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A NOTE ON BALINESE SANSKRIT

When a Sanskritist becomes interested in the religious culture of Bali, he is likely to feel immediately at home with the many *Sanskrit* (Skt) *mantras* uttered during the ritual proceedings by the Padandas and other priests. As is well-known, the Isle of Bali is the last remaining place in the Indonesian Archipelago where one still finds that curious blend of foreign influences — Hindu and Buddhist — from the Indian Subcontinent and the indigenous tradition. The Balinese priests use the Skt language in their *mantras* throughout their rituals, however mutilated and corrupt this may sometimes seem in the eyes of a Sanskritist.

The study of Balinese religion is necessarily connected with the study of Indian religions and literature written in Skt. The first serious attempt in this direction was represented by Goris' *Bijdrage tot de Kennis der Oud-Javaansche en Balineesche Theologie*. Goris examines concepts such as *śaḍaṅganyāsa*, *prāṇāyāma*, etc. with reference to the Indian tradition, and compares the *mantras* with their Indian originals, where traceable. Goris was to some extent successful in this attempt, not least because of the Indian texts he used, the *Garuḍapurāṇa* and the *Agnipurāṇa*. The *Agnipurāṇa*, especially, proved useful in this regard because of its rather Tantric character (cf. Hazra 1963: 82; Gyani 1964: *passim*), a very important quality with respect to Balinese religion, as we shall see. Shortly after Goris had published his book, the prominent French Indo-

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logist Sylvain Lévy visited Bali for a short stay in June-July 1928. The number of Skt texts he collected is remarkable, considering the brevity of his stay in Bali. The title of the book published subsequently, *Sanskrit Texts from Bāli*, should be taken literally, though, for the fact that the texts were indeed collected in Bali does not necessarily imply that they were also composed in Bali. Hooykaas' publications represent a true milestone in the study of Balinese religion and its literature. His research is concentrated almost exclusively on this branch of the study of Indonesian culture. He has collected, edited and translated an astonishing number of Balinese ritual texts, and indeed, is continuing in this task with unflagging energy. Because of the enormous number of texts available on Bali, Hooykaas needs all his energy for the texts themselves and their proper study. Consequently, the aspects of the texts relating directly to Skt and Indian culture are regarded as a separate field of research by him. For this reason he has always asked the advice of Indologists on subjects in his Balinese texts relating directly to the Indian Subcontinent. On one occasion this led him to work in close co-operation with Dr. T. Goudriaan. The result of this co-operation was the publication of *Stuti and Stava* (StSt), an impressive collection of Skt hymns used in Balinese ritual. More important, perhaps, is the fact that quite a number of these hymns could be traced back to Indian parallels (cf. StSt: 14). Others were obviously composed in Bali. Hooykaas has stated on many occasions: "I have collected and preserved the material (*Proyek Tik!* Cf. Hooykaas 1973: 38-40); it is up to the next generation to do something with it!" But Hooykaas himself has also 'done something' with his material, and in this way has built a bridge to the next phase in the study of Balinese religious culture: the interpretation and evaluation of the Balinese rituals as found in the texts, with reference both to Bali itself and to the Indian Subcontinent. At this point, however, one comes up against a number of rather serious obstacles, since the study of Balinese ritual texts presupposes certain special qualifications on the part of the prospective scholar. In the first place he has to have a thorough knowledge of the Old Javanese and Balinese languages, and of Balinese culture; secondly, he should possess an equally profound knowledge of the kind of Skt found in the Balinese texts, and, because of the Tantric nature of the texts, be well versed in the Indian *Mantravidyā*, 'The Science of *Mantra*', with all its technical terms, etc. Although it is certainly no mean task to master the Old Javanese and Balinese languages, the main obstacle is provided by the second requirement: a thorough knowledge of the kind of Skt found in the Balinese texts, and of the Indian *Mantravidyā*.

I have deliberately used the term 'the kind of Skt' in connection with the Balinese texts. As it happens, the hymns and *mantras* found in Balinese texts are sometimes written in correct, Classical Skt, sometimes in what is termed by Goudriaan and Hooykaas 'a kind of language and style so different from what one might expect in Skt texts, however incorrect, from the Indian Subcontinent...' (StSt: 11). For this kind of Skt the term Archipelago Sanskrit (ArSkt) has been invented, as early as Goris (1926, 13: "*Archipel*"-formule; 36: *Archipel-maaksels*). Later authors have invariably accepted this designation without too much concern about its meaning. Gonda published his *Sanskrit in Indonesia*, the first thorough investigation of Skt usage in the Indonesian Archipelago, in which he considers innumerable Skt words in Indonesian inscriptions, texts and spoken languages, in the early fifties. He, however, focuses his research almost exclusively on non-Balinese texts and languages, and devotes most of his attention to the "Outward Appearance of the Borrowed Words" (Ch. IV) and their possible "Change of Meaning" (Ch. V). For Balinese texts proper, the only source we have is the introduction to StSt, in which Goudriaan and Hooykaas have made 'Some Remarks with respect to Morphology and Lexicon' (StSt: 9). Here we find enumerated the characteristics of ArSkt as found in Balinese hymns (StSt: 11-13).

Obviously the term ArSkt can only exist in the context of the term Skt itself. One wonders what kind of Skt is meant, however. Generally speaking, one may distinguish between three types of Skt: (1) Vedic Skt, (2) Post-Vedic Skt following the rules of *Pāṇini*, and (3) Post-Vedic Skt not strictly following the rules of *Pāṇini*. Although there are, in fact, a few Vedic *mantras* to be found in the Balinese texts (cf. Goudriaan 1970: 556), Vedic Skt can safely be ruled out here. That leaves us with Post-Vedic Skt. At a first glance at the texts, it is evident that one cannot expect to find *Pāṇinian* Skt in the Balinese texts, either, at least in the texts composed in Bali. Post-Vedic non-*Pāṇinian* Skt encompasses a large body of literature on the Indian Subcontinent. As Goris (1926: 9) and Lévy (1933: XIII) have already observed, we must turn, in an attempt to evaluate the ideas as well as the kind of Skt found in Balinese texts, to the Tantric¹ texts of the Indian Subcontinent. For a genuine evaluation of ArSkt as found in Balinese texts, a study of the kind of Skt used in these Indian Tantric texts is prerequisite. For this, however, a grammar and dictionary of non-*Pāṇinian* Tantric Skt are required, but unfortunately do not exist. The majority of the relevant texts, moreover, are virtually inaccessible, as most of them have not been published, and

if they have, in most cases they lack a critical edition. Consequently, research into the grammar and vocabulary of the Indian Tantric texts has been only incidental (cf. Hazra 1963: 94-143 for the *Devīpurāṇa*; Tsuda 1974: 16-27 for the *Samvarodayatantra*). In this respect scholars studying Balinese religion and ritual texts have one great advantage over their colleagues studying Tantrism on the Indian Subcontinent: most of the Balinese texts have been tracked down and meticulously copied in the framework of Hooykaas' *Proyek Tik*. They are at least accessible. The most significant publication relating to Post-Vedic non-Pāṇinian Skt is, of course, the *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary* by Edgerton. This is not, however, based on Tantric texts, although one could assign the *Sāadhanamālā* (v. p. 338) to this category. It is nevertheless relevant here, since Edgerton has shown that his 'kind of Skt' is a separate idiom, and not simply bad Skt (cf. Snellgrove 1959, II: XI), a qualification that is too facilely applied to the kind of Skt found in Balinese texts. The Skt found in the Indian Tantric texts, both Hindu and Buddhist, should be regarded, like Edgerton's Skt, as a separate idiom. Only when Sanskritists have formulated the rules of this kind of Skt (cf. Carlstedt 1974: 17; George 1974: 14 ff.) will it be possible to determine the characteristics of ArSkt as found in Balinese texts, and to use the term ArSkt in its true sense. Until then, one should apply the term ArSkt with due reserve.

