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BOOKS MADE IN BALI*

I. MANUSCRIPTS.

In the festschrift in honour of Professor R. C. Majumdar I welcome the opportunity of telling something about the library of palmleaf MSS. in the Gëdong Kirtya (the pre-war Kirtya Lieftrinck-Van der Tuuk) at Singaradja (Bali) and its treasure of materials, collected during the 'thirties mainly, all over Bali and even in the western part of adjacent Lombok (1744-1894 ruled by the Balinese, and a site where has been found the perhaps most important Old-Javanese poem, the NĀGARA-KṚTĀGAMA). In doing so I linked up with a most useful paper by Professor Majumdar, who had written at some length about the wealth of MSS which Dr. Van der Tuuk had collected during the last quarter of the 19th C. and bequeathed to the library of the University of Leiden. I am fully aware of the store-houses of Indian MSS after visiting Adyar Library and the University Library of Madras in 1961; I admire Professor Raghavan's undertaking in composing his CATALOGUS CATALOGORUM, and in 1953 in Poona I was shown a shelf with still unpublished typewritten catalogues of MSS. When I point to the fact that Bali's surface is only 5.800 square kilometers, that its population accordig to the recent census should be some 1.800.000, it is impressive to know that Dr. Van der Tuuk's MSS have been described first in four volumes, then again in three. (The Kirtya-collections have not yet been described, but annotated title-lists have been published).

It will be evident that the Old-Javanese literature, to be found in Bali, has not been imported there in the brains or in the rucksacks of Javanese fugitives from the scimitar of Muslim conquerors of Java, as a well-known textbook on the Geography of South-East Asia will have it in edition after edition. Bali has been conquered by Javanese marriage,

* This article is a slightly abbreviated version of the author's contribution to the memorial volume, published in December 1962, in honour of the 25th. anniversary of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, and the 75th. birthday of its President, Dr. K. M. Munshi.

politics, and sword more than once during several centuries, and above all it has adopted Indian culture, directly from India and indirectly via Java. These are facts, and whosoever has seen the tragic plight of fugitives, will abandon the phantasy mentioned above.

But now I write in honour of a man who played an important role in the present century and who helped greatly in building up the future, by writing his own *books* and by publishing those of others, and who may be interested in this recent development of Balinese culture: viz. the publication of books. It would not help me to begin with an *om avighnam astu!* for the *vighnāni* are only too evident. Bookshops, book production and libraries in Bali are practically only post-war novelties, whereas I (after my pre-war stay Aug. '39-Dec. '41) spent there only my university holidays in 1947, 1948, 1949, and a sabbatical leave from Oct. '58-Aug. '59, during which, however, I seldom missed my opportunity of raiding the bookshops which came into my orbit. Still much may have escaped me; moreover this paper had to be written at short notice. It does not pretend to be exhaustive or elaborate but only tries to ask attention to an intensively living and highly artistic offshoot of Indian culture in Indonesian soil.

1. THE BOOK. Before the Pacific war Bali had no publishing firms and no bookshops, though perhaps as many as six different pamphlets could be had in a shop where mainly other articles were stocked. A discussion between a private publishing firm in Surabaya, which intended to produce and market Balinese books in Roman script, me who was excepted to advise the firm and prepare suitable materials from the enormous stock in the library of MSS, and the Resident of the colonial government who would have to be the protecting and glorifying umbrella, had been scheduled for ... December 1941. Having worked for two years and a half at the Government Publishing Office in Indonesian Languages, Balé Pustaka, I was strongly in favour of the possibilities opened here, the more so as from Balinese side I had been approached for more than one project — but then the Pacific war broke out.

Bali before the war had thousands of MSS, but not one book. Epic poems like the Old-Javanese *rāmāyaṇa* and the *BHĀRATA-YUDDHA* had been published by a learned society in Holland, in clear Javanese script and in such a large size that even long verses like those of *śārdūla-vikrīḍita* (19 syllables), *sragdharā* (21), even *rāgakusuma* (23) and *aśvalalita* (23) were printed on one line — but there was no connecting

link, either organising or commercial, between Western and Eastern learning. In the 'thirties *NĪTĪ-SĀSTRA*, *SMARA-DAHANA*, *BRAHMĀṇḍA-PURĀṇA* and *BHĪṢMA-PARVA* and some others were published in Batavia (Djakarta), in Latin script and relatively cheaply produced owing to the slump of the early 'thirties, but they too failed to reach Bali, partly because the Balinese prefer their 'own' derived Pallava script. Once at the court in Bangli in central Bali I witnessed a disputation amongst Brahman priests about a passage in the *BRAHMĀṇḍA-PURĀṇA*; they were utterly unaware of the existence of a critical and reliable text-edition based upon their own MSS.

