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The Balinese realm of death

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THE BALINESE REALM OF DEATH

The Balinese know one Land of the Dead or Land of the Souls, of which both Hell and Heaven form a part.

I intend to discuss the problem: where is that Land situated according to Balinese notions?

For the situation of the Land of Death, there are three main possibilities: Since Bali has been influenced by Hindu culture from the tenth century onward, and since the religion as a matter of fact is Hindu (be it by no means orthodox), we may a priori expect a Hindu conception of Life Hereafter.

On the other hand it is a well-known fact that even in Hinduistic Bali many pre-Hindu features have survived, e.g. ancestor-cultus and shamanism.

Beliefs and cultus concerning the dead, specially the ancestors, may have been deeply rooted, and Hindu influence may not have penetrated here.

There may also have resulted a Balinese conception out of the blending of those two constituents, aboriginal and Hindu.

Evidence from the texts.

W. Kern in his thesis¹⁾ argues, that in the KufijARAKARṇA²⁾, our eldest description of those mysterious regions, this Land is situated in the Underworld. 'Where we must conceive this land is anyhow perfectly clear in the Kufijarakarṇa: diving into the sea can hardly mean anything but going to the underworld' (o.c. p. 35).

Let us however reconsider the Kufijarakarṇa-text (about 13th century; p. 56):

Sighih jāti niti yakṣa, sumeṭēm td ya ri jāladri, maningkab ta ya winḍu jdladhi, ikang bdbahan mareng Yamaloka (and 7 lines furtheron)

*) Oudjavaansche en Balische Hellevoorstellingen (stencilled, no editor, thesis-Leiden 1934).

2) H. Kern, De Legende van Kufijarakarṇa, met Oudjavaanschen tekst, Nederlandsche vertaling en aantekeningen, Verh. Kon. Ac. v. Wet. afd. Lett. N.R. Dl. III No. 3, Amsterdam 1901; reprinted in Verspreide Geschriften, 10, 1922.

dur [!] bĕk [!] manikab windu jĕladhi, kambah ė sang Kuñjara-karņa.

I do not see any reason to read *pintu* for *windu*, as H. Kern did in his translation in 1901, thus erecting a gate, which has stood firmly but erroneously in the literature now for more than half a century. *Windu* means waterdrops; *maningkab* is to draw apart (e.g. curtains). So I translate:

By his nature and skill of a yakṣa he dived into the ocean, drawing apart the drops of the sea, by which action he created a passage to Yama-loka. (follows a description, how gods and nature are frightened). Then he drew apart the drops of the sea and passed through.

So Kuñjarakarņa twice drew apart the 'water-curtain, first' in order to dive into the ocean, afterwards to get out of it again. Now follows:

• *Turangga-maruta-pawānwagami, ad [e]reṣ [s]angka ri bayu• lāmp ah ing sang Kuñjarakarņa.*

H. Kern remarks, that the author probably did not understand the Sanskrit words, which mean: *horse-storm-wind-following*, which the Old-Javanese author explains with: *at full speed by force of the wind he went.*

If we compare this passage with Bima's journey to the Land of Death in NAWARUCI³), we obtain a better understanding.

Bima also dives into the ocean and out of it again* (in an 'island' he is initiated). Thereafter he journeys upwards, until he reaches the Land of Death. This is told twice, first (ox. p. 55) "where the god teaches Bima how to travel, then (p. 60) where "Bima actually starts: *mĕṣat tanpa sintik, mibĕr tan ėlar* — *he pushed himself off without jumping-legs, he flew without wings.*

Comparing the god's instruction, in which also the 'Sanskrit' words are used, with our Kuñjarakarņa-text, we notice that both have the word *turangga* (Nawaruci: *a-tranggana*), meaning *horse* and still known as such in bookish Modern-Javanese. In Nawaruci however it is the only one of the nine high-flown words, of which no Javanese 'translation' is given. The word *pdwana* (*wind*) we also meet again in the god's instruction.

