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In memoriam Dr. Roelof Goris (with a bibliography by R.S. Karni)

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IN MEMORIAM
DR. ROELOF GORIS

9th JUNE, 1898—4th OCTOBER, 1965.

I

Roelof Goris was born at Krommenie (in the province of Noord-Holland, The Netherlands) the son of Jakobus Goris and Hilagonda Johanna, née van Oosten. His father and grandfather were clergymen, and as such his father served the Gereformeerde Kerk at Wormerveer, close by Krommenie, but as early as December 1898 he was forced into retirement by ill health. He died in Utrecht in 1912, when his eldest son was just fourteen years old.

Goris received a classical education — the first year at the Christelijk Gymnasium in Utrecht, and the remaining years at Arnhem. Under the influence of one of his teachers, Dr. H. van Apeldoorn, he developed pronounced philosophical interests at an early age. He carried on passionate discussions and correspondence with a friend from Utrecht, J. J. Buskes, about belief, theology, philosophy, ethics, war and peace, and much more besides.¹ Considering his age, the letters give evidence of strikingly wide reading and surprising studiousness, as well as an almost excessive tendency to analyse feelings and convictions, and a certain passion to impose his own opinions on others. Furthermore Goris' later style, which is now and then somewhat jerky and inclined to emphasize with many underlinings, is already foreshadowed here. In Arnhem his Dutch teacher, Miss J. de Marees van Swinderen, had much influence on him. Later on she continued to be interested in her gifted pupil, and managed to obtain financial support from some of her friends to give him wider possibilities for study, including the purchase of books.

In 1917 Goris succeeded in passing the final examinations (both Alpha en Beta), after which he had to present himself for military service. According to a friend from that time he was definitely not a

¹ Dr. J. J. Buskes has kept a number of these letters (Aug. 1915—Sept. 1918), and I was able to peruse them.

keen soldier. His interest in the training to become a sergeant was evidently minimal: he failed the examination, and could therefore not be demobilized together with his fellows. Some weeks before the end of the First World War he was discharged from service, and in October 1918 was enrolled at the University of Leiden as a student in Indonesian Letters. The fact that he chose this course (and not Dutch Letters which, as appears from a letter, he had first intended) will have been connected with the possibility of then getting a state scholarship as "candidaat-taalamtenaar voor Nederlands-Indië" (prospective linguistic officer for the Netherlands-Indies).

Even though Goris, like his fellow students, was influenced by the Arabic scholar Snouck Hurgronje, in the long run he felt more attracted to Sanskrit and, after his *candidaat's* examination, to Javanese and Old Javanese taught by Professors Vogel and Hazeu, and to Hindu-Javanese history taught by Professor Krom, who was to be his supervisor for his Doctor's degree. He also followed lectures on general linguistics given by Professor C. C. Uhlenbeck at the request of students of Indonesian languages. In associations with his fellow students he conducted himself as a "convivial man among kindred souls", in the words of Busken Huet. The members of the "Leids Orientalistisch Dispuut" (Leiden Oriental Debating Society) got to know him as someone who would not rest until he had completely mastered a subject and investigated all the details. Amongst his older fellow students it was in particular with W. F. Stutterheim and P. V. van Stein Callenfels that he maintained contact. Once having been aroused, his philosophical interests continued during his student days. He studied with approval Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, and the philosophical writings of the poet J. A. dèr Mouw.² He also had great admiration for Erwin Rohde's study in the history of religion, entitled *Psyche: Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen*.

On 11th May, 1926, he obtained the degree of Doctor, with a thesis entitled *Bijdrage tot de kennis van de Oud-Javaansche en Balineesche Theologie* (no. 1).³ On the following 24th June he left for Batavia (Djakarta), where he was placed at the disposal of the Head of the Archaeological Service as "ambtenaar ter beoefening der Indische talen" (Officer for the study of Indonesian languages) by a resolution

² *Het absoluut idealisme and Kritische studies over psychisch monisme en nieuw-Hegelianisme.*

³ The figures between brackets indicate the numbers of the Bibliography following hereafter.

of 26th July. He was charged with the checking of transliterations of Old Javanese inscriptions, with a view to the publication of a *Corpus Inscriptionum*. At the time he complained more than once to his colleagues about this work which was both laborious and hard on the eyes, but later on when he set about editing and publishing the Balinese inscriptions this experience he had gained came in handy. A few trips to Bali will have been welcome diversions, one in the autumn of 1926 and two in 1927, for the purpose of drawing up an inventory of antiquities and in connection with the visit of Rabindranath Tagore.

By a resolution of 2nd October, 1928, he was transferred by the Head of the Archaeological Service to Bali, where, with only one interruption about 1935, he was active until 1939. He was instructed "in the first place to prepare a publication of the *Epigraphia Javanica*, and in the second to occupy himself with the study of Old Javanese literature, the religious festivals and customs of the Balinese, and so on." He was to be posted at Singaradja (North Bali), the headquarters of the then Residency of Bali and Lombok. He threw himself into his work with enthusiasm and travelled a lot, although this was not always easy for him physically. The civil servant C. J. Grader who was often his travelling companion in the 'thirties remembers,

"Although he was awkward and, for example, was troubled by fear of heights when walking over *sawah* embankments and little bamboo bridges, he had more staying-power and was stronger than you would have expected of such a little man. But what struck you above all was the way he persisted — chain-smoking nervously he would have himself hoisted on to a horse and pushed or led across the narrow bridges with his eyes shut."

