña* "sacrifice"—*sadma*?)

The *Pandita* in *Taman Intaram* mentions only

1. *Agama*.²¹ 2. *Adigama*, the two law-books mentioned by Raffles as the basis of the law for the common people. Raffles calls the latter *Degama*.

3. *Pūrvādigama* or *Sivasāsana*, the above *Adigama*, or "the command of *Siva*," of value exclusively for the Brahmans.

4. *Devāgama*, the *āgama* of the *Devas*.

5. *Svajambu*—*Svarajambu*; the meaning is doubtful; perhaps *svara*, "voice," "command," and *jambu*, in lieu of *Jambu Dwīpa* (India), thus, "the voice of the law of India."

The principal law-book from India (ap. Raffles' *Menava Sastra*, Ind. *Mānava-dharma-sāstra*) is wanting, according to all inquiries for it which I made among several priests and persons of rank. They, however, are aware that all their laws have been derived from *Prabu Manu* (the ruler of Manu), who, in different ages, under different names, holds the government of the world. I found it mentioned only in the *Sivasāsana*, the law-book of the Brahmans, under the name *Dharma-sāstra Kuṭara-Mānavādi*; *ādi* has here, it would seem, the true Indian sense "and so forth," so that the translation will be "the law-

²⁰ [A Dutch translation of this short code (35 sections) appeared in the Batavian "Tijdschrift", vol. xviii. pp. 295-309.]

²¹ *Agama* is explained by Wilson, Sanskrit Dictionary, "a *sāstra* or work on science and of divine origin." In the Malayan and common Balinese language it signifies religion; in the names, *Agama*, *Adigama*, *Devāgama*, it has evidently more the old Indian meaning, and especially that of law-book. *Adigama* seems to have originated in *Adhi* and *Agama*, with the omission of the first *ā* of *āgama*, a carelessness which is frequently met with among the Sanskrit words in the Kavi—e.g., *Svatamaparva* for *Aśvatthāmaparva*. The *a* in Polynesian words is a euphonic prefix, which was then omitted in the Sanskrit words likewise.

books, that of *Kuṭara Mānava* and the others." *Kuṭara*²² is also mentioned by Raffles as "a law-book," and is not explained by Humboldt. *Kuṭara* appears to me to be the same as *Uttama*—viz., the name of the third in the line of *Manu*. The conversion of *Uttama* into *Kuṭara* is quite possible, and supported by a passage of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*: *Uṭara Manu*, Iont. 11. *Uttara* is the comparative, "the higher," and *Uttama* the superlative, "the highest" degree. The *k* before *Uṭara* I am inclined to regard as the Polynesian prefix, added through ignorance. Opposed to this conjecture, it is true, is the fact that the law of India must have been framed by the first *Manu*, *Svayambhuva Manu*; but we have various law-books, and these are even yet not all known. Possibly the original Balinese law-book has been derived from another Indian one, although the contents are upon the whole the same as in that of *Svayambhuva*.

This *Dharmaśāstra Kuṭara Mānava* is either now in Bali and kept secret, or it is one of the works which existed in Java, but were lost and were not brought to Bali. It is mentioned along with the *Sārasamuchchaya*, which we learn to be one of the *Tuturs*; further, along with the *Kamandaka*, a *Tutur* for obtaining advantage or intrepidity. A learned Brahman is expected to be acquainted with all these works. It was not without the greatest difficulty that I got the *Sivaśāsana* into my hands; however, I may hope to obtain in the like way insight into the remaining law-books and the *Tuturs*. The *Sivaśāsana* was borrowed by me on the same condition as the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*—viz., not to show it to any one of the people. The manuscript of the *Sivaśāsana* in question was written on the day *Mahulu Pahing Anggara* (Tuesday), of the week *Sungsang*, in the year of *Saka* (*Saka-warsa*) 1682 (A.D. 1760), in the month *Srawana*, on the eighth day of the white half, in *Vilatikta*.²³ After this the writer makes his excuses in the customary manner for the bad and

²² *Kutara* is, following Wilson, "the post round which the string passes that works the churning-stick." This explanation is here in no way applicable. [The whole question as to the existence, on Bali of a *Mānava-Śāstra* and a *Kuṭara-śāstra* has been fully treated by J. C. G. Jonker in his work, *Ben Oud-Javaansch Wetboek* (Leiden, 1885), pp. 11-20].

²³ Where this *Vilatikta* is to be sought for in Bali remains uncertain; it is (*Vilvatikta*) the Sanskrit name for *Majapahit*. It is possible that the work was originally written in *Majapahit*, and that the copyists in succession retained the name of the city where it originally was composed, although they themselves were in Bali.

careless writing, and he has great need to do so, for the manuscript abounds in faults; he pleads his inexperience (*muda*) and inferiority (*hina dina*). He adds further that the work is a secret writing (*rahasya*), and concludes with the well-known invocation:

Siddir astu, tat' astu astu
 Ong Saraswatī namah
 Ong g'mung Gaṇapataye namah
 Ong sri Gurubyo namah
 Ong ong Kāmadevaya namah

Respecting these invocations, we refer to what is said under *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Bārata Yudda*. Here only is added "Ong adoration to *Kāmadeva*!" He, the god of love, would thus appear to be peculiarly the favourite deity of the writer. The god of love is indeed highly honoured and praised in many of the newer poems, a circumstance the analogy of which we find again in India. We give here the prologue, the text and the translation of the *Śivaśāsana*:

"This is the *Pūrvādigama—Śāsana-śāstra-sāro-drēṭṭa*,²⁴ first composed by the accomplished old teacher, the *raja Purohita*, who knows all qualities, who resembles the rays of the sun, who dwells in the hearts of all mankind; *Misraharāṇa*, who, as the highest precious stone, outshines all the divine teachers of *Śiva* (of the Śivaite sect), the lowest, the middle, and the highest; further is he named the first *Guru*, the great saint. The same asked for *ashes*, after he had obtained permission to ask for *ashes* of the children and grandchildren of *Sang Bas-mangkura*(?); the same commanded him thereupon to compose the *Śāsanādigama Śāstrasarodrēṭa* for all priests, as many

²⁴ This word must be divided, it would appear, into two parts; *Pūrvādigama śāsana*, "the command, law of the *Pūrvādigama*", and *Śāstra Sāro drēṭa*, "in which is contained the essence of holy works." The *Sāro* is inserted instead of *Sara*, and we thus find the nominative case in place of the theme in a composition. This seems to be an error founded very likely in the want of acquaintance with the meaning of the Sanskrit terminations and inflexions, but offering at the same time another proof of the preservation of the inflexions in the memory of the Panditas. [*Sāro-drēṭṭa* = *sāroddhṛita*, "gathered from the essence of the *ś.*"] The *Śivaśāsana* or *Pūrvādigamaśāsana* is the law-book for all the Brahmans, in the cities as well as in the country, and for those in whose hands the jurisdiction is deposited as well as for the rest. It is not, however, applicable in the decision of the lawsuits of persons belonging to one of the three lower castes.

as hold the religion of *Siva*; for the Panditas of *Śiva* as well as who live in the cities, the perfect ones, as also those who choose to dwell partly in cities, partly in the country, also for the host of the learned, who take care of processes, who settle disputes between all men, at the Court and in the country, this is *their number*. Assuredly the Adigamaśāstra sarodrēta must contain the laws for the conduct of them all."²⁵

There further exists in *Bali* a law-book, called *Svara*, issuing from the *Deva Agung*, and in force for all princes and persons of rank. It cannot, as yet, be ascertained whether it is the same work as the *Svarajambu* (or *Svajambu*), but it seems to be a different one, since the addition of *Jambu* in the latter points to its Indian origin.²⁶

Tatwa or *Tutur kamoksa* (*vide* above) contains rules for a religious life, with special directions from the birth of a man up to his death. It frequently prescribes fasting (Ind. *vrata*, *brata*, *votum*). In accordance with those writings not only the *Padandas* regulate their lives, but also the princes and those of rank who aspire to the condition of holiness; they attain, thereby, the dignity of *Resi* (a saint, without sin), and the priests become *Brahmarsis*, the princes *Rajarsi*; the latter, of course, as it is natural, in consequence of their birth, rank below the former. Every prince must properly aim at this dignity, and the *Abiseka*, "the anointing" of the chief prince, is dependent upon it. By becoming *Resi* and by the *Abiseka*, not only the dignity of the prince is raised, but he is, thereby, as it were, received into the caste of the Brahmans—the like rule is also observed in India. The predecessor of the last sovereign of Pam'chuttan was *Resi*, and had received the *Abiseka*; even as the former *Deva Agungs*. At present there is no prince of *Bali* who has received the *Abiseka*. The *Rājā Kassiman*, however, aims at the dignity of *Resi*.

MALAT

The *Malat*²⁷ contains the history of the celebrated hero *Panji*, who had his adventures on *Bali* also. The work is as voluminous

²⁵ [The transliterated Kavi text, with Friederich's explanatory notes, is here, for obvious reasons, omitted.]

²⁶ [See P. L. van Bloemen Waanders in the Batavian *Tijdschrift*, vol. vii. (1859), pp. 201-27, and the Introduction to Jonker's work previously mentioned.]

²⁷ [R. van Eck, in *Bijdragen*, III. vol. ii. pp. 3-5.]

ous as the *Rāmāyaṇa*; it is, however, not written in the *Kavi* measure or language, but in *Kidung*, which means the newer Java-Balinese measure. The subjects contained in it are exhibited to the public in the *Gambuh* (dramatic performances by men, who speak themselves). The same is the case with the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The *Bārata Yudda* and *Vivāha* are represented in the *Vayang Kulit* in the same manner as on Java. Of the Indian drama nothing seems to have found its way into this island. The names of the most famous of the Indian dramas are unknown there. The tale of the Sakuntala is known from one of the Parvas, and the original narration we find also in India in the *Mahābhārata*. But the magnificent drama *Sakuntalā* of *Kālidāsa* is not known. The reason of this is, probably, that most of the Indian dramas are of late times, and, perhaps, at the time the Brahmans came to Java, were exclusively found at the courts of the princes of *Ujjayini*, *Kāshmir*, *Ayodhyā*, &c., so that the Brahmans could not be acquainted with them. Besides, the drama forms no part of the sacred literature, and the Brahmans might have neglected it for that reason.

RELIGION

The religion of Bali, as is well known, is the Hindu, and in fact the two great Indian creeds, the Brahmanical and the Buddhist, exist there. The adherents of the latter are few in number, and live in *Karang-Assem* in the dessa of *Buddha Kling* (Crawfurd) and in *Gyanyar*, in *Batuan*. These Buddhists, whom no European has ever visited, appear, however, to hold a modified form of religion. Crawfurd remarks that the people of *Boleleng* had spoken rather contemptuously of the Buddhists, but I have not noticed this in the southern part of Bali. It is true they are said to be allowed to eat all kinds of animals, cows for example, which the worshippers of Śiva are forbidden to eat, and dogs and other unclean things, but they are not accused of actually eating them. As for the relations between Śivaism and Buddhism, the Panditas state that Buddha is Śiva's youngest brother, and that the two sects exist peacefully side by side, although the Buddhists do not worship Śiva, and the Śivaïtes do not adore Buddha. In the form of worship, however, an intermixture of the two religions is apparent, for, on great feasts, e.g., the *Panchāvalikrama*, a priest of Buddha is

invited to join the four Panditas of Śiva, and performs his devotions *sitting towards the south*, while the other four throughout the service sit towards the remaining cardinal points, and in the middle. At the cremation of princes, moreover, the holy water from a Śivaite Pandita is mingled with that of a Pandita of Buddha, and is used in this form by the worshippers of Śiva. The intermixture of the two religions is also shown by the frequent mention of Buddha in the Kavi writings, and by the Buddhist composers of these writings, these works being also held in honour by the Śivaïtes. This, however, applies more to Java, whence all those writings came, but it is partly applicable to Bali also. So much is certain, that the Buddhists in Bali (and in earlier times in Java) were not fanatics, and that they left the Hindu Pantheon undisturbed, whilst they worshipped Buddha as the only true God.

ŚIVAÏTES

The great majority of the Balinese hold the Brahmanical belief, and belong to the sect of Śiva. There is no trace of the other sects (Vishnuites) in Bali, and the worship of Śiva has absorbed, as it were, that of all other gods of the Hindu Pantheon. The religion may be divided into the *private worship of the priests* and the *public worship of the people*.

THE DOMESTIC WORSHIP OF THE PRIESTS

The domestic rites of the Panditas remind us of the ancient Veda-worship of the Indian Brahmins, and in fact owes its origin to it. In old times the Brahmins in India did not worship *the gods of the people*; Brahma, Vishnu or Śiva, and all the rest of the gods connected with them, had no existence for those men—they adored the celestial bodies, especially the *sun*, and *fire (Agni)* and various stars. The domestic worship of the Brahmins in Bali has also the sun for its object, and is called *suryasevana* (worship of the sun); it is performed without temples or idols and with but few offerings. Upon asking what the sun meant, I was told that it was Śiva, and therefore we may presume that the Brahmins no longer hold the ancient faith, and have adopted the ordinary service of Śiva. Śiva, however, has become so idealized, at any rate by the Brahmins, that he may very well be identified with the supreme (solar)

deity, and in the popular creed of India Śiva is also the representative of fire, and bears the sun as the third eye in his forehead. We, therefore, adhere to the hypothesis, that the *Brahmans in Bali have preserved the ancient worship of the Indian Brahman, which is based on the Vedas alone, and takes but little or no notice of the gods of the people*, and that, although they conduct and regulate the worship of the popular gods, they do not themselves take part therein.

I have been permitted to see the domestic devotions of a Padanda. They are performed between nine and eleven o'clock in the morning, on a fasting stomach, and are obligatory at least at full and new moons, in addition to which most Panditas perform them on every fifth day (*Kalivon*, according to the Polynesian week of five days). Especially holy priests, and those of high rank, such as the *Padanda Made Alêng Kachêng* in *Taman Intaran*, observe them daily. On ordinary days, however, the service is not so long as on *Kalivon*, and on this day again it is shorter than at full and new moons. On the latter occasions, too, the priest is arrayed in his full vestments. The place of worship is a *Bale*, in one of the priest's inner courts. The portion of the *Bale*²⁸ where the ceremony takes place is surrounded on three sides with a lattice-work of bamboo: that of my Padanda was only open to the west. The Padanda is clothed in white, with the upper part of the body naked, after the Balinese-Indian manner. He sits with his face to the east, and has before him a board upon which stand several small vessels containing water and flowers, some grains of rice, a pan with fire, and a bell. He then mumbles, almost inaudibly, some words or prayers from the *Vedas*, dipping the flowers into the water and waving them and a few grains of rice before him (towards the east) with the forefinger and thumb of his right hand, whilst at the same time he holds up the pan containing fire. After having proceeded with his prayers for some time, during which he makes all kinds of motions with his fingers and turns his rosary, he appears to be inspired by the deity; Śiva has, as it were, entered into him; this manifests itself in convulsions of the body, which grow more and more severe, and then gradually cease. The deity having thus

²⁸ The names of the *Bale* are; *Yasa*, *Mahantén*, *Mahari*, *Boat*; the holy water is called *Sevamba*, i.e., *sāiva* and *ambhas*, "water of Śiva."

entered into him, he no longer sprinkles the water and flowers towards the east alone, but also towards his own body, in order to pay homage to the deity which has passed into it. The bells are not used in the ordinary daily worship, but only at the full and new moons and cremations.

By this ceremony the Padanda is completely purified; all his actions, even the partaking of earthly food, are holy. He then eats (but only once in the day); while he is doing so no one but his children, who wait upon him, may approach, and they keep silence. The remains of his food are like *Amrita* (Ambrosia), and are eagerly solicited and consumed by those present—including the princes, if they have a Pandita in their house, or happen to be in his house. The water which the Pandita has used during his devotions is looked upon, in accordance with the *Vedas*, as holy; it is called *toya tirta* (water of a holy place), and is bought by the people for their purifications, for sprinkling corpses and for offerings. This is one of the sources of income to the Panditas. In addition to his domestic worship, he performs the public religious ceremonies (see below), and conducts the cremations and the offerings for the departed. In his own house, moreover, he occupies himself with the *Vedas*, with the sacred and the common Kavi literature; he teaches his children and those (chiefly princes and men of rank) who come to him as pupils. He is also the people's astronomer and astrologer, and alone knows how to regulate the calculation of time according to the different divisions of the year (see the Balinese Calendar). Finally, he consecrates the weapons. Every new weapon to be wrought is brought to him before the operation: he places some mysterious signs upon it, especially the word *Ong* (*om*), and until this has been done, the weapon is of no value or power. When the weapon is quite finished, the owner makes offerings and the Pandita reads the *Vedas* over it to insure its effectiveness.

RELIGION OF THE PEOPLE.—PLACES OF WORSHIP

The chief places of worship are the *sad-kahyangan* (the six temples)—so-called *kat' ḗḡoxv*. They are all dedicated, under various names, to Śiva. The principal and oldest temple, the founding of which is narrated in the *Usana Bali*, is (1) in *Basuki*, at the foot of the *Gunung-Agung*, the holy mountain

in *Karang-Assem*; the name of the deity is *sang Purnajaya*, and his weapon *tauk* (a sword-like creese).

(2). *Vatu Kahu*, in *Tabanan*, at the foot of the peak of *Tabanan*, called *Barattan* or *Vatu Kahu*; the name of the deity is *sang Jayaningrat*, the weapon *panah* (bow).

(3). *Uluvalu*, on the point of the table-land (*bukit*) in *Badong*, picturesquely situated above the sea, over which the rock on which the temple stands projects. This temple is the *prahu* of *Devi Danu*. The deity worshipped here is *sang Manik Kumawang* (the brilliant precious-stone); his weapon is *tumbak* (lance). The access is difficult, through rocks and wild places. The temple can only be approached with the Sovereign.

(4). *Yeh Jeruk* (*Jeruk-water*), in *Gyanyar*, in the interior, in the *Kampong* of *Naranghana*; the deity is *sang Putra Jaya* (the price of victory); the weapon *pedang* (sword).

(5). *Giralava*, in *Klongkong*, on the coast; the deity is *Sanging Jaya* (the triumphant one); the weapon is *sambuk* (whip).

(6). *Pakendungan*, in *Tabanan*, on the coast. The name is *sang Manik Kaleba* (*kaleba=dumilah*, brilliant); the weapon *duung* (sword-like creese).

These are the principal temples, in which the rulers make offerings for the whole people. In *Uluvalu*, the feast-day is the twenty-first of the Balinese year; in *Basuki*, on the full moon of the month *Kapat* or *Karttika* (in September or October). A few other places, although of less consequence than those already mentioned, are of special importance.

(1). *Sakennan*, on the island *Serangan*, belonging to *Badong*. The deity worshipped is *sang hyang Indra*; his weapon is the *bajra* (Sanskrit *vajra*), which really means lightning, but according to the drawing corresponds to the so-called thunderbolt. His feast is on the eleventh day after the Balinese new year.

(2). *Jempul*, in *Bangli*, also with *Indra* as its deity.

(3). *Rambot Savi*, in *Jembrana*, near the frontier of *Tabanan*.

(4) *Samantiga*; and (5). *Këntêl Gumi*, both in *Gyanyar*. It is not known what deities are worshipped in the last three. These places are sacred through the supernatural power which

issues from the gods adored there.

We have besides in each *desa* one or more *Panatarans* (*natar*, a court; the offerings to *Durgā*, *Kāla* and the *Bhūtas*, are placed upon the ground, in the court). In these *Durgā*, the wife of the malignant *Kāla*, and the chief of the *Bhūtas* or *Rākshasas* (evil spirits), is worshipped. The worship of these latter occupies the people almost more than that of the beneficent gods, for the pernicious influence of these beings must be guarded against in all sorts of ways, whereas the beneficent gods are more easily propitiated. Other temples are called *Puri* and *Pangastanan*; the former are, principally, for persons of the highest rank, and the latter for the people; here *Śiva* is worshipped with his family. Another name is *Parāryangan*, an assemblage of temples for all the gods and *Pitaras* (the shades of the dead). The small temple-houses are called *Kahyangan*, place for a deity (*Hyang*). To these belong also the *Sadkahyangan*. Finally, there is in every house a number of temples, called *Sanggar* (in *Crawfurd*, *Sangga*). Among these there is *Meru*, a temple with several roofs one above the other, rising up in the form of a pyramid, dedicated to *Śiva*. The rest of the small temples are mostly devoted to the service of the *Pitaras*. The house-temples of the princes are of some importance and costliness, but they are not built in the best taste. Among these, besides the *Merus*, which are of wood, we find also the pyramidal erections of stone. *Padmāsana* (the *Padmāsana* must be dedicated to the sun; *Śiva* is the sun), the apex of which is truncated and provided with a sort of stool, upon which incense is burnt to *Śiva*, in his three forms—viz., *Sadā-Siva*, *Parama-Siva* and *Mahā-Siva* (the incense being of three sorts: *M'nyan*, *Madyagawu* and *Chandana*); and *Chandi*, a complete pyramid, not truncated. Besides these buildings, one finds several *Bales*, partly of masonry (*G'dong Chantél*) inlaid with Chinese porcelain and glass-work and ornamented at the back with pictures, and partly of wood (*G'dong Tarik*), upon which the offerings are placed. The *Meru* and *Padmāsana* are chiefly regarded as the seats of the supreme deity; the *Merus* are also provided with *lingas*, which however are, usually, merely of pointed wood and are fixed in great numbers in the roofs. The extremity of the *Merus* and also of the other small temple-houses is generally covered with an inverted pot or

sometimes a glass, a circumstance that reminded me at once of Buddhism, since this seems to represent the dome (or *bubble*) which is the distinguishing feature of all Buddhist temples. The Sivaïtes, however, will not admit this, but they give no explanation of this ornament. The *linga* is also found in great numbers on the walls surrounding the temples, and here is of stone, shaped like the specimen which I have sent from *Boleleng* to the Batavian Genootschap. The original signification of the *linga* is almost lost; the word now means simply "the most excellent one". In addition to the above, we have temples on the sea-coast, dedicated to the god of the sea, *Baruṇa*; and further, small houses in the *sawahs* and on the roads, dedicated to *Śrī*, the consort of *Śiva*; in the latter the passers-by strew a few grains of rice, if they have any with them.

THE GODS WORSHIPPED

In India, according to the popular belief, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, or the *Trimūrti* (Trinity), are the supreme gods. It is well known that the Brahmans, originally the first caste, pay but little honour to these gods, and that the *Vedas* place other deities above them—Viṣṇu and Śiva, indeed, playing a very subordinate part therein. The popular creed is further subdivided into two great sects, the one worshipping Viṣṇu, and the other Śiva, as its principal deity. In India, also, Brahmā is not made the object of any special worship; as creator he is neutralized, as it were, for his work of creation is accomplished, while the attention of mortals is absorbed by Viṣṇu, the *preserver*, and the dreaded Śiva, the *destroyer*. It is certain that no Viṣṇuïtes ever came to Bali, nor probably to ancient Java. The only idols in Java which undoubtedly represent Viṣṇu are mostly found in conjunction with Śiva, and, it would appear, are merely added to make the retinue of the latter god larger and more splendid. It may be safely asserted that Viṣṇu has nowhere been the chief object of worship.

In Bali all the characteristics, names and attributes of Viṣṇu are given to Śiva; he combines in himself the power of all gods, all others being as it were but other forms of himself. Śiva is the highest invisible firmament (*ākāśa*), or dwells alone in the heart; Brahmā, fire, which through smoke be-

comes water or Vishṇu. Hence it is that a Paṇḍa is called Śiva; if Śiva were not the all-comprising deity, completely idealized, that designation would not be applicable to these holy men, whose power, through the study of the *Vedas*, is greater than that of the common gods. Śiva's heavens are, the *Meru*, *Kailāsa*, *Gunung Agung* (*Svarga* or *Indraloka*; *Vishṇuloka* or *Brahmaloka*, and *Śivaloka* are the three heavens rising one above the other).

In the Indian mythology we find several gods (*Vishṇu*, *Durgā*, *Gaṇeśa*, *Skanda*, &c.) provided with many arms, to indicate their power. In Bali, four arms are given to Śiva alone, while all the other gods, unless they assume a demoniacal (*Rākshasa*) shape, have but two arms. Śiva also has a third eye in his forehead (signifying in India the sun, but not recognized as doing so here) (*mata trinetra*). His names are: *Parameśvara* (the supreme lord); *Maheśvara* (the great lord); *Mahādeva* (the great god); *Śrikanda* (the throat of eloquence?); *Sudasina* (with pure throne); *Givaha* (meaning uncertain); *Sangkara*, *Garba* (the foetus); *Soma* (the moon); *Vrekanda* (?); *Kṛittivāsas* (clothed in a tiger-skin); *Garbādūta* (*garbha*, foetus, and *dūta*, messenger); *Ganggādara* (he who carries the river *Ganggā* in his hair); *Hara* (he who grasps); *Kāmāri* (the enemy of *Kāma*, the god of love); *Vṛishaketana* (he who has the bull in his standard); *Durjadi*, probably more correctly *Durjati*; *Triambaka* (he who speaks the three *Vedas*); *Kawandī*, *Sarvajña* (the omniscient); *Viśkandī*, *Pisnaki*; *Bāma* (*Vāma*, the left-handed); *Mrēdda*, *Ugra* (cruel); *Sūli* (he who bears the trident); *Gaṇasara*, *Gaṇādīpa* (the lord of hosts); *Iśa* (the lord); *Iśāna* (ditto); *Kandali*, *Matsyadurita* (*matsya*, fish, and *durita*, sin); *Paśupati* (the lord of creatures); *Tripurāri* or *Tripurāntaka* (the enemy and destroyer of the demon *Tripura*; also *Vishṇu's* name). *Vṛikshaketu* (he who has a tree in his standard); *Sambu*, *Śṛava*, ear, and *Bava*, nature; *Dara* (the holding one); *Kṛisnarsa*, *Kuśādi* (he who has the *Kusagrass* as his first attribute); *Sad-dakariṇu* (the enemy of the *Saddaka*); *Sima* (*śima*, whole, or *śima*, boundary); *Prameṣṭi* or *Parameṣṭi* (the highest); *Nandakavahana* (he who rides on the *Nandi*); *Kāmadahana* (he who has burnt the *Kāma*); *Giriśa* (the lord of speech); *Pravesada*, *Sāti* (domestic ?); *Jivātma* (the soul of life); *Iśānukara*, *Pitam-*

bara (covered with a yellow garment); *Berava* (*Bhairava*, the terrible one, also a subordinate deity in the demon-shape). *Nilakanta*, and *Nilalohita* (with a dark blue throat, from drinking the poison that comes forth from the troubled sea); *Sani* (*śani*, the name of the planet Saturn, and *sani*, worship); *Īśvara* (the lord); *Drīṣṭaketu* (with plainly-visible standard); *Umāpati* (consort of the *Umā*); *Chaturbuja* (with four arms).

Part of the manuscript of the *Chantaka-Parva* was wanting here, but many more names were mentioned to me from memory. *Śiva* appears to have in all not less than a thousand names in Bali, as in India. The following are further names: *Bīma* (he who is to be feared); *Rudra* (also a special class of eleven gods of this name); *Bava* (nature); *Kapālabhrit* (he who wears a skull-chain); and finally *Jagannāta* (the lord of the world). This last name always means *Vishṇu* in India, but, in Bali, *Śiva* is the supreme and almost the only god, and thus *Vishṇu*'s principal name is given here to *Śiva*.

ŚIVA'S ATTRIBUTES²²

These are different in his various forms and temples. He has the rosary (*guduha genitri*, Sansk. *akṣhamālā*); the fan (*ubas-ubas*, Sansk. *chāmara*). These two symbols represent him as a penitent. He has further the *triśūla* (the pointed trident, to be distinguished from the trident without points, which, e.g., the *Bagavān Trīṇavindu* in the Batavian Society's Collection carries, and which the Balinese call *Tekan*. Both tridents stand with their points upwards; the inverted trident (of *Vishṇu*) I have not yet met with. *Śiva* also has in Bali, as in Java, the *Padma* (the lotus), which in India belongs to *Vishṇu*; this, however, is not regarded as the lotus-flower, but as a weapon. We have already mentioned other symbols of *Śiva* in the *Sadkahyangan*, namely, *Tuak*, a sword-like creese; *panah*, the bow; *tumbak*, the lance; *p'dang*, a sword; *sambuk*, a whip; and *duung*, a sort of creese. With the exception of the creeses, all these symbols are also Indian, and belong to *Śiva* in India; the creese, however, is purely Polynesian. The bow and the sword proper are not used in Bali, and which are only

²² *Śiva* became incarnate as *Arjuna Vijaya*. His wife, *Devi Yajñavati*, commits suicide upon hearing a false report of the death of her husband, and at the prayer of the holy *Pulastya* is called to life by *sang hyang Sagara* (the ocean) by means of *Mṛitasanjivana* (life-giving Ambrosia).

known there from the religion and the writings.

From Śiva is to be distinguished *Kāla*; originally they were one and the same, but Śiva is the bright (white) god of light, while *Kāla* is the dark (black), terrible and destroying one, *Kāla* is worshipped, with *Durgā* and the *Bhūtas*, in the *Panatarans* and in the houses. The feast of *Bayakāla*, the day before the Balinese new-year, is dedicated to him, and he must be propitiated by bloody offerings. The offerings placed daily before the houses and in the niches of small pillars, or in the walls, are also intended for him and the *Bhūtas*.

Śiva's consort is *Umd*. This is one of the many names of this deity, but not the principal one in India. In Bali it is used more commonly than *Pārvatī*; she is also called *Giriputri* (daughter of the mountain; *Pārvatī* has the same meaning). *Durgā* is distinct from her, as *Kāla* is from Śiva. (*Durgā* in conflict with *Mahishāsura* does not appear in Bali.) She is also called *Devi Ganggā* and *Devi Danu* (the goddess of the mountain lake; this great mountain lake lies in the midst of the great Balinese range of mountains) [*Us. Bali*, p. 274]; in this character she is worshipped on the *Gunung Batur*, which rises from the middle of a mountain lake (*Danu*, Jav. *ranu*), and she is regarded as the cause of eruptions and of the overflowing of the waters which is indispensable for the cultivation of rice. As goddess of the rice-fields she is called *Srī* (in India *Vishṇu*'s wife is called *Lakshmi*, who here is also Śiva's wife) and has her temples on the *sawahs* and on the roads between them. She is also worshipped along with Śiva. The same applies to *Gaṇeśa*, who possesses no temples and but few images in Bali. On account of his misshapen form, he is not beloved.

Brahmā, like *Vishṇu*, has no special temples; on great festivals, small-temple houses are erected for both deities, when offerings are made to all the gods, but after the festival these are taken down again. The following are other names for *Brahmā*: *Chaturmukha* (provided with four faces); *Prajāpati* (the lord of created beings, the creator); *Padmayoni* (born out of a lotus; he is supposed in the Indian Mythology to have come forth out of a lotus which rises to the surface of the sea out of the navel of *Vishṇu* as *Nārāyaṇa*, resting upon the bottom of the sea). According to the Balinese conceptions, he has only one head; if he is represented with more than one head, with

four arms and other extraordinary limbs, he is to be regarded as *Brahmamūrti*, or as a *Rākshasa* (*mūrti*, the body, form, figure, does not precisely express this idea). The same is true of *Vishṇu* and other gods. *Brahmā*, the creator, has been deprived of all his distinguishing features; he has no temples either in India or in Bali, and he is entirely subordinated to *Śiva*, the supreme deity, and although he appears in the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* as the creator of the latter, *Śiva*, when once created, possesses far greater power than *Brahmā* the creator. *Brahmā* and *Vishṇu* are looked on in Bali as emanations or forces of *Śiva*, and as related to each other; *Brahmā* represents fire, *Vishṇu* water; the fire through smoke is changed into water, and so *Brahmā*'s force passes into that of *Vishṇu*. *Śiva* himself has the *dhāṭā*, the highest firmament, as his element, and he dwells in the hearts of the purified.³⁰ (See as to *Saddā*, *Parama*, *Mahā*, *Śiva*, *Us. Bali*, p. 307). *Brahmā*'s symbol is the *daṇḍa* (staff); a staff is carried by the Brahmins, if they become Panditas and hence it is that they are called *Paḍaṇḍas* "provided with a staff." The *daṇḍa*, however, is also regarded as a weapon, and includes the idea of punitive justice.

Brahmā's wife is *Sarasvatī*, the goddess of eloquence; she, too, has no special temples, but she has a feast-day in each Balinese year, in the week of *Vatu Gunong*, on the day of *Saneśchara Manis* (Saturday). On this day all the manuscripts are brought into the house-temples and consecrated; the old prince Kassiman brings his in procession to *Gunong rata* (his country residence); a *Pandita* is called upon, and reads the *Vedas* over the manuscripts, whereby their holiness is renewed. At the same time offerings of rice, kwe-kwe, *sirih*, &c., are made to the goddess, and the floor of the temple is sprinkled with holy water. *Sarasvatī*'s names, according to the *Chantaka-Parva*, are: *Bagi* (bhaga, knowledge); *Bāsa* (language); *Giva*, *Givasa*, *Veda* (Science); *Viddya* (*vidyā*, knowledge, *ayana*, road); *Baradi*, *Yani*, *Śāstravid* (the learned in writings); *Sudevī* (the good goddess); *Dāri* (the holder); *Sumari*, *Ganggadari* (she who holds the *gangga*); *Prājñadari* (she who holds learning); *Kastavit*, *Darjīmāndari*, *Nilasiki*, *Satradana*.

Vishṇu is scarcely worshipped at all in Bali; as god of water

³⁰ *Saddā Śiva* (the eternal *Śiva*) is a well-known name for *Śiva* in India, not for *Brahmā*.

less honour is paid to him than to *Baruṇa*, although the latter is a sea-god of inferior rank. The principal temples on the sea-coast are dedicated to Śiva; we have already spoken of the erection of a temple for Viṣṇu on festivals. Viṣṇu is nevertheless an important personage to the Balinese; in his various incarnations he is the hero of most of the Kavi works; it might be said that *Śiva is the high and invisible, Viṣṇu the incarnate god*, who has acquired infinite fame by his deeds on earth, and whose conduct serves as an example for all the actions of princes and people. His names, although better known from the Kavi writings than from religious worship, are as follow: *Nārāyaṇa* (he who floats upon or in the waters); *Sori* (*Sauri*, also a name for the planet *Saturn*); *Chakrapāṇi* (he whose hand is armed with the *Chakra*); *Janārdana* (he who is plagued by men with prayers); *Padmanābha* (he who has a lotus-navel; see *Brahmā Padmayoni*); (the holy), *Kēśi*; *Kesa* (the fine-haired); *Vekunṭa* (*Vāikunṭha*, the careless one); *Vistara* (collection?); *Srava* (*srava*, the ear?) *Indrāvaraja* (the younger brother of *Indra*); *Govinda* (a name for *Kṛṣṇa* as, a cowherd); *Garuḍadhvaaja* (he who has the *Garuḍa* in his standard); *Keśava* (*Kesa*); *Puṇḍarikāksha* (the lotus-eyed); *Kṛṣṇa*, *Pitāmbara* (with a yellow garment); Śiva also is so named above; *Viśvakṣena* (*visvak*, everywhere, *sēnā*, an army; whose army reaches everywhere). *Svabū* (self-born); *Śaṅkhi* (he who has the *Saṅkha*, shell-trumpet); *Danavara* (perhaps *Danavāri*, the enemy of the *Danavas*, the demons); *Hanoksaja* (?), *Vṛikṣa* (this must be *vṛiṣa*, the bull, also a name for *Viṣṇu*); *Kapi* (the ape); *Basudeva* (*Vasudeva*, the father of *Kṛṣṇa*, literally "the god of riches," or *Vāsudeva*, *Kṛṣṇa*); *Mādava* and *Madusūdana* (the conqueror of the demon *Madu*). These names are given in the *Chantakaparva* in *śloka*s; with a few slight alterations we obtain pure inflected Sanskrit:

Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa Sori, Chakrapāṇi Janārdanaḥ
 Padmanābha Resi Kesah, Vekunṭa Vistara Srawa
 Indrāvaraja Hupendraḥ, Gohvinda Guruḍadhvaaja
 Kesavaḥ Puṇḍarikākṣaḥ, Kṛṣṇaḥ Pitāmbaroḥchataḥ
 Viśvakṣenaḥ Svabū Śaṅkhi, Danavara Hanoksajah
 Vresah Kapi Basudevah, Mādava Madusūdana.