Therefore I have come to the conclusion that Kuñjarakarņa follows exactly the same way as Bima and that he could only-travel *at full speed, by force of the wind*, if he was going upwards. The words

³) Prijohoetomo, Nawaruci, inleiding, Middel-Javaansche proza-tekst, vertaling, vergeleken met de Bimasoetji in Oud-Javaansch metrum Q. B. Wolters, Groningen, Den Haag, Batavia), thesis-Utrecht 1934.

horse-storm-wind-jollowing conveyed to the Javanese mind: *riding on the storm following the wind*. Recent research has proved anyhow that the ancient Javanese knew much more Sanskrit than H. Kern half a century ago supposed they did⁴).

From the fact that the author of the *Kuijjarakarna*, when mentioning the Land of Souls, does not insist on its being 'high', one must conclude, that this notion was familiar. (The *Iśwara*-, *Brahma*- and *Wiṣṇu*-heavens' being situated in the same world is an argument the more for my view).

Other authors however like to give details, e.g. the already quoted *Nawaruci*, written in approximately the 16th century:

*He (Bima) pushed himself off without jumping legs, he flew zwithdut wings, and (o.c. p. 116) he took his way through the sky, treading on sun and moon, putting his feet on the clouds, riding on the wind, walking over the stars. A beautiful picture indeed when one has in mind the fascinating Bima-figure in the wayang*⁵).

In the *SRI TAFJUNG*⁶), a poem also written about the 16th century and inspired on a folktale (*carita*), according to its poet, the journey upwards is also described (III. 22): *Speedily, without stopping, Sidapaksa went, going through clouds and mist, since his way led through the firmament,.... He saw the sea, a beautiful sight, since it was white and hardly visible; he noticed the boats, dancing on the waves. He said: It looks as if the Northern, Eastern and Southern sea flow together. How far away is the place from where I started!*

When the soul of his murdered wife goes to the Land of Souls, this simply is stated: *When she was high*, and then follows the description of Life Hereafter, where she passes Hell, before finally reaching Heaven.

Sometimes it seems as if Hell and Heaven are somewhere on Earth, as in the Modern-Balinese poem *BAGUS DIARSA*⁷) (stanza 89,90): *The further he went, the stranger the surroundings looked, as if untrodden by mortals. He came to a spacious field....* Now he is in Hell and walks straight to Heaven! We read however in the same poem (45-47)

⁴) Dr. C. Hooykaas, *The Old-Javanese Rāmāyana-Kakawin*, with special reference to the problem of interpolation in kakawins, V.K.I. XVI, 1955, The Hague.

⁵) Dr. R. Goris, *Storm-Kind en Geestes Zoon*, D.TAWA 7, 1927, 110-113.

⁶) Prijono, *Sri Tafjung, een oud Javaansch Verhaal*, Smits, 's-Gravenhage, 1938 (thesis-Leiden).

⁷) J. H. Hooykaas-van Leeuwen Boomkamp, *De 'Goddelijke Gast' op Bali, I Bagoes Diarsa, Balisch Gedicht en Volksverhaal*, Bibl. Jav. 10 (thesis-Batavia) 1949.

that those regions are actually conceived in the sky, when little Wira-tjita.... *treads through the firmament* in order to reach the same Heaven, where his father seems to arrive on foot.

In the Modern-Balinese folktale i LARA (Poor-Boy)⁸) the hero's soul *left his mortal remains and followed an extremely small path, narrow and steep. So he reached right to the East a very high mountain-pass; he felt dizzy at the sight of it. He had already walked a long way without passing any village, when suddenly he came to a crossroads.*

Those crossroads are in Life Hereafter. Like in the Bagus Diarsa one is not informed that their place is in the sky; this is only suggested by that high mountain-pass.