But though the Balinese had no books, there was a real desire for having *THE BOOK*, *THE BOOK* of *ĀGAMA TĪRTHA*. During the 'thirties Protestant and Roman Catholic priests tried to convert the Balinese to Christianity. They were not very successful, but then their endeavours were severely restricted by the Dutch Government. The impact of Christianity caused much friction and several conflicts, and many Balinese, though well aware of the richness and variety of their inherited culture, became also aware of the fact that they did not have any revelation or generally acknowledged authoritative writing. The Christians had their book, the Muslim traders of Bali had their book and sometimes even their mosque, but the Balinese with their faulty MSS — they were aware of that — must have felt lost.

Protestant missionary activity has accused the Dutch Government of keeping Bali in the state of a museum; this period was over after 1949 and Bali was no longer under the paternal eye of colonialism, but became aware of the existence of a new Ministry of Religious Affairs of the new Republic of Indonesia, a country with an overwhelming Muslim majority. The system of Islam is proud of its definitive revelation, it tolerates the book-possessing Jew and Christian, and scorns the heathen. This is not the place to go into the strengthened desire amongst Balinese for the possession of a book; I wish only to describe how this situation helped me in my research. In 1958 I was interested in the ritual of the *sengguhu*, the exorcist priest, who entitles himself as *ṛṣi bhujaṅga*. I had an excellent introduction to one of them and was very hospitably received. The priest was adamant, however, in his refusal to give me his ritual: his *nabé* (in India we would say *guru*), so he told me with profuse apologies, had strictly forbidden him to do so. He informed me, however, that the *sengguhus* had been willing to give some of their writings to the local Balinese Government, in its endeavours to compose *THE BOOK* for Balinese

Religion. For this purpose copies had been made and confided to the care of the Gedong Kirtya at Singaradja. Next morning I went there and was rewarded with the recently made typewritten copies of ṛṣi VAIṢṆAVA and two other *sengguhu*-writings. (It took me some months before I found another way to obtain this priest's ritual). THE BOOK for Bali has not yet been agreed upon.

True, the Balinese Brahman priests have writings they call WEDA, but these are songs in honour of the gods, *stuti/stotra/stava*, composed in Sanskrit or 'Archipelago-Sanskrit' (pseudo-Sanskrit). They even possess some verses, their version of the initial stanzas of the four Indian VEDAS, but there it stops. An organisation of Brahman priests has been constituted, but Bali has not yet its HOLY BOOK.

2. AFTER THE PACIFIC WAR. Before the war, the Balinese knew only palmleaf MSS, and they wrote profusely on the most variegated subjects, apart from copying and recopying a considerable part of the pre-Muslim Old-Javanese literature they had inherited. Much of what, in 1850, the German Indologist, Dr. Friederich, assistant keeper of books and MSS at the library of the Museum, Djakarta (then: Weltevreden), wrote of the civilization and culture of Bali in his well-known 'Preliminary Account of the Island of Bali', translated from the Dutch original into English, still held good in the 1887 reprint in bookform (London), but had become an antiquated classic when in 1959 Susil Gupta of Calcutta-12 produced a new reprint. The Balinese, always vividly interested in anything new and not inhibited by any prejudice against new forms, avidly adopted new techniques of multiplying their writings in an easy mechanical way. They adopted bookprint and newspaperprint, but soon became aware that printing is expensive and risky, so that the overwhelming majority of their books are now being stencilled. They use foolscap pages, which then are folded into two, so that nearly all their books have the shape of exercise-books, and usually they are not much thicker. Wire-stitches in the most favourable cases go through the exact middle of the book (brochure perhaps would be a better name); still thinner pamphlets have the loose sheets by the same metal staples, but now through the pages, so that the booklet does not open easily — just as with our cheaply-made offprints of articles in learned journals. Large works are published in instalments: the BHĀRATA-YUDDHA took 15 of them, the BHAUMA-KĀVYA even 22. But then part I is selling when part II is being prepared, so that a publisher runs no great risk and does not need much initial capital.

The majority of these brochures are typewritten, and unfortunately the practice of making corrections in the original sheets seems not to have penetrated to Bali: the evident mistakes (apart from inconsistencies) are numerous. A not inconsiderable minority of brochures is written in the Balinese script, and here the printing seems to be specially difficult. The main thing, however, is the fact that so many writings are now easily and cheaply available for all those who wish to learn something; but the outward still leaves much room for improvement.