One of the few published travel reports (no. 33, 1930) gives an impression of the diverse subjects that were viewed and studied. For example, there were visits to conservative *desa*'s such as Trunjan, or Tenganan with its big swings, in order to take part in festivals or ceremonies, where possible combined with archaeological investigation. Or the study of inscriptions, which could often only be brought out on a favourable day during such a festival, and which he would sometimes undertake to decipher at the request of the population who hoped to obtain from the inscription details about matters concerning boundaries, sacrificial obligations, and so forth. There would be expeditions to track down *lontar*'s, which sometimes (e.g. in Buda Kling) had to be copied out by people on the spot because the owner would not lend them outside his own *desa*. He would visit and survey numerous temples and temple festivals, with an eye for what was common to all

Bali as well as for the countless regional variations, as for example in the *pura* Ulun Siwi at Madangan (Gianjar), a *subak* temple which appeared to be divided into two clearly defined halves, each with its own festivals and following its own festal calendar. He witnessed the consecration of a *barong* temple at Pliatan, a performance of the Tjalon Arang lasting till the early morning, and various cremations. He attended the *Bukakak* ritual, a rice festival celebrated only in Sangsit, or the annual sea festival at Lebih (Gianjar), the so-called *nangluk merana*, at which copies of special hymns were obtained (see also no. 56). And so on.

Around 1931 he lived for some time in Bangli (Central Bali), in order to get to know more thoroughly the autochthonous culture which was less mixed in this district than in North Bali.

By means of all this Goris built up an overall picture of what was worth knowing and worth seeing. Thus he quite soon became a source of information for younger colleagues, civil servants, visitors (including highly-placed ones), and tourist guides, while the Balinese world also came to appreciate him as a judge of things Balinese. It is to be hoped that this appreciation counterbalanced the lack of financial remuneration which hit him, like so many other officers, in the Depression: about 1933 he was for a couple of years on reduced pay, and part of his salary and travelling costs were then paid out of the regional and district budgets in Bali.

Goris did not spend the period 1939-1947 in Bali. Amongst other places he lived in Surakarta (Central Java), where he was librarian to Mangkunegoro VII. From his publications (see nos. 76-78 from 1937, and no. 81 from 1941), it appears that in this period too he continued to concern himself with Bali. After the mobilisation against Japan in December 1941 he served as a sergeant in the Royal Netherlands-Indies Army — but we may assume with not much more enthusiasm than in his former period of military service. During the Japanese Occupation he stayed in (amongst other places) the Tjimahi camp in West Java as a civilian internee.

In May, 1946, he left Indonesia for his first and only leave in Holland. At that time there were all kinds of plans in the making for cultural research in Bali. The team, which according to the first plan would have five members of whom only Goris himself actually went out to Bali, would have a broad task of research and instruction. Something of the plans he had and of the frame of mind in which he set out for Bali again in April, 1947, can be seen in a letter to

Teeuw. Speaking of the "cultural duties" of the team, he says,

"This includes both giving advice to the Paruman Agung (Representative Assembly, Sw.), when and where that body asks for it, and being prepared to give tuition, lessons, courses and lectures (in whatever form) to groups of students. Also to set up institutions for education...." And further, "In general we are expected to join in building up the communities which are growing and taking shape.... Above all imparting knowledge likewise in the way it is wanted *there*, hence adequate for our 'pupils', whoever they may be.... Also collaboration in the contemporary cultivation of literature and art. Therefore we must, in my opinion, form an 'Institute' in close contact with the Kirtya and the Bali Museum...."

His post in Bali was again Singaradja. As a linguistic officer of the Netherlands-Indies and later Indonesian Government he was appointed there as head of the Singaradja division of the Institute for Linguistic and Cultural Research (*Lembaga Penyelidikan Bahasa dan Kebudayaan*, the later *Lembaga Bahasa dan Budaya*) of the University of Indonesia. Contacts were made with the Bali Museum and associations of *pedanda*'s, but these produced little. He also taught at a secondary school and a training-college for teachers (S.M.A. and S.G.A.), and in 1951 even gave 12 hours German a week.

After the transfer of sovereignty in 1949 he made use of the possibility of opting for Indonesian nationality. How offended he was when some time later his name still appeared on a list of Dutch nationals living in Singaradja which was brought around by the *opas* of the government office!

In 1958 he reached pensionable age but continued his work, although officially in another capacity. The next year he moved to Denpasar (South Bali) in connection with his appointment as librarian of the Faculty of Letters of Udayana University set up in Denpasar. From September 1962 he was a "Research-Professor", teaching Balinese epigraphy and early history. As far as his diminishing physical and intellectual powers allowed he continued to devote himself to the training of a small group of Balinese students who worked on the epigraphical material he had collected. One of them, I Nj. Poeger, wrote a thesis on the inscriptions of Jayapangus under his guidance.