In the Modern-Balinese poem DJAPATUAN⁹) also the ascension towards the Land of Souls is not mentioned. The two brothers, of whom the youngest has lost his wife, go to the Land of Death in search of her. The younger brother is initiated, but the elder one is rather stupid and (fortunately!) inquisitive. When they have gone a long way, the eldest notices a dark form, like a cloud, and expresses his fear, that it may be going to rain. The youngest answers: *Didja ngalih udjan dinif Sampun tegeh, udjan bethen edjoh pisan* — *Where would you look for rain here? We are already high and rain is extremely far underneath!* And: *Suryan beline bethenan* — *The sun is lower than you are, brother.*

So there seems no season to assume with W. Kern that sometimes the Land of Death is 'somewhere on Earth'.

Conclusion.

Having considered the five published texts and one unpublished text (Djapatuan) on the Javano-Balinese conception of Life Hereafter, we may safely assume that for them the Realm of Death is situated in the Upperworld.

This is not a startling result, since it is in accordance with the conception which we know already from the *wayang*, where Suralaya

⁸) My paper: A Journey into the Realm of Death, Balinese Folktale with translation, B.K.I. III, p. 236—73."

⁹) Dr. H. H. Juynboll, Suppl. Cat. Sund. Hss. & Cat. Bal. Sas. Hss. Univ. Lib. Leiden, Brill, Leiden, 1912 p. 105. — A not yet edited journey to the Land of Death, of which I consulted a typewritten copy from Kirtya 417. This is a metrical recension, probably rather modern because of Moslim influence. It conserved however also very old traditions, eg. the crossing of the river in the Land of Death on the back of a crocodile (cp. Sri Tafijung).

is situated in the Upperworld, and where Yama also punishes the souls of the wicked.

When I now come to the problem, whether this is an Indonesian conception or an Indian, I cannot hope to be final or to go profoundly into the matter. Even the Balinese material is far from complete, since there are still unedited texts on this subject. Moreover the temple-reliefs, the famous painting on the ceiling of the court-room (Kĕrtagosa) at Klungkung, where the gruesome punishments of sinners are appropriately painted, the painted linnen hangings round old-fashioned beds, and now in private collections or museums, are ever so many sources of information, inaccessible to us as yet.

As for INDIAN INFLUENCE, I am no Sanskritist and take my references from Dr. W. Kirfel, whose admirable book¹⁰⁾ is based upon Hindu and Buddhist literature. I did not find any relation there with the Balinese conception of one Land of Death in the Upperworld, though many names and even religious principles (e.g. transmigration of the soul) have been adopted.

The more-similarity I found with other Indonesian peoples, which were not or hardly Indianised.

Before relating the results of my delightful ramble through Dutch translations of texts from the Toradja, Flores, Tontemboan, Batak and Nias people, I must first of all give account of the nature of the Balinese scriptures I based by result on.

Neither of them are sacred texts in a sense that they are used in the cultus; even less have they any claim to infallibility. On the other hand they are religious literature and considered with a certain awe. Our Balinese *guru*, who used to laugh shamefacedly at the folktales we were reading with him, became extremely serious and respectful when reading — or actually singing — the Bagus Diarsa. Still this text is — with the exception of I Lara — the most recent and secular of our texts dealing with the Land of Souls. I am convinced that he found religious truth and edification in them.

One should not put folktales and living religious belief on one line. Sometimes one may be right to do so, i.e. where folktales still express the religious conception. But in many cases one may be painfully wrong. It would not do e.g. to explain European thought on the Other World by using the German folktale of Frau Holle. Folktales might express a much older stratum of culture.

¹⁰⁾ Dr. Willibald Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, K. Schröder, Bonn & Leipzig, 1920.

The Land of Souls with other Indonesian peoples.

Fortunately scholars have given us not only a wealth of folktales, but also songs of priests and other hymns sung on religious occasions.

I shall limit myself to the problem where the Land of Souls is situated and scarcely mention any other interesting questions. I am quite aware of the fact that not only the Balinese, but on the whole the early Indonesian Land of Souls has not yet found an adequate treatment, which should take into view the whole material available^{x1}).