3. BAHASA. The publications emanating from Bali cover four languages, in prose as well as in poetry, viz. Balinese, Javanese, the development of Malay called Bahasa Indonesia and even Sanskrit. Two different BABAD PASĚK (reasoned genealogies referring to the aristocratic family of the PasĚk), in Balinese prose, this time not copied on palmleaf but on stencil and then multiplied; there is no other difference from a MS. BUKU GAGURITAN I DUKUH SILADRI is the book containing the Balinese poem, *gaguritan*, dealing with the hermit on the mountain-slopes, this time typewritten on stencil and multiplied. Dukuhs, by the way, formally have the status of śūdras, but in the Balinese folktales brahman priests are hardly existent and not respected; the man who shows the way to Heaven there is the *dukuh*. These priests of apparently pre-Hindu origin, forming an intermarrying genealogical group or caste, have not yet been studied. RĀMĀYAṆA KAKAWIN is the Old-Javanese *kāvya*, in 92 different classical Indian metres, which for the greater part is based upon the famous Indian BHAṬṬI-KĀVYA; foolscap stencilled in Balinese script. SĀRA-SAMUCCAYA consists of 517 Sanskrit ślokas, mainly drawn from the parvas, followed by their Old-Javanese prose-paraphrases; three different publications.

A considerable number of pamphlets propagates the new national language, which in its previous stage as Malay was used not only by the former Dutch Government as an administrative language all over the archipelago, but even by Javanese and Balinese amongst themselves to avoid the difficulties of so-called 'high' and 'low' language. In Bahasa Indonesia we find entirely new books like BALI BĚRDUANG, the story of the post-war guerilla warfare against the Dutch. Next there are numerous treatises on the old-established religion, but now — apart from the untranslatable technical terminology — written in the language of education and the future; some titles are: DHARMA SHASTRA, DASA SILA AGAMA HINDU BALI, DHARMA PRAWĪTTI ĆĀSTRA, etc.

In the third place there are translations, as for instance PRAÇASTI PANDE, dealing in prose with the genealogical group or caste of the ironsmiths, śūdras according to the Hindu caste system, but ranking high in their own esteem and also of many a Balinese. Bahasa Indonesia is also used in religious treatises where the left hand page is written in Balinese, the right hand page in B.I., e.g. SWASTIKA SUTRA. The well-known modern-Balinese poem JAYAPRANA has been published in the same way. When I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa prepared the Old-Javanese poems-in-Indian-metres, BHĀRATA-YUDDHA and SUTASOMA, for publication, on the left hand pages he alternated an Old-Javanese verse written in Balinese script with the same verse in Latin transliteration; on the right hand pages he put the Balinese translation in Balinese script followed by the typewritten translation into Bahasa Indonesia. The future belongs to Bahasa Indonesia; the present day still largely belongs to the Javano-Balinese language.

4. BOOKSHOPS. The book trade was virtually unknown in Bali before the Pacific war. In recent years each of the seven regional capitals has one bookshop at least. When we make a rough division into three categories, we may distinguish: a) books imported from abroad, probably without any exception Anglo-American; b) books imported from other parts of Indonesia, most of them from publishers in Java, nearly all of them in Bahasa Indonesia, with a sprinkling of Javanese treatises on mysticism; c) books or pamphlets produced in Bali.

It is difficult to give an idea of book-prices, especially for non-residents of Indonesia who would have to buy those books at an official rate of exchange which has only a historical relation with reality. But since rice is the staple food in Bali, and the rice-price is an index of the cost of living, we can give a realistic impression by stating that during our latest stay in Bali we could buy at the same price either one kilogram of rice or a half-foolscap stencilled pamphlet averaging some 120 pages. This is not dirt-cheap, but it is certainly not prohibitive, in view of the number and size of the bookshops which after the war sprang up like mushrooms from the Balinese soil.