As we have mentioned before, the characteristics of ArSkt have been listed by the authors of StSt (StSt: 11-13). Nevertheless, it may prove useful to examine some of these characteristics in greater detail.²

LOSS OF THE INITIAL VOWEL IN SKT WORDS

"Very often, of Skt words beginning with *a-*, this *a-* has been omitted and cannot be restored on account of the metre. Thus e.g. *mṛta* < *amṛta*; *nugraha* or even *nugrāṇa* < *anugraha*; *prameya* < *aprameya* (718.9); *bhūcari* probably < *abhicāri* (594.1). This fact also occurs in the Skt loanwords in OJ." (StSt: 12).

Indeed, one of the most striking characteristics of ArSkt appears to be the loss of the initial *a-* of Skt words. Besides dropping of the initial *a-*, we have also observed loss of the initial *ā-*, *u-*, and possibly *i-*. In the following pages I will attempt to systematize these 'losses'.

(I) *Loss of Initial a- in Skt Words*

This category can be divided into two classes: (1) Skt words where the

initial *a-* is a negative prefix, (2) Skt words where the initial *a-* is part of the stem. These two classes will be discussed separately.

(I.1) Loss of the negative prefix *a-* in Skt words

To this class belong words like *(a)mṛta*, *(a)prameya*, *(a)cintya*, *(a)nanta*,³ and *(a)mogha*. Compared with the other categories and classes, this class is the most common, mainly due to the frequent occurrence of the word *(a)mṛta* in the texts. It turns out that the loss of this initial *a-* may occur anywhere in a *śloka*⁴: within a *pāda* (718.15c: *viṣaṃ 'mṛta pūrṇa-jīvaṃ*), at the beginning of an odd-numbered *pāda* (642.5a: *'mṛta-jñānaṃ nūgrahakaṃ*; 040.13c: *'mṛta-varṣa-śuddhātmakaṃ*), and at the beginning of an even-numbered *pāda*, i.e. at the caesura (043.7b: *'mṛta-varṣānūgrahakaṃ*; 043.8d: *'cintya-deva mahā-liṅgaṃ*). Although Gonda (1973: 389) mentions the tendency to drop the initial *a-* in trisyllabic Skt words, there appears to be something more to it than that with respect to the Balinese hymns. When checking the instances where the negative prefix *a-* is dropped, the preceding syllable should be taken into account, irrespective of whether this preceding syllable occurs in another *pāda*, or even *śloka*. It appears that the negative prefix *a-* is regularly dropped after a word ending in an *anusvāra* (*-aṃ*), or after a word ending in a vowel (*-a*, *-i*, *-ī*). Loss of the negative prefix *a-* after an *anusvāra* is the most common.

(I.1.a) Loss of the negative prefix *a-* in Skt words after the *anusvāra*

As we have stated above, one should take into account the preceding syllable, irrespective of the *pāda* division. When the negative prefix *a-* is dropped within a *pāda* (718.15c: *viṣaṃ 'mṛta pūrṇa-jīvaṃ*), there are no problems. At the beginning of a *pāda*, however, there is a difficulty, as the Balinese observe the *pāda* division very strictly (cf. StSt: 11). In the present case, though, one should ignore this *pāda* division: not only the caesura, but also the division between the two lines of a *śloka*, and even between the lines of two subsequent *ślokas* (642.4d; 5a: *śarva-jagat-pavitraṇaṃ // 'mṛtajñānaṃ nūgrahakaṃ*). The same tendency can be noticed in the Indian Tantric texts, where it is often the result of omission to clearly mark the end of a *pāda* with a single or double *daṇḍa* in the MSS. For Bali an illustrative example is found in the *Śivādityastava* (SuSe: 144; BTF: 32), viz.

anūgraha manohara, devadattānūgrāhaka /
hy arcanaṃ sarvapūjānāṃ, namaḥ sarvānūgrāhaka //

Here we find *hy* in a very unusual place, namely at the beginning of an odd-numbered *pāda*. The only explanation for its occurrence here is that it functions as an — unnecessary — space-filler between the two lines of the *śloka*. The authors of StSt have 'corrected' the lines to , . . . -*grahaka* / *arcanam* . . . , (082.1), but some of the MSS read: , . . . -*grahaka* / *y arcanam* . . . ; obviously the *y* here has the same function as *hy* in the text as presented in SuSe and BTF. The ignoring of the *pāda* division with respect to the dropping of the negative prefix *a-* after the *anusvāra* is clearly illustrated by the following two *ślokas*, which are very much alike:

śiva jagat-pati devam, śiva sadā-śiva smṛtam /

śiva sapūrṇa-pramāṇam, 'mrta-maṅgala-pavitram // (StSt 633.3)

and:

śiva jagat-pati devam, sadā-śiva maṁ pramāṇam /

'mrta-maṅgalaṁ pavitram, sarvēla-mala-saṁpūrṇam // (StSt 754.1).

The most prominent feature of the dropping of the negative prefix *a-* after the *anusvāra* is that the lost *a-* cannot be restored on account of the metre: restoration of the lost *a-* would result in a *pāda* of nine syllables instead of the regular eight syllables.

We have shown so far that the negative prefix *a-* in Skt words is dropped after a word ending in *-am* in Balinese *ślokas*. But is it possible to account for this peculiarity? The first thing to note in this connection is the frequent occurrence of the *-am* ending in Balinese hymns. Goris himself observed that this ending might represent an original *-a*, *-ah*, *-ā* or *-ām* (Goris 1926: 21, 34). This preference for the *-am* ending can be explained by the actual use of the hymns: they are for recitation during ritual proceedings. Especially in recitation, the sonorous sound of the *anusvāra* lends a rather solemn tone to a hymn. As regards the dropping of the *a-* after the *anusvāra*, one should bear in mind the special character of the *anusvāra*: it is not a consonant in the strict sense of the word, but merely a nasalization of a vowel. Thus Indian grammarians reckon the *anusvāra* among the sixteen vowels. This may have stimulated the process of the dropping of the *a-* after the *anusvāra*.

The loss of the negative prefix *a-* in Skt words after an *anusvāra* appears to be a characteristic feature of ArSkt, at least in the case of the Balinese hymns. It serves only one purpose: to regulate the metre. Omission of the negative prefix *a-* after an *anusvāra* in Skt texts from the Indian Subcontinent is not reported anywhere, to my knowledge. There are instances of the dropping of an initial *a-* here, but only in a restricted number of words (*api*, etc.) It is perhaps worth drawing attention to

Edgerton's (1953: 4.3 ff.) mention of the importance of the *anusvāra* in this context, the initial *a-* of *api* being dropped after the *anusvāra*.