The TORADJAS on CELEBES¹²), who have not been Hinduised, have preserved many old-Indonesian beliefs. Fortunately two great scholars have studied their way of life and their religious views, before they came in contact with Western life and Christianity. Therefore we are well-informed on their conception of Upper- and Under-world.

The entrance to the Heaven or Upperworld is a hole¹³), conceived as a tunnel, stretching right upward from the firmament into heaven. The mountain, creeper or tree by which people go to the upperworld, stretch into that hole, and whatever bird or magic object travels to the Upperworld, has to pass through that tunnel.

Sometimes the Upperworld is built up with several zones. There exists a story where two ill-treated girls fly in their ritual sunhats to heaven. In the first zone¹³) they do not find their grandfather, and they keep ascending, till they find him in the fourth.

Though this is a folktale, I mention it, because flying in a ritual sunhat is not a folktale-motiv, but as we shall see, a ritual act of Toradja-priestesses¹⁴). And a heaven in different layers, with a grandfather actually living in a high one is well worth mentioning, since that belief exists with many Indonesian peoples (cf. infra).

**) From the studies devoted to one people only, I cite here: Joh. Warneck, *Die Religion der Batak, Quellen der Religionsgeschichte*, Goettingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1909 (the author did not follow the wise device: *nee ridere, neque lugere sed intelligere*).

Beknopt Handboek der Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië door B. Alkema en T. J. Bezemer, Haariem 1927 treats the subject only very succinctly.

Elisabeth Camerling, *Ueber Ahnencult in Hinterindien und auf den Grossen Sunda-Inseln* — (thesis-Zürich) 1928, Nijgh & van Ditmar, Rotterdam, is forcibly rather superficial, since it is a compilation.

¹²) *De Barëë-sprekende Toradja's van Midden-Celebes* door Dr. N. Adrian! en Dr. Alb. C. Kruyt, Landsdrukkerij, Weltevreden, 1921; Tweede, geheel omgewerkte druk door Alb. C. Kruyt in *Verh. Kori. Ned. Ak. v. Wet. Afd. Lett. N.R. Deel LIV-LVI*, Amsterdam 1951.

¹³) O.c. p. 407.

¹⁴) Dr. Alb. C. Kruyt, *De beteekenis van derizorinehoed bij de Oost-Toradja's*, T.B.G. 54, 1934, p. 307 sqq.

In some descriptions the way to heaven is via nine mountains, like nine huge steps ascending to heaven¹³).

The Toradjas possessed priest-songs which give a vivid description of the journey to the Upperworld¹⁵). They were sung by a priestess, sitting besides a sick person and wrapped up in a *sarung*; thus she travels unseen by the bystanders into the Upperworld, in order to find there new life-force for the sick:

*Come, wind, take me with you,
Come, lightning, be my light!
Blow me high through the celestial spaces thither,
that our journey may be fast.*

.....
*In the sky, in the middle of the firmament,
this is flying!
this is going quickly!
Here is the river of the Upperworld;*

(So she sings 1200 strophes until daybreak).

Is it coincidence, that we are lively reminded of the old Kufijara-karna story: *at full speed by force of the wind*,
and of Bima's mystical journey: *putting his feet on the clouds, riding on the wind, walking over the stars*,
and of Sidapaksa: *passing through clouds and mist, his way was through the firmament ?*

Dr. Kruyt points out that there is an ancient relation of Javanese and Toradja ceremonies. Some *wayang-kulit*-performers used to cover themselves up with clothings and even go into a cage, where they were said to communicate with the spirits, which inspired them with the whole story they were going to show. Kruyt was the first to see the parallel with the covered-up Toradja-priestesses").

When Hinduism came on Java and Bali, the mystical journey to the Other World became literature, and the wayan[^]-priest was partly secularised.

On BORNEO¹⁷), as with many Indonesian peoples, the Universe was

¹³) Baréë-sprekende Toradja's III, p. 668 sqq.

¹⁶) Dr. Alb. C. Kruyt, *Het Animisme in den Indischen Archipel*, The Hague 1906, p. 109 (quoted by Alkema & Bezemer, *Beknopt Handboek etc.* cp.-note 11).