I think I should include here some notes on the imported books in the field of Hindu religion and philosophy. I found the BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ published by Gita-Press, Gorakhpur, with Sanskrit text and English translation as well as that translated by Annie Besant (Natesan & Co, Madras). KUNDALINI YOGA by Swami Sivananda has been translated

into Bahasa Indonesia by Kwee Liong Tian, an Indonesian Chinese probably, printed and published in Malang, Java. Narada Maha Thera has written a tiny pamphlet which has been translated into AGAMA BUDDHA, printed and published in Sēmarang, Java. The Vihara "Buddha Gaya", Ungaran, in the hills above Semarang, published another tiny pamphlet: BUDDHA TJERITA. The Venerable Bhikku Ashin Jinarakkhita's 40 MATA POKOK DALAM MEDITASI BUDDHIS is printed and published by the "Buddhis" Magazines Press, which also publishes the monthly BUDDHIS. The Persaudaraan Upāsaka dan Upāsikā Indonesia, Semarang, in 1956 published the volume 2500 BUDDHA JAYANTI. The old-established theosophical publishing house Tan Khoen Swie of Kadiri, Java, published ADJI DJAPA MANTRA with the subtitle ILMU GHAIB; and that of Kwa Giak Djing at Kudus (Arab. Quds, sanctuary), Java, the TIRTA-DAHANA. The Toko Buku "Sadu-Budi", Solo (Surakarta), Java, prints PRIMBON (i.e. Āraṇyaka) SABDA SASMAYA by Indradjati, and KITAB MANTRA YOGA by the same author with the cooperation of Ki Tarunarimong — the four of them in Javanese language using Latin script. It is very well possible, if not probable, that the bookshop was stocking these four books for its Javanese customers, for Java goes on exporting its civil servants, Islam, mysticism, and fashion.

I end this summing-up of booktitles with a long one in the Malay language (1939), Latin script, of the Boekhandel (bookshop) Bing Sien, Soerabaia: INDIA SOETJI, *Hikajat soember agama dan philosophie doenia di tanah Arya, 10.000 taon ka blakang; Penoeatoeran dari ilmoe-batin menoeroet peladjaran SANKHYA, WIDANTA, YOGA dan laen-laennja; dari BUDDHISME, SUFIISME, tentang alir-aliran agama usul*; that is: HOLY INDIA, Story of the origin of the world's religion and philosophy in the country of the Aryans, 10.000 years ago; teaching of inner knowledge according to S, W, Y etc., referring to the currents of original religion.

In this field I took only the spoonfull which I happened to find in bookshops in Bali on the occasion of some ten to twenty visits there, when I was mainly preoccupied in finding Balinese books; the bowl itself may contain incomparably more.

5. PUBLISHERS. Not every bookshop is a publishing house, but every publisher has a bookshop. The great majority of materials published are either typewritten copies of existing MSS, e.g. GAGURITAN BASUR, the

poem BASUR, on witchcraft, or now equipped with *a* translation (JAYAPRANA, *supra*) or *two* translations (BHĀRATA-YUDDHA, SUTASOMA, *supra*), or they are merely translations, as in the case of the PRAÇASTI PANDE, *supra*, or they are rewritten in a modern metre and a more modern language (PAMANCANGAH, history of Bali); they may have been composed by using existing treatises which are mentioned, as in the case of AJI SANKHYA, but generally they are simply a rehash from sources not mentioned. There are, however, newly written books, in the field of religion, history, e.g. TATA SUÇILA, SADJARAH BALI, BALI BERDJUANG, and a PEDOMAN SINGKAT *untuk mengundjungi* BALI MUSEUM, all of them in Bahasa Indonesia.

As a rule, Balinese publishers print (seldom) and stencil (in most cases) in Bali, but there are exceptions. Njoman Djëlada of Gianjar, who under the pen-name Gora Sirikan published a long poem GAGURITAN DUKUH SULADRI, had the first instalment printed in Surabaya, the rest in Bali; and Pandit (to be dealt with in paragraph 7) had all his pamphlets and books printed, either in Java: Bandung and mainly Surabaya, or in Den Pasar. This DUKUH SULADRI, by the way, differs not only in its plot from the one mentioned in paragraph 4, but it inserts also numerous wise lessons and teachings which the author, knowing Indonesian and probably Dutch, collected in the course of his reading.

One type of publisher deserves special attention. They are the bureaux for religious affairs, to be found in each of the seven regional capitals. Their publications — to the extent I saw them in 1958/9 — were stencilled; nowadays a religious fortnightly KALA-WĪTTA has an edition of 5,000 copies, and all this distributed free. From their publications I have here MĀNUṢA-JADĪĀ, in Balinese language and Latin script, dealing with the offerings to be brought for a human being from before his birth until his marriage; BHŪTA-YADNJA, according to Karma-marga & Bhakti-marga, dealing with the offerings to be brought monthly to the bhūtas, extracted from the existing MSS KṚTA-MĀSA and WISHNU-TATTWA, in a mixture of Bahasa Indonesia and Balinese which is hardly understandable outside the island of Bali. Finally there is the foolscap GAGĒLARAN PĒMANGKU, typewritten, dealing with the ritual of the non-brahman temple- or folk-priest. The usual manual for the (Śivaite) *pamangku*, entitled KUSUMA-DEWA (!), a commercial publication in the usual stencilled shape, in Balinese as well as in Latin script, does not deviate from the existing MSS on the topic, but it differs from that distributed by the bureau for religious affairs.