Besides these, his *avataras* are well known—viz., *Matsya*,

fish; *Varāha*, wild pig; *Kūrma*, tortoise. To these must be added two local ones, not known in India—viz., *Patī Gaja Madda*, founder of the *Karang-Asem* family, and the cock *Siling-sing*, the apotheosis of cock-fighting. *Parta* and *Maruta* also are incarnations of Vishṇu, slain by *Ravana*. The following are yet other names for Vishṇu : and *Vāmana* and *Triṣurāntaka* (the dwarf and the conqueror of the demon *Triṣura* ; the latter name we have also found to belong to Śiva, and it has reference to the fifth *Avatāra*); *Narasīṅgha*, man-lion (in the fourth *Avatāra*); *Rāma* (in the seventh *Avatāra*); *Purusottama* (the most excellent of men, with reference to his numerous incarnations). His symbols are, in the first place, the *chakra sudarsana* (the disc, which, being well slung by him, penetrates everything, and returns to him); and then the *śaṅgha* (the shell-trumpet), the *gadā* (club), *daṇḍa* (the staff, also belonging to Śiva and Brahmā); the same applies to the *tuak* (a sword-like creese, which in one of the *sadkahyangans*³¹ belongs to Śiva as a distinguishing symbol). In images of Vishṇu and Brahmā we also find a circular mark on the forehead; this is a third eye, but appears to point to the Indian *tilaka*, the mark of the sect. No other remembrance, however, of this *tilaka* (which name is unknown here) has been preserved, and the Balinese seem to draw the mark on the foreheads of the gods in accordance with a tradition which is no longer understood, or endeavour to keep secret the origin of this sect-mark, in order that the form of religion, at present existing, may be regarded by every one as the only and true form. According to the statements of the priests, Vishṇu and Brahmā are invoked in the *Vedas*, and do indeed appear in the Indian *Vedas*, although as gods of a very inferior rank; if they play a higher part in the *Vedas* of Bali, we should again be compelled to entertain some doubts as to the authenticity and originality of these *Vedas*.

Vishṇu's wife is *Śrī*. We have already met with Śiva's consort under the name *Śrī*, as protector of the rice-fields and goddess of fertility. According to Indian ideas, this is always Vishṇu's wife; but just as many of the names and attributes

³¹ [I.e., the six heavens, Sanskrit linguals are often represented by the corresponding (unaspirated) dentals in Kavi and Balinese ; while, on the other hand, Sanskrit dentals frequently pass into linguals in those languages. Thus, *sad*=Sanskrit *śad* ; but *daṇḍa* from which *paḍaṇḍa*, = Sanskrit *daṇḍa*.]

of Vishṇu are in Bali given also to Śiva, so Śrī, originally the consort of Vishṇu, appears in Bali as one of the names of Śiva's wife. We have already said that Vishṇu and Brahmā are but other forms of Śiva ; and so also their wives belong, as special forces (Śrī, goddess of fertility, of abundance; Sarasvatī, goddess of eloquence and learning), to Śiva, the supreme deity. *Laksmī* is unknown as a name for Vishṇu's wife. As Vishṇu's consort, she has no special temples. The mark on her forehead, and on that of Sarasvatī, is called *peryasān*, derived probably from *yaśas*, Jav. *yaśa*, *fame*, and in that case meaning *excellence*. The signification of this word, however, is not clear; and upon asking whether this were the sectarian mark (*Tilak*), I was answered in the negative.

We have thus found that the three supreme gods of the popular creed of the Hindus are looked upon as expressions of one and the same force, are worshipped together, and regarded, as it were, as one being. Śiva in the popular belief also is almost the sole god; the inferior gods, with India at their head, are his lesser forces. The different names of the gods mean for the ignorant people, it is true, as many different gods, but the priests hold other views.

We will here say a few words respecting Indra and the inferior gods, and will then give an enumeration of the gods, as, according to the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, they were created.

Indra—This deity, the prince of the *Devas*, that is, of the subordinate gods, who require the *Amṛita* to keep them alive, and who are often brought into danger and vanquished by doers of penance and giants, has, singularly enough, especial temples in Bali. *Sakennan*, in the island of *Serangan* in *Badong*, and *Jempul* in *Bangli*, we have already become acquainted with as such. The explanation of this we think is, that our Śivaitic sect has succeeded in making Vishṇu (and *Brahmā*) of little importance, and in causing him to be regarded as a part, an emanation or force of Śiva, but did not find it necessary to deprive of his worship the popular Indra, the example of princes, who is glorified in so many poems. Indra could never be inimical to the consequence of Śiva, and was therefore harmless to the imported Śivaism, and, by allowing him temples, the prejudices of his devotees were perhaps spared from a blow. His temples and attributes are even of considerable importance.

He has also the third eye. The following are among his names: *Satakratu* (worshipped with 100 offerings); *Trinetra* (provided with three eyes, like Śiva); *Sahasranetra* (provided with a thousand eyes; these are the stars, Indra himself the visible heavens, while the higher, invisible firmament, *ākāśa*, represents Śiva;) *Devarāja* (the king of the Devas or subordinate gods); *Śachipati*, the husband of *S'achī*.

His weapon is the *bajra* (*vajra*, lightning; here, however, represented as a kind of weapon in the form of a thunderbolt).

Indra's wife is *Śachī*, only remarkable on Indra's account.

The eight gods of the cardinal points (*Lokapāla*) are named very frequently in the writings; in the religious worship they are less prominent. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Iont, 181, these eight gods are enumerated as follows: *Indra*, *Yama*, *Sūrya*, *Chandra*, *Anila*, *Kuvera*, *Baruṇa*, *Agni*. We meet with the same names again in India, only *Nirṛiti* appears there instead of *Sūrya*, and *Isāni* instead of *Chandra*. The order in which they stand, beginning with the east and going round by the south, is however different, and in India is tolerably fixed: *Indra*, in the East; *Agni*, N.E.; *Yama*, S.; *Sūrya* (or *Nirṛiti*), S.W.; *Varuṇa*, W.; *Vāyu* (or *Maruṭ*, *Pavana*, and in Bali *Anila*, all meaning wind), N.W.; *Kuvera*, N.; *Chandra* (or *Isāni*), N.E. "Usana Bali", p. 261, gives the eight cardinal points thus: (1) *Pūrva*, East; (2) *Gneha*, S.E.; this is *Agneya* ("Wilson", "the South-East quarter"), to be derived from *Agni*, fire and the god of fire, whose throne is in the south-east; (3) *Dakṣiṇa*, south; (4) *Neriti* (Sansk. *Nairṛiti*, belonging to the south-west quarter, to *Nirṛiti*; *Nirṛiti*, according to some, *Sūrya*, according to others, presides over that point of the compass), S.W.; (5) *Paśchima*, behind or west; (6) *Vayabya* (Sansk. *Vāyavya*, belonging to *Vāyu*, the wind, compare *Anila*, *Pavana*), N.W.; (7) *Uttara*, north; (8) *Esania* (not *Resania*), answering to the Sansk. *āśanya* or *āisani*, "belonging to *Isāni*," N.E. Here, therefore, we have the names of the cardinal points accurately preserved by adjectives derived from the names of the guardian deities; even the less-known *Nirṛiti* and *Isāni* are not forgotten. It cannot surprise us, however, that in Bali all the cardinal points are attributed to various forms of Śiva, although this alteration seems to be of later date.

Yama and *Baruṇa* are the only gods besides Indra of any

note in the religious worship; they also are, to some extent, identical with Śiva. With Indra in his heaven we find the *Varāpsaras* (the most excellent *Apsaras*), and the *Vidyādaras* and *Vidyādarīs* (male and female spirits), as well as the *Resis*; the last are the human beings who have become gods, after having attained, through a holy life, to Indra's heaven; his heaven is called *Svarga*, or *Indraloka*, and is the ideal of a royal dwelling; the descriptions of it agree with the Indian accounts. Even this heaven and its inhabitants are not safe from the attacks of foes (see the *Vivāha*, the combat between Indra and Rāvaṇa [the latter is called *Indrajit*, the vanquisher of Indra]; and other myths); its inhabitants are also liable to become human again, at least they require the *Amṛita* in order to preserve their divine power. Indra's heaven lies beneath that of Viṣṇu (and Brahmā), and the latter beneath that of Śiva. It is not until it reaches Śiva's heaven that the soul attains the repose and release of transmigration (*Moksa*). But little is heard in Bali of Viṣṇu's heaven; it is known rather from tradition than from religious doctrine. Every man endeavours to reach Śiva's heaven (which is to be sought on the *Kailāsa*, the *Meru* or the *Gunung Agung*, in Bali, at its highest point); but only a *Paṇḍa* appears to have a right to immediate entry therein. The rest of the people have to be satisfied with *Svarga*, Indra's heaven where they hope to live for ever, entirely after the Balinese manner of living, but without care and with greater splendour. The attainment of the *Svarga* is in some cases immediate; a *Belā* or *Satia* who follows her husband into the fire, passes into that heaven at once; a prince, who sacrifices himself and his adherents in defence of his country, goes with all his followers to Indra's heaven, where, probably, they fall again to fighting. Cremations also, if they be accomplished according to rule—which is difficult, as the priests can very easily discover a fault, if they have not been consulted as to all ceremonies, however insignificant—are considered to bring the subject of the cremation to *Svarga*. But this last means of entry is not looked upon as so certain as the two others; the Balinese say of several princes that, although they were burnt with all proper ceremony, they still wander upon earth in the form of animals (frogs, snakes, &c.). Another obstacle is the judicial power of *Yama*, who judges the dead with strict impartiality in the

lower world (*Naraka*). Perhaps the postponement of cremations for two months, and sometimes for several years (up to twenty), has reference to this preliminary judgement of *Yama*, and the punishments imposed by him; here, however, as is the case in most religions, there is a palpable inconsistency; it is believed that *the souls of the dead, provided that no outward observances have been neglected, pass immediately into Svarga*; it is at the same time believed that *the soul must first be judged by Yama* (the Indian *Pluto*, and the lord, *Jehovah*, who, according to the Old Testament, will punish Jewish sinners), and must, for all sins, perform penances which will last millions of years, and which hinder them from reaching *Svarga*. *Doceant theologi meliora!*

Baruṇa (Sansk. *Varuṇa*) is the god of the sea; the temples on the sea-coast are dedicated partly to him and partly to *Śiva*. *Vishṇu* also is stated to be a sea-god, or god of water (represented in India on this account with the inverted *triśūla*), but he has no temples either in this or in his other capacities. The subordinate *Baruṇa*, however, for the same reason as *Indra*, is not erased from the list of the gods who are worshipped. *Baruṇa* is sometimes represented as a youth, in the same manner as *Indra*. He is then distinguished by the *pāśa*. This should really be a sling, with which he catches up the dead bodies, &c., and *Yama* the souls; in Bali, however, the *pāśa*, contrary to the meaning of the word, is a long dart, round which a serpent winds, and which ends in three teeth (like the *triśūla*). *Baruṇa* has usually a monstrous figure with the head of a *Rākṣasa*, from which a serpent's tongue projects, and a huge serpent's tail turning upwards, the rest of the body being human. This serpent-form indicates his nature as sea-god. The *deva agun sagara* (*agun* must be *agung*; *Crawford*, On the Island of Bali, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xiii) is the same as *Varuṇa*.

Yama, the god of death and of punitive justice, is identified with *Śiva* (and *Kāla*); he has no special worship, but *Śiva* is also worshipped under the name of *Yama*. He is called *sang hyang Darma* (justice); and *Prêtardja* (the prince of the departed). His severe punishments (e.g. the boiling of a soul in a copper kettle for thousands of years) are very well known. He is regarded as a god, not as a *Rākṣasa*, although he has

teeth on his cheeks and his forehead (*dangstra*, comp. *Gaṇeśa*), and, besides this, the well-known tusks of the *Rākṣasas* (*siyung* or *chaling*); his symbol is the *gadā*, club.

The rest of the gods of the cardinal points have, as it were, no worship. *Sūrya* is the same as *Śiva*, and the worship of the priests is addressed to him; *masuryasevana* (worship of the sun). *Chandra*, the moon, in India an attribute of *Śiva*, did not become known to me as such in Bali, but all principal feasts are regulated according to the full and new moon. To insure success, all great undertakings (offerings, cremations) must be carried out in the first, or white, half of the moon. *Anila* or *Vāyu* (Bal. *Bayu*) has no worship at all, but is regarded as the vital principle; in fasting (*brata*) the doer of penance shall live by the *vayu* alone. The *vayu* in its various forms come also under notice in the healing of the sick. The physician causes his *vayu* to pass into the sick man's body. The *Paṇḍas* are, therefore, in great request for curing sick people, because their *vayu* is particularly holy.

Kuvera, the god of riches (Bali *Kubera*), is known only from the myths. Still less is known of *Nirṛiti* and *Isānī*. *Agni*, finally, the god of fire, is frequently invoked in the Veda-worship in Bali, as in India, but has no temples, and is not worshipped by the people.

To the family of *Śiva*, but still as subordinate gods, belong *Gaṇeśa* and *Kārtikeya* or *Skanda*, his sons. I have not yet become acquainted with the latter in Bali; of *Gaṇeśa* (commonly called *Gaṇa*), on the entrances, there are images of stone (*Gaṇeśa* images are introduced into Bali by *Kabu Ayu*; compare *Abdullah* in the *T. v. N. I.*, 2, 161 seq.) and paintings, all tolerably rude. The stone images are sometimes to be found in the temples of *Śiva*, and *Gaṇeśa* then appears publicly as a subordinate, attendant deity, very much resembling the *Rākṣasas* that keep watch. Special worship and offerings for him are unknown. In literature, however, *Gaṇa* is as important in Bali as in India. He is the god of learning and of cunning (also of the *orang dagang* and of thieves). He is called *Gaṇapati*, lord of hosts (he is the leader of the yet inferior gods); *Vināyaka* (the leader, in reference to the same idea); *Sarvāvigna* (from *sarva*, all, and *avigna*, without obstacle—i.e., who overcomes all obstacles); *Vignakarta* (*vigna*, obstacle, *karta* probably from

kyit, to cut, to solve—he who removes all obstacles). In the drawings which are made of him, he holds in his right hand the *pustaka*, a book of lontar leaves as a symbol of learning. Of the rest of his (Indian) attributes,—with the exception of the moon, I have seen or heard nothing. He has an elephant's trunk (*tulali*) and elephant tusks (*gading*), and also the *dangstra* (which we have found in Yama), on his cheeks and forehead. It is only in Gaṇeśa and Yama that these misformed parts do not indicate a demoniacal nature; they belong otherwise only to the *Būtas* and *Rākṣasas*, and to gods who by choice assume demoniacal forms. All the rest of Gaṇeśa's body is entirely human, and he has only two arms, the reason of which we have already seen above in Śiva's case. Independently of the preference given to the worship of Śiva, the sole and supreme god, the absence of homage to Gaṇeśa may also be explained by his shape. Everything monstrous is regarded in Bali with a certain repugnance; it is true, the numerous representations of demons conflict with this statement, but then these are the hostile spirits, which are overcome in great measure by the beneficent gods. It is especially remarkable that the form of an elephant is looked upon as unlucky, although I cannot assert that this was always the case. A former prince of *Boleling* kept an elephant and used to ride out upon it; his conduct was universally condemned, and to this is ascribed the fact that this prince was punished by the gods with the loss of his kingdom. The abhorrence of the tiger is more natural; if tigers make their appearance in a kingdom of Bali, it is believed that that kingdom will speedily fall (come under the dominion of the evil spirits).²² The rhinoceros, on the contrary, enjoys great honour, although not in life. The *Deva agung* and also the prince of *Lombok* have asked the Netherlands Government for one of these animals for great sacrificial festivals; they use the blood and fat for the preparation of various offerings, and the excrementa as medicine.

Kāma, the god of love, and his wife *Rati*, have, so far as I know, no special temples, but yet are much honoured among

²² In the greater portion of Bali tigers do not occur; they swim over to *Fembrana* from *Banyuwangie*, and remain in that nearly uninhabited district and in the mountains of *Tabanan* and *Boleling*. The high cultivation of the country prevents them from spreading further. Their appearance is a sign that men must depart.

this very erotic people. Kâma also is again, as it were, a form of Śiva (see *Us. Bali*, p. 275). Other names of Kâma are *sang hyang Smara* (about equal to the Latin *cura*, for "to be in love"); also *Anangga*, the bodiless, for, according to a myth, Śiva has burnt his body; and *Manobu*, born in the heart.

Vasuki, the Indian serpent-king, nearly coincides here with *Ananta* (eternity), or *Antabhoga*, the serpent upon which Vishṇu rests. *Vasuki* also belongs here to Śiva's retinue; he dwells in the various principal temples in which Śiva is worshipped (in the *sadkahyangans*). After the time of worship in *Basuki*, at the foot of the *Gunong agung* (which place is named after the same serpent), it is supposed that he goes through the air to *Uluwatu*, the sanctuary on the point of the table-land (in *Badong*), and so round to the other *Kahyangans* as well. He is then to be seen as a fiery streak in the sky. The brightness comes from the precious stones with which his immense head is adorned. Many apparently meaningless fables exist about *Vasuki* (in Bali always called *gasuki*). As yet I have not succeeded in extracting the "sachen aus diesen sagen." I have long thought of a former serpent-worship, especially as a *Padanda* is also called *Bujangga* (serpent), and in the "Usana Java," Śiva, Buddha, and *Bujangga* are called sons *Sang* of *Haji* (*adia*, as it seems to me, "the first"), a circumstance which indicates very strongly the existence of three different forms of worship—viz., the purely Śivaitic, the Buddhistic, and the serpent-worship (?). Of purely Indian myths, that of a former destruction of the serpents, in which *Taksaka*, *Vasuki*, and a third, at the prayer of a penitent, alone were spared, is known in Bali from the books. This sacrifice of serpents (*Sarpayajna*) was accomplished by king *Janamejaya*, the great-grandson of *Arjuna Vijaya* (compare the *Râksasa-Yajña* of *Bagavan Vasista*). The bird of Vishṇu *Garuda* is frequently represented in Bali, always in monstrous *Râksasa* shape, with a beak and wings, but at the same time with tusks; in other respects it has a human body. His parents are *Kakypa* and *Vinata*; *Aruṇa* is his brother. The most inferior persons of the Indian mythology, such as *Kinnara*, *Kimpurusha*, *Uraga* (serpents), *Detya*, *Dânaava*, *Pisâcha*, and others, are known in the literature of Bali. For the most part, however, we meet only with the *Gandarvas*, the *Vidyadars*, and *Apsaras*, in Indra's heaven, and the *Detyas* as

giants of antiquity; the *Râksasas* and *Bhûtas* (real beings, evil spirits) as enemies of mankind and opponents of the beneficent gods, dreaded, yet always to be propitiated.

In the last-mentioned we clearly recognize the principle occurring in all religions, of a good and an evil supreme power, the conflict between which in the Hindu doctrine, it would seem, is never, and never will be, decided. A union, however, of the two powers is clearly apparent in the fact that *Kâla* and *Durgâ*, the heads of the *Râksasas* and *Bhûtas*, are regarded as no other than *Śiva and his wife*, since the gods possess the power to change the latter into *Râksasas*.

The accounts relating to the *Bhûtas* are confused; there are a great number of names for a few of them—e.g., *buta Vilis*, *Buta Lovehan*,³³ they are also named after the shape which they assume—e.g., *butu hulu asu*, "the buta with a dog's head" (*asu*, Sansk. *śvâ*, dog), *buta hulu lembu*, "the buta with the head of a cow." A collective Balinese name is *dagan*; their haunts are chiefly burial-grounds and unclean places, and at night they break into the houses which are not protected from them by means of offerings. With the people in general the *Liaks*³⁴ are still more common than the *Bhûtas*. The former are human beings, who, by the knowledge of certain *mantras* (magic formularies), can alter their shapes and also render themselves invisible, a bright light, proceeding from the place of the tongue, alone remaining; they are obliged to feed on carcases, and chiefly haunt burial-grounds and the places where corpses are kept for cremation. They also take out the entrails of sleepers, so that the person thus robbed must die in a short time. Their mistress is *Rangda ning Gira*, the widow of *Gira*, whose history is found in the *Chalon-Arang* (a *Badad*); she lives on the *Gunung agung*, where the *Liaks* hold their assemblies. Fire-flies which are very numerous and of large size in Bali, are sometimes said to be *Liaks*; moreover, the accusation of being a *Liak* often affords reasons for declaring a person to be innocent.

THE CREATION

According to the *Brahmāṇḍapurāna*, where the world is creat-

³³ Also *Klika*, servant of *Durgâ* (in India, *Kālikā* is another name for *Durgâ*). *Klika* was probably originally the same person as *Durgâ*.

³⁴ [Wilken, I. I. p. 22; and R. van Eck, *Balinesesch Woordenboek*, s. v. *lejak*.]

ed from an egg (*aṇḍa*), four beings come first into existence, through the penance performed by Brahmā; two of these are *Sānanda* and *Sanatkumāra*, and the other two are not named. Then the heavens, the rivers, the sea, the mountains, plants, shrubs, time &c., come into existence. He (Brahmā) further creates the *Devarshi* (the divine *Rishis*), *Marichi*, *Brīgu*, *Anggira*, *Pulastya*, *Pulaha*, *Kratu*, *Dakṣa*, *Atri*, *Vasishtha*. It is not till he has done this that he creates the *Parameśvara*, the Supreme Lord, a name for Śiva; the latter is at once regarded as Brahmā's grandfather! He is called *Bava*, nature; *Sarva*, all; *Īśa*, lord; *Bīma*, the terrible one; *Mahādeva*, the great god. His body consists (1) of *Aditya-śarīra*, sun-body; (2) *Veśarīra*, water-body; (3) *Bāyusaśarīra*; (4) *Agniśarīra*, fire-body; (5) *Akāśa*, the higher invisible heaven; (6) *Mahāpañḍita*, the great Pandita; (7) *Chandra*, the moon; (8) *Baṭara Guru*, the teacher. He is therefore called *Aṣṭātānu*, with eight bodies. He must be worshipped through the *Sādhaka*, the full priest, or the performer of the ceremonies. *Kalpa*, form, and *Dharma*, justice, are children of Brahmā, sprung from his spirit. It is stated here from which parts of the body of Brahmā the *Devarshis* came forth.

The lord then created the gods (*Devas*), the *Asuras* (evil spirits), the *Pitṛis* (shades), and man. He also creates out of his own body the *Yaksha*, a sort of demon; *Pisācha*, lemures; *Uraga*, the serpents which are worshipped; *Gandharva*, heavenly musicians; *Apsaras*, the heavenly female dancers; *Gaṇa*, the hosts, whose leader is Gaṇapati; *Kinnara*, elves; *Rākshasa*, demons; and, finally, the animals, *paśu*.

Then the four castes are created: the *Brāhmins*, out of Brahmā's mouth; the *Kshatriyas*, out of his arm; the *Veśyas* (*Vaiśyas*), out of his thigh; and the *Sūdras*, out of his foot. Then *Dharma* (the Dharma already mentioned above), and *Ahিংśa* (husband and wife), justice and the sparing of everything that is alive; these are the two principal virtues of the Buddhists. It appears, therefore, that in the ancient combination of Brahmanism and Buddhism in Java, Buddhistic doctrines crept even into the *Brahmaṇḍapurāṇ*. I cannot say for certain, however, whether these are not found in the Indian *Brahmaṇḍapurāṇa* as well, this work being hitherto but little known to Europeans. (There are many repetitions in the

manuscript.) Then *Svayambhuva Manu*, ("the first *Manu*,"—the *Manus* govern the world during a certain period, *kalpa*, "from the one creation to the other") and *batâri Satarûpa* are created; they beget the *batâri Rati*, the wife of *Kâma*, the god of love. Then follows the genealogy of the race of *Svayambhuva Manu* and their relationships with the nine *Devarsis*. The descendants include twelve *Yamas*, and *Lakshmî* (in India, Vishnu's wife). Buddha is the son of *Buddhi*, the understanding. The rest of this race are attributes of nature, of the mind, the heart, and also the body. *Nilalohita* (Śiva) has a thousand children, the *Sahasra Rudra*. *Śrî* is the daughter of the *Devarshi Brigu*, married to Vishnu; their children are *Bala* and *Buddana*. *Sarasvatî* is the wife of *Pûrnamâsa*, the full moon. *Agni* is the son of *bagavân Anggira* and *Smṛiti*, tradition; among his descendants is *Parjanya*, the god of rain. The holy *Pulaha* is the ancestor of the *Kshatriya Dâha*, the warrior-caste of *Dâha* or *Kediri*; this royal family, represented in Java in *Majapahit*, and in Bali in the race of the *Deva Agung*, thus derives its origin from a *Devarshi*, and ought properly to belong to the Brahman caste. They are the grandchildren of *Kâmyâ* and *Priyabrata*.

The 60,000 *Bâlahilyas*, who are all *Brahmachâri*—i.e., students of the Vedas (compare the 60,000 *Sagarides* in the *Bâlakânḍa* of the Indian *Râmâyana*), are children of *Kratu* and *Sannati*. Besides a great number of other mythological personages who do not appear in the religious worship, but are sacred to the Brahmans, we find here the seven *Rishis*, who existed in the time of *Uttama Manu*, the second successor of *Svâyambhuva Manu*; they are *Râja*, *Batra* (*Badra*), *Urddabâhu*, *Lawana*, *Anaya*, *Śatapa*, and *Śaka*, and are descended from the *Devarshi Vasishṭha*.

We give here a few examples from the original:

Agre sasarjja bhagavân mânasam âtmanah samam.

"In the beginning the holy one created the soul, which was like unto himself." This is explained thus: mayoga batâra Brahmâ m'tu tang Resi patang siki sang Nandana Sanatkumâra. "Batâra Brahmâ held the yoga (was sunk in meditation), thereby originated the Resis, four in number: sang Nandana and Sanatkumâra." The other two are not named; according to

the Indian tradition, however, *Sânanda* (sic) and *Sanatkumâra* are two of the four first-born sons of Brahmâ. It still remains to be investigated whether the sons of Brahmâ are representatives of the (world-) soul, which, with the means at present at my disposal, I am not in a position to do.

Tatwasrijat punah Brahma.

"After that Brahma created again." Here follows in the Balinese commentary the creation of Śiva, and an enumeration of his different characteristics and bodies. *This, then, appears to be an interpolation into the original work; the Sanskrit text says nothing about it, and this creation is certainly not in its proper place. But with a sect as that in Bali, Śiva could not be created later on without losing importance; therefore advantage was taken of the Sanskrit words, which scarcely any one understood, to glorify Śiva by means of an incorrect commentary. Tatwa has been formed here out of tato-asrijat; the a has not been elided, but has been altered with the preceding o into wa; in the Sanskrit the word should be tato-srijat. This Tatwa occurs again in the next half-śloka, but there it can only be explained by tathâ "so," in the same manner."*

Tatwa devâsurapitrîn manushyako-srijat prabhu.

"So also the Lord created the gods (*Deva*), the *Asuras*, the *Pitaras*, mankind."

In *Manushyako* (see above) there must be an error; *mânushyaka* is a "multitude of men," but this does not suit either the sense or the metre in this passage; had it to be brought into the metre, it would be *manushyakam asrijat prabhuh*, which gives a syllable too many; moreover the *t'dung* (the sign of the long â) is wanting in the manuscript. We have altered the Sanskrit text into *manushyânscha* "and the men (mankind)," which agrees admirably with the sense, and leaves the metre undisturbed. Our passage is reproduced in the Balinese commentary thus:

Muwah mayoga baṭâra Brahma, mijil sang deva sura pitrê manusâ, tuhun sangkanika mijil saking manah hikang deva, ring lambung sangkaning pitrê, ring pasva sangkaning manusa, jagana sangkaning Asura.

"And further was *baṭâra* Brahma sunk in meditation;

thereby came into existence the *Devas*, *Asuras*, *Pitaras*, and mankind; the place whence they sprung (out of his body) was: the *Devas* came forth out of his mind (*manas*); the *Pitaras* out of the hollow under his arm; man out of his side (for *pasva* we must read *parśwa*); his thigh was the place whence the *Asuras* came forth."

The time also when they came into existence is stated, and this certainly has an astronomical meaning, since in India also the *Devas* and *Asuras* play an important part in astronomy (see Bentley on the Indian Astronomy). The *Asuras* are born at noon, man in the morning, the *Devas* at midnight, and the *Pitā-Pitarah* (the worshipped shades of the departed) in the evening.

We will add a brief sketch of the survey of the world as it appears in the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*.

The world is divided into seven *Dvīpas* (islands): *Pushkaradīpa* (the lotus-island), *Kronchadvīpa*, *Kuśadvīpa*, *Sanghadvīpa* (Skt. *Sākadvīpa*), *Sālmalidvīpa*, *Plakshadvīpa*, *Jambudvīpa*. The last, the island of the *Jambu*-fruit, is India and the adjoining countries. All these islands are surrounded by the ocean, and lie round about *Meru*, the centre of the earth, like lotus-leaves. The islands are under the rule of the grandsons of *Svāyambhuva Manu*, the first of the seven *Manus*, who govern the earth for the space of a *kalpa*, a long period of time (see below). They are named *Savana*, *Jutiman*, *Vapushmanta*, *Medhātithi*, *Gomeda*, *Avya* and *Agnidhra*. The last rules over *Jambudvīpa*. *Jambudvīpa* itself is divided into nine *varshas*, more or less distant from *Meru*, which is sometimes to be regarded as the North Pole, and sometimes as the centre of the earth; ranges of mountains, mostly fabulous, divide these *varshas* from each other. The children of *Agnidhra* are (1) *Nabi*, (2) *Kimpurusha*, (3) *Harivarsha*, (4) *Ilāvṛita* (5) *Ram-yaka*, (6) *Hiranyaka*, (7) *Kuru*, (8) *Bhadra*, (9) *Ketumāla*. Most of these nine also give their names to the *varshas*, over which they preside. (1) The land (the *varsha*) of *Nabi* is to the south of the *Himavān* (*Himālaya*); this is therefore India proper. (2) Between *Himavān* and *Hemakūṭa* (the golden peak) is *Kinnaravarsha*, under the prince *Kimpurusha*. The *Kinnaras* or *Kimpurushas* (literally "what sort of man") are barbarous nations in the north of India, represented with horses' heads;

they are a sort of centaur, and indicate the nomadic equestrian nations of the north (in *Tartary*). The *Hemakūṭa* is a mountain range to the north of the *Himālayas*, in Tibet; it is not loftier than the *Himālayas*, but is represented as being so. In this range also is the fabulous *Kailāsa*, *Śiva's* seat. (3) *Naishadavarsha*; *Naishadha* is a range of mountains to the east of *Hemakūṭa* and south of *Ilāvṛita*. A country in the south-east of India also bears the name of *Nishadha*, well known through its prince *Nala* (*Naishadha*, in the *Mahābhārata*—the episode is published by Bopp). Here, however, we have to do with the northern *Nishadha*, of which *Harivarsha* is prince. (4) *Ilāvṛita* (or *Hilāvṛita*) the name of prince, country, and mountain range. This is the highest and most central range on the earth, according to Indian ideas; *Meru*, the highest mountain and the seat of the gods, is situated in it. (5) The region north of *Ilāvṛita* and *Nilaparvata*, called *Ram-yaka* or *Nilavarsha*. *Nilaparvata*, the blue mountains, are as mysterious as *Ilāvṛita* with *Meru*; we do not find either in the position indicated by the Indians, but we may perhaps suppose the Aryans (*Arya*, the Indian), who descended to the plains of India from the mountainous regions of the north-west, to have brought with them some knowledge of the ranges (*Altai*, *caucasus*) of northern and western Asia. (6) *Hiranyakavarsha* to the north of *Svetaparvata*, the white mountains, northwards of *Nilaparvata*. (7) *Kuruvarsha* to the north of the *Śringavān* range; this is the *Uttara-Kuru*, the most northern and the coldest land, but the land whence the Aryans appear originally to have come. According to the *Zendmyth*, it was in ancient times a fertile inhabitable land, and was changed into a cold wilderness by *Ahriman* (the evil spirit). In this may, perhaps, be recognized a trace of a remembrance of the changes which have taken place in the climates of our earth, such as that to which the fossil bones found in Siberia bear witness. (8) *Bhadravarsha*, to west of the *Mālyavān* (the flowery mountain), which itself lies to the east of the *Meru*. *Bhadravarsha* is thus by the side and to the eastward of the great chains of mountains. (9) *Ketumālā* dwells to the east of mount *Gandamādana* (delightful to the smell). This is the country lying to the west of the other *Varshas* (*Persia?*). We, therefore, have (1) India proper, as far as the *Himālayas*; (2) the region between the *Himālayas* and

Hemakûta (Tibet); (3) the region between *Hemakûta* and *Ilāvrita* (with *Meru*); in our enumeration this is No. 4 (Tartary, Mongolia?); (4) the region to the north of *Nilaparvata*, north-east of the *Meru* (Eastern Mongolia, Manchuria?); (5) the region to the north of *Śvetaparvata*, north of the previous country (Eastern Siberia?); (6) *Uttar-Kuru* (northern and western Siberia to the Arctic Ocean). These six form almost a continuous series from south to north, with the *Meru* as a centre. Then come to the east *Nilavarsha* (China?) and *Bhadravarsha*, and to the west *Ketumālavarsha* (Persia and the western regions). Concerning the rest of the *varshas* nothing further is mentioned; the narrative proceeds to enumerate the princes who ruled in India proper, descendants of *Nabi*, the eldest son of *Agnidhra*. *Nabi* is an Emperor, the universal ruler; he is also a *Kshatriya*. From *Nabi* and his wife *Manudevi* are descended successively (1) *Rishaba*, (2) *Bharata*, who dwells south of the *Himavān* in *Bharata-varsha*, (3) *Sumati*, (4) *Tejasa*, (5) *Indradyumna*, (6) *Parameshīhi*, (7) *Pratihara*, (8) *Pratihārsha*, (9) *Unnata*, (10) *Bhaba*, (11) *Mudgita*, (12) *Praśastavi*, (13) *Vibhu*, (14) *Prithu*, (15) *Nakta*, (16) *Gāja*, (17) *Jara*, (18) *Virāt*, (19) *Diman*, (20) *Mahan*, (21) *Bochara*, (22) *Toshṭa* (*Tushṭa*), (23) *Viraja*, (24) *Raja*, (25) *Tus* (1). These are the *Kshatriyas* (princes) in the second great period of the world's existence, *Tretāyuga*. Several of these names are those of the *Jaina* deities; the *Jainas* are disguised Buddhists, who still exist in India. These names give us a hint towards the comprehension of Buddhism in Java. Were the Buddhists of Java *Jainas*; and have we to attribute to that sect the union of the Buddhistic and Sivaitic religions and doctrines in Java and Bali? The *Jainas* at any rate worship the Brahmanical gods besides the *Jinas*, and have even retained the institution of the castes in order to protect themselves from the persecutions of the followers of *Brahma*.