(I.1.b) Loss of the negative prefix *a-* in Skt words after a vowel

Omission of the *a-* is found most commonly at the beginning of an even-numbered *pāda*, i.e., at the caesura. So we find: *dhūpaṃ bhvaṇaṃ timiraṇ ca*, 'mṛta-bhūmi candra-prabham (StSt: 043.2cd). It is only once in evidence at the beginning of an odd-numbered *pāda*, viz. *dhruva sūrya mahā-raudra* / 'mṛtaṇaṃ śuddha-bhūḥ-lokaṃ (StSt: 857.2bc). Sometimes it occurs in the middle of a *pāda*, viz. *bhūmi-matsya 'prameyaṇ ca*, (StSt: 718.9c). In the first two cases (loss of the *a-* at the beginning of a *pāda*) the dropped *a-* may be restored in accordance with the metre if one ignores the *pāda* division. In contrast to the previous class (I.1.a), here the *a-* is omitted because of the strict observance of the *pāda* division by the Balinese. Thus, e.g., *dhūpaṃ bhvaṇaṃ timiraṇ ca*, 'mṛta-bhūmi candra-prabham (StSt: 043.2cd) can be 'restored' to: *dhūpaṃ bhvaṇaṃ timiraṇ cāmṛta-bhūmi candra-prabham*; *deva-deva mahā-siddhi*, 'mṛta-sañjīvanī puṇyam (StSt: 296.3ab) to: *deva-deva mahā-siddhy amṛta-sañjīvanī puṇyam*, etc. The instances of the dropping of the *a-* in the middle of a *pāda* are, it seems, also capable of emendation in most cases. Thus *bhūmi-matsya 'prameyaṇ ca* (StSt: 718.9c) should be emended to *bhūmi-matsyaṃ 'prameyaṇ ca*, which fits in rather better with its meaning, '(I shall proclaim) the place of living for the fishes, infinitely large, . . .' (Goudriaan and Hooykaas), than the reading *bhūmi-matsyāprameyaṇ ca*. Consequently, this example should be included in the previous class, 'Loss of the negative prefix *a-* in Skt words after the *anusvāra*'. In *kṣiti-devī 'nanta-bhogaṃ*, (StSt: 423.1a) the lost *a-* can likewise be restored in accordance with the metre (*kṣiti-devy ananta-bhogaṃ*), but has probably been dropped as a result of observance of the semi-caesura.⁵

(I.2) Loss of the initial *a-* belonging to the stem in Skt words

Loss of this *a-* occurs only after a preceding word ending in a vowel. It is found at the beginning of even-numbered *pādas*, i.e. at the caesura (923.1cd: *saumya-rūpaṃ avāpnoti*, 'haṃ vande vara-dam amum), at the beginning of odd-numbered *pādas* (073.12bc: *nara-sūrānugrahaś ca* / 'tirūpaṃ surūpaṃ vīryaṃ), and in the middle of a *pāda* (546.4a: *sūryāgni 'nala bhairavaḥ*). The omitted *a-* can be restored in accordance with the metre (923.1cd: *saumya-rūpaṃ avāpnoty ahaṃ vande vara-dam amum*). Only in one instance is this *a-* dropped after a word ending in

-am, namely *nanta-bhogam* 'dhipam bhvanam' (286.7d). This reading seems to be doubtful, however, as *dhipam* is found in only one MS (No. 1257), while MS PPQ reads *divam*. Possibly, one should emend this to *nanta-bhogam devī* (*devam* or *divyam*) *bhvanam*, which corresponds to *kṣiti-devī* 'nanta-bhogam' (423.1a).

Evidently the words (*a*)*nugraha* and (*a*)*nugrāṇa* also belong to the present class. It is questionable whether the initial *a-* here is really dropped, however. We find *nugraha* / *nugrāṇa* after words ending in -am, -a, -i, -ām (302.10ab) and -t (though only in the compound *jagatnugrahaka*). It occurs at the beginning of both even and odd-numbered *pādas*, as well as within *pādas*. Omission of the *a-* after a word ending in -ām or -t is a new feature, which we have not observed before. Loss of the *a-* after -ām may be of the same kind as that after -am, which does not fit in the present class, but loss of *a-* after -t appears to be unique. Edgerton (1953, Grammar: 4.4) mentions one instance of loss of *a-* after -t (*abravīt pi*) in Buddhist Skt, although *pi* for *api* is not unusual in Skt. In the case of *nugraha* / *nugrāṇa* it is more reasonable to assume a Skt word *nugraha* alongside *anugraha*. The authors of the *Glossary of Sanskrit from Indonesia* have already accepted this *nugraha* as Skt without any reservation. One does not find the word in any dictionary, either Classical Skt or Buddhist Hybrid Skt, however. The existence of a Skt word *nugraha* is nevertheless attested by the *Ṣaṣṣāhasrasaṃhitā* (unedited), a Hindu Tantric text from Nepal (ca. 11th century A.D.), where *anugraha* and *nugraha* are used side by side.

(II) Loss of the Initial ā-, i- and u- in Skt Words

Of the omission of the initial *ā-* we find only two examples in StSt: *prama-devāstu* 'di-nātham' (840.1d), and *diśi diśi pravṛttena*, 'ditya-mūrte namo 'stu te' (426.5cd). The latter is clearly the result of strict observance of the caesura (*diśi diśi pravṛttenāditya-mūrte namo 'stu te*). The former, however, is due to a different reason. Applying the Skt rules of *sandhi*, one should read *prama-devāstv ādi-nātham* here. This would, however, result in a long fifth syllable in this *pāda*, which is usually avoided in a *śloka* (cf. Tsuda 1974: 17ff.).

Loss of the initial *u-* occurs only once, namely in *pomyana priya sanitya*, 'dadhi-tīre priyam tathā' (821.3ab). Again strict observance of the caesura seems to be the cause of this. One could read the line as *pomyana priya sa-nityôdadhi-tīre priyam tathā*.⁶ But there is another possibility, whereby one may read *dadhi-tīre* instead of 'dadhi-tīre', 'on the shores of the Milk-Ocean', which *dadhi* refers to the *Dadhi-samudra* (cf.

271.6a). This does not seem to fit in with the context of the hymn, however.

Omission of the initial *i-* is dubious. In 658.4a we find *OM DIḤ ŚRUḤ TY-ādihṛn-mantrām*, 'Whose heart formula consists of the syllables *OM DIḤ ŚRUḤ TI* etc.' (Goudriaan and Hooykaas). The complete heart formula runs *OM DIḤ ŚRUTI VIJNA*. The authors of StSt have taken *TI* in the text as part of the formula, which is, of course, perfectly correct, the word *ŚRUTI* having been divided into *ŚRUḤ* and *TI*. One wonders, however, why only the syllable *ŚRU* is provided with a *visarga* (*-Ḥ*), and not *TI*.⁷ It is possible to read the line as *OM DIḤ ŚRUḤ ty-ādi-hṛn-mantrām*, 'Whose heart formula consists of the syllables *OM DIḤ ŚRUḤ* etc.', therefore. Ending an enumeration with *ity-ādi* is very common, in which case our *ti* would be a short form of *iti*. Since *iti* and *ti* are used interchangeably in Skt, however, the initial *i-* need not necessarily be regarded as dropped.