In mid-1965 his condition declined markedly. When he stayed with Fr. Kersten in Tuka in about August he was practically an invalid. In September he let himself be admitted to the hospital in Denpasar on the insistence of, amongst others, the family of Gusti Bagus Oka, from whom he had received much kind attention in recent years. It was there that he passed away on the evening of 4th October. His

students personally made all the arrangements for the burial which took place on 5th October. The staff of the University and the whole student body joined in the long, hot walk to the cemetery at Pemetjutan.

II

From the instructions ⁴ issued to the "adjunct archaeologist" in 1928 it appears that the Archaeological Service considered Goris' stay in Bali in the first place as an aid to the study of Old Javanese, but nevertheless required attention to be also given to the religion and culture of contemporary Bali. Goris exerted himself in both these directions, but in the course of time came to lay the emphasis on the second, as is already apparent in the travel report of 1930. This shift is also noticeable in a lecture which he gave in Batavia in 1931 on "Bali as Field for Scientific Work" (no. 37), and which one might consider as his work programme. "Illustrating in general in which different fields there is work (in fact much work) for the linguistic officer to do in Bali", he enumerates language, Sasak culture, religious law, religion and ritual, literature, art, and antiquities. Bali stands right at the centre and is studied for its own sake, and no longer primarily for the sake of Javanese epigraphy.

Let us now attempt to give an account of what Goris undertook and what he accomplished in the abovementioned fields.

Under the heading of *Literature* in his lecture of 1931 Goris devoted his attention above all to the work of the Kirtya (Foundation) Lieftrinck-van der Tuuk (set up in 1928 on the initiative of the then Resident Caron).⁵ In 1932 he became scientific adviser to this institution, which, as it were, offered him a certain independence over against the government offices. It had his complete interest and love. In his lecture he defended its management with a certain sharpness against criticism which had been brought forward.

In its statutes the Kirtya laid down as its aims "the maintainance of the *lontar* library and attached reading-room at Singaradja, the collection of Balinese and Sasak *lontar*'s and other writings . . . , and the furtherance of the study thereof."

⁴ For these see p. 207.

⁵ Cf. Dr. C. Hooykaas in *MK* xi (1940), p. 1-5 (also in *Djawa* XX, pt. 1).

In the acquisition of the *lontar* holdings it had been decided to proceed selectively and "to lay the emphasis on the gathering of writings on astrology, indigenous medicine and religious speculation, as well as historical texts from later times", as Goris formulated it in 1931. Later this was extended somewhat and particularised into six groups, namely:

weda (including *mantra*'s and writings on ritual matters);

agama (about law, ethics and etiquette);

wariga (handbooks, subdivided into: the actual *wariga*, dealing with astrology; *tutur*, cosmological, allegorical and mystical writings; *kanda*, handbooks on grammar, metrics, mythology, certain crafts, erotic and magical practices; and *usada*, handbooks in the field of medicine);

*itihasa*⁶ (epic works: *parwa*, *kakawin*, *kidung* and *geguritan*);

babad (historical material); and

tantri (fables of Hindu origin and popular stories of indigenous origin).

Goris and the librarian of the Kirtya, I Wj. Bhadra, succeeded in creating the collection in keeping with these plans. The size of the collection increased steadily: in May 1931 the Kirtya already possessed 639 different *lontar*'s; in 1935 it numbered 1,257, and at the beginning of 1939 had climbed to 1,600.⁷ Valuable writings were assiduously sought out and either purchased or copied out on *lontar*. The titles and the indications as to category in the lists of acquisitions (published in the *Mededeelingen* (Transactions) which will be mentioned below, pts. 1-6, 11 and 13) give a first, very preliminary impression of what was being collected. There were plans for a more detailed cataloguing. In 1931 Goris had already made some observations about this: besides the usual data about title, origin, number of pages, etc., he also wished to include the beginning and end of every text and a short mention of the contents; the draft would be composed in Malay.⁸ Unfortunately little more than a beginning was made on the systematic execution of these plans. So extracts from a number of *lontar*'s were made in Balinese.⁹ Available time and energy should have been divided from the outset between the work of collecting and transcribing and that of cataloguing. However it seems that this did not happen, with the

⁶ It is not known why this term, little known in Bali, was chosen.

⁷ After Goris left in 1939 the number rose further to 2,100 in Feb. 1941 (from *MK* xiii, 1941, also *Djawa* XXI); shortly after 1960 it amounted to about 2,400.

⁸ Cf. also no. 52, p. II.

⁹ Copies of these extracts are deposited with Dr. C. Hooykaas.

result that the chasm between the two gaped ever wider and finally all heart for cataloguing disappeared.