Under *Svayambhuva* *Manu* there are further eleven *Rudras* (see the feast of *Ekadaśarudra*), twelve *Ādityas* (the twelve solar months), eight *Basus* (Sanskrit *Vasu* or *Vasudeva*), twelve *Sadhyas*, ten *Viśvadevas*, two *Sanggis* (?), twelve *Bārgawas*. And further there are the *Devas*, *Asuras*, *Gandharvas*, *Yakshas*, *Pisāchas*, *Rākshasas*; these are immortal, it is true, but yet are born again. Their lifetime and that of man varies accord-

ing to the different yugas (*Satya*, or *Kṛita*, *Tretā*, *Dvāpara*, *Kaliyuga*), and gradually decreases. In the *Tretāyuga* man attains the age of 188 years, at the close of the *Tretāyuga* 147, in the *Dvāparayuga* 126, at the close of the same 105, and in the *Kaliyuga* only 84. The lifetimes of the inferior gods differ in the same proportion. The *angulas* (inches) are given as the measure of time, but at present I am without any explanation of their astronomical meaning. Hereupon the work speaks of the *Manvantaras*, the periods of time in which a *Manu* governs; these are also called *kalpa*, and they contain seven *chaturyugas*; according to the work this appears to be the time of one *Manu*, but the latter is really but one *chaturyuga* (a combination of the four *Yugas*, a *Kalpa*); there are, however, seven *Manus*, and the seven *chaturyugas* are, in fact, the time of the duration of the world. After each *kalpa* or *chaturyuga* the world is destroyed and created again.

Here follows a description of Chaos. *Manu* alone was in existence. He (not *Brahma*) then creates a series of beings; *Deva*, *Rishi*, *Asura*, *Pitṛi*, *Manusha*, *Bhūta*, *Piśācha*, *Gandharva*, *Yaksha*, and *Rākshasa*. *Manu* is called here *Sumantia* (?) and *sang Sista* (the instructor). He instructs²⁵ the beings who through his penance have come into existence, in the *Sadāchāra* (the right conduct); this consists of *lobhādeya* (*lobha*, "greedy desire", sensuality, covetousness, and *ādeya*, probably from *āda*, sumere, tollere; thus "the putting away of greedy desire")*; *kshamā* (patience), *satya* (truth, truthfulness), *vidyā* (knowledge), *ijyā* (the making of offerings), *dāna* (alms-giving). The attributes of the *Sadāchāra* are seven in number (*Saptahāni charitrāni*).

The stages in the life of a Brahman are also given: (1) *Brahmachāri*, he who lives as a pupil with his *Guru*; (2) *Grihastha*, the head of a family, the married man, whose duty it is to exercise the *dharma* (right); this consists principally in rearing a son, who must make offerings for his forefathers (*Pitarah*), and in hospitality; (3) *Vaikhānasa*, the hermit in the forest-hermitages (*āśrama*); (4) *Yati*, an ascetic, who has brought into subjection all that is sensuous, and only occupies himself with *yoga* (meditation). They are also called in India *Sannyāsi*, and are saints. The *Yati* is further called

²⁵ He is here the *Guru*; the deity (*Śiva*) appears in Java and Bali chiefly in this character. * [?].

Sādhaka; this word, which is also used as a title of the *Padandas*, is not found in Wilson; but *Sādhana* means, among other things, *accomplishment*, and *good works*, or the moral doctrine and the ceremonies of the Hindu religion, as a means for attaining purity and release from the transmigration of the soul. *Sādhaka*, then, is "some one who performs these good works." In our work the name *Sādhaka* is explained as "he who exercises the *āśramadharmā* (the right or custom of the hermits)." We have, moreover, explanations of *Dharma* and *Adharma* (right and wrong). Further *Śruti* (revelation) and *Smṛiti* (tradition) are mentioned. The former is like *Dharmaśāstra* (the book of instruction in right), and is said to be *dhirāgnihoṭravijya* (*vijya*, derived, beginning from; *dhiṛa*, agni, *hoṭra*, the maintenance of a continual fire); it thus has reference also to the fire-worship. The *smṛiti* is the *varṇāśrama-dhara* (*varṇāśrama* is here perhaps an error for *van-āśrama*, forest-hermitage); thus "the mode of life, the example of the forest-hermitages." To these hermitages the ancient tradition was handed down. The seven *Rishis* shall teach the *Dharmadṛṣya* (the double right; *Dharma* and *Adharma* (?) or rather *Śruti* and *Smṛiti*) on the earth in the time of *Pūrva Manu* (= *Svayambhuva*?). The *Dharmadṛṣya* is the contents of the *Chaturveda* (the four Vedas), according to which the *Sādhu* (the good man) regulates his life. It contains also the *Daṇḍaniti* (the regulation of punishments), the *Trayi* (the three Vedas without the *Atharvaveda*; we had just now all four Vedas, but these inaccuracies often recur), and the *Varṇāśrama* (here also *varṇa* takes the place of *vana*). Does *varṇa* perchance convey the idea of a caste? and the *varṇāśrama* mean the regulation of the life (the four periods) of all castes? In general the passage before us speaks only of the Brahman.

The word *Śruti* is explained by: "ri denian kinataturan", *because she is learned, she is called Śruti*. *Smṛiti*, *makani-mitta ri kangên-angênira matangian Smṛiti angaranian*, *on account of her amiableness she is named Smṛiti*. The name *Smara* (love, the god of love) and a signification of the root *smṛi* "desiderare, to desire, to like", have obviously led to the latter explanation.

**[The duties concerning the castes and stages of life are meant.]

The characteristics of the *Satya-Brahmachâri* (of the true Brahman pupils) are: *Tapah* (penance), *Mona* (Sanskrit *mâna*, to be silent), *Yajna* (to make offerings), *Dâya* (the receiving of alms), *Kshamâ* (patience), *Alobha* (freedom from desire), *Dama* (subjugation, i.e., of sins), *Sama* repose of the soul), *Jitâtmâ* (victory over the *atma*, the passions), *Dana* (almsgiving), *Anamah* (not to greet; this is forbidden to the Brahmans, because they would lower themselves by bowing their heads &c.), *Advesha* (freedom from hate), *Arûga* (freedom from affections). He is *virakta* (freed from sensuousness), *tyâga* (relinquishes all earthly power and gives them away), *vijnâna* (knows the differences, has things to discriminate, or shrewdness). These characteristics are called *dharmapratyangalakshana*, the name (or signs) of the organs of the *Dharma*.

Iti-uktang tatvancha sarvang, dharmapratyangalakshanang.

So is the whole *Tatva* (dogma) related, which contains the names of the organs of the *Dharma*.

This is not the place to speak more fully of the contents of the *Brahmândapurana*; it is to be hoped that in a short time they may be fully worked out. We will conclude with a note on the contents of the Vedas.

The three *Vedas* (here also the fourth is not mentioned), *Rig*, *Yajuh*, and *Sâma*, contain four *Stotras* (*stotra* is praise), namely, (1) *Dravya*- (Wilson, "elementary substance;" there are nine kinds); (2) *Guṇa*- (the three qualities which penetrate all beings, viz., *Satva*, reality, truth; *Rajas*, passion; *Tamas*, darkness, ignorance, badness); (3) *Karma*- (the works, actions, the practical part, the offerings); (4) *Bijana-Stotra* (this must be *abhijana*, "family, race" (Wilson). It is thus the genealogical part).³⁷

RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES AND OFFERINGS

The five daily offerings which the head (*grihastha*) of every Indian family has to make, are not found in Bali. The *Panditas* read (or mumble) the Vedas once a day; the people make their offerings and say their prayers on certain days. The religious ceremony consists in bringing offerings, which are offered with a *sembah* and deposited in front of the small temple-houses; in the ordinary temples this is mostly done by

³⁷ [Probably meant for *vijnâna*, discernment, or the intellectual part.]

women, to whom is also entrusted the preparation of the various offerings. The act of offering is connected with *mantras* (forms of prayer), which however, are not said aloud. On great feasts the offerings are presented by "*landakking*" persons inspired by a deity, *wawalen* or *prakulil* (see *Us. Bali*, p. 335, *balian*=*wawalen*.) These offerings are coupled with "*landakking*"³⁵ with the creese, which indicates that the offerer is ready to offer up his life. The offerings are very numerous, and specially appointed for each feast and each deity; one usually sees various preparations of rice, cooked meats, fruits, sirih, knekwe, money (Chinese "cash"), clothes, and also drinks.

Bloody sacrifices are made to *Durgá* and the *Bûtas*; they are usually confined to hens, ducks, and young pigs, although in great sacrifices, buffaloes, goats, deer and dogs are slaughtered. The persons offering the sacrifice eat the flesh of the three first-mentioned animals, and only offer the skin and bones and portions of the flesh, boiled or roasted; they also dress the flesh of the dogs (*sasate*), but, according to their own statements, they do not eat any of this, the whole animal being intended for the *Bûtas*. On the feast of *Bayakala* every family kills a pig, and the skin and blood are deposited in the courtyards of the houses for *Kâla* and the *Bûtas*.³⁶ The flesh, however, is in this case also used as food by the persons making the offering. Besides these offerings the temple is sprinkled with holy water (*toya tirta*). This water is brought from the Panditas, who consecrate it by reading the Vedas. The persons offering also use this holy water to purify themselves, to rinse their mouths and to sprinkle their faces. We have in Bali, it is true the *toya Sindu* (water of the Indus), at the foot of the *Gunung agung* in Basuki, and also a *Ganggâ* in *Tabanan*, but the priests do not regard this water as holy. They know that these rivers are in *Kling* (India), and that they cannot obtain the water thence, but this wants supplied by mumbling the Vedas. Besides the *Ganggâ* and *Sindu*, all the great Indian rivers are known in Bali: the *Yamunâ*, *Narmandi* (*Nerbudda*), *Kâveri* (near *Seringapatam*), the *Sarayû*, the river of *Ayodyâ* (*Oude*), and others. The holy water produced by the Panditas is called *Mrita* or *Amrita*

³⁵ [I.e., dancing with gesticulation.]

³⁶ [Sanskrit *bhûtas*.]

(*Ambrosia*, immortal, life-giving food). This water has *Kuśa*-grass soaked in it. The Padanda also strews *Kuśa*-grass soaked in holy water over the persons who make the offerings. The *Kuśa*-(or *Darba*)-grass is also used to lay the offerings upon. *Ghṛita* (*Ghee*) is likewise known here, but, for want of milk, is made of gooseberries. The Panditas, however, also use sometimes the milk of cows to prepare this; it ought really to be made of the milk of a *lembu putih*, a white cow with a hump; these animals are sacred; the common Balinese cow is not sacred, although it may not be eaten by the faithful. In *Badong* the Balinese are forbidden to kill cows, although it is done secretly, but in other States they are slaughtered openly. In order to be able to use the milk of these Balinese cows for *Ghṛita*, the beast is tied up for a fortnight, and is given nothing but *Kuśa*-grass to eat; this food renders the milk sacred, and especially purifies it from the smell of musk which the Balinese cows have. *Tila*-grass is also used, but is not known to the ordinary Balinese (see a passage in the *Rāmāyaṇa*). *Madhu* (honey) also occurs in the offerings, and likewise perfumes, such as *m'nyân*, *maja gawu*, and *chandana* (see *Us. Bali*).

The bloody sacrifices, as we have said, are chiefly dedicated to *Kāla*, *Durgā* and the *Bûtas*, seldom to *Śiva*. In India *Śiva* demands blood almost entirely, but in Bali, as supreme deity, he has taken rather the mild form of *Vishṇu* (and *Buddha*). The offerings, which on great feasts are numerous and of some value, do not remain in the temples, nor are they all they all given to the priests. The Padandas who conduct the service receive part of the clothes and money, and the offerings of eatable things, after being presented, are taken back with prayers and eaten at home as *Amṛita*, life-giving food, by the persons presenting the offering.

The Panditas besides this receive considerable sums of money for cremations and for being present at the offerings made by the princes; this money is presented to them as an offering itself (this also characterizes the Panditas as a kind of god upon earth). Most of the Padandas return a large portion of the offering made to them. The Panditas do not take any active part in the offerings; they indicate from their books, before the ceremony takes place, all

the usages to be observed—the quantity and preparation of the offerings, and the way in which they are to be presented; but during the ceremony they sit motionless, as they do in the domestic worship, mumbling the Vedas. By mumbling the Vedas they draw the attention of the gods to the offerings made by man, and cause the gods to look graciously upon them. The place where the Pandita sits is a high framework of bamboo, under a roof, and he has all the utensils for the *Sūryasevana* by his side. To the form of worship belongs also the *Pradakshinā*, the marching round the temple towards the right hand, which is done three times; it is only performed by the Panditas in the spirit, while their bodies remain all the time motionless. I have not yet observed this custom at offerings either, and it seems not to have penetrated to the popular worship of Bali, the *Polynesian tandakking*⁴⁰ appearing to have taken its place, while the priests have retained a remembrance of the original form of worship with *Pradakshinā*.

DRESS OF THE PANDITAS

At the great festivals of the princes, at the cremation of persons of high rank, and at the domestic worship on full and new moon, the Pandita has a special dress, very much resembling the articles with which the Javanese idols are adorned. They are clothed in the ordinary Balinese manner, the upper part of the body being naked (see the idols of the *Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*); the garment which hangs from the hips is on these occasions *white*. On his head he wears a *red cap*, which, however, may also be *white*; this is called *Jatā* (see the *catalogue of Indian Antiquities*, p. xxv.); *Jatā* is otherwise the head-dress of Śivaïtes, but not a covering for the head. This *jata* has some resemblance to the head-dress of *Bagawan Trinawindu* (No. 145), and still more to the *Gtūng Kurung* of the Balinese representations of Śiva. It is wider at the top than at the bottom, and goes down lower at the back of the head than in front. I counted thirteen annular divisions, formed from the bottom upwards by narrow stripes of gold, which run round the flannel covering of the

⁴⁰ *Tandak*, however, appears to be an Indian word; *tandū* is one of Śiva's doorkeepers, the *master of dancing and mimicry*; *tandaka* is a juggler; *tāṇḍara* "dancing with violent gesticulation", as executed by Śiva and his followers.

top. Upon asking whether these divisions and the number of divisions had any meaning, I was answered in the negative; but nevertheless I am disposed to believe that they have some connection with those which I have observed in the *Merus* (see above) in the temples. In the *Merus* I have never as yet counted more than eleven roots; can it be that the Panditas assume still greater sanctity by having a greater number of storeys in their *Jatā*, which I venture to regard as a kind of *Meru*? This, added to their name (*Śiva*), does not seem altogether improbable, their own *Meru*, the *Meru* of the Brahmans as it were, would then be higher than that of the gods adored by the people.

Along the edge of the *Jatā*, across the forehead, runs a band, called in Bali *Keśābharaṇa*, ornament of the hair, and in India *Mukuṭa*; it is covered with gold, and ornamented at short distances with *Sūryakāntas*⁴¹ (according to Balinese ideas a sort of precious stone). In the centre of this *Keśābharaṇa*, over the forehead, there is a *Linga*, in the form usual in Bali, and of crystal (or glass). At the extremity of the *Jatā* there is a ball, supporting a *Linga* (ball and *Linga* being of the same material as above). The fact that we here find the ball ornamented with the *Linga* is perhaps again a sign of the intermixture of Buddhism and Śivaism, in which, however, the Śivaitic symbol has the upper place. The Pandita wears in his ears the *Kuṇḍala*; these are shaped like an egg, and are attached to the ear by a gold ring; it is sometimes of crystal.

For nearly all the remaining articles of his attire the name *ābharaṇa* is used, whereas in India each article has its particular name. We must not confound *Karṇābharaṇa* (ear-ornaments) with the earrings; they are fastened behind the ear. *Ātmābharaṇa* (ornaments of the *ātmā*, the soul or the breath), a short band, worn round the neck, and on the breast on each side, with gold claps of considerable size. *Vāyubharaṇa* (ornaments of the wind; *vāyu*, the wind, is the vital principle; the form *vāyubharaṇa* is incorrect, and should be *vāyuvābharaṇa*).

⁴¹ *Sūryakānta* (beloved by the sun), a precious stone, often meaning crystal, but really said to have proceeded from the rays of the sun. The Balinese *Sūryakānta* are of crystal or glass, and will be formed of *pusakas* of *Majapahit*. The fact that this precious stone is used for the *Sūrya-sevana*—i.e., the worship of the sun—is a further indication of the importance of this heavenly body. Another precious stone of fabulous origin is the *Chandrakānta*, proceeding from the condensed rays of the moon.

These are double; they are worn round the neck, and are longer and fall lower down on the breast than the *Atmābharāṇa*, *Hastābharāṇa*, as the name indicates, are worn round the wrists.

The *guduha*, (or *guduha genitri*) is a kind of *rosary*; we find it in several of the Javanese idols; it is called in India *akṣhamālā* (string of beads). The name *guduha* does not appear to be Indian. The Pandita has two or three of these, and uses them on great festivals while he mumbles the Vedas, telling them after the manner of the Roman Catholics. All these ornaments, including the Brahman-band, which is called *sampat*, *sawit*, *silimpit* are strings of the fruit of the plant (black balls about half an inch in diameter); their interstices are inlaid with gold, and at intervals they are set with *Sūryakāntas*.

The *Brahman-band* (not called here by an Indian name; perhaps it would be a profanation of this sacred ornament to make known to the people the Indian name *Upavīta* or *Yajñopavīta*?) is threefold, but is not formed of three cords interwoven, and not of *Munja*-grass, which name is unknown here. There are three strings, passing over the left shoulder and under the right arm, and fastened together on the shoulder. At the place where they are joined there are three *lingas* (again of crystal). The ends hang down, and are ornamented with large precious stones—one with a red stone, *Pualā* (doubtless *Upalā*, opal); the second with a large (white) *Sūryakānta*; and the third with a black transparent stone, found in the mountains of Bali, and called *manih girang-girangan*. These three colours have reference to the three gods of the *Trimūrti*, Brahṃā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva (or *Sadā-Śiva*, *Pramā-Śiva* and *Mahā-Śiva*). Red is the colour of Brahṃā, white of Śiva, black or dark blue of Viṣṇu (and also of Kāla). Besides this *Brahman-band*, the Pandita has also a band of white cloth, six yards long by three inches wide, which, like the other, is worn over the left shoulder and under the right arm. This band is also called *sampat*, *sawit*, or *silimpit*.

The Pandita, finally, wears on his hands several gold rings with costly rubies. The ruby is the favourite stone in Bali, almost more prized than the diamond; seven kinds are known in Bali, each possessing a special supernatural power. On the upper part of the arm and on the ankles the Pandita wears no

ornaments, but the gods do. The gods also have many of these ornaments in the form of serpents, which is not the case with the Panditas.

DRESS OF THE GODS

The head-dress is very complicated, especially that of Śiva. Śiva alone of all the gods has the *Glung kurung*, a nearly spherical cap, much resembling the *Jatā* of the *Panditas*, whose example Śiva is. This cap covers the back of the head. On the forehead is the *Glung chandi*, a round, lofty head-dress, nearly in the shape of the *chandis* in the temples. *Papudukan* are ornaments next to the *glung chandi*; *Gurūda mungkur* above the *papudukan*. *Palitis* (among the *Panditas* *Kesābharaṇa*) is the forehead-band, set with precious stones; in front is the *chūdāmaṇi*. *Mangle-wijaya* (perhaps *mangala vijaya*, happy victory), the plain stripe above the *Palitis*. *Kundala*, the earrings. *S'kar taji*, the pointed ornaments immediately behind the ear. *Ronron*, the ornaments behind the *s'kar taji*. *Apus kupak*, the ornaments on the shoulders. *Glanghana*, the bands on the upper part of the arm. *Glang*, the bands on the wrists. *Glang batis*, the bands on the ankles. *Bapang*, the small garment which hangs in two capes from the shoulders on to the upper part of the arms. *Kalung*, a short collar ornamented in silk with serpent-heads. *Sampat*, *Silimpat* or *Sawit*, also *Genitri* (after the name of the plant of the seeds of which it is made), the Brahman-band, worn, like that of the *Panditas*, over the left shoulder and under the right arm. *Babédatti*, the breast-band worn round the breast under both arms, and fastened in the middle with a jewel; this is also found on many Javannese idols. *Nāga wangsul* (the serpent of Bali), a large band hanging from the shoulders to the stomach, formed of a serpent, worn in this way as the Brahman-band. *Babadong* (*badong*, the name of a kingdom, means, like *bandhana*, the Sanskrit name of it, "connexion"), the upper band round the hips. *Tambedana*, two other bands worn round the body, below the *babadong*. *Kamben*, the cloth (not a *sarong*), unsewn, and fastened above the hips by the bands just mentioned. *Samir*, an end of the cloth, rolled up and sticking out above the *Tambedana*. *Jawat*, the end of the cloth which hangs down in front between the legs. *Linchér*, two ends of the same hanging at the side. *Chalér*, short breeches (these are

never worn by the Balinese, and are only seen in representations of mythological personages). Śiva and all the real gods sit or stand on a lotus-bed, *padmaśana* (see, above, the *Padmāśana* in the temples as a seat for Śiva). They have also a glory, surrounding the whole figure, called here simply *trang teja*, "the bright lustr." All these ornaments can only be clearly explained by means of drawings, and I therefore caused the principal Balinese gods to be drawn by a Brahman; the first of these drawings which I sent were lost on the journey; those which I sent on the second occasion at any rate reached Batavia.

The costume just described is that of nearly all the gods; Śiva wears only the *Glung kuring* in front. This monotony also indicates that all the gods are merged in the one Śiva. In the female images we find other ornaments for the ears, and the cloth hangs down lower, as it is worn by the Balinese women. *Umā*, Śiva's wife, has ornaments stuck through the lobe of the ear, named *Subong*; they are similar to those of most Balinese girls, which are made of lontar-leaves rolled together. She also has the *Glung chandi* of Śiva. *Srī*, Viṣṇu's wife, has the same ornaments, but a simple head-dress, called *Mengure glung*. Viṣṇu's earrings are called *rumbing*, and are round and without a cavity.

It is especially to be remarked here, that the names of the articles of the Panditas' dress are Sanskrit, while the names of those of the gods themselves are Balinese. The gods are thus less sacred than the priests! But the deity may not and cannot really be represented; drawings and images have no value but for the ignorant.

FEASTS

These are partly *feasts of the various gods and temples*, and partly *expiatory feasts*. Those of the first kind are dedicated to the more beneficent gods, the others to the *Bûtas* and *Râk-sasas*, with *Kâla* and *Durgâ* at their head. Especially grand feasts are celebrated in the *sadkahyangs*, the six most sacred temples in Bali. In the temples of *Bâsuki* (or *Besaki*) at the foot of the *Gunung Agung*, the feast-day is every lunar year on the full moon (*Pūrṇamâ*) of the month *Kapal* or *Kârttika*. This feast-day is really valid for all Balinese (*Us. Bali*, pp. 273 seq. and 346); but on account of the existing hostilities,

Badong and *Tabanan* have not for a long time performed their worship, because the temple is in *Karang Asem*. In *Basuki*, *Mahâdeva* or *sang Pârṇa Jaya* (Śiva), whose seat is the *Gunung Agung* (or *Meru*), is worshipped.

In *Badong* the feast-day in the great sanctuary of *Uluwatu* is on the 21st day of the new (Balinese) year, *anggara kaliwon*, in the week *Madang Siha*. On this day the princes of *Badong* worship there, and to do this have to travel over the mountains to that holy place by wild and rocky paths. The holiness of this temple is ascribed to the fact that the ship (the *prahu*) of *Dewi Danu*, *Mahâdeva's* sister when she came from India, stopped at that place and turned into stone. This temple, however, cannot be so old as that of *Basuki*; it is not named in the *Us. Bali*, p. 320; and it must further be taken into consideration that the feast day is fixed, not according to the Indian, but according to the Balinese year; while, on the contrary, in *Basuki* it is fixed according to the Indian calendar, and this seems to indicate that the temple *Badong* is of later date. The same thing applies also to the temple of *Sakennan* or *Serangan*, dedicated to *Indra*. Here the feast is on *Rediti Manis*, in the week *Langkir*, the twelfth day of the Balinese new year.

Each temple has likewise a feast on the date of its foundation. This is called *wedalan*, commonly pronounced *odalan*, or anniversary. General feasts of the gods and *Pitaras* are celebrated on *Galungan*, and in the five succeeding weeks (see *Us. Bali*). At this time the gods are supposed to dwell on the earth, and the *Pitaras* especially return to the bosoms of their families; hence the constant offerings and the incessant games and amusements which are regarded as necessary less for the living generation than for the *Pitaras* and gods sojourning among them; hence also the cessation from work and the disinclination to intercourse with foreigners during this period. Trade and foreigners are not agreeable to the *Pitaras*, who desire to see old institutions and usages faithfully preserved. The princes also have feasts on their birthdays, and on the anniversaries of their temples. The number and the preparation of the offerings is minutely prescribed for each deity and each temple.

The *expiatory feasts*, however, are those most worthy of

attention. They are, in great part celebrated, not in the temples, but in the inner portion of the houses (*natar*), or in places arranged for the purpose. We have already mentioned two feasts : *Bayakâla* (see *Us. Bali*, p. 323 sqq.) and *Panchâvalikrama*. This feast is not kept on fixed days in the year, but on great occasions. It occurs after the conquest of a State, for the sake of the conquered population, who are thereby delivered from the evil influence of the demons, who have power over conquered places ; it also takes place before the *abiseha* (anointing) of the Sovereigns, and it is celebrated by all the princes and the men who bear arms. It is further observed after a contagious disease—e.g., the smallpox. It is necessary that five *Padandas* should be present, four seated facing each of the cardinal points and one in the middle : one of the five must be a *Padanda Buddha* (a Buddhist priest), who sits facing the south. We have drawn attention above to this phenomenon, and may here observe that although Buddha is also represented at this feast, he plays but a subordinate part. To the north is Vishṇu, whose colour is black ; to the east *Maheśvara* (white), to the south Brahmâ (red), to the west *Mahâdeva* (yellow), and in the middle Śiva, with mixed colours. (The offerings are of corresponding colours.) In the middle is the *Padanda* of the supreme Śiva, and he naturally has the chief place. There are three other priests of Śiva besides, but only one Buddhist.

Another expiatory feast is called *Ehadaśa Rudra* (the eleven *Rudras* ; Rudra is a subordinate form of Śiva ; eleven *Rudras* are also mentioned in Wilson). The origin of this feast, however, seems to be known to but few Balinese. (See *Tijdschrift van N.I.*, VIII. vol. iii. p. 242, in which passage the name *yajna*, through a printer's error, is written *jadjoeja*.) The offerings enumerated there are the greatest known in India, but, according to the descriptions which I have obtained, they are not organized in Bali and Lombok precisely in the Indian manner. I was told that there were no bloody sacrifices in the feast in Lombok (September 1846) ; simply large sums of money were distributed among the priests and the people, and ordinary offerings were presented.⁴²

⁴² For the reader's convenience I will repeat the names : 1. *Aśca-medhayajna*, the horse-sacrifice ; 2. *Gomedhayajna*, the cow-sacrifice ;

It appears, therefore, that only the names of these feasts have survived in the memory of the Balinese, and that the latter, in a spirit of vain-glory, apply these sacred names to their curtailed feasts, which they have not the means to make very grand.

It is a surprising fact, however, that by indirect inquiries I have convinced myself that a few *human sacrifices* have actually taken place in Bali !. A former prince of *Karang Asem*, who was defeated in war, put one of his slaves to death in a forest, and then placed his body, concealed by clothes, among the other numerous offerings, as a means of imploring the gods to restore his power. The deed was discovered, for while the Pandita was mumbling the Vedas, a wind arose and uncovered the body. A cure fell upon the presumptuous prince, and he never regained his power. Another instance is known from *Gyanyar*, where the prince (probably the first *Deva Mangis*, said to have been changed into a serpent on account of his atrocious acts) had set aside a slave⁴³ to be sacrificed ; he intended to murder him in the darkness of the night, but killed by mistake his own son, and roasted and offered him as a sacrifice.

These two facts cannot well be gainsaid, for I have obtained the accounts of the former not only from *Badong*, but also from *Mengui*, which is allied with and has long been friendly to *Karang Asem*. The people of *Karang Asem* utterly deny it. Of *Gyanyar* it is a common saying. How far this barbarity has gone, and perhaps, still goes on in a thickly populated country where the common man is a slave and of no value, I will not venture to say. The burning of widows, and also the *amok* on the fall of a State, must be classed among the human sacrifices.

The general name for these expiatory feasts is *prāyaścitta*, commonly pronounced inaccurately *prayas-tista*. The word means, according to Wilson, expiation, penance ; and thus is very appropriate. The *Panchâvalikrama* is expressly included under this term. To these also belong the purification of a house in which a corpse has lain. The feast of the *Saraswatî*, 3. *Manushyayajna*, human sacrifice ; 4. *Râjasûyayajna*, the sacrifice of the universal prince (i.e. offered by him) ; 5. *Devayajna* ; 6. *Rishiyajna* ; 7. *Mutayajna* ; 8. *Kauryasayajna* ; 9. *Râjabusaṇayajna*.

⁴³ *Guling buntut* is the name for human sacrifices.

on *Saneschara*, in the week of *Watu gunung*, has something in common with this; on that day the collective books of the princes are carried into the temple and purified for the coming year, through the priest reading the *Vedas*. Another feast is for the weapons, the ceremony being the same as in the previous one, and at this a bloody sacrifice to the *Bûtas* is also necessary. Yet another feast is observed for the welfare of domestic animals, cows, horses, pigs, fowls, &c. Among the feasts belong also the cock-fights, not only as an amusement of the people, but also as a religious ceremony. At the feasts of the great temples—e.g., the temple of assembly of the *Gusti Pamchuttan*—every one belonging to the congregation must send at least one cock, and must make it fight, either himself or through a deputy. This custom is based on the supposed incarnation of Vishnu as a cock (*Silingsing*) in Bali but we can explain Vishnu's assumed incarnation more satisfactorily as an apotheosis, not derived from India, of the cock-fights which are so popular in all these islands.

FURTHER DETAILS OF THE RELIGIOUS WORSHIP

The *mangku* (see *Usana Bali*, p. 267 sqq.) is the guardian of the temple, who superintends the edifice, and partly performs, partly conducts the presentation of offerings; he must know certain *mantras*—e.g., *patikelaning genta sapta* and *sâstra sangha*, and must employ them when offerings are made. Both men and women can fill this post. (The Brahmanic women—those sprung from the Brahmanic caste, not the concubines from the lower castes—are likewise acquainted with the *Vedas*, and perform some religious functions instead of the men.) The *mangkus* can further be of various castes, and not *Sûdras* alone; I know several *Gustis* (*Veśyas*) in Badong, who fill the office of *mangku*; usually, however, these latter hold the post in the chief temples, such as, for instance, the domestic temples of the princes. I have not yet found a Brahman acting as a *mangku*; although perhaps there are some who do so. The Brahmins generally aspire to the dignity of a *Padanda*, and therefore look down upon the position of a *mangku*. In order to become a *mangku* it is necessary, or at any rate usual, that a deity should pass into, and thenceforward speak from the body of the person selected. Two cases have become

known to me in which young *Gustis* appeared for a time almost to have lost their reason, speaking an incomprehensible language, performing none of their actions in the ordinary manner, and sleeping in the temples. These *Gustis* were thereupon observed by the persons who had been longer inspired by a deity (*wawalen* or *prakulit*), and after due inquiry, acknowledged as also inspired. Such individuals are supposed to be either *wawalens* or actual madmen. When they are thoroughly penetrated by the deity, and have become calm again, they are true *wawalen*, and are able to state what deity it is that inspires them. They are then regarded as the most devoted servants (*mangku*) of the said deity. They become madmen if their minds do not become calm again—or rather if their deception is not properly carried out; for, of course, these *wawalen* must be regarded as idle impostors, who choose to lead an easy life, chiefly at the expense of the credulous populace. (Compare on this subject *Usana Bali*, pp. 268 and 335).

These temple-servants, however, detract nothing from the importance of the *Panditas*. The latter, by their life and the study of the Vedas, are identified both spiritually and materially with the supreme Śiva, whereas the *wawalen* have merely, as it were, given their bodies to be dwelling-places of the deity. In the *wawalen* an unconscious, in the *Padandas* a conscious, unity with the deity has commenced. In the great temples, therefore, the *mangku* and *wawalen* are of little consideration; all ceremonies at the feasts are regulated by the directions given from the books by the *Padandas*, and the latter mostly use for this purpose *mantras* which are unknown to the *mangku*. Moreover, the *Pandita* alone (and not the *wawalen*) is able to call down the gods by mumbling the Vedas. The sayings of the *wawalens*, when, at the offerings in the temples, they give utterance to the voice of the god which dwells in them, are compared with the statements of the sacred writings of the *Padandas*, after which a decision is arrived at as to what must be done in important cases (sickness, wars, &c.). Thus, in these cases also, the *Padandas* have an opportunity of exercising their power; in the first place, they can counteract, by quotations from their sacred works, the utterances of the *wawalens*, if they do not meet their views;

in the second place, they can easily make known to the *wawalens*, whom we are disposed to regard as deliberate imposters, what they must say, and, by their approval, elevate these utterance into laws for the guidance of the people.