This latter is enriched by numerous unexpected *namo Buddhāya* and mantras to be muttered by the pamangku during his bodily preparation for his ritual. Though this has not been mentioned, the ms has been embroidered upon by a Buddhist (brahman) priest, attached to the bureau, who thought it fit to insert improvements from his own rich ritual into that of his less educated colleague. The publications from these bureaux, not to be had in bookshops and not advertised, deserve extra attention, in all respects.

6. THE AUTHORS. Since so many books, produced in Bali, deal with religion in its numerous aspects, we may expect that the authors are Balinese, and apart from two exceptions (to be dealt with in next paragraph) that is indeed the fact. Balinese society consists of 7% Triwangsa, belonging to the castes of brahmans, kṣatriyas and waiśyas, and 93% *djabas*, 'outsiders' or śūdras; pariaship and untouchability are non-existent. The question presents itself, from which of these castes are our authors drawn. As could be expected, some of them are brahman priests, *pāda-nda*, 'the feet', and others belong to the brahman caste but have not (yet) been consecrated, so that their name is preceded by Ida Bagus. Several belong to the aristocratic caste who put Anak Agung before their name. Some belong to the Wesya caste, recognisable by I Gusti. At least ten of the authors whose pamphlets are lying before me on the writing desk are *djabas*.

I state this with some emphasis, because a sociologist recently pointed to the fact that the author of the JAYAPRANA, mentioned above, being a djaba, was an exception. I have never investigated the tremendous amount of Balinese MSS, nearly all of them copies from copies, and generally anonymous at that, with the intention of trying to detect the caste of the author. I do not expect much positive result from such an investigation, and I am even prepared to agree beforehand that the larger literary works will have been written by members of the leisured classes. But I expect that the innumerable treatises on health (W. Weck in his German book on popular medicine enumerates some 250 of them) have been written or rearranged by *balians*, medicine men belonging to the fourth caste. Likewise treatises on fighting cocks, corporeal signs on horses and women (*ka-turaṅga-n*), on causing rain and sunshine, on all popular heroes of the popular poems (like JAYAPRANA) in popular metres. I do not expect that proof is ever to be found in a library or a study, but here I wish to point with some emphasis to my ten *djaba*-authors.

Dealing with books made in Bali, this paper should not extend to being a book, but must restrict itself to being an article; hence in the two following paragraphs I deal only with the two Indians who played a role, and four of the most prominent Balinese authors, belonging to the four castes, even though I am aware that this procedure might be unfair towards more than one deserving and promising Balinese author.

7. TWO INDIAN AUTHORS. Nand Lal Punj, who judging from a first-page quotation seems to be a Vaiṣṇava, wrote in Djakarta 'The Bali Religion', which the Balinese Njoman Sutrisna S. translated for him into Bahasa Indonesia. His pamphlet, which was published in two parts, is not so much a description of the Balinese religion as it is, but as it should be according to the author, who proves to be a theosophist.

Prof. Narendra Dev Padit, Shastri, B.A. (Hons. in Sanskrit), B.T. (Pb), wrote at least 8 pamphlets and books, without exception printed and published by Bhuvana Sarasvati Publications, Denpasar, Bali. All of them use the Bahasa Indonesia, and in three of them the Balinese I Gusti Madé Tamba is mentioned as the translator. As early as 1951 he could print, on the cover of his *DASA SILA AGAMA BALI*, that his pamphlet had acquired the approval of the Balinese Brahman priests and the authorities. In 1953 he published his book *RAMAYANA*, the *Vālmiki*-version preceded by a lengthy introduction dealing with *Rāmāyana* in South-East Asia. And in the same year *WEDA PARIKRAMA*, each page containing a Sanskrit śloka followed by its translation; the sources are *WEDA*, *UPANISAD*, *BHAGAWADGITA* and also *SANSKRIT MANTRAS FROM BALI*. The tiny pamphlet *INTI SARI AGAMA HINDU* deals with the essential thoughts of Indian Hinduism. The still tinier *TRI-SANDHYA* teaches some 16 śloka with their translation and adds a word-by-word translation from the Sanskrit. Finally he has made extracts from the life-stories of *KRISNA* and of *BUDDHA* in two separate booklets. Pandit's most out-of-the-usual booklet, destined for schools, is *DHARMOPADESA*, with its 318 questions-cum-answers like a catechism. I find Pandit mentioned as the author of a *SEDJARAH AGAMA HINDU* which I have never seen. — The activities of Pandit appear to be those of a Hindu who tries, at an elementary level, to restore the links with India, which had snapped centuries ago.