The *lontar* holdings acquired by the Kirtya were valuable for the fields of study in which Goris was active. In his Doctor's thesis he had already occupied himself with *weda's* and *tutur's*. The first chapter contained data about the liturgy which the Brahman priests use for their daily devotions (the *suryasewana*, lit. "sun-service"); the second chapter treated a number of dogmas and speculations taken from earlier and later texts on cosmology, the macrocosmos and microcosmos, release (*kelepasan*), and such-like. The *lontar's* contained all kinds of material for his study of the temples and temple services, see e.g. no. 61, "Gegevens uit de lontarliteratuur" (Data from the *Lontar* Literature) on Pura Besakih. At the same time the *wariga's* could be drawn on for the study of chronology and the festal calendar, and writings from the *babad* group supplied all kinds of interesting information for the history.

Another section of the *lontar* holdings with which Goris was concerned was the *usada's*. He himself did not publish much about them, but from his review of W. Weck's interesting book on Balinese popular medicine (no. 62, cf. also no. 78) it appears that he had also gone fairly deeply into these writings. His continued interest in this subject is also borne out by the fact that in the last years of his life he was a member of a study-group from the Faculty in Denpasar which was occupying itself with traditional Balinese medicine, with the twofold aim of showing the way toward the production of cheap medicines from raw materials present on the island, and of reviving the spiritual background to this medical science.

As adviser to the Kirtya Goris was naturally concerned with its publications, namely, the monographs and *Mededeelingen* which appeared at irregular intervals (both using Dutch), and the monthly magazine *Bhāwanāgara* (using Balinese and Malay). The latter to his disappointment could only continue for a short time (1931-34). He himself also published several pieces in the *Mededeelingen*, including descriptions of temple festivals (nos. 30; 31), and a survey of the most important literature on Balinese culture 1920-1935 (no. 69), an aid which one is thankful to use, even though one regrets that in informative value it does not follow more closely the example given by Lekkerkerker's excellent bibliography of 1920.

The present-day Language of Bali was not Goris' primary

interest. He was no stranger to it and could make use of it, but nevertheless preferred to use Malay. It occurred to some of his colleagues that for a linguist his fluency and pronunciation left something to be desired. In his programme of work of 1931 he indicated the necessity for dialect studies in relatively isolated *desa*'s and districts such as Sembiran, west Buleleng and Nusa Penida, which he considered of importance for the study of the Old Balinese of the inscriptions. On his tours he probably collected such material, but it was not published.

Since his Doctor's thesis Goris had been familiar with the language of Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese writings, and with the peculiar idiom of some *tutur*'s, *usada*'s and such. He carried out new pioneering work, however, for the study of Old Balinese. In his first period in Bali several articles bear witness to this, in particular no. 55 (from 1936), which in § 2 (pp. 92-95) treats the development of the Balinese language and presents a number of data on phonetics, affixation and Sanskrit loanwords in Old Balinese. In his second period (1947-65) this subject took up the lion's share of his working hours. His third quarterly report from 1949 mentions his work on it (cf. no. 86):

"In making the translation it has become obvious again and again how important the card-indexes I have made are. For even though you often know certain stereotyped expressions, fixed formulations and repeatedly recurring series (e.g. of officers or of domestic animals, household effects, articles of commerce etc.), their translation continues to run up against great difficulties. A lexicographical (and sometimes also grammatical) advantage was that in this group there appeared several Old Javanese edicts as well, which although different in structure are nevertheless comparable in their parts. Thus various Old Balinese expressions could be understood by means of their later Old Javanese equivalents."

The results of this work are embodied in his *Prasasti Bali* (no. 90, 1954). In this — after an introduction which presents a sort of chronological listing of all pieces collected, 174 in number — he gives the 41 earliest inscriptions (all those from 882-983 A.D. and nearly all those from 989-1040 A.D. composed in Old Balinese) in transliteration and Dutch translation, followed by summaries in Indonesian and English and a complete index of words. Behind the translations and explanations of words there stands much laborious research, and they give evidence of a keen ability to combine pieces of data. Old Javanese, Sanskrit and Balinese naturally made the most important contributions, but other Indonesian languages were also compared, as becomes clear from information in the first quarterly report for 1950:

"The final revision of all translations has now been begun. Besides the work of translation I made a list of a great number of Old Balinese words compared with parallels from the more closely related Indonesian languages.... Let me

note my findings on this point. Old Javanese provided the largest number of close cognates. Then there follows an important number of words for which Makassarese or Buginese supplied parallels but not the more westerly languages. Achinese sometimes provided remarkable cognates, even amongst the 150 words which Cowan (B.K.I. 104, 1948) considered as peculiar to Achinese + Mon-Khmer languages and not to the (other) Indonesian languages. Sasak supplied relatively fewer cognates than one might perhaps have expected. But it appeared indirectly (and incidentally) that Sasak has many close cognates in Makassarese or Buginese."

Attention to the early history of Bali naturally went hand in hand with the epigraphical work, as we see from different articles, including nos. 81, 85, 92, 93, and also no. 84 which is a very short survey of early Balinese history that originally served as a lecture given in September, 1948, at Karangasem and later appeared in print in 1950 or 1951. All kinds of interesting historical information had already been uncovered in the Balinese inscriptions, in particular by van Stein Callenfels. Goris did not add any great or outstanding discoveries to this. But renewed study of the epigraphical material did bring him to propose a division into periods other than that devised by Stutterheim for the archaeology on stylistic grounds. A short summary of this periodisation — which is preferable for the political, cultural and religious history — is to be found in a book-review (no. 57, 1936; English summary on p. 142); he elaborated his views further in his *Prasasti Bali*.