Archâ (Sanskrit *archâ*, an image) is an idol, usually of stone, in Bali always of rude workmanship. Sometimes it is supposed that the deity passes into such an image, and this fact then induces the faithful to bring their offerings. (See *Us. Bali*, p. 274.) This belief, however, is for the most part held only by the common people. The priests, and also a large portion of the people, attach little value to the images. "Does not the deity dwell in heaven?" was an idea expressed by a common man in *Boleling*. The idols, as we have already said, are called *togog* or *tongkok*, which means neither more nor less than "doll." We find them principally as watchers in the form of *Rākṣasas* and *Būtas*; for the same purpose there are also small watch-houses, called *Tugu*, before the temples, in order to prevent the evil spirits from entering. We also find images, such as those of *Ganeśa* and *Vāsuki*, and also of *Hanumān* and *Garuḍa*, in some of the small temple-houses, representing as it were the retinue of *Śiva*. *Garuḍa* is always monstrous, with *Rākṣasa* tusks. The *Nandi* is very well known to the Balinese, but I do not remember to have seen representations of it. The worship of images therefore has, upon the whole, penetrated but little into the belief of the Balinese, and we have here an obvious contrast to the creed now existing in India, where the highest value is attached to idols. I have not yet seen any representations in stone of *Śiva*, although I have met with some rude images of *Vishṇu* (the subordinate incarnate deity). In pictures we also see *Śiva* as *Īśvara* and *Mahādeva* (when he appears as a youth), as a *Arjuna*, but these pictures are not worshipped, and, like those of *Vishṇu*, as *Rāma*, &c., have reference rather to the myths in the Kavi works, than to religion.

The offerings are called *banten*, *charu*, or *aturan*. Religious fasting, which the priests and those who desire to become *Rishi* practise daily, is called *mavinten*. The cap of the *Panditā*, *jata*, is also called *bawa*. The flowers which he uses in his domestic worship are *chempaka putih*, *chempaka kuning* (Sanskrit *champakā*; the *a* is here also altered by the nasal

pronunciation into a short *e*), *Jepon*, *Kenyeri*, *Ergani Jenpiring*, &c.

The *vilva* fruit and the *śalagrāma* stone, which play so important a part in the Indian worship, I have not yet met with in Bali.

The lotus has really no worship, but it is found planted in pots in the *Padandas'* houses, and also in the ponds which the princes are accustomed to have in their palaces.

The *Brahman-band* (*upavīta*) belongs in India to the three upper castes, which are called on this account *dvija*, "born twice" (the second time through adopting this band). In that country it is of different kinds, according to three different castes. In Bali it is found only among the *Padandas*, and then only if they are in full dress. But the *Kshatriyas* and *Ves̥yas*, and even *Śūdras*, who have obtained permission from the *Padandas*, also wear a protective band, a sort of amulet, in war, called by the same name (*Sampat*); they only wear it, however, in time of war. In *Badong* I have met with it. *Chandra* or *wulan tumanggal* (the waxing moon) is in the head-dress of *Ganeśa*, as in the Javanese images of that god. The skull (*munda*) above the *chandra* is not known to Balinese! They have a milder form a religion, with which skulls and chains of skulls (found with the Indian *Śiva* and *Ganeśa*, and also in Java) are incompatible. *Śiva's* name, *Kapālabhṛt*, "he who wears a skull," seems to be no longer clearly understood in Bali. The mark on the forehead found in some gods (e.g. *Ganeśa*)—not to be confounded with the third eye of *Śiva* and *Indra*—is called *chuundung*; it is also marked on the foreheads of the princes when they adorn themselves for a religious service; its meaning is unknown.

The King *Śiva-Buddha* is named in the *Rangga Lawe* as ruler of *Tumapel*. His Kingdom was overthrown by the people of *Daha* (*Kediri*). This King's name cannot well be anything else but an indication of the state of the religion. At that time *Buddhism* and *Sivaism* must have been completely blended together. The fall of the kingdom, then, appears to represent a reaction, brought about by the *Sivaïtes*; and it is the more remarkable that this kingdom, with a mixed religion, was conquered by that of *Kediri*, where the flower of the *Sivaïtic* priests and learned men were to be found under *Ayer*

Langgia and *Jayabaya*, although the (*Jayabaya*) especially also tolerated the Buddhists (see under the article *Literature*). From Kediri also the orthodox Sivatic Brahmans in Bali trace their descent. We have already drawn attention in various places to the intermixture of Sivaism and Buddhism. We will give here a few facts bearing on this point. We found an image of Buddha in a temple of Siva in *Boleleng*; on the *jalâ* of the *Padandas* there is a ball under the *linga*; and, further, inverted pots or glasses are found on the small temple-houses; in the "*Usana Bali*" we have among the gods, and also in *Jayabaya's* retinue (in the *Bârata-Yudda*), the *Risi Seva Sogata* (Śaiva belonging to Siva, and *Saugata* to *Sugata* or Buddha), *Risis* (holy beings partly in heaven, partly on earth) of the worship of Siva and of Buddha; in the "*Usana Java*" we have Siva, Buddha, and *Bujangga* as sons of *sang Haji* (the original one).

The Buddhists, the Balinese assert, came later than the Sivaites, and if this refers to their arrival in Java, it agrees with the accounts given in Java, where the Buddhists are also said to have come later than the Brahmans. What has happened in Java is very often confounded, even by the priests, with occurrences in Bali. These nations are particularly weak in chronology and geography. In Raffles, Appendix K, p. ccxxxix, there is account of Bali by a Muhammedan: it states: "The religion of Buddha (under which he evidently includes the entire Hindu religion) is divided into *Sakâlan* and *Niskâlan*. The first division will include all earthly things, and the second the religion." This division exists in the writings (*tutur*) of the Balinese, but it has no reference to religion; *sakâla* is that which belongs to time, and *niskâla* that which belongs, not to time, but to eternity, to the period after death.⁴⁴ The former, therefore, is correctly interpreted by the narrator, but the latter has a wider meaning.

The following are names of the ornaments of the gods:

Anting-anting, like *kundala*, earrings.

Glang Kupak, instead of *alang*, bracelets.

Guduha pawilangan the rosary (*wilang*, to count).

Parmata, a golden girdle (Ind. *mekhald*).

⁴⁴ [R. van Eck in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indie*, 1879, i. p. 57.]

Kilat bahu, the necklace (with the *Padanda dīmābharāṇa*).
Babandong, the longest band round the neck
(*vāyubharāṇa*).

Chechandian, *Chandi* repeated (the *glung chandi*).

The *chakra* is also to be found in the place of the *genitri* (*guduha genitri*), a substitution which in some cases can easily occur with the Javanese images as well.

The temples in Bali are of the same class as those of *Majapahit*, or of the third period: in Crawford, *Ind. Arch.*, vol. ii. p. 205, "temples constructed of brick mortar." The bricks of which they are built are not of first-rate manufacture, and consequently not very durable. Stone carvings, which are plentiful in the ruins of *Majapahit*, are only to be found rarely in a few ancient temples and palaces (the best in *Mengui*; and in *Klongkong* and *Gyanyar*). This art has evidently not advanced in Bali, and there are now very few men who can work in stone, and even these no longer produce anything of beauty. The art of carving wood, ivory, and whalebone has been tolerably well preserved; neat images of gods and *Rākṣasas* are carved out of the last material.

Crawford and Raffles maintain that the religion of the people in Bali cannot be called Hindu; but, from all my inquiries into the worship of the common people, which at first I was inclined to regard as a remnant of the purely Polynesian age, I have convinced myself that this also is Hindu, and that the low estimation in which the temples of the *Śūdras* are held by the priests has merely obscured the objects and corrupted the mode of this worship. These small temples are regarded as *punggawas* (substitutes) for the large and principal ones, just as the *Śūdras* who pray in them are vassals of the men of rank who pray in the great temples.

Another difference finds expression in the saying, that not only in such temples, but also in the small *sanggars* of the upper classes, "*Śiva's children*" are worshipped. Who these children are, however, is not clear; some Balinese names—e.g., *sang Kasuhun Kidul* (meaning he who is "worshipped in the south"), *Brahmā* or *Mahādeva*—do not afford us any explanation. It would appear that here also we must have recourse to the difference of the castes; as the insignificant temples alone belong to the *Śūdras*, so they have no claim

to the worship of the Supreme Siva. Only the subordinate manifestations of Siva, called for want of a better word, "Siva's children," are intended for them.

Besides these children of Siva, the *Pitaras*, the shades of the dead, are also worshipped in the small temples, and we shall show that these may be regarded as identical, as it were, with "Siva's children." We have already seen in connexion with *Indra*, that it is not easy to reconcile the decrees as to becoming a *Pitara* with the punishments to be imposed by *Yama*. According to some, all the persons who have undergone cremation dwell as *pitaras* in *Svarga* or *Indraloka*, and there enjoy eternal happiness; according to others, they wander about for a long time before reaching that place, and assume various forms upon earth; and finally it is also said that, although they enter *Indraloka*, they are obliged to descend again to the earth as human beings; it is not said when this obligation ceases, and their state in heaven is called indiscriminately *deva*, *hyang* (god), or *pitara*. According to the popular belief, *Brahmaloka* or *Vishnuloka* (which are identical and higher than *Indraloka*), and *Sivaloka*, the highest of all, are not attainable. The Brahmins, however, appear not to share this belief, and lay claim also to these supreme worlds and the *moksha* (deliverance from the transmigration of the soul). Among the "children of Siva" we have also to include such ascended souls, dwelling *Sivaloka*, although it is surprising that they have not become identical and one with Siva (who here is the same as the Indian *Parabrahma*), as the word *moksha* indicates.

According to the accounts of men of the lower castes, it is supposed that, in the worship of the Panditas, not Siva himself, but *Bagawân Byâsa*, enters into the *Padanda*; the latter then becomes like *Byâsa*, and possesses the divine power of the *Devarshi*. Under the whole, this statement is almost identical with the opinion which we have already expressed. *Byâsa* is, as it were, the same as the deity (Siva), and, as we have already seen (under *Literature*), is called *Yogîsvara*, a name for Siva himself.

Into the *wawalen*, to whom we have before alluded, there passes, according to the same accounts, a *Bûta kaparagan* (an embodied *Bûta*), who is said to be the confidant of the god

and to know his secrets. This spirit, therefore, and not the deity itself, speaks from out of the *wawalen*. We may be surprised that a *Bûta* should be called here the confidant of the deity, yet the conceptions of a *Bûta*, a *Râksasa*, and a *Deva* are so mixed up in the minds of the lower orders, that we cannot attach much importance to this fact, and, besides this, the *Bûtas* and *Devas* were originally as closely related to each other as *Kâla* to *Śiva*, and the *Elves* to the *Fays*.

The *wawalens* are also the physicians (*balian*=*dukun*);⁴⁵ when they act in this capacity, they recite *Mantras* (*mayoga*), moving their bodies as the *Panditas* do when they mumble the *Vedas*. In addition to the *mantras*, the *bâyû* (the wind) is the remedy employed by the *balian*; he causes his breath to pass into the bodies of the sick.⁴⁶

He who performs *tapa* lives only on the *vâyû*, without any other food. In the "Usana Bali," however, we have seen that *tapa* (penance) is now no longer performed in Bali.

RISHIS

Religious rites analogous to the domestic worship of the *Padandas* are performed also by certain princes and other *Devas* and *Gustis*, in order to attain the dignity of a *Risi*. These persons also perform a service every morning on a fasting stomach, using, however, not the *Vedas*, but the *Mantras*, namely the *Mantra pasuchian* (the purifying *Mantra*). They perform ablutions with holy water, wash out their mouths, purify their teeth, and wash their hair; not until they have done this do they dress and appear in public. When, by means of this daily service, which must be coupled with a very regular mode of life (they may not lie, nor say or do anything degrading, &c.), they have attained a certain holiness, they become *Risis*. This state of *Risi* has much in accordance with the third period of the lifetime of the Indians according to *Manu*, where they live for meditation alone, and, withdrawn from all earthly affairs, pass a peaceful life, pleasing to God, in the forest hermitages. In Bali, also, a prince who has become a *Risi* must relinquish his kingdom to his children, and, intent alone

⁴⁵ [The Javanese *dukun* applies to both sexes, the Dayak *balian* to females only. See Hardeland's *Grammatik*, p. 209.]

⁴⁶ In the body are *bâyû*, wind; *śabda*, sound; and *jâñp*, understanding, the faculty of learning, the three properties which the *trisakti* (or *trimurti*) form out of it.

upon his heavenly state, separate himself from all human companionship. It seems, however, that at present love for earthly things is of more weight than care about heaven. The last prince but one of *Pam'chuttan* in *Badong*, *Ngurah G'de Pam'chuttan* had become a *Risi*, yet he retained his kingdom until his death. The old *Râjâ Kassiman* has performed the said service (which is incorrectly called also *maveda* or *masuryasevana*) for a series of years, and yet he has not become a *Risi*, and seems to keep that dignity in reserve, in case the princes of *Pam'chuttan* and *Den Passar* will no longer acknowledge him as their guardian. The wife of a *Risi* can alone follow him into the state of separation, provided, that she, too, has performed the daily service, and, like him, has remained free from all misdeeds and sins.

This service makes the Brahman (*Ida*) a *Padanda* (where, however, other regulations also come in), and the *kshatriya* and *Wesya* a *Risi* (*Râjarshi*, royal *Risi*, to be distinguished from the *Devarshis*, divine *Risis*, and the *Brahmarshis*, the Brahmanical *Risis*). A *Sûdra*, finally, becomes through this service a *Dukuh*.

TRIMÛRTI

The *Trimûrti* or *Trisakti* (trinity) is contained in the word *ong* (really Indian *om*), which is formed of three letters, *a*, *û*, *m*, or, as the Balinese say, of *ang*, *ûng*, *mang*, meaning *Saddâ-Sîva*, *Parama-Sîva*, and *Mahâsîva*; or *Brahmâ*, *Vishnu* and *Sîva*, also represented as *agni* (fire), *toya* (water), and *angin* (air). In this combination *Sîva* is co-ordinated with *Brahmâ* and *Vishnu*, but he is called *Mahâsîva*, the great *Sîva*, and the other two gods bear his name, and must be regarded, as it were, as expressions of himself. *Sîva*, also, is represented hereby as being in the centre, with *Brahmâ* on his right hand and *Vishnu* on his left.

This trinity (also called *trisakti*) repeats itself throughout Nature. We have the *tribhuvana* (the three worlds), consisting of *bhûr*, *bhuvah*, and *svah* (earth, air, and space). And further, *langit*, *prithivi*, and *naraka* (heaven, earth, and hell). Three kinds of human beings: *parampuwan*, *laki*, and *banji* (woman, man, and hermaphrodite). The last kind also appears in *Sîva* as *Arddhanareśvârî* (*Sîva* with his wife in one body).

In the month of *Kasanga*, in which the lunar year of months begins, all the Balinese keep the feast of *Matawir* or *Labuguntu*; *Kasanga* is also called by its Indian name, *Chetra*, and, as in India, begins the year.

CREMATIONS

One of the most important religious ceremonies is the cremation of the dead. Only through the burning of the body is it possible for the soul to enter the heaven of Indra (*Svarga*), and, thence, that of Vishnu and the supreme heaven of Śiva (*Vishnuloka* and *Sivaloka*). The doctrine of the transmigration of the soul exists in Bali, although the Balinese do not speak of its details; the *Atmaprasaṅsa* is a work on this subject (explained as *kumpulan badan*, the assumption of various bodies; according to the Indian words it seems to be "glorification of the soul," a point which its contents leave in uncertainty). This work, however, is a popular one, written in *Kidung*, but it does not appear to contain the whole of the purely Indian doctrine of the transmigration of souls. Other writings of the Brahmans exist on this subject, but they are secret; it is according to these that the ceremonial at cremations is regulated.

It is believed that cremation, and the offerings which precede and follow it, exempt a man from any further change of shape—at least he remains for a certain time as a *pitā* in the heaven of the *Devas*, and as such demands the worship and offerings of his surviving relations. Cremation requires a considerable outlay,⁴⁷ and therefore every family is not in a position to show this honour to its dead. Instead of being burned, they are in that case buried, the body being inclosed in a case of bamboo, which completely conceals it, and covered with a number of clothes, it is carried out upon a bier and the singing of *naenia*, which, among the common people, are trivial compositions. Arrived at the grave, the body is stripped of its clothes, and let down with the bamboo covering; a few small coins are then thrown into the grave (in order that the dead may provide himself with food), and it is closed. By the side of the grave a bamboo is fixed in the ground, on the

⁴⁷ [According to Jacobs, I. I. p. 49, from 800 to 1,500 florins, in the case of princes 10,000 florins.]

top of which there is a sort of three-cornered hut of lattice-work, in which offerings of small value, chiefly rice and flowers and fruit, are deposited immediately after the funeral, and subsequently at certain intervals. These offerings are for the purpose of propitiating the *Bûtas* (the demoniacal beings who infest places of burial especially), lest they should attack the soul of the deceased. The grave is then surrounded with a fence or hedge.

Those who are buried in this way cannot enter heaven; they then assume all sorts of shapes, and it seems that the Balinese especially believe that the numerous dogs which wander about half wild are metamorphoses of *Sûdras* (the lowest caste); for this reason they hardly ever kill a dog, and these ugly animals increase and multiply enormously, and are a pest to the European. It is now the duty of a member of the family (son, grandson &c., sometimes even the third generation, if he has become rich enough to afford a cremation) to cause the bones of all his relations who have been buried to be exhumed and to burn them together. At most cremations, therefore, one sees a number of bodies at once, each in a special coffin, many of which have usually been buried for years. In times of general calamity, contagious diseases, &c., all bodies, even those of princes, are buried and not burned; it is not permitted then to keep any corpse above ground, for in such times no work pleasing to the gods can be undertaken, and the influence of the demons is in the ascendant. At these times, also, the *Galungan* is not celebrated.

The long periods that corpses are kept is also noteworthy, although I have discovered that Crawford's statements (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xiii, p. 136; *Ind. Arch.*, vol. ii, p. 253) as to the length of time are inaccurate. The duration of the impurity of a house in which a dead body has lain is more precisely fixed, being more than a month for a *Sûdra*, only eight days for a Brahman, and an intermediate time for the second and third castes. The time during which corpses are kept varies very much, and the day of the cremation does not at all depend upon the date of the death.

There are bodies in *Badong* which have been kept twenty years; on the other hand, the body of the prince of *Gyanyar* was burned about forty days after his death. But

the statement (Crawfurd, *Hist. Ind. Arch.*, p. 244) that a month and a week is the time that bodies must be kept for cremation is also inaccurate, for this reason, that it is not every day that is suited for a cremation; it must be a lucky day, and in order to obtain such a day all good omens must concur; it must also be in the first half of the lunar month (with a waxing moon), and thus can hardly ever happen at one and the same interval of time after the date of the death.

A series of ceremonies belong to cremation. Immediately after death the body is embalmed by the relatives, and in the case of a prince, also by the junior *râjas* of the friendly States; for this purpose spices are used, with which the body is entirely covered, and these again are covered on the principal parts of the body with small coins—over these come clothes, mats, and a covering of split bamboo. This sort of embalming⁴⁸ does not protect the body from partial decomposition; the emanations⁴⁹ from it are collected in a vessel underneath and *Bale*⁵⁰ on which the body lies, and are poured away every day. If the body remains so long unburnt, it becomes dried up in about six months. It is watched the whole time, and if emanations still run from it, they are caught in the vessel referred to; offerings and holy water are also presented. In its mouth the corpse has a gold ring, set with a ruby; this protects it from the power of the demons, and it is the most heinous sin to steal such a ring (a thing, however, which happened not long since). Three days before the cremation the corpse is stripped of its coverings, and the relatives look upon the dead for the last time. Meanwhile, the spices have penetrated into the body; the latter is then washed and again enveloped in split bamboo, mats, and clothes. Instead of a ruby, five small metal plates inscribed with the word *ong*, and with mystic formulas, are put into the mouth; the five plates signify the five principal gods (Siva, Brahmâ, Vishnu, Indra, and Yama?), comprised in the words *Sa, ba, ta, ha, i* (*Sa*=Siva, *Ba*=Brahmâ, *I*=Indra; *ta* and *ha*

⁴⁸ [Called *nglelet* in the high dialect, corresponding to the Javanese *Ngoko*, and *nggulung* in the low or Krama form.]

⁴⁹ [Called *banyeh*, and in the case of a Brahman corpse, *pringet*.]

⁵⁰ [The *Bale*, or more correctly *bale pandung*, is a bier or kind of tent, often of considerable dimensions, for the reception of the body until its cremation.]

are not clear to me, but *ha* seems to indicate *Hari*, one of the principal names of Vishnu);⁵¹ the plates are of *gold, silver, copper, iron, and lead*. These plates, which keep the body, as it were, under the protection of those five gods, are taken away immediately before cremation, when this protection appears to be rendered unnecessary by the reading of the Vedas and the pouring out of holy water. Houses in which dead bodies are kept are unclean, and, in the case of princes, the palace is not occupied by the successor until after the cremation, and is merely guarded by the people belonging to the deceased. This is occurring, at the present moment, in *Den Passar* (one of the three residences of princes in *Badong*), where the bodies of five illustrious princes are kept in the great palace, and the reigning prince lives for the present in a small house of little pretension. The first ceremony mentioned above, that of washing before cremation, is called *pangāskaran* or *pabrissian* (purification); *āskara* seems to be Sanskrit, but it is not found in Wilson (first edition).⁵²

The preparations for cremation take much time and much money. A bridge is built on each side of the wall of the palace for the conveyance of the body to the *Bade*.⁵³ The *Bade*, or funeral pyre, is, in the case of princes, very gorgeous. It rests on a basis of bamboo, concealed by handsome hangings, under which the bearers place themselves, to move the structure along. On this foundation there is a pyramid of woodwork or bamboo, in from three to eleven storeys. I have only seen the latter number at the cremation of *Dewa Mangis* is *Gyanyar*, and this agrees with the number of storeys in the *Merus* of the temples; it certainly has a religious meaning, reminding us of the Buddhist pyramidal buildings and of the philosophical ideas connected therewith. This pyramid is ornamented with more or less splendour, according to the means of the relations of the deceased; the covering is made of little balls of cotton,

⁵¹ According to Wilson, *Tha* is *Siva*; *F*, *Kāma*; *Ha*, *Siva* and *Vishnu*. See also *Usana Bali*, p. 328. These letters are called *Panchākshara*, the five (sacred) letters.

⁵² [*Askara* is a mutilated form of the Sanskrit *sanskāra*—i.e., the ceremony *kar' ēṣṭṛṇ'v*. See v. d. Tunk in "Bijdragen", III. vol. v. p. 212. *Pambresihan*, from *bresih*, "pure" = *bersih* in Malay and Javanese.

⁵³ [More correctly *wadah*. In Javanese and Sundanese the word means any receptacle. Jacobs, I. l. p. 227 ff., gives a full account of two of those gorgeous structures he saw at Tabanan.]

fastened on to the wooden framework in fringes, and forming heads of elephants and *Bûtas* round the bottom and at the corners of the different storeys. These balls are of all the colours mentioned in the "*Usana Bali*": *white, red, dark blue, and yellow*. The whole of the lower portion, as well as the corner of the pyramid, is covered in this way. The outer sides of the different storeys are ornamented with tinsel and red, and inside they are fitted up as rooms with mirrors and furniture. Persons are stationed on each storey to attend to the regular progress of the machine and to keep the little rooms clean. The corpse is laid in the highest storey, and covered with a great number of white cloths, which hang down the sides of the pyramid.

Special places are made ready for the cremation of distinguished persons. In *Gyanyar* a square of about 400 paces in length and breadth, surrounded by a wall of pillars of masonry with trelliswork between them, was prepared above the palace, on the summit of the hill up which the *dessa* extends. In the centre there was a *Bale* of masonry inlaid with a sort of mosaic of glasswork and boards, after the manner of the *Bales* used for offerings in the temples. The *Bale* consisted of two storeys, and was surrounded with trellis-work. Above it rose, on four pillars, another chamber and a roof, the chamber ornamented with mirrors, and the whole covered with tinsel. The pillars were covered in red. This place was intended for the cremation, and upon it stood a figure of a lion (*singha*). This figure is only used at the cremation of reigning princes (*chokorda*)⁴⁴ other distinguished persons are burnt in the figure of a cow—men in that of a black, and women in that of a white *lembu*. The common man, generally, has only a simple square wooden coffin to be burnt in, but figures are sometimes used also by the lower orders—e.g., *Gafamina*, a monster, half elephant, half fish. These figures of beasts are ornamented to a certain extent (in *Gyanyar* very splendidly); the erect tail and the back are taken off, like a lid, when the body is let down into the figure, and are replaced after the ceremony of letting down the body. In *Gyanyar*, outside the square, in the centre and at the sides, there were several large

⁴⁴ It has been said, however, that this custom did not come from India. [*Chokorda* in Balinese = *pâduka*.]

and ornamental Bales for the distinguished spectators, and especially for the very numerous women. In addition to these, there were the places for the cremation of the three *Belas*, on the left. For several days before the cremation of people of rank, one or more Panditas reside with the relatives; they manage all that has to be done, indicate the mode of making the offerings, prepare the metal plates, and invoke, by means of the Vedas, the success of the important ceremony about to be undertaken. It is they also who conduct the *Bade* to the place of cremation. If the deceased belongs to the second caste, the Kshatriyas, the *Bade* is fastened to a serpent (*nāga* or *nāga-bandha*, serpent-band); this serpent is ornamented in the same manner as the foot-piece of the *Bade*, and has wings; the body is quite thirty fathoms long, and is carried by men. Before the procession starts, the *Padanda* descends from his palanquin and shoots from the four cardinal points at the head of the serpent, whose evil influence is thereby destroyed. He uses for this purpose wooden arrows with white flowers attached to their ends, the flowers alone being discharged at the serpent.⁵⁵ This peculiar custom of fastening a serpent in front of the *Bade*, and of the killing of this reptile by a Pandita, point to a fable of former quarrels between the earthly gods (the Brahmans) and the princes. A *Deva agung* was in the habit of ridiculing the Brahmans; he especially threw doubts upon their supernatural power. Once upon a time, when a powerful Pandita was at his palace, he caused a goose to be put into a well or pit, and the latter to be closed. He then asked the Pandita what animal was in the well, and the Pandita replied, a *nāga*. Thereupon the prince wished to ridicule him, but when he opened the well, a terrible serpent came indeed forth. The king then, astounded and terrified, was rescued in his need by the good Pandita, who slew the serpent, and ever since that time, at the cremation of all Kshatriyas, a serpent has been fastened to the *Bade*, killed by the Pandita, and burnt with the corpse. When this serpent has been figuratively slain, it is wound round the *Padanda's* seat, the tail remaining fastened to the *Bade*; in this manner the *Padanda* conducts the

⁵⁵ This is almost the only case in which a bow and arrow are used in Bali; with this exception, we only meet with their use in some dramatic representations, where they appear in accordance with the Indian myths.

corpse (or, in reality, according to their notions, the soul) to the place of cremation, and so to heaven (*svarga*), when it (the soul) is admitted among the *pitaras*.

The procession at cremations is very long, even with the lower orders. In *Gyanyar*, where the princes and many armed men, besides the bands of musicians and actors from all States of Bali (excepting *Bangli*), were present at the celebration of the feast, the procession extended for upwards of a "paal." First came always the coolies bearing the wood for the cremation. In *Gyanyar* they carried pieces of wood of uniform shape, coloured black and gold. It is said to be customary to use sandal-wood for princes; but this did not appear to me to be the case, for the pieces were too large, and would have been too costly for the means of a small Balinese prince. Then came the music and the men armed with muskets, then all the articles of personal use belonging to the deceased, and then holy water and offerings for the *Bûtas*, carried by women on their heads. The order of march is: twenty or thirty men armed with lances, and then the bearers of the *Upachâra*, walking two and two (*upachâra* means in Sanskrit service and also *present*; to be understood here as *the articles belonging to the service of the deceased*).⁵⁶ These include everything of domestic use in Bali: clothes, rings, and other jewellery, mirrors, and articles of the toilet, the sirih-box (in the case of princes, of gold), the water-bottle (also of a precious metal), the umbrella (*payung*; umbrellas are also held over the jewellery by those walking nearest); and, finally, the horse of the deceased, richly caparisoned, led in the procession by men, and sometimes ridden by a young son or grandson of the deceased. All these are again followed by armed men and musicians; the bands of music separate the divisions of the procession. The second part is devoted entirely to holy water (*toya tirta*);⁵⁷ more than a hundred women carry small vessels of water on their heads; this water comes from the most sacred places in Bali, and is solicited and bought from the *Padandas* who stand in especially high esteem. Here, again, the intermixture of

⁵⁶ According to Gericke's Javanese Dictionary, which has reached me too late, *hupachara* means tokens of distinction and of honour, state-decorations, insignia, ceremony, pomp, splendour. This agrees with our explanation.

⁵⁷ This water is as holy as that of the Ganges.

Buddhism is noteworthy; we have here not only *holy water* from the *Padanda of Śiva*, but also from the *Buddhist Padanda*, and these waters are mixed together.⁵⁵ It appears, therefore, that the Śivaites also require the help of Buddha, and that Buddhism is still, as it were, an integral part of the religion of all Balinese. This water is called *toya* or *toya tirta*, "water of a holy place;" *tirtha* is Ind. "a holy bathing-place," and also "a chapel;" our holy water comes from both such places, from the sacred waters (see *toya Sindu* in *Us. Bali*, p 337), from the temples, and from the houses of the *Padandas*, who have consecrated it mumbling the *Vedas*.

The offerings for the *Bûtas*, *banten dagan*, form the third division of the procession. *Dagan* is the Balinese name for *Bûta*, although the latter word is used quite as often. These offerings consist of all sorts of meats, cooked and half-cooked, of rice, fruits, flowers, leaves; all these vegetable offerings must be of five different colours; *white* (the colour of Śiva or Mahâdeva), *red* (Brahmâ), *yellow* (Buddha and also Śiva in Bali,⁵⁶) *black or dark blue* (Vishṇu; also Kâla), and *brumbu*, a mixture of the four colours; the last is the colour of the supreme Śiva, who combines in himself the natures of the four already named. These offerings are made to propitiate the *Bûtas*, who are supposed to haunt the burial-grounds. The offerings for the gods and *pitaras* (the shades), which are offered the same day, are left at home.

Here usually follows the *Padanda*, carried in a palanquin, and drawing after him, when a *Kshatriya* is burnt, the dead *nâga* with the *Bade* attached to it. At several points, especially at the corners of the road, before the house of the deceased, and before the place of cremation, the *Bade* is turned three times, the *Padanda* being carried before it and leading the movement. The lofty structure of the *Bade* sometimes renders it necessary to employ more than 400 men to perform these manœuvres. In Gyanyar the prince, the son of the deceased, preceded the *Bade*, followed by a great number of other princes

⁵⁵ This mixed holy water is called *toya pangentas*, and is especially purifying and a protection from danger; leaves of gold (*mas pripi*) and a costly gold ring (which the Pandita keeps) with a ruby are placed in it; and also flowers, *balung-balung*, or ground sandal-wood; powdered rubies; whole rice (*bija*); cut flowers and leaves (*samsam*).

⁵⁶ Comp. *Pitāmbara*, "with a yellow garment".

and the armed men of *Gyanyar* and *Badong*. In other cases - have always seen the relatives following the deceased ; the reason why the prince preceded the corps was this, that the *Belas* with their procession followed the *Bade*, and that the princes considered it beneath their dignity to go behind the *Belas*, who in this case were all *Gundiks* (concubines from the fourth caste). During the whole march *Kavi*-songs are sung, chiefly by those who carry the *Bade* ; they were not songs of mourning, however, but favourite portions of the *Rāmāyana*, *Bārata Yudda*, and other works well known to the people.

When the procession has arrived at the place of cremation, and the *Bade* has turned round thrice for the last time, the body is carried down from the top of the *Bade* by a staircase made for this purpose, and up by another small staircase to the place of burning, where it is laid in the coffin (the lion or cow). The corpse is then only in the covering of bamboo referred to above ; the clothes and ornaments remain on the *Bade*, and some of them are taken home again, the remainder, as well as all the ornaments of the *Bade*, being given up to the people as plunder after the cremation. The *Pandita* then, mumbling the *Vedas*, sprinkles on the body the different kinds of holy water—a ceremony which generally lasts more than an hour. At last, after all the vessels of holy water have been emptied, the *Padanda* quits the spot, and the bearers of wood now kindle a fire under the figure of the animal, which is consumed but slowly, on account of the copious wetting which it has received. Sand is strewn on the foundation of wood or masonry, to prevent the fire from spreading. When the corpse is consumed, the bones are collected by the watchers, laid on the purified place of burning, and covered with clothes, to which are added also the utensils for adornment and small offerings. These are carried the next day with great state to the sea and thrown into it, together with money and offerings. Before this is done the *Padanda* again reads the *Vedas* on a lofty erection, making frequent use of the bells, which stand by his side. Opposite the *Padanda* stand rich offerings of all kinds, and especially quantities of clothes and money. The *Padanda* receives these offerings. He is also offered a tolerably large sum, up to £ 50, for performing the ceremonies, but most priests take only part of this and return the rest to the relatives of the deceased. Other

ceremonies follow at intervals of a fortnight, of some months, and of a year after the cremation. At these we have again a procession, as at the cremation itself; there is a *Bade*, upon which the corps is represented by flowers; these flowers (*puspa*) are also thrown into the sea. During the whole of this time numerous offerings are made for the deceased. After the ceremony, which takes place a year after the cremation, the deceased is regarded as actually admitted among the *pitaras* (the shades) in *Indra's* heaven, and as sharing in the offerings which are presented to the latter in the domestic temples. Great princes sometimes celebrate a feast to the memory of the dead even after the lapse of some years.⁶⁰

The burning of widows has attracted most attention from Europeans. Wonder is expressed at the great number of women sacrificed in this way in Bali in former times (Crawfurd, *Asiatic Researches* vol. xiii. p. 135); yet it should be borne in mind that in Bali *polygamy* is carried further than in any other country—that, e.g., the great-grandfather of *rāja Kassiman*, prince of *Ngrurah Sakti Pam'chutan*, had 500 wives—and thus it cannot surprise us to see so many women burnt, particularly since the women who offer themselves gain the highest distinction, and the sacred writings, from the *Parvas* (divisions of the *Mahābhārata*) downwards, represent this act as praiseworthy and almost necessary. That in India but one wife follows her husband in death, is naturally explained by the fact that very few Hindus have more than one wife. But little is yet known of the burning of widows among the princes of India, and as but few independent princes now exist who are worshippers of *Śiva*, the silence on this subject is easily accounted for.⁶¹

In Bali the burning of widows is confined almost entirely to the princely families. The princes are now either *Kshatriyas* or *Veśyas* (*Devas* or *Gustis*), and so far Crawfurd is correct in saying that only the second and third castes observe this custom. The true reason of this, however, lies in the outlay which is requisite. The *Śūdras* are seldom rich enough to

⁶⁰ [Greater details concerning cremation are given by R. van Eck in "Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië", 1879, vol. i. pp. 104-24. See also Jacobs, l. i. pp. 49-53.]

⁶¹ A man of high rank in *Nipal*, *Bhugtee Thapa*, was followed into the fire by his two wives:—H. T. PRINSEP, *Transactions of the Marquess of Hastings*, vol. i. p. 170, note.

bear the expense of a splendid cremation; their women, also, are less under the influence of the priests, who do not trouble themselves much about such common people; and finally, the wife's respect for the deceased husband is not so great, because he was of the same rank as herself. Among the Brahmans the burning of widows is still rarer, but yet a case which occurred some years ago in Badong has come to my knowledge. The Brahmans do not regard it as necessary; it is not prescribed in the *Vedas*, nor is it practised in India by the Brahmans, who have remained free from the worship of the sect.