Summarizing, we arrive at the following conclusions:

- (I.a) Skt words with a negative prefix *a-* may lose this *a-* on account of the metre when the preceding word ends in an *anusvāra* — irrespective of the *pāda* division; the dropped *a-* cannot be restored because of the metre.
- (I.b) Skt words with a negative prefix *a-* may lose this *a-* after a word ending in a vowel, as the result of strict observance of the *pāda* division; the lost *a-* can be restored in accordance with the metre.
- (II) Skt words with an initial *a-*, *ā-*, or *u-* belonging to the stem may lose this initial vowel after a word ending in a vowel, as the result of strict observance of the *pāda* division; the dropped initial vowel can be restored in accordance with the metre.

Obviously, the two main types of omission of the initial vowel in Skt words each serve a different purpose. The first type, omission of the negative prefix *a-* after the *anusvāra* (I.a), appears to be a very important expedient for the Balinese composer trying to construct a regular *śloka* of four octosyllabic *pādas*. As Hooykaas (1962: 309-327) has pointed out, Skt was sufficiently well-known to enable the composition of *ślokas* in Bali (cf. Soebadio 1971: 65). Balinese priests, obviously, possessed an extensive Skt vocabulary, and were perfectly familiar with the characteristics of the Indian *śloka*; they only lacked the experience of their Indian colleagues in handling the Skt language. To make up for this lack, the Balinese had to resort to a *tour de force* — as the dropping of the negative prefix after the *anusvāra* evidently is — in order to be able to compose regular *ślokas* themselves. Where the metre permits, the

'normal' form of the Skt words is used (049.9cd: *tvam rudra śaṅkara matam, amṛta bhuvaneśāya*, etc.). Obviously this feature is to be found only in *ślokas* for which no Indian original has been traced. Thus it appears to be a genuine characteristic of ArSkt, though it was employed only for the sake of composing regular *ślokas*. The second type (I-b and II) is based on a different principle: the initial vowel here is dropped only as a result of the strict observance of the *pāda* division by the Balinese. This becomes perfectly clear during recitation of the hymns, where the priests make a very clear pause at the *pāda* division.

SOME OTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF ARSKT

As we have shown, omission of the initial vowel in Skt words appears to be a genuine characteristic of ArSkt. Next we shall discuss a number of other characteristics of ArSkt as enumerated by the authors of StSt.

The frequent occurrence of *pādas* beginning with *sarva-* (Characteristic No. 3), as in *sarva-śatru-vināśanam* (010.1b), is indeed amply attested. One should perhaps add that in these cases the *pāda* is formed by a single compound of eight syllables beginning with *sarva-*. This feature, however, is also fairly common in Skt texts from the Subcontinent with no literary pretensions, such as Tantric texts. The same appears to be true of the fourth characteristic of ArSkt, viz. the virtual absence of conjugated verbal forms, except for a few stereotyped ones.

Characteristic No. 10, 'Case endings, when occurring, are sometimes meaningless', should at least be reformulated. In *deva-devam mahā-devam, pūjayitvā narasya ca* (670.6ab) the genitive *narasya* has correctly been translated as a nominative. In other words, the genitive case ending has the function of the nominative: it is not therefore meaningless. This apparent confusion between case endings is not unique of ArSkt. Hazra (1963: 114-120) quotes a great many instances from the *Devīpurāṇa*, while Edgerton (1953, Grammar: 42ff.) does the same with regard to the Buddhist texts he used.

As Characteristic No. 11 Goudriaan and Hooykaas mention the frequent inversion of the parts of a compound (e.g., 259.3d, *gaṇa-ṛṣi-* instead of *ṛṣi-gaṇa-*), and the possible separation of the parts of a compound from each other by particles (417.7d, *sandhyā-bhraṣṭa tu saṃyutaḥ*). Again, both features are equally apparent in texts from the Indian Subcontinent. Reversals like *patra-bhūrja* for *bhūrja-patra* are found quite frequently in the *Devīpurāṇa* (Hazra 1963: 122, 123). Hazra remarks, moreover, that in the case of the separation of the parts of a compound from one another no case ending is added to those com-

ponents of the compound which are not final; this is evidently true of *sandhyā-bhraṣṭa* (s) *tu samyutaḥ* (417.7d). The same features have been observed for the *Samvarodayatantra*, a Buddhist text, by Tsuda (1974: 25).

I have only discussed some of the characteristics of ArSkt as listed in StSt briefly. It should have become clear, however, that one has to be very careful in classifying a hymn as being composed in ArSkt, since a number of these characteristics are also to be found in texts from the Indian Subcontinent which are not written in Classical Skt. Only when more of these Indian texts of a Tantric nature have been critically edited and studied will it be possible to evaluate the kind of Skt of the Balinese hymns. Evidently some of the characteristics of ArSkt will then turn out to be typical of the kind of Skt contained in texts of a Tantric nature found in India as well as abroad. Other features of ArSkt may prove to be genuinely characteristic. As some of these we may mention the loss of the initial vowel of Skt words, the frequency of the nominal suffix *-na* (*deva-na*, *loka-na*, etc.), the addition of syllables without any apparent meaning (*bhās-ta-kara*, etc), or those with a specific meaning (*ma-puruṣa*, *īśvara-né*, etc.), and the occurrence of syllabic haplographies (*pāśaścime* for *pāśa-paścime*, etc.). These features have one thing in common, however: they all help the Balinese poet in his attempt to produce a regular octosyllabic *pāda*.

LEXICOGRAPHICAL IMPLICATIONS

As is clear from the above, there are quite a number of Skt words and lines found in Balinese ritual texts. Consequently it is important to know exactly what these Skt words mean in order to be able to clearly understand these texts. As Gonda (1973: 635ff.) has pointed out, the study of Skt words in Indonesia is important not only for the student of Indonesian culture, but also for Skt lexicography itself. By the publication of his *Sanskrit in Indonesia* with its exhaustive index Gonda has enormously facilitated the study of Skt words in Indonesia.

The texts from Bali, especially those with a Tantric character, should be considered separately. For an understanding of the many technical words in these texts the scholar should be well versed in the Tantric vocabulary of the Indian Subcontinent, and have a profound knowledge of Tantrism in general (v. p. 324 above).

Apart from the fact that many Skt words commonly possess a very specialized meaning in Tantric texts, the meaning of Skt words in Balinese texts will not necessarily be the same as in texts from the Indian

Subcontinent. Gonda (1973: Ch. V) has paid ample attention to these changes of meaning of Skt words outside Bali; Goudriaan (1972: 55-61) has clearly shown the same type of change to occur with regard to *vīrya* / *vīra* in the Balinese texts.