All the same this was but a first step toward a history of early Bali. A more broadly conceived study was, however, in mind. In his annual report for 1951 Goris mentions: "On both of his last two visits to Bali His Excellency President Soekarno has pressed me to produce *not* (as I had intended) a religious history of Bali, but for the present a political history after the style of Krom's Ancient History of Java, 'but not so dry'." This plan was not carried out then, but the subject continued to occupy Goris. During his last visit to Tuka, writes Fr. Kersten, "He had got together his material for his history of Early Bali, and was working on the division of the subject-matter into chapters. We talked about titles for the chapters, and when he was finished with this I had to type it out." And a letter from Mrs. Bagus Oka in 1965 mentioned that she often talked about this work with Goris, especially when he was in a gloomy mood and had to be cheered up.

Under the heading of Religion and Ritual Goris listed a whole series of subjects in 1931: the temples, their structure, the gods

worshipped in them; the daily devotions of the priests, and their liturgies at great festivals; the non-Hinduistic sacred formulas of *pemangku* and *djero balian*; the different types of festivals and study of the festal calendar; and an investigation of the calculation of time and the astrological significance of particular days.

A whole series of detail-studies bears witness to the knowledge of temples and of religious festivals and ritual which he had acquired (nos. 30, 31, 44, 61, 76, 77, 85). He embodied his insight into the backgrounds and the system which governs the multiplicity of temples in several articles in which he successfully reduced to order a great quantity of recalcitrant material (nos. 69 & 83). He gave much attention to the conservative mountain *desa*'s, including those in the district of Kintamani whither he several times accompanied Grader on the latter's tours (1933-34). Primarily on the basis of information from these regions he gave a general typification of "Het godsdienstig karakter der Balische dorpsgemeenschap" (The Religious Character of the Balinese Village Community) (no. 51, 1935). An earlier article, "Het geloof der Balineezen" (The Belief of the Balinese) (no. 13, 1928), treating the symbolism of characters and numbers and speculations from religious writings, continued along the lines of his Doctor's thesis.

Balinese festivals are calculated according to either the Hindu-Balinese system of twelve lunar-solar months, or the Javanese-Balinese cycle of 35 weeks totalling 210 days. It required much investigation and careful analysis to penetrate this double system. The result is to be found in the fine article entitled "Bali's Hoogtijden" (The Feast Days of Bali) (no. 49, cf. also nos. 38, 40, 42), which is a veritable guidebook for anyone who wants to find his way through the festivals of the Balinese year.

The material underlying these and similar studies was sometimes to be found in manuscripts, but was also collected by means of questionnaires. However the principal aid must have been long interviews with Balinese in which material could be accumulated and, in particular, data already gathered and provisional conclusions could be tested. It was often not easy to find suitable expert informants. A little newspaper article from about 1929 written (or inspired) by Goris mentions this difficulty and asserts "that even concerning domestic and family temples the inhabitants (of the compound in question - Sw.) in very many cases cannot say with any certainty who is worshipped in the numerous niches." Goris must have possessed to a considerable degree the tact and patience necessary for such work. When Grader came

to Bali a couple of years later he got to know Goris as an already practiced interviewer who was used to mixing with Balinese, including simple village folk. He possessed to a high degree the discernment required for such research and the gift of making the correct connection between often casual and stray observations and data. His retentive memory — a characteristic which immediately struck anyone who associated with him — must have been of great use to him in this.

Goris did not publish much new material on this subject after the war. However his expert knowledge and his experience (including that gained with the books of photographs for K.P.M. and Nitour, nos. 26 & 27) were useful for the album which appeared in 1933, *Bali, Cults and Customs* (no. 88). The choice of photographic subjects was made in close consultation with him, and the general introduction as well as three of the five chapters are from his hand, namely, Chapters II and III on the ancient indigenous and the older Hindu-Balinese cultures, and Chapter IV on the later Hindu-Balinese culture, with a separate section on cremation, the pomp and circumstance of which reminded him of a "potlatch". In the explanations of the photographs, moreover, there lies hidden a wealth of interesting details.

His knowledge and insight in this field came in handy to him in his capacity as adviser to the Civil Service in matters of policy connected with Balinese religion. In the matter of Religious Law, his lecture of 1931 mentioned in particular the question of caste. He wrote memoranda and reports on that and several subjects of a related nature, such as the use of High or Low Balinese in schools, or the number of *tumpang*'s (storeys) which it is permissible for particular groups to construct above the *wadah* (bier). Sometimes such a report was published, like the one on ancient Balinese classes in their relationship with the division into castes, or *triwangsa*, which originated from Java (no. 20). Another memorandum treated a point which was not unimportant politically, namely, the right of one of the princely families to worship in the clan temple. Furthermore he was involved in the preparations for the establishment of self-governing principalities (in 1938). There dates from this time *inter alia* a note on the function of the so-called regalia, in which he came to the conclusion that these had never had the significance for the Balinese principalities which we know of from southern Celebes.