The names given to the burning of widows are known from Crawford: *Satya* and *Bela*. This explanation of them must be modified. *Satya* is the burning of a wife, who from a platform erected for the purpose, throws herself into the fire with her husband, committing suicide with the creese at the same time. These may be either lawful wives or concubines, and the latter is not infrequently the case. *Bela*, on the contrary, is the burning of a wife, who is burnt in a separate fire, not with her husband, jumping into it alive, without using the creese. This latter method is not thought so much of, but is the more common. These women, who are also called improperly *Belas*, are mostly concubines, but I have also been told of cases in which lawful wives have chosen this method of self-immolation.

The names *Satya* and *Bela* are Indian—the former unmistakably, the second in all probability. *Satya* is truth, fidelity; the wife who dies in this way is called *Satyavati*, a true, faithful woman, who has performed in all things her duty to her husband. *Bela* is explained by Crawford as "retaliation;" but so far as I am able to reconcile the Balinese explanations with each other, it is rather the Sanskrit *weld* "sudden and easy death" (Wilson).⁸² This is rendered clear by the way in which it takes place; and further by the fact that the sacrifice of the followers of a prince defeated in war, who then die together in an *amok*, is also called *Bela*. In general it means in Bali "dying with the man of higher rank" (the wife

⁸² [The meaning given in R. von Eck's *Balinesesch Woordenboek* is "faithful unto death." In Javanese, the word conveys the meaning "to die or suffer with or for another." See the numerous examples in Vreede's edition of Roorda's Dictionary, p. 1093. For other explanations of the terms *satya* and *wela*, see Wilken, *Het Animisme*, p. 85. *Satya* is evidently an abbreviation of *Satyavati*.]

with her husband, the slave with his master, the followers with the prince).

That female slaves were murdered by men appointed for the purpose, and were afterwards cast into the fire, which would seem to be a compulsory human sacrifice, must have been a fact 200 years ago, and was observed by Zollinger in *Lombok*,⁶³ but I have not found any trace of it in Bali. The women who sacrifice themselves are indeed, as a rule, slaves, for they are mostly from the fourth caste (the *Sûdras*), at least all the concubines are; but their immolation is voluntary,⁶⁴ and neither in the *Satya* or the *Bela* are they touched by a man. From the moment that they declare themselves ready to be burnt alive, they are holy persons; they enjoy all the honours of the *Pitaras*. They may no longer tread the ground, but must always be carried. Offerings are even made to them, and all their wishes are satisfied. Nevertheless, the successor of the deceased simply regards such concubines as the servants who will be required by his father after his cremation. The women themselves are excited by religious ideas; a female priest always accompanies them till the moment of death, and describes to them in glowing colours the happiness of life in *Svarga*, the rise to a higher caste, and how they will thereby become the lawful wives of the deceased. To these deceptions must be added the honour and the advantages which the woman's rela-

⁶³ See the report of the Dutch envoys to *Gelgel*, in Crawford, *Ind. Ach.* vol. ii. p. 244, sqq.

⁶⁴ [In reference to this we quote an appropriate passage from the work of Julius Jacobs (*Eenigen tijd onder de Baliers*, Batavia, 1883, p. 230), whose account of the inhabitants is at the same time the most recent and the least biassed: "It is perhaps too much to say that a wife does not follow her husband to the funeral pyre of her own free will. There are actually women who, to all appearance, voluntarily throw themselves into the fire, or, in the case of the husband having fallen in battle, stab themselves on his corpse (*bela*). A mother may also follow her child to death; a betrothed, her lover; a child, its mother; nay, even a friend his friend. Supposing that there exist, to some extent, a genuine sorrow, a holy attachment for the beloved one, it is also in a great measure a fact that those who sacrifice themselves are heartily convinced that in requital of that noble deed they are immediately after death received into the *Satyaloeka*, where they are made partakers of unutterable joys, so that thereby at once their sins are wiped out and they attain to eternal bliss. Add to this the influence of the priests who here, as elsewhere, are powerful agents with women, and try to induce them to self-sacrifice by holding out to them all sorts of promises, and who bring them by dint of fasting, prayers, and stupefying drinks, to a state of mental imbecility that makes them no longer accountable for their actions, and you will know what is meant by their sacrificing themselves of their own free will."]

tions expect to receive from the prince's successor ; the men of her family have a claim to offices ; they are made chiefs of *Dessas*, *Pamb'kêls* &c. They are therefore the only persons who sometimes use means of compulsion to prevent the women from retracting. They accompany the victim of the family ; they keep up the fire, and, if the woman hesitates, tip up the plank on which she stands above the fire, so that she falls in against her will. These cases, however, are of rare occurrence. Deception of the imagination and the use of opium have generally made the victims quite indifferent, and they jump into the fire as if it were a bath.

Eight days after the death of a prince or noble his wives are asked whether any of them wish to follow him into the fire ; those who then state their willingness are accepted, and, during the interval before the cremation, are shown the above honours. They cannot easily change their minds ; the opposition of their relatives, and the shame which would attach to them, as well as the deceptions of the priests, hold them back. The women who may wish to give in their names after this period of eight days are not accepted, perhaps in order to avoid the appearance of compulsion. The women who have offered themselves to be burnt thenceforward a life of pleasure, and enjoy much greater honour than they ever knew before. This again is a reason why they should not change their minds during the interval, sometimes a long one, before the cremation.

We will here add some details of a cremation, at which women were burnt, in *Gyanyar*, of which we were eye-witnesses. On the 20th December, 1847, the prince of *Gyanyar*, *Dewa Mangis*, was burnt ; we have already spoken above of the way in which his body underwent cremation. The corpse was followed by *the three wives* (concubines), who became *Belas*. A procession went before them, as before the body : (1) *Upachâra*, (2) *Toya*, (3) *Banten dagan*. They, like the body, were seated in the highest storeys of the *Bades*, which, like that of the prince, were carried by men, but had only three storeys. After the body of the prince had arrived at the place of cremation, the three *Belas* in their *Bades*—each preceded by the bearers of the offerings destined for her, with armed men and bands of music—were conducted to the three fires.

Their *Bades* were also turned round three times, and were

carried round the whole place of cremation. The women were then carried down steps from the *Bades*, and up the steps of the places erected for their cremation. These places consisted of a square of masonry, three feet high, filled with combustibles, which had been burning since the morning, and threw out a glowing heat; the persons appointed to watch them fed the fire, and at the moment when the women leaped down, poured upon it a quantity of oil and arrack, so that it flared up to a height of eight feet, and must have suffocated the victims at once. Behind this furnace stood an erection of bamboo, in the form of a bridge, of the same width as the square of masonry, and about forty feet long, and from sixteen to eighteen feet high; steps of bamboo led up to it in the rear. In the centre there is a small house, affording a last resting-place to the victim, in which she waits until the ceremonies for her husband are finished and his body has begun to burn. The side of the bamboo scaffold nearest to the fire is protected by a wall of wet Pisang-stems. Upon the bridge lies a plank smeared with oil, which is pushed out a little over the fire, as soon as the time for the leap draws near. At first there is a door at the end of the bridge, and this is not removed till the last minute. The victim sits in the house on the bridge, accompanied by a female priest and by her relatives. They all speak to her of the happiness which she will now shortly enjoy with her husband. She then makes her toilet; her hair especially is combed, the mirror used, and her garments newly arranged; in short, she arrays herself exactly as she would for a feast. Her dress is white, her breasts are covered with a white *slendang*; she wears no ornaments, and after all the preparations to which it has been subjected, her hair at the last moment hangs quite loose. When the corpse of the prince was almost consumed, the three *Belas* got ready; they glanced one towards another, to convince themselves that all was prepared; but this was not a glance of fear, but of impatience, and it seemed to express a wish that they might leap at the same moment. When the door had been opened, and the plank smeared with oil and pushed out, each took her place on her plank, made three *Sembahs* by joining her hands above her head, and one of the bystanders placed a small dove (*titiran*)* upon her head.

* [It is called *Katitiran* in Malay, and a kind of sacredness attaches to it.]

When the dove flies away, the soul is considered to escape. They then immediately leaped down. There was no cry in leaping, no cry from the fire; they must have been suffocated at once. One of the Europeans present succeeded in pushing through the crowd to the fire, and in seeing the body some seconds after the leap—it was dead, and its movements were caused merely by the combustion of the materials cast upon the flames. On other occasions, however, Europeans have heard cries uttered in leaping, and in the first moments afterwards.

During the whole time, from the burning of the prince till the leap of the victims, the air resounded with the clangour and noise of the numerous bands of music. The soldiers had drawn up outside the square, and contributed to the noise by firing off their muskets. Besides these, some small cannon were discharged. There was not one of the 50,000 Balinese present who did not show a merry face; no one was filled with repugnance and disgust, except a few Europeans, whose only desire was to see the end of such barbarities. The Balinese look upon this cremation simply as the consummation of their religious and domestic duties; no one sees any cruelty in it. Yet, as the all-powerful priests attach little importance to it for their own caste, with their aid the diminution and abolition of these human sacrifices among the other castes might be effected. The priests' interest in maintaining it is, alas! a monetary one—and therefore no help can be expected from them.

The number of women burned in Bali itself not considerable; in Lombok, however, where only 9000 Balinese reside (the rest are the Mahomedan *Sesakers*), this ceremony is more frequent.⁶⁶ During the time I spent in Bali, five or six cremations of *Gustis* took place in Lombok, and on each occasion from four to seven women offered themselves up.* This pre-

⁶⁶ [A full and interesting account of the self-sacrifice of the wife of a *Gusti* is given by Zollinger in his article on *Lombok*, *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. v. p. 529, ff. The *Journal of the Dutch Embassy to Bali* (*Bijdragen*, II, vol. i. p. 52 ff.) gives a description of the funeral ceremonies at the burning of the king's mother on March 21, 1633, at which many of her female slaves were stabbed and burnt. At the funeral of the two royal princes, forty-two and thirty-four of their wives respectively threw themselves into the fire. Princesses of royal blood are not previously stabbed.]

ciseness in following the ancient usages also shows itself in great offerings, which cost considerable sums, but at the same time add greatly to the fame of the prince who makes them, and strengthen him for war (e.g., the offerings in September 1846). The explanation of this lies in two circumstances : first, the Balinese of Lombok, and especially their prince, are much richer than those of Bali, where even the reigning princes, through the great extension of their families, possess but little means ; and secondly, the Balinese of Lombok, and particularly the present prince, are looked down upon, and said to be ignorant in their religion and their customs, by the Balinese of Bali, and especially by the *Deva agung*, whom the people of Lombok do not acknowledge. Now to refute these unfavourable opinions, they show themselves to be much more precise in the performance of their religious duties than the majority of the Balinese in Bali. During the two years of my stay in Bali, I only knew of one case of widow-burning in Gyanyar. In all the southern States also none took place ; intelligence from *Karang-Assem* and *Boleleng* is uncertain and irregular, but I heard nothing of the practice in these States either. It cannot be asserted, however, that the custom has entirely disappeared. Widow-burning is considered a necessary adjunct to the cremation of great prince, and in the last thirty years a large number of women have actually been sacrificed in *Badong*.

Nine *Belas* were burnt with the prince of *den Passar*, *Ngrurah Made Pam'chuttan*, *Kassiman's* father, and three with the last prince but one of *Pam'chuttan*, *Ngrurah G'de Pam'chuttan* (the father of the principal wives of the present *Rāja* of *Pam'chuttan*). One very young wife, who threw herself *tandakking* into the flames, was burnt with the last prince of *Pam'chuttan*, *Anak Agung Lanang* (father of the present prince).⁶⁷

Rāja Kaleran Kanginan was followed by two wives ; one killed herself and became *Satyavati* (see above), after the example set by the wife of the *rāja Salya*, one of the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*, known here from the *Salyaparwa*. *Rāja Kaleran Kawan* was followed by three wives. A young wife followed

⁶⁷ *Tandakking* on this occasion does not permit another person to *tandak* also.

rāja Halit Kassiman, a nephew of the old *Kassiman*, who died very young. Some women also followed *Kassiman's* brother in *Belaluan*. If the dead bodies in *Den Passar*, which have already lain unburied for fifteen or twenty years, are burnt, it is doubtful whether women will follow them. The principal wives seldom follow, and in this case the deceptions cannot have the same effect upon the concubines as when they are practised upon them shortly after the death. *Rāja Kassiman* prevents this burning for political reasons, as it might possibly deprive him of his prestige; another reason is the poverty of the present prince of *Den Passar*, whose revenue has been very much diminished by *Kassiman*, and who will not for years be able to amass the sum required for such a grand cremation.⁶⁸

CASTES

We know from Crawford that the four Indian castes exist in Bali; we will hereafter give reasons which seem to show that caste has also existed in Java.

The names given by Crawford are—*Brāhman*, *Satriya*, *Wisiya*, *Sudra*. The names *Brāhmana* and *Sudra* are correct; *Satriya* is the corrupt pronunciation of *Kshatriya*, which is found in good manuscripts (*Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, &c.); *Wisiya* has arisen, through an oral mistake, out of *Vesya*, as the Balinese call the third Indian caste; the Sanskrit *Vāiśya* cannot be rendered otherwise in Balinese; in the Balinese letters the four words correspond closely with the Sanskrit names. We have shown in the *Usana Bali* (l. l. p. 254) that the Balinese *taling* has a mark above the line in words where it represents the Sanskrit *ai*; in the word *Wesya*, however, the idea that this *taling* answers to an *ai* which is unpronounceable, appears to have been lost. I have never yet found the mark in the word *Wesya* in any manuscript.

The Indian names, however, are not those in common use in Bali to indicate the difference in caste. The three upper castes have names with meanings, which are used both in speaking to and speaking of each member of the caste.⁶⁹ These titles are:

⁶⁸ [According to R. van Eck, the last widow was burnt at *Klongkong* in 1862 (see *Tijdschrift voor Ned. Indië*, 1879, vol. i. p. 124); but this is doubtful.]

⁶⁹ [See Jacobs, l. l. p. 36. P. L. van Bligemen Waanders, l. l. p. 125.]

1. *Ida* for a Brahman; this is the Balinese pronoun of the second and third person in the high language. It is also used for the titles of *Deva* and *Gusti*; but when it stands alone, it always means a Brahman, who is called *He* or *Thou*. A male Brahman is called *Ida bagus*, a female Brahman, married or single, *Ida hayu*, or contracted, *Idayu* (see below as to the word *Padanda*).

2. *Deva* is the title of a *Kshatriya*, both for men and women (e.g., *Deva agung putri*). *Deva* means in Sanskrit *god*, and in the language of the stage *king* (Wilson); but in the lists of names of royal houses in India which we meet with in Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, and in several inscriptions published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, we find also the title of *deva* (or, corrupted *dew* or *deb*) added to all the names, and we thus discover that the title of *deva* is used for all *Kshatriyas*, not only in Bali, but also in India, for every one in that caste can become king, and they are also all called *Rāja* in India.

3. *Gusti*⁷⁰ is the title for the *Wesyas*, or third caste; this name is not Indian, at least not clearly. In India the third caste is not of much importance, and we are therefore not surprised that it has not a special title.⁷¹ It is quite otherwise in Bali (and Java); but few *Kshatriyas* have come here from India; there were more *Wesyas*, originally merchants, agriculturists, and artificers. Since the *Kshatriyas* alone were too insignificant in number, greater honour naturally fell to the more numerous *Wesyas*. They even became kings probably in Java, and certainly in Bali, although they are always regarded as subject to the *Deva agung*, a pure *Kshatriya*. For this reason a title of honour was also given to the *Wesyas*, and this is "*Gusti*." *Gusti* is never interpreted by the Balinese as anything but a name for a *Wesya*. In Java it is now used before

⁷⁰ *Goshthi* is in Sanskrit "assembly, meeting; conversation, discourse; family connexions, but especially the dependent or junior branches." [This derivation appears very doubtful in spite of Favre's qualifying concessions; see his *Dictionnaire Malais*, s.v. If tenable at all, it could only come through a supposed adjective, *goshthin*.]

⁷¹ *Arya*, it is true, is the name for a *Wesya* in India; but what does it mean? The name *Arya* for the *Kshatriyas* of Java (and Bali) is to be read with a long *ā* (*ārya*), and then means "one of the nation of the *Aryans* (an Indian, a Persian). According to Wilson: *Arya*, "a master, a man of the third tribe; adj. excellent; *ārya*, of a good family; respectable, venerable; apposite, proper; a master, an owner."

the name of God, "*Gusti allah*," and before the names of princes of royal blood; *Gusti*, used before *allah*, indicates that the word is equivalent to *tuwan* (lord). The fact, however, that the princes of *Solo* and *Jokyokarta* are called "*Gusti*", seems to indicate that this family is also of *Wesyan* descent, and that they retained this title of honour, although the name of the caste, through Mohammedan influence, had been almost lost.

4. The fourth caste, very naturally, has no title of honour. They are the born servants, and can make no claim to marks of honour. Courtesy, however, assigns to them in address the hypocritical name of "father" and "mother" (*bapa* and *meme*). In speaking of them, the term which is also applied to all foreigners (Buginese, Chinese, and Europeans) is used—*kahula*, slave, dependent, or *wang* (= *orang*), man; they represent the ordinary man, while the three superior castes trace their descent from gods and demi-gods.

Mixed castes do not exist in Bali, whereas, even in the very ancient Indian law-book of *Manu*, a large number of mixed castes are enumerated. This is to be explained by the fact that too few people of the three principal castes came over to Java and Bali, and that these probably brought with them too few women, to maintain the purity of their descendants, and therefore, to prevent the extinction of the chief families, all the children remained in the caste of their father, although the mother may have been of common extraction.

In India the mixed castes arose in two ways: first, through the marriage of a man of a higher caste with a woman of a lower one; secondly, through the marriage of a woman of high caste with a man of inferior birth. The first case is not considered a disgrace to the mixed caste; the second degrades the offspring, because this union is a disgrace; and thus we have the most despised of all Indian castes—the *Chandālas* (*Parias*), the offspring of a marriage of a female Brahman with a *Sūdra*. In Bali the first kind of marriage causes no mixture of caste; the children follow the caste of the father, but are inferior to the children of high-caste women, and in matters of succession and inheritance are dealt with as of lower standing, even though they be older than their more noble brothers and sisters. The second case cannot occur, for, in Bali, all

marriages of high-caste women with men of lower birth (provided they are acknowledged) are punished with death. The guilty woman is burnt alive—a hole is made in the ground and filled with combustibles, into which the woman is cast; this punishment is called *labuh gni* (to fall or be cast into the fire). The man is weighted with stones and drowned in the sea; this is called *labuh batu*.⁷² This penalty, however, especially the burning of the woman, is not always carried out so relentlessly. In several cases which came to my knowledge, both the man and the woman were drowned; in another case, where the guilty man had escaped vengeance by flight, the woman, at the command of her father (a *Gusti* in *Kutta*), was killed with the creese by a relation, her mother's brother, after having been adorned with flowers and fine clothes, and rendered fearless by opium and strong drink.

There are, then, no mixed castes in Bali. In the "Usana Bali" (l. l. p. 262) different classes of *Sûdras* are mentioned—viz., *Mandesa*, *Gaduh*, *Dangka*, *Batu-haji*, *Pasek*, *Kabayan*, *Ngukuhin*, *Talikup*; these, however, are not different castes, but are all *Sûdras*, some of whom have been degraded to this caste from that of the *Wesyas*, and still maintain, in a political sense, a higher position than the common *Sûdras*.⁷³

Chandâlas, nevertheless, exist in Bali, but they are not *chandâlas* by birth; there can be none such in Bali. They are afflicted with malignant and contagious diseases, and especially *leprosy*. Such diseases are ascribed to the curse of some deity or of a *Padanda*. These persons may not reside in the *kampongs*, and are found in such places as the frontiers of two hostile States (*Mengwi* and *Tabanan*), where they live in misery and without intercourse with the rest of the people. I have seen others on the high roads; their employments are named by Crawford.

BRAHMANS

All Brahmans in Bali trace their descent from *Padanda Wahu Rawuh*, who, according to the Brahmans of the present time, lived in or was descended from Kediri; his descendants went thence to *Majapahit*, and from *Majapahit* to Bali. According

⁷² [Jacobs, l. l. p. 34.]

⁷³ [R. van Eek in *Tijdschrift voor Ned. Indië*, 1859, vol. i. p. 129.]

to the Javanese accounts, a number of Śiva-Brahmans made their appearance in Majapahit, shortly before the fall of that place, from India, and fled upon the destruction of that kingdom to the East and to Bali. The statements of the Balinese upon historical and geographical subjects are extremely inaccurate. According to some, Kediri was situated in *Baratawarsa* (the holy land of India). If we accepted this as true, we should be able to reconcile the accounts of Java and Bali respecting the arrival of Śiva-Brahmans at *Majapahit*; but there are many reasons against this. *Jayabaya* is said by some Balinese to have been a king in *Baratawarsa*; undoubted Javanese accounts, however, state that he ruled in *Kediri* in Java, and all the Kavi works of most importance were composed under him and his predecessor, *Ayer Langia*. The Brahman, who composed these works, must therefore have come from India at an earlier period and acquired the Kavi language in Java. We must bear also in mind here the localization of Indian places in Java.

Wahu or *Bahu Rawuh* means "the newly-arrived" (*bahu* is the Malay *bahru*; *rawuh*, Jav.-Bal., is equal to the Mal. *datang*). He is also named *Bhagavân Dvijendra*, the holy Brahman prince (*dvija* is a Brahman, one born twice—the second time through initiation into religion and sacred literature, and through assuming the sacred band, *Upavita*). *Indra* is generally king, prince; thus, we have *Gajendra*, prince of elephants, *Rākshasendra*, prince of the *Rākshasas*, namely, *Rāvaṇa*. His two names, therefore, are not family-names, but merely indicate his position; he was the leader of a colony of Brahman which came from India. Concerning his sojourn in *Kediri* or in *Majapahit* and Bali, the accounts, as we have seen, are uncertain; but, according to the accounts of the priests themselves, the five existing subdivisions of the Brahman in Bali are descended from him and his five wives. We have:

1. *Brāhmaṇa Kamenu*. (*Kamenu* is in Gyanyar.) They are descended from *Wahu Rawuh* and a Brahmanic woman (*Brahmana-Brahmani*); according to Indian notions, these alone would have the full rights and dignities of Brahman, yet we find that, in spite of their purer descent, they do not enjoy greater honour than their brethren who are of inferior birth.

The rank of the Brahmans depends upon their ability, their personal appearance, and their conduct, so that even in youth the qualities of a powerful Pandita may be recognized. The supernatural power attributed to them, and not their descent, therefore, determines the choice of the domestic priests of the princes. Political reasons also have their weight. Brâhmana Kamenu are found in *Boleleng*.

2. *Brâhmana of Gelgel*. (*Gelgel* is the ancient seat of the Deva-agung, already mentioned in the account of the Dutch envoys in 1635, in Crawfurd, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. ii. p. 244 seq.; it is also referred to in the Malay Manuscript of Abdullah—*Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, Jaargang 7, 2^{de} Deel, p. 166—where it is erroneously written *Gila gila* in the translation.) They are descendants of Wahu Rawuh and a Kshatriya woman; they are called *Brâhmana-geniten*, and include most of the Brahmans in *Klong-kong*, *Mengui*, *Bangli*, and those of *Sanor* in *Badong*. The last-mentioned place is chiefly inhabited by Brahmans; none of those at *Badong*, however, are of high rank, but the *Padanda Agung* of *Somawati*, and the *Padanda Made Aleng Kacheng* in *Taman Intaran*, both belonging to other subdivision of the Brahmans, are the domestic priests of the princes. Some Brahmans in *Boleleng*, also, came originally from *Sanor*.

3. *Brâhmana-Nuaba*. These are descended from Wahu Rawuh and a Kshatriya widow (*Balu manis*, that is, "a short time married"). Their original seat is the kampong *Nuaba* in *Gyanyar*; hence came those of *Sindhu* in *Karang-Assem*, and of this family is the *Padanda Agung* in *Sindhuwati*, near *Taman Intaran*, who, some twenty years ago, left *Karang-Assem* for political reasons, and was received with gladness in *Badong*.⁷⁴ He is the chief domestic priest in *Badong*, and his brother of cousin in *Gyanyar*.

4. *Brâhmana-mas*: descended from Wahu Rawuh and a *Wesya* woman.⁷⁵ Their original seat is the kampong *Mas*

⁷⁴ He had correspondence with *Gyanyar* at a time when *Gyanyar*, allied with *Badong*, was at enmity with *Karang-Assem*; he therefore lost his position in *Karang-Assem*, and, together with his brother, was invited by the princes of *Gyanyar* and *Badong*, received with much ceremony, and appointed to the office of domestic priest.

⁷⁵ In general, the *Brâhmana-geniten*, descended from a Kshatriya

in *Gyanyar*. The family of the Padanda Made Aleng Kacheng in Taman Intaran came from that place. He is also a domestic priest, and although he is younger than and became a Padanda long after the Padanda Agung was already a domestic priest, still, on account of his learning, his morals and the sakti ascribed to him, he is held in the highest honour in *Badong* and *Gyanyar*. There are also *Brāhmaṇa-mas* in *Tabanan*.

5. *Brāhmaṇa kaya śūnya* (*kaya śūnya* is literally *empty tree*—this seems to be an allusion to the position of the woman from whom they are descended, for she was a slave, and was therefore without education and learning). They trace their descent to Wahu Rawuh by a slave. To this subdivision belong part of the Brahmans in *Mengui*.

The Brahmans are very numerous in Bali; their position as regards the prince depends upon whether they are ordinary Brahmans (*Idas*) or *Padandas*—i.e., learned priests. The former are dependent upon the prince, must follow in war, may be employed as envoys, and may be banished from the country, if they do not strictly obey the prince's commands. Nevertheless, they are of higher rank than the princes, and can marry daughters of princes, while the princes may not marry Brahmanic women. On account of their large number, a considerable portion of them live in extreme poverty, and they do not disdain to cultivate the ricefields, to engage in the fisheries, and to do manual work for money.

The *Padandas* are Brahmans who have received a complete education from another *Padanda* (their *Guru*). They must be thoroughly acquainted with religion and with literature.

In order to become a Padanda, they undergo all kinds of tests, to show their knowledge and their submission to the *Guru*. Thus, for instance, they place their heads under the *Guru's* foot, and drink the water that runs off his feet during his ablutions. Many other ceremonies precede their consecration, and a certain amount of wealth is required to defray the expenses, so that the dignity of *Padanda* mostly remains in a family which has already grown rich by means of this position. Others are supported and helped to become woman, seem to be sought after by the princes in the States governed by *Kshatriyas*—and the *Brāhmaṇa-mas*, descended from a *Wesya* woman, where the *Wesyas* rule—on account of their connection with these castes.

Padandas by the *Rajas*. The mark of the dignity is a staff, *daṇḍa*,⁷⁶ which they receive from the Guru, and which gives them power to guide and to punish men in all things relating to religion. After this staff they are called *Padanda*, that is, "bearing a staff." Their other name, *Paṇḍita*, merely indicates their knowledge; *Paṇḍita* is "learned," and is explained in Bali by *prajna*, Sanskrit, and *pintar*, Mal.

The domestic priest, *Purohita* (Sanskrit idem), is chosen from the *Padandas* by the prince; or sometimes the prince helps an *Ida* whom he thinks clever and upright to become a *Padanda*, and then makes him his domestic priest. He is then the spiritual teacher (Guru) of the prince, who becomes his *śishya* or pupil, makes the *sembah*⁷⁷ to him, and thereby shows his inferiority to the priest; he always sits on a raised seat (see Crawford, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xiii. p. 110). The domestic priest is consulted in all religious and political matters and even in the ordinary affairs of life, in taking up arms, in choosing wives, &c. He alone teaches the worship of the *Pitaras* and conducts the cremations of the princely families. In all offerings, both domestic and for the State, the advice of the domestic priest is acted upon; he is present in his elevated place *opposite the offerings*, and blesses the ceremonies by means of prayers from the *Vedas*.

Sometimes the word *Purohita* is applied generally to all priests who carry the staff (*Padandas*). It is these whom raffles heard spoken of under the name of *Mapurwita* or *Mapurwita*. *Purwita* is the corrupted pronunciation of *Purohita*, which latter word I first recognized in good manuscripts; *mapurohita* (or *mapurwita*) means the being a *purohita*, or the collective *Purohitas*.⁷⁸

Guru loka, "teacher of the world," is a name applied only to a few chosen *Purohitas* or *Padandas*, who present offerings for an entire kingdom; there are one or two of these in each

⁷⁶ [The Sanskrit *daṇḍa* is written *daṇḍa* in Javanese and Balinese.]

⁷⁷ [The *sembah* is not an ordinary token of courtesy in Bali. The upper castes only make it to the prince, and to the *Padandas* who are *Guru loka*. The reason of this is, that to the *sembah* is added an inward formula of reverence out of a *Mantra* or the *Vedas*; by making them to other persons of rank they would humble themselves too much.]

⁷⁸ The explanation formerly given (*Tijdschrift voor N. I.*, Jaarg. 8, Deel 4) of *Purwita*, by means of *purva* and *ita*, thus falls to the ground.

of the different States in Bali. They are the special *Gurus* and counsellors of the chief prince, and are also the *Gurus* of the *loka*, of the world, or the subjects of a State.

The prince can also call other *Padandas* to perform less important religious functions, and the smaller *râjas* (who are of inferior birth) can likewise choose a *Guru* out of the rest of the *Padandas*.

The present *Guru lokas* in the southern States, who exercise great influence upon the actions of the princes, are :

In *Klongkong*—

1. *Padanda Wayahan Pidada*, who is a *Brâhmana-nuaba* (*balu-manis*).
2. *Padanda K'tut Ngrurah*, a *Brâhmana-géniten*. He lives in the kampong of *Dawan*.

In *Gyanyar*—

1. *Padanda Wayahan Kakeran*, a *Brâhmana-nuaba*, cousin of the *Padanda Agung* in *Badong*. He lives in the kadaton of *Sindhuwati*, in the kampong of *Kramas*.

In *Budong*—

1. *Padanda Agung*, *Brâhmana-nuaba*. He resides in *Sindhuwati* (or *Somawati*), near *Taman Intaran*, and is the father-in-law of
2. *Padanda Made Alêng Kacheng*, *Brâhmana-mas*, in *Taman Intaran*.

In *Tabanan*—

1. *Padanda Jumpung*, *Brâhmana-géniten*, in *Pasekan*, to the north of the kadaton in *Tabanan*.

In *Mengui*—

1. *Padanda Patu*, *Brâhmana kayu sūnya*, resides in *Kabakaba*. On account of their low birth the *Brâhmana kayu sūnya* appear to receive much less respect than the rest; yet we find a "*Guru loka*" among their number, although the men of *Badong* assert that the people in *Mengui* are grossly ignorant. But *Badong* and *Mengui* are old enemies.

The Brahmins also have many wives from among the people, but the children always remain Brahmins.⁷⁹ There is

⁷⁹ *Raffles, App. K.*, p. 238, says that the children of a priest by a

not a single one of pure blood, but, at any rate, care is taken that a Brahman does not have too much Śūdra blood among his ancestors. If, in three generations, no woman of high birth has married into the family, the descendants lose all rank, and are treated by the princes as Sudras, and are obliged to perform service as vassals. It is the same with the other two upper castes.

The Brahmans' wives of low extraction, especially if they have children, are ennobled by the husband; their rank in life, it is true, is much inferior to that of women of high birth, and their husbands give them nothing (they have to maintain themselves and their children), but, after death, they are burnt as Brahmanic women, and enjoy the honour of the Pitaras.

The women of high birth share in all the privileges of their husbands. They are also instructed in the Vedas, *themselves present offerings with the mumbling of the Vedas*, and assist the Belas at cremations. They are also called *Padanda*, with the addition of *istri*, which is the highest title for women in Bali. (In the Sanskrit *stri* only means "woman," in Bali "princely woman," compare *putri*.)

KSHATRIYAS

In India the *Kshatriyas*, the second caste, are, according to law, those who, alone, bear arms and defend the country. The princes are of this caste. But, in the present day, there are no longer any pure *Kshatriyas* in India; even the Rajaputras of Rājasthan are not regarded as of pure extraction. The profession of arms has thus come into the hands of the whole people. The same thing has occurred in Bali. The rājas and their families, at least, are said to be *Kshatriyas*, but this is but partially the case. The highest prince, the Deva Agung, is a *Kshatriya*, but most of the other princes are of the third caste, the *Wesya*. The *Kshatriyas* no doubt came to Java only in small numbers. In Java the *Usana Jawa* enumerates *Kshatriyas* of *Koripan* (Panjis-seat), *Gaglang*, *Kediri*, and *Janggala*. The chiefs of the court of *Jawa* or *Kediri*, who were *Kshatriyas* and *Wesyas*, are mentioned in the *Rangga Lawe*. This, the largest

woman of lower rank are called *Bujangga*, but this nowhere came to my knowledge. See below respecting the word *Bujangga* [the note in the section on Caste in Java.] In the *Tijdschrift* v. N. I., Jaargang 7, vol. ii, p. 172, subdivisions (*Pomah*, *Anggana*, &c.) of Brahmans are mentioned, whose existence I did not discover, in spite of my repeated inquiries.

kingdom in Java, did not contain many Kshatriyas; they are called *Mahisa* or *K'bo* (buffalo, to indicate their strength), and *Rangga* (Jav. *ronggo*); their names are as follows: *Mahisa Bungalan*, *K'bo Wilatungan*, *K'bo Siluman*, *K'bo Jerang*, *K'bo Konigara*, *K'bo Chaluk*, *K'bo T'ki*, *K'bo Taluktak*, *Ki Mahisa Sapati*, *K'bo Mundarang*, and further *Rangga Smi*, *Rangga Mayang*, *Rangga Palana*, *Rangga Ralengsong*, *Rangga Pasung*, *Rangga Wirada*, *Rangga Rabete*, *Rangga Sumbi*, *Rangga Sampana*, and *Anurangga Sunting*. These are all the Kshatriyas who existed in the largest kingdom of Java. A particular sort of creese is attributed to each of them, and these creeses have crossed over to Bali through Majapahit. The Kshatriya families themselves, however, have not crossed to Bali, with the exception of the Deva Agung and his half-brothers, Arya Damar and six others. The pure Kshatriyas were probably exterminated in the numerous Javanese wars, and in the destruction of Majapahit, and the royal family of the Deva Agung also seems to have once (either in Bali or Java) been on the verge of extinction, for the reigning prince *Taruna* (a youth, unmarried) had no children. Here, however, a new race was raised by a priest, *Dang hyang Kapakisan*, out of a stone, *batu henggong* (see *Us. Bali*, p. 344). The race thus sprung from *batu henggong* reigns in Bali at the present time, and from it the Kshatriyas are descended. The descendants of the half-brothers (Arya Damar and the others) were in later times degraded to Wesyas. Thus all the Kshatriyas now existing in Bali trace their descent from the Deva Agung—a fact which would surprise us, for their number is considerable, were it not that there are but few of them in Badong, Tabanan, Mengui, and Karang-Assem; and the rest can have descended from the one Deva Agung (who lived 400 years ago) just as well as 800 Gusti Pam'chuttan in Badong, counting only the heads of families who have houses of their own, and are married, may have sprung from the Rāja Ngrurah Sakti Pam'chuttan (who four generations ago was prince of all Badong, excepting *Jambe*). At the present day the Kshatriyas are still reigning only in Klongkong, Bangli, and Gyanyar; formerly there was also a Kshatriya dynasty in Boleleng, descended from the Deva Agung, and its descendants now live in Badong. This dynasty was expelled by Wesyas seven generations (?) ago. The same thing took place in earlier times in Karang-Assem.