¹⁷) Dr. A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo*, Brill, Leiden, 1907, vol. I, p. 98.

thought to be constructed in five spheres or zones. For our investigation it is of some importance, that the dead were supposed to live in a zone higher than the Earth, the Underworld being reserved for a godly couple of fertility.

One believed that the soul on its way to the Land of Souls influenced the weather¹⁸). The long shadows, at sunset sometimes thrown on the sky by a mountain, were believed to be the boat of the dead, sailing upwards.

That reminds us of a death-song on FLORES¹⁹):

*You have gone into the realm of death,
you travelled into the depth of the abyss,*

.....

*you have lifted the sail,
sailed into the middle of the sea,
the stream carried you far away from us.*

(In accordance with this boat-conception is the boat used as a coffin for those who fell in war, but we do not linger now on the conception of the boat of death in Indonesia).

We notice the difference of direction in Borneo and Flores²⁰). In Borneo the soul is definitely sailing upward, in Flores it is travelling *into the depth of the abyss* (we remember Odysseus sailing to the Underworld).

Also at important festivals Flores people prayed to their ancestors:

*Oh, Mother with the dead, Father in the Underworld!*²¹)

It is notable that as often as not early Indonesians believed in an Underworld as a place for their dead.

Toradjas e.g. did to a certain extent. Its entrance is, as usual with

¹⁸) O.c. II, p. 117.

¹⁹) Paul Arndt, S.V.D. Religion auf Ost-Flores, Adonare und Solor, Verlag und Druck der Missionsdruckerei St. Gabriel, Wien Mödling, 1951, p. 37.

²⁰) Flores has been influenced by Catholicism since the end of the 16th century. Hence the confusion of conception, cp. P. P. Arndt, S.V.D., Mythologie, Religion und Magie im Sikagebiet (östl. Mittelflores), Arnoldus-Druckerei, Ende-Flores, 1932, p. 136. The learned author was nevertheless able to note down many interesting Mythological and Religious Songs, of which he gives a German translation, e.g. 'Thereafter (when he had created the Universe) the Uppergod lifted up the firmament, and it became seven layers and eight zones, with white and red (different colours)' — Here we are reminded of the different zones of the Toradjas and Tajak.

^w) Arndt, Religion, p. 38.

Indonesians, thought in the West, where the sun goes through a hole. In folktales one clan climb down by a rope through that hole, and a wicked father might throw his child into it.

Fortunately amongst the songs of priestesses mentioned above we find also one about a journey to the Underworld ^{*2)}. It is recited after a funeral, and the purpose of the priestess' journey is to recover as much energy of life as possible, since the dead may have taken with him too much of it, damaging in that way the family left behind.

She sings about the preparations of the journey, and she pretends not to go alone this time, but accompanied by slaves of the family-chief. They descend the home-stairs, leave the village and come to a trifurcation; one road goes to the Upperworld, the other to the Underworld. We note here specially the trifurcation, since in Balinese death-stories crossroads appear time and again.

*In the Underworld it is day,
In the Upperworld it is night, she sings ²³⁾.*

(There also exists a Tontemboan story, where the sun is in the Underworld during the night).

They travel back on a rainbow; the priestess, as in many journeys to the Upperworld, sitting in the middle of the rainbow. Kruyt and Adriani²⁴⁾ suppose that this rainbow-in-the-Underworld must be a mistake, but why should it, if the sun is there at night?

Curiously enough we find here exactly the same notion as in ancient Egypt: the sunboat passing through the Underworld and the soul travelling in it to the sunrise.

That the dwelling-place of the Toradja dead is not definitely the

^{**)} De Barèë-sprekende Toradja's III, p. 690 sqq.

Cp. Korawagrama, thesis-Leiden by L. J. Swellengrebel, 1936, p. 201, where the sungod, Aditya, takes his son with him to the Underworld: *Wengi mangké luhur, rahina mangèngkéné* (Now it is night above, but it is day here).