8. FOUR BALINESE AUTHORS. As it is not my intention to try to present a list of Balinese publications, I have made a choice, and introduce one

author from each of the four castes; this choice has been made not so much by the merit of the author as by the genre and subject with which he happened to be dealing.

8a. I GUSTI BAGUS SUGRIWA is beyond doubt the most prolific of Balinese authors, and perhaps also the most learned and the most versatile. His early pamphlet *TRISANDHYA* deals with performing of prayer three times a day; his *HARI RAYA HINDU BALI* with the festivals of the Balinese calendar, their meaning and the duties of participants. *SENI BUDAYA BALI*, which I have not seen, should deal with the Art and Culture of Bali. In 1956 he published the *RINGKASAN TJERITERA SUTASOMA*, a book of 120 pp. in Bahasa Indonesia, giving a resume of the Buddhist *kāvya* *SUTASOMA*, for Sugriwa propagates knowledge of the Javano-Balinese brand of Buddhism. He helped in the publication of *SILA KRAMA* by I Wajan Rēta, a *djaba*, and next published what I think is the biggest volume hitherto published in Bali: *KITAB SUTJI SANGHJANG KAMAHĀYĀNIKAN*. Up till now we had only a Western critical text-edition of this very old and very important catechism of Mahāyāna in Java; Sugriwa, not mentioning this book, published a new MS from Klungkung, and to the Sanskrit and its Old-Javanese paraphrase added his translation into Bahasa Indonesia and his critical remarks. Between this big enterprise and his following big one he translated into B.I. first the *BABAD PASEK*, a history of the caste not acknowledged by official Hinduism, mentioned above, and then the *PRAČASTI PANDE*, the charter of the caste of ironsmiths which does not allow itself to ask a brahman priest for holy water, *toya* or *tīrtha*, because their priests, *mpu pandé*, maintain their right to make it themselves.

Next Sugriwa published *SMRETI BUDAYA HINDU BALI*, a book of 160 pp. in which he deals with Balinese religion and philosophy. Then came his translation of *BHĀRATA-YUDDHA*, the Old-Javanese *kakawin* (*kāvya*) dealing in Indian metres with the central battle-parvas of the *MAHĀ-BHĀRATA*, translated twice as mentioned before. For Sugriwa is an educationalist, and in several instalments of his *RAMA* he explains words and grammar of Old-Javanese *ādi-kāvya* to schoolchildren, not knowing that, in a sense, he had Bhaṭṭi as his precursor, be it in a slightly different way. He went on with *TATA-SUČILA* (catechism), followed by *ČIWA-BUDDHA* 'bhinneka tunggal ika' (Old-Javanese words; borrowed from a *kakawin* and meaning: 'though different, still forming a unity'), the device of the Republic of Indonesia. For Sugriwa

evidently propagates the unity of Balinese creed and the unifying language.

The completion of BHĀRATA-YUDDHA had taken 15 instalments of about 70 pages each; that of the SUTASOMA, the Buddhist poem of which previously he had given that RINGKASAN (i.e. resume, mentioned above) with which he dealt in the same elaborate way, entailed 22 instalments of about 100 pages each. This author is in the happy position of having something to say and having something to do, and of finding a responsive public.

8b. ANAK AGUNG MADE REGEG, as an author is interested in the past as well as in the present and in the future. He put his name under GAGURITAN TUAN SĚMĚRU, a poem in modern Javanese metres and Balinese literary language, which, however, he ascribes to Ida Dangiāng Nirarta, during the saint's stay in adjacent Lombok when he was dealing with those most extraordinary Muslims who kept three *waktu*, moments for prostration before God, reminiscent of *trisaṇḍhyā*, instead of the prescribed five. He prepared for stencilling two other writings of the caste of the Paśēk, viz. BABAD PASEK GELGEL and BABAD PASEK SUBADĚRA. He wrote a BABAD BALI RADJIYA, on the kingdom of Bali, for the composition of which he used such old writings as RADJA PURĀṆA, SUNDARI GAMA, USANA BALI and SIWA TATWA PURĀṆA.