Two hundred years ago (1633) the Kshatriyas and all the princes of Bali seem still to have been subject to the Deva Agung, who is called *prince of Bali* by the Dutch envoys of that time. The authority of the Deva Agung was very much weakened by a war with Karang-Assem about a hundred years ago, in which the ancient seat of *Gélgel* (to the east of Klongkong, near the sea) was destroyed. Since that time Karang-Assem and Boleleng, which was conquered by it, have no longer paid homage to the Deva Agung. Soon after this, also, an insignificant Deva in Gyanyar raised himself to the rank of a great prince by expelling the relatives of the Deva Agung from the various provinces which form the present Gyanyar. The new dynasty of Gyanyar, however, returned to the sovereignty of the Deva Agung. *Bangli*, where a Kshatriya prince also rules, acknowledged the Deva Agung until recently, but now has no connection with Klongkong. *Tabanan* has withdrawn from the supremacy of the Deva Agung, because Karang-Assem and Boleleng do not pay him homage. Thus there remain only *Mengui*, *Badong*, and *Gyanyar* which acknowledge the Deva Agung as Sovereign of Bali. Karang-Assem and Boleleng use the name of the Deva Agung as their Sovereign whenever it suits their purpose, but they pay him no homage (*sembah*) and send no presents (or tribute) to Klongkong. *Badong* also yields him but little, and, in fact, has always been opposed to his interests, although openly it pays him homage, sends envoys to him, and contributes a little to great offerings and feasts in Klongkong.

Dessak, *Pradeva*, and *Pungakan* are names of Kshatriyas who have much Sûdra blood in their veins.

WESYAS

This caste, from a political point of view, is at present the most important in Bali. To it belong the princes of *Karang-Assem*, *Boleleng*, *Mengui*, *Tabanan*, and *Badong*, and also the prince of *Lombok*. It is much more numerous than the Kshatriyas. The race of the princes of *Karang-Assem*, *Boleleng*, *Mengui*, and *Lombok* is descended from *Patih Gaja Madda*, the second general of Majapahit, who, together with *Arya Damar*, conquered Bali; he was a Wesya of Majapahit, while *Arya Damar*, the chief conqueror, was a Kshatriya, and a half-brother of the prince. *Arya Damar* was the ancestor of the

princes of Tabanan and Badong; these, however, are now Wesyas, having apparently been degraded to this caste, about 300 years ago, by the Deva Agung. The reason of this degradation is said to have been that these Kshatriyas wore their hair after the manner of the Wesyas. In the present day there is no perceptible difference between the Kshatriyas and Wesyas in the mode of wearing the hair; the Deva Agung wear it exactly as the ancient Kassiman did, and the young Kshatriyas and Wesyas both wear theirs sometimes loose and sometimes bound up (in the Sivaitic manner) at the back of the head. The true reason was no doubt political; it was desired to humble the powerful race of Arya Damar, and the rest of the Kshatriyas, who were descended from the Deva Agung, and were already very numerous at that time, endeavoured to obtain more power. This object was not attained but the princes of Tabanan and Badong have remained Wesyas.

We have seen above that the Kshatriyas of Daha and Majapahit bear the titles of *Mahisa* or *K'bo* and *Rangga*. *Patih*, *Demang*, and *Tumenggung* are given as names for the Wesyas. *Mantris*, who in Java now occupy the lowest position among the native chiefs, can, according to the Balinese, be of either caste; this is explained by the original meaning of the word *Mantri*; in Sanskrit it means "Minister," and is thus applicable to any one who fills this position, whether he be Kshatriya or Wesya. *Patih* also was a much higher rank in ancient Java and Bali than it is in Java now: *Gaja Madda*, who is stated to be the ancestor of four princely families in Bali, and is regarded as the incarnation of Vishnu, bears the title of *Patih*. And further, the first Deva Agung (see *Usana Java*) appoints the conqueror of Bali and governor of *Tabanan*, *Arya Damar*, to be *Patih* or first Minister, who must be consulted on all occasions. Of the Javanese titles we also find that of *B'kel* in Bali; it belongs, however, not to members of one of the three upper castes, but to *Sûdras*, and is equal to *mandur* in Java. In Bali they are called *Parb'kel*, *Pamb'kel*, or *Prab'kel*; the original name is *Prab'kel*, which, like *Pragusti* and *Pradeva* (usually pronounced *Pergusti* and *Perdeva*) means the assembly of the *B'kels* (*Gustis* and *Devas*).

Of the principal Wesyas of the Court of Daha (*Kediri*), the following are named in the "*Usana Java*": *Mantri*

Bawong, Kala Mudong, Tumenggung Parungsari, D'mang Drawalika, Gebob Basah, Lobar (the creese of this man's shape is still used by the princes in *Karang-Assem*, according to the *Pusaka* in *Ngalihan*), *Kala Limpung, Buta Wilis, Bubar Baleman, Jalak Katengeng*. From such *Wesya* families, as well as from the real brothers of *Arya Damar*, a great number of Balinese have sprung; but all, except the descendants of *Arya Damar* and *Patih Gaja Madda*, are of no importance, and most of them have become *Śūdras*. A few still bear the title of *Gusti* and have followers, but the rest are, in all respects, like the *Śūdras*. The reason of this is, that their forefathers in Bali were conquered and displaced by the races of *Arya Damar* and *Patih Gaja Madda*.

The *Wesyas* were originally intended for commerce, agriculture, and the exercise of arts and handicrafts. This is known in Bali, but the principal *Gustis* despise these occupations, and they are only disposed to carry on trade for the sake of obtaining the money required for opium-smoking and cock-fights. Trade, however, is not solely in the hands of the *Wesyas*; all the other castes, also, take part in it.

In order to become better acquainted with the present position of the *Dewas* and *Gustis* in Bali, we shall give here an account of the princely families and their descendants.

THE PRINCELY FAMILIES

We have already referred briefly to the fact that all the *Kshatriyan* princes, and all the present *Kshatriyas*, trace their descent to the *Deva Agung*. The princes and *Gustis* of *Tabanan* and *Badong* are descended from *Arya Damar*; and, finally, the princes and *Gustis* of *Mengui, Karang-Assem, Boleleng*, and *Lombok* derive their pedigree from *Patih Gaja Madda*. This carries us back to the time of the conquest of Bali by the Javanese of *Majapahit*.

An ancient connection between Java and Bali is indicated in the *Usana Bali*. Bali was in the possession of evil spirits, or giants, that is, the Balinese were not yet Hindus (comp. *Abdullah*, in the *Tijdsch, voor Neêrlands Indië*, Jaargang 7, vol. ii. p. 160, *sqq.*) A few Hindus from *Majapahit* had a temple in *Bazuki* (so-called after the Indian serpent-king *Vāsuki* who, in the Indian and Balinese mythology, accom-

panies Śiva and plays an important part. They were oppressed, however, by the infidel princes and people. The account of the descent of the gods and the defeat of the Maya Danawa and the demons indicates the triumph of Hinduism. The *Usana Bali* does not tell us by what earthly means this religion was established, and the reason of this seems to be, (1) that, in order to attain its full sanctity, the religion must be introduced by the gods themselves; (2) that it was desirable or necessary to spare the feelings of the conquered people (the original Balinese) by representing them as conquered, not by men, but by gods. The *Usana Bali* is intended only for the people.

In the *Usana Java*, however, we find traces of the true conquest. It is represented, here, as taking place immediately before the crossing over of the Deva Agung, the chief of Majapahit; but at that time Bali (according to the same *Usana Java*) had already become a province of the kingdom of Majapahit, and is merely subdued a second time after a revolt of the governor. The institution of castes and the Hindu religion evidently existed in Bali previously to this, as is clear also from the narrative of Abdullah; but the revolt and the defeat of the Governor of Bali afforded an opportunity of dividing the land among the nobles of Majapahit, and the prince of Majapahit, or his son, came to reside in this island after the fall of the kingdom of Majapahit. This destruction of Majapahit was effected, according to the Javanese accounts, by Muhammadans; according to the Balinese, the kingdom and city were deserted in consequence of a disease caused by a buta (demon).

According to the *Usana Java*, Arya Damar and Patih Gaja, Madda were sent from Majapahit in the capacity of generals against the rebellious Bali. Arya Damar conquers the north, while Patih Gaja Madda remains inactive in the south; but, on the approach of Arya Damar, the latter portion also submits to this victorious general. The crossing over of the prince of Majapahit is caused, according to the *Usana Java* by the appearance in Bali of a demoniacal king, *Mraja Danawa* (another infidel; therefore!); the latter is of the family of *Maya Danawa* in the *Usana Bali*, and refers to the event that forms the subject of that writing. At that time *Arya Damar* was in

Majapahit, and on the receipt of the intelligence that this Raksasa Mraja Danawa is exercising his power in Bali, the prince of Majapahit himself sets out against Bali with Arya Damar and his whole army; after defeating the Raksasa prince, who, when he can resist no longer, flies away through the air, the prince of Majapahit established himself in *Gelgel*. This account is obviously improbable, and was perhaps invented to conceal from the original Balinese the manner in which, and the reasons for which, the prince of Majapahit, or his son, left his kingdom to settle in Bali.⁸⁰

What would seem nearest the truth in these accounts is this: *Arya Damar had subdued rebellious Bali, and again compelled respect for the prince of Majapahit; a short time afterwards the kingdom of Majapahit fell to the ground (through war or other disasters), and the surviving prince, or one of his sons, came over to peaceful Bali.* The Balinese naturally regard this arrival as an honour, and look upon the loss of Majapahit as of little moment, for they say that place (and all Java) became infested with evil spirits. The princes do not seem to have easily forgotten the loss of their great kingdom in Java; hence their continual wars with *Blambangan*, and even in *Passuruan* (Raffles, vol. ii. p. 200, sqq., *History of Java*), whence, however, they finally had to withdraw. *Blambangan* (the country near *Banyuwangi*) for a long time still belong to Bali. The wildness of this country is partly owing to the wars with the Balinese, who were unable to hold it. It is remarkable that the opposite side of Bali, *Jembrana*, is also, to a great extent, desolate; here, as in Majapahit, the reason of this desolation is said to be that the dwelling of a king of demonical form made the land unsafe. But both *Jembrana* and *Blambangan* were really laid waste by the long wars between Java and Bali, and, even now, are little cultivated, more for security's sake than from fear of the demoniacal king. The longing of the Balinese to regain their lost country has shown itself in the expedition of the Bolelengers against *Banyuwangi* under the English rule. They have also attempted to gain in the East what they have lost in the West—hence the

⁸⁰ The *Usana Java* does not give the name of the prince who became the first Deva Agung in Bali. According to other accounts, his name was Deva Agung K'tut, and this is given by Raffles and confirmed by the Balinese.

conquest of Lombok and the attack on *Sembawa*, where they were stopped by the Dutch Government.

After the settlement of the Deva Agung in Bali at *Gelgel*, the land is divided among the chief men in the army and the Court. Arya Damar received the great land of *Tabanan*, and became a *Patih*, first Minister of the Deva Agung. The prince could not undertake anything without consulting him, and this privilege descends to his offspring, and forms the ground of the present grievances of the princes of *Tabanan* and *Badong*, who never forget this ancient privilege, and, as the Deva Agung does not keep the old promise, no longer consider themselves bound to him. *Badong*, however, preserves, for political reasons, the appearance of subjection. Arya Damar also obtains the title of *Arya Kencheng* (*Kenjeng* or *Kengjeng*, is the title for princely Javanese invested with authority, and is also given to the Resident, the Government, &c.). The number of his men is said to have been 40,000. Smaller governorships were also given to Arya Damar's brothers; to *Arya Sento*, the countries of *Pachung*, the present *Marga*, belonging formerly to *Mengui*, but now to *Tabanan*; to *Arya Beleteng*, the country of *Pinatih*, since conquered by the princes of *Badong*, but still a separate kingdom; to *Arya Waringin*, that of *Kapal* in the present *Mengui*; to *Arya Blog*, that of *Kabakaba* in *Mengui*; to *Arya Kapakisam*, that of *Habiansemal* in *Mengui*; to *Arya Binchaluku*, that of *Tangkas* in *Klongkong*. Besides these brothers of Arya Damar, *Arya Manguri* is mentioned as governor in *Dawuh* in *Karang-Assem*, and the three principal *Wesyas*, *Tan Kuber*, *Tan Kawur*, and *Tan Mundur* (names, really, symbolical), also receive a domain. In the "*Pamen-danga*," a sort of history of the princes and priests, however, of little value, the governorships allotted to these nobles are somewhat different, but, at any rate, this work mentions *Patih Gaja Madda* as governor of *Mengui*, a fact confirmed by all Balinese, but omitted from the *Usana Java*.⁸¹ We thus see Bali, at the very outset, divided among governors; these could soon change from governors into independent princes, such as we now find. In the year 1633, according to the Dutch Envoys, the Deva Agung seems still to have been the only prince in Bali, and it is probable that he was regarded as such and had

⁸¹ The *Usana Bali* betrays partially for the race of Arya Damar.

influence over the whole of Bali until about 100 years ago, when Gelgel, his ancient seat, was destroyed. The countries adjoining Klongkong, *Bangli*, *Gyanyar*, and also *Boleleng*, seem to have been immediately under the Deva Agung, and were then, in course of time, given as governorships to members of his family. Here also, after the degradation of the race of the Arya Damar, were the only remaining Kshatriyas, but even these were partly expelled by the Wesyas. The history of Arya Damar's descendants is remarkable only on account of the conquest of Badong and the founding of this kingdom. The race of Patih Gaja Madda has much more influence upon the history of the whole of Bali. This chief, the second general of the princes of Majapahit, had his seat in Mengui. The palace of Mengui is one of the oldest. Abdullah (*supra*) even makes the Deva Agung reside in Mengui from the first; the information I have obtained as to this point, however, agrees with the *Usana Java*, where the Deva Agung has his first seat in Gelgel; proceeding subsequently to Klongkong. To Mengui belonged, besides the present country of that name, the greater portion of Badong (the smaller, eastern portion of Badong, formed the kingdom of Pinatih, which in later times was subject to Mengui); and, further, a portion of the present Gyanyar, *Kramas*, and the land of *Marga*, which now belongs to Tabanan. It was thus a considerable domain, and as large, if not larger, than Tabanan. Arya Damar's brothers had, it is true, various portions of the present Mengui, but they all appear to have been speedily subjected to the power of Gaja Madda and his successors; the kingdom of Pinatih alone remained under the descendants of Arya Damar but it became tributary to Mengui. The position of Bali at this period (about 250 years ago) may therefore be thus described: *Klongkong Gyanyar* (with the exception of *Kramas*), *Bangli*, and *Boleleng* belonged to the Deva Agung and to *punggawas* (governors) of his family; *Tabanan* to the descendants of Arya Dama; *Mengui* with *Badong* and parts of *Gyanyar* and *Tabanan* (*Kramas* and *Marga*) to the descendants of Gaja Madda. *Karang-Assem* was probably still under the descendants of *Arya Manguri* (at least partially). A change in this state of affairs was caused by the princes of Mengui conquering *Karang-Assem*, and a *Gusti* of *Tabanan* establishing

himself and his descendants in Bandong, and forming a separate independent kingdom, after being for a time subject to Mengui.

Another and a more important change began about one hundred years ago, in consequence of the war of Karang-Assem against Klongkong. The cause of this war was the putting to death of a prince of Karang-Assem, by command of the Deva Agung. The prince in question did penance after the manner of the Indian *yogis*; he gave himself up entirely to contemplation, and, thereby, neglected all outward worldly things so much that he grossly transgressed decorum—*e.g.*, he allowed his excrement to fall where he happened to be sitting. When he was in Klongkong, he conducted himself in the same manner, and thus offended the Deva Agung and the nobles of the court of Gelgel. On his return journey, he was killed from an ambush by command of the Deva Agung. He left three sons, who immediately resolved to avenge his death. The penance performed by their murdered father rendered their power irresistible in the eyes of the Balinese; the real fact is, however, that the race of Gaja Madda, which then possessed all the extensive country of Mengui and Karang-Assem, was the most powerful in Bali. They defeated the Deva Agung and destroyed his royal seat in Gelgel. The Deva Agung retained his territory, however, and seems, from this time forward, to have fallen into the state of dependence under the Karang-Assem family in which we now find him. Peace was restored by marriages, and Klongkong was held in subjection. The wife of the Deva Agung last-deceased was a princess of Karang-Assem, and governed the whole land for him so completely that she even dared to murder another wife of her husband, a princess of Badong. From this time the decline of the power of the Deva Agung is principally to be dated. He was a conquered prince, and, although he retained his territory, and the conquered remained in outward appearance his inferior, yet his prestige among his own people was seriously lowered. In addition to this, the princes of Karang-Assem no longer performed feudal service in Klongkong, but simply conceded to the Deva Agung the title of *first ruler of Bali*, without paying him tribute.

This victory had yet other important consequences for

the family of Karang-Assem. The conquerors of Klongkong could without much difficulty also attack Boleleng, where dynasties had already changed several times, and which at that time was certainly in a weak state. They took this country, also, and one of the brothers became king of Boleleng. At that time the most ancient dynasty of the Kshatriyas had already ceased to exist in Boleleng;²² the statements of the people of Badong asserting that it was driven from the throne seven generations ago, retiring to Badong, where it still lives, subordinate to the ruling Wesyas, but yet of some distinction. (Its head is the Deva Made Rahi in Kutta, who has obtained the chief command of that place from the rajas of Badong.) One of the succeeding princes of Boleleng, also of Wesyan blood (being descended from Arya Beleteng in Pinatih), was *Panji*; he, however, did not hold the kingdom long. Whether he expelled the Kshatriyas is not certain, nor is it known whether the family of Karang-Assem immediately succeeded him.

The last exploit of the victorious brothers of Karang-Assem was the conquest of Lombok. Here, also, one of the brothers remained as prince, keeping five thousand Balinese families with him, from whom the present Balinese population of Lombok have sprung.

In the south, the Gusti family from Tabanan had, in the meantime, subdued the whole of the western portion of Badong, namely, Pinatih: the eastern portion was conquered somewhat later.

About the same time (three generations ago) the family of the Deva Agung was also robbed of its possessions in Gyanyar, and an inferior Deva (*Pungakan*), named Deva Mangis, founded the present kingdom of Gyanyar.

A hundred years later, therefore, we have the following state of affairs in Bali:—(1) The *Deva Agung* in Klongkong, only in name still prince of all Bali, and with his territory reduced to Bangli and Klongkong. Bangli, however, had its own princes, who were also Kshatriyas and descended from the Deva Agung, but of lower birth than the Kshatriyas in Klongkong. In Gyanyar the relations of the Deva Agung were conquered by a Deva of insignificant rank. (2) *The*

²² This is open to doubt. In that case how can Kshatriyas have ruled in Boleleng in Crawford's time (1812)?

family of *Gaja Madda* ruling in Mengui, Karang-Assem, Boleleng, and Lombok. Mengui, their original country, had, however, already lost a large piece of territory to the newly arisen Badong. (3) The family of *Arya Damar* in *Tabanan* and in the newly founded *Badong*.

Since that time there have still been quarrels without end among the eight States which we have mentioned. We say eight, for *Pahyangan* was not a separate State, but belonged formerly to Bangli, and now to Mengui, and *Jembrana* has also, always, or for a very long time, been subject to Boleleng—it was conquered twenty years ago by Badong, but retaken by Boleleng.

The most frequent wars have been between Badong and Mengui, with allies Karang-Assem and Boleleng; and between Gyanyar and Mengui, allied with Bangli. The new kingdoms of Badong and Gyanyar soon became allies, although they have had a few small wars with each other, when one has been for and the other against the party of the Deva Agung. In general, they maintain friendly relations with the Deva Agung, pay him homage, and send him a few presents. To show the present condition of Bali, we will now speak of each State in particular.

1. *Klongkong*, governed by the Deva Agung, is the smallest, and is not a rich country. His men are said to number 6000. Formerly there were members of his family in Nagara, Sukawati, and Pejeng (all in the present Gyanyar); the family also had Boleleng, but it was driven out thence and went to Badong. In Bangli, also, the Kshatriyan family is no longer related to the Deva Agung, but, down to the most recent period, the Kshatriyas of Bangli were always true followers of, and paid homage to, those of Klongkong. At present, Bangli and Klongkong are bitter enemies. Gyanyar, Badong, and Mengui acknowledge the authority of the Deva Agung by presents and envoys. Karang-Assem and Boleleng acknowledge him as supreme prince, but pay him no homage, and, although they act in full harmony with Klongkong, they do so as an entirely independent State. Towards the Dutch Government, however, they make use of the pretended power of the Deva Agung, in order to represent their acts as controlled by the Deva Agung, and to take refuge behind him. Tabanan, Bangli,

and Lomobok do not even acknowledge the superior rank of the Deva Agung, much less give him presents.

The name of the present Deva Agung is G'de Putra;²³ his sister, the daughter of the above-mentioned princess of Karang-Assem, is named Deva Agung Istri. The Deva Agung's mother was a Sudra woman, but the deceased Deva Agung had no male children by noble wives, and thus the son of a Sudra woman was obliged to succeed him.

2. *Gyanyar*.—This State is governed by *Deva Pahan*, a son of *Deva Mangis*, who died in October 1847. The family is Kshatriyan, but of low descent (on account of too much intermixture with Sudra blood), and is called *pungakan* (*pungakan* means *fallen*). *Deva Pahan's* great-grandfather, named *Deva Mangis*, was the founder of this State. He was commander of 200 men in the *desa* of *Gyanyar*, and was under the *Punggawas* of the *Deva Agung*, who were governors in *Nagara*, *Sukawati*, and *Pejeng*, and relations of the ruling *Deva Agung*. By deceit, violence, and poison he gained the mastery over these *punggawas*, and conquered from *Mengui* the country of *Kramas*. On account of his infamous deeds, his poisoning, &c., he is said to have changed after death into a serpent, which was kept for a long time in the palace at *Gyanyar*, but disappeared in the last few years. His success in all his undertakings was probably owing to the fact that he began in a time when *Klongkong* was defeated by *Karang-Assem*, and deprived of all power. *Gyanyar*, however, has submitted to the *Deva Agung* as the supreme ruler, and sends him numerous presents, which cause him to forget that his nearest relatives are disgracefully oppressed—for the former *punggawas* are still living in *Gyanyar*, but they are under the command of a *Pungakan*. It thus appears that, all over *Bali*, noble birth is not sufficient to protect a family. Here, too,

²³ *G'd* means the oldest son or daughter of the same mother among other than royal persons, and among Brahmans the usual word for this is *Wayahan* (old); *Mate* is the second (really the middle one, Sanskrit *madhya*); *Nyoman*, the third, if there be a fourth; *K'tut*, the third or fourth (really the youngest). If there are more children, the same expressions are used, but are placed before the name instead of after it. Thus we have in *Den Passar* a *rāja Ngrurah K'tut*, and a *K'tut Ngrurah*, both sons of the deceased prince, the brother of *Kassiman*. *Putra* is prince, but ought properly to be applied only to those of purely noble birth; in this case, however, the *Deva Agung* is the son of a Sudra woman, but, as the only one who could succeed to the throne, he was ennobled.

the stronger conquers, even though he be of the lowest extraction. Such a victorious family is then again elevated by noble marriages. Gyanyar is stated to contain 35,000 men, but not more than half this return can be taken as true. It is one of the most fertile and best-cultivated districts of Bali.

Gyanyar is allied with Badong, and acts as mediator in the disputes between this State and Klongkong. Its attitude towards Karang-Assem is neither friendly nor hostile. In the last Dutch expedition against Boleleng, Gyanyar, by command of the Deva Agung, sent 5000 men to assist; they arrived too late, however, and were not the best soldiers, but, on the contrary, the refuse of the kingdom.

Gyanyar has had many quarrels under the three princes bearing the name of Deva Mangis, chiefly with Bangli and Mengui, but also with other States. At the conquest of Mengui by Badong, Gyanyar was allied with the latter, and received a piece of territory on the frontier *Kadewatan*. Gyanyar's friendship towards Badong is not to be relied on; hence the new campongs built by the raja Kassiman on the frontier of Badong.

3. *Bangli*.—The reigning prince is *Deva G'de Putu Tangkeban*.²⁴ His family also is descended from the first Deva Agung in Klongkong, but in rank it stands lower than the line of the Deva Agungs. Formerly this family ruled over two States—*Bangli* and *Taman-Bali*. This close relationship was not sufficient to prevent the prince of the former State from seizing the latter and extirpating its princes. The same thing has, however, occurred to the families of Karang-Assem and of Lombok. Until about ten years ago, Bangli was attached to Klongkong; the prince of Bangli, the most warlike in Bali, was commander-in-chief (*Sendapati*). Its enmity with Klongkong was brought about by the influence of the princess of Karang-Assem, who was married to the deceased Deva Agung. In its many wars with Karang-Assem, Boleleng, and Gyanyar, however, it lost part of its territory in the north, and lately also Pahyangan, which lies south of Bangli, and is now divided from Bangli itself by a strip of territory acquired by Gyanyar. Pahyangan has been won by Boleleng and ceded by this State

²⁴ *Putu* is applied to a person at whose birth the grandfather or grandmother is still living.

to the Deva Agung, who again has handed it over to the government of the prince of Mengui, his Punggawa.

Bangli no longer acknowledges the Deva Agung, and has entered into friendly relations with Tabanan and Badong, which, however, the surrounding hostile States render of little account. The war with Gyanyar has recently been stopped through the influence of Badong. The country has also suffered nothing from Karang-Assem and Boleleng since the first Dutch expedition; now, however, it is in great danger from the union of these two States and of Klongkong and Mengui. The men of Bangli are the bravest in Bali, and it is only by virtue of this quality that they have been able to hold their own against so many powerful enemies. Women also bear arms in this country. There are only fifty firearms in Bangli.²⁵

4. *Mengui*.—The reigning prince is *Anak Agung K'tut Agung*. He murdered his elder brother, who was the first prince; the widow of the latter, *Byang Agung*, however, still has much influence. The families of Karang-Assem, Boleleng, and Lombok are of Menguian extraction. *Patih Gaja Madda* was governor of Mengui. According to some accounts, this *Patih Gaja Madda* was an incarnation of Vishnu, who has thus also assumed the body of a Wesya. The story probably originated when the family had subdued nearly the whole of Bali and Lombok. Another account says that *Patih Gaja Madda*

²⁵ The above like all the rest of this account, was written in 1848. The third expedition despatched by the Dutch Government against the hostile States in Bali in 1849 has very much altered the position of several princes. The author has thought it desirable, however, not to alter his work on this account, but to describe Bali in the state in which it was when he left it. Now that Boleleng, Karang-Assem, and Bangli are better known, the public will of course have fresh information regarding them; hitherto, however, but little that is authentic has come to the author's ears, and he therefore gives the information which he gathered, to serve as far as possible as historical data. It is well known that the prince of Bali, the faithful ally of the Dutch Government, has now, in addition to his own country, received from the Government the State of Boleleng, to be ruled under the sovereignty of Holland; also that Karang-Assem has been given to the prince of Mataram-Lombok, who believed he had a well-founded claim to it. The authority of the Deva-Agung has also been still further lessened, both because he has been compelled to acknowledge the sovereignty of Holland, and because two princes, who previously did not recognize his authority, have now become his powerful and dreaded neighbours, who will always be ready and able to hold him in check. To avoid repetition, we need here only allude to the fact that the princes hitherto reigning in Boleleng and Karang-Assem, and the still better-known *Gusti Jelanteg*, have fallen in the struggle.

vanished from the earth and left no children, the house of Mengui being descended from Ki Yasak, who married the granddaughter of Arya Damar against the will of her father, *Arya Yasan*. In ancient times Mengui included the whole of western Badong, while the eastern portion, the State of Pinatih, also acknowledged the supremacy of Mengui among the descendants of Arya Beleteng. Besides this, Kramas and Kadevatan of Gyanyar and Marga, in the mountain range of Tabanan, formerly belonged to Mengui. Kramas was conquered by Gyanyar, as we have seen; we shall speak of the rest in connection with Badong. Mengui was for some time, about twelve years, under the dominion of Badong, but is now again free from that kingdom and stands as a separate governorship under Klongkong. The house of Mengui is not only of the same origin as that of Karang-Assem, but is also allied to it by a very recent marriage between the prince of Karang-Assem and a princess of Mengui. Mengui must obey blindly the order of the Deva Agung; it is, however, hostile to Badong and Tabanan, and is nearly neutralized by its position between these States. The small piece of territory belonging to Mengui on the sea-coast is very much coveted by Badong, which, by obtaining it, would touch the frontier of its ally Tabanan. This piece of territory, however, is strongly defended by its rocky coast, which only leaves open a small path.

The hostility which exists among the Balinese is shown by, among other things, the diversion of water; Mengui, for instance, has dug a new bed on its territory for a river which formerly flowed into the sea in Badong, and by this means has left dry the rice-fields of Grobokkan on the borders of Badong.

5. *Karang-Assem*—The reigning prince is *Ngrurah*^{ss} *G'de Karang-Assem*. The family is that of Gaja Madda, and the country was conquered by Mengui more than two hundred years ago. A list of the names of the princes of Karang-Assem is given in the "*Pamendanga*," a work which we have mentioned above, but nothing is stated as to their acts. In the "*Usana*

^{ss} *Ngrurah* means something that overshadows, *palindongan*, a payong, and also the vault of heaven. The princes of the Wesyan race nearly all bear this title; they overshadow and protect the land. The prince of Mengui has not this title, for his country belongs to Klongkong, and is merely entrusted to the present prince as a fief of Klongkong: *Ngrurah*, *Angrurah*, *Anglurah*, as in Java *Lurah*, a chief of the fourth rank.

Java," the governorship of Dawuh in Karang-Assem is held by Arya Mangui; it is not certain whether that family had the whole of Karang-Assem—possibly part of it was in the possession of the Deva Agung. By the conquest of Karang-Assem by the house of Mengui, Klongkong was cut off from Boleleng, and the powerful royal family in the conquered State afterwards found it an easy matter to subdue Boleleng by itself.

No State has waged so many wars as Karang-Assem. We have spoken above of the victory over the Deva Agung and the destruction of *Gelgel*. The consequence of this was the subjugation of *Boleleng* and *Lombok*, and the family would perhaps have ended by making itself master of Bali, Lombok, and Sembawa (Sembawa was actually attacked, but was spared through the intervention of the Dutch Government) but for its numerous civil wars. Many of the princes of Karang-Assem and of the conquered Boleleng were expelled by members of their own family. In Lombok, also, the two princes of the house of Karang-Assem were at war with each other nine years ago, with the result that the chief prince, that of Karang-Assem-Lombok, was defeated by the prince of *Mataram*, and committed suicide. Of the Karang-Assem-Lombok family two children were saved, a son and a daughter of the last prince, and they are now living in Karang-Assem-Bali.⁸⁷ The rest of the family, including the women murdered each other in true Indian fashion, in order not to survive the shame of defeat. They even wished to murder also a European who had sided with them, in order to go to heaven (*Svarga*) all together. This method "of quitting life by the members of the family murdering each other" is also regarded in Bali as a *Bela*, and here also the Indian meaning of the word *wela* ("sudden and easy death," see above) is applicable. Since the fall of Karang-Assem-Lombok, the princes of Karang-Assem-Bali, of Boleleng, and the Deva Agung, who is independent of them, have been enemies of Lombok, and do not acknowledge each other as lawful rulers. The prince of Lombok, which is also called *Selaparang*, is *Ngrurah K'tut Karang-Assem*.

Karang-Assem is the most mountainous country of Bali,

⁸⁷ Perhaps these sole descendants have now been killed by the prince of Mataram Lombok; at all events he was formerly in constant dread of these lawful heirs of Lombok.

and grows little rice, but the dense population is very skilful in manual work, especially in wood-carving, whereby they gain their livelihood. According to the statements of the Balinese, it contains 50,000 men able to bear arms.

6. *Boleleng*.—The prince is *Ngrurah Made Karang-Assem*. The family comes from Karang-Assem, and thus is originally descended from Mengui and Patih Gaja Madda. The present prince is a brother of the prince of Karang-Assem. Many dynasties have ruled in Boleleng. Seven generations ago the Kshatriyan princes of Boleleng, relations of the Deva Agung, were expelled by a Wesyan family; to the latter belonged Ngrurah Panji, a descendant of Arya Beleteng. The surviving Kshatriyas of Boleleng now live in Badong. Boleleng was finally conquered four or five generations ago by Karang-Assem, but this did not put a stop to the wars, for the members of the Karang-Assem family could not agree together. The most profound peace reigns now, since two brothers have filled the thrones of Karang-Assem and Boleleng. According to Balinese statements, Boleleng has but 12,000 men capable of bearing arms; perhaps so few are returned in order to represent its conquest by the Government as of little importance.

The well-known *Gusti Jelanleg* is a cousin of the prince; his father was murdered by the late prince; yet the son now reigns, whilst the lawful king is but a shadow.

7. *Tabanan*.—Prince *Ratu*^{**} *Ngrurah Agung*. The family is that of *Arya Damar*, which is said to have remained pure, although here this is at any rate improbable, and in Badong is untrue. Tabanan does not engage in many wars; it has suffered defeat a few times from Boleleng, but has never been entirely conquered. In the war with Mengui, in which the whole of that State was conquered by Badong and its allies, Gyanyar and Tabanan, Tabanan received the mountain-district of Marga. The more recent quarrels with Mengui are of no importance and never result in anything. The men of Tabanan understand the art of war much less than the other Balinese. Two men of Tabanan are calculated to be no more than a match for one of Mengui, and the people of Bandong

^{**} The title of *ratu* is always used in addressing princes, but it is only used before the name in speaking of especially distinguished princes. The raja of Tabanan has lately adopted it, and also *Sagung-Adi* in Pam'chuttan.

add to this that one man of Badong is equal to two of Mengui.⁸⁹ The men able to bear arms are stated to be 100,000 in number(?). Under the prince of Tabanan stands that of *Kediri*, a relation of the former, ruling over a tolerably large territory.

Another Punggawa of Tabanan is the prince of the Marga already mentioned; the latter is not a Wesya, but a *Sûdra*. His ancestor was a seller of palm-wine (*tuak*), who managed to gain the favour of the prince of Mengui, and by him was made Punggawa. When the territory was transferred from Mengui to Tabanan, the prince of Marga retained his position. (His district grows most of the coffee in Bali.) This instance is the only one which has come to my knowledge of a *Sûdra* prince, but it indicates the decay of the institution of caste. One often hears the nobles say that Bali must go to the bad now that the *Sûdras* or children of *Sûdra* mothers become kings. Compare *Deva Agung raja Pam'chuttan*.