Cp. also: Niassche Priesterlitanieën, by W. L. Steinhart (VBG. 74, 1, 1938) i.e. priests' litanies from the Isle of Nias (which are very comparable with the Toradja priestsongs), p. 182: *When-it is night in the Upperworld, it is day in the Underworld.*

^{*2)} O.c. p. 691 verse 44-45.

^{M)} O.c. p. 697 'Het gaan per regenboog naar de Onderwereld is een onjuiste voorstelling (sic!), een navolging van de Tocht naar de Bovenwereld.

Cp. Dr H. Schärer, die Gottesidee der Ngadju Dajak in Siid-Borneo, thesis-Leiden, Brill, 1946, p. 30: The rainbow is the bridge which connects mortal people with the world of gods. — Same author, Die Vorstellungen der Ober- und Unterwelt bei den Ngadju Dajak von Süd-Borneo, in Cultureel Indië IV, 1942, p. 73.

Underworld we may guess from the grandfather being found in the fourth heaven.

With the BATAK there is also question of Upper- and Under-world, but it would need special study to learn the exact way of the souls.

On the island of NIAS the Universe was believed to consist of nine spheres (zones, stores), each zone having leading priestesses.

In the Upperworld the god of light reigns, but he is only the younger brother of the dark god of the Underworld. Those regions are not so opposite as one might imagine, since on Nias the sun also is an intermediary between them. Exactly as with the Tontemboans and the Toradjas (and for that matter Ancient Egypt), on Nias the sun is believed to sail through the Underworld. *The stone of life is found in the West, near the abyss, but the miracle of resurrection only can happen at sunrise*²⁵).

Here we seem to be in the religious atmosphere of the Ancient World, about which the Leiden scholar W. Brede Kristensen wrote in such a fascinating way²⁶).

However that may be, we must return to Bali with the question: what about the Underworld there?

It seems to me that there is only a slender evidence for Balinese fantasy working that way.

W. Kern quotes Tantri Kāmandaka p. 160 where it is contended that a certain scoundrel must be sent *i sor sapta-patala, ring bhuzwana IVdlukdrṇawa ngaranya* („Under the Seven-Patala, which means the region of Wālukārṇawa"). Patala (cp. Kirfel p. 143) in India are the seven worlds between the Earth and the Hells. There are thousands of towns in them, inhabited among other beings by Raksasas and Nagas. The fact that their Old-Javanese author found it necessary to translate or explain *i sor sapta-patala* by a high-flown name for hell shows that it was not a current Javano-Balinese belief. In fact, there is no Balinese Hell under the Patalas, and even the Patalas may find an exalted place in the Land of Souls, as is shown by the story of Poor-Boy⁸), where Patala has been translated simply by Naraka.

In the beautiful book about Bali, edited by the Indonesian Government²⁷), there is a photograph of a Naga-altar (4.25), 'for the gods

²⁵) W. L. Steinhart, *Niassche Priesterlitanieën*, V.B.G. LXXIV, 1, 1938, p. VII.

²⁶) E.g. De Symboliek van de Boot in de Egyptische Godsdienst, in *Symbol en Werkelijkheid*, een bundel godsdiensthistorische studiën, Arnhem, 1954, p. 177 sqq.

²⁷) BALI, Atlas Kebudajaan, Cults and Customs, *Cultuurgeschiedenis in Beeld*, Dr. R. Goris (text), Drs. P. L. Dronkers (photography), [Djakarta, 1953].

of the Saptapatala, the Underworld'; the learned author adds: '(chthon, inferno, hell)'; the words *inferno* and *hell* I should like to omit, since Hell was not thought in (or under) the Sapta-patala. I strongly doubt whether the Balinese really imagine more than *one* Underworld, inhabited by Nagas and maybe Raksasas²⁸).

Not one of the 400 folktales I read is about a journey to the Underworld. On Celebes and Sumatra, where we meet with a real belief in an Underworld worth speaking of, those stories abound.

Folktales.