Lévy's view (1933: X; XXXV) that Balinese priests were completely ignorant of the meaning of their texts as far as Skt was concerned is rejected nowadays: they certainly had a sufficient knowledge of the Skt language to be able to compose their own Skt *ślokas* (cf. p. 331 above). Consequently, when dealing with Skt words and their meanings in Balinese texts it is pertinent to start from the texts themselves. Only in the second phase should one turn to the Skt texts and lexicographical studies from the Indian Subcontinent.

The Skt words in Balinese texts have hardly been investigated lexicologically to date. Only in the indexes of, for instance, SuSe and StSt do we find a listing of Skt words. But one has to check their occurrence in the texts themselves to arrive at their meaning. The only attempt so far to collect Skt words from Balinese texts and give a definition of their meaning is found in the *Glossary of Sanskrit from Indonesia* (Vāk No. 6) by Van Buitenen and Ensink. Part of the material was collected from Lévy's *Sanskrit Texts from Bāli*.⁸ Since this is the only work in the field of Balinese Skt lexicography, an examination of this part of the *Glossary* might prove useful.

It is imperative that a lexicographer be accurate when collecting his material — he must be careful to extract all possible material from the texts used by him (cf. *Glossary*: II). Unfortunately, this rather basic principle has been neglected with respect to the Skt words collected from Lévy's texts. The Skt words from these texts included in the *Glossary* seem to have been chosen rather randomly. For instance, of the six *Vināyakas* (Lévy: 41, 17, 18)⁹ only four have been included in the *Glossary*, leaving out *Āmoda* and *Vighnarūpa*. Since the same lines are also found in StSt (471.4) this omission is repaired in the index to StSt (Appendix 4), where these two are included. Of the line *kaphameda-yutañ chukraṃ, purīṣamūtrasaṃyutam* (Lévy: 59, 13) in the *Śivastava* (Lévy: 58, 59), *kapha* (= phlegm) and *meda* (= fat) are not listed in the *Glossary*; *purīṣa* (= excrement) is included, but without any reference to this particular place in the text; and *śukra* (= semen) is not mentioned with this meaning, nor with any reference to Lévy. In this case the omission is not made up by StSt, where the same *stava* is also included (No. 471). The authors of the latter do not claim a high degree of completeness for their index, however. From the *Glossary*

alone one would get the impression that such well-known words as *śukra*, *kapha* and *meda* are not found in Skt texts from Indonesia. Besides the examples cited here, there are many more Skt words found in Lévy which are not included in the *Glossary* (cf. Gonda 1973: 213 note 56).

A more serious deficiency still attaches to the *Glossary*, where Skt words are listed without any regard to the context in which they are used. The words are provided with a standard meaning as found in the current dictionaries of Classical Skt; as this is combined with an apparent lack of knowledge of Tantrism, the results are often disappointing. To illustrate the necessity of at least some knowledge of Tantrism when dealing with these Balinese texts, we have selected the following examples from the *Glossary*.

P. 43: '*kavaca*- m.n. "armour" (?), m. "N. of a god?", n. "piece of bark inscribed with magic words and used as an amulet"? B 8, 18; 9, 8; 9, 19; pass.'.¹⁰

The word *kavaca* does not occur *passim* in Lévy, but is found in only one text, the *Vedaparikrama*, a text with a strong Tantric character, and in only the one context, viz. *OM HRUM* (19, 25: *HRIM*) *kavacāya namaḥ* (8, 18; 9, 8/19; 11, 10; 28, 11; 31, 7). With regard to its gender (*Glossary*: masculine or neuter), the examples from the *Vedaparikrama* are not conclusive. According to the rules of Skt grammar *kavacāya* is the dative sg. of either a masculine or neuter word *kavaca*; on the basis of the rules applying in the type of Skt found in Balinese texts, however, one might even consider a feminine form *kavacā*.¹¹ It is evident from other Balinese texts, though, that a fem. *kavacā* can be safely ruled out; but if one goes only by the *Vedaparikrama*, it is premature to determine the gender as masculine or neuter on the sole basis of Skt lexicography. For only one usage of *kavaca* in the text, the *Glossary* provides three different meanings. The first and third meaning can be found in any Skt dictionary; the second seems to be an innovation. Goris (1926: 64) already mentions *kavaca* as one of the *ṣaḍaṅganyāsa*, or consecrations of six different parts of the body (viz. *hṛdaya*, *śīras*, *śikhā*, *kavaca*, *netra*, and *astra*). While uttering the *kavacamantra*, the priest covers his chest with his arms, touching the shoulders with his hands (cf. Avalon 1972: 106 note 4). This explains the name *kavaca* ('armour') for this *nyāsa*: the arms of the priest covering his chest resemble a piece of armour.

P. 48: '*kumbhaka*- m. "pot" B 13, 14'.

Again, the word *kumbhaka* is found only in the *Vedaparikrama*, where

it is mentioned in close relationship with *pūraka* and *recaka* (Lévy: 13, 14/15). Of course *kumbhaka* means 'pot' in Skt, but this meaning does not make any sense in the context under discussion. Obviously one has to translate *kumbhaka* as 'stopping of the breath', while *pūraka* and *recaka* mean 'inhalation' and 'exhalation' respectively. All three of them together are named *prāṇāyāma*, 'breath control', a well-known exercise in Tantric ritual (cf. Goris 1926: 60).

P. 48: 'kuru "magic word" B 81, 17'.

Anyone not versed in Tantric texts and their contents might be inclined to regard *mantras* as mere meaningless mumbling. Words like OM, HRĪM, etc., do not have any specific meaning in the true sense of the word, in fact, but possess symbolic value. Some words found in *mantras* have a very definite meaning, however, and should not therefore be labelled merely as 'magic words'. So the *Buddhaveda*, to which the *Glossary* refers in the case of the 'magic word' *kuru*, contains a long *mantra* most of which is perfectly intelligible. Towards the end (Lévy: 81, 16/17) we read ... *pravināśaya trātaya 2 kampaṇaya 2 bandhaya 2 mardaya 2 caṇḍa 2 mara 2 daya 2 kuru 2* ... The words *pravināśaya*, *kampaṇaya*, *bandhaya*, and *mardaya* are correctly identified as verbs in the *Glossary* (viz. imperative sg.); *caṇḍa*, *marā*, and *kuru* are classed as 'magic words'; *trātaya*, and *daya* are not included in it at all. It is nonetheless obvious that the three 'magic words' and the two words that are not included are also imperative sg. forms, viz. *caṇḍa*,¹² 'be wrathful upon!'; *marā*,¹³ 'kill!'; *kuru*, 'do!'; *daya*,¹² 'destroy!'; *trātaya* may be corrupt for *trāsaya*, 'cause to tremble!'. It appears, then, that the 'magic word' *kuru* is simply the imperative sg. of the verb *kṛ*-. Compared with the other verbs in this series, the meaning of *kuru* ('do!') seems at first glance to be out of place. At the end of this string of imperatives, all denoting some sort of destructive action, *kuru* functions as a strong affirmative, however: 'Do, do (i.e., all the actions expressed by the preceding verbs)!!'.

Possibly we have dealt with the *Glossary* at too great length, but with regard to the Skt texts from Bali the examples are illustrative of the wrong approach that may be adopted towards these texts. As point of departure has been used the vocabulary of Classical Skt, the semantics of which have been indiscriminately applied to the Balinese texts with no regard at all for the real meaning of the words in their context. It is clear that the lexicological study of these Balinese texts has not yet begun.