8. *Badong*—The three princes who together rule this State are—(1) *Ngrurah G'de Pam'chuttan*, (2) *Made Ngrurah in Den Passar*, and (3) *Ngrurah G'de (Kassiman)*. This state has been formed gradually. The western portion formerly belonged to Mengui, and the eastern, the State of *Pinatih*, to the descendants of *Arya Beleteng*, who acknowledged the supremacy of Mengui. *Pinatih* lies to the eastward of *Kassiman*, from the frontier of *Gyanyar* to *Tanjang*, opposite *Serangan* (at the place where the roadstead is on the eastern side). It comprises *Gunung Rata*, *Sanor*, *Taman Intaran*, *Soong*, and the island of *Serangan*, and is a very fertile district. The poorer western portion with *Grobokkan*, *Legian*, *Kutta*, *Tuban*, *Jembaran*, and the southern corner of *Bali* (the point of the tableland called by the Balinese *bukit*, the mountain-range), were immediately under Mengui, to which State also belonged the *P'kên Badong*, a much-frequented place of trade. The founder of the State of *Badong* was a *Gusti* of the royal house of *Tabanan*. In a manuscript which was lent to me, and in which a brief enumeration of the names and marriages of the princes of *Badong* was written at the end of another work, he was called *Gusti Ngrurah Bola*; he had settled in *Tabanan* in the

⁸⁹ Recent experience during the third Dutch expedition does not confirm this assertion, *Badong* having as is well known, been defeated.

kampong of *Buahan* (*Buahan* and *Jambe* mean the betel-nut, *pinang*), and is therefore called—(1) *Anak Agung ring Buahan bumi Tabanan* (the prince in or of *Buahan* in the land of *Tabanan*); he was the younger son, and sought for a place. From him to the *raja Kassiman*, who now has the supreme government, there are ten generations, but until we come to the great-grandfather of this man, their history is little more than a list of names).⁹⁰ He went from *Tabanan* to the *P'ken Badong*, and lived there in the house of *Hi Sedahan*, a *Sûdra* (the name *S'dah* means *sirih*; this name renders the matter somewhat open to suspicion; was it necessary exactly that the *pinang* (bush) should come to the *sirih*?) He thus had no palace, nor does he seem to have had a governorship, nor a fixed residence in *Badong*, for his son or grandson again comes from *Buahan* to *Badong*. His sister married the *Gusti Agung*, the prince of *Mengui*, but left no children. The reason of his departure is said to be that he went to seek a governorship in *Mengui*, an object which his son or grandson seems for the first time to have attained.

2. *Anak Agung K'tut Mandesa*: this prince, the son or grandson of *Ngrurah Bola*, went from *Buahan*, in *Tabanan*, to the *Gunung Batur*, the mountain which vomits fire, on which *Dewi Danu* or *Gangga* is worshipped. This was evidently a pilgrimage; he did penance on the sacred mountain, in order to obtain earthly power. Thence he came to *Badong* and lived in the house of the *M'kel (B'kel) Tinggi*, to the south of the place of cremation of the present *Pam'chuttan*, in the *desa* of *T'gal*. His surname, *Mandesa*, is said to have been given him because he resided at first in the house of a *mandesa* (it is possible that he himself was nothing more than a *mandesa*, a kampong-chief). With the aid of the *M'kel Tinggi* he soon managed to gain a large number of followers, the result of his penances, and became a *Punggawa* of *Mengui*.

3. *Anak Agung Pededekan*, son of the last mentioned; he also appears to have been a *Punggawa*.

⁹⁰ The date of a war with *Sideman* (1582, corresponding with 1660 A.D.) is found in the manuscript of the *Wiga Garga*, which was lent to me: in that year the men of *Karang-Assem* (*Sideman*) with their allies, *Mengui*, &c., had attacked and invested *Badong*, but had not conquered it. This is the only historical fact chronologically determined which came to my knowledge in *Bali*. It appears to have occurred in the time of *Gusti Nyoman T'geh*.

4. The three sons of the last are *Gusti Wayahan T'geh*, *Gusti Nyoman T'geh* and *Gusti K'tut K'di*. The second, *Gusti Nyoman T'geh*, is the ancestor of the succeeding princes, and increased the power of the house. He married a woman of noble family (*prami*) of *Buahan*. He was brave and cunning, and had a body of picked troops. One of his wife's sisters was married at Klongkong to the Dalem (*Deva Agung*), and died as a *Satya*; and the other married in Mengui the *Gusti Agung*, and became the ancestress of all the *Gusti Agungs* (princes) of Mengui. These noble alliances and his personal qualities added to his influence, and he seems to have possessed the whole of ancient Badong from *Abian-Timbul* to *Glogor Pam'chuttan*, and *Kassiman*. It is not certain when the wars with Mengui began, but probably he and his son, and grandson after him, were Punggawas of that State.

5. *Gusti Ngrurah Jambe Mihik* (he is named *Jambe*, because his mother was from *Buahan*, or *Jambe*, in *Tabanan*).

6. The two sons of the last mentioned, by one mother, are *Anak Agung G'de Galogor* and *Anak Agung T'las ring batu Krotok*. Their mother was from *Panataran*, a place in the present *Pam'chuttan*; the *Aryas Panataran* were at that time still *Wesyas*, but afterwards they were degraded to *Sudras*. His wife was also from *Panataran*, and he seems to have founded *Pam'chuttan*, or to have made it his residence. *Pam'chuttan* is derived from *p'chut*, an ox-whip; the descent of the race of *Pam'chuttan* from an oxdriver is found in *Abdullah (Tijdschrift, vii, 2, p. 166 sqq.)*. It is admitted in *Badong* that the wife of one of the ancestors was of humble origin, the daughter of an ox-driver, but it does not appear that the wife of *Anak Agung T'las ring batu Krotok* was of such low birth; had she been so, her son *Ngrurah Sakti Pam'chuttan* would not have attained such great distinction and power.

At this time there were princes' capitals in *T'gal*; this is the most ancient, and was founded by the second prince. *T'gal* lies to the south of *Pam'chuttan*—the principal family, of course, resided here; thence was descended the family in *P'ken Badong*, which had palaces both here and in *Kshatriya*, north of *Den Passar*. *Galogor*, to the north of *Pam'chuttan*, was also a capital, founded by the elder brother of *Anak Agung T'las ring batu Krotok*; the family still exists, and has pro-

bably been spared on account of its near relationship with the line of Pam'chuttan. The descendants became Punggawas of Pam'chuttan, and afterwards of Den Passar.

Pam'chuttan, finally, the capital of Anak Agung T'las ring batu Krotok, was at the time the seat of the younger line, which, however, was soon to unite the whole of Badong.

7. The sons of *Anak Agung T'las ring batu Krotok* are called *putras*, princes. They are—(a) *Anak Agung ring Pam'chuttan*, also called *Ngrurah Sakti Pam'chuttan*, (b) *Gusti Made T'gal*, (c) *Gusti K'tut T'labah*. Of the last two nothing is known. The first is he who founded the power of Pam'chuttan. He had obtained that great power by means of a creese pussaka,⁹¹ called *singha*—thence his name *Sakti* (supernatural power). He subjected the most ancient capital of the princes of Badong in T'gal, and waged successful wars against Mengui, from which he wrested the territory from the present frontier of Mengui to the point of the table-land. He appears to have been the first who was regarded in Badong as an independent prince. He had five hundred wives; the principal ones (*prami*) were from *Tangkeban* (*Bangli*, thus an intermixture with *Kshatriyas*), *Galogor*, and *Mengui*. From this prince are descended eight hundred *Gusti Pam'chuttan*, who, on account of their near relationship, are regarded as the support and strength of the land. But where brother is ready to fight against brother, such a strength is imaginary. These eight hundred *Gustis* have a common sanctuary in Pam'chuttan, where they must appear once a month, and in case of absence have to pay a penalty.

Besides Pam'chuttan, the kingdom of the Jambes also existed at that time in P'ken Badong and *Kshatriya* (the last being merely a country residence of the prince). They also gained distinction by subduing the kingdom of *Pinatih*, the eastern portion of Badong. They were still of importance at that period, and really of nobler birth than the princes of Pam'chuttan. *Galogor* had transferred itself to Pam'chuttan as *Punggawa*.

Ngrurah Sakti's principal sons were :

8. (a) *Ngrurah G'de Pam'chuttan*, *devata di Ukiran* (who died in *Ukiran*) ; from him are descended the present princes

⁹¹ [*Pussaka*, an heirloom.]

of Pam'chuttan, of whom we shall speak hereafter. (b) *Ngrurah Mayun*, in the palace of *Mayun*,⁹² on the opposite side of the river to the east of Kassiman. This palace no longer exists; all the materials of which it was built have been taken to Den Passar. (c) *Ngrurah Kaleran*, in the palace of Kaleran; to the north of Pam'chuttan, which position is also indicated by the name *kaleran* (northern). Little is recorded of these princes; of course they, too, had wars with Mengui and other States, but they have done no prominent acts, and are overshadowed by the fame of their father and their descendants. Pam'chuttan remained and still remains the chief seat of the family; the prince of Pam'chuttan alone can obtain the *Abbisheka*, that is, can be anointed as prince of the whole realm.

9. The most remarkable of the descendants of the three sons of *Ngrurah Sakti* was *Ngrurah Made Pam'chuttan*, the son of *Ngrurah Kaleran*. This chief married the daughter of *Ngrurah Mayun*, thereby uniting two portions of the possessions of the Pam'chuttan family, and founded the palace of Kassiman. Not content with this, he attacked the Jambes in P'ken Badong and Kshatriya, and conquered their territory after a severe struggle. He was supported by Pam'chuttan and Gyanyar, whilst the Jambes received aid from Nengui. Great must have been the slaughter in the palace of P'ken Badong—it is spoken of with terror to this day. The fate is also lamented of the murdered Raja Jambe, who, the people say, was entirely blameless, and had given no cause for the war. He had his revenge, however, upon his conqueror, according to the belief of the Balinese, for he was born again in the family of his foe, as his grandson, and the one of noblest birth, a circumstance which was an omen of great misfortune to that family. The conqueror began to build the great palace of Den Passar, but died before it was half finished; he had already taken up his residence, however, in the new palace, and in him began the line of the princes of Den Passar: the palace in Kassiman was still inhabited afterwards by his wife from Mayun, and was finally given up to his second son (according to birth), the still living Raja Kassiman. This

⁹² *Mayun* is the same as *Made*, "the middle or second son (or daughter)." This name now no longer exists in Badong; the second prince in the family of Pam'chuttan is called *Made*.

prince, for the sake of distinction, is called *devata di made*, "died in the middle"⁹³ (*made*—the middle—is here Den Passar,⁹⁴ which, both from the rank of its prince and from its situation, comes between Pam'chuttan and Kassiman). His numerous quarrels with Mengui and nearly all Bali have been without result. Even Tabanan has once fought against him, at the desire of the Deva Agung, and, to save appearances, burnt a single kampong; in reality, however, Tabanan and Gyanyar have always remained friendly to Badong, but they were obliged for political reasons to assume the appearance of hostility against their ally. Badong has neither gained nor lost territory under his rule, while it has become an independent State. The quarrels with the other States were caused chiefly by the aggressions of the Jamboes.

10. The sons of this prince, besides many of lower birth, were—(a) *Ngrurah Made Pam'chuttan* in Den Passar, (b) *Ngrurah Kassiman* in Kassiman, (c) *Ngrurah Jambe*, who lives near Den Passar. All three are by different mothers; the first is by a mother from Pam'chuttan, daughter of the *Devata di Ukiran* (Ngr. *G'de Pam'chuttan*) and a princess of Tabanan. This prince was younger than the prince of Kassiman, but as he was born of a Raja-woman he took the highest rank among the sons. *Kassiman*, the old prince who still lives, is the son of a Gusti-woman of Pam'chuttan. *Ngrurah Jambe* is the son of the daughter of the last prince of Kshatriya, who was forced to marry the conqueror and murderer of her father. By birth he would be more noble than Kassiman, and equal to Pam'chuttan, but the descendants of a conquered prince can never again acquire rank in Bali. His noble birth is acknowledged, but he can make no claim to the throne.

The prince of Den Passar, called after his death *devata di Kshatriya*, was an ally of Gyanyar and Tabanan. These three began a fresh war against Mengui, which was carried on more by artifice than by force of arms; the Punggawa of Marga, for instance, who at that time was subject to Mengui, being induced to surrender to Tabanan. For fear that he would lose

⁹³ [*Devata*, in the sense of dying (lit. being deified), is only used of princes.]

⁹⁴ *Den Passar* means, north of the Passar, or, still better, on the side of the Passar; thus we have also *Den Bukit*, "on the further side of the mountains", as another name for Boleleng.

all his territory in this way, the prince of Mengui gave his land in fief to the prince of Den Passar, and remained in possession of Mengui as Punggawa of Badong; he only lost Marga to Tabanan, and Kadewatan, a small piece of territory on the frontier, to Gyanyar. After this arrangement, the four southern States were allied together against Karang-Assem and Boleleng, the old enemies of Badong and Tabanan, whilst Klongkong remained neutral. This state of affairs continued until shortly after the death of the prince of Den Passar, which took place in 1829.

The prince of Den Passar continued the building of the palace at that place, but did not finish it; we see it now in the state in which he left it. Most of the building materials had to be found by the conquered State of Mengui, where timber was obtained from the mountains, this article being very scarce in Badong. He had several noble wives, but his only son of noble birth, Ngrurah G'de Putra, died a short time before his father. This was the one already mentioned, who was considered to be the last *râja* Jambe born again, which belief his own father shared. He was regarded as certain to bring misfortune upon the family, and it would seem that he did not die a natural death. In the compact with Mengui, the prince of that land had declared himself a vassal of Ngrurah Made Pam'chuttan and his son Ngrurah G'de Putra. The death of both without a previous renewal of the compact enabled Mengui to regard itself as discharged from its obligations towards Badong, and it soon, in fact, withdrew from them.

After the death of Ngrurah Made Pam'chuttan, Kassiman was the only prince of importance of the family of Den Passar, and he thus gained the supremacy in Den Passar and Kassiman. During his brother's lifetime these two nearly came to blows; Kassiman had already placed his country in a state of defence, but this civil war was prevented by the intervention of Ngrurah G'de Pam'chuttan, the then prince of Pam'chuttan.

The eldest surviving son of Ngrurah Made Pam'chuttan was *Ngrurah G'de Oka*. He would have become prince of Den Passar, but he would not acknowledge the supremacy of Kassiman. Kassiman, in conjunction with the prince of Pam'chuttan, compelled him, however, to leave the country and banished him to Tabanan. This did not prevent him from acting against Kassiman. From

Tabanan he went to Mengui, and, both here and in Bangli, gained friends who were willing to support him. To strengthen his party still further, he released Mengui from its vassalage to Badong, under the pretext of being his father's heir, and gave it to the Deva Agung. The latter hastened to make use of this gift, and was able to do so without scruple, because the prince of Mengui had only sworn allegiance in the contract with Badong to the deceased princes Ngrurah Made Pam'chuttan and his son Ngrurah G'de Putra. The Deva Agung then commanded that Ngrurah G'de Oka should be received again in Badong, and this command was obeyed, for this prince had made his appearance with a numerous army from Mengui and Bangli. Ngrurah G'de Oka afterwards carried off Kassiman's only daughter, and took her to wife. Old Kassiman again made use of this to confirm his power over Den Passar: he was now in fact the prince's father. Not long after this marriage, however, Ngrurah G'de Oka died also. The sudden deaths of this prince, his brother, and his father lead us to suspect unnatural means, but I cannot assert, nor would I willingly believe, that they were applied by Kassiman. This old man, it is true, took the best advantage of circumstances, not only in Den Passar, but also in Pam'chuttan, of which we are about to speak. The present prince of Den Passar is Ngrurah Made, who, against his will, acknowledges old prince Kassiman as supreme prince in Badong, but, nevertheless, is independent and endeavouring to increase his power.

Pam'chuttan, since the time of Ngrurah Sakti, has been the chief seat of princes in Badong. The family of Den Passar, however, has, by its wars, acquired great fame, and under Kassiman's father and brother has, in fact, held the supreme authority, notwithstanding the nominally higher rank of the prince of Pam'chuttan. We have seen above, that the eldest son of Ngrurah Sakti Pam'chuttan took up his residence in Pam'chuttan. His name was (8) *Ngrurah G'de Pam'chuttan devata ri Ukiran* (Ukiran is a place in Pam'chuttan). He was succeeded by his son (9) *Ngrurah G'de Pam'chuttan devata di Munchuk*; both were always allied with their more famous relations in Den Passar, and this friendship was maintained by marriages. The last prince of noble birth was (10) *Ngrurah*

G'de Pam'chuttan *devata di g'dong*; he was anointed,²⁵ and played an important part in the wars of Kassiman's father and brother. By command of this prince and Kassiman's brother, his cousin *Anak Agung Lanang* crossed the sea with an army to *Jembrana*, and conquered this country, which belonged to *Boleleng*. *Anak Agung Lanang* went thither because the prince of *Den Passar* wished to banish him from *Badong*. This fact also shows the supremacy of *Den Passar* at that time. *Jembrana* was soon lost again, however, and subsequently (11) *Anak Agung Lanang* (about 1830), after the death of *Ngrurah G'de Pam'chuttan*, who left no sons, became prince of *Pam'chuttan*. He was not anointed, but yet enjoyed greater renown than his son, the present prince. He had no sons of noble birth; he only had by a *Gunḍik* (concubine) the two sons now called (12) *Ngrurah G'de Pam'chuttan* and *Ngrurah Made Pam'chuttan*. These, during their father's lifetime, were his *Parakans*, who carried after him his *sirih-box*, &c. After the death of *Anak Agung Lanang*, a great portion of the *Punggawas* of *Pam'chuttan* would not acknowledge his son as prince, on account of his low birth. *Kassiman*, however, who in the meantime had also obtained the supreme power in *Den Passar*, supported the new prince. Some *Punggawas* (e.g., *Deva Made Rahi*, in *Kutta*) submitted, and a *Gusti* of *Legian* fled the country and took refuge in *Gyanyar*. *Kassiman* then established the new prince in the ancestral palace of *Pam'chuttan*, and his authority, by marrying him to the daughters of *Ngrurah G'de Pam'chuttan*, the cousin and predecessor of his father. These women are the principal surviving members of the family, and their illustrious birth enhances that of the prince, who is himself, as it were, his wife's inferior. His principal wife's name is *Sagung*²⁶ *Adi*, another is called *Sagung Made*, and a third *Sagung Oka*. *Sagung Adi* has now

²⁵ The anointing of a prince, *Abhisheka* (Sans.) is performed by the priests (the *Guru lokas*). In *Badong* it only takes place at *Pam'chuttan*. In order to be anointed, the prince must be both of noble birth and instructed in all religious duties. The prince of *Pam'chuttan* referred to in the text was a *Rishi*; he had attained the position of a saint by penances (*maveda*).

²⁶ *Sagung* means a princess, born of a princely father and mother. *Sayu*, one whose mother was only a *Gusti*-woman. *Sagung* is derived from *agung*, great; *Sayu* from *ayu*, good, which we have also found to be a name for the female Brahmins (*Idayu*).

assumed the name of *Ratu*, which we have also seen was done by the prince of Tabanan.

Kassiman's intervention in the affairs of Pam'chuttan gave him the supreme authority in this part of Badong also. He is regarded as the father of the princes of Den Passar and Pam'chuttan, and uses circumstances very cleverly to keep those princes in dependence.

The prince of *Den Passar*, *Made Ngrurah*, and his brothers *K'tut Ngrurah* and *Ngrurah K'tut*, were all born of mothers of low extraction, and, had they a brother of higher birth, would not have the least claim to rule. Besides this, *K'tut Ngrurah* is in opposition to *Made Ngrurah*, and asserts that he has a better claim than the latter. He has several of the *Punggawas* on his side, and *Made Ngrurah* is therefore obliged to invoke the aid of his uncle Kassiman to maintain his position. Kassiman, however, it would seem, does not trust *Made Ngrurah*, who has inherited much of his father's ambitious character: he therefore does all he can to uphold the power of Pam'chuttan, and has enriched the prince of that country and invested him with a certain renown. The prince of Pam'chuttan, therefore, dares not dispute Kassiman's authority; he is of low birth and a peaceful disposition, and would also have to fear the house of Den Passar, which considers itself raised above so low a birth by the deeds of its father and grandfather. The prince of Pam'chuttan has not the *abhisheka*; although he is a man of about forty-five, he is not yet sufficiently instructed in his duties and in religion; he has performed his duties to the *Pitaras*, having, with all due ceremony, burnt his father, and built a new domestic temple, which was finished a year ago; yet it appears that he will not receive the *abhisheka* during Kassiman's lifetime, and, in the event of his death, this would also, perhaps, be prevented by the opposition of Den Passar. The prince of Den Passar has not fulfilled his duties towards his ancestors; his father and brother as well as other chief members of his family are still unburnt, and are preserved in the palace of Den Passar. On this account *Made Ngrurah* does not reside in the palace.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ [The position of affairs, 35 years latter, is thus described by Jacobs, l. l. p. 168 : "Badung however small, is divided among three princes, each of whom originally ruled his own portion, and contested the supremacy

This cremation must from the rank of the deceased be very splendid; the prince of Den Passar, however, has not the means to do it, and although, apparently, the whole population of Badong works for him, this produces very little visible result. He has to complete the palace which his father left unfinished, and in which much work has still to be done, and further to improve the roads of his country, which have fallen into a very bad state of repair since the death of his father, the last prince of Pam'chuttan who had the abhisheka. And, finally, he cannot easily raise the funds for a great cremation, and is opposed in his undertakings by K'tut Ngrurah, and, in secret, by Kassiman. In Den Passar also, therefore, it is probable that the position of affairs will remain unchanged till Kassiman's death. Yet another reason against the cremation of the late prince of Den Passar and his son G'de Putra appears to be the above-mentioned superstition, that prince Jambe has been born again in the family of Den Passar in the person of G'de Putra. This second birth indicates misfortune for the family, which fears either that that prince will be born a third time, or that the curse which seems to attach to the family prevents it from performing works pleasing to the gods.

All these are by mothers of low caste; the family of Belauan has again raised itself in rank by means of noble marriages. The others, after one more intermixture with Sûdran blood, will sink into the position of ordinary Gustis.

FURTHER REMARKS ON THE CASTES

The *Dewas*, *Gustis*, and *Idas* are much too numerous in Bali to maintain their dignity; they, and especially the first two classes, are too proud to gain their livelihood by work, and prefer unjust privileges. They rob the people without limit; they are the cause of the plundering of ships, and of the extortions to which foreign traders are often exposed. The high-caste princes are seldom guilty of such misdeeds, but they wink at the robberies of their relations, and it is difficult to obtain

with the other two, so that we find there three chief cities, Den Passar, Pam'chutan, and Kasiman. The present Raja Kasiman, though still residing at Kasiman, has deputed his power to the Raja Den Passar, so that actually the latter shares with Raja Pam'chutan supreme authority. Raja Den Passar exercise away over the whole of Badung, or is at least looked upon by our government as exercising such away, while also Pam'chutan is recognised as a ruling prince.]

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE PRINCES OF BADONG

(1) <i>Gusti Ngrurah Bola</i>		
(2) <i>Anak Agung K'tut Mandesa</i>		
(3) <i>Anak Agung Paḍidikan</i>		
Gusti Wayahan Tegeh..	(4) <i>Gusti Nyoman Tegeh,</i> called <i>Anak Agung di Pule</i>	Gusti K'tut K'di
(5) <i>Gusti Ngrurah Pambe Mihik.</i>		
Anak Agung G'de Galogor. The princely family of Galogor.	(6) <i>Anak Agung t'las ring batu Krotak,</i> in Pam'chuttan.	
(7) <i>Anak Agung ring Pam'chuttan,</i> called <i>Ngrurah Sakti Pam'chuttan,</i> with 500 wives.	Gusti Made T'gal.	Gusti K'tut T'labah.
(8) <i>Ngr. G'de Pam'chuttan devata di Ukiran.</i> Ngr. Mayun Ngr. Kaleran; his daughter, Ngr. Putu, married...Ngr. Made Pam'- chuttan, devata di Ukiran.		
(9) <i>Ngr. G'de Pam'chuttan devata di</i> <i>Munchuk.</i>	Anak Agung Lanang.	
(10) <i>Ngrurah G'de Pam'chuttan</i> <i>devata di G'dong.</i>	(11) <i>Anak Agung Lanang.</i>	See the follow- ing table.
(12) <i>Ngr. G'de Pam'ch.</i> Ngr. Made Pam'ch.		
Daughters : Sagung Adi. Sagung Made. Sagung Oka. Sagung Raka, &c.		Ngr. Putu, the only son, by a mother of low extraction.

TABLE OF THE FAMILY OF KALERAN—DEN PASSAR

(1) *Ngrurah Kaleran*

(2) <i>Ngr Made Pam'ch.</i> Married to Ngr. Putu Mayun (devata di Made).	Anak Agung Rahi. In Kaleran Kawan. From whom is descended the family of Kaleran Kawan and Kutta. The present prince's name is also Anak Agung Rahi.	Gusti alit Pam'ch. In Kaleran Kangiman. From whom is descended the family in Kaleran Kangiman. The present prince's name is also Gusti Alit Pam'chuttan.	Gusti Ngr. K'tut. In J ro T'gal. The present prince's name is Gusti Ngrurah T'gas.
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All these are Punggawas of Den Passar.

(3) <i>Ngr. Made Pam'chuttan devata di Kshatriya.</i> Mother of Pam'chuttan, wife of Pam'chuttan, and of Tabanan extraction.	Ngr. Kassiman, now named Ngr. G'de, ruler of Badong. Mother, a Gusti woman; wife, So-gang Raka.	Ngr. Jambe, mother of Kshatriya, wife of Pam'chuttan. Anak Agung Alit G'de.
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Ngr. G'de Putra + Ngr. G'de Oka. + (4) <i>Made Ngrurah.</i>	K'tut Ngr. Ngr. K'tut, probable successor in Kassiman.
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Other brothers of Kassiman are :—

Ngr. G'de Daging. An. Ag. Alit Gfha.	Devata Anak Agung Dauh, wife of Pam', became Bela. An. Ag. Rahi (in Belaluan). Ngrurah Kajanan.	+ Devata Banyar. An. Ag. Put, Merangi and An. Ag. Raka.	An. Ag. Raka pujan Ugung. + An. Ag. Alit Raka.
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justice from the princes against these pests of the land. The Gustis in the countries ruled by Wesya princes, and the Devas in those where Kshatriyas reign, have properly all the official posts about the prince, but, although they derive much honour from these, they get little pay.

FEUDAL SYSTEM

As Raffles has observed, the condition of Bali very much resembles that of Europe in the Middle Ages; there is a *feudal system throughout the land*. The *Deva Agung* must be regarded as the *supreme feudal lord*; in ancient times he was so in reality (see "Usana Java," above). How this is modified now, we have already seen. He still calls the other seven princes, and also the prince of Lombok, his *Punggawas*,⁹⁸ which in Bali conveys the idea of *vassal*. The rest of the princes (*Kshatriyas* and *Wesyas*) have subdivided their land among the members of their families, and so we find in Badong the princes of *Kaleran Kawan*, *Kaleran Kanginan*, *Ngrurah T'gas*, the princes of *Galogor*, and Kassiman's brother with their children as *Punggawas* of Den Passar (formerly most of them were under Pam'chuttan, but they have preferred to acknowledge as their lords the two warlike princes of Den Passar, Kassiman's father and brother; unless Kassiman had interfered, even the sovereignty over Badong itself would have been transferred from Pam'chuttan to Den Passar). Now they are all under Kassiman, but only in so far as Den Passar also is under his sovereignty. The real *Punggawas* of Kassiman, in his small original territory, are few in number, and, for the most part, merely the descendants of his brothers, who were entirely without means.

Under these princes, who are *Punggawas* of the highest princes and most closely related to the royal families,⁹⁹ stand the rest of the Gustis, also as *Punggawas*; these also have an undefined authority over the men whom they rule, and have even the power to punish with death; the prince above them and the prince of the whole kingdom do not trouble themselves about their subjects further than their feudal duties are con-

⁹⁸ *Punggawa*, "bull" and "excellent" in the Sanskrit.

⁹⁹ We do not find many exceptions to this rule; in Tabanan the prince is descended from Marga; in Klongkong, e.g., Ngrurah Pinatih, from Arya Bleteng. In Gyanyar from Sukawati.

cerned. The *Diaksas*¹⁰⁰ have merely to pronounce judgement between the *Súdras* and sometimes between *Gustis* of equal rank; in all cases concerning the distinctions of caste and feudal duties the princes and *Punggawas* are judges; in spiritual matters, however, the *Padandas* act in this capacity.

The primary feudal duty, as in the Middle Ages, is *service in war*; and further, the *Punggawas* and their subordinates have to furnish assistance in all *public works and festivals* of the prince, and the lower orders also have to carry out all the works of the *Punggawas*. The people, under the guidance of the *Punggawas*, have to build the princes' palaces and places of cremation, to repair the roads and besides this to contribute mostly in kind, towards the expenses of all offerings, family feasts, and cremations. The direct taxes are very unimportant; the common man pays a small tax on garden land, and a little more on sawahs. The princes, therefore, cannot be rich, unless they possess considerable private means; they are powerful, however, so long as their names hold the *Punggawas* in subjection, and they can therefore celebrate their splendid feasts and cremations without cost to themselves, and sometimes even with advantage to their private treasuries, their faithful vassals zealously contributing to these ceremonies. (One of the reasons why the great cremation in *Den Passar* does not take place is, that the present prince is not in very high esteem with the *Punggawas*, and that not enough is contributed towards it. Besides this, *Kassiman* retains the revenue.) To the revenues of the princes and the *Punggawas* belong also the duties on commerce, the customs-duties, and the bridge or road-tolls.¹⁰¹ Trade especially produces a considerable revenue for the prince, and has made the princes of *Badong* comparatively rich, above all *Pam' chuttan* and *Kassiman*. *Karang-Assem* also makes a great deal by it. These imposts affect only the lower

¹⁰⁰ I write *Diaksa* instead of *Yaksa* (as the judges are usually called in Bali and Java), on the authority of a manuscript, where the writing with the second *d* reveals the origin of the word. *Diaksa*, which is also found as *Adiaksa* in the MSS., is Skt.—*adhi* and *aksha*, an inspector, protector (see Wilson). *Yaksa*, on the contrary, is a sort of demon, allied to the *Rākshasas*. [See Roorda's *Javanese Dictionary*, s.v. *jaksha*, where the etymology from *adhyaksha* is correctly given.]

¹⁰¹ I am only acquainted, however, with two bridges in Bali (excepting those over small brooks) in any way worthy of the name—one at *Kutta*, built by Europeans with Balinese aid, and one, very dangerous for want of planks, over a rocky chasm in *Tabanan*.

orders, and the Chinese, Buginese, and Europeans. The Gustis, Devas, and Idas who carry on trade pay no duty upon it. The feudal lords, princes, and Punggawas still do something for the people—they give them water, and the making of canals and the effective irrigation of the rice-fields are their duty; in return for this, however, they draw a small revenue from the rice-growers.

SUDRAS

The fourth caste, the *Sûdras*, have many duties and hardly any rights, at any rate as regards the higher castes. Their subjection goes so far that the prince or Punggawa can take out of their houses whatever he likes; when the prince goes from the place to another, the victuals, fowls, ducks, geese, &c., are usually taken by the Parakans (followers of the prince) from the houses of the *Sûdras* in the *desas* through which the route lies, and the persons thus robbed may not even complain. The prince or Punggawa can even take away the wives of a *Sûdra*, but religious feeling is opposed to this, and still more to the murder of a *Sûdra*, who has committed no fault, by a noble. Both acts are done, however, although they are of rare occurrence, in Badong. The wanton young Gustis and Devas think that they prove their valour and noble birth by the abduction of women and the murder of innocent beasts of burden such as the *Sûdras* are. In Badong, old Kassiman suppressed such deeds, and the fear of punishment after death also has a deterrent effect.¹⁰² Nevertheless the position of the *Sûdras* is most miserable, and only rendered supportable by their courage and industry, and by the belief that they are born to it. An exception to the rest of the *Sûdras* is formed by the Parakans (the followers of the princes, &c.); these lead as idle a life as the princes and Punggawas to whom they belong, and plunder the rest of the people. These and the nobles are the chief cock-fighters and opium-smokers, for the inhabitants of the *dessas* take little part in these dissipations. Another exception to the lot of the ordinary *Sûdras* is formed

¹⁰² Balinese superstition regards the fate of the first *Deva Mangis*, the founder of Gyanyar, and that of the wife of the last *Deva Agung*, the much-feared princess of Karang-Assem, as examples of such punishments; the former was changed into a serpent (*nâga*), and the latter into a frog (*dongkang*). Both had murdered many victims.

by the *Mandesas*, *Prab'kels*, and others who occupy official posts.

Mandesas are the *desa*-chiefs; they have been degraded to *Sûdras* by the *Deva Agung*, having been *Wesyas* by birth. Under them are the *Kabayan*, *Nguhukin* and *Talikup*, *Sûdras* by birth, who carry out the orders of the *Mandesas*.

Gaduh are the *Mandurs* in the *dessas*; they are *Sûdras* by birth. *Dangka* and *Batu-Aji* are under these.

Pasek are also *Wesyas* who have been degraded to *Sûdras*, and still retain a certain superiority of rank above the rest of the populace.

We find all these names in the "*Usana Bali*" (see p. 262), where their special religion is mentioned (the "*Usana Bali*", as we have seen, is only of importance to the *Sûdras* and their chiefs of the same caste).

The names are not heard in ordinary life, with the exception of *Mandesa*. For all the rest the collective name *Prab'kel* (the collective *B'kels*) is used. These have a certain number of common *Sûdras* under them at the prince's disposal, to serve in war or on public works, and also to exercise handicrafts (as smiths &c.). They are responsible for the presence and the work of their subordinates, just as the *Mandesa* is responsible for his *desa*. *Prab'kel* or *Pam'kel*, and *M'kel*, has become a title for every superior among the *Sûdras*—the owner is the *M'kel* of the slave, the husband the *M'kel* of the wife. This exalted rank is also accorded to Europeans, but they stand below the three principal castes; they have not been born twice (*dvija*).

The Balinese *Sûdras* are partly of Javan and partly of Balinese origin. The former celebrate the new year (*Sugian*) six days before the Balinese new year (*Galungan*). The latter, however, is taken as the beginning of the calendar by the whole people.