It may be enlightening to show, how Balinese story-tellers dealt with a famous story about a journey to the Underworld. The theme is well-known: a person borrows an object (spear, fishhook, needle, spindle) and loses it by dropping it into the Underworld. The owner insists on having returned that special object, so the hero or heroine is forced to go and fetch it.

We know the story well from Grimm's Frau Holle, and in Indonesian folklore it is extremely popular^M).

We find it with the Macassarese³⁰), where it is told that a man wounded a swine with a borrowed spear. He refinds the spear in the body of the prince of the Underworld. Variants of this story are told by the Toradja, Tontemboan, etc.²⁹).

Now the Balinese variant (K. 1700): A man has two wives, of whom one has two girls. She dies, and the girls are pestered by the stepmother for a needle which their dead mother is said to have borrowed. The girls set out in search of their mother, meet an old man who shows them a Nagasari-tree, where they find their own mother. — Whither

²⁸) When looking into the published tutur (Theological works) we find the confirmation, that in the word saptapatala the number seven was no longer felt and that there were no dead in the Underworld. Korawagrama i.e. where there are said to exist three Patala, 1 for Baruna, the seegod, who in Nawarucci (note 3) definitely dwells in heaven, 2 Basuki, 3 Antabogha, the worldsnakes, who, we saw, are still imagined in the Underworld.

Cp. also De Tantu Panggelaran, thesis-Leiden, by Th. Pigeaud, 1924; p. 76 Patala, p. 77 Saptapatala, which places give no new understanding.

Bhumi Paitana of the Kuñjarakarna-text was translated by Prof. Kern with *Town under the Earth*, since Kern started from Indian cosmography. From *Gumi Patani* in the folktale I Lara, explained with the word *Pitra-loka*, it appears to mean *Land of the Dead*, which we saw to be in the sky.

**) For references see J. Alb. T. Schwartz, *Tontemboansche Teksten*, Vertaling, Brill, p. 269.

3?) Dr. B.-F. Matthes, *zijn leven en arbeid etc.* door Ds. H. van den Brink, Amsterdam, 1943, p. 384.

do they go? The old man we know from ILARA. They probably met him on the crossroads to Heaven and in Balinese folktales he is the usual appearance of God Siwa. And where is the Nagasari-tree? We know it from the Sri Tañjung (p. 44, p. 127)), where it stands in the most holy place in Heavens, *in the Centre*. We already discussed that the Land in the South of the Sri Tañjung is absolutely M<7/f.

Although our collection of Balinese folktales does not pretend to be complete (the main part of it has been noted down in North-Bali); I can not imagine a young man setting out for a dangerous expedition, and his mother warning him — as Toradja-mothers did — for *the hole* (leading to the Underworld), since I am convinced there is none in Balinese thought.

Orientation.

Balinese as well as other Indonesians are excessively conscious of orientation. Workmen, putting a cupboard into one's room, may be heard shouting to each other; 'Alo to the West, no; a little more to the South'. A Balinese who wants to express² that a child is "yet completely ignorant, declares; *tandruh* "kauh-kāngin — *herdōesvnoi* 'know West and East.

So, when a poet describes the way to the Land of the Souls, it will not be sufficient to say that he is going upwards, since one will desire to learn in which direction he is[^] going.

W. Kern in his thesis is puzzled by the seemingly contradictory report on this important question. It becomes "however less difficult, if one realises that the Balinese only distinguished two absolute directions: East and West, the two others; being *to the Sea* and *to the Mountains*, which notions are opposite in Norths and in South-Bali, the mountain range crossing the island roughly East-West.

Kēlod, *ngēlodang* — to the "Sea — means *leben* — downstreams, which stands for evil and death and Yama-lbka. "*Kadja*, *ngadjanangZ* — to the "Mountains — however is a "sacred direction, since mountains are considered to be the sites of the gods, "specially Guriungi Agung;:

There exists a similar difference as to East and West, East standing for sunrise and god Iswara. The Balinese folktales often make, the hero reach the god in heaven by his going straight "Eastward; and eventually ascending on **the** smoke of incense meandering upwards. West as the direction of sunset (which in many Indonesian mythologies means the entrance of **the** Underworld) is considered to be an unpropitious direction.