In the 'thirties several gifted European artists were active in the

field of the study of Balinese Art. He was well acquainted with their work, and they enlisted his expert help on all kinds of points. He was closely associated with the establishment of the Bali Museum. He seldom published on this or related subjects, however, and then only in collaboration with others, as in for example "Overzicht van dans en toneel in Bali" (Survey of Dance and Drama in Bali) (no. 60) written by him and Walter Spies. In *Bali, Cults and Customs*, Chapter V on modern painting and sculpture was thus not written by him but by Rudolf Bonnet (cf. in no. 94).

In the field of Antiquities also, as far as they were not of an epigraphical nature, Goris was rather an interested spectator than an active researcher and author. He generally restricted himself to an intelligent appraisal of what was being undertaken and written in this field. In this way he enriched and supplemented the picture he was forming in his mind and on paper of the process of development and the nature of Balinese culture.

In the time of the Netherlands-Indies the island of Lombok was grouped with Bali to form one residency. The fact that Goris came to pay attention as well to the Sasak language and culture on that island may have had something to do with this administrative classification, but more with considerations of another sort. We have already seen that, amongst other places, he sought help from Sasak for the elucidation of Old Balinese. However from the viewpoint of cultural history there was also much of interest to be anticipated. Moreover, the Kirtya was commissioned to collect Sasak manuscripts. Hence Goris made various tours in Lombok. His researches found their first expression in "Aantekeningen over Oost Lombok" (Notes on Eastern Lombok) (no. 59, 1936), containing information on *adat-law* in three conservative *desa*'s, Sembalun, Dasan Bilo' and Beblantung, data on drama and music in that district, and a list and discussion of the names of holy places and fabrics. The last paragraph discusses the Javanese influences visible in, for example, place-names, and concludes with two questions: "From which period does this Javanese influence date, observable over the whole of Lombok? Why can this influence be established in particular for the enclosed plateau of Sembalun, of which all inhabitants are supposed to descend 'from Madjapait'?"

Goris' work on a Sasak dictionary, which appeared in 1939 (no. 73),

dates from these same years. In this he was relying on already published material, especially the many data on Sasak which van der Tuuk had included in his *Kawi-Balinesesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek* (Old Javanese-Balinese-Dutch Dictionary), and furthermore on unpublished material, including that of the retired Indonesian doctor R. Soedjono and the district-officer Mr. J. Prins. The dictionary contains about 10,000 entries, thus only a part of the entire vocabulary, "but lest the better become the enemy of the good the scope has been restricted, and thus the work completed", as Hooykaas notes. The latter states elsewhere, "One cannot read a page of Sasak without this scientifically conceived and produced dictionary."¹⁰

Shortly before the war, Goris was showing the French researcher G. H. Bousquet around in Lombok. The results of their co-operation are to be found in several articles from 1939 (nos. 74, 75, 79). In one of these concerning a remarkable ceremony in the sanctuary of Pudjut, he often draws parallels with Bali, for example with regard to the *mēbakti* and the stone-cult. The striking "agreements with the Hindu-Balinese position" may, according to him,

"best be explained by assuming that Islam was brought from Java to Pudjut (as indeed is told about Bajan, Sembalun and Sela-parang alike in the tradition) during the time of or shortly after the fall of Madjapait. And we may assume that these Javanese Muslims brought with them to Lombok an enormous slice of Hindu-Javanese culture. They brought a new creed, but they brought it as *people*, and as people they were still permeated with the Hindu-Javanese way of thought and were familiar with age-old custom!" (No. 74, p. 5a, 7a, 7b.)

III

When all this is surveyed, it may be affirmed that Goris completed a great deal of work and left behind him a valuable life's work, despite hindrances of many kinds arising from the circumstances, from interruptions (such as his position as teacher around 1950 and some other tasks and odd jobs which cut across his epigraphical work) and from his own disposition and way of life. A research-worker who passes by Goris' studies, both in the historical and anthropological fields, misses an important chance to become familiar with the process of development

¹⁰ *MK* xi, 1940, p. 2^b (also in *Djawa* XX); "Lombok bibliographie", in *MK* xvi, 1941 (also in *Djawa* XXI), p. 146.

of Balinese culture and with the patterns and structures of traditional Balinese life and thought.¹¹

In the first-mentioned field he has defined and enriched our knowledge on many points, thanks above all to his study of inscriptions and *lontar* writings. Both historians and epigraphists as well as students of Balinese and of comparative Indonesian linguistics are indebted to him for his decipherment, edition, translation and treatment of the Old Balinese inscriptions; it is to be regretted that he was not able to complete the work.