In addition to the above, degraded Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and *Wesyas* also belong to the *Sûdras*. The original *Wesyas*, those who came from Majapahit, have all become *Sûdras*, and this at the same time that the descendants of Arya Damar were degraded to *Wesyas*. The reason given for this does not agree with that of the degradation of the Kshatriyas. All castes, indeed, are said to have descended a step, excepting the

original Brahmans. The descendants of *Batu Henggong*, the Deva Agungs, who, on account of their procreation by the *Padanda Dang hyang Kapakistan*, were also regarded as Brahmans, sank back, through the curse or the anger of the *Padanda* who produced the *Nāga* from the well (see as to the *Nāga-bandha*, under *Cremations*), to true Kshatriyas, and the consequence of this was the degradation of the other Kshatriyas to Wesyas, and of the Wesyas to Śūdras. This explanation is open to great doubt. Most of the descendants of the Aryas, the brothers of Arya Damar, have been degraded to Śūdras. They were degraded, as we have seen, to Wesyas, but when they had also lost their governorships and their authority, oppressed by the descendants of Patih Gaja Maja (the royal race of Mengui-Karang-Assem), they gradually sank to the rank of Śūdras. Many of them are still called *Gustis* by the people, but they have to give their services as vassals to the princes in whose territory they live, and no longer enjoy any honour. The conquered are always despised and degraded in Bali. Brahmans are also degraded to Śūdras if, on account of frequent intermixture with Śūdra blood, they are no longer considered capable of retaining their dignity. An instance of a *Padanda* being thus degraded is actually mentioned. Brahmans do, indeed, become Śūdras, but the people hold the caste in such great respect that they are still regarded and honoured as Brahmans. *Brahmana chute* are mentioned in the "Usana Java;" the Balinese explain these to be lying and thieving Brahmans, who, on account of their conduct, have sunk to the rank of Śūdras. *Chute* is, indeed, in Sanskrit, *chyuta*, "fallen."

Sangguhu is a subdivision of the Śūdras, who are acquainted with the *Vedas*, and perform the ceremony of domestic worship, as well as the priests. If they have, indeed, the *Vedas* (they may be only *Mantras*, formulas), it would seem that they were originally Brahmans. Now, we find in the "Usana Java" a statement that the *Sangguhus* are, in fact, descended from *Brāhmaṇa-Brāhmaṇi*, and thus are pure Brahmans, and that they were degraded on account of the worship of the *Dalem mur*, that is, the god of death (perhaps as indicating an exclusive *Kāla-worship*, which no longer exists in Bali). We have therefore had in Bali departures from the worship of the gods,

not to say sects. The present Brahmans, who have suppressed the sect referred to, now tell us, to conceal the existence of any other worship but their own, that the Sangguhus are descended from a *parakan* (follower) of a learned Padanda, who was hidden under the Bale whenever the Padanda performed his domestic worship, and so came to understand the Vedas. When he was discovered, the Padanda set him at liberty, that he might perform the Veda-worship for himself and his descendants. From him are descended the Sangguh or Sangguhu, which word is explained by *menas of kira: having the appearance of being Brahmans*. There is some number of them in Bali.

Byagaha are also mentioned in the "Usana Java" as a distinct class, and these appear to be of the same rank as the Sangguhu. The name, however, is almost unknown, even to the Panditas. Thus in the three classes of Sudras last mentioned, we find also no mixture of caste; but they all three point to the former existence of sects, or at least to some departures from the orthodox religion.

It would be a fortunate thing for the Śūdras to be freed from the oppression of the princes and Punggawas. The number of noble idlers increases every day, and presses more and more heavily upon the poor Śūdra populace. One means of escaping from the oppression of a prince is to flee to another State, but even this avails them little, for the prince of the State in which the fugitive seeks refuge immediately imposes upon him the very burdens from which he has fled. Besides this, a fugitive who arrives without his family is sold by the prince, in order to make some profit out of him, and to prevent his escaping again to another country. The best asylum is generally afforded by the Padandas; the prince has no right to fugitives who seek refuge with them, and there are several kind-hearted really pious men among these Padandas who consider it shameful to sell a person seeking an asylum, or even to require much work from him. Many Padandas, however, are also genuine natives, and avail themselves of these cases to enrich themselves. The chief curb upon the despotism of the noble castes over the Śūdras is, in fact, the fear lest they should run away, and the power and revenues of the nobles should thereby be diminished. The Balinese, however, are unusually

attached to their country and their dessa; ordinary extortion does not drive them to flight; it is generally only some glaring cruelty or the fear of being sold out of Bali that induces them to escape. Still, the fact that there are always many fugitives in Bali shows the injustice and cruelty of most of the princes, and the degeneration of the system of caste. In Badong there are very many fugitives from Gyanyar, Mengui, Klongkong, and Karang-Assem; on the other hand, scarcely any fugitives from Badong are to be found in the other states. The reason of this is, that the government in this state is comparatively mild and humane, and this is attributable to Kassiman's higher intelligence and his contact with Europeans. For the sake of humanity it is desirable that intercourse between Europeans and the Balinese should increase, and that the position of the Sûdras should thus be improved, at any rate a little, if they could not be entirely freed from their oppressors. The character of the Balinese as a people, irrespectively of their castes, has been very accurately perceived by Raffles: *they are a manly nation*, both in body and mind, far superior to the Javanese (although outwardly less civilized), and endowed with many virtues which in Java have disappeared beneath the mire of immorality and fickleness. The Balinese (excepting those who carry on trade and are corrupted by undue gains) are *faithful and honest and can work hard*; it is only for their prince that they work reluctantly, for they receive from him neither payment nor food; and, finally, they are *braver* than all other natives, but against the foreigners they seem as incapable of resistance as all the descendants of the black Adam, and the defiant language sometimes employed to foreigners comes from a timid heart.

CASTE IN JAVA

The existence of caste in Java has hitherto been denied, but what we now know of Bali appears to have placed it beyond doubt. That all the institutions of the Balinese are of Javan origin is affirmed by the manuscripts and the oral tradition of the people. The *Usana Java* enumerates *Kshatriyas* of *Koripan* (where Panji lived), of *Gaglang* or *Singhasari*, of *Kediri* or *Daha*, and of *Janggala*. In all the great kingdoms of Java.

therefore, Kshatriyas existed. The descent of the Kshatriyas of dāha is traced in the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* to the Muni Pulaha. In the same work the Brahmans are divided into *Śiva-Brahmans*, *Buddha-Brahmans*, and *Bujangga-Brahmans* (thus the Brahmans in Java were exactly like those now in Bali); these are sons of Brāhmaṇa Haji, that is to say, the various forms of worship are derived from Haji Śaka, the founder of the Indo-Javanese calendar. *Bujangga* seems in ancient times to have been a distinct sect. We have spoken of the present meaning of this word; it seems formerly to have meant a particular kind of worship, in contradistinction to *Śiva* and *Buddha*.¹⁰³ The *Wesyas* are also mentioned in the *Usana Java* as existing in Java; to these belong the *Patihs*, *D'mangs*, and *Tumenggungs*. The names *Wesya* and *Gusti* (see *Tijdsch. v. N. I.* 7, 2, 185) still exist in Java, although their meaning has become obscure. The *Sūdras* are expressly mentioned and their name also is still heard in Java.

In the *Usana Java* (which really only relates to Java) the *Brahmans* spring from Brahmā's *Sivadara*, the opening in the head which in children does not close for some years, the *Kshatriyas* from his *breast*, the *Wesyas* from his *abdomen*, and the *Sūdras* from his *knee*.

The nobles of the courts of Dāha and Majapahit, according to express testimony, were *Kshatriyas* and *Wesyas*. To the *Kshatriyas* belong all those who bear the title of *Arya*, *K'bo*, or *Mahisa* and *Rangga*. The titles of the *Wesyas* have just been given.

The appearance of caste and the existence of the Vedas in Bali afford the strongest evidence for the existence of both in ancient Java, because all that we find in Bali was derived from Java *alone*, not a single fact discovered in Bali proving, or even indicating, direct communication between this island and India, and because the *Śiva Brahmans*, who, after having established themselves for a short time at Majapahit, crossed over to Bali, came, according to the Balinese, not direct from India, but from the interior of Java (*Kediri*). The real origin

¹⁰³ The word *Bujangga* means a *serpent*; in India the serpent worship has been adopted in the Brahmanical doctrine; we find it especially in *Os'mira*; serpent-worship is still found in Java and Bali (*Vasuki*), and the *Bujanggas* appear to have originally been serpent-worshippers, who afterwards joined the *Sivaitic* sect.

of all the Balinese institutions is also shown by the fact that we find nothing to remind us directly of India, and no ancient writing, Sanskrit, Kavi, or Javanese: we may well ask how could emigrants from India have so neglected and forgotten their own writing and language, and have merely preserved the modern Javanese writing and the Kavi tongue?

THE CALCULATION OF TIME IN BALI

The calculation of time is of two kinds: the *Indian* and the *Balinese*. All that we know of it is contained in a work called *Wriga Garga*.¹⁰⁴ This work is composed of Indian and Polynesian elements, and, like the rest of the literature, must be of Javanese origin, as in that island alone do we find an almost identical calendar.

We have an Indian division of time, according to the *lunar months*. These months, however, are transformed by interpolation, into the solar year, and the solar years are calculated from the time of *Salivahana* or *Saka*, as is also the practice in the greater part of Hindusthan and of the Dekkan. This calendar begins on the 14th of March, 78 B.C. This calculation, however, is but little used by the Balinese, and their scanty astronomical knowledge renders it extremely difficult, although, for the sake of agriculture and a few feasts, it must be preserved. The interpolation is irregular; in India two months are introduced in five years, but in Bali, on the one hand, the month of *Kārtika* may comprise two months, and, on the other, the month of *Asada* may last till the constellation of the Pleiades (*Kṛittika*) is visible at sunset. The only constellations used by the Balinese in such calculations are the Pleiades and Orion. The latter is called *Waluky*, the plough, and also by the Indian name *lānggala* (in Malay *tan-gala*). They understand by this, however, only the three centre stars of Orion. To supplement this defective means of calculating the year, the Balinese observe certain natural pheno-

¹⁰⁴ *Garga*, according to Wilson, is one of the ten Munis or saints; one Garga is also the author of astronomical works in India; see Bentley, *Hindu Astronomy*, p. 54; his book is named *Sanhita*; he lived 550 years B.C. [See, however, Kern, in the Introduction to his edition of Varāha-Mihira's *Bṛihatsanhita*, p. 31 ff.] The Balinese Calendar, as it is, cannot be derived from him, because it contains elements never known in India.

mena occurring regularly every year at the same time, such as the blossoming of certain flowers and plants and the appearance of wings on the white ant, and also the phenomena of the sea. A man of rank informed me that the interpolation of a month had only happened three times in his life. This would give an interval of about twelve years between each interpolation; it is more probable that an interpolation is made every ten years, hence the name *tenggek* for such a division. At present the Balinese lunar months are rather more than thirty days in advance of the Indian, as fixed by Wilson. The year begins with the month of *Kasanga*; the Indian name for this is *Chetra*, and commences, according to Wilson, in March. This, then, proves that the Balinese years do indeed start from the exact date of Śaka (14th of March), and Raffles' and Crawford's conjectures as to the difference of the calendar in Java and Bali can be solved by assuming that the Balinese have retained the ancient and true calendar, whilst the Javanese, through Muhammadan influence, have forgotten how to calculate the solar year, and have, therefore, got seven or eight years further from Śaka than they should be.

All the months but two (*Jyeshtha* and *Asāda*) have both Sanskrit and Balinese names.

The Sankrit names are: 1. Śrāvaṇa. 2. Bhādra or Bādrawada (Sankrit Bhādrapada). 3. Asuji or Asuje (derived from Aśvayuj). 4. Kārttika. 5. Mārgasīra or Mārgasīrshya. 6. Po'sya or Paus'a. 7. Māga. 8. P'ālguna. 9. Mad'umasa or Chetra. 10. Weśaka. 11. Jyeshtha. 12. Asādhā.

The Balinese names for the first ten are the ordinal numbers from 1 to 10: 1. Kasa. 2. Karo. 3. Katiga. 4. Kapat. 5. Kalima. 6. Kanam. 7. Kapita. 8. Kahula. 9. Kasanga. 10. Kadas'a.

We have no Balinese names for *Jyeshtha* and *Ashādhā* (vulgo *Saddā*), and this leads us to suspect that the original Balinese-Javanese year, like that of the ancient Romans, had only 10 months. Now we find in the purely Balinese calendar, of which we shall speak shortly, divisions of 35 days or 5 weeks, which, it is true, do not now possess a special name, but no doubt originally corresponded with the 10 months; 10 times 35 gives about the duration of the year of lunar months, 354 days. The addition of *Jyeshtha* and *Ashādhā*, then, occurred

at a later period, when Indian influence had led to the division of the year into 12 months, each of 29 or 30 days.

In the year 1847 the first day of the month *Kasanga* or *Chetra* was on the 16th of February; in 1848 on the 5th of February; in 1849 it will fall on the 24th of January. In 1844, on the contrary, it was on the 24th of March, almost on the day on which, according to Wilson, the Indian month *Chetra* should begin. Although in Bali, from ignorance of the calculations, the method of fixing the solar year is obscure, and is known but imperfectly to a few learned priests (who themselves cannot properly explain the reasons for it), yet we learn from the tables called *Pengalihan wulan* (the searching of the moon) how the time of the Balinese calculation is brought into accordance with that of the lunar months: 64 lunar months, of which 30 are of 29 and 34 of 30 days, give us 1890 days, which agree with 9 Balinese years of 210 days.

According to the Indian calculation, there should be one or two intercalary months next year (1849), because then the difference between the solar and the lunar year will be from the 24th of January to the 20th of March, and will thus amount to 55 days; nothing, however, has yet been said to me of any such intention. In India, as we have already pointed out, there are 2 intercalary months every 5 years called *Malimlucha*; this name is unknown in Bali, nor have I heard any name which could correspond to it.

The six Indian seasons do not exist in Bali. The lunar months are chiefly important for fixing certain feasts. For all other dates use is made solely of

THE BALINESE CALENDAR

This is formed by a combination of the *Polynesian week* of 5 days (*pahing, puan wage, kaliwan, manis*) with the *Indian week* of 7 days (*Rediti*,¹⁰⁵ *Soma, Anggara, Budd'a, Vrihaspati, Sukra, Saneschara*); this combination gives us 35 days, which form the basis of the Balinese calendar; we write them thus:

¹⁰⁵ The name *Rediti* can only be explained by *Aditya*, "sun". The substitution of *ri* for *ā* may well have arisen by the uncommon initial *a* having been taken for the sign *rē*, which is very well known. *Vrihaspati* is found in good MSS. for *Respāti*, which is the ordinary pronunciation. [Van der Tuuk, *Notes on Kawi*, p. 9. On the Batah Calendar, which in many points agrees with the Balinese and Javanese arrangements, see J. B. Neumann, in *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, II, vol. iii. p. 528 ff.)

Budda kaliwon, Wrihaspati manis, Sukra pahing, Sanes'chara puan, Rediti wage, Soma kaliwon, Anggara manis, Budda pahing, Wrihaspati puan, Sukra wage, Sanes'chara kaliwon, Rediti manis, Soma pahing, Anggara puan, Budda wage, Wrihaspati Kaliwon, Sukra manis, Sanes'chara pahing, Rediti puan, Soma quan, Sanes'chara wage, Rediti kaliwon, Soma manis, Anggara pahing, Budda puan, Wrihaspati wage, Sukra kaliwon, Sanes'chara manis, Rediti pahing, Soma puan, and Anggara wage.

We find these combinations of 35 days six times in each Balinese year of 210 days, but they are not called months. On the other hand, each of the 30 weeks has its own name. We find these names in Raffles, vol. i. p. 476. The order of sequence is the same in Bali, but some names must be corrected. Each division begins with *Budda kaliwon*, the day on which Galungan, the Balinese new year, falls, and not on *Rediti* (or *Diti*) *Pahing*, as Raffles asserts. The week in which the year begins is *Dunghulan*; *Sinta*, however, is always named as the first week in Bali, as in Java; the names are:

1. Sinta. 2. Landep. 3. Wukir. 4. Kurantil. 5. Tolu.
6. Gümreg. 7. Wariga. 8. Warigadian, or Wariganing Wariga. 9. Julung Wangi. 10. Julung Sungsang. 11. Dunghulan (in Raffles Galungan). 12. Kuningan. 13. Langkir.
14. Madang Siha. 15. Julung Pujut. 16. Pahang. 17. Kurw'lut.
18. Marakih. 19. Tambir. 20. Madangkungang. 21. Mahatal.
22. Huje. 23. Menahil. 24. Prang Bakat. 25. Bala Muki.
26. Hugu. 27. Wayang. 28. Kulawu. 29. Dukut. 30. Watu gunung.

Raffles vol. i. p. 376 sqq., gives the fable respecting the origin of these names of the weeks. I have not yet heard anything of it in Bali. In Bali this division, like the rest of the calendar, is said to be derived from India. Its introduction was no doubt made by the priests at an early period, in order to add to the sanctity of the religious feasts and institutions, which are regulated according to this calendar.¹⁰⁶

Of the 35 days the *first*, *eleventh*, and *twenty-first* (*Budda kaliwon*, *Sanes'chara kaliwon* and *Anggara kaliwon*) are sacred.

¹⁰⁶ *Sapta Rsi* (the seven ancient saints, sages) are said to have prepared it. The *pengalihan bulan*, also, in which the lunar calendar is brought into agreement with that of thirty weeks, is attributed to the same persons.

Here again, therefore, the decimal system prevails. In the first five weeks, the feast of *Galungan*, the new year, falls on Budda kaliwon, the feast of *Kuningan* (in Crawford Galunan and Kuninan) on Saneschara kaliwon, and finally the feast in the principal temple of Uluwatu in Badong on Anggara kaliwon.

Some Balinese only call this year of 210 days a half-year. It is indeed, however, their civil year, and they are only disposed to regard it as a half-year to make it agree with the Muhmmadan, Chinese, and European year.

Eash of the 35 days has a constellation, which indicates its good or evil qualities, and is of special importance for nativities; these constellations are not the same, however, as our own, or even as the Indian, for with the exception of the *Waluku* (Orion) and the *Kritika* (the Pleiades), the signs are somewhat arbitrary.

ASTROLOGICAL CALENDAR

These constellations, which decide the good or evil fortune of the day, are called *lintangan* (lintang=bintang, "star"). They are supposed to pass into the body of people born on that day.

Rediti manis has the *Ancha-ancha*, a human figure standing on its head and hands. People born on that day have weak bodies and weak voices, but are impertinent to their parents.

Rediti pahing, the *Gaja*, elephant. This signifies a sorrow caused by other people.

Rediti paun—*Patrem*, the creese. This signifies a predisposition to suicide.

Rediti wage—*Waluku*, the plough (Orion). Signifying happiness late in life.

Rediti kaliwon—*Gowang*, a body without a head. A strong propensity for stealing and robbery.

Soma manis—*N'yu*, the gooseberry-bush. Happiness and riches, which, however, will not last long.

Soma pahing—*Dupa*, incense. Early death of the married man or woman.

Soma Puan—*Ulanjar*, a divorced woman. One who is prone to take upon himself the faults of others, and gets into dilemmas.

Soma wage—*Lembu*, a white bull. Happiness and riches.

Soma kaliwon—*Padati Sunya*, the empty cart, deserted by its driver. Easily robbed.

Anggara manis—*Kuda*, the horse. Disposed to bad tricks.

Anggara pahing—*Juju*, the crab. Good sense and speedy acquirement of wealth.

Anggara puan—*Asu ajak*, the wild dog. Excellence and boldness in war, esteem among the great.

Anggara wage—*Jong sarat*, the overladen boat. Probable misfortune at sea.

Anggara kaliwon—*Cheleng*, the hog. Success in breeding swine.

Budda manis—*Ngerang-erang*, weeping, lamenting. Much sorrow all one's life.

Budda pahing—*Gajamina*, half elephant, half fish. A good omen.

Budda puan—*Lumbung*, the rice-barn. Wealth of goods and money quickly obtained; fortunate in travel.

Budda wage—*Krittika* (the Pleiades). In marrying, will obtain many slaves. Spends much and makes presents, is beloved by the princes.

Budda kaliwan—*Titiwa*, the carrying away of dead bodies, or the depositing of the dead in the place of burial. Loss of children.

Wrihaspati manis—*Sangal tikel*, the broken axe. All undertakings unsuccessful.

Wrihaspati pahing—*Salah ukur*, discontent and constant strife with men.

Wrihaspati puan—*Bade*, the bier (on which corpses are burnt). Many long illnesses.

Wrihaspati wage—*Kumba*, the vessel with holy water.

Wrihaspati kaliwon—*Naga*, the serpent. A very bad disposition.

Sukra manis—*Banyak angrim*, the brooding goose. Loss of property by theft.

Sukra pahing—*Babu bosor*, the open bow-net. Quick change, coming and going, rich and poor.

Sukra puan—*Prawu p'gat*, the broken boat. The husband will be deserted by his wife, the wife by her husband.

Sukra wage—*Mengrabut untang* or *glutan*, the shifting of one's faults on to another's shoulders.

Sukra kaliwon—*Udang* or *Makara*, the sea-lobster. Poverty in youth.

Saneščara mani—*D'pat*, a head. (This and the *Gowang*, see *Rediti kaliwon*, remind us of the head and the body of the demon *Rahu*, which pursue the moon.) Many members of the family will die.

Saneščara pahing—*Ru*, the dart. Boldness and skill in war esteemed by princes (Sanskrit, *ru*, "war, battle").

Saneščara puan—*Sengenge* (Jav. *Srengenge*), the sun. Freedom from sickness.

Saneščara wage—*Puhuh tarung*, a species of quail (Dutch *vecht-kwartel*, the "fighting-quail"). Much fighting.

Saneščara kaliwon—*Jampana*, the bier. Much misfortune. Repeated illness.

There is not much astronomical science in all this, and many of the ideas are really ridiculous, yet the Balinese attach value to them, and those who are born on a day with a good constellation often boast of it.

In addition to these astrological meanings of the 35 days, there are for each of the seven days of the week: (1) a *god*, who presides over it; (2) a *human figure*, indicating the character of the person; (3) a *tree*; (4) a *bird*; (5) a *buta* (demon); (6) a *satwa* (beast). The nature of these is supposed to indicate what the character of the person born on that day will be.

The seven gods are given, following the order of the days of the week, beginning with Sunday, as follows: *Indra*, *Umd*, *Brahmd*, *Vishnu*, *Guru*, *Sri Yama*; or according to another account, *Indra*, *Pritivi*, *Wishnu*, *Brahmd*, *Guru*, *Umd*, *Durgā*. The seven Butas are: *Hulu asu* (dog's head), *Hulu k'bo* (buffalo's head), *Hulu kuda* (horse's head), *Hulu lembu* (cow's head), *Hulu singha* (lion's head), *Hulu gaja* (elephant's head), *Hulu gagak* (crow's head). From these the man obtains his passions, and from the beasts his lower qualities.

According to the astrological notions of the Balinese, the day is divided into five parts, each of which has a separate name, although they occur in different order on different days. *Raffles* also mentions a division of the day into five parts in Java; but in Bali we have different names and rules for this division. The principal part is called *Mrita* (*Amrita*); he who is born at this time of day is certain to have good fortune. The

five parts of the days undergo twelve changes, and to know their order on a particular day, the number of the day of the Indian week is added to that of the day of the Polynesian week, and the result is one of the twelve combinations of the five parts of the day (and also of the night). The rest of the divisions (besides *Mrita*) are *sunya* (empty, poor), *kala* (passionate; after the god *Kâla*), *pati* (must die), *linyok* (will become bad and thievish). The day is further divided, in a civil aspect, into eight hours, *dadauhan*, calculated from sunrise to sunset (their names are *dauh pisan*, stroke one, *dauh ro*, *dauh tiga* or *telu* &c.). The night is also divided into eight parts in the same manner. To find the hour a sort of waterclock (clepsydra) is used, consisting of a clapper with a little hole in its bottom which rests on the water. As soon as the clapper is filled it is emptied by an attendant, and the number of strokes are given at the same time upon a drum. Contrivances of this kind are to be found in the principal palaces—e.g., in Den Passan (in Badong), Mengui, &c.

The lunar month is divided into the white and the black half, *sukla-paksha* and *krishna-paksha* (literally, the white and black wing), as is the case in India. The days of the white half are called *tanggal*, and are reckoned from new to full moon; those of the black half are called *panluang*. To describe a date, the Balinese give the day of the week (of the Indian week of seven days as well as of the Polynesian of five), the name of the week (according to the Balinese division of 30 weeks), the name and the half of the lunar month (white or black), the day of that half, and finally the year, calculated from *Śaka*. Instead of the year of *Śaka*, they also give simply the year of the century, the century itself being understood. The century is divided into 10 divisions, each of 10 years; each such division is called *tenggek*, each single year *rah*. Thus we have, for instance, on the 26th of June, 1847, *Sanēschara* (Saturday) *kaliwon* (according to the Polynesian week) *wara Landap* (in the week of Landap) *masa kasa* (in the month of Kasa) *sukla paksha* (in the white half; also simply *tanggal*, with a waxing moon) *ping 13* (on the thirteenth day) *rah 9*, *tenggek 6* (thus 69). Adding to this the century (1700),

we get the year of Śaka 1769, to which 78 must be added to arrive at the year of our Lord (1847).

Besides the *Wriga garga*, which, as we have said, is entirely of Indian origin, there are two other works upon the calendar, which, however, are no longer used; their titles are *Sundari¹⁰⁷ trus* and *Sundari bungka*. As I have not yet been able to get a sight of them, I cannot say much about them. The Pandita in Taman said that these works are more recent than the *Wriga Garga*, and was composed in Java, whereas the *Wriga Garga* was composed in India (Kling). They were used formerly, but the Balinese priests have given the preference to the older *Wriga Garga*. This also is an instance of their adherence to all that is ancient and, in their opinion, of Indian origin. The *Wriga Garga* appears to date from the time of the kingdom of Daha (Kediri), whence our priests are descended, and which kingdom, as we have seen, they often confound with India and call *Baratawarsa*.

We have enumerated in the *Tijdsch. van N. I.*, Jaargang VIII. iv. 211, still further divisions of time, namely, a *dvivara*, *trivara*, *chaturvara*, *shadvara*, *astavara*, *sangavara*, and *dasavara*, besides the *saptavara* and *panchavara*; all these are less prominent in ordinary life. The *trivara* serves to indicate the market days, as the *Panchavara* does in Java; there is a market every third day (*Dvara*).

The *shadvara* is often found in dates added to the *saptavara* and *panchavara*. The names of the *shadvara* are Polynesian: *Tunggleh*, *Hanyang*, *Wurukung*, *Paniron*, *Was*, *Mahulu*. Thus the first day of the week *Sinta* is *Tunggleh*, *Pahing Rediti*, the second *Haryang Puan Soma*, the third *Wurukung Wage anggara*, the fourth *Paniron Kaliwon Budda*, the fifth *Was Manis Wrehaspati*, the sixth *Mahulu. Pahing Sukra*, the seventh *Tunggleh Puan Saneschara*. The remaining divisions are chiefly used for astrological definitions. I have not yet discovered clearly how the *astavara* are brought into accordance with the tutelar deities attributed to each of the seven days of the week (see above). The names of the gods of the *Astavara* are: *Sri*, *Indra*, *Guru*, *Yama*, *Rudra*, *Brahma*, *Kala*, *Uma*; the tutelar gods of the seven week-days are: *Indra*,

¹⁰⁷ The name *Sundari* is *Sanskrit*, and means "the fair one". *Trus* and *bungka* are Polynesian additions; the former seems to indicate that it contains a continuous calendar.

Uma, Brahma, Wishnu, Guru, Sri, Yama, or, according to the other account, *Indra, Pritiwi, Wishnu, Brahma, Guru, Uma, Durga*.

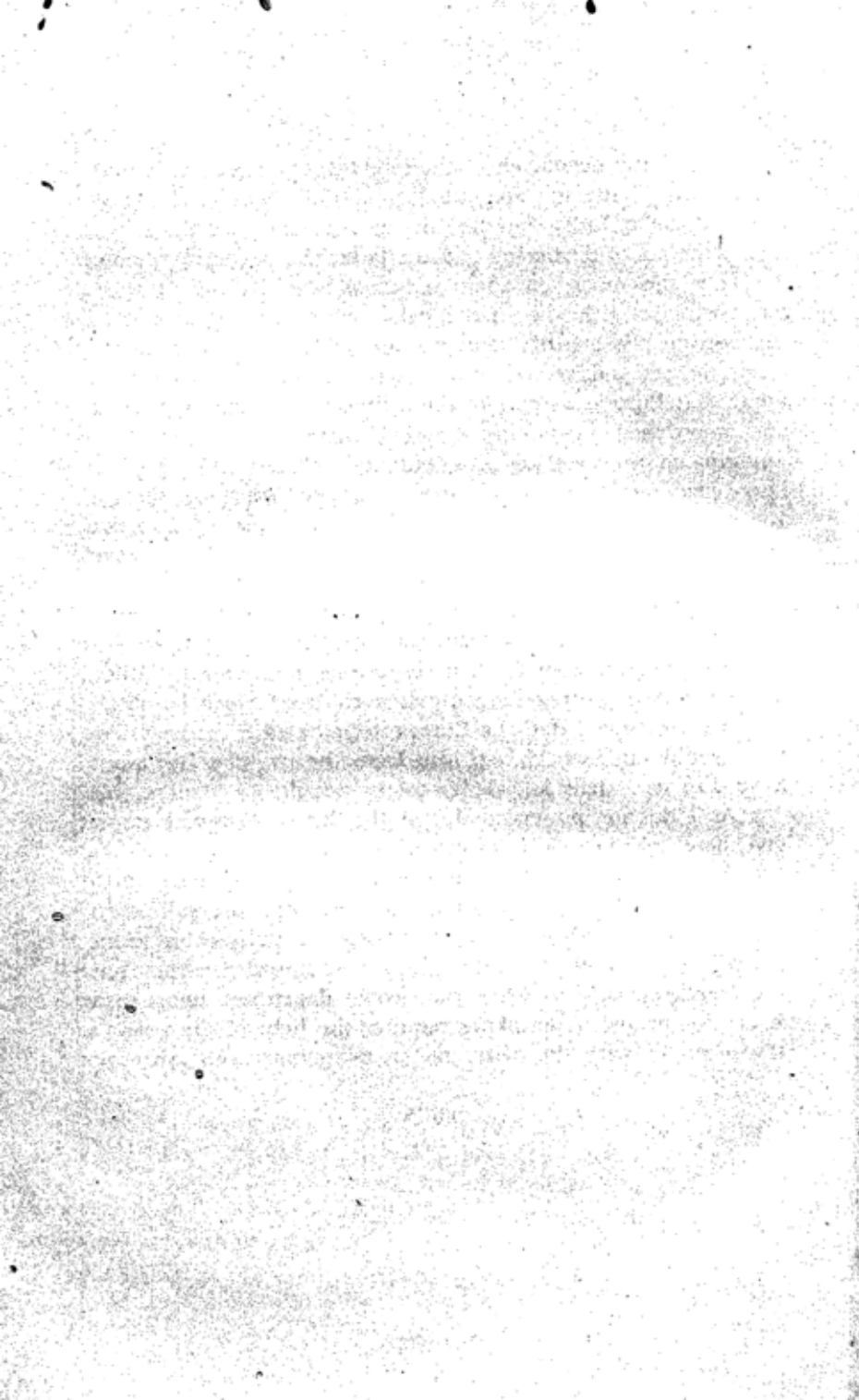
The *zodiac (rasi)* is also used for astrological purposes. We have given the names in the *Tijds. v. N. I., Jaargang VIII., iv. 211*. In good MSS. we find them written still better according to the Sanskrit. The signs of the zodiac, which I found drawn in a manuscript, are the Indian ones; there is no aquarius, but only the water-pitcher (*kumba*), and instead of the ram there is a shrimp (*udang*=*makara*). *Mrechika* is Skrt. *Vṛiṣchika*, the scorpion. *Rakata* should be *Karkatā*. What is most remarkable is, however, the absence of the *tuld* (scales) in the manuscript referred to. This could not be an accidental omission, for the claws of the scorpion stretch over the place where the *tuld* ought to have been, and the scorpion thus took up the room of two signs. Now it is well known that the Greeks in ancient times had only eleven signs of the zodiac, and that it was precisely the scales which were absent, and also that it is supposed that the scales originated out of the claws of the scorpion; although it is not certain whether a sign was lost in the course of transmission from the East (or from Egypt), or whether there were only eleven originally. The discovery of a zodiac with eleven signs in India now renders this question still more intricate. This zodiac cannot have come from the West, for the entirely Indian character of our zodiac excludes this theory; we must therefore suppose that in India also the zodiac once had but eleven signs, and that it was not till later times that the scales were added both in India and in Greece. In Bali all twelve signs are given by name, and thus here also a twelfth has been added; but the fact that we found in Bali the drawing referred to proves that at the time of the first intercourse between India and Java the zodiac still had but eleven signs in the former country. It is not known whether a similar zodiac has been found in India, but it would be of the highest importance to obtain further information from there on this point, and if possible to determine the age of such representations, which would furnish a date of the utmost importance both for the history of astronomy and for that of civilization in Java.

The eclipses of the sun and moon are explained in Bali, as

in India, as the devouring of these bodies by a demon (*Rahu*) ; the eclipses of the sun are called *graha* and those of the moon *rahu*, which in India, however, is no distinction, as the former means the act of devouring and the latter the devouring demon. To help the moon on these occasions, the Balinese make a terrible noise with their rice-blocks and other instruments, as they do on the eve of Galungan and of the fast-days (*nyepi*), when the evil spirits are driven away by noise. The Panditas know that Europeans predict the eclipses of the sun and moon, and questioned me about it ; they themselves, however, are ignorant of the method of calculation. They also keep this knowledge secret from the people, as the following instance will show. A European, Mr. M., lived some time in Tabanan, and was very intimate with the young prince. On the approach of an eclipse of the moon, he predicted its occurrence to the prince, who was very pleased thereat, but was compelled by his priests to banish the European from his country, for since the European knew more than the priests, it necessarily followed that he was possessed of an evil spirit from which he obtained his knowledge. Had the European first told it to the priests, they would not have driven him from the country, but would have displayed their knowledge to the people.

As I do not possess a MS. of the *Wriga Garga*, I cannot give here any further information as to the astronomical and astrological science of the Balinese, although it is most worthy of attention. The greater portion of the people are still utterly ignorant of the calendar. Even among the priests this science is only retained mechanically ; but what knowledge they have they use especially to make the people dependent upon them. Every important undertaking requires the help of the priest as the mediator with the deity, and as astronomer and astrologer.

FINIS



R. Friederich's valuable paper was originally published in vols. xxii. and xxiii of the *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap* (1849-50), under the title *Voorloopig Verslag van het Eiland Bali*. Part of it was translated for Dr. Logan, and published in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. iii. pp. 119-137, 235-250, whence it is here reproduced in a thoroughly revised form. The remaining and by far larger portion appears now for the first time in English; the translation having been made by A. H. May, at the suggestion and expense of Major-General Sir George le Grand Jacob, C.B., K.C.S.I., who is greatly interested in Balinese literature, and has long been desirous of obtaining a copy of the *Kavi Brahmanda-Purana*, according to Friederich the only Purâna known to the Balinese.

The English translation of Friederich's *An Account of The Island of Bali* was first published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, Vol. viii. pp. 157-218; vol. ix. pp. 59-120; vol. x. pp. 49-97, and was also included with other papers in Trubner's *Miscellaneous Papers relating to India-China and The Indian Archipelago*, 2 vols. London 1887.



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