When we read the texts on the Land of Souls, whilst bearing in mind the Balinese ideas of orientation, we do not find many obstacles.

We may remind that the Indonesian conception also made Yama a *lokapala* of the South, and that Indian Hells lay South (though under the Patalas).

In the Nawaruci, Bima on his way to Heaven is twice mistaken in the direction (p. 60 & 119) and nearly reaches *Yamani-loka: kasasar sang Awirota*. •.. *meh teka ring Gēneya ring Yamani-loka* — Bhima lost his way.... *he nearly reached the South-East in Yamani-loka*. This orientation is confirmed by Balinese custom, that the body at a funeral should be laid with its head to the South-East³¹).

Likewise in the Sri Tañdjung, Sidapaksa on his way to heaven: *Agneya dēn-tujoni, āna ta Bumi Agung, Pitērbawanāranipun* — *He went to the South-East, and there was a vast land, called the Land of Souls*.

In the Djapatuan also the direction towards the Land of Souls is *Lor-Wetan* — *Sea and East*.

Not only the Sea-side and the Sea-and-East, but also the South-West is accounted for in literature. In the Old-Javanese *Mahā-prasthānika-parwa*, Narada on the crossroads shows the way leading to Yama-loka, which is S.W. (quoted by Kern o.c. p. 3); this text however is only an abbreviation from the 17th *parwan* of the *Mahā-Bhārata*.

In the folktale i LARA⁸) the author is highly concerned that we get our directions right. The most holy is East-to-the-Mountains; there is Heaven and there are the Forefathers. The opposite, to the West and down to the Sea is the way to Hell (Patala). To the Sea is the Land of Souls, where the unpurified souls live. Between Heaven and the Land of Souls is the Court of Yama, i.e. to the East and to the Sea, in accordance with an important literary and ritual tradition.

Our conclusion is, that Hindu-influence — which made the South to Yama-loka — harmonised with Balinese belief, that sea is evil powers, death. There existed however also a strong tradition of Sea and East as Land of the Souls. But also the South-West is accounted for.

So we come to the final conclusion that the whole *kēlod* (sea) side of the compass (which is South in South-Bali, North in North-Bali), is designed to Hell, Yama, the chthonic powers and the not-purified souls.

³¹) K. C. Crucq. *Bijdrage tot de Kennis van het Balisch Doodenritueel*, (thesis Leiden) 1928, p. 58 (Crucq quotes here Friedrich's *Voorlopig Verslag*, VBG 22).

This conclusion is completely in harmony with the division of *désa*-life by a line East-West, to the mountain-side of which the Uranian —. to the seaside of which the Chthonian powers reign³²).

It is not a notion reserved to priests and theological speculation, but a living reality in Balinese mind, a reality which guides the builders of villages and temples, and every man and woman who is offering to gods and ghosts. As we saw even Balinese children know their directions.

Colin McPhee in his charming book *House on Bali*^M) tells a striking story about a young boy he took into his house in order that he would be taught dancing. But the child grew 'pathetic, listless, almost sick', until the moment he was taken to a spot, from where the Gunung Agung could be seen. 'There is North!' he cried suddenly.... He began to laugh. He was a different child'.

One should know where to look for one's God.

Dr JACOB A HOOYKAAS.

³²) C. J. Grader, *Madënan (Désamonographie)*, Mededeelingen Kirtya Lieftrinck-Van der Tuuk, 5, 1937.

•^{ss}) an Asia Press book, The John Day Company, New York 1944 & subsequent years.

Cp. Dr H. Schärer, thesis 1946, p. 74 & 75, where exactly the same conception is found as Grader describes. Schärer calls this conception: 'Das Dorf als Mittelpunkt des Kosmos' (The village as a central point of the Universe).