Goris' observations consistently make much of the fact that various influences have operated on the process of Balinese cultural development. But he is aware just the same that the different elements — the autochthonous Balinese, the Indian, and the Hindu-Javanese — have in the passage of the centuries become assimilated to each other, and have grown together into a unity. He pointed to this, for example, in respect of the ancient Balinese classes and the caste system brought into being by Hindu-Javanese influence (no. 20). The same thing fascinated him in language, ritual, the festal calendar, etc. Thus his knowledge of Sanskrit and the ancient culture of India did not tempt him (as so many before him) to see only that side of the complex realities of Bali. He directed his attention to the early Indonesian aspects as well. (On that point he will have owed much to the *adat* studies of V. E. Korn, with whom he was in close contact even before 1928). Speaking of the Balinese system of classification according to the four points of the compass around a centre, he once formulated his thoughts on this symbiosis in the following words:

"No-one will deny that later Hinduism with its pantheon, its *lokapāla*'s (guardians of the points of the compass), and its colours coincided well with this. This affinity of religious thought was already very great, and simply made different Indonesian peoples such a good milieu, such a well-prepared field for certain forms of older Hinduism" (no. 76, p. 101).

In his anthropological studies and observations he always attempts to combine his knowledge from the literature with what he perceives in the practice of Balinese religion and culture. The picture he thus paints is striking above all for the view that it gives of the totality, and of the relationship of the details and parts with the whole. For example, he repeatedly points out how the invisible macrocosm, re-

¹¹ It is therefore pleasing that some of the finest articles have been, or are being, published in an English translation; see Bibliography nos. 95-98, and note 1 to nos. 61, 76, 85.

peating itself in continuous variation, is portrayed in the visible microcosm, "This is one of the cardinal points of the Balinese 'Weltanschauung', and is in the end the same *pattern* of thought as in all great religions: the earth as 'Abbild' of heaven, and Man the reduced image of the universe" (no. 78, p. 2a). As examples he mentions the elements of creation which find a parallel in the human body, the trio of heaven-earth-underworld which is reflected in the construction of the funeral-towers for those of high caste (no. 13, p. 42, 44-48), and in the position in the lay-out of the *desa* of the temples for the purified and deified dead, and those not yet purified (no. 51, p. 4f). Grader, who had encountered it repeatedly particularly in Kintamani, drew his attention to the fundamental meaning of twofold division in the Balinese view of the world, whereby the chthonic (the sea, the demons, etc.) is the counterpart of the uranic (the mountains, the gods, etc.). These data could be reasonably well integrated into the picture which Goris was gradually forming for himself of Balinese life and thought. This dual manifestation of a fundamental unity will have been a familiar idea for the admirer of Rohde's *Psyche* and the adherent of a philosophical monism.

In Grader Goris found an interested investigator with related ideas. The discussions carried on between them led to a fruitful mutual influence. One of the products of this is to be found in Goris' article which was mentioned above on the religious character of the Balinese village community, and in Grader's "Tweedeeling in het Oud-Balische dorp" (Twofold Division in the Ancient Balinese Village).¹²

One always notes that Goris apprehended and described Balinese life and thought sympathetically. He seldom made himself explicit on what in his opinion was the correct estimation of a foreign culture in general and the Balinese in particular, but the ideal he set himself can be clearly seen from critical comments he made in 1939 about recent literature on Bali. In one book, Miguel Covarrubias' *Island of Bali* (1937), he values "many telling comments, and many penetrating observations from everyday life", but he criticizes the (in fact boundless) carelessness in the reproduction of Balinese words and terms. He argues his objection thus:

"... a people's language is far from a secondary matter, and anyone who does not know, feel and appreciate that language *structurally* can never comprehend the deeper spiritual nature of such a people. Whoever fails to *go beyond* merely aesthetic or even socio-economic matters sees only the outward forms of a deeper being the inner core of which remains closed to him."

¹² In *MK* v (1937), 45-71.

And he praises the authors of another book, Beryl de Zoete and Walter Spies, because of "numerous brief but correct remarks which could only have been made by persons who not only observe well but at the same time have a sense for the total, the organic and the universal", but even so he misses something essential with them too. He wanted to

"see more closely described the subtly varied *link* between religion and art. But perhaps this shortcoming stems from the fact that the authors are not in tune with the Balinese in matters of religion, and that it was not granted them to *experience personally* the sacramental participation in the Divine, and, for example, *liturgical things*" (no. 78, p. 2a, 1a, 3b).

IV

People reacted very differently to Goris' personality, and in fact some were decidedly negative. A certain awkwardness in social situations often hindered contact; in the little European community of pre-war Bali he was fairly solitary, also because of his unconventional behaviour. Over against this in his youth he had been associated with people of divergent abilities who have preserved good memories of him. And during his time in Bali he was able to win dedicated fellow-workers and make good contacts with many Balinese which sometimes led to friendship. The same applied to westerners who showed an interest in Bali. These had in him a source of information on things Balinese, and also got to know him as an absorbing conversationalist and a very intelligent man with broad interests and wide reading in fields other than that of his special study. The picture which the early correspondence with his friend Buskes evokes continues to be valid for these later years.