THE CATURSANDHYĀMANTRA

In conclusion, I wish to make some remarks to demonstrate the necessity of possessing at least some knowledge of Indian Tantrism when investigating some of the Balinese texts. For this purpose I shall discuss the *Catursandhyāmantra*, which runs as follows:¹⁴

- I.1 HUM-kārādyantasaṃruddhaṃ, guhyaśaktipradīpanam /
dīpanaṃ sarvapūjānāṃ, sarvasiddhikaraṃ smṛtam //
Namaḥ Svāhā //
- I.2 OM HUM HUM AM UM MAM GMUM MAM UM AM
HUM HUM OM //
Namaḥ Svāhā //
- II.1 NAM-kārādyantasaṃruddhaṃ, NAM-kāreṇa vidarbhitam /
amalīkaraṇaṃ mantraṃ, sarvamantreṣu siddhidam //
Namaḥ Svāhā //
- II.2 OM NAM UM NAM GMUM NAM UM NAM OM //
Namaḥ Svāhā //
- III.1 UM-kārādyantasaṃruddhaṃ, UM-kāreṇa vidarbhitam /
etat sūptasya mantrasya, bodhanaṃ paramaṃ smṛtam //
Namaḥ Svāhā //
- III.2 OM UM UM GMUM UM UM OM //
Namaḥ Svāhā //
- III.3 OM GRĪM Devārcanāya Namo //
Namaḥ Svāhā //
- IV.1 AM-kārādyantasaṃruddhaṃ, AM-kāreṇa vidarbhitam /
tarpaṇaṃ sarvapūjānāṃ, prasādhanaṃ tu siddhidam //
Namaḥ Svāhā //
- IV.2 OM AM UM AM GMUM AM UM AM OM //

Goudriaan and Hooykaas, in their introduction to this *mantra* (StSt: 208ff.), have already discussed the problems connected with it and its interpretation. Some points remain unclear, however.

The *Catursandhyāmantra* consists of four parts (I-IV), each of them sub-divided into a Skt śloka (I.1; II.1 etc.) and a *mantra* (I.2; II.2 etc.); the different parts are separated by *Namaḥ Svāhā*. In part III of the *Catursandhyāmantra* we find an addition (III.3) that is not found in the others.

The Ślokas

‘The *ślokas* are written in correct Skt and the author has used technical

terms of Indian *Mantra-Science*' (StSt: 209). This remark is illustrative of our own previous observations on ArSkt and its evaluation. In 1966 Hooykaas suspected the *ślokas* of being written in ArSkt, because of the 'absence of declension in all four *ślokas* (SuSe: 104). In 1971, co-operating with a Sanskritist well versed in Tantric texts, he rated the *ślokas* in StSt at their true value, namely as correct Skt with Tantric technical terms. *Vidarbhita*, for instance, in 1966 was regarded as 'scarcely Skt' (SuSe: 105), while in StSt it is recognized as a technical term (StSt: 211 note 2).

The *ślokas* provide, in highly technical language — secret to laymen! —, the rules for constructing a *mantra*, and indicate the application of the various *mantras* (*dīpana*, etc.) The technical terms have already been discussed at some length in StSt, but for a full understanding of the *ślokas* further information seems necessary. Since the *ślokas* are written in correct Skt, and the technical terms are not found in any of the hymns composed in Bali,¹⁵ one can safely assume that the *ślokas* were borrowed from some Indian text. Hence we must turn, in an attempt to gain more insight into these technical terms to the texts from the Subcontinent.

Vidarbhita.¹⁶ This term is difficult to translate exactly, and has been rendered as 'set free' (SuSe: 103; StSt: 327.2b, etc) and 'let loose, extended' (*Glossary*: 171). One further clue to the meaning of *vidarbhita* is provided by Edgerton's *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, where the verb *vidarbhayati* is explained as 'intertwines (letters), i.e. writes the letters between the letters of a *mantra*' (v. also *pravidarbhayati*). Edgerton bases his translation on the occurrence of the word in the *Sādhana-mālā*, a Buddhist text containing the *sādhana*s of various deities. From the text itself it does not become clear, however, how exactly one should intertwine the letters between the letters of a *mantra*. In the *Kubjikā-matatantra* (unedited, Ch. 4), an early Hindu Tantra from Nepal, and in the *Agnipurāṇa* (138, 1ff.), *vidarbhita* or *vidarbha* is enumerated among the six so-called *Sampradāyas*. The Tantric *Sādhaka* has the faculty of wielding power over other persons by means of *mantras*. Towards this end the *Sādhaka* intertwines the letters of the name of his prospective victim, the *Sādhya*, with the syllables of a *mantra*, which he pronounces or writes down. The different modes of intertwining — each with a different effect — are called *Sampradāya*. The effect of *vidarbhita* / *vidarbha* is to put the *Sādhya* in one's power (*Agnipurāṇa* 138, 7d: *vaśyākarsheṣu yojayet*). The mode of intertwining is described

as follows: *mantrākṣaradvayaṃ likhya, ekaṃ sādhyākṣaram punaḥ* (*Ag-nipurāṇa* 138, 7ab), 'First (the *Sādhaka*) writes two syllables of the *mantra*, next (he writes) one syllable (of the name) of the *Sādhyā*'. This can be schematized as mmS-mmS, etc.¹⁷

Dīpana, *amalīkaraṇa*, *bodhana*, and *tarpaṇa*. These four, each found in a different *śloka*, belong to a group of ten *Samśkāras*, or Consecrations of a *mantra*; they are enumerated in the *Gautamīyatantra* (cf. StSt: 209), but not explained. In chapter six of the *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṃhitā* (v.p. 330 above) we find a group of nine *Samśkāras*¹⁸ listed: they are the same as those found in the *Gautamīyatantra*, except for the omission of *janana* (cf. StSt: 209). The *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṃhitā* does explain the nine *Samśkāras*, however. Unfortunately, the text seems very corrupt and is difficult to understand because of its cryptic language. The nine *Samśkāras* have one feature in common: they are all formed by placing a *bīja* before and after a *mantra*.¹⁹ Since we are for the moment interested only in the four *Samśkāras* mentioned in the *Caturśandhyāmantra*, we shall focus on these four.

Dīpana. This is effected by placing the *bīja* *RŪM* before and after the *mantra*. Thus: *RŪM* — (*mantra*) — *RŪM*. The *Sādhaka* should recite this 'new' *mantra* 5000 times. The exact purpose of *dīpana* does not become clear from the text: it seems that the action of *dīpana* is compared to the beginning of creation at the start of a new *Kalpa*; in order to commence creating, God has to be 'inflamed' (*pradīpta*).

Amalīkaraṇa.²⁰ The *bīja* *AḤ* is placed before and after the *mantra*. The *Sādhaka* should recite the formula a thousand times. The object of *amalīkaraṇa* is clear: if the *Sādhaka* has grown tired during his ritual acts and has recited a *mantra* wrongly, the blame for this falls upon the *Sādhaka* himself. To remove the blame and undo the faulty recitation of the *mantra*, the *amalīkaraṇa* is recited.