Rĕgĕg wrote about religion in a brochure entitled SIWA-BUDDHA (bhinneka tunggal ika) followed by a big svastika and the words *tatwa diatmika agama Hindu Bali*. Here he ended by summing up the five kinds of *jadnja*: destined for *dewa*, *pitra*, *manusa*, *bhuta* and *rĕsi*. In this last category, never omitted, no author seems to be interested; *bhūta-yajña* was dealt with in the brochure published by the Gianjar bureau for religious affairs as mentioned before, and Rĕgĕg himself wrote a pamphlet DEWA, MANUSA JADNJA, for which he obtained the *imprimatur* from the Klungkung bureau of religious affairs.

His interest in the future appears from his BUKU AGAMA HINDU BALI: PITRA JADNJA; in the subtitle he mentioned his dependance upon that guide for post-death meetings of the Balinese soul with the terror of the hereafter as have been described in the classic PLUTUK. This pamphlet too carries the approval of the local bureau for religious affairs.

I do not know about the existence of more pamphlets by Rĕgĕg, but in connection with his last-mentioned brochures I should like to point to the fact that another Anak Agung, also from the Eastern part of the island, now Gdé Oka from Karang Aśēm, wrote a GEGURITAN

PEPARIKAN (poem in more modern metres and language) on PITRA JADNJA in two instalments, and a GAGURITAN DEWA JADNJA, whereas Ida Maharadjadewata Anak Agung Gdé Pēmērēgan, author of more than one treatise, published a GEGURITAN PEPARIKAN DUK KARYA LIGYA RING KLUNGKUNG. *Ligya*, perhaps better termed *maligia*, as it might be characterised by its use of a *maligai*, is an expensive ceremony — as may be known — to be held at the earliest six Balinese months of five times seven days, i.e. 210 days, after cremation, for the benefit of the soul of well-to-do members of the tri-wangsa castes. The Balinese are known all over the world for their display of potlach at the occasion of cremation of the dead; it might be not superfluous to point to the existence of their now multiplied treatises on care for the dead and ancestor-worship.

8c. I GUSTI ANANDA KUSUMA is known as an author in the field of religion as well as in that of lexicology. He wrote KAMUS INDONESIA-BALI and KAMUS BALI-INDONESIA, dictionaries which may be far from complete, but which make a fair start. He wrote a (GAGURITAN PEPARIKAN) SIPTA or SIPTAGAMA (*sipta* for Sanskrit saṃkṣipta) drawn from the palmleaf MS WIRUDA SMARA on cremation-ceremonies, a DHARMA SASTRA AGAMA HINDU BALI, a SWASTIKA SUTRA with the subtitle *pëndidikan bahagia*, education to happiness. This work is called *dwi-bahasa*, for the left-hand page contains the text in Balinese, the right-hand page in Bahasa Indonesia. He wrote a PEMIMPIN HIDUP KETUHANAN in B.I., a Guide towards Spiritual Life, which is a translation from aphorisms written or dictated by Swami Sivananda from Dehra Dun. His PENGANTAR AGAMA HINDU BALI has been reprinted. He prepared for the stencilling-press the KITAB SUTJI KUSUMA-DEWA, in Balinese as well as in Roman script; this is, as we have discussed before, the manual for the *pamangku* or temple-priest. This publication, as in numerous cases, consists simply of the multiplication of an existing MS, without alterations, additions or omissions. Finally he has collected UDYANA-SANTUN, *njanjian Bali bērguna untuk anak² murid, masjarakat Hindu Bali waktu hari raja di Pura, bērsēmbahjang, mēninggal dunia dan lain² nja*, i.e. songs for Balinese schoolchildren at temple festivals, for prayer, at death etc.

8d. The number of authors belonging to the fourth group, the *djaba* or *sūdra*, is big enough, but most of them seem to have published only

a single book or two. Putu Gria, as a North-Balinese, has felt attracted towards making available and translating into B.I. the poem *RUSAK BULÈLÈNG*, the Fall of (the realm of) Bulèlèng, the Northern coastal strip of Bali, in Balinese known as *UUG BLL*. His second book has its subject further away, geographically, historically and linguistically. He took the *KIDUNG SUNDA*, a so-called Middle-Javanese poem, written in Bali several centuries ago and taking place in Java. Under the title *SEDJARAH SERI AJAM URUK DAN PATIH GADJAH MADA*, the Story of King Hayam Wuruk and (his chancellor) Gajah Mada, he re-narrated in Indonesian prose the touching, romantic but not altogether historic events of the old poem.