Whoever had such contact with Goris found him a good colleague, and this can be seen, for example, from the fact that in the Depression he himself offered to be put on reduced pay, because as a bachelor he had no-one to support. The generous way he would put his knowledge and data at the disposal of others, and would help their work forward with suggestions was also striking. If it was a matter of comprehension or knowledge of Bali, his helpfulness prevailed over objections he might have had. Thus during the time when he was campaigning against missionary work in Bali he was nevertheless of assistance to one of those concerned in those activities in becoming acquainted with Balinese things.

The controversy on Bali and missions affected him deeply. Over

the years he had dissociated himself completely from the religious views in which he had been brought up, and this process had already begun when he was at the Gymnasium; parallel to this ran a growing appreciation of Balinese religion. It was an unbearable thought that the missions would come and work in Bali; it seemed as if his past was arising to waylay his present. His reactions were therefore fierce, as can be seen from a couple of polemical writings from that time (nos. 43 & 45, 1932-33).

A few years later there must have occurred a change in his personal religious views. He came to assume a more positive attitude toward Christianity, but this time not in its Reformed expression but rather in its Roman Catholic one. In 1940 he had himself admitted to the Roman Catholic Church. True to his nature, he went deeply into the reasons for and consequences of the step he was taking. He wrote to his friend Buskes later about "numerous conversion stories" which he had read, and in letters which a friend of his student days received from him there was mostly some observation or other on Roman Catholic dogma.

This change in his religious convictions and his more critical look at Balinese culture and religion did not mean at all a lessening in his scientific interest in these subjects or in his emotional attachment to the land and people of Bali.

In this connection there is a typical incident which Grader recalls from a tour which he made with Goris in the 'thirties. Going down to Songan, a *desa* at the northern tip of Lake Batur, they looked down during a halt into a valley and at the *tjemara* forests along the slopes of Mount Batur, half hidden in wreaths of mist through which rays of sunshine fell; only some distant village sounds and bird-calls were to be heard. The scene impressed Goris. It reminded him, he said, of the description the *Wiwaha* gives of the nymphs' journey to Ardjuna's hermitage on Mount Kailasa, with the wind in the *tjemara*'s and the Old Man's Beard in the trees. Unusually affected, he added: "This is one of the things you will call to mind with tears in your eyes when you're away from Bali." — Goris had found in Bali his second fatherland. He did not have to leave it again.

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95. The religious character of the village community. *Bali studies*, 1960, p. 79-100. [English translation of no. 51].
96. The temple system. *Bali studies*, 1960, p. 103-111. [English translation of no. 71].
97. Holidays and holy days. *Bali studies*, 1960, p. 115-129. [English translation of no. 49].
98. The position of the blacksmith, *with appendix*: Précis of a *lontar* used by the blacksmith. *Bali studies*, 1960, p. 291-299. [English translation of no. 20].

NOTES AND ABBREVIATIONS

¹ to be published in: *Bali, further studies in life, thought and ritual. Selected studies on Indonesia by Dutch scholars. The Hague and Bandung*: W. van Hoeve Ltd, in the press.

² This is a reprint of Ch. V, p. 151-161 of *Bali. Atlas kebudayaan; etc.*, which chapter in fact was written by Rudolf Bonnet. It was probably taken over without Goris' knowledge. See no. 88.

Bali studies, 1960 *Bali, studies in life, thought, and ritual. Selected studies on Indonesia by Dutch scholars, V. Published for the Royal Tropical Institute. The Hague and Bandung*: W. van Hoeve Ltd, 1960.

BB *Bahasa dan budaya. Diterbitkan oleh Lembaga Bahasa dan Budaya, fakultas Sastra, Universitas Indonesia. [Bahasa dan Budaya. Published by the Foundation for Language and Culture, faculty of Letters, University of Indonesia]*. Djakarta.

Bh *Bhāwanāgara: Soerat boelanan oentoek memperhatikan peradaban Bali. [Bhāwanāgara: Monthly for the study of Balinese culture]*. Singaradja, (Bali).

Dj *Djāwā: Tijdschrift van het Java-Instituut. [Djawa: Journal of the Java Institute]*. Jogjakarta.

Ind *Indonesië: [Tweemaandelijks] tijdschrift gewijd aan het Indonesisch cultuurgebied. [Indonesië: [Bi-monthly] journal devoted to the Indonesian cultural area]*. 's-Gravenhage.

NI *The Netherlands Indies, a review of the country, its economics and commerce (incorporating the Economic Bulletin). Issued by the Department of Economic Affairs. Batavia.*

MK *Mededeelingen van de Kirtya Liefdrinck-Van der Tuuk. [Communications of the Liefdrinck-Van der Tuuk foundation]*. Singaradja, (Bali).

OV *Oudheidkundig Verslag [Archaeological Report. Published by the Archaeological Service in Indonesia]*. Batavia/Djakarta.

Ti *Timboel: Algemeen periodiek voor Indonesië. [Timbul: General periodical for Indonesia]*. Solo.

TBG *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde, uitgegeven door het [Koninklijk] Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. [Journal of Indonesian Philology, Geography, and Ethnology, published by the [Royal] Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences]*. Batavia/Djakarta.