Bodhana. The *bīja* *RAḤ* is placed at either end of the *mantra*. The formula has to be recited 5000 times. *Bodhana* seems to have more or less the same meaning as *dīpana*: 'awakening; setting (a potency) into motion' (StSt: 209). In the *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṃhitā*, *bodhana* is explained as awakening God from His *nidrāyoga*, 'the state of deep meditation resembling sleep', into which God sinks between two *Kalpas*. The text adds: *bodhitāḥ sādhaḥkaṃ dr̥ṣṭvā bhavet siddhipradaḥ*, 'on being awakened and seeing the *Sādhaka*, (God) will grant (him) supernatural power

(*siddhi*)'. *Bodhana* and *dīpana* are explained in close connection with each other: in both cases God seems to be identified with *Agni*. This accords with the fact that the *bījas* added to the *mantra* (*RŪM* & *RAH*) in both cases contain as basic consonant the letter *R*, which is the letter of *Agni*.

Tarpaṇa.²¹ The *bīja* *HSRAUMH* is placed at either end of the *mantra*. The *Sādhaka* should recite the formula a thousand times, each time adding *Svadhā Vauṣaṭ* to the formula. Furthermore, he should make an oblation of sesame seed (*tilahoma*) each time. The purpose of this *Samskāra* appears to lie in the fact that only a 'satisfied' *mantra* is effective (*tr̥pto mantrah prasidhyati*).

The Mantras

The four *mantras* (I.2; II.2 etc.) merely consist of syllables without any specific meaning. Consequently, the *mantras* cannot be translated in the strict sense of the word. We can, however, try to understand the underlying structure of the *mantras* themselves. For this purpose, we have regarded the four *mantras* as a unity, and have fitted them into a single table (the numbers at the bottom of the table denoting the number of units of each *mantra*):

A)

I.2	OM	HUM	HUM	AM UM MAM	GMUM	MAM UM AM	HUM	HUM	OM
II.2	OM	NAM	UM	NAM	GMUM	NAM	UM	NAM	OM
III.2	OM	UM	UM	UM	GMUM	UM	UM	UM	OM
IV.2	OM	AM	UM	AM	GMUM	AM	UM	AM	OM
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

A number of features of the four *mantras* become immediately apparent. Each *mantra* has as central syllable the *bīja* *GMUM*. Furthermore, each *mantra* consists of two identical parts symmetrically arranged around this *GMUM*, the units 9, 8, 7, 6 being the reverse of the units 1, 2, 3, 4. The first *mantra* has a fourth (= sixth) unit of three syllables, while the others have only a monosyllabic such unit. The third *mantra* seems to have one syllable too few. In *mantras* II.2 and IV.2 the second (= eighth) unit is identical with the fourth (= sixth). Each *mantra* begins and ends with the syllable *OM*. Evidently the four *mantras* resemble one another to some extent, though at first sight they also

appear to show considerable discrepancies. I shall now attempt to demonstrate that the four *mantras* really form a unity, as was assumed earlier, and that they fully resemble one another.

As Goudriaan and Hooykaas have shown (StSt: 209), 'in the *mantras* the MSS often waver between different forms of the *bījas* especially between *HUM*, *UM* and *OM*'. These *bījas* should therefore be examined with some care. We have seen that in *mantras* II.2 and IV.2 the second (= eighth) unit is identical with the fourth (= sixth), and that *mantra* I.2 has three syllables for its fourth (= sixth) unit. The fourth²² unit of *mantra* I.2 consists of the syllables *AM UM MAM*, which are, in fact, the three components of the *bīja OM* (= A + U + M), each component being provided with the *anusvāra* at the end.²³ The second unit of *mantra* I.2 reads *HUM*, which obviously does not correspond to *AM UM MAM* (= *OM*). Therefore, one should emend the second unit of *mantra* I.2 to *OM*, which is perfectly permissible. The next problem is the lack of one syllable in *mantra* III.2, at least according to our table. For units 2, 3, and 4 of *mantra* III.2, we have only two syllables (*UM* & *UM*). The omission of a syllable is not unusual in MSS, especially when this omitted syllable is preceded or followed by exactly the same syllable. Hence, assuming that a syllable has been dropped in *mantra* III.2, the syllable most likely to have been omitted is *UM*. In this way the second, third, and fourth units of *mantra* III.2 would all read *UM*. This brings us to a further emendation: in *mantras* II.2, III.2 and IV.2 the third unit is *UM*, while the third unit of *mantra* I.2 reads *HUM*. Since *HUM* / *UM* / *OM* are virtually interchangeable, one is tempted to read for the third unit of *mantra* I.2 *UM* instead of *HUM*. This way the four *mantras* correspond to one another completely. There remains one more feature of the four *mantras* to be discussed. The fourth unit of *mantra* I.2 consists of three syllables (*AM UM MAM*), forming the syllable *OM*. Next we must examine how this trisyllabic fourth unit of *mantra* I.2 corresponds to the fourth units of the other *mantras*, which each consist of only one syllable (*NAM*, *UM*, and *AM*). Obviously, these three syllables also represent the three components of the syllable *OM*, in the same way as they are found in the fourth unit of *mantra* I.2. Consequently we are assuming that the syllable *NAM* (*mantra* II.2) has the same value as the syllable *MAM* (*mantra* I.2), which is not unlikely.

Summarizing this section on the *mantras* we propose the following 'corrected' table:

B)

I.2	OM	OM	UM	AM UM MAM	GMUM	MAM UM AM	UM	OM	OM
II.2	OM	NAM	UM	NAM	GMUM	NAM	UM	NAM	OM
III.2	OM	UM	UM	UM	GMUM	UM	UM	UM	OM
IV.2	OM	AM	UM	AM	GMUM	AM	UM	AM	OM
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

The Relation between the Ślokas and the Mantras

The *ślokas*, written in correct Skt, provide the rules for the construction of a particular *mantra*. Consequently one might assume that each of the four *mantras* corresponds to its preceding *śloka*. We shall examine to what extent this is, in fact, true.

The first unit of every *mantra* consists of the syllable *OM*, which is not mentioned in the *ślokas*. The syllable *OM* ought, however, to precede every *mantra*, since it is the 'Leader of (all) *matras*' (cf. BTF: 12: *OM-kāraṃ mantranāyakam*). Hence the specific mention of *OM* is not necessary. The first *pāda* of each *śloka* refers to the second (= eighth) unit of the respective *mantra*: each *mantra* begins and ends with the syllables *OM*, *NAM*, *UM*, and *AM* respectively. Because of our emendation in *mantra* I.2 (second unit) of *HUM* into *OM* (see above), we should read in *śloka* I.1a *OM-kārādyantasaṃruddham*, instead of *HUM-kārādyantasaṃruddham*. The third unit of each *mantra* (*UM*) is not mentioned in the *ślokas*. One might consider this *UM* identical with the *OM* of the first unit; thus it need not be mentioned specifically, either. But why it features in this third unit remains an enigma. The fourth unit of each *mantra* corresponds to the second *pāda* of each *śloka*. So we see that the structure of the first lines of the *ślokas* is identical with and corresponds neatly to the *mantras* (units 2 & 4). Only in *śloka* I.1b is there a deviation, which recurs in the *mantra*: the fourth unit of *mantra* I.2 consists of three syllables forming the syllable *OM*. Bearing in mind the correspondence between units two and four in the *mantras*, and that between the first two *pādas* of the *śloka*, it becomes clear that *AM UM MAM* (*mantra* I.2, unit 4) corresponds to *guhyaśaktipradīpanam* in *śloka* I.1b. Because of the special relation between the first two *pādas* of the *śloka*, we should translate the first line of *śloka* I.1 as, '(The syllable *GMUM*) enclosed by the syllable *OM* at the beginning and the end (of the *mantra*; i.e., units 2 and 8), and showing its (i.e., of the syllable *OM*) secret potency (i.e. *AM UM MAM* = *OM*)'. The second