9. POEMS. Putu Gria was exceptional in turning a poem into prose. We saw how Sugriwa tried to further knowledge of Old-Javanese poetry-in-Indian-metres, and we can witness that several poems in modern Balinese language and using the familiar modern Javanese metres (*GAGURITAN*) are now being multiplied or newly versified (*PAPARIKAN*) — words which are not always strictly distinguished. The *GAGURITAN PEPARIKAN BĒRATA JUDDA (SALIA)* is perfectly clear in its title of promising the śalya episode from the Old-Javanese kakawin (*kāvya*) *BHĀRATA-YUDDHA*, now cast into modern poetical language and metres, and the *GAGURITAN UTARA-KANDA* should likewise have had the word *PAPARIKAN* in its title. We already came across three *Gaguritan Paparikan* in 8b: G.P. PITRA JADNJA, G.P. DEWA JADNJA and G.P. DUK KARYA LIGYA RING KLUNGKUNG. Here I should like to add only *GAGURITAN PITUTUR* (wise lessons on) *AGAMA HINDU BALI*, the *dwibahasa* *GAGURITAN SAMPIK*, being originally a Chinese love-story, the very long *GAGURITAN SUTJITA*, the fantastic *GAGURITAN TAM-TAM*, the *GAGURITAN DUH RATNAJU* and the *GAGURITAN TJOAK*, both of them accompanied by *paridarta* (i.e. explanation). Versifying, it must be admitted, is not the most developed of Balinese arts, and though much has been cast into a metrical shape, in many cases this only means that it is easier to memorise or serves as the basic material for a lovely singing voice.

10. HISTORY. We came across several types of history-writing: the two works by Putu Gria, the charter of the ironsmiths and a genealogical writing by a *pasĕk* published by Sugriwa; two more *pasĕk*-genealogies and the history of the kingdom of Bali by Rĕgĕg. The classical poem in the field is the middle-Javanese *KIDUNG PAMANCANGAH*,

in its choice of words and metres modernised by 'Gora Sirikan', who added numerous explanatory notes and an index of difficult words. He is the author of one of the versions of the (equally historic) *DUKUH SULADRI* and weaves much historical material through this story, as has been mentioned before. (*GAGURITAN*) *RĒRĒG PANĒGAR GIANJAR duk IČAKA 1806* is a poem dealing with the calamity that befell Gianjar in 1884 A.D. *KITAB SEDJARAH DANGHYANG NIRARTHA (PERANDA SAKTI BAWU RAWUH)* belongs to the *gaguritan paparikan* and renarrates the legendary story of the very 'potent' (*sakti*) brahman to whom important modifications in Balinese Hinduism are ascribed. The brahman author, Ida Bagus Putu Bek, is the same who published the unsophisticated idyll of *DUKUH SILADRI*, the hermit on the mountain-slope. *SEDJARAH ĒMPU BHARADAH mĕntjĕritĕrakan kĕdjadian² jang pĕnting/gandjil dizaman kĕradjan Daha dengan Radja Erlangga*, i.e. The story of the Reverend Bharadah, narrates about the important and astonishing happenings during the reign of King Erlangga of the dynasty of Daha (Eastern part of Java, 11th C.). *PĒRABU MAJA DANAWA* deals in prose with the mythological bad king who had his capital in the South-Eastern part of Bali; it has been written in Balinese, for use at the primary school. *SEDJARAH BALI I & II*, in prose in Bahasa Indonesia, has also been written for the primary school; the author, I Wajan Simpĕn, himself a headmaster at Mĕngwi in the heart of Bali, in his *BABAD MĒNGWI* renarrated the contents of the palmleaf MS of the same name.

11. *JAYAPRANA*. Copies of the books mentioned above are available in the libraries of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, and the University of Leiden, but nothing of all this is accessible in any European translation. That is the reason why at the end of my incomplete and superficial survey I conclude by referring to a recent publication of an already existent Balinese poem which is accessible in my metrical English translation. It is the old story of a prince who covets his servant's beautiful wife and now sends the husband on an expedition never to return, so that he may take unto himself the young widow. The Balinese, indeed, are always beset by the problem of innocent death, be it by murder as here, or by accident, or by death in a foreign country. So, a few years after the second world war, during which so many Balinese had lost their lives through violence, a strong desire was awakened to give Jayaprana a fitting cremation. This effort resulted in a cremation as Bali had never held before. This event was studied by a protestant missionary, whose highly interesting

article has recently been translated into English and incorporated in the volume 'BALI, Studies in Life, Thought and Ritual', W. van Hoeve Ltd., The Hague and Bandung, 1960. In this excellent collection of essays the interested reader may find much more concerning this religious, artistic, and intelligent people, who really practise 'plain living and high thinking'.

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