pādas of *ślokas* II.1, III.1, and IV.1 all include the word *-vidarbhitam*. This should refer to the fourth (= sixth) unit of the *mantras*. Obviously *-vidarbhitam* is represented in the *mantras* by enclosing the syllable *GMUM* with the syllables *NAM*, *UM*, and *AM* respectively, as Goudriaan and Hooykaas have already suggested (StSt: 211 note 2). The syllable *GMUM* in the first *mantra*, however, is also enclosed by units four and six, for which the first *śloka* does not account. The fifth unit, *GMUM*, is not mentioned in the *ślokas* at all.

Evaluation

Evidently the *ślokas* and *mantras* correspond to one another to some extent, as we have shown above. There are, however, several features in the *mantras* which are not accounted for in the *ślokas*: the third unit *UM*, the syllable *GMUM*, and the — reversed — second part of the *mantras*. Furthermore, the *Samskāras* (*dīpana* etc.) mentioned in the *ślokas* are not expressed in the *mantras*. The technical term *vidarbhitā* is not used in the same sense as in the Indian texts. As Goudriaan and Hooykaas (StSt: 208) have remarked, the *Catursandhyāmantra* is only 'a prescriptive fragment'. Obviously, it is impossible to construct a *mantra* in the form presented in the text by going solely on the preceding *śloka*. Moreover, there seems to be little sense in presenting a *mantra* in a 'concealed' way (i.e., the *ślokas*), and then immediately afterwards giving that same *mantra* in full (i.e., I.2 etc.). This leads us to the following conclusions regarding the *Catursandhyāmantra*. The Balinese priest must have 'borrowed' the Skt *ślokas* from some Indian text, and provided them with *mantras* which seemed to fit in with the rules given in the *ślokas*, at least as far as they understood them. The *ślokas* of the *Catursandhyāmantra* should obviously not be recited during ritual proceedings, but only the *mantras* should. It appears, however, that the priests recite both *ślokas* and *mantras*. For this purpose they have inserted the exclamation *Namaḥ Svāhā* between the *ślokas* and *mantras*.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

We have tried to clarify some of the problems encountered when dealing with Balinese ritual texts, at least as far as the *Sanskrit* used by Balinese priests is concerned. Knowledge of Tantrism in all its aspects and experience with Tantric texts from the Indian Subcontinent appeared to be necessary for an understanding of the true meaning of these Bali-

nese texts. More importantly, perhaps, we have shown that a term like Archipelago *Sanskrit* should be used with some reservation with respect to Balinese hymns.

We hope that the material collected by Hooykaas will be studied by Sanskritists and scholars of Indonesian culture alike. The study of these texts in all their aspects requires the close co-operation of Sanskritists and scholars of Balinese culture — the kind of co-operation for which Goudriaan and Hooykaas have set the example.

NOTES

- ¹ I have not so far defined the terms Tantra, Tantrism, etc. I am applying them not only to texts which are accepted as Tantras, but also to texts with a strong Tantric character.
- ² For my present examination of ArSkt I have used the texts as presented in StSt, for two reasons: (1) most of the texts found in Hooykaas' other publications are also included in StSt, and (2) the readings of the texts in StSt are in many instances better.
- ³ The negative prefix of *ananta* is of course *an-*, and not *a-*. For the sake of convenience, however, I have included *ananta* in this class.
- ⁴ The majority of the hymns in StSt are composed in the popular *śloka*-metre. A *śloka* consists of two lines, each of them divided into two *pādas*. Each *pāda*, or quarter, consists of eight syllables.
- ⁵ The semi-caesura falls after the fourth syllable of a *pāda*.
- ⁶ This is, obviously, ArSkt. In Classical Skt the line would run: ... *sanityam, udadhitire* ... This would result in a *pāda* of nine syllables.
- ⁷ Possibly *DIḤ* is corrupt for *VIḤ*. The heart formula would then run *Viśruti Vijñā* (for *Vijñāna*?). In that case, *VI* is also provided with a *visarga*.
- ⁸ For which part of the *Glossary* Ensink is responsible.
- ⁹ In the references to Lévy's *Sanskrit Texts from Bāli* the numbers of both the page and the line where the relevant word is to be found are indicated.
- ¹⁰ B = *Sanskrit Texts from Bāli*.
- ¹¹ Forms like *gaṅgāya* (= dative sg. of *gaṅgā*) are frequently found (cf. StSt: 9).
- ¹² *Caṇḍ-* and *day-* are used only as middle voice verbs in Classical Skt.
- ¹³ *Mara* is obviously to be translated as its causative form *māraya*, 'cause to die!'.
¹⁴ I have used the text of StSt, No. 327. See also Lévy (1933: 15-27), and SuSe (pp. 102ff.).
- ¹⁵ I have not been able to find the word *vidarbhiṭa* in any of the other texts from Bali, for instance.
- ¹⁶ Just after the writing of this article, a short study on the word *vidarbha* was published by Padoux. He explains the meaning of *vidarbha* as 'cutting, tearing asunder, dispersing', basing his argument on traditional Indian lexicology.
- ¹⁷ m = syllable of the *mantra*; S = syllable of the *Sādhya*'s name. *Subhagānandanātha*, in his commentary on the *Tantrarājatantra*, enumerates three kinds of *vidarbhiṭa* (I,72), viz. mmS-mmS etc., SSm-SSm etc., mmSS-mmSS etc. and SSmm-SSmm etc.
- ¹⁸ The word *Samskāra* is not used in the *Saṭsāhasrasaṃhitā*.
- ¹⁹ Only in one case, that of *āpyāyana*, are six *bijas* placed before and after the *mantra*.

- ²⁰ In the *Saṣṭhasrasaṃhitā*, as in the *Gautamīyatantra*, *vimalikaraṇa* is used instead.
- ²¹ The *Saṣṭhasrasaṃhitā* reads *saṃtarpaṇa*.
- ²² For the sake of simplicity, we shall refer only to units 1-4 in the following, not mentioning the corresponding units 9-6 each time.
- ²³ For *MAM* as the third component of *OM*, cf. StSt: 223, 7; 597.1/2; 616.4; etc.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

BTF: *A Balinese Temple Festival* (Hooykaas).
 StSt: *Stuti and Stava* (Goudriaan and Hooykaas).
 SuSe: *Surya-Sevana* (Hooykaas).

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